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**EPISTEMIC MODALITIES**  
**IN SPOKEN STANDARD TIBETAN**

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ABL :	ablative
ABS :	absolute
Ag :	agent
ASSOC :	associative
CAUS :	causative/causative particle
COMP:	comparative
CONTR :	controllable
EGO :	egophoric
ENDO :	endopathic
EPI :	epistemic
ERG :	ergative
FACT :	factual
FP :	final particle
GEN :	genitive
GNR :	generic
h :	humilific
H :	honorific
HAB :	habitual
IMM :	suffix marking the immediate
IMP :	imperative
impers :	impersonal
IMPF :	imperfective (past, present, future)
ImpP :	imperative particle
IND :	indicative
INF :	infinitive
IFR :	inferential
M :	masculine
NEG :	negative
NMZ :	nominalizer
N-CONTR :	non-controllable
OBL :	oblique
Pa :	patient
PAS :	past
PFV :	perfective past
PERF :	present perfect
pl :	plural
POLITE:	particle expressing politeness
PRP :	purposive

PRS :	present
Q :	question particle/interrogative particle
REC :	receptive
RES :	resultative
RepS :	marker of the reported speech
RES :	resultative
SENS :	sensory
sg :	singular
SST :	spoken Standard Tibetan
SUB :	subjunctive
TAM :	tense-aspect-modality
VBZ :	verbalizer

# INTRODUCTION

In my dissertation, I analyze epistemic modalities in spoken Standard Tibetan (SST, see 2.1.3.), an SOV language. As it is the case in many languages with a verb-final word order, in SST, grammatical meanings, e.g. modality, are marked at the end of the verbal domain by verbal suffixes, markers or endings depending on the adopted terminology. In my study, I use the term ‘verbal endings’ (see 2.2.2.3.3.).

Some verbal endings function as markers of evidentiality. In this dissertation, they are called ‘evidential endings’ (see 2.2.2.5.1.). The use of these verbal endings is obligatory in spoken Tibetan but most of the time optional in the literary language. Moreover, their use is different in literary Tibetan. In addition to evidential endings, in SST, there are also verbal endings which express various degrees of the speaker’s certainty of the actuality of his utterance. These are called ‘epistemic endings’ (2.2.2.3.5., 3.2.1.1.). Both types of endings may be gathered under the term ‘TAM verbal endings’<sup>1</sup> because they all express, besides modality, the various tense-aspects. While the Tibetan evidential endings have drawn attention of some authors, very little has been written about the epistemic endings. In consequence, I decided to focus my interest on this part of the Tibetan grammar. My intention was to classify all types of epistemic endings used in SST and to analyze them from a syntactic, semantic and pragmatic point of view.

Although during my fieldwork I worked with Tibetan informants in Tibet, India and Europe, the main focus is put on the Lhasa variation of SST. Furthermore, it should be underlined that since Lhasa is a cultural, political and economic centre of Tibet, there are people coming from all parts of Tibet there. Moreover, there was a considerable immigration from Kham, the Eastern regions of Tibet, in the 1950s. The mixing of population has naturally had an influence on the language spoken in Lhasa and on the acceptability of certain language structures and expressions.

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<sup>1</sup> TAM stands for tense-aspect-modality.

## **Approaches and fieldwork**

Taking into account the fact that there are few written sources on epistemic modalities in SST (see Hu 1989, Wang 1994, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003, Zhou & Xie [eds.] 2003), the main part of my research work was fieldwork. In the course of it, I had to overcome several difficulties connected with building the paradigm of forms of epistemic verbal endings used in SST. One difficulty was the rarity of occurrences of some forms in the actual spoken language necessitating the method of elicitation. Other difficulties were the divergences among my informants who, though they all speak Standard Tibetan, come from different places and, therefore, use different epistemic endings. And last but not least, I faced the problem of hypercorrection. As a matter of fact, some of the informants, more or less unconsciously, relied on the written language. They wrote down the examples they were not sure about before they decided on their acceptability.

My fieldwork started in Central Tibet (Lhasa) in February 2002 when I was collecting material on Tibetan secondary verbs<sup>2</sup> and verbal endings for my D.E.A. thesis defended in October 2002 at the University of Paris 8. I continued in Northern India (Dharamsala) in July and August 2003. This time, I concentrated on the expression of epistemic modalities in the language spoken by the Tibetans living in the diaspora and on comparing it with Lhasa Tibetan. In 2004 and 2005, I spent nine months in Lhasa, where I studied Tibetan at Tibet University. During my stay, I persisted in studying epistemic modalities in SST and also in some Tibetan dialects. Finally, in February and March 2006, I returned to Central Tibet to conclude my fieldwork. Between 2002 and 2006, I also worked with Tibetan informants living in Europe (France, Poland, Czech republic).

My main Tibetan informants are Mr Dawa (b. in Lhasa, teacher at Tibet University), Mrs Tsheyang (b. in Lhasa, teacher at Tibet University), Mr Tanpa Gyaltzen (b. in Lhasa, PICC insurance company) and Mrs Soyag (b. in Hor, living in Lhasa for past 20 years, teacher at Tibet University). I also worked with Mr Ngawang Dagpa (b. in Lhasa, lived in India, since 1960s in France, teacher at Inalco), Mr Tenzin Samphel (b. in Nepal, since 1990s in France, teacher at Inalco), Mrs Pema Yonden (b. in Lhasa, since the age of three living in India, teacher of Tibetan), Mr Tashi (b. near Lhasa,

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<sup>2</sup> For secondary verbs, see 5.1.

guard), Mr. Sangda Dorje (b. in Lhasa, Ass. Prof. at Tibet University), Mr Tenzin Jigme (b. in India, teacher at Charles University), Mr Dorje Tsering Jiangbu (b. in Amdo, lived in Lhasa, teacher at Inalco), Mr Thupten Kunga (b. in Nepal, teacher at Warsaw University), Mr Damchoe Thewo (b. in Amdo, lives in India, student) and I occasionally consulted other Tibetan informants.

## **Corpus**

The corpus on which is based the present dissertation has been obtained from several sources: the most important source being an inquiry of Tibetan native speakers, followed by natural conversations, recordings of a test on epistemic modality, a text written in SST (*Tintin in Tibet*), and the audio and video archive of the THDL (Tibetan Himalayan Digital Library) of the University of Virginia.

Since no extensive study of epistemic modality in spoken Standard Tibetan has so far been done, my first task was to identify all types of epistemic verbal endings and to build their paradigm. Thus, I started by enquiring my Tibetan informants about the existence of different endings and about the influence of various parameters on their use. I collected a corpus of examples illustrating the paradigm. Many of these examples were not directly taken from conversations because it would be, undoubtedly, impossible to obtain all existing forms of the various types of epistemic verbal endings by merely relying on occurrences in conversations. The reason is that some verbal endings are not frequent in the spoken language.

The next step was to verify the data acquired during my enquiries with the informants. For this purpose, I prepared a test aimed at making my informants use epistemic verbal endings. I attempted to find such situations in which the native speakers would generally use epistemic endings. The test consisted of three parts. In the first part, I asked my informants to talk about three photographs that I showed them. The photographs represented an unknown man, an unknown woman and a non-specified landscape with a lake. I asked my informants to guess who the people were and where the lake was. In the second part, the informants spoke about their or their family's past and future: what they remembered from their past and what they thought their future would look like. And in the last part, I prepared several objects and hid them under a cover. The informants had to judge what the hidden things were. The covered things were a motorbike helmet, a wash-basin, a teapot, apples, an anorak and books. First,

they only could observe the shape of the things. Then, they could touch them from outside the cover and finally from inside.

To sum up the results of the test, in all parts of the test, the informants tended to use epistemic endings. In the third part, all informants but one used one or another type of epistemic endings when they judged the objects by mere sight. But when they could touch them, they used evidential endings. The test also proved a certain degree of idiolect of each informant in the use of epistemic endings. The most interesting case was the total absence of any epistemic ending in the utterances of one informant (a man from Lhasa, 26 years old) who preferred the use of epistemic adverbs instead. The test further demonstrated that epistemic adverbs are also a frequent means of expressing epistemic modalities in SST.

### **Structure of the Tibetan examples**

The examples from spoken Standard Tibetan are given in the Tibetan orthography by the Wylie transliteration. Although the current pronunciation is to a great deal different from the written language, it is, however, easy to convert transliterated sentences into the actual pronunciation by means of several phonological rules. The use of transliteration also enables to make links with literary Tibetan and to show the etymology of words. The examples consist of three parts: the first one recording Tibetan in the Wylie transliteration, the second one the English interlinear gloss<sup>3</sup>, and the third one is the English translation and, where necessary, the context of the utterance or a commentary in brackets (see below). Tibetan words with more than one syllable are written with a dot between the syllables<sup>4</sup>. Grammatical morphemes are attached by a dash. Various meanings of one morpheme are joined by the mark “+”. The morphemes in the process of grammaticalization are connected by the mark “:”. All Tibetan examples are written in the Tibetan script in Appendix IV.

Tibetan has an archaic system of verbal stems (see 2.2.2.1.). However, the system of verbal inflection has been considerably reduced in the spoken language and tense and aspect are most of the time conveyed by verbal endings. The verbal stems do not, in

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<sup>3</sup> i.e. morpheme by morpheme translation; lexical morphemes are, however, not analyzed.

<sup>4</sup> The negative counterparts of affirmative verbal endings are also written with dots, e.g. *yod.kyi.red* (affirmative) and *yod.kyi.ma.red* (negative). For more details, refer to 1.3.3.2.

general, have an influence on the interpretation of the verbal endings. Unlike literary Tibetan, most of the verbs have lost their inflectional diversity in SST and have generalized one stem for all tenses. As a result, I will use, when appropriate, the invariable stem for all tenses in the examples and will not mark the original tense of the stem in classical or literary Tibetan. In some cases, two (or exceptionally three) stems are still used in SST: the past and the present-future (see 2.2.2.1.). These will be marked in brackets after the lexical meaning of the verb, i.e. (PAS), (PRS).

Part 1: *phal.cher mi gcig slebs - pa.yod*

Part 2: perhaps man one come - PF+EPI 3+EGO

Part 3: « Someone must have come. » (The speaker can hear knocking on the door or the dog barking.)

## **Structure of the dissertation**

This dissertation consists of five chapters: the first chapter mainly deals with modality in general, the second one presents spoken Standard Tibetan, the third one analyzes epistemic modalities in SST, the fourth one classifies various types of epistemic endings used in SST, and the fifth one deals with the compatibility of the secondary verbs with epistemic endings.

In the first chapter, I introduce the topic of my dissertation, the category of modality. Since it is closely connected with the categories of tense and aspect, the chapter starts with a brief survey of tense (1.1.) and aspect (1.2.). In 1.3.1., the concept of modality is first discussed from the point of view of logic and then from those of linguistics, the theory of speech acts, factivity (commitment) and subjectivity. Different types of modality are presented in 1.3.2. (epistemic, evidential, deontic, illocutionary). Some linguistic theories of modality also integrate negation, which is the topic of 1.3.3. Furthermore, three different models of modality are presented in this chapter: Palmer's, Dik's and Gosselin's (1.3.4.). Finally, the attention is paid to diverse linguistic means of expressing modality (1.3.5.).

The second chapter starts with an outline of the linguistic situation in Tibet (the dialectal variation, literary Tibetan, Standard Tibetan). The following parts present the morphology (verbal inflexion, verbal endings, evidential endings, the tense-aspect paradigm of evidential endings) and the syntax (lexical categories, phrasal structures,

simple clause, complex sentence) of spoken Standard Tibetan.

The third chapter introduces the various lexical and grammatical means of expressing epistemic modalities in SST. It concentrates on the system of epistemic verbal endings (3.2.) and analyzes them from different points of view: conceptual and functional (3.2.2.) and syntactic (3.2.3.). It summarizes the results of my fieldwork. The final part of the chapter (3.3.) discusses the co-occurrence of epistemic endings and epistemic adverbs.

The fourth chapter is a classification and an analysis of the epistemic endings that are used in SST. They are divided in eleven types. Each type is described from a morphological, semantic, pragmatic and syntactic point of view, and illustrated by numerous examples.

The last chapter focuses on the compatibility of secondary verbs with epistemic endings. The secondary verbs are characterized in the first part (5.1.). The following part (5.2.) deals with combinations of sixteen most frequently used secondary verbs with epistemic endings.



# I.

## MODALITY AND THE RELATED CATEGORIES OF TENSE AND ASPECT

The categories of tense, aspect and modality are closely interrelated (see Guillaume 1929, Lyons 1977, Givon 1984, Bybee 1985, Confais 1990, Bhat 1990, Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Tournadre 2004). Guillaume (1929), for instance, set up a psychological process, called “chronogenesis”<sup>5</sup>, requiring the participation of the three categories on a function that transcends them. He did not study the categories of tense, mood and aspect in isolation even in cases when one of them was not actualized in the discourse. The temporal, aspectual and modal functions may be cumulated in various ways. In spoken Standard Tibetan, for example, these functions are cumulated in verbal endings, and, therefore, they are called TAM verbal endings, as stated in the Introduction. Consequently, it is important in this study of modality to discuss also the categories of tense and aspect.

### 1.1. THE CATEGORY OF TENSE

Time can be viewed from different standpoints: physical, psychological, existential, historical and linguistic (Aristotle: *The Physics*). As Kant (*Critique of Pure Reason*) put it, time is a matter of our perception. Linguistic time, “tense”, makes it possible to convey time from these various standpoints. There are a number of articles and studies on temporal location and temporal relations in language, e.g.: Tedeschi & Zaenen (1981), Hopper (1982), Comrie (1985), Confais (1995), Moeschler (1998), Saussure (1998), Bhat (1999). I will confine myself to presenting a brief outline of the category of tense that is relevant for the present study.

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<sup>5</sup> “La « chronogénèse » est un processus psychologique qui rend compte de ce qu’il y a dans le passage de la *langue* au *discours* un mouvement d’actualisation.” Guillaume (1929:25).

### 1.1.1. CONCEPT OF TENSE

*“Tense is grammaticalized expression of location in time.” (Comrie 1985:9)*

Tense is often defined as a deictic category because it is, in general, connected with the speaker’s “now and here” (see Comrie 1976:5, 1985:14, Guentchéva 1990:19). Traditional grammars divide tenses in two types: absolute tenses and relative tenses (see Givon 1984, Comrie 1985:36, Cohen 1989, Bhat 1999:14). According to Reichenbach’s theory of tenses (Reichenbach 1966), three points in time are important for the determination of each tense. These are the point of speech (S), the point of event (E) and the point of reference (R). When the point of reference (R) coincides with the moment of speech (S) and the event is situated in relation to R/S, we speak of “absolute” tense. When the moment of reference (R) precedes (or follows) the moment of speech and the event is situated in relation to  $R \neq S$ , we speak of “relative” tense.

The terms “absolute” and “relative” are sometimes rejected, e.g. Bhat (1999) and Tournadre (2004) maintain that both types are relative to a reference point because the “absolute” tenses are not absolute but they are also related to a single moment, the moment of utterance, i.e. the speaker’s “now”. Instead, the terms “deictic” and “non-deictic” tenses are used (see Bhat 1999:30, Tournadre 2004:37, 1.1.2.).

Languages possess a number of linguistic means for locating situations in time. They can be either lexical or grammatical. Most languages combine different lexical and grammatical means to mark tense. There are, however, languages that are characterized by absence of grammatical tenses. These are often called “tenseless” languages. Bhat (1999:15) defines them as “languages in which the notion of temporal location does not get grammaticalized”. Comrie (1976:6) puts it in the following way:

*“Many languages lack tenses, i.e. do not have grammaticalized time reference, though probably all languages can lexicalize time reference, i.e. have temporal adverbials that locate situations in time.”*

Concerning lexical expression of tense, various time words are used e.g. nouns,

adverbs, modal verbs. They restrict the action of a sentence to a specific temporal location. This fact holds true both for definite and indefinite temporal data (Temporal data are made out on the basis of the knowledge of a given temporal axe). In the following example from Chinese, the time of the sentence is only expressed lexically by temporal adverbs *jīntiān* ‘today’ (ex. 1a) and *zuótiān* ‘yesterday’ (ex. 1b):

(1) a) *jīntiān tā bù shūfu*  
 today s/he NEG feel well  
 « Today he does not feel well. »

b) *zuótiān tā bù shūfu*  
 yesterday s/he NEG feel well  
 « Yesterday he did not feel well. »

While some languages have no grammaticalized tense, other languages possess several tenses. Nevertheless, most grammatical systems do not mark more than five temporal levels. The most frequent ones are systems with two or three levels (Comrie 1985:97). The first type, languages with two tenses, is characterized by the dichotomy between ‘non-future’ and ‘future’. The other type, languages with three tenses, e.g. spoken standard Tibetan, divides tenses in the past, the present and the future. Comrie (1985:85) draws attention to the dissymmetry between the past and future tense: the past tense is, in general, more diversified than the future.

The grammatical means of expressing tense include various temporal markers and specific constructions. In general, temporal markers cluster in the verbal domain. These are mainly verbal auxiliaries, affixes and particles. They are illustrated by the following examples taken from Tibetan (*song*: a verbal ending of the perfective past in ex. (2) and Chinese (*guo*: aspecto-temporal marker implying a past experience in ex. (3):

(2) *khong - la rtags.ma thob - song*  
 s/he+H - OBL medal win - PFV+SENS  
 « She got a medal. »

(3) wǒ kàn - guò                      zhè běn                      shū  
I    read - PAST EXPERIENCE this CLASSIFIER book  
« I have read this book. » (implying: in my life)

### 1.1.2. TEMPORAL REFERENCE AND DEICTIC VS. NON-DEICTIC TENSES

Temporal reference is a key term for various models of temporality. It can be defined as Bhat (1999:13) put it:

*“Since time itself does not have any distinguishable marks on it, tense has to make use of some other event which occurs before, simultaneously or after the event under consideration as the reference point for indicating its temporal location.”*

A new look on temporal reference, which I would like to mention here, is put forward by Moeschler (1998). His model is based on the idea that the temporal markers (non-lexical categories) do not encode concepts but procedures (procedural information). A procedure associated with a verbal tense is a specification of the contexts in which it may appear. The procedural model is formulated in the referential and cognitive perspectives.

Unlike the traditional approach, in which temporal reference is entirely determined by temporal and linguistic expressions, in Moeschler’s model, the interpretation of the temporal reference of a sentence is influenced by two factors: the first one is linguistic information (i.e. information that is linguistically encoded), and the second one is explicit (propositional attitude of the speaker) and implicit information that is connected with perception, physical environment, linguistic environment and the speaker’s knowledge of the world. All these are necessary for building the context which is important for the interpretation of temporal reference.

For every tense, it is necessary to divide the encoded information in layers (Moeschler 1998:9): the first is a semantic layer common for all uses, the other ones are superficial layers characteristic of specific uses, eg.: the French *passé composé*: the semantic layer is limited to the information E-S (the event preceding the moment of utterance), the rest of the procedure (pragmatic) describes the reprocessing of the

point of perspective P and the reference point R.

For Moeschler (1998:5), these language processes are universal:

*“The capacities to represent eventualities [i.e. states of things that take place] are universal [...] for all languages of the world. [...] [They] are independent on the specific linguistic form in which they are encoded.”<sup>6</sup>*

Deictic and non-deictic tenses differ in temporal reference. The reference point for deictic tenses is the moment of utterance. These tenses have a deictic referential function, i.e. they refer to past, present and future. On the contrary, non-deictic tenses are related to other moments. Their reference point is different from the moment of utterance. Consider the following examples in spoken standard Tibetan: The reference point of the event of drawing in ex. (4a) is the moment when the speaker utters the sentence<sup>7</sup>, while in ex. (4b), the reference point of the event of building the monastery is one period in the past (the eighth century)<sup>8</sup>:

(4) a) *bkra.shis - kyis ri.mo bris - bzhag*

Tashi - ERG picture draw (PAS) - PERF+IFR

« Look, Tashi has drawn a picture. »

b) *bsam.yas dgon.pa dus.rabs brgyad.pa - r bzhengs - pa.red*

Samye monastery century eighth - OBL build+H - PFV+FACT

« The Samye monastery was built in the eighth century. »

Deictic tenses differ from non-deictic tenses in that their reference point (utterance time) is generally considered to be the unmarked one, in Bhat’s terminology (Bhat 1999:16), and hence it need not be specified. On the other hand, the reference point of non-deictic tenses must be specified either in the sentence or by the context. In the following examples from spoken standard Tibetan, without any context, the reference

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<sup>6</sup> My translation of: “... les capacités de représentation des éventualités sont universelles [...] quelle que soit la langue [...] [Elles] sont indépendantes du format linguistique spécifique dans lequel elles sont encodées.” (Moeschler 1998:5).

<sup>7</sup> The speaker discovers the fact at the moment of utterance.

<sup>8</sup> The fact whether the content of the proposition was known to the speaker or not is irrelevant.

point of (5a) is deictic, while in the non-deictic interpretation the reference point *de.dus* ‘then’ must be specified (5b):

(5) a) *khong dbyin.ji.skad sbyangs - kyi.yod.red*  
s/he+H English language learn - IMPF+FACT  
« She learns English. »

b) *de.dus khong dbyin.ji.skad sbyangs - kyi.yod.red*  
then s/he+H English language learn - IMPF+FACT  
« Then, she learnt English. »

In spoken standard Tibetan, the same verbal endings are used for the present and the imperfective past tenses (see 2.2.2.6.4.). When the reference point is not specified as in ex. (5a), the sentence is interpreted in the present tense. In ex. (5b), since the reference point is ‘then’, the sentence is interpreted in the imperfective past.

## 1.2. THE CATEGORY OF ASPECT

Originally, the concept of aspect appeared in linguistic works on the Slavic languages, in which verbs are characterized by the opposition perfective versus imperfective<sup>9</sup>. This model is, however, limited to a small number of languages and cannot be generalized. There are several different aspectual models in contemporary linguistics also differing in terminology. The following are some works and studies on aspect, e.g.: Comrie (1976), Hopper (1982), Chung & Timberlake (1985), Dahl (1985), Dahl (ed. 2000), Bache (1985, 1995), Cohen (1989), Smith (1991), Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca (1994), Dik (1997), Bhat (1999), Tournadre (2004).

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<sup>9</sup> In Russian *совершенный/несовершенный*, in Czech *dokonavý/nedokonavý*.

### 1.2.1. CONCEPT OF ASPECT

*“Aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation.” (Comrie 1976:5)*

*“Aspect [...] indicates the temporal structure of an event, i.e. the way in which the event occurs in time.” (Bhat 1999:43)*

Aspect is often divided in two types: grammatical and lexical (see Smith 1986, Bache 1995). Grammatical aspect is rather marked in the morpho-syntax, while lexical aspect is conveyed by ‘the constellation of a verb and its arguments’ (Smith 1991:27, Dik 1989, 1997). An overview of grammatical and lexical aspect is given in 1.2.2. This division is, however, not universally recognized. Dahl (1985), Dik (1997), Bhat (1999), Tournadre (2004)<sup>10</sup> disagree with limiting aspect only to the opposition perfective-imperfective and with the traditional division of aspect in grammatical and lexical because it is not sufficient for the description of all aspectual values and because of differences among languages in the expression of aspectual meanings. Concerning the differences in the expression, Bhat (1999:45) put it in the following way:

*“Certain aspectual (viewpoint) distinctions may occur as lexical or derivational distinctions in some languages and as inflectional distinction in others.”*

A larger conception of aspect, sometimes referred to as aspectuality, incorporates various concepts such as: concomitance (Cohen 1989), telicity (Dik 1997) and delimitation (or boundedness, Kozłowska 1998). Concomitance is defined by Cohen (1989:95) as follows: “A process is concomitant to a reference mark *r*, if, and only if, it takes place during *r* or if its result remains present during *r*.”<sup>11</sup> Tournadre (2004:15)

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<sup>10</sup> Tournadre (2004:23): « [...] la distinction entre « aspect lexical » et « aspect grammatical » [...] nous semble erronée, particulièrement dans une approche typologique [...]. See also Dahl (1985:27).

<sup>11</sup> My translation of: “*Un procès est concomitant à un repère r, si et seulement si, il se déroule pendant r ou si son résultat reste présent pendant r.*”

combines the concepts of *accompli/inaccompli* (i.e. perfective/imperfective) and concomitance getting the following four types: *accompli concomitant*, *accompli non concomitant*, *inaccompli concomitant*, *inaccompli non concomitant*. They correspond, respectively, to the present perfect (*parfait*), aorist, progressive and habitual. The criterion of concomitance is important, for example, for the use of past verbal endings in spoken standard Tibetan: whereas the endings *song* or *byung* can be either concomitant or non concomitant (see 2.2.2.6.2.), *bzhag* is always concomitant (see 2.2.2.6.3.). Compare the following sentences: while ex. (6a) may be interpreted as concomitant or not, ex. (6b) is only concomitant:

(6) a) *chos.sgron phyin - song*

Chodren go (PAS) - PFV+SENS

1. « Chodren has left. »

2. « Chodren left. »

b) *chos.sgron phyin - bzhag*

Chodren go (PAS) - IFR+SENS

« Chodren has left. »

\* « Chodren left. »

The concept of telicity was introduced by Garey (1957). The verbs “which have natural culminations” (i.e. achievement or accomplishment verbs) are ‘telic’, and those “which do not have to wait for a goal for their realization” (i.e. verbs of states or activities) are ‘atelic’ (quoted by Vittrant 2004:21). Since telicity is not limited to the verb but it is related to the verb with its arguments (Comrie 1976:45), it is part of lexical aspect. Kozłowska (1998) discusses telicity in relation to delimitation<sup>12</sup>.

The term ‘aspectuality’ appears, for example, in Dik (1997/1:221-225) for whom it designs five different types of semantic aspects. He proposes the following classification:

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<sup>12</sup> ‘Bornage’ in her terminology (Kozłowska 1998: 224-234).



1. States of Affairs: Lexicalized semantic differences (+/- dynamic, +/- telic, +/- control), i.e. event vs. situation: position, state, activity, dynamism, accomplishment, change.
2. Perfectivity/Imperfectivity, i.e. perfective, imperfective.
3. Phasal aspectuality: Phases of an event, e.g. ingressive, progressive, continuous, egressive.
4. Quantification aspectuality: Quantification of the process, e.g. iterative, habitual, frequentative, distributive.
5. Perspective aspectuality, e.g. prospective, immediate prospective, recent perfect.

Dik's model is developed by Tournadre (2004) who criticizes certain points, such as: absence of the concept of delimitation and Dik's definition of perfectivity (Tournadre 2004:21). Tournadre (2004:17) maintains that the choice of aspect depends on the speaker and the perspective he decides to use for a given situation. The selected aspectual-temporal perspective can be the whole process or just one phase of it. He proposes a model of aspectuality, called "Configurations and perspectives", with six types (Tournadre 2004:22-28): configurational aspectuality, quantificational aspectuality, phasal aspectuality, delimitative aspectuality, concomitative aspectuality, presuppositional aspectuality. These types can be illustrated by the following examples:

1. Configurational aspectuality (Aktionsart): +/-dynamic, +/-telic, +/-punctual, +/-control, e.g. '*to die*' is +telic, '*to find*' +punctual, '*to fall*' -control.
2. Quantificational aspectuality: singulative, semelfactive, distributive, frequentative, iterative, habitual, generic, e.g. '*write a letter*' is singulative, '*write three letters*' semelfactive, '*write to everyone*' distributive.
3. Phasal aspectuality: pre-processual, initial, middle, final, post-processual, e.g. '*start writing*' is initial, '*continue writing*' middle, '*stop writing*' final.
4. Delimitative aspectuality: accomplished (with a limit), non-accomplished (without a limit), cf. '*He wrote*'. and '*He was writing*'.
5. Concomitative aspectuality: progressive, perfect, prospective (see ex. 6a).
6. Presuppositional aspectuality: mutative (change of situation), remansive (continuation of an already started process), precessive (implying the meaning of "already done/started") e.g. '*They are still having a stroll.*'.

## 1.2.2. GRAMMATICAL ASPECT VS. LEXICAL ASPECT

Grammatical aspect is defined as ‘grammaticalization of semantic oppositions’ or as ‘various ways of viewing the events, i.e. as complete or incomplete, specific or habitual, beginning (ingressive), continuing (progressive), or ending (egressive), etc.’ (Bhat 1999:45, see also Dahl 1985, Smith 1986, Cohen 1989). The basic opposition is perfective versus imperfective (Comrie 1976:3, 16, 24). They differ in the presence and absence of limits of the process. Unlike imperfective verbs (a situation viewed in progress), perfective verbs have an initial or final limit of the process (a situation viewed in its entirety and having an end) (Comrie 1976:12, 19). Other terms are used for this opposition, e.g.: ‘accompli’ vs. ‘inaccompli’ (Cohen 1989:67, Tournadre 2004:14), ‘terminative’ for perfective (Givon 1984). Comrie also uses the terms ‘progressive’<sup>13</sup> and ‘habitual’ for imperfectives, and ‘resultative’ and ‘completed’ for perfectives. He describes the difference between the perfective and the imperfective in the following way (Comrie 1976:4):

*“... the perfective looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation, whereas the imperfective looks at the situation from inside.”*

In spoken standard Tibetan, aspectual distinctions are often expressed grammatically by verbal endings (see 2.2.2.6.2.-2.2.2.6.4.) or by secondary verbs (see 5.1., 5.2.9.-5.2.15.) as Tournadre (2004:34) points out. Compare the following sentences taken from Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:382): while ex. (7a) expresses the perfective aspect, ex. (7b) implies the imperfective aspect:

(7) a) *mo.rang yar langs - song*  
she up get up - PFV+SENS  
« She got up. »

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<sup>13</sup> Comrie (1976:12) defines progressiveness as “the combination of continuousness with nonstativity”.

b) *mo.rang langs bsdad - bzhag*  
she get up stay - PERF+IFR  
« She's up. »

Lexical aspect is often defined as ‘the lexicalization of semantic differences’, it is ontological or inherent to the verbal process (Tournadre 2004:20). 19<sup>th</sup> century German linguists introduced the concept of Aktionsart<sup>14</sup> corresponding in English to ‘kind of actions’ or ‘kind of events’ (processes vs. states, telic vs. atelic, etc.) (Bhat 1999:45). In some linguistic models, Aktionsart is part of the universal category of aspect and a synonym of lexical aspect (situational aspect, actionality, action) as opposed to perfective/imperfective which is a synonym to grammatical aspect, (see Tournadre 2004:20).

Comrie (1976:7) discusses commonly accepted distinctions between aspect and Aktionsart: aspect is grammaticalization of the relevant semantic distinctions, while Aktionsart represents either lexicalization of distinctions or lexicalization of distinctions provided that the lexicalization is by means of derivational morphology. Cohen (1989) defines Aktionsart as “differentiation of lexical nature among certain verbs” (« différenciation de nature lexicale entre certains verbes ») and he maintains that while the application of lexical differences is limited (not general) and their formation is not automatically morphologic, aspect is general, automatic and transcendent (Cohen 1989:40).

In the Slavic studies, the category of aspect is limited only to derivational morphology, i.e. the opposition perfective - imperfective and the Aktionsarten express a number of other “aspectual” functions. The primer distinction is, therefore, between morphologically marked verbs and morphologically unmarked verbs (see Kunert 1984:13, 46-48). The morphological expression by affixes (prefix, infix or suffix) is sometimes found even in non Slavic languages, for ex. French. The following are two examples from French (8a, c) and Czech (8b, d):

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<sup>14</sup> See Vittrant (2004:18).

- (8) a) *soulever* - b) *pozvednout* ‘lift up’ (cf. *lever* - *zvednout* ‘lift’)  
 c) *toussoter* - d) *pokašlávat* ‘have a slight cough’ (cf. *tousser* - *kašlat* ‘cough’)

Aktionsarten of the morphologically unmarked verbs are sometimes classified into groups. Below is an example of such classification. It was made by Bondarko-Bulanin (1967). I add examples from Czech as an illustration:

1. The stative Aktionsart (verbs expressing a state: *stát* ‘stand’, *mlčet* ‘be silent’)
2. The relational Aktionsart (verbs expressing a relation: *znát* ‘know’, *mít* ‘have’)
3. The evolutive Aktionsart (verbs expressing an evolution: *žít* ‘live’, *diskutovat* ‘discuss’)

Lexical aspect is closely interrelated with the study of verbal classes. There are several verbal classifications. An influential study of the verbal classification was done by Vendler (1967) although his works are rather inscribed in the philosophical tradition. He classified verbs in the following four types (Vendler 1967:102):

states	<i>possess, love</i>
achievement	<i>lose, recognize</i>
activities	<i>run, draw</i>
accomplishment	<i>run the marathon, draw a picture</i>

Later, the idea of ‘verbal constellation’ developed in linguistic studies (see Smith 1991, Dik 1989, 1997) extending the study of verbal classes to the sphere of the sentence. Dik (1989:89-110) classifies verbs according to five basic criteria: dynamicity (dynamic vs. static verbs, distinction between events and states), telicity (telic vs. atelic verbs, telic verbs having a natural final point), momentaneousness (internal stages), control<sup>15</sup> and experience. By means of these criteria, Dik divides verbs in six types (States of Affairs) and gives the following examples (Dik 1989:97):

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<sup>15</sup> The criterion of control is essential in SST for the compatibility of verbs with verbal endings (see 2.2.3.1.2.)

position	<i>John kept his money in an old sock.</i>
state	<i>John's money is in an old sock.</i>
accomplishment	<i>John ran the marathon in three hours.</i>
activity	<i>John was reading a book.</i>
change	<i>The apple fell from the tree.</i>
dynamism	<i>The clock was ticking.</i>

The following sentences from spoken standard Tibetan can illustrate two of Dik's States of Affairs: ex. (9a) implies an activity, ex. (9b) expresses a resulting state (taken from Tournadre 2004:35; cf. ex. 9 with ex. 7 above):

(9) a) *kho.rang stod.thung dkar.po gon - gyi. 'dug*  
 he shirt white dress - IMPF+SENS  
 « He's dressing a white shirt. »

b) *kho.rang stod.thung dkar.po gon bsdad - bzhag*  
 he shirt white dress stay - PERF+IFR  
 « He's wearing a white shirt. »

### 1.3. THE CATEGORY OF MODALITY

Modality is rather a conceptual and semantic than grammatical term<sup>16</sup>. It is, therefore, difficult to define modality because many features associated with it are often grammatically unmarked<sup>17</sup> (Palmer 1986:5). Nevertheless, modality should be treated on the same level as the grammatical categories of tense and aspect, as many linguistic studies on modality put forward, e.g. Chung & Timberlake (1985), Palmer (1986), Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca (1994), Bybee & Fleischman (1995), Confais (1995), van der Auwera (1998a), van der Auwera & Plungian (1998), Bhat (1999), Papafragou (2000), Gosselin (2005), Frawley (2006). Just like the case of aspect,

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<sup>16</sup> However, as Palmer (1986:6) claims, "both semantic considerations and judgements about grammaticality" have to be taken into account when dealing with modality.

<sup>17</sup> It should be underlined that although they are sometimes not marked on the verbal group, they may be marked on other words.

there is no generally accepted definition of modality in linguistics. The following is the traditional definition of modality:

*“Modality is the expression of the speaker’s attitude with respect to what he is saying (the content of his sentence)”<sup>18</sup>.*

This definition is, however, sometimes criticized, e.g. by Gosselin (2005:39-40) as too large, on one hand, since it does not distinguish modality from aspect or expressive illocutionary acts, and on the other hand, as too narrow because it concerns only subjective modalities (epistemic and appreciative). Indeed, modality is sometimes interpreted in a narrow sense, e.g. Benveniste (1974), van der Auwera & Plungian (1998) and sometimes viewed as a wide spectrum of items, e.g. Bally (1932), Tournadre (2004), Gosselin (2005). Consequently, in the latter case, it is often preferable to use the term “modalities” rather than “modality”.

### **1.3.1. CONCEPT OF MODALITY**

In this part, the concept of modality will be first discussed from the viewpoint of modal logic and then from that of linguistics, especially in relation to mood, subjectivity, factuality and the theory of speech acts.

#### **1.3.1.1. Modality in logic**

Logic and linguistics both employ identical terms when dealing with modality. Nevertheless, these terms differ in their use. I will first take a look at the concept of modality from the point of view of modal logic. Some works relating to this topic are von Wright (1951), Rescher (1968) and Lyons (1977). It is sometimes claimed that modalities which are studied by logic are not pertinent for linguistics (Vion 2003:209).

The logicians and philosophers divide modality into propositions that are contingently true or false and propositions that are necessarily either true (analytic propositions) or

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<sup>18</sup> Cf. Jespersen (1924:313): “[The moods] express certain attitudes of mind of the speaker towards the contents of the sentence...”.

false (contradictions). The central points of traditional modal logic are, as Lyons (1977:787) put it, the notions of necessity and possibility, which are related in terms of negation:  $nec\ p \equiv \sim poss\ \sim p$ ,  $poss\ p \equiv \sim nec\ \sim p$ . Modal logic is mainly concerned with objective modality, which is divided into the following types:

1. Alethic modality dealing with absolute or logical necessity or possibility, or with contingent truth of propositions
2. Epistemic modality
3. Deontic modality

Unlike linguistics, modal logic does not consider the pragmatics of the speaker and hearer and the communicative context. As a result, the basic modalities for logic are true (affirmative) and false (negative). They are followed by the following modes of truth: necessary (analytic), factual (synthetic) and possible (conditional).

### **1.3.1.2. Modality in linguistics**

One of the first studies of modality from a linguistic point of view was done by Jespersen (1924). He characterized two modal categories differing by the presence or absence of “an element of will” (Jespersen 1924:320-1). The former corresponds to obligative, jussive, permissive, the latter to necessitative, potential, hypothetical, dubitative. Similarly, in his influential study of modality, Palmer (1986) divides modality in two basic types: epistemic and deontic (agent-oriented; see 1.3.4.1.). Epistemic and deontic modalities have two features in common: first, they are characterized, as Lyons drew it (1977:797ff), by a continuum from subjective to objective meaning and by non-factivity (non-factuality). Second, from a formal point of view, in some languages (especially European ones), the same forms are used for both epistemic and deontic modalities<sup>19</sup>. For example, modal verbs have, in many languages e.g. Czech (ex. 10) and Chinese (ex. 11), both the epistemic and deontic meaning:

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<sup>19</sup> For more details on the formal expression of modal meanings, refer to 1.3.5.

(10) *Zítā mustí vyhrát*  
 tomorrow MUST(3sg+ IND+PRS) win  
 « She must win tomorrow. » (i.e. “I’m sure she will win.”)  
 « She must win tomorrow. » (i.e. “She has to win.”)

(11) *tā huì zhèyang zuò*  
 s/he can like this do  
 « She could do it that way. » (i.e. “Perhaps, she will do it.”)  
 « She can do it that way. » (i.e. “She is able to do it.”)

In a number of languages, however, modal verbs may only have a deontic meaning<sup>20</sup>. In spoken Standard Tibetan, for example, all modal (‘secondary’) verbs, with one exception<sup>21</sup>, do not have an epistemic meaning. Look at the example below with the modal verb *dgos* ‘must’ that only has a deontic meaning:

(12) *khong - tsho de.ring po.lo thob dgos - kyi.red*  
 s/he+H - pl today ball win must - FUT+FACT  
 « They must win today. » (i.e. “They have to win today.”, and not \*‘I’m sure they will win today.’”)

Bybee (1985:166ff) and Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:177ff) propose a division of modality into four types: epistemic, agent-oriented (i.e. deontic), speaker-oriented, and subordinating. They underline the importance of studying the diachronic developments of modal elements in order to understand the range of modal meanings in a language. In her cross-linguistic study of morphology, Bybee (1985) suggests that agent-oriented and epistemic modalities often differ morphologically. Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:181, 241) argue that there is a strong tendency for epistemic modality to be expressed inflectionally in bound forms i.e. they fuse with the verb stem<sup>22</sup>. Agent-oriented modality, on the other hand, is often expressed in non-bound

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<sup>20</sup> See Dryer et al. (2004).

<sup>21</sup> The only modal verb having an epistemic meaning is *srid* ‘be possible’, see 5.2.6.

<sup>22</sup> Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:177) speak of four types of modality: agent-oriented, speaker-oriented, epistemic, and subordinating. Just like the epistemic type, the speaker-oriented and subordinating types are also often expressed in bound forms. This is not the case of the agent-oriented type.



lexical forms, such as auxiliary verbs. Bybee explains this phenomenon by grammaticalization: since the meaning of the modal form becomes more abstract over time, from agent-oriented to epistemic, the form itself often reduces phonologically, i.e. from a free lexical form to a bound inflectional form.

In spoken Standard Tibetan, there is no relation between the deontic and epistemic form. However, epistemic endings are an example of the grammaticalization process from a free lexical form to a bound inflectional form. Look at the following sentence with the epistemic ending *pa. 'dra* which has developed from the lexical verb *'dra* meaning 'be like, be similar'<sup>23</sup>:

(13) *khong - gis deb nyos - pa. 'dra*  
s/he+H - ERG book buy (PAS) - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
« S/he seems to have bought a book. »

It has been shown above (ex. 10, 11) that some languages are characterized by the deontic-epistemic alternation but that this distinction is not made in all languages (ex. 12). Some languages distinguish between epistemic and non-epistemic modalities, e.g. spoken Standard Tibetan<sup>24</sup>. Other languages divide modalities in real (*realis*) and unreal (*irrealis*) (see Givón 1984, Comrie 1986). These are two poles of the epistemic paradigm. In relation to reality and from a point of view of the discourse-pragmatics, Givón (1984:284) speaks of four epistemic modalities and divides propositions into the following three types according to their propositional modality:

- 1) Uncontested knowledge/presuppositions - propositions which are taken for granted.
- 2) *Realis*-assertions - propositions that are asserted with relative confidence
  - (a) affirmative
  - (b) negative
- 3) *Irrealis*-assertions - propositions that are asserted with doubt as hypotheses.

Another type of modality that is identified in linguistic studies (see e.g. Palmer 1990,

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<sup>23</sup> For more details on the epistemic endings with the final auxiliary *'dra*, refer to 4.7.

<sup>24</sup> For more details, refer to chapters II and III.

Papafragou 2000) is ‘dynamic modality’. It is connected with factuality (see 1.3.1.5.) and includes real-world ability and intention (willingness), e.g. expression of the subject’s ability in ‘*He can swim.*’. Palmer (1990:36) points out that dynamic modality is concerned with the ability or volition of the subject of the sentence, not with the speaker, and so is not subjective like other modalities. As a result, it is less centrally modal. Papafragou regroups dynamic and deontic modalities under the term ‘agent-oriented’ or ‘root’ modalities, and epistemic and alethic modalities under ‘speaker-oriented’ modalities. Agent-oriented modalities express various conditions on the agent, such as ability, obligation, desire, intention or permission. Speaker-oriented modalities focus on the degree of the speaker’s commitment to the actuality of his utterance (certainty, probability, possibility).

Furthermore, evidentials<sup>25</sup>, i.e. markers of information source, are sometimes viewed as a modal type (see Palmer 1986, Willett 1988, Frawley 1992, Bybee et al. 1994, Bhat 1999, Tournadre 2004, Boye 2006; also 1.3.2.2.). Sometimes, it is considered an independent language category called ‘evidentiality’ (see van der Auwera & Plungian 1998, Aikhenvald 2004, Gosselin 2005). Aikhenvald (2004:7), for example, asserts that evidentiality is “a category in its own right, and not a subcategory of any modality ..., or of tense-aspect” and defines it in the following way (Aikhenvald 2004:3):

*“Evidentiality is a linguistic category whose primary meaning is source of information... this covers the way in which the information was acquired, without necessarily relating to the degree of speaker’s certainty concerning the statement or whether it is true or not.”*

Similarly, van der Auwera & Plungian (1998:80-86) do not include evidentials as part of the category of modality. They distinguish three types of modality: ‘participant-internal modality’ (inherent possibility or necessity, i.e. capacity, dynamic modality), ‘participant-external modality’ (external possibility or necessity including deontic modality), and ‘epistemic modality’ (possibility and necessity). Tournadre (2004:51), on the other hand, divides modality in three domains characterized by the source of the utterance, the evaluation of the utterance and by the

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<sup>25</sup> The term ‘evidential’ was first introduced by Jakobson (1957).

communicative aim of the utterance. According to the domain, modality is further divided in evidential modalities, epistemic and deontico-axiological modalities, and illocutionary modalities<sup>26</sup>. He further mentions internal modalities, which he does not consider, strictly speaking, as modalities but as modal qualifications of the nuclear predication (Tournadre 2004:60).

Concerning ‘evidentiality’ from a terminological point of view, in their work on Amerindian and Caucasian languages, Guentchéva and Landaburu (2007:3) draw attention to the difficulty of using this term:

*“We found the term evidentiality problematic. [...] although the use of these terms [evidential, evidentiality] is now rather widespread [...] they are a cause of confusion. [...] The first criticism that we address to these terms is its lax use in French as well as in English. Depending on the case, it is applied to the whole field that we can call epistemological, and thus to the dimensions 1 (validity, commitment, etc.), 2 (source, access), 3 (prominence, admirative, etc.), or to the dimensions 2 and 3, or just (and that is its most precise use) to the dimension 2 (source, access).”<sup>27</sup>*

Unlike van der Auwera & Plungian (1998), Aikhenvald (2004)<sup>28</sup> and Gosselin (2005)<sup>29</sup> and in accordance with Palmer (1986; see 1.3.1.2.), Bhat (1999) and Tournadre (2004), having a large conception of modality, I consider evidentials as a modal type. Accordingly, in this dissertation, I will use the term ‘evidential modalities’.

Finally, some conceptions include illocutionary modalities (see Bhat 1999, Tournadre

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<sup>26</sup> For more details on Tournadre’s classification of epistemic and evidential modalities respectively, refer to 1.3.2.1. and 1.3.2.2.

<sup>27</sup> My translation of: « *Le terme evidentiality nous a posé problème. [...] même si l’usage de ces termes [evidential, evidentiality] est maintenant assez répandu [...] ils sont source de confusion. [...] La première critique que nous adressons à ces vocables est son emploi laxiste aussi bien en français qu’en anglais. Selon les cas, il s’applique à tout le champ que nous pouvons appeler épistémologique et donc aux dimensions 1 (validité, prise en charge, etc.), 2 (source, accès), 3 (saillance, admiratif, etc.) ou aux dimensions 2 et 3 ou seulement (et c’est là son emploi le plus précis) à la dimension 2 (source, accès).* »

<sup>28</sup> “That evidentials may have semantic extensions related to probability and speaker’s evaluation of the trustworthiness of information does not make evidentiality a kind of modality.” Aikhenvald (2004:7-8).

<sup>29</sup> « On se gardera par ailleurs de confondre l’instance de validation, qui fonde la modalité, avec la source de l’information, qui relève de la problématique de « l’évidentialité », quoique ces deux phénomènes entretiennent des liens étroits et qu’il soit parfois difficile de les distinguer... » (Gosselin 2005 :30-40, note 17).

2004; 1.3.2.4). Bhat (1999:63-87), for example, incorporates illocutionary moods (in Bhat's terminology) in his model of modality. He divides modality in two basic types which he calls 'knowledge-based moods' and 'action-based moods'.

### 1.3.1.3. Modality versus Mood

The traditional term "mood" is a morpho-syntactic category of verbal nature. It is sometimes used as a label of the category with the same status as the categories of tense and aspect ("tense, aspect, mood"). Lyons (1977:848), for example, defines mood as a grammatical category found in some languages but not being universal. On the contrary, modality is, as suggested above, associated with the field of the semantics and it is not always formally marked within the verbal morphology. As a result, one may consider modality to be a universal concept.

Mood and modality are sometimes distinguished by relating the first to illocutionary force, and the other to the expression of necessity and possibility (Halliday 1970). Mood is connected with the notions of "reality", "existence", "factuality", while "possibility", "probability", "necessity" and "volition" are modalities (Confais 1995:20).

Mood has often become grammaticalized (cf. e.g. its use in subordinate sentences in French) and fairly removed from the semantics (Palmer 1986:22). An example of the grammaticalization of mood is the use of the subjunctive in French subordinate sentences in deontic contexts (ex. 14) or after *Je ne pense pas que* 'I do not think that' (ex. 15):

(14) *Il faut qu'il vienne*  
 3sg (impers) be necessary (3sg+IND+PRS) that (prep) he come (3sg+SUB+PRS)  
 / \* *vient*  
 / (3sg+IND+PRS)  
 «He needs to/has to come. »

(15) *Je ne pense pas qu'il vienne*  
 I NEG think (1sg+IND+PRS) NEG that (prep) he come (3sg+SUB+PRS)  
 / \* *viendra*  
 / (3sg+IND+FUT)  
 «I do not think he will come. »

When the main clause is affirmative, the indicative is used in the subordinate clause, as shown in ex. (16):

(16) *Je pense qu'il viendra*  
I think (1sg+IND+PRS) that (prep) he come (3sg+IND+FUT)  
« I think he will come. »

#### 1.3.1.4. Subjectivity

Subjectivity is a fundamental characteristic of modality. Some models of modality have subjectivity as the main criterion for the classification of modality though they do not always use it in the same way, e.g. Le Querler (1996), Dik (1997)<sup>30</sup>. Le Querler (1996:63), for example, divides modalities in three types: subjective, intersubjective and objective. Subjective modalities imply a relationship between the speaker and the propositional content (epistemic, appreciative modalities). Intersubjective modalities imply a relationship between the speaker and another person regarding the propositional content (deontic modalities: order, advise, suggestion). Objective modalities do not depend on the speaker's volition or judgement; the speaker subordinates the propositional content to another proposition (implicative modalities: conditionals, consequences) (see Le Querler 1996:63-67).

Modal logic distinguishes objective and subjective modality but it mainly deals with objective modality (see 1.3.1.1.). In linguistics the situation is opposite. Modality in language is essentially subjective because it is concerned with the speaker's attitudes (see Palmer 1986, Bhat 1999). Palmer (1986:16) suggests defining modality in respect to subjectivity in the following way:

*“Modality in language is [...] concerned with subjective characteristics of an utterance... [and] could be defined as ‘the grammaticalization of speakers’ (subjective) attitudes and opinions’.”*

Bhat (1999:63) brings up three parameters used in languages while establishing modal distinctions, all of them relating to the speaker:

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<sup>30</sup> See 1.3.4.2. for Dik's classification.

- 1) the speaker's opinion or judgement regarding the actuality of an event
- 2) a kind of evidence that is available for the speaker to form this judgement
- 3) a kind of need or requirement which forces the speaker (or someone else) to get involved in an event (or to carry out an action)

### **1.3.1.5. Factuality and commitment**

Factuality is another important feature for modality (Palmer 1986). Introduced by Lyons (1977) by the name of "factivity" together with "non-factivity" and "contra-factivity", it refers to the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed in the utterance. A typical factive verb is "to know". Non-factivity does not commit the speaker to the truth nor the falsity of the proposition whereas contra-factivity commits him to the falsity of the proposition. The former one includes "believe" and "think"-sentences and the latter one includes wishes and unreal conditionals. Lyons claims that modality should be studied in connection with non-factivity only, arguing that "straightforward statements of fact may be described as epistemically non-modal" (Lyons 1977:797).

Lyons's claim is challenged, for example, by Palmer (1986) and Tournadre (2004). Using the term "factuality" instead of "factivity", Palmer (1986:17-18) does not agree with the idea of confining the study of modality only to non-factuality maintaining that factual statements should be handled together with opinions and judgements. He argues that both types of statements are subjective, representing the speaker's point of view, and that factual statements too must be handled with the speech acts. He admits that the status of utterances used to make factual statements (whether these are part of modal systems of languages or not) is problematic but he gives one reason for treating factual statements as modal: the fact that they often belong to the same formal systems, e.g. the mood systems of indicative, subjunctive and imperative in Latin. Palmer (1986:18) ends up with the following standpoint:

*"What seems clear, however, is that the study of modality cannot ignore such utterances [i.e. factual statements] and that it is not concerned only with non-factuality but with factuality in the wide sense that includes (positive) factuality, non-factuality and perhaps even contra-factuality."*

Similarly, as Bally (1932)<sup>31</sup>, Palmer (1986) and Tournadre (2004:53-54) claim, in my dissertation, I also consider all utterances modal. In spoken Standard Tibetan, modality is not only present semantically but also grammatically in the vast majority of Tibetan sentences, including factual statements, being expressed by verbal endings (see chapters II and III).

The other term, commitment, is used, for example, by Palmer (1986:146-9) who discusses the commitment of the original speaker and that of the actual speaker. Recently, Nølke (1994), Dendale (2005), Oisel (2006, unpublished article), et al. have developed the theory of commitment<sup>32</sup>. Commitment and non-commitment can be defined, as Oisel (unpublished article, p. 8; see also 2006) put it: We speak of commitment when “the speaker (S°) takes responsibility for or commits himself in the utterance (information) because he considers it true or corroborated” and of non-commitment when “the speaker does not take responsibility for the utterance because he considers it neither true nor wrong”. The main criterion for determining the degree of commitment is the notion of truth. In his theory of commitment degree, Nølke (1994) uses the term ‘tie of responsibility’ (*lien de responsabilité*) implying that the speaker joins in the point of view in question. Dendale (2005) adds to this theory ‘utterance refutation’, which is opposed to the notion of speaker neutrality towards his utterance. Thus, commitment is divided into responsibility and agreement, and non-commitment into neutrality and refutation (Dendale 2005:137). Oisel (unpublished article, p. 8; see also 2006) also discusses interaction between (non-)commitment and evidentiality.

### **1.3.1.6. Modality and the theory of speech acts**

The theory of speech acts is closely connected with modality since it deals with the relation between the speaker and his utterance, which is of enormous importance for any study of modality. The theory of speech acts “gives explicit recognition to the social or interpersonal dimension of language-behaviour” (Lyons 1977:725). It was introduced by J.L. Austin (1975). His work was continued and developed by Searle (1977), Ducrot et al. (1980), Ballmer & Brennenstuhl (1981), et al. Searle divided the speech acts in the following types: utterance acts, propositional acts and illocutionary

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<sup>31</sup> Bally (1932): *Linguistique générale et linguistique française*: « toute assertion est modale ».

<sup>32</sup> See also Gosselin’s parameter of the commitment of the speaker in 1.3.4.3.

acts. The first type corresponds to uttering words, the second one to referring and predicating and the last one to such acts as stating, commanding, promising. The speech acts are usually simultaneous. As Searle (1977:24) put it, “in performing an illocutionary act, one characteristically performs propositional acts and utterance acts”. To these acts, Searle adds Austin’s concept of perlocutionary act expressing effects or consequences that illocutionary acts have on the actions and thoughts of the hearers. One can, therefore, speak of locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts<sup>33</sup>.

The theory further deals with perlocutionary effect of an utterance and with its illocutionary force. Every utterance has a particular illocutionary force<sup>34</sup> corresponding, for example, to a promise, a request, a threat, a statement. These are sometimes called basic or universal illocutionary acts since they are performed in all human societies. Perlocutionary effect acts upon the beliefs, attitudes or behaviour of the addressee (goal) of the utterance.

### 1.3.2. TYPES OF MODALITY

There is a considerable variation in the classification of modality depending on the conception adopted. As noted above, some authors have a restricted conception of modality, e.g. Benveniste (1974), van der Auwera & Plungian (1998), others a large

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<sup>33</sup> The following definition of these acts is given in Lyons (1977:730):

1. A locutionary act is an act of saying: the production of a meaningful utterance.
2. An illocutionary act is an act performed in saying something, such as: making a statement or promise, issuing a command or request, asking a question, christening a ship.
3. A perlocutionary act is an act performed by means of saying something, such as: getting someone to believe that something is so, persuading someone to do something, moving someone to anger, consoling someone in his distress.

<sup>34</sup> See Austin (1975), Searle (1977), Ducrot (1980), Palmer (1986). Searle “includes both epistemic modal judgements and declaratives within his ‘assertion’ ” (quoted from Palmer 1986:27). Palmer (1986:18) maintains that “factual statements too must be handled with the speech acts” as already stated in 1.3.1.5. Palmer further claims that “it is reasonable to assume that in uttering a declarative sentence the speaker is expressing his opinion that he is making the modal judgement that what he says is true. ... there are objections in theory to according a very special status to declarative sentences. There has been a tendency in linguistics and philosophy to do this, treating them as grammatically or logically simple, while all others are seen as complex and even derivable from them. ... there are some languages in which a speaker cannot utter ‘a subjectively unmodalized declarative sentence’ (Lyons 1982:110), in the sense that the form typically used for declaratives belongs semantically, as well as formally, to a modal system” ... e.g. Tuyuca (Palmer 1986:27). Other authors disagree with this claim, see e.g. Frye (1973:281-94). Palek disagrees with treating declaratives as modal in the case of English (personal communication). He speaks of ‘standard understanding’ vs. ‘force understanding’ (see Palek 1988:355-6).



one, e.g. Bally (1942), Tournadre (2004). In this part, I will present those types of modality that are often recognized in linguistic studies on modality. These are epistemic modalities, evidential modalities, deontic modalities and illocutionary modalities.

### 1.3.2.1. Epistemic modalities

*Epistemic modality is [...] an evaluation of the chances that a certain hypothetical state of affairs under consideration (or some aspect of it) will occur, is occurring, or has occurred in a possible world which serves as the universe of interpretation for the evaluation process, and which, in the default case, is the real world (or rather, the evaluator's interpretation of it [...]).* (Nuyts 2001:21)

Epistemic modality (see particularly Palmer 1986, Nuyts 2001a, Boye 2006) shows “the status of the speaker’s understanding or knowledge” and “the degree of commitment by the speaker to the truth of what he says” (Palmer 1986:51) or, as Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:179) put it, “the extent to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition”. The term “epistemic” is derived from the Greek word *ἐπιστήμη*, which means “knowledge” or “science”. Epistemic modality is a matter of opinion rather than fact (Palmer 1986:51). It also involves the speaker’s assumptions or assessments of possibilities. As Auwera & Plungian (1998:81) put it, “... a proposition is judged to be certain or probable relative to some judgements.”. Coates (1983:41) argues that epistemic modality often indicates the speaker’s “confidence (or lack of confidence) in the truth of the proposition expressed”, and thus varies between two limits, confidence and doubt:

confidence <-----> doubt

The degrees of the speaker’s certainty vary in different languages. In general, they are summed up in several degrees: 1) necessity and certainty, 2) probability, 3) possibility, 4) impossibility. However, there are more complex classifications of epistemic modalities. Tournadre (2004), for example, presents the following epistemic scale (see the table below, partial representation, for the whole table see

Tournadre 2004:58)<sup>35</sup> incorporating also factual and counterfactual utterances. Accordingly, he maintains that every utterance contains an epistemic modality even when it is not marked explicitly<sup>36</sup>.

<u>Graduation</u>	<u>Glosses</u>
Real, factual (100% +)	<i>it is true that P</i>
Highly probable	<i>it is (almost) certain that P</i>
Probable	<i>it is probable that P</i>
Possible (50%)	<i>it is possible that P</i>
Hypothetical (conceivable condition)	<i>if X, then P</i>
Improbable	<i>it is improbable that P</i>
Highly improbable	<i>it is very improbable that P</i>
Non-real, false, Counterfactual (100% -)	<i>it is not true that P</i>

Concerning subjectivity, although Lyons (1977:797-798) speaks of two possible types of epistemic modality, objective and subjective, he admits that the “epistemological justification” for the distinction “is, to say the least, uncertain”. Whereas the first type, studied mainly by logicians, is quite rare in natural languages, the majority of epistemic statements are subjective. They include “statements of opinion, hearsay, tentative inference, etc.” (Lyons 1977:799).

A number of linguistic works discuss the relationship between the epistemically unmodified and epistemically modified statements. In some works, the epistemically modified statement is interpreted as epistemically stronger, in others, it is the epistemically unmodified statement that is considered epistemically stronger (e.g. Palmer 1986). Palmer (1986:28) affirms that “a statement is epistemically stronger” than a proposition that contains an epistemic marker of certainty. Thus, ‘*He is here.*’ is

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<sup>35</sup> My translation.

<sup>36</sup> « Tout énoncé comporte [...] une modalité épistémique. Celle-ci peut être marquée par défaut [...] et pas nécessairement d’une façon explicite [...] » Tournadre (2004:54).

interpreted as more certain than *'He must be here.'*

Concerning the formal expression of epistemic modalities, there are various lexical and grammatical means, e.g. affixes and modal verbs, as shown above in 1.3.1.2. and below in 1.3.5. Givón (1984:318) states that epistemic modalities may also be encoded in the lexicon by means of epistemic (cognition) verbs (e.g. believe, guess, suspect, be sure, doubt, predict, expect, think, say) and epistemic adverbs (e.g. probably, likely, maybe, possibly.). Similarly, Lyons (1977:725) speaks of “parenthetical” verbs such as ‘believe’, ‘suppose’, ‘think’. Concerning their non-descriptive role, when used with first person, they function as endings of subjectivity (see Benveniste 1966, Austin 1970) expressing the speaker’s attitude to what he is saying. They are, therefore, very important for the understanding of epistemic (and also deontic) modalities.

In general, future actions are interpreted in terms of epistemic modality because they are *irrealis*, and thus they correspond to probability, possibility, uncertainty, doubt, hope or fear. The *realis* (fact) tenses are the past and the present, and the future is the *irrealis* expressing hypothetical, possible and uncertain states or events (Givón 1984:285). In Haruai, a Papuan language, all modal concepts are expressed by means of the future tense (De Haan 1997:9). Another example is Burmese (see Vittrant 2004).

Lichtenberg (1995), also von Wright (1951), distinguishes a type of mixed modality that is both epistemic and attitudinal (i.e. both types of modality are present simultaneously) called “apprehensional epistemics”. They convey, as Lichtenberk (1995:293) put it, “the speaker’s degree of certainty about the factual status of a proposition” and also “his or her attitude concerning the desirability of the situation encoded in the clause”. In To’aba’ita, there is a modal ending, *ada*, which functions as an epistemic down-toner: it implies both less-than-full certainty and also that the possible situation is in some way undesirable. Look at the following example taken from Lichtenberk (1995:294):

- (17) *ada* ‘*oko*     *ata*’i  
LEST you (SG) be sick     (LEST = uncertainty, EPI)  
« You may be sick. »

In spoken Standard Tibetan, there are epistemic verbal endings, e.g. *a.yin*, *a.yod*, which also have an apprehensional function<sup>37</sup>: they indicate that the speaker wishes a situation to come true (desirability) or not (undesirability) and at the same time, they imply an epistemic meaning, as shown in the following example:

- (18) *mi 'di smyo - a.yod*  
 man this be crazy - PERF+EPI 3+EGO  
 « I hope this man hasn't got crazy. »

### 1.3.2.2. Evidential modalities

*“[...] there are [...] languages in which the speaker may indicate the strength of his commitment to what he is saying, not in terms of possibility and necessity but in terms of what kind of evidence he has.”* (Palmer 1986:20)

Evidential meanings are sometimes treated as part of epistemic modality (see Bybee 1985, Palmer 1986, Chafe & Nichols 1986, Boye 2006) and sometimes as an independent type of modality (see Dik 1997, Bhat 1999, Tournadre 2004). In my dissertation, I distinguish epistemic and evidential modalities, as Dik<sup>38</sup>, Bhat and Tournadre<sup>39</sup> do. Although the markers of evidential and epistemic modalities, i.e. evidential and epistemic endings, appear in the same paradigm in spoken Standard Tibetan, they are morphologically different and, semantically, their primary meanings also differ (see 2.2.2.3.4., 3.2.2.2.).

Bybee (1985:184) defines evidentials as “endings that indicate something about the source of the information in the proposition.” They are associated with observation (evidence of senses)<sup>40</sup> or inference (sensorial, logical) and with hearsay (what is

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<sup>37</sup> For more details on this type of epistemic endings, refer to 4.4.

<sup>38</sup> See 1.3.4.2.

<sup>39</sup> Concerning the relationship between epistemic and evidential modalities, Tournadre (2004:55) says: « Les modalités épistémiques sont souvent associées voire confondues avec les modalités médiatives et regroupées en une seule catégorie. Il nous semble important d'opérer une distinction entre les deux, même s'il est indéniable qu'elles sont étroitement liées. ». i.e. “Epistemic modalities are often associated, or indeed mixed up with evidential modalities and grouped together in a single category. I find it important to make a distinction between the two, even though it cannot be denied that they are closely connected.” (My translation)

<sup>40</sup> In some languages, different kinds of observation, either visual or non-visual, correspond to different evidentials.

reported, quotatives). One can, therefore, speak of two types of evidence: ‘firsthand’ and ‘secondhand’ evidence or ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’ evidence. Whereas in the former type the speaker has some evidence for his speech act, in the latter one he has no knowledge of the event but has information from another source (De Haan 1997:6). Palmer (1986:53) considers quotatives as part of objective modality because they do not indicate what the speaker believes but what he has been told by others. Below is an example of a quotative in French taken from Palmer (1986:71). Unlike ex. (19a), in ex. (19b) the evidence is what the others have said, the speaker is not the source of information, and thus the action is presented as uncertain:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(19) a) <i>Il l' a tué.</i><br/> he s/he kill (3sg+IND+PAS)<br/> « He killed him. »</p> | <p>b) <i>Il l' aurait tué.</i><br/> he s/he kill (3sg+QUATATIVE+PAS)<br/> « He is said to have killed him. »</p> |
|--|--|

Ngiyamba (N.S. Wales, Australia – Donaldson, quoted from Palmer 1986:46-50) treats both the grammatical marker for what is ‘said to be so’, and that for what ‘appears to be so from the senses’ as evidential. It possesses three kinds of clitics: 1) counterfactual, 2) modal ‘belief’ and ‘knowledge’ clitics, and 3) ‘evidence’ clitics. Below are examples of ‘evidence’ clitics (taken from Palmer 1986:48):

Sensory evidence:

- (20) *ηindu-gara girambiyi*  
you+NMZ-SENS EVID sick+PAST  
« One can see you were sick. »

Linguistic evidence:

- (21) *ηindu-dhan girambiyi*  
you+NMZ-LING EVID sick+PAST  
« You are said to have been sick. »

In Givón’s definition, ‘evidential’ is the “source of the speaker’s certainty and the hearer’s willingness to challenge asserted information”. He specifies four types of parameters classifying information for evidentiary purposes (Givón 1984:307):

- a) direct vs. indirect experience as source of information
- b) visual, auditory and the other sensory modalities as source of information
- c) experience vs. hearsay as source of information
- d) experience vs. inference as source of information

Although it is possible to mark one's information source in all languages, in a number of them it is not obligatory. On the other hand, there are languages which have an "obligatory inflectional system with information source as its core semantics" (Aikhenvald 2004:6). As Aikhenvald (2004:9) put it, "linguistic evidentiality is a grammatical system [...] In languages with grammatical evidentiality, marking how one knows something is a must." Spoken Standard Tibetan is an example of a language that obligatorily marks information sources. This issue will be discussed in detail in chapters II and III of this dissertation<sup>41</sup>.

There is a certain hierarchy of the sources as to their evidential strength (Palmer 1986). The sources having the highest degree of evidential strength are: the speaker, the vision and the present. Those having the lowest degree are: the third party (neither the speaker nor the hearer), the feeling and the remote past. Barnes (1984:12ff) stresses the importance of giving visual information whenever possible (for ex. see Palmer 1986:67-8).

The evidential sources identified as basic by Willett (1988:57) are personal experience, direct (e.g. sensory) evidence, indirect evidence and hearsay. These evidential sources can be illustrated by the evidential system of spoken Standard Tibetan (Tournadre's terminology, see Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003):

- 1) egophoric (personal experience in Willett)
- 2) testimonial (also sensory)
- 3) inferential
- 4) assertive (also factual) (indirect evidence in Willett)
- 5) hearsay

A similar evidential system as spoken Standard Tibetan<sup>42</sup> is that of Tuyuca (Brazil and Colombia). The Tuyuca system consists of five evidential kinds as described by

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<sup>41</sup> See particularly 2.2.1.4., 2.2.2.3., 2.2.2.5., 3.2.2.2.

<sup>42</sup> For details on the SST evidential system, refer to 2.2.2.5.

Barnes (1984: 257) who proposes the following five terms:

- |    |                                       |                                |
|----|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1) | visual                                | = testimonial (sensory) in SST |
| 2) | non-visual (other senses than visual) | = testimonial (sensory) in SST |
| 3) | apparent                              | = inferential in SST           |
| 4) | secondhand                            | = hearsay in SST               |
| 5) | assumed                               | = assertive (factual) in SST   |

The two systems differ in the presence of the egophoric evidential in spoken standard Tibetan (see 2.2.1.5., 2.2.2.5.5.) and in the fact that SST does not make a distinction between the visual and non-visual evidentials: there is only one kind indicating that the source of information is sensory, and it may be any of the senses. Nevertheless, in most cases, it is the visual sense that is the source of information. Compare the evidential systems of Tuyuca (ex. 22.1-5a) and spoken standard Tibetan (ex. 22.1-5b) on the examples below that all correspond to the following English translation:

(22) « *He played soccer.* »

1. a) *dīiga apé-wi* (I saw him play)

b) *khong - gis rkang.rtsed.spo.lo brtses - song* (evidence of senses)  
 s/he+H - ERG football play (PAS) - PFV+SENS

2. a) *dīiga apé-ti* (I heard the game and him, but I didn't see it or him)

b) *khong - gis rkang.rtsed.spo.lo brtses - song* (evidence of senses)  
 s/he+H - ERG football play (PAS) - PFV+SENS

3. a) *dīiga apé-yi* (I have seen evidence that he played: his distinctive shoe print on the playing field. But I did not see him play)

b) *khong-gis rkang.rtsed.spo.lo brtses -bzhang* (inference, deduction from traces)  
 s/he+H -ERG football play(PAS)-PERF+INF

4. a) *dīiga apé-yīgi* (I obtained the information from someone else)

b) *khong - gis rkang.rtsed.spo.lo brtses*

s/he+H - ERG football play (PAS)

- *pa.red* - *za* (hearsay, the source is someone else)

- PFV+FACT - REPORT

5. a) *dīiga apé-hīyi* (It is reasonable to assume that he did)

b) *khong - gis rkang.rtsed.spo.lo brtses - pa.red* (objective information, fact)

s/he+H - ERG football play (PAS) - PFV+FACT

A comprehensive classification of evidentials according to the type of source is given in Tournadre (2004). He classifies them in the following way (2004:52)<sup>43</sup>:

I. A) Direct non computational sources:

- a) Five senses
- b) Endopathic
- c) Conscience and intuition
- d) Remembering a personal experience or knowledge

B) Indirect non computational sources:

- e) Encyclopedic knowledge
- f) Reported speech (oral or written)
- g) Non linguistic information

II. Computational sources:

- h) Sensory inference
- i) Inference based on the reported speech
- j) Logical inference

Linked to the issue of evidentiality are the notions of conjunct and disjunct. They are discussed in numerous linguistic works (originally those on Newari), see e.g. Hale (1980), DeLancey (1986, 1990, 1992), Aikhenvald (2004). The term ‘conjunct’ is

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<sup>43</sup> My translation.



defined by Hale (1980:87) in the following way: “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”. Conjunct is also used in declarative sentences when the actor is the speaker and in direct questions when the actor is the addressee (Tournadre 2008:285). Compare the following examples in Tibetan taken from DeLancey (1990:296) of a conjunct (*yod* in ex. 23a) and a disjunct (*‘dug* in ex. 23b)<sup>44</sup>:

(23) a) *nga - r dngul tog.tsam yod*  
 I - OBL money some exist (EGO)  
 « I have some money. »

b) *kho - r dngul tog.tsam ‘dug*  
 he - OBL money some exist (SENS)  
 « He has some money. »

Concerning Tibetan, some authors, e.g. Garrett (2001) and Tournadre (2008), do not find the conjunct/disjunct pattern appropriate for this language. Garrett (2001:209) maintains that two terms are not sufficient for “Tibetan, in which the evidential opposition is ternary (egophoric, direct, indirect) rather than binary” (see also 2.2.2.5.5.). Even DeLancey (1990), who used the conjunct/disjunct opposition in a number of his works on Tibetan, admits that “Lhasa Tibetan diverges from the conjunct/disjunct pattern” and that the “distinction is based on some semantic factor other than person” (DeLancey 1990: 296, quoted from Tournadre 2008:288) and he gives the following grammatical example that is “a clear violation of the standard conjunct/disjunct pattern, since the so called disjunct form (*‘dug* in ex. 24, cf. ex. 23b) appears with the first person subject” (Tournadre 2008:289):

(24) *nga - r dngul tog.tsam ‘dug*  
 I - OBL money some exist (SENS)  
 « I have some money. » (The speaker has just reached into his pocket and discovered some money that he had not known he had., DeLancey 1990: 296)

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<sup>44</sup> The recording of Tibetan in the Wylie transliteration and the glosses are mine.

### 1.3.2.3. Deontic modalities

*[Deontic modality is] “the enabling or compelling circumstances external to the participant as some person(s), often the speaker, and/or as some social or ethical norm(s) permitting or obliging the participant to engage in the state of affairs.” (Auwera & Plungian 1998:81)*

The term ‘deontic’ refers, as stated above (1.3.1.2.), to the kinds of modality “containing an element of will” (Jespersen 1924:320) and it is associated with the concepts of obligation and permission. Lyons (1977:823) defines deontic modality in terms of “necessity and possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents” and he identifies subjectivity and non-factuality (non-factivity in Lyons’s terminology) as the main deontic features. Lyons relates deontic modality to futurity and emphasizes the fact that deontic necessity is often derived from some source, such as person or institution, moral or legal principles, or inner compulsion (Lyons 1977:824).

Apart from ‘deontic’, other terms are used for this type of modality, e.g. ‘root’, ‘discourse-oriented’, ‘non-epistemic’ modality. These terms are not always perceived as identical. Coates (1983:20-1), for example, disagrees with the use of the term ‘deontic’ and instead, she uses the term ‘root’ claiming that the range of this type of modality is not limited to obligation and permission to which the term deontic mostly refers.

Deontic modality is sometimes divided into sub-types and degrees, starting with obligation, and going on through permission up to prohibition. In a number of linguistic studies, on the contrary, deontic modality is only restricted to directives. In the directive sub-system of deontic modality, the imperative is often considered to be formally and semantically the unmarked member (Palmer 1986:29). Formally, the imperative is, in general, expressed by the bare verbal root (e.g. the Czech *běž* ‘Run!’ of the infinitive *běžet* ‘to run’).

Palmer (1986:97) discusses other possible types of deontic modality, namely volitives and evaluatives. They express feelings and attitudes, such as hope, wishes, fear, or regret. He adds that their status within deontic modality is, however, questionable and they are, therefore, situated on its margins. Similarly, Tournadre (2004:59) regroups deontic modalities with evaluatives under one type called ‘deontico-axiologic’

modalities since they are closely connected from a semantic and pragmatic point of view. In my dissertation, volitives and evaluatives are treated as part of deontic modality.

In spoken Standard Tibetan, some verbal endings containing the nominalizer *rgyu* may have a deontic meaning of obligation (ex. 25a); see also 2.2.2.6.5., 3.2.2.3.). Furthermore, some epistemic verbal endings may have a secondary deontic meaning of hope, wish, or regret (ex. 25b; see also 3.2.2.3). Look at the following examples with the epistemic ending *mi.yong.ngas* and the evidential ending *rgyu.red*:

(25) a) *khong - la sbyong.tshan 'bri - rgyu.red*

s/he+H - OBL homework write (PRS) - FUT+FACT

« She has yet to write homework. » or « She has to write homework. »

(implying: She hasn't written it yet, and thus she has to do it now or soon.)

b) *nga - 'i na.tsha drag - mi.yong.ngas*

I - GEN illness recover - FUT+EPI 2+EGO

« Hopefully, I'll recover. » (The speaker is ill and he doesn't know whether he will recover but he hopes so.)

#### 1.3.2.4. Illocutionary modalities

In some linguistic works (e.g. Bhat 1999, Tournadre 2004), illocutionary acts are part of their model of modality. In the theory of speech acts, the term 'illocutionary act' means, as stated above (1.3.1.6.), an act performed in saying something, e.g. making a statement, asking a question. In general, four basic sentence types are identified: declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives and exclamatives. For each sentence type, there is a corresponding illocutionary modality. Thus, one may divide illocutionary modalities in declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamative.

Palmer (1986:27) maintains that "a study of modality must have a place for declaratives, probably within the Epistemic system" and that, in a number of languages, interrogatives, just like hearsay, form part of the modal system that is grammaticalized. He claims that yes/no questions, for example, are obligatorily *irrealis* in their modality. In the same way, De Haan (1997:6) claims that in some languages, declaratives clearly carry a modal element. Bhat (1999) classifies declaratives and interrogatives with judgements (in Bhat's terminology), i.e.

epistemic modalities, and imperatives with deontic modalities (implying a kind of compulsion).

Illocutionary modalities are illustrated by the following sentences from Czech: (a) is declarative, (b) interrogative, (c) imperative, and (d) exclamative. They are principally expressed by prosodic means and also by the word order:

(26) a) *Ted' vaří čaj .*

now cook/make (3sg+IND+PRS) tea

« She is making tea. »

b) *Vaří ted' čaj ?*

cook/make (3sg+IND+PRS) now tea

« Is she making tea? »

c) *Uvař ted' čaj !*

cook/make (3sg+IND+PRS) now tea

« Make some tea now! »

d) *Jé, ona ted' vaří čaj !*

oh she now cook/make (3sg+IND+PRS) tea

« Oh! She is making tea. »

### 1.3.3. NEGATION

This section deals with negation and its relation to modality. It is sometimes regarded as an independent grammatical category and sometimes as part of the category of modality. Negation is a topic of numerous studies, e.g. Dryer 1988, Haegeman 1995, Bernini & Ramat 1996, Dik 1997/2, De Haan 1997, van der Auwera 1998b, 2001, Givón 2001/2, Miestamo, M. 2005, Creissels 2006.

#### 1.3.3.1. Concept of negation

“ ... *negation of a sentence can be defined as a morpho-syntactic mechanism that, applied to an assertive sentence, gives a sentence that differs from the first one by an inversion of the value of truth and by a whole of syntactic*

*properties missing in the sentences in which no kind of negation may be detected.*”<sup>45</sup> (Creissels 2006:XXII/2<sup>46</sup>)

From the point of view of logic, negation is an operator that inverts the conditions of truth of a given propositional content (Creissels 2006:XXII/1). Creissels gives an example from French of the inversion of the value of truth. For a given situation, ex. (27a) is judged true and ex. (27b) false, and vice versa:

(27) a) <i>Il pleut</i>	b) <i>Il ne pleut pas</i>
it rain (3sg+IND+PRS)	it NEG rain (3sg+IND+PRS) NEG
« It is raining. »	« It is not raining. »

In addition to inversion, negation can also mark absence, emptiness, divergence, barring an access, suspension, etc.<sup>47</sup> (Culioli 1999:123). From the point of view of the theory of speech acts, negation is essentially a propositional operator, not an enunciative operator (Creissels 2006:XXII/1), and it is represented by the speech act of denial. A negative declarative speech act does not normally add new information. It expresses, as Givón (1984:324) put it, that “the speaker does not share [the hearer’s] belief in the corresponding affirmative”.

Negation is often associated with the category of modality (see Palmer 1986, Dik 1997, Tournadre 2004). It is interpreted as one of the four propositional modalities consisting of presupposition, *realis*-assertion, *irrealis*-assertion and negative assertion. Negative assertion may be comprehended in opposition to *realis*-assertion. Their relation is expressed by the following rule: “*If P is true, then NEG-P is false.*” (Givón 1984:321). Concerning subjective certainty, however, Givón claims that *realis*-assertion and negative assertion should be understood as two parts forming a unity that is in opposition to *irrealis*-assertion. Negation is also considered an instance of an *irrealis* category because “by talking about nonexistent events or states, we are

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<sup>45</sup> My translation of: « ... la négation de phrase peut être définie comme mécanisme morphosyntaxique qui, appliqué à une phrase assertive, donne une phrase se distinguant de la première à la fois par une inversion de la valeur de vérité et par un ensemble de propriétés syntaxiques dont sont dépourvues les phrases dans lesquelles ne peut être décelée aucune espèce de négation. » Creissels (2006:XXII/2).

<sup>46</sup> I drew on a preprint of Creissels 2006; ‘XXII/2’ refers to page 2 of Chapter XXII.

<sup>47</sup> « La négation dans certains cas, marque une inversion; dans d’autres, elle marque l’absence, le vide, l’altérité, le barrage d’un accès, la suspension, etc. » Culioli (1990:123).

talking about events or states that are not real” (De Haan 1997:39). From the point of view of the discourse-pragmatics, there is a tendency to gather negative assertion together with presupposition because they both have some properties in common. These are “assumptions the speaker makes about what the hearer already knows as background” (Givón 1984:322).

Dik (1997)<sup>48</sup> and Tournadre (2004) propose to analyze negation as part of epistemic modalities (see 1.3.2.1.). Tournadre (2004:56) suggests interpreting negation as negative polarity of the epistemic scale<sup>49</sup> (see also the table in 1.3.2.1.). He explains it by the fact that, in a number of languages, there are morpho-syntactic and semantic reasons for that, for example, the fact that negative markers are often part of the same morpho-syntactic TAM paradigm as affirmative markers. This is, for example, the case of verbal endings in spoken Standard Tibetan. Compare the following sentences from SST: in ex. (28a) positive polarity is expressed by the affirmative epistemic ending *yod.kyi.red*, and negative polarity in ex. (28b) by its negative counterpart containing the negative particle *ma*, *yod.kyi.ma.red*:

(28) a) *khong - gis bod.skad sbyangs - yod.kyi.red*  
 s/he+H - ERG Tibetan learn - PERF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « She most probably learnt Tibetan. »

b) *khong - gis bod.skad sbyangs - yod.kyi.ma.red*  
 s/he+H - ERG Tibetan learn - PERF+EPI 2+FACT+NEG  
 « She most probably didn't learn Tibetan. »

In my dissertation, I interpret negation in the same way like Dik and Tournadre, as an element of epistemic modalities. As shown above, the markers of negation are in spoken Standard Tibetan, in most cases, part of the morpho-syntactic TAM paradigm and affirmative and negative epistemic endings have the same TAM characteristics.

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<sup>48</sup> “Positive and negative polarity are the logical extremes of Epistemic objective modality by which the speaker expresses that he is certain of the actuality or non-actuality of the State of Affairs.” (Dik 1997). See also 1.3.4.2.

<sup>49</sup> « [...] on conçoit la négation comme la polarité négative d’une échelle épistémique. » (Tournadre 2004:57) i.e. “ [...] one conceives negation as the negative polarity of an epistemic scale.” (My translation)

In some languages, especially European languages, negation is also a link between epistemic and deontic modalities in the case of modal verbs. Palmer (1986:20), for example, speaks of the relation between possibility and necessity in terms of negation. Below are some examples from French of this relation between the verbs *devoir* ‘must’ and *pouvoir* ‘can’. The following two examples illustrate the use of these modal verbs in an epistemic sense:

(29) *ça doit être lui*  
 it MUST (3sg PRS IND) be (INF) he  
 « It must be him. »

(30) *ça ne peut pas être lui*  
 it NEG CAN (3sg PRS IND) NEG be (INF) he  
 « It can’t be him. »

In ex. (29), the verb *devoir* ‘must’ is used to express a high degree of the speaker’s certainty, whereas in its negative counterpart (ex. 30) the verb *pouvoir* ‘can’ is used, not *devoir* ‘must’. However, when *devoir* ‘must’ appears in negative sentences, it has a deontic, not epistemic meaning, as in ex. (31). Its affirmative counterpart is a sentence with the verb *pouvoir* ‘can’ (ex. 32):

(31) *Il ne doit pas travailler*  
 he NEG MUST (3sg PRS IND) NEG work (INF)  
 « He may not work. »

(32) *Il peut travailler*  
 he CAN (3sg PRS IND) work (INF)  
 « He may work. »

### 1.3.3.2. Classification of negation

Negation can be classified according to different parameters: formal, functional, syntactic, prosodic. Thus, in linguistic literature, one finds different classifications of negation depending on the aim of the study, e.g. ‘grammatical’ versus ‘lexical’ negation (syntactic vs. lexical expression, e.g. *He does not answer.* and *He never*

answers., respectively), ‘multiple’ versus ‘single’ negation (ex. 33), ‘descriptive’ versus ‘polemic’ negation<sup>50</sup>. Below is an example of multiple negation. In some languages, e.g. Czech, one negates more items in a sentence (ex. 33a), in others, e.g. English, there is usually a single negative word per sentence (cf. the English translation of ex. 33a). In ex. (33a), the use of three negative forms, *nikdo* ‘nobody’, *nic* ‘nothing’ and *ne - V* ‘not - V’ is obligatory. Otherwise the sentence would be ungrammatical (ex. 33b):

(33) a) *Nikdo nic ne - má*  
 nobody nothing NEG - have (3sg+PRS+IND)  
 « Nobody has anything. » (lit.: Nobody doesn’t have nothing.)

b) \* *Nikdo má něco*  
 nobody have (3sg+PRS+IND) something  
 Intended: « Nobody has anything. »

More attention will be paid here to another classification of negation, according to the scope, into ‘partial’ and ‘total’ negation (ex. 34-37). The difference in the scope of negation is illustrated by the sentences below taken from French. Whereas in ex. (34a) only the word *beaucoup* ‘much’ is negated (partial negation, implying that the speaker has time but not much), in ex. (34b) it is the whole content of the sentence that is negated (total negation, implying that the speaker has no time at all):

(34) a) *Je n’ ai pas beaucoup de temps*  
 I NEG have (1sg+PRS+IND) NEG much of time  
 « I do not have much time. »

b) *Je n’ ai pas le temps*  
 I NEG have (1sg+PRS+IND) NEG ART time  
 « I do not have time. »

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<sup>50</sup> Creissels (2006:XXII/1) , however, claims that every negation is at least potentially polemic.



For the determination of the scope of negation, intonation and stress are of great importance. The examples below show the role of stress for the interpretation of negation. Compare ex. (35) of total negation with ex. (36a-c) of partial negation. The accent is put on the negated part of the sentence (underlined):

(35) *He didn't break the window.*

- (36) a) *He didn't break the window.*      i.e. Someone else did.  
 b) *He didn't break the window.*      i.e. He broke something else.  
 c) *He didn't break the window.*      i.e. He did something else with it.

The syntactic position is also significant in determining the scope of negation. In Spanish, for example, the subject may be focused when placed in the post-verbal position and the same device is used for putting the subject in the scope of negation. The examples below are taken from Creissel (2006: XXII/9). While in ex. (37a) the subject is not in the scope of negation and negation is thus total, in (37b) *yo* 'I' is put in the scope of negation:

(37) a) *Yo no he tomado tu libro.*  
 I NEG AUX (PERF IND) taken your book  
 « I didn't take your book. »

b) *Tu libro no lo he tomado yo.*  
 your book NEG it AUX (PERF IND) taken I  
 « It wasn't me who took your book. » (implying that someone else did)

A similar syntactic means is employed in spoken standard Tibetan when the subject is moved from its position before the object (SOV, ex. 38a) to the position before the verb (OSV, ex. 38b). In this case, the subject of ergative verbs is obligatory marked by the ergative particle<sup>51</sup>:

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<sup>51</sup> For ergativity, refer to 2.2.1.3., 2.2.3.3.3.

(38) a) *khong chang btungs - kyi.mi. 'dug*  
 s/he+H chang drink - IMPF+SENS+NEG  
 « She is not drinking *chang*. »

b) *chang khong - gis btungs - kyi.mi. 'dug*  
*chang* s/he+H - ERG drink - IMPF+SENS+NEG  
 « It is not her who is drinking *chang*. » or « *Chang*, she is not drinking it. »

Concerning the formal expression of negation in languages, there are various lexical (negative pronouns, negative verbs, negative adverbs) and grammatical means. The latter ones often correspond to clitics and they are connected with the TAM morphology. These are mainly negative particles (e.g. affixes, double negation), negative auxiliaries (e.g. portmanteau morphemes), morphological variations of a verb (see Creissels 2006).

In spoken standard Tibetan, as illustrated above (ex. 28 and 38), affirmative sentences are negated by using negative verbal endings. In this dissertation, all types of negative verbal endings are written with dots between syllables and are not further analyzed in negative and TAM morphemes. Although such analysis would be possible with most evidential endings, it would be rather complicated and often impossible with most of the epistemic endings (see 3.2.1.2.). Thus, in the following sentence (ex. 39), I write *ma.song* and gloss it PFV+SENS+NEG, and not *ma-song* NEG-PFV+SENS:

(39) *khong gling.ga - r phyin - ma.song*  
 s/he+H park - OBL go (PAS) - PFV+SENS+NEG  
 « She did not go to the park. »

### 1.3.4. INTRODUCTION TO THREE MODELS OF MODALITY

In this section, I will present three different models of modality that are significant for the present study: the model of Palmer (1986, 2001), Dik (1989, 1997) and Gosselin (2005).

### 1.3.4.1. Palmer's model of modality

Palmer (1986) and (2001)<sup>52</sup> are an example of a model of modality in a typological perspective<sup>53</sup>. He classifies modality in two basic types, epistemic and deontic, and he defines the fundamental modal domains. These are the speaker's attitudes and opinions, speech acts, possibility and necessity, subjectivity (see also 1.3.1.4.), non-factuality (see also 1.3.1.5.), and non-assertion (Palmer 1986:4). Concerning alethic and existential modality, Palmer claims that they are more the concern of logicians than linguists.<sup>54</sup>

Deontic modality is concerned with language as action, i.e. "the expression by the speaker of his attitude towards possible actions" (Palmer 1986:121). He discusses several kinds of deontic modality (see also 1.3.2.3.), two of which are considered to be the most important: directives and commissives. As regards the directive sub-system, Palmer (1986:111) suggests to restrict the imperative to the second person only, and to talk about the jussive for the other persons.

The second type, epistemic modality, is concerned with language as information, i.e. "the speaker's commitment to the truth of his statement" (Palmer 1986:121), and it is associated with the concepts of knowledge and belief. He divides utterances that are not presented as a fact in four types (Palmer 1986:51):

- a) that the speaker is speculating about what he is saying
- b) that he is presenting it as a deduction
- c) that he has been told about it
- d) that it is only a matter of appearance, based on the evidence of (possibly fallible) senses

The above types are grouped in two sub-systems: 'judgements' and 'evidentials'. Judgements are the speaker's conclusions and opinions. They express relations in terms of possibility and necessity and correspond to speculative and deductive (i.e.

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<sup>52</sup> Palmer (2001) is the second edition of (1986). There are, however, differences in theoretical outlook between the two books.

<sup>53</sup> Other typological studies of modality are Givón (1984), Chung & Timberlake (1985), Bybee (1985), Bybee et al. (1994), Bhat (1999), de Haan (2004).

<sup>54</sup> However, in Palmer (1990:6-7, 107-9), he considers sentences such as 'Lions can be dangerous.' as examples of existential modality.

(a)&(b), Palmer 1986:53). Evidentials show the kind of evidence the speaker has for what he says: “he offers a piece of information, but qualifies its validity for him in terms of the type of evidence he has” (Palmer 1986:54). Palmer gives the following reasons for treating the judgements and evidentials together under the label ‘epistemic modality’ (Palmer 1986:57):

1. Both judgements and evidentials can be seen as devices for the speaker to indicate that he wishes to modify his commitment to the truth of what is being said.
2. They both reflect the speaker’s knowledge of his utterance
3. In some languages, the same elements are used for both of them, i.e. they are parts of the same formal system.

Palmer also discusses problems regarding the status of the interrogative and the declarative in relation to epistemic systems. He claims that “in a number of languages the interrogative fits formally into the modality system” (Palmer 1986:78). Concerning the declarative, Palmer treats it as the ‘neutral’ term within a modal system (Palmer 1986:26). He concedes a difference between languages with evidential systems and those with judgement systems. As stated above (1.3.1.6., note 32), Palmer finds it “reasonable to assume that in uttering a declarative sentence the speaker is expressing his opinion that he is making the modal judgement that what he says is true” (Palmer 1986:27). Moreover, in languages with evidential systems, e.g. Tuyuca or spoken Standard Tibetan (see 1.3.2.2., ex. 22), “the form typically used for declaratives belongs semantically, as well as formally, to a modal system” ... (Palmer 1986:27).

### **1.3.4.2. Dik’s model of modality**

Dik’s is a model of modality in functional-typological frameworks<sup>55</sup>. In his studies of the relations between form and meaning, Functional Grammar 1989, 1994, 1997, Dik

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<sup>55</sup> Another functional study is e.g. Foley and Van Valin (1984): Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar.

analyzes all clauses in an underlying structure which consists of four layers<sup>56</sup>:

1. Nuclear predication
2. Extended predication
3. Proposition
4. Clause

For constructing the underlying structure, Dik uses the terms ‘operators’ and ‘satellites’ as explained in the quotation below (Dik 1997/1:51):

*“Starting from the nuclear predication, the full structure can be built up layer after layer, by specifying grammatical operators «π» and lexical satellites «σ» to the given layer. Operators concern distinctions which are grammatically expressed in the language concerned, satellites are modifications which are lexically expressed. Satellites largely coincide with ‘adverbial modifiers’.”*

Dik (1997:241-242) divides modality in several sub-types that mediate different layers of the clause:

#### Level 1: Inherent modality

Inherent modality involves the relations between a participant and the realization of the State of Affairs (SoA), in which he is implied. The modal concepts concerned are: ability, willingness, obligation, permission. These modalities are rarely grammaticalized.

#### Level 2: Objective modality

Objective modality involves the speaker’s evaluation of the likelihood of occurrence (the ‘actuality’) of the SoA. Dik divides objective modality in two sub-areas: Epistemic objective modality and Deontic objective modality. In the first case, the actuality of the SoA is evaluated in terms of the speaker’s knowledge of the SoA in

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<sup>56</sup> “The underlying clause is a complex abstract structure in which several ‘layers’ of formal and semantic organization can be distinguished.” Dik (1997/1:50).

general, and in the latter one, in terms of a system of moral, legal, or social norms. They form the following two scales of potential distinctions:

Epistemic objective modality: Certain - Probable - Possible - Improbable - Impossible

Deontic objective modality: Obligatory - Acceptable - Permissible - Unacceptable - Forbidden.

Level 2 also concerns Polarity. Positive polarity (“it is the case that SoA”) and negative polarity (“it is not the case that SoA”) are the logical extremes of Epistemic objective modality by which the speaker expresses that he is certain of the actuality or non-actuality of the State of Affairs.

### Level 3: Subjective and evidential modalities

Level 3 contains those modalities that imply the speaker’s personal commitment to the truth of the proposition. These modalities are: (a) subjective (the speaker takes personal responsibility for the content of the proposition) and (b) evidential (the speaker expresses his assessment of the quality of the proposition in terms of how he has obtained it). Evidential modalities are inferential (the speaker infers from certain outside evidence), experiential (from personal experience) and quotative (the speaker heard it from someone else).

Dik does not include illocutionary acts in his model of modality. He speaks of ‘basic illocutions’ and divides them in four types: declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamative. He defines their function as follows (Dik 1997/1:301):

*“We interpret these basic illocutions as instructions from S(peaker) to A(uditor) to effect certain changes in A’s pragmatic information.”*

### **1.3.4.3. Gosselin’s model of modality**

Gosselin’s (2005) model of modality operates with nine different parameters that are divided in three types: conceptual parameters, functional parameters and metaparameter. According to these parameters, Gosselin classifies modality into various types, as described below:

## I. Conceptual parameters

The conceptual parameters are divided into generic (A) and specific (B) and include the law of validation, the direction of adjustment and the force of relation<sup>57</sup>.

### A. Generic parameters:

According to the parameter of the law of validation (1), Gosselin (2005:43-45) divides modalities into alethic, epistemic and deontic. Alethic modalities relate to the objective truth (*a priori* and *a posteriori*). Epistemic modalities imply the speaker's belief and include the appreciative and boulic modalities (the speaker's wish). And deontic modalities involve obligation, permission and the axiological modalities (praiseworthy, blameworthy).

According to the parameter of the direction of adjustment (2), either the utterance conforms to the world (alethic, epistemic, appreciative, axiological modalities), or the world conforms to the utterance (deontic, boulic modalities). Gosselin (2005:47) states that these are two poles of a continuum. Otherwise, the following modalities can be distinguished:

- purely descriptive
- purely injunctive
- predominantly descriptive
- predominantly injunctive

### B. Specific parameter:

The parameter of the force of relation (3) deals with the degree of belief. Using this parameter, Gosselin (2005:49) classifies modalities into the following types:

alethic: necessary - possible large - possible strict - impossible

epistemic: certain - probable - questionable - excluded

deontic: obligatory - permitted - facultative - forbidden

## II. Functional parameters

Functional parameters are divided into structural (A) and enunciative (B). The structural type involves the parameters of the syntactic and logico-semantic scope.

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<sup>57</sup> In Gosselin's terminology 'l'instance de validation', 'la direction d'ajustment' and 'la force de la relation'.

The enunciative type includes the parameters of the speaker, time and relativity<sup>58</sup>.

#### A. Structural parameters:

The parameter of the syntactic scope (4) determines the level occupied by modality in the syntactic hierarchy of the sentence (the syntactic scope of modality). The other parameter (5) determines the logical-semantic scope of modality. Both the syntactic and logical structures fundamentally deal with relations. Since different syntactic positions can correspond to the same position in the logical structure, it is difficult to dissociate the syntactic and logical representation. Gosselin (2005:52-61) concentrates on the syntactic positions of modality, especially on the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic modalities. The former ones, intrinsic modalities, are inseparable from the lexemes. The latter ones, extrinsic modalities, are marked by grams or by other lexemes and they appear at a higher level in the syntactic hierarchy than intrinsic modalities.

All lexemes convey some modality. They are often divided in two types: 1) classifier lexemes (expressing alethic modalities) and non-classifier lexemes (expressing axiological, appreciative and epistemic evaluations). However, some lexemes are mixed, conveying both alethic and evaluative modalities. Thus, Gosselin claims that it is preferable to speak of a continuum rather than divide all lexemes in two types.

Concerning the extrinsic modalities, they are divided in three types differing by the operator Gosselin (2005:59):

1) Modality *de re* (predicative operator), e.g.: *Pierre peut faire ce problème.* (*peut = a la capacité*) ‘Peter can do this problem. (can = is able, capable)’

2) Modality *de dicto* (propositional operator), e.g.: *Jean est peut-être malade.* ‘John is perhaps ill.’

3) ‘Meta-predicate’ (semantic operator): *Il est possible que Jean soit malade.* ‘It is possible that John is ill.’

#### B. Enunciative parameters:

The parameter of the speaker (6) deals with the degree of commitment of the speaker. Gosselin (2005:62) underlines that there is a difference between the degree of

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<sup>58</sup> In Gosselin’s terminology: ‘la portée syntaxique’, ‘la portée logico-sémantique’, ‘le degré d’engagement du locuteur’, ‘les relations temporelles’ and ‘le relativité’.



commitment of the speaker and the degree of belief (see above the parameter of force) though they are often assimilated<sup>59</sup>. The degree of commitment of the speaker is a semantic-pragmatic concept. There are three degrees of commitment relevant to modalities (Gosselin 2005:62-63):

- 1) The speaker associates with the modality. *Il faut que tu viennes*. ‘You have to come.’
- 2) The speaker agrees with it. *Il sait qu’il faut que tu viennes*. ‘He knows that you have to come.’
- 3) The speaker dissociates from it. *Il s’imagine qu’il faut que tu viennes*. ‘He imagines that you have to come.’

The parameter of time (7) deals with temporal relations (Gosselin 2005:81-85). All modalities (extrinsic and intrinsic) are affected by tense (absolute and/or relative) and by grammatical aspect. The extrinsic modalities are assigned an interval of modality [m1, m2] and an interval of reference [Im, IIm]. The absolute tense of an extrinsic modality is defined by the relation between [Im, IIm] and the moment of speech [01, 02], and similarly, the relative tense by the relation between [Im, IIm] and the interval of reference of the process [I, II]. The intrinsic modality of the predicate carries tense and the grammatical aspect, which affect the process. The interval of the process [B1, B2] is regarded as the interval of the intrinsic modality of the predicate.

The parameter of relativity (8) involves the discursive context. The concept of ‘relative’ or ‘relational’ modality started with the works of Kratzer (1977, 1981). In this approach, all modalities are regarded as relative to a whole of premises. The concept was integrated into the theory of quantification by Papafragou (1998:11, 2000; operator (Restrictor, Matrix)). Gosselin (2005:65) proposes to consider relativity as one constitutive parameter but not as the fundamental characteristics of modality.

### III. Metaparameter

The last parameter, the metaparameter (9), deals with the type of marking of modality. It describes the way of obtaining the values of the other parameters. Gosselin

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<sup>59</sup>« Même s’il est vrai que ces deux dimensions de la modalité entretiennent des liens étroits, il est absolument indispensable de les dissocier. Car il n’est pas impossible de s’engager sans se présenter come certain [...], ni, inversement, d’exprimer à la fois le désengagement et la certitude, par exemple avec l’argument d’autorité » (Gosselin 2005 :62).

(2005:67) claims that some modalities are marked linguistically, others are inferred pragmatically. The first ones are modalities that are intrinsic in lexemes (especially predicate): alethic, appreciative, axiological. The others are epistemic modalities (subjective certainty).

### 1.3.4.4. Comparison of the models

Palmer's, Dik's, and Gosselin's models of modality differ in the theoretical approach, the classification of modalities, and in the terminology. Below, I attempt to organize these models in a single table to enable their comparison. Nevertheless, such comparison is very complicated and thus only estimated. Look at the table below:

		Deontic	Epistemic	Evidential	
Palmer		Deontic modality: the expression by the speaker of his attitude towards possible actions, e.g. directives and commissives	Epistemic modality: the speaker's commitment to the truth of his statement, divided in:  'judgements'	'evidentials'	
Dik		Inherent modality: e.g. ability, willingness, obligation, permission	Objective modality: + Polarity (positive and negative)  Deontic objective modality	Epistemic objective modality	Subjective and evidential modality: the speaker's personal commitment to the truth of the proposition.
Gosselin	a	Deontic & axiological modality	Epistemic & appreciative and boulic modality		
	l e t h i c				
		Intrinsic modalites	Extrinsic modalities: modality <i>de re</i> , modality <i>de dicto</i> meta-predicate		

In accordance with Palmer, as stated in 1.3.1.2., I consider evidential meanings as part of modality. Nevertheless, just like Dik, I make a distinction between epistemic and evidential modalities (see 1.3.2.2. for more details). In Gosselin's model, I find several parameters of great importance for an analysis of epistemic modalities in spoken Standard Tibetan. These are: the speaker (the degree of commitment of the speaker), the force (the degree of belief), the parameter of time (temporal relations), the parameter of relativity (the discursive context), the metaparameter (the type of marking of modality), and the parameter of the syntactic scope (the level occupied by modality in the syntactic hierarchy of the sentence). This parameter is important for determining the scope of modality of epistemic endings in SST.<sup>60</sup>

### **1.3.5. LINGUISTIC MEANS OF EXPRESSING MODALITY**

The various modal meanings can be expressed by different lexical, morphological, syntactic and prosodic means. Naturally, languages differ in the use of these means: some of them grammaticalize more types, others use just one. The various means of expressing modality often combine and they reinforce each other. Lyons (1977:807-8) defines this combination as “the double realisation of a single modality” or “a modally harmonic combination”, e.g.: *'He may possibly have forgotten.'* equals either *'He may have forgotten.'* or *'He has possibly forgotten.'* When the modal verb and adverb are non-harmonic, one is always within the scope of the other, ex: *'He may certainly have forgotten.'* can only be interpreted as *'It is certain that he may have forgotten.'*, and not as *\*'It is possible that he has certainly forgotten'*. Other examples of the interaction of different modal means are the use of epistemic adverbs with epistemic verbal endings in spoken standard Tibetan (see 3.3.) or the relation between the moods and modal adverbs in French.

#### **1.3.5.1. Lexical means**

The most frequent lexical means of conveying modal meanings are adverbs and verbs. Apart from these, other word classes can also function as indicators of modality, e.g.

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<sup>60</sup> It is crucial in an analysis of modalities to consider their scope. Different types of modalities operate in different levels and thus they belong to different strata of a sentence. Each modality has its own scope. It is often difficult to identify the scope of a given modality because, as Tournadre (2004:61) put it, some modalities which belong to different strata are expressed by the same grammatical means.

adjectives, nouns, interjections.

Modal adverbs are a common means of expressing modality in the majority of, if not all, languages. They express various types of modalities: those implying possibility of what the speaker says are called ‘epistemic adverbs’, those expressing the necessity of an action, ‘deontic adverbs’, and the attitude of the speaker to his utterance, ‘attitudinal adverbs’. In this study of epistemic modality, the first type will be discussed in more detail. Some examples of English modal adverbs<sup>61</sup> are given below:

Epistemic adverbs: surely, certainly, apparently, probably, possibly, maybe, perhaps.

Deontic adverbs: obligatorily, necessarily, unavoidably.

Attitudinal adverbs: luckily, curiously, sincerely, frankly (speaking).

In some languages, e.g. Chinese, modal adverbs are the main means of expressing modality. The Chinese modal adverbs (e.g. *yīdìng* ‘certainly’, *dàgài* ‘probably’), together with modal particles (see 1.3.5.2.), fulfil a variety of modal functions (Vokurkova 2000:87). The following sentence illustrates the use of the modal adverb *dàgài* ‘probably’ (and the modal particle *le*):

(40) *tā dàgài bìng le*  
s/he probably be ill MODAL PARTICLE  
« She is probably ill. »

Concerning modal verbs, as stated above (1.3.1.2.), they are, in some languages, a frequent means of expressing modalities. Look at the examples below taken from French (ex. 41) and Chinese (ex. 42):

(41) *Elle peut parler allemand*  
she POUVOIR(3sg+ IND+PRS) speak German  
1. « She may speak German./Perhaps, she speaks German. »  
2. « She can speak German./She is able to speak German. »

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<sup>61</sup> Taken from English dictionaries on the web.

(42) *tā huì lái*<sup>62</sup>  
 s/he know come  
 « She may come./She will probably come. »

In all languages, there are lexical verbs which have a modal meaning. Compare the following examples from Chinese (ex. 43) and Czech (ex. 44) with the verbs *gūji* ‘estimate’ and *zdá se* ‘it seems’, respectively:

(43) *wǒ gūji yào xià yǔ*  
 I estimate MODAL VERB:FUT fall rain  
 « I think it is going to rain. »

(44) *Zdá se, že mu není dobře.*  
 seem (3sg+PRS IND) that him isn’t well  
 « It seems he is not well. »

### 1.3.5.2. Grammatical means

There are several grammatical means of conveying modality, morphologic and syntactic, such as modal particles, verbal affixes, or the word order. Concerning modal particles, they can be associated with a verb, another word or a whole sentence. In some languages, such as Chinese, they play an essential role for modality. The Chinese modal particles appear at the end of the sentence (but can be followed by an interrogative particle). The most frequent particles are *le*, *ne*, *ba*, *ya*. Look at the examples (45) and (46) (see also ex. 40):

(45) *tā chī fàn le ma*  
 s/he eat meal MODAL PARTICLE Q  
 « So has he eaten? » (opposition)

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<sup>62</sup> In Chinese, the epistemic interpretation is limited by the semantic category of the lexical verb. Thus, the following example with the verb *kāi* ‘drive’ may not be interpreted epistemically:

*tā huì kāi chē*  
 s/he know drive car  
 « She can (i.e. is able to) drive a car. » and not « \*She probably drives a car. »

The modal *le*<sup>63</sup> may indicate attaining a particular point in time, a change of state or the beginning of an action. It is closely connected with the present tense. It does not, however, indicate a moment or a phase itself but an opposition (before it was like that but now it is different). Another particle, *ba*, may imply a suggestion, a request, a command, or a doubt, as shown in the example below:

(46) *bāng bāng tā ba*  
 help s/he MODAL PARTICLE  
 « Let's give him a hand. » (suggestion)

Another means of expressing modalities is the word order. Compare the following examples: '*She is beautiful.*' conveys declarative modality, while '*How beautiful she is!*' corresponds to exclamative modality. The word order is, however, a modal criterion only for some modalities. It is, for example, usually not relevant for epistemic and deontic modalities.

The most important grammatical means for conveying modal meanings are, without a doubt, verbal affixes (also called verbal auxiliaries, auxiliary verbs, inflections). I will analyze them in detail in the following section since they are essential for expressing modalities in spoken Standard Tibetan.

### 1.3.5.2.1. From auxiliaries to affixes

The term *auxiliary* is often considered a cross-linguistic category (see Steele et al. 1981). Most studies on auxiliaries agree on that they have a verbal nature and verb-like features. Given that languages have a tendency to cluster all the grammatical information about the sentence, auxiliaries generally function as markers of several grammatical categories. They are usually associated with the categories of tense, aspect and modality. Thus, they are often called 'TAM verbal auxiliaries'. In some languages, for ex. French (a) and Czech (b), besides TAM, auxiliaries also mark other

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<sup>63</sup> In modern Chinese, the modal *le* is homonymous with the aspectual-temporal ending of the past actions of resultative verbs. They can be distinguished by their syntactic position. The final position in the sentence is characteristic for the modal particle. On the contrary, the aspectual-temporal *le* always follows the predicative verb as illustrated below:

*tā chī le fàn ma*  
 s/he eat ASPECTUAL PARTICLE meal Q  
 « Did he finish his meal/Did he eat? »

categories, e.g. person, number and voice:

- (a) *j'ai été* = 1st person sg., the active voice, the past tense, 'I was'
- (b) *budou číst* = 3rd person pl., the active voice, the future, 'they will read'

Auxiliaries are, therefore, clusters of semantic and discourse-pragmatic features as described by Givón (1984:269):

*“As lexical semantic features, they [the categories comprising the complex system of TAM] are intimately involved in the meaning-structure of verbs ('predicates'). As propositional-semantic features, they code various facets of the state, event or action. And as discourse-pragmatic features, they play a crucial role in the sequencing of propositions in discourse, in foregrounding or backgrounding them, and in indicating their time/truth/certainty/probability modalities vis-à-vis the speaker-hearer contract.”*

Heine (1993:131) characterizes auxiliaries in the following way:

*“... Auxiliaries may be defined as linguistic items located along the grammaticalization chain extending from full verb to grammatical inflection of tense, aspect, and modality, as well as a few other functional domains, and their behavior can be described with reference to their relative location along this chain, which is called the Verb-to-TAM chain ...”*

The French future forms are an example of grammatical inflections originating in a full verb. From a diachronic point of view, they have developed by merging a lexical verb with the verb *avoir* 'have', for example:

*je ferai* 'I will do' = *fer* (from *faire* 'do') + *ai* (1<sup>st</sup> person sg of the verb *avoir*, cf. *j'ai* 'I have')

*ils feront* 'they will do' = *fer* (from *faire* 'do') + *ont* (3<sup>rd</sup> person pl of the verb *avoir*, cf. *ils ont* 'they have')

A similar example of Heine's verb-to-TAM chain is the Tibetan verb *yod* 'exist'. It can either function as a full verb (ex. 47a) or as a TAM inflection (ex. 47b). In the

spoken language, however, (a) and (b) differ in prosody and phonology<sup>64</sup>: in (b) *yod* has lost its tone:

- |                                  |                               |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (47) a) <i>nga - r dngul yod</i> | b) <i>nga - s khyer - yod</i> |
| I - OBL money exist (EGO)        | I - ERG bring - PERF+EGO      |
| « I have money. »                | « I have brought it. »        |

The above example is an illustration of the process of auxiliarization described by Givón (1984:271):

*“At the initial point [...] the TAM ending-to-be is to all intents and purposes a main verb itself, semantically, syntactically and morphologically. As such, it is often referred to as an auxiliary verb. As the TAM ending becomes more specialized as a grammatical morpheme, it gradually loses its original verbal meaning, syntax and morphology, becoming de-stressed and phonologically compressed/shortened. This eventually leads to full cliticization, as prefix or suffix on the verb.”*

The studies in which auxiliaries are comprehended as verbal items operate with a linguistic ‘supercategory’ which consists of verbs and auxiliaries. Radford (1981), for example, defines auxiliaries as ‘verbal, non-nominal constituents’ and represents them in the following way (Radford 1981:110):

- |                |          |
|----------------|----------|
| a) auxiliaries | b) verbs |
| + V            | + V      |
| - N            | - N      |
| + AUX          | - AUX    |

The common features of the verbs and the auxiliaries are: + V, - N.

There are several types of taxonomic distinctions of auxiliaries. First, auxiliaries are often divided into primary, monolexemic, and secondary, polylexemic types. Another distinction is in ‘proper auxiliaries’ and ‘quasi-auxiliaries’, which are also called ‘aspectualizers’, ‘verbs of temporal aspect’ or ‘halfway verbs’ (see Heine 1993). It is

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<sup>64</sup> For an outline of the phonology of SST, refer to Appendix I.



very difficult to find some cross-linguistic parameters to determine the class of auxiliaries. Thus, the definition of the term ‘auxiliary’ depends on the criterion selected. Auxiliaries can be defined according to different criteria, such as conceptual, phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic:

1. Conceptual criterion: There is a general agreement on using the term ‘auxiliary’ for elements marking tense, aspect and modality. Heine (1993:22), for example, says that auxiliaries are “used to place the situation described in the sentence with reference to deictic time (tense), to ascribe a temporal contour to it (aspect), or to assess its reality (modality)”. Nevertheless, there are other domains considered to be relevant for the definition of auxiliary. In Steele et al. (1981:178), besides tense, aspect and modality, the following domains are discussed: negation, assertability conditions, question and emphasis, subject agreement, object agreement, evidentiality included in the category AUX, and voice.

2. Phonological criterion: In general, auxiliaries have phonologically reduced forms and they tend to be unstressed.

3. Morphological criterion: Sometimes morphology is taken for the primary criterion. According to this criterion, auxiliaries are, first of all, a paradigmatic class, and thus the presence or absence of inflections is essential.

4. Syntactic criterion: Verbal auxiliaries generally occur in a fixed order<sup>65</sup> and a fixed position in a clause. There are three possible positions of auxiliaries, often depending on the dominant word order in a given language: initial, middle and final. Chomsky (1957) is one of the fervent of the syntactic criterion. He introduced the abbreviation ‘AUX’ as a category label maintaining that the syntactic categories AUX<sup>66</sup> and Verb or VP are on the same syntactic level calling them ‘cousins’.

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<sup>65</sup> Czech, is, however, an example of a relatively free order of auxiliaries because it is possible to change the order of elements inside the VP. See Srpova, M. in Duchet (ed.) 1990.

<sup>66</sup> The category label AUX has to be distinguished from the term ‘auxiliary’, at least in the generative grammar. In a number of works, both terms are often used together and it is not always clear what the differences are. Their distinctions that most often characterize them can be summarized in the following four points (Heine 1993:5):

1. ‘AUX’ stands for a syntactic category or node, while ‘auxiliary’ refers to a ‘loose class’ of elements. However, that class is to be defined.
2. ‘AUX’ stands for a grammatical category and ‘auxiliary’ for the members of that category.
3. ‘AUX’ is used in formulaic expressions and ‘auxiliary’ in running texts.
4. While ‘auxiliary’ refers to an item typically denoting distinctions of tense, aspect and/or modality, ‘AUX’ is a more comprehensive unit that includes information on, and/or elements for, tense, aspect, modality, subject agreement/marking, object agreement/marking, negation, etc., or any combination thereof.

5. Semantic and functional criteria: Whereas some authors claim that auxiliaries have no meaning of their own and that they are ‘synsemantic’ and ‘syncategorematic’ to the lexeme to which they apply (typically the main verb), others insist on the priority of the semantics for their classification (Heine 1993:23). Concerning the functions of auxiliaries, they are said to serve “to indicate the situation in which the main verb operates” (see Tucker and Mpaayei 1955:96, quoted from Heine 1993).

Taking into account the criteria and parameters mentioned above, the auxiliaries in spoken Standard Tibetan may be characterised by several common features:

They are a closed set of linguistic units.

They can be either monolexemic or polylexemic.

They have a verbal nature.

They may not be nominalized.

They are obligatorily in finite clauses but are less frequent in non-finite clauses.

They are part of the verbal domain.

In spoken Standard Tibetan, auxiliaries combine with nominalizers forming verbal suffixes. In this dissertation, the term ‘verbal ending’ is used for these combinations because of their post-verbal position although other terms could equally be used, e.g.: ‘verbal suffixes’ or ‘verbal markers’.

## **II.**

# **PRESENTATION OF MODERN STANDARD TIBETAN**

### **2.1. LINGUISTIC SITUATION**

According to Shafer's classification (Shafer 1966), Tibetan is a language of the Bodish section of the Bodic division of Tibeto-Burman (Sino-Tibetan) or in Benedict's classification (Benedict 1972), one of the Bodish section of the Tibeto-Kanauri division of Tibeto-Burman<sup>67</sup>. It is spoken by about six million people. The Tibetan linguistic area is approximately 2 400 000 square km. There is an enormous dialectal variation in different regions inhabited by Tibetan native speakers. There are about two hundred Tibetan dialects spoken in five countries: China, Nepal, Bhutan, India and Pakistan (Tournadre 2005:1). The written language is usually divided into old Tibetan, classical literary Tibetan and modern literary Tibetan (Tournadre 2005:11).

#### **2.1.1. SPOKEN TIBETAN AND THE DIALECTAL VARIATION<sup>68</sup>**

All the Tibetan dialects originate in old Tibetan and are related to a common literary language. There are several main dialectal groups, which can be divided into sub-dialects and regional variants. The groups of dialects are usually not mutually intelligible. Only the dialects and sub-dialects of one dialectal group are in principle mutually intelligible (e.g. Amdo Tibetan: Labrang, Ngapa, Golok). The high dialectal diversity is caused by several reasons. The main reasons are the geographic remoteness and isolation, a complicated political situation, a low level of literacy and an unsatisfactory system of education. The dialects differ in many aspects:

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<sup>67</sup> For a more detailed classification, see, e.g. Shafer (1966), Benedict (1972).

<sup>68</sup> See Kesang Gyurme (1992), sKal-bzang 'Gyur-med et al. (2002), Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003), Tournadre (2005).

pronunciation, lexicon, grammar.

### 2.1.1.1. Groups of dialects

Tibetologists generally distinguish the following main groups of dialects of Tibetan according to phonological, lexical, grammatical and geographical criteria (Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003:28-32, Sun 2003, Tournadre 2005:20-22, Bielmeier [project dir.]: The Tibetan Dialects Project<sup>69</sup>).

#### 1. Central Tibetan dialects: Ü-Tsang<sup>70</sup> (T.A.R.<sup>71</sup> and Nepal)

As the name suggests, these dialects are spoken in central Tibet up to Ngari (Western Tibet). The most common of these dialects is the Lhasa dialect<sup>72</sup>. It is generally understood by the majority of inhabitants of these regions. They are further divided in the following groups:

- a) Group of dialects in Ü (*dbus.skad*): Lhasa, Phanpo, Lhokha
- b) Group of dialects in Tsang (*gtsang.skad*): Shikatse, Gyantse, Lhace, Tingri, Nyalam, Nyemo
- c) Group of dialects in Tö (*stod.skad*): Ngari - Gar, Rutog, Purang  
Nagchu - Nyima
- d) Dialects of Kongpo: Nyingtri
- e) Dialects of Nepal: Mustang, Dolpo

#### 2. North-Eastern Tibetan dialects: Amdo (PRC: Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan)

This is a group of approximately forty dialects spoken in Amdo (*a.mdo.skad*). The dialect spoken in Labrang is considered as *lingua franca* of the whole region. The Amdo dialects are further divided as follows:

- a) Northern Kokonor: Kangtsa, Themchen
- b) Western Kokonor: Dulan, Nagormo

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<sup>69</sup> Institute of Linguistics, University of Bern: The Classification of Tibetan Dialects (ongoing), A Historical-Comparative Lexicon of Tibetan Dialects (1992-1995), A Comparative Dictionary of Tibetan Dialects (CDTD), see: [www.isw2.unibe.ch/tibet/](http://www.isw2.unibe.ch/tibet/).

<sup>70</sup> In this section, Tibetan place and dialect names are transcribed by means of phonological transcription described in Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003). See also Appendix I. In brackets, the Wylie transliteration is given for some dialects.

<sup>71</sup> i.e. The Tibetan Autonomous Region.

<sup>72</sup> See also 2.1.3.

- c) South-Eastern Kokonor: Chentsa
- d) Southern Gansu: Labrang
- e) Golog: Machen
- f) Ngapa: Ngapa, Dzorge
- g) Amdo of the Kandze region

### 3. Eastern Tibetan dialects: Kham-Hor (T.A.R., PRC: Sichuan, Yunnan)

This large group of dialects is considered to be spoken by the highest percentage of Tibetans, about two million people. Some of the dialects traditionally considered as part of the Kham dialects (e.g. thewo, zhonggu) are, in reality, very different. The traditional classification was criticised by Sun (2003:794-796). Tournadre (2005) classifies the Kham dialects into the following groups:

- a) Group of dialects of Kham (*khams.skad*):
  - Eastern Kham dialects: Dhartsendo
  - Central Kham dialects: Dege, Chamdo
  - Southern Kham dialects: Dechen, Yunnan
  - Northern Kham dialects: Yushu, border of Qinghai and Gansu
- b) Group of dialects of Hor (*hor.skad*): Nagchu, Ngari

### 4. Southern Tibetan dialects: Bhutan and India, Sikkim, Nepal, T.A.R.

These dialects are mostly spoken outside Tibet and are divided in the following groups:

- a) Group of dialects of Bhutan - Dzongkha (*rdzong.kha*)
- b) Group of dialects of Sikkim (Drenjong) - Sikkimi (*lho.skad*)
- c) Group of dialects of Nepal and T.A.R. - Kyirong (Lende), Kagate, Langtang, and others.
- d) Group of dialects of Nepal - Sherpa (also in T.A.R.), Jirel

### 5. Western Tibetan dialects: Ladakh (India) and Baltistan (Pakistan)

The Western dialects are spoken in regions outside Tibet and are divided in the following three groups:

- a) Group of dialects of Ladakh: Ladakhi, Zangskari, Purik
- b) Group of dialects of Lahul and Spiti: Lahuli, Spiti, Nyamkat
- c) Group of dialects of Pakistan: Balti

Recently, Tournadre (2008) has proposed to adapt the terminology and speaks of 25 *Tibetic languages* (or groups of dialects) derived from Old Tibetan<sup>73</sup> (see also Zeisler 2004:215-222 ‘Tibetan languages’).

### **2.1.1.2. Common features and differences among the groups of dialects**

All the dialects share the following common features (Tournadre 2005:23-46):

1. The word order is SOV.
2. The verbal markers of tense-aspect-modality (i.e. TAM verbal endings) always follow the lexical verb.
3. The negation is *ma* or *mi*, *myi* (exception: Amdo, Kham /nyet/ from *myed*)
4. The dialects share a common core vocabulary.
5. In spite of the great diversity of the auxiliary systems of the Tibetan dialects, their functions and structure are common to all dialects (see the citation below). All these systems indicate the various tenses, aspects and modalities.

*“...we find different lexical items conveying similar meanings that have undergone, in various dialects, identical grammaticalization as aspectual and evidential endings.”* (Tournadre 2001:87)

The basic structure of the auxiliary systems is:

Verb + Nominalizer + Auxiliary + (final particle).

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<sup>73</sup> Tournadre (2008:282-283): “When we refer to 25 languages, we make clear that we are dealing with a family comparable in size to the Romance family which has 19 groups of dialects. This perspective is quite different from dealing with several dialects of a *single* language. So I propose to adapt the terminology to reflect the linguistic diversity of the area and speak of Tibetic languages (or groups of dialects) derived from Old Tibetan. The 25 Tibetic languages include the following twelve major dialect groups: Ü-Tsang (China); Kham-Hor (T.A.R, Sichuan, Qinghai, Yunnan: China); Amdo (Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan: China); Thewo-Chone (Gansu, Sichuan: China); Ladakhi (Jammu Kashmir, India); Balti (Northwestern territories, Pakistan); Purki (Jammu Kashmir, India); Spiti (Himalchal, India); Dzongkha (Bhutan); Drenjong (Sikkim, India), Sherpa (Nepal; T.A.R, China); Kyirong-Kagate (Nepal and T.A.R, China)... [and thirteen minor groups]... Jirel (Nepal); Tsamang [also called Chochangacha] (Bhutan); Lakha (Bhutan); Dur (Bhutan); Mera-Sakteng (Bhutan); Zhongu (Sichuan; China); Gserpa (Sichuan; China); Khalong (Sichuan; China); Dongwang (Yunnan; China); Dhromo (T.A.R: China); Zitsadegu (Sichuan: China); Baima (Sichuan: China); Drugchu (Gansu: China).”

The dialects differ in the following ways (Tournadre 2005:23-46):

1. Phonology: The evolution of the Tibetan language is characterized by a simplification of the consonantal structure of the syllable (see Appendix I). To compensate the loss of many initial and final consonants, most Tibetan dialects have developed a system of tones. This phenomenon can be best seen in the most progressive dialects in the central areas of Tibet (*dbus.skad*, *lha.sa.skad*) but is non-existent in the dialects in the periphery that have preserved archaic features (*a.mdo.skad*, Ladakhi, Balti, Purik).
2. Grammar: From a formal point of view, the various dialects use different verbal endings (auxiliaries). This variation can be shown on the example of the Central dialects: *red* is used in Ü, *'bad* in Tsang, and *'dad* in Tö.
3. Lexicon: Although there are some words which are shared by different Tibetan dialects (common core vocabulary), each dialect has its specific vocabulary.

### **2.1.1.3. Sociolects**

From a sociolinguistic point of view, the Tibetan dialects are divided in two groups (Tournadre 2005:18-20): the dialects of nomads (*'brog.skad*) and the dialects of farmers (*rong.skad*). There are many social and cultural differences between nomads, who are principally breeders, and farmers concerning their home, clothes, production, food, etc. The different lifestyle naturally has an influence on the language used by these people. The dialects of nomads generally preserve more archaic features. The dialects of the two groups are not mutually understandable. Neither are the dialects within one sociolinguistic group e.g. the dialects spoken by nomads in Kham are not understood by nomads in Amdo. Although different, the two groups (i.e. the dialects of nomads and the dialects of farmers) are usually considered as varieties of one dialect because the two communities coexist in the same region.

### **2.1.2. LITERARY TIBETAN<sup>74</sup>**

There are few languages of the Tibeto-Burman family with a written tradition (e.g. Tibetan, Burmese, Newari). The Tibetan script was created after the model of the

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<sup>74</sup> See Hahn (1974), Beyer (1992), Tournadre (2005).

Indian writing *devanagari* in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. It has largely preserved the pronunciation of the 9<sup>th</sup> century Tibetan though until the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it underwent three writing reforms.

Owing to the differences in the lexicon and/or the grammar, literary Tibetan is divided into the following types (Tournadre 2005:11):

- 1) Old literary Tibetan (7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- 2) Classical literary Tibetan (10<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- 3) Modern Literary Tibetan (20<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>th</sup> cent.)

The traditional Tibetan literature written in classical literary Tibetan consists mainly of texts on Buddhism, medicine, history, grammar and astrology. The Buddhist religious and philosophical texts are written in *chos.skad*, the language of the Dharma. It differs from the literary language in the lexicon because it uses a specialized terminology but it does not differ in the grammar. Nowadays, newspapers and books are, in general, written in Modern literary Tibetan. It started to develop at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century but the modern literature had been established only by the 1980s. From a linguistic point of view, it is similar to classical Tibetan. There are, however, some differences in the lexicon (neologisms, words taken from the spoken language, loan words) and the grammar between the two traditions. Some modern literary texts, especially the fiction, resemble spoken Tibetan.

### **2.1.3. STANDARD TIBETAN AND THE LHASA DIALECT**

‘Standard Tibetan’ is a term introduced by N. Tournadre and Sangda Dorje (see e.g. Tournadre and Sangda Dorje 2003) that corresponds to the Tibetan term *spyi.skad*. It is based on the dialect of Lhasa and its neighbourhood, which is a variety of central Tibetan (*dbus.skad*). It is used as the *lingua franca* in the Tibetan Autonomous Region and in the Tibetan diaspora (India, Nepal, U.S.A., Europe). It is spoken by about one and a half million people, 130, 000 of whom live in the diaspora.

Standard Tibetan is a language in the process of standardization. As a result, although the Lhasa dialect and the Tibetan spoken by the Tibetan communities in the exile are very similar, there are some differences in the lexicon and the grammar. Compare the following examples of the differences between Lhasa (a) and Dharamsala (India) (b) in the grammar (ex. 48: the past stem *phyin* used in Lhasa vs. the present-future stem



'gro used in Dharamsala) and in the lexicon (ex. 49: *kha.par brgyab* used in Lhasa vs. *phone btang* used in Dharamsala):

- (48) a) *nga phyin - pa.yin*                      b) *nga 'gro - pa.yin*<sup>75</sup>  
       I go (PAS) - PFV+EGO                      I go (PRS) - PFV+EGO  
       « I went [there]. »                      « I went [there]. »

- (49) a) *nyi.ma - s kha.par brgyab - song*  
       Nyima - ERG phone VBZ - PFV+SENS  
       « Nyima called. »

- b) *nyi.ma - s phone*<sup>76</sup> *btang - song*  
       Nyima - ERG phone VBZ - PFV+SENS  
       « Nyima called. »

The differences are caused by several reasons: geographical, dialectal and social. The most significant reason comes from the fact that the Tibetan diaspora consists of speakers of various dialects. Naturally, since Lhasa is the biggest city and the original capital of Tibet, many Tibetans who live there also come from different regions of historical Tibet. However, the percentage of these speakers in the Lhasa region is lower than that in the diaspora. Consequently, the influence of other dialects on Standard Tibetan is bigger outside Tibet than in Lhasa.

#### 2.1.4. REGISTERS OF POLITENESS

Standard Tibetan is characterized by several different registers of politeness. They occur both in the spoken and literary language. Two most commonly used registers of politeness are *zhe.sa* 'honorific language' and *skad.dkyus.ma* 'ordinary language'. They mainly differ in the vocabulary using different words for personal pronouns, nouns, and verbs. For the same idea, one form is used in the honorific language and another one in the ordinary language, e.g. the honorific *chab* and the ordinary *chu*,

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<sup>75</sup> The pronunciation of *pa* in this verbal ending is weakened in the Tibetan of the diaspora.

<sup>76</sup> Most of the time, the Tibetans of the diaspora use the English word 'phone'.

both meaning ‘water’. The polite form is used with second or third person, but never with first person. On the contrary, there are humilific forms that are sometimes used with first person when the speaker addresses someone to whom he wants to pay respect. The different registers of politeness have developed only in some areas and dialects (Lhasa, Zhigatse), in others they are almost inexistent (e.g. Amdo). Compare the following sentences in the honorific language (ex. 50a) and the ordinary language (ex. 50b):

(50) a) *mo.rang chu btungs - kyis*  
 she water drink - IMPF+SENS  
 « She is drinking water. »

b) *khong chab mchod - kyis*  
 s/he+H water+H drink+H - IMPF+SENS  
 « She is drinking water. »

## 2.2. PRESENTATION OF SPOKEN STANDARD TIBETAN

### 2.2.1. GENERALITES

#### 2.2.1.1. Typological characteristic

From a typological point of view, spoken Standard Tibetan is primarily an agglutinative language with analytic constructions (see e.g. Sapir 1921). Syntactical relations are, in general, expressed by means of grammatical words. They are added to the base, which itself, most of the time, remains unchanged. Similarly, verbal categories (tense-aspect-modality) are systematically expressed by grammatical words (see 2.2.2.3.1., 2.2.2.3.3.), although some verbs have preserved inflectional features from old Tibetan (for the verbal inflection, see 2.2.2.1., 2.2.2.3.1.; ex. 51 with the verb *lta* ‘watch’: cf. the present-future stem *lta* in ex. 51a and b with the imperative stem *ltos* in ex. 51c). Agglutinative constructions are illustrated by ex. (51b) with the plural suffix *tsho*, and ex. (52) with the genitive particle *gi* and the oblique particle *r*:

(51) a) *nga yang.se ltad.mo lta - gi.yod*

I often show watch (PRS) - PRS+EGO

« I often watch shows. »

b) *nga - tsho yang.se ltad.mo lta - gi.yod*

I - pl often show watch (PRS) - PRS+EGO

« We often watch shows. »

c) *ltad.mo 'di ltos - dang*

show this watch (IMP) - ImpP

« Watch this show! »

(52) *nga khong - gi ri.mo rnying.pa chen.po de - r dga'.po yod*

I s/he+H - GEN painting old big that - OBL like exist (EGO)

« I like that big old painting of his. »

### 2.2.1.2. The word order

The word order in the Tibetan sentence is generally subject - object - predicate (SOV) but the order OSV is also possible. Exceptionally, the word order OVS is also possible in the case of afterthoughts (see 2.2.3.3.3.). The grammatical words of the verbal domain (i.e. verbal endings and interrogative and imperative particles) always follow the verb. As stated in 2.2.1.1., the declination of nouns (or nominal phrases) is realised by case particles that are attached to the noun (or the nominal phrase) expressing, therefore, its syntactic function in the sentence (e.g. subject, direct or indirect object, instrument).<sup>77</sup> In the example below, (a) illustrates a grammatical word order, and (b) an ungrammatical one:

(53) a) *mo.rang chu - la zhed - kyi.yod.pa. 'dra*

she water - OBL be afraid - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS

« She seems to be afraid of water. »

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<sup>77</sup> For more details, refer to 2.2.3.

b) \* *mo.rang zhed - kyi.yod.pa. 'dra chu - la*  
 she be afraid - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS water - OBL  
 Intended: « She seems to be afraid of water. »

### 2.2.1.3. Ergativity

One of the characteristic features of Tibetan is ergativity, i.e. marking the subject (agent) of transitive verbs (see DeLancey 1990 and Tournadre 1995, 1996a for Tibetan; also Plank 1979, Dixon 1994 in general). Just as the other Tibetan cases (see 2.2.2.2.2. for the system of the Tibetan cases), the ergative is realised by case particles. SST is a split-ergative language because the ergative particle is normally used only in the perfective (see 2.2.2.6.). Compare the following example of a non-ergative construction (ex. 54) with that of an ergative construction with the ergative suffix *-s* that marks the agent of the action of killing (ex. 55):

(54) *'brog.pa byang.thang - la phyin - song*  
 nomad Tibetan plateau - OBL go (PAS) - PFV+SENS  
 « The nomads left for the Tibetan plateau. »

(55) *'brog.pa - s g.yag bsad - song*  
 nomad - ERG yak kill - PFV+SENS  
 « The nomads killed yaks. »

### 2.2.1.4. Evidentiality

Evidentiality is another characteristic feature of SST (see DeLancey 1986, Sun 1993, Agha 1993, Denwood 1999, Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001, LaPolla (ed.) 2000, 2001, Garrett 2001, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003). It should be underlined that a complex system of evidentials has developed particularly in the spoken language. Each evidential highlights a different source of information of the speaker who bases his utterance on this source. As stated in 1.3.2.2., they are expressed by various evidential endings. The use of each evidential ending depends on several parameters, such as the verbal aspect and tense, and the speaker's point of view. In 2.2.2.5., the evidential system of SST is presented in more detail. Below are examples of SST evidentials (cf. a different interpretation of each ending in brackets):

(56) a) *nga kho.rang - la zhed - kyis*

I he - OBL be afraid - IMPF+SENS

« I'm afraid of him now. » (The speaker highlights his sensory knowledge at the very moment of speech.)

b) *nga kho.rang - la zhed - kyi.yod*

I he - OBL be afraid - IMPF+EGO

« I'm always afraid of him. » (The speaker highlights his personal knowledge of a habitual action.)

c) *nga kho.rang - la zhed - pa.red*

I he - OBL be afraid - PFV+FACT

« I was afraid of him (then). » (The speaker highlights a factual knowledge of a past action.)

### 2.2.1.5. Person, egophoricity and the anticipation rule

Sun (1993:955) argues that “in Tibetan, the category of person constitutes an important factor which determines much of the verbal morpho-syntax.”. This category is in Tibetan comprehended in a different way than in European languages (e.g. English, French). In fact, there is an opposition between egophoric and non-egophoric endings (see Tournadre 1994, 1996b, Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003) that is only indirectly related to person (Tournadre 2008, see 2.2.2.5.). The notion of egophoric corresponds to ‘personal knowledge’ in van Driem 1998, DeLancey 1990, ‘self-person’ in Sun 1993, ‘personal experience’ in Huber 2002, ‘ego evidentiality’ in Garrett 2001, and ‘speaker’s involvement’ in Hein (2007) (quoted from Tournadre 2008:296).

Egophoric endings imply personal knowledge, personal experience or personal intention. They are often, but not always, connected with the first person subject (see below and 2.2.2.5. for other uses). Non-egophoric endings are usually associated with the second and third person subject but may occur, under certain circumstances, with the first person subject as well (e.g. anticipation rule, see below and 2.2.2.5. for other uses). The following sentences are examples of egophoric (ex. 57a) and non-egophoric (ex. 57b) verbal endings:

(57) a) *nga lha.sa - r phyin - pa.yin*  
 I Lhasa - OBL go (PAS) - PFV+EGO  
 « I went to Lhasa. »

b) *khong lha.sa - r phyin - pa.red*  
 s/he+H Lhasa - OBL go (PAS) - PFV+FACT  
 « She went to Lhasa. »

In SST, the subject of the answer is presupposed or anticipated in the interrogative sentence. This is called the ‘anticipation rule’ (see Hu 1989, DeLancey 1990, Goldstein 1991, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003). In accordance with this rule, egophoric endings are used when the subject of the interrogative sentence is the second person singular or plural (the subject of the answer will be ‘I’ or ‘we’). On the contrary, when the subject of the interrogative sentence is first person (‘you’ in the answer), non-egophoric endings are used. The verbal endings of an interrogative sentence with the third person subject do not change in the answer. Some authors explain anticipation by the conjunct/disjunct opposition (see 1.3.2.2.). Compare the examples (58) and (59) below (taken from DeLancey 1990:295)<sup>78</sup>:

(58) a) *nga bod.pa yin*  
 I Tibetan be (EGO)  
 « I am Tibetan. »

b) *khjed.rang<sup>79</sup> bod.pa red*  
 you+H Tibetan be (FACT/NON-EGO)  
 « You are Tibetan. »

The above sentences illustrate the declarative pattern. In the interrogative pattern (ex. 59), *khjed.rang* ‘you’ is used with the egophoric copula *yin* (a), and *nga* ‘I’ with the non-egophoric copula *red* (b):

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<sup>78</sup> The glosses are mine.

<sup>79</sup> DeLancey (1990:295) gives an example with the third person subject *kho* ‘he’: *kho bod.pa red* ‘He is Tibetan.’.

(59) a) *khyed.rang bod.pa yin - pas*

you+H Tibetan be (EGO) - Q

« Are you Tibetan? »

b) *nga rgya.mi red - pas*

I Chinese be (FACT/NON-EGO) - Q

« Am I Chinese? »

## 2.2.2. MORPHOLOGY

Spoken Standard Tibetan is a syllabic language and the majority of its syllables are morphemes (i.e. having a meaning). Owing to its syllabic character, it can easily form neologisms by composing monosyllabic words into polysyllabic words. The relations between the number of syllables and the morphological category might be generalised in the following way: morphemes are monosyllabic and word classes polysyllabic, e.g. nouns are often disyllabic and verbs trisyllabic. Naturally, this is only a tendency, and there are a number of words in SST that do not correspond to this rule. In the following sections, I will mainly concentrate on the verbal morphology.

### 2.2.2.1. Verbal inflection<sup>80</sup>

As I already mentioned in the Introduction<sup>81</sup>, in spoken Standard Tibetan, tense may be expressed in two ways: by an archaic verbal inflection of the lexical verb and/or by TAM verbal endings following the verb. Nowadays, the second way predominates (see 2.2.2.3.).

Tibetan used to have a rich system of verbal inflection. Some verbs had up to four stems: past, present, future and imperative. However, the situation has changed in spoken Standard Tibetan. Most of the verbs have now only one or two stems, the past and/or the present-future (SST makes no difference between the present and the future stem)<sup>82</sup>. The modern language has been generalizing a single verbal stem for all

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<sup>80</sup> See Hu 1989, Kesang Gyurme 1992, Wang 1994, Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003.

<sup>81</sup> See 'Structure of the Tibetan examples' in the Introduction.

<sup>82</sup> In SST, several verbs have still preserved three forms: past, present-future and imperative, e.g. *bltas*, *lta* and *ltos*, respectively, meaning 'to see'.

tenses. The synthetic and periphrastic expression of tenses is one of the main differences between literary Tibetan and spoken Standard Tibetan.

In the following sentences, tenses are expressed by the combination of verbal inflection (*bltas* vs. *lta* for the verb ‘see’) and a verbal ending (ex. 60), and by the verbal ending alone (ex. 61):

(60) a) *khong - gis deb bltas - song*  
s/he+H - ERG book read (PAS) - PFV+SENS  
« She read a book. »

b) *khong deb lta - gi. 'dug*  
s/he+H book read (PRS) - IMPF+SENS  
« She is reading a book. »

(61) a) *khong - gis yi.ge btang<sup>83</sup> - song*  
s/he+H - ERG letter send - PFV+SENS  
« She sent letters. »

b) *khong yi.ge btang - gi. 'dug*  
s/he+H letter send - IMPF+SENS  
« She is sending letters. »

There are two types of verbal inflection in SST: the inner inflection, for ex.: *byed* ‘do (present/future)’ and *byas* ‘do (past)’, and the outer inflection, which has been preserved, in most cases, mainly in writing and rarely in speech, for ex.: the verb ‘come back’ is spelt *slog* in the present-future and *bslog* in the past but the pronunciation is the same for all tenses. As a result, it was necessary to compensate the loss of distinction of verbal inflection by the system of verbal endings.

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<sup>83</sup> In Classical Tibetan, this verb has four stems: *btang* (past), *gtong* (present), *gtang* (future), *thongs* (imperative). In SST, only the first one is used for all tenses.



## 2.2.2.2. Grammatical morphemes and their functions<sup>84</sup>

### 2.2.2.2.1. Nominalizing morphemes

Nominalization is a very important process in spoken Standard Tibetan. By adding a nominalizing suffix, it is possible to make a nominal phrase of any Tibetan verb. In SST, most of the nominalizers share the following function: they form nominal and relative clauses functioning either as a noun or an adjective. The nominalizers used in SST are: *pa*, *sa*, *mkhan*, *yag*, *rgyu*, *stangs*, *tshul*, *srol* and ‘*gyog*<sup>85</sup>. They have the following functions (see Kesang Gyurme 1992, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003):

- *pa* nominalizes the whole proposition and indicates the grammatical patient (having a perfective value). It usually marks the subject of intransitive verbs, the direct object and the adverbial complement of tense.
- *sa* indicates the location or the addressee (goal); the tense-aspect is deduced from the context.
- *mkhan* indicates the agent of a verbal action, and it also extends to the subject of transitive verbs (the tense-aspect is deduced from the context) and the subject of most intransitive verbs (having an imperfective value).
- *yag* nominalizes the whole proposition and indicates the grammatical patient (having an imperfective value and a deontic sense). It marks the direct object, the adverbial complement of tense and the adverbial (instrument, cause, manner).
- *rgyu* has the same functions as *yag* but it does not mark the adverbial (instrument, cause, manner). It is more formal than *yag*.
- *stangs* and *tshul* indicate the way of doing an action. *Tshul* is mainly used in literary Tibetan.
- *srol* indicates the habit of doing an action.
- ‘*gyog* has the same functions as *pa*.

The sentences below (ex. 62-65) illustrate the use of the nominalizers *pa*, *mkhan*, *yag* and *stangs*:

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<sup>84</sup> See Goldstein (1991), Kesang Gyurme (1992), Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003).

<sup>85</sup> “ ‘*gyog* ” is a phonetic writing because this nominalizer does not exist in written Tibetan. It is only used in the spoken language.

(62) *lha.mo lha.sa - r phyin - pa nga - s ha.go - ma.song*  
 Lhamo Lhasa - OBL go (PAS) - NMZ I - ERG know - PFV+SENS+NEG  
 « I didn't know that Lhamo went to Lhasa (lit.: I didn't know about Lhamo  
 having gone to Lhasa). »

(63) *'gro - mkhan su red*  
 go (PRS) - NMZ who be (FACT)  
 « Who is going? (lit.: Who are the goers?) »

(64) *mar 'tshong - yag yod.red*  
 butter sell (PRS) - NMZ exist (FACT)  
 « There is butter for sale. »

(65) *khong - gi skad.cha bshad - stangs khyed.mtshar 'dug*  
 s/he+H - GEN speech say - NMZ strange exist (SENS)  
 « The way she is speaking is strange. »

#### 2.2.2.2.2. Nominal case particles

As an analytic language (see 2.2.1.1.), SST does not have cases *per se* but case particles that are affixed to nominal groups. Traditional Tibetan grammars distinguish eight cases (Kesang Gyurme 1992:3-4): the absolutive, the target object (oblique), the ergative-instrumental, the goal (oblique), the ablative (origin, source), the genitive, the spatial-temporal locative (oblique), and the vocative. For all these cases, there are only four case particles (and their variants) and one zero particle. Some authors have added the associative case (Beyer 1992, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003) and removed the vocative. Below are the case particles used in SST:

- genitive: *gi* (*gyi, kyi, 'i*)
- ergative-instrumental: *gis* (*gyis, kyis, -s*)
- oblique: *ra, la*
- ablative: *nas, las* (used in comparative constructions)
- absolutive: zero
- associative: *dang*

The Tibetan cases can be illustrated by the following sentence:

(66) *nga - 'i grogs.po - s nga - r deb - Ø sprad - byung*  
I - GEN friend - ERG I - OBL book - ABS give - PFV+EGO  
« My friend gave me a book. »

### 2.2.2.2.3. Verbal morphemes

#### a) Connectives

The main verbal morphemes that are used with verbal groups in non-final position are: *nas*, *tsang*, *dus*, *shul.ring.kar* and *na*. They are, in general, directly attached to the verb without a verbal ending. They have the following functions:

- *nas*<sup>86</sup>: marking temporal (posteriority<sup>87</sup>) and spatial clauses
- *tsang*: marking causal clauses
- *dus*: expressing simultaneity
- *shul.ring.kar*: expressing simultaneity
- *na*: marking conditional clauses

The use of the connectives *nas*, *tsang* and *na* is illustrated by the following sentences (ex. 67-69):

(67) *kho - s a.rag mang.po btungs - nas bzi - bzhag*  
he - ERG alcohol a lot drink - after be drunk - PERF+INF  
« After drinking a lot of alcohol, he's got drunk. »

(68) *rang - gis nga - r rog.pa byas - tsang nga shi - yod.ma.red*  
you - ERG I - OBL help do (PAS) - because I die - PERF+FACT+NEG  
« Since you helped me, I have not died. »

(69) *rang - gis nga - r rog.pa ma byas - na nga shi - yod.red*  
you - ERG I - OBL help NEG do (PAS) - if I die - PERF+FACT  
« If you had not helped me, I would have died. »

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<sup>86</sup> In the spoken language, *byas* is often used instead of *nas*.

<sup>87</sup> Anteriority is expressed by the following construction: the negative particle *ma* + verb + *gong.la*.

## b) Verbal endings

In SST, there are numerous verbal morphemes that are used in the sentence final position. As stated above, they are called ‘verbal endings’ in this dissertation. In the following section (2.2.2.3.), the problem of verbal endings will be dealt in more detail. The SST verbal endings can basically be divided into the following groups (The verbal endings are summed up in Appendix II):

1. Imperative endings (also called ‘imperative particles’), e.g.: *dang, rogs*
2. Perfective endings, e.g.: ‘*dug, song, byung, pa.red, pa. ‘dra, pa.yod, pa.a.yin*
3. Imperfective endings, e.g.: *gi.yod, gi.yod.red, gi.yod.sa.red, gi.yod.bzo. ‘dug*
4. Future endings, e.g.: *mi.yong.ngas, rgyu.yin, a.yong*

Below are examples of the imperative particle *dang* (ex. 70) and the perfective ending *pa.red* (ex. 71):

(70) *skad.cha shod - dang*  
speech say (IMP) - ImpP  
« Speak! »

(71) *khong - gis bod.skad sbyangs - pa.red*  
s/he+H - ERG Tibetan learn - PFV+FACT  
« She learnt Tibetan. »

### 2.2.2.3. Auxiliaries, verbal endings and copulas<sup>88</sup>

As stated above (see 2.2.2.1.), the Tibetan inflectional system has been largely replaced by another system based on final auxiliaries that behave in combinations with verbal nominalizers/connectors as verbal endings. This system has developed and become very complicated in the spoken language. I will first discuss the development of this system and its occurrence in the literary language, and then I will concentrate on the spoken language.

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<sup>88</sup> For more details, refer to chapters III and IV.

### **2.2.2.3.1. Development of the auxiliary system in Tibetan**

In accordance with the evolution of the spoken language, Tibetan can be divided into the following five periods<sup>89</sup>:

1. Archaic Tibetan - up to the 7<sup>th</sup> century
2. Old Tibetan (the Tibetan of the Old Empire) - 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> century
3. Old Tibetan (latter period) - 10<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> century
4. Classical Tibetan - 12<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century
5. Modern Tibetan - 19<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>th</sup> century

The Old Tibetan verb is characterized by inflection (see Kesang Gyurme 1992, Beyer 1992, Zeisler 2004). In the latter period of Old Tibetan, verbal inflection in the spoken language started to be continuously replaced by a periphrastic construction consisting of a lexical verb, a nominalizer/connector (*bzhin*, *rgyu*, *gi*, *pa* expressing various tenses and aspects) and a verbal auxiliary. The period of Classical Tibetan is marked by an enormous development of the auxiliary system, enabled by a continuous simplification of verbal inflection.

### **2.2.2.3.2. Verbal endings in literary Tibetan**

TAM verbal endings are not obligatory in literary Tibetan. This is a fundamental difference between the written and spoken language. Although not obligatory, verbal endings also occur in literary Tibetan (see Hahn 1974, Parfionovich 1982, Goldstein 1991, Kesang Gyurme 1992, Beyer 1992, Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003, Zeisler 2004)

From a diachronic point of view, the verbal endings of the literary language can be analyzed into a nominalizer/connector (including the empty nominalizer) and an auxiliary. In synchrony, they are unanalyzable units (Zeisler 2004:470). Some of the nominalizers/connectors and auxiliaries are identical with those used in the spoken language. However, their functions and meanings more or less differ from the spoken language. Basically, the verbal endings used in literary Tibetan can be divided in two groups (sometimes both co-occur in one text):

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<sup>89</sup> Based on the course on Tibetan dialects by N. Tournadre (Inalco, Paris 2001).

- 1) The verbal endings used in texts written in the classical language
- 2) The verbal endings used in biographies (*namthar*) and modern literature

In literary Tibetan, verbal endings usually indicate the tense and the aspect of the verb but they rarely have a modal meaning: they do not indicate an evidential meaning (Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001:66-67<sup>90</sup>). It is necessary to emphasize that the majority of verbal endings used in *namthar* and modern literary texts have the same form as those used in the spoken language but they differ semantically. Below is a list of those nominalizers/connectors and auxiliaries that are used to form verbal endings in literary Tibetan (Tournadre 2003:420); the auxiliaries also function as lexical verbs in literary Tibetan:

Nominalizers/Connectors: variable - *pa, par, gi, gin, bzhin, zhing*; invariable - *rgyu, mkhan*.

Auxiliaries: *byed* ‘do’, *mdzad* ‘do (H)’, *bgyid* ‘do (H)’, ‘*gyur* ‘change’, *song* ‘go’, *byung* ‘appear’, *bsdad* ‘stay’, *yod* ‘exist, have’, ‘*dug* ‘sit, have’, *gda* ‘exist’, *snang* ‘appear’, *yin* ‘be’, *lags* ‘be’, *zin* ‘end’.

The verbal endings of Classical Tibetan (Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003:421, see also Hahn 1974, Beyer 1992):

Causative endings: PAST: V (PAS) + *par.byas*  
PRESENT: V (PRS) + *par.byed* (+IMPERFECTIVE)  
FUTURE: V (PRS/FUT) + *par.bya*

Resultative endings: PAST: V (PAS) + *par.gyur*  
PRESENT: V (PRS) + *par.‘gyur*  
FUTURE: V (PRS/FUT) + *par.‘gyur*

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<sup>90</sup> “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 ...” (Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001:66). “... even in modern literature, final auxiliary verbs usually do not convey evidential meanings” (Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001:67).

The verbal endings of Tibetan biographies (*namthar*) and modern literary Tibetan (Kesang Gyurme 1992:214-217, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003:422 ; see also Goldstein 1991):

Past endings: V (PAS) + *song, byung, pa.yin, yod, 'dug*.

Present endings: V (PRS) + *gi, 'dug, gi.yod, gi.yod.pa.red, bzhin, 'dug, bzhin.yod, cing, 'dug, cing.yod, gin, 'dug, gin.yod*.

Future endings: V (PRS/FUT) + *rgyu.yin, pa.yin, gi.yin, gi.red*.

Below is an example of the use of the present ending *bzhin.yod* in modern literature<sup>91</sup> (ex. 72). Unlike in the spoken language (cf. 2.2.2.5.1., 2.2.2.5.5.), *yod* does not have egophoric connotations in this example:

(72).. *nyi, 'od phog - pa - 'i skaps dngos, 'brel 'od.zer chen.po*  
 sunlight shine - NMZ - GEN moment really light big  
*'phro - bzhin.yod*  
 shine - PRS  
 «... when the sun(light) was shining, [it] was really very bright. »

### 2.2.2.3.3. TAM verbal endings in spoken Standard Tibetan

In SST, verbs are, as a rule, followed by verbal endings that have several important functions. They indicate the end of a sentence and they convey tense, aspect and evidential and/or epistemic modalities, and are thus called ‘TAM verbal endings’, as mentioned above. They do not express the grammatical categories of gender, voice and number.<sup>92</sup>

Just like their counterparts in literary Tibetan, diachronically, the verbal endings used in SST can be analyzed into nominalizers/connectors and auxiliaries. As shown above (2.2.2.3.2.), the auxiliaries have developed from lexical verbs. They are attached to a lexical, or in some cases to a secondary<sup>93</sup> verb by means of verbal

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<sup>91</sup> Taken from *Nyi, che bzang.po 'i sgrungs* (2000:2).

<sup>92</sup> For more details on person, refer to 2.2.1.5.

<sup>93</sup> Secondary verbs are a group of verbs that specify the meaning of the preceding lexical verb. This group consists of modal, aspectual and directional verbs. For more details, refer to chapter V.

nominalizers/connectors<sup>94</sup>. The nominalizers/connectors used in SST are *pa* (or its variant *ba*), *gi* (or its variants *gyi*, *kyl*, *i*, the use of which depends on the preceding syllable), *rgyu* and the empty nominalizer. From a synchronic point of view, such combinations function as single units ('verbal endings'), which can be determined by the following criteria (see Hu 1989, Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001):

Phonological criterion: The SST verbal endings are phonologically reduced forms. They are pronounced without a tone and are unstressed. This confirms their status of verbal suffixes in synchrony.

Morphological criterion: Although the category of tense is sometimes expressed by the lexical verb, as stated above (2.2.2.1.), most of the time, verbal endings are the only carriers of all the morphological information relating to the predicate (tense, aspect, modality including negation).

Syntactic criterion: Greenberg (1963:67) points out that in languages with the dominant order VSO, an inflected auxiliary precedes the main verb, and in languages with the dominant order SOV, an inflected auxiliary follows the main verb. SST as an SOV language confirms Greenberg's rule because SST verbal endings follow the lexical verb.

Semantic criterion: Although the auxiliary part of verbal endings is derived of various lexical verbs, these have lost most of their original meaning and now function only as grammatical words.

A number of verbal auxiliaries are the same morphemes as copulas (see 2.2.2.5.1.), for ex.: *yin*, *red*, *yod*, *'dug*, *byung* are copulas, *pa.red*, *gi.yin.gyi.red*, *gi.'dug*, *yod* and *byung* (with the empty nominalizer) are verbal endings including the auxiliaries *yin*, *red*, *'dug*, *yod* and *byung*. Both syntactic structures are represented below: *yod* in ex. (73) is a copula, while in ex. (74) it is a verbal ending (diachronically consisting of the empty nominalizer and the auxiliary *yod*):

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<sup>94</sup> In the paradigm of verbal endings, I do not consider the combinations of the nominalizer *mkhan* (pronounced /nyä:/) with auxiliaries, though common in the spoken language, because these combinations have not yet been fully grammaticalized. For more details, refer to 2.2.2.4.



<b>NOUN/ADJECTIVE    COPULA</b>
---------------------------------

(73) *nga - la    dus.tshod*                      *yod*  
 I    - OBL   time                                      exist (EGO)  
 « I have time. »

<b>VERB [inflection] - TAM VERBAL ENDING</b>
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(74) *nga - s    ja    bzos*                      - *yod*  
 I    - ERG   tea    make (PAS)                      - PERF+EGO  
 « I have made some tea. »

#### **2.2.2.3.4. Classification of TAM verbal endings and copulas in SST**

TAM verbal endings in SST are basically divided in two groups, as announced in the Introduction: those related to evidentiality, specifying the source of information, called ‘evidential endings’, and those expressing a degree of certainty of the speaker towards the actuality of his utterance, called ‘epistemic endings’.<sup>95</sup> Examining more closely this system of verbal endings, one comes to the conclusion that the epistemic meaning and the evidential meaning often occur together in a single ending in the case of epistemic endings (see 2.2.2.5.6.). Besides, there is a small group of verbal endings and constructions in the process of grammaticalization that also may have a deontic meaning<sup>96</sup>. Thus, there is not always a clear-cut border.

Nevertheless, it is still true that some verbal endings mainly convey an evidential meaning, while others essentially communicate an epistemic meaning. The division in two distinct groups can be justified from a semantic and a cognitive point of view. Concerning the deontic meaning, in most cases, it is not conveyed by TAM verbal

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<sup>95</sup> The same division also applies to copulas. Thus, one can speak of the evidential and epistemic copulas.

<sup>96</sup> This group of verbal endings is diachronically formed of the nominalizer *rgyu* and an evidential or epistemic auxiliary. For more details, refer to 2.2.2.6.5.

endings but rather by secondary verbs.<sup>97</sup> Below are sentences with the negative evidential ending *ma.song* (ex. 75) and with the epistemic ending *a.yod* (ex. 76). Whereas in ex. (75) the speaker is sure that she didn't drink tea because he saw her drink something else or not drink at all, in ex. (76) the speaker is pretty sure that she didn't drink tea because he knows that she doesn't like tea, however, he didn't see her and thus is not 100 % sure:

(75) *khong - gis ja btungs - ma.song*

s/he+H - ERG tea drink - PFV+SENS+NEG

« She didn't drink tea. » (The speaker is 100 % sure because he saw her.)

(76) *khong - gis ja btungs - a.yod*

s/he+H - ERG tea drink - PERF-EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I doubt she drank tea. » (The speaker is almost sure because he knows her. However, he cannot be 100 % sure.)

### 2.2.2.3.5. Development of epistemic verbal endings

Concerning epistemic endings, diachronically, many of them consist of the same nominalizers/connectors (*empty, gi, pa, rgyu*) and auxiliaries (*yod, red, 'dug*) as evidential endings but they also contain other morphemes (*a, 'gro, 'dra, sa, bzo, etc.*). Most epistemic endings are formed by the process of 'double suffixation'<sup>98</sup>, i.e. they consist of two parts that I will call formants (word forming elements). The epistemic meaning is only deducible from the whole ending, not from a single formant. The first formant is formally identical but functionally different from an evidential ending. It is followed by a second formant, e.g.: the first formant *gi.yod* followed by *pa.'dra* giving the epistemic ending *gi.yod.pa.'dra*. Thus, most of the epistemic endings

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<sup>97</sup> There is another type of TAM verbal endings in SST which has a 'self-corrective' meaning (see Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003:338) implying that the speaker only now gets to know something and that the reality is different from what he previously thought. The sentence is obligatorily introduced by the interjection *a.las* 'oh'. This type is paradigm-like consisting of the following forms: *yod.pa.red, pa.yin.pa.red, gi.yod.pa.red, rgyu.yin.pa.red*. Look at the example below:

*a.las kha.sa - 'i kha.lag rang - gis bzos - pa.yin.pa.red*

oh yesterday - GEN meal you - ERG make (PAS) - PERF+SELF-CORRECTIVE

« Oh, so it was you who cooked yesterday's meal. » (The speaker has just been told so. He thought it was someone else.)

<sup>98</sup> In collaboration with Nicolas Tournadre (personal communication).

historically consist of a nominalizer/connector and an auxiliary followed by another nominalizer/connector and an auxiliary:

Evidential endings: V(x)+[NMZ/CONN]+AUX

Epistemic endings: V(x)+[NMZ/CONN]+AUX+[NMZ/CONN] +AUX

Compare the examples below of evidential endings (a) with epistemic endings (b). The latter ones are illustrated by ex. (77) with the epistemic ending *yod*. 'gro:

- |                       |   |                 |  |   |                        |
|-----------------------|---|-----------------|--|---|------------------------|
| (a) $\emptyset + yod$ | = | <i>yod</i>      | (b) $\emptyset + yod + \emptyset + 'gro$ | = | <i>yod. 'gro</i>       |
| (a) <i>pa + yin</i>   | = | <i>pa.yin</i>   | (b) <i>pa + yin + pa + 'dra</i>          | = | <i>pa.yin.pa. 'dra</i> |
| (a) <i>gi + yod</i>   | = | <i>gi.yod</i>   | (b) <i>gi + yod + sa + red</i>           | = | <i>gi.yod.sa.red</i>   |
| (a) <i>rgyu + yin</i> | = | <i>rgyu.yin</i> | (b) <i>rgyu + yin + pa + yod</i>         | = | <i>rgyu.yin.pa.yod</i> |

(77) *slob.phrug - tsho phyin - yod. 'gro*

student - PL go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 1+FACT

« The students probably left. »

Unlike evidential endings, there is a strong restriction on auxiliaries that can occur in the first formant of the epistemic endings. The possible auxiliaries are *yod* and *yin* (and exceptionally *yong*). The use of other auxiliaries in this position is excluded:

NMZ/CONN + *yin* + NMZ/CONN + AUX

NMZ/CONN + *yod* + NMZ/CONN + AUX

\* NMZ/CONN + *'dug* + NMZ/CONN + AUX

\* NMZ/CONN + *yod.red* + NMZ/CONN + AUX

\* NMZ/CONN + *red* + NMZ/CONN + AUX

\* NMZ/CONN + *song* + NMZ/CONN + AUX

There are also epistemic endings that have not undergone the process of double

suffixation, e.g.: *pa. 'dug, pa.yod, sa.red*<sup>99</sup>. These endings are illustrated by the following sentence with the ending *pa. 'dug*:

(78) *gangs btang - pa. 'dug*

snow VBZ - FUT+EPI 3+SENS

« It is certainly going to snow. » (The speaker can see clouds in the sky.)

#### 2.2.2.4. Grammaticalization of nominalizing morphemes

Grammaticalization is a key process in the evolution of language (see Givon 1984, Bybee 1985, Traugott & Heine 1991, Heine 1993, Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca 1994). It takes place very slowly. Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:4) describe the process of grammaticalization (grammaticization in their terminology) in the following way:

*“Grammaticization theory begins with the observation that grammatical morphemes develop gradually out of lexical morphemes or combinations of lexical morphemes with lexical or grammatical morphemes.”*

Palmer (1986:7) summarized the differences in grammaticalization among languages in the following way:

1. Different languages grammaticalize different parts of the semantic system.
2. Different languages organize the semantic field in different ways.
3. Different languages use different grammatical devices.

In this section, I will examine grammaticalization of nominalizing morphemes in SST. Until now, this issue has received little attention. In synchrony, the morphemes *pa, sa, mkhan, yag* and *rgyu* either function as independent nominalizers or they have been integrated as parts of verbal endings. Thus, some combinations of these nominalizers with auxiliaries can be interpreted as nominalizations, others as verbal endings. The following are examples of nominalization of a lexical verb by the nominalizer *pa*, followed by the copula *yod.kyi.red* (79a) and *yin.gyi.red* (79b), and of

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<sup>99</sup> Note that *\*pa.yod.red, \*sa. 'dug, \*sa.yod.red, \*sa.yod, \*sa.yin* do not exist in SST.

the verbal ending *pa.yin.gyi.red* (diachronically *pa+yin+gyi+red*) (79c)<sup>100</sup>:

(79) a) *las.ka ma - byas - pa yod.kyi.red*

work NEG - do (PAS) - NMZ exist (EPI 2+FACT)

« There is most probably some work that has not been done yet. » (There was much work to be done and only little time to do it.)

b) *'di khong - gis byas - pa yin.gyi.red*

this s/he+H - ERG do (PAS) - NMZ be (EPI 2+FACT)

« This is most probably what he did. » (He usually does this sort of things.)

c) *las.ka 'di khong - gis byas - pa.yin.gyi.red*

work this s/he+H - ERG do (PAS) - PFV+EPI 2+FACT

« It was most probably he who did the work. » (It was Sunday yesterday. He usually works on Sundays., for more detail on *pa.yin.gyi.red* see 4.5.2.)

In SST, there is, however, no example of a verbal ending containing the nominalizer *pa* and the auxiliary *yod* followed by a second formant, e.g. *\*pa.yod.kyi.red*:

(80) *\*khong - gis las.ka - byas - pa.yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H - ERG work - do(PAS) - PFV+EPI 2+FACT

Intended : « She probably did some work. »

As shown in the above examples, some constructions can have both interpretations: a nominalization and a verbal ending. This can be explained by different stages of grammaticalization. As Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca (1994:4) put it, languages do not provide a static organization of meaning, they undergo constant change. “One of the consequences of this ongoing evolution is that, cross-linguistically and within a given language, we can expect to find grammatical material at different stages of development.” (Bybee & Perkins & Pagliuca 1994:1). I propose to divide the process of grammaticalization of nominalizing morphemes in SST into the following three stages:

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<sup>100</sup> There is a prosodic difference between the examples (b) and (c).

### 1. Nominalization (i.e. nominalizer + copula)

### 2. Intermediary stage (i.e. nominalizer + auxiliary developing into a verbal ending)

### 3. Verbal ending

In the following parts, each of the above stages will be defined and illustrated by examples. First, I will discuss constructions with the nominalizer *mkhan*, and second, those with the nominalizers *yag* and *rgyu*.

#### **2.2.2.4.1. Grammaticalization of *mkhan***

This part deals with different stages of grammaticalization of the nominalizer *mkhan*. At present, *mkhan* appears in two different constructions: in one functioning as a pure nominalizer and in another one becoming part of a verbal ending. Nevertheless, the latter one cannot yet be classified as an example of a pure verbal ending (e.g. *mkhan.yin*). This stage is illustrated here by the existing verbal ending *gi.yin*.

### 1. Nominalization (nominalizer + copula)

When a construction of a nominalizer and a verb can be determined and/or other words can follow the nominalizer, one speaks of a nominalization. Below is an example of the construction V+*mkhan* and the copula *red* with the pronoun *su* ‘who’ inserted between the two:

- (81) *kha.sa kha.lag bzo - mkhan su red*  
yesterday meal make (PRS) - NMZ who be (FACT)  
« Who cooked yesterday? (lit.: Who is the person cooking yesterday?) »

### 2. Intermediary stage (nominalizer + auxiliary developing into a verbal ending)

The intermediary stage involves the process of incorporation of a nominalizer and an auxiliary into one verbal ending and the process of development of a new meaning of the construction. In some cases, these processes of grammaticalization have, however, not yet been concluded and generalized. An example of the intermediary stage is the construction of the nominalizer *mkhan* and the essential auxiliaries *yin* and *red*. Although one may still be aware of the meaning of the original nominalization ‘a person doing an action’ or ‘a doer of an action’, this construction has developed a new meaning. It is used to express that the action of the sentence is the subject’s (or

someone else's<sup>101</sup>) plan. This construction is limited to controllable verbs. Look at the following example with *mkhan : yin*<sup>102</sup>:

- (82) A: *rang ga.par 'gro - ga*  
 you where go (PRS) - FUT+EGO (INTERROGATIVE)  
 B: *nga khrom - la 'gro - mkhan : yin*  
 I market - OBL go (PRS) - NMZ : AUX (EGO) = PLAN  
 A: « Where are you going? », B: « I am going to the market (My plan is to go to the market). »

Using the future ending *gi.yin* in the above sentence would imply that the speaker insists on his current intention and not on his (or someone else's) plan (cf. ex. 86). Unlike the ending *gi.yin*, which is only used in future contexts, the construction V - *mkhan : yin* is also used in past contexts, as shown in the example below (ex. 83a):

- (83) a) *kha.sa nga khrom - la 'gro - mkhan : yin*  
 yesterday I market - OBL go (PRS) - NMZ : AUX (EGO) = PLAN  
 « I was planning to go to the market yesterday. »

- b) \**kha.sa nga khrom - la 'gro - gi.yin*  
 yesterday I market - OBL go (PRS) - \*PFV+EGO  
 Intended: « I was planning to go to the market yesterday. »

The subsequent context of (83a) may follow:

- (84) *yin.na'i khong slebs - song a.ni nga phyin - med*  
 but s/he+H come - PFV+SENS so I go (PAS) - PERF+EGO  
 « But he came. So I didn't go. »

Below is another example of the intermediary stage with *mkhan : red* expressing a planned action, which can be used both in past and future contexts (85a). On the contrary, the verbal ending *gi.red* in ex. (85b) only has a future meaning and *pa.red* in

<sup>101</sup> When there is a plan, it does not necessary depend on the speaker's will.

<sup>102</sup> The morphemes in the process of grammaticalization are connected by the mark “:”.

ex. (85c) only a past meaning. Compare the sentences below:

(85) a) *kho dus.sang / zla.nyin slob.sbyong byed - mkhan : red*  
he next year / last year study do (PRS) - NMZ : AUX (FACT)=PLAN  
« He plans to study next year. », « He planned to study last year. »

b) *kho dus.sang / \*zla.nyin slob.sbyong byed - kyi.red*  
he next year / last year study do (PRS) - FUT+FACT  
« He will study next year. », « \*He studied last year. »

c) *kho \*dus.sang / zla.nyin slob.sbyong byas - pa.red*  
he next year / last year study do (PAS) - PFV+FACT  
« \*He will study next year. », « He studied last year. »

### 3. Verbal ending

The final stage of grammaticalization of constructions of a nominalizer and an auxiliary is when they become a fully grammaticalized verbal ending. The constructions with the nominalizer *mkhan* have not yet reached this stage. An example of the final stage is the future egophoric verbal ending *gi.yin*. Diachronically consisting of the nominalizer *gi* and the auxiliary *yin*, in synchrony it functions as a single verbal ending. It is a phonetic, syntactic and semantic unit. See the following example:

(86) *nga khrom - la 'gro - gi.yin*  
I market - OBL go (PRS) - FUT+EGO  
« I'll go to the market. »

#### **2.2.2.4.2. Grammaticalization of *yag* and *rgyu***

Another example of the process of grammaticalization of a nominalizer is the morphemes *yag* and *rgyu*. They can combine with essential (A) and existential (B) copulas or auxiliaries.



## A) Constructions with *yag* or *rgyu* and the essential copulas (auxiliaries) *yin* or *red*

First, the constructions with *yag* or *rgyu* and the essential copulas (auxiliaries) *yin* or *red* will be discussed. Some of the constructions are examples of a nominalization, others of a verbal ending.

### 1. Nominalization                      V - *yag/rgyu* Copula *yin/red*

The construction consisting of the nominalizer *yag* and the essential copula *yin* or *red* is an example of a nominalization. It is possible to use *rgyu* instead of *yag* in a higher style or in literary Tibetan. Look at the examples below:

(87) [*'di*]... *khong - gis mog.mog bzo -yag red*  
[this] s/he+H - ERG *momo* make (PRS) - NMZ be (FACT)  
« [This] is the ingredient she [will use to] make *momos*. »

(88) a) *dug.log 'di 'khru<sup>103</sup> -yag red -pas*  
clothes this wash (PRS) - NMZ be (FACT) - Q  
« Are these clothes [meant for] washing? »

b) *dug.log 'di 'khru -rgyu red -pas*  
clothes this wash (PRS) - NMZ be (FACT) - Q  
« Are these clothes [meant for] washing? »

### 3. Verbal ending                      VERB - *rgyu.yin / rgyu.red*

The construction consisting diachronically of the nominalizer *rgyu* and the essential auxiliary *yin* or *red* is synchronically an example of a verbal ending: *rgyu.yin* and *rgyu.red* are verbal endings that are used in the future and often have deontic connotations (see 2.2.2.6.5.). In this case, it is impossible to use the nominalizer *yag* (*\*yag.yin*, *\*yag.red*), as shown in the example below:

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<sup>103</sup> In literary Tibetan, the present-future stem of the verb “to wash” is *'khrud* but in the spoken language, *'khru* is used.

(89) a) *nga las.ka byed - rgyu.yin*  
I work do (PRS) - FUT+EGO  
« I have yet to work. »

b) *nga las.ka byed - \*yag.yin*  
I work do (PRS) - \*FUT+EGO  
Intended: « I have yet to work. »

(90) A: *dug.log 'di bkru tshar - pa.red - pas*  
clothes this wash (PAS) finish - PFV+FACT - Q  
« Have these clothes been washed? »

B: *'khru - rgyu.red*  
wash (PRS) - FUT+FACT  
« They are yet to be washed. »

Similarly, there are epistemic endings with the nominalizer *rgyu* that are used in the future and sometimes have a deontic meaning, e.g. *rgyu.yin.pa.'dra* (see 3.2.2.3., 3.2.2.4.1.). *Rgyu* cannot be replaced by *yag* (*\*yag.yin.pa.'dra*). Look at the following example:

(91) *khong - la spu.gu skyes - rgyu.yin.pa.'dra / \*yag.yin.pa.'dra*  
she+H - OBL child give birth - FUT+EPI 2+SENS  
« It seems she has yet to give birth to the baby. » (When I saw her several months ago, she was pregnant. I called her today and she said she was in the office. So it seems that she hasn't given birth yet.)<sup>104</sup>

### **B) Constructions with *yag* or *rgyu* and the existential copulas (auxiliaries) *yod*, *yod.red* and *'dug***

Furthermore, in SST, there are constructions with *yag* or *rgyu* and the existential copulas (auxiliaries) *yod*, *yod.red* and *'dug*. Some of them are nominalized

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<sup>104</sup> Compare the difference in meaning between the above sentence with the future deontic ending *rgyu.yin.pa.'dra* and the following one with a nominalized construction with *yag* or *rgyu*:

*khong - la spu.gu skye - yag/rgyu yod.pa.'dra*  
she+H - OBL child give birth - NMZ exist (EPI 2+SENS)  
« She seems to be pregnant. » (She has a bigger belly. Her face has changed.)

constructions, others have been undergoing the process of grammaticalization into verbal endings:

1. Nominalization      S - OBL V - yag/rgyu Copula yod/yod.red/'dug

The possessive construction with an existential copula in which the subject is followed by an oblique case particle and the verb is nominalized by *yag*, is an example of a nominalization. In a higher style or in literary Tibetan, it is possible to use *rgyu* instead of *yag* in this construction. Look at the following examples of the possessive construction:

(92) a) *nga - r khyed.rang - la bka'.mol zhu - rgyu yod*  
 I - OBL you+H - OBL speech+H say (PRS)+h - NMZ exist (EGO)  
 « I have something to say to you. »

b) *khong - la mog.mog bzo - yag yod.red*  
 s/he+H - OBL momo make (PRS) - NMZ exist (FACT)  
 « She has (all the) ingredients for making *momos*. »

It is normally impossible to omit the oblique case particle in the spoken language, as shown in the example below (ex. 93a):

(93) a) \**khong na - yag yod.red*  
 s/he+H be ill - NMZ exist (FACT)  
 Intended: « He is ill. »

b) *khong - la na - yag yod.red*  
 s/he+H - OBL be ill - NMZ exist (FACT)  
 « He is ill. » (i.e. He has parts of the body that are ill or that hurt him.)

The fact that it is possible to insert another word between the nominalizer and the copula (ex. 94) proves that it is not an example of a verbal ending:

(94) *nga - r za - yag mang.po yod*  
 I - OBL eat (PRS) - NMZ many exist (EGO)  
 « I have many things to eat. »

The following sentence is an example of the possessive construction with *yag* and an epistemic existential copula:

(95) *bsod.nams - la dgong.dag las.ka byed - yag*  
 Sonam - OBL evening work do (PRS) - NMZ  
*yod - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 exist - EPI I - AUX (FACT)  
 « It seems Sonam will have some work to do in the evening. » (lit.: It seems Sonam will have something to do in the evening.)

## 2. Intermediary stage (nominalizer + auxiliary developing into a verbal ending)

S (animate) VERB - *yag* : AUX *yod/yod.red/‘dug*

The construction consisting of an animate subject (without the oblique case particle), the verb followed by *yag* and an existential auxiliary, conveys the meaning of ‘have time’ (ex. 95-96) or ‘have an opportunity’ (ex. 97-98). Compare the following examples:

1) have time

(96) a) *nga ‘gro - yag : yod*  
 I go (PRS) - NMZ : AUX (EGO) = TIME  
 « I have time to go. »

The above sentence conveys a similar meaning as the following one containing the secondary verb *long* ‘have time’ (for *long*, see 5.2.10.). Note the presence of the oblique case particle in ex. (95b):

b) *nga - r ‘gro long yod*  
 I - OBL go (PRS) have time AUX (EGO)  
 « I have time to go. »

The following example is an epistemic construction with the epistemic existential auxiliary *yod.pa.yod*:

(97) *khong bod - la bsdad - yag : yod.pa.yod*

s/he+H Tibet - OBL live - NMZ : AUX (EPI 2+EGO) = TIME

« As far as I can remember, she has time to live in Tibet. »

2) have opportunity

(98) *nga phyi.rgyal - la bsdad - na nga - 'i nang.mi phyi.rgyal - la*

I abroad - OBL live - if I - GEN family abroad - OBL

*'gro - yag : yod.red*

go (PRS) - NMZ : AUX (FACT) = OPPORTUNITY

« If I live abroad, my family will have a chance to go there. »

(99) *khong las.ka 'di byas - na dngul mang.po rag*

s/he+H work this do (PAS) - if money much get

*- yag : yod.kyi.red*

- NMZ : AUX (FACT) = OPPORTUNITY

« If he does this job, he'll probably have a chance to get a lot of money. »

S (inanimate) VERB - yag : AUX yod/yod.red/'dug

The construction with an inanimate subject (without the oblique case particle), the verb followed by *yag* and an existential copula, implies potentiality, possibility or ability and is often translated in English by '-able'. Compare the following examples:

(100)a) *dug.log 'di chu - la 'khru - yag : yod.red*

clothes this water - OBL wash (PRS) - NMZ : AUX (FACT) = POTENTIAL

« These clothes are washable in water. » or « It is possible/allowed to wash these clothes in water. »

b) *shel.dam 'di chag - yag : med.pa.'dra*

bottle this break - NMZ : AUX (EPI 2+SENS+NEG) = POTENTIAL

« This bottle seems like it won't break. » (It looks solid.)

It is impossible to determine the construction with *yag* (e.g. by *mang.po* 'many') when *yag* nominalizes a non-controllable (resultative) verb (ex. 100b). This is, however, possible when *yag* nominalizes a controllable (causative) verb (ex. 101a) or in possessive constructions (ex. 101b), as has been demonstrated above (cf. ex. 94):

(101)a) *rkub.rkyag chag - yag : yod.red*  
 chair break (RES) - NMZ : AUX (FACT) = POTENTIAL  
 « Chairs can break./Chairs are breakable. »

b) *\*rkub.rkyag chag - yag mang.po yod.red*  
 chair break (RES) - NMZ many exist (FACT)  
 Intended: « There are many chairs that are breakable. »

(102)a) *rkub.rkyag bcag - yag mang.po yod.red*  
 chair break (CAUS) - NMZ many exist (FACT)  
 « There are many chairs to break. »

b) *rkub.rkyag - la chag - yag mang.po yod.red*  
 chair - OBL break (RES) - NMZ many exist (FACT)  
 « There are many parts on the chair that break. »

### 2.2.2.5. The system of evidentials

In this section, the SST evidential system will be discussed in detail. The analysis and terminology are taken from Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003 (NT), Aikhenvald 2004 (AA) and Sangda Dorje (unpublished manuscript). As stated above (see 2.2.2.3.3.), the SST evidentials are expressed by various verbal endings or copulas. They mark different sources of information, different situations and different attitudes of the speaker. Tournadre (2008:297-298) summarizes the various parameters of not only SST but of all the Tibetic<sup>105</sup> evidential systems as follows: *source of information, access to information, time of acquisition and volitionality* (see 2.2.3.1.2. for volitionality). These parameters are explained in the table below (Tournadre 2008:298, including the field of knowledge):

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<sup>105</sup> For the term ‘Tibetic’, refer to 2.1.1.1.

Source	Access to information (or channel)	Field of knowledge	Time of acquisition
<b>S° : speaker</b>  <b>S<sup>n</sup>: other</b>  <b>quoted</b>  <b>source(s)</b>  and hearsay	<b>•Sensory</b> (visual, auditory, tactile, gustatory, olfactory , endopathic) and “extrasensory” (intuition, telepathy, medium, “6 <sup>th</sup> sense”)  <b>• Inferential</b> (based on perception, personal knowledge, encyclopaedic knowledge, reported speech)	<b>•Personal</b> <sup>106</sup> (awareness of intention, personal involvement, personal experience, personal sphere)  <b>• Non personal</b> (Encyclopaedic, factual)	<b>• Newly acquired</b> information (or “new knowledge”) and mirative.  <b>• Assimilated information</b> (or “old knowledge”)

The SST evidential system can be divided in two main evidential types: indirect and direct. The indirect type is hearsay, i.e. when the speaker obtains information from somebody (or something) else. It is expressed by the quotative marker *za*<sup>107</sup>. The direct type is used when the speaker is essential for learning the source of information. It consists of four evidentials: factual, sensory, inferential, and egophoric (see 2.2.2.5.2. to 2.2.2.5.5. for their characteristics). Below is an example of the indirect type (ex. 103) and examples of the direct evidentials (ex. 104): (a) factual, (b) sensory, (c) inferential, and (d) egophoric:

(103) *khong slebs - byung za*  
s/he+H arrive - PFV+EGO (REC) HEARSAY  
« They say that she arrived. »

(104) a) *bu.mo 'di slob.grwa - r 'gro - gi.yod.red*  
girl this school - OBL go (PRS) - IMPF+FACT  
« The girl goes to school. » (*default*, presented as a fact)

<sup>106</sup> Personal knowledge or intention are accessible to the speaker through his own awareness (and not through sensory channels).

<sup>107</sup> This morpheme can follow either a copula or a verbal ending but never directly a lexical verb.

b) *bu.mo 'di slob.grwa - r 'gro - gis (gi. 'dug)*  
 girl this school - OBL go (PRS) - IMPF+SENS  
 « The girl is going to school. » (In the morning, the speaker can see her carrying a school-bag.)

c) *bu.mo slob.grwa - r phyin - bzhag*  
 girl school - OBL go (PAS) - PERF+IFR  
 « The girl has (just) gone to school. » (Her school-bag has disappeared.)

d) *nga - 'i bu.mo slob.grwa - r 'gro - gi.yod*  
 I - GEN daughter school - OBL go (PRS) - IMPF+EGO  
 « My daughter goes to school. » (The speaker's personal knowledge, habitual action)

Recently, some authors (Garrett 2001, Tournadre 2008) have proposed to analyze the SST evidential endings in a three-fold system of verbal endings. It consists of the egophoric endings, the direct evidence endings and the indirect<sup>108</sup> evidence endings called *default* endings. For example, Garrett (2001:209, footnote 66) speaks of three groups: "... a language like Tibetan, in which the evidential opposition is ternary (ego, direct, and indirect) rather than binary, ...".

Egophoric endings often occur with the first person subject<sup>109</sup> and controllable verbs (ex. 105a). However, they are also used in sentences with the third person subject and with first person functioning as the object or the adverbial (ex. 105b). Furthermore, egophoric endings appear in questions with the second person subject (anticipation rule, see 2.2.1.5.), in reported speech (ex. 105c), and in habitual actions with the third person subject (see 2.2.2.5.5.).<sup>110</sup> Compare the following examples:

(105) a) *nga - s kha.par brgyab - pa.yin*  
 I - ERG phone VBZ - PFV+EGO  
 « I made a phone call. »

<sup>108</sup> Note that 'direct and indirect' evidence endings and the above mentioned 'direct and indirect types' of evidential endings are two different classifications.

<sup>109</sup> Sometimes, first person may also be indicated by the absence of a verbal ending.

<sup>110</sup> See also Oisel: "The particular usages of evidential non-egophoric suffixes in Lhasa colloquial Tibetan" (not published).



b) *khong - gis nga - r kha.par brgyab - byung*  
 s/he+H - ERG I - OBL phone VBZ - PFV+EGO (REC)  
 « She phoned me. » (implying the direction towards the speaker)

c) *khong - gis kha.par brgyab - pa.yin ze lab - song*  
 s/he+H - ERG phone VBZ - PFV+EGO RepS say - PFV+SENS  
 « She said she called. » ('hybrid' reported speech<sup>111</sup>)

The speaker generally uses either the direct evidence endings (2.2.2.5.3.) or the *default* endings (see 2.2.2.5.2.) in sentences with the third person subject. The direct evidence endings are not used in future contexts because it is impossible to have this evidentiary support for future actions.<sup>112</sup> Furthermore, the direct evidence endings are also used with the first person subject<sup>113</sup>. This mostly happens with 'endopathic'<sup>114</sup> verbs, such as *ltogs* 'be hungry', *khyag* 'be cold', *na* 'be ill' (ex. 106), in situations not controlled by first person (ex. 107) or when the speaker can observe himself (i.e. auto-observation, e.g. a dream, ex. 108). See the following examples:

(106) a) *nga na - gis*  
 I be ill - IMPF+SENS  
 « I'm ill. »

b) *nga grod.khog ltogs - kyis*  
 I stomach be hungry - IMPF+SENS  
 « I'm hungry. »

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<sup>111</sup> For 'hybrid' reported speech, refer to Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:215).

<sup>112</sup> Cf.: Givón (1984) claims that the evidentiary endings relate to *realis* only, not to *irrealis*, and thus, they are only relevant to past and present actions.

<sup>113</sup> Tournadre (2008:303) gives the following uses of non-egophoric endings with the first person subject:

“a) for sensory markers, the case of self-observation (dreams, mirrors, movies, etc.) or intentionality out of focus (see Oisel: “The particular usages of evidential non-egophoric suffixes in Lhasa colloquial Tibetan” (not published)), co-observation by the hearer (and search of a consensus by the speaker), etc.  
 b) for factual markers, statements about distant past or future, polemic statements, etc.

c) for sensory inferential, possible contexts include lack of intention, unawareness, etc.”

<sup>114</sup> These verbs express a perception or a physical sensation of the speaker, for ex.: pain, hunger. See Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:167).

(107) *a.tsi nga - s sha bzas - bzhag*  
 oh I - ERG meat eat (PAS) - PERF+IFR  
 « Oh, I've (involuntary) eaten meat. »

(108) (*rmi.lam - la*) *nga slob.grwa - r 'gro - gis*  
 (dream - OBL) I school - OBL go (PRS) - IMPF+SENS  
 « I was going to school (in my dream). »

Evidentiality distinctions are neutralized in complex sentences, as shown in ex. (109). In a simple clause, the verbal ending *pa.yin* cannot be used with the third person subject, instead *pa.red* is used (see ex. 109b in brackets). In a complex sentence, *pa.yin* is used for all persons and *pa.red* is ungrammatical:

(109) a) *nga phyin - pa.yin - na ...* (cf. *nga phyin - pa.yin*)  
 I go (PAS) - PFV - if  
 « If I go ... »

b) *khong phyin - pa.yin - na ...* (cf. *khong phyin - pa.red/\*pa.yin*)  
 s/he+H go (PAS) - PFV - if  
 « If she goes .... »

c) *\*khong phyin - pa.red - na ...*  
 s/he+H go (PAS) - PFV - if  
 Intended: « If she goes .... »

#### 2.2.2.5.1. Evidential verbal endings and copulas

Most of the evidential endings diachronically consist of the auxiliaries *yin*, *red*, *yod*, *yod.red*, *'dug*, *byung*, *song*, *bzhag* and *yong* and the nominalizers/connectors *gi*, *pa*, *rgyu* and the empty nominalizer. They form the following endings: *yod*, *yod.red*, *'dug*, *bzhag*, *byung*, *song*, *dgos*, *chog*, *yong*, *gi.yin*, *gi.red*, *gi.yod*, *gi.yod.red*, *gi.'dug*, *pa.yin*, *pa.red*, *rgyu.yin*, *rgyu.red*. As suggested above, these endings differ in tense, aspect and evidential kind. Their temporal, aspectual and evidential meanings are summed up in the table below (see Bartee & Nyima Droma 1998, Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003):

<i>yod</i>	egophoric present perfect
<i>yod.red</i>	factual present perfect
<i>'dug</i>	sensory/inferential present perfect
<i>bzhag</i>	inferential present perfect
<i>byung</i>	egophoric perfective (receptive)
<i>song</i>	sensory perfective
<i>gi.yin</i>	egophoric future
<i>gi.red</i>	factual future; generic present
<i>gi.yod</i>	controllable/habitual egophoric present or imperfective
<i>gi.yod.red</i>	factual present or imperfective
<i>gis (gi. 'dug)</i>	sensory present or imperfective
<i>rgyu.yin</i>	(deontic) egophoric future
<i>rgyu.red</i>	(deontic) factual future
<i>pa.yin</i>	egophoric perfective
<i>pa.red</i>	factual perfective
<i>yong</i>	future of warning (imminent danger, annoyance, threat); egophoric past experience <sup>115</sup>
<i>dgos</i>	allocentric <sup>116</sup> future
<i>chog</i>	allocentric future

The evidential copulas are *yin*, *red*, *yod*, *yod.red*, *'dug*, *byung* and *yong* (see Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003). *Yin* and *red* express a state or an essential quality; *yin* implies intention and the egophoric meaning, *red* is factual. The copulas of existence and location are *yod*, *yod.red* and *'dug*. *Yod* corresponds to personal knowledge, *yod.red* to previous knowledge and a habitual or general fact, and *'dug* to a testimony and direct evidence. The receptive egophoric (see 2.2.2.5.5.) copula *byung* is used in the perfective past. Some copulas can be followed by a verbal ending, for ex.: *byung-song*, *byung-ba.red*, *red-bzhag*, *yod-pa.red*, *byung-bzhag*, *yin-pa.red*. Below are examples of evidential copulas (ex. 110): in (a) the factual copula implies a generally accepted fact, (b) highlights the

<sup>115</sup> For more details, refer to 4.10.2.

<sup>116</sup> For the allocentric future, refer to 2.2.2.6.5.

speaker's senses, and (c) puts forward a personal experience of the speaker:

(110)a) *kha.lag 'di zhim.po yod.red*  
meal this tasty exist (FACT)  
« The meal is delicious. » (The receipt is good.)

b) *kha.lag 'di zhim.po 'dug*  
meal this tasty exist (SENS)  
« The meal is delicious. » (The speaker tasted it.)

c) *kha.lag 'di zhim.po yod*  
meal this tasty exist (EGO)  
« The meal is delicious. » (The speaker cooked it.)

#### 2.2.2.5.2. The factual evidential

The factual evidential (also Assumed) is generally used when the speaker considers his statement as a fact or objective information. He bases himself on “logical conclusion and general knowledge and experience” (Aikhenvald 2004:391). Thus, it usually implies general (gnomic) or historical knowledge or a certain fact. The speaker often gets the information indirectly (e.g. via radio, newspaper). However, unlike the sensory and inferential evidentials (see 2.2.2.5.3., 2.2.2.5.4.), the source of information is not clearly specified. Therefore, as Tournadre (2004:54) put it, the factual functions as a *default* evidential in SST. It is used in all tenses: the verbal endings *pa.red* and *yod.red* are used in the perfective past, *gi.yod.red* in the present or the imperfective past and *gi.red* in the future. The factual evidential is illustrated by the following example:

(111) *khong deb mang.po lta - gi.yod.red*  
s/he+H book much read (PRS) - IMPF+FACT  
« She reads a lot of books. » (It is a known fact about her.)

#### 2.2.2.5.3. The sensory evidential

The sensory evidential (also Visual+non-visual evidential, Testimonial) implies that the speaker bases his statement on an external source of information. He is a witness

of what he is saying. It is evidence that has been transferred on him by his senses (SST does not distinguish between the visual and non-visual evidentials<sup>117</sup>). Most of the time, it is a visual sensation but all the other senses can also be the source of information: hearing, touch, smell and taste. This evidential is not used for future actions. The sensory verbal endings are *song* for the perfective past and *gi*. ‘*dug* for the present or the imperfective past. Below is an example of the sensory evidential:

(112) *khong deb lta - gis*  
 s/he+H book read (PRS) - IMPF+SENS  
 « She is reading a book. » (The speaker can see her.)

#### 2.2.2.5.4. The inferential evidential

The inferential evidential (also Inferred) implies an inference or a deduction of the speaker from available evidence. Although he did not see the action itself, he can see some traces or a result of the action and is, therefore, able to guess what has happened. It is usually a past action but it can also be a future action. In the latter case, the speaker predicts a future action. The inferential auxiliary is *bzhag* (*shag*)<sup>118</sup>. In some contexts, an inferential meaning is also expressed by ‘*dug*. See the following example:

(113) *khong - gis deb bltas - bzhag*  
 s/he+H - ERG book read (PAS) - PERF+IFR  
 « Look, she has read a book. » (She is not here but the speaker can see a book on her table.)

#### 2.2.2.5.5. The egophoric evidential

“Without question the most unusual and complex type of evidentiality in Tibetan is ego evidentiality.” (Garrett 2001:209, footnote 66).

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<sup>117</sup> See e.g. Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:110).

<sup>118</sup> The spelling *bzhag* is used in Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003), *shag* in books published in T.A.R.

The egophoric evidential (also Firsthand, Experienced<sup>119</sup>) implies that the speaker bases his statement on personal knowledge or experience; he was/is personally involved. This evidential is used in all tenses. There are several egophoric types, each of them characterized by different verbal endings: intentional, receptive, habitual, experiential and allocentric (see Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003, Tournadre 2007):

The intentional egophoric:

This type expresses that the action is intentional and can, therefore, be used only with controllable verbs. The egophoric endings used in the perfective past are *pa.yin* and *yod*, in the present or the imperfective past *gi.yod* and in the future *gi.yin*. The intentional egophoric type is illustrated by the following sentence:

(114) *nga - s kha.lag bzos - pa.yin*  
 I - ERG meal make (PAS) - PFV+EGO (INTENTION)  
 « I cooked. »

The receptive egophoric:

This type implies that an action is directed towards the speaker (really or metaphorically). The speaker underwent it or was its addressee (goal). The receptive egophoric, expressed by the auxiliary *byung*, is used only in the past. See the following example:

(115) *khong - gis nga - la lag.rtags sprad - byung*  
 s/he+H - ERG I - OBL present give - PFV+EGO (REC)  
 « She gave me a present. »

The habitual egophoric:

This type of egophoric corresponds to a habitual action concerning the speaker. It is expressed by the verbal ending *gi.yod*. See the following examples:

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<sup>119</sup> Aikhenvald (2004:53) mentions experienced evidential as part of the modal system of Ladakhi. Bhat (1999:72-3): "... evidential suffixes cover reported, 'direct observation', experienced (e.g. by speaker feeling), and inferred."

(116) a) *khong nga - 'i rtsa - la yang.se phebs - kyi.yod*  
 s/he+H I - GEN home - OBL often come+H - IMPF+EGO (HAB)  
 « She often comes to my place. »

b) *nga dngar.mo bzas - na so na - gi.yod*  
 I sweet eat (PAS) - if teeth be ill - IMPF+EGO (HAB)  
 « Whenever I eat something sweet, I have a toothache. »

### 2.2.2.5.6. Epistemic endings and evidential meanings

Just like evidential endings, epistemic endings may also convey evidential meanings. The use of a particular type of epistemic endings is conditioned, among others, by the context and the speaker's judgement of the situation. This topic will be discussed in detail in the following chapters (see 3.2.2.2., 4.1.-4.11. for each type). Epistemic endings (and copulas) may convey the factual (e.g. *yod.'gro*), the sensory (e.g. *pa.'dra*) and the egophoric evidential (e.g. *pa.yod*). Compare below the difference in the evidential meaning between two epistemic copulas *yod.pa.'dra* and *yod.'gro* (ex. 117), and between two epistemic endings *pa.'dra* and *yod.kyi.red* (ex. 118):

(117) a) *khong - la dga'.rogs yod.pa.'dra*  
 s/he+H - OBL lover exist (EPI 2+SEN)  
 « It seems she has a boyfriend (Sensory inference: The speaker can often see her with the same person.). »

b) *khong - la dga'.rogs yod.'gro*  
 s/he+H - OBL lover exist (EPI 1+FACT)  
 « She probably has a boyfriend (Logical inference: She is twenty, so the speaker guesses she has a boyfriend.). »

(118) a) *khong - gis las.ka tshar - pa.'dra*  
 s/he+H - ERG work finish - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems he has finished his work. » (Sensory inference: The speaker can see him sitting and drinking tea.)

b) *khong - gis las.ka tshar - yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H - ERG work finish - PERF+EPI 2+FACT

« He most probably finished his work. » (Logical inference: It is 6:30 PM so the speaker supposes that the person has finished work by now.)

### 2.2.2.6. The system of tenses and aspects

The basic distinction of the tense-aspect system of SST is the perfective versus the imperfective. The distinction is marked by the presence or absence of the ergative particle in ergative structures (see also 2.2.3.3.1.). As a split-ergative language, Tibetan transitive clauses exhibit ergative-absolutive morphology only in the perfective. In the imperfective, they generally correspond to nominative-accusative morphology. The perfective endings mark either concomitant<sup>120</sup> or non-concomitant perfective past actions. The imperfective endings mark the rest of the tenses: the imperfective past, the present, the future and the generic. The former two and the latter two tenses are formally identical, i.e. sharing the same verbal endings.

#### 2.2.2.6.1. The tense-aspect paradigm of the evidential endings

The evidential endings can be divided in four groups according to the tense they refer to, thus forming the following paradigm:

- 1) Perfective past: *song, byung, pa.yin, pa.red.*
- 2) Present perfect: *yod, yod.red, 'dug, bzhag.*
- 3) Imperfective (past and present): *gi.yod, gi.yod.red, gi. 'dug.*
- 4) Future: *gi.yin, gi.red, yong, dgos, chog, rgyu.yin, rgyu.red.*

#### 2.2.2.6.2. Perfective past

##### 1. The perfective past

This tense-aspect is used for expressing concomitant or non concomitant past actions. It is formed by adding the verbal endings *song, byung, pa.red* and *pa.yin* to the predicate. The first one implies, besides the past tense, that the speaker witnessed what he is saying (sensory evidential) and sometimes also that the action was carried out in the direction away from the speaker. The ending *byung* implies that the action was directed towards the speaker (receptive egophoric). The ending *pa.red* implies

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<sup>120</sup> For concomitance, refer to 1.2.1.



the factual evidential. It is often used in narration, stories and fairytales. For this reason, it is called the narrative past. The ending *pa.yin* corresponds to the intentional egophoric. Below are examples with the perfective past endings *song* and *pa.yin*:

(119) *sgrol.dkar - lags      gling.ga - r      phebs - song*  
 Dolkar      - honorific park      - OBL go+H      - PFV+SENS  
 « Dolkar went to the park. » (I saw her leave.)

(120) *nga kha.sa      gling.ga - r      phyin - pa.yin*  
 I      yesterday park      - OBL go (PAS) - PFV+EGO (INTENTION)  
 « I went to the park yesterday. »

### 2.2.2.6.3. Present perfect

This tense-aspect is a concomitant perfective past expressing accomplished past actions that have some relation to the present moment (the moment of utterance), for ex. the result of the action is relevant at the moment of utterance. The present perfect endings are *yod.red*, *yod* and *bzhag* (also spelt *shag*) or '*dug*. *Yod.red* is factual, *yod* egophoric and *bzhag* and '*dug* inferential. Below is an example with the verbal ending *bzhag*:

(121) *khang.pa      gsar.pa      mang.po      brgyab - bzhag*<sup>121</sup>  
 house      new      many      build      - PERF+IFR  
 « Look, [they] have built a lot of new houses. »

### 2.2.2.6.4. Imperfective past and present

This tense-aspect is used to express general and habitual actions or actions taking place at the moment of utterance (the present progressive). The verbal endings used for this tense-aspect are *gi.yod.red*, *gi.yod*, *gi. 'dug*. The last one is usually shortened to *gis* in the spoken language. They imply the factual, egophoric and sensory evidentials, respectively. The same verbal endings appear in the imperfective past, as shown in the example below:

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<sup>121</sup> Taken from Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:164).

(122) a) *khong kha.lag bzo - gis*  
s/he+H meal make (PRS) - IMPF+SENS  
« She is cooking. »

b) *de.dus khong kha.lag bzo - gis*  
then s/he+H meal make (PRS) - IMPF+SENS  
« She was cooking then. »

### 2.2.2.6.5. Future

#### 1. Future and the generic present

Future actions are marked by the endings *gi.red* and *gi.yin*. The former ending is factual and the latter one egophoric. *Gi.red* is also used for the generic present expressing general actions. Compare the following examples: in ex. (123a) *gi.red* expresses a future action, and a habitual action in ex. (123b):

(123) a) *bla.ma sang.nyin phebs - kyi.red - pas*  
lama tomorrow come+H - FUT+FACT - FP  
« Will the lama come tomorrow? »

b) *bal.yul - la 'bras btab - gyi.red*  
Nepal - OBL rice grow - GENERIC PRESENT+FACT  
« Rice grows in Nepal. »

(124) *nga sang.nyin yong - gi.yin*  
I tomorrow come - FUT+EGO  
« I will come tomorrow. »

#### 2. Allocentric future

Allocentric<sup>122</sup> future implies future actions that the speaker intends to do for the benefit of another person. The subject, always first person, is marked by the ergative particle, and the verb is obligatorily in the past stem (if this one is used in SST). The

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<sup>122</sup> The term 'allocentric' is used e.g. in Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003.

allocentric endings are *dgos*, *chog* and *yong*<sup>123</sup>. In the spoken language, *dgos* is more common than *chog*. See the following examples:

(125) a) *nga - s      phyin      - dgos*  
           I      - ERG go (PAS) - FUT+EGO ALL  
           « I'll go [there] (for you). »

b) *nga - s      len      - chog*  
           I      - ERG take - FUT+EGO ALL  
           « I'll get [it] (for you). »

The verbal ending *yong*<sup>124</sup> is also used in the near future when the speaker warns someone of an imminent danger (basing himself on his experience). The negative counterpart is *mi.yong*. In the example below, *yong* implies a warning by the speaker and the emphatic particle *nga* a close relationship between the speaker and the addressee (goal):

(126) *gzab.gzab    gnang    khyed.rang    snyung - yong                      - nga*  
           attention    VBZ+H    you+H            be ill+H - FUT(DANGER) - EMPHATIC  
           « Be careful. You are going to fall ill. » (The speaker: “If it were me, I would fall ill.”)

### 3. The (deontic) future

The verbal endings *rgyu.yin* and *rgyu.red* are used in future contexts that, besides an evidential meaning (*rgyu.yin* egophoric, *rgyu.red* factual), often have deontic connotations: conveying the meaning of obligation or capacity. They correspond in English to ‘intend’, ‘have yet to’, ‘need to’. These verbal endings only occur in affirmative sentences. Their use is illustrated by the following examples:

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<sup>123</sup> These endings can also be used to express the speaker’s promise, e.g.: *nga - s slebs - yong = nga - s yong - dgos = nga - s yong - chog* meaning ‘I’ll come (I promise).’

<sup>124</sup> For more details on *yong*, refer to 4.10.2.

(127) a) *nga tshogs. 'du - r 'gro - rgyu.yin*

I meeting - OBL go (PRS) - FUT+EGO

« I have yet to go the meeting. » or « I have to go to the meeting. » (The meeting hasn't started yet.)

b) *khong - gis mog.mog bzo - rgyu.red*

s/he+H - ERG momo make (PRS) - FUT+FACT

« She has yet to make *momos*. »

### 2.2.3. SYNTAX<sup>125</sup>

This section is an outline of syntactic structures and verbal constructions in spoken Standard Tibetan, relevant for the present study. It is divided in four parts that deal with the lexical categories, the phrasal structures, the simple clause and the complex sentence.

#### 2.2.3.1. Lexical categories

In this part, I will discuss the lexical categories of noun, verb, adjective and adverb. For other lexical categories, see Kesang Gyurme (1992), Wang (1994), Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003).

##### 2.2.3.1.1. Nouns

From a formal point of view, Tibetan nouns can be monosyllabic or polysyllabic (see Kesang Gyurme 1992, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003). A high percentage of nouns are disyllabic. As stated in 2.1.4., nouns are one of the means distinguishing the honorific and ordinary registers. They do not express the grammatical category of gender because, in SST, gender is only non-grammatical. Concerning the grammatical category of number, it is limited to a small group of nouns. These are nouns denoting persons who are specified (see Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003:86-87). In this case, plurality is expressed by the plural suffix *tsho* (ex. 128a)<sup>126</sup>. Otherwise, nouns may be interpreted, according to the context, either as singular or

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<sup>125</sup> See Hu 1989, Kesang Gyurme 1992, Wang 1994, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003, Zhou & Xie (eds.) 2003. In this section, syntactic structures are considered out of context.

<sup>126</sup> The plural suffix is only used once per nominal group. There is no agreement with the verb.

plural (ex. 129). Number is often implied lexically (ex. 130). Look at the following examples:

(128) a) *grwa.pa - tsho slebs - song*  
monk - pl arrive - PFV+SENS  
« The monks arrived. » / « \*Some monks arrived. »

b) *\*khyi - tsho slebs - song*  
dog - pl arrive - PFV+SENS  
Intended: « The dogs arrived. »

In the example (128a), the noun *grwa.pa* ‘monk’ is followed by the plural suffix *tsho* because the speaker talks about some definite monks. An indefinite interpretation (‘some monks’) is impossible in this sentence. The use of *tsho* is excluded in ex. (128b) since the noun *khyi* ‘dog’ does not denote a person. When the speaker wishes to talk about specified dogs, the plural suffix *tsho* is obligatorily preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *khyi de-tsho* ‘those dogs’. In the following sentence, the speaker may talk, depending on the context, about one or more monks:

(129) *grwa.pa slebs - song*  
monk arrive - PFV+SENS  
« A monk arrived. » or « Monks arrived. »

(130) *grwa.pa mang.po slebs - song*  
monk many arrive - PFV+SENS  
« Many monks arrived. »

### 2.2.3.1.2. Verbs

Formally, SST verbs can be monosyllabic or polysyllabic (see Hu 1989, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003, Bailey & Walker 2004). Dissyllabic and trisyllabic verbs are a characteristic feature of modern Tibetan. Most of them consist of a monosyllabic or dissyllabic noun and a monosyllabic verbal component. The verbal component usually has an empty or general sense like ‘do’ or ‘send’, and the action is specified by the preceding noun. The verbs with an empty sense are called verbalizers. Look at the

following examples of polysyllabic verbs with the nouns *chang.sa* ‘a wedding’ and *kha.par* ‘a phone’ and the verbalizer *brgyab* (ex. 131):

(131) a) *bkra.shis - kyis chang.sa brgyab - pa.red*  
 Tashi - ERG wedding VBZ - PFV+FACT  
 « Tashi got married. »

b) *bkra.shis - kyis kha.par brgyab - pa.red*  
 Tashi - ERG telephone VBZ - PFV+FACT  
 « Tashi called. »

Lexically, Tibetan verbs are classified according to three important criteria: controllability<sup>127</sup> or control, transitivity-intransitivity and causativity-resultativity (see Kesang Gyurme 1992, Garrett 2001, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003). Furthermore, verbs are classified into syntactic verbal classes, such as affective, possessive, ergative. These verbal classes will be discussed in 2.2.3.3.1.

### Controllability (Control)

The distinction of controllable (or controlled) and non-controllable (or non-controlled) actions is one of the main characteristics of Tibetan verbs. Control is an essential criterion for the compatibility or incompatibility of verbs with certain verbal endings. This criterion is merely relevant to first person. As regards the controllable verbs, the action depends on the control and/or intention of the agent. He can willingly decide to do the action or not to do it. Compare the examples of controllable and non-controllable verbs, respectively: *yong* ‘come’- *slebs* ‘arrive’, *nyan* ‘listen’- *go* ‘hear’, *lta* ‘watch’- *mothong* ‘see’, *nyal* ‘go to bed’ - *gnyid.khug* ‘fall asleep’. Below are examples with the verbs *lta* ‘watch’ and *mothong* ‘see’. In ex. (132a) the speaker has the action under control but not in ex. (132b). This one expresses the speaker’s potentiality. Notice the use of different verbal endings in each sentence:

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<sup>127</sup> The opposition between controllable and non-controllable verbs in Tibetan appears in Chang & Chang (1980). The term controllability (‘Kontrollierbarkeit’) is also used, for example, in Haller (2004). Furthermore, the term ‘volitionality’ is used instead of ‘controllability’, e.g. in Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:141).

(132) a) *nga ltad.mo lta - gi.yod* (controllable verb)

I show watch (PRS) - IMPF+EGO

« I am watching the show. »

b) *nga khong mthong - gis* (non-controllable verb)

I s/he+H see - IMPF+SENS

« I can see him. »

### Transitivity-intransitivity

Furthermore, the verbs are divided into transitive and intransitive. The criterion of transitivity is very important in Tibetan not only for the case of the direct object but also for that of the subject. The subject of transitive verbs is generally marked by the ergative, and the subject of intransitive verbs by the absolutive (corresponding to the nominative case in transitive languages). Look at the following examples:

(133) a) *'brog.pa - s g.yag gsad - pa.red* (transitive verb)

nomad - ERG yak kill - PFV+FACT

« The nomads killed yaks. »

b) *g.yag shi - pa.red* (intransitive verb)

yak die - PFV+FACT

« The yaks died. »

The two types of classification are mutually compatible and they form the following four main verbal groups in SST:

- Controllable transitive verbs: *lta* 'watch'
- Controllable intransitive verbs: *nyal* 'lie down'
- Non-controllable transitive verbs: *mthong* 'see'
- Non-controllable intransitive verbs: *nyid.khug* 'fall asleep'

### Causativity-resultativity

In SST, there are also pairs of causative and resultative verbs (see Kesang Gyurme 1992:254-256, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003:352-355). All causative verbs are controllable and transitive. Resultative verbs are in general non-controllable and

intransitive<sup>128</sup>. The causative verbs imply that the agent makes an action happen without making it himself. The resultative verbs involve some consequence or result of an action. The pairs of verbs are marked by the opposition aspirated vs. non-aspirated or by that of tone. For many verbs, the opposition has disappeared in SST. Compare the following examples of causative and resultative verbs, respectively: *bslangs* ‘raise’ - *lang* ‘rise’, *skol* ‘boil (caus.)’ - ‘*khol* ‘boil (res.)’, *sgrol* ‘free’ - *grol* ‘be freed’, *bcag* ‘break (caus.)’ - *chag* ‘break (res.)’. Below are examples with a causative verb (134a) and a resultative verb (134b, c)<sup>129</sup>:

(134)a) *nga - s dkar.yol bcag - pa.yin*  
 I - ERG cup break (CAUS) - PFV+EGO  
 « I broke the cup. » (intentionally)

b) *nga - s dkar.yol chag - song*  
 I - ERG cup break (RES) - PFV+SENS  
 « I broke the cup. » (unintentionally)

c) *dkar.yol chag - song*  
 cup break (RES) - PFV+SENS  
 « The cup broke. » (without an intentional cause)

### 2.2.3.1.3. Adjectives

From a formal point of view, Tibetan adjectives (see Kesang Gyurme 1992:131-138, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003:228-230) usually consist of a radical and a suffix (the suffix is underlined) e.g.: *chen.po* ‘big’, *rnying.pa* ‘old’, *grang.mo* ‘cold’, or from a reduplicated radical e.g. *chung.chung* ‘small’, *thung.thung* ‘short’, *nyung.nyung* ‘few’. The adjectival radicals also combine with other suffixes, e.g. the excessive *drags* or the interrogative *los* (ex. 136). Furthermore, there is a group of adjectives consisting of a noun and an adjective e.g. *zhed.snang+tsha.po* ‘terrible (lit. horror+hot)’, *blo.khog+chen.po* ‘brave (lit. courage+big)’, *sems+bzang.po* ‘kind (lit. mind+good)’. From a functional point of view, Tibetan adjectives have verb-like

<sup>128</sup> Nevertheless, there are also several controllable and transitive resultative verbs, see Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:354).

<sup>129</sup> The examples (134a) and (134b) are taken from Kesang Gyurme (1992:255-256).



features. They are used in the attribute and in the predicate as illustrated by ex. (135):

(135)a) *kha.lag zhim.po 'di mo.rang - gis bzos - song*  
 food delicious this she - ERG make (PAS) - PFV+SENS  
 « It is her who made this delicious meal. »

b) *kha.lag zhim.po 'dug*  
 food delicious exist (SENS)  
 « The meal is delicious. »

(136) *khong - gis kha.lag mang - los bzas - song*  
 s/he+H - ERG food much - INTERROG. SUFFIX eat (PAS) - PFV+SENS  
 « How much food did she eat? »

Tibetan adjectives have comparative and superlative forms. The comparative is formed by adding the comparative suffix *pa* (or *ba*) to the radical (for comparative constructions, see 2.2.3.3.2.). The superlative consists of the radical followed by the superlative suffix *shos*. Look at the examples below:

(137) a) *bu 'di lo chung - pa red*  
 boy this year small - COMPAR. SUFFIX be (FACT)  
 « This boy is younger. »

b) *khong - gi yi.ge ring - shos red*  
 s/he+H - GEN letter long - SUPERL. SUFFIX be (FACT)  
 « Her letter is the longest one. »

#### 2.2.3.1.4. Adverbs

Some adverbs are formally identical with adjectives e.g. *yag.po* ‘good’, ‘well’, *ga.le* ‘slow’, ‘slowly’, *tsha.gi.tshi.gi* ‘nervous’, ‘nervously’ (ex. 138), others are derived from adjectives by adding the suffix *byas*, e.g. *skyid.po* ‘happy’, *skyid.po+byas* ‘happily’. Several adverbs are formed of pronouns by adding the oblique suffix *r*, e.g.: *dir* ‘here’ (*di* ‘this’ + *r*), *der* ‘there’ (*de* ‘there’ + *r*). Furthermore, there is a group of adverbs that are formed of nouns by adding the suffix *gis*, e.g. *hur.brtsan+gyis* ‘diligently (lit. diligence+Instrumental)’. There are also complex adverbial

constructions, for ex. a construction consisting of an adjective, the genitive particle and the expression *ngang.nas*, e.g. *dga' .spro+ 'i+ngang.nas* 'happily'. Below are examples of the use of adverbs in a sentence:

(138)a) *mi 'di tsha.gi.tshi.gi 'dug*  
 person this nervous exist (SENS)  
 « This person is nervous. »

b) *mi 'di tsha.gi.tshi.gi byed - kyis*  
 person this nervously do (PRS) - PRS+SENS  
 « This person is acting nervously. »

(139) *skyid.po.byas sdod - a*  
 happily stay (IMP) - ImpP  
 « Be happy! » (lit. Stay happily.)

### 2.2.3.2. Phrasal structures

In this part, the following phrasal structures in SST will be described: nominal phrases, adjectival and adverbial phrases, postpositional phrases and verbal phrases.<sup>130</sup>

#### Nominal phrases

Tibetan nominal phrases can be divided into constructions of the head noun followed by an adjective, a numeral, a determinant and the plural suffix (ex. 140) and constructions of a noun (or a nominal phrase) followed by a genitive particle and the head noun (ex. 141). Below are examples of the two types of nominal phrases:

(140) *slob.phyug gsar.pa gsum de - tsho*  
 student new three that - pl  
 « those three new students »

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<sup>130</sup> See Hu 1989, Wang (1994), Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003).

(141) *a.ma.lags - kyi grogs.po*

mother+H - GEN friend

« mother's friend »

### Adjectival and adverbial phrases

Adjectival and adverbial phrases are constructions of an adverb that modifies an adjective or another adverb (head). They are illustrated in ex. (142). When the adverb *zhe.drag* 'very' modifies an adjective or another adverb, both positions, before and after the head, are grammatical. In the following example, (a) and (b) can both be an adjectival and adverbial phrase, depending on the context, because the word *yag.po* means both 'good' and 'well':

(142) a) *zhe.drag yag.po*

very good/well

« very good/very well »

b) *yag.po zhe.drag*

good/well very

« very good/very well »

### Postpositional phrases

As an SOV language, Tibetan disposes of postpositional phrases. These are constructions of a noun phrase followed by a genitive particle, a postposition and an oblique particle (ex. 143a). In some cases, it is possible to omit the genitive particle. Sometimes, the postposition is followed by another case particle than the oblique one (genitive, ablative). Postpositions are derived from nouns. Postpositional phrases often correspond to constructions of a noun phrase followed by a case particle (ex. 143b). Compare the examples below:

(143) a) *deb sgrog.tse - 'i sgang - la bzhag*

book table - GEN top - OBL put

« put books on (the surface of) the table »

b) *deb sgrog.tse - la bzhag*  
book table - OBL put  
« put books on the table »

### Verbal phrases

Concerning Tibetan verbal phrases, two types will be discussed here: first, constructions that consist of an adverb and a verb (ex. 144a), and second, constructions of a lexical verb followed by another verb called a ‘secondary’ verb (ex. 144b). The secondary verbs comprise modal, aspectual and directional verbs (see 5.1.). Below are examples of the above constructions:

(144)a) *hur.brtson.gyis slob.sbyong byed*  
diligently study VBZ (PRS)  
« to study hard »

b) *byed thub*  
do (PRS) be able  
« be able to do »

### **2.2.3.3. Simple clause**

The Tibetan simple clause can be divided into three parts: a subject noun phrase, an object noun phrase, and a predicate. Depending on the class and the valence of the lexical verb, the object noun phrase functions as a goal or a patient. The adverbial adjunct, when used, is generally put at the beginning of the sentence or after the subject noun phrase.

#### **2.2.3.3.1. Case marking and the basic syntactic structures**

In this part, the case marking and the basic types of the simple clause will be presented using, with minor modifications, Tournadre’s classification of the monovalent, bivalent and trivalent verb structures in SST (Tournadre 1996a:101-103):

##### 1) Monovalent verb structures:

Monovalent verb structures are divided in normal and agentive. Normal structures consist of an agent in the absolutive case and a predicative verb, either controllable

(145a) or non-controllable (145b). In sentences with an essential copula, the subject is also in the absolutive (ex. 146). In the agentive structure, the agent, when emphasized, is marked by the ergative particle (ex. 147). See the examples below:

unique Ag (ABS) + V 1 (CONTR)

(145) a) *khong 'gro - gi.red*  
 s/he+H go (PRS) - FUT+FACT  
 « She will go. »

unique Ag (ABS) + V 1 (N-CONTR)

b) *khong slebs - song*  
 s/he+H arrive - PFV+SENS  
 « She arrived. »

(146) *'di ga.re red*  
 this what be (FACT)  
 « What is this? »

unique Ag (ERG) + V 1 (CONTR)

(147) *nga - s nang - la phyin - pa.yin*  
 I - ERG home - OBL go (PAS) - PFV+EGO  
 « It was me who went home. »

2) Bivalent verb structures:

There are several types of structures with bivalent verbs: ergative, mixed ergative, possessive, and affective. In the ergative structure, the agent is marked by the ergative particle and the patient is in the absolutive case. The verb may be either controllable or non-controllable (ex. 148). The mixed ergative structure resembles the ergative structure except the case of the object-goal. It is marked by the oblique particle (ex. 149). The possessive structure consists of a goal marked by the oblique, a patient in the absolutive case and a non-controllable verb (ex. 150). Finally, the affective structure consists of a patient in the absolutive case, a goal in the oblique and a non-controllable verb (ex. 151). Compare the examples below of the bivalent verb structures:

a) Ergative structure: Ag (ERG) Pa (ABS) + V 2

(148) *nyi.ma - s ja btungs - song*  
Nyima - ERG tea drink - PFV+SENS  
« Nyima drank tea. »

b) Mixed ergative structure: Ag (ERG) Goal (OBL) + V2

(149) *kho - s btson.pa - r bltas - pa.red*  
he - ERG prisoner - OBL look (PAS) - PFV+FACT  
« He looked at the prisoner. »

c) Possessive structure: Goal (OBL) Pa (ABS) + V2 (N-CONTR)

(150) *nga - r lde.mig bnyed - byung*  
I - OBL key find - PFV+EGO  
« I found a key. »

d) Affective structure: Pa (ABS) Goal (OBL) + V 2 (N-CONTR)

(151) *nga khong - la dga' - gis*  
I s/he+H - OBL love - IMPF+SENS  
« I love him. »

3) Trivalent verb ergative structures:

Ergative structures with trivalent verbs consist of an agent marked by the ergative particle, a goal in the oblique and a patient in the absolutive case. The following examples illustrate this type of structures:

Ag (ERG) Goal (OBL) Pa (ABS) + V3

(152) *nga - s a.ma.lags - la phyag.rtags phul - pa.yin*  
I - ERG mother+H - OBL gift+H give+h - PFV+EGO  
« I gave mother a present. »

(153) *nga - s khong - la yi.ge cig btang - pa.yin*  
 I - ERG s/he+H - OBL letter a send - PFV+EGO  
 « I sent him a letter. »

As stated in 2.2.2.6., the ergative particle is, in general, used in the perfective past though it can sometimes be omitted when the agent is thematized. In the imperfective, it is usually dropped off. Otherwise, it puts an emphasis on the agent of the sentence, as shown in ex. (154): (a) is the usual way, while (b) is used only when the speaker emphasizes the subject of the sentence. The example (155) illustrates the use of the ergative particle in the perfective past:

(154)a) *khong dbyin.ji.skad brgyab - kyi.a.yod*  
 s/he+H English language VBZ - IMPF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « I doubt he speaks English. »

b) *khong - gis dbyin.ji.skad brgyab - kyi.a.yod*  
 s/he+H - ERG English language VBZ - IMPF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « I doubt that HE speaks English. »

(155) *khong - gis dbyin.ji.skad brgyab - a.yod*<sup>131</sup>  
 s/he+H - ERG English language VBZ - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « I doubt he spoke English. »

The oblique particle is obligatory with the goal of the possessive structure and with the goal of the affective structure and in neither of them can be omitted (ex. 156b). It is also impossible to use the ergative particle instead of the oblique in the affective structure (ex. 156c). See the following examples:

(156)a) *khong - la spu.gu skyes - yod.kyi.red*  
 s/he+H - OBL child give birth - PERF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « She probably had a baby. »

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<sup>131</sup> The sentence can be analyzed as follows: VP [ NP [N+ERG] + V' [NP+V]].

b) \* *khong spu.gu skyes - yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H child give birth - PERF+EPI 2+FACT

Intended: « She probably had a baby. »

c) \* *khong - gis spu.gu skyes - yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H - ERG child give birth - PERF+EPI 2+FACT

Intended: « She probably had a baby. »

### 2.2.3.3.2. Derived syntactic structures

In SST, there are other syntactic structures than those discussed in the previous part, such as causative constructions and constructions expressing purpose or comparison. Each of them is characterized by the presence of some grammatical particle. The causative constructions contain the causative particle *ru*, those expressing purpose contain the particles *ched.du* or *gar*, and in comparative constructions the comparative particle *las* is used. In this part, these constructions will be discussed in more detail.

#### 1. Causative constructions: V - ru + bcug

Causative constructions consist of a verb followed by the causative particle *ru* and the causative verb *bcug*<sup>132</sup> meaning ‘let’, ‘make (someone) do (something)’. The agent of the causative verb, the causer, is marked by the ergative particle and the second agent, the causee, by the oblique particle. The causee is never marked by the ergative particle because he or she is the target of the action, and not the causer. The causee does not control the action. In the spoken language, the oblique particle may sometimes be omitted if there is no ambiguity. Both structures, with the oblique particle (ex. 157a, 159) and without it (ex. 157b, 158), are illustrated by the examples below:

(157)a) *khong - gis tshe.ring - la las.ka 'di byed - ru*

s/he+H - ERG Tshering - OBL work this do(PRS) - CAUS

*bcug - a.yong*

let - PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I don't think he will let Tshering do this work. »

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<sup>132</sup> Unlike in literary Tibetan, in SST, *bcug* is used in all tenses (see Hu 1989, Zhou & Xie, eds. 2003).



b) *khong - gis tshe.ring las.ka 'di byed - ru*  
 s/he+H - ERG Tshering work this do(PRS) - CAUS  
*bcug - a.yong*  
 let - PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « I don't think he will let Tshering do this work. »

(158) *mo.rang - gis nga deb lta - ru bcug - gi.mi.'dug*  
 she - ERG I book read (PRS) - CAUS let - IMPF+SENS+NEG  
 « She does not let me read. »

It is also possible to omit the causative particle *ru*, as the following example shows:

(159) *khong - gis nga - la deb lta bcug - pa.red*  
 s/he+H - ERG I - OBL book read (PRS) let - PFV+FACT  
 « She made me read books. »

## 2. Purpose<sup>133</sup>: V - NMZ - GEN + *ched.du* + V or V - *gar* + V of motion

Sentences expressing a purpose can be divided in two types: The first one contains a construction of a nominalized verb, a genitive particle and the particle *ched.du* followed by the main verb (ex. 160). The second type is restricted to sentences with the main verb being a verb of motion. In these sentences, the verbal complement is constructed by means of the particle *gar*, also spelt *gag* (ex. 161). See the following examples:

(160) a) *khong slob.sbyong byed - yag - gi ched.du lha.sa - r*  
 s/he+H studies do (PRS) - NMZ - GEN PRP Lhasa - OBL  
*phyin - pa.red*<sup>134</sup>  
 go (PAS) - PFV+FACT  
 « He went to Lhasa to study. »

<sup>133</sup> See Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:187, 361).

<sup>134</sup> The sentence can be analyzed as follows: VP [NP+VP [Purpose [NPgen [NP [VP [N+V] + NMZ] + GEN] *ched.du*] + V' [PP+V]]].

b) *kho.rang - gis dbyin.ji.skad sbyang - yag - gi ched.du slob.deb*  
 he - ERG English language learn - NMZ - GEN PRP textbook  
*mang.po nyos - song*  
 many buy (PAS) - PFV+SENS  
 « In order to learn English, he bought a lot of textbooks. »

(161)a) *mtsho.sman rogs.pa thug - gar phyin - song*  
 Chomen friend meet - PRP go (PAS) - PFV+SENS  
 « Chomen has gone to meet a friend. »

b) *nga ja nyo - gar yong - pa.yin*<sup>135</sup>  
 I tea buy (PRS) - PRP come - PFV+EGO  
 « I've come to buy tea. »

**3. Comparison**<sup>136</sup>: N + N - las + ADJ (Comp) + COP or N + N - las + V - gi.red

Comparative constructions consist of two entities being compared, one of which, the standard of comparison, is followed by the particle *las* that corresponds to the English 'than'. The particle is followed by the comparative form of an adjective (see 2.2.3.1.3.) and a copula. In affirmative sentences, the copula is often omitted (ex. 162b). When the adjective is an attribute of the subject, a construction with an adjectival verb is often used (ex. 163b). Look at the examples below:

(162)a) *bod rgya.nag - las gnam.gshis grang - pa 'dug*  
 Tibet China - COMP weather cold - COMPAR. SUFFIX exist (SENS)  
 « The weather in Tibet is colder than in China. »

b) *bod rgya.nag - las gnam.gshis grang - pa*  
 Tibet China - COMP weather cold - COMPAR. SUFFIX  
 « The weather in Tibet is colder than in China. »

<sup>135</sup> The sentence can be analyzed as follows: VP [NP+VP [Purpose [VP [NP+V]+gar]+V']].

<sup>136</sup> See Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:255-6, 262-4).

(163)a) *bu 'di phur.bu - las che - ba red*  
 boy this Phurbu - COMP big - COMPAR. SUFFIX be (FACT)  
 « This boy is older than Phurbu. »

b) *bu 'di phur.bu - las che - gi.red*  
 boy this Phurbu - COMP be big - FUT (FACT)  
 « This boy is older than Phurbu. »

### 2.2.3.3.3. Modifications of the word order

It is possible to change the order of some clausal components in SST. These are the agent (Ag), the goal (Goal) and the patient (Pa). The verb is generally not moved from the final position in the sentence. In the spoken language, however, the subject sometimes follows the verb. It is in the case of the speaker's afterthoughts. See the example below (taken from Tournadre 1996a):

(164) *khong - la glog.brnyan - gyi phe'u sprad - pa.yin nga - s*  
 s/he+H - OBL movie - GEN ticket give - PFV+EGO I - ERG  
 « I gave him a ticket to the cinema. »

It is possible to modify the word order in SST in the following way (Tournadre 1996a:106-108):

Ag	Pa	V	→	Pa	Ag	V	
Goal	Pa	V	→	Pa	Goal	V	
Pa	Goal	V	→	Goal	Pa	V	
Ag	Goal	Pa	V	→	Pa	Ag	Goal V thematization of Pa
					Ag	Pa	Goal V focalization of Goal
					Goal	Pa	Ag V focalization of Ag

Below is an example of the trivalent construction with the normal word order (ex. 165), the thematization of the patient (ex. 166a), and the focalization of the goal (ex. 166b) and the agent (ex. 166c):

(165) *khong - gis spu.gu - la ku.shu sprad - song*  
 s/he+H - ERG child - OBL apple give - PFV+SENS  
 « She gave children apples. »

(166)a) *ku.shu khong - gis spu.gu - la sprad - song*  
 apple s/he+H - ERG child - OBL give - PFV+SENS  
 « As for apples, she gave them to children. »

b) *khong - gis ku.shu spu.gu - la sprad - song*  
 s/he+H - ERG apple child - OBL give - PFV+SENS  
 « She gave apples to CHILDREN. »

c) *spu.gu - la ku.shu khong - gis sprad - song*  
 child - OBL apple s/he+H - ERG give - PFV+SENS  
 « SHE gave children apples. »

The following syntactic structures are ungrammatical in SST:

- |               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| * V + Ag + Pa | * TAM + V  |
| * V + Pa + Ag | * Vsec + V |
| * Ag + V + Pa | * Case + N |
| * Pa + V + Ag |            |

(167) \* *za - gi. 'dug kha.lag khong*  
 eat (PRS) - IMPF+SENS meal s/he+H

Intended: « She is eating. »

#### 2.2.3.4. Complex sentence

In SST, a clause can be followed by a connector which links it to another clause forming a complex sentence. Complex sentences<sup>137</sup> are basically divided in coordinate and subordinate. They can be further subclassified. As regards the subordinate sentences, they are subclassified according to the type of the subordinate

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<sup>137</sup> See Hu (1989), Wang (1994), Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003), Zhou & Xie, eds. (2003).

clause, e.g. relative, temporal or causal. The subordinate clause precedes the main clause and it is marked by clausal connectors, such as *-nas* in temporal and spatial clauses, *-dus* in clauses expressing simultaneity, *-tsang* in causal clauses, *-na* in conditional clauses. As stated above (2.2.2.2.3.), the TAM verbal ending is often omitted in the subordinate clause. Look at the following examples of temporal (ex. 168, 169) and causal (ex. 170) subordinate sentences:

(168) *khong slebs - nas nga - tsho kha.lag za - gi.yin*  
 s/he+H arrive - after I - pl meal eat (PRS) - FUT+EGO  
 « We'll eat when (after) she comes. »

(169) *nga chung dus gdon.'dre - r zhed - kyi.yod*  
 I be small when demon - OBL be afraid because  
 « When I was a child I was afraid of demons. »

(170) *nyi.ma shar - tsang mi mang.po gling.ga - r 'dug*  
 sun shine - because people many park - OBL exist (SENS)  
 « Since the sun is shining, there are many people in the park. »

#### 2.2.3.4.1. Conditional sentences

In this part, the issue of conditional sentences will be discussed. This type of complex sentences is especially important for epistemic modalities because numerous epistemic endings may be used in conditionals. There are basically two types of conditionals: the present and the past. In the spoken language, however, the use of conditional constructions is not always that rigorous, and one may hear native speakers using different constructions in different situations. Thus, the following description is rather that of Standard Tibetan than of spoken Standard Tibetan.

##### 1. Present real (factual) and present unreal (present counterfactual) conditional

There are three basic constructions in SST used to express the present conditional<sup>138</sup> (ex. 171-173). They may all be used for factual and counterfactual conditions. The third construction differs from the previous two in the aspectual value of the lexical

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<sup>138</sup> For more details, refer to Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003).

verb, as the following examples illustrate:

V (PAS) - *na*            AUX (future)

(171) *rang nga - r    rog.pa byas    - na nga shes - kyi.red*  
you    I    - OBL help    do (PAS) - if    I    know - FUT+FACT  
« If you help me, I will know it. » or « If you helped me, I would know it. »

V (PAS) - *pa.yin - na*            AUX (future)

(172) *rang nga - r    rog.pa byas    - pa.yin - na nga shes - kyi.red*  
you    I    - OBL help    do (PAS) - PFV    - if    I    know - FUT+FACT  
« If you help me, I will know it. » or « If you helped me, I would know it. »

V (PAS) - *yod - na*            AUX (future)

(173) *rang nga - r    rog.pa byas    - yod - na nga shes - kyi.red*  
you    I    - OBL help    do (PAS) - PERF - if    I    know - FUT+FACT  
« If you have helped me, I will know it. »

The counterfactual condition can also be expressed by the following nominal construction with *-tsang* ‘because’ and *ma.gtogs* ‘otherwise’:

V (PAS) - *tsang ma.gtogs*            AUX (future)

(174) *nga - r    sang.nyin dus.tshod med    - tsang ma.gtogs*  
I    - OBL tomorrow    time            exist+NEG - because otherwise  
*khyed.rang mnyam.po ‘gro    - gi.red*<sup>139</sup>  
you+H            together            go (PRS) - FUT+FACT  
« If I had time tomorrow, I would go with you. »

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<sup>139</sup> In the above example, the subject is first person and the verb controllable, which would normally necessitate the use of an intentional egophoric ending, in this context *gi.yin*. Nevertheless, since the speaker cannot control the action because of a limiting condition, a lack of time here, the factual ending *gi.red* is used.

## 2. Past unreal conditional (Past counterfactual)

Various constructions and verbal endings are used in the spoken language to express counterfactual conditions in the past. The following two constructions seem to be the most frequently used in the spoken language (ex. 175, 176). Although the verbal endings *yod* and *pa.yin* generally differ in aspect, the perfective and the imperfective, respectively, this aspectual difference is neutralized in the following constructions.

V (PAS) - *yod - na*      *yod.red / pa.yod*

(175) *tshe.ring - gis las.ka 'di byas - yod - na*

Tsering - ERG work this do (PAS) - PERF - if

*dngul mang.po rag - yod.red*

money much get - PERF+FACT

« If Tsering had done this work, he would have got a lot of money. »

V (PAS) - *pa.yin - na*      *yod.red / pa.yod*

(176) *tshe.ring - gis las.ka 'di byas - pa.yin - na*

Tsering - ERG work this do (PAS) - PFV - if

*dngul mang.po rag - pa.yod*

money much get - PFV+EPI 3+EGO

« If Tsering had done this work, he would have got a lot of money. »

Moreover, I have found out that other epistemic endings than *pa.yod* can also be used in the main clause. The use of different epistemic endings in conditional sentences will be discussed in detail in chapters III. and IV. There is a small difference in the degree of certainty between a conditional sentence with the evidential ending *yod.red* and that with an epistemic ending. Compare ex. (177) with ex. (175, 176):

(177) *rang - gis khong - la rog.pa ma - byas - na*

you - ERG s/he+H - OBL help NEG - do (PAS) - if

*khong shi - yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H die - PERF+EPI 2+FACT

« If you had not helped him, he would most probably have died. »

Another construction used to form past unreal conditions is the following one with *-tsang* ‘because’, *ma.gtogs* ‘otherwise’, often containing the aspecto-temporal verb *tshar* ‘finish’ (see 5.2.11.):

V (PAS) - *tsang ma.gtogs (tshar)* - past ending

(178) *nga - r dngul med - tsang ma.gtogs*

I - OBL money exist+NEG - because except

*nga - s mo.Ta nyos tshar - song*

I - ERG car buy (PRS) finish - PFV+SENS

« If I had had money, I would have bought a car. »



### III.

## EPISTEMIC MODALITIES IN SPOKEN STANDARD TIBETAN

In spoken Standard Tibetan, as stated in 1.3.1.2., epistemic modalities are not expressed by modal verbs as in many languages of the world, especially European languages, but by other lexical and grammatical means. The former one includes, in particular, epistemic adverbs. The main means in the spoken language is, however, morpho-syntactic. It is a system of epistemic verbal endings. This system will be discussed in detail in this chapter.

### 3.1. LEXICAL EXPRESSION OF EPISTEMIC MODALITY

#### 3.1.1. EPISTEMIC ADVERBS

Epistemic adverbs are the most important lexical means of expressing epistemic modalities in SST. They may appear either with evidential or epistemic verbal endings. The use of epistemic adverbs with epistemic endings will be discussed in 3.3. As to the co-occurrence of epistemic adverbs with evidential endings (ex. 179), this is a common way of expressing epistemic modality in SST. However, the Tibetan speakers often prefer sentences with an epistemic ending (ex. 180). Compare the examples below:

(179) *khong phal.cher yong - gi.red*

s/he+H perhaps come - FUT+FACT

« She will perhaps come. » (She did not promise to come.)

(180) *khong yong - gi.yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H come - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT

« She will probably come. » (She told me yesterday she would come.)

The epistemic adverbs can be divided in two groups according to the degree of certainty they convey: the adverbs expressing possibility (close to 50%) and the adverbs expressing certainty (close or equal to 100%).

#### A. Epistemic adverbs expressing possibility or probability

*gcig.byas.na*: The degree of certainty expressed by this adverb is approximately 50% (50% or more). From a syntactic point of view, *gcig.byas.na* generally precedes the subject of the sentence. It is usually translated in English by the adverbs ‘perhaps’, ‘maybe’ or ‘possibly’ (bKrahis Tsering, Liu 1991). It is very common in SST. Below is an example of the use of this adverb in a sentence:

(181) *gcig.byas.na phur.bu yong - kyi.red*  
perhaps Phurbu come - FUT+FACT  
« Maybe, Phurbu will come. »

*phal.cher*: The degree of certainty expressed by this epistemic adverb is higher than that of the previous adverb (more or less 75%). Syntactically, *phal.cher* may precede or follow the subject of the sentence though the latter way is more common. It is translated in English as ‘possibly’, ‘maybe’ or ‘perhaps’ (bKrahis Tsering, Liu 1991) or ‘most probably, most likely’ (Goldstein 2001). As a result of my research, I suggest using the English adverb ‘probably’ as the most suitable translation. This adverb is frequently used in SST. Look at the following example:

(182) *khong phal.cher yong - kyi.red*  
s/he+H probably come - FUT+FACT  
« She will probably come. »

*ha.lam*: The degree of certainty expressed by this epistemic adverb is lower than that of the previous two adverbs. It is not frequently used in Lhasa and it is considered as dialectal by Lhasa people. It is translated in English as ‘nearly’ or ‘more or less’. In negative sentences, *ha.lam* has a different than epistemic meaning: it corresponds to

‘hardly’ or ‘scarcely’<sup>140</sup>.

### B. Epistemic adverbs expressing certainty or high probability

*yin.cig.min.cig*: This epistemic adverb expresses a high degree of certainty (about 100%). It may only be used in future contexts, not in the past or the present. It is often used with imperatives. It is translated in English as ‘necessarily’ or ‘absolutely’.

*gtan.gtan*: Like the previous adverb, *gtan.gtan* expresses a high degree of certainty (about 100%). It is frequently used in SST. It is translated in English as ‘certainly’ or ‘surely’. Its use is illustrated by the example below:

(183) *khong gtan.gtan yong - kyi.red*  
s/he+H certainly come - FUT+FACT  
« She will certainly come. »

*brgya.cha brgya*: This is another adverb expressing a high degree of certainty. Its literary translation is ‘hundred percent’ and it can be translated in English as ‘definitely’. This epistemic adverb is very frequent in Lhasa.

### **3.1.2. OTHER LEXICAL MEANS**

In SST, possibility and probability can be conveyed by other lexical categories than by epistemic adverbs, for ex. nouns, adjectives or verbs. Concerning the latter one, verbs of judgement (e.g. *bsams* ‘think’) are quite frequently used as epistemic markers. Look at the following example with the verb *bsams* ‘think’:

(184) *nga - s stod.phad - la glugs - yod bsams - byung*<sup>141</sup>  
I - ERG bag - OBL put - PERF+EGO think - PFV+EGO  
« I thought I put it in the bag. »

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<sup>140</sup> For ex.: *khong - gis ha.lam bzas - ma.song*  
s/he+H - ERG hardly eat (PAS) - PERF+SENS (NEG)

« He hardly ate. »

<sup>141</sup> My informants suggested that the degree of probability of this sentence corresponded to EPI 2.

The above example corresponds in meaning and epistemic degree to the following sentence with the epistemic ending *yod.pa.yod*:

(185) *nga - s stod.phad - la glugs - yod.pa.yod*  
I - ERG bag - OBL put - PERF+EPI 2+EGO  
« I thought I put it in the bag. »

Furthermore, some expressions also have an epistemic meaning, e.g. *nga - s byas - na* corresponding to ‘I think’ or ‘My opinion is’ (lit.: if I did), as shown in ex. (186):

(186) *nga - s byas - na khong nang - la yod.ma.red*  
I - ERG do (PAS) - if s/he+H home - OBL exist (FACT+NEG)  
« I don’t think he is at home. » or « In my opinion, he is not at home. »

## 3.2. GRAMMATICAL EXPRESSION OF EPISTEMIC MODALITY

### 3.2.1. EPISTEMIC VERBAL ENDINGS

In this section, I will have a closer look at the epistemic endings that appear in the spoken language. They will be classified according to different parameters and discussed from the point of view of affirmative and negative polarity. The final part deals with epistemic copulas.

#### 3.2.1.1. Classification and synchronic representation of the epistemic endings

Diachronically, the epistemic verbal endings often consist of the same nominalizers/connectors and auxiliaries as the evidential verbal endings, as stated in 2.2.2.3.5., and they were formed by ‘double suffixation’. Out of many Tibetan epistemic endings, some are frequently used in the spoken language, others are rare or

literary<sup>142</sup>. There are a dozen of different types of epistemic endings that are common in SST. These are: *yod.pa.yod*<sup>143</sup>, *yong.nga.yod*, *a.yod*, *yod.kyi.red*, *yod.'gro*, *yod.pa.'dra*, *yod.sa.red*, *yod-mdog.kha.po-red/'dug* and *yod.bzo.'dug*, which are paradigm-like (i.e. each type consists of several endings differing in the tense-aspect, see 3.2.2.4.1.), and the endings *pa.'dug*, *pa.yod*, *yong* and *mi.yong.ngas*.

The epistemic endings have two fundamental functions: the expression of tense-aspect and epistemic modality (Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003:175-176). Tense-aspect is often expressed by the first formant and epistemic modality by the second one<sup>144</sup>, e.g. *gi.yod-pa.'dra* where *gi.yod* corresponds to the imperfective and *pa.'dra* expresses probability. However, this morphemic analysis does not work for all epistemic endings, e.g. *mi.yong.ngas*, *yong.nga.yod*, *yod.'gro*, *yod.'gro'o* and *med.'gro*, *med.'gro'o*. The endings with the morpheme *'gro/'gro'o*, for example, cannot be analysed in two suffixes since the polarity, and thus the epistemic meaning of these endings does not depend on the polarity of the auxiliaries *yod* and *med* but on the intonation of the whole ending (see 4.6.). Consequently, in synchrony *yod.'gro*, *yod.'gro'o* and *med.'gro*, *med.'gro'o* cannot be analyzed in formants<sup>145</sup>.

According to the results of my fieldwork, epistemic endings also imply an evidential meaning (see 3.2.2.2.), which is usually conveyed by the whole ending. As a result of the above facts, it is better to consider that in SST the epistemic endings are non-analyzable units, even though diachronically they were two suffixes. The synchronic representation of epistemic endings is, therefore, TA+EPI+EVI (tense-aspect + epistemic modality + evidential modality). In this dissertation,

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<sup>142</sup> In literary Tibetan, there are also ways of expressing various degrees of certainty. The most common means in SST, epistemic copulas and epistemic verbal endings, occur in literary Tibetan as well. The epistemic copulas used in literary Tibetan are, for ex., *yod.las.che*, *yod.shas.che*, *yod.thang* (*yod.na.thang*), *yod.zhan.'dra*, *yod.bzo.'dug*, *yod.tshul.'dug*, *yod.tshod.'dug*, *yod.nges.la*, *yod.shag.la* and the corresponding essential copulas, e.g. *yin.las.che* (see Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo 1993, Goldstein 2001, *Bod-kyi-dus-bab* (Tibet Times)). Some of the above mentioned copulas are common with the spoken language but the majority of them are only reserved for written Tibetan. Below is an example with the epistemic copula *yin.las.che*:

*gnas.tshul de bden.pa yin.las.che*  
 event that true be (EPI)

« This event may be true. » (Goldstein 2001:1001)

<sup>143</sup> I chose the perfective past form to represent each type of endings. See also 3.2.2.4.1.

<sup>144</sup> The fact that during the process of double suffixation a new modal meaning develops (epistemic modality) and is expressed by the second part of the new suffix (e.g. *yod.pa.'dra*, *yod.bzo.'dug*), seems to confirm the hypothesis that modality is, in general, in a more distant position from the main verb than other verbal categories (see François 2003:30)

<sup>145</sup> As a result, epistemic endings are treated as single units in this study, i.e. they are written with dots between syllables, not with a hyphen showing the morphemic structure.

epistemic endings are characterized according to the tense-aspect they refer to (see 3.2.2.4.), the degree of probability (see 3.2.2.1.) and the evidential meaning (see 3.2.2.2.). This is illustrated by the following examples with the epistemic endings *gyi.yod.‘gro* and *yod.sa.red*. In ex. (187), *gyi.yod.‘gro* is interpreted as the imperfective future, epistemic degree 1 and the factual evidential. In ex. (188), *yod.sa.red* corresponds to the present perfect, epistemic degree 2 and the sensory evidential:

(187) *kho grogs.po - la spo.lo g.yar - gyi.yod.‘gro*  
 he friend - OBL ball lend - IMPF+EPI 1+FACT  
 « He might lend the ball to his friend. » (The speaker infers from the fact that friends, in general, lend things to each other.)

(188) *phun.tshogs - kyis kha.lag bzos - yod.sa.red*  
 Phuntshog - ERG meal make (PAS) - PERF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems Phuntshog has cooked. » (The speaker can smell it.)

Moreover, epistemic endings can be classified according to the parameters of geographic variation and frequency (see Chapter IV.). There are differences in the use of epistemic endings between the Tibetan spoken in and around Lhasa (*dbus.skad*) and that of the diaspora (India, Nepal). Below is an example with the ending *pa.‘dug* (*pa.‘dug* > *pa*, see 4.1.1.), which is, in general, only used by Tibetans in central Tibet:

(189) *khong na.tsha mgyogs.po drag - pa*  
 s/he+H illness fast get better - FUT+EPI 3+SENS  
 « Surely, he’ll be OK soon. » (The speaker bases himself on the fact that the person is eating more than before.)

In the diaspora, the epistemic endings with the morpheme *sa* (e.g. *yod.sa.red*) are the most frequent epistemic type. On the contrary, they are less frequent in central Tibet. The Lhasa people view them as dialectal because they are usually used by Tibetans coming to Lhasa from Eastern Tibet (Kham, Hor)<sup>146</sup> (see 4.9.). Whereas ex. (190a)

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<sup>146</sup> See notes 197 and 199.

rather occurs in the exile community, ex. (190b) would be heard in Lhasa:

(190)a) *pa.sangs - la dngul rag - yod.sa.red*

Pasang - OBL money get - PERF+EPI 2+SENS

« Pasang most probably got money. » (The speaker saw Pasang in the shop buying a lot of things.)

b) *pa.sangs - la dngul rag - yod.pa.'dra*

Pasang - OBL money get - PERF+EPI 2+ SENS

« Pasang most probably got money. » (The speaker saw Pasang in the shop buying a lot of things.)

Epistemic endings also differ in the degree of frequency, with which they are used. Below are sentences with the frequently used ending *kyi.yod.kyi.red* and the rare ending *pa.yin.bzo.'dug*:

(191) *khong rjes.mar bod.skad sbyangs - kyi.yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H later Tibetan learn - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT

« He will most probably learn Tibetan later. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the person takes an interest in Tibet.)

(192) *bu 'di - s dbyin.ji.skad rgya.gar - nas sbyangs - pa.yin.bzo.'dug*

boy this - ERG English language India - ABL learn - PFV+EPI 1+SENS

« It seems it is in India that this boy learnt English. » (The speaker thinks so because the boy speaks with the Indian accent.)

### 3.2.1.2. Polarity: The affirmative vs. negative epistemic endings<sup>147</sup>

In general, affirmative epistemic endings convey positive polarity and negative epistemic endings<sup>148</sup> negative polarity. Usually, whenever it is possible to use an affirmative ending, it is also possible to use its negative counterpart. Negative polarity

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<sup>147</sup> See also 1.3.3. on negation.

<sup>148</sup> Diachronically, negative endings are formed by adding the negative morphemes *ma* or *mi* to the affirmative ending or by using the negative auxiliaries *med*, *min* instead of their affirmative counterparts.

is often, but not always<sup>149</sup> (ex. 194), expressed by the second formant of the epistemic ending, as illustrated in ex. (193) below: (a) is positive and (b) negative:

(193) a) *khong mo.Ta btang - gi.yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H car VBZ - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT

« He probably drives a car. » (The speaker bases himself on the fact that the person is adult and he has a job.)

b) *khong mo.Ta btang - gi.yod.kyi.ma.red*

s/he+H car VBZ - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT+NEG

« He probably doesn't drive a car. » (The speaker bases himself on the fact that the person is still young and he is a student.)

(194) a) *khong mo.Ta btang - gi.yod.pa.'dra*

s/he+H car VBZ - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS

« It seems he drives the car. » (The speaker can often see that the person's car is not in front of the house.)

b) *khong mo.Ta btang - gi.med.pa.'dra*

s/he+H car VBZ - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

« It seems he does not drive the car. » (The speaker can see that the person's car is constantly in front of the house.)

Nevertheless, there are exceptions to the above rule, e.g. the formally negative endings with the auxiliary 'gro'o (e.g. *med.'gro'o*), which are pronounced with a rising intonation and have positive polarity, or the epistemic endings with the morpheme *a* (e.g. *a.yod*), diachronically interrogative, which convey negative polarity (expressing a high degree of certainty about the non-actuality of the action)<sup>150</sup>. Another formally negative but semantically positive verbal ending is *mi.yong.ngas*. See the example below, in which (a) is formally negative (*med*) but semantically positive and (b) formally positive (*yod*) but semantically negative:

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<sup>149</sup> The types *yod.'gro (med.'gro'o)* and *yod.pa.'dra* are exceptions. See 4.6. and 4.7.

<sup>150</sup> For more details, refer to 4.6 and 4.4.



(195) a) *khong - gis las.ka byas - med. 'gro 'o*  
 s/he+H - ERG work do (PAS) - PERF+EPI 1+FACT  
 « She probably worked. »

b) *khong - gis las.ka byas - yod. 'gro 'o*  
 s/he+H - ERG work do (PAS) - PERF+EPI 1+FACT+NEG  
 « She probably didn't work. »

Unlike the above 'gro-type, the epistemic endings with the morpheme *a*, semantically negative, have no formally negative equivalents that would imply positive polarity, e.g. \**a.med*, \**gi.a.med*, \**a.ma.yong*. Compare the following examples:

(196) a) *khong - gis kha.sa las.ka byas - a.yod*  
 s/he+H - ERG yesterday work do (PAS) - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « I doubt he worked yesterday. » (The speaker knows that the person was ill.)

b) \* *khong - gis kha.sa las.ka byas - a.med*  
 s/he+H - ERG yesterday work do (PAS) - PERF+EPI 3+EGO  
 Intended: « I don't doubt that he worked yesterday. »

In SST, either preverbal or postverbal negation may occur in sentences containing an epistemic ending. In the former case, the negative particle *ma* precedes the lexical verb that is followed by an affirmative epistemic ending, and in the latter case, the verb is followed by a negative epistemic ending. Preverbal negation is limited to some epistemic endings, usually the perfective past endings with the nominalizer *pa*. Compare the following examples: in ex. (197a) and (b), the lexical verb is preceded by the negative particle *ma*, this is impossible in ex. (198) with the epistemic construction *yod-mdog.kha.po-red*, only postverbal negation is grammatical:

(197) a) *khong ma - phyin - pa.yin. 'gro*  
 s/he+H NEG - go (PAS) - PFV+EPI 1+SENS  
 « She probably did not go. » (The speaker can see that the light in her room is on.)

Similarly, the preverbal position of the negative particle *ma* is also grammatical in sentences with the evidential perfective past endings *pa.red* and *pa.yin*: *khong ma - phyin - pa.red* ‘He didn’t go.’. However, these sentences are less frequent in the spoken language. Instead, the negative present perfect endings *yod.ma.red* and *med* are used: *khong phyin - yod.ma.red* (see Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003:129-130, 166).

b) *rang mdang.dgong gnyid yag.po ma - khug - pa. 'dra*  
 you last night sleeping well NEG - get (sleep) - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 « You do not seem to have slept well last night. » (The speaker can see that the other person looks tired.)

(198) a) \* *khong ma - phyin - yod - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 s/he+H NEG - go (PAS) - PERF - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)  
 Intended: « It looks like he has not gone (there). »

b) *khong gzhis.ka.rtse - r slebs - yod - mdog.kha.po - ma.red*  
 s/he+H Shigatse - OBL come - PERF - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT+NEG)  
 « It looks like he has not arrived to Shigatse yet. » (It usually takes three hours to get to Shigatse. Two and a half hours have elapsed since he left.)

The negation of the predication (preverbal negation) and the negation of the verbal ending (postverbal negation) usually have a similar meaning. However, there may sometimes be a difference in the scope of negation between the two, as illustrated in the example below:

(199) a) *khong - gis ma - bshad - pa.yin.gyi.red*  
 s/he+H - ERG NEG - say - PFV+EPI 2+FACT  
 « He most probably didn’t say [it]. » (i.e. It is most probable that he didn’t say it.)

b) *khong - gis bshad - pa.yin.gyi.ma.red*  
 s/he+H - ERG say - PFV+EPI 2+FACT+NEG  
 « I don’t believe he said [it]. » (i.e. It must have been someone else.)

There are differences in acceptability of some negative endings between the Tibetans living in Tibet and those from the diaspora. The latter ones admit some negative forms that are rejected in Lhasa, e.g. *med.kyi.red*, *gi.med.sa.red*. The forms used in Lhasa are *yod.kyi.ma.red* and *gi.yod.sa.ma.red*. This is illustrated by ex. (200), which is only acceptable in the diaspora, not in Lhasa:

(200) a) ! *kho phyin - med.kyi.red*

he go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 2+FACT+NEG

« He probably didn't go. » (The speaker bases himself on the fact that the person rarely goes.)

b) ! *nyi.ma na - gi.med.sa.red*

Nyima be ill - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

« It seems Nyima won't get sick. » (The speaker infers from the fact that Nyima looks healthy because he does a lot of sports.)

This fact confirms the hypothesis that there are fewer restrictions on the acceptability of certain language items in the exile community than in central Tibet. The reason is most probably the fact that the Tibetans living in the exile community come from all parts of Tibet, and thus the dialectal variation is much higher there and the influence of these dialects on Standard Tibetan more important than in central Tibet.

### 3.2.1.3. Epistemic copulas

Just like the evidential endings and copulas, there are also epistemic copulas that have an identical form with certain epistemic endings. Similarly, they are divided in two types: essential and existential. The essential copulas contain *yin* (expressing essence) and the existential copulas *yod* (expressing existence and possession). The following is a list of epistemic copulas used in SST (the affirmative and negative forms):

Affirmative essential	Affirmative existential	Negative essential	Negative existential
<i>a.yin</i>	<i>a.yod</i>	-	-
<i>yin.pa. 'dra</i>	<i>yod.pa. 'dra</i>	<i>min.pa. 'dra</i>	<i>med.pa. 'dra</i>
<i>yin-mdog.kha. po- 'dug/red</i>	<i>yod-mdog.kha. po- 'dug/red</i>	<i>yin-mdog.kha.po -mi. 'dug/ma.red</i>	<i>yod-mdog.kha.po -mi. 'dug/ma.red</i>
<i>yin. 'gro, min. 'gro 'o</i>	<i>yod. 'gro, med. 'gro 'o</i>	<i>yin. 'gro 'o, min. 'gro</i>	<i>yod. 'gro 'o, med. 'gro</i>
<i>yin.bzo. 'dug</i>	<i>yod.bzo. 'dug</i>	<i>yin.bzo.mi. 'dug</i>	<i>yod.bzo.mi. 'dug</i>
<i>yin.sa.red</i>	<i>yod.sa.red</i>	<i>yin.sa.ma.red</i>	<i>yod.sa.ma.red</i>
-	<i>yong.nga.yod</i>	-	<i>yong.nga.med</i>
<i>yin.gyi.red</i>	<i>yod.kyi.red</i>	<i>yin.gyi.ma.red</i>	<i>yod.kyi.ma.red</i>
-	<i>yong</i>	-	<i>mi.yong</i>
<i>yin.pa.yod</i>	<i>yod.pa.yod</i>	<i>yin.pa.med</i>	<i>yod.pa.med</i>

The use of epistemic copulas is illustrated by the following example with the epistemic copula *yin.gyi.red*:

(201) *khong bod.pa yin.gyi.red*  
s/he+H Tibetan be (EPI 2+FACT)  
« She is probably Tibetan. »

### 3.2.2. FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF EPISTEMIC ENDINGS

In this part, epistemic endings will be discussed from a semantic and functional point of view. I will analyse in more detail their epistemic, evidential, deontic and other meanings, and their use as markers of the tense-aspect. Finally, the relation of epistemic endings with the category of person will be approached.

#### 3.2.2.1. Markers of epistemic modalities

The function common to all epistemic endings, as stated in 2.2.2.3.4., is the expression of probability or possibility of the speaker's utterance. They correspond to the epistemic use of the English modal verbs, such as 'may' or 'must', and to the epistemic adverbs, such as 'surely', 'apparently', 'likely', 'probably'. The various types of epistemic endings differ in the degree of the speaker's certainty of the

actuality of his utterance. I have classified them in three degrees, EPI 1, EPI 2 and EPI 3, corresponding, respectively, to weaker (>50%), stronger (+/-75%) and strongest (<100%) probability<sup>151</sup>. All types of epistemic endings are classified in the table below according to their degree of certainty:

Epistemic scale of the epistemic endings in spoken Standard Tibetan

<u>Degree of certainty of the speaker</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Type of the TAM verbal ending</u>	
		<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Not certain (Weaker probability), >50%	EPI 1	<i>yod.bzo.'dug, yod.'gro and med.'gro'o, mi.yong.ngas, mdog.kha.po+red/'dug</i>	<i>yod.bzo.mi.'dug, med.'gro and yod.'gro'o, mdog.kha.po-ma.red/mi.'dug</i>
Quite certain (Stronger probability), +/-75%	EPI 2	<i>yod.pa.yod, yod.kyi.red, yod.sa.red, yod.pa.'dra, yong, yong.nga.yod</i>	<i>yod.pa.med, yod.kyi.ma.red, yod.sa.ma.red, med.pa.'dra, mi.yong, yong.nga.med</i>
Almost certain (High probability), <100%	EPI 3	<i>pa.yod, pa.'dug</i>	<i>a.yod, pa.med, pa.mi.'dug</i>

Compare the three degrees of certainty expressed by epistemic verbal endings in the following examples: EPI 1 (ex. 202), EPI 2 (ex. 203), EPI 3 (ex. 204):

Weaker probability:

(202) *khong - gis ja btungs - yod.'gro*

s/he+H - ERG tea drink - PERF+EPI 1+FACT

« She probably drank tea. » (The speaker bases his statement on the fact that tea is a common drink in Tibet. She is Tibetan. So it is probable that she drank tea. However, the speaker cannot be sure because there are other drinks that she could have drunk.)

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<sup>151</sup> This classification is based on my fieldwork in Tibetan communities.

Stronger probability:

(203) *khong - gis ja btungs - yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H - ERG tea drink - PERF+EPI 2+FACT

« She most probably drank tea. » (She usually drinks tea. So the speaker assumes that it is more probable than not that she drank tea.)

High probability:

(204) *khong - gis ja btungs - pa.yod*

s/he+H - ERG tea drink - PFV-EPI 3+EGO

« She must have drunk tea. » (The speaker knows that she loves tea. So he is almost sure that she drank tea.)

Furthermore, epistemic endings also mark the speaker's non-engagement or non-commitment with respect to the actuality of his utterance (see Nølke 1994, Dendale 2001; for Tibetan, see Oisel 2006 and his unpublished article, 1.3.1.5.).

### 3.2.2.2. Markers of evidential modalities

Specifying the source of information is not the primary function of epistemic endings. However, according to the results of my fieldwork, they often convey evidential modality, e.g. *yod.gro*, *yod.kyi.red* and *mdog.kha.po-red* have a factual meaning, *pa.dug*, *yod.pa.dra* and *mdog.ka.po+dug* a sensory meaning, *pa.yod*, *yod.pa.yod* and *a.yod* an egophoric meaning. The fact that some epistemic endings have evidential connotations was stated in Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:176, 307) for the types *yod.pa.dra*, *yod.kyi.red*, and *pa.yod* but not for other types. The following is a quotation from Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:176): “The former [i.e. *yod.pa.dra*] suggests that the speaker's inference is based on his direct observation of the evidence, while the latter [i.e. *yod.kyi.red*] indicates that the speaker's inference is based on logic or on factual information not borne out by observation.”. The evidential kind of each type of epistemic endings will be discussed in Chapter IV. Compare below the differences in the evidential meaning of the examples (205), (206) and (207):

(205) *khong - la dga'.rogs yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H - OBL lover exist (EPI 2+FACT)

« She most probably has a boyfriend (logical inference - The speaker knows her well. They are friends or relatives. She has changed her behaviour recently, e.g. coming home late, buying new clothes.). »

(206) *dmag.mi - s lam.khag bkag - yod.pa.'dra*

soldier - ERG road block - PERF+EPI 2+SENS

« Soldiers probably blocked the road. » (The speaker bases his statement on a visual perception that there are no cars in the street.)

(207) *khong - gis mog.mog bzos - a.yod*

s/he+H - ERG *momo* make (PAS) - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I doubt she made *momos*. » (The speaker bases his statement on personal knowledge. He knows that she doesn't know how to make them.)

### 3.2.2.3. Markers of deontic and other derived meanings

According to the results of my research, epistemic endings may also convey other meanings than the expression of probability and the source of information. They communicate various deontic and other derived meanings, such as obligation, hope, surprise, disagreement, regret (deontic modalities, see 1.3.2.3.). In determining these meanings, one has to consider illocutionary modalities and speech acts<sup>152</sup> (see 1.3.2.4., 1.3.1.6., Palmer 1986). Prosody also has an influence on the semantic interpretation of sentences containing an epistemic ending. Below are examples of various derived meanings of epistemic endings:

#### 1. Obligation

There is a group of epistemic endings in SST that historically consist of the nominalizer *rgyu* and an essential epistemic auxiliary (e.g. *yin.gyi.red*), for ex.

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<sup>152</sup> Tournadre (2004:52) discusses the role of illocutionary modalities and stresses the importance of the theory of speech acts in relation to the enunciative aim of the speaker: « Le troisième domaine, celui de la visée énonciative, correspond aux modalités illocutoires et à l'objectif que poursuit le locuteur en prononçant un énoncé. Cette visée peut être analysée d'un point de vue grammatical, en types de phrases (modalités interrogatives, déclaratives, exclamatives, injonctives) mais doit aussi être plus précisément décrite dans le cadre théorique des actes de langage. »

*rgyu.yin.gyi.red*. They are used in future contexts (see 3.2.2.4.1.). In addition to the epistemic and evidential meanings, they may also convey the deontic meaning of obligation. It should be emphasized that, unlike deontic evidential endings, the deontic endings expressing a lower degree of certainty of the speaker than 100% are rather rare in the spoken language. See the following examples:

(208) *las.ka tshang.ma rang - gis byed - rgyu.yin.pa.'dra*

work all you - ERG do (PRS) - FUT+EPI 2+SENS+DEO

« It seems you have to do all the work. » (The speaker bases himself on a visual perception that all the others left.)

(209) *khong bod.skad sbyangs - rgyu.yin.gyi.red*

s/he+H Tibetan learn - FUT+EPI 2+FACT+DEO

« He most probably has yet to learn Tibetan. » (He has learnt Chinese but not yet Tibetan. He lives in Tibet now.)

## 2. Desiderative

Sentences with an epistemic ending may sometimes have a boulic meaning: they convey the speaker's hope and expectations. The subject is often, though not always, first person. Look at the examples below (see also ex. 18 in 1.3.2.1. and ex. 339 in 4.4. of Lichtenberg's 'apprehensional epistemics', a type of mixed modality that is both epistemic and attitudinal, Lichtenberg 1995):

(210) *nga yig.tshad 'di lon - pa.yod*

I exam this pass - PFV+EPI 3+EGO

« I must have passed the exam. » or « Hopefully, I passed the exam. » (The speaker answered all the questions and he thinks that he knew everything.)

Furthermore, there is an expression consisting of the verb *chog* 'be allowed' and the epistemic ending *ga* (*ga* < *pa* from the epistemic ending *pa.'dug*, *chog - pa.'dug* > *chog - ga*) corresponding to the English 'May... (do)' or 'I wish ...'. The lexical verb is in the past stem. See the following examples:



(211) *kho phyin chog - ga*  
 he go (PAS) be allowed - FUT+EPI 3+SENS  
 « May he go. »

(212) *gshe.gshe ma - btang chog - ga*  
 scold NEG - VBZ be allowed - FUT+EPI 3+SENS  
 « I wish you didn't scold [me]. »

### 3. Surprise, disagreement

Some sentences with an epistemic ending convey the speaker's surprise at what he hears and may also imply his disagreement or discontent with the content of the sentence (ex. 213). Such sentences could be interpreted in relation to the “category which is used to mark both hearsay or inference and certain kinds of first-hand knowledge”, called ‘mirative’ or ‘admirative’ (DeLancey 1997:33, see also DeLancey 2001). The category marks “both statements based on inference and statements based on direct experience for which the speaker had no psychological preparation, and in some languages hearsay data as well” (DeLancey 1997:35). This is illustrated by the following examples with the epistemic ending *pa.yin.‘gro‘o* and the epistemic copulas *yin.gyi.ma.red* and *a.yin*:

(213) *dkar.yol ‘di nga - s bcag - pa.yin.‘gro‘o*  
 cup this I - ERG break - PFV+EPI 1+FACT+NEG  
 « What! I can't have broken the cup. » (The speaker is told that he broke the cup. He is surprised and doesn't agree.)

(214) A: *spen.pa thob - song*                      B: *yin.gyi.ma.red*  
 Penpa win - PFV+SENS                      be (EPI 2+FACT+NEG)  
 « Penpa won. »                                      « Impossible./It can't be true! »

(215) A: *khong - la spa.se rag - song*                      B: *a.yin*  
 s/heH - OBL ticket get - PFV+SENS                      be (EPI 3+EGO+NEG)  
 « He got the tickets.»                                      « Impossible./You are kidding! »

#### 4. Regret

Epistemic endings (and copulas) are furthermore used in contexts implying that the speaker regrets having done something. This use is illustrated by the following example with the epistemic copula *yong.nga.yod*:

- (216) *nga - s kha.lag 'di ma - bzas na'i yong.nga.yod*  
I - ERG food this NEG - eat (PAS) even if exist (EPI 2+EGO)  
« If only I hadn't eaten this food. »

### 3.2.2.4. Markers of tense-aspects

#### 3.2.2.4.1. The tense-aspect paradigm of epistemic endings

As stated in 3.2.1.1., there are eleven types of epistemic endings that are rather common in SST. The majority of these types are paradigmatic, i.e. each type consists of four endings, each of them referring to a different tense-aspect. Formally, all these endings consist of two formants (see 2.2.2.3.5.). The first formant is always identical for those endings that express the same tense-aspect (e.g. *gi.yod* for all imperfective endings), the second one is different (e.g. *pa.'dra, sa.red, bzo.'dug*). The epistemic paradigm is as follows:

1. The perfective ending with the first formant *pa.yin* is used in the past perfective.
2. The present perfect ending with the first formant *yod* is used in the past and for past events with current relevance.
3. The imperfective ending with the first formant *gi.yod* is used in the imperfective past, the long-term present and the future.
4. The ending with the first formant *rgyu.yin* is used in the future to convey the meaning of an action that has not yet been carried out and, therefore, has yet to be done and sometimes having the deontic meaning of obligation, necessity ('probably intend to', 'probably need to', 'probably have yet to').

Look at the table and examples below with the type *yod.kyi.red* illustrating the epistemic paradigm:

1	Perfective past	<i>pa.yin.gyi.red</i> <sup>153</sup>
2	Present perfect and the immediate present	<i>yod.kyi.red</i>
3	Imperfective (past, long-term present and future)	<i>gi.yod.kyi.red</i>
4	(Deontic) future	<i>rgyu.yin.gyi.red</i>

(217) a) *khong rgya.gar - la phyin - pa.yin.gyi.red*

s/he+H India - OBL go (PAS) - PFV+EPI 2+FACT

« Most probably, it is to India that she went. » (The speaker knows that she left. He is asked whether she went to China or India. Basing himself, for example, on the fact that many Tibetans go to India, he thinks she went to India.)

b) *khong rgya.gar - la phyin - yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H India - OBL go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 2+FACT

« She has most probably gone to India. » (The speaker may know that she has left but not necessarily. He bases himself, for example, on the fact that many Tibetans go to India.)

c) *khong mgyogs.po rgya.gar - la 'gro - gi.yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H soon India - OBL go (PAS) - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT

« Most probably, she will soon go to India. » (The speaker knows that she planned to go in September. It is the beginning of September now. So he infers that she will probably leave soon.)

d) *khong rgya.gar - la 'gro - rgyu.yin.gyi.red*

s/he+H India - OBL go (PAS) - FUT+EPI 2+FACT

« She most probably has (yet) to go to India. » (The speaker knows that she was to go to India. The weather conditions have been very bad recently. So he thinks that she has not left yet.)

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<sup>153</sup> The perfective past endings are generally less frequent than the present perfect endings. When both endings can be used, they usually differ in the scope.

Similarly, the following types form the same paradigm as *yod.kyi.red*<sup>154</sup>:

*yod.pa.yod* (i.e. *pa.yin.pa.yod*, *yod.pa.yod*, *gi.yod.pa.yod*, *rgyu.yin.pa.yod*), *yod. 'gro*, *yod.pa. 'dra*, *yod.sa.red*, *yod.bzo. 'dug*, and *yong.nga.yod*. The type *yong.nga.yod* only consists of three forms: *yong.nga.yod*, *gi.yong.nga.yod*, *rgyu.yong.nga.yod* (*\*pa.yong.nga.yod*). The type *a.yod* differs in that the morpheme *a* is placed between the nominalizer and the auxiliary (*pa.a.yin*, *gi.a.yod*, *rgyu.a.yin*).

#### Non-paradigmatic epistemic endings

There are other epistemic endings in SST that are not part of the above paradigm. These are: *pa.yod*, *'gro*, *bzo. 'dug*, *pa. 'dug*, *sa.red*, *mi.yong.ngas*, *a.yong*, *pa. 'dra* and *yong*. Moreover, there is a construction with the epistemic suffix *mdog.kha.po* and the auxiliaries *red*, *'dug* or *yod* (see 4.8.).

- The epistemic ending *pa.yod* can, according to the context, have a past or a future meaning.
- The epistemic endings *'gro* and *bzo. 'dug* are usually, but not exclusively, used in the future tense.
- The epistemic endings *pa. 'dug*, *sa.red*, *mi.yong.ngas* and *a.yong* are only used in the future tense.
- The epistemic ending *pa. 'dra* is used in the past.
- The epistemic ending *yong* can appear in all tenses.

#### Geographical differences in the epistemic paradigm

Some native speakers living in the diaspora accepted other future endings than those mentioned above but these were refused by the informants from Lhasa. Diachronically, these endings consist of the nominalizer *gi* and the auxiliary *yin* followed by a second formant, e.g. *gi.yin. 'gro*<sup>155</sup>. Nevertheless, even the informants who accepted them hesitated. As a result, these endings should not be considered as part of the epistemic paradigm of SST. Look at the example below:

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<sup>154</sup> For a list of epistemic endings of each type, refer to chapter IV.

<sup>155</sup> An informant from Lhasa suggested that the sentence with this ending (a) evoked another one with the nominalizer *mkhan* (b):

a) \* *khong nang - la 'gro - gi.yin. 'gro*  
 b) *khong nang - la 'gro - mkhan yin. 'gro*  
     s/he+H home - OBL go (PRS) - NMZ be (EPI 1+FACT)  
 « S/he probably intends to go home. »

(218) ?/\* *bstan.pa dus.sang slob.sbyong byed - kyi.yin.gyi.red*  
 Tanpa next year study do (PRS) - FUT+EPI 2+FACT  
 « Tanpa will most probably study next year. »

### 3.2.2.4.2. Some grammatical differences between the epistemic endings of the paradigm

Although different epistemic endings may occur in the same tense, their use is not identical. In this part, the present perfect endings will first be compared with the perfective past endings, and then with the imperfective endings. Finally, the deontic future endings and the imperfective endings will be discussed.

#### 1. The present perfect ending vs. perfective past ending

The present perfect ending and the perfective past ending are both used in past contexts. However, the latter one is generally less frequent than the former one. Some uses of these endings have kept the difference in aspect but this difference is often neutralized. The present perfect ending and the perfective past ending differ in the following ways:

(1) The difference in aspect can be attested in present perfect contexts, in which only the present perfect ending, not the perfective past ending, may occur. Compare the following examples:

(219) a) *khong da.lta nang - la bzhugs - yod.kyi.red*  
 s/he+H now home - OBL stay+H - PERF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « Most likely, he is at home now. » (i.e. He has stayed at home.)

b) \* *khong da.lta nang - la bzhugs - pa.yin.gyi.red*  
 s/he+H now home - OBL stay+H - PFV+EPI 2+FACT  
 Intended: « Most likely, he is at home now. »

(2) One of the results of my research is the finding that past epistemic endings differ in the scope of epistemic modality. The present perfect endings (e.g. *yod.kyi.red*) are unmarked. They usually relate to the whole sentence (sentence scope). On the contrary, the perfective past endings (e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red*) are marked. They have a

more restricted (focused) scope. They highlight one part of the sentence (e.g. the agent, the adverbial, the predicate). As a result, the perfective past endings are usually used only if one part of the sentence is focused. The present perfect endings have no such limits (ex. 220a). This is illustrated by the example (220): (b) is ungrammatical and (c) grammatical because it highlights the adverbial of time/place. Compare also the difference in scope in ex. (217a and b):

(220) a) *khong slebs - a.yod*

s/he+H arrive - PERF+EPI 1+EGO+NEG

« I doubt she has (already) arrived. » (She went to Ngari. It is very far. The speaker bases himself on personal knowledge.)

b) \* *khong slebs - pa.a.yin*

s/he+H arrive - PFV+EPI 1+EGO+NEG

Intended: « I doubt she arrived. »

c) *khong kha.sa / lha.sa - r slebs - pa.a.yin*

s/he+H yesterday / Lhasa - OBL arrive - PFV+EPI 1+EGO+NEG

« I doubt it is yesterday/in Lhasa that she arrived. » (i.e. She arrived but probably not yesterday/not in Lhasa.)

(221) a) *nga - r cham.pa brgyab - med.pa.'dra*

I - OBL cold VBZ - PERF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

« I don't seem to have caught a cold. » (The speaker thought he had but it seems he is all right.)

b) *nga - r cham.pa brgyab - pa.min.pa.'dra*

I - OBL cold VBZ - PFV+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

« It does not seem to be a cold I have caught. » (The speaker thinks he has some other illness. He bases his statement on a direct observation.)

(3) As suggested by my informants, unlike the present perfect ending, the perfective past ending may imply a sensory inference, as illustrated by the following example:

(222) a) *khong - gis deb 'di nyos - pa.yin.gyi.red*

s/he+H - ERG book this buy (PAS) - PFV+EPI 2+FACT

« She most likely bought the book. » (The speaker can see the book and infers that she bought it.)

b) *khong - gis deb nyos - yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H - ERG book buy (PAS) - PERF+EPI 2+FACT

« He most probably bought books. » (He said he would go to a bookstore. So the speaker infers that he bought some books.)

(4) As suggested by my informants, unlike the perfective past ending, the present perfect ending may imply an inference based on the knowledge of a habitual action or state. Compare the following examples:

(223) a) *khong kha.sa nang - la bzhugs - yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H yesterday home - OBL stay+H - PERF+EPI 2+FACT

« Most probably, she was at home yesterday. » (She usually stays at home. It is her habit. So the speaker thinks that yesterday she was at home too.)

b) *khong kha.sa nang - la bzhugs - pa.yin.kyi.red*

s/he+H yesterday home - OBL stay+H - PFV+EPI 2+FACT

« Most probably, yesterday, she was at home. » (She doesn't usually stay at home. But it rained yesterday. So the speaker thinks that she was at home.)

(5) Use of the secondary verb *myong* 'experience': Unlike the perfective past ending, the present perfect ending may be preceded by the secondary verb *myong*<sup>156</sup>. Look at the example (224):

(224) a) \* *khong bstan. 'dzin - la dga' myong - pa.yin.sa.red*

s/he+H Tenzin - OBL love experience - PFV+EPI 2+SENS

Intended: « She has most likely loved Tenzin. »

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<sup>156</sup> For more details, refer to 5.2.16.

- b) *khong bstan. 'dzin - la dga' myong - yod.sa.red*  
 s/he+H Tenzin - OBL love experience - PERF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « She has most likely loved Tenzin. »

## 2. The present perfect ending vs. the imperfective ending

The present perfect ending and the imperfective ending can be both used in present contexts but they differ in aspect.<sup>157</sup> Their aspectual opposition displays the following difference: The present perfect ending is used for immediate present or short-term present actions whereas the imperfective ending is used for long-term, repeated or generic actions. Moreover, the latter one is used in future contexts. This opposition can be illustrated by the examples below: in ex. (225), only the present perfect ending is compatible with the temporal adverb *da.lta* 'now', in ex. (226) both endings can be used with the adverb *deng.sang* 'recently' because the adverb is interpreted punctually with the present perfect ending (perfective) and more durably with the imperfective ending (imperfective):

- (225) a) *khong da.lta bzhugs - a.yod* / *med.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H now stay+H - PERF+EPI 1+EGO+NEG / PERF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG  
 « I doubt she is in now. » / « She doesn't seem to be in now. »

- b) \* *khong da.lta bzhugs - kyi.a.yod* / *kyi.med.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H now stay+H - IMPF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG / IMPF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG  
 Intended: « I doubt she is now. » / « She doesn't seem to be in now. »

- (226) a) *khong deng.sang bzhugs - a.yod* / *med.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H recently stay+H - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG / PERF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG  
 « I doubt she is in these days. » / « She doesn't seem to be in these days. »

- b) *khong deng.sang bzhugs - kyi.a.yod* / *kyi.med.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H recently stay+H - IMPF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG / IMPF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG  
 « I doubt she is in these days. » / « She doesn't seem to be in these days. »

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<sup>157</sup> This aspectual difference also exists among evidential endings and it is preserved in epistemic endings.



### 3. The (deontic) future ending vs. the imperfective ending

The (deontic) future ending and the imperfective ending can both be used in future contexts. Unlike the imperfective ending, the (deontic) future ending is rather rare in the spoken language. It has a very narrow meaning and, as a result, it is less compatible with various verbal classes. It is, in general, used with controllable verbs and the third (second) person subject (ex. 228a). The use of some non-controllable verbs or the first person subject is not excluded but it is very rare (see ex. 227). Moreover, there is no negative counterpart of this ending (see ex. 228b). Look at the following examples:

(227) a) \* *khong na / shi / dga' - rgyu.yin.gyi.red*

s/he+H be ill / die / love - FUT+EPI 2+FACT

Intended: « He most probably has yet to be ill/die/love. »

b) *khong - la rag - rgyu.yin.gyi.red*

s/he+H - OBL get - FUT+EPI 2+FACT

« Most probably, he has not yet got [it]. » (The visa is usually delivered in a week's time. He applied for it four days ago.)

(228) a) *khong za - rgyu.yin.pa.'dra*

s/he+H eat (PRS) - FUT+EPI 2+SENS

« It seems she has yet to eat. » (All the people have been to the restaurant. She has stayed. Someone is asking me if she has eaten.)

b) *khong za - \*rgyu.min.pa.'dra*

s/he+H eat (PRS) - FUT+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

Intended: « It does not seem she has yet to eat. »

Under special circumstances, the first person subject can be used with a (deontic) future ending, as shown in the following sentence (229b) although it is normally unacceptable with other (deontic) future endings (229a):

(229) a) \* *nga (tshogs. 'du - r ) 'gro - rgyu.yin. 'gro*

I (meeting - OBL) go (PRS) - FUT+EPI 1+SENS

Intended: « I will probably have to go (to the meeting). »

b) *nga (tshogs. 'du - r ) 'gro - rgyu.yin.pa. 'dra*

I (meeting - OBL ) go (PRS) - FUT+EPI 2+SENS+DEO

« It seems I will have to go (to the meeting). » (The speaker knows that no one else is going but that someone definitely has to go. So he infers that he himself will have to go.)

As suggested above, the imperfective ending is more frequent than the (deontic) future ending and it also appears in other than future contexts. Compare below examples of the use of the imperfective ending *gi.yod.kyi.red* in an imperfective past context (a) and a future context (b):

(230) a) *khong de.dus phyur.ba za - gi.yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H then cheese eat (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT

« Most probably, she ate cheese then. »

b) *khong bod - la phyur.ba za - gi.yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H Tibet - OBL cheese eat (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT

« She will most probably eat cheese in Tibet. »

### 3.2.2.5. Participant perspective and epistemic endings

Epistemic verbal endings are neutral regarding the person, i.e. they may be used with any person in the subject position. Almost any epistemic ending can be used with all persons. However, since epistemic endings are used to express the speaker's uncertainty in relation to the content of his utterance, the subject is usually third or second person. The speaker is usually less sure about other persons than about himself. The following sentence is an example of co-occurrence of third person with an epistemic ending:

(231) *khong 'khyag - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*

s/he+H be cold - IMPF+EPI 1+SENS

« It seems she is cold. » (The speaker can see her shivering.)

Nevertheless, it is sometimes possible to use an epistemic ending with the first person subject in an appropriate context that justifies the co-occurrence of first person and the epistemic ending, as in ex. (232):

(232) *nga - r gser - gyi rtags.ma rag - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*  
 I - OBL gold - GEN medal get - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems I will get the golden medal. » (The speaker has seen the other competitors and it seems to him that he is the best one.)

Although the first person subject sentences may sometimes express the speaker's mere doubts or hesitation as sentences with the third person subject, my fieldwork has shown that, in general, they also convey other meanings, such as: bad memory (the speaker does not remember something well), deontic (wish, hope), non-controlled actions (the action of the utterance does not depend on the speaker's will). The various meanings of sentences with the first person subject and an epistemic ending are illustrated by the following examples:

1) The speaker does not remember clearly or has forgotten what he did or should do:

(233) *par 'di nga - s brgyab - a.yod*  
 snap this I - ERG VBZ - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « I doubt I took this picture. » (It is an old picture. The speaker forgot who took it. But he rather doubts it was him.)

(234) *gza'.zla.ba -r nga-s brnyan. 'phyin bltas - yod. 'gro 'o*  
 Monday -OBL I -ERG television watch(PAS) - PERF+EPI 1+FACT+NEG  
 « I do not think I watched TV last Monday. » (The speaker does not remember if it was Monday or some other day when he watched TV.)

(235) *de.dus nga khong - la dga' - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*  
 then I s/he+H - OBL like - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems I liked him then. » (The speaker does not remember it clearly.)

2) The speaker wishes that the content of his utterance be or not fulfilled in the future:

(236) *nga - r spu.gu skyes - a.yong*  
 I - OBL child give birth - PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « I wish I could have a child. » (The speaker rather thinks he won't. He tried many times but it didn't work out.)

3) The action does not depend on the speaker's will:

(237) *nga - r las.ka rag - gi.yod. 'gro*

I - OBL work get - IMPF+EPI 1+FACT

« I will perhaps get the job. » (The others got the job. So the speaker thinks he has a chance too.)

The first person subject and an epistemic ending are further used in conditional sentences implying that the fulfilment of the content of the main clause depends on the condition expressed in the subordinate clause:

(238) *nga bod.skad slob.sbyong byed - mkhan yin - na*

I Tibetan language study do (PRS) - NMZ be - if

*bod - la 'gro - pa*

Tibet - OBL go (PRS) - FUT+EPI 3+SENS

« If I studied Tibetan, I would (almost certainly) go to Tibet. »

(239) *nga chu.tshod brgyad.pa - r thon - na chu.tshod dgu.pa - r*

I hour eighth - OBL leave - if hour ninth - OBL

*khong - gi nang - la slebs - mdog.kha.po - red*

s/he+H - GEN home - OBL arrive - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)

« If I leave at eight, I should get to his place at nine. » (The speaker guesses so but it depends on the traffic.)

Moreover, in sentences with the first person subject and a past perfective ending (e.g. *yod.pa. 'dra*), the secondary verb *myong* 'to experience' is often used after the lexical verb implying that the speaker has (not) probably experienced the action of the sentence in his life. See the example below:

(240) *nga -s mi 'di mthong myong - yod.pa.yod / yod.pa. 'dra*

I -ERG person this see experience - PERF+EPI 2+EGO/PERF+EPI 2+SENS

« As far as I remember, I have seen this person before. » / « It seems I have seen this person before. » (She looks familiar to the speaker.)

Some epistemic endings, e.g. *yod.pa.yod*, *yod.pa. 'dra*, combine more easily with first person than others, e.g. *yod.kyi.red* (ex. 241a). In particular, the verbal endings of the type *yod.pa.yod* are often used with the first person subject implying the speaker's bad memory (ex. 242). The following example shows the compatibility of epistemic endings with first person (a) and with third person (b):

(241) a) *nga 'khyag - gi.yod.pa. 'dra / \*gi.yod.kyi.red*  
 I be cold - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS / IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « I have a feeling of getting cold. »

b) *khong 'khyag - gi.yod.pa. 'dra / gi.yod.kyi.red*  
 s/he+H be cold - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS / IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « She will probably get cold. »

(242) *zla.nyin nga gtsug.lag.khang - la yod dus jo.bo ra.ma rgyal.mo*  
 last year I Jokhang - OBL exist when Queen Goat  
 - 'i *lha.khang - la phyin - yod.pa.yod*  
 - GEN chapel - OBL go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 2+EGO  
 « As far as I remember, I went to the Queen Goat's Chapel when I was in Jokhang last year. »

In some contexts, the first person plural is acceptable as the subject of an epistemic sentence but the first person singular is not. The reason is that the action does not depend only on the speaker but also on the others. So he cannot be sure how the others will react. Compare the following examples:

(243) a) \* *nga brnyan. 'phrin lta - gi.yod.kyi.red*<sup>158</sup>  
 I television watch (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 Intended: « I will most probably watch TV. »

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<sup>158</sup> This sentence is grammatical when interpreted in the imperfective past: « I was probably watching TV. » (e.g. An answer to the question: 'What were you doing at that moment?')

b) *nga - tsho brnyan. 'phrin lta - gi.yod.kyi.red*  
 I - pl television watch (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « We will most probably watch TV. » (... as we are used to do... But maybe the others will decide to do something else.)

(244) a) \* *nga sang.nyin 'gro - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*  
 I tomorrow go (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS  
 Intended: « It seems I will go tomorrow. »

b) *nga - tsho sang.nyin 'gro - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*  
 I - pl tomorrow go(PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems we will go tomorrow. » (The speaker saw the driver prepare the bus.)

### 3.2.3. SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES AND EPISTEMIC ENDINGS

This section deals with the use of epistemic verbal endings in different syntactic structures. First, I will discuss their compatibility with various verbal constructions and verbal classes, and then their use in dependent clauses, questions, and in conditional sentences.

#### 3.2.3.1. Compatibility of epistemic endings with verbal constructions and verbal classes

Epistemic endings appear in the same syntactic structures as evidential endings (see 2.2.3.3.1., 2.2.3.3.2.) and they can combine with verbs of all verbal classes (see 2.2.3.1.2., 2.2.3.3.1.). In chapter IV., each epistemic ending that is used in SST is discussed in detail and illustrated by examples, including the information about the compatibility of the epistemic ending with the following verbal classes: monovalent, ergative, possessive, affective and its use in causative constructions. Look at the following examples of each verbal class: monovalent (ex. 245), ergative (ex. 246), possessive (ex. 247), affective (ex. 248), and a causative construction (ex. 249):

*sgrol.ma na - pa.yod*

Dolma be ill - PFV+EPI 3+EGO

« Dolma must have been ill. » (The speaker knows she drank a lot of alcohol last night.)

*khyed.rang -gis hpha.ran.si - nas dri.chab 'di nyos - yong.nga.yod*

you+H -ERG France - ABL perfume this buy(PAS) - PERF+EPI 2+EGO

« You probably bought the perfume in France. » (The speaker remembers that France is famous for its perfumes.)

*khong - la spu.gu skyes - pa.'dra*

she+H - OBL child give birth - PFV+EPI 2+SENS

« It seems she's had a baby. » (She was about to have a baby so she was at home all the time. Today, she is not at home.)

*khong gdon.'dre - la zhed - kyi.yod.kyi.ma.red*

s/he+H ghost - OBL be afraid - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT+NEG

« Most probably, she won't be afraid of ghosts. » (They say there are ghosts there where she is going. The speaker knows that she is not superstitious.)

*khong - gis pad.ma las.ka byed - ru bcug - gi.yod.'gro*

s/he+H - ERG Pema work do (PRS) - CAUS let - IMPF+EPI 1+FACT

« She will perhaps let Pema work. » (The speaker bases his statement on the fact that Pema has come of age.)

Some epistemic endings have a more restricted use with various verbal classes than others. It appears that it is generally more difficult to use epistemic endings with affective verbs than with other verbal classes. A number of combinations of an affective verb and an epistemic ending were rejected by the informants (e.g. the epistemic endings *gi.yong.nga.yod*, *pa.yin.pa.yod*). From the point of view of the epistemic paradigm, the perfective past endings (e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red*), are often subject to more restrictions than other endings (see 3.2.2.4.). In the following example, only the combination of *dga* 'love' with the epistemic ending *yod.pa.yod* is grammatical (b), not with *pa.yin.pa.yod* (a):

a) \* *khong mi 'di - r dga' - pa.yin.pa.yod*  
 s/he+H person this - OBL love - PFV+EPI 2+EGO  
 Intended: « I think she must have loved that person. »

b) *khong mi 'di - r dga' - yod.pa.yod*  
 s/he+H person this - OBL love - PERF+EPI 2+EGO  
 « I think she must have loved that person. » (The speaker can remember her behaviour towards that person.)

Furthermore, in sentences with the first person subject, the secondary verb *myong* 'experience' is, in general, inserted between the lexical verb and a perfective past ending (e.g. *yod. 'gro*). It is rare to directly combine the lexical verb and the perfective past ending. This is illustrated by the following example (see also ex. 492 with *yod.sa.red* in 4.9.2.):

a) ! *nga - s bzas - yod. 'gro*  
 I - ERG eat (PAS) - PERF+EPI 1+FACT  
 « I think I ate it. » (The speaker does not remember it well.)

b) *nga za myong - yod. 'gro*  
 I eat (PRS) experience - PERF+EPI 1+FACT  
 « I think I have eaten it. » (The speaker does not remember it well.)

Some combinations of a verb and an epistemic ending are ungrammatical because of a prosodic or semantic reason, as shown in the following sentences: in ex. (252), the use of the lexical verb *yong* 'come' with the epistemic ending *yong* is excluded, in ex. (253), unlike the verb *slebs* 'arrive' (a), the use of the verb 'gro 'go' (b) in the *mdog.kha.po*-construction containing the auxiliary *yod* is ungrammatical:

\* *khong yong - yong*  
 s/he+H come - FUT+EPI 2  
 Intended: « He will probably come. »



a) *khong sang.nyin lha.sa - r slebs - mdog.kha.po - yod*  
 s/he+H tomorrow Lhasa - OBL arrive - EPI 1 - AUX (EGO)  
 « She will probably get to Lhasa tomorrow. »

b) \* *khong sang.nyin lha.sa - r 'gro - mdog.kha.po - yod*  
 s/he+H tomorrow Lhasa - OBL go (PRS) - EPI 1 - AUX (EGO)  
 Intended: « She will probably come to Lhasa tomorrow. »

### 3.2.3.2. The use of epistemic endings in dependent clauses

Epistemic endings appear at the end of a complex sentence but, according to my research work, they are generally not used in dependent clauses (ex. 254, 255b). The epistemic ending *pa. 'dug* is, however, an exception since it can be used in conditional sentences in the if-clause before *na* 'if' (ex. 255a). Compare the following examples:

a) \* *khong phyin - pa.yod - tsang ...*  
 s/he+H go (PAS) - PFV+EPI 3+EGO - because  
 Intended: « Since he must have gone ... »

b) \* *char.pa btang - pa. 'dug - tsang ...*  
 rain VBZ - FUT+EPI 3+SENS - because  
 Intended: « Since it looks like rain ... »

a) *char.pa btang - pa. 'dug - na ...*  
 rain VBZ - FUT+EPI 3+SENS - if  
 « If it looks like rain ... »

b) \* *char.pa btang - gi.yod.pa. 'dra - na ...*  
 rain VBZ - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS - if  
 Intended: « If it looks like rain ... »

Epistemic endings can appear at the end of a clause that is a complement of the verb *bsam* 'think'. In this case, the epistemic ending directly precedes the verb *bsam*. This construction corresponds to relative clauses in European languages (e.g. that-clause in English). Look at the example 256 (a) and (b):

a) *kha.par sprad mi dgos nga khong gnyis thug*

phone give NEG must I s/he+H two meet

- *a.yod* *bsams - byung*

- PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG think - PFV+EGO

« [You] do not have to pass the phone. I thought the two of them had not met. » (The speaker called her sister to see if she met their niece who just arrived in Lhasa.)

b) *khong sgo phye dgos - med. 'gro 'o* *bsams - byung*

s/he+H door open need - PERF+EPI 1+FACT think - PFV+EGO

« I thought he might need/want to open the door. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the person was waiting in front of the door.)

### 3.2.3.3. The use of epistemic endings in questions

The possibility of forming questions that contain an epistemic ending is a questionable topic. Although my informants accepted sentences with some epistemic endings being followed by an interrogative particle, they refused most of the epistemic endings. Concerning the type *a.yod*, the morpheme *a* originally had an interrogative meaning<sup>159</sup>, thus it is impossible to add an interrogative particle to the endings of this type. The use of the following epistemic endings with the interrogative particles was also rejected: the types *yod. 'gro*, *yod.pa.yod*, *yod.kyi.red*, and the endings *pa.yod* and *yong*. As a result, when the speaker wishes to form a question, he has to use an evidential ending instead of the epistemic ending as illustrated by the following example:

A: *khong phyin - yod.pa.yod*

s/he+H go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 2+EGO

B: *phyin - song - ngas / phyin - 'dug - gas*

go (PAS) - PFV+SENS - Q / go (PAS) - PERF+SENS - Q

A: « Most probably, he left. » B: « Did he? »

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<sup>159</sup> Cf. The use of *a* (*e*) in questions in the Amdo dialects.

On the other hand, my informants accepted the combinations of an interrogative particle with the type *yod.bzo. 'dug*, the *mdog.kha.po*-constructions and with the ending *pa. 'dug*. The examples below show some of the epistemic endings and copulas used in the interrogative mood:

*ja 'di tsha.po yod - mdog.kha.po - 'dug - gas*  
 tea this hot exist - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS) - Q  
 « Is this tea hot? » (lit.: Does it look like this tea is hot?, Neither the speaker nor the addressee have tried it.)

According to a hypothesis that is however not shared by all informants, the above sentence with an interrogative particle, just like the following one, could imply a negative supposition (The speaker does not think that the tea is hot):

*khong bod.pa yin.bzo. 'dug - gas*  
 s/he+H Tibetan be (EPI 1+SENS) - Q  
 « Does she seem to be Tibetan? » (Guessing from her appearance, the speaker does not think that the person looks like Tibetan.)

A: *khyed.rang zla.ba bcu.gnyid.pa - r dngul*  
 you+H month twelfth - OBL money  
*ldang - pa. 'dug - gas* B: *ldang - pa. 'dug<sup>160</sup>*  
 be enough - FUT+EPI 3+SENS - Q be enough - FUT+EPI 3+SENS  
 A: « Will you have enough money in December? » B: « Surely, I will. »

*char.pa btang - pa. 'dug - gas*  
 rain VBZ - FUT+EPI 3 - Q  
 « Is it going to rain?/Does it look like it is going to rain? » (The speaker is asking somebody standing at the window about the possibility of raining in the near future.)

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<sup>160</sup> Thub-bStan dBang-po et al. (2002:47).

Although the above example was accepted, my informants suggested that this type of questions was quite rare in the spoken language (used only in a particular context) and that instead of the epistemic ending *pa. 'dug* followed by the interrogative particle *gas*, the evidential ending *gi.red* and the interrogative particle *pas* would rather be used (ex. 262):

*char.pa btang - gi.red - pas*  
 rain VBZ - FUT+FACT - Q  
 « Will it rain? »

Similarly, the following sentence was accepted with hesitation:

? *khong bod.pa yin.pa. 'dra 'dug - gas / red - pas*  
 s/he+H Tibetan be (EPI 2+SENS) exist (SENS) - Q / be (FACT) - Q  
 « She seems to be Tibetan. Is she? »

The above example should be interpreted as two separate clauses. The first one is an epistemic statement containing the copula *yin.pa. 'dra*, the latter one is a question consisting of the copula *'dug* 'exist' or *red* 'be' and the corresponding interrogative particle. Thus, the example can be translated in English by 'She seems to be Tibetan. Is it like that?/Is she?' or even 'Am I right?'. This also holds true for the type *yod. 'gro/med. 'gro 'o*. Questions are formed by the copula *red* and the interrogative particle *pas*. The speaker expresses his standpoint to the actuality of his utterance and asks another person to confirm it or not.

Taking into consideration the above examples, I conclude that epistemic endings are, in general, not used in the interrogative mood.

### 3.2.3.4. The use of epistemic endings in conditionals

Many epistemic endings can be used in conditional sentences to express past (counterfactual) and present (factual or counterfactual) conditions. As suggested in 2.2.3.4.1., although they resemble the conditionals with the evidential endings, the epistemic endings partially preserve their epistemic meaning in these sentences. This is illustrated by the example (264). As can be seen from the English translation, there is a slight difference in the degree of certainty (<100% versus 100%) between the

sentence that contains the epistemic ending *pa.yod* and that with the evidential ending *yod.red*:

a) *rang - gis ci.ni teg.tsa (tog.tsam) mang.tsam brgyab - yod - na*  
 you - ERG sugar a little bit more put - PERF - if  
*ja 'di zhim.po chags - pa.yod*  
 tea this good become - PFV+EPI 3+EGO  
 « If you had put a little bit more sugar in the tea, it would (almost) certainly have tasted good. »

b) *rang - gis ci.ni teg.tsa (tog.tsam) mang.tsam brgyab - yod - na*  
 you - ERG sugar a little bit more put - PERF - if  
*ja 'di zhim.po chags - yod.red*  
 tea this good become - PERF+FACT  
 « If you had put a little bit more sugar in the tea, it would have tasted good. »

Sometimes, the sentence with an epistemic ending corresponds in English to the present counterfactual condition (ex. 265a) and that with an evidential ending to the present factual condition (ex. 265b):

a) *nga - r dngul yod - na yul.skor - la 'gro*  
 I - OBL money exist - if travel - OBL go (PRS)  
*- gi.yod.kyi.red*  
 - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « If I had money, I would (most probably) travel. »

b) *nga - r dngul yod - na yul.skor - la 'gro - gi.yin*  
 I - OBL money exist - if travel - OBL go (PRS) - FUT+EGO  
 « If I have money, I will travel. »

My fieldwork has shown that the present perfect epistemic endings (e.g. *yod.kyi.red*) are used in past conditionals (past counterfactual) and the imperfective (present-future or future) epistemic endings (e.g. *gi.yod.kyi.red*) in present conditionals. It is impossible to use the perfective past endings (e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red*) in past conditionals

(ex. 266). Furthermore, the use of the types *yod.pa.'dra* and *yod.pa.yod* is questionable or impossible (ex. 267, 269) and that of *yod.sa.red* is rather rare. The following endings and types were accepted in conditional sentences: *pa.yod*, *a.yod*, *yod.kyi.red*, *yod-mdog.kha.po-red*, *yod.'gro*, *yong*, *mi.yong.ngas*. The following example illustrates the impossibility of using the perfective past endings in conditional sentences (ex. 266a and b). In (a) the present perfect ending *a.yod* is grammatical but the perfective past ending *pa.a.yin* is not:

a) *kha.sa khong sman bzas - yod - na*  
 yesterday s/he+H medicine eat (PAS) - PERF - if  
*na - a.yod / \*- pa.a.yin*  
 be ill - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG / - PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « If he had taken the medicine yesterday, he most probably would not have fallen ill. »

b) \* *khyed.rang ma - phebs - na khong shi - pa.yin.gyi.red*  
 you+H NEG - come+H - if s/he+H die - PFV+EPI 2+FACT  
 / *pa.yin.pa.yod / pa.yin.pa.'dra*  
 / PFV+EPI 2+EGO / PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 Intended: « If you had not come, he would have probably died. »

Below is an example of the use of the type *yod.pa.yod* in conditional sentences. There is a disagreement among my informants concerning the acceptability of this type of epistemic endings in conditionals (see also 4.2.2.):

! *khong - la dus.tshod yod - na thugs.spro - r*  
 s/he+H - OBL time exist - if party+H - OBL  
*phyin - yod.pa.yod*  
 go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 2+EGO  
 « If he'd had time, he would most probably have gone to the party. »

#### The past counterfactual conditional

The use of epistemic endings in past conditionals is illustrated by ex. (268) with the epistemic ending *pa.yod* and the epistemic construction *yod-mdog.kha.po-red*. The example (269) illustrates the impossibility of the use of the type *yod.pa.'dra*:

a) *lag.rtags 'di - r khong dga'.po yod - na*

present this - OBL s/he+H like exist - if

*nga - s phul - pa.yod*

I - ERG give - PFV+EPI 3+EGO

« If she had liked the present, I would certainly have given it to her. »

b) *sman ma - bzas - na nga shi - yod - mdog.kha.po - red*

medicine NEG - eat (PAS) - if I die - PERF - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)

« If I had not taken the medicine, I would probably have died. »

\* *sman ma - bzas - na nga shi - pa.'dra*

medicine NEG - eat (PAS) - if I die - PERF+EPI 1+SENS

Intended: « If I had not taken the medicine, I would probably have died. »

### The present factual and counterfactual conditional

The present conditionals can be either factual or counterfactual. Factual conditionals are illustrated by the examples (270-272) and counterfactual conditionals by ex. (273). Compare also ex. (268a) containing the past epistemic ending *pa.yod* implying the past conditional with ex. (270) that contains the future epistemic ending *pa.'dug* (*pa.'dug* > *pa*, see 4.1.1.) conveying the meaning of the present factual conditional:

*lag.rtags 'di - r khong dga'.po yod na*

present this - OBL s/he+H like exist if

*nga - s phul - pa*

I - ERG give+h - FUT+EPI 3+SENS

« If she likes the present, I will certainly give it to her. »

*kha.lag 'di bzas - na khong na - a.yong*

meal this eat (PAS) - if s/he be ill - PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I don't think she will be ill if she eats this meal. »

*khong - la rog.pa ma - byas - na shi - gi.yod.sa.red*

s/he+H - OBL help NEG - do(PAS) - if die - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS

« If [we] don't help him, he will most likely die. »

*nga phyi.rgyal - la yod na ko.phi btungs - gi.yod.kyi.red*  
 I abroad - OBL exist if coffee drink - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « If I were abroad, I would probably drink coffee. »

### 3.3. THE USE OF EPISTEMIC ENDINGS WITH EPISTEMIC ADVERBS

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, there are two means of expressing epistemic modalities in spoken Standard Tibetan: grammatical - a system of epistemic verbal endings and lexical - epistemic adverbs<sup>161</sup>. The two means may combine. In combinations of an epistemic adverb with an epistemic ending, it is usually the adverb that emphasizes the degree of probability of the utterance. See the following examples:

*khong phal.cher yong - gi.yod.kyi.red*  
 s/he+H perhaps come - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « She will probably come./It is probable that she will come. »

*khong gtan.gtan yong - gi.yod.kyi.red*  
 s/he+H surely come - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « She will surely come./She must come. »

The epistemic adverbs that most frequently appear in sentences with epistemic endings are *gcig.byas.na* ‘perhaps’, *phal.cher* ‘(most) probably’ and *gtan.gtan* ‘certainly’. The other epistemic adverbs (see 3.1.1.) are less frequent. The use of the above adverbs depends on the type of epistemic endings and on the speaker’s degree of certainty. In general, it is possible to combine the majority of epistemic endings with the epistemic adverbs *gcig.byas.na* ‘perhaps’ and *phal.cher* ‘(most) probably’. Compare the following examples:

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<sup>161</sup> According to Dik’s model, verbal endings correspond to ‘operators’ and modal adverbs to ‘satellites’ (see Dik 1997, 1.3.4.2.).



*gcig.byas.na khong - gis byas - pa. 'dra*

perhaps s/he+H - ERG do (PAS) - PFV+EPI 2+SENS

« It seems he might have done it. » (It resembles his way of doing. The speaker is less certain.)

*khong - gis phal.cher byas - pa. 'dra*

s/he+H - ERG probably do (PAS) - PFV+EPI 2+SENS

« It seems he most likely did it. » (It resembles his way of doing. The speaker is more certain.)

The use of the epistemic adverb *gtan.gtan* ‘certainly’ with epistemic endings is more restricted compared to the epistemic adverbs *gcig.byas.na* ‘perhaps’ and *phal.cher* ‘(most) probably’ because *gtan.gtan* is semantically less compatible with the general meaning of probability that the epistemic endings convey. It is, for example, very rarely used with the endings of the type *a.yod*. When such a combination occurs, it implies the speaker’s almost 100% certainty of the non-actuality of an event, corresponding to ‘certainly not’. On the contrary, the adverb *gtan.gtan* is often used with the ending *pa.yod*. Look at the following examples: ex. (278) is problematic, ex. (279) grammatical:

! *khong - la nga - 'i lde.mig gtan.gtan brnyed - a.yod*

s/he+H -OBL I -GEN key certainly find - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« She can’t have found my key. » (The speaker knows she was not at the place where he thinks he lost the key. However, he is not 100% sure that she didn’t find it.)

*kho.rang gtan.gtan phyin - pa.yod*

he certainly go (PAS) - PFV+EPI 3+EGO

« He must have gone [there]. » (The speaker knows that the person really wanted to go. He is almost sure that he went there.)

Similarly, it is generally not possible to combine the epistemic adverb *yin.cig.min.cig* ‘necessarily, absolutely’ with epistemic endings as illustrated below:

\* *kho.rang yin.cig.min.cig bod - la 'gro - gi.yod.pa.'dra*  
s/he necessarily Tibet - OBL go (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS

Intended: « It seems she will certainly go to Tibet. »

The use of various epistemic adverbs expressing different degrees of the speaker's certainty shows that the semantic value of epistemic endings is rather large. Moreover, the intonation plays a major role in the interpretation of the degree of probability.

## IV.

# CLASSIFICATION OF EPISTEMIC VERBAL ENDINGS

### 4.1. THE EPISTEMIC VERBAL ENDINGS *pa. 'dug* AND *pa.yod*

The epistemic endings *pa. 'dug* and *pa.yod*<sup>162</sup> convey a very high degree of certainty of the speaker towards the actuality of his utterance, in general higher than most of the other verbal endings. Their epistemic meaning corresponds in English to such adverbs as 'certainly', 'surely', 'undoubtedly' or to the epistemic meaning of the verb 'must'. They are not paradigm-like. See the examples below:

a) *khong - gis kha.lag bzos - pa. 'dug*

s/he+H - ERG food cook (PAS) - FUT+EPI 3+SENS

« She is certainly going to cook. » (The speaker just saw her going to the kitchen.)

b) *khong - gis kha.lag bzos - pa.yod*

s/he+H - ERG meal cook (PAS) - PFV+EPI 3+EGO

« From what I know, she must have cooked. » (She told the speaker that she would.)

#### 4.1.1. THE EPISTEMIC ENDINGS *pa. 'dug* AND *pa.mi. 'dug*

##### 1. Semantic, pragmatic and syntactic characteristics

The epistemic ending *pa. 'dug* expresses a high degree of certainty of the speaker towards the actuality of his utterance corresponding to degree EPI 3 of the epistemic

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<sup>162</sup> In SST, there is no such epistemic ending as *\*pa.yod.red*.

scale presented in 3.2.2.1. It implies a present inference of a near future action. It is used for prospective actions when it is highly probable that the action is going to take place (The speaker is almost sure, see ex. 282). Besides, *pa. 'dug* has a sensory meaning. This ending is very frequent in the spoken language in central Tibet but it is, in general, not used in the exile community.

*char.pa btang - pa. 'dug*

rain VBZ - FUT+EPI 3+SENS

« It looks like rain. » (The speaker can see clouds in the sky.)

However, it is possible that the predicted action will not take place (although the speaker views such possibility as minimal), as can be seen in the example below:

*nga - s char.pa btang - pa. 'dug bsam - byung*

I - ERG rain VBZ - FUT+EPI 3+SENS think - PFV+EGO

*yin.na 'i da.lta gnam dwangs - song*

but now sky clear up - PFV+SENS

« I thought it was certainly going to rain but the sky has cleared up. »

In the spoken language, *'dug* is, in general, omitted in the affirmative sentence, as shown in the following example (*pa. 'dug > pa*):

*nyi.ma shar - pa*

sun shine - FUT+EPI 3+SENS

« The sun is surely going to shine. » (The speaker is looking out of the window.)

The ending *pa. 'dug* is compatible with verbs of all verbal classes and may also be used in causative constructions. The lexical verb is usually in the past stem although the use of the present-future stem is not excluded either (ex. 285a). Sentences with this epistemic ending cannot be interpreted in the past tense. This is illustrated by ex. (285b):

a) *bstan.pa rgya.nag - la phyin / 'gro - pa*

Tanpa China - OBL go (PAS) / go (PRS) - FUT+EPI 3+SENS

« Tanpa is certainly going China. » (Tanpa told the speaker that he would go to China next week. Now the speaker has met another friend who told him he wanted to meet Tanpa. The speaker is telling him that Tanpa is leaving soon.)

b) \* *khong da.nyin rgya.nag - la phyin - pa*

s/he+H last year China - OBL go (PAS) - \*PFV+EPI 3+SENS

Intended: « She must have been to China last year. »

According to my informants, in ergative constructions the object of the verb is often determined and the ergative particle is obligatory. See the example below:

*khong - gis deb mang.po / kha.shas / 'di nyos - pa*

s/he+H - ERG book many / some / this buy (PAS) - FUT+EPI 3+SENS

« He is certainly going to buy many books/some books/this book. » (The speaker met him in front of a bookshop.)

## 2. Negation

The negative counterpart of *pa. 'dug* is *pa.mi. 'dug*. It expresses a high degree of the speaker's certainty (<100%<sup>163</sup>) of the non-actuality of his utterance. Otherwise, it has the same characteristics as *pa. 'dug*. Compare the sentences below:

*char.pa btang - pa.mi. 'dug*

rain VBZ - FUT+EPI 3+SENS+NEG

« It doesn't look like rain. » (The speaker bases his statement on a visual perception that the sky is clear.)

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<sup>163</sup> The percentage was suggested by my informants.

*khong - tsho spo.lo shor - pa.mi. 'dug*

s/he+H - pl ball lose - FUT+EPI 3+SENS+NEG

« They certainly won't lose the game. » (The speaker can see that they are winning now and the game is almost over.)

### 3. Person

The epistemic endings *pa. 'dug* and *pa.mi. 'dug* are frequently used with third person. When used with the first person subject, they usually combine with non-controllable verbs (ex. 289a and c) though they may sometimes be used with controllable verbs too, for ex. in predictions or prophesy (ex. 289b). In this case, the epistemic ending does not necessarily relate to the near future but to some moment in the future:

a) *nga ra.bzi - pa*

I be drunk - FUT+EPI 3+SENS

« I will certainly get drunk. » (The speaker is drinking too much *chang*.)

b) *nga dge.rgan byed - pa*

I teacher do (PRS) - FUT+EPI 3+SENS

« I will certainly become a teacher. » (The speaker predicts his future.)

c) *nga na.tsha 'di 'gos - pa.mi. 'dug*

I illness this catch - FUT+EPI 3+SENS+NEG

« I almost definitely won't catch this illness. » (The speaker often meets a friend who suffers from this illness. Someone is telling him to be careful or he will catch it too.)

\* *nga rgya.gar - la phyin - pa*

I India - OBL go (PAS) - FUT+EPI 3+SENS

Intended: « I will certainly go to India. »

In the first person subject sentences, the verb *shi* 'to die' often combines with the ending *pa. 'dug*. This combination is a metaphoric expression used to convey an extreme feeling of hunger, tiredness, etc. corresponding to "I am dying of hunger/thirst.", "I'm dead tired.":

*grod.khog ltogs - kyis nga shi - pa*  
 stomach be hungry - IMPF+SENS I die - FUT+EPI 3+SENS  
 « I'm dying of hunger. » (lit.: I'm hungry [to the point that] I will certainly die.)

#### 4. Use in conditional sentences

The endings *pa. 'dug* and *pa.mi. 'dug* may be used in real (factual, ex. 292a) and unreal (counterfactual, ex. 292b) present conditional sentences. This is illustrated by the following example:

a) *gzab.gzab ma - byas - na mo.Ta brdungs - pa*  
 attention NEG - do (PAS) - if car hit - FUT+EPI 3+SENS  
 « If [we] are not careful, we'll certainly have an accident (with the car). »

b) *nga bod.skad slob.sbyong byed - mkhan yin - na*  
 I Tibetan language study do (PRS) - NMZ be - if  
*bod - la phyin - pa*  
 Tibet - OBL go (PAS) - FUT+EPI 3+SENS  
 « If I studied Tibetan, I would certainly go to Tibet. »

#### 5. Epistemic adverbs

The endings *pa. 'dug* and *pa.mi. 'dug* are compatible with the following epistemic adverbs: *gcig.byas.na* 'perhaps', *phal.cher* 'probably', *gtan.gtan* 'certainly' and *brgya.cha.brgya* 'definitely'. Look at the example below:

*nga gtan.gtan na - pa.mi. 'dug*  
 I certainly be ill - FUT+EPI 3+SENS+NEG  
 « Surely, I won't fall ill. »

### 4.1.2. THE EPISTEMIC ENDINGS *pa.yod* AND *pa.med*

#### 1. Semantic, pragmatic and syntactic characteristics

The epistemic ending *pa.yod* has two distinct meanings depending on the context. In past contexts, it expresses a very high degree of certainty of the speaker (degree EPI 3). In future contexts, it usually implies a previous agreement between the speaker and

the other person(s). Since they spoke about what was going to happen, the speaker considers it as certain<sup>164</sup>. The ending *pa.yod* has egophoric connotations (the speaker is privy to certain information<sup>165</sup>, e.g. he talked with someone before). Thus, it is possible to translate sentences with *pa.yod* by such expressions as ‘I know that in principle’ or ‘From what I know’, ‘As far as I know’<sup>166</sup>. Both uses of *pa.yod* are frequent in the spoken language.

*rang zhe.po.cig na - pa.yod*  
 you very hurt - PFV+EPI 3+EGO  
 « It must have hurt you. » (The speaker saw someone hitting the addressee.)

Although in the future, as stated above, *pa.yod* usually implies a previous agreement between the speaker and the other person(s), there is, however, a difference between controllable and non-controllable verbs. It tends to express doubts in combinations with non-controllable verbs (e.g. *na* ‘be ill’, *rag* ‘get’) and certainty with controllable verbs. The difference is illustrated by ex. (295):

a) *khong chu.tshod dgu.pa - r phebs - pa.yod*  
 s/he+H o'clock ninth - OBL come+H - PFV+EPI 3+EGO / FUT+EGO  
 1. « He must have come at nine. »  
 2. « As far as I know, he is coming at nine. » (The speaker talked with the other person who said he would come at nine.)

Compare the above example with the sentence below containing the evidential ending *kyi.red*. In a future context, both sentences express certainty. Unlike (b), the sentence (a) implies a previous agreement or an emphasis upon the speaker’s knowledge (‘As far as I know’):

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<sup>164</sup> According to my informants, *pa.yod* only has an epistemic meaning of probability in the past, corresponding to approximately 80% of certainty. In future contexts, it expresses the speaker’s certainty (100%).

<sup>165</sup> See Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003.

<sup>166</sup> See Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003.



b) *khong chu.tshod dgu.pa - r phebs - kyi.red*  
 s/he+H o'clock ninth - OBL come+H - FUT+FACT  
 « He will come at nine. »

The ending *pa.yod* is compatible with verbs of all verbal classes and it also appears in causative constructions. The lexical verb preceding *pa.yod* is generally in the past stem. The present-future stem can also be used although it is less frequent<sup>167</sup>. According to the grammar book *Bod-kyi lha.sa-'i skad-kyi brda.sprod* (2003), when the verb is in the present-future stem, the speaker usually speaks about the future although a past interpretation is also possible. See the example below with the verb 'gro 'to go' (the past stem *phyin*, the present-future stem 'gro):

a) *khong kha.lag nyo - gag phyin - pa.yod*  
 s/he+H food buy (PRS) - PRP go (PAS) - PFV+EPI 3+EGO /FUT+EGO

b) *khong kha.lag nyo - gag 'gro - pa.yod*  
 s/he+H food buy (PRS) - PRP go (PRS) - PFV+EPI 3+EGO /FUT+EGO

1. « She must have gone to buy food. » (The speaker saw her leaving with her net-bag.)
2. « As far as I know, she is going to buy food. » (The speaker spoke about it with her. She said she would go and buy food. So the addressee of the utterance does not have to go.)

Unlike my informants, *Bod-kyi lha.sa-'i skad-kyi brda.sprod* (2003) suggests that *pa.yod* expresses probability both in the past and the future. Compare the following sentences:

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<sup>167</sup> The present-future form seems to be used rather in literary Tibetan.

- a) *kha.lag khong - gis bzo - ba.yod* (i.e. *pa.yod*)  
 meal s/he+H - ERG cook (PRS) - FUT+EPI 3+EGO/PFV+EPI 3+EGO
1. « It must be she who is going to cook. » cf. the Chinese translation: *fàn dàgài shì tā lái zuò*<sup>168</sup>
  2. « She must have cooked. » cf. the Chinese translation: *fàn dàgài tā yǐjīng zuò le*

My informants rejected the above sentence with the lexical verb in the present-future stem for the spoken language and suggested using the past stem (e.g. *bzos*), as shown in the following example. Both the past and future interpretations are possible:

- b) *kha.lag khong - gis bzos - pa.yod*  
 food s/he+H - ERG cook (PAS) - PFV+EPI 3+EGO / FUT+EGO
1. « SHE must have cooked the meal. » (The speaker saw her in the kitchen but he did not see her cooking.)
  2. « From what I know, it is she who will cook the meal. » (The speaker agreed with her on that she would cook. So for the speaker, it is sure that she will.)

As a result, other means, such as adverbials of time, temporal clauses or the context are generally important for the determination of the tense of a sentence with *pa.yod*:

- a) *pa.pha - s zla.ba dus.sang rgya.nag - la*  
 father - ERG Dawa next year China - OBL  
*'gro - ru bcug - pa.yod*  
 go (PRS) - CAUS let - FUT+EGO
- « As far as I know, father will let Dawa go to China next year. » (The speaker and father spoke about it. The decision has been taken.)

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<sup>168</sup> My informant disagreed with the Chinese translation.

*khong - gis zla.ba zla.nyin rgya.nag - la*  
 s/he+H - ERG Dawa last year China - OBL  
*'gro - ru bcug - pa.yod*  
 go (PRS) - CAUS let - PFV+EPI 3+EGO

« He must have let Dawa go to China last year. » (He said it last year. The speaker hasn't met him or Dawa since.)

## 2. Negation

The negative counterpart of *pa.yod* is *pa.med*. It expresses the speaker's persuasion of a high improbability of his utterance, corresponding to 'certainly not'. Just like *pa.yod*, it can be used for past actions (<100% of certainty) or future actions (100% of certainty). Below is an example with the negative ending *pa.med*:

*kha.lag 'di khong - gis bzos - pa.med*  
 meal this s/he+H - ERG make (PAS) - PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« As far as I know, she can't have cooked this meal. » (It tastes good when she cooks it. This one does not taste good.)

Since the object of the verb is determined ('*di*'), the above example is interpreted as the past tense. The future interpretation is possible in the following example:

*de.ring khong - gis kha.lag bzos - pa.med*  
 today s/he+H - ERG food make (PAS) - FUT+EGO+NEG

«Today she is not going to cook. » (She told the speaker she had no time. Someone else will cook.)

With some verbs, only the past interpretation is possible. See the following example with the possessive verb *rag* 'get' that can only be interpreted in the past tense:

a) *sgrol.dkar - la spa.se rag - pa.med*  
 Dolkar - OBL ticket get - PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« From what I know, Dolkar did not get the ticket/Dolkar can't have got the ticket. » (The speaker also went to buy tickets and there were only few left. She went there later.)

« \*Dolkar certainly won't get the ticket. » (\**sang.nyin* 'tomorrow')

The corresponding future negative sentence of ex. (301a) can be expressed by means of the epistemic ending *a.yong* (see 4.4.):

b) *sgrol.dkar - la sang.nyin spa.se rag - a.yong*  
 Dolkar - OBL tomorrow ticket get - PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « I doubt Dolkar will get the ticket tomorrow. » (The speaker knows there were only few tickets left today.)

### 3. Person

The endings *pa.yod* and *pa.med* are usually used with third person. It is, however, possible to use them in sentences with the first person subject. These combinations mostly appear in conditional sentences, as shown in ex. (302). However, they also appear in other sentences (past and future) than conditionals though they are rather rare (ex. 303):

*nga - r dus.tshod yod - na yul.skor - la phyin - pa.yod*  
 I - OBL time exist - if travel - OBL go (PAS) - PFV+EPI 3+EGO  
 « If I'd had time, I would have travelled. »

*nga na.tsha 'di 'gos - pa.med*  
 I illness this infect - FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « I won't catch this illness. » (The speaker is vaccinated against it.)

### 4. Use in conditional sentences

The endings *pa.yod* and *pa.med* are often used in conditional sentences to express unreal past conditions (past counterfactual; see 3.2.3.4.). Below are examples with the third person subject (ex. 304) and with the first person subject (ex. 305, see also ex. 302):

*kha.lag gang.byung mang.byung ma - bzas - na*  
 food carelessly NEG - eat (PAS) - if  
*bkra.shis na - pa.med*  
 Tashi be ill - PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « If Tashi had not eaten carelessly, he (certainly) wouldn't have got sick. »

*khong - gis nga - r rogs.pa ma - byas - na nga da.lta*  
 s/he+H - ERG I - OBL help NEG - do (PAS) - if I now  
*slob.grwa chen.mo - r 'gro thub - pa.med*  
 university - OBL go (PRS) be able - PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « If he hadn't helped me, I couldn't go to university now. »

## 5. Epistemic adverbs

The endings *pa.yod* and *pa.med* can combine with various epistemic adverbs. Below is an example of a sentence with *pa.yod* and the adverb *gcig.byas.na* 'perhaps'. In this example, it is also possible to use the adverbs *phal.cher* 'probably', *gtan.gtan* 'certainly' and *brgya.cha.brgya* 'definitely':

*mdang.dgong gcig.byas.na khong na - pa.yod*  
 last night perhaps s/he+H be ill - PFV+EPI 3+EGO  
 « He was perhaps sick last night. » (The speaker knows that the person drank a lot of *chang*.)

## 4.2. THE EPISTEMIC VERBAL ENDINGS OF THE TYPE *yod.pa.yod*

### 4.2.1. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

#### 1. Formal description

The epistemic endings of the type *yod.pa.yod* diachronically consist of the same auxiliaries (*yin*, *yod*) and nominalizers/connectors (*pa*, *gi*, *rgyu*) as evidential endings and do not contain other morphemes. The negative endings are formed by negating the final auxiliary *yod* (e.g. *yod.pa.med*), not the initial auxiliary (e.g. *\*med.pa.yod*). See the following example:

*sgrol.ma grod.khog ltogs - yod.pa.med*  
 Dolma stomach be hungry - PERF+EPI 2+EGO+NEG  
 « Dolma is probably not hungry. » (The speaker knows she ate in the morning.)

This epistemic type forms the following paradigm:

1. Affirmative endings	2. Negative endings
<i>yod.pa.yod</i>	<i>yod.pa.med</i>
<i>pa.yin.pa.yod</i>	<i>pa.yin.pa.med</i>
<i>gi.yod.pa.yod</i>	<i>gi.yod.pa.med</i>
<i>rgyu.yin.pa.yod</i>	-

Other combinations are impossible, e.g.:

\* *gi.yin.pa.yod*: \* *bzo - gi.yin.pa.yod* Intended: ‘... will probably do’

\* *yod.pa. ‘dug*: \* *bzos - yod.pa. ‘dug* Intended: ‘... probably did’

## 2. Semantic and pragmatic characteristics

The epistemic endings of the type *yod.pa.yod* imply a high degree of certainty of the speaker (degree EPI 2). They have egophoric connotations and frequently also a mnemonic<sup>169</sup> meaning (The speaker remembers something but he is not absolutely sure because, often, some time has elapsed since it happened.). Therefore, they can be translated in English by such expressions as ‘I remember that (perhaps)’ or ‘I think that it is like this (but do not remember it well)’. This type is quite common in the spoken language of Lhasa though less frequent than some other types of epistemic endings (e.g. *yod. ‘gro*, *yod.pa. ‘dra*).

*gri nga - s ‘khyer - yod.pa.yod*

knife I - ERG bring - PERF+EPI 2+EGO

« I’m pretty sure I brought that knife. » (For a picnic, the speaker has brought a lot of things but he is not absolutely sure whether he has the knife.)

Although the speaker is quite sure when uttering the above sentence, he may follow:

“Oh, I haven’t, I am wearing another jacket today. It’s in the other one.”

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<sup>169</sup> In Tournadre’s terminology, they are called ‘mnemonic auxiliaries’. See Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:339).

### 3. Person

The endings of the type *yod.pa.yod* can be used both with the third and the first person subject. Unlike some other types of epistemic endings, this type is quite easily compatible with the first person subject because of its mnemonic meaning. See the following example:

*nga lha.sa - r nyi.ma gsum bsdad - kyi.yod.pa.yod*

I Lhasa - OBL day three stay - IMPF+EPI 2+EGO

« As far as I remember, I will stay in Lhasa for three days. » (The speaker is going to many places. So he does not remember exactly how long he will stay in each place.)

### 4. Epistemic adverbs

The endings of the type *yod.pa.yod* are generally compatible with the epistemic adverbs *phal.cher* ‘(most) probably’, *gcig.byas.na* ‘perhaps’ and *gtan.gtan* ‘certainly’. The latter one expresses a higher degree of certainty than the former two adverbs. In the example below, *gtan.gtan* ‘certainly’ is used but it is also possible to use the other two epistemic adverbs:

*khong gtan.gtan slob.grwa - r 'gro - gi.yod.pa.yod*

s/he+H certainly school - OBL go (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+EGO

« She surely goes to school. » (The speaker knows that she has the same age as his daughter.)

### 5. Copulas *yin.pa.yod/yin.pa.med* and *yod.pa.yod/yod.pa.med*

The copulas *yin.pa.yod/yin.pa.med* and *yod.pa.yod/yod.pa.med* are often, though not exclusively, used in past contexts implying the meaning of ‘As far as I remember, ... probably was/were ...’. Below are examples of their present and past uses:

A: *lde.mig yod - pas*

key exist - Q

B: *phal.cher yod.pa.yod*

perhaps exist (EPI 2+EGO)

A: « Have you got the key? » B: « I’m pretty sure I have. / As far as I can remember, I have. »

*khong snga.ma kha.lo.pa yin.pa.yod*

s/he+H before driver be (EPI 2+EGO)

« As far as I remember, he was a driver before. » (The speaker knows that the person can drive a car well.)

#### 4.2.2. DESCRIPTION OF THE ENDINGS

##### 1. The verbal endings of the present perfect *yod.pa.yod* and *yod.pa.med*

The endings *yod.pa.yod* and *yod.pa.med* are used in present perfect contexts usually when the speaker reminds himself of something but not clearly. When the subject is third person, they are compatible with all verbal classes and may appear in causative constructions as well. Concerning the first person subject, these endings are not used in affective constructions (ex. 315) but are compatible with verbs of the other verbal classes. The use of *yod.pa.yod* is illustrated below:

*khong - gis kha.lag bzas - yod.pa.yod*

s/he+H - ERG food eat (PAS) - PERF+EPI 2+EGO

« She most probably ate. » (The speaker saw her going to the restaurant.)

*khong da.lta bzhugs - yod.pa.yod*

s/he+H now stay+H - PERF+EPI 2+EGO

« Most probably, he is in now. » (The speaker saw him going home some time ago.)

\* *nga khong - la yid.ches / dga' - yod.pa.yod*

I s/he+H - OBL believe / love - PERF+EPI 2+EGO

Intended: « As far as I remember, I believed/loved him. »

According to some informants, *yod.pa.yod* and *yod.pa.med* may also be used in conditional counterfactual sentences (unreal past conditions). However, this is rejected by other informants. Look at the following examples:

a) ! *khyed.rang ma - phebs - na nga shi - yod.pa.yod*

you+H NEG - come+H - if I die - PERF+EPI 2+EGO

« If you had not come, I would most probably have died. »



b) ! *khyed.rang ma - phebs - na khong shi - yod.pa.yod*  
 you+H NEG - come+H - if s/he+H die - PERF+EPI 2+EGO  
 « If you had not come, she would most probably have died. »

## 2. The verbal endings of the perfective past *pa.yin.pa.yod* and *pa.yin.pa.med*

The endings *pa.yin.pa.yod* and *pa.yin.pa.med* also indicate that the speaker reminds himself of a past action but is not absolutely sure. They are generally less frequent in SST than the present perfect endings of this type and their use with different verbs is more restricted. They are usually used with controllable verbs and the third person subject. The scope of probability is often aimed at the subject (agent) or the predicate (action of the verb), i.e. there is a close relation between the ending and the agent or the action. See the following example:

*ri.mo 'di khong - gis bris - pa.yin.pa.yod*  
 painting this s/he+H - ERG draw - PFV+EPI 2+EGO  
 « I remember it is probably he who drew the picture. » (i.e. The picture exists but it is not sure whether it was he who drew it.)

The endings *pa.yin.pa.yod* and *pa.yin.pa.med* are, in general, not used with non-controllable verbs (ex. 319a). Instead, the present perfect endings *yod.pa.yod* and *yod.pa.med* are used (ex. 319b). This demonstrates that the use of the present perfect endings is less restricted:

a) \* *khong mi 'di - r zhed - pa.yin.pa.yod*  
 s/he+H person this - OBL be afraid - PFV+EPI 2+EGO  
 Intended: « I think she must have been afraid of that person. »

b) *khong mi 'di - r zhed - yod.pa.yod*  
 s/he+H person this - OBL be afraid - PERF+EPI 2+EGO  
 « I think she must have been afraid of that person. » (The speaker remembers her behaviour.)

Moreover, the endings *pa.yin.pa.yod* and *pa.yin.pa.med* only rarely combine with the first person subject. Below is an example with first person:

*ri.mo 'di nga - s bris - pa.yin.pa.yod / pa.yin.pa.med*

picture this I - ERG draw - PFV+EPI 2+EGO / PFV+EPI 2+EGO+NEG

« As far as I can remember, I drew/didn't draw this picture. » (The speaker judges from the style of the picture.)

3. The verbal endings of the imperfective past and the present (and the future as a secondary meaning) *gi.yod.pa.yod* and *gi.yod.pa.med*

The endings *gi.yod.pa.yod* and *gi.yod.pa.med* are used in present, future or imperfective past contexts, usually when the speaker does not remember the action clearly. They are compatible with verbs of all verbal classes and may appear in causative constructions with both the third and first person subjects. See the following examples:

a) *khong chu.tshod gnyis.pa - r yong - gi.yod.pa.yod*

s/he+H o'clock second - OBL come - IMPF+EPI 2+EGO

« She should come at two o'clock. » (She called and said she would come. The speaker thinks it is at two that she is coming but he is not sure.)

b) *khong bod.skad shes - gi.yod.pa.med*

s/he+H Tibetan language know - IMPF+EPI 2+EGO+NEG

« From what I know, he doesn't know Tibetan. » (The speaker and the person spoke Chinese together.)

c) *khong slebs dus nga yi.ge bris - gi.yod.pa.yod*

s/he+H come when I letter write - IMPF+EPI 2+EGO

« I'm pretty sure I was writing letters when he came. » (The speaker bases his statement on his memory.)

The endings *gi.yod.pa.yod* and *gi.yod.pa.med* imply repeated actions in present-future contexts. A single action is expressed by other means, e.g. by a construction with the nominalizer *mkhan*, as shown in ex. (321a; see also 2.2.2.4.1). Compare the following sentences:

a) *khong phyi.logs - la kha.lag za - gi.yod.pa.yod*  
 s/he+H outside - OBL meal eat (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+EGO  
 « From what I know, he eats out. » (The speaker can never see him in the canteen.)

b) *khong do.dgongs phyi.logs - la kha.lag za - gag*  
 s/he+H tonight outside - OBL meal eat (PRS) - PRP  
 'gro - mkhan : yin.pa.yod  
 go (PRS) - NMZ : AUX (EPI 2+EGO)  
 « As far as I can remember, he is eating out tonight. » (The speaker heard him talking about the dinner in the morning.)

#### 4. The verbal ending of the (deontic) future *rgyu.yin.pa.yod*

The ending *rgyu.yin.pa.yod* is used for future actions that are intended/need to be done and it corresponds in English to 'probably intend to do because one has not done yet' (the speaker does not remember for sure). It has no negative counterpart. It is preceded by the present-future stem of the lexical verb. It is rarely used with the first person subject. The use of this epistemic ending is illustrated by the following example:

*khyed.rang zhal.lag mchod - rgyu.yin.pa.yod*<sup>170</sup>  
 you+H meal+H eat+H - FUT+EPI 2+EGO  
 « Most probably, you have yet to eat. » (i.e. You probably haven't eaten yet. You had a meeting at noon.)

#### 4.2.3. CONCLUSION

The type *yod.pa.yod* confirms the hypotheses about the difference in the scope of epistemic modality between the present perfect endings and the perfective past endings and about the lower frequency of the perfective past endings. Furthermore, since this type of epistemic endings has a mnemonic meaning, it appears to be easier to combine its endings with the first person subject implying that the speaker does not

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<sup>170</sup> This example is taken from *Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo* (1993:2580).

remember something well. Finally, there is some disagreement among native speakers concerning the acceptability of the past endings *yod.pa.yod* and *yod.pa.med* in past counterfactual conditionals.

### 4.3. THE EPISTEMIC VERBAL ENDINGS OF THE TYPE *yong.nga.yod*

#### 4.3.1. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

##### 1. Formal description

This type of endings diachronically consists of the auxiliary *yong*, followed by the connector *ba*, pronounced *nga*<sup>171</sup> in the spoken language, and the auxiliary *yod*. Negative endings are formed by negating the final auxiliary *yod*, e.g. *yod.pa.med*. This is illustrated by the following example:

*khong phyin - yong.nga.med*  
 s/he+H go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 2+EGO+NEG  
 « She most probably didn't go. »

This type forms the following paradigm:

1. Affirmative endings	2. Negative endings
<i>yong.nga.yod</i>	<i>yong.nga.med</i>
<i>gi.yong.nga.yod</i>	<i>gi.yong.nga.med</i>
<i>rgyu.yong.nga.yod</i>	-

Other endings do not exist, e.g. *\*yong.nga.'dug*, *\*yong.nga.yod.red*, *\*pa.yong.nga.yod*, as shown in the example below:

*\*khong kha.lag bzos - pa.yong.nga.yod*  
 s/he+H meal cook (PAS) - PERF+EPI 2+EGO  
 Intended: « She most probably cooked. »

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<sup>171</sup> The pronunciation is influenced by the preceding auxiliary *yong*.

## 2. Semantic and pragmatic characteristics

The endings of the type *yong.nga.yod* resemble the type *yod.pa.yod*. They express a rather high degree of certainty of the speaker (degree EPI 2) and they have egophoric connotations. This type is quite frequent in spoken Standard Tibetan. Furthermore, it was suggested that this type was used more often by those Tibetans who do not speak Chinese<sup>172</sup>.

## 3. Person

The endings of the type *yong.nga.yod* can be used both with the third and the first person subject. As a general rule, sentences with third person are more common in SST. See the following examples with the third (a) and the first (b) person subject:

- a) *khri khong - gis 'khyer - yong.nga.yod*  
knife s/he+H - ERG bring - PERF+EPI 2+EGO  
« Most probably, HE has the knife. » (The speaker knows that the person is responsible of the kitchen utensils.)

- khri nga - s 'khyer - yong.nga.yod*  
knife I - ERG bring - PERF+EPI 2+EGO  
« I'm pretty sure I have the knife. » (The speaker has brought a lot of things for the picnic but he is not absolutely sure if he has the knife.)

## 4. Epistemic adverbs

The endings of the type *yong.nga.yod* are compatible with the epistemic adverbs *phal.cher* '(most) probably', *gcig.byas.na* 'perhaps' and *gtan.gtan* 'certainly'. They modify the degree of certainty the speaker has towards his utterance. Compare the examples below: (b) implies a higher degree of certainty than (a) because of the use of the adverb *gtan.gtan* 'certainly':

- a) *sgrol.ma phal.cher dbyin.ji.skad sbyangs - kyi.yong.nga.yod*  
Dolma probably English language learn - IMPF+EPI 2+EGO  
« Dolma probably learns English. » (The speaker met Dolma and she said

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<sup>172</sup> Sangda Dorje (personal communication).

she would buy an English textbook.)

b) *sgrol.ma gtan.gtan dbyin.ji.skad sbyangs - kyi.yong.nga.yod*

Dolma      certainly      English language      learn      - IMPF+EPI 2+EGO

« Dolma surely learns English. » (The speaker met Dolma and she said she would go to the English classes.)

### 5. Copulas *yong.nga.yod/yong.nga.med*

Unlike other epistemic types, there are only two copulas corresponding to this type of epistemic endings. These are *yong.nga.yod* and *yong.nga.med*. They are existential copulas and cannot be used as essential copulas (ex. 328a). Compare the following examples:

*khong bal.yul - la yong.nga.yod*

s/he+H      Nepal      - OBL exist (EPI 2+EGO)

« She is probably in Nepal. » (The speaker met her in India. She told him she would go to Nepal soon. Now he is back in Tibet and the people ask him where she is.)

a) \**khong dge.rgan yong.nga.yod*

s/he+H      teacher      be (EPI 2+EGO)

Intended: « She is probably a teacher. »

b) *khong dge.rgan byas - na yong.nga.yod*

s/he+H      teacher      do (PAS) - if      exist (EPI 2+EGO)

« She could be a teacher. » (lit.: If she works [as] a teacher, it is probable.)

## 4.3.2. DESCRIPTION OF THE ENDINGS

### 1. The verbal endings of the present perfect *yong.nga.yod* and *yong.nga.med*

The endings *yong.nga.yod* and *yong.nga.med* are used in perfective past and immediate present contexts. They are compatible with all verbal classes when the subject is third person. With the first person subject, their use is more restricted. These endings can also be used in conditional sentences (ex. 331). See the examples below:

*khong lo nyi.shu - la slebs - yong.nga.yod*

s/he+H year twenty - OBL come - PERF+EPI 2+EGO

« She is probably twenty. » (When the speaker first met him, his daughter was about ten years old. It was approximately ten years ago.)

*khong bzhugs - yong.nga.med*

s/he+H stay+H - PERF+EPI 2+EGO+NEG

« Most probably, he is not in now. » (He told the speaker he was going shopping today.)

a) *khyed.rang ma - phebs - na khong shi - yong.nga.yod*

you+H NEG - come+H - if s/he+H die - PERF+EPI 2+EGO

« If you had not come, he would most probably have died. »

b) *khyed.rang ma - phebs - na nga shi - yong.nga.yod*

you+H NEG - come+H - if I die - PERF+EPI 2+EGO

« If you had not come, I would most probably have died. »

### 3. The verbal endings of the imperfective past and the present (and the future as a secondary meaning) *gi.yong.nga.yod* and *gi.yong.nga.med*

The endings *gi.yong.nga.yod* and *gi.yong.nga.med* are used in imperfective contexts. They can combine with different verbal classes and the third and first person subjects. However, their use with the affective verbs is more restricted (ex. 334). Their use is illustrated by the following sentences:

*sgrol.ma da.lta yong - gi.yong.nga.yod*

Dolma now come - IMPF+EPI 2+EGO

« Dolma is probably on her way here. » (When the speaker met her she said she would come to the same restaurant he was going. Now he is in the restaurant but she is not there yet.)

*khong phal.cher na - gi.yong.nga.yod*

s/he+H perhaps be ill - IMPF+EPI 2+EGO

« Most probably, she is ill. » (She often puts her hand on the belly.)

The combination with the affective verb *dga* ‘love’ was rejected (ex. 334a). Instead, the sentence with *dga* ‘po followed by the copula *yong.nga.yod* meaning ‘to probably like’ was suggested (ex. 334b):

a) \* *khong sgrol.dkar - la dga* ‘ - *gi.yong.nga.yod*  
 s/he+H Dolkar - OBL love - IMPF+EPI 2+EGO

Intended: « He most probably loves Dolkar. »

b) *khong sgrol.dkar - la dga* ‘po *yong.nga.yod*  
 s/he+H Dolkar - OBL like exist (EPI 2+EGO)

« He most probably likes Dolkar. » (The speaker knows that the person helped her a lot.)

#### 4. The verbal ending of the (deontic) future *rgyu.yong.nga.yod*

The ending *rgyu.yong.nga.yod* is used for future actions that are probably intended/need to be done and it corresponds in English to ‘probably intend to do because one has not done yet’. It is preceded by the present-future stem of the lexical verb. It has no negative counterpart. The ending rarely combines with the first person subject. See the following example:

*mi kha.shas za - rgyu.yong.nga.yod*  
 person several eat (PRS) - FUT+EPI 2+EGO

« Some people have probably yet to eat. » (There is still a lot of food left.)

### **4.3.3. CONCLUSION**

The endings of the type *yong.nga.yod* differ from other epistemic types by the absence of the perfective past endings. Moreover, there are no corresponding essential copulas. This type confirms the hypothesis about the lower frequency of sentences with the first person subject. Its endings may appear in conditional sentences.



## 4.4. THE EPISTEMIC VERBAL ENDINGS WITH THE MORPHEME *a*

### 4.4.1. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

#### 1. Formal description

This type of epistemic endings diachronically consists of a nominalizer/connector, the morpheme *a* (*e*<sup>173</sup>) and an auxiliary. There are no formally negative equivalents of these endings in spoken Standard Tibetan. Below is an example of this type of endings:

*pa.pha - s chang btungs - a.yong*  
father - ERG *chang* drink - PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
« I do not think father will drink *chang*. »

This epistemic type forms the following paradigm:

<i>a.yod</i>	* <i>a.med</i>
<i>pa.a.yin</i>	* <i>pa.a.min</i>
<i>gi.a.yod</i>	* <i>gi.a.med</i>
<i>a.yong</i>	* <i>a.ma.yong</i>
<i>rgyu.a.yin</i>	* <i>rgyu.a.min</i>

Other endings do not exist, e.g. \**gi.a.yong*, \**pa.a.yong*, \**gi.a.yin*. Look at the following example:

\**khong las.ka byed - kyi.a.yin*  
s/he+H work do (PRS) - FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
Intended: « I doubt she will work. »

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<sup>173</sup> The morpheme *e* is, in general, pronounced [a] in Lhasa. In the Amdo and Kham dialects, *e* is used to form questions, e.g. *kho - gis za.ma za e tshar - thal* 'Has he eaten?' (Kham). In classical Tibetan, *e* is an interrogative particle. The epistemic meaning of *a*-endings in SST is related to the interrogative meaning of *e* in literary Tibetan.

## 2. Semantic and pragmatic characteristics

The epistemic endings with the morpheme *a* (diachronically interrogative) have negative polarity: they imply a high degree of the speaker's certainty of the non-actuality of his utterance. He has serious doubts, close to negative certainty (degree EPI 3). These endings have egophoric connotations and correspond to the English expressions such as: 'I don't think that', 'I doubt'.<sup>174</sup> They are very common in spoken Standard Tibetan. Apart from the epistemic meaning, this type also often conveys other secondary meanings:

1) The speaker is surprised and does not believe what he is being told. A possible translation is 'I should be surprised if'. See the following example:

A: *kho rgya.gar - la phyin - song*      B: *a.yin*  
he India - OBL go (PAS) - PFV+SENS be (EPI3+EGO+NEG)  
A: « He went to India. »      B: « Oh, really./Impossible. »

2) The speaker hopes that the action of his utterance took, takes or will take place (or not). This use is an example of apprehensional epistemics, as discussed in 1.3.2.1., with both epistemic and attitudinal meanings present simultaneously. A possible translation is 'I wish I/he (did) ....'. Look at the following example:

*nga a.yin*  
I be (EPI 3+EGO+NEG)  
« I hope it doesn't fall on me. /If only it weren't me. » (During the meeting, someone will be chosen to do some extra work.)

3) This type is also used to form a polite request. In this case, it is followed by the final particle *na* (used to make the request less direct). See the example below:

*khong bzhugs - a.yod*      - *na*  
s/he+H stay+H - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG - POLITE  
« I wonder, is he in? »

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<sup>174</sup> See Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:313).

4) The speaker is afraid that the action did not, does not or will not take place:

*khong 'gro thub - a.yong*<sup>175</sup>  
s/he+H go (PRS) can - PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
« I'm afraid she won't be able to go. »

The above secondary meanings of this type of epistemic endings and copulas are very common in SST except the interrogative function, which is rather rare. Instead, the evidential endings with the interrogative particles (*pas, gas*) are used<sup>176</sup>.

### 3. Person

The endings of the type *a.yod* usually combine with the third person subject. The first person subject sentences are less frequent and more restricted, e.g. first person combines more easily with perfective endings (e.g. the perfective future ending *a.yong*) than with imperfective endings (e.g. the imperfective ending *gi.a.yod*), as shown in the following example:

a) *nga ngu shor - a.yong*  
I cry VBZ - PERF FUT+EGO+EPI 3+NEG  
« I doubt I will cry. » (The speaker is going to watch a sad movie. He bases his statement on personal experience.)

b) \**nga ngu shor - gyi.a.yod*  
I cry VBZ - IMPF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
Intended: « I doubt I will cry. »

### 4. Use in conditional sentences

This type of epistemic endings may be used in conditional sentences. Its endings appear both in factual and counterfactual conditions. Below is an example of the factual condition:

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<sup>175</sup> This sentence was translated into Chinese in the following way: *wǒ kǒngpà tā bù kěyǐ qù*. i.e. 'I'm afraid he won't be able to go.'

<sup>176</sup> Cf. *khong bzhugs - 'dug - gas*  
s/he+H stay+H - PERF+SENS - Q  
« Is he in? »

*sman 'di bzas - na khong - gi na.tsha*  
 medicine this eat (PAS) - if s/he+H - GEN illness  
*drag - a.yong*  
 cure - PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « I don't think she will recover if she takes this medicine. »

## 5. Epistemic adverbs

It is possible to combine the endings of the type *a.yod* with the epistemic adverbs *phal.cher* '(most) probably' and *gcig.byas.na* 'perhaps'. These adverbs modify the speaker's degree of certainty. However, sentences without an epistemic adverb are more frequent. Although it is not excluded to combine the adverbs *gtan.gtan* 'certainly' and *brgya.cha.rgya* 'definitely' with this type of endings, such sentences are rare and often problematic. They emphasize the speaker's high degree of certainty of the non-actuality of his utterance. Compare the following examples:

- a) *gcig.byas.na khong nga - r dga' - gi.a.yod*  
 perhaps s/he+H I - OBL love - IMPF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 1. « Perhaps, she doesn't love me. » (The speaker judges from her behaviour to him.)  
 2. « I wish she loved me. » (expressing the speaker's hope or fear)
- b) A: *khong nang - la bzhugs - 'dug - gas*  
 s/he+H home - OBL stay+H - PERF+SENS - Q  
 B: *phal.cher gzhugs - a.yod*  
 probably stay+H - PERF+ EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 A : « Is he at home? » B: « I doubt it. » (The speaker bases himself on his personal knowledge of that person's habits.)
- c) !! *khong gtan.gtan yong - a.yong*  
 s/he+H certainly come - PERF FUT+ EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « I really doubt he will come. » (It is late now.)

In the above example (344c), the use of the adverb *phal.cher* '(most) probably' was rather suggested instead of *gtan.gtan*.

## 6. Copulas *a.yin* and *a.yod*

The epistemic copulas *a.yod* and *a.yin* are frequent in Lhasa Tibetan and may have the same meanings as the endings of this type: doubt, surprise, hope, a polite question. In the spoken language, the copula *a.yin* is often used to express the speaker's surprise (see ex. 338 above). Below is an example of the use of the copula *a.yod* in a polite question:

*khyed.rang - la smyu.gu gnyis a.yod - na*  
you+H - OBL pen two exist (EPI 3+EGO+NEG) - POLITE  
« Do you have two pens [please]?/I wonder, do you have two pens? »

### 4.4.2. DESCRIPTION OF THE ENDINGS

#### 1. The verbal ending of the present perfect *a.yod*

The epistemic ending *a.yod* is used to express doubts and other secondary meanings in past contexts that are often related to the present. With the third person subject, it can combine with verbs of all verbal classes. In sentences with the first person subject, *a.yod* is generally not used with affective verbs. Compare the examples below:

*bstan. 'dzin - la las.ka 'di rag - a.yod*  
Tenzin - OBL work this get - PERF+ EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
« I doubt Tenzin got the job. » (The speaker knows that Tenzin is not qualified for it.)

*nga - s spu.gu a.rag btungs - ru bcug - a.yod*  
I - ERG child alcohol drink - CAUS let - PERF+ EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
« I doubt I let the child drink alcohol. »

*deng.sang khong bzhugs - a.yod*  
these days s/he+H stay+H - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
« I doubt he is at home these days. » (lit.: I doubt he is staying at home these days.)

The above sentence has a similar meaning to that with the ending *kyi.a.yod* (ex. 349).

However, there is an aspectual difference (perfective vs. imperfective). Although *a.yod* can appear in present contexts, it cannot be used in the future (ex. 350). Look at the examples below:

*deng.sang khong bzhugs - kyi.a.yod*

recently s/he+H stay+H - IMPF+ EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I doubt he is at home these days. » (lit.: I doubt he stays at home these days.)

\* *nga sang.nyin yong - na khyed.rang bzhugs*

I tomorrow come - if you+H stay+H

- *a.yod* - *na*

- FUT+ EPI 3+EGO+NEG - POLITE

Intended: « I wonder whether you will be at home if I come tomorrow. »

## 2. The verbal ending of the perfective past *pa.a.yin*

The epistemic ending *pa.a.yin* is quite common in SST in past contexts expressing the speaker's doubts, surprise, hope. It has a partial scope (highlighting one part of the sentence, often the agent). It can combine with different verbal classes. It is, however, subject to certain restrictions. In ex. (351), for example, the direct object must be determined (e.g. by '*di* 'this') and it rather precedes the subject. This is linked to the fact that the focus position is before the verb. Since in this example the focus lies on the agent, the object is moved to the subject position and the agent occupies its place. Moreover, the scope of epistemic modality is linked to the focused element. As a result, (351b) is more frequent than (351c):

a) \* *las.ka khong - gis byas - pa.a.yin*

work s/he - ERG do(PAS) - PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

Intended: « I doubt HE worked. »

b) *las.ka 'di khong - gis byas - pa.a.yin*

work this s/he+H - ERG do(PAS) - PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I doubt HE did this work. » (He usually doesn't do this work. The speaker bases himself on personal experience.)

c) *khong - gis las.ka 'di byas - pa.a.yin*  
 s/he+H - ERG work this do (PAS) - PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « I doubt it was he who did this work. » (*idem.*)

### The differences between the endings *a.yod* and *pa.a.yin*

1. The epistemic ending *a.yod* is used in more contexts (cf. the use of *a.yod* in the present tense, ex. 348) and has fewer restrictions than *pa.a.yin*. The ending *pa.a.yin* is usually used with controllable verbs and has more syntactic constraints than *a.yod*, as shown in ex. (352). In this example, unlike *a.yod* (ex. 352c), the sentence with *pa.a.yin* has to contain an adverbial of means, place or time (ex. 352b), otherwise it is ungrammatical (ex. 352a):

a) \* *khong phyin - pa.a.yin*  
 s/he+H go (PAS) - PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 Intended: « I doubt she went (there). »

b) *khong gnam.gru - la phyin - pa.a.yin*  
 s/he+H airplane - OBL go (PAS) - PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « I doubt that she went by plane. » (The speaker knows she is afraid of travelling by plane.)

*khong phyin - a.yod*  
 s/he+H go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG  
 « I doubt she went [there]. » (The speaker knows that she always calls when she goes there.)

2. The scope of negation of the two endings is different. The ending *pa.a.yin* negates a part of the sentence, e.g. the adverbial or the subject but rarely the whole sentence. *A.yod* may either have the same meaning as *pa.a.yin* or more frequently, it relates to the whole sentence (The speaker does not think that the action of the sentence came into effect at all.). Compare the examples below:

a) *khong - gis lam.khag bkag - a.yod*

s/he+H - ERG road block - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

1. « I doubt he blocked the road. » (The speaker thinks that the person is too weak to do it.)

2. « I doubt it was he who blocked the road. » (The speaker thinks that someone else than the subject did it.)

b) *khong - gis lam.khag bkag - pa.a.yin*

s/he+H - ERG road block - PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I doubt it was he who blocked the road. » (The speaker thinks that someone else did it.)

3. From a semantic point of view, *pa.a.yin* may imply hope (the speaker hopes the action was not carried out) but *a.yod* usually does not have such connotations. Compare the following sentences:

a) *khong bu.mo de - la dga' - a.yod*

s/he+H girl that - OBL love - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I do not think he loved that girl. » (The speaker knows the person's preference.)

b) *khong bu.mo de - la dga' - pa.a.yin*

s/he+H girl that - OBL love - PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I hope he did not love that girl. »

4. Unlike *pa.a.yin*, the ending *a.yod* may be preceded by the secondary verb *myong*:

a) *khong khyi de - la zhed - a.yod*

s/he+H dog that - OBL be afraid - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I do not think she was afraid of that dog. » (The dog is big but the speaker knows she is not afraid of dogs.)

b) *khong khyi de - la zhed myong - a.yod*

s/he+H dog that - OBL be afraid experience - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I do not think she was ever afraid of that dog. »



c) *khong khyi de - la zhed - pa.a.yin*

s/he+H dog that - OBL be afraid - PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I doubt she was afraid of THAT dog. » (That dog is small. The speaker thinks she is not afraid of small dogs.)

d) \**khong khyi de - la zhed myong - pa.a.yin*

s/he+H dog that - OBL be afraid experience - PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

Intended: « I doubt she was ever afraid of that dog. »

5. First person subject: Both past endings, *a.yod* and *pa.a.yin*, can be used with the first person subject but they convey different meanings: doubts versus surprise, respectively. In the following example, moreover, (b) with the ending *pa.a.yin* is less frequent than (a) with the ending *a.yod*:

a) *nga sa.cha 'di - r slebs - a.yod*<sup>177</sup>

I place this - OBL come - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I do not think I have been to this place. » (The place doesn't look familiar to the speaker.)

b) *nga sa.cha 'di - r slebs - pa.a.yin*

I place this - OBL come - PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I would be surprised if I have been to this place before. » (The speaker's reaction to someone else's saying that he has been to this place; he is surprised and does not think so.)

6. The ending *a.yod* does not directly combine with the affective verbs in sentences with the first person subject. They either combine with the ending *pa.a.yin* or they are followed by the secondary verb *myong* and then by the ending *a.yod* (implying that the speaker does not remember if the action happened or he does not believe it). Compare the sentences below:

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<sup>177</sup> This sentence is similar to the sentence with the secondary verb *myong* 'experience', i.e. ... *slebs myong - a.yod*.

a) \**nga khong - la dga' - a.yod*

I s/he+H - OBL love - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

Intended: « I don't think I loved her. »

*nga khong - la dga' - pa.a.yin*

I s/he+H - OBL love - PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I don't think I loved her. » (The speaker is deliberating.)

*nga khong - la zhed myong - a.yod*

I s/he+H - OBL be afraid experience - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I doubt I have ever been afraid of her. » (Someone told the speaker that he had been afraid but the speaker disagrees.)

### 3. The verbal ending of the imperfective past and the present (and the future as a secondary meaning) *gi.a.yod*

The epistemic ending *gi.a.yod* is usually used for repeated actions in the past and the present. Moreover, it appears in future contexts. Concerning the third person subject, *gi.a.yod* can combine with verbs of all verbal classes and can also be used in causative constructions. It is rarely used with the first person subject. The use of this epistemic ending is illustrated in the sentences below:

*pad.ma slob.sbyong byed - kyi.a.yod*

Pema study do (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I don't think that Pema studies. » (The speaker knows that Pema's family have no money.)

*pa.pha - s nyi.ma rgya.gar - la 'gro bcug - gi.a.yod*

father - ERG Nyima India - OBL go (PRS) let - IMPF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I doubt father will let Nyima go to India. » (The speaker thinks so because Nyima is too young.)

### 4. The verbal ending of the future *a.yong*

The ending *a.yong* is generally used in perfective future contexts and it often conveys the meaning of hope. It can be used both with the third and first person subjects. This epistemic ending can combine with verbs of all verbal classes and can be used in

causative constructions. The lexical verb is in the past stem (ex. 362). The use of *a.yong* is illustrated by the following examples:

a) *khong sang.nyin phyin - a.yong*

s/he+H tomorrow go (PAS) - PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

1. « I doubt he will go tomorrow. »

2. « I wish he didn't go tomorrow. » (the speaker's hope)

b) \* *khong sang.nyin 'gro - a.yong*

s/he+H tomorrow go (PRS) - PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

Intended: « I doubt he will go tomorrow. »

*nga - r dngul rag - a.yong*

I - OBL money get - PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

1. « I doubt I will get the money. » (Father married again and then he died.

It will be difficult to get his money.)

2. « I wish I got the money. » (the speaker's hope)

There is an expression *yong - a.yong* that has a similar meaning as *'grig - kyi.ma.red* or *yong - gi.ma.red* 'It is not possible.' These expressions are, however, more frequent in Lhasa Tibetan than the expression *yong - a.yong*.

*'di.dras byas - na yong - a.yong*

like this do (PAS) - if be possible - PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I do not think it is possible to do it like this. » (Basing himself on his experience with this kind of work, the speaker is rather convinced that it won't be possible to do it like this.)

### **The differences between the endings *gi.a.yod* and *a.yong***

1. Although both endings may appear in future contexts, they differ in the aspectual value: *a.yong* implies the perfective aspect and is, therefore, used for single future actions (expressing the speaker's doubts towards the actuality of a single action), whereas *gi.a.yod* conveys the imperfective aspect and is, thus, used for repeated and generic actions (the speaker knows that the action in question does not usually

produce and, consequently, he deduces that it will not be produced in the future either). Compare the following examples:

a) *khong do.dgong yong - a.yong*

s/he+H tonight come - PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I don't think he will come tonight. » (The speaker knows that the person is busy today.)

b) *khong do.dgong yong - gi.a.yod*

s/he+H tonight come - IMPF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I don't think he is coming tonight. » (The speaker knows that the person doesn't usually come.)

2. Concerning the parameter of person, as stated above, the ending *gi.a.yod* is generally used with the third person subject, whereas *a.yong* is compatible both with the third and first person subjects. This is illustrated in the examples below:

a) *khong - la dngul rag - gi.a.yod*

s/he+H - OBL money get - IMPF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I do not think he will get [some] money. » (The speaker knows that the person doesn't usually get any.)

b) \* *nga - la dngul rag - gi.a.yod*

I - OBL money get - IMPF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

Intended: « I do not think I will get [some] money. »

a) *khong - gis chang btungs - a.yong*

s/he+H - ERG chang drink - PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I doubt she will drink *chang*. » (The speaker knows that she drank a lot last night.)

b) *lo.gsar - la nga - s chang btungs - a.yong*

New year - OBL I - ERG *chang* drink - PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I doubt I'll drink *chang* at New Year. » (The speaker doesn't like *chang* but everyone drinks it at Losar. So he doesn't completely exclude the possibility of his drinking *chang*.)

#### 5. The verbal ending of the (deontic) future *rgyu.a.yin*

The ending *rgyu.a.yin* is used in future contexts to express that the speaker thinks the action of the sentence does not need to be done because it has most probably been done. The lexical verb preceding this ending is in the present-future stem. The ending is not very frequent in the spoken language and it is rarely used with the first person subject. Look at the following example:

*khong las.ka byed - rgyu.a.yin*

s/he+H work do (PRS) - FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I don't think he has yet to work. » (The speaker thinks the person has already done the work.)

### **4.4.3. CONCLUSION**

The endings of the type *a.yod* imply a wide range of meanings such as doubt, hope or fear. They are very frequent in the spoken language, especially the copula *a.yin* that conveys the meaning of surprise. This type confirms the hypotheses about more constraints on the use of epistemic endings with the first person subject, about the difference in the scope of epistemic modality between the past endings, and about the frequency of the future (deontic) endings. Moreover, this type of epistemic endings can be used in conditionals.

## 4.5. THE EPISTEMIC VERBAL ENDINGS OF THE TYPE *yod.kyi.red*

### 4.5.1. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

#### 1. Formal description

This type of epistemic endings diachronically consists of a nominalizer/connector and an auxiliary followed by the second suffix *gi.red*, e.g. *gi.yod.gyi.red*. The affirmative sentences with the type *yod.kyi.red* are negated by adding the negative particle *ma* in front of the auxiliary *red*, e.g. *yod.kyi.ma.red*, *gi.yod.kyi.ma.red*. In the case of *pa.yin.gyi.red* it is also possible to put the negative particle *ma* in front of the verb. See the following examples:

a) *khong khyi 'di - r zhed - yod.kyi.red*  
s/he+H dog this - OBL be afraid - PERF+EPI 2+FACT  
« She was probably afraid of the dog. »

b) *khong khyi 'di - r zhed - yod.kyi.ma.red*  
s/he+H dog this - OBL be afraid - PERF+EPI 2+FACT+NEG  
« She probably wasn't afraid of the dog. »

*khong - gis las.ka ma - byas - pa.yin.gyi.red*  
s/he+H - ERG work NEG - do (PAS) - PFV+EPI 2+FACT  
« It is most probable that she didn't work. »

The informants from the exile community (India) also accepted negative endings formed by negating the copulas *med* and *min*, e.g. *gi.med.kyi.red*, *pa.min.gyi.red*. However, they preferred the negative endings with the negative particle *ma*. The endings with *med* and *min* were refused by the informants from Lhasa. Look at the example below:

! *khong las.ka byed - kyi.med.kyi.red*  
s/he+H work do (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT+NEG  
« She most probably doesn't work. »

This type forms the following paradigm:

Affirmative endings:	Negative endings:	
	Lhasa:	Diaspora also:
<i>yod.kyi.red</i>	<i>yod.kyi.ma.red</i>	<i>med.kyi.red</i>
<i>pa.yin.gyi.red</i>	<i>pa.yin.gyi.ma.red</i>	<i>pa.min.gyi.red</i>
<i>gi.yod.kyi.red</i>	<i>gi.yod.kyi.ma.red</i>	<i>gi.med.kyi.red</i>
<i>rgyu.yin.gyi.red</i>	-	-

Other combinations are impossible, e.g. \**gi.yin.gyi.red*.

## 2. Semantic and pragmatic characteristics

The degree of certainty expressed by the epistemic endings of the type *yod.kyi.red* is rather high (higher than that of *yod.* 'gro and lower than *pa.* 'dug) and it corresponds to degree EPI 2. Using this type, the speaker bases himself on logical reasoning. Thus, it has a factual meaning. Nevertheless, some authors also claim that the source of information is the speaker's experience or feelings<sup>178</sup>, which would imply egophoric connotations. As a result, this type should be viewed as internal and more subjective compared to other types (e.g. *yod.pa.* 'dra, *yod.* 'gro). It is very frequently used in SST.

*khong pha.ma dran - gyi.yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H parent miss - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT

« She most probably misses her parents. » (She has been abroad for a long time. So the speaker assumes that she misses them.)

## 3. Person

As a general rule, the combinations of the first person subject and the endings of the type *yod.kyi.red* are less frequent than those with the third person subject. If they do

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<sup>178</sup> See Hu (1989:254): *yod.kyi.red bioshi ping geren jingyan huo ganjue tuice mou zhong qingkuang shi cunzai de*. "yod.kyi.red implies that relying on one's personal experience or feeling, [the speaker] infers some situation" (my translation). The following interpretation was also suggested: *sems-kyi nang.du the.tshom yod-pa* 'to have doubts in one's mind'; the source being *nyams.myong* 'experience' and *tshor.snang* 'feelings'.

occur, they often imply that the action of the sentence does not depend on the speaker's will. See the following examples:

a) *zla.ba - la par.chas rnyed - kyi.yod.kyi.red*  
Dawa - OBL camera find - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
« Dawa will most probably find the camera. »

b) \* *nga - r par.chas rnyed - kyi.yod.kyi.red*  
I - OBL camera find - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
Intended: « I will most probably find the camera. »

*nga - r yi.ge 'byor - pa.yin.gyi.red*  
I - OBL letter receive - PERF+EPI 2+FACT  
« It seems I got some letters. » (The bell is ringing. The speaker has just seen a postman coming to the house<sup>179</sup>).

Although it is impossible to combine these endings with some verbs (e.g. *na* 'be ill', *shi* 'die') and the first person subject, such combinations can easily appear in conditional sentences:

*khyed.rang ma - phebs - na nga shi - yod.kyi.red*  
you+H NEG - come+H - if I die - PERF+EPI 2+FACT  
« If you had not come, I would most probably have died. » (The speaker bases his utterance on the fact that he wouldn't have been able to survive without the help of the other person.)

#### 4. Use in conditional sentences

As shown above, this type of endings may be used in conditional sentences: factual (real) and counterfactual (unreal). Below are two examples of the factual (ex. 376) and counterfactual (ex. 377) conditions:

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<sup>179</sup> It was suggested by some informants that the perfective past endings, e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red*, had sensory connotations no matter what the evidential meaning of the whole type was.



*rog.pa ma byas - na khyi 'di shi - gi.yod.kyi.red*  
 help NEG do (PAS) - if dog this die - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « If [we] don't help the dog, it will most likely die. »

*sman ma - bzas - na khyi 'di shi - yod.kyi.red*  
 medicine NEG - eat (PAS) - if dog this die - PERF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « If the dog had not taken the medicine, it would most probably have died. »

## 5. Epistemic adverbs

It is possible to use the epistemic adverbs *gcig.byas.na* 'perhaps', *phal.cher* '(most) probably' and *gtan.gtan* 'certainly' in sentences containing the endings of the type *yod.kyi.red*. The latter one is less frequent than the former two. The adverb *brgya.cha.rgya* 'definitely' is generally not used with this type, as shown in the following example:

*khong phal.cher /\*brgya.cha.rgya za - gi.yod.kyi.red*  
 s/he+H probably / definitely eat (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « She will probably/ \*definitely eat [it]. » (The speaker bases himself on the fact that she usually eats it.)

## 6. Copulas *yin.gyi.red/yin.kyi.ma.red* and *yod.kyi.red/yod.kyi.ma.red*

The epistemic copulas of this type, accepted both by the Lhasa and diaspora informants, are the essential copulas *yin.gyi.red* and *yin.gyi.ma.red* and the existential copulas *yod.kyi.red* and *yod.kyi.ma.red*. Their use is illustrated by the following sentences:

a) *deb 'di khong - gi yin.gyi.ma.red*  
 book this s/he+H - GEN be (EPI 2+FACT+NEG)  
 « This most probably isn't his book. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the person usually doesn't read this kind of books.)

b) *bkra.shis slob.grwa - r yod.kyi.ma.red*  
 Tashi school - OBL exist (EPI 2+FACT+NEG)  
 « Tashi most probably isn't at school. » (The speaker infers from the fact that it is noon and they have a lunch break.)

#### 4.5.2. DESCRIPTION OF THE ENDINGS

##### 1. The verbal endings of the present perfect *yod.kyi.red* and *yod.kyi.ma.red*

The epistemic endings *yod.kyi.red* and *yod.kyi.ma.red* are used in present perfect contexts. In the third person subject sentences, they may combine with verbs of all verbal classes and they also appear in causative constructions. Furthermore, they are used in unreal past conditionals (past counterfactual) with both the third and first person subjects (see ex. 375 and 377). Look at the following sentence:

*khong - la spu.gu skyes - yod.kyi.red*

she+H - OBL child give birth - PERF+EPI 2+FACT

« She most probably had a baby. » (She was pregnant when the speaker met her. He hasn't seen her for a long time so he supposes that she already had a baby.)

In the first person subject sentences, the endings *yod.kyi.red* and *yod.kyi.ma.red* are more easily compatible with possessive verbs because the action does not depend on the speaker's will. With some monovalent and ergative verbs, they imply that the speaker does not remember the situation well and, therefore, he presents it as a doubt. In sentences with the first person subject, the endings are often preceded by the secondary verb *myong* 'experience', as shown below:

a) *nga sa.cha 'di - r slebs - yod.kyi.red*

I place this - OBL come - PERF+EPI 2+FACT

« I guess I probably came to this place. » (The speaker doesn't remember the place but he travelled in this region.)

b) *nga sa.cha 'di - r slebs myong - yod.kyi.red*

I place this - OBL come experience - PERF+EPI 2+FACT

« I guess I have probably been to this place. » (*idem.*)

##### 2. The verbal endings of the perfective past *pa.yin.gyi.red* and *pa.yin.gyi.ma.red*

The epistemic endings *pa.yin.gyi.red* and *pa.yin.gyi.ma.red* appear in perfective contexts. They may be used with verbs of all verbal classes and also in causative

constructions whether the subject is third or first person. However, they are less frequent than the present perfect endings. See the following examples:

*khong - gis kha.lag rnying.pa bzas - pa.yin.gyi.red*

s/he+H - ERG food old eat (PAS) - PFV+EPI 2+FACT

« She must have eaten OLD FOOD. » (She felt sick. The speaker thinks that the reason of her feeling sick was old food.)

*nga chu.tshod gnyis.pa tsam - la log - pa.yin.gyi.red*

I clock second about - OBL return - PFV+EPI 2+FACT

« It is probably around two o'clock that I came back. » (The speaker went to a party last night. Somebody is asking him whether he came home at two. But he doesn't remember exactly.)

#### **The difference in scope between the endings *yod.kyi.red* and *pa.yin.gyi.red***

The difference in aspect between the two endings yields a difference in the scope. Whereas the epistemic meaning of *yod.kyi.red* usually relates to the whole sentence (the actuality of the whole sentence is in question), that of *pa.yin.gyi.red* only refers to one part of the sentence, e.g. the agent or the predicate (the doubt only relates to one part). Thus, in some contexts *pa.yin.gyi.red* is used, not *yod.kyi.red*, as shown in the example below:

a) *nga 'di bzas - tsang na - pa.yin.gyi.red*

I this eat (PAS) - because be ill - PFV+EPI 2+FACT

« It is probably because I ate this that I fell ill. » (The speaker thinks that the reason is nothing else than this food.)

b) \* *nga 'di bzas - tsang na - yod.kyi.red*

I this eat (PAS) - because be ill - PERF+EPI 2+FACT

Intended: « It is probably because I ate this that I fell ill. »

The second clause suggests that it is not sure that the speaker actually fell ill. This does not match with the first part of the sentence explaining the reason of his being ill.

3. The verbal endings of the imperfective past and the present (and the future as a secondary meaning) *gi.yod.kyi.red* and *gi.yod.kyi.ma.red*

The endings *gi.yod.kyi.red* and *gi.yod.kyi.ma.red* combine easily with monovalent, ergative and affective verbs and may also be used in causative constructions when the subject is third person. Although not excluded, their use with possessive verbs in future contexts is rather rare, as shown in ex. 386: (a) is a future action and (b) a present one. On the contrary, this verbal class is easily compatible with the past endings *yod.kyi.red* and *pa.yin.gyi.red* (ex. 386c). Look at the following sentences:

a) *spu.gu slob.grwa - r 'gro - gi.yod.kyi.ma.red*  
 child school - OBL go (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT+NEG  
 « The children most probably don't go to school. » (The speaker thinks so because they have a farm and they have a lot of work there.)

b) *khong bu.mo de - r dga' - gi.yod.kyi.red*  
 s/he+H girl that - OBL like - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « He most probably loves that girl. » (He always speaks nicely of her.)

a) ! *khong - la dngul rag - gi.yod.kyi.red*  
 s/he+H - OBL money get - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « She will most probably get the money. » (She has some money in a bank in India and now she is in Tibet. But the speaker thinks there is a chance of getting the money back.)

b) *khong - la pa.pha - 'i rtsa - la dngul rag - gi.yod.kyi.red*  
 s/he+H - OBL father - GEN close - OBL money get - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « He most probably gets money from father. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the person does not work.)

c) *khong - la dngul rag - yod.kyi.red / pa.yin.gyi.red*  
 s/he+H - OBL money get - PERF+EPI 2+FACT / PFV+EPI 2+FACT  
 « She most probably got money. » (The speaker bases himself on the fact that she has been spending a lot recently.)

When used with the first person subject, the ending *gi.yod.kyi.red* (or *gi.yod.kyi.ma.red*) expresses that the speaker does not remember something or that the action does not depend on his will (ex. 387). It is not compatible with the endopathic verbs (e.g. *zhed* ‘be afraid’) because the speaker knows his perceptions (ex. 388). Furthermore, this ending may also express the speaker’s hope of the (non)realization of the action of his utterance.

*nga do.mgong lha.rtse - r bsdad - kyi.yod.kyi.red*

I tonight Lhatse - OBL stay - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT

« (I presume) I will most probably stay in Lhatse tonight. » (The speaker is going to the border. It depends on the road conditions and the traffic, not on his own will, where he will have got by tonight and thus where he will stay.)<sup>180</sup>

\* *nga khyi ‘di - r zhed - kyi.yod.kyi.red*

I dog this - OBL be afraid - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT

Intended: « I will most probably be afraid of the dog. »

#### 4. The verbal ending of the (deontic) future *rgyu.yin.gyi.red*

The ending *rgyu.yin.gyi.red* is used for future actions that most probably need to be done (because they have not been done yet). The lexical verb is in the present-future stem. The ending has no negative counterpart. It rarely combines with the first person subject. Look at the example below:

*khong ched.rtsom bris - rgyu.yin.gyi.red*

s/he+H paper write - FUT+EPI 2+FACT

« He most probably has yet to write the paper. » (These days, he is working a lot. So the speaker guesses he has had no time to write it yet.)

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<sup>180</sup> It is possible to use the verb *dgos* or *dgos byed* ‘must’ in the above sentence or the verb *slebs* ‘arrive, come’ instead of *bsdad* but it is not possible to use the verb *nyal* ‘sleep’ in this context: *nga do.mgong lha.rtse - r bsdad dgos - yod.kyi.red*, *nga do.mgong lha.rtse - r bsdad dgos byed - kyi.yod.kyi.red*, *nga do.mgong lha.rtse - r slebs - kyi.yod.kyi.red*, \* *nga do.mgong lha.rtse - r nyal - gyi.yod.kyi.red*.

### 4.5.3. CONCLUSION

The endings of the type *yod.kyi.red* confirm the hypothesis about the difference in the scope of epistemic modality between the present perfect and the perfective past endings. Furthermore, this type illustrates that it is generally more difficult to combine epistemic endings with the first person subject. Concerning the negative endings of this type, they may be formed in two different ways in the diaspora, which is unacceptable in central Tibet. This fact demonstrates the geographic variation of SST. Finally, this type appears in factual and counterfactual conditionals.

## 4.6. THE EPISTEMIC VERBAL ENDINGS WITH THE FINAL AUXILIARY ‘gro/‘gro‘o

### 4.6.1. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

#### 1. Formal description

This type of epistemic endings is characterized by the final auxiliary ‘gro (or ‘gro ‘o)<sup>181</sup>. These endings are an exception concerning polarity because both the formally affirmative and negative endings may either imply that the speaker considers his utterance as probable, or in the opposite case that he doubts the actuality of his utterance. Prosody plays an important role for the determination of the polarity of these endings. Affirmative endings pronounced shortly (e.g. *yod. ‘gro*) and negative endings pronounced with a rising intonation (e.g. *med. ‘gro ‘o*) imply positive polarity. Negative endings pronounced shortly (e.g. *med. ‘gro*) and affirmative endings pronounced with a rising intonation (e.g. *yod. ‘gro ‘o*) imply negative polarity. Compare the examples below:

*nor.bu kha.sa phyin - yod. ‘gro / med. ‘gro ‘o*

Norbu yesterday go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 1+FACT

« Norbu perhaps left yesterday. »

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<sup>181</sup> ‘gro (‘gro ‘o) is a phonetic writing according to the pronunciation in SST.

*nor.bu kha.sa phyin - yod. 'gro 'o / med. 'gro*  
 Norbu yesterday go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 1+FACT+NEG  
 « Norbu perhaps didn't leave yesterday. »

In the case of *pa.yin. 'gro* and *pa.min. 'gro 'o*, the speaker's negative attitude to the probability of his utterance may also be expressed by the negative particle *ma* preceding the verb:

*spu.gu 'di slob.grwa - r ma - phyin - pa.yin. 'gro/ pa.min. 'gro 'o*  
 child this school - OBL NEG - go (PAS) - PFV+EPI 1+FACT  
 « The child probably did not go to school. » (The speaker called in the morning and it was the child who answered the phone.)

This type forms the following paradigm:

Affirmative forms

Positive meaning:	Negative meaning:
<i>yod. 'gro</i>	<i>yod. 'gro 'o</i>
<i>pa.yin. 'gro</i>	<i>pa.yin. 'gro 'o</i>
<i>gi.yod. 'gro</i>	<i>gi.yod. 'gro 'o</i>
<i>rgyu.yin. 'gro</i>	-

Negative forms

Positive meaning:	Negative meaning:
<i>med. 'gro 'o</i>	<i>med. 'gro</i>
<i>pa.min. 'gro 'o</i>	<i>pa.min. 'gro</i>
<i>gi.med. 'gro 'o</i>	<i>gi.med. 'gro</i>
<i>rgyu.min. 'gro 'o</i>	-

Other combinations are impossible, e.g. *\*gi.yin. 'gro*, *\*gi.min. 'gro*, as shown in the example below:

*\*khong nang - la 'gro - gi.yin. 'gro*  
 s/he+H home - OBL go (PRS) - FUT+EPI 1+FACT  
 Intended: « He will perhaps go home. »

## 2. Semantic and pragmatic characteristics

As stated above, the affirmative and negative forms can both have two meanings according to their prosody: they either express the speaker's positive standpoint to the reality of his utterance or in the opposite case his uncertainty and doubts. Concerning the negative forms, those with the rising intonation (e.g. *med. 'gro 'o*) are very frequent, whereas those pronounced shortly (e.g. *med. 'gro*) are less common in the spoken language. Instead, the affirmative forms with the rising intonation (*yod. 'gro 'o*) are rather used. The degree of probability of these endings is EPI 1. Concerning evidentiality, this type has factual connotations. It may be viewed as part of the Lhasa dialect, in which it is frequently used. In the exile community, this type is less common.

The endings of the type *yod. 'gro* resemble the type *yod.kyi.red*. However, unlike *yod.kyi.red*, they are more often used when the speaker doesn't know any particular reason or detail. As a result, the type *yod. 'gro* implies, in general, a lower degree of certainty than the type *yod.kyi.red*. Moreover, *yod.kyi.red* is also characterized as internal or subjective (see 4.5.1.). Compare the following examples:

a) *khong 'gro - gi.yod. 'gro*

s/he+H go (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 1+FACT

« Maybe, he will go. » (The speaker doesn't know anything particular about his going.)

b) *khong 'gro - gi.yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H go (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT

« He will probably go. » (The speaker knows some reason, e.g. the person said he would come if he finished his work. So the speaker infers that it is probable that he will come.)

The affirmative endings with the rising intonation (e.g. *yod. 'gro 'o*) may also have an interrogative function. In fact, this originates from sentences containing both the affirmative ending with the rising intonation and the negative ending with the rising intonation shortened in the spoken language, e.g. *yod. 'gro 'o med. 'gro 'o* shortened to *yod. 'gro 'o*. The degree of certainty is about 50%. These sentences are often autolalic (the speaker asks himself). See the following example:



*nga - s khang.pa - 'i nang - gi chu 'di kha*  
 I - ERG house - GEN inside - GEN water this mouth  
*brgyab - yod. 'gro 'o = yod. 'gro 'o med. 'gro 'o*  
 VBZ - PERF+EPI 1+FACT  
 « I wonder whether I shut the water mains in the house. »

### 3. Person

There are more constraints on the use of this type of epistemic endings with first person than with third person. In the first person subject sentences, these endings are usually compatible with monovalent and ergative verbs but not with affective and possessive verbs (ex. 397). They often need a more specific context, such as a conditional clause, as shown in the following example:

*chu grang.mo btungs - na nga na - gi.med. 'gro 'o*  
 water cold drink - if I be ill - IMPF+EPI 1+FACT  
 « If I drink cold water, I will probably fall ill. »

\* *nga bod.ja - r dga' - yod. 'gro*  
 I Tibetan tea - OBL like - PERF+EPI 1+FACT  
 Intended: « I might have liked Tibetan tea. »

### 4. Use in conditional sentences

The epistemic endings of the type *yod. 'gro* may appear in conditional sentences, as shown in ex. (396). They are used in factual and counterfactual sentences. The following is an example of the past counterfactual conditional:

*sman ma - bzas - na khong shi - yod. 'gro*  
 medicine NEG - eat (PAS) - if s/he+H die - PERF+EPI 1+FACT  
 « If he had not taken the medicine he would probably have died. »

### 5. Epistemic adverbs

The endings with the auxiliary *'gro/'gro 'o* are usually compatible with the epistemic adverbs *gcig.byas.na* 'perhaps' and *phal.cher* '(most) probably' but they are incompatible with *gtan.gtan* 'certainly' and *brgya.cha.brgya* 'definitely'. See the examples below:

a) *khong - la gcig.byas.na / phal.cher spu.gu skyes - yod. 'gro*  
 s/he+H - OBL perhaps / probably child give birth - PERF+EPI 1+FACT  
 « She possibly/probably had a baby. » (The date of the childbirth  
 approached. The speaker hasn't seen her for several days.)

b) \* *khong - la gtan.gtan / brgya.cha.brgya spu.gu skyes*  
 s/he+H - OBL certainly / definitely child give birth  
 - *yod. 'gro*  
 - PERF+EPI 1+FACT

Intended: « She certainly/surely had a baby. »

## 6. Copulas with the auxiliary 'gro/'gro'o

The epistemic copulas of this type are the essential copulas *yin. 'gro* and *min. 'gro'o* (positive polarity) and *yin. 'gro'o* and *min. 'gro* (negative polarity) and the existential copulas *yod. 'gro* and *med. 'gro'o* (positive polarity) and *yod. 'gro'o* and *med. 'gro* (negative polarity). Look at the following examples:

*khong lha.sa.ba yin. 'gro*  
 s/he+H Lhasa native be (EPI 1+FACT)  
 « She is probably a Lhasa native. » (The speaker infers from the fact that  
 she lives in Lhasa.)

*khong da.lta lha.sa - r med. 'gro'o*  
 s/he+H now Lhasa - OBL exist (EPI 1+FACT)  
 « She probably is in Lhasa now. » (The speaker infers from the fact that  
 she is often in Lhasa.)

### 4.6.2. DESCRIPTION OF THE ENDINGS

1. a) The verbal endings of the present perfect *yod. 'gro* and *med. 'gro'o*

b) The verbal endings of the present perfect *yod. 'gro'o* and *med. 'gro*

The sentence is viewed as positive and it corresponds to 'possibly did' when the endings *yod. 'gro* and *med. 'gro'o* are used. The attitude of the speaker to the possibility of his utterance is negative, corresponding to 'possibly did not (do)', when the endings *yod. 'gro'o* and *med. 'gro* are used. These endings are compatible with all

verbal classes and the third person subject. The ending *med. 'gro* is less frequent in the spoken language than *yod. 'gro 'o*.

*nor.bu rgya.gar - la phyin - med. 'gro 'o*

Norbu India - OBL go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 1+FACT

« Norbu probably went to India. » (The speaker infers from the fact that Norbu planned to go to India.)

When used with the first person subject, the endings *yod. 'gro/med. 'gro 'o* and *yod. 'gro 'o/med. 'gro* are generally preceded by the secondary verb *myong*. Although it is not excluded to use them without *myong*, such combinations are rather rare. They imply that the speaker can hardly remember what happened, e.g. in a dream. These endings are usually not compatible with affective and possessive verbs and the first person subject (see ex. 397 above). Compare the sentences below:

*nga sa.cha de - la 'gro myong - yod. 'gro*

I place that - OBL go (PRS) experience - PERF+EPI 1+FACT

« I have probably been to that place. » (The speaker bases himself on some fact but he is not sure.)

*nga nyid.lam - la sa.cha de - la phyin - yod. 'gro*

I dream - OBL place that - OBL go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 1+FACT

« In my dream, I probably went to that place. » (The speaker tries to remember his dream.)

2. a) The verbal endings of the perfective past *pa.yin. 'gro* and *pa.min. 'gro 'o*

b) The verbal endings of the perfective past *pa.yin. 'gro 'o* and *pa.min. 'gro*

The endings *pa.yin. 'gro* and *pa.min. 'gro 'o* imply positive polarity, *pa.yin. 'gro 'o* and *pa.min. 'gro* negative polarity. The ending *pa.min. 'gro* is less common in the spoken language. In the third subject sentences, these endings can combine with verbs of all verbal classes. They usually have a different scope than the endings *yod. 'gro/med. 'gro 'o* and *yod. 'gro 'o/med. 'gro*, as illustrated by the following two examples:

a) *khong - la tshig.mdzod brnyed - yod. 'gro 'o*  
 s/he+H - OBL dictionary find - PERF+EPI 1+FACT+NEG  
 « She probably didn't find the dictionary. » (She said she would bring it if she found it. But she did not come back.)

b) *khong - la tshig.mdzod 'di brnyed - pa.yin. 'gro 'o*  
 s/he+H - OBL dictionary this find - PFV+EPI 1+FACT+NEG  
 « She probably didn't FIND the dictionary. » (The dictionary looks brand-new. So the speaker thinks that she rather bought it.<sup>182</sup>)

a) *kho -s spu.gu -r a.rag btungs -ru bcug -yod. 'gro 'o*  
 he -ERG child -OBL alcohol drink -CAUS let -PERF+EPI 1+FACT+NEG  
 « He probably did not let the child drink alcohol. » (The speaker told him to give the child alcohol (medicine) but has doubts whether he did it.)

b) *kho - s spu.gu - r a.rag btungs - ru bcug - pa.yin. 'gro 'o*  
 he - ERG child - OBL alcohol drink - CAUS let - PFV+EPI 1+FACT+NEG  
 « It probably wasn't he who let the child drink alcohol. »

While in ex. (406a), it is not sure whether the child drank alcohol, in (406b) there are no doubts that the child drank alcohol but it is not sure that it was he who let the child drink it.

Concerning the combinations of first person and *pa.yin. 'gro/pa.min. 'gro 'o* or *pa.yin. 'gro 'o/pa.min. 'gro*, they are rather rare with affective and possessive verbs. However, there are exceptions to the rule, as shown in the following example:

*nga khong - la dga' - pa.min. 'gro 'o*  
 I s/he+H - OBL love - PFV+EPI 1+FACT  
 « I probably liked her. » (The speaker didn't think of it before. Now after the person left, he realizes that he misses her.)

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<sup>182</sup> See Note 179.

3. a) The verbal endings of the imperfective past and the present (and the future as a secondary meaning) *gi.yod. 'gro/gi.med. 'gro 'o*

b) The verbal endings of the imperfective past and the present (and the future as a secondary meaning) *gi.yod. 'gro 'o/gi.med. 'gro*

The endings *gi.yod. 'gro* and *gi.med. 'gro 'o* with a positive meaning and *gi.yod. 'gro 'o* and *gi.med. 'gro* with a negative meaning are used in imperfective contexts. They may combine with all verbal classes and the third person subject. When the subject is first person they are usually not compatible with affective and possessive verbs (ex. 410). See the examples below:

*khong da.lta glog.brnyan 'di lta - gi.yod. 'gro*  
s/he+H now movie this watch (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 1+FACT  
« She is probably watching the movie. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the movie is a must.)

*nor.bu bal.yul - la 'gro - gi.med. 'gro*  
Norbu Nepal - OBL go (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 1+FACT+NEG  
« Norbu probably won't go to Nepal. » (The political situation in Nepal is bad.)

\* *nga khong - la dga' - gi.med. 'gro 'o*  
I s/he+H - OBL love - IMPF+EPI 1+FACT  
Intended: « I probably love him. »

#### 4. The verbal endings of the future 'gro and 'gro 'o

The ending 'gro is used to express a positive attitude of the speaker to the possibility of his utterance<sup>183</sup>. Its meaning corresponds in English to 'I guess that (someone will do something)'<sup>184</sup>. This ending implies a high degree of certainty (Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso (2001:96): high probability or likelihood; glossed EPI 2). The lexical

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<sup>183</sup> This epistemic ending is also used in literary Tibetan. The following example is taken from Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso (2001):

*nyal.sa - 'i 'khris - su sman zhog - dang kho - s btungs - 'gro*  
bed - GEN near - OBL medicine put - IMP he - ERG drink - EPI 2+FACT  
« Put the medicine near the bed. He will certainly drink it. »

<sup>184</sup> See: *Basic spoken Tibetan grammar patterns* (1999:202).

verb is always in the past stem (cf. 411 a and b). It is impossible to negate the sentences with 'gro (ex. 411c). The negative polarity is expressed by the ending 'gro 'o. Both endings are compatible with different verbal classes when the subject is third person. See the following examples:

a) *zla.ba phyin - 'gro*

Dawa go (PAS) - FUT+EPI 2+FACT

« I guess Dawa will go [there]. » (Dawa is a driver. He told the speaker that he would go to Samye. Now the speaker has met a friend who wants to go there too. He's telling him that Dawa will go there.)

b) \* *khong 'gro - 'gro*

s/he+H go (PRS) - FUT+EPI 2+FACT

Intended: « I guess he will go [there]. »

c) \* *khong ma - phyin - 'gro*

s/he+H NEG - go (PAS) - FUT+EPI 2+FACT

Intended: « I guess he will not go [there]. »

*bkra.shis khong - la dga' - 'gro 'o*

Tashi s/he+H - OBL love - FUT+EPI 2+FACT+NEG

« I guess Tashi won't love her. » (The speaker knows the characters of both of them.)

These epistemic endings can be used in sentences with the first person subject after non-controllable verbs (ex. 413a), but not after controllable verbs (ex. 413b). Such sentences may convey the meaning of hope. However, these combinations are not very frequent. See the examples below:

a) *nga - r las.ka rag - 'gro*

I - OBL work get - FUT+EPI 2+FACT

« Hopefully, I will get a job. »

b) \* *nga las.ka 'di byas - 'gro*  
 I work this do (PAS) - FUT+EPI 2+FACT  
 Intended: « I guess I will do the work. »

#### 5. The verbal endings of the deontic future *rgyu.yin. 'gro* and *rgyu.min. 'gro 'o*

These endings are used for future actions that are intended/need to be done and correspond in English to 'probably intend to do because one has not done yet'. They are preceded by the present-future stem of the lexical verb. These endings are, in general, not used with first person. There are no semantically negative counterparts (*\*rgyu.min. 'gro, \*rgyu.yin. 'gro 'o*).

*nyi.ma tshogs. 'du - r 'gro - rgyu.yin. 'gro*  
 Nyima meeting - OBL go (PRS) - FUT+EPI 1+FACT  
 « Nyima has probably yet to go to the meeting. »

### **4.6.3. CONCLUSION**

The epistemic endings with the auxiliary *'gro* (or *'gro 'o*) confirm the hypothesis about a lower frequency of sentences with the first person subject than with the third person subject. Furthermore, the examples with the endings *pa.yin. 'gro/pa.min. 'gro 'o, pa.yin. 'gro 'o/pa.min. 'gro* and *yod. 'gro/med. 'gro 'o, yod. 'gro 'o/med. 'gro* attest the difference in the scope of epistemic modality. This type of epistemic endings may also be used in conditional sentences. Finally, the endings *'gro* and *'gro 'o* convey a higher degree of probability than the other *'gro*-endings.

## **4.7. THE EPISTEMIC VERBAL ENDINGS WITH THE FINAL AUXILIARY *'dra***

### **4.7.1. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS**

#### **1. Formal description**

This type of epistemic endings is characterized by the auxiliary *'dra* in the final position (e.g. *yod.pa. 'dra, pa.yin.pa. 'dra*). The negative endings are formed by using

the negative copulas *med* and *min* instead of *yod* and *yin*, as shown in the example below:

*khong - gis bzos - pa.min.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H - ERG make (PAS) - PFV+EPI 2+SENS+NEG  
 « It does not seem it was he who made [it]. » (It looks different when he makes it.)

This type forms the following paradigm:

Affirmative endings:	Negative endings:
<i>pa. 'dra</i>	-
<i>yod.pa. 'dra</i>	<i>med.pa. 'dra</i>
<i>pa.yin.pa. 'dra</i>	<i>pa.min.pa. 'dra</i>
<i>gi.yod.pa. 'dra</i>	<i>gi.med.pa. 'dra</i>
<i>rgyu.yin.pa. 'dra</i>	-

Other combinations are impossible, e.g. *\*gi.yin.pa. 'dra*, *\*gi.min.pa. 'dra*.

Unlike *yod.pa. 'dra*, it is possible to negate the sentences with the past endings *pa. 'dra* and *pa.yin.pa. 'dra* by putting the negative particle *ma* in front of the lexical verb. The preverbal negation often implies a stronger reason than the postverbal negation. In the example below, (a) implies that the decision of not going depended on the agent (he was free to decide not to go):

a) *khong ma - phyin - pa. 'dra / pa.yin.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H NEG - go (PAS) - PFV+EPI 2+SENS / PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 « She seems not to have gone. »

b) *khong phyin - med.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG  
 « She does not seem to have gone. »



- c) \* *khong ma - phyin - yod.pa.'dra*  
 s/he+H NEG - go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 2+SENS  
 Intended: « She does not seem to have gone. »

## 2. Semantic and pragmatic characteristics

Concerning the degree of certainty, the type with the auxiliary *'dra* resembles the type *yod.kyi.red* and corresponds to degree EPI 2. The *'dra*-endings indicate that the information on which the speaker bases his utterance comes from the outside world, i.e. sensory connotations (inference based on direct evidence of a result or a consequence). They can be translated in English by such adverbs as ‘apparently’ or by the expressions ‘It’s likely’, ‘It seems’ (as stated in 1.3.1.2. ex. 13, the verb *'dra* originally means ‘be like, be similar, look as if, seem, appear’). This type of endings is very frequent in central Tibet.

- nyi.ma slebs - pa.'dra*  
 Nyima come - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems Nyima has come. » (The speaker can hear a voice similar to Nyima’s but he is not sure that it is Nyima’s voice.)

Concerning evidentiality, the *'dra*-endings resemble those with the morpheme *sa* (e.g. *yod.sa.red*, see 4.9.), which also express that the source of information is external to the speaker. However, the *sa*-endings are mainly used in the exile community and rarely in the Lhasa dialect (see 3.2.1.1.). On the contrary, as stated above, the *'dra*-endings are very common in Lhasa.<sup>185</sup>

## 3. Person

It is possible to use the *'dra*-endings in sentences with the first and third person subjects. However, their combinations with first person are less common than those with the third person subject. This is illustrated by the examples below with the non-controllable verb *na* ‘be ill’ which is compatible with third person and the

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<sup>185</sup> One informant suggested that the *sa*-type conveyed a higher degree of certainty than the *'dra*-endings but another one disagreed.

endings *yod.pa. 'dra* and *gi.yod.pa. 'dra*, but not with first person (only the construction with *mkhan* is grammatical, see ex. 419c):

a) *khong na - yod.pa. 'dra*

s/he+H be ill - PERF+EPI 2+SENS

« It seems he's got ill. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the person said he would definitely come but he hasn't.)

b) *khong na - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*

s/he+H be ill - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS

« It seems he is ill. » (He often puts his hand on his belly.)

a) \* *nga na - yod.pa. 'dra*

I be ill - PERF+EPI 2+SENS

Intended: « It seems I've fallen ill. »

b) \* *nga na - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*

I be ill - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS

Intended: « It seems I am ill. »

c) *nga na - mkhan yin.pa. 'dra*

I be ill - NMZ be (EPI 2+SENS)

« I seem to be falling ill. »

*nga - s rdo.rje rgya.gar - la 'gro - ru bcug - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*

I - ERG Dorje India - OBL go (PRS) - CAUS let - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS

« It seems I will let Dorje go to India. » (The speaker bases himself on the change of the political situation that he can observe. It seems to be better than before.)

#### 4. Epistemic adverbs

It is possible to combine the endings with the auxiliary *'dra* and the epistemic adverbs *gcig.byas.na* 'perhaps', *phal.cher* '(most) probably' and *gtan.gtan* 'certainly'. The adverb *brgya.cha.brgya* 'definitely' is not used with these endings. Compare the

following sentences containing the adverbs *gcig.byas.na* ‘perhaps’ and *gtan.gtan* ‘certainly’:

a) *khong gcig.byas.na kha.lag bzo - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*  
s/he+H perhaps meal cook (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS  
« She is perhaps cooking. » (The speaker can smell some food a little bit.)

b) *khong gtan.gtan kha.lag bzo - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*  
s/he+H certainly meal cook (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS  
« She must be cooking. » (The speaker can smell some food. The smell is sharp.)

### 5. Copulas *yin.pa. 'dra/min.pa. 'dra* and *yod.pa. 'dra/med.pa. 'dra*

The epistemic copulas of the ‘*dra*-type are the essential copulas *yin.pa. 'dra* and *min.pa. 'dra* and the existential copulas *yod.pa. 'dra* and *med.pa. 'dra*. Their use is illustrated by the example below:

*khong grwa.pa yin.pa. 'dra*  
s/he+H monk be (EPI 2+SENS)  
« He seems to be a monk. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the person has short hair.)

### 4.7.2. DESCRIPTION OF THE ENDINGS

There are three endings with the auxiliary ‘*dra* that are used in the perfective past: *pa. 'dra*, *yod.pa. 'dra* and *pa.yin.pa. 'dra*. The first two endings are frequent in the spoken language. The ending *pa.yin.pa. 'dra* is less common.

#### 1. The verbal ending of the perfective past (and also the present perfect) *pa. 'dra*

The ending *pa. 'dra* is compatible with verbs of all verbal classes and it is also used in causative constructions whether the subject is third or first person. It can be used both in perfective past and present perfect contexts. This epistemic ending has no negative counterpart. It is very common in the spoken language. Its use is illustrated by the following examples:

*khong mdang.dgongs phebs - pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H yesterday night go+H - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 « He seems to have gone last night. » (The speaker heard some noise last night.)

*khong - gis pad.ma las.ka byed - ru bcug - pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H - ERG Pema work do (PRS) - CAUS let - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 « She seems to have let/made Pema work. » (Pema has some money now.)

*nga sa.cha 'di - r slebs - pa. 'dra*  
 I place this - OBL come - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems I have come to this place (before). » (The place looks familiar to the speaker.)

## 2. The verbal endings of the present perfect *yod.pa. 'dra* and *med.pa. 'dra*

The endings *yod.pa. 'dra* and *med.pa. 'dra* may be, in general, used with verbs of all verbal classes and the third person subject. They are rarely used or incompatible with some verbs (e.g. affective verbs) in sentences with the first person subject (ex. 429). See the following examples:

*khong mdang.dgongs phebs - yod.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H last night go+H - PERF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « He seems to have gone last night. » (He planned to go somewhere soon. Yesterday he was still at home. Now he is not.)

*khong ra.bzi - yod.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H be drunk - PERF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « He seems to have got drunk. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the person's face is red.)

*khong - la spa.se rag - med.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H - OBL permit get - PERF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG  
 « She does not seem to have got the permit. » (She planned to go to India and applied for the permit some time ago. She is still here.)

a) \* *nga khong - la zhed - med.pa.'dra*  
 I s/he+H - OBL be afraid - PERF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG  
 Intended: « I do not seem to have been afraid of him. »

b) \* *nga khong - la dga' - med.pa.'dra*  
 I s/he+H - OBL love - PERF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG  
 Intended: « I do not seem to have loved him. »

In the above example, it is possible to use the ending *pa.min.pa.'dra* or *dga'.po* 'like' and the copula *med.pa.'dra* instead of *dga'* 'love' as shown below:

a) *nga khong - la spu.gu yin - dus - nas dga'.po med.pa.'dra*  
 I s/he+H - OBL child be - when - after like exist (EPI 2+SENS+NEG)  
 « It seems I haven't like him since he was a child. »

b) *nga khong - la dga' - pa.min.pa.'dra*  
 I s/he+H - OBL like - PFV+EPI 2+SENS+NEG  
 « It seems I didn't like her. » (The speaker judges from his behaviour to her.)

### 3. The verbal endings of the perfective past *pa.yin.pa.'dra* and *pa.min.pa.'dra*

The epistemic ending *pa.yin.pa.'dra* is compatible with verbs of all verbal classes. However, it is less frequent in the spoken language than the endings *pa.'dra* and *yod.pa.'dra*. The negative ending *pa.min.pa.'dra* is rare in SST (rarely compatible with some monovalent and ergative verbs and generally incompatible with the possessive and affective verbs). Instead, *med.pa.'dra* is usually used. The scope of epistemic modality of the ending *pa.yin.pa.'dra* is partial (usually relating to one part of the sentence). Thus, in the following example, sentence (b) with an adverbial of means is more acceptable than (a):

a) ! *blo.bzang phebs - pa.yin.pa.'dra*  
 Lobzang go+H - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 « Lobzang seems to have gone. / It seems it is Lobzang who went/left. »

b) *blo.bzang mo.Ta - 'i nang - la phebs - pa.yin.pa. 'dra*  
 Lobzang car - GEN inside - OBL go+H - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 « Lobzang seems to have gone by car. » (His car stood in front of the house  
 but it was not there any more.)

A: *khong na - pa.red - pas*  
 s/he+H be ill - PFV+FACT - Q

B: *na - a.yod ra.bzi - pa.yin.pa. 'dra*  
 be ill - PERF+EPI be drunk - PFV+EPI 2+SENS

A: « Was he ill? » B: « I doubt he was. It seems he was drunk. »

\* *khong - la spa.se rag - pa.min.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H - OBL ticket get - PFV+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

Intended: « It seems he did not get the ticket. » (Cf. ex. 428 above)

### The differences among the past 'dra-endings

1. The endings *pa. 'dra*, *yod.pa. 'dra* and *pa.yin.pa. 'dra* differ in the scope of epistemic modality. Unlike the other two endings, which have a partial scope, *yod.pa. 'dra* often refers to the whole sentence. In ex. (434), while sentence (a) does not say if the action took place or not (though the speaker rather thinks not), sentence (b) implies that the action took place but the agent most probably was not the subject of the sentence but someone else:

a) *khong - gis kha.lag bzos - med.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H - ERG food make (PAS) - PERF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

« She doesn't seem to have cooked. » (The kitchen looks the same as  
 when the speaker left it in the morning.)

b) *kha.lag 'di khong - gis bzos - pa.min.pa. 'dra*  
 food this s/he+H - ERG make (PAS) - PFV+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

« It doesn't seem it was him who cooked the meal. » (When he cooks, the  
 meal is not good but today it is delicious.)

2. The endings *pa. 'dra* and *pa.yin.pa. 'dra* convey, in general, a similar meaning. However, sometimes there may be a slight difference: *pa. 'dra* refers to a more recent

past action than *pa.yin.pa. 'dra*. Moreover, as stated above, the two endings differ in frequency: *pa. 'dra* is more common in SST. Compare the examples below: while (a) conveys the inchoative aspect, (b) rather corresponds to a verb of state:

a) *khong na - pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H be ill - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems she has fallen ill. »

b) *khong na - pa.yin.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H be ill - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems she has been ill. »

4. The verbal endings of the imperfective past and the present (and the future as a secondary meaning) *gi.yod.pa. 'dra* and *gi.med.pa. 'dra*

The endings *gi.yod.pa. 'dra* and *gi.med.pa. 'dra* are compatible with verbs of all verbal classes and are used in causative constructions though their use with some monovalent verbs was rejected (ex. 438). In present contexts, they are used for repeated actions. Compare the following two sentences: *gi.yod.pa. 'dra* (a) expresses a repeated action and *pa. 'dra* (b) a single one (it was produced in the past but the result is still relevant in the present):

a) *khong (nam.rgyun-nas) ra.bzi - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H (usually) be drunk - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems he (usually) gets drunk. » (The speaker can often see him reeling.)

b) *khong ra.bzi - pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H be drunk - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 « He seems to have got drunk (i.e. he is drunk now). » (The speaker infers from the fact that the person is reeling.)

*sngon.ma khong ra yang.se bzi - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*  
 before s/he+H (be drunk) often (be drunk) - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems he was often drunk before. »

\* *kho shi - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*

he die - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS

Intended: « It seems he will die. »

*deng.sang bkra.shis pa.pha - 'i rtsa - la 'gro*

recently Tashi father - GEN close - OBL go (PRS)

- *gi.med.pa. 'dra*

- IMPF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

« Recently, Tashi does not seem to go to [his] father's. » (The speaker used to meet Tashi quite often but not now any more.)

The endings *gi.yod.pa. 'dra* and *gi.med.pa. 'dra* can be used in sentences with the first person subject with some possessive and affective verbs (ex. 440). The combinations of these endings with monovalent verbs are rather rare and more restricted (ex. 442). Concerning the ergative verbs, such combinations are, in general, impossible (ex. 441). Look at the following examples:

*nga - r gser - gyi rtags.ma rag - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*

I - OBL gold - GEN medal get - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS

« It seems I will get the golden medal. » (The speaker has seen the other competitors and it seems that he is the best one.)

\* *nga deb 'bri - gi.med.pa. 'dra*

I book write (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

Intended: « It seems I will not write a book. »

a) \* *nga mgyogs.po shi - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*

I soon die - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS

Intended: « It seems I will die soon. »

It is, however, possible to say the following sentence with the secondary verb *'gro 'o* (literary *grabs*) 'be about to (do)' followed by the auxiliary *yod.pa. 'dra*<sup>186</sup>:

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<sup>186</sup> For more details on *'gro 'o*, refer to 5.2.15.



b) *nga mgyogs.po shi 'gro'o yod.pa.'dra*

I soon die be about to AUX (EPI 2+SENS)

« It seems I am about to die soon. » (The speaker infers from the fact that he is seriously ill.)

#### 5. The verbal ending of the (deontic) future *rgyu.yin.pa.'dra*

The ending *rgyu.yin.pa.'dra* is used to convey the meaning 'seem to intend to do (what has not been done yet)'. It is preceded by the present-future stem of the lexical verb. This ending can in some contexts be used with the first person subject. It has no negative counterpart. See the example below:

*khong kha.lag bzo - rgyu.yin.pa.'dra*

s/he+H food cook (PRS) - FUT+EPI 2+SENS

« It seems he has yet to cook. » (It is noon. The speaker infers from the fact that he can see no smoke coming out of the person's chimney.)

### **4.7.3. CONCLUSION**

The '*dra*-endings are very frequent in the spoken language in central Tibet. This type confirms the hypotheses about the constraints on the use of epistemic endings with the first person subject and about the difference in the scope of epistemic modality of the past endings. Unlike other types, this type has three past endings: *pa.'dra*, *yod.pa.'dra* and *pa.yin.pa.'dra*. Compared to other epistemic endings, the '*dra*-endings are rare in conditional sentences.

## **4.8. THE EPISTEMIC CONSTRUCTION WITH THE SUFFIX *mdog.kha.po***

### **4.8.1. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS**

#### **1. Formal description**

This construction consists of the epistemic suffix *mdog.kha.po* that is preceded by an evidential ending or directly attached to the lexical verb and followed by the auxiliary

*red* or *'dug*, and exceptionally by *yod*<sup>187</sup>. It is in the process of grammaticalization into an epistemic verbal ending but this process has not yet been accomplished. As a result, it can still be analyzed into three parts: the first one conveying the tense-aspect, the second one epistemic modality and the third one the evidential meaning. The construction with the egophoric auxiliary *yod* is on the periphery of SST since it is rarely used<sup>188</sup> and it does not form the whole paradigm (*\*pa.yin-mdog.kha.po-yod*). The sentences with the suffix *mdog.kha.po* are, in general, negated by using the negative particles *ma* and *mi* in front of the auxiliaries *red* and *'dug*, respectively. See the examples below:

a) *khong - gis ri.mo bris - yod - mdog.kha.po - ma.red*  
 s/he+H - ERG picture draw (PAS) - PERF - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT+NEG)  
 « She probably did not draw the picture. » (She is not good at drawing.)

b) *khong yong - mdog.kha.po - mi.'dug*  
 s/he+H come - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS+NEG)  
 « It looks like she is not coming. » (She should have come at ten. It is half past ten now.)

Some Tibetan informants<sup>189</sup> also accepted sentences with the negative auxiliary *med* instead of *yod* in front of the suffix *mdog.kha.po*. Nevertheless, they suggested that this way of negation was rare since it was more difficult to understand such sentences. Moreover, other informants refused these negative endings. In consequence, this way of negation should be considered as marginal or dialectal. The following cases are concerned:

- *med - mdog.kha.po - red, gi.med - mdog.kha.po - red*
- *med - mdog.kha.po - 'dug, gi.med - mdog.kha.po - 'dug*

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<sup>187</sup> Some informants also accepted constructions with the auxiliary *yod.red*.

<sup>188</sup> Moreover, the use of the suffix *mdog.kha.po* with the egophoric auxiliary *yod* should be considered as marginal because of the disagreement among native speakers concerning the acceptability of this construction. The examples discussed with two Lhasa informants were accepted by one of them (Tsheyang, a 60-year-old woman) but most of the time refused by the other one (Dawa, a 40-year-old man).

<sup>189</sup> One informant has been living in Lhasa for many years but she is originally from the Nagchu area, another one lives in India.

- *min - mdog.kha.po - red, med - mdog.kha.po - red*
- *min - mdog.kha.po - 'dug, med - mdog.kha.po - 'dug*

*! khong - gis yi.ge bris - med - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 s/he+H - ERG letter write (PAS) - PERF+NEG - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)  
 « She probably did not write letters. »

Below is a list of the constructions with the suffix *mdog.kha.po*:

<u>Evidential</u> <u>ending</u>	<u>Epistemic</u> <u>suffix</u>	<u>Affirmative or</u> <u>negative auxiliary</u>	
<i>yod</i>	<i>mdog.kha.po</i>	<i>red</i>	/ <i>ma.red</i>
<i>yod</i>	<i>mdog.kha.po</i>	<i>'dug</i>	/ <i>mi.'dug</i>
<i>pa.yin</i>	<i>mdog.kha.po</i>	<i>red</i>	/ <i>ma.red</i>
<i>pa.yin</i>	<i>mdog.kha.po</i>	<i>'dug</i>	/ <i>mi.'dug</i>
<i>gi.yod</i>	<i>mdog.kha.po</i>	<i>red</i>	/ <i>ma.red</i>
<i>gi.yod</i>	<i>mdog.kha.po</i>	<i>'dug</i>	/ <i>mi.'dug</i>
-	<i>mdog.kha.po</i>	<i>red</i>	/ <i>ma.red</i>
-	<i>mdog.kha.po</i>	<i>'dug</i>	/ <i>mi.'dug</i>
<i>rgyu.yin</i>	<i>mdog.kha.po</i>	<i>red</i>	/ <i>ma.red</i>
<i>rgyu.yin</i>	<i>mdog.kha.po</i>	<i>'dug</i>	/ <i>mi.'dug</i>
<i>yod</i>	<i>mdog.kha.po</i>	<i>yod</i>	/ <i>med</i>
<i>gi.yod</i>	<i>mdog.kha.po</i>	<i>yod</i>	/ <i>med</i>
-	<i>mdog.kha.po</i>	<i>yod</i>	/ <i>med</i>

Furthermore, there is a construction with the suffix *mdog, yod-mdog-'dug*, which is also sometimes used in SST. It is impossible to form other combinations with the suffix *mdog.kha.po*, e.g.: *\*gi.yin-mdog.kha.po-'dug* (ex. 447), *\*gi.yin-mdog.kha.po-red*, *\*yod-mdog-red*, *\*gi-mdog.kha.po-red*. Similarly, the suffix *mdog.kha.po* cannot be followed by the egophoric auxiliary *yin* or the endings *bzhag* and *song*, e.g. *\*mdog.kha.po - bzhag*, *\*yod-mdog.kha.po - song*. The example below shows the impossibility of using the auxiliary *yin* although the subject is first person:

a) \* *nga - tsho sang.nyin 'gro - mdog.kha.po - yin*  
 I - pl tomorrow go (PRS) - EPI 1 - AUX (EGO)

Intended: « It seems we will go tomorrow. »

b) *nga - tsho sang.nyin 'gro - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 I - pl tomorrow go (PRS) - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)

« It looks like we will go tomorrow. » (Every year this time we plant trees.  
 Someone is asking me when we will go.)

\* *phur.bu skor.ba brgyab - gyi.yin - mdog.kha.po - 'dug*  
 Phurbu circumbulation VBZ - FUT - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS)

Intended: « It seems Phurbu will make circumbulations. »

The auxiliary *'dug* can be used with verbs and predicative adjectives. *Red* is only compatible with verbs, not with predicative adjectives (ex. 448). When followed by *mdog.kha.po* and the auxiliary *'dug*, the adjective is shortened to its monosyllabic base, for ex. *zhim.po* 'tasty' is shortened to *zhim* (ex. 449). In the case of predicative adjectives, it is possible to put another word between *mdog.kha.po* and the copula *'dug* (see *cig 'a* in ex. 449). This is impossible when the construction *mdog.kha.po-'dug* is used after verbs or with the auxiliary *red* (ex. 450). Compare the examples below:

\* *'di zhim - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 this be tasty - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS)

Intended: « It is likely to be nice. »

*kha.lag 'di zhim - mdog.kha.po cig 'dug*  
 meal this tasty - EPI 1 a AUX (SENS)

« The meal is likely to be nice. »

\* *khong sang.nyin 'gro - mdog.kha.po cig 'dug / red*  
 s/he+H tomorrow go (PRS) - EPI 1 a AUX (SENS) / AUX (FACT)

Intended: « It seems he will go tomorrow. »

It is also possible to use the auxiliaries *yod* and *yod.red* after the predicative

adjectives, as shown in the example below:

- a) *kha.lag 'di zhim - mdog.kha.po - yod*  
meal this be tasty - EPI 1 - AUX (EGO)  
« The meal should be nice. » (The speaker cooked it.)
- b) *kha.lag 'di zhim - mdog.kha.po - yod.red*  
meal this be tasty - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)  
« The meal should be nice. » (General fact)

## 2. Semantic and pragmatic characteristics

The degree of certainty of the speaker using the *mdog.kha.po*-construction is similar to that conveyed by the type *yod.gro* (degree EPI 1). It is used when the speaker utters an assumption based on the external appearance of things and situations<sup>190</sup>. Moreover, the *mdog.kha.po*-constructions differ in evidential modality depending on the final auxiliary: *red* is factual, *'dug* sensory, and *yod* egophoric. These constructions are quite frequent in the spoken language in Lhasa. They are, in general, not used in the diaspora.

The difference between the constructions *mdog.kha.po-red* and *mdog.kha.po-'dug*

Concerning the combinations of the suffix *mdog.kha.po* with verbs, there is a difference between the use of *'dug* and *red*. The former one, *mdog.kha.po-'dug*, is used when the speaker finds out something for the first time, and it is related to the present moment. This construction resembles, therefore, the type *yod.bzo.'dug* (see 4.11.). The other auxiliary, *red*, is more general. It is used for repeated actions, implying the speaker's knowledge of something (he does not find it out at the moment of speaking)<sup>191</sup>. Compare the following sentences:

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<sup>190</sup> The words *mdog* and *mdog.kha* (i.e. *kha.dog*) originally mean 'colour', then 'outer appearance', *kha.po* corresponds to 'appearance', 'form'. Moreover, *mdog* also appears in *mdog.byed* 'pretend'. The expression *mdog.kha.po* was grammaticalized and now functions as a means of expressing probability. The *mdog.kha.po*-construction is translated in Chinese by *kàn yàngzi kěnéng* 'looking at the appearance it seems' or *wàibiǎo hǎoxiàng* 'the exterior seems', see *Bod-rgya shan-sbyar gyi lha-sa-'i kha-skad tshig-mdzod* p. 518.

<sup>191</sup> One informant suggested that in the spoken language, the constructions with *red* were more common.

a) *char.pa btang - mdog.kha.po - 'dug*

rain VBZ - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS)

« It looks like it is going to rain. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the sky is cloudy now.)

b) *char.pa btang - mdog.kha.po - red*

rain VBZ - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)

« It is likely that it will rain. » (The speaker thinks so because it is May and it usually rains in May.)

The difference between the constructions *mdog.kha.po-red* and *mdog.kha.po-yod*

The constructions *mdog.kha.po-red* and *mdog.kha.po-yod* differ in tense and the evidential meaning. While *mdog.kha.po-red* is usually used for actions following the moment of utterance and it has factual connotations, *mdog.kha.po-yod* is used for actions preceding the moment of utterance and it is egophoric.

Without any specification of time, the sentences with *mdog.kha.po-red* are generally interpreted in the future tense. This construction can also be used with the adverb *da.lta* 'now'. Its use in the past is questionable; there is a disagreement among informants concerning the acceptability of *mdog.kha.po-red* in past contexts, e.g. with the adverb *kha.sa* 'yesterday', as shown in ex. (453b):

a) *khong (sang.nyin / da.lta) 'gro - mdog.kha.po - red*

s/he+H (tomorrow / now) go (PRS) - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)

« She will probably go (tomorrow/now). » (The speaker infers from the fact that tomorrow's date/the present moment is favourable.)

b) *?! khong kha.sa 'gro - mdog.kha.po - red*

s/he+H yesterday go (PRS) - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)

« She probably went yesterday. »

Without any specification of time, the construction *mdog.kha.po-yod* refers to a past action (perfective past). When the adverb *da.lta* 'now' is used, it implies the present perfect tense. Compare the following examples:

a) *khong lha.sa - r 'gro - mdog.kha.po - yod*  
 s/he+H Lhasa - OBL go (PRS) - EPI 1 - AUX (EGO)  
 « She probably went to Lhasa. » (She told the speaker that she would go.)

b) *khong da.lta lha.sa - r 'gro - mdog.kha.po - yod*  
 s/he+H now Lhasa - OBL go (PRS) - EPI 1 - AUX (EGO)  
 « She has probably gone to Lhasa by now. » (She told the speaker that she would go at noon. It's half past twelve.)

### 3. Person

It is possible to combine the *mdog.kha.po*-construction and both the third and the first person subject. The first person sentences are, however, less frequent than those with third person. With first person, the final auxiliary *red* is usually used (e.g. *gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red*). The constructions with the auxiliaries *yod* and *'dug* are either incompatible or rarely used with the first person subject. Look at the examples below:

*nga - r lde.mig brnyed - gi.yod - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 I - OBL key find - IMPF - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)  
 « It is likely that I will find the key. » (The speaker lost the key on his way. But he has not gone far. So the chance of finding it is high.)

*nga chung - dus gdon.'dre - r zhed*  
 I be small - when demon - OBL be afraid  
 - \**yod - mdog.kha.po - yod* / ? *yod - mdog.kha.po - 'dug*  
 - PERF - EPI 1 - AUX (EGO) / PERF - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS)  
 Intended: « When I was a child, I was probably afraid of demons. »

### 4. Use in conditional sentences

It is possible to use constructions with the suffix *mdog.kha.po* in conditional sentences: factual (real) and counterfactual (unreal). Below is an example of the the past counterfactual condition:

*mi gzhan.dag - gis rogs.pa ma - byas - na mi de shi*  
 person other - ERG help NEG - do (PAS) - if person that die  
*- yod - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 - PERF - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)  
 « It is likely that he would have died, if other people had not helped [him]. »

## 5. Epistemic adverbs

It is generally possible to use epistemic adverbs with the *mdog.kha.po*-construction. Their use was, however, rejected with *mdog.kha.po-yod*. See the following example with the adverb *phal.cher* ‘(most) probably’ (also possible with *gcig.byas.na* ‘perhaps’, *gtan.gtan* ‘certainly’ and *brgya.cha.brgya* ‘definitely’):

*byams.pa phal.cher gzhis.ka.rtse- r 'gro - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 Champa probably Shigatse - OBL go(PRS) -EPI 1 - AUX(FACT)  
 « Champa will probably go to Shigatse. » (The speaker infers from the fact that Champa’s wife is from Shigatse.)

## 6. Copulas with the suffix *mdog.kha.po*

It is possible to use the suffix *mdog.kha.po* after the copulas *yin* and *yod* to form the following epistemic copulas (essential and existential, respectively):

- *yin-mdog.kha.po- 'dug* and *yin-mdog.kha.po-mi. 'dug*
- *yin-mdog.kha.po-red* and *yin-mdog.kha.po-ma.red*

a) *khong dge.rgan yin - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 s/he+H teacher be - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)  
 « It looks like he is a teacher. » (The speaker can often see him going out of the university.)

b) *khong dge.rgan yin - mdog.kha.po - 'dug*  
 s/he+H teacher be - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS)  
 « He looks like a teacher. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the person wears glasses.)



- *yod-mdog.kha.po- 'dug* and *yod-mdog.kha.po-mi. 'dug*
- *yod-mdog.kha.po-red* and *yod-mdog.kha.po-ma.red*

*khong bod - la dga '.po yod - mdog.kha.po - 'dug*  
 s/he+H Tibet - OBL like exist - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS)

« It looks like he likes Tibet. » (The speaker has just got to know that the person wants to go to Tibet.)

*'di yag.po yod - mdog.kha.po - mi. 'dug*<sup>192</sup>

this good exist - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS+NEG)

« It doesn't seem to be good. » (The speaker guesses from its appearance.)

The copulas with the final auxiliary *yod* are very rare. Instead, those with *red* are used, as shown in the example below:

a) !! *khong bod.ja - r dga '.po yod - mdog.kha.po - yod*  
 s/he+H Tibetan tea - OBL like exist - EPI 1 - AUX (EGO)

« It seems to me that he likes Tibetan tea. » (The speaker is not sure but he can remember that they drank it together.)

b) *khong bod.ja - r dga '.po yod - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 s/he+H Tibetan tea - OBL like exist - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)

« It is likely that he likes Tibetan tea. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the person likes Tibetan food.)

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<sup>192</sup> The same meaning can be expressed by the short form of *yag.po* 'be good', *yag*, followed by the suffix *mdog.kha.po* and the auxiliary *'dug*:

*'di yag - mdog.kha.po - mi. 'dug*  
 this be good - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS+NEG)  
 « It doesn't seem to be good. »

## 4.8.2. DESCRIPTION OF THE *mdog.kha.po*-CONSTRUCTIONS

### 4.8.2.1. The constructions with the auxiliaries *red* and *'dug*

1. a) The constructions of the present perfect with *yod-mdog.kha.po-red* and *yod-mdog.kha.po-ma.red*

b) The constructions of the present perfect with *yod-mdog.kha.po-'dug* and *yod-mdog.kha.po-mi.'dug*

The constructions *yod-mdog.kha.po-red* / *yod-mdog.kha.po-ma.red* and *yod-mdog.kha.po-'dug* / *yod-mdog.kha.po-mi.'dug* are compatible with verbs of all verbal classes and may appear in causative constructions with all persons. The lexical verb is in the past stem. Below are some examples of their use:

a) *'brog.pa - s g.yag bsad - yod - mdog.kha.po - red*

nomad - ERG yak kill - PERF - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)

« The nomads probably killed the yaks. » (The speaker infers from the fact that they led yaks in the direction of the slaughter-place.)

*'brog.pa - s g.yag bsad - yod - mdog.kha.po - 'dug*

nomad - ERG yak kill - PERF - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS)

« The nomads probably killed the yaks. » (The speaker saw a lot of yak meat in their tent.)

With some verbs, the construction *yod-mdog.kha.po-red* may express an action in the present tense but not in the future:

a) *da.lta khong lha.sa - r bsdad - yod - mdog.kha.po - red*

now s/he+H Lhasa - OBL stay - PERF - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)

« It seems she is staying in Lhasa now. » (The speaker infers from the fact that she usually stays in Lhasa at the beginning of the month.)

b) \* *dus.sang khong lha.sa - r bsdad - yod - mdog.kha.po - red*

next year s/he+H Lhasa - OBL stay - PERF - EPI 1 - AUX(FACT)

Intended: « It seems she will stay/live in Lhasa next year. »

*nga ra.bzi - yod - mdog.kha.po - red*

I be drunk - PERF - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)

« It seems I was drunk. » (The speaker is told by someone else that he said something he does not remember. Thus, the speaker infers that he was drunk.)

In sentences with the first person subject, the construction is often preceded by the secondary verb *myong* ‘experience’:

a) *nga chung - dus phyag.dbang rag myong - yod*

I be small - when blessing get experience - PERF

- *mdog.kha.po - red*

- EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)

« When I was a child, I apparently got a blessing (from a lama). » (The speaker doesn’t remember it well because he was a child.)

b) ! *nga chung -dus phyag.dbang rag - yod -mdog.kha.po - red*

I be small -when blessing get - PERF -EPI 1 - AUX(FACT)

« When I was a child, I apparently got a blessing. »

## 2. The construction of the present perfect with *yod-mdog-‘dug* and *yod-mdog-mi.‘dug*

The constructions *yod-mdog-‘dug* and *yod-mdog-mi.‘dug* resemble, in general, the constructions *yod-mdog.kha.po-‘dug* / *yod-mdog.kha.po-mi.‘dug*. However, they seem to express a higher degree of certainty and to be less frequent<sup>193</sup> than the constructions containing the suffix *mdog.kha.po*. Below is an example of the use of *yod-mdog-‘dug*:

*khong sha bzas - yod - mdog - ‘dug*

s/he+H meat eat (PAS) - PERF - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS)

« It looks like he ate meat. » (The speaker can see some leftovers around the person’s mouth.)

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<sup>193</sup> As suggested by my informants, they are used by the older generation.

3. a) The constructions of the perfective past with *pa.yin-mdog.kha.po-red* and *pa.yin-mdog.kha.po-ma.red*

b) The constructions of the perfective past with *pa.yin-mdog.kha.po-'dug* and *pa.yin-mdog.kha.po-mi.'dug*

These constructions are usually less frequent than the constructions *yod-mdog.kha.po-red /ma.red* and *yod-mdog.kha.po-'dug /mi.'dug* and their scope of probability is different. They are compatible with verbs of all verbal classes and may be used in causative constructions. They are rarely used in sentences with the first person subject. The lexical verb is in the past stem. Look at the following sentences:

*khong ku.shu bzas - pa.yin - mdog.kha.po - ma.red*

s/he+H apple eat (PAS) - PFV - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT+NEG)

« Probably, it was not apples she ate. » (The speaker was asked if she ate apples. He infers from the fact that she usually doesn't eat fruit.)

*deb 'di nga - s nyos - pa.yin - mdog.kha.po - red*

book this I - ERG buy (PAS) - PFV - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)

« It seems I bought this book. » (The speaker rather thinks that he bought the book himself, not someone else.)

4. a) The constructions of the imperfective past and the present (and the future as a secondary meaning) with *gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red* and *gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-ma.red*

b) The constructions of the imperfective past and the present (and the future as a secondary meaning) with *gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-'dug* and *gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-mi.'dug*

The constructions *gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red / gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-ma.red* and *gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-'dug / gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-mi.'dug* are compatible with verbs of all verbal classes and they are used in causative constructions in present and imperfective past contexts. When used in a sentence without any specification of time, the constructions with the auxiliary *red* are often interpreted as the future. Compare the following examples:

a) *blo.bzang khong dang skad.cha bshad - kyi.yod*

Lobzang s/he+H ASSOC speech say - IMPF

- *mdog.kha.po - red*

- EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)

« Lobzang will probably talk to him. » (Lobzang did not talk to him because they had a quarrel. But it has been long time now so the speaker thinks Lobzang will talk to him again.)

b) *de.dus khong bod.skad sbyangs - gi.yod - mdog.kha.po*

then s/he+H Tibetan language learn - IMPF - EPI 1

- *ma.red*

- AUX (FACT+NEG)

« It looks like she did not learn Tibetan then. » (The speaker infers from the fact that she was only ten then.)

*khong dug.log 'di gon - gyi.yod - mdog.kha.po - mi. 'dug*

s/he+H clothes this wear - IMPF - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS+NEG)

« It looks like he does not wear these clothes. » (The speaker gave it to him but he has not seen him wear it.)

*nga khong - la dga' - gi.yod - mdog.kha.po - mi. 'dug*

I s/he+H - OBL like - IMPF - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS+NEG)

« It seems I do not like her. » (The speaker got angry and said or did something he would not have if he liked her.)

5. a) The constructions of the future with *mdog.kha.po-red* and *mdog.kha.po-ma.red*

These constructions are generally used in prospective contexts (present inference of a future action as default) but may also appear in other tenses (see 4.8.1. above). They are frequent in the spoken language. They are compatible with verbs of all verbal classes and also appear in causative constructions. The lexical verb is in the present-future stem. Their use is illustrated by the sentences below:

- a) *bstan.pa - r dngul rag - mdog.kha.po - ma.red*  
 Tanpa - OBL money get - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT+NEG)  
 « Tanpa probably won't get [any] money. » (Tanpa tipped in a lottery. The chance of winning is very small.)
- b) *khong khams - la 'gro - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 s/he+H Kham - OBL go (PRS) - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)  
 « She will probably go to Kham. » (The speaker knows that she has been thinking of going there for a long time.)

Although *mdog.kha.po-red* may appear in sentences with the first person subject, its use is more restricted than with third person. It rather combines with non-controllable verbs because it is more natural to use an epistemic ending with the first person subject when the action cannot be controlled by the subject or it does not depend on his will. This is illustrated by the following example: unlike the controllable verb *'gro* 'go' in (a), the use of the non-controllable verb *slebs* 'get, arrive' in (b) is grammatical:

- a) \* *nga rjes.ma rgya.gar - la 'gro - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 I later India - OBL go (PRS) - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)  
 Intended: « It seems I will go to India one day. »
- b) *nga rjes.ma rgya.gar - la slebs - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 I later India - OBL arrive - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)  
 « It seems I will get to India one day. » (The speaker thinks he has a chance.)

b) The constructions of the present (and near future) with *mdog.kha.po-'dug* and *mdog.kha.po-mi.'dug*

The constructions *mdog.kha.po-'dug* and *mdog.kha.po-mi.'dug* are usually used in present and near future contexts when the speaker guesses from the appearance of things (sensory evidential). See the examples below:

a) *khong dbyin.ji.skad shes - mdog.kha po - mi. 'dug*  
 s/he+H English language know - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS+NEG)  
 « It looks like she does not know English. » (The speaker infers from the fact that she is not speaking with the other people.)

b) *khong sang.nyin nga - tsho mnyam.po 'gro - mdog.kha.po*  
 s/he+H tomorrow I - pl together go (PAS) - EPI 1  
 - *mi. 'dug*  
 - AUX (SENS+NEG)  
 « It looks like he is not going with us tomorrow. » (The speaker has been to his room and has seen that the person is not packing up.)

6. The construction of the (deontic) future with *rgyu.yin-mdog.kha.po-red* and *rgyu.yin-mdog.kha.po-'dug*

The constructions *rgyu.yin-mdog.kha.po-red* and *rgyu.yin-mdog.kha.po-'dug* are used in future contexts which correspond in English to the expressions 'probably intend to do' or 'probably have yet to do'. The lexical verb is in the present-future stem. They are not frequent in the spoken language. They have no negative counterparts. Look at the following example:

a) *bsod.nams gzhis.ka.rtse - la 'gro - rgyu.yin - mdog.kha.po*  
 Sonam Shigatse - OBL go (PRS) - FUT - EPI 1  
 - *'dug*  
 - AUX (SENS)  
 « It seems Sonam has yet to go to Shigatse. » (A couple of days ago, he said he would go there soon. The speaker has just seen him in the street.)

Compare the above example of the construction *rgyu.yin-mdog.kha.po-'dug* with the construction *-mdog.kha.po-'dug* implying the near future:

b) *bsod.nams gzhis.ka.rtse - la 'gro - mdog.kha.po - 'dug*  
 Sonam Shigatse - OBL go (PRS) - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS)  
 « It looks like Sonam is going to Shigatse. » (He is a merchant and often goes to Shigatse. The speaker can see him freighting the car.)

! *khong yi.ge skur - rgyu.yin - mdog.kha.po - red*<sup>194</sup>

s/he+H letter send - FUT - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)

« It looks like she has yet to send letters. » (Father is asking the speaker whether she posted the letters. He thinks she didn't post them yesterday. Today is Sunday so the post office is closed.)

#### 4.8.2.2. The constructions with the auxiliary *yod*

As stated above, most of the examples of the constructions with the auxiliary *yod* were classified as problematical by my informants but they were not completely refused. These constructions imply that the speaker bases his statement on some personal knowledge or personal experience (egophoric evidential).

##### 1. The constructions with *mdog.kha.po-yod* and *mdog.kha.po-med*

The *default* use of the constructions *mdog.kha.po-yod* and *mdog.kha.po-med* is in past contexts but they may also be used in other tenses. Although it is possible to combine them with verbs of different verbal classes, their use is very rare. The lexical verb is in the present-future stem. Compare the following examples with the monovalent verb 'gro' 'go' and the affective verb *dga* 'love':

*khong yul.skor - la 'gro - mdog.kha.po - med*

s/he+H travel - OBL go (PRS) - EPI 1 - AUX (EGO+NEG)

« She does not seem to have gone for a trip. » (The speaker knows she was very busy.)

\* *khong bu de - r dga' - mdog.kha.po - yod*<sup>195</sup>

s/he+H boy that - OBL love - EPI 1 - AUX (EGO)

Intended: « It seems she loved that guy. »

##### 2. The constructions with *yod-mdog.kha.po-yod* and *yod-mdog.kha.po-med*

The constructions *yod-mdog.kha.po-yod* and *yod-mdog.kha.po-med* are generally used in past contexts (perfective past). They are much less frequent than

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<sup>194</sup> The sentence was found slightly problematic by my informants.

<sup>195</sup> It is possible to use the constructions *mdog.kha.po-red* and *yod.mdog.kha.po-red* in this sentence.



*yod-mdog.kha.po-red* and *yod-mdog.kha.po-ma.red* though they are compatible with verbs of different verbal classes. The lexical verb is in the past stem. The following sentence was found problematic<sup>196</sup>:

!! *khong - gis las.ka 'di byas - yod - mdog.kha.po - yod*  
 s/he+H - ERG work this do (PAS) - PERF - EPI 1 - AUX (EGO)  
 « It looks like he did the work. » (The speaker made him do the work.)

A similar meaning as *yod-mdog.kha.po-yod* may be conveyed by the construction *mdog.kha.po-yod* with the lexical verb in the present-future stem. This is illustrated in the example below:

a) *khong kha.sa phyin - yod - mdog.kha.po - yod*  
 s/he+H yesterday go (PAS) - PERF - EPI 1 - AUX (EGO)  
 « It looks like she left yesterday. » (She told the speaker she would leave.  
 Today she is not at home.)

b) *khong kha.sa 'gro - mdog.kha.po - yod*  
 s/he+H yesterday go (PRS) - EPI 1 - AUX (EGO)  
 « It looks like she left yesterday. » (*idem*)

### 3. The verbal endings of the imperfective past and the present (and the future as a secondary meaning) with *gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-yod* and *gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-med*

The constructions *gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-yod* and *gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-med* are used in imperfective contexts. Just like the other constructions with the auxiliary *yod*, they are problematic and in the spoken language. The lexical verb is in the present-future stem. See the following sentence:

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<sup>196</sup> It was refused by one informant (Dawa) and accepted by another one (Tsheyang). The former one finally accepted the sentence but suggested that it was rare, complicated and possibly out of use.

!! *ltos a ye.shes rgya.gar - la 'gro*  
 look (IMP) ImpP Yeshe India - OBL go (PRS)  
 - *gi.yod - mdog.kha.po - med*  
 - IMPF - EPI 1 - AUX (EGO+NEG)

« Look! Yeshe probably won't go to India. » (The speaker was asked about Yeshe's going to India and he is thinking it over. He knows that Yeshe has already been there.)

### 4.8.3. CONCLUSION

The constructions with the epistemic suffix *mdog.kha.po* form the same tense-aspect paradigm as most types of epistemic endings. However, they have not yet undergone the whole process of suffixation and, therefore, may still be analyzed in three parts expressing respectively: the tense-aspect, the degree of certainty and the evidential meaning. The constructions with the auxiliaries *red* and *'dug*, unlike those with *yod*, are quite frequent in the spoken language in central Tibet. The *mdog.kha.po*-construction may be used in conditional sentences.

## 4.9. THE EPISTEMIC VERBAL ENDINGS WITH THE MORPHEME *sa*

### 4.9.1. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

#### 1. Formal description

This type of epistemic endings is characterized by the morpheme *sa* which connects the auxiliaries *yod* or *yin* with the auxiliary *red*, e.g. *yod.sa.red*. The negative endings are formed by adding the negative particle *ma* in front of *red*, e.g. *yod.sa.ma.red* (ex. 483a). In the exile, the endings with the negative copulas *med* and *min* were also accepted, e.g. *med.sa.red*, *min.sa.red*, *pa.med.sa.red* (ex. 483b). However, the informants suggested that the first way of negation was more frequent. In Lhasa, the second way of negation was rejected. The negative endings with the copulas *med* and

*min* are used in the Kham dialect<sup>197</sup> and thus they should be considered as dialectal. Compare the examples below:

a) *nyi.ma slebs - yod.sa.ma.red*

Nyima arrive - PERF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

« Most likely, Nyima has not arrived. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the person's car is not in front of the house.)

b) ! *nyi.ma slebs - med.sa.red*

Nyima arrive - PERF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

« Most likely, Nyima has not arrived. » (*idem*)

This epistemic type forms the following paradigm:

Affirmative endings:

*yod.sa.red*

*pa.yin.sa.red*

*gi.yod.sa.red*

*sa.red*

*rgyu.yin.sa.red*

Negative endings:

*yod.sa.ma.red*

*pa.yin.sa.ma.red*

*gi.yod.sa.ma.red*

*sa.ma.red*

-

Other endings do not exist, e.g. \* *gi.yin.sa.red*.

## 2. Semantic and pragmatic characteristics

The *sa*-endings express a rather high degree of certainty (higher than the *mdog.kha.po*-construction and comparable to the type *yod.kyi.red*) corresponding to degree EPI 2. Concerning evidentiality, in spite of the final auxiliary *red*, which usually implies the factual evidential, the *sa*-endings have sensory connotations. By implying an external source of information they resemble the type *yod.pa. 'dra*<sup>198</sup> (ex. 484a). As stated above, the *sa*-endings are the most frequent type of epistemic verbal

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<sup>197</sup> The following sentence was said by a Tibetan informant from Kham in the taxi when he saw the driver trying to reach the lock of the back door: *sgo byab - med.sa.red* "It seems that the door is not shut."

<sup>198</sup> See 4.7.

endings used by the Tibetan communities of the diaspora (India, Nepal). On the contrary, they are less frequent in central Tibet. The Lhasa people view them as dialectal because they are usually used by Tibetans coming to Lhasa from other regions (Kham, Hor)<sup>199</sup>. Nevertheless, they are an important part of the variety of Standard Tibetan spoken in the exile community.

a) *'o nyi.ma yin.sa.red / yin.pa.'dra*  
 oh Nyima be (EPI 2+SENS) / be (EPI 1+SENS)  
 « Oh, it is probably/perhaps Nyima. » (Someone is ringing three times. Nyima usually rings three times. So the speaker thinks it is Nyima.)

b) *khong - gi gzhas - stangs - la byas - na*  
 s/he+H - GEN song - way - OBL do (PAS) - if  
*khong - gi pha.yul skyid.po yod.sa.red*  
 s/he+H - GEN native place happy exist (EPI 2+SENS)  
 « Judging from his way of singing his native place must be happy. »

Moreover, it was suggested that the *sa*-endings were also sometimes used by the elder generation of the Lhasa native people. In the following example, (a) is what my informant (40 years old) said, (b) what his father might say:

a) *mgyogs.po ma - phyin - na char.pa btang - pa*  
 fast NEG - go(PAS) - if rain VBZ - FUT+EPI 3+SENS  
 « [We'd] better go soon. It looks like rain. » (The speaker is looking at the sky.)

b) *mgyogs.po ma - phyin - na char.pa btang - sa.red*  
 fast NEG - go(PAS) - if rain VBZ - FUT+EPI 2+SENS  
 « [We'd] better go soon. It is most probably going to rain. » (*idem.*)

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<sup>199</sup> Cf. the following sentences in the Kham dialect: *kho bod.pa yin.sa.red* “He is probably Tibetan.”, *kho las.la las - bzhin.yod.sa.red* “He probably works.”; *bzhin* corresponds to the connector *gi* in spoken Standard Tibetan.

### 3. Person

The combinations of the *sa*-endings with the first person subject are less frequent than those with third person and they are subject to more restrictions. The sentences with the first person subject often imply that the speaker does not remember the action well or that the action does not depend on his will. In the following example, only third person is grammatical:

a) \* *nga - r spa.se don - yod.sa.red*  
I - OBL permit get - PERF+EPI 2+SENS  
Intended: « I most probably got the permit. »

b) *khong - la spa.se don - yod.sa.red*  
s/he+H - OBL permit get - PERF+EPI 2+SENS  
« She most likely got the permit. » (The speaker infers from the fact that she looks happy.)

### 4. Epistemic adverbs

The endings with the morpheme *sa* can, in general, combine with the epistemic adverbs *gcig.byas.na* ‘perhaps’, *phal.cher* ‘(most) probably’ and *gtan.gtan* ‘certainly’. Below is an example with the first of them but it is also possible to use the other two adverbs:

*khong gcig.byas.na kha.sa slebs - yod.sa.red*  
s/he+H perhaps yesterday arrive - PERF+EPI 2+SENS  
« Maybe, he arrived yesterday. »

### 5. Copulas *yin.sa.red/yin.sa.ma.red* and *yod.sa.red/yod.sa.ma.red*

The epistemic copulas of this type are the essential copulas *yin.sa.red* and *yin.sa.ma.red* and the existential copulas *yod.sa.red* and *yod.sa.ma.red*. Their use is illustrated by the examples below:

*khong rgya.mi yin.sa.red*

s/he+H Chinese be (EPI 2+SENS)

« She is most likely Chinese. » (The speaker judges from her way of dressing.)

*tshong.khang de - r smyu.gu 'tshong - yag yod.sa.red*

shop that - OBL pen sell - NMZ be (EPI 2+SENS)

« Pens are most likely sold in that shop. » (The speaker infers from the fact that they sell paper and notebooks there.)

## 4.9.2. DESCRIPTION OF THE ENDINGS

### 1. The verbal endings of the present perfect *yod.sa.red* and *yod.sa.ma.red*

The endings *yod.sa.red* and *yod.sa.ma.red* are compatible with verbs of all verbal classes and may also appear in causative constructions when the subject is third person. Their use is more restricted in the first person subject sentences (ex. 491). With first person, it is usually necessary to use the secondary verb *myong* ‘experience’ before the epistemic ending (ex. 492). Compare the sentences below:

a) *khong kha.sa slebs - yod.sa.ma.red*

s/he+H yesterday arrive - PERF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

« She most likely didn’t arrive yesterday. » (The place is very far and the road is bad.)

b) *khyed.rang phebs - pa 'di - r khong hang.sang- yod.sa.red*

you+H come+H - NMZ this - OBL s/he+H surprise - PERF+EPI 2+SENS

« She was probably surprised at your coming [here]. »

a) \* *deb 'di nga - r brnyed - yod.sa.red*

book this I - OBL find - PERF+EPI 2+SENS

Intended: « I most likely found the book. »

b) *deb 'di a.ma - r brnyed - yod.sa.red*

book this mother - OBL find - PERF+EPI 2+SENS

« Mother most likely found the book. » (The speaker saw her doing the tidying-up yesterday.)

a) *ltos a nga bod.zas 'di za myong - yod.sa.red*

look(IMP) ImpP I Tibetan meal this eat (PRS) experience - PERF+EPI 2+SENS

« Look! I probably have eaten this Tibetan meal. » (It looks familiar to the speaker.)

b) \* *nga bod.zas 'di bzas - yod.sa.red*

I Tibetan meal this eat (PAS) - PERF+EPI 2+SENS

Intended: « I have most likely eaten this Tibetan meal. »

## 2. The verbal endings of the perfective past *pa.yin.sa.red* and *pa.yin.sa.ma.red*

The endings *pa.yin.sa.red* and *pa.yin.sa.ma.red* can be used with all verbal classes and the third person subject. However, they are less frequent than that the present perfect endings. The scope of probability is generally different than that of *yod.sa.red*. Look at the following examples:

*skad.cha 'di bkra.shis - kyis bshad - pa.yin.sa.ma.red*

speech this Tashi - ERG say - PFV+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

« Probably it wasn't Tashi who said it. » (The speaker infers from the fact that Tashi does not talk like this.)

a) *!! pa.sangs - la dngul rag - pa.yin.sa.red*

Pasang - OBL money get - PFV+EPI 2+SENS

« It was most likely Pasang who got money. »

The above sentence was found problematic and the present perfect ending *yod.sa.red* was suggested instead:

b) *pa.sangs - la dngul rag - yod.sa.red*

Pasang - OBL money get - PERF+EPI 2+SENS

« Pasang probably got money. » (The speaker saw Pasang in the shop buying a lot of things.)

3. The verbal endings of the imperfective past and the present (and the future as a secondary meaning) *gi.yod.sa.red* and *gi.yod.sa.ma.red*

The endings *gi.yod.sa.red* and *gi.yod.sa.ma.red* are used in imperfective contexts. They combine with verbs of all verbal classes and may appear in causative constructions. When the subject is first person, their use is more restricted. The lexical verb is in the present-future stem.

*spu.gu 'di dge.rgan - la zhed - kyi.yod.sa.red*

child this teacher - OBL be afraid - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS

« It seems the child is probably afraid of the teacher. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the child does not want to go to school.)

*nga - r chog.mchan rag - gi.yod.sa.ma.red*

I - OBL permit get - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

« It seems I won't get the permit. » (The speaker didn't get it before.)

The following conditional sentence with the imperfective ending *gyi.yod.sa.red* (a) was rejected but the temporal clause (*dus* 'when') with the same epistemic ending was accepted (b):

a) \* *nga ra.bzi - na zhabs.bro brgyab - gyi.yod.sa.red*

I be drunk - if dance VBZ - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS

Intended: « I will probably dance if I get drunk. »

b) *nga ra.bzi - dus zhabs.bro brgyab - gyi.yod.sa.red*

I be drunk - when dance VBZ - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS

« I probably dance when I am drunk. » (The speaker does not know what he does when he is drunk. However, he has some hints, e.g. his feet and body hurting the following day.)



#### 4. The verbal endings of the future *sa.red* and *sa.ma.red*

The endings *sa.red* and *sa.ma.red* are used in future contexts. They combine both with third and first person.<sup>200</sup> There is a disagreement among my informants concerning the stem of the preceding lexical verb (past vs. present-future).<sup>201</sup> The use of these epistemic endings is illustrated by the following examples:

*nga na - sa.red*<sup>202</sup>

I be ill - FUT+EPI 2+SENS

« It seems I am going to fall ill. » (The speaker is not feeling well.)

*las.ka 'di nga - r rag - sa.ma.red*

job this I - OBL get - FUT+EPI 2+SENS+NEG

« It seems I won't get this job. » (The speaker can see that there are many people applying for it.)

#### 4. The verbal ending of the (deontic) future *rgyu.yin.sa.red*

The ending *rgyu.yin.sa.red* is used in future contexts expressing “probably intend to do”. The lexical verb is in the present-future stem. This ending is, in general, not used with the first person subject. It has no negative counterpart.

*khyed.rang - la dga '.rogs brnyed - rgyu.yin.sa.red*

you+H - OBL girl/boy-friend find - FUT+EPI 2+SENS

« You have yet to find a girlfriend. » (The speaker can see that the other person is often alone.)

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<sup>200</sup> Note also that there is a nominalized construction in SST with the nominalizer *sa* implying the place of an action: *ja.khang 'di nga 'gro - sa red* “This tea house is where I go (i.e. the place where I go).” (repeated action).

<sup>201</sup> One informant preferred the past stem and another one the present-future stem. Both informants were born in Lhasa:

a) *khong phyin - sa.red*

s/he+H go (PAS) - FUT+EPI 2+SENS

« It seems he will go. »

b) *khong 'gro - sa.red*

s/he+H go (PRS) - FUT+EPI 2+SENS

« It seems he will go. »

<sup>202</sup> It was suggested that this sentence resembled that with the ending *pa. 'dug: nga na - pa*. “I must be falling ill.”.

### 4.9.3. CONCLUSION

The epistemic endings with the morpheme *sa* are very frequent among Tibetan speakers in the diaspora. They confirm the hypothesis about a lower frequency of the first person subject sentences. Unlike other types, this type has three endings that can be used in the future: *gi.yod.sa.red*, *sa.red*, and *rgyu.yin.sa.red*. Although the endings with the morpheme *sa* can sometimes be used in conditionals, my informants often preferred other types than *yod.sa.red*.

## 4.10. THE EPISTEMIC VERBAL ENDINGS WITH THE MORPHEME *yong*

In SST, there are three epistemic endings that contain the morpheme *yong*: the first one is *mi.yong.ngas*, and the other two are *yong* and *mi.yong*. Although I grouped them together in one type, I will discuss them separately.

### 4.10.1. THE EPISTEMIC ENDING *mi.yong.ngas*

#### 1. Formal characteristics

This epistemic ending is diachronically formed of the negative particle *mi*, the verb *yong* ‘be possible’ and the interrogative particle *ngas* corresponding literary to “Won’t it be possible?”. Originally interrogative, it now has an epistemic meaning. It has undergone the process of a phonological change and reduction from [*mijδηηä*] to [*mδηηä*] or [*majδηηä*]). Other combinations containing *yong* and *ngas*, e.g. *\*yong.ngas*, *\*gi.mi.yong.ngas*, do not exist in Tibetan, as shown in the following example:

\* *na.tsha ‘di drag - gi.mi.yong.ngas*  
illness this recover - IMPF+EPI 1+EGO  
Intended: « [She] will probably recover. »

#### 2. Semantic and pragmatic characteristics

In spite of its negative form, *mi.yong.ngas* has a positive meaning: the speaker considers something more probable than not. The degree of certainty corresponds to

EPI 1. It has an egophoric meaning. This epistemic ending is only used in future contexts. It is preceded by the past stem of the lexical verb. It is compatible with verbs of all verbal classes in the third person subject sentences. In sentences with the first person subject, *mi.yong.ngas* is often used with verbs of physical sensation (see ex. 506). It is also used in conditional sentences (see ex. 505). This epistemic ending is frequent in the spoken language.

*a.tsi khyi 'di shi - mi.yong.ngas*

oh dog this die - FUT+EPI 1+EGO

« Oh, my goodness! Isn't the dog going to die? » (The speaker has pity and he wishes that the dog doesn't die.)

a) *khong lha.sa - r phyin - mi.yong.ngas*

s/he+H Lhasa - OBL go(PAS) - FUT+EPI 1+EGO

« She will probably go to Lhasa. » (The speaker knows that she often goes there.)

b) *de.ring nga - r pa.pha - s gshe.gshe btang - mi.yong.ngas*

today I - OBL father - ERG scold VBZ - FUT+EPI 1+EGO

« Father will probably scold me today. » (The speaker is late. He knows that father usually scolds him when he is late.)

The ending *mi.yong.ngas* can be used in similar contexts as the construction *mdog.kha.po-red*. The following sentence is given as illustration:

*khong - la gsungs - dang khong - gis khyed.rang - la rogs.pa*

s/he+H - OBL tell+H - IMP s/he+H - ERG you+H - OBL help

*byas - mi.yong.ngas / byed - mdog.kha.po - red*

do (PAS) - FUT+EPI 1+EGO / do (PRS) - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)

*mi.yong.ngas*: « Tell her. I guess she will help you. » (Guessing from his personal experience, the speaker thinks that if the addressee talks to her in a pleasing way, she might help him.)

*mdog.kha.po-red*: « Tell her. She will probably help you. » (The speaker infers from the fact that she can do what the addressee needs and so he thinks she might help him.)

This epistemic ending is also used in conditional sentences to express the present real condition. This use is illustrated by the following example:

*nga - s skad.cha 'di.dras bshad - na khong tshig.pa*  
I - ERG speech like this say - if s/he+H anger  
*za - mi.yong.ngas*  
VBZ - FUT+EPI 1+EGO  
« If I talk like this, he will probably get angry. »

### 3. Person

In sentences with the first person subject, the ending *mi.yong.ngas* is rarely used with controllable verbs. If such combination occurs, the sentence expresses that the action does not depend on the speaker's will (ex. 507). *Mi.yong.ngas* is often used with first person after endopathic verbs (verbs of physical sensation), such as *grod.khog ltogs* 'be hungry', *khyag* 'be cold' (ex. 506). Look at the examples below:

a) *nga khyag - mi.yong.ngas*  
I be cold - FUT+EPI 1+EGO  
« Won't I be cold? / I might get cold. » (The speaker is going out early in the morning.)

b) *nga cham.pa brgyab - mi.yong.ngas*  
I a cold VBZ - FUT+EPI 1+EGO  
« It feels like I am catching a cold. », « I might be catching a cold. » (The speaker is not feeling well.)

*nga las.ka byas - mi.yong.ngas*  
I work do (PAS) - FUT+EPI 1+EGO  
« I wonder whether I will work. » (It does not depend on the speaker.)

### 4. Epistemic adverbs

It is sometimes possible to use the epistemic adverbs *gcig.byas.na* 'perhaps' and *phal.cher* '(most) probably' in sentences with the ending *mi.yong.ngas*. However, the sentences without these adverbs are more common. This epistemic ending is

incompatible with the adverb *gtan.gtan* ‘certainly’. Below is an example of the use of the epistemic adverbs *phal.cher* ‘(most) probably’ and *gcig.byas.na* ‘perhaps’:

a) *khong phal.cher nga - r dga‘.po byas - mi.yong.ngas*  
 s/he+H probably I - OBL like do (PAS) - FUT+EPI 1+EGO  
 « Probably, he will love me. »

b) *khong gcig.byas.na nga - r dga‘.po byas - mi.yong.ngas*  
 s/he+H perhaps I - OBL like do (PAS) - FUT+EPI 1+EGO  
 « He might love me [one day]. »

#### 4.10.2. THE EPISTEMIC ENDINGS AND COPULAS *yong* AND *mi.yong*

##### 1. Semantic and pragmatic characteristics

The degree of certainty expressed by the epistemic ending *yong*<sup>203</sup> (sometimes pronounced [jō̃]) and *mi.yong* (sometimes pronounced [majō̃]) is rather high corresponding to EPI 2. They imply the speaker’s own experience (egophoric connotations). They are quite frequent in the spoken language. These endings are used in past and future contexts, and in the generic present. The lexical verb is always in the past stem. They are compatible both with controllable and non-controllable verbs of different verbal classes. Look at the examples below: ex. (509a) illustrates the impossibility of the use of the present-future stem, ex. (510a) the use of *yong* in a past context, and ex. (510b) in a future context:

a) \* *khong - gis za - yong*  
 s/he+H - ERG eat (PRS) - FUT+EPI 2+EGO  
 Intended: « He’ll probably eat it. »

b) *khong - gis bzas - yong*  
 s/he+H - ERG eat (PAS) - FUT+EPI 2+EGO  
 « He’ll probably eat it. »

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<sup>203</sup> In SST, there is a copula that is formally identical with the ending *yong*.

a) 'grel.bshad byed - yag - gi deb 'di phal.cher

explain VBZ (PRS) - NMZ - GEN book this perhaps

khong - gis bris - yong

s/he+H - ERG write (PAS) - PFV+EPI 2+EGO

« It is probably he who wrote the manual. » (The speaker knows that the manuscript of the manual is at the person's place.)

b) khong sang.nyin slebs - yong

s/he+H tomorrow arrive - FUT+EPI 2+EGO

« She will probably arrive tomorrow. » (She told the speaker she would come on the 10<sup>th</sup> or the 11<sup>th</sup>. Today is the 10<sup>th</sup> in the evening and she has not arrived yet.)

The word *yong* is polysemic and can function as a lexical verb, a secondary verb, an evidential ending or copula, and an epistemic ending or copula (see also Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001). As a grammatical word, it is subject to the process of phonological reduction. All the uses are illustrated by the examples below:

### 1. Lexical verb

As a lexical verb, *yong* can either be a controllable verb conveying the meaning of 'come' or a non-controllable verb meaning 'happen', 'obtain', 'appear' or 'be possible'. Both uses are illustrated by the following sentences:

khong yong - gi.red

s/he+H come - FUT+FACT

« She will come. »

'di yong - gi.red - pas

this be possible - FUT+FACT - IP

« Will this be possible? »

### 2. Secondary verb

*Yong* is also a directional and aspectual verb (see also 5.2.14.). It indicates a direction towards the speaker or the inchoative, progressive and iterative aspects. Look at the following example with *yong* implying the inchoative aspect:

*tshal 'di skyur yong - gis*  
 vegetable this be sour come - PRS+SENS  
 « These vegetables are turning sour. »

### 3. Evidential ending/copula

As an evidential ending/copula, *yong* implies the speaker's experience: it is often used for actions that the speaker experienced during his lifetime. The copula *yong* combines with adjectives. Below are examples of *yong* as a copula (ex. 514), and as a verbal ending (ex. 515):

a) *bod - la gnam.gshis grang.mo yong*  
 Tibet - OBL weather cold be (EGO)  
 « The weather in Tibet is cold. » (The speaker has been to Tibet.)

b) *bod.zas 'di zhim.po mi.yong*  
 Tibetan meal this good exist (EGO+NEG)  
 « This Tibetan meal is not good. » (The speaker has eaten it before.)

*sngon.ma yin -na tshong.pa mang.po rgya.gar - la phyin - yong*  
 formerly be -if merchant many India - OBL go(PAS) - PFV+EGO  
 « Formerly, many merchants went to India. » (The speaker remembers that they went there when he was young.)

Furthermore, the evidential ending *yong* may imply imminent danger or risk (see Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso 2001). It is used in the near future. Look at the following examples:

a) *'di ma - za na - yong*  
 this NEG - eat (IMP) be ill - FUT+EGO  
 « Do not eat it! You will be sick. » (The speaker's experience: 'If it was me, I would be sick.'. Thus, the other person should be careful too.)

b) *mo.Ta mgyogs.po btang - na brdung - yong*  
 car fast drive - if smash - FUT+EGO  
 « If [you] drive fast, there is a risk of a car crash. »

In view of the results of my fieldwork, the ending/copula *yong* may have other meanings than only imminent danger. It is also used in contexts implying threat, irritation or annoyance, as illustrated in the examples below:

a) *rang kha.bde.po yong*

you cheeky be (EGO)

« You are cheeky. » (threat: If you keep doing so, I'll teach you/you shall catch it.)

b) *nga - s ja 'di btungs - mi.yong*

I - ERG tea this drink - FUT(EGO)

« Don't worry! I won't drink the tea. » (annoyance: The speaker is annoyed because the other person thinks that he will drink the tea.)

#### 4. Epistemic ending/copula

As shown at the beginning of this section (ex. 509, 510), *yong* also implies an epistemic meaning. Compare the following two sentences: in ex. (518a) *yong* is interpreted as an evidential ending (100% of certainty), and in ex. (518b) as an epistemic ending (<100% of certainty):

a) *'dir ma - bzhag khyi - s bzas - yong*

here NEG - put dog - ERG eat (PAS) - FUT+EGO

« Don't put it here! The dog will eat it. » (implying danger)

b) *a.la'i ma - dbyugs 'dir bzhag khong - gis bzas - yong*

ah NEG - throw here put s/he+H - ERG eat (PAS) - FUT+EPI 2+EGO

« Wait, do not throw it! Put it here! She will probably eat it. » (implying possibility: The speaker knows she likes it.)<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> My informants suggested that the sentence was similar to the sentences with *za - mdog.kha.po-red* (see 4.8.) and *bzas - 'gro* (4.6.), which both have an epistemic meaning.



## 2. Person

It is possible to use the epistemic endings *yong* and *mi.yong* with the third and first person subjects. In the latter case, they are, however, subject to more constraints, e.g. they do not combine with first person when the subject is the source of information (because thus he knows it for sure). There was also a disagreement among the informants concerning the acceptability of some combinations. This disagreement is illustrated by the following sentences:

a) ? *chang mang.po blug na nga ra.bzi - yong*

*chang* a lot      *pour* if I      *be drunk* - FUT+EPI 2+EGO

« If [you] pour [me] a lot of *chang*, I will probably get drunk. » (The action does not depend on the speaker's will.)

The above sentence is acceptable with the third person subject.

b) ? *nga na - mi.yong*

I      *be ill* - FUT+EPI 2+EGO+NEG

« I can't fall ill. » (The speaker does not feel quite well but he thinks he won't fall sick.)

## 3. Epistemic adverbs

The epistemic endings *yong* and *mi.yong* do not generally combine with epistemic adverbs. It is, however, sometimes possible to use them with *gcig.byas.na* 'perhaps' and *phal.cher* '(most) probably', and exceptionally with *gtan.gtan* 'certainly'. There is no agreement on the acceptability of such combinations among the informants (ex. 520a). Look at the examples below:

a) ? *khong phal.cher las.ka byas - mi.yong*

s/he+H      *probably*      *work*      *do (PAS)* - FUT+EPI 2+EGO+NEG

« She will probably not work. »

b) \* *khong gtan.gtan las.ka byas - mi.yong*

s/he+H      *surely*      *work*      *do (PAS)* - FUT+EPI 2+EGO+NEG

Intended: « She will certainly not work. »

a) *khong gcig.byas.na yid.ches - yong*

s/he+H perhaps believe - FUT+EPI 2+EGO

« Maybe, he will believe [you]. » (‘You tell him! He will rather believe you than me.’)

b) *khong gtan.gtan yid.ches - yong*

s/he+H certainly believe - FUT+EPI 2+EGO

« Certainly, he will believe [you]. » (*idem.*)

### 4.10.3. CONCLUSION

The endings with the morpheme *yong* are quite frequent in the spoken language. The ending *mi.yong.ngas* is semantically positive though formally negative. The endings *yong* and *mi.yong* are homonymous with the evidential endings *yong* and *mi.yong*. These endings also confirm the hypothesis about a more restricted use of epistemic endings in sentences with the first person subject. They may be used in conditional sentences.

## 4.11. THE EPISTEMIC VERBAL ENDINGS WITH THE MORPHEME *bzo*

### 4.11.1. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

#### 1. Formal description

From a diachronic point of view, this type of epistemic endings contains the morpheme *bzo* (the etymology of the word *bzo* is ‘shape’) and the final auxiliary ‘*dug* or *yod*, e.g. *yod.bzo*. ‘*dug*, *bzo.yod*. It is not possible to use other auxiliaries (*yod.red*, *yin*, *red*). The *bzo*-endings with the auxiliary *yod* are very rare in spoken Standard Tibetan. The negative endings are formed by adding the negative particle *mi* in front of ‘*dug*, e.g. *gi.yod.bzo.mi*. ‘*dug*, not by using the negative auxiliary *med*, \**gi.med.bzo*. ‘*dug* (see ex. 522). In the case of *bzo*-endings with the auxiliary *yod*, the negative auxiliary *med* is used, e.g. *yod.bzo.med*.

a) \* *khong mi 'di - r zhed - kyi.med.bzo. 'dug*  
 s/he+H person this - OBL be afraid - IMPF+EPI 1+SENS+NEG

Intended: « It does not seem she is afraid of that person. »

b) *khong mi 'di - r zhed - kyi.yod.bzo.mi. 'dug*<sup>205</sup>  
 s/he+H person this - OBL be afraid - IMPF+EPI 1+SENS+NEG

« It does not seem she is afraid of that person. » (The speaker can see that she is arguing with that person.)

This epistemic type forms the following paradigm:

Affirmative endings:

*yod.bzo. 'dug*

*pa.yin.bzo. 'dug*

*gi.yod.bzo. 'dug*

*bzo. 'dug*

*rgyu.yin.bzo. 'dug*

*yod.bzo.yod*

*gi.yod.bzo.yod*

*bzo.yod*

Negative endings:

*yod.bzo.mi. 'dug*

*pa.yin.bzo.mi. 'dug*

*gi.yod.bzo.mi. 'dug*

*bzo.mi. 'dug*

-

*yod.bzo.med*

*gi.yod.bzo.med*

*bzo.med*

Other combinations are not grammatical, e.g. \**gi.yin.bzo. 'dug*.

Moreover, in SST, there are constructions with the morpheme *bzo* that are in the process of grammaticalization (suffixation):

V - *pa : 'i : bzo : 'dug*

V - *yag : gi : bzo : 'dug*

V - *pa : 'i : bzo : mi : 'dug*

V - *yag : gi : bzo : mi : 'dug*

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<sup>205</sup> One informant preferred the use of the ending *gi.med.pa. 'dra*.

## 2. Semantic and pragmatic characteristics

The epistemic endings with the morpheme *bzo* convey a similar degree of certainty as the *mdog.kha.po*-construction (degree EPI 1). Concerning evidential modality, they have sensory connotations. From a semantic point of view, the *bzo*-endings resemble the *mdog.kha.po*-construction and the '*dra*-endings. There are, nevertheless, minor differences among the three types (*yod.bzo*. '*dug*, *-mdog.kha.po*- '*dug*, *yod.pa*. '*dra*). The suffix *mdog.kha.po* is derived from *mdog* i.e. *kha.mdog* meaning 'colour', *bzo* i.e. *bzo.lta* 'manner, appearance, shape, form' and '*dra* 'be like, be similar, look as if, seem, appear'. Compare the following examples with the copula *yod.bzo*. '*dug* and the construction *mdog.kha.po*- '*dug* (ex. 523), and with the copulas *yin.bzo*. '*dug* and *yin.pa*. '*dra* (ex. 524):

a) *kha.lag* '*di* *zhim.po* *yod.bzo*. '*dug*

meal this tasty exist (EPI 1+SENS)

« The meal seems to be tasty. » (The people eating the meal seem to be enjoying it.)

b) *kha.lag* '*di* *zhim* - *mdog.kha.po* - '*dug*

meal this be tasty - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS)

« The meal looks tasty. » (Looking at the meal, the speaker thinks it is tasty but he hasn't tried it.)

a) *spu.gu* '*di* *khong* - *gi* *yin.bzo*. '*dug*

child this s/he+H - GEN be (EPI 1+SENS)

« The child looks like his child. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the child has the same nose or hair as that person.)

b) *spu.gu* '*di* *khong* - *gi* *yin.pa*. '*dra*

child this s/he+H - GEN be (EPI 2+SENS)

« The child seems to be his child. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the person is holding the child's hand.)

The frequency of the *bzo*-type is quite low in the spoken language, lower than that of most other epistemic verbal endings. It was suggested that they used to be more

common in the spoken language formerly than they are today.

### 3. Person

It is possible to use the *bzo*-type both with first and third person. When used in sentences with the first person subject, the *bzo*-endings often imply that the speaker cannot remember the action (usually preceded by the secondary verb *myong* ‘experience’). However, such sentences are even less frequent than the sentences with the third person subject. Other epistemic endings are used instead, e.g. *yod.pa.yod*, *yod.pa.‘dra*. Below is an example with the first person subject:

*nga sa.cha ‘di - r slebs (myong) - yod.bzo.‘dug*  
I place this - OBL come (experience) - PERF+EPI 1+SENS  
« Apparently, I have been to this place before. » (The place looks familiar to the speaker.)

### 4. Epistemic adverbs

The *bzo*-endings can combine with the epistemic adverbs *phal.cher* ‘(most) probably’ and *gtan.gtan* ‘certainly’. The combinations with the adverb *gcig.byas.na* ‘perhaps’ were found odd. The use of the *bzo*-endings with these epistemic adverbs is illustrated by the examples below:

a) *nyi.ma - la phal.cher dgongs.pa rag - yod.bzo.mi.‘dug*  
Nyima - OBL probably vacation get - PERF+EPI 1+SENS+NEG  
« Nyima probably didn’t get vacation. » (The speaker saw that Nyima looked angry when going out of the boss’s office.)

b) *nyi.ma - la gtan.gtan dgongs.pa rag - yod.bzo.mi.‘dug*  
Nyima - OBL surely vacation get - PERF+EPI 1+SENS+NEG  
« Nyima certainly didn’t get vacation. » (*idem.*)

c) *!! nyi.ma - la gcig.byas.na dgongs.pa rag - yod.bzo.mi.‘dug*  
Nyima - OBL perhaps vacation get - PERF+EPI 1+SENS+NEG  
« Maybe, Nyima didn’t get vacation. »

## 5. Copulas *yin.bzo. 'dug/yin.bzo.mi. 'dug* and *yod.bzo. 'dug/yod.bzo.mi. 'dug*

The epistemic copulas of this type are the essential copulas *yin.bzo. 'dug* and *yin.bzo.mi. 'dug* and the existential copulas *yod.bzo. 'dug* and *yod.bzo.mi. 'dug*. Look at the examples below:

a) *mi 'di bod.pa yin.bzo.mi. 'dug*

person this Tibetan be (EPI 1+SENS+NEG)

« This person does not seem to be Tibetan. » (The speaker bases his judgement on a visual perception of the person.)

b) *blo.bzang - la tshig.mdzod chen.mo yod.bzo. 'dug*

Lobzang - OBL Great dictionary exist (EPI 1+SENS)

« It seems Lobzang has (a copy of) “Great dictionary”. » (The speaker infers from the fact that Lobzang has a thick book with him. The dictionary is also thick.)

## 4.11.2. DESCRIPTION OF THE ENDINGS

### 4.11.2.1. The endings with the final auxiliary *'dug*

#### 1. The verbal endings of the present perfect *yod.bzo. 'dug* and *yod.bzo.mi. 'dug*

The epistemic endings *yod.bzo. 'dug* and *yod.bzo.mi. 'dug* are used in perfective contexts. They are compatible with verbs of all classes and may appear in causative constructions. Sentences with these endings are more common without an animate agent in the spoken language. Their use with the first person subject is exceptional. Instead, the endings *yod.pa.yod* or *yod.pa. 'dra* are used. Look at the following examples:

*khong - gis kha.lag bzas - yod.bzo. 'dug*

s/he+H - ERG food eat (PAS) - PERF+EPI 1+SENS

« She seems to have eaten. » (The speaker can see an empty plate on the table.)

*chu.tshod 'di bzhug - la las<sup>206</sup> - yod.bzo.'dug*  
 watch this tail - OBL be left behind - PERF+EPI 1+SENS  
 « The watch seems to be slow. » (It was three o'clock when the speaker was leaving the school. It takes him about twenty minutes to get home. When he gets home the watch shows only ten past three.)

\* *nga - s deb 'di nyos - yod.bzo.'dug*  
 I - ERG book this buy (PAS) - PERF+EPI 1+SENS  
 Intended: « It seems I bought the book. »

2. The verbal endings of the perfective past *pa.yin.bzo.'dug* and *pa.yin.bzo.mi.'dug*  
 The epistemic endings *pa.yin.bzo.'dug* and *pa.yin.bzo.mi.'dug* may combine with verbs of all verbal classes and appear in causative constructions with the third person subject. They hardly combine with the first person subject. Instead, my informants suggested *yod.bzo.'dug* or other types (*pa.yin.pa.yod*, *pa.yin.pa.'dra*) according to the context. Compare the examples below:

a) *khong - gis bod.skad a.mdo - nas sbyangs - pa.yin.bzo.'dug*  
 s/he+H - ERG Tibetan language Amdo - ABL learn - PFV+EPI 1+SENS  
 « She seems to have learnt Tibetan in Amdo. » or « It seems it is in Amdo that she learnt Tibetan. » (The speaker infers from the fact that she speaks with the Amdo accent.)

b) *mi de bsad - pa.yin.bzo.mi.'dug*  
 man that kill - PFV+EPI 3+SENS+NEG  
 « It doesn't seem that man was killed. » (The speaker can see some indications of a suicide.)

\* *glog.brnyan 'di nga - s lta - pa.yin.bzo.'dug*  
 movie this I - ERG watch(PAS) - PFV+EPI 1+SENS  
 Intended: « It seems I saw the movie. »

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<sup>206</sup> In literary Tibetan, it is spelt *lus* 'be left behind'.

3. The verbal endings of the imperfective past and the present (and the future as a secondary meaning) *gi.yod.bzo. 'dug* and *gi.yod.bzo.mi. 'dug*

The epistemic endings *gi.yod.bzo. 'dug* and *gi.yod.bzo.mi. 'dug* are compatible with all verbal classes and also appear in causative constructions in sentences with the third person subject. When the subject is first person, the endings cannot combine with the affective verbs. The use of these endings is illustrated by the following sentences:

a) *khong - tsho khang.pa de - r bsdad - kyi.yod.bzo. 'dug*  
s/he+H - pl house that - OBL stay - IMPF+EPI 1+SENS  
« They seem to be staying in that house. » (The speaker saw them enter the house in the evening.)

b) *sgrol.ma slob.tshan 'di - r dga' - gi.yod.bzo.mi. 'dug*  
Dolma class this - OBL like - IMPF+EPI 1+SENS+NEG  
« Dolma does not seem to like this class. » (The speaker infers from the fact that she has not attended it.)

*khong mgyogs.po rgya.nag - la 'gro - gi.yod.bzo. 'dug*  
s/he+H soon China - OBL go(PRS) - IMPF+EPI 1+SENS  
« It seems she will soon go to China. » (The speaker infers from the fact that she has guidebooks of China.)

\* *nga mi de - r yid.ches - kyi.yod.bzo. 'dug*  
I man that - OBL believe - IMPF+EPI 1+SENS  
Intended: « It seems I believe that man. »

4. The verbal endings of the future *bzo. 'dug* and *bzo.mi. 'dug*

The endings *bzo. 'dug* and *bzo.mi. 'dug* express possible future actions. They are compatible with verbs of all verbal classes and may also be used in causative constructions. The lexical verb is generally the present-future stem (Although some of my informants accepted the past stem, they preferred the present-future. It was also suggested that such combinations as in ex. 536b were dialectal). Look at the following examples:



a) *khong gzhis.ka.rtse - r 'gro - bzo.'dug*  
 s/he+H Shigatse - OBL go(PRS) - FUT+EPI 1+SENS  
 « It seems she will go. » (The speaker heard her saying she was thinking of going there.)

b) ?? *khong phyin - bzo.'dug*  
 s/he+H go(PAS) - FUT+EPI 1+SENS  
 « It seems she will go. »

*de.ring char.pa btang - bzo.mi.'dug*  
 today rain VBZ - FUT+EPI 1+SENS+NEG  
 « It does not seem it is going to rain today. » (The speaker infers from the fact that there are no clouds in the sky.)

With the first person subject, *bzo.'dug* and *bzo.mi.'dug* are usually not compatible with controllable verbs, e.g. *'gro* 'go', *byed* 'do' but they may be used with non-controllable verbs, as shown below:

a) *de.ring nga na - bzo.'dug*  
 today I be ill - FUT+EPI 1+SENS  
 « Today, I seem to be getting ill. » (The speaker is not feeling well.)

b) \* *nga 'gro - bzo.'dug*  
 I go (PRS) - FUT+EPI 1+SENS  
 Intended: « It seems I will go [there]. »

##### 5. The verbal ending of the (deontic) future *rgyu.yin.bzo.'dug*

The ending *rgyu.yin.bzo.'dug* is used for future actions that correspond in English to 'seem to intend to do (because one has not done yet)'. It is preceded by the present-future stem of the lexical verb. This ending does not usually combine with the first person subject. It has no negative counterpart. See the following example:

*spen.pa - s mo.Ta 'di 'tshong - rgyu.yin.bzo. 'dug*

Penpa - ERG car this sell - FUT+EPI 1+SENS

« It seems Penpa has yet to sell the car. » (A couple of days ago, Penpa said he would sell the car. But the speaker saw it in front of Penpa's house today in the morning.)

#### 4.11.2.2. The endings with the final auxiliary *yod*

1. The past endings: the present perfect *yod.bzo.yod* and *yod.bzo.med*, the perfective past *pa.yin.bzo.yod* and *pa.yin.bzo.med*, the perfective past *bzo.yod* and *bzo.med*

To begin with, all these endings are very rare in SST. The endings *yod.bzo.yod* and *yod.bzo.med* are compatible with verbs of all classes. Concerning *pa.yin.bzo.yod* and *pa.yin.bzo.med*, most of the examples with these endings were rejected or classified as complicated (ex. 541). The endings *bzo.yod* and *bzo.med* are used to express possible past events, never future events. They are compatible with verbs of all verbal classes and follow the present-future stem of the lexical verb. The use of all the above endings is illustrated by the following examples:

*khong slob.grwa - r phyin - yod.bzo.yod*

s/he+H school - OBL go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 1+EGO

« It seems he went to school. » (She is not at home. The speaker knows that he goes to school.)

*!ri.mo 'di khong - gis bris - pa.yin.bzo.yod*

picture this s/he+H - ERG write (PAS) - PFV+EPI 1+EGO

« It seems he drew this drawing. »

*khong phal.cher kong.po - r 'gro - bzo.yod*

s/he+H perhaps Kongpo - OBL go (PRS) - PERF+EPI 1+EGO

« It seems she went to Kongpo. » (She was talking about going to Kongpo. Today she is neither at home nor in her office.)

2. The verbal endings of the imperfective past and the present (and the future as a secondary meaning) *gi.yod.bzo.yod* and *gi.yod.bzo.med*

The endings *gi.yod.bzo.yod* and *gi.yod.bzo.med* are compatible with all verbal classes but in SST they are rarely used. The lexical verb is in the present-future stem. Look at some examples of these endings:

*khong 'go.khrid - r zhed - kyi.yod.bzo.med*

s/he+H boss - OBL be afraid - IMPF+EPI 1+EGO+NEG

« It seems he is not afraid of the boss. » (The speaker judges from the way the person talks with him about the boss.)

Compared to the ending *gi.yod.bzo. 'dug*, which is used when the speaker makes a judgement from the appearance of things in the present moment, *gi.yod.bzo.yod* is rather used for general and repeated actions, as illustrated in the example below:

a) *khong las.ka byed - kyi.yod.bzo. 'dug*

s/he+H work do (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 1+SENS

« It seems she is working now. » (The speaker infers from the fact that she is not at home now.)

b) *khong (deng.sang) las.ka byed - kyi.yod.bzo.yod*

s/he+H (recently) work do(PRS) - IMPF+EPI 1+EGO

« It seems she works. » (The speaker infers from the fact that she usually/these days is not at home.)

### **4.11.2.3. The constructions with the morpheme *bzo***

1. The constructions of V - *pa : 'i : bzo : 'dug* and V - *pa : 'i : bzo : mi : 'dug* expressing the present perfect tense

From a diachronic point of view, these constructions consist of a lexical verb followed by the nominalizer *pa*, the genitive suffix *'i*, the morpheme *bzo*, (the negative particle *mi*), and the copula *'dug*. They express possible past actions having some relation to the present and they have sensory connotations. From a synchronic point of view, these constructions are in the process of grammaticalization, i.e. developing into a suffix *pa 'i.bzo. 'dug* or *pa 'i.bzo.mi. 'dug* but this process has not yet been completed.

Thus in this dissertation, they are written in the following way: *pa : 'i : bzo : 'dug* and *pa : 'i : bzo : mi : 'dug*. These constructions may be used with verbs of all verbal classes and in causative constructions both with the third and first person subjects. The sentences with the first person subject are, however, subject to more constraints (ex. 547b). The following examples illustrate the use of these constructions:

*bstan. 'dzin pha.yul - la phebs - pa : 'i : bzo : 'dug*  
 Tenzin native place - OBL go+H - PERF+EPI 1+SENS  
 « Tenzin seems to have been home (his native place). » (The speaker infers from the fact that Tenzin has something new, typical of his native place, with him.)

*nga deb 'di mthong (myong)<sup>207</sup> - pa : 'i : bzo : 'dug*  
 I book this see (experience) - PERF+EPI 1+SENS  
 « It seems I have seen this book. » (The book looks familiar to the speaker but he is not sure whether he has seen it or not.)

a) *khong - la spu.gu 'khor - pa : 'i : bzo : 'dug*  
 s/he+H - OBL child be pregnant - PERF+EPI 1+SENS  
 « It seems she is pregnant. » (The speaker infers from the fact that she vomits.)

b) \* *nga - r spu.gu 'khor - pa : 'i : bzo : 'dug*  
 I - OBL child be pregnant - PERF+EPI 1+SENS  
 Intended: « It seems I am pregnant. »

In SST, there is an expression with *ra cig* (derived from *'dra.po cig* meaning 'a similar [one]') which is added between *bzo* and *'dug*, i.e. diachronically *V - pa - 'i bzo 'dra.po cig 'dug* (ex. 548a) or synchronically *V - pa : 'i : bzo : ra : cig : 'dug* (ex. 548b). It can have two meanings: the first one 'appear, look like (but in reality not be one like that)', the second one 'perhaps be, seem' that is similar to *pa : 'i : bzo : 'dug* (ex. 548c). Compare the following examples:

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<sup>207</sup> My informants preferred the sentence with the secondary verb *myong* 'experience'.

a) *khong kha.lag bzas - pa - 'i bzo 'dra.po cig 'dug*  
 s/he+H food eat (PAS) - NMZ - GEN form similar one exist (SENS)

b) *khong kha.lag bzas - pa : 'i : bzo : ra : cig : 'dug*  
 s/he+H food eat (PAS) - PERF+EPI 1+SENS

1. « She looks as if she has eaten. » (but she hasn't)

2. « She seems to have eaten. » (She has traces of food around her mouth.).

c) *khong kha.lag bzas - pa : 'i : bzo : 'dug*  
 s/he+H food eat(PAS) - PERF+EPI 1+SENS

« She seems to have eaten. » (The speaker can see some traces of food around her mouth.)

## 2. The construction of V - *yag : gi : bzo : 'dug* and V - *yag : gi : bzo : mi : 'dug* expressing the present and the future tense

From a diachronic point of view, this construction consists of a lexical verb that is followed by the nominalizer *yag*, the genitive suffix *gi*, the morpheme *bzo*, (the negative particle *mi*), and the copula *'dug*. It has sensory connotations and is usually used in present contexts (that may go on in the future). Just like the preceding construction, from a synchronic point of view, this construction is in the process of grammaticalization (*yag : gi : bzo : 'dug* > *yag.gi.bzo. 'dug*). It can be used with the third and first person subjects. The use of this construction is illustrated by the sentences below:

*khong chang.sa brgyab - yag : gi : bzo : 'dug*  
 s/he+H wedding VBZ - IMPF+EPI 1+SENS

« It seems she is getting married. » (The speaker saw her peruse a magazine with wedding dresses.)

*nga phal.cher cham.pa brgyab - yag : gi : bzo : 'dug*  
 I probably cold catch - IMPF+EPI 1+SENS

« It seems I'm catching a cold. / It feels I am about to catch a cold. » (The speaker can feel it in his nose and throat.)

*de.ring nga yag.po ma - yong - yag : gi : bzo : 'dug*

today I good NEG - come - IMPF+EPI 1+SENS

« I feel something not OK might happen to me today. » (The speaker had a bad dream.)

#### **4.11.3. CONCLUSION**

This type of endings is rather marginal in an analysis of epistemic types that are used in spoken Standard Tibetan because its frequency in the spoken language is very low. However, this type is remarkable from the point of view of grammaticalization for it shows various degrees of grammaticalization of epistemic constructions into epistemic verbal endings.

## V.

# THE SECONDARY VERBS AND EPISTEMIC VERBAL ENDINGS

### 5.1. SECONDARY VERBS

Between the lexical verb and the verbal ending, there is a syntactic position corresponding to a secondary verb<sup>208</sup>. The secondary verb specifies the meaning of the lexical verb. There are about twenty secondary verbs that are frequently used in spoken Standard Tibetan. They include modal, aspectual and directional verbs. There are two types of secondary verbs<sup>209</sup>. The first type has the same syntactic behaviour as lexical verbs and is followed by TAM verbal endings. The other one behaves like nominalizers and, therefore, can only be followed by auxiliaries that are identical to copulas:

1) Sec 1: *thub*, *dgos*, *chog1* (modal), *shes*, *srid*, *nus*, *ran*, *tshar*, *bsdad*, *'gro*, *yong*, *myong*.

2) Sec 2: *'dod*, *chog2* (aspectual), *rtsis*, *long* and *grabs*<sup>210</sup>.

<b>V + Sec 1 - TAM verbal ending</b>
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a) *mo.rang - gis las.ka 'di byed thub - song*

she - ERG work this do (PRS) be able - PFV+SENS

« She was able to do this work. »

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<sup>208</sup> The term 'secondary verb' was introduced by Kesang Gyurme (*bya.tshig phal.ba*) and translated by Nicolas Tournadre (see Kesang Gyurme:1992).

<sup>209</sup> The division of secondary verbs in two types was suggested in my D.E.A dissertation, see Vokurkova (2002).

<sup>210</sup> The verbal status of *grabs* is problematic, see 5.2.15.

b) *da.lta rang 'gro dgos - kyi.yod.pa.'dra*  
 now you go (PRS) must - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « Apparently, you have to go now. »

<b>V + Sec 2 + auxiliary</b>
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a) *khong - la 'gro long yod.red*  
 s/he+H - OBL go (PRS) have time AUX (FACT)  
 « She has time to go (there). »

b) *bkra.shis am.chi byed rtsis yod.pa.'dra*  
 Tashi doctor do (PRS) intend AUX (EPI 2+SENS)  
 « It seems that Tashi intends to be a doctor. » (The speaker infers from the fact that he reads lots of books about medicine.)

From a semantic and syntactic point of view, several of the above secondary verbs have a particular behaviour: they are limited to one tense, they change their meaning, or they occupy the final position in the sentence, thus resembling verbal endings. The latter one is another example of grammaticalization, this time of a single lexical word into a verbal ending. It is the case of *dgos*, *chog*, *yong*, *tshar* and *myong*. They are preceded, with the exception of *myong*, by the past stem of the lexical verb (if this one is used in the spoken language). The subject is always first person. Moreover, the subject of the sentences containing *dgos*, *chog* and *yong* is always in the ergative case (ex. 554), and in sentences containing *tshar* and *myong* always in the absolutive (ex. 555). The former three express the egophoric allocentric future, *tshar* and *myong* the egophoric present perfect. From a phonetic point of view, they are all toneless.

These secondary verbs differ in the degree of grammaticalization they have achieved by now. Since *myong* and *tshar* have still partially preserved their lexical meaning of ‘have an experience of’ and ‘finish’, respectively, in my dissertation, I treat them as secondary verbs. The other three, *dgos*, *chog*, and *yong* (in its use as a future ending) are classified as verbal endings (see 2.2.2.5.1.). Finally, it should be underlined that this is limited only to utterances conveying certain information. In epistemic contexts, the allocentric *dgos*, *chog*, and *yong* are not used, and *tshar* and *myong* are followed by an epistemic verbal ending.



In the article on “Final auxiliary verbs in Tibetan”, Tournadre and Konchok Jiatso (2001:88) describe the grammaticalization of four secondary verbs, *yong* and *tshar* among them, as follows: “... [they] 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.”

Look at the following examples:

*nga - s byas - dgos / chog*

I - ERG do (PAS) - FUT+EGO ALL

« I'll do it (for you). »

a) *nga byas - tshar*

I do (PAS) - finish+PERF+EGO

« I have finished. »

b) *nga bal.yul - la 'gro - myong*

I Nepal - OBL go (PRS) - experience+PERF+EGO

« I have gone to Nepal. » (The speaker has an experience of going to Nepal.)

## 5.2. THE USE OF THE SECONDARY VERBS WITH EPISTEMIC VERBAL ENDINGS

In the sentence, as stated above, the secondary verbs occupy the syntactic position between the lexical verb and the TAM verbal ending (evidential or epistemic). This part deals with the use of the secondary verbs with epistemic endings. There are some restrictions on their use. In the following sections, their possible combinations and restrictions will be discussed and illustrated by examples<sup>211</sup>.

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<sup>211</sup> Some examples are taken from Vokurkova (2002).

It should be emphasized that I concentrate on the affirmative epistemic endings and that most of the examples contain an affirmative ending. However, it is, in general, possible to use a corresponding negative ending as well unless the context prevents such change. The affirmative and negative endings only differ in polarity (the negative endings imply a higher degree than 50% of the speaker's belief of the non-actuality of his utterance), not in other parameters (see 3.2.1.2., also 1.3.3.). Below is an example of the affirmative imperfective epistemic ending *gi.yod.pa. 'dra* (a), and the negative imperfective epistemic ending *gi.med.pa. 'dra*:

a) *khong par brgyab chog - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H photo VBZ be allowed - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems he is allowed to take pictures. »

b) *khong par brgyab chog - gi.med.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H photo VBZ be allowed - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS+NEG  
 « It seems he is not allowed to take pictures. »

Just like sentences with a lexical verb and an epistemic ending, it is also possible to use epistemic adverbs in sentences containing a secondary verb and an epistemic ending (or auxiliary). Their use is subject to some restrictions depending, among others, on the epistemic ending and the context. When they occur together with an epistemic ending (or auxiliary), these adverbs modify the epistemic meaning of the whole sentence because they interact with the meaning of the verbal ending. As a rule, the semantic meaning of the adverb is stronger than that of the verbal ending. The most frequently used epistemic adverbs implying probability are *gcig.byas.na* 'perhaps' and *phal.cher* '(most) probably'. A less frequently used epistemic adverb, *gtan.gtan* 'certainly', conveys a higher degree of the speaker's certainty. Look at the examples below of sentences with a secondary verb that contain both an epistemic adverb and an epistemic ending:

a) *khong gcig.byas.na lha.sa - r 'gro chog - gi.yod.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H perhaps Lhasa - OBL go (PRS) be allowed - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems he is allowed to go to Lhasa. »

b) *nga gtan.gtan nang - la nyal thub - pa*  
 I certainly inside - OBL sleep can - FUT+EPI 3+SENS  
 « I can certainly sleep at home. »

### 5.2.1. THE MODAL VERB *thub* ‘be able’, ‘can’

The secondary verb *thub* can combine with the majority of epistemic endings: the present perfect and the imperfective. It can be used with the following endings and constructions: *gyi.yod.‘gro*, *gyi.med.‘gro*, *yod.‘gro*, *med.‘gro*, *gyi.a.yod*, *a.yod*, *pa.‘dug*, *pa.yod*, *gyi.yod.pa.‘dra*, *yod.pa.‘dra*, *pa.‘dra*, *gyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red*, *yod-mdog.kha.po-red*, *mdog.kha.po-red*, *gyi.yod.kyi.red*, *yod.kyi.red*, *yod.pa.yod*, *gyi.yod.sa.red*, *yod.sa.red*, *yong*, *mi.yong*, *mi.yong.ngas*. This secondary verb does not usually combine with the perfective endings (e.g. *pa.yin.pa.‘dra*), the ending *bzo.‘dug*, and its combinations with the other *bzo*-endings are rare. The lexical verb preceding *thub* is in the present-future stem. Look at the following examples:

a) *khong ri - la ‘gro thub - gyi.yod.gyi.ma.red*  
 s/he+H mountain - OBL go (PRS) be able - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT+NEG  
 « Most probably, she won’t be able to go to the mountains. » (The speaker bases himself on the fact that she is old.)

b) *khong phyi.rgyal - la ‘gro thub - yod.pa.yod*  
 s/he+H abroad - OBL go (PRS) be able - PERF+EPI 2+EGO  
 « She was probably able to go abroad. » (The speaker knows that she got the ticket. But he doesn’t know if she got the visa.)

\* *khong las.ka byed thub - bzo.‘dug*  
 s/he+H work do (PRS) be able - FUT+EPI 1+SENS  
 Intended: « It looks like he will be able to work. »

*nga ‘gro thub - pa*  
 I go (PRS) be able - FUT+EPI 3+SENS  
 « I must be able to walk. » (An ill woman said it and tried to rise out of the bed.)

### 5.2.2. THE MODAL VERB *dgos* ‘must’, ‘have to’

The verb *dgos*<sup>212</sup> (pronounced as *dgo* in the spoken language) is compatible with most present perfect and imperfective epistemic endings. It appears that the difference between these endings is rather aspectual than temporal. The lexical verb preceding *dgos* is in the present-future stem. The verb *dgos* can be used with the following epistemic endings and constructions: *kyi.yod.‘gro*, *yod.‘gro*, *kyi.a.yod*, *a.yod*, *kyi.yod.pa.‘dra*, *yod.pa.‘dra*, *kyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red*, *yod-mdog.kha.po-red*, *kyi.yod.kyi.red*, *yod.kyi.red*, *kyi.yod.pa.yod*, *yod.pa.yod*, *kyi.yod.sa.red*, *yod.sa.red*, *mi.yong.ngas*. This modal verb is not used with *pa.yod*, *pa.‘dra* and the perfective endings (e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red*). Its use with *pa.‘dug* is rare. See the examples below:

a) *khong tshogs.‘du - la ‘gro dgos - kyi.yod.pa.‘dra*  
s/he+H meeting - OBL go (PRS) have to - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS  
« It seems he has to go to the meeting. »

b) *khong tshogs.‘du - la ‘gro dgos - yod.pa.‘dra*  
s/he+H meeting - OBL go (PRS) have to - PERF+EPI 2+SENS  
« It seems he’s got to go to the meeting. » (The speaker saw him going to the office.)

\* *khong phyag.las gnang dgos - pa.yin.gyi.red*  
s/he+H work+H do+H have to - PFV+EPI 2+FACT  
Intended: « Most probably, he had to work. »

### 5.2.3. THE MODAL VERB ‘*dod*’ ‘want’

The verb ‘*dod*’ does not usually combine with epistemic endings<sup>213</sup>, it is compatible with epistemic auxiliaries. It is often used in sentences with long-term, generic or repeated actions. There is another verb frequent in the spoken language, *snying.‘dod*, which has a similar meaning as ‘*dod*’. It is used for short-term volition and it only combines with controllable verbs. The verb *snying.‘dod* is, in general, used with

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<sup>212</sup> The verb *dgos* also functions as a lexical verb meaning ‘need’ or ‘want’. For more details, see Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:222-3).

<sup>213</sup> However, some combinations of ‘*dod*’ with an epistemic verbal ending were not rejected though considered as dialectal. See below.

imperfective endings but its use with the present perfect endings is not excluded either. It is also compatible with the future endings *pa.yod*, *pa.'dug*, *mdog.kha.po-'dug*, *bzo.'dug* and *mi.yong.ngas*, and with the past ending *pa.'dra*.

The verb *'dod* is preceded by the present-future stem of the lexical verb and it is compatible with the following epistemic auxiliaries: *yod.'gro*, *med.'gro*, *a.yod*, *yod.pa.'dra*, *yod.kyi.red*, *yod.pa.yod*, *yod.sa.red*, *yod.bzo.'dug* and the construction *yod-mdog.kha.po-red*. The use of *'dod* and *snying.'dod* in epistemic contexts is illustrated by the examples below:

a) *khong slob.grwa chen.mo - r slob.sbyong byed*  
 s/he+H university - OBL study do (PRS)  
*'dod yod.kyi.red*  
 want AUX (EPI 2+FACT)  
 «She most probably wants to study at university. » (She has been preparing for the entrance exam.)

b) \**khong rgya.skad sbyangs 'dod - kyi.yod.pa.yod*  
 s/he+H Chinese learn want - IMPF+EPI 2+EGO  
 Intended: « As far as I remember, she wants to learn Chinese. »

a) *kho.rang slob.sbyong byed snying.'dod - kyi.yod.kyi.red*  
 s/he study do (PRS) want - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « She most probably wants to study [now]. » (instant volition)

b) *kho.rang slob.sbyong byed snying.'dod - yod.kyi.red*  
 s/he study go (PRS) want - PERF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « She most probably wants to study [now]. » (instant volition)

Both sentences above have a similar meaning as the previous example containing *'dod* (563a). They differ from it by the duration of the agent's wanting for studies (long-term vs. short-term). Sentence (564a) is more frequent than ex. (564b).

Although *'dod* combines, in principle, with auxiliaries, some combinations with imperfective epistemic endings (e.g. *kyi.yod.kyi.red*, the construction *kyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red*) were accepted. It was, however, suggested that they were dialectal:

a) ! *khong rgya.gar - la 'gro 'dod - gi.yod -mdog.kha.po - red*  
 s/he+H India - OBL go (PRS) want - IMPF - EPI 1 - AUX(FACT)  
 « He probably wants to go to India. » (implying long time)

b) ?/\* *khong slob.sbyong byed 'dod - kyi.yod.kyi.red*  
 s/he+H study do (PRS) want - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 Intended: « He most probably wants to study. »

#### 5.2.4. THE MODAL VERB *chog* ‘be allowed’, ‘can’ AND THE ASPECTUAL VERB *chog* ‘be ready’

The verb *chog* may have two meanings: a modal one (*chog1*) implying permission, and an aspectual one (*chog2*) implying preparedness. The aspectual verb is often reduplicated (*chog.chog*) and it is followed by auxiliaries (ex. 567). On the contrary, the modal verb *chog* cannot be reduplicated and it combines with verbal endings (ex. 566):

*rang 'gro chog - ga* (i.e. *pa. 'dug*<sup>214</sup>)  
 you go (PRS) be allowed - FUT+EPI 3+SENS  
 « You will certainly be allowed to go. »

*a.ma 'gro chog/chog.chog yin - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 mother go (PRS) be ready AUX - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)  
 « It looks like mother is ready to go. »  
 \* « It looks like mother is allowed to go. »

#### The modal verb *chog*

The modal verb *chog* implies a state of ‘being allowed’ and, therefore, it combines with the imperfective endings, not with the perfective ones. It sometimes expresses the same meaning as the modal verb *thub* ‘be able’<sup>215</sup>. It is compatible with the following endings: *gi.yod. 'gro, gi.a.yod, gi.yod.pa. 'dra, gi.yod.kyi.red, gi.yod.pa.yod,*

<sup>214</sup> The epistemic ending *pa. 'dug > pa* is pronounced *ga* when preceded by *chog* in the spoken language.

<sup>215</sup> See Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:245).

*gi.yod.sa.red*, *gi.yod.bzo. 'dug* and the construction *gi.yod-mdog.kha.po+red*. They are used in past, present and future contexts. Furthermore, *chog* is compatible with the endings *pa. 'dug*<sup>216</sup>, *a.yong*, *mi.yong.ngas* and *yong*. It is not possible to use it with *pa.yod*, *pa. 'dra*, *yod. 'gro*, *a.yod*, *yod.pa. 'dra*, *yod-mdog.kha.po-red*, *yod.gyi.red*, *yod.pa.yod*, *yod.sa.red*, *yod.bzo. 'dug*, *bzo. 'dug* and with the perfective endings (e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red*). The lexical verb may be either the present-future or the past stem. Compare the following examples:

a) *nyi.ma rgya.gar - la 'gro chog - gi.yod. 'gro*  
 Nyima India - OBL go (PRS) be allowed - IMPF+EPI 1+FACT  
 « Nyima is probably allowed to go to India. »

b) *zla.nyin khong rgya.gar - la 'gro chog - gi.yod. 'gro*  
 last year s/he+H India - OBL go (PRS) be allowed - IMPF+EPI 1+FACT  
 « He was probably allowed to go to India last year. » (implying this year he is not allowed)

a) \* *nyi.ma rgya.gar - la 'gro chog - yod.kyi.red*  
 Nyima India - OBL go (PRS) be allowed - PERF+EPI 2+FACT  
 Intended: « Nyima was most probably allowed to go to India. »

b) \* *nyi.ma rgya.gar - la 'gro chog - pa.yin.gyi.red*  
 Nyima India - OBL go (PRS) be allowed - PFV+EPI 2+FACT  
 Intended: « Nyima was most probably allowed to go to India. »

c) \* *khong - gis byed chog - ga. 'dra* (i.e. *pa. 'dra*)  
 s/he+H - ERG do (PRS) be allowed - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 Intended: « It seems Nyima was allowed to go to India. »

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<sup>216</sup> Concerning the combinations of *chog* and the ending *pa. 'dug*, they can be either optative or epistemic. See 3.2.2.3. for more details and the following example of the optative meaning:

*nga dbyin.ji.skad yag.po cig shed chog - ga*  
 I English well one know can - FUT+OPTATIVE  
 « If only I could speak English well. »

*khong rgya.gar - la 'gro chog - ga* (i.e. *pa. 'dug*)  
 s/he+H India - OBL go (PRS) be allowed - FUT+EPI 3+SENS  
 « She will certainly be allowed to go to India. » (The speaker saw that she got the visa.)

### The aspectual verb *chog*

The aspectual verb *chog* can combine with existential and essential auxiliaries. As suggested by my informants, they differ in the following way: when *chog2* is used with an existential auxiliary, it implies that ‘something is ready’, with an essential auxiliary that ‘someone is ready’<sup>217</sup>. This aspectual verb is compatible with the following epistemic auxiliaries: *yod. 'gro, a.yod, yod.pa. 'dra, yod.kyi.red, yod.pa.yod, yod.sa.red, yod.bzo. 'dug*, the construction *yod-mdog.kha.po-red*, the corresponding essential auxiliaries (e.g. *yin.gyi.red*) and *yong*. The lexical verb may be either the present-future or the past stem (ex. 572). Look at the examples below:

a) *dngul sprad chog.chog yod - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 money give be ready AUX - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)  
 « It looks like the money is ready to be given. » (related to the object of the action, i.e. the money)

b) *dngul sprad chog.chog yin - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 money give be ready AUX - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)  
 « It looks like [you/one] is ready to give money. » (related to the action of the verb)

a) *nyi.ma 'gro chog.chog yin.pa. 'dra*  
 Nyima go (PRS) be ready AUX (EPI 2+SENS)  
 « It seems Nyima is ready to go. » (The speaker infers from the fact that Nyima is waiting with his bag.)

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<sup>217</sup> Cf. the following two examples with evidential auxiliaries:

a) *rang (- la) kha.lag za chog.chog yod - pas*  
 you (- OBL) meal eat (PRS) be ready have (EGO) - Q  
 « Do you have a ready meal (i.e. a meal that is ready and can be eaten now)? »  
 b) *rang kha.lag za chog.chog yin - pas*  
 you meal eat (PRS) be ready be (EGO) - Q  
 « Are you ready to eat? »



b) *nyi.ma phyin chog.chog yin.gyi.red*

Nyima go (PAS) be ready AUX (EPI 2+FACT)

« Nyima is most probably ready to go. » (The speaker infers from the fact that Nyima finishes his work at 3p.m. It is 6p.m. now.)

\* *nyi.ma rgya.gar - la 'gro chog.chog - gi.yod.'gro*

Nyima India - OBL go (PRS) be ready - IMPF+EPI 1+FACT

Intended: « Nyima is probably ready to go to India. »

The secondary verb *chog* followed by *ga.yod* (i.e. *pa.yod*) can convey the meaning of 'deserve', and not 'be allowed' or 'be ready'. See the example below:

*bya.dga' 'di rang - la sprad chog - ga.yod*

prize this you - OBL give deserve - FUT+EGO

« You certainly deserve to get the prize. » (The speaker thinks so because the other person participated a lot and did much of the work. The source of information is the speaker's personal judgement.)

### 5.2.5. THE MODAL VERB *shes* 'know'

The secondary verb *shes* can combine with the vast majority of epistemic endings: the imperfective, the perfective and the present perfect ones. The preceding lexical verb is in the present-future stem (ex. 576). It is possible to combine *shes* with the following epistemic endings: *kyi.yod.'gro*, *kyi.a.yod*, *kyi.yod.pa.'dra*, *kyi.yod.kyi.red*, *kyi.yod.pa.yod*, *kyi.yod.sa.red*, *kyi.yod.bzo.'dug* and the construction *kyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red*, with the corresponding perfective endings (e.g. *pa.yin.'gro*), the corresponding present perfect endings (e.g. *a.yod*), and with *a.yong*, *pa.yod*, *pa.'dug*, *pa.'dra*, *mdog.kha.po-red*, *mi.yong.ngas* and *yong*. The combination with the ending *bzo.'dug* was rejected. Follow some examples of the use of *shes* with epistemic endings:

a) *bu.mo 'di rimo 'bri shes - kyi.med.'gro'o*

girl this picture draw (PRS) know - IMPF+EPI 1+FACT

« This girl probably knows to draw (pictures). » (She attends a *thangka* course.)

b) *khong - gis dbyin.ji.skad brgyab shes - yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H - ERG English language VBZ know - PERF+EPI 2+FACT

« He has most probably learnt to speak English. » (He spent three years in England.)

c) *khong - gis mo.Ta btang shes - pa.yin.pa. 'dra*

s/he+H - ERG car drive know - PFV+EPI 2+SENS

« It seems he learnt to drive a car. »

*khong bod.ja bzo /\* bzos shes - kyi.a.yod*

s/he+H Tibetan tea make (PRS) / make (PAS) know - IMPF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I doubt he can make Tibetan tea. » (The speaker knows that the person does not know the Tibetan cuisine.)

\* *khong mo.Ta btang shes - bzo. 'dug*

s/he+H car drive know - FUT+EPI 1+SENS

Intended: « It looks like he will learn to drive a car. »

### 5.2.6. THE MODAL VERB *srid* 'be possible', 'can'

There is a considerable variation among the native speakers concerning the acceptability of combinations of the verb *srid* with epistemic endings. Some accept combinations of *srid* with a number of endings, others only with several endings, and some refuse all combinations claiming that this secondary verb is semantically incompatible with the epistemic endings. The following endings and constructions were accepted by some informants: *kyi.yod. 'gro, kyi.a.yod, a.yong, pa. 'dug, pa.yod, kyi.yod.pa. 'dra, kyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red, mdog.kha.po-red, kyi.yod.kyi.red, kyi.yod.sa.red, kyi.yod.bzo. 'dug, mi.yong.ngas, yong*. Concerning the present perfect endings, the use of the endings with a sensory meaning was rejected, e.g. *yod.pa. 'dra, pa. 'dra, yod.bzo. 'dug*, but other present perfect endings were accepted, e.g. *yod. 'gro, yod.kyi.red*. It was further suggested that *srid* was not compatible with non-controllable verbs. The preceding lexical verb is in the present-future stem. See the following sentences:

?? *bod - la 'gro srid - kyi.yod.pa.'dra*<sup>218</sup>

Tibet - OBL go (PRS) be possible - PRS+EPI 1+SENS

« It seems to be possible to go to Tibet. »

\* *char.pa btang srid - kyi.yod.pa.yod*

rain VBZ be possible - IMPF+EPI 2+EGO

Intended: « It is probably possible to rain. »

a) ?? *mi de kyag.rdzun bshad srid - yod.kyi.red*<sup>219</sup>

man that lie say be possible - PERF+EPI 2+FACT

« It seems to be possible that the man lied. »

b) \* *kyag.rdzun bshad srid - yod.pa.'dra / yod.bzo.'dug*

lie say be possible - PERF+EPI 2+SENS / PERF+EPI 2+SENS

*/ pa.'dra*

*/ PFV+EPI 2+SENS*

Intended: « It seems to be possible to tell lies. »

### 5.2.7. THE MODAL VERB *nus* 'dare'

The verb *nus* is, in general, compatible with imperfective endings *kyi.yod.'gro*, *kyi.a.yod*, *kyi.yod.pa.'dra*, *kyi.yod.kyi.red*, *kyi.yod.pa.yod*, *kyi.yod.sa.red*, *kyi.yod.bzo.'dug* and the construction *kyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red* (ex. 581a). Nevertheless, it is sometimes possible to use the corresponding present perfect and perfective endings (ex. 581b, c). These are used for single perfective actions whereas the imperfective endings are used for repeated and generic actions, as shown in ex. (581). Furthermore, *nus* can combine with the following epistemic endings and construction: *a.yong*, *pa.yod*, *pa.'dug*, *pa.'dra*, *mdog-kha.po-red*, *bzo.'dug*, *mi.yong.ngas*, *yong*. The lexical verb is in the present-future stem. The use of *nus* is illustrated by the sentences below:

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<sup>218</sup> This example was rejected by some informants.

<sup>219</sup> This example was rejected by some informants. One informant suggested the use of the ending *yod.pa.yod* instead, with the following context: 'They had not finished the work when the boss came in. At once, one of them went to talk with the boss and he probably told him some lies.'

a) *khong 'gro nus - kyi.yod.pa.'dra / kyi.yod.kyi.red*  
 s/he+H go (PRS) dare - IMPF+EPI 1+SENS / IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « It seems she dares to go. » / « She most probably dares to go. »

b) *khong 'gro nus - yod.pa.'dra*  
 s/he+H go (PRS) dare - PERF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems she dared to go. » (The speaker infers from the fact that yesterday she was saying she would not dare to go but she is not at home now.)

c) *khong 'gro nus - pa.yin.pa.'dra*  
 s/he+H go (PRS) dare - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems she dared to go. » (The speaker saw some hints that she was there.)

*nga dbyin.ji.skad brgyab nus - pa.mi.'dug*  
 I English language VBZ dare - FUT+EPI 3+SENS+NEG  
 « I certainly won't dare to speak English. » (The speaker can speak English just a little bit.)

### 5.2.8. THE ASPECTO-TEMPORAL VERB *rtsis* 'intend (to do)', 'reckon (on doing)'

The verb *rtsis* can only combine with auxiliaries, not with epistemic endings. The epistemic auxiliaries that can be used with *rtsis* are: *yod.'gro*, *a.yod*, *yod.kyi.red*, *yod.pa.yod*, *yod.sa.red*, *yod.pa.'dra* and the construction *yod-mdog.kha.po-red* (ex. 584). The lexical verb is in the present-future stem (ex. 583). Furthermore, there is a construction in SST consisting of *rtsis* that is followed by the verb *byed* 'do', i.e. *rtsis byed*, which is compatible with imperfective endings. Although in most sentences, it is possible to use either the secondary verb *rtsis* or the construction with the verb *byed*, the informants preferred the latter one (ex. 585). Compare the following examples:

*khong mog.mog bzo / \*bzos rtsis yod.pa.yod*  
 s/he+H *momo* make (PRS) / make (PAS) intend AUX (EPI 2+EGO)  
 « As far as I remember, she probably intends to make *momos*. » (The speaker thinks that she told him so but he cannot remember well.)

*khong dbyin.ji.skad sbyangs rtsis yod - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 s/he+H English language learn intend AUX - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)  
 « She probably intends to learn English. »

a) *khong rgya.gar - la 'gro rtsis yod.'gro*  
 s/he+H India - OBL go (PRS) intend AUX (EPI 1+FACT)  
 « Maybe, he intends to go to India. » (He often talks about India.)

b) *khong rgya.gar - la 'gro rtsis byed - kyi.yod.'gro*  
 s/he+H India - OBL go (PRS) intend do (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 1+FACT  
 « He is perhaps going to go to India. » (He buys things that he might need for the trip.)

From a semantic point of view, there is a difference between the use of the secondary verb *rtsis* and the construction *rtsis byed*. Whereas the former one is used to talk about plans, the latter one implies that the preparations have already started. Compare the following two sentences with the evidential auxiliary *yod* and the evidential ending *kyi.yod*:

a) *nga phyi.rgyal - la 'gro rtsis yod*  
 I abroad - OBL go (PRS) intend AUX (EGO)  
 « I plan to go abroad. » (The speaker is just thinking of it.)

b) *nga phyi.rgyal - la 'gro rtsis byed - kyi.yod*  
 I abroad - OBL go (PRS) intend do (PRS) - IMPF+EGO  
 « I am going to go abroad. » (The speaker has been preparing for the trip.)

### 5.2.9. THE ASPECTO-TEMPORAL VERB *ran* ‘be time (to do)’

The secondary verb *ran* is compatible with the majority of epistemic endings. It is used with imperfective endings (*gyi.yod.‘gro*, *gyi.a.yod*, *gyi.yod.pa.‘dra*, *gyi.yod.pa.yod*, *gyi.yod.bzo.‘dug*, *gyi.yod.sa.red* and the construction *gyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red*, ex. 587a), with the corresponding present perfect (e.g. *yod.kyi.red*, ex. 587b) and perfective endings (e.g. *pa.yin.pa.‘dra*, ex. 587c) and also with the endings *pa.‘dra*, *pa.yod* (in its past use, ex. 588b) and the construction *mdog.kha.po-red*. The lexical verb is in the present-future stem. The endings that are incompatible with *ran* are *a.yong*, *pa.‘dug*, *yong* and *mi.yong.ngas* (ex. 588a). These endings are, in general, used in the future. Taking into consideration the meaning of *ran*, one can conclude that there is a semantic constraint on the use of this secondary verb in future contexts. Look at the examples below:

- a) *khang.gla sprad ran - gyi.yod.‘gro*  
rent give be time - IMPF+EPI 1+FACT  
« It is probably high time to pay the rent. » (It is about the date of paying the rent, a repeated action)
- b) *nang - la ‘gro ran - yod.‘gro*  
home - OBL go (PRS) be time - PERF+EPI 1+FACT  
« Maybe, it is time to go now. » (a single perfective action)
- c) *gla len ran - pa.yin.‘gro<sup>220</sup>*  
salary get be time - PFV+EPI 1+FACT  
« It seems to be time to go and get the salary. » (The speaker’s name is on a list in the accounting department.)
- a) \* *kha.lag bzo ran - pa.‘dug*  
meal make (PRS) be time - FUT+EPI 3+SENS  
Intended: « It must be time to cook. »

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<sup>220</sup> See note 179.

b) *kha.lag bzo ran - pa.yod*

meal make (PRS) be time - PFV+EPI 3+EGO

« It must be time to cook. » (The speaker usually cooks at noon. It is about noon now.)

### 5.2.10. THE ASPECTO-TEMPORAL VERB *long* ‘have time (to do)’

The secondary verb *long* is only compatible with auxiliaries, not with epistemic endings. It can combine with the epistemic auxiliaries *yod*. ‘*gro*, *a.yod*, *yod.pa*. ‘*dra*, *yod.kyi.red*, *yod.bzo*. ‘*dug*, *yod.pa.yod*, *yod.sa.red* and the construction *yod-mdog.kha.po-red*. The lexical verb is in the present-future stem. The subject of the bivalent verbs used with this secondary verb is obligatorily in the oblique case as shown in the following example:

*rang - la kha.lag za long yod.kyi.red*

you - OBL meal eat (PRS) have time AUX (EPI 2+FACT)

« Most likely, you have time to eat. » (Someone complains that he has a lot of work and no time to eat. The speaker does not believe him.)

*khong - la ‘gro long yod.bzo. ‘dug*

s/he+H - OBL go (PRS) have time AUX (EPI 1+SENS)

« It seems she has time to go. » (She is sitting and doing nothing.)

### 5.2.11. THE ASPECTO-TEMPORAL VERB *tshar* ‘finish’, ‘end’

In addition to its lexical meaning, the verb *tshar* may also convey the meanings of the adverbs ‘already’ and ‘completely’ (the terminative aspect, ex. 592)<sup>221</sup>. In accordance with its semantic meaning, it generally combines with the present perfect endings. It is compatible with the following epistemic endings: *yod*. ‘*gro*, *a.yod*, *yod.pa*. ‘*dra*, *yod.kyi.red*, *yod.pa.yod*, *yod.bzo*. ‘*dug*, *yod.sa.red* and the construction *yod-mdog.kha.po-red* (ex. 591a). However, it is sometimes possible to use *tshar* with perfective endings (ex. 591b) and exceptionally with imperfective endings (ex. 591c).

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<sup>221</sup> See Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso (2001:96-8).

Furthermore, it is also compatible with *pa.yod*, *pa. 'dug*, *pa. 'dra* (ex. 593) but incompatible with the future endings *a.yong* and *bzo. 'dug*. It is preceded by the past stem of the lexical verb. See the following examples with the secondary verb *tshar*:

a) *khong kha.lag bzos tshar - yod.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H meal make (PAS) finish - PERF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems she finished the cooking. » (The speaker infers from the fact that she is washing her hands.)

b) *khong kha.lag bzos tshar - pa.yin.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H meal make (PAS) finish - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems she finished the cooking. » (The speaker can see her carrying a tray.)

c) ! *khong chu.tshod dang.po - r nyin.gung - gi kha.lag*  
 s/he+H o'clock first - OBL noon - GEN meal  
*bzos tshar - gyi.yod.pa. 'dra*<sup>222</sup>  
 make (PAS) finish - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS  
 «It seems she finishes the cooking of lunch at 1 p.m. » (The speaker can hear some noise from her kitchen until this time.)

a) *khong - gi na.tsha drag tshar - pa.yod*  
 s/he+H - GEN illness heal finish - PFV+EPI 3+EGO  
 « She must have completely recovered. »

b) *khong - tsho slebs tshar - pa.yin.gyi.red*  
 s/he+H - pl arrive finish - PFV+EPI 2+FACT  
 « They must have already arrived. »

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<sup>222</sup> This sentence is rare in the spoken language.



*khong yi.ge mgyogs.po bris tshar - pa*  
 s/he+H letter soon write (PAS) finish - FUT+EPI 3+SENS  
 « Surely, she will soon finish (writing) the letter. » (She is writing very fast.)

The secondary verb *tshar* is also often used in conditional sentences. It functions as an indicator of a perfective action, as shown in the example below:

*khyed.rang rogs.pa ma - byas - na*  
 you+H help NEG - do (PRS) - if  
*nga zag tshar - yod - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 I fall finish - PERF - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)  
 « If you had not helped me, I would have fallen (for good). »

### 5.2.12. THE ASPECTO-TEMPORAL VERB *bsdad* ‘stay’

The verb *bsdad* is often used to indicate the concomitant aspect leading to a resulting state and the progressive aspect (emphasizing the continuous character of the process).<sup>223</sup> It can combine with the majority of epistemic endings. It is, in general, preceded by the past stem of the lexical verb. It is compatible with the imperfective epistemic endings *kyi.yod.‘gro*, *kyi.yod.pa.‘dra*, *kyi.yod.kyi.red*, *kyi.yod.bzo.‘dug*, *kyi.yod.pa.yod*, *kyi.yod.sa.red* and the construction *kyi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red* (ex. 595a), with their corresponding present perfect (ex. 595b, 596) and perfective endings (ex. 595c) and with *pa.‘dra*, *a.yong*, *pa.yod*, *pa.‘dug*, *mdog.kha.po-red*, *mi.yong.ngas* and *bzo.‘dug*. Look at the following sentences:

a) *khong nang - la las.ka byas bsdad - kyi.yod.pa.‘dra*  
 s/he+H home - OBL work do (PAS) stay - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems she stays at home to work. » (i.e. usually, She rarely leaves her home.)

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<sup>223</sup> See Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso (2001:98-101).

b) *khong nang - la las.ka byas bsdad - yod.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H home - OBL work do (PAS) stay - PERF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems she is staying at home to work. » (i.e. now, today)

c) *khong nang - la las.ka byas bsdad - pa.yin.pa. 'dra*  
 s/he+H home - OBL work do (PAS) stay - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems she stayed at home to work. » (i.e. in the past)

*tshe.ring na bsdad - yod.kyi.red*  
 Tshering be ill stay - PERF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « Most probably, Tsering is still ill. » (Tsering fell ill on Monday. It is only Wednesday, so the speaker thinks that he is still ill.)

It is also possible to use the particle of anteriority *nas* (pronounced *byas* in the spoken language) between the lexical verb and *bsdad*, as shown in the example below:

*khong las.ka byas - nas bsdad - mdog.kha.po - mi. 'dug*  
 s/he+H work do (PAS) - after stay - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS+NEG)  
 « He probably is not able to work for a long time. »

### 5.2.13. THE DIRECTIONAL AND ASPECTUAL VERB 'gro 'go'

The secondary verb 'gro has a variety of grammatical functions. It marks the inchoative and progressive aspects, the direction from the speaker after the verbs of movement, cross-reference and other meanings<sup>224</sup>.

#### Aspectual use

As an aspectual verb, 'gro can only combine with non-controllable verbs and imperfective endings. It functions as an indicator of the inchoative, progressive and iterative aspects. It is compatible with the following imperfective epistemic endings: *gi.yod. 'gro*, *gi.yod.pa. 'dra*, *gi.yod.kyi.red*, *gi.a.yod*, *gi.yod.bzo. 'dug*, *gi.yod.pa.yod*, *gi.yod.sa.red* and the construction *gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red*. This secondary verb does

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<sup>224</sup> For more detail see Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso (2001:89-96).

not combine with present perfect endings (e.g. *yod.sa.red*) and future endings (e.g. *bzo. 'dug*). The present-future stem *'gro* is used, not the past stem *phyin*. The aspectual function of *'gro* is illustrated below:

*spu.gu 'di tog.tsam 'khyag - pa.ta.ka lam.sang cham.pa*  
 child this a little be cold - IMM immediately a cold  
*brgyab 'gro - gi.yod.pa.'dra*  
 VBZ go (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS  
 «It seems the child catches a cold whenever it gets a little bit cold. »

*khong gnyid.khug 'gro - gi.yod - mdog.kha.po - 'dug*  
 s/he+H fall asleep go (PRS) - IMPF - EPI 1 - AUX (SENS)  
 « He probably falls asleep. » (The meeting lasts long and is boring.)

*'di mgyogs.po ma - bzas - na skyur 'gro - gi.yod.kyi.red*  
 this fast NEG - eat (PAS) - if sour go (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « We'd better eat it soon or it will probably turn sour. »

The past stem of *'gro*, *phyin*, is not used, as stated above, since *'gro* is not used as an aspectual marker in past contexts (ex. 601a). Instead, the secondary verb *tshar* is used to imply the terminative aspect (ex. 601b). Compare the following two sentences:

a) \* *'di skyur phyin - yod.kyi.red*  
 this sour go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 2+FACT  
 Intended: « It most probably turned sour. »

b) *'di skyur tshar - yod.kyi.red / yod - mdog.kha.po - red*  
 this sour finish - PERF+EPI 2+FACT / PERF - EPI 1 - AUX (FACT)  
 « It probably turned sour. »

### Directional use

After the verbs of movement, *'gro* implies a direction from the speaker or another point. In past contexts, the past stem *phyin* is used instead of *'gro*. It is compatible with the majority of epistemic endings: imperfective (ex. 602a), present perfect (ex. 602b) and perfective (ex. 602c). Look at the following examples:

a) *rta rgyug 'gro - gi.med.'gro'o*  
 horse run go (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 1+FACT  
 « The horse will probably run away. » (if it is not attached)

b) *rta rgyug phyin - med.'gro'o*  
 horse run go (PAS) - PERF+EPI 1+FACT  
 « Maybe, the horse ran away. »

*khong rgyug.shar slos phyin - pa.yin.pa.'dra*  
 s/he+H run VBZ go (PAS) - PFV+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems he went [there] running. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the person breathed deeply.)

## 5.2.14. THE DIRECTIONAL AND ASPECTUAL VERB *yong* 'come'

Just like *'gro*, the secondary verb *yong* has several grammatical functions. It marks the inchoative aspect, the direction towards the speaker after the verbs of movement and cross-reference.<sup>225</sup>

### Aspectual use

As an aspectual verb, *yong* can only combine with non-controllable verbs. It marks the inchoative, progressive and iterative aspects. It is compatible with imperfective epistemic endings: *gi.yod.'gro*, *gi.yod.pa.'dra*, *gi.yod.kyi.red*, *gi.a.yod*, *gi.yod.bzo.'dug*, *gi.yod.pa.yod*, *gi.yod.sa.red* and the construction *gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red*. It is, in general, not used with the other endings. See the examples below:

*tshal 'di skyur yong - gi.yod.pa.'dra*  
 vegetables this sour come - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS  
 « It seems these vegetables are turning sour. » (The speaker can smell it; *yong* implies the direction towards him.)

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<sup>225</sup> For more detail see Tournadre & Konchok Jiatso (2001:89-96).

*grang.mo - r chags yong - gi.a.yod*

cold - OBL become come - IMPF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG

« I don't think it is getting cold. » (The speaker is talking about the weather in his proximity. In this sentence, it is temporal proximity, i.e. now.)

Compare the above example with the following sentence containing the secondary verb 'gro 'go':

*zla.ba bcu.pa - 'i nang - nas grang.mo - r chags*

month tenth - GEN inside - ABL cold - OBL become

'gro - gi.yod.bzo.'dug

go (PRS) - IMPF+EPI 1+SENS

« It seems it starts to be cold in October. » (The speaker is talking about the weather in October. It is not October now.)

### Directional use

After the verbs of movement, *yong* implies a direction towards the speaker. It is compatible with the majority of verbal endings: imperfective endings (ex. 606), perfective (ex. 607) and present perfect. The directional function of *yong* is illustrated by the following sentences:

*kho.rang rgyug yong - gi.yod.pa.'dra*

s/he run come - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS

« She seems to be running towards us. » (The speaker can see her in the distance.)

*kho.rang rgyug yong - pa.'dra*

s/he run come - PFV+EPI 2+SENS

« It seems he came running/ran here. » (The speaker infers from the fact that the person got out of breath.)

### 5.2.15. THE ASPECTO-TEMPORAL VERB ‘gro‘o a) ‘be ready/be about to do’, b) ‘have (just) done’

The verbal status of ‘gro‘o, which is derived from the word *grabs* used in literary Tibetan, is problematic. It is either considered as an adverb, see e.g. *Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo* (1985), or as a verb, see e.g. Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2003:196).<sup>226</sup> Followed by an auxiliary, ‘gro‘o implies either the meaning of ‘be about to (do)’ or ‘have just done’. From a syntactic point of view, ‘gro‘o occupies the same position as the secondary verbs that are followed by auxiliaries (after the lexical verb and before the auxiliary). It is impossible to use it with verbal endings. In my study, I treat ‘gro‘o as an aspectual verb. It expresses the nearest future when followed by existential auxiliaries (the lexical verb is in the present-future stem, ex. 608a, 609a) and the recent past when used with essential auxiliaries (the lexical verb is in the past stem, ex. 608b, 609b). It is compatible with the auxiliaries *yod*. ‘gro, *a.yod*, *yod.kyi.red*, *yod.pa.‘dra*, *yod.sa.red*, *yod.bzo.‘dug*, *yod.pa.yod*, *yod-mdog.kha.po-red* and the corresponding essential auxiliaries (e.g. *yin.gyi.red*). Compare the examples below:

a) *khong kha.lag za ‘gro‘o yod.pa.‘dra*  
 s/he+H food eat (PRS) be about to exist (EPI 2+SENS)  
 « It seems she is about to eat. » (The speaker can see that she is setting the table.)

b) *khong kha.lag bzas ‘gro‘o yin.pa.‘dra*  
 s/he+H food eat (PAS) have just done be (EPI 2+SENS)  
 « It seems she has just eaten. » (The speaker can see dirty dishes.)

a) *khong slebs ‘gro‘o a.yod*  
 s/he+H come be about to exist (EPI 1+SENS)  
 « I doubt she is about to come. » (Basing himself on personal experience, the speaker thinks it will take her longer time.)

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<sup>226</sup> It is also used in the construction that consists of ‘gro‘o, the verb *byed* ‘do’ and a verbal ending, corresponding to ‘nearly (do)’.

b) *khong slebs 'gro 'o a.yin*

s/he+H come have just done be (EPI 1+SENS)

« I doubt she has just got here. » (Basing himself on personal knowledge, the speaker thinks she has been here for a longer time.)

### 5.2.16. THE SECONDARY VERB *myong* 'experience'

The verb *myong* implies that the subject of the sentence has already experienced the action. It is only compatible with present perfect endings (*yod. 'gro, med. 'gro, a.yod, pa.yod, pa. 'dra, yod.pa. 'dra, yod.kyi.red, yod.pa.yod, yod.sa.red, yod.bzo. 'dug, yod-mdog.kha.po-red*, ex. 610a). It cannot combine with the corresponding imperfective endings (e.g. *gi.yod.kyi.red*, ex. 610b), perfective endings (e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red*, ex. 610c) or with the endings used in the future (*a.yong, pa. 'dug, mdog.kha.po-red, mi.yong.ngas, mi.yong, yong, bzo. 'dug*). The lexical verb is in the present-future stem. Look at the sentences below:

a) *khong bod.ja btungs myong - yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H Tibetan tea drink experience - PERF+EPI 2+FACT

« She must have (ever) drunk Tibetan tea. »

b) \* *khong bod.ja btungs myong - gi.yod.kyi.red*

s/he+H Tibetan tea drink experience - IMPF+EPI 2+FACT

Intended: « She will surely have an experience of drinking Tibetan tea. »

c) \* *khong bod.ja btungs myong - pa.yin.kyi.red*

s/he+H Tibetan tea drink experience - PFV+EPI 2+FACT

Intended: « She must have (ever) drunk Tibetan tea. »

The secondary verb *myong* is often used in past contexts in sentences with the first person subject and some verbs, e.g. affective verbs. Otherwise, the sentence is ungrammatical, as shown in the example below:

a) \* *nga khong - gi ri.mo - r dga' - yod.kyi.red*

I s/he+H - GEN painting - OBL like - PERF+EPI 2+FACT

Intended: « I probably liked his paintings. »

b) *nga khong - gi ri.mo - r dga' myong - yod.kyi.red*  
 I s/he+H - GEN painting - OBL like experience - PERF+EPI 2+FACT  
 « I probably once liked his paintings. »

### 5.3. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I studied the possibility of combining secondary verbs (modal, aspecto-temporal and directional) with epistemic verbal endings. As in the case of combining lexical verbs with epistemic endings, there are also several parameters that influence the use of the secondary verbs with epistemic endings. The most important parameters are syntactic and semantic properties of the secondary verb, the tense-aspect, the verbal class of the lexical verb, the evidential meaning of the verbal ending and the person.

First, some secondary verbs behave syntactically as predicative adjectives and thus they can only combine with auxiliaries that are formally identical with copulas. Second, the use of secondary verbs with epistemic endings is conditioned by the tense-aspects of the sentence (logical, epistemological, and pragmatic). Furthermore, from a semantic point of view, each secondary verb combines only with certain lexical verbs. As a result, some of the combinations are only applicable for some verbal classes. As regards the parameter of person, the situation is similar to that of combining lexical verbs with epistemic endings. The majority of combinations of secondary verbs with epistemic endings (or auxiliaries) appear in sentences with the third person subject. However, they can sometimes be used with the first person subject as well. Such combinations are subject to more restrictions than those with the third person subject. Finally, the context of each utterance is also important for the use of a certain type of epistemic endings.

On account of the interaction of all these parameters, some secondary verbs are compatible with the majority of verbal endings, while others are subject to more constraints. Consequently, one can distinguish two groups of secondary verbs. The third group consists of those secondary verbs that are only compatible with epistemic auxiliaries, not with epistemic endings:



1. Secondary verbs compatible with the majority of epistemic endings: *thub* ‘can’, *dgos* ‘must’, *shes* ‘know’, *ran* ‘be time’, *bsdad* ‘stay’, *gro* (Dir) ‘go’, *yong* (Dir) ‘come’.
2. Secondary verbs compatible only with some epistemic endings: *chog1* ‘may’, *nus* ‘dare’, *srid* ‘be possible’, *tshar* ‘finish’, *myong* ‘experience’, *gro* (Asp) ‘go’, *yong* (Asp) ‘come’. The most problematic secondary verb is *srid* ‘be possible’.
3. Secondary verbs compatible with epistemic auxiliaries: *dod* ‘want’, *chog2* ‘be ready’, *rtsis* ‘intend’, *long* ‘have time’, *gro* ‘o’ ‘be about’, ‘have just (done)’. Four of the five verbs are aspecto-temporal, only *dod* ‘want’ is modal.

The majority of the secondary verbs do not combine with the perfective past endings. The aspectual verbs that combine with verbal endings are, in general, compatible with the present perfect epistemic endings. On the contrary, some modal verbs are only compatible with imperfective endings, e.g. *chog1* and *nus*. This is probably connected with the fact that these verbs have an imperfective meaning.

Finally, I would like to draw attention to the differences among my informants concerning the acceptability of some combinations of secondary verbs with epistemic endings (or auxiliaries). Some combinations were rejected by my informants from Lhasa but accepted by the informants from the diaspora (e.g. *gi.yin.sa.red*). Nevertheless, there are also differences among the speakers of Lhasa.

## GENERAL CONCLUSION

In my dissertation, I have studied one of the yet non-described parts of the grammar of spoken Standard Tibetan: the epistemic modalities. To convey epistemic meanings, spoken Standard Tibetan makes use of lexical and grammatical means (3.1., 3.2.). The latter one, the grammatical expression of epistemic meanings has, in the spoken language, developed into a complex system of epistemic verbal endings. As a result, I concentrated on identifying and classifying these epistemic endings.

Since the present dissertation is concerned with the spoken language, fieldwork was an important part of my research work. Realized between the years 2002 and 2006 mostly in central Tibet but also in the diaspora, this fieldwork confirmed the division of Tibetan verbal endings in two sub-systems: evidential and epistemic. Although they share some functions, mainly the expression of the tense-aspect, they differ in the degree of certainty that the speaker attributes to his utterance.

Furthermore, it has been revealed that there are at least a dozen of various types of epistemic endings commonly used in spoken Standard Tibetan that differ in the degree of certainty, geographic use and frequency (3.2.1.1., Chapter IV.). Altogether, I have described 44 epistemic endings and built their tense-aspect paradigm (3.2.2.4.1.). The paradigm consists of four forms: the perfective past, the present perfect, the imperfective, and the (deontic) future.

Regarding the first of the above criteria, I have classified the epistemic types in three degrees of certainty (3.2.2.1.): EPI 1, i.e. epistemic endings conveying a weaker degree (over 50%), EPI 2, i.e. epistemic endings conveying a stronger degree corresponding to approximately 75%, and EPI 3, i.e. epistemic endings that imply the strongest degree (nearly but less than 100%). Another criterion distinguishing the various types of epistemic endings is geographic variation. Although some types are common in central Tibet and in the diaspora, there are other types that are frequently used in Lhasa but are less common or not used at all in the diaspora (3.2.1.1.). On the contrary, the most common epistemic type used in the diaspora, *yod.sa.red*, is considered dialectal by the native Lhasa people. Finally, the epistemic endings can be classified according to the parameter of frequency (3.2.1.1.). The majority of types of epistemic endings that have been analyzed in this dissertation are very or quite

frequent in spoken Standard Tibetan. It should be, however, emphasized that the epistemic endings are much less common in the spoken language than the evidential endings.

The fieldwork has also shown a considerable divergence in the use of epistemic endings among my informants caused by various reasons, e.g. dialectal (influence of other dialects on Standard Tibetan) and idiolectal (preference of one or two types of epistemic endings, absence of the use of epistemic endings). During my fieldwork, I have come to the following findings:

First, from a synchronic point of view, epistemic endings are fused, non-analyzable units. Their diachronic development is not reflected in the mind of the native speakers.

Second, epistemic endings are only used in affirmative and negative sentences. They do not normally appear in interrogative sentences (3.2.3.3.).

Third, I have demonstrated that epistemic endings, just like evidential endings, also convey secondary evidential meanings (sensory, factual, egophoric; 2.2.2.5.6., 3.2.2.2.). This had been suggested for some epistemic types (see e.g. Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003) but it had not been studied systematically. Moreover, I have shown that epistemic endings may also convey other meanings, such as expressing the speaker's obligation, hope, surprise and regret (3.2.2.3.).

Fourth, perfective past and present perfect epistemic endings generally differ in the scope of epistemic modality (3.2.2.4.2.). The present perfect endings (e.g. *yod.kyi.red*) have a sentence scope relating to the whole sentence. On the contrary, the perfective endings (e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red*) have a restricted scope highlighting one part of the sentence (e.g. the agent, the adverbial, the predicate). The use of the latter endings is more restricted than that of the present perfect endings; they are usually used only with certain verbal classes.

Fifth, when the first person subject and an epistemic ending occur together, they do not, in general, express a certain degree of the speaker's certainty of the actuality of his utterance but they rather imply that the speaker does not remember well the action of the sentence or that the action does not depend on his will (3.2.2.5.).

Finally, a number of epistemic endings are used in conditionals (3.2.3.4.). The present perfect epistemic endings appear in past unreal conditionals (past counterfactual) and the imperfective or future epistemic endings in present conditionals. It is impossible to use the perfective past endings in conditional sentences.

To conclude, it would be interesting for Tibetan dialectology and the Tibeto-Burman linguistics to compare the results of my study of epistemic modalities in the language spoken in central Tibet with similar analyses of the epistemic systems of other Tibetan dialects and related languages. Likewise, this study of a language with a grammaticalized expression of epistemic modalities could be of interest to more general typological studies of modality.

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- Library of Tibetan Works & Archives - [www.ltwa.net](http://www.ltwa.net)

## GLOSSARY

**allocentric:** The allocentric endings are used to indicate that the speaker performs the action on behalf of the interlocutor.

**controllable** (also volitional): In SST, there are verbs that indicate controllable actions, i.e. actions that depend, in principle, on the subject's will or control. They can be used with all types of verbal endings. On the contrary, non-controllable verbs imply actions that do not depend on the subject's will or control.

**directional:** The term 'directional' refers to those secondary verbs (see below) that are used with verbs of motion to indicate whether the action is carried out towards or from the speaker or a reference mark.

**egophoric:** The egophoric evidential implies personal knowledge or experience, or an intention of the speaker. He is the source of information of the action, in which he is often directly engaged. There are several kinds of egophoric endings: intentional, receptive, habitual, allocentric.

**endopathic:** The term 'endopathic' refers to certain feelings or sensation accessible only to the speaker.

**ergative:** The ergative case marks the agent of transitive verbs. Together with the instrumental, it forms two functions of the agentive case.

**evidential:** The evidential kinds specify the source of information of the speaker's utterance. In SST, they are divided into one indirect and four direct types. The direct types are: the factual, the sensory, the inferential and the egophoric. All the evidentials correspond to certain information. They are conveyed by a system of verbal endings.

**factual:** The factual evidential implies general knowledge, a historic fact, or a particular fact. The speaker judges his utterance to be certain and objective information. The source of information is not specified: it can be indirect or direct. As a result, the factual can be considered as a *default* evidential.

**honorific:** In SST, there are several registers of politeness, two of which are essential: ordinary and polite. The polite register is marked by honorific and humilific terms. The former ones are used with second and third person, the latter ones with first person. These terms are mainly nouns, personal pronouns and verbs. They differ from their ordinary counterparts.

**humilific:** see honorific

**inferential:** This evidential implies an inference or a deduction, on which the speaker bases his utterance. He can observe a trace or a present result of a past action.

**receptive:** The receptive egophoric ending implies a direction towards the speaker. He is the patient of the action or its addressee.

**secondary:** The term 'secondary' is used for a group of verbs that are placed between the lexical verb and the verbal ending (or the auxiliary). This group consists of modal, aspectual and directional verbs.

**sensory:** The sensory evidential implies that the source of information of the speaker's utterance is sensory. The source is generally visual but it may be any other sense: auditory, tactile, olfactory, gustatory.

**verbalizer:** Verbalizers are verbs with an empty or general sense like 'do' or 'send'. They are preceded by a noun that specifies the action. In SST, constructions of a noun and a verbalizer are very frequent.



# APPENDICES

## Appendix I: Tibetan writing and phonology

### TIBETAN WRITING

The Tibetan writing is a non-linear one, consisting of thirty letters (28 consonants and two letters ‘ and *a*<sup>227</sup>) and four symbols for four vowels (i, u, e, o). Since the vowel /a/ is inherent, there is no symbol for it. The following is the Wylie transliteration of the thirty Tibetan letters:

<i>ka</i>	<i>kha</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>nga</i>
<i>ca</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>nya</i>
<i>ta</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>na</i>
<i>pa</i>	<i>pha</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ma</i>
<i>tsha</i>	<i>tsha</i>	<i>dza</i>	<i>wa</i>
<i>zha</i>	<i>za</i>	‘ <i>a</i> ’	<i>ya</i>
<i>ra</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>sha</i>	<i>sa</i>
<i>ha</i>	<i>a</i>		

The letters can combine in a syllable according to several rules. The orthography of Tibetan is historical. In general, one grapheme does not correspond to one phoneme and vice versa. This means that the combinations of letters are often pronounced in a different way from the inner quality of the single letters. The verb ‘realize’, for example, is spelt *bsgrubs* but it is pronounced /*tup*/ (*t*: retroflex). This change is interrelated with the evolution of modern standard Tibetan in a tonal language. In other words, the simplification of the pronunciation of the Tibetan syllables (the loss of affixes) is one of the reasons of the origin of tones (Sun 1995, Tournadre 2005).

The syllables can be either simple, consisting of one consonant and one vowel, or complex, consisting of a group of consonants and one vowel (base + vowel + affixed

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<sup>227</sup> The symbol « ‘ » corresponds to a vowel /a/ in a low tone, and the letter *a* to the vowel /a/ in a high tone.

letters: prefixed, suffixed, superfixed, subfixed). The thirty letters of the Tibetan alphabet can all function as the base of a syllable, but not all of them as an affixed letter. Some affixed letters have an influence on the pronunciation, others not. The structure of the complete Tibetan syllable is the following:

(7)		1 - base
	3	2 - prefixed letter
2	1 5 6	3 - superfixed letter
	4	4 - subfixed letter
(7)		5 - suffixed letter
		6 - second suffixed letter
		7 - vowel

Since words are not separated by spaces in written Tibetan, it is sometimes difficult to guess whether the syllable in question corresponds to a monosyllabic word or whether it is a part of a polysyllabic word. There are several ways of transcribing Tibetan, including both transliterations and transcriptions. Nowadays, the most frequently used one internationally is the Wylie transliteration. This is why it is also used in the present study. It has to be underlined that the pronunciation of spoken Standard Tibetan is different. However, it can be derived from the traditional orthography by means of regular rules.

## PHONOLOGY

The phonological system of spoken Standard Tibetan consists of 28 consonants and eight vowels (see Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003). Phonologically, there are two tones in spoken Standard Tibetan: a high tone and a low tone (see Bielmeier 1982, Hu 1989, Sun 1995, Tournadre & Sangda Dorje 2003, Tournadre 2005). The tone is only relevant for the first syllable of a word. The other syllables are toneless. The tones are often the only means that distinguish otherwise identical words. They are pronounced with different contours in monosyllabic words: high flat, high falling, low flat, low rising-falling (depending on the final consonant of the syllable).

Furthermore, aspiration is an important characteristic feature of SST. It is only limited to the first syllable of a word. It is stronger with a high tone and weaker with a low tone. There is a relationship between tone, aspiration and voicing as Tournadre &

Sangda Dorje (2003:37) put it: “aspirated consonants are always voiceless while non-aspirated consonants are voiceless when they carry a high tone but voiced with a low tone”.

Finally, the stress falls on the first syllable of a word.

## Appendix II: A list of grammatical morphemes and their functions

### Nominalizing morphemes

verb	<i>pa</i>	nominalizes the whole proposition; indicates the patient (perfective)
	<i>sa</i>	expresses the location or the addressee (goal)
	<i>mkhan</i>	expresses the agent of an action
	<i>yag</i>	nominalizes the whole proposition; indicates the patient (imperfective, deontic)
	<i>rgyu</i>	has the same functions as <i>yag</i> but is more formal
	<i>stangs</i>	expresses the way of doing an action
	<i>tshul</i>	expresses the way of doing an action; mainly literary
	<i>srol</i>	expresses the habit of doing an action
	‘gyog	has the same functions as <i>pa</i> , only used in SST

### Nominal case particles

lexical item	0	particle of the absolutive case
	<i>gis</i>	particle of the ergative case
	<i>gi/’i</i>	particle of the genitive case
	<i>la/ra</i>	particle of the oblique case
	<i>nas</i>	particle of the ablative case
	<i>dang</i>	particle of the associative case



**Verbal morphemes: a) Connectives**

verb	-	<i>nas</i>	temporal and spacial clauses
	-	<i>tsang</i>	causal
	-	<i>dus</i>	simultaneity
	-	<i>shul.ring.kar</i>	simultaneity
	-	<i>na</i>	present conditional
	<i>'dug</i>	<i>na</i>	present conditional
	<i>gi.yin</i>	<i>na</i>	future conditional
	<i>pa.yin</i>	<i>na</i>	past conditional
	<i>yod</i>	<i>na</i>	past conditional

**b) Verbal endings and imperative particles (affirmative)<sup>228</sup>**

verb	<i>pa. 'dug</i> <i>pa.red</i> <i>pa. 'dra</i> <i>pa.yod</i> <i>pa.a.yin</i>	TAM verbal endings
verb	<i>pa.yin</i> <i>pa.yin. 'gro</i> <i>pa.yin.pa.yod</i> <i>pa.yin.gyi.red</i> <i>pa.yin.pa. 'dra</i> <i>pa.yin.sa.red</i> <i>pa.yin.pa.red</i> <i>pa.yin.bzo. 'dug</i>	TAM verbal endings

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<sup>228</sup> The list is not exhaustive.

verb	<i>gi.yod</i> <i>gi.yod. 'gro</i> <i>gi.yod.pa.yod</i> <i>gi.yod.kyi.red</i> <i>gi.yod.pa. 'dra</i> <i>gi.yod-mdog.kha.po-red</i> <i>gi.yod-mdog.kha.po- 'dug</i> <i>gi.yod.sa.red</i> <i>gi.yod.bzo. 'dug</i>	TAM verbal endings
verb	<i>gi.yin</i> <i>gi.red</i> <i>gi. 'dug</i> <i>gi.yod.red</i> <i>gi.a.yod</i> <i>gi.yong.nga.yod</i>	TAM verbal endings
verb	<i>a.yod</i> <i>a.yong</i>	TAM verbal endings
verb	<i>yod</i> <i>yod. 'gro</i> <i>yod.pa.yod</i> <i>yod.kyi.red</i> <i>yod.pa. 'dra</i> <i>yod-mdog.kha.po- 'dug</i> <i>yod-mdog.kha.po-red</i> <i>yod.sa.red</i> <i>yod.bzo. 'dug</i>	TAM verbal endings
verb	<i>yong.nga.yod</i>	TAM verbal ending
verb	<i>rgyu.yin</i> <i>rgyu.yin. 'gro</i> <i>rgyu.yin.pa. 'dra</i> <i>rgyu.yin.pa.red</i> <i>rgyu.yin.gyi.red</i> <i>rgyu.yin.pa.yod</i>	TAM verbal endings

	<i>rgyu.yin.sa.red</i> <i>rgyu.red</i> <i>rgyu.yin-mdog.kha.po-red</i> <i>rgyu.yin-mdog.kha.po- 'dug</i> <i>rgyu.yin.bzo. 'dug</i>	
verb	<i>rgyu.yong.nga.yod</i>	TAM verbal ending
verb	<i>bzo. 'dug</i>	TAM verbal endings
	<i>mdog.kha.po- 'dug</i>	
	<i>mdog.kha.po-red</i>	
	<i>mdog.kha.po-yod</i>	
verb	<i>yong</i>	TAM verbal endings
	<i>mi.yong</i>	
	<i>mi.yong.ngas</i>	
	<i>'dug</i>	
verb	<i>song</i>	TAM verbal endings
	<i>byung</i>	
	<i>bzhag</i>	
verb	<i>0</i> <i>dang</i> <i>shig</i> <i>do</i> <i>shog</i> <i>a</i>	imperative particles
	<i>rogs</i> <i>rogs.gnang</i> <i>rogs.byed</i>	imperative particles (honorific)

## Appendix III: TAM verbal endings in spoken Standard Tibetan

### PERFECTIVE ENDINGS

Positive (meaning)	Negative (meaning)	Evidential	Epistemic	Usage
<i>pa.yin</i>	<i>ma + V</i>	egophoric	∅	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>pa.red</i>	<i>ma + V - pa.red</i>	factual	∅	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>song</i>	<i>ma.song</i>	sensory	∅	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>byung</i>	<i>ma.byung</i>	egophoric	∅	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>pa.yod</i>	<i>pa.med</i>	egophoric	EPI 3	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>pa.yin.pa.yod</i>	<i>pa.yin.pa.med</i>	egophoric mnemic	EPI 2	Lhasa
-	<i>pa.a.yin</i>	egophoric	EPI 3	mainly Lhasa
<i>pa.yin. 'gro</i>	<i>pa.min. 'gro</i>	factual	EPI 1	mainly Lhasa
<i>pa.min. 'gro 'o</i>	<i>pa.yin. 'gro 'o</i>	factual	EPI 1	mainly Lhasa
<i>pa.yin.kyi.red</i>	<i>pa.yin.kyi.ma.red</i>	factual	EPI 2	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>pa.yin.pa. 'dra</i>	<i>pa.min.pa. 'dra</i>	sensory	EPI 2	mainly Lhasa
<i>pa. 'dra</i>	<i>ma + V - pa. 'dra</i>	sensory	EPI 2	mainly Lhasa
<i>pa.yin.sa.red</i>	<i>pa.yin.sa.ma.red</i>	sensory	EPI 2	mainly Diaspora
<i>pa.yin.bzo. 'dug</i>	<i>pa.yin.bzo.mi. 'dug</i>	sensory	EPI 1	rare in spoken Tibetan
<i>yong</i>	<i>mi.yong</i>	egophoric	∅, EPI 2	Lhasa
<i>pa.yin-mdog.kha.po-red/ 'dug</i>	<i>pa.yin-mdog.kha.po-ma.red/mi. 'dug</i>	factual/ sensory	EPI 1	Lhasa

### PERFECT ENDINGS

Positive (meaning)	Negative (meaning)	Evidential	Epistemic	Usage
<i>yod</i>	<i>med</i>	egophoric	∅	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>yod.red</i>	<i>yod.ma.red</i>	factual	∅	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>'dug</i>	<i>mi. 'dug</i>	sensory	∅	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>bzhag</i>	-	inferential	∅	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>yod.pa.yod</i>	<i>yod.pa.med</i>	egophoric mnemic	EPI 2	Lhasa
-	<i>a.yod</i>	egophoric	EPI 3	mainly Lhasa
<i>yod. 'gro</i>	<i>med. 'gro</i>	factual	EPI 1	mainly Lhasa
<i>med. 'gro 'o</i>	<i>yod. 'gro 'o</i>	factual	EPI 1	mainly Lhasa
<i>yod.kyi.red</i>	<i>yod.kyi.ma.red</i>	factual	EPI 2	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>yod.pa. 'dra</i>	<i>med.pa. 'dra</i>	sensory	EPI 2	mainly Lhasa
<i>yod.sa.red</i>	<i>yod.sa.ma.red</i>	sensory	EPI 2	mainly Diaspora
<i>yod.bzo. 'dug</i>	<i>yod.bzo.mi. 'dug</i>	sensory	EPI 1	rare in spoken Tibetan
<i>yong.nga.yod</i>	<i>yong.nga.med</i>	egophoric	EPI 2	Lhasa
<i>yod-mdog.kha.po-red/ 'dug</i>	<i>yod-mdog.kha.po-ma.red/mi. 'dug</i>	factual/sensory	EPI 1	Lhasa

IMPERFECTIVE (PRESENT and PAST)

Positive (meaning)	Negative (meaning)	Evidential	Epistemic	Usage
<i>gi.yod</i>	<i>gi.med</i>	egophoric	∅	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>gi. 'dug (gis)</i>	<i>gi.mi. 'dug</i>	sensory	∅	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>gi.yod.red</i>	<i>gi.yod.ma.red</i>	factual	∅	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>gi.yod.pa.yod</i>	<i>gi.yod.pa.med</i>	egophoric mnemic	EPI 2	Lhasa
-	<i>gi.a.yod</i>	egophoric	EPI 3	mainly Lhasa
<i>gi.yod. 'gro</i>	<i>gi.med. 'gro</i>	factual	EPI 1	mainly Lhasa
<i>gi.med. 'gro 'o</i>	<i>gi.yod. 'gro 'o</i>	factual	EPI 1	mainly Lhasa
<i>gi.yod.kyi.red</i>	<i>gi.yod.kyi.ma.red</i>	factual	EPI 2	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>gi.yod.pa. 'dra</i>	<i>gi.med.pa. 'dra</i>	sensory	EPI 2	mainly Lhasa
<i>gi.yod.sa.red</i>	<i>gi.yod.sa.ma.red</i>	sensory	EPI 2	mainly Diaspora
<i>gi.yod.bzo. 'dug</i>	<i>gi.yod.bzo.mi. 'dug</i>	sensory	EPI 1	rare in spoken Tibetan
<i>gi.yong.nga.yod</i>	<i>gi.yong.nga.med</i>	egophoric	EPI 2	Lhasa
<i>gi.yod-mdog.kha.po- red/ 'dug</i>	<i>gi.yod-mdog.kha.po- ma.red/mi. 'dug</i>	factual/ sensory	EPI 1	Lhasa

FUTURE

Positive (meaning)	Negative (meaning)	Evidential	Epistemic	Usage
<i>gi.yin</i>	<i>gi.min</i>	egophoric	∅	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>gi.red</i>	<i>gi.ma.red</i>	factual	∅	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>rgyu.yin</i>	-	egophoric (deontic)	∅	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>rgyu.red</i>	-	factual (deontic)	∅	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>chog</i>	-	egophoric allocentric	∅	mainly Lhasa
<i>dgos</i>	-	egophoric allocentric	∅	mainly Lhasa
<i>yong</i>	-	egophoric allocentric; egophoric	∅; EPI 2	mainly Lhasa
<i>rgyu.yin.pa.yod</i>	-	sensory	EPI 2	Lhasa
<i>rgyu.yin. 'gro</i>	-	factual	EPI 1	mainly Lhasa
<i>rgyu.min. 'gro 'o</i>	-	factual	EPI 1	mainly Lhasa
<i>rgyu.yin.gyi.red</i>	-	factual	EPI 2	Lhasa, Diaspora
<i>rgyu.yin.pa. 'dra</i>	-	sensory	EPI 1	mainly Lhasa
<i>rgyu.yin.sa.red</i>	-	sensory	EPI 2	mainly Diaspora
<i>rgyu.yin.bzo. 'dug</i>	-	sensory	EPI 1	rare in spoken Tibetan
<i>rgyu.yong.nga.yod</i>	-	egophoric	EPI 2	Lhasa
<i>yin - mdog.kha.po- red/ 'dug</i>	-	factual/sensory	EPI 1	Lhasa
<i>pa. 'dug</i>	<i>pa.mi. 'dug</i>	sensory	EPI 3	Lhasa
-	<i>a.yong</i>	egophoric	EPI 3	mainly Lhasa
<i>'gro</i>	-	factual	EPI 1	Lhasa
<i>sa.red</i>	<i>sa.ma.red</i>	sensory	EPI 2	mainly Diaspora
<i>bzo. 'dug</i>	<i>bzo.mi. 'dug</i>	sensory	EPI 1	rare in spoken Tibetan
<i>mi.yong.ngas</i>	-	egophoric	EPI 1	Lhasa
<i>mdog.kha.po-red/ 'dug</i>	<i>mdog.kha.po-ma.red/ mi. 'dug</i>	factual/sensory	EPI 1	Lhasa

## Appendix IV: Tibetan examples

- (2) ཁོང་ལ་རྟགས་མ་ཐོབ་སོང་།
- (4) a) བཀའ་ཤིས་གྱིས་རི་མོ་བྲིས་བཞག།  
b) བསམ་ཡས་དགོན་པ་དུས་རབས་བརྒྱད་པར་བཞེངས་པ་རེད་།
- (5) a) ཁོང་དབྱིན་ཇི་སྐད་སྦྱངས་གྱི་ཡོད་རེད་།  
b) དེ་དུས་ཁོང་དབྱིན་ཇི་སྐད་སྦྱངས་གྱི་ཡོད་རེད་།
- (6) a) ཚོས་སྒྲོན་ཕྱིན་སོང་།  
b) ཚོས་སྒྲོན་ཕྱིན་བཞག།
- (7) a) མོ་རང་ཡར་ལངས་སོང་།  
b) མོ་རང་ལངས་བསྐྱད་བཞག།
- (9) a) ཁོ་རང་སྟོད་ཐུང་དཀར་པོ་གོན་གྱི་འདུག།  
b) ཁོ་རང་སྟོད་ཐུང་དཀར་པོ་གོན་བསྐྱད་བཞག།
- (12) ཁོང་ཚོ་དེ་རིང་པོ་ལོ་ཐོབ་དགོས་གྱི་རེད་།
- (13) ཁོང་གིས་དེ་བཞེས་པ་འདྲ་།
- (18) མི་འདི་སྒྲོ་ཨ་ཡོད།
- (22) 1. ཁོང་གིས་རྒྱ་ཅེད་སྒྲོ་ལོ་བཅུས་སོང་།  
2. ཁོང་གིས་རྒྱ་ཅེད་སྒྲོ་ལོ་བཅུས་སོང་།  
3. ཁོང་གིས་རྒྱ་ཅེད་སྒྲོ་ལོ་བཅུས་བཞག།  
4. ཁོང་གིས་རྒྱ་ཅེད་སྒྲོ་ལོ་བཅུས་པ་རེད་ཟ་།  
5. ཁོང་གིས་རྒྱ་ཅེད་སྒྲོ་ལོ་བཅུས་པ་རེད་།
- (23) a) ངར་དུལ་ཉོག་ཙམ་ཡོད།  
b) ཁོར་དུལ་ཉོག་ཙམ་འདུག།
- (24) ངར་དུལ་ཉོག་ཙམ་འདུག།
- (25) a) ཁོང་ལ་སྒྲོང་ཚན་འབྲི་རྒྱ་རེད་།  
b) ངའི་ན་ཚ་དཀ་མི་ཡོང་ངས་།
- (28) a) ཁོང་གིས་བོད་སྐད་སྦྱངས་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་།  
b) ཁོང་གིས་བོད་སྐད་སྦྱངས་ཡོད་གྱི་མ་རེད་།
- (38) a) ཁོང་ཚང་བཏུངས་གྱི་མི་འདུག།

- b) ཚང་ཁོང་གིས་བརྟུངས་ཀྱི་མི་འདུག་
- (39) ཁོང་གླིང་གར་ཕྱིན་མ་སོང་
- (47) a) ངར་དངུལ་ཡོད་ b) ངས་བྲིས་ཡོད་
- (48) a) ང་ཕྱིན་པ་ཡིན་ b) ང་འགོ་པ་ཡིན་
- (49) a) ཉི་མམ་ཁ་པར་བརྒྱབ་སོང་ b) ཉི་མམ་ phone བཏང་སོང་
- (50) a) མོ་རང་ཚུ་བརྟུངས་ཀྱིས་ b) ཁོང་ཚབ་མཚོད་ཀྱིས་
- (51) a) ང་ཡང་སེ་ལྷན་མོ་ལྷ་གི་ཡོད་  
b) ང་ཚོ་ཡང་སེ་ལྷན་མོ་ལྷ་གི་ཡོད་  
c) ལྷན་མོ་འདི་ལྷོས་དང་
- (52) ང་ཁོང་གི་རི་མོ་རྙིང་པ་ཆེན་པོ་དེར་དགའ་པོ་ཡོད་
- (53) a) མོ་རང་ཚུ་ལ་ཞེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་ b) མོ་རང་ཞེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་ཚུ་ལ་
- (54) འབྲོག་པ་བྱང་ཐང་ལ་ཕྱིན་སོང་
- (55) འབྲོག་པས་གཡག་བསད་སོང་
- (56) a) ང་ཁོ་རང་ལ་ཞེད་ཀྱིས་  
b) ང་ཁོ་རང་ལ་ཞེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་  
c) ང་ཁོ་རང་ལ་ཞེད་པ་རེད་
- (57) a) ང་ལྷ་སར་ཕྱིན་པ་ཡིན་  
b) ཁོང་ལྷ་སར་ཕྱིན་པ་རེད་
- (58) a) ང་བོད་པ་ཡིན་ b) ཁྱེད་རང་བོད་པ་རེད་
- (59) a) ཁྱེད་རང་བོད་པ་ཡིན་པས་ b) ང་རྒྱ་མི་རེད་པས་
- (60) a) ཁོང་གིས་དེབ་བལྟས་སོང་  
b) ཁོང་དེབ་ལྷ་གི་འདུག་
- (61) a) ཁོང་གིས་ཡི་གེ་བཏང་སོང་  
b) ཁོང་ཡི་གེ་བཏང་གི་འདུག་
- (62) ལྷ་མོ་ལྷ་སར་ཕྱིན་པ་ངས་ཉ་གོ་མ་སོང་
- (63) འགོ་མཁན་སུ་རེད་
- (64) མར་འཚོང་ཡག་ཡོད་རེད་
- (65) ཁོང་གི་སྐད་ཆ་བཤད་སྟངས་ཁྱེད་མཚར་འདུག་
- (66) ངའི་གྲོགས་པོས་ངར་དེབ་སྤྲད་བྱུང་
- (67) ཁོས་ཨ་རག་མང་པོ་བརྟུངས་ནས་བཟེ་བཞག་
- (68) རང་གིས་ངར་རོག་པ་བྱས་ཅང་ང་ཤི་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

- (69) རང་གིས་རང་ཚོག་པ་མ་བྱས་ན་ར་ཤི་ཡོད་རེད་
- (70) རྣམ་ཆ་ཤོད་དང་
- (71) ཁོང་གིས་བོད་རྣམ་སྤྱད་ས་པ་རེད་
- (72) ཉི་འོད་ཕོག་པའི་རྣམ་ས་དངོས་འབྲེལ་འོད་ཟེར་ཆེན་པོ་འགྲོ་བཞིན་ཡོད་
- (73) ར་ལ་དུས་ཚོད་ཡོད་
- (74) རས་ཇ་བཟོས་ཡོད་
- (75) ཁོང་གིས་ཇ་བརྟུངས་མ་སོང་
- (76) ཁོང་གིས་ཇ་བརྟུངས་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (77) སློབ་སྤྱད་ཚོ་ཕྱིན་ཡོད་འགྲོ་
- (78) གངས་བརྟུང་པ་འདུག་
- (79) a) ལས་ཀ་མ་བྱས་པ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
 b) འདི་ཁོང་གིས་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ཀྱི་རེད་  
 c) ལས་ཀ་འདི་ཁོང་གིས་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (80) \* ཁོང་གིས་ལས་ཀ་བྱས་པ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (81) ཁ་ས་ཁ་ལག་བཟོ་མཁན་སུ་རེད་
- (82) A: རང་ག་པར་འགྲོ་ག་ B: ར་ཁྲོམ་ལ་འགྲོ་མཁན་ཡིན་
- (83) a) ཁ་ས་ར་ཁྲོམ་ལ་འགྲོ་མཁན་ཡིན་  
 b) \* ཁ་ས་ར་ཁྲོམ་ལ་འགྲོ་གི་ཡིན་
- (84) ཡིན་ནའི་ཁོང་སློབས་སོང་ཨ་ནི་ར་ཕྱིན་མེད་
- (85) a) ཁོ་དུས་སང་// རྒྱ་ཉིན་སློབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་མཁན་རེད་  
 b) ཁོ་དུས་སང་// \* རྒྱ་ཉིན་སློབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
 c) ཁོ་ \* དུས་སང་// རྒྱ་ཉིན་སློབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་པ་རེད་
- (86) ར་ཁྲོམ་ལ་འགྲོ་གི་ཡིན་
- (87) [འདི] ཁོང་གིས་ཚོག་ཚོག་བཟོ་ཡག་རེད་
- (88) a) དུག་ལོག་འདི་འབྲུ་ཡག་རེད་པས་ b) དུག་ལོག་འདི་འབྲུ་རྒྱ་རེད་པས་
- (89) a) ར་ལས་ཀ་བྱེད་རྒྱ་ཡིན་ b) ར་ལས་ཀ་བྱེད་ \* ཡག་ཡིན་
- (90) A: དུག་ལོག་འདི་བཟུས་ཚར་པ་རེད་པས་ B: འབྲུ་རྒྱ་རེད་
- (91) ཁོང་ལ་སྤྱ་གུ་སློབ་རྒྱ་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་// \* ཡག་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་
- (92) a) རར་བྱེད་རང་ལ་བཀའ་ཚོལ་ལྷུ་ཡག་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་ལ་ཚོག་ཚོག་བཟོ་ཡག་ཡོད་རེད་
- (93) a) \* ཁོང་ན་ཡག་ཡོད་རེད་ b) ཁོང་ལ་ན་ཡག་ཡོད་རེད་





- (112) ཁོང་དེབ་ལྟ་གིས་
- (113) ཁོང་གིས་དེབ་བལྟས་བཞག་
- (114) ངས་ཁ་ལག་བཟོས་པ་ཡིན་
- (115) ཁོང་གིས་ང་ལ་ལག་རྟགས་སྤྲད་བྱུང་
- (116) a) ཁོང་ངའི་ཕ་ལ་ཡང་སེ་ཐེབས་གྱི་ཡོད་
- b) ང་དང་ར་མོ་བཟས་ན་སོ་ན་གི་ཡོད་
- (117) a) ཁོང་ལ་དགའ་རོགས་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- b) ཁོང་ལ་དགའ་རོགས་ཡོད་འགྲོ་
- (118) a) ཁོང་གིས་ལས་ཀ་ཚར་པ་འདྲ་
- b) ཁོང་གིས་ལས་ཀ་ཚར་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་
- (119) སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ལགས་སྤིང་གར་ཐེབས་སོང་
- (120) ང་ཁ་ས་སྤིང་གར་ཕྱིན་པ་ཡིན་
- (121) ཁང་པ་གསར་པ་མང་པོ་བརྒྱབ་བཞག་
- (122) a) ཁོང་ཁ་ལག་བཟོ་གིས་
- b) དེ་དུས་ཁོང་ཁ་ལག་བཟོ་གིས་
- (123) a) ལྷ་མ་སང་ཉིན་ཐེབས་གྱི་རེད་པས་
- b) བལ་ཡུལ་ལ་འབྲས་བུ་བྱི་རེད་
- (124) ང་སང་ཉིན་ཡོང་གི་ཡིན་
- (125) a) ངས་ཕྱིན་དགོས་
- b) ངས་ལེན་ཚོག་
- (126) གཟུང་གཟུང་གནང་བྱེད་རང་སྤྱང་ཡོང་ང་
- (127) a) ང་ཚོ་གས་འདུར་འགྲོ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་
- b) ཁོང་གིས་མོག་མོག་བཟོ་རྒྱུ་རེད་
- (128) a) ལྷ་པ་ཚོ་སྤེབས་སོང་
- b) \* ཁྱི་ཚོ་སྤེབས་སོང་
- (129) ལྷ་པ་སྤེབས་སོང་
- (130) ལྷ་པ་མང་པོ་སྤེབས་སོང་
- (131) a) བཀའ་ཤིས་གྱིས་ཆང་ས་བརྒྱབ་པ་རེད་
- b) བཀའ་ཤིས་གྱིས་ཁ་པར་བརྒྱབ་པ་རེད་
- (132) a) ང་ལྷ་ད་མོ་ལྷ་གི་ཡོད་
- b) ང་ཁོང་མཐོང་གིས་



- (156) a) ཁོང་ལ་སྐྱ་གུ་སྐྱེས་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
 b) \* ཁོང་སྐྱ་གུ་སྐྱེས་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
 c) \* ཁོང་གིས་སྐྱ་གུ་སྐྱེས་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (157) a) ཁོང་གིས་ཚེ་རིང་ལ་ལས་ཀ་འདི་བྱེད་ཅུ་བཅུག་ཨ་ཡོང་  
 b) ཁོང་གིས་ཚེ་རིང་ལས་ཀ་འདི་བྱེད་ཅུ་བཅུག་ཨ་ཡོང་
- (158) མོ་རང་གིས་ང་དེབ་ལྷ་ཅུ་བཅུག་གི་མི་འདུག་
- (159) ཁོང་གིས་ང་ལ་དེབ་ལྷ་ཅུ་བཅུག་པ་རེད་
- (160) a) ཁོང་སློབ་སློབ་བྱེད་ཡག་གི་ཚེད་དུ་ལྷ་སར་ཕྱིན་པ་རེད་  
 b) ཁོ་རང་གིས་དབྱིན་ཇི་སྐད་སྐད་ཡག་གི་ཚེད་དུ་སློབ་དེབ་མང་པོ་ཉོས་སོང་
- (161) a) མཚོ་སྐོན་རོགས་པ་བྱུག་གར་ཕྱིན་སོང་  
 b) ང་ཇ་ཉོ་གར་ཡོང་པ་ཡིན་
- (162) a) བོད་རྒྱ་ནག་ལས་གནམ་གཤིས་གང་པ་འདུག་  
 b) བོད་རྒྱ་ནག་ལས་གནམ་གཤིས་གང་པ་
- (163) a) བྱ་འདི་སྐར་བྱ་ལས་ཆེ་བ་རེད་  
 b) བྱ་འདི་སྐར་བྱ་ལས་ཆེ་གི་རེད་
- (164) ཁོང་ལ་སློབ་བརྟན་གྱི་ཕེུ་སྐད་པ་ཡིན་ངས་
- (165) ཁོང་གིས་སྐྱ་གུ་ལ་ཀུ་ཕུ་སྐད་སོང་
- (166) a) ཀུ་ཕུ་ཁོང་གིས་སྐྱ་གུ་ལ་སྐད་སོང་  
 b) ཁོང་གིས་ཀུ་ཕུ་སྐྱ་གུ་ལ་སྐད་སོང་  
 c) སྐྱ་གུ་ལ་ཀུ་ཕུ་ཁོང་གིས་སྐད་སོང་
- (167) \* ཟ་གི་འདུག་ཁ་ལག་ཁོང་
- (168) ཁོང་སློབས་ནས་ང་ཚོ་ཁ་ལག་ཟ་གི་ཡིན་
- (169) ང་རྒྱུད་དུས་གདོན་འབྲེར་ཞེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་
- (170) ཉི་མ་ཤར་ཅོང་མི་མང་པོ་སྐྱིད་གར་འདུག་
- (171) རང་རང་རོག་པ་བྱས་ན་ང་ཤེས་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (172) རང་རང་རོག་པ་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ན་ང་ཤེས་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (173) རང་རང་རོག་པ་བྱས་ཡོད་ན་ང་ཤེས་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (174) ངར་སང་ཉིན་དུས་ཚོད་མེད་ཅོང་མ་གཏོགས་ཁྱེད་རང་མཉམ་པོ་འགྲོ་གི་རེད་
- (175) ཚེ་རིང་གིས་ལས་ཀ་འདི་བྱས་ཡོད་ན་དདུལ་མང་པོ་རག་ཡོད་རེད་
- (176) ཚེ་རིང་གིས་ལས་ཀ་འདི་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ན་དདུལ་མང་པོ་རག་པ་ཡོད་
- (177) རང་གིས་ཁོང་ལ་རོག་པ་མ་བྱས་ན་ཁོང་ཤི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་

- (178) ངར་དདུལ་མེད་ཅང་མ་གཏོགས་ངས་མོ་ཉམ་ཚར་སོང་།
- (179) ཁོང་ཕལ་ཆེར་ཡོང་གི་རེད་།
- (180) ཁོང་ཡོང་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་།
- (181) གཅིག་བྱས་ན་སྤར་བུ་ཡོང་གི་རེད་།
- (182) ཁོང་ཕལ་ཆེར་ཡོང་གི་རེད་།
- (183) ཁོང་གཏན་གཏན་ཡོང་གི་རེད་།
- (184) ངས་སྟོད་ཕད་ལ་སྐྱུགས་ཡོད་བསམས་བྱུང་།
- (185) ངས་སྟོད་ཕད་ལ་སྐྱུགས་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་།
- (186) ངས་བྱས་ན་ཁོང་ནང་ལ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་།
- (187) ཁོ་གོགས་པོ་ལ་སྤོ་ལོ་གཡར་གྱི་ཡོད་འགོ་།
- (188) ཕུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཁ་ལག་བཅོས་ཡོད་ས་རེད་།
- (189) ཁོང་ན་ཚ་མཚོགས་པོ་དྲག་པ་།
- (190) a) པ་སངས་ལ་དདུལ་རྒྱ་ཡོད་ས་རེད་།  
b) པ་སངས་ལ་དདུལ་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་།
- (191) ཁོང་རྗེས་མར་བོད་སྐད་སྐྱུངས་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་།
- (192) བུ་འདྲིས་དབྱིན་ཇི་སྐད་རྒྱ་གར་ནས་སྐྱུངས་པ་ཡིན་བཅོམ་འདུག་།
- (193) a) ཁོང་མོ་ཉམ་བཏང་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་།  
b) ཁོང་མོ་ཉམ་བཏང་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་མ་རེད་།
- (194) a) ཁོང་མོ་ཉམ་བཏང་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་།  
b) ཁོང་མོ་ཉམ་བཏང་གི་མེད་པ་འདྲ་།
- (195) a) ཁོང་གིས་ལས་ཀ་བྱས་མེད་འགྲོའོ་།  
b) ཁོང་གིས་ལས་ཀ་བྱས་ཡོད་འགྲོའོ་།
- (196) a) ཁོང་གིས་ཁ་ས་ལས་ཀ་བྱས་ཨ་ཡོད་།  
b) \* ཁོང་གིས་ཁ་ས་ལས་ཀ་བྱས་ཨ་མེད་།
- (197) a) ཁོང་མ་སྤྱིན་པ་ཡིན་འགྲོ་།  
b) རང་མདང་དགོང་གཉིད་ཡག་པོ་མ་ལུག་པ་འདྲ་།
- (198) a) \* ཁོང་མ་སྤྱིན་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་།  
b) ཁོང་གཞིས་ཀ་རྩེར་སྐྱབས་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་མ་རེད་།
- (199) a) ཁོང་གིས་མ་བཤད་པ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་།  
b) ཁོང་གིས་བཤད་པ་ཡིན་གྱི་མ་རེད་།

- (200) a) ! ཁོ་ཕྱིན་མེད་གྱི་རེད་  
 b) ! ཉི་མ་ན་གི་མེད་ས་རེད་
- (201) ཁོང་བོད་པ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་
- (202) ཁོང་གིས་ཇ་བརྟུངས་ཡོད་འགྲོ་
- (203) ཁོང་གིས་ཇ་བརྟུངས་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་
- (204) ཁོང་གིས་ཇ་བརྟུངས་པ་ཡོད་
- (205) ཁོང་ལ་དགའ་རོགས་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་
- (206) དམག་མིས་ལམ་ཁག་བཀག་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (207) ཁོང་གིས་མོག་མོག་བཟོས་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (208) ལས་ཀ་ཚང་མ་རང་གིས་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་
- (209) ཁོང་བོད་སྐད་རྒྱུངས་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་
- (210) ང་ཡིག་ཚད་འདི་ལོན་པ་ཡོད་
- (211) ཁོ་ཕྱིན་ཚོག་ག་
- (212) བཤེ་བཤེ་མ་བཏང་ཚོག་ག་
- (213) དཀར་ཡོལ་འདི་ངས་བཅག་པ་ཡིན་འགྲོའོ་
- (214) A: ཕྱིན་པ་ཐོབ་སོང་ B: ཡིན་གྱི་མ་རེད་
- (215) A: ཁོང་ལ་སྤྲ་སེ་རག་སོང་ B: ཨ་ཡིན་
- (216) ངས་ཁ་ལག་འདི་མ་བཟས་ནའི་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་
- (217) a) ཁོང་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་ཕྱིན་པ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་  
 b) ཁོང་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་ཕྱིན་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་  
 c) ཁོང་མགྲོགས་པོ་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་འགྲོ་གི་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་  
 d) ཁོང་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་འགྲོ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་
- (218) ?/\* བསྟན་པ་དུས་སང་སློབ་སློང་བྱེད་གྱི་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་
- (219) a) ཁོང་ད་ལྟ་ནང་ལ་བཞུགས་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་  
 b) \* ཁོང་ད་ལྟ་ནང་ལ་བཞུགས་པ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་
- (220) a) ཁོང་སླེབས་ཨ་ཡོད་  
 b) \* ཁོང་སླེབས་པ་ཨ་ཡིན་  
 c) ཁོང་ཁ་ས་ // ལྟ་སར་སླེབས་པ་ཨ་ཡིན་
- (221) a) ངར་ཆམ་པ་བརྒྱབ་མེད་པ་འདྲ་  
 b) ངར་ཆམ་པ་བརྒྱབ་པ་མིན་པ་འདྲ་

- (222) a) ཁོང་གིས་དེབ་འདི་ཉོས་པ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་  
 b) ཁོང་གིས་དེབ་ཉོས་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་
- (223) a) ཁོང་ཁ་ས་ནང་ལ་བཞུགས་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་  
 b) ཁོང་ཁ་ས་ནང་ལ་བཞུགས་པ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་
- (224) a) \* ཁོང་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལ་དགའ་སྤོང་པ་ཡིན་ས་རེད་  
 b) ཁོང་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལ་དགའ་སྤོང་ཡོད་ས་རེད་
- (225) a) ཁོང་ད་ལྟ་བུ་བཞུགས་ཨ་ཡོད་ // མེད་པ་འདྲ་  
 b) \* ཁོང་ད་ལྟ་བུ་བཞུགས་གྱི་ཨ་ཡོད་ // གྱི་མེད་པ་འདྲ་
- (226) a) ཁོང་དེང་སང་བཞུགས་ཨ་ཡོད་ // མེད་པ་འདྲ་  
 b) ཁོང་དེང་སང་བཞུགས་གྱི་ཨ་ཡོད་ // གྱི་མེད་པ་འདྲ་
- (227) a) \* ཁོང་ན་ // སྒྱི་ // དགའ་རྒྱ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་  
 b) ཁོང་ལ་རག་རྒྱ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་
- (228) a) ཁོང་ཟ་རྒྱ་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་  
 b) \* ཁོང་ཟ་རྒྱ་མིན་པ་འདྲ་
- (229) a) \* ང་ རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་འདྲུང་ རྩོམ་རྒྱ་ཡིན་འགྲོ་  
 b) ང་ རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་འདྲུང་ རྩོམ་རྒྱ་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་
- (230) a) ཁོང་དེ་དུས་སྤྱི་བ་ཟ་གི་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་  
 b) ཁོང་བོད་ལ་སྤྱི་བ་ཟ་གི་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་
- (231) ཁོང་འབྲུག་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (232) ངར་གསེར་གྱི་རྒྱགས་མ་རག་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (233) བར་འདི་ངས་བརྒྱབ་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (234) གཞུང་ལྗོངས་ལ་བསྟན་འཛིན་བཞུགས་ཡོད་འགྲོའོ་
- (235) དེ་དུས་ང་ཁོང་ལ་དགའ་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (236) ངར་སྤྱི་བ་སྤྱི་བ་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (237) ངར་ལས་ཀ་རག་གི་ཡོད་འགྲོ་
- (238) ང་བོད་སྐད་སློབ་སློབ་བྱེད་མཁན་ཡིན་ན་བོད་ལ་འགྲོ་པ་
- (239) ང་རྒྱ་ཚོད་བརྒྱད་པར་ཐོན་ན་རྒྱ་ཚོད་དགུ་པར་ཁོང་གི་ནང་ལ་སླེབས་མཛོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་ལོ་
- (240) ངས་མི་འདི་མཐོང་སྤོང་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་ // ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (241) a) ང་འབྲུག་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་ // \* གི་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་  
 b) ཁོང་འབྲུག་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་ // གི་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་
- (242) རྒྱ་ཉིན་ང་གཞུགས་ལག་ཁང་ལ་ཡོད་དུས་ཇོ་བོ་ར་མ་རྒྱལ་མེད་ལྟ་བུ་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་

- (243) a) \* ང་བརྟན་འཕྲིན་ལྟ་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
 b) ང་ཚོ་བརྟན་འཕྲིན་ལྟ་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (244) a) \* ང་སང་ཉིན་འགོ་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་  
 b) ང་ཚོ་སང་ཉིན་འགོ་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (245) སྒྲོལ་མ་ན་པ་ཡོད་
- (246) བྱིད་རང་གིས་པ་རན་སི་ནས་དྲི་ཆབ་འདི་ཉོས་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་
- (247) ཁོང་ལ་སྐུ་གུ་སྒྲིས་པ་འདྲ་
- (248) ཁོང་གའོན་འདྲེ་ལ་ཞེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་མ་རེད་
- (249) ཁོང་གིས་པད་མ་ལས་ཀ་བྱེད་རུ་བརྟུག་གི་ཡོད་འགོ་
- (250) a) \* ཁོང་མི་འདིར་དགའ་པ་ཡིན་པ་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་མི་འདིར་དགའ་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་
- (251) a) ! ངས་བཟས་ཡོད་འགོ་  
 b) ང་ཟ་སྒྲོང་ཡོད་འགོ་
- (252) \* ཁོང་ཡོང་ཡོང་
- (253) a) ཁོང་སང་ཉིན་ལྟ་སར་སྐྱེབས་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཡོད་  
 b) \* ཁོང་སང་ཉིན་ལྟ་སར་འགོ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཡོད་
- (254) a) \* ཁོང་ཕྱིན་པ་ཡོད་ཅང་"  
 b) \* ཆར་པ་བཏང་པ་འདུག་ཅང་"
- (255) a) ཆར་པ་བཏང་པ་འདུག་ན་"  
 b) \* ཆར་པ་བཏང་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་ན་"
- (256) a) ཁ་པར་སྐྱད་མི་དགོས་ང་ཁོང་གཉིས་ཐུག་ཨ་ཡོད་བསམས་བྱུང་  
 b) ཁོང་སྒྲོ་བྱེད་གོས་མེད་འགོའོ་བསམས་བྱུང་
- (257) A: ཁོང་ཕྱིན་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་                      B: ཕྱིན་སོང་ངས་ // ཕྱིན་འདུག་གས་
- (258) ཇ་འདི་ཚ་པོ་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་འདུག་གས་
- (259) ཁོང་བོད་པ་ཡིན་བཟོ་འདུག་གས་
- (260) A: བྱིད་རང་ལྷོ་བ་བརྟུག་ཉིད་པར་དདུལ་ལྷང་པ་འདུག་གས་    B: ལྷང་པ་འདུག་
- (261) ཆར་པ་བཏང་པ་འདུག་གས་
- (262) ཆར་པ་བཏང་གི་རེད་པས་
- (263) ? ཁོང་བོད་པ་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་འདུག་གས་ // རེད་པས་
- (264) a) རང་གིས་ཅི་ནི་ཉོག་ཅམ་མང་ཅམ་བརྒྱབ་ཡོད་ན་ཇ་འདི་ཞིམ་པོ་ཆགས་པ་ཡོད་



- b) རང་གིས་ཅི་ནི་རྟོག་ཅམ་མང་ཅམ་བརྒྱབ་ཡོད་ན་ཇ་འདི་ཞིམ་པོ་ཆགས་ཡོད་རེད་
- (265) a) རང་དདུལ་ཡོད་ན་ཡུལ་སྐྱོར་ལ་འགྲོ་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
b) རང་དདུལ་ཡོད་ན་ཡུལ་སྐྱོར་ལ་འགྲོ་གི་ཡིན་
- (266) a) ཁ་ས་ཁོང་སྤྲོན་བཟས་ཡོད་ན་ན་ཨ་ཡོད་ // \* པ་ཨ་ཡིན་
- (267) ! ཁོང་ལ་དུས་ཚོད་ཡོད་ན་ཐུགས་སྐྱོར་སྤྲིན་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་
- (268) a) ལག་རྟགས་འདྲིར་ཁོང་དགའ་པོ་ཡོད་ན་ངས་སྤུལ་པ་ཡོད་  
b) སྤྲོན་མ་བཟས་ན་ང་ཤི་ཡོད་མཛད་གཤམ་པོ་རེད་
- (269) \* སྤྲོན་མ་བཟས་ན་ང་ཤི་པ་འདྲ་
- (270) ལག་རྟགས་འདྲིར་ཁོང་དགའ་པོ་ཡོད་ན་ངས་སྤུལ་པ་
- (271) ཁ་ལག་འདི་བཟས་ན་ཁོང་ན་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (272) ཁོང་ལ་རོག་པ་མ་བྱས་ན་ཤི་གི་ཡོད་ས་རེད་
- (273) ང་སྤི་རྒྱལ་ལ་ཡོད་ན་ཀོ་མི་བརྟེན་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (274) ཁོང་པལ་ཆེར་ཡོད་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (275) ཁོང་གཏན་གཏན་ཡོད་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (276) གཅིག་བྱས་ན་ཁོང་གིས་བྱས་པ་འདྲ་
- (277) ཁོང་གིས་པལ་ཆེར་བྱས་པ་འདྲ་
- (278) ! ཁོང་ལ་ངའི་ལྗེ་མིག་གཏན་གཏན་བརྟེན་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (279) ཁོ་རང་གཏན་གཏན་སྤིན་པ་ཡོད་
- (280) \* ཁོ་རང་ཡིན་ཅིག་མིན་ཅིག་བོད་ལ་འགྲོ་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (281) a) ཁོང་གིས་ཁ་ལག་བཟོས་པ་འདྲུག་  
b) ཁོང་གིས་ཁ་ལག་བཟོས་པ་ཡོད་
- (282) ཆར་པ་བཏང་པ་འདྲུག་
- (283) ངས་ཆར་པ་བཏང་པ་འདྲུག་བསམ་བློར་ཡིན་ནའི་ད་ལྟ་གནས་དྲངས་སོང་
- (284) ཉི་མ་ཤར་པ་
- (285) a) བསྟན་པ་རྒྱ་ནག་ལ་སྤིན་ // འགྲོ་པ་  
b) \* ཁོང་ལྷ་ཉིན་རྒྱ་ནག་ལ་སྤིན་པ་
- (286) ཁོང་གིས་དེབ་མང་པོ་ // ཁ་ཤམ་ // འདི་ ཉོས་པ་
- (287) ཆར་པ་བཏང་པ་མི་འདྲུག་
- (288) ཁོང་ཚོ་སྤོ་ལོ་ཤོར་པ་མི་འདྲུག་

- (289) a) ང་ར་བཟི་པ་  
 b) ང་དགོ་ཀླན་བྱེད་པ་  
 c) ང་ན་ཚ་འདི་འགོས་པ་མི་འདུག་
- (290) \* ང་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་ཕྱིན་པ་
- (291) བློན་ཁོག་ལྷོགས་ཀྱིས་.....ང་གི་པ་
- (292) a) གཟབ་གཟབ་མ་བྱས་ན་མོ་འ་བརྟུངས་པ་  
 b) ང་བོད་སྐད་སློབ་སློང་བྱེད་མཁན་ཡིན་ན་བོད་ལ་ཕྱིན་པ་
- (293) ང་གཏན་གཏན་ན་པ་མི་འདུག་
- (294) རང་ཞེ་པོ་ཅིག་ན་པ་ཡོད་
- (295) a) ཁོང་རྒྱ་ཚོད་དགུ་པར་ཕེབས་པ་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་རྒྱ་ཚོད་དགུ་པར་ཕེབས་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (296) a) ཁོང་ཁ་ལག་ཉོ་གསལ་ཕྱིན་པ་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་ཁ་ལག་ཉོ་གསལ་འགྲོ་པ་ཡོད་
- (297) a) ཁ་ལག་ཁོང་གིས་བཟོ་པ་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁ་ལག་ཁོང་གིས་བཟོས་པ་ཡོད་
- (298) a) པ་ཕས་རྒྱ་བ་དུས་སང་རྒྱ་ནག་ལ་འགྲོ་ཅུ་བཅུག་པ་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་གིས་རྒྱ་བ་རྒྱ་ཉིན་རྒྱ་ནག་ལ་འགྲོ་ཅུ་བཅུག་པ་ཡོད་
- (299) ཁ་ལག་འདི་ཁོང་གིས་བཟོས་པ་མེད་
- (300) དེ་རིང་ཁོང་གིས་ཁ་ལག་བཟོས་པ་མེད་
- (301) a) སློལ་དཀར་ལ་སྤྲ་སེ་རྒྱ་པ་མེད་  
 b) སློལ་དཀར་ལ་སང་ཉིན་སྤྲ་སེ་རྒྱ་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (302) ངར་དུས་ཚོད་ཡོད་ན་ཡུལ་སྐོར་ལ་ཕྱིན་པ་ཡོད་
- (303) ང་ན་ཚ་འདི་འགོས་པ་མེད་
- (304) ཁ་ལག་གང་བྱུང་མང་བྱུང་མ་བཟས་ན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ན་པ་མེད་
- (305) ཁོང་གིས་ངར་རོགས་པ་མ་བྱས་ན་ང་ད་ལྟ་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཆེན་མོར་འགྲོ་སྐབ་པ་མེད་
- (306) མདང་དགོང་གཅིག་བྱས་ན་ཁོང་ན་པ་ཡོད་
- (307) སློལ་མ་བློན་ཁོག་ལྷོགས་ཡོད་པ་མེད་
- (308) བྱི་ངས་འབྲེར་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་
- (309) ང་ལྟ་སང་ཉི་མ་གསུམ་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་
- (310) ཁོང་གཏན་གཏན་སློབ་གྲྭར་འགྲོ་གི་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་
- (311) A: ལྷོ་མིག་ཡོད་པས་ B: ཕལ་ཆེར་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་

- (312) ཁོང་སྤྲ་མ་ཁ་ལོ་པ་ཡིན་པ་ཡོད་
- (313) ཁོང་གིས་ཁ་ལག་བཟུང་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་
- (314) ཁོང་ད་ལྟ་བུ་བཞུགས་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་
- (315) \* ང་ཁོང་ལ་ཡིད་ཆེས་ // དགའ་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་
- (316) a) ! བྱིད་རང་མ་ཐེབས་ན་ང་ལྷི་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་  
 b) ! བྱིད་རང་མ་ཐེབས་ན་ཁོང་ལྷི་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་
- (317) རི་མོ་འདི་ཁོང་གིས་བྲིས་པ་ཡིན་པ་ཡོད་
- (318) a) \* ཁོང་མི་འདིར་ཞེད་པ་ཡིན་པ་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་མི་འདིར་ཞེད་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་
- (319) རི་མོ་འདི་ངས་བྲིས་པ་ཡིན་པ་ཡོད་ // པ་ཡིན་པ་མེད་
- (320) a) ཁོང་རྒྱ་ཚོད་གཉིས་པར་ཡོང་གི་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་བོད་སྐད་ཤེས་གི་ཡོད་པ་མེད་  
 c) ཁོང་སློབས་དུས་ང་ལི་གོ་བྲིས་གི་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་
- (321) a) ཁོང་ཕྱི་ལོགས་ལ་ཁ་ལག་ཟ་གི་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་དོ་དགོངས་ཕྱི་ལོགས་ལ་ཁ་ལག་ཟ་གཤག་འགྲོ་མཁན་ཡིན་པ་ཡོད་
- (322) བྱིད་རང་ཞལ་ལག་མཚོད་རྒྱ་ཡིན་པ་ཡོད་
- (323) ཁོང་ཕྱིན་ཡོང་ང་མེད་
- (324) \* ཁོང་ཁ་ལག་བཟུང་པ་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་
- (325) a) ཁྱི་ཁོང་གིས་འབྲེར་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁྱི་ངས་འབྲེར་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་
- (326) a) སློལ་མ་པལ་ཆེར་དབྱིན་ཇི་སྐད་སྤྲངས་ཀྱི་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་  
 b) སློལ་མ་གཏན་གཏན་དབྱིན་ཇི་སྐད་སྤྲངས་ཀྱི་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་
- (327) ཁོང་བལ་ཡུལ་ལ་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་
- (328) a) \* ཁོང་དགོ་རྒྱན་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་དགོ་རྒྱན་བྱས་ན་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་
- (329) ཁོང་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ལ་སློབས་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་
- (330) ཁོང་བཞུགས་ཡོང་ང་མེད་
- (331) a) བྱིད་རང་མ་ཐེབས་ན་ཁོང་ལྷི་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་  
 b) བྱིད་རང་མ་ཐེབས་ན་ང་ལྷི་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་
- (332) སློལ་མ་ད་ལྟ་ཡོང་གི་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་
- (333) ཁོང་པལ་ཆེར་ན་གི་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་

- (334) a) \* ཁོང་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ལ་དགའ་གི་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ལ་དགའ་པོ་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་
- (335) མི་ཁ་ཤས་ཟ་རྒྱུ་ཡོང་ང་ཡོད་
- (336) པ་ཕས་རྒྱུ་བརྟུངས་ཨ་ཡོང་
- (337) \* ཁོང་ལས་ཀ་བྱེད་གི་ཨ་ཡིན་
- (338) A: ཁོ་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་ཕྱིན་སོང་ B: ཨ་ཡིན་
- (339) ང་ཨ་ཡིན་
- (340) ཁོང་བཞུགས་ཨ་ཡོད་ན་
- (341) ཁོང་འགོ་ཐུབ་ཨ་ཡོང་
- (342) a) ང་རུ་ཤོར་ཨ་ཡོང་  
 b) \* ང་རུ་ཤོར་གི་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (343) སྤྲོན་འདི་བཟུང་ན་ཁོང་གི་ན་ཚ་དྲག་ཨ་ཡོང་
- (344) a) གཅིག་བྱས་ན་ཁོང་ངར་དགའ་གི་ཨ་ཡོད་  
 b) A: ཁོང་ནང་ལ་བཞུགས་འདུག་གས་ B: ཕལ་ཆེར་གཞུགས་ཨ་ཡོང་  
 c) ཁོང་གཏན་གཏན་ཡོང་ཨ་ཡོང་
- (345) བྱིད་རང་ལ་སྤྲུ་གུ་གཉིས་ཨ་ཡོད་ན་
- (346) བསྐྱོན་འཛིན་ལ་ལས་ཀ་འདི་རྒྱ་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (347) ངས་སྤྲུ་གུ་ཨ་རྒྱ་བརྟུངས་རུ་བཅུག་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (348) དེང་སང་ཁོང་བཞུགས་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (349) དེང་སང་ཁོང་བཞུགས་གི་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (350) \* ང་སང་ཉིན་ཡོང་ན་བྱིད་རང་བཞུགས་ཨ་ཡོད་ན་
- (351) a) \* ལས་ཀ་ཁོང་གིས་བྱས་པ་ཨ་ཡིན་  
 b) ལས་ཀ་འདི་ཁོང་གིས་བྱས་པ་ཨ་ཡིན་  
 c) ཁོང་གིས་ལས་ཀ་འདི་བྱས་པ་ཨ་ཡིན་
- (352) a) \* ཁོང་ཕྱིན་པ་ཨ་ཡིན་  
 b) ཁོང་གནམ་གྲུ་ལ་ཕྱིན་པ་ཨ་ཡིན་
- (353) ཁོང་ཕྱིན་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (354) a) ཁོང་གིས་ལམ་ཁག་བཀག་ཨ་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་གིས་ལམ་ཁག་བཀག་པ་ཨ་ཡིན་
- (355) a) ཁོང་བྱ་མེད་ལ་དགའ་ཨ་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་བྱ་མེད་ལ་དགའ་པ་ཨ་ཡིན་

- (356) a) ཁོང་གྲི་དེ་ལ་ཞེད་ཨ་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་གྲི་དེ་ལ་ཞེད་སྤྱིང་ཨ་ཡོད་  
 c) ཁོང་གྲི་དེ་ལ་ཞེད་པ་ཨ་ཡིན་  
 d) \* ཁོང་གྲི་དེ་ལ་ཞེད་སྤྱིང་པ་ཨ་ཡིན་
- (357) a) ང་ས་ཆ་འདིར་སྐྱབས་ཨ་ཡོད་  
 b) ང་ས་ཆ་འདིར་སྐྱབས་པ་ཨ་ཡིན་
- (358) a) \* ང་ཁོང་ལ་དགའ་ཨ་ཡོད་  
 b) ང་ཁོང་ལ་དགའ་པ་ཨ་ཡིན་
- (359) ང་ཁོང་ལ་ཞེད་སྤྱིང་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (360) བད་མ་སློབ་སྤྱིང་བྱེད་གྱི་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (361) བ་ཕས་ཉི་མ་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་འགྲོ་བཅུག་གི་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (362) a) ཁོང་སང་ཉིན་སྤྱིན་ཨ་ཡོད་  
 b) \* ཁོང་སང་ཉིན་འགྲོ་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (363) ངར་དངུལ་རྒྱ་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (364) འདི་དྲས་བྱས་ན་ཡོད་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (365) a) ཁོང་དོ་དགོང་ཡོད་ཨ་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་དོ་དགོང་ཡོད་གི་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (366) a) ཁོང་ལ་དངུལ་རྒྱ་གི་ཨ་ཡོད་  
 b) \* ང་ལ་དངུལ་རྒྱ་གི་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (367) a) ཁོང་གིས་ཆང་བཏུངས་ཨ་ཡོད་  
 b) ལོ་གསར་ལ་ངས་ཆང་བཏུངས་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (368) ཁོང་ལས་ཀ་བྱེད་རྒྱ་ཨ་ཡིན་
- (369) a) ཁོང་གྲི་འདིར་ཞེད་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་  
 b) ཁོང་གྲི་འདིར་ཞེད་ཡོད་གྱི་མ་རེད་
- (370) ཁོང་གིས་ལས་ཀ་མ་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་
- (371) ! ཁོང་ལས་ཀ་བྱེད་གྱི་མེད་གྱི་རེད་
- (372) ཁོང་ཕ་མ་དྲན་གྱི་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་
- (373) a) རྒྱ་བ་ལ་པར་ཆས་རྙེད་གྱི་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་  
 b) \* ངར་པར་ཆས་རྙེད་གྱི་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་
- (374) ངར་ཡི་གེ་འགྲོར་པ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་
- (375) བྱེད་རང་མ་ཕེབས་ན་ང་ཤི་ཡོད་གྱི་རེད་

- (376) རོག་པ་མ་བྱས་ན་གྲི་འདི་ཤི་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (377) སྒྲན་མ་བཟས་ན་གྲི་འདི་ཤི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (378) ཁོང་པལ་ཆེར་ // \* བརྒྱ་ཆ་རྒྱ་ ཟག་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (379) a) དབ་འདི་ཁོང་གི་ཡིན་གྱི་མ་རེད་  
b) བཀྲ་ཤིས་སློབ་གྲར་ཡོད་ཀྱི་མ་རེད་
- (380) ཁོང་ལ་སྲུ་གུ་སླེས་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (381) a) ང་ས་ཆ་འདིར་སླེབས་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
b) ང་ས་ཆ་འདིར་སླེབས་ཚུང་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (382) ཁོང་གིས་ཁ་ལག་རྙིང་པ་བཟས་པ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་
- (383) ང་རྒྱ་ཚོད་གཉིས་པ་ཙམ་ལ་ལོག་པ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་
- (384) a) ང་འདི་བཟས་ཅང་ན་པ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་  
b) ང་འདི་བཟས་ཅང་ན་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (385) a) སྲུ་གུ་སློབ་གྲར་འགོ་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་མ་རེད་  
b) ཁོང་བྱ་མེད་དེར་དགའ་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (386) a) ! ཁོང་ལ་དདུལ་རག་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
b) ཁོང་ལ་པ་པའི་རྩ་ལ་དདུལ་རག་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
c) ཁོང་ལ་དདུལ་རག་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་ // པ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་
- (387) ང་དོ་མགོང་ལྷ་རྩེར་བསྐྱད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (388) \* ང་གྲི་འདིར་ཞེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (389) ཁོང་ཆེད་རྩོམ་གྱིས་རྒྱ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་
- (390) རོར་བུ་ཁ་ས་ཕྱིན་ཡོད་འགོ་ // མེད་འགོའོ་
- (391) རོར་བུ་ཁ་ས་ཕྱིན་ཡོད་འགོའོ་། // མེད་འགོ་
- (392) སྲུ་གུ་འདི་སློབ་གྲར་མ་ཕྱིན་པ་ཡིན་འགོ་ // པ་མིན་འགོའོ་
- (393) \* ཁོང་ནང་ལ་འགོ་གི་ཡིན་འགོ་
- (394) a) ཁོང་འགོ་གི་ཡོད་འགོ་  
b) ཁོང་འགོ་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (395) ངས་ཁང་པའི་ནང་གི་རྒྱ་འདི་ཁ་བརྒྱབ་ཡོད་འགོའོ་
- (396) རྒྱ་གྲང་མོ་བརྟུངས་ན་ང་ན་གི་མེད་འགོའོ་
- (397) \* ང་བོད་རྒྱུ་དགའ་ཡོད་འགོ་
- (398) སྒྲན་མ་བཟས་ན་ཁོང་ཤི་ཡོད་འགོ་

- (399) a) ཁོང་ལ་གཅིག་གྲུས་ན་ // བལ་ཆེར་ སྤྲུ་གྲུ་སྤྲུ་ཡོད་འགོ་  
 b) \* ཁོང་ལ་གཏན་གཏན་ // བརྒྱ་ཆ་བརྒྱ་སྤྲུ་གྲུ་སྤྲུ་ཡོད་འགོ་
- (400) ཁོང་ལྷ་ས་བ་ཡིན་འགོ་
- (401) ཁོང་ད་ལྷ་སྤྲུ་སར་མེད་འགོ་
- (402) རོར་བུ་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་ཕྱིན་མེད་འགོ་
- (403) ང་ས་ཆ་དེ་ལ་འགོ་རློང་ཡོད་འགོ་
- (404) ང་ཉིད་ལ་མ་ལ་ས་ཆ་དེ་ལ་ཕྱིན་ཡོད་འགོ་
- (405) a) ཁོང་ལ་ཆོག་མཚོད་བརྟེན་ཡོད་འགོ་  
 b) ཁོང་ལ་ཆོག་མཚོད་འདི་བརྟེན་པ་ཡིན་འགོ་
- (406) a) ཁོས་སྤྲུ་གྲུར་ཨ་རག་བརྒྱུང་ས་རྩ་བརྩུག་ཡོད་འགོ་  
 b) ཁོས་སྤྲུ་གྲུར་ཨ་རག་བརྒྱུང་ས་རྩ་བརྩུག་པ་ཡིན་འགོ་
- (407) ང་ཁོང་ལ་དགའ་པ་མིན་འགོ་
- (408) ཁོང་ད་ལྷ་སྤྲུ་ག་བརྟེན་འདི་ལྷ་གི་ཡོད་འགོ་
- (409) རོར་བུ་བལ་ཡུལ་ལ་འགོ་གི་མེད་འགོ་
- (410) \* ང་ཁོང་ལ་དགའ་གི་མེད་འགོ་
- (411) a) རྒྱ་བ་ཕྱིན་འགོ་  
 b) \* ཁོང་འགོ་འགོ་  
 c) \* ཁོང་མ་ཕྱིན་འགོ་
- (412) བག་ཤིས་ཁོང་ལ་དགའ་འགོ་
- (413) a) ངར་ལས་ཀ་རག་འགོ་  
 b) \* ང་ལས་ཀ་འདི་གྲུས་འགོ་
- (414) ཉི་མ་ཆོག་ས་འདྲར་འགོ་རྒྱ་ཡིན་འགོ་
- (415) ཁོང་གིས་བཟོས་པ་མིན་པ་འདྲ་
- (416) a) ཁོང་མ་ཕྱིན་པ་འདྲ་ // བ་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་  
 b) ཁོང་ཕྱིན་མེད་པ་འདྲ་  
 c) \* ཁོང་མ་ཕྱིན་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (417) ཉི་མ་སྤྲེགས་པ་འདྲ་
- (418) a) ཁོང་ན་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་  
 b) ཁོང་ན་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (419) a) \* ང་ན་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་  
 b) \* ང་ན་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་

- c) ང་ན་མཁམ་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་
- (420) ངས་ཚོ་རྗེ་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་འགྲོ་ཅུ་བཅུག་གི་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་
- (421) a) ཁོང་གཅིག་གྲུས་ན་ཁ་ལག་བཅོ་གི་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་  
b) ཁོང་གཉན་གཉན་ཁ་ལག་བཅོ་གི་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་
- (422) ཁོང་གྲུ་པ་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་
- (423) ཁོང་མདང་དགོངས་ཐེབས་པ་ལྟར་
- (424) ཁོང་གིས་པད་མ་ལས་ཀ་བྱེད་ཅུ་བཅུག་པ་ལྟར་
- (425) ང་ས་ཆ་འདྲིར་སྐྱབས་པ་ལྟར་
- (426) ཁོང་མདང་དགོངས་ཐེབས་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་
- (427) ཁོང་ར་བཅི་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་
- (428) ཁོང་ལ་སྤྲ་སེ་རག་མེད་པ་ལྟར་
- (429) a) \* ང་ཁོང་ལ་ཞེད་མེད་པ་ལྟར་  
b) \* ང་ཁོང་ལ་དགའ་མེད་པ་ལྟར་
- (430) a) ང་ཁོང་ལ་སྤྲ་གྲུ་ཡིན་དུས་ནས་དགའ་པོ་མེད་པ་ལྟར་  
b) ང་ཁོང་ལ་དགའ་པ་མིན་པ་ལྟར་
- (431) a) ! ལྷོ་བཟང་ཐེབས་པ་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་  
b) ལྷོ་བཟང་མོ་ཉེ་ནང་ལ་ཐེབས་པ་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་
- (432) A: ཁོང་ན་པ་རེད་པས་ B: ན་ཨ་ཡོད་ ར་བཅི་པ་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་
- (433) \* ཁོང་ལ་པ་སེ་རག་པ་མིན་པ་ལྟར་
- (434) a) ཁོང་གིས་ཁ་ལག་བཅོས་མེད་པ་ལྟར་  
b) ཁ་ལག་འདྲི་ཁོང་གིས་བཅོས་པ་མིན་པ་ལྟར་
- (435) a) ཁོང་ན་པ་ལྟར་  
b) ཁོང་ན་པ་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་
- (436) a) ཁོང་ ༼ ན་མ་རྒྱན་ནས་ ༽ ར་བཅི་གི་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་  
b) ཁོང་ར་བཅི་པ་ལྟར་
- (437) ལྷོ་ན་མ་ཁོང་ར་ཡང་སེ་བཅི་གི་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་
- (438) \* ཁོ་ལྷོ་གི་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་
- (439) དེང་སང་བཀའ་ལློན་པ་ཕའི་རྩ་ལ་འགྲོ་གི་མེད་པ་ལྟར་
- (440) ངར་གསེར་གྱི་རྒྱགས་མ་རག་གི་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་
- (441) \* ང་དེབ་འབྲི་གི་མེད་པ་ལྟར་



- (442) a) \* ང་མགྲོགས་པོ་ཤི་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- b) ང་མགྲོགས་པོ་ཤི་འགྲོའོ་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (443) ཁོང་ཁ་ལག་བཟོ་རྒྱ་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་
- (444) a) ཁོང་གིས་རི་མོ་བྲིས་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་མ་རེད་
- b) ཁོང་ཡོང་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་མི་འདུག་
- (445) ! ཁོང་གིས་ཡི་གེ་བྲིས་མེད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (446) a) \* ང་ཚོ་སང་ཉིན་འགྲོ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཡིན་
- b) ང་ཚོ་སང་ཉིན་འགྲོ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (447) \* སུར་བུ་སྐོར་བ་བརྒྱབ་གྱི་ཡིན་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་འདུག་
- (448) \* འདི་ཞིམ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (449) ཁ་ལག་འདི་ཞིམ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཅིག་འདུག་
- (450) \* ཁོང་སང་ཉིན་འགྲོ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཅིག་འདུག་ // རེད་
- (451) a) ཁ་ལག་འདི་ཞིམ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཡོད་
- b) ཁ་ལག་འདི་ཞིམ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་
- (452) a) ཆར་པ་བཏང་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་འདུག་
- b) ཆར་པ་བཏང་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (453) a) ཁོང་ ། སང་ཉིན་ // ད་ལྟོ ། འགྲོ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- b) ?! ཁོང་ཁ་ས་འགྲོ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (454) a) ཁོང་ལྷ་སར་འགྲོ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཡོད་
- b) ཁོང་ད་ལྟོ་ལྷ་སར་འགྲོ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཡོད་
- (455) ངར་ལྷེ་མིག་བརྗེད་གི་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (456) ང་རྒྱུད་དུས་གདོན་འབྲེར་ཞེད་ \* ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཡོད་ // ? ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་འདུག་
- (457) མི་གཞན་དག་གིས་རོགས་པ་མ་བྱས་ན་མི་དེ་གི་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (458) བྱམས་པ་པལ་ཆེར་གཞིས་ཀ་རྩེར་འགྲོ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (459) a) ཁོང་དགོ་རྒྱན་ཡིན་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- b) ཁོང་དགོ་རྒྱན་ཡིན་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་འདུག་
- (460) ཁོང་བོད་ལ་དགའ་པོ་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་འདུག་
- (461) འདི་ཡག་པོ་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་མི་འདུག་
- (462) a) !! ཁོང་བོད་ཇར་དགའ་པོ་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཡོད་
- b) ཁོང་བོད་ཇར་དགའ་པོ་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་

- (463) a) འགྲོག་པས་གཡག་བསད་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་  
 b) འགྲོག་པས་གཡག་བསད་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་འདུག་
- (464) a) ད་ལྟ་ཁོང་ལྷ་སར་བསྐྱད་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་  
 b) \* དུས་སང་ཁོང་ལྷ་སར་བསྐྱད་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (465) ང་ར་བཟེ་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (466) a) ང་རྒྱུད་དུས་ལྷག་དབང་རག་མྱོང་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་  
 b) ! ང་རྒྱུད་དུས་ལྷག་དབང་རག་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (467) ཁོང་ཤ་བཟས་ཡོད་མདོག་འདུག་
- (468) ཁོང་ཀུ་ལུ་བཟས་པ་ཡིན་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་མ་རེད་
- (469) དེབ་འདི་ངས་ཉོས་པ་ཡིན་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (470) a) མྱོ་བཟང་ཁོང་དང་སྐད་ཆ་བཤད་གྱི་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་  
 b) དེ་དུས་ཁོང་མོད་སྐད་སྐྱེས་གི་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་མ་རེད་
- (471) ཁོང་དུག་ལོག་འདི་གོན་གྱི་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་མི་འདུག་
- (472) ང་ཁོང་ལ་དགའ་གི་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་མི་འདུག་
- (473) a) བསྟན་པར་དདུལ་རག་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་མ་རེད་  
 b) ཁོང་ཁམས་ལ་འགྲོ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (474) a) \* ང་རྗེས་མ་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་འགྲོ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་  
 b) ང་རྗེས་མ་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་སླེབས་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (475) a) ཁོང་དབྱིན་ཇི་སྐད་ཤེས་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་མི་འདུག་  
 b) ཁོང་སང་ཉིན་ང་ཚོ་མཉམ་པོ་འགྲོ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་མི་འདུག་
- (476) a) བསོད་ནམས་གཞིས་ཀ་རྩེ་ལ་འགྲོ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་འདུག་  
 b) བསོད་ནམས་གཞིས་ཀ་རྩེ་ལ་འགྲོ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་འདུག་
- (477) ! ཁོང་ཡི་གོ་སྐར་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (478) ཁོང་ཡུལ་སྐོར་ལ་འགྲོ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་མེད་
- (479) \* ཁོང་བུ་དེར་དགའ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཡོད་
- (480) !! ཁོང་གིས་ལས་ཀ་འདི་བྱས་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཡོད་
- (481) a) ཁོང་ཁ་ས་ཕྱིན་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་ཁ་ས་འགྲོ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཡོད་
- (482) !! ལྷོས་ཨ་ཡི་ཤེས་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་འགྲོ་གི་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་མེད་
- (483) a) ཉི་མ་སླེབས་ཡོད་ས་མ་རེད་  
 b) ! ཉི་མ་སླེབས་མེད་ས་རེད་

- (484) a) རོ་ཉི་མ་ཡིན་ས་ཤིང་ // ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་  
 b) ཁོང་གི་གཞས་སྤངས་ལ་བྱས་ན་ཁོང་གི་ཕ་ཡུལ་སྤྱིད་པོ་ཡོད་ས་ཤིང་
- (485) a) མགྲོགས་པོ་མ་ཕྱིན་ན་ཆར་པ་བཏང་པ་  
 b) མགྲོགས་པོ་མ་ཕྱིན་ན་ཆར་པ་བཏང་ས་ཤིང་
- (486) a) \* ངར་སྤྲ་སེ་དོན་ཡོད་ས་ཤིང་  
 b) ཁོང་ལ་སྤྲ་སེ་དོན་ཡོད་ས་ཤིང་
- (487) ཁོང་གཅིག་བྱས་ན་ཁ་ས་སྤྲེགས་ཡོད་ས་ཤིང་
- (488) ཁོང་རྒྱ་མི་ཡིན་ས་ཤིང་
- (489) ཚོང་ཁང་དེར་སྤྲ་གུ་འཚོང་ཡག་ཡོད་ས་ཤིང་
- (490) a) ཁོང་ཁ་ས་སྤྲེགས་ཡོད་ས་མ་ཤིང་  
 b) བྱིད་རང་ཕེབས་པ་འདྲིར་ཁོང་ཉང་སང་ཡོད་ས་ཤིང་
- (491) a) \* དེབ་འདི་ངར་བརྟེན་ཡོད་ས་ཤིང་  
 b) དེབ་འདི་ཨ་མར་བརྟེན་ཡོད་ས་ཤིང་
- (492) a) ལྷོས་ཨ་མ་ང་བོད་ཟས་འདི་ཟ་ལྟོང་ཡོད་ས་ཤིང་  
 b) \* ང་བོད་ཟས་འདི་བཟས་ཡོད་ས་ཤིང་
- (493) སྐད་ཆ་འདི་བཀའ་ལྷིས་གྱིས་བཤད་པ་ཡིན་ས་མ་ཤིང་
- (494) a) !! པ་སངས་ལ་དདུལ་རྒྱུ་པ་ཡིན་ས་ཤིང་  
 b) པ་སངས་ལ་དདུལ་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ས་ཤིང་
- (495) སྤྲ་གུ་འདི་དགོ་ཆེན་ལ་ཞེད་གྱི་ཡོད་ས་ཤིང་
- (496) ངར་ཚོགས་མཆན་རྒྱུ་གི་ཡོད་ས་མ་ཤིང་
- (497) a) \* ངར་བཟེན་ཞབས་བྲོ་བརྒྱབ་གྱི་ཡོད་ས་ཤིང་  
 b) ངར་བཟེན་དུས་ཞབས་བྲོ་བརྒྱབ་གྱི་ཡོད་ས་ཤིང་
- (498) ང་ན་ས་ཤིང་
- (499) ལས་ཀ་འདི་ངར་རྒྱུ་ས་མ་ཤིང་
- (500) བྱིད་རང་ལ་དགའ་རོགས་བརྟེན་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་ས་ཤིང་
- (501) \* ན་ཚ་འདི་བྲག་གི་མི་ཡོང་ངས་
- (502) ཨ་ཙོ་ཁྱི་འདི་ལོ་མི་ཡོང་ངས་
- (503) a) ཁོང་ལྷ་སར་ཕྱིན་མི་ཡོང་ངས་  
 b) དེ་རིང་ངར་པ་ཕས་གཤེགས་ཤིང་མི་ཡོང་ངས་
- (504) ཁོང་ལ་གསུངས་དང་ཁོང་གིས་བྱིད་རང་ལ་རོགས་པ་བྱས་མི་ཡོང་ངས་  
 // བྱིད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་ཤིང་

- (505) ངས་སྐད་ཆ་འདི་དྲུས་བཤད་ན་ཁོང་ཚོ་ག་པ་ཟ་མི་ཡོང་ངས་
- (506) a) ང་ཁྱེད་མི་ཡོང་ངས་  
b) ང་ཆམ་པ་བརྒྱབ་མི་ཡོང་ངས་
- (507) ང་ལས་ཀ་བྱས་མི་ཡོང་ངས་
- (508) a) ཁོང་ཕལ་ཆེར་ངར་དགའ་པོ་བྱས་མི་ཡོང་ངས་  
b) ཁོང་གཅིག་བྱས་ན་ངར་དགའ་པོ་བྱས་མི་ཡོང་ངས་
- (509) a) \* ཁོང་གིས་ཟ་ཡོང་  
b) ཁོང་གིས་བཟས་ཡོང་
- (510) a) འགྲེལ་བཤད་བྱེད་ཡག་གི་དེབ་འདི་ཕལ་ཆེར་ཁོང་གིས་བྲིས་ཡོང་  
b) ཁོང་སང་ཉིན་སླེབས་ཡོང་
- (511) ཁོང་ཡོང་གི་རེད་
- (512) འདི་ཡོང་གི་རེད་པས་
- (513) ཚལ་འདི་རྒྱུར་ཡོང་གིས་
- (514) a) བོད་ལ་གནམ་གཤིས་གྲང་མོ་ཡོང་  
b) བོད་ཟས་འདི་ཞིམ་པོ་མི་ཡོང་
- (515) སྲོན་མ་ཡིན་ན་ཚོང་པ་མང་པོ་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་ཕྱིན་ཡོང་
- (516) a) འདི་མ་ཟ་ན་ཡོང་  
b) མོ་ཏེ་མགྲོགས་པོ་བཏང་ན་བརྟུང་ཡོང་
- (517) a) རང་ཁ་བདེ་པོ་ཡོང་  
b) ངས་ཇ་འདི་བཏུངས་མི་ཡོང་
- (518) a) འདིར་མ་བཞག་གྲིས་བཟས་ཡོང་  
b) ཨ་ལའི་མ་དབྱུགས་འདིར་བཞག་གྲིས་བཟས་ཡོང་
- (519) a) ? ཆང་མང་པོ་སླུག་ན་ངར་བཟི་ཡོང་  
b) ? ང་ན་མི་ཡོང་
- (520) a) ? ཁོང་ཕལ་ཆེར་ལས་ཀ་བྱས་མི་ཡོང་  
b) \* ཁོང་གཏན་གཏན་ལས་ཀ་བྱས་མི་ཡོང་
- (521) a) ཁོང་གཅིག་བྱས་ན་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཡོང་  
b) ཁོང་གཏན་གཏན་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཡོང་
- (522) a) \* ཁོང་མི་འདིར་ཞེད་ཀྱི་མིད་བཟོ་འདུག་  
b) ཁོང་མི་འདིར་ཞེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་བཟོ་མི་འདུག་

- (523) a) ཁ་ལག་འདི་ཞིམ་པོ་ཡོད་བཅོམ་འདུག་  
 b) ཁ་ལག་འདི་ཞིམ་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་འདུག་
- (524) a) སྐྱ་གུ་འདི་ཁོང་གི་ཡིན་བཅོམ་འདུག་  
 b) སྐྱ་གུ་འདི་ཁོང་གི་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་
- (525) ང་ས་ཆ་འདིར་སྐྱབས་ ། སྐྱོང་ ། ཡོད་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (526) a) ཉི་མ་ལ་ཕལ་ཆེར་དགོངས་པ་རག་ཡོད་བཅོམ་འདུག་  
 b) ཉི་མ་ལ་གཏན་གཏན་དགོངས་པ་རག་ཡོད་བཅོམ་འདུག་  
 c) !! ཉི་མ་ལ་གཅིག་བྱས་ན་དགོངས་པ་རག་ཡོད་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (527) a) མི་འདི་བོད་པ་ཡིན་བཅོམ་འདུག་  
 b) ལྗོ་བཟང་ལ་ཚིག་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོ་ཡོད་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (528) ཁོང་གིས་ཁ་ལག་བཟས་ཡོད་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (529) ལྷོ་ཚོད་འདི་བཞུག་ལ་ལས་ཡོད་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (530) \* ངས་དེབ་འདི་ཉོས་ཡོད་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (531) a) ཁོང་གིས་བོད་སྐད་ཨ་མདོ་ནས་སྐྱེས་པ་ཡིན་བཅོམ་འདུག་  
 b) མི་དེ་བསམ་པ་ཡིན་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (532) \* ལྗོག་བརྟན་འདི་ངས་ལྟས་པ་ཡིན་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (533) a) ཁོང་ཚོ་ཁང་པ་དེར་བསྐྱེད་གྱི་ཡོད་བཅོམ་འདུག་  
 b) ལྗོལ་མ་སྐྱོབ་ཚན་འདིར་དགའ་གི་ཡོད་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (534) ཁོང་མཁྱོགས་པོ་རྒྱ་ནག་ལ་འགྲོ་གི་ཡོད་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (535) \* ང་མི་དེར་ཡིད་ཆེས་གྱི་ཡོད་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (536) a) ཁོང་གཞིས་ཀ་རྩེར་འགྲོ་བཅོམ་འདུག་  
 b) ?? ཁོང་སྤྱིན་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (537) དེ་རིང་ཆར་པ་བཏང་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (538) a) དེ་རིང་ང་ན་བཅོམ་འདུག་  
 b) \* ང་འགྲོ་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (539) སྤྱིན་པས་མོ་ཉ་འདི་འཚོང་རྒྱ་ཡིན་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (540) ཁོང་སྐྱོབ་གྲར་སྤྱིན་ཡོད་བཅོམ་ཡོད་
- (541) ! རི་མོ་འདི་ཁོང་གིས་བྲིས་པ་ཡིན་བཅོམ་ཡོད་
- (542) ཁོང་ཕལ་ཆེར་གོང་པོར་འགྲོ་བཅོམ་ཡོད་
- (543) ཁོང་འགོ་བྲིད་ཞེད་གྱི་ཡོད་བཅོམ་ཡོད་

- (544) a) ཁོང་ལས་ཀ་བྱེད་གྱི་ཡོད་བཅོམ་འདུག་  
 b) ཁོང་། རྒྱུ་མཚན་ལས་ཀ་བྱེད་གྱི་ཡོད་བཅོམ་ཡོད་
- (545) བསྐྱོད་འཛིན་པ་ཡུལ་ལ་ཐེབས་པའི་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (546) ང་དེབ་འདི་མཐོང་། རྒྱུ་མཚན་ལས་ཀ་བྱེད་གྱི་ཡོད་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (547) a) ཁོང་ལ་སྐྱུ་གུ་འཁོར་པའི་བཅོམ་འདུག་  
 b) \* ངས་སྐྱུ་གུ་འཁོར་པའི་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (548) a) ཁོང་ཁ་ལག་བཟས་པའི་བཅོམ་འདུག་པའི་ཕྱི་ཕྱོད་འདུག་  
 b) ཁོང་ཁ་ལག་བཟས་པའི་བཅོམ་འདུག་པའི་ཕྱི་ཕྱོད་འདུག་  
 c) ཁོང་ཁ་ལག་བཟས་པའི་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (549) ཁོང་ཆང་ས་བརྒྱབ་ཡག་གི་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (550) ང་པལ་ཆེར་ཆམ་པ་བརྒྱབ་ཡག་གི་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (551) དེ་རིང་ང་ཡག་པོ་མ་ཡོང་ཡག་གི་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (552) a) མོ་རང་གིས་ལས་ཀ་འདི་བྱེད་ཐུབ་མོང་  
 b) ད་ལྟོ་རང་འགྲོ་དགོས་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (553) a) ཁོང་ལ་འགྲོ་ཡོང་ཡོད་རེད་  
 b) བཀའ་ལློང་ལ་འགྲོ་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (554) ངས་བྱས་དགོས་ // ཚོགས་
- (555) a) ང་བྱས་ཚར་  
 b) ང་བལ་ཡུལ་ལ་འགྲོ་ལྱོད་
- (556) a) ཁོང་པར་བརྒྱབ་ཚོགས་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་  
 b) ཁོང་པར་བརྒྱབ་ཚོགས་གི་མེད་པ་འདྲ་
- (557) a) ཁོང་གཅིག་བྱས་ན་ལྟ་སར་འགྲོ་ཚོགས་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་  
 b) ང་གཏན་གཏན་ནང་ལ་ཉལ་ཐུབ་པ་
- (558) a) ཁོང་རི་ལ་འགྲོ་ཐུབ་གྱི་ཡོད་གྱི་མ་རེད་  
 b) ཁོང་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་ལ་འགྲོ་ཐུབ་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་
- (559) \* ཁོང་ལས་ཀ་བྱེད་ཐུབ་བཅོམ་འདུག་
- (560) ང་འགྲོ་ཐུབ་པ་
- (561) a) ཁོང་ཚོགས་འདུ་ལ་འགྲོ་དགོས་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་  
 b) ཁོང་ཚོགས་འདུ་ལ་འགྲོ་དགོས་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (562) \* ཁོང་ཕྱག་ལས་གནང་དགོས་པ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་

- (563) a) ཁོང་སློབ་གྲྭ་ཆེན་མོར་སློབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་འདོད་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
 b) \* ཁོང་རྒྱ་སྐད་སླུང་ས་འདོད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་
- (564) a) ཁོ་རང་སློབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་སླེང་འདོད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
 b) ཁོ་རང་སློབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་སླེང་འདོད་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (565) a) ! ཁོང་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་འགོ་འདོད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་  
 b) ?/\* ཁོང་སློབ་སྦྱོང་བྱེད་འདོད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (566) རང་འགོ་ཚེག་ག་
- (567) ཨ་མ་འགོ་ཚེག་ // ཚོག་ཚོག་ ཡིན་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (568) a) ཉི་མ་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་འགོ་ཚེག་གི་ཡོད་འགོ་  
 b) རྒྱ་ཉིན་ཁོང་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་འགོ་ཚེག་གི་ཡོད་འགོ་
- (569) a) \* ཉི་མ་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་འགོ་ཚེག་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
 b) \* ཉི་མ་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་འགོ་ཚོག་པ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་  
 c) \* ཁོང་གིས་བྱེད་ཚོག་ག་འདྲ་
- (570) ཁོང་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་འགོ་ཚོག་ག་
- (571) a) དདུལ་སྤྱད་ཚོག་ཚོག་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་  
 b) དདུལ་སྤྱད་ཚོག་ཚོག་ཡིན་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (572) a) ཉི་མ་འགོ་ཚོག་ཚོག་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་  
 b) ཉི་མ་ཕྱིན་ཚོག་ཚོག་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་
- (573) \* ཉི་མ་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་འགོ་ཚོག་ཚོག་གི་ཡོད་འགོ་
- (574) བྱ་དགའ་འདི་རང་ལ་སྤྱད་ཚོག་ག་ཡོད་
- (575) a) བྱ་མོ་འདི་རིམོ་འབྲི་ཤེས་ཀྱི་མེད་འགོ་འོ་  
 b) ཁོང་གིས་དབྱིན་ཇི་སྐད་བརྒྱབ་ཤེས་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
 c) ཁོང་གིས་མོ་ཏ་བཏང་ཤེས་པ་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་
- (576) ཁོང་བོད་ཇ་བཟོ་ // \* བཟོས་ ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (577) \* ཁོང་མོ་ཏ་བཏང་ཤེས་བཟོ་འདུག་
- (578) ?? བོད་ལ་འགོ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (579) \* ཆར་པ་བཏང་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་
- (580) a) ?? མི་དེ་ཀྱག་རྒྱན་བཤད་སྲིད་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
 b) \* ཀྱག་རྒྱན་བཤད་སྲིད་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་ // ཡོད་བཟོ་འདུག་ // པ་འདྲ་

- (581) a) ཁོང་འགོ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་ // ཀྱི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
 b) ཁོང་འགོ་རྒྱས་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་  
 c) ཁོང་འགོ་རྒྱས་པ་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་
- (582) ང་དབྱིན་ཇི་སྐད་བརྒྱབ་རྒྱས་པ་མི་འདུག་
- (583) ཁོང་མོག་མོག་བཟོ་ // \* བཟོས་ ཕྱིས་ཡོད་པ་ཡོད་
- (584) ཁོང་དབྱིན་ཇི་སྐད་སྤངས་ཕྱིས་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (585) a) ཁོང་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་འགོ་ཕྱིས་ཡོད་འགོ་  
 b) ཁོང་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་འགོ་ཕྱིས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་འགོ་
- (586) a) ང་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་ལ་འགོ་ཕྱིས་ཡོད་  
 b) ང་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་ལ་འགོ་ཕྱིས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་
- (587) a) ཁང་སྐྱ་སྤྲད་རན་གྱི་ཡོད་འགོ་  
 b) རང་ལ་འགོ་རན་ཡོད་འགོ་  
 c) སྐྱ་ལེན་རན་པ་ཡིན་འགོ་
- (588) a) \* ཁ་ལག་བཟོ་རན་པ་འདུག་  
 b) ཁ་ལག་བཟོ་རན་པ་ཡོད་
- (589) རང་ལ་ཁ་ལག་བཟོ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (590) ཁོང་ལ་འགོ་ལོང་ཡོད་བཟོ་འདུག་
- (591) a) ཁོང་ཁ་ལག་བཟོས་ཚར་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་  
 b) ཁོང་ཁ་ལག་བཟོས་ཚར་པ་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་  
 c) ! ཁོང་ཚུ་ཚོད་དང་པོར་ཉིན་གུང་གི་ཁ་ལག་བཟོས་ཚར་གྱི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (592) a) ཁོང་གི་ན་ཚད་ཀ་ཚར་པ་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་ཚོ་སྤྲོ་བས་ཚར་པ་ཡིན་གྱི་རེད་
- (593) ཁོང་ཡི་གེ་མགྲོགས་པོ་བྲིས་ཚར་པ་
- (594) བྱིད་རང་རོགས་པ་མ་བྱས་ན་ང་ཟག་ཚར་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (595) a) ཁོང་ནང་ལ་ལས་ཀ་བྱས་བསྐྱད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་  
 b) ཁོང་ནང་ལ་ལས་ཀ་བྱས་བསྐྱད་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་  
 c) ཁོང་ནང་ལ་ལས་ཀ་བྱས་བསྐྱད་པ་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་
- (596) ཚོ་རིང་ན་བསྐྱད་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (597) ཁོང་ལས་ཀ་བྱས་ནས་བསྐྱད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་མི་འདུག་
- (598) སྐྱ་གུ་འདི་ཉོག་ཅམ་འབྲུག་པ་ཉ་ཀ་ལམ་སང་ཆམ་པ་བརྒྱབ་འགོ་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (599) ཁོང་གཉིད་ཁྲུག་འགོ་གི་ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་འདུག་



- (600) འདི་མགོ་གསལ་པོ་མ་བཟུང་ན་སྐྱུར་འགོ་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (601) a) \* འདི་སྐྱུར་ཕྱིན་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
 b) འདི་སྐྱུར་ཚར་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་ // ཡོད་མདོག་ཁ་པོ་རེད་
- (602) a) ཏྲུག་འགོ་གི་མེད་འགོའོ་  
 b) ཏྲུག་ཕྱིན་མེད་འགོའོ་  
 c) ཁོང་ཏྲུག་ཤར་སློལ་ཕྱིན་པ་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་
- (603) ཚལ་འདི་སྐྱུར་ཡོད་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (604) གང་མོར་ཆགས་ཡོད་གི་ཨ་ཡོད་
- (605) རྒྱ་བ་བཅུ་པའི་ནང་ནས་གང་མོར་ཆགས་འགོ་གི་ཡོད་བཟོ་འདུག་
- (606) ཁོ་རང་ཏྲུག་ཡོད་གི་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (607) ཁོ་རང་ཏྲུག་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་
- (608) a) ཁོང་ཁ་ལག་བཟུང་འགོའོ་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་  
 b) ཁོང་ཁ་ལག་བཟུང་འགོའོ་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་
- (609) a) ཁོང་སློབས་འགོའོ་ཨ་ཡོད་  
 b) ཁོང་སློབས་འགོའོ་ཨ་ཡིན་
- (610) a) ཁོང་བོད་ཇ་བཏུངས་སྤྱོད་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
 b) \* ཁོང་བོད་ཇ་བཏུངས་སྤྱོད་གི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
 c) \* ཁོང་བོད་ཇ་བཏུངས་སྤྱོད་པ་ཡིན་ཀྱི་རེད་
- (611) a) \* ང་ཁོང་གི་རི་མོར་དགའ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་  
 b) ང་ཁོང་གི་རི་མོར་དགའ་སྤྱོད་ཡོད་ཀྱི་རེད་