VERBAL CATEGORIES OF SHIGATSE TIBETAN AND THEMCHEN TIBETAN

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1. INTRODUCTION[1]

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)[2] and Themchen (Amdo)[3].

Both dialects possess three verbal categories, namely control, volitionality and evidentiality.[4] 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[5]

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-

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[1] I would like to express my thanks to Roland Bielmeier for valuable corrections and comments.

[2] Shigatse (written Tibetan: **Gźis ka rtse**) is the second largest town in Central Tibet (now Tibet Autonomous Region). The Shigatse materials are mainly from my Ph.D. thesis *Dialekt und Erzaehlungen von Shigatse* (Dialect and Folktales from Shigatse) given here in a slightly modified transcription. My informant is my wife Chungda (**Chuṅ bdag**). To some examples taken from my Ph.D. thesis I have, where I considered it helpful, added further explanations in parentheses.

[3] Themchen (written Tibetan: **Them chen**, Chinese: Tianjun 天峻) is a pastoral area north-west of the Blue Lake in Amdo (now Qinghai province, Haixi prefecture). The Themchen materials are from my grammar *Dialekt und Erzaehlungen von Themchen* (Dialect and Folktales from Themchen). My informant is Ms. **Bde skyid sgrol ma**, a student aged about 20 years at the time of the recording. My second informant is Mr. **Yoṅ bha**, with whom the more uncommon examples have been rechecked. A part of the Themchen materials given here formed part of my paper "Volitionality and Evidentiality in Themchen Tibetan," presented at the third project meeting of the European Cooperation Project on Himalayan Languages at the South Asia Institute in Heidelberg on 4th June 1998.

[4] In this paper I employ the same general theoretical framework as in my Ph.D. thesis, with the exception of the verbal category 'transitivity' which I used there to differentiate transitive and intransitive controllable verbs. I prefer now to distinguish different degrees of valency for both controllable and non-controllable verbs.

[5] For this term and the terms 'controllable' and 'noncontrollable' see Shefts and Chang 1980, 16ff.

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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]

	Shigatse	Themchen
'to break (controllable)'	tɕà, imperative tɕòa	ɕtɕoχ, ptɕaχ, tɕʰoχ
'to be broken (non-controllable)'	tɕʰà	ɲtɕʰaχ, tɕʰaχ

3. VOLITIONALITY[7]

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):

	Volitional	Non-volitional
Imperfective	-kījœ	-kì, -kījoapie
Perfective I	-jœ	-ne, -joapie
Perfective II	-pajǐ	-so/-tɕu, -papie
Future	-cījǐ	-, -cīpie

Table 1a. Volitionality in Shigatse Tibetan.

	Volitional	Non-volitional
Imperfective a	-ɣəjo/-kəjo	-ɣəjokə/-kəjokə, -ɣəjozəɕ/-kəjozəɕ
Imperfective b	-a	-ɣə/-kə, -zəɕ
Perfective Ia	-jo	-jokə, -jozəɕ
Perfective Ib	-nəjən	-nəre, -nəjənzəɕ
Perfective II	-a	-tʰa, -zəɕ
Future	-dʑəjən	-dʑəre, -dʑəjənzəɕ

Table 1b. Volitionality in Themchen Tibetan.

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[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)[8] a. **sɕ̀** 'to make' < Written Tibetan **bzos**

        ŋìɕ̀   tɕʰa̱   sɕ̀-wajĭ.
        I:ERG   tea   make.PFV-VOL.EVID
        'I made tea.'
        -**wajĭ** is a form of -**pajĭ**.

      b. **ṣta, ɸti, ṣti** 'to watch', 'to read' < Written Tibetan **lta**

        ŋi   χwetɕʰa   ɸte.
        I:ERG   book (DAT)   read.PFV:VOL.EVID
        'I read a book.'
        ɸte < **ɸti** + -**a**.

(2)   a. **tṣɕ̀, tṣìɕ̀, tṣɕ̀** 'to give' < Written Tibetan **sprod**

        ŋìɕ̀   kʰō   kʰōlā   tṣìɕ̀-ne!
        I:ERG   it   he:DAT   give.PFV-NVOL.EVID
        'I have mistakenly given it to him!'

    b. no imperfective, **ɸçən, çən** 'to give' < Written Tibetan **byin**

        ŋi   ɲtɕʰəç-i,   ɸçən-taŋ-nəre!
        [I:ERG   err.PFV-MAN]   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	IPFV	imperfective
AUX	auxiliary	LOC	locative
COND	conditional	MAN	manner
DAT	dative	NEG	negative
DEF	definite	NEVID	non-evidential
ERG	ergative	NR	nominalizer
EVID	evidential	NVOL	non-volitional
FOC	focus	PFV	perfective
GEN	genitive	TEMP	temporal
IMP	imperative	VOL	volitional
INDEF	indefinite		

Following Sun (1993:963) AUX is used to gloss the morpheme -**taŋ** 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: ā (high level), à (high falling), a̱ (low level), ạ̀ (low falling).

(3)   a.   **tòa** 'to be hungry' < Written Tibetan **ltogs**
             ŋa̱   **tòa-tçu.**
             I   be.hungry.PFV-NVOL.EVID
             'I was hungry.'

       b.   **kʰu** 'to be ill', 'to be in pain' < Written Tibetan **khol**
             ŋa   **kʰu-tʰa.**
             I   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:

	Volitional	Non-volitional	
	Evidential	Evidential	Non-evidential
Imperfective	**-kījœ**	**-kì**	**-kījoapie**
Perfective I	**-jœ**	**-ne**	**-joapie**
Perfective II	**-pajĭ**	**-so/-tçu**	**-papie**
Future	**-cījĭ**	**-**	**-cīpie**

Table 2a. Volitionality and evidentiality in Shigatse Tibetan.

	Volitional	Non-volitional	
	Evidential	Evidential	Non-evidential
Imperfective a	**-ɣəjo/-kəjo**	**-ɣəjokə/ -kəjokə**	**-ɣəjozəç/ -kəjozəç**
Imperfective b	**-a**	**-ɣə/-kə**	**-zəç**
Perfective Ia	**-jo**	**-jokə**	**-jozəç**
Perfective Ib	**-nəjən**	**-nəre**	**-nəjənzəç**
Perfective II	**-a**	**-tʰa**	**-zəç**
Future	**-dʐəjən**	**-dʐəre**	**-dʐəjənzəç**

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.   **tɕʰẹ:, tɕʰiè̯, tɕʰḷ** 'to do' < Written Tibetan **byed**
           ŋiè̯   liẹkā   tɕʰiè̯-jœ.
           I:ERG   work   do.PFV-VOL.EVID
           'I have worked.'

      b.   no imperfective, **bdal, rdol** 'to stay' < Written Tibetan **bsdad**
           ŋa   səlaŋ-na   bdal-jo.
           I   Xining-LOC   stay.PFV-VOL.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.   **ŋɣ̀** 'to cry' < Written Tibetan **ṅus**
           pʰịsā-ni   tṣʰè̯-nā,   ŋɣ̀-kɪ̄jœ.
           [child-DEF   be.afraid.PFV-COND   cry.IPFV-VOL.EVID
           'If this child becomes afraid, it cries.' (The speaker is well-acquainted with this fact.)

b. **ɲdʐo** only imperfective 'to go' < Written Tibetan **'gro**

ŋə	çələ	ɬoptʂa	ɲdʐo-ɣəjo.
I:GEN	boy	school (DAT)	go.IPFV-VOL.EVID

'My son goes to school.' (The speaker is well-acquainted with this fact.)

(6) a. **jɔ̀ŋ**, no imperative 'to come' < Written Tibetan **yoṅs**

jāːkā	nu̠rū	tşu̠ːpā	tşēpō
summer	here	guest	very

jɔ̀ŋ-kījœ.
come.IPFV-VOL.EVID

'Many guests come here in summer.' (The speaker is well-acquainted with this fact.)

b. **li** 'to do' < Written Tibetan **las**

ŋə	ardʐi	rgergan-ɣə	ɸçawa
I:GEN	father:ERG	teacher-GEN	work

li-ɣəjo.
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. **tʂo** only imperfective 'to go' < Written Tibetan **'gro**

ŋiè̠	mà̠	tʂo-kì!
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.

ŋi	ɲtçʰəç-i,	mara	ɲdʐo-ɣokə!
[I:ERG	err.PFV-MAN]	downwards	go.IPFV-NVOL.EVID

'idem.'

See ex. (5b) for this verb. **-ɣokə** is a contracted form of **-ɣəjokə**.

(8) a.

ŋiè̠	ŋūː-ni	rą̄-la	tʂœ̀-kì!
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.

b. **ŋtʰuŋ** 'to drink' < Written Tibetan **'thuṅ**

ŋi	ɲtɕʰəç-i,	ʂtamdʑən-ɣə	tɕa
[I:ERG]	err.PFV-MAN]	Tamdrin-GEN	tea

ŋtʰuŋ-ɣəjokə!
drink.IPFV-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. **sa̰, sḭḛ, so̰** 'to eat' < Written Tibetan **za**

ŋḭḛ	ra̰-ki	pà-ko	sḭḛ-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. **sḭḛ**, imperative **sœ̀** 'to kill' < Written Tibetan **bsad**

taŋkò	ɲḭːla̰-la	ŋḭḛ	mḭ-tɕi
last.night	dream-DAT	I:ERG	man-INDEF

sḭḛ-kì!
kill.IPFV-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. **tēr** 'to give' < Written Tibetan **ster**

kʰœ̀	ŋala̰	tʰep-tɕi	tēr-tɕu.
he:ERG	I:DAT	book-INDEF	give.PFV-NVOL.EVID

'He gave me a book.'

b. **mbəl, wəl, wəl** 'to go away' < Written Tibetan **'bud**

kʰərge	wəl-tʰa.
he	go.away.PFV-NVOL.EVID

'He went away.'

(12) a. **tɕà**, imperative **tɕòa** 'to break' < Written Tibetan **bcag**

tāmtʂḭ-ki	kūpcà	tɕà-so.
Tamdrin-ERG	chair	break.PFV-NVOL.EVID

'Tamdrin broke a chair.'

b. **çtɕoχ, ptɕaχ, tɕʰoχ** 'to break' < Written Tibetan **gcog**

ʂtamdʑən-ɣə	uŋʂtɕaχ	ptɕaχ-taŋ-tʰa.
Tamdrin-ERG	chair	break.PFV-AUX-NVOL.EVID

'idem.'

(13) a. **là̰ŋ**, imperative **lò̰ŋ** 'to stand up' < Written Tibetan **laṅs**
          tāmʈʂī́   **jà̰**   **là̰ŋ-so.**
          Tamdrin   upwards   stand.up.PFV-NVOL.EVID
          'Tamdrin stood up.'

      b. **laŋ**, imperative **luŋ** 'to stand up' < Written Tibetan **laṅs**
          ʂtamd̤ʐ̤ən   **jara**   **laŋ-taŋ-tʰa.**
          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. **kʰōtỳ**   **ŋa̰**   **pʰā:tɕḛ̄**   **li̤e̤kā**   **tɕʰe̤:-kījoapie.**
          at.that.time   I   probably   work   do.IPFV-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. **ɲo, ɲi, ɲi** 'to buy' < Written Tibetan **ño**
          ŋi   **haχça**   **ɲi-taŋ-zə̰ç!**
          I:ERG   pork   buy.PFV-AUX.NEVID
          'I mistakenly bought pork!' (The speaker found out only after he
          had returned home.)

(15) a. **ŋiḛ̀**   **pʰā:tɕḛ̄**   **kā:jœ̄-ko-jie**   **tɕà-wapie.**
          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. **ŋi**   **tɕʰu**   **tça**   **ŋtʰuŋ-taŋ-zə̰ç!**
          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. ʈʂā̀ç̀   lìɛ̀kā   tɕʰḛ̀:-kījoapie.
Tashi   work   do.IPFV-NVOL.NEVID
'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. ɣɖʐonma-ɣə   χwetɕʰa-te   ɸti-nəjənzəç.
Drolma-ERG   book-DEF:DAT   read.PFV-NVOL.NEVID
'Apparently Drolma has read this book.' (She knows it's contents.)
See ex. (1b) for this verb.

(17) a. kō: 'to boil' < Written Tibetan **skol**
tɕʰà̱-ni   pʰā̀:tɕ̄ḛ   piēmiè̱   kō:-lapie.
tea-DEF   probably   Pema:ERG   boil.PFV-NVOL.NEVID
'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. ʂtamɖʐən-ɣə   tɕʰaŋ   ŋtʰuŋ-zəç.
Tamdrin-ERG   beer   drink.IPFV-NVOL.NEVID
'Apparently Tamdrin (habitually) drinks beer.' (There are a lot of bottles in his room.)
See ex. (8b) for this verb.

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

(18) a. çīr 'to die' < Written Tibetan **śi**
ŋa̱   çīr-cījì̱.
I   die.IPFV-VOL.EVID
'I want to die!'

b. çə 'to die' < Written Tibetan **śi**
ŋa   çə-dʐəjən.
I   die.IPFV-VOL.EVID
'idem.'

(19) a. na̱r 'to be ill' < Written Tibetan **na**
ŋa̱   nị   siè̱-nā,   na̱r-kījœ.
I   [this   eat.PFV-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.   **tʰdʑ** 'to appear' < Written Tibetan **don**
           ōldɕ   **tsʰālūma**   **siɛ̀-nā,**   **sukpō-la**
           [child:ERG   orange   eat.PFV-COND]   body-DAT
           purū   **tʰdʑ-kījœ.**
           pimple   appear.IPFV-VOL.EVID
           'If (my) child eats oranges, it gets pimples.' (The speaker is
           well-acquainted with this allergic reaction.)

     b.   **ştamdʐən**   **kʰu-ɣonəjən.**
           Tamdrin   be.ill.IPFV-VOL.EVID
           'Tamdrin is ill.' (The speaker visited Tamdrin the day before
           when he reported having a severe headache.)
           See ex. (3b) for this verb. **-ɣonəjən** is a form equivalent to
           -ɣəjo.

(21) a.⁹   **ŋo.ɕē** 'to be acquainted with' < Written Tibetan **ńo śes**
           ŋiɛ̀   **kʰō**   **ŋo.ɕē-kījœ.**
           I:ERG   he   be.acquainted.with.IPFV-VOL.EVID
           'I know him.' (He is an old acquaintance of mine.)

     b.   **bdʐel** 'to forget' < Written Tibetan **brjed**
           ŋi   **χwetɕʰa**   **şta-dʑu**   **mə-bdʐel!**
           I:ERG   [book (DAT)   read.IPFV-NR]   VOL.EVID.NEG-forget.IPFV
           'I won't forget to study!'
           mə- is the negated form of **-a**.

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

(22) a.   **tʂʰàŋ** 'to feel cold' < Written Tibetan **graṅs**
           ŋa   **tʂʰàŋ-kì.**
           I   feel.cold.IPFV-NVOL.EVID
           'I feel cold.'

     b.   **rgi** 'to age' < Written Tibetan **rgas**
           tɕʰo   **ɸti-na,**   **ŋa**   **rgi-jokə.**
           [you (DAT)   watch.PFV-COND]   I   age.PFV-NVOL.EVID
           'I look older than you.'

See also ex. (3).

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⁹ In ex. (21) 'I' 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**
        kʰa̰ŋ   **pʰa̰k-kì.**
        snow   fall.IPFV-NVOL.EVID
        'It is snowing.'

     b. **m̰pʰoχ, hoχ** 'to get hit' < Written Tibetan **'phog**
        mə̰rge   **tɕʰampa**   **hoχ-jokə.**
        she (DAT)   cold   get.hit.PFV-NVOL.EVID
        'She has a cold.'

(24) a. **tɕʰà** 'to be broken' < Written Tibetan **'chag**
        ŋiḛ   **kā:jœ̄**   **tɕʰà-so.**
        I:GEN   cup   be.broken.PFV-NVOL.EVID
        'My cup got broken.'

     b. **ɲtɕʰaχ, tɕʰaχ** 'to be broken' < Written Tibetan **'chag**
        ŋə   **karu**   **tɕʰaχ-tʰa.**
        I:GEN   cup   be.broken.PFV-NVOL.EVID
        'idem.'

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

(25) a. **cḛ:** 'to fall down' < Written Tibetan **'gyel**
        ŋa   **pʰā:tɕḛ̄**   **ta̰ŋkò**   **ī:-ki**
        [I   probably   yesterday.evening beer-ERG
        sḭr-tỳ,   **cḛ:-lapie.**
        get.drunk.IPFV-TEMP]   fall.down.PFV-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. **tʰa̰**   **ŋa̰**   **çīr-cīpie.**
        now   I   die.IPFV-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. **ɲì.ʈsʰor** 'to be sleepy' < Written Tibetan **gñid bro**
        ōlō   **ɲì.ʈsʰor-kījoapie.**
        child   be.sleepy.IPFV-NVOL.NEVID
        'The child seems to be sleepy.' (It leans back and closes
        its eyes.)

b.   **ɣdʑonma   kʰu-ɣəjozəç.**
Drolma   be.ill.IPFV-NVOL.NEVID
'Apparently Drolma is ill.' (She has not come to school.)
See ex. (3b) for this verb.

(28) b.[10] **je, ji** 'to do, with **ŋaŋloχ** to talk in one's sleep' < Written
Tibetan **byed**
ŋi   ndaŋ   ŋaŋloχ   ji-zəç.
I:ERG   last.night   sleep.talk   do.PFV-NVOL.NEVID
'I talked in my sleep last night.' (The speaker's roommate
told him so.)

(29) a.   **liè** 'to be left behind' < Written Tibetan **las**
ōlœ̄   ça̱mō-ko   piēmiē   na̱ŋ-na
child:GEN   hat-DEF   Pema:GEN   home-LOC
liè-joapie.
be.left.behind.PFV-NVOL.NEVID
'(We) must have left the child's hat behind in Pema's home.'

b.   **bdʐaχ** 'to be full' < Written Tibetan **brgyags**
ɣdʑonma   bdʐaχ-jozəç.
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:

	Volitional	Non-volitional	
	Evidential	Evidential	Non-evidential
'to be'	**jĩ**	**piè**	
'to exist', 'to have'; 'to be'	**jœ̀**	**nù̱**	**jɔ̀apie**

Table 3a. Auxiliary verbs in Shigatse Tibetan.

	Volitional	Non-volitional	
	Evidential	Evidential	Non-evidential
'to be'	**jən**	**re**	**jənzəç**
'to exist', 'to have'	**jo**	**jokə**	**jozəç**

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. **tằ**   **tsʰōŋpā**   **jῑ.**
        I   trader   be.VOL.EVID
        'I am a trader.' (The speaker chose this profession.)

    b. **ŋa**   **tsʰuŋwa**   **jən.**
        I   trader   be.VOL.EVID
        'I am a trader.'

(31) a. **ŋa**   **ţsʰōm-na**   **jœ̀.**
        I   market-LOC   exist.VOL.EVID
        'I (work) in the market.'

    b. **ŋa**   **tsʰuŋrə**   **naŋna**   **jo.**
        I   market:GEN   in   exist.VOL.EVID
        'idem.'

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

(32) a. **liẹkā-ni**   **kʰœ̄**   **jῑ.**
        work-DEF   he:GEN   be.VOL.EVID
        'This is his work.' (The speaker assigns the work.)

    b. **χwetçʰa-ndə**   **sʰoma-zəç**   **jən.**
        book-DEF   new-INDEF   be.VOL.EVID
        'This book is new.' (It belongs to the speaker.)

(33) a. **rằ-ki**   **cī**   **ŋiẹ**   **naŋ-la**   **jœ̀.**
        you-GEN   dog   I:GEN   home-DAT   exist.VOL.EVID
        'Your dog is in my house.' (The speaker let it into his house.)

    b. **tçʰu**   **tçʰə**   **ɲekʰe-na**   **jo.**
        you:GEN   dog   my.home-LOC   exist.VOL.EVID
        'idem.'

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

(34) a. **ŋa**   **ǟtā-jie**   **lāpţsà**   **piè!**
        I   now-FOC   student   be.NVOL
        'I am still a student!' (The speaker does not want to be a
        student any more.)

(35) a. **ŋa**   **kʰō-lie**   **tçʰèa**   **nὺ.**
        I   he-ABL   bigger   be.NVOL.EVID
        'I am taller than him.'

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

(36) a. **pʰумо̄-ti   piēmiē   ǫamà   piè̥.**
        girl-DEF   Pema:GEN   younger.sister   be.NVOL
        'This girl is Pema's younger sister.' (The speaker knows her.)

     b. **χwetçʰa-ndə   sʰoma-zəç   re.**
        book-DEF   new-INDEF   be.NVOL.EVID
        'This book is new.' (It does not belong to the speaker.)

(37) a.[11] **ṇalā   ŋū: nù̥.**
        I:DAT   money   exist.NVOL.EVID
        'I have money!' (The speaker just discovers money in his pocket.)

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

(38) a. **kʰōlā   cī   naḳpō-tçi   nù̥.**
        he:DAT   dog   black-INDEF   exist.NVOL.EVID
        'He has a black dog.'

     b. **tçʰu   tçʰə   ɲekʰe-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. **ŋa̠   kʰōtỳ   pʰā:tçē̄   tēaŋkā:-na   jɔ̀apie.**
        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. **pʰумо̄-ti   kʰa̠.tçʰiènie̥   piēmiē   ǫamà   piè̥.**
        girl-DEF   probably   Pema:GEN   younger.sister   be.NVOL
        'This girl is probably Pema's younger sister.' (She looks like Pema.)

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[11] In ex. (37) 'I' is interpreted as benefactive/recipient.

b.   **bdeʂtɕəl-kə**   **χwetɕʰa-tə**   **ptsaja-zəɕ**   **jənzəɕ.**
        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.[12] **ŋa**   **morgo**   **jozəɕ.**
           I (DAT)   female.attractivity   exist.NVOL.NEVID
           'I must be attractive.' (Many men court the speaker.)

(42) a.   **kʰō**   **ʈʂʰōm-na**   **jðapie.**
           he   market-LOC   exist.NVOL.NEVID
           'He probably (works) in the market.'

b.   **kʰərge**   **tsʰuŋrə**   **naŋna**   **jozəɕ.**
        he   market:GEN   in   exist.NVOL.NEVID
        'idem.'

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[12] In ex. (41b) 'I' is interpreted as benefactive/recipient.

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