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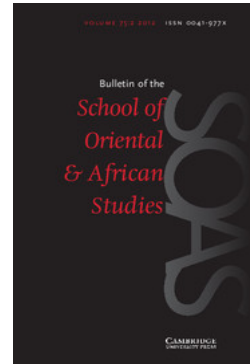
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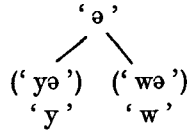
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VERBAL PHRASES IN LHASA TIBETAN—III

By R. K. SPRIGG

əW: EXPONENTS OF 'ə'; PROSODIC AND PHONEMATIC SYSTEMS

There is one important respect in which əW differs from yW and wW. For these last it was sufficient to state exponents of 'y' and 'w'; the exponents of 'ə' however can be stated only by introducing a further prosodic system, of the initial syllable, y/w, i.e. 'y neutral words' (yəW) and 'w neutral words' (wəW). The prosodic and phonematic systems of yəW resemble those stated above for the initial syllable of yW, and those of wəW resemble the systems stated for the initial syllable of wW, i.e.



The two-term y/w system (yə/wə) is stated for the initial syllable of the (ə) word, and is not to be confused with the two-term prosodic system of the syllable initial (y/wI). The exponents of y and w in the initial syllable (CVC) of əW comprise:—

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>y</i> | <i>w</i> |
| A. -V- : frontness + spreading | frontness — spreading, |
| | backness ; |
| B. C- : | velarity, |
| | absence of consonant articulation |

e.g.

A. -V- : y :

trə:gəji: (སྐྱད་ཀྱི་ཡིན།) sg:bəre (བསད་པ་རེད།) ce:rae (བསྐྱེལ་བ་རེད།)

w :

caŋare (བརྒྱུད་ས་པ་རེད།) tʂa:bəji (བཅའ་པ་ཡིན།) pa:gidu: (སྐྱར་གྱི་འདུག།)

'na:gidu: (ན་ཞི་འདུག།) lʂ:bəji: (བསྐྱབས་པ་ཡིན།)

B. C- :

kamgəre: (བསྐྱམས་ཀྱི་རེད།) ŋa:bəre (མངགས་པ་རེད།) 'ʂbgidu: (འབ་ཀྱི་འདུག།)

C. -C :

The phonetic exponents need to be stated with reference to the c/o system:—

	<i>c</i>				<i>o</i>
w :	labiality			velarity, e.g.	
cW :	<u>'ʂbgidu:</u>	(ལབ་ཀྱི་འདུག།)	<u>tʂbgidu:</u>	(ལྟེབས་ཀྱི་འདུག།)	
	<u>'damgidu:</u>	(བསྐྱམས་ཀྱི་འདུག།)	<u>samgidu:</u>	(བསམ་གྱི་འདུག།)	
oW :	<u>tsagbəji</u>	(sS) (བཅའ་པ་ཡིན།)	<u>tra:gəre</u>	(fS) (སྐྱེལ་པ་རེད།)	
	<u>'əaŋare</u>	(,,) (བཞེད་ས་པ་རེད།)	<u>'laŋare</u>	(,,) (ལངས་པ་རེད།)	

Where the -C term is -T, there are as exponents of y/w :—

y : long duration of vowel ; w : short duration of vowel (cf. also yW, wW), e.g.

w : ŋagidu: (རྡ་ཞེ་འདུག།) 'nabəre (ན་བ་རེད།) 'sabəre (བཟའ་བ་རེད།)
 y : ŋəbərə (རྡ་ས་བ་རེད།) se:gəre: (བསད་ཀྱི་རེད།) tɛ:gəji: (སྤྲ་ཀྱི་ཡིན།)

I. EXPONENTS OF 'ə'

Exponents¹ of 'ə' may be stated for the initial and medial syllables ; exponents of non-'w' may be stated for the final syllable also.

The exponents of ə are as follows :—

A. Initial Syllable (CVC)

(1) -V- is characterized by

(a) backness — rounding (cf. wW ; backness + rounding)

(b) frontness — spreading (, yW ; frontness + spreading),

e.g. :—

(a) 'ə**ab**ərə (བཞག་པ་རེད།) taŋgəji: (བདད་ཞེ་ཡིན།) magidu: (དམར་བྱི་འདུག།)
 'ɛ**bg**idu: (འབ་ཀྱི་འདུག།)

(b) 'n**ab**ərə (ན་བ་རེད།) taŋ**aj**i (བདད་བ་ཡིན།)

(2) C- (wəW)

(a) absence of lip-spreading or lip-rounding (cf. yW/wW),

(b) absence of consonant articulation, e.g. :—

(a) tɛ**ab**ərə (སྤེག་པ་རེད།) laŋ**ə**re (སྤངས་པ་རེད།)

(b) 'ɛ**b**ərə (འབ་པ་རེད།)

B. Medial Syllable (C₁V₁)

In cW -V₁ may be characterized by centralization, e.g. :—

'de:gəji (བདྲ་ཀྱི་ཡིན།) tʂə:gəre: (བཅད་བྱི་རེད།) lɛ**bg**əji: (བསྤབས་ཀྱི་ཡིན།)

C. Final Syllable (C₂V₂)

Exponents may be stated for 'non-w', but not for 'ə'.

The stating of the exponents of 'ə' completes that of the three terms w/y/ə. It is, however, also possible to state exponents for two of these terms as against the third, e.g. of (A) 'non-y', (B) 'non-w', and of (C) 'w' and 'wə' as against 'y' and 'yə', e.g. 'non-y/yə' :—

¹ Following the precedent set by Parts I and II only those exponents of terms in prosodic systems which are phonetically different from each other have been stated. Thus where it appears in the text that no exponents may be stated for a particular prosodic term in a particular prosodic context, it must be understood that the exponents of the prosodic term are in this context phonetically identical with those of the other term(s) in the system.

A. non-y : (C-) dental nasality, e.g. :—

<i>w</i>	<i>wə</i>	<i>yə</i>
<u>n</u> umbəre (སྐྱམ་པ་རེད།)	<u>n</u> angidu: (གནང་གི་འདུག།)	<u>n</u> embəre (གནན་པ་རེད།)

B. non-w : (C₂-) palatal semi vowel, •
absence of rounding,

(-V₁) absence of rounding, e.g. :—

<i>y</i>	<i>yə</i>	<i>wə</i>
<u>ɪ</u> ngijø: (མེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།)	<u>ɪ</u> de:gijø: (བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད།)	<u>ɪ</u> angijø: (བདང་གི་ཡོད།)
<u>ɪ</u> ngiɹe: (མེས་ཀྱི་རེད།)	<u>ɪ</u> de:gidu: (བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་འདུག།)	<u>ɪ</u> angəre: (བདང་གི་རེད།)

C. non-y/yə : (C-) velarity

<i>w</i>	<i>wə</i>
<u>ŋ</u> ugidu: (བཛོ་གི་འདུག།)	<u>ŋ</u> agidu: (ང་གི་འདུག།)
<u>ŋ</u> y:bəre (ངས་པ་རེད།)	<u>k</u> ambəre (བསྐྱམས་པ་རེད།)
<u>k</u> ugydu: (ཀྱི་གི་འདུག།)	<u>k</u> hanəre (ཁང་པ་རེད།)

II. PROSODIC AND PHONEMATIC SYSTEMS

For əW prosodic and phonematic systems are stated as follows :—

A. Prosodic Systems :—

(1) Word : c/o

(2) Syllable Initial (I) : (a) r/ⁿr ; (b) y/w (Initial Syllable)

B. Phonematic Terms and Systems :—

(1) -V- (Initial Syllable)

(2) C- (a) yə : C_a-/C_β-/C_γ- (" ")

(b) wə : C_a-/C_β-/C_γ- (" ")

(3) -C_a-/C_b

A. Prosodic Systems

(1) WORD : c/o

Exponents of c/o may be stated for the initial and medial syllables (CVC, C₁V₁). They comprise :—

(a) Medial Syllable

(i) -V₁ :

c : a close degree of aperture

o : an open " " " , e.g. :—

c : tɹbgiɪdu: (ཕྱེབ་ཀྱི་འདུག།) ɪde:giɪjø: (བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད།) tʃə:giɪdu: (བཅར་གྱི་འདུག།)

o : tʃə:raɪjø (བཅར་བ་ཡོད།) ɪɹbandu (ལབ་པ་འདུག།) tɛ:raɪjø (ཕྱེད་བ་ཡོད།)

The examples given for 'o' above are of ⁿ1C₁V₁ (see below, Medial and Final Syllables ; Prosodic System of Medial Syllable, 1/ⁿ1) ; none may be given for 1C₁V₁.

(β) wə :

-T	{	'nabəre	(ན'བ'རེད')	'nagidu:	(ན'གི'འདུག')	
		'gabəre	(དགའ'བ'རེད')	'gagidu:	(དགའ'གི'འདུག')	
		'sabəre	(བཟའ'བ'རེད')	'sagidu:	(ཟ'གི'འདུག')	
-L	{	(sS) 'əɔ:bəre	{	(བཞན'བ'རེད')	'əɔ:gəre:	(བཞན'ཁྱི'རེད')
		(fS) 'əɔ:rəre				
	{	(sS) t̪əɔ:bəji	{	(བཅར'བ'ཡིན')	t̪əɔ:gəji:	(བཅར'ཁྱི'ཡིན')
		(fS) t̪əɔ:rəji				
	{	(sS) əɔ:bəre	{	(ཤར'བ'ཡིན')	əɔ:gidu:	(ཤར'ཁྱི'འདུག')
		(fS) əɔ:rəre				
-K	{	(sS) 'əagbəre	{	(བཞག'པ'རེད')	'əagəre:	(བཞག'གི'རེད')
		(fS) { 'əɔ:bəre 'əɔ:gəre				
	{	(sS) t̪əagbəre	{	(གཅག'པ'རེད')	t̪əagəji	(གཅག'གི'ཡིན')
		(fS) { t̪əɔ:bəre t̪əɔ:gəre				
	{	(sS) t̪ragbəre	{	(སླེག'པ'རེད')	t̪ragidu:	(སླེག'གི'འདུག')
		(fS) { t̪ɔ:bəre t̪ɔ:gəre				
-M	{	kambəre	(བསྐམས'པ'རེད')	kamgidu:	(བསྐམས'ཁྱི'འདུག')	
		'dambəre	(བསྐྱམས'པ'རེད')	'damgidu:	(བསྐྱམས'ཁྱི'འདུག')	
		sambəre	(བསམ'པ'རེད')	samgidu:	(བསམ'ཁྱི'འདུག')	
-D	{	(sS) taŋbəji	{	(བདད'བ'ཡིན')	taŋgəji:	(བདད'གི'ཡིན')
		(fS) taŋəji				
	{	(sS) naŋbəji	{	(གནད'བ'ཡིན')	naŋgidu:	(གནད'གི'འདུག')
		(fS) naŋəji				
	{	(sS) 'əaŋbəre	{	(བཞེདས'པ'རེད')	'əaŋgəre:	(བཞེདས'ཁྱི'རེད')
(fS) 'əaŋəre						

In sS examples were recorded in which yəW with -L as final consonant were distinguished phonetically in accordance with an orthographic distinction, i.e. whether the vowel symbol was འཕྲེད་བྱ་ or zero, e.g. :—

It is of interest that the vowel of $y\text{ə}W$ in a 'close' prosodic context (cW) may be identical phonetically with the vowel -E- of a yW in an open prosodic context, (oW) e.g. :—

- (a) -E- (oW) : phe:bəre (ཕེབས་པ་རེད།) le:bəre (བསྐྱེབས་པ་རེད།)
 (b) - $y\text{ə}V$ - (cW) : the:gəre (འཕྲས་ཀྱི་རེད།) se:gəre (བསད་ཀྱི་རེད།)

but in comparable prosodic contexts there is no such phonetic identity, e.g. :—

- (a) -E- (oW) : phe:bəre (ཕེབས་པ་རེད།) le:bəre (བསྐྱེབས་པ་རེད།)
 (b) - $y\text{ə}V$ - (oW) the:bəre (འཕྲས་པ་རེད།) se:bəre (བསད་པ་རེད།)

where the -C term is -N there is, however, a phonetic identity of vowel-quality as between the vowel of yW and $y\text{ə}W$ in the 'open' prosodic context, e.g. :—

- (a) yW æmbəre (ཤེན་པ་རེད།) thəmbəre (ཐེན་པ་རེད།) } (oW)
 (b) $y\text{ə}W$ təmbəre (བལྟན་པ་རེད།) səmbəre (གསན་པ་རེད།) }

but not in the 'close', e.g. :—

- (a) yW ɛŋgiʃ (ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡིད།) thɛŋgidu (ཐེན་ཀྱི་འདུག།) } (cW)
 (b) $y\text{ə}W$ təŋgiʃ (བལྟན་ཀྱི་ཡིད།) səŋgidu (གསན་ཀྱི་འདུག།) }

(2) PROSODIC SYSTEMS OF SYLLABLE INITIAL (I)

Two prosodic systems are recognized for I in $\text{ə}W$ just as in wW and yW :—

- (a) $r/\text{non-}r$ ($r/{}^n r$);
 (b) y/w

The exponents of these two systems may characterize both C- and -V-, i.e. CV(C).

- (a) $r/{}^n r$

The exponents of r comprise :—

C : fricative release (ɹ);

the exponents of ${}^n r$ comprise :—

- (i) C : A release other than alveolar fricative (ɹ), e.g. alveolar fricative (s),
 alveolar lateral, plosive, etc.

In yI syllables, lip-spreading.

- (ii) -V- : In yI syllables, a greater degree of frontness in $w\text{ə}W$, and of closeness in $y\text{ə}W$, than is appropriate to ' r ', e.g. :—

- r : tɛ:gəji (སྤྲད་ཀྱི་ཡིན།) tɛ:bəji (སྤྲད་པ་ཡིན།) tɛ:rəbəre (སྤེལ་པ་རེད།)
 ${}^n r$: æ:gəji (བཤད་ཀྱི་ཡིན།) æ:bəji (བཤད་པ་ཡིན།) 'ə:rəbəre (བཞུག་པ་རེད།)
 (yI)

- (b) For the stating of ${}^n rI$ a two-term system (y/w) is also required for $\text{ə}W$.

The phonetic exponents of y/w comprise :—

- (i) -V- :

y : a greater degree of closeness ($y\text{ə}W$) and frontness ($w\text{ə}W$) than is appropriate to ' w ' in otherwise the same prosodic context, e.g. :—

- y : æ:gəji (བཤད་ཀྱི་ཡིན།) æ:bəji (བཤད་པ་ཡིན།) 'æar:bəre (བཞག་པ་རེད།)
 w : sɛ:gəre: (བསད་ཀྱི་རེད།) sɛ:bəji (བསད་པ་ཡིན།) ka:bəre (བཞག་པ་རེད།)
 y : 'jar:gəre: (རྒྱབ་ཀྱི་རེད།) 'əŋare (བཞེངས་པ་རེད།)
 w : ka:gidu: (བཞག་གི་འདུག།) kha-ŋare (ཁང་པ་རེད།)

(ii) C- :

- y : lip-spreading,
 articulations as below, in relation to the C- systems (§ B 2a)
 w : articulations as below, in relation to the C- systems (§ B 2a) :—

	<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>
P- :	Alveolar (occlusion) + fricative release	Labial (occlusion) + plosive release
T- :	(1W) Alveolar (occlusion) + fricative release (2W) Alveolar friction (z)	Dental (occlusion) + plosive release
K- :	Palatal (plosion)	Velar (plosion)
Q- :	Palatal semi-vowel	Absence of consonant articulation
L- :	(Alveolar) lateral	(Alveolar) friction (x)
S- :	Alveolo-palatal (friction)	Alveolar (friction) (s) Dental
N- :	Palatal (nasality)	Labial (nasality), e.g. Velar

	<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>
P- :	<u>tʃ</u> ar:bəre (ཚག་པ་རེད།)	' <u>ph</u> xbgidu: (བབས་ཀྱི་འདུག།)
	' <u>ʧ</u> ɛ:raji (མཇལ་བ་ཡིན།)	<u>ph</u> e:gidu: (འཕེལ་གྱི་འདུག།)
T- :	<u>tʃ</u> agidu: (ཚ་གི་འདུག།)	<u>ts</u> xbgidu: (ཚེབ་ཀྱི་འདུག།)
	<u>tse</u> :gidu: (འཚོལ་གྱི་འདུག།)	<u>te</u> raji (ཚེར་བ་ཡིན།)
K- :	' <u>ʃ</u> xbəre (རྒྱབ་པ་རེད།)	<u>k</u> xbgidu: (བཞག་ཀྱི་འདུག།)
	<u>ce</u> raie (བསྐྱེལ་བ་རེད།)	<u>kamb</u> əre (བསྐྱམས་པ་རེད།)
Q- :	<u>jem</u> bəre (གཡོང་བ་རེད།)	' <u>x</u> bgidu: (འབ་ཀྱི་འདུག།)
	' <u>je</u> :gidu: (ཡེལ་གྱི་འདུག།)	
L- :	' <u>ʃ</u> xgijø: (བསྐྱབས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།)	' <u>ɹ</u> a:bəre (རག་པ་རེད།)
	<u>le</u> :bəre (བསྐྱེལ་པ་རེད།)	<u>ɹe</u> :bəre (དབྱལ་བ་རེད།)
S- :	' <u>ə</u> ŋare (བཞེངས་པ་རེད།)	' <u>s</u> agidu: (ཟེ་གི་འདུག།)
	<u>ce</u> :gidu: (བཤད་ཀྱི་འདུག།)	' <u>se</u> raie (ཟེར་བ་རེད།)
		' <u>n</u> abəre (ན་བ་རེད།)

	<i>y</i>		<i>w</i>	
	' <u>n</u> aɹaɹe	(ʒɹ'v'ɹɛɹ')	' <u>n</u> embəɹe	(ʒəʔ'p'ɹɛɹ')
N- :	' <u>n</u> angidu:	(ʒɹɹ'ŋi'ɹɹɹɹ')	<u>m</u> a:gidu:	(ɹɹɹ'ŋi'ɹɹɹɹ')
	<u>n</u> ɛ:bəɹe	(ɹɹ'p'ɹɛɹ')	<u>n</u> ɹgidu:	(ɹɹ'ʒi'ɹɹɹɹ')
			<u>n</u> a:bəɹe	(ɹɹɹ'p'ɹɛɹ')

B. Phonematic Systems (Initial Syllable — CVC)

(1) -V- :

For the exponents of -V- in əW one must take into account the following prosodic systems :—

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| (a) f/s (Sentence—S) | Part I |
| (b) c/o (Word—W) | § II A 1 |
| (c) y/w (Syllable—S) | § I |
| (d) r/nr | } (Syllable Initial—I) § II A 2, |
| (e) y/w | |

and the phonematic systems stated below (-C, § B 2b).

-V- :

yS/cW/rI/(-T/-L) :	ɛ:	tɛ:gəji:	(ʒɹ'ŋi'ɹɹɹ')
„ „ „ -N :	ɛ	'tɛ:ngidu:	(ɹɹ'ŋi'ɹɹɹɹ')
„ „ nrI/yI/(-T/-L) :	ɛ:	ɛɛ:gəji	(vəʔ'ŋi'ɹɹɹ')
„ „ „ -N :	ɛ	'ɹ:ngidu:	(ʒə'ŋi'ɹɹɹɹ')
„ „ „ wI/(-T/-L) :	ɛ:	tɛ:gəɹe:	(ʒɹɹ'ŋi'ɹɹɹ')
„ „ „ „ -N :	ɛ	tɛ:gəji:	(vəʒ'ŋi'ɹɹɹ')
„ oW/rI/-T :	ɛ:	tɛ:rɹəji	(ʒɹɹ'p'ɹɹɹ')
„ „ „ -L/fS :	ɛ	'tɛ:ɹaɹe	(ɹɹ'ɹ'v'ɹɹɹ')
„ „ „ sS :	ɛ:	'tɛ:ɹ:bəɹe	(„)
„ „ „ -N :	ɛ	'tɛ:ɹ:ɹəɹe	(ɹɹ'p'ɹɹɹ')
„ „ nrI/yI/-T :	ɛ:	ɛɛ:rɹəji	(vəʔ'p'ɹ'ɹɹɹ')
„ „ „ „ -L/fS :	ɛ	'tɛ:ɹ:ɹaɹe	(ɹɹ'ɹ'v'ɹɹɹ')
„ „ „ „ „ sS :	ɛ:	'tɛ:ɹ:ɹ:bəɹe	(„)
„ „ „ „ -N :	ɛ	'ɹ:ɹəɹəɹe	(ʒə'p'ɹɹɹ')
„ „ „ wI/-T :	ɛ:	sɛ:rɹəɹe	(vəʔ'p'ɹ'ɹɹɹ')
„ „ „ „ -L/fS :	ɛ	tɛ:rɹəjʃ	(ʒɹɹ'v'ɹɹɹ')
„ „ „ „ „ sS :	ɛ:	tɛ:rɹəɹe	(„)
„ „ „ „ -N :	ɛ	tɛ:rɹəjʃi	(vəʒ'p'ɹ'ɹɹɹ')

wS/cW/rI/(-T/-M/-D) :	Δ	tɿŋgidu:	(སྐྱང་ལེ་འདུག།)
” ” ” (-L/-K) :	Δ:	tɿŋgidu:	(སྐྱེག་ལེ་འདུག།)
” ” ” -P :	ʂ	tɿʂbgidu:	(འཇམ་གྱི་འདུག།)
” ” ” rI/yI/(-T/-M/-D) :	Δ	tshagidu:	(ཚ་ལེ་འདུག།)
” ” ” ” (-L/-K) :	Δ:+	tʂɑ: + gəji:	(བཅར་གྱི་ཡིན།)
” ” ” ” -P :	ʂ	lʂbgəji:	(བསྐབས་གྱི་ཡིན།)
” ” ” wI/(-T/-M/-D) :	Δ	tɿŋgidu:	(བདང་ལེ་འདུག།)
” ” ” ” (-L/-K) :	Δ:	mɑ:gidu:	(དམར་གྱི་འདུག།)
” ” ” ” -P :	ʂ	'phʂbgidu:	(བབས་གྱི་འདུག།)
” ” ” oW/rI/(-T/-M/-D) :	a-	tra-ŋare	(སྐྱང་བ་རེད།)
” ” ” -L/fS :	}	none recorded	
” ” ” ” sS :			
” ” ” -K/fS :	ɑ:	trɑ:bəre	(སྐྱེག་པ་རེད།)
” ” ” ” sS :	a	trəgbəre	(”)
” ” ” -P :	ʂ	tɿʂbəre	(འཇམ་པ་རེད།)
” ” ” rI/yI/(-T/-M/-D) :	a	'caŋare	(བཞིངས་པ་རེད།)
” ” ” ” -L/fS :	a	tʂɑ:raji	(བཅར་བ་ཡིན།)
” ” ” ” ” sS :	ɑ:+	tʂɑ: + bəji	(”)
” ” ” ” -K/fS :	ɑ:+	tʂɑ: + bəji	(གཅག་པ་ཡིན།)
” ” ” ” ” sS :	a	tʂəgbəji	(”)
” ” ” ” -P :	ʂ	lʂbəji	(བསྐབས་པ་ཡིན།)
” ” ” wI/(-T/-M/-D) :	a-	'ga-bəre	(དགའ་བ་རེད།)
” ” ” ” -L/fS :	a-	pa-ŋare	(སྐྱར་བ་རེད།)
” ” ” ” ” sS :	ɑ:	pa:bəre	(”)
” ” ” ” -K/fS :	ɑ:	ka:bəre	(བཀག་པ་རེད།)
” ” ” ” ” sS :	a-	ka-gbəre	(”)
” ” ” ” -P :	ʂ	kʂbəre	(བཀག་པ་རེད།)

(2) C SYSTEMS

(a) C- Systems

Separate C- systems need to be stated for yəW and wəW.

(i) wəW

(a) C_{a-}:

The C_a - system is that which is appropriate to words for which the following prosodic systems have to be taken into account :—

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} h/nh \\ v/nv \end{array} \right\} r/nrC-$$

rC_a- :

In examples in rI (§ A 2a) no system may be stated for C_a- . C_a- is characterized by alveolar-affricate (\underline{tr}) articulation :—

1W : hr C_a- :	$\underline{tʃ}$ $\underline{tʃ}x̣ḅəɹe$	(<u>འཇམ་པ་རེད།</u>)	
n hr C_a- :	\underline{tr} $\underline{tr}a:ḅəɹe$	(<u>སྟེག་པ་རེད།</u>)	$\underline{tr}angidu:$ (<u>སྐྱང་གི་འདུག།</u>)
2W : vr C_a- :	$\underline{dʒ}$ $\underline{dʒ}aŋaɹe$	(<u>འགྲང་བ་རེད།</u>)	
n vr C_a- :	$\underline{tʃ}$ $\underline{tʃ}a:gidu:$	(<u>རྟག་གི་འདུག།</u>)	

Where, however, the syllable-initial prosody is nr , and the y/w prosodic system may be set up for the syllable initial, i.e.

$${}^nr \left\{ \begin{array}{l} h/nh \\ v/nv \end{array} \right\} y/wC-,$$

a three-term system P-/T-/K- is recognized :—

P/1W(h)/yI :	$\underline{tʃ}h$ $\underline{tʃ}ḥa:ḅəɹe$	(<u>ཆག་པ་རེད།</u>)	
„ „ wI :	\underline{ph} $\underline{ph}amḅəɹe$	(<u>འཕམ་པ་རེད།</u>)	$\underline{ph}aɹaɹe$ (<u>འཕར་བ་རེད།</u>)
„ „ n (h)/yI :	$\underline{tʃ}e$ $\underline{tʃ}e:aṛaɹi$	(<u>བཅར་བ་ཡིན།</u>)	$\underline{tʃ}e:a:ḅəɹi$ (<u>གཅག་པ་ཡིན།</u>)
„ „ wI :	\underline{p} $\underline{p}a:gidu:$	(<u>སྐྱང་གྱི་འདུག།</u>)	
„ 2W(v)/yI :	$\underline{dʒ}$ $\underline{dʒ}aɹaɹe$	(<u>འབྲང་བ་རེད།</u>)	
„ „ wI :	\underline{b} $\underline{b}a:gidu:$	(<u>འབར་གྱི་འདུག།</u>)	$\underline{b}angidu:$ (<u>སྐྱང་གི་འདུག།</u>)
„ „ n (v)/yI :	none recorded		
„ „ wI :	\underline{ph} $\underline{ph}x̣bg̣idu:$	(<u>བབས་ཀྱི་འདུག།</u>)	
T/1W(h)/yI :	\underline{tsh} $\underline{tsh}aɹaɹe$	(<u>ཚར་བ་རེད།</u>)	$\underline{tsh}angidu:$ (<u>ཚ་གི་འདུག།</u>)
„ „ wI :	\underline{th} $\underline{th}aɹaɹe$	(<u>ཐར་བ་རེད།</u>)	
„ „ n (h)/yI :	\underline{ts} $\underline{ts}x̣bg̣idu:$	(<u>ཚུབ་ཀྱི་འདུག།</u>)	
„ „ wI :	\underline{t} $\underline{t}x̣bg̣idu:$	(<u>ཚེབ་ཀྱི་འདུག།</u>)	$\underline{t}angidu:$ (<u>ཚ་གི་འདུག།</u>)
„ 2W/yI :	\underline{z} $\underline{z}a:gidu:$	(<u>འཛོག་གི་འདུག།</u>)	$\underline{z}a:gidu:$ (<u>འཛོག་གི་འདུག།</u>)
„ „(v)/wI :	\underline{d} $\underline{d}amḅəɹe$	(<u>བསྐྱམས་པ་རེད།</u>)	
„ „ n (v)/wI :	\underline{th} $\underline{th}a:gidu:$	(<u>ཐར་གྱི་འདུག།</u>)	
K/1W(h)/yI :	\underline{ch} $\underline{ch}x̣ḅəɹe$	(<u>ཇམ་པ་རེད།</u>)	
„ „ wI :	\underline{kh} $\underline{kh}aŋḅəɹe$	(<u>ཁང་པ་རེད།</u>)	
„ „ n (h)/yI :	\underline{c} $\underline{c}aŋaɹe$	(<u>བསྐྱངས་པ་རེད།</u>)	$\underline{c}x̣bg̣idu:$ (<u>བསྐྱབས་ཀྱི་འདུག།</u>)
„ „ wI :	\underline{k} $\underline{k}amḅəɹe$	(<u>བསྐྱམས་པ་རེད།</u>)	$\underline{k}x̣ḅəɹe$ (<u>བཀའ་པ་རེད།</u>)

- K/2W(v)/yI : j j̥a:gəji: (ཐུབ་ཀྱི་ཡིན།) j̥aŋgidu: (འགྲངས་ཀྱི་འདུག།)
 „ „ wI : g g̥aŋgidu: (དགའ་ལོ་འདུག།)
 „ „ (nv)/yI : none recorded
 „ „ wI : kh kh̥ɣbgidu: (གབ་ཀྱི་འདུག།)

(β) C_β- :

In syllables where the y/w prosodic system (§ A 2a) may be stated, i.e. y/wC-, a four-term system is recognized :—

Q-/L-/S-/D-, e.g. :—

- Q/1W/yI : j ja:gəji: (གཡར་བྱི་ཡིན།) jaŋgidu: (གཡེང་གི་འདུག།)
 „ „ wI : none recorded
 „ 2W/yI : j j̥a:gəre: (ཡག་གི་རེད།)
 „ „ wI : j̥bgidu: (འབ་ཀྱི་འདུག།)
 L/1W/yI : l l̥ɣbgəji: (བསྐབས་ཀྱི་ཡིན།) l̥aŋgidu: (སྐང་གི་འདུག།)
 „ „ wI : none recorded
 „ 2W/yI : l l̥aŋgidu (ལངས་ཀྱི་འདུག།) l̥ɣbəre (ལབ་པ་རེད།)
 „ „ wI : l̥a:bəre (རག་པ་རེད།)
 S/1W/yI : s sa:are (གར་བ་རེད།)
 „ „ wI : s saŋgidu: (བསམ་བྱི་འདུག།)
 „ 2W/yI : s sa:are (བཞེངས་པ་རེད།) sa:are (བཞར་བ་རེད།)
 „ „ wI : s saŋgidu: (ཚ་གི་འདུག།)
 D/1W/yW : none recorded
 „ „ wW : ŋ ŋaŋgidu: (ང་གི་འདུག།) ŋa:bəre (མངག་པ་རེད།)
 „ 2W/yW : ŋ ŋa:are (ཉར་བ་རེད།) ŋaŋgidu: (མྱངས་ཀྱི་འདུག།)
 „ „ wW : none recorded

In addition to the two examples given for L/1W/yI there were two recorded for which voice alternated with voicelessness, e.g. (t̥a) l̥aŋgidu:/laŋgidu:, l̥ɣbəre/l̥ɣbəre and (ny:) laŋgidu:/laŋgidu: (སྐ)(ལྷ་གི་འདུག།, ལྷ་པ་རེད།), (རདལ་) (ལྷ་གི་འདུག།). If the voiceless-lateral examples were to be admitted, L- would have to be removed from the C_β- system ; they have here been disregarded in favour of the more often recorded voiced-lateral examples.

(γ) C_γ- :

The nasal-initial system comprises the two terms M-/N-, for wI syllables, e.g. :—

M/1W : m ma:gidu: (དམང་གི་འདུག།)

„ 2W : none recorded

N/1W : n na:gidu: (གནང་གི་འདུག།)

„ 2W : n 'nabəɛ (ན་བ་རེད།)

(ii) yəW

For yəW the C- systems stated for wəW are not valid. The C- systems in yəW are not identical with those of yW, but resemble them. They comprise :—

(a) C_a- :

The C-system is that which is appropriate to words for which the following prosodic systems have to be taken into account :—

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} h/nh \\ v/nv \end{array} \right\} r/nrC-$$

rC_a-

In examples in rI (§ A 2a) C_a- is characterized by alveolarity with fricative (x) release, e.g. :—

1W : hrC- : tʃ tʃɛ:bəɛ (འཕྱད་པ་རེད།)

nrC- : tr trɛ:gəji: (སྲུང་གི་ཡིན།)

2W : vrC- : none recorded

nrC- : tʃ 'tʃɛngidu: (རྩན་གྱི་འདུག།) 'tʃɛ:bəɛ (བྲལ་བ་རེད།)

In syllables in nrI, where the y/w prosodic system may be stated for the syllable initial, i.e. :—

$$nr \left\{ \begin{array}{l} h/nh \\ v/nv \end{array} \right\} y/wC-,$$

A two-term system, P/T, may be stated, as opposed to the three-term system (P/T/K) of wəW.

P/1W(h)/yI : tʃh tʃɛ:bəɛ (ཆད་པ་རེད།)

„ „ wI : ph phɛ:gidu: (འཕེལ་གྱི་འདུག།)

„ „ (nh)/yI : tʃɛ tʃɛ:bəɛ (གཅད་པ་རེད།)

„ „ wI : p pe:gidu: (སྤེལ་གྱི་འདུག།)

„ 2/(v)/yI : ɖʒ 'ɖʒɛɹɹɛ (མངལ་བ་རེད།)

„ „ wI : none recorded

„ „(nv)/yI : tʃh 'tʃɛ:bəji (བྲས་པ་ཡིན།)

„ „ wI : none recorded

T/1W(h)/yI : tsh tshɛɹɹɛ (འཚོང་བ་རེད།)

„ „ wI : th thɛ:bəɛ (འཕྱས་པ་རེད།)

„ „ (nh)/yI : ts tse:gəɹɹɛ: (འཚོལ་གྱི་རེད།)

„ „ wI : t tɛ:bəɛ (བཞྱས་པ་རེད།) tɛɹɹɹɹ (སྤྲེང་བ་ཡོད།)

T/2W/yI :	none recorded
„ „ wI :	d 'de:geji: (བསྐྱད་ཀྱི་ཡིན།)
„ „ wI :	th 'the:rae (རལ་བ་རེད།)

Where the C- term is K-, i.e. :—

$${}^n r \left\{ \begin{array}{l} h/n^h \\ v/n^v \end{array} \right\} yC_{\alpha-}$$

the following are the exponents of K- :—

K/1W(h) :	ch	che:rae (ཁྱེར་བ་རེད།)	che:rae (ཁལ་བ་རེད།)
„ „ (n ^h) :	c	ce:rae (བསྐྱེལ་བ་རེད།)	ce:rae (བགལ་བ་རེད།)
„ 2W(v) :	j	'je:rae (ལྷལ་བ་རེད།)	'je:rae (འཕྱེལ་བ་རེད།)
„ „ (n ^v) :	ch	'che:gidu: (གས་ཀྱི་འདུག།)	

(β) C_β- :

In words for which the prosodic systems h/n^h and v/n^v are inapplicable, but for which y/w may be stated for the syllable initial, i.e. y/wC-, a two-term system, L-/S-, may be stated. The exponents of L- and S- are :—

L/1W/yI :	l	le:bəre (ལྷལ་བ་རེད།)	
„ „ wI :	ɹ	ɹe:bəre (རལ་བ་རེད།)	
„ 2W/yI :	none recorded		
„ „ wI :	'ɹ	'ɹe:bəre (རལ་བ་རེད།)	
S/1W/yI :	s	se:geji (བཤད་ཀྱི་ཡིན།)	se:gidu: (བཤལ་གྱི་འདུག།)
„ „ wI :	s	se:bəre (བཤད་པ་རེད།)	se:bəre (གསན་པ་རེད།)
„ əW/yI :	none recorded		
„ „ wI :	'se:rae	'se:rae (ཟེར་བ་རེད།)	'se:bəre (བཟུམ་པ་རེད།)

The example of L/1W/yI, le:bəre, was also recorded as ɹe:bəre, the former being the more frequently recorded of the two. The form with the voiceless-lateral initial has been excluded from the present study. It could not be stated in the same terms as the form with voiced lateral initial.

The Q- term is not, as in wəW, included in the same system as L-/S-, but in a system for which the y/wI system is not appropriate, i.e. C_γ-, together with D-. The exponents of Q- are :—

Q/1W :	j	jembəre (གཡེད་བ་རེད།)
„ 2W :	j	'je:rae (ཡལ་བ་རེད།)

D- in this prosodic context resembles K- ; together with Q- it is confined to yI syllables, e.g. :—

D/1W :	ɲ <u>ɲɛɹaɹɛ</u> (བསྟེལ་བ་རེད།)	<u>ɲɛ:bəɹɛ</u> (རྟེན་པ་རེད།)
„ 2W :	ɲ <u>'ɲembəɹɛ</u> (ཉན་པ་རེད།)	<u>'ɲe:gəɹɛ:</u> (ཉལ་བྱི་རེད།)

N- is confined to wI syllables :—

N/1W :	n <u>nɛmbəɹɛ</u> (གནན་པ་རེད།)
„ 2W :	none recorded

It is surprising that labiality is not a co-articulation of nasality in this prosodic context, for it is in yW, but no examples of initial-labial nasality were recorded. The way in which nasality is stated in əW differs considerably from the statements made for it in wW and yW. The əW type of statement has been adopted in order to avoid having to treat the alternation of velar with palatal nasal for C- in the example ɲagidu:/ɲɛ:bəɹɛ (རྟེན་གཞི་འདུག/རྟེན་པ་རེད།) as a change of consonant. In the above statement the C- term D- is preserved in both yəW and wəW, but with a change of prosody, from the y/wC- system (C_β-) to a system for which y/wI are not statable (C_γ-). In C_γ- D- is limited to yI syllables, its phonetic exponent being therefore palatal nasality. The two forms may be symbolized as follows :—

wəwDVT	<u>ɲagidu:</u> (རྟེན་གཞི་འདུག།)	yəDVT	<u>ɲɛ:bəɹɛ</u> (རྟེན་པ་རེད།)
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(b) -C Systems

As in the case of the C- systems the -C systems must be stated with reference to the prosodic system of the initial syllable of əW, i.e. y/w, hence wəW/yəW. Certain consonants may be stated for both, while others are restricted to one or the other, e.g. :—

(i) wəW/yəW :	T, L.	(2)	(-C _a)
(ii) yəW :	N.	(1)	
(iii) wəW :	P, K, M, D.	(4)	(-C _b)

The exponents of the -C systems require a statement in terms of cW and oW. The exponents of the -C_a system are :—

	c	o	
-T :	Absence of consonant articulation	Absence of consonant articulation	
-L :	” ” ”	” ” ”	(sS)
		Alveolar friction ¹	(fS)

¹ An interesting contrast with LT was observed for the Tsang dialect of Tibetan. Where in LT alveolar friction (x) was the sole recorded exponent of -L in both yF and wF alike, in Tsang Tibetan alveolar friction (x) was recorded for wF and an alveolar lateral articulation for yF, e.g.

-L	wF :	<u>kuɹaɹɛ</u> (བསྟེལ་བ་རེད།)	<u>ʔɹaɹaɹɛ</u> (འབྲུར་བ་རེད།)
	yF :	<u>kylaji</u> (བསྟེལ་བ་ཡིན།)	<u>ʔɹɛɹaɹɛ</u> (མངལ་བ་རེད།)

The exponents of the -C_b system are :—

	c	o	
-P : Labial occlusion			Absence of consonant articulation
-K : Absence of consonant articulation			{ Velar plosion " " " } (fS) { " " " " } (sS)
-M : Labial nasality			
-D : Velar ,,			Velar ,,

Where nasality characterizes -C in a y^F syllable (-N, as opposed to -M/-D) its exponents are :—

	c	o
-N :	velar nasality	labial nasality

In the examples below the phonological structure of the initial syllable, together with the relevant prosodies of the word, is given in the right-hand column.

	o	c	
(i) -T(wə) :			
'nabəre	(ན'བ'རེད།)	'nagidu:	(ན'ག'འདུག།) (wə2NVT)
'gabəre	(དགའ'བ'རེད།)	'gagidu:	(དགའ'ག'འདུག།) (wəvwKVT)
(yə) :			
'de:bəji	(བསྐད'པ'ཡིན།)	'de:gəji:	(བསྐད'གྱི'ཡིན།) (yəvwTVT)
the:bəre	(འཐས'པ'རེད།)	the:gəre	(འཐས'གྱི'རེད།) (yəhwTVT)
(ii) -L(wə) :			
ṭɛ:r̄bəji (sS)	} (བཅད'བ'ཡིན།)	ṭɛ:r̄gəji:	(བཅད'གྱི'ཡིན།) (wə ^h yPVL)
ṭɛ:r̄aj̄i (fS)			
ɛ:r̄bəre (sS)	} (གར'བ'རེད།)	ɛ:r̄gəre:	(གར'གྱི'རེད།) (wəlySVL)
ɛ:r̄aj̄are (fS)			
(yə) :			
'jɛ:r̄bəre (sS)	} (རྒྱལ'བ'རེད།)	'jɛ:r̄gəre:	(རྒྱལ'གྱི'རེད།) (yəvKVL)
'jɛ:r̄aj̄are (fS)			
ɕ:r̄bəre (sS)	} (བསྐྱེལ'བ'རེད།)	ɕ:r̄gəre:	(བསྐྱེལ'གྱི'རེད།) (yə ^h KVL)
ɕ:r̄aj̄are (fS)			
(iii) -P :			
l̄ɤ:bəre	(བསྐབས'པ'རེད།)	l̄ɤ:gəji:	(བསྐབས'གྱི'ཡིན།) (əlyLVP)
'l̄ɤ:bəre	(ལབ'པ'རེད།)	'l̄ɤ:gəre:	(ལབ'གྱི'རེད།) (ə2yLVP)

(iv) -K :

<u>tʃ</u> agbære (sS)	}	(གཙག་པ་རེད།)	<u>tʃ</u> æ:gære: (གཙག་གི་རེད།)	(ə ^{nh} yPVK)
<u>tʃ</u> æ:bære (fS)				
<u>tʃ</u> æ:gære (fS)				
<u>tr</u> agbære (sS)	}	(སྐྱགས་པ་རེད།)	<u>tr</u> æ:gidu: (སྐྱག་གི་འདུག།)	(ə ^{nh} rC ₂ VK)
<u>tr</u> æ:bære (fS)				
<u>tr</u> æ:gære (fS)				

(v) -M :

<u>samb</u> ære	(བསམ་པ་རེད།)	<u>sam</u> gidu: (བསམ་གྱི་འདུག།)	(əlwSVM)
<u>'damb</u> ære	(བསྐྱམས་པ་རེད།)	<u>'dam</u> gidu: (བསྐྱམས་ཀྱི་འདུག།)	(əvwTVM)

(vi) -D :

<u>nan</u> bære	}	(གནང་བ་རེད།)	<u>nan</u> gidu: (གནང་གི་འདུག།)	(ə1NVD)
<u>nan</u> ære				
<u>'lan</u> bære	}	(ལངས་པ་རེད།)	<u>'lan</u> gidu: (ལངས་ཀྱི་འདུག།)	(ə2yLVD)
<u>'lan</u> ære				

(vii) -N :

<u>tamb</u> ære	(བཅད་པ་རེད།)	<u>tan</u> gidu: (བཅད་གྱི་འདུག།)	(ə ^{nh} wTVN)
<u>semb</u> ære	(གསན་པ་རེད།)	<u>sen</u> gidu: (གསན་གྱི་འདུག།)	(əlySVN)

One or two instances have been recorded of a phonetic exponent of -M (in cW) other than labial nasality, i.e. velar nasality, e.g. :—

sanggidu: (བསམ་གྱི་འདུག།),

and of -D (in oW) other than velar nasality, i.e. labial nasality, e.g. :—

tambære (བཅད་པ་རེད།) cambære (བསྐྱུངས་པ་རེད།)

The prosodic and phonematic systems of the medial and final syllables are stated in the following section.

MEDIAL AND FINAL SYLLABLES; PROSODIC AND PHONEMATIC SYSTEMS

Much of the material now to be stated for the medial (C₁V₁) and final (C₂V₂) syllables has been stated above under the heading of the prosodic systems of the word y/w/ə and c/o, especially as regards the medial syllable; but the phonematic systems of these two syllables have so far gone unstated, for the reason that they are constant in yW, wW, əW, and in cW and oW alike. In the initial syllable (CVC) the systems stated for C-, -V-, and -C were related to the prosodic system y/w/ə, and were stated in terms of it. There are in addition to

the as yet unstated phonematic systems of the medial and final syllables, prosodic systems statable for these two syllables but not for the initial syllable. The form of statement adopted for the medial and final syllables is :—

I. Prosodic Systems

A. Medial and Final syllables ($C_1V_1 + C_2V_2$)

B. (1) Medial Syllable

(2) Final Syllable

II. Phonematic Systems

A. C_1V_1

B. C_2V_2

I. PROSODIC SYSTEMS

A. *Medial and Final Syllables* ($C_1V_1 + C_2V_2$)

A two-term prosodic system : y/w, hence 'w Medial and Final' (wMF), and 'y Medial and Final' (yMF). The exponents of y/w need a statement in terms of c/o. In cW they may be stated only for əW, not for wW and yW. These exponents are :—

(cəW)	$-V_1$	$-C_2$	$-V_2$
w :	closeness + frontness	dental plosion	rounding
y :	openness + centralization	alveolar friction	spreading, e.g. nasality
w :	<u>æ:giǰ</u> (བཤད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་།)	<u>lɤbgidu</u> (བསྐྱབས་ཀྱི་འདུག་།)	<u>te:gidu</u> (སྟེར་གྱི་འདུག་།)
y :	<u>æ:giǰi</u> (བཤད་ཀྱི་ཡིན་།)	<u>lɤbgæi</u> (བསྐྱབས་ཀྱི་རེད་།)	<u>te:giǰi</u> (སྟེར་གྱི་ཡིན་།)

In oW exponents of y/w may be stated only where the prosody of the medial syllable is 1 (§ B 1 below, 1M/ᵐ1M), e.g. :—

(oW/1M)	$-V_1$	C_2	$-V_2$
w :	openness + frontness	dental nasality + plosion	rounding
y :	closeness + centralization	alveolar friction	spreading ± nasality, e.g.
w :	<u>æ:bajǰ</u> (བཤད་པ་ཡོད་།)	<u>'jɔŋbandu</u> (ཡོང་བ་འདུག་།)	<u>'si:bandu</u> (གཞིགས་པ་འདུག་།)
y :	<u>æ:bajǰi</u> (བཤད་པ་ཡིན་།)	<u>'jɔŋbæi</u> (ཡོང་བ་རེད་།)	<u>'si:bæi</u> (གཞིགས་པ་རེད་།)

B. (1) *Medial Syllable* (C_1V_1)

Labialization : a two-term system l/ᵐ, hence 'labial Medial (1M)', and 'non-labial Medial' (ᵐ1M). Exponents of this system may be stated only for the prosodic context yMF (§ A above). The phonetic exponents of these terms are :—

l :	(1) C_1 - :	labial articulation	
	(2) V_1 - :	half-closeness + central quality	
ᵐl :	V_1 - :	openness + frontness, e.g. :—	
l :	<u>æ:bəǰi</u> (བཤད་པ་ཡིན་།)	<u>'jɔŋbəǰi</u> (ཡོང་པ་ཡིན་།)	<u>'si:bəi</u> (གཞིགས་པ་རེད་།)
ᵐl :	<u>tɛ:rəǰi</u> (སྟེར་བ་ཡིན་།)	<u>'jɔŋəǰi</u> (ཡོང་བ་ཡིན་།)	<u>'si:gəi</u> (གཞིགས་པ་རེད་།)

B. (2) *Final Syllable* (C_2V_2)

For the final syllable a prosodic system of closure may be stated : 'close' and 'open' (c/o), hence 'close Final' (cF) and 'open Final' (oF). The exponents of this system are :—

C_2 -	$-V_2$
c : dental plosion ± nasality	} closeness (yMF/wMF) } nasality (yMF)
o : alveolar friction	half-closeness, e.g. :—
c : <u>ɪʃbgidu</u> (བསྐབས་ཀྱི་འདུག།)	te:geji: (ཕྱེར་གྱི་ཡིན།) 'jɔŋbandu: (ཡོང་བ་འདུག།)
o : <u>æ:bajø</u> (བཤད་པ་ཡོད།)	ɪʃbgæ: (བསྐབས་ཀྱི་རེད།) æ:gijø: (བཤད་ཀྱི་ཡོད།)

II. PHONEMATIC SYSTEMS

A. *Medial Syllable* (C_1V_1)

The phonematic structure of the medial syllable comprises the following single terms in various prosodic contexts :—

(1) $-V_1$ (2) C_1 -(1) $-V_1$:

For the phonetic exponents of $-V_1$ the following prosodic systems must be taken into account :—

- (a) y/w/ə (Word—W)
- (b) c/o (, ,)
- (c) y/w (Medial and Final Syllables—MF)
- (d) l/ɳ (Medial Syllable—M)

 $-V_1$:

cW/wW :	'dru <u>gy</u> du: (འབྲོ་ཐི་འདུག།)	'ju <u>ngy</u> du: (ཡོང་ཐི་འདུག།)
,, yW :	si <u>ngi</u> jø: (སེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།)	'tʃi <u>g</u> idu: (ཕྱེར་གྱི་འདུག།)
,, əW/yMF :	'de:ge <u>i</u> : (བསྐད་ཀྱི་ཡིན།)	tʃæ:ge <u>æ</u> : (བཅར་གྱི་རེད།)
,, ,, wMF :	'de:gi <u>j</u> ø: (བསྐད་ཀྱི་ཡོད།)	tʃæ:gi <u>d</u> : (བཅར་གྱི་འདུག།)
oW/ɳM :	'si:ge <u>æ</u> (བརྗེས་པ་རེད།)	na <u>ŋæ</u> (གནད་བ་རེད།)
,, lM/yMF :	æ:bə <u>j</u> i (བཤད་པ་ཡིན།)	'jɔŋb <u>æ</u> (ཡོང་བ་རེད།)
,, ,, wMF :	æ:baj <u>ø</u> (བཤད་པ་ཡོད།)	'jɔŋban <u>u</u> (ཡོང་བ་འདུག།)

(2) C_1 - :

For the phonetic exponents of C_1 - the following prosodic systems, together with the -C phonematic terms, must be taken into account :—

- f/s (Sentence -S)
- c/o (Word -W)
- y/w/ə (, , -W)
- l/ɳ (Medial Syllable -M)

and the -C systems, e.g. :—

C₁-:

cW/wW/(-T/-L/-K)/fS:

ɣ 'dru:ɣydu: (འདྲུ་གི་འདུག།) khy:ɣydu: (འཁོལ་གྱི་འདུག།)

” ” ” sS:

ɣ 'dru:gydu: (”) khy:gydu: (”)

” ” -P/fS:

ɣ thu:ɣyɛ: (ཐུ་གྱི་རེད།) tho:ɣydu: (ཐོབ་གྱི་འདུག།)

” ” ” sS:

ɣ thub:gyɛ: (”) thub:gydu: (”)

” ” (-M/-N/-D):

ɣ kum:gydu: (སྐུམ་གྱི་འདུག།) thyn:gyɛ: (ཐོན་གྱི་རེད།)

” yW/(-T/-L/-K)/fS:

ɣ 'sik:ɣyɛ: (གཟིགས་གྱི་རེད།) sik:ɣyɛ: (གི་གི་རེད།)

” ” ” sS:

ɣ 'sik:gyɛ: (”) sik:gyɛ: (”)

” ” (-P/-M/-N/-D):

ɣ tʃhib:gyɛ: (ཚེབས་གྱི་རེད།) 'din:gydu: (ལྗོང་གི་འདུག།)

” əW/(-T/-L/-K)fS:

ɣ 'dʒe:ɣyɛ: (མངལ་གྱི་རེད།) tʃɛ:ɣydu: (གཙབ་གི་འདུག།)

” ” ” sS:

ɣ 'dʒe:gyɛ: (”) tʃɛ:gydu: (”)

” ” (-P/-M/-N/-D):

ɣ 'dam:gydu: (བདུམས་གྱི་འདུག།) teng:gydu: (བདུན་གྱི་འདུག།)

oW/1M/(-T/-L/-P)fS:

β tɣ:βəji (འབྲུད་པ་ཡིན།) lɣβəji (བསྐབས་པ་ཡིན།)

” ” ” sS:

β tɣ:βəji (”) lɣβəji (”)

” ” (-K/-M/-N/-D):

β 'sig:bəre (གཟིགས་པ་རེད།) thymbəre (མཐུན་པ་རེད།)

” ^a1M:

'dʒɛ:ɣyɛ (མངལ་བ་རེད།) nan:ɣyɛ (གནང་བ་རེད།)

B. Final Syllable (C₂V₂)

The phonematic structure of the final syllable comprise the following single terms in various prosodic contexts: (1) -V₂, (2) C₂-.

(1) $-V_2$

For the exponents of $-V_2$ the following prosodic systems must be taken into account :—

(1) 1/2 (Sentence—S; (a) of one word only; (b) of more than one word, pp. 141–6 above).

(2) c/o (Word—W)

(3) y/w (Medial and Final Syllables—MF)

(4) c/o (Final Syllable—F), e.g. :—

 $-V_2$

1S(a)/cW/wMF/cF :

u: 'jungydu: (ཡོང་བེ་འདུག།) se:gidu: (བཤད་ཀྱི་འདུག།)

„ (b) „ „ „ :

u:: 'jungydu:: („) se:gidu:: („)

2S(a) „ „ „ :

u: 'jungydu: („) se:gidu: („)

„ (b) „ „ „ :

u 'jungydu („) se:gidu („)

oW „ „ :

u 'jonandu (ཡོང་བ་འདུག།) se:bandu (བཤད་པ་འདུག།)

1S(a)/cW/wMF/oF :

ø: 'jungyjø: (ཡོང་བེ་ཡོད།) se:gijø: (བཤད་ཀྱི་ཡོད།)

„ (b) „ „ „ :

ø:: 'jungyjø:: („) se:gijø:: („)

2S(a) „ „ „ :

ø: 'jungyjø: („) se:gijø: („)

„ (b) „ „ „ :

ø 'jungyjø („) se:gijø („)

oW/ „ „ :

ø 'jonajø (ཡོང་བ་ཡོད།) se:bajø (བཤད་པ་ཡོད།)

1S(a)/cW/yMF/cF :

i: 'jungyji: (ཡོང་བེ་ཡིན།) se:gəji: (བཤད་ཀྱི་ཡིན།)

„ (b) „ „ „ :

i:: 'jungyji:: („) se:gəji:: („)

2S(a) „ „ „ :

i: 'jungyji: („) se:gəji: („)

2S(b)/cW/yMF/cF :

i 'jungyji (") se:geji (")

oW/ " " :

i 'jonaji (ཡོང་བ་ཡིན།) se:beji (བཤད་པ་ཡིན།)

1S(a)/cW/yMF/oF :

e: 'jungyre: (ཡོང་གི་རེད།) se:ge:re (བཤད་ཀྱི་རེད།)

" (b) " " " :

e: 'jungyre: (") se:ge:re: (")

2S(a) " " " :

e: 'jungyre: (") se:ge:re: (")

" (b) " " " :

e 'jungyre (") se:ge:re (")

oW/ " " :

e 'jonare (ཡོང་བ་རེད།) se:be:re (བཤད་པ་ཡོད།)

(2) C₂-

For the exponents of C₂- the following prosodic systems have to be taken into account :—

- f/s (Sentence—S)
- c/o (Word —W)
- w/n_w (" —,,)
- y/w (Medial and Final Syllables—MF)
- c/o (Final Syllable—F), e.g. :—

fS/cW/wMF/cF :

d 'jungydu: (ཡོང་གི་འདུག།) se:gidu: (བཤད་ཀྱི་འདུག།)

sS/ " " " :

nd 'jungyndu: (") se:gindu: (")

oW/ " " :

nd 'jonandu (ཡོང་བ་འདུག།) se:bandu (བཤད་པ་འདུག།)

wW/cW/ " /oF :

y 'jungyqu: (ཡོང་གི་ཡོད།) 'd.rugyqu: (འགྲོ་གི་ཡོད།)

n_wW/ " " " :

j 'shigij: (བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད།) tsa:xi: (བཅར་གྱི་ཡོད།)

oW/ " " :

j 'jonaj: (ཡོང་བ་ཡོད།) se:baj: (བཤད་པ་ཡོད།)

yMF/cF :	j	'jungyji:	(ཡོང་གི་ཡིན།)	ɬɛ:bəji:	(བགད་པ་ཡིན།)
wW/cW/ ,, /oF :	ɔ	'jungyɔe:	(ཡོང་གི་རེད།)	'druŋyɔe:	(འགྲོ་གི་རེད།)
ⁿ wW/ ,, ,, :	ɔ	'tshigiɔe:	(བྱེད་ཀྱི་རེད།)	tʂɑ:ŋəɔe:	(བཅད་བྱི་རེད།)
oW/ ,, ,, :	ɔ	'joŋaɔe	(ཡོང་བ་རེད།)	ɬɛ:bəɔe	(བགད་པ་རེད།)

The prosodic and phonematic statements made above are limited to the trisyllabic verbal phrase. If that were to be extended by the addition of particles, e.g. 'jungyduge:, 'jungyjoβɛ:, 'jungyɔɛβɛ:, 'jungyjiimbe: (ཡོང་གི་འདུག་ལས།, ཡོང་གི་ཡོད་པས།, ཡོང་གི་རེད་པས།, ཡོང་གི་ཡིན་པས།) the structure stated for the Particle 2 might need to be reconsidered.

A point that seems clearly to emerge from the prosodic and phonematic statements made for the Final Syllable (Particle 2) is that no useful purpose is served by identifying the Particle-2 forms (-ཡིན་/-ཡོད་/-རེད་/-འདུག་) with the (in the Tibetan script) homographic verbal forms ཡིན་/ཡོད་/རེད་/འདུག་ (verb complement). The prosodic statements made for the particle would not be valid for the verb complement. Still more unsatisfactory, and for the same reason, would be any attempt to identify the Particle 1 (གི་/བྱི་/ཀྱི་ and བ་/པ་/ར་/ག་/ད་) of the trisyllabic verbal phrase with homographic noun particles གི་/བྱི་/ཀྱི་ and བ་/པ་, for it is such an identification as this that is the basis of the references:—

'The Tibeto-Burman verb is properly a noun,' '... the nominal character of the Tibetan verb...' ¹. Such statements cannot stand for contemporary LT, if phonological and grammatical statements are to be congruent.

This congruence of statement, which has been the aim of the phonological analysis of the material presented above, is illustrated in the following section.

PROSODIC SYSTEM OF THE SYLLABLE FINAL, TENSE, AND ASPECT

A prosodic system of the syllable final (y/wF) has been stated for the initial syllable of wW and yW, and is implicit in the stating of əW in terms of the prosodic system of y/w for the initial syllable as a whole. It is this system

¹ *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. iii, pt. i, Calcutta, 1909, pp. 8 and 9 respectively. cf. also Hannah: 'As a matter of fact the only real verb in Tibetan is the verb *To be*, whether in the form of ཡིན་པ་ *Yin-pa*, or ཡོད་པ་ *Yo'-pa*. All other verbs are practically a kind of noun-phrase, dependent for their significations upon the various moods and tenses of these two verbs ཡིན་པ་ and ཡོད་པ་, (Herbert Bruce Hannah, *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, Calcutta, 1912).

which was referred to in Part I under the term flexion as one of the criteria for defining the verb. The system was particularly associated with the -C term -T. For many, but not all, syllables in -T, all of them being at the grammatical level of analysis verbs, it would be possible to state the w and y terms of the F system as phonological exponents, among other exponents, of tense (present and past respectively).¹ Examples of these verbs in -T are as follows :—

-T		<i>wF</i>		<i>yF</i>	
}	-U-	'c <u>u</u> gyi	(ལྷ་གི་ཡིན་།)	'c <u>y</u> :bæji	(ལྷ་ས་པ་ཡིན་།)
		t <u>ɕ</u> gyit	(འཕྲུང་གྱི་ཡིན་།)	t <u>ɕ</u> y:bæji	(འཕྲུས་པ་ཡིན་།)
		'ŋ <u>u</u> gydu:	(ངུ་གི་འདུག་།)	'ŋ <u>y</u> :bære	(ངུ་ས་པ་རེད་།)
		s <u>u</u> gydu:	(བསྐྱབ་གྱི་འདུག་།)	s <u>y</u> :bære	(བསྐྱབ་པ་རེད་།)
		'd <u>u</u> gydu:	(སྐྱར་གྱི་འདུག་།)	'd <u>y</u> :bære	(བསྐྱས་པ་རེད་།)
	-O-	k <u>u</u> gydu:	(སྐྱ་གི་འདུག་།)	k <u>y</u> :bære	བསྐྱས་པ་རེད་།)
		m <u>u</u> gydu:	(མོ་གི་འདུག་།)	m <u>ə</u> :bære	(མོ་ས་པ་རེད་།)
		's <u>u</u> gydu:	(བཟོ་གི་འདུག་།)	's <u>ə</u> :bære	(བཟོ་ས་པ་རེད་།)
		'ŋ <u>u</u> gyre:	(ཉོ་གི་རེད་།)	'ŋ <u>ə</u> :bære	(ཉོ་ས་པ་རེད་།)
		c <u>u</u> gydu:	(བཤོ་གི་འདུག་།)	c <u>ə</u> :bære	(བཤོ་ས་པ་རེད་།)
}	-I-	ŋ <u>u</u> gydu:	(བཏྲོ་གི་འདུག་།)	ŋ <u>ə</u> :bære	(བཏྲོ་ས་པ་རེད་།)
		t <u>s</u> ugydu:	(བཅོ་གི་འདུག་།)	t <u>s</u> ə:bære	(བཅོ་ས་པ་རེད་།)
		c <u>i</u> gydu:	(བཞེས་གྱི་འདུག་།)	c <u>ə</u> :bære	(བཞེས་པ་རེད་།)
	-E-	'd <u>ɕ</u> igidu:	(བརྗོད་གྱི་འདུག་།)	'd <u>ɕ</u> ɛ:bære	(བརྗོད་པ་རེད་།)
		'd <u>ɕ</u> igidu:	(རྗོད་གི་འདུག་།)	'd <u>ɕ</u> ɛ:bære	(བརྗོད་པ་རེད་།)
		'd <u>ɕ</u> igidu:	(རྗོད་གི་འདུག་།)	'd <u>ɕ</u> ɛ:bære	(བརྗོད་པ་རེད་།)

¹ Having committed myself in Part II to the stating of certain phonetic features as exponents of a -C term -T, with the implication that for syllables in -T a prosodic system of the syllable final (y/w) may be stated in yW and wW, and a y/w prosodic system of the syllable for əW, I am unable at this late stage to reconsider and restate this material. I should now prefer, however, to restate as syllables of a CV structure those syllables which I have hitherto stated as syllables in the -C term -T, and to retain as syllables of a CVC structure syllables hitherto stated as syllables in -C term other than -T (i.e. -L/-P/-M, etc.). The grounds for this change in statement are that while it is advantageous to state a y/wF system for syllables treated above as syllables in -T in order to secure congruence with a particular grammatical statement no such consideration applies to syllables in -C terms other than those in -T. In my grammatical statement I shall need to distinguish two categories of verb; the possibility of stating a CV structure as a phonological exponent of one category and a CVC structure as an exponent of the other should not be left unexploited.

-T		<i>wF</i>		<i>yF</i>
əW	-V-	's <u>a</u> g <u>i</u> du:	(རྩ་གི་འདུག།)	's <u>ɛ</u> :b <u>ə</u> ɛ (བརྩས་པ་རེད།)
		t <u>a</u> g <u>i</u> du:	(བཟླ་གི་འདུག།)	t <u>ɛ</u> :b <u>ə</u> ɛ (བཟླས་པ་རེད།)
		ŋ <u>a</u> g <u>i</u> du:	(རྩ་གི་འདུག།)	ŋ <u>ɛ</u> :b <u>ə</u> ɛ (བརྩས་པ་རེད།)
		l <u>a</u> g <u>i</u> du:	(ལྷ་གི་འདུག།)	l <u>ɛ</u> :b <u>ə</u> ɛ (ལྷས་པ་རེད།)

Among the verbs in -T for which *wF* and *yF* prosodies may not be stated as phonological exponents of tense categories are the following ; for them only *wF* is statable :—

wW	-U-	None recorded.			
		-O-	'd <u>r</u> u <u>g</u> yi:	(འདྲོ་གི་ཡིན།)	'd <u>r</u> u əɛɛ (འདྲོ་བ་རེད།)
			'k <u>h</u> u <u>g</u> ydu:	(ག་གི་འདུག།)	'k <u>h</u> u əɛɛ (གོ་བ་རེད།)
c <u>u</u> g <u>y</u> du:	(ལྷོ་གི་འདུག།)		c <u>o</u> b <u>ə</u> ɛɛ (ལྷོ་བ་རེད།)		
yW	-I-	's <u>i</u> g <u>i</u> du:	(ཤི་གི་འདུག།)	's <u>i</u> b <u>ə</u> ɛɛ (ཤི་བ་རེད།)	
		's <u>i</u> g <u>i</u> du:	(རྩི་གི་འདུག།)	's <u>i</u> b <u>ə</u> ɛɛ (རྩི་བ་རེད།)	
		t <u>ʃ</u> h <u>i</u> g <u>i</u> du:	(སྤྲེ་གི་འདུག།)	t <u>ʃ</u> h <u>ɛ</u> b <u>ə</u> ɛɛ (སྤྲེ་བ་རེད།)	
əW	-V-	'g <u>a</u> g <u>i</u> du:	དགའ་གི་འདུག།	'g <u>a</u> b <u>ə</u> ɛɛ དགའ་བ་རེད།	
		'n <u>a</u> g <u>i</u> du:	ན་གི་འདུག།	'n <u>a</u> b <u>ə</u> ɛɛ ན་བ་རེད།	

For one verb in -T both *wF* and *yF* prosodies have been recorded, but together with *yW* in one prosodic context (cW) and with əW in the other (oW) ; all other examples of verbs in -T have a common prosodic feature, whether *w*, *y*, or ə, in oW and cW alike :—

<i>yW, wF</i>	<i>əW, yF</i>
't <u>ʃ</u> h <u>i</u> g <u>i</u> i: (བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡིན།)	't <u>ʃ</u> h <u>ɛ</u> :b <u>ə</u> ɛi (བྱས་པ་ཡིན།)

In the above examples the *wF* forms have been confined to cW and the *yF* to oW. Examples have, however, been recorded where both *yF* and *wF* might be stated for oW, e.g.

		<i>wF</i>		<i>yF</i>
wW	-U-	t <u>r</u> u əɛɛ (བརྩུ་བ་རེད།)		t <u>r</u> y:b <u>ə</u> ɛɛ (བརྩུས་པ་རེད།)
		'ŋ <u>u</u> b <u>ə</u> ɛɛ (ངུ་བ་རེད།)		'ŋ <u>y</u> :b <u>ə</u> ɛɛ (ངུས་པ་རེད།)
		ŋ <u>ɔ</u> b <u>ə</u> ɛɛ (ཉོ་བ་རེད།)		'ŋ <u>ɔ</u> :b <u>ə</u> ɛɛ (ཉོས་པ་རེད།)
	-O-	ɔ <u>b</u> ɛɛ (བཤོས་བ་རེད།)		ɔ <u>ɔ</u> :b <u>ə</u> ɛɛ (བཤོས་པ་རེད།)
		m <u>ə</u> b <u>ə</u> ɛɛ (མོ་བ་རེད།)		m <u>ə</u> :b <u>ə</u> ɛɛ (མོས་པ་རེད།)
		yW	-E-	t <u>s</u> ɛ əɛɛ (ཅེ་བ་རེད།)
əW	-V-	's <u>a</u> b <u>ə</u> ɛɛ (བརྩའ་བ་རེད།)	's <u>ɛ</u> :b <u>ə</u> ɛɛ (བརྩས་པ་རེད།)	

Where both terms of the prosodic system of the syllable final may be stated for oW for a given verb the two terms may be treated as phonological exponents of a grammatical category of aspect. Thus wF might be stated as an exponent of 'habitual' and yF of 'incidental' aspect,¹ e.g.

- U- { wF: བོད་ལ་(ཡལ་ཆེར་)ཇ་བསྐྱབ་པ་རེད། (subəre)
 yF: ཀ་སྐྱལ་ལ་ང་འཚོ་ཁ་སང་ཇ་ཅིག་བསྐྱབ་པ་རེད། (sy:bəre)
- O- { wF: 'Switzerland' ལ་(ཡལ་ཆེར་)ཚུ་ཚོད་འཁོར་ལོ་བཟོ་བ་རེད། ('sobəre)
 yF: ཟླ་རྟེན 'America' ལ་ 'atom bomb' ཅིག་བཟོས་པ་རེད། ('sə:bəre)
- E- { wF: (ཡལ་ཆེར་)ཀ་སྐྱལ་ལ་དབྱར་ཀ་ 'tennis' རྩེད་མོ་བརྩེ་བ་རེད། (tse:bəre)
 yF: རྩེད་མོ་ལ་ང་འཚོས་ 'tennis' རྩེད་པ་རེད། (tse:bəre)
- (əW) -V- { wF: (ཡལ་ཆེར་)བོད་ཀྱི་མི་རིགས་རྩམ་པ་བཟའ་བ་རེད། ('sabəre)
 yF: བོད་པ་འཚོས་འབྲས་བུ་ཚོས་ནས་བཟས་པ་རེད། ('se:bəre)
- " { wF: (ཡལ་ཆེར་)དབྱིན་ཇིའི་མི་རིགས་དཔོན་ལྷན་སྐྱེས་སེ་
 ཀོབ་བལྟ་མོ་བལྟ་བ་རེད། (tabəre)
 yF: དབྱིན་ཇིའི་མི་རིགས་རྩེ་པོ་ད་ལ་ལ་བལྟ་མོ་བལྟས་པ་རེད། (te:bəre)

Statements such as those above cannot, however, be made for all verbs in -T; certain verbs have only one form, either yF or wF, in the same prosodic context (oW), e.g.

- I. yF: 'sy:bəji (ལྷས་པ་ཡིན།)
- II. wF: 'nabəre (ན་བ་རེད།) 'gabəre (དགའ་བ་རེད།)

¹ The two terms referred to here as 'habitual' and 'incidental' do not constitute a closed system of aspect; such a system would comprise more than these two terms, with exponents, both in Verbal and Nominal Phrase, different from those exemplified here, and beyond the scope of the present article. It should, however, be emphasized that the words བསྐྱབ་པ་རེད་ (subəre) and བཟོ་བ་རེད་ ('sobəre) collocate with ཡལ་ཆེར་, while བསྐྱབ་པ་རེད་ (sy:bəre) and བཟོས་པ་རེད་ ('sə:bəre) do not. It would, in addition, be possible to set up a category of 'habitual' noun, which would include ཡལ་ཆེར་, and which would colligate with verbs in wF and not with verbs in yF. A similarly established category of 'incidental' noun, including ཁ་སང་, would colligate with verbs in yF.