VERBAL CATEGORIES OF SHIGATSE TIBETAN
AND THEMCHEN TIBETAN

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1. INTRODUCTION

In the present paper I would like to give a tentative and condensed overview of the verbal categories of the dialects of Shigatse (Central Tibet) and Themchen (Amdo).

Both dialects possess three verbal categories, namely control, volitionality and evidentiality. Control is lexicalised in the stem of the verb. Volitionality and evidentiality are normally expressed through certain auxiliary verbs and morphemes or combinations thereof.

2. CONTROL

A verb that describes an event that can be controlled by an agent is termed 'controllable', one that describes an event that cannot is termed 'non-
controllable'. One of the main differences between controllable and non-controllable verbs is that only controllable verbs have an imperative stem.

A number of controllable verbs have etymologically related non-controllable counterparts. For example:⁶

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shigatse</th>
<th>Themchen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tcà, imperative tcðà</td>
<td>çteöχ, ptcaχ, tc'böχ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tc'bà</td>
<td>ptc'aχ, tc'bαχ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. VOLITIONALITY⁷

A verb is marked 'volitional' if the event that it describes takes place with the intention of the speaker, and as 'non-volitional' if it does not. Tables 1a and 1b show the grammatical elements that express volitionality (see the following section for the differentiation of the two forms in the column with the non-volitional elements):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Volitional</th>
<th>Non-volitional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective</td>
<td>-kiβε</td>
<td>-kl, -kiβοαιpie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective I</td>
<td>-jøε</td>
<td>-ne, -joαιpie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective II</td>
<td>-pají</td>
<td>-so/-tcu, -papie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-ciβí</td>
<td>-, -ciβípie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1a. Volitionality in Shigatse Tibetan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Volitional</th>
<th>Non-volitional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective a</td>
<td>-γεο/-κεο</td>
<td>-γεοκα/-κεοκα, -γεοζαζ/-κεοζαζ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective b</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-γα/-κα, -ζαζ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective Ia</td>
<td>-jo</td>
<td>-jοκα, -jοζαζ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective Ib</td>
<td>-næjan</td>
<td>-nærc, -næjanζαζ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective II</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-t'a, -ζαζ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-dzæjan</td>
<td>-dzærc, -dzæjanζαζ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1b. Volitionality in Themchen Tibetan.

⁶ The stems of the verb, if different, are given in the order imperfective, perfective, and imperative.
⁷ For this term and the terms 'volitional' and 'non-volitional' see DeLancey 1985, 66ff. In DeLancey (e.g. 1986, 206) the terms 'volitional' and 'nonvolitional' are used in the sense of what is called 'controllable' and 'non-controllable' in the present paper.
Controllable verbs may be marked either 'volitional' or 'non-volitional', since an event they describe may or may not take place with the intention of the speaker. Non-controllable verbs are, with rare exceptions (cf. ex. 18-21), marked 'non-volitional' because an event described by them normally takes place without the intention of the speaker. For example:

(1) a. **sê** 'to make' < Written Tibetan **bzos**
   \( \rightarrow \) **niê** \( \rightarrow \) **tc'a** \( \rightarrow \) **sê-waji**.
   \( I_{\text{ERG}} \) \( \rightarrow \) **tea** \( \rightarrow \) **make.PFV-VOL.EVID**
   'I made tea.'
   **-waji** is a form of **-paji**.

b. **sta**, **fôti**, **sti** 'to watch', 'to read' < Written Tibetan **lta**
   \( \rightarrow \) **ni** \( \rightarrow \) **χwetc'a** \( \rightarrow \) **fête**.
   \( I_{\text{ERG}} \) \( \rightarrow \) **book (DAT)** \( \rightarrow \) **read.PFV-VOL.EVID**
   'I read a book.'
   **fête** < **fôti** + **-a**.

(2) a. **tse**, **tšiê**, **tšê** 'to give' < Written Tibetan **sprod**
   \( \rightarrow \) **niê** \( \rightarrow \) **kêô** \( \rightarrow \) **kêôlâ** \( \rightarrow \) **tšiê-ne!**
   \( I_{\text{ERG}} \) \( \rightarrow \) **it** \( \rightarrow \) **be:DAT** \( \rightarrow \) **give.PFV-NVOL.EVID**
   'I have mistakenly given it to him!'

b. no imperfective, **fçon**, **çon** 'to give' < Written Tibetan **byin**
   \( \rightarrow \) **ni** \( \rightarrow \) **gêtc'bêc-i** \( \rightarrow \) **fçon-tan-nôre!**
   \( [I:\text{ERG}] \) \( \rightarrow \) **err.PFV-MAN** \( \rightarrow \) **give.PFV-AUX-NVOL.EVID**
   'I have mistakenly given (it) away!'

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8 Examples (a) are from Shigatse, examples (b) are from Themchen. The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

- **ABL**: ablative
- **AUX**: auxiliary
- **COND**: conditional
- **DAT**: dative
- **DEF**: definite
- **ERG**: ergative
- **EVID**: evidential
- **FOC**: focus
- **GEN**: genitive
- **IMP**: imperative
- **INDEF**: indefinite
- **IPFV**: imperfective
- **LOC**: locative
- **MAN**: manner
- **NEG**: negative
- **NEVID**: non-evidential
- **NR**: nominalizer
- **NVOL**: non-volitional
- **PFV**: perfective
- **TEMP**: temporal
- **VOL**: volitional

Following Sun (1993:963) AUX is used to gloss the morpheme -**tan** of Themchen Tibetan. FOC glosses the morpheme -**jie** of Shigatse Tibetan. In the interest of economy, a category that is always expressed by zero, e.g. the absolutive case, is not shown in the morphemic gloss. The tonemes of Shigatse Tibetan are indicated by the following tone marks: â (high level), å (high falling), a (low level), â (low falling).
a. tđa 'to be hungry' < Written Tibetan lto gs  
   ṇa  tđa-tču.  
   l be.hungry.PFV-NVOL.EVID  
   'I was hungry.'

b. kʰu 'to be ill', 'to be in pain' < Written Tibetan khol  
   ṇa  kʰu-tʰa.  
   l be.ill.PFV-NVOL.EVID  
   'I was ill.'

4. EVIDENTIALITY

A verb is marked 'evidential' if the event that it describes is perceived directly by the speaker, and as 'non-evidential' if it is not (cf. DeLancey 1985, 1986; Sun 1993). Tables 2a and 2b show the grammatical elements that express volitionality and evidentiality:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Volitional</th>
<th>Non-volitional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evidential</td>
<td>Evidential</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>-kɪjɛ</th>
<th>-kɪ</th>
<th>-kɪjoapie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective I</td>
<td>-jœ</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>-joapie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective II</td>
<td>-pajɪ</td>
<td>-so/-tču</td>
<td>-papie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-cɪjɪ</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-cɪpie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2a. Volitionality and evidentiality in Shigatse Tibetan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Volitional</th>
<th>Non-volitional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evidential</td>
<td>Evidential</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfective a</th>
<th>-γæjo/-kəjo</th>
<th>-γæjɔkə</th>
<th>-γæjɔzæɡ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective b</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-γæ/-kæ</td>
<td>-zæɡ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective Ia</td>
<td>-jo</td>
<td>-jøkə</td>
<td>-jøzæɡ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective Ib</td>
<td>-næjɛn</td>
<td>-nære</td>
<td>-næjɛnzæɡ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective II</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-tʰa</td>
<td>-zæɡ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-dzæjɛn</td>
<td>-dzære</td>
<td>-dzæjɛnzæɡ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2b. Volitionality and evidentiality in Themchen Tibetan.

If a verb is marked 'volitional' it is always marked 'evidential' too, since an event that takes place with the intention of the speaker must also be perceived directly by him.
A verb marked 'non-volitional' may be marked secondarily as either 'evidential' or 'non-evidential', because an event that takes place without the intention of the speaker may or may not be perceived directly by him.

With the encoding of a verb as 'volitional' and 'evidential' the speaker may also show his certainty about, or well-acquaintedness with, a certain event, or his strong desire that a certain state be effected. Verbs marked 'non-volitional' and 'non-evidential' may also express a mere assumption of the speaker.

The perception of a future event described with a verb encoded as 'volitional' and 'evidential' is of course limited to the perception of the intention of the speaker to perform the action. If a future event is related with a verb marked as 'non-volitional', and 'evidential' or 'non-evidential', the speaker expresses assumptions with differing degrees of certainty.

Category marking is not affected by the change of direct into indirect discourse. The three subcategories, i.e. volitional/evidential, non-volitional/evidential, and non-volitional/non-evidential, or the grammatical elements expressing them, are not connected with any particular semantic role. In the following, the possible combinations of category marking will be illustrated:

- A controllable verb marked 'volitional' and 'evidential' with the speaker as agent:

(4) a. \(tc\text{ê}c\), \(tc\text{ê}i\), \(tc\text{ê}l\) 'to do' < Written Tibetan byed  
\(\text{niê}\quad \text{liekâ} \quad \text{te:\text{ê}i\text{-}je}\).  
\(1\text{\text{-ERG}}\quad \text{work} \quad \text{do.PFV\text{-}VOL\text{-}EVID}\)  
'I have worked.'

b. no imperfective, \(bdal, rdol\) 'to stay' < Written Tibetan bsdad  
\(\text{na} \quad \text{sola\text{-}na} \quad \text{bdal\text{-}jo}\).  
\(1\text{\text{-Xining\text{-}LOC}} \quad \text{stay.PFV\text{-}VOL\text{-}EVID}\)  
'I have settled down in Xining.'

See also ex. (1).

- A controllable verb marked 'volitional' and 'evidential' with the non-speaker as agent:

(5) a. \(ny\) 'to cry' < Written Tibetan nus  
\(p\text{\text{-}i\text{\text{-}sā\text{-}ni} \quad ts\text{\text{-}bē\text{-}nā} \quad ny\text{-}kī\text{-}je}\).  
\([\text{child}\text{-DEF} \quad \text{be\text{-}afraid.PFV\text{-}COND} \quad \text{cry.IPFV\text{-}VOL\text{-}EVID}\)  
'If this child becomes afraid, it cries.' (The speaker is well-acquainted with this fact.)
b. นัง only imperfective 'to go' < Written Tibetan 'gro'  


ิ่ง คือ ดอก ตอตุ่า นัง-ย่าจ่อ.  
I:GEN boy school (DAT) go.IPFV-VOL.EVID  
'My son goes to school.' (The speaker is well-acquainted with this fact.)

(6) a. ย่าง, no imperative 'to come' < Written Tibetan ย่อง  


ย่าง-กิจเจ.  
come.IPFV-VOL.EVID  
'Many guests come here in summer.' (The speaker is well-acquainted with this fact.)

b. ที่ 'to do' < Written Tibetan lassen  


ที่ arđżi ร ger-กรณ-ย่า ฟcawa  
I:GEN father:ERG teacher:GEN work  
ที่-ย่าจ่อ.  
do.IPFV-VOL.EVID  
'My father is a teacher.' (The speaker is well-acquainted with this fact.)

• A controllable verb marked 'non-volitional' and 'evidential' with the speaker as agent:

(7) a. ตso only imperfective 'to go' < Written Tibetan 'gro'  


ิ่ง มั ตso-กิ!  
I:ERG downwards go.IPFV-NVOL.EVID  
'I am mistakenly going downwards!' (The speaker, returning from the market, meets a friend on his way home. After a lively chat he mistakenly takes the way down to the market again, instead of returning to his home which is situated in the upper part of the valley.)

b. นิ นปกครอง-อิ, มารา นัง-ย่าจ่อ!  
[1:ERG err.PFV-MAN] downwards go.IPFV-NVOL.EVID  
'Idem.'  
See ex. (5b) for this verb. -ย่าจ่อ is a contracted form of -ย่าจoko.

(8) a. นิ่ง นุ-นิ ร่า-ลา ตso-กิ!  
I:ERG money-DEF you-DAT give.IPFV-NVOL.EVID  
'I am mistakenly giving you the money!' (The speaker just discovers that he is giving a present to the wrong person.)  
See ex. (2a) for this verb.
Verbal Categories of Shigatse Tibetan and Themchen Tibetan

b. nītum 'to drink' < Written Tibetan 'thun'
   nī     ptoč-i,   stamdzon-γc   tca
   [I:ERG  err.PFV-MAN] Tamdrin-GEN tea
   nītum-γejoka!
   drink.PFV-NVOL.EVID
   'I am mistakenly drinking Tamdrin's tea!' (The speaker just discovers that he is drinking his friend's tea, of which there is still some left in the cup, and not his own.)

(9) a. sa, sie, so 'to eat' < Written Tibetan za
   niè     rā-ki   pa-ko   sie-so!
   I:ERG  you-GEN pa-DEF eat.PFV-NVOL.EVID
   'I mistakenly ate your pa (balls made out of tsampa with liquids and sometimes other ingredients added)!' (The speaker just discovers that the pa he had just eaten was his friend's, and not his own.)

(10) a. sie, imperative sè 'to kill' < Written Tibetan bsad
   tāngkò   ni:lā-la   niè   mi-tci
   last.night dream-DAT I:ERG man-INDEF
   sie-ki!
   kill.PFV-NVOL.EVID
   'I killed somebody in my dream last night!' See also ex. (2).

• A controllable verb marked 'non-volitional' and 'evidential' with the non-speaker as agent:

(11) a. tīr 'to give' < Written Tibetan ster
   kūè     nālā   tʻep-tci   tīr-tcu.
   he:ERG I:DAT book-INDEF give.PFV-NVOL.EVID
   'He gave me a book.'

b. mba!l, wöl, wöl 'to go away' < Written Tibetan 'bud
   kʰorje   wöl-tʼa.
   he go.away.PFV-NVOL.EVID
   'He went away.'

(12) a. tca!, imperative teda 'to break' < Written Tibetan bcag
   tāmstš-i-kì  kúcà   tca-so.
   Tamdrin-ERG chair break.PFV-NVOL.EVID
   'Tamdrin broke a chair.'

b. čtcox, ptcax, tˈoʃ 'to break' < Written Tibetan gcog
   stamdzon-γc   uŋstcaχ   ptcax-tan-tʼa.
   Tamdrin-ERG chair break.PFV-AUX-NVOL.EVID
   'idem.'
(13) a. Ľaŋ, imperative lòn 'to stand up' < Written Tibetan lâns
tâmśū jà Ľaŋ-so.
Tamdrin upwards stand.up.PFV-NVOL.EVID
'Tamdrin stood up.'

b. laŋ, imperative luŋ 'to stand up' < Written Tibetan lâns
štamdzōn jara laŋ-taŋ-t'a.
Tamdrin upwards stand.up.PFV-AUX-NVOL.EVID
'idem.'

• A controllable verb marked 'non-volitional' and 'non-evidential' with the speaker as agent:

(14) a. kōtyŋ ŋa pā:tšē liéka tč'e:-kîjoapie.
at.that.time I probably work do.PFV-NVOL.NEVID
'I was probably working at that time.' (A visitor tells the
speaker that he wanted to visit him some time ago and found
the door of his house open, but nobody around. The speaker
responds with this sentence, implying that he must have been
working at that time in a part of the house where he could not
hear the visitor.)
See ex. (4a) for this verb.

b. no, ni, nj 'to buy' < Written Tibetan ūno
nī hazça ni-taŋ-zač!
I:erg pork buy.PFV-AUX-NVOL.NEVID
'I mistakenly bought pork!' (The speaker found out only after he
had returned home.)

I:erg probably cup-DEF-FOC break.PFV-NVOL.NEVID
'I must have broken the cup, too.' (The speaker threw over
a table with a number of things on it in a state of drunkenness,
and a member of his family cleaned up everything afterwards.
When he returns the next day, looking for a particular cup, he
cannot find it and thus makes this statement.)
See ex. (12a) for this verb. -wapie is a form of -papie.

b. ni tč'u tča ŋt'ūŋ-taŋ-zač!
I:erg you:gen tea drink.PFV-AUX-NVOL.NEVID
'I mistakenly drank your tea!' (The speaker just discovers that he
has drunk his friend's tea, of which nothing is left in the cup, and
not his own.)
See ex. (8b) for this verb.
A controllable verb marked 'non-volitional' and 'non-evidential' with the non-speaker as agent:

(16) a. \[\text{tšāc\_liṅkā tṣe\_kiṅiapie.}\]
Tashi work do.IPFV-NVOL.NEV
'Tashi must be working.' (The speaker infers this on the basis of noise coming out of his workshop.)
See ex. (4a) for this verb.

b. \[\text{γdzonma\_yc \text{xwet\_a-te \text{ḥti\_n}\text{o}nzač.}\]
Drolma-ERG book-DEF:DAT read.IPFV-NVOL.NEV
'Apparently Drolma has read this book.' (She knows it's contents.)
See ex. (1b) for this verb.

A non-controllable verb marked 'volitional' and 'evidential' with the speaker as patient:

(17) a. \[\text{kō\_to boil\_} < \text{Written Tibetan skol}\]
\[\text{tṣa\_ni pātse piemē kō\_lapie.}\]
tea-DEF probably Pema:ERG boil.IPFV-NVOL.NEV
'Pema probably made this tea.' (The speaker finds a pot of freshly-made tea in the kitchen and, since the person who usually makes tea is Pema, makes this statement.)
-lapie is a form of -papie.

b. \[\text{ṣtamdzon\_yc tṣaŋ tṣuŋ-zac.}\]
Tamdrin-ERG beer drink.IPFV-NVOL.NEV
'Apparently Tamdrin (habitually) drinks beer.' (There are a lot of bottles in his room.)
See ex. (8b) for this verb.

(18) a. \[\text{cīr \_to die\_} < \text{Written Tibetan \text{s}i}\]
\[\text{nā cīr-cījī.}\]
I die.IPFV-VOL.EVID
'I want to die!'

b. \[\text{ṣe \_to die\_} < \text{Written Tibetan \text{s}i}\]
\[\text{nā cē-dzajen.}\]
I die.IPFV-VOL.EVID
'idem.'

(19) a. \[\text{nar \_to be ill\_} < \text{Written Tibetan na}\]
\[\text{nā ni siē-nā, nar-kījō.}\]
I [this eat.IPFV-COND] be.ILL.IPFV-VOL.EVID
'I get ill when I eat this.' (The speaker is well-acquainted with this fact.)
A non-controllable verb marked 'volitional' and 'evidential' with the non-speaker as patient:

(20) a.  
\[
\text{tö} \text{é} \ '\text{to appear}' < \text{Written Tibetan don} \\
\text{ölo} \quad \text{tsäluma} \quad \text{się-ná,} \quad \text{ṣukpō-la} \\
\text{[child:erg} \quad \text{orange} \quad \text{eat.PFV-COND}] \quad \text{body-DAT} \\
pūru \quad \text{tö-kìjé.} \\
\text{pimple} \quad \text{appear.IPVF-VOL.EVID} \\
'\text{If (my) child eats oranges, it gets pimples.' (The speaker is well-acquainted with this allergic reaction.)} \\
\]

b.  
\[
\text{štamdzan} \quad \text{khu-yonejen.} \\
\text{Tamdrin be.ill.IPVF-VOL.EVID} \\
'Tamdrin is ill.' (The speaker visited Tamdrin the day before when he reported having a severe headache.) \\
\text{See ex. (3b) for this verb. -yonejen is a form equivalent to -yejo.} \\
\]

(21) a.  
\[
\text{ŋo.če} \ '\text{to be acquainted with}' < \text{Written Tibetan no ses} \\
\text{ŋi} \quad \text{kō} \quad \text{ŋo.če-kìjé.} \\
\text{I:erg} \quad \text{he be.acquainted.with.IPVF-VOL.EVID} \\
'I know him.' (He is an old acquaintance of mine.) \\
\]

b.  
\[
\text{bdzel} \ '\text{to forget'} < \text{Written Tibetan brjed} \\
\text{ŋi} \quad \text{χwetca} \quad \text{sta-dzu} \quad \text{mø-bdzel!} \\
\text{I:erg} \quad \text{[book (DAT) read.IPVF-NR]} \quad \text{VOL.EVID.NEG-forget.IPVF} \\
'I won't forget to study!' \\
\text{mø-} \text{is the negated form of -a.} \\
\]

A non-controllable verb marked 'non-volitional' and 'evidential' with the speaker as patient:

(22) a.  
\[
\text{taŋ} \ '\text{to feel cold'} < \text{Written Tibetan grań} \\
\text{ŋa} \quad \text{taŋ-ki.} \\
\text{I feel.cold.IPVF-NVOL.EVID} \\
'I feel cold.' \\
\]

b.  
\[
\text{rgi} \ '\text{to age'} < \text{Written Tibetan rgas} \\
\text{tečo} \quad \text{phi-na,} \quad \text{ŋa} \quad \text{rgi-joko.} \\
\text{[you (DAT) watch.PFV-COND]} \text{I age.PFV-NVOL.EVID} \\
'I look older than you.' \\
\]

See also ex. (3).

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\footnote{In ex. (21) 'T' is interpreted as experiencer.}
• A non-controllable verb marked 'non-volitional' and 'evidential' with the non-speaker as patient:

(23) a. **pʰak** 'to fall' < Written Tibetan **bab**
   *kʰaŋ* **pʰak-ki.**
   *snow* fall.IPVV-NVOL.EVID
   'It is snowing.'

b. **mpʰox, hoχ** 'to get hit' < Written Tibetan **'phog**
   *mørge* **tcʰampa** **hoχ-jokɔ.**
   *she (DAT)* cold get.hit.IPVV-NVOL.EVID
   'She has a cold.'

(24) a. **tcʰa** 'to be broken' < Written Tibetan **'chag**
   *ŋiːɛ* **kɑːːjɛ** **tcʰa-so.**
   *I:GEN* cup be.broken.IPVV-NVOL.EVID
   'My cup got broken.'

b. **ntcʰaχ, tcʰaχ** 'to be broken' < Written Tibetan **'chag**
   *ŋo* **karu** **tcʰaχ-tʰa.**
   *I:GEN* cup be.broken.IPVV-NVOL.EVID
   'idem.'

• A non-controllable verb marked 'non-volitional' and 'non-evidential' with the speaker as patient:

(25) a. **ceː** 'to fall down' < Written Tibetan **'gyel**
   *ŋa* **pʰɑːːtcʰɛ** **tɑŋkɔ** ɪː:-ki
   *I* probably yesterday.evening beer-ERG
   *sir-tɔ, ceː-lapie.*
   get.drunk.IPVV-TEMP fall.down.IPVV-NVOL.NEVID
   'I must have fallen down yesterday evening while I was drunk.'
   (The speaker infers this on the basis of dust on his clothes.)
   -lapie is a form of -papie.

(26) a. **tʰa** **ŋa** cɪr-cɪpie.
   *now* *I* die.IPVV-NVOL.NEVID
   'Now I will (surely) die.' (The speaker is seriously ill.)
   See ex. (18a) for this verb.

• A non-controllable verb marked 'non-volitional' and 'non-evidential' with the non-speaker as patient:

(27) a. **nl.τʃʰor** 'to be sleepy' < Written Tibetan **gñid** **bro**
   *ölö* **nl.τʃʰor-kiʃoapie.**
   *child* be.sleepy.IPVV-NVOL.NEVID
   'The child seems to be sleepy.' (It leans back and closes its eyes.)
b. **ydgsonma**
   Drolma be.ill.PFV-NVOL.NEVID
   'Apparently Drolma is ill.' (She has not come to school.)
   See ex. (3b) for this verb.

(28) b. **je, ji** 'to do, with **ganloq** to talk in one's sleep' < Written Tibetan byed
   \[ \text{ni} \quad \text{ndo} \quad \text{ganloq} \quad \text{ji-zoq}. \]
   \[ \text{Erg} \quad \text{last night} \quad \text{sleep talk} \quad \text{do PFV-NVOL.NEVID} \]
   'I talked in my sleep last night.' (The speaker's roommate told him so.)

(29) a. **lie** 'to be left behind' < Written Tibetan las
   \[ \text{ole} \quad \text{camo-ko} \quad \text{piemi} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{na} \]
   \[ \text{child:GEN} \quad \text{hat:DEF} \quad \text{Pema:GEN} \quad \text{home:LOC} \]
   **lie-joapie.**
   be.left.behind.PFV-NVOL.NEVID
   '(We) must have left the child's hat behind in Pema's home.'

b. **bdzax** 'to be full' < Written Tibetan brgyags
   **ydgsonma**
   Drolma be.full.PFV-NVOL.NEVID
   'Drolma must be full.' (She has gone away leaving her plate half full.)

5. AUXILIARY VERBS

The auxiliary verbs expressing being and existence/possession/being display a similar system. Tables 3a and 3b show the auxiliary verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volitional</th>
<th>Non-volitional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evidential</td>
<td>Evidential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to be'</td>
<td>ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to exist',</td>
<td>jè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to have';</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to be'</td>
<td>jan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to exist',</td>
<td>jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to have'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3a. Auxiliary verbs in Shigatse Tibetan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volitional</th>
<th>Non-volitional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evidential</td>
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<td>'to be'</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to exist',</td>
<td>jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to have'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3b. Auxiliary verbs in Themchen Tibetan.

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10 In ex. (28b) 'I' is interpreted as experiencer.
A volitional and evidential auxiliary verb with the speaker as subject:

(30) a. та тšбŋпа ји.
I trader be.VOL.EVID
'I am a trader.' (The speaker chose this profession.)

b. ња тšбŋва јон.
I trader be.VOL.EVID
'I am a trader.'

A volitional and evidential auxiliary verb with the non-speaker as subject:

(31) a. ња тšб אנחנו је.
I market-LOC exist.VOL.EVID
'I (work) in the market.'

b. ња тšбурə нанна јо.
I market:GEN in exist.VOL.EVID
'idem.'

A non-volitional and evidential auxiliary verb with the speaker as subject:

(32) a. лиěкā-ни къө ји.
work-DEF he:GEN be.VOL.EVID
'This is his work.' (The speaker assigns the work.)

b. чwетчa-ndo с"ома-зəч јон.
book-DEF new-INDEF be.VOL.EVID
'This book is new.' (It belongs to the speaker.)

(33) a. рā-ки ци њи спа-нла је.
you-GEN dog 1:GEN home-DAT exist.VOL.EVID
'Your dog is in my house.' (The speaker let it into his house.)

b. тс'у тс'ө нєк'е-на јо.
you:GEN dog my.home-LOC exist.VOL.EVID
'idem.'

(34) a. ња ʀатā-jie лāпšа піє!
I now-FOC student be.NVOL
'I am still a student!' (The speaker does not want to be a student any more.)

(35) a. ња кпό-lie тс'еа нұ.
I he-ABL bigger be.NVOL.EVID
'I am taller than him.'
• A non-volitional and evidential auxiliary verb with the non-speaker as subject:

(36) a. \(p'umō-ti\)  \(piēmiē\)  \(qamā\)  \(piē\).
    girl-DEF  Pema:GEN  younger.sister  be.NVOL
    'This girl is Pema's younger sister.' (The speaker knows her.)

b. \(χwetc'a-ndo\)  \(s'oma-zoč\)  \(re\).
    book-DEF  new-INDEF  be.NVOL.EVID
    'This book is new.' (It does not belong to the speaker.)

(37) a.\(^{11}\) \(ŋalā\)  \(ŋū\):
    I:DAT  money  exist.NVOL.EVID
    'I have money!' (The speaker just discovers money in his pocket.)

b. \(ŋa\)  \(blo-zoč\)  \(jokə\).
    I(DAT)  idea-INDEF  exist.NVOL.EVID
    'I have an idea!'

(38) a. \(k'ūlā\)  \(cī\)  \(nākpō-tci\)  \(nū\).
    he:DAT  dog  black-INDEF  exist.NVOL.EVID
    'He has a black dog.'

b. \(tč'u\)  \(tč'ō\)  \(nek'e-na\)  \(jokə\).
    you:GEN  dog  my.home-LOC  exist.NVOL.EVID
    'Your dog is in my house.' (It came by itself.)

• A non-volitional and non-evidential auxiliary verb with the speaker as subject:

(39) a. \(ŋa\)  \(k'oty\)  \(p'ā:tcē\)  \(tēŋkā:-na\)  \(jāpie\).
    I  at.that.time  probably  loft-LOC  exist.NVOL.NEVID
    'I was probably in the loft at that time.' (A visitor tells the speaker that he had wanted to visit him some time ago and found the door of his house open, but nobody around. The speaker responds with this sentence, implying that he must have been in the loft where he could not hear the visitor.)

• A non-volitional and non-evidential auxiliary verb with the non-speaker as subject:

(40) a. \(p'umō-ti\)  \(k'ā:tc'iēniē\)  \(piēmiē\)  \(qamā\)  \(piē\).
    girl-DEF  probably  Pema:GEN  younger.sister  be.NVOL
    'This girl is probably Pema's younger sister.' (She looks like Pema.)

\(^{11}\) In ex. (37) 'I' is interpreted as benefactive/recipient.
b. **bđestäl-kö**  **χweteśa-tö**  **ptsaja-zoč**  **jožoč.**  
Dekyi-GEN  book-DEF  excellent-INDEF  be.NVOL.NEVID  
'Dekyi's book must be excellent.' (She has lost it and is upset  
because of that.)

(41) b.\textsuperscript{12} **ŋa**  **morgo**  **jožoč.**  
I (DAT)  female.attractivity  exist.NVOL.NEVID  
'I must be attractive.' (Many men court the speaker.)

(42) a. **kšö**  **tsšöm-na**  **jəapie.**  
he  market-LOC  exist.NVOL.NEVID  
'He probably (works) in the market.'

b. **kšerge**  **tšunftö**  **naṇṇa**  **jožoč.**  
he  market:GEN  in  exist.NVOL.NEVID  
'idem.'

\textsuperscript{12} In ex. (41b) T is interpreted as benefactive/recipient.
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