A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF CLASSICAL TIBETAN

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slob-dpon-la phyag htshal-lo!

A synchronic description of the language of the Tibetan Buddhist canon (§1), transmitted in an lndic alphabet on syllabic principles (§2). A general categorization of the language shows a grammatical system operating through sets of contrastive dichotomies, so that FREE FORMS contrast with ENCLITICS, the former further subdividing into INVARIABLES which contrast with VARIABLES, etc. (§3). Enclitics are VARIANTS, predictable phonologically determined allomorphs of basic forms (§4); four affixes are ALTERNANTS, i.e., morphologically determined allomorphs (§5); the grammatical roles of free forms (§6) and 29 enclitics (§7) are illustrated with examples. The overall description is demonstrated by the complete analysis of an extract treating enclitics 13 and 14, edited and translated, from an epitome of an 18th century grammatical treatise (§8). References to earlier and traditional treatments from the literature are included *passim* (§9).

1. DEFINITION AND LIMITATIONS: This sketch is a description of Classical Tibetan, the language of the Tibetan translations of the Mahāyāna Buddhist canon as well as of other original texts, chiefly on religious, medical, historical, and grammatical subjects. This Classical Tibetan is the "new" canonical language of the Tibetan Buddhist establishment as set by the orthographic (and perhaps also the language) reforms of the eighth Tibetan king, Khri-lde sroñ-btsan, also known as Khri-gtsug lde-brtsan (815-841), in A.D. 816. It was based upon Old Church Tibetan, which was a variety of Old Tibetan and the language of earlier Buddhist texts dating from the reign of the first of the Tibetan kings, Sroñ-btsan sgam-po (? 569 ?-649), on into the 9th century. (For further details on the periodicization of Tibetan, cf. Miller 1968: 147-49, fn. 1.)

The most important and best known part of the Classical Tibetan corpus is the Buddhist canon as available today in the xylographic editions of Tibetan and Chinese lamaist monasteries, as distinguished from the "old" translations of which only manuscript fragments from Central Asian sites survive for a few texts. The first edition of this canon was the "old" Snar-thañ printing, from the first part of the 13th century, which survives today chiefly (or

perhaps only) in a 1410 Chinese printing for which it served as the basic text. There is a Li-thañ printing which is to be dated after 1580; a subsequent printing made in Ming China was based upon that of 1410 and was begun in 1602; and a Peking printing was begun in 1683. In Tibet proper a "new" Snar-thañ edition was begun in 1730, and there was also an important Sde-dge edition which is later than that year; there is also a modern Lhasa edition, after 1893. The surviving xylographic editions are well represented in many collections in Japan and the west; but most of the original blocks from which they were printed and which traditionally were stored in monastic printing establishments have probably been destroyed in the course of the social and political changes of the past decade, both in Tibet and in China.

This sketch presents the main structural features of Classical Tibetan, but in order to keep its length within reasonable limits a few arbitrary decisions about what to include and what not to include have had to be made. This has ruled out treatment of a few enclitics which occur in the texts rarely, or whose meanings when they do occur are not always above question, as well as a few other features of the language which are either rare or moot. In addition, considerations of space are responsible for the decision not to include data about the special feature of respect language, which is important in many varieties of Tibetan, including to a limited extent the language described here, but which is more a **[75]** feature of lexicon than of grammatical structure. For the same reasons, derivation has been largely and etymology completely ignored, as also have been the periphrastic verb structures which the grammarians often use in their exegesis of texts but which are more representative of later stages of the written language, and of the spoken languages, than of the language described in this sketch.

2. PHONOLOGY: The texts are transmitted in an alphabet based on syllabic principles, originally borrowed from an Indic prototype. The following statements about pronunciation take into account several different sources of information concerning the origins of the script and the pronunciation of the language underlying the earliest texts; they present a consensus of views now generally held about the pronunciation, but purposely avoid discussion of controversial points.

2.1. Every syllable in the language consists of the sequence consonant + vowel; this is a minimum syllable, which may or may not have an optional syllable-final consonant or consonants (2.8). No vowel sequences occur, but consonant clusters in both syllable-initial and syllable-final are frequent, and those in syllable-initial are unusually rich.

2.2. The script of the texts has symbols for writing thirty consonant phones. These include three varieties of stops (voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, and voiced unaspirated)

produced at the velar, dental, and labial positions of articulation (k, kh, g, t, th, d, p, ph, b); voiced nasal resonants produced at each of the same three articulatory positions (ñ, n, m); alveolar and palatal spirants each with voiceless (s, š) and voiced (z, ž) pronunciations; a voiceless glottal stop (q) and two velar spirants, one voiceless (x), the other voiced (h); two semivowels, one labial (w), the other palatal (y); and two laterals, one dental (l), the other lingual (r). In addition the script has unit symbols for writing six affricates: three varieties (voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, and voiced unaspirated) of dento-palatal affricates (c [tš], ch [tš'], j [dž]), and three parallel dento-alveolar affricates (ts, tsh, dz), as well as a palatal nasal (ñ). In addition the script also makes provision for writing an element of palatalization, -y-, which is different from and in a few instances contrasts with the palatal semivowel y (on its phonemic role, cf. immediately below).

Each of these phones is a significant unit in the phonology of the language, i.e., a phoneme, except in the case of the dento-palatal affricates, the palatal spirants, and the palatal nasal. In the phonemic patterning and phonological structure of the language these function not as units but as clusters of consonant + the phoneme of palatalization -y-, [c] = /ty/, [ch] = /thy/, [j] = /dy/, [ñ] = /ny/, [š]= /sy/, and [ž] = /zy/. This analysis is also necessary for the morphophonemic statements for some of the enclitic particles (cf. 4.8).

The transcription of the language employed in this sketch is phonemic throughout with the exception of the dento-palatal affricates, which are written in their phonetic realizations as c, ch, and j rather than in their phonemic analysis as ty, thy, and dy, in order to avoid unnecessary discrepancies with the rest of the literature on the language; thus, chos 'dharma', though the form is actually /thyos/; but š, ž, and ñ are always written phonemically as sy, zy, and ny.

Note that in many publications in French or German, and sometimes also in other languages, the dento-alveolar affricates are often transcribed c, ch, and j; when this is done, the dento-palatal affricates are then generally written č, čh, and ǰ. The voiced velar spirant written h in this sketch is often transcribed ḥ in the literature, but a great variety of other symbols is also employed, including such digraphs as 'a.

Although the script of the texts is essentially phonetic rather than phonemic, it does have certain phonemic aspects, of which the most notable is the way in which it uses its symbol for the voiced velar spirant h. It is clear from the historical evidence that this was a phoneme /h/ with several quite different allophones, notably a voiced velar spirant [ɣ] in syllable-initial before vowel or in syllable-final following vowel, but a homorganic nasal or pre-nasalization when occurring as prior element in a consonant cluster, **[76]** thus /hdi/ [ndi] or [^{n}di], /hg/ [ŋg]

or [ᵑg]. The inventors of the script capitalized upon the common phonetic feature of voiced resonance in [ɣ] [n] [ŋ] etc., and also upon the mutually exclusive distribution of these phones, in order to bring these disparate elements together under a single phoneme, for which they then used the symbol here transcribed as h. On h in syllable final, cf. also 2.8 below.

Structurally it is also necessary to note that phonemic clusters with -y- as in /ty / = [c], etc., as above, pattern together with and are exactly parallel to the clusters with -y- which the script writes (by, brgy, hgy, etc.). In all these -y- is a phoneme of palatalization, and is to be distinguished from the semivowel y; there are contrasts between the sequence g + the phoneme of palatalization -y- vs. the sequence g + the semivowel y: with the semivowel, gyah ‘rust’, gyañ ‘blessing’, gyur ‘to the turquoise’, vs. with the phoneme of palatalization, gya ‘deformed’, gyañ ‘tamped earth or clay’, gyur ‘change, transform’. For complete consistency it would be necessary to use a different symbol for each of these, as for example i̯ or j for the phoneme of palatalization (gi̯, gj), and y for the semivowel (gy). But since words with a cluster of consonant + palatal semivowel are extremely rare (and none occur in any of the citations in this sketch), the simpler symbol y has been used throughout. When a morpheme has y initial this initial is presumably the palatal semivowel and not the phoneme of palatalization, but since the contrast is neutralized in such a position the identification is trivial. There is no parallel problem with the labial semivowel.

2.3. The script of the texts makes provision for the following five vowel phones, each of which is a significant unit in the phonology of the language: a, i, u, e, o. These vowels occur as syllabic nuclei in syllables with at least one initial consonant. There are no syllables without at least one initial consonant, nor are there any sequences of like or unlike vowels or any diphthongs.

2.4. Consonants in syllable-initial occur either plain or palatalized. The occurrences of plain consonants are described here (for single initial consonants and for two-consonant initial clusters), in 2.5 (for three-consonant clusters), and in 2.6 (for larger initial clusters). The occurrences of palatalized consonants and palatalized consonant clusters are described in 2.7.

Each of the consonant phonemes occurs syllable-initial. In addition, the following two-consonant clusters occur syllable-initial: d, b, r, l, s with k (i.e., to form dk, bk, rk, lk, sk, etc., and so also in the statements below); m and h with kh; d, b, r, l, s, m, and h with g; d, r, l, s, and m with ñ; b, g, r, l, and s with t; m and h with th; b, g, r, l, s, m and h with d; g, r, s and m with n; d, l and s with p; h with ph; d, r, l, s and h with b; d, r and s with m; b, g, r, and s with ts; m and h with tsh; r, h, and m with dz; and b and g with both s and z.

Further, k, g, b, x, z, r and s with l (to form kl, gl, xl, etc.; xl is interpreted as the voiceless

lateral [l'], often transcribed lh, as in xla-sa 'Lhasa'); k, t, p, kh, th, ph, g, d, b, m, s and x with r; g with the semivowel y; and k, kh, g, c, ts, tsh, t, d, z, s, x, l and r with the semivowel w. (Many of the morphemes responsible for this last set are suspect of being orthographic forms only, where the symbol for the semivowel w has been used as a mater lectionis to facilitate solving certain inherent ambiguities of the script; cf. Miller 1955: 483.)

Finally, b, g, and l with c, m and h with ch, and r, l, m, and h with j. (This statement follows the convention of the present sketch in treating c, etc., as units rather than as clusters /ty/, etc., with the unit of palatalization -y- [cf. 2.2 above]; to treat them as phonemic clusters this statement should be moved to 2.7 below.)

2.5. In addition, the following three-consonant clusters occur syllable-initial: before r, s with k, g, p, b or m (to form skr, sgr, spr, etc.).

2.6. In addition, even larger initial clusters are found, especially in certain verb forms (cf. 6.7), where b, d, g, m and h may be further prefixed to two- and three-consonant initial clusters, according to the following occurrence patterns: b- before k, g, c, j, t, d, ts, dz, z, r, s, ñ, and n; d- before k, g, ñ, p, b, and m; g- before c, t, d, n, ts, **[77]** z, y (the semivowel, not the unit of palatalization), and s; m- before kh, ch, tsh, g, j, dz, d, ñ, and n; and h- before kh, ch, tsh, ph, g, j, dz, d, and b.

In each of these statements s, z, and n also include the palatalized variety of each, as sy, zy, and ny, but c, etc., i.e., /ty/, etc., must be stated separately from t, etc., since g- occurs prefixed to t and d and also to c, i.e., /ty/, but not to j, i.e., /dy/.

2.7. Palatalized consonants and palatalized consonant clusters occur as follows: k, kh, g, p, ph, b and m occur palatalized (ky, py, etc.); and the following clusters also occur palatalized: s and r with k (sky, rky); s and r with g; g, m, r and s with n; s with p and b; r and s with m; and g and b with both s and z.

In addition, the initial combinations syr, nyw, syw and zyw occur in a few rare words in the texts; they may be regarded as palatalized versions of the clusters sr, nw, sw and zw.

2.8. The following consonant phonemes occur in syllable-final: b, d, g, m, n, ñ, r, l, s, and h.

In addition, the following combinations of two consonants occur in syllable-final: g, ñ, b, and m with s, and n, r, and l with d. The last three combinations are rare in the bulk of the texts, and when they appear they are to be understood as somewhat archaic writings equivalent to final n, r, and l elsewhere in the texts; however, the morphophonemics make it necessary to reconstruct the final combinations *nd, *rd, and *ld in certain morphemes (cf. 4.9 below). Originally and in some of the earlier texts there are no morphemes with zero-finals (Ø), and h is final in every morpheme without some other consonant final. In the bulk

of the corpus there are morphemes with final Ø as well as morphemes with h and the other final consonants just listed, but this original pattern explains why in the morphophonemics parallel statements obtain for final h and final Ø.

2.9. The texts use three punctuation marks, a morpheme divider (.), a minor phrase marker (/), and a major syntactic unit marker (//). These probably corresponded to suprasegmental or juncture features in the language underlying the earliest texts, but in the bulk of the corpus they are used according to what appear to be fairly arbitrary orthographic conventions, and hence they cannot serve as the point of departure for linguistic analysis. In transcribing citations in this sketch the morpheme divider has been indicated by space between forms, or by the hyphen when enclitics or bound stems are involved; the phrase and major unit markers have not been transcribed in the shorter citations, though they have been reproduced in the analyzed and translated texts.

2.10. The minimum syllable described by the statements above is of the type hi (variant of the general referent particle, enclitic 8); the maximum syllable is of the type bsgribs 'interfere, prevent' (II of a verb stem).

For a complete description of the Tibetan script, and equivalencies with one of the modern languages, cf. Miller 1956.

3. GENERAL CATEGORIZATIONS: The single most important structural feature of the language is the existence of a number of major dichotomies; they result in an overall pattern which may be characterized as being that of a balanced antithetical grammatical structure.

The major dichotomy in the language is the one between FREE FORMS and ENCLITICS. Each form in the language belongs to one or the other of these two categories, and there is no significant amount of shifting back and forth or shared membership between these two. Free forms further bifurcate in their turn into two major categories, INVARIABLES and VARIABLES. Variables present paradigms of related and partially similar forms; in each paradigm more phonemes are shared by each pair of related forms than are different. Here too the dichotomy is complete and strict, with no shifting or shared membership among the forms concerned. Under the invariable forms are found NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, INTERROGATIVES, CONJUNCTIONS, and INTERJECTIONS; the variables consist of NUMERALS and VERBS.

Nouns and adjectives are marked by characteristic formations into which they enter and also by characteristic subclasses into which each category further subdivides, as well as by their syntactic patterning. The other invariables are **[78]** marked by characteristic patterns of syntactic occurrence.

There are two major categories of nouns, in another major dichotomy, FREE NOUN STEMS and

BOUND NOUN STEMS. The free noun stems are all monosyllabic, and appear as monosyllables in syntax; the bound noun stems are also monosyllables, but appear in syntax only with the obligatory addition of one of the indefinite affixes or, more rarely, with some other affix in place. Bound noun stems further subdivide into four morphological classes, according to their election of variants for the indefinite affix 2 (cf. 5.1). All VERBS are bound stems, and appear in syntax only with the obligatory addition of enclitic affix 1. Both free and bound noun stems, as well as verb stems, enter freely into composition to form polysyllabic compound nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The grammarians often cite bound stems without their obligatory affixes (cf. under ba-las ho-ma hjo in 8, below), a custom imitated in portions of this sketch, but one which is without significance for the analysis of the language.

The ENCLITICS subdivide, in still another major dichotomy, into two groups, COMPOSITION PARTICLES and SYNTACTIC PARTICLES. The variable vs. invariable dichotomy observed in the free forms is also in evidence throughout the enclitics, but it does not split them into two neatly distinct groups; instead most of the particles are variable and only a few are invariable, with the distinction distributed rather unevenly among the various categories. The variability of enclitics is of a different order from the variability of free forms. The variability of free forms, Numerals and Verbs, is an unpredictable operation, historically one which was completed before the time of the texts in which the forms are found, and one which has left as its result paradigms of related and partially similar forms. The variability of enclitics on the other hand is a predictable operation, historically one which is still operating in the texts, and one which may be described in terms of two different processes. These are a) morphophonemic variation in the initials of certain enclitics, determined by the phonemic shape of the finals of the morphemes to which they are enclitic (see 4, Variants); and b) morphologically determined alternation of different and related but only partially similar forms (see 5, Alternants).

The indefinite affixes are all variable, and all of them display morphophonemic variation conditioned by the shape of the final of the preceding morpheme; two of them in addition display morphologically determined alternation. Neither of the gender morphemes displays morphophonemic variation, but both of them have morphologically determined alternants. Some of the syntactic particles are variable, others invariable, but their different but related forms are always variants, never alternants.

The SYNTACTIC PARTICLES include CASE, CONJUNCTIVE, and FINAL PARTICLES; the case particles subdivide into simple and complex, all the latter having the suffix formant -s. One of the complex case particles is variable, the other two invariable. In the conjunctive particles, seven

are variable, and four invariable. The final particles, one of which is variable and three of which are invariable, are always in immediate constituency with major syntactic structures, to which they are the ultimate layers.

In the ordering of syntactic elements there is a major break between subject or topic, which is prior, and predicate, which is subsequent to subject or topic. Subject or topic may be marked with enclitic 12, or enclitic 23; the predicate subdivides into the predicate subordinate and verbal structure. The predicate subordinate is a noun, adjective, or verb-head structure which may have one of the subordinating enclitics in place, typically enclitic 9, 10, 11, 13, or 14, and it may also consist of a string of such head + enclitic structures. The verbal structure is a syntactic element with a verb head, with or without enclitics in place; and one of the final particles may be enclitic to the entire predicate. On the ordering of adjective-head and negative verb structures, see 6.4 and 6.9 below, and cf. also Miller 1955: 485. Thus, in ñas dam-pa-hi chos thams-cad ston-pa-ho 'I preach all the correct dharmas', ñas is the subject, made up of ña 'I' with enclitic 12, going with the transitive verb in the predicate; all the rest of the example is predicate, in which dam-**[79]**pa-hi chos thams-cad is the predicate subordinate and ston-pa-ho is the verbal structure, but the final enclitic 29 is in immediate constituency with the entire predicate. In dam-pa-hi chos thams-cad 'all the correct dharmas' the immediate constituents are, in the first place, dam-pa-hi chos 'the correct dharmas' and thams-cad 'all', then dam-pa-hi and chos, then dam-pa and hi, enclitic 8, then finally dam and pa, enclitic 3. As an example of a predicate subordinate consisting of a string of elements marked with subordinating enclitics, the following may be cited: byañ-chub sems-dpah sems-dpah-chen-po . . . phuñ-po lña-po-de-dag-la stoñ-par rnam-par lta-ho 'the Bodhisattvas-Mahāsattvas . . . saw these five elements to be in their own essence the same as vacuity'.

4. VARIANTS: Each variable enclitic has a BASIC FORM. From this form the different shapes of each enclitic appearing in the texts, its VARIANTS, may be predicted according to the final consonant or consonants of the form to which it is enclitic, its HEAD. The variants are phonologically determined allomorphs, and the term variant is to be understood throughout this sketch in the sense of phonologically determined allomorphs (contrast the term alternant, which is used in this sketch to mean morphologically determined allomorphs, cf. 5 below).

The finals on the basis of which the shapes of the variants of the enclitics may be predicted are given in the statements below as lists of phonemes following the word 'following'. Since in most cases the initial (either one consonant or two) of a variable enclitic is the part that varies (note the only exceptions, variable enclitics 12 [4.2] and 9 [4.7]), the statements for each may conveniently be reduced to statements about the ways in which the initials appear.

For this reason here and elsewhere in this sketch the initials of the variable enclitics are written in upper case; these state the basic form for each enclitic, and at the same time imply the predictable appearance of the variants of each enclitic according to the environments specified. The basic forms appear everywhere except in the environments specified. (Note the only exception, those variable enclitics in initial Q [4.5], where the basic forms are fictive necessities for description which never appear in the texts.) The changes observed in the variable enclitics are, for the most part and in the most general terms, assimilatory.

4.1. KH (in variable enclitic 5) assimilates in aspiration, i.e., it deaspirates following any stop (g, d, b, Cd [cf. 2.8 above and 4.9 below]) or voiceless continuant (s, Cs [cf. 2.8 above]) to become k; it further voices following the voiced resonants n̄, m, and h, and also following Ø, to become g; everywhere else it is kh.

4.2. ^{1}KY (in variable enclitics 8, 12, and 21) assimilates in voicing following non-homorganic voiced resonants (m, n, r, l) to become gy; following homorganic finals (g, n̄) it further voices and simplifies dropping Y to become g.

The enclitics with initial ^{1}KY have different morphophonemic treatments following h and Ø. In enclitics 8 and 21 both initials totally assimilate to h following h and Ø, and the sequence *hh further simplifies to h, thus *dgah-^{1}KYi > *dgah-hi, which appears as dga-hi, and *xla-^{1}KYi > *xla-hi, which appears as xla-hi. In enclitic 12 the entire form except for its final consonant is totally contracted following h and Ø, with only the final s surviving and replacing the final h (if any) of the head, thus *dgah-KYis > *dgah-his, which appears as dgas, and *xla-KYis > *xla-his, which appears as xlas.

4.3. ^{2}KY (in variable enclitic 17) assimilates and simplifies, dropping K following the voiced resonants n, r, l, n̄, and m; following h and Ø in addition to dropping K it further replaces Y by h; everywhere else it is ky.

4.4. P (in variable enclitics 1, 2 and 3) voices to become b following the voiced resonants r, l, n̄, h, and Ø; everywhere else it is p.

4.5. Q (in variable enclitics 15, 28, and 29) always assimilates completely to the final of the head, and resulting sequences of like consonants do not simplify; following h or Ø it assimilates to become h but *hh simplifies to h; the basic form never appears in the texts. On certain special cases where Q appears as t following Cd, either written or reconstructed, cf. 4.9 below.

4.6. ST (in variable enclitic 16) assimilates and **[79]** simplifies dropping S following all

homorganic consonants (n, r, l, s, Cd, Cs) to become t; following its homorganic stop d this simplified initial further assimilates in voicing to become d; everywhere else it is st.

4.7. T (in variable enclitic 9) assimilates in voicing following the voiced resonants n, r, l, ñ, and m, and also following its homorganic stop d, to become d; following s and Cs it totally assimilates to become s; it assimilates in resonance with additional loss of the final -u of this enclitic following h and Ø to become a final -r enclitic to the head; everywhere else, including following Cd, whether written or reconstructed, it is tu (cf. 4.9 below).

4.8. ZY (in variable enclitics 4, 18, 19, 20, and 27) assimilates in manner of articulation following any stop (g, d, b, Cd) and in these environments at the same time unvoices to become /ty/, i.e., [c]; following s and Cs it assimilates totally to become /sy/, i.e., [š]; everywhere else it is zy.

4.9. When certain morphemes in final n, r, and l appear in the texts as heads for enclitics 9, 15, 28, and 29, the initials of the variants may be aberrant in terms of the statements immediately above; thus, with enclitic 9, pha-rol-tu ‘over to the other side’, where with pha-rol ‘the other side’ the variant du would be the expected form following l (cf. 4.7 above); so also with enclitic 29, with ston-to ‘showed’ for the expected *ston-no (cf. 4.5 above), bskor-to ‘turned, revolved’ for *bskor-ro, and gyur-to ‘changed’ for *gyur-ro. Parallel aberrations with enclitics 15 and 28 have -tam for other expected forms.

It is necessary to treat these morphemes as having complex finals, with an additional d suffixed to their original final n, r, and l, i.e., with final *nd, *rd, and *ld (*stond, *bskord, *pha-rold). Such internal reconstruction is verified by actual forms which do appear sporadically in some of the earlier texts, even though in the bulk of the corpus this ultimate final d is not written. But whether this additional d is written in the texts or not, it is always necessary to reconstruct it for these morphemes, and necessary to treat their finals as cases of Cd, where C is -n-, -r-, or -l-.

Even for these morphemes, texts or passages in texts will be found where this morphophonemic refinement is apparently ignored. The problem of their interpretation is always complicated by the unfortunate accident that the graphs for t and d in the Tibetan script are quite similar. As a result it is not always possible to determine with confidence which sign is meant; and it also has always been tempting for scribes and printing-block cutters to gloss over the distinction by using an ambiguous graph that may, at the reader’s option, be taken for either letter.

4.10. In verse, optionally and metri causa, still other forms of several of the variable enclitics appear following h and Ø, and additional statements are necessary under these conditions.

With 9, the basic form is used in verse, optionally and metri causa, following h and Ø; in these cases the enclitic assimilates in resonance but is not devocalized and hence appears as the enclitic ru. Thus, for prose mer (which counts as one foot), optionally and metri causa me-ru (which counts as two feet) is found in the texts. Similarly with 8 and 12, the basic form for either may appear; in these circumstances K simply drops, so that 8 appears as yi and 12 as yis. Thus, for prose xla-hi (one foot), in verse xla-yi (two feet), and for prose xlas (one foot), in verse xla-yis (two feet). Again, in 17, in these circumstances the final replacement of Y by h following h and Ø does not take place, but Y remains as y, thus for prose xlahañ (one foot), in verse xla-yañ (two feet).

5. ALTERNANTS: Two of the indefinite affixes (2 and 3) and both the gender affixes (6 and 7) display ALTERNANTS, or morphologically determined allomorphs (cf. VARIANT in 4 above). In 2, this morphologically determined alternation is in addition to and simultaneous with the morphophonemic variation already described. Here and throughout this sketch alternants are listed with the symbol // separating the different forms appearing in the texts; this // means 'the form preceding this symbol is in morphologically determined alternation with the form following this symbol'. **[81]**

5.1. Indefinite affix 2: Pa // Po // ma // mo (cf. 4.4 above for the variants of P in these forms).

Thus, with the bound noun stems bum 'vase', ka 'pillar', thal 'ashes', and du 'smoke', the texts have bum-pa, ka-ba, thal-ba, du-ba; another morphological class elects the second alternate above, to appear as dños-po 'true body', ri-bo 'mountain', from the bound noun stems dños and ri. Still another morphological class elects the third alternate above, to appear as bla-ma 'Lama', mthah-ma 'boundary', nyi-ma 'sun', skar-ma 'star', from the bound noun stems bla, mthah, nyi, and skar. A fourth morphological class elects the fourth alternate above, to appear as sder-mo 'talon, claw', and ho-ma 'milk', from the bound noun stems sder and ho.

5.2. Indefinite affix 3: Pa // po // mo.

Thus, with the bound adjective stems gus 'be respectful', dge 'be good, propitious', and mdzes 'be beautiful', the texts have gus-pa, dge-ba, and mdzes-pa; another morphological class elects the second alternant above, to appear as chen-po 'be big, great', mthon-po 'be high', and rgad-po 'be aged', from the bound adjective stems chen, mthon, and rgad. A third morphological class elects the third alternant above, to appear as zab-mo 'be deep', and dmah-mo 'be low', from the bound adjective stems zab and dmah. The affix also appears with numeral stems, bcu-po 'ten'.

5.3. Gender affix 6: pa // po.

Thus, with the free noun stem rta ‘horse’, the texts have rta-pa ‘horseman’; with the verb stem gar, they have gar-pa ‘dancer’; but the verb stem rgyal ‘be victorious’ elects the second alternate, to appear as rgyal-po ‘king’. The numerals also elect the pa alternant for ordinals: bzyi-pa ‘the fourth’.

5.4. Gender affix 7: ma // mo.

Thus, with the verb stem gar ‘dance’ the texts have gar-ma ‘female dancer’; with skyes (a secondary formation from the verb stem skye ‘be born’) they have skyes-ma ‘girl’ (cf. skyes-pa ‘son’, with pa // po [5.3]); but rgyal ‘be victorious’ elects the second alternate to appear as rgyal-mo ‘queen’; so also with the free noun stem xla ‘god’, xla-mo ‘goddess’, and the bound stem bu, appearing in bu-mo ‘woman’.

Adjectives may also optionally elect to appear with gender affixes; in such a case, for example, the bound adjective stem mdzes ‘be beautiful’, which generally takes the Pa variant of indefinite affix 3 to appear as mdzes-pa (cf. 5.2 above), takes instead the ma alternant of gender affix 7 to appear as mdzes-ma, in bu-mo mdzes-ma ‘the beautiful woman’. But the textual evidence for the phenomenon is insufficient for more detailed descriptive statements.

6. FREE FORMS: Free forms are generally invariable, but two categories, numerals and verbs, are variable.

6.1. Nouns include free noun stems, rta ‘horse’, mi ‘man, person’, bdag ‘I’, and bound noun stems, ka ‘pillar’, bum ‘vase’, sder ‘claw, talon’, yal ‘branch’, ho ‘milk’. The bound noun stems require an indefinite affix for syntactic occurrence, and according to their alternant election subdivide into four morphological classes; cf. 5.1 above.

Both free noun stems and bound noun stems enter freely into composition to form compound nouns. These include synonym-compounds, sgra-skad ‘sound’ (sgra ‘voice’, skad ‘language’), nor-phyugs ‘wealth’ (nor ‘precious thing, jewel’, phyugs ‘cattle’); tatpurusha, chu-mig ‘well [for water]’ (chu ‘water’, mig ‘eye’), syiṅ-rta ‘carriage’ (syiṅ ‘wood, tree’, rta ‘horse’); and dvandva, yab-yum ‘deities in copulative aspect’ (yab ‘father [respectful term]’, yum ‘mother [id.]’), rkaṅ-lag ‘limbs’ (rkaṅ ‘foot’, lag ‘hand’). Additional varieties of compounds involve adjectives, verbs, and numerals in composition with nouns; Jäschke, Francke and Simon 1929: 116-9 is still probably the most useful on this subject among the traditional grammars.

6.2. When a morpheme occurs only in nominal composition, and especially when it is a unique constituent in such composition, it is often difficult to identify its form class with confidence, and statements of meaning for such morphemes are often also unsatisfactory. Much of the exegesis and hermeneutics of the texts is concerned with these problems of

morpheme identification. **[82]**

Other problems arise in the analysis of partial similarities for the unique constituents of certain typically bisyllabic compounds (yi-ge 'graph, letter', bu-ga 'hole, opening') where there are combining forms in composition with partial phonological and complete semantic similarity (yig, bug, in the cases cited), as well as with loanwords from other languages: seṅ-ge 'lion', gu-ru 'teacher'.

6.3. Certain noun stems may further be grouped into sub-divisions of the noun form class because they share common but contrastive patterns of syntactic occurrence and sometimes also share common but contrastive features of meaning. On this basis the INTERROGATIVES, CONJUNCTIONS, and INTERJECTIONS may be established as subsidiary categories of the noun stems.

The interrogatives, gaṅ and su for persons, gaṅ, ci, and ji for things, are marked by common syntactic patterns as well as by a shared feature of meaning: khyod-kyi xla gaṅ yin 'who is your [tutelary] deity?', mi de su yin 'who is that person?', hdi-hi gtan-tshigs gaṅ 'what is this reason?', ji snyam-du sems 'how, what do you think?'.

As noun stems the interrogatives also enter in composition to form indefinitives, gaṅ-zyig 'somebody', gaṅ-yaṅ, su-yaṅ 'anybody', gaṅ-zyig 'something', gaṅ-yaṅ, ci-yaṅ 'anything'. They also enter into discontinuous composition with the free adjective stem de 'that' to form generalized relatives of the following types: su . . . de (both in the following example with the addition of enclitic 12 for actor): sus chos mthoṅ-ba des sañs-rgyas mthoṅ-ño 'he who, anyone who sees the dharma, sees the Buddha'; gaṅ . . . de (both in the following example in composition with the bound noun stem dag [plural]): gaṅ-dag ña la gzugs-su mthoṅ skye-bo de-dag ña mi-mthoṅ 'all those living creatures who see self as *rūpa* (ought) not to/do not see self'. Additional elaborations along the general lines of these structures could be cited for the interrogatives.

The conjunctions are marked by distinctive syntactic occurrences of a small set of noun stems in immediate constituency with major syntactic units, often in composition and/or with noun particles; thus, ho, appearing as ho-na (with enclitic 11) 'however'; yaṅ 'moreover'; yaṅ-na 'or, on the other hand', ci-ste (with enclitic 16) 'if, in that case'; and many others; Inaba 1954: 133-4 has a useful list.

The interjections are also marked by appearing in syntax in immediate constituency with major syntactic units as well as by a common semantic feature: kye, in kye rgyal-po chen-po 'oh, the mahārāja!', bdag la dgoṅs-syig mkhon-po kye 'oh [my] lord, think of me!'. Other interjections appearing in the texts include ka-ye, kwa, kwa-ye, lags, lags-so (with enclitic 29), qe-qe, ya-ya, and ho.

6.4. Adjectives are marked as a form class distinct from nouns by their patterns of syntactic occurrence. In the absence of suitable textual evidence the two may on occasion be difficult to distinguish from one another, since under certain circumstances adjectives take the noun affixes, including the gender affixes, as well as the case particles, in addition to sharing many syntactic occurrences with nouns.

The language probably has only two free adjective stems, the deictic stems hdi 'this' and de 'that'. A few other forms (but not these two) are cited by the grammars as free adjective stems, but upon closer inspection these all turn out to be noun stems instead; examples include bla 'topside, upper', a bound noun stem, and kun 'all', a free noun stem, plus a few others for which the available textual evidence is insufficient for analysis.

The typical adjective, then, is a bound stem: nag 'be black', dge 'be good, propitious'. The adjective appears in syntax with one of the composition particles already in place, or on occasion with a case particle further attached in a secondary morphological layer in addition to the composition particle. The adjective is marked by its syntactic occurrence following a noun head or other equivalent nominal expression as head, thus mi nag-po (also in the texts mi nag-pa) 'a black person, a layman' (mi 'person, man'); las dge-ba 'good works' (las 'work, action'). Adjectives also appear in syntax preceding a noun or other head, but in these cases the relationship to the head is indicated by the referent particle in a secondary morphological layer, thus nag-po-hi mi 'a black man', dge-ba-hi rtsa-ba 'roots of virtue, meritorious works' (rtsa-ba 'root, basis').

In addition to this distinctive syntactic patterning, the adjective is marked as a class distinct from the noun by the occurrence in the texts of a number of reduplicated adjective forms, some of which have vocalic variation in addition to reduplication: so-so 'different', re-re 'respective', khrag-khrug 'complicated', kyag-kyog 'bent, twisted'. Other reduplicated adjectives double the adjective morpheme before adding the obligatory affixes: mer-mer-po 'delicate', ñar-ñar-pa 'hoarse', and still others consist of reduplications with vocalic variation and otherwise unattested and unproductive affixes, mal-la-mul-le 'tepid', lañ-ña-loñ-ñe 'weak', and are sometimes capable of being related to simple adjectives, thus nag-ge-nog-ge 'somber', going with nag 'black'.

Adjectives enter freely into composition with noun stems, mi-chen 'a great, famous man', xla-bzañ 'a good deity', bzañ-nor 'good riches' (explained as 'the best you have'). Their normal position in such compounds is following a noun head, and exceptions appear to be either clichés or idioms in which the aberrant structure correlates with a special meaning. Thus, nag-sran 'black pea', (explained as 'a special kind of pea'), but with the more usual

order, rgya-nag ‘the black expanse, i.e., China’ (cf. ‘bláck bírd’ vs. ‘bláck-bìrd’). In compounds of this last variety problems of the correctness of morpheme identifications often arise; like similar problems among the nouns, they are sometimes insoluble solely in linguistic terms. There are also a few adjectives which are compounds of two bound adjective stems, each of which is a unique constituent in the compound in which it appears, notably the word thams-cad ‘all’. These do not require the indefinite affixes or gender affixes for syntactic occurrence. There are also important discontinuous compounds with interrogative nouns and the free deictic adjective stem de ‘that’ (cf. 6.2 above).

The adjectives can, ldan, and bcas, all meaning ‘possessing, having’, are particularly productive in a large number of compounds, many of which are apparently nonce formations: nor-ldan ‘fortune-possessing, rich’, gzugs-can ‘corporeal’ (gzugs ‘body’), chos-bcas ‘pious’ (chos ‘dharma’). When such possessive adjective compounds are expanded into syntactic structures the adjective takes the obligatory noun affixes, and is then further related to the noun head with enclitic 22 dañ, thus nor-ldan ⟨ nor-dañ ldan-pa, chos-bcas ⟨ chos-dañ bcas-pa. Note that their occurrence in syntax following the noun or other head in these structures is another indication of membership in the adjective class.

6.5. Numerals constitute a form class distinguished by limited and unique morpheme alternation of a variety exhibited by no other forms in the language, and also by unique ordering within the closed paradigm which they form, as well as by unique composition operations within this same paradigm.

The units are gcig ‘1’, gnyis ‘2’, gsum ‘3’, bzyi ‘4’, lña ‘5’, drug ‘6’, bdun ‘7’, brgyad ‘8’, bdu {dgu} ‘9’, bcu ‘10’.

The teens are formed as compounds of bcu ‘10’ and the units (bcu-gcig, etc.), but with the alternant bco in ‘15’ and ‘18’.

In the compound nyi-syu ‘20’ both ‘2’ and ‘10’ have unique alternants. The numerals ‘21’ through ‘29’ are formed as further compounds with ‘20’, with the morpheme rtsa intercalated between ‘20’ and the units, thus nyi-syu-rtsa-gcig ‘21’, etc. There are also other shorter forms, with a unique bound alternant for ‘20’ in the numerals ‘21’ through ‘29’, thus nyer-gcig ‘21’, etc.

In the numerals ‘30’ through ‘99’, the alternant bcu ‘10’ appears when the prior morpheme in composition ends in Ø, i.e., in the 40’s, 50’s, and 90’s, otherwise the alternant cu appears.

The numerals 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, and 90 are compositions of the units with the alternants for ‘10’ as just stated, but in ‘30’ the alternant for ‘3’ is sum; thus, sum-cu ‘30’, ña-bcu ‘50’, etc.

The numerals 31-39, 41-49, 51-59, 61-69, 71-79, 81-89, and 91-99 are compounds of special discontinuous and partially reduplicated alternants of the units with the proper alternant for '10' intercalated in the first slot and the units **[84]** added in the second slot. These discontinuous alternants are as follows:

31, etc. sum . . . so . . .
41, etc. bzyi . . . zye . . .
51, etc. lña . . . ña . . .
61, etc. drug . . . re . . .
71, etc. bdun . . . don . . .
81, etc. brgyad . . . gya . . .
91, etc. dgu . . . go . . .

Thus, sum-cu-so-gcig '31', dgu-bcu-go-gcig '91', etc.

The form for '100' is brgya; this enters into composition with the units and the other numerals just described using enclitic 22, thus brgya dañ bzyi '104', etc.

For still higher numerals, and for other uses of the numerals in general, the traditional grammars may be consulted: Inaba 1954: 113-4; Jäschke, Francke and Simon l929: 28-31, 123-127; and Lalou 1950: 51-2.

It should be noted that still other formations for the numerals above 20 occur in certain texts, and also that neither the texts nor the traditional grammars always agree on the shapes of certain of the alternants entering into composition within the numeral paradigm. Some possible historical explanations for this somewhat atypical uncertainty of the sources are suggested in Miller 1966a: 273-7.

In addition to these compounding operations within their own paradigm, the numerals also enter into noun composition: stobs-bcu 'ten powers', stobs-bcu-hi xla 'a deity [possessing] ten powers', mi-gsum 'three men', rta-bdun 'seven horses'. When a numeral appears in noun composition before rather than after the noun head the expression is generally a cliché or otherwise idiomatic, and the meaning is accordingly aberrant: sum-mdo 'the three valleys' (a placename), drug-sgra 'the six [forms of a] morpheme' (a grammatical term), dgu-rtsegs 'a yellow flower with nine rows of petals', dgu-thsigs {tshigs} 'the nine-fold burning, i.e., the milky way'.

6.6. The verb is a class of variable bound stems marked by distinctive occurrences in syntax and composition, as well as by unique membership in four-member paradigms. Many verb

stems have four distinct forms; others are morphologically underdifferentiated, but their membership in this form class makes it necessary to regard them as having one or more variable forms formally distinguished from each other only by zeros. An example of a verb stem with maximum morphological differentiation is byed-, byas-, bya-, byos-, 'do, perform'; with one form differentiated only by a zero: hbab-, bab-, bobs- 'to fall, come down'; with two such forms: dpyod-, dpyad-, 'to observe'; and with all four forms homophonous: syes- 'to know'. Suppletion further complicates a few undifferentiated paradigms: hgro-, soṉ- 'to go'; hoṉ-, hoṉs-, syog- 'to come.'

The description of the morphology of the verb stems is a vast and complex subject, and since properly most of it comes under the head of derivation, it will not be treated in detail in the present sketch. The materials themselves are extremely rich and complex; and their study has been further complicated by several irrelevant factors which have generally been introduced into it. The Tibetan grammarians have involved it almost inextricably with the canonical Buddhist Sanskrit translation equivalents for the forms concerned, while western and Japanese students of Tibetan grammar have involved it in an almost equally impenetrable tangle with tense and voice as they are thought to operate in modern European languages, notably English, French, and German. The statements which follow here aim more at remaining aloof from the resulting chaos then at attempting to resolve these long-standing difficulties, and like the rest of this sketch, try only to describe the main features of what happens in this portion of the language.

6.7. The four members of a verb stem paradigm are, in the order in which they are usually given in the traditional treatments, I, present; II, past, or perfect, or preterite; III, future; IV, imperative. I and III go together in a recognizable entity (they take the mi allomorph of the negative verb [cf. 6.9 below], and their meanings are in general terms durative or imperfective, and active or intransitive) as do, in a less striking fashion, II and IV (which two take the ma allomorph of the **[85]** negative verb, and whose meanings are in general terms non-durative or perfective, and also passive or transitive).

The grammars (Inaba 1954: 137-81; Jäschke, Francke, and Simon 1929: 138-46; Lalou 1950: 53-77) and lexica (Jäschke 1881; Das 1902) must be consulted for complete lists of the forms which occur, but the following will identify some of the more important patterns. Note that the variation in the verb paradigms involves all portions of the stem syllable, including initial complex, vocalization, and final:

'see' 'hew, chop' 'blow' 'dismiss' 'explain'

I	lta	htshog	hbud	gtoṅ	hchad
II	bltas	btsag	phus	btaṅ	bsyad
III	blta	btsog	dbu	gtaṅ	bsyad
IV	ltos	tshog	phu	thoṅ	syod

This shows some of the most important types of morphological processes which operate within the verb paradigms. Note that four of the five verbs cited show four distinct forms; in the fifth, two of the forms are homophonous but are to be considered as distinguished from each other by zeros. None of the four forms in a verb paradigm is a basic form, but I is either a bare stem or, in cases where it is not, it still is generally the most efficient place from which to embark upon a description of the other forms. II often has prefixed b-, and often also has a final -s. III selects prefixed d-, or g-, or b-, depending on the verb involved, and it may also be noted that III contrasts with II by not appearing with the final -s which is one of the hallmarks of II. On the phonotactics of the prefixed b- in II and prefixed d-, g-, and b- in III, as well as on the prefixed h- and m- which the Tibetan grammarians also identify in certain verb forms, cf. 2.6 above. Form IV often involves aspiration of the initial and -o- vocalism.

Another important pattern involving a major semantic dichotomy of transitive against intransitive is to be observed in the relationship of certain verb forms with prefixed s- to others with prefixed h-, thus sgril- ‘to wrap, to wind around’ (with II and III bsgril), against hgril- ‘to be twisted, wrapped around (something)’; skol ‘to boil, to cook’ (with II and III bskol), against hkhol (with II khol) ‘to be boiling’. But this crosses the boundary into derivation, as does the addition of final -d to certain forms, thus hbye- ‘to be divided’, hbyed- ‘to divide’; skye- ‘to be born’, skyed- ‘to produce’; nu- ‘to suck’, nud- ‘to suckle’; and cf. also the paradigm for ‘to blow’, immediately above.

6.8. In its use of the verb forms, the language of the texts has clearly sustained a major influence from the Buddhist Sanskrit which is the original for much of its corpus; from this follows in particular the difficulty experienced in distinguishing between an inherited pattern of employment for enclitic 12 and its employment in imitation of certain of the favorite syntactic constructions of Buddhist Sanskrit (cf. 7.5 below). The texts make use of a number of periphrastic verb structures when it is necessary for any reason to make completely unambiguous references to time, and the grammarians then often use these periphrastic structures to account for members of a given verb paradigm as if the periphrastic structures were part and parcel of the verb forms which they are explaining. Thus, in some of the texts, and particularly for the grammarians, the homonymity of II and III for the verb ‘to explain’,

both forms bsyad (cf. the table immediately above), is treated as follows: ñas chos-rnams bsyad-par byas-so ‘the dharmas were explained by me, i.e., I explained the dharmas’ (with II, for completed action in the past; and hence also an implication of passive voice; on the subject, ña ‘I’ with enclitic 12, cf. 7.5 below), against ñas chos-rnams bsyad-par bya-ho ‘the dharmas will/should be explained by me, i.e., I will explain the dharmas’ (with III, for incompleted action in the future, and no emphasis on passive voice). Here byas- (past) and bya- (future) are periphrastic verb auxilliaries which make clear the time references of the structures to which they are attached. Other specific lexical references to time are also possible: ñas chos-rnams bsyad-do ‘I have explained the dharmas’ (with II, and hence essentially a passive structure for the Tibetan grammarians, who find the main semantic emphasis here on the fact that the dharma has been explained, and is now as a result in an ‘explained-state’, rather than upon who was **[86]** or is the actor), against ñas hog-nas chos-rnams bsyad-do ‘I will explain the dharmas later’ (hog-nas ‘later’) (with III), and also against ñas chos-rnams hchad-do ‘I (now, currently) explain (or, am explaining) the dharmas’.

The forms as they appear in the texts are not difficult to identify or analyze; the description of their intra-paradigm relationships and derivation is complex but not particularly difficult; and the only apparently insolvable problems are those created by the grammarians, Tibetan and western alike, in their attempts to identify Indo-European verbal categories with the forms and uses of the Tibetan verb stems. These attempts by the Tibetans at least have the justification of necessity, since they had to be concerned, for very practical ends, with the squaring-off of their verb system against that of the original language of the bulk of their religious texts, Buddhist Sanskrit; but not even this justification is possible for the struggles of the outside scholars.

6.9. Negation structures have already been mentioned (6.7); they involve composition with a unique verb stem which displays two alternants, mi // ma, the first going with verb paradigm forms I and III, the second with II and IV. This negative verb stem is the prior member in the resulting compounds, thus ma-soñ ‘(he) did not go’ (with soñ, II of the suppletive and underdifferentiated paradigm of hgro ‘to go’), ma-byas ‘(he) did not do (it)’, ma-gtoñ ‘don’t let him go, i.e., stop him’, ma-hoñs ‘(it) does not come’, ma-btañ ‘(he) did not give (him)’ and mi-bya ‘(it) shall not (be)’, mi-bslañ ‘(you) do not cause to rise’, mi-dbul ‘(he) will not give [to a person of higher rank than speaker or subject], mi-gtañ ‘(I) shall not give (it)’. Adjective stems also enter into composition with the alternants of this verb, some arbitrarily electing the mi alternant (mi-brtan-pa ‘be mobile, movable’), others arbitrarily electing the ma alternant (ma-legs-pa ‘be inauspicious’). With yin ‘to be, to exist’ the negative compound

is ma-yin. Another form which is found in the texts, the contraction min, is to be treated on the descriptive level as a separate lexical item; its relation to ma-yin is etymological only, as is the relation of the form med ‘not to have, to be without, to be deprived of’, to the non-attested sequence *ma-red.

7. ENCLITICS: Each statement in this section identifies one of the enclitics, giving (in order) the arbitrary reference number which it has been assigned in this sketch, followed by a term descriptive of its function in the language, and this followed in turn by the citation of the enclitic itself. For enclitics with variants this citation gives the basic form, identified by writing the initial in upper case; for enclitics with alternants this citation also give the alternants following the symbol //. The conditions for the occurrences of basic forms and for both variants and alternants have already been described above, in 4 for variants, in 5 for alternants. Following the citation of the enclitic each statement gives, in order, its USE(S), MEANING (when it is possible to isolate a meaning for the form in question), and EXAMPLES.

Enclitics subdivide into two major classes, composition particles and syntactic particles; composition particles consist of indefinite affixes (1-5) and gender affixes (6-7).

7.1. The indefinite affixes are obligatory formants required by bound noun and adjective stems and by verb stems. They do not modify the meaning of the forms to which they are attached, and no meanings can be isolated for or identified with them, either as individual forms or as a class. For this reason no meanings are stated immediately below for enclitics 1 through 5.

Enclitic 1, the indefinite affix Pa. Use: obligatory affix for verb stems: yod-pa ‘be, exist’, dam-pa ‘be correct’, mthun-pa ‘agree’, hgyur-ba ‘transform’, nyal-ba ‘sleep’, mthoṉ-ba ‘see’, rgyal-ba ‘be victorious’.

Enclitic 2, the indefinite affix Pa // Po // ma // mo. Use: obligatory affix for noun stems. Examples under 5.1 above.

Enclitic 3, the indefinite affix Pa // po // mo. Use: obligatory affix for bound adjective stems and for numerals. Examples under 5.2 above.

Enclitic 4, the indefinite affix ZYig. Use: obligatory affix for a small group of bound noun stems: skad-cig ‘a moment’, lus-syig ‘a body’, hgah-zyig ‘someone’, Man-zyig ‘an answer’.

Enclitic 5, the indefinite affix KHa. Use: obliga**[87]**tory affix for a small group of bound noun and numeral stems: gnyis-ka ‘two (items)’, ston-kha ‘autumn’, mthoṉ-ga ‘breast’.

Another possible solution would be to treat enclitics 4 and 5 as additional alternants of enclitic 2; but they have been kept separate from 2 and from each other here because the forms appearing in the texts do not satisfy the requirement of partial phonemic similarity for

alternation.

7.2. The gender affixes are optional formants.

Enclitic 6, the masculine gender affix pa // po. Use: affix for noun, verb, and adjective stems. Meaning: general, non-female actor, or in specific contexts, male actor. Examples under 5.3 above. Note also that the numerals elect the pa alternant of this enclitic for ordinals, thus bcu-pa 'the tenth', in contrast to their use with the po alternant of enclitic 3 for numerical adjectives, bcu-po 'the ten [something]'.

Enclitic 7, the feminine gender affix ma // mo. Use: affix for noun, verb, and adjective stems. Meaning: female actor. Examples under 5.4 above.

7.3. The syntactic particles constitute a major form class of the language; they subdivide into case particles (8-14), conjunctive particles (15-25), and final particles (26-29). Contrastive dichotomies under the case particles are simple (8-11) vs. complex (12-14), and under the simple particles, variable (8, 9) vs. invariable (10, 11). In addition, enclitics 20 and 25 are polysyllabic compounds, both with na as their second member (cf. enclitic 11), and contrast in this feature of their formation with all the other simple monosyllabic enclitics on the one hand, and with the complex enclitics (12-14) formed with s on the other.

7.4. The case particles.

Enclitic 8, the general referent particle [1]KYi. Use: enclitic to noun and verb heads, which it then relates directly to following nouns or verbs. Meaning: a wide semantic range of relations and associations, including possession, dependance, attribution, qualification, and specification, between the head to which it is enclitic and the following element to which it relates that head: bya-hi sder-mo 'a bird's talons', khoñ-pa-hi mi 'a man of the village', gser-gyi bum-pa 'a golden vase', rgyal-po-hi mdzad 'the king's storehouse', theg-pa chen-po-hi mdo 'a Mahāyāna sūtra', syes-pa-hi don 'the meaning of "knowing" ' (don 'meaning', syes 'know'), lus-kyis byas-pa-hi las 'karma which the body fashions' (las 'karma', lus 'body', byas 'make, fashion').

Enclitic 9, the general subordination particle Tu. Use: enclitic to noun, verb, and adjective heads, which it subordinates to other, generally immediately subsequent, syntactic elements and structures. Meaning: a wide semantic range of subordinate relations and associations between its head (which it subordinates) and its following elements (to which it subordinates its head); these include goal of action or movement, and manner, state, or condition of being: rgya-gar-du hgro-ba 'go to India' (rgya-gar 'India', hgro 'go'), rtar tswa byin 'give fodder to the horse' (rta 'horse', tswa 'fodder'), syar-phyogs-su hod snañ 'light comes from the east' (syar-phyogs 'east', hod 'light'), nyin-phyed-du hgro 'go at noon' (nyin-phyed 'noon'), ma-

hoñs-pa-hi-dus-su ‘in the future’ (dus ‘time’, ma [negative], hoñs ‘come, arrive’), ña-la gzugs-su mthoñ ‘view “self” as *rūpa*’, (ña ‘self’, gzugs ‘rūpa’), mer syes ‘know [something] to be fire’, e.g., because smoke is seen above it (me ‘fire’), gcig-nas brgya-hi bar ‘from 1 to 100’ (gcig ‘1’, brgya ‘100’, ba ‘interval’), hdir ‘here, in this case’ (hdi ‘this’), klog-tu ‘in order to read’ (klog ‘read’), mi syes-pa kun syes-par bya-bar zugs-pa {zyugs-pa} yin-no ‘arose so that [he] could learn that which [he] did not know’, so-sor ‘respectively’ (so-so ‘different’), don-du mtshuñs-par ‘in order to be used in the sense of’ (don ‘meaning’, mtshuñs ‘to be the same as, equal to’).

Enclitic 10, the oblique particle la. Use: enclitic to noun and verb heads. Meaning: a wide semantic range of locative, dative, objective, and benefitive associations and relationships between its head and subsequent syntactic elements, as well as temporal sequence, particularly when the head is a clause or larger syntactic structure: gser-la dgah ‘rejoice in gold’, ñas khyod-la bsyad-do ‘I shall explain it for/to you’ (ña ‘I’, khyod ‘you’, bsyad ‘explain’), sprañ-po-la zam sbyin ‘give food to a beggar’ (sprañ ‘beggar’, zam ‘food’), nyi-ma-la hod ‘(there is) light in the sun’ **[88]** (nyi- ‘sun’, hod ‘light’), srod-la ‘in the evening’, ña-la gzugs-su mthoñ ‘view “self” as *rūpa*’, lag-pa bsnyal-la zas za ‘rest the hands (from work) and eat’ (lag ‘hands’, bnyal ‘rest’, zas ‘food’, za ‘eat’), hdir hgro-ba gcig-ni syes-pa-hi don yin-la gzyan-ni yul gzyan-du {phyin}-pa-hi don yin-no zyes bya-ba-ho ‘in this case [the Sanskrit root] *gam* in one (sense) has the meaning of “knowing,” and in another it has the meaning of “arriving at another land,” it is said’.

Enclitic 11, the locative particle na. Use: same as enclitic 10. Meaning: locative and hypothetical, as well as a wide semantic range of other related associations between its head and subsequent elements, often rather similar in meaning to those going with enclitic 10, but differing from them by centering in the main upon location and hypothesis: mdo-na ‘in the sūtra’, rgya-gar-na chos dar ‘spread the dharma in India’, mthoñ-na ‘having seen’, ma-mthoñ-na ‘if [we] had not seen’, hdi byas-na ‘if [I] were to do this’, byed-na ‘when [it] is used’, xla-las skyes-par gyur-pas-na ‘if [he] comes to be born of the gods’. As a hypothetical this particle is often in discontinuous composition with the complex noun gal-te: gal-te bu syi ma-byuñ-na ‘if the dead foetus does not emerge’; in this construction the na is sometimes replaced with enclitic 23, ni.

7.5. The complex case particles contrast with the simple case particles in formation, each of the three being a compound of one of the simple case particles with a final formant s. But note that enclitic 9 has no parallel complex case particle.

Enclitic 12, the actor particle [1]KYis. Use: enclitic to noun and verb heads. Meaning: with nouns and noun heads, actor or other subject of transitive verbs; with verbs and verb heads, identification of action or state by which or because of which something has happened or due to which some other state now obtains. With nouns: ñas khyod-la bsyad-do 'I will explain it for/to you' (ña 'I', khyod 'you', bsyad 'explain'), bdag-gis bstan 'I explained' it (bdag 'I', bstan 'explain'), des byin 'he gave (it)' (de 'that one', byin 'give'), bdag-gis thos-pa 'I [have] heard'. With verbs: xla-las skyes-par gyur-pas-na 'if [he] has/once [he] has/because [he] has come to be born of the gods', sbyar-bas 'by joining (something) to', byuñ-bas 'by the fact that it arises, because/when it arises', hjug-pas 'since [they] are added'.

This first group of examples above shows the context and structures in which this particle is often described as an instrumental, thus, bdag-gis thos-pa 'by me it has been heard'. There is a striking and suggestive, because almost exact, parallel between this structure and its Buddhist Sanskrit equivalent (here, mayā śrutam, cf. Miller, 1965: 688 footnote 14). The existence of this parallel has surely influenced the description of these structures by the Tibetan grammarians as instrumentals, while probably also at the same time influencing their development within the language itself. Translation is often smoother if structures with this enclitic are given an instrumental sense in rendering: mig-gis mthoñ 'the eye sees', or, 'seeing with the eye', chos-kyis rtogs-so 'the dharma [brings about, causes] perception/ cognition', or, 'perception/cognition by [means of] the dharma', sdig-bsal-gyis thar-to 'delivered by remission of guilt' (thar, *thard; cf. 4.9 above).

Enclitic 13, the ablative particle las. Use: enclitic to noun and verb heads. Meaning: with nouns, 'from', in a wide semantic range including comparison of non-sames: saṅs-rgyas-las chos 'the dharma [proceeds] from the Buddha', rta-las ltuñ 'fall from a horse', du-ba-las mer syes 'know [it to be] fire because of/from [seeing] the smoke' (du-ba 'smoke', me 'fire'), xla-las mi dman 'men are inferior to the gods' (xla 'god', mi 'man'), gzugs-las kyaṅ {stoñ}-pa nyid gzyan ma-yin ' "void" is nothing but/not different from *rūpa*' (gzugs 'rūpa', kyaṅ, conjunctive enclitic 17, stoñ-pa 'void, vacuity', nyid 'self, essence', gzyan 'be different from', ma, negative, yin 'to be'). With verbs, temporal sequence: nyal-ba-las 'having slept', naṅ-du soñ-ba-las 'as [they] entered the interior'.

Enclitic 14, the prolative particle nas. Use: enclitic to noun and verb heads. Meaning: with nouns, 'from among', in a wide semantic range including comparison of sames: gser-kha-nas gser 'gold [comes] from gold ore', xla-rnams-kyi naṅ **[89]** nas 'among the gods', rin-po-che thams-cad-kyi naṅ nas 'among all the precious things'; skye-bo-hi naṅ nas rgyal-rigs-bu ' [select] a royal child from among men', gcig-nas brgya-hi bar 'from 1 to 100', xla-sa-nas

gzyis-ka-rtse-hi bar ‘from Lhasa to Shigatse’. With verbs, temporal sequence, as with enclitic 13: rgyal-po-hi skal-ba-nas ‘when/after he is given a king’s portion’, mthoñ-nas ‘after having seen’.

7.6. The conjunctive particles contrast with the case particles along two different axes–they are typically enclitic to clauses, phrases, or other syntactic structures rather than to single nouns, verb, or adjective heads, and they relate these structures to which they are enclitic to subsequent structures rather than to single nouns, verbs, or adjectives. This is true even in the special cases where the structures to which they are enclitic or those to which they in turn relate their heads may themselves be coterminous with, for example, an individual noun. Enclitics 15 and 22 sometimes present exceptions to this general statement, but they are nevertheless members of this class because of their overall syntactic patterning. This makes it unnecessary to give individual statements of use for enclitics 15-25 below. Among the conjunctive particles, enclitics 15-21 are variable, and enclitics 22-25 invariable; enclitic 19 partly resembles the complex case particles in containing the final formant s, and enclitic 20 partly resembles enclitic 25 since both are compounds with a common final element na.

Enclitic 15, the alternative particle Qam. Meaning: ‘or’: hdus byas-sam hdus ma-byas-so ‘it is action or non-action’, rtag-gam mi-rtag ‘[is it] permanent or impermanent?’, yod-dam med-dam ‘are there or are there not?’ gcig-gam gnyis-sam gsum-mam lña-ham drug-gam bdun-nam brgyad-dam dgu-ham bcu-ham ‘1 or 2 or 3 or 4 or 5 or 6 or 7 or 8 or 9 or 10?’ This last example shows one of the special cases where Qam appears to be enclitic to a single noun head, but this single noun head here is coterminous with a major syntactic structure, which is why the sentence requires no verb. This particle shares certain uses with the final particle enclitic 28, from which it is not always particularly useful to attempt to distinguish it.

Enclitic 16, the sequential action particle STe. Meaning: ‘and then, and furthermore’: mdah hphañs-te phog ‘[he] shot an arrow and hit [it]’, phyag htshal-te bsyad ‘[I] will preach having (first) worshipped’ (phyag ‘hand’, htshal ‘worship’), hphar-te hgro ‘go flying, go while flying’ (hphar ‘fly’, hgro ‘go’); ma-yin-te . . . ‘there is none, and . . .’, . . . dañ bcas-te ‘with, having’ (bcas ‘to be having, possessing’).

Enclitic 17, the concessive particle ^{2}KYañ. Meaning: ‘even, also’: mis ma-zad xlas-kyañ . . . ‘not only men but gods too honored . . .’, chos-rnams-kyañ . . . ‘even all the dharmas . . .’, dpon-po-yañ . . . ‘even the master. . .’. Distinguish the conjunction noun stem yañ ‘moreover’, whose relation to this particle is only etymological.

Enclitic 18, the conjunctive particle ZYiñ. Meaning: ‘and’: mig-gis gzugs-rnams mi-mthoñ-zyiñ . . . ‘the eyes do not see *rūpas* and . . .’, yin-zyiñ ‘is and’.

Enclitic 19, the quotational particle ZYes. Meaning: quotation: sa-zyes bya-ba-ni . . . ‘now (as subject) that which is called “earth” ’, . . . -zyes bya-ba theg-pa chen-po-hi mdo ‘the Mahā yāna sūtra called . . .’.

Enclitic 20, the conditional particle ZYe-na. Meaning: ‘if’: yin-no-zye-na ‘if [one] says that . . . is . . .’, ci-hi phyir-zye-na ‘if [one] asks why, . . .’.

Enclitic 21, the concessive particle [1]KYi. Meaning: ‘although’: sañs-rgyas yin gyi . . . ‘although [it] is the Buddha . . . ’; hdi-ni bden-gyi gzyan-ni rtsun-pa-ho ‘this, indeed, is truth, but/and the rest is false’. This particle has forms identical in shape with enclitic 8, but it is to be kept separate because of its patterns of syntactic occurrence, and because of its meaning, both of which are different from those of enclitic 8.

Enclitic 22, the conjunctive particle dañ. Meaning: ‘and’: lus-dañ srog-dañ yid-dañ . . . ‘body and life and will and . . . ’, du-ba mthoñ-ba-dañ mer syes-so ‘[upon] seeing the smoke, then [one] knows it to be fire’, i.e., one knows that it is fire because one has seen the smoke. Cf. the uses of **[90]** this particle with possessive adjective compounds (6.4) and with numerals (6.5).

Enclitic 23, the subject particle ni. Meaning: emphatic subject, particularly in definitions: xla-rnams-las gdoñ-bzyi-dañ-ldan-pa-ni tshañs-pa-ho ‘among the gods the possessor of four visages is Brahma’, khyod-ni gnyan-dañ khyod-ni bsyes ‘you indeed (are) friend, and you indeed (are) knowledge’. Cf. also enclitic 11 above.

Enclitic 24, the emphatic particle tsam. Meaning: emphasis (’indeed’), particularly with non-subjects, or limitation (’only, just . . . and no more’): hdi-tsam ‘as [much] as this’, rtsa-dañ rus-pa-tsam ‘nothing but skin and bones’, ña miñ-tsam-gyi dge-sloñ ma-yin ‘I am not a monk in name only’.

Enclitic 25, the emphatic particle kho-na. Meaning: same as enclitic 24: sems-kho-na-la hbyuñ-gi, gzyan-du-ni ma-yin-no ‘arise only in the heart and do not arise elsewhere’ (sems ‘heart’, gi, enclitic 21, ni, enclitic 23), las-kyi sgra-kho-na rgyu-mtshan-la hjug-pa yod-kyaṅ ‘even though there are cases where the morpheme *las* is used for “causation” . . .’.

7.7. The final particles contrast with the case particles on the one hand and with the conjunctive particles on the other by always occurring enclitic to major syntactic units, typically to the sentence, with which they are in immediate constituency and the termination of which they signal; in addition, they are marked by always being the ultimate syntactic layer in any structure in which they appear. Since each of these four is used in the same fashion, individual statements on their use are not necessary. Enclitic 26 is invariable; the other three are variable.

Enclitic 26, the imperative particle daṅ. Meaning: imperative: legs-par slobs-daṅ ‘study well!’ (legs ‘be good’) yid-la zuṅs-daṅ ‘hold [it] in the heart’, i.e., memorize! This particle is identical in shape with enclitic 22, but it is to be kept separate because of its patterns of syntactic occurrence and its meaning, both of which are different from those of enclitic 22.

Enclitic 27, the imperative particle ZYig. Meaning: imperative: mthoṅ-zyig ‘see!’, syod-cig ‘explain!’.

Enclitic 28, the interrogative particle Qam. Meaning: interrogation or doubt: yod-dam med-dam ’are there or are there not?’, de-bzyin-gsyegs-pa-la sya-hi spyin-mṅah-ham ’does the Tathāgata have eyes of flesh?’. Cf. enclitic 15 above.

Enclitic 29, the terminal particle Qo. Meaning: termination of utterance: yin-no ’[it] is’; other examples in 4.9 above.

8. TEXTS: Texts illustrating the employment of this language for translating the Mahāyāna Buddhist canonical texts are well known and easily available in the literature; accordingly it may be more useful here to illustrate this sketch instead with a specimen text from an original Tibetan work composed in the language.

The text selected is a portion of the *Si-tu-hi zyal-luṅ* “Oral Explication of [the Grammarian of] Si-tu,” an extremely useful epitome of the great grammatical treatise, also an original work in Tibetan, by the scholar known to history as the “Mahāpaṇḍita of Si-tu” (Si-tu is a place, in the Khams area of Tibet). The author of this epitome is known to us only under his name in religion, Dharmabhadra, but he appears to have been a Tibetan; the Mahāpaṇḍita of Si-tu appears to have used the religious name Dharmākara, equivalent to Tibetan Chos-kyi hbyuṅ-gnas. He completed his grammatical work in 1744. Both the large work of the Mahā paṇḍita of Si-tu and its epitome by Dharmabhadra are in the form of running commentaries upon an early grammatical text, the “grammatical *ślokas*” which Tibetan tradition attributes to Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, “Man of Thon, the good Tibetan,” also known as Qa-nu “Anu.” These texts attributed to Thon-mi are ancient, even if not of the extremely remote antiquity to which Tibetan tradition generally assigns them (Miller 1963).

In the selection edited, analyzed, and translated here, Dharmabhadra epitomizes the Mahā paṇḍita’s treatment of enclitics 13 and 14, which is in the form of a commentary on several lines of the first of the texts attributed to Thon-mi. The treatment is in the tradition of the Indian grammarians, from whom the Tibetans learned their linguistics; it is concerned above everything else **[91]** with precise definition and delimitation of differences in meaning corresponding to overt and covert features of the language. In the case of these two enclitics

the grammarians have a difficult problem with which to contend, since the two forms are {synonymous} in almost all their uses, but there are in addition a limited set of syntactic structures in which they contrast in meaning. The Mahāpaṇḍita is particularly concerned with two points: the fact that the two enclitics share almost all their uses, and the equally important fact that there is however one kind of structure in which they differ significantly, or as the Tibetan grammarians put it, in which one of them is "contrastively marked" (mtshan-hdzin). The passage also stresses the overall equivalence of Tibetan syntactic structures built upon these two particles with the Sanskrit fifth case, i.e., the ablative; in this as in all Tibetan grammatical writing same familiarity on the part of the reader with the broad outlines of the Indic grammarians' treatment of Sanskrit grammar is taken for granted. The ablative is the fifth case in Pāṇini, but otherwise the treatment in the text edited here has little or nothing to do with Pāṇini, who in general was heterodox to the Tibetan grammarians, because he was non-Buddhist. Their favorite Indic sources instead are generally Candragomin and the other Buddhist grammarians. In Pāṇini the ablative is apādāna, but that term cannot be connected with the hbyuñ-khuñs of this text; hbyuñ-khuñs translates instead Sanskrit ākara 'source, origin, place from which something is produced or comes; hence, a mine' (cf. Mahāvyutpatti, ed. Sakaki, no. 7303, for the canonical equivalency).

The text given here is based upon an edition of Dharmabhadra's epitome which appears in pp. 15-104 of a Peking, 1956 movable type edition of four short Tibetan grammatical works, issued under the Chinese binder's title Hsi-tsang wen-fa ssu-chung ho-pien (text C_2 in Miller 1963: 485, footnote 1, which see for further bibliographical information; cf. also Miller 1966b: 129). The text has been compared with an earlier critical text in Inaba 1954: [Appendix], pp. 1-44. In a few cases where other readings have seemed preferable to those of the Peking, 1956 edition, it has been identified in the textual notes as P, and the Inaba, 1954 text has been identified as I. The punctuation is that of P throughout. The text given here is continuous, but for convenience it has been divided into two parts; part I appears in P, pp. 43-4, = I, pp. 24-5; part II appears in P, pp. 44-5, = I, pp. 24-5. The Japanese translation in Inaba 1954: 342-4 has been of great help in studying the text, but it has been necessary to depart from Inaba's understanding of the passage in several places, notably in the interpretation of the term mtshan-hdzin.

TEXT I:

danī po ni /

/ rjes hjug yi ge bcu po yi /

/ bzyi pa dgu pa la bcu pa /

/ sbyar ba hbyuñ khuñs sa yin te /

zyes pa ste / rjes hjug yi ge bcu po dehi bzyi pa na dañ / dgu pa la gnyis la[1] so sor bcu pa sa yig sbyar bas / nas / las /[1] zyes grub pa ni / sa nas rtswa skyes / ba las ho ma hjo / lta bu chos gañ las gañ zyig bral baham byuñ ba ston pahi don du mtshuñs par hjug pas rnam dbye lña pa hbyuñ khuñs kyi sa yin ciñ / te ni xlag bcas so // yañ du ba las mer syes lta bu las kyi sgra kho na rgyu mtshan la hjug pa yod kyañ rnam dbye lña pa las ma hdas te / mer syes pahi rgyu mtshan de du ba mthoñ ba las byuñ bas so //

[1]P *om.*

TRANSLATION I:

First,

'Joining the tenth
To the fourth and the ninth
Of the ten suffixed letters
Is the source grade; and . . .'

[thus] it is described [in the *ślokas*]; the *nas* and the *las* which are formed by joining the tenth letter *s* to the two, [i.e.,] to *la* the ninth and to *na* the fourth of these two suffixed letters, respectively, as in *sa-nas rtswa skyes* 'grass grows from the earth', and as in *ba-las ho-ma hjo* 'milk comes from the cow', are the grade of source, the fifth [i.e., the ablative] case, since they are combined in order to be the same as [i.e., are used in] the sense of showing that something is isolated from or brought forth from anything; and *te* [in this *śloka*] is the 'remainder-possessing' [morpheme]. Moreover, even though there are cases where the morpheme *las* is combined [i.e., used] for 'causation', as in *du-ba-las mer syes* '. . . know it to be fire from/because of the smoke', [such cases] do not violate the fifth case [i.e., ablative] *las*, **[92]** because that causation by which one knows it to be fire arises from seeing the smoke.

Analysis I:

The transcribed texts reproduce the punctuation of the original, with space for the morpheme divider (.). In the analysis the hyphen is used to indicate enclitics attached to heads, compounds, and other relationships between morphemes.

dañ-po-ni 'first', enclitic 23, for emphatic subject, with dañ-po 'first', bound adjective stem + enclitic 3.

rjes-hjug 'suffixed', complex noun, from rjes 'track, trace, mark', a free noun stem, + hjug 'to

be combined, be affixed', a verb stem (hjug I, zyugs II, IV [cf. 6.7]).

yi-ge 'letter, graph; (in grammatical works often:) phoneme', complex noun, from the bound noun stems yi- and -ge, both unique constituents in this compound. Cf. their partial similarities with yig 'id.' below.

bcu-po 'ten', adjective, from numeral with enclitic 3.

yi 'of', optional (4.10) variant of enclitic 8 in verse.

bzyi-pa 'the fourth', ordinal numeral compound, from numeral + enclitic 6.

dgu-pa 'the ninth', id.

la 'to, in', enclitic 10.

bcu-pa 'the tenth', ordinal numeral compound.

sbyar-ba 'is joined, put together', verb stem with enclitic 1; sbyar is form II, and hence here also passive in meaning, from the verb sbyor I (sbyar II, III) 'to stick, to attach'; this is a transitive form which goes together with the intransitive hbyor (for which all four forms, I through IV, are homonymous [and so also below, whenever specific statements on the verb forms I through IV are not included]) 'to stick to, adhere to'. Here sbyar-ba is the head of the first half of the *śloka*; at the same time it is the subject, 'joining . . .', going with the verb yin at the end of the *śloka*.

hbyuñs-khuñs-sa 'the source grade', complex noun from sa 'place, step, grade', a free noun stem, in immediate constituency with hbyuñs-khuñs 'source', a complex noun from the verb stem hbyuñs 'to come out, appear' (byuñ II, III); cf. the transitive equivalent hbyin (phyuñ II, IV, dbyuñ III) 'to cause to come forth, to take/draw out', + the free noun stem khuñs 'origin, source'. The term is used here to mean the ablative case.

yin 'is', verb stem.

te 'and (further)', enclitic 16.

zyes-pa 'is, has been described as', verb stem, with enclitic 1.

ste 'and (further)', enclitic 16.

rjes-hjug yi-ge bcu-po-de-hi-bzyi-pa na '*na*, the fourth of those [i.e., previously stated in an earlier *śloka*] ten suffixed phonemes'; na '[the syllable] *na*', a free noun stem in immediate constituency in syntax with the rest of the cited structure, of which all elements have already been analyzed above, except for:

de-hi 'of that', de 'that', a free adjective stem, + enclitic 8.

daṅ 'and', enclitic 22.

dgu-pa la '[the syllable] *la,* the ninth', la, a free noun stem in immediate constituency in syntax with dgu-pa, ordinal numeral.

gnyis-la ‘to the two’, numeral + enclitic 10. This enclitic is in immediate constituency in syntax with the entire structure rjes-hjug yi-ge^{o}. . . gnyis ‘to the two, *na*, the fourth of those ten suffixed phonemes and *la*, the ninth [of those]’; within this structure gnyis is then in immediate constituency with the structure rjes-hjug yi-ge^{o} . . . dgu-pa-la; within this, rjes-hjug yi-ge^{o}. . . bzyi-pa na and dgu-pa are in discontinuous immediate constituency with dañ, but the rjes-hjug yi-ge bcu-po de-hi serving twice, once with bzyi-pa na, and once also with dgu-pa la.

so-sor ’respectively, bzw.’, so-so ‘different’, reduplicated adjective + enclitic 9, in immediate constitutency in syntax with entire structure rjes-hjug yi-ge^{o}. . . gnyis-la.

bcu-pa ‘the tenth’, ordinal numeral.

sa-yig ‘the letter *sa*; the phoneme *s*’, complex noun from free noun stem sa ‘*sa*, *s*’ + yig ‘letter, graph; phoneme’, bound noun stem. Cf. its partial similarity with yi-ge ‘id.’, above.

sbyar-bas ‘by joining to’, verb (with enclitic 1) + **[93]** enclitic 12; on the verb, cf. above; on the meaning of enclitic 12 here, cf. 7.5.

nas las ‘[the morphemes] *nas* [and] *las*’, enclitics 14 and 13 in hypostasis as citations, as if they were free noun stems. Cf. the morphophonemics of form immediately below.

zyes (quotation), enclitic 19, here used as if following Ø (cf. 4.8) rather than as following s (which should give *syes) because of hypostasis of preceeding two enclitics as free noun stems, for citation.

grub-pa ‘is formed, accomplished’, verb hgrub (grub II) ‘to be made ready, finished, accomplished’.

ni (emphatic subject), enclitic 23. All this text from the beginning of the cited *śloka* down to this enclitic is in immediate constituency in syntax with this enclitic ni; there follow at this point two sentences in hypostasis as examples, which are related in immediate constituency in syntax with the following structures by the complex noun lta-bu which immediately follows the two of them. The two sentence examples are:

sa-nas rtswa skyes ‘grass has grown/is born from the earth’; sa ‘earth’, a free noun stem homophonous with but separate on the basis of meaning from sa ‘place, step, grade’, above; skye (skyes II) ‘to be born’, verb stem.

ba-las ho-ma hjo ‘milk comes from the cow’, lit. ‘[one] milks milk from the cow’. ba ‘cow’, free noun stem; ho-ma ‘milk’, ho- bound noun stem; hjo (bzyos II, bzyo III, hjos IV) ‘to milk (an animal)’. The grammarians often cite bound verb stems, as here, without the otherwise obligatory affixes, to save space and to avoid constant repetition of the enclitics; but this is a special device of hypostasis for citation, and without significance for the

analysis of the language.

lta-bu ‘in this [already mentioned/illustrated] way’, complex noun, from the verb stem lta (bltas II, blta III, ltos or blta IV) ‘to look, view’, + bu, a bound noun stem, and an unique constituent in this compound (to be distinguished from bu ‘son’, a free noun stem, and also from bu, a bound noun stem and unique constituent in bu-ga, or bu-gu ‘a hole, an opening’).

chos-gañ ‘anything’, compound noun from chos ‘thing; dharma’, a free noun stem + the interrogative gañ.

gan-zyig ‘something’; on the meaning of this and the previous item, cf. 6.3, and note the semantic differences depending on whether gañ occurs in first or second position in these indefinitive compounds.

bral-baham byuñ-ba ‘is isolated from or is produced’; the internal -ham is the variant of enclitic 15 Qam ‘or’ following h or Ø (cf. 4.5); but the form baham counts as only one foot (cf. 4.10).

bral-ba ‘isolated from’, hbral (bral II, brol IV) ‘to be separate from’, intransitive verb going with transitive hphral (phral II, dbral III, phrol IV) ‘to separate, to part’.

ston-pa-hi, enclitic 8 in immediate constituency with the verb ston (bstan II, III) ‘to show’.

don-du ‘in the sense’, don ‘meaning’, free noun stem + enclitic 9.

mtshuñs-par ‘in order to be the same as, equal to’, verb (with enclitic 1) + enclitic 9.

hjug-{pas} ‘since they are combined’, verb (cf. above) + enclitic 12, second meaning.

rnam-dbye ‘case (in grammar)’, compound noun, from rnam ‘piece, part’ + dbye ‘section, class’, both bound noun stems.

lña-pa ‘the fifth’, ordinal numeral.

hbuñ-khuñs-kyi sa, an expansion in syntax of hbuñ-khuñs-sa (above, which see), with {enclitic} 8.

yin-ciñ ‘is, and . . . ’, yin, verb stem (cf. above) + enclitic 18; thus often, in the texts, though the grammarians insist that the correct form is rather yin-zyiñ (cf. 7.6).

te, the variant of enclitic 16 as it appears in the final line of the *śloka*, cited here in hypostasis.

xlag-bcas ‘remainder-possessing’ (a name for enclitic 16 descriptive of the meaning of the morpheme), a complex noun from the bound adjective stem bcas ‘to be together with, to be possessing’ (cf. 6.4) + xlag ‘remains, remainder’, a bound noun stem (xlag-ma). Elsewhere Dharmabhadra gives this same term in a ver**[94]**sion expanded in syntax, xlag-ma-dañ bcas-pa-hi sgra.

so (termination of discourse), enclitic 29.

yañ ‘moreover’, conjunction in immediate constituency with entire syntactic structure following, down to end of passage, where final enclitic so is in immediate constituency with entire passage including yañ. A third sentence example follows:

du-ba-las mer syes ‘know [that] it is fire/[that there] is fire by/because of smoke’; du-ba ‘smoke’, bound noun stem; me ‘fire’, free noun stem + enclitic 9; syes ‘to know’, verb stem.

las-kyi sgra ‘the morpheme *las*’; sgra ‘morpheme’, free noun stem.

kho-na ‘even’, enclitic 25.

rgyu-mtshan-la ‘as cause, causation’, enclitic 10 in immediate constituency with a compound noun, from rgyu ‘cause, reason, motive’, a free noun stem, and mtshan ‘mark, token’, a bound noun stem (mtshan-ma).

hjug-pa-yod-kyañ ‘even though there are [cases where] it is combined’, enclitic 17 in immediate constituency with a periphrastic syntactic structure, which in turn divides into hjug-pa + yod ‘to have’, a verb stem.

ma-hdas-te ‘it does not violate, and . . . ’, enclitic 16 in immediate constituency with a negative verb compound (6.9), ma + hda (hdas II) ‘to transgress, violate’.

de ‘that’, free adjective stem, here in immediate constituency with the entire syntactic structure mer syes-pa-hi rgyu-mtshan.

mthoñ-ba-las ‘from/because of seeing’, enclitic 13 in immediate constituency with mthoñ ‘to see’, a verb stem.

byuñ-bas-so ‘by [the fact that] it arises,’ i.e., [this] is because [it, = the knowledge] arises; enclitic 29 in immediate constituency with byuñ-bas, enclitic 12, (second meaning), with verb + enclitic 1 as head.

TEXT II:

gnyis pa de dgar sdud la hjug pahi tshul ni /

/ dgar dañ sdud pahañ de bzyin no[1] /

syes pa ste / bsyad ma thag pahi nas dañ las kyi sgra de dag hbyuñ khuñs kho nar ma zad / dgar gzyi las logs su dgar bahi don lahañ hjug ciñ / de las nas kyi sgra gcig pu ni mtshams hdzin ciñ sdud pahi don duhañ de bzyin du hjug pa yin te / xla rnams kyi nañ nas brgya byin mdzes lta bu dgar gzyi dañ dgar chos ris mthun pa la nas dañ / xla las mi dman lta bu dgar gzyi dañ dgar chos ris mi mthun pa la las dañ[2] / gzugs nas rnam mkhyen[3] gyi bar lta bu sdud pa la nas hjug ciñ

dgar sdud gnyis ka yañ rnam dbye lña pahi khoñ du gtogs te / dgar ba ni dgar gzyi las dgar chos bye ba ltar snañ ba dañ / sdud pa ni thog ma gañ nas[4] brtsam[5] pa de las bsdu bya rnams byuñ ba ltar

snaṅ bas so /

[1]P: yin [2] I: *om.* [3] I: mkhen [4] I: *om.* [5] I: brtsams

TRANSLATION II:

Second, the way in which those [i.e., *nas* and *las*] are affixed for "selection" and "synthesis":

'Both "selection" and "synthesis" are the same.'

[thus] it is described [in the *ślokas*]; those morphemes *nas* and *las* which are explained not far distant [i.e., immediately above] are not only just "source;" they are also combined [i.e., used] in the sense of selecting [one thing] apart [from another] rather than [in the sense of] "the sources of selection;" and among them, only the one morpheme *nas* is contrastively marked, and it is also combined [i.e., used] in the same way as that [enclitic *las*], also in the sense of "synthesis;" and as in *xla-rnams-kyi naṅ-nas brgya-byin mdzes* 'Indra is beautiful among the gods', [i.e., Indra is the most beautiful of all the gods], [the proper enclitic] is *nas* when "the source of selection" and "the thing selected" are of compatible form, [but] as in *xla-las mi dman* 'man is inferior to/lower than the god [s]' [the proper enclitic] is *las*, when "the source of selection" and "the thing selected" are not of compatible form; and as in *gzugs-nas rnam-mkhyen-gyi bar* '. . . in the interval [i.e., all the way from . . . to] *rūpa* to the all-knowing [one, i.e., the Buddha] . . .', when [it is a case of] "synthesis", *nas* is used; however, both the two, "selection" and "synthesis" belong within the fifth [i.e., the ablative] case, because "selection" is perceived as being like isolating a thing selected from the sources of selection, and because "synthesis" is perceived as being like bringing forth works which were begun from any inception whatsoever and after that joined together.

Analysis II:

gnyis-pa 'second', ordinal numeral.

dgar-sdud-la 'for "selection" and "synthesis"'; dgar-sdud + enclitic 10. dgar-sdud, a deverbal compound noun, from two verb stems, dgar 'to choose' and sdud (bsdus, II, III) 'to collect together, synthesize'.

tshul-ni 'the way (emphatic topic)', tshul 'manner, way', free noun stem + ni, enclitic 23. **[95]**

dgar-daṅ sdud-pahaṅ 'both "selection" and "synthesis" '. -haṅ is enclitic 17; on the form, cf. 4.10; here it is used in discontinuous immediate constituency with daṅ, enclitic 22; cf. the

meaning. -pa following sdud is in simultaneous discontinuous immediate constituency with dgar as well as with sdud.

bzyin-no ‘is the same as’, bzyin ‘like, as, identical to’, free noun stem, + enclitic 29.

bsyad-ma-thag-pa-hi ‘[which are] explained not far distant (i.e., immediately above)’, enclitic 8 in immediate constituency with bsyad-ma-thag-pa, which is a syntactic structure consisting of bsyad ‘explain’, verb stem, and ma-thag-pa in immediate constituency; ma-thag-pa is a negative formation with the adjective stem thag ‘to be distant’.

sgra-de-dag ‘those morphemes’, sgra ‘morpheme’, free noun stem, in immediate constituency with de-dag ‘those’, complex adjective from the deictic free adjective stem de ‘that’ + the bound noun stem dag (plural).

hbyuñ-khuñs-kho-nar ‘not only “source” ’, -r is enclitic 9, here in immediate constituency with the rest of the expression, i.e., its head, {hbyuñ}-khuñs-kho-na ‘id.’, which in turn consists of the complex noun hbyuñ-khuñs (see above) + enclitic 25. Enclitic 9 goes here with the verbal structure immediately following, and to which it subordinates its own head.

ma-zad ‘[are] not only’, negative verbal structure, from ma + zad, II of the verb hdzad ‘to be on the decline, to be only, sole’.

dgar-gzyi-las ‘rather than [in the sense of] “the sources of choice” ’, enclitic 13 in immediate constituency with head dgar-gzyi ‘the sources of choice’, a complex noun, from the verb dgar (cf. above) and gzyi ‘ground, foundation, original cause’, a bound noun stem (gzyi-ma); dgar-gzyi in this text means any set of items from among which a selection or choice is made in the course of a comparative statement.

logs-su dgar-ba-hi-don-lahañ ‘also in the sense of selecting apart’, enclitic 17 with the following syntactic structure as head: logs-su dgar-ba-hi-don-la; this has enclitic 10 and the head logs-su dgar-ba-hi-don; logs-su ‘aside, apart’, from logs ‘side, direction’, a free noun stem + enclitic 9.

de-las ‘among them’, deictic free adjective stem de ‘that’ + enclitic 13.

nas-kyi sgra gcig pu-ni ‘only the one morpheme *nas* (emphatic subject)’, enclitic 23 in immediate constituency with the head nas-kyi sgra gcig-pu-ni; gcig-pu ‘only the one’, from the numeral gcig ‘1’ + pu ‘an individual item’, a bound noun stem.

mtshams-hdzin ‘contrastively marked’, complex noun, from mtshams ‘intermediate space, break, demarcation’, free noun stem, + hdzin (zuñ, or bzuñ, II, gzuñ, III, zuñ, or zuñs, IV) ‘to hold, maintain’, verb stem.

nañ ‘inside, among’, free noun stem.

brgya-byin ‘Indra’, from brgya ‘100’ + byin ‘blessings (n.)’, a free noun stem.

mdzes ‘to be fair, handsome, beautiful’, adjective stem; on citing bound stems without obligatory affixes as here, cf. skyes and hjo, above.

dgar-chos ‘the thing chosen/selected’, complex noun from dgar + chos ‘thing, item’, a free noun stem; in this text it contrasts with dgar-gzyi ‘the sources of choice’, i.e., the set of items from among or out of which the selection or comparison is made.

dgar-gzyi-dañ dgar-chos ris mthun-pa-la ‘when “the sources of choice” and the “thing selected” are of compatible form’, enclitic 10 in immediate constituency with the head dgar-gzyi-dañ dgar-chos ris mthun-pa; in this head dgar-gzyi-dañ dgar-chos is in immediate constituency with ris mthun-pa; ris mthun-pa is a syntactic structure from ris ‘form, appearance’, a free noun stem, and mthun ‘to be compatible with’, an adjective stem. The same structure appears immediately below but complicated by the inclusion of the negative alternant mi.

mi ‘man’, free noun stem.

dman ‘to be low, inferior to’, adjective stem; on its use without the obligatory affix, see the note on mdzes, above.

ris mi-mthun-pa, ‘not of compatible form’; cf. ris mthun-pa above.

gnyis-ka ‘both, the two’, numeral + enclitic 5. **[96]**

khoñ-du ‘within,’ khoñ ‘inside’, a free noun stem + enclitic 9.

gtogs-te ‘belong, and’, gtog ‘to belong’, verb stem.

bye-ba ‘isolating’, verb stem + enclitic 1 (unless the texts here are all mistaken, and should instead read bral-ba ‘id.’, which seems likely).

ltar ‘in [this] way, like’, lta, verb stem (cf. above) + enclitic 9.

snañ ‘be perceived, be seen’, verb stem.

thog-ma gañ ‘any inception whatsoever’, from thog-ma ‘origin, beginning’, bound noun stem, + interrogative noun; on its generalizing function in this syntactic structure, cf. 6.3.

brtsam-pa ‘has been begun, set about’, II of rtsom ({brtsam} III, rtsom or rtsoms, IV), verb stem.

bya-rnams ‘acts (n.)’, from bya, bound noun stem (bya-ba, and etymologically related to the verb byed [byas II, byos IV] ‘to make, do’) + rnams (plural), bound noun stem.

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