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PHILOLOGY, HISTORY AND RELIGION

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface.....	vii
Matthew T. Kapstein, Yoshiro Imaeda and Tsuguhito Takeuchi	
Abbreviations.....	ix

PHILOLOGY AND LINGUISTICS

Nathan W. Hill	
The Allative, Locative, and Terminative Cases (<i>la-don</i>) in the <i>Old Tibetan Annals</i>	3
Yoshiro Imaeda	
Towards a Comprehensive and Unambiguous Transliteration Scheme of Tibetan.....	39
Sam van Schaik	
A New Look at the Tibetan Invention of Writing.....	45
Bettina Zeisler	
For Love of the Word: a New Translation of Pelliot tibétain 1287, the <i>Old Tibetan Chronicle</i> , Chapter I.....	97

HISTORICAL STUDIES

Takatoshi Akagi	
Six 10th Century Royal Seals of the Khotan Kingdom.....	217
Brandon Dotson	
Sources for the <i>Old Tibetan Chronicle</i> : a Fragment from the Non-Extant <i>Chronicle Pothi</i>	231

PHILOLOGY AND LINGUISTICS

THE ALLATIVE, LOCATIVE, AND TERMINATIVE CASES (*LA-DON*) IN THE *OLD TIBETAN ANNALS*

NATHAN W. HILL

0. INTRODUCTION

The indigenous Tibetan grammatical tradition treats the seven morphemes *-r*, *-ru*, *-su*, *-tu*, *-du*, *-na*, and *-la* together as one category, called the *la-don-gyi sgra* ‘the morphemes with the same meaning as *-la*’ (Schubert 1937: 19, 30, 45; Inaba 1989: 174; Gyurmé 1992: 21-22). Isaak Jakob Schmidt follows this tradition, labeling these morphemes together “местный падеж (*locativus*)” (1839: 42). Philippe Edouard Foucaux puts *-r*, *-ru*, *-su*, *-tu*, *-du*, and *-la* together as the ‘datif’, but divides out *-na* as the ‘locatif’ (1858: 26-27). Marcelle Lalou (1950), although she discusses *-r*, *-ru*, *-su*, *-tu*, *-du* on page 28 and *-na* on page 15, labels these six morphemes with the same term “particule locative”; she calls *-la* a “particule ... accusative” (1950: 14), but confusingly labels one of its functions as “particule du locatif” (1950: 15). Michael Hahn classifies *-r*, *-ru*, *-su*, *-tu*, and *-du*, together as the ‘Terminativpartikel’ (1994: 118-122) and groups *-na* and *-la* together as ‘Lokativpartikeln’ (1994: 91-97). Heinrich August Jäschke distinguishes here three cases: *-r*, *-ru*, *-su*, *-tu*, *-du* ‘terminative’, *-la* ‘dative’ and *-na* ‘locative’ (1883: 15). Among these classifications *-r*, *-ru*, *-su*, *-tu*, and *-du* are always grouped together; apart from this commonality all possible combinations of grouping these five with *-na* or *-la* have been put forward by someone.

In order to address the question of whether and how these morphemes ought to be divided into separate categories, one must first establish guiding principles by which to judge the merits of different arrangements. Various authors (including Lalou 1950 and Hahn 1994) have approached all Tibetan morphemes except nominal and verbal stems as ‘particles’. Such an analysis is just as inadequate as treating ‘of’, ‘-s’, ‘-ing’, and ‘however’ as particles in English. These authors group together ‘particles’ based on their meaning, i.e. based on how they would be translated into some other language. The analysis of a language according to meaning rather than form is a mistake (Bloomfield 1933: 161-162). In the end one learns only about pre-established semantic categories in the author’s language or the author’s head, and nothing about the inherent structural categories which are part of the language under study. For example, a definition of ‘accusative’ in German as ‘the case of the direct object of a verb’ would lead to the inevitable

and false conclusion that both *dir* and *dich* mark the accusative, because on syntactic or semantic grounds it is not possible to distinguish *ich helfe dir* from *ich uterstützte dich*.

Distributional considerations are the correct criteria on which to describe linguistic phenomena (Harris 1951: 5-6). In Tibetan like in Japanese bound morphemes are postpositional. Such morphemes neatly divide into two categories: case morphemes are those that follow noun phrases and converbial morphemes are those that follow verbs.¹ For Tibetan there are eighteen morphemes that occur after noun phrases: \emptyset , *-kyi*, *-gyi*, *-gi*, *-hi*, *-kyis*, *-gyis*, *-gyi*, *-s*, *-la*, *-na*, *-r*, *-su*, *-tu*, *-du*, *-las*, *-nas*, and *-dan*. For Japanese there are twelve morphemes that occur after noun phrases: *-ga*, *-ni*, *-de*, *-to*, *-ya*, *-no*, *-wo*, *-mo*, *-wa*, *-kara*, *-e*, and *-made*.² A given Japanese noun phrase always ends with one of these morphemes, and can be found with all of them (*watashi-ga*, *watashi-ni*, *watashi-de*, etc.). In contrast, in Tibetan although all eighteen morphemes are found after noun phrases in general, only a subset of nine will be found after any particular noun phrase. For example, the word *rgyal-po* may proceed \emptyset , *-hi*, *-s*, *-r*, *-la*, *-na*, *-las*, *-nas*, or *-dan* but does not proceed *-kyi*, *-gyi*, *-gi*, *-kyis*, *-gyis*, *-gis*, *-tu*, *-du*, or *-su*. Depending on its Auslaut, a given noun phrase selects one member from the three subclasses (1) *-kyi*, *-gyi*, *-gi*, *-hi*, (2) *-kyis*, *-gyis*, *-gyi*, *-s*, and (3) *-tu*, *-du*, *-su*, *-r*. The members of these respective subclasses are allomorphs of three distinct morpheme that can be represented as $\{-kyi\}$, $\{-kyis\}$, and $\{-tu\}$.³ Old Tibetan thus has nine cases (\emptyset , $\{-kyi\}$, $\{-kyis\}$, *-la*, *-na*, $\{-tu\}$, *-las*, *-nas*, *-dan*), and it is necessary to distinguish *-la*, *-na* and $\{-tu\}$ as three separate cases.

Returning the discussion from Tibetan case in general to the *la-don-gyi sgra*, the fact that *-r*, *-ru*, *-su*, *-tu*, and *-du* are allomorphs of a single morpheme $\{tu\}$, itself comparable to *-na* and *-la*, is the reason why no author has subdivided the group *-tu*, *-du*, *-su*, *-r*. All readers of Tibetan are aware that a single noun phrase can be followed by *-la*, by *-na*, or by one of the five *-r*, *-ru*, *-su*, *-tu*, *-du*, and yet, through mistakenly allowing semantics to influence their analyses of case, most authors have failed to distinguish the three as separate cases. As mentioned above, with characteristic perspicacity Jäschke correctly distinguished these three cases with *-r*, *-ru*, *-su*, *-tu*, and *-du* as ‘terminative’, *-la* as ‘dative’ and *-na* as ‘locative’ (1883: 15). The names given to cases are conventional and arbitrary. I follow Jäschke’s terminology with the exception that I change ‘dative’ to ‘allative’ (*ad latere* ‘toward the side’), which I have chosen to parallel ‘ablative’ (*ab latere*

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- 1 How to distinguish nouns from verbs and other part of speech classes in Old Tibetan is no trivial question, and lies outside the scope of this paper. I will simply take these categories as given.
 - 2 Upon further analysis *-wa* and *-mo* turn out to be sentence adverbs rather than case markers in Japanese (Martin 1975: 52-60), but this is outside of the scope of this paper.
 - 3 I use braces $\{ \}$ to enclose one member of a category, when it is being used to represent that category as a whole.

‘from the side’) for the case marked with *-las*. One could, however, just as easily list cases ‘first case’, ‘second case’ etc., as was the practice of the ancient Sanskrit grammarians (Whitney 1890: 89 §266a). The analysis, not the terminology, is what matters.⁴

Whether these three cases are semantically similar in Old Tibetan, as the tendency of authors to group them together implies, is an empirical question; answering that question is the goal of this essay. If these morphologically distinguished cases do have differentiated semantics in Old Tibetan, documenting these differences is necessary not only for a correct description of Old Tibetan grammar, but would also be a boon for the philological understanding of Old Tibetan texts.

0.1 A method for describing the semantics of case

No methodology is currently available that would allow for a definitive and incontrovertible description of the uses or meanings of the cases of any given language.

In the study of Greek and Latin over time a tradition developed of distinguishing the semantics of cases in conventionalized lists of the type ‘dative of possession’, ‘dative of agency’, ‘ethical dative’, etc. Although there is no way to draw a clear line between one use of the Latin dative and another, such lists are useful as a heuristic for students in textual analysis. Because such lists are familiar from the standard 19th and early 20th century school grammars, often still used in university instruction today (such as Allen and Greenough 1872 for Latin or Smyth 1916 for Greek), I use the ‘school grammar approach’ to refer to such heuristic listings of case use. Despite the proven utility of such an approach, more recent researchers have justly criticized it as arbitrary, hair-splitting, and unscientific.

Roman Jakobson attempts to develop a theory of case semantics relying upon binary sets of semantic features (1990: 332-385). The approach of minimal feature analysis is very powerful in the domain of phonology. In phonology

4 I label these nine cases thus: 1. absolutive $-\emptyset$, 2. genitive *-kyi*, *-gyi*, *-gi*, *-hi*, 3. agentive-*kyis*, *-gyis*, *-gyi*, *-s*, 4. allative *-la*, 5. locative *-na*, 6. terminative *-r* ~ *-ru*, *-su*, *-tu*, *-du*, 7. ablative *-las*, 8. elative *-nas*, 9. associative *-dan* (cf. Hill 2004: 79-84). Hereafter when referred to schematically I abbreviate absolutive as ABS, agentive as AGN, genitive as GEN, and terminative as TRM. The other cases have one clear morphological exponent, and can be referred to directly thereby, e.g. *-na* for the locative.

The Tibetan grammatical tradition’s failure to distinguish the allative, locative, and terminative cases, instead collapsing the three under the rubric *la-don* indicates that this tradition sees *-la* as in some sense primary. In Modern Standard Tibetan these three cases have coalesced into the two phonologically determined allomorphs *-la* and *-r* (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 90-91 and 365-367). The traditional description may have been developed by speakers of a dialect similar on this point to Modern Standard Tibetan.

a particular feature can be linked with mechanically verifiable articulatory or acoustic properties. This is not true of the minimal semantic features which Jakobson employs. Features such as 'directedness', 'scope', or 'marginality' are opaque and unverifiable. No instrumental measure will test whether a certain case is 'directed' in the way that a spectrogram can incontrovertibly show that an obstruent is voiced. The same obstacles of opacity and lack of verifiability equally plague more recent theories of case relying on 'deep case', 'semantic roles', or 'frames' (Fillmore 1968, 1976). These approaches merely beg the question, taking us further from the intuitive clarity of normal language into technical jargon.

The technical terms of science such as 'meter' and 'phoneme' are useful as shorthand for 'the distance traveled by light in free space in 1/299,792,458 of a second' and 'a distributional equivalence class of sounds, any member of which can be employed to form meaningful contrasts between utterances, and the members of which cannot be further temporally divided to form smaller such classes'. The terms of such definitions can be further decomposed in such a way that the questions 'is this a meter?' and 'is this a phoneme?' can be answered 'yes' or 'no' through an instrumentally verifiable sensory observation. Terms such as 'agent' or 'frame element' do not have this characteristic. Such descriptions of case semantics are less useful and revealing than the lists of the school grammars.

To my knowledge the only method for describing semantics which is both verifiable and precise to a degree warranting comparison to that of minimal pairs in phonology is the natural semantic metalanguage developed by Anna Wierzbicka (e.g. 1988). Without needing to subscribe to her view that there are a finite number of universal semantic primitives in all human languages, one cannot fail to be impressed by the clarity and subtlety that her studies bring to many thorny problems. By paraphrasing the case uses found using the school grammar approach in Wierzbicka's semantic metalanguage, the shared meaning of case uses can be directly perceived as a shared segment of the paraphrase.

0.2 The scope of this study

At such an early stage into the research of Tibetan case semantics, a study on the scope that would be necessary using Wierzbicka's methods does not seem possible. The attempt here is limited to listing the uses of cases following the tradition of school grammars, with only limited attention to whether the individual uses identified can be meaningfully subsumed into more basic meanings. Although this method does not correctly capture the Gesamtbedeutung of each case, because such lists have proven useful both for language students and for the very researchers who reject such a technique, I undertake this method here in the hope that its results can serve as a basis for more sophisticated work on Tibetan case semantics.

Case morphemes occur so frequently that it is sensible to restrict examination to a single text. While the use of cases in a single text may be idiosyncratic in comparison to the overall use of cases across Old Tibetan literature, restricting study to a single text will likely present a coherent case system and this system can be later compared to case use in other texts. Even if a particular text turns out to contain material produced by different hands at different moments in history, a systematic examination of a single text is more likely to yield clear and reliable results than the desultory comparison of examples from texts of diverse times and authors. This paper restricts examination of the use of the allative, locative, and terminative cases to their use in the *Old Tibetan Annals* (P.t.1286, IOL Tib J 750).⁵

1. THE ALLATIVE *-LA*

The allative case marker occurs in two morphological forms, *la* and *lah*, the latter being rather rarer than the former.

1.1 *The dating formula*

By far the most frequent use of the allative case in the *Old Tibetan Annals* is in the dating formula which opens each entry, e.g. *phagī lo-la bab-ste* / '(it) fell on the year of the dog' (l. 19). This formula occurs in two main variants. The longer includes the verbal phrase *bab-ste* and the shorter excludes it. In line 160 an additional variant occurs which includes *bab* but omits *ste* (*lugī lo-la bab* /). Unfortunately, the pattern of variants appears to mean little.⁶ The longer version is rather more frequent than the shorter until line 203 after which only the shorter variant occurs. The dating formula is a subspecies of the use of the allative with the verb *bab* 'fall'. This use of the verb *bab* is noteworthy because it has a rection that includes only the allative and no noun in the absolutive case. A noun in the

5 I would like to thank Brandon Dotson for sharing with me before publication his translation of the *Old Tibetan Annals* (Dotson 2009). Although not identical, my translations are very indebted to his. Transliterations also follow Dotson's text, with the exception that I have linked together words and placed line numbers after them when they would have interrupted a single word.

6 If instances of the full scheme are represented with the letter A, the abbreviated scheme with B, and the aberrant example in line 160 as C, the following pattern obtains: $A^7B^2A^1B^6A^1B^4A^2B^1A^3B^1A^1B^2A^{12}B^4A^6B^1A^3C^1A^3B^2A^2B^1A^1B^{30}$. The superscript numbers indicate the number of times the pattern in question is used consecutively.

An additional remark can be made about variation in the dating formula. The genitive *-hi* is occasionally omitted from the dating formula, probably for phonetic reasons. The phrase 'year of the monkey' never contains a genitive, i.e. it is always *sprehu lo* rather than **sprehuhi lo*. The genitive is also frequently omitted after the word *khyi* 'dog' (ll. 17, 60, 127, 175, 224, 303) but in some cases the genitive is also present (ll. 41, 94, 268). I see no pattern in the presence or absence of the genitive after the word *khyi* 'dog'.

absolute or agentive case is generally considered obligatory for Tibetan verbs (Tournadre 1996: 189).

1.2 In the time of

In addition to the use of the allative in the dating formula to specify a year, once in the document the allative is used in the phrase GEN-*riñ-la* ‘in the time of’ where it specifies a more vague period of time. Although this use is found only once in our text, it is quite frequently used in other Old Tibetan texts; for example, it occurs frequently in the imperial inscriptions.

(1) *btsan-po Khrī Lde-gtsug* (2) *rtsan-gyī riñ-laḥ*

In the reign of emperor Khrī Lde-gtsug-rtsan ... (Zol inscription, South face, Li and Coblin 1987: 143).

(21) *btsan-pho Khrī Sroñ-lde-brtsan-gyī riñ-laḥ*

In the reign of emperor Khrī Sroñ-lde-brtsan ... (Zol inscription, South face, Li and Coblin 1987: 143).

The reason for the rarity of this construction in the *Annals* is that, while more specific dating is preferred it is not possible in this opening section, presumably because the text is reporting retrospectively on prehistoric time.

[643] (13) *de.nas: lo: gsum:na/ btsan.po: Khrī. Sroñ.rtsan.gyī. riñ.laḥ/ Lig: Sña:śur: brlag.ste: Žaṅ.žun: thams.cad.* (14) *ḥbaṅsu: bkug:ste: mṅaḥo/*

Then after three years, in the reign of Khri Sroñ-btsan, [the emperor] defeated Lig Sña-śur, and subjugated all of Žaṅ-žun and possessed it.

1.3 The recipient

The recipients of gifts are marked in the allative case; the giver is in the agentive and the gift in the absolute. The *Annals* has two instances of recipients in the allative which employ the verb *phul* ‘give’.

[713] (191) *dgun. ḥdun. Moñ.kar:du/ blon.chen.pho: Khrī.gzigs.gyīs: bsduste/Gnubs: (192) khrī.mñen:mon.tsan. gum.nas/ khud.pa: chen.pho. ḥbaṅs: Khrī.sum:rje.rtsaṅ.bžer.la: phul.bar. lo.chig/*

In the winter the council was convened by Prime Minister Khri-gzigs in Moñ-ka. When Gnubs-khri-mñen died, [his] subjects [and] the great wealth were given to Khri-sum-rje-rtsaṅ-bžer.

[723] (229/178) *khud.pa: chen.pho: blon. Khrī.sum.rjes/ Žaṅ. Khrī.mñes: Smon.zuṅ.la: phul.baḥī. rtsis: bgyīs/*

An account was made concerning Minister [Dbahs] Khri-sum-rje [Rtsaṅ-bžer]'s offering of great wealth to Žaṅ Khri-mñes Smon-zuṅ.

A further example involves a recipient, but is hardly a willing act of donation; in this example a foreign territory falls captive to a Tibetan official. This usage, like its English equivalent, seems to share both in the semantics of literally falling (falling to the ground), and of donation (being given to someone). The role of the argument in the allative, the Tibetan official, can be seen as a recipient.

[720] (216/165) *Žaṅ. Lon.gtsaṅ.la/ Chībs:gyī. Chas: (217/166) phab/ Rgyaḥī.mkar: So.ga.soṅ. phab/*

Chas in Chibs fell to Žaṅ Lon-gtsaṅ. The Chinese fortress So-ga-soṅ fell.

1.4 Marriage

In four instances, marriages are reported, in which the Tibetan princess in the absolutive case goes to, or is sent as the bride for a foreign dignitary; this dignitary is marked in the allative. These examples are also acts of giving, where the hapless young woman is the gift, and the foreign potentate the recipient.

[671] (53/1) *btsan.mo: Sñā.mo:steṅs: Sñā.śur: Spuṅs:rye.rgyug.la: bag.mar:gśegs:par: lo. gchīg/*

Princess Sñā-mo-steṅs went as a bride for Sñā-śur Spuṅs-rye-rgyug. So one year.

[689] (101/50) *btsan.mo: Khrī.baṅs/ Ḥa.ža. rje.la: bag.mar: (102/51) gśegs/*
Princess Khri-baṅs went as a bride for the Ḥa-ža (Tuyuhun 吐谷渾) lord.

[734] (267/216) *je.ba: Ḥdron.ma:lod. Dur.gyīs: (268/217) Kha.gan.la: bag.mar. btaṅ/*

Princess Ḥdron-ma-lod was sent as a bride for the Türgiś Qayan.

[740] (282/231) *je.ba: Khrī.ma.lod. Bru.ža. rje.la: bag.mar. (283/232) btaṅ/*
Princess Khri-ma-lod was sent as a bride for the lord of Bru-ža.

The syntactic pattern for marriage can be captured thus: princess-ABS husband-*la bag-ma-TRM gśegs / btaṅ*. This syntax parallels closely the more straightforward acts of giving. Although brides are 'sent' (*btaṅ*) or 'go' (*gśegs*) rather than being 'given' (*phul*), their husbands are just as equally recipients as they would be of wealth, or captured cities.

1.5 On campaign

In six cases in the *Old Tibetan Annals* the allative case occurs in the phrase *chab-srid-la gśegs* ‘go on campaign’. In the first example, no nouns occur except the emperor himself and *chab-srid*.

[741] (284/233) *sbrul.gyī. lo.la/ btsan.po: dbyard. chab.srīd.la. gśegstel/ Rgyaḥ. mkhar. Dar: khwa:hywan. phab/*

[It fell] on the year of the snake. In the summer the emperor went on a campaign. The Chinese stronghold Dar-khwa-hywan fell.

Contextually it is clear that the emperor went on campaign against the Chinese stronghold, but the stronghold is not a syntactic element in the clause in which the allative is used. However, in other examples this construction is expanded with a destination in the terminative case, indicating the location of the campaign.

[688] (100/49) *btsan.mo: Khri.mo.steṅs: Dags: yul.du. chab:srīd.la. gśegs phar. lo. chīg*

Princess Khri-mo-steṅs went on campaign to the land of Dags. So one year.

[727] (242/191) *yos:buḥ. lo.la/ btsan.po: dbyar. chab.srīd.la: Ḥa.ḥa. yul. du.gśegstel*

[It fell] on the year of the hare. In the summer the emperor went on campaign to the land of Ḥa-ḥa.

[739] (280/229) *yos:buḥ. lo.la/ btsan.po: dbyard. chab.srīd.la: Beg.du: gśegstel*

It fell on the year of the hare. In summer the emperor went on campaign to Beg.

The phrase can be further expanded with a place of departure in the elative case.

[700] (131/80) *btsan.po: dbyard. Moṅ.kar.nas: chab.srīd.la: Śa.gu.ñiṅ. sum:khol.du. gśegs.śiṅ/*

In the summer the emperor went from Moṅ-kar to Śa-gu-ñiṅ-sum-khol on campaign.

One example is of particular interest because it employs two nouns in the allative case. In addition to the phrase *chab-srid*, the word Mywa is also in the allative. In light of the fact that Mywa is an ethnonym, and all other instances of locations are marked with the terminative, it is best to interpret this as ‘go on

campaign against the Mywa' rather than 'went on campaign to (the land of the) Mywa'.

[704] (147/96) *dgun. btsan.pho: chab.sřid.la: Mywa.la. gšegs:pa.las/ dguñ. du. gšegs/*

In the winter the emperor went on campaign against the Mywa, but went to heaven.

Combining the structures attested in these various examples, the maximal syntactic structure of going on campaign can be presented schematically as follows.

(person)-ABS (starting place)-*nas* (ethnicity)-*la chab-sřid-la* (ending place)-
TRM *gšegs*

A person went from a starting place to an ending place on campaign against an ethnicity.

A fragmentary passage at the beginning of the text appears to also use this construction of campaign.

(6) *bisan:po: Khrř. Sroñ.rtsan.gyis/ šuld: byañ. lam:du. pyuñ.ste/ Ĥa.ža. dan: Rgya.lah. ...*(7) ... [*da*]ñ: Ĥa.ža. gñis:gyis: *dpyah: gcalto/*

Emperor Khri Sroñ-rtsan set out on the north road, he ... against the Ĥa-ža and China. Both [China] and Ĥa-ža paid tribute.

Since only people and not places pay tribute, it is clear here that China and Ĥa-ža are conceived of as personified nations or ethnic groups, and not as places. It seems rather likely that the complete phrase including the first lacuna was something like *Ĥa.ža.dan: Rgya.lah. [chab-sřid-la gšegs]* 'went on campaign against Ĥa-ža and China', paralleling the example *chab.sřid.la: Mywa.la. gšegs:pa* 'went on campaign against the Mywa' discussed above, both in the use of the allative and in the use of a place name standing metonymically for an ethnicity. A full understanding of the phrase *chab-sřid-la* will require comparison to other conventional uses of the allative with noun phrases, but my temptation is to tentatively interpret *chab-sřid* 'campaign' as the purpose or goal of the journey. This use can be compared with 'on' in English phrases such as 'go on campaign,' 'go on a picnic', etc.

The use of the allative with ethnonyms in this construction envisions them as recipients. One may suggest that in the examples of receiving a bride or wealth the recipient is a beneficiary and in the examples of receiving a military campaign the recipient is a maleficiary. This distinction is, however, derived from context, and thus not inherent in the meaning of the allative case. Foreign nations may

welcome Tibetan brides with more open arms than Tibetan military campaigns but syntactically these foreigners are recipients in both cases. This similarity is particularly underlined if one interprets the campaign of Princess Khri-mo-steṅs to the land of Dags in 688 as a political marriage. The possibility should, however, not be dismissed that women led military campaigns in early Tibet.

1.6 Make sport with a yak

In a single example the emperor makes sport with (i.e. hunts) a yak, which is in the allative case. This example is comparable to the examples of military campaigns led against an ethnicity. A wild yak surely feels similarly about receiving the emperor's sport as a foreign land does about an invading Tibetan army.

[724] (231/180) *byī.baḥī. lo.la/ btsan.po: dbyard. Spel.na. bžugs.šñi/ byaṅ. roldu. gśegste/ Kho.ñe.du.rur/ g-yag. rgod.la: rol.mo. mdzade/ (232/181) g-yag. rgod. sgrog.du. bchug/*

The year of the rat. In the summer the emperor resided in Spel and went north for sport. At Kho-ñe-du-ru, he made sport with wild yaks, and fettered wild yaks.

1.7 Disgrace

Another frequent use of the allative is with the phrasal verb *bkyon bab* meaning 'to be disgraced'. Literally it can be translated as 'disgrace fell on (him)'. This is perhaps best seen as another use, like the dating formula, of the allative with the verb *bab*. The disgraced party is the location on which something falls. The syntax of the dating formula and disgrace is however different. The dating formula is monovalent, with no noun in the absolutive, but in this instance *bkyon* is in the absolutive and *bab* functions bivalently.

[678] (71/19) *dgun. stod. ḥdun.ma: Glagī (72/20) Ryu.byer: ḥdus/ dgun. smad:Mdan.du. ḥduste/ Ra.saṅ.rje: Spuṅ.rye.ryuṅ.daṅ/ Khu: Khri.sña:dgru. zuṅ.la:bkyon. bab. (73/21) ste/*

In early winter the council was convened at Ryu-bye in Glag. In late winter [it] was convened at Mdan. Ra-saṅ-rje Spuṅ-rye-ryuṅ and Khu Khri-sña-dgru-zuṅ were disgraced.

[698] (127/76) *deḥi: dgun. Mgar.la: bkyon. phab.ste: btsan.po: Phar.du. gśegs par. [lo] chig/*

That winter Mgar was disgraced; the emperor went to Phar. So one [year].

[705] (153/102) *dehi. rjes.la: Glin̄.rin̄s.tsal.du: Khu. Mañ.po.rje. Lha.zuñ.la:*
(154/103) *bkyon. phab/*

After that, Khu Mañ-po-rje Lha-zuñ was disgraced at Glin̄-rin̄s-tsal.

[706] (156/105) *hdun.ma/ Na.mar.du: Hbon. Da.rgyal: Btsan.zuñ.dañ/ blon.*
chen.pho: Khrī.gzigs:gyis: bsdustel/ Lho.hdus.sregs.la: (157/106) bkyon.
phab/

Hbon Da-rgyal Btsan-zuñ and Prime minister [Dbah̄s] Khri-gzigs convened the council at Na-mar; Lho-hdus-sregs was disgraced.

[711] (178/127) *dbyar. hdun. Gzon̄.phyag.du. Hbon. Da.rgyal. Btsan.zuñ.*
dañ/ (179/128) blon. chen.pho: Khrī.gzigs:gyis: bsdustel/ Chog.ro: Khoñ.
ge.la: bkyon. bab/

The summer council was convened at Gzon̄-phyag by Hbon Da-rgyal Btsan-zuñ and Prime minister [Dbah̄s] Khri-gzigs. Chog-ro Khoñ-ge was disgraced.

[728] (248/197) *Dbah̄s: Stag.sgra: Khoñ.lod.la: bkyon. phab.nas/ Hbro:*
Chuñ.bzañ. (249/198) Hor.mañ: blon. chen.por. bkañ. stsald/

Dbah̄s Stag-sgra Khoñ-lod was disgraced and Hbro Chung-bzañ Hor-mañ was proclaimed prime minister.

1.8 The allative in the rection of specific verbs

The dating formula and formula of disgrace both employ the verb *bab* ‘fall’. It is simplest to consider both of these uses as instances of the allative within the rection of *bab* ‘fall’. In addition to the verb *bab* ‘fall’, there is evidence in the *Old Tibetan Annals* for considering the allative to be within the rection of the verbs *spos* ‘transfer to’, *rdugs* ‘reduce to’, and *chags* ‘be attached to’. The verb *spos* ‘transfer’ occurs with the allative case on one occasion.

[744] (298/247) *btsan.po. bkas: khram: dmar.po. sog.sog. ser.po.la: spos.*
par. lo. ch̄g/

The emperor decreed that the red tally would be transferred to yellow paper. So one year.

The verb *spos* occurs two other times in the *Old Tibetan Annals*, once with the terminative and once without a second argument.

[673] (56/4) *bya gaḡ lo.laḥ: btsan.po: dbyar. stod: Pho.dam:m̄do.na. b̄zugs.*
ṣñ/ dbyar: smad: Sum.chu.bor: spostel/

The year of the bird. At the beginning of the summer the emperor resided at Pho-dam-mdo. Late in the summer he moved to Sum-chu-bo.

[707] (159/108) *dbyar. ḥdun: Lha.gab.du: Ḥbon.da.rgyal:dan/* (160/109) *blon. chen.po: Khrī. gzig:gyīs: bsduste/ mñan.gyī. khab.soe: khram: spos/:* Ḥbon-da-rgyal and Prime Minister [Dbaḥs] Khri-gzigs convened the summer council at Lha-gab. They transferred the tally of the governor's revenue office.

The verb *rdugs* 'reduce' is used with the allative on one occasion.

[659] (37) *Da.rgyal: Mañ.po.rjes/ Mtsho.nag: Stoñ.rur/ Rgya. Seḥu:den.pañ. dan/ nol:thabs: bgyīste/ Da.rgyal. gyañ. gum.žin:* (38) *brgyad: khrī. stoñ.la: rdugs.phar: lo. gcig/*

Da-rgyal Mañ-po-rje fought with the Chinese Seḥu-den-pañ in Mtsho-nag Stoñ-ru. Although Da-rgyal died, he reduced 80,000 [Chinese] to 1,000. So one year.

In one example, the allative is used with the noun *bkaḥ-gyod* 'allegation' and the verb *chags* 'be attached to'.

[727] (242/191) *yos:buḥī. lo.la/ btsan.po: dbyar. chab.srīd.la: Ḥa.ža. yul.du. gśegste/ śuldu: Dbaḥs: Sum:po:skyes: bkaḥ.gyod.la:* (243/192) *chags/* [It fell] on the year of the hare. In the summer the emperor went on campaign to the land of Ḥa-ža. On the way, Dbaḥs Sum-po-skyes was tied to an allegation (*bkaḥ-gyod-la chags*).⁷

1.9 The allative in place of the ablative

The allative can be used where one would expect an ablative in Written Tibetan. One such example appears to occur in the *Annals*.

[708] (168/117) *Mdo.smad.gyī. mdun.ma: Rag.tagī. Ñam.pur: ḥdus/ ḥbañs. la: gser:* (169/118) *khral: mañ.po. bsdus/*

The Mdo-smad council was convened at Ñam-pu in Rag-tag. Many gold taxes were gathered from the subjects.

⁷ Btsan lha ñag dbaṅ tshul khriṃs, citing this passage defines the phrase *bkaḥ-gyod-la chags* as “*bkaḥ bkyon babs paḥam / khriṃs la thogs pa ste* [to be accused, taken to court]” (1997: 23)

This passage could also be read as ‘taxes were gathered for the subjects’ but this seems like an unlikely action for a government to take. This use of the allative in place of the ablative is known from other Old Tibetan texts. Here are three examples from Old Tibetan contracts.

Lho myi-la glaṅ mjal-pa-ḥi dpaṅ rgya

A bond for the purchase of an ox from a man belonging to the Lho clan. (Contract 1, verso, line 1, Takeuchi 1995: 140-141).

duṣ der ma phul-lam gya-gyu ḥig ḥtshal-na gchig-la gñis-su bsgyur-te

Should the borrower fail to repay by that time or if he tries to conspire [not to repay, the amount of payment] shall be doubled (Contract 20, line 4, Takeuchi 1995: 202)

[žu?] tshar Žum-ba-ḥi Li Mar-pon-la yaṅ rtsaṅ-gi s[d]e

from Li Mar-pon of Parish Žum-ba [... of] Yar-rtsaṅ district (Contract 43, line 3, Takeuchi 1995: 286-287)

1.10 Summary

Looking over all of the uses of the allative in the *Annals*, a few things seem clear. Most frequently the noun in the allative is a person. Yaks and ethnic groups also occur in the allative; people, yaks, and ethnic groups all share the trait of being sentient. Locations are never put in the allative case. The instances in which something other than a person is in the allative include *lo* ‘year’, *riṅ* ‘duration’, *chab-srid* ‘campaign’, and *bkaḥ-gyod* ‘allegation’. The allative does not appear to imply any spatial movement; in those instances in which movement is involved, it is always made explicit in a verb of motion and the destinations themselves are marked in the terminative.

The verbs that regularly take the allative are *bab* ‘fall on’, *phul* ‘give to’, *spos* ‘transfer to’, *rdugs* ‘reduce to’, and *chags* ‘be attached to’. Most of these uses of the allative can be subsumed under what would normally be called a dative, or an indirect object in a European language. The allative is also used in place of the ablative. The variation between allative and ablative in such instances deserves separate study.

2. THE LOCATIVE -NA

The locative case has only two uses in the *Annals*. One is in the time expression *de-nas lo* NUMBER-*na* ‘then after NUMBER years’, and the other is with the verb *bžugs* ‘reside’ or its somewhat less honorific equivalent *mchis* ‘stay’. Occasionally

the locative takes the form *-naḥ* rather than *-na* (ll. 8, 27, 172, 195, 244).

2.1 Locative of time

The phrase *de-nas lo* NUMBER-*na* ‘then after NUMBER years’ occurs twice in the *Old Tibetan Annals*. However, it probably occurred at least an additional three times (ll. 4, 6, 8) in the fragmentary opening of the text, and the *-naḥ* of one of these (l. 8) is preserved.

(13) *de.nas: lo: gsum.na/*
Then after three years

(15) *de.nas:lo. drug.naḥ*
Then after seven years

2.2 Reside at

The majority of entries in the *Annals* begin, after reporting the year, with stating the location of the emperor. The verb used in reference to the emperor is *bžugs* ‘reside’ and the location is marked in the locative.

[654] (27) *stagḥ lo.la bab.ste/ btsan.pho: Mer:khe.naḥ. bžugs.šñ/*
It fell on the year of the tiger, the emperor resided at Mer-khe.

Such expressions occur so frequently in the text that it would be tedious to present further examples.

In the opening of the text the whereabouts of minister Mgar Stoñ-rtsan are mentioned in addition to those of the emperor. However minister Mgar’s lower status is indicated by the use of the verb *mchis* ‘stay’, rather than *bžugs* ‘reside’.

[659] (36) *lugḥ. lo.laḥ bab.ste/ btsan.po. Sprags.gyḥ. Śa.ra.na: bžugs.šñ/*
blon.che. Stoñ.rtsan. Ḥa.ža. yul.na. mchḥste:
It fell on the year of the lamb, the emperor resided in Śa-ra in Sprags, and the Prime Minister [Mgar] Stoñ-rtsan stayed in the land of Ḥa-ža. (cf. ll. 39[660], 40[661], 43[663], 44[664], 45[665])

The contrast between the verbs *bžugs* and *mchis* is also made clear in the following entry.

[657] (33) *sbrul.gyḥ lo.la/ btsan.po. Mer.ke.na. bžugs.šñ/ blon.ce. Stoñ.*
rtsan./ dbyar: Sññ.druñ.gyḥ. G-ye:thal:ba.goñ.na. mchḥs.phar: (34) lo: gcig/

[It fell] on the year of the snake. The emperor resided in Mer-ke and in the Summer the Prime Minister [Mgar] Stoñ-rtsan stayed in G.ye-thal-ba-goñ in Sñiñ-druñ.

In addition to ‘stay’, the verb *mchis* can also mean ‘go’. In the latter meaning *mchis* takes the terminative case as opposed to the locative.

[693] (114/63) *blon. che. Khri.ħbrññ. Ħa.ža. yul.du. mcis.par. lo. chig/*
Prime Minister [Mgar] Khri-ħbrññ went to the land of Ħa-ža. So, one year.

In addition to being used with the emperor, the verb *bžugs* is also used to describe the residing of other figures. From 700 until 711 the residence of Khri-ma-lod, who was in effect ruler of the empire, is mentioned annually or biannually. She dies in 712. From 705 to 707 she resided together with her grandson, the child emperor. In addition, the place of the court (*pho-brañ*) of the emperor is recorded in the following years: 697, 700, 708, 709, 711, 716, 717, 721, 725-729, 733-738, 740, 742-747. As can be seen from these dates, the court becomes increasingly a focus of the text at the expense of the emperor. The only two years in the period 733-747 when the location of the court is not mentioned are years in which the emperor went on campaign; the focus of the text throughout this period is the court, and it is only when the emperor does something noteworthy that attention is drawn to him.

Only once is someone other than the emperor noted as having a court. In 708, the first year in which she resides separately from her grandson emperor, the empress dowager Khri-ma-lod is mentioned as having her own court, while the emperor resides at Śa-ru castle. Later, in the same year the court of the emperor is also mentioned, and Khri-ma-lod resides separately from it.

[708] (165/114) *spreħu. lo.la: bab.ste/ btsan.po: dbyard. Bal.po: Śa.ru: mkhar.na. bžugs/ pyñ. po.brañ. Dron.na. bžugs. šññ/ [...] dgun. (167/116) btsan:po: pho.brañ: Brag.mar.na. bžugs/ pyñ. Lhas.gañ.tsal.na. bžugs/ /*
[It] fell on the year of the snake. In the summer the emperor resided at Śa-ru castle in Bal-po. The grandmother[‘s] court resided at Dron. ... In the winter the emperor[‘s] court resided at Brag-mar. The grandmother resided at Lhas-gañ-tsal.

The political significance of this series of events is impossible to reconstruct with the available data.

Two other figures in the *Old Tibetan Annals* are also said to ‘reside’ (*bžugs*) somewhere. The Chinese princess Jincheng Gongzhu (金城公主) is implicated in the term *btsan-po stañs dbyal* ‘imperial couple’ recorded immediately after her

arrival in Tibet. Her whereabouts are not mentioned thereafter.

[710] (176/125) *btsan.mo: Kĩm:sañ. Khoñ.co: Ra.sañ. Śa.tsal.du. gśegs/dgun. btsan.po: stañs: dbyal: Brag.mar.na. bźugs: (177/126) pyĩ. Lha.sgañ. tsal.na. bźugste/*

The princess Jincheng Gongzhu (金城公主) went to Śa-tsal in Ra-sa. In the winter the imperial couple resided at Brag-mar. The grandmother stayed at Lha-sgañ-tsal.

Finally, the location of a crown prince is mentioned immediately before his premature death.

[739] (280/229) *yos:buñ. lo.la/ btsan.po: dbyard. chab.srĩd.la: Beg.du: gśegste/ sras. Lhas: bon: Dron.na. bźugs/ bźugs.pa.las: (281/230) noĩs/*
[It fell] on the year of the hare. In the summer the emperor went on a campaign to Beg. The son, Lhas-bon, resided at Dron, but while residing [there] he died.

Aside from living emperors, the *Annals* also records the residence of deceased emperors. In the first three examples *-na* is construed also with the verb *mkhyud* / *mkhyid* ‘be interred’ in addition to *bźugs*.

[650] (17) *khyĩ lo.la bab.ste/ btsan.po: myes: Khrĩ: Sroñ.rtsan:gyĩ. spur: Phyiñ.bañ. riñ.khañ:nañ: riñ: mkhyud.chĩ: (18) bźugste/*

The corpse of the emperor grandfather, Khri Sroñ-rtsan, was interred (*riñ mkhyud*) and remained in the funerary chamber of Phyiñ-ba.

[677] (69/17) *glañ.gĩ. lo.la/ btsan.po: yab.gyi: spur: Ba.lam.na. mkhyĩd.ciñ. bźugste/*

[It fell] on the year of the ox. The corpse (*spur*) of the emperor, the father, was interred at (*mkhyid*) and remained in Ba-lam.

[678] (71/19) *stagĩ: lo.la: bab:ste/ btsan.po: yab.gyĩ. riñ/ Ba.lam:na: mkhyĩd.ciñ. bźugste/*

[It fell] on the year of the tiger. The corpse (*riñ*) of the emperor, the father, was interred at (*mkhyid*) and remained in Ba-lam.

[705] (151/100) *btsan.po. yab: Khrĩ. Ĥdus.sroñ.gyĩ. (152/101) dpur/ Mer. keñi: riñ.khañ.na. bźugs/*

The corpse (*dpur*) of the emperor the father, Khri Ĥdus-sroñ, resided in the funeral chamber at Mer-ke.

[706] (155/104) *btsan.po: yab.gyī. dpur: Mer.ke.na. bžugs*

The corpse (*dpur*) of the emperor the father resided in Mer-ke.

2.3 Summary

In the *Annals*; the locative case is used in the time expression *de-nas lo* NUMBER -*na* ‘after number years’, and with the verbs *bžugs* ‘reside’, *mchis* ‘stay’, and *mkhyud / mkhyid* ‘be interred’. The locative is not used with verbs of motion. Only places, and never people or objects, are found in the locative.

3. THE TERMINATIVE CASE

The terminative case occurs frequently in the *Old Tibetan Annals*. The majority of nouns marked in the terminative are geographic locations. Such examples of geographic locations can be divided into three groups based on the nature of the accompanying verb. The first group is locations which occur with verbs of motion. The second category is locations which occur with verbs whose semantics entails some attention to place, but are not strictly speaking verbs of motion. The third category is locations which occur with verbs whose semantics appear to have no direct relationship with place. Examples of the terminative with nouns that are not places will be treated as a fourth category.

3.1 Places with verbs of motion

Verbs of motion can be divided into bivalent verbs of motion such as ‘go to’ or ‘move to’ and trivalent verbs of motion such as ‘send to’ or ‘exile to’.

3.1.1 Bivalent verbs of motion

The bivalent verbs of motion which accompany locations marked in the terminative case include *gśegs* ‘go to’, *spos/hphos* ‘move to’, and *pyuñ* ‘set out on’.

One of the most prominent uses of the terminative case in the *Old Tibetan Annals* is to mark the destination of movement. The verb *gśegs* is used to describe the movements of the emperor.

[667] (48) *yos.buñ. lo.la/ btsan.po: Hor.mañ.du. gśegstel*

The year of the hare. The emperor went to Hor-mañ.

[671] (52) *lug. lo.la. bab:ste: btsan.pho: dbyard: Ltam:gyī. Ra.sñon.na. bžugste/ dgun. Ña.mañs: tshal.du. gśegs (53/1) šñi/*

It fell on the year of the sheep. In the summer the emperor resided in Ra-
shon in Ltam, and in the winter went to Ña-maṅs tshal.

[699] (128/77) *pagi. lo.la. bab.ste/ btsan.po: dbyard. Phar.nas: Bal.phoe:
Briḥu.taṅ.du. gśegs.ṣṅi/*

It fell on the year of the pig. In the summer the emperor went from Phar to
Briḥu-taṅ in Bal-pho.

[703] (144/93) *dgun. btsan.po: Hjaṅ. yul.du. gśegste/ Hjaṅ. phab/ par: lo.
gcīg/*

In the winter the emperor went to the country of Hjaṅ and sacked Hjaṅ. So
one year.

[727] (242/191) *yos:buḥ. lo.la/ btsan.po: dbyar. chab.sṛid.la: Ha.ža. yul.du.
gśegste/*

The year of the hare. In the summer the emperor went on a campaign to the
land of Ha-ža.

[728] (247/196) *ḥbrugč: lo.la/ btsan.po: dbyard: Mtsho.bgoe: Bol:gaṅs:na.
bžugs.pa.las/ slar: Bod. yul:du. gśegste/*

The year of the dragon. In the summer the emperor resided in Bol-gaṅs in
Mtsho-bgo, but went back to the land of Tibet.

The remaining examples of the emperor going places with the verb *gśegs* can
be found in the following entries: 54/2-55/3 [672-673], 62/10 [675-676], 119/68
[695-696], 119/68 [695-696], 127/76 [698-699], and 131/80 [700-701]. By way of
a metaphor, when the emperor dies he ‘goes to heaven’ also using the verb *gśegs*,
with heaven in the terminative case.

(15) *de.nas: lo. drug.naḥ/ btsan.po: Khrī. Sroṅ.rtsan. dguṅ.du. gśegsol/*
Then in six years, emperor Khri Sroṅ-rtsan went to heaven.

[676] (66/14) *dgun. Tshaṅ.baṅ.sna.nas/ Khrī. Maṅ:slon. (67/15) dguṅ.du.
gśegs/*

In the winter, from Tshaṅ-baṅ-sna, Khri Maṅ-slön went to heaven.

[704] (147/96) *dgun. btsan.pho: chab.sṛid.la: Mywa.la. gśegs:pa.las/ dguṅ.
du. gśegs/*

In the winter the emperor went on a campaign against the Mywa, but went to
heaven.

The court and princesses also ‘go’ with the verb *gśegs*. However, members of the royal household other than the emperor do not die using the metaphor *dguñ-du gśegs* ‘go to heaven’ but instead with the verb *noñs* (cf. Hill 2008).

[674] (58/6) *dgun. pho.brañ: Śaṅs:gyi. Rab.ka:tsal.du. gśegs.śiñ/*
In the winter the court went to Rab-ka-tsal in Śaṅs.

[641] (11) [*b*] *tsan.mo: Mun.chañ: Koñ.co/ Mgar: Stoñ.rtsan. Yul.zuñ.gyis: spyān. drañste: Bod. yul.du: (12) gśegso/*
The princess, Wencheng Gongzhu (文城公主), having been invited by Mgar Stoñ-rtsan Yul-zuñ, came to the land of Tibet.

[688] (100/49) *btsan.mo: Khrī.mo.steñs: Dags: yul.du. chab:srīd.la. gśegs. phar. lo. chīg*
Princess Khri-mo-steñs went on a political campaign to Dags-yul. So one year.

[710] (176/125) *btsan.mo: Kīm:śaṅ. Khoñ.co: Ra.sañ. Śa.tsal.du. gśegso/*
Princess Jincheng Gongzhu (金城公主) went to Śa-tsal in Ra-sa.

In contrast to members of the royal family, ministers ‘go’ with the verb *mchis*.

[693] 114/63 *blon. che. Khrī.ḥbriñ. Ḥa.ḥa. yul.du. mcīs.par. lo. chīg/*
Prime Minister [Mgar] Khri-ḥbriñ went to the land of the Ḥa-ḥa. So one year.

[695] (120/69) *blon. che. Khrī.ḥbriñ. (121/70) Ḥa.ḥa. yul.du. mcīs.śiñ/*
Prime Minister [Mgar] Khri-ḥbriñ went to the land of Ḥa-ḥa

[735] (272/221) *blon. chen.po. Cuñ.bzañ: Ḥa.ḥa. yul.du. mchīs.par: lo. gcīg/*
Prime Minister [Ḥbro] Cuñ-bzañ [Ḥor-mañ] went to the land of Ḥa-ḥa. So one year.

The verb *mchis* also means ‘stay’ in which meaning it is construed with the locative case (cf. section 2.2).

In two examples, the emperor ‘moves’ rather than ‘goes’. The different verb is used because, rather than remaining in a single location for an entire season, he changes his mid-season. Interestingly, in the first case the verb is *spas* and in the second *ḥphos*.

[673] (56/4) *bya gagī lo.laḥ: btsan.po: dbyar. stod: Pho.dam:mdo.na. bžugs. šīn/ dbyar: smad: Sum.chu.bor: spostel/*

The year of the bird. At the beginning of the summer the emperor resided at Pho-dam-mdo. Late in the summer he moved to Sum-chu-bo.

[721] (218/167) *bya gagī. lo.la/ btsan.po. dbyard: Duñs:gyī. Stag.tsal.na. bžugs:pa.las/ Rnañ.po: Dur.myīg.du. hphos.šīn/*

The year of the bird. In the summer the emperor resided in Stag-tsal in Duñs, but moved to Rnañ-po Dur-myig.

The council also moves (*hphos*) on one occasion.

(107/56) [691] *dbyar. ḥdun: Sreḥu.gžug.du: ḥdus:pa.las/ (108/57) Lha.gśegs. nas/ Khra.snar. hphostel/*

In the summer they convened the council at Sreḥu-gžug, then moved from Lha-gśegs to Khra-sna.

In a fragmentary passage at the beginning of the text the emperor ‘sets out’ (*pyuñ*) rather than ‘goes’. I am unable to offer an explanation for this variation.

(6) *btsan:po: Khri. Sroñ.rtsan.gyīs/ śuld: byañ. lam:du. pyuñ.stel/*

Emperor Khri Sroñ-rtsan set out on the north road.

3.1.2 Trivalent verbs of motion

The three verbs *btañ*, *btāb*, and *bkye* are used with the terminative meaning ‘send to’. The semantic differences among these verbs requires clarification. Perhaps *bkye* in the third example emphasizes that the representatives were sent to various different locations. The fourth trivalent motion verb used with the terminative, *spyugs* ‘exile to’, emphasizes that the person sent did not go voluntarily.

[700] (132/81) *Ton. Ya.bgo: Kha.gan: Dru.gu. yul.du. btañ/*

Tong Yabyu Qayan was sent to Turkestan.

[744] (295/244) *spreḥu: lo: la/ btsan.po: dbyard. byañ. roldu. gśegs:pa.las: slar: ḥkhorte/ po. brañ. Ra.mtshar.du. btāb/*

The year of the monkey. In the summer the emperor went north for sport, but returned. He sent the court to Ra-mtshar.

[747] (306/255) *phagī. lo.la/ btsan.poe. po.brañ. Na.mar.na. bžugste/ ḥbrog: sog. gcod.pañ. riñ. lugs: so.sor. bkyel/*

The year of the pig. The emperor's court resided in Na-mar. They sent representatives to each [area] to decide about the pasture lands and fallow lands.

[725] (236/185) *Tshañ.bañ.snar: Señ.go: Mon.chuñ. spyugs/*

They exiled Señ-go Mon-chuñ to Tshañ-bañ-sna.

3.2 Places with verbs that emphasize location without implying motion

A number of verbs are construed with a location marked in the terminative case, where the semantics of the verb somehow draws attention to location, but the verb itself does not imply that one of its arguments changes location upon completion of the verbal action. Admittedly, determining whether a location is part of a verb's rection is not a simple problem, and approaching it from the perspective of *a priori* semantic reflection is far from rigorous. This distinction does, however, provide a convenient way of classifying the large number of verbs which are attested in a clause with a noun in the terminative case.

3.2.1 Convening the council

The most frequent use of the terminative in the *Old Tibetan Annals* is to mark the location of the council. Starting in 654-655 this information is recorded annually, or semi-annually, and starting in 692-693 the council in Mdo-smad is recorded in addition to the main council held in central Tibet. Either a minister in the agentive convenes the council in the absolutive at a place in the terminative with the bivalent verb *bsdus*, or the council in the absolutive convenes at a place in the terminative with the monovalent verb *hdus*. Both of these expressions occur so frequently in the text, that it is necessary only to present a representative example of each verb.

[684] (85/34) *blon.che: Btsan.sñas/ hdun.ma: Dbu.ru.śod.gyī. Re.skam:du.*

(86/35) *bsduste/*

Prime Minister [Mgar] Btsan-sña convened the council at Re-skam in Dbu-ru-śod.

[678] (71/19) *dgun. stod. hdun.ma: Glagī (72/20) Ryu.byer: hdus/ dgun. smad: Mdan.du. hduste/*

In early winter the council convened at Ryu-bye in Glag. In late winter it convened at Mdan.

3.2.2 Military expeditions

The terminative case is used with the verb *drañ* to indicate the destination of military campaigns.

[676] (67/15) *blon. Btsan.sñas: (68/16) Dru.gu. yul:du. drañste/*
Minister [Mgar] Btsan-sña led a military campaign to Turkestan.

[686] (93/42) *blon. Khri.ḥbriñ.gyis/ « Dru.gu. yul:du. drañ. ! » zes: bgyi*
(94/43) *bgyi. ba. las/ phyi. dalte/*
Minister Khri-ḥbriñ said, “let us lead a military campaign to Turkestan,” but this was postponed

[698] (126/75) *dgun. blon. chen.pho: Khri.ḥbriñ.gyis/ Tsoñ.ka. che. chuñ.du. drañste/* (127/76) *Rgyaḥi. dmag. pon. chen.po: Thug:pu.ši. bzuñ/*
In the winter Prime Minister Khri-ḥbriñ led a military campaign to greater and lesser Tsoñ-ka and seized the great Chinese general Thug-pu-ši.

[700] (132/81) *ston. btsan.pho. gśegste: Ga.chur. drañs/*
In the autumn the emperor departed, and led a military campaign to Ga-chu.

[701] (134/83) *Zoñ.cu.dañ: Theḥu.chur. drañste/*
They led military campaigns to Zoñ-cu and Theḥu-chu.

[714] (195/144) *Ḥbon. Da.rgyal:dañ/ blon. chen.pho: (196/145) Khri.gzigs: gñis:gyis/ Ḥbu.śiñ.kun.du: dra.ma: drañste/ slar. ḥkhord.par: lo. gchīg/*
Ḥbon Da-rgyal [Btsan-zuñ] and Prime Minister [Dbahs] Khri-gzigs, the two of them, led a military campaign to Ḥbu-śiñ-kun and returned. So one year.

The remaining examples of leading a military campaign to a place marked in the terminative are: 96/45 [687], 253/202 -254/203 [729], and 275/224-276/225 [737]. An expression similar to ‘lead a military campaign’ (*dra ma drañs*) is ‘battle’ (*g-yul sprad*). This expression occurs less frequently, with only two examples in the text.

[695] (120/69) *blon. che. Khri.ḥbriñ. (121/70) Ḥa.ža. yul:du. mcis.śiñ/ Stag. la: Rgya.dur.du. Rgyaḥi. dmag. pon. Ḥwañ.žañ.šo.dañ. g-yul: sprade. Rgya. mañ.po. bkum.bar. lo. chig/*
Prime Minister [Mgar] Khri-ḥbriñ went to the country of Ḥa-ža and battled with the Chinese general Ḥwañ-žañ-šo at Stag-la Rgya-dur. He killed many Chinese. So one year.

[729] (251/200) *blon. Skyes:bzañ. Ldoñ.tsab.las: (252/201) stsogs:pas/ Mu.le:cu.ler. g-yul: sprade: Rgya. mañ.po: bduñs/*
Minister [Ḥbal] Skyes-bzañ Ldoñ-tsab and others went to battle at Mu-le-cu-le and massacred many Chinese.

3.2.3 *Less frequently attested verbs
which emphasize location without implying motion.*

A number of other verbs, which semantically emphasize location, but without implying motion occur in the text. Each of these verbs occurs only once or twice, so it is convenient to treat them together. In two examples the birth place of a future emperor is marked in the terminative case.

[676] (67/15) *btsan.pho: sras: Khrī: Ḥdus.sroñ/ Sgregs. gyī. Lha.luñ.du. bltam/*

The emperor, the son Khri Ḥdus-sroñ, was born at Lha-luñ in Sgregs.

[704] (145/94) *ḥbrugī. lo.la: bab.ste/ dpyīd. Kho.brañ.tsal.du: Rgyal:btsug.ru. bltam/*

It fell on the year of the dragon. In the spring Rgyal-gtsug-ru was born at Kho-brañ-tsal.

The verb *byuñ* ‘arise’ might be thought of a semantically not far from ‘be born’. A lack of clarity about the meaning of the noun *thoñ-myig* however, makes the following example hard to analyze.

[666] (47) *Zrīd.mdaḥr: thoñ.myig: byuñ.bar: lo. gchīg/*
A *thoñ-myig* (?) arose in Zrid-mdaḥ. So one year.

In addition to the place where he resides and the place where he goes being marked in the terminative in one example the place where the emperor is delayed is also marked with this case.

[662] (41) *khyīḥi. lo.la/ btsan.po: Rkoñ.g-yug.du: ḥgord: mdzad.chññ/*
The year of the dog. The emperor was delayed (*ḥgor mdzad*) at Rkoñ-g.yug.

The location where a vassal of the emperor offers a banquet is also marked with the terminative case.

[682] (82/31) *bruñ.pa: Lho. Ḥbrñi.po. Rgyal:sum:sregs:gyīs/ Ñen.kar.du. ḥbul: skyems: gsold.phar: lo. gcig/*

The revenue officer Lho Ḥbrñi-po Rgyal-sum-sregs offered a banquet with libations at Ñen-kar. So one year.

In one instance the location where a trial is held is marked in the terminative case.

[695] (119/68) *Śa.tsal.du: Mgar. Guñ:rton.gyĩ.* (120/69) *źal.ce: dbyaĩs.nas/ Ānen.kar: Lcañ.bur: bisan.poe: bkas: bcadej Guñ.rton. bkum*

They held Mgar Guñ-rton's trial (*źal-ce dbyaĩs*) at Śa-tsal, the emperor made a pronouncement at Ānen-kar Lcañ-bu, and Guñ-rton was killed.

3.3 Places with verbs whose semantics appear unrelated to place

A considerably heterogeneous group of verbs occurs with places in the terminative case for which the location seems rather incidental to the verbal action. This implies that, like *-de* in Japanese or 'at' in English, the terminative is the default case for marking the locations of actions.

The first mention of writing in the *Old Tibetan Annals*, and the only instance of the verb *bris* 'write' in the text, occurs in the entry for 655, only five years after dated entries begin. The place where Mgar Stoñ-rtsan wrote the text of the laws is marked in the terminative case.

[655] (29) *blon. che. Stoñ.rtsan.gyĩs/ Ĥgor.tĩr/ bkañ/grĩms:gyĩ.* (30) *yi.ge: brĩs.phar: lo. gchig/*

Prime Minister [Mgar] Stoñ-rtsan wrote the texts of the laws at Ĥgor-ti. So one year.

With the new technology of writing available, the government of Tibet made use of it in making accounts of various administrative functions. The locations of such accounting (*rtsis*) are marked in the terminative case.

[699] (130/79) *Sgregs:gyĩ: Bya.tsal.du. bkyon. bab.gyĩ. nor. brtsĩs.par. lo. gchig/*

At Bya-tsal in Sgregs they made an account of the wealth of the those who had been disgraced. So one year.

[742] (289/238) *Zlor: Śud.pu: Khoñ.zuñ.dañ/ Lañ.gro: Khoñ.rtsan.gñĩs/ ĥbyuñ. ĥjugĩ. rtsis. bgyĩste:*

At Zlo they made an account of the [respective] removal and installation (*ĥbyuñ ĥjug*) of Śud-pu Khoñ-zuñ and Lañ-gro Khoñ-rtsan.

Another administrative function, *mkhos bgyis* 'carry out administration', is the verbal expression semantically unrelated to place which occurs most frequently in the *Annals* with a noun in the terminative case. The Tibetan imperial government carried out the administration of a region when that territory was first incorporated into the empire and intermittently thereafter. The specific location where the administration is performed is marked by the terminative case.

[662] (41) *blon. che: Stoñ.rtsan.gyis/ Du.gul:du: Žaň.žuň.gyi.* (42) *mkhos: bgyis:phar: lo: gchǵ/*

Prime Minister [Mgar] Stoñ-rtsan carried out the administration of Žaň-žuň at Du-gul. So one year.

[675] (64/12) *blon. Btsan.sñaš/ Žims:gyi. Gu.randu: Žaň.žuň.gyi. mkhos: bgyšte/*

Minister [Mgar] Btsan-sñaš carried out the administration of Žaň-žuň at Gu-ran in Žims.

[696] (122/71) *blon. ce. Khri.hbrin.gyis/ Ha.ža. yul.gyi. Sil.gu.cin.gyi. Ho.kol:du:* (123/72) *Ha.žaḥ. mkhos: bgyis/*

Prime Minister [Mgar] Khri-hbrin carried out the administration of the Ha-ža at Ho-kol in Sil-gu-cin in the land of the Ha-ža.

[714] (193/142) *Hbon. Da.rgyal:daň: Žaň:* (194/143) *Btsan.to.re: Lhas:byin:gyis/ Sil.gu.cin.gyi: Ho.khol:du: Ha.žaḥ. mkhos: bgyis/*

Hbon Da-rgyal and Žaň Btsan-to-re Lhas-byin carried out at Ho-khol in Sil-gu-cin an administration of Ha-ža.

[730] (257/206) *Gtse.nam.yor:du. blon. chen.po. Cuň.bzaň.gyis: Mtoň.sod. gyi. mkhos: bgyis.par. lo. gcig/*

At Gtse-nam-yor, Prime Minister [Hbro] Cuň-bzaň [Hor-maň] carried out the administration of Mtoň-sod. So one year.

[741] (284/233) *Žo:don.gyi. Žaň.tsal:du:* (285/234) *btsan.poe: spyan.snar/ khrom:gyi. mkos: chen.po: bgyis/*

At Žaň-tsal in Žo-don, they carried out in the presence of the emperor a great administration of the regional military government (*khrom*).

Before a prime minister can make accounts or carry out administrations, he must be appointed to his post. In one case the location at which a prime minister is appointed is mentioned in the terminative.

[685] (90/39) *Baň.mo: Baň.kar:du. blon. Khri* (91/40) *hbrin. Btsan.brod. blon/ chen.phor. btshug/*

At Baň-mo Baň-kar Minister [Mgar] Khri-hbrin Btsan-brod was appointed as prime minister.

Some examples of the terminative case being used to mark the location at which an action occurs deal with political intrigues such as accusations of treason, deposition of royalty, and death sentences. In one instance the place at

which reprimands are brought down on someone (*bkyon phab*) is marked in the terminative case.

[705] (153/102) *dehi. rjes.la: Glin.rins.tsal.du: Khu. Man.po.rje. Lha.zuñ.*
(154/103) *la: bkyon. phab/*

After that, at Glin-rins-tsal, they brought reprimands down upon Khu Man-po-rje Lha-zuñ.

Another passage details the deposition from the throne (*rgyal-sa-nas phab*) of a newly installed emperor. When emperor Khri H̄dus-sroñ btsan died, a conflict over who should succeed him took place between the emperor's older son Lha Bal-po, who claimed the throne for himself, and the late emperor's politically powerful mother Khri-ma-lod, who supported the claim of the emperor's infant son Rgyal-gtsug-ru. In 705 the forces of Khri-ma-lod succeeded in overcoming Lha Bal-po, and the location of their victory is marked in the terminative case.

[705] (151/100) *Poñ. Lag.rañ.du: btsan.po. gcen. Lha: Bal.pho: rgyal. sa.nas: phab/*

At Poñ Lag-rañ they deposed from the throne the emperor, the elder brother Lha Bal-pho.

In the following example the emperor makes a pronouncement (*bkas bcad*) at Ñen-ka, which is marked in the terminative case. The text strongly implies that the content of this pronouncement was a death sentence for Mgar Guñ-rton. The location of the preceding trial is thus different from the place where judgment was rendered.

[695] (119/68) *Śa.tsal.du: Mgar. Guñ:rton.gyī. (120/69) źal.ce: dbyaṅs.nas/ Ñen.kar: Lcañ.bur: btsan.poe: bkas: bcade/ Guñ.rton. bkum*

They held Mgar Guñ-rton's trial at Śa-tsal, the emperor made a pronouncement at Ñen-ka Lcañ-bu, and Guñ-rton was killed.

The locations where people die or are killed are also marked in the terminative case. For the semantic differences among the verbs *bkum* 'kill', *btuñs* 'kill', and *gum* 'die', compare Hill (2008).

[653] (25) *Mdo.smadu: Kam: Khri.bzañ: Bye.ħdaħ: (26) thoñ.myis: bkum:ste. śa. gñard.phar: lo. gchīg/*

In Mdo-smad, Kam Khri-bzañ Bye-ħdaħ was killed by homicide (*thoñ-myi*), and they were revenged. So one year.

[670] (51) *Ji.ma.khol.du: Rgya.man.po: btuñs.phar: lo: gchig/*
They killed many Chinese at Ji-ma-khol. So one year.

It was necessary to prepare for this successful battle by building barracks nearby. The terminative case is also used to mark the location of the construction site.

[668] (49) *Ji.ma.khol.du. dgra.bžer. brtsiṅs.par. lo. chig/*
They built a military barracks at Ji-ma-khol. So one year.

In the next example it is not where an enemy is killed, but where a prime minister dies, that is marked in the terminative case.

[667] (48) *blon. che. Stoñ.rtsan. Riś.pur. gum.bar: lo: gchig/*
Prime Minister Stoñ-rtsan died at Riś-pu. So one year.

Although the *Annals* takes note of the deaths of people from all walks of life, it only reports the funerals of Tibetan nobility. In those instances in which a location is specified it is the traditional burial ground of Pyiñ-ba, marked in the terminative case.

[679] (73/22) *Pyiñ.bar: btsan.pho: yab.gyī. mdad. btañ.bar. lo. cig/*
They performed the funeral for the emperor, the father, at Pyiñ-ba. So one year.

[706] (157/106) *dgun. Phyñ.bar. btsan.po: (158/107) yab.gyī. mdad. btañ/*
In the winter they performed the funeral for the emperor, the father, at Phyñ-ba.

[713] (189/138) *Pyiñ.bar: phyī: Khri.ma.lod.gyī. (190/139) mdad. btañ/*
They performed the grandmother Khri-ma-lod's funeral at Pyiñ-ba.

The locations of several other actions are similarly marked with the terminative case in the *Old Tibetan Annals*. At three points in the text the location at which foreign dignitaries pay their respects to the Tibetan emperor appears in the terminative.

[732] (261/210) *btsan. yul:du. Rgyaḥ. pho.ñā: Li.kheñ.dañ/ Ta.chig.*
(262/211) *dañ. Dur.gyīs:gyī. po.ñā. phyag. ḥtsald/*
At the place of the emperor, the Chinese emissary Li-kheñ and emissaries of Tajik and Türgiś paid homage.

[733] (264/213) *bya.gagī lo.la / btsan.poe: pho.brañ. Na.dron.na. bžugs/ btsan. yul:du. Rgyaḥī. pho.ñā/ Lī.žai.šo.daiñ: Mywa. La.kag.lus/ stsogs.pa: (265/214) pyag. ḥtsald/*

The year of the bird. The emperor's court resided in Na-dron. At place of the emperor, the Chinese emissary Li-žai-šo and Mywa La-kag and others paid homage.

[743] (294/243) *Brag.mar.du. Rgyaḥī: po.ñā: Kwag.cuñ.lañ. pyag. ḥtsald. par: lo. gcig/*

At Brag-mar the Chinese emissary Kwag-cuñ-lañ paid homage. So one year.

In another instance it is not foreign dignitaries who appear before the emperor, but four of his own cavalry regiments, who parade before him for inspection.

[735] (270/219) *Ḥo.yug.du: chībs: sde. bžī: btsan.poe (271/220) spyan.sñā: brīmste / rkañ. ton. bgyīs/*

At Ḥo-yug the four cavalry regiments paraded [in] the presence of the emperor and they made a selection.

When not preoccupied with affairs of state, the emperor traditionally enjoys the pass-time of hunting yaks in the north. On one occasion he has some success; the text mentions the location of his exploits in the terminative case.

[724] (231/180) *byī.baḥī. lo.la/ btsan.po: dbyard. Spel.na. bžugs.šīñ/ byañ. roldu. gšegste/ Kho.ñe. Du.rur/ g-yag. rgod.la: rol.mo. mdzade/ (232/181) g-yag. rgod. sgrog.du. bchug/*

The year of the rat. In the summer the emperor resided in Spel and went north for sport. At Kho-ñe Du-ru, he made sport with wild yaks, and put wild yaks in fetters.

3.4 Nouns other than places in the terminative

Although the predominate use of the terminative case is to mark destinations and locations, in other instances the noun in the terminative is the state of one of the verbal arguments after the occurrence of some event. In such cases it can usually be translated 'as' in English.

3.4.1 Political offices

When people are considered by virtue of their role, this role is put in the terminative. This construction occurs with two verbs, *bcug* 'appoint' and *bkaḥ stsald* 'proclaim'.

(12) *Bal:po: Yu.sna:kug.ti. bkum/ Na.ri.ba.ba: rgyal.phor: bchug/ gnag. nad: chen.po: byuñ///*

They executed Yu-sna-kug-ti of Bal-po. Na-ri-ba-ba was appointed as king. There arose a pestilence affecting livestock.

[653] (25) *Žaň.žuň. yul:gyi. mñan.du: Spug: Gyim.rtsan. Rma.chuñ. bchug/*
[The emperor] appointed Spug Gyim-rtsan Rma-chuñ as the governor of the land of Žaň-žuň.

[707] (160/109) *bruñ.pa: Gnubs: Kho.ma.re. gum: (161/110) ste/ skyñ. bar: Rdo. Hphan.koñ. bcug/*

The revenue officer (*bruñ-pa*), Gnubs Kho-ma-re died. They appointed Rdo Hphan-koñ in his place.

[685] (90/39) *Baň.mo: Baň.kar.du: blon. Khri.hbrin. (91/40) Btsan.brod. blon/ chen.phor. btshug/*

At Baň-mo Baň-kar Minister [Mgar] Khri-hbrin Btsan-brod was appointed as prime minister.

[705] (153/102) *Khu. Mañ.po.rje. Lha.zuñ.dan/ blon. chen.por. bkañ: stsald/*
Khu Mañ-po-rje Lha-zuñ was proclaimed as prime minister.

[705] (154/103) *Dbahs: Khri.gzigs: Žaň.ñen: blon. chen.phor: bkañ. stsalde/*
Dbahs Khri-gzigs Žaň-ñen was proclaimed as prime minister.

[721] (222/171) *Dbahs: Khri.sum.rje. Rtsañ.bzer: blon. chen.por: bkañ. stsald/*

Dbahs Khri-sum-rje Rtsañ-bzer was proclaimed as prime minister.

[725] (236/187) *dpyid/ rñegs: Mañ.žam (237/186) Stag.tsab/ blon. chen. phor: bkañ: stsald.par/ lo: gcig/*

In the spring Rñegs Mañ-žam Stag-tsab was proclaimed as prime minister. So one year.

[727] (244/193) *Dbahs: Stag.sgra: Khoñ.lod: blon. chen.por: bkañ. stsald/*
Dbahs Stag-sgra Khoñ-lod was proclaimed as prime minister.

[728] (248/197) *Dbahs: Stag.sgra: Khoñ.lod.la: bkyon. phab.nas/ Hbro: Chuñ.bzañ. (249/198) Hor.mañ: blon. chen.por. bkañ. stsald/*

They brought reprimands down upon Dbahs Stag-sgra Khoñ-lod, and Hbro Chuñ-bzañ Hor-mañ was proclaimed as prime minister.

3.4.2 As a bride (*bag-mar*)

Perhaps it would not be wholly out of place to also regard brides as a kind of political appointment in the Old Tibetan empire. In contrast to kings and ministers however, brides are not ‘appointed’ (*bcug*) or ‘proclaimed’ (*bkaḥ stsal*) but rather ‘go’ (*gśegs*) or are ‘sent’ (*btañ*).

[689] (101/50) *btsan.mo: Khrī.bañs/ Ḥa.ža. rje.la: bag.mar: (102/51) gśegs/*
Princess Khri-bañs went as a bride to the lord of the Ḥa-ža.

[671] (53/1) *btsan.mo: Sña.mo:steñs: Sña.śur: Spuñs:rye.rgyug.la: bag.mar: gśegs:par: lo. gchīg/*
Princess Sña-mo-steñs went as a bride to Sña-śur Spuñs-rye-rgyug. So one year.

[740] (282/231) *je.ba: Khrī.ma.lod. Bru.ža. rje.la: bag.mar. (283/232) btañ/*
Princess Khri-ma-lod was sent as a bride to the lord of Bru-ža.

3.4.3 Names

When a name is conferred on someone the name is put in the terminative case.

[685] (91/40) *btsan.po: Khrī. (92/41) Ḥdu.sroñ.du. mtshan. gsold/*
The emperor was bestowed the name Khri Ḥdu-sroñ.

[712] (184/133) *btsan.poe. mtshan. Rgyal: Gtsug.ru.las/ (185/134) Khrī. Lde.gtsug.rtsan.du. gsold/*
The emperor’s name was changed from Rgyal Gtsug-ru to Khri Lde-gtsug-rtsan.

3.4.4 Numbers and quantities

When the action of a verb results in a change to the number or quantity of one of the verbal arguments, the new number or quantity is put in the terminative case.

[692] (110/59) # / *ḥbrugī. lo:la. bab.ste./ btsan.po. Ñen.kar.na. bžugs.śñi/ dbyar. ḥdun. Śoñ. snar. ḥduste/ mñan. chen.po: (111/60) drug.du: bskos/*
It fell on the year of the dragon. The emperor resided at Ñen-kar and they convened the summer council at Śoñ-sna. They appointed the great governors to [the number of] six.

[726] (239/188) *mñan. mched. brgyad.las: bžir. bcos:pañi: zlug:gyi. rin. lugs:* (240/189) *bkyeñ/*

They dispatched representatives to carry out the reduction of great governors from eight to four.

[728] (249/198) *mñan.* (250/199) *chen.po: brgyad.las/ bžir. bcos:pañi. tañ. khram. btab/*

They made the tally of ranks reducing the great governors from eight to four.

[707] (163/112) *ña. brgya. ston.bu: rjer. bcos/*

They transformed the [heads of] five hundred into heads of little chiliarchies.

3.4.5 Purpose of a journey

When a journey is undertaken for a specific reason, the purpose of the journey is marked in the terminative case. In three instances the purpose of the journey is ‘for sport’ (*roldu*) and in one case ‘for plunder’ (*ltañ-yor*)

[698] (126/75) *khyi. lo.la bab.ste/ btsan.po: dbyard. byañ. roldu. gšegs/*

It fell on the year of the dog. In the summer the emperor went north for sport.

[724] (231/180) *byi.bañi. lo.la/ btsan.po: dbyard. Spel.na. bžugs.šñi/ byañ. roldu. gšegste/ Kho.ñe. Du.rur/ g-yag. rgod. la: rol.mo. mdzade/* (232/181) *g-yag. rgod. sgrog.du. bchug/*

The year of the rat. In the summer the emperor resided in Spel and went north for sport. At Kho-ñe Du-ru, he made sport with wild yaks, and put wild yaks in fetters.

[744] (295/244) *spreñu: lo:lal/ btsan.po: dbyard. byañ. roldu. gšegs:pa.las: slar: ħkhorte/ po.brañ. Ra.mtshar.du. btab/*

The year of the monkey. In the summer the emperor went north for sport, but returned. He sent the court to Ra-mtshar.

[675] (64/12) *blon. Btsan.sñas/ Žims:gyi. Gu.randu: Žañ.žuiñ.gyi. mkhos: bgyište/ Dru.gu: yul.du: ltañ.yor. mchis*

Minister [Mgar] Btsan-sña carried out the administration of Žañ-žuiñ at Gu-ran in Žims. [He] went to Turkestan for plunder.

In contrast to sport and plunder, the phrase ‘go on campaign’ (*chab-srid-la gšegs*), which I analyze also as the purpose of a journey, requires the allative case.

3.4.6 Recipient of money

The following example is the only case in the *Old Tibetan Annals* when a beneficiary or recipient is found in the terminative.

[746] (304/253) *btsan.po: bkas/ stoñ. sdeñ: glehu: thogsla khral:pa: gu.du. spags/*

By order of the emperor, they removed the salaries (*glehu*) of the chilliarchy, and transferred [this] to separate taxpayers.

The choice of the terminative here is presumably required by the verb *spags*. The taxpayers are here viewed as the destination of the transferred money. Consequently, this use of the terminative does not need to be distinguished from its use to mark the destination of motion verbs.

3.4.7 Fetters

One does not feel fully comfortable labeling ‘fetters’ as either the destination of a movement, the location of an action, or the capacity in which something surves.

[724] (231/180) *byi.bañ. lo.la/ btsan.po: dbyard. Spel.na. bžugs.šñ/ byañ. roldu. gšegste/ Kho.ñe. Du.rur/ g-yag. rgod.la: rol.mo. mdzade/ (232/181) g-yag. rgod. sgrog.du. bchug/*

The year of the rat. In the summer the emperor resided in Spel and went north for sport. At Kho-ñe Du-ru, he made sport with wild yaks, and put wild yaks in fetters.

The verb used here, *bcug*, is also that used for appointing ministers. Perhaps the best analysis is to simply see this verb as requiring the terminative, whether it means ‘put a yak in fetters’ or ‘appoint someone as minister’.

3.5 Adverbial uses of the terminative

There remain two examples of the terminative in the *Old Tibetan Annals* left unanalyzed. Both instances are obviously derived from the use of the terminative to indicate direction, but have the character of a *locution figée*, and appear to function adverbially.

[686] (95/43) *Šaṅs: man.chad.du: (95/44) žñ.gyñ. phyñ.rñld: btab:phar: lo. gcig/*

They levied the register of agricultural fields of the fields from Šaṅs downward. So one year.

[727] (242/191) *yos:buñ. lo.la/ btsan.po: dbyar. chab.sřid.la: Ħa.ža. yul.du. gšegste/ suldu: Dbañs: Sum:po:skyes: bkañ.gyod.la:* (243/192) *chags/*
 The year of the hare. In the summer the emperor went on a campaign to the land of Ħa-ža. On the way, Dbañs Sum-po-skyes was the subject of an accusation.

In the first example *man-chad-du* means ‘downward’ and in the second example *šuldu* means ‘on the way’.

3.6 Conclusion: use of the terminative

The primary function of the terminative is to mark locations of action and destinations of motion. These two functions do not need to be distinguished, but rather can both be seen as instances of the terminative as the most basic case of location. In contrast, the allative is never used for locations, and the locative is used only with specific verbs that mean ‘remain, stay’. Apart from its use for locations, the terminative marks the roles that people take such as king (*rgyal-por*), prime minister (*blon chen-por*), or bride (*bag-mar*). The most interesting use of the terminative is with ‘go for sport’ (*roldu gšegs*) and ‘go for plunder’ (*ltañ-yor mchis*) in which it seems to be in competition with the allative as it is used in the phrase ‘go on a campaign’ (*chab-sřid-la gšegs*). This point deserves further research.

4. CONCLUSION

USES OF THE ALLATIVE, LOCATIVE, AND TERMINATIVE IN THE *OLD TIBETAN ANNALS*.

Although there is no sound empirical methodology to rigorously establish the overall semantic structure of an individual case, in order to demonstrate that two cases have distinct semantics it suffices to show that a listing in the tradition of the school grammars of the various uses of the one case has little or no overlap with a similar listing for the other cases. A look through the relatively fine-grained lists of uses of the allative, locative, and terminative in the *Old Tibetan Annals* presented here it is clear that these three cases are not as semantically similar as the choice of the Tibetan grammatical tradition to treat them as one case would suggest.

The allative case (*-la*) is primarily used with sentient creatures and is never used with physical locations. This case appears in specific constructions with the nouns *riñ* ‘duration’, *chab-sřid* ‘campaign’, and *bkañ-gyod* ‘allegation’, and is required in the rection of the verbs *bab* ‘fall on’, *phul* ‘give to’, *spos* ‘transfer to’, *rdugs* ‘reduce to’, and *chags* ‘be attached to’. Finally, the allative can be used in place of the ablative, in circumstances that are not yet understood. The locative

case (-*na*) is never used with sentient creatures but always with places; however, it never occurs with verbs of motion. The primary function of the terminative case (-*r*, -*ru*, -*su*, -*tu*, -*du*) is to mark locations of action and destinations of motion. Apart from its use for locations, the terminative expresses the capacity in which another noun serves ‘as king’ (*rgyal-por*), ‘as bride’ (*bag-mar*), etc. The primary uses of these three cases are quite distinct from each other. Only two situations occur where the allative and the terminative are used similarly.

Both the allative and the terminative can be used to mark the objective of a journey.

Allative

[739] (280/229) *yos:buñ. lo.la/ btsan.po: dbyard. chab.sřid.la: Beg.du: gśegste/*

It fell on the year of the hare. In summer the emperor went on campaign to Beg.

Terminative

[698] (126/75) *khyñ. lo.la bab.ste/ btsan.po: dbyard. byañ. roldu. gśegs/*

It fell on the year of the dog. In the summer the emperor went north for sport.

Both the allative and the terminative can also be used for a recipient.

Allative

[713] (191) *dgun. ħdun. Moñ.kar:du/ blon.chen.pho: Khri.gzigs.gyis: bsduste/ Gnubs: (192) khri.mñen:mon.tsan. gum.nas/ khud.pa: chen.pho. ħbañs: Khri.sum:rje.rtsañ.bźer.la: phul.bar. lo.chig/*

In the winter the council was convened by Prime Minister Khri-gzigs in Moñ-ka. When Gnubs-khri-mñen died, [his] subjects [and] the great wealth were given to Khri-sum-rje-rtsañ-bźer.

Terminative

[746] (304/253) *btsan.po: bkas/ stoñ. sdeñ: gleħu: thogsla khral:pa: gu.du. spags/*

By order of the emperor, they removed the salaries (*gleħu*) of the chilliarchy, and transferred [this] to separate taxpayers.

This use of the allative is typical, whereas this use of the terminative is quite marginal.

The practically minded philologist, perhaps unimpressed by methodological quibbling about how case is defined or how semantics is studied, will be most convinced of the need to separate these cases if a failure to do so would lead to a

mistake in textual interpretation. Meaning ‘to stay’ with the locative and ‘to go’ with the terminative, the verb *mchis* elegantly provides such an instance.

[657] (33) *blon.ce. Stoñ.rtsan./ dbyar: Sññ.druñ.gyī. G-ye:thal:ba.goñ.na. mchīs.phar:* (34) *lo: gcig/*

In the summer the Prime Minister [Mgar] Stoñ-rtsan stayed in G.ye-thal-ba-goñ in Snyñ-druñ.

[693] (114/63) *blon. che. Khri.ḥbrñ. Ḥa.ḥa. yul.du. mcīs.par. lo. chig/*

Prime Minister [Mgar] Khri-ḥbrñ went to the land of Ḥa-ḥa. So, one year.

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