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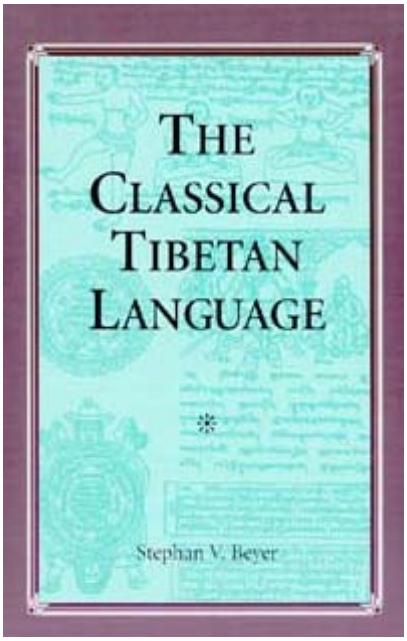

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SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies
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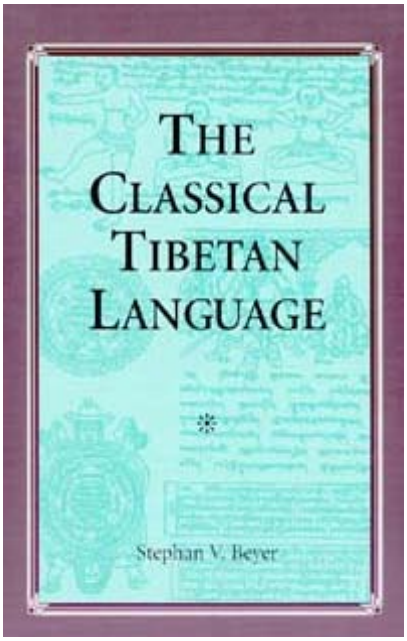

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The Classical Tibetan Language

Stephan V. Beyer

ña de-phyir ses-nas Ntshad-pa yin
gnañ-ba thob-nas rtsom-pa yin
log-smra Ndug-nas rtsod-pa yin
Pad-ma dkar-po

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I seem to produce children more rapidly than I produce books, which indicates that my priorities are properly organized. This one is for Rebecca.

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Foreword

The year 1959 marks an abrupt turning point in the history of Tibet. The flight of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama to India, where he was followed by close to a hundred thousand of his fellow Tibetans, created a nation in exile dedicated above all to the preservation of the unique cultural institutions of its homeland. Not surprising, then, that during the past three decades the academic study of Tibet has been radically transformed. No longer the special preserve of adventurer-scholars able to mount expeditions to the Land of Snows, or of philologically oriented "buddhologists," whose Tibetan researches were almost exclusively confined to the translations of Sanskrit texts, Tibetan studies increasingly came to focus upon the indigenous Tibetan traditions of religion, learning and art that are the primary interests of Tibetans themselves.

Prominent among those whose scholarship reflected the changed conditions for research during the first two decades of Tibetan exile was a specialist in the field of Buddhist Studies, Stephan Beyer, then of the University of Wisconsin, whose superb contribution to the documentation and interpretation of Tibetan Buddhist ritual, *The Cult of Tara,* marked the first fruits of his wide-ranging researches. After the late seventies, however, Steve increasingly devoted his energies to a career in law, having completely abandonedor so it was widely rumoredhis work in Tibetan and Buddhist Studies. I was therefore surprised and delighted to learn, after I joined the faculty of the University of Chicago in 1986, that Steve was both in Chicago (with the firm of Sidley & Austin) and that in his spare time he had remarkably completed a grammar of literary Tibetan, which he had begun at the University of CaliforniaBerkeley some ten years before. In 1988 Steve sent me a copy of the manuscript. I immediately felt it to be an extremely exciting work, reflecting throughout the author's wide-ranging knowledge of Tibetan literature, in its many genres and forms, ancient and recent.

A distinctive feature of Steve's approach to the Tibetan language is his almost complete abandonment of the morphological and syntactic categories, borrowed from Indo-European grammars, that have traditionally informed textbooks of Tibetan. The "canonical" status of this mismatching was reinforced both by indigenous Tibetan grammatical tradition, which derived its own analytic and descriptive categories from India, and by the emphasis,

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in Western philological circles, on the study of literary Tibetan primarily as an adjunct to the study of Sanskrit Buddhist texts. For those who were inclined to direct their attention primarily to works of Tibetan authorship epic, history, biography, poetry, and so forthit has long been clear that Indo-European models were both inadequate and misleading, but the effort to correct the powerful disposition to continue to adhere to them was largely limited, as it was in Jacques Bacot's still useful *Grammaire,* to the enumeration of the so-called "particles." And while it is true that linguists specializing in Tibeto-Burman have generally avoided the sanskritizing inclinations of the philologists, they have by-and-large not addressed their work to those who study Tibetan in order to actually read Tibetan literature. *The Classical Tibetan Language,* therefore, calls for the student of literary Tibetan to rethink the Tibetan language fundamentally.

In terms of its extraordinarily thorough treatment of the phenomena one encounters in literary Tibetan, and the insights that mark virtually every page, *The Classical Tibetan Language* is a work without precedent. It is my belief that the rethinking it calls for is essential for the realization of the creative potentialities of contemporary Tibetan studies, and that such controversy as it will perhaps arouse will significantly contribute to the creative growth of the field. Steve gives us a tantalizing glimpse of some possible lines of exploration in his deeply penetrating, yet appropriately playful, remarks on Tibetan poetry and poetics. Our rethinking of the Tibetan language is not to be a linguistic exercise plain and simple: we must inquire into the manner in which Tibetan writers used and thus continually rethought their own language, forming of it a unique medium for a distinctively Tibetan heritage of learning, insight and wit.

MATTHEW KAPSTEIN
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
VESAK 1991

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Preface

In 1975, I accepted an appointment as a visiting associate professor at the University of California at Berkeley, and I looked around for a nice portable project to take with me. It is a measure of my innocence that I decided to start writing a grammar of classical Tibetan. Now, more than fifteen years later, the project is about as finished as I am ever going to make it. During those fifteen years, I returned to the University of Wisconsin at Madison, abandoned my tenured appointment, and began a career as a trial lawyer with the firm of Sidley & Austin in Chicago. During that time, too, it would be fair to say that my work on this grammar was sporadic. Yet somehow, during all those odd moments, a stack of handwritten notes about two feet highexamples from the classical literature, attempts at theorizing, jumbles of cross-referencesbecame the product you now have before you. My motive was simpleto move the Tibetan language from my head to paper. I hope someone finds the result useful.

I am not a Tibeto-Burman linguist; but I believe that the reader of classical Tibetan texts should have some sense of the place of the language in the speech communities of the world. References in this text to Tibeto-Burman languages other than Tibetan are based on several secondary sources, chief of which is Paul K. Benedict, *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), as edited and annotated by James Matisoff, and David Bradley, *Proto-Loloish*, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series No. 39 (London: Curzon Press, 1979). Comparative citations of Tibeto-Burman forms are largely taken from these two remarkable compilations. In addition, I have relied on the stream of works produced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics on the languages of Nepal, in particular the various works of Warren W. Glover on Gurung and the works in the four volumes of Austin Hale and David E. Watters, *Clause, sentence, and discourse pattems in selected languages of Nepal*, Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields 40 (Kathmandu: Summer Institute of Linguistics and Tribhuvan University, 1973). In the bibliography at the end of the text, I have tried to include not only the texts upon which I have relied but also the texts that the literary scholar might find enlightening.

In all my reading on the classical Tibetan language, I have returned again and

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again to the works of three scholarly pioneers of Tibetan studiesBerthold Laufer, Géza Uray, and Rolf Stein. They represent the best scholarship to which I could aspire, and I cannot put forward this book without acknowledging the debt I owe them. I also cannot forebear from mentioning the name of E. Gene Smith, whose work is scattered in introductions and prefaces to the works of others; the collection of these into a single and accessible volume is a scholarly desideratum which is, unfortunately, not likely to occur soon.

I owe a great personal debt to Professor Matthew Kapstein of Columbia University, for his friendship, encouragement, good sense, and extraordinary knowledge of the Tibetan language. No writer could hope for a better or more thorough reader, or for a more discerning critic. Thanks, too, to Professors James Matisoff of the University of California and F. K. Lehman of the University of Illinois for their generous help, encouragement, and suggestions. Finally, I want to thank my friends and law partners Mike Davis, Bill Richmond, and Doug Fuson. Their friendship and support helped me write this book, even though they did not know it.

One final note. If you want to learn classical Tibetan, you can do no better than to sit down and read *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* by H.A. Jäschke, originally published in 1881 and reprinted several times thereafter. Jäschke was a Moravian missionary in Ladakh, and I do not think that any other scholar of Tibetan has ever equalled the linguistic insight exhibited in this dictionary. And if you want to learn how to THINK ABOUT classical Tibetan, you should sit down and readtwiceJames A. Matisoff, *Variational Semantics in Tibeto-Burman*, Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics 6 (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1978), which is simultaneously one of the most sensible and sensitive books on *doing* Tibeto-Burman linguistics I have ever read.

STEPHAN V. BEYER
CHICAGO
MAY 1991

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Khams-sprul rin-po-tshe VIII Don-brgyud
ñi-mawith thanks

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1
Introduction

This book is intended to describe the reading of texts in the classical Tibetan language. It is not a complete survey of all aspects of Tibetan grammar, although I have tried to include everything I thought it was important to know. It is intended to describe the READING of classical Tibetan; therefore it will not attempt to teach the reader to speak either Old Tibetan or some modern Tibetan dialect.1 Rather my aim has been to provide procedures for the understanding of TEXTthat is, coherent discourses with literary or philosophical content, whose authors used the resources of their language to convey meaning.

Moreover, this book describes the reading of CLASSICAL Tibetan. I have excluded from systematic consideration the modern newspaper language at one end and the language of translated Indic texts at the other. This leaves a sufficiently immense corpus of written Tibetan material for us to work from.2

1 This limitation has made the descriptive task much easier. A RECOGNITION GRAMMAR such as this need not incorporate the output constraints required in a PRODUCTION GRAMMAR, under the assumption that a reader simply will not encounter syntactically ill-formed sequences, whereas a beginning speaker may well produce them. For example, a production grammar of English would require both a rule to produce the sequences *goodness* and *correctness* and a constraint on the same rule to prevent the sequences ?*trueness* or ?*strongness* (as opposed to *truth* or *strength*). But a recognition grammar would need only a rule allowing such sequences as *goodness* or *correctness* to be interpreted when encountered. If *trueness* or *strongness* should turn up in a text, they could be processed by the same rule; if not, the question does not arise.

2 I think it is fair to say that the translated materials have been more intensively studied than works originally composed in Tibetan, because of the primarily Indological interests of many scholars of Tibetan; most existing textbooks reflect this interest. There can be no doubt, of course, that the classical language, as here defined, is closely related to the translation language. But it is clear too that the language of the translations exhibits its own peculiarities, including occasionally opaque attempts at reproducing Sanskrit syntax. These peculiarities, I firmly believe, are best analyzed from the point of view of the grammar of native Tibetan works, rather than the other way around.

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Finally, I hope to introduce classical Tibetan as a LANGUAGE, with a history, with a range of styles, and with ongoing processes of creation and change. Too often the Tibetan language is seen either as a poor substitute for unfortunately vanished Sanskrit texts, or as a spiritual code whose value lies solely in the message it concealswith the result that the language itself is neglected as a medium of great range, power, subtlety, and humor. I hope to rescue Tibetan from its subordination to Indic criteria, and to help the reader proceed not only with some grammatical confidence but also with an awareness of the individuality and literary potential of the language. I hope to provide the reader with conceptual tools for an intelligent and critical reading of Tibetan texts. I hope to share some of my affection for the Tibetan language.

Figure 1
Dbyans-tsan-ma, goddess of music and speech

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2
Transliteration

1. Phonemic Symbols

In this book I will use the following inventory of symbols to transcribe Tibetan of all periods:

	STOPS		FRICATIVES		SONORANTS	
GLOTTAL	ʔ		h			
VELAR	*k*	g	*x*	ɣ	ŋ	
PALATAL	c	*j*	ɕ	ʑ	ɲ	*y*
RETROFLEX	*ʈ*	*ɖ*	ʂ	ʐ	ɳ	*r*
DENTAL	*t*	*d*	*s*	*z*	*n*	*I*
LABIAL	*p*	*b*	*f*	*v*	*m*	*w*

Table 1. Transliteration of consonants

	FRONT		BACK
HIGH		ɨ	
	i		u
		ə	*o*
	e		
	ɛ	ʌ	ɔ
LOW		a	

Table 2 Transliteration of vowels

2. Digraphs and Diacritics

Combinations of symbols will be used to represent AFFRICATES (such as *ts, dz,*

pf), ASPIRATES (such as *kh, bh, tsh*), PALATALIZED CONSONANTS (such as *khy, zy, my*), and similar modifications. A small subscript circle will indicate that a normally voiced phoneme is VOICELESS, as in New Tibetan (Lhasa) la "god" as opposed to *la* "mountain pass." An umlaut will indicate that the marked vowel is articulated at the end of the mouth other than the usual onethat is, that a normally back rounded vowel is a FRONT ROUNDED vowel at the same height, as in New Tibetan (Lhasa) *sü* "tell," where the vowel is fronted as opposed to *su* "sit" and rounded as opposed to s*i* "destroy"; or that a normally front spread vowel is a BACK SPREAD vowel at the same height, as in New Tibetan (Amdo) *sïn* "field," where the vowel is backed as opposed to *sin* "cloud" and spread as opposed to s*un* "protection." The symbol *l* will represent a voiced murmured lateral, as in New Tibetan (Ladakh) *lama* "lama," *la* "god," *lu* "song." I will use the symbol *N* to indicate both NASALIZATION of a preceding vowel, as in New Tibetan (Dbus) *güN* "grape," and PRENASALIZATION of a following consonant, as in *Ngü* "move."

3. Other Symbols

I will use an asterisk to mark an UNATTESTED form which has been historically reconstructed, as in Proto-Tibetan **gryab* "throw." I will use an interrogative to mark a DISALLOWED form which is precluded by the synchronic rules of the language, as in Old Tibetan ?*rta-rnams-dag* as opposed to *rta-dag-rnam*s "horses." Quotation marks will enclose GLOSSES, as in Old Tibetan *rta* "horse," in order to identify forms and constructions, not to provide their central meaning or best possible translation, although I must confess I think my translations are often quite clever; capitalized glosses are SEMANTIC, as in Old Tibetan *-dag* "MORE THAN ONE."

The sign > means "changes into" and < means "develops from," as when Proto-Tibetan **gryab* "throw" > Old Tibetan *rgyab* > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *cap.* The sign ~ means "varies with," as when Old Tibetan *me-tog* ~ *men-tog* "flower." The sign ? in glosses means "is lexicalized as," as in Old Tibetan *rdo-rin* "long stone ? monument," New Tibetan (Dbus) *meta* "fire arrow ? gun." Angle brackets enclose GRAPHS, as when I indicate that New Tibetan (Lhasa) "Buddha" has the written form <*sans-rgyas*>. The graph called *a-tshun* "little a" by the Tibetan grammarians will be transcribed, for expository purposes only, by a slash, as when discussing the written form <*be/u*>for Old Tibetan *beu* "calf," but will not otherwise be transcribed, for

reasons that will be made clear in the main body of the textthus, normally, Old Tibetan *od* <*od*>"light" rather than <*/od*>, *beu* <*beu*>"calf" rather than <*be/u*>, and *mda* <*mda*>"arrow" rather than <*mda/*>.

A hyphen will be used to indicate that the syllables which it connects constitute a single WORD, as in Old Tibetan *Ndzig-rten* "world," or a single STRESS GROUP, as in Old Tibetan *pad-dkar* "white lotus." It will also be used to indicate that a morpheme is BOUND and must occur with some other form either preceding, as in Old Tibetan *-dag* "MORE THAN ONE," or following, as in Old Tibetan *mI-* "NEGATIVE." A hyphen may also indicate the POSITION of a phoneme in a Tibetan syllable: thus *r-* indicates a leftmost *r*, as in *rgu*, *-r-*indicates a medial *r*, as in *gru*, and *-r* indicates a final *r*, as in *gur*.

I will use a period to distinguish a stop preinitial followed by an initial glide, as in Old Tibetan *g.yon* "left" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *yÖN*, from a stop initial followed by a postinitial glide, as in Old Tibetan *gyon* "loss" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *choN*.

Capitalization of a phoneme will indicate that it undergoes regular MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGES according to phonological environment. Such an environment may be across a syllable boundary, as when the Old Tibetan nominalizer *-Pa* becomes *-ba* after preceding final *-n*, *-r*, *-I* and vowels, and *-pa* elsewhere; or within a syllable, as when the Old Tibetan future tense prefix G- becomes g- before acute consonant initials and *d-* before grave consonant initials. Verb ROOTS will be entirely capitalized, followed, where appropriate, in parentheses, by the tense stems of that root, present and past in the case of intransitive verbs, and present, past, future, and imperative in the case of transitive verbsfor example, *KHUM* (*Nkhum/khums*)"become shrunken," *TU* (*Nthu/btus/btu/thus*)"gather," *SLAB* (*slob/bslabs/bslab/slobs*)"teach." Using this convention, we will show the derivation of, say, the present and past stems of *GAD* "laugh" as *dgod* < *G-GAD* "laughs" and *bgad* < *b-GAD-s* "laughed."

The Tibetan vertical stroke or s*ad*, marking a reading pause, will be transcribed with a comma.

4. Other Languages

Words in New Chinese, as well as Chinese place names, book titles, and other non-linguistic citations, will be given in Wade-Giles transcription, about

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which I am sentimental. Reconstructed forms in Old and Middle ChineseKarlgren's "Archaic" and "Ancient" Chinesehave been taken from Bernhard Karlgren's *Grammata Serica Recensa*, with several liberties taken with his transcription. Sanskrit is transcribed in the traditional manner, as are, more or less, Mongolian and Burmese. Those familiar with these languages should have no difficulty recognizing the forms. There is nothing even approaching a generally accepted tradition for transcribing the less wellknown Tibeto-Burman languages; I have followed, as best I could, the transcriptions of the various authors to whose works I have referred, and I have attemptedprobably with little successto force some consistency upon the various systems.

Figure 2.
Charm to bind demons

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3
Tibetan in Context

1. Defining Tibetan

Tibetan is a language spoken primarily on the high plateau north of the Himalayas. It is related to a number of Himalayan languages, such as Gurung and Magar, whose speakers were a traditional source of recruits for the British Gurkha forces. It is also related to several languages, such as Rgyarong and Minyag, spoken on the great northern plains by nomadic tribes traditionally called "western barbarians" by the Chinese.1 Tibetan is more distantly related to Burmese; even more distantly to languages spoken by Naked Nagas and other hill tribes of Assam; and more distantly still to Chinese. Tibetan has had a writing system since the seventh century, borrowed from an Indian prototype. India, in fact, has had a massive cultural impact on Tibet; but Tibetan itself is unrelated to Sanskrit or any other Indic language.

We can define Tibetan as that language in which we find the word *bdun* "seven" and its cognatesparticularly as opposed to the word **snis* and its cognates found everywhere else among the Tibeto-Burman languages. For example, we find Rgyarong *snyis,* Horpa *zne,* Kanauri *stis,* Garo *sni* Kachin *sənüt,* Burmese *hnats,* Sgaw *nwi,* Taungthu *nöt,* Gurung n*i,* the ancient Zhangzhung *snis,* and perhaps even Old Chinese **tshyet* "seven."2 None of these

1 Middle Chinese **bhywan* "barbarian" may in fact be a loanword from Old Tibetan *bon* "shamanic religion" or a related word in one of the Hsi-fan languages.

2 Another apparent innovation in Tibetan is the word *khyod* "you" and its cognates, as opposed to **nan* "you" and its cognates found in other related languages-for example, Chepang *nan,* Kachin *nan,* Burmese *nan,* Lushei *nan,* Sgaw *na,* Pwo *na,* Dhimal *na,* Nung *na,* Phunoi *naN,* Bisu *nan,* Akha *naw,* Mpi *non,* Rgyarong *no,* Minyag *na,* and perhaps Old Chinese **nyo* and **ñia* "you." Compare Old Tibetan ñ*id* "you (elegant)" New Tibetan (Sherpa) ñ*ipo* <*ñid-po*>"you."

Interestingly, another apparent Tibetan innovation is *rta* "horse" and its cognates, as opposed to **srañ ~ mrañ* found elsewhere-for example, Chepang *sərañ,* Kachin *kumran,*

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languages is a Tibetan dialect, however closely related it may otherwise be to Tibetan. But when we find Balti *bdun*, Purig *rdun*, Ladakh *dun*, Golok *wdan*, Amdo *din*, and Lhasa City *tüN* "seven," we know we are dealing with a series of DIALECTS within the Tibetan language.

2. Tibetan and Related Languages

When we say Tibetan is related to another languagesay, Burmese or Chinesewe mean that the languages are both descendants of an earlier language no longer in existence. Frequently such a hypothetical ancestor is proposed to account for many such offspring; this common ancestor is then often named after those two of its descendants with the oldest written recordsfor example, Proto-Tibeto-Burman, which is the hypothetical language from which all Tibeto-Burman languages have come, or Proto-Sino-Tibetan, which is the hypothetical language from which have come not only the Tibeto-Burman languages but Chinese as well.

When comparing languages to see if they are related, random correspondences of words of course prove nothing. The apparent cognates could just be accidental: compare Tibetan *rgyal* "king" with English *royal~regal*. More frequently such apparent cognates are loan words, in one direction or the

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> Burmese *mran*, Kanauri *ran*, Manchati *hran*, Bunan s*rans*, Haka *ran*, Lisu *amu*, Phunoi *moN*, Bisu ʔamɔ̄, Akha *mah*, Mpi *myun*, Rgyarong *bro-mbro*, and perhaps Old Chinese **mɔ*"horse." However, in several archaic texts from Central Asia, we find, to our delight, alongside Old Tibetan *rta* "horse," the word *rman*, which apparently means something very much like "horse"-for example, in a mythological text from the caves near Tun-huang, in the couplet *rta-skad ni tsher-tsher, rman-skad ni tsher-tsher* "In horse language, yes, *tsher-tsher!* in steed language, yes, *tsher-tsher!"* or in the couplet *rta bzugs ni gnam-la bzugs, rman bzugs ni dgun-la bzugs* "The horse dwells, yes, dwells in the sky; the steed dwells, yes, dwells in the heavens," or, again, *rta ni log-pa tshe, rman ni mkhris-pa tshe* "The horse, yes, his revulsion was great; the steed, yes, his bile was great." In the administrative correspondence recovered from the Tibetan garrisons in Central Asia, we find, as we might expect, frequent references to horses, but almost always as *rta*. Still, the word *rman* lingers in the collocation *rman-rogs* "horse attendant ® groom," and, perhaps, in the proper name *rman-sbyin* "Horse Giver." By the time of the classical texts the word *rman* has disappeared entirely. It seems clear that this Old Tibetan *rman* is related to Proto-Tibeto-Burman **mran* "horse," and was replaced by Old Tibetan *rta* "horse" during the seventh centuryin effect, before our eyes.

other: this might be the case with words such as classical Tibetan *dza* Middle Chinese **jha* "tea," or classical Tibetan *dzag* Middle Chinese **dzhək*"robbery," where, as one Sinologist has put it, too close a likeness is even more suspect than too distant a one. But what makes it likely that, say, Tibetan and Chinese are related languages is a SYSTEMATIC correspondence among their wordsfor example, the fact that in both languages the word for "I" (Old Tibetan *na*, Old Chinese **na*) and "five" (Old Tibetan *l-na*, Old Chinese **no*)both have velar nasal initials, or the word for "three" (Old Tibetan *g-sum*, Old Chinese **səm*)and "kill" (Old Tibetan *SAD*, Old Chinese **sat*)both begin with a dental fricative. It is only on such a systematic basis that we are justified in assuming that Tibetan and Chinese derive from a common ancestor.

Technically speaking, the only way actually to demonstrate that two or more languages are cognate descendants of a common ancestral language is to reconstruct the common language from which they descended. Such reconstructions have been cited as the most triumphal vindication of Indo-European comparative linguistics. Yet similar attempts to reconstruct earlier stages of Tibetan and related languages have encountered serious difficulties.

You know ek, that in forme of speche is chaunge Withinne a
thousand yer, and wordes tho That hadden prys now wonder nyce
and straunge Us thenketh hem, and yet they spake hem so, And
spedde as wel in love as men now do.
Geoffrey Chaucer, *Troylus and Criseyde*

For one thing, such reconstructions must take account of literally hundreds of related languagesoverwhelmingly unwritten and, until recently, poorly recorded and described. For another, the words which are being compared in these language are remarkably compact. For example, we find classical Tibetan *grog-ma*, Burmese *pərwak*"ant." Are these words cognate? Additional comparisons from other languages do not seem immediately helpful: Rgyarong *korok* and Kiranti *khorok* seem related to the Tibetan *grog*, while Lahu *puɣɔʔ*, Lisu *bawlaw*, and Mpi *pihoʔ*seem related to the Burmese

pərwak. Yet we also find Miri *tərʊk*, Dafla *torub*, and Nung *sərɔ*. What are we to make of this?

One proposed solution postulates a Tibeto-Burman word **rwak* "ant," to which Lahu and Burmese added a prefix **p-* related to the word for "insect" (compare, for example, classical Tibetan *Nbu*, Burmese *pui*, Mpi *pi* "insect"); to which Tibetan, Rgyarong and Kiranti added a **k-* "ANIMAL" prefix; to which Nung added an **s-* "ANIMAL" prefix (compare, for example, Old Tibetan *Swa*, Burmese *sa*, Kachin s*an*, Nung s*a*, Kanauri s*ya* "deer"); and to which Miri and Dafla added a late **d-* prefix of uncertain signification. Now such explanations can quickly become uncomfortably *ad hoc*, and there is often an unexplained residue in any event; for example, we are still left to account for Gurung *nabbru* "ant."3 But such are the challenges faced by the Tibeto-Burman comparativist.

2.1. Tibetan and Chinese

Scholars have long suspected that Tibetan is related to Chinese, and have postulated a Sino-Tibetan family of languages descended from a hypothetical Proto-Sino-Tibetan ancestor. The relationship between Tibetan and Chinese, however, is certainly not obvious if we compare contemporary Tibetan with contemporary Chinese. In Peking city the old word for "dog" is pronounced *tshüan* but in Lhasa city is pronounced *chi* while a Peking fish is called *yü* but a Lhasa fish is called *ña*.

But thanks to the extraordinary conservatism of Tibetan writing on the one hand, and the scholarly detective work of such Sinologists as Bernhard Karlgren on the other, we can reconstruct these same words in Old Tibetan and Old Chinese:4 when we compare Old Tibetan *khyi* with Old Chinese

3 Unlike many words in Gurung, *nabbru* does not appear to be a loan word from Nepali, where the word for "ant" is *kamilo*. Nepali is an Indo-Aryan language not very distantly related to Hindi.

4 Languages are dated from the first appearance of writing: thus the earliest Tibetan records are said to be in Old Tibetan, and the earliest Chinese records in Old Chinese. (Forms reconstructed for a period prior to the appearance of writing are said to be in the proto-language-Proto-Tibetan, say, or Proto-Chinese.) But Chinese was first written much earlier than Tibetan was, so Old Chinese is older than Old Tibetan; in fact, Old Tibetan is

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**khywen* "dog" and Old Tibetan ñ*a* (from an even older Proto-Tibetan **nya*)with Old Chinese **nyo* "fish," the similarities between the two languages become much more striking. In the same way, other correspondences have been proposed-for example, Old Tibetan *ñi* Old Chinese **ñyet* "sun," Old Tibetan *mig* Old Chinese **myok* "eye," Old Tibetan *ma* Old Chinese **ñyag* "ear," Old Tibetan s*in* Old Chinese **syen* "firewood," Old Tibetan *lna* Old Chinese **no* "five," Old Tibetan *gsum* Old Chinese **sam* "three."

Let us assume, then, on the basis of such partial evidence, that Tibetan and Chinese are descended from a common ancestor. Is there any way of telling how long ago it was that Tibetan and Chinese were, in some sense, the same language? Archeological finds indicate that human beings first appeared in northern China around 10,000 BC, in all likelihood having come eastward from the frozen tundras of Siberia, where they had survived and adapted through the most recent of the recurrent ice ages; by 5,000 BC neolithic culture had appeared on the fertile northern plains of China, which then developed with remarkable continuity and coherence directly into historical times, with a language we have every reason to believe was already distinctively Chinese. These speakers of Chinese continued to spread from the middle Yellow River area toward the southern and eastern coastsan extension even now in progress.

If the Chinese language split off from the common stock somewhere between 10,000 and 5,000 BC, then the Chinese and Tibeto-Burman language groups may simply have been separated too long, and their descendants simply have changed too much, to permit any convincing reconstruction of their common source; but a reconstruction of Proto-Sino-Tibetan is so challenging a prospect that such efforts are not likely to stop.

2.2. Tibetan And Burmese

The Burmese language was first written down, on inscriptions, using an adaptation of the Mon orthography, around 1112. This writing system was later replaced by a form of Sinhalese script, also derived from an Indic prototype, and by about 1500 the Burmese writing system had taken on more

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> contemporaneous with Middle Chinese, so that we speak, say, of seventh-century Middle Chinese words borrowed into Old Tibetan. Here we compare Old Tibetan with Old Chinese, since we want to compare the earliest available forms in each language.

or less its present form. The writing, like that of Tibetan, is conservative, and presumably reflects the phonological state of the language at about the time the orthography was fixed; that language in turn differs in some significant ways from modern "standard" Burmese, spoken throughout the Irrawaddy plain and delta, in Upper and Lower Burma, by more than thirty million people.5

The relationship of Tibetan and Burmeseand closely related languages such as those grouped together as Lolois only slightly more apparent than the relationship of Tibetan and Chinese. A dog in Rangoon is *khwei*, and, as we travel through Southeast Asia, we find Lahu *kwe*, Phunoi *khə*, Bisu *khɔ*, Akha *akui*, Mpi *khɔ*, but in Lhasa city a dog is *chi* Similarly, a Rangoon fish is n*a*, and we find Lahu n*a*, Lisu n*wa*, Akha n*a*, Mpi n*o*, but in Lhasa city a fish is ña-a nasal initial, but, apparently, in the wrong part of the mouth.

However, when we compare the older written forms in Tibetan and Burmese, even a cursory inspection reveals systematic correspondences between the two languages much more extensive than those between either language and Chinese. Thus we can, again, compare Old Tibetan *khyi* "dog" to Proto-Burmese **khuy*, and Proto-Tibetan **nya* "fish" to Burmese n*a*. Among the many cognates that have been proposed, we may note Old Tibetan ñ*i* Burmese *ne* "sun," Old Tibetan *myig* Burmese *myak* "eye," Old Tibetan *ma* Burmese *na* "ear," Old Tibetan s*in* Burmese *sats* "firewood," Old Tibetan lna Burmese n*a* "five," Old Tibetan *gsum* Burmese *sum* "three."6

5 For the divergence of the spoken and written forms, note-randomly-modern standard Burmese *mwei* <*mrwe*>"snake," s*wei* <*hrwe*>"gold," *an* <*sam*>"iron," *myi*?<*mrats*>"river," *thamin* <*hta?mañ*>"cooked rice," *shan* <*htsan*>"husked rice," *nei* <*ne*?>"sun," *myin* <*mran*>"horse," as well as *pan* <*pan*>"flower," *mi* <*mi*>"fire," *na* <*na*>"ear," *hna* <*hna*>"nose," *nwei* <*nwe*>"silver."

6 Apparent cognates in Old Tibetan and Burmese are not hard to find. A few minutes with a dictionary will turn up Old Tibetan *tshwa* Burmese *tsha* "salt," Old Tibetan *sku* Burmese *kuiy* "body," Old Tibetan *dgu* Burmese *kui* "nine," Old Tibetan *gri* "knife" Burmese *kre* "copper," Old Tibetan *BGRE* "grow old" Burmese *kni* "be great," Old Tibetan *byi* Burmese *pwe* "rat," Old Tibetan *bya* "bird" Burmese *pya* "bee," Old Tibetan *gtsig* Burmese *tats* "one," Old Tibetan *na* Burmese n*a* "I," Old Tibetan *gñis* Burmese *hnats* "two," Old Tibetan *sna* Burmese *hna* "nose," Old Tibetan *mye* Burmese *mi* "fire," Old Tibetan *smyig* Burmese *hmyats* "bamboo," Old Tibetan *SAD* Burmese *sat* "kill," Old Tibetan *gzigs* Burmese *sats* "leopard," Old Tibetan *zla* Burmese *la* "moon," Old Tibetan *ri* "painting" Burmese *ri* "write."

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There can be no doubt that Tibetan and Burmese are related, or that Burmese in turn is related to a number of other Southeast Asian languages, in what is commonly called the Tibeto-Burman family-here, once again, named after the two members of the family with the oldest written records. In this family, in addition to Tibetan and Burmese, there is in fact a vast complex of languages, stretching from the northern reaches of Assam and Burma westward along the Himalayas, eastward into southern China, and southward along the Salween and Irrawaddy Rivers to the Bay of Bengal. These regions constitute one of the most linguistically diverse areas of the world; it is still very difficult to get a clear picture of the relationships of the various languages and dialects, not only within the Tibeto-Burman family, but also in terms of the areal and borrowing relationships between the Tibeto-Burman languages and the unrelated Thai and Mon-Khmer languages with which they have long been in contact.

The cultural diversity of this area is equally striking. Speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages include goat herders in the mountains of Nepal, former head hunters along the Indo-Burmese frontier, naked tribes in the jungle hills of Assam, as well as the Tibetans and Burmese, who built successful Buddhist kingdoms and literate cultures which have survived to the present day.7 The

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> Some of these Tibetan and Burmese forms correspond even more closely if we look at the orthography of the oldest dated Burmese inscription-the inscription of Prince Rajkumar, dated 1112, often called the Myazedi Inscription because it was found on the *mya zedi* "Emerald Pagoda." Here we find Burmese *se* "die" written <*siy*>, *ri* "water" written <*riy*>, and *pe* "give" written <piy>. Presumably Proto-Burmese *-iy > Burmese -e, and we can compare Old Tibetan ñi "sun" with Proto-Burmese **niy* rather than with Burmese *ne*, Old Tibetan *gri* "knife" with Proto-Burmese **kriy* rather than with Burmese *kre*, Old Tibetan *TSI* "die" with Proto-Burmese *siy rather than with Burmese *se*, and Old Tibetan *SBYIN* "give" with Proto-Burmese **piy* rather than with Burmese *pe*. Similarly, we find Burmese *hrwe* "gold" written <*hruy*>, *mwe* "nourish" written <*muy*>, and *ʔatšhe* "kin" written <*ʔatšuy*>. Presumably Proto-Burmese *-*uy* > Burmese -*we*, and we can compare Old Tibetan *dnul* "silver" with Proto-Burmese **nuy* rather than with Burmese n*we*, Old Tibetan *sbrul* "snake" with Proto-Burmese **mruy* rather than with Burmese *mrwe*, and Old Tibetan *dgur* "crooked" with Proto-Burmese **kuy* rather than with Burmese *kwe*.
>
> 7 Other speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages also had states, primarily on the Hindu model, in the valleys around the edges of South Asiathe Newari in Kathmandu; the Meithlei in Manipur; the Lushei in the Mizo area; the Tripuri in Tripura; the Pyu in Burma, conquered by the Burmese; and the Bodo or Kachari in central Assam, conquered by the Dai Ahom.

generally accepted picture is that this entire area was occupied by an originally southward movement of Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples along the great Irrawaddy and Salween river basins, which carry the waters of the Himalayas to the sea. Such southward migrations, perhaps prompted by periodic dessication of the Inner Asian plains, presumably began from the same point from which another group had moved eastward into the fertile plains of north China; and from secondary diffusion centers along the way there occurred further migrations westward along the great arc of the Himalayas, southward deeper into Burma, and eastward into northern Thailand and Laos, with the languages diverging, interacting, and borrowing from each other, and interacting as well with the unrelated Mon-Khmer and Thai languages whose speakers were both being displaced and migrating themselves.

2.3. Tibetan and The Himalayan Languages

Scattered along the arc of the Himalayas, like beads on a string, are a number of more or less related languages, usually calledfor want of any more informative namethe Himalayan languages. The relations among these languages are not at all clear; for example, Newari, the historically important language of the old kings of Kathmandu, apparently cannot be grouped directly with any other of these Himalayan languages; and the remainder tend to be classified in primarily geographic groupings, with names like West Central Himalayish, on the assumption that human occupation of the Himalayan valleys proceeded linearly, from east to west, so that more closely related languages would tend to cluster geographically as well. I am not at all persuaded that this picture is correct; but I certainly have nothing better to offer.8 What does seem clear is that, among these Himalayan languages, someTamang, Gurung, Thakali, Magar, Kirantiseem quite closely related to Tibetan.

8 Speakers of several of these Himalayan languages have traditionally been the source of recruits for the British Gurkha forces. Nepali, the dominant language of Nepal, came to be the *lingua franca* of the Gurkha forces at brigade posts of the Indian Army throughout India and of the British Army in Hong Kong and Malaysia. Glover has noted that Gurung children returning to Nepal from military posts can converse with their village relatives only in Nepali while the latter converse among themselves in Gurung. Nepali is an Indo-Aryan language related to Hindi; and, although unrelated to the Himalayan languages, Nepali loanwords have thoroughly infiltrated the Himalayan lexicons.

In 1927, Sten Konow, of the Linguistic Survey of India, distinguished between "complex pronominalized" and "non-pronominalized" Himalayan languages, with the pronominalized languages further subdivided into eastern and western branches. The pronominalized languages fuse subject and object pronouns to the verb, where they appear as prefixes and suffixes, yielding in effect a verbal inflection for both subject and object: for example, in Limbu, the language of the principal tribal people of eastern Nepal, we find the verb forms *hiptun* "I hit him," *hipne* "I hit you," *khiptu* "You hit him," *hiptu* "He hits him," *khipti* "He hits you," *ahiptum* "We hit him," *khiptum* "You all hit him," and so on.9

Konow believed that the pronominalized languages had borrowed this syntactic device from neighboring speakers of the entirely unrelated Munda languages. Such syntactic borrowing is not in itself impossible; in this case, however, it seems unlikely, for two reasons. First, the Munda verbal inflection system is very different in its basic structure from that of the pronominalized Himalayan languages studied by Konow; one would expect a greater similarity in structureeven if not in contentif the syntactic device had in fact been borrowed. Second, the Himalayan verbal inflections are quite similar among themselves, even between geographically distant languages, to the point where it appears possible to reconstruct a Proto-Himalayan verb system.10 Such a proposed reconstruction would presumably place the development of the proto-inflectional system prior to any contact with Munda speakers. In any event, it seems both possible and plausible that the development was an internal one.

Many of these Himalayan languages, such as Newari, do not at first glance seem closely related to Tibetan; othersespecially those in the Tamang-Gurung-Thakali groupappear strikingly similar not only in basic portions

9 This distinction cuts across geographical lines. Eastern pronominalized languages include Limbu, Rai, Chepang, and other groups in eastern and central Nepal; western pronominalized languages such as Kanauri are spoken primarily in the mountain areas of northwestern India outside Kashmir. Non-pronominalized languages include Gurung, Magar, Newari, and Lepcha or Rong, among others; these are distributed from the north of western central Nepal across to eastern Nepal and adjacent areas of India.

10 Indeed, some scholars have gone so far as to suggest not that the pronominalized Himalayan languages idiosyncratically acquired their inflections, but rather that the non-pronominalized languages lost the inflections they once had.

of their vocabulary but in syntax as well. For example, compare Gurung *khi-e tshami na-e tshai-lai piN-n* "Give your daughter to my son" with Old Tibetan *khyod-kyi tsha-mo nai tsha-la sbyin* New Tibetan (Lhasa) ***khör-ɛ tshamo ñɛ tsha-lə*** *CiN* "Give your niece to my nephew."11 Note too the following apparent cognatesOld Tibetan ñ*i* Kham *nimi* Limbu *nam* Gurung *din* "sun," Old Tibetan *mig* Kham *mi* Limbu *mik* Gurung *miN* "eye," Old Tibetan *ma* Kham *na* Limbu *nekho* Gurung n*a* "ear," Old Tibetan s*in* Kham *sin* Limbu *sing* Gurung *siN* "firewood," Old Tibetan *gsum* Kham *sohn* Limbu *sumsi* Gurung *SON* "three," Old Tibetan l*tse* Kham *se* Limbu *lesot* Gurung *l*e "tongue."12

Such cognates must, of course, be distinguishedsomehowfrom loanwords. There is every reason to believe, for example, that Old Tibetan *tshos* New Tibetan (Dbus) *tshö* "dharma" Gurung *tshyoe* "religious book" is a relatively recent loan. Note also other apparent loans in the same cultural sphereOld Tibetan *bla-ma* New Tibetan (Dbus) *lama* Gurung *lamaa* "lama" (compared to the apparently genuine cognate Old Tibetan *bla* Gurung *pla* "soul"), Old Tibetan *rlun-rta* New Tibetan (Dbus) *lunta* Gurung *lunta* "prayer flag," Old Tibetan *SNO* New Tibetan (Dbus) n*o* "bless, pronounce benediction" Gurung *no* "blow upon a sick person (by religious officiant)," Old Tibetan *rna* New Tibetan (Dbus) n*a* Gurung *na* "shaman's drum."

2.4. Tibetan and the Western Barbarians

The Chinese historical records speak of nomadic and barbarian inhabitants of the high plains to the west, called, first, **khyan* > *ch'iang* "sheepherders" (the graph represents a man and a sheep), and, later, **bhywan* > *fan* "barbarians," a word which may in fact have been borrowed from Old Tibetan *bon* "shamanic religion" or a related word in one of the Hsi-fan

11 Gurung *tsha* "son" Old Tibetan *tsha* "nephew, grandchild" appear to be genuinely old Sino-Tibetan words: we find, for example, Dlimal *tsan* "son," Tsangla *za-sa* "child, baby," Burmese *sa* "child," Lushei *tu* "grandchild, nephew," and perhaps also Old Chinese **tsyəg* "son, daughter, child." Note also Old Tibetan *BTSA* "bear, bring forth," and perhaps Old Chinese **dzyəg* which Karlgren interprets as having originally meant "foetus."

12 Kham (not to be confused with the Khams dialects of Tibetan) is spoken in west Nepal by Magars of the Buda, Gharti, Pun, and Rokha subtribes; Limbu is spoken in east Nepal; and Gurung is spoken in the Gandaki zone in central west Nepal.

languages. The annals of the Han Dynasty note the existence of one group of **khyan*, located far from China, called the **pywat-khyan*, a term in which we may perhaps see a relationship with Old Tibetan *bod* "Tibet."13 Later, during the T'ang dynasty, the Chinese distinguished between the **tho-bhywan* > *t'u-fan* "agricultural barbarians," a term which came to be used regularly for the Tibetans, and the **syər-bhywan* > *hsi-fan* "western barbarians," a loosely defined group of nomadic tribes ranging the plains in what is now the Amdo region.14 The Tibetans drew the same distinction between themselves and these other nomads, even though the ways of life of the Tibetan and Hsi-fan nomads were basically the same; the Tibetans speak of the Horpa, the Minyag, the eighteen tribes of the Rgyarong as not speaking the Tibetan language, although these languages have clearly borrowed a large number of words from central Tibetan.

In fact, the influence of central Tibetan on these languages has been so great that they have frequently been considered to be Tibetan themselves; note, however, Rgyarong *snyis*, Horpa *zne*, Minyag s*an* "seven" instead of Old Tibetan *bdun* "seven" and its New Tibetan reflexes, Rgyarong *no*, Horpa *ni* Minyag *na* "you" instead of Old Tibetan *khyod* "you" and its New Tibetan reflexes, Rgyarong *pram*, Horpa *phru-phru*, Minyag *phri* "white" instead of Old Tibetan *dkar* "white" and its reflexes. The relationship between these languages and Tibetan, however, is clearly a close one: for example, in the Rgyarong dialect of Lcog-rtse, we find Old Tibetan *ma* Rgyarong *ma* "ear," Old Tibetan s*in* Rgyarong *sying* "firewood," Old Tibetan *mig* Rgyarong *mnyak* "eye," Old Tibetan *dnul* Rgyarong *ngiy* "silver," Old Tibetan *gñis* Rgyarong *nis* "two." But we must, as always, be wary of possible loan words, especially, here, from written Tibetan texts. A correspondence as close as Old Tibetan *ldzan-gu* Rgyarong *ldzan-ku* "green" is sufficient to arouse suspicion; but

13 I think it is pretty clear that *bod* "Tibet," *bon* "shamanic religion," *BO* "call out, cry out," and perhaps *PHO* "change place, migrate," *SPO* "remove, shift, migrate," *dbon/Nbon* "descendant, nephew, grandchild," *NPHYO* "range, roam about," form what we will later in this text call a word family.

14 The Old Tang History has a chapter on Tu-fan, and cites the recognizably Old Tibetan words *btsan-po* "king," transcribed as Middle Chinese **tsan-phwo*, and *blon* "minister," transcribed as Middle Chinese **lywen*, as native Tu-fan words. The New Tang History, in its parallel chapter on Tu-fan, gives a more extensive vocabulary list of Tibetan government officials, and similarly transcribes Old Tibetan *btsan-po* "king" as Middle Chinese **tsan-phwo* and Old Tibetan *blon* "minister" as Middle Chinese **lywen*, using the same Chinese characters; but here the language is cited as being that of the **khyan*.

when we find Old Tibetan *stag* Rgyarong *khun* "tiger" but *stak* "tiger" in the Lcog-rtse dialect, or Old Tibetan *dbyar-ka* Rgyarong *tsar* "summer" but *dbyarke* in the Chos-kia dialect, it is reasonable to believe we have found an informant with a literary education.

3. Variation in Tibetan

If Tibetans from different parts of Tibet are asked to give their word for "hair," a Tibetan from Purik will say *skra,* one from Amdo will say s*kya,* one from Kham will say s*tra,* one from Tao-fu will say *stra,* and one from Bhutan or Sikkim will say *kya.* Similarly, a Ladakhi will say *sa,* a rural Central Tibetan will say *ta,* and an upper-class resident of Lhasa City will say *tsa.* But if these Tibetans are literate, and are asked to write the word they had just spoken, they will all produce the same written form, which we here transcribe as <*skra*>. And, if they are shown the written form <*skra* >, they will, again, pronounce the word differently, but they will all recognize the form and agree thathowever it is pronouncedit means "hair."

One reason for this is the remarkable conservatism of the Tibetan writing system. The written form <*skra*>, for example, with the same meaning "hair," can be found in manuscripts more than a thousand years old, preserved in the deserts of Central Asia, which can still be readin some sense of that termby any literate Tibetan.15 The written form has remained unchanged; the word represented by that form has come to beor has continued to bedifferent in different dialects. The advantage of such uniform orthography is its transcendence of regionalism: all literate Tibetans share a single written language, however different their spoken dialects may be. The disadvantage is the divorce between the written and spoken languages, making literacy an increasingly difficult and elite accomplishment.

Now when Tibetan was first reduced to writing, it seems reasonable to assume that the written form <*skra*>was, in fact, an attempt to render a word pronounced something very much like *skra.* We thus find variation in

15 For example, in a mythic text from the caves near Tun-huang we find *dbu-skra bdun ... Nbrog-srin dre-das Ntsald* "The fiend of the wastes, Dre-da, demands seven hairs from his head." Again, in a prosaic administrative memorandum from a Tibetan oasis garrison in Central Asia, reporting on the collection of animal hair for rope-making, we read *bzer-gis phyugs Nga skra sran phyed gyis* "Bzer has made a half *sran* of hair of some animals."

the Tibetan language along two dimensions. The language varies along a DIACHRONIC dimension, wherein a word pronounced *skra* in the ninth century has come to be pronounced, say, *ta* in the twentieth; and the language varies along a SYNCHRONIC dimension, wherein a word now pronounced *sa* in Ladakh is pronounced s*tra* in Kham, or pronounced *ta* by a Lhasa City storekeeper is pronounced *tsa* by a Lhasa City aristocrat.16

When we speak of the history of the Tibetan language, we will use the term PROTO-TIBETAN to refer to the Tibetan language spoken before the existence of any written records. We will use the term OLD TIBETAN for the language spoken during the earliest period for which written records existthat is, more or less arbitrarily, for the language spoken, say, from the seventh to the tenth centuries, which is the language upon which those earliest written texts were based. The term MIDDLE TIBETAN will refer to the language spoken from the tenth to the nineteenth centuries, a period for which we have an awesome quantity of written materials, but about whose spoken language we can make only scattered inferences. Finally, the term NEW TIBETAN will refer to the spoken language for which we have modern contemporaneous transcriptions and analyses, beginning in the nineteenth century with the first European explorers and missionaries.l7 When we speak of synchronic variation, we will adopt the convention of citing forms by historical period followed by a parenthetical indication of dialect where such information is availablefor example, Old Tibetan *bdun* but New Tibetan (Dbus) dü*N* "seven," Old Tibetan *myi* but Old Tibetan (Sumpa) *mu* "man."

3.1. Variation in New Tibetan

When a Tibetan from Ladakh and a Tibetan from Lhasa City go to the

16 Diachronic variation, of course, occurred as well before the earliest written texts. Where we find Kanauri *kra* and Kachin *kara*, for example, we can hypothesize an earlier Proto-Tibetan **kra* "hair," to which was prefixed the formative **sa* "ANIMAL"-thus ProtoTibetan **sa-kra* "ANIMAL hair" > **s-kra* >Old Tibetan *skra* "hair." And synchronic variation occurred at historical periods other than the modern. There is some textual evidence, for example, that, alongside Old Tibetan (Lhasa) *myi* "man," there was an Old Tibetan (Sumpa) *mu* "man" as well.

17 Note that these terms are really methodological rather than properly linguistic. The classification depends upon the fortuitous existence of written records on the one hand and modern transcriptions on the other. Middle Tibetan simply includes everything in between.

market together to buy vegetables, the Ladakhi is shopping for *tshodma* but the Lhasan for *tshɛ*If they buy spinach, the Ladakhi calls it *palak* and the Lhasan calls it *potsɛ*If they buy peas, the Ladakhi calls them *sanma* and the Lhasan calls them *ʈɛɴma*. When they pay, the Ladakhi calls the rupee coin *kyirmo* and the Lhasan calls it *kɔmo*. Are they speaking the same language? They will both say they are speaking Tibetan; but the Ladakhi will call the language *potskat* and the Lhasan will call it *phökɛ*

Even if we look just at the lexicon, leaving grammar aside, the relationship between the two dialects is complex. For example, continuing with vegetables, we find Ladakhi *labuk* and Lhasa *ləpu*"radish" < Old Tibetan *la-phug*, where the word is recognizably the same in both dialects;18 and, similarly, we find Ladakhi *tson* and Lhasa *tsoN* "onion," although in this case the word gives every appearance of having come into Middle Tibetan from Middle Chinese **tshun* "onion," rather than of being a native Tibetan word. On the other hand, we find Ladakhi *sanma* and Lhasa *ʈɛɴma*"peas" < Old Tibetan *sran-ma*, where a common origin of the word in Old Tibetan is less obvious, but the differences in pronunciation are the result of more or less regular phonological changes in each dialect.19 Ladakhi *gobi* and Lhasa *kopi* "cauliflower" appear alike not because the words have a common Old Tibetan origin, but because the two dialects have recently-and apparently independently-borrowed the Hindi word *phul gobhi* "cauliflower." The Lhasa dialect uses the compound *koNlapu* <*gun la-phug*>"middle finger radish Þ carrot," while Ladakhi uses the term *sarakturman* "carrot," almost certainly borrowed in part from Urdu *zardak* "carrot."20

18 The radish-although certainly not a literary staple-does crop up in some genuinely ancient texts. For example, a ninth-century administrative memorandum from a Tibetan garrison in Central Asia, written on a strip of wood, apparently listing expenses incurred, includes *spreu lo-la sku-bla gsol-bai lha-phug rin* "for the monkey year, the cost of radishes for entertaining the nobles."

19 Thus we find not only Old Tibetan *sran-ma* "peas" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *sanma* (Lhasa) *ʈɛɴma*, but also Old Tibetan *skra* "hair" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *sa* (Lhasa) *ta*, Old Tibetan *sprin* "cloud" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *sin* (Lhasa) *tiN*. Similarly, Old Tibetan *skad* "language" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *skat* (Lhasa) *kɛ*Old Tibetan z*al* "face" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) z*al* (Lhasa) *ɜɛ*, Old Tibetan *mtshan* "name" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *tshan* (Lhasa) *tshɛɴ*.

20 The second half of the Ladakhi *sarakturman* "carrot" is not so easy. My best guess is that it is derived from Urdu *darman* "medicine," but the semantics are certainly not obvious.

It is thus clear that contemporary Tibetan is not monolithic; the languages which by our definition qualify as "Tibetan"note Lhasa City *tüN* Ladakhi *dun* "seven"are phonologically, lexically, and syntactically divergent. Such languages we call DIALECTS of New Tibetan.21

"Ever'body says words different," said Ivy. "Arkansas Folks says 'em different, and Oklahomy folks says 'em different. And we seen a lady from Massachusetts, an' she said 'em differentest of all. Couldn' hardly make out what she was sayin'."
John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath*

Now what we really need is a genuine dialect map of Tibet, marked with ISOGLOSSES of significant linguistic features, such as different pronunciations of the same word, or the use of different words for the same thing. For example, in traveling westward from Lhasa City to Ladakh, we find, at some point, that people have stopped saying *ta* "hair" and have started saying *sa*, have stopped saying *phö* "Tibet" and started saying *pot*, have stopped saying *kɛ* "language" and started saying *skat*, and have stopped saying *konləpu* "carrot" and have started saying *sarakturman*. For each of these differences, we can draw an isogloss: on one side of the line people say things one way; on the other side they say the same thing another way. Now of course the line between *phö* and *pot* may not coincide with the line between *ta* and *sa*,

21 The distinction between a dialect and a language is not often clear, and the distinction is frequently political rather than linguistic: Dutch, for example, is a language, but Yiddish is often called a dialect of German, which prompted Uriel Weinreich to define a dialect as a language without an army or navy. "Bhutanese" may thus be a language rather than a dialect by virtue of the fact that the independent kingdom issues its own postage stamps.

By the way, it is often the case that one dialect in a language is picked out as normative and other dialects stigmatized: in the case of Tibetan, the speech of Lhasa City is frequently put forward as the prestige dialect. It is not clear to me that this view is at all widespread outside of Lhasa City; the view is, however, found among those foreign linguists whose informants are from Lhasa, and among those foreigners whose work or sympathies lie with the Lhasa political or religious elite.

and the lines themselves may not be sharply drawn: along the isogloss, *pho* may fade into *pot* through an intermediate *phöt*, or some people may use both forms but in different styles of speech, or people in one social class may use one form and those in another social class use the other. Thus, when such lines are drawn, they often show considerable criss-crossing; when a number of isoglosses do more or less coincide, they are said to mark a DIALECT BOUNDARY.

Clearly we are far from even approaching such a dialect map of Tibet. But there are a few dialect features with which we can make a beginning, and which provide examples of the sorts of questions that still remain to be asked. The following sections will briefly discuss three phonological features of this sort in New Tibetanthe palatalization of labials, postinitials and the fronting of back vowels in the southern dialects, and elegant breathiness in Lhasa City.22

3.1.1. The palatalization of labials

In central Tibet, Old Tibetan palatalized labials such as *by-* and *phy-* have generally become palatal affricatesfor example, Old Tibetan *phyogs* "side" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *tsho* (Lhasa) *tɕhɔ*, Old Tibetan *bya* "bird" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *tsa* (Lhasa) *tsha*, Old Tibetan *byan* "north" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *tsan* (Lhasa) *tshaN*, Old Tibetan *byi-ba* "rat" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *tsiwa* (Lhasa) *tɕhiwa*. These same changes are found eastward as far as Chamdo City, located at the upper reaches of what becomes, further south, the Mekong River; but, as we move even further east, across the Yangtze River to the city of Derge, we find that these same Old Tibetan palatalized

22 These topics were chosen because of the light they throw-even if indirectly-on the question of variation in Old Tibetan, which we will discuss in the next section. Thus we have not discussed the development of apparently phonemic tones in Lhasa City-both tone REGISTERS, with different tone heights developing from voiced and voiceless onsets in Old Tibetan, and tone CONTOURS, with different tonal shapes developing from syllable-final vowels, glides, and stops in Old Tibetan. Phonemic tone, of course, is found in many languages, especially in Southeast Asia, where tone has apparently spread among languages which are not genetically related, but only in geographical proximity. Moreover, tonal systems have apparently appeared and disappeared, and then appeared again, in particular language families. There is no reason to believe that Old Tibetan had tones; if Proto-Tibetan ever had phonemic tones, the system had disappeared long before historical times.

labials have become palatal fricativesthus New Tibetan (Derge) s*o* "side," *sa* "bird," s*iwa* "rat." We find these same palatal fricatives extending far to the northeast, in the Amdo country, where we find New Tibetan (Amdo) s*og* "side," s*a* "bird," s*an* "north," *sü* "rat." But if we had gone north from Derge, instead of northeast, and had entered the Golok country, we would have found that the Old Tibetan palatalized labials had become not palatal fricatives but rather labiopalatal fricativesthus New Tibetan (Golok) *fsya* "bird," *fsan* "north," *fsyo* "rat." And if we had instead gone southeast from Derge to the city of Tao-futhe Tibetan Tau or Ltaowe would have found that the Old Tibetan palatalized labials had become labiopalatal affricates before rounded vowels, but labial stops in front of spread vowelsthus New Tibetan (Tao-fu) *pso* "side," *pha* "bird," *piwa* "rat." From the materials we have, these dialect differences appear fairly consistent thus, for example, Old Tibetan *phyi-ba* "marmot" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *tshiwa* (Derge) s*ewa* (Amdo) s*ee* (Golok) *fsyo* (Tao-fu) *phipa*. We can, apparently, draw fairly neat isoglosses for these features, separating Derge and Amdo from Tao-fu, from Golok, and from Chamdo and the central dialects. But it is not clear whether this neatness really exists in the material, or is simply an artefact of its paucity. Let us look at the same change elsewhere.

In western Tibet, we find the same change as in central Tibetpalatalized labials becoming palatal affricatesin the dialect of Ladakh, but not in the otherwise closely related dialects of Balti or Purik-thus, for example, Old Tibetan *bya* "bird" > New Tibetan (Balti) *bya* (Purik) *bia*, but (Ladakh) *tsa* (Dbus) *tsa* (Lhasa) *tsha*, Old Tibetan *phyogs* "side" > New Tibetan (Balti) *phyox*, but (Ladakh) *tshoks* (Dbus) *tsho* (Lhasa) *tsho*. We would therefore want to draw an isogloss grouping the western dialect of Ladakh with the central Tibetan dialects with regard to this one feature.

But the picture is even more complicated. In Ladakhas opposed to the central dialectsOld Tibetan palatalized labials have failed to become palatal affricates before front vowelsthus Old Tibetanphye "flour" > New Tibetan (Balti) *phe* (Purik) *phe* (Ladakh) *phe*, but (Dbus) *tshe* (Lhasa) *tshe*, Old Tibetan *phyed* "half" > New Tibetan (Balti) *phed* (Purik) *phet* (Ladakh) *phyet*, but (Dbus) *tshe* (Lhasa) *tshe*. Note also that Old Tibetan *phyi-mo* "grandmother" > New Tibetan (Balti) -*pi* (Purik) -*pi* and Old Tibetan *phyi* "outside" > (Ladakh) *phi* but (Dbus) *tshi* (Lhasa) *tshi* So our isogloss would group Ladakh with the central dialects with regard to the development of palatalized labials only in syllables with back vowels; in syllables with front

vowels, Ladakhi would remain with the other western dialects of Balti and Purik.

Finally, in Ladakh we find particular wordssuch as *tsindak* <*sbyin-bdag*>"patron" and *tshinan* <*phyi-bsnan*>"breakfast"that appear to be exceptions to this latter rule, and in which palatalized labials have become palatal affricates before front vowels. Why is this? There are several possibilties, and no conclusions: it may be that the change from palatalized labial to palatal affricate is continuing to spread into syllables with front vowels, and that these few words are the first such lexical items to undergo this change, with more to come in the future; it mayperhaps more plausiblybe that these few lexical items are in fact loan words into Ladakhi from a prestige central Tibetan dialect.

3.1.2. Some southern isoglosses

The southern dialects of Sikkim and Bhutan show a change of Old Tibetan postinitial -*r*- to postinitial -y- after gravethat is, velar and labial-initials; the neighboring Sherpa dialect shows instead the same retroflex stops shown by the dialects of Central Tibet to the north. Thus we find Old Tibetan *skra* "hair" > New Tibetan (Gromo) *kya* (Bhutan) *kya* (Sikkim) *kya,* but (Sherpa) *ta* (Dbus) *ta* (Lhasa) *ta,* Old Tibetan *khrag* "blood" > New Tibetan (Gromo) *khyag* (Bhutan) *thyak* (Sikkim) *khyag,* but (Sherpa) *thak* (Dbus) *thak* (Lhasa) *tha,* Old Tibetan *sbrul* "snake" > New Tibetan (Gromo) *biu* (Bhutan) *beu* (Sikkim) *biu,* but (Sherpa) d*rul* (Dbus) *dü* (Lhasa) tü. Presumably an isogloss for this feature could be drawn around the southern dialects, with Sherpa and the northern dialects on one side and the southern dialects on the other. Where, in the southern dialects, this change has not occurred as when Old Tibetan *Nbron* "wild yak" is represented by New Tibetan (Gromo) *don* (Sikkimese) *don* (Dbus) *don* (Lhasa) *tONit* is reasonable to suspect that the word has in fact been borrowed by the southern dialects from one or more of the central dialects. This is especially so where the word denotes an item in the central, but not the southern, cultural repertoire.23

23 Of course, this distinction is not always clear. In Chamdo City, for example, we find Old Tibetan *Nbras* "rice" > New Tibetan (Chamdo) *mbri* but Old Tibetan *sbrul* "snake" > New Tibetan (Chamdo) *drü.* I have no doubt that the Chamdo City word *drü* "snake" was borrowed from a central Tibetan dialectcompare, for example, New Tibetan (Dbus) *dü* (Lhasa) *tü* "snake." But why in the world would Chamdo City borrow the word "snake"?

But, again, things are really more complicated. In the central Tibetan dialects, dental syllable finals have largely disappeared. When such dental syllable finals existed, they caused preceding back vowels to move to the front of the mouth, presumably in anticipation of the following dental consonant. Any such front rounded vowels were without linguistic significance in Old Tibetan; but such vowels acquired significance in the central dialects as the dental finals that had caused them began to be lost. Thus, in these dialects, before what had been Old Tibetan dental finals, the back rounded vowels *o* and *u* have become, respectively, the front rounded vowels ö and üthus, for example, Old Tibetan n*os* "side" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *nö* (Lhasa) *nö*, Old Tibetan *lus* "body" > New Tibetan (Dbus) lü (Lhasa) *lü*. Similarly, the back spread vowel a has become either the front spread vowel *e*, or a new, somewhat lower, front spread vowel *ɛ*, depending on the dialectthus, for example, Old Tibetan *las* "work" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *le* (Lhasa) *lɛ*.

Sherpa is different. In common with other southern dialects, Sherpa has not developed front rounded vowels before dental finals, but has retained the Old Tibetan back rounded vowelsthus, for example, Old Tibetan *YOD* "exist" > New Tibetan (Bhutan) *yot* (Sherpa) *yot*, but (Dbus) *yö* (Lhasa) *yö*, Old Tibetan *dnul* "silver" > New Tibetan (Sikkim) *nul* (Sherpa) *nul*, but (Dbus) *n*ü (Lhasa) *nü*, Old Tibetan *khyod* "you" > New Tibetan (Bhutan) *khyot* (Sherpa) *khyod*, but (Dbus) *tshö* (Lhasa) *chö*, Old Tibetan *yul* "country" > New Tibetan (Sikkim) *yul* (Sherpa) *yul*, but (Dbus) *yii* (Lhasa) *yü*, Old Tibetan *bdun* "seven" > New Tibetan (Bhutan) *dun* (Sherpa) *dun*, but (Dbus) *dün* (Lhasa) *tüN*. An isogloss for front rounded vowels would thus run along a different route than would the isogloss for *-r-* > *-y-* after grave initials: the first isogloss would run north and west of the Sherpa settlements in Nepal, linking Sherpa with dialects to the east and west; the second isogloss would run east of the Sherpa country, linking Sherpa with dialects to the north.

But, again, there is more. In the southern dialects, as in the central dialects, the back spread vowel *a* does become fronted before dental finals, as opposed, say, to the western dialects, where such fronting does not occurfor example, Old Tibetan *brgyad* "eight" > New Tibetan (Bhutan) *gyet* (Sikkim) *gye* (Sherpa) *gye* (Dbus) *dze* (Lhasa) *cɛ*, but (Ladakh) *rgyat* (Balti) *bgyad* (Purik) *rgyat*, Old Tibetan *skad* "speech" > New Tibetan (Sikkim) *ke* (Sherpa) *ked* (Dbus) *ke* (Lhasa) *kɛ*, but (Ladakh) *skat* (Balti) *skat* (Purik) *skat*. Thus the isogloss for the fronting of *a* before dental finals would follow

yet another route, linking together both the central and southern dialects, and separating them from the dialects to the west.

And we are not done yet. Bhutan appears generally to follow the southern pattern, with no front rounded vowels before dental syllable finalsthus New Tibetan (Sherpa) *drul* (Bhutan) *beu* "snake," (Sherpa) *yot* (Bhutan) *yot* "exist"; but note the exceptionsNew Tibetan (Sherpa) n*ul* (Sikkim) *nul* but (Bhutan) nü "silver," (Sherpa) *yul* (Sikkim) *yul* but (Bhutan) *yü* "country." Once again we are left to wonder whether these exceptions are the first signs of a change beginning to spread through this portion of the lexicon, or loan words from a prestige central Tibetan dialect.

3.1.3. Elegant breathiness

Right around Lhasa City there should be an isogloss separating New Tibetan (Lhasa) *ka* from (Dbus) *ga* <*dga*>"joy," (Lhasa) *ta* from (Dbus) *da* <*mda* >"arrow," (Lhasa) *pu* from (Dbus) *bu* <*Nbu*>"worm"; presumably this isogloss would pretty much coincide with the one separating New Tibetan (Lhasa) *khur* from (Dbus) *kur* <*gur*>"tent," (Lhasa) *thep* from (Dbus) *tep* <*deb*>"book," (Lhasa)phö from (Dbus) pö <*bod*>"Tibet." In other words, in Dbus, the New Tibetan reflexes of Old Tibetan voiced initialsbut only those originally without preinitialshave had their voice onset time delayed until they have fallen together with the New Tibetan voiceless initials. Such DEVOICING is, in fact, found in several New Tibetan dialects, although more sporadically than in central Tibet: compare, for example, Old Tibetan *gur* "tent" > New Tibetan (Golok) *kur* (Amdo) *kïr* (Ladakh) *kur* (Dbus) *kur*, but Old Tibetan *mgo* "head" > New Tibetan (Golok) *go* (Amdo) *go* (Ladakh) *go* (Dbus) *go*.24

> 24 This devoicing apparently began with the voiced fricatives and gradually spread to other parts of the lexicon. The historian Ngos lo-tsa-ba Gzon-nu-dpal, in his *Deb-ther snonpo*, quotes a letter from a Nepalese scholar addressing Bu-ston (1290-1364) as s*a-lu pandita*, rather than the correct z*a-lu pandita*, presumably writing the term as he had heard it pronounced. Gzon-nu-dpal himself, writing in 1478, noted that in his day *za ni a-dan mthun-pa... za ni sa-dan mthun-pa* "the graph <*z*>is pronounced the same as <> . . . and the graph <*z*>is pronounced the same as <*s*>." The Si-tu mahapandita, in his monumental grammatical commentary *Mkhas-pai mgul-rgyan mu-tig phren-mdzes*, probably to be dated in 1744, simply listed z and z as *sgra-med* "voiceless" sounds along with and *s*.

(footnote continued on next page)

In Lhasa City, however, the process has gone much farther than in other dialects: the New Tibetan reflexes of Old Tibetan voiced initials with preinitials have fallen together with the New Tibetan voiceless initials, and those without preinitials have had their voice onset time delayed even more, until they have fallen together with the New Tibetan aspirated initialsthus Old Tibetan *mgo* "head" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *go* but (Lhasa) *ko,* Old Tibetan *mda* "arrow" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *da* but (Lhasa) *ta,* Old Tibetan *gur* "tent" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *kur* but (Lhasa) *khur,* Old Tibetan *da* "now" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *ta* but (Lhasa) *tha.*

This "breathiness" is apparently perceived as characteristic of the prestige Lhasa City dialect. It is thus not surprising that, within that dialect, speakers seek to achieve elegance by being even breathier.25 For such speakers, the New Tibetan reflexes of *all* originally voiced initials have fallen together with originally aspirated initialsthus Old Tibetan *mgo* "head" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *go* (Lhasa) *ko* (Lhasa elegant) *kho,* Old Tibetan *rdo* "stone" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *do* (Lhasa) *to* (Lhasa elegant) *tho,* Old Tibetan *mdzin* "neck" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *dzin* (Lhasa) *tsin* (Lhasa elegant) *tshin.* We must thus draw an additional isogloss, to separate New Tibetan (Lhasa) *ko* from (Lhasa elegant) *kho* "head" and (Lhasa) *to* from (Lhasa elegant) *tho* "stone"but this isogloss must be drawn through social rather than through geographical space.

This social isogloss will probably coincide with several others, thus forming a socialrather than a spatialdialect boundary. One such additional social isogloss will separate speakers who articulate unreleased nondental finals from those who do not, with those who do not articulate these finals being the more elegantthus Old Tibetan *myig* "eye" > New Tibetan (Golok)

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> Note that the process of devoicing affects only those initials that were originally voiced in Old Tibetan, and has had no effect on Old Tibetan unvoiced initialsthus, for example, Old Tibetan *ka-ba* "pillar" > New Tibetan (Amdo) *kaa/kaba* (Dbus) *kawa* (Lhasa) *kaa,* Old Tibetan *dkar-po* "white" > New Tibetan (Golok) *karwo* (Amdo) *karo* (Ladakh) *karpo* (Dbus) *karpo* (Lhasa) *kapo.*
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> 25 It is probably worth noting that a great deal of American scholarship on the Lhasa dialect is based on the speech of a single informant, Nawang Nornang, supplemented by the speech of other Lhasa aristocrats. Mr. Nornang is extremely charming, literate, and articulate, and therefore a pleasure to work with; but he is also the speaker of an unusually elegant type of Lhasa City dialect. An entire generation of American students has therefore learned to speak the Tibetan equivalent of Boston brahmin English.

yñïk (Amdo) *yñïy-xñïk* (Balti) *mik* (Ladakh) *mik* (Dbus) *mik-mi*?(Lhasa) *mik-mi*?but (Lhasa elegant) *mi*, Old Tibetan *nub* "west" > New Tibetan (Golok) *nup* (Balti) *nup* (Ladakh) *nup* (Dbus) *nup* (Lhasa) *nup* but (Lhasa elegant) *nu*, Old Tibetan *gur* "tent" > New Tibetan (Golok) k*ur* (Amdo) *kïr* (Ladakh) *kur* (Dbus) *kur* (Lhasa) *khur* but (Lhasa elegant) *khu.* Another social isogloss will separate speakers for whom Old Tibetan stop initials with

I don't want to talk grammar, I want to talk like a lady.
George Bernard Shaw, *Pygmalion*

r postinitials are retroflex stops from those for whom they are retroflex affricates, with the latter again being the more elegantthus Old Tibetan *skra* "hair" > (Kham) s*tra* (Tao-fu) *stra* (Purik) *skra* (Ladakh) *sa* (Dbus) *ta* (Lhasa) *ta* but (Lhasa elegant) *tsa*, Old Tibetan gri "knife" > New Tibetan (Tao-fu) *gri* (Khams) *di* (Dbus) *ti* (Lhasa) *thi* but (Lhasa elegant) *tshi* Old Tibetan *sprin* "cloud" > New Tibetan (Derge) *trim* (Purik) *sprin* (Ladakh) *sin* (Dbus) *tin* (Lhasa) *tiN* but (Lhasa elegant) *tsiN*, Old Tibetan *Nbras* "rice" > New Tibetan (Balti) *bras* (Ladakh) *das* (Dbus) *de* (Lhasa) *ʈɛ*but (Lhasa elegant) *ʈʂhɛ*In sum, if this analysis is correct, the social dialect boundary in Lhasa City separates speakers of a breathier, more fricative, less stopped manner of speech from speakers of a voicier, less fricative, more stopped manner of speech. This is, in fact, a discernible difference among speakers of the Lhasa dialect, and depends on social class or the efforts of the speaker to sound elegant and aristocratic.

3.2. Variation in Old Tibetan

I can say without hesitation that similar sorts of variation existed in Old Tibetan as well. The problem is thataside from a conviction that such variation existed in Old Tibetan, as it exists in every languagewe simply do not know much about it.

The period of Old Tibetan we may take to be more or less coextensive with

the age of the central Tibetan Yar-lun dynasty, from the seventh to the ninth centuriesthe era of Tibet's greatest military expansion and the time when the foundations of Tibetan culture were laid, including the language we are here calling classical Tibetan. This was the time when terrifying Tibetan hordes, with their faces painted red, conquered and occupied the strategic oases of Central Asia, and on one occasion even captured and briefly held Ch'ang-an, the capital of China. For these two centuries, Tibet was the dominant power in Inner Asia.

By the middle of the eighth century at the latest, the barbarian warriors of Tibet had developed a uniform writing system, based on an Indian model, which they used on huge monolithic pillars to record their victories and in correspondence among the military outposts of their empire. By the reign of Khri Sron-lde-btsan (742-797), who founded the monastery of Bsam-yas and invited the Indian academicians Santaraksita and Kamalasila to Tibet, this writing system had begun to be applied to the production of Buddhist texts. By the beginning of the ninth century it seems a need was felt to standardize the language of these translations, whether from religious or imperial impulse it is difficult to say; in any event, the language standardization project was begun under Khri Lde-sroni-btsan (776-815) and completed under his son Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan (805-836). The result was a dictionary, the *Bye-brag-tu rtogs-par byed-pa*, perhaps better known under its Sanskritized title *Mahavyut-patti*, and a commentary, the *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa*, with the Sanskrit title *Madhyavyutpatti*, which served as a treatise on translation theory and practice. Translations that had already been completed were revised by the central translation committee, and, as the historian Bu-ston says, *skad-gsar btsad-kyis gtan-la phab* "The new language was established by decree." The result was a series of canonical translation equivalents for Buddhist texts, in officially sanctioned spellings.

3.2.1. Sources

There are three primary sources of written evidence for dialect variation in Old Tibetan during this period. One source is the collection of manuscripts recovered from the famous walled-up library in one of the shrines constituting the settlement at Ch'ien-fo-tung, near Tun-huang, in western Kan-su, the caravanserai which marks the end of China and the beginning of the desert. The sealed cave yielded an immense hoard of Tibetan manuscripts from the eighth and ninth centuries, including historical records, translations, myths,

rituals, divination manuals, and collections of proverbs. The spelling of words in these texts is the most direct available evidence of dialect variation among the scribes who wrote them down.26

Another source consists of documents, written primarily on thin strips of wood held together with string, or on coarse, unglazed paper, left behind by the Tibetan garrisons at the oasis cities of Chinese Turkestan, primarily forts at Miran and at Mazar-Tagh in Khotan. These oases had long had their own vibrant culturetheir garden walls adorned with frescoes and stucco reliefswhen they were occupied and garrisoned by Tibetan troops, who left behind in their storerooms the identity cards of soldiers, address labels for military and administrative correspondence, military reports, administrative memoranda, and letters to superiors from harried commanders in need of supplies. Like the Tun-huang texts, these more prosaic documents give us spellings and vocabulary that may reflect dialect variations among their authors.

A third source is found in the several inscriptions on monumental pillars erected in and near Lhasa City. These inscriptions include the earliest extant dated Tibetan writing, the pillar at zol, erected by Nan-lam stag-sgra klu-gon in 767 to memorialize his services to the king and his victories over the Chinese. For the purposes of phonological reconstructionthat is, when we try to figure out what Tibetan actually sounded like in Lhasa Citythe most important of these pillar inscriptions is that of the Sino-Tibetan treaty of 821, which contains in bilingual versions the names of both the Chinese and Tibetan officials who participated in the conclusion of the treaty, with Tibetan transliterations of Chinese names and Chinese transliterations of Tibetan names. Again, since there are independent reconstructions of Middle Chinese phonology, the Chinese transcriptions of Tibetan names can tell uswithin the limits of the ability of written Chinese to transliterate anythingwhat the Tibetan of Lhasa City actually sounded like to the Chinese scribes. We find

26 A few of these manuscripts, too, turned out to be Chinese Buddhist texts transliterated into Tibetan, presumably so that they could be recited by Tibetan travelers illiterate in Chinese but perhaps with some knowledge of the spoken language. Since we have independent access to the Chinese texts thus transliterated, and independent reconstructions of their Middle Chinese phonology, such texts can provide significant clues to the phonological values of the Tibetan graphs used to transcribe them. We will turn to these texts for help when we discuss the Tibetan writing system.

similar Chinese transliterations of several Tibetan government titles and royal names in the Chinese historical records dealing with Inner Asian political affairs.

3.2.2. Manuscript variations

Even with these sources, it is difficult to form any consistent geographical picture of Old Tibetan dialect variation. We can, of course, detect fragments of dialects. One text from the Tun-huang library, for example, consists of proverbs attributed to *ma sum-pa* "Mother Sum-pa/the Sum-pa mother." In this text we find <*mu*>written consistently for Old Tibetan *myi* "man," and apparently intended to represent the form *mu* "man" in the dialect of the author. That this dialect was that of a Sum-pa people is indicated not only by the title of the text but also by the fact that the Sum-pa were apparently a distinctive Tibetan group.27 We are probably justified in believing that we have here found a genuine Old Tibetan dialect variantOld Tibetan (Sumpa) *mu* "man," as opposed, say, to the Old Tibetan (Lhasa) *myi* > *mi* "man" attested on the contemporaneous monumental pillars erected around Lhasa City.

Similarly, another Tun-huang manuscript, this time dealing with divination, presents what seem to be consistent dialect features, writing <*sla*>for Old Tibetan *zla* "moon" and <*slogs*>for Old Tibetan *zlogs* "reversed," and <*tham-sad*>for Old Tibetan *thams-tsad* "all" and <*sem-san*>for Old Tibetan *sems-tsan* "sentient creature." Again, these spellings would seem to reflect genuine Old Tibetan dialect variants; unfortunately, we do not know where they are from. But the variants are sufficiently systematic that the

27 The Sum-pa play a role in both the Old Tibetan Chronicles and the Old Tibetan Annals: they were conquered by Myan Mafn-po-rdze zan-snan, the minister of Sron-btsan sgam-po; there were Sum-pa in Rgya-ron and Mdo-smad. The New Tang History reports that Stag-sgra, a prince of the Sum-pa, defected from Tibet and surrendered to the Chinese. The term *sum-pa* also appears as a geographical designation in proper namesfor example, the otherwise unknown Sum-pa Gsas-slebs, mentioned in a ninth-century fragment of administrative correspondence from the Tibetan fort at Miran. Later the term *sum-pa* came to refer to the Monguor, who came to the Kokonor region later on; the author Sum-pa Yeses dpal-Nbyor was probably among the latter. At least one word-list of New Tibetan, first published by the South Manchurian Railway in 1943, reports the form *mu* "man" from the area of Labrang in Amdo, although this is probably an attempt to render the form *mï*

manuscript seems to represent a particular dialect, in which the *zl* of, say, Lhasa City is represented by *sl*, and *-s-ts* is represented by s. Using the manuscript designation as the provenance of the linguistic forms, therefore, we are probably justified in proposing Old Tibetan (Stein ms. 73 IV 3a) *sla* "moon," as opposed to Old Tibetan (Lhasa) *zla* "moon," and Old Tibetan (Stein ms. 73 IV 3a) *tham-sad* "all," as opposed to Old Tibetan (Lhasa) *thams-tsad* "all," with the Lhasa forms as attested on the Sino-Tibetan treaty pillar of 821.

Again, we find a Tun-huang mythological manuscript apparently pertaining to a legendary time of woe in the Skyi country, although the provenance of the manuscript itself is uncertain. The manuscript seems to reflect, at least in some portions, a dialect which did not haveor was in the process of losingthe distinction between palatal and dental affricates found elsewhere in Old Tibetan. Thus we find, in this manuscript, both <*khri-tsog*>and <*khri-tsog*>, both <*glin-bran tseu*>and <*glin-bran tseu*>, and both <*be-ne tshog-po*>and <*be-ne tshog-po*>, written apparently indiscriminately. What is interesting and puzzling, however, is that these are all proper names, and proper names that are, as far as I know, peculiar to this text. We do not find such variation in other parts of the lexicon: Old Tibetan *mtshog* "best" is written consistently as <*mtshog*>, and Old Tibetan *tshab* "water" is written consistently as <*tshab*>. One hypothesis is that the manuscript in fact represents a dialect in which there is no distinctionor no longer a distinctionbetween dental and palatal affricates; where the scribe writes a word in common use, he writes it according to the spelling rule he has learned; where the scribe has no rule to follow, as when he is writing a proper name he has never seen spelled elsewhere, he improvises its spelling inconsistently, since the different graphs for palatal and dental affricates do not reflect a distinction in his own speech. We do not know, of course, whether in this dialect the palatal affricates have fallen together with the dental, or the dental with the palatal; but such a dialect would clearly be different from that recorded, say, on the pillar inscriptions at Lhasa City.28

> 28 The Central Asian manuscripts-both from Tunhuang and Khotanshow considerable variation in their spelling of those grammatical particles which undergo morphophonological changes according to the final or postfinal of the preceding syllable. Some manuscripts tend to generalize a single form of such a particlefor example, the voiced palatalized form, writing *-gyi* even where the morphophonological rules would seem to call for *-kyi* or -gi. Other manuscripts may avoid palatalized forms altogether, using -gi and the otherwise unattested postconsonantal forms *-i* and -ki, as in <*nam-i*>and <*yab-ki*>, where the

(*footnote continued on next page*)

3.2.3. Reconstructed variations

Sometimes we can reconstruct earlier variation where New Tibetan dialect variants do not reflect a single Old Tibetan source. The word for "knee," for example, is *pus-mo* in the classical texts, with the high back vowel u and a final *-s*. But it is clear that this form is only one of several earlier Tibetan words with the same meaning. Some of these variants apparently go back to earlier forms with the same vowel but a velar final cluster: in western Tibet we find New Tibetan (Balti) *buxmo* (Purik) *puksmo,* which indicate an earlier form **pugs-mo.* But we also find forms with the same finals or clusters but a high front vowel *i* instead of a high back vowel *u.* We find (Ladakh) *pismo,* indicating an earlier form **pis-mo,* and (Lahuli) *pigmo,* of uncertain ancestry, but possibly from **pig-mo* or **pigs-mo.* At the other end of Tibet, in the far northeast, we find (Amdo) *wïxmo ~ ïxmo,* which could have come from any of the four earlier forms **pig-~ pigs-~ pug-~ pugs-mo,* and (Golok) *wigo,* which seems to indicate an earlier **pig-mo.* And in central Tibet we find (Dbus) *pimo,* which looks like it came from **pis-mo,* and (Lhasa) pü*mu,* which is so clearly related to an earlier form **pus-mo* that one suspects that it is in fact a reading pronunciation of the written form <*pus-mo*>. And we also find in Lhasa City a form *pemo,* whose vowel *e* instead of *ɛ* and long high level tone on the first syllable suggest an earlier form **pel-mo.* There is, thus, no one earlier form that can account for all these New Tibetan variants, and we must reconstruct at least four-or possibly fiveprecursor *forms-*pismo, *pig-~ pigs-mo, *pus-mo, *pug-~ pugs-mo,* and, perhaps, **pel-mo.*

Contemporary forms help confirm other variations in Old Tibetan. At one time, certain Old Tibetan words with a labial initial and a front vowel had been written with the bottom graph <*y*>, both in the Central Asian manuscripts and on the Lhasa inscriptions, indicating that the labial initial had been palatalizedfor example, *myi* "man," *myin* "name," *mye* "fire," *myes* "grandfather," *dpyes* "copy." Other words with a labial initial and a front vowel were apparently not so palatalized, and were written without the <*y*>*for* example, *min* "brother," *me-tog~men-tog* "flower," *dpen* "useful." After the language reforms of the early ninth century, the bottom graph <*y*>was eliminated from all such words, and the words officially became *mi*

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> morphophonological rules would seem to call for *-kyi* or *-gyi.* It is very difficult to draw any conclusions from such variation, not only because of its inconsistency even within a single manuscript, but also because these spellings may in fact reflect sporadic attempts at phonemicizing the writing of these particles.

"man," *min* "name," *me* "fire," *mes* "grandfather," *dpe* "copy," presumably because that is the way the nobles in Lhasa City pronounced them.

In the far northwest, however, labials before front vowels in these words continued to be palatalized. How do we know? As a general rule, Old Tibetan *my* > New Tibetan ñ, as when, say, Old Tibetan *myug* "reed" > New Tibetan (Dbus) ñ*uk,* or Old Tibetan *dmyal-ba* > New Tibetan (Lhasa) ñ*ala.* Thus, when we find, among the northwestern dialects, New Tibetan (Amdo) *ñi* (Dpari) *mñi* (Golok) *mño* "man," as opposed to New Tibetan (Dbus) *mi* (Lhasa) *mi* in central Tibet, and New Tibetan (Amdo) ñ*e* (Han-niu) *mñi* (Golok) *wñe* "fire," as opposed to New Tibetan (Dbus) *me* (Lhasa) *me,* we can hypothesize the northwestern forms are in fact descended from an earlier **myi* "man" and **mye* "fire," respectively, while the central Tibetan forms are descended from the Old Tibetan *mi* and *me* recorded in the texts after the spelling reform. Words that were not written as palatalized before the spelling reform do not have palatalized descendants in any dialectthus, for example, Old Tibetan *me-tog* "flower" > New Tibetan (Amdo) *metoy* (Lhasa) *meto.*

3.2.4. The problem of the preinitials

A striking feature both of the manuscripts and of the inscriptions is the variability of preinitials. In the Central Asian manuscript material, whether from Khotan or Tun-huang, the scribes sporadically weaken or omit preinitial consonants in complex syllable onset clusters: they write both <*rkon*>and <*dkon*>for *dkon* "rare," both <*rgu*>and <*dgu*>for *dgu* "nine," both <*kar*>and <*dkar*>for *dkar* "white," both <*go*>and <*mgo*>for *mgo* "head," both <*pon* >and <*dpon* >for *dpon* "lord," both <*tha* >and <*mtha* >for *mtha* "end," both <*tsan*>and <*btsan*>for *btsan* "king," both <*tsis*>and <*rtsis*>for *rtsis* "reckoned," both <*lon*>and <*blon*>for *blon* "minister," both <*sar*>and <*gsar*>for *gsar* "new."

Similarly, on the Sino-Tibetan treaty pillar of 821, we find Old Tibetan <*bka*>"command" transliterated as Middle Chinese **ghya,* Old Tibetan <*rgan*>"old" as Middle Chinese **kan,* Old Tibetan <*gtogs*>"attached" as Middle Chinese **twok,* Old Tibetan <*lta*>"sees" as Middle Chinese **tha,* Old Tibetan <*rgyal*>"king" as Middle Chinese **kye,* Old Tibetan <*brtan*>"firm" as Middle Chinese **tan,* Old Tibetan <*rma*>"name of a district" as Middle Chinese **mwa,* Old Tibetan <*bla*>"high" as Middle Chinese

labut Old Tibetan <*bzan*>"good" as both Middle Chinese **dzhan* and **b-dzhan* <**bhwəi-dzhañ*>, Old Tibetan <*klu*>"serpent deity" as both Middle Chinese **ləu* and **k-lyə* <**kyu-lyəp*>. Nonstopped and nasal preinitials were apparently still articulated clearly enough for the Chinese scribe to catch: Old Tibetan <*stan*>"HONORIFIC AFFIX TO PERSONAL NAMES" is transliterated as Middle Chinese **stan* <**syet-tan*>, Old Tibetan <*snam*>"wool" as Middle Chinese **snam* <**syet-nam*>, Old Tibetan <*Ndus*>"assembled" as Middle Chinese **nus* <**nwo-syet*>. We find similar Chinese transliterations in the T'ang dynastic histories. In the Annals of the Later T'ang we find what we can presume is Old Tibetan *btsan* "king" transliterated as Middle Chinese **tsan*, Old Tibetan *blon* "minister" as Middle Chinese **lywan*, but Old Tibetan *spyan* "eye" as Middle Chinese **spyen* < **syet-pyen* >.

Synchronically, it is clear that the speakers of the dialects reflected in these texts were not articulatingor were not consistently articulatingearlier stopped nonnasal preinitials, and were weakening them or dropping them completely. It is equally clear, however, that, at the same time, the speakers of the Lhasa City dialect were *writing* their words with the preinitials indicated, right on the same pillar as the Chinese transcriptions, and were giving those spellings the official sanction of their Buddhist translation commission. And in other dialects these preinitials apparently continued to be articulated: note, for example, Old Tibetan *dgu* "nine" > New Tibetan (Khams) *dgu*, Old Tibetan *bdun* "seven" > New Tibetan (Khams) *bdun*, Old Tibetan *gtam* "story" > New Tibetan (Khams) *gtam*, Old Tibetan *sgo* "door" > New Tibetan (Khams) *sgo.*29

This is all very puzzling. I believe it is plausible to suggest that we are dealing

29 Loan words are not much help unless we know just where and when the loan took place. When Mongol *kudri* "musk" was borrowed into Tibetan as *sku-bde-rigs*, or when Mongol *badur* "warrior" was borrowed as *dpa-bdu*, or when Middle Chinese **lwyon* "dragon" is written in Tibetan as both *rlun* "wind" and *klun* "river" in the compound *rlunrta~klun-rta* "dragon horse ® prayer flag," we can guess that, at that time and place, the preinitials were not being articulated as they were written; we just do not know where or when that was. But sometimes we can get close. For example, on the smaller of the two Chü-yung-kuan inscriptions, written in Mongolian, in Nphags-pa script, probably in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, we find Tibetan *rab-gnas* "consecration" as Mongol *arabnas*, Tibetan *bla-ma* "lama" as Mongol *lama*, and Tibetan *dge-bses* "professor" as Mongol *gebsi* This inscription is, of course, a long time after and a long distance from the Sino-Tibetan treaty inscription, but it presumably still represents the speech of such educated Tibetans as might have access to the Mongol court.

here with a social rather than a geographic dialecta social dialect that includes both the officials at Lhasa City and the administrators and scribes of their Central Asian garrisons.30 But if preinitials tended to be elided in the prestige dialect, why were they made part of the official spellings? And ifas I prefer to hypothesizepreinitials tended to be articulated in the prestige dialect in slow or elevated speech, but elided when talking rapidly or conversationally, why were they not noted by the Chinese scribes who transliterated the Tibetan wordspresumably pronounced slowly and carefully for themon the treaty inscription?

4. Defining Classical Tibetan

I will use the term CLASSICAL TIBETAN to refer to the language of written Tibetan texts, with the exception of the canonical translations, primarily from Sanskrit,31 and the language of modern newspapers and similar printed

30 Assignment to an administrative post at one of the beautiful and civilized oasis cities of Central Asia would not necessarily be a hardship post, although there were certainly some garrisons that were considerably less attractive.

31 Translations of Buddhist and other texts began during the first half of the eighth century; as we have noted, the vocabulary and style of the translation language were thoroughly regularized during the early part of the ninth century, under King Khri Gtsuglde-btsan. With the promulgation of translation rules by the royal commission, standardization of rendering became a primary virtue: as one commentator has noted, many of the translations of the ninth through the early twelfth centuries appear to be the work of unimaginative hacks. This mechanical rendering of equivalents, however, has often been deemed a virtue by modern scholars who view Tibetan only as a means to "reconstruct" lost Sanskrit textsthat is, to engage in the peculiar exercise of translating Tibetan texts into Sanskrit.

One of the problems was the difficulty of persuading qualified Indian teachers to travel to Tibet, a place perceived as horrid and barbaric by any urbane Indian academic; another problem was the hazardfamine, thieves, strange diseaseswhich attended any trip to India by a Tibetan in search of a teacher. There were exceptions, of course: the Indian Smrtijñanakirti came to Tibet in the latter half of the tenth century, searching for his transmigrating mother, who had been reborn as an insect in Rta-nag, and the great Dipamkarasrijnana, called Atisa "Lord of lords," arrived in the early part of the eleventh century. But it was only with the Muslim conquest of North IndiaBenares and Bihar fell to the forces of Qutb-ud-Din in 1193, and the great monastic university of Vikramasila was burned to the ground in 1206that Indian scholars fled to Tibet in any great numbers, bringing with them the first real understanding the Tibetans had of Sanskrit literary culture. The Kha-tshe pan-

(*footnote continued on next page*)

material.32 The remainderthe vast corpus of written Tibetan material ranging in date from the eighth century to the present dayis written in a language recognizably the same, and all more or less accessible to the literate Tibetan. I use the term in conscious imitation of similar usage in Chinese literary study, where the term "classical Chinese" refers to the written language as a whole, from bronze inscriptions to novels, all of which is the province of the literate scholar, but with the similar exclusion of translations from Sanskrit and the written Chinese of newspapers and magazines.

Classical Tibetan, unlike many written languages, is in many ways independent of the spoken Tibetan language. For example, the basic phonological distinctions underlying the classical language have remainedthroughout its historythose of Old Tibetan. Even today, a writer of classical Tibetan will WRITE the form <*sgrub*>for the present stem, <*bsgrubs*>for the past stem, and <*bsgrub*>for the future stem of the verb *SGRUB* "accomplish," even when all three forms are PRONOUNCED identically in his spoken languagefor example, New Tibetan (Lhasa) tup. Similarly, a writer of classical Tibetan will write the past stem of *SAG* "gather" as <*bsags*>, with an -s suffix, and the past stem of *SAD* "kill" as <*bsad*>, without an -*s* suffix, because of an Old Tibetan syllable structure constraint, even when his spoken language no longer has syllable-final consonant clusters in any event. In both these examples, classical Tibetan is WRITTEN according to the phonological rules of Old Tibetan.33

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

> tshen skyasribhadra arrived with a retinue of nine pandits in 1206; by the second half of the thirteenth century, son-ston Rdo-rdze rgyal-mtshan was working with Laksmikara to translate Sanskrit drama, poetry, and treatises on poetical theory. And these refugee scholars came with their books: the bulk of Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Tibet date from the thirteenth century.
>
> 32 Newspaper Tibetan has been called "modern literary Tibetan" by anthropologist Melvyn Goldstein, although its uses appear to me to be far from literary. Classical Tibetan, of course, continues to be written to this day, as the language of learned discourse, and even as the language of popular culture; whether newspaper Tibetan will become a vehicle for a genuine colloquial literature remains to be seen, although early signs are encouraging.
>
> 33 A parallel situation is found in Chinese poetry: words which once rhymed in older stages of the language continued to be used as rhymes, even when they no longer rhymed in the spoken language of the poet, with special dictionaries compiled to tell the writer which words were supposed to be considered rhymes and which were not.

This is not to say, of course, that classical Tibetan has never been influenced by the spoken language. Such influences can certainly be found. For example, the fifteenth-century Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka, in his famous biography of the eleventh-century poet Mi-la ras-pa, consistently used the Middle Tibetan conjunction *-run* "BUT" in his own prose, in contrast to the Old Tibetan conjunction *-Yan* "BUT" found consistently in the genuinely older songs attributed to Mi-la which he quotes. Similarly, dialect pronunciations have been given an Old Tibetan orthography and borrowed back into the classical language for example, *Nphyor-pa* "pretty" as *mtshor-pa*, and *skyun-ka* "jackdaw" as *ltsun-ka*. The amount of this influence, of course, varies with the author, the style, and the subject matter: clearly a text on logic theory written for candidates for advanced monastic academic degrees will show less influence from the contemporaneous dialect of its author than a book of popular maxims, even when written by the same writer.34 Once again, the parallel with classical Chinese is striking.

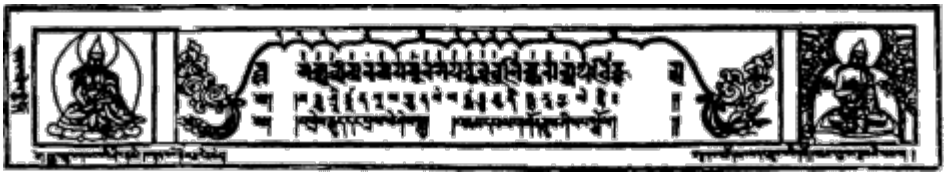

Figure 3.
Illuminated book page

34 In this regard we should note a remarkable group of nineteenth- and twentieth-century monk scholars in the *ris-med* "eclectic" movement, beginning with Kon-sprul Karma Nagdban yon-tan rgya-mtsho, Ndzam-dbyans mkhyen-brtsei dban-po, and Mi-pham rgya-mtsho of Khams, who emphasized the unity of the Tibetan religious tradition, and who initiated a lasting interest in oral literature and the epic tradition.

4
The Writing System

1. Graph and Sound

It is important to distinguish between a linguistically functional sound and the written signor GRAPHhich represents that sound. This distinction was blurred among the Tibetan grammarians, who used the term *yi-ge* indiscriminately to mean both a sound and the graph used to write that sound. Such usage can be misleading. The script does make some graphic distinctions that reflect significant phonological distinctions: for example, stopped preinitials

It isgenerally assumed that the spoken word came before the written word. I suggest that the spoken word as we know it came after the written word... .My basic theory is that the written word was actually a virus that made the spoken word possible.
William S. Burroughs, *The Job*

are written as left graphs and nonstopped preinitials are written as top graphs. But the writing system fails to reflect other and equally significant phonological distinctions: for example, in both *zla* "moon" and *sla* "thin" the *-l-* is written as a bottom graph; but in *zla* it is apparently an Old Tibetan postinitial, while in *sla* it is undoubtedly the initial.1

1 Thus, too, the fact that the sequences <grags> and <*grogs*>are written with the same GRAPHIC conventions does not mean they are PHONOLOGICALLY equivalentand, indeed, there is reason to believe that Old Tibetan *grags* "fame" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *tha* was phonologically distinct from Old Tibetan *grogs* "helper" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) , despite their graphic similarity.

Moreover, it must be remembered that the writing system has remained virtually unchanged for a thousand years, while the spoken language has undergone change in several ways. The written form <*sgrub*>, originally representing Old Tibetan *sgrub* "accomplishes" < *N-SGRUB*, now represents, say, New Tibetan (Lhasa) *tup.* Now phonological change has been sufficiently regular, in most cases, that a literate Lhasa city reader can process <*sgrub* >as representing *tup;* but the same person, as writer, cannot with similar assurance transcribe *tup* as <*sgrub*>, instead of, say, <*Nbrub*>or <*Ndrub*>, which also represent New Tibetan (Lhasa) tup. Rather, it must be *learned* that *tup* "accomplishes" is written <*sgrub*>, that t*up* "overflows" is written <*Nbrub*>, and that *tup* "sews" is written <*Ndrub*>.2 The growing divorce between writing and speech leads to another occasional anomalythe fact, not only that Tibetans are generally terrible spellers, but also that a Tibetan can say things he does not know how to write at all. Such a common expression as New Tibetan (Lhasa) *ཁཉི* "last year" seems to have no written form; it is represented graphically where necessary by the unrelated sequence <*na-nin* >.3

2. The Invention of Writing

The traditional account of the invention of the Tibetan writing system is set forth in the ecclesiastical history of Bu-ston (1290-1364). There we are told that Thon-mi Anui-bu was sent to India by king Sron-btsan sgam-po (who ruled from about 627 to 650) along with sixteen companions in order to study writing; he studied with a pandita named Lha-rig-pai sen-ge, created the Tibetan alphabet based on a Kashmiri prototype, and composed eight works on writing and grammar. This bare account is progressively elaborated in the later historical texts, which add circumstantial details to the story. The name Thon-mi-Thu-mi-Mtho-mi becomes associated with two earlierand prob-

2 Conservative writing systems representing changing languages therefore aspire to the condition of Chinese, with the relationship between graph and sound becoming increasingly arbitrary and, eventually, the subject of sheer memorization.

3 Note too that one can, of course, *write* a graphic sequence representing a syllable which is not allowed by the phonological rules of the language. Thus the graphic sequence <*brklub*>can be interpreted as representing a syllable ?*brklub,* which is not a permitted syllable, just as the sequence <*bsgrub* >can be interpreted as representing the syllable *bsgrub,* which is.

ably compositegrammatical works, the *Sum-tsu-pa* and the *Rtags-kyi Ndzugpa*. We should note, however, that the earliest, and simplest, account was written seven hundred years after the events it purports to describe, and that genuinely ancient Tibetan historical records from Central Asia unavailable to Bu-ston and his successorsappear to contain no mention of Thon-mi at all.

Considerable doubt can thus be cast on the traditional account of the invention of Tibetan writing, and there are considerable difficulties concerning even the historicity of its putative inventor. Moreover, an Indian inscription on baked bricks from Gopalpur, written in a script virtually identical with the Tibetan, has been independently dated to around 500. Such evidence gives reason to believe that any purported invention was, if anything, a standardization of Indic scripts already in circulation for as long as a century. Such standardization presumably would have fixed the graphs for phonemes which are found in Old Tibetan but not in Sanskritprenasalization, voiced fricatives, and one series of affricates, as well as smooth vocalic ingress primarily through the modification of existing graphs.4

The development of a writing system was apparently due to administrative rather than religious needs, at least at the beginning. One of the earliest references to writing is in the ancient annals discovered at the caves near Tun-huang, which briefly describe the principal events of each year from the death of Sron-btsan sgam-po in 650 through 747. The entry for the year 655 reads *btsan-po mer-khe-na bzugs-sin, blon-tshe ston-tsan-gyis Ngor-tir bka-grims-kyi yi-ge bris* "The King stayed at Mer-khe, and prime minister Ston-tsan wrote the text of his commands to Ngor-ti."5 The earliest extant dated Tibetan writing is found on a pillar erected at Zol and dated 767. The pillar was erected by the powerful minister Nan-lam stag-sgra klu-gon, recording his services to the king, including victories over the Chinese, and the rewards he received. The pillar makes no mention of Buddhism.

4For example, the graphs for the dental affricates *dz, ts, tsh* are the same as the graphs for the palatal affricates *ds, ts, tsh* with a small hook added; the graph for *z* is the graph for *dz* backwards; the graph for z is, perhaps, derived from the graph for ñ. The origin of the graph called *a-tshun* "little a" by the Tibetan grammarians is a matter of much dispute.

5 Note the implication that the king himself was illiterate.

3. The Writing System

The principles of the Tibetan writing system are easily described. The original technical problem was that of taking a syllabic script used for the predominantly open Indic syllable and adapting it to the complex onset clusters and closed syllables of Tibetan. The key to the adaptation is a small raised dot called *tsheg* "dot," which defines the boundaries of the syllable: everything between two dots constitutes one syllable. The word "syllable" in Tibetan is *tsheg-bar* "between the dots."

The following table shows the graphic structure of the Tibetan syllable, which we will discuss in the following paragraphs; the GRAPHIC structure of the syllable must, of course, be kept conceptually distinct from its PHONOLOGICAL structure. The numbers in the table indicate the sequence in which the graphs are processed.

	5 VOWEL		
	2 TOP		
1 LEFT	3 CENTER	6 RIGHT	7 FAR RIGHT
	4 BOTTOM		
	5 VOWEL		

Table 3. Graphic structure of the Old Tibetan syllable

The minimum graphic sequence consists of one CENTER GRAPH and one VOWEL GRAPH either above or below the center graph. This sequence is processed as an open syllable, with the vowel last; a vowel graph cannot be written independently of a center graph. The center graph may be any one of the 29 graphs representing the consonants *g, k, kh, d, t, th, b, p, ph, d, t, th, dz, ts, tsh, n̄, ñ, n, m, ,, z, s, y, r, 1, w,ʔ,* and *h.* If the syllable being

represented has no initial consonant, but rather begins with a vowel, the center graph position is still filled, with what we will here call the PLACE-HOLDING GRAPH, called *a-tshun* "little a" by the Tibetan grammarians.6

6 No graph of the Tibetan writing system has been as discussed and controverted as "little *a"* For the Tibetan grammarians, *a-tshun* "little a" stood in contrast to ʔa-tshen"big a" or the glottal stop ʔ. This seems to be precisely the same distinction as that between Chinese yü "smooth vocalic ingress" and *ying* "glottal stop" known to the ancient Chinese phoneticians and reconstructed for the language of the sixth century AD.

For some reason, however, the Tibetan phoneticians identified their glottal stop ʔwith the onset of Sanskrit syllables written without initial consonant graphs. Now Indic descriptions of this onset are puzzling; but perhaps in contemporaneous Sanskrit pronunciation a predictable and hence nonphonemic glottal stop did in fact precede every vowel without other consonant onset, just as in present-day English-compare, for example, English ʔæwr<*hour*>with French ör <*heure*>. This is certainly true in modern Hindi; a Hindi speaker will read the vowel <*a*>, for example, as ʔa. Thus the Tibetan graph <ʔ> for the glottal stop ʔ is derived from and identified with the Indic graph <a>, which was presumably pronounced ʔa. And it was the place-holding graph *a-tshun* "little *a,"* representing as center graph a smooth vocalic ingress-a graph not found in Sanskrit-that the Tibetan orthographers considered their own innovation.

That is the reason Ngos lo-tsa-ba Gzon-nu-dpal notes particularly that the Sanskrit alphabet was adapted to Tibetan by including the smooth vocalic ingress among the consonants: *rgyagar-la med-kyan bod-la za-dan za-dan a-rnams dgos.* Now the glottal stop is, of course, phonemic in Tibetan, as in such minimal pairs as *og* "underpart"ʔog"neck," and the Tibetan grammarians remained puzzled as to why the Sanskrit grammarians considered the glottal stop to be a vowel; still, in imitation of the prestigious Indian model, they used the graph <ʔ> when discussing vowels, and thus would apparently speak of "the vowel ʔa" or "the vowel ʔo," instead of "the vowel a" or "the vowel o," much to the confusion of everyone involved.

Essentially, the place-holding graph *a-tshun* "little *a"* is used to write THE ABSENCE OF A CONSONANT. When this graph-which I will represent in this footnote with the phonetically neutral symbol </>-appears in the center graph position, it indicates the absence of an INITIAL consonant: that is, it represents a smooth vocalic ingress, as in *og* </*og*>or *ur* <*/ur*>, as opposed, say, to ʔog< *og*>or *dur* <*dur*>. In postvocalic position, it indicates the absence of an INTERVOCALIC consonant: that is, it represents that the vowel which follows is the second member of a diphthong, as *inpai* <*pa/i*>or *beu* <*be/u*>. And, in the right graph position, it indicates the absence of a FINAL consonant: that is, it indicates that the rightmost of the consonant graphs is the center graph, as in *dga* <*dga/*>or *mna* <*mna/*>, as opposed, say, to *dag* <*dag*>or *man* <*man*>.

This placeholding functionindicating the absence of a consonantis clearly the function of the graph in the early Tibetan manuscript transcriptions of Chinese Buddhist texts. It marks the absence of a consonant onset when transcribing the Middle Chinese smooth vocalic ingress: Middle Chinese **i* is transcribed as <*/i*>, Middle Chinese **ywei* as </u >, and Middle Chinese *ʲiuɜnas <*/un*>. Similarly, the graph marks the absence of an intervocalic consonant when transcribing Middle Chinese diphthongs: Middle Chinese *tɬʲɐɯis transcribed as <*tsi/u*>, Middle Chinese **dhai* as <*de/i*>, Middle Chinese *ᵐbɐɯas <*Nbye/u*>, Middle Chinese **dhyei* as <*de/i*>, Middle Chinese *ɖzhʲɐɯas <*dzi/u*>, Middle Chinese *ʈhʲɐɯas <*Nkhye/u*>, Middle Chinese **nai* as <*Nne/i*>, and Middle Chinese *ʔɣɛk as < ʔi/u >. And again, the graph marks the absence of consonant coda in transcribing Middle Chinese open syllables: Middle Chinese *ya is transcribed as <*ha/*>, Middle Chinese **na* as <*Nda/*>, Middle Chinese **na* as <*Nga/*>, Middle Chinese **nye* as <*Ngi/*>, and Middle Chinese **ni* as <*Ngi/*>.

Similar examples are found in the Sino-Tibetan treaty inscription of 821, where the placeholding *a-tshun* marks the absence of intervocalic consonants in Middle Chinese diphthongs: Middle Chinese *ɟhʲɐɯis transcribed as <*tse/u*>, Middle Chinese **kau* as <*ka/u*>or <*ke/u*>, Middle Chinese **kai* as <*kha/e*>, Middle Chinese *ᵑgɣɐɯas <*Ngi/u*>, Middle Chinese **xau* as <*he/u*>, Middle Chinese *lʲɐɯas <*li/u*>, Middle Chinese *ɟhʲɐɯ as <*dze/u*>, Middle Chinese **thai* as <*tha/i*>or <*the/e*>, and Middle Chinese *ʑʲɐɯas <*zi/u*>or <*si/u*>.

Since the place-holding graph represents the absence of a consonant, it is unambiguously transliterated into English script as the absence of a consonantfor example, *ur* instead of, say, /ur, *beu* instead of, say, *be/u*, and *dga* instead of, say, *dga/*. Such transliteration will be our practice throughout this text, except where, as above, the graphic *a-tshun* is explicitly rendered as </> for expository purposes.

It is interesting to note that the Korean script, invented in the fifteenth century, according to tradition, by King Sejong, also contains a place-holding graph. This place-holding graph contrasts with a glottal stop graph, despite the fact that Korean has no distinction between smooth vocalic and glottal stop onsets; rather, the graphs were created to provide distinct spellings for these onsets when they occurred in Chinese loanwordsfor example, Middle Chinese **i* "barbarian" as opposed to *ʔi"physician." The graph for the glottal stop was soon given up, and only the graph for smooth vocalic ingress was retained. That graph is still used in Korean writing, becausejust as in Tibetanthe orthographic rules require that each syllable begin with a consonant graph; and, if the syllable begins with a vowelfor example, the second syllable in *së-ul* "Seoul"the place-holding graph is used.

There is, in fact, some reason to believe that King Sejong knew the Tibetan writing system, at least in the form it took in China to write Mongol during the Yüan dynastythe writing called the *Nphags-pa* script, from the name of its inventor, the Nphags-pa Blo-gros rgyalmtshan, a Sa-skya monk at the court of Khubilai Khan, who declared it the official script

(*footnote continued on next page*)

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As in other Indic scripts, the vowel a is signalled by the ABSENCE of an overt vowel graph; we may say, conventionally, that the vowel graph <a> for the vowel a is the ZERO GRAPH.7 A center graph with no other accompanying overt vowel graph necessarily has the invisible zero graph, and thus the syllable nucleus must be *a*. Therefore, just as a vowel graph cannot occur independently of a center graph, a center graph cannot occur independently

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written with the graph <*g*> plus the vowel graph <*i*> written above the center graph, followed by a dot; the syllable *u* is written with the place-holding *a-tshun*, to indicate the absence of an initial consonant, plus the vowel graph <*u*>written below the center graph, followed by a dot; and so on.

Above the center graphbut below any superscript vowel graphmay be written one of three TOP GRAPHS, which are reduced forms of the center graphs for *r, l,* and s. Below the center graphbut above any subscript vowel graphmay be written one of four BOTTOM GRAPHS, which are reduced forms of the graphs for *y, r, l,* and *w.* All consonant graphs stacked on the same vertical axis represent a single onset cluster and are processed from top to bottom, with the vowel graph processed last: thus a top graph <*r*>, a center graph <g>, a bottom graph <*y*>, and a zero vowel graph <*a*>is processed as <*rgya*>, representing the syllable *rgya;* a top graph <*s*>, a center graph <*k*>, and a vowel graph <*u*>is processed as <*sku*>, representing the syllable *sku;* a center graph <*b*>, a bottom graph <*r*>, and a vowel graph <*i*>is processed as <*bri*>, representing the syllable *bri;* and so on.9

To the left of the center graph may be written one of five LEFT GRAPHS, which are the full forms of the graphs for *g, d, b, m,* and *a-tshun* "little a," which in this position represents the prenasalization of a following stopped

9 One issue deserves brief mention here. In the classical Tibetan writing system we find the digraphs <*lh*>and <*hr*>*-that* is, a center graph <*h*>with a top graph <1>, and a center graph <*h* > with a bottom graph <*r*>. In several New Tibetan dialects these digraphs represent the VOICELESS GLIDES l and *r,* with such minimal pairs as New Tibetan (Lhasa) *la* <*lha*>"god" *la* <*la*>"mountain pass," l*ak* <*lhag*>"special" *lak* <*lag*>"hand," *rü* <*hrul*>"ragged" *rü* <*rul*>"rotten." Could these digraphs have represented such voiceless glides in Old Tibetan as well? This seems unlikely; we find, for example, such classical doublets as *lhan-glan* "patch," *LHOD-GLOD* "relax," *lhog-glog* "ulcer," *LHAD-GLAD-SLAD* "adulterate," *hril-gril* "round," and *hran-gran* "cold." Note also New Tibetan (Ladakh) *la* <*lha*>"god," l*u* <*glu*>"song," *lans* <*slans*>"arise," where Old Tibetan l*h* changes historically just like Old Tibetan *gl* or *sl* into New Tibetan (Ladakh) *l*, a voiced murmured lateral. The digraphs thus seem likely to have represented genuine clusters of glottal fricative plus glide; but other explanations are surely possible. Anomalously, on the Sino-Tibetan treaty pillar of 821, we find the cluster *lh* transcribed by Chinese characters whose initial has been independently reconstructed as Middle Chinese **th.* Thus Old Tibetan *lha* is transcribed as Middle Chinese **tha* or **tham,* and Old Tibetan l*ho* as Middle Chinese **thuo.* I do not know why this is.

consonant.10 A left graph is processed first, followed by top-to-bottom

10 There are several lines of evidence that the *a-tshun* "little *a"* in left graph position in fact represented prenasalization of a following stopped consonant. First, as early as the ninth century, on the Sino-Tibetan treaty pillar of 821, we find independently reconstructed Middle Chinese nasal initials transcribed by what then must have been Old Tibetan prenasalized stopsfor example, Middle Chinese **nuo* as <*Ngo*>, Middle Chinese **nyen* as <*Ngin*>, Middle Chinese **nywo* as <*Ngu*>, Middle Chinese **myu* as <*Nbu*>, and Middle Chinese **mywan* as <*Nbun*>. Similar transcriptions are found in the Tibetan transliterations of Chinese Buddhist prayer texts discovered near Tun-huangfor example, Middle Chinese **nwai* as <*Ngwe*>, Middle Chinese **nwo* as <*Ngo*>, Middle Chinese **nye* as <*Ngi*>, Middle Chinese **nzi* as <*Ngyar*>, and Middle Chinese **nywo* as <*Ndzi*>. Second, Indic loanwords in Old Tibetan are occasionally written with *a-tshun* in left graph position to represent a preceding nasal. For example, in an early Tibetan-Chinese manuscript vocabulary lista sort of traveler's dictionary found near the Tun-huang caravanseraiwe find <*se-Nge*>instead of the later standard orthography <*sen-ge*>for *sen-ge* "lion" < Sanskrit *simha,* Apabhramsa *singhu-simhu.* Elsewhere in the classical texts we find both <*se-Ndu-ra*>and <*sindhu-ra*>for *sindhu-ra* "vermilion" < Sanskrit *sindura,* Apabhramsa *sinduru,* Hindi *seNdur.* Third, in the archaic eighth- and ninth-century manuscript material from Central Asia, we not infrequently find *a-tshun* in left graph position written idiosyncratically following a preceding final nasal: for example, we find <*tsen-Ngi*>where the standard orthography would have <*tsen-gi*>, <*Nbyam-Ngi*>for <*Nbyam-gyi*>, <*om-Nbu*>for <*om-bu*>, <*skyin-Ndan*>for <*skyin-dan*>, and <*sen-Nge*>for <*sen-ge*>. Fourth, we find doublets in the classical language where *a-tshun* in left graph position alternates with <*m* >in left graph positionfor example, *NTSHER~MTSHER* "grieve," *NTHOL~MTHOL* "confess," *Ntshin-bu~mtshin-bu* "spurious glass jewel," *Ndan~mdan* "funeral," *Ngal-pa~mgal-pa* "billet of wood," *Nkhar-ba~mkhar-ba* "staff." Fifth, loanwords from Middle Tibetan into Monguora dialect of Mongoliandate from the thirteenth century: these loanwords show prenasalization where the corresponding Tibetan written forms show *a-tshun* in left graph positionMonguor *nkhuorlo* "circle" < Middle Tibetan **Nkhor-lo* <*Nkhor-lo*>, Monguor *ndogon* "meeting house" < Middle Tibetan **Ndu-khan* <*Ndu-khan*>, Monguor *mbem* "100,000" < Middle Tibetan **Nbum* <*Nbum*>, Monguor *mbo* "stipend" < Middle Tibetan **Nbo* <*Nbogs*>.

Why was this prenasalization represented by *a-tshun,* the place-holding graph? It is instructive to compare prenasalization with what occurs in Tibetan chant: here the singer attempts to maintain an uninterrupted level of sound while articulating the words very slowly and with various melodic embellishmentsa singing technique which, in its striking similarity to Japanese Shingon chant, apparently derives from Tang dynasty Chinese Buddhist sources. In this chanting style, as the articulators move into position for each stopped consonant, the singer briefly lowers his velum to allow the flow of air to continue unimpeded, yielding a prenasalization of each stopped consonant in the chantfor example, New Tibetan (Lhasa) *totsephamo* <*rdo-rdze phag-mo*>"Diamond Sow Goddess" is chanted as *toNtseNphamo,* and New Tibetan (Lhasa) *phapatšenresi*<*Nphags-pa spyan-ras-gzigs*>"Noble Avalokitesvara" is chanted *as phanpantšenresi*The point is this: there is a close relation apparent to a Tibetan

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processing of the top, center, and bottom graphs, with the vowel graph processed last: thus a left graph <*d*>, a center graph <g>, a bottom graph <*r*>, and a zero vowel graph <*a*>is processed as <*dgra*>, representing the syllable *dgra;* a left graph <*b*>, a top graph <*r*>, a center graph <*dz*>, and a vowel graph <*u*>is processed as <*brdzu*>, representing the syllable *brdzu;* a left graph *a-tshun* "little a," a center graph <g>, a bottom graph <y>, and a vowel graph <*e*>is processed as <*Ngye*>, representing the syllable *Ngye;* and so on.

To the right of the center graph may be written one of ten RIGHT GRAPHS, which are full forms of the graphs for g, n *d, n, b, m, r, l, s,* and *a-tshun,* which in this position represents the absence of a syllable-final consonant, just as, in the center graph position, it represents the absence of a syllable-initial consonant.11 A right graph is processed last, after the vowel graph: thus a

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

between such prenasalization and a preceding open syllable-that is, the absence of a consonant. It is not surprising to find the *a-tshun* used to mark this onset.

11 An overt vowel graph, or a top or bottom graph, unambiguously identifies the center graph in a graphic sequence. However, when there is no overt vowel graphthat is, when there is the zero vowel graphand no top or bottom graph, then the location of the center graph can be ambiguous: for example, the sequence <*dg*>could be processed either as <*dag*>, with <*d*>read as the center graph, or as <*dga*>, with <g> read as the center graph. But, with *a-tshun* in the right graph position, the sequence can only be processed as <*dga*>, since it shows that there is no syllable-final consonant in the syllable which the sequence represents. Thus the graphic convention is used only when other means are lacking unambiguously to flag which of two consecutive consonant graphs is in fact the center graph: the place-holding graph is unnecessaryand unusedwhen an overt vowel graph identifies the center graph, as in <*dgu*>or <*dge*>, or when a top or bottom graph identifies the center graph, as in <*brda*>or <*bkra*>.

Interestingly, this convention allows such inferences only from graphic structure, not from syllable structure. The sequence <*gz*>is graphically ambiguous between the readings <gza > and <*gaz*>, but the syllable *gza* is a possible syllable, while the syllable ?*gaz* is not; still, the writing system marks <z> as the center graph by putting *a-tshun* in the right graph position, to resolve the GRAPHIC ambiguity, and allowing no inference concerning the center graph to be made from the fact that the sequence could not PHONOLOGICALLY be processed as ?*gaz.*

In fact, it took some time for this graphic convention to take hold. In the archaic manuscript material from Central Asia, we find the *a-tshun* sporadically in right graph position even where the center graph is otherwise unambiguous, as in the syllables *Ndre <Ndre/>, bu*

(*footnote continued on next page*)

center graph <*b*>, a zero graph <a>, and a right graph <*r*>is processed as <*bar*>, representing the syllable *bar;* a top graph <*r*>, a center graph <*d*>, a vowel graph <*u*>, and a right graph <*n*>is processed as <*rdun*>, representing the syllable *rdun;* a left graph <*d*>, a center graph <g>, a vowel graph <*o*>, and a right graph <*n*>is processed as <*dgon*>, representing the syllable *dgon;* and so on.

To the right of the right graph may be written one of two FAR RIGHT GRAPHS, which are full forms of the graphs for *s* and d.12 A far right graph is

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

<*bu/*>, or *ma* <*ma/*>*;* and sporadically omitted from right graph position where graphic ambiguity concerning the center graph could be resolved phonologically, as in the syllables *bka* <*bk*>, *mtha* <*mth* >, or *mkha* <*mkh* >. Such inconsistencies were presumably eradicated in the ninth-century language reforms of King Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan.

The place-holding graph in right-graph position also allows the writing of diphthongsfor example, *beu* <*be/u*>, *paan* <*pa/an*>, *mao* <*ma/o*>. In this position, *a-tshun* in effect represents smooth vocalic ingress into the second vowel of the diphthong, but within a single syllable, since the graphs are not separated by the syllable-marking dot t*sheg.* Here again it apparently took some time to establish the convention: in the archaic manuscripts we sporadically find diphthongs written as two syllables, and sporadically as well we find such graphic sequences as <*pi*>and <*bi*>representing what must surely have been the syllables *pai* and *bai* Once again, the linguistic standardization of the ninth century apparently intended to establish a universal convention in this regard, although it is doubtful that there was in fact any effective standardization prior to the period of the Sa-skya hegemony.

The writing of such diphthongs-with *a-tshun* marking the absence of consonant onset of the second vowelapparently underlies the convention of writing *a-tshun* as a BOTTOM GRAPH to indicate long vowels in the transliteration of Sanskrit. Such long vowels were in all likelihood heard as equivalent to Tibetan geminate vowelsSanskrit *ka* as Tibetan *kaa,* Sanskrit *ki* as Tibetan *kii,* Sanskrit *ku* as Tibetan *kuu.* An *a-tshun* in the bottom graph position, with the appropriate vowel graph over or under the center graph, would be a convenient abbreviation for such recurring geminate diphthongs, instead of writing *a-tshun* in right graph position and repeating the same vowel graph; such an abbreviation too is consistent with the conventions for graphic abbreviation used elsewhere in the language. That this was in fact the origin of the transliteration convention is indicated by the fact that it is used to indicate length in Sanskrit vowels only where length is in fact quantitative, as in a or r, but not where the so-called long vowel is qualitatively different from its short equivalent, as in *ai* or *au,* where another conventionwriting the vowel graph twiceis used instead.

12 The graph <*d*>in far right position, representing a postfinal -*d* or *da-drag* "strong d," is found in some archaic manuscripts recovered from Central Asia; in some West Tibetan

(*footnote continued on next page*

processed after the preceding right graph: thus a center graph <*g*>, a bottom graph <*y*>, a vowel graph <*u*>, a right graph <*r*>, and a far right graph <*d*>is processed as <*gyurd*>, representing the syllable *gyurd;* a left graph

Primitive societies are oral, not because they lack graphic expression, but on the contrary because their graphic expression is independent from the voice, marking signs on human bodies in answer to voice, but autonomously, and not aligned on voice; conversely, barbarian civilizations are scriptural, not for loss of voice, but because the graphic system has lost its independence and proper dimensions, has aligned itself on voice, subordinated itself to it...
Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*

<*d*>, a center graph <*g*>, a vowel graph <*o*>, a right graph <*n*>, and a far right graph <*s*>is processed as <*dgons*>, representing the syllable *dgons;* and so on.13

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

materials as late as the thirteenth century; and in the writings of the Tibetan grammarians, where it is an allophone of the past tense suffix *-s.*

13 There still remain a few sequences of consonant graphs which are ambiguous where there is no overt vowel graphthat is, where there is the zero vowel graphand no top or bottom graph to identify the center graph, and which cannot be disambiguated by the use of the place-holding graph *a-tshun.* For example, the sequence <*dgs*>is ambiguous between the readings <*dgas*>and <*dags*>, and, similarly, the sequence <*dns*>could be processed as either <*dnas*>or <*dans*>. (Of course, the sequence <*dgos*>can only be read one way, since the graph <*o*>sits unambiguously on top of the center graph <*g*>, just as in <*dogs*>the graph <o> sits unambiguously on top of the center graph <*d*>.)These ambiguous sequences are often disambiguated by yet another convention: if the sequence is to be processed as representing a syllable with no preinitial, then the center graph is identified by writing a phonologically nonfunctional <*w*>as the bottom graph beneath it. Thus the sequence <*dgs*>is read only as <*dgas*>, representing the syllable *dgas.* The syllable *dags* is represented instead by the unambiguous graphic sequence <*dwags*>, although the use of this convention is in fact highly irregular.

4. The Script

The Tibetan script is, I believe, esthetically one of the most pleasing of the Indic scripts; the following brief discussion can do little more than briefly indicate the styles of handwriting, without exploration of details. Equivalent to our hand printing are the graphs called *dbu-tsan* "with a head," referring to the horizontal line at the top of many of the graphs. Figure 4 shows two different folio sides from a manuscript written in the *dbu-tsan* script; note the section headings and instructions written in smaller script. The *dbu-tsan* writing is also that generally used in books printed from carved woodblocks, as in Figure 5.

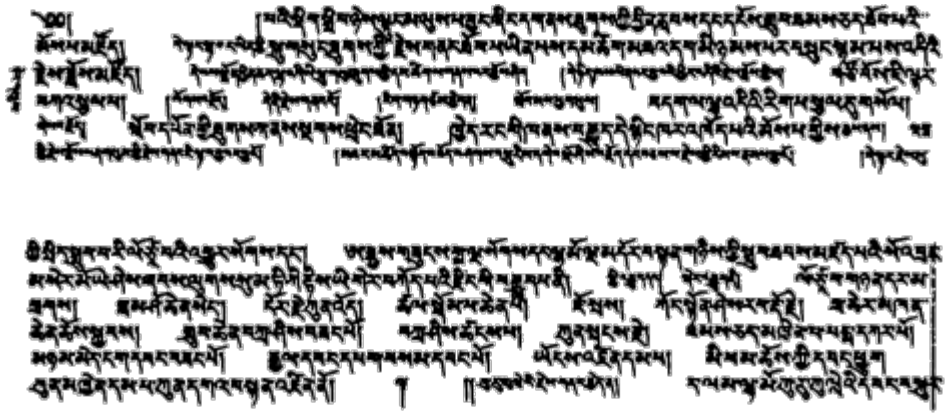

Figure 4.
Two manuscript folio sides in dbu-tsan writing

Equivalent to our cursive are the graphs called *dbu-med* "headless." Cursive writing in turn may be either the relatively careful *dpe-yig* "book writing," or the more rapid *Nkhyug-yig* "running writing," used, for instance, in personal correspondence. The last two examples, in Figure 6, are from two different *dbu-med* manuscripts, both of which use *dpe-yig* in the body of the text but *Nkhyug-yig* for the section headings and instructions.

There is, practically speaking, only a single Tibetan punctuation markthe *sad* or vertical stroke. This should not be confused with our period or comma: it is not so much a syntactic signal as it is an indication of where the

readerand all Tibetans read out loud 14can pause and take a breath. Thus the s*ad* is often but not necessarily found after major syntactic units such as sentences; and it occurs not only after such units, but anywhere a reader might pausethe end of every line of poetry, after a vocative, and between individual items in a long list.

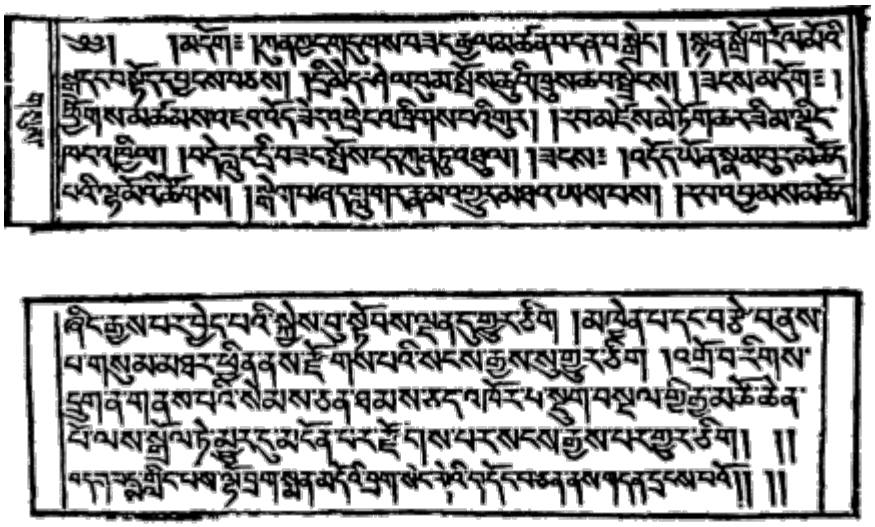

Figure 5.
Two woodblock print folio sides in dbu-tsan writing

There are various types of s*ad*, both plain and ornamental. A single vertical stroke is called *tshig-sad* or *rkyan-sad*, a double stroke is called n*is-sad*, and two double strokes separated by a space are called *bzi-sad*. A n*is-ad* can be seen starting a new section on the last line of the second folio in Figure 4; *a bzi-sad* can be seen ending the text and the colophon on the last two lines of the second folio in Figure 5. When a *bzi-sad* is used to mark the end of

14 Reading aloud rather than silently appears to be the norm in human history. Jorge Luis Borges, in his essay "On the Cult of Books," sees the transition to modernity in "the predominance of the written word over the spoken one," and notes the precise instant this process began in Western history-when St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, was observed by his disciple St. Augustine to read with "his eyes mov[ing] over the pages, and his soul penetrat[ing] the meaning, without his uttering a word or moving his tongue." That moment was still remembered thirteen years later, in Book Six of the *Confessions*, when, as Borges says, "that singular spectacle still troubled him: a man in a room, with a book, reading without articulating the words."

chapters in a book, we occasionally find the chapter number written in the space between the pairs of vertical strokes.

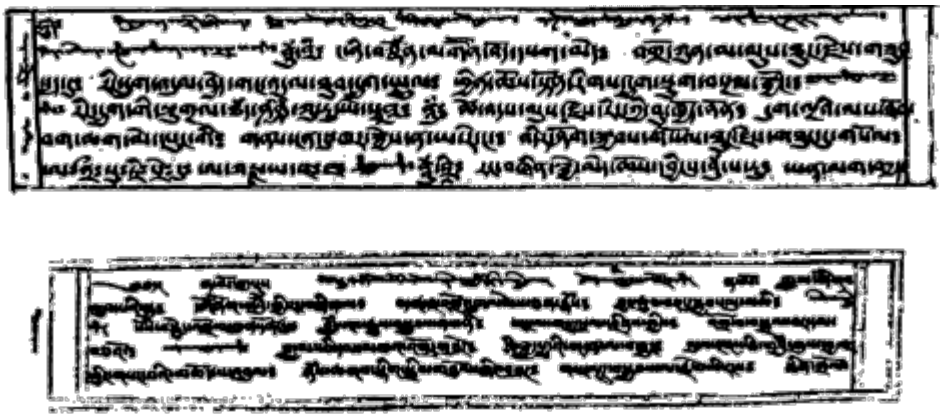

Figure 6.
Two examples of manuscripts in dbu-med writing

A special *gter-sadtwo* small circles, one above the other, separated by a short horizontal line15is used in writing *gter-ma* or "hidden treasures," texts supposedly hidden by Padmasambhava in the eighth century and then discovered, centuries later, by a special class of seers called *gter-ston* "revealers of hidden treaure." The two manuscripts shown in Figure 6 are both *gter-ma,* and the *gter-sad* can be seen after each line of verse. In addition, we also find a variety of ornamental *tsheg-sad* "strokes with dots," such as the one marking the end of the section on the last line of the second folio in Figure 4.

We might also mention here the ornamental *mgo-yig* "head letters" often found on the *recto* of each folio in a Tibetan book. The most common type of *mgo-yig* can be seen, in *dbu-tsan,* in the upper left corner of the first folios

15 The source of the *gter-sad* is obscure, but in a number of eighth- and ninth-century manuscripts from the caves near Tun-huang we find, sporadically, a variety of *tsheg* formed with two small circles, one above the other, in various combinations with vertical and horizontal lines. My guessand it is a guessis that the *gter-sad* is originally a graphic imitation of the Sanskrit *visarga,* just as the *tshig-sad* and ñ*is-sad* derive from the Sanskrit single and double *danda.*

in Figure 4 and Figure 5, and, in *dbu-med,* in the upper left corner of the second folio in Figure 6. In *gter-ma* the *mgo-yig* often takes other forms, as in the upper left corner of the first folio in Figure 6.

An ellipsis in the textfor example, where the text gives just the first few words of a repeated chorus or a well-known prayeris marked with the sign XXX, called *ku-ru-kha~ko-ru-kha~sku-ru-kha gsum* < *sku-ru* "paddlewheel," or sometimes with a stack of three short horizontal lines; the latter device can be seen marking a repeated chorus in the first, second, and fourth lines of the first folio in Figure 5.

Figure 7.
Charm to lock the mouth of slander

5
Sounds

There are two ways we can characterize the sounds of a languageby describing the way the sounds are produced by the ARTICULATORY organs of tongue, lips, and glottis; and by describing the physical ACOUSTIC properties of the sound those organs produce. Our aim here is to describe the sounds of Old Tibetan in a way that will shed light on other questions as wellfor example, that will help us understand why we find the present stem *sems* < *N-SAM-D* "thinks," or the future stem *dgum* < *G-GUM* "will kill." In Tibetan, it is interesting to note, such questions require both articulatory and acoustic answers.

1. Articulatory Descriptions

1.1. Vowels

Old Tibetan vowels are phonemes that may function as syllabic nuclei. Put another way, vowels are phonemes that may by themselves constitute a syllable. In Old Tibetan *ka* and a are both possible syllables, while ?*k* and ?*r* are not. A syllabic phoneme such as *a* is therefore a VOWEL; a non-syllabic phoneme such as *k* and *r* is a consonant.

Bbbbbllllbbblblodschbg?
James Joyce, *Ulysses*

There are five vowels in Old Tibetan*u*, *o*, *a*, *i* and *e*. These five vowels are distinguished according to the position of the tongue as either BACK or FRONT; according to the height of the tongue as either HIGH or LOW; and according to the shape of the lips as either ROUNDED or SPREAD. The vowel *u* is a HIGH

BACK ROUNDED vowel; the vowel *o* is a LOW BACK ROUNDED vowel; the vowel *a* is a LOW BACK SPREAD vowel; the vowel i is a HIGH FRONT SPREAD vowel; and the vowel e is a LOW FRONT SPREAD VOWEL. These three descriptions exhaustively characterize the Old Tibetan vowels. The vowel *e*, for example, is completely specified by its description as the Old Tibetan low front spread vowel.

Note that in Old Tibetan there are no front rounded vowels (although front rounded vowels such as ü and ö do appear in some New Tibetan dialects and, presumably, to some degree in Middle Tibetan as well). This asymmetry may be expressed as a phoneme structure constraintthat is, a rule which puts constraints on the internal structure of Old Tibetan phonemes as follows:

Rule 1. All Front Vowels Must Be Spread.

This constraint is a rule about possible phonemes. No derivation in Old Tibetan can yield a front rounded vowel, since every front vowel automatically is a spread vowel.

For example, the Old Tibetan present stem inflectional suffix *-D* moves preceding back vowels to the front of the mouth. Thus, in the presence of this suffix, the low back spread vowel a becomes the low front spread vowel *e* (for example, *Ngrel < N-GRAL-D* "explains"); but the high back rounded vowel *u* becomes the high front spread vowel *i* and not the high front rounded vowel ?*ü* (for example, *Ndzin < N-DZUN-D* "grasps," rather than ?*Ndziin*), because, as Rule 1 describes, in any derivation the high front rounded vowel ?*ü* automatically becomes the high front spread vowel *i*. Indeed, the loss of this rule, and the concomitant development of phonemic front rounded vowels, characterizes the development of several New Tibetan dialects, where we find, for example, New Tibetan (Lhasa) *khii* <*gus*>"faith" *khö* <*gos*>"clothes," *thii* <*dud*>"smoke" *thö* <*dod*>"substitute."1

1 Of course, Old Tibetan may have had a SOUND something like ü or ösay, when the vowel *u* or *o* occurred before the dental finals *-d* or *-s*but then that sound did not count as being DIFFERENT from u or *o*. It was only when that difference began to count, probably around the time the final *-d* or *-s* was ceasing to be pronounced, that we can say there emerged phonemic front rounded vowelsthat is, when, instead of contrasting *rgyu* "cause" with *rgyud* "string," the language contrasted *rgyu* with *rgyü*, or, instead of contrasting *bzo* "craft" with *bzod* "patience," the language contrasted *bzo* with *bzö*.

1.2. Consonants

1.2.1. Place

Old Tibetan consonants can be distinguished according to the PLACE OF ARTICULATION as being labial, dental, retroflex, palatal, velar, or glottal. These distinctions are, of course, structural: the actual position of the articulators in Old Tibetan is, as one might expect, probably impossible to recover. We can, however, assign Old Tibetan consonants to the general area of their articulation in the mouththe LABIAL consonants *b, p, ph, m,* and *w* presumably articulated by the lips; the DENTAL consonants *d, t, th, n, dz, ts, tsh, z, s,* and l presumably articulated by the tongue placed somewhere behind the upper teeth; the single RETROFLEX consonant *r* presumably articulated with the tongue tip curled up and back;2 the PALATAL consonants n, *dz, ts, tsh, z, s*, and y presumably articulated by the tongue placed somewhere on or near the hard palate; the VELAR consonants *g, k, kh,* and *n* presumably articulated with the back part of the tongue touching the soft palate; and the GLOTTAL consonants *ʔ* and *h* presumably articulated by the glottis or vocal cords alone.3

2 At least historically a postinital consonant *r* moved a preceding stop into such a retroflex positionfor example, Old Tibetan *drug* "six" > New Tibetan (Dpari) *drux* (Golok) *druk* (Ladakh) *duk* (Dbus) *tuk* (Lhasa) *thu* (Lhasa aristocratic) *tshu,* Old Tibetan *sprin* "cloud" > New Tibetan (Purik) *sprin* (Derge) *trim* (Dbus) tiN(K'ang-ting) *ʈsren*(Lhasa) *tiN* (Lhasa aristocratic) *tsiN* (Ladakh) *sin.*

3 There are several lines of evidence leading to the conclusion that the Old Tibetan graph <*ʔ*>represented a glottal stop and the graph <*h*>represented a glottal fricative. First, there is the virtual unanimity of the New Tibetan dialects, where we find glottal stops consistently where Old Tibetan presumably had a glottal stop as well-for example, Old Tibetan *ʔa-ma*"mother" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *ʔama*(Dbus) *ʔama*(Khams) *ʔama,* OldTibetan *ʔa-tšhe*"older sister" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *ʔatšhe*(Balti) *ʔaše*(Dbus) *ʔatšhe*Old Tibetan *ʔog-rgya*"beard" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *ʔokgya*(Dbus).*ʔokja*We also find such classical doublets as *ʔos-ko~kos-ko~ko-sko*"chin" and *ʔog-ma~lkog-ma*"throat," which certainly seem to place the phoneme represented by the graph <*ʔ*>in the back of the throat.

In this regard the remarks of the Tibetan grammarians are of interest. Following the Sanskrit tradition, they group aspirates, fricatives, and vowels together as *srog-tshen* "breathy (*mahaprana*)," as opposed to all the other phonemes, which are *srog-tshun* "non-breathy (*alpaprana*)." Given an idiosyncrasy of the Tibetan descriptive apparatus, the glottal stop *ʔ* is grouped with the vowels, and it becomes necessary to account for it. Si-tu mahapandita,

(*footnote continued on next page*)

Such distinctions of place can have morphological significance. For example, there cannot be two labial consonants in the same syllable onset: there can be no syllables with the form ?*brma* or ?*mpho* parallel to *brda* or *mtho.* Thus we find such regular tense stems as *bris* < *b-BRI-s* "wrote," *bod* < *b-BOD-s* "called," and *rmos* < *b-RMO-s* "ploughed," with the inflectional past stem prefix *b-* omitted in accordance with this constraint. Again, we find place assimilations in several verb stems, where the inflectional present stem suffix *-D* moves both back vowels and velar nasals to the front of the mouthfor example, *sbed* < *N-SBA-D* "conceals," *sel* < *N-SAL-D* "clears away," *Ndren* < *NDRAN-D* "leads," and *Ndzin* < *N-DZUN-D* "grasps."

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

writing in 1744, makes the following interesting distinction: *mgrin-pa gdans-nas brdzod dgospaiphyir ʔa-yig ma-gtogs-pai srog-tshen-gyiyi-ge-rnamsphye-bai rtsol-ba-tsan-dan,ʔa-yig mgrinpa ma-phye-bar brdzod-pai phyir btsum-pai rtsol-ba-tsan* "Since they must be pronounced with the throat wide open, the breathy phonemes other than *ʔ* are called OPEN ARTICULATIONS; but since *ʔ* must be pronounced with the throat closed it is called a CLOSED ARTICULATION."

Further evidence is provided by Tibetan transcriptions of Chinese words, where the graph <*ʔ*> is consistently used to transcribe what have been independently reconstructed as Middle Chinese glottal stops. For example, on the Sino-Tibetan treaty pillar of 821, Middle Chinese **ʔywo*is transcribed as <*ʔu*>. Similarly, in a series of manuscripts from Central Asia, we find Chinese Buddhist texts transliterated into Tibetan, presumably so they could be recited by Tibetan travelers; where such fragments have been identified and compared with their Chinese originals, we find Middle Chinese **ʔak*transcribed as <*ʔag*>, Middle Chinese **ʔai*as <*ʔe*>or <*ʔi*>, Middle Chinese **ʔyen*as <*ʔin*>, Middle Chinese **ʔwo* as <*ʔo*>, and Middle Chinese **ʔwən*as <*ʔun*>.

Similar evidence leads to the conclusionperhaps less firmthat Old Tibetan had a corresponding glottal fricative *h,* written with the graph <*h*>. Again, we find New Tibetan glottal fricatives representing what were presumably Old Tibetan glottal fricative initialsfor example, Old Tibetan *hor* "Mongol" > New Tibetan (Derge) *hor* (Lhasa) *hɔ*. In the classical language we find such doublets as *hril-gril* "round" and *lhan-glan* "patch," and we may note the spelling <*ha-mdo*>for the classical place name *ʔa-mdo*"Amdo," attested in the *Deb-ther snon-po* of Gzon-nu-dpal, written in 1478. Finally, on the Sino-Tibetan treaty pillar of 821, Tibetan <*h*>is used to transcribe, indiscriminately, both the voiced and voiceless velar fricatives *y* and x independently reconstructed for Middle Chinese. We find Middle Chinese **ya* transcribed as <*ha*>, Middle Chinese **yan* as <*han*>, Middle Chinese **ywo* as <*ho*>, and Middle Chinese **xau* as <*heu*>*;* similarly, on that same pillar, Old Tibetan *hab* is transcribed by the character representing Middle Chinese **yap.*

1.2.2. Closure

It is useful to distinguish three degrees of CLOSURE between the articulators of a phonemebetween the tongue and the palate, for example, or between the two lips, or between the lower lip and the upper teeth. In STOPPED phonemes the articulators are pressed together sufficiently to cut off the airstream completely; in NARROWED phonemes the articulators are closed sufficiently to produce a hissing turbulence in the airstream; and in OPEN phonemes the articulators are not closed sufficiently to disturb the airstream at all.

Using these distinctions we can characterize four types of consonant in Old Tibetan. STOPS are phonemes, such as *k*, *b*, or *n*, which are stopped but not narrowed; FRIATIVES are phonemes, such as *f*, *z* or *s*, which are narrowed but not stopped; APPROXIMANTS are phonemes, such as *l*, *w*, or a, which neither stopped nor narrowedthat is, which are open; and AFFRICATES are phonemes, such as *pf*, *ts*, or *dz*, which are both stopped and narrowedthat is, which begin as stops and end as fricatives.

Note that approximants such as *a*, *u*, or e, which can function as syllabic nuclei, are, of course, VOWELS; approximants such as *y*, *r*, or l, which cannot function as syllabic nuclei, we will call GLIDES. There were thus in Old Tibetan the STOPS *ʔ*, *g*, *k*, *kh*, *d*, *t*, *th*, *b*, *p*, *ph*, *n*, *ñ*, *n*, and *m*, the AFFRICATES *d*, *t*, *th*, *dz*, *ts*, and *tsh*, the FRICATIVES *h*, , , *z*, and *s*, and the GLIDES *y*, *r*, *l*, and w.

Tibetan makes a significant distinction between consonants with a stopped component and consonants without a stopped component. Such STOPPED consonants are stops and affricates; UNSTOPPED consonants are fricatives and approximants. For example, in Old Tibetan only stopped consonants can be prenasalized; again, in Old Tibetan only unstopped preinitial consonants can be preceded by the past and future stem *b-* prefix.

Affricates frequently alternate with their corresponding fricatives. For example, in verbal inflection the intransitive root *DZUG* "enter" forms the past stem z*ugs* < *Ø-DZUG-S;* the intransitive root *DZAG* "trickle" forms the past stem *zags* < *Ø-DZAG-S;* the transitive root *DZIB* "suck" forms the past stem *bZibs* < *b-DZIB-S;* and the transitive root *DZAR* "hang up" forms the past stem *bzar* < *b-DZAR-S*. In the change from *d* to or *dz* to *z*, a stopped consonant changes into a consonant of exactly the same description except that now it

is not stopped. This process we will call UNSTOPPING.4

1.2.3. Voice onset time

It is common to describe Tibetan consonants according to the traditional categories of Sanskrit phonology, wherein consonants are either voiced or voiceless and either aspirated or unaspirated; Old Tibetan, with a three-way distinction of consonants, then appears rather like a defective version of the Sanskrit fourfold system, with voiced aspirated stops such as *gh* and *bh* somehow omitted.

4 Unstopping is a "natural" process in Tibetan, which seems willing to change an affricate into the corresponding fricative not only inflectionally but historically as well. Old Tibetan *la-sogs-pa* "and so on" is found written in archaic Central Asian manuscripts as <*las-stogs~ lastsogs~la-stsogs*>, indicating Proto-Tibetan **tsogs* "group" > Old Tibetan *sogs;* presumably as well Proto-Tibetan **gñis-btsu* "twenty" > Old Tibetan ñ*i-su.* Unstopping is also found in dialect variations. For example, we find Old Tibetan *tsha-bo* "nephew" > New Tibetan (Golok) *sawo,* Old Tibetan *tshe-rin* "long life" > New Tibetan (Golok) *serun,* Old Tibetan *tshogs* "assembly" > New Tibetan (Golok) *sok,* or, similarly, Old Tibetan *mdzug* "tail" > New Tibetan (Balti) zug, Old Tibetan *Ndzigs* "fear" > New Tibetan (Balti) z*ig,* Old Tibetan *mdzub* "finger" > New Tibetan (Balti) zu, Old Tibetan *mdzo* "yak hybrid" > New Tibetan (Balti) zo. In the Middle Tibetan dialect from which Monguor borrowed its Tibetan loanwords, Old Tibetan *tsh* >Middle Tibetan s, as in Old Tibetan *tsha-mo* "niece" > Monguor *samo,* Old Tibetan *tshon-pa* "merchant" > Monguor *sonwa,* Old Tibetan *tshe-rin* "long life" > Monguor *seran,* Old Tibetan *tsha-tsha* "good luck charm" > Monguor *sasa.* Similar dialectal unstopping is found as well in the archaic manuscript material from Central Asia: in one manuscript we consistently find <*tham-sad*>for Old Tibetan *thams-tsad* "all" and <*sem-san*>for Old Tibetan *sems-tsan* "sentient creature"; in another we consistently find <*se*>for Old Tibetan *rtse* "peak" and <*zug*>for Old Tibetan *mdzug* "tail." Finally, in the classical language itself we find such doublets as *rdze-sa~ze-sa* "honorific expression" and *LDZEN~ZEN* "penetrate," and such word families as *TSUM* "shrink, shudder," S*UM* "weep, tremble," *DZUM* "shudder, shrink, contract," z*um-pa* "fear, dismay."

Indeed, comparative data allow us to reconstruct Proto-Tibetan affricates that had become unstopped by the time of Old Tibetan. For example, we find Bahing *dza,* Nagari *dzya,* Burmese *tsa,* Garo *tsha* "eat" but Old Tibetan *ZA* "eat," Karen *dzon,* Burmese *tsi* Lisu *dzi,* Akha *dzi* "ride" but Old Tibetan *ZON* "ride an animal," Bahing *di-dzim,* Akha *dzim-tsi* "fresh (water)," Burmese *tshim* "delicious," but Old Tibetan zim "good tasting." Thus we can reconstruct Proto-Tibetan **dza* "eat" > Old Tibetan *ZA,* Proto-Tibetan **dzyon* > **dzon* "ride" > Old Tibetan Z*ON,* and Proto-Tibetan **dzyim* > *dzim* "good tasting" > Old Tibetan *zim.*

Actually, the term VOICE refers to the state of the glottis: the vocal cords may either be touching along their entire length, so that air passing between them causes regular vibrations; or else they may be separated, so that such regular vibrations do not occur. The term ASPIRATION does not refer to some phenomenon distinct from voice; rather the term refers to a period of voicelessness during and after the release of an articulation. Instead of viewing voice and aspiration as two independently varying phenomena, it makes more sense, as far as Old Tibetan is concerned, to view the consonants as lying along the single multivalued dimension of VOICE ONSET TIME.

For example, at a particular moment, the two articulators of a stop consonantthe two lips, or the tongue and the top of the front teeth, or the tongue and velummove apart sufficiently to let air pass out through the mouth. The vocal cords may begin vibrating BEFORE this release of closure, SIMULTANEOUSLY with the release, or some time AFTER the release: in the first case we have a VOICED stop, in the second a VOICELESS stop, and in the third an ASPIRATED stop.5

Thus Old Tibetan distinguishes, in the timing of onset of voice, the VOICED consonants *g d, b, d, dz, ʑ z, n, ñ, n, m, y, r, l,* and *w* from the VOICELESS consonants *k, t, p, t, ts,* , and *s,* and from the ASPIRATED consonants *kh, th, ph, th,* and *tsh.* Note that the glottal stop ʔ and glottal fricative *h* do not have any value for voice onset time, since they are articulated by the glottis itself.

Note too that only STOPPED consonantsthat is, stops and affricatescan be

5 Similarly, a fricative may be accompanied by vibration of the vocal cords from the start of its articulation; or the vibration may begin at the moment the articulators separate to form a following vowel; or the vibration may begin some time after the articulators have separated. Here again we have a VOICED, VOICELESS, and ASPIRATED fricative, respectively.

The timing of the onset of this vibration in milliseconds varies from language to language: different languages choose different points along this continuum in forming oppositions among consonants, just as languages choose different numbers of oppositions to form. Old Tibetan makes a three-way distinction among stopped non-nasal consonants, but only a twoway distinction among fricatives; New Tibetan (Lhasa) makes only a two-way distinction among stopped non-nasal consonants, and has only voiceless fricatives. English and New Tibetan (Lhasa) both make a two-way distinction between more-voiced and less-voiced stopped non-nasal consonants; but the more-voiced consonants in English are voiced prior to release, and the more-voiced consonants in Lhasa city are voiced only at release.

aspirated: fricatives may be voiced or voiceless, but Old Tibetan apparently had no phonemes of the form ?*sh* or ?*sh.*6We can express this asymmetry as a second phoneme structure constraint:

RULE 2 All aspirated consonants must be stopped consonants.

This rule then constitutes a derivational constraint on the inflectional process of UNSTOPPING: when the inflectional rule operates on the aspirated affricates *TSH* and *TSH,* it yields the aspirated fricatives ?*sh* and ?*sh,* which, under Rule 2, immediately become the corresponding affricates *tsh* and *tsh.*

Morphologically, in Old Tibetan we find a strong tendency to voice dissimilation: that is, where a stopped initial in a verb root is preceded by an inflectional prefix, and the resulting stem must be adjusted to conform with syllable structure constraints, the root initial is adjusted to a form where its voice onset time is as DISSIMILAR as possible to the voice onset time of the prefix. For example, we find *Nthor* < *N-TOR* "scatters," *Nkhrol* < *N-KROL* "rings," *Ntsho* < *N-TSO* "nourishes." Indeed, this tendency is sufficiently strong that, in the case of the past tense *b-* prefix, it operates even on syllables that are otherwise acceptable-for example, *bkrol* < *b-GROL-s* "rang," *btins* < *bDIN-s* "scattered," *btsugs* < *b-DZUG-s* "pierced."

1.2.4. Nasality

A NASAL phoneme is produced with a lowered velum, or soft palate, allowing air to pass out through the nose; a non-nasal or ORAL phoneme is produced with the velum raised to form a velic closure in the upper pharynx, blocking the passage of air to the nose. In a nasal stop the articulators block the mouth entirely until release, while air flows out through the nose; it is because of this air flow, with the mouth acting as a variously shaped resonating chamber, that nasals share with approximants the acoustic property often called SONORANCE. In Old Tibetan, the velar, palatal, dental, and labial places of articulation each has a corresponding nasal stopthe VELAR NASAL *n,* the

6 In addition, nasals and glides were apparently all voiced in Old Tibetan, which is, of course, not at all unusual: voiceless sonorants are relatively rare in the languages of the world. This asymmetryunlike the lack of aspirated fricativesis not morphologically significant.

PALATAL NASAL ñ, the DENTAL NASAL n, and the LABIAL NASAL m.7

In addition, Old Tibetan oral stopped consonantsthat is, non-nasal stops and fricatives-could be PRENASALIZED. In prenasalization, there is a brief lowering of the velum before release of the stop, allowing air to pass out through the nose momentarily before the stop is articulated. Prenasalization is an important inflectional process in Old Tibetan, marking the present stem of a large number of verbsfor example, *Nkhum* < *N-KHUM* "shrinks," as opposed to *khums* < *KHUM-s* "shrank," *Ndud* < *N-DUD* "bends," as opposed to *btud* < *b-DUD-s* "bent," *N-thub* < *N-TUB* "chops," as opposed to *btubs* < *BTUB-S* "chopped."

2. Acoustic Descriptions

The descriptions given so far exhaustively characterize the phonemes of Old Tibetan: thus the phoneme *e* is completely characterized as the Old Tibetan LOW FRONT VOWEL (since we know, from Rule 1, that it is SPREAD as well); and the phoneme *dz* is completely characterized as the Old Tibetan VOICED DENTAL AFFRICATE. Some morphophonemic rules in Tibetan, however, require acoustic as well as such articulatory descriptions: some sound changes seem to be conditioned not by the position and movement of the articulatory organs but rather by the auditory properties of the sounds themselves.

2.1. Gravity

It can be observed that there are considerable similarities between sounds made in the back of the mouth and sounds made in the front of the mouth, as opposed to sounds made with some part of the tongue raised in the

7 Vowels, of course, can also be NASALIZEDthat is, articulated with a lowered velum so that air passes out through both nose and mouth. There is little evidence that Old Tibetan had nasalized vowels, but, in some dialects of New Tibetan, many Old Tibetan syllables with final nasal stops have become syllables with nasalized vowelsfor example, Old Tibetan *yon-tan* "virtue" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *yönten*, Old Tibetan *mtshan* "name" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *tshen*, Old Tibetan *snam-bu* "woolen cloth" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *nampu*, Old Tibetan *tshan* "beer" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *tshaN*. In other words, in such syllables, the syllable-final tongue or lip gesture has ceased to be made, but the lowering of the velum has continued.

middle of the mouth.8 It is easy to see that both velar and labial sounds are produced with the mouth acting as a single large resonating chamber, while dental and fricative sounds are produced with the tongue dividing the mouth into two smaller chambers. Sounds made with a constriction at either end of the mouth have most of their acoustic energy at a lower pitch than corresponding sounds made in the middle of the mouth: hence we find that *k* and *p* actually sound more alike than do p and t. Velar and labial consonants, based on this acoustic phenomenon, are called GRAVE, and dental and labial consonants are called ACUTE.

This acoustic description cuts across the articulatory description of place and allows us to express some common dissimilation patterns in Old Tibetan. For example, preinitial g- and *d-* are in complementary distribution: the grave preinitial *g-* occurs only before acute initial consonants; the acute preinitial *d-* occurs only before grave initial consonants. Similarly, the acute postfinal *-s* occurs only after grave final consonants; the Old Tibetan acute present stem inflectional suffix *-D* disappears after acute final consonants and appears as the acute allomorph *-s* only after grave finals. This process of GRAVITY DISSIMILATION is characteristic of the classical language.

2.2. Sonorance

In many languages, nasals and glides form a group with the vowels.9 Nasals, glides and vowels are acoustically SONORANT, as opposed to other stops, affricates and fricatives, which are called OBSTRUENT. The acoustic description cuts across the articulatory descriptions of closure and nasality, just as acoustic gravity cuts across articulatory descriptions of place.

Sonorants have in common a resonant quality that arises from their having

8 For example, note how the velar fricative in *kox "cough" (compare Old English *cohhetan* "shout," Middle Low German *kuchen* "cough," Middle High German *kuchen* "exhale") becomes a bilabial fricative in <*cough*>. Note, too, that a ventriloquist will substitute velar consonants for the labial consonants he cannot make because his lips would move.

9 In English, for example, nasals and glides are syllabicjust like vowelsafter a stop or fricative, as in such two-syllable words as *prizm* <*prism*>, *hindr* <*hinder*>, <*sudden*>, or *teybl* <*table*>.

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a relatively large amount of acoustic energy within a clearly defined overtone structure. In other words, the sonorants are "tone-like" sounds, while the obstruents are "noise-like" sounds. Thus, too, sonorants are normally voiced sounds; voiceless nasals, for example, are quite rare in the world's languages compared to voiced nasals.10

Tibetan syllable codas are either sonorant or obstruent. The sonorance of the coda has morphophonological effects on some following particles: in several cases, the initial of a particle is voiced after preceding sonorants and voiceless after preceding obstruents. For example, the coordinative conjunction -*TSin* "AND" takes the voiced form -*zin* after preceding sonorant finals, but takes the unvoiced form -*tsin* and -*sin* after preceding obstruent finals. Similarly,

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	FRONT BACK		
	Spread	Round	
HIGH	*i*		*u*
LOW	*e*	*a*	*o*

Table 4. The Old Tibetan vowels

	STOPS	AFFRICATES	FRICATIVES	GLIDES
	Oral Nasal			
GLOTTAL	*ʔ*		h	
VELAR	*g k kh n*			
PALATAL	*ñ*	*dz tštšh*	*žš*	*y*
RETROFLEX				*r*
DENTAL	*d t th n*	*dz ts tsh*	*z s*	*l*
LABIAL	*b p ph m*			*w*

Table 5. The Old Tibetan consonants

the following MINIMAL PAIRS may be cited to show that the distinctions discussed above are in fact phonemicthat is, functional in the language. For vowels, we note, for example, *run* "proper" *ron* "ravine" *ran* "self" *rin* "long" *ren* "stiff," and *rug* "potato" *rog* "black" *rag* "depends" *rig* "knowledge" *reg* "touches." For consonants, we note, for example, *ka* "pillar" *kha* "mouth" n*a* "I," *ko* "leather" *kho* "he" n*o* "face," *khan* "house" *gan* "full" nan "nature," *khal* "burden" *gal* "importance" n*al* "fatigue," n*an* "bad" -*tsan* "POSSESSING," *tsar* "simultaneous" *tshar* "rain," n*es* "sure" *tses* "QUOTATION" *tshes* "grown big," *tsha* "portion" *dza* "tea" ñ*a* "fish," *tshag* "broken" *dzag* "robbery" ñ*ag* "notch," ñ*og* "dirty" *tog* "cap button," *tin* "cup" *thin* "scatter!" ñ*al* "sleeps"

tal "quick" *thal* "dust," *thur* "down" *dur* cemetery," *thug* "soup" *dug* "poison," *dus* "time" *nus* "is able," *don* "meaning" *non* "presses," *nag* "black" *pag* "brick" *phag* "pig" *bag* "concern," *bug* "hole" *mug* "worm," *par* "printing block" *phar* "away" *bar* "middle" *mar* "butter," *mi* "man" *tsi* "mouse," *tse* "basket" *tshe* "life," *Ntshag* "squeezes" *Ndzag* "trickles," *Ntshem* "sews" *Ndzem* "shuns," *tsher* "thornbush" *ser* "hailstorm" *zer* says," *tshon* "commerce" *son* "went" *zon* "merchandise," *sub* "covers" s*ub* "whispers," s*in* "firewood" z*in* "field," *su* "who" s*u* "abscess" z*u* "asks," *sol* "coal" *ʔol*"throat," *sog* "shoulderblade" *ʔog*"neck," *sor* "gimlet" *hor* "Mongol." Note particularly the following minimal pairs of words with glottal stop initial, glottal fricative initial, and smooth vocalic ingressol "clover" *ʔol*"throat," *og* "underpart" *ʔog*"neck," *hor* "Mongol" *or* "dropsy," *hur* "alertness" *ur* "BUZZING NOISE," *ʔar-pa*"thief" *har-pa* "hole," *ʔar-po*"fieldworker" *har-po* "shining." Finally, minimal pairs with and without prenasalization include *Ngro* "goes" *gro* "wheat," *Nbu* "insect" *bu* "son," *Ntshe* "hurts" *tshe* "time," *Ndug* "stays" *dug* "poison."

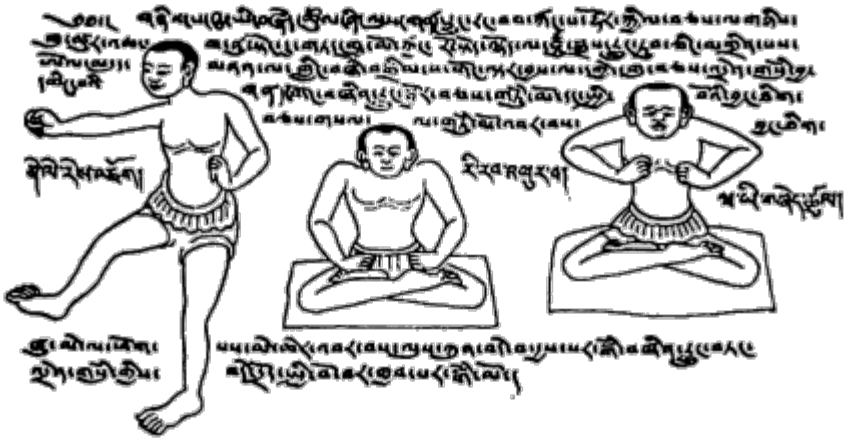

Figure 8.
Page from a yoga handbook

6
Syllables

In Proto-Tibetan the syllable seems to have been differently structured in several respects than in Old Tibetan: for example, we can reconstruct Proto-Tibetan syllables such as **gryud* "string" and **rkuan* "net" which cannot occur in Old Tibetan. But we can do little more at this time than make sporadic hypotheses about the nature of these differences, and the discussion here will center on the structure of the syllable in Old Tibetan. This structure is defined by specific constraints on possible syllables. These constraints are of three sortslength constraints, slot-filler constraints, and co-occurrence constraints. LENGTH CONSTRAINTS define the number of phoneme slots available in the syllable; SLOT-FILLER CONSTRAINTS define what phonemes may occur in each slot; CO-OCCURRENCE CONSTRAINTS define what phonemes in one slot can occur together with other phonemes in other slots.

1. Length Constraints

The Tibetan syllable consists of three partsONSET, NUCLEUS, and CODA. The nucleus of the syllable in Old Tibetan is always a single vowel.1 The minimum

1 While in Old Tibetan the syllabic nucleus always contains a single vowel, it seems we must recognize two COMPLEX NUCLEI in some Proto-Tibetan syllables, both of which had simplified into single vowels by the time the language was written down. Thus in many cases where we find a classical Tibetan *o* we must reconstruct a Proto-Tibetan nucleus we will write conventionally as *ua, and in many cases where we find a classical Tibetan e we must reconstruct a Proto-Tibetan nucleus we will write conventionally as **ia*. This convention is used to indicate that the syllable contains a complex nucleus rather than an onset cluster with a postinitial glide. The convention thus distinguishes, for example, between Proto-Tibetan **THIAM* >Old Tibetan *THEM* "complete," on the one hand, and Proto-Tibetan **THYAM* >Old Tibetan *TSHAM* "agree," on the other.

For example, given Burmese *phwam* "fat" and Lushei *puam* "swollen," we may postulate Proto-Tibetan **sbuam* >Old Tibetan *sbom* "thick." Similarly, given Nung *gwa* and Lisu *gwa* "put on clothes," we may postulate Proto-Tibetan **GUA* >Old Tibetan *B-GO* "put on clothes," given Burmese *twan* and Tiddim Chin *wan* "hole," we may postulate Proto-Tibetan

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**duan* >Old Tibetan *don* "hole," and given Burmese *parwak,* Rgyarong *korok,* and Kiranti *khorok* "ant," we may postulate Proto-Tibetan **gruag* >Old Tibetan *grog* "ant." See also Burmese *kwan,* Proto-Tibetan **rkuan* >Old Tibetan *rkon* "net," Burmese *thwa,* ProtoTibetan **mthua* >Old Tibetan *mtho* "span," Burmese *swa,* Proto-Tibetan **sua* >Old Tibetan *so* "tooth," Burmese *hlwat,* Proto-Tibetan **GLUAD* >Old Tibetan *GLOD* "loosen," and perhaps even Burmese *rwat* "old, tough," Proto-Tibetan **ruad* >Old Tibetan *rod* "stiff." Note also Sanskrit *svaha* "RITUAL EXCLAMATION" > Old Tibetan **sua-ha* <*swa-ha* >>New Tibetan (Dbus) *soha.*

This historical sequence Proto-Tibetan **ua* >Old Tibetan *o* must be distinguished from the sequence Proto-Tibetan **wa* >Old Tibetan *wa* (as in Burmese *tsha,* Proto-Tibetan **tshwa* > Old Tibetan *tshwa* "salt"), and from the sequence Proto-Tibetan **o* >Old Tibetan *o* (as in Burmese *thaun,* Proto-Tibetan **ston* >Old Tibetan *ston* "thousand"). These sequences may be diagrammed as follows:

	BURMESE	PROTO-TIBETAN	OLD TIBETAN	*PT > OT
"thousand"	*thaun*	**ston*	*ston*	*o* > *o*
"salt"	*tsha*	**tshwa*	*tshwa*	*wa* > *wa*
"hole"	*thwan*	**duan*	*don*	*ua* > *o*

In the same way, given Lepcha *grya* we may postulate Proto-Tibetan **kria* > **rkia* >Old Tibetan *rke* "lean," given Burmese l*yap* we may postulate Proto-Tibetan **liab* >Old Tibetan *leb* "flat," given Bahing *dyam* "be straight," Burmese *atam* "straight long piece," and Nung *ɤdam* "flat," we may postulate Proto-Tibetan **ldiam* >Old Tibetan *ldem* "straight," and given Bahing *dyam,* Tiddim Chin *dim,* and Vayu *dam* "full," we may postulate Proto-Tibetan **THIAM* >Old Tibetan *THEM* "be full."

As above, this historical sequence Proto-Tibetan **ia* >Old Tibetan *e* must be distinguished from the sequence Proto-Tibetan **ya* >Old Tibetan *ya* (as in Burmese *pya* "bee," ProtoTibetan **bya* >Old Tibetan *bya* "bird"), and from the sequence Proto-Tibetan **e* >Old Tibetan *e* (as in Burmese *ni* Proto-Tibetan **NE* > **NYE* >Old Tibetan *NE* "be near"). (Remember, too, that a Proto-Tibetan *dental stop + *ya* >Old Tibetan palatal affricate + *a,* as in Proto-Tibetan **THYAM* >Old Tibetan *TSHAM* "agree.") These sequences may be summarized as follows:

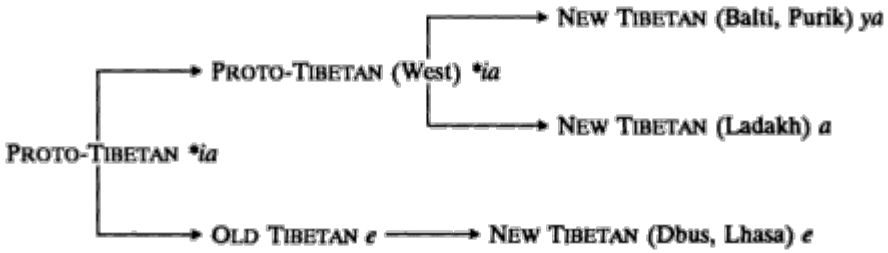
	BURMESE	PROTO-TIBETAN	OLD TIBETAN	*PT > OT
"near"	*ni*	**ne*	*ñe*	*e* > *e*
"bee/bird"	*pya*	**bya*	*bya*	*ya* > *ya*
"flat"	*yap*	**liab*	*leb*	*ia* > *e*

(*footnote continued on next page*)

syllable consists only of a nucleus; the maximum syllable consists of an onset cluster of four consonants before the nucleus and a coda cluster of two consonants after the nucleus.2 Between these two extremes lie syllables of intermediate length, including syllables with a coda of a single vowel. The historical change from Old to Middle to New Tibetan is characterized in part by a tendency to reduce the length of syllables from the maximum ccccvcc or ccccvv syllables of Old Tibetan to the maximum cvc or cvv syllables of many New Tibetan dialects. Table 6 on the following page summarizes the possible syllable lengths in the classical language.

Two special cases are not included in the schematization. First, there are occasionally coda clusters of Two vowels when a syllable with the lexical form -w (invariably a diminutive such as *beu* "calf" or *byeu* "little bird") occurs with the adnominal particle, as in *beui* "of the calf," or before the statement particle, as in *beuo* "(It is) the calf." (Note also the onomatopoietic *meao*

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

> Western Tibetan dialects seem to have preserved Proto-Tibetan **ia* where in Old Tibetan and other New Tibetan dialects Proto-Tibetan **ia* has undergone change. For example, given New Tibetan (Ladakh) *thag* "bear" (Purik) *thyag* "lift" (Balti) *thyag-pa* "patience," we may hypothesize Proto-Tibetan **THIAG* >Old Tibetan *THEG* "lift, bear," and given New Tibetan (Ladakh) *lags-pa* (Purik) *lyax-mo* (Balti) *lyax-mo* "good," we may hypothesize Proto-Tibetan **LAGS* >Old Tibetan *LEGS* "be good." We can thus provide somewhat more historical detail in outlining this sound change:
>
> 
>
>
> 2 One of the initial difficulties in studying classical Tibetan is the shock of encountering such complex onset clusters as in *dgra* "enemy" or *bsgyur* "translated." English is quite impoverished in onset clusters: the maximum onset consists of a voiceless fricative plus a voiceless stop plus a glide, such as *str* in <*string*>, *spl* in <*splendid*>, *skw* in <*square*>, or *sky* in <*skew*>. On the other hand, we might add, English is much richer than classical Tibetan in coda clusters: the maximum coda cluster consists of four consonants, such as *ksts* in <*texts*>, *lfθs* in <*twelfths*>, *mpst* in <*glimpsed*>, or *ksθs* in <*sixths*>.

"SOUND OF A CAT.") A coda cluster of THREE vowels is possiblebut not often encounteredwhen such a syllable occurs both with the adnominal particle and before the statement particle, as in *spreuio* "(It is) the monkey's." Second, diphthongs in closed syllables are produced by two syntactic processes. The connective *Yan* "ALSO" becomes *-an* after preceding vowels in unstressed syllables, yielding such syllabic forms as *-paan* and *-laan.* And the conjunction *-Am* "OR" after preceding vowels similarly yields such diphthongs as in *rtaam dream beuam Nbriam* "horse or donkey or calf or yak-cow or .. ."

		-C	-CC	-V
	-Ø			
		VC	VCC	VV
Ø-	V			
		og	*ons*	*oi*
	o			
		CVC	CVCC	CVV
C-	CV			
		bod	*bubs*	*beu*
	ka			
		CCVC	CCVCC	CCVV
CC-	CCV			
		rgud	*rgons*	*byeu*
	rga			
		CCCVC	CCCVCC	CCCVV
CCC-	CCCV			
		rgyal	*rgyags*	*rgyai*
	rgya			
		CCCCVC	CCCCVCC	CCCCVV
CCCC-	CCCCV			
		brgyal	*brgyuns*	*brgyai*
	brgya			

Table 6 Old Tibetan syllable length constraints

2. Slot-Filler Constraints

Slot-filler constraints prescribe which phonemes can occur in particular positions in the syllable. Indeed, we have already mentioned one such slot-filler constraintthe rule that the NUCLEUS of the syllable is always filled with a vowel.

The ONSET of the syllable consists of four slots, each of which may either be filled with a single consonant or left emptythat is, filled with zero. We will call these four slots, from left to right, the PRE-PREINITIAL, PREINITIAL, INITIAL,

and POSTINITIAL slots.3 The fillers of these slots are as follows.

(1) When there is only one consonant in the onset, that consonant is in the INITIAL slot. The initial slot may be filled by any consonant except, of course, the phoneme of nasalization *N*. Thus in the syllable *bod* the initial slot is filled by *b*, and in the syllable *thabs* the initial slot is filled by *th*.

(2) When the initial slot has been filled, the POSTINITIAL slot may also be filled. The postinitial slot can be filled ONLY by the glides *r* and y.4 Thus in the syllable *grub* the initial slot is filled by g and the postinitial slot by *r*, and in the syllable *byid* the initial slot is filled by *b* and the postinitial slot by *y*.5

3 We must be careful, of course, not to confuse these PHONOLOGICAL slots, and the phonemes that can fill them, with the GRAPHIC slots 1 through 4 discussed above. It is true, for example, that the INITIALwhen there is oneis always in the center graph position, and that the PRE-PREINITIALwhen there is oneis always in the left graph position. But after that, as we shall see, identification becomes less easy.

4 This statement is controversial, and will require some justification, which will be supplied in the following section.

5 An onset cluster of stop plus glide may in some cases be unambiguously processed as an initial stop plus postinitial glide: for example, in *khrag* "blood" *orphyag* "hand" the glide cannot be the initial because the aspirated stops *kh* and *ph* cannot, under the syllable slot-filler constraints, be preinitials; in *skra* "hair" or *dpya* "tax" the glide cannot be the initial because the stops *k* and p cannot, under the syllable slot-filler constraints, be preinitials, and because the consonants *s* and *d* cannot, under the syllable slot-filler constraints, be prepreinitials.

However, where the glide is preceded by a single consonant which could be either an initial or a preinitial, such as g or *b*, it follows that the glide could in turn be either a postinitial or an initial: for example, the form *gyan* mightwithout further informationbe processed either as a preinitial g followed by initial y or as an initial g followed by postinitial y.

Now the Tibetan writing system distinguishes these two cases with regard to g and y. An initial y is written as a CENTER graph, with preinitial g as a LEFT graph; an initial g is written as a CENTER graph, with postinitial y as a BOTTOM graph. But the writing system does not make similar distinctions with regard to the other glides: when preceded by another consonant, the glides r, l, and *w* are always written as bottom graphs, and it is easily assumed that they are therefore all postinitials. That is not necessarily the case.

(*footnote continued on next page*)

(3) When the initial slot has been filled, the PREINITIAL slot may also be filled. The preinitial slot can be filled by *r, l s, g d, b, m,* and *N.* Thus in the syllable *bde* the initial slot is filled by *d* and the preinitial slot by *b,* and in the syllable *rgyu* the initial slot is filled by g the postinitial slot by y, and the preinitial slot by *r.*

(4) When the preinitial slot has been filled by a NONSTOPPED consonant *r, l,* or *s* (note that this is actually a co-occurrence constraint), the PREPREINITIAL slot may also be filled. The pre-preinitial slot can be filled ONLY by *b.* Thus in the syllable *blta* the initial slot is filled by *t,* the preinitial slot by , and the pre-preinitial slot by *b.*

The CODA of the syllable consists of two slots. We will call these slots, from left to right, the FINAL and POSTFINAL slots.

(1) The FINAL slot may be filled with a single vowel (with the additional provisions discussed above), by a single consonant, or left emptythat is, filled by zero. The final slot may be filled by the consonants *d, n,*

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

> We will here use the following convention: a preinitial consonant will be separated from a following initial glide by a dot (thus *g.yan* "blessing"), and an initial consonant followed by a postinitial glide will be left unmarked (thus *gyan* "baked brick").
>
> Why does this distinction matter? Historical changes occur differently to initials and postinitialsfor example, Old Tibetan *g.yan* "blessing" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *yan,* but Old Tibetan *GYON* "get dressed" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *chöN,* Old Tibetan *g.yu* "turquoise" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *yu,* but Old Tibetan *gyad* "athlete" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) , Old Tibetan *g.yon* "left side" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *yöN,* but Old Tibetan *gyos-po* "father-in-law" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *chöpo.* Similar examples can be found with other glidesfor example, Old Tibetan *g.rogs* "helper" > New Tibetan (Lhasa), but Old Tibetan *grags* "fame" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *tha.* Note also classical Tibetan *BRI* "write" but *ri-mo* "drawing," *GRIL* "be rolled up" but *ril-po* "round," *GRIB* "grow dim" but *rab-rib* "mist, dimness," and perhaps even *S-BRUM* "make pregnant" < **BRUM* "*be pregnant" but *rum* "womb."
>
> The same distinction may extend back into Proto-Tibetan. We can distinguish, for example, between Proto-Tibetan **s.la* "thin" > Old Tibetan *s.la* >New Tibetan (Lhasa) *la* and ProtoTibetan **sle* "tongue" > Old Tibetan *ltse* > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *tse.* Similarly, given Bunan *goa-gwa,* Chamba Lahuli *gua,* and perhaps even Old Chinese **ghwo* "fox," we can propose Proto-Tibetan **g.wa* "fox" > Old Tibetan *wa* >New Tibetan (Lhasa) *wa,* as opposed, for example, to Proto-Tibetan **rwa* "horn" > Old Tibetan *rwa* >New Tibetan (Lhasa) *ra.*

r, l, s, g, n, b, and *m,* or by any vowel. Thus in the syllable *bod* the final slot is filled by d, and in the syllable *grags* the final slot is filled byg.

(2) When the final slot has been filled by a GRAVE consonant (note that this is a co-occurrence constraint), the POSTFINAL slot may be filled as well. The postfinal slot can be filled ONLY by *s,* at least in the classical language6 Thus in the syllable *thabs* the final slot is filled by *b* and the postfinal slot by *s.*

2.1. Are -l- And -w- Postinitials?

When the glide *I* follows a consonant it is written as a bottom graph and alphabetized in native Tibetan dictionaries as if it were a postinitial; but, with only one exception, the bottom graph <*l*>does not represent a postinitial following an initial, represented by the center graph, but rather the initial of the syllable, with the center graph representing the preinitial. There are several reasons for reaching this conclusion.

Historically, the Tibetan preinitial stops have tended to disappear in several New Tibetan dialects7thus, for example, Old Tibetan *gñid* "sleep" > New

6In Proto-Tibetan, when the final slot of a syllable was filled by an ACUTE consonant *n, r,* or l the postfinal slot could be filled by *d.* This postfinal dcalled *da-drag* "strong *d"* by the Tibetan grammarianswas apparently a phonologically conditioned allomorph of postfinal *s.* Postfinal *d* had two sourcesan inflectional suffix **-D* in the present stem of certain verbs, and an inflectional suffix **-s* in the past stem of all verbs. These suffixes will be discussed in the section on morphology.

7 This is a simple statement of a complex phenomenon. First, nothing ever disappears without a trace, which is, I suppose, a comforting thought; in particular, preinitials which have apparently disappeared may be articulated after preceding open syllables in the same stress group-for example, Old Tibetan *bzi* "four" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) s*i* but Old Tibetan *btsu-bzi* "fourteen" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) tsüpsi Old Tibetan *gsum* "three" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *sum* but Old Tibetan *btsu-gsum* "thirteen" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *tsoksom,* Old Tibetan *mdun* "front part" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *tüN* but Old Tibetan *skumdun* "presence" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *kuNtüN,* Old Tibetan *Ndra* "similar" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *ta* but Old Tibetan *sku-Ndra* "statue" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *kumta,* Old Tibetan *mtshan* "sign" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *tshen*but Old Tibetan *rgyu-mtshan* "reason" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *cumtsen.*

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Tibetan (Ladakh) ñ*it* (Lhasa) ñ*i*, Old Tibetan *dge* "virtue" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *ge* (Lhasa) *ke*, Old Tibetan *bde* "joy" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *rde* (Lhasa) *te*, Old Tibetan *dmag-dpon* "army commander" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *makspon* (Lhasa) *makpöN*. Postinitial glides, on the other hand, have tended to affect the place of articulation of the preceding initial-for example, Old Tibetan *sran-ma* "peas" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *sanma*

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Second, two different processes seem to have been at work simultaneously on Tibetan preinitials, sometimes moving the syllable in different directions. On the one hand, the preinitials tend to WEAKEN over time: that is, the degree of closure in articulating the preinitial decreases; stopped preinitials become narrowed, narrowed preinitials become open, and open preinitials disappearthus, over time, and at different speeds in different parts of the lexicon, stops > fricatives > glides > Ø. We can note this process at work in Old Tibetan *gsum* "three > New Tibetan (Golok) *ysum* (Panakha) *rsum* (Lhasa) *sum*, Old Tibetan *bdun* "seven" > New Tibetan (Balti) *bdun* (Khams) *vdun* (Purik) *rdun* (Dbus) *dün*, Old Tibetan *btsu* "ten" > New Tibetan (Khams) *rtsu* (Purik) sts*u* (Golog) *wtsu* (Lhasa) *tsu*. Note too such pronunciations as New Tibetan (Dbus) *kurdap* <*sku-gdab*>"fall," *tsurgu* <*btsu-dgu*>"nineteen," *derge* <*sde-dge*>"Derge City," and such doublets in the classical texts as *dkan-rkan* "palate," *dgu~rgu* "nine," *gdu-gu~ldu-gu* "bracelet," *BDAR~RDAR* "rub," *sdor-rdor* "spice," *STUN~RTUN* "make shorter"; even Old Tibetan *sdon* New Tibetan (Tao-fu) *ston* (Balti) *zdon* "tree trunk" was borrowed into Monguor from an unknown Tibetan dialect as *rdon*.

On the other hand, the preinitialsparticularly nonstopped preinitialstend to ASSIMILATE to the following initial: that is, over time, and at different speeds in different parts of the lexicon, voiced preinitials tend to become voiceless before voiceless initials, and voiceless preinitials tend to become voiced before voiced initials. We can note this process at work in Old Tibetan *rta* "horse" > New Tibetan (Panakha) *sta* (Ladakh) *sta* (Balti) s*ta-sta* (Amdo) *rta~sta*, Old Tibetan *sga* "saddle" > New Tibetan (Golok) *rga* (Balti) *zga* (Purik) *zga* (Amdo) *rga*, Old Tibetan *rkan* "foot" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *skan* (Golok) s*kan* (Amdo) *xkan*.

Both of these processes are "natural," in the sense that they are found operating not only in Tibetan but in a variety of other languages. Sometimes the two processes affecting the preinitialsweakening and assimilation-are in conflict. In Panakha, for example, we find that Old Tibetan *sna* "nose" > New Tibetan (Panakha) rn*a* both by weakening of the preinitial and by assimilation of the voice onset time of the preinitial to that of the initial. But we find, too, both that Old Tibetan *rta* "horse" > New Tibetan (Panakha) *sta*, where the tendency to assimilate predominates over the tendency for preinitials to weaken, and that Old Tibetan *sku* "body" > New Tibetan (Panakha) *rku*, where the tendency to weaken predominates over the tendency for preinitials to assimilate in voice onset time to initials. In the same way, Old Tibetan *rkan* "leg" > New Tibetan (Golok) s*kan* but Old Tibetan *stag* "tiger" > New Tibetan (Golok) *rtag*.

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(Lhasa) *ɬɛnma*, Old Tibetan *gru* "boat" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *du* (Lhasa) *thu*, Old Tibetan *Nbrug* "dragon" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *duk* (Lhasa) tu, Old Tibetan *rgyab* "back" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *rgyap* (Lhasa) *cap*, Old Tibetan *phyogs* "side" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *tshoks* (Lhasa) *tsho*, Old Tibetan *spyan* "eye" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *stan* (Lhasa) *tɕɛ*. With one exception, the stop preceding an *I* in an onset cluster behaves historically like a preinitial rather than like an initialthus Old Tibetan *glu* "song" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) l*u* (Lhasa) *lu*, Old Tibetan *bla-ma* "lama" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *lama-lama* (Lhasa) *lama*, Old Tibetan *slob-dpon* "teacher" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *loppon* (Lhasa) *lopöN*, Old Tibetan *rlun* "air" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *lunspo* (Lhasa) *lun*.

There are several synchronic phonological reasons as well. First, preinitial stops cannot be prenasalized, while initial stops followed by a postinitial can be prenasalizedthus, for example, *Ndra* but not ?*Ndga*, *Ngyo* but not ?*Ngdo*, *Nbru* but not ?*Nbde*. In every case, the stop preceding an *I* in an onset cluster behaves like a preinitial with regard to prenasalizationthus *Ngrub* but not ?*Nglub*, *Nbyo* but not ?*Nblo*, *Ngye* but not ?*Ngle*.

Second, initial stops are constrained by the rule of gravity dissimilation in the selection of preinitials but not in the selection of postinitialsthus, for example, we find both *gro* and *dro*, but only *gso* and not ?*dso*, and only *dpe* and not ?*gpe*. In every case, the l in an onset cluster behaves like an initial constrained in its selection of preinitial by the rule of gravity dissimilation thus *gla* but not ?*dla*.

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cannot be further preceded by any additional consonantthus, for example, *sgra* but not ?*sgda, dbye* but not ?*dbge, bsgyur* but not ?*bsgdur.* In every case, the stop preceding an *I* in an onset cluster behaves like a preinitial with regard to further preinitialsthus *spyu* and *spra* but not ?*splu, sgya* and *sgra* but not ?*sgla, brgya* and *bsgra* but not ?*bsgla.*8

Fourth, aspirated stops cannot be preinitials but can be initials followed by a postinitialthus, for example, *khru* but not ?*khdu, phya* but not ?*phga.* In every case, the l in an onset cluster behaves like an initial rather than a postinitial in this regardthus *khyu* and *khru* but not ?*khlu, phya* and *phra* but not ?*phla.*9

There is, however, one case in which l appears to be a postinitial rather than an initialin the initial cluster *zl,* which in turn behaves historically in surprising ways.10 First of all, we find such curious classical Tibetan doublets as *zlum-ldum* "round," *ZLOG-LDOG* "turn away," *ZLA-NDA* "pass," *ZLO-NDO* "recite," *ZLAG-LDAG-NDAG* "lick." Further, we may note the unexpected New

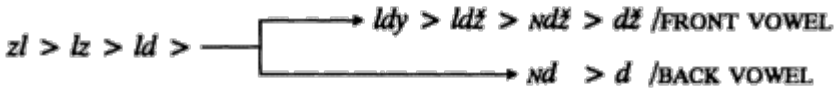
8 The initial cluster *bkl-* is found (parallel to *bky-*and *bkr-*)sporadically in the past and future stems of the verb *KLAG* (*klog/klags-bklags/klag-bklag/klog*)"read," but these seem to be late and analogous forms; there is no corresponding inflectional cluster *bgl-* in such verbs as *GLEB* (*gleb/glebs/gleb*)"flatten" or *GLAN* (*glon/glan/glan*)"mend, patch up."

9 A difficulty for this analysis is raised by the onset cluster *kl-* found in a few common words such as *klu* "serpent deity" and *klon* "expanse." The consonant *k-* (as opposed, for example, to the consonant g-) cannot be a preinitial, so it is hard to see how the l in the cluster could be the initial. However, the l certainly behaves historically like an initial: we find Old Tibetan *klu* "serpent deity" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *lu.* In fact, in the Sino-Tibetan treaty inscription of 821, Tibetan *klu* is transcribed both as Middle Chinese **kyu-lyap,* representing an initial *kl-* cluster, and as Middle Chinese **lau,* indicating that, as early as the ninth century, in the speech of at least some urban government officials, Proto-Tibetan **klu* had already become Old Tibetan (Lhasa) **lu <klu>*. I do not know how to resolve this difficulty.

10 Note that it is only in *zl-* and not in *sl-* that the l appears to be postinitial; the *sl*cluster behaves just like other clusters with initial *l*forexample, Old Tibetan *slob-dpon* "teacher" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) l*oppon* (Lhasa) *lopöN,* Old Tibetan *SLEB* "reach" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) l*ep* (Lhasa) *lep.* Note that, under this analysis, *bsla* and *bzla,* although superficially parallel, differ in underlying structureand thus Old Tibetan *bsla* "will weave" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *la,* but Old Tibetan *bzlo* "will recite" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *to.* In *bsla* the l is initial, so the *b-* is the pre-preinitial; in *bzlo* the *l* is postinitial, so the *b-* is the preinitial. Both *bsla* and *bzla* are well-formed syllables under the syllable rules.

Tibetan reflexes of the *zl-* clusterfor example, Old Tibetan *zla* "moon" > New Tibetan (Balti) l*za* (Ladakh) *Ida* (Chung-tien) *Ndo* (Dbus) *da* (Lhasa) *ta.*

One way to account for such phenomena is to hypothesize the following sequence of phonetic changes(1) *zl* > *lz* by metathesis, (2) *lz* > *ld*, (3) *ld* > *ldy* when followed by a front vowel, (4) *ldy* > ldz by palatalization, (5) l*d* > *Nd* and *Idz* > *Ndz,* (6) in many New Tibetan dialects *Nd* > *d* and *Ndz* > *dz* through regular loss of preinitials. We can diagram these changes as follows:



This process apparently extends all the way back to Proto-Tibetan. For example, we find the classical Tibetan doublet *ldzi-ba~Ndzi-ba* "flea." On the basis of forms in other Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Nung *sali* Karen *khəlawi~khəlai*Mikir *tsikli,* Lushei *hli,* and Burmese *hle* "flea," we can hypothesize a Proto-Tibetan **zli* "flea" > Old Tibetan *ldzi* > *Ndzi,* with the intermediate steps **zli* > **lzi* > **ldi* > **ldyi* > *ldzi* > *Ndzi*11

11 This sequence suggests that postinitial l is not found in Old Tibetan in clusters other than *zl* because everywhere else an originally postinitial l had already metathesized in ProtoTibetan to preinitial *L* In other words, at some time before our first written texts, ProtoTibetan **Cl* > **lC* everywhere but in the cluster *zl.* (Postinitial *r,* as we will see, more sporadically did the same thing-for example, Burmese *mran,* Proto-Tibetan **mran* >Old Tibetan *rman* "horse," Burmese *khran,* Proto-Tibetan **kran* >Old Tibetan *rkan* "bone.") This wave of change had not yet reached *zl* by the time the spelling of the cluster was fixed in Old Tibetan; but, as we have hypothesized, the change *zl* > /z eventually overtook the cluster *zl* as well. For example, given Karen *lai,* Garo *sre,* Dimasa *salai,* Lepcha *ali,* Burmese *hlya,* Kanauri *le,* Vayu li Lushei *lei* "tongue," we can hypothesize Proto-Tibetan **sle* > **se* > **lte* > **ltye* >Old Tibetan l*tse* "tongue," as an unvoiced parallel to the voiced sequence Proto-Tibetan **zli* >*lzi >**ldi >**ldyi* > Old Tibetan *ldzi* "flea." Thus, where l was in*itial,* no change took place, as in Proto-Tibetan **sla* >Old Tibetan *sla* "thin," but, where *I* was postinitial, its metathesis triggered a chain of phonetic changes, as in Proto-Tibetan **sle* >Old Tibetan l*tse* "tongue." Similarly, given Karen *khyi,* Garo *khi* Digaro kl*ai,* Burmese *khy*e, Kanauri *khö,* Bahing *khli* "excrement," Lepcha *tʌkli*"entrails, guts, mucus of entrails," we can hypothesize Proto-Tibetan **kli* > **lki* > **lkyi* > Old Tibetan l*tsi* "dung." For some reason, metathesis in this *kl-* cluster appears to have stopped short of spreading throughout the lexicon, and is found only before front vowels; thus all remaining Tibetan *kl-* clusters occur only before back vowels, and, in these few remaining syllables, an apparently postinitial l has been reinterpreted phonologically as an initial, as in Old Tibetan *klu* "serpent deity" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) l*u* rather than **lku* > **ku.*

In some instances, Old Tibetan preserves the Proto-Tibetan **zl* unchanged, while various New Tibetan dialects occupy different positions along the hypothesized sequence of historical change. For Old Tibetan *zla* "moon" we can set up Proto-Tibetan **zla* on the basis of Nung *sala*, Digaro *hala~hlo*, Vayu *tsolo*, Burmese *la*, and Bahing *la*. We can hypothesize the sequence Old Tibetan *zla* > New Tibetan *lza* > *lda* > *Nda* > *da*, with Balti *lza*, Ladakh *lda*, Chung-tien *Ndo*, Dbus *da* reflecting different stages of this change. We may similarly see such classical Tibetan doublets as *zlum~ldum* "round" and *ZLA~ NDA* "pass" as reflections of the sequence *zlum* > *ldum* and *zla* > **lda* > *Nda*, with the older form preserved alongside the newer. Even where the sequence l*da* > *Nda* is not attested in the texts, there is evidence for the change in some New Tibetan dialects, where we find, for example, New Tibetan (Lhasa) *ʈɛɴtšoɴ*<*Nbras-ldzons*>"Sikkim," *tšhəɴti*<*phyag-ld*e> "key," *kuɴtə*<*sku-zla*>"spouse," *chiɴtə*<*khyi-zla*>"dog month."

Another apparent exception to the slot-filler constraint that only the glides y and *r* occur postinitially is the occasional appearance in classical Tibetan wordssuch as z*wa* "hat"of <*w*>written as a bottom graph, called *wa-zur* "corner w" by the Tibetan grammarians. This orthographic convention apparently distinguishes such pairs of words as *ña* "fish" ñ*wa* "leg muscle," *rtsa* "root" *rtswa* "grass," ZA "eat" *zwa* "nettle," *ra* "sheepfold" *rwa* "horn," *la* "mountain pass" l*wa* "woolen blanket," s*a* "flesh" s*wa* "deer," and *TSHA* "be hot" *tshwa* "salt." But, at least after the ninth century, it is difficult to say what phonetic feature-if any at allis reflected by this orthography.12 We find occasional classical doublets such as *grwa~gru* "edge" and *rwa~ru* "horn," but with little consistency. Nor does etymology seem to help our inquiry: a semantic relation between s*a* "flesh" and s*wa* "deer" seems apparent; between *ra* "sheepfold" and r*wa* "horn," or *rtsa* "root" and *rtswa* "grass," seems possible; but between *la* "mountain pass" and l*wa* "woolen blanket" seems remote at best.

This apparent postinitial *w* occurs only before the nucleus *a* in classical

12 In at least some instances the bottom graph <*w*>appears to be a purely graphic convention. In ambiguous graphic sequences which represent syllables with the vowel a, where no overt vowel graph marks the center graph, as in <*dgs*>or <*dns* >, a bottom graph <*w*>will be used to indicate the center graphfor example, *dags* <*dwags*>as opposed to *dgas* or *dans* <*dwans*>as opposed to *dnas.*

Tibetan. This skewed distributionthat is, occurrence only before a back spread vowelcan be accounted for historically. First, postinitial *w* does not seem to occur before rounded vowels in any Tibeto-Burman language, and therefore presumably did not occur before rounded vowels in Proto-TibetoBurman; thus Tibetan would not have inherited any sequences of the form *-wo* or *-wu.* Second, where postinitial *w* occurs before front vowels in other Tibeto-Burman languages, we find postinitial y in Tibetanfor example, Burmese *pwe,* Lushei *bui* but Old Tibetan *byi* "rat," Burmese *khwe,* Lushei *ui* Kanauri *kui,* Chepang *kwi,* Kachin gui, Akha *akui* but Old Tibetan *kh*yi "dog," Burmese *kywe,* Trung *gui,* Chepang goy, but Old Tibetan *skyi* "edible root." Thus we may hypothesize that Proto-Tibetan **bwi* >Old Tibetan *byi* "rat," Proto-Tibetan **khwi* >Old Tibetan *khyi* "dog, and Proto-Tibetan **skwi* > Old Tibetan *skyi* "edible root," or, more generally, Proto-Tibetan *-*w*- > Old Tibetan -y- postinitially before a front vowel; thus Old Tibetan would no longer have any inherited sequences of the form *-wi* or *-we.* This would leave postinitial w only in syllables with the nonrounded nonfront vowel *a.*

In this position, in the ninth century, <*w*>in the bottom graph position apparently did represent something very much like a postinitial *w.* On the Sino-Tibetan treaty pillar of 821 we find Middle Chinese **kwak* transcribed in Tibetan writing as <*kwag*>, Middle Chinese **kwan* as <*kwan*>, Middle Chinese **kuan* as <*kwan*>, Middle Chinese **ywan* as <*hwan*>, Middle Chinese *•ŋ̄ywɔn* as <*Ngwan*>, and Middle Chinese *•ywɛn̄* as <*ywen*>. Other examples are found in ninth-century manuscript transcriptions of Chinese Buddhist texts, where we find Middle Chinese **thuai* transcribed as <*thwa*>, Middle Chinese *•cywɛn* as <*tswan*>, Middle Chinese **nuai* as <*Ngwe*>, and Middle Chinese **zwi* as <swi>.

The *wa-zur* continues to be written in what appears to be onomatopoeia as well. In the epic of Ge-sar we find, for example, *khro-thun-gis yar mar bar gsum-la kwi swo hwo gsum byas* "Khro-thun said the three syllables *kwi swo hwo* upward, downward, and in between,"13 and *khra-phug ñi-ma ran sar-la, khra-pas kwi kwi zer-sa-nas, khra-mas bswo bswo zer-sa-nas* "In the Cave of

13 The cries would be invocations of the lh*a* "gods" above, the *klu* "serpent deities" below, and the *btsan* "spirits" upon the surface of the earth, respectively.

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Hawks the sun rose: the male hawks cry *kwi kwi* the female hawks cry *bswo bswo* . . ."

However, at some point after the ninth century, the *wa-zur*, in its usual position after the vowel a, apparently ceased to reflect any phonetic feature of the syllable, and became a graphic device to distinguish certain homophones. This certainly seems to be the situation throughout new tibetan. For example, we find new tibetan (lhasa) s*a* <*za*>"moisture" s*a* <*zwa*> *"hat," tsa* <*rtsa*>"root" *tsa* <*rtswa*>"grass," *ra* <*ra*>"sheepfold" *ra* <*rwa*>"horn," *sa* <*za*>"eat" *sa* <*zwa*>"nettle," *tsha* <*tsha*>"be hot" *tsha* <*tshwa*>"salt," *tha* <*gra*>"preparation" *tha* <*grwa*>"corner." Note also the alternative spellings of the same word ཟའི<*sa-khyi~swa-khyi*>"hunting dog" and *thanka* <*dan-ka~dwan-ka*>"appetite."

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fricativesthat is, *g, *k, *kh, *n, *d, *t, *th, *n, *s, *z, *b, *p, *ph*, mand, perhaps, the affricate clusters **dz, ts, tsh.* Let us assume that every one of these consonants could be palatalized by postinitial y. And let us assume that, when such palatalization occurred, the following changes eventually took place**ny* > *ñ*, **dy* > *dz*, **ty* > *ts*, **thy* > *tsh*, **ny* > *ñ*, **sy* > *s*, **zy* > *z*, **dzy* > *dz*, **tsy* > *ts*, **tshy* > *tsh.* These changes are natural ones, and the hypothesis would account for two thingsthe fact that Old Tibetan has palatal affricates and fricatives; and the fact that, in Old Tibetan, the consonants that had undergone this change in Proto-Tibetan are precisely the ones that now can no longer be palatalized.14

There is some evidence to support this hypothesis. For example, we find Burmese *si*, Vayu *ses*, Phunoi *sə*, Akha *si*, Mpi *si*, Garo *masi* "know," and we can hypothesize a Proto-Tibetan **ses* > **syes* >Old Tibetan *SES* "know." Similarly, we find Burmese *sa*, Phunoi *sa*, Bisu *ʔañsa*, Mpi *ʔaso*, as well as

14The hypothesized changes are "natural" ones in two senses. First, a change from a palatalized dental to a palatal affricate or fricative is not uncommonly found in a variety of languages. Second, the hypothesized change seems to have continued into modern times, spreading from the dentals and velar nasals into the velars and labialsfor example, Old Tibetan *brgya* "hundred" > New Tibetan (Golok) *dzya* (Dbus) *dza* (Lhasa) *ca* Old Tibetan *rgyal-po* "king" > New Tibetan (Amdo) *dzyawu* (Dbus) *dzepo* (Lhasa) *cɐpo*, Old Tibetan *khyi* "dog" > New Tibetan (Amdo) *tɕhʌ*(Dbus) *tshi* (Lhasa) *chi*, Old Tibetan *khyod* "you" > New Tibetan (Amdo) *tsho* (Golok) *tshyo* (Dbus) *tshö* (Lhasa) *chö*, Old Tibetan *bya* "bird" > New Tibetan (Amdo) s*a* (Golok) *fsya* (Dbus) *tsa* (Lhasa) *tsha*, Old Tibetan *phyogs* "side" > (Amdo) s*og* (Ltao) *pso* (Dbus) *tsho* (Lhasa) *tsho*, Old Tibetan *phyug-po* "rich" > New Tibetan (Derge) s*ukpa* (Ltao) *psöpa* (Dbus) *tshukpo* (Lhasa) *tshukpu.* Of course, this development of palatal consonants-stops (*c, ch*), fricatives (*s, fs*), and affricates (*ps, ts, tsh*)does not occur in the same way in each dialect, or, indeed, in every word in each dialect. For example, in Amdo we find Old Tibetan *khyi* "dog" > New Tibetan (Amdo) *tɕhʌ*but Old Tibetan *khyim* "house" > New Tibetan (Amdo) *khyüm*, Old Tibetan *rgyal-po* "king" > New Tibetan (Amdo) *dzyawu* but Old Tibetan *brgya* "hundred" > New Tibetan (Amdo) *rgya.* In Ladakh, palatalized labials have, generally, become palatal affricates, but palatalized velars have not; we find Old Tibetan *phyogs* "side" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *tshoks* but Old Tibetan *khyim* "house" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *khyim*, Old Tibetan *spyod* "action" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *tsot* but Old Tibetan *skyems* "libation" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *skyems*, Old Tibetan *byan* "north" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *tsan* but Old Tibetan *rgyan* "ornament" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *rgyan-yet* compare Old Tibetan *sbyin* "gift" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *tsin* with Old Tibetan *phyi* "outside" > New Tibetan (Ladakh)phi Despite all this, the tendency remains clear, and palatalization has continued to spread both phonologically and, apparently, lexically.

Bahing *sye*, Sangpang *sya*, Kanauri s*ya*, Magari *misia*, Nung s*a*, Lushei s*a* "meat," and we can hypothesize a Proto-Tibetan **sya* >Old Tibetan sa "meat." Similar hypotheses can be made for some nasalsfor example, Burmese *na*, Lisu n*wa*, Akha *na*, Mpi no, Lepcha no, Tsangla n*a*, Kachin n*a*, Lushei *hna*, Bodo n*a-na*, Chepang *na-ña* "fish," and thus Proto-Tibetan **nya* >Old Tibetan ñ*a* "fish," and Burmese *hna*, Lisu n*wa*, Akha n*a*, Nung *na* "borrow," and thus Proto-Tibetan **nya* > **r-nya* > **b-rnya* >Old Tibetan *BRNA* "borrow."

Similarly, given Burmese *tshi*, Nung *tsi*, Kachin *dzit*, Dimasa *si-di* (*di* "water"), Lahu *dzi* "urine," we can hypothesize Proto-Tibetan **tsi* > **g-tsi* > **gtsyi* >Old Tibetan *GTSI* "urinate"; given Burmese *tshit*, Lisu *tshi*, Akha *tsui* "pinch," we can perhaps hypothesize Proto-Tibetan **tshir* > **tshyir* >Old Tibetan *TSHIR* "squeeze"; given Burmese *swan* "pour out," Garo *sol-an*, Dimasa *di-sor* (*di* "water"), Kachin s*on* "flow," Lepcha *tshor* "the pouring of water," we can hypothesize Proto-Tibetan **tsyuar* >Old Tibetan *TSOR* "overflow."

There are also a few examples that allow us to hypothesize Proto-Tibetan palatalized dental stops. We find Dwags *thi*, Gurung *ti-*, Zhang-zhung *tig*, Rgyarong *kətiag*, Chingtang *thit*, Rai *thik-pu*, Nung *thi* Burmese *tats* "one," and thus Proto-Tibetan **gtig* > **gtyig* >Old Tibetan *gtsig* "one"; we find Dwags *then-bo*, Gurung *theN-ba*, Rgyarong *-kthi* Kukish *dei* Kanauri *te*, Miju *-tai*, Nung *thɛ*, Mikir *the* "big," and thus Proto-Tibetan **the* > **thye* >Old Tibetan *TSHE* "be big."

There is, moreover, some indirect evidence for the hypothesis, which is, I think, in some ways more persuasive than the comparative evidence just outlined. In the classical lexicon we can find pairs of words with relatedand occasionally identicalmeanings which differ only in that one of the pair has an apparently palatalized initial and the other does notfor example, *SKOR* "surround, encircle, enclose, ride round" and *SKYOR* "repeat, recite by heart," *GON* "put on, wear" and *GYON* "put on, wear," *NPHO* "change place, shift, migrate" and *NPHYO* "range, roam about, gambol," *BO* "pour out, spill over" and *BYO* "pour out, pour into another vessel," and perhaps even *SPO* "remove from office, dismiss from employment" and *SPYO* "blame, scold."15

15 Note also *NKHOR* "turn round, go about in a circle" and *NKHYOR* "reel, stagger, miss the target" and, perhaps, *NKHYAR* "err, deviate, go astray," *GAB* "cover, protect" and *SKYAB*

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Whatever the semantic function of this palatalizationand that is certainly far from clearwe find the same pattern in alternating dental and palatal initials: thus, for example, where we find *sul* "furrow, channel, groove" and *sul* "track, rut, furrow," parallel to *NPHO* "change place, migrate" and *NPHYO* "range, roam about," we can similarly hypothesize s*ul* < Proto-Tibetan **syul*. Note the following pairs as well*SAL* "remove, clear away, cleanse" and *BSA*L < **bsyal* "rinse, wash off, cleanse," *zabs* "depth" and *zabs* < **zyabs* "bottom, lower end, foot," *GZIGS* "see, look at, regard" and *GZIG* < **gzyig* "examine, search, try," *DZUGS* "stick into, pierce, insert, plant, set" and *DZUG* < **dzyug* "inject, put into," *THUN* "be short" and *TSHUN* < **thyun* "be small," *thun* "gatherer" and *tshun-po* < **thyun-po* "bunch, bundle," *THAG* "grind, pulverize, mash" and *TSHAG* < **thyag* "become broken, be broken off," *NTHAM* "grasp, embrace, join," and *NTSHAM* < **Nthyam* "accord, agree," *gter* "treasure" and *BTSER* < **btyer* "heap up, pile up," *LDAG* "lick" and *ldzags* < **ldyags* "tongue," *GDUNS* "desire, long for, feel pain" and *Ndzuns-pa* < **Ndyuns* "avarice," *MNAL* "sleep" and *NAL* < **nyal* "sleep," *sne* "end, extremity" and *sñe* < **snye* "spike of wheat," *nar* "oblong" and ñ*ar* < **nyar* "oblong."

3.1.2. Postinitial *-r-*

The distribution of postinitial *r* is more complex than that of postinitial *y*. Postinitial *r* is found only in the clusters *kr, khr, gr, dr, pr, phr, br,* and *sr*. In

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> "protect, defend, save," *dben* "solitude, loneliness, separation" and *dbyen* "difference, schism, discord," *rkan-pa* "foot" and *RKYAN* "stretch forth, extend, stick out."
>
> In several of these pairs we find an alternation between a vowel a in the unpalatalized form and the vowel *e* in the palatalized formfor example, *SKAM* "be dry" and *SKYEM* "be thirsty," *-mkhan* "PERSON SKILLED IN" and *MKHYEN* "know," *GA* "split, cleave, divide" and *GYE* "divide, scatter, disperse," *GAL* "load, lay on a burden, put on" and *SGYEL* "put down, throw down, overturn" and *GYEL* "fall, stumble," *DGA* "rejoice" and *DGYES* "rejoice." It is possible, of course, that in these cases the palatalization is secondary to the front vowel, and the vowel alternation is the primary process; it would be parsimonious, on the other hand, to claim that the front vowel is secondary to the palatalization, especially before a front final consonant. In either case, the process was not regular: under the first hypothesis we would expect to find **mtshe* instead of the actual *mthe* "thumb"; under the second hypothesis we would expect to find **SKYEB* instead of the actual *SKYAB* "protect." In either case, the nature of the derivational process is not clear, and the process itself apparently no longer productive by the time of Old Tibetan.

general, postinitial *r* does not occur after nasals, and has all but disappeared after fricatives.16

Actually, postinitial r is in fact found after the nasals n and m, but very infrequently. It is found after *n* only in the cluster *snr* and in only three words of extremely rare occurrence and specialized use. The cluster *snr* occurs in the astronomical terms *snron* and *snrubs*, which are translation of the Sanskrit names of *twojyestha* and *mulaof* the 28 *naksatra* "lunar mansions" of Vedic astronomy, and which are not commonly found even in Tibetan astronomical texts; and in the word *snrel-gzi* "topsy-turvy," a translation of Sanskrit *vyatyasta*, the name of one of the subcontinents in Indian Buddhist speculative geography. Postinitial *r* is found after *m* only in the cluster *smr* in just a single but common word *SMRA* "speak" and its derivatives, and even there it is quite

16 Postinitial *r* is also found in Old Tibetan in the cluster *tr* in a few loanwordsfor example, *tri-su* "trident" < Sanskrit *trisula-and* in a small number of words, such as *trampa* "tough" and *tron* "diligence," of uncertain provenance. See also the onomatopoeic *thrigthrig* "SQUEAKING OF SHOES."

There is reason to believe that, in a few cases, postinitial *r* after stop initials had metathesized to preinitial position before the time of Old Tibetan. As in many languages for example, English *wasp* < Old English *wæsp~wæps*< Indo-European **wobhes~wopsthis* metathesis was sporadic and lexeme-specific. For example, where we find Burmese *mran*, Rgyarong *bro~mbro*, Kachin *kumran*, Mpi *myun* "horse," we can hypothesize Proto-Tibetan **mran* >Old Tibetan *rman* "horse" by metathesis; similarly, given Burmese *khran*, Mikir *arklen*, Lushei *thlin* "marrow," we can hypothesize Proto-Tibetan **kran* >Old Tibetan *rkan* "marrow," and, given Burmese h*rats*, Lushei *riat* "eight," we can hypothesize Proto-Tibetan **bgryad* >Old Tibetan *brgyad* "eight." In fact, this metathesis appears to have occurred in every such preinitial *ry* cluster in Proto-Tibetan: we find Burmese *krui* Lushei *hrui* "string," and thus Proto-Tibetan **gryud* >Old Tibetan *rgyud* "string"; and, using Lepcha materials, Lepcha *krɔp*and thus Proto-Tibetan **gryab* >Old Tibetan *RGYAB* "throw," as well as Lepcha *grya* and thus Proto-Tibetan **kria* > **rkia* >Old Tibetan *rke* "thin," Lepcha *kyok* and thus Proto-Tibetan **kro* >Old Tibetan *rko* "hoe," and perhaps even Lepcha kr*yon* "praise" and thus Proto-Tibetan **gryan* >Old Tibetan *RGYAN* "stretch, extend."

In the classical lexicon too there are several word pairs suggesting that such metathesis has taken place-RGA "be old" *BGRE* < **b-gria* "grow old," *rdum-po* "maimed" *GRUM* "cut off, lop off," *RGAL* "pass over, cross, ford" *SGRAL* "carry across, transport." In at least one text I have found this last pair used in what appears to be word play: instead of the usual formulation of the bodhisattva vow, in Chapter 29 of the Tibetan translation of the *Karmasataka* we find *bdag rgal-nas gzan sgrol-tsig* "May I, having crossed over, carry others across!"

unstable: it shifts to syllable final position, in *SMAR* "speak"; it metathesizes to preinitial position, in the doublet *smre-snags-rmo-snags* "wailing, lamentation"; and, historically, Old Tibetan *SMRA* "speak" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *sma* (Khams) s*na* (Dbus) *ma* (Lhasa) *ma.* In this word it may be that we have a single frozen remnant of an otherwise general change of ProtoTibetan **mr* >Old Tibetan brfor example, Kanauri *mra,* Burmese *mya* "much, many," and thus Proto-Tibetan **mra* >Old Tibetan *BRA* "be much"; Burmese *myui* "seed," Kachin *myu-amyu* "kind, sort, tribe," and thus ProtoTibetan **mru* > Old Tibetan *Nbru* "grain, seed."17

There is also evidence that, at one time, postinitial *r* occurred after s as well as after *s,* but that, by the time of Old Tibetan, the cluster **sr* had simplified to s in every instancefor example, Bunan s*rig,* Kanauri *rik,* Nung s*i,* Lisu *hrgh* "louse," and thus Proto-Tibetan **srig* > Old Tibetan s*ig* "louse"; Bunan *srag,* Nung *sara,* Burmese *hrak,* Mikir *therak* "shame," and thus Proto-Tibetan **srag* >Old Tibetan *SAG* "confess." The cluster **sr,* on the other hand, did not similarly begin to change until after the time of Old Tibetan: we find Miri *siram,* Kachin s*aram,* Nung *saram,* Mikir *serim* "otter," and thus ProtoTibetan **sram* >Old Tibetan *sram* "otter"; Bunan s*rins,* Manchati *hrin,* Chamba Lahuli *hrin,* Dhimal *rima,* Kanauri *rinz* "sister," and thus ProtoTibetan **srin* >Old Tibetan *srin-mo* "sister."18

17 Apparently the metathesis **mr* > *rm* exempted Proto-Tibetan **mran* >Old Tibetan *rman* "horse" from this change.

18 The written form <*srin* >appears in a remarkable ninth-century manuscript from an officer in a garrison in Khotan, containing the earliest occurrence I have seen of a wellknown *epithetnan-rdze-po bstan-to-re ma-rgyon smyon-ba, srin-rgyon rgun-ma myi-zad-pa* "Interior Minister Bstan-to-re is a crazy motherfucker, a sisterfucker, an insatiable drunk." After further comments on the minister's qualifications, the writer recommends his transfer to sin-san, apparently a less desirable post.

When the Old Tibetan cluster *sr* did begin to changewhile, of course, the written form <*sr*>continued unchangedit changed in two fundamentally different ways. First, the cluster *sr* developed in several dialects into a single fricative. In central Tibet, for example, we find that *sr* > *s,* parallel to the earlier **sr* > *s*thus Old Tibetan *sras* "son" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *se,* Old Tibetan *srog* "life" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *sok,* Old Tibetan *srol* "tradition" > New Tibetan (Dbus) *sö.* In Ladakh we consistently find that *sr* >sthus Old Tibetan *srog* "life" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *sok,* Old Tibetan *srol* "tradition" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *sol,* Old Tibetan *sran-ma* "peas" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *sanma.* And

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3.2. Constraints on Preinitials

There are, in Old Tibetan, constraints which limit the co-occurrence of preinitials and initials: we find, for example, *Nph* but not **mph, gt* but not **gp, bts* but not **btsh.* The most general constraints on the co-occurrence of preinitials and initials can be summarized in the following chart:

					FRICATIVE	
				STOPPED		
				NASAL		
			ORAL			
		VOICED	UNVOICED	ASPIRATED		
NONSTOPPED		+	+	-	+	-
STOPPED	ORAL	+	+	-	+	+
	NASAL	+	-	+	+	-

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

in Amdo we find, with some exceptions, that *sr* > *sr* > s-thus Old Tibetan *srab* "bridle" > New Tibetan (Amdo) s*rap,* Old Tibetan *srun* "protection" > New Tibetan (Amdo) s*un,* Old Tibetan *sran-ma* "peas" > New Tibetan (Amdo) s*enma.*

Second, and perhaps more interesting, in several dialects the cluster *sr* developed an epenthetic t, and thus, in these dialects, *sr* >strfor example, Old Tibetan *srin-mo* "sister" > New Tibetan (Purik) *strinmo* (Balti) *strinmo* (Khams) *strinmo,* Old Tibetan *sran-ma* "peas" > New Tibetan (Khams) *stranma,* Old Tibetan *srab* "bridle" > New Tibetan (Purik) *strap* (Balti) *strab.*

As we have seen before, however, Tibetan dialectology does not often yield neat solutions. In Lhasa City, for example, some words, as spoken by some speakers, show the same change *sr* > *s* as found in Dbusthus Old Tibetan *sras* "son" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *se,* Old Tibetan *srol* "tradition" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *sö,* Old Tibetan *srid* "dominion" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *si.* Some words show a consistent initial t, presumably from the regular change *sr* > **str* > *t*thus Old Tibetan *sran-ma* "peas" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) **stranma* > *tɛnma.* And some words show an alternationby speaker? by social class? by formality of speech situation?between initial *s* and initial tthus Old Tibetan *srab* "bridle" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *sap~tap*< **strab,* Old Tibetan *sram* "otter" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *samtam* < **stram,* Old Tibetan *sras-mo* "daughter" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *semo~temo*< **stras-mo,* Old Tibetan *SRO* "make warm" > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *so-to* < **stro.*

Thus, as a general rule, the nonstopped preinitials *r-*, *l-*, and *s-* are found before stopped initials of all classes except aspirated stops; but within those larger classes there are further constraints on the nonstopped preinitials which are idiosyncratic and apparently not governed by general rule: we find *rk* and *rt* but not **rp*, *rts* and *sts* but not **lts*, *rdz* and *rts* but not **rts*, *sts* but not **sts*, and so on. The following table summarizes these gaps in the application of the general rule:

VOICELESS	VOICED	NASAL
K T P ʦ̌ TS	*G D B ʤ̌ DZ*	*N̄ N̆ N M*
rk rt - - rts	*rg rd rb rʤ̌ rdz*	*rn̄ rñ rn rm*
lk lt lp lʦ̌ -	*lg ld lb lʤ̌ -*	*ln̄ - - -*
sk st sp - sts	*sg sd sb - -*	*sn̄ sñ sn sm*

Table 7. Distribution of the nonstopped preinitials r-, l-, and s-

Similarly, as a general rule, the non-nasal stopped preinitials b-and *G-* occur before initials of all classes except aspirated stops; but their co-occurrence with particular initials within those classes is governed by further rules. The following table summarizes these co-occurrence constraints:

VOICELESS	VOICED	FRICATIVE	NASAL
K ʦ̌ T TS P	*G ʤ̌ D DZ B*	*ʃ̌ ǯ S Z*	*N̄ N̆ N M*
1 *gʦ̌ gt gts* 1	1 2 *gd* 2 1	*g g gs gz*	1 *gñ gn* 1
dk 1 1 *dp dg*	*dp* 2 1 2 *db*	1 1 1 1	*dn̄*1 1 *dm*
bk bʦ̌ bt bts 3	*bg* 2 *bd* 2 3	*bʃ̌bǯ bs bz*	4 4 4 4

Table 8. Distribution of the oral stopped preinitials b- and G-

The numbers in the unfilled spaces on Table 8 indicate the following rules governing the exceptions to the general distribution of *b-* and G- preinitials:

1 Preinitial G- undergoes GRAVITY DISSIMILATION to become g- before acute initials and *d-* before grave initials.

2 Preinitial *b-* and *G-* do not occur, for reasons I do not know, before the voiced affricate initials *dz* and *dz.*

3 Two labial consonants do not occur together in the same onset cluster.

4 Preinitial *b-* does not occur before nasal initials.

Similarly, as a general rule, the nasal preinitials m- and *N-* occur before aspirated, voiced, and nasal initials; but, again, their co-occurrence with particular initials within those classes is governed by further rules. This distribution is summarized in Table 9:

ASPIRATED	VOICED	NASAL
KH TŠH TH TSH PH	*G DŽ D DZ B*	*N̄ Ñ N M*
mkh mtšh mth mtsh 3	*mg mdž md mdz* 3	*mn̄ mñ mn* 3
Nkih ntšh Nth Ntsh Nph	*Ng ndž Nd dz Nb*	5 5 5 5

Table 9. Distribution of the nasal preinitials m- and N-

Again, the numbers in the unfilled spaces on this chart indicate the rules governing the exceptions to the general distribution of *m-* and *N-* preinitials. Rule 3 is as given above; and, in addition,

5 Nasals cannot be prenasalized.

3.3. Stacking Constraints

Finally, there are two constraints on the co-occurrence of preinitials and postinitialsthe graphic "stack" of top, center, and bottom graphs. First, *r* does not occur as both pre- and postinitial in the same syllable onset: thus we find, for example, the onsets *rky* and *skr* but not ?*rkr.* Second, the preinitial l does not co-occur with any postinitial: thus we find, for example, *lk* but not ?*lky* or ?*lkr.*19

19 As near as I can figure, not counting the problematic syllables with *wa-zur,* there are

(*footnote continued on next page*)

4. Disyllabic Stress Groups

A striking feature in the development of Tibetan has been an increasing tendency toward DISYLLABISM in word formation: there has developed considerable analogic pressure in the language for wordsand even common collocations of wordsto constitute a single DISYLLABIC STRESS GROUP, usually with the primary stress on the first syllable. One result of this tendency was that NONSYLLABIC FORMATIVES seem early to have become less productive than SYLLABIC FORMATIVES, and what we here call OUTER DERIVATION replaced INNER DERIVATION as a means of creating new words. We thus find cases in the classical language of two words with the same meaning derived from the same source, but one by inner and one by outer derivationfor example, from ZA "eat" both the older monosyllabic *zas* "food" and the later disyllabic *za-ma* "food," or from *NA* "be ill" both the older monosyllabic *nad* "illness" and the later disyllabic *na-ba* "illness."20

There are several ways in which new disyllabic stress groups can come to be formed. A syllabic formative added to an existing monosyllabic word will yield a disyllabic stress groupfor example, *mda* "arrow" *mda-pa* "archer," *RGYAL* "be victorious" *rgyal-po* "king," *lha* "god" *lha-mo* "goddess." Sometimes such syllabic formatives as these appear in Old Tibetan to have been added to an existing monosyllabic word with no semantic effect at allthat is, without

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

thus 209 possible syllable onsets in the classical language, including the smooth vocalic ingress or absence of consonant onset; five possible syllable nuclei; and 14 possible syllable codas, counting all open syllables as one. There are thus 14,630 possible syllables in the classical language, only some of which are actually paired with meanings. We can thus distinguish between syllables such as *bstyur* and *murg* which are not even potentially Tibetan words, and syllables such as *Ngib* or *dpyogs*, which are potentially Tibetan words, but whichfortuitouslyhave not been lexicalized as part of the language.

20 There are, in addition, several sources of TRISYLLABISM in the classical texts. Much onomatopoeia in Tibetan poetry is trisyllabicfor example, *kyu-ru-ru* "CALLING OF BIRDS," *kho-ro-ro* "BUZZING OF BEES," *gya-ma-gyu* "RUSHING OF A RIVER," s*un-se-sun* "MOTION OF A MOVING HORSE." There are also a few disyllabic formatives which yield trisyllablesfor example, *-PHO-tshe* "BIG KIND OF," as in *me* "fire" *me-bo-tshe* "conflagration," or *-E-pa* "ADJECTIVE," as in *GUG* "bend" *gug-ge-ba* "bent." And trisyllables are produced when monosyllabic formatives are added to existing disyllablesfor example, *gtser-bu* "naked" *gtser-bupa* "naked ascetic," *dge-slon* "monk" *dge-slon-ma* "nun."

changing meaningbut apparently only to form a disyllabic stress group.21

Similarly, a disyllabic stress group may be formed by the juxtaposition of two monosyllabic words. Sometimes this juxtaposition creates a COMPOUND, which is a new stress group with a new meaningfor example, *gtam* "speech" *dpe* "pattern, model" *gtam-dpe* "proverb," *mgo* "head" *SKOR* "encircle" *mgo-SKOR* "deceive," *sans* < *0-TSAN-S* "awakened" *rgyas* < *0-RGYA-S* "expanded" *sansrgyas* "Buddha." But, again, sometimes such a juxtaposition is simply a combination of two synonymous monosyllables to form disyllable with no discernible change of meaningfor example, *dri* "scent" *bsun* "scent" *dri-bsun* "scent," s*ugs* "strength" *stobs* "strength" s*ugs-stobs* "strength," *sgra* "sound, voice" *skad* "sound, voice" *sgra-skad* "sound, voice."

Finally, a disyllabic stress group may be formed by the reduction of polysyllabic words and collocations of words to disyllabic stress groups by the omission of unstressed syllables. Once again, this reduction may produce a compound, a disyllabic stress group sufficiently different from the sum of its components to be a new word-for example, *glan* "ox" *tshen-po* "big" *glantshen* "elephant," *skye-ba* "birth" *dman-po* "low" *skye-dman* "woman," *rin-po* "long" *thun-ba* "short" *rin-thun* "length." Or the reduction may produce a

21 For example, we find Burmese *wak;* Lushei *vok;* Mpi *wa,* Phunoi *voa,* Newari *phe,* Kachin *waʔ,* Mikir *phak,* and thus Proto-Tibetan **phag* >Old Tibetan *phag-pa* "pig"; Burmese *la,* Nung *səla,* Bahing *la,* Phunoi *fəla,* Bisu *hla,* Digaro *həla,* and thus Proto-Tibetan **zla* >Old Tibetan *zla-ba* "moon"; Burmese *ne,* Lushei *ni,* Kachin *ni,* Kanauri *ni,* Newari *ni,* Garo *ni,* Karen *ni,* Nung *ni,* and thus Proto-Tibetan **ni* > **nyi* > **ñi* > Old Tibetan ñ*ima* "sun"; Burmese *nui* Lushei *nu,* Lolo *no,* and thus Proto-Tibetan **nu* >Old Tibetan *numa* "breast"; Burmese *aphui* Kachin *phu,* Garo *bu,* Mikir *phu,* Lushei *pu,* and thus ProtoTibetan **phu* >Old Tibetan *phu-bo* "older brother"; Burmese *asan,* Lushei *tin,* Gurung siN, Siyin *tsin,* Dhimal *sin,* Miju *msen,* and thus Proto-Tibetan **sen* >Old Tibetan *sen-mo* "fingernail." It is characteristic of such affixes that they are easily dropped in compounds or for other primarily rhythmic reasonsfor example, *zla-ba* "moon" but ñ*i-zla* "sun and moon" and *zla-od* "moonlight," *sen-mo* "fingernail" but z*abs-sen* "toenail" and *sen-zo* "white spot on the fingernail." As might be expected, the greater the semantic load carried by such an affix, the less easily is it so discarded.

Of course, such suffixes are not necessarily pleonastic even where their function is obscure: note, for example, *rkan* "marrow" but *rkan-pa* "foot," *spun* "sibling" but *spun-pa* "chaff," *gru* "boat" but *gru-mo* "elbow," *grog-po* "ravine" but *grog-mo* "ant," *rdog-pa* "step" but *rdog-po* "grain," *od* "light" but *od-ma* "bamboo" and *od-pa* "flood."

disyllabic stress group with no apparent change of meaning from its polysyllabic sourcefor example, *ston-pa* "empty" *-ñid* "-NESS" *ston-ñid* "emptiness," *pad-ma* "lotus" *dkar-po* "white" *pad-dkar* "white lotus," *byantshub* "enlightenment" *sems* "thought" *byan-sems* "thought of enlightenment." Such reductions we will call CLIPS.

4.1. Clips

CLIPS are frequently encountered in Tibetan. Some clips operate within the boundaries of a single word: thus *ston-ñid* < *ston-pa-ñid* "emptiness" is a WORD CLIP. Some clips operate across word boundaries, but still within a single nominal: thus *pan-tshen* < *pandita tshen-po* "great scholar" is a NOMINAL CLIP. And some clips operate across a nominal phrase boundary but still within a larger nominal or verbal phrase: thus *byan-sems* < *byan-tshub-kyi sems* "thought of enlightenment" is a PHRASE CLIP. What all Tibetan clips have in common is that they do not change meaning: a clipped word or phrase has the same meaning as the word or phrase from which it is derived.

4.1.1. Word Clips

WORD CLIPS operate within the boundary of a single word.22 Here we find both polysyllabic words reduced to disyllables and disyllabic words reduced to monosyllables for incorporation into further clips. Thus we find such disyllabic word clips as *tin-Ndzin* < *tin-ne-Ndzin* "contemplation," *ston-ñid* < *ston-pa-ñid* "emptiness," *byan-sems* < *byan-tshub sems-dpa* "bodhisattva," *legsbsad* < *legs-par bsad-pa* "aphorism," *rab-gnas* < *rab-tu gnas-pa* "consecration," *bde-gsegs* < *bde-bar gsegs-pa* "Well-gone One," *tshigs-btsad* < *tshigs-su btsad-pa* "poetry," *myan-Ndas* < *mya-nan-las Ndas-pa* "nirvana," *sñin-ñe* < *sñin-dan ñe-ba* "friend."

Where a disyllabic word has been reduced to a monosyllable we often find not only the elimination of the unstressed syllable but also incorporation of

22 As we will discuss later, a word is, more or less, a semantically exocentric unit whether simple or compound. Thus *rta* "horse" is a word; so is *mya-nan-las Ndas-pa* "passing beyond sorrow Þ nirvana."

some of its phonetic material into the stressed syllable. Such monosyllabic word clipsor CONTRACTIONSinclude *yig* < *yi-ge* "writing," *tshog* < *tsho*-ga "ritual," *myan* < *mya-nan* "suffering," *rdor* < *rdo-rdze* "vajra," s*er* < *ses-rab* "wisdom," *rag* < *ra-gan* "brass," *bun* < *bu-on* "cash advance," *tshol* < *tsholo* "dice." Such contractions are often then found as members of disyllabic stress groupsfor example, *ra-gan* "brass" but *rag-bum* "brass vessel," *tsho-lo* "dice" but *sin-tshol* "wooden dice," *bu-ram* "sugar" but *bur-ltan* "bale of sugar," *bu-lon* "cash advance" but *bun-tho* "register of debts."

4.1.2. Nominal clips

NOMINAL CLIPS operate across word boundaries but within a single nominal. Thus we find *rdo-sbom* < *rdo sbom-pa* "heavy stone," *pan-tshen* < *pandit*a *tshen-po* "great scholar," *ban-rgan* < *ban-de rgan-po* "old priest," *sbans-skam* < *sbans skam-po* "dried dung," *lun-ston* < *lun-pa ston-pa* "empty valley," *gans-dkar* < *gans dkar-po* "white glacier," *dgun-sno* < *dgun sno-ba* "blue heaven," *phyag-tshen* < *phyag-rgya tshen-po* "Great Symbol," *khan-gog* < *khan-pa gog-po* "ruined house."

4.1.3. Phrase clips

PHRASE CLIPS operate across one nominal phrase boundary but within the boundary of a larger nominal or verbal phrase. There are four types of phrase clipCOORDINATE CLIPS, as in *ri-lun* < *ri-dan lun-pa* "mountain and valley"; ADNOMINAL CLIPS, as in *rag-bum* < *ra-gan-gyi bum-pa* "brass vessel"; RELATIVE CLIPS, as in *nor-ldan* < *nor-dan ldan-pa* "possessing wealth"; and VERB CLIPS, as in *Nbod-SKUL* < *Nbod-par SKUL* "exhort declaimingly." These four types will be treated separately in the following sections.

4.1.3.1. Coordinate clips

COORDINATE CLIPS are disyllabic reductions of nominal phrases which are processed as having originally been joined by *-dan* "AND." Coordinate clips frequently consist of two nouns which are, in some way, semantically coordinate as well-for example, *gnam-sa* < *gnam-dan sa* "heaven and

earth," *sa-tshan* < *sa-dan tshan* "meat and beer," *yon-mtshod* < *yon-bdagdan mtshod-gnas* "lay patron and religious master," *lo-pan* < *lo-tsa-ba-dan pandita* "translator and informant," *skyabs-sems* < *skyabs-Ngro-dan sems-skyed* "going for refuge and awakening the thought of enlightenment," *tshe-bsod* < *tshe-dan bsod-nams* "life and merit," *rgyal-blon* < *rgyal-po-dan blon-po* "king and minister." Coordinate clips occasionally consist of similarly coordinated adjectivesfor example, *dkar-gsal* < *dkar-po-dan gsal-po* "white and clear," *ldzan-gzon* < *ldzan-gu-dan gzon-nu* "green and fresh."23

4.1.3.2. Adnominal clips

ADNOMINAL CLIPS are disyllabic reductions of nominal phrases which are processed as having originally been joined by the subordinating adnominal particle *-KYi.* Adnominal clips frequently consist of two nouns of which the first modifies the secondfor example, *sen-phrug* < *sen-gei phrug-gu* "lion's cub," *sog-lham* < *sog-poi lham* "Mongol boots," *gser-me* < *gser-gyi me-tog* "golden flower," *gsus-nad* < *gsus-pai nad* "disease of the stomach," *Itsagssgrog* < *ltsags-kyi sgrog* "iron fetters," *Nphren-rdog* < *Nphren-bai rdog-po* "beads of a rosary." Adnominal clips also consist of an adjective modifying a following noun. Such adjectives may be primaryfor example, *blun-gtam* < *blun-poi gtam* "foolish talk," *dkar-zas* < *dkar-poi zas* "white food," *nag-sran* < *nag-poi sran-ma* "black beans," *bzan-spyod* < *bzan-poi spyod-pa* "good conduct," *dkon-nor* < *dkon-poi nor* "precious wealth"; or they may be derivedfor example, *sñe-Nbol* < *sñe-bai Nbol* "pillow to rest on," *Nbri-smyug* < *Nbibai smyug-ma* "writing pen," *slon-rkyen* < *slon-bai rkyen* "instigating cause," *Ndzu-stobs* < *Ndzu-bai stobs* "digestive power," *Ndzug-sgo* < *Ndzug-pai sgo* "entry door."

4.1.3.3. Relative clips

RELATIVE CLIPS are disyllabic reductions of nominal phrases which are pro-

23 While clips usually select stressed syllables as their components, a few coordinate clips depart from this *patterngsal-ston* < *od-gsal-dan ston-pa-ñid* "Clear Light and Emptiness" (but note *bde-ston* < *bde-tshen-dan ston-pa-ñid* "Great Bliss and Emptiness"), *btsad-lhug* < *tshigs-btsad-dan lhug-ma* "poetry and prose," *dpon-slob* < *slob-dpon-dan slob-ma* "master and disciple," *bsag-sbyan* < *tshogs-bsag-dan sdig-sbyan* "gaining merit and cleansing sin."

cessed as having originally been a proposition, with verb and one participant, relativized by the nominalizing particle *-Pa* and functioning as the modifier of some headfor example, *yid-myos* < *yid-Ø myos-pa* "confused," *mtshon-gden* < *mtshon-Ø gden-ba* "brandishing a weapon," *sdig-yod* < *sdig-pa-Ø yod-pa* "having sin," *Ndod-med* < *Ndod-pa-Ø med-pa* "without desire," *Ndod-bral* < *Ndod-pa-dan bral-ba* "free from desire," *nor-ldan* < *nor-dan ldan-pa* "possessing wealth," *Nkhor-btsas* < *Nkhor-ba-dan btsas-pa* "along with a retinue," *de-Ndra* < *de-dan Ndra-ba* "like that," *tshan-bzi* < *tshan-gis bzi-ba* "drunk on beer," *rgyas-btab* < *rgya-s btab-pa* "sealed with a seal," *snon-Ngro* < *snon-du Ngro-ba* "preliminary," *rdzes-skyes* < *rdzes-su skyes-pa* "subsequent."

4.1.3.4. Verb clips

VERB CLIPS are disyllabic reductions of verb phrases which are processed as having originally consisted of a verb modified adverbally by a preceding nominalized verbfor example, *Nkhyer-ON* < *Nkhyer-bar ON* "come carrying," *nu-BOD* < *nu-bar BOD* "exclaim while weeping," *Nbog-TSHI* < *Nbog-par TSHI* "drop down dead," *gsog-DZAG* < *gsog-par DZAG* "put aside hoardingly," *NbodSKUL* < *Nbod-par SKUL* "exhort declaimingly," *rkyal-RTSE* < *rkyal-bar RTSE* "amuse oneself by swimming," *gsod-TSAD* < *gsod-par TSAD* "cut down murderously."

4.2. Syllabic Cycles

As we will see, there is reason to believe that some Tibetan syllables are in fact compressions of earlier disyllabic collocationsfor example, Thebor *brul,* Magari *bul,* Burmese *mrwe, Mikirphurul,* Lushei *rul,* Tangkhul *phərə*"snake," but Proto-Tibetan **sa-brul "ANIMAL* snake" > **s-brul* > **sbrul* "snake"; Old Chinese **syen* "bitter," Burmese *əsañ,* Kanauri s*in,* Miri *əšin,* Kachin *sin,* Lushei *thin* "liver," but Proto-Tibetan **myi-tin* "HUMAN BODY PART liver" > **m-tsin* > **mtshin* "liver"; Proto-Tibetan **btsa-sa* "bring forth place" > **btsa-s* > **btsas* "harvest." Some of these monosyllables then once again become disyllabic through affixation or compoundingthus Proto-Tibetan **sbrul* >Old Tibetan *sbrul* "snake," but Proto-Tibetan **mtshin* >Old Ti-

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betan *mtshin-pa* "liver," and Proto-Tibetan **btsas* >Old Tibetan *btsas-ma* "harvest."24

There is thus some evidence for the existence in Tibetan of a CYCLE of syllabism, with words alternately compressed and expanded into monosyllabic and disyllabic forms. Note particularly, in this regard, Nung *thɛ;* Mikir *the,* Kanauri *te,* Miju *tai,* Kukish *dei* "big," Proto-Tibetan **myi-the* "HUMAN BODY PART big" > **m-the* > **mthe* "thumb" > Old Tibetan *mthe-bo* "thumb" > *mtheb* "finger" in such contractions as *mtheb-tshun* "little finger." We might project, for example, such cyclic sequences as Proto-Tibetan **myi-tsin* > **mtshin* > Old Tibetan *mtshin-pa* > New Tibetan (Lhasa) *tʂhimpə*>?*tshimp* "liver," Proto-Tibetan **myi-the* > **mthe* >Old Tibetan *mthe-bo* >New Tibetan (Lhasa) *thepo* >?*thep* "thumb," Proto-Tibetan **btsa-sa* > **btsas* >Old Tibetan *btsas-ma* >New Tibetan (Lhasa) *tsɛma*> *?tsɛm*"harvest," Proto-Tibetan **sa-bal* > **sbal* >Old Tibetan *sbal-pa* >New Tibetan (Lhasa) *pɛpa*> *?pɛp*"frog." And, of course, such a cycle would presumably extend indefinitely into the past; it would be a chicken-and-egg question to ask whether monosyllabism or disyllabism was the older state of the language.

24 Thus also Burmese *bha* "frog," but Proto-Tibetan **sa-bal* "ANIMAL frog" > **s-bal* > **sbal* >Old Tibetan *sbal-pa* "frog"; Lushei t*it,* Garo *-tik,* Lepcha *dik* "scorpion," but Proto-Tibetan **a-dig* "ANIMAL scorpion" > **s-dig* > **sdig* >Old Tibetan *sdig-pa* "scorpion"; Lushei *kal,* Tiddim Chin *kal,* Chepang *gal,* Kaike *khal* "kidney," but Proto-Tibetan **myi-kha*l "HUMAN BODY PART kidney" > **m-khal* > **mkhal* >Old Tibetan *mkhal-ma* "kidney"; Lepcha *kri* "bitter," Kachin *khri* "acid, sour," Burmese *khre* "bile," Dimari *khiri* "sour," but Proto-Tibetan **myi-khris* "HUMAN BODY PART bile" > **m-khris* > **mkhris* >Old Tibetan *mkhris-pa* "bile."

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7
Words

1. Preliminaries

1.1. The Scope of Morphology

There is a traditional and often useful distinction made between the MORPHOLOGY of a language and its SYNTAXroughly, between the ways in which words in the language come to assume their particular forms, and the ways in which these forms are strung together to make a grammatical utterance.

Within morphology we can further distinguish two different types of process. There are morphological processes that CREATE new words, and there are morphological processes that MODIFY words already in existence. Thus we may say that *child* and *children* are different FORMS of the same WORD, since they have the same semantic content and belong to the same grammatical category; but *child* and *childish* must be accounted different words altogether, although clearly related by a relatively transparent process of derivation.

although it is clear too that S*DU, NDU, TU, mdud, Ndun-ma, sdud,* and *mdunma* are closely related to each other.

There are thus two branches of morphology: we will use the term LEXICAL MORPHOLOGY for those processes that create words, and the term INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY for those processes that change the form of words. It is important to keep these two kinds of morphology distinct, especially as the study of classical Tibetan seems to have been long bedeviled by their confusion.

1.2. The "Parts of Speech"

There are two types of words in Tibetangrammatical words and lexical words. A class of GRAMMATICAL WORDS, such as the conjunctions, has relatively few members and is unlikely to be added to by the usual processes of word formation: conjunctions form a closed class of words. On the other hand, a class of LEXICAL WORDS, such as the nouns, has relatively many members: one can choose a noun from a very large set of possible alternatives. Only such a lexical class can be productivethat is, added to by new coinages with relative ease. Nouns form an open class of words.1

Classical Tibetan has three classes of lexical wordsNOUNS, ADJECTIVES, and VERBS. Each such part of speech can in general be defined by its occurrence and nonoccurrence in specific environments. First we can distinguish those words that may occur before the determiner *Ndi* "THIS" (thus *rta* "horse" *rta Ndi* "this horse," *tshen-po* "great" *tshen-po Ndi* "this great one," *SGOM* "contemplate" but not ?*sgom Ndi*)from those words that may occur before the conjunction *-TSin* "AND" (thus *SGOM* "contemplate" *sgom-zin* "contemplates and . . .," *rta* "horse" but not ?*rta-zin, tshen-po* "great" but not ?*tshenpo-zin*). Next we can distinguish those words that may occur before an

1 The distinction between lexical and grammatical words is precisely that drawn by the Chinese philologists between *shih-tzu,* words with a concrete significance, and *hsü-tzu,* "empty words" themselves empty of definable meaning but indicating the relationships among the other words. Such empty or grammatical words have generally been called PARTICLES in Sino-Tibetan linguistics. In classical Tibetan such particles maywhile lexical words do notundergo morphophonological changes conditioned, across syllable boundaries, by the last phoneme in the immediately preceding syllable. The Tibetan grammarians call such particles *phrad,* while lexical words are termed *min.*

intensifier such as *Sin-tu* "very" from those words that may not (thus *tshen-po* "great" s*in-tu tshen-po* "very great," *SGOM* "contemplate" *sin-tu sgom* "really contemplate," *rta* "horse" but not ?*sin-tu rta*).

These two intersecting distinctions define the three lexical classes in Tibetan. Such words as *rta* "horse" (*rta Ndi* "this horse" but not ?*sin-tu rta* or ?*rta-zin*)we will call NOUNS. Such words as *tshen-po* "great" (*tshen-po Ndi* "this great one" and s*in-tu tshen-po* "very great" but not ?*tshen-po-zin*)we will call ADJECTIVES. And such words as *SGOM* "contemplate" (*sin-tu sgom* "really contemplates" and *sgom-zin* "contemplates and . . ." but not ?*sgom Ndi*)we will call VERBS. Every Tibetan lexical word belongs to one or other of these three classes.2

2. Lexical Morphology

At any stage of a language we may distinguish between OLD WORDS inherited from earlier stages and NEW WORDS created in any of several ways. For example, Old Tibetan ña "fish" was an old word3 inherited from Proto-

2 There are, of course, some exceptions and apparent exceptions to these generalizations. An intensifier such as s*in-tu* "very" may precede a noun in some few loan words-for example, *dug* "poison" in s*in-tu dug* "wolfsbane." Sometimes in poetic composition a participant nominal phrase may be transposed between an intensifier and its verb-for example, in the well-known hymn *Btsom-ldan Ndas-mayan-dag-par rdzogs-pa sans-rgyas bstodpa gsuns-pa* to the twenty-one forms of the goddess Tara, where we read *rtag-par sin-tu od ni mdzad-ma* "she who always truly creates light." And sometimes an intensified verbal phrase is nominalized as a whole, creating the illusion of an intensified noun-for example, *sin-tu dga-ba* "great joy," which must be analyzed not as (*sin-tu*)(*dga-ba*)but rather as ((*sintu DGA*)-*Pa*), in just the same way as *mi-dga-ba* "unhappiness" must be analyzed not as (*mi-*)(*dga-ba*)but rather as ((*mi-DGA*)-*Pa*).

3 The word ña "fish" is, apparently, a *very* old word. We find Burmese na, Kachin n*a,* Tsangla n*a,* Nung n*a,* Lepcha n*o,* Chepang n*a-ña,* Pwo na, Sgaw ñ*a,* Lisu n*wa,* Akha na, Mpi *no,* and Old Chinese n*yo* "fish," so that Old Tibetan ña is, in some sense, the same word as the hypothetically reconstructed Proto-Sino-Tibetan *nya. On the other hand, the word *rta* "horse," not found elsewhere in the Sino-Tibetan languages, was apparently a new word in Tibetan; I do not know where the word came from.

Other words appear equally old, but have a more complex history. Old Chinese **ʂyək*< **ʃryək*originally meant something like "color"; the graph for the word consists of the graph for "man" above and the graph for "seal, stamp" below, to indicate printing ink. The term

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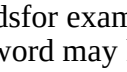
Tibetan **nya*, but Old Tibetan *sans-rgyas* "Buddha" was a new word created to fill a new lexical need. Similarly, New Tibetan (Lhasa)  <*sans-rgyas*> "Buddha" is an old word inherited from Old Tibetan *sans-rgyas*, but New Tibetan (Lhasa) <*skad-par*>"phonograph" is a new word created to fill a new lexical need.

New words in Tibetan have come from a variety of sources. A new word may be a CONSTRUCTION from existing old wordsfor example, Old Tibetan *myerdo* "fire stone ? flint" or New Tibetan (Lhasa) *meNta* "fire arrow ? gun." Or a new word may have been BORROWED from outside the language-for example, Middle Tibetan *ba-dur* "warrior" < Mongol *bayatur* or New Tibetan (Lhasa) *peskop* "movies" < English *bioscope*. Or a new word may be an IMITATION of a natural soundfor example, Old Tibetan *pi-pi* "flute" or New Tibetan (Lhasa) *pakpak* "machine gun."4

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> continues to mean simply "color," but also, more specifically, the color of the face, and thus, from early times, "countenance, looks, beauty," and eventually, in Chinese, "lust, lewdness." In Tibeto-Burman, facial coloring was semantically specialized in a different direction: we find Bunan s*rag* "shame," Magari *kha-rak* "be ashamed," Nung *sara* "shame," Burmese *hrak* "be ashamed, shy," Mikir *therak* "shame, disgrace; be ashamed, blush." In Proto-Tibetan we can reconstruct a verb **srag*, presumably with a similar meaning "be ashamed"; in the classical language we find, with regular phonological change, the verb SA*G* "confess."
>
> From **srag* too we find a noun **srag-sa* "shame place" > Old Tibetan s*ags*, with two divergent meanings. On the one hand, the term, often with an honorific, as in *bka-sags~mtshid-sags~gsol-sags*, appears as early as in the ninth-century Central Asian manuscripts with the meaning "dispute, quarrel, matter in contention"for example, where a letter found at a Tibetan oasis garrison says that the Minister at Rta-zor *bka-sags thugs-la tsi dgons-pa gdab* "will decide the dispute as he thinks best." As an extension of this meaning, the term apparently comes to mean "petition, complaint, formal statement of a case"-for example, where a divination manual says that, as a result of a favorable augury, *gsol-sags byas-na gnan* "if you have made a petition, it will be granted." And, as an extension of this meaning, the term s*ags* comes to mean as well "concise statement, aphorism, adage"for example, in a ninth-century collection of proverbs entitled *Sum-pa ma sags tshen-po* "The Big Book of Sayings of Mother Sum-pa." On the other hand, we find a different constellation of meanings for **srag-sa* "shame place" > Old Tibetan s*ags*, where the term comes to mean "ridicule, sarcasm, joke at the expense of another"for example, s*ags tshe-ba byed* "insults maliciously," n*an-sags* "a bad joke."
>
> 4 But when is a word a NEW WORD? Note, for example, the old words *rdo* "stone," *rin-po* "long," and *sbom-po* "heavy." We might find the two expressions *rdo-sbom* "heavy stone" and *rdo-rin* "monument" in a Tibetan text. Both are single disyllabic stress groups. Which

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is a new word and which is not? A proper criterion of lexicalization should enable us to determine that the latter isand the former is nota WORD in the Tibetan language.

A lexicographer might invoke three criteria to determine whether an expression has been lexicalized in the language. First, a lexicographer might consider the FREQUENCY with which the expression occurs. If *nor-tsan* "possessing wealth" is a word that deserves a lexical entry, then does *rta-tsan* "possessing horses" deserve one too? Does *phag-tsan* "possessing pigs"? A lexicographer might resolve the difficulty by noting that the collocation *nor-tsan* "possessing wealth" occurs in the texts with some frequency, while *rta-tsan* "possessing horses" appears sporadically at best-and *phag-tsan* "possessing pigs" does not to my knowledge occur at all. Where an expression is otherwise well-formed but occurs in the literature with insufficient frequencyas is the case with *phag-tsanunder* this criterion the expression remains unlexicalized.

Second, a lexicographer might consider the GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY of the expression, and consider the expression to have been lexicalized where its grammatical category has been changed in the construction. Under this criterion, for example, the adjective *Ndzer-po* "hoarse" is a new word because it is in a different grammatical category than its source verb *DZER* "be hoarse," and the adjective rn*ag-tsan* "purulent" is a new word because it is in a different grammatical category than its source noun rn*ag* "pus."

Third, a lexicographer might consider the SEMANTIC CONTENT of the expression. A broad version of this criterion is to consider an expression to have been lexicalized where its semantic content has been changed in its construction. Under this criterion, for example, the noun *bya-mo* "female bird" is a new word because it has a different semantic content than its source noun *bya* "bird," and the noun *rkan-dun* "ritual trumpet made from a human thighbone" is a new word because it has a different semantic content than the sum of its component nouns *rkan-pa* "foot, leg" and *dun* "conch shell."

A stricter version of this criterion is to consider an expression to have been lexicalized where its content is SEMANTICALLY EXOCENTRICthat is, where the meaning of the expression is not predictable from its components, and the head member of the collocation cannot be substituted for the whole without semantic change. Under this criterion, for example, the noun *Ngro-ba* "living creature" is a new word because its meaning differs from the etymologically expected "goer" < *NGRO* "go," while the noun *slon-ba* "beggar" is not a new word because its meaning is predictable from its source verb *SLAN* "beg." Similarly, under this criterion, the noun *mdeu* "arrowhead" is a new word because its meaning differs from the etymologically expected "little arrow" < *mda* "arrow," while the noun ñ*eu* "little fish" is not a new word because its meaning is predictable from its source noun ña "fish."

This criterion can be applied as well to disyllabic collocations of existing words. The stress groups *rdo-dkar* "white stone," *rdo-ril* "round stone," and *rdo-sbom* "heavy stone" are nonlexicalized and semantically endocentric: their meaning is predictable, and in any context

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2.1. Constructions

The CONSTRUCTION of new words out of the existing stock of the language takes place through the two processes of compounding and derivation. COMPOUNDING is the process whereby new words are created by the juxtaposition of two existing wordsfor example, Old Tibetan s*in-rta* "wood horse ? cart" and New Tibetan (Lhasa) *kaNkɔ*<*rkan-Nkhor*>"foot wheel ? bicycle." DERIVATION is the process whereby new words are created from single existing words by affixing elements that are not themselves independent

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("I hit him with a -") the head member may substitute for the whole collocation. In a strict sense, such stress groups are not the concern of the lexicon at all, since they are not separate words.

On the other hand, the stress groups *rdo-rin* "long stone ? monument" and *rdo-rdze* "noble stone ? vajra" are new words. They are lexicalized and semantically exocentric: their meaning is unpredictable, and in any context ("I hit him with a") the head member may not substitute for the whole collocation without changing the meaning of what is asserted. It is only such collocations as these that would, ideally, be listed in the lexicon.

Compare, also, *rdo-rtsig* "stone wall" and *rdo-zam* "stone bridge," which are semantically endocentric and predictable, with *rdo-zo* "stone milk ? lime" and *rdo-snum* "stone oil ® petroleum," which are semantically exocentric and unpredictable.

It must of course be confessed that this distinction is not always entirely clear. It may be that the noun *slon-ba* "beggar" is semantically predictable from the source verb *SLAN* "beg." But we also find the expressions *slon-ma* "female beggar" and *slon-mo* "alms." Which of these is semantically predictable? Again, the collocation *mtshod-rten* "offering support ?- *stupa/ caitya"* seems arguably lexicalized under this criterion, but it is more difficult to decide about *mtshod-khan* "offering house ? temple." Much seems to depend on a rather personal sense of what is semantically predictable and what is not. Much also seems to depend on the existence of similar collocations: the expression *mtshod-khan* "offering house ? temple" looks considerably more endocentric in the light of *sman-khan* "medicine house ? apothecary," *bzo-khan* "craft house ? workshop," and s*og-khan* "paper house ? shop where paper is kept or manufactured."

In all these cases, lexicographers must inevitably make difficult decisions as to which expressions are in fact sufficiently lexicalized to be considered words in the language; the judgment is complicated too by theoretical considerations regarding the distribution of functions between the grammar and the lexicon in a proper description of a language. A user of lexical resources also must recognize the problems that underlie the works upon which he or she must rely. There is no reason to believe that the following sections will substantially alleviate these difficulties.

wordsfor example, Old Tibetan *nad-bu* "disease" *nad-bu-tsan* "diseased" and New Tibetan (Lhasa) *matsa* <*ma-rtsa*>"capital" ***matsatšɛɴ***<*ma-rtsatan*>"capitalist."

2.1.1. Compounds

2.1.1.1. Native compounds

As part of its stock of Tibeto-Burman morphological devices, classical Tibetan had available several ways of compounding old words to create new words for example, modifying a noun with a preceding noun, as in *me-rdo* "fire stone ® flint," or modifying a noun with a following adjective, as in *rdo-rin* "long stone -® monument." Indeed, these devices have remained productive throughout the history of the language; parallel to the two preceding examples, we find, for example, New Tibetan (Lhasa) *meNta* <*me-mda* >"fire arrow ? gun" *and* ***pöñɛɴ*** <*dpon-nan* >"wicked lord ® bureaucrat." However, with the massive influx of Buddhist terms in the ninth century, the language used additional devices, in part derived from Sanskrit models, in order to render these new terms in Tibetan-for example, compounding two adjectives, as in *sans-rgyas* "awakened expanded ® Buddha," or, prototypically, modifying a verb with a preceding intensifier, as in *rnam-par SES* "particularly know ® perceive (***vi-√jñā***). These latter devices tend to be found primarily in these loan creations from Sanskrit originals; such translation compounds will be treated separately.

2.1.1.1.1. Noun + Noun ® Noun

There are four ways in which native compounds yield new nouns in the classical language-NOUN + NOUN, ADJECTIVE + NOUN, NOUN + ADJECTIVE, and ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE.5 In the first instance, a noun may be modified

5 These four types of native noun compounds continue to be productive in New Tibetan. Among new NOUN + NOUN - NOUN compounds we find, for example, New Tibetan (Lhasa) *meNta* <*me-mda*>"fire arrow ® gun," as well as ***kañkɔ***<*rkan-Nkhor*>"foot wheel -® bicycle," ***nəmʈu***<*gnam-gru*>"sky boat ® airplane," *tsaklam* <*ltsags-lam*>"iron road railway," ***kɛpa***<*skad-par*>"voice print ® phonograph," ***mecɔ***<*me-sgyogs*>"fire catapult ®- artillery," ***ʈhötsɔ***<*gros-tshogs*>"advice assembly ®- parliament," *sukü*Ñ <*bzo-rkun*> "work thief ® scab." Among new NOUN + ADJECTIVE -® NOUN compounds we find, for example, New Tibetan (Lhasa) ***pôñɛɴ***<*dpon-nan* >"wicked lord ® bureaucrat," as well as

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with a preceding noun to yield a noun with a new meaning. Thus we find *lagsubs* "hand sheath ? glove," *spu-gri* "hair knife ® razor," *dnul-tshu* "silver water ® quicksilver," *tshu-mig* "water eye ? well," *mig-tshu* "eye water ® tears," *dri-tshu* "odor water ® urine," *byin-rlabs* "splendor wave ® blessing," *tshos-gzi* "religion basis -® monastery," *rkan-dun* "leg conch ® thighbone trumpet," *sbran-rtsi* "bee juice ® honey," *gtam-dpe* "talk model ® proverb," *sa-mdog* "flesh color ® complexion," *ri-khrod* "mountain crowd ? wilderness," *kha-lpags* "mouth skin ® lip," *bka-babs* "speech descent ? tradition," *sñin-rus* "heart bone ® courage," *og-sgo* "underpart door ® anus," *dur-spyan* "graveyard wolf ® jackal."

2.1.1.1.2. Adjective + Noun -® Noun

Similarly, a noun may be modified with a preceding adjective to yield a noun with a new meaning. Thus we find *dben-gnas* "solitary place ® hermitage," *dam-tshig* "holy word -® vow," *bzan-spyod* "good conduct ® bodhisattva deeds," *drag-sul* "violent leftover ® supernatural frightfulness," *log-lta* "inverted view ? heresy," *mthun-rkyen* "harmonious circumstance ® assistance," *dmar-bsal* "red diarrhea ? dysentery," *ser-Nphren* "yellow garland ® ecclesiastical procession," *dkar-phyogs* "white direction ? good spirits," *nag-phyogs* "black direction ? bad spirits," *tshe-mi* "large person ® adult," n*an-phye* "bad flour ® roasted meal," ñ*e-rigs* "near lineage ® kinsman," *drag-rigs* "noble lineage ® aristocracy."

2.1.1.1.3. Noun + Adjective - Noun

Or, again, a noun may be modified with a following adjective to yield a noun

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> *tshoktseN <tshogs-tshen>*"big assembly -® plenary session," *thanñuN <grans-ñun>*"small number ® minority," *luthüN <blo-mthun>*"agreeable mind -® comrade." Among new ADJECTIVE + NOUN -® NOUN compounds we find, for example, *thonöN <mtho-gnon >*"high pressure ® high voltage" (as in *thonöN lokü <mtho-gnon glog-skud >*"high pressure lightning thread ® high voltage electric wire"), *notsa <rno-ltsags>*"sharp iron ® steel," *tintu <ldingru>*"floating boat ® airship," *sartse <gsar-brdze>*"new change ® revolution," *marsö <dmar-gsod>*"red killing -® massacre." Finally, the older ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE -® NOUN compounds continue to be used-for example, New Tibetan (Lhasa) ñ*irin <ñe-rin>*"near far - distance," *rintuN <rin-thun >*"long short ® length," *citu <skyid-sdug>*"happy sad standard of living."

with a new meaning. Thus we find *glan-tshen* "great ox -- elephant," *dri-tshen* "great odor ® excrement," *no-tsha* "hot face ® shame," *rdo-rin* "long stone monument," *bya-rgod* "wild bird ? vulture," *bya-nag* "black bird ® raven," *wa-nag* "black hat ®- shaman costume," *min-nan* "bad name ® infamy," *migthun* "short eye ® nearsightedness," *skye-dman* "low birth ® woman," *tshu-ser* "yellow water ® pus," *nag-sñan* "sweet speech ® poetry," s*es-rab* "best knowledge ? wisdom."

2.1.1.1.4. Adjective + Adjective ® Noun

The fourth type of native noun compound, of the form ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE - NOUN, is productive only within a relatively restricted semantic range: here two semantically opposed adjectives yield an abstract noun of which the two adjectives are polar exemplars.6 Thus we find *rin-thun* "long short ® length," *tshe-tshun* "big little ® size," *srab-mthug* "thin thick ® density," *grandro* "cold warm ® climate," ñe*-rin* "near far ® distance," *bzan-nan* "good bad ® virtue," *skam-rlon* "dry wet ® dampness," *mtho-dman* "high low ® height," *skyid-sdug* "happy sad ® luck," *tsha-gran* "hot cold -® temperature," *mtshogdman* "best worst ? quality," *drag-zan* "strong weak ® power."7

6 This type of compound is strikingly reminiscent of Chinese morphology, which uses the same device to form such abstract nouns-for example, *to-shao* "many few -® quantity," *tahsiao* "big little - size," *kao-hsia* "high low ® *quality,"yüan-chin* "far near ® distance," *hanwen* "cold warm ® weather." Note, too, that the other three types of noun compound consist of a HEAD and either a noun or adjective MODIFIER; the ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE ® NOUN compound does not have a head.

7 Such ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE ® NOUN compounds are not uncommon, for example, in the Ge-sar epic: note *rgan-gzon* "old young -® age" in *rgan-gzon gral-gyi thob-Ngrigs gyis* "Take your places in order of age," *yag-ñes* "good bad ® quality" in *las yag-ñes blta-bai migdan Ndra* "They are like eyes that will see the quality of deeds," and *yag-rtsog* "good ugly -® beauty" and *bzan-nan* "good bad ® virtue" in the couplet *yag-rtsog mig-lam Nbab-lugs red, bzan-nan sems-kyi dpyad-lugs red* "Beauty is the falling of a glance; virtue is the determination of the mind." Note here the playful use of the compounds *mgyogs-bul* "fast slow ®speed," *bzan-nan* "good bad ® quality," *rgod-zan* "strong weak ® strength," *dar-rgud* "growing failing ® fluctuation," and *thob-sor* "won lost ® outcome" in parallel structures:

rta-la mgyogs-bul zer-ba de
nub-gtsig rtsa-tshu bzan-nan yin
pho-la rgod-zan zer-ba de
ñin-gtsig rlun-rta dar-rgud yin

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2.1.1.1.5. Noun + Verb - Verb

In addition to these four types of noun compound, the classical language had a native verb compound that linked a verb with a participant noun to yield a verb with a new meaning. Many such compounds consist of a transitive verb and its patient participant functioning as a single semantic unit-for example, *sgra-SGYUR* "change words ® translate,"dban-SKUR "transmit power ® initiate," *mgo-DON* "hold up the head ® be proud," *mgo-SKOR* "encircle the head ® deceive," *mun-SAL* "clear away darkness ® illumine," *khag-THEG* "carry responsibility ® guarantee," *khru-SLOG* "turn earth ® plough," *no-SES* "know the face ® recognize," *rkan-DRAN "pull* the foot ® disgrace," *sna-DRAN* "pull the nose ® lead," *gdan-DRAN* "pull the seat ® invite," *mna-ZA* "eat a vow ® commit perjury," *thugs-SNUN* "sicken the heart ® be disagreeable," *sems-GSO* "heal the mind ® console," n*a-THUN* "shorten the disposition ® lose one's temper," *thag-TSAD* "cut the rope ® decide."

Additionally, we find the preceding noun in other syntactic relations with the following verb-for example, *blo-s TAN* "dismiss WITH the mind - renounce," *lam-la KHYER* "carry ON the road ® put to daily use," *sems-la SBYAR* "take TO mind ® pay attention," *mya-nan-las NDA* "pass BEYOND suffering ® enter nirvana," *mdo-r SDU* "compress INTO aphorisms - summarize," *tshigs-su TSAD* "cut INTO stanzas ® write poetry," *snod-du RUN* "be proper AS vessel ® be fit to receive teachings," *yid-du ON* "come INTO the mind ® be pleasing." Where such compounds contain more than two syllables they are particularly liable to be clipped into disyllabic stress groups-for example, *myan-NDA* < *myanan-las NDA* "pass beyond suffering ® enter nirvana," *sñin-NE* < *sñin-dan ÑE* "be close to the heart ® love," *las-SBYAR* < *las-la SBYAR* "put to work ® apply," *yid-ON* < *yid-du ON* "come into the mind ® be pleasing."8

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rgyan-la thob-sor zer-ba de
dban-than ri-mo gar-bris yin

What is called the speed of a horse
is the quality of one night's feed;
what is called the strength of a man
is the flow of one day's luck;
what is called the outcome of a bet
is the writing of the lines of destiny.

8 Despite the fact that they are compounds, such verbs can be syntactically discontinuous. The negative particle *ml-* "NOT" occurs immediately before a verbal tense stem, and thus

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2.1.1.2. Translation compounds

2.1.1.2.1. Adjective + Adjective ® Noun

As new Buddhist terms from India sought entry into the Tibetan lexicon, several additional types of compound were developed to express the new ideas. One type of such TRANSLATION COMPOUND is formed by combining two adjectives, functioning as headless modifiers, to yield a new noun, often based on Indic folk etymologies or Buddhist philosophical analysis; such compounds, of course, differ from such native ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE ? NOUN compounds

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after the noun portion of a NOUN + VERB ® VERB compoundthus, for example, *mgo-KHOR* "have the head encircled ® become confused" *khyed-kyi kha-sbyan-gis ned mgo-mi-Nkhor* "We are not taken in by your eloquence." Other propositional participants can also come between the two components of such verb compounds. In a poem by Mi-la ras-pa, for example, we find the compound n*o-SES* "know the face ® recognize" in discontinuous form in the line *na no khyod-kyis ma-ses-na* "If you do not recognize me .. ." Note that the structure of this proposition is not *nai no-0 khyod-kyis ma-ses-na* "If you do not know my face .. ."; rather the structure is equivalent to n*a-0 khyod-kyis no-ma-ses-na* "If you do not face-know me . ."

Such NOUN + VERB ® VERB compounds sometimes provide glimpses of Tibetan patterns of thought. One group of these compounds incorporates the patient participant *no* "face"for example, as we have seen, n*o-SES* "know the face ® recognize." But FACE, in Tibet, is clearly more than the surface of a thing. The face of something is an indication of its true nature thus *no-PHROD* "meet the face ® know, understand, learn," n*o-SPROD* "cause to meet/ introduce the face ® lay open the features of a thing, show its nature, teach." The face of a person, similarly, is the barometer of the inner *self-no-BAB* "have the face fall ® lose courage," n*o-TSHA* "have the face get warm ® feel shame"; and the social face is the marker of personal *worth--o-TSHE* "have the face be big ® be appreciated, recognized, thanked," *no-SRUN* "guard the face ® have regard for the opinion of others," *no-STOD* "elevate the face ® praise, flatter," *no-LOG* "turn the face ® desert, abandon, oppose."

We find a similar series of these compounds incorporating the patient participant *yid~yi*"mind." The Tibetan mind changes in sizefor example, *yid-TSHE* "have the mind be big believe," *yid-THUN* "have the mind be short - be rash, overhasty," *yi-PHRI* "make the mind less ® hate, dislike"; in this the mind shares the capacity of other internal organs-thus *sñin-TSHUN* "have the heart be little ® be afraid," n*an-THUN* "have the character be short ® be impatient,"nan-RiN "have the character be long ® be forebearing, long-suffering, phlegmatic." Effects upon the mind are the sources of emotions-thus, *yid-KHUL* "have the mind subdued ® be weary, troubled, harassed," *yid-PHAM* "have the mind be defeated ® be cast down, dejected, depressed," *yid-PHROG* "steal the mind ® infatuate, fascinate," *yid-BYUN* "have the mind come out ® be weary, *discontented,"yid-PYUN* "make the mind come out ® make weary, cause to be discontented," *yi-TSAD* "cut the mind ® despair."

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as *rin-thun* "long short ® size." Here, for example, we find *sans-rgyas* "awakened expanded - Buddha" combining *sans-pa* < *-TSAN-s* "awakened" and *rgyas-pa* < *-RGYA-s* "expanded," *bsod-sñoms* "pleasing equal ® alms for monks" combining *bsod-pa* < *N-BSOD* "pleasing" and *sñoms-pa* < *N-SÑOM-D* "evenly distributed," *sdug-bsnal* "afflicted exhausted - suffering of the round of rebirth" combining *sdug-pa* < *N-SDUG* "afflicted, grieved, oppressed" and *bsnal-pa* < *N-BSNAL* "exhausted." Similarly, we find *dran-sron* "straight upright

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of a transitive or intransitive verbfor example, *bdud-Ndul* "one who conquers demons -® He Who Has Defeated the Evil One (*marajit*)," *gnodsbyin* "one who bestows harm ? demon (*yaksa*)," *tshos-skyon* "one who protects dharma ®guardian deity (*dharmapala*)," *dge-slon* "one who begs alms ® monk (*bhiksu*)," *sku-bsruns* "one who protects the body ® bodyguard (?*talavarga*)"; although in some cases the participant role of the preceding noun may be oblique-for example, *don-grub* "one WHOSE aim is accomplished ? Siddhartha," *rtsod-med* "one TO WHOM there is no uncertainty ® Resolute One (*nirdvandva*)."10

10 The Lhasa City dialect of New Tibetan has become highly nominalizedthat is, it tends to use, instead of a large number of verbs, a large number of abstract nouns and a relatively few auxiliary verbs. It is therefore not surprising that there are not many NOUN + VERB ® VERB compounds in that dialect, except for those, such as *tshüteN* <*tshu-Ndren*>"draw water ® irrigate," which seem to be relatively old. Instead, we find NOUN + VERB ® NOUN compounds, but these, again, differ from the earlier translation compounds of the same form. The translation compounds were clipped headless modifiers denoting the agent of the verbal action-for example, Old Tibetan *gnod-sbyin* "harm bestowing ® type of demon." The Lhasa City compounds, on the other hand, yield abstract nouns denoting the verbal action itself as modified by its relation to the preceding noun participant-for example, *thita* <*dril-bsgrags*>"bell ringing ® propaganda," s*unsi* <*gzun-bzes*>"government taking ® confiscation," *kotse* <*sgo-Nbyed*>"door opening ® inauguration," ñ*amso* <*ñamsgso*>"defect repairing ® renovation," *tshöta* <*tshod-blta*>"measure seeing ® experiment," *nanrü* <*nan-rul*>"inside rotting -® treason," *tsintü* <*btsins-Ngrol*>"freeing from fetters ® liberation." These abstract nouns can then be used as verbs with appropriate auxiliaries, such as *tshe* <*byed*>"do," *toN* <*gton*>"send," *cap* <*rgyab*>"act," and their honorific equivalents-thus, for example, *kotse naN* <*sgo-Nbyed gnan*>"gives door opening inaugurates," ñ*amso tshe* <*ñams-gso byed*>"does defect repairing ® renovates," *tsintü toN* <*btsins-Ngrol gton*>"sends freeing from fetters ® liberates." Note the use of the same auxiliaries with other nominals as well-namtu *toN* <*gnam-gru gton*>"flies an airplane," *meNta cap* <*me-mda rgyab*>"fires a gun," *mɛntšö tshe* <*sman-btsos byed*>"provides medical treatment," *šəpṭo cəp*<*zabs-bro rgyab*>"does a dance."

Similarly, the Lhasa City dialect is rich in compounds of the form VERB + VERB ® NOUN, where the two verb stems are combined to yield an abstract noun denoting the intersection of the twooften more or less synonymous-verb stems. For example, we find *torsi* <*gtorbsig*>"scattering destroying -® sabotage," *ceteN* <*skyel-Ndren*>"accompanying leading shipping," *curtsü* <*bsgyur-btsos*>"changing healing -® reforms," *tsuktüN* <*Ndzugs-bskrun*>"founding producing ® development," s*uso* <*bsu-gzog*>"stripping cutting ® exploitation," as well as *thapsü* <*Nhab-rtsod*>"fighting fighting -® struggle," *sintu* <*zin-Nkhrug*>"quarreling quarreling ® uprising," *tsanse* <*gtsan-sel*>"cleansing cleansing -® purge," and even *tsiNsuN* <*Ndzin-bzui* >"holding holding ® arrest," combining the present and past stem of the same verb. As above, these abstract nouns can be used as verbs with appropriate

(*footnote continued on next page*)

2.1.1.2.3. Intensifier + Verb -- Verb

Finally, a third type of translation compound, used in rendering Sanskrit verbs, is formed by combining a verb with a preceding adverbal intensifier such as *mnon-par* "manifestly," *yons-su* "completely," *yan-dag-par* "perfectly," or rn*am-par* "particularly." As the ninth-century translation guide *Sgra-sbyo*r *bam-po gnis-pa* said, stating the official government translation policy,

> *pa-ri-dan sam-dan u-pa lta-bu la-sogs-te, tshig-giphrad-dan rgyan Ita-bur Nbyun-ba-rnams bsgyur-na don-dan mthun-zin Nbyor-bai thabs ni, yons-su ze-am, yan-dag-pa ze-am, ñe-ba zes sgra bzin-du sgyur-tsig, don lhag-par sñegs-pa med-pa-rnams ni tshig-gi lhad-kyis bsnan mi-dgos-kyis don bzin-du thogs-sig*
>
> When translating particles and embellishments such as *pari-*, *sam-*, *upa-*, and so on, the way to affix them in accordance with their meaning is to translate them with words like *yons-su, yan-dag-pa,* and ñ*e-ba.* But translate according to the meaning (of the expression as a whole) those that add nothing, because it is unnecessary to add superfluous words.

Thus, for example, we find *mnon-par SES* "manifestly know ® perceive clairvoyantly (*abhi-√jñā*)," *mnon-par BYUN* "manifestly arise ® leave home to become a monk (*niṣ-√kram*)," *rnam-par SES* "particularly know ® perceive (*vi-√jñā*)," *rnam-par RTAG* "particularly examine ® impose conceptual constructs (*vi-√klp*)," *so-sor RTAG* "individually examine ® know precisely (*praty-ava-√ṭikṣ*.)," *so-sor MNAN* "individually listen ® answer (*prati-√śru*)," *rab-tu GNAS* "highly place ? consecrate (*prati-√sthā*)," *rab-tu SBYAR* "highly connect ® practice (*pra-√yuj*)," *rab-tu BYUN* "highly arise ® become a religious mendicant (*pra-√vraj*)," *rdzes-su BYA* "consequently do ® imitate (*anu-√kṛ*)," *rdzes-su DZUN* "consequently hold ® favor (*anu-√grah*)," *rdzes-su DRAN* "consequently remember ® practice contemplative mindfulness (*anu-√smṛ*)," *ñe-bar DZAG* "closely put - apply (*upa-√sthā*)."

These verbal compounds are frequently nominalized; indeed, several such compounds have entered the classical lexicon solely in their nominalized

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

> auxiliaries-for example, *tsinsuN tshe <Ndzin-bzun byed>*"does holding holding ® arrests," *suso toN <bsu-gzog gton>*"sends stripping cutting ® exploits," *ceteN tshe <skyel-Ndre*n *byed>*"does accompanying leading ® ships."

formsfor example, *so-sor thar-pa* "individual liberation ® ecclesiastical rules (*pratimoksa*)," *rdzes-su dpag-pa* "consequent weighing logical inference (*anumana*)," *rnam-par smin-pa* "particular ripening ® karmic retribution (*vipaka*)." All such nominalized intensifier-verb compounds are particularly liable to be clipped into disyllabic stress groups-thus *rnam-ses* < *rnam-par Ses-pa* "particular knowing ? perception (*vijñana*)," *rnam-rtog* < *rnam-par rtog-pa* "particular examining ? imposition of conceptual constructs (*vikalpa*)," *ñer-Ndzog* < *ñe-bar Ndzog-pa* "close putting ® application (*upastha*)," *rab-gnas* < *rab-tu gnas-pa* "high placing ® consecration (*pratistha*)," *mnon-ses* < *mnon-par ses-pa* "manifest knowing - clairvoyance (*abhijña*)," as well as *sorthar* < *so-sor thar-pa* "individual liberation ® ecclesiastical rules (*pratimoksa*)," *rnam-smin* < *rnam-par smin-pa* "outward ripening ® karmic retribution (*vipaka*)," *rdzes-dpag* "consequent weighing - logical inference (*anumana*)."

2.1.2. Derivations

DERIVATIONS of new words from old are of two types. We will use the term INNER DERIVATION to refer to those processes of derivation that operate within the syllable, using such NONSYLLABIC FORMATIVES as prefixed s- (as in *RIN* "be long" *SRIN* "make long"), suffixed *-d* (as in *DRO* "be warm" *drod* "warmth"), and infixed voicing (as in *THON* "emerge" *DON* "eject"). We will use the term OUTER DERIVATION to refer to those processes of derivation that operate outside the syllable, using either such SYLLABIC FORMATIVES as *-pa* "ONE HAVING TO DO WITH" (as in *mda* "arrow" *mda-pa* "archer") or REDUPLICATION of the syllable as a whole (as in *rnam-po* "bright" *rnam-rnam* "dazzling").

2.1.2.1. Inner derivation

2.1.2.1.1. Change of Lexical Category

One form of inner derivation creates verbs from nouns simply by taking the noun as a verb rootfor example, *tshu* "water" *TSHU* (*Ntsghu/btsus/btsu*) "draw water, irrigate," *rgyan* "ornament" *RGYAN* (*rgyan/brgyan/brgyan*)"adorn," *srab* "bridle" *SRAB* (*srab/bsrabs/bsrab*)"bridle a horse," *tshibs* "horse" *TSHIB* (*Ntshib/btsibs/btsib*)"ride a horse," *lan* "answer" *LAN* (*glon/blan/gla*)"make reply," *rlan* "moisture" *RLAN* (*rlon/brlan/brlan*)"make wet," *smad* "lower part,

low rank" *SMAD* (*smod/smad/smad*)"defame, blame, vilify."11 Such deriva- tions are, in fact, relatively rare in Tibetan; but, where they occur, we often find them involved in word play: note, in the archaic poetry from Central Asia, *rta khyod ni khar srab-gyis srab* "You, horse, are bridled with a bridle in your mouth," *byams-kyi lan glan* "I will answer an answer to his kindness," *bgab-kyi zo bzos* "He milked the milk in secret," and, throughout the classical literature, *rgyan-gyis brgyan-pa* "adorned with adornments."

2.1.2.1.2. Voicing and Transitivity

In classical Tibetan we find several pairs of verbs, clearly related phonologically and semantically, where one of the pair is marked as transitive, and the other as intransitive, by a difference in the voice onset time of the initial of the verb root. For example, in the verb pairs *KHOD* "be placed, be put" *GOD* "place, put," *TSHUN* "be tamed, be subdued" *DZUN* "tame, subdue," *THON* "come out, emerge" *DON* "throw out, eject," *TSHUGS* "take root, become firm" *DZUGS* "plant, establish," *TSHUD* "be put, enter" *DZUD* "put, lead" the transitive verb is distinguished by a voiced initial. Unfortunately, the picture is far from simple. One complication is that it seems equally the case that intransitive verbs are distinguished by voiced initials: note the verb pairs *GRIL* "be twisted, be wrapped around" *KRIL* "embrace, clasp round," *DU* "come together, assemble" *TU* "gather, collect," *DOR* "be scattered, be dispersed" *TOR* "scatter, cast away," *BUD* "go away, disappear" *PUD* "transfer, put apart."

Nor do the problems end there. In some verb pairs, initial voicing seems unrelated to transitivity at all-for example, *KHRIG* "cohere, stick together" *GRIG* "correspond, fit together," *KHRUL* "wander astray" *GRUL* "travel." In some verb pairs, initial voicing seems to have indicated, at one time or another, both transitivity and intransitivity: for example, the roots *TSHAG* and *DZAG* both have both transitive and intransitive paradigms-that is, on the one hand, *TSHAG1*(*Ntshag/tshags*)"drip, trickle" *DZAG2*(*Ndzag/btsags/gzag*)"cause to trickle, strain, squeeze"; and, on the other hand, *DZAG1*(*Ndzag/zags*)"drip,

11 See also *lug* "sheep" *LUG* "be sheepish, huddle together," and-although I think this example undercuts my analysis of inflectional morphology-zo "milk" *DZO* (*ndzo/bzos/bzo*)"milk an animal." In the case of *rka* "furrow" *RKO* (*rko/brkos/brko*)"dig, gouge, hoe," the verb appears to have generalized the *o* in the present stem *rko* < **G-RKA* to all stems; in that of *rdze* "lord, master" *RDZED* (*rdzed/brdzed/brdzed*)"honor, reverence," the verb appears to have generalized the present stem inflectional suffix -D to all stems.

trickle" *TSHAG2*(*Ntshag/btsags/btsag*)"cause to trickle, strain, squeeze."

Finally, in too many verb pairs to be coincidental, the transitive verb is distinguished both by initial voicing and by use of the present stem inflectional suffix *-D*, while the intransitive verb seems to be a backformation from the transitive verb, generalizing the present stem of the same paradigm as the transitive member of the pair-for example, *KHEGS* (*Nkhegs/khegs*) *"be* hindered, be prohibited" *GAG* (*Ngegs < N-GAG-D/bkag/dgag*)"hinder, prohibit," *KHENS* (*Nkhens/khens*)"be full" *GAN* (*Ngens < N-GAN-D/bkan/dgan*)"fill," *KHEB* (*Nkheb/khebs*)"be covered over" *GAB* (*Ngebs < N-GAB-D/bkab/dgab*)"cover," *KHEL* (*Nkhel/khel*)"be put on" *GAL* (*Ngel < N-GAL-D /bkal/dgal*)"put on," *KHYED* (*Nkhyed/khyed*)"be distributed" *GYE* (*Ngyed < N-GYE-D /bgyes/bkye*)"divide, scatter, disperse," *THEBS* (*Nthebs/thebs*)"be thrown, be hit" *DAB* (*Ndebs < N-DAB-D /btab/gdab*)"throw, hit." There is every reason to believe that it is the intransitive verbs that are here late analogical developments from the transitive verbs. The process seems to have been to devoice the present stem of the transitive verbfor example, *GAG* "hinder" > *N-GAG-D* > *Ngegs* "hinders" > *Nkhegs* "is hindered" > *KHEGS* "be hindered," *GYE* "distribute" > *N-GYE-D* > *Ngyed* "distributes" > *Nkhyed* "is distributed" > *KHYED* "be distributed." If this hypothesis is correct, it would tend to indicate thatat least at the time of the backformationsthe association of voicing with transitivity was, in some sense, normative; this would, I think conform to the intuition of modern speakers, but would be inconsistent with the pattern of other Tibeto-Burman languages.12

2.1.2.1.3. The Formative m- "Honorific"

The prefix *m-* is found in a large number of words relating to the persons, property, and attributes of social and spiritual superiors. Note, for example, the nouns *mkha* "heaven," *mkhar* "castle," *mgon-po* "lord, protector," *mgron* "feast, banquet," *mna* "might, dominion," *mtshad-pa* "tomb, sepulchre," *mtshog* "the best," *mthu* "strength, magic power," *mda* "arrow," *mdun* "spear, lance," *mdos* "threadcross," *mna* "oath," *mtshun* "offerings for the ancestors,"

12 Compare, for example, Kanauri *bön* "be filled" *pön* "fill," *bar* "catch fire" *par* "set on fire," *blus* "collapse" *phlus* "knock down," Bahing *guk* "be bent" *kuk* "make bent," Bodo *gen* "come loose" *khen* "loosen," Vayu *bok* "be born" *pok* "give birth to." Note also, in Tibetan, *GYE1* (*Ngye/gyes*)"be divided" alongside *GYE2* (*Ngyed/bgyes/bkye*)"divide," and *GAL1* (*Ngal/gal*)"be in opposition" alongside *GAL2* (*Ngel/bkal/dgal*)"put on, put over."

mdzod "treasury, storehouse." Note too such honorifics as *mtshed* "sibling" for *spun, mnal* "sleep" for *gñid, mtshan* "name" for *min.* Similarly, note such verbs as these, denoting relations between superiors and inferiorsMNAG "commission, charge, delegate," *MTSHOD* "honor, revere," *MDZAL* "meet a superior, pay one's respects," *MNOD* "receive from a superior"; or these, denoting the qualities of the *loftyMKHO* "be desirable, important," *MTHO* "be lofty," *MTSHAR* "be wondrous," *MDZANS* "be noble," *MDZES* "be beautiful." And note such honorifics as *MKHYEN* "know" for *SES, MNA* "possess" for *YOD, MNEL* "become tired" for *NAL, MÑES* "be pleased" for *DGA, MNAB* "put on clothes" for *GON, MDZAD* "do" for *BYA.*

It is thus tempting to hypothesize the existence of a nonsyllabic formative *m*"HONORIFIC," although the source of this formative is not at all clear. But the hypothesis is consistent with several word familiesfor example, *NGRO* "go" *Ngros* "gait" *Ngron-po* "guest" **m-gro-n* "HONORIFIC travel NOMINAL" > *mgron* "feast, banquet," *nag* "speech" *SNAG* "praise, extol" *snags* "incantation" **m-nag* "HONORIFIC speech" > *MNAG* "commission, charge, delegate," *KHAR* "be penned up, be confined" *DGAR* "separate, confine, pen up" *Ngar-po~-mo* "type of cattle" *sgar* "camp, encampment" **m-khar* "HONORIFIC enclosure" > *mkhar* "castle, fort."

2.1.2.1.4. The Formative m- "Human Body Part"

It has long been noted that a surprisingly large number of Tibetan words denoting parts of the human body begin with an *m-* prefixfor example, *mkhal-ma* "kidney," *mkhrig-pa* "wrist," *mkhris-pa* "bile," *mgal* "jaw," *mgo* "head," *mgul* "throat," *mgrin-pa* "neck," *mnal* "womb," *mtshan* "side of the breast," *mtshi-ma* "tears," *mtshin-pa* "liver," *mtshil-ma* "saliva," *mtshu* "lip," *mtsher-pa* "spleen," *mdzin-pa* "neck," *mdzug* "buttock," *mdze* "penis," *mthan* "lower part of the body," *mthe-bo* "thumb," *mtho* "span of the hand," *mthonga* "chest," *mdans* "complexion," *mtshan* "genitals," *mtshul-pa* "lower part of the face," *mtshog-ma* "fontanelle," *mdzub-mo* "finger," *mdzer-pa* "wart." Note also *Ndoms~mdoms* "pudenda," *ldan-pa~mdan-pa* "cheek," as well as *mthil* "bottom part" in *lag-mthil* "palm of the hand," *rkan-mthil* "sole of the foot," *mthil-bi* "the four bottoms -? palms and soles."

It can be conjectured that this preinitial *m-* is in fact a nonsyllabic formative *m-* < Proto-Tibetan **myi-* "HUMAN BODY PART," clearly related to-but not identical with-Proto-Tibetan **myi* "human being." For example, given Old

Chinese **syen* "bitter," Burmese *asañ*, Kanauri s*in*, Miri *ašin*, Kachin *sin*, Lushei *thin* "liver," we can hypothesize Proto-Tibetan **myi-tsin* "HUMAN BODY PART liver" > **m-tsin* > Old Tibetan *mtshin-pa* "liver," given Lushei *kal*, Tiddim Chin *kal*, Chepang *gal*, Kaike *khal* "kidney," we can hypothesize Proto-Tibetan **myi-khal* "HUMAN BODY PART kidney" > **m-khal* >Old Tibetan *mkhal-ma* "kidney," and given Lepcha *kri* "bitter," Kachin *khri* "acid, sour," Burmese *khre* "bile," Dimasa *khiri* "sour," we can hypothesize ProtoTibetan **myi-khris* "HUMAN BODY PART bile" > **m-khris* >Old Tibetan *mkhris-pa* "bile." Note how this human part formative functions in the context of the word family *KHRIG* "cohere, stick together" *GRIG* "correspond, fit together" *SGRIG* "put together" **m-khrig* "HUMAN BODY PART joint" > *mkhrigpa* "wrist," or the word family *GAL*, "be in opposition" *GAL2* "put on, put over" *RGAL* "dispute, contend" **m-gal* "HUMAN BODY PART opposition" > *mgal* "jaw."

2.1.2.1.5. The Formative s- "Animal"

A number of classical Tibetan words for animals begin with an *s-* preinitialfor example, *stag* "tiger," *sdig-pa* "scorpion," *sdom* "spider," *spyan* "wolf," *spra~spre* "monkey," *sbal-pa* "frog," *sbur-pa* "beetle," *sbran-bu* "bee," *sbrul* "snake," *smig-bu* "lizard," and perhaps also *sder-mo* "claw, talon," *spar-ba* "paw, claw," *spu* "hair, feather," *sbans* "dung of a large animal." This preinitial *s-* may in fact be a nonsyllabic formative s- < Proto-Tibetan **sa-*"ANIMAL," clearly related to but not identical with Proto-Tibetan **sa* "animal," **swa* "deer." This ANIMAL PREFIX apparently dates back to Proto-Tibeto-Burman, since it is found throughout the Tibeto-Burman languages, although in different languages it may be prefixed to different words. For example, some of these language show an animal prefix where Tibetan has none: for example, we find Lushei *savom*, Lepcha *satum*, Miri *situm*, but Tibetan *dom* "bear," and, similarly, Lushei *sahna* but Tibetan ña "fish," Lushei *sava* but Tibetan *bya* "bird." Conversely, sometimes Tibetan shows an animal prefix where other Tibeto-Burman languages do not-for example, Thebor *brul*, Magari *bul*, Burmese *mrwe*, Mikir *phurul*, Lushei *rul*, Tangkhul *phara* "snake," but Proto-Tibetan **sa-brul* "ANIMAL snake" > **s-brul* >Old Tibetan *sbrul* "snake," Lushei *tit*, Garo *-tik*, Lepcha *dik* "scorpion," but Proto-Tibetan **sa-dik* "ANIMAL scorpion" > **s-dig* >Old Tibetan *sdig-pa* "scorpion," Burmese *bha* "frog" but Proto-Tibetan **sa-bal* "ANIMAL frog" > **s-bal* > Old Tibetan *sbal-pa* "frog," Mikir *teke* "tiger" but Proto-Tibetan **sa-tag* "ANIMAL tiger" > **s-tag* > Old Tibetan *stag* "tiger," Burmese *bhan*

"ordure" but Proto-Tibetan **sa-bans* "ANIMAL ordure" > **s-bans* >Old Tibetan *sbans* "dung." Finally, we find the animal prefix in some cases both in Tibetan and elsewherefor example, Miri *sibe*, Tibetan *spre* "monkey," Lushei *sakei* Tibetan *stag* "tiger."

2.1.2.1.6. The Formative s- Transitive"

The nonsyllabic formative *s-* "TRANSITIVE" is found as a prefix in many transitive verbs that are clearly related, phonologically and semantically, to intransitive verbs without the prefixfor example, *GUL* "be agitated" *SGUL* "agitate," *GYUR* "change, become" *SGYUR* "cause to change, transmute, translate," *GYEL* "fall, tumble" *SGYEL* "throw down, overturn," *GRIG* "be right, be suitable" *SGRIG* "put in order," *GRIB* "grow dim, get dark" *SGRIB* "pollute, darken, obscure," *GRIL* "be twisted or wrapped around" *SGRIL* "wind or wrap around," *GRUB* "be finished, be made ready" *SGRUB* "finish, accomplish," *GRE* "roll on the ground" *SGRE* "roll," *GREN* "stand" *SGREN* "raise, erect," *GROG* "cry out" *SGROG* "publish, proclaim, promulgate," *GROL* "be liberated," *SGROL* "save, rescue," *ÑIL* "decay" *SÑIL* "destroy," *ÑUN* "be little" *SÑUN* "diminish, reduce," *DUM* "be reconciled" *SDUM* "reconcile, conciliate," *NUB* "sink, set" *SNUB* "suppress, abolish," *NUR* "move, change place" *SNUR* "remove, shift," *NOR* "err, be mistaken" *SNOR* "confuse, confound, mingle, mix," *BAG* "be polluted" *SBAG* "stain, defile," B*AN* "be soaked, macerated" S*BAN* "steep, soak," *BAR* "catch fire, burn" *SBAR* "light, kindle," *BUB* "be upside down" *SPUB* "invert," *BYAN* "be cleansed" *SBYAN* "cleanse," *BYAR* "adhere" *SBYAR* "fasten," *BYIN* "sink down" *SPYIN* "let down," *BREL* "cohere" *SBREL* "stitch together," *RIN* "be long" *SRIN* "stretch," *LAN* "rise" *SLAN* "raise," *LAD* "be weak, dull" *SLAD* "adulterate."

In addition, note such pairs as *KHUM* "shrink, contract oneself' *SKUM* "contract, draw in," *KHOR* "turn around, go about in a circle" *SKOR* "encircle, enclose, twist around," *KHOL* "be boiling" *SKOL* "bring to a boil," *KHYIL* "be twisted, wind oneself *SKYIL* "bend, twist," *KHYUR* "be separated, divorced" *SKYUR* "throw away, cast out," *KHYO* "reel, stagger" *SKYOM* "shake, agitate," *THIM* "be absorbed, dissolve, evaporate" *STIM* "enter, pervade," *PHUR* "fly" *SPUR* "make fly, frighten away," *PHEL* "become greater" *SPEL* "make greater," *PHO* "change place" SPO "move, transfer," *PHYAN* "hang down" *SPYAN* "suspend," *PHRO* "proceed" *SPRO* "make disperse," *PHROD* "be delivered, be

transmitted" *SPROD* "bring together, introduce."13

2.1.2.1.7. The Formative -d "Nominal"

The nonsyllabic formative *-d* "NOMINAL" is found in nouns derived from verbsfor example, *DRO* "become warm" *drod* "warmth," *NA* "be ill" *nad* "illness," *SÑE* "lean against" *sñed* "crupper," *MTSHI* "speak" *mtshid* "conversation." Often these derivatives are made into disyllabic stress groups by the addition of a pleonastic suffixfor example, *TSHA* "be hot" *tshad-pa* "heat," *LDZI* "be heavy" l*dzid-pa* "weight," *RGA* "be old" *rgad-po* "old man," *RKE* "be lean" *rked-po* "waist," *LTA* "look" l*tad-mo* "sight, scene, spectacle," *BRO* "taste, smell, savor" *brod-pa* "joy," *RTSE* "play" *rtsed-mo* "game, sport, toy," *BLU* "redeem, ransom" *blud-po* "ransom payment," *NU* "weep" n*ud-mo* "sob," *GDU* "love" *gdud-pa* "longing, desire."14

2.1.2.1.8. The Formative -n "Nominal"

The nonsyllabic formative *-n* "NOMINAL" is found in nouns derived from verbsfor example, *SKYO* "be weary, vexed" *skyon* "fault, harm, defect," *RGYU* "move, wander" *rgyun* "flow, current, stream," *GTSI* "urinate" *gtsin* "urine," *ÑE* "be near" ñ*en* "kinsman," *GDA* "be there" *gdan* "seat, position, abode," *RDZU* "give a deceptive representation" *rdzun* "falsehood," *ZA* "eat" *zan* "food." Often these derivatives are made into disyllabic stress groups by the addition of a pleonastic suffixfor example, *RKU* "rob, steal" *rkun-ma* "thief, theft," *SKYI* "borrow" *skyin-pa* "thing borrowed," *NGRO* "go" *Ngron-po* "guest," *RNA* "mow, cut, reap" *rnan-pa* "reward, hire, wages," *NDU* "come together, meet, assemble" *Ndun-ma* "council, consultation, advice," *NDRE* "be mixed" *Ndren-ma* "mixture," *NPHYO* "roam about, gambol" *Nphyon-ma* "prostitute," *BZO* "milk" *bzon-ma* "milk cow," *SU* "peel, strip off" s*un-pa* "the peel."

13 Note also *MNAM* "be equal, level" *SNOM* "make level, equalize," *MNAM* "stink" *SNAM* "smell," *NDRE* "be mixed" *SRE* "mix."

14 Of course, the nominalizing formative *-d* must be distinguished from the present stem inflectional suffix *-D*. In a few cases we find noun doublets such as *rtsa-ba-rtsad* "root" and *du-ba-dud-pa* "smoke," where there are forms both with and without *-d*, but no obvious source verb. I do not know why this is so.

2.1.2.1.9. The Formative -s "Nominal"

The nonsyllabic formative *-s* "NOMINAL" is found in nouns derived from verbsfor example, *SKYAB* "protect" *skyabs* "protection," *SKYEM* "be thirsty" *skyems* "beverage, beer, libation," *KHRU* "bathe" *khrus* "bath," *GRAN* "count" *grans* "number," *NGRO* "go" *Ngros* "motion, travel," *RDZE* "change, shift" *rdzes* "track, trace," LT*A* "look" *Itas* "omen, sign, prodigy," *NDOM* "come together" *Ndoms* "genitals," S*PU* "decorate" *spus* "beauty," S*PO* "change, shift" *spos* "incense," *PHYUG* "be rich" *phyugs* "cattle," *NBO* "swell up" *Nbos* "boil, tumor, swelling," *SBUG* "pierce" *sbugs* "hole," *RTSI* "count, calculate" *rtsis* "counting, numeration, astrology," *RDZON* "dismiss, expedite" *rdzons* "act of escorting, fee for safe conduct, dowry," *GZA* "make jokes, play games" *gzas* "joke, game," *ZA* "eat" *zas* "food," *ZAB* "be deep" *zabs* "depth," *LOG* "return, turn around" *logs* "side, direction, region," *SON* "remove, empty, carry away" s*ons* "pit, excavation, valley," *BSO* "pour out" *bsos* "food offering to the gods," *SRUB* "stir, rake, rub" *srubs* "cleft, slit, rent, wound," *SLOB* "learn, teach" *slobs* "exercise, practice, experience."15

There is some reason to believe that this derivational -s is the remains of an earlier Proto-Tibetan **-sa* "PLACE." The following derivations, for example, are not implausible*NAG* "be black" **nag-sa* "dark place" > *nags* "forest," *ZAB* "be deep" **zab-sa* "deep place" > *zabs* "depth," *NBO* "swell" **Nbo-sa* "swelling place" > *Nbos* "boil, tumor," *LTA* "look" **lta-sa* "looking place" > *Itas* "omen, sign," *SON* "excavate" **son-sa* "excavating place" > *sons* "excavation."16 Such a derivation is less plausiblebut certainly still possible

15 Note also *RGA* "be old" *rgas-ka* "old age," *NDRE* "be mixed" *Ndres-ma* "mixture, medley," *BTSA* "bear, bring forth" *btsas-ma* "harvest," *RDZU* "give a deceptive representation" *rdzus-ma* "something counterfeit, feigned, dissembled," *LHE* "twist, plait, braid" *lhes-ma* "braid, wickerwork, twisted pastry." These derivations should be distinguished from the nominalization with *-Pa* of past tense stems which have an inflectional suffix -s, a process which continued to be productive in the classical language-for example, *SKYE* "be born" *skyes-pa* "man, male person," *GRAG* "cry, shout" *grags-pa* "fame," *TSHIB* "mount, ride" *tshibspa* "horse," *SPRO* "go out, spread, incline toward" *spros-pa* "business, activity."

16 There are a few examples where this Proto-Tibetan **-sa* "PLACE" > *-s* appears to derive nouns from nouns as well-thus *khun* "hole, pit, cavity" **khun-sa* "hole place" > *khuns* "mine," *khon* "the inside" **khon-sa* "inside place" > *khons* "middle, midst," no "face" **no-sa* "face place" > *nos* "side, direction, surface," *dbu* "head" **dbu-sa* "head place" > *dbus* "middle." The words *phyogs* "side, direction" and *logs* "side, direction" are sufficiently similar to each other in meaning, and to *phyag* "hand" and *lag* "hand" in phonetic shape,

(*footnote continued on next page*)

where the derived noun stands to the source verb as something other than a patient, as in *SKYEM* "be thirsty" *skyems* "beer" or *PHYUG* "be rich" *phyugs* "cattle."; and some of these derivations appear simply idiosyncratic, such as *SPO* "change, shift" *spos* "incense."

2.1.2.1.10. The Formative s-d-s-n "Kinship Collective"

The nonsyllabic formative *s-d* or *s-n* "KINSHIP COLLECTIVE" is found in a very few words denoting kinship groups, where its function is apparently to expand the range of reference of the source nounfor example, *pha* "father" *pha-spad* "father and children," *ma* "mother" *ma-smad* "mother and children," *phu* "elder brother" *spun* "siblings" *span-spun* "brothers, relatives," *khu* "uncle" *skud-po* "brother-in-law, father-in-law," *tsha* "grandchild, nephew" *khu-tshan* "uncle and nephew."

2.1.2.2. Outer derivation

2.1.2.2.1. Syllabic Formatives

2.1.2.2.1.1. The Formative -ñid "-NESS"

The syllabic formative *-ñid* "-NESS" is suffixed to adjectives to yield abstract nouns-for example, *sla-ba* "easy" *sla-ba-hid* "easiness," *dka-ba* "difficult" *dka-ba-ñid* "difficulty," *sra-ba* "hard" *sra-ba-ñid* "hardness," *nag-pa* "black" *nag-pa-ñid* "blackness," *tsha-ba* "hot" *tsha-ba-ñid* "heat," *bzan-ba* "good" *bzan-ba-ñid* "goodness." Such forms are primarily metaphysical in connotation: *sra-ba-ñid* "hardness," for example, is a term for a quality characteristic of all material substance. Similarly, *bzan-ba-ñid* "goodness" refers to goodness considered in the abstract; goodness considered as a matter of degree would be expressed by the ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE ? NOUN compound *bzan-nan* "good bad ? virtue."

The formative *-ñid* "-NESS" is thus primarily productive in the area of Buddhist philosophical abstraction. We find *ston-pa* "empty" *ston-pa-ñid* "emptiness," n*es-pa* "certain" *nes-pa-ñid* "reality," *de-bzin* "such" *de-bzin-ñid*

(*footnote contiued from previous page*)

to suggest the derivation *phyag/lag* "hand" > **phyog-/log-sa* "hand place" > *phyogs/logs* "side, direction."

"suchness," *mñam-pa* "alike" *mñam-pa-ñid* "sameness." In this semantic field as well, such philosophical abstractions can also be derived from nouns*mtshan* "sign" *mtshan-ñid* "defining mark," *no-bo* "thing" *no-bo-ñid* "nature," *sans-rgyas* "Buddha" *sans-rgyas-ñid* "Buddhahood."

2.1.2.2.1.2. The Formative -pa "Person Having to do With"

The syllabic formative *-pa* "PERSON HAVING TO DO WITH"-which must be clearly distinguished from the nominalizer *-Pais* extremely productive in classical Tibetan, and it is suffixed to nominals of all types to yield new nouns. Thus we find *mda* "arrow" *mda-pa* "archer," *zin* "field" *iii-pa* "farmer," *rta* "horse" *rta-pa* "horseman," *sman* "medicine" *sman-pa* "doctor," *tshu* "water" *tshu-pa* "water carrier," *gar* "dance" *gar-pa* "dancer," *khyim* "house" *khyim-pa* "householder," *grwa* "school" *grwa-pa* "scholar," rn*al-Nbyor* "yoga" *mal-Nbyor-pa* "yogin," *ka-kha* "ABC" *ka-kha-pa* "schoolchild," l*ha-sa* "Lhasa City" l*ha-sa-pa* "resident of Lhasa City," *bod* "Tibet" *bod-pa* "Tibetan," *ri-bo* "mountain" *ri-bo-pa* "highlander," *dpyod-pa* "examination" *dpyod-pa-pa* "examiner." Similarly, we find *-pa* suffixed to adjectives, as in *gtser-bu* "naked" *gtser-bu-pa* "naked ascetic," and to complex nominals, as in *las danpo* "first work ? beginning" *las-dan-po-pa* "beginner," *rkan gñis* "two feet" *rkan-gñis-pa* "biped," *bye-brag-tu smra-ba* "vibhasa" *bye-brag-tu smra-ba-pa* "Vaibhasika."

2.1.2.2.1.3. The Formative -mkhan "Skilled In"

The form *-mkhan* "SKILLED IN" appears in several collocations after nounsfor example, *sa* "country" *sa-mkhan* "guide," *lam* "path" *lam-mkhan* "guide," *sin* "wood" s*in-mkhan* "carpenter," *gar* "dance" *gar-mkhan* "dancer," *gzu* "bow" *gzu-mkhan* "bowmaker," *bzo* "handicraft" *bzo-mkhan* artisan." The form *-mkhan* is clearly related to a number of lexical items with similar meanings: note *MKHYEN* "know," *mkhan-po* "scholar, abbot," *mkhas-pa* "knowledgeable," *mkhas-po* "learned person." It is not clear to me, however, whether *-mkhan* is better described as a syllabic formativethat is, a form that is not itself a word, although perhaps etymologically related to a word, such as *mkhan-po* "scholar, abbot"or instead as a clipped word functioning as the second member of a compound. No matters of great moment turn on

this distinction; but the problem is offered here to illustrate the insistent intractibility of language.17

2.1.2.2.1.4. The Formative -pho-tshe "Big Kind Of"

The disyllabic formative *-PHo-tshe* "BIG KIND OF" is commonly suffixed to nouns to yield new nouns with an intensive or emphatic sense. Thus we find *skad* "voice" *skad-po-tshe* "loud voice," *rna* "nose" *rna-bo-tshe* "big nose," *me* "fire" *me-bo-tshe* "conflagration," *od* "light" *od-po-tshe* "brilliance," *phal* "common people" *phal-po-tshe* "crowd," *sdig* "sin" *sdig-po-tshe* "vile sinner," *glan "ox"glan-po-tshe* "elephant," *rta* "horse" *rta-bo-tshe* "divine horse," *mthu* "power" *mthu-bo-tshe* "mighty power," *rin* "value" *rin-po-tshe* "jewel."

2.1.2.2.1.5. The Formative -tsan "Possessing"

The syllabic formative *-tsan* "POSSESSING" is suffixed to nouns to create adjectives. This formative is very productive in the classical language, as in *gram-pa* "swamp" *gram-pa-tsan* "swampy," *gans* "snow" *gans-tsan* "snowy," *tsher-ma* "thorn" *tsher-ma-tsan* "thorny," *nor* "wealth" *nor-tsan* "wealthy," *spod* "spice" *spod-tsan* "spicy," *mag* "pus" rn*ag-tsan* "purulent," *sgra* "sound" *sgra-tsan* "sonorous," *rin* "value" *rin-tsan* "valuable," *gdug-pa* "poison" *gdugpa-tsan* "poisonous," *Ngyur-ba* "change" *Ngyur-ba-tsan* "mutable," n*ar* "hardness" *nar-tsan* "tempered," *ldzid* "weight" l*dzid-tsan* "heavy," *khyad* "difference" *khyad-tsan* "special," *khrel* "modesty" *khrel-tsan* "modest," *gros* "advice" *gros-tsan* "cautious," *sdig* "sin" *sdig-tsan* "sinful," *las* "work" *las-tsan* "industrious," *stobs* "strength" *stobs-tsan* "strong," *dban* "power" *dban-tsan* "powerful," *rtsed-mo* "play" *rtsed-mo-tsan* "merry," *srog* "life" *srog-tsan* "living," *sems* "mind" *sems-tsan* "sentient," *lus* "body" *lus-tsan* "embodied," *blo-gros* "intellect" *blo-gros-tsan* "judicious," *dge-ba* "virtue" *dge-ba-tsan* "virtuous," n*a-rgyal* "pride" n*a-rgyal-tsan* "proud," *min* "name" *min-tsan* "famous," *rtsi* "sap" *rtsi-tsan* "viscid."

17 Compare words that similarly end with *-bdag-for* example, *khan-bdag* "master of the house," *sa-bdag* "master of the earth Þ local deity," *gzi-bdag* "master of the soil Þ local deity," *sbyin-bdag* "master of gifts Þ patron," *mna-bdag* "master of dominion - ruler," *mibdag* "master of men Þ king." Such words are readily conceived to be compounds with the clipped second member *bdag-po* "master." It is harder, I believe, to see, say, s*in-mkhan* "carpenter" derived in the same straightforward way from *mkhan-po* "scholar, abbot."

We must distinguish constructions using this FORMATIVE *-tsan* "POSSESSING" from clipped relative constructions with the VERBS *LDAN* "be endowed" and *BTSAS* "be accompanied," which bear a surface similarity. Both verbs occur with patient and accompaniment participantsfor example, *sans-rgyasyon-tandan ldan* "The Buddha is endowed with excellence," *rgyal-po Nkhor-dan btsas* "The king is accompanied by his retinue." Relativized forms of these verbs are often found modifying nouns, as in *rgyal-mo bu-dan ldan-pa* "the queen with a child," *bla-ma rig-pa-dan ldan-pa* "a lama possessed of wisdom," *rgyalpo ral-gri-dan btsas-pa* "the king with his sword," *dge-slon glegs-bam-dan btsaspa* "the monk who has the books." Such collocations are particularly liable to be clipped. Thus we find *mdog* "color" and both *mdog-tsan* and *mdog-ldan* < *mdog-dan ldan-pa* "colored," *gnod* "harm" and both *gnod-tsan* and *gnodbtsas* < *gnod-dan btsas-pa* "harmful," *sdig* "sin" and both *sdig-tsan* and *sdigbtsas* < *sdig-dan btas-pa* "sinful," *nor* "wealth" and both *nor-tsan* and *norbtsas* < *nor-dan btas-pa* "wealthy."

2.1.2.2.1.6. The Formative -yas "-Less"

The syllabic formative *-yas* "-LESS" is suffixed to nouns to create adjectives with a privative meaning. It is, in this sense, the semantic opposite of the syllable formative *-tSan* "POSSESSING," but its scope is much more restricted. The formative *-yas* "-LESS" is found only with nouns denoting extentthus, for example, *bgran* "number" *bgran-yas* "numberless," *mtha* "end, border, limit" *mtha-yas* "endless," *dpag* "measure" *dpag-yas* "measureless," *gzal* "weight, measure" *gzal-yas* "infinite."

2.1.2.2.1.7. The Formative -bu~-U "Diminutive"

Another productive syllabic formative is *-bu~-U* "DIMINUTIVE"clearly related to but not identical with the noun *bu* "child"suffixed to nouns to yield new nouns. The form *-bu* is suffixed to syllables with consonant finalsfor example, *zans* "kettle" *zans-bu* "pot," *glegs* "table" *glegs-bu* "tablet," *khun* "hole" *khun-bu* "pore," *gzer* "nail" *gzer bu* "tack," *zor* "sickle" *zor-b*u "chopper," *phad* "sack" *phad-bu* "handbag," *glan* "ox" *glan-bu* "calf," *dom* "bear" *dom-bu* "bear cub," s*in* "wood" s*in-bu* "piece of wood," *nor* "wealth" *nor-bu* "gem." In disyllables the formative *-bu* replaces unstressed *-Pa* and *-PHOthus khan-pa* "house" *khan-bu* "cottage," *sdon-po* "tree trunk" *sdon-bu*

"stick," *bum-pa* "jar" *bum-bu* "small waterpot," *tshag-pa* "bunch of flowers" *tshag-bu* "small bunch of flowers."

After a preceding open syllable we find the form -U, and in such cases too the preceding low back vowels *a* and *o* become the low front vowel *e*thus *rna* "drum" *rneu* "small drum," m*da* "arrow" *mdeu* "arrowhead," *ba* "cow" *beu* "calf," *ra* "goat" *reu* "kid," *rta* "horse" *rteu* "foal," *bya* "bird" *byeu* "little bird," ñ*a* "fish" ñ*eu* "small fish," *so* "tooth" *seu* "small tooth," *mtsho* "lake" *mtsheu* "pond," *khyo* "man" *khyeu* "youth," *rdo* "stone" *rdeu* "pebble," *sgo* "door" *sgeu* "little door," *mtho* "hammer" *mtheu* "little hammer." Front vowels are unaffected by a following -*U*thus *mi* "man" miu "dwarf," *khyi* "dog" *khyiu* "puppy," *dre* "mule" *dreu* "young mule," *rdze* "lord" *rdzeu* "princeling."

In many cases the -*U* form has been generalized to replace the form -*bu* after consonants as well as vowels, with frequent variation in spellingfor example, *pag* "brick" *pag-bu~pag-gu* "brick," *gzer* "nail" *gzer-bu~gze-ru* "tack," *gdub* "bracelet" *gdub-bu ~gdu-bu* "bracelet," *ril-po* "globule" *ril-bu~ri-lu* "pill," *thig* "cord" *thig-gu~thi-gu* "string," *phrug* "child" *phrug-gu~phru-gu* "child," *lug* "sheep" *lug-gu~lu-gu* "lamb," *dbyug-pa* "stick" *dbyug-gu~dbyu-gu* "wand," *smyug-ma* "bamboo" *smyug-gu~smyu-gu* "reed pen."

2.1.2.2.1.8. Sex Formaties

2.1.2.2.1.8.1. The Formatives -mo "FEMALE" and -pho "MALE"

Several syllabic formatives in the classical language function to specify the sex of nominals with animate referents. Many Tibetan animate nouns are unmarked for sex: they refer vaguely to beings of either sex. Where there is a need to specify the sex of the referent, the sex formatives -*mo* "FEMALE" and -*pho* "MALE" yield nouns with this additional information. Thus we find *bran* "servant" but *bran-mo* "maidservant" *bran-pho* "manservant," *Ndre* "demon" but *Ndre-mo* "female demon" *Ndre-pho* "male demon," sa "deer" but s*a-mo* "doe" s*a-pho* "buck," *ra* "goat" but *ra-mo* "nanny goat" *ra-pho* "billy goat," *bya* "bird" but *bya-mo* "hen" *bya-pho* "cock," *lug* "sheep" but *lug-mo* "ewe" *lug-pho* "ram," *rta* "horse" but *rta-mo* "mare" *rta-pho* "stallion,"

khyi "dog" but *khyi-mo* "bitch" *khyi-pho* "male dog," *dre* "mule" but *dre-mo* "jenny" *dre-pho* "male mule."

2.1.2.2.1.8.2. Animal Sex Formatives

Nouns referring to animals form several interesting lexical fields in Tibetan. Unmarked and sex-marked animate nouns combine with their respective diminutives to constitute the following semantic array:

	UNMARKED	FEMALE	MALE	YOUNG
			rta-pho	*rteu*
"horse"	*rta*	*rta-mo*		
			sa-pho	*seu*
"deer"	*sa*	*sa-mo*		
			ra-pho	*reu*
"goat"	*ra*	*ra-mo*		
			khyi-pho	*khyiu*
"dog"	*khyi*	*khyi-mo*		
			bya-pho	*byeu*
"bird"	*bya*	*bya-mo*		
			dre-pho	*dreu*
"mule"	*dre*	*dre-mo*		
			lug-pho	*lug-gu*
"sheep"	*lug*	*lug-mo*		

Moreover, a further distinction of sex is often drawn between castrated and uncastrated domestic animals, where the uncastrated form is marked with the syllabic formative *pha-* "UNCASTRATED" and the castrated form is either unmarked or marked with the syllabic formative *pho-* "CASTRATED." Thus we find *glan* "ox" *pha-glan* "bull," *ra-pho* "goat" *pha-ra* "buck goat," *pho-rta* "gelding" *pha-rta* "stallion," *pho-phag* "gelded boar" *pha-phag* "boar," *pho-g.yag* "gelded yak" *pha-g.yag* "bull yak." Note the resulting distribution of termsrta "horse (male or female)," *rta-pho* "male horse (gelded or ungelded)," *pho-rta* "gelded horse," *pha-rta* "stallion."

The females of such domestic animals often have nonderived names (thus *ba* "cow" rather than ?*glan-mo, Nbri-mo* "female yak" rather than ?*g.yag-ma,* and *rgod-ma* "mare" alongside *rta-mo*), or names derived with the syllabic formative *mo-* "DOMESTIC FEMALE" in parallel with *pho-* "CASTRATED." Again note the distribution of *termsrta* "horse (male or female)," *rta-mo* "female horse (wild or domestic)," *mo-rta* "domestic female horse." Note too that we therefore find *stag-mo* "tigress" but not ?*mo-stag* and *sen-ge-mo* "lioness" but not ?*mo-sen-ge.* Domestic animals thus constitute a lexical field much like the following:

	UNCASTRATED	CASTRATED	FEMALE
			ba
"ox"	*pha-glan*	*glan*	
			Nbri-mo
"yak"	*pha-g.yag*	*pho-g.yag*	
			ra-mo
"goat"	*pha-ra*	*ra-pho*	
			mo-rta
"horse"	*pha-rta*	*pho-rta*	
			mo-phag
"pig"	*pha-phag*	*pho-phag*	

2.1.2.2.1.8.3. The formatives -mo and -ma "FEMALE"

Many other Tibetan animate nounsand generally all nominals with human referentsrefer vaguely both to males and to beings of either sex. Where there is a need to specify the referent as female the syllabic formatives *-mo* "FEMALE" and *-ma* "FEMALE" yield nouns with the additional information. A source nominal that ends in *-Pa* or *-pa* will generally derive its sex-marked form with *-ma,* one that ends in *-PHO* will generally derive its sex-marked form with *-mo,* and one that ends in neither will idiosyncratically select one formative or the other, although there appears to be some tendency for native Tibetan words to select *-mo* and for borrowed expressions and neologisms to select *-ma.*

In this last case we find the sex formative *-mo* selected in such nominals as *mi* "human being, man" *mi-mo* "woman," *lha* "deity, god" l*ha-mo* "goddess," *bu* "child, son" *bu-mo* "daughter," *rdze* "noble person, lord" *rdze-mo* "lady," *klu* "serpent deity, serpent god" *klu-mo* "serpent goddess," *gnod-sbyin* "demon, male demon" *gnod-sbyin-mo* "female demon," *pho-ña* "messenger, male *messenger"pho-ña-mo* "female messenger," *stag* "tiger, male tiger" *stagmo* "tigress," *grul-bum* "ghoul, male ghoul" *grul-bum-mo* "female ghoul," and we find the sex formative *-ma* selected in such nominals as *dge-slon* "cenobite, monk" *dge-slon-ma* "nun," *rdze-btsun* "reverend person, reverend sir" *rdzebtsun-ma* "reverend madam," *dban-phyug* "mighty one, lord" *dban-phyug-ma* "lady," *mkha-Ngro* "celestial spirit, daka" *mkha-Ngro-ma* "dakini," *gzon-nu* "young person, youth" *gzon-nu-ma* "maid."

Among nominals whose unmarked forms end in *-Pa* or *-pa* we find *bod-pa* "Tibetan, male Tibetan" *bod-ma* "female Tibetan," *gar-pa* "dancer, male dancer" *gar-ma* "female dancer," *tshos-pa* "religious person, monk" ts*hos-m*a "nun," *mal-Nbyor-pa* "practitioner of yoga, yogin" *mal-Nbyor-ma* "yogini," *logñis-pa* "two-year-old, two-year-old boy" *lo-gñis-ma* "two-year-old girl," *Nphags-*

pa "noble person, nobleman" *Nphags-ma* "noblewoman," *Nphrog-pa* "thief, male thief" *Nphrog-ma* "female thief," *nor-ldan-pa* "rich person, rich man" *nor-ldan-ma* "rich woman," *so-sor Nbran-pa* "follower, male devotee" *so-sor Nbran-ma* "female devotee."

Among nominals whose unmarked forms end in *-PHO* we find *tsha-bo* "grandchild, grandson" *tsha-mo* "granddaughter," *g.yog-po* "servant, manservant" *g.yog-mo* "maidservant," *grogs-po* "friend, male friend" *grogs-mo* "female friend," *rgyal-po* "royalty, king" *rgyal-mo* "queen," *glan-po* "elephant, male elephant" *glan-mo* "female elephant," *Ngon-po* "demon, male demon" *Ngon-mo* "female demon," *dban-po* "sovereign, male sovereign" *dban-mo* "female sovereign," *gtso-bo* "chief, first lord" *gtso-mo* "first lady," *tshen-po* "great one, great man" *tshen-mo* "great lady," *dkar-po* "white one, white male" *dkar-mo* "white female."

2.1.2.2.1.8.4. Names

In some cases too the formatives *-mo* "FEMALE" or *-ma* "FEMALE" may replace the *-PHO* or *-Pa* or *-pa* suffix of some nominals to yield nouns denoting a special kind or particular example of the class denoted by the source nominala specification of the sort often rendered in English by initial capitalization. Thus we find *rñin-pa* "old" but *rñin-ma* "Old Sect," *gsar-pa* "new" but *gsar-ma* "New Sect," *dbus* "middle" but *dbu-ma* "Madhyamaka School," *gter* "treasure" but *gter-ma* "Hidden Text," *bka* "sacred teaching" but *bka-ma* "the Teaching of the Old Sect," *gtum-po* "heat" but *gtum-mo* "Mystic Heat," *tshad* "measure" but *tshad-ma* "Science of Logic." Thus too *zans rubzi* "four-handled pot" refers to any such pot; but *zans ru-bzi-ma* refers to a specific design of four-handled pot, or even to a specific pot, perhaps noted for its design or workmanship.

The same specificity may be seen in book titles: the term *rgyud-Ngrel tshen-po* "great tantric commentary" denotes any such work, but the term *rgyud-Ngrel tshen-mo* refers specifically to a particular tantric commentary, the *Vimalaprabha* commentary on the *Kalacakratantra.* Similarly, *lam-rim tshen-po* "great sequential teaching" could refer to any such teaching, but the term *lam-rim tshen-mo* refers specifically to the *Rim-pa thams-tsad tshan-bar ston-pai byantshub lam-gyi rim-pa* by Tsofi-kha-pa. Again, *leu bdun-ma* "the seven chapters" refers to the seven-chapter hidden text of Padmasambhava, the term *yi-ge drug-ma* "the six syllables" refers to the six-syllable mantra of

Avalokitesvara, and the term s*ar gans-ri-ma* "the eastern snow mountain" refers to a poem by the first Dalai Lama Dge-Ndun-grub, which begins with the line s*ar gans-ri dkar-poi rtse-mo-na* "On the peak of the white eastern snow mountain . . ." And, although *blo-sbyon don-bdun* "seven points of mind training" could refer to any such set of teachings, *blo-sbyon don-bdunma* refers to the specific technique said to have been taught in Tibet by Atisa around the year 1050.

2.1.2.2.1.8.5. Geography

To the Tibetans, both mountains and plains apparently tend to be feminine. In the archaic manuscripts from Central Asia we find mention of such *than* "plains" as *mon-mo than, bal-mo than, lho-mo than, rgya-mo than, rgyal-mo than,* and *dbyar-mo than--this* last, for example, presumably the same as the *g.yer-mo-g.yar-mo-yar-mo than* of modern travelers, and presumably the same as the *dbyar-mo than* mentioned on the Potala pillar inscription of 764, recounting the Tibetan victories over the Chinese. Note *lho-mo than* "southern plain" < *lho* "south," *bal-mo than* "Nepalese plain" < *bal-yul* "Nepal," *rgya-mo than* "Chinese plain" < *rgya-nag* "China," and *mon-mo than* "Mon Plain," < *mon* "people living between Tibet and India, including Assam, Bhutan, and Lahul," where it seems reasonable to view the *-mo* suffix as a proper name marker, as in the preceding section. Moreover, whatever Freud might say, mountains seem indisputably feminine, and are called *ʔa-ne* "aunt" or *dzo-mo* "lady," as in the mountain names *dzo-mo kha-nag* "Lady Black-mouth" or *dzo-mo lha-ri* "Lady God-mountain."

2.1.2.2.1.9. The Formative -PHO "ADJECTIVE/AGENT"

One of the primary functions of the formative *-PHO* is the derivation of adjectives from stative verbs. We find *DKA* "be difficult" *dka-bo* "difficult," *DKAR* "be white" *dkar-po* "white," *SKYID* "be happy" *skyid-po* "happy," *NDZER* "be hoarse" *Ndzer-po* "hoarse," *MTHUN* "be in agreement" *mthun-po* "affable," *RTSUB* "be rough" *rtsub-po* "rough," *MOD* "be abundant" *mod-po* "plentiful," *MAN* "be many" *man-po* "many," *BTSAN* "be strong" *btsan-po* "powerful," *RTAG* "be permanent" *rtag-po* "lasting," *DGA* "be happy" *dga-bo* "happy," *DRAGS* "be intense" *drags-po* "violent," *DGU* "be bent" *dgu-po* "crooked." Verb roots which do not have a final consonant very often take an additional *-n* suffix before the syllabic formativethus *TSHE* "be great" *tShen-po* "great," *DMA* "be

low" *dman-po* "low," *MTHO* "be high" *mthon-po* "high," *RGA* "be old" *rgan-po* "old," *RNO* "be sharp" *rnon-po* "sharp," *SNO* "become green" *snon-po* "blue."

Such derivatives occasionally and idiosyncratically select the formative *-mo* instead of *-PHOthus SKYO* "be weary" *skyo-mo* "weary," *SGRE* "be naked" *sgren-mo* "naked," *ZU* "melt" *zun-mo* "molten," *DRO* "be warm" *dron-mo* "warm," as well as *dga-mo* "happy" alongside *dga-bo, dgu-mo* "crooked" alongside *dgu-bo, snon-mo* "blue" alongside *snon-po.* Such forms, of course, are not marked for sex; they must be distinguished from such sex-marked forms as *rgan-po* "old" *rgan-mo* "old woman," *tshen-po* "great" *tshen-mo* "great lady," *dkar-po* "white" *dkar-mo* "white lady." Note, too, that there seems to be no principle by which open syllables select the suffix *-n.* We find *DGA* "be happy" *dga-bo* "happy" but *DMA* "be low" *dman-po* "low," and we find such doublets as *TSHA* "be hot" *tsha-mo~tshan-mo* "hot," *SÑI* "be soft" *sñi-bo-sñi-mo~sñin-po* "soft."

The derivation of adjectives in *-PHO* had largely ceased to be productive by the time of Old Tibetan; the vast majority of adjectives in the classical texts are derived instead from verbs nominalized with *-Pa* and used in relative constructions. We may thus note a continuing tendency in the classical language to supplement older adjectives in *-PHO* with adjectives in *-Pa* derived from the same verbs. Thus we find such doublets as *dka-bo~ka-ba* "difficult," *skyid-po~skyid-pa* "happy," *rtag-po~rtag-pa* "lasting," *dga-bo~dgaba* "happy," *sra-bo~sra-ba* "hard," *mthun-po~mthun-pa* "affable," *gsar-pogsar-ba* "new," *bzan-po~bzai-ba* "virtuous," *gtum-po~gtum-pa* "furious." Certain common adjectives in *-PHO* remained largely in their earlier forms*tshen-po* "great," *man-po* "many," *dkar-po* "white," *dmar-po* "red," and so on. The change from *-PHO* to *-Pa* was also blocked where the source verb had meanwhile been lost from the language, as with *dam-po* "tight" from a lost verb **DAM* "*be bound" (compare *SDAM* "bind"), or where the source verb was, unusually, transitive rather than stative, as with *DRAN* "pull" *dran-po* "straight."18

The formative *-PHO* also occurs in the derivation of nouns with animate or human referents from inanimate and frequently abstract nouns. These source

18 In a few cases, the newer form in *-Pa* was lexicalized with the older suffix *-n* intact thus *SMYO* "be crazy" *smyon-pa* "crazy," *RMA* "be wounded" *rman-pa* "wounded." In such cases too apparently the older forms-such as **smyon-po* and **rman-po-have* been entirely replaced.

nouns may themselves be either primary or derived. In the first case we find such examples as *gnas* "place, abode, dwelling" *gnas-po* "host, landlord, head of house," *blon* "advice, counsel" *blon-po* "minister, counselor," *mgron* "feast, banquet" *mgron-po* "guest," *bon* "Tibetan religion" *bon-po* "follower of Tibetan religion," *dpa* "bravery, strength" *dpa-bo* "hero, *dban* "power, might" *dban-po* "lord, ruler, sovereign," *bzo* "work, craft" *bzo-bo* "craftsman, artisan," *mthu* "power, strength" *thu-bo* "chief, elder brother." In the second case the source noun is a nominalized verb-for example, *SBYIN* "give" *sbyin-pa* "gift" *sbyin-pa-po* "donor, patron," *SGRUB* "perform, achieve" *sgrub-pa* "meditation" *sgrub-pa-po* "meditator," *SGROL* "save" *sgrol-ba* "salvation" *sgrol-ba-po* "savior," *SAD* "kill" *gsod-pa* "murder" *gsod-pa-po* "murderer."19 Note also *NU* "suck" *nu-ba-po* "suckling," *GSO* "heal" *gso-ba-pa* "physician," *DZO* "milk" *Ndzo-ba-po* "cowherd."

The formative *-PHO* is also found in similar animate and human nouns derived directly from verb stems-for example, *RGYAL* "be victorious" *rgyal-po* "king," *SKYAR* "repeat, recite by heart" *skyar-po* "snipe, woodcock, duck," *SKYE* "be born" *skye-bo* "person, human being," *BTSUN* "be noble" *btsun-po* "nobleman," *BYUN* "arise, emerge, come out" *Nbyun-po* "being, creature, evil spirit," *LON* "be blind" *lon-po* "blind person," *NU* "suck" *nu-bo* "man's younger brother."20

2.1.2.2.1.10. The Formative -sa "PLACE WHERE"

The syllabic formative *-sa* "PLACE WHERE"-clearly related to but not identical with the noun *sa* "place"-is suffixed to verb stems to yield nouns. For example, we find *NDA* "pass over" *Nda-sa* "place where an archer stands to shoot in a contest," *SKAM* "be dry" *skam-sa* "shore," *NTSHER* "be afraid" *Ntsher-sa* "deserted village," *GOL* "part, separate" *Ngol-sa* "place where two

19 Such derivations are common in Buddhist psychology and philosophy-for example, *SES* "know" *ses-pa* "knowledge" s*es-pa-po* "knower," *TSHOR* "perceive" *tshor-ba* "sensation" *tshor-ba-po* "perceiver," *BYA* "do" *byed-pa* "action" *byed-pa-po* "agent," *MTHON* "see" *mthonba-po* "subject of the act of seeing," *NGRO* "go" *Ngro-ba-po* "goer."

20In a few cases we find nouns in *-PHo* and *-mo* with nonanimate or abstract referents apparently derived from verbs and concrete as well as abstract nouns-for example, *sñin* "heart" *sñin-po* "main part, essence," *dnos* "reality" *dnos-po* "thing, natural body, substance, stuff," *ROL* "enjoy sensually" *rol-mo* "music," *KHENS* "be full" *khens-po* "food producing flatulence."

roads separate," *NDU* "meet, come together" *Ndus-sa* "meeting place," *NGRIM* "wander" *Ngrim-sa* "abode," *BROS* "flee," *Nbros-sa* "place of refuge," *SPO* "change place" *spo-sa* "nomad camp," *THAR* "be saved" *thar-sa* "sanctuary," *RE* "hope" *re-sa* "that whereon the hopes are set," *NDUG* "remain" *Ndug-sa* "residence," *NGRO "go" Ngro-sa* "destination," *NDZIGS* "be afraid" *Ndzigs-sa* "dangerous region," *DBEN* "be solitary" *dben-sa* "hermitage," *gros-NDRI* "ask advice" *gros-Ndri-sa* "oracle." Occasionally we find the formative in the form *-so-for* example, N*AN* "be bad" *nan-so* "hell," *NKHRUL* "be mistaken" *Nkhrulso* "wrong way, peril," *GTAD* "lean upon" *gtad-so* "resource, store."21

2.1.2.2.1.11. The Formative -pa "Nominal"

The syllabic formative -Pa "NOMINAL" is by far the most productive formative in the language. It is found in a very large number of nouns derived from verb stems: for example, from verbal present stems we find *NKHOR* "turn about" *Nkhor-ba* "the round of rebirth," *NKHRI* "wind, twist, coil oneself" *Nkhri-ba* "fondness, attachment," *NGRO* "go" *Ngro-ba* "living being," *SGRIB* "make dark" *sgrib-pa* "sin," *SGOM* "contemplate" *sgom-pa* "contemplation," *DGOS* "be necessary" *dgos-pa* "necessity," *TSHIN* "bind" *Ntshin-ba* "shackles," *DZIG* "destroy" *Ndzig-pa* "destruction," *NDZIGS* "be afraid" *Ndzigs-pa* "fear," *DZUG* "set out" *Ndzug-pa* "beginning," *NDZOL* "hang down" *Ndzol-ba* "trail, train, retinue," *RÑE* "get" rñ*ed-pa* "property," *SÑAM* "think" *sñam-pa* "thought," *SÑOM* "make level" *sñom-pa* "equanimity," *BRÑAS* "despise" *brñas-pa* "contempt," *LTA* "look" *lta-ba* "opinion," *BDUG* "burn incense" *bdug-pa* "the burning of incense," *BDEN* "be true" *bden-pa* "truth," *DUL* "tame, subdue" *Ndul-ba* "ecclesiastical rules of conduct," *SDOM* "fasten" *sdom-pa* "vow," *BDOG* "store, put away, keep" *bdog-pa* "wealth," *BDE* "be happy" *bde-ba* "happiness," *NDOD* "desire, long for" *Ndod-pa* "lust, longing," *NA* "be sick" *na-ba* "disease," *NUS* "be able" *nus-pa* "ability," *NOR* "err" *nor-ba* "error," *SNAN* "appear" *snan-ba* "appearance," *SPYAD* "perform" *spyod-pa* "activity," *PUL* "give" *Nbul-ba* "gift," *RTSOL* "endeavor" *rtsol-ba* "diligence," *ZI* "be calm" *zi-ba* "tranquility," *ZA* "eat" *za-ba* "food," *RIG* "know" *rig-pa* "knowledge," *SAD* "kill" *gsod-pa* "murder," *GSON* "live" *gson-pa* "lifetime."

21 Occasionally *sa-so* is found after nouns-for example, *Nben* "target" *Nben-sa* "place where the target is set up in an archery contest," *tshu* "water" *tshu-so* "urinary organs." Such instances seem better described as NOUN + NOUN ?NOUN compounds, with the second member *sa-so* "place," than as derivations with a syllabic formative.

The formative *-Pa* also nominalizes verbal stems other than the present: we find nouns derived from past stems in *SKYE* "be born" *skyes-pa* "man, male person," *GRAG* "shout, cry" *grags-pa* "fame," *NPHAG* "be raised" *Nphags-pa* "noble person," *SPRO* "make go out, cause to spread" *spros-pa* "business, employment, activity," and from future stems in *RTOG* "examine" *brtag-pa* "inquiry," *STAN* "show" *bstan-pa* "doctrine," *SLAB* "learn, teach" *bslab-pa* "doctrine," *BYA* "do" *bya-ba* "deed, action, work."

In all these cases, we can discern a wide variety of semantic relationships between the verb and its nominal derivative-for example, *NGRO* "go" *Ngro-ba* "SUBJECT OF GOING ® living being," *ZA* "eat" *za-ba* "OBJECT OF EATING ?food," *NKHOR* "turn around" *Nkhor-ba* "STATE OF TURNING AROUND ® the round of rebirth," *SAD* "kill" *gsod-pa* "ACT OF KILLING ® murder," *TSHIN* "bind" *tshin-ba* "INSTRUMENT OF BINDING ® shackles," *SÑOM* "make level" *sñom-pa* "RESULT OF MAKING LEVEL ® equanimity." This semantic exocentricity is characteristic of word construction processes: note, for example, *STAN* "show" *ston-pa* "PERSON WHO SHOWS ® teacher" but *GRAL* "explain" *Ngrel-pa* "THING WHICH EXPLAINS ® commentary."22

In many cases, verbsprimarily stative but occasionally transitive as well nominalized with *-Pa* have been lexicalized as adjectives: we find, for example, *DKON* "be rare" *dkon-pa* "rare," *NAN* "be bad" *nan-pa* "bad," *TSHUN* "be little" *tshun-ba* "little," *GSAN* "be secret" *gsan-ba* "secret," *RNO* "be sharp" *mo-ba* "sharp," *RÑIN* "be old" *rñin-ba* "old," *BSOD* "be pleased, take delight" *bsod-pa* "pleasing," *RIN* "be long" *rin-ba* "long," *BTSUN* "be noble" *btsun-pa* "noble," *ÑUN* "be few" *ñun-ba* "few," *SKAM* "make dry" *skem-pa* "dried up." Such adjectives are formed not only from present stems but also from past stems, as in *NDA* "pass" *Ndas-pa* "past," *RGYA* "grow greater" *rgyas-pa* "extended, expanded," and even, rarely, from future stems, as in *DZAR* "hang down" *gzarba* "steep, rugged, precipitous."

2.1.2.2.1.12. The Formative -E "ADJECTIVE"

The syllabic formative *-E* "ADJECTIVE" primarily produces adjectives from

22 Compare English *prison* and *jail*, which are practically synonymous; but a *prisoner is* one who is kept in a prison, and a *jailer* is the one who keeps him there. Note also such lexicalizations as *ROYAL* "be victorious" *rgyal-po* "king" but *rgyal-ba* "jina (epithet of the Buddha)."

verbs-for example, *BTSER* "stare" *tsher-re* "staring," *NPHYAN* "hang down" *phyan-ne* "hanging," *BRÑAS* "despise" *brñas-se* "contemptuous," *NDZUM-BSUM* "smile" *sem-me* "smiling," *LOG* "be inverted" *log-ge* "false," *NDZOL* "hang down" *Ndzol-le-tsol-le* "hanging," *NKHRIG* "stick together" *khrigs-se* "plentiful," *GRAM* "sprinkle, scatter" *khrom-me* "sparkling," *HREM* "swell up" *hrem-me* "swollen," *DGUR-RGUR-SGUR* "bend, writhe, be crooked" *rgu-re* "crooked," *LHOD-GLOD* "relax" *lhod-de* "relaxed," *ZAR* "be lame" s*o-re* "damaged," *THAL* "pass by" *thal-le* "straight on."23

Sometimes we find similar derivatives with the formative *-E-Pa-for* example, *GUG* "bend" *gug-ge-ba* "bent," N*AN* "be bad" *nan-ne-ba* "bad," *YOM* "swing" *yom-me-ba* "swinging," *RDZEN* "be naked" *rdzen-ne-ba* "obvious." Occasionally we find derivatives in both *-E* and *-E-Pa* from the same source verb: note such pairs as in *TOR* "scatter" *thor-re~tho-re-ba* "scattered," *RIN* "be long" *rins-ser~rin-ne-ba* "continual," *GSIG* "put together" s*igs-se* "relaxed, rocking" s*ig-ge-ba* "trembling," as well as *yam-me~yam-me-ba* "coarse, rough," whose source verb I have been unable to identify. In a few cases, however, we find that the form in *-E* is an adjective but the form in *-E-Pa* is an abstract noun-for example, *KER* "raise" *ke-re* "erect" *kye-re-ba* "act of standing erect," *NGREN* "stand" *NGRON* "be straight" *kran-ne* "standing" *kran-e-ba* "upright posture," *SDUG* "be attractive" *sdug-ge* "good" *sdug-ge-ba* "state of being pleased," *LHAG* "exceed, surpass" *lhag-ge* "projecting" *lhag-ge-ba* "excess amount."24

23 It has been speculated that derivatives in *-E* are actually Middle Tibetan forms borrowed into the classical language, based primarily on the observation that the derivatives are frequently without preinitials-for example, *tsher-re* "staring" < *BTSER* "stare," *sem-me* "smiling" < *BSUM* "smile," s*igs-se* "rocking" < *GSIG* "put together"-just as one might expect in any of several dialects where these preinitials were in the process of being lost. However, these same forms appear as early as the ninth century, in manuscripts from the caves near Tun-huang: we find, for example, *slan-ne* "startled" < *SLAN* "cause to rise, exhort to action" in *bya slan-e ldin* "The birds, startled, soar," *dbrul-le* "rotten" < *RUL-DRUL* "rot, become rotten" in *bgram-na dbrul-le* "rotten when scattered"-even *tsher* < *tsher-re* "staring" < *BTSER* "stare" in *spyan tsher zes gzigs* "He gazed with staring eyes."

24 Adjectives in *-E* readily form adverbs-for example, *lham-mer* "distinctly" < *lham-m*e "distinct," *lhan-ner* "clearly" < *lhan-ne-lhan-ne-ba* "clear," *sal-ler* "brilliantly" < *sal-le-ba~gsal-le-ba* "brilliant" < *SAL* "cleanse" *GSAL* be clear," *tshem-mer* "quietly" < **tshem-me* "quiet" *tshem-me-ba* "stillness" *tsam-me* "quiet" *tsham-me-phyam-me-ba* "slow."

2.1.2.2.1.13. The Formative -kha~-ka--ga "Mouth"

The suffix *-kha~-ka-ga* appears in a variety of nouns which apparently have little in common; in many cases the suffix does not appear to be derivational, although it does recur in particular contexts. For example, the suffix appears in words for times of the day and seasons of the year*dgun-ka* "winter," *dgonns-ka* "evening," *ston-ka* "autumn," *dpyid-ka* "spring," *dbyar-ka* "summer, rainy season," *zogs-ka* "morning," *sos-ka-so-ka* "spring, hot season." It also appears in a few color words, such as *ldzan-kha* (for the more common *ldzan-gu*)"green," *nur-ka* "bright red," and in *mthiii-ka* "blue" and *mthon-ka* "azure, sky blue," where one might suspect a connection with *mkha* "heaven." And it appears in a few words for body parts*sñin-ga* "heart," *thugs-ka* "heart," *mthon-ga* "chest," *lon-ka* "intestines."

In several words, however, it is possible to discern a relationship between the suffix *-kha~-ka~-ga* and the noun *kha* "mouth," in any of three extended sensesreferring to holes or openings, to the edges of things, and to surfaces. Thus we find *khram-kha* "ornamental cut or notch in wood," *tsha-ga* "hem, edge, border," *lton-ka* "notch, depression, indentation," *thad-ka* "the direction straight ahead," *phal-ka* "indentation, incision, notch," *bu-ga~bug-ka* "hole, opening," *wa-kha* "water channel, gutter," *ser-ka* "cleft, slit, fissure, crevice." Note the following flat surfaces*~lten-ka-lden-ka* "pool, pond," *sten-ka* "terrace," *than-ka* "painting," *na-kha* "meadow," as well as *zen-kha* "breadth, width." A relation with *kha* "mouth" in these extended senses seems clear in *gru* "boat" *gru-kha* "ferry landing," *thab* "hearth" *thab-ka* "fireplace," *mthons* "smoke hole" *mthons-ka* "gallery or platform on a roof," *zor* "weapon" *zorkha* "edge of a weapon," *la* "mountain pass" *la-kha* "highest point of a pass," and is less clear in *lam* "road" *lam-ka* "route, roadside," *gzi* "residence" *gziska* "native country."

In any case, it is not obvious that the process here is better described as derivation with a syllabic formative or as compounding with *kha* "mouth" as a second member. All of this still leaves a residue of nouns with no obvious sources, such as *skas-ka* "ladder," *kyal-ka* "joke," *skya-ka* "magpie," *tsho-ga* "ritual," *ña-ga* "steelyard," *star-ka* "walnut," *dan-ga* "appetite," *don-ka* "medicinal plant," *ber-ka* "staff, stick," *yal-ga* "branch," *srub-ka* "medicinal grain," and just a few instances where the suffix looks rather like a nominalizer, with a preference for producing abstract nounsfor example, *NKHO* "desire, think to be valuable" *mkho-ba* "desirable" *Nkhos-ka* "worth, value, importance," *GÑER* "take care of, provide for, take pains with" *gñer-pa*

"steward" *gñer-kha* "attention, care," *DAM* "choose, select" *Ndam-ka* "choice, option," *GDEN* "raise, brandish, flourish" *gdens-ka* "expanded hood of the cobra."25

2.1.2.2.2. Reduplication

2.1.2.2.2.1. Nominal Reduplication

Another form of outer derivation is REDUPLICATION, which, in nominals, can be either simple or what we will call alternating reduplication. SIMPLE REDUPLICATION produces adjectives from adjectives, with the derivative having an intensive or iterative sensefor example, *thib-po* "dense" *thib-thib* "very dark," *Nkhyog-po* "crooked" *Nkhyog-Nkhyog* "tortuous," *Nther-po* "glossy" *NtherNther* "polished," *zim-bu* "thin" *zim-zim* "fine as a hair," *rnam-po* "bright" *rnam-rnam* "dazzling," *ltem-po* "full" *ltem-ltem* "overflowing," *than-po* "dense" *than-than* "strained to the utmost," *skyur-po* "sour" *skyur-skyur* "very sour," *kum-po* "crooked" *kum-kum* "shriveled up," *lkugs-pa* "stupid" *lkugs-lkugs* "very stupid." Note also *Nthor-ba* "strewn" *Nthor-Nthor* "drizzling," *Nbal*-ba "disheveled" *Nbal-Nbal* "shaggy," *sgren-ba* "erected" *sgren-sgren* "well fixed," *ldir-ba* "distended" *ldir-ldir* "full to the brim," *lon-ba* "rising" *lon-lon* "rising in waves, bulging out."

Such reduplications are sometimes used to great poetic effect in the epic of Ge-sar-for example,

khra-mo glin-gi mdo-tshen-rnams
la-la smug-po phyur-phyur red
thad-la rgya-khra Nphur-Nphur red
thur-la rbab-rgod yar-yar red

The great spotted horses of Glin
are a swirling fog upon the passes,
are soaring hawks upon the plain,
are a leaping avalanche as they descend.

25 The discussion of three syllabic formatives which occur with adjectivesyan- "MORE," *dze*- "MORE," and -*sos* "MOST"is deferred to the section on adjectives, where they are briefly reviewed.

Alternating reduplication yields disyllabic stress groups with the first syllable always having the vowel *a*. Where the source of the reduplicated form has a vowel other than *a*, that vowel is retained in the second syllable; where the source has the vowel *a*, the second syllable has a back rounded vowel, either *o* or *u*. As with simple reduplication, this process creates derivatives with an intensive or iterative sense. Thus, from source syllables with the vowel *a*, we find such examples as *ldam-po* "lazy" *ldam-ldum* "pitiful," *nan-pa* "bad" *nan-non* "miserable"; and, from source syllables with vowels other than *a*, we find such examples as *glen-pa* "stupid" *glan-glen* "very stupid," *khums-pa* "crooked" *kham-khum* "with uneven ridges," *Nkhrug-pa* "disturbed" *khragkhrug* "tumultuous," *Nkhol-ba* "insensible" *khal-khol* "stunned," *Ndzog-pa* "heaped together" *Ndzag-Ndzog* "jumbled up."

In addition, alternating reduplication is found in several nounssimilarly intensive or iterative in meaningderived from both nouns and adjectives. From nouns we find, for example, *ltsons* "uneven place" *ltsan-ltson* "broken country," s*on~gson* "mountain ridge, pit, valley" s*an-son~gsan-gson* "craggy rugged country," *sno* "plant" *sna-sno* "vegetables," *rdzab* "mud" *rdzab-rdzub* "mire," *rdzub* "deceit" *rdzab-rdzub* "imposture"; and from adjectives we find, for example, *rñin-pa* "old" *rñan-rñin* "worn-out clothes, rags," *sob* "hollow, vain" *sab-sob* "something rotten," *thogs-pa* "impeded" *thags-thogs* "impediment," *rlon-pa* "wet" *rlan-rlon* "liquid," *ldib-pa* "unintelligible" *ldab-ldib* "idle chatter."

2.1.2.2.2.2. Verb Reduplication

We also occasionally find verb stems reduplicated in the classical texts, with two different senses. The first is a continuative or iterative sense: this construction is old in Tibetan, and is found in the archaic Central Asian manuscriptsfor example, *srin go-phus rbeg-ga rbeg-si lags sñam-ste bzab-bzab* "The demon Go-phu kept creeping up, thinking, 'This is Rbeg-ga rbeg-si,'" *bu-mo tsen-Ngi rba-ga lug Ntsho g.yan skyon-du mtshi-mtshi* "The girl Tsen-Ngi rba-ga was going about pasturing the sheep and guarding the lambs," *byeu sñi-ñul-du son-son* "The little birds kept going into the snare," *rmal-zin bkalbkal bkal-zin bzu-bzu bzu-zin bran-bran bran-zin bdag-bdag* "She plucked it and spun it again and again, she spun it and made thread of it again and again, she made thread of it and tied it again and again, she tied it and wove it again and again." Reduplicated constructions with this sense are found in later texts as wellfor example, from the epic of Ge-sar,

de bsam-zin blon-po ma-bsdad on
lam thag-rin sog-skya bsgril-bsgril byas
sa rgyus-med skyi-ser on-on byas

Thus thinking, the minister did not tarry but came:
He kept his pale wings beating on the long road,
He kept his yellow hide moving in the unfamiliar country.

Mi-la ras-pa uses such reduplicated verbs as a repeated device in one of his songs, which he sings when reproached for dressing immodestly in only a strip of cloth, and of which the following are a few verses:

nas rtag-tu mi-yul Ngrim-Ngrim-nas
ran-yul nan-gis brdzed-de thal

I have been continually wandering the earth
and have just naturally gone and forgotten my home.

gtsig-pur ri-khrod Ngrim-Ngrim-nas
gron-yul nan-gis brdzed-de thal

I have been wandering the mountains alone
and have just naturally gone and forgotten inhabited places.

lus-la gtum-mo sbar-sbar-nas
lus-gos nan-gis brdzed-de thal

I have been kindling the mystic heat in my body
and have just naturally gone and forgotten my clothes.

sems-la gan-byun byas-byas-nas
sba-gsan nan-gis brdzed-de thal

I have been paying heed to whatever arises in my mind
and have just naturally gone and forgotten my penis.

gtsig-pur bag-yod spyad-spyad-nas
no-tsha nan-gis brdzed-de thal

I have been practicing modesty in solitude
and have just naturally gone and forgotten my shame.

Such reduplicated constructions have another sense as wellone of completion, of the action of the verb having already been accomplished. Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka, in his biography of Mi-la ras-pa, often uses nominalized reduplicated verbs with this sensefor example, *bla-mai bka-sog ltar byas-pai yi-ge yum-gyis sna-nas mdzad-mdzad-pa-zig Ndug* "There was a letter, made to resemble a communication from my lama, which my lady had already made," *rab-gnas pan-tshen na-ros grub-grub-pa-zigyin* "This consecration is one that the great scholar Naropa has already done," *rma gsos-gsos-par bsdad* "I will stay until the wound has finished healing," *bsam-blo yan btanbtan-ba yin* "I have thought about it already."

2.1.2.3. Word families

It is not hard to find, in Tibetan, groups of words that appear to be phonologically and semantically related, although the exact nature of that relationship is not entirely clearfor example, *SKOR* "encircle, surround, enclose," *SGOR* "turn on a lathe," *KHOR* "turn around, go about in a circle," *skor* "circle," *Nkhor* "circle, circumference, retinue, attendants," *sgor-mo* "ball, disc, coin, rupee," *kor-kor* "round," *kho-ra* "circumference, fence, wall," *gor-ma* "stones, rubble, boulders." In Sino-Tibetan linguistics such a group of words has traditionally been called a WORD FAMILY.

We may define a Tibetan word family as a group of lexical items sharing a semantic nucleus and related through processes of inner and outer derivation. Such word families can provide unexpected light on the Tibetan semantic world. It is clear, for example, that *SLA* "be thin" is to *SLA* "be easy" as *SKA* "be thick" is to *DKA* "be difficult." Related to *NPHYO* "roam about, gambol" we find both *Nphyos-ma* "bride price" and *Nphyon-ma* "prostitute." The word *dod* "equivalent" (as in *bu-dod* "son equivalent ® adopted son," *skad-dod* "word equivalent ® synonym") is in the same word family as *don* "meaning"; in just the same way, *srid* "dominion, government, world" is in the same family as both *srin-po* "demon" and *srin-bu* "worm."

Underlying such word families we can sometimes discern the single semantic nucleus common to all the members: for example, *ÑAN* "hear," ña*-ma* "disciple," and *gña-bo* "witness, surety" are all related through the semantic nucleus **ÑA* "HEAR"; related to that nucleus through s- prefixation is the nucleus **SÑA* "CAUSE TO HEAR," which underlies the family *SÑAD* "relate, report," *SÑAN* "be sweet-sounding," *sñad* "malicious or false accusation," *sñan*

"ear," *sñan-pa* "fame, praise, glory, renown," *SÑOD* "tell, relate," *SÑON* "assert falsely, disavow dishonestly."

The search for such semantic nuclei can lead down some intriguing paths. For example, a semantic nucleus **NA* "BE PRESSED, BE BURDENED" ties together *NA* "be ill," *nad* "illness," *nan* "urging, pressure, importunity," *nan-tan* "exertion, application, earnestness," and relates these words in turn to *SNAD* "hurt, harm, injure," *NAN* "press, oppress, conquer," and *GNOD* (apparently a generalized *G-* present stem) "damage, injure, hurt." The semantic nucleus of pressure from above brings still further words into the family: thus with the honorific prefix *m-* we find *MNOD* "receive favors or punishment from a superior," *MNAR* "suffer, be tormented," *MNA* "oath," and perhaps even *mnama* "daughter-in-law, bride residing with her husband's family." In the Tibetan semantic universe, therefore, an oath and a disease are linked through the concept of pressure, and the same concept links together an injury and a favor from a superior. This word family in fact extends into other Sino-Tibetan languages as well. Thus we find Burmese *na* "be ill," Lahu *na* "be ill," Lushei *nat* "be in pain, ache," Old Chinese **nan* "difficulty, suffering," with a further extensionBurmese *nat,* Akha *neh,* Lahu *ne,* Lisu *ni,* all meaning "deity, spirit," and Old Chinese **nar* "expel demons." The SinoTibetan concept of pressure thus reaches from demons to daughters-in-law, and from oaths to injuries, all extending outward from the nucleus **NA.*

2.2. Borrowing

In addition to its inherited stock of native words, the classical Tibetan lexicon is rich in words borrowed from every language of polyglot Inner Asia. The study of such borrowing is especially interesting because linguistic borrowing frequently accompanies cultural borrowing: for example, the Tibetan word *dza* "tea" was borrowed from Middle Chinese **jha* just as Tibetan tea was borrowed from China. Further, choice of linguistic form can reflect attitudes toward the donor culture. In Tibet, for example, New Tibetan (Lhasa) *peskop* "movies" < English *bioscope* has been replaced by *loñeN*<*glog-brñan*>"electric image ® movies" < New Chinese *tien-ying.* Similarly, New Tibetan (Lhasa) *jana* "China" < Old Tibetan *rgya-nag* "black expanse ® China," with all of its ancient cosmological associations, has been replaced with the transfer *tuNko* <*krun-go*>"China" < New Chinese *chung-kuo* "Central Kingdom."

2.2.1. Transfers

One type of borrowing is the process we will call TRANSFER, whereby a foreign word or phrase is simply incorporated wholesale into the lexicon, with more or less adaptation to native phonology and orthography. Indeed, in Tibetan some transfers have been rendered into an orthography indistinguishable from that of native words. For example, *sku-bde-rigs* "musk" is actually a transfer of Mongol *kuderi* in highly Tibetanized orthography.26 Such transfers may be analyzed by native speakers as if they were Tibetan, and enter into clips as if they. were native words. Thus *tham-ka* "seal" is a transfer of the Uighur *tamya* "brand mark," but is treated as a Tibetan form in *-ka,* yielding clips like *rgyal-tham* "royal seal." Similarly, *pad-ma* "lotus" < Sanskrit *padma* is analyzed as a native form in *-ma,* and enters into such clips as *pad-dkar* "white lotus."

Such Tibetanized transfers may even become the subject of elaborate word play. The Tibetan *ba-dur~ba-Ndur~dpa-bdud* "warrior" is a transfer from Mongol *bayatur~badur.* In the epic of Ge-sar, the King of HorMongoliaexhorts his warriors to fight against GlinTibetin the words *glin wa-moi Nthab-ya ma-byun-na, hor ba-Ndur ma-red khyi-Ndur red* "If you do not fight against the foxes of Glin, you are not Mongol warriors (*ba-Ndur*)but running dogs (*khyi-Ndur*)*!"* Elsewhere in the epic, eighty warriors of Glin are introduced as *glin-dkar dpa-bdud brgyad-tsu-rnams* "eighty warriors (*dpa-bdud*) of White Glin." A warrior of Hor then defies these warriors of Glin and calls them *glin-gi khyi-bdud brgyad-tsu de* "those eighty dog-demons (*khyi-bdud*)of Glin."

As in many languages, transfers in Tibetan turn up in unexpected places. We find, for example, *mig-gi miu* "little man of the eye ® pupil," with explanations that relate *miu* "little man" to the reflection of oneself in the eye of a person one is speaking with; but the word is, simply, a transfer of Middle Chinese **myəu* "pupil." Similarly, the epic hero of Tibet is Ge-sar, usually said to be king of Glin, but sometimes said to be king as well of a land called Khrom or Phrom. In the word *khrom~phrom* we can recognize Rome or *rum,*

26 The native Tibetan word for "musk" is *gla-ba.* The compound *sku-bde-rigs* would normally mean something like "species of body happiness," and was presumably created with a semantic relationship to "musk" in mind. Note that the transfer must have occurred at a time and in a dialect of Middle Tibetan where preinitials and finals were no longer pronouncedthus Middle Tibetan *kuderi* <*sku-bde-rigs*>.

through an eastern Iranian form **from~hrom,* from which we find as well the Middle Chinese word for Rome, **phrom~from* <**phywət-lyəm*>. Rome here means, likely, not Rome itself but Byzantium; and in the word *ge-sar* we can recognize also Latin *cæsar* or perhaps its Greek or Byzantine equivalent *kaisar,* which is also the source of the Russian *czar.* There is an enormous amount of history in the simple fact that the epic hero of Tibet bears a name derived from that of Caesar of Rome.27

The classical Tibetan lexicon has many such transfers from a wide range of source languages. To give some idea of the scope of such borrowing, we may note a few examples. From PERSIAN we find *gur-gum* "saffron" < Persian *kurkum* and *deb-ther* "document" < Persian *dɛbtɛr.*28From ARABIC we find *ʔa-rag* "barley liquor" < Arabic *ʔarag* "date palm sap," from TURKISH we find *tshu-pa* "robe" < Turkish *juba,* from MANCHU we find *ʔam-ban* "Chinese representative in Lhasa City" < Manchu *amban* "minister," and from an unknown but probably KHOTANESE original we find *pi-wan* "lute," transferred independently into Middle Chinese as **pyi-pa.*29

Most Tibetan transfers, however, come from four source languages of cultural

27 Such borrowing, of course, works in both directions. The Roman Catholic Church at one time commemorated a Saint Josaphat on November 27; the Greek Church commemorated the same saint on August 26, under the name Ioasaph; and the Georgian Orthodox Church commemorated the Blessed lodasaph on May 19. All the Christian stories of this holy man derive from a Greek version of his life; but there are also parallel Arabic texts of his story, in which he is called Yuzasaf~Yudasaf-Budhasaf. He is the son of a king, kept imprisoned in a beautiful city so he could not see old age or sickness or death. When he does see these things, he goes in search of the eternal, which he finds in Jesus Christ; eventually he converts India to Christianity. If there is history in the relationship of Tibetan Ge-sar and Roman Caesar, there is history as well in the fact that for many centuries the Bodhisattva was a Christian saint.

28 The Persian *kurkum* "saffron" may itself be a transfer from a Semitic language: compare Hebrew *karkom,* Aramaic *kurkama,* Arabic *kurkum.* Similarly, Persian *dɛbtɛr* "document" may in turn come either from Old Persian *dipi* "writing" or from Greek *diphthera* "parchment." In the latter case, the Tibetan *deb-ther* would be related to the English *diphtheria,* a disease so named because of the parchment-like covering that forms on the skin.

29 Tibetan *pi-waan* "lute" is a very early transfer, already listed in the ninth-century *Mahvyutpatti,* with the velar nasal final apparently indicating a Khotanese source. See also Japanese *biwa,* Mongol *biba,* Manchu *fifan.*

and political importance in Inner Asia. From UIGHUR we find *pag-si* "teacher" < Uighur *baksi*,*ʔem-tšhi*"physician" < Uighur *ɛmci*and *dar* "silk" < Uighur toryuterms which indicate the culture achieved by speakers of Uighur in their Central Asian oasis civilization.30 From MONGOL we find, for example, *ta-lai* "ocean" < Mongol *dalai*, as in *ta-lai bla-ma* "Dalai Lama," and *er-te-ni* "precious stone" < Mongol *ɛrdɛni*, as in *pan-tshen er-te-ni* "Panchen Lama," as well as such terms as *ba-dur~ba-Ndur~dpa-bdud* "warrior" < Mongol *bayatur~badur*, discussed above, and *beg-tse* "coat of mail/name of the God of War" < Mongol *begder*.31

From CHINESE we find *dza* "tea" < Middle Chinese **jha*, *spar-kha* "the eight trigrams" < Middle Chinese **pwat-kwai par-spar~dpar* "printing block" < Middle Chinese **pwan*, *gi-wan~giu-wan-Ngi-an~Ngi-sban* "bezoar" < Middle Chinese **ŋiyəu-ɣwaŋ̄*, *don-tse* "copper coin, money" < Middle Chinese **dhun*tsieven the word for such a culturally common item as *ltsog-tse* "table" < Middle Chinese **cok-tsi*.32 And there are, finally, many transfers from INDIC LANGUAGES. We find, for example, *tsan-dan* "sandal-wood" < Sanskrit

30 The Uighur *baksi* may itself be a transfer from Middle Chinese **pak-si* "widely-versed teacher." It is interesting to note that words for "silk" in many Inner Asian languages apparently come from Uighur rather than from Chinesefor example, Jagatai *torka*, Koibal *torga*, Mongol *torgan*, Qata-khoja *dürye*"Kashgar silk."

31 The native Tibetan equivalent of Mongol *dalai* is *rgya-mtsho* "ocean," and the word *rgya-mtsho* has been an element in the personal names of the last fourteen Dalai Lamas. The *Tibetan pan-tshen er-te-ni* "Panchen Lama" consists of a transfer of Mongol *ɛrdɛni*"precious stone," which in turn is a transfer into Mongol of the Sanskrit *ratna* "precious jewel," used as the loan translation of Tibetan *rin-po-tshe*, combined with a clip consisting of a transfer of Sanskrit *pandita* "scholar" and Tibetan *tshen-po* "great"a three-language collocation! Note also that Mongol *begder* "coat of mail" may itself derive originally from Persian *bagtar* "armor."

32 New Tibetan continues the process of transfer from a number of modern languages, as in New Tibetan (Lhasa) *pərəpta*"Pravda," *pulisi* "police," *meli* "mile." However, transfers from Chinese have become particularly prominent: for example, in Tibetan newspapers we find <*zi-tsun*>"bacteria" < New Chinese *hsi-chün*, <*thin*>"department, office" < New Chinese *t'ing*, <*duu*>"degree, kilowatt hour" < New Chinese *tu*, <*zan*>"district" < New Chinese *hsien*, <*tshis-khree*>"automobile" < New Chinese *ch'i-ch'e*, <*tho-la-tsis*>"tractor" < New Chinese *t'o-la-chi* Transfers from Chinese are, as one might expect, often concerned with political as well as with technological mattersfor example, <*gun-khran* >"Communist" < New Chinese *kung-ch'an*, <*gun-khran krun-dbyan* >"Central Committee of the Communist Party" < New Chinese *kung-ch'an chung-yang*.

candana, bai-du-rya~bai-dur "lapis lazuli" < Sanskrit *vaidurya, mar-gad-ma-rgad* "emerald" < Sanskrit *marakata, sen-ge* "lion" < Sanskrit *simha* or Apabhramsa *singhu-simhu, byi-la* "cat" < Sanskrit *bidala~vidala* through a Prakrit **bila* (compare, for example, Hindi *billi*), *mu-tig* "pearl" < Sanskrit *mukta-muktika* through a Prakrit **muttika mutik* (compare, for example, Apabhramsa *mottiyau,* Hindi *moti*), *po-ti* "book" < Sanskrit *pusta - pustaka, se-Ndu-ra-sindhu-ra* "vermilion" < Sanskrit *sindura.*33

2.2.2. Reproductions

While transfers are simply imported into the lexicon along with the foreign cultural items they name, REPRODUCTIONS attempt to convey the semantic content of the foreign word by using native terms. We can distinguish two types of reproduction. A LOAN TRANSLATION conveys the semantic content of a foreign word by translating its components into native termsfor example, German *Femsprecher* "far speaker" < English *telephone.* A LOAN CREATION conveys the semantic content of a foreign word by creating an entirely original word out of native elements to express the foreign conceptfor example, New Chinese *tien-hua* "electric speech" < English *telephone.*

2.2.2.1. Loan translations

The classical Tibetan lexicon is poorer in loan translations than in either transfers or loan creations. Occasionally transfers and loan translations of the same term occur simultaneously: *bui Ntsho-ba* "life of the child ® a tree whose nuts are strung by parents and hung around their children's necks as protection" is a loan translation of Sanskrit *putrajiva* "life of the child," a term that was also transferred into Tibetan in the naturalized orthography *Nbo-de-tsi*

Most loan translations in the classical lexicon come from Chinese sources. We find *sgrog-rus* "chain bone ® collar bone" < Chinese *so-tzu-ku, rdo-snum* "stone oil ® petroleum" < Chinese *shih-yu, mgo-nag* "black-headed ® the

33 Both Indian sandalwood and Sanskrit *candana* have entered the cultures of the world: we find Persian *candan~candal,* Greek *sandanon~santalon,* Arabaic *sandal,* Medieval Latin *sandalum-santalum,* Middle Chinese **tšyen-dhan.* The native Tibetan word for "vermilion" is *li-khri,* indicating that vermilion was first known from *li* "Khotan."

people" < Chinese *li-min, ñi-og* "under the sun -- the whole world" < Chinese *t'ien-hsia, gser-yig* "golden writing - ® letter of a great personage" < Chinese *chin-p'ai~chin-ts'e-chin-shu-tzu.* Note especiallyrta-klad "horse brain agate" < Chinese *ma-nao* "agate," but with Chinese folk etymology interpreting the source term as derived from *ma-nao* "horse brain," and the Tibetan loan translation then semantically regularized from *rta-klad* "horse brain ® agate" into *rdo-klad* "stone brain ® agate."34

2.2.2.2. Loan creations

Tibetan has been most resourceful in coining new terms for foreign cultural items. Some of these have been more or less spontaneousfor example, *dkar-yol* "white pottery -® porcelain," *rgya-tshwa* "Chinese salt ® sal ammoniac." During the first half of the ninth century, however, a remarkable translation project set out deliberately to coin a vast number of loan creations to deal with the new Buddhist cultural terminology coming from India. Traditionally, a Tibetan *lo-tsa-ba* "translator" would learn enough Sanskrit to understand isolated words, simple texts, and eventually oral explanations. He would then find an Indian *pandita* who would explain a text to him word by word. It was apparently the lack of standardization in these early laborious translations that led King Khri Lde-sron-btsanalso called Sad-na-legs-to commission a panel of Indian panditas and Tibetan translators to compile a dictionary of technical equivalents and to set forth rules for the translation of Sanskrit into Tibetan. After the death of the king, his son Khri Gtsug-lde-btsanalso called Ral-pa-tsancontinued the project, finally producing two works. One was a dictionary, the *Bye-brag-tu rtogs-par byed-pa,* better known under its Sanskritized title *Mahavyutpatti.* The other was a commentary, the *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa,* with the Sanskrit title *Madhyavyutpatti,* which functions as a treatise on translation theory and practice. The latter contained the text of the royal edict setting forth the general findings of the commission, and a detailed account of the etymologies underlying the loan creations entered in the dictionary.

For example, the word *buddha* is rendered by Tibetan *sans-rgyas* "awakened expanded" on the basis of two different Sanskrit etymological glosses

34 Loan translations from Chinese still find their way into Tibetan-for example, New Tibetan (Lhasa) *tsaklam* <*ltsags-lam*>"iron road ® railway" < New Chinese *t'ieh-lu,* New Tibetan (Lhasa) *loñɛn*<*klog-brñan*>"electric image - movies" < New Chinese *tien-ying.*

mohanidrapagamat prabuddha-puruavat "He is like a man who has awakened (*prabuddha*)because his sleep of delusion has vanished," and *buddher vikasanad buddhah vibuddhapadmavat* "He is Buddha because his mind (*buddhi*)has opened up like a lotus that has expanded (*vibuddha*)."

Often it is a doctrinal point that determines the form of a loan creation. In the case of *bhagavan* "Blessed One," the usual gloss of *bhaga* as Tibetan *legs* "blessing" is rejected in favor of the etymology *bhagnamaracatustayatvad bhagavan* "He is *bhagavan* because he has conquered (*bhagna*)the fourfold Evil One." Thus *bhaga* is rendered not by Tibetan *legs* but rather by *btsom* "conquest," whichwith Tibetan *LDAN* "be endowed" rendering the Sanskrit possessive *-vantyields btsom-ldan* "possessing conquest." To this collocation is then added the adjective *Ndas* < *-NDA-S* "passed beyond," to differentiate a *Ndzig-rten-las Ndas-pa* "transcendent" < Sanskrit *lokottara* conqueror from an ordinary one who has not conquered the Evil Onethus officially rendering *bhagavan* by the loan creation *btsom-ldan-Ndas.*

Reliance on Sanskrit folk etymologies leads occasionally to idiosyncratic loan translations. This *rsi* "seer" is rendered by *dran-sron* "straight upright" on the basis of the folk etymology *kayovagmanobhir rjuh sete iti rsih* "He is *rsi* because he rests upright (√*rju*-√*śī*)with body, speech, and mind." Similarly, we find *pudgala* "person" given as *gan-zag* "full dripping" based on the scholastic gloss *puryate galate caiva pumgala* "It is *pudgala* because it is filled (√*pūr*)and then leaks away (√*pūr*)." Again, *arhan* "Worthy One" is rendered by *dgra-btsom-pa* "he who has conquered his enemies" on the basis of the etymology *klesarin hatavan arhan* "He is *arhan* because he has destroyed (√*han*)his enemies (*ari*)the defilements ."

The following discussion from the *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa* on the proper equivalent for *sugata* "Well-gone One" is in many ways typical of the Tibetan loan creation process:

> *SugataOn* the one hand: s*obhanagatah sugatah surupavat* "He is *sugata* (*legs-par gsegs-pa*)because he has become beautiful, like one of beautiful form," *apunaravrttyagatah sugatah sunasta-jvaravat* "He is *sugata* (*legs-par gsegs-pa*)because he has gone never to return, like a fever which is well cured," *yavadganta-vyagamanat sugatah supurnaghatavat* "He is *sugata* (*legs-par gsegs-pa*)because he has gone as far as he can go, like a jar which is well filled."

On the other hand: we read in the *Dharmaskandha, sugata iti sukhito bhagavan svargatah avyathitadharmasamanvagatah tad ucyate sugatah* "The Blessed One has become blissful and is possessed of the bliss of heaven; he is without affliction and is possessed of the quality of nonaffliction." Hence we may render the term as *bde-bargsegs-pa* "he who has gone to bliss" or *bde-bar brñes-pa* "he who has gained bliss."

Here we will fix the equivalent as *bde-bar gsegs-pa* because it is traditional and conforms to the text of the *Dharmaskandha.*

2.2.3. Mixed forms

Occasionally a foreign word or phrase is rendered in Tibetan as a MIXED FORM combining a transfer and a translation. For example, we find Tibetan *Ndzam-bu glin* "jambudvipa ® the inhabited world," combining a transfer of Sanskrit *jambu* and native Tibetan *glin* "island" as a loan translation of Sanskrit *dvipa.* Again, we find Tibetan *thai-rdze* "lord" < Chinese *t'ai-shih* "Grand Preceptor," combining a transfer of Chinese *t'ai* "great" and a loan translation of Chinese *shih* "teacher" by Tibetan *rdze* "master." Even more interesting is Tibetan *rlun-rta* "wind horse ® prayer flag" < Chinese *lung-ma* "dragon horse," which mixes a Tibetanized transfer of Chinese *lung* "dragon" as *rlun* "wind"-sometimes also written *klun* "river"with a loan translation of Chinese *ma* "horse" by Tibetan *rta.*

Another type of mixed form combines a transfer with a native gloss on the meaning of the transferred elementfor example, *rma-bya* "peacock" < Sanskrit *mayura* plus Tibetan *bya* "bird," *rta-zam* "post station" < Mongol *zam* "post stage, post horse" plus Tibetan *rta* "horse," *su-ra-khun* "pit" < Sanskrit *surunga* "trench, mine, pit" through a Prakrit **suranga* (compare Hindi *surang,* Bengali *sudang*)plus Tibetan *khun* "pit."35

35 Such mixed forms are not uncommon in New Tibetan. For example, in the Lhasa City newspapers we find <*puu-khan* >"ministry" < New Chinesepu "ministry" plus New Tibetan (Lhasa) *khan* <*khan*>"house," as in <*ltsags-lam puu-khan* >"Ministry of Railways," which further combines the mixed form with the loan translation *tsaklam* <*ltsags-lam* >"iron road ® railway" < New Chinese *t'ieh-lu.* Note also <*me-le gru-bzi*>"square mile" < English *mile* plus New Tibetan (Lhasa) *tupsi* <*gru-bzi*>"four corner ® square," <*glog-duu*>"kilowatt hour of electricity" < New Chinese *tu* "degree, kilowatt hour" plus New Tibetan (Lhasa) ɓ <*glog*>"lightning ® electricity," <*tshis-khree tshun-tshun*>"little car ® jeep" < New

(*foontnote continued on next page*)

2.2.4. Backforms

Two further processes of word formation should be mentioned here, which have in common what we can call the recycling of lexical items. We find DIALECT BORROWING where a word, already in the classical lexicon, is borrowed back into the classical language in a Middle Tibetan dialect form (as in English *varmint* from a dialect pronunciation of *vermin*)for example, *ltsun-ka* "jackdaw" from *skyun-ka, ltsam* "rafter" from *phyam, mtshor-po* "pretty" from *Nphyor-po, RDZEN* "be naked" from *SGREN, ZOR* "be joined together" from *BYOR*. Sometimes such a borrowing can be detected through spelling doublets which imply that new classical forms have been created to account for the borrowed wordfor example, the doublet *GRIM-BRIM* "distribute" reflects alternative attempts to provide a classical source for a Middle Tibetan word presumably pronounced **Ndrim* or **drim* or **dim*, just as the doublet *Nkhyos-pa-Nphyos-pa* "gift" reflects similar attempts to naturalize in a suitably classical way a Middle Tibetan word pronounced **Ntshospa* or **tshospa* or even **chöpa*.

In BACKFORMATION a new word is created analogically as the source for an existing word-for example, given the noun *sans-rgyas* "Buddha," there is eventually created a verb *TSAN-RGYA* "become a Buddha" as its presumed source, just as, in English, the verb *sculpt* was created as the presumed source of the noun *sculptor*. Such backformations are found particularly where the original derivational process has dropped out of use: where the derivation *rgan-po* "old" < *RGA* "be old" or *mthon-po* "high" < *MTHO* "be high" has become opaque, we find the backformation of the new verbs forms *RGAN* "be old" and *MTHON* "be high" as the presumed sources of the adjectives. Again, in the formation of diminutives, original low back vowels become the low front vowel e. When this phonological change no longer seems a natural one, we find, for example, *ste-po* "axe" as a backformation fromthat is, a presumed source *forsteu* "hatchet," which actually comes from *sta-ri-sta-gri* "axe," and perhaps, in the same way, even l*te-ba* "navel" < **lteu* < *lto-ba* "belly" and *sñe* "extremity, end" < **sneu* < *sna* "nose."

(*foontnote continued from previous page*)

> Chinese *ch 'i-ch'e* "automobile" plus New Tibetan (Lhasa) *tshuntsun* <*tshun-tshun* >"small," <*rdul-phran sbom*>"atom bomb" < English *bomb* plus New Tibetan (Lhasa) *tültsn*<*rdulphran*>"tiny particle ® atom."

2.3. Imitations

2.3.1. Interjections

A third source of new words in Tibetan is the IMITATION of natural sounds. The most directly imitative words are those that attempt to reproduce spontaneous INTERJECTIONSfor example, *kye* "hey!" *ho-ho* "wow!" *he-he* "ha-ha!"*ʔe-ʔe*"a ha!" *tsos-tsos* "tsk tsk." The classical language also makes use of an INTERJECTION FORMATIVE *ʔa-* in such interjections as *ʔa-la-la*"INTERJECTION OF DELIGHT," *ʔa-ha-ha* "INTERJECTION OF PLEASURE," *ʔa-tsa*"INTERJECTION OF PITY," *ʔa-le*"INTERJECTION OF SURPRISE," *ʔa-su* "INTERJECTION OF SEXUAL SATISFACTION," *ʔa-tsi*"INTERJECTION OF WONDER," *ʔa-ra* "INTERJECTION OF PHYSICAL PAIN," and so on.

Some interjections with *ʔa*-appear to derive from other formsthus *MTSHAR* "be beautiful"*ʔa-mtshar* "INTERJECTION OF WONDER," *NA* "be sick" *ʔa-na*～*ʔa- na-na* "INTERJECTION OF GRIEF," **KHAG* "be rotten" *ʔa-khag*～*ʔa-kha-kha* "INTERJECTION OF CONTEMPT," *TSHA* "be hot" *ʔa-tsha*～*ʔa-tsha-tsha* "INTERJECTION OF PAIN OCCASIONED BY HEAT." Such derivation is not always clear: for example, *ʔa-tšhu*～*ʔa-tšhu-tšhu* "INTERJECTION OF PAIN OCCASIONED BY COLD" may have a distant semantic relation with *tshu* "water," or may be pure sound imitation, as in English *ah-choo!* We may note that the Tibetan name for one of the cold hells is *ʔa-tšhu zer-pa*"where people say *ʔa-tšhu*."

2.3.2. Onomatopoeia

One step away from representing human sounds is representing non-human sounds. There are several words in the classical lexicon that are clearly ONOMATOPOEICkhrum-khrum "CRUNCHING OF A PESTLE," *tsag-tsag* "SMACKING OF THE LIPS," *tsor-tsor* "FIZZING OF BEER," *tshem-tshem* "CRASHING OF THUNDER," *thrig-thrig* "SQUEAKING OF SHOES," *si-si* "SOUND OF WHISTLING," *ur-ur* "BUZZING SOUND," *nar-nar* "HOARSE WHEEZING SOUND," *meao* "SOUND OF A CAT." A few of these forms may ultimately derive from reduplicated verbs: for example, compare *GYEN* "move back and forth" with *yen-yen* "SOUND OF STRUGGLE," *KROL* "ring, resound" with *khrol-khrol* "SOUND OF CLANGING METAL," *HRAL* "rip up, tear to pieces" with *hrul-hrul* "SOUND OF RIPPING OR TEARING," and *DZIB* "suck" with *tsib-tsib* "SLURPING OR SUCKING NOISE," in the following verses, found in two archaic Central Asian manuscripts:

gnam-dan sa Nthab yen-yen dam-dam
ltshags-dan zans Nthab khrol-khrol sil-sil

Earth fought with sky, *yen-yen dam-dam*
Copper fought with iron, *khrol-khrol sil-sil*

*sa bya za ni hrul-hru*l
khrag sa Nthun ni tsib-tsib
rus-pa gle Ntsha ni khrum-khrum
mgo-spu rdzis khyer ni ban-ban

His flesh the birds eat yes: *hrul-hrul*
His blood the earth drinks yes: *tsib-tsib*
His bones the boulders gnaw yes: *khrum-khrum*
His hair the wind carries away yes: *ban-ban*

Such onomatopoeic terms also enter into compoundsfor example, *ku-sgra* "the sound *ku* ®clamor," *tsheg-sgra* "the sound *tsheg* ®crackling," *si-sgra* "the sound *si* ® whistling," *ur-rdo* "stone that goes *ur* ® slingshot," n*ar-skad* "the cry *nar* ®roar of a lion."

Onomatopoeic terms are also used to signify the beings or objects that make the particular sound-thus *rtsi-rtsi~tsi-tsi* "mouse," *pi-pi* "flute," *ku-ku-sgrogs* "grey duck." Perhaps also in this class are *nan-pa* "goose" and *krun-krun~ khrun-khrun* "crane," but the latter seems related as well to Sanskrit *krauñca.*

Often the onomatopoeia is lexicalized with a verbthus *tseg-tseg BYA* "make the sound *tseg-tseg* ® rustle like dry leaves," *sug-sug RGOD* "laugh *sug-sug*?laugh loudly," *nan-nan ZER* "say *nan-nan* ®cackle like a goose," zun-*zun BYA* "make the sound *zun-zun* -®bow repeatedly like a pigeon," *hub-hub BYA* "make the sound *hub-hub* ®gulp down in large drafts," *hab-hob ZA~ha-be ho-be ZA* "eat *hab-hob* ®gobble greedily."

2.3.3. Poetic word play

Of particular interest is a set of stereotyped onomatopoeic terms used in Tibetan poetry from very early times. For example, in the archaic chronicle found near Tun-huang, we find a song sung by the Queen Sad-mar-kar, which we can partially reconstruct and translate as follows:

dze-ñe ni dze-ñe-na	Nearer yes: nearer
yar-pa ni dgun-dan ñe	Yar-pa yes: is near the sky
dgun-skar ni si-li-li	Stars of the sky yes: *si-li-li*
dze-ñe ni dze-ñe-na	Nearer yes: nearer
gla-skar ni brag-dan ñe	Gla-skar yes: is near the rocks
brag-skar ni si-li-li	Stars of the rock yes: *si-li-li*
dze-ñe ni dze-ñe-na	Nearer yes: nearer
snur-ba ni tshab-dan ñe	Snur-ba yes: is near the water
gyur-sram ni pyo-la-la	The otter yes: *pyo-la-la*
dze-ñe ni dze-ñe-na	Nearer yes: nearer
ñen-kar ni dog-da ñe	Ñen-kar yes: is near the fields
Nbras-drug ni si-li-li	The six grains yes: *si-li-li*
dze-ñe ni dze-ñe-na	Nearer yes: nearer
mal-tro ni klum-dan ñe	Mal-tro yes: is near to Klum
skyi-bser ni spu-ru-ru	The cold wind yes: *spu-ru-ru*

This type of onomatopoeia in the form A-B-B (where B is *-li~-la~lu~ri~ -ra~ru~-re*)is most likely pure sound play. The following is a partial list of the forms encounteredzi-ri-ri "DRONING OF BEES OR THE WIND," *di-ri-ri* "HOWLING OF WIND, LOWING OF CATTLE," *ldi-ri-ri* "RATTLING OF THUNDER," *huru-ru* "GASP OF WONDER, HORROR, OR CONFUSION," *kyi-li-li* "FLASHING OF A RAINBOW OR LIGHTNING," *kyu-ru-ru* "SOUND OF LAUGHTER OR SONG, CALLING OF BIRDS," *khyi-li-li* "ROLLING OF WAVES," *khra-la-la* "SOUND OF HOOVES," *mere-re* "MURMUR OF A CROWD, ROAR OF WAVES," *tha-ra-ra* "NOISE OF ASSEMBLED WARRIORS, ROLLING OF CLOUDS OR WATERS," *pu-ru-ru* "SOUND OF TROTTING HORSES," *zu-lu-lu* "STEPPING OF BOOTS," *khru-lu-lu* "TINKLING OF BELLS," *pyola-la* "SPLASHING OF WATER," *spu-ru-ru* "BLAST OF ICY WIND," *kho-ro-ro* "BUZZING OF BEES," *tshi-li-li* "SOUND OF SNIFFING WITH THE NOSE," *u-ru-ru* "SOUND OF BUZZING OR WHIRRING," *si-li-li* "DRUMMING OF RAIN, FLICKERING OF LIGHTNING, SOUND OF A CYMBAL."36

Another type of poetic word play apparently originates from archaic constructions of the form VERB-E-VERB. Compare the following archaic verse

36 Note, in addition to *si-li-li*, such words as *sil-ma* "tinkling of cymbals," *sil-sñan* "the sound *sil* ®cymbal," *sil-tshab "sil* water ® gurgling waters."

from a Central Asian manuscript with the similar verse given above:

sa Ntsa ni hral-te hrald
pags bsu ni ldzib-be ldzib

Carving the flesh yes: rip rip
Stripping the skin yes: slurp slurp

Or this verse, again from an archaic Central Asian manuscript:

ri bzur-te bzur-na
sñi-ri bzur-te bzur
span Ideb-be ldeb-na
sñi-span ldeb-be ldeb

In winding winding mountains
Sñi mountains wind and wind
In bending bending meadows
Sñi meadows bend and bend

This convention seems early to have become stereotyped into onomatopoeia of the form A-*se*-A, where the element A frequently appears to be related to a verb. This type of onomatopoeia is found primarily in archaizing poetic styles, as in the following stanzas from the classical text *Klu-Nbum bsdus-pai sñin-po*, where A-*se*-A forms are used in parallel with A-B-B forms such as *si-lili:*

ba-dmar glan-dmar di-ri-ri
nan-nur man-po ltsons-se-ltsons
rma-bya spu-sdug lhabs-se-lhab
rol-mo sil-sñan si-li-li . . .

Red cows red oxen *di-ri-ri*
Many geese and ducks *ltsons-se-ltsons*
Bright-feathered peacocks l*habs-se-lhab*
Music and cymbals *si-li-li . . .*

klu-mgo man-po kyu-ru-ru
sbrul-mgo man-po ron-se-ron
g.yu-mtsho snon-mo lam-se-lam

Manyheaded serpents *kyu-ru-ru*
Manyheaded snakes *ron-se-ron*
Blue turquoise waters *lam-se-lam*

These onomatopoeic terms appear to constitute a peculiarly Tibetan ONOMATOPOEIA OF MOTION. These terms may be partially listed as follows *sigs-se-sigs* "ROCKING OR WAVING MOTION (as of trees moved by the wind)" (compare s*igs-se* "relaxed, rocking," s*ig-ge-ba* "trembling, tottering," *DZIG* "fall to pieces, decay"), z*un-se-zun* "MOTION OF A MOVING HORSE" (compare z*un-zun BYA* "bow or nod repeatedly"), *ltsons-se-ltson* "AGITATED OR SHAKING MOTION" (compare *LTSOG* "be agitated, tremble, shake," and perhaps also *gtsog-skad* "wailing, lamentation," *TSON* "cry out, lament," *tsho-ne* "lamentation, dirge"), *lhabs-se-lhabs-lhub-se-lhub* "MOTION OF FLUTTERING TO AND FRO" (compare *Ihab-lhub* "wide, flowing," *KLUB* "cover or drape the body"), *lin-se-lin* "FLOATING OR FLYING MOTION" (compare *lin-ne* "dangling, waving, floating," *LDIN* "float, soar, swim"), *ron-se-ron* "BACK AND FORTH MOTION" (compare *ron* narrow passage, defile, cleft in a hill"), *lam-se-lam* "SHIMMERING OR FLICKERING MOTION" (compare *khra-lam-me* "flickering in many colors," *lam-lam BYUN* "appear shining or flashing").

A similar onomatopoeia of motion in the form A-*ma*-Ais also encountered in Tibetan poetry. Such constructions apparently date backas do the A-se-A constructionsto very early poetic conventions. In the archaic Central Asian manuscripts, for example, we find such verses as the following:

spyan rlan-ma-rlin
ltshags ldab-ma-ldib
thugs rman-ma-rmon

Eyes moist moist
Tongue stutter stutter
Heart despair despair

As with the *A-se-A* forms, this type of onomatopoeia is found primarily in archaizing poetic styles. In the following stanzas from Mi-la ras-pa we can see how the *A-ma-A* forms are used in parallel with both *A-se-A* and A-B-B constructions:

sten-na lho-sprin khor-ma-khor
og-na gtsan-tshab gya-ma-gyu
bar-na rgod-po lan-ma-lin

*rtsi-sin sna-tshogs ban-ma-bu*n
ldzon-sin gar-stabs sigs-se-sigs
bun-ba glu-len kho-ro-ro
me-tog dri-nad tshi-li-li
bya-rnams skad-sñan khyu-ru-ru

Southern clouds above me *khor-ma-khor*
Pure waters below me *gya-ma-gyu*
Condors in between *lan-ma-lin*
All manner of fruit trees *ban-ma-bun*
The dancing of trees s*igs-se-sigs*
The singing of bees *kho-ro-ro*
The smell of flowers *tshi-li-li*
The sweet sound of birds *kyu-ru-ru*

In both the ancient verses and the later archaizing poetry, where the vowel in the first A element differs from the vowel in the second A element, we find generally that the vowel of the second A element is primary and that this primary vowel is replaced by a in the first A elementa pattern strikingly similar to that found in alternating reduplication. We may gloss the A-*ma*-Aforms given above as follows*khor-ma-khor* "CIRCLING OR TURNING MOTION" (compare *NKHOR* "turn around in a circle," *skor* "surround, encircle," *Nkhor* "circle, circumference"), *gya-ma-gyu* "RUSHING FLOW OF A RIVER" (compare *NGYU* "move quickly," *NKHYU* "run," *RGYU* "walk, move"), *lan-ma-lin* "FLYING OR FLOATING MOTION" (compare *lin-se-lin* "FLYING OR FLOATING MOTION," *LDIN* "float, soar, swim"), *ban-ma-bun* "MOTION OF CROWDING TOGETHER" (compare *na-bun* "fog, thick mist," *bud* "darkening of the air, as by a dustcloud or snowstorm," *spun-pa-sbun-pa* "husks, chaff").

2.4. Honorifics

2.4.1. The use of honorifics

HONORIFICS in classical Tibetan form an interesting part of the lexicon. Observe the following pairs of propositionsdmag-mi *rta-la zon* "The soldier rides on a horse" *dmag-dpon tshibs-la Ntshibs* "The general rides on a horse," *zin-pas zan za* "The farmer eats food" *sprul-skus bsos gsol* "The incarnation eats food," *khol-pos tshu-la kha Nkhrud* "The servant washes his face in water" *rgyal-pos tshab-la zal bsil* "The king washes his face in water."

In the classical lexicon we find certain pairs of wordssuch as *rta/tshibs* "horse," *tshu/tshab* "water," *kha/zal* "face," *ZON/TSIB* "ride," *ZA/GSOL* "eat" that are denotatively synonymous save only that one of the pair is honorific: words that are marked as honorific are used to refer respectfully to the person and possessions of those of higher social or spiritual rank, while words unmarked as honorific are used in reference to the person and possessions of those of equal or lower rank.

There is considerable variation in the use of such honorific words: the frequency and distribution of honorifics in fact constitutes part of the register of a piece of writing and the style of a particular author. The studied and frequent use of appropriate honorifics is characteristic of formal, urbane, and literary registers, while minimal use signals registers that are informal, folk, and colloquial.

No classical text, however, will eschew honorifics entirely. As early as in the ninth-century translation guide *Sgra-sbyor bam-po giiis-pa* we read that *Ze-sa* "honorific words" must always be used in translating from Sanskrit any reference to the Buddha. That this rule was thenceforth followed can be seen by comparing the old Khotanese manuscript translation of the *Saddharma-pundarika* with the revised canonical version: the revisers of the text took care to replace such verbs as the older *SKYE* "be born" with its honorific equivalent *LTAM*, the older *BGYI* "do" with the honorific *MDZAD*, the older *MYED* < **ma-YOD* "be without" with the honorific *mi-MNA*.

2.4.2. Elegance and social vector

It is important to distinguish such honorifics from both ELEGANT SPEECH and SOCIAL VECTOR VERBS. In the first case we find that several words of common occurrence are paired with words that are synonymous except for being ELEGANT-that is, they constitute an indicator of refined or elevated speech, as in *LAGS* instead of *YIN* "be," *MTHIS* instead of *YOD* "exist," *GDA* instead of *NDUG* "stay," *MTSHI* instead of *NGRO* "go," *BGYI* instead of *BYA* "do," *bdag* instead of *ha* "I." Thus when the young Mi-la first meets his future master Mar-pa, he declares *bla-ma rin-po-tshe bdag stod-kyi mi sdig-po-tshe-zig lags* "0 precious lama, I am a man from the west who is a great sinner," using an elevated lexical pattern that Mar-pa quickly punctures with indifference: the author has used his lexical resources to tell us something about the young protagonist's personality and attitudes.

In the second case we find verbs that have SOCIAL VECTORS as part of their semantic content. Thus the verb *PUL* means "give from below upwards ® offer" and *GNAN* means "give from above downwards ® bestow," while *TAN* "give" is unmarked for social vector; we may add that the nondirectional verb *TAN* "give" has the honorific equivalent *STSAL*. Similarly, *ZU* means "speak from below upwards," *GSUN* means "speak from above downwards," and *BYA* means "speak horizontally." In texts that recount conversations between interlocutors of unequal rank, it is possible to keep track of who is talking not only by the presence of absence of honorifics but also by the social vector of the verbs of speaking: for example, Mi-la will ZU to Mar-pa and his wife, Mar-pa will *GSUN* to his wife and to Mi-la, his wife will *ZU* to Mar-pa but *GSUN* to Mi-la, and Mi-la will *BYA* to shepherd boys.

2.4.3. Primary honorifics

We can distinguish two types of honorific: a PRIMARY HONORIFIC is a lexical item usually unrelated etymologically to the corresponding nonhonorific but marked as its honorific equivalent through a gradual process of semantic specialization; a SECONDARY HONORIFIC is a collocation consisting of a lexical item marked as honorific preceding an unmarked lexical item to yield a form which is honorific as a whole.

To illustrate primary honorifics we may listwith the honorific lexical items secondsuch noun pairs as *lus/sku* "body," *mgo/dbu* "head," *mig/spyan* "eye," *rus/gdun* "bone," *ma/sñan* "ear," *sna/sans* "nose," *kha/zal* "face," *Ndzin/mgrin* "neck," *lag/phyag* "hand," *rkan/zabs* "foot," *ltse/ldzags* "tongue," *khrag/mtshal* "blood," *yid/thugs* "mind," *sñinthugs* "heart," *pha/yab* "father," *malyum* "mother," *bu/sras* "son," *khan/khyim* "house," *rtaltshibs* "horse," *tshu/tsha*b "water," *gtam/bka* "discourse"; such verb pairs as *NDUG/BZUGS* "stay," *YIN/LAGS* "be," *YOD/MNA* "exist," *BYA/MDZAD* "do," *ON/PHEB* "come," *NGRO/PHEB* "go," *SES/ MKHYEN* "know," *MTHON/GZIGS* "see," *ZON/TSIB* "ride"; and such personal determiner pairs as *na/ned* "I," *khyod/khyed* "you," *kho/khon* "he."

A lexical item may thus have both an elegant and an honorific equivalent for example, the unmarked *na* "I" with both the honorific equivalenty *ned* and the elegant equivalent *bdag*. We can list some examples as follows:

	UNMARKED	ELEGANT	HONORIFIC
"stay"	NDUG	GDA	BZUGS
"be"	YIN	LAGS	LAGS
"exist"	YOD	MTSHIS	MNA
"go"	NGRO	MTSHI	PHEB
"do"	BYA	BGYI	MDZAD
"die"	TSI	GUM	*GRO*N
"I"	na	bdag	ned

2.4.4. Denotation and connotation

We have said that honorifics are DENOTATIVELY synonymous with their nonhonorific equivalents; honorifics may, however, differ CONNOTATIVELY from their corresponding nonhonorifics. Such connotative differences may arise simply as a result of honorific usage. The term *bos,* for example, is the honorific equivalent of *zan* "food," and is used frequently in ritual to refer to food offered to the god; it thus comes to connote an offering, food given to a deity, even when it denotes simply the food of a socially superior person. Again, in contemplative contexts, where a meditator visualizes his body as that of a god, the nonhonorific term *lus* "body" will be used to refer to the meditator's body and the honorific term *sku* "body" will be used to refer to the body of the god. Hence the former term acquires connotations of imperfection, actuality, and mutability, while the latter term acquires connotations of perfection, potentiality, and significance. Whether one chooses to TRANSLATE such terms denotatively or connotatively into English is of course another question.

Connotative differences may also arise as a result of the extension of the honorific term. It is not infrequently the case that a single lexical item serves as the honorific equivalent of several nonhonorifics: where this occurs the honorific term will assume a connotative breadth lacking in any single corresponding nonhonorific term. For example, *thugs* is the honorific equivalent of both *yid* "mind" and *sñin* "heart," and thus in either use carries something of the cognitive and affective connotations of both terms. Similarly, the honorific verb *MKHYEN* functions as the honorific equivalent of several nonhonorific verbs denoting mental actions*SES* "know," *RIG* "perceive," *GO* "understand"and is thus connotatively more broad than any one of them.

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The exclamation *bla-ma mkhyen* "The lama knows!" is in a sense irreducible to any one nonhonorific equivalent.

Connotative differences may, finally, arise as a result of the derivation of the honorific term. The verb *BSIL*, for example, has the original meaning "be cool" (as in the paraphrase coordination *bsil-zin gran* "cool and cold"), and comes eventually to function as the honorific equivalent of the verb *KRU* "wash"thus, oxymoronically, *tshab dron-mo-la sku bsil* "He washes his honorable body in warm water." The honorific term, even while denoting the same action as the nonhonorific term, still retains historical connotations of refreshment and renewal. Similarly, the nonhonorific expression *ro SREG* "burn a corpse" has the honorific equivalent *spur DZU,* which denotes precisely the same activity: yet the verb *DZU* retains its original sense of "melt, digest, dissolve," and connotatively suggests the ethereal insubstantiality of the honorable remains.

2.4.5. Euphemism

Such uses, we may note, pass easily over into EUPHEMISM. The unmarked verb *TSI* "die" has the elegant equivalent *GUM* and the honorific equivalent *GRON*. Yet we also find the use of such euphemistic equivalents as *GSEGS* "depart," *bde-bar GSEGS* "depart to bliss," *gnam-du GSEGS* "depart to heaven," *Zi-bar GSEGS* "depart to peace," *sku-NDA* "transcend the body," *dgons-pa RDZOGS* "complete his intentions," and z*in-la PHEB* "go to the Buddhafield." A similar type of euphemism is used by the young Mi-la when speaking of his master Mar-pa. Where Mar-pa speaks of himself as *tshan-gis bzi* "getting drunk on beer," Mi-la speaks of him as *phud-kyis Nbad* "striving with drink offerings."

2.4.6. Secondary honorifics

A SECONDARY HONORIFIC is formed by joining an unmarked lexical item with one marked as honorific to yield a form which is honorific as a whole. This process has been remarkably productive. Thus the honorific *sku* "body" may be prefixed to any number of unmarked lexical items referring to parts, states, and appurtenances of the body to produce compounds denotatively synonymous with the original lexical items except that they are now honorificthus *sku-mkhar* "castle," *sku-tshe* "lifetime," *sku-dpun* "shoulder," *sku-tshad* "fever," *sku-rus* "bone," *sku-tshab* "representative," *sku-rags* "girdle," *sku-*

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tshas "supplies," *sku-khams* "health," *sku-sa* "flesh," *sku-bsod* "virtue." The honorific *dbu* "head" is similarly prefixed in *dbu-skra* "hair," *dbu-rnas* "pillow," *dbu-thod* "cap," *dbu-rmog* "helmet," *dbu-zwa* "hat," the honorific *phyag* "hand" in *phyag-Nkhar* "staff," *phyag-rgya* "seal," *phyag-nar* "wrist," *phyag-mtheb* "thumb," *phyag-rten* "gift," *phyag-dpe* "book," *phyag-mdzub* "finger," *phyag-Nbris "writing,"phyag-lan* "greeting," the honorific z*abs* "foot" in z*abs-gdan* "carpet," z*abs-bro* "dance," z*abs-sen* "toenail," z*abs-lham* "boot," and the honorific *thugs* "heart, mind" in *thugs-ñams* "spirit," *thugs-sro* "anger," *thugs-bzod* "patience," *thugs-Nthad* "pleasure," *thugs-dgons* "thought," *thugs-brtse* "love."

Similarly, when an honorific replaces a nonhonorific within an existing compound, the entire compound becomes honorific: here we may listwith the honorific compounds secondsuch pairs as *kha-lta/zal-lta* "mouth view instructions," *mig-tshu/spyan-tshu* "eye water ® tears," *mig-ltsibs/spyan-ltsib*s "eye covering ® eyelid," *mig-Nbras/spyan-Nbras* "eye fruit - eyeball," *yi-dam/ thugs-dam* "mind bond ® oath,*"yi-mug/thugs-mug* "mind darkness ® despair," *yid-tshes/thugs-tshes* "expanded mind ® belief," *sñin-rus/thugs-rus* "heart bone ® courage," *sñin-rdelthugs-rdze* "noble heart ® compassion," *lag-sha/phyagtsha* "hand thing ® implement," *lag-phyis/phyag-phyis* "hand cloth ® towel," *lag-rtags/phyag-rtags* "hand sign ® fingerprint," *lag-len/phyag-len* "hand taking ® practical experience," *lag-mthil/phyag-mthil* "hand bottom ® palm," *rkanmthil/zabs-mthil* "foot bottom ® sole," *rkan-DRAN/zabs-DRAN* "pull the foot ® disgrace."

The use of such honorifics again constitutes part of the style of an author; and many idiosyncratic secondary honorific compounds are not found in the current dictionaries. It is often helpful to be able to translate the honorific portions of such compounds back into their nonhonorific forms: these are the forms more likely to be listed. Thus a reader encountering a previously unattested form such as **spyan-ser* "yellow eye," but unable to find a dictionary entry for the term, can look under its nonhonorific equivalent *migser* and there find the more helpful gloss "jaundice."

2.4.7. Kinship terms

Tibetan kinship terminology constitutes a semantic field which illustrates some interesting features of the honorific system. Classical Tibetan kinship terms for ascending generations are relatively straightforward*mes-po* "grand-

father," *rmo-mo* "grandmother," *pha~?a-pha*(honorific *yab*)"father," *ma~ ?a-ma*(honorific *yum*)"mother," *khu-bo~?a-khu*"father's brother," *ne-ne-mo~?a-ne*"father's sister," *žañ-po~?a-žañ*"mother's brother," *sru-mo ~ ?a-sru* "mother's sister." Here we can note the use of *-PHO* and *-mo* as sex formatives and the use of the prefix *?a-* as an OLDER RELATIVE FORMATIVE.37

Kinship terms for siblings, however, show a curious asymmetry. Here we find *min-po* (honorific *dral-po*)"brother of a woman," *srin--mo* (honorific *ltsam-mo*)"sister of a man," *džo-džo~?a-džo*(honorific *gtsen-po*)"older brother," *tše-že~?a-tše*"older sister," *phu-bo* "older brother of a man," *nu-bo* (honorific *gtsun-po*)"younger brother of a man," *phu-mo* "older sister of a woman," *nu-mo* "younger sister of a woman." The distribution of honorific equivalents is skewed in a peculiar manner: why is there an honorific equivalent for "older brother" but not for "older sister"? why is there an honorific equivalent for "younger brother of a man" but not for "older brother of a man"?

It is clear that the terms *dzo-dzo* "older brother" and *tshe-ze* "older sister" belong together both by their meaning and by their morphology: both are reduplicated forms and both regularly occur with the *?a-* formative. Similarly, it is clear that the terms *phu-bo* "older brother of a man" and *nu-bo* "younger brother of a man" (with their secondary derivatives *phu-mo* "older sister of a woman" and *nu-mo* "younger sister of a woman") also belong together semantically and derivationally: the term *phu* is etymologically related to *phud* "first fruit" just as the term *nu* is related to *nud* "suckling." Finally, the terms *gtsen-po* "older brother (honorific)" and *gtsun-po* "younger

37 The older relative formative *?a-* is in fact quite productive. In New Tibetan it is not infrequently prefixed to the names of yogins and older monks as a form of affectionate respect: a yogin named Tshos-kyi blo-gros, for example, will be called not only by his clipped named *tshos-blo* but also by the form *?a-tšhos*"older relative Tshos." In the epic of Ge-sar we find a friend addressed as *?a-rogs*"older relative friend," and Ge-sar himself-under the name Dzo-ru-is addressed with the play on words *?a-džo*"older brother/older relative Dzo-ru" in such lines as *?a-džo dzo-ru rin-po-tshe*. We find the formative prefixed to adjectives such as *skyid-po* "happy," as when Dzo-ru is addressed as *?a-skyid dzo-skyid rin-po-tshe*, or even *snon-mo* "blue" to form *?a-sñon*"older relative blue one ® heaven," as in *?a-sñongnam-la gzu rgyab-na* "if you bend your bow at the old blue sky." And, in the epic, we find the formative prefixed to animals as wellfor example, *spyan a-than yid-gtad sa-la gtad... spyan ?a-thañ zim-poi sa-la Ndzabs* "Uncle Wolf sets his mind on flesh . . . Uncle Wolf vstrives for tasty flesh."

brother of a man (honorific)" are clearly related to the adjectives *tshen-po* "big" and *tshun-ba* "little," so it seems that they too belong together.

In fact, each kinship term appears to be a complex of four distinct semantic specifications: the term asserts that its referent is either MALE or FEMALE; either marked as HONORIFIC or left unmarked; marked as OLDER than ego, marked as YOUNGER than ego, or left unmarked for relative age; and marked as being the SAME SEX as ego, marked as being a DIFFERENT SEX, or left unmarked for relative sex. No term is marked for more than three of these specifications. Each sibling term may thus be defined as a bundle of these specifications as follows:

		MALE	DIFF SEX	
min-po				
		MALE	DIFF SEX	HONORIFIC
dral-po				
		FEMALE	DIFF SEX	
srin-mo				
		FEMALE	DIFF SEX	HONORIFIC
ltsam-mo				
	OLDER	MALE		
ʔa-dʑo				
	OLDER	FEMALE		
ʔa-tʂhe				
	OLDER	MALE	SAME SEX	
phu-bo				
	YOUNGER	MALE	SAME SEX	
nu-bo				
	OLDER	FEMALE	SAME SEX	
phu-mo				
	YOUNGER	FEMALE	SAME SEX	
nu-mo				
	OLDER	MALE		HONORIFIC
gtsen-po				
	YOUNGER	MALE		HONORIFIC
gtsun-po				

Under this analysis, the specification HONORIFIC is an independent lexical variable. The term *gtsen-po* is thus an OLDER MALE HONORIFIC sibling, and as such becomes associated as its honorific equivalent with the independent lexical item *ʔa-dʑo*, which is an OLDER MALE sibling. We can see that *gtsun-po*, a YOUNGER MALE HONORIFIC sibling, can correspond symmetrically to no other term: the semantic field contains no parallel entry specified only as a YOUNGER MALE sibling. Only one other entry is specified as both YOUNGER

and MALE; and *gtsun-po* becomes an asymmetrical honorific equivalent of *nu-bo*, a YOUNGER MALE SAME SEX sibling.

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8
Inflections

In some languages, some phonological changes take place whenever the necessary conditions are present. In Sanskrit, for example, progressive voicing assimilation between contiguous words takes place regardless of the grammatical class of the word involved; thus we find both *asit raja* > *asid raja* "There was a king," where the final of a verb assimilates to the initial of a noun, and *vak bhramyati* > *vag bhramyati* "The speech is excited," where the final of a noun assimilates to the initial of a verb.

On the other hand, some conditioned phonological changes may take place only in particular classes or subclasses of words; where a sound change is phonologically conditioned, but the description of the change must contain morphological information, we speak of MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL change. Tibetan inflectional morphology often involves such morphophonological changes.

For example, several Tibetan particles undergo sound changes conditioned by the final or postfinal of the immediately preceding syllable. Thus the coordinative conjunction "AND" has the form -*sin* after preceding final or postfinal -s, the form -*tsin* after any other preceding final obstruent, and the form -*zin* after any preceding final sonorant; but the initials of such NOUNS as z*in* "field," *sin* "tree," and *tson* "bell" remain unchanged regardless of what precedes them.1 A description of the sound change would have to specify the grammatical class of the words which undergo it: hence the sound change is morphophonological.

Phonemes which undergo morphophonological changes we will call MORPHOPHONEMES, and we will indicate such morphophonemes by writing them in capital letters. For example, we will write the adversative conjunction "BUT" as -*KYan*, with the onset capitalized, to showas opposed, say, to the noun *kyan* "wild donkey," without the capitalizationthat the form undergoes

1 The Tibetan word *tson* "bell" is borrowed from Middle Chinese **tsywon* "bell." The fact that the word was borrowed does not, I believe, affect its morphophonological status.

morphophonological change, and the morphophoneme in question is the onset cluster. Similarly, we will write the nominalizer *-Pa* with an initial capital, since the initial is a morphophoneme which regularly becomes *b* after certain preceding syllable finals and p after others; the syllabic formative *-pa* "PERSON HAVING TO DO WITH" undergoes no such changes.

Verbs also undergo morphophonological changes. The inflectional prefix *G-* becomes *d-* before grave initials in the verb root and *g-* before acute initials; similarly, a voiced stop initial in the verb root becomes voiceless after the inflectional prefix *b-;* and the vowel *A-* in the verb root becomes *o* in the imperative stem. Those inflectional affixes which undergo morphophonological changes we will, again, write in capitals; and we will write verb roots entirely in capitals as well. Not every part of every verb root, it is true, is a morphophoneme; but capitalizing the entire root will simultaneously prevent recurring typographical oddities and serve as a signal that the cited form is a hypothetical root rather than an attested stem. Thus, for example, an affricate initial in a verb root may become the corresponding fricative in absolute initial positionthat is, after the inflectional prefix 0-, as in z*ugs* < 0 -*DZUG-s* "entered." But the rule applies only to verb roots, as we have indicated by the capitalization: the past stem 0-*DZUG-s* "entered" is z*ugs,* but the noun *dza* "tea" does not thereby become *za, nor the noun *dzo-bo* "lord" become **zo-bo.*

1. Inflection within Syllables

1.1. Tense

When a verb is given a TENSE, the tense is indicated by various more or less regular changes in the phonological shape of the verb. These morphophonological changes constitute the inflectional morphology of the Old Tibetan verb. A verb may have a maximum of four such distinct phonological shapes: for example, we find *Nthu/btus/btu/thus* as the four forms of the verb we cite as *TU* "gather," and *gtsod/btsad/gtsad/tshod* as the four forms of the verb we cite as *TSAD* "cut." These four forms of the verb in its most complete paradigm have been named *da-lta* "present," *Ndas-pa* "past," *ma-ons-pa* "future," and *skul-tshig* "imperative" by the Tibetan grammarians. We will use these terms as conventional designations of what are commonly calledinaccuratelythe four tenses of the Old Tibetan verb.

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1.2. Roots And Stems

A terminological distinction may be made between roots and stems. A STEM is one of the tense forms that a verb is observed to take; a ROOT is an underlying form that is hypothesized to account most economically for the observed tense stems. For example, given the present stem *Nkhro* "is angry" and the past stem *khros* "was angry," we can postulate the underlying root *KHRO* "be angry" from which the two stems are derived by prenasalization and -s suffixation respectively. This hypothetical underlying form carries with

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that the present stem of an intransitive verb is formed by prenasalizationfor example, the present stem *Nkhro* "is angry" from the root *KHRO* "be angry."

Now it is clear that such realization rules may produce syllables that violate syllable structure constraints. For example, the realization rule that the present stem of an intransitive verb is formed by prenasalizing the root produces the present stem ?*Nren* from the intransitive root *REN* "be stiff." It is thus necessary to have ADJUSTMENT RULES whereby the stems produced by the realization rules can be adjusted into acceptable forms. For example, it is an adjustment rule that blocks prenasalization before nonstopped phonemes; thus the present stem ?*Nren* is adjusted to the present stem *ren* "is stiff." Some adjustment rules operate as well on stems that are otherwise acceptable.

Adjustment rules use two different processes to adjust into acceptable form the stems produced by the realization rules: when a realizational rule has added an inflectional affix, an adjustment rule may alter either the affix or the root. On the one hand, for example, prenasalizing the root *REN* "be stiff' produces the unacceptable syllable ?*Nren* as the present stem; an adjustment rule blocks the prenasalization to yield the acceptable syllable *ren* < *N-REN*. We will call such adjustment rules AFFIX RULES. On the other hand, for example, prenasalizing the root *TU* "gather" produces the unacceptable syllable ?*Ntu* as the present stem; an adjustment rule then aspirates the initial of the root to yield the acceptable syllable *Nthu* < *N-TU*. We will call such adjustment rules ROOT RULES.

1.4. Transitive and Intransitive Verbs

Throughout the grammar of Old Tibetan there is a pervasive distinction between TRANSITIVE and INTRANSITIVE verbs. These verbs are distinguished semantically, syntactically, and derivationally. They are also distinguished inflectionally: intransitive verbs do not have future or imperative stems; intransitive verbs do not form their past stem with a b- prefix. The distinction between those verbs that form their past stem with a *b-* prefixthat is, transitive verbs-and those that do not form their past stem with a *b-* prefixthat is, intransitive verbs-is thus the primary distinction in verbal types. We may separate b-prefixing verbs from ∅-prefixing verbs as the fundamental division of the verbal system.

1.5. Paradigms

When the realization rules are set out systematically they constitute what we can conveniently consider PARADIGMS for Old Tibetan verb inflection. INTRANSITIVE VERBS signal the present stem by prenasalization and the past stem with the -s suffix. We can therefore set out the following intransitive verb paradigm:

PRESENT	PAST
*N*_____	_____*S*

The inflection of TRANSITIVE VERBS in Old Tibetan is more complex than that of intransitive verbs. Transitive verbs have additional distinctive forms for future and imperative stems; and there are four different transitive paradigms, depending on how the present and future stems are formed. We can distinguish transitive verbs that signal the future stem with a *b*- prefix from those that signal the future stem with a G- prefix; we can distinguish transitive verbs that signal the present stem with a G- prefix from those that signal the present stem with prenasalization. All transitive verbs signal the past stem with a *b*- prefix and -s suffix. The following are thus the four Old Tibetan transitive verb paradigms:

	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE	IMPERATIVE
CLASS 1	N_____	b_____s	b_____	_____s
CLASS 2	N_____	b_____s	*G*_____	_____s
CLASS 3	G_____	b_____s	b_____	_____s
CLASS 4	G_____	b_____s	G_____	_____s

Transitive verbs have two additional realization rules: (1) the present stem of Class 3 and Class 4 incorporates a ROUNDING RULE which changes a spread vowel in the root into a rounded vowel in the stem;2 and (2) the imperative

2 The ROUNDING RULE changes a spread vowel to a rounded vowel, leaving all other features of the vowel the same. The rule thus does not affect the BACK ROUNDED vowels *u* and *o*. The rule does affect the FRONT SPREAD vowels i and *e*, but the resulting FRONT ROUNDED vowels ü and ö become the FRONT SPREAD vowels i and *e* again by the operation of Rule 1; so the sole visible effect of the rule is to change the BACK SPREAD vowel a to the BACK ROUNDED vowel o.

(*footnote continued on next page*)

stem of all classes incorporates both the ROUNDING RULE and an ASPIRATION

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Several considerations support the postulation of this rule as part of the verbal paradigm. In many cases, nouns that are related to an affected verb have the vowel *a* rather than the *o* of the present stem of the verb; frequently cognate verbs in other Tibeto-Burman languages also have the vowel a rather than the o of the present stem. For example, given the nominals *tshad-pa* "punishment" and *tshad-po* "torn," and the intransitive verb *TSHAD* (*mtshad/tshad*)"be cut," we can independently postulate the transitive root *TSAD* "cut" underlying the stems *gtsod/btsad/gtsad/tshod,* and attribute the vowel *o* in the present and imperative stems to the operation of the rounding rule. This transitive verb *TSAD* can then also be compared with such forms as Lushei *tSat* "cut." Similarly, the transitive root *SAD* "kill" can be postulated as underlying the stems *gsod/bsad/bsad/sod,* and that root then compared with such forms as Burmese *sat* "kill."

In many cases, the present stem of a transitive verb appears with an *o* vowel, but the present stem *G-* prefix has been blocked by an adjustment rule. For example, we can postulate the transitive root *SKAN* "fulfill" underlying the stems *skoi/bskans/bskan/skons,* with the present stem *skon* < *G-skon* < *G-SKAN* by an affix rule; this root *SKAN* can then be compared with such nouns as *skan-ba* "satisfaction." Similarly, we can postulate the transitive root *RGYAN* "stretch" underlying the stems *rgyon/brgyans/brgya/rgyons,* once again with the present stem *rgyon* < *G-rgyon* < *G-RGYAN* by a regular rule; and this root *RGYAN* can then similarly be compared with such nouns as *rgyan-ma* "distance."

It is tempting to see the present stem prefix *G-* and the imperative stem suffix *-s* as somehow phonologically responsible for the rounding of the vowel nucleus. Yet we find perfectly acceptable syllables such as *gdan* "seat," *dban* "power," and *nags* "forest" where the nucleus *a* remains spread despite the presence of a preinitial *G-* or postfinal *-s.* Similarly, in the future stem of Class 2 and Class 4 transitive verbs we find perfectly acceptable future stems such as *gtsad* < *G-TSAD* "will cut," *gsad* < *G-SAD* "will kill," *dbrad* < *G-BRAD* "will scratch," and *dbral* < *G-bral* < *G-PHRAL* "will separate," where the a vowel remains spread despite the presence of an inflectional *G-* prefix; and, in all past stems, we find perfectly acceptable forms such as *bskyags* < *b-SKYAG-s* "spent" and *btags* < *b-TAG-s* "ground," where the a vowel remains spread despite the presence of an inflectional *-s* suffix.

It is thus probably true that the rounding rule is not phonologically conditioned, but applies independently of any affix. An alternative way of describing the rule would be to postulate a phoneme of lip rounding *W (much as *N* is a phoneme of velum lowering) which rounds any vowel in the same syllable. We could then propose such derivations as *gsod* < *G-sod* < **GW-SAD* for the present stem of the root *SAD* "kill," and *smros* < *smro-s* < **SMRA-Ws* for the imperative stem of the root *SMRA* "speak." Similarly, where the *G-* or *-s* is blocked by an adjustment rule, we could propose such derivations as *skyob* < *G-skyob* < **GW-SKYAB* for the present stem of the root *SKYAB* "protect," and *sod* < *sod-s* < **SAD-WS* for the imperative stem of the root *SAD* "kill."

RULE, which changes unaspirated oral stopped initials in the root into aspirated initials in the stem.3

1.6. Affix Rules

Under the realization rules, four affixes are added to verb roots to form tense stemsthe prefixes *b-*, *G-*, and *N-* (or prenasalization), and the suffix -s. In some instances, the resulting stem needs virtually no adjustment to be acceptable under the syllable structure constraints: for example, from the intransitive root *KHRO* "be angry" we find the present stem *Nkhro* < *N-KHRO* "is angry" and the past stem *khros* < *KHRO-s* "was angry," from the Class 3 transitive root *SAG* "gather" we find the present stem *gsog* < *G-SAG* "gathers,"

3 The ASPIRATION RULE operates to aspirate any verb root initial which can be aspirated without violating either phoneme or syllable structure constraints. The rule applies only to oral stopped initials without preinitials-for example, *thus* < *TU-s* "gather!" *tshums* < *DZUM* -s "shut!" *khums* < *GUM-s* "kill!" *phigs* < *PIG-s* "pierce!" The rule does not function to aspirate nonstopped or nasal consonants: thus we find *zos* < *ZA-S* "eat!" and not ?*zhos, sos* < *so-s* "feed!" and not ?*shos,* and ñ*on* < *NAN-s* "listen!" and not ?*ñhon.* And the rule does not apply where there is a preinitial before an otherwise affected root initial: thus we find *skyogs* < *SKYAG-s* "spend!" and not ?*skhyogs, ltos* < *LTA-s* "look!" and not ?*lthos,* and *dpogs* < *DPAG-s* "measure!" and not ?*dphogs.* Indeed, we even find *Ndoms* < *NDAM-s* "choose!" instead of the otherwise acceptable syllable N*homs,* and *mdzod* < *MDZAD-S* "do!" instead of the otherwise acceptable syllable *mtshod.*

In addition, there are two further exceptions. The rule does not apply to verb roots with the initial cluster *DR,* since this would produce the unacceptable output cluster ?*thr.* Thus we find *dris* < *DRI-s* "ask!" and not ?*thris,* as opposed, say, to *khrol* < *GROL-s* "release!" And, for reasons I do not understand, the rule does not apply to any verb root with initial *B.* Thus we find *bor* < *BOR-s* "fling!" instead of the otherwise acceptable *phor, byugs* < *BYUG-s* "moisten!" instead of the otherwise acceptable *phyugs,* and *bris* < *BRI-s* "write!" instead of the otherwise acceptable *phris.* Apart from this last exception, it seems clear that the aspiration rule in some sense looks forward to its output, and does not apply at all where its output would require adjustment.

It is, by the way, an attractive speculation that the aspiration of absolute syllable initials in imperative stems has something to do, phonologically, with the emphasis normally given the expression of a command; but I know of no evidence bearing one way or the other on that point. We might, rashly, propose something like a phoneme of emphasis, parallel to the phoneme of lip rounding **W,* which is manifested phonetically as aspiration in certain environments, and which is part of the realization rule for imperative stems.

the past stem *bsags* < *b-SAG-s* "gathered," the future stem *bsag* < *b-SAG* "will gather," and the imperative stem *sogs* < *SAG-s* "gather!" In many cases, however, the resulting stem requires adjustment into acceptable form. For example, prenasalizing the transitive root *SUB* "plug up" produces the unacceptable present stem ?*Nsub*, which is adjusted, by blocking the prefix, to the acceptable *sub* "plugs up." Similarly, adding the inflectional prefix *b-* and suffix *-s* to the transitive root *ÑO* "buy" produces the unacceptable past stem ?*bños*, which is adjusted, by blocking the prefix, to the acceptable ñ*os* "bought."

1.6.1. The prefix *N-*

Since prenasalization can occur only before oral consonants, the prefix *N-* is blocked before nasal initials in the verb root-for example, ño < *N-ÑO* "buys," *mid* < *N-MID* "swallows," *nu* < *N-NU* "sucks." Similarly, since only stopped consonants can be prenasalized, the prefix *N-* is blocked before fricatives and glidesfor example, s*ud* < *N-SUD* "rubs," *za* < *N-ZA* "eats," *ren* < *N-REN* "is stiff," *yon* < *N-YON* "comes."4 Finally, since only initials can be prenasalized, the prefix *N-* is blocked before any preinitialfor example, *rku* < *N-RKU* "steals," *snol* < *N-SNOL* "intertwines," l*ta* < *N-LTA* "looks at."

1.6.2. The prefix *G-*

Since *G-* cannot be a pre-preinitial, the prefix *G-* is blocked before any preinitialfor example, *skon* < *G-SKAN* "fulfills," *rtog* < *G-RTAG* "examines," *slob* < *G-SLAB* "teaches," *dpog* < *G-DPAG* "measures." Most important, the prefix *G-* undergoes GRAVITY DISSIMILATION according to the initial of the root to which it is affixed: before an ACUTE initial the prefix *G-* becomes the GRAVE preinitial g-, and before a GRAVE preinitial the prefix *G-* becomes the ACUTE preinitial *d-*. Thus we find, for example, *gtad* < *G-TAD* "will deliver" but *dkrol* < *G-KROL* "will ring," *gdul* < *G-DUL* "will tame" but *dgod* < *G-GOD* "will array," *gdud* < *G-DUD* "will bend" but *dbud* < *G-BUD* "will blow."

4 Note, however, in several verbs, l*d* < *N-L-for* example, *ldan* < *N-LAN* "arises," l*don* < *N-LON* "is blind," l*dug* < *N-LUG* "pours," *Idud* < *N-LUD* "waters." We will discuss this rule later on in this chapter.

1.6.3. The prefix *b-*

Since there cannot be two labial consonants in the same syllable onset, the prefix *b-* is blocked before any root with a labial initialfor example, *bor* < *b-BOR-s* "threw," *bris* < *b-BRI-s* "wrote," *myas* < *b-MYAN-S* "tasted." Similarly, since preinitial *b-* can occur only before oral consonants, the prefix *b-* is blocked before nasalsfor example, *ños* < *b-ÑO-S* "bought," *nons* < *b-NON-s* "caused pain." Since preinitial *b-* can occur only before unaspirated consonants, the prefix *b-* is blocked before aspirated stopsfor example, *khur* < *b-KHUR-S "carried," khrid* < *b-KHRID-S* "led." Finally, since pre-preinitial *b-* can occur only before nonstopped preinitials, the prefix *b-* is blocked before any stopped preinitialfor example, *gnans* < *b-GNAN-s* "gave," *dgar* < *b-DGAR-S* "confined," *gtsis* < *b-GTSI-S* "summoned."5

1.6.4. The suffix *-s*

Postfinal *-s*, like preinitial *G-*, undergoes GRAVITY DISSIMILATION: the acute postfinal *-s* can occur only after grave finals and vowels. Thus, too, the inflectional suffix *-s* is blocked after acute finals in the verb rootfor example, *brkus* < *b-RKU-s* "stole" but *btad* < *b-TAD-s* "delivered," *btags* < *b-TAG-s* "ground" but *btor* < *b-TOR-s* "scattered."6

5Actually, as one might expect, things are a little more complicated than this. The prefix *b-* interacts with labial initials in the root in complex ways; and, although the prefix *b-* is blocked before aspirated STOPS, the prefix interacts in complex ways with AFFRICATES, as does the prefix *G-* as well. We will discuss such interactions under the adjustment rules. In addition, the prefix *b-* is blocked before initial *DR* in the root-for example, *dris* < *b-DRI-s* "asked," *drubs* < *b-DRUB-s* "sewed," *drud* < *b-DRUD-s* "rubbed." But note the occasional hypercorrect formfor example, *bdral* < *b-DRAL-S* "tore apart" as well as the expected form *dral*.

6 The past tense inflectional suffix -s is in fact preserved sporadically as *-d* after acute finals in several archaic manuscripts of the eighth and ninth centuries, where we find such forms as *gyurd* < *GYUR-s* "became," *btsald* < *o-TSHAL-S* "acquired," *bzurd* < *b-zuR-s* "made way," and *hrald* < *b-HRAL-s* "tore to pieces." Note, for example, the parallel verbs in the following bit of archaic poetry from a Tun-huang manuscript*mdeu-rdze ma-dmard, Npon-skyen sa ma-khums* "The tip of the arrowhead did not become red, the skillful archer did not kill the deer," where *dmard* < *b-DMAR-s* "became red," with an acute final, is parallel to *khums* < *b-KHUM-s* "killed," with a grave final.

(*footnote continued on next page*)

1.7. Root Rules

In many instances, the relationship between a hypothesized verb root and the observed tense stems is relatively transparentfor example, *KHRO* (*Nkhro/ khros*)"be angry," *SIG* (*gsig/bsigs/bsig/sig*)"shake." Sometimes, as we have seen, inflectional affixes may be regularly blockedfor example, in *nu* < *N-NU* "weeps," *khol* < *KHOL-s* "was boiling," *sdom* < *G-SDAM* "fastens," *ños* < *b-ÑO-S* "bought." And, sometimes, apparently inflectional affixes may in fact be part of the root-for example, *NDRE* (*Ndre/Ndres*)"be mixed," *GAS* (*Ngas/gas*)"be split." But even in these cases the structure of the underlying root seems fairly clear.

However, there are many instances where the interaction between prefix and initial is much more complexwhere the prefix is not blocked, and the verb root initial undergoes changes to accommodate it. These interactions will be discussed in the following sections.

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> This usage is continued in the works of the Tibetan grammarians, who use this archaic postfinal *-d* particularly to distinguish the past stem of a transitive verb from a *b-* future stem that would otherwise be identical-for example, *bsgyurd* < *b-SGYUR-S* "translated" as distinguished from *bsgyur* < *b-SGYUR* "will translate," *bstand* < *b-STAN-S* "explained" as distinguished from *bstan* < *b-STAN* "will explain." This inflectional postfinal *-d* is called *da-drag* "strong *d"* by the Tibetan grammarians; when found as a marker of the past stem after an acute final consonant, we will call postfinal *-d* the PAST STEM *da-drag.* Given that this past stem inflectional marker appears as *-s* after vowelsfor example, *skyes* < *SKYE-s* "was born"we can hypothesize a Proto-Tibetan past stem suffix **-s,* which became -s after grave finals and vowels and *-d* after acute finals; in the course of the eighth century the *-d* allomorph of **-s* disappeared after acute finals, leaving only the *-s* allomorph after grave finals and vowels.
>
> The past stem *da-drag* must be distinguished from what we will call the PRESENT STEM *dadrag-the* inflectional suffix *-d* found in the present stem of some transitive verbs, as in *Ntshod* < *N-TSHO-D* "cooks," which takes the form *-s* after grave finals, as in *Ngugs* < *N-GUG-D* "bends," and, by the time of Old Tibetan, had disappeared after acute finals. Given that this present stem inflectional marker appears as *-d* after vowelsas in *sbed* < *N-SBA-D* "conceals"we can hypothesize a Proto-Tibetan present stem suffix **-D,* which became *-d* after acute finals and vowels and *-s* after grave finals; even before the earliest written texts, the *-d* allomorph of **-D* had disappeared after acute finals, leaving the *-d* allomorph after vowels and the *-s* allomorph after grave finals.

1.7.1. Voice dissimilation

There are some verbs for which there seems good reason to postulate a root with an aspirated initialfor example, *KHUM* (*Nkhum/khums*)"contract oneself," *THIG* (*Nthig/thigs*)"fall in drops," *PHEL* (*Nphel/phel*)"grow greater," *TSHAG* (*Ntshag/tshags*) *"be* broken," *TSHAN* (*Ntshan/tshans*)"awaken." Similarly, there are some verbs for which there seems good reason to postulate a root with a voiced initialfor example, *GO* (*Ngo/gos*)"become dirty," *DRIL* (*Ndril/dril*)"roll oneself up," *BAB* (*Nbab/babs*)"fall down." Are there, then, roots with voiceless initials?

Apparently so. Where we find such patterns as *Nkhrol/bkrol/dkrol/khrol* "ring," or *Nthub/btubs/gtub/thubs* "chop," it seems reasonable to postulate a root with a voiceless initialthat is, respectively, *KROL* "ring" and *TUB* "chop." However, when such roots are prenasalized, they yield forms that require adjustment; and such adjustment takes place through aspirating the initialthus *Nkhrol* < *N-KROL* "rings," *Nthub* < *N-TUB* "chops." A narrow statement of this rule is that a voiceless stopped initial is aspirated when prenasalized. But note that an equally acceptable form would have resulted from voicing the initial, yielding **Ngrol* and **Ndub* instead of *Nkhrol* and *Nthub.* Thus a broader statement of the same rule is that a voiceless stopped initial DISSIMILATES in voice onset time when preceded by prenasalization.

Such dissimilation is found elsewhere in the inflectional system as well. We find such patterns as *Ngod/bkod/dgod/khod* "array" and *Ndul/btul/gdul/thul* "tame." In such cases we can postulate a root with a voiced initialthat is, respectively, *GOD* "array" and *DUL* "tame." In these cases, forms that in fact require no adjustment dissimilate in voice onset time when preceded by a *b*-prefixthus *bkod* < *b-GOD-s* "arrayed," *btul* < *b-DUL-S* "tamed," instead of the equally acceptable past stem forms **bgod* and **bdul.*

However, voice dissimilation does not occur universally. Only STOPPED initials dissimilate after the *b*- prefix; we find, for example, *bzas* < *b-ZA-s* "ate," *bzus* < *b-ZU-s* "digested." And voice dissimilation does not take place after the *G*-prefix; we find, for example, *dgug* < *G-GUG* "will bend," *gdeg* < *G-DEG* "will raise." Note, too, that the onset cluster *bg* is both acceptable and not uncommon, as opposed, say, to a form such as ?*Nt*, so that manuscripts will contain occasional "incorrect" forms such as *bgod* < *b-GOD-s* "arrayed." In the face of the acceptability of *bg* and *bd* clusters, the tenacity of the dissimilation to *bk* and *bt* is in fact quite remarkable.

1.7.2. Unstopping

There are some intransitive verbs for which there seems good reason to postulate a root with a fricative initialfor example, *SUB* (*Sub/Subs*)"whisper," z*u* (*zu/zus*)"make a request," *SUN* (*sun/sun*)"be weary," *ZAB* (*zab/ zabs*)"be deep," where present stem prenasalization is blocked by a regular adjustment rule. But we also find such intransitive patterns as *Ntshor/sor* "slip away," *Ndzug/zugs* "enter," *Ntsho/sos* "be alive," *Ndzag/zags* "trickle," where a fricative in the past stem alternates with an affricate in the present stem. In such cases we can postulate a root with an affricate initialthat is, respectively, *TSOR* "slip away," *DZUG* "enter," *TSO* "be alive," *DZAG* "trickle"with the additional rule that all such affricate root initials become UNSTOPPED in absolute initial positionthus s*or* < *Ø-TSOR-s* "slipped away," *zugs* < *Ø-DZUG-s* "entered," *sos* < *Ø-TSO-S* "was alive," *zags* < *Ø-DZAG-S* "trickled." Alongside such verbs we may note also such patterns as *Ntshag/tshags* "be broken," *Ntshar/tshar* "be finished," where we can postulate a root with an aspirated affricate initial-that is, respectively, *TSHAG* "be broken," *TSHAR* "be finished" where unstopping is undone by our phonological Rule 2. Voiceless affricate initials regularly dissimilate in voice onset time and become aspirated when prenasalizedthus *Ntshor* < *N-TSOR* "slips away," *Ntsho* < *N-TSO* "is alive."

Similarly, there are some transitive verbs for which there seems good reason to postulate a root with a fricative initialfor example, SU (*su/bsus/bsu/sus*)"take off," ZU (*zu/bzus/bzu/zus*)"digest," *SUB* (*sub/bsubs/bsub/subs*)"stop up," *ZA* (*za/bzas/bza/zas*)"eat," where present stem prenasalization is blocked by a regular adjustment rule. But we also find such patterns as *Ntshad/bsad/ bsad/sod* "explain," *Ndzog/bzogs/bzog/zogs* "carve," *Ntsho/bsos/gso/sos* "nourish," *Ndzed/bzed/bzed/zed* "hold out," where a fricative in the past, future, and imperative stems alternates with an affricate in the present stem. In such cases we can postulate a root with an affricate initialthat is, respectively, *TSAD* "explain," *DZOG* "carve," *TSO* "nourish," *DZED* "hold out"with the additional rule that such affricate root initial become unstopped not only in absolute initial position but after the prefixes *b-* and *G-* as well-thus *bsad* < *b-TSAD-s* "explained," *bzogs* < *b-DZOG-s* "carved," *gso* < *G-TSO* "will nourish," *bzed* < *b-DZED* "will hold out." Voiceless affricate initials regularly dissimilate in voice onset time and become aspirated when prenasalizedthus *Ntshad* < *N-TSAD* "explains," *Ntsho* < *N-TSO* "nourishes." And the voiced and voiceless affricate initials, as we have seen, become unstopped in absolute initial position in the imperative stem.

We also find such patterns as *Ntshin/btsins/btsin/tshins* "bind," *Ntshir/btsir/gtsir/ tshir* "press." It is clear that any underlying root should have an affricate initial; the only affricate initial left is the aspirated affricate; and, indeed, postulating roots with aspirated affricate initialsthat is, respectively, *TSHIN* "bind," *TSHIR* "press"makes sense in such cases. The affricate initial after the 0- prefix in the imperative stem is what we would now expect in the case of an aspirated affricate initial. Moreover, if the *b-* and *G-* prefixes are not blocked before affricate aspirate initials, the resulting unacceptable clusters ?*btsh,* ?*btsh,* ?*gtsh,* ?*gtsh* must be adjusted into acceptable form; unstopping would here only produce the equally unacceptable clusters ?*bsh,* ?*bsh,* ?*gsh,* ?*gsh.* Therefore, VOICE DISSIMILATION applies, and the initial is adjusted to a voice onset time as far as possible from that of the prefix within an acceptable onset clusterthus *btsins* < *b-TSHIN-S* "bound," *btsir* < *b-TSHIR* "pressed," *gtsir* < *G-TSHIR* "will press."

Now it is clear that some prefix-initial clusters might be adjusted by more than one adjustment rule. A voiced affricate is, in effect, a hybrid between a fricative and a voiced stop, and the adjustment rules might treat a voiced affricate initial as if it were either: a voiced affricate initial after the prefix *b-*might undergo either unstopping, as in *bz* < *b-DZ,* or, like other voiced stops, voice dissimilation, as in *bts* < *b-DZ* parallel to *bt* < *b-D.* Similarly, a voiced affricate initial after the imperative prefix 0- might undergo either unstopping, as in Z < 0-*DZ,* or, like other voiced stops, imperative rule aspiration, as in *tsh* < 0-*DZ,* parallel to *th* < 0-*D.* And, indeed, we find such patterns as *Ndzug/ btsug/gzug/tshugs* "inject," *Ndzud/btsud/gzud/tshud* "lead," where the latter in fact appears to have happened.7

One way of describing this pattern is to say that a voiced affricate root initial can, in effect, choose either unstopping or voice dissimilation, but not both, and either unstopping or imperative aspiration, but not both; and that each such verb root makes such a choice, which becomes part of its lexical entry. Another way is to say that the adjustment rules and imperative rule apply to root initials in a particular order, with unstopping applied first; when an initial has been unstopped, as we have seen, the remaining rules of voice

7 Since ?*gdz* is, like ?*bdz,* an unacceptable cluster, some adjustment must occur; but, unlike ?*bdz,* the cluster cannot be adjusted by voice dissimilation, which occurs after the prefix *b-* but not after the prefix *G-*. Therefore the cluster can be adjusted only by unstopping, so that we find, in this pattern, *gzug* < *G-DZUG* "will inject," *gzud* < *G-DZUD* "will lead."

dissimilation and imperative aspiration cannot apply, because those rules do not apply to fricative initials; but some verbs with voiced affricate initials have, as part of their lexical entry, an exception feature whereby the unstopping adjustment rule does not apply.

1.7.3. Labial rules

There are three patterns for which we postulate roots with labial initials*BRAD* (*Nbrad/brad/dbrad/brod*)"scratch," *PUD* (*Nbud/phud/dbud/phud*)"cast down," *PHROG* (*Nphrog/phrogs/dbrog/phrogs*)"rob." The first thing we notice in such patterns is an adjustment rule whereby the inflectional prefix *G-* followed by ANY labial becomes the cluster *dbthus dbrad* < *G-BRAD* "will scratch," *dbud* < *G-PUD* "will cast down," *dbrog* < *G-PHROG* "will rob." Given such a rule, the inflection of roots postulated to have aspirated labial initials is perfectly regular, with, for example, *phrogs* < *b-PHROG-S* "robbed" by the blocking of the inflectional prefix *b-* before an aspirated stop initial. Similarly, the inflection of roots postulated to have voiced labial initials is perfectly regular, with, for example, *brad* < *b-BRAD-s* "scratched" by the blocking of the inflectional prefix *b-* before a labial initial, with one exception: the initial *b* in a verb root is not subject to the imperative rule, and we find, for example, *brod* < *0-BRAD-S* "scratch!" instead of the equally acceptable but nonoccurring form **phrod.*

For the remaining pattern we postulate an underlying root with a voiceless labial initial. There is a derivational basis for this choice as well. We find several pairs of verbs in Tibetan where an intransitive verb with a voiced initial is clearly related, semantically and phonologically, to a transitive verb with a voiceless initialfor example, *GRIL* "be twisted, be wrapped around" *KRIL* "embrace, clasp round," *DU* "come together, assemble" *TU* "collect, gather," *DOR* "be scattered, be dispersed" *TOR* "scatter, cast away." We find several such pairs for which we can similarly postulate voiced and voiceless labial initialsfor example, *BUD* (*Nbud/bud*)"fall down, leave, disappear" *PUD* (*Nbud/phud/dbud*)"pull off, throw down, drive out," *BAB* (*Nbab/babs*)"fall down" *PAB* (*Nbebs/phab/dbab/phobs*)"cast down," *BUB* (*Nbub/bubs*)"be turned upside down" *PUB* (*Nbub/phubs/dbub*)"make into a roof," *BOG* (*Nbog/bog*)"become loose" *POG* (*Nbog/phog/dbog/phogs*)"unload," *BYE* (*Nbye/bye*)"become open" *PYE* (*Nbyed/phyes/dbye*)"make open."

Postulating a root with a voiceless labial initial underlying this pattern means

that one additional adjustment rule is required, as well as one exception to an adjustment rule. First, for reasons that are not clear to me, the unacceptable cluster ?*bp* < *b-P* is adjusted to *ph*. Second, initial p in a verb root does not undergo voice dissimilation when prenasalized, but rather assimilates in voice onset time to yield the acceptable cluster *Nb*. There seems to be in operation here, at least in part, a preference for *b* initials we can call *B*-PERSISTENCEnote *db* < *G-P*, *db* < *G-PH*, *Nb* < *N-P*, and *b* < ∅-*B* in imperative stemswhich overrides other more general rules we might otherwise expect.

We can now summarize the interactions of the inflectional prefixes with root initials under these adjustment rules as follows:

	INFLECTIONAL PREFIX			
ROOT INITIAL	*N-*	*b-*	*G-*	*∅-*
	Nkh	*bk*	*dk*	*kh*
K				
	Nkh	*kh*	*kh*	*kh*
KH				
	Ng	*bk*	*dg*	*kh*
G				
	Nth	*bt*	*gt*	*th*
T				
	Nth	*th*	*th*	*th*
TH				
	Nd	*bt*	*gd*	*th*
D				
	Nb	*ph*	*db*	*ph*
P				
	Nph	*ph*	*db*	*ph*
PH				
	Nb	*b*	*db*	*b*
B				
	ɴtšh	*bš*	*gš*	*š*
TŠ				
	ɴtšh	*btš*	*gtš*	*tšh*
TŠH				
	ɴdžz	*bž*	*gž*	*ž*
DŽ				
	ɴdž	*btš*	*gž*	*ž*
	Ntsh	*bs*	*gs*	*s*
TS				
	Ntsh	*bts*	*gts*	*tsh*
TSH				

	Ndz	*bz*	*gz*	*z*
DZ				
	NdZ	*bts*	*gz*	*z*

Table 10. Stem initials after inflectional prefixes

1.8. The Present Stem da-drag

In the present stems of some transitive verbs we find an inflectional suffix *-D* preserved after open syllables. For example, given the stems *Ntshod/btsos/btso* "cook" and *Nbyed/phyes/dbye* "make open," we can postulate the underlying roots *TSHO* "cook" and *PYE* "make open," respectively, with the additional realization rule_____*D* for the present stem. Transitive verbs which idiosyncratically undergo this realization rule would be so marked in the lexicon.8

By the time of Old Tibetan this inflectional suffix *-D* had disappeared after acute final consonants and had become *-s* after grave final consonants. This process of gravity dissimilation accounts for the presence of postfinal *-s* in the present stem of several transitive verbsfor example, *Ndzibs* < *N-DZIB-D* "sucks," *Ngugs* < *N-GUG-D* "bends," *Ndegs* < *N-DEG-D* "raises," *Ndzoms* < *N-DZOM-D* "conquers."

Additionally, the inflectional suffix *-D* has an effect on both preceding vowels and preceding final nasals, moving them from the back of the mouth to the front in anticipatory assimilation to the following dental. Thus the low back spread vowel a becomes the low front spread vowel *e* before the inflectional suffix *-D*. Compare the present and past stems *sbed* < *N-SBA-D* "conceals" *sbas* < *b-SBA-s* "concealed," *sems* < *N-SAM-D* "thinks" *bsams* < *b-SAM-s* "thought," *Ngrems* < *N-GRAM-D* "displays" *bkram* < *b-GRAM-S* "displayed," *Ndebs* < *N-DAB-D* "throws" *btab* < *b-DAB-s* "threw," *sel* < *N-SAL-D* "clears away" *bsal* < *b-SAL-s* "cleared away."9

8 The realization rule_____*D* for the present stem appears to co-occur only with the realization rule *N*_____ for the present stem: that is, we find transitive roots with present stems of the form *N*_____*D* but not of the form *G*_____*D*. The only exception seems to be a lost transitive verb **SAG* of uncertain meaning, which apparently underlies the present stem *gsegs* < **G-SAG-D* generalized as the intransitive root *GSEGS* "come." Elsewhere the general rule that_____*D* co-occurs only with *N*_____appears to hold good. Thus a root such as *SAM* "think" yields the present stem *sems* < *N-SAM-D* "thinks" rather than the phonologically acceptable but nonoccurring present stem **gsems* or **gsoms* < *G-SAM-D*.

9 This vowel assimilation explains the *e/a/a/o* vowel pattern in some verbs: where we postulate an underlying vowel a in the root, *o* < *A* in the imperative stem by the rounding rule, and, where there is present stem *da-drag*, *e* < *A-D* by assimilation. Note the present and imperative stems *Ngebs* < *N-GAB-D* "covers" *khobs* < *Ø-GAB-S* "cover!" *sems* < *N-SAM-D* "thinks" *soms* < *Ø-SAM-S* "think!" *skyel* < *N-SKYAL-D* "brings" *skyol* < *Ø-SKYAL-S* "bring!" *Nges* < *N-GAS-D* "splits" *khos* < *Ø-GAS-S* "split!"

Further, before *-D* a preceding velar nasal *n* moves to the front of the mouth to become *n,* in anticipatory assimilation to the following dental, after which the *-D* disappears through gravity dissimilation.10 Compare the present and past stems *Ndren* < *N-DRAN-D* "leads" *drans* < *b-DRAN-S* "led," *len* < *N-LAN-D* "takes" *blans* < *b-LAN-s* "took," *Nphen* < *N-NPHAN-D* "flings" *Nphans* < *b-NPHAN-S* "flung."

Finally, where a root final *n* is fronted to become *n* before inflectional *-D,* the high back rounded vowel *u* moves along with the nasal to the front of the mouth to become, under Rule 1, the high front spread vowel i. Compare the present and past stems *Ndzin* < *N-DZUN-D* "grasps" *bzun* < *b-DZUN-s* "grasped," *Nbyin* < *N-PYUN-D* "removes" *phyun* < *b-PYUN-s* "removed."11

As we have noted, the inflectional suffix *-D* occurs in the present stem only in transitive verbs. In a number of cases where related transitive and intransitive verbs have homophonous underlying roots, the inflectional suffix *-D*or its remnantsmay be the sole distinction between the transitive and intransitive present stems; indeed, this may be one of the reasons why these remnants have been resistant to analogical leveling. Thus we find such pairs of present stems as *skye* "is born" *skyed* "produces," *Ngye* "is divided" *rgyed* "divides," *rgyu* "moves" *rgyud* "transmits," *Ndzu* "enters" *Ndzud* "inserts." Similarly, we find such present stem pairs as *Ngag* "is hindered" *Ngegs* "hinders," *Ngas* "is cleft" *Nges* "cleaves," *Ntshas* "is split" *Ntshes* "splits," *Nba*b "descends" *Nbebs* "lowers."

1.9. Exceptions and Irregularities

The system set forth here attempts to explain Old Tibetan verb morphology by postulating a single underlying form for each verb and rules whereby that underlying form becomes each of the observable tense stems. Clearly there is no unique solution to the task of setting up the roots and devising the rules; each proposed solution will attempt to balance often subjective judgments of simplicity, abstractness, naturalness, and elegance. Nor is this

10 For some reason this process does not affect the root *GAN* "fill," which has the present stem *Ngens* < *N-GAN-D* "fills," where we would otherwise expect **Ngen.*

11 This rule links together the transitive verb *PYUN* "take out, remove" and the intransitive verb *BYUN* "*come out ® arise, occur, happen."

sort of system the only one possible: there are ways to describe morphology other than by rules and unique underliers. But any system will have holes in itexceptions and irregularities that must be accounted for, as it were, in footnotes. Some of these exceptions are apparently the result simply of errors in the texts; the rooting out of such scribal errors is, of course, the province of textual criticism.12 Elsewhere, scribesor authorsmay have a choice of "correct" forms that have come down to them from Old Tibetan; and elsewhere we find, as in other languages, verbs which are just regularly irregular. The following sections will discuss these holes in the system we have set up.

1.9.1. Scribal errors

Tibetan texts contain errors; sometimes verb stems are just written incorrectly. Tibetan scribes are sometimes sleepy or distracted or hurried, just like any scribeor typistmight be. But, in addition, the Tibetan language has changed phonologically over time; the written language has preserved forms no longer in use in the spoken language. For example, in Lhasa Cityand the principle would be the same throughout central Tibetthe stems *sgrub* "accomplishes," *bsgrubs* "accomplished," and *bsgrub* "will accomplish" are all pronounced *tup,* the stems *Ndegs* "lifts," *btegs* "lifted," and *gdeg* "will lift" are all pronounced *tek,* and the stems *Ngrol* "sets free," *bkrol* "set free," and *dgrol* "will set free" are all pronounced *tö.* The Old Tibetan inflectional affixes are just no longer functional; in Lhasa City, what we are here calling verbal tense is expressed in other ways.13

12 There is a circularity here: the texts are our primary source for our knowledge of the tense stems; based on that knowledge we build a system which we then use to emend the texts. This is an example of what has been called the "hermeneutic circle," whereby the whole can be understood only through its parts, but the parts can be understood only through the whole. Such a circle, one hopes, is in fact a spiral, with text and concept interacting to yield increased understanding. Unfortunately, it is fair to say that at the present time there are very few critically edited texts in Tibetan, at least as the concept of textual criticism is applied to, say, Greek or Latin texts.

13 The loss of inflectional affixes has apparently occurred in Tibetan at various times and in different places. There is evidence as early as the ninth century, for example, that postfinal *-s* was more or less regularly elided, at least in the speech of the urban nobles: on the Sino-Tibetan treaty pillar of 821 at Lhasa, we find Old Tibetan <*gtogs*>transcribed as Middle Chinese **twok,* Old Tibetan <*mtshims*>as Middle Chinese **thyam*, Old Tibetan <*legs*>as Middle Chinese **lyek,* and Old Tibetan <*rnegs*>as Middle Chinese **ñʌk*Yet, four hundred

(*footnote continued on next page*)

What this means is that scribes in various parts of Tibet have for centuries been unclear about the function and form of the tense stems. Let us look at several woodblock prints of the well-known biography of Mi-la ras-pa by Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka. In one episode, for example, we read *bla-ma rnog-pa gtsig-pur byon-nas ra-ma rgyab-tu bsnams-te bla-ma-la phul* "Lama Rnog-pa

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

years later, an edict of Khubilai Khan, issued in 1269, transcribes the name of the Tibetan lama Nphags-pa into Chinese as *pa-ssu-pa.* That same name is borrowed into Mongolian as *baghspa,* yet the well-known Tibetan book entitled *gzuns-bsdus* "anthology of magic spells," is called, in Mongolian, *sundui,* indicating thatat the time the word was borrowed, or in the dialect the word was borrowed fromthe postfinal -s in *gzuns* "magic spell" was not being pronounced. Matthew Kapstein has conveyed to me an incident in the biography of the fourteenth-century Klon-tshen-pa: while the lama is granting an initiation, a female disciple becomes possessed by a *mkha-Ngro-ma* spirit, who castigates him for pronouncing *rigs* as *rik.* In a series of texts from western China, collected by Roy Andrew Miller, Tibetan *grags* "famous"-a frequent component of Tibetan personal namesis transcribed into Chinese as *ch'i-la-ssu* in 1303 and *cha-ssu* in 1388, with postfinal -*s* preserved, but as *ta* in 1518, with postfinal -s elided; it is not clear, however, whether this represents a sequence of historical change or simply a fortuitous record of regional variation. What is clear is that, in New Tibetan, postfinal -s does vary with geography: note the following set of dialect variantsOld Tibetan *pags* "skin" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *paks* (Dbus) *pak* (Lhasa) *pa,* Old Tibetan *phyogs* "direction" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *tshoks* (Dbus) *tshok* (Lhasa) *tsho,* Old Tibetan *ltsags* "iron" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *tsaks* (Dbus) *tsak* (Lhasa) *tsa,* Old Tibetan z*abs* "foot" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) z*aps* (Dbus) z*ap* (Lhasa) s*ap,* Old Tibetan *khrims* "law" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *thims* (Dbus) *thim* (Lhasa) *thim,* Old Tibetan *dgons* "idea" > New Tibetan (Ladakh) *gons* (Dbus) *gon* (Lhasa) *kon.*

By the way, the following is a partial Lhasa city paradigm for the verb *tup* "accomplish":

	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE
FIRST PERSON/ IMMEDIATE KNOWLEDGE	*tupki-yö*	*tupə-yin*	*tupki-yiN*
SECOND AND THIRD PERSON/ MEDIATE KNOWLEDGE	*tupki-tu*	*tupə-re*	*tupki-re*

Note here the interaction of the verb stem *tup* with the past/nonpast markers *-pə-~-ə-*and *-ki-*, respectively, and two intersecting mediate/immediate knowledge auxiliariestu and *-yö* for mediate or immediate knowledge, respectively, of events happening right now, and *-re* and *-yiN* for mediate or immediate knowledge, respectively, of events happening at a time other than right now.

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went off by himself, took the goat upon his back, and gave it to the lama." All the verbs are, appropriately, in the past *tenseBYON* (*Nbyon/byon*)"go, proceed," *SNAM* (*snom/bsnams/bsnam*)"seize, take," *PUL* (*Nphul/phul/dbul*)"offer, give upward." The blockprint from Spo, in southeastern Tibet, however, has the anomalous reading *snams* instead of *bsnams* < *b-SNAM-s* "took." There is no reason to take this particular reading as anything other than a scribal error, made, in part, because there was no difference between the pronunciation of <*snams*>and <*bsnams*>in the dialect of the scribe. Moreover, in such a case, the error is unlikely to be caught and corrected by the usual Tibetan proofreading procedure, in which a copy is checked against its original by reading the original out loud to the scribe; clearly this procedure is ineffective when the error and the original are homophonous.14

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prefix past stem *b-* prefix, yielding the anomalous form *sgrubsnot* a newly attested tense stem but, rather, a mistake in transcription.

Clearly, the reader may be saying, the Spo print is just a bad text. Actually, however, there is no such thing as a bad text; there are only bad readings in particular texts, and each reading must be judged on its own merits. In this same episode, for example, the master Mar-pa, after a fit of temper, sits with his head wrapped up in his robe, pointedly ignoring everyone. The verb meaning "wrap up, put over, cover" is *TUM,* generally inflected as a Class 1 verb, except that we also find a present stem gtumthus *TUM* (*Nthum-gtum/ btums/btum*)"wrap up." Despite this variation in the present stem, there is every reason to believe that the past stem remains the perfectly regular *btums* < *b-TUM-s* "wrapped up." Yet it is only the Spo print which gives the correct reading *dbu btums-nas bzugs* "He sat with his head wrapped up." The other prints-from Spuns-than in Bhutan, from Bstan-rgyas-glin in Lhasa, and from Bkra-sis lhun-po-all give the anomalous reading *gtums,* which is not part of a new paradigm, but a scribal error to be emended by the textual critic.15

15 It could be argued that we are here dealing with two rootsthe earlier *TUM* and a synonymous later *GTUM,* the latter a generalized form of the present stem of the former; we would then have the perfectly regular *gtums* < *b-GTUM-s* "wrapped up." The wholesale acceptance of such arguments would go a long way toward legitimating every scribal error ever made. Sometimes, as we shall see, such an argument can be valid; but it should be used sparingly. I see no reason in the present case to recognize an additional root rather than a scribal error, bearing in mind the maxim of textual criticism, that witnesses are to be weighed, not counted.

Sometimes, of course, it is hard to know of several textual variants which is the correct one. In one episode, the master Mar-pa is having the obnoxious young Mi-la build and then tear down a series of stone towers, as part of his discipline. Mi-la is about a third of the way toward completing his third tower when Mar-pa approaches him and says, according to the Bstan-rgyas-glin and Bkra-sis lhun-po texts, *mthu-tshen khyod brtsigs-pai mkhar Ndi sui yin* "Magician, whose is this tower you have built?" The Spuns-than text is the same, except that the verb is the future stem *brtsigthus* "Whose is this tower you will build?" And the Spo text gives the present stem *rtsigthus* "Whose is this tower you are building?" All three readings are morphologically correct, and all three make sense in the context; my own preference would be for the present stem in the Spo text, but there is clearly room for argument.

Finally, all of these scribal errors must be disentangledsomehow-from idiosyncratic spellings by the author and from systematic regional variations which must be considered part of the autograph. A textual critic may in fact conclude that the earliest versions of the

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1.9.2. Multiple class membership

Another source of verbal irregularities is the fact that verbs can belong to more than one inflectional class. For example, as we have seen, *TUM* "wrap up" apparently has both the present stem *Nthum* < *N-TUM* and *gtum* < *G-TUM* "wraps up"; thus, in the texts, *TUM* "wrap up" appears as both a Class 1 and a Class 3 verb. How does this happen?

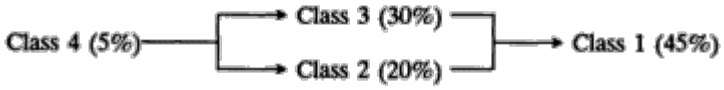
A rapid survey of over four hundred Tibetan transitive verbs shows that Class 1 is the largest class, containing almost 45 percent of the verbs; Class 3 follows with approximately 30 percent; Class 2 contains approximately 20 percent; and Class 4 contains approximately 5 percent of the transitive verbs counted. This means that there are almost twice as many verbs with *N*-present stems (65 percent) as there are with *G*- present stems (35 percent), and just about three times as many verbs with *b*- future stems (75 percent) as there are with *G*- future stems (25 percent). While these numbers should not be given more weight than they can bear, they do indicate that there is considerable analogical pressure on transitive verbs to appear with *N*- as their present stem prefix and *G*- as their future stem prefix; and we should not be surprised to find such analogical formations in our texts alongside presumably older forms.16

Thus from the root *TIG* "make drip" we find both present stems *Nthig* < *N-TIG* and *gtig* < *G-TIG* "makes drip," and from the root *TUB* "chop" we find both

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

text incorporated previously unattested forms of the language, or may be able to show that forms in other texts-by the same author or from the same region-previously thought to be scribal errors are in fact in the form the author intended.

16 The flow of this analogical change has apparently been for Class 4 verbs (now 5 percent of the total) to become either Class 2 verbs (now 20 percent of the total), by innovating an *N*- present stem, or Class 3 verbs (now 30 percent of the total), by innovating a *b*- future stem; and then for both Class 2 and Class 3 verbs to become Class 1 verbs (now 45 percent of the total), by innovating *b*- future stems and *N*- present stems respectively:



In fact, it is probably reasonable to assume that the percentages we now see are the result of a long process of leveling which goes back to Proto-Tibetan, where we can hypothesize an originally more equal distribution of transitive verbs among the four paradigm classes.

present stems *Nthub* < *N-TUB* and *gtub* < *G-TUB* "chops." The verb TIG, with the future stem *btg,* thus appears to be moving from Class 3 to Class 1; the verb *TUB,* with the future stem *gtub,* similarly appears to be moving from Class 4 to Class 2. In the same way, from the root *DUD* "bend" we find both future stems *gdud* < *G-DUD* and *btud* < *b-DUD* "will bend," and from the root *SAD* "kill" we find both future stems *gsad* < *G-SAD* and *bsad* < *b-SAD* "will kill." The verb *DUD,* with the present stem *Ndud,* thus appears to be moving from Class 2 to Class 1; the root *SAD,* with the present stem *gsod,* similarly appears to be moving from Class 4 to Class 3.

1.9.3. Multiple underliers

Another source of exceptions and irregularities is the fact that a verb may change its underlying form.17 For example, the archaic suffix *-D* as a sign of the present stem in certain transitive verbs was, by the time of Old Tibetan, found in the form *-d* only in open syllables; in open syllable roots, this yielded a regular but unusual alternation between final *-d* in the present stem and final *-s* in the past stem. In such cases, there is a tendency for the apparent anomaly to be leveled by reinterpreting the underlying root to incorporate the archaic inflectional suffix. Thus, from the root *RÑE* "obtain" we find, regularly, the present stem rñ*ed* < *N-RÑE-D* "obtains" alongside the past stem *brñes* < *b-RÑE-S* "obtained." But, once such present stem *da-drag* has become opaque to speakers, the seemingly anomalous final *-d* in the present stem is accounted for by reinterpreting the root as *RÑED.* And, from this new root, we see the appearance of a new regularly formed past stem *brñed* < *b-RÑED-s* "obtained" in addition to the older *brñes.*

Underlying forms can be similarly reinterpreted to incorporate prefixes. From

17 Alternatively, two different but homophonous roots can be conflated into a single seemingly anomalous paradigm. For example, alongside the present stem *Ntshab* "hides" we find two past stems, *tshabs* and *btsabs* "hid." It seems clear, however, that we are here in fact dealing with two roots-an intransitive root *TSHAB*1(*Ntshab/tshabs*)"hide oneself" and a transitive root *TSHAB2* (*Ntshab/btsabs/btsab/tshobs*)"conceal." Similarly, we find the past stems *tshags* and *btsags* alongside the present stem *Ntshags,* and the past stems s*or* and *bsor* alongside the present stem Nts*hor.* Again, it seems clear that the related roots *TSHAG*1 (*Ntshag/tshags*)"trickle" and *TSHAG2* (*Ntshag/btsags/btsag/tshogs*)"squeeze," and the related roots *TSORR*1(*Ntshor/sor*)"flee" and *TSOR2* (*Ntshor/bsor/gsor*)"pursue," have been conflated into a single seemingly irregular paradigm.

the Class 3 verb *so* "nourish" we find the regular stems *gso/bsos/bso/sos,* as well as the apparently irregular past stem *gsos.* But the past stem *gsos* is regular if the verb root has been reinterpreted as *GSO,* as is the present stem *gso* as wellthus *gso* < *N-GSO* "nourishes," *gsos* < *b-Gso-s* "nourished." But why reinterpret the root? Apparently the root was reinterpreted as part of a switch from Class 3 to Class 1; in such a class switch, a root with a fricative initial would yield the unfamiliar present stem **so* < *N-SO* "nourishes," rather than the familiar present stem *gso.* So the familiar present stem was retained, the verb treated as Class 1, and the result was a reinterpretation of the underlying form to *GSO.* Such Class 1 verbs as *GSON* "hear" and *GSUN* "speak" may also originally have had fricative initials, but subjected to similar processes that in their case reached completion.18

1.9.4. Conflict of rules

A third source of irregularity in the verbal paradigms is the fact that morphophonemic rules change in the course of time, and the frozen products of earlier rules may persist alongside the products of later rules. A good example is found in the case of roots with initial *l*. It seems certain there was an early rule in the language whereby a prenasalized *l* became the cluster *ld.* Note, for example, the intransitive present and past stems l*dan* < *N-LAN* "arises" and *lans* < *LAN-s* "arose," *ldon* < *N-LON* "is blind" *lon* < *LON-S* "was blind," and the transitive present and past stems *ldug* < *N-LUG* "pours" *blugs* < *b-LUG-s* "poured," *ldud* < *N-LUD* "waters" *blud* < *b-LUD-s* "watered."

As this archaic rule ceased to be productive, some of the apparently anomalous present stems it produced were accounted for by reinterpreting the underlying root. Thus we find the variant past stems *ldans* "arose" and *Idons* "was blind" alongside *lans* and *lon,* reflecting a change of the underlying roots from *LAN* to *LDAN* and from *LON* to *LDON.* Such transitive roots as *LDAD* "chew" and *LDAG* "lick" are quite likely the results of the same process: compare Tibetan *LDAG* "lick" with Burmese *Iyak,* Lushei *liak,* Lisu *lrghe*

18 Similarly, transitive roots with aspirated stop initials are rare in the classical language, and further have the property of regularly blocking the *b-* prefix, which cannot occur before an aspirated initial. Thus the transitive root *KHUR* "carry" has the quite regular past stem *khur* < *b-KHUR-s* "carried." Compared to most transitive roots, however, the past stem *khur* seems anomalous. Thus, when we find a past stem *bkur* in a text, the surface conformity of the past stem has been achieved by changing the underlying root from *KHUR* to *KUR.*

"lick," and thus Proto-Tibetan **lag* "lick."

In classical Tibetan there is also the rule that glides cannot be prenasalized; that is, in verbal inflection the prefix *N-* is automatically blocked before any glidefor example,yib < *N-YIB* "hides," *ren* < *N-REN* "is stiff." In analogy with this majority pattern, the minority pattern of initial l begins to change to conform to the pattern for the rest of the glides-thus *lug* < *N-LUG* "is meek" instead of **ldug, lab* < *N-LAB* "says" instead of **ldab.*

Here a majority rule pattern, whereby *l* < *N-L*, is in conflict with a minority rule pattern, whereby *ld* < *N-L*. Given the root *LAN* "arise," the shape of the present stemwhether *lan* or *ldanwill* depend on whether the writer applies the old minority rule or the general rule.

As the earlier and archaic rule ceases to be productive, then, the verbal system changes in three different ways. First, some verbs reinterpret their underlying forms to regularize the anomalous present stem produced by the minority rule: thus, where we find a past stem *ldir* "was distended," rather than **lir*, we must postulate an underlying root *LDIR* "be distended," presumably from an earlier root **LIR* which is now lost. Second, some verbs follow the minority rule exclusively and some the general rule exclusively: thus the root *LOG* "turn around" has only the present stem *ldog,* and the root *LUS* "remain behind" has only the present stem *lus.* Third, some verbs are unpredictably the subject of either rule: thus, from the root *LAN* "arise," we find in the texts the two present stems *lan* and *ldan* both attested.

1.9.5. Suppletion

SUPPLETION occurs when one form in a paradigm is completely replaced by a form from another paradigm, as in English *go/went.* In Tibetan we similarly find the present stem *Ngro* "goes" associated with a past stem *son* "went," of uncertain origin but almost certainly a completely different verb. In some New Tibetan dialects the past stem *son* has in turn been replaced, for example, by New Tibetan (Lhasa) *tshiN* <*phyin*>"went," clearly related to the classical verb *PHYIN* "move, proceed." We also find a form s*og* "come!" regularly used as the imperative stem of the intransitive verb ON "come," which normally, of course, would not have a separate imperative stem at all. The form *Sog* may in fact be the imperative stem of a lost verb **SAG,* of uncertain meaning; the present stem of the same verb may perhaps be found

frozen in the intransitive verb *GSEGS* "come," which functions in the classical language as the honorific equivalent of *ON* "come," and which seems to have generalized a present stem *gsegs* < **G-SAG-D*.

1.9.6. Regular irregularities

Finally, there are some verbs that, as a regular matter, simply deviate from the verbal paradigms we have proposed. A few such verbs are regularly inflected without one or other prefix in the present stemthus *tshe* "grows great" instead of the expected **Ntshe* < *N-TSHE, pheb* "goes" instead of the expected **Npheb* < *N-PHEB, myon* "tastes" instead of the expected **dmyon* < *G-MYAN*. More common are verbs that seem to be regularly inflected without the inflectional affix *-s* in the past stemfor example, *byun* "occurred" instead of the expected **byuns* < *BYUN-s, na* "was sick" instead of the expected **nas* < *NA-s, btan* "sent" instead of the expected **btans* < *b-TAN-s*. Such regularly irregular verbs would be marked in the lexicon as exceptions to particular realization rules.

Note, however, that the *-s* suffix as a sign of the past stem is, in fact, REDUNDANT in intransitive verbs and in Class 2 and Class 4 of transitive verbs. In intransitive verbs, the absence of prenasalization distinguishes the past stem from the prenasalized present stem; in Class 2 and Class 4 transitive verbs, the presence of a *b-* prefix distinguishes the past stem from the *G-* prefixed future stem. And it is, indeed, extremely rare for the *-s* suffix to be regularly absent where it is not thus redundant. Where the suffix serves to differentiate a *b_____s* past stem from a *b_____*future stem it is, as far as I can tell, invariably preserved in the paradigm.19 It appears to be a rule of the language that only 0- prefixing intransitive verbs, and only transitive verbs that signal the future stem with a G- prefix, can regularly eliminate the past stem *-s* suffix.20

19 It also seems generally true that, among Class 2 and Class 4 verbs, the past tense suffix *-s* is more likely to be missing when the present stem shows the traces of an earlier inflectional suffix -D-thus *DZUN* (*Ndzin/bzun/gzun*)"grasp," *PYUN* (*Nbyin/phyun/dbyun*)"remove."

20 We can also note the similar redundancy of the -s suffix in many imperative stems, which are largely differentiated from the other stems through the operation of the rounding rule and aspiration rule. Imperatives are sufficiently rare in the texts, however, that it is hard

(*footnote continued on next page*)

2. Morphophonemes Across Syllables

Some Tibetan PARTICLESor grammatical wordsundergo morphophonological changes conditioned, across syllable boundaries, by the final or postfinal of the immediately preceding syllable. In this text we write such morphophonemes as a capitalized portion of the syllablefor example, *-KYan, -STe, -Am, -Tu.* The capitalization indicates that the morphophoneme changes its phonetic shape according to certain rules, depending on what precedes it. There are three phonological processes which govern these changescomplete or partial articulatory assimilation; sonorance assimilation; and gravity dissimilation.21 These general processesand how they affect the Tibetan particleswill be discussed in the following sections.

2.1. Articulatory Assimilation

In COMPLETE articulatory assimilation, a morphophoneme becomes the same as the final or postfinal of the immediately preceding syllable. For example, after preceding final *-d* the particle *-Tu* becomes *-du* and the particle *-STe* becomes first *-Te* and then *-de.* Similarly, *-Tu* becomes *-su* after preceding final or postfinal *-s,* and *-KYi* becomes *-gi* after preceding final -g. In PARTIAL articulatory assimilation, a morphophoneme becomes, in some articulatory feature, more similar than it was before to the final or postfinal of the immediately preceding syllable. For example, after a preceding final or postfinal fricative -s, the affricate particle *-TSin* partially assimilates in CLOSURE to become *-sin,* with a fricative rather than an affricate initial. Similarly, after a preceding final velar *-n,* the palatalized particle *-KYi* partially assimilates in PLACE to become *-gi,* dropping the palatal component of the initial. As we will see, with these particles, such articulatory assimilations are

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

to say whether the seemingly sporadic elimination of the -s suffix from the imperative stem is consistent enough in the case of particular verbs to constitute a regular irregularity.

21 Two additional morphophonemes will not be discussed here at any length. The morphophoneme *PH,* found in the derivational affixes *-PHo* and *-PHo-tShe,* becomes, rather straightforwardly, *-b* after preceding open syllables and -p after any preceding consonant final or postfinalthus, for example, *blon-po, gnas-po,* but *dpa-bo, nu-bo.* The morphophoneme *P,* found in the derivational affix *-Pa,* becomes *b* after preceding final *-n, -r, -l* and open syllables, and becomes p after preceding final *-g, -d, -n, -b, -m,* and final or postfinal *-s*thus *snan-ba, nor-ba, Ndul-ba, lta-ba,* but *rig-pa, gsod-pa, bden-pa, sgrib-pa, sdom-pa, nus-pa.* I can make no phonological sense out of this distribution.

sporadic; they are, in fact, exceptions to other more general patterns we will discuss below.

One pattern of complete assimilation is perfectly regular, however: we find such patterns as *dag-go, rin-no, yod-do, yin-no, thub-bo, Npham-mo, sgyur-ro, Nbul-lo,* and *lags-so,* as well as *dgao, Nbrio, rgyuo, dgeo,* and *Ngroo.* Here a vowel morphophoneme, which remains a vowel after a preceding open syllable, prefixes to itself the final or postfinal consonant of a preceding closed syllable. We will write the morphophonemes that follow this pattern as capitalized vowelsthus *-Am, -U, -E,* or, in the series above, -o. For example, we find not only *dag-go* < *dag-o* but also *sgyur-ram* < *sgyur-Am, smyig-gu* < *smyig-u,* and *brñas-se* < *brñas-E.*

In the oldest manuscripts, dating from the eighth and ninth centuries, there is little consistency in the writing of these forms. Thus we find, for example, <*Ndrao*>, <*Ndra-o*>, <*gyur-ro*>, <*khor-o*>, <*tshul-lo*>, and <*gsaro*>*all* within the same manuscript. Such variations suggest that these particles were simple vowels in Proto-Tibetan, as indicated by such archaic manuscript spellings as <*rlag-o*>and <*rdze-o*>, and that they became morphophonemes, completely assimilating to preceding consonants, only in Old Tibetan.22

2.2. Gravity Dissimilation

The coordinative conjunction *-STe* "AND" becomes *-ste* after preceding final *-g, -n̄, -b, -m,* and open syllables; becomes *-te* after preceding final *-n, -r, -l,* and *-s;* and becomes *-de* after preceding final *-d.* Interestingly, the early grammatical treatise *Sum-tsu-pa,* traditionally attributed to Thon-mi Sam-

22 In the archaic manuscripts from Central Asia, we sometimes find complete assimilations to postfinal consonants which are not writtenfor example, <*rdzog-so*>for *rdzogs-so,* <*btsug-so*>for *btsugs-so,* and, presumably, <*Ntshal-do*>for *Ntshald-do.* Also, in these manuscripts and in self-consciously archaizing classical texts, we find the forms *-to* and *-tam,* apparently only after final *-n, -l,* and *-r*for example, *smon-to, mkhyen-tam, rtol-to, gyurto, dar-tam.* This may originally have been a form of partial assimilation to an unwritten postfinal *-d,* but why in this case the assimilation was partial rather than complete I do not know; one is tempted to say that these forms continue to reflect the Proto-Tibetan reflex -t of the morphophoneme **T* after a preceding final *-d,* rather than the completely assimilated Old Tibetan reflex *d.* Note, in this regard, the regular occurrence of the frozen forms *kun-tu* < **kund-tu* (never ?*kun-du*)"completely" and *pha-rol-tu* < **pha-rold-tu* (never ?*pha-rol-du*)"beyond."

bhota, in verse 13, seems to know only the form *-ste*, and not *-te* or *-de*, while in the archaic manuscripts from Central Asia we find forms such as <*srabste*>, <*babste*>, and <*bab-ste*>, apparently indiscriminately. In fact, the morphophonological changes undergone by *ST*, as they finally appear in the classical texts, are primarily a form of GRAVITY dissimilation: *S* becomes *s* after an immediately preceding grave final; and it disappears, leaving behind T, after an immediately preceding acute final or postfinal, just as, for example, the inflectional past stem suffix *-s* does within the syllable. Then this relatively straightforward dissimilation is complicated somewhat by the fact that the resulting *T* becomes *t* everywhere except after immediately preceding final *-d*, where it completely assimilates to *d*. We can diagram this development as in the following table, with the changes from the Proto-Tibetan to the Old Tibetan system indicated by boldface type:

GRAVE	ACUTE
-Ø -g -n -b -m	*-d -n -r -l -s*
ST st st st st st	*t t t t t*

*PROTO-TIBETAN

GRAVE	ACUTE
-Ø -g -n -b -m	*-d -n -r -l -s*
ST st st st st st	*d t t t t*

OLD TIBETAN

Table 11. Gravity dissimilation in the morphophoneme ST

2.3. Sonorance Assimilation

Four morphophonemes-*TS*, *KY*, *Y*, and *T*, which occur in the particles *-TSin*, *-TSig*, *-KYan*, *-KYis*, *-KYi*, *-Tu*, and *Yan*-are generally governed by a rule of assimilation to the SONORANCE of the final or postfinal of the immediately preceding syllable: they become voiced after preceding sonorants and become unvoiced after preceding obstruents. There is some reason to believe that, in

Proto-Tibetan, the rule was just that simple: there were just the three morphophonemes **TS*, *KY* and *T*, which took the forms **ts*, *ky*, and *t* after the preceding final obstruents **-g*, *-d -b*, and *-s*, and the forms **dz*, *gy*, and *d* after open syllables and the preceding final sonorants **-n*, *-n*, *-m*, *-r*, and *-l*.23

	OBSTRUENT	SONORANT
	-g -b -d -s	*-n̄ -n -m -r -l -∅*
TŠ	*tštštštš*	*žžžžžž*
KY	*ky ky ky ky*	*gy gy gy gy gy gy*
T	*t t t t*	*d d d d d d*

*PROTO-TIBETAN

	OBSTRUENT	SONORANT
	-g -b -d -s	*-n -n -km -r -l -∅*
TŠ	*tštštšš*	*žžžžžž*
KY		*g gy gy gy gy y*
	g ky ky ky	
Y		*y y y y y y*
	ky ky ky ky	
T		*d d d d d r*
	t t d s	

OLD TIBETAN

Table 12 Sonorance assimilation in the morphophonemes TŠ, KY, Y and T

This straightforward pattern apparently became complicated by several additional articulatory assimilations. The allophone **dz* of the morphophoneme *T*S became, by the time of Old Tibetan, unstopped to z in all environments; after immediately preceding final or postfinal *-s*, the morphophoneme *TS* partially assimilated in closure and took the form of the fricative *S*. The morphophoneme *T* completely assimilated to become *d* after immediately preceding final or postfinal *-d* and become *s* after immediately preceding final or postfinal -s. Interestingly, it also partially assimilated in closure to a pre-

23 The archaic manuscripts from Central Asia show sporadic and inconsistent uses of forms such as *-dzin*, *-dzig*, and *-gyan*, which are possibly remnants of this older, hypothetical system.

ceding vowel, changing from a stop to the glide *r,* which presumably was the glide closest in place to the original dental stop. The morphophoneme *KY* split into two different forms. One of these, which we write as the morphophoneme *Y,* occurs only in the unbound connective *Yan,* which becomes *kyan* after all immediately preceding obstruents, and becomes yan-presumably from Proto-Tibetan **gyan*-after all immediately preceding sonorants. The other, which we write as the morphophoneme *KY,* occurs in the bound particles *-KYan, -KYis,* and *-KYi,* where we find complete assimilation to g after preceding final -g, and partial assimilation to g after preceding final *-n.* And, interestingly, the morphophoneme partially assimilated in closure to a preceding vowel, changing from a palatalized stop to the palatal glide y. We can diagram this development as in Table 12, with the changes from the ProtoTibetan to the Old Tibetan system again indicated by boldface type.

After preceding open syllables, the morphophonemes *KY* and *T,* which partially assimilate to become the glides *y* and *r,* and the morphophoneme Y, which normally takes the form y after any sonorant, can also take contracted forms which can be counted metrically as part of the preceding syllable.24 Thus from the particle *-Tu* we find, for example, both *mtha-ru* and *mthar, bde-ru* and *bder, rgyu-ru* and *rgyur,* from the particle *-KYi* both *bla-yi* and *blai spyi-yi* and *spyii, blo-yi* and *bloi,* from the particle *-KYis* both *rgyal-po-yis* and *rgyal-pos, blu-yis* and *blus, dge-yis* and *dges,* and from the particles *-KYan* and *Yan* both *dga-yan* and *dgaan, Nbri-yan* and *Nbrian, Ndre-yan* and *Ndrean.*

24 Alternation of initial *y-* and ∅- is not unusual in Tibetan: note, for example, *yug-pa~ ug-pa* "oats," *yud-pa~ud-pa* "moment," *yob-pa~ob-pa* "ditch," *YONN-ON* "come." In all these cases, given the basic disyllabic rhythm of the language, contracted forms are much more likely to be found after unstressed syllables, and the full syllabic formsthemselves unstressedafter stressed syllables.

9
Phrases

1. Preliminaries

1.1. Syntax and Morphology

As we have said, the SYNTAX of classical Tibetan describes the ways that the words of the language are strung together to make grammatical sequences. Thus it is WORDS from the lexicon that form the input to the syntax:1 the syntax describes how these words are meaningfully collocatedhow they become, not isolated words, but functioning units in a sentence. Thus *rgyal-po* "king," *dgra* "enemy," and *SAD* "kill" are words; arranged meaningfully they become, say, (*rgyal-po AGENY dgra PATIENT SAD PAST*) *QUESTION* "Did the king kil*l* the enemy?" The SYNTAX describes how the functions of each word are expressed: it gives the rule, for example, that the agency of a participant is realized as the particle *-KYis,* that the completion of the event is realized as the prefix *b-* and suffix *-s,* and that the interrogativity of the sentence is realized as the final particle *-Am.* Thus the output of the syntax in this example would be *rgyal-po-KYis dgra-*0 *b-SAD-s -Am.* It is the INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY of the language that then adjusts the FORMS of the words in the sentence to become, finally, the recognizable classical Tibetan sequence *rgyalpos dgra bsad-dam* "Did the king kill the enemy?"

1.2. Overview of the Syntax

The highest level discussed in the syntax is the DISCOURSE. The discourse will

1 Words are thus primitives in the syntactic system, although, as we have seen, lexical wordsnouns, adjectives, verbsmay themselves be derivationally complex. For example, the words *rdo-rin* "long stone ® monument" and *rnam-par SES* "particularly know ® perceive" are both internally complex but, as words, are primitives to the syntax. Note, however, that the syntax does recognize internal structure in words: for example, the negative particle *mI-*"NOT" always immediately precedes the inflected verb stem even in an internally complex verb-thus *rnam-par mi-ses* "He does not perceive" and not ?*mi-rnam-par ses*.

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remain undefined, except to say that a discourse consists of one or more SENTENCES, and that such a discourse possesses a coherence unpossessed by a random collocation of sentences. The syntax postulates a discourse level because we find, within sentences, both connectives and omissions with extrasentential referents.

A sentence, in turn, consists of a PROPOSITION followed by a PERFORMANCE PARTICLE. The proposition contains the propositional content of the sentence; the performance particle indicates whether that content is intended as a statement, question, or command. For example, the sentences *rgyal-pos dgra mthon-no* "The king sees the enemy," *rgyal-pos dgra mthon-nam* "Does the king see the enemy?" and *rgyal-pos dgra mthon-zig* "Let the king see the enemy!" are different performances of the same proposition *rgyal-pos dgra mthon.*2

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proposition; such a complex proposition may then become a sentence by the addition of a performance particle. Or one proposition can be embedded at a lower level within another proposition by being NOMINALIZEDthat is, turned into a nominal by the affixation of any of several nominalizing particles. For example, the proposition *bla-mas bgegs btul* "The lama tamed the demon" can be nominalized by the nominalizing particle *-Pa* to become *bla-mas bgegs btul-ba* "the taming of the demon by the lama." Such a nominalized proposition can then occur anywhere a nominal can occur. It can be the head of a nominal, as in *rgyal-pos* [*bla-mas bgegs btul-ba*] *mthon* "The king saw the taming of the demon by the lama"; or it can be a COMPLEMENT that modifies a nominal or verbal head, as in [*bla-mas bgegs btul-ba*]*-i sgrun* "the tale of the taming of the demon by the lama," or a RELATIVE that modifies a nominal head, as in [*bla-mas bgegs btul-ba*]*-i bgegs* "demon which the lama tamed."

A proposition consists of an EVENT preceded by the various PARTICIPANTS in that event. The event is what happened; the participants are those to whom it happened, who made it happen, where it happened, with what or with whom it happened, and so on. The event is expressed as a VERB PHRASE carrying its TENSE; each participant is expressed as a NOMINAL PHRASE with a following ROLE PARTICLE to indicate the particular participant role it plays in the proposition. For example, in the proposition *nags-la rgyal-po-s Sin-Ø btubs* "The king chopped wood in the forest," the fact that the asserted event is now PAST is signaled by the past tense affixes *b-* and *-s* attached to the verb *TUB* "chop." Similarly, the participant *nags* "forest" is signaled as the LOCUS of the event by the role particle *-la*, the participant *rgyal-po* "king" is signaled as the AGENCY of the event by the role particle *-s*, and the participant *Sin* is signaled as the PATIENT of the event by the role particle *-Ø*. There are five primary participant roles in the classical languagePATIENT, AGENCY, LOCUS, SOURCE, and ACCOMPANIMENT.

A VERB PHRASE is a verb with its optional specifiers and modifiers; a NOMINAL PHRASE is a nominal with its optional specifiers and modifiers. The specifier of a verb in a verb phrase is the optional NEGATION, expressed by the negation particle *mI-* "NOT"; the specifiers of a nominal in a nominal phrase are DELIMITERS and QUANTIFIERS.3 The modifier of a verb in a verb phrase

3 There are two different types of delimiter in the classical textsDETERMINERS and REFLEXIVES. Either or both may occur, but, where both occur, two conditions must be met: the determiner must precede the reflexive, and the determiner must be the type of

we will call an ADVERB; the modifier of a nominal in a nominal phrase we will call an ADNOMINAL. Nominals other than nominalized propositions consist of various combinations of adjective phrases and nouns. An ADJECTIVE PHRASE consists of an adjective and its optional INTENSIFIER, such as s*in-tu* "very." Verbs, adjectives, and nouns are primitives in the lexicon.

Adverbs and adnominals are themselves nominal phrases, followed, respectively, by the adverb particle -*Tu* and the adnominal particle -*KYi*. This means that, in both cases, successive embeddings can take placefor example, *mgyogs-po-i rta* "fast horse" *rgyal-po-i mgyogs-po-i rta* "the king's fast horse" *rgya-nag-gi rgyal-po-i mgyogs-po-i rta* "the king of China's fast horse," and *mgyogs-po-r SLEB* "arrive quickly" *nan-pa-r mgyogs-po-r SLEB* "arrive quickly in the morning" *spyi-r nan-pa-r mgyogs-po-r SLEB* "generally arrive quickly in the morning." Intensifiers, such as s*in-tu* "very" or *yonis-su* "completely" are a special subset of adverbs.

The following sections will describe the syntax of classical Tibetan from the bottom upthat is, first describing nominals, then phrases, then simple propositions, then complex propositions, then sentences, and finally some portions of the syntax beyond the sentence level.

1.3. The Telegram Principle

1.3.1. The elimination of redundancy

Classical Tibetan is above all a written rather than a spoken language; freed from the constraints imposed by the transience and noise of spoken messages, it can be highly elliptic, rather like an English telegram; it is, like a telegram, a shortened form of what would otherwise be a more redundant communication. For example, the telegram *John arriving airport Tuesday send car* achieves

> determiner we call a definite determiner. Similarly, we find in the classical texts four different types of quantifier: the nominal and its delimiter may be followed by one NUMERAL, one PLURAL, one TOTALIZER, and one SELECTORalways in that order. For example, in the nominal phrase *bla-ma de-dag kun* "all those lamas," the nominal *bla-ma* "lama" is followed by the determiner *de* "THAT," the plural -*dag* "MORE THAN ONE," and the selector *kun* "ALL"; in the nominal phrase *rgyal-po na gñis* "we two kings," the nominal *rgyal-po* "king" is followed by the determiner *na* "FIRST PERSON" and the numeral *gñis* "two."

brevity by eliminating the parenthesized redundancies from the more normal *John* (*is*) *arriving* (*at the*) *airport* (*on*) *Tuesday* (*so*) *send* (*a*) *car* (*to meet him there*). Similarly, we propose a classical Tibetan TELEGRAM PRINCIPLE: redundant elements of the message may beand frequently areomitted. This principle may override syntactic rules of the language.

1.3.2. Old and new information

A proposition may contain a number of different sorts of information: it may refer to entities introduced for the first time into the discourse; or entities which could be inferred from a discourse entity already introduced; or entities which are obviously part of the discourse situation, although not previously mentioned; or entities which were already introduced into the discourse and are now being referred to again, either immediately or after some stretch of intervening text. We will not discuss these distinctions in detail; let it suffice to say that these different sorts of information are points on a continuum that ranges, simply, from OLD INFORMATION to NEW INFORMATION. Old information is recoverablefrom the preceding text, from inference, from knowledge of the world. Under the Telegram Principle, old information may, depending on its recoverability, be sufficiently redundant to be omitted.4

Any participant or group of participants can be old news in a proposition. In a discourse about a king, for example, the participant *rgyal-po* "king" might be inferableand thus redundantin any such proposition as RGYAL-PO-Ø*ñal* "THE KING sleeps," RGYAL-PO-S *dgra bsad* "THE KING slew the enemy," *dgra-s* RGYAL-PO-Ø*bsad* "The enemy slew THE KING," RGYAL-PO-*la Nphrul-gyi ral-gri-*Ø *yod* "THE KING has a magic sword," and so on.

Under the Telegram Principle, anything recoverableold information, the theme of a propositioncan be left out, for the reader to supply from the preceding text or from general knowledge. Thus a proposition may consist only of the rheme, with the theme considered redundant and omitted. Take, for example, the two propositions *rgyal-pos bgegs gsod* "The king slays

4 One type of old information is of particular importance. Every proposition is ABOUT something; the something that a proposition is about we will call its THEME. What is said about the themethe news the speaker supplies about itis the RHEME. A theme may be constant across any number of propositions; once a theme has been established, it becomes, of course, old information.

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demons" and *bla-mas bgegs Ndul* "The lama tames demons," and join them together with the conjunction -*Yan* "BUT"thus *rgyal-pos bgegs gsod-kyan bla-mas Ndul* "The king slays demons, but the lama tames them." Clearly, read

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manipulates the cohesiveness of his textthe amount of back-reference he requires, the old information he repeats, and the density of the new information he supplies. The skill of the reader lies in part in the ability to unravel what the author has thus knit up.

1.3.3. The omission of role particles

Every participant in a Tibetan proposition is marked in three ways for its particular participant roleby its role particle, by its position, and by its semantic content. For example, in the proposition *rgyal-pos rdza-ma btsag* "The king broke the pot," the participant *rgyal-po* "king" is marked as the agency of the act of breaking by its leftward position in the proposition, by its role particle *-s*, and by its semantic contentthat is, a human capable of agency. The participant *rdza-ma* "pot" is marked as the patient of the act of breaking by its position just before the verb, by its role particle -Ø, and by its semantic content-that is, an inanimate object incapable of agency, but quite capable of being broken.

But, under the Telegram Principle, redundant elements of the message may beand frequently areomitted. In the proposition *rgyal-pos rdza-ma btsag* "The king broke the pot," the role particle *-s* is redundant, because it supplies information given as well by position and by semantic content. There is little ambiguity in the proposition *rgyal-po rdza-ma btsag*, which must still except under the most peculiar textual constraints-be processed as "The king broke the pot."

Since the role particle uniquely specifies the participant role of the participant, the role particle can be the clearest marker for participant role. When the role particle is omitted, the position and semantic content of the participant are clues to its role in the proposition; when the role particle is present, the author may then more freely manipulate the other two markers for participant roleposition and semantic content.

Where participants are marked with their role particles, an author is free to change the ORDER in which these participants appear in the proposition. Such differences in participant order convey information about the place of particular participants in the discourse, with THEMATIC participants appearing for the first time shifted to the left of the other participants: compare, for

example, *rgyal-pos rdza-ma btsag* "The king broke the pot" with *rdza-ma rgyal-pos btsag* "The potthe king broke it."6

Conversely, the agency through which an event occurs is often perceived as thematic, since what people talk ABOUT most often are the actions of other people. Thus, where a participant is not marked with a role particle, the leftward participant is often processed as the agency, and the participant closest to the verb as the patient, where semantically possible: the otherwise ambiguous *rgyal-po bla-ma mthon* would normally be processed as "The king sees the lama" unless there are good textual reasons to read it otherwise.7

Where participants are unambiguously marked with their role particles, an author has some freedom to manipulate their SEMANTIC CONTENT, either through such figures of speech as metaphor or metonymy, or through the creation of a world different from the normal one. Such a world might be created by, say, the proposition *rdo-sku-s rgyal-po-0 mthon* "The stone image sees the king" in a discourse about a miraculously animated statue.

When an author, under the Telegram Principle, deletes too much information from a proposition, that proposition becomes ambiguous. An ambiguous proposition offers a choice of readings. Ambiguity is thus the opposite of redundancy: ambiguity is an insufficiency of information, while redundancy is a surfeit. Such ambiguous propositions can sometimes be disambiguated by extralinguistic knowledge of what is normal and expected in the world. In fact, sometimes more sophisticated knowledge is necessary. Whether the proposition *sgrib-pa srid-pa skyed* should be read as "Ignorance creates the

6 Once such a theme is established, of course, it becomes old information-that is, it is recoverable from context-and can be telegraphically omitted, as in, say, *rdza-ma rdza-mkhan-gyis bzos rgyal-pos btsag* "As for the pots, the potter made them and the king broke them."

7 Another way of saying almost the same thing is to say that normal Tibetan word order is AGENCY-PATIENT-VERB. But note that semantic content still limits the reading of, say, *rdo-sku rgyal-po mthon* to "The king sees the stone image," despite the order of its participants, except under the most peculiar textual constraintsthat is, assuming a normal world of sightless stone statues unless the text instructs us otherwise. Thus the proposition *rdo bla-ma btsag* would normally be processed as "The lama broke the stone" (or, perhaps better, "The stonethe lama broke it") despite the fact that the order of participants suggests the reading "The stone broke the lama" (or "(Someone) broke the lama with a stone") and its associated image of an unfortunate and perhaps frozen lama.

world" or "Ignorancethe world creates it" turns on a fine point of theology; and it is a question of literary scholarship which reading the author intended.

2. Nominals

2.1. Definition

A NOMINAL is any lexical word or combination of words that can occur before a determiner such as *Ndi* "THIS" in a nominal phrase. Nominals thus include not only NOUNS (*rta* "horse" *rta Ndi* "this horse") and ADJECTIVES (*bzan-po* "virtuous" *bzan-po Ndi* "this virtue"), but also COMBINATIONS of nouns and adjectives (*rta* "horse" *tshen-po* "great" *rta tshen-po Ndi* "this great horse") and even entire NOMINALIZED PROPOSITIONS (*rgyal-pos rta tshen-po btul* "The king tames the great horse" *rgyal-pos rta tshen-po btul-ba Ndi* "this taming of the great horse by the king").

2.2. Head and Modifier

A nominal is generally processed as having a HEADthe leftmost component of the nominalfollowed by one or more MODIFIERS.8 Either a noun or an adjective can be the head of a nominal, and either a noun or an adjective can be the modifier of the head.9

The modifier functions to restrict the head in terms of some qualifying

8 This structure is internal to the nominal; the nominal as a whole can then be a head modified by a preceding ADNOMINAL, which is a nominal phrase with the bound adnominal particle *-KYi.* For example, in the nominal phrase *bla-ma tshen-po deiphren-ba gser-po* "that great lama's golden rosary," the NOMINAL *phren-ba gser-po* "golden rosary"consisting of the HEAD *phren-ba* "rosary" and its MODIFIER *gser-po* "golden"is in turn modified by the preceding ADNOMINAL *bla-ma tshen-po de* "that great lama"a nominal phrase consisting of the nominal *bla-ma tshen-po* "great lama" and the determiner *de* "THAT," and the nominal *bla-ma tshen-po* "great lama" consisting in turn of the head *bla-ma* "lama" and its modifier *tshen-po* "great."

9 We may note that a Tibetan adjective head must generally be TRANSLATED into English as an abstract nounthus *bzan-po* "virtuous" s*in-tu bzan-po* "very virtuous" *bzan-po Ndi* "this virtue," *gtum-po* "furious" s*in-tu gtum-po* "very furious" *gtum-po Ndi* "great fury." This is a peculiarity of English and not of Tibetan.

feature: the modifier answers the question "What type of?" with reference to the head. All nominals refer to a set of entities; the set designated by a modified head is thus a proper subset of the set designated by the head alone. For example, in the nominal *bla-ma bzan-po* "virtuous lama" the modifier *bzan-po* "virtuous" restricts the head *bla-ma* "lama," and answers the question "What type of lama?" The modified head refers to the set of virtuous lamasa proper subset of the set designated by the head alone.

2.3. Basic Patterns

In Tibetan the leftmost component of the nominal is generally processed as the head and components to the right as its modifier. Since a noun or adjective head can be followed by a noun or adjective modifier, there are four basic patterns of head and modifier. A NOUN can be modified by an ADJECTIVE, as in *snags-pa nag-po* "black magician"; a NOUN can be modified by a NOUN, as in *bla-ma snags-pa* "lama who is a magician"; an ADJECTIVE can be modified by an ADJECTIVE, as in *nag-po tshen-po* "great blackness"; andalthough certainly not commonan ADJECTIVE can even be modified by a NOUN, as in *nag-po sems* "blackness which is his mind."

2.4. Extended Patterns

Since a modified head is itself a nominal, a combined head and modifier may in turn be a head or modifier within a larger nominal. The processing of such larger nominals generally proceeds through successive bifurcations of head and modifier. For example, in the nominal *bla-ma bzan-po tshen-po* "great virtuous lama" the nominal *bla-ma bzan-po* "virtuous lama"itself a head and modifierserves as a leftmost head modified by the adjective *tshen-po* "great." Similarly, in the nominal *bla-ma tshen-po sprul-sku bzan-po* "great lama who is a virtuous incarnation" the nominal *bla-ma tshen-po* "great lama" serves as a head modified by the nominal *sprul-sku bzan-po* "virtuous incarnation."10

> 10 We may note here briefly that a nominal such as *bla-ma sprul-sku bzan-po is* ambiguous between the alternative readings (*bla-ma* (*sprul-sku bza-po*))"lama who is a virtuous incarnation" and ((*bla-ma sprul-sku*) *bzan-po*)"virtuous lama-who-is-an-incarnation"; compare the similar ambiguity of English *old men and women.* Such ambiguity arises, of

(*footnote continued on next page*)

Such combinations of head and modifier can be expanded to the limits of stylistic tolerance. A nominal such as *bla-ma bzan-po tshen-po mal-Nbyor-pa mi-la ras-pa sprul-sku rin-po-tshe* "great virtuous lama who is the yogin the precious incarnation Mi-la the cotton-clad" perhaps approaches but does not exceed these limits. The nominal is thus the EXPANDABLE constituent of the nominal phrase: the various specifiers that follow the nominal are added only after such expansion is complete.

2.5. Adjectives

An adjectivelike a verbmay be preceded by one or more of several INTENSIFIERS, primarily s*in-tu* "very" and *ha-tsan* "very," but including as well such adverbs as *lhag-par* "especially," *rab-tu* "particularly," *te-bor* "really," *yons-su* "completely," *mtshog-tu* "extremely," *kun-tu* "entirely."

Tibetan adjectives are not regularly inflected for degree, as in English. Comparisons are made simply with the source role particle *-las,* as in *rgyal-po-las tshen-po* "greater than the king," *na-nin-las bzan-po* "more beautiful than last year"; sometimes a particle *-Pas,* whose origin I do not know,11 is used instead of the source particle *-las* to mark the object of comparison, as in *Nbras-ldzon-bas gran-ba* "colder than Sikkim," *sna-ma-bas phyug-pa* "richer than before." In this, adjectives are not different from verbs; note, for example, *gzan-las NPHAG* "be nobler than others," *rta-bas TSHE* "be bigger than a horse."

Again, in some texts, a formative *yan-* "STILL, YET, MORE" can give an adjective a comparative sensethus *tshun-ba "small" yan-tshun* "still smaller," *dga-ba* "happy" *yan-dga* "yet happier," *bzan-po* "good" *yan-bzan* "even better." Thus, too, in the epic, the hero Ge-sar, in the lowly form of Dzo-ru, sings *ma-nan Ngog-moi dzo-ru na, skye-nan nan-nasyan-nan red* "I, Dzo-ru, of the miserable mother Ngog-mo, am among those of miserable birth yet more miserable."

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

course, because the process of bifurcation into head and modifier can begin at either of two places in the nominal.

11 This comparative particle *-Pas* is certainly not the same as *-Pa-s,* the formative *-Pa* "NOMINAL" plus the agency role particle *-KYis.*

A similar formative, *dze-* "MORE AND MORE" turns a stative verb stem expressing a particular quality into a stative verb expressing the increase of that quality over timethus *MAN* "be many" *dze-MAN* "be more and more," *GSAL* "be clear" *dze-GSAL* "be ever more clear," *PHRA* "be thin" *dze-PHRA "be* thinner and thinner," as in *dze-gsal-du son* "It has become increasingly clear," *dze-man Ngro* "They go on becoming more numerous." Such progressive comparatives are quite frequently reduplicatedthus *dze-TSHE dze-TSHE* "be bigger and bigger," *dze-MTHO dze-MTHO* "be higher and higher," *dze-BZAN dzeBZAN* "be better and better," and even *dze-TSHUN de-NUN* "be smaller and smaller," as in *dze-bzan de-bzan-du son* "She became ever more beautiful," *tshu-phran man-po dze-tshe dze-tshe-la rgyas* "Many little streams grew bigger and bigger, and became swollen." This formative is old in Tibetan; note the following few verses, dating to the mid-seventh century and attributed to the queen Sad-mar-kar, from an archaic chronicle found near Tun-huang:

dze-ñe ni dze-ñe-na Nearer yes: nearer

yar-pa ni dgun-dan ñe Yar-pa yes: is near the sky

dgun-skar ni si-li-li Stars of the sky yes: *si-li-li*

dze-ñe ni dze-ñe-na Nearer yes: nearer

snur-ba ni tshab-dan ñe Snur-ba yes: is near the water

gyur-sram ni pyo-la-la The otter yes: *pyo-la-la*

dze-ñe ni dze-ñe-na Nearer yes: nearer

mal-tro ni klum-dan ñe Mal-tro yes: is near to Klum

skyi-bser ni spu-ru-ru The cold wind yes: *spu-ru-ru*

Superlatives are formed in several ways. The object of comparison, marked with *-las* or *-Pas*, may simply be made very broadthus *thams-tsad-las rtsubmo* "rougher than all/roughest of all," *kun-las Nphags-pa* "nobler than all/ noblest of all." Or the adjective may be applied to one member of a specified groupfor example, *dge-slon-gi nan-nas bsod-pa* "pleasing from among the monks/most pleasing of the monks." Again, adjectives are here not different from verbs; note, for example, *kun-las MDZES* "be most beautiful of all," *kungyi nan-nas BTSOG* "be nastiest among them all."

Alternatively, the formative *-sos* "MOST" gives an adjective a superlative sensethus *rgan-pa* "old" *rgan-sos* "oldest," *mkhas-pa* "wise" *mkhas-sos* "wisest," *rin-po* "long" *rin-sos* "longest," *tshe-ba* "great" *tshe-sos* "greatest,"

as in *btsun-mo lna-brgyai tshun-sos* "the youngest of the five hundred ladies," *nad tshe-sos rgad-nad* "the greatest disease of all, which is the disease of old age."

Finally, we should take note of the verb *DRAGS* "be too much," as in *lto-za-* *drags-na ma-zu-bai nad yon* "If your food is excessive, there will be the disease of indigestion." Where the patient of this verb is a nominal with an adjective head, the verb indicates an excessive amount of the quality expressed by the adjective, as when Sa-skya pandita writes, in his *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter, gnas ma-yin-pai dul drags-na, thams-tsad-kyis ni bkol-bar Ngyur* "If you are too gentle in the wrong circumstances you will be made a servant by everyone."

2.6. Headless Modifiers

Sometimes a nominal is processed as a modifier without a preceding head. Where the head of the nominal has been established by the context, it may fall under the operation of the Telegram Principle and be omitted as redundant, leaving behind a headless modifier. In such cases English inserts a dummy head such as *one,* while Tibetan simply leaves the leftmost position vacantthus *rta tshen-po* "great horse" *tshen-po* "great one," *g.yu snon-po* "blue turquoise" *snon-po* "blue one," *bla-ma bzan-po tshen-po* "great virtuous lama" *bzan-po tshen-po* "great virtuous one." Similarly, a head can be omitted where it can be recovered not from the preceding text but from common assumptions about the world: in *tshen-pos sbyin-pa gton* "The great give gifts," or *bzan-pos byams-pa sgom* "Virtuous people contemplate love," the nominals *tshen-po* "great" and *bzan-po* "virtuous" are read as headless modifiers whose absent head has an indefinite reference to people in general.

This means, too, that a nominal such as *gtum-po* can be processed as being either an ADJECTIVE HEAD (thus "fury") or a HEADLESS ADJECTIVE MODIFIER (thus "furious one"). Such structural ambiguity is disambiguated only by the context in which the nominal occurs. For example, compare the two propositions *rgyal-pos bzan-po tshen-po bsad* "The king slew the great virtuous one" and *rgyal-pos bzan-po tshen-po thob* "The king attained great virtue," where the verbs *SAD* "slay" and *THOB* "attain"requiring animate and abstract patients respectivelydetermine the reading of the nominal.

3. Phrases

Events and their participants are expressed, respectively, by verb and nominal PHRASES; it is these phrases which then carry the markers for tense and role. A NOMINAL PHRASE is a nominal with its optional specifiers and modifiers; a VERB PHRASE is a verb with its optional specifiers and modifiers. We will call the modifier of a nominal within the nominal phrase an ADNOMINAL, and the modifier of a verb within the verb phrase an ADVERB.12

3.1. Nominal Phrases

3.1.1. Simple Nominal Phrases

3.1.1.1. Specifiers

In a nominal phrase, a nominal may be followed by from zero to six SPECIFIERS. A solitary nominal such as *bla-ma* "lama" or *bla-ma snags-pa nag-po tshen-po* "lama who is a great black magician" refers vaguely to any or all of the entities within the set it defines. The specifier functions to SPECIFY THE SCOPE of this reference, as in, say, *bla-ma Ndi* "THIS lama," *bla-ma-zig* "SOME lama," *bla-ma lna* "FIVE lamas," *bla-ma-dag* "MORE THAN ONE lama," *bla-ma gan* "ANY lama," *bla-ma kun* "ALL lamas."

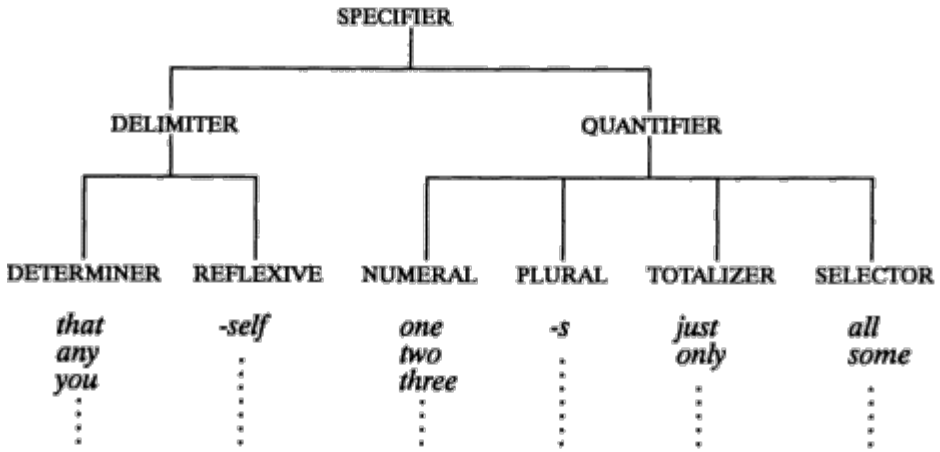
Some specifiers, such as *this* or *that*, specify WHICH member or members of the set denoted by the nominal are referred to: we will call these DELIMITERS.

12 Adverbs and adnominals are interestingly parallel in Tibetan. They are both nominal phrases, of any length and complexity, marked respectively with the adverb or adnominal particle; adverbs and adnominals are thus both phrases embedded within phrasesthe adverb within a verb phrase and the adnominal within a nominal phraseto the left of the head word; in both cases successive embeddings can take place to the limits of stylistic tolerance. Compare, for example, *mgyogs-po-i rta* "fast horse" *rgyal-po-i mgyogs-po-i rta* "the king's fast horse" *rgya-nag-gi rgyal-po-i mgyogs-po-i rta* "the king of China's fast horse" with *mgyogs-po-r SLEB* "arrive quickly" *nan-pa-r mgyogs-po-r SLEB* "arrive quickly in the morning" *spyi-r nanpa-r mgyogs-po-r SLEB* "generally arrive quickly in the morning," and so on.

Semantically, both adverbs and adnominals *modify* their following verb or nominal head. In both cases, the modifier limits or qualifies the head by adding information about it, and answers the question "What sort of?" with reference to the head. In both cases, the modified head designates a proper subset of the set designated by the head alone.

Other specifiers, such as *five* or *some*, specify HOW MANY members of the set denoted by the nominal are referred to: we will call these QUANTIFIERS. In classical Tibetan, delimiters and quantifiers are both optional parts of the nominal phrase; but where either or both occur, their order is fixed as NOMINAL-DELIMITER-QUANTIFIER.

There are, furthermore, two different types of delimiter in the classical texts DETERMINERS and REFLEXIVES. Either or both may occur, but, where both occur, two conditions must be met: the determiner must precede the reflexive, and the determiner must be a DEFINITE determiner, as will be discussed below. Similarly, we find in the classical texts four different types of quantifier: the nominal and its delimiter may be followed by one NUMERAL, one PLURAL, one TOTALIZER, and one SELECTORalways in that order. The complete array of available specifiers may be diagrammed as follows:



Thus the minimum nominal phrase consists simply of a NOMINAL, while the maximum nominal phrase consists, at least theoretically, of the sequence NOMINAL-DETERMINER-REFLEXIVE-NUMERAL-PLURAL-TOTALIZER-SELECTOR. Whether such a maximum sequence occurs (and I certainly have not seen it anywhere, or I would display it here proudly) is a matter of stylistic constraints on syntax; but between these two extremes we find nominal phrases with various combinations of these constituents, which occur in the order set forth abovethus *bla-ma Ndi-dag* "these lamas" but not ?*bla-ma-dag Ndi, rta-dag-rnams* "horses" but not ?*rta-rnams-dag, rgyal-po lna-zig* "some five kings" but not ?*rgyal-po-zig lna, snags-pa de-dag kun* "all those magicians" but

not ?*snags-pa kun de-dag, mkhas-pa gan-zig* "any wise man" but not ?*mkhaspa-zig gan.*

The specifier is the last component of a nominal phrase. We therefore sometimes find a specifierusually *de* "THAT" or *-TSig* "ONE/SM"used simply as a PHRASE-CLOSER, to signal the end of a nominal phrase which has the invisible -Ørole particle, especially where that phrase, or the next, is long and complex. Conversely, we frequently find HEADLESS SPECIFIERS, where the nominal head has been omitted by the Telegram Principlefor example, *bla-ma de-dag* "those lamas" Ø*de-dag* "those ones," *dge-slon gan-zig* "any monk" Ø *gan-zig* "any one," *rgyal-po khon* "he the king" Ø *khon* "he," *dgon-pa ran* "the same monastery" Ø *ran* "the same one," *blun-po gsum-zig* "some three fools" Ø *gsum-zig* "some three ones," *sems-tsan de-dag thams-tsad* "all those sentient creatures" Ø *de-dag thams-tsad* "all those ones," and so on.

3.1.1.1.1. Delimiters

3.1.1.1.1.1. Determiners

A nominal may be followed by a single DETERMINER which delimits its scope by specifying which of the named entities is referred to. Such specification in Tibetan may, first, be either DEFINITE or INDEFINITEthat is, may specify the scope of the reference as some determinate subset, as in *skyes-bu de* "THAT person," or as some indeterminate subset, as in *skyes-bu gan* "SOME/ANY person." Second, definite determiners may specify the scope of that determinate subset either in terms of its SPATIAL RELATION to the speaker, as in *dgon-pa ya-gi* "the monastery up THERE," or in terms of its SPEAKING ROLE in the discourse, as in *rnal-Nbyor-pa khyod* "YOU the yogin." We therefore distinguish SPATIAL DETERMINERS from PERSONAL DETERMINERS. Both personal determiners and indefinite determiners, as we shall see, bear some resemblance to English pronouns.

3.1.1.1.1.1.1. Definite determiners

3.1.1.1.1.1.1.1. Spatial determiners

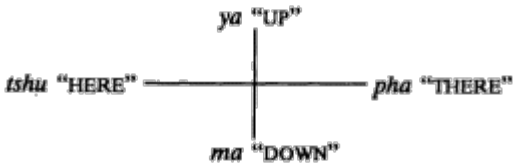
SPATIAL determiners are of two sorts. First, there are three VERTICAL determinersya-gi "UP THERE," *ma-gi* "DOWN THERE," and *pha-gi* "ACROSS

THERE HORIZONTALLY." These determiners delimit the preceding nominal in terms of its DECLINATION from the speakerthus *la ya-gi* "the pass up there," *lun ma-gi* "the valley down there," *sgan pha-gi* "the ridge over there."13 There are two HORIZONTAL determiners*Ndi* "THIS" and *de* "THAT." These determiners delimit the preceding nominal in terms of its NEARNESS to the speaker-thus *bla-ma Ndi* "this lama here," *bla-ma de* "that lama there." Such nearness may be metaphorically extended to include temporal and textual proximity as well-for example, *tshig Ndi* "this word (just spoken)."

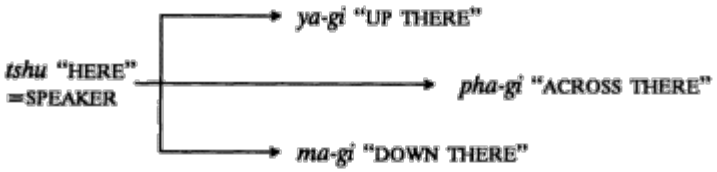
3.1.1.1.1.1.2. Personal determiners

Classical Tibetan PERSONAL DETERMINERS such as *na* "I" and *khyod* "you" can be seen to occur in exactly the same syntactic slots as such nonpersonal determiners as *Ndi* "THIS" and *de* "THAT"-for example, *bla-ma de* "that lama" *bla-ma khon* "he the lama," *mi de-rnams* "those men" *mi khyod-rnams* "you men," *dge-slon Ndi gñis* "these two monks" *dge-slon na gñis* "we two monks," *mthu-tshen yod-pa de* "the one who has magic power" *mthu-tshen yod-pa na* "I who have magic power." Personal determiners, however, are

13 The *wordpha* "that side" is usually paired semantically with the word *tshu* "this side"for example, *pha-rol* "the other side" *tshu-rol* "this side," *pha-rol-pa* "adversary" *tshu-rol-pa* "ally." Similarly, *ya* "up" is semantically paired with *ma* "down"for example, *ya-mtshu* "upper lip" *ma-mtshu* "lower lip," *ya-them* "lintel" *ma-them* "sill," *ya-thog* "ceiling" *ma-thog* "floor," *ya-rabs* "upper class" *ma-rabs* "lower class," *ya-so* "upper teeth" *ma-so* "lower teeth," *yar-no* "waxing moon" *mar-no* "waning moon." This double opposition may be charted as follows:



However, when these oppositions are exploited as determiners, presumably *tshu* represents the position of the speaker, and the oppositions yield a three-way vertical distinction:



syntactically defined as a class by their occurrence before the plural *-tsag* (thus n*a-dag* "we" *Ndi-dag* "these," n*a-tsho* "we" *Ndi-tsho* "these," *na-tsag* "we" but not ?*Ndi-tsag*, as well as such forms as *khon-tsag-rnams* "they" parallel to *de-dag-rnams* "those"), although in the later classical texts personal determiners tend to be pluralized most frequently by the selector *-rnams*.

3.1.1.1.1.1.2.1. Unmarked and Specialized Forms

There are three personal determiners we can call UNMARKEDthe first person determiner n*ia* "I," the second person determiner *khyod* "you," and the third person determiner *kho* "he," Each one has a corresponding HONORIFICthe first person honorific determiner *ned*, the second person honorific determiner *khyed*, and the third person honorific determiner *khon.* In addition, we find the first person ELEGANT determiner *bdag* and the second person elegant determiner *ñid* (and thus the plural forms *bdag-tsag* and *ñid-tsag*). We can schematize these determiners as follows:

PERSON	UNMARKED	HONORIFIC	ELEGANT
1	*na*	*ned*	*bdag*
2	*khyod*	*khyed*	*ñid*
3	*kho*	*khon*	

3.1.1.1.1.1.2.2. Honorific Determiners

HONORIFIC DETERMINERS are used to refer respectfully to persons of higher social or spiritual rankthus *zin-pa khyod* "you the farmer" but *bla-ma khyed* "you the lama." The higher status may be relative either to the speaker or the addressee: for example, in the work of Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka we find that the master Mar-pa uses the third person honorific determiner *khon* "he" when speaking to the young Mila ABOUT the lama Rnog-pa and other senior disciples, but switches to the second person unmarked determiner *khyod* "you" when speaking TO them.

The first person honorific *ned* "I" is used when a speaker expresses himself as honored by some relationship with a superior: for example, again in the work of Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka, we find Mar-pa's son saying n*ed-kyi pha-dzo yod* "There is my lord father," we find the yogin Mi-la politely saying *ned-kyi lad-mo khyed-kyis mi-on* "It does not suit you to imitate me," and we find a peasant couple seeking to adopt the famous Mi-la with the words *ned-kyi budod mdzod* "Be our foster son!" When Mi-la describes how he and Mar-pa's wife carried out a deception, he switches from a first person honorific determiner to a first person unmarked determiner as soon as he becomes the sole actor*ned gñis-kyis gros byas-nas, nas phye-sgye tshun du-ma-tsig-gi khar*

dpe-tsha-dan tshas phran-tshegs yod-pa sbrags "We (*ned*)counseled together, and then I (*na*)piled the few books and possessions I had on top of several small sacks of flour."14

3.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3. Speaking Roles

Personal determiners occur almost exclusively with nominals whose referents are humanthus, in the old texts, *mi khyod* "you the man," *ma na* "I the mother," but not, for example, ?*rdo kho* "he the rock." Nonpersonal determiners, on the other hand, occur with nominals of any sort: *bzan-po de* can mean either "that virtue" or "that virtuous one," while *bzan-po khon* can only mean "he the virtuous one."

One way of looking at personal determiners is as specifying the preceding nominal in terms of its SPEAKING ROLE in the discourse: a first person determiner would mean "THE PERSON NOW SPEAKING," a second person determiner "THE PERSON NOW ADDRESSED," and a third person determiner "THE PERSON NOW NEITHER SPEAKING NOR ADDRESSED." The identities of the speaker and addressee are, of course, often OLD INFORMATION to the participants in a conversation, and thus quite often omittedfor example, *na nu* "The person now speaking, whose identity you know, weeps/I weep," *khyod nu* "The person I now address, whose identity you know, weeps/You are weeping."

Especially where this telegraphic ellipsis occurs, we can see how convenient it is to TRANSLATE such personal determiners as English pronouns; but there are still significant differences between the two forms. Personal determiners in Tibetan are simply determiners that delimit or pick out a nominal in a particular wayin terms of speaking role, according to the description offered hereand behave syntactically just like other determiners. For example, a personal determiner can specify the speaking role even of a complex nominal, as when Mi-la speaks of *pha mtshan-ldan bla-ma khon* "he my father the excellent lama," or when Mar-pa shouts at a disciple *rnog-ston tshos-rdor zer-bai ma-btsol-ba byed-mkhan khyod* "you who do what you are not supposed to do named Rnog-ston tshos-rdor!" Further, personal determiners occur much less frequently than English pronouns in any given running length of

14 Then again, the unmarked personal determiner *khyod* "you" may be used to express intimacy with respect to an otherwise superior addressee, as when Mi-pham, in a liturgy addressed to the Buddha Sakyamuni, writes z*in-dan dus Ndir rin-tshen rnam-gsum-gyi snan-b*a *dzi-sñed KHYOD-kyi Nphrin-las-ñid* "In this world and age, to the extent the Three Jewels appear, it is just THY doing."

text: classical Tibetan tends to rely on ellipsis rather than on pronominalization as a device for back-reference, so that personal determiners are to a large extent restricted to dialogue or correspondence, where it is important textually to keep track of who is saying what to whom.

3.1.1.1.1.1.2.4. Humilifics

In classical Tibetan we not infrequently find a nominal-such as a term of endearment, title of respect, or professional titleused with a personal determiner where in English we would expect either a pronoun or title but not both. For example, Ras-tshun-pa addresses his master Mi-la with the words *RDZE-BTSUN RIN-PO-TSHE KHYED-kyis gsun-du gsol* "I pray that YOU THE PRECIOUS REVEREND speak," and Mar-pa's wife speaks of her husband to Mi-la with the words *BLA-MA KHON nas rgya-gar-nas blans-pai tshos Ndi-rnams sems-tsan-la phan-du re-nas blans-pa yin gsun* "HE THE LAMA says, These teachings I brought from India were brought hoping to benefit sentient creatures." Less respectful terms are also often found in this construction: when Mi-la is about to die, his disciple Ras-tshun-pa is puzzled at the celestial portents, and several goddesses rebuke him, saying *SKYES-BU KHYOD-kyis mig-dan ma-ba bkag-nas sdod-payin-nam* "Have YOU FELLOW been standing around blocking up your eyes and ears?"

Sometimes, too, such nominals are used without personal determiners: for example, Ras-tshun-pa speaks directly to Mi-la with the words *RDZE-BTSUN-gyis thog-mar dka-spyad-dan sgrub-pa gnas gan-du mdzad* "In what place did THE REVEREND first practice austerity and meditation?" and, similarly, Mi-la is asked by some shepherd boys *BLA-MA-la bzugs-grogs med-pa lags-sam* "Has THE LAMA no companion?" Here too we not infrequently find kinship terms, as when Mar-pa asks *BU mthon-nam yid tshes-sam* "Did MY SON see? do you believe?" or when Ras-tshun-pa dreams that a goddess takes his hand and says to him *TSHA-BO-S go-bar Ndug* "MY NEPHEW understands."

Similarly, nominals with humble or deprecatory connotations are found to occur withor instead offirst person determiners: here we find such expressions as n*an-bu* "miserable fellow," *phran* "lowly person," *mi-rgan* "old man," *spran-po* "beggar," *gus-tshun* "one of little faith," *ñams-tshun* "destitute one," *gus-Nbans* "faithful subject," *Nbans tshun-nu* "lowly subject," *zag-phun* "miserable lump." Such nominals we may conveniently call HUMILIFICS (in contrast to HONORIFICS). For example, in the work of Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka, we find a black magician saying *MI-RGAN NA-S mthu-gtad-ser gsum-zig-la las byas* "I THE OLD MAN have worked in magic, curses, and hailstorms," while Mi-la sings, in one of the songs anthologized over his name, *SPRAN-Po-i skyid-*

sdug khyed-ran ses "You know THIS BEGGAR'S happiness and sorrow," and, in the ancient stories found among the Central Asian manuscripts, we find *NAN-BU ni bros-de mtshis-so* "THIS MISERABLE FELLOW ran away and came."

Such humilifics are often found in correspondence: the Tibetan epistolary style delights in such flowery locutions as the following, in a letter to the Dalai Lama:

> *skyabs-mgon tshen-poi thugs-rdzes gan-gi bka-drin-la rtag-tu spyod-pai NBANS TSUN-NU BDAG kyan gsar-slad rigs-med tsam-nas zabs-Ndegs-la lhag-bsam-gyi spobs-pa Ndegs-bzin-par gnas lags*
>
> By your compassion, great lord protector, to whose grace I YOUR LOWLY SUBJECT ever have recourse, I remain without new corruption daring to hope that I may serve you.

Even in a relatively informal letter such as the following we find the humilific *phran* "lowly person" where in English we would find a personal pronoun:

> *Ngyur-ba med-pai yid-gtsugs ldan-pa tse-khae lags-kyi drun-du, khyed-kyi gsuns-bris Nbyor-bas PHRAN-dan PHRAN-gyi zla-bo gñis dga-spro dpag-tu med-pa skyes byun*
>
> To the honorable presence of our unwaveringly beloved Jack: Receipt of your honored letter has made THIS LOWLY PERSON and THIS LOWLY PERSON'S wife both immeasurably happy.

Something of this humilific style may occasionally be encountered in didactic prose as well, as when a philosophical writer says *BLUN-PO BDAG-gi rmons-tshod ltar-na* "In the ignorant opinion of THIS FOOLISH PERSON ME . . ." or when even a grammarian can write *BLUN-PO BDAG RAN-gi Nthad-pa ltar-na* "In MY OWN FOOLISH PERSON'S belief . . ."

The classical texts contain some interesting humilifics. In the epic of Ge-sar we find that a heroine will speak of herself as *ser-mo* "finger" and *sen-mo* "fingernail," both perhaps in the sense of "appendage, dependent." Interestingly, some humilifics appear to have the OLDER RELATIVE FORMATIVE *ʔa-* prefixed to them: for example, we find *ʔa-ser-mo* "old finger" alongside *ser-mo* "finger." The common expression *ʔa-bo* ~ *ʔa-pho* is an affectionate

prefix to the names and epithets of lay persons, as in *ʔa-bo mthu-tshen* "Friend Magician." This term too is found as a humilific, as in *ʔa-bo na* "this old fellow."

3.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.5. From Humilific to Personal Determiner

We can see that a humilific such as *phran* "lowly person" can lose much of its deprecatory connotation and behave SEMANTICALLY very much like an elegant first person determinerthus, for example, *phran-gyi zla-bo* "this lowly person's wife ® my wife." Indeed, it seems that some humilifics have come, at various times, to behave SYNTACTICALLY as personal determiners as well. For example, in an archaic mythological text from Central Asia, we find the humilific n*an-bu* "miserable fellow"for example, in N*AN-BU ni bros-de mtshis-so* "THIS MISERABLE FELLOW ran away and came" and *NAN-BU pha-yab-kyi mtshan lton-de me-bkru* "THIS MISERABLE FELLOW'S honorable father's name is Lton-de me-bkru." This humilific is then pluralized with the personal determiner plural *-tsag* in the expression *MY NRAN-tsag spun gsum* "WE MISERABLE FELLOWS, three brothers .. ." More recently, the term *nos* "side, direction" (as in *Nos-kyi zla-bo* "THIS SIDE'S wife ® my wife") is found in the plural form *nos-tsag* "we"; the present Dalai Lama, we may add, has written an autobiography entitled n*os-kyi yul-dan os-kyi mi-man* "My Land and My People." In the case of *nan-bu* "miserable fellow" in the early period and of *nos* "side" in the later period, a humilific has come to behave syntactically as well as semantically as a first person determiner. It is tempting to see in such elegant determiners as *bdag* a similar history, with a similar intermediate phase of use as a humilific *bdag* "self."

3.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.6. Sex-Marked Personal Determiners

Alongside n*a "I"* even in the earliest archaic Central Asian texts we find the term *kho-bo* used with a first person reference, as in s*a ni kho-bos Ntshal-do* "As for the meat, I ate it." The term persists through the classical language as a personal determiner: we find such terms as *mi kho-bo* "I the man" as well as the plural form *kho-bo-tsag* "we." Yet we also find such syntactic anomalies as *kho-bo na*, suggesting that the term still retained, for some writers, a flavor of its presumably nominal origin, perhaps as a humilific related to the form *khyo* "person, man." In the classical texts, too, at least as early as in the ninth-century translation of the *Mdzans-blun zes bya-bai mdo* from its Chinese original, there appears the innovative form *kho-mo* as the feminine equivalent of the earlier term; by the fourteenth century the first person semantic field had enlarged to include *kho-bo* as a first person masculine determiner, used by a male speaker to refer to himself, and *kho-mo* as a first person feminine

determiner, similarly used by a female speaker. Note the similarly sex-marked derivatives *khyo-bo* "husband" and *khyo-mo* "wife" from *khyo* "person, man."

In classical texts influenced by Middle Tibetan the same process seems to be repeated with the noun *mo* "woman, female," which begins to function as a third person feminine determiner: for example, in the biography of Mi-la raspa we find such phrases as *ma-rgan mo* "she the old mother," and such propositions as *bu-mo de-la tshed-gñer-gyis bskul-bas, MO-S dun-rdog bdun phul* "They earnestly urged the girl, so SHE offered me seven small shells." Given such usage, we find the third-person semantic field shifting to accommodate the new term: the previously unmarked form *kho* begins to be read as a third person masculine determiner. We can schematize the resulting pattern of sex-specific determiners as follows:

PERSON	UNMARKED	MASCULINE	FEMININE
1	*na*	*kho-bo*	*kho-mo*
2	*khyod*		
3		*kho*	*mo*

3.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.7. Personal Determiner Tails

Occasionally in more colloquial registers we find a personal determiner preceding rather than following the nominal head it delimitsfor example, *ned spun gsum* "we three brothers," *khyed grwa-pa-rnams* "you monks," *khon grogs-po-rnams* "they my friends." We may perhaps best consider such constructions to be parenthetical identifications of a personal determiner for purposes of clarification or emphasis: the nominal following the determiner is in the nature of an afterthought or TAIL. This analysis would seem to be supported by the fact that in such constructions the personal determiner and the nominal may occasionally be quantified separatelyfor example, *bdag-tsag tshon-po-rnams* "we merchants," *kho-mo-tsag spun gñis* "we two sisters." Thus we find an ancestor of Mi-la shouting n*a khyun-po dzo-sras on-gin yod-do* "It is IKhyun-po dzo-sraswho is coming!" and his mother crying out n*a myan-tsha dkar-rgyan-la da-lan-las ñams dga-ba ?e-yon ltos-dan* "Just see whether IMyan-tsha dkar-rgyanwill ever feel happier than now!" And, in a song to his sister, Mi-la sings n*ai spyod-pa-la bltas-na smyon-pa Ndra, khyod srin-mos bltaskyin yi-mug skye* "If you look at my behavior it is like a madman; you my sister look upon it and despair."

3.1.1.1.1.1.2.8. The Archaic Determiner o~u

We can here take note of an archaic determiner *o~u* with a wide variety of written reflexes. When pluralized with *-tsag* it appears to be a first person determiner: we find *otsag~u-tsag~a-tsag-u-bu-tsag~yu-bu-tsag~yu-tsag* "we," as well as the forms *o-skol~u-skol* "we," persisting from the earliest Central Asian manuscripts well into the nineteenth century. In the biography of Mi-la ras-pa, for example, we find the forms *o-skol* (as in *o-skol-la g.yu Ndi ga-nas byun* "Where did we get this turquoise from?"), *o-tsag* (as in *o-tsag blos ma-thons-pa min* "It's not that he didn't forsake us"), and *u-tsag* (as in *khon-tshoi mthu-dan u-tsag-gi mthu mi-Ndrao* "Our magic is not the same as their magic"). Such forms are particularly liable to textual variation: for example, one occurrence is given as *o-tsag* by three blockprints of the Mi-la, but as *u-tsag* by the fourth.15

3.1.1.1.1.1.2. Indefinite determiners

Definite determiners specify the scope of reference of the preceding nominal as extending to certain determinate members of the denominated set; INDEFINITE determiners specify that scope as extending potentially to every member of that set. For example, in *mi na* "I the man," the definite determiner n*a* "I" limits the reference of the nominal *mi* "man" to the person then speaking; but in *mi gan* "some man, any man," the indefinite determiner *gan* "some, any" specifies that the reference extends potentially to any member of the set denominated by *mi* "man"thus, for example, in the chronicle *Rgyal-rabs gsal-bai me-lon, sans-rgyas GAN-gis kyan ma-btsags-pa* "not trodden by ANY Buddha."

There are four indefinite determiners in Tibetan*gan* "INDEFINITE NOMINAL/ any, some, whatever," *tsi* "INDEFINITE NONANIMATE/any, some, whatever," *su* "INDEFINITE HUMAN BEING/any, some, whoever," *nam* "INDEFINITE TIME/any, some, whenever." As the definitions indicate, these determiners occur only with certain types of nominal. The most general indefinite determiner is *gan*

15 It is not at all clear whether this personal determiner is the same as the old determiner *o* "that" preserved in stereotyped connectiveso-na~on "in that ® well, now, but," *on-kyan* "even in that -® nevertheless," *on-te* "being in that ® on the other hand." It is perhaps this latter determiner which is to be compared with Chepang *ʔuw~ʔow*, Garo *ua*, Burmese *hui* Dhimal *u* "that."

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"whatever," which can act as specifier of any type of head;16 but *tsi* "whatever" occurs only with nominals that have nonanimate referents, *su* "whoever" only with those that have human referents, and *nam* "whenever" only with those that refer generally or specifically to a period of time.

Quel pivot, j'entends, dans ces contrastes, à l'intelligibilité? *il faut une guarantieLa Syntaxe.*
Stéphane Mallarmé, *Le Mystère dans les lettres*

These four forms actually perform three different chores in the Tibetan language. First, as we have said, they can specify that the reference of a preceding nominal extends potentially to any member of the set that nominal denominates, as in *mi gan bsad-na* "If one has killed any man .. ." Second, they can serve as dummy role particle carriers in a relative construction, as in *mi gan bsad-pa* "The man whom one has killed . . ." And, third, they can mark the queried participant in an information question, as in *mi gan bsad* "What man was killed?"

These three uses are not as easily confused as might at first appear. It is true that the sequence *skye-bo gan* by itself does not give us enough information to tell which function the *gan* is performing. But, as these examples show, there is seldom confusion when the sequence occurs in the context of particular syntactic constructionsthus *skye-bo gan-gis sans-rgyas mthon-na* "If/ when SOME PERSON sees the Buddha . . ." *skye-bo gan-gis sans-rgyas mthon-ba* "the PERSON WHO sees the Buddha," *skye-bo gan-gis sans-rgyas mthon* "WHAT PERSON sees the Buddha? " The last two usesrelative and interrogativewill be discussed in the appropriate sections later in this text.

16 The form *gan* is sometimes reduced to *ga-* before the locus and adverb particlesfor example, in the Tibetan translation of the *Karmasataka, btsom-ldan-Ndas GA-la bzugs-te, bdag-la dgons-zig-gu* "Could the Blessed One be dwelling SOMEWHERE and thinking of me?"

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3.1.1.1.1.1.2.1. Headless indefinites

Often it is perfectly clear from context or general knowledge what the nominal head of an indefinite determiner is supposed to be; in such a case, of course, the nominal head can be telegraphically omitted, leaving a HEADLESS INDEFINITE. For example, in *khyod snar su-la yan gsol-ba ma-btab-bam* "Haven't you previously sent an invitation to ANYONE?" the determiner *SU* "INDEFINITE HUMAN BEING" is processed as the specifier of an omitted nominal head such as *mi* "person"thus "Haven't you previously sent an invitation to some/any/whoever (person)?" In this example, too, the fact that the referent of the omitted nominal is to human beingsor gods or spirits or demons, who are syntactically humanis given by the determiner *su,* which specifies only such human nominals.17

Headless indefinite constructions are not uncommon, and are the means by which didactic authors make sweeping generalizations. For example, in the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* by Sa-skya pandita, we read *sems-tsan mos-pa sna-tshogs-pas, thams-tsad mgu-bar su-s kyan dka* "The pleasures of sentient creatures are varied, so it is hard for ANYONE to please them all," *GAN-zig phun-sum-tshogs Ndod-na, de-yis Ndu-Ngod man-du bya* "If ANYONE desires excellence, he should mingle much with others," *GAN-la blo-gros m-ldan-na, bstan-btsos legs-kyan su-zig len* "If SOMEONE is without intelligence, though a teaching be good, who accepts it?" Note, as in these examples, that indefinite determiners frequently co-occur with the selector *-TSig* and the connective Yan-thus *su yan* "anyone at all," *gan-zig* "someone," *nam yan* "whenever."

3.1.1.1.1.1.2.2. Indefinite adverbs

The formative dziwhich is apparently related to the indefinite determiner *tsi,* but is not the sameyields a special class of indefinite determiners which we will here call INDEFINITE ADVERBS.18 These are adverbs primarily of

17 And note the following example, from an archaic Central Asian manuscriptun-nas *gtsig-la gtsig dmag dran-ste, res-Nga su-s rgyal, res-Nga su-s pham-bar on-no* "Then they led armies one against the other, and it came to be that sometimes ONE OF THEM/WHOEVER would be victorious, and sometimes ONE OF THEM/WHOEVER would be defeated."

18 Although these indefinite adverbs are normally formed with the *dzi-* prefix, we

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manner and extent,19 which most frequently utilize the totalizers *sñed* "no less than," *tsam* "as much as," *srid* "as long as," and the simile-creating *-bzin* "like, as," *-lta--lta-bu--lta-ba* "like, as"thus, for example, *dzi-lta-r* "INDEFINITE MANNER/in whatever way, however," *dzi-srid-du* "INDEFINITE EXTENT/ to whatever extent, however long." Since indefinite adverbs are distinctively marked with the *dzi-* prefix, the adverb particle *-Tu* is redundant, and is, accordingly, not infrequently omitted, especially under the constraints of meter.

Note the following from the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* by Sa-skya panditadzi-srid *ran-stobs ma-rdzogs-na, de-yi bar-du dgra-rnams bkur* "However long it takes to perfect one's own strength, during that interval one honors one's enemies," *nan-pa dzi-ltar btsos gyur-yan, ran-bin bzan-po Nbyun mi-srid* "However one may correct an evil person, it is impossible for him to have a good nature," *Nbab-tshu dzi-ltar bzlog gyur-kyan, thur-du Nbab-pa kho-nar Ndod* "Any way you dam up a river, it still wants nothing but to flow downward." Sometimes an indefinite adverb of manner may as plausibly be read as an adverb of extentfor example, again from Sa-skya pandita, *dam-pa dzi-ltar rgud gyur-kyan, sdig-dan Ndres-pai zas mi-za* "However impoverished a holy person becomes, he does not eat food that is mixed with sin," *tshu ni dzi-ltar skol gyur-kyan, me-ru Nbar-ba mi-srid-do* "However long you boil water, it still won't catch on fire," *mkhas-pa dzi-ltar thabs brdugs-kyan, blun-po Ndzug-pai lam mi-Ngro* "However much a wise man may be without means, he still will not go on the path taken by fools."20

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sometimes find *tsi* substituted sporadically in some manuscripts; similar forms with *gansuch* as *gan-bzin-duare* also occasionally found.

19 This is presumably what the Tibetan grammarians are referring to when they say *dpe-dan tshad-gzal-ba-la dzi thob* "The form *dzi* obtains for manner and extent." Actually, the term *dpe* means "example, simile," but here clearly refers to the simile-creating *-bzin* and *-lta,* which, with the *dzi-* prefix, yield indefinite adverbs of manner. The grammarians continue, by saying *don-la tsi thob* "The form *tsi* obtains for the thing itself," which, if I understand it correctly, would seem to comport with the analysis given here.

20 The prefix *dzi-* also occurs more or less sporadically with terms other than these five; indeed, it seems to be able to make an indefinite adverb of manner or extent out of just about anything. Note, for example, *skad* "speech, words" *dzi-skad-du* "in whatever words, however it is said," *LEGS* "be good" *dzi-legs-su* "however may be good"thus, from a piece of archaic Central Asian manuscript correspondence, *tshi legsu mdzad-par smon-tshin mtshis* "I pray that you do as you think best." An adverb, in this context, is not necessarily limited

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3.1.1.1.1.2. Reflexives

A DEFINITE determinerbut apparently not an indefinite determiner-can be followed by either of two REFLEXIVESran "-SELF, same" and *ñid* "-SELF, same." These reflexives specify the scope of the nominal as limited to an entity or set of entities already stated or implied in the preceding text21for example, in the Tibetan translation of the Chinese *Mdzans-blun zes-bya-bai mdo, mi de ni rgyal-po ñid yin* "That man is the KING HIMSELF/THAT SAME KING," and, in the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* by Sa-skya pandita, *waskyes rgyal-por bskos-pa-yis, Nkhor sdug ran yan bsad tses grags* "It is a wellknown story that the EVIL ATTENDANTS were tormented by the fox they had made their king and THEY THEMSELVES/THOSE SAME ONES killed him," *blun-po ran-dan mthun-pas dga* "A FOOL is pleased by one who is like HIMSELF."

This limitation may be simply to the immediately preceding nominal itself for example, again from Sa-skya pandita, *rta-la rgyan-du byas-pa de, bdag-po ñid-la mi-mdzes-sam* "Is not what is done as an ornament to the horse becoming to the MASTER HIMSELF?" *rgyal-po ñid-kyis ma-brtsis-na, thams-tsad ses-paan bkur mi-Ngyur* "If he is not so accounted by the KING HIMSELF, even one who is omniscient gets no respect," *mkhas-pa ran-gis spyod ses-kyi, blun-po grags-pai rdzes-su Nbran* "The WISE THEMSELVES know how to act, but the foolish follow what they hear."

The difference between the two reflexives seems to be this: the reflexive ñ*id* occurs with nominals denoting any type of entitythus both, say, *rgyal-po ñid* "that same king, the king himself" and *dus de ñid* "that same time"; but the reflexive *ran* occurs only with nominals denoting animate entitiesthus *rgyal-po ran* "that same king, the king himself" but not ?*dus de ran.* Whether for that reason or not, it also seems to be the case that the reflexive *ran* is much more likely than *ñid* to be found in headless constructions.22

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to forms specifically with the adverb particle, but apparently can include other participant roles functioning semantically to express the manner or extent of the eventthus, for example, *NUS* "be able" *dzi-nus-kyis* "to the extent one is able, however one can."

21 The same specification is occasionally made with the formative *-ka* "SAME," as in *blama de-ka* "that same lama," *mar-pa zer-ba de-ka* "that same one named Mar-pa," *tshos-ka* "the same teaching."

22 The derived form *ran-ñid* "ONESELF" occurs, as far as I can tell, exclusively in such headless constructions. The form is not a nominalwe do not find, for example, ?*ran-ñid*

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Such headless constructions with *ran* are found where the head of the reflexive is recoverable as referring to people in general, or to the addresseethus, from Sa-skya pandita, *ran-gis nan-spyod ma-byas-na, brgya-byin-gyis kyan smad mi-nus* "If ONE does not do bad things ONESELF, even the King of the Gods cannot slander one," *ran-la blo-gros mi-ldan-na, blo-tshen gzan-la legs-par dris* "If YOU do not YOURSELF have understanding, thoroughly question another who is wise," *gzan-gyis tsun-zad gtses-pai tshe, ran-la bsam-pa tsi Nbyung soms* "Think of the thoughts which arise in YOURSELF when another has harmed you even a little," *ran-gis legs-par ses-na yan, bya-ba thams-tsad gros-kyis sgrubs* "Even though YOU YOURSELF know it well, accomplish all your deeds with counsel," *ran-la dgos-pai bstan-btos-rnams, ñi-ma re-la tshig-re zuns* "Each day learn one line from the treatises that are useful to YOURSELF," *ran-gi yon-tan legs gnas-pa, skye-bo dam-pai mtshan-ñid yin* "To abide well in ONE'S OWN virtues is the sign of a holy person," *bslus-rdzes kho-bo dran-no zes, ran-la bstod-pas tsi-zig phan* "What's the use of praising ONESELF, saying 'I am honest,' after one has been fooled?"

We also find such headless constructions in reflexive adnominal possessives, where the head of the reflexive is recoverable from the preceding textfor example,in the *Pad-ma than-yig, MI de-s RAN-gi ma yin-par rig* "The MAN perceived that it was HIS OWN mother," in the Tibetan translation of the *Mdzans-blun zes bya-bai mdo, TSHUN-MA de-*[illegible] *RAN-gi lus-la tshags* "That WIFE

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> *de*andwe can probably consider it a specialized reflexive that occurs independently of a modified nominal. Note the following examples from Saskya *pandita-skye-ba phyi-mar btsol-ba-yi nor-la ran-ñid len-pa Ndra* "(Studying) is like ONESELF accepting wealth which is entrusted for a future life," *don ma-grub-pai blun-po Nga, ran-ñid Ngags-te Ntshi-ba yod* "Some fools who have not accomplished their aim choke THEMSELVES and die," *gzan-la lta-bai mig yod kyan, ran-ñid lta-na me-lon dgos* "Even one who has eyes to see others needs a mirror if he is to see HIMSELF," *gal-te dgra-la gnod Ndod-na, ran-ñid yon-tan Idan-par bya* "If you wish to harm an enemy, you should acquire virtue YOURSELF,"
>
> *bu-lon lhag-ma dgra-boi thed*
> *khrims nan-rnams-dan gtam-nan-da*n
> *rigs-rgyud nan-dan spyod-nan-rnam*s
> *ma-spel-bar yan ran-ñid Nphel*
>
> The remainder of a debt, leftover enemies,
> bad laws, bad news,
> a bad family, and bad conduct
> THEMSELVES increase, with no one increasing them.

is in love with HER OWN body," and, in the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* by Sa-skya pandita, *MKHAS-PA-S bya-ba tsi byed kyan, RAN-gi bsod-nams brtags-te bya* "THE WISE should do what deeds they do with regard to THEIR OWN merit," *MKHAS-PA RAN-gi yul-bas kyan, yul-khams gzan-du mtshod-pa thob* "The WISE get more respect in other countries than in THEIR OWN land," *GZUN-NAN gzan-gyi bka-drin-las, byun-ba RAN-gi tshe-bar bsgom* "THE OBTUSE view what comes about through the grace of others as THEIR OWN greatness.'23

3.1.1.1.2. Quantifiers

A nominaland its optional delimitersmay be followed by up to four QUANTIFIERS, which limit its reference by specifying HOW MANY entities the nominal head refers to.24 These quantifiers are NUMERALS, which specify the number of entities referred to in the set denoted by the nominal; PLURALS, which

23 Such collocations of *ran* "self" and *gzan* "other" are quite common both in Buddhist philosophy and in Tibetan writing generally: note, for example, Sanskrit *svalaksana/ paralaksana* Tibetan *ran-gi mtshan-ñid/gzan-gyi mtshan-ñid* "own-characteristic/other-characteristic," Sanskrit *svatantra/paratantra* Tibetan *ran-dban/gzan-dban* "own-power/other-power," Sanskrit *svapaksa/parapaksa* Tibetan *ran-gi phyogs/gzan-gyi phyogs* "own contention/other's contention," Sanskrit *svato'siddha/anyatarasiddha* Tibetan *ran-la ma-grub-pa/gzan-la ma grubpa* "not proven for oneself/not proven for others."

Note the following verses from Sa-skya pandita, first contrasting *ran* and *gzanskyes-mtshog ran-gi skyon-la lta, skye-bo nan-pa gzan-skyon tshol* "The noble look upon their own faults; the wicked seek out the faults of others," *ran-dban thams-tsad bde-ba-ste, gzan-dban thams-tsad sdug-bsnal yin* "Everyone is happy who has power over himself; everyone suffers who is in the power of others," *ran-don Nbad-pas sgrub Ndod-na, de-yis dan-por gzan-don sgrub* "If one wishes to strive and thus accomplish one's aims, one should first accomplish the aims of others"; and then grouping *ran* and *gzan* together*blun-po Nbyor-bar gyur-tshe yan, rtsod-pa kho-nas ran-gzan bsreg* "A fool, even when he has become rich, consumes himself and others with nothing but quarrels," *dam-pa dul-bas ran-gzan skyon, nan-pa rens-pas ran-gzan sdug* "The holy protect themselves and others with softness; the wicked torment themselves and others with hardness," *gnas-min ha-tsan dran-po-yan, ran-gzan gñis-ka brlag-pa yod* "Though he be quite upright, in the wrong circumstances he will destroy both himself and others."

24 Since these quantifiers occur after a determiner, we can distinguish them from such quantifying ADJECTIVES as *man-po* "many," *du-ma* "several," *Nga* "some," *ma-lus-pa* "without exception" which are found before a determinerfor example, *mi man-po de* "those many men," *bla-ma ma-lus-pa Ndi* "every single one of these lamas."

specify whether there is more than one entity referred to in the set denoted by the nominal; TOTALIZERS, which specify the relation of the entities denoted to some reference size or number; and SELECTORS, which specify the range of entities referred to in the set denoted by the nominal. Where quantifiers occur, they occur in the order NUMERAL-PLURAL-TOTALIZER-SELECTOR; and, as a general rule, each of these four slots can be filled by only one member at a time.25

3.1.1.1.2.1. Numerals

Immediately following the delimiters-and before any further quantifiers there may occur a NUMERAL, such as *gtsig* "one," *gñis* "two," *gsum* "three," and so on, which specifies the NUMBER of entities in the set designated by the nominalthus *mi gñis* "two men," *mi de gñis* "those two men," *mi pha-gi lna* "the five men over there."26

3.1.1.1.2.1.1. From one to ninety-nine

The Tibetan numerals are as followsgtsig "one," *gñis* "two," *gsum* "three," *bzi* "four," l*na* "five," *drug* "six," *bdun* "seven," *brgyad* "eight," *dgu* "nine," *btsu* "ten."

The numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed on the pattern TEN-ONE, TEN-TWO, and so onthus *btsu-gtsig* "eleven," *btsu-gñis* "twelve," *btsu-gsum* "thirteen," *btsu-bzi* "fourteen," *btso-lna* "fifteen," *btsu-drug* "sixteen," *btsu-*

25 Remember that quantifiers are OPTIONAL constituents of a nominal phrase: unlike English, classical Tibetan marks nominal phrases for quantity only when there is good reason to do so. In English we must say either *lama* or *lamas,* either singular or plural; in Tibetan the form *bla-ma* is simply UNMARKED for quantity, and thus may mean either "lama" or "lamas"presumably made clear from the context. A phrase such as *bla-ma-dag* "MORE THAN ONE lama/lamas"which is MARKED for quantitywill be used only when such specific information is felt to be necessary for understanding.

26 An exception to the word order rule can occasionally be found where a numeral is part of a common collocation, and is felt to be part of the nominal itself, rather than a specifier of the nominalfor example, *pha-rol phyin-pa drug Ndi* "these Six Perfections" as opposed to *pha-rol phyin-pa Ndi drug* "these six perfections," *rgyal-po bzi de* "those Four Kings" as opposed to *rgyal-po de bzi* "those four kings."

bdun "seventeen," *btso-brgyad* "eighteen," *btsu-dgu* "nineteen."27

Multiples of ten from twenty to ninety are formed on the pattern TWO-TEN, THREE-TEN, and so onthus *ñi-su* "twenty," *sum-tsu* "thirty," *bzi-btsu* "forty," *lna-btsu* "fifty," *drug-tsu* "sixty," *bdun-tsu* "seventy," *brgyad-tsu* "eighty," *dgubtsu* "ninety."28

The numbers from twenty to ninety-nine regularly use the syllable *-rtsa* to separate tens from unitsfor example, *ñi-su-rtsa gtsig* "twenty-one," *ñi-su-rtsa gñis* "twenty-two," ñi*-su-rtsa gsum* "twenty-three," *sum-tsu-rtsa bzi* "thirty-four," *bdun-tsu-rtsa lna* "seventy-five," *dgu-btsu-rtsa dgu* "ninety-nine."

3.1.1.1.2.1.2. Clipped numerals

Quite often the numerals from twenty-one to ninety-nine are found in peculiarly CLIPPED forms. We find ñ*er* < *ñi-su-rtsa,* and thus ñ*er-gtsig* "twenty-one," ñ*er-gñis* "twenty-two," *ñer-gsum* "twenty-three"; *so* < *sum-tsu-rtsa,* and thus *so-gtsig* "thirty-one," *so-gñis* "thirty-two," *so-gsum* "thirty-three"; *ze* < *bzi-btsu-rtsa,* and thus *ze-gtsig* "forty-one"; *na* < *lna-btsu-rtsa,* and thus *na-gtsig* "fifty-one"; *re* < *drug-tsu-rtsa,* and thus *re-gtsig* "sixty-one"; *don* < *bdun-tsu-rtsa,* and thus *don-gtsig* "seventy-one"; *gya* < *brgyad-tsu-rtsa,* and thus *gya-gtsig* "eighty-one"; and *go* < *dgu-btsu-rtsa,* and thus *go-bdun* "ninety-seven,"*go-brgyad* "ninety-eight," *go-dgu* "ninety-nine." These clipped numerals are invariably the forms used in numbering the folios of a Tibetan book.

Such clipped numerals are also found, in classical texts influenced by Middle Tibetan, instead of *-rtsa* to separate tens from unitsfor example, *sum-tsu-so bdun* instead of *sum-tsu-rtsa bdun* "thirty-seven," *bzi-btsu-ze drug* instead of *bzi-btsu-rtsa drug* "forty-six," *lna-btsu-na lna* instead of *lna-btsu-rtsa lna* "fifty-

27 Note that the HIGH BACK vowel u of *btsu* "ten" becomes the LOW BACK vowel *o* of *btso-* when it is followed by the LOW BACK vowel *a* of the numerals *lna* "five" and *brgyad* "eight." This change is the only tongue HEIGHT assimilation I know of in the language.

28 It is remarkable to find ñi-su "twenty" instead of the expected **gñis-btsu,* and *sum-tsu* "thirty" instead of the expected **gsum-btsu.* Further, the preinitial *b-* of *btsu* "ten" is deleted after preceding closed syllables but retained after preceding open syllablesfor example, *bzi-btsu* "forty" but *drug-tsu* "sixty" instead of **drug-btsu.* This foreshadows similar changes throughout the lexicon in several New Tibetan dialects; it is interesting that these phonological changes began in the number system before spreading elsewhere.

five," *drug-tsu-re bzi* instead of *drug-tsu-rtsa bzi* "sixty-four," *bdun-tsu-don gsum* instead of *bdun-tsu-rtsa gsum* "seventy-three," *brgyad-tsu-gya gñis* instead of *brgyad-tsu-rtsa gñis* "eighty-two," *dgu-btsu-go gtsig* instead of *dgu-btsu-rtsa gtsig* "ninety-one." Only the twenties are exceptions: we find only ñ*i-su-rtsa* and not ?*ñi-su-ñer*. This usage is now standard in several New Tibetan dialects.29

3.1.1.1.2.1.3. Numerals as selectors

In some archaic manuscripts from Central Asia, the numeral *dgu* "nine" is used as a selector in the sense of "MANY" or "ALL" (for example, *gnod-dgu* "all harms," l*ha-dgu* "the many gods," *dgra-dgu* "all enemies"), a sense preserved in later texts in the use of *-dgu* "ALL" as a nominalizer, as in *Ndod-dgu* "all that one desires." In the same texts we also find the numeral *gsum* "three" used as a selector in the sense of "ALL" or "EVERY" both with common nouns (for example, ñ*in-sum* "every day," *g.yan-sum* "all good fortune") and with place names (for example, *gtan-sum* "all of Gtan," *rgya-lsum* "the whole of Rgyal,"), a sense preserved in such seteotyped phrases of the later texts as *mnon-sum* "wholly manifest" and *phun-sum* "completely perfect." In these later texts too the numeral *Nbum* "hundred thousand" takes on the sense previously held by *dgu* "nine," and we find expressions such as *gsun-Nbum* "hundred thousand sayings ® the complete works" and *mgur-Nbum* "hundred thousand songs ® the complete poems."

3.1.1.1.2.1.4. Large numbers

The Tibetans inherited from the Indians not only their decimal systemwhich passed through Arab intermediaries to Europe as wellbut also a love of very large numbers and specific names for many of them.30 Thus we find the

29 For example, we find New Tibetan (Lhasa) *sumtsu* sɔsom(Ladakh) *sumtsu sosum* <*sum-tsu-so gsum* >"thirty-three," (Lhasa) cətšu cərku(Ladakh) *rgyattsu gyagu* <*brgyad-tsu-gya dgu* > "eighty-nine." Thus, too, we find New Tibetan (Lhasa) ñ*isu tsaksom* (Ladakh) *ñisu rtsaksum* <*ñi-su-rtsa gsum* > "twenty-three" but not (Lhasa) ?*siptsu tsasom* (Ladakh) ?*zibtsu rtsaksum* <*bzi-btu-rtsa gsum*>"forty-three."

30 It has plausibly been suggested that the Indian love of large numbers correlates with an intense dislike for fractions: the relations of large-scale cycles such as planetary align-

(*footnote continued on the next page*)

the following names for the numbers from one hundred to one quintillion *brgya* "100," *ston "1,000," khri* "10,000," *Nbum "100,000," sa-ya* "1,000,000," *bye-ba* "10,000,000," *dun-phyur* "100,000,000," *ther-Nbum* "1,000,000,000," *ther-Nbum tshen-po* "10,000,000,000," *khrag-khrig* "100,000,000,000," *khrag-khrig tshen-po* "1,000,000,000,000," *rab-bkram* "10,000,000,000,000," *rab-bkram tshen-po* "100,000,000,000,000," *gtams* "1,000,000,000,000,000," *gtams tshen-po* " 10,000,000,000,000,000," *dkrigs* "100,000,000,000,000,000," and *dkigs tshen-po* "1,000,000,000,000,000,000." It should come as no surprise that these names are not used with complete consistency.

Multiples of these larger numbers are formed, like the multiples of ten, on the pattern ONE-HUNDRED, TWO-THOUSAND, THREE-TEN-THOUSAND, and so onthus *tshig-brgya* or *brgya* "one hundred," *ñi-brgya* "two hundred," *sum-brgya* "three hundred," *bzi-brgya* "four hundred," *lna-brgya* "five hundred"; *tshig-ston* or *ston* "one thousand," *ñi-ston* "two thousand," *sum-ston* "three thousand," *bzi-ston* "four thousand," *lna-ston* "five thousand"; *tshig-khri* or *khri* "ten thousand," *ñi-khri* "twenty thousand," *brgyad-khri* "eighty thousand," *dgu-khri* "ninety thousand." Note the reduced forms *tshig-for gtsig* "one," *ñi-*for *gñis* "two," and *sum-* for *gsum* "three"; the other numerals are prefixed in their full forms.

Combinations of these numerals are straightforward if certain principles are borne in mind. The numbers from one to nineteen form a single unit over against those fom twenty to ninety-nine. An omitted number slotthat is, a zero-is optionally but frequently filled with the place marker *-dan,* except for the last empty slot: thus we find, for example, *ñi-brgya-dan gñis* "two hundred and two" and *bzi-ston-dan lna-btsu* "four thousand and fifty" but *bdun-brgya dgu-btsu* "seven hundred ninety."31 And a number such as "twenty-two thousand" is in Tibetan *ñi-khri ñi-ston* "two ten-thousands two thousands" rather than, as in English, ?*ñi-su-rtsa gñis ston.* Thus note the followinggñis "2," *btsu-bzi* "14," *dgu-btsu-rtsa bzi "*(*9* X 10) + 4 = 94," *brgya-DAN gtsig "*(*1* X 100) + (0 X 10) + 1 = 101," *ñi-brgya bdun-tsu* "(2 X 100) + (7 X 10) + 0 =

(*footnote continued from the previous page*)

ments would be expressed not as a proportion but rather as the length of time required for the cycle to reach its starting point and, say, the alignment to recur.

31 In this regard note the atypical adjective *tham-pa* "full, round, even" (compare *GTAM~LTAM* "be full") which not only occurs after numerals but occurs exclusively after numerals and only numerals that are multiples of ten: thus we find, for example, *btsu tham-pa* "ten," *brgyad-tsu tham-pa* "a round eighty," *brgya tham-pa* "a full hundred."

270," *dgu-brgya dgu-btsu-rtsa drug* "(9 X 100) + (9 X 10) + 6 = 996," *bzi-ston ñi-brgya-DAN btso-lna* "(4 X 1,000) + (2 X 100) + (0 X 10) + 15 = 4,215," *drug-ston bdun-brgya dgu-btsu* "(6 X 1,000) + (7 X 100) + (9 X 10) + 0 = 6,790," *dgu-ston ñi-brgya "(9 X* 1,000) + (2 X 100) + (0 X 10) + 0 = 9,200," *dgu-ston dgu-brgya dgu-btsu-rtsa bdun* "(9 X 1,000) + (9 X 100) + (9 X 10) + 7 = 9,997," *ñi-khri ñi-ston bdun-bgya dgu-btsu* "(2 X 10,000) + (2 X 1,000) + (7 *X* 100) + (9 X 10) + 0 = 22,790," *sum-khri-DAN drug-brgya bdun-tsu-rtsa gtsig* "(3 X 10,000) + (0 X 1,000) + (6 X 100) + (7 X 10) + 1 = 30,671," *sumkhri bzi-ston-DAN btsu-gñis* "(3 X 10,000) + (4 X 1,000) + (0 X 100) + (0 X 10) + 12 = 34,012."

3.1.1.1.2.1.5. Fractions

Tibetan fractions are constructed regularly with the formative *-tsha* "part," related to *tsha* "part, portion, share." Thus we find *gsum-tsha* "third part," *bi-tsha* "fourth part," *so-gñis-tsha* "thirty-second part," *brgya-tsha* "hundredth part," *ston-tsha* "thousandth part." Such resulting nouns may in turn be quantified by a numeralthus *gsum-tsha gtsig* "one third," *gsum-tsha gñis* "two thirds," *bzi-tsha gsum* "three fourths," *brgyad-tsha lna* "five eighths," *brgya-tsha go-dgu* "ninety-nine hundredths."

The only fraction not regularly formed by this process is *phyed* "half." An interesting locution should here be noted. On the one hand we find, expectedly, such combinations as *gsum-dan phyed* "three and a half," but, on the other hand, we find, with the fraction preceding the integer, such combinations as *phyed-dan brgyad* "with a half makes eight ? seven and a half."

We can here mention the interesting expression *ya-gtsig* "ONE OF TWO THINGS THAT GO TOGETHER IN A PAIR"for example, l*ham ya-gtsig* "one of a pair of boots, an odd boot." The expression is old in Tibetan; in an archaic manuscript preserved in Central Asia we find *la-la tshig bden-pa de thos-na yan, ma-ba ya-gtsig-tu thos-na, ma-ba ya-gtsig-tu phyun* "Even if someone heard that true word, it went in one ear and out the other." Similarly, in the *Pad-ma than-yig* we read *mig ya-gtsig lon-ba* "blind in one eye"; in the Tibetan translation of the Chinese *Mdzans-blun zes-bya-bai mdo* we find *lag-pa ya-gtsig-tu gser thogs, lag-pa ya-gtsig-tu bu-mo khrid* "In one hand he held the gold, with the other hand he led his daughter."

3.1.1.1.2.1.6. Collective nouns and adjectives

The formative *-phrag "A* SET OF" produces nouns from numeralsthus *btsu* "ten" *btsu-phrag* "decad," *brgya* "hundred" *brgya-phrag* "centad," *ston* "thousand" *ston-phrag* "chiliad," *bdun* "seven" *bdun-phrag* "week." Such nouns may themselves be quantified by a numeral-thus *brgya-phrag gtsig* "one centad ? 100," *brgya-phrag gñis* "two centads ? 200," *brgya-phrag btsu* "ten centads ? 1,000," *ston-phrag bzi-btsu* "forty chiliads ? 40,000." While a number such as ñi*-khri ñi-ston* "22,000" cannot be expressed as ?*ñer-gñis ston,* we might well find such an expression as *ston-phrag ñer-gñis* "twenty-two chiliads ? 22,000."

Such quantified collective nouns are sometimes used much as we use multiplicationfor example, *lna-btsu-phrag bdun* "seven fifties ? 7 X 50," *btsu-drug-phrag ñi-su-rtsa dgu* "twenty-nine sixteens ? 29 X 16." More often, however, they are used simply as elliptical expressions for numbers in common use-thus *dgu-phrag gñis* "two nines ? 18," *btsu-gñis-phrag gsum* "three dozen ? 36."

In addition, the formative *-po* (and, for the numerals one through three, *-ka*)produces collective adjectives from numerals-thus *gñis-po-gñis-ka* "the two, both," *gsum-po~gsum-ka* "the three, all three," *bdun-po* "the seven," *dgu-po* "the nine."

3.1.1.1.2.1.7. Ordinals

Ordinal numbers are produced from numerals by the formative *-pa,* as in *gñis-pa "second,"gsum-pa* "third," *bzi-pa* "fourth," *ñer-gsum-pa* "twenty-third," *brgya-pa* "hundredth." The only ordinal not formed regularly by this process is *dan-po* "first."

3.1.1.1.2.1.8. Distributives

The word *re* is sometimes found as a substitute for *gtsig* "one"for example, *khyed-la bu re dgos* "You need a son," *lan re lan gñis* "one or two times," *lo re tsam* "just one year," *ras-gos rkyan re* "one lone cotton robe." More interestingly, however, the word functions as a SELECTOR, after numerals only,

with the distributive meaning "each"for example, *mi lna-la lug lna re yod* "The five men have five sheep each."32

The distributive expression **gtsig re* is invariably reduced to *re* "one each," as in *mi lna-la lug re yod* "The five men have one sheep each" (and not ?*mi lna-la lug gtsig re yod*), as opposed, say, to *mi lna-la lug gtsig yod* "The five men have one sheep collectively." Similarly, note such patterns as *mi lna re-la lug re yod* "Each five men have one sheep," *mi re-la lug lna re yod* "Each man has five sheep," *mi re-la lug re yod* "Each man has one sheep" (and not ?*mi re-la lug gtsig yod*). Thus too we find such sentences as *mi res lug lna re bsad* "Each man killed five five sheep" and ñ*in re-la lug re gsod* "He kills a sheep each day."

In addition, beginning with the earliest archaic texts, we find distributives expressed by reduplication of the numeralfor example, in an administrative memorandum from a Central Asian garrison commander, *li-tsen-rnams kyan sog-sog yug re ltsag btsu-btsui than-tu rgyab tshad-gyis tshod-par gtsado* "Also, the officers will punish them by flogging at a rate of ten lashes for each roll of paper."33 Hence in the later classical texts as well we encounter such distributive patterns as *mi re-la lug lna-lna yod* "Each man has five sheep,"

32 The distributive selector *re* "EACH" should be distinguished from the *re* < **res* in the stereotyped expression *re-zig* "a little while; once upon a time." In the archaic manuscripts from Central Asia, this latter expression appears to be written consistently as *re-sig*, indicating an origin in an earlier noun-selector collocation **res-sig* "one turn, one time, some time." The underlying noun *res* "time, turn, relay" is found, for example, in an administrative memorandum from an oasis garrison commander, saying *dei res-la ra-lug Ndi-rnams rgya*b *btsug-tu myi-run* "It is not proper to send back these goats and sheep in turn"; or, in the Tibetan translation of the Chinese *Mdzans-blun zes bya-bai mdo, da ned byed-pai res-la bab* "Now it has come to be our turn to act." From there it is a short step to, for example, *re-sig re-sig-na kha-ba mtho dgu ni gnam-nas babste* "At one time, one time, the snow had fallen from the sky nine feet deep," found in a mythic text from the caves near Tun-huang; or, in another text, telling the story of two mythical horses, *da re-sig-na nu rkyan-ron rnog-bkra-dan khug-ron rman-dar gñis-kyis, rta-skad ni tsher-tsher, rman-skad ni tsher-tsher zeo* "Now at one time the younger brother Rkyan-ron rnog-bkra and Khug-ron rman-dar both said, in horse language, *tsher-tsher,* in steed language, *tsher-tsher."*

33 Paper was, of course, a valuable commodity on the Central Asian frontier, and a number of memoranda are devoted to the subject. This text, in part, describes what will happen to a *gñer-pa* "quartermaster" who does not fill his paper quota. The reduplication in s*og-sog* "paper" is lexical and not distributive. The term *li-tsen* "officer" is apparently a Middle Chinese loanword, from **lyi-ywen* "government official" or a similar term.

instead of *mi re-la lug lna re yod.* Sometimes the distributive *re* is itself reduplicated, as in the proverb *mi re-re-la bsam-pa re-re yod* "Each man has his own thought/There is no accounting for taste."

3.1.1.1.2.1.9. Weights and measures

Various weights and measures are found mentioned in the classical texts. Many of these seem relatively informalthus, *do* "a load of ," *sgam* "a box of ," *kha* "a piece of ,"34 *Nbo* "a basket of -." Other terms are apparently part of measure systems: thus for LENGTH we find *sor-mo* "inch," *mtho* "span," *khru* "cubit," *Ndom* "fathom"; for VOLUME we find *bre* "measure," *khal* "bushel/load = 20 *bre";* for WEIGHT we find *skar-ma* "one point on the steelyard," *zo* "dram = 10 *skar-ma," sran* "ounce = 10 zo.″35

Weights and measures are defined syntactically by occurrence not only with *gtsig* "one" and *gñis* "two" but also often with *gan* "a full " and *do* "a double ," as in *mtho gan* "one span," *bre do* "two measures," *khru gan* "a full cubit," *sran do* "a double ounce." Numerals greater than two appear in regular form-thus *gser gzons-pa gan* "a tubful of gold" but *gser zo sum-brgya* "three hundred drams of gold."

34 In modern Tibetan, a *kha* is a square of clothor, put another way, a piece of cloth as long as that particular roll of cloth is wide.

35 Money in Tibetan is often expressed as weights of silver. The term for "coin" or money generally is *don-tse~don-tshe~don-rtse* < Middle Chinese **dhun-tsi.* The least valuable coin in use was traditionally the copper *kha,* which was worth, in terms of silver, a weight of about two and a half *skar-ma.* Thus two *kha* were equivalent to *skar-ma lna* "five points on the steelyard," three *kha* to *skar-ma phyed-brgyad* "seven and a half points," and four *kha* to *skar-ma btsu* "ten points," which was the same as one z*o* "dram" or one-tenth *dnul-sran* "silver *sran."*

Six *kha* were equivalent to one *dnul-gyi don-tse* "silver coin" or *tamka~dnul-tam* < Sanskrit *tankaka* (compare Hindi *tanga*)"stamped silver coin." Forty *kha,* of course, equalled ten z*o* or one *sran* of silver. Fifty silver *sran* were the equivalent of a bar of silver bullion, weighing about four pounds, widely used for trading in Central Asia, and variously called *rdo-tshad* "stone-weight," *rta-rmig-ma* "horse-hoof," and *yam-bu* "Kathmandu."

3.1.1.1.2.1.10. Pagination

In Tibetan books, VOLUME numbers are often expressed by letters in Tibetan alphabetical order (the equivalent of our formalized Roman numerals for the same purpose)thus *ka = 1*, *kha* = 2, *ga* = 3, and so on through *?a* = 30; then *ki* through *?i* = 31 through 60, *ku* through *?u* = 61 through 90, and so on through *?o* = 150. Even larger numbers may be expressed using long vowels, written with subscript *atshun--thus ka* through *?a* = 151 through 180, *ki* through *?i* = 181 through 210, and so on through *?o* = 300.36

These numerals can be made into ordinals by suffixing the formative *-pa* thus *ka-pa* "the *kath*(volume) ® Volume I," *ki-pa* "the *kith*(volume) ®Volume XXXI." These ordinals are often found with locus or adverb particles in footnotes, indices, and catalogues-for example, n*a-pa-la* "in the *nath*®in Volume IV," *?i-par* "in the *?ith*? in Volume LX."

PAGE numbers are always written out and are invariably clipped. Each folio in a book is paginated separately, usually along the left-hand margin of the *recto;* the left-hand margin of the *verso* often contains the short title of the text. Where a distinction is made between sides of a folio, the *recto* is called *gon-ma* "upper" and the *verso* is called *og-ma* "lower"thus *re-gtsig gon-ma* "folio 61a," *sum-brgya go-bdun og-ma* "folio 397b"or sometimes *mdun* "front" and *rgyab* "back," respectively.

Occasionally folios are paginated in the margin with volume number as wellfor example, *ga don-drug* "Volume III folio 76," *kha gya-sum gon-ma* "Volume II folio 83a." Where several independently paginated texts have been collected into a single volume (for example, in a uniform edition of several different rituals for a particular deity), both volume and text may be given alongside the folio numberthus *ta dza ñer-gtsig* "Volume IX Work VII folio 21," *tsa tsa btso-brgyad* "Volume V Work XVII folio 18." The final folio of a text is often marked by the word *byon* "finished" after the folio number; where a text is only one folio long, that folio is sometimes paginated as *gtsi-gpuo* "solitary," but more often as *bse-ru* "rhinocerous," an animal that traditionally wanders alone.

36 There are variants on this schemefor example, *ka = 1*, *ki = 2*, *ku* = 3, *ke* = 4, *ko* = 5, *kha* = 6, and so on. Sometimes, also, volumes are numbered by the use of stock phrasesthus, for example, *om* = 1, *ah* = 2, *hum* = 3; or *ñi* = 1, *zla* = 2; or *e* = 1, *warm* = 2, *ma* = 3, *ya* = 4; and so on.

3.1.1.1.2.2.2 Plurals

The older PLURALS include *-dag* (perhaps the most common quantifier in the archaic Central Asian manuscripts), *-tsho* (in the most ancient materials *tshogs~Ntshogs* "multitude"),37 and *-tsag* (only after personal determiners even in the oldest texts). All these plurals may be glossed, simply, as "MORE THAN ONE"thus, for example, *bla-ma-dag* "lamas," *tshon-pa-tsho* "merchants," n*ed-tsag* "we."38 Fairly frequent in the Central Asian manuscripts and completely absent in this usage in the later materialis the plural *-otsog~tshog;* we find, for example, *myio-tsog* "people," *srin-no-tshog* "demons," *lhao-tshog* "gods," *nam-ti-go-tsog* "Nam-tig folk."39

In the course of time, these older plurals fell into disuse, to be largely replaced by the newer SELECTOR *-rnams.* After the ninth century, the plural *-dag* is found, where it is used at all, primarily after numerals and determiners, sometimes in the collocation *-dag-rnams.* Otherwise it is found only to translate the Sanskrit dual number and vocative plural, a specialization that is the mark of its demise. The plural *-tsho* similarly occurs, with decreasing frequency, primarily after determiners and numerals of 100,000 or larger; *-tsag* continues to appear sporadically, still exclusively after personal determiners.

3.1.1.1.2.3. Totalizers

TOTALIZERS are terms of extent that occur after a plural and before a *selector-kho-na* "no more than," *sñed* "no less than," *tsam* "as much as," *srid* "as long as." As these glosses indicate, these four totalizers compare the specified nominal to some stated or implied reference size or number. The totalizer *kho-na* specifies the nominal as limited in quantity to that reference,

37 For example, *lus-Ntshogs* "bodies," *dad-Ntshogs* "wishes." Note the many early variations in what comes later to be standardized as *la-sogs-pa* "and so forth"for example, *la-stsogs~ lasbtsogs~las-bsogs-pa~las-tsogs-which,* again, seem related to *tshogs~Ntshogs* "multitude."

38 Note that all of these plurals can occur after personal determiners, as in n*ed-dag~nedtsho~ned-tsag* "we"; it is just that *-tsag* occurs ONLY after personal determiners.

39 Here *-o* seems to be the same as the determiner *o* discussed above; and *-tsog~tshog* may be related either to *-tsag* on the one hand (compare the forms *o-tsag~u-tsag* "we," also discussed above), or to *tshogs~Ntshogs* "multitude" on the other.

which may, of course, be either one or more than onethus *sans-rgyas kho-na* "the Buddha alone," *skad-tsig kho-na* "no more than a moment," *sdig-pa kho-na* "only sin." In the Tibetan translation of the *Abhidharmakosabhasya* by Vasubandhu we find *deiphyir ñon-mons-pai sa tshen-po-pa ni drug-po KHO-NA-r Ngrub-bo, de-dag kyan rtag-tu ñon-mons-pa-tsan-gyi sems KHO-NA-la Nbyun-gi gzan-du ma-yin-no* "Thus, the defiled elements are shown to be JUST the six; and they always occur ONLY in defiled consciousness, and not elsewhere"; Saskya pandita, in his *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter*, writes *bde-spyod sdug-bsnal KHO-NA-i rgyu* "The practice of pleasure is the cause of NOTHING BUT suffering," *bsod-nams KHO-NA phun-tshogs rgyu* "Merit ALONE is the cause of perfection."40 In contrast, the totalizer *sñed* specifies the nominal as being at least the size of that reference if not *more-ston sñed* "at least a thousand," *yon-tan Ndi-sñed* "so many virtues." The totalizer *tsam* specifies the nominal as being just the same asor, at least, just about the same as-the reference in size or numberthus *lna tsam* "just five," *mi Ndi tsam* "this many men," *ri-rab tsam* "the size of Mount Meru," *yuns-Nbru tsam* "the size of a mustard seed." In the Tibetan translation of the *Vajracchedika Prajñaparamita* we find Sanskrit *catuspadikam api gatham udgrhya parebhyo desayet* Tibetan *tshig bzi-pai tshigs-su btsad-pa TSAM bzun-nas gzan-dag-la yan bsad-de* "When one has grasped JUST this four-line verse and taught it to others . ."; Sa-skya pandita writes *bdag-ñid tshe-la phan-btags-na, tsun-zad TSAM-laan Nbras-bu Nbyin* "If one is helpful to a great being, it yields its fruit even for JUST a small thing"; and, in the biography of Mi-la ras-pa, when Mar-pa summons a magical army to subdue his kinsmen, they cry out *mar-pa lo-tstshas dmag de TSAM gan-nas bos-pa-na* "Whence could Mar-pa the Translator have summoned an army OF THAT SIZE?" And the totalizer *srid* specifies the nominal as being just the same as the reference in length, with regard both

40 The Tibetan grammarians, following the Sanskrit tradition, make this distinction: the proposition *sans-rgyas kho-na yon-tan-dan ldan* is a *gzan-ldan rnam-gtsod* "comparative limitation (*anyayoga-vyavaccheda*)" and thus means "The Buddha has virtue, and no one else," while the proposition *sans-rgyas yon-tan-dan ldan-pa kho-na* is a *mi-ldan rnam-gtsod* "noncomparative limitation (*ayoga-vyavaccheda*)" and thus means "The Buddha has virtue, and nothing else."

Note some further examples from Sa-skya panditaNbab-tshu di-ltar bzloggyur-kyan, thur-du Nbab-pa kho-nar Ndod "However you dam up a river, it still wants nothing but to flow downward," blun-po Nbyor-par gyur-tshe yan, rtsod-pa kho-nas ran-gzan bsreg "A fool, even when he has become rich, consumes himself and others with nothing but quarrels," ran-don kho-na gtsor byed-pa, de-yis ran-don Ngrub mi-srid "It is impossible to accomplish one's own aim by putting one's own aim alone foremost."

to size and time, as in *de srid-kyi bar-du* "for so long a time."

3.1.1.1.2.4. Selectors

The SELECTORS found in the classical texts are *-rnams, -Tsig, thams-tsad,* and *kun.* Selectors, unlike plurals, do not specify simply that there is more than one entity referred to; instead, selectors specify what we can call the RANGE of entities referred to in the set denoted by the nominal, rather like English *one/a, some/sm,*41 *all*.

The selector *-rnams* "SEPARATE UNITS" is etymologically connected with the noun *rnam-pa* "piece, part, section, item, installment, individual,"42 and thus marks the nominal phrase as consisting of things or persons taken individually, and hence, by implication, as plural: we can compare *od-zer rnam-pa bzi* "four (separate) beams of light" with *od-zer-rnams* "beams of light," *mi rnam-pa gñis* "two (sorts of) man" with *mi-rnams* "men," and z*al-zas rnam-pa* "the separate dishes of a meal" with z*al-zas-rnams* "food/foods."

It should be borne in mind that *-ams* is not a plural: *rdo-rnams* does not mean "rocks/more than one rock" so much as it means "rocks/pieces of rock," just as *Nbras-rnams* means "portions of rice/grains of rice," *tshu-rnam*s means "bowls of water/bodies of water," *ba-rnams* means "head of cattle," sog-bu-rnams means "pieces of paper," and x-rnams means "appropriate units of x." This reading is borne out by the archaic Central Asian manu-

41 In English we can distinguish the word *some* in, say, *Some people are never satisfied* from the word *some/sm* in, say, *Give me sm beer.* It is this latter *some* which is comparable to Tibetan selectors; the former *some* represents the term "SOME/ANY" (note the related question *Are any people ever satisfied*?)and is expressed in Tibetan primarily by indefinite determiners.

42 Among the archaic Tibetan manuscripts found at the oasis garrisons of Central Asia we find, for example, *sñun gsol-gi mtshid-yig snar RNAM du-ma-zig gsol-na lan ma-mtshis* "Although I have previously sent respectful letters inquiring about your illness on several OCCASIONS, you have not made reply," *blon kon-gi gsol-tshig RNAM-tshig-las bdag-gi phu-bo klu-bzer khar-tsa-tshin rñin-pai ston-dpon Ntshal zes gsol* "In one EXAMPLE of a petition by Minister Kon he asks, 'Appoint my elder brother Klu-bzer Commander-of-the-Thousand of Old Khar-tsa-tshin,'" *rgyu-god-kyiphyag-rgya RNAM gtshig nod-du gsol* "We ask to receive one authorization for expenses," *myes-poi mtshid-drin Ndi RNAM giñs-las ma-mtshis* "We have had only these two PIECES of kind correspondence as to our grandfather."

scripts, where the relationship "units OF" is made explicit by the adnominal particlefor example, *rgyud-Npheld-kyi rnams* "descendents," *Nphags-pai rna*ms "nobility," *sgo-lhai rnams* "personal gods," *dban-than-tsan-dan gtan-zin-gi rnams* "ones with power and with fixed fields." Thus, too, we find *ñi-og-gi rgyal-khams-na rgyal-phran mtshis-pai rnams sems myi-bde-zin srid or-du dogs-pai rnams kyan srid-la myi-dbab-tsin sems bde* "In the kingdoms of the west, even those who were lesser sovereigns, those who were unhappy and feared to lose their dominion, were not cast down from their dominion and are happy."

The selector *-TSig* "ONE/SM" (which becomes *-tsig* after preceding final -g *-d, -b;* becomes *-zig* after preceding final *-n̄, -n, -m, -r, -1,* and open syllables; an*d* becomes *-sig* after preceding final or postfinal *-s*)is clearly related to the numeral *gtsig* "one," and it specifies the nominal as consisting, not simply of one entity, but of one or more entities taken as a single unit rather than individuallythus *mi-zig* "a man/sm men/someone," s*in-zig* "a tree/some firewood," *mi man-po-zig* "(a group of) many men," *mi bzi-zig* "(a group of) four men/some four men." Where the selector *-ams* implies internal differentiation or multiplicity, the selector *-TSig* implies internal homogeneity or simplicity. Both ranges are independent of plurality: we find both *mi-dag-rnams* "men" and *mi-dag-tsig* "men." Note, too, the magic teacher's remark to Mi-la, *mi-rgan nas mthu-gtad-ser gsum-zig-la las byas* "This old man has worked in three thingsmagic, curses, and hailstorms."

The selectors *kun* and *thams-tsad* "ALL"43 specify the nominal phrase as consisting of the entirety of one or more things or persons, taken either individually or as a unit, rather than as consisting of fewer or less than the wholethus *lus thams-tsad* means "all bodies/the whole body," *rgyal-khams kun* means "all kingdoms/the entire kingdom," *dge-slon thams-tsad* means "all monks/each monk/every monk," *dge-Ndun kun* means "all communities/the whole community/every community." Again, the notion of entirety is independent of pluralitywe find both *mi thams-tsad-mi kun* "all men" and *mi-dag thams-tsad-mi-dag kun* "all men."

43 The word *thams-tsad* may be related to the verb *GTAM-LTAM* "be full" and the specialized adjective *tham-pa* "full, round, even (of numerals)." In some archaic Central Asian manuscripts we find the form *tham-zin*

3.1.1.2. Adnominals

An ADNOMINAL is a nominal phrase with the ADNOMINAL PARTICLE -*KYi* which immediately precedes and modifies a nominal headthus, for example, *byai sder-mo* "bird's claw," *gser-gyi bum-pa* "golden vessel," *dkar-poi phren-ba* "white rosary," *rgyal-po tshen-poi mdzod* "treasury of the great king," *bla-ma tshen-po Ndi-rnams kun-gyi bsod-nams* "the merit of all these great lamas," *bla-ma rgan-poi sñin-rdze tshen-poi mthu* "the power of the old lama's great compassion." This subordinate adnominal always limits or qualifies the head in some way: the set designated by the modified head is a proper subset of the set designated by the head alone; the adnominal answers the question "What sort of ?" with reference to the head.

The adnominal particle is -*KYi* The capitalization indicates that the particle undergoes regular morphophonemic changes according to the final or postfinal of the preceding syllable. Thus -*KYi* becomes -*gi* after preceding final -g and -*n;* becomes -*kyi* after preceding final -*d, -b, -s;* and becomes -gyi after preceding final -*n, -m, -r, -l*thus *bdag-gi ran-gi, bod-kyi, rab-kyi, gos-kyi, bon-gyi, lam-gyi, phur-gyi, bal-gyi.* A preceding open syllable becomes a diphthong with -*i*thus *dgai, spyii, rgyui, bdei, bloi.* In poetry, when an extra syllable is needed for metrical purposes, an open syllable may be followed by -*yi* instead of -*i*thus *dga-yi* instead of *dgai, spyi-yi* instead of *spyii,* and so on. All forms in *KY-* undergo these same morphophonological changes.

3.1.1.2.1. Basic Modification Patterns

There are four basic adnominal modification patterns, where both head and modifier consist of a single nominal(1) *NOUN-KYi* NOUN, as in *gser-gyi r*i "mountain of gold, golden mountain," *rii gser* "mountain gold, gold from the mountains," (2) ADJECTIVE-KYi NOUN, as in *dkar-poi phren-ba* "rosary of white, white rosary," *bzan-poi rgyal-po* "king of virtue, virtuous king" orif the adjective is read as a headless modifier"king of the virtuous," (3) ADJECTIVE-*KYi* ADJECTIVE, as in *bzan-poi tshen-po* "greatness of virtue, virtuous greatness," orread as a headless modifier"greatness of the virtuous," *dampai bzan-po* "virtue of holiness, holy virtue," or-read as a headless modifier"virtue of the holy," and (4) NOUN-*KYi* ADJECTIVE, as in *rgyal-poi tshen-po* "greatness of the king, royal greatness," *dge-slon-gi dam-pa* "holiness of the monk, cenobitic holiness."

This last modification pattern is relatively rare, but it is a favorite device of the poet Pad-ma dkar-po, who often uses such phrases as *snags-Ntshan-gi nag-po* "blackness of sorcerors," *rgya-stag-gi khra-bo* "spottedness of the tiger," *brag-dmar-gyi mthon-po* "heights of the red rocks," *g.yu-mtsho-yi snon-mo* "blue of the turquoise lakes." As we will have occasion to note from time to time in this text, part of the interest of Pad-ma dkar-po as a poet lies in his willingness to utilize such previously unexploited Tibetan syntactic resources.

3.1.1.2.2. Types of Modification

Where the head of the modifying adnominal is a noun, the Tibetan grammarians traditionally distinguish four sorts of *Nbrel-ba* "connections" between that modifier and its head*yan-lag-dan yan-lag-tsan* "part and whole," as in s*in-gi yal-ga* "tree branch," *byai sder-mo* "bird claws"; *rten-dan brten-pa* "residence and resident," as in *gron-pai mi* "village man," *yul-gyi lha* "local deity"; n*o-bo gtsig-pa* "identical substance," as in *gser-gyi bum-pa* "golden vessel," *tsan-dan-gyi ka-ba* "pillar of sandalwood"; and *bdag-po-dan yul* "owner and object," as in *rgyal-poi mdzod* "king's treasury," *bla-maiphren-ba* "lama's rosary." The particular reading, of course, depends on the semantics of the nouns involved. Note that there is in Tibetan no SYNTACTIC difference between, say, *rgyal-poi me-tog* and *rii me-tog* to reflect the fact that the adnominal is animate in one phrase but not in the other. In English, that fact can make a syntactic difference: we say *king's flowers* but not, generally, ?*mountain's flowers* (but both *royal flowers* and *mountain flowers*)*;* that we would TRANSLATE those phrases, respectively, as "flowers OF the king" and "flowers ON the mountain" is simply a peculiarity of English. Note the parallel with the propositions *rgyal-po-LA me-togyod* "The king HAS flowers" and *ri-LA me-tog yod* "There are flowers ON the mountain."44

44 Note that adnominal modification is the only way of expressing such relationships as possession and location within a nominal phrase. The modification of a noun by another noun in a nominal-for example, *bla-ma sprul-sku*canbe read only as *no-bo gtsig-pa* "identical substance," and thus only as "lama WHO is an incarnation." Thus, too, we can find *rii me-tog* "mountain flowers" but notat least not in the same sense?*me-tog ri* The semantic relation of possession seems to be related to the fact that an adnominalbeing a nominal phrasecan be quantified independently of its head, whereas a nominal modifier cannot. In *bla-ma sprul-sku* "lama who is an incarnation" there are precisely as many incarnations as there are lamas; but in *sprul-skui bla-ma* the two designated sets may in fact be identicaland thus "lama who is an incarnation"or they may be quantified separately,

(*footnote continued on next page*)

3.1.1.2.3. Recursion

The adnominal may itself be a nominal phrase of any length and complexity, even one containing further adnominals. The modifying nominal phrase may consist of a single nominal, of a nominal plus determiner or quantifier, or a nominal preceded by an adnominal. This recursiveness allows for successive embeddings of adnominals within adnominals to the limits of stylistic tolerancenormally perhaps three adnominals in a row, and perhaps five at the stylistic maximumas in *dgon-pai bla-mai gser-gyi phren-ba* "the golden rosary of the monastery's lama," *dgon-pai bla-mai gser-gyi phren-bai mthu-stobs-kyi Nbras-bu* "the results of the magic power of the golden rosary of the monastery's lama."

A Tibetan author clearly has considerable liberty both in the extent to which he modifies the head nominals in his text and in the syntactic patterns he may use to do so; such choices collectively constitute what we can call the MODIFIER STYLE of a particular author. A primary choice is simply how much nominal modification there will be in the text. 45 Long modifier sequences

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

as in *sprul-sku gtsig-gi bla-ma-dag* "the one incarnation's several lamas," or *sprul-sku-rnams-kyi bla-ma* "the lama of the several incarnations." Only a modifying nominal phrase can be thus quantified independently of its head; thus it is only the adnominal modifier that can indicate possession.

45 In English literary history, we find periods when highly modified styles were felt to be "elevated" oras the eighteenth-century poets put it"sublime," as well as contrasting periods when more sparsely modified styles were admired as "plain." Often too the individual style of a particular author can be related to predominant patterns of modifier and head: the following passage from D. H. Lawrence's short story *The Border Line* is characteristic of his modifier style:

> The flat, grey, wintry landscape, ploughed fields of greyish earth that looked as if they were compounded of the clay of dead men. Pallid, stark, thin trees stood like wire beside straight, abstract roads. A ruined farm between a few more trees. And a dismal village filed past, with smashed houses like rotten teeth between the straight rows of the village street.

In this passage there are eighteen adjectives to fifteen nouns; and we can contrast this style with the following similarly characteristic passage from Ernest Hemingway's *Big Two-hearted River*, which contains one modifier-head combination to Lawrence's thirteen:

> Nick slipped off his pack and lay down in the shade. He lay on his back and

(*footnote continued on the next page*)

easily become rhythmic and incantatory, whether adjectives (as in Gerard Manley Hopkins' "Earnest, earthless, equal, attuneable, vaulty, voluminous,

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

looked up into the pine trees. His neck and back and the small of his back rested as he stretched. The earth felt good against his back. He looked up at the sky, through the branches, and then shut his eyes. He opened them and looked up again.

Similarly, we can cite the following stanza from Robert Lowell's "Hawthorne," where the effect of slow deliberateness is created by its phonological and syntactic repetition:

Follow its lazy main street lounging
from the alms house to Gallows Hill
along a flat, unvaried surface
covered with wooden houses
aged by yellow drain
like the unhealthy hair of an old dog . . .

Compare this stanza with the poem "The Hope" by David Ignatow, whose single modifierhead combination carries, by its syntactic isolation as well as by its final position, a proportionately greater share of the semantic burden of the poem:

In the woods as the trees fade in the dusk
I am unable to speak or to gesture.
I lie down to warm myself against the ground.
If I live through the night
I will be a species
related to the tree
and the cold dark.

From the archaic materials available to us, it appears that early Tibetan poetry and prose favored "plain" rather than "elevated" styles, and was sparing in modifiers, although rich in simile. Later Tibetan poetry, on the other hand, borrowed an increasingly ornate syle from its Sanskrit models; Indic handbooks of poetic ornamentparticularly the *Kavyadarsa* of Dandinwere translated and studied, and their complex and extended metaphors were often rendered in Tibetan as highly layered modifiers. This was especially true of genres borrowed from Sanskrit Buddhist devotional literature: Tibetan encomia, hymns, and prayers base both their vocabulary and syntax on such occasionally florid works as the *Samantabhadra-caryapranidhana*, the *Buddhacarita* of Asvaghosa, the S*atapañcasatka* of Matrceta, the *Jatakamala* of Aryasura, and the *Bodhicaryavatara* of Santideva. The native Tibetan poetic genresthe repartee songs and riddles, smoke offering rituals, and the great epic of Ge-sarwere less affected by the Indic "sublime," and some Indic forms, such as the mystic song, were in fact effectively Tibetanized and assimilated to Tibetan folksong.

stupendous evening . . .") or adnominals (as in D.H. Lawrence's "The pulse of the blood of the teats of the cows beat into the pulse of the hands of the men"). Such literary effects are sought in Tibetan particularly in the ritual evocation of deities in contemplative texts. Thus, in the *Sñan-brgyud bskyed-rim rgyas-pa* of Pad-ma dkar-poa ritual evocation of Cakrasamvarawe find such highly layered adjective sequences as *btsom-ldan-Ndas dpal rdo-rdze sems-dpa sku-mdog dkar-po zal-gtsig phyag-gñis rdo-rdze-dan dril-bu Ndzin-pas yum-la Nkhyud-pa* "the blessed glorious white-colored one-headed Vajrasattva with two hands which hold vajra and bell embracing the Mother .. ."; and such highly layered adnominal sequences as *ah-las byun-bai zla-bai sten-du hum-las skyes-pai rdo-rdze* "a vajra born from a *hum* on top of a moon arisen from an *ah* ..."

Another area of choice lies in the syntactic pattern of such modification. A poet in English, for example, can choose between left-branching modifier sequences (as in Matthew Arnold's "The unplumbed, salt, estranging sea") and right-branching modifier sequences (as in Robert Creeley's "I can see you, hairy, extended, vulnerable . . ."). A poet in Tibetan can create often complex modifier structures as a syntactic skeleton which is then clothed with lexical flesh. For example, Tson-kha-pa, in his *Dgons-pa rab-gsal* commentary on the *Madhyamakavatara* of Candrakirti, writes as follows:

> *zab-tsin rgya-tShei legs-bsad kun-gyi gter,*
> *Ndzig-rten kun-gyi ma-Ndris mdza-bses-te,*
> *sa-gsum Ngro-la lam-bzan mtshon-pai mig,*
> *thub-dban smra-bai ñi-mas rtag-tu skyons*
>
> Treasure of all the deep broad maxims,
> Unasked friend of all the world,
> Eye which shows the good path to beings of the three realms,
> Sun of the master's teachingsever protect us!

This verse is built on the fourfold equation *gter* "treasure" = *mdza-bses* "friend" = *mig* "eye" = ñi-*ma* "sun." Each of these four heads is modified by two preceding adnominals, explicitly in the first line and implicitly in three places in the following lines: the basic pattern of each of the four lines is thus MODIFIER-*KSi* MODIFIER-*KYi* HEAD; and this reiterated syntactic symmetry underlies and reinforces the semantic parallelism of the metaphors expressed in the verse.

A more complex pattern is found in a song by Mi-la ras-pa, when he rebukes his wicked aunt-who stole his lands from himfor her greed. The first few verses establish the following modifier pattern:

skye-boi so-nam sdig-pai las
spyad-na nan-son-gi sdug-bsnal myon

The husbandry of mankind is the doing of evil:
if you do it, you taste the suffering of evil destiny.

ñe-dui gdun-sems bdud-kyi mkhar
brtsegs-na me-obs-kyi nan-du tshud

The love of family is a castle of demons:
if you build it, you fall into a pit of flames.

The basic pattern of each verse is thus

(MODIFIER-*KYi* HEAD) = (MODIFIER-*KYi* HEAD)
(NOMINALIZED VERB)((MODIFIER-*KYi* HEAD) VERB).

These general moral propositions are continued for several more verses, embodied in this repeated syntactic form; and this pattern is then applied, with considerable rhetorical force, to the particular occasion:

?a-nei zin-rin ser-snai rdzas
zos-na yi-dwags-kyi gnas-su skye

My aunt's cost for the fields is the stuff of greed:
if you eat it, you will be born among the hungry ghosts.

3.1.1.2.4. Headless Adnominals

When the nominal phrase head of an adnominal modifier has been omitted, the remaining headless adnominal may be a patient participant in an equative construction. For example, in the proposition *Nbras Ndi bla-mai yin* "This rice is the lama's," the omitted head of the adnominal modifier *bla-mai* is processed as coreferential with some prior element of the discourse. If what is being discussed is rice, the proposition would be processed as meaning "This rice is the lama's RICE." But if what is being discussed is, say, not rice but offerings, the proposition would be read as "This rice is the lama's

OFFERING." Where such ellipsis refers back to old information in the same proposition, that information too may be omitted under the Telegram Principle, anddepending on stylistic considerations of densitywe might encounter such laconic constructions as *bla-mai yin* "What we are talking aboutthat's the lama's," or even the minimal *bla-maio.*

3.1.2. Conjoined nominal phrases

A NOMINAL CONJUNCTION is a particle that joins nominal phrases together. An indefinite number of nominal phrases can be linked together by such conjunctions; this horizontal expansion can extend to the limits of stylistic tolerance, which in the classical language seem to be quite broad. Thus the series "PHRASE *and* PHRASE *and* . . . PHRASE" may reach some length before it becomes a PARTICIPANT by the addition of a role particle.

All phrases so conjoined, no matter how long or complex the conjunction, still constitute a single participantthus (*bla-ma-dan rgyal-po*)-Ø *Ngro* "The lama-and-king go," *bla-mas* (*bgegs-dan Ndre*)-Ø *btul* "The lama tamed demons-and-spirits," *tshos* (*ri-dan lun-pa*)-*la dar* "The dharma spread to mountain-and-valley," *rgyal-pos* (*mdun-nam ral-gri*)-*s dgra bsad* "The king will slay the enemy with lance-or-sword."

In the classical language there are two types of nominal conjunctionALTERNATIVE ("PHRASE *or* PHRASE") and COORDINATIVE ("PHRASE *and* PHRASE"). The ALTERNATIVE CONJUNCTION PARTICLE is -*Am.*46The hyphen indicates that the form is BOUND and occurs only with an immediately preceding nominal. The capitalization indicates that the vowel prefixes to itself the last consonant of the preceding syllable codathus *dag-gam, mdan-nam, skyid-dam, dben-nam, Ndab-bam, gtum-rnam, dar-ram, dal-lam,* and *phyogs-sam.* A preceding open syllable becomes a diphthongthus *mdaam, khyiam, rgyuam, dgeam,* and *bloam.* In the scansion of verse such diphthongs may occasionally be counted as two syllables for the purposes of meter.

The alternative conjunction offers a choice between two or more possibilities,

> 46 We will note here only briefly that this is clearly the same as the propositional conjunction -*Am* and the sentence-final question particle -*Am.* We can hypothesize-and will, at greater length, laterthat the Tibetan interrogative is derived ultimately from an underlying alternative conjunction.

one or both of which may be truefor example, *rgyal-poam bla-ma-s bgegs gdul* "The king or the lama will tame the demon." The conjoined noun phrases can be as long and complex as stylistic tolerance permits*rgyal-pos gser-gyi ral-gri tshen-poam snags gsan-ba-s bgegs gdul* "The king will tame the demon with a great golden sword or secret spell."

The COORDINATIVE CONJUNCTION PARTICLE is *-dan.*47 The coordinative conjunction asserts two or more possibilities, all of which are taken to be true-for example, *rgyal-po-dan bla-ma-s bgegs gdul* "the king and the lama will tame the demon." Again, the conjoined noun phrases can be as long and complex as stylistic tolerance permits*rgyal-pos gser-gyi ral-gri tshen-po-dan snags gsan-ba-s bgegs gdul* "The king will tame the demon with a great golden sword and a secret spell."

In both types of conjunction it is expectedand in an extended sense perhaps even mandatoryfor the conjoined phrases to have some theme in common; thus we can expect also to find thematic elements omitted from latter members of the conjunction, as in, for example, *las dkar-poam nag-po* "good deeds or bad," *dge-slon gñis-sam gsum* "two or three monks," *mi dbul-ba-dan phyug-po* "men both rich and poor." In addition, we can find coordinations of some length-for example, *gser-dan dnul-dan ltsags* "gold and silver and iron," *sa-dan tshu-dan me-dan rlun* "earth and water and fire and air." In such cases, all the conjunction particles can be omittedthus, for example, *skye rga na Ntshi* "birth and old age and sickness and death"; or one conjunction can be retained, just as in English, except that in Tibetan what is retained is generally the first rather than the last conjunctionthus, for example, *sa-dan tshu me rlun* "earth, fire, water, and air." Such lists are often concluded with a summary numeral, as in *lus nag yid gsum* "the three: body, speech, and mind," *dpon g.yog gñis* "the two: master and servant," *bzan nan Nbrih gsum* "the three: good, bad, and indifferent"; and then, too, the last conjunction may be retained, as in *sa tshu me rlun-dan bzi* "the four: earth, water, fire, and wind," *mthu ser brtad-dan gsum* "the three: witchcraft and hailstorms and curses."

47 The nominal phrase conjunction *-dan* is the same as the accompaniment role particle *-dan.* Thus a construction such as *bla-ma-dan rgyal-po Ngro* is syntactically ambiguous between the CONJUNCTION reading (*bla-ma-dan rgyal-po*)-Ø *Ngro* "The king-and-lama go" and the ACCOMPANIMENT reading (*bla-ma-dan*)(*rgyal-po*-Ø) *Ngro* "The king goes with the lama." On the other hand, the construction *rgyal-po bla-ma-dan Ngro* can only be read as (*rgyal-po*-Ø)(*bla-ma-dan*) *Ngro* "The king goes with the lama."

3.2. Verb Phrases

3.2.1. Negation

We will in this grammar consider the optional NEGATION to be the specifier of the verb within a verb phrase. Negation is expressed by the negative particle *ml-* "NOT." The capitalization indicates that the vowel undergoes changes according, in this case, to the TENSE of the following verb: the negative particle *mI-* becomes *mi-* before the present and future stems of the verb, and it becomes *ma-* before the past and imperative stems of the verb.48 The hyphen indicates that the particle is BOUND and can occur, in this case, only immediately before a verb tense stem. The particle immediately precedes the stem even when the verb is morphologically complexfor example, *TSAN-RGYA* "become a Buddha" *log-ltai sgo-nas Ntshan-mi-rgya* "One does not become a Buddha through wrong views," *mnon-par SES* "perceive clairvoyantly" *dgra-btsom-pas zin kun mnon-par mi-ses* "An arhan does not clairvoyantly perceive all the Buddhafields," *mgo-KHOR* "become confused" *khyed-kyi kha-sbyan-gis ned mgo-mi-Nkhor* "We are not taken in by your eloquence."

Two contractions should be noted. The equative verb *YIN* "be," when negated, may optionally be contracted to *min* "is not" in addition to *ma-yin.* Interestingly, the verb *YIN* seems to occur only with the *ma-* and not the *mi-* form of the negative particle. In addition, the verb *YOD* "exist spatiotemporally" occurs in negated form only as *med* "not exist spatiotemporally/be absent" and not as ?*ma-yod.*49

In Tibetan, the negative particle *mI-* "NOT" can precede only verbs, and cannot precede nouns or adjectives; it is only the occurrence of an event that can be denied, not the identity of a thing or the extent of a quality. Thus, for example, the proposition *rgyal-pos dgra ma-bsad* "The king did not kill the

48 The *ma-* allomorph of the negative particle precedes the same tense stems as are marked with the inflectional suffix *-s*another indication that past and imperative tenses in Tibetan are perceived as sharing some common feature, which we have taken to be the specification of the event as either actually or potentially COMPLETED.

49 It is also interesting to note that the verb *red* "be," like *yin,* seems to occur only with the *ma-* form of the negative particle, and the verb *Ndug* "be present" only with the *mi-*form, except in the imperative. I do not know why this is so.

enemy" denies that the killing took place. Other structures are available to deny a particular participant: for example, the proposition *rgyal-po ni dgra bsad-pa ma-yin* "It's not the king who killed the enemy" denies the identification of the king as the enemy-killer. Similarly, one cannot say "Nobody goes"; one must say *su-zig mi-Ngro* "Anyone does not go."

3.2.1.1. Term negations

Since the negative particle *mI-* "NOT" cannot precede nouns or adjectives, but only verb stems, we find the noun *bram-ze* "brahman" but not ?*mi-bram-ze* for "non-brahman," and the adjective *dmar-po* "red" but not ?*mi-dmar-po* for "not-red." Similarly, we can find *mi-tshe-ba* "not big" from the verb *TSHE* "be big," but not a parallel ?*mi-tshen-po* from the adjective *tshen-po* "big."50

In Sanskrit, however, the prefix *a-* "NOT" can precede virtually any nominal. Without in the least straining the language, one can say both *brahmanam na pasyati* "He does not see a brahman" and *abrahmanam pasyati* "He sees a non-brahman." To Buddhist philosophers, writing in Sanskrit, the first proposition was an example of *prasajyapratisedha* "proposition negation" or "verbally bound negation"; the second was an example of *paryudasa* "term negation" or "nominally bound negation." The proposition negation denies the seeing; the term negation denies the brahmanhood of the thing seen, and thus implies that something was in fact seensomething that was not a brahman.51 Such term negations are quite common in the Sanskrit lexicon, and the distinction between proposition negation and term negation became

50 That it is the verb *TSHE* "be big" that is negated in *mi-tshe-ba* "not big," rather than the nominal *tshe-ba* "big," can be shown by noting that we find *ma-rig-pa* "ignorance" < *RIG* "know" but not a parallel ?*ma-rgyus* < *rgyus* "knowledge," and we find *mi-skyid-pa* "unhappy" < *SKYID* "be happy" but not a parallel ?*mi-skyid-po* < *skyid-po* "happy." We must thus interpret such nominalizations as *ma-rig-pa* "ignorance" as ((*ma-rig*)-*pa*)rather than as ?(*ma-*(*rig-pa*)), and *mi-skyid-pa* "unhappy" as ((*mi-skyid*)-*pa*)rather than as ?(*mi-*(*skyid-pa*)).

51 As Avalokitavrata explains in his *Prajñapradipatika,* proposition negation *gzan-gyis khas blans-pa gan yin-pa de dgag-pa tsam byed-la dnos-poi de-kho-naam dnos-po med-pai de-kho-na sgrub-par mi-byed-pa* "does not imply the existence or nonexistence of any entity, but simply denies what another has asserted," while term negation *tshig gtsig-gis dnos-po sgrub-par byed-pa . . . ran-gi tshig-gis mi-ston-pa* "implies an entity with a term which is not its own name."

quite important in several areas of Buddhist thought.52

Since Tibetan, unlike Sanskrit, has no nominally bound negation, three primary strategies were adopted to render Sanskrit term negations. One strategy was to ignore the negation altogether and adopt a translation without a negative particlethus Sanskrit *a-mrta* "immortal, imperishable ® nectar of the gods" Tibetan *bdud-rtsi* "demon juice," Sanskrit *a-mogha* "unerring, unfailing" Tibetan *don yod-pa* "effective, purposeful." Another strategy was to nominalize a negated verb stem and use it either as a nominal head (thus Sanskrit *a-vidya* Tibetan *ma-rig-pa* "ignorance" < *RIG* "know," Sanskrit *a-himsa* Tibetan *mi-Ntshe-ba* "nonviolence" < *TSE* "injure," Sanskrit *a-nityata* Tibetan *mi-rtag-pa* "impermanence" < *RTAG* "persist") or as the modifier of a nominal head (thus Sanskrit *an-agata* Tibetan *ma-byun-ba* "unoriginated" < *BYUN* "arise," Sanskrit *a-sama* Tibetan *mi-mñam-pa* "unequalled" < *MÑAM* "be alike," Sanskrit *a-bhranta* Tibetan *ma-nor-ba* "unerring" < *NOR* "be mistaken").53

A third strategy was to find a nominal equivalent for the affirmative part of the Sanskrit term negation, deny the nominal with an appropriate verb (usually *ma-YIN-MIN* "be not," but sometimes *MED* "have not," or even *BRAL* "lack, be bereft"), and nominalize the resulting proposition. The resulting relative construction could then be used either as a headless modifier (thus Sanskrit *a-dharma* Tibetan *tshos-min* "(a teaching) which is not the dharma/ non-dharma," Sanskrit *a-brahmana* Tibetan *bram-ze ma-yin-pa* "(a person) who is not a brahman/non-brahman," Sanskrit *a-krtajñata* Tibetan *byas-pa gzo-ba ma-yin-pa* "(something) which is not an acknowledgement of what was done/ingratitude," Sanskrit *a-madhyamapratipad* Tibetan *dbu-mai lam ma-yin-*

52 For example, it was important to decide whether certain traditional denials about the world-that things "do not arise from themselves" or that things "are empty of duality"are verbally or nominally bound. Bhavaviveka, in his *Prajñapradipa,* claims that such denials must be understood as proposition negations, for otherwise there would be the unacceptable implication that something like an "unarising thing" actually exists. On the other hand, Ratnakarasanti, in his *Prajñaparamitopadesa,* says that the absence of dualitywhich is the highest truth-constitutes a term negation, and that there is indeed something real called "nonduality."

53 Sometimes fuller propositions are negated and nominalized, and enter the lexicon in their full formfor example, Sanskrit *a-cintya* Tibetan *bsam-gyis mi-khyab-pa* "unpervaded by thought ® inconceivable," Sanskrit *a-sastrajña* Tibetan *bstan-btsos mi-ses-pa* "ignorant of the commentaries."

pa "(a teaching) which is not the Middle Path,"), or as a modifier (thus Sanskrit *a-sunya* Tibetan *ston-min* "non-empty," Sanskrit *anutpanna* Tibetan *skyes-pa ma-yin* "non-born," Sanskrit *a-klista* Tibetan ñ*on-mons-tsan ma-yin-pa* "non-defiled," Sanskrit *a-sasvata* Tibetan *rtag med-pa* "non-eternal").

Note particularly the following idiomatic use of such term negationsSanskrit *a-sthana* Tibetan *gnas-min* "(something) which is not a place/WRONG place/ impossibility," Sanskrit *a-kala* Tibetan *dus-med* "(something) which is not a time/WRONG time," Sanskrit *a-vastu* Tibetan *don med-pa* "(something) which is not a thing/WORTHLESS thing." Thus Sa-skya pandita writes, in his *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter, ñes-pa mnon-sum mthon-na-yan, gnas-ma-yin-la smra mi-bya* "Though you plainly see a sin, do not speak of it under inappropriate circumstances," *gnas-min ha-tsan dran-po-yan, ran-gsan gñis-ka brlag-pa yod* "To be very honest under the wrong circumstances destroys both oneself and others," *gnas ma-yin-pai dul drags-na, thams-tsad-kyis ni bkol-bar Ngyur* "If you are too gentle in the wrong circumstances you will be made a servant by everyone."

3.2.1.2. An idiom with MED

The classical literature has an idiom with *MED* which is worth pointing out. We have already noted native compounds of the form ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE ® NOUN, where the adjectives are opposite ends of a continuum, and the resulting noun is a statement of the continuum itselfthus, for example, ñ*e-rin* "near far ® distance" or *bzan-nan* "good bad ® virtue." When such an adjective pair is the patient of the verb *MED* "have not," however, the collocation means "make no distinction between ADJECTIVE or ADJECTIVE/have no regard for NOUN"for example, ñ*e-rin MED* "make no distinction of near or far/be without regard for distance," *phyug-dbul MED* "make no distinction of rich or poor/have no regard for wealth," *gtsan-btsog MED* "make no distinction of clean and dirty/be slovenly, uncouth, rude"; and the same reading is given a similar collocation of *MED* with semantically opposed nouns-for example, ñ*in-mtshan MED* "make no distinction of day or night/be without regard for the time of day," *rgan-byis MED* "make no distinction of old person or youth/have no regard for age," and even *no-med lkog-med* "making no distinction of facethat is, the public selfand secrecy/without regard for whether anyone is watching/acting in private as in public."

Thus Mi-la ras-pa uses the term *gran-dro* "hot cold" in *gran-dro med-pai ras-*

kyan Ndi "This single whatever-the-weather piece of cloth," and the term *mgo-mdzug* "head tail" in *bandhe des nai mgo-mdzug med-pa-la yun rin-ba-la bltas* "That monk looked me over from head to tail for a long time/That monk looked over every bit of me without distinction for a long time." In the epic of Ge-sar, we find the hero Ge-sar, in the ugly and despised form of Dzo-ru, saying *gzugs-la bzan-nan med-le dgos, bon-la rin-thun med-le dgos, rgyu-la phyug-dbul med-le dgos* "As to formyou should pay no heed to beauty; as to sizeyou should pay no heed to height; as to substanceyou should pay no heed to wealth."

3.2.1.3. Universal negation

In English, we often form universal negations by using what we may call negative pronouns, as in *No ONE went, NOTHING was there,* or negative adverbs, as in *I NEVER saw him.* Tibetan, on the other hand, forms universal negations by using indefinite determiners with negative verbsthus *su-zig mi-Ngro* "No one goes," *gan yan mi-ses* "No one knows," *tsi mi-ses* "He knows nothing," *yon-tan tsi yan med* "It has no qualities at all," *de nam yan ma-mthon* "I have never seen that." As these examples show, the indefinite determiner in such constructions is very frequently followed by the connective *Yan* "EVEN, *ALSO"na-la tsi yan ma-byun* "Nothing happened to me," *nam yan zum-pa med* "He is never wearied." The great historian Bu-ston says, in his biography, *gan-zig tsi-la yan mi-sems, tsi yan mi-bsam-pa de Nkhor-ba-las yons-su thar-pa Ngyur-ro* "That one who thinks of nothing, intends nothing, will become one completely freed from the round of rebirth"; an archaic mythological text from Central Asia, writing of a Time of Troubles for mankind, says *dgod bro-bai tshig-tsig byas-kyan sus kyan myi-bgad* "Though someone told a joke, no one laughed." In fact, we often find the contraction *tsan* for *tsi ya*n in such constructionsfor example, *tsan mi-Ndug* "Nothing was there," *tsan mi-smra-bar gyur* "They became speechless," *bdag-la tsan dbul-du med* "We have nothing to give."

Exceptions to such general negations are indicated by marking the excepted participant with the source particle *-las,* in this context perhaps best read as "except for, save," as in *khyod-la gus-pa-las lam gzan med* "For you there is no other path save devotion," *ras-yug gtsig-las mi-bdog* "He possesses nothing except a single piece of cloth." Such constructions often translate well into English constructions with *onlythus zla-ba lna-las mi-sdod* "I will stay only five months," *brñas Nkhyer-ba-las mi-yon* "You will only come to despise me,"

gsa gtsig-las rdze-btsun ma-mthon "We saw only a snow-leopard, not the Reverend Master," *mi-phan-zin gnod-pa-las med* "It is useless, and does only harm." When Mi-la is building towers for his master Mar-pa, he develops a great sore on his back, but he is afraid to show it to Mar-pa, because, he says, *bla-ma-la gzigs phul-run bkyon-pa-las mi-yon* "Though I show it to the lama, I will only get a beating"; when Mi-la tries to meditate with another teacher, without Mar-pa's permission, that teacher tells him *bla-mai bkas ma-grol-na yon-tan mi-skye-ba-las os med* "If you have not the leave of your lama, this is worth nothing other than that the qualities do not arise."

Another way to indicate an exception to a general negation is to negate the excepted participant with *ma-YIN-MIN* "is not," nominalize the resulting proposition with *-Pa*, use it as a headless relative, and, often, specify the omitted head with an indefinite determinerthus, for example, *klu ma-yin-pa gzan mi-thub* "Another (person) who is not a serpent-god cannot do it/Only a serpent-god can do it," *sans-rgyas ma-yin-pa sus kyan mi-ses* "Any (person) who is not a Buddha does not know it/Only a Buddha knows it," *nas yud-gtsig min-pa mi-bsdad* "I did not wait (a time) which was not a moment/I waited only a moment." When Mi-la first studies black magic, yet finds his powers still insufficient for his contemplated revenge, he thinks *mthui-rtags ma-thon-paryul-du log-run ?a-ma ltsebs-te Ntshi-ba min-pa mi-yon* "If I return without showing the signs of magic power, all that will happen is that my mother will commit suicide and die."54

3.2.1.4. Double negation

This last-quoted construction is an example of one sort of DOUBLE NEGATION in Tibetan. Double negatives are often a favored rhetorical device in the classical literature. When Mi-la wishes to return to his master Mar-pa after running away, Mar-pa says of this change of heart, *o-tsag blos ma-thons-pa min, kho ran blos ma-thons-pa yin* "It's not that he's not renouncing us; it's that he's not renouncing himself"; on another occasion Mar-pa encourages Mi-la by telling him *kha-pho med-pai tshos med* "I do not have a teaching that is without boast." When such double negatives occur with such terms as *thabs* "way, means" or *mthu* "power, ability," there is an implication of strong

54 Note, similarly, *ma-gtogs-pa* "except for" < *GTOGS* "belong, be part, be included" (compare *NDOGS* "bind, fashion, attach")thus, for example, *mi gtsig-la lag-pa gñis ma-gtogs med* "A man has only two hands."

necessity: when Mi-la is commanded to send a hailstorm down upon some mountain bandits, he laments *ser-ba mi-gton-bai thabs mi-Ndug* "There's no way not to send a hailstorm/I must send a hailstorm"; Mar-pa wonders at the lack of progress Mi-la is making, and thinks *nai brgyud-pa Ndi-la ... ñams-rtogs-kyi yon-tan myur-du mi-skye-bai mthu med-pa-zig yin* "This lineage of mine is one which cannot but produce quickly the qualities of mystic insight/ This lineage of mine is one which must produce quickly the qualities of mystic insight."

3.2.2. Adverbs

An ADVERB is a nominal phrase with the ADVERB PARTICLE *-Tu* which precedes and modifies a verb headthus, for example, *gsan-bar RKU* "steal secretly," *mi-run-bar SPYAD* "behave inappropriately," *yun rin-du SDAD* "wait for a long time," *khyim-du NGRO* "go homeward," *nan-par SLEB* "arrive in the morning," *phyir LOG* "turn back." This subordinate adverb always limits or qualifies the head in some way: the event designated by the modified head is a proper subset of the event designated by the head alone; the adverb answers the question "What sort of?" with reference to the head.

The adverb particle is -Tu. The capitalization indicates that the particle undergoes regular morphophonemic changes according to the final or post-final of the preceding syllable. *-Tu* becomes *-du* after preceding final *-n̄*, *-d*, *-n*, *-m*, *-r*, and *-l;* becomes *-tu* after preceding final -g and *-b;* and becomes *-su* after preceding final -s-thus *dban-du, tshed-du, lan-du, rim-du, phyir-du, ril-du, lhag-tu, rab-tu, dus-su.*55 A preceding open syllable becomes a closed syllable in -r-thus *dgar, spyir, rgyur, bder, blor.* In poetry, when an extra syllable is needed for metrical purposes, an open syllable may be followed by *-ru* instead of *-r-thus dga-ru* instead of *dgar, spyi-ru* instead of *spyir,* and so on.

Among the various ways of answering the question "What sort of?" with reference to an event, we can conveniently distinguish its TIME, its PLACE, its MANNER, and its EXTENT. Adverbs of time are regularly formed from temporal nounsthus, for example, *nan-pa* "morning" *nan-par* "in the morning," *dgons* "evening" *dgons-su* "in the evening," *tshes-gñis* "the second day of the month" *tshes-gñis-su* "on the second day of the month." Adverbs of place are regularly

55 But note the stereotyped forms *kun-tu* "completely" < **kund-tu* and *pha-rol-tu* "beyond" < **pha-rold-tu.*

formed from location nounsthus, for example, *rgya-gar* "India" *rgya-gar-du* "to/in India," *gro-bo lun* "Red Valley" *gro-bo lun-du* "to/in Red Valley"; or, indeed, from any nominal which is the site of a verb of location or the target of a verb of motionthus, for example, *bla-ma dgon-pa tshen-por slebs* "The lama arrived at the great monastery," *mer me-lha bzugs* "It is in fire that the Fire God dwells."

Relator nouns are often found as the head nominal of such adverbs. Spatial relators include *kha* "surface," *khons* "middle," *gan* "proximity," *gon* "upper part," *Ngram* "side," *mtha* "end," *drun* "proximity," *phyogs* "direction," *bar* "interval," *rtsa* "vicinity," *mtshams* "border," *slad* "hindpart," *gseb* "midst," *dkyil* "center," *Nkhor* "circumference," *snon* "front," *rdzes* "rear," *mdun* "front," *rgyab* "back," *sten* "top," *og* "bottom," *nan* "inside," *phyi* "outside," *g.yas* "right," *g.yon* "left," *tshu* "this side," *pha* "that side"; examples of adverbs with such spatial relators would thus include *khan-pai nan-du* "into/ inside the house," *yul dei phyogs-su* "in the direction of that country," *Sin tshen-poi drun-du* "near the great tree," *lam-gyi bar-du* "in the middle of the road," *mi kun-gyi gseb-tu* "in the midst of all the people," *rgyal-po Nkhor-dan btsas-pai snon-du* "in advance of the king and his retinue," *sai og-tu* "beneath the earth."56 Note also the benefit relators*don* "sake, purpose," *phyir* "sake, purpose," *tshed* "benefit, gain," and thus, again, such adverbs as *semstsan thams-tsad-kyi don-du* "for the sake of all sentient creatures."

Adverbs of manner are regularly formed from adjectives, both primary and derived-thus, for example, *mgyogs-pa* "quick" *mgyogs-par* "quickly," *riiis-pa* "hasty" *rins-par* "hastily," *dal-ba* "gentle" *dal-bar* "gently," *gsan-ba* "secret"

56 Elsewhere we find spatial relators used metaphorically for time-thus *gon* "upper part ® time preceding," *snon* "front ® time preceding," *mtha* "end ® conclusion," *bar* "interval ® time between," *mtshams* "border ® juncture," *og* "bottom ® time following," *slad* "hindpart ® time following." There are also three specifically temporal relators*skabs* "occasion," *dus* "time," *tshe* "time." Adverbs expressing such temporal relations consist almost exclusively of nominalized propositions-for example, *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-pai mthar* "After the Buddha had taught the dharma .. ." *bla-mas bgegs ma-btul-bai bar-du* "While the lama had not yet tamed the demon . . ." *rgyal-po dgon-pa-la slebs-pai dus-su* "At the time the king arrived at the monastery. .."and will be dealt with in the section on nominalization. We can note here, however, that the determiner *de* "THAT" is frequently used as the specifier of such a nominalized proposition when such a proposition can be understood from the context and has thus been omitted under the Telegram Principlethus, frequently, *dei dus-su* "At that time, .. ." *dei rdzes-su* "After that, . . ." *dei mtshams-su* "Meanwhile, . .." *dei mthar* "Next, .. ." *dei snon-du* "Before that, .. ."

gsan-bar "secretly," *run-ba* "appropriate" *run-bar* "appropriately," *nan-tan* "earnest" *nan-tan-du* "earnestly," *bag-yod-pa* "chaste" *bag-yod-par* "chastely," *gsal-po* "clear" *gsal-por* "clearly," and so on.57 Adverbs of manner can also be formed from other nominals by means of the simile-creating *-bzin* "like, as," and *-lta~lta-bu~lta-ba* "like, as"-for example, *tshos* "dharma" *tshos-bin-du* "in accord with the dharma," *yid* "mind" *yid-bzin-du* "to heart's content," *lun-STAN* "predict" *lun-bstan-pa-ltar* "as predicted,"phyag *BYA* "make a salute, pay reverence" *phyag byed-pa-ltar* "as if saluting." Adverbs of extent can be similarly formed from nominals by means of the totalizers *sñed* "no less than," *tsam* "as much as," *srid* "as long as." Note, for example, in the Tibetan translation of the Chinese *Mdzans-blun zes bya-bai mdo, ba-spu ldans-pa tsam-du skrags* "He was so frightened his hair stood up," *dum-bur btsad-pa tsam-du sdug-bsnal-gyis gduns* "He suffered as much torment as being cut to pieces," *bus ma mthon-ba tsam-du dga* "He was as happy as a child seeing its mother."

Finally, there is a special class of adverbs we will here call INTENSIFIERS. The most common of these are s*in-tu* "very" and *ha-tsan* "very," but they include as well such adverbs as *lhag-par* "especially," *rab-tu* "particularly," *te-bor* "really," *yons-su* "completely," *mtshog-tu* "extremely," *kun-tu* "entirely," *nes-par* "certainly," *legs-par* "well." As we have seen, a number of such intensifiers were used to translate Sanskrit verb prefixes-for example, *rnam-par SES* "particularly know ® perceive (*vi-√jñā*)," *mnon-par SES* "manifestly know ® perceive clairvoyantly (*abhi-,√jñā*)," *so-sor RTAG* "individually examine ® know precisely (*praty-ava-√tkṣ*)," *rab-tu GNAS* "highly place ® consecrate (*prati√sthā*)."

There is only one event in each proposition, so, in each proposition, there is, of course, only one possible head for any adverb. It is thus possible to have

57 The derivational affixes *-Pa* and *-PHo* can also be dropped in such adverb constructions-thus *myur-ba* "quick" *myur-du* "quickly," *run-ba* "appropriate" *run-bar-run-du* "appropriately," *rtag-pa* "continual" *rtag-par~rtag-tu* "continually," *mnon-pa* "evident" *mnon-par~mnon-du* "evidently." In a few cases, adverbs of manner appear to derive from nouns rather than adjectives-for example, *rgyun* "stream" *rgyun-du* "continuously," *rim-pa* "series" *rim-par* "successively," *dnos* "reality" *dnos-su* "really." The idea of what constitutes the manner of an event is not necessarily congruent in Tibetan and English; note, for example, from an archaic Central Asian mythological text, *srin-rdze nag-pa ... sa rlon-du zas, khrag rlon-du zas, pags rlon-du gyond* "The black fiend lord . . . ate flesh raw, drank blood raw, dressed in skins raw."

several adverbs modifying the same headfor example, *gro-bo lun-du nan-par slebs* "I arrived at Red Valley in the morning," *bla-ma dgon-par rtag-tu bzugs* "The lama always stays in the monastery," *sems-tsan-kyi don-du brtson-par sgrubs* "Meditate diligently for the sake of sentient creatures." Thus too, while an adnominal must immediately precede the head it modifies, an adverb is MOBILE; and adverbsespecially adverbs of time and placecan often be found appropriately in the setting slot of a proposition, while adverbs of mannerand especially intensifierstend more often to be found immediately to the left of the verb head.

Figure 9.
Charm to lock the mouth of slander

10
Simple Propositions

1. Syntactic Structure

In classical Tibetan, a PROPOSITION consists of an EVENT preceded by the various PARTICIPANTS who take part in that event. The event is what happened; the participants are those to whom the event happened, who made it happen, where it happened, when it happened, with what or with whom it happened, and so on. The part which the participant plays in the event can be called its participant ROLE.

The event is expressed by a VERB PHRASE, which carries on the verb what Tibetologists have traditionally called TENSE. For example, the transitive verb *TUB* "chop" has four tense stemsthe present stem *Nthub* "chops," the past stem *btubs* "chopped," the future stem *btub* "will chop," and the imperative stem *thubs* "chop!" while the intransitive verb *KHRO* "be angry" has two *Nkhro* "is angry" and *khros* "was angry."

Each of the participants is expressed by a NOMINAL PHRASE; the participant role which it plays is indicated by a following ROLE PARTICLE. For example, in the proposition *nags-la rgyal-po-s sin-Ø btubs* "The king chopped wood in the forest," the participant *nags* "forest" is signaled as the LOCUS of the event by the role particle *-la*, the participant *rgyal-po* "king" is signaled as the AGENCY of the event by the role particle *-s*, and the participant s*in* "wood" is signaled as the PATIENT of the event by the role particle *-Ø*. There are five primary participant roles in the classical languagePATIENT, AGENCY, LOCUS, SOURCE, and ACCOMPANIMENT.

1.1. Events

We can syntactically distinguish three types of event in Tibetan according to the participant roles which must accompany them in a proposition, whether these participants are expressed explicitly or are understood from the context. Every event requires a PATIENT: that is, every event must HAPPEN TO some-

body or something.1 An INTRANSITIVE VERB expresses an event that is not specified as taking place through any agency external to this patient: such an *eventbla-ma-0 skyel* "The lama is weary," *bla-ma-0 Ngyel* "The lama falls down," *bla-ma-0 Nbros* "The lama flees"must be accompanied by its PATIENT participant but requires no AGENCY participant.

A TRANSITIVE VERB, on the other hand, indicates that the event occurs through some agency other than its patient: such an *eventbla-ma-s bgegs-0 btul* "The lama tamed the demon," *dug-gis rgyal-po-0 bsad* "Poison killed the king"must be accompanied not only by its PATIENT participant but also by the AGENCY participant whereby the event occurs.

For example, in *tshu-0 Nkhol* "The water boils" the event expressed by the intransitive verb *KHOL* "be boiling" can simply HAPPEN TO the patient without any external agency; but in *bla-ma-s tshu-0 skol* "The lama boiled the water" the event expressed by the transitive verb *SKOL* "make boiling" not only HAPPENS TO the patient but also must be CARRIED OUT or IMPLEMENTED by some agency or instrumentality.

Finally, the EQUATIVE VERB *YIN*and later *RED*requires TWO patient participants: it expresses the equation or identification of two terms, both of which undergo that identification, as in *bla-ma-0 snags-pa-0 yin* "The lama is a magician."2

1 In Tibetan there are therefore no dummy subjects like the *it* in *It is raining* or *It is foggy*. Instead we find such expressions as *tshar Nbab* "Rain is falling" and *na-bun Nthibs* "Fog has gathered."

2 The verb *YIN* "be" is the only equative verb in Old Tibetan. This verb should not be confused with the intransitive verb *YOD* "be" which asserts the spatiotemporal existence of a single patient participant rather than the equation of two patient participantsthus *bla-ma-0 snags-pa-0 yin* "The lama is (identified as) a magician" but *bla-ma-0 ri-la yod* "The lama is (spatiotemporally) on the hill." Compare, for example, New Chinese *shih* "be (equated)" and *yu* "be (spatiotemporally)"; the problem, of course, is that English has collapsedor expresses homophonouslytwo different concepts.

In some later texts, beginning probably in the fourteenth century, such as the epic of Ge-sar, the *Pad-ma than-yig*, and the biography of Mi-la ras-pa, we find the Middle Tibetan equative verb *RED*thus, for example, in the epic, *gla-ba mi-bden sgyu-ma red* "The deer is not real, it is an illusion," and, in the biography of Mi-la, *khyed phyugs-rdzi ma-red rdo-rdze sems-dpar snan* "You are not a herdsman, but appear as Vajrasattva." The frequency of *RED* varies in

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INTRANSITIVE, TRANSITVE, and EQUATIVE verbs are thus defined not only SEMANTICALLY by the sort of event they expressfor example, "be boiling" as opposed to "make boiling"but also SYNTACTICALLY by the participants which must accompany them.3 This threefold categorization is exhaustive: every Tibetan verb belongs to one and only one of these three categories, whatever other participants the particular verb may require.4

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the texts: the verb is quite common in the epic, relatively rare in the Mi-la, and continues to be absent in learned treatises; indeed, the occurrence of *RED* in a classical text can be used as an index of colloquial register.

The verb *RED* is unevenly distributed in New Tibetan. It is not found in Ladakh, where *yin* continues to be the only equative verb. In Lhasa City, *re* < Middle Tibetan *RED* has become the primary equative verb, with *yiN* <Old Tibetan *YIN* almost entirely restricted to certain constructions implying reportage of personal experiencethus *ti thep re* "This is a book" but not ?*ti thep yiN*, but both *khö thep* ˡɔpə *re* "He read the book" and *ñɛ thep* ˡɔpə *yiN* "I read the book."

3 As we have discussed, transitive and intransitive verbs differ INFLECTIONALLY in Tibetan as well: transitive verbs have four stems, with the past stem marked with a *b*-prefix; intransitive verbs have two tense stems, with the past stem marked with a ø- prefix. Compare, for example, *SGRAG* "proclaim," with the four stems *sgrog/bsgrags/bsgrag/sgrogs*, and *GRAG* "resound" with the two stems *Ngrag/grags*. Also, some pairs of transitive and intransitive verbs with homophonous roots differ inflectionally in the present stem, with the transitive verb showing an additional affix *-D*. Compare *rgyu* < *N-RGYU* "moves" and *rgyud* < *N-RGYU-D* "transmits," *Ngas* < *N-GAS* "becomes split" and N*ges* < *N-GAS-D* "makes split." Additionally, as we have seen, there are also pairs of transitive and intransitive verbs, clearly related phonologically and semantically, that differ DERIVATIONALLY, either by a transitivizing prefix *s-* (for example, *LAN* "rise" *SLAN* "raise," *GRAG* "resound" *SGRAG* "proclaim") or by initial voicing (for example, *THON* "emerge" *DON* "eject," *DOR* "be scattered" *TOR* "scatter").

4 Some verbs can be described as requiring-in some sense-additional participants. For example, the intransitive verb *MNA* "belong" requires not only its patient participant but a LOCUS of possession as wellthus *rgyal-po-la sras-ø mna* "The king has a son," but not-at least not out of a context providing the missing locusjust ?*sras-ø mna*. Similarly, the transitive verb *DZUG* "put" requires a locus participant; we might find *rgyal-po-s rdo-ø tshu-la btsug* "The king put the stone in the water," but notagain, at least not without a context in which the locus is understoodjust ?*rgyal-po-s rdo-ø btsug*. Other verbs require an ACCOMPANIMENT-for example, the intransitive verb *NDRA* "be similar," as in *bla-ma-ø sans-rgyas-dan Ndra* "The lama is like a Buddha," but not ?*bla-ma-ø Ndra*, or the transitive verb *PHRAL* "make separate, sever," as in *rgyal-po-s dgra-ø srog-dan phral* "The king deprived the enemy of his life," but not ?*rgyal-po-s dgra-ø phral*. And some verbs seem to require an

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1.1.1. Equations

As we have noted, the equative verb *YIN*and later *RED*expresses the equation or identification of two patient participants. Indeed, the presence of two patient participantsfor example, *bla-ma-Ø*"lama" and *mkhan-po-Ø*"abbot" in *bla-ma-Ø mkhan-po-Ø yin* "The lama is an abbot"uniquely identifies the verb as equative.5 Even more, the verb *YIN* is unique in that it

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additional INSTRUMENT participant. The verb *SKRAG* "be afraid" gives every evidence of being intransitive, yet we find *rgyal-po-Ø sbrul-gyis skrag* "The king is frightened of the snake," but not-outside an appropriate contextjust ?*rgyal-po-Ø skrag.* Similarly, we find the transitive verb *GAN* "fill, make full" in such constructions as *rgyal-po-s bum-pa-Ø tshu-s Ngens* "The king fills the pot with water," but not ?*rgyal-po-s bum-pa-Ø Ngens.* Such required participants frequently fill the CORE participant slot in the proposition, immediately preceding the verb.

It is clear that propositions like ?*bla-ma Ndra* "?The lama is similar," and ?*rgyal-po-s rdo-Ø btsug* "?The king put the rock," are puzzling; it is not clear to me whether our puzzlement is syntactic, or semantic, or pragmatic. We alleviate our puzzlement by searching the context for the missing participant; we are perhaps less puzzled by, say, ?*rgyal-po-s bum-pa-Ø Ngens* "?The king fills the pot" because the missing participant is more easily inferred from the context or, indeed, from our general knowledge of the world, and of the sorts of things people usually fill pots with.

In addition, we can note here briefly that certain verbs appear to require that participants in certain roles have certain SEMANTIC properties. It is a commplace to observe, for example, that the patient of a verb such as *SAD* "kill" must be animate, or at least will be read as animate in the context of the verb. Perhaps more interestingly, we can observe that the verb *RNE* "get, find, obtain" can occur with any sort of patient, while the patient of the otherwise apparently synonymous verb *THOB* "get, find, obtain" must be abstractthus both *tshos rñe*d and *tshos thob* "He gains the dharma" but *gri rñed* "He finds a knife" and not ?*gri thob.* Thus too an expression such as *sans-rgyas thob* will ordinarily be read as "He gains Buddhahood" and not as "He finds the Buddha," and *rgyal-po thob* as "He becomes the king" and not as "He finds the king."

5 The two patient participants which thus undergo identification can, of course, consist of nominal phrases of any length and complexity. In a text, the leftmost of these two patient participants may be the THEME: it could constitute old information recoverable from the text. Under the Telegram Principle, such old information can be omitted. For example, in such propositions as *bla-ma yin* "(The person we are discussing) is a lama" or *bla-ma rgan-poi gser-gyiphren-ba yin* "(That object we are talking about) is the old lama's golden rosary," the reader processes the single patient participant as the RHEME, and assumes that the missing patient participant is some prior element in the text.

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is often omitted from the proposition entirely: since an equative verb is uniquely defined by the presence of two patient participants, the verb itself becomes redundant in any proposition containing two patients. Under the Telegram Principle, such a redundant constituent can simply be left out.

The equative verb is often omitted in verbal complements, metrical verse, proverbs, and parallel poetry. Proverbs with the verb *YIN* omitted at the end of the proposition include such examples as *phag-pas bltas-na phag-tshan gzal-yas-khan* "If a pig looks at it, a pigsty (is) a divine mansion," and *pha-spun dgra-ru son-yan rus-pa gser* "Though brothers turn enemies, yet family (is) gold." Such proverbs frequently make use of a proportional form A:B::C:D, with the verb *YIN* omitted in two parallel equative constructions. Thus we find *pha tsan-dan-gyi sdon-po, bu tshu-sin-gi om-bu* "The fathera sandalwood tree; the son-a hollow reed," *zas-nan lus-kyi dgra, mi-nan yul-gyi dgra* "Bad foodenemy of the body; bad menenemy of the land." The scholar Sa-skya pandita would sometimes use such equative proverb forms in his didactic verse; we find, for example, *smra-man es-pa Ndzin-pai rgyu, mi-smra ñes-pa spon-bai gzi* "Much talk-why you get into trouble; no talkhow you stay out of trouble."

The equative verb can also be omitted before the propositional conjunctions -*STe* "AND," -*Am* "OR," and -*Yan* "BUT," leaving a proposition with two patient

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> The fact that the thematic patient participant can be omitted means that some equative constructions are ambiguous. For example, the proposition *bla-ma mkhan-poyin* can be read either as (*bla-ma*-Ø)(*mkhan-po*-Ø) *yin* "The lama is an abbot" or as ((*bla-ma mkhan-po*)-Ø) *yin* "(The person under discussion) is a lama-who-is-an-abbot." Similarly, the proposition *bla-ma rgan-poyin* can be read either as (*bla-ma*-Ø)(*rgan-po*-Ø) *yin* "The lama is old/an old one" or as ((*bla-ma rgan-po*)-Ø) *yin* "(The one we're talking about) is an old lama." In each case, the former reading assumes that both patient participants are present, and the latter reading assumes that a leftward patient has been telegraphically omitted.
>
> The reason for the ambiguity, of course, is the fact that the patient role particle -Øis invisible, and thus cannot unambiguously mark the end of a nominal phrase. Now such ambiguity is not often a serious obstacle in the processing of a text. But, where an author does feel a need to disambiguate such a proposition, a specifieroften the determiner *de* "THAT"can be used, not for its semantic content, but just to mark the end of a leftward patient participant. Thus *bla-ma de rgan-po yin* can be read only as (*bla-ma de*-Ø)(*rgan-po*-Ø) *yin* "The lama is old/an old one," since the determiner unambiguously signals the close of the first nominal phrase in the equation.

participants, a conjunction, and no verb.6 The following three didactic verses, from the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* by Sa-skya pandita, will illustrate the telegraphic omission of *YIN* before each of these three conjunctions:

mkhas-pa gzan-la bsad-paAM
yan-na zi-bai nags-su sgrub
nor-bu spyi-gtsug rgyan-byed-paAM
yan-na rgya-mtshoi glin-na gnas

A wise man either (is) a teacher of others
or else meditates in a peaceful forest;
a gem either (is) one that adorns a crown
or else stays on its island in the sea.

gnod-pa byed-pa tshun-nu-YAN
myur-du bsal-ba Ndun-par bya
yur-ba tshun-nui rdzes zugs-nas
od-pa tshen-po ma-mthon-nam

Though the harm one has done (is) small
one should wish to remedy it quickly;
have you not seen a great flood
flowing through a small channel?

ha-tsan byams-pa gñen-laan min
sin-tu gnod-tshen dgra-laan min
gñen-la re-ba Nkhon-gzi-STE
gnod-lan kun-gyis sgrub-par sla

Too much friendliness is not even for kinsmen;
very great harm is not even for enemies;
relying on kinsmen (is) the cause of feuds
and anyone can easily pay back harm.

6 But the equative verb cannot be omitted before the propositional conjunction -*TSin* "AND." I do not know why this should be so; but this nondeletability of *YIN* before -*TSin* is the primary syntactic distinction between the conjunctions -*TSin* "AND" and -*STe* "AND"a distinction that affects the way the two conjunctions are used in making identifications. The constraint on the omission of *YIN* before -*TSin* is also what allows occurrence before -*TSin* to be diagnostic of the lexical category of verbs.

In these verses we can note the parallel constructions *mkhas-pa-Ø gzan-la bsad-pa-Ø*(*YIN*)-*Am* "A wise man (is) a teacher to others OR .. .," *gnod-pa byed-pa-Ø tshun-nu-Ø*(*YIN*)-*Yan* "The harm one does (is) small BUT. . .," and *gñen-la re-ba-Ø Nkhon-gzi-Ø*(*YIN*)-*STe* "Relying on kinsmen (is) the cause of feuds, AND. . ."7

1.1.2. Transitive and intransitive verbs

In a proposition with a transitive verb, either the agency or the patient can be the theme, and so, under the Telegram Principle, either can be omitted thus *rgyal-po-s dgra-Ø bsad* "The king slew the enemy," *rgyal-po-s bsad* "The king slew (someone)," *dgra-Ø bsad* "(Someone) slew the enemy."8 Since much narrative concerns the activity of some particular actor through whom the events in the story take place, the agency is often the theme of the proposition; hence we not infrequently find a proposition with a transitive verb and a patient participant, looking very much like a proposition with an intransitive verb and a patient participantfor example, *nor spel* "(Someone) increases the wealth" *nor Nphel* "The wealth increases," *tshu skol* "(Someone) boils the water" *tshu Nkhol* "The water is boiling," *sgo Nbyed* "(Someone) opens the door" *sgo Nbye* "The door opens."

Many such pairs of verbs exhibit an interesting logical relationship: the transitive verb ENTAILS the intransitive verb, but the intransitive verb does not entail the transitive verb. Thus *nor spel* "(Someone) increases the wealth" is true only if *nor Nphel* "The wealth increases" is true, and *tshu skol* "(Someone) is boiling the water" similarly entails *tshu Nkhol* "The water is boiling."

7 Sometimes the statement particle -*o* will mark the close of a proposition from which the equative verb has been omittedfor example, *gzugs ston-pao* "Form (is) empty," *bla-ma de rgan-poo* "The lama (is) old," *mi-la bla-mao* "Mi-la (is) a lama." And if Mi-la has already been the subject of prior discussion, he may be telegraphically omitted as well, leaving the minimal equative construction *bla-mao* "(The person we are talking about) (is) a lama."

8 English has a device for expressing a transitive action while suppressing the specification of its agencya passive construction without a *by* phrase. It thus makes some sense to translate, say, *dgra-Ø bsad* as "The enemy was slain," as opposed to "(Someone) slew the enemy"; but convenience of translation does not make the verb anything other than transitive in Tibetan. Of course, in the context of a discourse, the most likely translation of, say, *dgra-Ø bsad* would be "HE slew the enemy," since the English pronoun has the same anaphoric function as the absence of a participant does in Tibetan.

Again, *sgo Nbyed* "(Someone) opens the door" entails *sgo Nbye* "The door opens," and *bya spur* "(Someone) scares away the birds" entails *bya Nphur* "The birds fly away." On the other hand, *sgo Nbye* "The door opens" does not entail *sgo Nbyed* "(Someone) opens the door": the door might be opening by itself.

A thought is a proposition with a sense.
The totality of propositions is language....
Language disguises thought.
L. Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*

Such pairs of verbs as *SPEL* "make increased" *PHEL* "become increased," *SKOL* "make boiling" *KHOL* "become boiling," *PYE* "make open" *BYE* "become open," *SPUR* "make fly away" *PHUR* "fly away" are thus quite closely related by logical entailment, by semantic content, and by phonetic shape. But we must bear in mind that propositions containing different members of such pairs assert quite different sorts of events. The transitive verb in effect claims that the event is the result of some outside agency acting upon the patient; the intransitive verb makes no such claim.

1.1.3. Ergativity

Intransitive verbs occur with a patient; transitive verbs occur with both a patient and an agency. Many languagesincluding Latin and Sanskrit and Chinesesyntactically identify the intransitive patient and the transitive agency. In English and Chinese, they are both put BEFORE THE VERB (as in English *THE TEACHER grieves* and *THE TEACHER sees the pupil*), and the transitive patient is put AFTER THE VERB (as in *The pupil sees THE TEACHER*). In Sanskrit and Latin, they are both put in the NOMINATIVE CASE (as in Sanskrit *ACARYAH socati* "THE TEACHER grieves" and *ACARYAH sisyam pasyati* "THE TEACHER sees the pupil"), and the transitive patient is put in the ACCUSATIVE CASE (as in Sanskrit *ACARYAM sisyah pasyati* "The pupil sees THE TEACHER").

Other languagesincluding Basque and Eskimo and Tibetansyntactically identify the intransitive and transitive patients. In Tibetan they are both given the PATIENT ROLE PARTICLE -Ø (as in *SLOB-DPON-Ø Ngyod* "THE TEACHER grieves" and *slob-ma-s SLOB-DPON-Ø mthon* "The pupil sees THE TEACHER"), and the transitive agency is given the AGENCY ROLE PARTICLE *-KYis* (as in *SLOB-DPON-GYIS slob-ma-Ø mthon* "THE TEACHER sees the pupil"). In some descriptions of these languages the patient is said to be in the ABSOLUTIVE CASE and the agency in the ERGATIVE CASE (from Greek é*rgates* "worker").

In an ACCUSATIVE LANGUAGE such as Sanskrit or English, the patient of a transitive verb is singled out as special and given a distinctive accusative form or position, while the other participants share a nominativeor unmarked form or position. In an ERGATIVE LANGUAGE such as Basque or Tibetan, the agency of a transitive verb is singled out as special and given a distinctive ergative form or position, while the patient participants share an absolutiveor unmarkedform or position.

We can observe that an ergative system such as Tibetan is patterned very much like the PASSIVE of an accusative system such as English. In the English passive, for example, the agency of a transitive verb is given the distinctive marker *by* (compare English *The pupil is seen BY THE TEACHER* with Tibetan SLOB-DPON-GYIS *slob-ma-Ø mthon*), while the patient participants share the unmarked position before the verb (compare English *THE TEACHER grieves* and *THE TEACHER is seen by the pupil* with Tibetan *SLOB-DPON-Ø Ngyod* and *slob-ma-s SLOB-DPON-Ø mthon*). This is the reason for the assertion, common in older textbooks, that "all Tibetan constructions are impersonal" or that "all Tibetan verbs are passive." In fact, Tibetan apparently lacks any syntactic structure corresponding to the passive of an accusative system;9 Tibetan transitive constructions can, of course, be TRANSLATED by an English passive (for example, *rgyal-po-s dgra-Ø bsad* "The king slew the enemy" or "The enemy was slain by the king"), but this, again, is a peculiarity of English and not of Tibetan.

9 In a number of ergative languages, we find constructions that have come to be called ANTIPASSIVES, with the transitive agency in the unmarked absolutive case, the transitive patient in an oblique or DATIVE case, and the verb in a distinctive "antipassive" form. I have not found a convincing example of such an antipassive construction in Tibetan.

1.1.4. "Tense"

1.1.4.1. The tense system

Every Tibetan verb occurs in one of four tenses. The tense of the verb is signaled by various more or less regular changes in its phonetic shapefor example, *Nthub* "chops," *btubs* "chopped," *btub* "will chop," *thubs* "chop!" A verb may have a maximum of four such distinct shapesfor example, from the root *TU* "gather" we find *Nthu/btus/btu/thus,* and from the root *TSHAD* "cut" we find *gtsod/btsad/gtsad/tshod.* These four forms of the verb have been denominated, by the native grammarians, *da-lta-ba* "present," *Ndas-pa* "past," *ma-ons-pa* "future," and *skul-tshig* "imperative." It is evident that a simple linear concept of tensestretching from the past into the futuredoes not adequately account for the meanings of these four verb forms.

Note too that the present and past form a distinct entity as the two tenses shown by intransitive verbs, and the future and imperative as the two tenses peculiar to transitive verbs. Similarly, the present and future form a distinct entity as taking the *mi-* form of the negative particle, and the past and imperative as taking the *ma-* form; the past and imperative, too, are both distinctively marked with the *s-* suffix, while the present and future are not.

It thus seems plausible that these four tenses are in fact the product of two intersecting semantic specificationsan ASPECT specification of completeness and a MOOD specification of potentiality. An event specified as COMPLETE is finished, terminated, accomplished at the time of speaking; the event has a terminal boundary. An event specified as POTENTIAL is one that is not factual but is in some way expected to be factual. In Tibetan, then, the present expresses an event not specified as being either complete or anticipated, as in *rgyal-pos nor sgrub* "The king gets/is getting wealth"; the past expresses an event specified as completed but not as anticipated, as in *rgyal-pos nor bsgrubs* "The king got/has gotten wealth"; the future expresses an event specified as anticipated but not as yet completed, as in *rgyal-pos nor bsgrub* "The king will get wealth"; and the imperative expresses an event specified as expected to be completed, as in *rgyal-pos nor sgrubs* "Let/may the king get wealth!"10

10 Similar interactions of mood and aspect are found in other languages. For example, in Tagalog, as in Tibetan, the verb form indicating potentiality but not completion is used for ordinary future events, and the verb form indicating both potentiality and completion is used for imperatives.

The tenses we have characterized as indicating completionthe transitive and intransitive past stem and the transitive imperative stemare all signaled by the *-s* suffix; the *-s* suffix thus appears to be the inflectional marker for aspect. We may note, too, an interesting relationship between transitivity and potentiality: the fact that only transitive verbs can normally be specified as potential suggests that the predictability of an event in Tibetan is connected with its occurring through some outside agencyparadigmatically an animate actorrather than simply happening to the patient that undergoes it.

1.1.4.2. Periphrastic forms

In the earliest texts, such as the archaic manuscripts discovered in Central Asia, verbal tense was expressed primarily through such inflectional modifications of the verb stem alone. In one such mythological text, for example, the horse Khug-ron rman-dar swears revenge against Wild Yellow Yak, who had killed his older brother, using the future tense of the verbs *TSAD* "cut" and *LAN* "repay," saying, *sdan-gi sñin gtshado, Nbron-g.yag skar-bai sñin gtshado, byams-kyi lan glan-no, phu yid-kyi gdan-pyam-gi lan glan-no* "I will cut out the wrathful heart, I will cut out the heart of Wild Yellow Yak; I will repay the kindness, I will repay older brother Yid-kyi gdan-pyam." And, after the yak is slain, he exults, in the past tense, *stan-gi sñin btshad, byams-gi ni lan blan* "I have cut out the wrathful heart; his kindness, yes, have I repaid."

Periphrastic constructions, in which the job of expressing tense is spread out over more than one verb stem in the same proposition, come from three sources. First, we find, even in the archaic Central Tibetan manuscripts, CONJUNCTIONS with the coordinating conjunction *-Tsin* > *-kyin* > *-kyi* > *-gi* and, to a lesser extent, *-STe* "AND," as in *sñi-la rma byeu-zig thogs-SIN NDUG* "A little peacock was there tangled in the snare." Second, we find NOMINALIZATIONS with *-Pa*, as in *khyed-ran ni na-la dad-nas ons-PA YIN* "You have come to me in faith." Third, we find COMPLEMENT CONSTRUCTIONS, again even in the earliest archaic textsfor example, *rgya mgo nag-po de-la phyag-Ntshal-zin des bkol-BAR ON-no* "It came about that the Chinese masses paid homage to him, and were by him enslaved"; in the translation of Sanskrit texts, such complement constructions began to be used more frequently, in part, one supposes, to express the Sanskrit passivefor example, Sanskrit *ajanati* Tibetan s*es-PAR BYED* "He knows," Sanskrit *sadhyate* Tibetan *bsgrub-PAR BYA* "It is proven"but also in such constructions as *me sreg-PAR BYED* "Fire

burns" and *me sreg-PAR NGYUR* "Fire will burn." By the time of New Tibetan, we find-for example, in the dialect of Lhasa Citythat several of these various periphrastic forms, from different syntactic sources, have formed a coherent inflectional paradigm. I am not at all sure that such a development can be discerned in the classical texts; and these periphrastic constructions will be dealt with separately in the appropriate sections of this text.

1.2. Participants

A proposition in Tibetan consists of an event and its participants; the event is the last constituent of the proposition, with its participants preceding it in various positions. A participant in turn is a nominal phrase marked with a following bound role particle: the role particle signals the particular role or function of the participant in the stated event. For example, in the proposition *nags-la rgyal-pos dgra-Ø bsad* "The king slew the enemy in the forest," the participant *nags* "forest" is signaled as the LOCUS of the event by the role particle -*la,* the participant *rgyal-po* "king" is signaled as the AGENCY of the event by the role particle -s, and the participant *dgra* "enemy" is signaled as the PATIENT of the event by the role particle -Ø. Similarly, in the proposition *rgyal-po bla-ma-dan dgon-pa-nas byon* "The king arrived from the monastery with the lama," the participant *rgyal-po* "king" is signaled as the PATIENT of the event by the role particle -Ø, the participant *dgon-pa* "monastery" is signaled as the SOURCE of the event by the role particle -*nas,* and the participant *bla-ma* is signaled as the ACCOMPANIMENT of the event by the role particle -*dan.*

There are five basic roles in the classical languagePATIENT, AGENCY, LOCUS, SOURCE, and ACCOMPANIMENT. These rolesand the different meanings that they carrywill be discussed in the following sections.

1.2.1. The patient role

The PATIENT of an event is the participant that suffers, endures, or undergoes the particular state, process, or action; the patient is the one the event HAPPENS TO. With verbs of motion the patient is that which undergoes the motion; with verbs of location it is that whose location is asserted; with verbs of emotion it is the experiencer of the emotion. Whatever other participants an event may have, it must always have a patient: in classical Tibetan every

proposition must have one patient participant either stated or understood; every event has to HAPPEN TO somebody or something.11 And, with one exception, any proposition can have only one patient participant; the exception is a proposition containing an equative verb, which uniquely occurs with two patient participants.

The role particle that signals the patient of the event is ZERO, which we write herein, when occasion demands, as -0. This means that the patient role is signaled by the ABSENCE of any overt role particle: the proposition *bla-ma ñal* "The lama sleeps" is conveniently conceptualized as *bla-ma-0 ñal.* This invisible particle is just as functional as any other: the presence of -0signals the patient of the event just as surely as, say, the presence of -*la* signals its spatial or temporal locus. The zero particle sometimes causes problems in reading only because it is so hard to see.

1.2.2. The agency role

The patient of an event, we have said, is the participant that suffers, endures, or undergoes the particular state, process, or action: in *bla-ma-0 gyel* "The lama fell down" the participant *bla-ma* "lama" is the patient of the process of falling; in *bgegs-kyis bla-ma-0 sgyel* "The demon tripped the lama" the participant *bla-ma* "lama" is the patient of the action of tripping. The AGENCY of an event is the means or instrumentality whereby the event occurs: in *dgra-s rgyal-po-0 bsad* "The enemy killed the king" or *ser-ba-s rgyal-po-0 bsad* "A hailstorm killed the king" the participants *dgra* "enemy" and *ser-ba* "hailstorm," respectively, are the agencies of the action of killing.

The role particle that signals the agency of an event is -*KYis,* whose initial undergoes morphophonemic changes according to the final or post-final of the preceding syllable: -*KYis* becomes -*gis* after preceding final -g and -*n;* becomes

11 When the patient participant is not beir acted upon by some agency or instrumentality external to it, it can conveniently be translated as the English subjectthus *rgyal-po-0 ñal* "The king sleeps." When it is being acted upon by some external agency or instrumentality, it can be translated into English either as the object in an active construction or the subject in a passive onethus *dgra-s rgyal-po-0 bsad* "The enemy slew the king" or "The king was slain by the enemy." Interestingly, it seems that classical Tibetan can be thoroughly described without resorting to the notion of grammatical subject or object at all; it is, in that sense, what some linguists have termed a ROLE-DOMINATED language.

-kyis after preceding final *-d, -b,* and *-s;* and becomes *-gyis* after preceding final *-n, -m, -r,* and *-l*thus, for example, *bdag-gis, ran-gis, bod-kyis, rab-kyis, gos-kyis, bon-gyis, lam-gyis, phur-gyis, bal-gyis.* A preceding open syllable becomes a closed syllable in *-s*thus, for example, *dgas, spyis, rgyus, bdes,* blos-although in archaic manuscripts and ancient monumental inscriptions we encounter such forms as *dgais* and *bdeis.* In verse, when an extra syllable is needed for metrical purposes, we find *-yis* following an open syllablefor example, *dga-yis* instead of *dgas.*

The agency whereby an event takes place is quite often animate, although the initiator of an event can also be a natural force, an institution, or a magic spell: where we read an agency as being in some sense RESPONSIBLE for the event we can speak of an AGENT. On the other hand, the agency may be some inanimate object wielded by an agent, or in some other way not subject to its own inclination: where we read an agency as being is some sense NOT RESPONSIBLE for the event we can speak of an INSTRUMENT.

Thus, in a proposition such as *rgyal-pos tho-bas rdo btsag* "The king broke the rock with a hammer," there is little question that *rgyal-po* "king" is the agent and *tho-ba* "hammer" is the instrument, despite the fact that they are marked with exactly the same role particleexcept, perhaps, in the unlikely context of a story about, say, an animated hammer and a frozen king. Knowledge of how the world usually works is often quite enough to distinguish agents from instruments, even in unexpected combinationsfor example, *bla-mas sbrul-gyis bgegs brduns* "The lama hit the demon with a snake," or *bla-mas snags-kyis rdo btsag* "The lama broke the rock with a magic spell."

Of course, where the proposition contains only one agency participant, one can argue whether that participant is "really" an agent, or "really" an instrument with the agent telegraphically omitted: is the proposition *dug-gis rgyal-po bsad* to be processed as "Poison killed the king" or as "(Someone) killed the king with poison"? Such processing can be quite culture-bound. To an American, the proposition *ser-bas rgyal-po bsad* can only be processed as "A hailstorm killed the king"; a Tibetan would not rule out the reading "(Someone) killed the king with a hailstorm."

A transitive verb asserts that the event it expresses is the result of an outside agency acting upon the patient, and thus requires an agency participant either stated or understood. But agency participants can occur with intransitive verbs as well; compare, for example, the propositions *bla-ma-s bya-ba spur* "The

lama chased/frightened away the birds" and *bla-ma-s bya-Ø phur* "The birds flew away/got frightened by/through/because of the lama." In the first proposition, the transitive verb *SPUR* "frighten/make fly" asserts that an outside agency is responsible for what happened to the birds; in the second, the intransitive verb *PHUR* "become frightened/fly away" makes no assertion that the stated agency controlled or instigated the event. With an intransitive verb, the agency participant is still the means or instrumentality whereby the event occurred, but it is demoted in its responsibility.

In fact, we could set up a sequence of propositions as a RESPONSIBILITY HIERARCHY with regard, say, to the frightening of a flock of birds, using the transitive verb *SPUR* "make fly/frighten away" and the intransitive verb *PHUR* "fly away/be frightened," and ranked from the clearest assignment of responsibility to the vaguest, like this:

MOST ASSIGNMENT OF RESPONSIBILITY

bla-ma-s sgra tshen-po-s bya-Ø spur "The lama frightened away the birds with a loud noise."

bla-ma-s bya-Ø phur "The birds got frightened away by the lama."

sgra tshen-po-s bya-Ø spur "The loud noise frightened away the birds" OR "(Some-one) frightened away the birds with a loud noise."

sgra tshen-po-s bya-Ø phur "The birds got frightened away by a loud noise."

bya-Ø spur "(Someone/something) frightened away the birds."

bya-Ø phur "The birds got frightened away."

LEAST ASSIGNMENT OF RESPONSIBILITY

An instrument can be just about anything whereby or through which the eventincluding one expressed by an intransitive verbtakes place.12 Mi-la, for example, *mkhar-las-kyis mi-sdug* "is/grows weary with tower work"; we find such propositions as *bla-ma yon-tan du-ma-s Nphags* "The lama is noble with many virtues," *ri-bo nags-kyis mdzes* "The mountain is beautiful with forests," *bdag khyim-gyis skyo* "I weary of the household life," *rgyal-po sbrul-gyis Ndzigs* "The king is scared of snakes." Dpal-sprul rin-po-tshe tells a story of how *rgan-mo khyi-so-s sans-rgyas* "an old woman became a Buddha by means of a dog's tooth." And note the proverb:

blo rtse-gñis-kyis don mi-Ngrub
khab rtse-gñis-kyis Ntshem-bu mi-len

The goal is not reached with an unsteady mind;
a stitch is not made with a two-pointed needle.

The notion of instrument is easily extended to include states of mind or other abstractions, yielding expressions that can be translated adverbally in English -for example, *thugs-rdze-s* "with compassion ® compassionately," *tshed-gñer-gyis* "with purpose ® purposefully," *nan-tan-gyis* "with earnestness ® assiduously," *ran-bzin-gyis* "by its own nature ® spontaneously."

1.2.3. The locus and source roles

There are two role particles, *-la* and *-na*, which signal the LOCUS of an event, and two role particles, *-las* and *-nas*, which signal its SOURCE. The locus of an event is the time or place it occurs; the source of an event is the place or cause or material from or through which it takes place. With verbs of motion the locus is the goal of the motion, and the source is its departure point; a transfer takes place from a source to a locus. With verbs of emotion the locus is that toward which the emotion is directed; with verbs of construction the source is that out of which the patient is built.

12 Note the following interesting difference between the INSTRUMENT used by an agent and the SOURCE or ground of his action: a proposition *A-KYis lag-GIS B-Ø bzun* means that A grasped B by A's hand, while *A-KYis lag-NAS B-Ø bzun* means that A grasped B by B's hand; in the first case the hand is the instrument used by A, and in the second case the hand is the material ground of the action of grasping. Thus, too, we find, unambiguously, *A-KYis skra-NAS B-Ø bzun* "A grasped B by his hair," but not, in most contexts, ?*A-KYIs skra-s B-Ø bzun.*

It is clear that the two locus particles and two source particles are closely related. The locus particle *-la* and the source particle *-las* both begin with initial l, while the locus particle *-na* and the source particle *-nas* both begin with initial *n.* The two source particles *-las* and *-nas* both end with final *-s,* while the two locus particles *-la* and *-na* both end with final *-Ø*.13

We can distinguish the l- locus from the *n-* locus, and the l- source from the *n-* source, by the concept of BOUNDEDNESS: an *n-* locus participant or *n*-source participant is specified as constituting an ENCLOSED SPACE in or out of which the event occurs. For example, when a person sits by the water, or floats on it, or goes toward it, so that the water is not specified as somehow CONTAINING the action, then the water is an *l-* locus; but when a person sits or swims under the water, or dives into the water, or moves within or through the water, so that the water is specified as a closed space relative to the action, then the water is an *n-* locus. Similarly, when a person emerges from the water, or a fish leaps up off its surface, the water is an *l-* source; but when a person comes out from under the water, so that the water contains some component of his observed motion, the water is an *n-* source.14 We

13 As to the *n-* locus and source particles, compare the noun *nan* "interior, inside, inner part" andthough perhaps unlikelyOld Chinese **nwəb*> **nwad*"interior, inside, inner." It is tempting to hypothesize a Proto-Tibetan particle affix **-s* "SOURCE" as a formative in both the *n-* source and l- source particles; since the agency of an event is, in some sense, a source of that event, the agency role particle *-KYis* might be formed with the same **-s* affix added to the adnominal particle *-KYi.* Indeed, the Tibetan grammatical tradition has noted the relationship between such propositions as s*in-mkhan-gyis sta-re-s sin btsad* "The woodsman cut the tree with an axe" and s*in-mkhan-gyi sta-re-s sin btsad* "The woodsman's axe cut the tree."

14 The general rule is subject to several conventions. The source of a transferin fact, the source of most sorts of linear motionis an *n-* source: thus we find *bla-ma lha-sa-nas pe-tsin-la Ngro* "The lama goes from Lhasa to Peking," *gan-nas rñed* "Where did you get that from?" The target of an emotion is an *l-* locusthus *bla-ma tshos-la dga* "The lama delights in the dharma," *rgyal-po lto-la gdun* "The king yearns for food," *bgegs rgyal-po-la sdan* "The demon hates the king." With verbs of construction, the material of which the object is made is usually an *l-* sourcethus *phor-pa gser-las byas* "He made a bowl out of gold," *rdo-rdze dnul-las grub* "The vajra was made of silver"; but occasionally the material is expressed as an *n-* sourcefor example, *khan-pa pha-gu-nas brtsigs* "He built a house from bricks." When an animate being is an owner or recipient of an object, the animate being is an *l-* locus for that object-thus *bla-ma-la phren-ba gser-po yod* "The lama has a golden rosary," *sans-rgyas-la dge-slon-gis mtshod-pa phul* "The monk gave offerings to the Buddha," *mi man-poi don-la dge-slon-gis tshos bsad* "The monk taught the dharma for the sake of the many."

can thus diagram the four particles as follows:

	NONBOUNDED	BOUNDED
	-la	*-na*
LOCUS		
	-las	*-nas*
SOURCE		

These four particles do the same work as the whole array of English prepositionsto, *at, in, on, for, through,* and so on. One reason they can do so is because English prepositions are often contextually determined. For example, English uses different prepositions for location and direction: we say *He lives AT the monastery* but *He goes TO the monastery.* In Tibetan, the same locus particles are used with verbs of location and verbs of motion. There is no confusion because, of course, the verbs are differentthus *dgon-pa-LA bzugs* "He lives AT the monastery" and *dgon-pa-LA Ngro* "He goes TO the monastery"; the fact that the locus particle must be TRANSLATED differently when it indicates a site rather than a target is a peculiarity of English.

Now such a site or target may be either animate or inanimate. The difference is important in English, where animate sites and targets may be given special syntactic treatment; again, Tibetan uses the same locus particle in either case, with apparently little confusion.15 For example, Tibetan expresses POSSESSION with the particle *-la* and the verb *YOD* "exist spatiotemporally"thus *bla-mala phren-ba yod* "The lama has a rosary," *rgyal-po-la ral-gri yod* "The king has a sword." The construction is the same as that for any assertion of spatiotemporal locationcompare *rgya-mtsho-la ña yod* "There are fish in the ocean," s*in-la spreu yod* "The monkey is in the tree."16 The fact that an

15 Note the similarity to the reading of agents and instruments. Both are marked with the same particle *-KYis,* but in any propositionsay, *rgyal-po-s ral-gri-s dgra bsad* "The king slew the enemy with a sword"the animate agency is more likely to be read as the agent and the inanimate agency as the instrument.

16 Note, too, assertions of location which in English can be expressedmetaphorically? as possession, and assertions of possession which can be expressedpolitely?-as location: compare, for example, *ri-la me-tog yod* "There are flowers on the mountain/The mountain has flowers" with *rgyal-po-la ldzi-ba yod* "The king has fleas/There are fleas on the king."

Similarly, with verbs of transfer, English marks as recipients or beneficiaries those targets of the transfer capable of being affected by the thing transferredfor example, *sans-rgyas-kyis*

(*footnote continued on next page*)

animate site is often best TRANSLATED as a possessor is a peculiarity of English.

When locus or source particles alone are felt to be insufficient, an author may specify locus or source more precisely by using any of several RELATOR NOUNS. Such relator constructions are parallel to such English expressions as *on the top of, to the right of,* or *for the sake of*for example, *brag-gi kha-la* "on top of the rock," *dei dus-na* "during that time," *rii og-nas* "from under the mountain," *dge-slon-gi gseb-nas* "out of the midst of the monks."17

1.2.4. The accompaniment role

The ACCOMPANIMENT of an event is the participant along with which the event occurs. The particle which expresses the accompaniment role is -*dan*thus,

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

nags-la tshos bsad "The Buddha taught the dharma IN the woods" but *sans-rgyas-kyis bya-la tshos bsad* "The Buddha taught the dharma TO the birds"; note zi*n-pas zin-LA tshu drans* "The farmer brought water TO/FOR the field." Classical Tibetan does notas the examples showrequire such a distinction; where a target must be specified as a beneficiary, a benefit relator can be used.

17 The following are examples of the most commonly encountered relator nouns. SPATIAL RELATORS include *kha* "surface," *khon* "interior," *khons* "middle," *gan* "proximity," *gon* "upper part," *Ngram* "side," *no* "face," *thad* "direction straight ahead," *thog* "uppermost part," *mtha* "end," *drun* "proximity," *phyogs* "direction," *bar* "interval," *rtsa* "vicinity," *mtshams* "border," *slad* "hindpart," *gseb* "midst." Among spatial relators may be included the compass points *sar* "east," l*ho* "south," *nub* "west," *byan* "north"; intermediate compass points are consistently read off clockwisethus s*ar-lho* "southeast," l*ho-nub* "southwest," *nub-byan* "northwest," *byan-sar* "northeast." Not unexpectedly, many spatial relators are semantically paireddkyil "center" *Nkhor* "circumference," *snon* "front" *rdzes* "rear," *mdun* "front" *rgyab* "back," *mgo* "head" *mdzug* "tail," *sten* "top" *og* "bottom," *nan* "inside" *phyi* "outside," *g.yas* "right" *g.yon* "left," *tshu* "this side" *pha* "that side," *phu* "the upper part of an ascending valley" *mdo* "the lower part of a valley where it merges into the plain."

There are three TEMPORAL relators*skabs* "occasion," *dus* "time," *tshe* "time." Elsewhere we find spatial relators used metaphorically for time-thus *gon* "upper part ® time preceding," *snon* "front -® time preceding," *mtha* "end -® conclusion," *bar* "interval ® time between," *mtshams* "border ® juncture," *og* "bottom ® time following," *slad* "hindpart -® time following." It is interesting to note that time is conceptualized as moving both from ahead to behind and from above to below. Finally, there are BENEFIT RELATORS*don* "sake, purpose," *phyir* "sake, purpose," *tshed* "benefit, gain."

for example, *rgyal-po bla-ma-dan dgon-pa-la slebs* "The king came to the monastery with the lama."18

A number of verbs, both transitive and intransitive, take an accompaniment as a core participant. These include verbs of distance, such as *RIN* "be far" and *ÑE* "be near"; verbs of similarity and agreement, such as *MTSHUN* "be like, similar," *NDRA* "be similar, equal," *MÑAM* "be like, the same," *MTHUN* "agree, be in harmony," *STUN* "make agree, harmonize"; verbs of meeting, joining, and mixing, such as *MDZAL* "meet," *PHRAD* "meet, fall in with," *SPRAD* "bring together, make meet," *SBYAR* "join, connect," *SDEB* "join, unite," *GROGS* "be associated," *DRIS* "be accustomed, acquainted," *LHAN* "be together," *NDRE* "be mixed,"- *SRE* "mix"; verbs of opposition, such as *KHON* "bear a grudge, be dissatisfied," *NTHAB* "fight, quarrel," *GAL* "be opposed," *SDO* "bid defiance, bear up against, risk, venture"; verbs of connection and separation, such as *BREL* "be connected," *SBREL* "connect, make joined," *BRAL* "be separated," *PHRAL* "separate, deprive"; and verbs of conversation, such as *SMRA* "speak," *GROS* "consult," *LAB* "talk."19

Thus we find, for example, propositions such as *gnas Ndi gron-khyer-DAN rin* "This place is far FROM town," *dge-slon tshos-DAN Nkhon* "The monk is dissatisfied WITH/tired OF the dharma," *bslu-bai rnam-pas khyeu-DAN smras* "He spoke WITH/TO the youth in a seductive way," *lus-srog-DAN sdo* "He risks 0 his life," *mal-Nbyor-pa kha-tshub-DAN Nthab* "The yogin struggles WITH/AGAINST a hailstorm," *sems mig-DAN bsdebs-nas lta, rna-ba-DAN bsdebs-nas ñan* "The mind sees by joining WITH the eye, and hears by joining WITH the ear," *nan-pa-DAN lta-ba mi-mthun-pai dus-sig yon* "A time will come of views hostile TO/not in accord WITH Buddhism."

18 The accompaniment particle *-dan* is the same as the nominal phrase conjunction *-dan.* Note, therefore, that a construction such as *bla-ma-dan rgyal-po Ngro* is syntactically ambiguous between the phrasal conjunction reading (*bla-ma-dan rgyal-po*)-0 *Ngro* "The king-and-lama go" and the accompaniment reading (*bla-ma-dan*)(*rgyal-po*-0) *Ngro* "The king goes with the lama," although such ambiguity seems seldom of much moment. The construction *rgyal-po bla-ma-dan Ngro,* on the other hand, is unambiguous: it can only be given the accompaniment reading (*rgyal-po*-0)(*bla-ma-dan*) *Ngro* "The king goes with the lama."

19 Note particularly the verbs *LDAN* "be endowed, possess," and *BTSAS* "be accompanied, possess," as in *sans-rgyas yon-tan-dan ldan* "The Buddha is endowed with excellence," *rgyal-po Nkhor-dan btsas* "The king is accompanied by his retinue." These verbs are discussed, with the lexical formative *-tsan* "POSSESSING," in the section on derivational morphology.

2. Thematic Structure

2.1. Participant Order

When a participant is marked by its role particle, its function in the proposition is signalled by the particle rather thanas in, say, Englishits position relative to the other participants. It is not quite accurate to say that WORD ORDER is free in classical Tibetan; a change of word order within a nominal phrase can change its meaningfor example, *bla-mas tshos bsad-pa* "the teaching of dharma by the lama" *tshos bla-mas bsad-pa* "the dharma that the lama taught." But we can say that in classical Tibetan PARTICIPANT ORDER is free: the two propositions *bla-mas tshos bsad* and *tshos bla-mas bsad* have the same propositional content, at least in the sense that the conditions under which the two propositions would be true or false are exactly the same.

But while the propositional content of these two propositions is arguably the same, their THEMATIC structure is different.20 The proposition *bla-mas tshos bsad* is ABOUT the lama; the proposition *tshos bla-mas bsad* is ABOUT the dharma. Now the notion of "aboutness" is itself far from clear. But the proposition *bla-mas tshos bsad* "The lama taught the dharma" is in some natural way a response to the question "What about the lama?" or a lead sentence in an essay about the lama; while the proposition *tshos bla-mas bsad* "The dharma-the lama taught it" is in the same natural way a response to the question "What about the dharma?" or a lead sentence in an essay about the dharma.21

20 In this sense we can say that three kinds of information are encoded in a Tibetan propositionthe LEXICAL information given by each word (*rgyal-po-s dgra-Ø b-rdun-s* "The king hit the enemy" conveys different lexical information than *rgyal-po-s bgegs-Ø b-rdun-s* "The king hit the demon"); the SYNTACTIC information given by role particles and tense affixes (*rgyal-po-s dgra-Ø b-rdun-s* "The king hit the enemy" conveys different syntactic information than *dgra-s rgyal-po-Ø b-rdun* "The enemy will hit the king"); and the THEMATIC information conveyed by the position of each participant (*rgyal-po-s dgra-Ø b-rdun-s* "The king hit the enemy" conveys different thematic information than *dgra-Ø rgyal-po-s b-rdun-s* "The enemythe king hit him").

21 When the patient of a transitive verb is made the theme of a proposition, the proposition may often be conveniently TRANSLATED by an English passivefor example, *rdza-ma rdza-mkhan-gyis bzos rgyal-pos btsag* "The potthe potter made it and the king broke it/The pot was made by the potter and broken by the king." This is, of course, a feature of English and not of Tibetan.

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Given the proposition *bla-mas tshos bsad* "The lama taught the dharma," we would not be surprised to find the participant *bla-ma* "lama" telegraphically omitted in a following propositionfor example, *bla-mas tshos bsad-tsin bgegs btul* "The lama taught the dharma and tamed demons"; given the proposition *tshos bla-mas bsad* "The dharmathe lama taught it," we would not be surprised to find the participant *tshos* "dharma" telegraphically omitted in a following propositionfor example, *tshos bla-mas bsad-tsin mkhan-pos bkral* "The dharmathe lama taught it and the abbot explained it." In these cases, the missing participant in the second proposition is easily processed as being the same as the theme in the first proposition; the sequences are easy to read. But a proposition such as *bla-mas tshos bsad-tsin mkhan-pos bkral* is harder to processalthough it can certainly be figured outbecause it defeats our thematic expectations: the apparent theme of the first proposition cannot be processed as being the same as the missing participant in the second. A proposition such as *tshos bla-mas bsad-tsin bgegs btul* is thematically ambiguous between the readings "The lama taught the dharma and HE tamed demons" and "The dharma was taught by the lama and IT tamed demons." Note, again, that the telegraphic omission of themes in Tibetan corresponds to pronominalization in English.

The normal order of participants in a Tibetan proposition is as follows. The proposition consists first of a SETTING for the rest of the proposition, which remainder is the ACTION; that action consists of a statement of the THEME, followed by whatever information the proposition supplies about that theme, which is called the RHEME; that rheme consists of the PERIPHERYall the incidental participants in the eventfollowed by the NUCLEUS; and that nucleus, finally, consists of the CORE participant in the proposition, followed by the EVENT.

For example, in the proposition *dei tshe-la rgyal-po-s ral-gri-s dgra-bsad* "At that time, the king slew the enemy with a sword," the locus participant *dei tshe* "that time" is the SETTING of the proposition, while the remainder is its action; the agent participant *rgyal-po* "king" is the THEME of the action, while the remainder is its rheme; the instrument participant *ral-gri* "sword" is the PERIPHERY of the rheme, while the remainder is its nucleus; and the patient participant *dgra* "enemy" is the CORE of the nucleus, followed only by the event.

The participant in the SETING slot supplies the place, time, or circumstances which place the event among other events; such settings might be spatial ("In

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the woods ..."), temporal ("From that day onward ..."), logical ("Therefore . . ."), or circumstantial ("Upon his arrival . . ."). The setting slot need not be filled; but, when it is, the occupant may be a locus (*dei dus-la* "At that time . . ."), source (*de-nas* "After that . . ."), agency (*dei tshig-gis* "With those

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The CORE participant, immediately to the left of the event, is the participant semantically required for the complete statement of the eventthat is, the participant that "goes with" the verb, such as the site of a verb of location (*dgon-pa-la bzugs* "dwells in the monastery"), the target of a verb of motion (*nags-la Ngro* "goes to the woods"), the accompaniment of a verb of meeting (*bla-ma-dan mdal* "meets the lama"), or the patient of a transitive verb (*dgra bsad* "slew the enemy"), where the core participant has not been shifted leftward to become the theme. The PERIPHERAL participants are all the remaining participantsinstruments, accompaniments, sources, lociwhich are not setting, theme, or core.

2.2. Topics

A TOPIC is part of a proposition which is singled out by one of several syntactic devices as THAT WHICH IS TO BE TALKED ABOUT. A topicas opposed to a themeis always announced; most propositions, in fact, do not have such an announced topic, although every proposition has a theme; the topic and the theme of a proposition may or may not be the same. For example, in the proposition *rgyal-pos dgra ni bsad grogs ni bskyans* the participant *rgyal-po* "king" is the theme; but first *dgra* "enemy" and then *grogs* "friend" is signalled as the topic by the topicalizer *ni*, and we might translate "What the king did was this: enemieshe killed them; friendshe protected them." On the other hand a theme may be brought into greater prominence by being made the topic as well, as in *nai mthus ni bgegs Ndul ser-ba Nbebs*, where the participant *nai mthu* "my magic power" is both theme and topic, and we might translate "My magic powerit tames demons; it casts down hailstorms."

2.2.1. The topicalizer *ni*

The TOPICALIZER *ni* may be placed anywhere in a proposition except in initial position or before a bound constituent; it signals that what precedes is the topicfor example, *khyod ni blo nor* "Youyour thought is in error," *span-bar bya-ba ni spons-sig* "What you should renouncerenounce it!" *mar-pa zer ba ni yod skyes-mtshog mar-pa zer-ba ni med* "Someone called Mar-pa-there is one; someone called Saint Mar-pathere isn't." The source of this topicalizer seems to be an archaic exclamatory particle *ni* that recurs regularly at the end of the first foot in every line of the ancient bardic poetry. For

example, in the archaic chronicle preserved at Tun-huang, which dates to the mid-seventh century, we find the mighty Ndus-sron, betrayed by his vassal Mgar, singing the following song:

kye
gna-i ni thog-ma-ru
gze-i ni dan-po-la
dgun-sno ni ma-og-gi
dog-mon ni ya-stens-na
gtsug-gtsugs ni btsugs-legs-te
mthos-te ni dgun myi-rdib
dog-mon ni sdin myi-ñams
dgun-la ni gñi sar-ba
dro-dro ni sa-la dro
sgro-btags ni btags-legs-ste
btsa-na ni dpal yan dpal
Nphans-pa ni sa yan khums
sa-khums ni myi yan gsos
gye
di-rin ni san-lta-na
dog-srin ni sbur-bu-is
bya-ltar ni btsos-btsos-te
gnam-du ni Nphur-Ndod-kyan
Nphur-du ni Ndab ma-mtshis
Nphur-du ni Ndab mtshis-kyan
dgun-sno ni phan-mthos-te
sprin ni go myi nias
ya-ru ni dgun ma-slebs
ma-ru ni dog ma-slebs
ma-mtho ni ma-dma-ste
khra-i ni gzan-du gyurd
bya-pu ni lun-tshuns-na
Nbans-sig ni rdze-ru re
mgar-bu ni rdze-ru re
sbal-pa ni Nphur-du re...

Oh
at the beginning YES in the old times
in the first days YES of the past
the blue sky YES below it

the broad earth YES above it
it was all laid out YES laid out well
the sky was high YES did not fall
the earth was deep YES did not crack
in the sky YES the sun rose
warmer warmer YES warm on the earth
arrows feathered YES feathered well
oh so fine YES fine to see
they were loosed YES slew the deer
slain deer YES nourished the people
Oh
but today YES I look about me
the beetle YES waits in the earth
imitates YES imitates the birds
in the sky YES wants to fly
but has no wings YES to fly with
even had he wings YES to fly with
the blue sky YES is too high for him
could not pass YES beyond the clouds
could not reach YES the sky above
could not reach YES the earth below
not high enough YES not low enough
he becomes food YES for the hawk
in this small valley YES in Bya-pu
a vassal hopes YES to be lord
little Mgar hopes YES to be lord
a frog hopes YES to fly. . .

Another archaic manuscript, also preserved at Tun-huang, entitled *The Proverbs of Mother Sum-pa,* contains a series of aphorisms using the particle *ni* in a different and very effective way as a pure topicalizer. Here we read, for example, *phrag-dog-pai myi ni ze-sdan mye ltar Nbar-ro* "An envious manhis hate burns like fire," *ma-ñes-par bsad-pa ni sbrul-gdug yan sñin-rdzeo* "To kill where there is no offenseeven a snake has more compassion," l*has ma-bzes-par lugs bsas-pa ni dmer Ngyur-ro* "To slaughter a sheep not accepted by the godsit becomes polluted," *byur-nan nad-bu-tsan-la ni yi-dags kyan sñin-rdzeo* "For a sick fooleven a demon feels sorry," *rtag-tu ñes-pa ni mu su-la dgra yan myi-byed-do* "Perpetual evileven an enemy does not do it to anyone," *ma Ndzans bu Ndzans-na ni gser-la g.yu spra-la, ma nan bu nan-na ni khan-rul-du lud spun-pa-dan Ndrao* "If a mother is wise and the son is wiseit

is like turquoise set in gold; if a mother is wicked and the son is wickedit is like dung piled in a rotten house."

The topicalizer *ni* is also found in the translation literature rendering such Sanskrit particles as *hi* (as in Sanskrit *no hidam* Tibetan *de ni ma-lags-so* "That is not so," Sanskrit *klesa hi moksaprapter avaranam* Tibetan ñ*on-mons-pa-rnams ni thar-pa Nthob-pa-la sgrib-pa* "The defilements are impediments to obtaining enlightenment"), and *tu* (as in Sanskrit *ayam tu visesah* Tibetan *Ndi ni khyad-par yin* "This is different," Sanskrit *akusale tu ahrikyam anapatrapa* Tibetan *mi-dge-la ni khrel-med-dan no-tsha-med-pao* "Among the impurities are immodesty and shamelessness").

In the classical texts the topicalizer *ni* has been adapted to a variety of uses. It sets off chapter titles and paragraph headings (as in *leu dan-po ni* "Chapter One," *dan-po tshos dar-bai tshul ni* "Part One: How the Dharma Spread"); it topicalizes the theme of an equation (as in *mi-la ni mal-Nbyor-pa yin* "Milahe's a yogin," n*a ni bram-ze* "MeI'm a brahmin"); it topicalizes elements embedded in larger syntactic structures (as in *rgya-mtsho ni tshen-po-la ña man-po yod* "The oceanin it so vast are many fish," *ñi-mai ni od-zer Nbar* "The sunthe light of it blazes"); it sets off the key term in commentarial elaboration (as in *bslab-pa kun-gyi gzi Ndzin-zin gsuns-te bslabpa ni lhag-pa tshul-khrims-dan lhag-pa sems-dan lhag-pa ses-rab-kyi bslab-pa gsum-du nan-pa-la grags-pa* "It is said: 'He holds the foundation of all teachings.' Teachingsthese are known among Buddhists as the three teachings of morality and meditation and wisdom").

The topicalizer *ni* can, of course, be used excessively: in poetry especially it is sometimes used only as a convenient device for filling out the meter. An effective stylist uses it sparingly so that it can be most effectivefor example, Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka, in whose biography of Mi-la ras-pa we find *Ndi ni snar-gyi de-ka yin* "Why, this is the same one as before!" *nai tshed-du sdig-pa sog-tu btan-ba ni min* "Well, I certainly didn't send you to accumulate sins for *my* sake!" *zus-pai ni yab mi-gsan "I told* him, but my lord won't listen," *kun bsig-pa ni min* "This is certainly not to tear down *all* of it," *ned-kyis ni khyod-kyi gis phrogs-pa med* "Well, it wasn't *we* who stole your inheritance!"

2.2.2. The particle -*la* as topicalizer

A topic may also be placed in the setting slot of a proposition and be

signaled with the locus particle -*la*. For example, we find the proverb z*al-la pad-ma Ndab-brgyad, thugs-la dug-Ntsher sdon-bu* "As for his mouthan eight-petal lotus; as for his hearta thorny bush." The poet Pad-ma dkar-po uses such topicalization in the refrain of a song, where he repeats, at the end of each stanza, *bar-tsad-la med-do* "As for hindrancesthere aren't any!"

When Mi-la recounts the story of his life, he uses such topicalizing constructions as *gdun-gi mtshan-la mi-la zes grags-so* "As for the name of my familyit is known as Mi-la," *zin-gi min-la mthun-rkyen-du tshags* "And the name of that fieldit came to be Lucky," *brtsigs-pa de-la naigyad-rdorgrags-pa yin* "As for that which I builtit is known as my Hero Stone." And Mar-pa's wife, puzzled by her husband's behavior toward Mi-la, says *sku-mdun-du khyi-zig byun-run tshos gsun, khyod-la thugs-la mi-Ndogs* "He teaches the dharma even should a dog appear before him; but as for youhe does not take you to his heart."

This topicalizer, like *ni*, is also used to set off chapter titles and paragraph headings, as in *rgyal-sa mi-ñag-la sor-bai lo-rgyus-la* "As for the history of the loss of the kingdom to the Tanguts .. ." or *glin-bzii min-la* "As for the names of the four continents . .."

Occasionally, too, the two topicalization devices are used together: Mother Sum-pa says *myi phyug-po-la ni dban-po nor-dad-tsan-gyis phun-la, myi Ndzans-pa-la ni nan-pa phra-dog-tsan-gyis rlag-go* "As for a rich manthe greedy powerful ruin him; as for a wise manthe envious wicked destroy him."

2.2.3. Identification and definition with -*STe*

Beginning with the translation literature, we find constructions with the conjunction -*STe* "AND" which approximate the topical constructions we have been discussing. The conjunction -*STe* "AND" can be used to conjoin two propositions with a common theme and with that theme telegraphically omitted in the second member of the conjunctionfor example, *bla-ma dgon-pa-la byon-te tshos bsad* "The lama came to the monastery and taught the dharma." Now oneor bothof these conjuncts can be an equative proposition, and that equative conjunct can frequently have the verb *YIN* omitted; in such cases we will speak of an IDENTIFYING construction.

Some identifying constructions have the equative proposition as their SECOND

memberfor example, *gzugs-kyi rnam-par rig-pa Nbyun-ste phyii don-las yin* "The perception of form occurs: (it) is from an external object," *yul de-na bram-ze Ndug-ste dbul-Nphons-pa-zig-go* "In that land dwelt a brahmin: (he) (was) a poor man." In such constructions the equative second member comments on or additionally characterizes the theme of the first member.22

Other identifying constructions with *-STe* have the equative proposition as their FIRST member. It is here that the first conjunct begins to look very much like a topic. Thus in the translation literature we find such constructions as Sanskrit *ye sattvah svarge sambhutas tajjam sukham pratyanubhavanti* Tibetan *sems-tsan gan-dag mtho-ris-la Nbyun-ba-dag-ste de-na yod-pai bde-ba so-sor myon-o* "Sentient creatures who are born in heaventhey taste the bliss that is found there"; and in the classical literature we find such constructions as *ti-lli na-ro mar-pa-ste bla-ma gon-ma-rnams-kyis rnam-thar gsuns* "Tilli, Naro, Mar-pa-the lamas of the past have told their life stories."

Finally, we find highly stereotyped identifying coordinations with truncated equative propositions in BOTH members. These are found frequently in the classical texts, used to enumerate chapter titles and paragraph headings (as in *rma-byai skyes-pai rabs-te skyes-pai rabs gñis-pa* "The fable of the peacock this is fable number two," *tshos-kyi Nkhor-lo bskor-bai leu-ste btso-la-pa* "The chapter on turning the wheel of dharmathis is number fifteen"); to topicalize a term being defined (as in *sans-rgyas-te ma-rig-pai gñid sans-pao*

22 One widespread use of this construction is to give the REASON for the assertion of the former member. In Sanskrit philosophical writing an assertion is often followed by a nominal compound in the ablative case giving the reason for the fact or event asserted; the Tibetan translators rendered such constructions using a conjunction with *-STe* "AND" whose second equative member was a nominal complement with the abstract noun head *phyir* "reason, cause, account" and the equative verb *YIN* omitted. The construction is easier to read than to describe: we find Sanskrit *badhanam siddham svakarmavipakadhipatyat* Tibetan *gnod-pa Ngrub-ste ran-gi las-kyi smin-pai dban-gi phyir-ro* "Pain comes about: this is because of the dominating force of the ripening of personal karma," Sanskrit *na naraka yujyante tad-duhkhapratisamvedanat* Tibetan *sems-tsan dmyal-bar mi-rigs-te dei sdug-bsnal mi-myon-bai phyir-ro* "They cannot be considered to be in hell: this is because they do not experience its suffering," Sanskrit *vacas tu nendriyatvam vacane siksavisesapeksatvat* Tibetan n*ag-gi ni tshig smra-bar bya-ba-la dban-po-ñid ma-yin-te slob-pai khyad-par-la ltos-pai phyir-ro* "Language is not the controlling force of speech: this is because it requires a particular learning process." Such constructions were borrowed from the translation language into the classical language, and identifications of this sort are a common stylistic feature of Tibetan philosophical exposition.

"Buddhahe is one who has awakened from the sleep of ignorance," s*i-ra-ste mgo-bo zes bya-bao* "The word s*irasthis* means *head"*)*;* and to summarize or identify lists of terms (as in *lus-dan srog-dan yid-dan btan-sñoms-kyi dban-po-dag-ste dban-po bzi* "The powers of body and life and mind and equanimitythese are the four powers," *phyag-mtshan sa-bon sku-rdzogs-te rdo-rdze tshog gsum-po* "The emblem, the seed, and the perfected bodythese are the three diamond rituals"). We also find such identifications combined with other topicalizersfor example, *tshos ni gñis-te Ndus-byas-dan Ndus-ma-byas-so* "Dharmas-they are of two sorts: to wit, caused and uncaused."

Figure 10.
Part of the Ge-sar epic, with drawings
of the characters by the scribe

11
Complex Propositions

As we have said, propositions can be combined in two different ways. Two or more propositions can be connected together on the same level with any of several CONJUNCTIONSsuch as *-Tsin* "AND," *-Am* "OR," *-Yan* "BUT"to form a single complex proposition. Or one proposition can be embedded at a lower level within another proposition by being NOMINALIZEDthat is, turned into a nominal by the affixation of any of several nominalizing particles. For example, the proposition *bla-mas bgegs btul* "The lama tamed the demon" can be nominalized by the nominalizing particle *-Pa* to become *bla-mas bgegs btul-ba* "the taming of the demon by the lama." Such a nominalized proposition can then occur anywhere a nominal can occur. It can be the head of a nominal, as in *rgyal-pos* [*bla-mas bgegs btul-ba*]-*mthon* "The king saw the taming of the demon by the lama"; or it can be a COMPLEMENT that modifies a nominal or verbal head, as in [*bla-mas bgegs btul-ba*]-*i sgrun* "the tale of the taming of the demon by the lama," or a RELATIVE that modifies a nominal head, as in [*bla-mas bgeg btul-ba*]-*i bgeg*s "demon which the lama tamed."

The coordination of propositions by juxtaposing them on the same level is sometimes called PARATAXIS; the subordination of propositions by embedding one proposition within another is sometimes called HYPOTAXIS. A paratactic construction thus relates a sequence; a hypotactic construction expresses a hierarchy. Hypotaxis may be more confusing, since the reader must still process the propositions sequentially and is thus often forced to store the beginning of one proposition while processing another; on the other hand, parataxis may be more vague, since the reader must process the juxtaposed propositions often without overt syntactic clues to their relation.1

1 Sometimes the style of an author can be related to a predilection for one or the other grammatical structure. The following passage from Faulkner's short novel *The Bear* is both highly hypotactic and typically Faulknerian:

. . and the desk and the shelf above it on which rested the ledgers in which McCaslin recorded the slow outward trickle of food and supplies and

(*footnote continued on next page*)

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

equipment which returned each fall as cotton made and ginned and sold (two threads frail as truth and impalpable as equators yet cable-strong to bind for life them who made the cotton to the land their sweat fell on), and the older ledgers clumsy and archaic in size and shape, on the yellowed pages of which were recorded ...

Here the cumulative hypotaxis (*the shelf on which . . . the ledgers in which . . the trickle which . . . them who . . . on the pages of which . . .*)serves to reinforce an oppressive mood of involuted relationships, andperhaps even moreto subordinate the entire commercial process to McCaslin's desk and shelf. Compare this passage with the following highly paratactic and similarly characteristic description from John LeCarre's *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy:*

> The first burst shot off a back wheel and turned the car over. He saw the wheel fly over the bonnet as the car took to the ditch on the left. The ditch might have been ten feet deep but the snow let him down kindly. The car didn't burn so he lay behind it and waited, facing across the track hoping to get a shot at the machine-gunner. The next burst came from behind and threw him up against the car.

Here the cumulative parataxis (*and, but, so, and, and*)achieves an effect of hurried but disjointed action: cohesion is maintained lexically, rather than by explicit syntactic relationships, as key descriptive terms are repeated (*burst . . . wheel . . . car, wheel . . . car . . ditch, ditch . . . snow, car . . . machine-gunner, burst . . . car*). Similarly, compare the following hypotactic passage from Janet Flanner's *The Cubical City,*

> Her honesty and luxury from which, now that she was well established in life, she seemed to gather such strength, were like a rich endowment from which she drew not only the expensive decoration of her grey furs that gave her grey eyes the value of semi-precious stones but also her special free attitude toward the costly walls that housed her, the sum of all these expenses only being a tithe of what was her fund of resourcefulness and amplitude.

with the following passage from Saul Bellow's *Humboldt's Gift:*

> Wonderful things are done by women for their husbands. She loved a poet-king and allowed him to hold her captive in the country. She sipped beer from a Pabst can. The room was low-pitched. Husband and wife were large. They sat together on the Castro sofa. There wasn't enough room on the wall for their shadows. They overflowed onto the ceiling.

As in English, any particular Tibetan text is inevitably a mixture of parataxis and hypotaxis;

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1. Conjoined Propositions

1.1. Conjunctions

A CONJUNCTION is a particle that joins propositions together paratactically; in classical Tibetan propositions are linked by conjunctions, while sentences are not. In the classical language there are three types of conjunctionALTERNATIVE ("PROPOSITION *or* PROPOSITION"), ADVERSATIVE ("PROPOSITION *but* PROPOSITION") and COORDINATIVE ("PROPOSITION *and* PROPOSITION").2

An indefinite number of propositions can be linked together by such conjunctions. This horizontal expansion can extend to the limits of stylistic tolerance, which in the classical language seem to be quite broad. Thus the series "PROPOSITION *and* PROPOSITION *and* . . . PROPOSITION" may reach some length before it becomes a SENTENCE by the addition of a performance particle.

In all three types of conjunction it is expectedand in an extended sense perhaps even mandatoryfor the conjoined propositions to have some theme

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still, we can speak of Tibetan syntactic styles, bearing in mind that these are broad generalizations. Individual AUTHORS tend toward one or the other type of construction: Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan and Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka, for example, are typically paratactic, while Tson-kha-pa or the fifth Dalai Lama Blo-bzan rgya-mtsho are typically hypotactic. Particular GENRES as well can be distinguished syntactically: historical and narrative prose generally tend toward parataxis, while philosophical and technical prose tends toward hypotaxis. Some poetic genressuch as mystic songare predominantly paratactic; others such as the florid and highly Sanskritized encomia that often preface expository textscan be quite hypotactic. Such hypotaxis also frequently serves to mark an elegant or formal REGISTER: the long honorific salutation at the head of a Tibetan letter is highly hypotactic, as opposed to the parataxis that marks the colloquial or informal register of such a deliberately nonliterary stylist as Dpal-sprul Ndzigs-med tshos-kyi dban-po.

2 Generally speaking, we can characterize the conjunctions by making two distinctions: the alternative conjunction "OR" links propositions only one of which is asserted to be true, while both the adversative conjunction "BUT" and the coordinative conjunction "AND" link propositions all of which are asserted to be true; the adversative conjunction "BUT" asserts that the propositions it links are in some way semantically or pragmatically opposed, while the coordinative conjunction "AND" asserts that the propositions it links are in some way semantically or pragmatically congruent.

in common; thus we can expect also to find thematic participants omitted from latter members of the conjunction, even to the extent of reducing such a proposition to the event alone.

1.1.1. The alternative conjunction

The ALTERNATIVE CONJUNCTION PARTICLE is *-Am.*3 The hyphen indicates that the form is BOUND and occurs only with an immediately preceding proposition. The capitalization indicates that the vowel prefixes to itself the last consonant of the preceding syllable codathus *dag-gam, rin-nam, yod-dam, yin-nam, thub-bam, Npham-rnam, sgyur-ram, Nbul-lam,* and *lags-sam.* A preceding open syllable becomes a diphthongthus *dgaam, Nbriam, rgyuam, dgeam,* and *Ngroam.* In the scansion of verse such diphthongs may occasionally be counted as two syllables for the purposes of meter.

The alternative conjunction offers a choice between two or more possibilities, only one of which is asserted to be true. On the one hand, the proposed alternatives may beas with the adversative conjunction "BUT"perceived as semantically or pragmatically opposed to each otherthus *mii rigs mthoam mi rigs dman* "Either a family is high or the family is low," *nad-pa gson-nam Ntshi* "The sick person either lives or dies," *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-dam ma-bsad* "Buddhas have either taught the dharma or not," *rgyal-pos dgra gsod-dam dgras gsod* "Either the king kills the enemy or the enemy kills him."

On the other hand, the proposed alternatives may beas with the coordinative conjunction "AND"perceived as semantically or pragmatically congruent, although it is still asserted that only one of the propositions is true for any single individual at any one momentthus *mal-Nbyor-pa ri-la Ndzeg-gam lun-pa-la Ngrims-sam phug-pa-la bzugs* "A yogin ascends the mountains or wanders in the valleys or abides in a cave," *bgegs-rnams-kyis sems-tsan skrag-gam snad-dam gsod* "Demons frighten or harm or kill sentient creatures," *dge-slon bzan-pos tshos thos-sam bsam-rnam sgom* "A virtuous monk studies the dharma, or ponders it, or meditates upon it."

3 We will note here only briefly that this is clearly the same as the sentence-final question particle *-Am.* We canand, later on, we willhypothesize that the Tibetan interrogative is derived ultimately from an underlying alternative conjunction.

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1.1.2. The adversative conjunction

The ADVERSATIVE CONJUNCTION PARTICLE is -*Yan,* which becomes -*kyan* after preceding final -*g,* -*d,* -*b,* and -*s;* becomes -*yan* after preceding final -*ñ,* -*n,* -*m,* -*r,* -*l,* and open stressed syllables; and becomes -*an* after preceding open unstressed syllables.

The adversative conjunction links propositions all of which are asserted to be true, but which are asserted to be in some way semantically or pragmatically dissonant: propositions so joined are in a relation of thesis and antithesis. Thus we find such SEMANTIC dissonances as *gdon-pa dkar-yan bsam-pa nag* "His countenance is white but his thoughts are black," and such PRAGMATIC dissonances as *rgyal-po btud-kyan khros* "The king bowed down but was angry" and *sans-rgyas Ndzig-rten-la skyes-kyan Ndzig-rten-gyis ma-gos* "The Buddha is born in the world but is not sullied by the world." The wit of what we can call ADVERSATIVE PROVERBS often lies in their pointing out an unexpected pragmatic dissonance: for example, in the archaic Tun-huang manuscript entitled *The Sayings of Mother Sum-pa* we find *Nbrog-rtsa bzan-yan rkan-Ngros dbyar rdzud-do* "The pasture grass is goodbut it tangles your feet in summer."

We can point out too that a conjunction such as *gzon-nu yin-kyan dban-po mo* "He is young but his faculties are keen" embodies a presupposition that being young and being sagacious are pragmatically dissonant, while a conjunction such as *gzon-nu yin-kyan dban-po mi-mo* "He is young but his faculties are not keen" presupposes precisely the opposite. We may similarly note the presuppositions embodied in such conjunctions in *smras-kyan mi-ñan* "He speaks but does not listen" or *Ntshal-yan mi-rñed* "He seeks but does not find," which assume that speaking and listening or seeking and finding are pragmatically consonant.

4 This bound conjunction -*Yan* is clearly related tobut is not the same asthe connective *Yan* "ALSO," which is not bound but free. We can point out too that the classical form -*Yan* is the only form in Y- among the particles, and appears in fact to derive from a Proto-Tibetan form *-*KYan,* which at one time underwent the same morpho-phonological changes as -*KYis* and -KYi. By the classical period, however, the voiced form of the particle the form found after preceding sonorant finalshad become -*yan* rather than the expected *-*gyan,* although we still find the voiced form -*gyan* sporadically instead of -*yan* in the archaic Old Tibetan manuscripts preserved at Tun-huang.

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Such presuppositional relations may be more remote. Thus, for example, we make the pragmatic assumption that enemies rejoice at our misfortunes rather than weep at them: hence Mi-la ras-pa, when he is starving in a cave, sings *dgra sdan-ba bltas-kyan mtshi-ma Ntshor* "Though a bitter enemy see me he would weep," linking the two antithetical propositions with the adversative conjunction. Similarly, Mar-pa promises Mi-la that he will not have to tear down the tower he is to build, saying *Ndi bsig-kyan mi-dgos* "Though you tear this down it is not necessary/You can tear this down, but you don't have to," expressing the pragmatic assumption that people tear down what they build only when necessary. That this promise may most easily be TRANSLATED into English simply as "You will not have to tear this one down" does not change its adversative character in Tibetan.5

1.1.2.1. Dialect variants

The adversative conjunction *-Yan* has two DIALECT VARIANTS. The older variantapparently related to the Proto-Tibetan form **-KYan*is *-KYi*, which resembles the adnominal particle *-KYi* but is almost certainly unrelated to it: thus we find *tshig brdzod-kyi don mi-Ngrel* "He says the words but does not explain the meaning," *bza-ba za-yi btun-ba mi-Ndod* "I am eating the food but don't want anything to drink," *rgya-mtsho-la mu-tig Nbyun-gi gser man-po mi Nbyun* "Pearls are found in the ocean but not much gold."

This variant is found predominantly in earlier material, especially in translations from the Sanskritfor example, Sanskrit *idam eva satyam moham anyam* Tibetan *Ndi ni bden-gyi gzan ni rdzun-pao* "This is truth but the other is falsehood," Sanskrit *samvrtam etal laksanam na paramarthikam* Tibetan *mtshan-ñid Ndi ni kun-rdzob-pa yin-gyi don-dam-pa ni ma-yin* "This characteristic is conventional rather than absolute," Sanskrit *katham vayau varnasadbhavah, sraddhaniya eso 'rtho nanumaniyah* Tibetan *rlun-la kha-dog dzi-*

5 Interestingly, we find cases where two conjoined antithetical propositions are identical: here all latter participants are left out, leaving only the verb. Such propositions are found predominantly with stative verbs, and have an intensive meaning; semantically they seem to be asserting that there is no way the predication could be opposedthus *bla-ma tshean tshe* "The lama is very great," *bu-mo mdzes-kyan mdzes* "Oh but the girl is beautiful," *lam rin-yan rin* "The path is so very long." The construction is old in Tibetan. In the archaic manuscripts preserved in Central Asia, for example, we find *btsa-na ni dpal-yan dpal* "If you look upon ithow glorious!"

Itar yod tse-na, don Ndi ni dad-par bya-ba yin-gyi rdzes-su dpog-par bya-ba ni ma-yin-no "How can air have color? This is a matter for faith rather than for examination," Sanskrit *vijñanasatkaam pravartate na tu kascid eko drastasti* Tibetan *rnam-par ses-pa drug Nbyun-gi lta-ba-po gtsig-po med* "The six perceptions occur but there is no single perceiver." Note the following as well, from the Tibetan translation of the Buddhist ecclesiastical laws*khyim-du khri-stan mthon-po-la Ndug-par byai der ñal-bar ni mi-byao* "You may sit on a high bed in a house, but you may not sleep there," *dge-slon mgo-reg Ndidag ni tshod-ma ro sna-tshogs-dan ldan-pa-dan, Nbras-tshan za-bar os-pa ma-yin-gyi nas rul-pa za-bar os-pa yin-no* "These shave-headed monks are not worthy to eat many-flavored dishes and boiled rice, but are worthy to eat rotten barley," *khyod ni rgyal-por os lags-kyi bdag ni os ma-lags-so* "You are worthy to be king, but not I."

This variant is found too in the archaic chronicle preserved at Tun-huang: for example, we find *yi-dags ma-bab-kyi lto-sbyor-du nes-so* "You have not been possessed by a demon, but surely you are hungry." As late as the thirteenth century, in the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* of Sa-skya pandita, we find such constructions *asyon-tan-ldan-pa yon-tan-la dga-yi yon-tan-med-rnams min* "The virtuous delight in virtue, but not the unvirtuous," *skye-bo dman-rnams dam-pa-la khyad-gsod byed-kyi dam-pas min* "Lowly persons despise holy persons, but holy persons do not." From that pointperhaps from the fourteenth century onthe frequency of this variant diminishes markedly; its use tends to become restricted to the verbs *YIN* "be the case" and *MOD* "be true," and the stereotyped expressions *yin-gyi~mod-kyi~yin-mod-kyi* come to function almost exactly like -Yan, especially in philosophical texts.

The later dialect form is *-run,* found especially in the fifteenth-century colloquial prose of Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka, the crazy saint of Gtsan, the author of the famous biography of Mi-la ras-pa and the redactor of his collected songs. Here we find such conjunctions as s*es-run mi-ses-pa ltar byed* "He knows, but acts like one who does not know," *sku-mdun-du khyi-zig byun-run tshos gsun* "Though a dog appear before him he teaches dharma," *thugs dges-pa-zig byun-run rmi-lam-la Nbyun-sa med gsuns* "He was delighted, but said, 'Dreams have no meaning,' *"sems-gso man-po mdzad-run tshogs-la rol-pai Nduses stor* "She comforted me greatly, but I had lost all thought of enjoying the ritual food." Such constructions with *-run* are found in the prose of Gtsan-smyon, but in the songs attributed to Mi-la himselfmost of which in all likelihood considerably predate their collection by Gtsan-smyon in the fifteenth centurywe find the consistent use of *-Yan* rather than *-run*for

example, Mi-la sings *bsgoms-pas ma-grol-yan mi-med lun-ston-du Ntshi-bar sog* "Though I be not liberated by meditating, may I yet die in a lonely empty valley."

1.1.3. The coordinative conjunctions

There are two *coordinative conjunction particles.* The first is the coordinative conjunction *-Tsin,* which becomes *-TSin* after preceding final *-g, -d,* and *-b;* becomes *-zin* after preceding *-n̄, -n̄, -m, -r, -l,* and open syllables; and becomes *-sin* after preceding final and postfinal *-s.* The second is the coordinative conjunction *-STe,* which becomes *-ste* after preceding final -g, *-n̄, -b, -m,* and open syllables; becomes *-te* after preceding final *-n, -r, -l,* and *-s;* and becomes *-de* after preceding final *-d.*

These coordinative conjunctions link propositions all of which are asserted to be true, and which are asserted to be in some was semantically or pragmatically consonant. Thusto use the same example as beforethe adversative conjunction *gzon-nu yin-kyan dban-po mo* "He is young but his faculties are keen" embodies a presupposition opposite to that embodied in the coordinative conjunction *gzon-nu yin-te dban-po mo* "He is young and his faculties are keen," the former assuming the pragmatic incongruence of youth and sagacity and the latter assuming their pragmatic congruence.

Among SEMANTIC congruences, we can group together what we can call PARAPHRASE coordinations, where the second conjunct says pretty much the same thing as the firstfor example, *gnad-tsin Ntshe* "He hurts and harms," *Ndzigs-sin skrags* "He is frightened and terrified," *bsil-zin gran* "It is cool and cold," *mdzes-te sdug* "She is lovely and beautiful." And we can distinguish those from what we can call PARALLEL coordinations, where the second conjunct adds to the first conjunct additional information of the same type for example, s*a-la za-zin khrag-la Nthun* "They feed on flesh and gorge on blood," *byan-tshub Ndi-las Nbyun-ste sans-rgyas Ndi-las skye* "Enlightenment comes from this, and Buddhas are born from this," *mig-gis gzugs-rnams mi-mthon-zin yid-kyis tshos-rnams mi-ses* "The eye does not see forms, nor does the mind perceive thoughts," *drod gnod-de bsil-ba phan* "Heat is harmful and cold beneficial."

Similarly, among PRAGMATIC congruences, we can group together what we can call SEQUENTIAL coordinations, where, as a practical matter, the second

conjunct happens after the firstfor example, *Nbros-sin gab* "He runs away and hides," *bu-mo sin-la Ndzegs-sin me-tog Nthogs* "The girl climbed up the tree and picked the flower," and, from an archaic Central Asian manuscript, the couplet s*a sñegs-te ni sleb, Npans-te ni bzigs* "He pursued the deer, yes, and caught it; he shot it, yes, and hit it." And we can distinguish those from what we can call SIMULTANEOUS coordinations, where, as a practical matter, the second conjunct happens at the same time as the firstfor example, *bla-ma-dan mdzal-te zal mthon* "He met the lama and saw his face," *rgyal-pos dgra brduns-te sgyel* "The king struck the enemy and threw him down," ña *Ntshor-zii Ntsho* "They catch fish and make a living," *Ngags-te si* "He choked and died."6

1.1.3.1. Simultaneous and periphrastic constructions

In many such simultaneous coordinations, it is clear that the first conjunct is narrower in scope than the second conjunct, and specifies a condition under which the second conjunct takes placefor example, *ske bsdams-te bsad* "He squeezed his throat and killed him/He strangled him," *Ndzigs-te bros* "He was frightened and ran away/He ran away frightened," *po-ti khyer-te son* "He carried his books and went/He went off carrying his books," *rgyal-pos g.yog-pos bskor-zin bla-mai drun-du byon* "The king was surrounded by his servants and came into the presence of the lama/The king, surrounded by his servants, came into the presence of the lama," or, from an archaic manuscript preserved in Central Asia, *rbeg-ga rbeg-si rma byeu gtshig-du Nphrul-nas Nphur-te*

6 Of course, such sequential and simultaneous coordinations form a continuous scale, from the clearly sequential at one end (such as *bla-ma dgon-pa-la bslebs-te tshos bsad* "The lama arrived at the monastery and taught the dharma") to the clearly simultaneous at the other (such as *nu-zin sdod* "He weeps and waits"), with a grey area in between, where the two types shade into each otherfor example, *glu blans-zin abs-bro mdzad*, which can be read either as "He sang and (then) danced" or as "He sang and danced (at the same time)."

We can note here that, when such conjoined verbs are negated, the negative particle *mI*-"NOT" precedes the second verb, as opposed to English, where the negative marker precedes the first verbthus, from the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* by Sa-skya pandita, *mkhas-pa brtsad-tsin madris-pa, de-yi bar-du gtin mi-dpogs* "As long as one has not disputed and questioned a wise man, one has not measured his depth," or, from the biography of Mi-la ras-pa by Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka, *yul-nas dmag gyabs-te ma-bsad-na, Ndis da-dun yul Ndi phun-du Ndzug* "If we do not call a host from the village and kill him, this one will ruin the village even more."

son "Rbeg-ga rbeg-si, having changed into a little peacock, went flying away."

In fact, we not infrequently find such constructions where the first conjunct functions almost adverbally to the second conjunctfor example, *Ntshens-te sñam* "was happy and thought/thought happily," *gsan-ste brkus* "acted in secret and stole/stole secretly," *bskyar-te btan* "repeated and sent/sent repeatedly," *Nthab-pa med-tsin si* "was without struggle and died/died peacefully," *bu Nkhrid-de ons* "brought his son and came/came with his son," *Nphar-te Ngro* "flies and goes/goes flying," *tsheg-sgra-dan btsas-te Nbar* "is possessed of a crackling sound and burns/burns with a crackling sound."

When the verb in the second conjunct is one with the broadest possible scope, such as *YOD* "exist spatiotemporally" or *NDUG* "stay, abide, be there" (or their elegant forms *MTSHIS* and *GDA*, respectively), the construction becomes PERIPHRASTICfor example, from the same archaic Central Asian manuscript cited above, *sñi-la rma byeu-zig thogs-sin Ndug* "A little peacock was there tangled in the snare," or, from the Ge-sar epic, *Nbu rtsig-po phru-gu bde-mo zig-la gyur-te yod* "The tiny worm was there become a beautiful child," or, from other archaic Central Asian manuscripts, *snar phyug-tsin phons-te Ndug* "He was rich before and was now poor," *srin myig-rnon-kyi*s *mthon-ste myi bros-te mtshis* "The sharp-eyed demon saw him, and the man was there fled away."

1.1.3.2. Dialect variants

Probably the most common of these periphrastic forms in the classical texts are *-Tsin NDUG* and *-TSin YOD*. Note the following examples from an archaic divination manual found in Central Asia*lha bzan-po-zig Ngo-zin Ndug "A* good god is leading you," *gdon drag-po-zigyod-pas, gnod-par sems-zin Ndug "A* fierce demon who is there is intending to harm you," *mo Ndi ni . . . nad-pa-la btab-na myi lha-dan theu-ran ston-zin Ndug* "If this lot has been cast for a sick person, then unavailing are men, gods, and demons," s*i-las lha des bskyab-szin Ndug* "That god has been protecting you from death." Similarly, note these examples from the biography of Mi-la ras-pa*na gan za zer nu-zin Ndug* "'What shall I eat?' she said, crying," *mthu-tshen las tsi byed-tsin Ndug* "Great Magician, what work are you doing?" *bla-ma rnog-pa grwa-pa man-po-la brtag-gñis Ntshad-tsin Ndug* "Lama Rnog-pa was teaching the *Hevajra Tantra* to many monks."

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As time goes on, the conjunction -*TSin* in such constructions begins to take on different forms in Middle Tibetan, apparently in the sequence -*TSin* > -*KYin* > -*gin* > -gi7 Thus, for example, in the archaizing chronicle *Rgyal-rabs gsal-bai me-lon* we find *bu-mo mdzes-ma-tsig rin-po-tshei snod-na me-tog Nthu-gin Ndug* "A beautiful girl was gathering flowers in a jeweled vase"; in the biography of Mi-la we find *noryod-dgu-tsog Nbul-bar khyer-nas Nbyon-gyin yod* "He has arrived bringing as an offering all the wealth he has." Apparently

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1.2. Gapping

We have seen numerous examples, under the Telegram Principle, of the backward-looking omission of a previously expressed participant. In the syntactic device we will call GAPPING, on the other hand, we find the forwardlooking omission, in a prior conjunct, of some portion of the proposition, including the verb, which will be expressed in a laterand syntactically parallelconjunct. The omitted portion is optionally but frequently replaced with the phrasal conjunction *-dan.*

Note, for example, the proverb *tshan Nthun-ba-la mnon-par dga-bai mi bdag-la phan-dan gzan-la bde-*Ø *mi-nus* "A man who delights in drinking beer is incapable of benefit to himself or happiness to others." This proposition is processed as a conjunction of the two propositions *tshan Nthun-ba-la mnon-par dga-bai mi bdag-la phan-*Ø *mi-nus* "A man who delights in drinking beer is incapable of benefit to himself" and *tshan Nhun-ba-la mnon-par dga-bai mi gzan-la bde-*Ø *mi-nus* "A man who delights in drinking beer is incapable of happiness to others"; the participant *tshan Nthun-ba-la mnon-par dga-bai mi* "man who delights in drinking beer" isas we might expecttelegraphically omitted in the second conjunct; but, in addition, the patient particle, verb phrase, and conjunction particle *-*Ø *mi-nus*(*-Tsin*)have been omitted from the prior conjunct and replaced with *-dan*, from which they must be reconstructed by the reader. Of course, such reconstruction is impossible until the reader has reached the end of the second conjunct, and the interpretation of the proposition as a whole is held in reserve until that timeand thus the sense of suspension and resolution which can make a gapped conjunction an effective stylistic device.

Similarly, note the proverb *mkhas-pa ses-rab-dan blun-po dad-pai rdzes Nbrans* "A wise man follows the track of wisdom, and a fool of credulity." Here, the adnominal particle, patient participant, verb phrase, and conjunction particle *-KYi rdzes-*Ø *Nbrans*(*-TSin*)have been omitted from the prior conjunct and replaced with *-dan*, to be reconstructed by the reader. And, in the biography of Mi-la ras-pa, we find *sa sa-mal-dan rdo rdo-mal-du skyol-zig* "Take the

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> constructions with -gi, while the Central Tibetan and Bhutanese prints tend to favor constructions with *-gin-for* example, *nan-du sog gsun-gin Ndug* "He says, 'Come on in!'" in the Spuns-than, Bstan-rgyas-glin and Bkra-sis lhun-po prints, but ... *gsun-gi Ndug* in the Spo print, *pha-dzo khru slog-gin yod* "My lord father is ploughing" in the Spuns-than, Bstan-rgyas-glin and Bkra-sis lhun-po prints, but... *klog-gi yod* in the Spo print.

earth back to where you got the earth and the stone back to where you got the stone!" andwithout the phrasal conjunction *-dan bu skyes-pa-la min, tshan drans-pa-la gtam bya-bargda* "When a son is born a naming ceremony, and when beer is offered a story, should be done," *khan-pai nan sa-tshub-dan ros gan, phyi nu-tshon-gis gan-ba de pe-tas mthon* "Pe-ta saw the inside of the house filled with dust and corpses, and the outside filled with lamentation."

2. Nominalization

NOMINALIZATION converts an entire proposition into a nominal by the addition of a final nominalizing particle:9 for example, given the proposition *bla-mas bgegs btul* "The lama tamed the demon," we could find the nominalized propositions *bla-mas bgegs btul-ba* "the taming of the demon by the lama," *bla-mas bgegs btul-sa* "the place where the lama tamed the demon," *bla-mas bgegs btul-tshul* "the way the lama tamed the demon," and so on.

A nominalized propositionof any length and complexitycan occur anywhere that a nominal normally occurs. The syntactic distribution of, say, the nominal *dgon-pa* "monastery" is exactly the same as that of the nominal *bla-mas bgegs btul-sa* "place where the lama tamed the demon"for example, *dgon-pa ri-la yod* "The monastery is on the mountain" and *bla-mas bgegs btul-sa ri-la yod* "The place where the lama tamed the demon is on the mountain," *dgon-pai zin-bkod* "a map of the monastery" and *bla-mas bgegs btul-sai zin-bkod* "a map of the place where the lama tamed the demon."

Such nominalization is extremely common in classical Tibetan. Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages, Tibetan developed quite a number of nominalizing particles, often by the syntactic specialization of nominals.10

9 Note that only three kinds of particle can immediately follow a verb in a Tibetan propositionperformatives, conjunctions, and nominalizers.

10 We can here mention several such nominalizers which will not be discussed in more detail below *-tshul* "way that PROPOSITION," as in *bla-ma Ngrul-tshul* "the way that the lam*a* walks"; *-ñen* "danger of PROPOSITION," as in *dmyal-bar Ngro-ñen* "the danger of going to hell"; *-dus* "time that PROPOSITION," as in *tshun-ma-la bu btsas-dus* "the time that his wife bore a son"; *-res* "turn at PROPOSITION," as in *tshan-la Nthun-res* "a turn at drinking beer"; *-lugs* "method of PROPOSITION," as in *bsam-yas bzens-lugs* "the method of building Bsam-

(*footnote continued on next page*)

However, the single most important nominalizer in the classical language is the nominalizer *-Pa*, which is the particle used not only for the most general and semantically neutral proposition-centered nominalization but also in the formation of complement and relative constructions.11 Since the next several sections will deal with such constructions, found only with the nominalizer *-Pa*, we will here first review a number of other nominalizers found in the classical texts.

2.1. The Nominalizers

The Tibetan nominalizers fall into two groups. Some nominalizers, including the nominalizer *-Pa*, yield nominals, as we might expect, expressing some aspect of the proposition as a whole: thus, for example, given *rgyal-pos bgegs-la mda-*0 *rgyag* "The king shot an arrow at the demon," we might find *rgyal-pos bgegs-la mda-*0 *rgyag-pa* "the shooting of an arrow at the demon by the king," *rgyal-pos bgegs-la mda-*0 *rgyag-sa* "the place where the king shot an arrow at the demon," *rgyal-pos bgegs-la mda-*0 *rgyag-grabs* "the preparation for the king to shoot an arrow at the demon," and so on. We will call these PROPOSITION-CENTERED NOMINALIZERS. Other nominalizers, however, yield

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yas"; *-thabs* "opportunity for PROPOSITION," as in *lam-la gzol-thabs* "a chance to dismount on the road"; *-grabs* "preparation for PROPOSITION," as in *nai grogs-po kun log-Ngro-grabs* "preparations for all my friends to return." In all these casesand in others I have undoubtedly omittedwe find that these nominalizers also occur as the head of nominal complementsthus not only *btsas-dus* "the time of giving birth" but also *Ngro-bai dus* "the time of going," not only *gzol-thabs* "a chance to dismount" but also *Nbros-pai thabs* "a chance to escape," not only *dmyal-bar Ngro-ñen* "the danger of going to hell" but also *srog-la bar-tshad byun-bai ñen* "the danger of there occurring a threat to your life," not only *gsod-grabs* "preparation for slaughter" but also *Ngro-bai grabs* "preparation for leaving." In such cases we have what can be called QUASI-NOMINALIZERSthat is, what are still clearly nominals caught in the process of becoming nominalizers.

11 Perhaps the least marked use of a nominalizer is where a verb is treated as a nominal-like object for purposes of metalinguistic citation: just as speakers of English cite verbs with the nominalizer *to*, and thus speak of "the verb *to go,"* the Tibetans invariably cite verbs with the nominalizer *-Pa*, and thus speak of "the verb *Ngro-ba "* This is the source of the peculiar habit of listing verbs in Tibetan dictionaries as nominals: a typical doubly nominalized entry would read, for example, *"Ngro-ba, to go."* Matisoff has noted that, as a general rule of thumb, applicable throughout the Tibeto-Burman family, whenever one discovers the particle used in verb citation, such as *-Pa* in Tibetan, one can be sure of having discovered the most important nominalizer in the language.

nominals expressing some aspect of the patient of the underlying proposition: for example, from *rgyal-pos bgegs-la mda-Ø rgyag* "The king shot an arrow at the demon," we might find *rgyal-pos bgegs-la mda-Ø rgyag-go-tsog* "all the arrows the king shot at the demon," *rgyal-pos bgegs-la mda-Ø rgyag-Nphro* "the unused portion of the arrows the king shot at the demon," and so on. We will call these PATIENT-CENTERED NOMINALIZERS. Patient-centered nominalizers may seem unusual to a native speaker of English; they are, however, very common in Tibetan.

2.1.1. Patient-centered nominalizers

2.1.1.1. The nominalizer -rgyu "PATIENT OF PROPOSTION"

The nominalizer *-rgyu* "PATIENT OF PROPOSITION"apparently related to the noun *rgyu* "matter, substance"is the most general and semantically neutral of the patient-centered nominalizers. It is interesting, therefore, to compare it with *-Pa*, the most general of the proposition-centered nominalizersfor example, *khrom-la khyag-pa-Ø Ntshon* "They are selling ice in the market," *khrom-la khyag-pa-Ø Ntshon-ba* "the selling of ice in the market," *khrom-la khyag-pa-Ø Ntshoh-rgyu* "ice for sale in the market," and thus *khrom-la khyag-pa-Ø Ntshon-ba Ndug-gam* "Are they selling ice in the market?" but *khrom-la khyag-pa-Ø Ntshon-rgyu Ndug-gam* "Is there ice for sale in the market?" or *kha-tshems-Ø bzag* "I have left a last testament," *kha-tshems-Ø bzag-pa* "my leaving of a last testament," *kha-tshems-Ø bzag-rgyu* "a last testament to leave," and thus *kha-tshems-Ø bzag-pa med* "I have not left a last testament" but *kha-tshems-Ø bzag-rgyu med* "I do not have a last testament to leave."

In propositions with the equative verb *YIN*, the nominalizer *-rgyu* forms what we can call QUASI-RELATIVE constructions, parallel to the relative constructions formed with the proposition-centered nominalizer *-pa*thus, for example, *bla-ma on* "The lama comes," *bla-ma on-ba* "the lama who comes," *bla-ma on-rgyu* "the lama to come," and thus *bla-ma on-ba yin* "The lama is/ has come" but *bla-ma on-rgyu yin* "The lama is to come," or, similarly, *dpe-tsha nas khyod-la gton* "I am sending you a book," *dpe-tsha nas khyod-la gton-ba* "a book which I send you," *dpe-tsha nas khyod-la gton-rgyu* "a book for me to send you," and thus *dpe-tsha nas khyod-la gton-ba yin* "A book is being/has been sent you" but *dpe-tsha nas khyod-la gton-rgyu yin* "I am to send you

a book." Such constructions with *-rgyu* connote both futurity and obligation.12

Where the patient participant in the proposition nominalized by *-rgyu* is recoverable, either from context or from general knowledge, it may, of course, be omitted, leaving a quasi-headless quasi-relative construction. Such constructions with -rgyu are used, like their headless relative counterparts with *-Pa*, to make statements about things in generalfor example, *na-la dgos* "I need (something)" *na-la dgos-rgyu* "(something) for me to need" n*a-la dgos-rgyu tshun* "My needs are few," *smra* "He says (something)" *smra-rgyu* "(something) for him to say" *smra-rgyu ma-byun* "There was nothing for him to say," *lab* "You say (something)" *lab-rgyu* "(something) for you to say" *khyod-la gan lab-rgyu yod* "What do you have to say?" *khyod-la lab-rgyu yod-dam* "Do you have anything to say?"

2.1.1.2. The nominalizers -o-tsog/-dgu/-tshad "ALL PATIENTS OF PROPOSITION"

The patient-centered nominalizer *-o-tsog* "ALL PATIENTS OF PROPOSITION" is closely related to the archaic plural *o-tsog~-tshog* as in *lhao-tsog* "gods." The nominalizer *-o-tsog* first appears in the translation literaturefor example, from the Tibetan translation of the *Karmasataka, bu-dan bu-mo btsao-tsog Ntshi-bar Ngyur* "All the sons and daughters she bears will die" (with *bu-dan bu-mo btsao-tsog* "all the sons and daughters she bears" < *bu-dan bu-mo btsa* "She bears sons and daughters"), *de-nas dei khyim-bdag-pai gos-dan rgyan bskon-no-tsog mi-snan-bar gyur* "Thereupon all his householder clothes and ornaments he had put on disappeared" (with *dei khyim-bdag-pai gos-dan rgyan bskon-no-tsog* "all his householder clothes and ornaments he

12 We can here note an interesting fact of word order. Given, say, *nas dpe-tsha de khyod-la gton* "I am sending you that book," a relative construction formed with *-Pa* and with *dpe-tsha* "book" as its head must read *dpe-tsha* [(*nas dpe -tsha khyod-la gton*)*-ba*] *de* "that book which I am sending you," while the quasi-relative formed with *-rgyu* is under no such constraint-thus either *nas dpe-tsha de khyod-la gton-rgyu* or *dpe-tsha de nas khyod-la gton-rgyu* "that book for me to send you." And sometimesvery rarely, I thinkin analogy with these quasi-relatives, we find relative constructions with what appear to be misplaced heads: thus we would find, for example, instead of *dpe-tsha* [(*bla-mas dpe tsha Nkhyer*)*-ba*] *de* "that book which the lama is carrying," the word order [(*bla-mas dpe-tsha Nkhyer*)*-ba*] *de,* by analogy with, say, *bla-mas dpe-tsha de Nkhyer-rgyu* "that book for the lama to carry."

put on" < *dei khyim-bdag-pai gos-dan rgyan bskon* "He put on his householder clothes and ornaments"), ñ*in-tsig bzin-du ri-dags bzan-o-tsog bsad* "Every day he killed all the deer who were good" (with *ri-dags bzan-no-tsog* "all the deer who were good" < *ri-dags bzan* "The deer were good"), *kye-ma rgyal-po tshen-po rnam-thos-kyi bu gnod-sbyin tshe-bar grags-so-tsog-dan lhan-tsig-tu na blta-bai phyir on-na* "Oh, if only the great king Kubera, together with all the yaksas famed as great, came to see me!" (with *gnod-sbyin tshe-bar grags-so-tsog* "all the yaksas who were famed as great" < *gnod-sbyin tshe-bar grags* "The yaksas were famed as great"). And note this quasi-headless *constructiondus-gsum rgyal-ba yin-no-tsog tsig-tsar Ndus* "All who were the Buddhas of the three times gathered together," with *dus-gsum rgyal-ba yin-no-tsog* "all those who are Buddhas of the three times" < *dus-gsum rgyal-ba yin* "(Some beings) are Buddhas of the three times."

We also find the nominalizer *-dgu*, related both to the archaic selector *-dgu*, as in *lha-dgu* "the many gods," and to the numeral *dgu* "nine," and the nominalizer *-tshad*, apparently related to the noun *tshad* "measure," both of which are used in the same way as *-o-tsog* "ALL PATIENTS OF PROPOSITION" thus, for example, *Ndod-dgu* "all one wants," n*an-dgu* "everything which is bad," *snan-tshad* "all that happens," *tshogs-tshad* "everyone who gathered together," *Ndir ldom-bu-ba byun-tshad* "all the beggars who appeared here." Note too the hybrid form *-dgu-tsog* in this passage from the biography of Mi-la *ras-pagser g.yu-dan mdzo rta sogs nor yod-dgu-tsog Nbul-bar khyer-nas Nbyon-gyin yod* "He is coming, bringing all the wealth he hasgold and turquoise, yaks and horses, and allto give you."

2.1.1.3. The nominalizer -Nphro "REMAINDER OF PATIENT OF PROPOSITION"

The patient-centered nominalizer *-Nphro* (sometimes *-Nphros*)"REMAINDER OF PATIENT OF PROPOSITION" is apparently related to the verb *NPHRO* "proceed, spread, continue." A nominal in *-Nphro* denotes a remaining or uncompleted or leftover portion of the patient participant in the nominalized proposition.13 We find, for example, *khyod-ran-gi tsha thun* "You drank your tea"

> 13 Note, in the following examples, that the verb in the matrix proposition clearly refers to the PATIENT in the embedded proposition and not to the proposition as a wholethus, for example, *DZA thun-Nphros thun "I* drank the rest of THE TEA you were drinking," *YI-GE Nbri-Nphros mthon* "I saw an uncompleted LETTER someone was writing." There are, however,

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khyod-ran-gi tsha thun-Nphros "the rest of the tea of yours you were drinking" *nas khyod-ran-gi tsha thun-Nphros Ndi thun-pa yin* "I drank the rest of the tea you were *drinking,"yi-ge Nbri* "(Someone) is writing a *letter"yi-ge Nbri-Nphros* "part of a letter that someone is writing" *nas tsog-tsei gan-la yi-ge Nbri-Nphros gtsig mthon byun* "It happened that I saw a half-finished letter on the table," *khon-gi khru slog* "He was ploughing his earth" *khon-gi khru slog-Nphro* "leftover part of the earth he was ploughing" *nas kyan khon-gi khru slog-Nphro Ndi go-tshod-tsig byed* "And I finished off the rest of this earth of his he was ploughing," *tshos bsgyur* "They were translating the dharma" *tshos bsgyur-Nphro* "the remainder of the dharma they were translating" *tshos bsgyur-Nphro-rnams bskyur* "They put aside the remainder of the dharma they were translating." Here, too, we find quasi-headless constructionsfor example, referring to the pulse, *Nphar-Nphro tshad* "What remained of that which throbs came to an end."

2.1.2. Proposition-centered nominalizers

2.1.2.1. The nominalizer -Pa

The single most important nominalizer in the classical language is the proposition-centered nominalizer *-Pa,* which becomes *-pa* after preceding final *-g -d, -n, -b, -m,* and *-s,* and becomes *-ba* after preceding final *-*n̄*, -r, -l,* and open syllables.14 The general nominalizer *-Pa* signals only that the entire proposition is functioning as a nominal, and contributes nothing further to the

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a few instances where this interpretation does not seem to holdfor example, *Ndzig-Nphro btsad* "They stopped the rest of the destruction," *mkhar-gyi rtsig-Nphro zog* "Put aside what is left of your building of the tower."

14 In the epic of Ge-sar we find a nominalizer *-le* used in several songs in a way entirely parallel to that of the nominalizer *-Pa* found elsewhere. There is every reason to believe that this *-le* is a Khams dialect variant for *-Pa;* note the following examples*gar-byun med-pai bla-ma-zig, mthon-na dad-pa on-LE-zig mdzal-na dan-ba Ndren-LE-zig, gsun thos-pa-tsam-gyis grol-LE-zig* "a lama who came out of nowhere; through whom, if you see him, faith arises; who, if you meet him, brings forth devotion; by whom, by just hearing him speak, you are liberated," *gal-tshen don-la mnags-LE yin, ma-bsdad g.yog-po on-LE yin* "I have been sent on a matter of great importance; your servant has come without delay," *gzugs-la bzan-nan med-LE dgos, bon-la rin-thun med-LE dgos, rgyu-la phyug-dbul med-LE dgos* "As for form, you should make no distinction of beauty; as for size, you should make no distinction of height; as for substance, you should make no distinction of wealth."

reading of the propositionthus, for example, *mtho-ris-la dge-slon-Ø skye* "The monk is born in heaven" *mtho-ris-la dge-slon-Ø skye-ba* "the birth of the monk in heaven," *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos-Ø bsad* "The Buddha taught the dharma" *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos-Ø bsad-pa* "the teaching of the dharma by the Buddha," *dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas-la mtshod-pa-Ø Nbul* "The monk gives offerings to the Buddha" *dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas-la mtshod-pa-Ø Nbul-ba* "the giving of offerings to the Buddha by the monk."

2.1.2.2. The nominalizer -sa "PLACE WHERE PROPOSITION"

The proposition-centered nominalizer *-sa* "PLACE WHERE PROPOSITION" is clearly related tobut is not the same asthe noun *sa* "earth, land, place." It is, next to *-Pa,* one of the most commonly encountered of the nominalizers; as illustration, note, for example, *bla-ma nu* "The lama weeps" *bla-ma nu-sa* "the place where the lama weeps," *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad* "The Buddha taught the dharma" *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-sa* "the place where the Buddha taught the dharma."

Such nominals in *-sa* frequently function as heads of nominal phrases within source or locus participantsfor example, *migzan-gyis mthon-sa-la dge-slon-gis tshos bsad* "The monk taught the dharma where others could see him," where the locus participant *mi gzan-gyis mthon-sa* "place where other people see" is a nominalization of the proposition *mi gzan-gyis mthon* "Other people see (something)." Mi-la similarly nominalizes the proposition n*as phyag-btsal* "I bowed down" when he says n*as phyag-btsal-sa de-la phyis phyag-Ntshal sgan-du grags* "That place where I bowed downit later became known as Bowing Down Ridge." We find the proposition *sen-ges mtshons* "The lion leaps" nominalized in the proverb *sen-ges mtshons-sa-la was mtshons rked-pa Ntshag* "The fox leaps where the lion leapsand breaks his neck."15

The proposition-centered nominalizer *-sa* is also found, combined with the

15 Kvaerne has published a Tibetan map which purports to show the location of various events in the life of the epic hero Ge-sar. The map contains such notations as *ge-sar-gyis mu-stegs-la mda rgyag-sa* "the place where Ge-sar shot an arrow at the demon," *mkhan-po gzon-pa bzugs-sa* "the place where the young abbot stayed," *bdud khe-tse ri-lu btul-sa* "The place where the demon Khe-tse ri-lu was conquered," *khro-gtum-gyis ge-sar-la dug Ndren-sa* "the place where Khro-gtum gave poison to Ge-sar," *Nkhruns-saipho-bran* "the palace where (Gesar) was born."

verb *med* < **ma-YOD* "be absent," with the broader sense "occasion, opportunity, possibility"thus *-sa med* "There is no way for PROPOSITION to happen." For example, we find *gzan-du Ngro* "He goes elsewhere" and thus *gzan-du Ngro-sa med* "He has nowhere else to go," n*a gzan-la zer* "I speak to others" and thus *na gzan-la zer-sa med* "I have no one else to turn to," *lus-la reg* "I touch his body" and thus *lus-la reg-sa med* "There's no way I can get near him," *nor-gyis blu* "One ransoms with money" and thus *nor-gyis blu-sa med* "You can't buy yourself out of this."

2.1.2.3. The nominalizer -grogs "HELP WITH PROPOSITION"

The proposition-centered nominalizer *-grogs* "HELP WITH PROPOSITION" is clearly related to-but is not the same asthe noun *grogs* "friend."16 This nominalizer is often found in elegant or polite commands: the proposition expressing the requested action is nominalized with *-grogs* "HELP WITH PROPOSITION" and used as the patient of the imperative stem of an elegant or honorific verbfor example, the imperative stem *mdzod* of the honorific verb *MDZAD* "do," or the (irregular) imperative stem *gyis* of the elegant verb *BGYI* "do." Thus, for example, Mar-pa's wife Bdag-med-ma asks her husband's disciples *bla-ma rnog-pa Nkhor-btsas-kyis nai zu-ba Nbul-grogs mdzod-tsig* "Let lama Rnog-pa and his disciples help me make my request!" and Mar-pa says elegantly to Mi-la *dar-ma mdo-sde Nbogs-pai mkhar-zig rtsig-grogs gyis* "Give a hand building a tower I can give to Dar-ma mdo-sde."

2.1.2.4. The nominalizers -mkhan/-mi "PERSON INVOLVED IN PROPOSITION"

The proposition-centered nominalizer *-mkhan* "PERSON INVOLVED IN PROPOSITION" is clearly related to the syllabic formative *-mkhan* "SKILLED IN," which is suffixed to nouns.17 The nominalizer *-mkhan,* on the other hand,

16 The nominalizer *-grogs* is, perhaps, more properly written *-g.rogs.* As early as in the Pad-ma than-yig we find the alternative forms *-rogs* attested; note too the New Tibetan nominalizer *-ro* "HELP WITH PROPOSITION," used with such elegant or honorific verbs as *tsi* "do" and *nan* "bestow"for example, New Tibetan (Lhasa) n*ala lapro tsi* <*na-la lab-rogs gyis*>"Please tell me," *nala sunro nan* <*na-la gsun-rogs gnan* >"Please tell me (honorific)."

17 Note, for example, such collocations as *sin* "wood" s*in-mkhan* "carpenter," *lam* "path"

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is suffixed toand makes a nominal fromentire propositionsfor example, *o-dod byas-kyan on-mkhan med* "Though I cried for help, there was no one who came." Thus, too, we find, in the biography of Mi-la ras-pa by Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka, *rnog-ston tshos-rdor zer-bai ma-btsol-ba byed-mkhan khyod* "you who do what you are not told to do named Rnog-ston tshos-rdor." Similarly for *-mi*, as in the following from the epic of Ge-sar *?a-rog zer*-mi*pho-rog yin, ka-kwi lan byed-mi brag-tsharyin, lus Ngro-rog byed-mi grib-ma yin* "The one who calls me old friend is the crow; the one who answers my cry is the echo; the one who accompanies my body is my shadow."18

2.2. Nominalized Propositions as Heads

A proposition that has been nominalized with *-Pa* can functionjust like any nominaleither as the nominal head or as the modifier of the head. When a nominalized proposition is the head of a nominal phrase, it canjust like any nominalbe modified by further nominals, specified by determiners and quantifiers, and so on. For example, from the nominalization *dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas-la mtshod-pa-0 Nbul-ba* "the giving of offerings to the Buddha by the monk," we might find [*dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas-la mtshod-pa-0 Nbul-ba*] *NDI* "THIS giving of offerings to the Buddha by the monk," [*dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas-la mtshod-pa-0 Nbul-ba*] *NDI-RNAMS* "THESE givings of offerings to the Buddha by the monk," [*dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas-la mtshod-pa-0 Nbul-ba*] *TSHEN-PO* "THE GREAT givings of offerings to the Buddha by the monk," [*dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas-la mtshod-pa-0 Nbul-ba*] *TSHEN-PO NDI-DAG KUN* "ALL THESE GREAT givings of offerings to the Buddha by the monk."

Such a nominal phrase may then, in turn, play any participant role in the propositionfor example, the PATIENT, as in [*sans-rgyas-kyis tshos-0 bsad-pa*]-0 *sems-tsan-la phan* "The teaching of dharma by the Buddha brings benefit to beings," *dge-slon-gis* [*sans-rgyas-kyis tshos-0 bsad-pa*]-0 *thos* "The monk heard

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> *lam-mkhan* "guide," *bzo* "handicraft" *bzo-mkhan* "craftsman." We also find lexicalized or semi-lexicalized collocations of *-mkhan* with a preceding verb stem, usually present tensefor example, *SRUN* "protect" *srun-mkhan* "guardian," *RTSAM* "compose, write" *rtsom-mkhan* "author," *SAD* "kill" *gsod-mkhan* "murderer," *SAM* "think" *sems-mkhan* "intelligent person," *DAG* "bind" *Ndogs-mkhan* "one who binds." These are all apparently nominalizations of propositions which have been reduced to the event alone, without participants.
>
> 18 Note the play on words *?a-rog* "old friend," *pho-rog* "crow," *Ngro-rog* "companion."

the teaching of dharma by the Buddha," or [*sans-rgyas-kyis tshos-0 bsad-pa*]-*0 bskal-pai gtsug-rgyan yin* "The teaching of dharma by the Buddha is the diadem of the age"; the AGENCY, as in [*sans-rgyas-kyis tshos-0 bsad-pa*]-*KYIS sems-tsan thams-tsad-0 sgrol* "The teaching of dharma by the Buddha saves all beings" or [*sans-rgyas-kyis tshos-0 bsad-pa*]-*KYIS dge-slon-0 mya-nan-las Ndas* "The monk entered nirvana because of the teaching of dharma by the Buddha"; the LOCUS, as in [*sans-rgyas-kyis tshos-0 bsad-pa*]-*LA sems-tsan thams-tsad-0 dga* "All beings rejoice in the teaching of dharma by the Buddha"; the SOURCE, as in [*sas-rgyas-kyis tshos-0 bsad-pa*]-*NAS sems-tsan thams-tsad-0 Ngrol "All* beings are saved through the teaching of dharma by the Buddha"; or the ACCOMPANIMENT, as in [*sans-rgyas-kyis tshos-0 bsad-pa*]-*DAN mu-stegs-pa-0 Ngal* "Heretics oppose the teaching of dharma by the Buddha."

2.2.1. Multiple embedding

A proposition can contain, as one of its participants, a nominalized proposition which itself contains a nominalized proposition as one of its participants, and so on; for example, note the following sequence of propositions*bla-mas tshos bsad* "The lama taught the dharma," [*bla-mas tshos-bsad-pa*]-*NAS sems-tsan grol* "Beings were saved through the teaching of dharma by the lama," [[*bla-mas tshos bsad-pa*]-*nas sems-tsan grol-ba*]-*LA rgyal-po dga* "The king rejoiced at the saving of beings through the teaching of dharma by the lama," [[[*bla-mas tshos bsad-pa*]-*nas sems-tsan grol-ba*]-*la rgyal-po dga-ba*]-*0 blon-pos mthon* "The minister saw the rejoicing of the king at the saving of beings through the teaching of dharma by the lama," [[[[*bla-mas tshos bsad-pa*]-*nas sems-tsan grol-ba*]-*la rgyal-po dga-ba*]-*0 blon-pos mthon-ba*]-*s mtshod-pa phul* "The minister gave offerings because of his seeing the rejoicing of the king at the saving of beings through the teaching of dharma by the lama," [[[[[*bla-mas tshos bsad-pa*]-*nas sems-tsan grol-ba*]-*la gyal-po dga-ba*]-*0 blon-pos mthon-ba*]-*s mtshod-pa phul-ba*]-*DAN rgyal-mo nan-pa Nkhon* "The wicked queen was distressed at the giving of offerings by the minister because of his seeing the rejoicing of the king at the saving of beings through the teaching of dharma by the lama."

When an appropriately role-marked nominalized proposition is in the setting slot of the matrix, such sequences can be given a paratactic reading as well thus, for example, *bla-mas tshos bsad-pa-NAS* "From the teaching of the dharma by the lama/After the lama taught the dharma/The lama taught the

dharma, and then ..." *dge-slon-gis tshos thos-pa-KYIS* "By the hearing of the dharma by the monk/Because the monk heard the dharma/The monk heard the dharma, and so .. ." *rgyal-po-s dgra-bo mthon-ba-LA* "At the seeing of the enemy by the king/When the king saw the enemy/The king saw the enemy, and . . ." Such constructions are processed by the Tibetan reader, I believe, as at least quasi-paratactic rather than hypotactic, despite the fact that structurally they can be embedded several layers deep; and they are thus readand written-as if they were parallel with conjunctionsfor example, in the *Mkhas-pai mgul-rgyan mu-tig phren-mdzes* by the grammarian Si-tu mahapandita, the paraphrase coordination *gsal-ZIN dwans-LA dri-ma med* "clear AND pure AND unsullied," or, in the biography of Mi-la ras-pa by Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka, the simultaneous coordinations *tshos-la gtad-NAS yons* "He sought the dharma AND came," *khru rem-NAS slog* "I exerted myself AND ploughed."19

Nominalized propositions in the setting slot can be marked as the medium, locus, source, or accompaniment of the event in the matrix proposition, or as an adverb which modifies that event; they can be marked as either the *n-* locus or source or the *l-* locus or source. The role particles marking such nominalized propositions then carry much of the same meaning as when marking a simple nominalthus PROPOSITION-Pa-KYis "by PROPSITION/because of PROPOSITION/PROPOSITION and so .. ." PROPOSITION-*Pa-la* "at PROPOSITION/ upon PROPOSITION/PROPOSITION and then . . ." PROPOSITION-*Pa-na* "in PROPOSITION/while PROPOSITION/if PROPOSITION ..." PROPOSTION-*Pa-las* "out of PROPOSIION/because of PROPOSITION . . ." PROPOSITON-*Pa-nas* "from PROPOSITION/through PROPOSITION/PROPOSITION and then..." PROPOSITION-*Pa-dan* "with PROPOSITION/no sooner than PROPOSITION . . ."

19 These constructions, with role-marked nominalized propositions in the setting slot, are extremely common in the classical language; in fact, they are probably found more often than conjunctions. These constructions are sometimes called "continuatives," and are treatedand translated into Englishrather as if they were Sanskrit gerunds in *-ya* or *-tva*. It is true that these constructions were often used in Tibetan to render such Sanskrit gerundsfor example, from the *Vajracchedika Prajñaparamita*, Sanskrit *catuspadikam api githam udgrhya* Tibetan *tshig bzi-pai tshigs-su btsad-pa-tsam bzun-nas* "Having grasped just this four-line stanza .. ." or, from the *Abhidharmakosabhasya* by Vasubandhu, Sanskrit *jivita-pariskaram dattva* Tibetan *dge-sbyon-gi Ntsho-bai yo-byad gan yan run-ba phul-nas* "Having given the requisites which are appropriate to maintain a monk . .." But I am not sure that this is always a helpful characterization of their structure.

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2.2.2. The omission of *-pa*

The nominalizer *-Pa* may be-and not infrequently isomitted when it occurs between the tense stem of a verb and a bound role particle.20 In the archaic Central Asian manuscripts, we find *-Pa* retained in this position probably more frequently than we do in the later texts, although usage is certainly far from consistentfor example, *sta-re phud-tsig bthab-PA-LA g.yu rgal-te mtshis . . . sta-re pud-tsig bthab-NA g.yu rgal-te mtshis* "He struck the first time with the axe, AND THEN G.yu crossed over. . . WHEN he struck the first time with the axe, G.yu crossed over," *mi khyod sgrin-ma Ndod-PA-NA kha-rog-par Ndug-NA bzan-o* "WHEN/IF you, man, desire prudence, it is good WHEN/IF you stay silent," *drug tshen-poi rgyal-pos lo bdun-tsu-rtsa gñis dar-to, lo bdun-tsu-rtsa gñis dar-PA-DAN, ñi-ma sar-logs-kyi dru-gu-dan, ñi-ma nub-pa logs-gyi dru-gu gñis Nthabs* "The king of the Great Drug flourished for seventy-two years; AS SOON AS he had flourished for seventy-two years, the Little Drug of the quarter where the sun sets fought with the Little Drug of the quarter where the sun rises." In the classical texts, as a general rule, *-Pa* is omitted before *-nas*, often omitted before *-la* and *-na*, often retained before *-las*, and retained before *-dan* and *-KYis*.

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de-nasyi-ge zan-poi lag-tu bzag-NAS kun-gyis mthon-bar byas-PAS, khon-rnams-kyis gros Ngyur-TE, lag-mthui bsam-sbyor bor-NAS, iii or-ma gru-gsum yan ?a-khui lag-nas blans-TE ?a-ma-la sprad Ndug

Then we put the letter in the hand of my maternal uncle, AND he showed it to everybody, AND SO they took counsel, AND forsook their plan of revenge, AND took the field Or-ma Triangle from the hands of my paternal uncle, AND gave it to my mother.

na de dus ?a-ma-dan lan-tsigphrad sñam-PA-LAS, dgras Ndzigs-TE myur-du bros-TE gña-nam bskorphyin-PAS, rkan-pa-la khyi sphug-STE Ndzom-sar dus-la ma-slebs

I then thought, "I will meet my mother one more time," AND was afraid of my enemies AND quickly ran away AND circled around Gña-nam AND a dog bit me on the leg AND I did not arrive on time at the meeting place.

gzon-pa-rnams na-re, thos-pa-dga kho yin thag-tshod, khos u-tsag mthon-ba med-PAS yul-nas dmag g.yabs-TE ma-bsad-NA, Ndis da-dun yul Ndi phun-du Ndzug zer-ZIN, log son-BA-LA, nai grogs-po na-re, khyod-ran snon-la son, nas khyod-ran yin-pa-ltar byas-TE sñin-tshim btab-LA on-gis zer

The younger ones said, "He is Thos-pa dga, certainly. He has not seen us, so IF we do not summon a host from the village AND kill him, this one will ruin our village even more," AND they turned back, AND my friend said, "You go on ahead. I promise I will come WHEN I have acted as if I am you AND had some fun."

Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka often uses nominalized propositions marked with the accompaniment particle *-dan* in the setting slot to indicate an immediate succession of eventsfor example, *ban-dhe de log-son-ba-DAN, tshan hag-ma lus-par btuns* "As SOON AS that monk went back, I drank the rest of the beer," *phyed-tsam lons-pa-DAN bla-ma byon* "As SOON AS I had finished just half of it, the lama came," *mthu bsgrubs-nas zag bdun son-ba-DAN bla-ma byon* "I cast the spell, and, AS SOON AS seven days had passed, the lama came,"

phyed-tsam lons-PA-DAN yan kho-ran bsig-tu btsug-NAS sa-rdo-rnnams ran-gnas-su skyel-du Ndzug-gin Ndug, Ndi yan bsig yon mi-bsig-NA bsrun-bar tshog bsig mi-bsig bltao zer-BA-LA, ma-bsig-par mkhar-las nar-mar byas-PAS, bdun thog-tu son-BA-DAN nai rked-pa-laan sgal-pa-zig byun

They said, "As SOON AS it is just half done he has him tear it down AND has him take the earth and rocks to their original place. This one too will be torn down. It will be enough for us to stop him WHEN/IF it is not torn down. We will see if it is torn down or not," AND, not tearing it down, I worked on the tower without stopping, AND, AS SOON AS I reached the seventh story, a sore developed on my back.

2.2.3. Propositional adverbs

Nominalized propositions marked with the adverb particle -*Tu* may be found, often in the setting slot of the matrix proposition, serving to modify the matrix event in terms of time, place, manner, or extentfor example, *lo man-po-zig ma-lon-par* "Before many years had passed . . ." *rgyal-po dug-gis bsad-sar* "At the place where the king had been poisoned . . ." *skad-tsig kyan sdod-pai lon med-par* "Without waiting even for a moment . ." *dgon-pa de-dan ñe-bar* "Near to that monastery. . ." Relator nouns are often found as the head of such propositional adverbsfor example, *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-pai mthar* "After the Buddha had taught the dharma . . ." *bla-mas bgegs ma-btul-bai bar-du* "While the lama had not yet tamed the demon/Until the lama had tamed the demon . . ." *rgyal-po dgon-pa-la slebs-pai dus-su* "At the time the king arrived at the monastery . . ."

Thus, in the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter*, Sa-skya pandita writes *rdze-bos Nbans-la mi-gnod-par, rig-pai las-kyis dpya-rnams bsdu* "A lord should gather taxes in a wise way, without harming his subjects," *rna-la dbyug-gus ma-bsnun-par, de-srid gzan-dan khyad tsi yod* "Without having hit the drum with a stick, how is it different from any other?" *yul gzan legs-par ma-brtags-par, sna-mai gnas ni dor mi-bya* "You should not abandon your former abode unless you have well examined the other place." In the biography of Mi-la by Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka we find *ma-gsan-par bla-ma byon* "The lama left without *listening,"yum tsha-ba Ndren-du byun* "My Lady appeared, bringing hot food," *mkhar-las mdzad-don med-par mdzad, bsig-don med-par bsig-gin Ndug* "He is building towers without any reason to build them, and destroying them

without any reason to destroy them," *bsam-pa gzan-gyis ma-tshod-par bla-ma-dan mdzal-te zal mthon-ba-zig nam yon-na nam yon-na bsam-zin phyi*n "Uninterrupted by any other thought, I went along thinking, When oh when will I meet the lama and see his face?" *tshe Ndi don-du gñer-bai mi-dan lab ma-byed-par sgrub-pa-la Nbuns-sig* "Without speaking to any person who is concerned with this life, apply yourself to meditation!" *ma-bsig-par mkhar-las nar-mar byas* "Not tearing it down, I worked on the tower unceasingly." And note these satiric verses, taken from a poem by Pad-ma dkar-po*sdug-btsir-gyis bslab-sbyans-sig ma-dgos-par, blo mo-zin gsal-bai mkhas-pargyur* "Without any need for strenuous study, I have become a scholar with mind sharp and clear," *sdug-Nkhums-kyis sgo gsum ma-mnar-bar, grogs Nphags-ma-rnams dgyes-pai btsun-par gyur* "Without oppressing my senses with hardship, I have become a reverend pleasing to my friends the Noble Ladies."21

2.3. Nominalized Propositions as Modifiers

A proposition that has been nominalized with *-Pa* can function not only as the head of a nominal, as we have discussed, but also as the MODIFIER of the head. There are two syntactic constructions in which we find such a nominalized proposition acting as a modifier. First, in a RELATIVE construction, the nominalized propositionhere called a relative propositioncan modify any type of nominal head; and the relative proposition is processed as having within it an omitted participant which is in some sense identical with the nominal head it modifies: thus, for example, *sans-rgyas mthon-bai dge-slon* "monk who saw the Buddha" is a relative construction. Second, in a COMPLEMENT construction, the nominalized propositionhere called a complementcan modify either verb or nominal heads, but only certain types of verbs and nominals; and the complement is not processed as having any omitted participant coreferential with the head it modifies: thus, for example, *dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas mthon-bai Nbras-bu* "result of the monk's seeing the Buddha" is a NOMINAL complement construction; and *dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas mthon-bar run* "It is proper for the monk to see the Buddha" is a VERB complement construction. This distinction is more easily pointed to than described; and the next several sections will try to make these syntactic constructions clear.

21 Pad-ma dkar-po offers his poem as s*es-so sñam sbos-pa-tshoi Ndzu-sman* "a laxative for such bloated thoughts" and as *khon bzan-por grags-pa-tshoi bkru-sman* "soap for those famed as virtuous."

2.3.1. Relative constructions

What makes *sas-rgyas mthon-bai dge-slon* "monk who saw the Buddha" a relative construction? The HEAD of the phrase is, clearly, *dge-slon* "monk." The MODIFIER of this head is *sans-rgyas mthon-ba,* which is in turn a nominalization of the proposition *sans-rgyas-Ø mthon* "(Someone) saw the Buddha," with the agency participant unspecified. That unspecified participant is then processed as coreferential with the head; in response to the question "WHO saw the Buddha?" the answer can only be "The monk did." The reconstruction of these relationships by the reader can be written as [(*dge-slon-gis sais-rgyas-Ø mthon*)-*Pa*]-*KYi dge-slon* "monk who saw the Buddha," with the brackets identifying the embedded modifier and the strikeout indicating the deleted coreferent.22 It is the need for such processing that makes the nominalized proposition RELATIVE to its head.

Relative constructions are a characteristic and productive hypotactic device in the classical texts. Where a paratactic construction might read *sans-rgyas dgon-pa-la bzugs-te, dge-slon-gis mthon-zin mtshod-pa phul* "The Buddha dwelt in the monastery AND a monk saw him AND he gave him offerings," a typically hypotactic construction would be *dge-slon* [*sans-rgyas* [*dgon-pa-la bzugs-pa*]-*Ø mthon-ba*]-*s mtshod-pa-Ø phul* "The monk WHO saw the Buddha WHO was dwelling in the monastery gave him offerings." Such relative constructions occupy a central and distinctive place in Tibetan writing.

22 We will use this notation whenever we need to indicate that an embedded participant is coreferential with a participant in the matrix proposition-for example, [(*ba-ma s bgegs-Ø btul*)-*ba*]-*i bla-ma* "lama who tamed the demon," [(*bla-ma-s bgeg Ø btul*)-*ba*]-*i bgegs* "demon whom the lama tamed," *bla-ma-Ø*[(*bla ma s bgegs-Ø btul*)-*ba*]-*r ons* "The lama came to tame the demon." In each of these cases, the embedded coreferent is deleted, along with its role particle, or replaced by a DUMMY, in the form of an indefinite determiner, whose only function is to carry the role particle of the deleted participant. The embedded proposition is always the one buried inside the brackets; the more brackets there are, the more deeply embedded the proposition. The nominal head is always coreferential with a participant in the embedded proposition just one layer beneath it-for example, *dge-slon* [*dge-slon sansrgyas* [*sans-rgyas dgon-pa-la bzugs-pa*]-*Ø mthon-ba*]-*s mtshod-pa phul,* which becomes first *dge-slon* [*dge-slon sans-rgyas* [*san-s rgyas dgon-pa-la bfugs-pa*]-*Ø mthon-ba*]-*s mtshod-pa phul,* and then *dge-slon* [*dge slon. safis-rgyas* [*sans rgyas dgon-pa-la b;ugs-pa*]-*Ø mthon-ba*]-*s mtshod-pa phul* "The monk who saw the Buddha who was dwelling in the monastery gave him offerings."

2.3.1.1. Discursus on English relativization

To understand Tibetan relative constructions, it may be helpful to look briefly at relative constructions in English. The English proposition *The lawyer who wrote this book is handsome* is actually composed of two propositions that intersect upon the single coreferent *the lawyer*thatis, the main or MATRIX proposition *The lawyer is handsome*, and the embedded or MODIFYING proposition *The lawyer wrote this book.* The latter proposition is RELATIVIZEDthat is, embedded in the main proposition as the modifier of a nominal headby the following three steps:

(1) the modifying proposition is inserted in the matrix proposition immediately following the coreferential nominal head it will modifythus *The lawyer* [*the lawyer wrote this book*] *is handsome,*

(2) the coreferential participant is deleted from the modifying propositionthus *The lawyer* [*the lawyer wrote this book*] *is handsome,* and

(3) the appropriate relative pronoun replaces the deleted coreferential participantthus *The lawyer* [*WHO wrote this book*] *is handsome.*

Now the nominal head in the matrix proposition can have any participant role in that proposition: it can be the subject, as in the example above, or the object, as in *I am reading the book which refutes Darwin,* which, again, is built from two propositions that intersect upon the single coreferent *the book*that is, the main or matrix proposition *I am reading the book,* and the embedded or modifying proposition *The book refutes Darwin.* Again, the latter proposition is relativized in three steps:

(1) *I am reading the book* [*the book refutes Darwin*],

(2) *I am reading the book* [*the book refutes Darwin*],

(3) *I am reading the book* [*WHICH refutes Darwin*].

Similarly, the deleted participant in the MODIFYING proposition can have any participant role in that proposition: it can be the subject, as in the example

above, or the object, as in *I am reading the book which you recommended,* which, again, is built from two propositions that intersect upon the single coreferent *the book*thatis, the main or matrix proposition *I am reading the book,* and the embedded or modifying proposition *You recommended the book* In English, however, relativizing the latter proposition requires an extra step: the embedded coreferent is moved to the left-hand end of its proposition before being deleted: thus

(1) *I am reading the book* [*you recommended the book*],

(2) *I am reading the book* [*the book you recommended*],

(3) *I am reading the book* [*the book you recommended*],

(4) *I am reading the book* [*WHICH you recommended*].

The deleted participant in the modifying proposition can have still other roles in that proposition;23 or one relative can be embedded within another, as

23 For example, it can be the location, as in *The hotel in which he stayed was dismal*, which is built from the two propositions *The hotel was dismal* and *He stayed in the hotel,* as follows:

(1) *The hotel* [*he stayed in the hotel*] *was dismal,*

(2) *The hotel* [*in the hotel he stayed*] *was dismal,*

(3) *The hotel* [*in the hotel he stayed*] *was dismal,*

(4) *The hotel* [*in WHICH he stayed*] *was dismal.*

Or the deleted participant in the modifying proposition can be the source participant, as in *They invaded the land from which he came*, again built from the two propositions *They invaded the land and He came from the land,* as follows:

(1) *They invaded the land* [*he came from the land*],

(2) *They invaded the land* [*from the land he came*],

(3) *They invaded the land* [*from the land he came*],

(4) *They invaded the land* [*from WHICH he came*].

in *I am reading the book which the man who works in the bookstore recommended,* as follows:

(1) *I am reading the book* [*the man* [*the man works in the bookstore*] *recommended the book*],

(2) *I am reading the book* [*the book the man* [*the man works in the bookstore*] *recommended*],

(3) (a) *I am reading the nook* [*the book the man* [*the man works i*n *the bookstore*] *recommended*],

(b) *I am reading the book* [*the book the man* [*the man works i*n *the bookstore*] *recommended*],

(4) (a) *I am reading the book* [*the book the man* [*WHO works in the bookstore*] *recommended*],

(b) *I am reading the book* [*WHICH the man* [*WHO works in the bookstore*] *recommended*].

Relativization in English, of course, is more complicated than this: for example, relative pronouns are optional where the omitted participant in the modifying proposition is the object, as in *I am reading the book you recommended,* and we have not even mentioned such constructions as *They invaded the land he came from.* But I think this briefand far from universally acceptteddescription may help to shed some light on the parallel Tibetan construction.

2.3.1.2. Relative propositions after the head

Any modifier of a nominal can, as we have seen, follow the head which it modifiesfor example, *bla-ma tshen-po* "great lama," *bla-ma rnal-Nbyor-p*a "lama who is a yogin." Similarly, a relative proposition can follow the head which it modifiesfor example, *sans-rgyas dgon-pa-la bzugs-pa* "Buddha who dwells in the monastery," *bgegs bla-mas btul-ba* "demon which the lama tamed."

The Tibetan proposition *sans-rgyas dgon-pa-la bzugs-pas tshos bsad* "The

Buddha who dwells in the monastery taught the dharma" is actually composed of two propositions that intersect upon a single coreferent *sans-rgyas* "Buddha"that is, the main or MATRIX proposition *sans-rgyas-kyis t hos bsad* "The Buddha taught the dharma," and the embedded or MODIFYING proposition *sans-rgyas-*0 *dgon-pa-la bzugs* "The Buddha dwells in the monastery." The latter proposition is RELATIVIZEDthat is, embedded in the main proposition as the modifier of a nominal head-in the following steps:

(1) the modifying proposition is nominalized with the nominalizer *-Pa*thus[(*sans-rgyas-*0 *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*],

(2) this nominalized proposition is inserted in the matrix proposition immediately following *sans-rgyas,* the coreferential nominal head it will modify, and, as in any Tibetan nominal phrase, before the attached role particlethus *sans-rgyas* [(*sans-rgyas-*0 *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYis tshos bsad,* and

(3) the coreferential participant, along with its attached role particle, is deleted from the modifying propositionthus *sans-rgyas* [(*sans rgyas-*0 *dgon-pa-la blugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYis tshos bsa*d.

Under the appropriate rules of inflectional morphology, this proposition then becomes *sans-rgyas dgon-pa-la bzugs-pas tshos bsad* "The Buddha who dwells in the monastery taught the dharma."

The modified nominal head in the MATRIX proposition can have any participant role in that proposition: it can be the agency, as in the example above, or the patient, as in *dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas tshos bsad-pa bstod* "The monk praised the Buddha who taught the dharma," which, again, is built from two propositions that intersect upon the single coreferent *sans-rgyas* "Buddha"that is, the main or matrix proposition *dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas-*0 *bstod* "The monk praised the Buddha," and the embedded or modifying proposition *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad* "The Buddha taught the dharma." Again, the latter proposition is relativized in the following steps:

(1) the modifying proposition is nominalized with the nominalizer *-Pa*thus [(*sans-rgyas-KYis tshos bsad*)-*Pa*],

(2) this nominalized proposition is inserted in the matrix proposition immediately following *sans-rgyas,* the coreferential nominal

head it will modify, and, as in any Tibetan nominal phrase, before the attached role particlethus *dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas* [(*sans-rgyas-KYis tshos bsad*)-*Pa*]-Ø *bstod* and

(3) the coreferential participant, along with its attached role particle,24 is deleted from the modifying propositionthus *dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas* [(*sans-rgyas-kyis tghos bSad*)-*Pa*]-Ø *bstod*.

Under the appropriate rules of inflectional morphology, this then becomes *dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas tshos bsad-pa bstod* "The monk praised the Buddha who taught the dharma."

Similarly, the deleted participant in the MODIFYING proposition can have any participant role in that proposition: in the first example, above, the embedded *sans-rgyas* "Buddha" was the patient of the intransitive verb *BZUGS* "dwell"; in the second example above, the embedded *sans-rgyas* "Buddha" was the agency of the transitive verb *TSAD* "teach." Or the deleted participant in the modifying proposition can be the patient of a transitive verb, as in *dge-slon-gis tshos sans-rgyas-kyis bsad-pa bstod* "The monk praised the dharma which the Buddha taught," which, again, is built from two propositions that intersect upon the single coreferent *tshos* "dharma"that is, the main or matrix proposition *dge-slon-gis tshos-Ø bstod* "The monk praised the dharma," and the embedded or modifying proposition *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos-Ø bsad* "The Buddha taught the dharma." Again, the latter proposition is relativized in the following steps:

(1)[(*sans-rgyas-kyis tshos-Ø bsad*)-*Pa*],

24 Actually, this step is better described in two steps. First, the coreferent nominal is deleted, leaving its role particle hanging in the air, as in *dge-slon* [(*dge-slon-KYis mtshod-pa phul*)-*Pa*]-*KYis sans-rgyas mthon* "The monk who gave offerings saw the Buddha." Second, either of two steps may be taken. The proposition can be used as is, with the rules of inflectional morphology automatically deleting the hanging role particle, yielding *dge-slon mtshod-pa phul-ba-s sans-rgyas mthon* "The monk who gave offerings saw the Buddha"; or an indefinite determiner can be placed in the now empty slot as a dummy to carry the hanging role particle, as in *dge-sloni*[(*GANi-KYis mtshod-pa phul*)-*Pa*]-*s sans-rgyas mthon*, which yields *dge-slon gan-gis mtshod-pa phul-bas sans-rgyas mthon* "The monki WHOi gave offerings saw the Buddha." These two steps have been collapsed in this portion of the text for clarity of exposition. Note the use of a subscript to identify the coreferent of the dummy role particle carrier.

(2) *dge-slon-gis tshos* [(*sans-rgyas-kyis tshos-Ø bsad*)-*Pa*]-Ø *bstod*,

(3) *dge-slon-gis tshos* Ø[(*sans-rgyas-kyis tkhos Ø bsad*)-*Pa*]-Ø *bstod*.

Under the appropriate rules of inflectional morphology, this then becomes *dge-slon-gis tshos sans-rgyas-kyis bsad-pa bstod* "The monk praised the dharma which the Buddha taught."25

The deleted participant in the modifying proposition can have still other roles in that proposition: it can be the locus, as in *mal-Nbyor-pa nags-tshal me-tog bkra-ba-la bzugs* "The yogin dwells in woods where flowers bloom," which is built from the two propositions *mal-Nbyor-pa nags-tshal-la bzugs* "The yogin dwells in the woods" and *nags-tshal-la me-tog bkra* "Flowers bloom in the woods," as follows:

(1) [(*nags-tshal-la me-tog bkra*)-*Pa*],

(2) *rnal-Nbyor-pa nags-tshal* [(*nags-tshal-la me-tog bkra*)-*Pa*]-*la bzugs*,

(3) *rnal-Nbyor-pa nags-tshal* [(*nags-tshal la me-tog bkra*)-*Pa*]-*la bzug*s,

which becomes *mal-Nbyor-pa nags-tshal me-tog bkra-ba-la bzugs* "The yogin dwells in woods in which flowers bloom."

Similarly, the deleted participant in the modifying proposition can be the source participant, as in *nam-mkha kha Nbab-pa-la sprin nag-po Nthibs* "Black clouds gather in the sky from which snow falls," which is built from the two propositions *nam-mkha-la sprin nag-po Nhibs* "Black clouds gather in the sky" and *nam-mkha-las kha Nbab* "Snow falls from the sky," as follows:

(1) [(*nam-mkha-las kha Nbab*)-*Pa*],

(2) *nam-mkha* [(*nam-mkha-las kha Nbab*)-*Pa*]-*la sprin nag-po Nhibs*,

(3) *nam-mkha* [(*nam mkha las kha Nbab*)-*Pa*]-*la sprin nag-po Nthibs*,

25 It is of course possible to TRANSLATE such a relative construction, where the embedded coreferent is the patient of a transitive verb, with an English passive-thus, "The monk praised the dharma taught by the Buddha." This capacity of English does not teach us anything about the structure of Tibetan.

which becomes *nam-mkha kha Nbab-pa-la sprin nag-po Nthibs* "Black clouds gather in the sky from which snow falls."

2.3.1.3. Relative propositions before the head

A modifier of a nominal can also precede, as an adnominal, the head which it modifiesfor example, *dkar-poi phren-ba* "white rosary," *snags-pai bla-ma* "lama who is a magician." Similarly, a relative proposition can precede, as an adnominal, the head which it modifiesfor example, *dgon-pa-la bzugs-pai sans-rgyas* "Buddha who dwells in the monastery," *bla-mas btul-bai bgegs* "demon which the lama tamed."

Such adnominal relatives are derived just as we have discussed above. For example, the proposition *dge-slon-gis dgon-pa-la bzugs-pai sans-rgyas bstod* "The monk praised the Buddha who dwells in the monastery" is, again, built from two propositions that intersect upon the single coreferent *sans-rgyas* "Buddha"that is, the main or matrix proposition *dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas-Ø bstod* "The monk praised the Buddha," and the embedded or modifying proposition *sans-rgyas dgon-pa-la bzugs* "The Buddha dwells in the monastery." Here, though, the modifying proposition is inserted in the matrix BEFORE the head rather than after, and is marked with the adnominal particle, as follows:

(1) the modifying proposition is nominalized with the nominalizer *-Pa*thus [(*sas-rgyas-Ø dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*],

(2) this nominalized proposition is inserted in the matrix proposition immediately before *sans-rgyas,* the coreferential nominal head it will modify, and is marked with the adnominal particle *-KYi*thus *dge-slon-gis* [(*sans-rgyas-Ø dgon-pa-la bugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYi sans-rgyas-Ø bstod,*

(3) the coreferential participant, along with its attached role particle, is deleted from the modifying propositionthus *dge-slon-gis* [(*san -rgyas Ø dgon-pa-la bZugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYi sans-rgyas-Ø bstod.*

Under the appropriate rules of inflectional morphology, this then becomes *dge-slon-gis dgon-pa-la bzugs-pai sans-rgyas bstod* "The monk praised the

Buddha who dwells in the monastery."

Similarly, the proposition *rgyal-po bla-mas btul-bai bgegs-kyis skrag* "The king was scared of the demon the lama tamed" is, again, built from the two propositions *bla-mas bgegs btul* "The lama tamed the demon" and *rgyal-po bgegs-kyis skrag* "The king was scared of the demon," as follows:

(1) [(*bla-mas bgegs-Ø btul*)-*Pa*],

(2) *rgyal-po* [(*bla-mas bgegs-Ø btul*)-*Pa*]-*KYi bgegs-kyis skrag,*

(3) *rgyal-po* [(*bla-mas bgegs-Ø btul*)-*Pa*]-*KYi bgegs-kyis skrag,*

which becomes *rgyal-po bla-mas btul-bai bgegs-kyis skrag* "The king is scared of the demon the lama tamed."

2.3.1.4. Relativized propositions and adjectives

A proposition can, of course, consist of just an intransitive verb and its patient participantfor example, *bla-ma skyid* "The lama is happy," *bla-ma nu* "The lama weeps," *bla-ma Ngyel* "The lama falls down." If such a proposition is relativized, as in, say, *bla-ma* [(*bla-ma-Ø nu*)-*Pa*], it behaves just as if it were an adjective. It occurs in the same environment as an adjective: compare, for example, *bla-ma tshen-po* "great lama" with *bla-ma skyid-pa* "happy lama," or *dban-tsan-gyi bla-ma* "powerful lama" with n*u-bai bla-ma* "weeping lama." It can occur, like an adjective, as a headless modifier: compare, for example, *tshen-po Ndi* "this great one" with *skyid-pa Ndi* "this happy one," or *dban-tsan-rnams* "powerful ones" with *Ngyel-ba-rnams* "the ones who fall down." It can, if it expresses a state, occur, like an adjective, in a comparative degree: compare, for example, *de-las tshen-po* "greater than that" with *de-las skyid-pa* "happier than that." It can occur, like an adjective, after an intensifier, but not before the conjunction *-TSin:* compare, for example, *bla-ma sin-tu tshen-po* "very great lama" but not ?*bla-ma tshen-po-zin* with *bla-ma sin-tu nu-ba* "lama really weeping" but not ?*bla-ma nu-ba-zin.*

It is also possible for a proposition to consist of just a transitive verb and its patient participant, or just a transitive verb and its agency participant, where one participant has been omitted because it is, presumably, recoverable either from context or from general knowledgefor example, *dgra-s gsod* "The

enemy kills (someone)," *dgra-Ø gsod* "(Someone) kills the enemy." If such a proposition is relativized, the resulting modifier is ambiguous: the form *dgra gsod-pa* could be either *dgra* [(*dgra-s gsod*)-*Pa*]"the enemy who kills (someone)/the killing enemy" or *dgra* [(*dgra Ø gsod*)-*Pa*]"the enemy whom (someone) killed/the slain enemy." Similarly, for example, *bstod-pai rgyal-po* is ambiguous between the readings [(*rgyal po s bstod*)-*Pa*]-*KYi rgyal-po* "the king who praised (someone)/the praising king" and [(*rgyal-po Ø bstod*)-*Pa*]-*KY*i *rgyal-po* "the king whom (someone) praised/the king who was praised." Yet, despite this ambiguity, the modifier still acts just like an adjective: it can be a headless modifier, as in *bstod-pa Ndi* "this praising one/praised one"; it can occur after an intensifier, but not before the conjunction -*TSin,* as in *Sin-tu bstod-pa* "really praised/praising" but not ?*bstod-pa-zin.*26

2.3.1.5. Dummy role particle carriers

When an embedded coreferent in a relative proposition is deleted, its role particle is deleted along with it. In many cases, the reader is able to process the relative construction without that information: the role of the embedded coreferent is RECOVERABLE. This is particularly so where the embedded coreferent is the agent of the embedded verb and the patient is explicit, or where the embedded coreferent is the patient of the embedded verb and the agent is explicit: it is clear that *dgra-Ø bsad-pai rgyal-po* means "the king who slew the enemy" and comes from [(*rgyal-po-s dgra-Ø bsad*)-*Pa*]*KYi rgyal-po,* just as it is clear that *dgra-s bsad-pai rgyal-po* means "the king whom the enemy slew" and comes from [(*dgra-s rgyal po-Ø bsad*)-*Pa*]-*KYi rgyal-po.* Compare,

26 *Is skyid-pa* "happy" really an adjective? Is *nu-ba* "weeping," or *Ngyel-ba* "falling down," or *gsod-pa* "slaying/slain"? I think we can say they are adjectives; the question is whether they are WORDS, rather than unlexicalized fragments of relativized propositions. I think it is fair to say that *skyid-pa* "happy" has been lexicalized in classical Tibetan, and that, say, *Ngyel-ba* "falling down" and *gsod-pa* "slaying/slain" have not. A good example of such lexicalization can be found with regard to the transitive verb *BRTSE* "love"thus both *sans-rgyas* [(*sans- rgyas kyis sems-tsan-Ø brtse*)-*Pa*]> *sans-rgyas sems-tsan brtse-ba* "the Buddha who loves creatures" and *sans-rgyas* [(*sems-tsan-gyis sans rgyas Ø brtse*)-*Pa*]> *sans-rgyas sems-tsan-gyis brtse-ba* "the Buddha whom creatures love." We would then expect the nominalized phrase *sans-rgyas brtse-ba* to be ambiguous between "the loving Buddha" and "the loved Buddha," just as, say, *rgyal-po bstod-pa* is ambiguous between "the praising king" and "the praised king." But *brtse-ba* is not ambiguous; it always means "loving" rather than "loved." The fragment of relativized proposition has been lexicalized as a word with just one of its possible meanings.

similarly, *sans-rgyas mthon-bai dge-slon* "monk who saw the Buddha" with *sans-rgyas-kyis mthon-bai dge-slon* "monk whom the Buddha saw," or *bla-ma rig-snags bsgyel-ba* "lama who thwarted the magic spell" with *bla-ma rig-snags-kyis bsgyel-ba* "lama tripped up by the magic spell."27

To make the role of the deleted coreferent explicit, however, a further optional step may be taken. Let us recall the analysis of our first example, *sans-rgyas dgon-pa-la bzugs-pas tshos bsad* "The Buddha who dwells in the monastery taught the dharma," as follows:

(1) the modifying proposition is nominalized with the nominalizer *-Pa*thus [(*sans-rgyas-Ø dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*],

(2) this nominalized proposition is inserted in the matrix proposition immediately following *sans-rgyas*, the coreferential nominal head it will modify, and, as in any Tibetan nominal phrase, before the attached role particlethus *sans-rgyas* [(*sans-rgyas-Ø dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYis tshos bsad*, and

(3) the coreferential nominal is deleted from the modifying propositionthus *sans-rgyas* [(*sans-rgyas-Ø dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYis tshos bsad.*28

At this point an additional fourth step may be taken:

27 It is when BOTH medium and patient participants are missing that the relativized proposition becomes ambiguous, as noted abovefor example, *bstod-pai rgyal-po* "praised/ praising king," *dgra bsad-pa* "enemy who slew/was slain." Thus, too, compare, for example, *lus Ndi skyed-pai pha-ma* "parents WHO bore this body" with *lus Nd skyes-pai pha-ma* "parents FROM WHOM this body was born," or *sprin-dkar ñi-ma mi-sgribs-pa* "white clouds WHICH did not block the sun" with *sprin-dkar ñi-ma mi-Ngribs-pa* "white clouds BY WHICH the sun was not blocked."

28 Here we are making explicit the intermediate step we skipped over in the description above: the coreferent nominal is deleted, leaving its role particle hanging in the air, as in *dge-slon* [(*dge slon-KYis mtshod-pa phul*)-*Pa*]-*s sans-rgyas mthon* "The monk who gave offerings saw the Buddha." Here, instead of using the proposition as is, with the rules of inflectional morphology automatically deleting the hanging role particle, an indefinite determiner will be placed in the now empty slot as a dummy to carry the hanging role particle, as in *dge-sloni* [(*GANi-KYis mtshod-pa phul*)-*Pa*]-*s sans-rgyas mthon*, which yields *dge-slon gan-gis mtshod-pa phul-bas sans-rgyas mthon* "The monki WHOi gave offerings saw the Buddha."

(4) an appropriate indefinite determiner is inserted as a DUMMY to carry the role particle of the deleted coreferential participantthus *sans-rgyasi* [(*GANi-dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYis tshos bad*,

which yields, after the application of the inflectional rules, *sas-rgyasi GANi-dgon-pa-la bugs-pas tshos bsad* "The Buddhai WHOi dwells in the monastery taught the dharma." Such an additional step would not usually be taken when the embedded participant was the patient, as in the present example; but, as the role of the missing participant becomes more oblique and difficult to recover, the use of such a dummy role particle carrier becomes more frequentfor example, *rnal-Nbyor-pa nags-tshali GANi-LA me-tog bkra-ba-la bzugs* "The yogin dwells in woodsi IN WHICHi flowers bloom," analyzed as follows:

(1) [(*nags-tshal-la me-tog bkra*)-*Pa*],

(2) *mal-Nbyor-pa nags-tshal* [(*nags-tshal-la me-tog bkra*)-*Pa*]-*la bzugs*,

(3) *mal-Nbyor-pa nags-tshal* [(*nags tshal-la me-tog bkra*)-*Pa*]-*la bzugs*,

(4) *mal-Nbyor-pa nags-tshali* [(*GANi-la me-tog bkra*)-*Pa*]-*la bzugs*,

or *nam-mkhai GANi-LAS kha Nbab-pa-la sprin nag-po Nthibs* "Black clouds gather in the skyi FROM WHICHi snow falls," analyzed as follows:

(1) [(*nam-mkha-las kha Nbab*)-*Pa*],

(2) *nam-mkha* [(*nam-mkha-las kha Nbab*)-*Pa*]-*la sprin nag-po Nthibs*,

(3) *nam-mkha* [(*nam-mkha-las kha Nbab*)-*Pa*]-*la sprin nag-po Nthibs*,

(4) *nam-mkhai* [(*GANi-las kha Nbab*)-*Pa*]-*la sprin nag-po Nthibs*.

There are apparently several factors that determine the likelihood that a dummy role particle carrier will be used.29 First is the relative ACCESSIBILITY

29 It must be clearly borne in mind that the indefinite determiner in this construction is not a delimiter of a preceding head, but rather a coreferential pro-form for that head. For example, the proposition *nam-mkha gan-las kha Nbab-pa-la sprin nag-po Nhibs* "Black clouds gather in the sky from which snow falls" cannot be parsed as beginning with (*nam-mkha*

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of the role of the deleted participant: the more accessible the role, the less likely it is to be carried by a dummy indefinite determiner. In fact, there appears to be a fairly regular hierarchy of accessibility, with an agent most accessible, patient next most accessible, and the various oblique roleslocus, source, instrumentleast accessible and therefore most likely to be carried by an indefinite determiner.30 Second, it seems that a relative that PRECEDES

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gan)-*las* . . . "From some sky. . ." but only as *nam-kha* (*gan-las* .. .) "The sky from which . ." But, in any particular construction, how can you tell whether the indefinite determiner is a delimiter or a dummy role particle? The primary clue is the presence of *-Pa* immediately after the verb stem, as opposed to a conjunction, or a locus or source particle without a nominalizing *-Pa* between it and the verb stem-thus, for example, *skye-bo gan-gis sans-rgyas mthon-TE* or *skye-bo gan-gis sans-rgyas mthon-NA* must be read as (*skye-bo gan*)-*gis* ... and thus, respectively, as "SOME PERSON sees the Buddha and . . ." and "If/when SOME PERSON sees the Buddha . . ." while *skye-bo gan-gis sans-rgyas mthon-BA* must be read as *skye-bo* (*gan-gis* . . .) and thus as "a PERSON WHO sees the Buddha."

There is ambiguity really only in two circumstances. First, the syllable following the verb stem may have been elided for metrical reasons; for example, in the Tibetan translation of the *Vajracchedika Prajñaparamita* we find Sanskrit *ye rnam rupena cadraksur na rnam draksyanti te janah* Tibetan *gan-dag na-la gzugs-su mthon, skye-bo de-dag na mi-thon,* which can be read, on the one hand, as "If/when ANY look upon me as form, those persons do not see me" or "SOME look upon me as form, and those persons do not see me," or, on the other hand, as "PERSONS WHO look upon me as form do not see me." In this case, we can guess from the Sanskrit that the relative reading was intended, but the structure of the Tibetan itself remains ambiguous. Second, where the head can be read as referring to a LOCATION, in either space or time, a construction with a locus or source particle becomes ambiguous; for example, *gnas gan-la bzugs-na* can be read either as (*gnas gan*)-*la* . . . "If/when he lives SOME PLACE . ." or as *gnas* (*gan-la* . . .)"the PLACE WHERE he lives." Of course, this second source of ambiguity is not found where the verb stem is followed by a conjunction; the expression *gnas gan-la bzugs-te* can be read only as "He lives SOME PLACE, and . . ." Neither of these two types of ambiguity would appear to be particularly troubling.

30 Of these oblique roles, the locus seems generally most accessible; for example, the propositions *me Nbar-bai khan-pa* "house IN WHICH fire burns," *sgom ma-dgos-pai lam* "path ON WHICH meditation is not necessary" are not difficult to process. The adnominal role is the least accessible, and the adnominal role particle MUST be carried by a dummy role particle carrier, at least when the relativized proposition precedes the head it modifiesthus, for example, [(*GAN*i-*gi drin-gyis bdag sgrol*)-*ba*]-*i bla-ma tshen-poi-i zabs-la Ndud* "I bow to the feet of the great lamai WHOSEi grace rescues me," but not ?[(*bla ma tshen po i drin*gyis bdag sgrol)-ba]-i bla-ma tshen-poi zabs-la Ndud, although both bla-ma tshen-poi [(GANi -gi *drin-gyis* . . . "Great lama whose grace . . ." and *bla-ma tshen-po* [(*bla .ma tshen po i drin-gyi*s . . . "Great lama whose grace . . ." appear possible.

its head is more likely to contain a dummy role particle carrier than one that follows its head. There are probably good processing reasons for this: among other things, the indefinite determiner in this position can both alert the reader that the proposition currently being processed is relative to an as yet unknown head, and serve as a place-holder for that head in short-term memory. Finally, since this construction appears similar to the relative construction in Sanskritrelative pronouns in Sanskrit are also basically dummy case-holders, and this construction seems to have first appeared in Tibet in the translation literature31its use can signal an ornate and

31 See, for example, in the translation of the *Saddharma-pundarika*, Sanskrit *iryapatham yo rnama raksamano bhaveta bhiksu rnama nirvrtasya prakasayet sutram idam hi loke na capi samliyana tasya kacit* Tibetan n*a ni mya-nan-Ndas-nas dge-sloni* [(*GANi-0 na-yi spyod-yul Ndini rab-srun-zin de ni nam yan zum-pa med*)-*pa*]-*yis Ndzig-rten-du yan mdo Ndi rab-sod-tsig* "After I have passed into nirvana, let the monki WHOi keeps my rules of conduct and is ever unwearied therein preach this scripture even in the world." Note, too, in the later translation period, from the *Prajñapradipatika* of Avalokitavrata, *dgag-pa i*[(*GANi-0 don-gyis go-ba ston*) *-Pa*]-*0 . . . de ni ma-yin-par dgag-pa yin* "A negationi WHICHi states an implication . . . is aterm negation," *gzan-gyis khas-blans-pai* [(*GANi-0 yod*)*-pa*] *de dgag-pa byed* "He denies any counter-assertioni WHICHi one has."

I think it is clear that the use of indefinite determiners as dummy role particle carriers, although a perfectly Tibetan construction, became wide-spread in Tibetan through imitation of relative constructions in Sanskrit. In Sanskrit, the relativized proposition usually precedes its matrix, and sometimes follows it, but almost never appears within it. Interestingly, when the relativized proposition precedes the matrix, the head which it modifies can be moved out of the matrix to the immediate right of the relative pronoun, and the relative pronoun is normally echoed in the matrix by a demonstrative pronounusually *sah*as its "correlative," most often placed at or near the beginning of the matrixthus both *yah katam karoti, sah purusah devadattah nama* and *yah purusah katam karoti, sah devadattah nama*, but only *sah purusah devadattah nama, yah katam karoti* "The person WHO makes the mat is named Devadatta." Note, for example, with the relative preceding the matrix, *canakya-candraguptayoh puskalt karanad yo vislesa utpadyate, sa atyantiko bhavati* "The estrangement between Canakya and Candragupta WHICH arises from a strong cause is lasting"; and, with the relative following the matrix, *krtapunya eva nandano, yah priyam idrsim kamayisyati* "Really lucky is Nandana WHO will love such a beloved," *taya gava kim kriyate, ya na dogdhri* "What is done with the cow WHICH is not a yielder of milk? "

As a matter of fact, there seems to have been some confusion at first about the proper translation of Sanskrit relatives, and some uncertainty about the use of this dummy construction. We find extra dummy role particle carriersfor example, in the translation of the *Saddharmapundarika*, Sanskrit *ya nirvrtim gavesanti drste dharme upasikah* "Pious laywomeni WHOi in this life seek nirvana" but Tibetan *dge-bsñen-mai* [(*GANi-0 tshe Ndi-la*

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Sanskritized literary register. Of course, the likelihood of finding a dummy role particle carrier increases when several of these factors occur at once.32

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mya-ñan Ndas-pa GANi-Ø tshol)-*ba*]. We find, conversely, double-headed constructionsfor example, in the translation of the *Madhyamikakarika* of Nagarjuna, Sanskrit *yasminn eva ksane padartho jayate tasminn eva tisthati vinasyati* "At just that momenti WHENi a thing arises, it also abides and disappears" but Tibetan *skad-tsigi* [(*GANi kho-na-la dnos-po skyespar gyur-pa*]-*i skad-tsigi de kho-na-la gnas-pa-dan Ndzig-pa yin-no.* And, sometimes, misguided attempts to translate Sanskrit verse line by line make a hash out of its relative propositions for example, in the translation of the *Saddharmapwunarika* again, Sanskrit *ya bodhisattva icchey . .. / ida sutram prakasetum . . . / asamsrstah sucir bhavet* "A bodhisattvai WHOi might wish ... to teach this scripture... should be undefiled and pure" but Tibetan *mdosde Ndi ni bstan-par yan, byan-tshub sems-dpai* [(*GANi Ndod*)-*pa*]-Ø*. . . .Ndu-Ndzi med-la gtsan-bar bya,* instead of *byan-tshub sems-dpai* [(*GANi-Ø mdo-sde Ndi ni bstan-par Ndod*)-*pa*]-Ø *Ndu-Ndzi med-la gtsan-bar bya.*

32 And, of course, there are simply the intangibles of style and personal preference. Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka, in his biography of Mi-la ras-pa, happily deletes coreferents in oblique roles without providing a dummy role carrierfor example, [(*bde ba s lus-la ba-sp*u *kun g.yo*)-*ba*]-*i bde-ba "Joy* FROM WHICH all the hairs on my body stood on end," [(*dban yon gyis dban-gral-la sdud*)-*pa*]-*i dban yon* "Initiation fee WHEREBY you stand in the initiation line," [(mos *gus las mtshi-ma Nkhrug*)-*pa*]-*i mos-gus* "Faith FROM WHICH tears flowed."

Sa-skya pandita, on the other hand, was fond of dummy role particle carriers, in all likelihood for metrical reasons alone, since he often used them where the deleted coreferent was a perfectly accessible agent participant, and where the meter forced the omission of the role particle -*KYis* in any eventfor example, *mii*[(*GANi mdza-ba mi-brten*)-*pa*] *de-dan Ngrogs-par su-zig nus* "Who can be friends with a mani WHOi does not support his friends?" *mii*[(*GANi byas-pa mi-gzo*)-*ba*] *de-Ø ni gzan-las ran-la gnod* "A mani WHOi is not grateful harmshimself more than others," and

mii [(*GANi skye-bo dam-pa-dan*
dman-pai khyad-par legs-ses-nas
de-yi bya-ba bsgrub ses)-*pa*]-Ø
phun-sum tshogs-pai gzi-tshen yin

A mani WHOi well knows the difference
between noble and base, and
knows how to accomplish his deeds,
is the foundation of excellence.

Note also [(*GANi-zig nor-Ndod*)] *skye-boi kyan, thos ñid gtso-bor bsrun-bar bya* "Even a personi WHOi desires wealth should especially guard the dharma," where *Ndod-pai* has beenreduced to *Ndod* for reasons of meter.

Although we have been using the indefinite determiner *gan* in our examples so far, any appropriate indefinite determiner can be used as a dummy carrier for the role particle of a deleted coreferentthus not only, say, *mi Ndzig-pai tshosi* [(*GANi-*0 *Ndzig-par mi-Ngyur*)*-ba*] *Nga-*0 *yod-dam* "Is there some unperishing dharmai WHICHi will not perish?" but also, for example, *nas rgya-poi*[(*SUi-la bu yod*)*-pa*] *de-*0 *bsten* "I will serve the kingi WHOi has a *son,"khyodi*[(*SUi-*0 *Ngro*)*-ba*]*-dag-*0 *Ngrogs* "Youi WHOi are going are assembled," *bdag-gis mthui* [(*DZIi yod*)*-pa*]*-s rgya-mtshoi tshu btsus* "I scooped the water of the sea with the strengthi WHICHi I had." This is true as well where the relativizedproposition precedes the headthus not only, say, [(*bde-gsegs-*0 *GANi-du sen-ge Ita-bur gzims*)*-pa*]*-yi gnasi de-la phyag-Ntshal "I* bow to that placei WHEREi the Well-Gone One slept like a lion," but also, for example, [(*ston-par NAMi thim*)*pa*]*-yi bar-doi-la Ndzigs-pa-las skyob* "He protects from the terrors in theintermediate statei WHENi one dissolves into emptiness."

Indefinite adverbs can also occur in relative propositions. Such indefinite adverbs can be coreferential with an explicit head: note the parallel structure of, say, *tshos DZI-LTAi-r byun-bai tshuli* "the wayi HOWi the dharma arose" and *tshos GAN i-du byun-bai gnas i* "the place i WHERE i the dharma arose," *tshos NAMi byun-bai dus i* "the time i WHEN i the dharma arose," and *tshos GAN* i-*g*is *byun-bai bla-ma i*"the lama i BECAUSE OF WHOMi the dharma arose." Indefinite adverbs can also beand, in fact, most often areheadless. In such headless constructions, the relative proposition is often then specified by such expressions as *de-ltar* "in that way," *de-srid* "to that extent, for that long," *de skaddu* "in those words":33 note the parallel structure of, say, [*DZI-LTAi-r mi kunla byams-pa*] *de-ltai-r* "In that way i HOW i one loves all men" and [*GANi mi kun-la byams-pa*] *dei* "That one i WHO i loves all men," or [*khyod-kyis DZI-SKADi -du smras-pa*] *de-skadi-du* "In those wordsi IN WHICHi you spoke" and [*khyod-kyis GAN i smras-pa*] *dei*"Thati WHICHi you spoke." In the *Legs-par bsad-pa* rin*po-tshei gter* by Sa-skya pandita we find, for example, [*DZI-LTA i-r pha-ma bur byams-pa*] *de-lta i-r bu-tshas pha-mar min* "The son does not love his parents in the wayi HOW i his parents love him," [*DZI-SRID i no-tsha yod gyur-pa*] *de-srid i yon-tan rgyan-gyi mtshog* "Virtue is the best of ornaments to the extent i TO WHICHi one has modesty," [*DZI-SRID i ran-stobs ma-rdzogs-pa*] *de-yi bar i-du dgra-rnams bkur* "One honors one's enemies in the interval i DURING WHICH i one's own strength is not perfected,"

33 As we have noted before, these are all perfectly Tibetan constructions; but their use was undoubtedly influenced by such Sanskrit patterns as *yatha . . . tatha* "in which way . . . in that way" and *yavat . . . tavat* "to which extent . . . to that extent."

[*DZI-LTA DZI-LTA i-r rdze-dpon-gyi*s
Nkhor-la drin-gyis bskyans gyur-pa]
de Ita de lta i-r g.yog-Nkhor-rnams
rdze-dpon-ñid-kyi bya-ba sgrub

The retinue of a lord
will accomplish his own deeds
to the extent i TO WHICH i the lor*d*
cares for his retinue with kindness.

2.3.1.6. Headless relatives

Just as adjectives can appear without headsfor example, *rta tshen-po* "great horse" *tshen-po* "great one," *g.yu snon-po* "blue turquoise" *snon-po* "blue one," *bla-ma bzan-po tshen-po* "great virtuous lama" *bzan-po tshen-po* "great virtuous one"so too can relative propositions. For example, we might find *rta* [*mgyogs-por rgyugs-pa*]"horse that runs swiftly" [*mgyogs-por rgyugs-pa*]"one that runs swiftly," *g.yu* [*rgyal-pos ños-pa*]"turquoise which the king bought" [*rgyal-pos nos-pa*]"one bought by the king," *bla-ma* [*dgon-pa-la tshos bsad-pa*]"lama who taught the dharma in the monastery" [*dgon-pa-la tshos bsad-pa*]"one who taught the dharma in the monastery."34

34 A headless relative can also be specified by an indefinite determiner, as in this verse from the *Tshui bstan-btsos* by Bkra-sis bla-ma VI, Blo-bzan thub-bstan tshos-kyi ni-ma:

[*gzan-gyi bde-la phrag-dog-pai*
mi-bzod bya-byed rtsom-pa] *GAN*
bye-than rgyugs-pai tshu-klun bzin
ran-ñid nal-ba tsam-du zad

SOME/ANY one who sets about the unbearable work
of envying the happiness of others
is like a stream running in the desert:
just wearying himself, he is used up.

The first two lines could also be read as a headless relative with the gan as a dummy role particle carrier, rather than as a specifierthus [gzan-gyi bde-la phrag-dog-pai, mi-bzod bya-byed rtsom-pa GAN]. But in this case the word order, I believe, suggests the reading given above. Of course, both readings would probably be TRANSLATED into English in pretty much the same way; but that does not mean that they are not syntactically distinct in Tibetan.

Such headless relatives are commonly found in Tibetan with dummy case particle carriers; they are frequently used in general statements, where the missing head is clearly, from the context, something like "person" or "place" or "thing"∅ [(*GAN-∅ gos Ndod*)-*pa*]-*la gos byun* "Clothes appeared for (those) WHO wanted clothes," *sans-rgyas-kyis* ∅[(*GAN-∅ mi-ses*)-*pa*]-*dag-∅ bstan* "The Buddha will teach (one) WHO does not know," ∅[(*rgyal-bu GAN-du tshe Nphos*)-*pa*]-*la son* "They went to (the place) WHERE the prince had died," ∅[(*NAM mgron-po gyes*)-*pa*]-*la rgyal-po byon* "The king arrived at (the time) WHEN the guests had departed." 35 Sa-skya pandita writes, in his *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter,* [*gan-zig ñun-nus tshog ses-pa*] *de-yi lons-spyod zad mi-ses* "The one who knows that a little bit is enough will not know an end to abundance," [*nes-pa* [*bag-tshags-dan btsas-pa*] *gan-gis spans-pa*]-∅ *rdzogs sans-rgyas-∅*"One who abandons sin with its traces is a perfect Buddha." Dpal-sprul rin-po-tshe writes, in his *Kun-bzan bla-mai zal-lun,* [*gan-gis gsol-ba Ndebs-pa*] *dei drun-na rgyal-ba-ñid bzugs* "The Buddha himself dwells near to one who prays."

This sort of headless construction is often found in translations from the Sanskritfor example, from the *Vajracchedika,* Sanskrit *ya irnam dharmaparyayaam dharayisyanti. . . paramena ta ascaryena samanvagata bhavisyanti* Tibetan [*su-zig tshos-kyi rnam-grans Ndi len-pa-dan Ndzin-pa*] *de-∅ no-mtsha*r *rab-dan Idan-par Ngyur* "Those who take up and keep this scripture will become endowed with the highest wonders"; from the *Saddharmapundarika,* Sanskrit *ye parvatesu eva guhanivasi . . .tesam ca valgu srnute hi sabdan* Tibetan [*ri-dan phug-na gan-∅ gnas-pa*] *de-dag-rnams-kyi sgra-sñan Ndir thos* "Here one hears the sweet sounds of those who live on the hills and in the caves"; from the *Madhyamikakarika* of Nagarjuna, Sanskrit *yo dharrnam pas-yati sa buddham pasyati* Tibetan [*su-s tshos mthon-ba*] *de-s sans-rgyas mthon* "He who sees the dharma sees the Buddha."

35 Note the following further examples[su-yis *dpe Ndi thob-pa*] *de-la gter sbyin* "I will give the treasure to (the person) who finds the book," *nor-bu rin-po-tshe Ndis* [*dzi Ndod-pa*]-∅ *thams-tshad tshar bzin-du Nbebs* "This precious gem makes come down like rain (the things) which one wishes for," [*bdag-ñid gan-la mi-dga-ba*]-∅ *gzan-la kun-tu de mi-bya* "(That) which one does not like oneself should never be done to others," [*su-la dam-pai tshos mtshis-pa*]-*s bdag-la ston* "Let (the one) who possesses the holy dharma teach it to me."

2.3.1.7. States and processes

In an ADJECTIVE EQUATION, such as *bla-ma rgan-po yin* "The lama is old/an old one," the adjective is read as a headless modifier: that is, the adjective *rgan-po* "old" is processed as the modifier of a redundant or recoverable head *bla-ma* "lama" which has been omitted under the Telegram Principle. We have also already noted a tendency for such adjectives to be related to intransitive verbsfor example, *MAN* "be many" *man-po* "many," *DKA* "be difficult" *dka-bo* "difficult," *SKYO* "be weary" *skyo-mo* "weary," *TSHE* "be great" *tshen-po* "great," *RGA* "be old" *rgan-po* "old." Thus a writer can often choose between a verbal construction and an adjective equationbetween *bla-ma tshe* and *bla-ma tshen-po yin* "The lama is great," between *dge-slon skyo* and *dge-slon skyo-mo yin* "The monk is weary," and between *sems-tsan man* and *sems-tsan man-po yin* "Sentient creatures are many."

Now such intransitive verbs in Tibetan actually express what are both states and processesthus *bla-ma rga* "The lama is/grows old," *rgyal-po skyo* "The king is/grows weary," *na-rgyal tshe* "His pride is/grows great." Thus the choice of an adjective equation serves to specify that the attribution is not a process but a statefor example, *bla-ma rgan-po yin* "The lama is old/an old one," *rgyal-po skyo-mo yin* "The king is weary/a weary one," *na-rgyal tshen-po yin* "His pride is great/a great one." When a writer thus chooses an adjective equation he specifies the attribution as in some sense abiding or chronic; when he chooses the corresponding intransitive verb construction he does not so specify, and the attribution may in fact be temporary or acute.

The same choice obtains between an equation with a headless relative and the corresponding verb construction: for example, *tshos-rgyud Ndis sems-tsan-Ø sgrol* "This religious tradition saves beings" states only that an event occurs; but *tshos-rgyud Ndi-Ø*[*sems-tsan-Ø sgrol-ba*]*-Ø yin* "This religious tradition is one which saves beings" implies that the ability to save beings is inherent to the tradition, that it saves beings more or less regularly, that it is the sort of tradition whereby beings are usually saved. Similarly, *rgyal-pos tshan-Ø Nthun* "The king drinks beer" states only that a particular event occurs; but *rgyal-po-Ø*[*tshan-Ø Nhun-ba*]*-Ø yin* "The king is one who drinks beer" implies that the king is a beer-drinking person, that he drinks beer more or less regularly, that he is the sort of person who drinks beer.

Thus Mi-la ras-pa describes himself like this*gdon-bgegs-rnams-kyi sa za khrag Nthun-ba yin* "I am one who eats the flesh and drinks the blood of

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demons!" Mar-pa's wife says of her husband, *sku mdun-du khyi-zig byun-run tshos gsuun-zin mdug brno-bas bsdud-pa-zig Ndug-pa yin* "He is one who teaches dharma though it be a dog before him, and ends up by giving it his merit." And Pad-ma dkar-po describes the sort of person he is*na de-phyir ses-nas Ntshad-pa yin, gnan-ba thob-nas rtsom-pa yin, log-smra Ndug-nas rtsod-pa yin* "When I know something, I teach it; when I receive something given me, I write it down; when there is a mistake, I argue with it."

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That is to get water and pay back beer;
that is to get evil and return good.

2.3.1.8. Multiple embedding

It should be clear that a matrix proposition containing an embedded proposition can itself be relativized and embedded within yet another proposition: for example, the proposition *sans-rgyas dgon-pa-la bzugs* "The Buddha dwells in the monastery" can be relativized to modify the nominal head *sans-rgyas* "Buddha" in the proposition *dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas mthon* "The monk saw the Buddha," which in turn can be relativized to modify the nominal head *dge-slon* "monk" in the proposition *dge-slon-gis thos bstod* "The monk praised the dharma." This multiple embedding can take place in two ways: the term SELF-EMBEDDING will refer to the insertion of the modifying proposition AFTER the nominal head it modifies; the term LEFT-BRANCHING will refer to the insertion of the modifying proposition as an adnominal BEFORE the nominal head it modifies.36 If the three propositions are self-embedded, the result is:

36 Self-embedding can, theoretically, go on without limit; but it is clear that excessive selfembedding puts too great a strain on the unaided memory. In English, for example, it is syntactically possible to say *the cheese that the rat that the cat that the dog bit chased ate*that *is, the cheese* [*the rat* [*the cat* [*the dog bit the cat*] *chased the rat*] *ate the cheese*]-*but* it is neither a likely nor an easily understood utterance. We are much more likely to say *the dog that bit the cat that chased the rat that ate the cheese*that is, *the dog* [*the dog bit the cat* [*the cat chased the rat* [*the rat ate the cheese*]]].Such a right-branching construction could easily go on indefinitely.

The choice between a self-embedded or branching construction is a choice of literary style. The following sentence from Joseph Conrad's *The Secret Sharer* is largely right-branching:

I was in time to catch an evanescent glimpse of my white hat left behind to mark the spot where the secret sharer of my cabin and of my thoughts, as though he were my second self, had lowered himself in the water to take his punishment. . .

Henry James, on the other hand, is characteristically self-embedding; the following sentence from *The Portrait of a Lady* is probably more difficult to process than the sentence above:

His companion, measuring the length of the lawn beside him, was a person of quite another pattern, who, although he might have excited grave curio-

(*footnote continued on next page*)

(1) (a) [(*sans-rgyas-*0 *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]and
(b) [(*dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas-*0 *mthon*)-*Pa*],

(2) *dge-slon* [(*dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas* [(*sans-rgyas dgon-pa-la bzugs*)*Pa*]-0 *mthon*)-*Pa*]-*KYis tshos bstod,*

(3) (a) *dge-slon* [(*dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas* [(*sans- rgyas dgon-pa-l*a *bzugs*)-*Pa*]-0 *mthon*)*Pa*]-*KYis tshos bstod,* and then

(b) *dge-slon* [(*dge slon gis sans-rgyas* [(*sans rgyas dgon-pa-l*a *bzugs*)-*Pa*]-0 *mthon*)-*Pa*]-*KYis tshos bstod,*

which becomes *dge-slon sans-rgyas dgon-pa-la bzugs-pa mthon-bas tshos bstod* "The monk who saw the Buddha who dwells in the monastery praised the dharma." If the three propositions are left-branching, the result is

(1) (a) [(*sans-rgyas-*0 *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]and
(b) [(*dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas-*0 *mthon*)-*Pa*],

(2) [[(*sans-rgyas-*0 *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYi* (*dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas-*0*mthon*)-*Pa*]-*KYi dge-slon-gis tshos bstod,*

(3) (a) [[(*sans-rgyas-*0 *dgon-pa-la btugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYi* (*dge-slon-gis sansrgyas-*0 *mthon*)-*Pa*]-*KYi dge-slon-gis tshos bstod,* and then

(b) [[(*sans-rgyas-*0 *dgon-pa-la b;ugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYi* (*dge sloh-gis sansrgyas-*0 *mthon*)-*Pa*]-*KYi dge-slon-gis tshos bstod,*

which becomes *dgon-pa-la bzugs-pai sans-rgyas mthon-pai dge-slon-gis tshos bstod* "The monk who saw the Buddha who dwells in the monastery praised the dharma."

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

sity, would not, like the other, have provoked you to wish yourself, almost blindly, in his place.

In Tibetan, the alternative to self-embedding is not right-branching, as in English, but rather LEFT-BRANCHING. This is why native speakers of English tend to feel that classical Tibetan is somehow backwards. In a right-branching construction, the head is presented before its modifiers; in a left-branching construction, the modifiers are presented before their head. I will leave it to others to speculate as to how this relates either to culture or to psychology.

Similarly, the proposition *sans-rgyas-kyis mtshod-pa dge-slon dgon-pa-la bzugs-pas phul-ba bzes* "The Buddha accepted the offering which the monk who dwells in the monastery gave" consists of the three propositions *sans-rgyas-kyis mtshod-pa bzes* "The Buddha accepted the offering," *dge-slon-gis mtshod-pa phul* "The monk gave the offering," and *dge-slon dgon-pa-la bzugs* "The monk dwells in the monastery" in the following SELF-EMBEDDED form:

(1) (a) [(*dge-slon-*0 *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]and
(b) [(*dge-slon-gis mtshod-pa-*0 *phul*)-*Pa*],

(2) *sans-rgyas-kyis mtshod-pa* [(*dge-slon* [(*dge-slon dgon-pa-la bzugs*)*Pa*]-*KYis mtshod-pa-*0 *phul*)-*Pa*]-0 *bzes*,

(3) (a) *sans-rgyas-kyis mtshod-pa* [(*dge-slon* [(*dge slon dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYis mtshod-pa-*0 *phul*)-*Pa*]-0 *bzes*, and then

(b) *sans-rgyas-kyis mtshod-pa* [(*dge-slon* [(*dge slon dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYis mtshod pa* 0 *phul*)-*Pa*]-0 *bzes*,

and the proposition *sans-rgyas-kyis dgon-pa-la bzugs-pai dge-slon-gis phul-bai mtshod-pa bzes* "The Buddha accepted the offering which the monk who dwells in the monastery gave" consists of the same three propositions in the following LEFT-BRANCHING form:

(1) (a) [(*dge-slon-*0 *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]and
(b) [(*dge-slon-gis mtshod-pa-*0 *phul*)-*Pa*],

(2) *sans-rgyas-kyis* [[(*dge-slon-*0 *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYi* (*dge-slon-gis mtshod-pa-*0 *phul*)-*Pa*]-*KYi mtshod-pa bzes*,

(3) (a) *sans-rgyas-kyis* [[(*dge-slon* 0 *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYi* (*dge-slon-gis mtshod-pa-*0 *phul*)-*Pa*]-*KYi mtshod-pa bzes*, and then

(b) *sans-rgyas-kyis* [[(*dge-slon* 0 *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYi* (*dge-slon-gis mtshod-pa* 0 *phul*)-*Pa*]-*KYi mtshod-pa bzes*.

In such a left-branching proposition, too, we find all the modified nominal heads moved as far to the left as possible, to make the leftward branching both clearer and more symmetrical: thus, instead of *sans-rgyas-kyis dgon-pa-la*

bzugs-pai dge-slon-gis phul-bai mtshod-pa bzes, we might find *dgon-pa-la bzugs-pai dge-sloi-gis phul-bai mtshod-pa sans-rgyas-kyis bes* "The Buddha accepted the offering which the monk who dwells in the monastery gave," as follows:

(1) (a) [(*dge-slon-*Ø *dgon-pa-la bugs*)-*Pa*]and (b) [(*dge-slon-gis mtshod-pa-*Ø *phul*)-*Pa*],

(2) (a) *sans-rgyas-kyis* [[(*dge-slon-*Ø *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYi* (*dge-slon-gis mtshod-pa-*Ø *phul*)-*Pa*]-*KYi mtshod-pa bzes,*

(b) [[(*dge-slon-*Ø *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYi* (*dge-slon-gis mtshod-pa-*Ø *phul*)-*Pa*]-*KYi mtshod-pa sans-rgyas-kyis bzes,*

(3) (a) [[(*dge slon* Ø *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYi* (*dge-slon-gis mtshod-pa-*Ø *phul*)-*Pa*]-*KYi mtshod-pa sans-rgyas-kyis bzes,*

(b) [[(*dge-slon* Ø *dgon-pa-la bZugs*)-*Pa*]-*KYi* (*dge-slon-gis mtshod-pa-*Ø *phul*)-*Pa*]-*KYi mtshod-pa sans-rgyas-kyis bzes.*

2.3.1.9. Balanced relatives

It is possible to have several self-embedded relativizations, all of which have the same coreferent37-for example, *sans-rgyas tshos bsad-pa dgon-pa-la*

37 Note, for example, the double self-embedding when Mar-pa tells Mi-la z*ol-gyi rnam-pai khyams ka-ba btsu-gñis yod-pa btsan-khan-dan btsas-pa-zig rtsigs* "Build a courtyard in the form of an annex which has twelve pillars that is fitted with a temple for the fierce deities." Here the matrix proposition is z*ol-gyi rnam-pai khyams-zig rtsigs* "Build a courtyard in the form of an annex"; then the head *khyams* "courtyard" is modified by nominalizations of the two propositions *khyams-la ka-ba btsu-gñis yod* "The courtyard has twelve pillars" and *khyams btsan-khan-dan btsas* "The courtyard is fitted with a temple for the fierce deities," as follows:

(1) (a) [(*khyams-*Ø*btsan-khan-dan btsas*)-*Pa*] and
(b) [(*khyams-la ka-ba btsu-gñis yod*)-*Pa*],

(2) *zol-gyi rnam-pai khyams* [(*khyams* [(*khyams-la ka-ba btsu-gñis yod*)-*Pa*]-Ø*btsan-khan-dan btsas*)-*Pa*]-*zig rtsigs,*

(*footnote continued on next page*)

bzugs-pa sgom "The Buddha who taught the dharma who dwells in the monastery meditates," which is made up of the matrix proposition *sans-rgyas sgom* "The Buddha meditates" and the two modifying propositions *sans-rgyas dgon-pa-la bzugs* "The Buddha dwells in the monastery" and *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad* "The Buddha taught the dharma," as follows:

(1) (a) [(*sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad*)-*Pa*]and
(b) [(*sans-rgyas-*Ø *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*],

(2) *sas-rgyas* [(*sans-rgyas* [(*sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad*)-*Pa*]-Ø *dgonpa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-Ø *sgom,*

(3) (a) *sans-rgyas* [(*sans-rgyas* [(*sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad*)-*Pa*]-Ø *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-Ø *sgom,*

(b) *sans-rgyas* [(*sans-rgyas* [(*sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bad*)-*Pa*] *dgonpa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-Ø *sgom.*

Such constructions are, of course, syntactically permitted; they cannot be recast into left-branching form, since only the self-embedding allows the reader to process both relative propositions as modifying the same coreferent; but an alternative construction would be to place a relative proposition on both sides of the coreferent nominal headfor example, *tshos bsad-pai sans-rgyas dgon-pa-la bzugs-pa sgom* "The Buddha who teaches the dharma who dwells in the monastery meditates," as follows:

(1) (a) [(*sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad*)-*Pa*]and
(b) [(*sans-rgyas-*Ø *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*],

(2) [(*sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad*)-*Pa*]-*KYi sans-rgyas* [(*sans-rgyas-*Ø *dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-Ø *sgom,*

(3) [(*sans-rgyas kyis tshos bsad*)-*Pa*]-*KYi sans-rgyas* [(*sans rgyas-*Ø*dgon-pa-la bzugs*)-*Pa*]-Ø *sgom.*

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

(3) (*a*) *zol-gyi rnam-pai khyams* [(*khyams* [(*khyams-la ka-ba btsu-gñis yod*)-*Pa*]-Ø*btsan-khan-dan btsas*)-*Pa*]-*zig rtsigs,*

(b) zol-gyi rnam-pai khyams [(khyams-la kbtsu-gñis yod)-Pa] btsan-khan-dan btsas)-Pa]-zig rtsigs.

A balanced pair of relative propositions such as this can provide a framework for further embedding of parallel propositionsfor example, *lha-rnams-kyis bstod-pai tshos bsad-pai sans-rgyas dge-slon-gis phul-bai mtshod-pa bzes-pa dgon-pa-la bugs* "The Buddha who taught the dharma praised by the gods who accepted the offering the monks gave dwells in the monastery." I will leave it as an exercise to derive this proposition from its components.

2.3.1.10. Complex relativized propositions

Conjoined propositions are themselves propositions which can be relativized to modify a nominal headthus, for example, with *-KYan* "BUT," *med-kyan dgos-pai khral-bsdud* "tax which is necessary though one does not have it," or, as the title of a political tract by Kun-bzan dpal-Nbyor, *bsregs-kyan mi-Ntshigs-pai bod* "Tibetburned but not consumed"; with *-Am* "OR," *tshos thos-sam bsams-sam bsgoms-pai sems-tsan* "creatures who have heard or pondered or contemplated the dharma," or *sans-rgyas tshos bsad-dam ma-bsad-pa* "the Buddha, whether he has taught the dharma or not"; with *-STe* "AND," *gos bkrus-te dag-pa* "clothes that have been washed and are pure"; and with *-TSin* "AND," *Ndre sa-la za-zin khra-la Nthun-ba* "demons who feed on flesh and gorge on blood," *Ndzig-rten-gyi khams dpag-tu med-tsin grans med-pa-dag* "worldly realms which are measureless and without number," or even *slob-ma dbus-gtsan-nas yon-gin yod-pa* "disciples who are coming from Dbus and Gtsang." Similarly, propositions containing a nominalized proposition in the setting slot can also be relativized to modify a nominal headfor example, *tshan phan-la zim-pa* "beer which is refreshing and tasty," *mthon-na sgrol-bai bla-ma* "a lama who frees you if you but see him." These last constructions strike me as being very Tibetan.

2.3.2. Complement constructions

In a complement construction, certain verb or nominal heads are modified by a nominalized proposition, called a COMPLEMENT, which is not relative to the head it modifies. In a NOMINAL complement construction, the complement ADNOMINALLY modifies certain types of noun headthus, for example, *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-PAI tshe* "the time THAT the Buddha taught the dharma." In a VERB complement construction, the complement ADVERBALLY modifies certain types of verb headthus, for example, *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-PAR grags* "It is well known THAT the Buddha taught the dharma."

2.3.2.1. Complement heads

One of the distinguishing features of complement constructionsas opposed to relative constructionsis that the complement can occur only with certain verb or nominal heads. (A relative, on the other hand, can occur with any nominal head.) NOMINAL complement heads are always ABSTRACT NOUNS for example, *don* "purpose," *tshul* "way," *tshe* "time," as in *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-pai DON* "the PURPOSE of Buddha having taught the dharma," *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-pai TSHUL* "the WAY that the Buddha taught the dharma," *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-pai TSHE* "the TIME that the Buddha taught the dharma."38 VERB complement heads are verbs that can occur with an ABSTRACT PATIENT-for example, *DKA* "be difficult" (thus both *tshos dka* "The dharma is difficult" and *dge-slon-gis tshos bsad-par dka* "It is difficult for the monk to teach the dharma"), *ÑAN "*hear" (thus both *tshos ñan* "He heard the dharma" and *dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-par ñan* "He heard that the Buddha taught the dharma").39

2.3.2.2. Nominal complements

In a nominal complement construction, a nominalized proposition adnominally modifies a nominal head that is not coreferential with any participant in the embedded proposition.40 For example, given the proposition *sans-rgyas-*

38 Other typical nominal complement heads include *skabs* "occasion," *rgyu* "cause," *mtha* "end," *mtshan-ñid* "sign," *Nbras-bu* "effect," *thabs* "means," *phan* "benefit," *rgyu-mtshan* "reason," *bden-pa* "truth," *rdzun* "falsehood," *Ndod-pa* "opinion," *bzed-pa* "contention," *Itaba* "doctrine," *Ndu-ses* "concept," *dmigs-pa* "idea," *lo-rgyus* "history," *sgruns* "tale," and so on.

39 Verb and nominal complement constructions are interestingly parallel in Tibetan, just as adverbs and adnominals are interestingly parallel-thus *mgyogs-poi rta* "fast horse" is to *mgyogs-por rgyug* "runs fast" as *rta rgyugs-pai rgyu* "the reason the horse runs fast" is to *rta rgyugs-par mthon* "He sees that the horse runs fast." In fact, many of the verbs that take verb complements become, when nominalized with *-Pa,* nominals that take nominal complementsfor example, *bla-ma Ngro-bar dgos* "It is necessary for the lama to go" *bla-ma Ngro-bai dgos-pa* "the necessity that the lama go," *bla-ma Ngro-bar dmigs* "He visualizes that the lama goes" *bla-ma Ngro-bai dmigs-pa* "the visualization that the lama goes," *bla-ma Ngro-bar re* "He hopes that the lama goes" *bla-ma Ngro-bai re-ba* "the hope that the lama goes."

40 All nominal complement constructions and many relative constructions consist of a

(*footnote continued on next page*)

kyis tshos bsad "The Buddha taught the dharma," we might find such nominal complement constructions as *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-pai tshul* "the way that the Buddha taught the dharma," *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-pai Nbras-bu* "the result of the Buddha having taught the dharma," *sas-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-pai lo-rgyus* "the history of the Buddha having taught the dharma, *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-pai bzed-pa* "the assertion that the Buddha taught the dharma."

Such nominal phrases may then, of course, play any participant role in the proposition-for example, *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-pai dus-Ø Nbab* "The time for the Buddha to teach the dharma has come," *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-pai tshe-LA bslebs* "He arrived at the time that the Buddha was teaching the dharma," *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-pai Ita-ba-LAS Idog* "He is opposed to the doctrine that the Buddha taught the dharma," *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-pai Nbras-bu-DAN Idan* "He is endowed with the result of the Buddha's teaching of the dharma," *sans-rgyas-kyis tshos bsad-pai bden-pa-s bgegs kun zi-bar sog* "By the truth that the Buddha taught the dharma may all hindering demons be calmed!"

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

> nominalized proposition adnominally modifying a following nominal head. The difference is this: a relative proposition is processed as having some omitted participant coreferential with the head it modifies-thus *dge sloi gi sans-rgyas-Ø mthon-bai dge-slon* "monk who sees the Buddha," *sans-rgyas-kyis dge slon-Ø mthon-bai dge-slon* "monk whom the Buddha sees"; a complement proposition is not processed as having any omitted participant coreferential with the head it modifies-thus *dge-slon-gis sans-rgyas-Ø mthon-bai mtshan-ñid* "the sign that the monk sees the Buddha," *sans-rgyas-kyis dge-slon-Ø mthon-bai mtshan-ñid* "the sign that the Buddha sees the monk."
>
> Moreover, the head of a relative may be either an abstract or concrete noun, while the head of a nominal complement is always an abstract noun. Thus, where the head of a propositional modifier is a concrete noun, the modifier must generally be processed as a relative, no matter how oblique the resulting readingthus not only ñi*-ma sgrib-pai sprin* "clouds WHICH darken the sun" but also ñi*-ma Ngrib-pai sprin* "clouds WHEREBY the sun grows dark," and not only *lus Ndi skyed-pai pha-ma* "parents WHO bore this body" but also *lus Ndi skyespai pha-ma* "parents FROM WHOM this body was born."
>
> But where the head is an abstract noun, the modifying proposition must be scanned for missing participants: where none are found, the sequence is read as a complement construction; where a participant is missing from the modifying proposition, the construction is ambiguous between relative and complement readings. Thus a sequence such as *sans-rgyas-kyis bsad-pai bden-pa* is ambiguous between the relative reading "the truth which the Buddha teaches" and the complement reading "the truth that the Buddha teaches (something)."

Such nominal complement constructions are frequently found with a temporal noun as the head, used in the setting slot of a propositionfor example, *na gro-bo lun-la sleb-pai do-nub-la* "On the eve of my arriving in Red Valley . . ." *de-dan mdzal-bai tho-rans-la* "On the morning that I met him. . ." *tshos bsad-pai mthar* "After he had taught the dharma . . ." Two idioms may be noted here as well. The word *nan* "nature, character," as head of a complement construction, can be used in the setting slot to indicate a mood or state of mind out of which the event occursfor example, *thugs dgyes-sin spro-ba-zig byun-bai nan-nas, yum tsha-ba Ndren* "With glad and joyous thoughts arising, the Lady brought warm food," *thugs-rgyal tshun-zad Nkhruns-pai nan-nas mnal sad* "She woke up with her pride growing a little." The word *sgo* "gate, door," as head of a complement construction, can be used in the setting slot to indicate the means whereby or the source from which the event occurs-for example, *rgyal-pos sa sbyin-pai sgo-nas phug-ron-gyi srog blus* "Through giving his flesh, the king ransomed the life of the dove."

2.3.2.3. Verb complements

In a verb complement construction, a nominalized proposition adverbally modifies a verb head.41 For example, given the proposition *bla-mas bgegs btul* "The lama tamed the demon," we might find such verb complement constructions as *bla-mas bgegs btul-bar rmis* "He dreamed that the lama tamed the demon," *bla-mas bgegs btul-bar grags* "It is well-known that the lama tamed the demon," *bla-mas bgegs btul-bar bzed* "He maintains that the lama tamed the demon."

Since every proposition nominalized with *-Pa* is abstract, every verb that can occur with such a nominalized proposition as its PATIENT can also occur with such a nominalized proposition as its COMPLEMENT. Sometimes this does not

41 A verb complement construction thus differs from a nominalized proposition simply used as an adverb, usually in the setting slot. Compare, for example, the use of the proposition *sgom-pa mi-dgos* "Meditation is not necessary" in the COMPLEMENT construction *bla-mas sgom-pa mi-dgos-par bzed* "The lama maintains that meditation is not necessary" with its use as a simple ADVERB in *bla-mas sgom-pa mi-dgos-par bden-pa mthon* "The lama, without meditation being necessary, sees the truth." In many cases, the correct reading whether complement or simple adverb-will depend on the particular verb headfor example, *BZED* "maintain" as opposed to *MTHON* "see"and the distribution of its participants.

seem to make much difference: compare, for example, [*rgyal-posyon Nbul-ba*]-Ø *dka* "The giving of gifts by the king was difficult" with [*rgyal-pos yon Nbul-ba*]-*r dka* "It was difficult for the king to give gifts," or *nas* [*rgyal-posyon Nbul-ba*]-Ø *Ndod* "I desire the giving of gifts by the king" with *nas* [*rgyal-pos yon Nbul-ba*]-*r Ndod* "I desire that the king give gifts." With many verbs, however, a patient construction seems to refer to an ACTION, while a complement construction seems to refer to a FACT. Note the following comparisons:

ACTION	FACT
[*rgyal-pos yon Nbul-ba*]-Ø *grags* "The giving of gifts by the king is well known."	[*rgyal-pos yon Nbul-ba*]-*r grags* "It is well known that the king gives gifts."
nas [*rgyal-pos yon Nbul-ba*]-Ø *brdzed* "I forgot the giving of gifts by the king."	*nas* [*rgyal-pos yon Nbul-ba*]-*r brdzed* "I forgot that the king gives gifts."
nas [*rgyal-pos yon Nbul-ba*]-Ø *ñan* "I heard the giving of gifts by the king."	*nas* [*rgyal-pos yon Nbul-ba*]-*r ñan* "I heard that the king gives gifts."
nas [*rgyal-pos yon Nbul-ba*]-Ø *rig* "I understand the giving of gifts by the king."	*nas* [*rgyal-pos yon Nbul-ba*]-*r rig* "I understand that the king gives gifts."

Note, too, that many verbs that occur with a complement cannot occur with a nominalized proposition as patientfor example, [*sin Nthu-ba*]-*r Ngro* "He goes to gather wood" but not ?[*Sin Nthu-ba*]-Ø *Ngro,* [*Sin Nthu-ba*]-*r gsol* "I pray that you gather wood" but not ?[*Sin Nthu-ba*]-Ø *gsol* [*Sin Nthu-ba*]-*r smras* "He said that he gathers wood" but not ?[*sin Nthu-ba*]-*0 smras.*

2.3.2.3.1. Types of Complement Construction

There are four types of verb complement construction, according to two intersecting distinctions. First, the verb head can be either transitive or intransitive; second, the verb head can either require or not require that a participant in the complement be coreferential with its patient and be omitted from the complement. An intransitive verb head without obligatory corefer-

ence we will call TYPE 1for example, *BDEN* "be true" in *bla-ma-s bgegs btul-bar bden* "It is true that the lama tamed the demon"; an intransitive verb head with obligatory coreference we will call TYPE 2for example, *ON* "come" in *bla-ma-Ø bgegs btul-bar ons* "The lama came to tame the demon." Similarly, a transitive verb head without obligatory coreference we will call TYPE 3for example, *SGRAG* "proclaim" in *bla-ma-s bgegs btul-bar rgyal-pos bsgrags* "The king proclaimed that the lama tamed the demon"; a transitive verb with obligatory coreference we will call TYPE 4for example, *SKUL* "appoint" in *bla-ma-Ø bgegs btul-bar rgyal-pos bskul* "The king appointed the lama to tame the demon."42

2.3.2.3.1.1. Type 1 Complement Constructions

In a Type 1 complement construction, the complement replaces the patient of its intransitive verb head: in such a construction, the verb has no patient participant. Type 1 verb heads are, generally, what we can call STATUS VERBS: they express the epistemic status of the complementfor example, *GSAL* "be clear," *MNON* "be evident," *BDEN* "be true," *SRID* "be possible," *NES* "be certain," *GRAGS* "be well-known,"; or its evaluative statusfor example, *RUN* "be proper," *os* "be appropriate in terms of status," *DGOS* "be necessary," *BYA* "be requisite,"43 *DKA* "be difficult," *SÑAN* "be sweet-sounding"; or its ontological statusfor example, *YIN* "be the case," *NDUG* "be the current condition," *YOD* "be present," *BYUN* "occur," *GYUR* "eventuate," *ON* "be coming," SO*N* "have happened."44

42 Note that these are syntactic distinctions, depending on the number and nature of the participants which, in addition to the complement, accompany the verb head. If there turn out to be semantic correlates to such syntactic distinctionsfor example, if "verbs of perception" turn out to be largely Type 3 headsthen so much the better.

43 The verb *BYA* "be requisite" is in fact the future stem *bya* < *b-BYA* of the transitive verb *BYA* (*byed/byas/bya/byos*)"make, do." In complement constructions, this stem is frequently normativethus *bla-mas bgegs gdul-bar bya* "The lama should tame the demon," *rgyal-pos dgra bsad-par mi-bya* "The king ought not slay the enemy." The normativity of these constructions comes from their original use as translations of Sanskrit future passive verb forms.

44 The verb head SO*N* "have happened" is in fact what is usually considered to be the highly irregular past stem of *NGRO* "go."

Complement constructions with evaluative status verbs are often themselves nominalized and used as relative modifiers of a nominal headthus, for example, *bla-ma mtshod-par os-pa* "a lama worthy of worship," *bstan-btsos rig-par dka-ba* "a treatise which is difficult to understand," *tshig Ndzigs-su run-ba* "a word to be feared," *dge-slon snod-du run-ba "a* monk worthy to be a disciple," *bstan-pa ses-par bya-ba* "a doctrine one should know."

Even more important, ontological status verbs are widely found in PERIPHRASTIC constructions. Such constructions are old in Tibetanfor example, in an archaic Central Asian manuscript, *rgya mgo nag-po de-la phyag-Ntshal-zin des bkol-BAR ON-no* "It came about that the Chinese masses paid homage to him, and were by him enslaved."45 In the later literature, note the following examples from the biography of Mi-la *ras-paNdus-byas thams-tsad mi-rtag-PAR NGYUR* "All caused things are impermanent," *bod mun-nag-gi gliii-na skyes-bu gans-la ñi-ma sar-ba Ndra-ba yan yod-PAR NDUG* "Yet there are in this dark land of Tibet people like the sun rising on the glaciers," *ran-sems tshos-skur mthon-BAR NGYUR* "You will see your own mind as the Dharma-body," *Ndi tsi yin mi-ses-PAR NDUG* "I don't know what this is," *bla-mas tshos kyan mi gnan-*

45 In one archaic manuscript from Central Asia, discussing a mythical Age of Sorrows, we find the following passages:

dper pha-ma gñis-la bu-spun gñis bdog-na, bu gtsig-gis pha-log-pa-la nan-dgur byas-pas, nor btsald-te ons-na pha-ma gñis kyan bu des nor rñed Ndzans-po es bstod-PAR ON-no, bu gtsig dran-mkhran tshe myi pha-log-po-la nan myi-byed nor myi tshold-te, gtsug-lag-gi myi ni nan tses smad-PAR ON-no

For example, if a father and mother had two sons, and if one son did everything evil to others, and so gained wealth, the father and mother would praise him, saying "That son has found wealth, and is wise." And if one son was very upright, and did not do evil to other men, and did not gain wealth, this accomplished man would be reviled as evil.

myi dbul-poi kha-nas srid-la phan-pai tshig bzan-po bden-pa-zig zer-na yan sus-kyan myi-ñan-BAR ON-no, la-la tshig bden-pa de thos-na yan, rna-ba ya-gtsig-tu thos-na, rna-ba ya-gtsig-tu phyun-ste, yid-la myi-Ndzin-BAR ON-no, bden zes sus kyan myi-ñan myi-bstod-PAR ON-no

Though a good and true word, beneficial to life, was spoken from the mouth of a poor man, no one would listen. If someone heard that true word, it would go in one ear and out the other, and he would not keep it in mind. No one would listen and praise it as true.

BAR GDA "Yet the lama does not bestow the dharma." Similarly, note the following examples from the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* by Sa-skya pandita*ñi-mai od-zer sar-ba-na, Nbyun-poi bya-rnams lon-BAR NGYUR* "Owls become blind when the sun's rays rise," *Ndzam-pos Ndzam-po Ndzoms byed-tsin, Ndzam-pos rtsub-moan Ndzoms-PAR BYED* "Gentleness conquers the gentle, and gentleness conquers the rough," *blo-ldan bya-ba tshun-zad kyan, rgyun-du gros-kyis bsgrub-PAR BYA* "An intelligent person should always accomplish even a little deed with counsel," s*in-tu rgas-PAR GYUR-tshe yan, thos-pa man-du bsag-PAR BYA* "Even when one has become very old, one should gather much learning."

2.3.2.3.1.2. Type 2 Complement Constructions

In a Type 2 complement construction, the complement does not replace the patient of its intransitive verb head; instead, the complement has a missing participant which is processed as coreferential with the patient participant of the verb it modifies. Compare, for example, the Type 1 *bla-ma-s bgegs btul-bar bden* "It is true that the lama tamed the demon" with the Type 2 *bla-ma-*Ø *bgegs btul-bar ons* "The lama came to tame the demon." The first construction has no patient participant of the verb head, and can be diagrammed as [*bla-ma-s bgegs btul-ba*]-*r bden.* The second construction has both a patient and a complement of the verb head, and can be diagrammed as *bla-ma-*Ø[*bla ma-s bgegs btul-ba*]-*r ons*.

Type 2 verb heads do not seem to be neatly classifiable, but many of them are verbs of intention or abilityfor example, *NUS* "be able," *THUB* "be able," *RTSOL* "endeavor," *BRTSON* "strive," *RTSAM* "begin," *SES* "know," *NGRO* "go," *ON* "come."46 Others are verbs indicating a change of state, used with equative complementsfor example, *SNAN* "appear," *DZU* "melt," *THIM* "dissolve," *TSAR* "become visible."

46 I believe the verbs *NGRO* "go" and *ON* "come," used as Type 2 verb heads, have an intentional quality about themfor example, *dge-slon sin Nthu-bar Ngro "The* monk goes (in order) to gather wood," *bla-ma tshos sgrog-par ons* "The lama came (in order) to proclaim the dharma." Note that a verb can function as more than one type of complement head: note the difference in the meaning of the verb *ON* "come" between the Type 1 construction *bla-ma-s bgegs btul-bar on* "The lama WILL tame the demon" and the Type 2 construction *bla-ma-*Ø *bgegs btul-bar on* "The lama COMES TO tame the demon."

2.3.2.3.1.3. Type 3 Complement Constructions

In a Type 3 complement construction, the complement replaces the patient of its transitive head: in such a construction, the verb has no patient participant. Again, Type 3 verb heads are not neatly classifiable, but many of them seem to involve the reception, processing, or transmittal of INFORMATION: for example, as to information RECEPTION, we find *MTHON* "see," *ÑAN* "hear," *RTOG* "recognize," *RMI* "dream," *DMIGS* "visualize"; as to information PROCESSING, we find *SAM* "think, *GO* "understand," *NDOD* "desire," *DRAN* "remember," *RDZED* "forget," *DZUN* "grasp"; as to information TRANSMITTAL, we find *BZED* "assert," *SÑAD* "relate," *SGRAG* "proclaim," *SMRA* "say."

Of course, any participant in a complement can optionally be omitted when it is recoverable from the discourse. In a Type 3 complement construction such an omission can be syntactically ambiguous: for example, *dge-slon-gis bgegs btul-bar sgrag* can be read as either "The monk proclaimed that (someone) had tamed the demon" or "(Someone) proclaimed that the monk had tamed the demon." One plausible reading of such a construction is that an omitted complement participant is coreferential with the immediately preceding agency of the transitive verb headthus "THE MONK proclaimed that HE had tamed the demon." Where such a reading is in fact intended, the omitted complement participant may be marked by a reflexive delimiterthus *dge-slon-gis* [*dge-slon RAN-gis bgegs btul-ba*]*-r bsgrags* "The monk proclaimed that he HIMSELF had tamed the demon."

2.3.2.3.1.4. Type 4 Complement Constructions

In a Type 4 complement construction, the complement does not replace the patient of its transitive verb head; instead, the complement has a missing participant which is processed as coreferential with the patient participant of the verb it modifies. Compare, for example, the Type 3 *bla-mas dge-slon-gis bgegs btul-bar rmis* "The lama dreamed that the monk tamed the demon" with the Type 4 *bla-mas dge-slon-0 bgegs btul-bar bskul* "The lama exhorted the monk to tame the demon." The first construction has no patient participant of the verb head, and can be diagrammed as *bla-mas* [*dge-slon-gis bgegs btul-ba*]*-r rmis.* The second construction has both a patient and a complement of the verb head, and can be diagrammed as *bla-mas dge-slon-00*[*de-l i-gis bgegs btul-ba*]*-r bskul*.

Many Type 4 verb heads appear to be verbs of inducementfor example, *SKUL* "exhort, induce," S*GO* "order," *THOL* "appoint," *DZUG* "cause, compel," ZU "request," *GSOL* "pray." Others are verbs indicating a change of state, used with equative complementsfor example, *SGYUR* "cause to change," *DZU* "make melt," *STIM* "cause to dissolve," *RDZU* "transform deceptively, disguise."

NO OBLIGATORY COREFERENCE

INTRANSITIVE VERB HEAD	TRANSITIVE VERB HEAD
[*bla-ma-*Ø *ñal-ba*]-*r BDEN* "It is true that the lama slept."	*rgyal-pos* [*bla-ma-*Ø *ñal-ba*]-*r RMIS* "The king dreamed that the lama slept."
[*bla-ma-s bgegs btul-ba*]-*r BDEN* "It is true that the lama tamed the demon."	*rgyal-pos* [*bla-ma-s bgegs btul-ba*]-*r RMIS* "The king dreamed that the lama tamed the demon."
TYPE 1	TYPE 3

OBLIGATORY COREFERENCE

INTRANSITIVE VERB HEAD	TRANSITIVE VERB HEAD
*bla-ma-*Ø[*bla ma-*Ø *ñal-ba*]-*r ONS* "The lama came to sleep."	*rgyal-pos bla-ma-*Ø[*bla-ma* Ø *nal-ba*]-*r BSKUL* "The king exhorted the lama to sleep."
*bla-ma-*Ø[*bla-ma-s bgegs btul-ba*]-*r ONS* "The lama came to tame the demon."	*rgyal-pos bla-ma-*Ø[*bla ma-s bgegs btul-ba*]-*r bskul* "The king exhorted the lama to tame the demon."
TYPE 2	TYPE 4

Table 14. Types of complement construction

2.3.2.3.2. Complex Complements

Just as in the case of complex relativized propositions, conjoined propositions can be nominalized with *-Pa* and used as complement modifiers of verb or nominal headsfor example, in the chronicle *Rgyal-rabsgsal-bai me-lon, Ita-ba yans-SIN spyod-lam zib-par mdzod* "Make your view broad AND your practice precise," or, in the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* by Sa-skya pandita, *gnod-pa byed-pa tshun-nu yan, myur-du bsal-LA Ndum-par bya* "Though the harm you have done be small, you should quickly remedy it AND make peace."

2.3.2.3.3. The Omission of -Pa

As we have discussed above, the nominalizer *-Pa* can be omitted when it would otherwise occur between a verb stem and a bound particle. Such omissions are found in complement constructions as wellthus, for example, *bla-ma bgegs btul-du ons* "The lama came to tame the demon," *rgyal-pos bla-ma tshos sgrog-tu bskul* "The king exhorted the lama to proclaim the dharma."47 In such cases, too, the adverb marker *-Tu* may be omitted along with the *-Pa*for example, in the biography of Mi-la ras-pa by Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka, *?a-khui khyim rdibs-nas mi man-po si Ndug* "My uncle's house fell down, and many people died." Note, for example, the perceived parallelism of these two lines by Sa-skya pandita*Ndzam-pos Ndzam-po Ndzoms byed-tsin, Ndzam-pos rtsub-moan Ndoms-par byed* "Gentleness conquers the gentle, and gentleness conquers the rough."

2.3.2.3.4. Equative Complements

Verb complements can also be built from equative propositionsfor example, *Nbans-sig rdze yin* "A vassal is king" *Nbans-sig rde yin-par re* "A vassal hopes to be king." When the equative verb *YIN* is omitted from the equative proposition, the nominalizer *-Pa* which is attached to the verb disappears

47 I have a hunch that the omission of *-Pa* before -Tu in these constructions is much more frequent inor even limited tothose with Type 2 and Type 4 verb heads. I have a hunch that this might have something to do with the fact that Type 2 and Type 4 verb heads include those verbs of change that often occur with equative complements, and that equative complements normally omit both the equative verb *YIN* and its attached nominalizer *-Pa*. But I am not sure what that something is.

along with it, and the adverb particle -*Tu* attaches itself to the patient participant immediately to its leftthus the parallel construction, in an archaic Central Asian manuscript, *Nbans-ig ni rdze-RU re, sbal-pa ni Nphur-DU re* "A vassal, yes, hopes TO BE KING; a frog, yes, hopes TO FLY."

Such equative complement constructions with *YIN* omitted are quite common with verbs expressing transformation in substance or appearance, such as *DZU* "melt," *THIM* "dissolve," *STIM* "cause to dissolve," *GYUR* "change" *SGYUR* "cause to change," *TSAR* "become visible," *SNAN* "appear," *GSAL* "appear vividly," *RUL* "rot," *RDZU* "disguise," *NGRO* "go to a state or condition"for example, *lha od yin* "The god is light" *lha od-du Ndzu* "The god melts such that it is light/ The god melts into light," *me-tog gseryin* "The flowers are gold" *me-tog gser-du gyur* "The flowers changed such that they were gold/The flowers changed into gold," *byan-tshub sems-dpa bram-ze rgan-po yin* "The bodhisattva is an old brahmin" *byan-tshub sems-dpa bram-ze rgan-por snan* "The bodhisattva appears such that he is an old brahmin/The bodhisattva appears as an old brahmin," *mi-lus mi-gtsan-ba rnam-pa sna-tshogs-kyiphun-po yin* "The human body is a lump of all kinds of filth" *mi-lus mi-gtsan-ba rnam-pa sna-tshogs-kyi phun-por rul* "The human body rots such that it is a lump of all kinds of filth/ The human body rots into a lump of all kinds of filth," *Ngon-mo khyi-mo-zig yin* "The demoness is a bitch" *Ngon-mo khyi-mo zig-tu son* "The demoness went into the state in which she was a bitch/The demoness became a bitch." Thus Sa-skya pandita writes, in his *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter, zin-pas lo-zlar Nbad-pai zin, ser-bas skad-tsig rdul-du rlog* "In an instant the hail smashes into dust the field that the farmer worked on all year," *gnod-par byed-pai dgra-bo yan, thabs-dan ldan-na grogs-su Ngyur* "Even a harmful enemy turns into a friend, if you have the skill."

2.3.2.3.5. On Translating Sanskrit Verbs

Classical Sanskrit had an extraordinarily complexenthusiasts say "rich" system of verbal inflection. In addition to the interaction of several tense and mode forms,48 the verb system was premised on a pervasive distinction be-

48 One way of conceptualizing the overall Sanskrit verb system is as follows. There were four TENSES (present, future, perfect, and aorist) which intersected with four MODES (indicative, preterite, optative, and imperative) to yield a 4 x 4 matrix of possible verb forms. Of these sixteen theoretically possible combinations, ten were of sufficiently frequent occurrence to warrant notice in the grammatical tradition. Thus Sanskrit had not only such

(*footnote continued on next page*)

tween active and passive forms of verbsa distinction which was absolutely meaningless in Tibetan.49 Yet this distinction also underlay much of the Buddhist philosophical terminology the Tibetans were so eager to master, such as *karana/kadrya* "cause/effect," *grahaka/grahya* "subject/object," *adhara/ adheya* "mandala palace/mandala deities." The following sections will describe how these Sanskrit verb forms were translated into Tibetan.

2.3.2.3.5.1. Simple Forms

As Inaba Shoju has described in detail for us, the Tibetans dealt with this problem first by reducing all the different Sanskrit verb forms to four present, past, future, and imperativeto match their own verb system. Leaving aside the imperative, this meant that for all practical purposes the various Sanskrit verbs and participles, both active and passive, could be reduced to six-PRESENT, PAST, and FUTURE ACTIVE; and PRESENT, PAST, and FUTURE PASSIVE. Then the following convention was adopted: the Sanskrit PAST ACTIVE and PAST PASSIVE were both translated with the Tibetan PAST stem; the Sanskrit PRESENT ACTIVE and FUTURE ACTIVE were both translated with the Tibetan PRESENT stem; and the Sanskrit PRESENT PASSIVE and FUTURE PASSIVE were both translated with the Tibetan FUTURE STEM. We can diagram this convention as follows:

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

relatively straightforward forms as a present indicative or future indicative or present optative but also such combinations as a future preterite ("conditional"), aorist optative ("precative"), and perfect preterite ("pluperfect"). This complex system stood in contrast to classical Tibetan with its four tensespresent, past, future, and imperative.

49 Sanskrit, unlike English, allows passives from both transitives and intransitivesthus *indrah sornam pibati* "Indra drinks soma," *indrah aste* "Indra sits," *indrena somah piyate* "Soma is drunk by Indra," as well as *indrena asyate* "There is some sitting going on, and Indra is doing it." Now Tibetan isperfectly capable of saying *dban-po-s so-ma-0 Nhun* "Indra drinks soma" and *dban-po-0 bzugs* "Indra sits"; it is certainly capable of making *so-ma* "soma" the THEME of a proposition with a transitive verb, as in *so-ma-0 dban-po-s Nthun* "As for soma, Indra drinks it"; and it can assign more or less RESPONSIBILITY to *dban-po* "Indra" through the selection of a transitive or intransitive verbfor example, *dban-po-s so-ma-0 me-la Nbebs* "Indra casts the soma into the fire" as opposed to *dban-po-s so-ma-0 me-la Nbab* "The soma descends into the fire because of Indra." But it can make little syntactic or morphological sense out of the notion of the PASSIVE in Sanskrit.

	PASSIVE	
ACTIVE		
PRESENT	Present stem	Future stem
PAST	Past stem	
FUTURE	Present stem	Future stem

This meant that all the various Sanskrit past tense forms, both verbs and participles, were translated with the Tibetan PAST stem. This convention applied to past ACTIVE forms, as in Sanskrit *asruni pramuñcat* Tibetan *mtshi-ma phyun* "He shed tears," Sanskrit *mahanagarim pravisat* Tibetan *gron-khyer tshen-por zugs* "He entered the great city"; and it applied as well to past PASSIVE forms, as in Sanskrit *sa ca balaprthagjanair udgrhitah* Tibetan *de yan byis-pa so-soi skye-bo-rnams-kyis bzun* "And that is grasped by fools," Sanskrit *maya sattvah parimocitah* Tibetan *nas sems-tsan-rnams bkrol* "Sentient creatures are saved by me." Here the Tibetan PAST stems *phyun* < *b-PHYUN-s* "shed," z*ugs* < *0-DZUG-s* "entered," *bzun* < *b-DZUN-S* "grasped," and *bkrol* < *b-GROL-s* "saved" are used to translate both PAST ACTIVE and PAST PASSIVE forms in Sanskrit.

Sanskrit PRESENT ACTIVE forms were translated, similarly, with the Tibetan PRESENT stem, as in Sanskrit *indhanam agnir dahati* Tibetan *mes bud-sin sreg* "Fire burns the firewood," Sanskrit s*unyan vyavalokayati* Tibetan *ston-pa rnam-par lta* "He examines the empty." Here the Tibetan PRESENT stems *sre*g < *N-SREG* "burns" and l*ta* < *N-LTA* "looks" are used to translate Sanskrit PRESENT ACTIVE forms.

But, interestingly, Sanskrit PRESENT PASSIVE forms were regularly translated with the Tibetan FUTURE stem, as in Sanskrit *rupam visyatvenopadisyate* Tibetan *gzugs ni yul-ñid yin-par ñe-bar bstan* "Form is explained as being a perceptual object," Sanskrit *anyavittiti grahanena daurmanasyavarjitam grhyat*e Tibetan *tshor gzan zes bya-ba smos-pas ni yid mi-bde-ba-las gzan-pai tshor-ba gzun* "By the expression 'other consciousness' is understood a consciousness other than a sorrowful one," Sanskrit *kasya karanam iti parikalpyate* Tibetan *gan-gi rgyu yin-par brtag* "It is determined of what it is the cause." Here the Tibetan FUTURE stems *bstan* < *b-STAN* "will explain," *gzun* < *G-DZUN* "will understand," and *brtag* < *b-RTAG* "will determine" are used to translate Sanskrit PRESENT PASSIVE forms.

In the same way, Sanskrit FUTURE ACTIVE forms were translated with the Tibetan PRESENT stem, as in Sanskrit *aviksiptacitta manasikarisyati* Tibetan

g.yen-ba med-pai sems-kyis yid-la byed "The unwavering mind will ponder it," Sanskrit *evam darsanam paran eva draksyati na svatmanam* Tibetan *de bzin-du lta-ba yan gzan kho-na-la ltai, ran-gi bdag-ñid-la ma-yin* "Thus vision will see only others, not itself," Sanskrit *bodhisattva mahasattva bhavisyanti* Tibetan *byan-tshub sems-dpa sems-dpa tshen-po Nbyun* "There will be bodhisattvas, great beings." Here the Tibetan PRESENT stems *byed* < *N-BYA-D* "does," l*ta* < *N-LTA* "sees," and *Nbyun* < *N-BYUN* "occurs" are used to translate Sanskrit FUTURE ACTIVE forms.

Finally, under the same convention, Sanskrit FUTURE PASSIVE forms were translated with the Tibetan FUTURE STEM, as in Sanskrit *laksanalaksanatas tathagato drastavyah* Tibetan *de-bzin-gsegs-pa-la mtshan-dan mtshan-med-par blta* "The Thus-gone One is to be seen through signs and nonsigns," Sanskrit *udgrahitavyo nadharmah* Tibetan *tshos ma-yin-pa yan mi-gzun* "What is not the dharma is not to be grasped." Here the Tibetan future stems *blta* < *b-LTA* "will see" and *gzun* < *G-DZUN* "will grasp" are used to translate Sanskrit FUTURE PASSIVE forms.

The same convention was used in translating Sanskrit nouns. Sanskrit nominal derivatives from active verbs were translated into Tibetan by nominalizing present stems; Sanskrit nominal derivatives from passive verbs were translated into Tibetan by nominalizing future stems. Thus we find Sanskrit *grahaka/ grahya* Tibetan *Ndzin-pa/gzun-ba* "subject/object," using the present stem *Ndzin* < *N-DZUN-D* and future stem *gzun* < *G-DZUN* of the root *DZUN* "grasp"; Sanskrit *karana/karya* Tibetan *byed-pa/bya-ba* "cause/effect," using the present stem *byed* < *N-BYA-D* and future stem *bya* < *b-BYA* of the root *BYA* "do," and Sanskrit *adhara/adheya* Tibetan *rten-pa/brten-pa* "mandala palace/mandala deities," using the present stem *rten* < *N-KTEN* and future stem *brten* < *b-RTEN* of the root *RTEN* "support."

2.3.2.3.5.2. Periphrastic Forms

Similar conventions governed the translation of Sanskrit verbs PERIPHRASTICALLY. Periphrastic translations of Sanskrit verbs used tense stems of two verbsBYA "do" and *GYUR* "eventuate"as verb heads of VERB COMPLEMENT constructions. Sanskrit PAST forms, both active and passive, used primarily the PAST stem *byas* of the head verb *BYA.* Sanskrit PASSIVE FORMS, both present and future, used the FUTURE stem *bya* of the head verb *BYA.* And Sanskrit PRESENT ACTIVE forms used the PRESENT stem *byed* of the head verb *BYA,*

while FUTURE ACTIVE forms used the PRESENT stem *Ngyur* of the head verb *GYUR*. In each such construction, the stem of the verb within the complement conforms to the stem convention of simple translation forms.50 We can diagram this periphrastic convention as follows:

		PASSIVE	
	ACTIVE		
PRESENT	PRESENT STEM-*Pa-r byed*		FUTURE STEM-Pa-r bya
PAST		PAST *STEM-Pa-r byas*	
FUTURE	PRESENT STEM-*Pa-r Ngyur*		
			FUTURE STEM-*Pa-r bya*

This convention, again, meant that all Sanskrit past tense forms could be translated periphrastically in the form PAST *STEM-Pa-r byas*, as in Sanskrit *mayaragita aragya na viragitah* Tibetan *nas mñes-par byas-te, mñes-par byas-nas thugs ma-byun-bar byas* "They were pleased with me, and, having been pleased, did not turn away."

Both Sanskrit PRESENT PASSIVE and FUTURE PASSIVE forms were translated periphrastically in the form FUTURE *STEM-Pa-r bya.* Thus we find, for the present tense, Sanskrit *sadhyate* Tibetan *bsgrub-par bya* "It is proven," Sanskrit *sampradharyate* Tibetan *dpyad-par bya* "It is examined," and, identically, for the future tense, Sanskrit *jñatavya* Tibetan s*es-par bya* "It is to be known," Sanskrit *vistarena ganaaniyam* Tibetan *rgyas-par brtsi-bar bya* "It is to be counted in detail."51

50 Although the head verb *GYUR* was used primarily to translate Sanskrit future active forms, its past stem *gyur* is occasionally found in the translation of Sanskrit past forms-for example, the aorist in Sanskrit *anga-pratyanga-rnamsany acchaitsit Tibetanyan-lag-dan ñin-lag-rnams btsad-par gyur* "They cut off their limbs and secondary limbs." In addition, the head verb *GYUR* seems to be used in translating a variety of Sanskrit irrealis modes. It is found in translations of the Sanskrit CONDITIONAL or future preterite, as in Sanskrit *anyatha hi naiva samskara-grahanam akarisyata* Tibetan *de-lta ma-yin-na Ndu-byed smos-pa mi-mdzad-par Ngyur* "Otherwise one would not name them conditioned states," Sanskrit *sacel loka-dhatur abhavisyat sa eva pinda-graho 'bhavisyat* Tibetan *gal-te khams-sig mtshis-par gyur-na de-ñid ril-por Ndzin-par Ngyur* "If there were a world, there would also be taking it to be real"; and in translations of the Sanskrit OPTATIVE, as in Sanskrit *syuh skandhayatanani yadi dhatava eva syuh* Tibetan *gal-te khams-ñid yod-na phun-po-dan skyed-mtshed-rnams yod-par Ngyur* "If there were elements, there would be groups and senses."

51 Future passive participles are fairly common in Buddhist texts in Sanskrit; in many

(*footnote continued on next page*)

However, Sanskrit PRESENT ACTIVE forms were translated periphrastically in the form PRESENT *STEM-Pa-r byed,* as in Sanskrit *agnih paratmanam eva dahati* Tibetan *me ni gzan-gyi bdag-ñid kho-na sreg-par byed* "Fire burns only the essence of others," Sanskrit *tad eva ajanati* Tibetan *de-ñid kun ses-par byed* "He knows just that"; while Sanskrit FUTURE ACTIVE forms were translated periphrastically, with a different verb head, in the form PRESENT *STEM-Pa-r Ngyur,* as in Sanskrit *na tesam atma-samjña pravartisyate* Tibetan *de-dag-la ni bdag-tu Ndu-ses Ndzug-par mi-Ngyur* "The idea of self will not occur to them," Sanskrit *aprapto na dhaksyati* Tibetan *phrad med-na sreg-par mi-Ngyur* "What is not in contact will not burn."

Figure 11.
Charm against astrological misfortune

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

such texts they are the major hortatory device. Note, for example, Sanskrit *evam drastavyam samskrtam* Tibetan *Ndus-byas de ltar blta-bar bya* "Caused things are to be looked upon like that," Sanskrit *na punyaskandhah parigrahitavyah* Tibetan *bsod-nams-kyi phun-po yons-su gzun-bar mi-bya* "A heap of merit is not to be clung to," Sanskrit *dharma eva prahatavyah* Tibetan *tshos-rnams kyan span-bar bya* "Even events are to be cast aside." Future passive participles can also function as abstract nominals in Buddhist philosophical discoursethus, for example, Sanskrit *dahya-laksana indhanam* Tibetan *bsreg-par bya-bai mtshan-ñid-tsan ni bud-sin yin* "Firewood is that which possesses the sign of flammability."

12
Sentences

A Tibetan SENTENCE consists of a proposition followed by a PERFORMANCE PARTICLE: the performance particle signals the way the proposition is being used. There are three basic ways of using a proposition in Tibetanas a STATEMENT ("I assert PROPOSITION"), as a QUESTION ("I query PROPOSITION"), or as a COMMAND ("I order PROPOSITION"). A particular propositional content may thus remain constant while its performance varies. For example, the sentences *dgra Nbros-so* "The enemy flees," *dgra Nbros-sam* "Does the enemy flee?" and *dgra Nbros-sig* "Let the enemy flee!" can be considered different performances of the same proposition *dgra Nbros.*1

1. Performance Particles

The STATEMENT PARTICLE is -*O,* the QUESTION PARTICLE is -*Am,* and the COMMAND PARTICLE is -*TSig.* These are the three PRIMARY PERFORMANCE PARTICLES; every Tibetan sentence is one of these three sentence types. It is important to remember that Tibetan performance particles do not necessarily coincide with any overt punctuation in the text. The vertical stroke or s*ad* is a guide to reading aloud rather than to grammar; although it is of course often the case that the end of a sentence coincides with a reading pause, it is not unusual to find two or more sentences written consecutively without punctuation.

2. Modal Performatives

There is some reason to believe that Tibetanin common with other Sino-Tibetan languageshas had a richer array of sentence-final performance

1 Similarly, compare *bla-ma ñal-lo* "The lama is sleeping," *bla-ma ñal-lam* "Is the lama sleeping?" *bla-ma ñal-zig* "Sleep, O lama!" and *rgyal-pos Ndre brduns-so* "The king hit the demon," *rgyal-pos Ndre brduns-sam* "Did the king hit the demon?" *rgyal-pos Ndre rduns-sig* "Let the king hit the demon!"

particles than is immediately apparent in the classical texts.2 We have called the statement, question, and command particles the primary performance particles, and noted that every Tibetan sentence falls into one of these three sentence types; but we additionally find several MODAL PERFORMANCE PARTICLES which can occur after the primary particle and specify more precisely the sort of statement, question, or command being uttered. For example, compare *rgyal-po bsad-do* "He will kill the king" with *rgyal-po bsadkyis* "He will kill the king, I promise!" or *rgyal-po bsad-da-re* "Be careful, he may kill the king"; compare *bla-ma yin-nam* "Is this the lama?" with *bla-ma yin-nam-zig-gu* "Could this be the lama?" or *bla-ma yin-na* "I wonder if this is the lama"; compare s*in khyer-zig* "Carry the wood!" with s*in khyer-zig-dan* "Carry the wood, OK?" Where such a modal performance particle is present, the primary performance particle is frequently omitted. Modal performance particles are found primarily in the early translations, in the epic, and in the more colloquial classical texts influenced by Middle Tibetan. In the sections that follow we will discuss each modal performance particle in the context of the primary performance particle with which it occurs.

3. Statements

3.1. The Statement Particle

The STATEMENT PARTICLE is *-o.* The hyphen indicates that the form is BOUND and occurs only with an immediately preceding proposition. The capitalization indicates that the vowel prefixes to itself the last consonant of the preceding syllable codathus *dag-go, rin-no, yod-do, yin-no, thub-bo, Npham-mo, sgyur-ro, Nbul-lo,* and *lags-so.* A preceding open syllable becomes a diphthongthus *dgao, Nbrio, rgyuo, dgeo,* and *Ngroo.* In the scansion of verse such diphthongs may occasionally be counted as two syllables for the purpose of meter.

3.2. Redundancy

The overwhelming majority of Tibetan sentences are statements rather than questions or commands; in fact, we might well assume that any given

2 In the Tibeto-Burman language Lisu, for example, we find performance particles which indicate that a proposition is a warning, a complaint, a plea, a surprise, and so oninformation often conveyed in English by intonation alone.

sentence is a statement unless specifically informed otherwise. Given such an assumption, the statement particle *-o* becomes REDUNDANT, and, under the Telegram Principle, may be omitted. Thus we find sentences without an overt sentence signal, such as *bla-ma ñal* "The lama sleeps" instead of the more explicit *bla-ma ñal-lo.*

The omission of the statement particle is always optional, but in any given text such an omission may be more or less the norm: it is quite common in narrative prose, in colloquial register, and in paratactic styles; it is less common in didactic prose, in formal register, and in hypotactic styles. The statement particle appears frequently in the archaic manuscripts from Central Asia; it occurs only infrequently in the biography of Mi-la ras-pa written by Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka.

Now when the particle occurs in a text that normally omits it, the particle may be processed as carrying extra information. It may be read as emphasizing the assertive character of the performance: for example, in the biography of Mi-la we find Bdag-med-ma rebuking her husband Mar-pa for his apparently cruel treatment of Mi-la by saying *yab-kyis ma-thub-pai dgra de thon-nas mi-gdao thugs bde lags-sam* "The enemy my lord could not conquer has left; he's not here, I tell you. Are you satisfied?" It may be read as concluding a thought unit such as a philosophical argument, narrative paragraph, or side comment: for example, in the biography of Mi-la we find the particle marking a narrative sub-unit in the sequence *kun yon-bdag-dan Nbans-su tshug-go, de-dus gtsan-ron-gi mes-ston tshon-po bde-mtshog-gi dban-mo-tshe zur byun-bas ". . .* and they all became his patrons and followers. Meanwhile, Mes-ston tshon-po of Gtsan-ron appeared for the great initiation of the god Cakrasamvara, and so . . ." Finally, it may be read as marking the end of a sentence which has been embedded as a direct quote within another, as in *dgos-so sñam* "I thought, 'I have to,'" or from which the equative verb has been omitted, as in *gzugs ston-pao* "Form (is) empty," *khan-pa nao* "(It is) in the house," *bla-mai mnon-ses ma-nor-ba yin-pas-so* "(It is) because the lama's clairvoyance is unerring."

3.3. The Promise Particle -KYis

Two modal performance particles are found with statements: we will call these STATEMENT MODALS. The modal performance particle *-KYis* occurs in sentence-final position in direct address where the speaker is making a

promise or prediction of an event which is in some way under his control: in this position *-KYis* constitutes what we will call the PROMISE particle. For example, in the biography of Mi-la ras-pa, the lama Rnog-pa makes a promise to Mi-la, saying *dban-dan gdams-nag bya-yis* "I will bestow the initiation and teachings," and Bdag-med-ma similarly promises him *ma-gnan-na nas zu-yis* "If he does not give them, I will ask him." The master Mar-pa tells Mi-la, without revealing his own identity, *o-na nas mar-pa-dan sprad-kyis* "Well, I will introduce you to Mar-pa," and later promises *sgrub-pa-la bzag-nas sgrub-rgyags sbyan-gis* "When I have set you to meditation I will supply the provisions." Similarly, Mar-pa commands Mi-la to build yet another tower, and says to him *Ndi bzig-kyan mi-dgos-kyis* "It will not be necessary to tear this one down, I promise."

Similar examples occur in the twelfth-century *Mani bka-Nbum,* where we find such sentences as *khyim no-ses-pa-la bu-mo sbyin-gyis* "I will give my daughter to the one who recognizes her house" and *ned-la mi-ster-na rgyal-khams mes bsreg-gis* "If you do not give her to me I will burn your kingdom with fire." In the epic we find Ge-sar threatening his enemies in verse*gal-te bka-la ma-ñan-na, lna-pai lam-du gtan-gis zer* "'If you do not heed my command,' he said, 'I will send you on the path of death.'" In the archaizing chronicle *Rgyal-rabs gsal-bai me-lon* we find this prophecy of Padmasambhava*slobdpon pad-ma Nbyun-gnas-kyis, brtan-ma btsu-gnis dam-la btags-pas, bod-du mustegs-pa mi-yon-gis* "'I have bound the twelve goddesses to an oath,' said Padmasambhava, 'so that unbelievers will not come to Tibet.' "

In some manuscripts we find what is clearly the same particle written *-KYi.* In the biography of Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka written by Sna-tshogs ran-grol, for example, we find the mad yogin eating the rotten brains of impaled heads and offering them to onlookers with the words *dnos-grub dgos-na sbyin-gyi* "If you want magic powers I will give them to you." Further, different manuscripts of the same text may sporadically make the same substitution: in the Spo blockprint of the biography of Mi-la ras-pa, for example, we find the reading *mar-pa-dan sprad-gyi,* rather than the reading *mar-pa-dan sprad-kyis* found in the woodblock prints from Spuns-than, Bstan-rgyas-glifi, and Bkra-sis lhun-po, and cited in our discussion above; and where the Spo blockprint reads *gdams-pa bya-yis,* as cited above, the Bstan-rgyas-glin and Bkra-sis lhun-po prints read *gdams-pa bya-yi*.

3.4. The Warning Particle -A-re

Another statement modal is the particle *-A-re*, found primarily in the translation literature and used where a speaker is asserting a warning: we will call *-A-re* the WARNING PARTICLE.3 Warning statements predict consequences which will arise if some course of action isor is notfollowed, and thus are often found after commands and prohibitions. For example, in the Tibetan translation of the *Lalitavistara* we find the warning *dge-slon-dag khyed de-bzin-gsegs-pa-la tshe-dan ldan-pa zes ma-rdzod-tsig, khyed-la yun-rin-por mi-phanpa-dan gnod-pa-dan mi-bde-bar gyur-ta-re* "Monks, do not call the Tathagata 'Venerable One'! There will be hurt and harm and unhappiness for you for a long time." In the Tibetan translation of the *Divyavadana* we read *tshosbzin ma-yin-pas rgyal-srid ma-byed-tsig, sems-tsan-dmyal-bar gzol-bar gyur-ta-re* "Do not rule unjustly! You will fall to hell." Sometimes the sequence is reversed, as when we find in the Tibetan translation of the *Vinayavastu* the sentences *khyod bsad-da-re sgra ma-Nbyin-tsig* "I will kill you. Don't make a sound."

There are different techniques,
Men write to be read, or spoken,
Or declaimed, or rhapsodized,
And quite differently to be sung.
Louis Zukofsky,*"A " 1*

Again, warnings may be about things and persons rather than about courses of conduct. In the *Vinayavibhanga* a fable about slander concludes with the moral *wa-skyes gron-pa brdzun-du smra-ba byed-pa, mdza-bses Nbyed-par byed-pa skyes-ta-re* "The fox is one who makes people tell lies; he is born as a separator of friends," and in the same text we read *de-dag-gis dei srun-mar tshom-rkun-pa mi bzi bzag-ste, Ndi bros-par gyur-ta-re zes bsgo* "They set four

3 Note that, whereas the promise particle *-KYis* marks a statement as promising some event that may be either desired or undesired but is under the speaker's control, the warning particle *-A-re* marks a statement as promising some event that is not necessarily under the speaker's control but which is invariably undesired by the addressee.

thieves as his guards and said, 'He may escape.'" In the *Saddharmapundarika* we find the warninggnas *Ndi-la ni the-tshom Ntshal-ba-yis, byan-tshub-sems-dpa nan-Ngror mtshis-sa-re* "By having doubt on this point a bodhisattva may fall to an evil destiny," and in the *Lalitavistara* the wicked Mara warns the Buddha-to-be *od-mai myu-gu Itar do-mod btsad-da-re* "Today I will cut you down like a green bamboo stalk."4

4. Questions

We can distinguish two different types of questionyes-no questions (*Are you ready*? *Does he like Mozart*?)and information questions (*When did he go*? *What is your name*?). A YES-NO QUESTIONso called because it can be answered *yes* or *no* in English-asks about the truth of a proposition as a whole; an INFORMATION QUESTIONso called because its answer requires a specific piece of informationassumes the truth of the proposition but asks about the identity of a participant. The yes-no question *Did John see Mary*?asks, in effect, "Is the proposition *John saw Mary* true?" The information question *Whom did John see*?presupposes that John saw someone and requests the identity of the patient participant in the event.5

In classical Tibetan, performance particles mark propositions and not participants; hence the question particle identifies yes-no questions. Participants, on the other hand, are identified by determiners; hence in information questions the queried participant is marked by an indefinite determiner.

4 In many cases this warning particle was used to translate Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit constructions with *ma* in the sense of "lest, in order that not," and it may similarly be convenient to TRANSLATE such Tibetan warnings into English using such expressions as *lest* or *for fear that-for* example, *tshos-bzin ma-yin-pas rgyal-srid ma-byed-tsig, sems-tsan-dmyal-bar gzol-bar gyur-ta-re* "Do not rule unjustly LEST you fall to hell" or "Do not rule unjustly so THAT YOU DO NOT fall to hell." We must bear in mind, however, that any negation is being created by the Englishor the Sanskritand does not lie in the Tibetan.

5 Note the close relationship this entails between such sentences as *Where are you going*?and *You are going somewhere,* or *Who hit John*?and *Someone hit John,* which is reflected in the use of Tibetan indefinite determiners as interrogatives.

4.1. The Question Particle

The QUESTION PARTICLE *-Am* marks yes-no questions in classical Tibetan. The hyphen indicates that the form is BOUND and occurs only with an immediately preceding proposition. The capitalization indicates that the vowel prefixes to itself the last consonant of the preceding syllable codathus *dag-gam, rin-nam, yod-dam, yin-nam, thub-bam, Npham-rnam, sgyur-ram, Nbul-lam,* and *lags-sam.* A preceding open syllable becomes a diphthongthus *dgaam, Nbriam, rgyuam, dgeam,* and *Ngroam.* In the scansion of verse such diphthongs may occasionally be counted as two syllables for the purposes of meter.

Note the following examples. Mar-pa performs a miraculous transformation and then asks Mi-la the question *bu mthon-nam yid-tshes-sam* "Did my son see? did you believe?" Mi-la, in a fit of depression, thinks l*tseb-bam ltseb-bam* "Should I kill myself? Should I kill myself?" Sa-skya pandita writes *khyod-kyi bya-ba zin-nam zes, Ntshi-bdag sdod-par mi-Ngyur* "The Lord of Death will not wait, saying, 'Have you finished your work?'" Complex propositions can also be made into interrogatory sentences with the question particlefor example, l*ar mkhar gru-gsum hom-khun Ndra-ba Ndir ned-rnams btsug-ste mthu-byed bsam-pa yin-nam* "Well! Were you thinking of casting us into this triangular tower, shaped like a pit of sacrifice, and working magic on us?" Negative propositions can similarly be made interrogative and used as rhetorical questions. Sa-skya pandita was particularly fond of this device; in his *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* we find, for example, *dud-Ngro yin-yan rigs-mthun-rnams, khyu gtsig-tu ni mi-gnas-sam* "Even among beasts, do not those of the same kind stay in one herd?" *rta-la rgyan-du byas-pa de, bdag-po ñid-la mi-mdzes-sam* "Is not what is done to adorn the horse becoming to the master himself?" *lag-pas dgra-bo mi-gsod-na, mtshon-tsha len-par mi-byed-dam* "If one does not kill the enemy with one's hands, does one not take up the sword?"

4.2. Questions And Alternatives

It seems clear that the question particle *-Am* is the same as the *-Am* which marks an alternative conjunction. There is certainly reason to believe that yes-no questions in Tibetan derive ultimately from alternative conjunctions, which are sometimes made explicit: for example, in one archaic Central Asian text, the first horse to be tamed by man says *khyod tshab gan-la-ru bgyi-am myi-bgyi yan ba-rab-tu sbog-gam myi-sbog* "Will you or will you not water me

on the mountain passes, and will you or will you not wade me in the cattle fords?" and, in his biography, Mi-la is told *khyed-ran-la sog gsun-ba Ndug-pas Ngroam mi-Ngro* "He has said to you, 'Come!' so are you going or not?"

Often the negated alternative is replaced by the interrogative determiner tsi "what?" yielding the question marker *-Am-tsi* "or what?"for example, in the collection of tales called the *Mdzans-blun,* where we read n*a no-ses-sam tsi* "Do you recognize me?" The Sanskrit word *kinnara* refers to heavenly musicians with the heads of horses; the term was given the folk etymology *kim nara* "Is this a man?" which was duly translated in the ninth-century *Mahavyutpatti* dictionary as Tibetan *miam tsi* "Is this a man or what?" This locution is found as late as the 13th-century *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* by Sa-skya pandita, who probably liked the resulting three-syllable collocations primarily for metrical reasons: we find, for example, *mar-mei od-la Ndzin-ba-yis, sbran-bu dpa-bar Ngro-am tsi* "Does a fly become a hero by fighting with the light of a lamp?" *gtsan-gzan dug-pai nags-khrod-du, sems-ses rtag-tu sdod-dam tsi* "Does a smart person stay forever in a forest of poisonous beasts of prey?" *dpa-bos dgra-sde ma-thul-kyan, ran-phyogs gsod-par byed-dam tsi* "Though a hero does not subdue the enemy, does he kill his own side?" *tshu-sel me-rdor byed-pa-yi, yul der tshu-sel Ntshon-nam tsi* "Does one sell crystal in a country where they consider crystal to be flint?"

4.3. Information Questions

In a question asking the identity of a particular participant, the queried participant is indicated by one of four INTERROGATIVE DETERMINERSgan "what?" *tsi* "what?" *su* "who?" and *nam* "when?"6 The determiner can

> 6 The interrogative determiner *gan* "what?" is sometimes found in the reduced form *ga*-before the particles *-na, -nas, -la, -las, -ru,* and *-r.* In the archaic Central Asian manuscripts we already find *bu ga-las gar son son* "Child, whence and whither have you gone?" In the biography of Mi-la we find *gar son* "Where did he go?" Use of the form *ga-la* "how?" is a favorite rhetorical device of Sa-skya pandita in his *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter*for example, *dug-sbrul gso-ba ga-la run* "How is it right to nurture a poisonous snake? " *Nbyor-ba thob-par gyur-na yan, bsod-nams med-na ga-la rtag* "Though one has gathered wealth, if one has no merit, how can it last?" *dam-pa srog-la bab-na yan, ran-bin bzan-po ga-la Ndor* "Even if a holy one is in danger of his life, how can he abandon his innate goodness?" *nor-bus spras-pai gser-gyi rgyan, mdzes-kyan ba-lan ga-la lta* "Though a golden ornament adorned with gems be beautiful, how would an ox look at it?"

(*footnote continued on next page*)

occur both with and without a nominal headfor example, in the biography of Mi-la we find, with a nominal head, *mthu-tshen khyod dban-gral-la sdod-pai DBAN-YON TSI yod* "Magician, WHAT INITIATION FEE do you have for standing in the initiation line?" and, without a nominal head, *lo ser-bas brduns rtin na GAN za* "After the hail smashes my crops, WHAT will I eat?" Again, in the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* by Sa-skya pandita we find, with a nominal head, *rna-la dbyug-gus ma-bsnun-par, de-srid gzan-dan KHYAD TSI yod* "Without hitting a drum with a drumstick, WHAT DIFFERENCE does it have from another?" and, without a nominal head, *bdag-ñid tshen-po gnas-pai sar, mkhas-pa gzan-dag su-yis rtsi* "In a place where a saint lives, WHO counts other wise men?"7 And, just as we find indefinite adverbs, we also find interrogative adverbsthus, again from Sa-skya pandita, *mkhas-pa mkhas-pai nan-na mdzes, blun-pos mkhas-pa DZI-LTAR go* "A wise man is beautiful among the wise; IN WHAT MANNER/HOW can a fool understand a wise man?"

The interrogative determiner *tsi* "what?" in most classical texts is syntactically parallel to the other interrogative determiners-for example, in the biography of Mi-la, *khyod-kyis sdig-pa tsi byas* "What sin have you done?" *mthu-tshen las tsi byed-tsin Ndug* "Great Magician, what work are you doing?" *mthu-tshen khyod-la dban-yon tsi yod* "Great Magician, what initiation fee have you?" *tsi zer* "What are you saying?" Similar constructions are found in the archaic Central Asian manuscriptsfor example, *de ltar byas-na dzi-la phan* "If we did that, wherein is the benefit?" But in those manuscripts too we find some evidence of *tsi* as a marker for yes-no questions as wellfor example, *bu ga-las gar son-son tsi myi tsi khyi* "Child, whence and whither have you gone? Are you human? Are you dog?" *bo-mo tsi zer tsi bden* "What is my daughter saying? Is it true?" And some examples can be read as either yes-no or information questions, such as *lha Ndi snun ltar Ngo-la myi drag-na dzi ñes* "Since these gods are not powerful in command as before, what is the offense?/is there an offense?" I am not sure how to account for this. This use of the particle may be a remnant of an earlier INITIAL question particle, similaror perhaps even relatedto, say, Old Chinese **khiar*>Middle Chinese **khyei* "How in the world . . .?" In any event, this use of *tsi* appears already obsolescent in the eighth or ninth centuries.

7 Where a nominal phrase with an interrogative determiner has no head, presumably the missing head is recoverable from context or from knowledge of the worldfor example, *na gan za* "What (food) will I eat?" *mkhas-pa gzan-dag su-yis rtsi* "What (person) counts other wise men?" Compare, from Sa-skya pandita, the headless *tshun-ma nan-dan mdza-bo nan, rgyal-po nan-pa SU-zig bsten* "WHO relies on a bad wife, a bad friend, or a bad king?" with the headed *yon-tan ldan-pa mi-bkur-bai, gnas der MKHAS-PA su-zig sdod* "WHAT WISE MAN stays in a place where they do not honor the virtuous?" Note the following headed and headless interrogative phrases in the same verse*nan-skyugs khron-pa su-zig slon, skyugs-pa MKHAS-PA SU-zig myan* "WHO probes a well of vile vomit? And WHAT WISE MAN tastes vomit?"

Now the interrogative determiners are the same as the indefinite determiners: an expression such as *mkhas-pa su-zig*, taken in isolation, can be read as either "some wise man" or "what wise man?" Yet, in context, there is seldom real confusion; when Sa-skya pandita writes *skyug-pa mkhas-pa su-zig myan,* he clearly intends the question "What wise man eats vomit?" and not the statement that there are some wise men who do. Similarly, when Mi-la is first searching for his teacher Mar-pa, he asks everyone he meets *skyes-mtshog mar-pa lo-tstsha gan-na bzugs* "Where does Saint Mar-pa the Translator live?" Finally, he meets someone who tells him *mar-pa zer-ba ni yod, skyes-mtshog mar-pa lo-tstsha zer-ba ni med* "There is one who is called Mar-pa, but not one called Saint Mar-pa the Translator," and the following conversation takes place:

> *o-na gro-bo lun gan-na yod byas-pas, gro-bo lun pha-gi yin zer bstan byun, pha-gi-na su bzugs byas-pas, mar-pa zer-ba de-ka yod zer, de-la gzan mtshan med-dam byas-pas, la-las bla-ma mar-paan zer-iii Ndug zer, bla-mai gdan-sa yin-par thag-tshod-de, la-kha Ndi-la tsi zer byas-pas, Ndi-la tshos la-gan zer zer, tshos la-gan-nas bla-mai gdan-sa mthon-ba rten-Nbrel sin-tu legs sñam dga-ba-zig byun*
>
> "Well, where is Gro-bo Valley?" I said. "Gro-bo Valley is over there," he said, and pointed. "Who lives over there?" I said. "That same one called Mar-pa," he said. "Has he no other name?" I said. "There are some who call him lama Mar-pa too," he said. I decided that it was the lama's residence. "What do they call this pass?" I said. "They call it Dharma Ridge," he said; and I had the happy thought that it was an excellent omen to see the lama's residence from Dharma Ridge.

The flow of this conversation makes it clear what is intended to be a question. Other textual cues are available as well: indefinite determiners are often marked by the connective Y*an*thus,in the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* of Sa-skya pandita, *dnos-po gan-dan gan-la yan, goms-na dka-ba tsi yan med* "There is not any difficulty in any matter at all-if one practices"; a question is often indicated by the quote-closer *Tse-na*thus, in the translation of the *Madhyamakavatara* of Candrakirti, Sanskrit *bhavatu gamanadvayam ko dosa iti cet* Tibetan *Ngro-ba gñis yod-mod skyon tsi yod tse-na* "What is wrong with there being two goers?" But even without such cues, context can distinguish the indefinite from the interrogativefor example, in the couplet from Sa-skya pandita, *GAN-la blo-gros mi-ldan-na, bstan-btsos legs-*

kyan su-zig len "If SOMEONE has no intelligence, though a teaching be good, WHO accepts it?"8

4.4. The Doubt Particles

Two modal performatives are found with questions: we will call these QUESTION MODALS. Both these particles are used where the speaker is querying a propositionor seeking the identity of a participanthesitantly or dubiously: the particles thus constitute what we will call DOUBT PERFORMATIVES.

The particle -*Tsig-gu* is apparently found only in the translation literature. We find several examples of its use in the Tibetan translation of the *Karmasataka.* Among yes-no questions in the text we find *so-soi skye-bo yin-zig-gu* "Could this be an ordinary man?" and *btsom-ldan-Ndas ga-la bzugs-te, bdag-la dgons-sig-gu* "Could the Blessed One be dwelling somewhere and thinking of me?" A similar dubitative quality is found in questions with interrogative determinersfor example, *od Ndi sui yin-zig-gu* "Whose light could this be?" *btsom-ldan-Ndas-dan gtam zer-ba su-zig-gu* "Who could this be who converses with the Blessed One?" *thabs dzi ltar byas-na khyeu Ndii tshe rin-bar Ngyur-zig-gu* "What can I possibly do to lengthen this boy's life?" There are cases as well where the primary question particle -*Am* is retained before the modal particlethus *Ndzig-rten-na mi-Ndzig-pai tshos gan Ndzig-par mi-Ngyur-ba Nga yod-dam-zig-gu* "Could there be in the world some imperishable dharma that will not perish?"

8 In the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter,* Sa-skya pandita is fond of the interrogative locution *su-zig* "who?," probably for metrical reasons, where other writers would use only *su.* For example, Gtsani-smyon he-ru-ka writes *mkhar Ndi sui yin, sus byas* "Whose tower is this? Who made it?" and *de-dus-kyi dpan-po-la su yod* "Who do you have as a witness of that occasion?"; while Sa-skya pandita writes *tsan-dan dri-bzan skye-bo dga, de bsregs sol-ba su-zig len* "People like fragrant sandalwood; but when it's burnt who takes the charcoal?" and *sbrul-la nor-bu yod-na yan, sems-ses su-zig drun-du sdod* "Though a snake have a jewel, what wise person stays nearby?"

Note that context can also distinguish adverbal interrogatives from indefinitesthus, from Sa-skya pandita once again, *blun-pos mkhas-pa dzi-ltar go* "How do fools understand the wise?" *phan-pai mdog-rtags khar Nbyin-pai, dgra-bo de-dag dzi-ltar gzom* "How will one defeat those enemies who mouth the counterfeit of good advice?"

By the time of Middle Tibetan the doubt particle *-TSig-gu* had apparently been lost, and indeed its precise meaning appears not to have been understood by later writers: the grammariansclearly influenced by its similarity in appearance to the command particle -TSigdecided that it indicated a command. We read, for example, in the *Li-sii gur-khan* dictionary, "The particle *-gu*, as in *gyur-tsig-gu*, is an imperative." But the same function continued to be served by the doubt particle *-na*, which seems to occur as early as in the archaic Central Tibetan manuscripts: we find the perplexing passage *bab gan-du bab-na, yul lha-yul gun-dan-gyi nan-du bab-te, dkor su-i dkor-na, lha-za gun-tshun-gyi dkor-dan dad-du babs-te* "The descent was, I wonder, a descent where? They descended into the sacred land of Gun-dan. The province was, I wonder, whose province? They descended in the province and fief of Lha-za gun-tshun." Less enigmatically, we find in the biography of Mi-la such dubitative questions as *zal mthon-ba-zig nam yon-na nam yon-na* "When oh when will I see his face?" *tsi yin-na* "What could it be?" *bla-ma gan-na bzugs-na* "Where could the lama be dwelling?" *mar-pa lo-tstshas dmag de-tsam gan-nas bos-pa-na* "Where could Mar-pa the Translator have called such an army from?"9

5. Commands

In English, commands generally have second-person subjects, but with the second-person pronoun omitted: thus *Go look!* means "You go look!" and *Meditate!* means "You meditate!" First- and third-person commands are expressed periphrastically in such constructions as those with *let* and *may*, as in *Let's go look!* or *May the lama meditate!* In Tibetan, however, virtually any proposition can be made into a command by using the appropriate imperative verb stem and the command particlethus *mal-Nbyor na sgoms-sig* "Let me the yogin meditate!" *mal-Nbyor-pa khyod sgoms-sig* "You the yogin meditate!" *mal-Nbyor-pa khon sgoms-sig* "Let him the yogin meditate!"10

9 This doubt particle is still found in New Tibetanfor example, New Tibetan (Lhasa) *mo sü yina <mo sui yin-na>*"I wonder what her family name could be?" *khoN-lapetsa yöna <khon-la dpe-tsha yod-na>*"Might he possibly have a book?"

10 Such constructions do operate under the Telegram Principle: an omitted participant is processed as recoverable from context; in conversation, a second-person addressee is inherently recoverable. Thus, generally speaking, *sgoms-sig* "Meditate!" may, without further contextual clues, be processed as a command to the person addressed; of course, one can

(*footnote continued on next page*)

5.1. The Command Particle

The COMMAND PARTICLE is *-TSig.* This bound particle becomes *-tsig* after preceding final *-g, -d* and *-b;* becomes *-zig* after preceding final *-n̄, -n, -m, -r, -l,* and open syllables; and becomes *-sig* after preceding final or postfinal *-s.*

In addition, many transitive verbs have special IMPERATIVE STEMS characterized by aspirated initials, the rounding of the vowel a in the root to *o* in the stem, and the inflection suffix *-s*for example, *thus* < *TU-s* "gather!" *khums* < *GUM-S* "kill!" *zos* < *ZA-S* "eat!" ñ*on* < *ÑAN-S* "listen!" *skyogs* < *SKYAG-S* "spend!" l*tos* < *LTA-s* "look!" *mdzod* < *MDZAD-S* "do!"11

Since many transitive verbs have such distinctive imperative stems, the command particle is REDUNDANT after some verb stems. It is thus possible, under the Telegram Principle, to find imperative stems without command

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

> and, in Tibetan contemplative poetry, not infrequently doesaddress oneself in internal conversation. In addition, the addressee may change abruptly: when one interlocutor wishes good luck for the other by saying *bkra-sis sog* "Let good luck come!" the command is addressed to a third party.
>
> 11 However, in any particular text, it is not surprising to find a more familiar present or past stem instead of the more exotic-looking imperative stem, even where the intent is clearly a commandfor example, *byed* instead of *byos* < *BYA-s* "do!" or even a hybrid form such as *ndos* instead of either the present stem *Ndzo* or the imperative stem *zos* < *DZO-s* "milk!" In the text of the biography of Mi-la ras-pa, for example, three out of four manuscripts use the past stem *brtsigs* when Mar-pa tells Mi-la z*ol-gyi rnam-pai khyams ka-b*a *btsu-gñis yod-pa btsan-khan-dan btsas-pa-zig brtsigs* "Build a courtyard as an annex, with twelve pillars and a temple for the fierce deities"; only one manuscriptfrom Spuns-than in Bhutanhas the grammatically correct reading *rtsigs* < *RTSIG-S* "build!"
>
> INTRANSITIVE verbs, on the other hand, generally have no distinctive imperative stem at all. Most often the present stem is used in imperative constructions; that the proposition is intended as a command is indicated by context, by the use of the command particle *-Tsig,* or by the presence of the *ma-* allomorph of the negative particle *mI-* "NOT," instead of the *mi-* allomorph normally found before the present stem in statements. For example, when Mi-la says to his *sisterpe-ta yi-mug ma-ldan zwa-tshos zos* "Pe-ta, let not sadness arise! Eat some nettle soup!" the TRANSITIVE verb *zos* < *ZA-s* "eat!" is clearly an imperative stem; the INTRANSITIVE verb l*dan* < *N-LAN* "arises" is clearly a present stem, but its function as a command is just as clearly indicated by the *ma-* allomorph of the negative particle before a non-past stem and by the context of the following transitive imperative.

particles;12 but I have been unable to discern any very systematic distinction between commands with imperative stems and command particles and commands with imperative stems alone.13 I do have an impression that commands without the command particle are perhaps more deferential, or more familiar, or at any rate less peremptory, than commands followed by the command particle; at least commands without *-TSig* seem to predominate in prayers directed to the gods.14

12 This is so even where the imperative stem is not phonologically distinctive: for example, we find the imperative stem *khyer* < *KHER-s* "take!" (identical with the past stem *khyer* < *b-KHYER-s* "took" and future stem *khyer* < *b-KHYER* "will take") when Mi-la says to the wind *ras dga-na ras khyer* "If you want my robe, take my robe!" It is thus true as well for intransitive verbs, which generally have no distinctive imperative stem: in the biography of Mi-la, for example, we find both n*a-rgyal ma-tshe-zig* "Let not your pride be great!" with the command particle, and n*an ma-thun* "Let not your patience be short!" without it.

13 In the archaic manuscripts from Central Asia, commands are most often marked with the command particle; in some manuscripts we find the form *-dzig* where in later texts we expect to find -zig. There is little consistency in the use of imperative stems; for example, the *-s* suffix is often omitted, but the -sig allomorph of the command particle is used anyway, as if the final or postfinal -s were present. The following are typical examples from the archaic *texts-tshan lud-dzig zan byin-tshig, rol-mo rtsed-mo byo-sig* "Give beer! Offer food! Make music and sport!" *tshigs Ndi yi-ger bris-la gtsig-gis gtsig ston-dzig* "Write these words in letters and show them one to the other," *phai sid thon-sig yab-ki mdad-rman tshugs-sig* "Make your father's funeral feast, build your lord's funeral pyre!" *g.yag sna ni rtswa zo-sig, rta Npyi-na ni tshu Nthun-sig* "Let the yak eat grass before, let the horse drink water after!" *bya Npar-ba ni ma-bzun-sig, mtshig khan-mo ni ma-Nbub-sig, khyi sbag-pha ni ma-bskan-ig* "Don't grasp at a soaring bird; don't put a roof on a ruined house; don't satisfy a mangy dog!"

14 Thus, for example, we find this refrain in a prayer written by Kon-sprul rin-po-tshe *gsol-ba Ndebs-so thugs-dam zal-bzes dgons, smon-lam yons-su Ngrub-par byin-gyis rlobs* "Thus I pray. Remember the vow you made! Grant that my prayer is fulfilled!" And note the following verses by Mi-la ras-pa, in which he chides his own mind, and tells it, without command particles, to behave itself:

sems ma-spro ma-spro ran-sar zog
spros-na don-med sna-tshogs dran
ma-yens ma-yens dran-pa sten
yens-na dge-sbyor rlun-la Ntshor
ma-Ngro ma-Ngro ñal-sa gnon
son-na goms-pa rdo-la thug

In the biography of Mi-la ras-pa, for example, we find commands with imperative stems and command particles such as *mar-pa na-ran yin phyag-tshol-tsig* "I am Mar-pa. Bow down!" *rgyal-mtshan-gyi rtse-la phyor-tsig* "Hoist it to the top of the banner!" *dban-bskur gdams-niag ston-tsig* "Teach him the initiation and instructions!" *snags-pai mkhar zes bya-ba gru-gsum-pa-zig dgos-pa yin-pas rtsigs-sig* "A magician's tower, properly speaking, should be a triangular one, so build it!" But we also find commands without command particlesfor example, *lto gos gzan-nas tshol* "Seek your food and clothing elsewhere!" *dban-gral-du ma-sdod* "Do not stand in the initiation line!" *rdzi-bu sems-la de-ltar ltos* "Shepherd, look on your mind like that!" *pe-ta yi-mug ma-ldan zwa-tshos zos* "Pe-ta, don't be sad; eat some nettle soup!"

5.2. Polite and Elegant Commands

One way to moderate the peremptoriness of a command is to nominalize the proposition and use it as a complement or patient of the imperative stem of a polite or elegant verbfor example, the imperative stem *mdzod* of the honorific verb *MDZAD* "do," or the (irregular) imperative stem *gyis* of the elegant verb *BGYI* "do." Such complements and patients are most often nominalized with *-Pa*thus the elegant commands *rgyal-bu ma-sor-ba gyis-ig* "Do not let the prince escape!" *on-kyan log-lta ma-skyes-pa gyis* "Well, don't get any wrong ideas," where the nominalized proposition is a patient; and n*ai mthus nan-son-du mi-skye-bas dga-bargyis-sig* "Since, by my magic power, you will not be born in an evil destiny, be happy!" *khyod-ran na ma-brdzed-par gyis* "Do not forget me," where the nominalized proposition is a complement. But it is also possible to nominalize the proposition with the nominalizer *-grogs* "HELP IN PROPOSITION" and use it as the patient of the same polite or

ma-sriiis ma-srins mgo-bo khug
bsrins-na lag-stons Ntshal-bar Ngro . . .

Mind!
Don't get busy, don't get busy! Stay in your right place!
Once you've got busy, you think of all sorts of useless things.
Don't wander, don't wander! Stand firm in mindfulness!
Once you've wandered, your skill is scattered to the winds.
Don't go, don't go! Keep to your bed!
Once you've gone, your training smashes on the rocks.
Don't reach out, don't reach out! Bend down your head!
Once you've reached out, your emptiness becomes confused ...

elegant verbs: Mar-pa's wife asks her husband's disciples *bla-ma rnog-pa Nkhor-btsas-kyis nai zu-ba Nbul-grogs mdzod-tsig* "Let Lama Rnog-pa and his disciples help me make my request!" and Mar-pa says to Mi-la *dar-ma mdo-sde Nbogs-pai mkhar-zig rtsig-grogs gyis* "Give a hand building a tower I can give to Dar-ma mdo-sde."

5.3. Impersonal Commands

We also find complement constructions with the anomalous imperative stem *sog* "Come!"15 These constructions generally function as optatives or IMPERSONAL COMMANDSfor example, *sgrub-la bar-tshad med-par sog* "Let it come to pass that there are no obstacles to our meditation!" *bu-lon gtonmkhan-laan ma-skyes-par sog, bu-lon len-mkhan-laan ma-skyes-par sog* "May you not be born as a moneylender! May you not be born as a debtor!" Such constructions are very old in Tibetan. In the archaic Central Asian manuscripts we find *rta khyod ni khar srab-gyis srabste kha drun su-ba Nkhor-tsig rgyab-du sgas stad-de rgyab-du sgal byui-sig, glo glos mnan-te khon-na sñin ñams-par sog-sig* "You, horse-bridled with a bridle in your mouth, let sores form by your mouth! a saddle laid upon your back, let loads be on your back! your side pressed by my side, may your heart fail within you!" In the Tibetan translation of the S*rimaladevisimhanadasutra* we find *bsod-nams de-yis mgon-po khyod, rtag-tu bdag-gis mthon-bar sog* "By that merit may I forever look

15 Such COMPLEMENT constructions should be distinguished from constructions with two consecutive IMPERATIVE stems, the second of which is s*og* "Come!"-for example, *der ser-ba-tsig phob sog* "Come cast down a hailstorm on them!" *la-kha-ba Ndi-rnams-kyi mi kun gso*s *sog-tsig* "Come on, heal all these men of the mountain tribes!" n*ai na-roi sku-rgyan-da*n *thugs-dam-rnams da-lta-ran lons sog-tsig* "Come! Get my ornaments and rosary of Naro right now!" where we find s*og* immediately preceded by the imperative stems *phob* < *PHAB* "cause to fall! cast down!" *gsos* < *GSO* "cure! restore! heal!" *lons* < *LAN* "get! obtain!" Note, in the same way, n*a-la tshan man-po khyer sog* "Bring me a lot of beer!" *de-na nai mi-nan der yod Ndug-pa de yan de dus khrid sog* "So, at that time, bring with you also that wicked fellow of mine who is there!"

The form s*og* is traditionally considered the imperative stem of the intransitive verb *yon* "come." Intransitive verbs, of course, do not normally have imperative stems at all; and, phonologically, the form s*og* has no discernable relationship to the root *YON*. In fact, it seems that s*og* is more likely related to a root **SAG* of uncertain meaning, now lost, but whose present stem **gsegs* < **G-SAG-D* has been frozen as the Old Tibetan honorific verb *GSEGS* "come, go."

upon you, my lord!" As might be expected, impersonal commands are frequently found in prayersfor example,

bstan-pai dpal-gyur bla-ma rin-tshen-rnams
nam-mkha bzin-du kun-la khyab-par sog
ñi-zla bzin-du kun-la gsal-bar sog
ri-bo bzin-du rtag-tu brtan-par sog

The precious lamas, glory of the teachings
may they pervade everywhere like the sky!
may they shine everywhere like the sun and moon!
may they be steadfast forever like the mountains!16

5.4. Requests

In English, not all commands are imperatives: statements (*Shoes will not be worn in the gym*)and questions (*Could you shut that window for me*?)can function as commands as well. In Tibetan, we find first-person statements with the verbs Zu "request" and *GSOL* "pray" used with complements as very polite commands: we will call such constructions REQUESTS. 17 Thus we find, for example, *bla-mas tshos bstan-par gsol* "I pray the lama to teach the dharma," *Nkhor-bai mtsho-las sgrol-du gsol* "I pray that I be delivered from the ocean of transmigration," *bla-ma dgons-su gsol* "I pray the lama to think of me!" In the biography of Mi-la ras-pa, the wife of his master Mar-pa pleads with her husband *bu Ndi-la tshos-sig gnan-bar zu* "I ask you to give this boy some dharma!/Please give this boy some dharma!" and Mi-la says to his master *thugs-rdzes Ndzin-par zu* "I ask that you hold me with compassion!"

16 Sometimes, of course, the nominalizer *-Pa* and adverb particle are omitted, primarily for metrical reasons-for example, *Ngro-rnams bla-med thar-pai sarphyin sog* "May all beings reach the incomparable stage of freedom!" *dge-bas Ngro kun gnas-skabs mthar-thug-gi, bde-leg*s *rgya-mtshoi dpal-Nbyor myur thob sog* "By this virtue, may all beings quickly attain the glory of the ocean of temporal and ultimate bliss!" Such constructions remain different from the consecutive imperative constructions discussed in the footnote above.

17 In the archaic translation of the *Saddharmapundarika* found in manuscript at Khotan, we find such expressions as *gsun-sig* "Speak!" *lun-stond-tsig* "Prophesy!" *ston* "Teach!" By the time of the canonical translation, these same commands were translated as the requests *bstan-du gsol* "I pray you teach," *lun-btsan gsol* "I pray you prophesy," and *bstan gsol* "I pray you teach," respectively.

Sometimes, using the same construction, a speaker will ask for something which it is entirely within his power to do. This translates a bit strangely into English. Such requests are perhaps best translated as requests for permission,

I am not very interested in the formal possibilities offered
by a system like language. Personally, I am above all haunted
by the existence of DISCOURSES, by the fact that speaking has
taken place as an event in relation to an original situation,
and has left traces which continue to exist and exercise, in
their very subsistence within history, any number of manifest
or secret functions.
Michel Foucault, *Sur les façons d'érire histoire*

although that certainly does not appear on the surface in the Tibetan. When Mar-pa has Mi-la choose between getting the teachings from Mar-pa and food and clothes from elsewhere, or getting food and clothes from Mar-pa and the teachings from someone else, Mi-la says l*to gos gzan-nas Ntshol-bar zu* "I ask that I seek food and clothes from elsewhere." When Mi-la wants to return home briefly, he tells Mar-pa

lan-tsig yul-du gton-bar zu
zabs-phyir myur-du on-bar zu

I ask that you let me go one time to my country;
I ask that I quickly return to your presence.

5.5. Linked Imperatives

A command is frequently part of a series of instructions, so commands frequently come in bunches. One way that imperatives are linked together is simply by a sequence of command sentences which are made cohesive through common participants, duly omitted in the second sentencethus *Ndzig-rten-du yan-dag-par sgrogs-sig ston-tsig* "Teach it, proclaim it well in the world!" Or a series of instructions can be conveyed through several proposi-

tions with past or present stems linked by conjunction or embedding, and made into a command sentence with a final imperative verb stem and command particlefor example, *gdams-nag Ndi legs-par ñan-nasyid-la zuns-ig* "Having listened well to this teaching, hold it in your mind!"

By and large, however, we find a sequence of instructions conveyed by a series of implicitly nominalized imperative stems linked by the locus particle *-lafor* example, s*og-la ltos-sig* "Come and see!" *mi de zuns-la sod-tsig* "Seize that man and kill him!" *lons-la son-zig* "Take it and go!" *skyol-la sog* "Bring him here!" For reasons I do not understand, *-la* is the only particle used when a nominalized proposition with an imperative stem is in the setting slot. I do know the construction is old in Tibetan; in the archaic manuscripts from Central Asia we find, for example, *tshigs Ndi yi-ger bris-la gtsig-gis gtsig ston-dzig* "Write these words in letters and show them one to the other," *lha-la phyag-Ntshol-la tshigs Ndi skadu byo-sig* "Let us worship the gods and say these words."18

5.6. The Informal Command Particle

One modal performative is found with commands: we will call this the COMMAND modal. The particle *-dan* (and its variant *-ʔan*)occurs where a speaker is issuing a command informally or casually: the particle thus constitutes what we will call an INFORMAL COMMAND PERFORMATIVE. This less peremptory command mode seems to appear first in the more colloquial literature influenced by Middle Tibetan, such as the prose portions of the biography and songs of Mi-la ras-pa, perhaps around the fourteenth century; by the middle of the eighteenth century the grammatical commentator Mkhas-grub dam-pa gives the particle *-dan* simply as an alternative to *-TSig.* In the literature we find such examples as *ri-mo bris-dan* "Draw a picture, OK?" *sdod-ʔan* "Please just stay," *yid-la byos-sig-dan bsad-do* "Just pay attention and I'll explain it," *khyod-rnams legs-par mthon-dan* "Look at it well, OK?" *yid-la byos-sig-dan* "Hey, pay attention!" Dpal-sprul rin-po-tshe uses

18 Further examples from the biography of Mi-la include *rdo-rdze Ndii dri-ma bum-tshu Ndis khrus-la rgyal-mtshan-gyi rtse-la phyor-tsig* "Cleanse the dirt on this vajra with this holy water, and hoist it to the top of the banner!" *mtshod-rten Ndi-la rab-gnas gyis-la rii rtser zog* "Consecrate this reliquary and place it on the top of the mountain!" *za-ma bzan-ba-zig gyis-la nai rtsar khrid zog* "Make some good food and bring it to me!" *sñin-rus skyed-la sgoms-sig* "Put forth courage, and meditate!" *khru Ndi rem-la slogs-sig* "Exert yourself and plough!"

the particle in a story to show the naivete of a country bumpkin who comes to Lhasa City and invites the miraculous image of the Buddha to visit him at home, saying *na-ran-tshoi yul-du sog-dan* "Hey, come on over to our place!" Mar-pa, showing some rare sympathy for the labors of the young Mi-la, says *mthu-tshen sgal-pa ston-dan* "Great Magician, let me take a look at your sores." Mi-la's mother, rejoicing at his destruction of their wicked kinsmen, exults n*a myan-tsha dkar-rgyan-gyis gos hrul gyon lto nan zos-nas bui rgyags sbyans-pa-la don-byun ʔe-Ndug ltos-dan... . a myan-tsha dkar-rgyan-la da-lanlas ñams-dga-ba ʔe-yon ltos-dan* "I, Myan-tsha dkar-rgyan, wore ragged clothes and ate bad food, but just look whether there has been a profit from providing my son with provisions! ... Just look whether I, Myan-tsha dkarrgyan, will ever be happier than now!"

6. Vocatives

A VOCATIVE is a nominal phrase, added optionally to any sentence, denoting the person to whom it is addressed and signalling the fact that it is addressed to him. A vocative is not part of the propositional structure of the sentence. One function of the vocative is to seek the attention of the person addressed, and especially to single him out from others who may be within hearing: here personal names, titles, or special terms of address may be used to identify the addressee. Another function, perhaps more subtle, is to express the attitude of the speaker toward the addressee, insofar as the vocative phrase incorporates terms of respect, familiarity, or contempt.

6.1. Initial And Final Vocatives

In Tibetan the majority of such vocatives occur in initial position: for example, Mi-la addresses a stranger with the words *drun-pa lags "O* Sir . . ." before speaking to him;19 the wife of Mar-pa similarly first addresses her husband with the title *bla-ma rin-po-tshe* "Precious lama . . ."; and Mar-pa addresses his disciple Tshos-sku rdo-rdze by both geographical and personal names as *rnog-ston tshos-rdor* "Reality Diamond, teacher of Rnog . . ." Mi-la

19 As Matthew Kapstein has pointed out to me, the term *drun-pa* usually refers to the closest personal attendant or private secretary of an aristocratic or ecclesiastical hierarch. It may be that Mi-la uses it as a prudent way of addressing a stranger of apparent, but undetermined, rank.

cries out *ʔa-ma ʔa-ma ʔa-khui khyim rdibs-nas mi man-po si Ndug ltos-dan* "Mother, mother, look, uncle's house has fallen down, and many people are dead." Such initial vocatives are often separated textually from the following sentence by a vertical stroke or s*ad* indicating a slight reading pausefor example, *bkra-sis, tshan khyer sog* "Bkra-sis, bring some beer!" *sman-pa lags, na-la bu-phrug med* "O apothecary, I have no children."

Occasionally we find vocative phrases extraposed to the end of the sentence, to the right of the verb and the performance particle. This is not uncommon in commands: for example, in a prayer to Avalokitesvara, traditionally ascribed to the great king Sron-btsan sgam-po, we find a series of lines such as *dag-pai zin-la skyol-zig spyan-ras-gzigs* "Lead me to the Pure Land, O Avalokitesvara!" and *rgyun-du thugs-rdzes gzigs-sig spyan-ras-gzigs* "Ever look on me with compassion, O Avalokitesvara!" Similarly, in the work of the poet Pad-ma dkar-po we find such verses as *sa-smos ser-ba-las sruns-sig snagsNtshan-gi nag-po* "Protect my lotus flowers from the hailstorm, O blackness of sorcerors!" and *blo re-ltos tshol-zig skal-ldan-tsho* "Let your minds be full of hope, O my disciples!"

But such extraposition is also found in statements. Pad-ma dkar-po is fond of such constructions; in one poem, he builds a structure upon repeated verses with extraposed vocative phrasesthus *nags-mtha sñegs-pa-la mi-dga stag-phrug-gi gzon-nu* "You have no joy dashing about the woods, O young tiger!" *nam-Nphan spyod-pa-la mi-dga than-dkar-gyigzon-nu* "You have no joy soaring in the sky, O young condor!" *rgyal-khams Ngrim-pa-la mi-dga bstan-Ndzin-gyi gzon-nu* "You have no joy wandering in the world, O young disciple!" In another poem he uses the repeated refrain *yid gzuns-nas sgoms-ig pad-ma dkar* "Meditate with heedful mind, O Pad-ma dkar-po!" and then, in the last verse, switches to *dbyans mtshod-par Nbul-lo dkon-mtshog gsum* "I give my song in offering, O Three Jewels!"

6.2. Titles Of Respect

Nominal phrases containing titles of respect are often used vocatively. Among such titles of respect perhaps the most frequently encountered is *lags*, either used by itself in the sense of "Sir . . ." or added to other titles, personal names, epithets, or kinship terms. Thus Mi-la addresses a stranger as *drun-pa lags* "O Sir .. ." and his master Mar-pa as *bla-ma lags* "O lama . . ." The yogin Mi-la is himself addressed by his disciple Ras-tshun-pa as *rdze-btsun*

lags "O reverend sir . ." The Grand Secretary of Tibet is properly addressed as *sku-gzogs rtse-drun lags* "Honorable Mister Secretary ..."

Other titles of respect encountered as vocatives in the classical texts include the secular *gtso-bo* "my lord" *andgtso-mo* "my lady," the religious *rdze-btsun* "reverend sir" and *rdze-btsun-ma* "reverend madam," and the intimate *bzin-bzan* "handsome sir" and *bzin-bzan-ma* "fairfaced lady." Such terms may form part of a more complex nominal: in the drama *Snan-sa od-Nbum* we find a man addressing his wife as *tshe-rabs kun-gyi gtan-grogs bzin-bzan-ma "O* fairfaced constant wife through all my former lives ..."

Another series of terms, including *sku-gzogs, sku-nos, sku-mdun,* and *sku-drun,* is found in the texts, all meaning "your honorable presence" and used in direct address to a social or spiritual superior. The term *sku-gzogs* is often written as <*sku-zabs*>"honorable feet," in imitation of Indic terms of address; but the original orthography is still reflected in such pronunciations as New Tibetan (Dbus) *kuso.*

An important and frequently encountered title of respect is *rin-po-tshe* "precious one," used almost exclusively in addressing high lamas. The Dalai Lama is addressed as *rgya-mtsho rin-po-tshe* "Precious Ocean" or *rgyal-ba rin-po-tshe* "Precious Conqueror," the Panchen Lama as *pan-tshen rin-po-tshe* "Precious Scholar," and, at one time, the King of Bhutan as *zabs-drun rin-po-tshe* "Precious Feet."20 We find Mar-pa addressed as *bla-ma rin-po-tsh*e "Precious lama" by his wife, by Mi-la, and by other lamas who are his disciples.

Such titles of respect reach their most flowery expression in the Tibetan epistolary style. For example, a letter to the Dalai Lama is sent with the honorific salutation

> *Ngro-ba lha-dan btsas-pai mgon-skyabs dpun-gñen mtshuns-zla ma-mtshis-par rgyal-bai dban-po thams-tsad mkhyen-tsin gzigs-pa tshen-po zabs-stegs gser-gyi Ndab-ston rnam-par bzad-pai drun-du...*

20 The king of Bhutan was called z*abs-drun* when Bhutan had a common temporal and spiritual head. Under the present dynasty Bhutan is ruled by a *rgyal-po~tshos-rgyal* "king" and the highest ecclesiastical office is that of *rdze mkhan-po* "lord abbot."

Before the honorable presence of the smiling golden thousandpetal lotus footstool of the great all-knowing all-seeing Lor dBuddha who is the peerless friend and refuge of all beings including the gods . . .

6.3. Other Vocative Expressions

We find other nominals used in vocative phrases to indicate the relative status of the person addressed. Such vocatives may use pejoratives, as when Mi-la says ñ*an-tsig dman-mo khyod* "Listen, you lowly demoness!" or *nan-pa gña-rens ser-smug gtam Ndi ñon* "Ser-smug you wicked stiff-necked one, hear this word!" Other vocatives may use respectful older relative terms, such as *ʔa-dzo* "older brother" and *ʔa-tshe* "older sister," not infrequently with *lags* or other titles of respect, as in *ʔa-tshe lags rin-po-tshe "O* precious older sister . ." Other vocatives may use intimate younger relative terms such as *bu* "son," *tsha-bo* "nephew," *bu-mo mdzes-pa* "darling daughter."

What we can call professional titles are frequently used vocativelybla-ma "lama," *sprul-sku* "incarnation," *mkhan-po* "abbot," *khri-tshen* "abbot," *dge-bses* "professor," *dbu-mdzad* "head monk," *dge-slon* "monk," *mo-btsun* "nun," *lha* "king," *blon-tshen* "minister of state," *sde-srid* "regent," *lha-rdze* "physician," *yon-bdag* "lay patron." Here again we often find *lags* or other titles of respect added to the addressee's professional title.21

6.4. The Structure of Tibetan Names

Quite frequently a vocative phrase contains the addressee's name. Since persons-especially eminent personsmay possess several types of names and titles simultaneously, it may be helpful here to discuss the structure of such names as may be encountered in the classical texts.

21 We may note here that vocative PLURALS are often formed with *-dag* both in translations from Sanskrit and in classical literature-thus *dge-slon-dag* "O monks . . ." *kye bzin-bzan-dag* "O handsome sirs . . ." s*es-ldan-dag "O* learned sirs . . ." *kye grogs-po-dag "O* friends . . ." The interjection *kye~kwa~ka-ye~kwa-ye* is sometimes used to indicate a vocative term, especially in the translation literature, although it is found elsewhere as wellthus *kye lhai lha* "O lord of lords . . ." *kye kha-lo bsgyur-ba* "O helmsman . . ." *bdag-la dgons-sig mgon-po kye* "Think of me, O lord!"

6.4.1. Personal names

The vast majority of Tibetan religious namesand the great majority of secular namesconsist of combinations of disyllabic terms with auspicious connotations. These terms may denote such auspicious objects as ñi-*ma* "sun," *zla-ba* "moon," *rdo-rdze* "vajra," *rgya-mtsho* "ocean," *rtse-mo* "peak," *rgya-mtshan* "banner," *pad-ma* "lotus," *nor-bu* "gem," *sen-ge* "lion," *rgyal-po* "king," and *gzon-nu* "prince"; such auspicious qualities as *mthu-stobs* "strength," *bsod-nams* "merit," *tshul-khrims* "discipline," *bstan-Ndzin* "adherence to the teachings," *bzan-po* "virtue," *tshos-Nphel* "religious increase," *Ngyur-med* "constancy," *grags-pa* "fame," *dban-phyug* "dominion," *blo-gros* "intelligence," *tshe-rin* "long life," *yon-tan* "excellence," *rnam-rgyal* "victory," *bkra-sis* "blessing," *don-grub* "success," *phrin-las* "activity," *ye-ses* "knowledge," and s*es-rab* "wisdom"; and such divine names as *sans-rgyas* "Buddha," *kun-dga* "joy ® Ananda," *sgrol-ma* "savioress ® Tara," *ddzam-dpal* "sweet glory ® Mañjusri," *Ndzam-dbyans* "sweet voice ® Mañjughosa," *byams-pa* "friendliness ® Maitreya."

And I said, "Hey, pal, what's going on here? Who are you, anyway?" And he said, "Now, I am the soul doctor. And, you know, language is a virus from outer space. And hearing your name is better than seeing your face."
Laurie Anderson, *Diffcult Listening*

Thus we find such names as *blo-gros rgyal-mtshan* "Intelligence Banner," *ye-ses rdo-rdze* "Knowledge Diamond," *Ndzam-dbyans grags-pa* "Sweet Voice Fame," *tshe-rin bkra-sis* "Long Life Blessing," *bsod-nams blo-gros* "Merit Intelligence," *zla-ba nor-bu* "Moon Gem," *bzan-po rgyal-mtshan* "Virtue Banner," *blo-gros bzan-po* "Intelligence Virtue," *Ndzam-dbyans ses-rab sen-ge* "Sweet Voice Wisdom Lion," *ye-ses mthu-stobs dban-phyug* "Knowledge Strength Dominion," *blo-grosyon-tan rgya-mtsho phrin-las* "Intelligence Excellence Ocean Activity." We will call such combinations PERSONAL NAMES.

The predominantly disyllabic pattern may occasionally be broken by such monosyllabic components as *dpal* "glory," *Nbar* "blaze," *rtsal* "skill," *od* "light," *grags* "fame," or *sde* "lord," as in *phrin-las dpal bzan-po* "Activity Glory Virtue," s*es-rab Nbar* "Wisdom Blaze," *yon-tan Ngro-Ndul rtsal* "Excellence Converting Skill." Occasionally too we find components of a personal name placed in an explicitly adnominal relationshipfor example, *mkhyen-brtsei od-zer* "Light of Knowledge and Love," *bstan-pai rgyal-mtshan* "Banner of the Teachings," *tshos-kyi dban-po* "Master of the Dharma," *blo-gros mtha-yas-pai sde* "Lord of Infinite Intelligence."

Personal names are frequently encountered as clipped disyllables formed from the stressed syllables of each of the original componentsthus *Ndzam-grags* < *Ndzam-dbyans grags-pa* "Sweet Voice Fame," *dban-rgyal* < *dban-phyug rgyal-mtshan* "Dominion Banner," *tshos-grags* < *tshos-kyi grags-pa* "Fame of the Dharma," *thub-bstan* < *thub-pai bstan-pa* "Teachings of the Sage," *nag-dban* < *nag-gi dban-phyug* "Master of Speech." Such clipped names may in turn be components in longer sequences: for example, in the personal name *blo-bzan grags-pa* the first component *blo-bzan* is a clip of the combination *blo-gros bzan-po* "Intelligence Virtue"; thus the clipped name *blo-grags* < *blo-bzan grags-pa* "Intelligence Virtue Fame" is a clip containing a clip.

6.4.2. Types of personal names

A person may possess several personal names in the course of a lifetime. Every child has a CHILDHOOD NAME, often bestowed by a respected elder or lama, and established at a naming celebration; a child may in addition have one or more PET NAMES which can change in the course of time. Mi-la raspa's father gives his child the childhood name *thos-pa dga* "Happy to Hear It," since he is so pleased to hear the news of the birth; Mi-la's sister is similarly given the childhood name *mgon-mo skyid* "Lady Joy," as well as the pet name *pe-ta* "Little Leech," by which Mi-la continues to address her even after she is an adult. Sometimes the name includes the day on which the child was bornfor example, *ñi-ma lha-mo* "Sunday Goddess," *pa-sans sgrol-ma* "Friday Tara." Often this DAY-NAME is only tentative, and a new name is given at the first opportunity to have the child blessed by a lama, although often the day-name sticks anyway. In addition, any of these names can be changed for astrological reasons, if the name in use seems to be attended by bad luck.

When a person enters the monastery, he is given a new name, usually at the time of taking the vows of a novice, although in some cases he may receive a further new name at the time of taking the complete vows of a monk. A typical account of such names is found in the contemporary autobiography of a Sherpa lama, who writes,

> *btsas-ston yan rgyas-par byas-nas min-la gza-dan bstun-te, zla-ba bstan-Ndzin zes btags Ndug-go ... ran lo ñer-gtsig-la bslebs-dus bla-ma sans-rgyas tshos-Nphel-gyi drun-nas so-thar dge-tshul sdom-pai bar legs-par zus-pas, min mkhan-poi mtshan-nas dran-ste, sans-rgyas zla-ba zes btags*
>
> After having a big birth party, they connected my name with the day of the week and called me *zla-ba bstan-Ndzin* "Monday Adherent" . . . When I turned twenty-one I duly asked the lama *sans-rgyas tshos-Nphel* "Buddha's Dharma Increase" for ordination up through the vows of a novice, and I was given the name *sans-rgyas zla-ba* "Buddha Monday" after the name of my preceptor.

Similarly, Mar-pa ordains his disciple Mi-la as a novice monk with the name *rdo-rdze rgyal-mtshan* "Diamond Banner," after a prophetic dream he had the evening before the two first met.

In addition to this MONASTIC NAME, a monk or layman may receive a BODHI-SATTVA NAME when he takes his vow to save all sentient creatures; and he may receive from his tantric teacheror even from the deity itselfa SECRET NAME when he is initiated into the ritual practices of a tantric deity. Thus Mi-la describes the acquisition of his secret name as follows:

> *Nkhor-lo sdom-pa-la yul ñi-su-rtsa bzi, gnas sum-tsu-rtsa gñis, dur-khrod tshen-po brgyad-kyi dpa-bo-dan mkha-Ngros bskor-nas khra-lam-me bzugs-pa dnos-su mthon, dei tshe bla-ma-dan dkyil-Nkhor-gyi lhas mgrin gtsig-tu gsan-mtshan dpal bzad-pa rdo-rdzer btags*
>
> I vividly saw the deity Cakrasamvara clearly seated there, surrounded by the gods and goddesses of the twenty-four lands, the thirty-two places, the eight great cemeteries; and at that time the lama and the gods of the mandala with one voice gave

me the secret name *dpal bzad-pa rdo-rdze* "Glory Laughter Diamond."

A writer may become known under one or more of these different names, and he may even sign his works with a combination of them. For example, Kon-sprul rin-po-tshe was given the MONASTIC NAME *nag-dban yon-tan rgya-mtsho phrin-las kun-khyab dpalbzan-po* "Master of Speech Excellence Ocean Activity Pervasion Glory Virtue," the BODHISATTVA NAME *blo-gros mtha-yas-pai sde* "Lord of Infinite Intelligence," and the SECRET *NAMEpad-ma gar-gyi dban-phyugphrin-las Ngro-Ndul rtsal* "Lotus Dominion of Dance Activity Converting Skill." He signed his works with abbreviated forms of his monastic name *nag-dban yon-tan rgya-mtsho* and *yon-tan rgya-mtsho*, and sometimes simply with *guna*, the Sanskrit equivalent *of yon-tan*, or with a combination of his secret and bodhisattva name*sthus pad-ma gar-gyi dban-phyug blo-gros mtha-yas-pai sde.*

Other personal names may be given for special purposes. After advanced instruction in Sanskrit and poetics, a scholar may be given a GRAMMARIAN'S NAME, which he signs to works on grammar, lexicography, and rhetoric. A religious practitioner who is a *gter-ston* "discoverer of hidden treasures"and thus able to locate the hidden texts concealed by the ancient Padmasambhavamay, upon his appointment by an already practicing discoverer, be given in addition a special DISCOVERER'S NAME, the particular name having been prophesied by Padmasambhava and appearing in the hidden texts themselves.

6.4.3. Geographical and family names

Individuals are often differentiated by a GEOGRAPHICAL NAME. The person's place of birth or area of major religious activity may simply be prefixed to his personal name, as in *bo-don ri-tshen rtse-mo* "Jewel Peak of Bo-don," *rtseg dban-phyug sen-ge* "Dominion Lion of Rtseg," *sde-dge blo-gros rgyal-mtshan* "Intelligence Banner of Sde-dge." Frequently we find the person's geographical provenance followed by the formative *-pa* "PERSON HAVING TO DO WITH," as in *mar-pa rdo-rdze ye-ses* "Diamond Knowledge the man from Mar," *gñal-pa ñi-ma ses-rab* "Sun Wisdom the man from Gñal," *khams-pa ses-rab rdo-rdze* "Wisdom Diamond the man from Khams." Indeed, a famous scholar or contemplative may be more widely known by his geographical name than by any of his personal names: for example, Tshos-kyi blo-gros is widely known simply as *mar-pa* "the man from Mar," Blo-bzan grags-pa as *tson-kha-pa* "the

man from Tson-kha," and Zla-od gzon-nu as *sgam-po-pa* "the man from Sgam-po."

Sometimes geographic affiliations are expressed with the word *ston* "teacher" or *lo-tsa-ba* "translator" suffixed to the person's geographic area: thus we find *rgya-ston gzon-nu sen-ge* "Prince Lion the teacher of Rgya," z*an-ston bsod-nams grags-pa* "Merit Fame the teacher of Zan," *go-rub lo-tsa-ba tshos-kyi ses-rab* "Wisdom of Dharma the translator of Go-rub," *Ngos lo-tsa-ba gzon-nu dpal* "Prince Glory the translator of Ngos." Such geographic titles are also found in clipped form, as in *stag-lo gzon-nu brtson-Ngrus* "Prince Striving the translator of Stag" or *smin-glin Ngyur-med rdo-rdze* "Unchanging Diamond the lama of Smin-grol monastery." A famous teacher or translator may be widely known by such geographic title alone: for example, Nam-mkha grags-pa is often referred to simply as *mtshims-ston* "the teacher of Mtshims," and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba is often referred to simply as *nag-tsho lo-tsa-ba* "the translator of Nag-tsho."

Incarnations may have geographical names with the suffix *sprul-sku* "incarnation," as in *bde-than sprul-sku blo-bzan tshul-khrims rnam-rgyal* "Intelligence Virtue Discipline Victory the incarnation of Bde-than," *or phur-bu-ltsog sprul-sku byams-pa tshul-khrims bstan-Ndzin* "Friendliness Discipline Adherent the incarnation of Phur-bu-ltsog." Famous incarnations again may be referred to by this geographic title alone: for example, Yon-tan rgya-mtsho is widely known as *kon-sprul rin-po-tshe,* the term *kon-sprul* being a clipped form of the geographical name *kon-po sprul-sku* "the incarnation of Kon-po," since the monk of whom he was held to be an incarnation came originally from Kon-po. Similarly, the contemporaneous Ndzigs-med tshos-kyi dban-po is widely known as *dpal-sprul rin-po-tshe,* the term *dpal-sprul* again being a clipped form of the geographical name *dpal-dge sprul-sku* "the incarnation of Dpal-dge," since he was held to be an incarnation of Dpal-dge Bsod-nams sbyin-pa.

Sometimes the various incarnations of a single spiritual progenitor are distinguished by geographical names. For example, Ndzam-dbyans mkhyen-brtsei dban-po kun-dga bstan-pai rgyal-mtshan has been held to be incarnate in several different persons simultaneously in several monastic centers: thus we find *rdzon-sar mkhyen-brtse Ndzam-dbyans tshos-kyi dban-po* "Sweet Voice Master of Dharma the Mkhyen-brtse at Rdzon-sar," *dpal-spuns mkhyen-brtse karma mkhyen-brtsei od-zer* "Karma Light of Knowledge and Love the Mkhyen-brtse at Dpal-spuns," *dis-mgo mkhyen-brtse rab-gsal zla-ba* "Clarity

Moon the Mkhyen-brtse at Dis-mgo," *rdzogs-tshen mkhyen-brtse gu-ru tshe-dban* "Guru Lifepower the Mkhyen-brtse at Rdzogs-tshen," and so on.

Additionally, names may incorporate FAMILY NAMES. The great-great-grandfather of Mi-la ras-pa acquired the name *mi-la* when he conquered an evil demon, who cried out in *fearpha ma mi-la mi-la* "Father! Mother! Woe! Woe!" This name was passed on to his son Mi-la Mdo-ston sen-ge, who passed it on to his son Mi-la Rdo-rdze sen-ge, who passed it on to his son Mi-la Ses-rab rgyal-mtshan, who passed it on to his son called Thos-pa dga. Similarly we find such combinations of family and personal names as *Nkhon dkon-mtshog rgyal-po* "Jewel King of the Nkhon," *rgya ye-ses mgon-po* "Knowledge Protector of the Rgya," *myan ses-rab Nbyun-gnas* "Wisdom Source of the Myan." Sometimes family names and geographical names overlap, where a family has the same name as its hereditary estate.

6.4.4. Epithets

In addition to such names, persons may acquire EPITHETS in the course of their lives, and it may be by such an epithet that a person is best known. The epithet may be professional, as in *sde-srid sans-rgyas rgya-mtsho* "Buddha Ocean the Regent," *dar-han ?em-tshi Ndzam-dbyans rgyal-mtshan* "Sweet Voice Banner the Physician of Dar-han," *dga-ldan khri-tshen nag-dban tshul-khrims* "Master of Speech Discipline the Abbot of Dga-ldan," *spyi-khyab mkhan-po bde-tshen rgya-mtsho* "Bliss Ocean the Abbot of Spyi-khyab." Sgam-po-pa is often referred to simply as *dwags-po lha-rdze* "the Physician of Dwags-po," and Mi-la becomes known as *mthu-tshen* "Magician" after he demonstrates his professional abilities to his master Mar-pa:

> *thugs sñun-bai mi man-po gri-khar si-ba gzigs-nas, khyod-la mthu tshen-po yod zer-ba bden-par Ndug gsuns-nas na-la min mthu-tshen-du btags*
>
> He saw many maddened men die at knife-point. He said, "It's true what they say, that you have magic power"; and he gave me the name *mthu-tshen* "Magician."

An epithet may also be honorific, as when the first Black Hat Karma-pa Tshos-kyi grags-pa is known almost exclusively as *dus-gsum mkhyen-pa* "He Who Knows the Past, Present, and Future," or the fifth Black Hat Karma-pa

Tshos-dpal bzan-po is known almost exclusively as *de-bzin gsegs-pa* "He Who Has Thus Come," an epithet of the Buddha. The name of the great *yogini* Ma-gtsig Lab-kyi sgron-ma combines the geographical name Lab-phyi and the childhood name *sgron-ma* "Lady Lamp" with the honorific epithet *ma-gtsig* "The One Mother." We may note here too that certain general honorific expressions have become specialized as such personal epithets: for example, unless otherwise specified, the expression *dzo-bo rdze* "Venerable Lord" refers to Atisa, *rdze-btsun* "Reverend Sir" refers to Mi-la, *rdze rin-po-tshe* "Precious Lord" refers to Tson-kha-pa, and *gu-ru rin-po-dshe* "Precious Guru" refers to Padmasambhava.

An epithet may also be generic. For example, a yogin often bears the epithet *ras-pa* "one who wears a cotton cloth" combined with some individuating component: thus Mgon-po rdo-rdze is called *khyi-ra-ba ras-pa* "Hunter Yogin," after his former occupation; Pad-ma rdo-rdze is called *glin ras-pa* "Yogin of Glin," after his geographic provenance; the young Thos-pa dga eventually becomes known as Mi-la ras-pa "Yogin of the Mi-la," after his family name. Similarly, Ye-ses rdo-rdze is known as *gtsan-pa rgya-ras* "Yogin of the Rgya family from Gtsan," in a clipped form that combines both geographical and family names with his epithet.

A similar generic epithet is *smyon-pa* "madman," used of the crazy and iconoclastic saint of the yogic tradition, as in such names as *dbus-smyon kun-dga bzan-po* "Joy Virtue the madman of Dbus," or *Nbrug-smyon kun-dga legs-pa* "Joy Goodness the madman of the Nbrug." The author of the life of Mi-la ras-pa and the editor of his collected songs began life with the childhood name *tshos-rgyal lhun-po* "Dharma King Mountain," became a novice monk with the monastic name *sans-rgyas rgyal-mtshan* "Buddha Banner," and received the secret name *khrag-Nthun rgyal-po* "Blood-drinking King" from his tutelary deity; but he is best knownand is spoken of in his earliest biographyby the epithet *gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka* "Heruka the madman of Gtsan."

An epithet may also be descriptive: such epithets are idiosyncratic to the persons who bear them. Rdo-rdze grags-pa, the disciple of Mi-la ras-pa, is called *ras-tshun-pa* "Little Piece of Cotton" because he wears only a small piece of cotton cloth; Mgon-po rdo-rdze is said to have worked so tirelessly for his fellow contemplatives at Tsa-ri that he became known to them as *rdza-khrod bon-ser* "Yellow Donkey of the Claypits." Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka signed his biography of Mar-pa with the epithet *dur-khrod myul-bai mal-Nbyor-pa*

"Yogin Who Wanders in Cemeteries" and his biography of Mi-la with the epithet *rus-pai rgyan-tsan* "He Who Has Ornaments of one," while Ndzigs-med tshos-kyi dban-pothe great Dpal-sprul rin-po-tshesigned his works with the epithet *?a-bu hral-po* "Ragged Old Fellow."22

6.4.5. Names and epithets in vocative phrases

Personal names are often found in vocative phrases, used both by friends and intimates of the addressee and by his superiors. It is interesting to note, for example, that in the works of Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka the lama Mar-pa addresses his wife Bdag-med-ma by her personal name, while she addresses him by his title as *bla-ma rin-po-tshe* "precious lama." Similarly Mar-pa addresses his disciple Rniog-pa by both family and personal names, using the form *rnog-ston tshos-rdor,* while the disciple again uses *bla-ma rin-po-tshe* in reply.

His instructors in black magic address Mi-la by his personal name *thos-pa dga,* while both Mar-pa and Rnog-pa address him by his epithet *mthu-tshen* "Magician," occasionally with the affectionate prefix *?a-bo* added; Mi-la in turn addresses all his teachers as *bla-ma lags* or *bla-ma rin-po-tshe.* The relation between Mi-la and his own disciples is the same: Rdo-rdze grags-pa addresses his master as *bla-ma rdze-btsun rin-po-tshe* "precious reverend lama" or *rdze-btsun rin-po-tshe lags* "precious reverend sir," while Mi-la

22 The names of horses are also found in classical Tibetan. In the *rta-rgyug* "horse race" chapter of the epic of Ge-sar we find a long list of the participating horses and their ridersthe equivalent of a Homeric catalogue of ships. Many of these horses, as we might expect, have names referring to their colorfor example, *nag-po Nbroni-Ndul* "Black Yak-tamer," *nag-khra Nphur-ses* "Black-spotted Flyer," *gser-mdon ñi-mai Nkhrul-Nkhor* "Gold-faced Magic Weapon of the Sun," *nan-ba rtsal-ldan* "Dun Skillful," *ston-ri rag-dkar* "Russet-white of the Desolate Mountains," *Nphar-ba rna-nag* "Leaping Black-tail." Several horses have names which refer to the *wind--rlun-nag rdzes-gtsod* "Black-wind Tracker," *nor-bu rlun-Ndzin* "Jewel Wind-grabber," *rlun-gi Nkhor-lo* "Wind Wheel"; and a surprising number have names that refer to birds-for example, *khyun-nag ldin-ses* "Black-eagle Soarer," *rma-bya gdon-tsan* "Peacock Face," *g.yu-bya rna-khra* "Turquoise-bird Spotted-ear," *dun-bya g.yu-rnog* "Conch-bird Turquoise-mane," *rgya-bya mi-lan Nkhrul-Nkhor* "China-bird Unequalled Magic Weapon." A few names seem to have a touch of self-deprecating *humor--a-rkyan drel-mgo* "Wild-horse Mule-head," *ka-ba khri-skyid* "Pillar Happy-throne." But most of the names are straightforward and charming*ston-ri dar-Ndzams* "Desolate-mountain Smooth-as-silk," *lu-gu ntsham-ses* "Dances-like-a-lamb," *gans-ri Idans-es* "Glacier Soarer," *me-ri Nkhyil-ses* "Fire-mountain Twister," *smu-gu ldin-es* "Floats-like-the-mist."

addresses him not by his personal name but by his epithet *ras-tshun-pa* "Little Piece of Cotton."

Figure 12.
Charm to protect against demons, ghosts, and vampires, pictured here as worms and scorpions (note the visual punssdig-pa "scorpion" sdig~pa "sin," sri-srin "demon" srin-bu "insect, worm")

13
Beyond the Sentence

1. Exclamations

An EXCLAMATION is a partial sentencesometimes called a "sentence fragment" or "minor sentence"that functions as an autonomous unit similar to a sentence. An exclamation may be found anywhere a sentence may be found, either within a discourse or embedded in a proposition as the patient of a verb such as *GSUN* "say" or *SÑAM* "think."

1.1. Hypothetical Expressions

Some sentences, of course, are assertions with exclamatory force. The verbs *LEGS* "be good" and *RUN* "be right" are often used in such a waythus *legs-so* "Very well! Excellent!" *run gsuns* "'All right!' he said." We often find such HYPOTHETICAL constructions as *nus-na sin-tu legs* "If you can do it, very well!" *sgom-tshen kha-rogs sdod-na legs* "A meditator had best stay quiet!" *rgyal-po gzan-gyis bdag-po byed-na mi-legs* "Another king had better not become her husband!" *mi-rñed-na mi-run* "We'd better find it!" *tsi-ltar byed-na legs* "What should I do? "

Even stronger exclamatory force is found in hypothetical constructions with the expressions *tsi ma-legs~tsi ma-run* "What's wrong with that?"1 For example, we find *bsam-na tsi ma-legs* "What's wrong with thinking about it?/You ought to think about it!" *de Nbyun-na tsi ma-run* "Would that it happened!/Oh, may it happen!" *Ndii ze-sdan Ndi zi-na tsi ma-run* "Best I quiet this anger of his!" n*a rig-pa-dan ldan-na tsi ma-run* "Would that I were wise!"

1 Compare also the expression l*ta-tsi-smos~lta-smos-tsi-dgos* "what need to say, need I mention, dare I add, to say nothing of, what more of," as in *Ndi-dag Ndul-ba lta-tsi-smos* ". . . to say nothing of the conversion of these!" *mirgyur-ba yan rñed-pardka-na dal-ba phun-sum-tshogs-pa lta-tsi-smos* "If it's difficult to be born as a human being, what then of perfect liberty!"

nai bu-mo min-na tsi ma-run "Would that she were not my daughter!" *semstsan thams-tsad sdug-bsnal-dan Nbral-na tsi ma-run* "Oh that all sentient beings were free from suffering!" *Ndi Ndra-bai sdug-bsnal Nkhur-ba-las Ntshi-na tsi ma-run* "Better I should die than bear such suffering!"

1.2. Hypothetical Ellipsis

Such exclamatory hypothetical SENTENCES can become EXCLAMATIONS by omission of the consequent, leaving only the antecedent locus participant in the setting slot, rather like English exclamations in the form *If only*... Thus, in addition to, say, *de Nbyun-na legs* "If it happens, it would be good," we find, simply, *de Nbyung-na* "If only it would happen!" and, in addition to, say, *Ndi bdag-gi yin-na tsi ma-run* "Would that this were mine!" we find, simply, *Ndi bdag-gi yin-na* "If only this were mine!" For example, in the Tibetan translation of the *Karmasataka* we read *kye-ma rgyal-po tshen-po na blta-bai phyir ons-na* "Oh, if only the great king has come to see me!" and, in the biography of Mi-la, we find *sems-tsan man-po si-na Ntshens-te sñam "I* thought happily, 'If only many sentient creatures had died!'"

1.3. Exclamations in -Pa-la

Another form of exclamation consists of a nominalized proposition followed by the locus particle *-la*, yielding what appears to be an autonomous locus participant, indicating an extreme degree of some variable factor, which is expressed by the nominalized verb, usually stativefor example, *khyi tshe-bala* "That dog is really big!/How big that dog is!" *gnam sdug-pa-la* "The sky is so beautiful!/What a beautiful sky!" Sometimes the variable factor is expressed by a noun, presumably with an equative *YIN* omitted; for example, when some young girls see the emaciated and ragged body of Mi-la ras-pa, one exclaims *sdug-sdug-gi Ndra-ba-la* "How miserable he seems!" while another cries out *sñin-rdze-ba-la* "What a pity!"

Such exclamations may also be made from hypotheticals: for example, when rebuked by his master, Mi-la cries out s*i-na dga-ba-la* "How happy I would be if I died!" and *sa-la thim-na dga-ba-la* "What happiness to sink into the earth!" Similarly, in one of his songs Mi-la exclaims *sgom-na tshog-pa-la* "If I meditate that's surely enough for me!"

1.4. Exclamations in -re-

A compound may become an exclamation when the syllable *-re-is* inserted between its two componentsfor example, *sñii-rdze* "compassion" *sñin-re-rdze* "What a shame!" *skyug-log* "disgust" *skyug-re-log* "How disgusting!" Such an exclamation can even be predicated of a participantfor example, *sems-tsan sñin-re-rdze* "The poor creatures!" *khyod-ran sñin-re-rdze* "How you are to be pitied!" Or it can be nominalized with *-Pa* and used as the modifier of a nominal headthus *sñin-re-rdze-bai sdig-tsan dmyal-bar ltun* "The sinnerhow to be pitied!falls to hell." Other such exclamatory compounds include *ñams-dga* "joy" *ñams-re-dga* "Wonderful!" *blo-bde* "happiness" *blo-re-bde* "What happiness!" *o-brgyal* "fatigue" *o-re-brgyal* "How tired!" z*e-Ndzigs* "fear" z*e-re-Ndzigs* "How frightful!" *yi-mug* "despair" *yi-re-mug* "Alas!" Such exclamations have apparently deep roots in the Tibetan language: in an archaic ninth-century manuscript from Central Asia we find the exclamation *o-na bu-re stug-re-bsnal* "Oh my only son, what suffering!"

2. Connectives

2.1. The Connective Yan

The connective *Yan* "EVEN, ALSO" is clearly related tobut is not the same asthe bound adversative conjunction *-Yan* "BUT." Like the conjunction particle, the connective Y*an* becomes *kyan* after preceding final *-g, -d, -b,* and *-s;* becomes *yan* after preceding final *-n̄, -n, -m, -r, -l,* and open stressed syllables; and becomes *an* or *yan* after preceding open unstressed syllables. The connective *Yan* occurs within propositions but outside participants; since the connective thus occurs frequently after unstressed particles at the end of participants, we not infrequently find such resulting diphthongs as *-paan* and *-duan.*

One function of the connective *Yan* is ADDITIVE: it serves to add the content of one sentence or proposition to the content of a preceding one. The connective generally follows the participant which particularly supplies the additional information: compare *rgyal-po bsod-nams-dan yan ldan* "The king has MERIT as well" with *rgyal-po yan bsod-nams-dan ldan* "The KING too has merit."2 A connective following the first participant in the proposition can

2 Note further examples from the biography of Mi-la *ras-pana-ran-gi yid-laan dban-skur*

(*footnote continued on next page*)

also indicate that the information being added is more general, as in *khyeu de yan tshe Ndas-so* "And then the boy died," *bsad-pa yan grans med-do* "And those slain were numberless."3 Connectives in successive propositions can emphasize their parallelism: the young Mi-la tells his prospective master Marpa *lus nag yid gsum yan Nbul, lto gos tshos gsum yan bla-ma-la zu* "On the one hand, I offer you my body, speech, and mind; on the other, I ask the lama for food, clothing, and teaching."

Sequential connectives within the same sentence or proposition are similarly additive-for example, *dge-tshul yan dge-slon yan Ndu* "Both novices and monks gather together," *bu yan bu-mo yan rgyal-po nan-pas bsad* "The villainous king slew not only sons but daughters also," *gser yan dnul yan mi-sbyin-no* "I will give neither gold nor silver."

Another function of the connective *Yan* is to point out when the information supplied in a sentence or proposition appears improbable or unlikely in light of the preceding text or in light of general knowledge or expectation. Again the connective generally follows the participant which particularly supplies the improbability: compare *Ndre-bus rgyal-poan skrag* "Even the king is scared of the little demon" with *Ndre-bus kyan rgyal-po skrag* "The king is scared even of a little demon." Other examples include *kar-sa-pa ni Nbum yan sbyin* "I will give even 100,000 cowries," *snar-las kyan hag-pa yin* "This is even better than before," *dge-slon gtsig kyan med* "There is not even a single monk," *na min gzan-tsig yin-na gsod-duan yon* "If it were one other than myself he would even kill you," *rin-por ma-lon-par smra yan ses* "Before long he could even speak," n*ed-la sog kyan mi-zer* "They did not even invite us."4

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

gnan yon sñam-pa byun "The thought occurred to my mind also that he would bestow the initiation," *la-las bla-ma mar-paan zer-zin Ndug* "There are some who call him Lama Mar-pa as well," z*in des na bla-ma-dan mdzal-bai mthun-rkyen byas-pas, zin-gi min-laan mthun-rkyen-du tshags* "Since that field served as the fortunate circumstance for meeting my lama, its name came to be Fortunate Circumstance as well," *yum-gyi zal-nas da-lan khyod-ran yan dban-zig thob-pa byed gsun* "The Mother said, 'This time we shall have you too get an initiation.'"

3 The choice of readings, of course, depends on whether the immediately preceding participant is processed as OLD INFORMATION (*khyeu de yan tshe Ndas-so* "And then the boy we have been talking about died") or NEW INFORMATION (*khyeu de yan tshe Ndas-so* "The boy also died, in addition to the other persons we have been talking about").

4 This use of *Yan* is often found after a nominalized proposition in the setting slot marked with the locus particle -*na* "In the case that . . ." With *Yan*, this circumstance is

(*footnote continued on next page*)

2.2. Discourse Connectives

One way of achieving textual cohesion is through what we will call DISCOURSE CONNECTIVESconnectives in the setting slot of the proposition which explicitly connect that proposition or sentence to the text that has preceded it. Such discourse connectives may be phrases, such as *de-nas* "thereupon" or *bye-brag-tu* "in particular"; or they may be propositions, such as *Ndi lta-ste* "for instance" or *yin-kyan* "nevertheless."5 Like the English discourse con-

(*footnote continued from previous page*)

pointed to as contrary to fact or expectation or desirethus "Although/Even though/Even if . .." Note the following examples from the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* of Sa-skya pandita*blo-gros tshen-po rgud-na yan, lhag-par blo-gros stobs-ldan Ngyur* "Although the wise grow frail, their understanding grows stronger," *blo-nan ses-pa man-na yan, rgyu-skar bzin-du gsal mi-nus* "Even if foolish scholars are many, like the planets they cannot illuminate," *Nbyor-ba thob-par gyur-na yan, bsod-nams med-na ga-la rtag* "Even though you manage to gather wealth, how can it last if you have no merit?" *dam-pa srog-la bab-na yan, ran-bzin bzan-po ga-la Ndor* "Though a holy man be in danger of his life, how can he cast aside his inherent virtue?" And note the following verses:

gan-na bza-btun yod der rgyug
dgos-pai bya-ba btsol-yan Nbros
gtam-dan bzad-gad ses-na yan
mdzug-ma med-pai khyi rgan yin

He runs to where there is food and drink;
though charged with necessary work, he flees.
Even though he knows stories and jokes,
he is an old dog without a tail.

blo-tshun man-du Ndus-na yan
bya-ba tshen-po sgrub mi-nus
rtsi rkyan man-du sdom-na yan
khan-pai gdun-ma bzod-par dka

Even if many foolish people gather
they cannot accomplish great deeds;
even if you tie together many single straws,
it is hard for them to support a house beam.

5 Discourse connectives such as de-nas "thereupon" or yin-kyan "nevertheless," which explicitly refer to the content of the preceding text, can be called anaphoric or BACK-REFERRING connectives. Discourse connectives such as bye-brag-tu "in particular" or *Ndi lta-ste* "for instance," which indicate that what follows is linked to the preceding text as an example or specification, can be called INSTANTIATING connectives.

nectivessuch as *therefore* or *hence* or *moreover*Tibetan discourse connectives tend to be stereotyped in form and often archaic in flavor. It is only among discourse connectives, for example, that we find preserved the archaic determiner *o* "THERE"; and we find archaic contractions preserved as wellfor example, *on* < *o-na* and *gal* < *ga-la* < *gan-la*, as in *on-te* "on the other hand" and *gal-te* "if."

2.3. Phrasal Connectives

Many discourse connectives are simply stereotyped nominal phrases, frequently with an explicitly back-referring determiner, used in the setting slot to link that proposition or sentence to the preceding textthus *de-nas* "thereupon," *de-la* "in that regard," *des* "therefore," *de yin-na* "in that case," *o-na* "now, well, but," *gan yin-na* "in any case." Such connectives are often adverbs: note such back-referring adverbs as *de ltar* "thus," *de bzin-du* "thus," *dei phyir-du~de phyir* "for that reason, therefore," *gan-gi phyir-du~gan phyir* "for which reason, wherefore," and such instantiating adverbs as *spyir* "generally," *phal-tsher* "for the most part," *bye-brag-tu* "particularly," *khyad-par-du* "especially."6

2.4. Yan in the Setting Slot

When *Yan* occurs, stressed, in the setting slot of a proposition, it indicates that all of the information in the following proposition or sentence is to be added to what has gone before; thus stressed initial *yan* may be glossed as "moreover, further, in addition, also, again, once more"for example, *yan blon-pos zus-pa, gtsan-pa-la rnam-pa man* "Moreover the minister said, 'Cleverness comes in many forms.'" In an archaic administrative invoice found at an eighth-century Tibetan garrison in Central Asia, we read *yan gro*

6 Some phrasal connectives with the locus particle *-na* appear to derive from nominalized propositions with omitted verbs, yielding what seem to be double role particlesfor example, *dper-na* "for example," presumably a stereotyped contraction of a phrase such as *dper brdzod-na* "If one would set it forth as an example . . . ," or *mdor-na* "in brief," presumably a stereotyped contraction of a phrase such as *mdor bsdu-na* "If one would summarize it as an aphorism . . ." Elsewhere the presumably omitted verb is less clear, but may well be simply *YIN*forexample, *de ltar-na* "in that case," *des-na* "therefore," *de-bas-na* "therefore."

bre drug phul-te rgyas btab "In addition, six *bre* of wheat were delivered and were sealed"; in the biography of Mi-la ras-pa we find *yan bla-mas byon-nas, mthu-tshen khyod rtsig-pai mkhar Ndi sui yin gsun* "Once again my lama arrived and said, 'Magician, whose is this tower you are building?'"7

The stereotyped expression *Yan-na* in the setting slot means, for reasons I do not know, "or else, otherwise, on the other hand." For example, Sa-skya pandita writes *yon-tan kun-rdzogs skye-bo sten, yan-na tha-mal Ngrogs-pa bde* "Adhere to people of perfect virtue; otherwise it is easy to be associated with the vulgar." The connective *Yan-na* is thus often found in the setting slot of a proposition which follows the alternative conjunction *-Am* "OR"for example, again from Sa-skya pan dita, *mda-yis pha-rol gsod-paam, yan-na ran-ñid Ntshag-par Ngyur* "An arrow either kills the other person or else is itself broken," *mkhas-pa gzan-la bsad-paam, yan-na zi-bai nags-su sgrub* "A wise man is either a teacher to others, or else meditates in a peaceful forest." Sometimes the connective *Yan-na* is found in sequential setting slots to offer a series of alternativesfor example, Mar-pa offers to Mi-la the choice *yan-na lto-gos ster tshos gzan-nas tshol, yan-na tshos ster lto-gos gzan-nas tshol* "Either I give you food and clothing and you seek the dharma from elsewhere,' or I give you the dharma and you seek food and clothing from elsewhere."

The connective *Yan* is also part of several back-referring phrasal connectives *de yan~dean* "in that regard," *gzan yan* "furthermore," *on kyan* "nevertheless," *yin-naan* "anyway," *de ltar-na yan* "in any case," *gan ltar-na yan* "in any case." After Mi-la has told his prospective master Mar-pa his whole sad history, Mar-pa says, *Ndug gan ltar-naan lus nag yid gsum Nbul zer de bzan*

7 The expression *yan-yan*or *yan-du yan-du* or *yan-nas* yan-dusimilarly means "again and again"for example, in the following verse by Sa-skya pandita, who writes,

blun-pos sog-pai sdug-bsnal-ñid
myon-gi spyod-pai bde mi-myon
yan-yan ul-zin lta-ba-yi
Ndzuns-pai nor ni byi-ba Ndra

Fools taste the pain of gathering
but do not taste the pleasure of spending:
the wealth of a miser who again and again
sneaks in and looks at it is like that of a rat.

"Okay. In any event, I like the part where you offer me your body, speech, and mind."

2.5. Propositional Connectives

Some discourse connectives are stereotyped propositions followed by conjunction particles, which connect the second member of the conjunction to the preceding text. The adversative conjunction *-Yan* "BUT" is found in such stereotyped expressions as *yin-kyan* "nevertheless" and *gan yin-kyan* "in any case"; the coordinating conjunction *-sTe* "AND" is similarly found in *Ndi lta-ste* "for instance," *de bzin-te* "in that case," *da-ste* "henceforth," and *tsi-ste~de-ste~on-te~gal-te* "if." Note also the compound stereotyped expressions *tsi-ste-na~on-te-na~gal-te-na* "but if, if however, even supposing that."

3. Sentences as Patients

It is possible for a SENTENCE to function as the patient of certain events, such as those expressed by such verbs as *GSUN* "say," *ZER* "say," *SÑAM* "think," *DRI* "ask," ZU "request," *SES* "know," *LTA* "see," and *RTOG* "examine." That such patients are sentences rather than propositions is shown by the presence of sentence-final performance particles before such verbsfor example, s*ar-phyogs-nas on-no ses* "They came from the east, I know," *Itseb-bam ltseb-bam sñam* "I thought, 'Shall I kill myself? Shall I kill myself?'" n*a-la tshan man-po khyer-zig gsuns* "'Bring me a lot of beer!' he said."

The proposition containing a sentence as its patient participant can in turn be nominalized, a device of which Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka, among others, was fond; for example, in his Mi-la ras-pa cycle, we find such a nominalized proposition functioning as a nominal HEAD in *khyod-la mthu tshen-po yod zer-ba de bden-par Ndug* "It is true what they say, that you have great magic power," and as a nominal MODIFIER in *mi-la ras-pa-la gser yod zer-bai mi-rnams-kyi khar skyag gon-zig tshug-tsig* "Put a piece of shit in the mouths of those who say Mi-la ras-pa has gold!"

Sometimes such sentential patients are quite brief, and the reader must be alert to recognize a sentence even in a single wordfor example, *run lags-sam zus run gsuns* "'Is it all right?' I asked. 'All right,' he said," *tshog-gam sñam-na mi-tshog* "If you're wondering, Is it permitted?well, it isn't," *khyed-ran-la*

sog gsun-ba Ndug "He says to you, 'Come!'" n*ed-la sog kyan mi-zer* "They did not even invite us," *yin zer sñon* "He said, 'It is,' and lied," *dgos-so sñam* "I thought, I have to." Nominalized propositions with sentential patients can be similarly laconicthus *gyis zer-bai gzugs* "images regarding which it was said, 'Make them!'" or even *Nbras-bu tshur sog-gi yid-smon* "a wish, 'May the fruit of this return to me!' "8

3.1. Quote Openers

Several expressions are used in the setting slot of a proposition to indicate that an immediately following sentence is the patient of a final verb of speaking: these expressions are conveniently called QUOTE OPENERS. One such quote opener is the expression *na-re*, of uncertain origin, which immediately follows the identification of the speaker; the speaker has no overt role particle, even with a transitive verb. For example, in the Tibetan translation of the *Abhidharmakosabhasya* by Vasubandhu, the various competing philosophical positions are set forth with such quote openers as *kha-tsig na-re* "Some say . . ." *gzan-dag na-re* "Others say . . ." *snon-gyi slob-dpon na-re* "Masters of the past have said . . ." *mdo-sde-pa-rnams na-re* "The Sautran-tikas say . . ." *bye-brag-tu smra-ba-rnams na-re* "The Vaibhasikas say . . ." *kha-tshe-ba-rnams na-re* "The Kashmirians say . . ." *nub-phyogs-pa-dag na-re* "The Westerners say . . ." Note the following examples from the biography of Mi-la ras-pa, where we find *la-la na-re bden-pa bden-te da-lan ha-tsan drag zer* "Some said, 'Truth is truth, but this is too much,'" or *rgan-pa-rnams na-re mo bsad-pas tsi-la phan . . . zer* "The elders said, 'What benefit will it be to kill her?'"

Other quote openers are more clearly adverbs or locus participantsfor example, n*ai yid-la . . . sñam* "In my mind, I thought . . ." *Ndi skad-du . . . zer* "This, in words, he said . . ." *Ndi sñam-du . . . bsams* "This, in his mind, he thought . . ." Where the quote is from a text, the source is cited with the particle *-las* (and often with the final verb *byun* "occur, appear")-thus *mdo-las* "From the scripture . . ." *Ndul-ba-las* "From the ecclesiastical laws . . ." *dbu-ma-la Ndzug-pa-las* "From the *Madhyamakavatara . . .*" or even such

8 A sentential patient differs from a complement construction with the same verb. For example, *tshos gnan zu* "Bestow the dharma, I ask" is a different construction than *tshos gnan-bar zu* "I ask that you bestow the dharma," and s*es smras "'I* know,' he said" is a different construction than s*es-su smras* "He said that he knew."

combinations as *tshos mnon-pa-las Ndi skad-du* "From the abhidharma, this, in words . . ." Quote openers with the honorific word z*al* "mouth" indicate either a direct quote or an oral tradition descended from the indicated personfor example, *yab-kyi zal-nas bla-mai bka bsgrub dgos gsuns* "My master said, 'One must accomplish the lama's command,'" *bla-mai zal-nas, khyed bud-med blo-rno zer-ba bden-par gda gsuns* "The lama said, 'The saying is true, that you women are sharp-witted,'" *rdze-btsun-gyi zal-nas, nan-pai rmilam mthon-ba bzin ma-dan Nphrad-pai skal-ba ma-byun gsuns* "The Reverend Master said, 'As I saw in my inauspicious dream, it was not my fate to meet with my mother.'"

When a large chunk of text is to be quoted, such as when the speaker sings a song or gives a metrical peroration, the quote opener may be marked with the statement particle *-o.* When Mi-la is about to sing, he narrates *glu Ndi blans-so* "I took up this song," often with a brief indication of the nature of the song-for example, *ran-la ltsag-Ndebs-kyi glu Ndi blans-so* "I took up this song of self-reproof," *bde-ba lnai glu Ndi blans-so* "I took up this song of the five pleasant things," *mtshi-ma Nkhrug bzin-pai nan-nas glu Ndi blans-so* "In a state close to tears, I took up this song."9 In the archaizing chronicle *Rgyalrabs gsal-bai me-lon,* the putatively historical characters frequently make long metrical speeches to each other, and we find such highly stereotyped quote openers as *Ndi skad zer-ro~Ndi skad byas-so* "This, in words, he said . . ." *Ndi skad tses gsol-to* "This, in words, he thus besought . . ." *Ndi skad tses bka stsal-lo* "This, in words, he thus commanded . . ."

3.2. The Quote Closer TSes

How does a reader know when a quote is finished? One way is by noting the verb of speaking immediately following its sentential patientfor example, as when Mar-pa and Mi-la have the following interchange:

> *mar-pa byon-nas kun-la gzigs-rtog zib-mo mdzad-nas, bu-tshen gsum-pos bsgril-bai rdo de-la phyag-mdzub btsugs-te, mthu-tshen rdo Ndi ga-nas byun GSUN, thugs-sras bu-tshen-rnams-kyis skurtsed-la bsnams byun-ba lags zus-pas, o-na khon-tshoi rdos khyod-kyi mkhar-las-kyi go mi-tshod, rdo Ndi thon-la dan-poi sar*

9 When Mi-la sings to a superior, he says *glu Ndi phul-lo "I* offered up this song." When a superior sings to Mi-la, Mi-la narrates the event honorifically as *mgur Ndi gsuns-so.*

skyol GSUN, mkhar Ndi mi-bsig-pai zal-bzes yod zus-pas, de yod-de. . . kun bsig-pa ni min rdo Ndi thon-la ran-gnas-su skyol GSUN

Mar-pa came and made a careful inspection of everything. He pointed to the stone the three disciples had rolled up. "Magician, where did this stone come from?" "Your three disciples brought it in sport." "Well, their stone is inappropriate for your tower work. Pull out this stone and take it back to its original place." "You promised this tower would not be destroyed!" "So I did. But this is not to destroy the whole thing. Pull out this stone and take it back to its own place."

I have capitalized the verbs of speaking in this passage for ease of reference. Notice how easy it is to keep track of who is speaking at any time in this exchange. The first speaker must be Mar-pa, because he addresses the other as *mthu-tshen* "magician," the epithet by which Mi-la was then known; then a turn by Mar-pa is indicated by the honorific verb of speaking *GSUN* "speak," and a turn by Mi-la by the humble verb of speaking *ZU* "request."10

But, in addition, the particle *TSes* can be used to indicate that a previous quoted discourse has ended, and thus, too, to mark a preceding discourse as attributed to one other than the present speakerfor example, from the Tibetan translation of the *Madhyamakavatara* by Candrakirti, *Ndi gñis-ga rgyu med-par Ngyur-ro, zes Ntshad-pa ni, Ngags-na rkyen yan gan-zig yin* "And what are the grounds for refuting those who contend, 'These both are without cause?'" or, from the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* by Sa-skya pandita, *sgom-na thos-pa mi-dgos zes, blun-po blo-rgya tShun-nu smra* "If you meditate you need not have learning, say fools of little intelligence."11

10 This passage, by the way, contains an interesting little textual puzzle. The blockprint from Spo in Khams has the reading *gzigs-tog zib-mo,* while those from Bstan-rgyas-glin in Lhasa City and from Bkra-sis lhun-po have the reading *gzigs-tog dga-mo,* and that from Spuns-than in Bhutan has the reading *gzigs-rtog dga-mo.* There can be little doubt that the correct reading of the first word is *gzigs-rtog* "inspection, examination," presumably a secondary honorific of *rtog-pa* < *RTAG* "examine, consider, search into." But was this inspection originally z*ib-mo* "exact, precise, thorough" or *dga-mo* "happy, cheerful"? I certainly think z*ib-mo* makes more sense in this context; but I must confess that assuming that reading to be original makes a hash out of any reasonable filiation of the texts.

11 The particle *TSes* "THUS" shouldin parallel with the particles *-TSig* and *-TSin,* which begin with the same morphophoneme *TS*become *tses* after preceding final *-g, -d,* and *-b;*

(*footnote continued on next page*)

When the particle *TSes* is present, also, the verb of speaking may be less explicit than, say, the verbs *TSAD* "contend" and *SMRA* "say" in the preceding two examplesthus, again from Sa-skya pandita, n*an-pa gzan-don sgrub-bo zes, sñad btags-nas ni sdig-la sbyor* "'We act for the sake of others,' falsely say the wicked, and stick to sin," or *Ndi bses Ndi ni dgra-bo zes, blo-gros tshun-rnams so-sor Nbyed* "Fools make distinctionsthis is a friend, this an enemy," or

bdag-gis bya-ba ma-zin-pas
re-zig de-rin khyod bzugs zes
mtshi-mas bmans-te gsol btab-kyan
Ntshi-bdag btsos-su ga-la run

"I have not finished my work,
so wait, today, just a little while."
Though one thus pray, choked with tears,
how can the Lord of Death change his mind?

Indeed, when the particle *TSes* is present, there need be no explicit verb of speaking at all, the particle alone sufficiently indicating that the preceding discourse is a quotation. Note the following examples from Sa-skya pandita:

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become z*es* after preceding final *-n̄*, *-n*, *-m*, *-r*, *-l* and open syllables; and become s*es* after preceding final and postfinal *-s*. However, manuscripts not infrequently have z*es* or *tses* after a preceding syllable-final -s, rather than s*es*, probably because the latter allomorph looks confusingly like a stem of the verb S*ES* "know." Thus, for example, many blockprints of the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* by Sa-skya pandita give the reading z*es* in, say, *sgom-na thos-pa mi-dgos zes* "If you meditate, you don't need learning, they say," rather than the "correct" *sgom-na thos-pa mi-dgos ses*, which could easily be read as "If you meditate, you don't need learning, they know."

The particle TS*es* seems clearly related to the verb *TSHE* "speak, say." The particle has retained significant traces of verbality: it can, apparently, be nominalized, as in *sñun zes-pa nad-kyi min yin* "The word *sñun* is a term for disease"; it can be followed by a conjunction, as in *ran-la nan-sems med tses-te, pha-rol kun-la yid mi-brtan* "You can say, 'I have no bad thoughts myself'; but don't trust anyone else"; it can be followed by a performance particle, as when a quote ends, simply, *tses-so*. A nominalized *TSes* is frequently found at the conclusion of a blockprint or manuscript, in the stereotyped expression *TSes-pa Ndi ni*. . . or *TSes-pa Ndi yan* . . . which marks the conclusion of the text proper and the beginning of the colophon.

sñin-la khon-du sdan bzun-nas
kha-la tshig-bzan smrao zes
dran-sron gdug-pai gdams-nag-ste
dam-pai tshul-dan Ngal-ba yin

"Hate firmly in your heart,
and speak good words in your mouth."
This is the teaching of a vicious sage;
it contradicts the way of the holy.

dug-gi rtsa-ba Ndon-pa ltar
dgra-bo rtsad-nas btsad-do zes
rgyal-poi lugs-las Nbyun-mod-kyi
bu bzin bskyans-nas bu bzin byed

"Tear out your enemy by the roots
as you would tear out a source of poison."
Though this is found in the book of kings,
if you protect someone like a son, he will act like a son.

And the particle *TSes*, without specific attribution to a source, can indicate simply that the preceding statement is being reported as hearsay, or as based upon tradition; for example, in the Ge-sar epic, we read the following description of a magical child*Nbu rtsin-po phru-gu bde-mo-zig-la gyur-te, ñi-ma-la btan-na zu tses, grib-Nkhyags-la bor-na Nkhyags tses* "The coarse worm became a tender child: if put in the sun would melt, they say; if left in the shade would freeze, they say."

The expression *TSes bya*, with the future stem of the verb *BYA* "do, say," (and the elegant equivalent *TSes BGYI*, with the future stem of the verb *BGYI* "speak, say") follows a nominal with the meaning "be called, be named"for example, Sanskrit *tenocyante kusala dharma iti* Tibetan *des-na dge-bai tshos-rnams ses byao* "Therefore they are called 'virtuous elements.'" This expression is frequently nominalized as *TSes bya-ba* (and the elegant equivalent *TSes bgyi-ba*)and modifies a nominal head with the meaning "so called, thus named"for example, Sanskrit *bhumir iti gati-visayah* Tibetan *sa zes bya-ba ni go-skabs-kyi yul-te* "What is called 'earth' is the realm of extension," Sanskrit *moho namavidya* Tibetan *rmons-pa zes bya-ba ni ma-rig-pa-ste* "The term 'delusion' means ignorance," *mal-Nbyor-gyi dban-phyug yul gña-nam grod-pa phug zes bya-bai bsti-gnas dam-pa-na bzugs* "The Lord of Yoga dwelt in the holy pilgrimage place named Stomach Cave in the country of Gña-nam."

The nominal *TSes bya-ba* is also often found in book titlesfor example, Sanskrit *Arya-samdhi-nirmocana-nama-mahayana-sutra* Tibetan *Nphags-pa dgons-pa nes-par Ngrel-ba zes bya-ba theg-pa tshen-poi mdo* "The Noble Mahayana Scripture entitled Clarifying the Intention," Sanskrit *Subhasitaratna-nidhi-nama-sastra* Tibetan *legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter zes bya-bai bstan-btsos* "Treatise entitled Precious Treasury of the Well-spoken," *rnal-Nbyor dban-phyug dam-pa rdze-btsun mi-la ras-pai rnam-thar thar-pa-dan thams-tsad mkhyen-pai lam ston zes bya-ba* "The Biography of the Holy Lord of Yoga, the Reverend Mi-la ras-pa, entitled Showing the Way to Freedom and Omniscience."

Another member of this family is the stereotyped expression *TSe-na* "If one says . . .12 The expression is first found in the translation literature, especially of Sanskrit commentaries, where it marks both rhetorical questions and statements by philosophical opponents which are to be refuted. For example, in the Tibetan translation of the *Madhyantavibhagatika* by Sthira-mati, we read the quoted statement *tshos-rnams ran-bzin-gyis od gsal-ba-ñid-du mi-run-no e-na* . . . "If one says, 'It is incorrect that events are inherently colorless light . . .'" or, in the Tibetan translation of the *Abhidharmakosa-bhasya* by Vasubandhu, *de lta-na o-na ni rnam-par ses-pai khams drug-po-dag nan-gi yin-par mi-Ngyur-te, de-dag yid-kyi khams-ñid-du ma-gyur-pa ni sems-kyi rten-du mi-Ngyur-ro ze-na* . . . "If one says, 'Well, in that case, the six fields of perception are not internal, and, not being within the mental field, they are not a basis of thought . . .

However, it is much more common in the translation literatureand especially in the later classical textsfor *TSe-na* to be preceded by a question. Such a question can be an information questionfor example, from the *Madhyantavibhagaika, gal-te tshos-rnams ran-bzin-gyis od gsal-ba-ñid yin-na dzi ltar snar kun-nas ñon-mons-pa phyis rnam-par byan ze-na* . . . "If one asks, 'If events are inherently colorless light, how can they first be obscured and then cleansed?'. . ." or, from the *Abhidharmakosabhasya, rlun-la kha-dog dzi ltar yod tse-na, don Ndi ni dad-par bya-ba yin-gyi rdzes-su dpag-par ni ma-yin-no* "How can air have color? This is a matter of faith, and not a matter for investigation." Or it may be a yes-no questionfor example, from the *Abhidharmakosabhasya, mig kyan lus-kyi dban-po bzin-du yul de phrad-pa-zig yin-nam ze-na* . . . "If you ask, 'Is the eye, too, something that contacts its

12 The expression *TSe-na* is, again, clearly related not only to *TSes* "THUS" but also to the verb *TSHE* "speak, say."

object, like the sense of touch?' . . ." or *Ndi-la don-rnams kyan dban-byed-pa ma-yin-nam e-na* . . . "If one asks, 'As for that, aren't external objects also organs?'. . ." Indeed, the occurrence of T*Se-na* with questions was sufficiently expected that it became a way of marking an indefinite determiner as interrogative: a proposition such as *Ndi-la ston-pa-ñid gan yin ze-na* in the *Madhyantavibhagatika* is, context aside, clearly to be read as "As for that, what is emptiness?"

3.3. Questions as Patients

As we have seen, question sentences can be patients of verbs of speaking for example, n*a gan za zer nu-zin Ndug* "'What will I eat?' she said, weeping," *mthu-tshen las tsi byed-tsin Ndug gsun* "He said, 'Magician, what work are you doing?'" *su yin dris sog* "Come ask, 'Who is it?'" *gar son gsun* "'Where did he go?' he said." But, in addition, question sentences can occur as the patient of certain verbs which are not verbs of speaking-for example, *LTA* "see," *STON* "show," *SES* "know," *RTAG* "examine," *DRAN* "remember." With information questions the interpretation of such constructions is fairly straightforwardfor example, *Ndi GANyin nas brtag* "I will find out WHAT this is," *na-bun NAM yal mi-ses* "We do not know WHEN the fog will lift," SU *yin blta* "We will see WHO it is," *rmi-lam-la byun-sa med-pas TSIyin mi-ses* "Since dreams have no meaning, I don't know WHAT this one is." With yes-no questions the analysis is slightly more complex.13

13 Two different analyses are possible here. Look at three propositions from a poem by *Lo-ras-pana-bun NAM yal mi-ses* "We do not know WHEN the fog will lift," *sbran-rtsi sus spyod mi-ses* "We do not know WHO will use the honey," *Ndis phan ?E-thogs mi-ses* "We do not know WHETHER this will bring profit." There is every reason to believe that the author felt these constructions to be parallel. Now one analysisthe one proposed here-takes, say, *na-bun nam yal* as a question sentence "When will the fog lift?" functioning as the patient of the verb S*ES* "know"; this analysis derives the reading "We do not know when the fog will lift" from the reading "When will the fog lift? We do not know." The other analysis initially attractivewould take *na-bun nam yal* as a shortened form, without the *-Pa*, of a relativized proposition modifying an omitted head understood to be something like *dus* "time"; this analysis derives the meaning "We do not know when the fog will lift" from an underlying ∅ [(*na-bun nam yal*)-*pa*]-∅ *mi-ses* "We do not know (the time) when the fog will lift."

The second analysis, I think, cannot deal with a proposition such as N*dis phan ?e-thogs mises* "We do not know whether this will bring profit." The analysis proposed here takes *Ndis*

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When a yes-no question is the patient of such a verband not when it is the patient of a verb of speakingthe question particle *-Am* after the verb can optionally be replaced by the particle *ʔe-* BEFORE the verb: thus, for example, we find both *bden-par Ndug-gam brtag* and *bden-par ʔe-Ndug brtag* "We will find out whether it is true." Frequently the alternative nature of the question sentence is made explicit in such a constructionthus, for example, *ʔa-khu siam ma-si blta* "I will see whether or not my uncle has died," *ʔa-ne skyiddam mi-skyid blta* "I will see whether my aunt is happy or not"; or, with ?*e*replacing *-Am* in the first of the two alternatives, *ʔe-nus mi-nus mi-ses* "I do not know whether or not we can." Note the following examples of embedded yes-no questions with the prefix *ʔe-* from the biography of Mi-la ras-pa*tshan-zig ʔe-gnan ltos* "See if they will give us some beer," *res yar byon-nas bla-ma-la zu-skabs ʔe-Ndug bltas* "Some of them went up and saw whether the lama was in a mood to listen," *khyed-dan ʔe-phrad mi-ses* "I don't know if I will meet with you again," *khan-pa ʔe-Nphrod tse-na* . . . "If you ask whether this house will prosper . . ."; and, with *ʔe-* replacing *-Am* in the first of two alternatives, *nai gdams-nag sgom nus-na tshe Ndir sas ʔe-rgya mi-rgya yan ston-pa yin* "This doctrine of mine is one that will show, if you can meditate on it, whether or not you will become a Buddha in this lifetime."

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> *phan ʔe-thogs* as regularly derived from a question sentence *Ndis phan thogs-sam* or even *Ndis phan thogs-sam mi-thogs* "Will this bring profit?" when it functions as the patient of a verb such as *SES* "know." I am not at all sure how the second analysis would even begin to handle a proposition such as this. In fact, I think the second analysis has other problems as well.
>
> In the biography of Mi-la ras-pa we find *nus-pa su tshe-ba blta* "We will see who is more able." The nominal *nus-pa* must here be interpreted as having a human referent, because it is related syntactically to *su*thus, in this proposition, *nus-pa* "person having ability" < *NUS* "be able." Under the second analysis, the proposition would be read as *nus-pa* [(*su tshe*)*-pa*]*-Ø blta*. In other words, it would be read as having, explicitly, both the *-Pa* and the head of the relative construction which were omitted in, say, *na-bun nam yal*. Under this reading, the nominal head *nus-pa* "person having ability," however modified, would be the patient of the verb *LTA* "see." But this is, I believe, an incorrect reading of the proposition: the speaker is not predicting that we will see an able person, even a great one, but rather that we will see the outcome of a decision as to which person is more able than the other. Under the first analysis, on the other hand, *nus-pa su tshe-ba* would be read as the question sentence "Which person-having-ability (is) the greater one?" functioning as the patient of the verb *LTA* "see," with the patient sentence having the equative verb unsurprisingly omitted; this analysis derives the reading "We will see who is the more able" from the reading "Which person-having-ability is the greater one? We will see," which effectively embodies the underlying sense of choice without invoking any special rules.

To show that alternative questions and constructions with *ʔe-* are virtually interchangeable as patients of these verbs, we can compare two different versions of one song, traditionally attributed to Mi-la ras-pa. One version is found in his biography by Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka, and the other is found in the *Bka-brgyud mgur-mtsho,* an anthology of the mystic songs of the Bka-brgyud masters. These two versions differ in several interesting ways; but note in particular that, in the following parallel verses selected from the poem, one version will have a yes-no question with *ʔe-* and the other with *-Am:*

Mi-la rnam-thar

ma-rgan lus-kyi sgrom-bu

de, da-lta sku-khams ʔe-bzan

blta

The old mother who was the

container of my body-I

will see if her health is

now good.

bsos-zin or-mo gru-gsum

de, da-lta Ndzag-skya ʔe-

Nphyur blta

The food field Or-mo Triangle

I will see if it is now

overgrown with pale grass.

dam-tshos dkon-mtshog

brtsegs-pa de, dus da-

Bka-brgyud mgur-mtsho

na-yi ʔa-ma lus-kyi sgrom-bu

de, dus da-lta zig-gam ma-zig

blta

My mother who was the container

of my body-I will see whether

or not she has perished.

gson-zin or-mo gru-gsum-

la, Ndzag-skya phyur-ram

ma-phyur blta

As for the valley field Or-mo

Triangle-I will see whether

or not it has now been over-

grown with pale grass.

dam-tshos glegs-bam

rgyas-pa de, dus da-lta

rgyas-pa de, dus da-lta

lta thigs-pas ?e-brduns
blta

The numerous books of holy

The precious holy dharma

The numerous books of holy

stacked up-I will see if

or not they now remain.

it has now been ruined by
raindrops.

bla-mtshod dkor-gñer lha-

mtshod-gnas dkon-mtshog

Nbum de, dus da-lta sku-

lha-Nbum de, da-lta bzugs-

khams ?e-bzan blta

sam ma-bzugs blta

The priest steward Lha-Nbum
I will see if his health
is now good.

The priest Dkon-mtshog lha-
NbumI will see whether
or not he now remains.

4. Figures of Speech

4.1. Metaphor

Metaphor is one way of manipulating the semantic content of participants; metaphor can thus have syntactic consequences, even though it is not itself created syntactically. Moreover, metaphor can function across sentences: an extended metaphor is a device of textual cohesion, as much as any connective.

Some metaphors are lexical. Note the expression *thag TSHAD* "cut the rope," for example. Mi-la ras-pa says *bdag ñe-du-dan Nbrel-thag btsad* "I have cut the rope that binds me to my family." One can *re-thag TSHAD* "cut the rope of hope" and thus give up one's plans; one can *o-thag TSHAD* "cut the rope of milk" and thus wean a baby. Most important, one can *blo-thag TSHAD* "cut the rope of mind" and thus end deliberation, make a decision, be sure about something. Eventually this particular metaphor becomes dead, and the verb compound *thag-TSHAD* "cut the rope" comes to mean, simply, "decide."

We also find rather dry and academic metaphors, in the Indic style, in the classical literature; Tson-kha-pa, for example, in his *Dgons-pa rab-gsal* commentary on Candrakirti's *Madhyamakavatara,* writes as follows:

zab-tsin rgya-tshei legs-bsad kun-gyi gter
Ndzig-rten kun-gyi ma-Ndris mdza-bes-te
sa-gsum Ngro-la lam-bzan mtshon-pai mig
thub-dban smra-bai ñi-mas rtag-tu skyons

Treasure of all the deep broad maxims,
Unasked friend of all the world,
Eye which shows the good path to beings of the three realms,
Sun of the master's teachingsever protect us!

The native Tibetan poetic tradition is particularly rich in metaphor. In the epic of Ge-sar we read of *mtho nam-mkha mthin-gi gur-khan* "the azure tent

of heaven on high." The horses of Tibet are described as follows:

khra-mo glin-gi mdo-tshen-rnams
la-la smug-po phyur-phyur red
thad-la rgya-khra Nphur-Nphur red
thur-la rbab-rgod yar-yar red

The great spotted horses of Glin
are a swirling fog upon the passes,
are soaring hawks upon the plain,
are a leaping avalanche as they descend.

Or again:

res-Nga skyid-kyi ñi-ma Ntshar
res-Nga Ndzigs-snan rlun-nag Ntshub
ran-sems dgons-kai dar-tsug-la
ñams-snan rlun-gis bskyod-bskyod-nas

Sometimes the sun of fortune rises;
sometimes the storm of fear whirls about.
The winds of thought disturb
the silken banners of the mind.

We also find frequent metaphors in the genre of lyric poetry called *mgur* "mystic song." Pad-ma dkar-po particularly would build his poems around a framework of extended metaphors; here, for example, he uses a series of syntactically parallel and interlocking metaphors to express his sorrow at having to leave the beautiful Lho-brag valley, where he has been meditating with his disciples, in order to fulfill his political and administrative responsibilities elsewhere:

Ndzam-glin tshu-mtsho-na Ngyin-ba ku-mud-kyi sdon-po
de-la mdza-gtsugs-su ldan-pa tshu-sel-gyi zla-ba
dus-tshod ñin-mtshan-gyi bgrod-pas zla-ba nas tshas-nas
glin-gsum ñin-Nkhor-la byas-nas lho-glin Ndir sleb-on
od-dkar dga-ston-du Ngyed-do ku-mud-kyi nags-tshal
sa-smos ser-ba-las sruns-sig snags-Ntshan-gi nag-po

Haughty in the southern lakes
are the stalks of water lilies,
and their lover
is the crystal moon:
wandering through day and night
I am the moon and must depart
to circle the world in a day;
will return here to the south
and hold a feast of white moonbeams.
O blackness of magicians!
protect from the hailstorm
my forest of water lilies!

span-gsons mthon-po-na mdzes-pa span-rgyan-gyi snon-mo
de-la mdza-gtsugs-su ldan-pa stag-tshun-gi bun-ba
dus-tshod bser-bu-yis bskul-bas bun-ba nas tshas-nas
nags-mtha yud-tsam-gyis bskor-nas span-gsons Ndir sleb-on
glu-sgra dir-dir-gyis Ngens-so span-rgyan-gyi tshal-tshen
me-tog ba-mo-las skyobs-sig lho-sprin-gyi smug-po

Beautiful upon the high meadows
is the blue of the flowers,
and their lover
is the young tiger-striped bee:
impelled by the cool breeze
I am the bee and must depart
to circle the woods in an instant;
will return here to the meadow
and fill it with buzzing song.
O mists of southern clouds!
protect from the frost
my forest of meadow flowers!

lho-brag lun-gsum-na skyid-pa gnas-tshen-gyi mkhar-tshu
de-la mdza-gtsugs-su ldan-pa mal-Nbyor-gyi pad-dkar
dus-tshod bya-bzag-gis brel-bas pad-dkar nas tshas-nas
lho-gtsan skad-tsig-gis bskor-nas gnas-tshen Ndir sleb on
dam-tshos dga-ston-du Ngyed-do Ndir bzugs-pai mtshod-yon
khyed-tsag bar-tshad-las skyobs-sig bla-ma-yi dkon-mtshog

Delightful in the three valleys of Lho-brag
is the holy River Mkhar,
and its lover
is the yogin Pad-ma dkar-po:
busy with things that must be done
I am Pad-ma dkar-po and must depart
to circle Lho-kha and Gtsang in a moment;
will return here to this holy place
and hold a feast of the holy Law.
O jewel of lamas!
protect from hindrance
my friends and disciples!

The following song similarly consists in a series of extended metaphors: Pad-ma dkar-po sings of his desire to cast aside his administrative responsibilities, to cease his wandering among the kingdoms of the world, and to live in meditation by the River Mkhar:

nags-ldzons phal-mo-la Ngrim-pa rgya-stag-gi khra-bo
tsan-dan nags-ma-dan phrad-pas sems-yid-la sor-nas
nags-mtha sñeg-pa-la mi-dga stag-phrug-gi gzon-nu
Ndzum-drug bstan-sa-la bya yin tsan-dan-gyi nags-ma

The striped tiger
wanders in ordinary woods
until he is captivated
by finding the sandalwood forest.
Then the young tiger
has no joy dashing about the woods:
the forest of sandalwood is the place
for him to show his grin.

gans-ri zur-kha-la Ngrim-pa sen-ge-yi dkar-mo
gans-stod mthon-po-dan phrad-pas sems-yid-la sor-nas
zur-kha-la sñeg-pa-la mi-dga sen-phrug-gi gzon-nu
g.yu-ral gsig-sa-la bya yin gans-stod-kyi mthon-po

The white lion
wanders beneath the glaciers
until he is captivated

by finding the high snows.
Then the young lion
has no joy dashing beneath the glaciers:
the snowy heights are the place
for him to shake his turquoise mane.

mtsho-mtha sgor-mo-la Ngrim-pa Ngyur-ltsan-gyi ña-mo
tshu-klun dwans-mo-dan phrad-pas sems-yid-la sor-nas
mtsho-mtha sñeg-pa-la mi-dga ltan-dkar-gyi ña-phrug
gser-mig blta-sa-la bya yin g.yu-mtsho-yi snon-mo

The wiggling fish
wanders around the lake
until he is captivated
by finding the clear stream.
Then the young fish
has no joy dashing around the lake:
the blue of the turquoise waters is the place
for him to roll his golden eyes.

dgun-snon mthon-po-la Ngrim-pa bya-rgyal-gyi rgod-po
brag-dmar ri-bo-dan phrad-pas sems-yid-la sor-nas
nam-Nphan spyod-pa-la mi-dga ltan-dkar-gyi gton-nu
gzog-phrug brkyan-sa-la bya yin brag-dmar-gyi mthon-po

The kingly condor
wanders the high blue heavens
until he is captivated
by finding the red rock mountains.
Then the young condor
has no joy soaring the sky:
the heights of the red rocks are the place
for him to spread his pinions.

*rgyal-khams phyogs-med-la Ngrim-pa mal-Nbyor-gyi dpon-slo*b
gnas-tshen mkhar-tshu-dan phrad-pas sems-yid-la sor-nas
rgyal-khams Ngrim-pa-la mi-dga bstan-Ndzin-gyi gzon-nu
sgom-sgrub Ndag-sbyar-la bya yin de-bi-yi ko-ti

The yogin and his disciples
wander through all kingdoms
until they are captivated
by finding the holy River Mkhar.
Then the young scholar
has no joy wandering the kingdoms:
Devakoti is the place
for him to be sealed in a cave to meditate.

4.2. Similes

Similes, on the other hand, are created by a syntactic device; and similes especially extended onescan easily cross sentence boundaries. Two terms are used in Tibetan to create similes-bzin "like, as" and *-lta ~-lta-bu ~-lta-ba* "like, as." When used to formulate a simile, *-bzin* and *-lta~-lta-bu~-lta-ba* normally appear in adverb form, although the adverb particle *-Tu* may be omitted under the constraints of meter; note, for example, in the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* by Sa-skya pandita, *bsags-pai nor ni sbran-rtsi-ltar, nam-zig gzan-gyis spyod-par Ngyur* "Hoarded wealth, like honey, will eventually be enjoyed by others," *bzo-yi rig-byed sbyans-pa-ltar, dam-tshos dka-ba med-par Ngrub* "Like mastering the instructions of a craft, the holy dharma is accomplished without difficulty," *skye-bo dam-pa rin-tshen-bzin, rnam-pa kun-tu Ngyur-ldog med* "A holy person, like a jewel, is always unchanging," *tshun-ma bsad-pai thi-ba-ltar, grogs-dasn bral-bai mya-nan thob* "Like the pigeon who killed his wife, he gains the suffering of being without friends," s*in-bal tshun-nus g.yo-ba-ltar, dman-pai spyod-pa Ngyur-ldog tshe* "Like the fluttering of cotton because of any small thing, the conduct of the ignoble is changeable,"

pha-rol gnad-tu Nbebs-pai tshig
dgra-bo-la yan smra mi-bya
brag-tsha bzin-du ran-ñid-la
de ma-thag-tu le-lan Nbyun

Even to an enemy you should not speak
a word that touches the quick of another;
like an echo, the consequence comes
immediately upon oneself.

In each case, the simile-creating *-bzin* or *-lta* is preceded by a nominal

phrase, simple or complex, with or without specifiers or modifiersthus *sbran-rtsi-ltar* "like honey," *rin-tshen-bzin-du* "like a jewel," *brag-tsha-bzin-du* "like an echo," *tshun-ma bsad-pai thi-ba-ltar* "like the pigeon who killed his wife"; and sometimes with a nominalized proposition as its headthus *bzo-yi rig-byed sbyans-pa-ltar* "like mastering the instructions of a craft," *sin-bal tshun-us g.yo-ba-ltar* "like the fluttering of cotton because of any small thing." Where the content of such a phrase is deemed recoverable from the

Imagination is not, as its etymology would suggest, the
faculty offorming images of reality; it is rather the faculty
offorming images which go beyond reality, which SING reality.
It is a superhuman faculty.
Gaston Bachelard, *L'eau et les rêves*

preceding text, it may, of course, be omitted; however, since the simile-creating *-bzin* and *-lta* are BOUND, as indicated by the hyphen with which I write them, the phrase is represented by the phrase-closing determiner *de* "THAT"thus *sbran-rtsi-ltar* "like honey" *de-ltar* "like that" but not *-ltar, rin-tshen-bin-du* "like a jewel" *de-bzin-du* "like that" but not ?*-bzin-du.* Thus we find, again in the *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter* by Sa-skya pandita,

sdon-po gtsig-las skyes-pa-yi
rtsa-rnams rlun-gis phyogs btsur Nthor
DE-BZIN lhan-tsig skyes-pa-yi
skye-bo las-kyis so-sor Nbral

The wind scatters in the ten directions
grasses born from a single stalk.
LIKE THAT, karma separates
persons who were born together.14

14 The form *de-ltar* "like that" can, of course, refer back to any prior element of discourse, not necessarily a simile, but including courses of action. Thus Sa-skya pandita writes:

mkhas-pa yon-tan dpag-med-kyan
gzan-gyi yon-tan tshun-nuan len

(*footnote continued on next page*)

Similes can be similarly formed from nominals by means of the totalizer *tsam* "as much as." Note, for example, in the Tibetan translation of the Chinese *Ndzans-blun zes bya-bai mdo, dum-bur btsad-pa tsam-du sdug-bsnal-gyis gduns* "He suffered as much torment as being cut to pieces," *bus ma mthon-ba tsam-du dga* "He was as happy as a child seeing its mother."15

(*footnote continued from previouspage*)

DE-LTAR rgyun-du spyad-pa-yis
myur-du thams-tsad mkhyen-par Ngyur

Though a wise man have numberless accomplishments
he accepts even a small piece of learning from others.
By always acting LIKE THAT
he quickly becomes omniscient.

This is as good a place as any to point out that, in some texts, where the patient of a verb of information is recoverable from context or general knowledge, the omitted patient participant is represented, not, as we would expect, with ∅ or *de-*∅, but with *de-ltar*thus,again from Sa-skya pandita,

tshos-dan tshos-min smra-ba-la
mkhas-pa sin-tu man-na yan
DE-LTAR ses-nas ñams-len-pa
Ndzig-rten Ndi-na sin-tu dkon

There are many who are skilled
in speaking of right and wrong;
but one who knows IT and takes it to heart
is very rare in this world.

ñams-tshun-rnams-kyis ran-ñid-kyi
smra-ba thams-tsad Nkhrul-bar bsam
DE-LTAR go-nas mi-smra-bai
mi-la gzan-gyis bkur-ba ñe

Humble people will think
that all their own words are mistaken;
honor by others is near to the man
who understands THIS, and does not speak.

15 Note also the verb *Ndra* "resemble, be like, be equal," which occurs with an accompaniment as its core participantthus, for example, in a relative construction from the biography of Mi-la ras-pa, *bod mun-nag-gi glin-na skyes-bu* [*gans-la ñi-ma sar-ba Ndra-ba*] *yan yod-par Ndug* "Yet there are in this dark land of Tibet people like the sun rising on the glaciers."

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5. Metrics

5.1. Definitions

The Tibetan VERSE or metrical line consists of two or more FEET, most commonly between three and five; each foot consists of two POSITIONSa STRONG position and a WEAK position; thus, for example, a three-foot verse has the underlying metrical pattern

[(strong)(weak)] [(strong)(weak)] [(strong)(weak)].

Every word in classical Tibetan has a single primary STRESS that falls on the first syllable; bound forms (conjunctions, nominalizers, role particles, bound quantifiers) are thus considered unstressed, as are also *ni* and *Yan,* unless the latter is the first word of the proposition; free quantifiers, numerals, and determiners may also be unstressed in a weak position. We will symbolize a stressed syllable as 1 and an unstressed syllable as *0.*

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5.2. Basic Mapping

In a periodical meter, the simplest mapping of stress onto the metrical pattern is for each strong position to be filled with one stressed syllable and each weak position to be filled with one unstressed syllable, as follows:

[(strong)(weak)] [(strong)(weak)] [(strong)(weak)]

1 0 1 0

1 0

This basic MAPPING RULE is precisely the one found in a large number of Tibetan folksongs, with metrical lines three feet long, as in these examples:

101010 *lha-sa skyid-pai sgo-la*

101010 *skyid-tshus g.yas-skor rgyab byun*

101010 *srun-ma ma-tsig dpal-lhai*

101010 *yon-tshab mtshod-pa yod-do*

101010 *ha-tsan smin-pai Nbras-bu*

101010 *gzan-las kha-mnar ldan-pas*

101010 *Ndab-Nbras pad-mai stan-nas*

101010 *g.yu-sbran sems-pa skyo byun*

This meter is also found in the *mgul-glu* "love songs" of the sixth Dalai Lama Tshan-dbyans rgya-mtsho, poems clearly based on folk prototypes, as in the following stanza:

101010 *na-dan tshon-Ndus bu-moi*

101010 *tshig-gsum dam-btsai mdud-pa*

101010 *khrag-poi Ngrul-la ma-rgyab*

101010 *ran-ran sa-la grol son*

Longer versions of this meter, with four feet, can be found occasionally in translations from Sanskrit, as in the well-known hymn *Btsom-ldan Ndas-ma yan-dag-par rdzogs-pa sans-rgyas bstod-pa gsuns-pa* to the twenty-one forms of the goddess Tara:

phyag-Ntshal bskal-pai tha-mai me-ltar

Nbar-bai phren-bai dbus-na gnas-ma

g.yas-brkyan g.yon-bskum kun-nas bskor-dgai

dgra-yi dpun ni rnam-par Ndzoms-ma

10101010

10101010

10101010

10101010

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This longer meter too is not unknown in native Tibetan poetry, as in this *mgur* or mystic song from the *Rdo-rdzei mgur skal-ldan yid-kyi mun-sel* of Stag-tshan ras-pa Nag-dban rgya-mtsho:

sñin-nas byan-tshub bsgrub-Ndod yon-kyan

glo-bur ma-rig Nkhrul-pa gtsig-gis

bslan-nas ran-o ses-te ma-tshugs

na ni mtshan-ldan rdze-dan mdzal byun

10101010

10101010

10101010

10101010

5.3. Synalepha

It is also possible to map two unstressed syllables onto a single weak position: this mapping is traditionally called SYNALEPHA. By far the single most common meter in classical Tibetanused as the standard translation of the Sanskrit s*loka* as well as in much native poetryhas a metrical line of three feet with a single synalepha in the last foot, as follows:

[(strong)(weak)] [(strong)(weak)] [(strong)(weak)]

0 0 0 0

1 1 1

We may cite as examples the following stanzas from the *Legs-par bsad-pa rinpo-tshei gter* by Sa-skya pandita:

1010100 *ran-la blo-gros mi-ldan-na*

1010100 *blo-tshen gzan-la legs-par dri*

1010100 *lag-pas dgra-bo mi-gsod-na*

1010100 *mtshon-tsha len-par mi-byed-dam*

1010100 *mkhas-pa bya-ba ma-yin-pai*

1010100 *bya-ba ses-kyan mi-bya-o*

1010100 *glan-pos dgra-sde btsom-pa-yis*

1010100 *rgyun-du rgyal-pos btsins-la ltos*

Other and longer versions of this periodical meter may have nine or even more feet; four feet is the second most common length, as in this poem by Pad-ma dkar-po, from his ritual text *Sñan-rgyud yid-bzin nor-bui bskyed-pai rim-pa rgyas-pa Ndod-pai re-skon:*

101010100 *dzam-bui gser-las ran-byun Ite-ba zlum*
101010100 *rtsibs-ston mu-khyud mtshog-tu rnam-Nphrul-ba*
101010100 *mkha-la rab-Nphags phyogs-las rgyal-byed-pai*
101010100 *Nkhor-lo rin-tshen nam-mkha bkan-ste Nbul*

or in the introductory stanzas to Tson-kha-pa's *Bstan-btsos tshen-po dbu-ma-la Ndzug-pai rnam-bsad dgons-pa rab-gsal* commentary on the *Madhyamakava-tara* of Candrakirti:

101010100 *zab-tsin rgya-tshei legs-bsad kun-gyi gter*
101010100 *Ndzig-rten kun-gyi ma-Ndris mdza-bses-te*
101010100 *sa-gsum Ngro-la lam-bzan mtshon-pai mig*
101010100 *thub-dban smra-bai ñi-mas rtag-tu skyons*

Even longer metrical lines can be found in translations of the complex meters of Sanskrit *kavya* as well as in the ornate native Tibetan poetry it inspired, especially in the genre of *bstod-pa* or encomium. We find the following eightfoot lines, for example, in an encomium of Genghis Khanof all peopleincluded in Ndzigs-med rigs-pai rdo-rdze's history of Buddhism in Mongolia entitled *Tshen-po hor-gyi yul-du dam-pai tshos dzi-ltar byun-bai tshul bsad-pa rgyal-bai bstan-pa rin-po-tshe gsal-bar byed-pai sgron-me:*

phyi-yi spyod-pa rtsub-mor
10101010101010100
bstan-rgyud ñams-thag Ngro-la
brtse-bas dam-du Nkhyud
khyim-pai tsha-lugs bzun-naan
10101010101010100
rgyal-bstan spel-bai lhag-bsam
o-mai rgya-mtsho rdol
sa-yi tshans-pa yab-sras
10101010101010100
brgyud-par btas-pai no-mtshar
mdzad-bzan sku-drin gzugs
dan-pai yid-mtshor sar-tshe
10101010101010100
lag-pai Ndab-brgya sñin-gar
mi-zum dpyod-ldan su

Blo-bzan tshos-kyi ñi-ma uses nine-foot lines in a stanza of praise to Atisa that forms part of the introduction to his *Grub-mtha thams-tsad-kyi khuns-dan Ndod-tshul ston-pa legs-bsad sel-gyi me-lon:*

dka-ba du-mas gser-gyi glin-nas
1010101010101010100
gñer-blans byan-tshub sems-kyi
gdams-pa dban-gi rgyal
bod-yul gdul-byar brtse-bas Nphans-med
1010101010101010100
stsol-mdzad dzo-bo tshen-po
di-pam ka-ra-dan
yons-rdzogs thub-bstan bdag-gir bzes-te
1010101010101010100
legs-bsad gtam-dan rnam-thar
gtsan-mai no-mtshar-gyis
kun-las khyad-Nphags dge-ldan srol-Nbyed
1010101010101010100
rgyal-ba gñis-pa sras-dan
btsas-la sñin-nas Ndud

We should mention here too the monstrous eighteen-foot *tour de force* with which the crazy yogin Gtsan-smyon he-ru-ka begins his famous biography of Mi-la ras-pa, the first line of which reads 10101010101010101010101010101010100 *tshos-skui lha-lam ma-rig tshu-Ndzin gdod-bral dbyins-na gzugs-sku lag-pai ñin-mtshan mgon ni bdud-tshui sgra-gtsan rtsa-bral Nphrin-las mkhyen-brtsei od-Ngyed mtha-klas dpal-Nbar-bas.*

Synalepha is found also in feet other than the last. For example, in the following verses from the prayer *Mtshams sgrub-byed-skabs thun mgo-mdzug-tu Ndon-rgyu gsol-Ndebs bla-ma rgyan-Nbod* by Ndzig-rten blos-btan, we find synalepha in the second foot:

1010010 *tshos-sku Ngyur-med-kyi no-bo*
1010010 *tshos-sku kun-khyab-kyi no-bo*
1010010 *tshos-sku bde-tshen-gyi no-bo*
1010010 *gñis-med ye-ses-kyi no-bo*
1010010 *lhan-skyes ye-ses-kyi no-bo*

The heroic poetry found in the archaic Central Asian manuscripts, dating back as far as the mid-seventh century, uses a verse of two feet with synalepha in both:

100100 *dgu-sno ni bdun-rim-gyi*
100100 *lha-yul ni gun-dan-nas*
100100 *lha-sras ni myi-i mgon*
100100 *myi-yul ni thams-tsad-dan*
100100 *myi-mtshuns ni myi-Ndra-ste*

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The last syllable of the first foot is always an unstressed *ni*, and, as in the later poetry, stress appears neutralized in the final syllable of each verse. This ancient bardic structure is occasionally encountered in later works, in such lines as these from the Bon text *Bka Ndus-pa rin-po-tshe gzer-myig-gi rgyud:*

100100	*mkhyen-mgar ni yag-po lags*
100100	*Nphrul-mgar ni kun-mkhyen lags*
100100	*bzan-mkhan ni yo-mñes lags*
100100	*nan-gi ni dro-ma myon*

Variations on this pattern are also sometimes found in the ancient manuscripts, as in the following two stanzas from a mythological fragment found in the caves near Tun-huang:

10010	*rta-la ni gan mgyogs*
10010	*rman-la ni rtsal tshe*
10010	*sñag-na ni myi-slebs*
10010	*Nbros-na ni myi-thar*
10010	*rgal-na ni myi-thub*

The poet Pad-ma dkar-po, as a further example, made extensive and remarkably skillful use of periodic meters with synalepha in alternative feet. We may give the following two examples from a manuscript of his collected songs, entitled *Rdo-rdze glui phren-ba sna-ma:*

1001010010	*rgyal-khams-kyi mtshod-gnas mal-Nbyor-gyi dpon-slob*
1001010010	*sgrub-brgyud-kyi bstan-Ndzin Ngran-med-du Ndug-pas*
1001010010	*thos-bsam-dan sgom-pa tsig-tsar-du bgyis-pa*
1001010010	*bar-tshad-la med-do byin-rlabs-kyi khyad-par*
101001010010	*nags-ldzons phal-mo-la Ngrim-pa rgya-stag-gi khra-bo*
101001010010	*tsan-dan nags-ma-dan phrad-pas sems-yid-la sor-nas*
101001010010	*nags-mtha sñegs-pa-la mi-dga stag-phrug-gi gzon-nu*
101001010010	*Ndzum-drug btsan-sa-la bya-yin tsan-dan-gyi nags-ma*

5.4. Catalexis

In the first foot of a verse it is possible for a weak position to be left empty;

this mapping we will call CATALEXIS. A particularly popular meter for *mgur* "mystic song," both periodically and aperiodically, was a four-foot meter with catalexis in the first foot and synalepha in the last, as follows:

[(strong)(weak)] [(strong)(weak)] [(strong)(weak)]

0 0 0

1 1 1

Used as a periodical meter, for example, we find the following couplets forming part of the central section of a song by Mi-la ras-pa, as given in the anthology *Mtshog-gi dnos-grub mnon-du byed-pai myur-lam bka-brgyud bla-ma-rnams-kyi rdo-rdze mgur-dbyans ye-ses tshar-Nbebs ran-grol lhun-grub bde-tshen rab-Nbar nes-don rgya-mtshoi sñin-po,* which we will call by its short title *Bka-brgyud mgur-mtsho:*

1-1010100 *nai gnas-la bltas-na ri-dwags Ndra*

1-1010100 *mi gsan-gyis mthon-yan sñin-rlun ldan*

1-1010100 *nai zas-la bltas-na dud-Ngro Ndra*

1-1010100 *mi gzan-gyis mthon-na skyug-bro ldan*

1-1010100 *nai lus-la bltas-na ken-rus Ndra*

1-1010100 *dgra sdan-bas bltas-kyan mtshi-ma tshor*

The same meter is often exploited by Pad-ma dkar-po, as in the following stanza from the *Rdo-rdze glui phren-ba sna-ma:*

1-1010100 *yun rin-po tsam-ran ma-sbyans-kyan*

1-1010100 *tshos lun-rigs tshad-mas gzal-ba-la*

1-1010100 *dus den-san smra-bai sen-ger gyur*

1-1010100 *khon mkhas-pa tshogs-kyin na-re brod*

An example from a Dge-lugs-pa poet is the well-known *Gsun-mgur sar-gans ri-ma* by the first Dalai Lama Dge-Ndun-grub, of which the following are the first two stanzas:

1-1010100 *sar gans-ri dkar-poi rtse-mo-na*

1-1010100 *sprin dkar-po gnam-la bsñeg-Ndra-ba*

1-1010100 *de mthon-ba mod-la bla-ma dran*

1-1010100 *dran bsams-sin bsams-sin dad-ma skyes*

1-1010100 *sprin dkar-po ldin-bai sar-phyogs-na*

1-1010100 *Nbrog dge-ldan rnam-par rgyal-ba de*r

1-1010100 *mtshan brdzod-par dka-bai rin-po-tshe*

1-1010100 *pha blo-bzan grags-pa yab-sras bzugs*

As a final example we may cite the following verses attributed to the third Dalai Lama Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho in the *Tshen-po hor-gyi yul-du dam-pai tshos dzi-ltar byun-bai tshul bsad-pa rgyal-bai bstan-pa rin-po-tshe gsal-bar byed-pai sgron-me* by Ndzigs-med rigs-pai rdo-rdze:

1-1010100 *ned sog-poi rgyal-pos spyan-drans-nas*

1-1010100 *yul mtha-Nkhob gnas-su Ngro-sar-kyan*

1-1010100 *dus mi-Ngyans bzin-du Nkhor bgyid-pas*

1-1010100 *de bar-du sems-la bzag-bya ni*

1-1010100 *gnas dpal-ldan Nbras-spuns tshos-kyi sde*

1-1010100 *gzis dga-ldan pho-bran Nkhor-btsas-kyi*

1-1010100 *don Ndzin-Nbras le-par ma-sor-zin*

1-1010100 *ran rgyu-Nbras tshos-la yid-tshes-dan*

1-1010100 *las dge-bai phyogs-la Nbad-kyan Ntshal*

5.5. Aperiodical Meters

APERIODICAL METERS can often be of great poetic interest. The simplest type consists in simple metrical alternation, as in the following folksong stanzas:

1010100 *da ni dog-moi bro-brdun us*

1-1010100 *sten lha-yi yul-du bro-tsig brdun*

1010100 *dog-moi sa-la rnam-pa-tsam*

1-1010100 *bar bstan-gyi yul-du bro-tsig brdun*

1010100 *dog-moi sa-la rnam-pa-tsam*

1-1010100 *og klu-yi yul-du bro-tsig brdun*

The poet Mi-la ras-pa is fond of such devices, and we find such stanzas as the following, given in the *Bka-brgyud mgur-mtsho:*

1010100 *?a-ne khyun-bzai dpal-Ndren de*

1-1010100 *dus da-lta skyid-dam mi-skyid blta*

1010100 *khan-pa ka-bzi gdun-brgyad de*

1-1010100 *dus da-lta Ngyel-lam ma-Ngyel blta*

1010100 *gtsan-khan zur-bzi logs-brgyad de*
1-1010100 *dus da-lta zig-gam ma-zig blta*

The crazy yogin Nbrug-pa kun-legs uses a similar alternation in the following stanza, included in his autobiography *Rnal-Nbyor-pai min-tsan kun-dga legs-pai rnam-thar byun-tshul lhug-par smras-pa zib-moi rtsid-mo ha-le ho-le sna-zin spu-zin-nas bkod-pa:*

1-1010100 *na skye-ba man-poi phren-ba-la*
1-1010100 *lus ma-blans bya-bai dgu-tsig blans*
1010100 *gsal-gsal ran-tsig mi-Ndug-ste*
1-1010100 *tshod byas-na Ndi-ltar skyes-sam sñam*

and the yogin Lo-ras-pa uses an even more irregular pattern in such stanzas as the following, again given in the *Bka-brgyud mgur-mtsho:*

1-1010100 *blo las-su run-bai sems-rgyud Ndi*
1-1010100 *gans dkar-po stons-kyi na-bun Ndra*
101010100 *na-bun nam-yal mi-ses sgom-la gsegs*
1-101010100 *Ndi yal-bar nes-so dam-pai tshos-la gsegs*

We can note here that such catalectic first feet can be used as a device of topicalization. In a poem by Mi-la ras-pa given in the *Bka-brgyud mgur-mtsho,* the poet begins an admonitory address to his own wandering mind with a single aperiodical verse before continuing with periodical lines of the form 1010100:

1-1010100 *sems ma-spro ma-spro ran-sar zog*
1010100 *spros-na don-med sna-tshogs dran*
1010100 *ma-yens ma-yens dran-pa brten*
1010100 *yens-na dge-sbyor rlun-la Ntshor*

. .
. .
. .

The topical syllable *sems* "mind" is here set off by its position in an initial catalectic foot. Similarly, in another poem, found in the *Rag-mai skor sna-ma* of the *Rdze-btsun mi-la ras-pai rnam-thar rgyas-par phye-ba mgur-Nbum,* Mi-la ras-pa begins with the line 1-1010100 *na rigs-drug Nkhrul-pai gron-khyer-du,* establishing the syllable n*a* "I" as topic before continuing with several stanzas of periodical 1010100 verses; he then gives a series of metaphors about himself, again topicalizing n*a* in a catalectic foot at the beginning of each stanza:

1-1010100 *na mal-Nbyor mi-yi sen-ge yin*
1010100 *lta-ba bzan-poi g.yu-ral rgyas*
1010100 *bsgom-pa bzan-poi mtshe-sder-tsan*
1010100 *ñams-len gans-kyi ltons-su byas*
1010100 *yon-tan Nbras-bu thob-tu re*
1-1010100 *na mal-Nbyor mi-yi rgya-stag yin*
1010100 *byan-tshub sems-kyi rtsal-gsum rdzogs*
1010100 *thabs-ses dbyer-med gra-Ndzum-tsan*
1010100 *Ndogs-la sman-ldzons nags-la bsdad*
1010100 *gzan-don Nbras-bu Nbyin-du re*
1-1010100 *na mal-Nbyor mi-yi rgod-po yin*
. .
. .
. .

Similar to such patterns of aperiodical catalexis are patterns of aperiodical synalepha. We find folksongs with loosely organized systems of aperiodical synalepha in the final foot:

101010 *ka-bzi gdun-brgyad nan-du*
1010100 *rigs-bzan mkha-Ngro gzas-la byon*
1010100 *de-rin skyid-poi ñin-mo-la*
1010100 *dpa-bo mkha-Ngro gzas-la byon*
1010100 *phyag-gi dan-po yul-lha-la*
1010100 *gzi-bdag ya-la phyag-vtshal-lo*
101010 *snam-bu dkar-po tshags-la*
101010 *mi-Ngro zer-rgyu yin-na*
101010 *an-la bu-mo na ni*
10101010 *dam-pai tshos-la Ngro-rgyu yin-no*

More regular patterns of alternation may be associated-as was the case with alternating catalexis-with systematic variation of the number of feet in each line. For example, we find the following song recorded in the chronicle *Ladwags rgyal-rabs,* a history of Buddhism in La-dakh:

sol-bas rdo-gsum zus-nas
101010
dnul-zans ltsags-gsum ston
10100

101010 *sin-la bug-pa bud-nas*
10100 *sol-dan gña-sin btsos*

101010 *mthun-gñis gña-ru sdebs-nas*
10100 *than-rnams zin-du rmos*

101010 *rgya-mtsho yur-la drans-nas*
10100 *tshu-la zam-pa Ndzugs*

Mi-la ras-pa often utilizes such strictly organized patterns of alternation, particularly in the second foot, as we find in the following stanzas of prayer to his master Mar-pa, given in the *Bka-brgyud mgur-mtsho:*

10010100 *skyel-ma-dan bsu-mai thugs-dam mdzod*
bar-tshad-dan rkyen-nan-gyi bzlog-pa mdzod

100100100

10010100 *lus-nag-dan bsam-pai srun-ma mdzod*
smon-ma-dan thugs-khur-gyi rten-Nbrel mdzod

100100100

10010100 *thugs-rdze-dan nus-pai dban-bskur mdzod*
rgyud-lun-dan man-nag-gi rgyab-brten mdzod

100100100

Elsewhere in the poems of Mi-la ras-pa we can find more loosely patterned forms, as in these stanzas from the *Bka-brgyud mgur-mtsho,* where he uses alternating synalepha in the second and then in the first foot:

1010100 *skye-boi so-nam sdig-pai las*
10100100 *spyad-na nan-son-gi sdug-bsnal myon*

1010100 *ñe-dui gdun-sems bdud-kyi mkhar*
10100100 *brtsegs-na me-obs-kyi nan-du tshud*

10010100 *zas-nor-gyi gsog-Ndzog mi-yi rgyu*
1010100 *bsags-tshad spran-poi brgyags-phye yin*

Even more complex patterns can be achieved by combining aperiodical catalexis and synalepha, as in the following song attributed to Padmasambhava in his biography *Gu-ru pad-ma Nbyun-gnas-kyi skyes-rabs rnam-par thar-pa:*

1-1010100 *na bon-po pad-ma Nbyuñ-gnas yin*

1-10100100 *tshos ltas-nan g.yan-blon-gyi gdams-nag bdog*

1-1010100 *lar rigs-drug sems-tsan bde-la bkod*

1010100 *lha-srin sde-brgyad bran-du Nkhol*

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The yogin Rgod-tshan-pa Mgon-po rdo-rdze uses a similarly loose alternation in the chorus of a mystic song of prayer to the lineage of his masters, given in the *Bka-brgyud mgur-mtsho:*

snan-ba Ndi-kun zab-ta zob-tar Ndug-go

1010101010

kun-rdzob Ndi sgyu-mai Nkhrul-Nkhor-du Ndug-go

101-
1010010

rgyab-brag Ndi zan-ne thal-le-ru Ndug-go

101-
1010010

As a final example we can cite a song attributed by the *Bka-brgyud mgur-mtsho* to three anonymous disciples of Sgam-po-pa, where aperiodical stanzas alternate with a repeated aperiodical chorus as follows:

1-1010100	*gnas og-min tshos-kyi pho-bran-na*
1-10101010	*gnas de-na bzugs-pa rdo-rdze Ntshan-tshen*
10100101010	*skabs-der gsol-ba-zig thob-dan rdo-rdze spun-tsho*
101010100	*bla-mas yar-sog gsun-gin yar-yar Ngro*
101010100	*mtho-ris them-skas Ndzogs-sin yar-yar Ngro*
101010100	*nan-son rdog-pas gnon-zin yar-yar Ngro*
10100100100	*so-mo ñams-bzan-la dga-yo-dan re-spro-na*
1-1010100	*sar za-hor nor-bui dgon-pa-la*
1-101010010	*gnas de-na bzugs-pa tai-lo-yi ser-bzan*
10100101010	*skabs-der gsol-ba-zig thob-dan rdo-rdze spun-tsho*
101010100	*bla-mas yar-sog gsun-gin yar-yar Ngro*
101010100	*mtho-ris them-skas Ndzogs-sin yar-yar Ngro*
101010100	*nan-son rdog-pas gnon-zin yar-yar Ngro*
10100100100	*so-mo ñams-bzan-la dga-yo-dan re-spro-na*

5.6. Unstressed Syllables in Strong Positions

In many periodical meters we can note certain consistent variations from the mapping rules outlined above. These variations seem to constitute a set of optional metrical liberties a poet can take within the framework of the verse structure. One such permitted variation, not infrequently found, is for a strong position to be filled with one unstressed syllable rather than with one stressed syllable, as in the following folksong stanza:

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101000 *bskal-bzan bde-ba-tsan-gyi*
101010 *nor-glin klu-yi pho-bran*
101010 *?e-ma de-Ndra mthon-dus*
101010 *ldzon-pai pho-bran dran Nbyun*

The same substitution can be found in the hymn of praise to the goddess Tara called *Btsom-ldan Ndas-ma sgrol-ma yan-dag-par rdzogs-pa sans-rgyas bstod-pa gsuns-pa:*

10101010 *phyag-Ntshal sgrol-ma myur-ma dpa-mo*
10101010 *spyan ni skad-tsig glog-dan Ndra-ma*
10101010 *Ndzig-rten gsum-mgon tshu-skyes zal-gyi*
10100010 *ge-sar phye-ba-las ni byun-ma*
10101010 *phyag-Ntshal ston-kai zla-ba kun-tu*
10101010 *gan-ba brgya ni brtsegs-pai zal-ma*
10101000 *skar-ma ston-phrag tshogs-pa-rnams-kyis*
10101010 *rab-tu phye-bai od-rab Nbar-ma*

and-in verses with synalepha in the last footin such stanzas as the following from Sa-skya pandita's *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter:*

1010100 *sin-tu rgas-par gyur-tshe yan*
1010100 *thos-pa man-du bsags-par bya*
1010100 *phyi-mar thos-pas phan-pa-tsam*
1000100 *sbyin-pa-yis kyan ga-la phan*
1010000 *dus-su ma-bab-pa-yi gtam*
1010100 *gan-smra de-la kun-gyis brñas*
1010100 *man-po smra-bai gtam-tshig-las*
1010100 *smyon-par rdzes-su mi-dpog-gam*

Similar substitutions are found in aperiodical meters: in the following stanzas in his autobiography *Rnal-Nbyor-pai min-tsan kun-dga legs-pai rnam-thar* the crazy yogin Nbrug-pa kun-legs maintains the parallel structure of his verses by introducing the exclamatory extra syllable *dan* where the preceding strong position has been filled with an unstressed syllable:

mtshan-ldan-pai dan bla-ma
100010
snod-ldan-pai dan slob-ma
100010
dam-tshos tshul-bzin byed-pa-la dgos-pa
101010010100
yod-do ?ao
dam-tshos-pai dan Ndul-ba
100010
spon-sems-pai dan brtan-po
100010
rab-byun btsun-pa byed-pa-la dgos-pa
101010010100
yod-do ?ao
gzan-la mi-phod sñin-rdze
101010
bdag-gzan brdze-bai bsam-pa
101010
theg-tshen byan-sems sgom-pa-la dgos-pa
101010010100
yod-do ?ao
. .
. .
. .

In the following verses, given in the *Bka-brgyud mgur-mtsho,* Mi-la ras-pa integrates trisyllabic forms into his metric pattern by similarly allowing an unstressed syllable to fill a strong position:

mi-med brag-gi phug-pa-na
1010100
skyo phyod-de-ba-la sas-rgyu med
1-1000100
bla-ma dam-pai sans-rgyas-la
1010100
yid dun-ne-ba-la Nbral-ba med
1-1000100

Sometimes we find an initial sequence of one stressed and two unstressed syllables; in a meter with catalectic first feet, this is read as an unstressed syllable in the strong position of the second foot after catalexis in the first

syllable-that is, as 1-00, rather than 100, in order to maintain parallel scansion with verses clearly beginning 1-10. This variation is found, for example, in the long and often strictly periodical mystic songs by Pad-ma dkar-po, where it is a permitted departure from the highly regular 1-1010100 line, as in this stanza from his *Rdo-rdze glui phren-ba sna-ma:*

ran gsol-ba Ndebs-phyogs ma-log-na

1-1010100

tshe Ndi-phyii dgos-Ndod dzi-sñed-pa

1-1010100

bde-blag-tu ster-bai nus-pa mna

1-0010100

blo tsham-tshom med-pai gsol-Ndebs Ntshal

1-1010100

Similarly we can select the following stanzas from a long poem by Pad-ma

dkar-po, from the same collection, which uses the same metrical structure and variation:

1-1010100 *yid gñen-poi tshu-lon ma-bran-te*
1-0010100 *Ndod-yon-gyi snan-ba tsi-bkra-yan*
1-0010100 *zen-tshags-kyi sred-pa mi-ldan-bas*
1-1010100 *khon btsun-po tshogs-kyin na-re brod*
1-0010100 *Ndag-sbyar-gyi bsgom-yun ma-byas-te*
1-1010100 *lam ñams-su myon-bai drod-rtags-la*
1-0010100 *di-lta-bai spu-ris phyed-pai phyir*
1-1010100 *grogs sgom-tshen tshogs-kyin na-re brod*
1-0010100 *mi-bdag-pai brod-pa Ndi-dag kyan*
1-1010100 *pha mtshan-ldan bla-ma khon-gi drin*
1-1010100 *drin Nkhor-tabs med-pas gsol-Ndebs Ndi*
1-1010100 *rdze dam-pai sñan-la gzan-yan byas*

5.7. Variation in the Last Foot

Where there is synalepha in the final foot of a verse, a poet seems permitted the occasional liberty of substituting a last foot of the form 110 for the usual final 100. We can cite the following examples from Sa-skya pandita's *Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-tshei gter:*

1010100 *ñams-stobs tshun-bai skye-bo yan*
1010100 *tshen-po gzan-la bsten-na Ngrub*
1010100 *tshu-yi thigs-pa ñam-tshun yan*
1010110 *mtsho-dan Ndra-na skam mi-nus*
1010110 *su-laan bdag-gi dgra yin-pa*
1010100 *Nga yan bdag-la mi-byams zes*
1000110 *mi-byams-na yan de mi-sgrag*
1010100 *bsgrags-na de-ñid Nbyed-pai sel*
1010110 *gal-te dgra-la gnod Ndod-na*
1010100 *ran-ñid yon-tan ldan-par bya*
1010110 *de-yis dgra yan sems bsreg-tsin*
1010100 *ran yan bsod-nams Nphel-bar Ngyur*

We find the same variation permitted within a periodical meter in the following diatribe against beer, attributed to the Buddha himself in Ndzigsmed rigs-pai rdo-rdze's *Tshen-po hor-gyiyul-du dam-pai tshos dzi-ltar byun-bai tshul bsad-pa rgyal-bai bstan-pa rin-po-tshe gsal-bar byed pai sgron-me:*

100010100 *tshan-Nthun-ba-la mnon-par dga-bai mi*

101010110 *bdag-la phan-dan gzan-la bde mi-nus*

101010110 *rmons-pa mdog-nan byed-pa tshan yin-te*

101010110 *dzi-ltar ha-lai dug-bzin de mi-btun*

We can cite as a further example the following stanza from the *Rdo-rdze glui phren-ba sna-ma* by Pad-ma dkar-po:

1-1010100 *ran ñams-len byed-tshul ma-log-na*

1-1010110 *rtsa Nkhor-lo drug-gi mdud grol-nas*

1-0010110 *bde-tshen-gyi Ngros-bzi mthar son-pai*

1-1010110 *tshe gtsig-gis sans-rgyas Ngrub nes yin*

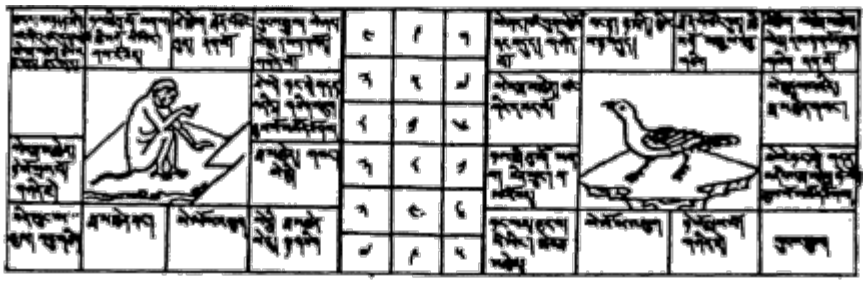

Figure 13
Page from an almanac

14
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