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

Syncletic 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) ’ongs/ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>'come'</th>
<th>'go'</th>
<th>'give'</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>future-present</td>
<td>'ong</td>
<td>'gro'</td>
<td>sbyin</td>
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<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>'ongs</td>
<td>song</td>
<td>byin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>optative</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>song</td>
<td>byin  (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>optative</td>
<td>sog</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>'on'  (toward)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Maybe 'on cig assimilated from *'on+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 sig emended to CT 'bab par gyur cig 
mDzangs blun

Divergent judgements.
Problem of variant readings (mDzangs bkan)

(10) yadal baśaśa svaha žes swaras pa'i tshe gnams sa kun gyos nas sprin nyed par char pa phab\textsuperscript{1} ste/ ^{1}PDN bab.

'As [the dying lion] spoke . . ., heaven and earth quaked.
Then rain came down without there being clouds.

lha rtams kyis ... mthong nas/ steng gi nam ka la lha rdzas kyis mten tog char bžin du bab\textsuperscript{1} ste/ ^{1}N phab.

The gods saw [the lion was killed] and through heaven above they sent down a rain of divine flowers.'

(11) sprin nyed par char pa bab cing lha rtams kyis me tog phab bo/ 'Rain came down without there being any clouds and the gods sent down flowers.'

(12) mye mang po bsdu\textsuperscript{1} chos bstan par byas pa dang/ ^{1}(te ~ nas).

'Having gathered many people, [the teacher] taught the Law,
dei tshe bkad sdiy can gyzs khor mang po'i nang du gser gyz dong ce char bžin du babs\textsuperscript{1} ^{1}phab (pas/ myi).

but then the devil Māra let it rain golden coins into the crowd,
kun dong ce la bhot\textsuperscript{1} nas/ ^{1}brtsod ~ rtod.
chos ryan du nyed par byas so/ so that they all fought for the coins and could not hear (~listen to) the Law.' ^{1}

\textsuperscript{1}At the end, D has chos mi ryan 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.i. phab) the golden coins like rain.
Table 1 gives an overview of transitive verbs found in the pattern \( V \text{ tu med} \) 'un-V-able' in the \( OT \) mDzangs blun. We expect future stems here.\(^2\)

(13) \( rjod\)/\( brjod\)/\( brjod\)/\( rjod \) 'speak' (Past=Future) homophony

(14) \( skyped\)/\( bskyped \) 'generate' (Future=Present) in CT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>location/example</th>
<th>stem type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bya</td>
<td>'do'</td>
<td>XLV. p65</td>
<td>future-only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bgyi</td>
<td>'do'</td>
<td>XLVII. p80</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dpag</td>
<td>'measure'</td>
<td>XLIV. p62</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bstan</td>
<td>'assist'</td>
<td>XLVII. p73 ma.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gtang</td>
<td>'send'</td>
<td>XLVII. p73 e.l. P</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slang</td>
<td>'obtain'</td>
<td>XLVII. p73 e.l. D</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brjod</td>
<td>'speak'</td>
<td>XLIV. p61</td>
<td>past-future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bskyped</td>
<td>'generate'</td>
<td>XLVII. p76, ma.</td>
<td>past-future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skyped</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>XLVII. p76, e.l.</td>
<td>future-present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyan</td>
<td>'listen'</td>
<td>XLVII. p74</td>
<td>invariant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^2\)Most examples have future-only stems but 1. \( bskyped \) (in OT) and 2. \( brjod \) are past-future, 3. \( skyped \) (in CT) and 4. 'gro' are future-present, and 5. \( nyan \) is invariant bar -d.

Though Terjek reads \( bskyped \) for \( bskyped \), I take the vowel as accidental: the absence of the e-grapheme is likely to be a slip or ms. damage (not abhaut).

Though past-only by later standards, \( bskyped \) occurs as past-future in earlier texts. OT and CT, e.g. we find utpaditavya (gerundive)\( \rightarrow bskyped par bya dgos \) 'necessary to be generated' (future stem required) in the Abhidharmakosabhasya.
Different forms - Different verbs?

(15)  \textit{ryyang ma nas btswu pa ting nge 'dzin du žugs pa mthong ba dang rin po che'i cod pan žig btswu pa'i ngo 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.’

\textit{ting nge 'dzin las langs pa dang/}
\textit{ngo la cod pan yod par rtoqs nas/}

[The Lord] rose from samādhi and realised there was a jewel on his head,

\textit{sus bžag sūm btags na/}
\textit{bdud sāg to can gyis bžag par rtoqs 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. \textit{rtoqs/ brtags/ brtag/ rtoqs} ‘consider’
    b. \textit{rtoqs} ‘realise’

(17)  a. \textit{'dzin'/ bzung/ gzung/ zungs} ‘grasp’
    b. \textit{zin} ‘get’

(18)  a. \textit{byed/ phyec/ dbye/ (phyec)} ‘separate, distinguish’ \textit{VT}
    b. \textit{byed} ‘separate, discern’
    (i) \textit{byed} also translates Skt. \textit{bhinn} (passive)
    (ii) different from \textit{'bye}/ \textit{bye} ‘separate’ \textit{VI}

Remove nonpast prefix (apostrophe, if any).
Add past suffix -s (if possible).
Future stems in the Abhidharmakosabhāṣya

(19) Skt. apunākartavyatā
gang byar med pa ngyid
again do.FT.T not.be N ness
‘unrepeatability’ (quality of not being sth. to be done again)

Table 2: Future infinitives in the Abhidharmakosabhāṣya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skt.</th>
<th>Tib.</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sanidārṣana</td>
<td>bstan du rung</td>
<td>‘demonstrable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanidārṣana</td>
<td>bstan du yod</td>
<td>‘demonstrandum’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anidārṣana</td>
<td>bstan du med</td>
<td>‘indemonstrable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nirūpaṇa</td>
<td>bṛtag tu rung</td>
<td>‘observable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amita</td>
<td>dpaγ tu med</td>
<td>‘immeasurable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anāśvāsika</td>
<td>bṛtan du mi rung</td>
<td>‘unreliable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aprameyā</td>
<td>gzyal du med</td>
<td>‘unfathomable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prahāṭāvya</td>
<td>spang du yod</td>
<td>‘relinquendum’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akartavya</td>
<td>bya-r med</td>
<td>‘impossible to do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prucchā</td>
<td>dri-r gsol</td>
<td>‘I prithee to ask’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† 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’)

a. ‘dri/ dris ‘ask’ VT