The sociative/benefactive applicative construction and the introduction of attitude holders in Tibetan

Camille Simon

The sociative/benefactive applicative construction and the introduction of attitude holders in Tibetan[1]

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Abstract: Several Tibetic languages feature a cognate sociative/benefactive applicative construction which grammaticalised from a root related to the idea of 'association' or 'help'. The applicative nature of this construction is rarely recognized in the relevant literature. The majority of authors focus on the most common use of this construction – in the imperative mood – and consequently depict it as a "polite imperative" form. This chapter describes the basic, valency-related functions of the sociative/benefactive applicative construction and its semantic characteristics, as well as its derived, pragmatic uses. From a diachronic perspective, I show how the sociative/benefactive applicative construction developed pragmatic functions through its conventionalised use in polite commands and complaints. I argue that the sociative/benefactive applicative construction evolved into a means to introduce an Attitude Holder (i.e. a participant related to the described event through a pragmatic role, usually in the form of a specific attitude toward the event) rather than a Beneficiary.

1 Introduction

Cognate applicative constructions with an identical etymological origin can be found in several Tibetic languages. In this chapter, I refer to this construction as the Sociative/Benefactive Applicative construction (henceforth SBA construction), since it combines both benefactive and sociative (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2001: 122) semantic features. The SBA construction is grammaticalised from a root related to the idea of 'association' or 'help', but its applicative function is rarely mentioned in the relevant literature. If ever evoked, this construction is typically described with reference to the etymological meaning of the morphemes that compose it, and translated as a construction meaning 'to help' or 'to accompany' someone doing something. A majority of authors focus on the most common use of this construction – in the imperative mood – and consequently depict it as a "polite imperative" form (Kretschmar 1986: 72; Schwieger 1989: 39; Tournadre and Sangda Dorje 2009 [1998]: 211; Haller 2000: 54, 94; Hoshi 2003: 35-36).

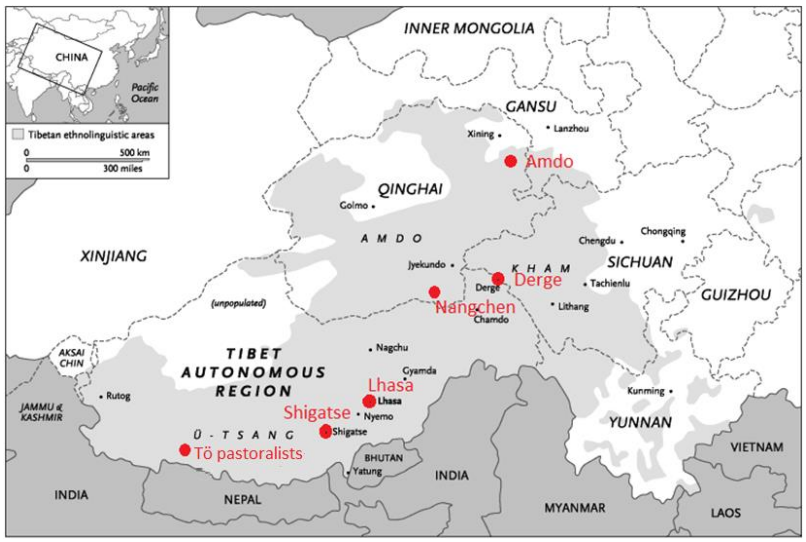
This chapter presents data from various Tibetic languages including Classical Tibetan. This language family is introduced in section 2. Section 3 describes the basic, valency-related functions and the semantic characteristics of the SBA construction. Section 4 details the derived, pragmatic uses of the SBA construction and shows how it is used as a means to introduce an Attitude Holder (a participant related to the described event through a pragmatic role, usually in the form of a specific attitude toward the event) rather than a Beneficiary. Finally, in section 5, I argue that the pragmatic role of Attitude Holder derives, historically, from the original Beneficiary role of the applied phrase: the pragmatic uses of the sociative/benefactive applicative construction evolved out of its syntactic function. This chapter shows how a SBA construction may develop pragmatic functions through conventionalised use in polite commands and complaints.

[1] I would like to thank, first and above all, all the Tibetan people who accepted to answer my questions and to be recorded. No research would have been possible without their patient help and collaboration. I also thank the editors of this volume and the anonymous reviewers for their comments and questions that allowed to improve this chapter – all the remaining mistakes are mine.

2 The Tibetic languages

The Tibetic languages form a "well-defined family of languages derived from Old Tibetan [...] (7th-9th century)" (Tournadre 2014: 108), sharing Classical Tibetan (attested since the 11th century) as their written language. They are spoken all over the Tibetan plateau: Tournadre and Suzuki (2021: 366–367) list 76 Tibetic languages or groups of dialects spoken in Tibet proper and outside Tibet, in India, Bhutan, Nepal and Pakistan. These authors further organize these groups of dialects into eight "major sections", labelled after their location on the Tibetan plateau: South-Eastern, Eastern, North-Eastern, Central, Southern, South-Western, Western and North-Western. This classification is "essentially based on a genetic approach, but it also includes the notion of mutual intelligibility as well as geographical parameters, migration and language contact factors" (Tournadre and Suzuki 2021: 368). The applicative construction examined in this chapter is attested in the Central, North-Eastern and South-Eastern Tibetic languages but seems to be absent in the North-Western, Western, Southern and South-Western Tibetic languages.[2]

The modern Tibetic languages considered in this chapter are mostly located in Tibet: Lhasa, Shigatse and on both sides of the Nepalese border (Tö Pastoralists) for Central Tibetic languages; Nangchen and Derge in the Kham region for South-Eastern Tibetic; and various Amdo-Tibetan varieties for North-Eastern Tibetic. The approximate geographic location of these languages is shown with red dots on Map 1.[3] I also consider common Tibetan, the central Tibetic variety spoken among the Tibetan diaspora in India, Europe, Northern America and Australia. Amdo-, Lhasa- and common Tibetan data come from the corpus collected by the author during fieldwork sessions in Tibet and Paris, France. The place of recording, as well as the broader context (elicitation or discourse on a specific topic) are systematically provided for each example. Other data are cited from the literature, with an adaptation of the glossing conventions. Examples from spoken Tibetic varieties are transcribed phonologically according to their respective phonological system, whereas examples of written, Classical Tibetan are transliterated.



[2] No data is available for the Eastern Tibetic varieties. For North-Western Tibetic, Zemp (2018) does not mention this construction in his detailed grammar of Purik Tibetan. In Ladakhi, Zeisler (2019: 330) mentions a specific construction with the verb 'to give' used to introduce a Beneficiary or a Maleficiary. A similar applicative form, with another verb stem meaning 'to give' is also attested in the Southern Tibetic language Dzongkha, spoken in Bhutan (Tournadre and Suzuki 2021: 261). Such constructions grammaticalised from the verb 'to give' will not be discussed in this chapter.

[3] Amdo-Tibetan varieties are arbitrarily located in the Rebkong area, although, being a group of several varieties, they are spoken on a wider area compared to the other languages.

Map 1. Location of the Tibetic languages analysed in this chapter
(adapted from https://tibetdata.org/, last accessed 30/10/2021)

In terms of morphosyntax, the Tibetic languages are head-final and show an ergative alignment strongly influenced by semantic and pragmatic factors (Tournadre 1996: 75–79, Zeisler 2004: 254–258, Zeisler 2007, Simon 2012, 2016). For example, in Lhasa Tibetan, the single argument S of monovalent verbs is usually marked as an absolutive (i.e. zero-morpheme), but might display differential case marking. Agent-like S may receive either absolutive or ergative marking, while Patient or Recipient-like S can either be marked as absolutive or dative (Simon 2012: 47, 52). The choice between absolutive and a morphologically marked case depends on pragmatic factors. The extent to which semantic and pragmatic factors play a role in the definition of valency categories may vary in different Tibetic languages, but they remain important factors to explain valency categories and case marking in these languages.

Two additional features of Tibetic languages are that no argument is indexed on the verb phrase and zero-anaphora may concern any argument of the verb. Thus, a minimal utterance may consist of a verb phrase with a Tense-Aspect-Mood-Evidentiality/Epistemicity (TAME/E) marker only, without any argument explicitely mentioned (Tournadre 1996: 99), as in (1).

(1) North-eastern Tibetic, Amdo, Hualong (The Pear Story, F64 2014)[4]

ཐྭིན་བཏང་ཐལ།

$^{F}ʃən\text{-}taŋ\text{-}t^{h}a$

give.PST-PFV-PFV.SENS

'[The boy] gave [him the hat].'

Speech acts participants, which are always topical, must be realized through zero-anaphora in Tibetan unless they are focused or introduce a new discourse topic. Thus, natural language data usually present one or more arguments realized as zero-anaphora. The full argument structure governed by a verb phrase can mainly be seen in specifically elicited sentences. This generalised zero-anaphora tendency makes it difficult to test a number of syntactic parameters. Crucially, the distinction between core and peripheral arguments is often problematic. This is especially true for the dative-marked arguments, which may realise various semantic roles such as Recipient, Beneficiary, Goal, Location, Ceptor[5] and partially affected Patient. The question of the distinction between core and peripheral

[4] Linguistic examples are presented as follows: the first line indicate the Tibetic variety. For examples from the author's corpora, information is given in this order: Tibetic subgroup and region, local variety and/or place of recording followed by, in brackets, the type of document or the main topic of the conversation, gender and age of the speaker, e.g., F(emale) 64 in (1), and year of recording. The second line renders the Tibetan (etymological) spelling; the third line gives the phonological transcription (examples from the literature are given with the phonological transcription provided by the authors and, in the case of Classical Tibetan, a transliteration is provided instead of a phonological transcription); the fourth line is the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss; and the fifth line is the free translation. Examples from German or French sources are followed by a second free translation in English. Finally, the last line indicates the source of examples cited from the literature. Some Tibetic languages have lexical tones whereas other do not. In varieties with tonal distinctions, tones are indicated by diacritic signs and accents. Arguments not overtly expressed in Tibetan are noted in square brackets in the free translation. The glosses of quoted examples and corpora excerpts have been added or adapted and harmonized throughout the chapter. The Tibetan spelling (following an etymological principle) has been added wherever it was absent but the phonological transcription remains the original author's transcription.

[5] The term Ceptor refers to the first argument of predicative possession and 'get' verbs, which corresponds to the subject in the English translation (Tournadre 2009b, unpublished manuscript).

arguments in Lhasa Tibetan is discussed in detail in Simon (2012) and Tournadre (2009, 2010). Following this discussion, I consider that core arguments are defined by the combination of two properties: a) they are marked by case markers (as opposed to postpositions); and b) their formal omission in an utterance triggers a zero-anaphora to reconstruct the identity of the missing argument (whereas non-core arguments, if omitted, do not trigger a zero-anaphora). For instance, in example (1) if the linguistic or extra-linguistic context is not clear enough to reconstruct the Agent, Patient and Recipient's identities, the hearer automatically asks about their identity, but such enquiry is not observed for other participants. Thus, this zero-anaphora test indicates that a given argument is part of the semantic valency of the verb phrase. The zero-anaphora test obviously has little empirical value since it relies on the linguistic intuition of native speakers. However, in the absence of a better test, this is the criterion used in this chapter to distinguish between core and peripheral arguments in the Tibetic languages.

3 The Sociative/Benefactive Applicative (SBA) construction

3.1 Etymology and morphology of the applicative construction

The SBA construction studied in this chapter[6] can be found in several of the Tibetic languages belonging Central, North-Eastern and South-Eastern Tibetic languages. It consists of a compounding process: the bound root <rogs> (or an allomorph), whose meaning is related to the ideas of 'association' or 'help', follows the main verb, in order to form a compound noun. This compound noun formed by the lexical verb and <rogs> is then re-verbalised by a semantically bleached light verb. The resulting verb phrase is followed by a TAME/E marker or a non-finite marker. Hence, the construction can be schematised as follows:

(2) Main Verb-རོགས་ <rogs> + LIGHT VERB-TAME/E ~ NON.FIN

The construction is illustrated in example (3), where it introduces a dative-marked applied phrase:

(3) Central Tibetic, Common Tibetan, India, Dharamsala (Picture description, M25 2015)

ཕོ་གསར་	དེ་	རྒྱལ་ལགས་ཀྱི་	ཡི་གེ་	དེ་	ཀློག་རོགས་	ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་འདུ།
pʰōsa:	*tʰe̲*	*mō:la-**la***	*ji̲ge*	*tʰe̲*	*lōˀ-**ɾoˀ***	***ʧʰe̲**-gijøpaɖa*
young.man	DEM	grandmother.HON-**DAT**	letter	DEM	read**.**aloud**-APPL**	**LIGHTV**-IPFV.EPIST.SENS

'This young man seems to be reading aloud this document for the old woman.'

Etymologically, <rogs> is a bound root present in several verbs and nouns conveying the idea of association, relationship and help. Dictionaries (Padma Rdorje 2005 [1979]; Hill 2010; Bielmeier *et al.* 2018) list lexemes such as <'grog(s)> 'to associate with, to bind', <sgrog> 'to sew, to bind, to tie', <drags> 'to bind', <sbrag(s)> 'to put together' and the nouns <rogs.pa> 'companion, helper', <grogs.po> 'friend', <drogs.pa> 'bundle, pack'. In all of these lexemes the root *rVg(s) can be retraced.

Whether Main Verb-<rogs> is a V-N→N or a V-V→N compound is unclear, since both types of compound nouns (i.e., V-N and V-V) are widely attested in Tibetic. The derivation pattern of this applicative construction, is, however, highly productive in the Tibetic languages to derive, among others, aspectual and modal meanings of the main verb. The Appendix provides a list of derivations following the structure schematised in (2) in different Tibetic languages, where the second root of the

[6] Other applicative construction, grammaticalised from other sources such as the verb 'to give' exist in some Tibetic languages, but are not considered here.

compound can either be of nominal or verbal origin. In Lhasa Tibetan, the fact that the verb followed by *roʾ* <rogs> results in a compound noun is made clear by the fact that only the first syllable of the compound carries a tone: *roʾ* <rogs> is toneless, as are all non-first syllables of nouns in this language.[7] In Amdo-Tibetan varieties, <rogs> is also productively used as a nominalizer to derive co-Agent nouns, as in (4).

(4) North-eastern Tibetic, Amdo, Hualong (Picture description, M25 2012)

བུ་མོ་_ཟེག་_གིས་	ཨེཨེ	ཕལ་ཆེར་	ཁྱེའུ་	ཟ་མ་	ཟ་_རོགས་	མ་_ཡོང་_བ་
wəmo-sək-kə	*eee*	*hatʃʰer*	*kʰə*	*sama*	*sa-**rok***	*ma-joŋ-wa*
girl-INDF-ERG	HES	probably	3SG.GEN	food	eat-**NMLZ.COAG**	NEG-come-NMLZ

'A girl, ehm, probably the **person with whom** she eats hasn't come and...'

In Shigatse Tibetan, the same morpheme derives nouns from verbs meaning 'the one who helps V' (Haller 2004: 54). In other Tibetic languages it seems to be lexicalised, and limited to a few lexemes, such as <dga' rogs> 'lover' (from the verb <dga'> 'to love'). These pieces of evidence paired with the presence of a light verb in all the varieties considered here, necessary to use the construction as a predicate, confirm the nominal nature of the Main Verb-<rogs>compound in (2).

The phonological form of the root <rogs> varies in the different Tibetic languages. Similarly, languages may vary in the number of allomorphs they display. Variation is also observed in the light verb used to to re-verbalise the construction: different Tibetic languages may use different light verbs (e.g. <byed> with different phonological realisations is used in most Tibetic languages, whereas another, etymologically distinct light verb, <bgyid>, is used in the imperative in Derge and Nangchen Tibetan). All these light verbs are semantically bleached and can be translated as 'to do'. They may also vary according to register, i.e. honorific (abbreviated as HON) vs. non-honorific. Table 1 summarises the variants found in the examples throughout this chapter. In this table, the symbol ~ indicates free or phonologically conditioned allomorphs, whereas "or" indicates a lexical alternation.

Table 1: Morphophonological form of the applicative construction in the seven Tibetic languages discussed

Language	**Applicative morpheme**	**Light verb 'to do' (present tense stem)**
Classical Tibetan	<rogs> ~ <grogs>	<byed> or <mdzod> (HON)
Lhasa / Common (Central) Tibetan	/roʔ/	/tʃʰe̲/ or /nāng/ (HON)
Shigatse (Central) Tibetan	/ròa/	/ʈɕhe̲ː/ or /nə̃/ (HON)
Tö pastoralists' (Central) Tibetan	/rok/	/ši̲ː/
Amdo (North-eastern) Tibetan	/rok/ ~ /ʈok/	/je/
Kham, Derge (South-eastern) Tibetan	/roʔ/ ~ /rōː/	/ɕe̲ː/ (or /ʈɕi̲ː/ in imperative)
Kham, Nangchen (South-eastern) Tibetan	/rɔʼ/	/weʼ/ ~ /sˆe[8]/ (or /šˆiː/ in imperative)

[7] Other morphophonological criteria may be used in the other Tibetic varieties having this construction, but the systematic comparison of the morphophonological properties of compound nouns would go beyond the aims of this chapter.

[8] The circumflex accent is part of Causeman's system of phonological transcription: It indicates a breathy voice. (Causeman 1989 : 28).

While the construction schematised in (2) is attested in several Tibetic languages, including Classical Tibetan, it is usually not identified as an applicative construction in descriptive grammars of Tibetic languages but described with reference to the etymological meaning 'to help'. For instance, in her dictionary, Hoshi (2003: 50) translates the construction as "'to V together' ~ 'to help someone V'" Similarly, Häsler (1999: 212) mentions: "In declarative sentences, [this construction] expresses that the agent helped somebody to perform the action described by the main verb."

In most grammars, the SBA construction is described as a "polite imperative" form (Kretschmar 1986: 72, Causemann 1989: 109–110, Schwieger 1989: 39, Goldstein 1991: 177–178, Beyer 1992: 365–366, Tournadre 1996: 259, Haller 2000: 94). The possibility of using this construction in declarative contexts is often not even mentioned. Even though this applicative construction might be more common with the imperative than with other TAME/E markers,[9] Section 3.2 shows that it may occur with any TAME/E marker in different Tibetic languages and varieties, such as imperfective, as in (3), (6b), (8) and (11c), perfective, as in (7b), (9a), (9b), (10), (12) and (15), future or optative, as in (14), as well as non-finite verb forms, as in (5) and (16).

3.2 Semantics and morphosyntax of the applicative construction

Semantically, the applied phrase introduced by the SBA construction is usually a Beneficiary marked in dative, as in (3), but it may also be a co-Agent, as shown with the example from Classical Tibetan in (5):

(5) Classical Tibetan (Poem attributed to Tshangsdbyangs Rgyamtsho, 6th Dalai-lama, 1683-1706)[10]

ཞག་	གསུམ་	ཉལ་-རོགས་	བྱས་-པས།།
zhag	*gsum*	*nyal-**rogs***	***byas**-pas*
day	three	lie.down-**APPL**	**LIGHTV.PST**-CONV

(The aspiration of the young man from Kongpo is like that of a bee trapped in a web)
'[I/he] **slept** three nights **with** [you/her], and [I/he] remembered the ideal of pure Dharma.'

In this example, the agent of the verb 'to sleep' is co-referent with 'the young man from Kongpo', and correspond to the author of the poem (the 6th Dalai-lama was born in the Kongpo region). The presence of a co-Agent, translated by '[you]', is brought about by the applicative construction. Both arguments are expressed as zero-anaphora and their translation as first and second persons respectively, rather than third persons, is a stylistic choice.

In the modern Tibetic languages, the applied phrase most often has the semantic role of a Beneficiary (*stricto sensu*, i.e. not a Maleficiary) rather than a co-Agent, and is realised as a dative-marked argument, as shown in (6) and (7).

(6) North-eastern Tibetic, Amdo, Xining (Picture description, F27 2017)

a.	ཁྱི་	དེས་	སྒམ་ཆུང་-ཟེག་-གི་	སྒོ་	ཕྱེ་-གི་ཡོད་གི
	tɕʰə	*ti*	*ɦgamʧʰoŋ-sək-kə*	*ɦgo*	*ᶠʃe-kokə*
	big.dog	DEM.ERG	cupboard-INDF-GEN	door	open-IPFV.SENS

'This big dog opens a cupboard.'

b. ཁྱི་ དེས་ སྐྱེ་-ཟེག་-འ་ སྒམ་ཆུང་-ཟེག་-གི་ སྒོ་ ཕྱེ་-རོགས་ བྱེད་-གི་ཡོད་གི

[9] A statistical survey would be needed to confirm this intuition. Given the relatively low frequency of the construction altogether, such a survey would require a large corpus in the different Tibetic languages, which was not available for this research.

[10] In this example, as well as in example (19), I provide for context the translation of the full four-verse poem before the free translation.

tɕʰə *ti* *ᵐɲə-sək-**a*** *ʱgamʧʰoŋ-sək-kə* *ʱgo* *ᶠʃe-**ɾok*** ***je-**kokə***
big.dog DEM.ERG person-INDF-**DAT** cupboard-GEN door open-**APPL** **LIGHTV-**IPFV.SENS
'This big dog opens a cupboard **for someone**.'
(Picture description, F27 2017)

(7) Central Tibetic, Common Tibetan, Paris (Elicited, M40 2020)

a. སྟོད་གྱང་ འདི་ རྙེད་-བྱུང།
tʊ̄tuŋ *di̲* *ɲē-ʧuŋ*
shirt DEM find.PFV.EGO.CENTR.UNCONTR
'[I] found this shirt.'

b. Central Tibetic, Lhasa (Elicited, M36 2010)
ངའི་ ཨ་ལྕམ་-ལ་ སྟོད་གྱང་ འདི་ རྙེད་-རོགས་ བྱས་-པ་ཡིན།
ŋɛ̲ː *ātʃa-**laja*** *tʊ̄tuŋ* *di̲* *ɲē-**ɾoˀ*** ***tʃʰɛ̲-**pajin***
1SG.GEN elder.sister-**DAT** shirt DEM find-**APPL** **LIGHTV**-PFV.EGO.CONTR
'[I] found this shirt **for my sister**.'

In the different Tibetic languages considered here, the applied phrase is never marked as an absolutive – like a Patient – but as a dative – like a Recipient or a Beneficiary. This type of case-marking is consistent with the fact that Tibetic languages tend to follow a semantic alignment, or at least, that case marking is heavily influenced by semantic and pragmatic factors (Zeisler 2007 for Ladakhi, Simon 2011: 34–85 for Lhasa Tibetan): any argument that has semantic features of a Recipient or a Beneficiary is marked in dative. Thus, for instance, in Lhasa-Tibetan, first argument of 'get' verbs such as 'to find' or to 'to earn, to obtain' are marked in dative (Tournadre and Sangda Dorje 2009: 130). In sum, this construction is valency increasing and introduces a dative-marked applied phrase with the semantic features of a Beneficiary.

The SBA construction may occur with mono- and bivalent lexical verbs selecting different types of argument frames. Examples (6b) and (7b) illustrate its use with bivalent verbs, while (5) and (8) illustrate its use with monovalent lexical verbs:

(8) North-eastern Tibetic, Amdo, Xining (Elicited, F26 2014)
ཨ་མ་-གིས་ སྒྲོལ་མ་སྐྱབས་-ར་ འཇོ་-རོགས་ བྱེད་-གི་ཡོད་གི
ama-gə *ʱɖomaʳʈɕap-**a*** *ᴺʤo-**ɾok*** ***je-**kokə***
mother-ERG D.-**DAT** go-**APPL** **LIGHTV**-IPFV.SENS
'The mother walks for/with ʰDomaʳʈɕap.'
(ʰDomaʳʈɕap is a small child, currently learning how to walk and her mother walks a few steps to train him.)

Whereas the SBA construction combines freely with mono- and bivalent lexical verbs, its use with trivalent verbs is uncommon: it could only be found in elicitation, and even then, speakers show hesitations about how to build such sentences. Only one interviewed speaker could produce constructions involving the SBA construction and a trivalent lexical verb in a relatively straightforward way, see (9a) and (9b). In (9a), the original Recipient and the Beneficiary applied phrase appear in the

dative; in (9b) the original Recipient retains dative marking while the applied phrase is marked with the postposition /tʃʰētu/ 'for'.[11]

(9) Central Tibetic, Lhasa (Elicited, F28 2010)

a.

ཁོང་ཀིས་	བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལ་	གནས་ཚུལ་	འདི་	མི་	ཚང་མར་
kʰōŋ-gi	*ʈāʃi-**la***	*nētsü:*	*di*	*mi*	*tsʰāŋma:*
3SG.HON-ERG	Tashi-**DAT**	information	DEM	person	all.DAT

འགྲེལ་བཤད་	བརྒྱབ་རོགས་	བྱས་པ་རེད།
ɖe̲:ʃɛ	*ɟa̲p-**ʁo**ʔ*	***tʃʰɛ̲**-paʁe*
explanation	LIGHTV-**APPL**	**LIGHTV**-PFV.FACT

'He explained this news to everybody on behalf / for the benefit of Tashi.'

b.

ཨ་མ་ལགས་ཀྱིས་	སྒོལ་དཀར་ལ་	བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀྱི་	ཆེད་དུ་	ཇི་རིལ་	དེ་
āma-la-gi	*ɖø̲:ka:-la*	*ʈāʃi-gi*	***tʃʰētu***	*tʃʰe̲ʁi:*	*tʰe̲*
mother-H-ERG	Dölkar-DAT	Tashi-GEN	**for**	sweet	DEM

སྦྱིན་རོགས་	བྱས་པ་རེད།
*ʈē-**ʁo**ʔ*	***tʃʰɛ̲**-paʁe*
give-**APPL**	**LIGHTV**-PFV.FACT

'The mother gave this sweet to Dölkar on behalf /for the benefit of Tashi.'

Thus, the SBA construction appears to be rarely, if ever, used with trivalent verbs whose verb frame already selects a dative-marked Recipient. Notably, no such restriction seems to occur with trivalent verbs selecting a comitative-marked third argument: (10) is considered much more acceptable than (9a) or (9b).

(10) Central Tibetic, Lhasa

ཚེ་རིང་ཀིས་	པ་སངས་ལ་	བཀྲ་ཤིས་དང་	རྩོད་པ་	བརྒྱབ་རོགས་	བྱས་པ་རེད།
tsʰērɪŋ-gi	*pāsaŋ-**la***	*ʈāʃi-taŋ*	*tsøpa*	*ɟa̲p-**ʁo**ʔ*	***ʧʰɛ̲**-paʁe*
T-ERG	P-**DAT**	T-COM	argument	LIGHTV-**APPL**	**LIGHTV**-PFV.FACT

'Tsering had an argument with Tashi on behalf of Pasang.'
(Elicited, F28 2010)

The SBA construction described in this section is obligatory: while semantic roles such as Instrument and Location do not require any additional morphology to combine with the verb phrase in a main clause, the SBA construction is required with all mono- and bivalent verbs which do not subcategorize for a Beneficiary or a Recipient, i.e. it is obligatory with all verbs except those of 'giving' and 'saying' (cf. (9a) and (9b)). A Beneficiary may be alternatively expressed by the postposition 'for' which governs a noun in genitive or in absolutive case. However, in the two Tibetic languages (Amdo and Lhasa/Common Tibetan) for which first hand data could be elicited, this usage is considered very formal. The postposition 'for', *ʧʰela* in Amdo Tibetan and *ʧʰētu* in Lhasa/Common Tibetan does not occur in everyday speech and only appears in elicited utterances produced by literate speakers. Examples in (11) illustrate the introduction of a Beneficiary into a clause governed by the bivalent verb

[11] As discussed below, this postposition has a formal or literary connotation and is not normally used in spontaneous speech. Its occurrence in (9b) indicates that the elicited sentence is probably not very natural.

'to wash' (11a). The Beneficiary can be expressed as a dative-marked applied phrase when the verb carries the applicative derivation (11c), or by the postposition *ʧʰela* in the construction of the root (11d), with a strong formal and literary connotation. (11b) shows that the verb 'to wash' in its underived form cannot combine with a dative-marked phrase with the semantic role of Beneficiary.

(11) North-eastern Tibetic, Amdo, Xining (Picture description and elicitation, F27 2017)

a. ཚེ་རིང་སྐྱིད་-གིས་ ཐུར་མ་ འཁྲུད་-གི་ཡོད་གི

tsʰeɾaŋʳʈɕi-kə *tʰəɾma* *ᴺʈɕʰə-kokə*

T.-ERG chopstick wash.PR/FUT-IPFV.SENS

'Tserangkyi is washing the dishes.'

b. * ཚེ་རིང་སྐྱིད་གིས་ ཨ་ཡེ་-ཟེག་-ཏ་ ཐུར་མ་ འཁྲུད་-གི་ཡོད་གི

tsʰeɾaŋʳʈɕi-kə *aje-sək-**a*** *tʰəɾma* *ᴺʈɕhə -kokə*

T.-ERG grandmother-INDF-**DAT** chopstick wash.PR/FUT-IPFV.SENS

Intended meaning: 'Tserangkyi is washing the dishes for an old woman.'

c. ཚེ་རིང་སྐྱིད་-གིས་ ཨ་ཡེ་-ཟེག་-ཏ་ ཐུར་མ་ འཁྲུད་-རོགས་ བྱེད་-གི་ཡོད་གི

tsʰeɾaŋʳʈɕi-kə *aje-sək-**ɾok*** *tʰəɾma* *ᴺʈɕhə-**ɾok*** *je-kokə*

T.-ERG grandmother-INDF-**DAT** chopstick wash-**APPL** LIGHTV.PR/FUT -IPFV.SENS

'Tserangkyi is washing the dishes **for an old woman**.'

d. # ཚེ་རིང་སྐྱིད་-གིས་ ཨ་ཡེ་-ཟེག་-གི་ ཆེད་-ཏ་ ཐུར་མ་ འཁྲུད་-གི་ཡོད་གི

tsʰeɾaŋʳʈɕi-kə *aje-sək-kə* ***ʧʰel-a*** *tʰəɾma* *ᴺʈɕhə-kokə*

T.-ERG grandmother-INDF-GEN **for-DAT** chopstick wash.PR/FUT-IPFV.SENS

\# 'Tserangkyi is washing the dishes **for an old woman**.'

On the semantic level, a verb phrase containing the SBA construction necessarily implies the presence of a Beneficiary, overtly mentioned or referred to by a zero-anaphora (Simon 2016: 587–600). Hence, like any other argument, the applied phrase can be omitted by the speaker, as in (12) and (13). In this case, its identity must be reconstructed by the hearer. Notably, Haller (2000) explicitely mentions a zero-anaphora first person Beneficiary in the free translation of (13).

(12) Central Tibetic, Lhasa (Movie comment, M25 2010)[12]

ཁོང་-གིས་ བྱིས་-རོགས་ བྱས་-སོང་-ན།

kʰōŋ-gi *ʧʰi̲-**ɾo**ʔ* ***ʧʰɛ̲**-soŋ-ŋa:*

3SG-ERG write-**APPL** **LIGHTV**.PST-PFV.SENS-PHAT

'He wrote [the punishment] **for [the pupil]**, right?'

(Simon 2011: 206)

(13) Central Tibetic, Shigatse[13]

[12] This example is a spontaneous comment uttered by a speaker while watching a movie in which a child has been punished and must stay in detention until he has finished copying lines. However, he is so slow that finally the supervisor decides to write the punishment himself, for the child's benefit.

[13] This example comes from a song included in a narrative. For this reason, Haller did not indicate the tones in his transcription, although Shigatse Tibetan belongs to the tonal Tibetic languages.

ཐོ་བ་	སྤྱིན་ཚར་	ཕག་ཕག	སྐྱོན་-རོགས་	གནང་	ཡང་	མི་-དགོས་-ལགས།
thoa	*ʧʂĩt͡ɕa:*	*phakpa:*	*cœ̃-**ɾoa***	***nã***	*jã*	*mu-kœ-la*
hammer	thundershower	fall.REDUP[14]	LIGHTV-**APPL**	**LIGHTV.HON**	even	NEG-need-H

‘[Sie] brauchen nicht **[für mich]** zu hämmern, [wie] der Gewitterschauer herniederprasselt.
‘[You] don’t need to hammer **[for me]** [like] the thundershower falls,

སྐམ་པ་	ཟླུག་དམར་	ཆུག་ཆུག་	འཕེན་-རོགས་	གནང་	ཡང་	མི་-དགོས་-ལགས།
kampa	*loama:*	*cakca:*	*thẽ-**ɾoa***	***nã***	*jã*	*mu-kœ-la*
pliers	lightnings	hit.REDUP	draw-**APPL**	**LIGHV.HON**	even	NEG-need-H

‘[Sie] brauchen die Zange nicht **[für mich]** zu ziehen, wie die roten Blitze zucken.’
‘[You] don’t need to draw the pliers **[for me]** [like] lightnings strike.’
(Haller 2000: 144)

Examples (14) and (15) show parallel constructions in two Tibetic languages of Kham. In both examples, the Beneficiary applied phrase is not realised by a dative-marked overt NP but can be reconstructed from context: in (14) it is co-referent with the Patient of the verb ‘to escort’, and in (15), it is co-referent with the Possessor of the ‘hand’ and the Patient of the verb ‘to lead’.

(14) South-eastern Tibetic, Kham, Nangchen

ད་	ཙུ་	ཉིན་-ལམ་	ཙེག་	སྐྱི་-རོགས་	ཤེད།
t^a	*tšu*	*ñin-län*	*tsäik*	*tši-**ɾɔ’***	***we’***
DISC	2SG	day-way	INDEF	escort-**APPL**	**LIGHTV**.PR/FUT

‘Ich werde dich einen Tagesweg (weit) bringen!’
‘Well, [I] shall escort you (for the distance of) one day!’
(Causeman 1989: 260)

(15) South-eastern Tibetic, Kham, Derge

དས་	ཁེའི་	ལག་ས་-གིས་	འཛུས་-ལས་	ཁྲིད་རོགས་	ཤེད་-ཟིན་	ཡིན།
ŋɛ̲:	*k^hy̲:*	*la̲:pā-ki*	*ndzy̲:-le*	*ʧʂ^hē-**ɾo̲:***	***ɕe̲:**-zĩ:*	*jĩ̲:*
1SG.ERG	his	hand-INSTR	grasp-CONV	lead-**APPL**	**LIGHTV**-PFV	be

‘I took [him] by the hand and led [him] for [his benefit].’[15]
(Häsler 1999: 212)

In both (14) and (15), the identity of the Beneficiary applied phrase is reconstructed through zero-anaphora (see Introduction). Such a reconstruction indicates that the newly introduced Beneficiary participant is a core argument of the verb phrase (and not an adjunct), directly governed by the verb phrase, and semantically bound to it. Thus, even when the applied phrase is not overtly realised, this construction is actually valency-increasing.

While the applied phrase introduced by the SBA construction is usually a Beneficiary, it may also have co-Agentive features. In (8), the applied phrase (the little girl learning to walk) has both semantic features of a Beneficiary and a co-Agent. Similarly, (16) shows an instance of a Beneficiary/Co-Agent applied phrase in Amdo Tibetan. In this utterance, the applied phrase ‘[my] mother’ does not appear

[14] Haller does not indicate the function of the verb reduplication in Shigatse Tibetan. In this example, it could correspond to an intensification of the meaning and/or an adverbial derivation. Not having more precise information, I gloss it as "reduplication".
[15] Here, Häsler’s translation is adapted to render the morphosyntactic structure more accurately. The original translation reads: ‘I took him by the hand led him.’

in the dative case as would be expected. Rather, it is marked with *ɲampe* 'with, together', a postposition governing a noun in genitive case.

(16) North-eastern Tibetic, Amdo, Rebkong (Childhood, F38 2017)

ཨ་མ་-ཀི་	མཉམ་པེ་	སྦྲོག་	དེ་	བཟོ་-རོགས་	བྱས།
ama-kə	***ɲampe***	*sok*	*te*	*^{F}ʒo-**ɾok***	***ji***
mother-GEN	**with**	bovine	DEM	milk-**APPL**	**LIGHTV**.PST

(When I was a child,) I used to milk the cows with [and] for [my] mother, and then…'

The speaker explains that, being the only child of her single mother and having very poor living conditions, she did not go school and performed different tasks at home. Considering that in the traditional gender division of work in Tibetan milking is a women's task, the mother responsible for the subsistence of the household in (16) is the Beneficiary of the speaker's action. A dative-marked applied phrase would have implied that the action was performed by the daughter only for the benefit of the mother, whereas the use of the postposition *ɲampe* 'with, together' stresses the fact that both the mother and the daughter are Agents, while allowing a possible simultaneous benefactive reading. Thus, this example is somehow ambiguous regarding the semantic features of the applied phrase: co-Agent only or both co-Agent and Beneficiary.

Contrary to dative-marked Beneficiaries, co-Agents marked by a postposition can be freely added into a clause, without the need of any additional morphology on the verb phrase, as illustrated in (17):

(17) North-eastern Tibetic, Amdo, Sokdzong (Childhood, F29 2017)[16]

འདི་	རོགས་བ་	མཉམ་གི་	རྫའ་	སོང་།
^{N}də	***ɾokwa***	***^{m}ɲamkə***	*^{ɦ}dza:*	*s^{h}oŋ*
DEM	**friend**	**with**	behind.DAT	go.PST

'[I] used to graze these [calves] **with friends**, and...'

In sum, in the Tibetic languages displaying a SBA construction featuring <rogs>, this construction is obligatory to introduce a Beneficiary applied phrase with mono- and bi- and trivalent verbs which do not subcategorize for a Beneficiary or a Recipient. This applied phrase usually appears in the dative case. Occasionally, the Beneficiary applied phrase may have co-agentive features and be realized syntactically as a comitative postpositional phrase. This type of coding emphasises the co-Agentive semantic features of the Beneficiary. Given this characterisation, the SBA construction falls into the broad definition of applicative morphology proposed in the Introduction to this volume.

4 The applicative construction as introducer of Attitude holders

The applicative construction described in section 3 appears to be frequently used in imperative utterances, to express polite commands. At least in Common Tibetan, it is also typically used in negative utterances to express complaints. As mentioned in section 3.1, the literature on Tibetic languages that display this construction usually misses its basic sociative/benefactive applicative function described in section 3.2 and defines it as a "polite imperative" form. In this section, I argue that identifying a basic applicative function of the SBA construction allows to account for its use in polite commands and complaints. Such conventionalised uses can, in fact, be explained by a shift in

[16] In this example, *^{m}ɲamkə* is a dialectal variant of *ɲampe*, and the verb 'to graze' literally means 'to go behind [the cattle]'.

the function of the applied phrase: from the semantic role of Beneficiary to the pragmatic function of Attitude Holder.

4.1 Polite commands and complaints

The SBA construction commonly occurs in the imperative mood, to express polite commands.[17] Such a use can be traced back to Classical Tibetan:

(18) Classical Tibetan (Life of Milarepa)

སྣམ་བུ་	འདི་-ལ་	སྨད་གཡོག་-ཤིག་-ཀྱང་	འཚེམ་-བྱོགས་	མཛོད་-ཅིག
snambu	*'di-la*	*smadg.yogs-shig-kyang*	*'tshem-**drogs***	***mdzod-cig***
serge	DEM-DAT	lower.garment-INDF-also	sew-**APPL**	**LIGHTV.HON.IMP-IMP**

'**Please**, also sew a lower garment in this [piece of] serge.'
(Ruspa'i Rgyancan, 1488)

(19) Classical Tibetan (Poem attributed to Tshangsdbyangs Rgyamtsho, 6th Dalai-lama, 1683-1706)

བྱ་དེ་	སྨྲ་-མཁན་	ནེ་ཙོ།།	ཁ་རོག་	བཞུགས་-རོགས་	མཛོད་-དང་།།
bya de	*sma-mkhan*	*netso*	*kha rog*	*bzhugs-**rogs***	***mdzod-dang***
bird	speak-NMLZ.AG	parrot	silent	stay.H-**APPL**	**LIGHTV.HON.IMP-IMP**

'Speaking bird, parrot, **please** stay silent!
(I/Someone need(s) to translate the song of Sister Nightinghale in the willow grove.)'

In (18), the verb <'tshem> 'to sew' takes an ergative-marked Agent, and an absolutive Patient (Padma Rdorje 2005: 621). The verb <bzhugs> 'to stay' (HON) in (19) gouverns an agentive S argument coded as absolutive (Padma Rdorje 2005: 684). Both examples show that the SBA construction is not used to introduce an explicit Beneficiary argument. In (18) and (19), the broader context does not allow to identify such a Beneficiary easily. The sentence in (18) is pronounced by the sister of the Tibetan mystic Milarepa, when she begs him to cover his naked and emaciated body, because she is ashamed of his behaviour. Thus, Milarepa is invited to sew for himself something to wear, but also for the benefit of his sister, i.e. to alleviate her shame. In (19), the Beneficiary, presumably the speaker himself, can be recovered as the one who needs to translate the nightingale's song.

Several modern Central and South-eastern Tibetic languages show the same use of the SBA construction in the imperative, without an explicit Beneficiary argument. Examples (20) to (24) illustrate a use parallel to (18) and (19) in different Tibetic languages: with a monovalent verb gouverning an agentive S argument in (20), bivalent verbs gouverning an Agent and a Patient in (21) and (22), and with trivalent verbs gouverning Agent, Patient and Beneficiary in (23) and (24).

(20) Central Tibetic, Shigatse

དའི་	ནང་-ལ་	ཆུག་ཙམ་	ཕེབས་-རོགས་	གནང་།
ŋie	*naŋ-la*	*chūktsa*	*phè-**ɾòa***	***nɑ̃***
1SG.GEN	inside/home-DAT	briefly	come.HON-**APPL**	**LIGHTV.HON**

'Kommen Sie **bitte** schnell zu mir nachhause!'
'**Please** come briefly to my house!'
(Haller 2000: 126)

[17] The same overlap between applicative-benefactive and polite command functions is found in Meiteilon, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in North-eastern India (Betholia 2005). The applicative construction in Meiteilon is etymologically unrelated to the Tibetic applicative construction. Thanks to an anonymous reviewer who brought this data to my attention.

(21) South-Eastern Tibetic, Kham, Derge

ཁྱོད་ ཆུ་ ཁུར་-རོགས་ གྱིས།

tɕʰø: *tɕʰɤ̄* *kʰɤ̄-**ɾo**ʔ* ***tɕi:***

2SG water carry-**APPL** **LIGHTV.IMP**

‘**Please**, carry some water!’

(Häsler 1999: 220)

(22) Central Tibetic, Tö, Drongpa pastoralists

འདི་ ཁྱེད་ བཞག་-རོགས་ བྱོས།

ni *chē:* *šä:*[18]*-**ɾok*** ***tši:***

DEM you.HON put-**APPL** **LIGHTV.IMP**

‘Nimm du diesen [Rosenkranz] **bitte** an dich!’

‘**Please** take this [rosary]!’

(Kretschmar 1986: 72, 278–279)

(23) South-eastern Tibetic, Kham, Nangchen

རྟ་-རྡལ་ བདུན་ འདི་ གཏད་-རོགས་ གྱིས།

taḍi *däin* *nɗi* *te-**ɾɔ’*** ***tšʰi:***

horse-mule seven DEM give-**APPL** **LIGHTV.IMP**

‘**Bitte**, gib die sieben Pferde und Maultiere zurück!’

‘**Please**, give the seven horses and mules back!’

(Causemann 1989: 110)

(24) Central Tibetic, Lhasa

ཕྱག་ཆེར་ ངར་ བསྟན་-རོགས་ གནང་།

ʧʰākkje: *ŋa:* *tɛ̄n-**ɾo**ʔ* ***nāŋ***

passport 1SG.DAT show-**APPL** **LIGHTV.HON**

‘Montrez-moi votre passeport, **s’il vous plait**.’

‘**Please** show me your passport.’

(Tournadre and Sangda Dorje 2009: 164–165)

In the literature, these “imperative forms” are usually depicted as being polite, indirect or honorific. For instance, in the Central Tibetic variety that she describes, Kretschmar (1986: 71-72) indicates that this form is used to express “polite commands”. Similarly, for Nangchen Tibetan, Causeman (1989: 109) notes: “Ein Verbalnomen, gebildet mit *rɔ’* ‘Hilfe‘ und verbalisiert mit *tšʰi:* (Imp) bildet eine Imperativform, die ebenfalls einen leicht höflichen Charakter hat.” [A deverbal noun built with *rɔ’* ‘help‘ and verbalised with *tšʰi:* (Imp) builds an imperative form that also has a light polite character] (my own translation). Tournadre and Sangda Dorje (2009: 168) only mention the construction as an imperative form, with the honorific light verb *nāng* ‘to do’: “Ce suffixe [*roʔnang*] peut être adjoint à n’importe quel verbe volitif, de préférence honorifique, pour formuler une demande ou un ordre poli.” [This suffix [*roʔnang*] may be attached to any volitional verb, preferably a honorific one, to formulate a request or a polite command.] (my own translation). Finally, Haller (2000: 94) indicates that this form, among the other imperative markers, “hat einen stärker bittenden Charakter“ [has a more pleading character] (my own translation). This honorific or indirect value of the imperative form featuring the

[18] Kretschmar (1989: 501) indicates that this verb means ‘setzen, platzieren’ / ‘to put, to place’, but translates it as ‘nehmen’ / ‘to take’ in this utterance.

SBA construction could explain the lack of this use in North-Eastern Tibetic languages, since honorific forms are severely restricted in these languages.

Before discussing the morphosyntactic differences between the use of the SBA construction in imperative vs. other tense-aspects, the way these imperative uses relate to the applicative benefactive syntactic nature of the construction must be highlighted. In (18)–(24), the speaker herself can be reconstructed as the Beneficiary of each event. Hence, the utterances above could be translated as: (18) 'Please, *do me a favour and* sew also a lower garment in this [piece of] serge.'; (20) 'Please come briefly to my house *and I will be pleased*!'; (21) 'Please, carry some water *for me*!' etc. Even if these instances could, at first sight, be analysed as an applicative construction in which the Beneficiary is realised through zero-anaphora, see (12) and (13), in section 4.2, I show that (18)–(24) have some morphosyntactic specificities which distinguish them from the constructions in (12) and (13).

The same can be said about a second use of the SBA construction, namely, in complaints expressed through imperfective negative utterances. This use is attested at least in Common Tibetan and is especially common when parents complain about their children's behaviour:[19]

(25) Central Tibetic, Common Tibetan, Paris (Elicited, M38 2018)

ཕུ་གུ་	འདི་	ཉལ་-རོགས་	ཁྱེད་-ཀྱི་མི་འདུག
pūgu	*di̲*	*ɲɛ̲:-**ʁo**ʔ*	***ʧʰe̲**-gimindu*ʔ
child	DEM	lie.down-**APPL**	**LIGHTV**-IPFV.NEG.SENS

'This child won't go to bed.'

(26) Central Tibetic, Common Tibetan

དོན་གྲུབ་-ཀྱིས་	དཉིན་སྐད་	བརྒྱབ་-རོགས་	བྱས་-མ་-སོང་།
tʰø̄nʣup-ki	*īnkɛʔ*	*ɟa̲p-**ʁo**ʔ*	***ʧʰɛ̲**ʔ-ma-soŋ*
T.-ERG	English	LIGHTV-**APPL**	**LIGHTV**-NEG-PFV.SENS

'Dondup did not speak English.'
(Dagar Namgyal Nyima 2008: 30)

In these case too, one could hypothesize that the Beneficiary of the event corresponds to the speaker herself. Thus, (25) could be paraphrased as 'This child doesn't sleep *[even for me / even to please me / although I wish him/her to do so*]' and (26) as 'Dondup did not speak English [even though it would have been useful *for me/us.*]'.[20] Dagar Namgyal Nyima (2008: 30) proposes the following context to explain his example : 'Dondup did not speak English *(when others expected him to speak)*' (emphasis added).[21] Whether in (26) the Beneficiary could be a third person (i.e. a participant external

[19] I have not been able to find a similar use in the data consulted for other Tibetic languages. However, given the very specific context in which it mostly occurs, this might well be due to the limitations of accessible data.

[20] Two anonymous reviewers suggested that in (25) and (26), the speaker is, semantically speaking, a Maleficiary rather than a Beneficiary, but it is not the case. In fact in Tibetan, the negation marker may appear in two slots: (a) prefixed to the main verb if the negation has scope over this verb only, or, more commonly (b) as part of the TAME/E suffix if it has the scope over the whole verb phrase comprising the main verb and the applicative derivation, as it happens in (25) and (26). Interpreting (25) and (26) as cases where the SBA construction introduces a Maleficiary applied phrase would be correct if the negative marker was prefixed to the main verb, and had scope over the main verb 'to sleep' only: 'The child [doesn't sleep], and this event is detrimental to me' rather than 'The child doesn't perform the action of [sleeping for me]'.

[21] It should be noted that Dagar Namgyal Nyima's book is not a grammar proper, but a collection of sentences classified by key-words that often represent specific use patterns. Hence, although it is undoubtedly a precious resource as a corpus of utterances, it contains no grammatical analysis and the translations and contexts offered are not always exact.

to the speech act) is doubtful. We will see in section 4.2 that this entity must correspond, in fact, to a first person.

The two uses illustrated in (18)–(26) look like standard applicative constructions in which the Beneficiary argument is omitted for pragmatic reasons. However, we will see that from a morphosyntactic point of view, (18)–(26) are not strictly equivalent to the applicative constructions discussed in section 3.2. For this reason, I propose that the noun phrase newly introduced by the SBA construction can have two distinct roles: a Beneficiary in declarative contexts and an Attitude Holder in polite commands and complaints.

4.2 Morphosyntactic specificities of the applicative construction used in orders and complaints

Contrary to the standard SBA construction described in Section 3.2, the Beneficiary recovered in polite commands and complaints can never be overtly mentioned as a noun phrase. Its presence is implied by the presence of the applicative construction but is always realised as a zero-anaphora. (27a) repeats (12), where the Beneficiary 'the pupil' is realised as zero-anaphora. (27b) shows that this Beneficiary applied phrase can be optionally expressed as a dative NP in the utterance. By contrast (28) shows that the introduction of a dative NP in a construction such as (25) is not possible. Moreover, it must be emphasized that the reconstructed applied phrase in commands and complaints always corresponds to the speaker, and therefore, a first person, while in the applicative derivations described in Section 3, the applied phrase can also be a second or a third person.

(27) Central Tibetic, Lhasa (Movie comment and elicitation, M25 2010)

a. ཁོང་_གིས་ བིས་_རོགས་ བྱས་_སོང་_དྲ།
*kʰōŋ-gi ʧʰi̲-**ʁo˨*** ***ʧʰe̲-soŋ-ŋa:***
3SG-ERG write-**APPL** **LIGHTV**.PST-PFV.SENS-PHAT
'He (i.e. the supervisor) wrote [the punishment] for [the pupil], right?'
(Simon 2011: 206)

b. ཁོང་_གིས་ སློབ་ཕྲུག་_ལ་ བིས་_རོགས་ བྱས་_སོང་_དྲ།
*kʰōŋ-gi lopʈuˀ-**la** ʧʰi̲-**ʁo˨*** ***ʧʰe̲-soŋ-ŋa:***
3SG-ERG pupil-**DAT** write-**APPL** **LIGHTV**.PST-PFV.SENS-PHAT
'He wrote [the punishment] for the pupil, right?'

(28) Central Tibetic, Common Tibetan, Paris (Elicited, M38 2018)
* པུ་གུ་ འདི་ ང་_ལ་ ཉལ་_རོགས་ བྱེད་_ཀྱི་མི་འདུག
** pūgu di̲ ŋa̲-**la*** *ɲɛ̲:-**ʁo˨*** ***ʧʰe̲-kimindu˨***
child DEM 1SG-**DAT** lie.down-APPL **LIGHTV.**PR/FUT-IPFV.NEG.SENS
Intended meaning: 'This child doesn't want to sleep [even] for me / as a favour to me.'

Similarly in (29) the introduction of a dative NP is considered ungrammatical by native speakers.[22]

(29) Central Tibetic, Common Tibetan, Paris (Elicited, M41 2021)
* ད་ ཁྱེད་རང་ ང་ལ་ ལྷོད་ལྷོད་ བཞུགས་_རོགས་ གནང་།
*tʰa̲ cʰēɾaŋ ŋa̲-**la*** *lhøløˀ* *ʃu-**ʁo˨*** ***nāŋ***

[22] Example (24) seems to contradict the fact that the introduction of a dative NP is ungrammatical in such sentences. However, the dative marked first person pronoun in (24) can be analysed as the original Recipient argument of the lexical verb 'to show' rather than the applied phrase.

now 2SG 1SG-**DAT** relax stay.HON-**APPL** **LIGHTV**.HON
Intended meaning: 'Do me a favour and stay relaxed!'

Although the grammars of Tibetic languages include numerous examples of the SBA construction used in polite commands, it has not been possible to find a single occurrence of an overtly mentioned Beneficiary in this context.

Note, however, that in specific contexts, benefactive readings with an overt first or third person Beneficiary are also possible in the imperative mood, as illustrated in (30):

(30) Central Tibetic, Common Tibetan, Paris (Elicited, M41 2021)

a. དེ་རིང་ འགྲོ་ཐུབ་མ་མ་རེད། བྱས་ཙོང་ ང་ལ་ འགྱུར་བ་ བཏང་རོགས་ གནང་།

*tʰe̲ɾiŋ ʥo̲-tʰūp-samaɾe ʧʰɛ̲tsaŋ ŋa̲-**la** ɟu̲ɾwa tāŋ-**ɾo**ʾ **nāŋ***

today go-can-EPIST.NEG.FUT so 1SG-**DAT** change LIGHTV-**APPL** **LIGHTV**.HON
'Today I probably won't be able to come. So, please change [it] **for me**!'

b. དེ་རིང་ འགྲོ་ཐུབ་མ་མ་རེད། བྱས་ཙོང་ ཁོང་ལ་ འགྱུར་བ་ བཏང་རོགས་ གནང་།

*tʰe̲ɾiŋ ʥo̲-tʰūp-samaɾe ʧʰɛ̲tsaŋ kʰōŋ-**la** ɟu̲ɾwa tāŋ-**ɾo**ʾ **nāŋ***

today go-can-EPIST.NEG.FUT so 3SG-**DAT** change LIGHTV-**APPL** **LIGHTV**.HON
'Today s/he probably won't be able to come. So, please change it **for him/her**!'

Besides the impossibility of overtly expressing a Beneficiary applied phrase in commands and complaints, SBA constructions used in these communicative contexts show no restrictions on the valency of the main verb with which they combine. This contrasts sharply with the fact that outside of commands and complaints, applicative derivation with trivalent main verbs gouverning a dative marked Beneficiary is highly unusual in natural speech (see Section 3.2). The absence of restrictions on the valence of the main verb in polite commands was shown in (24) with the trivalent verb 'to show', where the Beneficiary of the main verb is co-referent with the Beneficiary of the applicative construction (i.e. the speaker herself). Similarly in (31), the verb 'to help, to give help' is trivalent in its underived form, governing an Agent (the helper), a Patient ('help') and a Recipient. In this example, the third person explicitely mentioned Recipient is distinct from the applied phrase, which is an unexpressed first person.

(31) Central Tibetic, Common Tibetan, Paris (Elicited, M41 2021)

བྱས་ན་ གྲོགས་པོ་ རང་ཤིས་ ཁོ་རང་ལ་ རོགས་པ་ ཞིད་རོགས་ ཟོས་ཤུ།

*ʧʰɛ̲na ʈʰokpo ɾaŋ-gi kʰoɾaŋ-la ɾokpa ʧʰɛ̲-**ɾo**ʾ **ʧʰi̲**-a:*

then friend 2SG-ERG 3SG-DAT help LIGHTV-**APPL** **LIGHTV**.**IMP**-IMP
'Then, friend, please you (as opposed to me or someone else) help him **for [me]**!'

In sum, the SBA construction in polite commands and complaints shows two morphosyntactic differences with respect to its use outside of these pragmatic contexts: the impossibility to make explicit the supposed Beneficiary applied phrase introduced by the applicative and the possibility for the applicative to combine with any verb regardless of its valency at the root level. These differences can be analysed as a shift in function of the newly introduced argument, from the semantic role of a Beneficiary, to the pragmatic role of an Attitude Holder. In this pragmatic function, the applicative construction is no longer valency-increasing since the Attitude Holder is not part of the argument structure of the main verb on the morphosyntactic or semantic level.

4.3 From Beneficiary to Attitude holder

Attitude Holders (Bosse, Bruening and Yamada 2012) are defined as non-selected arguments, i.e. they have a pragmatic relation – a specific attitude – to the event rather than being morphosyntactically or semantically bound to it. In polite commands and complaints, the applied phrase represents an entity who is somehow affected by whether the event occurs or not and therefore, this entity has a positive attitude toward the realisation of this event (i.e. wishes that the event occurs, or regrets that the event is not occurring). Thus, in these two uses the SBA construction introduces an Attitude Holder, rather than a Beneficiary proper. In the Tibetic languages studied here, whereas proper Beneficiaries may refer to any (animate) entity – whether speech act participant or not – Attitude Holders always refer to the speaker herself.[23] Such a restriction regarding the entities than can be assigned this pragmatic role is common. As Bosse, Bruening and Yamada (2012: 1196) observe,"Attitude holders, like affected experiencers, have to be sentient. However, this may be attributed to the fact that they are limited to (groups including) the speaker and the hearer." In the Tibetic language, Attitude holders are further restricted to the speaker only.

To understand how an applicative construction might have developed this pragmatic function, I hypothesize that the role of the newly introduced participant evolved from the semantic role of Beneficiary, marked in dative, to the pragmatic role of Attitude Holder, through the role of Affected Experiencer, that is, an entity somehow positively or negatively affected by the realisation of the event. The hypothesis of an intermediate Affected Experiencer stage cannot be demonstrated with morphosyntact data, but seems semantically plausible, insofar as it represents a likely bridge between a Beneficiary proper and an Attitude Holder: the entity holds a specific attitude toward the event in question because it is somehow affected by it (non-)realisation. Thus, the role of Affected Experiencer establishes a link between the roles of Beneficiary and Attitude Holder of the applied phrase. Table 2 summarises this hypothesised pragmaticisation path.

Table 2. Pragmaticisation path of the applicative construction in polite commands and complaints

	Applied phrase	**Commands**	**Complaints**
① Beneficiary ↓	overtly expressed dative-marked NP or pronoun, 1st, 2nd or 3rd person or zero anaphora	'Do it **for me/sb**.'	'S/he doesn't do it **[even] for me/sb**.'
② Affected Experiencer ↓		'Do it, [**and] it would please me**.'	'S/he doesn't do it, **[so] I'm displeased**.'
③ Attitude Holder	zero anaphora, can only refer to the speaker	'**I wish** you do it.'	'**I regret** s/he doesn't do it.'

This evolution of the applicative construction in Tibetan results in a function comparable to that of the forms labelled "ethical dative" in languages such as German, as in (32):

(32) German
Du *sollst* ***mir*** *nicht* *wieder* *fernsehen*
you shall **me.DAT** not again watch.television
'You shall not watch TV again (and I want this to come true).'

[23] Bergqvist and Knuchel (2017) show that Attitude Holders can be related to egophoricity and epistemic stance. More research is needed to explore the possible relations between these domains (grammaticalised in a particularly complex way in the Tibetic languages) and the use of the applicative construction in commands.

(Bosse, Bruening and Yamada 2012: 1196)

The originality of the Tibetic languages, compared to languages with ethical dative, lies in the fact that the presence of an Attitude Holder is indicated in an indirect way, through the use of an applicative construction. This applicative construction implies the existence of such a pragmatic role, attributed to the speaker, but this role cannot be expressed by an overt applied phrase. In fact, the Attitude Holder can only be the main speech-act participant, the speaker herself (hence, a first person), in polite commands and complaints. Speech act participants are necessarily identified, and, unless they are focused or correspond to a new topic, they must be realized through zero-anaphora in Tibetan. The fact that Attitude Holders are never overtly realized is thus consistent with this general principle.

Like the German example in (32), the first person in the Tibetic examples is not a participant to the event described by the verb phrase. Therefore, it cannot be described as a speaker-benefactive form proper and the applicative construction is no longer valency-increasing. Thus, synchronically, polite commands and complaints expressed with the V-<*rogs*> + LIGHTV construction in the Tibetic languages can be analysed either as a typologically non-prototypical applicative constructions or as a diachronic evolution toward pragmaticisation, in polite commands and complaints, of the originally valence-increasing syntactic function of the SBA construction.

Finally, in some Tibetic languages, the SBA construction has further grammaticalised into an imperative morpheme, as shown in (33a). The construction is reduced to the morpheme <*rogs*> /rok/ (without a light verb), which commutes with other imperative markers, for instance, the morpheme -*lä* in (33b).

(33) Central Tibetic, Tö, Drongpa pastoralists

a. བུ་མོ་ ང་ལ་ སྟེར་རོགས།
phǒn *ŋa̲-la* *tēː-**rok***
girl 1SG-DAT give-**IMP**
'Gib mir das Mädchen bitte!'
'Please give me the girl.'
(Kretschmar 1986: 72)

b. ད་ བདའམཛོད་ ནང་ལ་ གསེར་ བཏོན་ལས།
tā *pha̲ṅtsō̃* *na̲ṅ-la* *sēr* *tō̃n-**lä***
now treasury inside-LOC gold bring.out-**IMP**
'Nun holt Gold aus der Schatzkammer heraus!'
'Now, bring out gold from the treasury!'
(Kretschmar 1986: 71)

5 Conclusions

The analysis of the V-<*rogs*> + LIGHTV construction in Central and Eastern Tibetic languages as a SBA construction allows to find a unified concept underlying its different uses. From a functional perspective, the applicative function of introducing an otherwise unexpressable dative-marked Beneficiary applied phrase with certain lexical verbs is the primary, original function of this construction. Like any other argument in the Tibetic languages, this applied phrase can be omitted (i.e. realised as a zero-anaphora), and this omission is especially common if the applied phrase refers to a (non-focused) speech-act participant. The Attitude Holder function likely arose when the applicative construction started to be used to express a Beneficiary coreferential with the speaker of the

utterance, typically in the contexts of requests and complaints. Whether there was a stage in which a (focused) Attitude Holder could be optionally expressed as a dative-marked first person pronoun needs to be further researched. Whatever the case might be, once the construction gained discourse usage and became purely pragmatic, the dative-marked phrase could no longer be expressed (for an exactly opposite direction of change in the Colombian Spanish of the Andes, i.e., the syntacticisation of an applicative construction originating as a face-preserving strategy in commands, see Ibáñez et al. this volume).

Thus, an originally prototypical sociative/benefactive applicative function is posited in this chapter as the basic function of this construction. Its secondary, more periperhal use in polite commands and complaints was accounted for by positing the "pragmaticisation" of the erstwhile Beneficiary semantic role of the applied phrase. However, synchronically, the original syntax-related function seems to be relatively rare in the Tibetic languages compared to the pragmatic use. This suggests that the function of introducing an Attitude Holder can no longer be considered peripheral. Although the V-<*rogs*> + LIGHTV construction is a morphosyntactically obligatory applicative, it is rarely mentioned in grammars and mainly appears in targeted elicited data. This might be due to a preference on the part of the speakers for expressing benefactive meaning through bi-clausal strategies, rather than through the applicative derivation. Moreover, the lack of substantial corpora and the fact that grammatical voices (with the exception of causatives) are rarely thoroughly treated in grammars of Tibetic languages could also explain this seeming scarcity of the SBA construction with its original sociative/benefactive argument-adding function. Whatever the case might be, such a pragmaticisation is ancient: already in Classical Tibetan, the Tibetan SBA construction appears to be more commonly used with a derived, pragmatic function than with its original semantic-syntactic function. For instance, in *The Life of Milarepa* (Ruspa'i Rgyancan, 1488, 117 folios), there are seven occurrences of the V-*rogs ~ grogs* + LIGHTV construction: six of these appear in polite requests, whereas only one introduces a Beneficiary applied phrase. A quantitative corpus study could shed new light on the frequency and distribution of the pragmatic and syntactic functions of the V-<*rogs*> + LIGHTV SBA construction in the Tibetic languages.

Abbreviations

1: first person; 2: second person; 3: third person; AG: Agent; APPL: applicative; COAG: co-Agent; COM: comitative; CONTR: controllable; CONV: converb; DAT: dative-directive; LOC: locative; DEM: demonstrative; DISC: discourse particle; EGO.CENTR: ego-centripetal; EPIST: epistemic; ERG: ergative; FACT: factual; HON: honorific; HES: hesitation; IMP: imperative; INDF: indefinite; INSTR: instrumental; IPFV: imperfective; LIGHTV: light verb; N: noun; NEG: negative; NMLZ: nominalizer; PFV: perfective; PHAT: phatic; PR: present; FUT: future; PST: past; REDUP: reduplication; SENS: sensory; SG: singular; GEN: genitive; UNCONTR: uncontrollable; V: verb

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Appendix

This appendix provides a non-exhaustive list of V-N or V-V nominal compounds + light verb constructions in different Tibetic language, in order to show that the morphological pattern of the applicative construction described in the chapter is a highly productive derivation pattern in this language family.

Table 3. Survey of the V-N / V-V compounds + Light Verb constructions in Tibetic languages

Dialect	**Compounding form (translitteration and etymological meaning)**	**Light Verb**	**Meaning**
Lhasa, Amdo:	V+ *grabs* གྲབས་ ('vicinity'?)	byed pa བྱེད་པ།	To be about + V, To almost V
Dhingri:	V+ *lakha* ལ་ཁ་ 'surface'	*byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	To be about + V
Amdo:	V+ *la zig* ལ་ཟིག 'surface'	*byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	To almost + V
Lhasa:	V+ *tsam* ཙམ་ ('a bit')	*byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	To V a bit, To V quickly
Lhasa:	V+ *tshul* ཚུལ་ ('manner') *khul* ཁུལ་ ('manner'?) *khag* ཁག་ ('section'?) *mdog* མདོག་ ('colour, appearance')	*byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	To pretend + V

Amdo, Dhingri:	V+	*kha* ཁ་ (‘face, surface’)	*byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	To pretend + V
Nangchen:	V+	*/ta/* (?)	*/wä/*	To do like + V
Lhasa:	V+	*res* རེས་ (‘turn’ or ‘each + ERG’)	*brgyab pa* བརྒྱབ་པ། *rtse ba* རྩེ་བ།	Reciprocal voice
Amdo:	V+	*res* རེས་ (‘turn’ or ‘each + ERG’)	*rgyag pa* རྒྱག་པ། *byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	Reciprocal voice
Drongpa past.:	V+	*skyor* སྐྱོར་ ‘to repeat’	*byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	To V again
Drongpa past.:	V+	*/ñe/* (?) or *re* རེ་ ‘hope’	*byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	To hope + V
Lhasa:	V+	*rtsis* རྩིས་ (‘to count’)	*byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	To intend + V
Drongpa past.:	V+	*/ʧ͡ʃ̄ü/* (?)	*byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	To intend + V
Drongpa past.:	V+	*‘dod* འདོད་ ‘to desire’	*byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	Want V
Nangchen:	V+	*/ʧ͡ʃi/* (?)	*/wä/*	Want V (immediately)
Drongpa past.:	V+	*/cāŋ/* (?)	*byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	To V immediately
Drongpa past.:	V+	*/rōk/* (?)	*byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	Can V
Drongpa past.:	V+	*/lāk/* (?)	*byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	To start + V
Lhasa:	V+	*yag* ཡག (NMLZ irrealis)	*byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	To decide + V
Amdo:	V+	*rgyu-bo* རྒྱུ་བོ་ (NMLZ irrealis-DF)	*byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	To decide + V
Lhasa:	V+	*par* པར་ (NMLZ realis + DAT)	*byed pa* བྱེད་པ།	To try + V

(Simon 2016: 545)