

The Certainty Hierarchy among Spoken Tibetan Verbs of Being¹

Betty Shefts Chang and Kun Chang

Introduction

Some modern spoken Tibetan verbs of being are used only in a copular sense ("A is B"). Others are both existential ("There exists", "There is", "There are", "She has", "They have") and, in certain constructions, copular; this dual use is demonstrably due to the semantic expansion of what were, in origin, purely existential verbs. Though we allude to comparative Sino-Tibetan linguistics in attempting to determine the impetus for this spread, we rely primarily on spoken Tibetan itself.

Tibetan verbs of being are also characterized by a partial association with person, expressed either through different verbs or through derivation. The copular *yīi* (written Tibetan *yin*) has a connection with the first person; the copular *rēè* (written Tibetan *red*) does not. Among the existential verbs, the reflex of written Tibetan *yod*, *yōḏ*, also has a connection with the first person; its non-first-person correlate, *yḏḏ rēè*, was formed by using the non-first-person *rēè* as auxiliary and adding a suffix to the *yod* (**yod*-ba→**yo*-ə→*yḏḏ*). On the reconstruction of *o-bə for ḏḏ, see Chang and Chang 1968.106 ff.) Association of verbs with person is not a common feature of Sino-Tibetan languages. Another Tibeto-Burman language that does indicate person in its verbs is Gyarong, which is spoken in the northwestern corner of Szechuan. The Gyarong way of doing this, through verbal suffixes derived from pronouns (for example, first-person -ŋ from *ŋa* 'I') is, however, unrelated to that of Tibetan. We shall consider the question of possible internal influences on the Tibetan development.

The variety of verbs of being used in spoken Tibetan is also not the rule in Tibeto-Burman, or Sino-Tibetan languages. (Even where the system of verbs of being has a similar richness, as in Ahi, a Tibeto-Burman dialect spoken in Yünnan [Yüan 1953, based on folksongs collected in Mi-le], the verbs making up this system are, on the whole, not the same ones.) Modern spoken Tibetan, for

example, has three existential verbs, *yöð*, *tuù*, and *yöö*, which are used where Chinese has just one verb, *yeou*.² So, in the following examples, Chinese would uniformly translate *yöð*, *tuù*, and *yöö* with one verb, *yeou*:

- (1) *yāā phāqīī nāā 1a ŋɛ̃ ɲə šēpā tītēē yöö 1. 241. 13-4*³ 'There are these sorts of people I know in that (place) over there, too'
- (2) *yāā topāā nīī cēpō tītēē qhācēē mopāā e tuù 2. 93. 17-94. 2* 'Around here there are these pretty sorts of things, down there at the Moslem's place, too'
- (3) *tītēē qhāā nīī yöö, ūšā, naaqō chōōñēē cīī taa māāpō chōōñēē cīī 1. 209. 19-210. 1* 'There are thus two groups, one which wears black hats and one which wears red hats'

In Gyarong, there is again just one existential verb, *ndu(t)*. *ndu(t)* and its negative, *mēdū*, are patently related to Tibetan *tuù* and its negative, *mītū*. (On the correspondence of the -g in written Tibetan 'dug [spoken Tibetan *tuù*] and the -t in Gyarong *ndut*, see Chang and Chang 1975. 469-70.) As Gyarong's sole existential verb, *ndu(t)* is, however, also used where Tibetan has other existential verbs. In introducing a story, for instance, where spoken Tibetan has *yöð reē*, a derived form of *yöð*, Gyarong uses *nandusi*, a derived form of *ndu(t)*, with the *na-* prefix and *-si* suffix:

- (4) Tibetan: *ñāmō ñāmō cīī laa, pōō ci taa mōō chi yöð reē 4. 35. 1-2* 'Once, a long, long time ago, there were an old man and an old woman'

Gyarong: *kestšesje de awu amu tši nandusi* 'Once upon a time, there were an old man and an old woman' (example from unpublished material collected by Kun Chang in 1943)

Spoken Tibetan Existential Verbs

Several contrastive features mark the existential verbs of spoken Tibetan, though there is also a degree of overlapping. The particular sphere of *tuù* and *yöö*, for example, is that for which one can personally vouch.

The speaker commonly uses *tuù* when referring to either that at which he is looking at the moment or that which he has seen in the past. Examples:

- (5) *ānī, yāpā ē tēē, tshētō qhāšēē rāā tuù 2. 214. 8-9* 'And then, there are quite a few others on the list of names, too' (A prospective guest is looking at the list of those invited to a picnic.)
- (6) *thā lhāāmāā kə thā sūm šitsā chi tuù 2. 202. 15-6* 'Now, there are a hundred and three or a hundred and four left over' (A trader knows how many

bags of fabric he has because he has counted them.)

The knowledge for which one vouches can, however, be arrived at in other ways. A teacher knows the quality of his student through his association with him, and can thus reassure his mother:

- (7) *āmā rāā lA sikōō qhōō sēmṭēē kṛnēē mṭtūū* 2. 142. 9-11 'For my part, mother, I should tell you that there's no cause for concern about him'

The having, that is, experiencing of a thought can be referred to by *tuū*:

- (8) *ānī, yīcīl mīcīl tī, "mīqsu qāānī yāā, šāpī"* s qhēē, qo ā yōō sāmāā rA chi tuū 2.230.6-8 'And then, certainly, as for this; I've been thinking [i.e. been having this thought], I doubt we'll need any "special servants"'

And the force of conviction can be expressed in the same way:

- (9) *ānī rāā qhi phū tī, ānī ṇātsōō ... phomōō māqpāā mātēēpaa, thāp mṭtūū* 4. 188. 23-189. 3 'And then, there's no alternative but that you give this boy of yours, then ... to be the bridegroom of our daughter'

yōō, of rarer occurrence than *tuū*, makes explicit the habitual or customary basis of knowledge which has been personally acquired. *yōō* is used, then, to refer, rather than to the individual, to the typical, as in example 3 or the following, with *meṇyōō*, the negative to *yōō*:

- (10) *thā, khōqēē ē lhēsā qhūū lA, qāāpō qhōōñēē meṇyōō* 1. 193. 7-8 'Now, there aren't any men in the Lhasa area who wear white, either'

The most common existential verb is, however, *yōō*, together with its derived form *yōō reē*. *yōō* and *yōō reē* contrast in sentence-final position, where *yōō* has an association with the first person, a feature unique to it among the existential verbs. Possession is one relationship which is expressed by these verbs, with the possessor in the dative case:

- (11) *ṇāā tēē tāṭēē cīq ṇīl chi yōō* 1. 261. 2-3 'I have several horses here' (*ṇāā* is dative to *ṇā* 'I'.)

At its point of maximum contrast with *tuū* and *yōō*, *yōō reē* has a connotation of hearsay. So, it is used to introduce stories, as in example 4; it is also used after forms of *se* 'to say':

- (12) *qhāšēē qēē, "thāqō, ṇīpA, sūpA"* s chēē ni e. *yōō reē, siqīl* 1. 286. 4-6 'I've heard it said that there are even some who use ones (i.e. welcomers who meet a bride) called "first, second, and third"'

In the use of *yōō* as auxiliary, we again see these two features, first person and relative uncertainty, either alone or in combination. With a first-person

subject in either the absolutive case (ṇa) or the ergative (ṇḡḡ), the construction of a verb base with the suffix -qī followed by yoo denotes habitual or continuous aspect (see Chang and Chang 1981.310); the yoo here refers to a first-person actor, without any indication of uncertainty:

- (13) ṇa phāqēē, āā, tūūqī yoo 2.36.8-9 'I'm, ah, staying over there'
 ṇa yaṇsē yūqī yoo 2.42.20 'I come frequently'
 ṇḡḡ yaṇsē rāpā chi qūūqāā chīqī yoo 2.136.5-6 'I try to send him some often'

With a third-person subject in this construction, the use of yoo adds to aspect an element of supposition or belief on the part of the speaker, who is not the subject or actor. That is, there is present a degree of uncertainty:

- (14) mītsāā qhōrāā tētsa tuqpā yūqī yoo 2.107.14-5 'I think that family is going to have a little bad luck'
 qḡḡ rēpō che ātā šḡḡtōō nāqī yoo 2.139.2-3 'I believe just now rēpō che, my teacher, is praying'

This same quality of a belief which falls short of certainty is found in the construction of yoo following a base which is a reflex of the Present root (see Chang and Chang 1982) and which has the suffix -pā/-ā:

- (15) ṇḡḡ ṭhoqō qhōtsōō māqēē, quū tōōpā yoo 1.246.17-8 'I believe those friends of mine are waiting down there'
 ūqū tōōrōō lā, thāṛī, thātā phīūtōō yonā yoo 2.242.3-5 'I think he's about to come just now, today, to help pitch the tents'
 ānī sālīī ... yāā lāā nī, yaqō chi chepā yoo 2.289.7-8 'And then, tomorrow ... when it has risen, I think it'll be properly done'

In contrast, tuū indicates that the speaker is positive of what he is saying:

- (16) tīqēē qhāāqā lāpnā, tshāāpā mītūū 4.318.2-3 'If we told you all those things, we'd never be finished'⁴

In addition to its common use before reē, yoo is used, though less frequently than yoo, before the honorific auxiliary nāā:

- (17) yoo before nāā
 thā tēē, kaqāā qhi qō tītēē, tī tēē, āā, tshūūšī nāmēē nātsōō yoo nāṇāā, ātēē tēē sē tshūptsūū rāpā thāqā cīqōō rēē? 2.65.17-22 'Now, is there a variety of colors in this sort of Indian leather here, this kind, ah, or is this yellowish one here now the only one?'

yöð before nāā

phuù qh_Λtsēē y_{öð} nānaa? 2.35.7 'How many rolls do you have?' ... thopō m_Λqū y_{öð} nāānā nī ... 1.268.3-4 '... if you have many loads'; ... pēēmā chēē y_{öð} nāānā ... 2.81.15-6 '... if you have larger pēēmā'; ... thopōō nāā lā kēē y_{öð} nāānā ... 2.202.4-5 '... if you have eight in a bag'

In a number of environments, however, the contrast of y_{öð} with either y_{ɔð} or y_{ɔð} reē is neutralized, and only y_{öð} or its negative, m_{gē}, is used. These include the positions before certain auxiliaries other than nāā (18), before suffixes (19), and before and after particles (20):

(18) Before t_{gē} 'to remain'

ph_Λqīī nāā laa, tha ... qūpkāā, šits_Λ šits_Λ chēēpēē qhāā qhāā y_{öð} tēēp_Λ tītēē, thu_Λts_Λ chi m_{gē} tɔɔ 1.240.6-9 'In that (place) over there, now ... they may have about six sets of this sort which has about four chairs each' Before q_{öð} 'to think'

ōō, šāpā nēē, khērāā qhi cāā y_{öð} qūqī y_{ɔð} reē ... 2.20.1-2 'Mm, you think you came down on the other things ...'

t_{ɔɔ}t_{ɔɔ} chē/chēē 'to imply, give the appearance of, be obvious' may be included here as an extended auxiliary. An example: qhūñī phāā tshūū qapō y_{öð} t_{ɔɔ}t_{ɔɔ} chiqīl 'Those two are obviously in love with each other'

(19) Before -nā 'if'

... q_{öð}tāā simñēē y_{öð}nā ... 2.212.14-5 '... if we have anyone spending the night' ... thēsāā qhi qh_Λu n_Λñšīl sɔptā chi y_{öð}nā t_Λ ... 2.88.7-8 '... if it did have a design like that of the contemporary charmboxes' Anī, qhōtsō y_{öð}sā topāā, nām th_Λñū šīñnāā mēgnā, sīl th_Λ thom cītāā yūqī ā y_{öð} 1.30.7-9 'But then, in that place where they are over there, in the cold weather, if there's no forest, I doubt leopards and bears, and so forth, would come'

(20) Before tsāā 'since'

... ātā narā "tuqū" s qhee m_{gē} tsāā ... 2.180.3-4 '... since just now I myself don't have anything you'd really call bad'

tūū chēpō chi y_{öð} cēē; saqāā tūtūū, lūū phomō m_{gē} tsāā, qh_{ɔɔ} mīl tēēp_Λ reē 4.12.18-21 'A large demon came; when he was about to eat, since there was no Naga girl there, he looked at him'

šūqū ñīp_Λ tī lɔðpēē qhūtūū, qhōrēē šēpēē thi sēē thūūyāā qhi ... tītēē y_{ɔð} reē. y_{öð} tsāā, qhōō qēmō chi qēp_Λ reē 4.136.9-13 'When he read this second page, there was this sort of thing ... about how he himself could kill

this Prime Minister. So ("since there was [this sort of thing]") he laughed'
After the dubitative particle $\bar{a}/\bar{\lambda}$

$\bar{\lambda}n\bar{i}$, $ph\ddot{o}\ddot{o}$ $n\ddot{a}\bar{a}$ $\bar{\lambda}$ $lh\bar{\lambda}p\bar{r}\bar{i}p\bar{\lambda}$ $\bar{\lambda}p\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{e}$ qhi $\bar{\lambda}p\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $\check{s}\bar{i}t\bar{a}\bar{a}$ \bar{a} $y\ddot{o}\ddot{o}$ 1.81.1-3 'Now, I don't suppose there are very many students in Tibet who study to be painters'

From the neutralization of the $y\ddot{o}\ddot{o}$ space before : $y\ddot{o}\ddot{o}$ $re\grave{e}$ contrast in certain environments, that is, from the fact that $y\ddot{o}\ddot{o}$ is not in these positions associated with person, we infer that the association of person with the existential verbs is of secondary origin, the result of a development within Tibetan.

Spoken Tibetan Copular Verbs

With exclusively copular function, there are two verbs, $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ and $re\grave{e}$, which can link a noun or pronoun with a noun or pronoun (21) or with an adjective (22):

(21) $\bar{\lambda}n\bar{i}$ $\eta\bar{a}$ $\eta\bar{e}\bar{e}m\bar{a}\bar{a}$... $k\bar{e}p\bar{d}\bar{o}$ $ph\bar{u}$ $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ 4.225.6-7 'And then, before, I ... was the son of a king'

$\bar{o}n\bar{a}$, $\eta\bar{a}q\bar{p}\bar{a}$ $q\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{e}s\bar{u}\bar{u}$, $t\bar{i}$, $\eta\bar{e}$ $ph\bar{u}\bar{i}\bar{i}$ $q\bar{e}q\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $re\grave{e}$ 2.126.3-4 'Well now, this retired $\eta\bar{a}q\bar{p}\bar{a}$ abbot is my son's teacher'

(22) $\eta\bar{e}$ $t\bar{i}$ $s\bar{a}\bar{a}p\bar{a}$ $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ 2.206.1 'These of mine are new'

$t\bar{i}$, $caa\bar{q}\bar{o}\bar{o}$ $th\bar{i}$, $ch\bar{e}p\bar{o}$ $re\grave{e}$ 2.78.13-4 'This, this price, is high'

$y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ contrasts with $re\grave{e}$ in basically the same way that $y\ddot{o}\ddot{o}$ contrasts with $y\ddot{o}\ddot{o}$ $re\grave{e}$. That is, where the contrast is not neutralized, $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ has first-person reference, $re\grave{e}$ does not. And from the neutralization that does occur we come to the same conclusion on the person contrast for copular as for existential verbs, namely, that it is of secondary origin.

As an auxiliary in the conjugation of transitive and controllable intransitive verbs, $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ is used with first-person subjects in either the ergative or absolutive case (see Chang and Chang 1980). In nonauxiliary usage, the eliciting of $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ has, however, a broader basis, which extends beyond identification with the speaker or, though less commonly, that which he has done, to embrace, in the most frequent use of $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$, that which belongs to the speaker:

(23) Identification with the speaker.

In addition to the sort of identification which is expressed through the absolutive case, as in example 21, there can be a locative identification:

$\eta\bar{a}ts\bar{o}$, $\eta\bar{a}$ \bar{e} $thats\bar{a}\bar{a}$, $\eta\bar{a}q\bar{p}\bar{a}$ $n\bar{e}$ $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ 2.126.1-2 'We, that is, I, too, am from

the *ṅāqpā* Monastic College'.

Reference to something the speaker has done.

chɛ̃ tsāā ānī, ālē̃ tī taqāās tōṅpā mṛ̃tsa ɾa chi cɛ̃, ɳɛ̃ tī yī̃ 2.262.14-6
'So, then, now, I'm (just giving you) this, rather than letting you go away empty-handed'

Reference to that which belongs to the speaker.

Example 22; also the following:

phomō tī nī, ṅāñī qhi ñṅ qhi tshilū nāṅṣī̃, yī̃ 4.48.17-9 'As for this daughter, she is just like the fat of our hearts'

ṅātsōō kū̃cā rāā yī̃ 2.189.1 'It's our regular tea'

We have cited two examples where the first person is in the genitive case: 2.206.1 in example 22, 2.189.1 in example 23. A first-person genitive does not, however, necessarily ordain the use of *yī̃* rather than *ɳɛ̃*. In a story of a boy who has unearthed the corpses of his murdered father and the father's horse, the boy says: *tha tī ɳɛ̃ pāpā ɳɛ̃. tī ɳɛ̃ pāpē tā ɳɛ̃. ṣ̃ɛ̃pē qhi sē̃pā ɳɛ̃* 4.152.7-10 'Now, this is my father. This is my father's horse. The Prime Minister killed them'. The feature which marks the distinction between *yī̃* and *ɳɛ̃* with first-person genitives is, clearly, a semantic one, which we tentatively define as that of subjective or emotional distance. In the example of the boy viewing his father's corpse, a translation of 'that was my father', rather than 'this is my father', might better capture the emotional distancing of *ɳɛ̃*. (*tī ɳɛ̃ pāpā yī̃* would be 'This is my father; may I introduce my father'; *tī ɳɛ̃ pāpē tā yī̃* 'This is my father's horse' would be used when the horse is alive [Nornang, 1984].)

With the first-person plural forms *ṅārāā tsō* (absolutive) and *ṅārāā tsōō* (ergative), only *ɳɛ̃* is used (24); with the first-person plural *ṅātsō* (absolutive) and *ṅātsōō* (ergative), both *ɳɛ̃* and *yī̃* occur (25). The examples with *ɳɛ̃* are, however, only seeming exceptions to the correlation of the first person with *yī̃*. In some instances, the implicit semantic reference to a second or third person which is always present in the first-person plural may be assumed to have taken precedence over the first-person reference. With controllable intransitive verbs, there is yet another possible explanation for the use of *ɳɛ̃* rather than *yī̃*: the subject is not in full control (cf. Chang and Chang 1980.17).

(24) *ṅārāā tsō pīkāā ɳɛ̃* 4.17.8 'We are brothers'

ɳɛ̃ chɛ̃nā, tharē̃ qhi kamṭē tī qhō̃tsōō tshūū lāāpā marē̃. *ṅārāā tsōō*

phāā lāāpΛ reè. qhōtsōō sācāā nārāā tsōō phāā chīpΛ reè 4.315.1-5 'In my judgment, they didn't start the fight this time. We started it. We went over to their territory'

(25) nātsō thāā nēpō reè 2.44.8-9 'We're close'

... nātsō, nīmΛ cīl, pēsqōp Λ toyāā chēēpΛ yīī 3.242.15-6 '... we decided, one day, to go to the movies'

... nātsō "chēēqī reè, chēēqī reè" sām ni, chīpΛ reè yāa 3.245.3-5 '... we kept thinking "It'll stop, it'll stop", and we went on up'

thā thacā nātsōō šetāā qhi yaqō, šāpcī šūū cēē, tūūqī yīī 4.246.4-6 'Now, from now on we'll serve you very well'

šēē, nāmkuū yīīnΛ, "qōpšā" señēē thi, tawā šipēē nāā Λ mātōō, nātsōō mātōōqaa cheqāā chiqī reè 1.272.4-8 'Otherwise, ordinarily, as for this (meat) called "chest meat", except in the fourth month we try not to sell it'

The contrast of yīī and reè is neutralized in several environments, where only yīī is used. These are, in large part, the same ones in which the contrast of yōō and yōō reè is neutralized in favor of yōō. So, only yīī occurs before suffixes (26) and before and after particles (27). And before the extended auxiliary tōōtōō che/chēē 'to imply, give the appearance of, be obvious', it is yīī that is used (28). There are also examples of yīī preceding verbs of saying (se and its postquotational form s; che/chēē 'to do; to say') where, without such verbs, reè would be used (29). Once again, we assume a secondary development leading to an association with person, this time among copular verbs.

(26) Before -nā/-nā 'if; in the case of; as for'

ānī, tā tī, tī rīqū šipū chi sō quqī mēē tōō, ānī, pātūū chēpō yīīnΛ 1.169.10-2 'And then, as for this hair, they must have to make this very long, then, if the patūū is big'

na yīīnΛ, nāñtāā tāā moqō, āmā rāā! 2.168.6-7 'You needn't worry about me, mother!' ('If it's I/As for me, you needn't worry!')

nāmkuu yīīnΛ, ... 1.84.12-3 ('If it's) usually ...'

pūqū tī yīīnΛ, yaqō šipū chi tuū 2.142.11-2 'As for this boy, he's very good'

(27) Before tsaa 'since'

... nārā, rhāñrāā cēē yīī tsāā ... 2.171.14 '... since I myself am quite alone'

ānī yāā sāñīī na nāpō thōōñēē yīī tsāā ... 1.267.4-5 'And then, too, since

I'll be setting out early tomorrow ...'

ch_gè tsāā, lhāpcā q_oomō rāā qēcā š_oō qhēpō yīī tsāā ... 4.303.9-11 'So, grouse, since you are skillful at talking ...'

tha, tī nāpū cētāā qhi, soqo chūūnā, nāpū thi thūpū yīī tsāā, tēpō yūqī māretāā? 1.224.5-8 'Now, if they had to make them of nāpū and so forth, since nāpū is thick, they wouldn't be comfortable, would they?'

tha nām tha_n ru tōñēē yīī tsāā ... 2.165.2-3 'Now, since the weather's going to be getting cold ...'

In addition to its clause-final usage, yīī tsāā also occurs at the beginning of sentences. As yōō tsāā appears at the beginning of a sentence referring to a previous sentence which ended with y_oō reē, so yīī tsāā appears following a sentence ending in reē or marēē:

thitsū ācāā taa, ānī cōcōō qhōtsōō qāīīī reē. yīī tsāā, ācāā taa cōcōō qhōtsōō ē, tuqpa tsāā ni chiqī mēē 4.204.12-6 'These things were benefits conferred on me by my older sister and older brothers. So I'll never do anything bad to my older sister and older brothers, either'

tī qōō tshāra mācēnā, ānī qaa, yaa, šetāā qāñēē yūqī reē. yīī tsāā qā thirī tīqēē qōō tshāra cheqo reē 4.107.9-14 'If I don't finish taking them up, then, I'll get a big fine. So today I have to finish taking up those things'

lōōkū chūūpa raa yīīnēē, kūū rīqū šetāā chīī ni mātōō lōōkū yūqī marēē. yīī tsāā, tīī pālruū tēē, ānī rāā la pūqū kīkū yōō chēē tuqs siqī 4.134.6-12 'Even if he can return, he can only return after a very long time has passed. So, in the meantime, then, he mentioned that you were pregnant'

yīī tsāā is not, however, limited to the environment following reē or marēē. It also follows, for example, a verb base with the suffix-qī (whose negative would be -qī mītūū) and verb bases followed by the auxiliary chu, an unstressed alternant of chūū. That is, it has, in part, separated itself off from the verb yīī and achieved a semi-independent existence with the meaning 'so, therefore'. For example:

qū khi, qā nī tēē āqūū, 'ānī tīqēē thēē tshāra chīī!' s chēē cēē, tītēē siqī. yīī tsāā qēē ānī thī tī ē āqūū tēē chu 4.113.6-13 'Please, as for me, āqū said this sort of thing to me here: "And then, finish taking those off!" So, āqū, then, handed me this knife of mine, too'

ānī qaa, tāqōō nīīlām khētsāā šipū chī tāā chu. yīī tsāā, ānī nīīlām thi, qharē tāā mātāā ānī tsīl tsīl ni, šūūkū quqī 4.142.17-143.2 'And then,

last night I had an exceedingly strange dream. So, then, I want you to make an astrological reading about what I did or did not dream and, then, tell me'

After the dubitative particle ā/ā

tēē tā, "lāptā" s qhēē ā yīi 1. 89. 13-4 'As for those, I don't really suppose they are what you'd call "schools"'

- (28) Before tōtōtō chē/chēē

tī sūūpā thi, qhōrāā tsōō seyāā qhō taa mhātūpā yīi tsāā, ānī hālām sēēqī yīi tōtōtō chēpā reē 3. 78. 15—79. 1 'Since what they [the Prime Ministers] said didn't agree with what they [the Communists] said, then, they looked almost as if they would kill them'

qhō tūqī yīi tōtōtō chiqī 'He's obviously going somewhere'

- (29) (a) qhārē/qhāā yīi senā 'If you say, "What is it?/What's the reason/What's the explanation?/How is that?"', i. e. 'The reason is'. Compare with this yīi the reē following qhārē in the following examples: ... qēē kāā qoyāā thi qhārē reē? 4. 105. 3-4 'What's the reason for your having to shout like this?'; "Ānī āqū rāā nēē tā tītēē qhōō tēēqōō qhārē reē?" s lāpā reē 4. 122. 16-8 "And then, āqū, why did you have to give my horse to him like that?", he said'

tha nātsō qhāpēē lunpāā yaa, qhōō chēpō yōō reē. qhārē yīi senā, šā qhōrā, šā qhōrā saqo retāā? 1. 235. 13-6 'Now, in our Khampa country, the prices are high. If you say, "What's the reason?", the reason is, we have to eat just meat, just meat, don't we?'

nātsō ē maa lōō tūqī yōō. qhāā yīi senā, tēē qūmāā yūqī reē 4. 75. 1-3 'Even we are going back down. If you say, "What's the reason?", the reason is, bandits are coming down'

tūū cīi qhi nāā lā phāā tshūū qhōō thūūqī reē ... qhāā yīi senā metōō tēē mōlōm kāp tha! ātā lamsāā rāā nāā lā lēēqī reē 4. 228. 21—229. 3 'You can go home and come back in a week ... If you say, "What's the explanation?", the explanation is this: Pray to this flower! You'll arrive right away now' ānī, šōō qōō qhi šiqā tī taa tsē qōō qhi šiqā thi mātāā qhāā yīi senā, šōō qōō qhi tī, šiqā tī, sōsōō, kūūtsāā lā maa, caa chēē tēē yōō reē 3. 19. 6-12 'And then, if you say, "What's the difference between the šōō qōō's estate and the tsē qōō's estate?", this one of the šōō qōō, this estate, stays with ones descendants'

$n\bar{a}m\bar{k}\bar{u}\bar{u}$ $l\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $\bar{t}h\bar{i}m$ $t\bar{h}\bar{a}m\bar{q}\bar{i}$ $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$. $q\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ $s\bar{e}n\bar{a}$, $l\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $n\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $l\bar{a}$, $\bar{a}l\bar{e}\bar{e}$... $\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $q\bar{h}\bar{i}$ $p\bar{a}l\bar{r}\bar{u}\bar{u}$ $\bar{t}\bar{i}t\bar{s}\bar{u}$ \bar{e} $q\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{a}q\bar{a}l\bar{o}\bar{d}$, $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$, $q\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $k\bar{a}\bar{a}$ ru $c\bar{u}\bar{u}$; $t\bar{s}\bar{a}\bar{h}m\bar{a}$ $\bar{s}\bar{e}t\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $s\bar{u}q\bar{i}$ $r\bar{e}t\bar{a}\bar{a}$? $m\bar{o}l\bar{o}m$ $q\bar{h}\bar{u}t\bar{u}\bar{u}$ 3.113.6-12 'The laws are stricter than usual. If you say, "In what way are they?/How is that?", in Lhasa, first of all ... all these streets here and there and everything, then, they force them to sweep; they make them very clean, don't they? At the time of $m\bar{o}l\bar{o}m$ '

(b) $q\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ $ch\bar{e}\bar{e}p\bar{a}/s\bar{i}q\bar{i}$ $y\bar{i}n\bar{a}\bar{a}$ 'I wonder if they say what the reason is' $\bar{o}\bar{o}$, $q\bar{a}\bar{a}p\bar{o}$ $q\bar{h}\bar{o}\bar{o}y\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $t\bar{h}\bar{i}$ $q\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ $ch\bar{e}\bar{e}p\bar{a}$ $y\bar{i}n\bar{a}\bar{a}$ 1.206.9-10 'Now, as for these white things they wear, I wonder if they say what the reason is' $t\bar{i}$ $q\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ $s\bar{i}q\bar{i}$ $y\bar{i}n\bar{a}\bar{a}$ 3.150.1 'As to this [drinking of wheat porridge], I wonder if they say what the reason is'

(c) Before s

The environment before s does not require the substitution of $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ for $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$. In all the examples given here, $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ could also be used. There are also substitutions which cannot be made even before s . One such is the negative, that is, $m\bar{e}\bar{e}$ for $m\bar{a}r\bar{e}\bar{e}$. So, in the following example, $*ch\bar{o}\bar{o}q\bar{i}$ $m\bar{e}\bar{e}$ cannot be used in place of $ch\bar{o}\bar{o}q\bar{i}$ $m\bar{a}r\bar{e}\bar{e}$: $c\bar{o}m\bar{t}\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $t\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $q\bar{h}\bar{i}$ "“ $q\bar{h}\bar{o}\bar{o}$ $ph\bar{u}t\bar{u}\bar{u}$ $c\bar{e}\bar{e}$ ” $s\bar{e}n\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $t\bar{h}\bar{i}$, $q\bar{h}\bar{o}\bar{o}$ $ch\bar{o}\bar{o}q\bar{i}$ $m\bar{a}r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ ” s $q\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $n\bar{a}\bar{a}p\bar{a}$ $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ 1.201.12-5 'Buddha stopped it, (saying) "One is not allowed to wear this thing called a 'garment with sleeves'"

$\bar{a}n\bar{i}$, $r\bar{i}p\bar{a}$, $t\bar{a}$ $t\bar{i}$ "“ $r\bar{i}m\bar{s}\bar{i}$ ” $s\bar{e}n\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $r\bar{a}p\bar{a}$ “ $r\bar{i}p\bar{a}$ $n\bar{a}p\bar{a}$ ” $s\bar{e}n\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $r\bar{a}p\bar{a}$ $t\bar{e}t\bar{s}\bar{o}$, “ $t\bar{h}\bar{u}\bar{i}t\bar{s}\bar{u}\bar{u}$, $t\bar{i}n\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $t\bar{i}$ $p\bar{a}\bar{a}r\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $l\bar{a}$ $y\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $q\bar{h}\bar{o}s\bar{a}$, $t\bar{i}$ $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ ” s 3.16.15-9 'And then, as for the rank, now these, as to these called "fourth-rank officials" or "fifth rank", they say, "From this time, for this period, it's this rank"

$r\bar{o}$ $k\bar{e}\bar{e}n\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $q\bar{h}\bar{i}$ $m\bar{i}$, $y\bar{o}d$ $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$. $y\bar{o}d$ $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $t\bar{e}\bar{e}$, “ $q\bar{h}\bar{o}$ $l\bar{o}q\bar{q}\bar{a}\bar{a}$, $t\bar{i}$ $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ ” s $q\bar{h}\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $y\bar{o}d$ $m\bar{a}r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ 3.168.14-169.1 'There are people who take corpses away. There are, but no one says "He's especially this"

“ $k\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $m\bar{h}\bar{a}c\bar{o}q\bar{a}$ $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ ” s $t\bar{i}$ $y\bar{o}d$ $m\bar{a}r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ 3.161.9-10 'It isn't so that there's a (rule) saying that "you aren't allowed to take them away (on certain days)"

$s\bar{a}$, “ $k\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $ch\bar{o}q\bar{a}$ \bar{e} $t\bar{i}$ $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ ” s $y\bar{o}d$ $m\bar{a}r\bar{e}\bar{e}$, “ $m\bar{h}\bar{a}c\bar{o}q\bar{a}$ \bar{e} $t\bar{i}$ $y\bar{i}\bar{i}$ ” s $y\bar{o}d$ $m\bar{a}r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ 3.162.7-9 'As for the days, there's neither a (rule) saying that "you are allowed to take them away", nor is there a (rule) saying that "you aren't allowed to take them away"

The Spread to Copular Usage among Existential Verbs

A. With Adjectives

When a noun or pronoun is joined to an adjective, the range of semantic differentiation opens up, to the extent that, in addition to *reè*, originally existential verbs and verb phrases such as *yǒǒ/yǒǒ reè* and *tuù* are used in copular constructions. *reè* is the unmarked, basic copula. When another verb of being is used in its place, it is to stress some added feature. We have seen that the meaning of existential *tuù* is that of knowledge arrived at personally; by extension, *tuù* can connote force of conviction. Basically, these same semantic features are present in the use of *tuù* as a copular verb joining a noun or pronoun with an adjective. The means of cognition of qualities described by adjectives are, however, more varied or, perhaps, more splintered, since the adjective may describe just one quality of an object, which may be known through any of the senses, say, sight, hearing, or taste. One of the features shared by the existential and copular functions of *yǒǒ reè* is the implication that the basis of a statement is hearsay. Contrast, then, the references to taste with *tuù* and *yǒǒ reè* in the following examples:

(30) *tuù*

ṇarāā nīi sōōcā chōō; ānī, qhāptōō e yaqō tuù, qhōtsōō tēē, chūqāā qhi to thaqāā 1.229.7-10 'We two'll drink tea; and then, the snacks are good, too, that is, theirs there, right there in the outer room of the bathhouse'. Here, a host who is a local resident is speaking to an out-of-town guest. "ṇātsō ṭhapēē mōōmōō" *señēē thi qhāṭēē tōō?* 2.159.6-7 'How about these ones called "the mōōmōō of us monks"?' Thus a son addresses his mother; the two are eating these mōōmōō, which the son has prepared. The mother replies: *mm, yaqō tuù* 2.159.8 'Mm, they're good' *ṇōñēē sūūtsīi yaqō ṣetāā toqāā! tōpō ṣetāā tuù* 2.254.8-9 'Yes, really, the food is certainly very good! It's very delicious' So a guest assures his hostess during the course of a dinner.

yǒǒ reè

ṇḡ pīkāā, ānī, lhāsēē kḡpō māsēērōō naa! lhāsēē kḡpōō ṣā tī nī, ānī ... thūqṣā reè. ānī, ṇḡ ṣā tī ṣīpū ṣītāā yǒǒ reè. ṇā sēērōō naa! 4.57.3-8

'Please don't kill my brother, then, lhāsēē kḡpō! As for this flesh of lhāsēē kḡpō, then ... it's poisonous flesh. But then, this flesh of mine is very delicious. Please kill me!' lhācīl qūūsāā is seeking to dissuade toā sāṃmō's henchmen from killing her brother. In referring to the taste of her own flesh, she is obviously not speaking from experience.

And consider the use of tuù and yɔ̀ɔ̀ rēè in referring to the experiencing of pleasure:

(31) tuù

qhāqō mītūù. kīpū šetāā tuù 2.164.9-10 'No, it isn't difficult. It's very pleasant'. A young monk is speaking of the conditions under which he studies.

thā, phāqēē kīpū šetāā tuù. phū tī nī nīṃ cēè lēè cetsōō mītūù 4.229.14-6 'Now, it's very pleasant over there. As for this young man, he's indescribably handsome'. So a girl reassures her father about a wasteland to which he had had to send her.

luù tshōsāā kīpū šetāā tuù 4.178.8-9 'At the place where we tend sheep, it's very pleasant'

yɔ̀ɔ̀ rēè

pāāqō kīpū šetāā yɔ̀ɔ̀ rēè 3.152.10 'Yes, the beggars are very happy'. The speaker is not a beggar.

thā qhōtsō kīpū šetāā yɔ̀ɔ̀ rēè. līqēē nāā lā lēè tsāā, thā qhōrāā tshu tsēmō tsēqāā, qhasā qhā lā ... 3.249.3-6 'Now, they are very happy. Since they've come into the park, now, they (can) go play, all over ...'. This statement of assumption that the children are happy, using yɔ̀ɔ̀ rēè, follows directly on the use of the auxiliary tuù to refer to the observable fact that the children have grown: chēpō chāā tuqāā 2.248.17 'Yes, they've grown ("large"), haven't they?'

kḡpōō, hā qhūqī yɔ̀ɔ̀ mārēè; "tsāācūū līqā' señēē thi ānī kīpū šipū chi yɔ̀ɔ̀ rēè" sāpā rēè 4.173.1-4 'The King didn't know; he thought, "This place called 'tsāācūū līqā', then, is extremely pleasant"'. The King has not seen this small, worthless island, but he is in the process of giving, in its stead, far more valuable lands to ñecōō sāṃpō, who has once again outwitted him.

There is, however, a type of circumstance in which yɔ̀ɔ̀ rēè may be used rather than tuù, even though one has direct, first-hand knowledge that a thing is so. This is when the speaker wishes to qualify or discount his statement ("This

may be true, but ..."). In the following interchange, for example, a husband seeks to divert a neighbor's attention away from his bride: (32) ... *ṭhɔ̃np̄ēē* *phu* *t̄i*, "rāā qhi nāmā t̄i t̄l n̄iṅ c̄epō š̄etāā tuù ..." s, *l̄ap̄a* *r̄ēē*. *l̄ap̄a* *taa* ... *phu* *t̄i*, "ṅēē nāmā, n̄iṅ c̄epō t̄l š̄etāā yɔ̃d̄ r̄ēē ... ch̄ēn̄ēē, ṅēē nām̄ēē t̄u l̄a sō tuù" s, *l̄ap̄a* *r̄ēē* 4.283.16-284.2' ... this neighbor's son said, "This bride of yours is very beautiful ...". As soon as he said this ... this boy said, "My bride may be very beautiful ... however, my bride's vagina has teeth".

B. With the Expression of Location

There is a subtype of existential statement that, along with asserting that something exists, also specifies where it exists. The place is given in the dative, where there is a case; the verb of being is existential:

(33) *yɔ̃d̄ r̄ēē*

phōt̄āā *qhi* *t̄ip̄r̄i* *l̄ɔ̃d̄* *l̄a* *l̄uk̄ūū* *š̄etāā* *yɔ̃d̄ r̄ēē* 1.101.9-10 'Yes, on the palace wall paintings' there is a great deal of history' *k̄ūū* *t̄ōōm̄ēē* *n̄i* *l̄a* *t̄h̄i* *t̄h̄āpō* *yɔ̃d̄ r̄ēē* 1.77.11-2 'Yes, there are strict rules in both the upper and the lower tantric colleges'

tuù

yāā *topāā* *n̄iṅ* *c̄epō* *t̄iṭēē* *qhācēē* *m̄opāā* *e* *tuù* 2.93.17-94.2 'Around here there are these pretty sorts of things, down there at the Moslem's place, too' *m̄āq̄ēē* *t̄shōṅpā* *chi* *tuù* 4.188.9 'Down there, there's a merchant'

Then there is the sort of statement that specifies the location of something whose existence has already been established, and where the verb is the copular *r̄ēē*:

(34) *th̄a* *t̄in̄ēē* *ch̄āāk̄k̄i* *thāā* *n̄ēlōō* *r̄ēē?* 3.192.4-5 'Now, from here, how close is *ch̄āāk̄k̄i*?'; *t̄in̄ēē* *phāā*, *thūūtāā* *n̄epō* *š̄etāā* *r̄ēē*. *l̄a* *thi* *k̄ap* *ni* *ph̄ācōō* *t̄āqāā* ... *š̄iq̄ā* *ch̄āāk̄k̄i* *r̄ēē* 3.192.8-11 'From here over to there it's very close. After you cross this mountain pass, *ch̄āāk̄k̄i* Estate is ... right over there' *qhāpāā* *r̄ēē?* *q̄ācēē* *r̄ēē*, *n̄v̄ēl̄thi* *l̄a* *r̄ēē?* 3.244.9-10 'Where was it? Was it the *q̄ācēē* (Cinema), or was it at the Novelty?'; *q̄ācēē* *l̄a* *r̄ēē* 3.244.11 'It was at the *q̄ācēē*'

But what, then, of examples such as the following where existence has been established but the verb is *yɔ̃d̄ r̄ēē*?

(35) *yiq̄tsāā* *t̄shōsā* *qh̄āq̄i* *n̄āā* *l̄a* *r̄ēē?* 1.126.1-2 'Where is the place in which the Secretariat meets?'; *yiq̄tsāā* *phōt̄āā* *māāpō* *rāā* *qhi* *n̄āā* *l̄a* *yɔ̃d̄*

reè 1. 126. 3-4 'The Secretariat is in the Red Palace itself'

qāšāā? 1. 126. 5 '(How about) the Cabinet?'; qāšāā phōtāā māāpō yɔ̀ð mārēē. šāā ŋō tēē, yīšii nṓpūū simcūū qhi ɔ̀ð taqāā yɔ̀ð reè 1. 126. 6-9 'The Cabinet isn't in the Red Palace. It's there to the east, just below His Holiness's reception hall'

ōō, māāqāā qhāā, chātāā pātōō chēē tsāā ... qhāā tūū kēē chi yɔ̀ð reè ... qātāā tēē ... qūsūū māāqāā reè ... qhātāā taa qhātāā nīi, tḥapcēē yɔ̀ð reè 3. 51. 9-14 'Mm, since the different military units go to number chā ... there are seven or eight different ones ... Number qā here ... is the bodyguard military unit ... Numbers qhā and qha are both at tḥapci'

ānī, māāqāā tī seyāā thi tḥapci nī, ṇarāā tsōō lhēēsēē yatsa tēē tḥapci rāā la tūūqī reè. qūsūū māāqāā nī nṓpū līqāā yɔ̀ð reè, māāqāā thi 3. 56. 5-10 'And then, as for these aforementioned military units, the tḥapci one stays right there in tḥapci, a bit above our Lhasa. As for the bodyguard military unit, it's at nṓpū līqā, this military unit'

We infer an expansion in the use of existential verbs of being to copular areas involving either adjectives or the expression of location. That there is a semantic bond linking the copular with the expression of place, in the verbal (as opposed to case) locative, is a view propounded by Kahn (1973. 198: "... the use of *be* as locative copula might be regarded as paradigmatic for its copula use generally, in the sense that to *stand* is paradigmatic for the notion of state in general, quite apart from etymological considerations").

C. With Modified Nouns

Among the verbs of being, only yī and reè are used when nouns are joined to nouns without modifiers. With the addition of a modifier, however, we also find yɔ̀ð reè and tuū, an extension in usage presumably linked sequentially to the use of these existential verbs in joining nouns to adjectives.⁵ yɔ̀ð reè may be used, for example, in stories, with the connotation of hearsay:

- (36) ... nīmā cīi, ānī mōō khōqā tīi, tḥēpā yūqī yɔ̀ð reè. tḥēpā tsīqū šīpū chi yɔ̀ð reè, qhō 4. 297. 11-298. 2 '... one day, then, a muleteer of this husband of hers came along. He was an extremely prosperous muleteer, he was'

In the following examples of tuū, the speaker implies that he has seen what he is describing:

- (37) ānī lunpā tī ē šetāā qhi kōpō mī šāpā mēpa, chantōō tītēē chi tuū

4. 214. 20—215. 1 'And then, too, this place is this sort of wasteland, which is very desolate and without any other people'

ṭhɔ̃npɛ̃ phɯ tɿ tɛ̃rsɔ̃ tɿ tõpɔ̃ ʃɛ̃tɔ̃ tũ tee, qhoo liqpã pɛ̃mɔ̃ tsɿ chi tũ
4. 284. 8—11 'This neighbor's son is very good looking, but his penis is like a knee'

Tense, Aspect, and Verbs of Being

Verbs of being, in both their independent and auxiliary uses, are associated with the indication of tense and aspect. How much of this is a corollary to the positions of these verbs in the certainty hierarchy is another matter. We have seen that in *yōō* there is an element of the habitual or customary. This is also true, in a number of instances, of *yɔ̃ɔ̃* *rɛ̃*, hence its partial correlation with expressions such as *kū̃nɛ̃* 'never' (with a negative), *tsom tsom* 'sometimes', and *nɔ̃mkū̃* 'ordinarily':

- (38) phɔ̃cū̃ lɔ̃qɔ̃ kū̃nɛ̃ yɔ̃ɔ̃ mɔ̃rɛ̃ 1. 16. 11—2 'No, they never have cows or oxen'; ... tshɔ̃ kɿp tɔ̃ɔ̃nɛ̃ thɿtsɔ̃, kū̃nɛ̃ thɛ̃ yɔ̃ɔ̃ mɔ̃rɛ̃ 3. 39. 17—9 '... as for those who engage in trade, they never have any taxes'; thɿ ʃɔ̃qɔ̃ ʃipcū̃ ʃĩiq̃ cɛ̃tɔ̃nɿ, ɿnɿ, kū̃nɛ̃ rɔ̃ phɔ̃ tshū̃ thɛ̃tɿp yɔ̃ɔ̃ mɔ̃rɛ̃ 4. 128. 19—22 'Now, there's no way we can ever be separated from each other for *forty-nine* days and so forth'; yɔ̃ tɿ lhɛ̃sɔ̃ nɔ̃ lɿ khɔ̃nɛ̃ yɔ̃ɔ̃ mɔ̃rɛ̃ 1. 194. 11—3 'But they never have these in the Lhasa area'

ō̃, tɛ̃, tsom tsom mɔ̃tɔ̃ yɔ̃ɔ̃ rɛ̃ 3. 42. 14—5 'Mm, in that case, sometimes there's a difference'

ʃɛ̃, nɔ̃mkū̃ qhi yɔ̃ɔ̃ taa qhū̃cɛ̃ qhi khɛ̃pɔ̃ rɿpɿ thi ũ̃ɿ mɔ̃tɔ̃, ʃɛ̃tɔ̃ yɔ̃ɔ̃ mɔ̃rɛ̃ 1. 222. 10—3 'Otherwise, the differences in the things they ordinarily wear in the summer and in the winter aren't very great, except for the hats'

yɔ̃ɔ̃ *rɛ̃* is, however, also used in referring to events in the distant past, indicated, for example, by *nɔ̃mɔ̃* *nɔ̃mɔ̃* 'a long, long time ago'. This is clearly dependent on the speaker's uncertainty about that which happened so long ago, that which was not part of his experience:

- (39) nɔ̃mɔ̃ nɔ̃mɔ̃ ỹnɿ nɿ, tɔ̃qɔ̃ yɔ̃ɔ̃ mɔ̃rɛ̃ 1. 210. 16—7 'A long, long time ago, there were no monks' vests'; nɔ̃mɔ̃ nɔ̃mɔ̃ cū̃ laa, pō̃ cɿ taa mō̃ chi yɔ̃ɔ̃ rɛ̃ 4. 35. 1—2 'Once, a long, long time ago, there were an old man and an old woman'

Again, *tuù*'s link to the current or ongoing, evidenced in its use with expressions of present time (40), is contingent, in its implication of first-hand witness and expression of conviction, on the feature of certainty.

- (40) *tḕtsa ātā, šēpā rā chi tuù. yīnēē, tha ātā, sēm̄cēē, yā ru tṑ qhi qhāā rā chi tuù* 3.199.3-6 'Just now, they're a little poor in quality. However, now, right now, the animals are improving'
thalō ... chālācū tī nāpō phāp chēē tsāā, šēṭāā šēmō yaqō tuù 3.217.18-20 'This year ... since the rainfall came early, they are very sturdy and vigorous'
thirī phāā, qānāā šuyāā ... qhēē mītuù 2.96.2-3 'Today, as for what's to be ordered ... there isn't anything'
thirī qhēēsā nām yaqō šitāā tuù 2.210.1-2 'These days the weather is very good'

This link is, however, dissolved as soon as the speaker does not have direct experience to back his assertions or wishes to make a qualification ('may be', rather than 'is'):

- (41) *thirī tēē chōcāā tōpō šēṭāā yṑ reē* 2.255.4-5 'The wine here today is very delicious [I have been told; I assume]'. Here, by using *yṑ reē* with *thirī*, rather than *tuù*, the speaker implies that he has not yet tasted the wine.
ānī, lhēēsēē nāā lā qhōrqēē lāptā yōnaa mēnaa phēēcēē yōṅā mēē. nēēmāā nēēmāā yīnā, "qhuryī lāptā" saā pāācēē qhāā qhi qhāptōō tī nāā tēē yṑ retāā? thēsāā yṑ marēē 1.88.5-12 'But then, as to whether or not there is a Gurkha school in Lhasa, there probably is not. A long time ago, there was in the place opposite *pāācēē qhāā* one called the "Gurkha [Written] Language School', is that right? These days it isn't there/there isn't one there'. If the speaker had been there, and knew for sure that the school wasn't there, he would have said *thēsāā mītuù*.

That the speaker's wish to make a qualification may contribute to the use of *yṑ reē* rather than *tuù* we have already noted in our discussion of the copular use of *yṑ reē* and *tuù* with adjectives (cf. examples 30-31). In the following example, the carpenter (C) is as knowledgeable about the availability of building materials as the person wishing to build a house (L), and yet he uses *yṑ reē* in responding to her use of *tuù*:

- (42) L: *šēē nī thārī qhēēsā yāā, tō thi tḕtsa qōpō rā chi tuù, āāpō kōōnēē šitāā māqū sōō tsāā* 2.275.3-6 'However, these days, these stones are a bit

scarce since there are a great many builders'; C: tḕtsa qōpō ... yǝǝ rḕ tee, yīnḕ tha qhōrā chāālḕ lḕqō chi tsū̀pa nāānā, yāā yāqḕ, qhōrāā tsṑ, nāā šaanā, ānī, qhōrāā tsṑ yāā ... thamtṑ chiqī rḕ 2.275.7-12 'They may *be* ... a bit scarce, but even so, now, when you have once started the work, when you place the order with them up there, then they ... will fill it faithfully and to the best of their ability'

The Present Perfect Provides further evidence on the primacy of the certainty factor over features of tense or aspect. Both *tù* and *yṑ/yaǝ* *rḕ* are used as auxiliaries in forming the Present Perfect, that is, in referring to a present condition which was initiated through an action in the past. This formation consists in a perfective base followed by a verb of being. (*tù* is defective here; except for derived forms, it is replaced in final position by *šaa*, an unstressed alternant of *šā* 'to put, place, leave'.) When it is a form of *tù* which follows the base, there is often the same visual element that is present in the use of *tù* by itself. If it is not explicit, there is at least an implication which could be variously rendered as "You can see, can't you?", "You see!", "I see", "We can both see, can't we?":

(43) *tù* and the Present Perfect

(a) *tha qhāšḕ yāā, chḕ kṑ mītū̀* 2.218.13-4 'But now, some of them haven't marked it [i.e. the guest list; I can see this from looking at the list]'. In this example, a mistress has sent a servant to invite guests to a picnic. On his return, the servant has shown her the list, on which prospective guests were to indicate their intent to attend.

(b) A retired abbot to the visiting mother of his pupil: *tha tsāqī tsiqī rāpa māqū chi khī tuqāā!* 2.141.4-5 'Now, you certainly have brought a variety of many different things! [I see them before me]'

(c) Guest to hostess at a picnic: *nāmkuū tī kā theētḕ rā chi yṑpḕnī, thēsāā yāā, chāāpā ḕ tḕtsa tāā chḕ tsāā, naqā tīsū yaqō šetāā chāā tuqāā?* 2.247.14-7 'Usually this (grass) is yellowish gray, but since it has rained a little these days, too, these lawns have become very good, haven't they? [I can see; we can both see]'

(d) A carpenter addresses a mason: *ṑ, tītḕ chi tha, tḕ, tha, nḕ, phūpā rḕ re kāp šā tuqāā?* 2.282.14-6 'Well, I've put one peg each here, now, like this (and they are still there), now, haven't I? [You can see them, can't you?]'

(e) Two older princes on encountering their younger brother: $s\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $ch\bar{u}\eta\Lambda$ $n\bar{i}$, $met\bar{c}\bar{o}$ $kh\bar{i}$ $m\bar{i}t\bar{u}\bar{u}$ 4.31.5-6 'As for the younger son, he hasn't brought flowers [We can see that]'

(f) Old woman to her husband, who told her he had a rabbit in a pot; she has discovered that the pot contained only ice: $re\bar{q}\bar{o}\bar{o}$ $n\bar{i}$ sim $m\bar{i}t\bar{u}\bar{u}$ 4.44.18 'As for the rabbit, you haven't caught him [I can see that; you can see that]'

(g) $\Lambda\bar{q}\bar{u}$ $t\bar{o}p\bar{a}$ to the owner of a horse he had stolen. $\Lambda\bar{q}\bar{u}$ $t\bar{o}p\bar{a}$ had mistaken another horse for the stolen one; attempting to restore it to the man he had cheated, he addresses him thus: $th\bar{a}$ $t\bar{a}$ $m\bar{e}p\Lambda$ $r\Lambda$ chi $ch\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $toq\bar{a}\bar{a}$? 4.118.10-11 'Now, it has become like a different horse, hasn't it? [You can see that for yourself, can't you?]'

Though the visual aspect is the dominant one implied by our textual examples of $tu\bar{u}$ following a verb base, the first-hand experience can be of another sort, for example, taste. So, during the course of a dinner, a guest compliments her hostess:

(h) $s\bar{u}\bar{u}ts\bar{i}$ $\check{s}e\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $\bar{t}o\bar{p}\bar{o}$ $s\bar{o}\bar{o}$ $toq\bar{a}\bar{a}$! $maac\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $s\bar{u}$ su $re\bar{e}$? 2.253.13-4 'The food has certainly been made very delicious! Who are the cooks?'

$y\bar{c}\bar{o}$ $re\bar{e}$ is, on the other hand, the auxiliary of choice for the Present Perfect when referring to something not at hand. Included here, then, are hearsay and inference. Examples:

(44) $y\bar{c}\bar{o}$ $re\bar{e}$ and the Present Perfect

(a) After the prayer leaders in a nunnery have given birth to children, the other nuns can come to only one conclusion: $th\bar{a}$ $t\bar{e}t\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $\eta\bar{a}ts\bar{o}\bar{o}$ $k\bar{i}$ Λ $kh\bar{o}q\bar{a}$ chi $l\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $y\bar{c}\bar{o}$ $re\bar{e}$ 4.95.17-9 'Now, there must certainly be among us a man who has come here'

(b) A king, afflicted with a baffling illness, consults a nonresident lama. The lama says to him: $\Lambda\bar{n}\bar{i}$, $kh\bar{e}r\bar{a}\bar{a}$ qhi $s\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $s\bar{u}p\bar{u}$ $t\bar{i}q\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $ch\bar{e}p\bar{o}$ $ch\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $y\bar{c}\bar{o}$ $re\bar{e}$. $\Lambda\bar{n}\bar{i}$, 'm $\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $q\bar{u}\check{s}\bar{\Lambda}li$ $met\bar{c}\bar{o}$ ' $se\bar{n}\bar{e}\bar{e}$ thi $l\bar{e}q\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $t\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $n\bar{a}\bar{a}$! 4.10.3-7 'And then, those three sons of yours have grown up. And then, send them to get these things called "m $\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $q\bar{u}\check{s}\bar{\Lambda}li$ flowers"!'

Contrast with this the interchange between a hostess (H) and one of her guests (G) at a picnic:

H: $\Lambda\bar{\Lambda}ts\bar{i}$, $\bar{o}\bar{o}$ laa , $qh\bar{o}ts\bar{o}$ $n\bar{i}$ $p\bar{a}\bar{a}r\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $t\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $m\bar{a}c\bar{e}\bar{e}p\bar{e}\bar{e}$ $r\bar{i}q\bar{a}\bar{a}$ Λ , $s\bar{i}t\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $ch\bar{e}p\bar{o}$ $n\bar{a}\bar{a}$ $\check{s}aa$ 2.248.14-6 'Oh my, these younger relatives have grown a lot since I

last saw them'

G: chēpō chāa tuqāā? pūqū tshu qhāāqālō 2. 248. 17—249. 1 'Yes, they've grown, haven't they? All the children'

(c) A mother and son are at a park. She says he could certainly have brought friends with him from the monastery. The son replies: āmā rāā qhi ānī thācū nē 1āpnā, qhōtsō lēē yōō rēē, tīnēē māa. pūqū qhāšēē chi lēē yōō rēē 2. 161. 8—11 'Mother, if only you had said that, then, a little while ago. They have come, that is, down from there. Several boys have come [to town, not to the park where the mother and son are]'

Sources of the Tibetan Verbs of Being

Verbs of being are not static. We might expect such seemingly basic elements of a language to be particularly stable; in fact, they may at times be more subject to change than forms expressing less abstract concepts. Some verbs of being fall by the wayside, while new ones develop from other sources. The Chinese copula shih, for example, derives from a demonstrative pronoun; by the third century B.C., it was, however, already treated as a verb (for example, in its negation by pu).

In modern spoken Tibetan, we can see clearly the origins of some verbs of being in verbs which had as their basic or original meaning the indication of location or movement. Dictionaries, for example, give 'to sit' as their first gloss for 'dug-pa (spoken Tibetan tuū), and it seems reasonable to assume that this more concrete meaning was, historically, antecedent to that of being. šāa (written Tibetan bzag, Perfect to 'jog-pa) means 'to put; to place; to leave', but as an unstressed particle, šaa, it stands in a suppletive relationship to tuū in the formation of the Present Perfect. (As noted above, tuū is used only in derived forms in the Present Perfect.) Examples:

(45) šāa 'to leave in a certain position'

ānī, chōōqāā qhāāqā nīitāā sēqō tōō šāāqī rēē ... chē šāāqī rēē? 1. 106. 13—5 'And then, are all the chapels left closed every day ... or are they left open?'
ōō lōō lēs, ātā māšī tēē, thopō, qhāāqālō, qhā chē nāā, mātūp tsāā ... ānī nāā nīqāā onā qhāāqālō, qhā chē šaarō naa! 2. 70. 10—14 'Mm, certainly, since right now you actually haven't finished opening all of the bundles here ... then, day after tomorrow, now, please have them all open [open them and leave them open]!'

śaa in the formation of the Present Perfect

tharī ūqū ē yaqō śetāā kōō śaa 2.248.4-5 'Today they've put up the tents very well, too'

tha, thōsō thāqōō, tiqēē ti, "śeēsā" taa cī chē señē tītsū qhāāqālō qhōtsōō phāqēē, sōō tshāā śaa, kūū chōcōō reē 2.284.18-285.4 'Now, these things for the first floor, all these glass (window) frames, and so forth, they've finished making over there, and they're ready to be put in place'

khōrē nāqūū lā tōcā chuū śaa 4.29.23-24.1 'Someone has put tōcā on your nose'

yōō, the existential verb of examples 3 and 10, is, in written Tibetan, yong, the Present root of a verb meaning 'to come'. In spoken Tibetan, this is the meaning of the Perfect-root reflex yōō (written Tibetan yongs):

(46) ... śepē qhi tsāā lā yōōpā reē 4.130.17-8 '... he came to the Prime Minister's place'

The reflex of the Present root, on the other hand, has several meanings—'to come', 'to be all right', and 'to be' (cf. Chang and Chang 1982.27):

(47) ... rīqāā qhi māacēē ti ē rōō lā yonā yōō 2.253.19-21 '... I believe this cook of the rīqāā's will come to help, too'

... ñīšūū līqēē nāā lā yaa, līqā chi tāqāā chī yonā toqāā? 2.159.17-160.3 '... it would be all right if we went to have a picnic in ñīšūū Park, wouldn't it?'

... qhāteē yonā tōō 2.186.1 '... how'll that be?'

kaqāā lā tshāwā chēpō yōō 'India is (usually) very hot'

The verb song is in written Tibetan used as the Perfect of 'gro-ba 'to go'. (In spoken Tibetan, it is chī, a correlate of written Tibetan phyin-pa, which stands in this relation to to, the reflex of 'gro.) Even within written Tibetan, however, song has another, extended meaning: 'became', that is, 'came to be'. In spoken Tibetan, the reflex of song—sōō, alternating with, for example, unstressed su—has, in its indication of a point in a process, an aspectual function related to the meaning 'came to be'. The point most closely related to 'came to be' is the end of the process:

(48) lēē khērāā tshu tiqēē, phūpā taa tiqēē qhāāqā tha tī sōñe, tha? 2.237.18-20 'First, do you have these things, that is, the tent pegs and all these things, prepared now?'; lā qhāāqā tī su 2.238.1 'Yes, everything is prepared'

It may, however, also be the beginning of the process which is expressed through this auxiliary:

- (49) khōō mī šipcū šetāā chi tha tawā sūm tsā chi lāā su 3.205.15-7 'All together, some forty started (working) now, about three months ago'

That it is aspect, not tense, which is involved is clear from its use in referring equally (if not with equal frequency) to past, present, or future:

- (50) tñēē yāā šuū lā ... "khūsāā" s cīq tsūūpā nāā su 3.198.12-3 'But then, afterward ... you established one called the "new herd"

ṇa lhēēsāā maa thōō rēē su 3.216.6-7 'It's time for me to start off down for Lhasa'

tha, ṇa tñēēs tēpēē khōnēē tñi māsōō ... tha, pāā laa ti tōōyāā qhi thāp chi macēēnā, khōnēē tñi māsōō 4.67.8-15 'Now, it can never be right for me to stay like this ... Now, unless there's a way for me to get my father out, it can never be right'

In nonauxiliary usage, sōō means simply 'to be' in sōō tsāā 'since he/it is', which is interchangeable with yñ tsāā (example 27):

- (51) ānī, kēpō sōō tsāā, šāpcī tha cītāā sītāā māqū yōō reē 4.50.11-3 'And then, since he's a king, he has many servants and so forth'

To be sure, the selection of sōō tsāā may, on occasion be influenced by a prior use of sōō:

- (52) hāšāā tñūmūū khērāā sēyāā qhi sāmīlō tāā tshāā sōō/su. sōō tsāā, ānī, khērāā qhārē nāākū tōō? 4.53.22-54.3 'The frightful demon has already decided to kill you. So [Since she has/Since that is so], then, what can you do?'

Again, verbs of being may be lost, or become obsolescent. For Tibetan, we know this from the preservation of some such forms in the written language. In the case of written Tibetan mnga-ba, which occurs nowhere in our recorded texts of the modern colloquial dialect of Lhasa, this preservation, and the cognates in the everyday usage of a number of Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Yünnan and Szechuan (Appendix 1), suggest something about what the process of attrition may have been for one verb in one dialect. In Tibetan, mnga-ba is cited in the dictionaries (Jäschke, Das) as a "respectful" alternative to the existential yod-pa, in the sense 'to have'. That such an honorific connotation was not part of the original meaning of this verb is an assumption we make when we accept as cognates such Tibeto-Burman forms as these:

(53) Ch'iang ṇa: thalə Xga ṇa 'He has gold'; tsuets Xe 3 3 ṇa 'There are books on the table'

Chingpho ṇa¹: ji³e¹ ṇa¹ ša¹nit¹ ma¹tsqt² ṇa¹ ma¹ai³ 'In the field there are seven or eight cows'

And, with copular function:

Lisu ṇa⁴: a⁵phi⁴ li³su³ ṇa⁴ 'Aphi is a Lisu'

Sani ṇæ³³:khr⁴⁴ ṇa⁴⁴ pv³³ ma¹¹ ṇæ³³ 'He isn't my older brother'

Gyarong -ṇa-: ṇa lunwan emi keṇanko 'I'm the dragon king's daughter'

The Tibeto-Burman languages which have these cognates have no honorific systems, nor are honorifics reconstructable for Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

Honorifics, as a type, may be particularly vulnerable to loss. So, for nonlinguistic, cultural reasons, we see their use dying out now in Tibetan. In the case of mnga-ba, it was a more general honorific formation, the use of the auxiliary nāā (written Tibetan gnang-ba 'to give'), here joined to the existential yōö or yō, that appears to have supplanted mnga-ba (example 17).

For some of the Tibetan verbs of being, however, there is evidence neither from within Tibetan nor from comparative studies to suggest an origin in other verbs. Both Tibetan yōö and Chinese yeou, for example, may have their origin in a Sino-Tibetan verb of being (see Appendix 2); if they do have a common source, Chinese yeou, with a narrower semantic range limited to the existential, may be presumed to have remained closer in function to the proto-form. Even though Tibetan yōö and its derived form yō reè are used in several ways that Chinese yeou is not, there are indications even in the contemporary usage that these are the results of change. So, though Chinese yeou is never copular and Tibetan yō reè may join a noun or pronoun to an adjective in copular constructions (examples 30 and 31), we have deduced from the limitations on its copular use as compared with reè that this was not an original function of yō reè. And where, to express location in the copular sense ("A in is B"), Chinese uses a special verb, tzai, Tibetan can use yō reè as well as reè (examples 34-35). (Chinese uses yeou only in "There is A in/on B" sentences; for "That which is A is in/on B", it uses shih.) We have discussed above the connection between the copular use with adjectives and this sort of statement of location. In view of this connection, it is understandable that, lacking the copular use with adjectives, Chinese yeou is not used in the copular indication of place, either, though conceivably yeou could have been used to indicate place without progressing to the

more abstract denotation of qualities. Tibetan $y\ddot{o}\ddot{o}$ and $y\ddot{o}\ddot{o}$ $re\grave{e}$ also have an association with person that Chinese lacks. On internal grounds—the neutralization of this contrast in certain environments (examples 18–20)—we have already inferred this to be a secondary development; the absence of such an association in Chinese supports this inference.

Treatments of verbs of being in copular constructions which differ depending on whether a noun is joined to a noun or an adjective are found in many languages. (Kahn [1973.28, 215] cites Indo-European and African examples.) Nor are shifts from existential to copular or the reverse limited to Tibetan. There was one, of indeterminate direction, among the Tibeto-Burman cognates to written Tibetan *mnga-ba* 'to have' (Appendix 1): in Ch'iang and Chingpho, this verb is existential; in Lisu, Sani, and Gyarong, it is copular (example 53). And Indo-European also had a shift in the verb 'to be'; it is generally assumed that this was from existential to copular (Graham [1967.10] follows this tradition), but Kahn takes a contradictory position, basing his arguments on Greek ("... although the independent, non-copulative uses of *be* are more important in ancient Greek than in a modern language such as English, the copulative uses are still vastly more frequent in every attested stage of Greek, beginning with the *Iliad*" [1973.9; Kahn reinforces this argument on pp. 199–200, 373 ff.].)

We assume that shifts involving existential and copular are facilitated by an overarching commonality of meaning in the two senses. But what motivates such shifts, which are not universal? For Tibetan, we see the impetus to the expansion of existential verbs into copular areas in that semantic feature which plays such a prominent role in the system of verbs of being, namely, the differentiation among degrees of certainty. The ability to express contrasts of this sort began, we assume, with existential verbs, as these grew in number; when a similar contrast was to be expressed in a copular construction, there was a way to do it at hand. So, $y\ddot{o}\ddot{o}$ $re\grave{e}$ and $tu\grave{u}$ were added to the inventory of forms that could be used as copula.

Without more than one verb of being, whether existential or copular, there could, of course, be no association of verbs with person. Whether the development of degrees of certainty in verbs of being and the development of an association with person are linked is, however, another question. It is possible that, for example, with the use of $tu\grave{u}$ to express greater certainty, a certainty that projected into outer reality, $y\ddot{o}\ddot{o}$ was left with a more subjective connotation

which translated to first-person reference.

Appendix 1

Tibeto-Burman Cognates to Written Tibetan *mnga-ba* 'to have'

In Ch'iang, which is spoken in Szechuan, the range of *ŋa* includes the denotation of existence, existence in the relationship of possession, and existence associated with a location (Sun 1981). (Existence bound to a location is expressed by *ye*, e.g. *tshuägə pho ye* 'There are trees on the mountaintop' (p. 152.) Examples:

1. *ʔo! tsamə tʃi ti nə ŋa!* 'Oh! There are so many!' (p. 146)
2. *thalə xga ŋa* 'He has gold' (p. 122)
ŋa ko zo itʃan ŋa 'I have something against you' (p. 149)
3. *tʃuetsɿ xɛ ʒɿʒɿ ŋa* 'There are books on the table' (p. 152)
tʃhantʃən kuŋsai kuŋsiaupu a xgy ŋa 'There's a supply agency in Long March Commune' (p. 163)

In Chingpho (Yünnan; Nationalities 1959a), reference to existence which is associated with location has led to the more abstract use of *ŋa¹* to indicate progressive aspect:

1. 'to be in a place'
kʰl̥thoŋ¹te¹na² mʰʃa¹ lo²lo² ŋa¹ ai³ 'In the village there are many people' (p. 108)
ji³e¹ ŋa³ ʃa¹nit¹ ma¹tsɿt² ŋa¹ ma¹ai³ 'In the field there are seven or eight cows' (p. 93)
2. 'to stay in a place'
ŋai³ n²tq¹ ŋa¹ na³ 'I want to stay home' (p. 63)
nan³ no² ŋa¹ ta² la¹/ko¹ no² ŋa¹ tq² mʰla¹¹ 'Stay where you are!' (p. 64)
3. A verbal auxiliary used in the indication of progressive aspect.
mʰl̥fa¹ ni³ kha¹la² thu¹ ŋa¹ ma¹ai³ 'People are digging ditches' (*thu¹* 'to dig') (p. 29)

In Lisu (Nuchiang, Yünnan; Nationalities 1959b), *ŋa⁴*—rarely, *ŋo⁴*—is basically a copular verb. (The regular existential verb is *dzua²*, e.g. *ko³sɛ² kua³ dza⁴ dza⁵su³ a⁵mie² dzua²* 'There are many who eat in the commune.') As an auxiliary, however, *ŋa⁴* is found, sometimes with *nie²* 'to live' (WT *gnas-pa*, ST *nɛ̃ɛ̃*); to be in a place; to have', in examples denoting, like Chingpho, progressive aspect:

1. Copula.
a⁵phi⁴ li³su³ ŋa⁴ 'Aphi is a Lisu' (p. 15)
a³u³ ma¹pha⁵ ŋa⁴ 'Uncle is a teacher' (p. 15)
e¹te¹ ŋa⁴ 'It is his' (p. 19)
tshu⁵pie³pu²su³ a⁵ne⁴ dʒi⁴phu⁵do⁴su³ a⁵dʒu⁵ ma⁵ dʒi⁴ ŋa⁴ 'Gamblers and drinkers are no good' (p. 78)
nu³ ʃw³ni⁴ thi⁴kua³ la⁴ su³ ma³ ŋo⁴ ɛ? 'Are you the person who came here day before yesterday?'

2. Progressive aspect.

nu³ua⁵ a¹f⁵w⁵ zi⁴ ɲa⁴? 'What are you (pl.) doing?' (zi⁴ 'to do') (p. 24)

e¹ nie³bi³ ze³ze³ ɲu⁴ nie² ɲa⁴ 'He is crying, with tears flowing down' (ɲu⁴ 'to cry') (p. 50)

tho⁵ɣw⁵so³su³ tho⁵ɣw⁶ so³ nie² ɲa⁴ 'The students are reading books' (so³ 'to read') (p. 109)

(Progressive aspect is also expressed by nie² alone, as in nu³ a¹f⁵w⁵ dza⁵ nie²? 'What are you eating?' [dza⁵ 'to eat'] (p. 51))

The Nahi (Lichiang, Yünnan; Li 1977) copula wa¹¹/o¹¹ is also probably a reflex of *nga (cf. 'five', WT Inga, Nahi wa³³). For example: ʔɛ³³su¹¹ ʔɛ³³qu³³ kho¹¹ ma³³wa¹¹ 'Fathers and maternal uncles aren't relatives' (p. 176); tʃhu³³i³³ dæ¹¹ mɛ³³la³³ ɲi⁵⁵ sw³³ tʃhu³³ ma³³o¹¹ 'These aren't the three drops of milk of the fierce tiger' (p. 68).

In Sani (Weitsi village, Lunan, Yünnan; Ma 1951), tʃo³³, with cognates in a number of other Tibeto-Burman languages, has existential and progressive functions, while ɲæ³³ shares with je⁴⁴ the expression of the copula, ɲæ³³ joining two nouns, je⁴⁴ a non and an adjective:

1. tʃo³³

khɪ⁴⁴thr¹¹ kɣ⁵⁵ tʃo³³ thr¹¹ ɣɔ² tʃo³³ 'Once upon a time, there was a family' (p. 119)

dza¹¹ ty³³ ma¹¹ tʃo³³ 'There was no food' (p. 142)

khɪ⁵⁵ na³³ na³³ kha¹¹ tso³³ 'He's recovering from an illness' (p. 120)

2. ɲæ³³

khɪ⁴⁴ na³³ ky³³ ma³³ ɲæ³³ 'He's a doctor' (p. 117) (na³³ kv³³ ma³³ 'doctor')

khɪ⁴⁴ ɲa⁴⁴ pv³³ ma¹¹ ɲæ³³ 'He isn't my older brother' (p. 142) (pv³³ 'brother')

3. je⁴⁴

khɪ⁴⁴ fv⁴⁴ la⁴⁴ tʃe⁵⁵ ɣa³³ sa³³ je⁴⁴ 'Her husband is a little dumb' (p. 116)

There is no certain way to reconstruct the sequence of events that led to this distribution of functions. One possibility is that an existential ɲæ³³ first spread to include the copular function and was then superseded in its existential function by the introduction of a new existential verb, tʃo.

Liki Nahi and Lisu, Gyarong (Chang Kun's unpublished material collected in Szechuan) has, among its *nga reflexes, variants with an unrounded vowel, a (in one example, preceded by a rounded semivowel -w-), and with a rounded vowel, most often u, but also o. These are not interchangeable. ɲa is used, for example, in final position and before -ko and -ɲko, while ɲu and ɲo are used before -si:

1. ɲa

ɲa newjet tʃete lerbu kaɲako 'My clothes are a treasure' (XIII. 4)

ɲa luɲwaɲ emi keɲaɲko 'I'm the dragon king's daughter' (VIII. 11)

desen ʃe ɲekepeseɲshwat tsete ɲaɲwa 'Even if you're dead, this [stick] is something

which will cause you to revive' (XIX. 54)

2. *ŋu, ŋo*

temi škra tši naŋusi 'The girl is intelligent' (XVII. 28)

nu tasto kepje wapu de tənusi 'You are the child of the pottery maker' (XXII. 30)

wemña kalu diŋosi 'He is ["His eyes are"] blind' (XIX. 63)

In addition to *ŋa*²¹, its existential verb of being, Ch'iang also has a copular verb of being, *ŋuə*³³, which presumably derives from **ŋu*: cf. 'nine', WT *dgu*, Ch'iang *ɣguə*. For example: *qa*⁵⁵ *zo*³³ *ko*⁵⁵ *ko*⁵⁵ *ti*³³ *kuŋ*⁵⁵ *zən*²¹ *ti*³³ *ŋuə*³³ 'My older brother is a worker' (p. 149); *tha*³³ *ti*³³ *tə*³³ *tʃhɿ*²¹ *tʃi*⁵⁵ *ty*³³, *pa*³³ *ɕue*³³ *ko*³³ *mi*⁵⁵ *ŋuə*³³ 'This is an outhouse; it isn't a pigpen' (pp. 125, 156). (Note that the copular *ty* cannot be negated.)

In Nahi, the feature of rounding has no apparent function. In Gyarong, the lack of interchangeability of *a* and *u* suggests that rounding does, or did, have a function, but there is no indication that this involved a contrast of existential and copular as in Ch'iang. It is possible that there was a Tibeto-Burman existential verb of being with ablaut variants, **ŋa* and **ŋu* (or **ŋo*), with contrasting semantic functions. Another possibility is that these were doublets of an existential verb, one without a preinitial, one with: **ŋa*, **mŋa*. (The **m*- could have contributed the rounding which appeared later in the rounded vowel.) In this scenario, **ŋa*/**mŋa* spread to encompass both existential and copular usage. Another existential verb, *ndut*, then usurped the existential roles of both variants in Gyarong. In Ch'iang, *ŋa* is just one of five existential verbs; it may be that, with the finer differentiation of function, one variant remained existential, while the other changed to copular.

Appendix 2

Chinese **hjuəg* and Tibetan *yod* 'to be': Cognates?

To ascertain whether there is, in fact, a cognate relationship between Tibetan *yö*²⁰ and Chinese *yeou*, we compare written Tibetan *yod* and the Chinese antecedent of *yeou*, for which a number of reconstructions have been proposed, among them **giŋg* (Karlgren 1957) and **gwjəg* (Li 1971.29); a reconstruction according to the system outlined in Chang and Chang 1972 would be **hjuəg*. In the following, we give Karlgren's *Grammata Serica* reconstructions in parentheses; reconstructions outside the parentheses are for the phonetic-compound period and incorporate suggestions made in Tung 1944, 1948, Li 1971, and Chang and Chang 1972.

There is enough evidence, both internal to Chinese and in presumed Chinese-Tibetan cognates, to render the supposition of a common origin for the endings of Tibetan *yod* and Chinese **giŋg* plausible. The Chinese evidence is in the form of doublets, one member with a dental ending, the other with a *yelar*. For example:

(1) 'to come'

蒞 *ljəd (K520 a: *ljəd)

來 *læg (K944 a-e: *læg)

(2) 'end'

末 *muat (K277 a: *mwât)

杪 *mjəug (K1158 c: *mjog)

(3) 'to explain'

說 *sthjuat (K324q: *s̺jwat)

釋 *sthjak (K790 1: *s̺jak)

From such doublets we infer a phonetic change, whether from dental to velar or velar to dental.

The comparative evidence suggests assimilatory changes. So, when a velar ending after a front vowel (i, e, a) in written Tibetan corresponds to a dental ending in Chinese, we assume that Chinese, too, had a velar ending which was fronted:

(1) WT rtsig-pa 'masonry', Ch. 塋 *tsjət (K923 c: tsjət)

(2) WT 'phreng-ba 'cord', Ch. 縵 *mjən (K457 x: mjən)

(3) WT skrag-pa 'to be afraid', Ch. 契 *khiad (K279 b: *khiad)

(For additional examples, see Chang and Chang 1976. 599-600.)

And where Tibetan has a back vowel (u, o) before a dental ending and Chinese has a velar ending, we assume backing, as in the following examples:

(1) WT sdud-pa, bsdu, bsdu, sdus/bsdu 'to collect', Ch. 摯 *dzjəug (K1092 g: *dz'iôg), 適 *dzjəug and *tsjəug (K1096 o: *dz'iôg and *tsjôg), 聚 *dzjug (K131 k: *dz'iu)

(2) WT skud 'ointment', Ch. 膏 *kaug (K1129 i: *kog)

(3) WR rngod-pa, brngos, brngod, rngod/rngos 'to fry, roast', Ch. 熬 *ngəug (K1130 h-i: *ngog)

Conversely, where it is Chinese that has the back vowel before a dental ending, and Tibetan has a velar ending, we infer an assimilatory change in the Tibetan ending:

(1) Ch. 拂 *phjut (K500 h: *p'jwət) and 奮 *pjun (K473 a: *p'jwən) 'to shake', WT sprug-pa (←*sprud-pa)

(2) Ch. 祓 *phjut and *pjəud (K276 o: *p'jwət and *p'jwad) 'to expel', WT spyug-pa (←*spyud-pa)

(These examples are from Chang and Chang 1976. 598.)

In assuming that Tibetan retained the older ending in the case of yod 'to be', an ending that we would then posit for some stage of Chinese, we conclude that the relationship between the Tibetan and Chinese forms yod and *hjəug cannot be that of a historic loan from Chinese to Tibetan, but must antedate the establishment of the written form for *hjuəg.

Paralleling the presence of a velar-consonant initial or preinitial (*g- or *h-) in the reconstructed form of Chinese yeou where Tibetan has a y- initial are instances of a

simple l- or r- initial in Tibetan where Chinese has *-l- preceded by *g-:

(1) Tibetan l-: Chinese gl-.

'method', WT lugs, Ch. 略 *gljak (K766 v: *gljak).

(Conversely, in 'ox', Tibetan has gl- in glang where Chinese has l-: 犛 *ljæg (K979 j: *ljæg 'long-haired ox'. For other examples of written Tibetan -u- corresponding to Chinese *-ja- before a velar ending, and of written Tibetan -a- corresponding to Chinese *-ə- before a velar ending, see, respectively, Chang and Chang 1976. 599 and 1977-8. 168.)

(2) Tibetan r-: Chinese *gl-.

'indigo', WT rams, Ch. 藍 *glam (K609 k: *glām)

Chinese also has doublets, one member with an *l- initial, one with *gl-. For example: 'naked', 累 *lua (K577 r: *lwār), 裸 *glua (K351 g: *glwār); 'grain which is sown late and which ripens early', 稂 *ljæk (K1032 h: *ljōk), 稂 *gljæk (K1069 x: *gljōk).

There are at least two possible explanations for such doublets. (1) Forms such as *glua and *gljæk are single-morpheme forms with consonant-cluster initials; *lua and *ljæk derive from dialects in which, in a purely phonetic change, some of these clusters were simplified. (2) The *g- of *glua and *gljæk was a prefix. This could have been used in one dialect, but not another, or it could have been lost in one dialect. Either of these explanations is also viable in interpreting instances in which either Chinese (as in 'method', 'indigo') or Tibetan (as in 'ox') has a *g- where the other language does not.

The *h- of a reconstructed *hj-, the initial sequence we find in 有 *hjuæg (K995 o-p: *gǎŋg), the predecessor of the existential verb yeou, may also have been, in some instances, a stop preinitial or prefix. (In others, it may have been an initial.) Evidencing this is, for example, a group of forms with the meaning 'class, category':

類 *ljuəd (K529 a: *ljwəd); 倫 *ljuən (K470 c: *ljwən); 彙 *hjuəd (K524 a: *giwəd); 羣 *gjuən (K459 d-e: *gǎwən). *ljuəd and *ljuən are doublets exhibiting the common alternation of oral and nasal endings (cf. Chang and Chang 1977-8. 167-8). In *hjuəd and *gjuən, the *-l- may have changed to *-y- and merged with the following *-y- (*-j- or *-i-). Or again, it may have been dropped; the simplification of clusters through the loss of the second member, whether it be *-r- or *-l-, is seen in, for example, *gan 'cold' and *khəd 'coat of mail':

(1) 'cold' (WT grang-ba)

涼 *gljaŋ (K755 l: *gljaŋg)

寒 *gan (K143 a-c: *g'ân)

(Also, without [with the loss of?] the *g-: 冷 *lriŋ [K823h: *lieng].) On the correspondence of written Tibetan -g/-ng after i, e, a to Chinese *-d/*-n, see Chang and Chang 1976. 599-600.)

(2) 'scale, armor' (WT khrab 'scale [of a fish]; coat of mail', khrad- 'armor' [in khrad-

mkhan 'armorer'])

甲 *krap 'shell' (K629 a: *kap)

介 *krad 'armor; scale (of animals)' (K327 a: *kad)

鎧 *khəd 'coat of mail' (K548 e: *k'ər)

In any case, there is reason to believe (1) that the *h- of *hjuəd and the *g- of *gjuən were the same in origin, and (2) that this was the same origin as that of the g- of written Tibetan gral 'class'. What the reconstructed *h- of *hjuəd and of *hjuæg 'to be' represents, whatever its Archaic realization, is a stop which would be lost, so that *hjuəd, for example, has as its modern Mandarin reflex wey or huey; the stop quality represented by *g-, on the other hand, was retained, so that *gjuən 'class' has as its modern reflex chyun. In Chinese *hjuæg 'to be', there is possible evidence of a *g-preinitial or prefix which Tibetan either never possessed or lost. (Tibetan has a number of forms with initial y-, but there are no *y- initials reconstructed for Chinese. If Chinese and Tibetan are related, there must be some way to account for the discrepancy.)

It is commonly held that the Chinese and Tibetan forms for 'friend, companion' are cognates. Among the Chinese variants for this word are two relevant to the vowel correspondence exhibited in Chinese *hjuæg 'to be' and written Tibetan yod. Showing this same, relatively rare, correspondence are Chinese 友 *hjuæg (K995 e: *giũg) 'friend, associate' and written Tibetan grogs 'friend, companion'. The variant 仇 *gjəug (K992 p: *g'jōg) 'companion' has, however, a vowel that corresponds more often to written Tibetan -o-; this strengthens both the linking of *hjuæg (K995 e: *giug) with grogs—if one variant is related, so is the other—and our perception that the vowel correspondence of *hjuæg and yod 'to be' is valid. (The initial or preinitial variants of the two Chinese forms for 'friend, companion' also provide another instance of *h- as a stage in the loss of stop quality.)

Footnotes

1. A brief version of this paper was presented orally at the Fourth Csoma de Kőrös Symposium, held in Visegrád, Hungary, 13-19 September 1984.

2. The transcription yeou is that of Y. R. Chao's GR system for modern Chinese.

3. Examples with citations of this form are from Chang and Chang 1978-81. Where transcription or translation diverges from the *Texts*, the form given here is generally to be taken as a correction on the original. Exceptions are where we give a form as repeated by the speaker rather than as taped; we do this, on occasion, for ease of identification out of context. Examples without citations were provided by either Mr. Nawang Nornang or Mrs. Lhadon Karsip Zongtse.

4. The positive correlate of V-p_A mĩtũ̀ is V-paa, not *V-p_A tù. For example: ʌnĩ onā tḕtsʌ, ɲa, pũ̀ũqʌ šu nũ̀ũpʌ mĩtũ̀ 2.78.11-13 'Well now, then, I can't quite bring

myself to buy them'; $\text{šēē t\bar{a} y\bar{a}c\bar{i}l ti n\bar{a}p\bar{s}\bar{i}i ci, y\ddot{o}n\bar{a} r\ddot{a}a\bar{t}\bar{a}, \bar{n}i\bar{q}\bar{a}\bar{a} ch\bar{a} r\bar{a} chi y\ddot{o}n\bar{a},$
 $ph\bar{e}\bar{e}c\bar{e}\bar{e} th\bar{a} t\bar{o}t\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{e}, aa, t\bar{u}k\bar{a} lh\bar{a}q ts\bar{a} r\bar{a}p\bar{a} t\bar{i}t\bar{e}\bar{e}, ph\ddot{u}\ddot{u} n\ddot{u}\ddot{u}paa, \eta\bar{e}\bar{e} 2.76.3-8$ 'Otherwise,
 if it were just like this other one, if they were both the same, now, I could probably,
 ah, bring myself to give you more than seven hundred $t\bar{o}t\bar{s}\bar{e}\bar{e}$, I (could)'.

5. Curiously enough, though a modification consisting of a noun followed by $r\bar{a} chi$ '(a) sort of' can be used with $r\bar{e}\bar{e}$, an adjective followed by $r\bar{a} chi$ cannot. In a simple example with the adjective $y\bar{a}q\bar{o}$ 'good', these are the possibilities: $q\bar{h}\bar{o} y\bar{a}q\bar{o} r\bar{e}\bar{e}/y\bar{c}\bar{o}$ $r\bar{e}\bar{e}/t\bar{u}\bar{u}$ 'He is good', $q\bar{h}\bar{o} y\bar{a}q\bar{o} r\bar{a} chi y\bar{c}\bar{o} r\bar{e}\bar{e}/t\bar{u}\bar{u}$ 'He is sort of good', but not $*q\bar{h}\bar{o} y\bar{a}q\bar{o} r\bar{a} chi r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ (Mr. Nawang Nornang, 1984). On the other hand, we have examples such as the following with nouns: ... $\bar{a}n\bar{i}, th\bar{a}l\bar{a}t\bar{i} q\bar{h}\bar{a}t\bar{e}\bar{e} chi y\bar{c}\bar{o} r\bar{e}\bar{e}?$ 1.185.1-2 '... but then, what sort of a loom do they have?'; $\bar{a}\bar{a}, th\bar{a}l\bar{a}t\bar{i} thi \bar{t}h\bar{u}p\bar{s}\bar{i} r\bar{a} chi y\bar{c}\bar{o} r\bar{e}\bar{e}$ 1.185.3-4 'Ah, this loom is a sort of quadrangle', but also $lh\bar{a}t\bar{u}\bar{u} q\bar{a}\bar{a}p\bar{o}. th\bar{a} lh\bar{a}t\bar{u}\bar{u} q\bar{h}\bar{i} t\bar{s}h\bar{o}\bar{o} r\bar{a} chi r\bar{e}\bar{e}. th\bar{a} "lh\bar{a}t\bar{u}\bar{u} q\bar{a}\bar{a}p\bar{o}" t\bar{a} s\bar{i}q\bar{i} m\bar{e}\bar{e}p\bar{a} t\bar{a}\bar{a}$ 1.38.4-7 'White smallpox. Now, it's a sort of smallpox. But it seems it isn't called "white smallpox"'

References

- Abbreviations: *BIHP*, *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*
MS, *Monumenta Serica*
Ts., *The Tsinghua Journal of Chinese Studies* (New Series)
- Chang, Betty Shefts, and Kun Chang. 1975. Gyarong Historical Phonology. *BIHP* 46.391-524.
- Chang, Betty Shefts, and Kun Chang. 1976. Chinese *s-Nasal Initials. *BIHP* 47.587-609.
- Chang, Betty Shefts, and Kun Chang. 1977-8. On the Relationship of Chinese 稠 *djəug and 濃 *nəuŋ, *nəuŋ. *MS* 33.162-9.
- Chang, Betty Shefts, and Kun Chang. 1980. Ergativity in Spoken Tibetan. *BIHP* 51.15-32.
- Chang, Betty Shefts, and Kun Chang. 1981. Perfective and Imperfective in Spoken Tibetan. *BIHP* 52.303-21.
- Chang, Betty Shefts, and Kun Chang. 1982. The Persistence of Present-tense Reflexes in Modern Spoken Tibetan. *Ts.* 14.21-31.
- Chang, Kun, and Betty Shefts Chang. 1968. Vowel Harmony in Spoken Lhasa Tibetan. *BIHP* 40.53-124.
- Chang, Kun, and Betty Shefts Chang. 1972. *The Proto-Chinese Final System and the Ch'ieh-yün*. The Institute of History and Philology Monographs: Series A, No.26. Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- Chang, Kun, and Betty Shefts Chang, with the help of Nawang Nornang and Lhadon Karsip. 1978-81. *Spoken Tibetan Texts*. 4 vols. Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica. Special Publications No. 74.
- Graham, A. C. 1967. 'Being' in Classical Chinese. *The Verb 'be' and its Synonyms*:

- Philosophical and Grammatical Studies*. Ed. John W. M. Verhaar. Foundations of Language: Supplementary Series, 1. 1-39. Dordrecht-Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Co.
- The Institute of Nationalities, Chinese Academy of Sciences (中國科學院少數民族研究所).
- 1959a. 景頗語語法綱要 (An Outline of Chingpho Grammar). Peking.
- The Institute of Nationalities, Chinese Academy of Sciences (中國科學院少數民族研究所).
- 1959b. 傈僳語語法綱要 (An Outline of Lisu Grammar). Peking.
- Kahn, Charles H. 1973. *The Verb 'be' in Ancient Greek. The Verb 'be' and its Synonyms: Philosophical and Grammatical Studies*. Foundations of Language: Supplementary Series, Vol. 16. Dordrecht-Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Co.
- Karlgren, Bernhard. 1957. *Grammata Serica Recensa*. Reprinted from *The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (Stockholm), Bulletin 29.
- Li, Fang-kuei 李方桂. 1971. 上古音研究 (Studies on Archaic Chinese Phonology). *Ts.* 9. 1-61. Trans. G. L. Mattos. 1974-5. *MS* 31. 217-87.
- Li, Lin-ts'an 李霖燦 et al. 1977. 麼些經典譯注九種 (Translations and Annotations of Moso Classics). 9 vols. Taipei.
- Ma, Hsüeh-liang 馬學良. 1951. 撒尼彝語研究 (A Study of the Sani I Dialect). Peking.
- Sun, Hong-kai 孫宏開. 1981. 羌語簡志 (A Brief Account of the Ch'iang Language). Peking.
- Tung, T'ung-ho 董同龢. 1944 (lithographed ms.), 1948. 上古音韻表稿 (Archaic Chinese Phonology Charts: A Tentative Draft). *BIHP* 18. 1-249.
- Yüan, Chia-hua 袁家驊. 1953. 阿細民歌及其語言 (The Folksongs and Language of the Ahi People). Peking.