

# THE FUNCTION OF AUXILIARY VERBS IN TIBETAN PREDICATES AND THEIR HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT\*

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## 1. Introduction

The most important tasks for our understanding of sentence structure in Modern Tibetan are a) the analysis of noun case markers and b) the description of the structure and function of predicates. The former involves clarifying the functions of noun case markers as well as the ways in which the properties of predicates and other conditioning factors dictate their choice. The latter involves an analysis of the structure and function of predicates centered around the auxiliary verbs found therein, which play an especially important role. It goes without saying that these two issues are deeply related.

I began my research on Tibetan language under the guidance of Professor Tatsuo Nishida at Kyoto University, and in my master's thesis I attempted to describe Tibetan sentence structure, focusing on these two points. At the time there were few linguistic treatises on these issues.<sup>1</sup> From around 1980, the structure of predicates, especially verb predicates, began to receive attention, and many studies specifically focused on the subject have appeared.<sup>2</sup> These works and my master's thesis are for the most part in agreement with one another, but they do contain some differences. In this paper, I would like to present a description of the functions of predicates and auxiliary verbs, revising some of my previous arguments by referring to these various studies.

The greatest benefit of the development of Tibetan linguistics in the past ten years has been the increase in the amount of available data. This can first be seen in the area of dialectology. Due to the progress in dialect surveys—particularly those carried out in China—we now have access to information regarding not only the phonology but also the morphology and grammatical constructions in dialects, such as Ngari and Amdo, besides that of Lhasa and the Central dialect. Second, this increase in data can be seen in the area of Old Tibetan philology. Due to progress in philological research on the texts unearthed in Dunhuang and East Turkestan, information that can be used as linguistic data has increased. As a result, it is becoming possible for us to trace the transformation of the structure of predicates and the development of auxiliary verbs from Old Tibetan to the various modern Tibetan dialects. Thus, in the latter half of this paper, I would like

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\* This is an English translation of my article published in Japanese: “Chibetto-go no jutsubu ni okeru jodōshi no kinō to sono hattatsu katei チベット語の述部における助動詞の機能とその発達過程” in Sakiyama and Sato (eds.), *Asia no Syo-gengo to Ippann-gengogaku*, アジアの諸言語と一般言語学, Sanseido, Tokyo (1990): 6–16. The author thank Crimson Interactive Pvt. Ltd. (Ulatu) for their assistance in manuscript translation.

1 The major works from this period are Jin Peng (1956) and Yukawa (1975).

2 For example, Jin Peng (1979) (1983), Xi (1982), Qu (1985), Nishida (1979, 1983), Chang (1983), Nagano (1984), and DeLancey (1985).

to present a hypothetical model of the developmental process of auxiliary verbs. Naturally, there are many aspects yet to be explained concerning this important problem, and thus I will not go further than presenting my thoughts as an outline of research at its early stage.

## 2. The Structure of Predicates and the Semantic Function of Auxiliary Verbs in the Modern Central Tibetan Dialect<sup>3</sup>

### 2.1 The Semantic Function of Auxiliary Verbs in Noun Predicate Sentences

Two kinds of auxiliary verbs (i.e. descriptive and existential) are connected to nouns.

#### 2.1.1 Descriptive (Copular) Auxiliary Verbs

*Yin* and *red* are descriptive (or copular) auxiliary verbs that connect to nouns. *Yin* is normally used when the speaker is describing himself: ex. (1). However, there is no need for the speaker to be the subject: ex. (2).

- |                                 |                            |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) <i>nga bod pa yin</i>       | I am a Tibetan.            |
| (2) <i>'di za mkhan nga yin</i> | I am the one who ate this. |
| (3) <i>khong bod pa red</i>     | He is a Tibetan.           |

On the other hand, *red* is normally used when the speaker is describing someone other than himself: ex. (3). Thus, the usage of *yin* and *red* appears to correspond to the grammatical person at first glance. As can be seen in (4), however, in the case that the speaker is describing his children or wife, *yin* is used even though the sentence is in the third person. This is because they are seen as belonging to the speaker or as being under his will.

- |                                   |                           |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (4) <i>nga'i bu mo bod pa yin</i> | My daughter is a Tibetan. |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|

In the case of parents or friends, even though there is a close relationship, not *yin* but *red* is used since they are considered as being independent of the speaker. If the speaker were to use *yin* instead of *red* in (3), it would take on the nuance that the other person belongs to the speaker's group or that the situation is under the speaker's control. Therefore, in a case like (5) in which the speaker is describing something unrelated to him, *yin* cannot be used.<sup>4</sup>

3 The data analyzed in this chapter is based on my transcription of Tshul-khrim skal-bzang's spoken words. He was born in 1942 in Zur-tsho near Ding-ri and first learned the Ding-ri (Zur-tsho) dialect. However, he was educated at the Sera Monastery in Lhasa from the age of 10, and thus speaks the so-called Central Tibetan dialect that is used as the *lingua franca* in Central Tibet. In terms of the usage of auxiliary verbs that this paper discusses, the Central dialect usage appears to correspond to that of the Lhasa dialect. Regarding the Central Tibetan dialect, see Miller (1995) and Kitamura and Nishida (1960). The example sentences in this paper are notated in written Tibetan format.

4 The analysis in this chapter was carried out by limiting the body of data to the spoken words of one informant and using the informant's own reflective analysis. Therefore, it applies only to the colloquial style of the Central Tibetan dialect to which his speech belongs. Data can be found in published scholarship that do not conform to this paper's analysis. For example, there are also examples like (5) in which *yin* is used (cf. Nishida 1983: p.13). As will be seen in Chapter 3, these variations are presumably due to dialectal differences or differences in formalities that reflect various stages of historical development. When we attempt to describe these subtle semantic differences, it is essential to start by limiting the linguistic corpus.

(5) *lha sa bod kyi rgya sa red*                      Lhasa is the capital of Tibet.

Conversely, the use of *red* in a sentence relating to the speaker is limited to cases in which a situation is expressed objectively without relation to the speaker's will. For example, (6) is a possible reflexive answer to the question "Whose book is this?" (*deb 'di su 'i red*).

(6) *deb 'di nga 'i red*                                      This book is mine.

However, if there is the speaker's will or claim that it is his, *yin* is necessarily used.

As can be seen from above, the use of *yin* and *red* is determined by the relationship (attitude) of the speaker to the situation expressed in the sentence, and not simply by the grammatical person. In other words, *yin* shows that the speaker sees the situation or the people therein as belonging to him or under his will; he sees it as being what could be called "internal." On the other hand, *red* shows that the speaker sees the situation as being independent of him; he sees it as being "external."

In the case that the speaker refers to the listener (in other words, a sentence in the second person), *red* is normally used in affirmative sentences (7), and *yin* is used in interrogative sentences (8). Conversely, *red* is used in interrogative sentences even if they are in the first person (9).

(7) *khyed rang mkhan po red*                      You are the head of the monastery.

(8) *khyed rang su yin*                                      Who are you?

(9) *nga su red*    Who am I?

In other words, the center of judgment moves from the speaker to the listener in interrogative sentences. When the situation is seen as "internal" to the listener (more exactly, if the speaker judges so), *yin* is used, and when it is seen as "external" to the listener, *red* is used. It should also be noted that (8) is an utterance that is directed to an interlocutor. When the speaker says to himself "Who were you?" (i.e. a self-directed question), not *yin* but *red* is used. That is, for the listener to become the focus of a sentence, in addition to the sentence being interrogative in form, the speaker must also be asking the question to an actual person. This clearly shows that the "internal/external" distinction expressed by *yin/red* is a deictic concept that relies on the context of the utterance.<sup>5</sup>

### 2.1.2 Existential Auxiliary Verbs

*Yod*, *'dug*, and *yod-ba-red* are auxiliary verbs that connect to nouns to express the existence or ownership. *Yod* shows that the speaker (or in interrogative sentences, the listener) sees a situation of existence, ownership *etc.* as being "internal" (10, 11).

(10) *ngar deb mang po yod*                              I have many books.

(11) *'dir nga 'i bu gnyis yod*                              My two sons are here.

In contrast, *'dug* and *yod-ba-red* express existence or ownership that is "external" to the speaker.

5 Chinese scholars call this concept "yuqi 語氣" and consider the opposition between *yin* and *red* as being one between the "主觀意志 (確知) 語氣" and the "客觀陳述 (非確知) 語氣." Cf. Xi (1982).

- (12) *khong la deb mang po 'dug*      He has many books.  
 (13) *khong la deb mang po yod-ba-red*      (Same as above)  
 (14) *bod la g.yag 'dug*      There are yaks in Tibet.  
 (15) *bod la g.yag yod-ba-red*      (Same as above)

Next, let us look at the difference between *'dug* and *yod-ba-red*. While (12) is an expression used in a case in which the speaker has confirmed with his own eyes that there are many books in someone's house, (13) is an expression used when the speaker knows this having heard it from other people. In other words, it can be said that *'dug* expresses that the speaker has directly cognized a situation based on his own perception or experience, while *yod-ba-red* shows that the speaker has indirectly perceived a situation, so to speak, through hearsay or what is generally known.<sup>6</sup> Thus, (14) is limited to cases in which the speaker is or was in Tibet. As for interrogative sentences, the listener becomes the subject of judgment concerning the difference between *'dug* (direct perception) and *yod-ba-red* (indirect perception). In other words, the center of perception moves from the speaker to the listener. This is parallel to the above-described distinction between internal and external situations.

### 2.1.3 Summary

The above-described functions of auxiliary verbs connected to nouns are shown in the table below (see footnote 4).

	Internal	External	
		Direct Perception	Indirect Perception
Descriptive	<i>yin</i>	<i>red</i>	
Existential	<i>yod</i>	<i>'dug</i>	<i>yod-ba-red</i>

## 2.2 The Semantic Function of Auxiliary Verbs and the Semantic Classification of Adjectives in Adjectival Predicate Sentences

In the Lhasa / Central dialects of Modern Tibetan, an adjectival predicate is composed of an adjective and an auxiliary verb. As is the case with nouns, *yin*, *red*, *yod*, *'dug*, and *yod-ba-red* are auxiliary verbs that can be connected to adjectives. In other words, in an adjectival predicate, a descriptive or existential auxiliary verb is attached to an adjective, a structure similar to the phrases *kireida* (*kirei+da*) and *hanayakanari* (*hanayakani+ari*) in Japanese. As is the case when they are connected to nouns, these auxiliary verbs indicate the attitude of the speaker (in the case of an interrogative sentence, the listener) with regard to the situation expressed by the sentence. That is to say, *yin* and *yod* show that the speaker considers the situation as being internal to him (16, 17).

- (16) *nga 'i skra dkar bo yin*      My hair is white.  
 (17) *nga 'i khang pa gya chen po yod*      My house is spacious.

On the other hand, *red*, *'dug*, and *yod-ba-red* show that the speaker considers the state or circumstance as being external to him (18, 19, 20).

6 In Jin (1983), this is expressed as the “techen yuqi 特陳語氣” and the “fanchen 泛陳語氣”. In Xi (1982), this is expressed as the “tezhi yuqi 特指語氣” and the “fanzhi yuqi 泛指語氣.”

- |                                       |                     |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|
| (18) <i>deb 'di nag po red</i>        | This book is black. |
| (19) <i>deb 'di yag po 'dug</i>       | This book is good.  |
| (20) <i>deb 'di yag po yod-ba-red</i> | (Same as above)     |

Furthermore, *'dug* shows that the speaker directly perceived the situation: (19) is an expression of the opinion of the speaker after he has actually read the book. *Yod-ba-red* expresses indirect perception: (20) is an expression of the speaker basing his utterance on hearsay or general knowledge, without actually reading the book. Also, expressions in which *'dug* is attached to an adjective have an emotional nuance of wonder, surprise *etc.* such as “it sure is nice” and “it sure is pretty.”

Here, an issue arises of the semantic difference between adjectival predicates in which a descriptive auxiliary verb is attached to an adjective and those in which an existential auxiliary verb is attached. Let us compare the examples of the former (16, 18) and the latter (17, 19, 20). (16) and (18) express that my hair is white and that this book is black, respectively. These sentences describe the form or quality of certain specific objects, and thus they are objective descriptions that do not particularly rely on the subjective judgment of the speaker. In contrast, (19) and (20) reflect the subjective judgment of the speaker. In the case of (17), while the statement “my house is spacious” appears at first glance to be describing the form of a house, in fact it is nothing but an expression of the speaker’s judgment that has been arrived at through comparison. Whether the speaker “perceives” a certain house to be spacious or cramped is based on his own criteria of judgment. In contrast, in the case of adjectives that express color or shape such as “white” or “square,” there is no need for comparison. In this sense, they can be called “absolute adjectives,” whereas “spacious/cramped,” “big/small,” “long/short,” *etc.* can be called “relative adjectives.”<sup>7</sup>

In this way, Tibetan adjectives can be divided into two groups depending on whether they take descriptive auxiliary verbs or existential auxiliary verbs. The former express the objective quality of a specific object such as its color and form. In addition to the previously mentioned color adjectives and form adjectives (e.g. “square” *gru-bzhi* and “circular” *sgor-sgor*), this group includes adjectives such as “new” (*gsar-ba*), “old” (*rnying-ba*), “healthy” (*bde-bo*), “fresh” (*sos-pa*), “rotten” (*rul-ba*), and “rare” (*dkon-po*). The latter group expresses the subjective judgment of the speaker regarding an object, and includes adjectives such as “beautiful” (*mdzes-bo*), “difficult” (*khag-po*), “hot” (*tsha-po*), “damp” (*rlon-po*), “big” (*chen-po*), and long (*ring-po*). This opposition corresponds to the opposition between absolute adjectives and relative adjectives.<sup>8</sup> That is, the opposition between absolute adjectives and relative adjectives manifests itself by the choice of auxiliary verbs in Tibetan.

Although absolute adjectives take a descriptive auxiliary verb in their unmarked usage, it is also possible for them to take an existential auxiliary verb. In that case, the state expressed by the adjective has the marked nuance of being temporary and only appearing as such. For example, if *yod* were to be used instead of *yin* in (16), the sentence would come to have the nuance that the

7 Regarding absolute adjectives and relative adjectives, see Suzuki (1973: pp.61–65).

8 This is close to the opposition between the *ku* (objective qualities) and *shiku* (emotion) conjugations of Japanese adjectives, although there seem to be some differences.

speaker's hair is not simply white but that it, for example, has chalk on it and thus temporarily appears to be white, or that the speaker feels that it is particularly white when compared to other people (or its normal state).

In what kind of cases does a relative adjective take a descriptive auxiliary verb? Let us look at the following examples.

- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| (21) <i>khyags pa grang mo red</i>                 | Ice is cold.                    |
| (22) <i>rta chen po red / khyi chung chung red</i> | Horses are big, dogs are small. |
| (23) <i>deb log yag yag po red</i>                 | Reading books is good.          |

(21), (22), and (23) share the fact that they are describing the overall quality of the set expressed by the noun or noun phrase: "Ice is something that ..." "Horses are animals that ..." "Reading books is an act that ..." To put it in logical terms, they are universal propositions. On the other hand, the example sentences considered so far have all been particular propositions. Incidentally, the particular propositions that correspond to (21), (22), and (23) are as follows:

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| (24) <i>khyags pa 'di grang mo 'dug</i> | This ice sure is cold.  |
| (25) <i>rta 'di chen po 'dug</i>        | This horse sure is big. |
| (26) <i>deb 'di yag po 'dug</i>         | This book is good.      |

In these examples, the speaker is comparing a specific member of a set with other members of that set and making a judgment regarding it. Accordingly, they take existential auxiliary verbs.

Auxiliary Verbs \ Adjectives	Descriptive <i>yin</i>	Existential <i>yod</i>
Absolute Adjectives	Unmarked (Objective)	Temporary State (Subjective)
Relative Adjectives	Universal Proposition (Objective)	Unmarked (Subjective)

In this way, absolute adjectives and relative adjectives respectively take descriptive auxiliary verbs and existential auxiliary verbs when unmarked. When this pairing is reversed, the expression takes on a marked nuance. The above table illustrates these possible combinations and their meanings.

Absolute Adjectives	Color (red <i>dmar-po</i> , white <i>dkar-po</i> , etc). Shape (circular <i>sgor-sgor</i> , rectangular <i>gru-bzhi</i> , etc.) new <i>gsar-ba</i> , old <i>rnying-ba</i> , healthy <i>bde-bo</i> , rare <i>dkon-po</i> , fresh <i>sos-pa</i> , rotten <i>rul-ba</i>
Relative Adjectives	beautiful <i>mdzes-po</i> , delicious <i>zhim-po</i> , happy <i>dga'-bo</i> , difficult <i>khag-po</i> , easy <i>las-sla-po</i> , numerous <i>mang-po</i> , hot <i>tsha-bo</i> , cold <i>grang-mo</i> , big <i>chen-po</i> , small <i>chung-chung</i> , long <i>ring-po</i>

	Internal	External	
		Direct Perception	Indirect Perception
Objective State	<i>yin</i>	<i>red</i>	
Subjective Judgment	<i>yod</i>	<i>'dug</i>	<i>yod-ba-red</i>

In summary, Tibetan adjectives can be classified as ‘absolute’ or ‘relative’ depending on whether in the case of a particular proposition they take descriptive auxiliary verbs or existential auxiliary verbs in their unmarked usage (principal examples are given in the above table). Auxiliary verbs show how the state or quality expressed by an adjective is connected to its object. In other words, by connecting the adjective and its object by equality, descriptive auxiliary verbs show that the former expresses an objective state that is unique to the latter. Therefore, they are unmarked when connected to absolute adjectives that normally express an objective state, and when they are connected to relative adjectives, they markedly emphasize that the state is an objective one. It is for this reason that the latter combination is limited to universal propositions. On the other hand, existential auxiliary verbs indicate that the state or quality expressed by an adjective exists (temporarily) with regard to its object, and that the recognition of the existence of the particular state or quality is based on the subjective judgment express a subjective judgment, and when connected to an absolute adjective that normally expresses an objective state, they emphasize in a marked manner that the state is temporary. In the table above, I have summarized the functions of auxiliary verbs when they are connected to adjectives in a way that mirrors the previous table that summarized their functions when they are connected to nouns of the speaker. Therefore, they unmarkedly connect with relative adjectives that normally

### 2.3 The Semantic Function of Auxiliary Verbs in Verbal Predicate Sentences

Verbal predicates in Modern Tibetan are characterized by the simplification of verbal stem forms that is compensated by compound structures accompanied by affixes and auxiliary verbs that express temporal and aspectual distinctions. Their basic form is V + (Particle) + Auxiliary. However, there is a distinction between perfective (pf) and imperfective (imf) aspects to the verbal stems.<sup>9</sup> Since discussing in detail the forms and functions of verbal predicates is outside the scope of this paper,<sup>10</sup> I would like to focus on the role that descriptive and existential auxiliary verbs play in verbal predicates, as they are the main theme of this paper. Their primary forms can be categorized as follows:

<sup>9</sup> Regarding the perfective and imperfective, see Chang (1983).

<sup>10</sup> Research on the structure of verbal predicates includes Jin (1979), among others.



		Internal (First Person)	External (Second and Third Person)	
			Direct Perception	Indirect Perception
Non-continuous Aspect (Descriptive)	Past	(pf) + <i>ba</i> + <i>yin</i>	(pf) + <i>song</i>	(pf) + <i>ba</i> + <i>red</i>
	Non-past	(imf) + <i>gi</i> + <i>yin</i>	(imf) + <i>gi</i> + <i>red</i>	
Continuous Aspect (Existential)	Past	(pf) + <i>yod</i>	(pf) + ' <i>dug</i>	(pf) + <i>yod</i> + <i>ba-red</i>
	Non-past	(imf) + <i>gi</i> + <i>yod</i>	(imf) + <i>gi</i> + ' <i>dug</i>	(imf) + <i>gi</i> + <i>yod</i> - <i>ba-red</i>

As can be seen in the table above, descriptive auxiliary verbs and existential auxiliary verbs correspond to aspectual distinctions that are non-continuous and continuous, respectively. The continuous aspect in the past expresses a situation in which the result of a completed action or process continues to exist in the present (27). The non-continuous aspect in the past is a form that expresses without any reference to the present an action or process that occurred in the past (28). The continuous aspect in the non-past expresses an action or process that is currently in progress or is repetitive and habitual (29). The non-continuous aspect in the non-past is a form that expresses an action or process in the future, or those deemed constant or invariant (30).

- (27) *ngas rtsam pa bzas yod*                      I ate *tsampa*. (Presently satiated)  
 (28) *ngas rtsam pa bzas pa yin*                      (Same as above—unrelated to the present)  
 (29) *nga da lta za gi yod*                              I am eating now.  
 (30) *nga sang nying za gi yin*                      I will eat tomorrow.

In this way, the difference between descriptive and existential auxiliary verbs materializes as the difference between the non-continuous and continuous aspects when they are attached to verbs.

What about, then, the distinction between internal and external? As was the case when connecting auxiliary verbs to nouns and adjectives, this is expressed by the opposition between *yin*, *yod* and *red*, '*dug*, *yod-ba-red* (the opposition between direct and indirect perception is expressed likewise, but I will not touch upon this). However, when connecting to a verb, as a general rule *yin* and *yod* are limited to the speaker's (in interrogative sentences, the interlocutor's) actions and processes (in other words, sentences in first-person). In this sense, it is safe to say that the choice of an auxiliary verb corresponds to grammatical person in verbal predicate construction. In other words, verbs take *yin* or *yod* if the sentence is in first person, and *red*, '*dug*, or *yod-ba-red* if it is in second or third person (28, 31). However, in interrogative sentences, verbs take *yin* or *yod* in the case of a second-person sentence, and *red*, '*dug*, or *yod-ba-red* in the case of a first and third person sentence (32, 33).

- (31) *khos rtsam pa mang bo bzas pa red*      He ate a lot of *tsampa*.  
 (32) *khyed rang ga re gnang gi yod*              What are you doing?  
 (33) *nga ga par 'gro dgos kyi red*                Where do I have to go?



However, in the case of verbs like “to be sick,” “to feel good” or “to have forgotten,” they take an external auxiliary verb (*red*, *'dug*, or *yod-ba-red*) even if the sentence is in first person (34, 35).

- (34) *nga mgo na gis* (= *na gi 'dug*)                      My head hurts.  
 (35) *nga deb nang la brjed bzhag* (= *brjed 'dug*) I forgot my book at home.

Since these verbs express a non-volitional action that does not have an agent, they are unable to take internal auxiliary verbs. This nicely corresponds to my description of how internal auxiliary verbs express the will of the speaker, discussed in the section on auxiliary verbs connected to nouns.

In this way, descriptive and existential auxiliary verbs consistently express the different ways in which the speaker relates to the situation expressed in a sentence, be it internally (as being under the speaker’s will) or externally (as being outside of the speaker’s will) through their connection to nouns, adjectives, and verbs—in other words, an ancillary concept. Now I would like to consider how auxiliary verbs with these functions have developed historically, focusing on *yin* and *red*.

### 3. The Historical Transformation of Predicate Structure and the Development Process of Auxiliary Verbs

#### 3.1 Predicate Structure and Auxiliary Verbs in Old Tibetan Documents

The predicates in Old Tibetan documents from the 7th to 9th century A.D. are comprised of a noun, adjective, verb, and a “terminative particle” *-o* that marks the end of the sentence (called *rdzogs-tshig* in Tibetan grammar). The form of this particle is invariable regardless of the grammatical person of the subject (36, 37, 38).<sup>11</sup>

- (36) *myi yongs kyis kho bo la snyan du myi brjod pa yang bden no*  
 It is also true that no one praised me. (Pt. 1287: 1.209)  
 (37) *zu tse glob a nye 'o*    Zu-tse is loyal. (Pt. 1287: 1.1990)  
 (38) *slan cad gyang nye zho dag myed par smon to//*  
 I am hoping that [you] continue to be in perfect health. (M. Tagh. b.i. 0096)

This “terminative particle” *-o* probably carried out a function similar to that of *so* in Old Japanese nominal sentences, which expressed affirmative judgment.<sup>12</sup> That is, it fulfilled a copulative function that appositionally connected the subject and complement.<sup>13</sup> However, while there are not many expressions that use the auxiliary verb *yin* in predicates can be found in Old Tibetan texts. The usage of *yin* in these texts can be divided into two types. One is a usage for negation, *ma yin* (39).

11 Regarding the text numbers for Old Tibetan texts, see Takeuchi (1986: p.594, n. 14).

12 For example, *tawa ya onna no kokoro midarete nueru koromo* so たわや女の心乱れて縫える衣そ.

13 A similar view can be found in Yamaguchi (1986: pp.723-726). In addition, Yamaguchi proposes *\*-bo* as the origin of the “terminative particle” *-o*.

- (39) *bde ba'i gnas skabs / sdug bsngal ba'i gnas skabs / sdug bsngal yang ma yin*  
*bde ba yang ma yin ba'i gnas skabs*  
 State of comfort, state of suffering, state of neither suffering nor comfort  
 (P.t. 1261: 1.70)

This form was probably introduced because there was originally no negative form of the terminative particle *-o*. We should pay attention to the fact that *yin* is used only in the case of a negative form in the example above (This is similar to how “*ni ari*” and “*ni arazu*” were introduced into Old Japanese). Another usage of *yin* can be seen in the following examples:

- (40) *zhang klu bzang gi yi ge la nad cabs che rab ches byung nas / sman snga ma*  
*skur ba //yin no/*  
 Since it was [written] in Zhang-klu-bzang's letter that [your] sickness is very serious, I will immediately send medicine. (BTT: 1.2)
- (41) *sngon ji 'i nang du yang ma zhugs pas // gdod 'jug par gsol ba yin no zhes byas so/*  
 [He] said, “Since I have not entered anything until now (i.e., no chance was given), I am asking so that I will be able to enter for the first time.” (P.t. 1287: 1.212)
- (42) *'di ltar nye zhin gnyen pa yin na*  
 If [the Tibetan and Tang royal families] are close and in a kinship relation (*Tang fan hui meng bei* 唐蕃會盟碑 The Sino-Tibetan Treaty inscription: E. 33)
- (43) *g. yag sgal can 'di ni myi'i phyugs yin bas 'di gar 'gro ba'i phyi bzhin du 'dong ngo zhes*  
 [He] said, “This yak carrying a load must be somebody's domestic animal, so let's follow wherever it goes.” (IOL Tib J 598: fol. 3.1)

These examples all emphasize the speaker's judgment and will. In contrast, the form without *yin* that only has a “terminative particle” is used more generally and widely. I would like to speculate that this is a reflection of the following situation.

At the stage before Old Tibetan, nominal sentences were always constructed by the terminative particle *-o* that expressed affirmative judgment (Stage I). Then, the auxiliary verb *yin* was introduced for negative expressions. Furthermore, the auxiliary verb *yin* came to be used in affirmative sentences as an expression to emphasize the writer's will or assertion (Stage II). As a result, predicates that included *yin* and predicate sentences that only had *-o* came to have contrastive meanings (Stage III). These changes in nominal predicate structure are summarized in the following table.

Stage I: Proto-Tibetan (Pre-Old Tibetan)

-o: copulative (*-o < \*-bo?*)

Stage II: Old Tibetan

□ -o: copulative  
 □ *yin-o*: speaker's will; negation

Stage III: Post-Old Tibetan

□ -o: copulative + outside of the speaker's will (external)  
 □ *yin*: copulative + within the speaker's will (internal)

### 3.2 The Development Process of Auxiliary Verbs in Modern Dialects

The Stage III scheme above nicely matches the scheme for nominal predicate structures in modern Lhasa and Central dialects described in Chapter 1 (Section 2.1.3). The only difference is the existence of the auxiliary verb *red*. This suggests that the auxiliary verb *red* was introduced as a replacement for the “terminative particle” *-o*. In fact, this is supported by the fact that *red* and *-o* share the same syntactic distribution: for example, neither of them is found in subordinate clauses (e.g., \**red tsang* / \**red na*), where their function is carried out by *yin* (*yin tsang* / *yin na*) or the conjunction *ste* (verb + *ste*).

If so, when and in which region did the auxiliary verb *red* begin to be used? It would be very difficult to philologically attest its use in documents because almost all documents came to be written in Classical Tibetan ever since it was established as the literary language in the late stage of Old Tibetan, and the linguistic changes that were progressing at the level of spoken language were not well reflected in them. One document that is considered to portray the early usage of the auxiliary verb *red* is an 18<sup>th</sup> century text (sermon) written in the spoken form of the Amdo dialect.<sup>14</sup> In this text, the auxiliary verb *red* is frequently used instead of the “terminative particle” *-o* (44, 45). The fact that it is often used in an interrogative form like *chi red* and *e red* suggests the possibility that *red* was introduced to construct an interrogative or negative form:

- |   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| (44) <i>ya a rgya chi red</i>               | Yes Father, what is it? (151.1)     |
| (45) <i>gsung gi yod ni e red</i>           | Is he saying? (151.1)               |
| (46) <i>nga de ring mgon po rdo rje yin</i> | I am today Mgon-po rdo-rje. (153.5) |

This text clearly indicates that the use of the auxiliary verb *red* had already taken root in the spoken language of the Amdo region in that period. Furthermore, if one looks at the usage of *yin* and *red* in the modern Amdo dialect, the scope of *red*'s use has expanded to first person sentences where *yin* was originally used (47, 48):<sup>15</sup>

- |                               |                    |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| (47) <i>nga amdowa red</i>    | I am from Amdo.    |
| (48) <i>kyod amdowa e red</i> | Are you from Amdo? |

These facts might be an indication that the use of the auxiliary verb *red* first began and took root in the Amdo region, and then spread to Kham and Central Tibet.

On the other hand, there are dialects that do not possess the auxiliary verb *red* form in their current state. Those are found among the various dialects of Western Tibet. For example, in the Ding-ri dialect, the internal/external opposition is expressed by the form *yin/yinda*?.<sup>16</sup>

- |                              |                |
|------------------------------|----------------|
| (49) <i>nga phöpa yin</i>    | I am Tibetan.  |
| (50) <i>kho phöpa yinda?</i> | He is Tibetan. |

14 *Gung thang dkon mchog bstan pa'i gron me*: “Phal skad zab chos,” in *Collected Works (gsung-'bum)*, vol. 10, pp.150-158. Cf. Norbu (1983).

15 These Amdo dialect materials are based on Jin (1983b) and my field survey at Sku-'bum in the Qinghai Province in the summer of 1987.

16 These forms of the Dingri dialect are based on Takeuchi (1979). However, I have omitted tone notations.

Also, in the Sgar, Ru-thog, Spu-hreng, and Rtsa-mdas' dialects from the western part of the Nga-ri region, this opposition is marked by *yin* and *ntaʔ*.<sup>17</sup>

- (51) *nga phȫ pa yi:n* I am Tibetan.  
 (52) *kho pao: ntaʔ* He is a hero.

These *yindaʔ* and *ntaʔ* forms can be analysed as affixes expressing uncertainty that have been introduced to compensate for the loss of the terminative particle *-o*. These dialects are located in the southwestern edge of the Central dialect group. Western dialects such as Sbal-ti and La-dwags located further west appear to lack the *red* form and always use the *yin* form.<sup>18</sup>

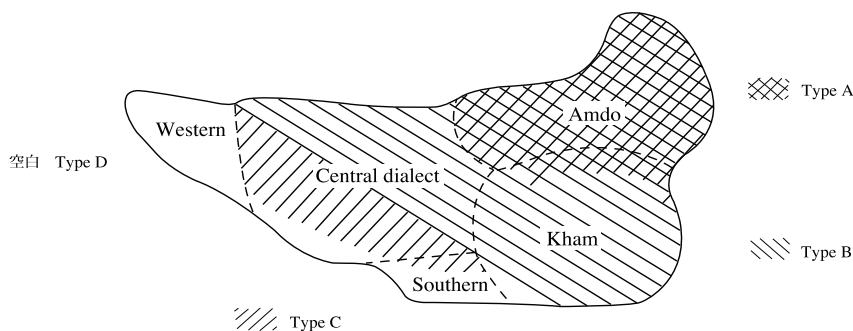
Let us now summarize the above analyses. Modern dialects can be divided into four types with regard to the use of the auxiliary verbs *yin/red* and the mode by which the internal/external distinction is expressed. The type that can be seen in the Lhasa, Central, and Kham dialects directly inherit the Stage III structure and express the internal/external opposition by *yin* and *red*, substituting the terminative particle *-o* with the auxiliary verb *red* (Type B). In the case of the Amdo dialect, due to the expanded scope of usage for the auxiliary verb *red*, which was newly introduced as a substitution for the “terminative particle” *-o*, the usage distinction between it and *yin* has become unclear, and as a result the internal/external opposition is disappearing (Type A). The type represented by the dialects such as Ding-ri and Sgar does not have the auxiliary verb *red*, and has introduced an affix to express uncertainty as a replacement for the “terminative particle” *-o* (Type C). In the Western dialects such as Sbal-ti and Law-dwag, there is no internal/external distinction and *yin* is uniformly used (Type D). These four types can be illustrated in the following way:

- Stage IV Type A: Amdo
  - red, yin*: copulative
- Stage IV Type B: Lhasa, Central Tibetan, Kham
  - *red*: copulative + outside of the speaker's will (external)
  - *yin*: copulative + within the speaker's will (internal)
- Stage IV Type C: Ding-ri, Sgar, Ru-thog, Spu-hreng, Rtsa-mdas'
  - (*yin*) *taʔ*: copulative + uncertainty (external)
  - *yin*: copulative + certainty (internal)
- Stage IV Type D: Sbal-ti, La-dwag
  - yin*: copulative

Geographically, the types A, B, C and D are distributed from the northeast to the southwest. The further northeast a dialect is located, the more frequently it will be for *red* to be used (see the diagram below).

<sup>17</sup> Based on Qu (1980) and Qu and Tan (1983). However, I have omitted tone notations.

<sup>18</sup> Based on Bielmeier (1985), Koshal (1979), and my survey in Ladakh in 1988.



I would like to consider the relationship of changes that occurred in the four types of dialects in the following way: As a replacement for the loss of the “terminative particle” *-o* in Stage III,<sup>19</sup> the auxiliary verb *red* began to be used in the northeastern region of Amdo (Type A), and spread to the Kham and Central dialects. However, it has not yet reached the various dialects of Western Tibet (Type C and D). In Amdo, the expanded scope of usage for *red* and its replacement of *yin* lead to a new unification of forms. It is an interesting question regarding the future of the Tibetan language as to whether this will progress further and all dialects will converge into Type A (Amdo dialect-pattern), or the opposition between *yin* and *red* in the Lhasa dialect will become fixed and develop as an indicator for grammatical person.<sup>20</sup>

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19 The honorific form *yin ba noo* (Kitamura 1977: p.24) in the Lhasa dialect and *nok* in Ladhaki and Sherpa (Koshal 1979: p.38; Schöttelndreyer 1973: p.57) could be the vestiges of the terminative particle *-o*.

20 As I discussed in the section 2.3, the choice of auxiliary verbs corresponds to the difference in grammatical person in verbal predicate sentences of the Lhasa and Central dialects. Regarding the development of grammatical person indicators, see Nishida (1983: pp.12–17).

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