The trichotomy of the Tibetan subject

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1. The Triple Subject in Tibetan.

1.1. The subject in Tibetan is of three types: the psychological, the logical, and the grammatical. The psychological subject may be exemplified by the following sentence:

1. su₅⁴ ku½₁₃₂ me₅¹₃₂ ṇe₅¹₃₂ ha₅¹kʾọ₁₁ ki₅¹jọ₅¹₃₂.
   who wait NOM. who know PARTICLE
   I know who is to wait for/who you are waiting for.

The logical subject may be divided into agent subject (Example 2), instrumental subject (3), causative subject (4), possessive subject (5), and identifying subject (6):

2. sy₅² bʾe₅₅ tu ?
   sus vḵhyer vduṅ who take PART.
   Who took it away?

3. tšʾi₁₃₂ ḍo₅¹ ki₅¹re.
   gris gzheg kyired knife chop PART.
   Chop it with a knife.

4. tšʾaŋ₅⁵ ke si¹³ca.
   chag gis bzhi shag highland barley wine AGENT MARKER² intoxicate
   The highland barley wine intoxicates.

¹ In each example sentence, the first line is a transcription of the modern Lhasa pronunciation, while the second line spells the same words in a transliteration of Written Tibetan (WT). The author represents the WT velar nasal /ŋ/ by "q" (e.g., ṇas /ŋas/ in Ex. 1), and writes a-chung, usually transcribed by h with a subscript dot /h/, as "v" (e.g., vḵhyer /kHzeyr/ in Ex. 2). Aspiration is indicated by an apostrophe in the Lhasa version, but by an ·h in the WT transcription. [Ed.]

² For words ending in vowels, the agent marker is realized as a mutation, for example, when ṇa₁³ (qa) 'i' is in the agent function, it has the phonetic form of ṇe₅¹₃₂ḥe₅¹₃₂ (qas); when it is in the dative, it becomes ṇa₃⁵ (qar).
5. $k'\text{c}_{\text{Q}}5\text{Q}la\ \text{ro}k^1\text{Q}pa5\text{Q}\ tu?1\text{Q}\ \text{kQ}e5\text{Q} \ ?$
$\text{khog la rogs} \text{pa v}^\text{u}g\ \text{gas}$
$\text{he assistant have PART.}$
Has he got an assistant?

6. $\text{ra}^\text{n}3\text{Q}^\text{Q} \ su5\text{Q} \ \text{jI}1\text{Q}^\text{Q}pa?$
$\text{raq su y}^\text{in}^\text{pa}$
$\text{you who be}$
Who are you?

A comparison between (1) and (2-6) shows that the psychological subject and the logical subject are usually separated and independent from one another. But in certain situations, the psychological subject, the grammatical subject, and the agent (logical) subject are closely related to each other. The three may all coincide (Ex. 7); two may coincide while the other is separate (Ex. 8); or all may be separate (Ex. 9):

7. $n\text{E}5\text{Q}132 \ mi5\text{Q}2 \ t\text{I}\varepsilon5\text{Q}5\text{Q}kO$
$q\text{as mig b}^\text{stan go}$
$I \ \text{let look}^3$
I’ll let you look at it.

8. $k'\text{a}^\text{n5Q}\text{pa5Q} \ n\text{E}5\text{Q}132 \ mi5\text{Q}2 \ t\text{I}\varepsilon5\text{Q}5\text{Q}kO$
$k\text{haqpa qas mig b}^\text{stan go}$
$\text{room I let look}$
The room, I’ll let you look at (it).

9. $\text{ra}^\text{n}3\text{Q}1\text{Q}la\ \text{k'a}^\text{n5Q}\text{pa5Q} \ n\text{E}5\text{Q}132 \ mi5\text{Q}2 \ t\text{I}\varepsilon5\text{Q}5\text{Q}kO$
$\text{raq la khaqpa qas mig b}^\text{stan go}$
$\text{you room I let look}$
You, the room, I’ll let (you) look at (it).

As a result of the separation, “the room” in Ex. 9 becomes the grammatical subject. In Ex. 8, the psychological subject and the grammatical subject are collectively realized in “the room,” while the agent subject is separated out. By the triple subject in Tibetan we mean the three types of subject—the psychological, the grammatical and the logical—when they are separated from each other.

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3 $\text{mi5Q2tI\varepsilon5Q (mig bstan)}$ is ambiguous. As a word, it means ‘to let (sb) look at (sth)’; as a word group, it means ‘to let (sb) look at one’s eyes’. In this paper, it is used in the first sense.
1.2. The psychological subject.

The psychological subject is the starting point of a message the speaker conveys; it is what the clause is concerned with. The grammatical subject is the basis of a proposition; it is what a predicate refers to. The agent subject is the performer of an action. There is usually more than one function in a grammatical unit. For example, "I" in (7) is, at the same time, the starting point of a message, the psychological subject; the basis of a proposition, the grammatical subject; and the performer of an action, the agent subject. It is the realization of all three subjects. In (8), "the room" is the starting point of a message and the basis of a proposition. It is the realization of both the psychological subject and the grammatical subject. In (9), "you" is the starting point of a message, the psychological subject; "the room" is the basis of a proposition, the grammatical subject; while "I" is the agent subject. Of the three types of sentences (7), (8) and (9), (7) is the most usual, while (9) is the most unusual, showing the separation of the three subjects.

The word order in Tibetan is "Su-O-P", which is the basis of any grammatical analysis of Tibetan. If the word order changes, the object is moved to the initial position; we may call this "forward movement." Forward movement does not occur at random. It is a regular means of expressing grammatical relations, and there are reasons for it. Forward movement introduces a pause in speech after the forwarded object, which does not exist originally. The sentences of column B with a pause after the forwarded object are in sharp contrast to those in column A:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ne?132 raŋ35ki ke?54tp'a54</td>
<td>raŋ35ki ke?54tp'a54 ne?132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qas raŋ gi skadcha</td>
<td>raŋ gi skadcha qas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I your words</td>
<td>your words I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko13ts'y52 ma11 suŋ35</td>
<td>ko13ts'y52 ma11 suŋ35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngotshod ma soq</td>
<td>ngotshod ma soq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>understand not PART.</td>
<td>understand not PART.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't understand what you've said.</td>
<td>What you've said I don't understand.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The change of word order signifies a change in the information structure, hence also a change in the grammatical categories. The movement of the object in the sentences of column A to the initial position in the sentences of column B changes the new information into the given, so that the object is also changed into the subject. We call this kind of subject the psychological subject. Forward movement causes the word order in Tibetan to change from “Su-O-P” to “Su₁-Su₂-P.” It is characteristic of the psychological subject in Tibetan that it occurs with the word order of “Su₁-Su₂-P.”

In the construction “Nkε + Nlα + N + V,” Nlα may be forwarded to the initial position, changing from a dative object to the psychological subject:

12. \[ Nkε + Nlα + N + V \rightarrow Nlα + Nkε + N + V \]

\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{raŋ}^{35} \text{ ke } \etaα^{13} \text{ ja}^{52} \text{ ti}^{13} \text{ tsun}^{52} \text{ ta!} \\
& \text{raq gis qar gyag vdi btsoqs thaq you AM.}^{4} \text{ I yak this sell PART.} \\
& \text{Please sell the yak to me.} \\
\text{b. } & \etaα^{35} \text{ raŋ}^{35} \text{ ke } \text{ja}^{52} \text{ ti}^{13} \text{ tsun}^{52} \text{ ta!} \\
& \text{qar raq gis gyag vdi btsoqs thaq you AM. yak this sell PART.} \\
& \text{Me, please sell the yak to (me).}
\end{align*}

Similarly, N may also be forwarded to the initial position, changing from an accusative object to the psychological subject:

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4 The author uses the abbreviation “A.M.” to mean “agent marker” (i.e., ergative marker). [Ed.]
13. $Nk\varepsilon + N\lambda a + N + V \rightarrow N + Nk\varepsilon + N\lambda a + V$

a. raŋ\textsuperscript{35} ke $\eta$\textsuperscript{a:35} ja?\textsuperscript{52} ti\textsuperscript{13} tsuŋ\textsuperscript{52} ta
   raq gis qar gyag vdi btsoqs thag
   you A.M. I yak this sell PART.
   Please sell the yak to me.

b. ja?\textsuperscript{52} ti\textsuperscript{13} raŋ\textsuperscript{35} ke $\eta$\textsuperscript{a:13} tsuŋ\textsuperscript{52} ta
   gyag vdi raq gis qar btsoqs thag
   yak this you A.M. I sell PART.
   The yak, please sell (it) to me.

Both $N\lambda a$ and $N$ may be forwarded to the initial position as the psychological subject. This reveals that the psychological subject is only related to the initial position, and does not have anything to do with the type of object that is moved.

1.3. The grammatical subject.

The grammatical subject is distinguishable from the psychological subject. There will be no grammatical subject if there is no $N$ or only one $N$ before the agent subject. When the Tibetan subject is separated into three elements, they usually occur in this order: the psychological first, the grammatical second, and the agent last. This order is fixed, and does not vary with the type of object that is forwarded.

1.4. Grammatical structure and semantic structure.

There are two structures co-existent in a Tibetan sentence. One is the grammatical structure, such as Subject-Predicate, Modifier-Head, Predicator-Object, or Predicator-Complement. The other is the semantic structure, involving notions like agent, accusative, dative and action. For example:

14a. ne\textsuperscript{?132} mo\textsuperscript{11}raŋ\textsuperscript{35}1a pa\textsuperscript{54}s\textsuperscript{154} nø?\textsuperscript{13} paji
   qas moraq\textsuperscript{a}la spase nyos payin
   I her ticket buy ASP.

GR.\textsuperscript{5} Su O\textsubscript{1} O\textsubscript{1} P
SEM. agent dative accusative action
I've bought her a ticket.

\textsuperscript{5} GR. = "grammatical"; SEM. = "semantic." [Ed.]
Sentences 14a-d are of the same semantic structure, i.e., "I" is the agent, "her" is the dative, and "the ticket" is the accusative. But they have four different grammatical structures. That is to say, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the grammatical structure and the semantic structure. The changes of grammatical structure in 14b-d correspond to a phonetic change and a change in information structure resulting from the object’s forward movement. This shows that the forward movement of the object will entail a change in the correspondence between the grammatical structure and the semantic structure. The object forwarded will not remain an object.

2. The Triple Subject and Double Object.

2.1. The Su-P structure which contains a double object in the predicate has the following structure:

$$Nkε + N1a + N + V.$$  

The three Ns before the V may be in any order among themselves without affecting the semantic structure of the sentence. For example:
15a. Nkε + Nla + N + V

\[ \text{ne?132} \quad \text{t'154la} \quad \text{to54} \quad \text{te:55} \quad \text{pajI} \]
\[ \text{qas} \quad \text{khyila} \quad \text{lto} \quad \text{ster} \quad \text{payin} \]
I dog food give ASP.
I've fed the dog.

15b. Nla + Nkε + N + V

\[ \text{t'154la} \quad \text{ne?132} \quad \text{to54} \quad \text{te:55} \quad \text{pajI} \]
\[ \text{khyila} \quad \text{qas} \quad \text{lto} \quad \text{ster} \quad \text{payin} \]
\[ \text{dog} \quad \text{food} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{ASP.} \]
The dog I've fed.

15c. N + Nkε + Nla + V

\[ \text{to54} \quad \text{ne?132} \quad \text{t'154la} \quad \text{te:55} \quad \text{pajI} \]
\[ \text{lto} \quad \text{qas} \quad \text{khyila} \quad \text{ster} \quad \text{payin} \]
\[ \text{food} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{dog} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{ASP.} \]
The food, I've fed (it) to the dog.

15d. Nla + N + Nkε + V

\[ \text{t'154la} \quad \text{to54} \quad \text{ne?132} \quad \text{te:55} \quad \text{pajI} \]
\[ \text{khyila} \quad \text{lto} \quad \text{qas} \quad \text{ster} \quad \text{payin} \]
\[ \text{dog} \quad \text{food} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{ASP.} \]
The dog, the food, I've fed.

15e. N + Nla + Nkε + V

\[ \text{to54} \quad \text{t'154la} \quad \text{ne?132} \quad \text{te:55} \quad \text{pajI} \]
\[ \text{lto} \quad \text{khyila} \quad \text{qas} \quad \text{ster} \quad \text{payin} \]
\[ \text{food} \quad \text{dog} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{ASP.} \]
The food, the dog, I've fed (to it).

Whether it is in 15b, 15c, 15d, or 15e, Nla is always the dative, N the accusative, Nkε the agent. The semantic relation between V and Nkε, Nla, and N does not vary with their positions relative to each other. Hence, 15b-e are four variants of 15a. It is characteristic of the Su-P structure containing a double object in the predicate to have four grammatical variants. From the fixed order of the triple subject, i.e., with the agent subject last, we know that 15b and 15c, where Nkε is the second subject, are not related to the triple subject; hence they will not be discussed here.
2.2. **Forwarded double object.**

When the double object is forwarded, there are two possible orders: either Na is before N or N is before Na. The same sentence 16a after the object's forward movement will always result in the two structures of 16b and 16c. If we are to compare these Su-P structures, the structure of 16a will have to be compared with both the structures of 16b and 16c at the same time. For example:

16a. \( \text{ne}^{132} \text{ ran}^{351a} \text{ tu}^{11}\text{nor}^{35} \text{ ts}^{52}\text{ts}^{52}\text{e}^{52} \text{ko} \)
\( \text{qas} \text{ raqla} \text{ rgyuno} \text{ rtsis sprad go} \)
I you property entrust
I'll entrust the property to you.

16b. \( \text{ran}^{351a} \text{ tu}^{11}\text{nor}^{35} \text{ ne}^{132} \text{ ts}^{52}\text{ts}^{52}\text{e}^{52} \text{ko} \)
\( \text{raqla} \text{ rgyunor} \text{ qas} \text{ rtsis sprad go} \)
you property I entrust
You, I'll entrust the property (to you).

16c. \( \text{tu}^{11}\text{nor}^{35} \text{ ran}^{351a} \text{ ne}^{132} \text{ ts}^{52}\text{ts}^{52}\text{e}^{52} \text{ko} \)
\( \text{rgyunor} \text{ raqla} \text{ qas} \text{ rtsis sprad go} \)
property you I entrust
The property, you, I'll entrust (it) (to you).

The same relationship holds between sentence 17a and the two structures with fronted objects, 17b and 17c:

17a. \( \text{ne}^{132} \text{ kan}^{351a}\text{?la} \text{ ji}^{11}\text{ke}^{52} \text{ ts}^{55} \text{tsh}^{55} \)
\( \text{qas} \text{ rgan lags la} \text{ yige} \text{ skye}^{1} \text{el} \text{ tshar} \)
I teacher letter send already
I've given the letter to the teacher.

17b. \( \text{kan}^{351a}\text{?la} \text{ ji}^{11}\text{ke}^{52} \text{ ne}^{132} \text{ ts}^{55} \text{tsh}^{55} \)
\( \text{rgan lags la} \text{ yige} \text{ qas} \text{ skye}^{1} \text{el} \text{ tshar} \)
teacher letter I send already
The teacher, I've given the letter (to him).

17c. \( \text{ji}^{11}\text{ke}^{52} \text{ kan}^{351a}\text{?la} \text{ ne}^{132} \text{ ts}^{55} \text{tsh}^{55} \)
\( \text{yige} \text{ rgan lags la} \text{ qas} \text{ skye}^{1} \text{el} \text{ tshar} \)
letter teacher I send already
The letter, the teacher, I've given (it) (to him).

From the examples, one may see clearly that 16a and 17a are Su-P structures containing a double object, while 16b-c and 17b-c are Su-P
structures containing a triple subject, though the subjects in 16b/17b and in 16c/17c are different from each other. All these sentences are Su-P structures. They contain the same words, but the relative positions of Nkɛ, N1a, and N are different in each. This positional difference may be seen as a result of the backward movement of Nkɛ in 16a/17a, or the forward movement of N1a and N in 16b/17b, and that of N and N1a in 16c/17c. Therefore, these sentence types are of equal status. They are mutually dependent, and any one of them may be seen as the result of N movement from another.

Matrices of Transformational Relationships

In this triangle, there are three transformational relationships: one between A and B, one between A and C, and one between B and C. The triple subjects in B and C are transformationally derived from A. That is, the pairings A→B and A→C both show a relationship of transformation between a Su-P structure containing a double object and one containing a triple subject. The third pairing (B→C) is a relationship of transformation between two Su-P structures both containing a triple subject.

3. The Prerequisite for the Triple Subject.

3.0. The following four sentences (18-21) have the same structure:

\[ Nkɛ + N1a + N + V \]

18. ngɛ?\textsuperscript{132}  \textsuperscript{t}i\textsuperscript{54}a lto\textsuperscript{54} te:\textsuperscript{55} paji qas khyila lto ster payin
I dog food give ASP.

I've fed the dog.
19. ne?132 raŋ35la tṣ'γ55k'αŋ55 ts'e11tsi?52tṣ'ε?132 qas raq la khruskhaq gras grig byas  
I you bathtub prepare  
ts'a:55  
tshar finish  
I've prepared the bathtub for you.

20. ne?132 k'ɔŋ55la to54 lɔŋ52 pajĩ qas khoq la lto sloqs payin  
I him food beg ASP.  
I've got some food for him.

21. ne?132 mo11raŋ35la pa54si54 nɔ?13 pajĩ qas moraq la spase nyos payin  
I her ticket buy ASP.  
I've bought her a ticket.

3.1. The N1a and N in (18) are the freest among the four sentences in terms of their position of occurrence. They may participate in two other sentence-types which have a triple subject of the form N1a + N + Nkε + V and N + N1a + Nkε + V. The V in (18) is always in the same semantic relation with the three Ns, no matter which position these Ns occupy. Verbs of this kind have an intrinsic semantic component of "giving", and are in a fixed relation to the giver, the receiver and the given. They are thus known as three-vector verbs, and the giver, the receiver and the given are the three vectors. These three vectors of the verb are the semantic source of the triple subject. Not only is the triple subject dependent on the verb, but the relevant transformations are also dependent on it. Thus we can say that the existence of a three-vector verb is the prerequisite to the formation of a triple subject. Verbs of this category include tςε:55 'send', γu?52 'hand', 1eŋ52 'teach', tςɔŋ52 'sell', tṣa?52 'give', and p'γy:55 'present'.

3.2 Examples 19 and 18 are of the same structure, but they are not identical. Ex. 18 may be transformed into two structures of types 16a and 16b, while (19) may only be transformed into a structure of type 16a:
19. nəʔ132 ṭaŋ35la tsʰ’y55k’aŋ55 qas raq la khruskhaq tš’e11tši52tʃ’e132
I you bathtub gras grig byas

ts’a:55
tshar →
I’ve prepared the bathtub for you.

22. ṭaŋ35la tsʰ’y55k’aŋ55 nəʔ132 tš’e11tši52tʃ’e132
raq la khruskhaq qas gras grig byas
you bathtub I prepare

ts’a:55
tshar →
finish You, I’ve prepared the bathtub (for you).

23. nəʔ132 ṭaŋ35la t’i54 ka52 ko
qas raq la khyi bkaq go
I you dog ward off

I’ll ward off the dog for you.

24. ṭaŋ35la t’i54 nəʔ132 ka52 ko
raq la khyi qas bkaq go
you dog I ward off

You, I’ll ward off the dog (for you).

But sentences like (19) may not be transformed into a structure of type 16c:

19. nəʔ132 ṭaŋ35la tsʰ’y55k’aŋ55 tš’e11tši52tʃ’e132
qas raq la khruskhaq gras grig byas
I you bathtub prepare

ts’a:55
tshar →
I’ve prepared the bathtub for you.
   bathtub you I prepare

ts′a:55

tshar

*The bathtub, you, I’ve prepared (for you).

23. ne?132 raŋ351a t′i54 ka?52 ko
   qas raq la khyi bkag go
   I you dog ward off

I’ll ward off the dog for you.

26. *t′i54 raŋ351a ne?132 ka?52 ko
   *khyi raq la qas bkag go
   dog you I ward off

*The dog, you, I’ll ward off (for you).

This is a major difference between (19) and (18). The V ‘prepare’ in (19), unlike the verb ‘give’ in (18), refers to the ways and means of doing something which contains a notion of “service.” Sentences with verbs referring to “service” can also be transformed into Su-P structures with a triple subject6, which, incidentally, is a major difference between Tibetan and Chinese. The triple subject sentence with a “service” verb has its

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6 The vector of a verb is related to its object in the strict sense. The relationship between a verb with a “service” meaning and its related noun does not constitute the verb’s vector.
unique transformation: $$Nla + N + Nke + V \rightarrow Nla + N + Nke + V + ro?^{52}tg'e?^{132} (rogs-byas).$$ For example:

22. raŋ³⁵la tš'yi?⁵⁵k'aŋ⁵⁵ ne?¹³² ts'e¹¹tši?⁵²tg'e?¹³² raq la khrushaq qas gras grig byas you bathtub I prepare

7 In the construction $$Nla + N + Nke + V$$, the substitution of ki⁵⁴ tš'ep⁵² tj'e (gi tshap byas) for the 'la' of Nla, or the substitution of V + rok^{132}tg'e (rogs-byas) for the V in it, will both result in a transformation which is possible only when the V has a "service" semantic component. For example:

(a) mo¹¹raŋ³⁵la pa⁵⁴o¹⁵⁴ ne?¹³² ne?¹³ paji
moraq la spase qas nyos payin her ticket I buy ASP.

I've bought her a ticket.

(b) mo¹¹raŋ³⁵ki ts'ep⁵²tg'e pa⁵⁴q¹⁵⁴ ne?¹³² ne?¹³ paji
moraq gi tshab byas spase qas nyos payin her ticket I buy ASP.

I've bought a ticket for her.

8 This transformation is ambiguous: V + rok¹³² tg'e may form a serial verb structure or a temporary compound verb. In this paper, it is used in the second sense.

The following sentences also have transformations into $$Nla + N + Nke + V$$ and $$N + Nla + Nke + V$$, and may form a triangular matrix. However, as the Nla in them is not a dative, they are considered irrelevant to the question of triple subject caused by the movement of double object, and will not be discussed here:

ne?¹³² mo¹¹ tie:¹¹ke⁵² tan⁵⁵ko
I her here call
I've asked her to come here.

ne?¹³² raŋ³⁵ pu¹³²la ne:⁵⁵ko
I you inner room cause to sleep
I'll put you up in the inner room.

ne?¹³² raŋ³⁵ sa¹¹k'aŋ³⁵la ti'î?⁵²ko
I you dining hall take
I'll take you to the dining hall.

ne?¹³² po¹¹ma⁵⁴ p'a⁵⁵jy:⁵⁵la tan⁵⁵ko
I girl home town send
I've sent the girl to her home town.

ne?¹³² k'œ?⁵⁵ naŋ³⁵la te¹¹tšë:³⁵pjy?¹³ko
I him home invite
I've invited him home.
ts'a\textsuperscript{55}  
tshar  
\textit{finish}
I've prepared the bathtub for you.

27. raq\textsuperscript{35}la  \textit{tś'y\textsuperscript{55}k'\text{an}\textsuperscript{55}  nē\textsuperscript{132}}  
raq la  khruschkaq  qas  
you  bathtub  I
\textit{tś'\text{e}\textsuperscript{11}tśi\textsuperscript{52}tś'\text{e}\textsuperscript{11}  ro\textsuperscript{52}tś'\text{e}\textsuperscript{132}  ts'a\textsuperscript{55}}  
gras grig byas  rogs byas  tshar  
prepare  help to  finish
I've prepared the bathtub for your sake.

24. raq\textsuperscript{35}la  \textit{t'\text{i}\textsuperscript{54}  nē\textsuperscript{132}  ka\textsuperscript{52}ko}  
raq la  khyi  qas  bkag go  
you  dog  I  ward off
I'll ward off the dog for you.

28. raq\textsuperscript{35}la  \textit{t'\text{i}\textsuperscript{54}  nē\textsuperscript{132}  ka\textsuperscript{54}  ro\textsuperscript{52}tś'\text{e}\textsuperscript{132}  ko}  
raq la  khyi  qas  bkag  rogs byas  go  
you  dog  I  ward off  help  PRT
I'll help you to ward off the dog.

Verbs with a "service" semantic component in Tibetan are an open class. Examples include ka\textsuperscript{52} 'ward off', tś'\text{e}\textsuperscript{52} 'open', ca\textsuperscript{52} 'chop', tś'\text{e}\textsuperscript{11}tśi\textsuperscript{52}tś'\text{e}\textsuperscript{132} 'prepare', tś'\text{i} 'wipe', se\textsuperscript{52} 'kill', and tɕ\textsuperscript{35} 'knock (at the door)'.

3.3 \textit{Similarly to (19), (20) may not be transformed into a structure of type 16c.} For example:

29a. nē\textsuperscript{132}  k'ɕ\textsuperscript{55}la  to\textsuperscript{54}  lōŋ\textsuperscript{52}  paji  
qas  khoq la  lto  sloqs  payin  
I  him  food  beg  ASP.
I've got some food for him.

29b. *to\textsuperscript{54}  k'ɕ\textsuperscript{55}la  nē\textsuperscript{132}  lōŋ\textsuperscript{52}  paji  
*lto  khoq la  qas  sloqs  payin  
food  him  I  beg  ASP.
30a. neʔ132 tʃe54ciʔ52la paʔ52 jo52 paji
qas bkrashis la lpags gyos payin →
I Zhaxi barley flour knead ASP.
I kneaded the barley flour for Zhaxi.

30b. *paʔ
tʃe54ciʔ52la neʔ132 jo52 paji
*lpags bkrashis la qas gyos payin
barley flour Zhaxi I knead ASP.

Also similarly to (19), (20) may be transformed as follows:

Nila + Nke + V → Nila + N + Nke + V + roʔ52tɕʔeʔ132

For example:

31a. k’ɕŋ55la to54 neʔ132 loŋ52 paji
khoq la lto qas sloqs payin →
him food I beg ASP.
I’ve got some food for him.

31b. k’ɕŋ55la to54 neʔ132 loŋ52 roʔ52tɕʔeʔ132 paji
khoq la lto qas sloq rogs byas payin
him food I beg help to ASP.
I helped him to get some food.

32a. tʃe54ciʔ52la paʔ52 neʔ132 jo52 paji
bkrashis la lpags qas gyos payin →
Zhaxi barley flour I knead ASP.
I kneaded the barley flour for Zhaxi.

32b. tʃe54ciʔ52la paʔ52 neʔ132 jo52 roʔ52tɕʔeʔ132 paji
bkrashis la lpags qas gyos rogs byas payin
Zhaxi barley flour I knead help to ASP.
I helped Zhaxi to knead the barley flour.

Ex. 20, like (19), may be transformed into a sentence like 16b, as well as into the structure Nila + N + Nke + V + roʔ52tɕʔeʔ132 which is peculiar to (19). This shows that the V in (20) has a semantic component of “service”. However, (20) is also different from (19) in that it has the following transformation:

Nila + N + Nke + N → Nke + N + V + Nila + teʔ55 ('give'):
Ex. 20 is in a transformational relationship with these last four sentences. The verb 'beg' in (20) is synonymous with the verbs 'beg' and 'give' in (31a/33), which shows that 'beg' has a semantic component of "giving". Ex. 20 is also in a transformational relationship with (31b), and the verb 'beg' is also synonymous with the verb 'help to beg'. But the verb 'help to beg' only has the semantic component of "service", not that of "giving". To "give" and to "serve" are usually two separate actions, but in a verb like that in (20) these two meanings are collapsed, resulting in the ambiguity of (20).

Verbs of the "service" type can also form a sentence with triple subject. Therefore we must redefine the double object structure as one of N1a/N + N/N1a + V with a transformation of the 16c type. This is a double object structure in the strict sense. Only when the N referring to the thing to be given and received occurs in the initial position will it signify that the V has an intrinsic "giving" meaning. When N1a occurs in the sentence-initial position, it is indeterminate whether the V has a semantic component of "giving" or not. It is the sentence-initial position of N that is the only criterion by which to judge whether a construction is a double object structure, or whether a verb has three vectors.
3.4. Similar to (18), (21) has a transformation of the 16c type:

21. nɛʔ132 mo11raŋ351a pa54si54 nøʔ13 paji
gas moraq la spase nyos payin
I her ticket buy ASP.
I’ve bought her a ticket.

35. pa54si54 mo11raŋ351a nɛʔ132 nøʔ13 paji
spase moraq la qas nyos payin
ticket her I buy ASP.
The ticket, her, I’ve bought (it) (for her).

This shows that the verb ‘buy’ has a semantic component of “giving”. Similar to (19), (21) may also be transformed as follows:

36a. mo11raŋ351a pa54si54 nɛʔ132 nøʔ13 paji
moraq la spase qas nyos payin
her ticket I buy ASP.
I’ve bought her a ticket.

36b. mo11raŋ351a pa54si54 nɛʔ132 nɔ11 ro52tɕʼeʔ132 paji
moraq la spase qas nyo rogs byas payin
her ticket I buy help to ASP.
I helped her to buy a ticket.

This shows that the verb ‘buy’ also has a semantic component of “service”. In verbs of the (20) type, the semantic component of “giving” and that of “service” are complementary to each other; but in verbs of the (21) type, these two meanings are incompatible with each other. Hence, (21), unlike (18), (19), and (20), is a type of its own. Verbs of type (21) include nɔ13 ‘buy’, tɑŋ55 ‘post/mail’ and tɕ’i13 ‘write’.
A Comparison of Structures 18, 19, 20, and 21

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sample verbs</th>
<th>number of subjects</th>
<th>semantic component</th>
<th>vectors of verb</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;giving&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;service&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 te:\textsuperscript{55} 'give'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
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Figure 2
REFERENCES
