Side, stench, remnant, plot, oath, and craftiness — the semantic 'capacity' of the OT *dku*[*]

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The present paper has emerged as a result of a relentless struggle of the author with diverse occurrences of the syllable *dku* in Old Tibetan documents. It attempts to understand and to bring together conflicting information that has arisen from the analysis of frequently confusing, sometimes even completely obscure, passages. As efforts made by other scholars, who previously endeavoured to resolve the puzzle of the OT *dku*, have revealed[1], reducing its semantics to a common denominator — a single keyword — cannot be deemed an adequate approach. Moreover, when one additionally includes glosses from lexicographical works on Classical Tibetan in the corpus the situation around *dku* complicates intolerably. As a matter of fact, I was able to discern between thirteen (!) different and, to all appearances, mutually

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[*] Passages quoted from Old Tibetan texts have been checked against their scanned versions available online via IDP. For the manuscripts that have not been scanned yet, I have used the transliterations published by OTDO. Otherwise, the source for the transliteration is given in brackets. Canonical texts have been transliterated after ACIP. The Tibetan script is transliterated according to the principles put forward in Hahn 1996: 1. No special signs have been used for transliteration of Old Tibetan texts; this concerns letters as well as punctuation marks. Accordingly, the so called 'reversed *gi gu*' is transliterated as a regular *gi gu*. The Old Tibetan orthography is strictly followed. No distinction is made between a single and a double *tsheg*. Punctuation marks other than *tsheg* and *śad* (transliterated as a space and a slash respectively) are not accounted for. For the sake of readability I have used hyphens between syllables of Tibetan proper nouns in translations as well as in the discussion. All passages were rendered by the author as literally as possible in the hope, however, that their comprehension has not been hampered by the chosen method of translation.

[1] Cf. the second part of the paper, where the results of earlier analyses are presented.

incompatible sememes attested in the available sources.[2] Since it did not seem probable that a syllable of a rather uncommon morphology (stem consonant *k-* prefixed with *d-*) would represent such a high number of etymons an effort was made to relate some of them to each other using Old as well as Classical Tibetan sources. The results are presented in the following.

The paper consists of three sections. In the first part, all attested occurrences of the syllable *dku* (bound and unbound) in OT documents are listed accompanied by text linguistic analyses of the respective passages. For the sake of convenience, the examples are numbered and referred to by their numbers in the course of the analysis. Furthermore, additional fragments from other OT texts are quoted in order to help to understand the syntax of the clauses or the historical facts narrated therein. The second section contains a detailed enumeration of formations with the syllable *dku-* that have been encountered in various works, mainly on Old and Classical Tibetan but also sporadically modern spoken dialects. A summary and the first attempt to bring some of the sememes together is additionally provided at the end of the second section. The concluding section aims at combining information gathered from the first two sections in order to acquire a more thorough picture of the semantics of the lexemes involved and the possible ways of their derivations. In consequence, I was able to distinguish between two etymons from which all attested formations could be proven to have derived. To wit:

dku[I] *"to bend, to make crooked";
dku[II] *"to rise, ascend, go beyond".

Table 4 at the end of the third section provides an overview of the OT lexical material that has been classified in accordance with the reconstructed etymons.

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[2]   These, together with their derivatives, can be found in the second section of the present paper.

1. *dku(')* and its derivatives in OT sources[3]

dku[I] (N)

(1)
*de 'i 'og du mthon myi 'briṅ / (69) po rgyal btsan nus byas te // **dku'** ched po byas nas // kho na 'i sriṅ mo mthon myi za yar steṅ / dug bskur / (70) te btaṅ ba las // mo na dug 'thuṅs nas // btsan nu bkum ba lagso //* (PT 1287)
"Thereafter, Mthon-myi-'briṅ-po-rgyal-btsan-nu, having served [as a councillor], did a great *dku'*. Then (*nas*), having sent his own sister Yar-steṅ, a lady from the Mthon-myi-[clan], a poison, [he] let [her drink it]. Upon that, after she had [unknowingly] drunk the poison, [one] killed Btsan-nu."

We gather from this passage that doing a great *dku'* brought death to Mthon-myi-'briṅ-po-rgyal-btsan-nu. It is not clear from the sentence whether poisoning should be understood as contained semantically in *dku' ched po* or is it an independent action. One should notice, however, another occurrence of *dku'* in connection with poison and poisoners, namely in (25).

(2)
*de 'i 'og du moṅ / (75) [kh]ri do re snaṅ tshab kyis byaste // 'dzaṅs kyi tshad ni / rtsaṅ bod kyi jo bo mar mun brlags te / (76) **dku'** ched po blod pa 'i tshe // deṅ pho ña źig riṅs par 'oṅ ba sñam gis // pho ña 'i lan myur du / (77) bgyi 'tshal źes mchi nas //* (PT 1287)
"Thereafter, Moṅ-[kh]ri-do-re-snaṅ-tshab served [as a councillor]; as regards the measure of [his] wisdom, at the time when, having conquered Mar-mun, the lord of Rtsaṅ and Bod, [he] was planning a great *dku'*, since [he] thought that a messenger went fast those days, [he] said 'I wish the answer is quickly given to the messenger.'"

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[3] Apart from its occurrences in the passages quoted below, the syllable *dku* is also attested in *dku yul* (PT 1039: 15). However, as the comparison with other similar phrases has yielded, it is a variant reading either of *dgu sul* (PT 1060, PT 1285) or *dgu śul* (PT 1286) - both apparently proper names. I have made one exception as concerns the examples quoted and discussed below. To wit, I have included one example from *Li yul luṅ bstan pa* that is preserved only in the Tibetan Buddhist canon. The text has been edited and translated in Emmerick 1967. Another, earlier translation has been published in TLTD.1: 89-136. I decided to include the respective passage in the present paper for two reasons. First of all, it contains a hapax legomenon *dku dar* which resembles to a great extent two other OT compounds. Secondly, it is justified to date the composition of the text to the ninth or tenth century, i.e. to the period of the Old Tibetan language; for details see TLTD.1: 73-4 and Emmerick 1967: 1.

I cite additionally the following passages in order to elucidate the historical context of the above narration:

> (2.1)
> *rgyal po 'di 'i riṅ la* / / *khyuṅ po spuṅ sad kyis* / (199) *rtsaṅ bod kyi rjo bo mar mun mgo bchad de* / / *rtsaṅ bod khyim ñi gri* / / *btsan po 'i pyag du pulte* / *zu tse glo ba ñe 'o* / / (PT 1287)
> "During the life of this king (i.e. Gnam-ri-slon-mtshan), Khyuṅ-po-spuṅ-sad, having cut off the head [of] Mar-mun, the lord of Rtsaṅ and Bod, [and] having offered 20.000 houses [of] Rtsaṅ and Bod to the *btsan po*, was loyal."

> (22)
> *'uṅ gi 'og du* / / (201) *btsan po mched gñis la* / / *moṅ sṅon po glo ba riṅs pa* / *zu tse glo ba ñe bas dku' bel nas* / / *btsan po mched* (202) *gñis kyi sku la ma dar par* / / *moṅ sṅon po bkum ste* / / *zu tse glo ba ñe 'o* / / (PT 1287)
> "Thereafter, the disloyalty of Moṅ-sṅon-po to both, *btsan po* [Slon-mtshan and his] brother [Slon-kol], was *dku bel* by the loyal Zu-tse. Then, having killed Moṅ-sṅon-po so that [he] could not triumph over any of the brothers, Zu-tse was loyal."

Since Moṅ-sṅon-po had been killed by Zu-tse (22), Zu-tse ascribed to himself the conquest of Mar-mun's land (2.1) which had in reality been accomplished by Moṅ-khri-do-re-snaṅ-tshab (2).[4] By combining information from the above passages it occurs that, first, Moṅ-khri-do-re-snaṅ-tshab and Moṅ-sṅon-po are one and the same person and, secondly, the *dku' ched po* that Moṅ-khri-do-re-snaṅ-tshab was planning in (2) was apparently to defeat the *btsan po* (22). Once more (see above (1)) we see here a direct relationship between doing a great

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[4]   This 'improvement' of the text to Zu-tse's advantage has already been noticed by Dotson (forthcoming, p. 334 n. 20). We learn from PT 1287: 79-94 that Khyuṅ-po-spuṅ-sad-zu-tse followed Moṅ-khri-do-re-snaṅ-tshab to the office of a councillor only indirectly. The succession order is given there as: Moṅ-khri-do-re-snaṅ-tshab, Mgar-khri-sgra-'dzi-rmun, Myaṅ-maṅ-po-rje-źaṅ-snaṅ (death of Khri-slon-btsan ~ Gnam-ri-slon-mtshan; enthronement of Khri-sroṅ-brtsan), Mgar-maṅ-źam-sum-snaṅ, Khyuṅ-po-spuṅ-sad-zu-tse. Similarly, someone else's success is ascribed to Zu-tse in the following passage: *ziṅ po rje srid brlag pa 'i blo la'* / (203) *gthogs te* / / *zu tse glo ba ñe 'o* / / (PT 1287). "Belonging to the plan of destroying Ziṅ-po-rje['s] dominion, Zu-tse was loyal." As demonstrated below (see the comments to *dku rgyal* and *dku rgyal pa*), various persons are said to be involved in a plot against Ziṅ-po-rje-khri-paṅ-sum. Zu-tse, however, is not one of them. Neither did he participate in overthrowing Ziṅ-po-rje-stag-skya-bo, who is said to have been defeated by Ziṅ-po-rje-khri-paṅ-sum and Mñan-'dzi-zuṅ-nag-po (PT 1287: 119-134). No other Ziṅ-po-rje seems to be mentioned in the *Old Tibetan Chronicles*.

dku' and the death of the person responsible for that. Furthermore, it appears from (2) and (22) that planning a *dku'* was synonymous with being disloyal (*glo ba riṅs pa*). The reading "disloyalty" for *glo ba riṅs pa* is explained below in the notes on **dku 'phel*.

> (3)
> (4r146) *ba brgo rpyi nas ni **dku** daṅ d(r?)iṅ kyi nas / kyis ñan kyi nas ma lags /* (ITJ 734)
> "As for *bu brgo rpyi nas*, [his] *nas* of *ñan* is not good through *nas* of *dku* and *driṅ*."[5]

This passage is highly obscure. One can only state that *dku* is a noun and must be somehow semantically related to *driṅ* (or *diṅ*?) even though the meaning of the latter term remains unknown in this context. The same text, however, draws a parallel between *dku* (also spelled as *sku*), *ñan*, and *bla / rla* - all of which form the first constituents in compounds with the second element *khaṅ / gaṅ* (for details see Bialek, forthcoming a, s.v. *dku gaṅ*).

> (4)
> *mgrin bzaṅs* (197) *rgyal po ra ma na la / 'khaṅ ste // khyod ko bdag la mtho 'tsham mam / **dku'** byed pa 'dra ste / bslu bslu nas /* (198) *bdag de 'u* (read: *'is*?) *bsad ches byas pa daṅ //* (ITJ 737; trslr. after de Jong 1989: 119, ms. A)
> "Mgrin-bzaṅs, being angry at king Ra-ma-na, said: 'You seem to mock me or do *dku*'[6]; [you] were deceiving me. I have almost been killed.'"

The same passage is rendered in the manuscript E as follows:

> (4.1)
> *mgrin bzaṅ rgyal po la gsol pa // bdag la 'tho* (198) *'tsham ba 'dra // bdag ni śi la thug ces gsol ba daṅ //* (PT 981)
> "Mgrin-bzaṅ said to the king: 'You seem to mock me. I was almost dead.'"[7]

We can infer from (4) that *slu* denotes a more concrete action than *mtho / 'tho 'tsham* and *dku' byed* do (cf. the introductory function of *ste*

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5   Cf. Thomas' translation: "The son, Brgo-rpyi barley, being fetid or fragrant barley, fealty barley there is none." (1957: 83).

6   Lit. "Being like someone who mocks me or does *dku* [...]."

7   Both passages are translated also in De Jong 1989: 29.

in *'dra ste*)[8], although all three share some semantic traits denoting actions that have negative effects on the person targeted. The story preceding the above sentences tells of an agreement between Mgrin-bzaṅ(s) and king Ra-ma-na to help each other. However, when Mgrin-bzaṅ(s) starts fighting, the king abstains from any reaction. In consequence, Mgrin-bzaṅ(s) reproaches the king for not helping him and accuses Ra-ma-na of failing to keep his word. We can presume a close semantic relationship between *mtho 'tsham*, *dku' byed*, and *slu*. The three are replaced in (4.1) by *'tho 'tsham*.

(5)
*ma ñes par srog srid la **dku** (29) daṅ / gnod pa byed pa źig yod na / su la bab [kyaṅ r]uṅ / dku' (30) ba daṅ / phe'u pa'i ṅo khar myi dor bar / dku ba du gtogs pa // (31) bka gyod la gdags par gnaṅ ba daṅ /* (Źwa E; trslr. after Richardson 1985: 56-8)
"If there is a one doing *dku* and harm to [their] life or property without there being any offence [on their side], whoever it may be, it is allowed to charge (lit. bind to accusation) the one belonging to those doing *dku* without confronting [him] with (lit. throwing in the face of) those doing *dku* and *phe'u pa*."

As the coordination in this passage demonstrates, *dku* must have shared some negative connotations with *gnod pa*, CT "[2]damage, harm, injury" (J: 311b). The second part of the sentence informs us that un-substantiated *dku* and *gnod pa* resulted in an accusation. Interestingly, both could apparently be done against one's life or property.

dku[II] (V)

(6)
*gser gyi ni doṅ ral na (480) g.yu 'i ni mda' chig ma // ma 'phaṅs ni śa myi khums / 'phaṅs na ni ral yaṅ stoṅs // re na ni gthaṅ du na / re **dku'** ni (481) mtshul du **dku'** //* (PT 1287)
"In a golden quiver, [there is] a sole turquoise arrow. Had [one] not shoot [it], a stag shall not be killed. Had [one] shot [it], the quiver would indeed become empty. [Your] hopes are dashed. [They] are dashed as *gthaṅ*. [Your] hopes *dku'*. [They] *dku'* to [your] nose."

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[8]   On the introductory function of the gerundial particle see Hahn 1996: 151-2, § 15.3, and Bialek, forthcoming a, s.v. *dgra zun*.

The last two verses possess paralleling structures. On these grounds, one can assume that *dku'*, like *na*, is an intransitive verb with the subject *re*, i.e. "hope(s), wish(es)".

For the proposed figurative reading of *re na* as "dashed hopes" compare Southern Mustang "*na̠* [...] with *sēmpa* to be disappointed, to be sad, to feel hurt" (CDTD.V: 706)[9]. The rendering of the last two verses of the quotation is only tentative since the exact meanings of *gthaṅ* and *mtshul* remain uncertain.[10] This part of the song sung by *btsan po* 'Dus-sroṅ seems to concern the dashed hopes of Mgar to dethrone the *btsan po* and take over his position. The use of the verb *na* would favour the reading *gdaṅ* Kyirong "to recover (h.)", Shigatse "to heal (h.)" (CDTD.V: 607), instead of the attested *gthaṅ*. The alternation *th ~ d* after the prefix *g-*, however, is not a common one. Moreover, *gdaṅ* belongs to the honorific register and would be incompatible with the discourse. Two other hypotheses are put forward without, however, drawing any final conclusions:

1. *gthaṅ du* < *gtad du "as a hold", i.e. "[Your] hopes are dashed. [They] are dashed as a hold [for you]."
2. *gthaṅ du* < *gtan du "[1]always, continually, for ever; [2]entirely, completely" (J: 205b): "[Your] hopes are dashed. [They] are dashed for ever."

The first reading, which interprets *gthaṅ* as a noun, would form a better parallel to *mtshul* of the next verse.

(7)
yul dbye mo yul drug na / *dbye rje khar ba źig srin dbye srin yug mo'i mchid nas srin* (8r326) *yul mye myi **dku** chu myi rlaṅ kyi yul du bkri źes na* / (ITJ 734)
"In the land Dbye-mo-yul-drug, a demon Dbye-srin-yug-mo said [to] Khar-ba, the lord of Dbye: '[You] will be led to the land of demons, [to] the land where fire does not *dku* [and] water does not evaporate.'"

The phrase *mye myi dku chu myi rlaṅ kyi yul* is repeated in ITJ 734 eleven times with *dgu* and four times with *dku*. In all these cases, it functions as a proper name of a land of demons (*srin yul*). Additionally, we find the variation *srin yul mye myi rlaṅ chu myi rgum kyi yul* (6r239-40). This toponym appears to consist, in fact, of two clauses,

mye myi dku and *chu myi rlaṅ* in which *dku* and *rlaṅ* are predicates negated with *myi*, hence: "fire that does not *dku*, water that does not *rlaṅ*". I suggest to connect *rlaṅ* with CT *rlaṅs* "vapour, steam" (J: 537a) and *laṅ* "to rise, to get up; to arise" (J: 542b). As concerns the phrase *mye dku*, one can cite hereto Jirel *pʰōr* ncA "with *mȩ* for a fire to hiss and send off sparks" (CDTD.V: 801, cited s.v. *'phar* although with a question mark).

dku khyim

(8)
dku khyim *sdaṅ ra / rma khyim phraṅ ra byad khyim* (15) *sre ga'i naṅdu ku ru ru śog / 'bod 'bod /* (PT 1039)
"[One] calls: 'Go *ku ru ru*$_{Adv}$ to Sdaṅ-ra, the house of *dku*, [to] Phraṅ-ra, the house of *rma*, [to] Sre-ga, the house of *byad*!'"

dku khyim, *rma khyim*, *byad khyim*, and *dug khyim* (in l.7 of the same document) are analogously formed compounds. Therefore, we can presume a semantic relationship between *dku-*, *rma-*, *byad-*, and *dug-*. The latter two possess clearly negative connotations in OT texts. Furthermore, by analogy with the first constituents of the other compounds, we gather that *dku-* in *dku khyim* is a noun. The OT *dku khyim* attested in the above sentence should, in all probability, be treated separately from the CT *dku khyim* glossed in the second part of the paper under *dku*[I].

dku gaṅ

(9)
khri boms (95) **dku' gaṅ** *pub nas / btsan po sroṅ brtsan ston mo gsol bar byas te // glo ba riṅs pa / mgar yul źuṅ* (96) *gis tshor nas / raṅ gi mgo bchad de gum mo //* (PT 1287)
"[He] built a *dku' gaṅ* at Khri-boms. Thereafter, having arranged to hold (lit. give) a feast for *btsan po* Sroṅ-brtsan, the one who had been disloyal died having cut off his own head after [he] had been noticed by Mgar-yul-źuṅ."

(10)
(322) *yul zuṅ khri boms su mchis te / brtags na //* **dku gaṅ** *pub par yul zuṅ gis tshor nas //* (PT 1287)
"When [Mgar]-yul-zuṅ, having gone to Khri-boms, examined [the place], he (lit. Yul-zuṅ) noticed that [one] had built a *dku' gaṅ* [there]."

I propose to reconstruct *dku(')* *gaṅ* as **dku khaṅ* and the phrase *dku(')* *gaṅ pub* as **dku khaṅ phub*, lit. "to build a house/room of *dku*".[11] Although no semantic relationship between *dku gaṅ* and *dku khyim* as discussed above could be discovered so far, their morphological parallelism is striking.

dku 'gel

(11.0)
stag skya bo 'i yul / yul yel rab sde bźi daṅ // (135) klum ya gsum // ziṅ po rje khri paṅ sum gyis / 'dus so' // (PT 1287)
"The land of [Ziṅ-po-rje]-stag-skya-bo, four districts [of] the land Yel-rab and Klum-ya-gsum, was joined by Ziṅ-po-rje-khri-paṅ-sum."

(11)
*de 'i **dku' 'gel** du mkhar (136) sdur bas bchad de / klum ya sum gyi smad // mñan 'dzi zuṅ gi bran du dṅar to // (PT 1287)*
"Having split (lit. cut off) [the land of Ziṅ-po-rje-stag-skya-bo] with the castle Sdur-ba as its *dku' 'gel*, [Ziṅ-po-rje-khri-paṅ-sum] attached the lower part of Klum-ya-sum as serfs of Mñan-'dzi-zuṅ."

In order to throw more light on the owner status of the castle Sdur-ba, the following additional passages are quoted:

(11.1)
(118) // mkhar pyiṅ ba stag rtse na ni rgyal stag bu sña gzigs bźugs // ñen kar rñiṅ pa ni ziṅ po rje stag skya bo mchis // (119) sdur ba 'i yu sna na ni // ziṅ po rje khri paṅs sum mchis // (PT 1287)
"In the castle Pyiṅ-ba-stag-rtse resided Rgyal-stag-bu-sña-gzigs. As concerns the old Ñen-kar, Ziṅ-po-rje-stag-skya-bo stayed [there]. In Yu-sna of Sdur-ba stayed Ziṅ-po-rje-khri-paṅs-sum."

(11.2)
de nas gnam ri slon mtshan gyis pyag lcag gis // (191) dras te // myaṅ tseṅ sku 'i bya dga'r // mñan 'dzi zuṅ gi mkhar sdur ba daṅ / bran khyim stoṅ lṅa brgya' stsalto / (PT 1287)
"Thereafter, Gnam-ri-slon-mtshan, having decided (lit. cut with a stroke), gave as a reward to (lit. of) Myaṅ-tseṅ-sku the Mñan-'dzi-zuṅ's castle Sdur-ba and one thousand five hundred households."

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[11]   For details see Bialek, forthcoming a, s.v. *dku gaṅ*.

(11.3)

'uṅ (312) *nas // btsan po źa sṅa nas // źaṅ snaṅ glo ba 'driṅ yaṅ dag ches bka' stsal nas / źaṅ snaṅ* (313) *gi mkhar sdur ba yaṅ bsdigs so // 'uṅ nas źaṅ snaṅ gi bran / pa tshab gyim po 'khuste /* (314) *źaṅ snaṅ brlag go // mkhar sdur ba yaṅ bśig go /* (PT 1287; cf. PT 1288: 1-5)

"Thereafter, the *btsan po* ordered: 'It is true that [Myaṅ-maṅ-po-rje]-źaṅ-snaṅ is disloyal.' Then, [one] menaced Sdur-ba, the castle of Źaṅ-snaṅ. Afterwards, Pa-tshab-gyim-po, the subject of Źaṅ-snaṅ, having turned away [from his lord], overthrown Źaṅ-snaṅ. [He] destroyed also the castle Sdur-ba."

First of all, one needs to notice that *sdur ba'i yu sna*, being the residence of Ziṅ-po-rje-khri-paṅ-sum (11.1), is not identical with Sdur-ba itself. The latter, taken chronologically, belonged to Mñan-'dzi-zuṅ-nag-po (11.2) from whom it was handed over to Myaṅ-tseṅ-sku (11.2) by Gnam-ri-slon-mtshan as Myaṅ's reward (*bya dga'*) for his participation in a revolt against Ziṅ-po-rje-khri-paṅ-sum (PT 1287: 133-4). Then, we learn that during the lifetime of Khri-sroṅ-brtsan (i.e. Gnam-ri-slon-mtshan's son), Myaṅ-maṅ-po-rje-źaṅ-snaṅ was in possession of Sdur-ba (11.3); thus it remained in the hands of the Myaṅ clan.[12] Now, going back to (11), we may state that, after defeating Ziṅ-po-rje-stag-skya-bo, Sdur-ba fell to the lot of Mñan-'dzi-zuṅ-nag-po. However, no mention is made in the OTC that the castle has ever belonged to Ziṅ-po-rje-stag-skya-bo. On the contrary, from (11.1) we learn that the latter resided in old Ñen-kar. If that was the case, the question arises: to what or to whom does *de* at the very beginning of (11) refer? *de* is an anaphoric pronoun referring back to something that precedes it (cf. J: 255, CDTD: 3864) and as such cannot, by definition, refer to Mñan-'dzi-zuṅ who is mentioned first in the second part of the current sentence.[13] In our case it could only be the land (*yul*) of Ziṅ-po-rje-stag-skya-bo or the person of Ziṅ-po-rje-khri-paṅ-sum — the only potential referents mentioned in (11.0). Since, as we already know, it was Mñan-'dzi-zuṅ-nag-po who acquired the castle, *de* cannot refer to Ziṅ-po-rje-khri-paṅ-sum — Sdur-ba has never been in his possession. Thus, the only possibility left is that it refers to the subdued land; i.e. *de'i dku' 'gel du* = lit. "as a *dku' 'gel* of [the land of Ziṅ-po-rje-stag-skya-bo]".

Scholars who previously analysed the passage have proposed the

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[12] For a possible location of Sdur-ba and its assumed proximity to Yu-sna see Richardson 1998: 58.

[13] Cf. also Denwood (1991: 135): "It is not certain however that *dku' 'gel* refers to *mÑan*." The analysis takes for granted that neither the discourse nor the grammar of the passage are distorted. However, as has already been established for other fragments of the text, this does not have to be the case.

following renditions for *dku' 'gel*: "basse œuvre" (DTH: 134), "récompense" (Macdonald 1971: 234), "reward for rebellion" or "punishment for opposition" (Denwood 1991: 135), "prize" (Richardson 1998: 58), "lot for [one's] intrigue" (Dotson, forthcoming, p. 275). These prove that, apart from Bacot's translation which is hardly comprehensible to me, *dku' 'gel* was interpreted as a near-synonym of *bya dga'*.

Now, we shall juxtapose the first clause of the structure *dku'gel*$_{\text{TERM}}$ [...] *bchad* with some other similar phrases that contain the same verb, cf.:

(11.4)
bran gyi sa (137) *ris kyi naṅ du // myaṅ nam to re khru gru daṅ / smon to re tseṅ sku spad kyaṅ // 'dzi zuṅ gi bran du bchad do //* (PT 1287)
"Within the territory of bondservants, one allotted also Myaṅ-nam-to-re-khru-gru and Smon-to-re-tseṅ-sku, father and son, as bondservants of [Mñan]-'dzi-zuṅ."

(11.5)
(56) *'greṅ ni btson du bzuṅ // dud ni mnaṅsu bchad nas / ba chos guṅ daṅ du gśegso /* (PT 1287)
"[He] took men as captives [and] seized (lit. cut off) cattle as [his] property. Thereafter, [he] went to Ba-chos-guṅ-daṅ."

I could trace two further clauses that attest to an additional, non-agentive, element in ergative, although they do not contain any complement in terminative:

(11.6)
bal mkhar dṅul phrom gi sgo rtsig gis bcade (126) *bźag pa la* (PT 1040)
"Having cut off the door of Dṅul-phrom (lit. "White silver"), the castle of Bal, by means of a wall, [he] left."

(11.7)
(19) *śul gis ni mdo bcad* (PT 1051)
"[One] split the lower part of the valley with roads."

However, our clause in (11) differs in one important detail from all quoted passages: it lacks a direct object. Assuming that the sentence is grammatically correct, we need to look for a potential object of the verb *bchad*. Since Ziṅ-po-rje-khri-paṅ-sum is the only possible subject (11.0), the land (*yul*) must be the object. Thus, by assembling information on the argument structure of *bc(h)ad* gained from (11.4) to

(11.7), we can now translate the clause *de 'i dku' 'gel du mkhar sdur bas bchad* as "[Ziṅ-po-rje-khri-paṅ-sum] split [the land of Ziṅ-po-rje-stag-skya-bo] with the Sdur-ba castle as [its] (i.e. the land's) *dku' 'gel*."

dku rgyal

(12)

myaṅ tseṅ cuṅ daṅ / pha spun po mu gseṅ gñis ni **dku** (read: *dku rgyal*) *la //* (195) *gthogs ste / dku rgyal pa 'i naṅ du yaṅ gthogs so //* (PT 1287)

"Both, Myaṅ-tseṅ-cuṅ and [his] paternal cousin [Myaṅ]-mu-gseṅ, belonging to **dku rgyal*, belonged to (lit. into the middle of) *dku rgyal pa*."

I propose to reconstruct **dku rgyal*, instead of the attested *dku* in line 194, on the basis of the structural similarity of the present sentence to the remaining ones. The sentences (13) and (14) contain the phrase *dku' rgyal la gthogs* and in (17) we find the expression *dku rgyal pa'i naṅ du yaṅ gthogs*. These should be juxtaposed with the discussed *dku la gthogs*. Moreover, as explained in more detail below, neither Myaṅ-tseṅ-cuṅ nor [Myaṅ]-mu-gseṅ belonged to any kind of *dku* (**dku la gthogs*). They were relatives of Myaṅ-smon-to-re-tseṅ-sku who, among others, turned away from Ziṅ-po-rje-khri-paṅ-sum (PT 1287: 153-7).

(13)

dba's dbyi tshab kyi tsha bo // *stag po rje myes snaṅ daṅ / maṅ po* (196) *rje pu tshab gñis* **dku' rgyal** *la gthogs so //* (PT 1287)

"Both grandsons of Dba's-dbyi-tshab, [Dba's]-stag-po-rje-myes-snaṅ and [Dba's]-maṅ-po-rje-pu-tshab, belonged to *dku' rgyal*."

(14)

(196) *tshes poṅ nag seṅ gi nu bo na gu* **dku' rgyal** *la gthogs so' //* (PT 1287)

"Na-gu, the younger brother of Tshes-poṅ-nag-seṅ, belonged to *dku' rgyal*."

(15)

blon stag sgra klu khoṅ / (32) *gi bu tsha rgyud peld /* **dku rgyal** *gyi yi ge'* (33) *lag na 'chaṅ 'chaṅ ba źig rabs chad* (34) *dam bkyon bab na yaṅ / dṅul gyi yi ge* (35) *blar myi bźes par / blon stag sgra klu khoṅ /* (36) *daṅ / zla goṅ gi bu tsha rgyud gaṅ ñe ba gcig* (37) *dṅul gyi yi ge chen po g.yuṅ druṅ du stsald* (38) *par gnaṅ ṅo ///* (Źol N; trslr. after

Richardson 1985: 20)
"Even if the descendants of councillor Stag-sgra-klu-khoṅ, who hold in [their] hands the letter of *dku rgyal*, become extinct or *bkyon* falls [on them], it is granted that a great silver letter is given in perpetuity to the descendant of councillor Stag-sgra-klu-khoṅ and Zla-goṅ, who is [their] relative, so that the silver letter is not taken back to the authorities."

(16)
spre'u gi lo'i dbyar / (2) *mtsan* (read: *btsan*) *po khri sde sroṅ brtsan gyi riṅ la* / (3) *dg'e* (sic!) *sloṅ chos daṅ chab srid kyi bka' chen po la btags ste* / (4) *gser gyi **bku rgyal** man cad kyi thabs rtsal* (read: *stsal*) / (5) *jo mo mchims lta* (read: (*b*)*za*?) *legs mo brtsan la rtsogs* (read: *stsogs*) *pa* / (6) *rjes 'baṅs maṅ mo źig thar par bkyel* (read: *bskyel*?) (Ldan.2 1-6; trslr. after Heller 1994: 13)
"In the summer of the monkey year, during the life of *btsan po* Khri-sde-sroṅ-brtsan, many courtiers, monks who, having engaged in great decisions concerning (lit. of) religion and the state, were given ranks up to *bku rgyal* of golden [letter and] queen Legs-mo-brtsan, a lady from Mchims-[clan], among others, were brought to deliverance."

None of the persons mentioned in connection with *dku rgyal* or *dku rgyal pa* (see below) is reported to have been engaged in fighting any kind of *dku* (cf. Table 1). The persons responsible for the fall of Ziṅ-po-rje-khri-paṅ-sum are stated to have been either Dba's-paṅs-to-re-dbyi-tshab, Myaṅ-smon-to-re-tseṅ-sku, Mnon-paṅ-sum-'dron-po, and Tshes-poṅ-nag-seṅ (PT 1287: 153-7) or the same but without the latter (ibid., ll.233-7). Those belonging to *dku rgyal* (Myaṅ-tseṅ-cuṅ, Myaṅ-mu-gseṅ, [Dba's]-stag-po-rje-myes-snaṅ, [Dba's]-maṅ-po-rje-pu-tshab, [Tshes-poṅ]-na-gu) are relatives of Myaṅ, Dba's, and Tshes-poṅ.[14] They neither were "victorious" (~ *rgyal*) over a *dku* nor partici-

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[14] One could speculate why none of the descendants of Mnon-paṅ-sum-'dron-po is listed among *dku rgyal pa*s. One of the reasons could be that certain Mnon-snaṅ-grags revolted against the *btsan po* in 705/6 (ITJ 750: 151) and this could have brought disgrace on the whole line of Mnon, resulting in banishment and depriving the clan of its social position. This of course would once more support the hypothesis of a relatively late date of the composition of the OTC and of its anachronism; cf. hereto the above mentioned story of the defeat of Mar-mun. Although one could feel tempted to associate *dku rgyal* with the institution of *comitatus* as described by, e.g., Beckwith for some Central Asiatic societies (2009: 12ff.), one should emphasise once more that those who took part in the vow were not identical with those related to *dku rgyal*. The former group, however, does not seem to be referred to by any common name in the sources. Besides, there is no mention of any suicide after the death of Spu-rgyal-stag-bu (PT 1287: 163-4) nei-

pated in any kind of *dku*. In fact, none of the persons discussed in the present paragraph was ever mentioned in any connection with *dku* as analysed above, although one could say that Dba's-paṅs-to-re-dbyi-tshab, Myaṅ-smon-to-re-tseṅ-sku, Mnon-paṅ-sum-'dron-po, and Tshes-poṅ-nag-seṅ plotted against Ziṅ-po-rje-khri-paṅ-sum. One could thus draw a conclusion that *dku* as it occurs in (1) and (2) could be planned only against a rightful or, as it is sometimes expressed in OT sources, true ruler (*rje bden*, PT 1287: 149). The word *dku* was not used in any other case of protest or revolt, for instance, against a ruler that was perceived as cruel and unjust.

Table 1

bro stsal pa (ll.173-4)	*bro la gtogs* (ll.177-8)	*bya dga'r stsal* (ll.191-4)	*dku la gthogs* (ll.194-5)	*dku rgyal la gthogs* (ll.195-6)	*dku rgyal pa* (ll.195)
Myaṅ-[smon-to-re]-tse[ṅ?]-sku Dba's-[phaṅs-to-re]-dbyi-tshab		Myaṅ-tseṅ-sku Dba's-dbyi-tshab			
	Myaṅ-tseṅ-cuṅ Myaṅ-mu-gseṅ		Myaṅ-tseṅ-cuṅ Mu-gseṅ		Myaṅ-tseṅ-cuṅ Mu-gseṅ
Dba's-myes-snaṅ	Dba's-myes-snaṅ			Stag-po-rje-myes-snaṅ	
Dba's-pu-tshab	Dba's-pu-tshab Tshes-poṅ-na-gu			Maṅ-po-rje-pu-tshab Na-gu	
Mnon-[paṅ-sum]-'dron-po Tshes-poṅ-nag-seṅ		Mnon-'dron-po Tshes-poṅ-nag-seṅ			

From (15) it can be inferred that the affiliation to *dku rgyal*, confirmed by the possession of a letter, was hereditary and should be transferred to a close (lit. near) relative (*bu tsha rgyud gaṅ ñe ba*). From (12) - (14) we learn that paternal cousin (*pha spun po*), grandson (*tsha bo*), and younger brother (*nu bo*) could be considered close relatives.

(16) makes it clear that *dku* (here: *bku*) *rgyal* was not a closed group but could be accessed by those who contributed to the development

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ther after that of any other ruler. A ritual suicide, beside the burial with the ruler, was, according to Beckwith (ibid., p.150), the constitutional part of the comitatus institution. If that should be the case, we do not possess any textual evidence supporting the existence of comitatus in the Tibetan Empire.

of the state (government or religion), for instance, by clergymen (*dge sloṅ*).

Due to the negative connotations of *dku* mentioned here as well as in the notes on (2) and (22), it seems also highly improbable that *dku rgyal* should be understood as "best among *dku* (*ba*s)" or "ruler of *dku*". In these interpretations one would expect the negative connotations to have likewise been transferred to *dku rgyal*. This, however, cannot be corroborated by the textual evidence. On the contrary, *dku rgyal* appears to have denoted a social group of great esteem.

dku rgyal pa

(17)
myaṅ tseṅ cuṅ daṅ / pha spun po mu gseṅ gñis ni dku (read: *dku rgyal*) *la //* (195) *gthogs ste / **dku rgyal pa 'i naṅ du yaṅ gthogs so //*** (PT 1287)
"Both, Myaṅ-tseṅ-cuṅ and [his] paternal cousin [Myaṅ]-mu-gseṅ, belonging to *dku rgyal, belonged to (lit. into the middle of) *dku rgyal pa*."

dku rgyal pa is a derivative of the compound *dku rgyal* by means of the affiliation particle *-pa*, i.e. lit. "the one belonging to *dku rgyal*".

dku rgyal gtsigs

(18)
(1) *// blon stag sgra klu khoṅ /* (2) ***dku rgyal gtsigs*** *gnaṅ* (3) *ba'i mdo rdo riṅs la yig* [*du*][15] (4) *bris pa' //* (Źol N; trslr. after Richardson 1985: 16)
"The text (*mdo*) of a *dku rgyal*-edict, that was issued (lit. granted) for councillor Stag-sgra-klu-khoṅ, has been written in script on the stone pillar."

dku rgyal gtsigs was obviously an edict (*gtsigs*) issued by a ruler that confirmed the affiliation to *dku rgyal* (< **dku rgyal gyi gtsig*s). Thus, *dku rgyal* was an officially recognised group from the upper social class that could be granted silver (15) or golden (16) charter (*yi ge*).

Compare other edicts (*gtsigs*) issued likewise for groups of people according to OT sources:

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[15]   In reconstructing *du* I follow Li/Coblin (1987: 148) as against Richardson (1985: 16) who reads *gru* instead.

kar po'i gtsigs (Rkoṅ 12; trslr. after Richardson 1985: 68) "edict of [Rkoṅ]-kar-po"
myaṅ gi gtsigs (Źwa W 57; trslr. after Richardson 1985: 52) "edict of Myaṅ-[clan]"

<div align="center">

dku sgyu

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(19)
bod rgya gñis gaṅ gis sṅar ñes (69) *pa la sdig ciṅ* / / *lan du* **dku sgyu** *ci byas kyaṅ* (70) *gtsigs bśig pa la ma gtogs so* / / (ST Treaty W; trslr. after Richardson 1985: 126)
"Even though Chinese or Tibetans, whichever of these two, committed a sin against the first offender (lit. one who is offending first) or resorted to a *dku sgyu* in reprisal, whatever it may be, [they] are not responsible for (lit. are not involved in) the violation of the edict."

The meaning of the otherwise lexicographically not attested *dku sgyu* is supported by its synonym *dku lto*. Interestingly, the latter compound is scarcely documented in canonical texts. In fact, only one occurrence of this variant could be discovered so far.[16] One finds, however, the form *rku lto* twice.[17] The latter variant of the compound attests to folk etymologisation of its first member that must have taken place after *dku-* had ceased to be used and understood. The early date of the translations in which *dku lto* occurs further supports the hypothesis of the archaic character of *dku-*. Moreover, the fact that *dku-* has been replaced in some sources by a syllable of a highly negative meaning, i.e. *rku* "to steal, to rob" (J: 16a), suggests similar semantic connotations of *dku-*. The latter observation is confirmed by the occurrence of *dku sgyu* here in one context with *sdig*.

<div align="center">

dku' che

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(20)
spuṅ sad zu tse lte bu / *tshor skyen la* **dku' che** (101) *sñiṅ 'dzaṅs* (PT

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[16]   Cf. *Mdzaṅs blun źes bya ba'i mdo* (H 347, mdo sde, sa 409v3).
[17]   In *Mdzaṅs blun źes bya ba'i mdo* (H 347, mdo sde, sa 338r4) and *Thabs mkhas pa chen po saṅs rgyas drin lan bsab pa'i mdo* (H 361, mdo sde, a 159r1). All CT passages containing the relevant compound are translated in Bialek, forthcoming a, s.v. *dku sgyu*. It may be assumed that *dku lto* has found its way into later lexicographical sources only because *Mdzaṅs blun źes bya ba'i mdo* was scrutinised as one of the basic texts for Jäschke's corpus.

1287)
"One like Spuṅ-sad-zu-tse whose perception was keen and of great *dku'* [*bo*], [and whose] heart was wise."

Compare hereto *dku' bo che* in (28). I understand *la* as a particle coordinating two attributes, *skyen* "keen" and *dku' che* "of great *dku'*". It should be emphasised that *dku' che*, here an exocentric compound (lit. "having great *dku'*"), is an attribute of *tshor* "perception". This is made clear by the particle *la*, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, by the lack of any coordinating marker between *tshor skyen la dku' che* and *sñiṅ 'dzaṅs*. As I argue in the third section of the paper, *dku' che* is a compound < *dku bo che.

dku dar

(21)
*de nas mchis pa la rgya gar yul nas kyaṅ rgyal po dharma aśoka'i blon po yaśa źes bgyi ba la **dku dar** nas / blon po yaśa spad spun rje khol 'khor yan chad rgyal po la mi dga' ba bdun stoṅ yul nas byuṅ ste / nub phyogs śar phyogs su yul tshol* (trslr. after Emmerick 1967: 18, ll.4-8)
"Then, as concerns (*la*) the one who has come, [he] did *dku dar* (lit. over) the councillor of king Dharmāśoka, the so-called Yaśa, even from the country of India. Therefore, seven thousand [people], up to councillor Yaśa, father and [his] children, [his retinue] of lords and subjects, who were unhappy about king [Sa-nu], having left (lit. gone out from) the country, searched for a [new] country in the east [and] west."

Thus, we learn that *dku dar* could have negative consequences for those who were exposed to it (cf. the particle *la*). It obviously forced Yaśa to leave the country together with his subjects, although no direct contact or conflict between the councillor and Sa-nu seems to be alluded to.

Now, in order to elucidate the meaning and the valence of *dar* in the above passage some further sentences from OT sources should be cited:

(21.1)
(5) / / *'bal ldoṅ tsab daṅ / laṅ* (6) *myes zigs / blon po chen pho* (7) *byed byed pa las / glo ba riṅs* (8) *nas / / / btsan pho yab khri lde* (9) *gtsug rtsan gyi sku la **dard** te /* (10) *dguṅ du gśegs so / / /* (11) *btsan pho sras khri sroṅ lde brtsan* (12) *gyi sku la ni **dard** du ñe / /* (Źol S; trslr. after Richardson 1985: 6)
"'Bal-ldoṅ-tsab and Laṅ-myes-zigs, upon acting as great council-

lors, became disloyal. Thereafter, [they] triumphed over the *btsan pho*, the father Khri-lde-gtsug-rtsan; [he] died. [They] were [also] close to triumph over the *btsan po*, the son Khri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan."

(22)
*'uṅ gi 'og du // (201) btsan po mched gñis la // moṅ sṅon po glo ba riṅs pa / zu tse glo ba ñe bas dku' bel nas // btsan po mched (202) gñis kyi sku la ma **dar** par // moṅ sṅon po bkum ste // zu tse glo ba ñe 'o // (PT 1287)*
"Thereafter, the disloyalty of Moṅ-sṅon-po to both, *btsan po* [Slon-mtshan and his] brother [Slon-kol], was *dku bel* by the loyal Zu-tse. Then, having killed Moṅ-sṅon-po so that [he] could not triumph over any of the brothers, Zu-tse was loyal."

dar seems to have been used to express domination over one's own ruler by unauthorised claimants to the throne.[18] The honorific register is marked in (21.1) and (22) by the usage of the expression *btsan po*$_{\text{GEN}}$ *sku*$_{\text{ALLAT}}$ instead of the simple HUM$_{\text{ALLAT}}$ of the passage (21). This can be compared with the well known custom of using more elaborate phrases with regard to *btsan po*s, cf.:

btsan po$_{\text{GEN}}$	*sku la*	*dar*
	sñan du	*gsol*
	spyan	*'dren*
	źa sṅa nas	*'tshal*, etc.
	phyag du	

Their meanings do not differ from those of their equivalents in the normal register. Moreover, the juxtaposition of the above quoted passages and the following schematic representation of their argument structures proves that *dku dar* is nearly synonymous with *dar* and should in all probability be understood as a verbal synonymic compound; cf.:

dku dar:
HUM$_{\text{ALLAT}}$ *dku dar* (21)
dar:
HUM$_{\text{GEN}}$ *sku*$_{\text{ALLAT}}$ *dar* (21.1)
HUM$_{\text{GEN}}$ *sku*$_{\text{ALLAT}}$ *dar* (22)

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18   Cf. Tabo *taṛ* ncA "to become famous, to be popular", Tholing, Ruthok, Gar, Gergye, Purang, Tshochen *taṛ* "to be prevalent", Southern Mustang *taṛ* ncA "to spread, to become famous", Lhasa *tʰaṛ* "to be prevalent", Gertse *taṛ* "to be prevalent" (CDTD.V: 589).

Since *dar* is unanimously glossed as an ncA verb in modern dialects, the elements marked with ALLAT must be understood as its optional complements that do not belong to the argument structure of this verb. Thus, the question arises as to who/what is the subject in the above clauses. In (21.1) the only possible subjects of *dard* in both its occurrences are 'Bal-ldoṅ-tsab and Laṅ-myes-zigs. Although the grammatical situation is slightly more complicated in (22), the context allows only one reading, i.e. Zu-tse killed Moṅ-sṅon-po in order to prevent him from doing *dar* to the *btsan po*. Thus, the final argument structure appears to have been:

HUM.1$_{\text{ABS}}$ HUM.2$_{\text{ALLAT}}$ *dar*$_{\text{ncA}}$ "HUM.1 is prevalent over HUM.2"

The absolute case of the subject, although not documented in any of the above clauses, is reconstructed on the basis of the dialectal data cited above that attest to *dar* as an ncA verb. I assume that this construction, which we encounter only in connection with *btsan po*s, had in this very context the idiomatic meaning *"to triumph (over)" and was used as a form of euphemism to avoid the highly unwelcome image of a rightful ruler being defeated and killed.

As opposed to (21.1) and (22), (*dku*) *dar* in (21) does not imply the death of Yaśa. He is not even banished but decides himself to leave the country. The context makes it clear that it must be Sa-nu, sent by a Chinese king to look for a country for himself, from whom Yaśa flees. However, if one decides to split *dku dar* and interpret *dku* as the subject of the verb *dar*, two problems arise. First of all, the highly marked structure of the intransitive clause *HUM$_{\text{ALLAT}}$ *dku*$_{\text{ABS}}$ *dar* "*dku* spreads over HUM"[19] needs an explanation which I would not be able to offer. Secondly, if *mchis pa* refers to Sa-nu or his arrival and *dku* should express a trait of his character or an action that forced Yaśa to flee, then locating *dku* that far away from *mchis pa* in the clause and separating these two with two other quite long complements ([*rgya gar yul nas kyaṅ*] [*rgyal po dharma aśoka'i blon po yaśa źes bgyi ba la*]) would be even more unusual. Thus, being unable to offer a reasonable solution to the above objections I maintain my assumption that *dku dar* is a verbal compound. This hypothesis is additionally supported by the existence of another verbal compound with *dku* as its first constituent, namely **dku 'phel* for which see below.

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[19] This reading was chosen by Emmerick, cf. his translation "his wiles extending" (1967: 19). Emmerick's rendering of the respective sentence is based on an erroneous grammatical analysis and cannot be maintained.

*dku 'phel

(22)

'uṅ gi 'og du // (201) *btsan po mched gñis la* // *moṅ sṅon po glo ba riṅs pa* / *zu tse glo ba ñe bas* **dku' bel** *nas* // *btsan po mched* (202) *gñis kyi sku la ma dar par* // *moṅ sṅon po bkum ste* // *zu tse glo ba ñe 'o* // (PT 1287)

"Thereafter, the disloyalty of Moṅ-sṅon-po to both, *btsan po* [Slon-mtshan and his] brother [Slon-kol], was *dku bel* by the loyal Zu-tse. Then, having killed Moṅ-sṅon-po so that [he] could not triumph over any of the brothers, Zu-tse was loyal."

(23)

(315) // *'uṅ gi 'i 'og du* // *khyuṅ po spuṅ sad zu tses* // *myaṅ źaṅ snaṅ btsan po la glo ba riṅs pa* // *zu tses* **dku' bel** *te* // *źaṅ snaṅ bkum ste* // *zu tse* (316) *glo ba ñe 'o* // (PT 1287)

"Thereafter, Khyuṅ-po-spuṅ-sad-zu-tse, having *dku' bel* the disloyalty [of] Myaṅ-źaṅ-snaṅ to the *btsan po*, killed Źaṅ-snaṅ. Zu-tse was loyal."

(24)

'uṅ gi 'og du // *btsan po* [*khri?*] *sroṅ rtsan gyi riṅ la* / (r2) *myaṅ źaṅ snaṅ glo ba riṅs pa zu tses* **dku 'pel** *te* // *btsan po'i sñan du gsol te* / *źaṅ snaṅ bkum nas zu tse* (r3) *glo ba ñe'o* // (ITJ 1375)

"Thereafter, during the lifetime of *btsan po* Khri-sroṅ-rtsan, the disloyalty [of] Myaṅ-źaṅ-snaṅ was *dku 'pel* by Zu-tse. Having reported [it] to the *btsan po*, [Zu-tse] killed Źaṅ-snaṅ. Then, Zu-tse was loyal."

One finds two variants of the respective formation in OT sources; namely, *dku' bel* (22 & 23) and *dku 'pel* (24). Whereas the word internal *b-* of the former variant can be easily explained as resulting from voicing of a consonant between two vowels[20], the second variant seems to be the *lectio difficilior*. The text of ITJ 1375, from which *dku 'pel* stems, contains neither spelling errors nor alternations between voiceless and voiced consonants. Thus, I argue that the formation should be reconstructed as **dku 'phel*.[21]

Now, if we look for *'phel* in dictionaries we find two highly interesting details. First of all, the verb, CT "vb.n. to *spel ba*, opp. to *'grib pa*, ¹to increase, augment, multiply, enlarge; ²to improve, to grow bet-

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[20]   For further examples of word-internal voicing in OT compounds see Bialek (forthcoming a), chapter Compounding in Old Tibetan.

[21]   On a common deaspiration in second syllables of compounds see Bielmeier 1988a: 48 n. 19 for dialectal data and Bialek (forthcoming a), chapter Compounding in Old Tibetan, for OT examples.

ter" (J: 357a), is intransitive and non-controllable (CDTD.V: 810: ncA in all surveyed dialects). If we analyse the syntax of the above sentences, the following schemes emerge:

(22)   [HUM$_{ALLAT}$]   X$_{ABS}$ HUM$_{ERG}$ *dku bel*
(23)   [HUM$_{ERG}$]   X$_{ABS}$ HUM$_{ERG}$ *dku bel*
(24)   X$_{ABS}$ HUM$_{ERG}$ *dku 'pel*

Leaving aside the bracketed elements[22], the remaining parts of the clauses are identical. Firstly, it appears that **dku 'phel*, being diachronically either a verbal compound or an incorporation, shall be treated synchronically as a one word.[23] Furthermore, we observe that the order of the arguments here is unusual; in unmarked transitive constructions, the word order is always S$_{ERG}$O$_{ABS}$V. However, all three passages have the reverse order of arguments. In conclusion, I assert that all three clauses are in fact intransitive; the verb **dku 'phel*, in accordance with the argument structure of *'phel*, requires one argument and that is a subject in absolute. The remaining part, *zu tse*$_{ERG}$, is an optional complement.[24]

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[22]   It is contended that the bracketed elements in (22) and (23) resulted from misunderstanding of the text by the scribe. Neither of them can be properly fitted in the argument structures of the respective clauses. Taken at its face value, (23) would contain two (identical!) agentive arguments whereas in (22) *btsan po mched gñis la* came into being most probably through a confusion of the original **btsan po* [...] *gyi riṅ la* (cf. (24)) with the phrase *btsan po mched gñis kyi sku la* occurring just one line below in the same sentence of (22). As the comparison of the three sentences demonstrates (see the schemes above), the other complements correspond closely to each other whereas the bracketed elements differ oddly (22 & 23) or are missing (24).

[23]   The only alternative would be to interpret *'phel* as a ditransitive verb with two arguments in absolutive (*moṅ sṅon po*/*myaṅ źaṅ snaṅ* [*btsan po la*] *glo ba riṅs pa* & *dku*) and one in ergative (*zu tse* [*glo ba riṅs ba*]*s*). Although verbs with this argument structure did indeed exist in OT (e.g., verbs of giving), the order of the arguments in the above clauses (ABS - ERG - ABS) would be highly untypical. Besides, neither the reconstructed *'phel* nor **'bel* proposed, e.g. by Denwood (1991: 133), are attested as ditransitive verbs. **'bel* could not have been a verb of speaking, as hypothesised by Denwood (ibid.), since OT ditransitive verbs of speaking consistently display the argument structure 'X$_{ERG}$ Y$_{ALLAT}$ QUOT SAID', i.e. "X SAID QUOT to Y"; cf., for instance: *bu spus* (read: *pus*?) *la 'greṅ nus tsam nas* / *ma la* QUOT (29) *źes zer to* / (PT 1287). "As soon as the boy was able to stand upright (lit. straighten up on [his] knees), [he] said to [his] mother: QUOT."

[24]   For an analogous intransitive structure with an ergative complement compare, e.g., (11.0) where the only legitimate argument of the INTR verb *'dus* is *stag skya bo 'i yul* / *yul yel rab sde bźi daṅ* // *klum ya gsum* in ABS, whereas *ziṅ po rje khri paṅ sum gyis* has to be treated as an optional complement in ERG. Another example that contains the verb *'phel*, can be cited from PT 1290: (r1) [*kye legs ñes dbyar gyi yon*]$_s$ // [*skyes dgu rims kyis*] *phyir źiṅ rgyas la 'phel* "Truly! Gifts of good and bad *dbyar* increase and multiply through droves of nine [classes of] beings.".

As concerns the subject of the verb **dku 'phel*, I assume that the head of the subject arguments in all three clauses is *glo ba riṅs pa* and not *moṅ sṅon po* or *myaṅ źaṅ snaṅ*. This assertion is supported by the following example where in a phrase of the structure 'HUM~ABS~ *glo ba riṅs pa*' the latter part, i.e. *glo ba riṅs pa*, is clearly the head:

> (24.1)
> *klu khoṅ gis / 'bal* (15) *daṅ / laṅ* **glo ba riṅs pa***'i gtan* (16) *gtsigs / / btsan pho sras khri sroṅ* (17) *lde brtsan gyi sñan du gsold nas* (Źol S; trslr. after Richardson 1985: 6-8)
> "[Stag-sgra]-klu-khoṅ handed over to *btsan pho*, the son Khri-sroṅ-lde-brtsan, a proof (lit. a decree of surety) for the disloyalty [of] 'Bal and Laṅ."

Translated literally the respective phrase would be "a proof of being disloyal [by] 'Bal and Laṅ" — only "disloyalty" can be proven and not "'Bal and Laṅ". Accordingly, it is assumed that in the examples (22) - (24) the phrase *gla ba riṅs pa*, understood as a verbal noun, is the head of the pertinent phrases. Thus, the preliminary translation could be proposed as "The disloyalty of Moṅ-sṅon-po/Myaṅ-źaṅ-snaṅ was **dku phel* by Zu-tse."[25]

Secondly, *'phel* is listed as a synonym of *dar*, cf. D: 849b, s.v. *'phel ba*. *dar* and *'phel* are also glossed in CDTD.V with the meanings "get spread" and "spread", among others (cf. the English index). According to CDTD.V: 589, *dar* is likewise an ncA verb in modern dialects. Apart from that, *rgya*, CT "to be wide, extent" (J: 106a), is also documented as an ncA verb in modern spoken Tibetan (cf. CDTD.V: 272). Even more interesting is the following juxtaposition of meanings shared by the three in the modern dialects (Table 2, prepared after the English index in CDTD.V):

"to expand"	"to get spread"	"to increase"	"to spread"	"to swell"	"to thrive"
rgya		*rgya*	*rgya*	*rgya*	*rgya*
dar	*dar*		*dar*		
	'phel	*'phel*	*'phel*	*'phel*	*'phel*

As the following two examples demonstrate, the semantic proximity of these verbs can be observed already in OT: *rgyas la 'phel* (PT 1290:

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25   In addition, we can infer from the structure of (23) that it was the act of being disloyal that was directed against the *btsan po* (*btsan po la*) and not *dku 'pel* made by Zu-tse *to btsan po*. The semantics of *'phel*'s subjects encountered in OT documents is analysed in more detail in Bialek, forthcoming a, s.v. *dku 'pel*.

r1) and *dard ciṅ rgyas* (ITJ 751: 36v1).[26]

Curiously enough, we have now three OT formations consisting of the first member *dku* and whose second elements morphologically greatly resemble the near-synonym verbs just listed; to wit: *dku rgyal*, *dku dar*, and *dku 'pel/bel*.

dku ba[I]

(25)

yab gnam (301) *ri slon mtshan dug bon te bkroṅs so // sras sroṅ brtsan sku gźon ma phan te // gzod ma* (302) **dku' ba** *daṅ / dug pa rnams rabs bchad do //* (PT 1287)

"Having given a poison to the father Gnam-ri-slon-mtshan, [one] killed [him]. The son Sroṅ-brtsan of young body, not being ?effective?, destroyed first the lineages of *dku ba'* and poisoners."

(5)

ma ñes par srog srid la dku (29) *daṅ gnod pa byed pa źig yod na / su la bab [kyaṅ r]uṅ /* **dku'** (30) **ba** *daṅ / phe'u pa'i ṅo khar myi dor ba(r?) /* **dku ba** *du gtogs pa //* (31) *bka gyod la gdags par gnaṅ ba daṅ /* (Źwa E; trslr. after Richardson 1985: 56-8)

"If there is a one doing *dku* and harm to [their] life or property without there being any offence [on their side], whoever it may be, it is allowed to charge (lit. bind to accusation) the one belonging to those doing *dku* without confronting [him] with (lit. throwing in the face of) those doing *dku* and *phe'u pa*."

From these we can infer that *dku ba* belonged to one semantic field with, on the one hand, *dug pa* "poisoner" (25), and, on the other hand, with *phe'u pa* (5). The meaning of the latter remains unknown although it may be stated that both, *dku ba* and *phe'u pa*, were somehow involved in judicial issues.[27] (25) seems to suggest that *dku ba* were equally responsible for the death of Sroṅ-brtsan's father as the poisoners were. (5) makes it clear that *dku ba* is derived from the lexeme *dku* as it occurs in (1), (2), and (5).

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[26] Compare hereto CT *spel rgyas par byed pa* "in Menge vermehren, allgemein machen, allgemein verbreiten" (Sch: 330b, s.v. *spel ba*).

[27] I remain sceptical about the etymological relationship between *phe'u pa* and *bel/'pel* in *dku bel/'pel* that has been proposed by Denwood (1991: 133). First of all, the derivation by means of the *-l* suffix in examples cited by Denwood (*rde'u ~ rdel, dre'u ~ drel, spre'u ~ sprel*), as well as in all the other cases known to me, is exclusively nominal. No verb has been reported so far as derived by means of the suffix. Besides, as has been argued above, the second member of the formation *dku bel/'pel* is interpreted in the present paper as going back to the verb **'phel*.

dku ba[II]

(26)
(a9) *śa chaṅ daṅ* / ***dku ba*** *rnam pa lṅa bsruṅ dgos so* (Tu 7; trslr. after Taube 1980: 74)
"[One] should beware meat, beer, and five kinds of fetid foods."

Obviously, this *dku ba* is not identical with *dku ba*[I] above. Occurring together with *śa* and *chaṅ*, it clearly belongs to the semantic field of foods, and so can be connected with the etymon *dku*[II] as presented in the second part of the paper. It shares, however, one characteristic with many of the OT usages of the syllable *dku-*, namely, it is negatively valued and denotes objects that should be avoided.

Although not identified as such by Taube, a cursory check of canonical sources at RKTS proves that the manuscript Tu 7 is a fragment of *'Phags pa byaṅ chub sems dpa' spyan ras gzigs dbaṅ phyug phyag stoṅ spyan stoṅ daṅ ldan pa thogs pa mi mṅa' ba'i thugs rje chen po'i sems rgya cher yoṅs su rdzogs pa źes bya ba'i gzuṅs* (H 654, rgyud, pa 392v3-454v5). The sentence in question occurs in fol.419v5-6 and differs from the one cited above with regard to the syllable *bsruṅ* which in Lhasa canon is replaced by *sruṅ*. Compare also the following passage from another canonical text:

(26.1)
śa daṅ / *chaṅ daṅ* / *sgog pa la sogs pa* ***dku ba***'*i zas rnams kun tu spaṅ bar bya'o* // (*'Phags pa mi g.yo ba źes bya ba'i gzuṅs*, H 611, rgyud, pa 9v4; trslr. after ACIP)
"[One] should completely renounce meat, beer, garlic, and the like - foods that are fetid."

dku babs

(27)
da myi rma bu mchiṅ rgyal 'di ***dku*** (27) ***babs*** *ni dgu bgyis* (PT 1039)
"Now, this Myi-rma-bu-mchiṅ-rgyal being *dku babs*, did *dgu*."

The translation is only tentative. A preliminary explanation of the phrase *dku babs* will first be offered in the third part of the present paper. The reading **dku bgyis* instead of *dgu bgyis*, although theoretically supported by the existence of the analogously formed phrase *dku byed* (see (1, 4 & 5)), remains highly speculative.

dku bo

(28)
myi maṅ gi rje / yul che 'i bdag (27) *byed byed pa las / rgyal po btsan ba daṅ / blon po 'dzaṅs pa **dku' bo** che rnams kyis / gchig* (28) *gis gchig brlag ste / 'baṅs su bkug na /* (PT 1286)
"The lord of many people, upon functioning as a master of a great land, subdued (lit. gathered as subjects) mighty rulers and wise ministers of great *dku bo* who were destroying each other."

dku' bo che "of great *dku bo*" can be juxtaposed with *dku' che* "of great *dku'*" as attested in (20). Both function as attributes describing powerful people. It is apparent that *dku'-* and *dku' bo* were nouns that could be qualified with *che*. In this context, one should additionally mention the nominal phrase *dku' ched po* in (1) and (2).

dku zaṅs / dku chaṅ / dku lug

(29)
*zaṅs **dku zaṅs** byad zaṅs ni btsugs **dku chaṅ** (18) hug pa chaṅ ni btsos / **dku lug** sdaṅ lug byad lug ni bsad* (PT 1039)
"As regards a kettle, a kettle of *dku*, a kettle of *byad*, [one] put [them] down. As regards beer of *dku* [and] beer of *hug pa*, [one] brewed [them]. As regards a sheep of *dku*, a sheep of *sdaṅ*, [and] a sheep of *byad*, [one] killed [them]."

By complementing the above clauses with other passages from the same text we acquire the following scheme:

dku zaṅs	dku chaṅ	dku lug
byad zaṅs	byad chaṅ	byad lug
	hug pa chaṅ	
	sdaṅ chaṅ	sdaṅ lug

From this it occurs that *dku-* belonged to one semantic field with *byad-* and *sdaṅ-*.[28] The two latter morphemes possessed highly negative

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[28] *hug pa* does not seem to match the other formations. First of all, *dku chaṅ*, *byad chaṅ*, and *sdaṅ chaṅ* are clearly disyllabic formations, with the first constituent truncated in case of *sdaṅ chaṅ*. Thus, one would rather expect **hug chaṅ*. Furthermore, *hug pa*, when mentioned in one context with *chaṅ*, calls to mind *'ug pa* "²L[adakh] also for *yug po* oats" (J: 499b) and *'ug ri* "kind of chang" (CDTD: 7574). I assume that, in consequence of folk etymologisation, the lexeme *hug pa* has replaced another less known one, that, however, better corresponded to the seman-

connotations in OT sources. Accordingly, the same might be assumed
for *dku-* as used here.

khoṅ dku

(30)
(12) *grogs la* **khoṅ dku** *myi byed de mo bzaṅ ṅo* (PT 1046b; trslr. after
OTDO)
"Not doing *khoṅ dku* to a friend, the lot is good."

(31)
(132) *rogsla* **khoṅ dku** *ma che źig daṅ mo bzaṅo* (ITJ 740; trslr. after
OTDO)
"Do not let [your] *khoṅ dku* to be great towards [your] friend! The
lot is good."[29]

In order to throw more light on the second example I should quote
two further sentences from the same text:

(31.1)
myi nad phyugs nad myi 'oṅ gis sñiṅ lo mal (33) *dru phob śig daṅ mo
bzaṅo* (ITJ 740; trslr. after OTDO)
"Since the illness of a man [and] the illness of cattle do not come,
throw *sñiṅ lo* in [its] place! The lot is good."

(31.2)
lha la phyag 'tshol cig / (162) *daṅ mo bzaṅo* / (ITJ 740; trslr. after
OTDO)
"Pay homage to deities! The lot is good."

These prove that the sequence /*cig*/+*daṅ* marks the imperative. This
is made even more obvious by the verbs *phob* in (31.1) and *'tshol* in
(31.2) that immediately precede the sequence and that are V4 stems of
'bebs and *'tshal* respectively. To sum up, the first part of (31) should
likewise be interpreted as a kind of command.

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tics of *dku-*, *byad-*, and *sdaṅ-*. It might have been **hur-* for which compare *hur pa*
"calamities" (Bellezza 2008: 276); *hur pa byed pa* "to harm life, to kill" (LZB: 285);
hur po "[1]quick, alert, dextrous (sic!), clever; [2]hot, hasty, passionate" (D: 1329a);
hur 'dums "[intention of] hostility" (Tucci 1950: 47).

[29] *khoṅ dgu* attested in PT 1039: 31 could be a variant of the discussed compound.
The context, however, remains unclear to me and for this reason I have restrained
from including the passage here.

From (30) and (31) it appears that *khoṅ dku* had strong negative connotations. It apparently denoted an attitude or an action that should not be undertaken towards one's friend.

naṅ dku

(32)
gtor pa tsam (127) *gyi ṅo myi la btab na / g.yon can* **naṅ dku** *che dgra phywa la btab na / dgra myi thubs* (128) *bud med śa dag rgyo ste mo ṅan* (ITJ 740; trslr. after OTDO)
"If thrown the side of a *gtor pa* for a man, the fornicator is of great *naṅ dku*. If thrown for a *dgra phywa*, *dgra* is not *thubs*. Only shagging women; the lot is bad."

Although the passage is to a great extent unintelligible to me, two things can be said about the compound *naṅ dku*. To wit, together with *che*, "of great *naṅ dku*", it qualifies *g.yon can* "a fornicator" and as such it is bound to a bad lot. Apart from that, we observe its analogous morphology when compared with *khoṅ dku*: both end with the syllable -*dku* and their first constituents are near-synonyms. We learn also that not doing or not being of great *khoṅ dku* is positive while a great *naṅ dku* is a negative value. To sum up, it occurs that *khoṅ dku* and *naṅ dku* were synonymous expressions.

2. *dku* and its derivatives in later lexicographical sources

Presented below are the attested meanings of *dku* and its derivatives grouped according to the assumed semantic links.

dku[1]
"kukṣi" (Mvy: 4030); "[1]udaram; [2]kukṣiḥ; [3]kaṭiḥ" (Negi.1: 105a); "sübege; sta zur dpyi mgo; lto ba 'am gsus pa'i miṅ graṅs; belge; gsaṅ gnas; dpyi mgo" (SR: 1: 56.2, 4, 6); "[1]lus kyi dpyi mgo; [2]lte ba nas dpyi mgo'i bar gyi cha śas; [3]bud med kyi bu snod; [4]pho ba'am gsus pa" (BTC: 60a); "[1]dpyi mgo daṅ; [2]pho ba'am gsus pa daṅ; [5]bsam se'am bu snod bcas du mar 'jug ste" (DSM: 17a); "the side of one's body" (Cs: 66b); "[1]uterus, womb; [2]hip bone; [3]stomach" (Gs: 22b); "[1]Seite, Hüfte; auch Bauch" (WTS: 3: 172b-3a); "side" > "royal side" > the surrounding of the king, the court" > "nobleman" (Róna-Tas 1955: 264 n. 39)
dku ma: "ventre" (Desg: 23a)
dku skabs: "gsus pa'i skabs mtshams te sta zur gyi thad" (BTC: 60a)
dku skyob: "ral gri; kaukṣeyakaḥ" (Negi.1: 105a; *kaukṣa* "abdominal,

ventral", MW: 315a; *kaukṣeyaka* "being in a sheath, a sword", MW: 315a)

dku khyim: "sked pa nas dpyi 'go'i bar zer" (BRTD: 140a)

dku rgyal: "prince" (DTH: 139); "side of the king, courtier" (Róna-Tas 1955: 264)

dku rgyal pa: "prince" (DTH: 139)

dku lci: "lus la phru gu chags rkyen gyis dpyi mgo'i thad nas tshor ba'i lci ñams" (BTC: 60a)

dku mñe: "stan; ā sanam" (Negi.1: 105a); "(rñiṅ) [1]me; [2]stan" (BTC: 60a); "*āsana*, a rug to sit upon; a seat" (D: 53a)

dku lto: "gsus lto" (BTC: 60a); "stomach, abdomen" (Gs: 22b)

dku do: "trika" (Negi.1: 105b)

dku mtshams: "brother of whole blood; uterine brother" (R.1: 99b)

dku mtshuṅs: "sodaraḥ" (Negi.1: 105b); "Bez. leiblicher Geschwister" (WTS.3: 174a)

dku[II]

"mauvaise odeur" (Desg: 23a); "schlecht riechen, stinken" (WTS.3: 173a)

dku ba: "= dri ṅa ba; pūtiḥ" (Negi.1: 105b); "[II]dri ma ṅan pa" (BTC: 60b); "sweet scent" (Cs: 66b); "stench; putrid smell" (D: 53a); "[4]to smell" (Gs: 22b); "scharf" (Taube 1980: 147a); "offensive; [...] seems to refer mainly to a set of five malodorous plants (onions and the like) whose smell is regarded as offensive to the gods" (Denwood 1991: 132)

dku ma: "Geruch" (WTS.3: 174a)

dku dar: "having a bad odour" (TLTD.1: 100)

dri dku: "dri ma dku ba'i bsdus tshig" (BTC: 1325a)

dku[III]

dku ba: "[1](tha mi dad pa) [1]laṅ ba'am; [3](rñiṅ) lhag pa daṅ. lus pa" (BTC: 60b); "lhag ste" (DSM: 17b); "lhag pa daṅ lus pa" (BYD: 15a); "[2]Rest" (WTS.3: 173b); "[6]arc. to be leftover" (Gs: 22b)

dku ste: "lhag ste" (DSM: 17b; cf. also s.v. *dgu ste*); "= *lhag ste*; de plus" (Desg: 23a); "= *lhag ste*, *śeṣa*; remaining; in excess" (D: 53a)[30]

dku 'gel: "lhag 'phro" (DSM: 17b)

dku rgyal: "exaltation" (Richardson 1952: 29); "ennoblement" (Richardson 1985: 17); "promotion" (ibid., p. 160); "level" (Heller 1994: 13)

dku rgyal gtsigs: "the edict for the ennoblement" (Richardson 1985: 17)

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[30] According to Mimaki (1992: 481), BDSN glosses *dkug ste* with *lhag ste. dkug* is obviously a misspelling for the original *dku*.

dku stabs: "mrīṣu; seküči" (SR.1: 56a); "supplément" (Desg: 23a)
*dku tshod: "projet, intention" (Desg: 23b; s.v. *dgu tshod*)
*dku mtshan: "prize" (J: 84b; s.v. *dgu mtshan*)

dku IV
dku ba: "[1](tha mi dad pa) [2]'bab pa'am. lhuṅ ba" (BTC: 60b); "[4]mchi ma 'dzag pa" (DSM: 17a); "[5]to fall" (Gs: 22b); "[3]herabfallend, herabtropfend" (WTS.3: 174a)
mchi ma dku ba: "mig chu 'dzags pa" (GC: 276a); "[1]mchi ma 'dzag pa'i don te. [2]ṅu bro ba'i miṅ ste" (DSM: 185a)
mig chu dku ba: "mig gi mchi ma 'dzag pa" (GC: 637b)

dku V
"[2]Betrug, Gaunerei" (WTS.3: 173a); "artifice, cunning" (Li 1955: 62); "ruse, trap" (Róna-Tas 1955: 263 n. 39); "intrigue" (Richardson 1985: 59 n. 4); "opposition, rebellion, disaffection, plotting, intrigue, treason" (Denwood 1991: 136)
dku(') po: "g.yo sgyu'am g.yo sgyu can" (BYD: 15b)
dku(') ba[1]: "intrigue" (Richardson 1985: 59 n. 4)
dku ba[2]: "g.yon can la 'o" (BTK: 117 n. 5); "instigateur" (DTH: 147); "opponent, rebel, plotter" (Denwood 1991: 136)
dku ched po: "lkog g.yo chen po" (BYD: 15)
dku gaṅ: "g.yo sgyu khram gsum" (BYD: 15b); "Hinterhalt" (WTS.3: 173a); "piège" (DTH: 148); "treason" (Denwood 1991: 135); "trap" (ibid., p. 136); "ambush" (Zeisler 2004: 312); "a house of treachery" (Dotson, forthcoming, p. 272)
dku 'gel: "bya dga'. dga' rtags" (BDN: 30 n. 11); "récompense de la trahison" (Macdonald 1971: 234); "reward for rebellion, punishment for opposition" (Denwood 1991: 136); "prize" (Richardson 1998: 58); "lot for intrigue" (Dotson, forthcoming, p. 275)
dku rgyal: "lit. overcomer of intrigue" (Denwood 1991: 133); "aristocracy" (Dotson 2009b: 63); "aristocracy" (Dotson, forthcoming, p. 279); "best of the plotters" (ibid., p. 333 n. 16)
dku rgyal pa: "aristocracy" (Dotson, forthcoming, p. 279)
dku sgyu: "g.yo sgyu ź es pa ste gna' rabs kyi brda rñiṅ" (BRTD: 140a); "craft, trick, strategem (sic!)" (Li/Coblin 1987: 372); "deceitful stratagem or stratagem and deceit" (Denwood 1991: 136)
dku lto: "rdab dkrugs sam. dbyen sbyor phra ma" (BTC: 95a and BYD: 25a, s.v. *rku rdo*); "rdab dkrugs sam. dbyen sbyor phra ma" (DSM: 29b, s.v. *rku lto*); "contrivance, stratagem" (Cs: 66b); "List, Arglist, bes. wenn man unter gutem Schein Jemanden zu etwas bewegt was ihm Unglück bringt" (Jä: 9a); "malice, malicious arts" (LEU: 6)
dku dar: "harmed by opposition" (Denwood 1991: 132); "[his] wiles extending" (Emmerick 1967: 19)

__dku 'phel__: "g.yo sgyu'i lkog mna' ther 'don byas pa'i don te" (DSM: 18a, s.vv. *dku bel ba*, *dku 'bel*); "lkog g.yo ther 'don" (BYD: 15a, s.v. *dku 'pel*); "g.yo sgyu yis gnod pa daṅ gźan ñes goṅ źu" (BYD: 15b, s.v. *dku' bel*); "g.yo sgyu ther 'don daṅ dmar rjen du bton pa'i don no" (BTK: 113 n. 12, s.v. *dku 'bel*); "g.yo sgyu ther 'don byas pa" (BNY: 138 n. 15, s.v. *dku 'bel*); "nuire par artifice, dénoncer" (DTH: 190, s.v. *dku 'bel*); "outwit" (TLTD.3: 113b)

__dku byed__: "to use ruses" (de Jong 1989: 64)

__dku blod__: "to hatch a plot" (Denwood 1991: 135)

__dku__^{VI}
"grade inférieur" (DTH: 190); "comitatus" (Walter 2009: 65 n. 68)

__dku rgyal__: "(inner) comitatus" (Walter 2009: 63 n. 62)

__dku__^{VII}
"mna' daṅ dam tshig gam mthu stobs sam bka' rgya sogs kyi don la 'jug" (BDN: 43 n. 9); "'di nas (PT 1287: 194 - JB) mna' gan la go'o" (BTK: 113 n. 6)

__dku la gtogs__: "mna' 'brel du źugs" (DSM: 18a, s.v. *dku la thogs pa*)

__dku rgyal__: "mna' 'brel" (DSM: 17b); "mna' 'brel" (BNY: 57 n. 1)

__dku rgyal pa__; "mna' daṅ dam tshig bźag pa las rgyal ba sogs kyi don" (BDN: 43 n. 10); "mna' chiṅs bźag nas rgyal skugs pa'am rgyan 'jog pa la'o" (BTK: 113 n. 7)

__dku rgyal ba__: "mna' daṅ dam tshig bźag pa las rgyal ba sogs kyi don" (BDN: 43 n. 10)

__dku 'phel__: "mna' daṅ dam tshig bźag pa'i gsaṅ brtol pa'i don" (BDN: 43 n.13, s.v. *dku 'bel*); "dku' ni mna' daṅ dam tshig gi don daṅ bel ni bkog pa'am 'don pa'i don te. gsaṅ ba brtol ba'am gsaṅ ba'i 'char jus ther 'don byas pa'i don" (STK: 151 n. 12, s.v. *dku 'bel*)

__dku__^{VIII}
"³Schlauheit" (WTS.3: 173a)

__dku bo__: "schlau" (WTS.3: 174a)

__dku__^{IX}
"Bez. eines hohen Privilegs, das mit einer erblichen Würde verbunden ist" (WTS.3: 173a)

__dku rgyal gtsigs__: "Ernennungsurkunde zum *dku rgyal*" (WTS.3: 173b)

__dku__^X
__dku 'gel__: "basse œuvre" (DTH: 134)

dku[XI]
dku bo: "mthu bo" (BDN: 6 n. 6)

dku[XII]
****dku thabs su***: "[1]zol gyis sam brdzu ba; [2]lkog tu" (DSM: 29b, s.v. *rku thabs su*)
****dku bya***: "to keep secret, hide" (D: 76a, s.v. *rku bya*)
dku ma chen po: "хранящий свои мысли при себе, скрытный; one who keeps his thoughts to himself" (R.1: 99b)
****dku bśams***: "ṅan g.yo lkog gśom" (DSM: 30a, s.v. *rku bśams*)

dku[XIII]
"dgu ste thams cad tshaṅ ba'am rdzogs pa'i don no" (BTK: 80 n. 11)

Although it seems improbable that all the attested meanings of *dku*(') and its derivatives should be somehow related to each other, it is even more improbable that there existed so many etymons with the form *dku*: the onset *dk-* is not very common in Tibetan and points rather to a derivational character of the morpheme. We should now have a closer look at the semantic composition of single etymons in order to discover potential links between them. In seems, in fact, that only first three from the above listed lexemes are amply corroborated by the lexicographical sources. The remaining ones either came into being in consequence of some morphonological changes or, it can be proven that, they have evolved from the basic ones.

There should be no doubts about the existence of the lexeme *dku*[I] with the main meanings "[1]hip; [2]side". Interestingly though, *dku* in this meaning does not seem to be documented in OT sources.

The core meaning of *dku*[II] could be proposed to have been "malodorous, unpleasantly smelling, stinky" from which *dku ba* has been derived to denote plants of disagreeable smell as attested in the example (26) above.

dku[III] appears to have been a verbal stem the original meaning of which can be assumed to have been *"to rise, ascend, go beyond".[31] The meaning *"to rise" could in fact be suggested for the verbal usage of *dku* in (6) and (7).[32] Later, "to exceed, overflow; to be in excess" and further "to remain" might have developed from the basic mean-

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[31] The verb could have been related to the PTB stem *ku "take up, lift, prop up"; cf. hereto Coblin 1986: 103 and STEDT (http://stedt.berkeley.edu/~stedt-cgi/rootcanal.pl/etymon/2351; 01.02.2015).

[32] *re dku' ni mtshul du dku'* "[Your] hopes rise. [They] rise to [your] nose.", as attested in (6) could be juxtaposed with the Eng. expression [*success, fame, fortune*] *went to one's head*.

ings.[33] Similar scope of meanings is covered by *lhag* that is glossed as a synonym of *dku*[III]; for *lhag* as a verb in modern Tibetan dialects see CDTD.V: 1359. The deverbal adjective *dku ba*, when used attributively in the sense of *"going beyond; exceeding", could have caused confusion with *dgu* in its meaning "[2]many" (J: 84a) that resulted in a folk etymology of *dgu tshod* (lit. "measure of going beyond, of exceeding")[34] and *dgu mtshan* (lit. "a token for going beyond, for exceeding").[35] The latter process explains also the occurrence of the etymon *dku*[XIII] glossed, among others, as *rdzogs pa* "perfect, complete, blameless" (J: 469b) - meanings that come closer to *dku ba* *"exceeding" rather than to *dgu* "many".

The next lexeme, *dku*[IV], is attested, as a matter of fact, only in one particular collocation, namely in connection with tears. It is proposed to treat *dku*[IV] as a figurative usage of *dku*[III] with the semantic development along the following lines: "to rise" > "to flow out (spouting)[36] (about tears)" > "(of fluids) to fall down (like tears)".

The sememes listed under V to XI have resulted from various interpretations of the respective OT lexemes. All proposed meanings are in fact contextual. As it seems, there is no extant lexicographical tradition that would support the reconstructed meanings providing them with a direct link to similar lexemes attested in other than OT sources. Nevertheless, it does not mean that they are all ungrounded or incorrect. As I will try to demonstrate in the last section of the present paper, the meaning of *dku* as documented in OT texts has been preserved in some, at times morphologically distorted formations that are indeed found also in later lexicographical tradition. Furthermore, I will argue that the OT *dku* can be related historically to some of the above sememes.

dku[XII] provides interesting examples of folk etymology. Three out

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[33] One could put forward an hypothesis that would include the WT *sku* "body" (J: 21b) into one word family with the discussed *dku* as derived from the sense "to remain". Compare the parallel semantic development in case of *lus* "to be remaining or left" (J: 550a) and *lus* "body" (J: 549b) as well as the meanings "[1]dead body, corpse, carcass; [2]body; [3]residue, remains, sediment" combined in one lexeme *ro* (cf. J: 535b). In this connection one could also quote Ger. *Leib* and Eng. *life*, both going back to the PIE **lip-* "to remain, persevere, continue, live" (Klein 1966: 887b-8a). A distinct connotation of the verb *dku* with its main meaning "to go beyond, to exceed" as compared with the ordinary *lus* might have contributed to the marked usage of *sku* in the honorific register.

[34] In Desgodins' dictionary, *dgu tshod* follows immediately after the lemma *dku ste* and could, in fact, be a mere scribal error.

[35] Compare hereto also *dgu ste* glossed with "lhag ste źes pa'i don te" (DSM: 103a) and the grammaticalisation of *dgu* as in *dgu* "[3](neg.+vb.+_) to do to excess" (Gs: 219b).

[36] This meaning is glossed by Jäschke under *'dzag pa* (463b), a lexeme that occurs as a synonym of *dku*[IV] in the above list.

of four formations listed therein are documented with *rku-* syllable instead of the correct **dku-* and yet their semantics reveals the relationship with some of the OT lexemes. First of all, *rku* is documented with the meaning "to steal, to rob" unanimously already in OT texts (cf., for instance, the legal texts PT 1071 & PT 1072). I assume that it was notably the negative connotation of both *rku* and *dku* that brought them closer to each other in speakers' daily usage and resulted in replacing the latter by the former. Moreover, *dku*[XII] appears to denote some kind of fraudulent action done in collusiveness. This might have provided the major stimulus for replacing the original **dku-* (whose meaning had already sunk into oblivion and the lexeme had ceased to be used as an independent morpheme) with the attested *rku-* that denotes an action which is likewise usually done secretly, although the latter sense does not belong to the core definition of *rku*. One notices additionally the semantic similarity between *dku ma chen po* glossed with *dku-* and, for instance, *rku bya*.

On the origins of *dku*[XIII] see the discussion of *dku*[III] above.

3. Semantic analysis of OT *dku-*.

As opposed to Róna-Tas who assumed the existence of two homophones in OT, *dku* and *dku'* (1955: 263 n. 39), I do not recognise these as distinct on the basis of their orthography alone. Establishing whether there existed more than one lexeme with the form *dku(')* in OT is the purpose of the present section. However, as the juxtaposition below clearly demonstrates, the difference between *dku* and *dku'* was purely orthographic and could occur even within one text:

dku gaṅ (PT 1287: 322)	~ *dku' gaṅ* (PT 1287: 95)
dku rgyal (Źol N 32)	~ *dku' rgyal* (PT 1287: 196)
dku ba (Źwa E 30)	~ *dku' ba* (Źwa E 29-30)
dku [...] byed (Źwa W 28-9)	~ *dku' byed* (ITJ 737: 197)
dku 'pel (ITJ 1375: r2)	~ *dku' bel* (PT 1287: 201, 315)

On these grounds, I shall refrain from distinguishing between the orthographical variants *dku* and *dku'* in the following analysis. Furthermore, the above juxtaposition indicates clearly that other criteria have to be offered in order to clarify the semantics and etymology of the morpheme *dku* as attested in OT sources.

In the Table 3 below, I have grouped together all OT occurrences of the syllable *dku-* according to its place in a clause (NP, predicate) and the connotations of the particular phrase in which it appears (positive, negative, uncertain/neutral); the numbers given in brackets refer to the examples from the first part of the present paper.

Table 3

	NP	Predicate
Positive	*dku 'gel* (11)	*dku 'phel* (22), (23), (24)
	dku rgyal (12), (13), (14), (15), (16)	
	dku rgyal pa (17)	
	dku rgyal gtsigs (18)	
	dku che (20)	
Negative	*dku* (1), (2), (4), (5)	*dku dar* (21)
	dku khyim (8)	
	dku gaṅ (9), (10)	
	dku sgyu (19)	
	*dku ba*I (25), (5)	
	*dku ba*II (26)	
	dku zaṅs / chaṅ / lug (29)	
	khoṅ dku (30), (31)	
	naṅ dku (32)	
Uncertain / Neutral	*dku* (3)	*dku* (6), (7)
	dku bo (28)	*dku babs* (27)

Starting with the most numerous group (i.e. negative-NP), I shall subsequently juxtapose its members with other lexemes and phrases with which they co-occur in OT sources and that have additionally been scrutinised in the notes of the first section. This approach shall provide us with a better understanding of the semantic field of the syllable *dku-*.

Thus, we learn that a (great) *dku* could be done (1)[37] or planned (2) but had always negative consequences for the agent. Planning a *dku* (2) could involve overthrowing a *btsan po* (22) and was equivalent to being disloyal (2 & 22). Furthermore, according to (4), doing a *dku* was understood as closely related to *mtho / 'tho 'tsham* (CT *tho 'tsham* "to scorn, scoff, jeer, sneer at, vex, insult, mock", J: 236b) and *slu*, CT "to entice, allure, ensnare, beguile, seduce" (J: 586b). The context of (4) allows us to assume that doing a *dku* was intended as a kind of offence towards the person targeted. In (5) *dku* is coordinated with *gnod pa*, CT "damage, harm, injury" (J: 311b); unsubstantiated doing

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[37] I was able to trace one more instance of *dku byed* in a canonical source, cf.: *blos 'dus byas thams cad gsob gsog rdzun pa* (4) *bslu ba'i chos can **dku byed pa** / byis pa 'drid par yaṅ dag par ji lta ba bźin du rab tu śes te / de sṅon pas kyaṅ sems can thams cad la sñiṅ rje mṅon du 'gyur ro //* (*Saṅs rgyas phal po che źes bya ba śin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo*, H 94, phal chen, ga 134v3-4; trslr. after ACIP) "The mind, that does *dku* everything that is compounded, phenomena that are empty, false, [and] deceptive, knowing how to search into in order to cheat the child, actualises the compassion towards all sentient beings even more than before." In Cleary's translation: "By means of the awareness [...], they know in truth that all that is conditional is void, unreal, delusive, deceptive, fooling the ignorant. They become all the more compassionate toward beings [...]." (1993: 737).

of any of these was liable to criminal charges.[38] *dku* and *gnod pa* could be undertaken either against one's life or property (5). From (8) and, more generally, from PT 1039, we gather that there existed a close semantic relationship between *dku-*, *rma-*, *byad-*, and *dug-*. *byad-* and *dug-* occur together with *dku-* also in other contexts, for which see below. Building a *dku gaṅ*, if uncovered, brought death to the respective person (9 & 10). Furthermore, (9) describes someone who built a *dku gaṅ* as being disloyal (*glo ba riṅs pa*) - a connection we have already seen alluded to in (2) and (22). In (19), *dku sgyu* is coordinated with *sdig*, CT "sin, moral evil as a power; offence, trespass" (J: 293a). (25) establishes a link between *dku ba*[I], lit. "a one doing a *dku*", and *dug pa* "poisoner". *dku ba*[I] and *dug pa* denoted persons that were responsible for the death of Gnam-ri-slon-mtshan and for this very reason had to be killed together with their families. The same close relationship between *dku* and *dug* was already noticed in (1) where poisoning might be deemed to have resulted from making a *dku* (*byas nas*). In (5) *dku ba*[I] occurs together with *phe'u pa*; the meaning of the latter term, however, remains unknown. The same passage connects *dku ba*[I] with *dku* as it is attested in (1, 2 & 5). The juxtaposition of various compounds from PT 1039, some of which appear in (29), provides additional lexemes from the semantic field of *dku*, namely *byad-*, **hur-*, and *sdaṅ-*. The connection between *dku-* and *byad-* has already been established in (8). As demonstrated previously, *khoṅ dku* (30 & 31) is a synonym of *naṅ dku* (32). Both seem to have had strong negative connotations that can be assumed to have been transferred from -*dku* to the compounds since *khoṅ-* and *naṅ-* have neutral meanings.

To conclude this part of the exposition, *dku-* seems to have belonged to one semantic field with the following lexemes (listed alphabetically): *sgyu*, *dug*, *sdaṅ-*, *sdig*, *gnod pa*, *byad*, *rma-*, **hur-*. Additionally, *dku byed* can be deemed nearly synonymic or closely related to *sdig byed*, *mtho/'tho 'tsham*, and *slu*.

As can be easily observed, none of the basic etymons (I, II, III) listed in the second section seems to match the just sketched semantic field of the OT *dku*. However, lexemes and phrases recorded under *dku*[XII] demonstrate a striking similarity to the semantics of our *dku*. There we find *dku/rku* explained by terms such as: *zol* "= *bslu ba khram pa*, cunning, false" (D: 1098b); *rdzu* "to give a deceptive representation" (J: 468b); *lkog* "secrecy" (J: 18b); *ṅan g.yo* "= *khram pa* or *phram*, hypocrisy" (D: 350a), "Betrug, böse List, Trügerisches" (WTS.15: 13a).[39] From these, *slu* has already occurred in connection

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[38] From (19) it occurs that *dku sgyu* was justified when done in reprisal.
[39] It is also worth mentioning in this context that, according to later Bon sources, Gña'-khri-btsan-po was confronted with the following evils and obstacles: *rku* (sic!), *sdaṅ*, *dgra*, *g.yag*, *dug*, *byad stems*, *sri*, and *gdon* (Haarh 1969: 320-1). Three of

with the OT *dku* whereas *g.yo* may be juxtaposed with the OT compound *dku sgyu*. In addition, I have found in canonical texts another compound, which, as far as I could ascertain, has not been glossed in any lexicographical work. To wit, the following passage contains the word *dku gsaṅ* that implies the notion of "secrecy" as encountered in the lexemes listed under *dku*[XII]:

(33)
*de'i tshe rgyal po sdig pa can des blon po lṅa brgya źig bkug nas **dku*** (6)
***gsaṅ** gcig tu byas te / gsaṅ la btags nas / blon po de dag la 'di skad ces bsgo'o //* (*Thabs mkhas pa chen po saṅs rgyas drin lan bsab pa'i mdo*, H 361, mdo sde, a 296r5-6; trslr. after ACIP)
"At that time, king Sdig-pa-can gathered five hundred ministers. Thereafter, having done *dku gsaṅ* into one, initiated [them] into the secret (lit. bound to the secret)[40] [and] said to them."

Two important conclusions may thus be drawn. First of all, the identity of *dku* and *rku* as proposed for the lexemes glossed under *dku*[XII] is herewith confirmed.[41] Secondly, it appears that the core meaning of *dku* that recurs in Old as well as Classical Tibetan sources was centred around the notion of *"trickery, deceit".

Now, as concerns potential cognates of OT *dku*, in WT we observe some regularity within word families one member of which has the onset *dk-* and the other *'kh-*, cf.:

dkyu "to run a race" (J: 11b)	~ *'khyu* "to run" (J: 60a)
dkri "to wind, to wind up" (J: 11b)	~ *'khri* "to wind, roll" (J: 61b)
dkrug "to stir, stir up, agitate" (J: 12a)	~ *'khrug* "to be disturbed" (J: 62a)
dkrog "¹to stir, churn; ²to rouse, scare up; ³to wag" (J: 12a)	~ *'khrog* "to roar, rush, buzz, hum" (J: 63b)
dkrol "ein Instrument spielen, mu-	~ *'khrol* "²to sound, resound" (J: 63b)[42]

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the terms occur in the above list of words belonging to one semantic field with the OT *dku*, namely *sdaṅ*, *dug*, and *byad* stems (~ *byad*).

40 I understand *gsaṅ la btags*, lit. "bound to a secret", by analogy with *dam la 'dogs*, lit. "to bind to an oath". It is worth noticing that it is the same text in which the compound *rku lto ~ dku lto* is found; see above the notes on *dku sgyu*.

41 As I tried to demonstrate in Bialek, forthcoming a (see s.v. *dku rgyal*), in the process of folk etymologisation *dku* has also happened to be replaced in OT by the syllable *sku*.

42 As regards *dkrol ~ 'khrol*, Jäschke gives both meanings under *'khrol* (63b) and mentions *dkrol* as V2 and V3 of *'khrol* - a highly improbable and, in fact, unattested conjugation pattern. I assume that the conjugation came into being as a result of combining two distinct verbs, i.e. TR *dkrol* and INTR *'khrol*. The meaning "to release, set free" for the cognate *'grol* and *sgrol* might have been the original from which *"to release a sound" > "to make a sound" developed as a consequence of semantic specialisation. At the same time a re-organisation of the verbs within the word family took place for *'khrol* is attested dialectally as a TR verb with the

siciren; bewegen" (Sch: 10b)

With the exception of the first example for which not enough evidence is available[43] in remaining cases the *dk-* verbs seem to be transitive (and controllable) equivalents of the respective intransitive (and non-controllable) *'kh-* verbs.[44] Thus, following some previous authors[45] I propose to relate *dku* to the verb *'khu* glossed, among others, as: "log pa" (BDSN, after Mimaki 1992: 482), "že sdaṅ ba'am log pa" (Lcaṅ skya 2006: 266), "to offend, insult (= S[ans]kr[it] *droha* injury)" (J: 55b), "to vie with, contend; also wrathfully rebelling" (D: 187a), "¹vi. to hate; ²va. to oppose, to turn against; ³arc. stingy; ⁴arc. va. to cause to turn back; ⁵like, as good as" (Gs: 158b), "ᴵ·¹druhyati; ²dhrokṣyati; ᴵᴵdroha - *grogs po la 'khu ba* (cf. *naṅ/khoṅ dku* above); ᴵᴵᴵdrohī - *grogs la 'khu ba*; drugdha; abhidrugdha; druh" (Negi.1: 428a)[46], Tabo ncA "to take interest in, to get absorbed in" (CDTD.V: 109). In addition, its V2 stem, *'khus*, is attested with the meanings "ṅo ldog pa'am ṅo rgol byas pa'i don la 'jug ste" (DSM: 70a) and "va. to hide" (Gs: 159b).

The diversity of meanings glossed for *'khu(s)* proves that, on the one hand, there existed considerable uncertainty with regard to the semantics of the stem and, on the other hand, the stem has most probably a long history of semantic development. It is attested in the following OT passages:

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following meanings: Balti, Nubra "to untie, to unknot, to loosen", Dzongkha "to untie", Nangchen "to untie, to undo (knot, belt, chains)", Bathang "to untie, to undo", Bayan "to break to pieces (grain)" (CDTD.V: 156).

43   *dkyu* is attested in Nurla as a cA verb, cf. CDTD.V: 7. There is no evidence, however, for its counterpart, *'khyu*. It is possible that the latter form has been replaced by *'khyug* "to run" which occurs in modern dialects as an ncA verb, cf. CDTD.V: 132.

44   The existence of the verb pair *dkrum* Nurla cEA "to cut off (leaves of a tree)", Leh cEA "to cut (hair), to trim (trees, bushes)", Tabo cEA "to trim, to lop", Dzongkha "to break" (CDTD.V: 10) and *'grum* "to pinch or nip off, to cut off, to prune, lop, clip" (J: 100a) as well as the reduplicated formations *khram khrum* "fragments; baked fragments" (D: 169b), "grob zerstückelt" (WTS.8: 103a), *khram khrum* in *khrum khrum byed/brduṅ* "to pound in a mortar" (D: 173a) and the noun *'khrums* "Ass, von Raubthieren zerrissenes Wild" (Sch: 65b) would point to another triple: *dkrum ~ *'khrum ~ 'grum*. In Bialek (forthcoming a) I have reconstructed another series: TR *dkyel* ~ TR (but nc?) *'khyel* ~ INTR *'gyel* ~ TR *sgyel* (see s.v. *dkyel mkhas*). Furthermore, in the notes on (37) below, the pair INTR **khruṅ* and TR *sgruṅ* is mentioned. I am not aware of any deverbal derivation of nouns by means of the prefix *d-* as assumed by Denwood (1991: 136) and Dotson (forthcoming, p. 351 n. 19).

45   Cf. Denwood 1991: 131; Dotson, forthcoming, p. 351 n. 19.

46   Skt. *droha* is glossed with "injury, mischief, harm, perfidy, treachery, wrong, offence" (MW: 502c) and the verbal root √*druh* with "to hurt, seek to harm, be hostile to; to bear malice or hatred; to be a foe or rival" (MW: 502b).

(34)

*'uṅ nas 'dzi zuṅ ma raṅs ste // ziṅ po rje khri paṅ sum la ltas nas //
nag po **'khus**te /* (134) *skya bo bsad / dre 'u rgal* (read: *sgal*) *te bse' sga
bchag go //* (PT 1287)

"Thereafter, [Mñan]-'dzi-zuṅ-[nag-po], discontented, looked to-
wards Ziṅ-po-rje-khri-paṅ-sum. Then, Nag-po, having *'khus*, killed
[Ziṅ-po-rje-stag]-skya-bo. The little mule, being overloaded, broke
the varnished saddle."

(35)

*'uṅ nas / myaṅ dba's gñis ziṅ po rje las **'khus** te // btsan po spu rgyal*
(154) *la glo ba ñe bar byas nas / mna' mtho' yaṅ cher bchad do //* (PT
1287)

"Thereafter, both, Myaṅ and Dba's, having *'khus* from (*las*) Ziṅ-po-
rje-[khri-paṅ-sum], acted loyally for *btsan po* Spu-rgyal. Hence,
[they] set greatly (?) also the time for a vow."

(36)

(299) *// btsan po sroṅ brtsan sgam po 'i riṅ la // yab 'baṅs ni **'khus** /
yum 'baṅs ni log //* (PT 1287)

"During the lifetime of *btsan po* Sroṅ-brtsan-sgam-po, subjects of
[his] father did *'khus*, subjects of [his] mother turned away."

(12.3)

*'uṅ nas źaṅ snaṅ gi bran / pa tshab gyim po **'khus**te /* (314) *źaṅ snaṅ
brlag go //* (PT 1287)

"Afterwards, Pa-tshab-gyim-po,   the   subject   of   Źaṅ-snaṅ,
ing *'khus*, overthrown Źaṅ-snaṅ."[47]

By combining information from the above passages we acquire the
following argument structure of *'khu*:

HUM.1$_{ABS}$ HUM.2$_{DEL}$ *'khu* "HUM.1 does *'khu* from HUM.2"

From (36) we can infer that *'khu* was semantically closely related to
log, CT "[1]to return, to go back; [2]to come back, to come again; [3]to turn
round, to be turned upside down, to tumble down" (J: 553a).

    To sum up the preceding discussion, I propose to reconstruct the
etymological meaning of the INTR *'khu* as *"to bend, to curve; to be
crooked" and *dku* as its transitive counterpart *"to bend; to make

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[47]   One more occurrence of *'khus* is attested in PT 1288: 9. The passage, however, is
        incomplete and cannot be exploited for the needs of the present discussion.

crooked".[48] As suggested above, their subsequent development is assumed to have been rather complicated and multidirectional.

To start with, the reconstructed meaning of *'khu* is still traceable in its OT attestations: *"to bend" > "to turn (away from)" wherefrom the meaning *"to turn against" and subsequently "to oppose; to rebel" might have developed. The dialectally attested "to take interest in, to get absorbed in" goes back to the original *"to bend" in the figurative sense of "to bend (one's mind) to sth.; to incline (towards sth.)".[49]

dku as a verb, a transitive equivalent of *'khu*, does not seem to be attested in this form in any of the sources available to me. Furthermore, all meanings discussed so far in this section of the paper point to it as a nominal stem. Later lexicographical sources, however, evidence the existence of another verb of similar morphology and a meaning that corresponds exactly to the reconstructed meaning of *dku*, i.e. *dgu* "to bend, to make crooked" (J: 84b), "dbyibs gug pa" (GC: 145b, s.v. *dgu pa*), "biegen" (WTS.11: 312b)[50]. According to CDTD.V: 196, it is most commonly used as a cEA verb in collocation with the noun *mgo* "head" to express "to bow, to bend one's head".[51] Apart from that, it is attested with the following meanings: Trangtse "to bend down, to bow", Man-Merak c "to bow", Nangchen ncA "to

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[48] Further cognates with the aspirated initial are assumed to include *khud* "coat-lap, or any cloth serving in an emergency as a vessel" (J: 41b; < *"a fold (in a cloth)", cf. the etymology of Eng. *lap*: "[t]he word originally denoted a fold or flap of a garment (compare with lapel), later specifically one that could be used as a pocket or pouch, or the front of a skirt when held up to carry something", http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/lap?searchDictCode=all; 10.02.2015) as well as its derivatives *khud pa* "eine Tasche, ein Beutel" (Sch: 45a) and *khud ma* "die Seite, Ecke" (Sch: 45a). Compare also Gurung *kuu* "bent over" (Glover 1977: 130a); *ku-* in Kanauri *kuṭā* (?) "bent, crooked" (Bailey 1911: 336b); Lepcha *gŭ* "vb. to have end suspended downwards, to project downwards as roof, to hang down as bamboo, to impend" (MG: 54a; < *"to be crooked (downwards)"; maybe also in *kŭr-gŭ* "the breast, the chest", MG: 21b); Tangut *khu* "crooked, hollow" (http://stedt.berkeley.edu/~stedt-cgi/rootcanal.pl/gnis? t =crooked; 12.02.2015).

[49] Goldstein cites another verb of similar semantics that has obviously undergone an analogous development, cf. *'gugs* "va. to interest, to attract, to turn on (usu[ally] follows a word for "mind" such as *sems*) *mi maṅ po'i sems 'gugs thub pa'i zlos gar* Plays that are able to interest many people" (238a). Compare hereto also the etymology of Eng. *to incline*: "fr[om] L[atin] *inclīnāre*, 'to cause to lean, to bend, bow, incline'" (Klein 1966: 782b).

[50] Worth noticing is that the only example provided in WTS (from *Baiḍūrya sṅon po* of Sde srid saṅs rgyas rgya mtsho, 2: 336,5) attests, contrary to its given meaning, to a nominal usage of the lexeme *dgu ba*, cf. *dgu ba mdun yin* "eine Senke ist vorne" (ibid.).

[51] This phrase is documented exclusively for WAT dialects and the verb *dgu*, in general, is glossed only for WAT, WIT, and Kham (Northern and Eastern) dialects.

bend", Bathang TBL "to lower (the head); with $k^h\bar{a}ts\o\textglotstop$ (< *kha rtsod*? - JB) to make a row, to make a racket; with $d\underline{z}u\underline{r}\o\textglotstop$ (< ? - JB) to fight", Dartsedo cA "to bow" (ibid.). Additionally, one finds *dgu po* glossed as "gebogen, vorwärts geneigt, gebückt" (Sch: 84a) and in Ladakhi "crooked, stooped" (LEU: 47).

It is assumed that the form *dgu* has replaced the original **dku* under the influence of the following factors:

— Lexicalisation of the examined *dku* as a noun;
— Co-existence of other homophones of *dku* (see below);
— Blending of two distinct although historically related verbs **dku* and **'gu* (on **'gu* see below);
— Semantic similarity to *'gugs* (V2 *bkug*, V3 *dgug*, V4 *khug*) "[1]to bend, to make crooked; [2]to gather; [3]to call, to summon, to send for; [4]to draw back; to cause to return, to convey back" (J: 93b-94a).[52]

The replacement of the syllable *dku* by *dgu* in consequence of folk etymologisation has already been mentioned above and will be addressed once more further below. However, in case of the reconstructed word family *dku ~ 'khu* there exist certain lexemes that could point to yet another member of the family with the voiced stem consonant *g-*; compare namely: *gus* Tabo ncAD "to be devoted" (CDTD.V: 164); *gus pa* "respect, reverence, devotion; respectful, devout" (J: 70a); *'gus* Ndzorge *ngu* "slope of the roof" (CDTD: 1663); *rgus* Balti "slope" (CDTD: 1752); *gud* "[1]slope, declivity; [3]loss, damage" (J: 69b); *rgud* "to decline, to sink, to get weak, frail" (J: 104); *mgu* in: *mgu ya* "ring" (CDTD: 1558; < **mgu ya yo*?), *gser mgu* "gold ring" (CDTD: 9082), *mgu lcags/zaṅs* "meuble ou ustensile de ménage (?)"

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[52] In fact, it is more probable that the meanings glossed by Jäschke for *'gugs* have resulted from a blend of two verbs *dku ~ dgu*, perhaps also **'gu*, and *'gugs*. I assume that his first and fourth meanings belonged originally to the stem *dku ~ dgu*. The identification of the stems might have additionally been facilitated by the existence of another group of lexemes that, on the one hand, morphologically resemble *dku ~ dgu* and *'khu* group but, on the other hand, share more semantic traits with *'gugs*, cf.: *khu gu* "an address" (Cs: 8b; < **"a call, summons"); *khu byug* "cuckoo" (J: 40b); *ku* "clamour" (J: 3b). Hereto belong probably also *kwa ye* and its clipped form *kye* as well as OT *khu* in phrases *khu(s) 'debs* and *khu grags*. It is highly probable that this word family is of onomatopoeic origin and developed from imitating sounds made, e.g., by cuckoos. An analogical replacement of the OT *dkyel* with a voiceless stem consonant by the CT *dgyel* with a voiced stem consonant has been hypothesised in Bialek, forthcoming a, s.v. *dkyel mkhas*. The change is supposed to have taken place under the influence of two further cognates with voiced stem consonants, i.e. *'gyel* and *sgyel*.

(Desg: 194b).[53] The barely attested *sgu*, "bent" (D: 321b), and *sgu can* "kyog kyog sge sgu can" (GC: 183b), although most probably of later date, could also be included here. All these might have contributed to the hypothesised change *dku > dgu.

Hence, it seems probable that there existed originally two stems *khu and *gu with meanings closely resembling Eng. *to bend*. The reconstructed verb *dku was derived from *khu by means of the prefix *d-*.[54] Only the latter hypothesis can explain the existence of the OT noun *dku*. *dgu* as a V3 < TR *'gu (V4 *gus) seems to be attested in *brag dbye chu dgu yaṅ* (PT 1134: 289) "cleft rocks, curved rivers"[55] where it parallels *dbye*, V3 < *'byed*. The question whether there did ever exist a TR verb *'gu (V3 *dgu*, v4 *gus) must remain unanswered for the moment being.[56]

The above exposition, that has thrown more light on the semantics of the whole word family, was necessary for a better understanding of the reconstructed semantic development of *dku*. To wit, an hypothesis is put forward according to which the OT noun *dku* was derived from the V1 stem of the TR verb *dku "to bend"[57] by means of conversion to denote the act of bending, crooking. It subsequently acquired a figurative meaning *"trickery" > "harmful deed; harm, injustice"[58];

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[53] By analogy with the above mentioned collocation *sems 'gugs*, one could also venture the hypothesis that the CT *mgu* "to rejoice, to be glad, joyful, content" (J: 90a) came into being by a similar semantic change *MIND *'gu* *"as for mind to bend" > *mgu* "to be satisfied" (CDTD.V: 211); cf. *yid mgu* "dankbar" (WTS.12: 349a) and Tabo ncA "with *sēm* to be satisfied" (CDTD.V: 211). Another semantic development of analogous course could have taken place in case of *dgye* "to bend, to be curving or crooked" (J: 88a) and *dgyes* "to rejoice, to be glad; to please, to be pleased, to choose" (J: 88a).

[54] Since the most commonly applied transitive marker is and was the prefix *s-* (see, e.g., Bielmeier 1988b: 18f.) one could hypothesise that *d-* derived controllable verbs from non-controllable ones. This would account for the semantic difference between *dkyu* and *'khyu* as well as between *dkyel* and *'khyel* tackled above.

[55] The passage is discussed in more detail in Bialek, forthcoming b.

[56] The postulated pair INTR *khu vs. TR *gu disagrees with Bielmeier's pattern of morphonological alternation (1988b: 19f.) according to which TR verbs possess aspirated voiceless whereas INTR, voiced initials.

[57] As a cursory view of the verbs with the onset *dk-* shows, their conjugation allows only for the suffix *-s* in V2 and V4. No other stem changes are attested.

[58] One can mention here once more the example *grogs la 'khu ba* given by Negi for *droha* and *drohī* (1: 428a, s.v. *'khu ba*) and juxtapose it with the OT *grogs la khoṅ dku myi byed* in (30). The meaning *"harm, injustice" can also be reconstructed for *dgu-* in CT *dgu mig* < *dku mig. According to Lin (2005: 106 n. 411), *dgu mig* and *dur mig* are technical terms in one of Tibetan divination systems. Both express negative results of a divination (ibid., pp. 60 and 107 n. 414). The negative connotation of *dgu-* can additionally be inferred from the morphological parallelism between *dgu mig* and *dur mig*. To wit, the morpheme *dur-* invariably represents in religious literature the lexeme *dur* "tomb, grave" (J: 253b), or one of its derivatives, and is thus connected to the notions of death and dying.

compare hereto the English idiomatic expression *to bend the rules* and the Middle English *crook* "deceit, guile, trickery" - a sense that has disappeared by the 17th century (http://www.oxforddictionaries. com/definition/english/crook?searchDictCode=all; 09.02.2015).[59]

To summarise the results of our analysis, the following renderings of the 'negative-NPs' from the Table 3 are proposed:

dku	"[1]trickery; [2]harm; injustice"[60]
dku khyim	"house of harm"; ~ *rma-* ~ *byad-*
dku gaṅ	"trickery-room" > "ambush"
dku sgyu	"trickery"
dku ba	"trickster"
dku zaṅs	"a kettle of harm"; ~ *byad-* ~ **hur-* ~ *sdaṅ-*
khoṅ dku	lit. "a harm of the interior" > "injustice"
naṅ dku	"id."[61]

The reconstructed primary meaning *"a bending" allows us to subsume another lexeme under the same etymon. To wit, I propose to

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[59] The figurative extension of the meaning "bent, crooked" towards "false; deceitful" is attested in many languages, cf. Eng. *crooked*, Ger. *krumm* in *krumme Geschäfte*, Pol. *krzywda* < *krzywy* (Boryś 2005: 268a). The latter term possessed in Old Polish also the meanings "false; untrue; deceitful" (ibid.) that are not known anymore in modern language. It is likewise worth considering whether the root *rku* "to steal, to rob" (J: 16a) could not be included in this word family as well. Although the issue needs a far more detailed study and the inclusion of the TB material, that I would not be able to provide here, alternation between the prefixes *d-* and *r-* is attested, e.g., in *dkan* ~ *rkan* (CDTD: 96) or *gdaṅ* ~ *rdaṅ* (J: 265a). The primary meaning could be proposed to have been *"to let sth. disappear in a fold"; compare hereto Ger. *entwenden*. However, it is likewise possible that, at some point, *dku* *"to bend" and *rku* "to steal" happened to be confused on account of their phonetic convergence (cf. WAT and EAT pronunciation of *d-* and *r-* in CDTD) and/or obsolescence of *dku* in its original meaning. The problem of an hypothetical relationship between the examined word family and CT *dkyus* "[2]untruth, falsehood, lie" (J: 11b) and *'khyu* "[1]bent; not straight" (D: 195b) must remain unaddressed here. The latter two terms could be further related to a group of lexemes with palatalised stem consonants, cf.: *gcu* cEA "to twist, to screw" (CDTD.V: 343); *gcu/lcu ba* "screw" (J: 144b; < *"screwing one"); *gcud* "crookedness, crooked" (CDTD: 2321); *gcud/lcud* "to turn, turn round, twist, twine, plait, braid" (J: 144b); *mchu* "[1]lip; [2]beak or bill of birds" (J: 165b; < *"crooked one"; the meaning "lip" seems to be secondary, compare a similar semantic development in Ger. *Schnabel* and Pol. *dziub*); *'chu* "[1]to be twisted, distorted, pf. *'chus*; [2]curvature, crookedness, distortion; [3]crooked, wry" (J: 170a); *'chus* "vi. to get twisted, to get sprained" (Gs: 385b).

[60] It cannot be excluded that *dku* *"trickery", when used in connection with *glo ba riṅs pa* to describe actions undertaken against a *btsan po*, acquired a special meaning of "treachery". However, a conclusive proof is missing and the passages examined in the first section do not allow for a more concrete definition of its semantics.

[61] For *khoṅ dku* and *naṅ dku* compare, for instance, *khoṅ khro* "wrath, anger" (J: 44b) and *naṅ dbugs* "the inner breath (according to Tibetan medicine)" (Gs: 607a).

include in the discussed word family also lexemes listed under *dku*[I] in the second section. The semantic development is assumed to have proceeded along the following lines: *"a bending" > "hip"[62] > "side of one's body". The meaning "belly" might have occurred as a result of generalisation from "a round (i.e. bent) part of one's body". It is tempting to quote in this connection another occurrence of *dgu* in OT:

(37)
lha ri gyaṅ dor gśegs na / [*ri rab lhun po yaṅ* (33) **dgu' dud dud** / *śiṅ sdoṅ po yaṅ baṅ thaṅ thaṅ* / *chab lu ma yaṅ dṅo sil sil* / *gor pha boṅ la stsogs pa yaṅ* (34) *mñed khruṅ khruṅ gis*]ₐ *pyag 'tshal lo* // (PT 1286)
"When [he] came to Lha-ri-gyaṅ-do, Mount Meru bending [its] **slope**, tree-trunks stretching out [their] feet, river-springs tinkling [on their] banks, stones, rocks and the like dissolving [into] soft-ness[63], paid homage [to him]."

As can be inferred from the translation, I assume that *dgu'* stands here for the original **dku* in its figurative meaning "slope; shoulder (of a mountain)" derived from "side". This would make the only so far identified occurrence of this meaning of **dku* in OT sources.

The last lexeme listed in the Table 3 among the NPs with negative connotations is *dku ba*[II]. I have already proposed to relate it to *dku*[II] of the second section. It is obvious that this lexeme must be kept distinct from the reconstructed verb **dku* "to bend". I will return to *dku ba*[II] and its etymology once more further below.

The negative-Predicate division of the Table 3 contains only one member, i.e. *dku dar*. As I have already argued in the first section of the paper, there are reasons for analysing this compound together with two other OT formations, *dku rgyal* and **dku 'phel*. The closer examination of the OT occurrences of the verb *dar* has proven that it possessed highly negative connotations when used with a HUM complement. These connotations have been transferred to the compound *dku dar* found in a similar context.

Now, I shall discuss the three compounds which have already been brought together. In the first section of the paper, I attempted to prove that *dar*, *rgya*, and *'phel* are, first, near-synonymic ncA verbs,

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[62] Compare the origin of Eng. *hip* and Ger. *Hüfte* "fr[om] IE base **qeu-b-*, 'to bend'" (Klein 1966: 731b) and "[z]u Wörtern für 'sich biegen, beugen' auf einer Grundla-ge (i[ndo]g[ermanisch]) **keu-* mit verschiedenen Auslauten" (Kluge: 429a, s.v. *Hüfte*).

[63] For this tentative rendering of the phrase *mñed khruṅ khruṅ* compare *mñed* Balti "soft, softness" (CDTD: 3076) and *sgruṅ* Kargil cEA "to mix in, to dissolve", Tshangra cEA "to dissolve, to melt", Sapi, Khalatse, Nurla cEA "to dissolve", Leh cEA "to mix in", Themchen cEA "to dissolve" (CDTD.V: 305). I assume that *khruṅ* is a v2 stem of an otherwise unattested INTR equivalent of *sgruṅ*.

and, secondly, all form compounds with *dku-* as their first constituent. The resulting formations are attested in our sources as *dku dar*, *dku rgyal*, and *dku bel/'pel* respectively. The common semantic denominator of the simple verbs could be proposed as "to spread, to expand, to increase" (see Table 2). It can now be juxtaposed with the reconstructed meaning of *dku*[III] *"to rise, ascend, go beyond" (see the second section above). Although not strictly synonymic with *dar*, *rgya*, and *'phel*, *dku* shared with them the notion of "exceeding given proportions/frames" as well as its grammatical features (see the examples (6 & 7)). It follows that *dku dar*, *dku rgyal*, and *dku 'pel* can be interpreted as verbal compounds formed from constituents that are closely related to each other with respect to their semantics. We know that verbs of similar meanings could be combined in WT by means of the converbial particle /*ciṅ*/.[64] Thus, the underlying structures of the compounds can be reconstructed as: **dku źiṅ dar*, **dku źiṅ rgyas*, and **dku źiṅ 'phel* respectively.

As concerns the semantics of the compounds, we observe some differences in their meanings and usage. First of all, *dku dar* and **dku 'phel* are clearly verbs whereas *dku rgyal* is a noun. As demonstrated above, *dar* took human beings as its subjects in OT whereas the subjects of *'phel* seem to have been more differentiated. In the latter case, a clear semantic analogy between the examined subject *glo ba riṅs pa* and *gsaṅ* could be drawn.[65] Both denote things that are supposed to remain secret but nevertheless have been revealed. Here, the most adequate rendering of the verb **dku 'phel* would be "to come to light, to be disclosed/revealed", a narrowing of the original "to spread, diffuse". To sum up, I propose the following understanding of the semantics and the argument structures of the compounds *dku dar* and **dku 'phel*:

HUM.1$_{ABS}$ HUM.2$_{ALLAT}$ *dku dar*; lit. "HUM.1 spreads while it exceeds over HUM.2" > "HUM.1 prevails over HUM.2"

X$_{ABS}$ HUM$_{ERG}$ **dku 'phel*; lit. "X spreads while it exceeds through HUM"[66] > "X is revealed by HUM"

Now, with regard to *dku rgyal*, as I have demonstrated in Bialek, forthcoming a, s.v. *dku rgyal*, its second syllable should be reconstructed as **-rgyas*. The change from **-rgyas* to *-rgyal* is assumed to

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[64]   Cf. Hahn 1996: 154, § 15.6c.

[65]   For details see Bialek, forthcoming a, s.v. *dku 'pel*.

[66]   Compare hereto also the analogous expression *lhag par 'phel ba* glossed with "increases exceedingly" (IW). *lhag* has already been identified in the present paper as a near synonym of *dku*.

have been one of folk etymologisation.[67] Thus, the compound could be rendered literally as "spread while exceeding", i.e. "famous, exceeding (ones)", which is assumed to have undergone lexicalisation to *"nobility", since we already know that it denoted a social group formed firstly by descendants of persons who had made a significant contribution to the rise of the Tibetan Empire.[68] A member of this very group was called *dku rgyas pa, i.e. "a nobleman", whereas *dku rgyas gtsigs denoted a letter that confirmed the affiliation to the nobility.

An additional hypothesis could be put forward concerning dku[II] as discussed in the second section. To wit, I connect it tentatively to the same verb dku *"to rise, ascend, go beyond" > dku ba (VA) *"rising (as of (bad) smell)" > "odorous" > "(unpleasantly) smelling".[69]

Another lexeme from the division positive-NP, i.e. dku che, could be related to the already mentioned dku *"[1]trickery; [2]harm; [3]injustice". First of all, I propose to reconstruct its underlying structure as *dku bo che - a phrase attested, as a matter of fact, in (28). dku bo is assumed to have been a further derivative of the noun dku: *"trickery" > dku bo *"deceitfulness" (abstract formation?) > *"cunning".[70] Thus, dku che could be rendered as an adjective *"cunning; shrewd", lit. "of great cunning", as in (28): "mighty rulers and wise ministers, who were shrewd", or in (20): "whose perception was keen and shrewd". This line of argumentation would also shift dku bo from uncertain-NP division in the Table 3 to the division positive-NP. At the same time, we observe a development towards a more positive connotation within the word-family of dku *"to bend, to make crooked".

With regard to dku 'gel, the last member of the positive-NP divi-

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[67] For further examples of folk etymologisation in OT see Bialek, forthcoming a, chapter Compounding in Old Tibetan.

[68] Compare hereto also the etymology of Eng. noble "fr[om] L[atin] nóbilis, 'well-known, famous, celebrated, renowned; of noble birth; excellent, superior'" (Klein 1966: 1051a).

[69] A comparable semantic development can be seen in case of khyab ldan glossed with "mi gtsaṅ dri chen" (GC: 85b). Similar to the discussed dku, khyab, lit. "to spread", denotes another action of exceeding, although rather horizontally as opposed to a vertical movement of dku. One could speculate whether the PTB SMOKE could not be another member of the same word family. STEDT reconstructs its protoform as *kəw-n/t although most language subgroups attest to the vowel -u; see http://stedt.berkeley.edu/~stedt-cgi/rootcanal.pl/etymon/2361; 19.02.2015. According to the latter source, many TB languages also form compounds in which the first member is a word for FIRE, most commonly a cognate of WT me "fire", and the second, a derivative of the PTB *kəw-n/t. This construction could be compared with the OT phrase mye dku attested in (7) above.

[70] Compare hereto an evidently analogous semantic development of khram "lying, deceiving" (Gs: 141b), Western Drokpas "lie" (CDTD: 913) but Balti "cunning (noun), cleverness" (CDTD: 914) and khram pa "a liar" (J: 49b), "g.yo sgyu can" (BTC: 275b; cf. also the dialectal meanings glossed in CDTD: 916).

sion to be discussed here, it is another formation related to the verb *dku* "to rise, ascend, go beyond" according to DSM. The latter work defines the compound namely as *lhag 'phro* (17b), "sm. *lhag 'phros*" (Gs: 1181a); *lhag 'phros* "surplus, remnant, remainder, leftover" (Gs: 1181a). As I am arguing in Bialek forthcoming a, s.v. *dku 'gel*, the OT noun *'gel* can be translated as "a charge" in the sense of "a responsibility or duty assigned to someone" (http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/charge; 11.02.2015), cf. *'gel* "[1]to load, to lay on a burden; to commission, to charge with, to make, appoint, constitute; [2]to put, to place on or over" (J: 94b-5a); compare hereto Ger. *Auftrag*. I hypothesise that -*'gel* in *dku 'gel* is identical with the just mentioned OT noun *'gel*. Assuming that *dku*- goes back to the verbal stem *dku*, the only possible analysis of the compound would be **dku ba'i 'gel* "*'gel* that exceeds, goes beyond". In accordance with the conclusions drawn in the first section of the present paper, where it was suggested that the castle Sdur-ba was given to Mñan-'dzi-zuṅ additionally, I propose to interpret *dku 'gel* as *"a supplement, addition", i.e. an extra assigned to someone. It seems that a metonymic change has taken place in case of *'gel* from *"a responsibility assigned to someone" to *"a thing for which one is responsible, a thing in one's custody".

Having discovered a close semantic relationship between the verb *dku* "to rise, ascend, go beyond" on the one hand, and *dar*, *rgya*, and *'phel* on the other, I would like to propose an interpretation of the formation *dku babs* based on the parallelism between *dku* and *dar*. To wit, in lexicographical works one finds the formation *dar bab* glossed with "a person in the prime of life" (J: 251; < *dar la bab pa*) or *dar babs* "= *dar la babs pa* youthful" (D: 621a). Accordingly, the following tentative reconstruction can be put forward: **dku la babs*, lit. "having fallen on [the time of] being exceeding/excellent".

The only lexeme listed in the Table 3 which I am unable to explain is *dku* as occurring in (3). Any interpretation of this and other parallel passages remains speculative due to the unstable orthography and a seemingly distorted grammar of the text.

The following Table 4 recapitulates the preceding analyses of the OT *dku*s and presents the examined lexical material in a systematic way.

Table 4

Etymon	Meaning	Derivative	Meaning	OT Example	Lexicographical sources
dku^I *"to bend, to make crooked" ~ OT *'khu* *"to bend, curve; to be crooked"	¹a bending, crooking	*dku*	¹hip; ²side; ³slope	(37)	dku^I
	²trickery, deceit	*dku*	trickery	(1) (2) (4) (5)	dku^V - dku^{XII}
		dku gaṅ	ambush	(9) (10)	
		dku sgyu	trickery	(19)	
		dku che	shrewd	(20)	
		dku ba	trickster	(5) (25)	
		dku bo	cunning (N)	(28)	
	³harm; injustice	*dku khyim*	house of injustice	(8)	
		dku chaṅ	beer of injustice	(29)	
		dku zaṅs	kettle of injustice	(29)	
		dku lug	sheep of injustice	(29)	
		khoṅ dku	harm, injustice	(30) (31)	
		naṅ dku	harm, injustice	(32)	
dku^{II} *"to rise, ascend, go beyond" ~ PTB *ku*	¹to rise	*dku*	to rise	(6) (7)	dku^{III}
		dku ba	malodorous	(26)	dku^{II}
	²to exceed	*dku 'gel*	addition	(11)	dku^{III} / dku^{XIII}
		*dku rgyas	nobility	(12) (13) (14) (15) (16)	
		*dku rgyas pa	nobleman	(17)	
		*dku rgyas gtsigs	nobility edict	(18)	
		dku dar	to prevail	(21)	
		*dku 'phel	to be revealed	(22) (23) (24)	
		dku babs	youthful	(27)	
	³to overflow	*dku*	to fall down		dku^{IV}

Abbreviations

*	form or meaning reconstructed by the author
?urgently?	Translation uncertain
ABS	absolutive
ACIP	Asian Classics Input Project (see Internet sources)

Adv	adverb
ALLAT	allative
AOH	Acta Orientalia Hungarica
BDN	Gña'-goṅ-dkon-mchog-tshes-brtan, 1995 (see References)
BDSN	*Brda gsar rñiṅ gi rnam par dbye ba* by Dbus-pa-blo-gsal (see MIMAKI 1992)
BNY	Bsod-nams-skyid, Dbaṅ-rgyal, (eds.) 2003 (see References)
BRTD	Duṅ-dkar-blo-bzaṅ-'phrin-las, 2002 (see References)
BTC	Zhang Yisun, 1993 (see References)
BTK	Go-śul-grags-pa-'byuṅ-gnas, 2001 (see References)
BYD	Rnam-rgyal-tshe-riṅ, 2001 (see References)
c	controllable verb
CDTD	Bielmeier et al. (see References)
Cs	Csoma, 1834 (see References)
CT	Classical Tibetan
D	Das, 2000 (see References)
DEL	delative
Desg	Desgodin, 1899 (see References)
DSM	Btsan-lha-ṅag-dbaṅ-tshul-khrims, 1997 (see References)
DTH	Bacot, et al., 1940 (see References)
EAT	Eastern Amdo Tibetan
ERG	ergative
GC	Chos-kyi-grags-pa (see References)
GEN	genitive
Gs	Goldstein 2001 (see References)
HUM	human
ibid.	ibidem, Eng. *in the same place*
id.	idem, Eng. *the same*
IDP	International Dunhuang Project (see Internet sources)
INTR	intransitive
ITJ	IOL Tib J
IW	Ives Waldo *via* Nitartha (see Internet sources)
J	Jäschke, 2003 (see References)
Jä	Jäschke, 1871 (see References)
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
l.	line
LEU	Hamid, 1998 (see References)
LZB	Tenzin, Pasar Tsultrim, et al., 2008 (see References)
MG	Mainwaring, G. B., Grünwedel, A., 1979 (see References)
ms.	manuscript
Mvy	Sasaki (ed.), 1965 (see References)

MW	Monier-Williams, 2002 (see References)
N	noun
nc	non-controllable verb
O	object
OT	Old Tibetan
OTC	*Old Tibetan Chronicles*
OTDO	Old Tibetan Documents Online (see Internet sources)
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PT	Pelliot Tibétain
PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
QUOT	quotation
R	Rerich, J.N., 1983-93 (see References)
Rkoṅ	Rkoṅ-po inscription
RKTS	Resources for Kanjur & Tanjur Studies (see Internet sources)
S	subject
Sch	Schmidt, 1841 (see References)
Skt.	Sanskrit
SR	Sumatiratna, 1959 (see References)
ST Treaty W	Sino-Tibetan Treaty inscription, West side
STEDT	Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus (see Internet sources)
TB	Tibeto-Burman
TLTD	Thomas, 1935-55 (see References)
TP	T'oung Pao
TR	transitive
trslr.	transliteration
V	verb
VA	verbal adjective
WAT	Western Archaic Tibetan
WIT	Western Innovative Tibetan
WT	Written Tibetan
WTS	*Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache* (see References)
Źol N	Źol inscription, North side
Źwa E	Źwa'i-lha-khaṅ inscription, East side
Źwa W	Źwa'i-lha-khaṅ inscription, West side

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