

Abel Zadoks

TIBETAN VERB STEMS

VT = transitive, VI = intransitive.

Full Four-stem paradigm: only for some –not all– agentive VT

- (1) *byed/ byas/ bya/ byos* ‘do’
Present, Past, Future, Optative VT

Syncretic Two-stem paradigm: paradigm is as ‘Full’ as it gets for VI

- (2) *sbyin/ byin^d* ‘give’
Future=Present, Past=Optative VT
- (3) *gyur/ gyur^d* ‘become, happen’
Future=Present, Past=Optative VI

Suppletive paradigms: Future-Present unrelated to Optative.

- (4) *gro/ song* ‘go’
Future=Present, Past=Optative VI
- (5) *ong/ ongs// sog* ‘come’
Future=Present, Past≠Optative VI

Defective paradigm

- (6) */// on^d* ‘give’
Optative VT

Many verbs are simply invariant (one form).

•

Proposed analysis

(7) Directional contrast

stem	'come'	'go'	'give'	
future-present	'ong	'gro	sbjin	
past	'ongs	song	byin	
optative	—	song	byin	(away)
optative	śog	—	'on	(toward)

Maybe 'on cig assimilated from *'oŋ + cig'?

•

Addendum: one paradigm is 'over-full' with three stems for VI.

(8) 'bab/ bab// bob ~ bobs 'descend, come down'

Future=Present, Past≠Imperative VI

Rejected by one canonical editor:

(9) OT ms. *bob śig* emended to CT *'bab par gyur cig*

mDzangs blun

Divergent judgements.

•

Problem of variant readings (*mDzangs blun*)

- (10) *yalala baśasa svaha źes sinras pa'i tshe gnam sa kun gyos nas*
sprin myed par char pa phab† ste/ †PDN *bab.*
 ‘As [the dying lion] spoke . . . , heaven and earth quaked.
 Then rain came down without there being clouds.
- lha rnam kyis ... mthong nas/*
steng gi nam ka la lha rdzas kyi men tog char bźin du bab† ste/ †N *phab.*
 The gods saw [the lion was killed]
 and through heaven above they sent down a rain of divine flowers.’
- (11) *sprin myed par char pa bab cing*
lha rnam kyis me tog phab bo/
 ‘Rain came down without there being any clouds
 and the gods sent down flowers.’
- (12) *myi mang po bsdus† chos bstan par byas pa dang/* †(*te ~nas*).
 ‘Having gathered many people, [the teacher] taught the Law,
de'i tshe bdud sdig can gyis 'khor mang po'i nang du
gser gyi dong ce char bźin du babs† †*phab (pas/ myi).*
 but then the devil Māra let it rain golden coins into the crowd,
kun dong ce la bltod† nas/ †*brtsod ~rtod.*
chos nyan du myed par byas so/
 so that they all fought for the coins
 and could not hear (≈listen to) the Law.’¹

•

¹At the end, D has *chos mi nyan par gyur to/* ‘they did not [listen to] hear the Law.’ The change from *byas* (‘he made that...’) to *gyur* (‘it happened that...’) requires that Māra ‘sent down’ (v.l. *phab*) the golden coins like rain.

Table 1 gives an overview of transitive verbs found in the pattern *V tu med* ‘un-V-able’ in the OT *mDzangs blun*. We expect future stems here.²

(13) *rjod/ brjod/ brjod/ rjod* ‘speak’ (Past=Future) homophony

(14) *skyed/ bskyed* ‘generate’ (Future=Present) in CT

Table 1: *V tu med* in the OT *mDzangs blun*

stem	gloss	location/example	stem type
<i>bya</i>	‘do’	<i>XLV, p65</i>	future-only
<i>bgyi</i>	‘do’	<i>XLVII, p80</i>	“
<i>dpag</i>	‘measure’	<i>XLV, p62</i>	“
<i>bstang</i>	‘assist’	<i>XLVII, p73 ms.</i>	“
<i>gtang</i>	‘send’	<i>XLVII, p73 v.l. P</i>	“
<i>slang</i>	‘obtain’	<i>XLVII, p73 v.l. D</i>	“
<i>brjod</i>	‘speak’	<i>XLIV, p61</i>	past-future
<i>bskyed</i>	‘generate’	<i>XLVII, p76, ms.</i>	past-future
<i>skyed</i>	“	<i>XLVII, p76. v.ll.</i>	future-present
<i>nyan</i>	‘listen’	<i>XLVII, p74</i>	invariant

²Most examples have future-only stems but 1. *bskyed* (in OT) and 2. *brjod* are past-future, 3. *skyed* (in CT) and 4. *gro* are future-present, and 5. *nyan* is invariant bar *-d*.

Though Terjek reads *bskyad* for *bskyed*. I take the vowel as accidental: the absence of the *e*-grapheme is likely to be a slip or ms. damage (not ablaut).

Though past-only by later standards, *bskyed* occurs as past-future in earlier texts, OT and CT, e.g. we find *utpādītavya* (gerundive) → *bskyed par bya dgos* ‘necessary to be generated’ (future stem required) in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.

Different forms -- Different verbs?

- (15) *rygyang ma nas btsun pa ting nge 'dzin du zugs pa mthong ba dang*
rín po che'í cod pan zíg btsun pa'i mgo la bžag go/

'From a distance [Mara] saw the Lord, who had entered samādhi,
 and he (M) left a jewel of great value on the Lord's head.'

ting nge 'dzin las lang pa dang/
mgo la cod pan yod par rtogs nas/
 [The Lord] rose from samādhi
 and **realised** there was a cp on his head,

sus bžag sñam brtags na/
bdud sdig to can gyís bžag par rtogs nas/
 'so he **considered** who left it there
 and **realised** that Mara had left it.

Four stems, with fifth form: new Past derived from Present.

- (16) a. *rtog/ brtags/ brtag/ rtogs* 'consider'
 b. *rtogs* 'realise'
- (17) a. *'dzin^d/ bzung/ gzung/ zungs* 'grasp'
 b. *zin^d* 'get'
- (18) a. *'byed/ phye/ dbye/ (phye)* 'separate, distinguish' VT
 b. *byed* 'separate, discern'
 (i) *byed* also translates Skt. *bhīna* (passive)
 (ii) different from *'bye/ bye* 'separate' VI

Remove nonpast prefix (apostrophe, if any).

Add past suffix -s (if possible).

•

Future stems in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*

- (19) Skt. *apunaḥkartavyatā*
yang byar med pa nyid
 again do.FT.T not.be N ness
 ‘unrepeatability’ (quality of not being sth. to be done again)

Table 2: Future infinitives in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*

Skt.	Tib.	gloss
<i>sanidarśana</i>	<i>bstan du rung</i>	‘demonstrable’
<i>sanidarśana</i>	<i>bstan du yod</i>	‘demonstrandum’
<i>anidarśana</i>	<i>bstan du med</i>	‘indemonstrable’
<i>nirūpaṇa</i>	<i>brtag tu rung</i>	‘observable’
<i>amīta</i>	<i>dpag tu med</i>	‘immeasurable’
<i>anāśvāsika</i>	<i>brtan du mi rung †</i>	‘unreliable’
<i>aprameya</i>	<i>gzyal du med</i>	‘unfathomable’
<i>prahātavya</i>	<i>spang du yod</i>	‘relinquendum’
<i>akartavya</i>	<i>bya-r med †</i>	‘impossible to do’
<i>pr̥ccha! †</i>	<i>dri-r gsol</i>	‘I prithee to ask’

† part of longer expression; see cited examples.

- (20) a. ‘*dri/ dris* ‘ask’ VT
 b. *dri* – as subordinate form

†CT *bdag cag.*

- (21) *bdag† la rgyas par bstan du gsol/*
 ‘I ask you to teach us at length.’ (~‘explain it to us’)