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To be or not to be: On the Modern Tibetan auxiliary verb red in classical texts

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ABSTRACT

In contrast to other Modern Tibetan auxiliaries, the linguistic history of the so-called ‘factual’ marker *red* cannot be traced. Two scholars have independently pointed to the occurrence of *red* in the 15th-century *Mi.la.ras.paḥi rnam.thar*. In all likelihood, this occurrence is the result of an editorial intervention. However, this text reveals an interesting distribution of five different *verba dicendi*, ingeniously used by the author of the text, to help understanding who talks to whom. Another suggested occurrence of *red* in the *Padma than.yig* is the result of an unfortunate misreading. On the other hand, some editions of the *Gser.gyi phreṅ.ba* do contain a single instance of *red* as a copula, which cannot be further analysed. The problematic status of *red* in all these texts demonstrates that in the reconstruction of the linguistic history of a language, the philological method cannot be set aside. Scribal errors or editorial interventions as well as unfortunate misreadings can only be detected when different editions are compared. In the appendix, I shall comment on the so far earliest use of ‘factual’ *red* in an 18th-century text, which is not widely known.

KEYWORDS

Modern Tibetan ‘factual’ marker *red*, *Mi.la.ras.paḥi rnam.thar*, *Padma than.yig*, *Gser.gyi phreṅ.ba*, Guṅ.thaṅ.pa’s *Phal.skad zab.chos*

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To be or not to be: On the Modern Tibetan auxiliary verb red in classical texts

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1 Background

In recent years, scholarly interest has greatly developed with respect to the so-called ‘evidential’ systems of Tibetic languages – which may possibly indicate more than just evidentiality or the sources and types of knowledge.¹ Of growing interest is also the development of the individual grammatical markers. One marker, the Central and East Tibetan so-called ‘factual’ copula and auxiliary *red* is of particular interest, as its appearance in the spoken languages is shrouded in mystery.

Very briefly, the Tibetic languages may display a six-fold grammatical opposition in terms of ‘egophoric’ (also short ‘ego’) vs. experiential vs. ‘factual’ or ‘assertive’ vs. inferential vs. epistemic vs. hearsay/ report markers.

Function	Copula	Existential	Tensed auxiliaries
‘egophoric’	<i>yin</i>	<i>yod</i>	<i>-gi.yin, -gi.yod, -pa.yin</i>
experiential	— ²	<i>hdug</i>	<i>-gis/-gi-mi-hdug, -byuñ,³ -son</i>
‘factual’	<i>red</i>	<i>yod.red</i> ⁴	<i>-gi-red, -pa.red, -(gi.)yod.red</i>
inferential	<i>red</i>	<i>yod.red</i>	<i>-bžag, -hdug, -(gi.)yod.red</i>
epistemic	various composite markers indicating assumptions, guesses, and probabilities		
hearsay/quote	(semi-) grammaticalised <i>verbum dicendi</i> : <i>zer</i>		

Figure 1 Overview over ‘evidential’ oppositions, idealised scheme, based on Standard Spoken Tibetan⁵

¹ See also the recent article by Donohue & Gautam (2019) on the copula system of Kuke.

² Identities cannot be perceived: one can have full acquaintance of the identity of a person or item, but one cannot *see*, not to speak of hear, touch, or smell, the identity of a person, e.g., as a king, as the mother of X, as teacher or nurse, etc., but one can possibly infer or guess it from visible signs or hearsay information.

The ‘egophoric’, perhaps better: origo-centred assertive markers, indicate personal or highest epistemic authority, typically associated with long-standing acquaintance, active involvement, or responsibility. The experiential markers (also known as ‘sensory’, cf. Tournadre 2008: 295, ‘testimonial’, cf. Tournadre, *ibid.*; Hill 2012, or ‘direct’, e.g., in Garrett 2001: 11), refer to situations that are ‘merely’ perceived (in a limited number of instances), thus somewhat less certain or somewhat more preliminary than origo-centred knowledge. The semi-grammaticalised quote markers do not convey uncertain knowledge, but mark a proposition as (more or less) directly perceived without any judgement over the content. The Tibetic quote markers follow any of the other five markers according to the remembered or even imagined evaluation of the original speaker.

This system centres on the perspective of the speaker in statements, and of the addressee in information-seeking questions. That is, in statements, the experiential form is used only for the speaker’s personal perceptions. It cannot be used for perceptions of other persons. Similarly, an inferential form in a statement refers to the speaker’s inference, not to an inference by any other person.

Most authors assume, that the ‘factual’ marker somehow falls outside the ‘evidential’ categories or as DeLancey (2018: 583, 588) recently states:

The speaker feels no need to justify the claim, and asks the addressee to simply take it as given. ...

But this establishes the true function of the Factual category: it simply disregards the question of evidence.

However, there are various problems with the notion of ‘factual’. One problem is that the marker may be used for inferences or assumptions (cf. Garrett 2001: 13, ex. 8, 14, exx. 6 and 8) or also mere imaginations (cf. Garrett 2001: 44f., ex. 23). It may also indicate that the speaker was not actively or voluntarily involved (cf. Garrett 2001: 42, ex. 20) or that s/he acts upon certain conditions (Garrett 2001: 44f., ex. 23). In all these cases, the marker indicates that the speaker does not have the best possible ground for his/her statement, as compared to the use of the origo-centred assertive markers. If the speaker thus asks the addressee to take the information ‘as given’, then this goes most likely with some kind of epistemic or also pragmatic hedging: *but, well, you know, this is more or less a suggestion ...*

The most important point is that from a crosslinguistic perspective, factuality encompasses also the assertive functions for which the ‘egophoric’ markers stand. Kittilä discusses factuality under the term of ‘general knowledge’, which he defines in one of its aspects as “a part of the speaker’s

³ Tournadre (1994: 154) would count this likewise as ‘egophoric’, because the observed situation or result is directed towards the origo. Widmer (2020: 269, n. 4), among many others, follows this approach in describing *byuñ* as expressing an “an epistemic privileged perspective in combination with undergoers”. However, the origo is not actively involved or responsible, and the situation is merely observed. Moreover, the origo may also be involved merely as the eventual goal of some kind of physical or metaphorical psychological movement.

⁴ An alternative spelling would be *yog.red*, derived from the spoken realisation as *jo.re*². This is apparently a contraction from *yod.pa.red* (cf. also Hill 2010). In the dialects of Amdo, we find a direct counterpart, taking the form *yod.na.red* (see also below Figure 2), where the element *-na* has the same nominalising function as the element *-pa*.

⁵ Other Tibetic languages may use partly different forms, e.g., *snañ* for *hdug*, may not make use at all of *byuñ* and *soñ*, or may use additional markers, such as the non-visual experiential marker *rag*. Some more peripheral languages may show less developed systems.

established world view (even though it is originally based on external evidence)” (Kittilä 2019: 1277). This would actually comprise ‘egophoric’ knowledge, and Kittilä (2019: 1293) explicitly states “that ego-evidentials rather typically code general knowledge if they exist in a language.”

The opposition between ‘egophoric’ marking with the existential *yod* and its epistemic or rather admirative⁶ counterpart *hdug* (for inferences, assumptions, and first perceptions – of all persons!) is first clearly attested in the 15th century text discussed below, the *Mi.la.ras.paḥi rnam.thar*. Traces of this admirative function are also visible in earlier texts, but in these texts, the opposition is not yet grammaticalised (see Zeisler 2018a). The development of *red* as an ‘evidential’, epistemic, or ‘factual’ counterpart of *yin*, by contrast, cannot be traced so far.

Several scholars have pointed at potential early occurrences of *red* in its modern ‘factual’ function, but very sadly, they have not checked these occurrences carefully by looking at different editions (or even by looking at the text itself). Two of the three instances discussed below result from problematic historical editorial processes. One instance is based on a simple misreading. I should, therefore, argue that the old-fashioned methodologies of philology should not be set aside when trying to reconstruct the linguistic history of a language. Therefore, it might be necessary to formulate a trigger warning:

Rather than a linguistic analysis, the following is a philological essay, interpreting the textual evidence of the crucial passages in their textual context as well as on the base of different editions. The reader will not learn anything about the functionality of *red* in classical texts. The reader will only learn that these isolated and quite problematic appearances of *red* cannot be taken as linguistic evidence for what functionality ever.

2 Historical background

As a full verb, *red* is attested in Old and Classical Tibetan, albeit not very frequently. It is described as having the change-of-state meaning ‘to change into, to become’ as an equivalent of *hgyur*, *gyur* ‘become’ (Denwood 1999: 246, with note 1 on p. 273). The Tibetan-Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary (Zhang 1993: 2720a, b) lists *red* as a non-verb as being equal to *yin*, and *red.pa* as a full verb 1. in the sense of getting negatively affected/ change to the worse depending on (lit. by getting mixed with) outward or independent causes: *rkyen.gžan.dañ hdres.nas ma.ruñ.bar hgyur*, such as ‘getting wounded’ (*rma red.pa*), 2. as equivalent to *hgrig.pa* ‘be, become alright’ and *hgrub.pa* ‘get accomplished’, and 3. as Old Tibetan ‘to dry up (of trees)’. In the 16th-c. *Li.ši gur.khañ*, *red* is listed as the older (!) equivalent of the past stem *grub* ‘be, get accomplished’, hence as having a resultative meaning (cf. Taube 1978: 174; p. 172 for the dating of this text into 1536). What is understood here as an older verb, replaced through the *brda-gsar* reform, may have been a regional counterpart (as in the case of Old Tibetan *ral.gyi* for *ral.gri* ‘sword’, cf. Taube 1978: 174, which appears to have been simply an East Tibetan dialectal variant). As far as these lexical descriptions are concerned, two instances of *red* in Old Tibetan, Pt 1283, l. 613: *bud.med-dag chig-du redo* [the female offspring of a heavenly dog and a woman] had become identical with

⁶ The term ‘admirative’ as I use it for *hdug* in Classical Tibetan (Zeisler 2017, 2018a, 2018b) is not the same as the much narrower term ‘mirative’ used by DeLancey (1997, 2001, 2012) for modern Lhasa Tibetan and rejected by Hill (2012). The term ‘admirative’ as introduced for several Balkan languages has a broader notion of non-commitment or ‘non-confirmativity’, the latter term being used by Friedman (1986: 174, 177), among other derivations of ‘non-confirmative’ for the functions of the Balkan admirative. Examples where *hdug* is used in exactly this non-committed or non-confirmative function are given in Zeisler (2018a); a more detailed study is submitted for publication.

[ordinary] women’, and ITJ 740, ll.195f.: *gos.byas*⁷ *byas-na nor-du rede* ‘when [she] makes clothes, [they] turn out/ will have turned out to be treasures [the *mo* thrown for the wife is perfect]’, both fully confirm the resultative function.⁸

The resultative meaning of *red*, indicating a state after a change, apparently led to its functional shift into an identifying (and only much later also attributive) copula, albeit with a possible meaning of non-commitment or non-engagement. After all, if some item *X* has changed into *Y* or has become *Y*, it *is* *Y*, but in contrast to stating assertively *X* is *Y*, to say *X* has become *Y* might go along with a slight hedging connotation.

The eventual development of *red* into a ‘factual’ copula was first sketched in a western language by Takeuchi (2015). Following an earlier suggestion by Yamaguchi (1986), Takeuchi (1990/ 2015) argues that *red* replaced the so-called sentence- or paragraph-final marker *-o*, which would have been the original pre-Tibetan copula. Shao (2016) restates and further develops this scenario. The idea of a copula function of final *-o* is based on the fact that the copula *yin* and its equivalent *lags* do not always appear in Old and Classical Tibetan when one would expect them from the perspective of a modern Tibetic language.⁹

In a follow-up, Shao (2019) treats the Old Tibetan copulas *yin* and *lags* in quite some detail, which might rather qualify the supposed original copula function of final *-o*, and thus also the assumed replacement by *red*. The question when and why the copulas *yin* and *lags* are used and when they can be omitted or perhaps rather when they are simply not needed certainly needs further studies.

When considering the question how the ‘factual’ function of *red* developed, when, and where, the only thing tangible seems to be Takeuchi’s (1990; 2015: 411, with n. 14) suggestion that it developed in East Tibetan. One of the earliest attestations of *red* as a full-fledged auxiliary with ‘evidential’-like functions is found in Guntharpa’s colloquial Amdo Tibetan discourse *Phal.skad zab.chos* ‘The profound Dharma, given in the vernacular’, datable to the late 18th c., see Appendix. The question, however, remains when *red* found its way into the Central Tibetan varieties, and from there into the written style.

Referring to the earlier linguistic literature on *red* in quite some detail, Shao (2016) also gives a concise overview of all Old and Classical Tibetan texts in which the verb *red* appears, and in which function. His results show that with the exception of the 14th c. autobiography of Hjam.dbañs Grag.pa from Minyag, *red* is not used in the function of a copula or an auxiliary (see his Table 1 on p. 8). With respect to the said autobiography, Shao does not give any contrastive

⁷ Compare *gos.chas* ‘clothes’.

⁸ See https://otdo.aa-ken.jp/archives?p=Pt_1283 and https://otdo.aa-ken.jp/archives?p=ITJ_0740.

⁹ This assumption does not take into account that copulas are not a universal necessity in the languages of the world. In the earlier stages of Tibetan, copulas were not necessary for attributions, as the adjectivals were of a verbal character, see also note 17 below. They were apparently also not strictly necessary in positive sentences of identification, although such cases of apparently missing copulas may perhaps better be treated as appositions rather than identifications. Sentences without copula are not restricted to Old Tibetan alone. The *Mi.la.ras.pañi rnam.thar* contains a citation from the Hevajratra where the Buddha identifies himself as both the teacher and the doctrine, both the teacher and the student, etc.: *hchad.pa.po ña chos kyañ ña || ...* ‘The expounder [of religion] [am] I, the religion, as well, [am] I; ... (de Jong, 1959: 71, l. 11). While such verses are certainly inspired by a Sanskrit prototype, they could not have been formulated against the possibilities of the Tibetan language. In his latest publication, Shao (2021) follows an alternative approach, according to which the marker *ho* originally was a demonstrative pronoun – which could have developed into a copula (and may have done so in other languages), but did not do so in Tibetan.

examples, and it thus appears as if *red* was used in the same function as *yin* elsewhere. In any case, both articles of Shao certainly deserve to be translated into English. I do not claim any substantial knowledge of Chinese, and my subsequent references to the earlier article (2016) are based on the skewed results of Google translator, my knowledge of Tibetic languages, plus a lot of lateral thinking.

3 *Mi.la.ras.paḥi rnam.thar*

Mi.la.ras.pa (1050–1139) was one of the founding fathers of the tantric Bkaḥ.brgyud school of Tibetan Buddhism. His life story has become famous through the 15th century *Mi.la.ras.paḥi rnam.thar*. As Quintman (2014) discusses in detail, the author of the text, Gtsoṅ.smyon He.ru.ka alias Rus.paḥi Rgyan.can (1452–1507) based his narrative on oral and written versions and fragments circulated by Mi.la.ras.pa’s disciples and their followers. However, unlike, e.g., the biography of Mi.la.ras.pa’s teacher Mar.pa, where Rus.paḥi Rgyan.can was only the final redactor of an inhomogeneous compilation stemming from various sources (cf. the colophon, Bacot 1937: 107, trsl. p. 57), the *Mi.la.ras.paḥi rnam.thar* is a homogeneous composition of high literary quality endowed with liveliness and emotionality. Seeing himself as an incarnation of Mi.la.ras.pa (Quintman 2014: 10, 29, 150) and emulating much of Mi.la.ras.pa’s yogic life (p. 151), Rus.paḥi Rgyan.can “reimagined and re-presented” the tradition about Mi.la.ras.pa’s life (p. 151) and “envisioned a biographical narrative that would appeal to all levels of Tibetan society, from the religious and political elite” (p. 152). Among other features, rendering the main narrative from a first person perspective, as well as using a very colloquial style certainly served this goal. Given the first person perspective, the text is particularly suitable for an analysis of the auxiliaries in terms of ‘evidentiality’.

In his 2016 article, Shao discusses the question of whether or not the verb *red* can be already found in the said 15th c. *Mi.la.ras.paḥi rnam.thar*. According to Shao as well as according to Oisel’s dissertation (2013), of which Shao apparently was unaware, the answer would be yes, however, I am afraid to say, this is in all likelihood the result of a recent editorial intervention.

The occurrence of the copula *red* in the *Mi.la.ras.paḥi rnam.thar* would have been an interesting find, since, as already mentioned, this text shows many features of the modern ‘evidential’ system, particularly the opposition of non-experiential or assertive *yod* and ‘evidential’ or rather admiring *hdug*, especially in the present tense/ imperfect construction (cf. Oisel 2013, Zeisler 2018a: 239f.).

However, in other constructions and partly also in the present tense/ imperfect constructions, *hdug* has various functions that do not match the modern systems: it is used for abstract reasoning, inferences based on perceptions, assumptions, and, most astonishingly, for third person observations, as well as mere hearsay knowledge (concerning events that are said to have happened secretly or behind the back of the narrator). Beginning with the 15th century, this original multifunctionality, which is also found in other earlier texts, began shrinking, until *hdug* was used almost exclusively for the speaker’s immediate sense perceptions and those of the addressee in information-seeking questions. As a residual function, *hdug* may still refer in some of the modern Tibetic languages to inferences based on sense perceptions.

One could have expected that *red* had likewise been established as an ‘evidential’, ‘factual’, or pragmatic counterpart of the copula *yin* in the spoken language before the 15th c. However, as Shao (2016) clearly states, there is at best a single occurrence of *red* in the *Mi.la.ras.paḥi rnam.thar*. Oisel (2013: 80) only notes that the copula *red* would be ‘rarissime’ in this text. This sole occurrence should

have made everybody sceptical. One could have expected much more occurrences of *red* in the text, if it had already developed the function of an ‘evidential’ or ‘factual’ counterpart to *yin*.

Nevertheless, in introducing the example where *red* apparently occurs, Oisel (2013: 81) describes it as: ‘[d]ans l’exemple ci-dessous, la copule *red* indique donc la confirmation d’une assertion précédente et véhicule une emphase’ (in the following example the copula *red* indicates thus the confirmation of a preceding assertion and conveys emphasis). Oisel apparently treats confirmation as a ‘factual’ subfunction. The passage cited by Shao (2016: 6, no. 1) and Oisel (2013: 81, no. 125) runs as follows. I shall add western-style punctuation and quotation marks in the transliteration to enhance the analysis.

- (1) *Mi.la.ras.paḥi rnam.thar* (Rus.pa Rgyan.can, Xining edition 1989, M06, p. 70)¹⁰

ལྷ་མའི་ཞལ་ནས་དྲི་གཏེན་ཟེན། མཁར་བརྩུ་ཐོག་ལོངས་ནས་ཚོས་སྟེར་བར་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་པས་བརྩུ་ཐོག་གཏེན་གསུངས།

bla.ma+ḥi žal-nas: « *de.ka red* » *zer.*
 lama+GEN hon.mouth-ABL that.very ? say
mkhar bcu.thog loṅs-nas, *chos ster-ba+r*
 fort 10.storey be.able.to.erec-ABL religion grant-NLS+LOC
byas-pa-yin-pa+s, *bcu.thog ga.re?*» *gsuṅs.*
 say.PA-NLS-COP-NLS+INSTR 10.storey be.where hon.say.PA

‘From the lama’s mouth: « Exactly that ‘RED’ [ø] said. «As soon as a fort of 10 storeys is completed/ As soon as [he] has been able to complete a fort of 10 storeys,¹¹ [I] shall give the religious [teachings], having said that [myself], but where are the 10 storeys?»», [Mar.pa] said.’

The first problem that we encounter here is the question of who would be the elided subject of the verb *zer*. Shao does not commit himself.

Shao’s translation: 師父說：「是那樣的，我是這樣說過，等十層樓修完了就傳法。可十層樓在哪兒呢？」 may be rendered roughly as: ‘The master said: «It is like that. I have said [this]: «When the 10-storey building is ready, the teaching can be granted.» But where is the 10-storey building?»’

The available translations, Evans-Wenz (1928: 105), Lopsang P. Lhalungpa (1982: 54), and Quintman (2010: 61), on the other hand, think of Mar.pa as the subject of *zer*: ‘I did indeed say so’ (Evans-Wenz) or ‘That is just what I said’ (Lopsang P. Lhalungpa and Quintman). These latter translations may well be based on editions that show the pronoun *na* instead of *red*, see further below.

Oisel, omitting both *verba dicendi* inside the speech, renders the crucial phrase as ‘Le lama répondit: «C’est bien ça ! Je l’instruirai dès qu’il aura érigé les dix étages. Dix étages, c’est quoi (ce n’est rien) ?»’ (The lama answered: «This is it exactly! I’ll teach him as soon as he will have erected the 10 storeys. 10 storeys, that’s what (that’s nothing)?»)’

The context is that Mar.pa has ordered Mi.la.ras.pa to build a multi-storey building, as compensation for the teachings he is asking for. But several times, whenever three or more storeys were completed, Mar.pa has told him to tear down the whole building and to take back all stones

¹⁰ The Tibetan primary texts are listed separately on pp. 31ff. with the sigla M for the *Mi.ras.paḥi rnam.thar* and a running number according to their publication date. The abbreviation “fol.” stands for folio, the loose leaf. The front side is called recto, the back side verso, abbreviated as “r” and “v” or also “a” and “b”. The subsequent number(s) refer(s) to the respective line(s).

¹¹ The verb form *loṅ(s)* is ambiguous, referring both to the ability to erect something and the potential to be erected (completely). In the following, I shall use only this latter meaning.

and earth to the place from where Mi.la.ras.pa had taken them. In due course, Mi.la.ras.pa develops sores on his back. Mar.pa's wife thus requests Mar.pa to have pity with Mi.la.ras.pa and to finally grant him the teachings. The wife's plea ends with the sentence:

- (2) *Mi.la.ras.paḥi rnam.thar* (Rus.pa Rgyan.can, Xining edition 1989, M06, p. 69)

ད་སྲུ་འདི་ལ་ཚོས་ཤིག་གནང་བར་བྱ། དང་པོ་མཁར་ལོངས་ནས་ཚོས་གནང་བར་མཛད་པ་ལགས་མོད་

«*da* <*bu* *hdi-la* *chos-šig*¹² *gnañ-ba+r*> *žu*.

now boy that-ALL religion-LQ hon.grant-PPOS hum.request

<*dañ.po* *mkhar* *loñs*¹³-*nas* *chos* *gnañ-ba+r*>

first fort be.able.to.raise-ABL religion hon.grant-NLS+LOC

mdzad-pa-lags-mod.»

hon.do-NLS-hon.COP-CNCS

‘«Now I kindly request [you] <to grant some teachings to this boy>. Earlier [you] had promised <to grant the teachings when the fort has been completed, though.> »’

Mar.pa corrects his wife, specifying that he had not just asked for a fort, but for a ten storey building, and that the ten storeys were not yet accomplished.

Both, Shao and Oisel, as well as the above-mentioned translators, overlook the functional distribution of five different *verba dicendi* in the *Mi.la.ras.paḥi rnam.thar*, namely 1. *bgyid*, *bgyis*, *bgyi*, *gyis*, 2. *zer*, and 3. *bya*, *byas*,¹⁴ besides 4. honorific *gsuñ*, *gsuñs* and 5. humilific *žu*, *žus*. The honorific verb, of course, is used whenever Mi.la.ras.pa, the fictive narrator of the episodes, refers to a high-ranking person as the subject (hon 3P), such as Mar.pa in the above example. The humilific verb *žu* is used whenever a lower-ranking person (hum 1P or 3P) speaks to a higher-ranking person. In commands, stem IV *gyis* (2P) is used. As for the remaining two verbs, apart from the regular use of *bya* when quoting letters, there is a very strong tendency that Mi.la.ras.pa uses stem II (so-called past or perfect) *byas* when referring to himself (neutral 1P), while he uses the neutral stem *zer* when he refers to other persons of the same or lower status (neutral 2/3P). A nice example, showing this contrast, is actually found in Oisel (2013: 87, ex. 145), where the question of the narrated third person, Mi.la.ras.pa's sister Pe.ta, is rendered with *zer*, and the answer of the narrated first person, Mi.la.ras.pa, is rendered with *byas*:

- (3) *Mi.la.ras.paḥi rnam.thar* (Rus.pa Rgyan.can, Xining edition 1989, M06, p. 158)

ཞུད་མི་ཡིན་ནས་འདྲེ་ཡིན་ཟེར། ང་མི་ལ་ཐོས་པ་དག་འཇིག་བྱས་པས་

«*khyed* *mi* *yin-nam* *hdre* *yin*» *zer* |

you human be-QM ghost be say(3P)

«*ña* *Mi.la* *Thos.pa.dgaḥ* *yin*» *byas-pa+s*

I Mila 'Happy-to-hear' be say(1P).PA-NLS+INSTR

¹² De Jong (1959: 64, n.18) mentions the variants *cig* and *gcig*. *cig* is also found in the Dehradun/ Varanasi edition [1976?], M02 (p. 92) and in the Otani edition of the Tibetan Works Research Project (Ed. 2008, M12, fol. 29b).

¹³ The Dehradun/ Varanasi edition [1976?], M02 (p. 92) has *loñ*.

¹⁴ I owe the insight that we deal with a *verbum dicendi* to Felix Haller (p.c., spring 2008). Haller thinks that only the two stems *bya* and *byas* are available. The reason why these two stems constitute a *verbum dicendi* and the development into a verb of doing is discussed in some detail in Zeisler (2023, Appendix IV). *bgyid*, *bgyis*, *bgyi*, *gyis* is another verb with a double meaning of speaking and doing.

[Pe.ta] asked(3P): «Are you a human or a ghost?» When [I] said(1P) «I am Mila ‘Happy-to-hear’,¹⁵ ...’

This ‘rule’ is not a 100% fast rule. In at least one case, *byas* is also used for Mi.la.ras.pa’s sister Pe.ta, when answering a request by their aunt, the latter utterance being represented by *zer*. The two verbs thus appear to indicate a kind of empathy hierarchy, signalling a lesser and a higher degree of acquaintance by, or closeness to, the speaker. Upon seeing their aunt arrive, who together with her brother had deprived the family of their wealth, Pe.ta is about to remove the footbridge that leads over a small chasm to Mi.la.ras.pa’s retreat.

(4) *Mi.la.ras.pahi rnam.thar* (Rus.pa Rgyan.can, Xining edition 1989, M06, p. 180).

ཨ་ནེ་ཟམ་སྐྱར་སྐྱོབ་བྱུང་སྟེ། ཚོ་མོ་ཟམ་པ་མ་སྐྱོག་ཅིག་ཨ་ནེ་ཡོང་གི་ཡོད་དོ་ཟེར་བ་ལ། དེ་ཀམ་སྐྱོག་པ་ཡིན་བྱས་པས། ཚོ་མོ་བདེན་ཏེ། ...

ཟམ་པ་ཚུགས། མི་འཛུགས་ན་ཨ་ཚོ་ལ་ང་སྐྱོབ་འདུག་གྱིས་དང་ཟེར་བས།

a.ne zam.sna+r sleb-byuñ-ste |

aunt bridge.end+LOC arrive-come-LB

«*tsha.mo zam.pa ma-sdog-cig a.ne yoñ-gi-yod-do» zer-ba-la |*

niece bridge NG-remove-DM aunt come-CNT-exist-FM» say(3P.low)-NLS-ALL

«*de.ka+s sdog-pa-yin» byas-pa+s |*

that.exactly+INSTR remove-NLS-be say(3P.high).PA-NLS-INSTR

«*tsha.mo bden-te | [...] zam.pa tshugs | mi-hjugs-na*

niece be.true-LB bridge insert.IMP NG-insert-CD

a.jo-la <na sleb-hdug> gyis-dan» zer-ba+s ...

elder.brother-ALL I arrive-ADM.exist say.IMP-DM say(3P.low)-NLS-INSTR

‘The aunt appeared at one end of the bridge and when she said (low empathy): «Niece, don’t remove the bridge, [your] aunt is coming», [Pe.ta] answered (high empathy): «Exactly because of that I’ll remove the bridge», upon which [the aunt] said (low empathy): «Niece, you are right but ... Put the bridge in place! If you don’t [want to] put [it] in place, then [at least] tell [your] elder brother <(that you have seen) that I have arrived> », and then ...’

This difference in empathy is motivated by the fact that the aunt had been acting as an enemy towards the siblings and their mother. In most cases then, the contrastive use of *byas* and *zer* would discriminate between (narrated) speaker and (narrated) third persons, but when representing the speech of two (narrated) third persons, *byas* apparently can be used to refer to a more intimately related person. While the use of *byas* for third persons remains an exception, *zer* is not used for the first person, except in the continuative construction, where stem I (so-called present) *byed* could have been expected. In such cases, *zer* is apparently used neutrally.¹⁶

¹⁵ For readers not acquainted with the story: when Mila was born, his father was abroad and when he was informed about the birth of a son, he chose this name as an expression of his delight.

¹⁶ An instance where *zer.zin* is used for the narrated first person, Mi.la.ras.pa, is found in the Xining edition 1989, M06 (p. 71). This usage may be indicative for a complete loss of the original meaning ‘speak, say, tell’ in stem I (present) *byed*, as follows from Haller’s suggestion. If the meaning ‘say’ were still associated with all four stems, the combination *byed.cin* could have been expected. It seems thus possible that stem I *byed* was no longer freely available for the meaning ‘speak, say’, so that *zer* had to be used neutrally.

However, infrequent instances of stem I *byed* in the function of a *verbum dicendi* may be found. In one instance, in the context of the above example (4), the aunt’s pleading with Pe.ta is rendered with the expression *phrad-dgos.pahi lo.rgyus man.po byed.cin.hdug.pas* (Xining edition 1989, M06, p. 180), which can be translated as ‘since [she] was making many reports’ or rather ‘was repeatedly making mention’, i.e., insisted, ‘that she needed to meet [me]’. Here, it

- A block print of unknown origin and date (edition without year and without location, M13, fol. 37v5) reads *de.ka re zer*, which may or may not result from an earlier *red* or belong to an earlier *rañ.re*.
- *red* appears also in the ‘corrected’ Lhasa edition 2000, M10 (p. 60). An earlier edition by the same publisher, the Lhasa edition 1979, M03 (p. 53), however, has the wording *de.ka rañ zer*.
- The Kathmandu block print edition 2000, M09 (p. 109, fol. 55r2) has *de.ka ña zer*.²¹
- The de Jong edition 1959, M01 (p. 64) has likewise *de.ka ña zer*, and no editorial note, which implies that all four versions agree on this point. The four prints are from A: Spuñs.thañ (Punakha), Bhutan; B: Lhasa; C: Spo, Khams, and D: Bkra.šis lhun.po (de Jong 1959: 8–9).
- The Otani edition 2008, M12 (fol. 30a) has *de.ka da zer*.
- The Dehradun/ Varanasi handwritten edition [1976?], M02 (p. 92) has simply *de.ka zer*.

The ‘critical’ edition by Negi 2003, M11 (p. 101) gives again *de.ka red zer* with the alternative readings of *de.ka rañ zer* by the 1979 Lhasa edition (M03) and *de.ka zer* of the [1976?] Dehradun/ Varanasi edition (M02).

According to the de Jong (M01) and Kathmandu (M09) editions, the phrase should be translated as ‘[Yes], I have said that, but...’, but according to the above-mentioned functional distribution of the *verba dicendi*, the first person pronoun would be somewhat unexpected as a subject for the verb *zer*. Given the general tendency in the *Mi.la.ras.pañi rnam.thar* to use a *pa.yin*-construction for a first person’s past activities, the use of a simple verb stem is likewise not fully warranted, especially not in a context of confirmation. One could have further expected ergative marking on the pronoun: **ñas zer.ba.yin*. The Otani edition (M12) would be preferable in this particular context. As commonly known, a printed, somewhat mutilated *dbu.can da* ཏ་ can be mistaken for a *ña* ཏ. Handwritten *da* and *ña* may also, depending on the writing style, be confoundable, cf. the styles of the *Qomolangma* font set: *Qomolangma-Betsu* ཏ and ཏ, *Qomolangma-Druitsa* ཏ and ཏ, and *Qomolangma-Tsumachu* ཏ and ཏ.

According to the Otani edition (M12), the passage in question could then be translated as ‘Indeed, [you] say it, exactly.’ The emphatic *da* ‘indeed’ could refer back to the wife’s statement or could anticipate the contrasting last part: ‘but where are the ten storeys now?’

Similarly, the expression *de.ka rañ zer* of the Lhasa 1979 edition (M03) could possibly refer to the wife as the subject. *rañ* ‘self, only, exactly’ can be used as an independent pronoun both for the first and the second person (cf. Jäschke 1881: 522b). With its restrictive meaning of ‘only, barely, just, exactly, precisely’, it may possibly also simply further emphasise the selectiveness of the preceding utterance.

It may be noted that the first block print was supervised by *Rus.pa gyan.can* himself (Quintman 2014: 129–131). This should ideally rule out scribal errors as common in manuscript traditions. In fact, the critical annotation in the de Jong edition (M01) mainly concerns orthographic

²¹ I owe the reference to these block print editions and to the two Lhasa editions to Karma Ngodon from the editorial board of Himalayan Linguistics.

variants, such as conventional abbreviations and variation in the prefixes, and the exchange of synonyms (cf. de Jong 1959: 13). Of course, errors could creep in in the subsequent re-editions, which started early on, as there was obviously a great demand (Quintman 2014: 131). According to Quintman (2014: 132): “[b]y the mid-twentieth century, at least nineteen separate editions had been printed throughout the Tibetan Buddhist cultural world.” All versions do, in fact, show some deviations beyond mere orthographic variants.²²

Given the observed variations, namely: zero, *red*, *re*, *rañ*, *ña*, and *da*, I would think that the original might have had *rañ* or even *rañ.re*. This latter expression usually signifies ‘we’, but according to Jäschke (1881: 523b), it may also appear as a more polite form of addressing the second person. In both cases of *rañ* or *rañ.re*, one could think of some technical accident that occurred at a line break, leading to the loss of a syllable (either *re* or *rañ*), and in the case of an original or remaining *rañ*, either the first or the last letter could have got lost. If the original had only *rañ*, and if only one letter disappeared, a remaining *-ñ* would have been interpreted as *ña* ‘I’, but could have been misread as *da* ‘though’, while a remaining *r-*, yielding *ra*, could have been either deleted or ‘corrected’ into *re* and then, in a second step, it could have been ‘corrected’ into *red*. Similarly, if only the second syllable of the word *rañ.re* remained, the remaining *re* could have easily been re-interpreted as *red*.

Otherwise, it is not really understandable how this divergence in the various editions could have developed. One would hardly get from *ña* to *re* and *red*, and even an original *da* would not need to be re-interpreted, as it would perfectly fit the context.²³ Example (1) could thus be reconstituted and translated more freely as follows:

²² Only one and a half pages later, both the Otani (M12) and the Xining edition (M06) have an orthographic variant that was in all likelihood triggered by homophony, but which does not make sense, whereas two of the three variants noted by de Jong do: *Mi.la.ras.pa* pretends to leave, carrying a small sack of flour on top of which he has fastened or joined some personal belongings. The Xining edition (M06, p. 71), as well as the Otani edition (M12, fol. 30b) use the form *drags.te*, with *drags* being a particle added to verbs to indicate excessive activity. This is by now phonetically identical with *sbrags* ‘joined’ in de Jong’s version A and *grags* ‘bound’ in version C, while versions B and D have *dregs*, a noun meaning ‘dirt’, or an alternative spelling for *bregs* ‘cut off’, which again doesn’t make sense (de Jong 1959: 65, with n. 16). *dregs* is also found in the Dehradun/ Varanasi edition (M02, p. 94).

Another striking case is found again one page later: where the Xining edition (M06, p. 72 has *nam.žig* ‘one day, eventually’, the editions cited in de Jong (1959: 66 with n. 5) have *nam.žug* (B, D), *-bžug* (C), or *-gžug* (A), the latter with the meaning ‘end of season, autumn’, the Otani edition (M12, fol. 31a) has meaningless *nam.bžig*, the Dehradun/ Varanasi edition M02, p. 96) again has *nam.žug*. In this particular case, I cannot help the feeling that *nam.žig* might be again an emendation by the modern editors of the Xining edition (M04/ M06). The reading ‘autumn’, referring to a situation a few months away when *Mar.pa* might eventually grant the teachings would be corroborated by the mentioning of *dbyar* ‘summer’ only a few lines later, when *Mi.la.ras.pa* describes how in the meantime he helped *Mar.pa*’s wife with her household chores.

²³ I also do not think that the variation is the result of the imperfect attempts of the respective editors to render *Mar.pa*’s dialect, as has been kindly suggested to me by Karma Ngodon. First of all, I do not see why the editors should have tampered with the original, to render a local dialect, and secondly, if *Rus.pañi Rgyan.can* had attempted to render *Mar.pa*’s particular dialect, we should have encountered more such instances. If there are dialect features in the text, then they reflect either the (emulated) dialect of *Mi.la.ras.pa* or *Rus.pañi Rgyan.can*’s own dialect.

(6) *Mi.la.ras.paḥi rnam.thar* reconstructed

ལྷ་མའི་ཞལ་ནས་དེ་ཀྱང་(རེ་)ཟེར། མཁར་བརྩམས་ལོངས་ནས་ཚོས་སྟེར་བར་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་པས་བརྩམས་པ་ལྟོག་གེ་གསུངས།

<i>bla.ma+ḥi</i>	<i>žal-nas:</i>	« <i>de.ka</i>	<i>rañ.(re)</i>	<i>zer.</i>
lama+GEN	hon.mouth-ABL	that.very	you	say(2/3P)
« <i>mkhar</i>	<i>bcu.thog</i>	<i>loñs-nas,</i>	<i>chos</i>	<i>ster-ba+r</i> »
fort	10.storey	be.able.to.erect-ABL	religion	grant-NLS+LOC
<i>byas-pa-yin-pa+s,</i>	<i>bcu.thog</i>	<i>ga.re?»</i>	<i>gsuñs.</i>	
say(1P).PA-NLS-COP-NLS-INSTR	10.storey	be.where	hon.say.PA	

‘Lama [Mar.pa] replied: «You say(2/3P) it, exactly: «As soon as a fort of 10 storeys is completed, [I] shall give the religious [teachings]. I said(1P) that (myself), but where are the 10 storeys?»’

With all the variation in the editions, the uncertainties concerning the original form, and, above all, the interventions of the Xining editors, the base for the attestation of the copula *red* in the 15th c. *Mi.la.ras.paḥi rnam.thar* is more than shaky. One definitely has to look for *red* as a ‘factual’ copula in other texts.

4 *Padma bkaḥ.thañ* and *Padma gser.gyi phreñ.ba*

In a handout, Zadoks (2004: §§ 8.3, 8.4) points to another early instance of *red* in the *Padma bkaḥ.thañ* of O.rgyan Gliñ.pa, composed in the 14th c.. The extant versions seem to date back to the 16th c. (see Doney 2016: 71),²⁴ but the version possibly cited (Zadoks does not specify it) might be the 18th c. Beijing block print edition used by Hoffmann (1950), unfortunately also without giving any further specification. A Beijing block print edition was sponsored by Lcañ.skya Rol.paḥi Rdo.rje in ca. 1755 (see Kapstein 2015). The block print available from the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center via archive.org, TY2)²⁵ is dated to 1779. Another Beijing block print, used together with a manuscript from Lithang by Toussaint (1933), is dated to 1839 by Toussaint.

Zadoks thinks that the example in question would yield contrastive minimal pairs for the use of ‘assertive’ *yin*, on the one hand, and ‘mirative’ *hdug*, and *red*, on the other. While Zadoks does describe the use of *-par-hdug* correctly as ‘it turned out that, it seems, appears’ (§ 3), it does not form a functional minimal pair with *yin* in his example, because *yin* is used for identifications, whereas *hdug* is used three times as a verbal auxiliary of the perfect, one time as a copula for attributes, and one time with additional case marking, as expressing that something ‘exists as’ or rather ‘appears as’ something else (a variant of the just mentioned *-par-hdug* construction). Nevertheless, in the example, as provided by Zadoks, it looks like there might be a minimal pair, contrasting the copula *yin* with the copula *red*. Again, this find would be extremely interesting.

The context is that an anti-Buddhist queen instigates the ministers of Bonpo affiliation to prevent a Buddhist initiation ritual for the king. In each line, the queen cites an authoritative

²⁴ The existing *Thañ.yig* versions are said to be all based either on a version revised by Śes.rab Ḥod.zer (1518–1584) or on later versions, cf. Tucci (1949: 110b–111a).

²⁵ The various editions are again listed under the heading primary texts, following the *Mi.la.ras.pa* editions, with the sigla TY for the (*bkaḥ.*)*thañ.yig* version and GS for the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba* version. Remember that the abbreviation “fol.” stands for folio, the loose leave. The front side is called recto, the back side verso, abbreviated as “r” and “v” or also “a” and “b”. The subsequent number(s) refer(s) to the respective line(s). MS is the common abbreviation for manuscript or ‘hand-written’ document. “+” is used here for the *gter.shad*, མཚན་མོན་ལྟོང་མཚན་མོན་, often appearing as མཚན་མོན་ (used for the *visarga* in Sanskrit words).

statement of the Buddhist clerics about certain ritualistic objects, marked with the copula *yin*, contrasting this with her own subjective and, in part, shocked observations (not all of those, and especially not the most shocking ones, are marked with *hdug*). One line runs as follows, with the translation as suggested by Zadoks:

(7) *Padma bkah.thaṅ* (O.rgyan Glin.pa, chapter 79)

གིང་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་མི་*རེད་གཅེར་རྒྱགས་བྱེད།

⟨ <i>gin.pa</i>	<i>yin</i> ⟩	<i>zer</i>	<i>mi</i>	* <i>red</i>	<i>gcer.rgyugs</i>	<i>byed</i>
“drummer”	be	say	man	*RED	naked.run	do.PRS

“They say it is a drummer: he is evidently human [but] runs around naked [like a beast].”

The form *red* is also found in Hoffmann (1950: 356, translation p. 259), from where Zadoks must have taken the example (he does not give any reference). Hoffmann (1950: 351) specifies his edition as ‘Peking–Ausgabe (463 Blatt)’, i.e., ‘Beijing edition (463 folios)’. Hoffmann (p. 259, n. 2) states that he cannot make sense of *red*. Nor can I.

In particular, I do not think that *red* as a copula would be motivated here, at all. It does not really fit into the sentence at hand. First of all, it does not fit the contrastive pairing between what is cited with X *yin zer*, and the opposing observation. A concessive sub-clause in the second member of a contrasting pair, establishing thus a sub-contrast, is not well motivated.

Secondly, I do not see why being human should stand in a marked contrast with being a ‘drummer’ (or as I shall translate: a servant of the deity) or why being a human should be contrasted with being naked (or perhaps only with running around barefoot, as Toussaint suggests). It is further by no means evident why being naked or merely barefoot should be associated with wild beasts, as suggested by Zadoks.

Thirdly, if the contrast is between the ‘drummer’ and his nakedness, and if being human is thought to be a concessive thought: ‘although being human’, then this part might not be a finite sentence, and *red* as a grammaticalised ‘factual’ marker would possibly not be allowed.²⁶

Finally, Zadoks’ interpretation is even less convincing, when looking at the sentence in its context. The main contrast between X *yin zer*, on the one hand, and the rest of the sentence, on the other, follows the model of altogether ten such pairs in a row. Compare example (8), which gives the subsequent two pairs. Zadoks’ reading would thus not only break the symmetry of the contrasting pair, but also the parallelism of the whole passage.

As will be shown in Table 1 below, all editions that I consulted have a much more fitting *ren* instead. While the letters ཅ and ཅ are easily confounded, in all editions consulted, the final *-n* cannot be mistaken, because the lower stroke of the *-n* does not reach lower down than the lower stroke of the preceding *r*-; and certainly it does not reach as far down as the lower stroke of the *-d* in the last word *byed* in most manuscripts (in the MS Lithang (TY1), the final *-d* is not reaching down as much as could be expected, yet the lower stroke of the final *-d* shows a stronger bend than the lower stroke of the final *-n*). It is quite apparent that Hoffmann simply misread the letter, and unfortunately, it did not occur to him to think about how easy *da* and *na* may be confounded and

²⁶ This is just a conjecture based on the modern languages, where ‘evidential’ marking is restricted to finite main or superordinate clauses. One can observe, however, that as long as *hdug* has not fully grammaticalised, it is found in all sorts of non-finite and subordinate sentences. It is thus possible that early usages of ‘factual’ *red* may similarly be found in non-finite, subordinate contexts, but that remains to be demonstrated.

that it may be helpful to recheck the text. Zadoks, however, must have relied on Hoffmann without consulting any text edition.

(8) *Padma bkah.thañ* (O.rgyan Glin.pa, chapter 79)

གིང་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་མི་རེང་གཅེར་རྒྱགས་བྱེད་ཀྱིན་འབེབས་ཡིན་ཟེར་ཅི་འདྲའི་གསོལ་གྱོན་འདུག་ཤེས་བརྟན་ཡིན་ཟེར་སྐྱོ་ཚོགས་འབག་གྱོན་འདུག་ཤེས་མིན་གྱུ་གར་བོད་ལ་རན་བསྐྱབས་ཡིན་ཤེས་སྐྱེས་པ་

«... <gin.pa²⁷ yin> zer mi.reñ gcer.rgyugs byed ÷

servant.of.the.deity²⁸ be say man.single naked.run do.PRS

<byin.hbebs yin> zer ci.hdra.ñi gsob gyon-hdug ÷

blessing.bestow be say what.like+GEN stuffed.skin dress-ADM

<žal.brñan yin> zer sna.tshogs hbag gyon-hdug ÷

hon.face.image be say variegated mask dress-ADM

chos min Gya.gar Bod-la ñan.bsłabs yin ÷» žes smras-pa

religion NG.be India Tibet-ALL evil.teaching be such speak.PA-NLS

‘[They] say <[this] is a servant of the deity>, [but] [only] a single man²⁹ runs around naked!³⁰ [They] say <[it] is the bestower of blessings>, [but] it appears to be [only] a stuffed somewhat.³¹ [They] say <[these] are sacral images>, [but] it appears that [only some] colourful masks are worn. This is not the dharma! This is the evil teaching India [has] for Tibet!’ [the queen] claimed.’ (Sañ.rgyas Glin.pa/ O.rgyan Glin.pa *Padma bkah.thañ*, ca. 14th c., chapter 79, MS Lithang, TY1, fol. 239a4–6); edition Beijing 1779, TY2, fol. 284b4; ‘Peking edition’ cited by Hoffmann 1960, fol. 284b4–5; editions Kalimpong 1985, TY4/Delhi 1988, TY8, fol. 174v2–3.

Table 1 shows reproductions of the line from the following editions:

- TY1, MS Lithang (Toussaint Tibétain 821), silver ink on black lacquered background on originally black paper, finished in a Water Dragon Year (16th or 17th c.?).³² Author: O.rgyan Glin.pa. *Thañ.yig*, chapter 79, fol. 239a4.

²⁷ In the MS Toussaint, the vowel sign is missing.

²⁸ The online Tibetan to English Translation Tool (<http://www.thlib.org/reference/dictionaries/tibetan-dictionary/translate.php>) treats the word as related to Skt. *kinkara*, that is, *kimkara* ‘servant’. The translations range thus from ‘skeleton [dancer]’ to ‘servant/ messenger [of a heruka/deity]’ (Ives Waldo) or ‘warrior’ (Rangjung Yeshe). The word may also refer to a ‘little drum’ (Jim Valby), although not directly to a ‘drummer’, as suggested by Zadoks, who apparently follows Toussaint (1933 [1994]: 310, ‘tambourinaires’) or Hoffmann (1950: 259, ‘Trommelschläger’). Zhang (1993: 355a) paraphrases the word *gin* as ‘retinue of the gods’ (*lhañi hñhor*) or ‘messenger’ (*pho.ñā*), or as a skeleton dancer holding a small drum at the *hñcham* dance performance (*gar.hñcham hñkhrab.skabs lag.par rñeñu bzuñ.nas mchoñ bzhin.du hñkhrab.pañi keñ.rus gzugs.can.žig*). In Ladakhi, the verb *gin* refers to the way a warrior walks proudly, swaying his hips. The word may thus, in fact, primarily refer to a proud dancer, while in the context of a ritual, it might rather refer to a medium.

²⁹ Possibly also in the sense of ‘without anything’, ‘naked’, cf. the etymologically related forms *hññ.ne.ba* and *hññ.ne* ‘naked’ (Zhang 1993: 3075a. 3077b).

³⁰ Or, perhaps, barefoot, cf. also Toussaint (1933: 310).

³¹ Lit. ‘it appears that a what-like stuffed skin is worn’.

³² The paper has bleached considerably and the text also shows signs of wear. Toussaint thought that the manuscript might have been about 300 years old when he bought it in 1911 (Toussaint 1933: 1).

- TY2, Beijing edition 1779, from the hands of Lcañ.skya Rol.pañi Rdo.rje (1717–1786). Author: O.rgyan Gliñ.pa. *Thañ.yig*, chapter 79, fol. 284b4 (p. 567).
- TY3, reprint of *Sde.dge*, 18th c. illustrated woodblock print, reprint Dharamsala 1986. Author: Sañs.rgyas Gliñ.pa. *Thañ.yig*, chapter 79, fol. 203b (p. 406).
- TY5, Kalimpong edition 1985, print on rice paper. Author: allegedly Sañs.rgyas Gliñ.pa; form-identical with
- TY4, Dehradun edition 1978. Author: allegedly Sañs.rgyas Gliñ.pa & Ye.šes Mtsho.rgyal; form-identical with
- TY8, Delhi edition 1988. Author: allegedly O.rgyan Gliñ.pa. *Thañ.yig*, chapter 79, fol. 174r2–3 (p. 347).³³
- TY6, Dharamsala edition [1985]. Author: O.rgyan Gliñ.pa. *Thañ.yig*, chapter 79, fol. 162r2 (p. 323).
- TY7, Rewalsar edition 1985. Author: O.rgyan Gliñ.pa. *Thañ.yig*, chapter 79, fol. 230v5–6 (p. 470).

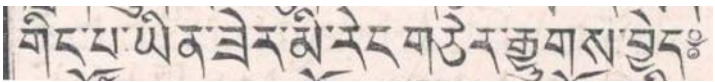
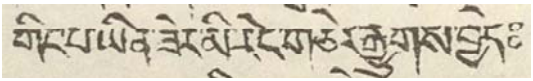
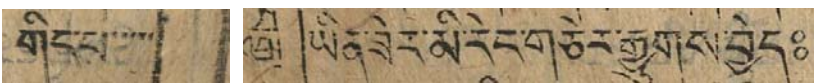
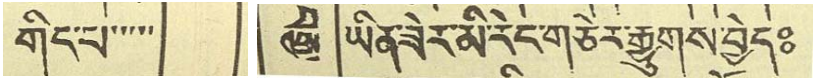
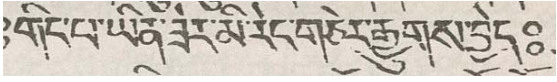
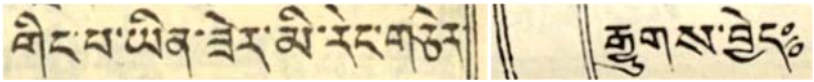
Edition, folio	Reproduction
TY1, MS Lithang, fol. 239a4	
TY2, Beijing 1779, fol. 284b4	
TY3, Sde.dge, fol. 203r5	
TY5, Kalimpong, fol. 174v2–3	
= TY8, Delhi, fol. 174v2–3	
TY6, Dharamsala, fol. 162r2	
TY7, Rewalsar, fol. 230v5–6	

Table 1 Attestations of *mi ren*

Zadoks (2004: § 8.3) mentions a further occurrence of *red* in the *Padma bkah.thañ*, which, in fact, appears to be genuine. He cites it from Jäschke (1881: 535a). It is the sentence, already mentioned in note 20 above: *khyed phyugs.rdzi ma.red rdo.rje sems.dpar snañ*. It is quite

³³ Apparently the same text underlies the online edition http://www.dharmadownload.net/download/html/text-html/T0113_Pema_Ka_Thang.html, accessed 25.03.2021.

unfortunate that Jäschke does not give any information about what kind of manuscript or block print he used. Jäschke uses the siglum Pth for *Padma thañ.yig*. However, the phrase belongs to the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba* version by Sañs.rgyas Gliñ.pa, not to the *Thañ.yig* version ascribed to O.rgyan Gliñ.pa (and, as seen above, sometimes also ascribed to Sañs.rgyas Gliñ.pa).

So far, I could locate the sentence in one Bhutanese print and in two Nepalese manuscripts:

- (9) *Padma gser.gyi phreñ.ba* (Sañs.rgyas Gliñ.pa), chapter 46, Phunaka edition, Thimphu 1985, GS2; MS Thame, GS3; MS Patan, GS4

ཁྱེད་ནི་ཕུགས་རྗེ་མ་རེད་དོན་མེད་མེད་མེད་མེད་ལྟར་སྣང་།

khyed-ni phyugs.rdzi ma-red Rdo.rje Sems.dpa+r snañ ÷
 you-TOP herdsman NG-RED Rdo.rje Sems.dpañ·LOC appear

‘You, you are not (or: no longer?) a herdsman, you appear to be Rdo.rje Sems.dpañ (Vajrasattva).’

One of the Nepalese manuscripts has also the following variant:

- (10) *Padma gser.gyi phreñ.ba* (Sañs.rgyas Gliñ.pa), chapter 46, MS Drumba, GS5

ཁྱེད་ནི་ཕུགས་རྗེ་མ་ཡིན་དོན་མེད་མེད་མེད་མེད་ལྟར་སྣང་།

khyed-ni phyugs.rdzi ma-yin Rdo.rje Sems.dpa+r snañ ÷
 you-TOP herdsman NG-be Rdo.rje Sems.dpañ·LOC appear

‘You, you are not a herdsman; you appear to be Rdo.rje Sems.dpañ (Vajrasattva).’

This latter variant is also to be found in the earliest block print of the text, printed in 1512/13 in the Chos.luñ monastery in Spyad.luñ or Spyañ.luñ in La.stod lho, now hosted in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin (GS1). This is apparently the oldest available version of the text. See Everding (2020) for a description of the document, its colophon, and the interesting background of its printing.

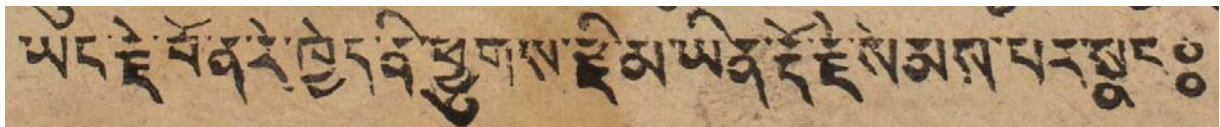


Figure 1 Cut-out from the Chos.luñ print, fol. 112v7, digitalisation, courtesy Staatsbibliothek Berlin

Except for the exact wording, chapter 46 of the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba* version corresponds to chapter 50 of the *Thañ.yig* version:

- (11) *Padma bkañ.thañ* (O.rgyan Gliñ.pa), chapter 50, edition Kalimpong 1985, TY5, fol. 118v6

ཕུགས་རྗེ་མ་ཡིན་དོན་མེད་མེད་མེད་མེད་ལྟར་སྣང་།

phyugs.rdzi ma-yin Rdo.rje Sems.dpañ lags ÷
 herdsman NG-be Rdo.rje Sems.dpañ hon.be

‘[You] are not a herdsman; you are Rdo.rje Sems.dpañ (Vajrasattva).’

According to the context, a young herdsman has become the adept of Padmasambhava and developed signs of holiness. One day, when he returns with the herd, his master has already prepared a seat of cushions and has announced to the villagers that Vajrasattva is coming. The shepherd, when led to the seat, states that he is only a shepherd, which is then outright rejected by his master.

The following manuscripts and prints have been surveyed (see Table 2):

- GS1, edition Chos.luñ 1512/13. Author: Sañs.rgyas Gliš.pa. *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba*, chapter 46, fol. 112v7.
- GS2, edition Punakha/ Spuñs.thañ, early 17th c. Author: Sañs.rgyas Gliš.pa. *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba*, chapter 46, fol. 160r1 (p. 319).
- GS3, MS Thame of Ngawang Shedrup. Author: Sañs.rgyas Gliš.pa. *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba*, chapter 46, fol. 127v7.
- GS4, MS Patan of S.B. Bajracarya. Author: Sañs.rgyas Gliš.pa. *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba*, chapter 46, 143v2.
- GS5, MS Drumba of Mtshams-po Ngag-dbang. Author: Sañs.rgyas Gliš.pa. *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba*, chapter 46, fol. 112v7.
- TY1, MS Lithang, Author: O.rgyan Gliš.pa. *Thañ.yig*, chapter 50, fol. 164v3.
- TY2, edition Beijing 1779, from the hands of Lcañ.skya Rol.pañi Rdo.rje (1717–1786). Author: O.rgyan Gliš.pa. *Thañ.yig*, chapter 50, fol. 189v6 (p. 236).
- TY3, edition Sde.dge, 18th c. illustrated woodblock print. Author: Sañs.rgyas Gliš.pa. *Thañ.yig*, chapter 50, fol. 139v1. (p. 278).
- TY5, edition Kalimpong 1985, print on rice paper. Author: allegedly Sañs.rgyas Gliš.pa; form-identical with ed. Dehradun 1978 (TY4). Author: allegedly Sañs.rgyas Gliš.pa & Ye.šes Mtsho.rgyal; form-identical with ed. Delhi 1988 (TY8). Author: allegedly O.rgyan Gliš.pa. *Thañ.yig*, chapter 50, fol. 118v6 (p. 236).
- TY6, edition Dharamsala 1985. Author: O.rgyan Gliš.pa. *Thañ.yig*, chapter 50, fol. 109r2 (p. 217).
- TY7, edition Rewalsar 1985. Author: O.rgyan Gliš.pa. *Thañ.yig*, chapter 50, fol. 157v6 (p. 324).

Edition	Author	Recension	Chapter	negated	identified
Chos.luñ	Sañs.rgyas Gliš.pa	<i>Gser.gyi phreñ.ba</i>	46	<i>ma.yin</i>	– <i>snañ</i>
Punakha	Sañs.rgyas Gliš.pa		46	<i>ma.red</i>	– <i>snañ</i>
MS Thame	Sañs.rgyas Gliš.pa		46	<i>ma.red</i>	– <i>snañ</i>
MS Patan	Sañs.rgyas Gliš.pa		46	<i>ma.red</i>	– <i>snañ</i>
MS Drumba	Sañs.rgyas Gliš.pa		46	<i>ma.yin</i>	– <i>snañ</i>
MS Lithang	O.rgyan Gliš.pa	<i>Thañ.yig</i>	50	<i>ma.yin</i>	– <i>lags</i>
Beijing	O.rgyan Gliš.pa		50	<i>ma.yin</i>	– <i>lags</i>
Sde.dge	Sañs.rgyas Gliš.pa		50	<i>ma.yin</i>	– <i>lags</i>
Kalimpong etc.	Sañs.rgyas/ O.rgyan Gliš.pa		50	<i>ma.yin</i>	– <i>lags</i>
Dharamsala	O.rgyan Gliš.pa		50	<i>ma.yin</i>	– <i>lags</i>
Rewalsar	O.rgyan Gliš.pa		50	<i>ma.lags</i>	– <i>lags</i>

Table 2 Distribution of the copulas *yin*, *lags*, and *red* in the crucial passage

Table 2 shows the distribution of the copulas. The shared features of the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba* recension are highlighted by shading.

We apparently have two main recensions of the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba*, which differ here in the use of *yin* or *red*. What is strange, is that this passage appears to be the only passage where *red* appears at all.

I have not read all of the 396 folios of the Punakha *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba* (GS2). I had a closer look only at about 30 folios. In these, there were quite a few instances of the copula *yin* and its negation, only very few instances of *lags*, but no further instance of *red*. I also checked the OCR version added by the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Centre to the Punakha scans. Of course, the reading is often faulty, especially when letters are carved too narrow. As a result, one may get both false positives (two apparent instances of ‘*red*’ turned out to be *rñed*) and false negatives. With this in mind, the data is, nevertheless, convincing (all searches have been performed without the final *tsheg*): (*ma*).*yin*: 138; *min*: 17; *lags*: 17; *red*: one only (plus two times for *rñed*). This indicates that the use of *red* is absolutely marginal and apparently restricted to one single occurrence. This single occurrence of *red* makes it impossible to say anything with certainty about its function in the text.

Nevertheless, I think, a ‘factual’ pragmatic function, as in the modern Tibetic languages, can be precluded. In the above sentence of the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba* version, examples (9) and (10), *red* and *yin* are contrasted with *snañ* ‘be visible, appear’. The latter functions like the above-mentioned admirative *par-ḥdug* construction, usually indicating that the identification is momentary, unsettled, and/ or uncertain. Here, in this context, this notion of hedging seems to signal heightened politeness, since the addressee is seen as an extraordinary superhuman being. This is also the case in the *Thañ.yig* version, where the positive identification takes the marked copula *lags*, which also goes along with a connotation of polite speech.

If *red* should have a notion of ‘mirativity’, as suggested by Zadoks’ glosses, indicating that the (narrated) speaker just found out, then it should have been used rather in the second part or equally in both parts. But why should the copula express mirativity, at all, if the narrated speaker had already arranged a seat of honour and invited the public, and thus definitely knew about the expressed identity and non-identity beforehand? Similarly, if *red* should have had the connotation of an inferential or otherwise epistemic marker, a function modern *red* can stand for, it should have been used in the second part or in both parts equally.

The intended meaning in this context could at best be ‘factual’, in the sense of stating a generic matter of fact, such as, say, *Sroñ.brtsan Sgam.po* is the first Dharma king. However, according to the context, the not being a herdsman is not a generally known fact, and particularly not a fact known to, or accepted by, the narrated addressee. On the contrary, the narrated speaker authoritatively contradicts the self-identification of the narrated addressee. This authoritative attitude would rather call for the copula *yin*.

If the narrated speaker wanted to signal with *red* some polite distance, indicating that he does not or no longer want to claim his ownership over the shepherd, in contrast to the possessive notion that *yin* might signal in the modern languages (cf. also Agha 1993: 176 for the notion of a “possessor perspective”), then again, one could have expected *red* to be used also in the second part. At least the motivation for the shift to *snañ* would not be obvious. One could think, however, that the unsuitable possessive notion of modern *yin*, may have triggered a comparatively late exchange.

The marginality or even complete lack of *red* in the remaining text further speaks against an already established ‘factual’ or otherwise pragmatic function in the modern sense.

The questions remaining are: why does *red* appear at all in some or perhaps the majority of editions? And why does it occur only a single time?

From a linguistic perspective, there are only two possibilities.

1. The expression *ma.red* may still have had a rarely attested special function, such as pointing to the future, from now on: *you are no longer a herdsman* or it was used as an artificial archaism with such a meaning. Alternatively perhaps, based on the original resultative meaning, it might have signalled: *you have never become* > *you have never [really] been a herdsman*. Such non-standard usage would have been observed and corrected in one recension, and overlooked or tolerated in the other. This scenario is certainly quite speculative, but could be corroborated if more instances of *red* or perhaps only of negated *red* could be found in comparable contexts.

2. The underlying text originates from an East Tibetan region, where *red* was in use in function and in place of *yin*, and thus the author either used *red* throughout the text or inadvertently mixed in a few items of *red*. At a later time, the text was revised and standardised at different places, and in one case a single instance of *red* got overlooked, while the preparation of the Chos.lun print (GS1) was perhaps more meticulous, so that even the last instance of *red* got removed.

As mentioned initially, Shao (2016: 8, table 1) has observed the use of *red* in the 14th c. autobiography of Hjam.dbaṅs Grag.pa from Minyang in, or bordering on, Eastern Tibet. As Shao does not give any contrastive examples, it appears as if *red* was used in the said autobiography in the same (neutral) function as *yin* elsewhere. Saṅs.rgyas Glin.pa is said to be born in the Koṅ.po valley, and his father is said to be originally from Mdo.khams (see Mei 2012: 196f.). Saṅs.rgyas Glin.pa might thus have grown up in an environment where *red* was used with the same (neutral) function as *yin*, and this may have led to an occasional use in his writings.

What complicates the issue is the fact that the Padmasambhava hagiographies may at best be called multi-layered collages. Both O.rgyan Glin.pa's *Thaṅ.yig* of 108 (or 109) chapters and Saṅs.rgyas Glin.pa's *Gser.gyi phreṅ.ba* of 117 chapters draw upon an earlier, 12th c. text, the *Zaṅs.glin.ma* of ṅaṅ.ral ṅiṃa ḥod.zer (see Doney 2016, 2018), which in different recensions comes along with 41 to 48 chapters. As the first complete biography of Padmasambhava, it is itself based on earlier fragments and oral traditions (for details see Blondeau 1976, 1977–1978, Doney 2016, 2018, 2020). The *Thaṅ.yig* and the *Gser.gyi phreṅ.ba* share 90 chapters, mostly in larger blocks. In case, both authors took over the whole *Zaṅs.glin.ma*, they share between 42 and 49 chapters from yet another source or other sources. (If they took over only part of the *Zaṅs.glin.ma*, this would not only mean that they share even more chapters from other sources, but that they share even the selection of chapters from the *Zaṅs.glin.ma*.) With respect to the relevant chapter 46/ 50, Lewis Doney kindly informs me that a chapter about a herdsman becoming *Rdo.rje Sems.dpaḥ* is not to be found in the *Zaṅs.glin.ma* (email 20.04.2021). In the meantime, I was able to verify this, according to the translation by Kunsang (1993).

It is further assumed that Saṅs.rgyas Glin.pa drew upon O.rgyan Glin.pa's text (see Doney 2016: 72, n. 13 with further references). An alternative assumption is that a much later revised edition was attributed to Saṅs.rgyas Glin.pa. According to Tucci (1949: 111b),

a third [version] must be added, the one printed in dGa' ldan, which then became the vulgate, one might, say, authorized by the Yellow Sect. This, in its turn, is based on a printed edition of the C'os srid spuns t'aṅ, a aBrug pa monastery, slightly corrected; but it is not only a material correction of errors and slips contained in the preceding

edition; it is rather a new version, in which nothing is found which might offend the new sea's principles and dogmas. That this text, thus revised and corrected, should be considered a real new version, is desumed [read deduced] from the fact that it is no longer attributed to O rgyan gliñ pa, but to Sañs rgyas gliñ pa. It consists of 117 chapters instead of 118 [read 108] and bears the title: *O rgyan gu ru Pad ma a byuñ gnas kyi rnam t'ar rgyas pa gser gyi phreñ ba t'ar lam gsal byed*.

However, how do we explain that both the *Thañ.yig* as well as the earliest print of the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba* have the phrase *ma.yin*, while some later editions of the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba* have an exceptional *ma.red*? A slip of the pen into a dialectal form while copying a text with a standard form³⁴ is not very likely. Do we thus have to assume that this form was 'originally' also found in the *Thañ.yig*, and perhaps with more instances of *red*, which then had been removed more thoroughly by the redactors? Or should we assume that Sañs.rgyas Gliñ.pa had exchanged or started to exchange the standard copula with *red* to give his text a distinctive flavour, but afterwards a redactor had cancelled it (almost) all out? I do not think that this is a very likely scenario.

Perhaps the relationship between the texts is the other way round. Tucci did not know yet the Chos.luñ edition of 1512/1513. The date of this print is earlier than the birth of one of the redactors of the *Thañ.yig*, Šes.rab ħod.zer, said to be born in 1518 (Tucci 1949: 111a; Deroche 2011). While the above 'third version' may be much later than the more original version of the *Thañ.yig*, this cannot necessarily be said about the first print of the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba*.

Without having compared the texts, I would further assume that if we have a prose text and a versified version, the latter would be the secondary one, especially if the versification is rather superficial in that it leads to rather unexpected line breaks (this is something I have observed in the *Btsun.mo bkah.thañ.yig* of O.rgyan Gliñ.pa as compared to the corresponding chapter 6 of the *Gzer.myig*). That an already versified text would be rewritten as prose text seems to be rather unlikely, if one does not want to imply, from a modern perspective, a writer's attempt to cover up his 'plagiarism'. But for these treasure finders rewriting was not plagiarising, but rather re-energising a text or even spreading the 'gospel', so to speak, hence there was no need for covering up. A versified text would be easier to memorise, and if done well, it would also appeal by its special aesthetics. To rewrite a versified text into prose would thus probably not be seen as a good idea. Hence, I am not fully convinced that the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba* could be a prose rendering of the versified *Thañ.yig*, as suggested by Vostrikov (1970: 48).³⁵

Vostrikov's main argument is that the *Thañ.yig* contains no reference to the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba* and its compiler, while the latter contains a reference to the *Thañ.yig* and its compiler in a chapter on prophecies. However, given the involved history of redactions, this is not a final proof. The said chapter or perhaps only the reference could well be a later addition. One should perhaps not preclude the possibility, contrary to Tucci and Vostrikov, that the existing *Thañ.yig* as a versified re-edition of the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba* could be the result of a much later final redaction, and that it is the ascription to O.rgyan Gliñ.pa that is artificial (which could then possibly explain why there is no reference to the

³⁴ Lewis Doney (p.c.) thinks that the *Thañ.yig* would contain many non-standard colloquial forms, but at least with respect to this passage, the *Thañ.yig* version represents the classical standard and the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba* the 'deviation'.

³⁵ Andrej Ivanovič Vostrikov (1902–1937) was a promising scholar of Buddhist philosophy and Tibetan studies. He was one of the many victims of the so-called "Great Purge" under Stalin's terror regime, see https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andrej_Iwanowitsch_Wostrikow or also http://www.orientalstudies.ru/eng/index.php?option=com_publications&Itemid=75&pub=669. (Say their names, remember their names.)

‘competing’ version). Note that some editions of the *Thañ.yig* do mention Sañs.rgyas Gliñ.pa as author, see TY4 and TY5. Deroche (2011: 472) mentions that apart from the revision by Śes.rab Hod.zer, the *Thañ.yig* had been revised at least one more time by the Dalai Lama in 1675.

An inverted temporal relationship between the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba* and the *Thañ.yig* would at least eliminate the above-mentioned oddity, that the standard copula *yin* would be replaced by a dialectal counterpart or an artificial archaism. Clearly one should have a closer look at both texts. But this goes far beyond the aim of this article.

Given all these complications, some editions of the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba* show an interesting case of *red* as a copula, but as a single instance within a text with a problematic editorial history, it cannot be taken as a witness for an early attestation of the modern ‘factual’ function of the copula *red*.

5 Conclusion

Neither in the two recensions of the Padmasambhava hagiography nor in the fictive autobiography of Mi.la.ras.pa can one find an unambiguous example for the early use of *red* in its modern function as a ‘factual’ copula.

First of all, there is no text witness from the 14th or 15th century, but only later editions. The *Mi.la.ras.pa rnam.thar* quite apparently underwent ‘corrections’ and ‘improvements’, as shown by the many divergences in the different editions, and as stated in the Xining edition M04/ M06. It is quite likely that not only the *Thañ.yig* recension underwent a revision and standardisation, but also the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba* recensions.

Secondly, in the *Mi.la.ras.pa rnam.thar*, *red* is, as I have tried to show, in all likelihood an incorrect emendation. The alleged occurrence of *red* in the *Padma thañ.yig*, chapter 79, is a clear case of misreading, while the occurrence of *ma.red* in one recension of the *Gser.gyi phreñ.ba*, chapter 46, appears to be idiosyncratic and does not allow proving a ‘factual’ function of *red* in this instance.

In conclusion, I should like to emphasise the usefulness of adding to the methods of linguistics the methodologies of textual philology, such as the use of parallel texts or different text editions and, in particular, a close reading of the passages in their context.

APPENDIX: RED IN AN 18TH-CENTURY AMDO TIBETAN SEMI-COLLOQUIAL TEXT

As initially mentioned, the possibly earliest attestation of *red* as a full-fledged auxiliary with ‘evidential’-like functions is found in Guñ.thañ.pa’s colloquial Amdo Tibetan discourse *Phal.skad zab.chos* ‘The profound Dharma, given in the vernacular’. The text can be dated to the late 18th century. The author, Guñ.thañ.pa Dkon.mchog bstan.pañi sgron.me, who was born in 1762, was in his seventeenth year, when he had a conversation with a principal Buddhist teacher, most likely Lcañ.skya Rol.pañi Rdo.rje (1717–1786; cf. Thubten Jigme Norbu 1983: 222, 224), a conversation which he may have written down not much later. Guñ.thañ.pa was born in Ndzorge, Sichuan (alt. Dzoge, written *Mdzo.dge*; Thubten Jigme Norbu 1983: 222). Thubten Jigme Norbu highlights the colloquial form in the text through underlining, but apart from a rough glossing and his translation, he does not describe the functionality of these forms. As I am not an expert of the Amdowa dialects, I can give only a rather superficial overview over the distribution of the linking verbs. The text itself does not always allow for a clear functional distinction.

The available data for the nomadic Amdowa dialects of Gcig.sgril (see Tribur 2019), Ndzorge (see Sun 1993), Themchen (see Haller 2004), Rebgong (see Roerich 1958), and a mixture of the dialects of Rebgong and Rdosbis (see Kalsang Norbu et al. 2000) yields the following ‘evidential’ oppositions as shown in Figure 2 for the linking verbs as basic verbs and auxiliaries, while Figure 3 shows the past tense forms without auxiliaries. Clearly analysable finite forms of Guñ.thañ.pa’s text have been added with the number of their occurrences.³⁶

Dialect	Copula			Existential				
	‘egoph.’	experiential	‘factual’	inference	‘egoph.’	experiential	‘factual’	inference
Kalsang N.	<i>jən</i>		<i>rit</i>	[<i>jən</i>]- <i>zeuṣ</i>	<i>jot</i>	<i>jot-ke</i>	no data	[<i>jot</i>]- <i>zeuṣ</i>
Rebgong	<i>jin</i>		<i>re(l)</i>	[<i>jin</i>]- <i>ziḡ</i>	<i>jo(l)</i>	<i>diḡ</i>	<i>jo-re</i>	[<i>jo</i>]- <i>ziḡ</i>
Themchen	<i>jən</i>		<i>re / jən-nəre</i> ³⁷	<i>jən-zəç</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>jo-kə</i>		<i>jo-zəç</i>
Ndzorge	<i>jən</i>		<i>re</i>	[<i>jən</i>]- <i>zəḡ</i>	<i>jod</i>	<i>jod-^hkə[?]</i>	<i>jod-nəre</i>	[<i>jod</i>]- <i>zəḡ</i>
Gcig.sgril	<i>jin</i>		<i>ret-zε / ji-nəre</i> ³⁹	<i>jin-ziç</i>	<i>jot</i>	<i>jo-kə</i>		<i>jo-ziç</i>
		<i>jin-t^ha</i> ³⁸				<i>jo-t^ha</i>	<i>jo-nəre</i>	
Guñ.thañ.pa	<i>yin</i>	<i>yin-tha</i>	<i>red</i> <i>yin-gi</i>	/ no data	<i>yod</i>	<i>yod-gi</i> <i>ḥdug(...)</i>	/ <i>yod & ni-/kyi-/kha-red</i>	no data
<i>no</i>	2		1 / —		2	—	1	
<i>kho</i>	19	1	19 / 4		16	9 / 5	5	
total	21	1	20 / 4		18	9 / 5	6	

Figure 2 Linking verbs in selected nomadic Amdowa dialects and Guñ.thañ.pa’s text: linking verbs and auxiliaries in present tense or ‘imperfective’, perfect, and future tense constructions.

³⁶ Non-finite forms of *yin* and *yod* are excluded, because in the modern Tibetic languages, they will not have an experiential, inferential, or ‘factual’ counterpart. Excluded are also forms of *yin* and *yod* that cannot be analysed as finite forms or in their function as finite forms, such as *yin.mo*.

Dialect	'egophoric' ⁴⁰	neutral	experiential	inference
Kalsang Norbu	<i>V-a, V-nas</i>	—	<i>V-thal</i>	<i>V-zeux</i>
Rebgong	<i>V-a (jin)</i>	<i>V-soŋ (?)</i> ⁴¹	<i>V-tha</i>	<i>V-zig</i>
Themchen	<i>V-a</i>	(see n. 43)	<i>V-tha, V-shuŋ</i>	<i>V-zəç</i>
Ndzorge	<i>V-nə, V-zero</i> ⁴²	<i>V-zero</i> ⁴³	<i>V-thæ</i>	<i>V-zəç</i>
Gcig.sgril	<i>V-zero</i>	<i>V-zero</i> ⁴⁴	<i>V-tha</i>	<i>V-zič</i>
Guñ.thañ.pa	no clear contexts		<i>V-tha</i>	<i>V-zig</i>

Figure 3 Neutral past or aorist verb endings

Roerich's 'zig', with the vowel *i* being described as hard, non-labialised posterior (Roerich 1958: 16), may correspond to Ndzorge *zəg*, while the form 'zeux' (< *gzig*) of Kalsang Norbu et al. (2000) may possibly correspond to Themchen *zəç*.⁴⁵

As Figure 2 and Figure 3 indicate, many of the verb forms in the Guñ.thañ.pa's text, and particularly the linking verbs, fit quite well into the system of the nomadic Amdowa dialects. Some lacunae are due to the text genre. E.g., inferential forms of the linking verbs do not appear, but the inferential marker already exists and combines with lexical verbs.

On the other hand, there seem to be also some differences. The element *-a* or *-nə* noted in the modern varieties for the 'egophoric' slot seems to be used more widely as a kind of intensive or emphatic marker after all sorts of tenses, moods, and 'evidential' markers (in the written form, the final of the preceding verb is repeated, after vowel *-a*, it may appear as *-ra*). Apart from the forms listed, plain verb stems appear rather frequently in what appear to be generic contexts. In example

³⁷ Neither form is analysed by Haller (2004), but they are found in the narrations, cf. his glossary pp. 248, 251.

³⁸ Tribur (2019: 336–338) describes this form both as direct evidence and as mirative, with a translation 'it turns out that X is Y'. She further suggests that the primary meaning of being mirative, is "conveying that the information is new to the speaker, and is therefore unexpected and possibly surprising" (p. 338). According to her, the form could also express more neutrally that the status of X has changed, what she describes as 'inchoative'. The form appears to be rather infrequent. The function of the corresponding existential is thought to be the same, but Tribur admits that she has not significant data (p. 341). In Guñ.thañ.pa's text, the form *yin.tha* is clearly past and non-mirative. It describes an attribute that no longer holds. It is possible that identities are treated differently from attributes.

³⁹ Tribur distinguishes here between 'allophoric' for *ret~zε* and 'factual' for the compound form *jinəre*.

⁴⁰ The 'egophoric' suffix *-a* or *-nə* is not used in negations and questions.

⁴¹ According to Roerich (1958:44), the combination could be used for all persons. On p. 46, however, Roerich contrasts the combination as applicable for the first person with the experiential form *thæ* as applicable for the second and third person.

⁴² Apart from questions and negation, the plain verb stem also appears with auxiliary verbs, such as the volitional intensifier *-tan* that indicates that something was done on purpose.

⁴³ Tribur (2019: 159–160) calls this neutral usage again 'factual', but most probably such usages are remnants from an earlier stage of language, for which such labels simply do not apply.

⁴⁴ This seems to be the common form for non-controlled situations of the main speech act participant. Haller (2004: 146) gives a single example with the *potentialis* stem: *ma-shol* '[I] couldn't kill [him]', which points into the same direction. The corresponding sentence with a 3P subject has *ma-shod-tha*.

⁴⁵ Kalsang Norbu et al. (2000) do not spell out the pronunciation of what they represent in Tibetan script as *gzig*. However, according to their phonetic charts (pp. 27, 283), the rhyme of written *-ig* is realised as *'-eux'*. No further description is given about the vowel quality and the value of the underscore.

(13), where the text is styled as a versified teaching from Mi.la.ras.pa, this usage is certainly a remnant from an older language stage and/ or a more formal stile, transmitted over generations.

The existential has two experiential forms: *yod-gi* (most likely to be pronounced as *jotkə*) and *hdug* (most likely to be pronounced as *dəç*). In contrast to modern Central Tibetan dialects, *hdug* can still appear also as non-finite form, and does so in two cases (p. 229 *nes.pa-mi.hdug.pas* ‘since [the time of death] is not certain’; *len-dgos.paḥi-hdug.paḥi-phyir* ‘because it is necessary to take/grasp’). A form of *hdug* is also found in Rebgong, while only forms corresponding to *yod-gi* are used in the other dialects.

Given the distribution of the ‘evidential’ markers in Guñ.thañ.pa’s text, one can expect that *red* has already similar functions as *re* and *rit* in the other dialects.

The ‘egophoric’ and the non-‘egophoric’ forms of the linking verbs are almost equally distributed throughout the text. There is however, a striking difference between the two speakers. Guñ.thañ.pa himself, indicated as *no.(ža)-s*, probably something like ‘by the son’ or ‘younger one’, uses mainly the ‘egophoric’ markers *yin* and *yod*. Only initially, when asking for an explanation, he uses one time the ‘factual’ copula *red* and one time the existential ‘factual’ *yod.ni.red* with inserted question marker *e-*: *yod.ni.e.red*.

Rol.paḥi Rdo.rje has started the conversation with the statement that the *rje.btsun rin.po.che*, i.e., Mi.la.ras.pa, had expressed the real essence of the holy dharma. Rol.paḥi Rdo.rje uses the experiential present, possibly indicating more authoritatively his personal experience through oral transmission or scriptures. Guñ.thañ.pa then asks which of the teachings are meant, using the ‘factual’ present. His choice appears to be triggered by pragmatic considerations, such as the need of being more polite or the need to show his interest in hearing more details.

(12) *Phal.skad zab.chos* (Thubten Jigme Norbu 1983: 226)⁴⁶

རྗེ་བཙུན་རིན་པོ་ཆེས་དམ་པའི་ཚོས་གི་ཉིང་ལུ་རྒྱུང་པ་གསུང་གི་ཡོད་གི།

rje.btsun rin.po.che+s dam.pa+ḥi chos-gi ñiñ.khu rkyañ.pa gsuñ-gi.yod.gi
venerable rinpoche+ERG excellent+GEN religion+GEN essence only hon.tell-EXP.PRG.PRS

འོ་ཞེས། ཡ་ཨ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་རེད། བསྐྱེད་རིམ་རྗེས་ལུ་གསུང་གི་ཡོད་ནི་ཞེ་རེད།

no.ža+s | ya a.rgya chi red |
youngster+ERG intj father what FACT.be

bskyed.rim rdzogs.rim | dbu.ma+ḥi lta.ba-|-tsho gsuñ-gi.yod.ni.e.red |
development.stage completion.stage middle+GEN view-PL hon.tell-Q.FACT.PRG.PRS

‘The venerable rinpoche is teaching nothing but the essence of the excellent religion (and I have heard it). – The youngster: Oh father, what is [it] (in general)? Does [he] (as generally known) talk about the gradual stage, the completion stage, [or] the view of the Madyamaka?’

Rol.paḥi Rdo.rje’s choices of the markers are less predictable. He seems to switch rather freely between the different markers. When referring to what earlier teachers have said, experiential markers (present-imperfect *gsuñ-gi.yod.gi*, p. 226, cf. example (12); past: *gsuñ-tha-a*, p. 235) interchange with the ‘factual’ marker (perfect: *gsuñ-ni.red*, p. 233, cf. example (13)), the inferential past (*gsuñ-zig*, pp. 230, 232), and a form that I cannot analyse on the base of the available grammars

⁴⁶ The text is given in transliteration, but in conformity with the above examples, I shall give also a Tibetan script version. Note that Guñ.thañ.pa uses an orthography that is close to the actual pronunciation, e.g., *sgo* for *dgos*. My translations are based on the rough glossing and translation by Thubten Jigme Norbu, but may differ somewhat, according to my own, most likely imperfect, understanding.

(*gsuñ-de*, *gsuñ-ñe*, both p. 229). The different experiential forms, the ‘factual’ perfect, as well as the two non-analysable, possibly neutral forms, refer to teachings of Mi.la.ras.pa, and thus to a direct oral transmission. The two inferential forms seem to refer more unspecifically to what other high-ranking people say. By contrast, the unspecified ordinary people are quoted again with an experiential form (*bšad-ki*, p. 233).

When stating that something is necessary, Rol.pañi Rdo.rje combines the verb *dgos* (spelled variously as *sgo*, *dgo*, or *dgos*), four times with *red* (*-ni-red* or *-rgyu-red*), one time with *hdug*, and one time with *yin* (*-ni-yin*), but I cannot see any particular motivation for these choices. In all six cases, these are generic statements.

Rol.pañi Rdo.rje’s use of the ‘egophoric’ markers for third persons may sometimes be intended as polemics. In other cases, the use of an ‘egophoric’ linking verb, as well as that of a neutral, unmarked verb form, may be due to the requirement of the metre in the cited verses, as in (13). This can be immediately contrasted with the use of ‘evidential’ markers in the quotation from ordinary people in (14).

(13) *Phal.skad zab.chos* (Thubten Jigme Norbu 1983: 233)

དེའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་བཙུན་རིན་པོ་ཆེས། དེའི་འཕྲོ་འཕྲོ་ན། འདུས་བྱས་རྟག་རྟག་འདྲ་ཡང་སྐྱུར་དུ་འཇིག། རྗེས་ལ་སང་ཡོད་པ་དེ་རིང་མེད། མི་ན་ནིང་ཡོད་པ་
དམེ་ཤི། ལྷོགས་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་དག་ལ་སྤྲུང་། ཟས་ཕན་པོར་ཟོས་པ་དུག་དུ་འགྲོ། རིན་བཟང་པོ་བསྐྱུངས་པ་ལ་འགྲོད་ཆེ། གསུང་ནི་རེད་ད།

de·hi stabs-ki rje.btsun rin.po.che+s |
that·GEN way·GEN venerable rinpoche·ERG
«*de·hi hphro.hphro-na | hdus.byas rtag.rtag hdra-yañ myur-du hjig* |
that·GEN remainder·LOC composed permanent like·FM quick·LOC decompose.PRS
rdzas kha.sañ yod-pa de.rin med ||
thing yesterday exist-NLS today EGO.NG.exist
mi nan.niñ yod-pa da.lo ši ||
person last.year exist-NLS this.year die.PA
grogs bzañ.po yod-pa dgra-ru sdañ ||
friend good exist-NLS enemy·LOC hate.PRS
zas phan.po·r zos-pa dug-tu hgro ||
food benefit·LOC eat.PA-NLS poison·LOC go.PRS
drin bzañ.po bskyañs-pa kha.hgyod che ||» *gsuñ-ni.red-da* |
kindness good care.PA-NLS slander be.big hon.tell-EXP.PERF-emp

‘In that manner, the venerable rinpoche has said (as I have heard): «As for what remains [to be taught], [what is] composite even if it appears to be permanent, it will quickly decompose/ decay. Things that existed yesterday are no longer here today. A person who was there last year is dead/ has died this year. One who was a good friend hates/ is hated like an enemy. Food that one ate for one’s well-being becomes poison. One who was cared for with great kindness is now a great slanderer.»’

(14) *Phal.skad zab.chos* (Thubten Jigme Norbu 1983: 233)

ཚང་མས། ཨ་མ་ཨ་མ་ལོས་ཉིན་པར་འཚོས་པོར་ཡིན་ཟ། ཨ་མ་ལར་རྩེ་ཅིག་ན་འགྲོ་བ་ར་མདང་གི་སོང་བྱིག། ཨ་མ་ན་ནིང་རྒྱ་བཟང་ཟ་ར། དོ་བྱིག་
ཅང་མེད་ཀྱི་བརྗེས་ལ་འདྲ་འདྲ། ཉིན་ཉིན་ལས་བཤད་ཀྱི། མཛོན་སུམ་མ་རིག་གི།

tshañ.ma+s | «*a.ma a.ma-khis niñ.pa·r htsham.po·r yin-tha* ||
all·ERG mother mother-INSTR day.before.yesterday·LOC suitable·LOC be-EXP.PA
a.ma khar.rtsañ cig-na hgyo-tha-ra mdañ ši-soñ-zig |
mother yesterday one·LOC go-EXP.PA-emp last.night die.PA-go.PA-INF

a.ma na.niñ rgyu bzañ-tha-ra | do-zig cañ med-ki»
 mother last.year condition be.good-EXP-emp this.year at.all NG.exist-EXP
brdzes-kha ḥdra.ḥdra | ñin.ñin-khas bšad-ki | mñon.sum-ma rig-gi |
 talk(?)-EXP be.similar day.by.day-INSTR tell-EXP=PRS⁴⁷ clear-ALL see-EXP=PRS
 ‘All of them chatter only like this: «[Our] mother, as for [our] mother, the day before yesterday [she] was still well (as we saw). Yesterday, [our] mother went somewhere (as we saw), [and] last night [she] died all of a sudden (as we found out). Last year [our] mother was in good health (as we saw). This time there is nothing left [of it] (as we see).» Day by day, they talk [like this] (as I have seen/ as can be seen). [You/ Everyone] can see [this] clearly.’

Example (15) shows how Rol.pañi Rdo.rje is changing the tone while talking. Guñ.thañ.pa has just recited a few examples from the Kanjur and asks whether he should cite a few more. Initially, Rol.pañi Rdo.rje uses the ‘factual’ perfect to say that recitation is nothing but mere sound. Immediately afterwards, he uses the ‘egophoric’ existential to state that there would be no difference to a parrot reciting the *ma.ñi* prayer. In my opinion (which may be skewed by the usages of ‘factual’ markers in Ladakhi), the first statement represents a more neutral and didactic tone, while the second statement is polemic or even indicates some sort of anger. That there is an asymmetry not only in knowledge but also in self-perception between the young, eager student and the elderly, detached teacher is also indicated by the latter’s reactions with laughter.

(15) *Phal.skad zab.chos* (Thubten Jigme Norbu 1983: 228)

ལོས། ཉི་ཉི། འདོན་མི་སྐོ་མི་སྐོ། དེ་སྐོ་ཟེག་ཀྱག་བཏང་ནི་རེད། དེ་ཉི་མྱིང་ང་ཤེས་ནི་མི་ཟེར། ཉེ་ཚོས་མ་ཉེ་བཏོན་ནི་ར་ཁྱད་མེད།
kho+s | hi.hi | ḥdon-mi-sgo mi-sgo | de sgra-zig kyag btañ-ni.red |
 he+ERG haha utter-NG-need NG-need that sound-LQ only give.PA-FACT.PERF
de·hi myiñ.na šes-ni mi-zer |
 that+GEN name know-NLS NG-say
ñe.tsho+s ma.ñi bton-ni-ra khyad med |
 parrot+ERG *ma.ñi* utter.PA-NLS-?ALL difference EGO.NG.exist
 ‘He: Haha, no need to recite (more), no need. That is only [like] having made a mere sound. It doesn’t mean (lit. say) [anything] that [one] knows its name. There is no difference to a parrot reciting the *ma.ñi* prayer.’

These few examples hopefully show that by the late 18th century, a full-fledged, nevertheless quite flexible, grammatical ‘evidential’ system is established in certain Amdowa dialects, a system, which includes a ‘factual’ or depersonalised knowledge marker. The development of a basic ‘evidential’ system may well have set in about the same time as it did in Central Tibet, that is, around the 15th century or somewhat earlier. Nothing, however, can be said about when *red* became integrated into this system as a ‘factual’ or depersonalised knowledge marker and when it might have spilled over into the central Tibetan varieties.

⁴⁷ Please note, the equal sign “=” is used to mean ‘equals’, in order to summarise a grammatical function, that cannot be derived from the glossed parts; it does not signal a clitic.

- M05 Gangtok edition 1983. *Mi la'i mgur bum. The collected spiritual experience of Rje-btsun Mi-laras-pa*. Edited by *Gtsaṅ-smyon He-ru-ka*. Reprinted from the 1980 Kokonor edition. Gangtok: Sherab Gyaltzen.
- M06 Xining edition 1989. *མི་ལ་རས་པའི་རྣམ་མགྲུབ། མཚོ་ལྗོན་མི་རིགས་དབེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང། པར་ཐེངས་གཉིས་པར། (Mi.la.ras.pa's life and songs. 2nd edition. Without location [Xining]: Qinghai Nationalities Press.)*
- M07 Dharamsala edition 1990. *མི་ལ་རས་པའི་རྣམ་མགྲུབ། (Mi.la.ras.pa's life and songs.)* Dharamsala: Tibetan Cultural Printing Press / བོད་གཞུང་ཤེས་རིག་དཔར་ཁང།.
- M08 Dharamsala edition 1994. *མི་ལ་རས་པའི་རྣམ་མགྲུབ། (Mi.la.ras.pa's life and songs.)*. Dharamsala: Tibetan Cultural Printing Press / བོད་གཞུང་ཤེས་རིག་དཔར་ཁང། [2nd edition].
- M09 Kathmandu edition 2000 *མི་ལ་རས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར། (དཔལ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་བོད་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་དང་མགྲུབ་འབུམ་རྣམས་ཚུགས་སྐྱིལ་ལུས་པའི་སྡེ་ཚོན་ལས་སྐྱོགས་བས་སུ་པ།) (Mi.la.ras.pa's life [A Well-Arranged Offering of the Bkaḥ.brgyud Forefathers' Biographies and Collected Songs Series 3]). Swayambhu, Kathmandu: Kenpo Shedup Tenzin & Lama Thinley Namgyal. Scanned exemplar from the Gam-po-pa Library, Swayambhu, Kathmandu, provided by the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Centre under <https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:W1KG4276>. Accessed Apr. 28, 2021.*
- M10 Lhasa edition 2000. *མི་ལ་རས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར། པར་ཐེངས་2 བོད་མེད་མི་དམངས་དབེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང། [Mi.la.ras.pa's life. 2nd edition. Without location [Lhasa]: Tibetan People's Publishing House.]* Provided by the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Centre under <https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:W1KG18407>. Accessed Apr. 28, 2021.
- M11 Negi, Ramesh Chandra. 2003. *The biography of the great yogī Milarepa. The guide to deliverance and omniscience*. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies [The Dalai Lama Tibeto-Indological series 29].
- M12 Otani edition 2008. *རྣལ་འབྱོར་གྱི་དབང་ཕྱུག་དམ་པ་རྗེ་བཙུན་མི་ལ་རས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར། ཐར་པ་དང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པའི་ལས་སྟོན། [The life of the lord of the yogis, the excellent lord *Mi.la.ras.pa*. A guide for deliverance and enlightenment.]* Block print edition of unknown origin, 117 folios, kept in The Library of Otani University (Zogai no.11854). Second corrected version. Tibetan Works Research Project, Otani University, Kyoto. http://web1.otani.ac.jp/cri/twrpw/wp-content/uploads/mila_namtar.txt.zip. Accessed May 26, 2014.
- M13 Blockprint edition without year. *མི་ལ་རས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར།* Block print with Tibetan and Chinese folio numbering. A folio 2 and folio 138 replaced by handwritten sheets. Without location. Scan provided by the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Centre under <https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:W8LS17313>. Accessed Apr. 28, 2021.

2. *Padma Hbyuñ.gnas thañ.yig* by O.rgyan Gliñ.pa (1323/29–1360/67)

- TY1 MS Lithang (16th or 17th c. ?). *གུ་རུ་[པདྨ་འབྲུང་ག]ནས་ཀྱི་ཀྱེས་རབས་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ། Gu ru [Pad]ma [hb]yu[ñ.g]nas-kyi skyes.rabs rnam.par thar.pa (The biography and liberation of the Lotus Born). Silver ink on black lacquered background. MS Toussaint Tibétain 821, Bibliothèque nationale de Paris.*
- TY2 Beijing edition by Lcañ.skya Rol.paḥi Rdo.rje (1717–1786)1779. *པདྨ་བཀའ་ཐར། བེ་ཅིན་པར་པ། Padma bka' thañ (The commandment of Padma). Electronic reproduction. Cambridge, Mass.: Buddhist Digital Resource Center Reproduction, scanned from photocopy text and missing first folio and the front page of second folio, <https://archive.org/details/bdrc-W1KG16912>. Accessed, Apr. 08, 2021.*

- TY3 Sde.dge edition 18th c. མོ་རྒྱན་གྱུ་རྩུ་པ་ལྷ་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀྱི་ཀྲེས་རབས་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་རྒྱས་པར་བཀོད་པ་པོ་སྐྱོད་ཐང་ཡིག། *O. rgyan ghu.ru Padma Hbyuñ.gnas.kyi skye.rabs rnam.thar.pa rgyas.par bkod.pa Padma Glin̄ thañ.yig* (The chronicle of Padma Glin̄; biography and liberation of the Lotus Born Teacher from Uddīyāṇa). Reprint, “Reproduced from a very rare eighteenth century illustrated woodblock prints [!] from Bar-khyim chos-'byuñ-glin̄ ri-khrod, Sde-dge, Khams”, Dharamsala 1986, Library of Tibetan Works & Archives.
- TY4 Dehradun edition 1978. *Padma bka' thañ; O rgyan gu ru Padma 'byuñ gnas gyi skyes rabs rnam par thar pa rgyas par bkod pa padma bka' i thañ yig* Original title: མོ་རྒྱན་གྱུ་རྩུ་པ་ལྷ་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀྱི་ཀྲེས་རབས་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་རྒྱས་པར་བཀོད་པ་པོ་སྐྱོད་ཐང་ཡིག། (The commandment of Padma; biography and liberation of the Lotus Born Teacher from Uddīyāṇa). Authors: allegedly Sañs.rgyas Glin̄.pa (1340–1396) and Ye.šes Mtsho.rgyal (ca. mid 8th–mid 9th c.). Reprint without year and without location [according to Tübingen University library: Dehradun, Nying Ma Pa Lama Collection, 1978].
- TY5 Kalimpong edition 1985. *O rgyan gu ru Padma 'byuñ gnas kyi skyes rabs rnam par thar pa rgyas par bkod pa Padma bka' i thañ yig*. Original title: མོ་རྒྱན་གྱུ་རྩུ་པ་ལྷ་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀྱི་ཀྲེས་རབས་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་རྒྱས་པར་བཀོད་པ་པོ་སྐྱོད་ཐང་ཡིག། (The commandment of Padma; biography and liberation of the Lotus Born Teacher from Uddīyāṇa). Author: allegedly Sañs.rgyas.glin̄.pa (1340–1396). Print on rice paper, without year and without location [according to Tübingen University library: Kalimpong ca. 1985].
- TY6 Dharamsala edition 1985. *O rgyan Gu ru Padma 'byuñ gnas kyi skyes rabs rnam par thar pa rgyas par bkod pa Padma bka' i thañ yig* Original title: མོ་རྒྱན་གྱུ་རྩུ་པ་ལྷ་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀྱི་ཀྲེས་རབས་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་རྒྱས་པར་བཀོད་པ་པོ་སྐྱོད་ཐང་ཡིག། (The commandment of Padma; biography and liberation of the Lotus Born Teacher from Uddīyāṇa). Reprint (of a block print), without year and without location [according to Tübingen University library: Tibetan Cultural Printing Press, Dharamsala 1985].
- TY7 Rewalsar edition 1985. *O rgyan Gu ru Padma 'byuñ gnas kyi skyes rabs rnam par thar pa rgyas par bkod pa Padma bka' i thañ yig; the life of the precious Mahaguru Padmasambhava*. Original title: མོ་རྒྱན་གྱུ་རྩུ་པ་ལྷ་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀྱི་ཀྲེས་རབས་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་རྒྱས་པར་བཀོད་པ་པོ་སྐྱོད་ཐང་ཡིག། (The commandment of Padma; biography and liberation of the Lotus Born Teacher from Uddīyāṇa). ‘Reproduced from an illustrated and recently calligraphed manuscript made at the behest of H. M. Phuntshok Choedon by Golok Trulku’, Rewalsar: Zigar Drukpa Kargyud Institute.
- TY8 Delhi edition 1988. *O rgyan gu ru Padma 'byuñ gnas kyi skyes rabs rnam par thar pa rgyas par bkod pa Padma bka' i thañ yig*. The autobiography of Guru Rinpoche concealed by Mkha-'Gro Ye-Šes Mtsho-Rgyal at Yar Luñ Śelgyi Brag Dzoñ. Original title: མོ་རྒྱན་གྱུ་རྩུ་པ་ལྷ་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀྱི་ཀྲེས་རབས་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་རྒྱས་པར་བཀོད་པ་པོ་སྐྱོད་ཐང་ཡིག། (The commandment of Padma; biography and liberation of the Lotus Born Teacher from Uddīyāṇa). Reprint, “Reproduced from a clear print wooden block from Bhutan”, Delhi: Lhadrepa.

3. *Gser.gyi Phren.ba* by Sañs.rgyas Glin̄.pa (1340–1396)

- GS1 Chos.luñ edition 1512/13. Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Hs. or. 2346. *Xu-rgyan gu-ru pad-ma vbyung-gnas kyi rnam-thar rgyas-pa gser gyi phreng-ba zhes bya-ba thar-lam gsal-byed*. Original title: མོ་རྒྱན་གྱུ་རྩུ་པ་ལྷ་འབྲུང་གནས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་རྒྱས་པ་གསེར་གྱི་ཐོང་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཐར་ལམ་གསལ་བྱེད། (Elucidation of the path to liberation, called the Golden Rosary, the detailed biography of the Lotus Born Teacher from Uddīyāṇa). The digitised version is available since Jan. 04, 2022 under <http://sbb.berlin/5atsoz>.

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