

FINAL AUXILIARY VERBS IN LITERARY TIBETAN AND IN THE DIALECTS

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'ba kha ther ther
'bo kha lhug lhug
red so btsir btsir

[In Nyemo county, people saying] /ba/ [for 'to be' have always] the mouth open
[people saying] /bo/ [for 'to be' have always] the mouth lax
[people saying] /re/ [for 'to be' always] show their teeth.
(Nyemo proverb)

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to present the main characteristics of the final auxiliary verbs in Tibetan. From the panchronic and pandialectal points of view, final auxiliary verbs play an essential role within the verbal system. The Tibetan auxiliary verb may be defined throughout the centuries and the various regions by the following general morphogenetic, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features:

a) Morphogenesis

The final auxiliary verbs are derived from action, motion or stative verbs and may be connected to the main verbs via nominalizers or connectives.

b) Syntax

Final auxiliary verbs are always postposed to the main verbs, along with modal verbs, negation¹ morphemes and final particles.

c) Semantics and pragmatics

Final auxiliary verbs indicate tense as well as aspect and some modalities (such as volitionality). One of the most striking phenomena is the emergence of evidentiality in the evolution of auxiliary verbs, as well as the development of first person and directional markers. The various modern systems show a remarkable

¹ The negation may sometimes precede the verb.

functional unity beyond their morphological variations (see Sun 1993, DeLancey 1992, Tournadre 1994, 1996d). Significant morphological discrepancies are found even between local varieties, so that the paradigm of final auxiliary verbs seems to be a good criterion to define the modern dialects.

In section 2, we will make some preliminary remarks about the relation between literary Tibetan and the modern dialects. The general characteristics of the Tibetan verbal system will be described in section 3. We will present the main auxiliary verbs of classical Tibetan in section 4, and of Standard Spoken Tibetan in section 5. Section 6 will be devoted to the comparison between the paradigms of auxiliary verbs in some dialects of Central Tibet, Kham (Eastern Tibet), Hor (Nakchu area) and Amdo (North-Eastern Tibet). Finally, in section 7, we will study the polygrammaticalizations of four verbs into tense-aspect markers in Standard Spoken Tibetan.

2. THE RELATIONS BETWEEN LITERARY TIBETAN AND MODERN DIALECTS

At first, Tibetan dialects seem to be so different from one other that in some cases they more closely resemble distinct languages of a single family like Polish and Russian, Dutch and German, or French and Spanish. The term “dialect” is used here to denote closely related languages that share a common literary language, as in “Arabic dialects” or “Chinese dialects”.

A famous Tibetan proverb says, “Every valley has its language and every lama has his religion².” This is indeed quite true! The reason for this situation is that the Tibetan territory is very large, the population very scattered and transportation still very difficult. The fact that many villages are separated by high passes or wide rivers limits communication. Under these circumstances, the Tibetan dialects, which are all derived from Old Tibetan, have evolved independently. Nowadays, some Tibetan dialects do not permit mutual understanding (Ladakhi, Central Tibetan, Amdo, Bhutanese) even if some, such as Tsang, Central, or certain varieties of Kham do allow a large degree of communication. The main differences between the dialects lie not only in their phonology and their vocabulary but also in their auxiliary systems. What has been said about the various dialects (Tib: *yul skad* = “dialect”) may also apply to the local varieties (Tib: *lung skad* = “valley language”) within the same dialect. When asked about the linguistic discrepancies between two close varieties of one dialect, people often cite the lexical peculiarities as well as the specificity of the final auxiliary verbs.

These remarks are also true when we compare Standard Spoken Tibetan (SST) to Classical Tibetan. In fact, it seems that the difference between these two

² *lung-pa re-re la skad lugs re, bla-ma re-re la chos-lugs re re.*

categories is roughly comparable to the one between the dialects. A remarkable feature of all the Tibetan dialects is that they are all related to Classical Literary Tibetan from lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactic points of view. This relation is always specific for each dialect. For example when one hears the Amdo Labrang dialect (used more or less as a *lingua franca* in the Amdo area), one hardly recognizes any word of Central Tibetan or Classical Literary Tibetan. But if one knows the reflexes of Amdo and Central Tibetan, it becomes fairly easy to recognize that a great majority of words are in fact derived from Classical Tibetan. To illustrate this point, let us compare the interrogative pronouns ‘what’, ‘when’, and ‘how much’:

	<i>Central Tibet</i>		<i>Amdo Labrang</i>	
‘what’	<i>ga-re</i>	[khare]	<i>chi-zig</i>	[tʃhizək]
‘when’	<i>ga-dus</i>	[khatyʔ]	<i>nam</i>	[nam]
‘how many’	<i>ga-tshod</i>	[khatsøʔ]	<i>du</i>	[tə]

Though the pronouns are very different, all six forms are derived from words found in Classical or archaic Tibetan.³ Thus, knowledge of the literary language allows one to relativize those lexical discrepancies and to see the deep links existing among the various Tibetan dialects.

Before going into the description of the final auxiliary verb systems, let us explain here what is meant by Standard Spoken Tibetan (in Tibetan: *spyi skad* [tʃikeʔ] “common language”). It refers to a variety of Central Tibetan (*dbus skad* [ykeʔ]) spoken in Lhasa and in all the prefectures and villages around, up to approximately one hundred kilometers from the capital (mainly Taktse, Chushur, Tönlung Dechen), as well as in the Tibetan diaspora of India, Nepal and so forth. The term “Lhasa dialect” is not appropriate to designate this language since it would be too restrictive. In fact, Lhasa has phonological and

³ *ga* is derived from *gags* “what”, *dus* “when”, and *tshod* “how many”. *chi-zig* is derived from archaic Tibetan *chi* “what” (Classical Tibetan: *chi* “what”). The words *nam* and *du* both exist in Classical Tibetan with the same meanings.

Metrogungkar or Reting (respectively west, east and north-east of Lhasa), the system of auxiliary verbs presents some significant variation.⁴

It is worth noting that the “common language” or *spyi skad* is used increasingly between Tibetans who have different native dialects. Apart from the people of Central and Tsang regions whose dialects are very close to Standard Spoken Tibetan and who can easily slip into it, a growing number of speakers from Kham, Hor, Amdo, Tö Ngari, Ladakh, Zangskar, Bhutan, Sikkim, Sherpa and so forth are now able to speak Standard Spoken Tibetan. However, it should be noticed that those speakers belong mainly to the social categories of civil servants, lamas, monks, intellectuals, artists or merchants. The great majority of peasants and nomads still speak only their respective dialects. For them, standardization might still take a long time since the media (radio or television) of Lhasa or the Tibet Autonomous Region do not reach the Tibetan towns of Qinghai (Amdo, Kham), Gansu (Amdo), Sichuan (Kham, Amdo) or Yunnan (Kham), where broadcasts are in local dialects. Let us finally mention the problem of the language used in the media. It is based on modern literary Tibetan⁵ but is also influenced by the spoken language of Central Tibet. The fact that the media language reflects the literary style and never mingles with conversational Tibetan makes it very difficult for uneducated people to understand. On top of that, the intonation in the Tibetan Autonomous Region's media is under the influence of Chinese Putonghua.⁶ For these various reasons, most of the persons I asked about it said they have trouble grasping even the news.

3. GENERAL FEATURES OF THE TIBETAN VERBAL SYSTEM

3.1. Verbal inflexions

In all dialects, as well as in the various forms of the literary language, the verb is always found in the final position of the clause. It is never marked for number, gender or person but is sometimes inflected for tense-aspect and the imperative mood, though many verbs are invariable.

In classical Tibetan and even in some modern dialects, the verb may thus have up to four forms that indicate *'das-pa* ‘past’, *da-lta-ba* ‘present’, *ma-*

⁴ In Metrogunkar, *'dug* is replaced by *snang* and in Nyemo, *red* is replaced by [*ba*]. See tables in section 6.

⁵ This recalls the Hindi media after Indian independence, which were not understood by Nehru himself, though he was a native Hindi speaker.

⁶ Just as the various languages of the ex-USSR were influenced by Russian intonation (or rather the “soviet” intonation).

'ongs-pa 'future' and *skul-tshig* 'imperative'.⁷ For example, the verbs 'to plant' or 'to study' have four forms in written Tibetan: *btab* (past), *gtab* (future), *'debs* (present) and *thobs* (imperative); *bslabs* (past), *slob* (present), *bslab* (future) *slobs* (imperative). However in the modern dialects, and particularly in the Central and Tsang provinces, these four inflexions have often been partially lost due to syncretism or just because the written forms are pronounced identically.

In Standard Spoken Tibetan, the future has merged with the present⁸ and thus only three forms at most are found: present-future, past and imperative. For example 'watch' /tā/ *lta/blta* (present-future), /tā'/ *bltas* (past), /tō'/ *ltos* (imperative). Or 'eat' /sa/ *za/bza*' (present-future), /sā'/ *bzas* (past), /so/ *zo* (imperative). In many cases, instead of the imperative form, the past or the present-future is used. For example 'do' /che'/ *byed/bya/byos* (present-future / imperative) but /chä'/ *byas* (past), or 'hit' /shu/ *gzhu* (present-future), /shü'/ *bzhus/gzhus* (past-imperative). Quite frequently, only one form is left for the three "tenses" and the imperative, the verb thus becoming invariable. For example, 'send, drive' /tāng/, corresponding to *btang* (past) or *gtang* (future), is used for all tenses and for the imperative. The written allomorphs *gtong* /tōng/ (present) and *thongs* /thōng'/ (imperative) are no longer used. For the verb 'read aloud', /lō'/, corresponding to the present *klog*, occurs in all tenses and moods. Consequently, the written forms *bklag* /lā'/ (future), *bklags* /lā'/ (past), and *klogs* (imperative, pronounced as the present) are lost in the spoken language. As a last illustration, let us mention the verb 'look for': /tsä:/ *btsal* (past-future) is used for all tenses and moods; the forms *'tshol* (present) and *tshol* (imperative), both read /tshö:/, are no longer used. The number of inflexions is thus reduced in Central Tibetan and in the majority of modern dialects.⁹

3.2. The development of verbalizers

In classical Tibetan, verbs are generally monosyllabic, while in modern literary Tibetan as well as in the standard spoken language the verb has often become polysyllabic. This difference has resulted from the development of verbalizers (Goldstein 1991, Tournadre 1996b). Verbs are normally composed of a noun (sometimes an adjective or an adverb) and a verbalizer such as *rgyag*

⁷ For obvious reasons, these traditional terms do not mention the category of aspect, but the forms convey aspectual as well as tense meanings. For example, the form called 'past' is also used for the perfective future after the particles *nas* or *ste*. In the same way, the so-called 'present' form is used in the imperfective past with the connective particle *dus* 'when'. Nevertheless, we will continue to use the traditional terminology here.

⁸ The 'present-future form' is used for the imperfective (present or past) as well as for the future, while the 'past' form is used with the perfective past.

⁹ In Amdo dialects, the verbal inflexions have been better preserved.

'make', *byed* 'do', *btang* 'send', *zo* 'make', *shor* 'let go, escape', 'gro 'go', *lang* 'rise, get up'. For example, the verb *slob* 'learn, study' becomes *slob-sbyong byed* (lit. 'make study'). The noun *slob-sbyong* 'study'¹⁰ is followed by the verbalizer *byed*. The same can be said of verbs such as *las-ka byed* 'work', *bsam-blo btang* 'think', *khong-khro lang* 'get angry', and *zhed-snang byed/lang* 'fear', corresponding to the Classical monosyllables *las*, *bsam*, *khro*, *zhed*.¹¹ In modern Tibetan, one sometimes finds verbal pairs of a compound verb and a simple verb with similar meanings. For example *zhed-snang byed* and *zhed* both mean 'to be afraid, to fear'.¹²

The analysis of modern compound verbs is sometimes problematic since the nouns retain some autonomy. In the majority of cases, however, relativisation, *wh*-questions and determination are not possible.¹³

3.3. The verbal categories

The notion of conscious *control* or *volition* is essential in Tibetan (Chang & Shefts 1980, DeLancey 1985, Tournadre 1990, 1996 a, b; Bielmeier 1998). Each verbal lexeme may be classified as a controllable or a non-controllable verb (respectively [+control] and [-control]). Belonging to one class or to the other is a lexical feature of the verb itself. For example, *lta* 'look' and *nyal* '(go to) sleep' are controllable verbs while *mthong* 'see' and *gnyid khug* 'fall asleep' are non-controllable verbs. There are simple tests which determine the verb class: [+control] verbs allow the adjunction of jussive particles such as *shig* or *dang*¹⁴ and may be used with first person intentional (or "volitional") auxiliaries such as *pa-yin* or *gi-yin*, in Standard Spoken Tibetan. Conversely, [-control] verbs may be followed neither by a jussive particle nor by intentional auxiliaries.

¹⁰ *slob-sbyong* is made up of two verbs *slob* 'study/teach' and *sbyong* 'study'. Both still exist as verbs in the modern language. The word *slob-sbyong* may not be inflected for tense, which confirms its nominal status. Only the verbalizer bears the inflexion: *slob-sbyong byed* (present-future), *byas* (past) but **bslabs-sbyang byas*.

¹¹ The phenomenon of verbalizers strongly recalls modern Hindi where a great number of verbs are formed in a similar way.

¹² There is a slight nuance between the two forms, linked to the *Aktionsart*. The form with a verbalizer tends to indicate an activity while the simple verb is more appropriate for specific actions or processes, for example *sbyang* 'learn' vs. *slob-sbyong byed* 'study'.

¹³ For some verbs the status is ambiguous, since the noun has real autonomy. For example one can say *ga-re slob-sbyong byed+kyi-yod* 'what are you studying' or *slob-sbyong ga-re byed+kyid-yod*. It is possible to determine the noun with another noun in the genitive: 'to study science' corresponds to *tshan-rig slob-snyong byed* or *tshan-rig+gi slob-sbyong byed* (lit. 'to make study of science').

¹⁴ The stem of a controllable verb also may have a specific form for the imperative, while that of a non-controllable verb may not.

It is important to make a distinction between the category of control, which is a semantic characteristic of the verb, and the intentionality conveyed by the auxiliary *pa-yin* or *gi-yin*. The former operates at the lexical level while the latter depends on the speaker's point of view and operates at the pragmatic level. For example, *btang* 'send' is a [+control] verb, but it can be used with either volitional or non-volitional auxiliaries. If the speaker performs an intentional act, he will say *btang+pa-yin* 'I have sent' but if he is the goal of the process, he will say *btang+byung* 'I was sent' using a non-volitional auxiliary, because the action of sending does not depend on the speaker's will.

The notion of *transitivity* or *valency* is also relevant in the classification of Tibetan verbs. Thus, regardless of their volitionality, verbs are intransitive (monovalent) or transitive (polyvalent). Transitive verbs may be further subdivided into the following classes, according to the case pattern they trigger:

<i>ergative verbs</i>	X (ERG) Y (ABS) V
<i>mixed ergative verbs</i>	X (ERG) Y (DAT) V
<i>possessive-benefactive verbs</i>	X (DAT) Y (ABS) V
<i>accusative-affective verbs</i>	X (ABS) Y (DAT) V

One must thus distinguish between "ergative verbs" such as *khyer* 'take', *mthong* 'see', etc., "mixed ergative verbs" such as *lta* 'look at', *zab-zab byed* 'be careful', etc., "possessive verbs" such as *yod* 'have', *thob* 'get', *brnyed* 'find' and "accusative verbs" such as *dga'* 'like, love', *zhed* 'be afraid' or *khong-khro lang* 'get angry'.

To summarize, the following verb classes are found in Tibetan:

- [intrans] [- control]
- [intrans] [+ control]
- [trans] [+control] [ergative]¹⁵
- [trans] [+control] [mixed ergative]
- [trans] [- control] [ergative]
- [trans] [- control] [possessive]
- [trans] [- control] [accusative]

Finally, it is worth noting that there is neither a passive nor an antipassive voice in Tibetan.

¹⁵ This class includes the ditransitives.

3.4. Finite verb endings

3.4.1. Definition

In written Tibetan (archaic, classical or modern), the finite verb of the main clause may be used alone without any auxiliary. When the verb is invariable, the tense-aspect has to be interpreted according to the context. However, the existence of auxiliary verbs postposed to the main verb is also a fundamental feature of the literary verbal system. Auxiliary verbs appear mainly with the indicative mood (declarative sentences or questions) and the conditional mood, but are never used in imperative sentences.

The “finite verb endings” as defined here are the auxiliary verbs and the suffixes (see 3.4.3) occurring after the verb of the main clause. They convey (among other things) tense-aspect meanings. This excludes the final particles (see 3.5) as well as the interrogative and negative markers.

Though the term “auxiliary” is used here, the linguistic status of the morphemes postposed to the verb is not so clear from a synchronic point of view. If one did not take into account the diachronic dimension and the fact that the auxiliaries partially conserve their lexical meaning, they would probably be labelled “final verbal suffixes”. An argument in support of this term is that they cannot be separated from the verb stem except by negative or interrogative markers.¹⁶ However, due to their verbal origin and to their use as copulas (in some cases), we will continue to call them “auxiliary verbs”. In subordinate clauses, the auxiliary verbs are usually (but not always) replaced by connective particles, including case markers.

The fact that case markers are used in both nominal and verbal morphology may be explained by the “trajectory model” (Tournadre 1995a). In fact, this phenomenon exists in many Bodic languages (see Genetti 1991), but it is particularly striking in Tibetan. All the case markers in Classical Tibetan also function as subordinators and as connectives meaning ‘and’. When occurring after verbs, the ergative-instrumental *s/gis*, the ablative-ergative *nas*, the oblique (dative-locative) *la*, the genitive *gi*, the absolutive \emptyset , and the associative *dang*¹⁷

¹⁶ From a synchronic point of view, they resemble the French conjugational suffixes *-ai*, *-as*, *-a* (derived from the verb *avoir* ‘to have’) which are used for the future (*je regarder-ai*, *tu regarder-as*, *il regarder-a*, *nous regarder-(av)ons*, *vous regarder-(av)ez*, *ils regarder-ont*), more closely than the auxiliary *avoir* used in the present perfect (*j’ai regardé*, *tu as regardé*, *il a regardé*, *nous avons regardé*, *vous avez regardé*, *ils ont regardé*).

¹⁷ The associative *dang* is not considered as a case by native grammarians. Beyer (1992) mentions *dang* as the “accompaniment role” and presents a list of verbs taking “an accompaniment as a core participant”. Although he does not give any argument to support this innovation, I think his suggestion is excellent because the distribution of *dang* is similar to that of the other cases, and *dang* may often be replaced by a case such as the dative or the absolutive

have the following meanings (in the table below, the asterisk indicates that the case marker is still used in Standard Spoken Tibetan with the same meaning):

<i>s / gis</i>	>	'because', 'after', 'and'
<i>nas</i>	>	'because', 'after', <i>converb</i> ('ing')*, 'and'*
<i>gi</i>	>	'but'
<i>la</i>	>	'for'*, 'and'
<i>na</i>	>	'if'*, 'when'
<i>dang</i>	>	'with'*, 'as soon as', 'and'*
∅	>	'and' (enumeration)

Final auxiliary verbs occur in archaic Tibetan and appear in Classical Tibetan as well as in all the modern dialects. While the use of such auxiliaries is optional in written Tibetan, it has become compulsory in the majority of modern dialects (if not in all), probably to compensate for the loss of verbal inflexions.

The auxiliaries differ a lot according to period, style and dialect, but they are similar in many ways, particularly from the functional and morphogenetic points of view. They convey mainly tense-aspect meanings but also, among other things, whether the action is intentional or unintentional.

3.4.2. The grammaticalization of verbal lexemes into final auxiliary verbs

Final auxiliary verbs are all derived from action, motion or stative verbs that have undergone grammaticalization, but are still used as lexical items (at least in literary Tibetan). Among the most common are *bgyid* 'do', *mdzad* 'do (H)', *byed* 'do', *'gyur* 'become, change', *song* 'go', *'gro* 'go', *yong* 'come', *byung* 'obtain, happen', *'dug* 'sit, stay, have', *yod* 'exist, have', *snang* 'appear, be manifest', *bzhag* 'put', *bsdad* 'stay', *mchis* 'exist', *lags* 'be (H)', *gda'* 'exist', *yin* 'be', *red* 'be', *dgos* 'must, want', *chog* 'may', *myong* 'experience', *tshar* 'finish', *zin* 'finish'.¹⁸

(*mi+la thug* = *mi+dang thug* = *mi thug* 'meet a person'). The particle is considered as a case in other Tibetan dialects such as Ladakhi (see Koshal, 1979, 1982).

¹⁸ The auxiliaries *bgyid*, *mdzad*, *byed*, *mchis*, *lags*, *gda'*, *'gyur* are used only in Old and Classical Tibetan. All the other forms (except *bzhag*) occur in classical as well as in Standard Spoken Tibetan and other modern dialects. *bzhag* appears only in Standard Spoken Tibetan and is replaced by *'dug* in written Tibetan. The auxiliary *red* is mainly found in modern written Tibetan and in the modern dialects. An interesting characteristic of the system is the possibility of combining several auxiliaries in series. Such structures are already found in classical Tibetan: *yod-kyi-red*, *par-byas-yod*, *yin-par-'dug*, *yin-par gda'*.

3.4.3. The category of nominalizers and connectives

The auxiliary verbs listed above are not always directly attached to the verb stem. The latter must be followed by a nominalizing or a connective suffix that may have a temporal and/or an aspectual function. (In some cases, the nominalizer itself is followed by a locative case marker *r*). There are only a few nominalizers or connectives that are used in classical Tibetan or in Standard Spoken Tibetan, namely: *pa*, *pa+r*, *rgyu*, *mkhan*, *gi*, *gin*, *bzhin*, *cing*¹⁹. Among the possible combinations of auxiliary verbs and suffixes, we find the following: *pa+r-bgyid*, *pa+r-mdzad*, *pa+r-byed*, *pa+r-gyur*, *pa+r-'dug*, *pa-yin*, *pa-red*, *gi-yod*, *gi-yin*, *gi-red*, *mkhan-yin*, *mkhan-red*, *rgyu-yin*, *rgyu-red*, *cing-'dug*, *gin-'dug*, *bzhin-'dug*, *bzhin-yod*, etc.

3.4.4. Examples of finite verb endings in Classical Tibetan and in SST

The following example illustrates the use of verb endings in Classical Tibetan:

- (1) *shin-tu* *rgas+par-gyur* *tshe yang* *thos-pa* *mang-du*
 very old+past when even teachings a lot
gsag+par-bya
 accumulate(FUT)+FUT, VOL²⁰
 'Even when [one] has become very old, [one] will accumulate teachings.'
 (Sakya Lekshe)

The present and the past would be the following:

¹⁹ *pa*, or its variant *ba*, is the universal nominalizer used to form all kinds of nominalizations: infinitive, participial, relative clause, nominal suffix, etc. The suffix *par* corresponds to *pa* with the locative case marker *r* (*pa+r*). The suffix *gi* (or its allomorphs: *gyi*, *kyi*, *yi*) is considered by the Tibetan grammarians as a genitive case, and several arguments confirm their analysis. Four morphemes, *bzhin*, *cing* (and its allomorphs *zhing* and *shing*), the genitive *gi* (and all its allomorphs except 'i: *kyi*, *gyi*, *gi*, *yi*) and *gin* (and its allomorphs *kyin*, *gyin*, *yin*) indicate progressive aspect. Both *cing* and *gin* may be cognate to the genitive *gi* as suggested by several authors (see Beyer 1992). The morpheme *rgyu* is a nominalizer and has deontic and future values. The morpheme *mkhan* is also a nominalizer frequently used with the imperfective and the future.

²⁰ *Abbreviations* – ABS: absolutive case; AOR: aoristic; AUX: auxiliary; CAUS: causative; CO: connective; DAT= dative; EGO: egophoric; ERG: ergative; EXPER: experiential; EXPR: expressive particle; FP: final particle; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; GNOM: gnomic; H: honorific; IMPF: imperfective; INDIR: indirect evidential, assertive; INFER: inferential; INST: instrumental; LOC: locative; NEG: negation; NOM: nominalizer; PERF: perfect; PFCT: perfective; PL= plural; PRES: present; PROG: progressive; QU: question particles; QUOT: quotative; RECEPT: receptive; RES: resultative; RS: reported speech; SENS: sensorial evidential; SUFF: suffix; SST: Standard Spoken Tibetan; TOP= topic particle; VOL: volitional.

- (2) *mang-du* *gsog+par-byed*
 a lot accumulate(PRES)+ PRES, VOL
 'One accumulates a lot.'
- (3) *mang-du* *bsags+par-byas*
 a lot accumulate(PAST)+ PAST, VOL
 'One accumulated / has accumulated a lot.'

In modern written Tibetan and in *spyi skad*, one could propose the translations below:

- (4) *mang-po* *gsog+gi-red*
 a lot accumulate(PRES)+ FUT
 /mangpo sō'-kire'/ (literary or reading pronunciation)
 /mangpo sā'-kire'/ (colloquial pronunciation)
 'They will accumulate a lot.'
- (5) *mang-po* *gsog+gi-yod-pa-red*
 a lot accumulate(PRES)+ IMPF, INDIR
 /mangpo sō'-kiyöpare'/ (literary or reading pronunciation)
 /mangpo sā'-kiyo:re'/ (colloquial pronunciation)
 'They accumulate a lot.'
- (6) *mang-po* *bsags+pa-red*
 a lot accumulate(PAST)+PFCT, INDIR
 /mangpo sā'-pare'/ (literary and colloquial pronunciation)²¹
 'They accumulated a lot.'

3.5. Final particles

A number of particles may occur in the final position of the sentence, after the finite verb ending. They convey expressive, predicative or interrogative meanings. The final particles are specific to each dialect. In literary Tibetan, the main final particles are the statement particle 'o (see below, section 4) and the interrogative particle *am*. We may add the "warning particle *a-re*"²² and the agentive marker *gis* used as the "promise particle" mentioned by Beyer (1992: 354), although these are usually considered separately. In spoken Tibetan, one finds expressive particles such as *da*, *ba* or interrogative particles *pas*, *gas*, *ga*.

²¹ In the sentences above, the main difference between literary and spoken Tibetan is the loss of inflexions: /sā'/ would correspond to the three forms past, present and future.

²² The three particles *am*, 'o and *a-re* have allomorphs depending on the last letter of the preceding syllable.

The examples below illustrate final particles in spoken Tibetan (6-9) and in literary Tibetan (10-11):

- (7) *mang-po bsags+pa-red+da*
 a lot accumulate(PAST)+PFCT, INDIR+EXPR
 /mangpo sā'-pare'-ta/
 '[He] has accumulated a lot, eh!'²³
- (8) *mang-po bsags+pa-red+ba*
 a lot accumulate(PAST)+PFCT, INDIR+TAG
 /mangpo sā'-pare'-wa/
 '[He] did accumulate a lot, didn't he?'
- (9) *mang-po bsags+pa-red+pas*
 a lot accumulate(PAST)+PFCT, INDIR+QU
 /mangpo sā'-pare'-pä'/
 'Did he accumulate a lot?'
- (10) *mang-po bsags+pa-red+dam*
 a lot accumulate(PAST)+PFCT, INDIR+QU
 /mangpo sā'-pare'-tam/
 'Did [he] accumulate a lot?' (WT)
- (11) *sems-can dmyal-ba+r gzhol+bar-gyur (d) +ta-re*
 being hell+LOC fall+FUT+EXPR
 '[Be careful], you will fall to hell, eh!' (WT)
 (Tibetan translation of Divyavadana, quoted by Beyer, 1992: 355)

3.6. Structure of the verbal group

The general structure of the verbal group may be summarized as follows. The verb is optionally followed by the tense-aspect suffix (corresponding to the nominalizing or connective particle) and by the auxiliary verb. At the end of the sentence, a final particle may also occur:

V[flex] + [SUFF (tense-aspect)] + [AUX (tense- aspect/evidentiality)]+ [FP]

This structure is valid, we assume, for all types of Tibetan (literary or dialectal).²⁴

²³ In this case, the expressive particle *da* may, according to the intonation, convey various nuances. It directs the interlocutor's attention towards the quantity of the accumulation. Generally speaking it reminds the interlocutor of a fact that he might not otherwise take into account. It may be also used in a teasing or ironic manner. For example, someone who has made only one circumambulation might be told, *bsod-nams mang-po gsag+gi-red+da* 'watch out or you will accumulate a lot of merit.'

²⁴ In some cases, either the suffix or the auxiliary is dropped. Sometimes the suffix and the auxiliary are combined.

In literary Tibetan, as we will see below, this structure is often reduced and we find:

V[flex]
 V[flex] + FP
 V[flex] + SUFF (tense-aspect) + AUX (tense-aspect)
 V[flex] + SUFF (tense-aspect) + AUX (tense-aspect) + FP (expressive,
 interrogative, tag)

In spoken (standard or central) Tibetan, the normal structure for affirmative sentences is:

V[flex] + [SUFF (tense-aspect)] + AUX (tense-aspect + evidentiality) + [FP]

Final particles may have interrogative (*gas, pas*) or expressive meanings (e.g. *da, ba*) (see 6.5). In enumerations of actions, the verb may also appear alone, without any auxiliary.

4. FINAL AUXILIARY VERBS IN LITERARY TIBETAN

4.1. Classical Literary Tibetan

As we shall see later, the verbal system of classical Tibetan²⁵ is rather different from that of modern dialects. Let us sum up here the main characteristics of the literary system:

- The verb (or the predicative adjective) may appear alone, even if it is invariable.
- The verb or its auxiliary may be followed by the statement particle 'o (15, 20).
- The verb (or the predicative adjective) may be followed by various auxiliaries according to the style.
- Both the finite verb and the auxiliary are inflected for tense-aspect (15, 16).
- Literary Tibetan is typologically “omnipredicative” (Launey 1994): noun, pronoun, and adjective may function as predicates (21-26).

The occurrence of the final verb without an auxiliary is one of the main differences between literary Tibetan (archaic, classical or even modern) and the modern Central dialects. However, auxiliaries are used optionally even in the most ancient texts. For example, in the Tibetan chronicles and contracts from the 8th to the 10th century (Takeuchi 1996), the copulae *mchis, lags, gda', yin* as

²⁵ The term Classical Tibetan refers to a wide range of styles and literary works such as religious texts (*gsung-rab*), translations (*yig sgyur*), chronicles, annals (*deb-ther*), treaties, etc. As we will see below, in some Classical Tibetan genres such as *rnam-thar* (biographies of saints), one finds auxiliary verbs such as *gin-'dug, rgyu-yin, pa-yin*, etc., that are morphologically similar to the system used in modern Central Tibetan but functionally distinct.

well as the auxiliaries (attached to the verb suffix *par*) *par-mdzad*, *par-gyis*, *par-'gyur*, *par-byas* are used.

In classical literary Tibetan, the following auxiliaries are common:

- a) Causative forms: V(FUT) + *par-bya* = future
 V(PRES) + *par-byed* = present
 V(PAST) + *par-byas* or V(PAST) + *zin* = past
- b) Resultative forms: V(PRES)²⁶ + *par-'gyur* = future
 V(PRES) + *bzhin-pa* = progressive
 V + *par-gyur* = past.

Volition or control is a fundamental category of the Tibetan verb, and auxiliaries in Classical Tibetan as well as in the modern dialects depend on the volitional or non-volitional character of the process. It should be noted that in Classical Tibetan the causative forms *par-bya* (etc.) always imply an intentional action or activity and often convey deontic or conative meanings, while the resultative forms *par-'gyur* (etc.) insist on the result independently of the agent.

The causative and resultative functions of these auxiliaries have not previously been noted in descriptions of the literary language. They confirm the importance of the category of causativity, whose role in verbal derivation is well known. A large number of verbal pairs morphologically distinguish causative/volitional and resultative/non-volitional verbs (see sKal-bzang 'Gyur-med 1981, Gesang Jumian 1982, 1987, Kesang Gyurme 1992, Bielmeier 1988, Beyer 1992, Tournadre 1991, 1996b). This opposition is essential in Classical Tibetan (over two hundred verbs) but applies also to a few dozen verbs in Central Tibetan (for the archaic dialects of Amdo, the number of pairs is still very high). Examples: *bcag* 'break' (caus.) / *chag* 'break' (result.); *bkag* 'stop, block' (caus.) / *'gag* (result.) 'get blocked'; *skor* 'turn' / *'khor* 'turn' (result.); *dkrug* 'stir, mix' (caus.) / *'khrug* (result.) 'get stirred up, mixed up' (caus.); *skol* 'boil' (caus.) / *'khol* 'boil' (result.); *sub* 'erase' (caus.) / *zub* 'erase' (result.)²⁷.

²⁶ Kesang Gyurme (*skal-bzang' gyur-med* 1981: 411, 1992: 210) notes that with indifferentiative verbs (*tha-mi dad-pa*) the form of the present is used with the auxiliary of the future. We find a similar phenomenon in modern literary Tibetan when the present form (not the future) occurs with the future auxiliary *gi-red*. Concerning the causative and resultative forms, my analysis does not follow Kesang Gyurme's. He proposes distinguishing the auxiliaries *par-byed* and *par-'gyur* according to the *tha-dad/tha-mi dad* opposition (transitive/intransitive) but does not mention causativity.

²⁷ Derivational morphology and lexical composition reflect the causative/resultative opposition. The nouns *chag-po* 'a piece of something broken', *'khol-ma* 'boiled water', and *'khor-lo* 'wheel' are derived from the resultative form, while *sgrol-ma* 'Tara, the liberator' (from the *samsara*), *bkag-rdo* 'stone blocking the road', and *dkrug-shing* 'incitement to animosity (between friends)' are derived from the causative form.

Sometimes, the causative verb and the resultative verb occur in the same sentence in literary Tibetan (and even in the spoken language).

The structure V(CAUS) + V(RES) + Negation is often used to convey meanings corresponding to the modal verb ‘can’ in English, as shown in the following examples.

- (12) *ma+bris* *sems+kyi* *ri-mo /* *sub+kyang*
 NEG+write mind+GEN drawing erase(CAUS)+but
zub+rgyu+mi-'dug /
 erase(RES)+NOM+NEG, AUX
 ‘Even if one tries, one **cannot** erase the drawings of the heart.’
 (Songs of the sixth Dalai Lama)
- (13) *nang rang sems bzung+ba+s* *ma zin+na*
 inside own mind catch(CAUS)+NOM+INST NEG catch(RES)+if
phyi gzhan lus bzung+ba+s *ci+la phan /*
 outside other body catch(CAUS)+NOM+INST what+DAT use
 ‘If you try to control your own mind inside and you **don't succeed**, then what's the use of catching somebody else's body outside?’ (*Mi-la ras-pa, khyi-ra-ba mgon-po rdo-rje*)
- (14) *khong+gi man-Dal+gyi steng+na g.yu zhig yod+pa*
 he+GEN mandala+GEN on+LOC turquoise one exist+NOM
byi-ba zhig+gis bteg+pa+s *ma theg+pa+la*
 mouse a+ERG raise+NOM+INST NEG rise+NOM+ CO
 ‘[once], he [saw] a mouse trying to move a turquoise that was on his mandala. But the mouse **could not** lift the jewel on its own, so...’
 (Dzapatrül rinpoche, *kun-bzang bla ma'i zhal lung*)

The statement particle²⁸ ‘o and its variants *go, ngo, do, no, bo, mo, 'o, ro, lo, so, to* called ‘*rdzogs tshig*’ occurs mainly in classical Tibetan (even in archaic Tibetan) but does not appear so frequently in modern written Tibetan. It can be used after the verb auxiliary or directly after the verb, and indicates only the end of the sentence (or the main clause) but does not mark any tense or aspect. Sometimes, the statement particle ‘o can occur after a noun or a pronoun or even a case marker, thus acquiring a predicative function, as in (21). Let us examine some examples of the verbal system in final clauses:

²⁸ Concerning the *rdzogs-tshig* or statement, see also Kesang Gyurme (1981, 1992) and Beyer (1992), who used the term “statement particle”.

- (15) *bu-mo gzhon-nu-ma thams-cad ltad-mo+'i phyir lhags+te*
 young girls all spectacle+GEN for remain+CO
ljon-shing+gi dra-ba+'i phag+nas
 tree+GEN net+GEN hidden place+ABL
zur+gyis lta+bar²⁹-byed+do
 secretly observe(PRES)+PRES, VOL+FP
 'All the young maids came to see the spectacle: they were hiding behind a fence (*lit.net*) of trees and observing secretly.' (*gzhon-nu zla-med*, quoted by *sKal-bzang 'Gyur-med* (1981))
- (16) *seng-ge bkres kyang mi gtsang-ba+'i /*
 lion hungry even NEG pure+GEN
ngan-skyug za+bar+mi+byed+do
 vomit eat(PRES)+NEG+PRES, VOL +FP
 'Even when a lion is hungry, he does not eat vomit.' (Sakya lekshe)
- (17) *nyi-ma+'i 'od-zer shar+ba- na / 'od-zer-can+rnam*
 sun+GEN beam appear+NOM when beamed+PL
brlag+par-'gyur
 disappear(PRES)+FUT
 'When the sunbeams appear, the moon and the stars (*lit. the beamed ones*) are erased.' (Sakya lekshe)
- (18a) *ngan-song gsum+gyi nad+rnam+ni [...] gso+bar-bya*
 inferior realms three+GEN disease+PL+TOP cure(PRES)+FUT, VOL
 'One has to cure (causative) the disease that makes one fall into the inferior realms.' (Sakya lekshe).
 Here, the future has a deontic meaning equivalent to *gso+bar-byed dgos* 'one must cure'.
- (18b) *ngan song gsum+gyi nad-rnam+ni [...] gso-bar 'gyur*
 inferior realms three+GEN disease+PL+TOP cure(PRES)+FUT
 'The disease that makes one fall into the inferior realm will be cured (resultative).'
- (19) *bsags+pa+'i nor+ni sbrang-rtsi ltar nam-zhig*
 accumulate+NOM+GEN wealth+TOP honey as one day
gzhan+gyis spyod+par-'gyur
 other+ERG use(PRES)+FUT
 'Just as the honey accumulated [by the bees] will one day be tasted by somebody else.' (Sakya lekshe)

²⁹ The variant *ba* is used instead of *pa* after the consonants *l, r, ng*, and the vowels.

- (20) *nga shi dur-khungs+nas blta+'o+zhes gsungs+nas*
 I death grave hole+ABL look(FUT)+FP+RS say+CO
grongs+so
 die(PAST)+FP
 'He said, "I will observe you from my grave," and then he passed away.'
 (*Mi-la ras-pa'i rnam-thar*).
- (21) *'o-na su+'i las yin / gzhon-nu+rnam+kyi+'o*
 then who+GEN work is youngster+PL+GEN+FP
 'So whose work is it? [It is] the youngsters!'
- (22) *skyo skyo sems-pa skyo+'o*
 sad sad mind sad+FP
 'How sad, my mind [is so] sad!' (*Gtam pad-ma tshal gyi zlos-gar*)
- (23) *sgo gsum+ni lus dang ngag dang yid+kyi sgo+'o*
 door three+TOP body and speech and mind+GEN door+FP
 'The three doors are those of body, speech and mind.'
- (24) *yon-tan chung+rnam nga-rgyal che*
 quality small+ones proudness great
 'The one who has few qualities or knowledge [is] very proud.'
 (Sakya lekshe)
- (25) *dam-pa dang+ni dman-pa+yi / spyod-pa gnyis-ka goms-pa+'i*
 saint and+TOP inferior+GEN behaviour both habit+GEN
shugs
 force
 'The saint's behavior and the petty minded one's both [depend on] the force of habit.' (Sakya lekshe)
- (26) *gang-ga: +'i chu ni rab zhim-pa*
 Ganga+GEN water TOP very delicious
 'Ganga water [is] absolutely excellent.' (Sakya lekshe)

Classical Tibetan also developed auxiliaries similar to those used in modern dialects. These occur particularly in stories, biographies of saints (*rnam-thar*), and annals imitating the colloquial language, for example, in the sixth Dalai Lama's secret *rnam-thar* or biography (*Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho gsang ba'i rnam-thar*) or in Milarepa's biography (*Mi-la ras-pa'i rnam-thar*). One could call this kind of literature the "*rnam-thar* classical style".

The auxiliaries currently encountered in this literary style are *rgyu-yin* (future), *pa-yin* (future), *gi-'dug* (progressive), *gin-'dug* (progressive), *pa-yin*

(perfective past), *byung/song* (perfective past). The corresponding copulae are *yin* (and seldom *red*), *yod* and *'dug*, for example:

- (27) *kho+s brang+la lag-pa+s brdung+gi-'dug*
 he+ERG chest+OBL hand+INST beat+IMPF
 'He was beating his chest.'
 (*Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho gsang-ba'i rnam-thar*)

In this style, (15) would be written:

zur+gyis lta+ta+yin-'dug/
 corner+INST observe(PRES)+PRES, VOL+FP

Instead of *yin*, it would also be possible to have *zur+gyis lta+gi-'dug* or *zur+gyis lta+zhing-'dug*, with the same meaning.

Some of the final auxiliary verbs found in Classical Tibetan are morphologically identical to their counterparts in Standard Spoken Tibetan, but they are functionally distinct. They lack both egophoric and evidential functions (see section 5) and their grammatical tense-aspects are also sometimes different.³⁰ The following examples illustrate these differences:

- (28) *rma-bya gzugs mdzes sgra snyan yang/*
 peacock shape beautiful sound nice but
de+yi kha-zas dug chen yin /
 this+GEN food poison great is
 'The peacock is splendid and its voice melodious, but its food is a strong poison.' (Sakya lekshe)

- (29) *mkhas-pa+rnam rig-pa yon+gyis slob /*
 learned+PL knowledge fee+INST study
blun-po rig-pa bslabs+kyang spong /
 idiot knowledge teach+but abandon
phal-cher nad+la sman za+yang /
 majority disease+DAT medicine eat+but
la-la gson-po+r lcebs+pa yod
 some \alive+ADV suicide+NOM exist
 'The learned person pays in order to learn some knowledge /
 but idiots even when taught (for free) give up learning.
 The majority of patients take medicine / but some people commit
 suicide though they are alive [and in good health].' (Sakya lekshe)

³⁰ For example *ba-yin* can indicate the future, while in the modern language it only refers to the past.

- (30) *mtshar mtshar gzhon-sha chags+pa+'i lang tsho /*
 wonderful wonderful youthfulness become+NOM+GEN teenager
mdzes mdzes dar gtsang gos gyon+pa-yin
 beautiful beautiful silk pure cloth wear+PAST
 'The teenager whose youthfulness was wonderful was wearing beautiful
 garments of pure silk.'
 (*nyam myong 'brel gtam* quoted by *sKal-bzang 'Gyur-med*)

It is clear from the above sentences that *yin*, *yod* and *pa-yin* are not egophoric (and not volitional). However, in Standard Spoken Tibetan, *yin* 'I am', *yod* 'I have' or *pa-yin* 'I did willingly' are egophoric and thus always used in connection with the first person.

Examples (28) and (30) would be rendered in Standard Spoken Tibetan as *dug chen-po red* and *gon+pa-red*.

4.2. Modern Literary Tibetan

During the 20th century and especially since the sixties, a new literary style has emerged, conveyed by short stories, modern *rnam-thar*, newspapers and so forth. The final auxiliary verb systems used in such modern texts are derived from the *rnam-thar* classical style but are also more similar to the set of auxiliaries used in Standard Spoken Tibetan. However, even in modern literature, final auxiliary verbs usually do not convey evidential meanings. The set currently found in the modern literary style is as follows:

V(PRES)+ <i>gi-yin</i> or V(PRES)+ <i>gi-red</i>	= future
V(PAST)+ <i>chog</i>	= allocentric future
V(PRES)+ <i>gi-yod</i> or V(PRES)+ <i>gi-yod-pa-red</i>	= imperfective, habitual
V(PRES)+ <i>gi-'dug</i>	= imperfective, actual
V(PAST)+ <i>yod</i> or V(PAST)+ <i>yod-pa-red</i>	= perfect, habitual
V(PAST)+ <i>'dug</i>	= perfect
V(PAST)+ <i>byung</i> ('towards') or <i>song</i> ('away')	= perfective
V(PAST)+ <i>pa-yin</i> or V (PAST)+ <i>pa-red</i>	= perfective

The two main differences between this modern literary system and Standard Spoken Tibetan are the following: *yod-pa-red* occurs instead of *yod-red* (/yo:re'/), and *'dug* is used instead of *bzhag* (see the table in section 5).

For the future tense, the present form is normally used (see Gesang Jumian 1987) instead of the expected future form: *gtong* (present) + *gi-red* 'will send', *gcod* (present) + *kyi-red* 'will cut', *byed* (present) + *kyi-red* 'will do', *shod* (present) + *kyi-red* 'will tell', *sprod* (present) + *kyi-yin* 'will give', *'char* (present) + *gyi-red* 'will rise', *'chi* (present) + *gi-red* 'will die'. However, this rule is not always applied and it is not rare to find the future or even the past

forms, especially when the present and future are no longer used in the spoken language, or when they are homophonous with the past. Thus one finds future forms used in *gtang* (future) + *gi-red* 'will send', *gcad* (future) + *kyi-red* 'will cut', *bshad* (future/past) + *kyi-red* 'will tell', or past forms in *btang* (past) + *gi-red* 'will send', *bcad* + *kyi-red* 'will cut', *shar* (past) + *gyi-red* 'will rise', *shi* (past) + *gi-red* 'will die'. Modern written Tibetan copies the colloquial language to a certain extent, and this may explain the variations in the verbal inflexions. For example, the present-future forms 'chi, 'die' 'char 'rise', 'chor 'escape' are no longer used in Standard Spoken Tibetan. One finds respectively the forms *shi*, *shar* and *shor* for all tenses and aspects.

It is important to note that modern literary Tibetan is not entirely standardized. Thus, nowadays, when a scholar wants to write a text, he may choose one of the classical devices: verb alone, use of the statement particle 'o, classical auxiliaries. However, in the current epistolary style, he is likely to use the modern auxiliaries close to the vernacular language.

From what has been said above, it is obvious that the final auxiliary verbs are important parameters to define the style, the period and even the geographic origin of a given text. Within the same text, *combination of the various auxiliary verb systems is quite common in Tibetan literature.*³¹

5. FINAL AUXILIARY VERBS AND EVIDENTIALITY IN STANDARD SPOKEN TIBETAN

5.1. Presentation of the paradigm

The main difference with classical Tibetan is the fact that evidentiality plays a major role in the modern language. As we will see, beyond their morphological and phonological diversity, the aspecto-evidential systems of Tibetan dialects have a remarkable functional unity, having undergone similar grammaticalization processes. The following are examples of Standard Spoken Tibetan:

- (31a) *lu-gu shi+song*³²
 lamb die+PFCT, SENS
 'The lamb died / has died.' (The speaker saw it dying)
- (31b) *lu-gu shi+bzhag*
 lamb die+PERF, INFER
 'The lamb has died.' (The speaker saw the corpse)

³¹ In some texts, the auxiliaries used in dialogue may differ from those used in narration, and of course, the style of quotations may be entirely different from the author's.

³² I use the Tibetan orthography rather than the phonological transcription, in order to facilitate comparison with Classical Tibetan and other dialects.

- (31c) *lu-gu shi+pa-red*
 lamb die+PFCT, INDIR
 ‘The lamb died / has died.’
 (The speaker is stating a fact without direct observation)

Song and *bzhag* are auxiliary verbs that occur in the final position of the sentence and indicate, among other things, whether or not the speaker has personally observed the action or the event he describes (see 31a) and whether the process is perfective or imperfective. The auxiliary can also indicate that the speaker is making an inference from a trace found in the present situation (see 31b). From the final auxiliary verb, the hearer may learn the source of the speaker’s information.

As mentioned earlier, the paradigm and the grammatical functions of final verbs used in classical Tibetan are different from those used in the spoken language, be it standard Tibetan or any of the other dialects.

In standard Tibetan or in the Lhasa dialect, only a dozen final auxiliary verbs are currently used. They appear in the following list³³: *gi-yod*, *gi-yod-red*, *gi-('dug)*, *gi-yin*, *dgos*, *pa-yin*, *pa-red*, *byung*, *song*, *bzhag*, *myong*, *yod*, *yod-red*. (See the table below.) All can be used with the same verb, depending on the situation and the tense³⁴, for example: *(nga+s) lab-kyi-yod* ‘(I) tell/am telling’; *(khong+gis) lab+kyi-'dug* ‘(he) is telling/tells’ (I see or hear him telling); *(khong+gis) lab+kyi-yod-red* ‘(he) tells/is telling’; *(nga+s) lab+kyi-yin* ‘I will tell’; *(nga+s) lab+dgos* ‘I will tell (it) for you’; *(khong+gis) lab+kyi-red* ‘(he) will tell’; *(nga+s) lab+pa-yin* ‘I told’; *(khong+gis) lab+pa-red* ‘(he) told’; *(khong+gis nga+r) lab-byung* ‘(he) told (it) to me’; *(khong+gis) lab+song* ‘(he) told’ (I saw/ heard him telling); *(khong+gis) lab+bzhag* ‘(he) has told’ (the speaker infers from a clue, a trace or a result); *(nga+s) lab+yod* ‘(I) have told’; *(khong-gis) lab+yod-red* ‘(he) has told’; *(nga+s) lab+myong* ‘(I) already told [that] before’ (I had the experience of telling [that] before).

³³ The list is not exhaustive. The directional and inchoative markers (see section 7) that are secondary in the system are omitted, among others.

³⁴ The examples for spoken Tibetan (except in the table) are given in Tibetan orthography. This shows the etymology and the similarities with literary Tibetan. Though the written form of Tibetan that exactly transcribes spoken Tibetan is not traditional (and is not considered as proper literary Tibetan), it is increasingly used. There are several spellings for the auxiliary /yo:re’/: *yod-red*, *yog-red*, *yo'o-red*. We prefer *yod-red* because it reflects the etymology.

FUTURE

Future

assertive	V[pres] ³⁵ + <i>gi-red</i>	/kire'/
ego-volitional	V[pres]+ <i>gi-yin</i>	/kire'/
ego-volitional allocentric	V[past]+ <i>dgos /chog</i>	/ko, cho'/
a) ego-volitional: guaranty – b) warning	V[past]+ <i>yong</i>	/yong/

IMPERFECTIVE

Present or Past (progressive, iterative or gnomic)

sensorial (direct)	V[pres]+ <i>gi-('dug)</i>	/kitu'/
assertive (indirect)/habitual/gnomic	V[pres]+ <i>gi-yod-red</i>	/kiyo:re'/
a) ego-volitional – b) ego-modal	V[pres]+ <i>gi-yod</i>	/kiyö'/
habitual/gnomic	V[pres]+ <i>gi-red</i>	/kire'/

PERFECT

sensorial (direct)	V[past]+ <i>'dug</i>	/tu'/
assertive (indirect)/habitual/gnomic	V[past]+ <i>yod-red</i>	/yo:re'/
inferential	V[past]+ <i>bzhag</i>	/sha'/
ego-volitional	V[past]+ <i>yod</i>	/yö'/

PERFECTIVE

sensorial (direct)	V[past]+ <i>song</i>	/song/
assertive (indirect)/habitual/gnomic	V[past]+ <i>pa-red</i>	/pare'/
ego-receptive/ego-centripetal	V[past]+ <i>byung</i>	/cung/
ego-volitional	V[past]+ <i>pa-yin</i>	/payin/
ego-experiential	V[pres]+ <i>myong</i>	/nyong/

Final auxiliary verbs in standard spoken Tibetan

As in many languages of the world, copulas serve as verbal auxiliaries. In the “common language” and in the Lhasa dialect, the following morphemes occur as copulas as well as auxiliaries:

- yin* (egophoric equative)
- red* (equative)
- yod* (egophoric existential)
- yod-red* (existential/attributive)
- 'dug* (existential/attributive + sensorial).

³⁵ The tenses in brackets [pres] (for ‘present-future’) or [past], refer to the verbal inflexions when they exist. In spoken Tibetan, as mentioned above (see 3.2) there are only two possible verbal inflexions: present-future (or non-past) and past. For example the verb ‘ask’ has *zhu* [pres] and *zhus* [past]; for the future we find *zhu+gi-red* and *zhu+gi-yin* but *zhus+dgos* (see table). However, in many cases the verb is invariable, even if it has various forms in literary Tibetan (cf. *shi* ‘die’, *shor* ‘escape’, *shar* ‘rise’).

It is important to recall that auxiliary verbs appear only in main clauses and not in subordinate clauses (see section 3.4). In the latter case, connectors (coordinators or subordinators) such as *na*, *nas*, *ba-dang*, *pas*, etc. are used. For example:

- (32a) *nga+s kha-lag bzas+nas khrom+la dpe-cha nyo+kar*
 I+ERG food eat(PAST)+CO market+LOC book buy+COMP
'gro+gi yin
 go+FUT+EGO

'When I have eaten, I will go to the market to buy *pechas* (Tibetan books).'

- (32b) **nga+s kha-lag bzas+pa-yin+nas khrom+la dpe-cha nyo+kar 'gro+gi-yin*

- (32c) **nga+s kha-lag za-gi-yin-nas khrom+la dpe-cha nyo+kar 'gro+gi-yin*

When the verb *kha-lag za* occurs in final position, it can be followed by final auxiliaries:

- (33) *nga+s kha-lag bzas+pa-yin.* 'I had a meal.'

- (34a) *char-pa babs+nas nyi-ma shar+song*
 rain fall+CO sun shine+AOR+SENS

'After the rain, the sun came out.'

- (34b) **char-pa babs+song+nas (/ pa-red+nas / bzhag+nas) nyi-ma shar+song*

- (35) *char-pa babs+pa-red/ song/ bzhag*

'It rained.' or 'It has rained.'

In (32a) and (34a), many connectors such as *byas*, *pa-dang* (*pa-da-ga*), *ste* (WT) may be used instead of *nas* after the first clause, but auxiliary verbs such as *pa-yin*, *pa-red*, *song*, *bzhag*, etc., may not occur in this position.

5.2. The grammatical functions of auxiliary verbs

In modern Tibetan dialects, the grammatical functions of final auxiliary verbs can be summed up in two categories:

- a) They indicate the tense and the aspect of the verb.
- b) They specify the source of the information and the speaker's point of view (this corresponds to the notion of 'evidentiality').

5.2.1. Tenses and aspects

The main tenses and aspects found in Standard Spoken Tibetan are *future*, *imperfective* and *perfective*. The imperfective aspect is used with the present tense, and with the past when referring to a process viewed as incomplete.³⁶ There is an opposition between perfect and perfective similar to the one existing in English (present perfect/preterite) or in Spanish. The perfect aspect is also used for the pluperfect and the conditional mood (for a more detailed description, see Tournadre 1996b).

5.2.2. Evidential markers

The second category can be subdivided into five types: sensorial (or direct), assertive (or indirect), inferential, egophoric and quotative (or hearsay) markers.

5.2.2.1. The sensorial or direct evidential

The speaker has been, or is, an eyewitness of the facts he is stating. Generally speaking, the visual channel is the most common one but any sensory channel, auditive, olfactive, gustative or tactile may be the source of information. For instance:

- (36) *khong phyin+song*
 he go(PAST)+PFCT, SENS
 'He left.' (I saw him leaving)
- (37) *char-pa babs³⁷+song*
 rain fall+PFCT, SENS
 'It rained.' (I saw the rain falling)
- (38) *skad yag-po bsgyur+song*
 language well translate+PFCT, SENS
 'He translated well.' (I was there during the translation)
- (39) *sa-yom brgyab+song*
 earthquake make+PFCT, SENS
 'There was an earthquake.' (I was there and felt it)

In the following example, taste is the sensory channel:

- (40) *ja zhim-po 'dug*
 tea delicious exist (SENS)
 'The tea is good.' (tasting the tea)

³⁶ The past often corresponds to the French *imparfait* or to the past progressive in English.

³⁷ Instead of *babs* 'fall' the verbalizer *btang* is often used in Lhasa: *char-pa btang* 'to rain'.

The sensorial auxiliaries are not normally used with the first person since they would imply self-observation. However they occur in special situations when the speaker sees, or saw, himself in a movie, a dream, etc.

In some cases, with non-controllable verbs, the past sensorial *song* is used in contrast with *byung* (see the egophoric below) to indicate a very recent or even immediate situation.

- (41) *da nga-s ha go+song*
 now I-ERG understand+SENS, PFCT
 ‘Now, I understand.’ (As opposed to *sngan-ma+nas ha-go byung* ‘I understood before.’)
- (42) *nga-s mthong+song*
 I+ERG see+SENS, PFCT
 ‘I have [just] seen it.’ (As opposed to *da-gin mthong+byung* ‘I saw it earlier.’)

5.2.2.2. The inference evidential

The speaker did not observe the process but he saw the trace or the result of the action and thus was able to infer what had happened.

- (43) *khong phyin+bzhag*
 he go(PAST)+PERF, INFER
 ‘Why, he has left.’ (I see his coat and his hat are gone.)
- (44) *khong+gis yi-ge yag-po bsgyur+bzhag*
 he+ERG letter well translate+PERF, INFER
 ‘He translated well.’ (Looking at his written translation, I infer that he translated well.)
- (45) *char-pa babs+bzhag*
 rain fall+PERF, INFER
 ‘Why, it has rained!’ (Looking at the wet road, I infer that it has rained.)
- (46) *sa-yom brgyab+bzhag*
 earthquake make+PERF, INFER
 ‘Why, there has been an earthquake!’ (Looking at the ruins of the houses, and observing all the signs of the aftermath of an earthquake, I infer that there has been an earthquake.)

5.2.2.3. *The assertive or indirect evidential*

The speaker did not either personally observe the process or infer it from traces but he asserts a fact about which he has no doubt. The statement may refer to a reported fact that the speaker trusts entirely or to common or gnomic knowledge.

- (47) *khong phyin+pa-red*
 he go(PAST)+PFCT, INDIR
 'He has left.'
- (48) *khong+gis skad yag-po bsgyur+pa-red*
 he+ERG language well translate+PFCT, INDIR
 'He translated well.'
- (49) *char-pa babs+pa-red*
 rain fall+PFCT, INDIR
 'It rained.'
- (50) *sa-yom brgyab+pa-red*
 earthquake make+PFCT, INDIR
 'There was an earthquake.' (It is a well known fact or somebody told the speaker.)

5.2.2.4. *The egophoric evidential*

The speaker is directly involved in the process that he describes and is himself the source of information. He either himself experienced something, or suffered or willingly performed an action. The egophoric is thus normally linked with the first person³⁸ but not necessarily as subject; it can also be as direct or indirect object and even as circumstantial complement. The egophoric also appears with second person (whether subject or complement) in the case of direct questions concerning the addressee's personal knowledge. This special use of the egophoric may be explained by the 'anticipation rule'. This is a peculiar linguistic phenomenon found in the Tibetan dialects and other Tibeto-Burman languages such as Newari or Akha. When asking a question directly concerning the interlocutor, the egophoric or first person marker is used because the speaker 'anticipates' that the answer will normally contain 'I' (or 'me', 'mine', 'to me', etc.).

³⁸ The Tibetan grammarian Kesang Gyurme has labelled egophoric markers *rang-ngos* in Tibetan. Cf. *rang* 'ego' or 'self'.

The anticipation rule functions similarly but in a reverse way when a speaker asks a question about himself. In this case the egophoric marker cannot be used because the expected answer to 'Do I...?' is 'Yes/No you...'

In Standard Tibetan, one finds the following egophoric auxiliaries (see the table of final auxiliary verbs above):

Past: *byung* (ego-receptive), *pa-yin* (volitional), *yod* (volitional),
myong (experiential)

Present: *gi-yod* (volitional or habitual)

Future: *gi-yin* (volitional), *dgos* (allocentric), *yong* (allocentric).

It is important to note that the egophoric auxiliaries are part of the general evidential system and in this sense are opposed to all the other evidentials: sensorial, inferential, assertive (or indirect), and hearsay.

The examples below illustrate the egophoric (or first person) marker as well as the anticipation rule:

(51a) *nga+s lab+pa-yin*
I+ERG tell+PFCT, EGOVOL
'I told [him].'

(51b) *khyed-rang+gis lab+song*
you+ERG tell +PFCT, SENS
'You told [him].' but **khyed-rang+gis lab+pa-yin*

(51c) *khyed-rang+gis lab+(pa-yin)+pas*
you+ERG tell +PFCT, EGOVOL+QU
'Did you tell him?' (Anticipation rule)

(52a) *nga+s 'tshem-bu brgyad brgyab+yod*
I-ERG stitch eight put+PERF, EGOVOL
'I have put in eight stitches.'

(52b) *'tshem-bu ga-tshod brgyab+yod*
stitch how many put+PERF, EGORECEPT
'How many stitches have you put in?' (Anticipation rule)

(53a) *nga lha-sa+r 'gro+myong*
I Lhasa+LOC go+PFCT, EGOEXPER
'I have already been to Lhasa'

(53b) *khyed-rang lha-sa+r 'gro+myong+yod-red*
you Lhasa+LOC go+PFCT, EXPER+INDIR
'You have already been to Lhasa.' but **khyed-rang lha-sa+r 'gro-myong*

- (53c) *khyed-rang* *Lhasa+r* 'gro+myong+ngas
 you Lhasa+LOC go+PFCT, EGOEXPER+QU
 'Have you ever been to Lhasa?' (Anticipation rule)
- (54a) *nga+s* *lde-mig* *mthong+byung*
 I+ERG key see+PFCT, EGORECEPT
 'I saw / have seen the key.'³⁹
- (54b) [*khyed-rang -gis*] *lde-mig* *mthong+byung+ngas*
 you+ERG key see+PFCT, EGORECEPT+QU
 'Have you seen the key?' or, 'Did you see the key?' (Anticipation rule)
- (55a) *khong+gis* *nga+la* *kha-par* *btang+byung*
 he+ERG I+DAT telephone send +PFCT, EGORECEPT
 'He gave *me* a phone call.' (The egophoric is not linked to the "subject"
 but to the indirect object.)
- (55b) *khong+gis* *khyed-rang+la* *kha-par* *btang+byung+ngas*
 he+ERG you+DAT telephone send+PFCT, EGORECEPT+QU
 'Did he give you a phone call?'

Another interesting use of the egophoric occurs in indirect speech as "logophoric agreement". When the original cited speaker is the same individual as the actor in the citation, an egophoric auxiliary will normally be used. This can be explained by the fact that the indirect speech keeps the trace of the original speaker's evidential marking. And indeed, all the evidential auxiliaries may occur in embedded sentences, as is shown below. In this kind of "indirect" speech only the pronouns and the honorific forms are controlled by the actual speaker, while the auxiliary of the embedded clause depends on the original speaker.

- (56) *blo-bzang+lags* *sman-khang+la* *phebs+pa-yin+ze*
 Lobsang+H hospital+LOC go(H) +PFCT, EGOVOL+QUOT
gsung+song
 say(H) +PFCT, SENS
 'Lobsang_i said that he_i went to the hospital.' (The cited speaker,
 Lobsang, is also the actor who went to the hospital. Thus, he had to use
 an egophoric auxiliary, which is kept by the actual speaker in the
 reported speech.)

³⁹ For a similar example, DeLancey (1992: 45) gives the sensorial form *song*, which he labels "disjunct". In fact, both the "egophoric" (or "conjunct") *byung* and the "sensorial" (or "disjunct") *song* are possible here with the first person, but they differ slightly in their meaning. The auxiliary *byung* refers to old (or assimilated) personal knowledge while *song* refers to a recent perception.

- (57) *khong+gis* *blo-bzang+lags* *sman-khang+la*
 he(H)+ERG Lobsang+H hospital
phebs+song+ze *gsung+song*
 go(H)+PFCT, SENS+QUOT say (H)+PFCT, SENS
 ‘He said that Lobsang went to the hospital.’ (The cited speaker is a witness who saw Lobsang leaving for the hospital.)
- (58) *khong-gis* *blo-bzang+lags* *sman-khang+la*
 he(H)+ERG Lobsang+H hospital
phebs+bzhag+ze *gsung+song*
 go(H)+PFCT, INFER+QUOT say (H)+PFCT, SENS
 ‘He said that Lobsang went to the hospital.’ (The cited speaker was not a witness but inferred from some evidence that Lobsang went to the hospital.)

The phenomenon of egophoric/non-egophoric⁴⁰ evidentials has been described for Newari (Hale 1980) and Tibetan (DeLancey 1992) in terms of “conjunct” and “disjunct”: “If the actor of the quote refers to the same individual as the actor of the quote frame, the verb of the quote is conjunct in form.” (Hale, 1980: 97).

The interpretation of the egophoric as a co-reference marker seems to be adequate, both in Newari⁴¹ and Tibetan, in the case of reported speech. However, it is less convincing in the case of unembedded declarative sentences and especially in the case of direct questions. In order to make this interpretation work, Hale (1980) has to admit that the conjunct form is related to co-reference between the “actor of the quote” and the “actor of the quote frame” (the speaker) in declarative sentences, while in direct questions it implies co-reference between the “actor of the quote” and the “goal of the quote frame” (the hearer). Then he concedes that “alternatively one might say that the conjunct-disjunct form of a true question anticipates that of its answer” (1980: 99). As a tentative conclusion, I would say that “logophoric co-reference” in unembedded sentences of *verba dicendi* and “anticipation” in direct questions

⁴⁰ Namely: sensorial, inferential and assertive (indirect).

⁴¹ In the two languages, the evidential systems are quite different: in Newari, conjunct forms are related only to volition, while in Tibetan some conjunct forms such as *byung* are non-volitional.

The conjunct/disjunct opposition is marked in Tibetan by auxiliaries and copulas, while in Newari it appears in the verb form itself. Finally the Tibetan evidential system is much more complex than the system found in Newari. According to DeLancey, “Lhasa conjunct/disjunct/evidentiality system is the most elaborate [that he knows of]” (1992: 57). Recent data about Amdo, Kham, Tsang, Dzongkha, and Ladakhi show that these Tibetan dialects also have very elaborate evidential systems, quite comparable to Lhasa Tibetan.

are merely *side effects* of the general evidential system. What is relevant is egophoricity as opposed to other sources of information (sensorial, inferential, etc.). The fact that traces of the original speaker's deictic system are found in the reported speech is not surprising from a typological point of view: "Indirect speech lies half way [...], between direct speech, which ignores the actual speaker's deictic system, and main clauses [...] which wholly use the system of the speaker" (Palmer, 1986: 164).⁴²

5.2.2.5. *The quotative marker*

The morpheme that has become grammaticalized for this function is the verb *zer /ser/* 'say', pronounced /sa/ in this case and transcribed *za* in the Tibetan alphabet. Its distribution is different from that of the other evidential markers since it cannot occur directly after the verb and has to follow the auxiliary verb. It can be combined with any of the other evidentials.

- (59) *sa-yom brgyabs+pa-red+za*
 earthquake make+PFCT, INDIR+ QUOT
 'There was an earthquake [I was told].' (The source was not, in principle, an eyewitness.)
- (60) *sa-yom brgyabs+song-za*
 earthquake make+PFCT, SENS+QUOT
 'There was an earthquake [I was told].' (The source was an eyewitness.)
 But **sa-yom brgyabs+za* is not grammatical.

5.2.3. *General remarks about the evidentials*

The grammaticalization of evidentiality is not only pervasive in all the Tibetan dialects, but the evidential systems marked by auxiliaries also have a remarkable functional unity. However, for every local variety, the final auxiliary verbs have specific lexical, morphological, phonological and even sometimes syntactic features.

The existence of aspecto-evidential systems linked to auxiliary verbs is an extraordinary linguistic phenomenon that appears in all the main Tibetan dialects: Central and Tsang, Kham, Hor, Amdo, Ladakh, Sikkim, Dzongkha (Bhutan), Sherpa, Jirel, Spiti, etc. They are also found in other Tibeto-Burman languages (DeLancey 1992) and in some of the adjacent Indo-Aryan languages

⁴² Palmer, quoting Voegelin and Voegelin (1975), mentions the case of Hopi, showing that in this Uto-Aztecan language, "proximate" and "obviate" person markers are used in the co-reference system of the reported speech: "Where the original speaker would have used the proximate marker, the actual speaker reports it with the obviate marker" (Palmer 1986: 164).

such as Nepali (see Michailovsky 1996, Peterson in this volume). Evidential verbal systems appear in languages belonging to many different linguistic families such as Turkish, Armenian and Bulgarian, and in Amerindian languages such as Andoke, Tatuyo, Aymara, Jaqaru, etc. (Chafe, 1986, Guentchéva 1996). However, it is worth noting that they do not exist in any of the main international languages such as English, French, Russian, Spanish, German, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, etc.

As we mentioned earlier, in Tibetan the auxiliaries indicate both the tense-aspect of the verb and evidentiality. It is possible to segment some polysyllabic finite verb endings into two categories of morphemes marking respectively tense-aspect and evidentiality. Tense-aspect is often marked by a nominalizing or connective particle (see 3.4.3), while evidentials are marked by morphemes derived from verbs. For example, compare:

- (61) *nga yong+pa-yin* 'I came.'
 I come+PFCT, EGOVOL
- (62) *nga yong+gi-yin* 'I will come.'
 I come+FUT, EGOVOL

Here, *pa* is the marker responsible for tense-aspect while *yin* is the marker of the egophoric evidential. The evidential marking is the same; the only difference between the two sentences lies in the tense-aspect: perfective past versus future.⁴³ In the same way, compare:

- (63) *khong yong+gi-'dug* 'He is coming' or 'He comes.'
 (64) *khong yong+gi-yod-red* 'He comes' or 'He is coming.'

Contrary to the previous examples, here the imperfective tense-aspect marker *gi* remains the same while the evidential marking is different: *'dug* indicates direct observation and *yod-red* may indicate among other things a frequent occurrence.

⁴³ This analysis seems to work well from a diachronic point of view, but synchronically it becomes more problematic. For example, with the future form *gi-yin*, neither the connective *gi* nor the auxiliary *yin* indicates future, so that their segmentation is not obvious.

6. FINAL AUXILIARY VERBS AND EVIDENTIALITY IN OTHER TIBETAN DIALECTS

6.1. *The definition of local varieties through their auxiliary verbs*

One of the remarkable features of the final auxiliary verbs is the existence of local varieties even within the same dialect. For example, in Nyemo county, we find a striking case of variation in the final auxiliary verbs within three varieties of Tsang dialect which are spoken in three villages only a few kilometers apart. Nyemo county is situated a little more than 100 kms west of Lhasa and has an area of 3,237 sq. kms and a total population of 24,391 scattered in 103 hamlets. In the village of Sangri (*zangs-ri*) at the foot of an old Bonpo monastery, the final auxiliary verb used for 'to be' is /re/ (*red*) just as in Lhasa (and other parts of Central or Eastern Tibet). But about four kilometers from there, in the Buddhist village of Chuling, the same word is pronounced [ba] and near Sangri, in the village of Phusum linked to the Kagyü school, it is pronounced [bo]. (See the proverb cited as an introductory epigraph.)

In brief, the differences in final auxiliary verbs are found not only between the main dialects but also among local varieties of the same dialect in two neighbouring valleys or two villages or between the very specific sociolect of the nomad cattle breeders (*'brog-skad*) as opposed to the sedentary peasants (*rong-skad*). Thus the comparison of the auxiliaries may serve as a valid criterion to define dialects and even local varieties.

6.2. *Similar functions and structures of the various systems*

In modern dialects⁴⁴ the final auxiliary verb systems, despite their phonological and lexical discrepancies, have similar grammatical functions and structures. All these systems make distinctions among the various types of evidential marking: egophoric or first person knowledge, eyewitnessing, inference, hearsay, indirect or gnomic assertion.⁴⁵ When comparing the various systems, we find that the set of evidential-aspectual morphemes is quite limited. Distinguishing between suffixes (nominalizers and connectives) and evidential morphemes, we find the following:

⁴⁴ In the present paper, we mainly examine the three main superdialects (or group of dialects) of Ü-Tsang, Kham and Amdo, but the statement also applies to other dialects such as Dzongkha, Sikkimese, Ladakhi, Sherpa, etc. See Woodbury (1986) for Sherpa and Sun (1995) for Amdo Dzongkha.

⁴⁵ The hearsay marker *zer* (pronounced [sa] in Standard Tibetan) is not presented in the table since it is basically the same in all dialects.

a) Suffixes

gi (Central, Tsang, Amdo, Hor), **ka* (Tö),⁴⁶ *le* (Kham, Hor, Amdo), *pa* (Central), **ni* (Amdo, Dzongkha), *rgyu* (Amdo, Central), *bzhin* (Kham) and *dang* (Amdo). These markers correspond either to nominalizers or to connective particles (see 3.4.3). Some suffixes, such as **ni* or **ka* have no obvious literary cognate. The suffix *le* is found in Tibetan literature, though it is considered as dialectal.

b) Auxiliary verbs

The evidential markers are derived from the following verbs:⁴⁷ [jĩ, jən, iŋ] < *yin* 'be' (Central, Tsang, Kham, Amdo, Hor, Ladakh, Dzongkha); [reʔ, rel, ret] < *red* 'be' (Central, Tsang, Amdo, Kham, Hor, etc.); [bɛ, ba, bo, bu] 'be' (Tsang, Lhokha); [dɛ, da] 'be' (Tö); [gi] < 'gi 'be' (Thewo); [na, ni] 'be' (Mustang, Lhokha); [jøʔ], [joʔ], je], [fiøʔ], [fiøʔ], [fiuʔ] ~ *yod* 'exist, have' (Central, Tsang, Amdo, Thewo, Dzongkha, Ladakh, Hor, Kham, etc.); [duʔ], [nuʔ], [niʔ] ~ *'dug* 'sit, be situated, have' (Central, Ladakh, Dzongkha, Tsang, Sherpa, Dzonkha); [ngə] 'exist' (Kham Derge; etc.); [nãŋ], [nõ] ~ *snang* 'appear, be manifest' (Central Phenpo, Thewo, Kham); [da] ~ *gda'* 'be situated, exist' (Kham, Hor, etc.); [ɕaʔ], [zək] ~ *bzhag* 'put' (Lhasa, Hor Nakchu); [go] ~ *dgos* 'need, want' (Central); [jõŋ, õŋ] ~ *yong* 'come' (Tsang, Hor, Kham, Amdo, Dzongkha, etc.); [dɛʔ, dø, do] ~ *bsdad* 'stay' (Central, Hor, Dzongkha, etc.); [tɕũŋ, ɕũŋ] *byung* 'obtain, get, happen' (Central, Hor, Kham); [sõŋ, so] *song* 'go' (Central, Tsang, Amdo, Dzongkha); [the, tha, thi, thjẽ] ~ *thal* 'go' (Amdo, Kham, Hor); [jõŋ] ~ *myong* 'taste' (Central, Tsang, Kham, Hor, Amdo, Dzongkha); [tshuk] ~ *tshug* 'be planted' (Ladakh), or its variant [sə, zək] ~ *zug* (Amdo, Kham, Hor Bachen); [rak] ~ *rag* 'touch' (Ladakh).

The structure and the morphogenesis of the system generally follow the same pattern in the various dialects. One finds first the suffix and then the auxiliary verb conveying evidentiality, optionally followed by a final particle:

V[flex] + SUFF (tense-aspect) + AUX (evidential + tense-aspect) + FP

Sometimes, the suffix and the auxiliary verb combine as we will see below.

⁴⁶ The asterisk indicates here forms that are not found in Literary Tibetan.

⁴⁷ Whenever possible, we give the cognate literary verb in italics.

6.3. Types of variation

The combination of suffixes with auxiliary verbs is specific to each dialect, but the majority of morphemes forming the verb endings are found in the list above.

As mentioned earlier, comparison of the various systems reveals that their main discrepancies are linked to phonological as well as to lexical variation. This is also sometimes due to the disappearance of either the suffix or the auxiliary verb.

6.3.1. Phonological variation

The consonants as well as the vowels are subject to variation. For example, *'dug* is used in Lhasa (and in standard Tibetan) but **nug* occurs in many dialects such as Tsang, Sherpa, Dzongkha (Bhutan). The variant can be easily explained since *n* is a reflex of *d* in some dialects. For example, in Tsang, *'di* 'this' is pronounced [ni]. The auxiliary verb *yod* varies a lot according to dialect (see the tables) even within the language of Central Tibet, where it is pronounced [jøʔ], [joʔ], [fiøʔ], [fiøʔ], [fiuʔ]. The word 'to be' in the Tsang dialect also presents variation in the vowel. It is pronounced [bɛ(?)], [ba], [bo] and even [bu] in some Tsang villages. The negative counterpart is pronounced [mambɛ(?)], [mamba], [mambo]. In Tö Ngari dialects, the auxiliary [dɛ] 'to be' appears also as [da] (negation: [manda, mandɛ]).

Another type of variation is the complete loss of the suffix or the auxiliary verb. In some cases, the evidential auxiliary verb has disappeared, as in the Tsang Nyemo dialect. The future of the first person is *kyi* [ci] which stands for *kyi-yin*. The same phenomenon occurs in Lhasa dialect where the finite verb ending *gi-'dug* [giduʔ] is generally replaced by *gi* [gi].

In a variety of Tsang Nyemo dialect, the tense-aspect suffix *pa* has been lost and the auxiliary occurs immediately after the verb, so that instead of V+ (*pa*)-*'ba*, we find V+*'ba* (see table 1h below). This phenomenon may also be illustrated in Lhasa Tibetan with the compound auxiliary *yod-red* [yo:reʔ]. The aspect marker *pa* has been lost (cf. literary Tibetan *yod-pa-red*). Sometimes the evolution is such that the evidential marker and the aspect merge. This is what happened in Ladakhi with the verb ending *pin* [pin] which is derived from *pa-yin*.

6.3.2. Synonymous lexical items with a similar grammaticalization

It is interesting to note cases in which distinct verbs underwent similar grammaticalizations and acquired the same evidential meaning. The clearest example is the case of *song* and *thal* which both mean 'to go' in literary Tibetan,

and which both became in different dialects auxiliary verbs indicating direct observation by the speaker. For example: (39) *bskur+song* '[He] sent/carried.' (I saw him) (Central) is equivalent to *bskur+thal* (Kham, Amdo).

Song and *thal* are of course pronounced in different ways according to dialect, [sɔ̃ŋ], [sɔ] and [thɛn] (Kham Chunyido), [thjɛ] (Kham Thewo), [tha] (Amdo Labrang), [thi] (Hor Nakchu), etc.

Similarly, the auxiliary verbs '*dug* and *gda*' have both been grammaticalized into sensorial evidentials in different dialects. The first is found in Lhasa and the second in Kham and Hor. The verb '*dug* originally means 'to sit' while *gda*' means 'to exist'.

6.4. Tables presenting the Finite Verb Endings in 14 Tibetan dialects

In the following tables (1-6), one will find the essential paradigms of final auxiliary verbs of Ü (Central), Tsang, Kham, Hor and Amdo.

- Table 1 displays the paradigm of the Standard Spoken Tibetan or Lhasa dialect as well as two varieties of Tsang dialect: **Shigatse** (*gzhi-ga-rtse*) and **Nyemo** (*snyemo*). Shigatse is situated about 300 kms south-west of Lhasa and Nyemo about 100 kms west of Lhasa on the border of the Ü and Tsang dialects.
- Table 2 shows three varieties of the Tsang dialect spoken in Nyemo county: **Phusum** (*phu-gsum*), **Chuling** (*chu-gling*) and **Sangri** (*zangs-ri*). As far as the auxiliary systems are concerned, the main characteristic of the Tsang dialects is that [bɛʔ] is found instead of [reʔ] (*red*) and [ni] replaces [ɕaʔ] (*bzhag*).
- Tables 3 and 4 present four kinds of Central dialects spoken in an area between 100 kms and 150 kms east of Lhasa: namely **Drigung** (*'bri-gung*), **Nyimachanra** (*nyi-ma lcang-rwa*)⁴⁸, **Ganden Chökor** (*dga'-ldan chos-mkhor*) located in the Phenpo valley (*'phan-po*) and **Reting** (*rwa-sgreng*)⁴⁹. The peculiarity of those dialects is the replacement of '*dug* by *snaŋ* [nãŋ].
- Table 5 shows the paradigm found in **Kham Chunyido** dialect and **Hor Nakchu** dialect. Chunido (*chu-gnyi-mdo*) is situated near Jonda (*'jo-mda*) prefecture about 800kms east of Lhasa on the border of the Tibetan Autonomous Region and Sichuan province. Hor dialects are spoken in Nakchu prefecture about 400 kms north of Lhasa, mainly by nomad cattle breeders or *Drokpas*. It appears from the table that Hor and Kham dialects are closely related. The main characteristic of these dialects is the use of *gda*' [da] instead of '*dug* and *thal* [then, thi] instead of *song*.

⁴⁸ In Metrogungkar county.

⁴⁹ Both in Lhündrup county. Reting is the famous Gelugpa monastery where Je Tsongkhapa composed his *magnum opus*, the Lam-rim chen-mo.

• Table 6 presents the paradigm found in two **Amdo Labrang** dialects (*a-mdo bla-brang*), the *Amdo lingua franca*, and **Thewo** dialect. Thewo (*the-bo*) is a very peculiar Northern Kham dialect spoken in Amdo on the border between Gansu and Sichuan Ngaba prefectures. The salient feature of Kham Thewo dialect is the use of 'gi [gi] instead of [re?], which is found in Standard Tibetan as well as in the majority of Amdo and Kham dialects. The remarkable feature of Amdo Labrang dialect is the morpheme *gi* [gə] or the compound *yod-gi* [jokə] which corresponds to Standard 'dug. The replacement of *pa-red* by *ni red* [nəre?] is another peculiarity of this dialect.

In each table, the reader will find a first column listing the paradigm of auxiliary verbs in standard Tibetan and then the dialect data in IPA transcription. When it is possible to retrieve a probable or possible etymology of the auxiliary verb, a literary orthography is given in the Wylie transliteration. The meanings of the grammatical morphemes presented below are explained in section 5.

Table 1 - Standard Spoken Tibetan and two Tsang dialects

	Standard		Tsang (Shigatse)		Tsang (Nyemo, Chuling)	
a)	giʃø?	<i>gi-yod</i>	giʃø?	<i>gi-yod</i>	gʃø?	<i>gi-yod</i>
b)	giʃo:re?	<i>gi-yod-red</i>	giʃoabe?	? <i>gi-yod-ba-*</i> 'bab ⁵⁰	woba	? <i>bo-*</i> 'bab
c)	gi(du?)	<i>gi-'dug</i>	gi?	<i>gi-'dug</i>	gi	<i>gi</i>
d)	giʃi	<i>gi-yin</i>	ciʃi	<i>gi-yin</i>	gi	<i>gi</i>
e)	gire?	<i>gi-red</i>	ciʃe?	<i>gi-*</i> 'bab	gja/giba	? <i>gi-*</i> 'bab
f)	go	<i>dgos</i>	?		jɔŋ	<i>yong</i>
g)	paʃi	<i>pa-yin</i>	paʃi	<i>ba-yin</i>	pe	<i>pa-yin</i>
h)	pare?	<i>pa-red</i>	pabe?	? <i>pa-*</i> 'bab	ba	<i>*</i> 'bab
i)	tɕũŋ	<i>byung</i>	tɕũŋ	<i>byung</i>	tɕũŋ	<i>byung</i>
j)	sɔŋ	<i>song</i>	so	<i>song</i>	sɔŋ	<i>song</i>
k)	ɕa?	<i>bzhag</i>	ni	?	nimindu?	?
l)	jø?	<i>yod</i>	jø?	<i>yod</i>	de	? <i>bsdad</i>
m)	jo:re?	<i>yod-red</i>	joabe?	<i>yod-ba-*</i> 'bab	de	? <i>bsdad</i>
n)	ɲɔŋ	<i>myong</i>	ɲɔŋ	<i>myong</i>	ɲɔŋ	<i>myong</i>
<i>Copulas :</i>						
o)	jø?	<i>yod</i>	jø?	<i>yod</i>	jø?	<i>yod</i>
p)	jo:re?	<i>yod-red</i>	joabe?	? <i>yod-ba-*</i> 'bab	joba	<i>yod-*</i> 'bab
q)	du?	<i>'dug</i>	nu?	<i>'dug</i>	du?	<i>'dug</i>
r)	ji	<i>yin</i>	ji	<i>yin</i>	ji	<i>yin</i>
s)	re?	<i>red</i>	be?	? <i>*</i> 'bab	ba	? <i>*</i> 'bab

⁵⁰ The asterisk indicates a reconstructed form not found in Classical Tibetan, or having a distinct meaning.

Table 2 - Three local varieties of Nyemo dialect (Tsang)

	Standard	Sangri		Chuling		Phusum	
a)	<i>gi-yod</i>	gijø?	<i>gi-yod</i>	gjø?	<i>gi-yod (>gyod)</i>	gjø?	<i>gi-yod</i>
b)	<i>gi-yod-red</i>	gijore?	<i>gi-yod-red</i>	woba	? <i>bo-*</i> 'bab	gibo	? <i>gi-*</i> 'bab
c)	<i>gi-('dug)</i>	gidu?	<i>gi-'dug</i>	gi	<i>gi-'dug</i>	gi	<i>gi</i>
d)	<i>gi-yin</i>	giyin	<i>gi yin</i>	gi	<i>gi-yin</i>	gi	<i>gi</i>
e)	<i>gi-red</i>	gire?	<i>gi red</i>	gja/giba	? <i>gi-*</i> 'bab	gjo	? <i>gi-*</i> 'bab
f)	<i>dgos</i>	jõŋ	<i>dgos</i>	jõŋ	<i>yong</i>	jõŋ	<i>yong</i>
g)	<i>pa-yin</i>	pɔjĩ	<i>pa-yin</i>	pɛ	<i>pa-yin</i>	pɛ	<i>pa-yin</i>
h)	<i>pa-red</i>	pɔre?	<i>pa-red</i>	ba	? <i>*</i> 'bab	bo	? <i>*</i> 'bab
i)	<i>byung</i>	tɕũŋ	<i>byung</i>	tɕũŋ	<i>byung</i>	tɕũŋ	<i>byung</i>
j)	<i>song</i>	sõŋ	<i>song</i>	sõŋ	<i>song</i>	sõŋ	<i>song</i>
k)	<i>bzhag</i>	ni	?	nimindu?	?	nimindu?	?
l)	<i>yod</i>	jø?	<i>yod</i>	de	? <i>bsdad</i>	?	?
m)	<i>yod-red</i>	jore?	<i>yod-red</i>	de	? <i>bsdad</i>	jo	<i>yod</i>
n)	<i>myong</i>	ɲõŋ	<i>myong</i>	ɲõŋ	<i>myong</i>	ɲõŋ	<i>myong</i>
Copulas :							
o)	<i>yod</i>	jø?	<i>yod</i>	jø?	<i>yod</i>	jø?	<i>yod</i>
p)	<i>yod-red</i>	jore?	<i>yod-red</i>	joba	? <i>yod-*</i> 'bab	jobo	? <i>yod-*</i> 'bab
q)	<i>'dug</i>	du?	<i>'dug</i>	du?	<i>'dug</i>	du?	<i>'dug</i>
r)	<i>yin</i>	jĩ	<i>yin</i>	jĩ	<i>yin</i>	jĩ	<i>yin</i>
s)	<i>red</i>	re?	<i>red</i>	ba	<i>*</i> 'bab	bo	? <i>*</i> 'bab

Table 3 - Two varieties of Central dialect (Reting and Nyimachangra)

	Standard	Reting		Nyimachangra	
a)	<i>gi-yod</i>	fiø?	<i>*'od</i>	fiø?	<i>*'od</i>
b)	<i>gi-yod red</i>	fiøɔre?	<i>*'od-ba-red</i>	fiøɔre?	<i>*'od-ba-red</i>
c)	<i>gi ('dug)</i>	nãŋ	<i>snang</i>	nãŋ	<i>snang</i>
d)	<i>gi-yin</i>	cijĩ	<i>kyi -yin</i>	gijĩ	<i>gi-yin</i>
e)	<i>gi-red</i>	cire?	<i>kyi-red</i>	gire?	<i>gi-red</i>
f)	<i>dgos</i>	fiõŋ	<i>'ong</i>	lõŋ	<i>long</i>
g)	<i>pa-yin</i>	pɔjĩ	<i>pa-yin</i>	pɔjĩ	<i>pa-yin</i>
h)	<i>pa-red</i>	pɔre?	<i>pa-red</i>	pɔre?	<i>pa-red</i>
i)	<i>byung</i>	tɕũŋ	<i>byung</i>	tɕũŋ	<i>byung</i>
j)	<i>song</i>	sõŋ	<i>song</i>	sõŋ	<i>song</i>
k)	<i>bzhag</i>	ɕa?nãŋ	<i>bzhag-snang</i>	denãŋ	<i>bsdad-snang</i>
l)	<i>yod</i>	?	?	du?	<i>'dug</i>
m)	<i>yod-red</i>	?	?	fiøɔnãŋ	<i>yod-ba-snang</i>
n)	<i>myong</i>	ɲõŋ	<i>myong</i>	ɲõŋ	<i>myong</i>
Copulas :					
o)	<i>yod</i>	fiø?	<i>*'od</i>	fiø?	<i>*'od</i>
p)	<i>yod-red</i>	fiøre?	<i>*'od-red</i>	fiøɔre?	<i>*'od-ba-red</i>
q)	<i>'dug</i>	nãŋ	<i>snang</i>	nãŋ	<i>snang</i>
r)	<i>yin</i>	jĩ	<i>yin</i>	jĩ	<i>yin</i>
s)	<i>red</i>	re?	<i>red</i>	re?	<i>red</i>

Table 4 - Varieties of Central dialect (Drigung and Phenpo)

	Standard	Drigung (Nomad)		Phenpo	
a)	<i>gi-yod</i>	lejĩ	<i>le-yin</i>	jø?	<i>yod</i>
b)	<i>gi-yod-red</i>	lere?	<i>le-red</i>	jø?	<i>yod</i>
c)	<i>gi ('dug)</i>	jinãŋ	<i>yi-snang</i>	nãŋ	<i>snang</i>
d)	<i>gi-yin</i>	cijĩ	<i>kyi-yin</i>	ci	<i>kyi-yin</i>
e)	<i>gi-red</i>	cire?	<i>kyi-red</i>	cire?	<i>kyi-red</i>
f)	<i>dgos</i>	go	<i>dgos</i>	gø?	<i>dgos</i>
g)	<i>pa-yin</i>	pajĩ	<i>pa-yin</i>	pejĩ	<i>pa-yin</i>
h)	<i>pa-red</i>	pare?	<i>pa-red</i>	pere?	<i>pa-red</i>
i)	<i>byung</i>	tçũŋ	<i>byung</i>	tçũŋ	<i>byung</i>
j)	<i>song</i>	nãŋ	<i>snang</i>	sõŋ	<i>song</i>
k)	<i>bzhag</i>	çaynãŋ	<i>bzhag-snang</i>	denãŋ	? <i>bsdad-snang</i>
l)	<i>yod</i>	?	?	dejø?	? <i>bsdad-yod</i>
m)	<i>yod-red</i>	?	?	çyjøre?	? <i>shul-yod-red</i>
n)	<i>myong</i>	ɲõŋ	<i>myong</i>	ɲõŋ	<i>myong</i>
Copulas :					
o)	<i>yod</i>	fiø?	*'od	jø?	<i>yod</i>
p)	<i>yod-red</i>	fiobare?	*'od-ba-red	jøbare?	<i>yod-ba-red</i>
q)	<i>'dug</i>	nãŋ	<i>snang</i>	nãŋ	<i>snang</i>
r)	<i>yin</i>	re?	<i>red</i>	jĩ	<i>yin</i>
s)	<i>red</i>	re?	<i>red</i>	re?	<i>red</i>

Table 5 - Kham (chunyido), Hor (Nakchu)

	Standard	Chunyido		Nakchu	
a)	<i>gi-yod</i>	çu	<i>bzhin-yod</i>	çu	? <i>bzhin-'od</i>
b)	<i>gi-yod-red</i>	çiore?	<i>bzhin-yod-red</i>	lere?	<i>le-red</i>
c)	<i>gi ('dug)</i>	çida	<i>bzhin-gda'</i>	(ç)ida	? <i>bzhin-gda'</i>
d)	<i>gi-yin</i>	jijěn	<i>gyi-yin</i>	jijĩn	<i>gyi-yin</i>
e)	<i>gi-red</i>	lire?	<i>le-red</i>	lere?	<i>le-red</i>
f)	<i>dgos</i>	fiũŋ	<i>'ong</i>	(fi)õŋ	<i>'ong</i>
g)	<i>pa-yin</i>	lejěn	<i>le-yin</i>	lejĩn	<i>le-yin</i>
h)	<i>pa-red</i>	lere?	<i>le-red</i>	lere?	<i>gi-red</i>
i)	<i>byung</i>	?	?	tçũŋ	<i>byung</i>
j)	<i>song</i>	then	<i>thal</i>	thi	<i>thal</i>
k)	<i>bzhag</i>	çəda	<i>bzhag-gda'</i>	çɛɣda	? <i>bzhag-gda'</i>
l)	<i>yod</i>	fiø?	*'od	?	?
m)	<i>yod-red</i>	fiore?	*'od-red	?	?
n)	<i>myong</i>	ɲaŋ	<i>myong</i>	ɲõŋ	<i>myong</i>
Copulas :					
o)	<i>yod</i>	fiø?	*'od	fiø?	*'od
p)	<i>yod-red</i>	fiore?	*'od-red	fi(le)re?	*'od-(le)-red
q)	<i>'dug</i>	da	<i>gda'</i>	da	<i>gda'</i>
r)	<i>yin</i>	jěn	<i>yin</i>	yěŋ	<i>yin</i>
s)	<i>red</i>	re?	<i>red</i>	re?	<i>red</i>

Table 6 - Amdo (Labrang), Amdo (Thewo)

	Standard	Labrang		Thewo	
a)	<i>gi-yod</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>gi-yod</i>	<i>ɣije</i>	? <i>bzhin-yod</i> /? <i>gi-yod</i>
b)	<i>gi-yod-red</i>	<i>gonəre?</i>	* <i>gi-yod-ni-red</i>	<i>ɣijelegi</i>	? * <i>bzhin-yod-le-'gi</i>
c)	<i>gi-'dug</i>	<i>gə/yokə</i>	<i>gi /yod-gi</i>	<i>ɣi/ɣino</i>	? <i>gi</i> /? <i>bzhin -snang</i>
d)	<i>gi-yin</i>	<i>jɿ</i>	<i>rgyu-yin</i>	<i>ɕi</i>	? <i>rgyu</i>
e)	<i>gi-red</i>	<i>jire?</i>	<i>rgyu-red</i>	<i>ɕigi</i>	? <i>rgyu- 'gi</i>
f)	<i>dgos</i>	? <i>ðŋa</i>	<i>'ong</i>	<i>go/wa</i>	<i>dgos /ba</i>
g)	<i>pa-yin</i>	<i>ni/ nəjən</i>	* <i>ni-yin</i>	<i>pule</i>	?
h)	<i>pa-red</i>	<i>nəre?</i>	* <i>ni-red</i>	<i>legi</i>	* <i>le-'gi</i>
i)	<i>byung</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>thal</i>	<i>thje</i>	<i>thal</i>
j)	<i>song</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>thal</i>	<i>thje</i>	<i>thal</i>
k)	<i>bzhag</i>	<i>tāŋzək/zogə</i>	* <i>btang-zug</i>	<i>puɕi</i>	
l)	<i>yod</i>	?		<i>je</i>	<i>yod</i>
m)	<i>yod-red</i>	?		<i>jelləgi</i>	* <i>yod-le- 'gi</i>
n)	<i>myong</i>	<i>nɔŋ</i>	<i>myong</i>	<i>ɲu</i>	<i>myong myong</i>
<i>Copulas :</i>					
o)	<i>yod</i>	<i>jø(ɿ)</i>	<i>yod</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>yod</i>
p)	<i>yod-red</i>	<i>jonəre?</i>	* <i>yod-ni-red</i>	<i>jelləgi</i>	* <i>yod-le- 'gi</i>
q)	<i>'dug</i>	<i>jokə/gə</i>	* <i>yod-gi /gi</i>	<i>nɔ</i>	<i>snang</i>
r)	<i>yin</i>	<i>jən</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>jɿn</i>	<i>yin</i>
s)	<i>red</i>	<i>re?</i>	<i>red</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>'gi</i>

The tables confirm the important role of evidentiality in the Tibetan dialects. Beyond the morphological diversity, all of the above paradigms display oppositions between sensorial and gnomic or indirect information. It is also worth noting that all of the verbal systems present egophoric markers.

6.5. One possible origin of evidentiality in Tibetan

As mentioned earlier, the auxiliary *gda'* (< 'exist'), which occurs in Kham and Hor dialects, has the same evidential function as *'dug* (< 'sit') in Standard Spoken Tibetan or Dzongkha: it indicates direct observation and is used in the present progressive as well as in the perfect inferential tense-aspect. We suggest that the grammaticalization of verbs such as 'sit' or 'exist' as markers of direct observation has been achieved in a gradual way. First, the two verbs became aspectual markers indicating progressive (when used in the present tense) and perfect (when used in the past) aspects. Then the *deictic* characteristic of the progressive and perfect aspects allowed a further grammaticalization of *gda'* and *'dug* into evidential markers of direct observation (respectively of the event and of the trace).

The parallel evolution of these two verbs sheds light on the morphogenesis of the Tibetan dialects: we find different lexical items conveying similar meanings that have undergone, in the various dialects, identical grammaticalizations as aspectual and evidential markers.

A systematic study of the final auxiliary verbs in the various dialects will enable us to reconstruct the morphogenesis of those paradigms and, perhaps, to understand the transition between the systems of auxiliary verbs found in Literary Tibetan and the systems of the modern dialects that have developed evidentials.

7. POLYGRAMMATICALIZATION OF VERBS INTO TENSE-ASPECT MARKERS

We have seen in the previous sections that stative and motion verbs (but also action verbs in Classical Tibetan) are good candidates to serve as final auxiliary verbs.⁵¹ We will now study in detail the rich grammaticalizations of four verbs, *yong* ‘come’, *'gro* ‘go’, *tshar* ‘finish’ and *bsdad* ‘stay’, that have become among other things aspectual (inchoative, progressive, terminative, etc.) and directional markers in Standard Spoken Tibetan. The range of their grammatical functions is so wide that such verbs could be called the “chameleon morphemes” of the Tibetan language. They are also interesting because their aspectual functions have not previously been described.

7.1. The notion of “secondary verbs”

Kesang Gyurme (1981) identified a second category of verbs (in addition to final auxiliary verbs) which may carry tense-aspect markings as “secondary verbs” (*bya-tshig phal-pa*). He listed about twenty of these: *thub* ‘can’, *shes* ‘know’, *phod* ‘cope with, be able’, *srid* ‘may’, *nus* ‘dare’, *dgos* ‘need, must, want’, *chog* ‘permit, may’, *bsam* ‘think’, *'dod* ‘want, wish’, *'os* ‘be worthy, be appropriate’, *rung* ‘be fit, be suitable, be right’, *rigs* ‘be suitable’, *nyan* ‘be fit, allow’, *dka'* ‘be difficult’, *sla* ‘be easy’, *nges* ‘be sure’, *yong* ‘come’, *'gro* ‘go’, *bsdad* ‘stay’, *myong* ‘experience, taste’, *tshar* ‘finish’, *zin* ‘finish’, *ran* ‘be the time to’, *grabs* ‘be ready’. These verbs have a specific distribution and occur between the main verb and the final auxiliary verb.

Along with a majority of modal verbs, they include aspectual and directional verbs such as *yong* ‘come’, *'gro* ‘go’, *tshar* ‘finish’ and *bsdad* ‘stay’ which have kept their lexical meaning, although they also function as aspect and directional markers in the modern language. The study of these verbs is particularly interesting, because they show synchronically various stages of polygrammaticalization.⁵²

⁵¹ The use of motion and stative verbs as auxiliaries is a very common device in the world’s languages, but action verbs are more rarely used for this purpose. However, both English (with the auxiliary *do*) and Literary Tibetan (*byed* ‘to do’) furnish examples of the second type.

⁵² These verbs recall the serial verbs in Hindi (Montaut 1991:27).

If we consider the general structure of the Tibetan verbal group (see section 3.4), it is necessary to add the category MOD (modal verb) to present the full system:

Verb [flex] + MOD (modality, aspect, direction) + SUFF + AUX + FP

The modal verb conveys the various modalities and also functions as a directional or an aspectual marker. Thus grammatical aspect appears three times within the Tibetan verb: in the verbal flexion, in the suffix (or the auxiliary) and in the secondary verb.

7.2. The grammaticalization of *yong* 'come' and *'gro* 'go'

Besides their lexical meanings, these two verbs have developed a rich range of grammaticalizations⁵³. Among the various functions, we find inchoative and progressive aspects, directional marking ('towards/away'), cross-reference (first/non-first person), the speaker's guarantee of performing the action, indication of an imminent danger, modalities (probability), and so on. We will examine all of these functions below.

7.2.1. Lexical meaning

The verb *yong*⁵⁴ conveys roughly the meaning of 'come'. However, it also has the meaning of 'become', 'happen', and 'be all right'. The verb *'gro* and its past form *phyin* (or its literary past form *song*) chiefly mean 'go', but may also signify 'become', 'fit,' and 'elapse'.

- (65) *'di 'dras byas+na yong+gi red+pas*
 like that do+if come+FUT+INTER
 'Is it all right if one does it like that.'
- (66) *nus stobs che ru 'gro ba (WT)*⁵⁵
 strength bigger go+NOM
 '[He] is becoming stronger.'

⁵³ It was Sangda Dorje who first drew my attention to these phenomena of grammaticalization. Independently, DeLancey (1991) brought up this issue.

⁵⁴ *Yong* has only one allomorph, *shog*, used for the imperative. There is also a literary verb *'ong* and its past allomorph *'ongs* whose meaning is identical to that of *yong*. The verbs *yong* 'come' and *'gro* 'go' are quite often associated with the directional adverbs *tshur* 'hither' and *phar* 'thither,' respectively.

⁵⁵ The abbreviation WT 'Written Tibetan' indicates the literary examples.

- (67) *rna-ba+r 'gro+ba+i skad cha* (WT)
 ear+LOC go+NOM+GEN words
 'A speech that [I] like' (*lit.* goes into my ears)
- (68) *lo mang-po phyin+song*
 year many go+PFCT, SENS
 'Many years have passed.'

7.2.2. Directional markers: 'towards' or 'away'

The morphemes *yong* and *'gro* are used as directional markers⁵⁶ indicating movement towards or away from the speaker or landmark. When a specific landmark is not mentioned, it usually corresponds to the speaker or sometimes to the hearer. For this function, *yong* and *'gro* occur only with motion verbs or verbs clearly implying movement. Although directional markers are frequently used with the present progressive, they may also be used with the past or the future.

- (69a) *rta rgyug+yong+gi ('dug)*⁵⁷
 horse run+DIR1 +IMPF, SENS
 'The horse is running towards me (the landmark, etc).'
- (69b) *rta rgyug+'gro-gis*
 horse run+DIR2 +IMPF, SENS
 'The horse is running away from me (the landmark, etc).'
- (70a) *nyi-ma shar+yong+gis* 'The sun is rising.'
 sun rise+DIR1+IMPF, SENS
- (70b) *nyi-ma 'bab+'gro+gis* 'The sun is going down.'
 sun set+DIR2+IMPF, SENS
- (71a) *khong mchong+yong+gis* 'He is jumping in (towards the landmark).'
 he jump+DIR1+IMPF, SENS
- (71b) *khong mchong+'gro-gis* 'He is jumping away (from the landmark).'
 he jump+DIR2+IMPF, SENS
- (72a) *nga nang+la log+yong+gi-yin*
 I home+LOC come+DIR1 +FUT, EGO
 'I will come back home (towards the hearer).'

⁵⁶ Compare the similar Chinese compound directional markers *lái* 'arrive' and *qù* 'go'. Thus *jìn lái/qù* 'come in (towards/away from the speaker or the landmark)'; *chū lái/qù* 'come out (towards/away from the speaker)'; *huí lái/qù* 'come back (towards/away from the speaker)' have constructions similar to the Tibetan *'dzul yong/'gro*; *thon yong/'gro*; *log yong/'gro*.

⁵⁷ In Lhasa dialect, the auxiliary *'dug* is often dropped when it occurs in the ending *gi 'dug*. In this case, the morpheme *gi* is generally written *gis*.

- (72b) *nga nang+la log+'gro+gi-yin*
I home+LOC come+DIR2 +FUT, EGO
'I will go back home (away from the hearer).'
- (73a) *bya 'phur+phyin+song* 'The bird flew away from me.'
bird fly+DIR2+AOR, SENS
- (73b) *bya 'phur+yong+byung* 'The bird flew toward me.'
bird fly+DIR1+PFCT, EGO
- (74a) *g.yag zhon+nas bros+yong+gis*
yak ride+CO flee+DIR1+IMPF, SENS
'They are fleeing toward us riding yaks'
- (74b) *g.yag zhon+nas bros+'gro+gis*
yak ride+CO flee+DIR1+IMPF
'They are fleeing away from us riding yaks.'
- (75a) *pang-leb zag+yong+gis* 'The timber is falling down on us.'
timber fall+DIR1+IMPF, SENS
- (75b) *pang-leb zag+'gro+gis* 'The timber is falling down away from us.'
timber fall+DIR2+IMPF, SENS

The sentence *pang-leb zag yong+gis* was pronounced when a passenger leaning out of the window suddenly realized that the overloaded bus was progressively losing its load and that it was falling towards him: a common event in the Himalayas and on the Tibetan high plateau!

- (76a) *chu thon+yong-gis* 'Water is coming out'
water go out+DIR1+IMPF
- (76b) *chu thon+'gro-gis* 'Water is going out.'
water go out+DIR2+IMPF
- (77a) *mkhar 'di zhis+yong+gis* 'The fortress is collapsing on us.'
fortress this collapse+DIR1+IMPF
- (77b) *mkhar 'di zhis+'gro+gis* 'The fortress is collapsing.'
fortress this collapse+DIR2+IMPF

7.2.3. Appearance or disappearance

The morphemes *yong* and *'gro* indicate inchoative aspect and denote respectively the appearance or the disappearance of the referent designated by the "subject". There is only a restricted class of non-controllable verbs that are compatible with *yong* and *'gro* in this function. Though these verbs are not *stricto sensu* motion verbs, they all metaphorically imply movement towards or

away from the subject. The prototypes of this verb class are *chags* 'appear' and *yal* 'disappear'. The choice of the auxiliaries *yong* and *'gro* depends on the lexemes and their intrinsic cognitive direction. When the meaning of the verb implies the appearance, development or growth of a phenomenon, *yong* is used. Similarly, when the meaning of the verb is linked to disappearance, *'gro* occurs. Contrary to the motion verbs, which admit both auxiliaries, each verb belonging to this class admits only one of them and excludes the other. For instance, *brjed* 'forget' may only be followed by *'gro* and never by *yong* (*brjed+'gro-gis* is grammatical but **brjed+yong-gis* is not). Similarly with the verb *dran* 'remember', *yong* is used (*dran+yong-gyis*) but not *'gro* (**dran+'gro-gis*). However, verbs expressing the idea of a metaphorical movement are not always compatible with *yong* or *'gro*. For example one finds *brlags+'gro* 'lose' but not **brnyed+yong* 'find'⁵⁸.

It is interesting to note that there are parallels with the use of the auxiliaries *byung* versus *song*: *dran+byung* 'I remembered' but *brjed+song* 'I forgot' (and not **brjed+byung*).

The morphemes *yong* and *'gro* in this function occur normally with the imperfective aspect with inchoative,⁵⁹ progressive or iterative senses. In other words, the use of the two morphemes is either linked to the speech act and is due to direct observation, or is based on repeated experiences of the speaker.

- (78) *gnam-gru gnam-kha+'i nang+la yal 'gro-gis*
 plane sky+GEN inside+LOC fade+go+IMPF, SENS
 'The plane is fading away in the sky (right now).'
- (79) *par gsal-po chags+yong+gis*
 picture clear appear+come+IMPF, SENS
 'The picture is becoming clear (in front of my eyes).'
- (80) *nga+s ming 'di brjed +'gro+gis*
 I+ERG name this forget+go+IMPF, SENS
 'I keep forgetting this name.'

⁵⁸ The reason for this is not clear. It might be due to the fact that 'find' does not express a movement of the object towards the finder but rather a movement of the 'finder' towards the object.

⁵⁹ I use the term inchoative in its usual meaning referring to an initial dynamic situation leading progressively to a state. For instance, 'to become clear' refers to a dynamic process oriented towards the final state of being clear.

- (81) *khang-pa 'di skyid-po chags+yongs+gis*
house this pleasant become+come+ IMPF, SENS
'This house is becoming pleasant.'
- (82) *me-tog skye+yong+gis*
flower grow+ come+ IMPF, SENS
'The flower is growing.'
- (83) *me-tog snyid+'gro+gis*
flower wither+go+IMPF, SENS
'The flower is withering.'
- (84) *ja grang+'gro+gis*
tea cold+go+IMPF, SENS
'Your tea is getting cold.'
- (85) *ca-lag rtag-par brlag+'gro+gi-red*
things always lose+go+IMPF, GNOM
'[He] keeps losing objects all the time.'
- (86) *rkang-pa chu grang-mo+r yun ring-po sbang+na*
foot water cold+LOC long time dip+if
'bir+yong+gi red
numb+come+ IMPF, GNOM
'If one puts one's legs in cold water for a long while, they become progressively/eventually numb.'
- (87) *dgun-kha slob-sbyong byas +pa de dbyar-kha+r*
winter study make (PAST)+NOM this summer+LOC
brjed+'gro+gi red
forget+go+ IMPF, GNOM
'The things I learn during the winter, I gradually forget during the summer.'
- (88) *skad-cha bshad+na khong rlung lang+'gro+gi red*
word say+if he air rise+go+IMPF, GNOM
'When you speak [to him] he always gets angry.'

7.2.4. Egophoric or heterophoric

A certain number of non-controllable verbs referring to perception or feeling do not present any intrinsic orientation (spatial, temporal or metaphoric) but are compatible with *yong* and *'gro*. With such verbs, the morphemes *yong* and *'gro*

indicate inchoative aspect in connection with the first person (*yong*) or the other persons (*'gro*).

- (89a) *nga gnyid khug+yong+gis* 'I am falling asleep.'
I fall asleep+ come+ IMPF, SENS
- (89b) *khong gnyid khug+'gro+gis* 'He is falling asleep.'
he fall asleep+go+ IMPF, SENS
- (90a) *nga 'khyag+yong+gis* 'I am getting cold.'
I freeze+come+IMPF, SENS (vs. *nga 'khyag-gis* 'I am cold.')
- (90b) *mo 'khyag+'gro+gis* 'She is getting cold.'
she freeze+come+IMPF, SENS
- (91a) *nga zhed+yong+gis* 'I am becoming afraid.'
I afraid+come+IMPF, SENS (vs. *nga zhed-gis* 'I am afraid.')
- (91b) *bu-mo chung-chung zhed+'gro+gis* 'The small girl is becoming afraid.'
girl small afraid+go+IMPF, SENS
- (92a) *nga lag-pa 'bir+yong+gis* 'My hand is becoming numb.'
I hand numb+come+IMPF, SENS (but *nga lag-pa 'bir-gis* 'My hand is numb.')
- (92b) *rdo-rje lag-pa 'bir+'gro+gis* 'Dorje's hand is becoming numb.'
Dorje hand numb+go+IMPF, SENS
- (93a) *nga tsha+yong+gis* 'I am beginning to feel an acute pain.'
I feel pain+go+IMPF, SENS (but *nga tsha+gis* 'I have an acute pain.')
- (93b) *khong tsha+'gro+gis* 'He is beginning to feel an acute pain.'
he feel pain+go+IMPF, SENS

7.2.5. Subjective or objective

This function is a variant of the previous one. Non-controllable verbs compatible with the morphemes *yong* and *'gro* do not present any intrinsic orientation and usually refer to physical dynamic processes. Here, both *yong* and *'gro* indicate inchoative aspect, but *yong* implies that the first person is concerned by the process while *'gro* does not.

- (94a) *chu khol+yong+gis*
water boil+come+IMPF, SENS
'The water is beginning to boil (and I am personally concerned).'

- (94b) *chu khol+'gro+gis*
 water boil+come+IMPF, SENS
 'The water is beginning to boil.' (Objective information)
- (95a) *grang-mo+r chags+yong+gis*
 cold+OBL get+come+IMPF, SENS
 'It is becoming cold.' (Subjective: I am personally concerned)
- (95b) *grang-mo+r chags+'gro+gis*
 cold+OBL get+go+IMPF, SENS
 'It is becoming cold.' (Objective information)

7.2.6. Allocentric future

In the grammaticalized uses covered in this and the following sections (7.2.7, 7.2.8), *yong* and *'gro* occur in the final position of the sentence, thus as final auxiliary verbs. The morpheme *yong* may be used by the speaker to guarantee that he will go and perform an action for the benefit of the hearer. In this case, it is used alone without any suffix. For obvious reasons, it can be used only in the future with controllable verbs and occurs only with the first person.

- (96) *nga+s lam-seng slebs+yong* 'I'll be right back.'
 I+ERG right away arrive+come
- (97) *nga+s ja nyos+yong* 'I am going to buy tea [for you].'
 I+ERG tea buy(PAST)+ come

Finally let us mention the case of the idiomatic expression:

- (98) *rjes-mar mjal-yong* '[I will] see you soon.'
 after meet+come

7.2.7. Imminent danger

The morpheme *yong* may also be used as a final auxiliary verb, normally with non-controllable verbs in the future, to indicate an imminent danger. It emphasizes the imminence of some undesirable event and never a positive one. As in 7.2.6, the auxiliary verb *yong* is used alone without any suffix (i.e. *shor-yong* but not **shor-yong-gired*). This function is normally used only with the 2nd or 3rd persons.

- (99) *gzab-gzab byas+na-ma-gtogs 'dred-brdab shor+yong+da*
 careful make+otherwise slip+let+ come+ FP
 'Be careful, otherwise you are going to slip.'

- (100) *sman 'di bzas+na shi+yong*
 medicine this eat+if die+come
 'If you take (*lit.* eat) this medicine, you are going to die!'

The construction cannot be used to express a positive outcome:

- (101) **sman 'di bzas+na drag+yong*
 'If you take (*lit.* eat) this medicine, you are going to be cured.'

7.2.8. High probability

As a final auxiliary verb, the morpheme *'gro* may also function as an epistemic marker indicating likelihood. In this case, it occurs mainly after the copulas *yin* or *yod*, but it may also appear with ordinary verbs.

- (102) *skad-cha shod+mkhan kho-rang yin-'gro*
 word tell+er himself is (PROB)
 'He must be the person who is talking.'

- (103) *nyal+sa+'i 'khris+su sman zhog+dang kho+s 'thung+ 'gro.*
 sleep+place+GEN near+LOC medicine put+IMP he+ERG drink+PROB
 'Put the medicine near the bed. He will certainly drink it.'

7.3. The grammaticalization of *tshar* 'finish'

7.3.1. Lexical meaning

The verb *tshar* 'finish' has a literary homologue *zin* which also functions as a verb and as an auxiliary verb. It is interesting to note that in Lhasa Tibetan, when the subject is the first person, the verb *tshar* may be used without any auxiliary.

- (104) *nga+s las-ka byas+tshar* 'I have finished working.'
 I+ERG work make(PAST)+finish
- (105) *khong+gis las-ka byas tshar-song* 'He has finished working.'
 he+ERG work make(PAST)+finish

7.3.2. Adverbial meaning 'already' linked to the terminative aspect

Classical Tibetan as well as modern standard Tibetan lack a word corresponding to English 'already' or Chinese *yǐjīng*. In order to convey this meaning, it is possible in Tibetan to use the word *snga-ma* 'before', or *da lta nas* 'from now', but the most natural way is to use the verbal auxiliary *tshar* 'finish'. This construction recalls the Spanish *acabar de* 'finish' which means 'he has just (done the verbal action)' or the Nepali construction with *sak* 'finish' to indicate 'already'.⁶⁰ When the verb is controllable, the sentence may be ambiguous, since *tshar* means 'finish' as well as 'already':

- (106) *nga+s kha-lag bzas tshar*
 I+ERG meal eat(PAST)+finish
 'I have already eaten,' or 'I have finished eating.'

Actual cases of ambiguity are quite rare, and such sentences as the following are usually unambiguous:

- (107) *de-dus nga chang-sa brgyab tshar+ba-red*
 at that time I marry(PAST) make finish+PFCT, INDIR
 'At that time, I was already married.'
- (108) *nga glog-brnyan 'di blta+gi-min mthengs-ma gnyis*
 I cinema this look+FUT time two
bltas+tshar+bzhag
 look finish+PERF, INFER
 'I am not going to see this movie, I have already seen it twice.'
- (109) *thag-pa 'di phyed-ka chad+tshar +'dug*
 rope this half cut(RES)+finish+PERF, INFER
 'The rope is already half-cut.'
- (110) *de dus khong+gi lag-khyer brlag+tshar+bzhag*
 at that time he+GEN card lose+finish+PERF, INFER
 'At that time, he had already lost his card.'
- (111) *de-ring zhogs-pa+nas lab tshar+ba-yin*
 today morning+ABL tell+finish+PERF, INFER
 'I already told [him] this morning.'

⁶⁰ Similar expressions are found in many Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal (B. Bickel, personal communication).

- (112) *rang pe-cing-la slebs tshar+yin+tsang nyi-ma kha-shas*
 you Beijing+LOC arrive+finish+AUX+since day some
ngal-gso rgyag+rgyu-yin-gi-red
 rest make+NOM+probably
 ‘You have just arrived in Beijing, so you will probably have to rest a few days.’ (Hu Tan:253)

7.3.3. Adverbial meaning: ‘completely’ linked to the terminative aspect.

Another interesting grammaticalization of *tshar* is the meaning conveyed in English by the adverb ‘completely’, or in Chinese by the adverb *wánquán*. The semantic relationship between this meaning and the lexical verb is straightforward.

- (113) *de-nas na-tsha drag tshar+bzhag*
 then disease heal+finish+PERF, INFER
 ‘And then [she] completely recovered.’
- (114) *[khong] brag-sreb nang+la lhung tshar+'dug*
 [he] rocks in+LOC fall+finish+PERF, INFER
 ‘[He] has fallen for good into the ravine onto the rocks.’ (There is no hope for him.)
- (115) *khyed-rang dngos-nas smyo tshar+'dug+gas*
 you really crazy+finish+PERF+INTER
 ‘Are you really completely crazy?’⁶¹

7.4. The grammaticalization of *bsdad* ‘stay’

7.4.1. Lexical meaning

The verb *bsdad* (past form) and its allomorph *sdod* (present) chiefly mean ‘to stay’ or ‘to sit’ or ‘to stop’. It is worth noting that *bsdad* is used in some dialects instead of *bzhag* to indicate inference. The examples below illustrate the lexical use of *bsdad*:

- (116) *nga'i chu-tshod 'khor-lo 'di bsdad+song*
 I+GEN watch this stay+PFCT, SENS
 ‘My watch has stopped.’

⁶¹ The three examples above were found in a Tibetan comic book written by Tsewang Norbu. It is interesting to compare the meaning of the verb ‘finish’ in Tibetan with the same verb in colloquial French: *C'est un idiot fini* (= *il est complètement idiot*).

- (117) *las-khungs nang+la las-ka byas bsdad+bzhag*
 office in+LOC work make stay+PERF, SENS
 'He has stayed in the office to work.'

7.4.2. Concomitant aspect linked with a resultative state

In this function, *bsdad* is frequently associated with verbs such as *sgug* 'wait', *na* 'to be sick', *nyal* 'to lie', and *lang* 'to get up', when they are used as inchoatives implying a process that leads to a resulting state. For example, *nyal* refers to a process 'to lie down' that leads to the state of 'lying'. This use of *bsdad* corresponds among others to the English adverb 'still' or the Chinese *hái zài*. For this reason it often occurs with the adverb *da-dung* 'still, yet'. The following pairs of examples illustrate the aspectual content of *bsdad*:

- (118) *mdang-dgongs nga nyal bsdad+dus char-pa chen-po babs+song*
 yesterday I lie stay+when rain big fall+PFCT, SENS
 'Yesterday, when I was lying in bed, there was a heavy rain.'
- (119) *mdang-dgongs nga nyal+dus char-pa chen-po babs+song*
 last night I lie+when rain big fall+PFCT, SENS
 'Last night, when I lay down [went to bed], there was a heavy rain.'
- (120) *khong chu-tshod gnyis sgug+pa-red*
 he hour two wait+PFCT, SENS
 'He waited for two hours.'
- (121) *khong da-lt bar-d sgug bsdad+bzhag*
 he now until wait stay+PERF, INFER
 'He has been waiting until now.' (He is still waiting.)
- (122) *bkra-shis na+bzhag*
 Tashi be ill+PERF, INFER
 'Tashi has fallen ill.'
- (123) *bkra shis (da dung) na bsdad+bzhag*
 Tashi be ill stay+PERF, INFER
 'Tashi is still ill.'
- (124) *chu tshod bcu-pa zin -yod tsang slebs bsdad+yod-red*
 hour tenth exist because arrive stay+PERF, INDIR
 'It is already ten o'clock, so he has arrived there (and is still there).'
- (125) *mo yar lang+bzhag*
 she stand up+PERF, INFER
 'She has got up.'

(126) *mo yar lang-bsdad+bzhag*
 'She is still standing.'

(127) *pha-gir slebs+dus bdud-mo mang-po lchang-sdong*
 there arrive+when demon many willow
'og+la tshogs bsdad+yod-red
 under+LOC gather stay+PERF, INDIR

'When he arrived there, a great number of demons were having a meeting (lit. had gathered) under a willow tree.' (Goldstein, 1970:172)

In rare cases, *bsdad* conveys the adversative meaning of 'yet' and implies that the action is performed contrary to the speaker's expectation or advice:

(128) *nga+s khong+la ma 'gro lab+pa yin+te khong*
 I+ERG he+DAT NEG go tell+PFCT+but he
phyin bsdad+pa-red
 went stay+PFCT, INDIR
 'I told him not to go, but he went there anyway.'

7.4.3. Progressive aspect

The morpheme *bsdad* sometimes occurs with active verbs⁶² in a subordinate clause to emphasize the continuous character of the process. In the examples below, the sentence with *bsdad* underlines the continuous nature of the process, while the sentence without it only indicates the imperfective aspect.

(129) *kha-sang khrom+nas ca-lag nyos bsdad dus nga+i*
 yesterday market+ABL things buy stay when I+GEN
par-chas brlag+song
 camera lose+PFCT, SENS
 'Yesterday, as I was buying things at the market, I got my camera stolen.'

(130) *kha-sang khrom+nas ca-lag nyo dus nga+i par-chas*
 yesterday market+ABL things buy when I+GEN camera
brlag+song
 lose+ PFCT, SENS

'Yesterday, when I bought things in the market, I got my camera stolen.'

The use of 'stay' as progressive marker occurs already in Classical Tibetan, as we can see in the following example:

⁶² The verb occurs normally in the past form.

- (131) *snying-rje tshad med-pa zhig skyes+nas*
 compassion measure without one grow+CO
bltas+bsdad+pa+s kho+s brang+la lag-pa+s
 watch(PAST)+stay(PAST)+NOM+CO he+ERG chest+OBL hand+INST
brdung+gi 'dug
 beat+IMPF

'And moved by an infinite compassion, I was watching him (*lit.* stayed watching him). He was beating his chest.' (Sixth Dalai Lama *Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho gsang-ba'i rnam-thar*: 40)

7.5. Some remarks about inchoative and progressive markers

It is interesting to note that we find in Tibetan a clear confirmation of the incompatibility between progressive aspect and stative verbs also observed in English (**She is loving him.*) or in French (**Il est en train d'être assis.*). In Tibetan, *shi* 'die' refers to a state rather than a process and in this sense is comparable to stative verbs such as *'khyag* 'be cold'. Thus the inchoative marker *'gro/yong* is normally used to say '[he] is dying' (*lit.* 'he is becoming dead'). For example:

- (132) *zhi-mi shi+'gro-gi* 'The cat is dying.'
 cat die go+IMPF, SENS
 But: ? *zhi-mi shi+gi.*

In French, English or Russian, however, the dynamic nature of the verb allows the use of the progressive (or the neutral imperfective) marker: *Le chat est en train de mourir, the cat is dying, kot umiraet.*

In Chinese, just as in Tibetan, a verb such as *sǐ* 'die' clearly refers to a state so that the progressive marker *zhèng* or *zhèng zai* cannot occur. But contrary to Tibetan, the process leading to the state is not taken into consideration. So that in Chinese, no inchoative marker is available and the speaker has to use a prospective or future construction:

- (133) *māo kuài yào sǐ+le* 'The cat will die soon.' But **māo zhèngzai sǐ.*
 cat soon FUT die+CS

The existence of inchoative markers *'gro/yong* which are compatible *only* with non-volitional verbs confirms the very important status of volitionality in Tibetan. It is grammaticalized by many devices: verb classes, final verbal auxiliaries, case marking (ergative), and inchoative markers.

8. CONCLUSION

We have seen that the polygrammaticalization of verbs as final auxiliary verbs is an essential feature of the Tibetan verbal system. The emergence of evidential and egophoric marking in the modern dialects is also a very peculiar phenomenon. Explaining precisely how motion or stative verbs became evidentials and egophoric markers is not an easy task, but the existence of many dialects as well as a rich literature may help to understand the cognitive mechanisms underlying the grammaticalization of evidentiality. A systematic comparison of the auxiliary verbs of written Tibetan and the dialects will shed some light on their morphogenesis.

In this paper, we have presented the main characteristics of the indicative mood. The various epistemic markers indicating probability remain to be studied at a later time. These morphemes not only occur in the same syntactic position but they are usually formed of the same auxiliary verbs in specific combinations such as *pa-'dug*, *pa-yod*, *gi-yin-gyi-red*, *gi-yod-kyi-red*, *gi-min-'gro*, *pa-'dra*, etc.

The aspectual functions of the “secondary” verbs (such as *'gro*, *yong*, *tshar*, *bsdad*) have so far been given little attention and are not normally mentioned in Tibetan grammars, textbooks or articles because the rich and complex “tamologic” system⁶³ (for example, the relationship between volitional and epistemic modalities and aspects) has not been systematically studied. As a consequence, we often fail to elucidate the original functions of the verbal system which convey not only “exotic” information about evidentiality or aspect but also express meanings that in many other languages are marked by adverbs or particles such as ‘already’ or ‘completely’.

Finally, the study of auxiliary verbs is important for the characterization of the literary styles of the Land of Snows.

⁶³ “Tamologic” and “tamology” are formed on the cluster concept of T.A.M. (for Tense-Aspect-Mood) and refer to the study of the interrelations and interferences among tense, aspect and mood. (See Tournadre 1995).

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