



# On the origin of the Lhasa Tibetan evidentials song and byung

Guillaume Oisel

## ► To cite this version:

Guillaume Oisel. On the origin of the Lhasa Tibetan evidentials song and byung. Lauren Gawne; Nathan W. Hill. Evidential Systems of Tibetan Languages, 302, De Gruyter, pp.161-184, 2017, Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs [TiLSM], 978-3-11-047374-2. 10.1515/9783110473742-006 . hal-03768779

**HAL Id: hal-03768779**

**<https://hal.science/hal-03768779>**

Submitted on 23 May 2023

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Guillaume Oisel

CNRS – LACITO

## 6 On the origin of the Lhasa Tibetan evidentials *song* and *byung*

***CORRECTED VERSION, 05.23.2023***

### 6.1 Introduction

This contribution presents the emergence of some Lhasa Tibetan evidentials from Middle Tibetan deictic motion verb and other. More specifically, it traces the origin of the ‘receptive egophoric’ and ‘sensorial’ past tense markers *byung* and *song* from the Middle Tibetan verbs *byung* ‘to come forth, to occur’ and *song* ‘to go’. Hongladarom (1995) also mentions the origin of these evidentials, but without providing philological details of ~~the~~ these verbs as they are used throughout Tibet’s literary history. I fill this gap by presenting three verbal systems that display discrete stages in this evolution: Middle Tibetan (a 15th century biography), Modern Literary Tibetan (2 genres, newspapers and tales), and Lhasa Tibetan. Although Modern Literary Tibetan is not diachronically intermediate between Middle Tibetan and Standard Colloquial Tibetan, its generic conservatism allows it to be used as such.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Since deictic verbs are an important element in the emergence of the evidential system in Middle Tibetan and the full establishment of evidentiality in Lhasa Tibetan, it is useful to define both motion verbs and evidentiality for the purpose of this study. There are at least two types of motion verbs in typological studies: verbs indicating motion toward a landmark ‘to come’ and verbs indicating motion away from a landmark ‘to go’ (Fillmore 1997: 77–102; Nakazawa 2007: 59–82). Evidentiality is defined as “the representation of source and access to information according to the speaker’s perspective and strategy” (Tournadre and LaPolla 2014: 240).

---

**Note:** This contribution derives from a few chapters from my PhD thesis (University of Paris 3, La Sorbonne–Nouvelle, 2013), but additionally includes data from another Modern Literary Tibetan corpus as well as data from Lhasa Tibetan. A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the 24th Meeting of Southeast Asian Linguistics Society (SEALS 24) at Yangon University in May 2014. I would like to thank Nathan W. Hill (SOAS), Lauren Gawne (SOAS) and the anonymous reviewers for their very useful comments. I also thank Ray Denning (my former colleague and friend from Xi’an Jiaotong University, China) for reviewing my English.

## 6.2 Middle Tibetan

In this section, using examples drawn from a 15th century biography of Milarepa (1052–1135), by Tsang Nyön Héruka, from Central Tibet’s Tsang region,<sup>2</sup> I present four Middle Tibetan<sup>3</sup> verbs, which occur both as lexical motion verbs and as auxiliary verbs. This corpus has two advantages. First, it is a well-known text, copied and printed in different editions on the Tibetan Plateau through the centuries and more recently translated into many languages.<sup>4</sup> Second, the narration of Milarepa’s life is lively and the context of events is clear. This contextual clarity allows us to easily interpret the meaning of grammatical forms, notably those which convey motion and evidentiality.

### 6.2.1 Deictic versus relative deictic lexical verbs

In general a Tibetan transitive and controllable verb has four stems, traditionally called ‘present’ (*lta da*), ‘past’ (*‘das-pa*), ‘future’ (*ma-‘ongs-pa*), and ‘imperative’ (*skul tshig*). Almost all verbs have only one form for each of these stems (e.g. ‘kill’ *gsod, bsad, gsad, sod*). However, the deictic verb ‘to go’ exhibits the peculiarity of distinguishing more forms in the past than in the present. This verb has one present stem *‘gro*, but both *phyin* and *song* as past stems. In contrast, the verb ‘come’ has one present *‘ong* (with *yong* as a variant spelling) and one past *‘ongs* (sometimes spelt *yongs*). Hereafter I avoid the traditional terminology ‘present’ and ‘past’ (Gyurmé 1994: 182–194), preferring the more accurate ‘imperfective’ and ‘perfective’ (Zeisler 2004: 315–468). Here I focus on the behavior of the perfective forms *phyin*, *song*, *‘ongs/yongs*, and *byung*, laying to one side the imperfective stems *‘gro* and *‘ong*.

A look at a few passages reveals that verbs *phyin* and *song* ‘to go’ correlate to some extent with the grammatical person of the subject. The verb *phyin* is generally used with the first person, as in examples (1) and (2). But, it may also be used with the third person, in particular when the speaker is not present, as in (3). As for *song*, it occurs only with the third person, as in (4).

- (1) *nga sngon.la phyin-pas thog.mar yum-dang mjal*  
I before to go(perf.)-co first wife-ASS meet(hon.)  
‘I went ahead and first met the lama’s wife.’  
(Mila 2.2) (Quintman 2010: 74)

<sup>2</sup> Quintman (2010), Larsson (2012).

<sup>3</sup> For the term ‘Middle Tibetan’ see Zeisler (2004: 216–222).

<sup>4</sup> I consult the version published in Dharamsala (Rus pa’i rgyan can 1994).

- (2) *phag.phyi-la nga-yang phyin*  
 servant-OBL I-THEM **go(perf.)**  
 ‘(One day) **I accompanied** my master (to the lower valley of Tsa where he was invited to preside over a great wedding feast).’  
 (Mila 1.3) (Quintman 2010: 27)
- (3) *pe.ta-s mthong-ste myur.du a.ma-’i sa-r phyin-nas*  
 Peta-ERG see-co rapidly mother-gEn place-OBL **go(perf.)-co**  
 ‘Seeing [the calamity that filled the area outside], **Peta rushed** to my mother ...’ [The speaker, Mila, was not present in the village when his sister Peta saw his spell of black magic.]  
 (Mila 1.3) (Quintman 2010: 34)
- (4) *de.nas Bha.ri.ma na.re tsha.bo rang ’dir re.zhig sdod-cig*  
 then Bharima quO nephew you here a moment stay(imp.)-IMP  
*nga-s sangs.rgyas-la gnang.ba zhus-’ong-gis zer*  
 I-ERG Buddha-OBL permission ask(perf.)-AUX-PRM say **song-**  
*ba.las gnang.ba thob-ste*  
**go(perf.)-co** permission obtain-co  
 ‘Then Bharima said, “Nephew, stay here a moment. I will ask for permission from the Buddha.” [Lit.: I promise I am going to ask] **She went** to make her request and was granted permission.’ [The speaker is Rechungpa seeing Bharima in his vision/dream.]  
 (Mila 1.1) (Quintman 2010: 12)

As for the verb *’ongs* ‘to come’, it is used with both the first person, as in example (5), and the second and third person, as in examples (6) and (7). Thus, the verb *’ongs* does not indicate any opposition based on person deixis. In contrast, the verb *byung* ‘to come forth, to occur’, only occurs with the third person, as in (8).

- (5) *bla.ma-’i rin.po.che da bdag-gis ’ongs-pa*  
 Lama-gEn precious now I-ERG **come(perf.)-nmlz**  
*dam.pa-’i chos-la ’ongs-nas*  
 pure-gEn teaching-OBL come(perf.)-co  
 ‘Precious Lama, I am here now [Lit: **I came** now], **(I) came** here for the genuine dharma, (but have done only evil deeds).’  
 (Mila 2.2, translation mine)
- (6) *khyod dang.po lan zhig yul-du ’ongs-pa-’i*  
 you first time aRT village-OBL **come(perf.)-nom-gEn**  
*gtam zhig byung-nas lo mang-du song*  
 story ART be(perf.)-co year several-OBL elapse(perf.)  
 ‘It was said that **you** once **returned** to the village, but that was many years ago.’  
 (Mila 2.7) (Quintman 2010: 139)

- (7) *khyed mi yin-nam 'dre yin zer*  
 you(hon.) man be-Q demon be say  
*nga mi.la thos.pa.dga' yin byas-pas*  
 I Mila Thöpaga be say(perf.)-co  
*skad ngo.shes-te nang-du 'ongs nga-la 'jus-nas*  
 voice recognize-co inside-OBL **come(perf.)** I-OBL embrace(perf.)-co  
 ‘Are you a man or a ghost?’ she asked. “I am Mila Töpaga,” I replied.  
 Recognizing my voice, **she came** in and embraced me...’  
 (Mila 2.7) (Quintman 2010: 142)
- (8) *nga-la sngar slob.ma ji.snyed.cig byung-ste*  
 I-OBL before disciple so many **come(perf.)-co**  
 ‘So **many disciples came to me** in the past (or I had so many disciples).’  
 (Mila 1.3, translation mine)

The following table summarizes the foregoing analysis according to person and subject. Where there is no x the verb does not occur in the corpus.

Tab. 1: Motion verbs in Middle Tibetan according to person and subject in declaratives.

Subject (Agent)	<i>song</i> ‘to go away from’	<i>byung</i> ‘to come toward’	<i>phyin</i> ‘to go away from’	‘ongs ‘to come toward’
1 <sup>st</sup> person			x	x
2 <sup>nd</sup> / 3 <sup>rd</sup> person	x	X	x	x

Despite the correlation of these verbs with grammatical person, their distribution should not be confused with agreement. Instead, we see a contrast between verbs that can take the speaker as subject (agent), i.e. *phyin* and ‘ongs, and those that cannot, i.e. *song* and *byung*.<sup>5</sup> The reason that *song* and *byung* are incompatible with a first person agent is that these two verbs already indicate other relationships

<sup>5</sup> In order to avoid the mismatch of the tripartite terminology of person with the bipartite distinction that Tibetan draws, it is tempting to instead refer to Speech Act Participant (SAP) and Non-Speech Act Participant (non-SAP) (see Kuno and Kaburaki 1977[1975]: 652 and 660; Ebert 1987; Agha 1993: 93). However, since the question of whether the hearer is a speech act participant is not relevant to the discussion at hand, I find it more convenient to simply refer to the ‘speaker’ and ‘non-speaker’. Potential confusion with J. L. Austin’s speech act theory is another reason to avoid the SAP terminology. Note that the speaker as the observer of the speech situation must be distinguished from the speaker as a participant of the sentence (SAP). This distinction, unknown in the literature on SAP, is similar to the distinction between *locuteur* and *énonciateur* in Ducrot (1980), or *énonciateur* and *locuteur* in Desclés and Guentchéva (2000).

between the speaker and the verbal action, namely *song* indicates movement away from the speaker while *byung* indicates movement toward the speaker.<sup>6</sup>

Motion always occurs in reference to locations. In the case of the verbs *song* and *byung* the speaker herself serves as the location of reference. I refer to these two verbs as ‘personal deictic’ verbs. In contrast, the verbs *phyin* and ‘*ongs*’ make reference to some imagined location that is only contextually specified, like the English verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’. I refer to these verbs as ‘relative deictic’ verbs.

To return to the textual examples discussed above, for the verb *phyin* ‘to go (relative deictic)’ in (1), (2) and (3), the motion is away from a non-specific location, whereas, in (4) with the verb *song* ‘to go (personal deictic)’, the motion is away from the speaker’s oneiric vision. As for the verb ‘*ongs*’ ‘to come (relative deictic)’, the motion is toward the lama’s residence in (5), the village in (6) and the cave in (7). In contrast, for the verb *byung* ‘to come forth (personal deictic)’ in (8), the motion is toward the speaker. The speaker is in the semantic role of the beneficiary.

One should ward against too tight a conceptualization of personal deixis. The deixis may be real or fictive. Real deixis occurs if the speaker (the observer) is present, where ‘real’ is understood as relative to the discourse in question and not some external *ontos*. Fictive deixis refers to a “deictic projection” which implies a “fictive observer” (Diessel 2012; Lyons 1977: 579; Jakobson 1957; Fillmore 1997). One may further subcategorize fictive deixis into ‘oneiric’, ‘hypothetical’, and ‘fake’. For oneiric deixis the speaker is conscious in a dream or vision (cf. (4)). For hypothetical deixis the speaker imagines her presence in a situation (cf. (9)). For fake deixis the speaker dissembles in order to induce a reader or listener to imagine a specific scenario (cf. (10)).

- (9) *nan.tar ma-song-na khang.ba yang nged dbang-bas*  
 really NEG-leave(perf.)-CO house also ours sovereignty-co  
*ma.smad-tsho phyi-r songs*  
 mother and children-PL outside-PL go(imp.)  
 ‘If (I see) all of you **haven’t** really **left** the house, the house will be ours.  
 You, mother and your children, get out!’  
 (my translation)

<sup>6</sup> These verbs are also used as essential and existential aspectual copulas in Milarepa’s biography. The verb *byung* and *song* indicate the past perfective. They imply the following features: identification, categorization or characterization (Oisel 2013: 88–90). The verb ‘*ong* (or *yong*)’ indicates the imperfective or the future. It also indicates the following features: identification, categorization or characterization. It also occurs in a complex copula construction *yin*. ‘*ong* (or *yin.yong*)’ to indicate an epistemic meaning/strong probability ‘must be’ (Mila 1.3, 2.2) which became the copula *yong* (strong probability) versus *yin*. ‘*gro*’ (weak probability) in Lhasa Tibetan.

- (10) *mi.la shes.rab rgyal.mtshan lho rdzas mang.po khyer-te*  
Mila Sherab Gyaltzen south merchandise a lot bring-co  
*byang stag.rtse-'i phyogs-su tshong-la song-nas*  
north Taktse-gEn surrounding-OBL sell(pres.)-co **leave(perf.)-co**  
‘Mila Sherab Gyaltzen having brought numerous goods from the South, **set out** to sell them in the vicinity of Taktse in the North.’ [Mila the narrator who is not born yet did not see the scene of his father leaving hence the notion of fictive/fake deixis.]  
(Mila 1.1) (Quintman 2010:18)

In brief, the verbs *phyin* ‘to go’ and ‘*ongs*’ ‘to come’ do not depend on a fixed deictic landmark, but a relative deictic one. The latter explains why *phyin* may occur with both speaker and non-speaker. In contrast, the speaker does not appear with the verb *song* because one cannot in principle move away from oneself, i.e. *nga phyin* ‘I left’ occurs but \**nga song* does not. For the same reasons there are many examples of the speaker used with the verb ‘*ongs*, but not with the verb *byung*, i.e. *nga ‘ongs* ‘I came’ occurs but \**nga byung* does not.

It would be convenient to have a label for each of the verbs *byung*, *song*, ‘*ongs*, and *phyin*. I propose to respectively call *byung* and *song* cislocative (toward me, the speaker) and translocative (away from me), i.e. when there is a personal deictic landmark. I call ‘*ongs* and *phyin* respectively ventive (toward this person or place) and andative (away from this person or place), i.e. when there is a relative deictic landmark. This proposed terminology combines the terminology of the “cislocative” versus “translocative” used in Amerindian languages (e.g. Lounsbury 1953; Adelaar 2006; Montgomery-Anderson 2008) and the equivalent opposition of “venitive/ventive” versus “andative/itive” used by Africanists (e.g. Jungraithmayr and Mohlig 1983).<sup>7</sup> The following table exhibits the proposed analysis.

**Tab. 2:** Motion verbs in Middle Tibetan according to type of motion and deixis.

Motion	translocative	cislocative	andative	ventive
landmark	personal deixis		relative deixis	
lexical verb	<i>song</i>	<i>byung</i>	<i>phyin</i>	‘ <i>ongs</i>
	‘to go way from’	‘to come toward’	‘to go way from’	‘to come toward’

<sup>7</sup> See also more recently Hooper (2002) and O’Connor (2004) for Polynesian and Amerindian languages, respectively.

### 6.2.2 Personal deictic and relative deictic secondary verbs

(11) <i>gtad</i>	<i>'ongs</i>	<i>pa.lags</i>
lexical verb	<b>secondary verb</b>	auxiliary verb construction
'to direct toward'	<b>VENITIVE PERFECTIVE</b>	HUMILIFIC PERFECTIVE
'[...] I came to (the Lama to receive dharma) [lit.: I came toward].'		
(Mila 2.1) (Quintman 2010: 51)		

These motion secondary verbs are in general combined with other motion lexical verbs or metaphorical motion verbs. The table below shows the secondary verb constructions which mark motion and the perfective. Imperfective forms are quite rare in the corpus and lie outside the scope of this study.

8 At least in Tibetan one must distinguish between secondary verbs and auxiliary verbs (Gyurmé 1994: 205; Vokurková 2008: 295–321). Secondary verbs primarily function to further specify the meaning of the lexical verb whereas auxiliary verbs mark tense, aspect, and mood. Secondary verbs precede auxiliary verbs (Oisel 2013: 155–156, 226–227). On the distinction between serial verb constructions and auxiliary verb constructions see DeLancey (1991) and Anderson (2006: 11–15). For a typological census of serial verb constructions see Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006) and its critique in Paillard (2013).



Tab. 3: Motion Secondary Verb Constructions in Middle Tibetan.

Motion	translocative	cislocative	andative	ventive
landmark	personal deixis		relative deixis	
secondary	*V. - <i>te+song</i>	V. - <i>pa+byung</i>	V. - <i>nas+phyin</i>	V. - <i>nas+‘ongs</i>
verb	V. - <i>song</i>	V. - <i>byung</i>	V. - <i>phyin</i>	V. - <i>‘ongs</i>
constructions				

\*Only in Old Tibetan

By analogy with their respective lexical motion verbs, I label the secondary verbs *song* and *byung* translocative (cf. (13)) and cislocative (cf. (14)) respectively. I name the secondary verb *phyin* and *‘ongs* andative (cf. (15)) and ventive (cf. (16)). In addition, there is a subtle difference between the example (15) and (16) related to speaker volition.

- (13) *kho.rang yang dgod-cing thon-song-ngo*  
 he also laugh-CO go out-TRAN.PERF-CP  
 ‘laughed too and then **went away**.’ [The robber walked away from Mila, the speaker, who is meditating inside the cave.]  
 (Mila 2.7) (Quintman 2010:139)

- (14) *sring.mo-yang thon-byung-ste*  
 sister-THEM go out-cis.PERF-CO  
 ‘[...] my sister **came over** and [...].’ [She came toward the speaker.]  
 (Mila 1.3) (Quintman 2010: 29)

- (15) *phyir thon-phyin-te*  
 outside go out-and.PERF-CO  
 ‘**Stepping out** [...] (I thought ...).’ [Against his will, the speaker walked away from the Lama who told him to get out.]  
 (Mila 2.2) (Quintman 2010)

- (16) *phyir thon-‘ongs-te*  
 outside go out-ven.PERF-CO  
 ‘(Unable to respond) I **went outside**.’ [The speaker was eager to get leave before the Lama allowed him to. The speaker heads off to his next destination: the house of another master.]  
 (Mila 2.2) (Quintman 2010:68)

In examples (13–16), the secondary verbs combine with the verb *thon* ‘to go out’. Translocative and cislocative secondary verbs can also occur in combination with the lexical verbs listed in Tab. 6. It is convenient to group these verbs semantically under the rubrics ‘motion’, ‘motion up’ and ‘metaphorical motion’.

Tab. 4: List of verbs which can be combined with the cislocative and translocative.

	secondary verb	
	cislocative	translocative
	chapter, number of occurrences	chapter, number of occurrences
<b>lexical verb</b>		
<b><i>motion</i></b>		
<i>sleb(s)</i> 'to arrive'	1. 1 (1), 1. 3 (1), 2. 7 (3)	
<i>byon</i> 'to arrive; to go, to set out'	2. 1 (1), 2. 2 (2)	2. 9 (1)
<i>log</i> 'to return'	1. 3 (1), 2. 2 (1)	1. 3 (3), 2. 1 (1), 2. 7 (1)
<i>gtad</i> 'to direct toward'	2. 3 (1)	
<i>bro</i> s 'to run away'		2. 7 (2)
<i>bsnams</i> 'to take away'		2. 2 (1)
<i>phur</i> 'to fly'	2. 7 (1)	
<b><i>motion up</i></b>		
<i>langs</i> 'to get up'	1. 3 (1)	
<i>shar</i> 'to raise'	2. 5 (1)	
<i>'dzegs</i> 'to climb'		1. 3 (1)
<i>spungs</i> 'to pile up'		1. 3 (1)
<b><i>metaphorical motion</i></b>		
<i>zer</i> 'to say'	2. 4 (1), 2. 7 (2), 2. 9 (1)	
<i>gnang</i> 'to give'	1. 3 (1), 2. 1 (1), 2. 2 (1), 2. 3 (1)	
<i>gzigs</i> 'to look'		2. 2 (2)

Example (17) with the verb *gzigs* 'to look' is quite instructive regarding the functioning of the translocative secondary verb *song*. The eyes of the lama look away from the speaker, so the translocative *song* rather than cislocative *byung* is used.

- (17) *bla.ma gzims.khang-gi yang.thog-na zhal shar-la gzigs-nas*  
lama room-gEn terrace-OBL face east-OBL look(hon.)-CO  
*thugs.dam-la.bzhugs-'dug-pas phyag-dang dar.yug*  
sit in meditation practice(hon.)-AUX.COM salutation-ASS bolt silk  
*phul-bas zhal nub-tu gzigs-song*  
of offer(hon.past)-CO face west-OBL look(hon.)-TRAN.PERF  
*nub-nas phul-bas lho-r gzigs-song-ba.la*  
west-ABL offer(hum.past)-CO south-OBL look(hon.)-TRAN.PERF-CO  
'The lama was on the upper terrace of his residence, **looking to** the east, and seated in meditation practice. I offered prostrations and the bolt of silk, but **he turned to look toward** the west. I prostrated from the west, but **he turned to look toward** the south.'  
(Mila 2.2) (Quintman 2010: 74/75)

The distribution of the andative and ventive secondary verbs ( *phyin* versus *'ongs*) is more restricted. They occur with motion verbs but not the motion up or metaphorical motion verbs.

**Tab. 5:** List of verbs that can be combined with the ventive and andative.

	secondary verb	
	<i>ventive</i>	<i>andative</i>
	chapter, occurrence	chapter, occurrence
<b>lexical verb</b>		
<b><i>motion</i></b>		
<i>sleb(s)</i> 'to arrive'	1.3 (1), 2.1 (2)	
<i>bros</i> 'to run away'		2.7 (1)
<i>log</i> 'to return'	1.3 (2), 2.2 (1)	1.3 (1), 2.9 (1)
<i>lam.du zhugs</i> 'to go on the way'		1.3 (1)
<i>gtad</i> 'to direct toward/away'	2.1 (1), 2.2 (1)	1.3 (2), 2.2 (1)
<i>khyer</i> 'to bring'	2.2 (1), 2.5 (1), 2.7 (2)	
<i>'phur</i> 'to fly'	2.7 (1)	

Having presented the lexical and secondary uses of motion verbs in Middle Tibetan and shown that they exhibit a double system of orientation based on personal and relative deixis, I now examine how this system developed in two varieties of Modern Literary Tibetan.

### 6.3 Modern Literary Tibetan

For this section, two different corpora have been used. The first one is *The Facetious Tales of the Corpse* (hereafter '*Tales*'), translated from Tibetan to French by Françoise Robin (2005) and published under the French title *Les contes facétieux du cadavre*. The Modern Literary Tibetan version used by Robin is based on a Chinese version, itself based on an earlier Tibetan version (Robin 2005). The *Tales* reflect a literary style specific to the Amdo region. Like the biography of Milarepa for Middle Tibetan, *Tales* tells lively stories, with many motion verbs and evidentials. Unlike the first person narration of Milarepa's biography the *Tales* has an omniscient third person narrator, as a consequence it makes

extensive use of fictive deixis with the motion verbs and ‘indirect’ sensorial *song* (on which see below).

The second corpus is collected from newspapers and social media written in India and the US (Radio Free Asia, Tibet Information Network, Tibet Times, etc.) (for details see Oisel 2013: 59/60). The main reason for referring to this kind of corpus is the use of evidentials as well as motion verbs therein. In these texts, the speaker is the reporter or interviewer (i.e. a real deixis).

### 6.3.1 Relative deictic and sensorial

In *Tales*, the Middle Tibetan deictic opposition with the perfective is no longer relevant. The language of *Tales* does not use *phyin*, so there is no contrast between *song* and *phyin*; we may thus drop the terminology of andative and ventive. As a lexical verb *song* has a translocative meaning relying on relative deixis, as in (18) and (19). It is also used as a secondary verb for marking a translocative motion based on relative deixis, as in the example (20). Contrary to Middle Tibetan, it is also used as a sensorial auxiliary verb when it is combined with non-motion lexical verbs, as in (22). Consequently, the verb *byung* indicates a cislocative motion based on a relative deixis, and not on a personal deixis, as in example (20). It is thus used in a way similar to the Middle Tibetan ventive, ‘ongs, which is still used in this variety of Literary Tibetan, as in example (21).

— Lexical Verb *song* (relative deixis, translocative)

- (18) *nyin gcig nu.bo don.grub-kyis rgyags.bro bskyal-nas*  
 day one younger brother **Thöndrup-erg** supply carry-CO  
*der song-ste/ phu.bo-dang mnyam.du bsdad/*  
 there **go(perf.)**-CO elder brother-ASS with stay  
 ‘One day his younger brother **Thöndrup went** there carrying some supplies and stayed with him.’ [landmark: the narrator]  
 (Robin 2005: 27)

- (19) *gros.byed-rgyu-r da.bar.du nga-tsho lhan.cig song-nas*  
 discuss(pres.)-nmLz.-OBL till now I-PL together **go(perf.)**-CO  
*ltad.mo mang.po mthong/*  
 spectacle a lot see  
 ‘They said: “Till now **we have walked along** together (lit.: **went** together) and have seen a lot of scenery.”’ [landmark: the seven brothers]  
 (Robin 2005: 44)

— Secondary Verbs *song* versus *byung* (translocative versus cislocative)

(20) *de.ma.thag gser nya gcig-tu sprul-nas*  
 immediately golden fish  
 one-OBL turn into-COchu'i *gzhung-la*

***bros-song/***

water-gEn inside-OBL **flee(perf.)-TRAN.PERF**

*de.nas sgyu.ma.mkhan spun bdun.po yang*  
 then magician brother the seven also

*sram bdun-la sprul-nas ded-byung /*

otter seven-OBL turn into-CO **pursue-cis.PERF**

‘As soon as he turned into a golden fish, he **fled away** into the water. The seven magician brothers also turned into seven otters and **pursued him.**’

[landmark with *song*: the narrator; landmark with *byung*: the fish]

(Robin 2005: 33)

— Secondary Verb ‘*ongs* (cislocative)

(21) *de'i sngon-la phug.ron dkar-po zhig brag khung*  
 this-gEn before pigeon white ART cave hole  
 ‘di nang la ‘**phur-‘ongs-pa gang.na yod/**  
 this inside-OBL **fly-cis.PERF.nmLz** where be located

‘Where is the white pigeon who **flew to** this cave earlier (i.e. it flew to you)?’ [the seven brothers asking Nagarjuna -landmark- in the cave]

(Robin 2005: 35)

— Auxiliary verb *song* (sensorial)

(22) *sgyu.ma sprul.sgyur-gyi man.ngag lhag.chad*  
 magic emanation-gEn instruction entirely  
*nor.gsum med-par shes-song*

this inside-OBL **know-sen.PERF**

‘He thus **knew** the instructions for the magic in their entirety and without error.’ (Narrator speaking)

(Robin 2005: 29)

The following table summarizes the use of the lexical and secondary motion verbs based on relative deixis in *Tales*, as presented in the examples above (cf. (18–21)). This table can be compared with the Tab. 3 in order to see the diachronic differences.

Tab. 6: *Lexical and secondary motion verbs in Tales.*

	translocative	cislocative	
	<b><i>song</i></b>	<b><i>byung</i></b>	<b><i>‘ongs</i></b>
Agent		relative deixis	
speaker	(19)		
non-speaker	speaker ‘fictive deixis’ (18, 20)	(20)	(21)

In newspapers, the relative deictic system also combines with an evidential system (Oisel 2013: 201–249). The auxiliary verb *song* indicates a sensorial evidential with verbs of saying (cf. (23)). In Middle Tibetan, this type of metaphorical motion verb was used with the cislocative *byung* (Oisel 2013: 94). This contrast further illustrates that the auxiliary verb *song* no longer indicates a translocative meaning (away from me), but rather a sensory value. In newspapers, *song* occurs neither as a lexical verb nor as a secondary verb indicating motion, perhaps because the Middle Tibetan verb *song* has been replaced in these functions by *phyin*, as in Lhasa Tibetan.

The verb *byung* is also used as a secondary verb, but it indicates a cislocative motion based on a relative deixis with (metaphorical) motion verbs, as in (24). It may also indicate the inchoative aspect (appearance of something) with specific verbs implying a state, as in (25). In this case only, *byung* may be combined with evidential final auxiliaries.

The verb *'ongs* does not occur in Newspaper, in contrast to the *Tales*.

— Auxiliary Verb *song* (Sensorial)

- (23) *ngo.rgol.byed*                      *dgos-pa-'i [...]*      *rgyu.mtshan*  
demonstrate(imperf.)   must-nmLz-gEn   reasons  
*'grel.brjod.gnang-song*  
explain(hon)-**sen.PERF**  
‘[In addition, a Tibetan named Dorje] **explained** [...] why they should demonstrate.’

— Secondary Verb *byung* (Relative Deixis, Cislocative)

- (24) *nye.char*   *phyi.zla 6-pa'i*                      *nang*   *bal.yul-gyi*   *dmag.dpon*  
recently   month 6-nmLz-gEn   in   Nepal-gEn   the general  
*pi.yar jang thwa.pa-dang*   *rgya.nag [ ] -gi*   *dmag.dpon*  
Piyar Jung Thapa-ASS.   China-gEn   the General  
*ka'o gang chung*   *gnyis*   *mjal.'phrad-byung-skabs*   *rgya.nag-gis*  
Cao Gang Chuan   two   meet(hon.)-**cis.PERF.CO**   China-ERG  
*bal.yul-la*   *dmag.rogs*   *bya-rgyu-'i*                      *khas.len.byas-yod.pa.red*  
Nepal-OBL   military aid   do(fut.)-nom-gEn   accept(perf.)-FAC.PT  
‘Recently in June 2004, when the Nepalese General Piyar Jung Thapa and Chinese General Cao Gang Chuan **met each other**, the Chinese government agreed to provide military aid to Nepal.’ [landmark: the two generals]

— Secondary Verb *byung* + Auxiliary Verb (Inchoative + Evidential)

- (25) *rtse.gras-ru*   *khag*   *bzhi*   *bdams.thon-byung-'dug*  
best-OBL   team   four   be selected-**inc-SEN.PT**  
‘Four teams **have been selected** as the best (ones).’ [inchoative + sensorial perfect]

The data presented in this section show that the motion system in Modern Literary Tibetan is now based on relative deixis. The system of Middle Tibetan based on the distinction between personal deixis and relative deixis is defunct. Some of the

Middle Tibetan motion verbs have acquired new functions, notably for marking evidentiality (*song*), and other Middle Tibetan motion verbs have become obsolete (*phyin* in *Tales*, *'ongs* in newspapers): these developments are partly due to the influence of Amdo and Lhasa Tibetan, accordingly. Having said so, let us see how the system appears in Colloquial Lhasa Tibetan.

## 6.4 Colloquial Lhasa Tibetan

The corpus used in the last section is extracted from the *Manual of Standard Tibetan* (Tournadre and Dorje 2003) as well as from Denwood (1999). The specificity of the system of Lhasa Tibetan consists of the grammaticalization of the egophoric (versus the sensorial). The egophoric is an evidential category marking several functions: self-awareness, intentionality, empathy, personal knowledge and personal involvement (Tournadre and Dorje 2003; Tournadre and LaPolla 2014; Gawne, this volume). These functions essentially depend on the tense-aspect of the predicate, the controllability of the lexical verb, and the semantic role of the speaker.

### 6.4.1 Sensorial versus egophoric

In colloquial Lhasa Tibetan, the Middle Tibetan translocative *song* became a sensorial. Tournadre calls it a *testimonial* (Tournadre and Dorje 2003). A sensorial “specifies that the speaker was himself witness to what he is stating. The testimony is usually visual, but also based on hearing or any of the other senses (touch, smell or taste)” (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 558). Contrary to Middle Tibetan, *song* in Lhasa Tibetan is used with many verbs, not only motion verbs. When used with verbs of motion, the translocative meaning is still apparent, as in (26).

- (26) *rta*      *zhon-nas*    *phyin-song*  
       horse    team-CO    go(perf.)-**sen-Perf**  
       ‘He went by horse (went riding a horse).’  
       (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 351)

With verbs of action (cf. (27+28)) and state (cf. (29)), *song* indicates that the speaker states she saw the whole process or some point of it, i.e. it marks sensory access.

- (27) *char.pa*      *babs-song*  
       rain            come down(perf.)-**sen-Perf**  
       ‘It rained’ [I saw the rain falling at some point between when it started raining and when the rain stopped.]’  
       (Tournadre and Jiatso 2001: 72)

- (28) *sa.yom brgyabs-song*  
 earthquake vbR(perf.)-**sen-Perf**  
 ‘There was an earthquake.’ [I was there and felt it, i.e. the whole event.]  
 (Tournadre and Jiatso 2001: 72)
- (29) *nyi.ma nang-la bsdad-song*  
 Nyima home-OBL stay(perf.)-**sen-Perf**  
 ‘Nyima stayed at home.’ [I saw s/he staying at some point of it during the relevant interval.]  
 (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 152)

In contrast, with change of state verbs (cf. (30–32)), the sensorial indicates cessative aspect (disappearance of something); the sensory value is neutralized. Example (30), marked with *song* and expressing cessative aspect is the opposite of example (36), marked with *byung* and expressing inchoative aspect (appearance of something). In the same way, example (31), with *song*, is aspectually opposite to example (37), with *byung*. One can still see here a correlation between a motion away from the speaker (translocative) and the cessative aspect and between a motion toward the speaker (cislocative) and the inchoative aspect.

- (30) *nga-s brlags-song*  
 I-ERG lose-**sen-Perf**  
 ‘I’ve lost it.’  
 (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 200)
- (31) *nga-s brjed-song*  
 I-ERG forget-**sen-Perf**  
 ‘I forgot.’  
 (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 200)
- (32) *shing.tog nyo-shul.ring.kar tang.ga.ril rku.ma.la.shor-song*  
 fruit buy(pres.)-CO bicycle be stolen-**sen-Perf**  
 ‘Our bicycle **was stolen** while we were buying fruits.’  
 (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 315)

As for the Middle Tibetan cislocative *byung*, in Lhasa Tibetan it becomes a *receptive egophoric* evidential auxiliary “which is used only in the past, implies that the subject-speaker of a sentence has undergone the action [or the state], has perceived it (involuntarily) or has been its goal/the recipient of it” (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 557, 199; square brackets are mine). Contrary to Middle Tibetan, in Lhasa Tibetan *byung* is used with various verbs, not only motion verbs.



One can still see the deictic cislocative motion (toward the speaker) in the receptive egophoric use, as in the example (33) and (34), even if that directionality is also incorporated into the semantics of the main verbs.

In the first example, the motion is metaphorical. Tournadre defines these examples as “the speaker has been the recipient of it” (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 169).

- (33) *kho-s nga-la kha.par+btang-byung*  
 he-ERG me-OBL phone+VBR-**Rec.ego.PERF**  
 ‘He phoned **me**.’  
 (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 172, 200)

- (34) *khong nga-i rtsa-la phebs-byung*  
 he(hon.) me-gEn place-OBL come(hon.)-**Rec.ego.PERF**  
 ‘He came **to my** place.’  
 (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 173)

However, *byung* is not a cislocative based on deixis as in Middle Tibetan. In example (35), the motion is toward the hospital and not toward the speaker, but, the speaker is still implicated. In other words, *byung* works like the Middle Tibetan ventive (*ongs*) which implies a relative deixis. Tournadre defines it as “the subject-speaker has undergone the action” (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 169).

- (35) *khong-gis nga sman-khang-la khrid-byung*  
 he(hon.)-ERG me hospital-OBL take someone(perf.)-**Rec.ego.PERF**  
 ‘He took **me** to the hospital.’  
 (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 200)

In examples (36) and (37) *byung* expresses an inchoative aspect. In (36) the speaker perceived the object in question (sensorial). In (37) the speaker has undergone a state (endopathic). Contrast the following two examples with (30) and (31).

~~36 khong-gis nga sman-khang-la khrid-byung~~  
~~he(hon.)-ERG me hospital-OBL take someone(perf.)-Rec.ego.PERF~~  
~~‘He took **me** to the hospital.’~~  
~~(Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 200)~~

- (36) *lam.khag-nas brnyed-byung*  
 road-ABL find-**Rec.ego.PERF**  
 ‘I found it on the road.’  
 (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 180)

- (37) *nga-s dran-byung*  
 I-~~ERG~~ remember-Rec.ego.PERF  
 ‘I remembered.’  
 (my fieldwok)

Denwood (1999: 145) noticed that, with the perfective negation *ma-*, the auxiliary verb *-byung* may imply that the speaker unsuccessfully tried to do something, as in (38). This example can be compared with example (39) in which the sensorial *-song* is used with the same negation.

- (38) *nga dran-ma-byung*  
 I remember-Neg-Rec.ego.PERF  
 ‘I didn’t remember (though I tried).’  
 (my fieldwok)

- (39) *nga dran-ma-song*  
 I remember-Neg-seN.PERF  
 ‘It didn’t occur to me.’  
 (my fieldwok)

With the foregoing examples of *byung* in mind, the reader may question the appropriateness of referring to this auxiliary as egophoric when it has clear cislocative and inchoative meanings. The reason for this choice of terminology is that the main access to information for sentences in which *byung* occurs, as for the egophoric in general is *self-awareness*. The speaker is necessarily involved even if the first person pronoun *nga* ‘I’ is omitted, as in (40).

- (40) *kho-tsho-s nyan-ma-byung*  
 he-PL-ERG listen-Neg-Rec.ego.PERF  
 ‘They didn’t listen to me.’  
 (Denwood 1999: 143)

The receptive egophoric is less grammaticalized than the sensorial, i.e. the distinction between the receptive egophoric and cislocative is not as easy to draw as that between the sensorial and the translocative. Additional evidence that *byung* is less grammaticalized than *song* is that the egophoric value of *byung* can be ‘neutralized’ when it is combined with the sensorial, witness the following set of constructions with *-byung* versus *-byung+song*. In (41) *byung* is an egophoric used as a final auxiliary verb. The egophoric indicates here a self-awareness access as well as a cislocative motion based on deixis. In contrast, in (42) *byung* is a cislocative based on relative deixis *used* as a secondary verb with the final auxiliary verb

*song* (sensorial). In both (41) and (42), the motion that *byung* suggests is metaphorical. In (41) the metaphorical motion is toward the speaker, whereas in (42) it is toward the non-speaker; the speaker is explicitly not involved.

(41) [receptive egophoric]

V + *dgos-byung* ‘I had to’ (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 256–258)

V + ‘*dod-byung*’ ‘I wanted to’ (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 330)

V + *long-byung* ‘I got time to’ (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 370)

V + *rgyu-byung*, V + *yag-byung* ‘I have been able to’ (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 336/337)

(42) [receptive/cislocative + sensorial]

V + *dgos-byung-song* ‘he had to’ (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 256–258)

V + ‘*dod-byung-song*’ ‘he wanted to’ (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 330)

V + *long-byung-song* ‘he got time to’ (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 370)

V + *rgyu-byung-song*, V + *yag-byung-song* ‘he has been able to’ (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 336/337)

In (42), the first two complex verb constructions show the possibility of combining at least two secondary verbs with an auxiliary verb. The secondary verb *dgos* ‘to need/must’ and ‘*dod*’ ‘to desire’ are followed by the secondary verb *byung* ‘to come forth, to occur’ and the auxiliary verb *song* ‘to go’. Such combinations of multiple secondary verbs should thus be taken into consideration in future research on Tibetan secondary verb constructions (see also the examples (11) and (12)). Another point meriting additional attention is the inchoative aspect conveyed either by a secondary verb (42) or by a final auxiliary verb (cf. (36+37)). Contrary to evidentiality which is only marked on the final auxiliary verb, aspect may be marked on any verbs: lexical, secondary or auxiliary.

A final mysterious use of *song* and *byung* merits presentation here. In conjunction with a very limited number of lexical verbs, in particular *ha go* ‘understand’, *song* indicates a proximal past (43) and the *byung* a distal past (44)<sup>9</sup> (Tournadre and Dorje 2003: 200; Tournadre and Jiatso 2001: 73).<sup>10</sup> One would probably expect the translocative (away from) *song* to imply a distal past and the cislocative (towards) *byung* a proximal past, but that is not the case. I do not have an explanation for these usages.

<sup>9</sup> See also Denwood (1999: 144) for the same examples with the ergative.

<sup>10</sup> Bourdin (2002: 187) shows that in Ben (dialect of Togo), the translocative *daa* is used as a distal past and in French, the cislocative *venir de* as a proximal past (*passé récent*).

(43) *(da) nga(s) ha.go-song*  
 (he) I-(ERG) understand-**seN.PERF**  
 ‘I have understood (right now)/Now I understand.’  
 (my fieldwok)

(44) *nga(s) ha.go-byung*  
 I-(ERG) understand-**Rec.ego.PERF**  
 ‘I understood (before).’  
 (my fieldwok)

I have shown in this section the use of the sensory *song* and the receptive (cislocative) egophoric *byung*. The next section considers the use of the other two motion verbs *phyin* ‘to go’ and *yong* ‘to come’, the latter originating from ‘*ongs/yongs*’.

#### 6.4.2 Motion and evidentiality

The Middle Tibetan andative *phyin* and ventive *yong* continue in use in Lhasa Tibetan as lexical motion verbs. In contrast to in Middle Tibetan, in Lhasa they are obligatorily followed by evidential auxiliary verbs. The motion suggested by these two verbs is no longer based on relative deixis, as in Middle Tibetan, but rather personal deixis, because the evidentials in question (sensorial *song* and egophoric *byung*) indicate the speaker as deictic landmark. In example (45), the bird moved away from the speaker, whereas, in (46), the bird moved toward the speaker.

(45) *bya phur-phyin-song*  
 bird fly(perf.)-**TRAN-SEN.PERF**  
 ‘The bird flew **away from me**.’  
 (Tournadre and Jiatso 2001: 91)

(46) *bya phur-yong(s)-byung*  
 bird fly(perf.)-**cis-REC.EGO.PERF**  
 ‘The bird flew **away toward me**.’  
 (Tournadre and Jiatso 2001: 91)

The perfective stems *phyin* and *yong* are not available as secondary verbs. Thus, the sentences, ?*ngas brjed phyin song* ‘I forgot’ and ?*ngas dran yong byung* ‘I remembered’, do not seem to be possible. However, Tournadre and Jiatso (2001: 92) show that the imperfective equivalents of these sentences are attested, viz. *nga brjed ‘gro gis* ‘I forget’ (cessative + sensorial) and *nga dran yong gis* ‘I remember’ (inchoative + sensorial). Nonetheless, this construction is not available

for all verbs. In particular, *brlags* ‘gro’ ‘I am losing’ (cessative) is possible, but not *\*brnyed yong* ‘I am finding’ (inchoative) (Tournadre and Jiatso 2001: 92).<sup>11</sup> This restriction seems to be due to the aspectual configuration: the progressive does not fit with *brnyed* ‘to find’.

## 6.5. Typological context

Evidentials that come from spatial-motion morphemes are attested in other languages, for example in Euchee, an isolate language of North America:

The auditory evidential marker -ke in Euchee is cognate with the locative suffix ke meaning ‘yonder’, ‘way over there’ (Linn 2000: 318). According to Linn, the semantic connection between the two is to do with distance: ‘the action is so far away that it can only be heard and not seen.’ (Aikhenvald 2004: 275)

In Meithei, the inferential *-lam* (Chelliah 1997:224) comes from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *\*lam* ‘path, road’ (Matisoff 1991: 389/390), according to Aikhenvald (2004: 275). In addition, Hooper (2002) shows that in Tokelauan (Polynesian) the directional particle *mai* (venitive, toward the speaker) may also indicate a visual evidential with some classes of verbs. Except for the deictic/locative/directional markers quoted above, Aikhenvald (2004: 271–287; 2011) also mentions, the “rare” use of motion verbs. In Dulong (LaPolla 2003: 679), the motion verbs *ʃi* ‘go’ and *lùŋ* ‘ascend’ became direction and tense-aspect as well as evidential markers: visual *ʃĩ* versus non-visual *lũŋ*.

For his part, de Haan draws a tight link between evidentially and deixis (1999, 2005).

I propose to add evidentiality to the category deixis as an example of *propositional deixis*. An evidential grounds an action or event with respect to the speaker, just as a demonstrative grounds an object with respect to the speaker. In other words, the relation between a proposition and an evidential is analogous to the relation between a noun (phrase) and a demonstrative. (De Haan 2005: 29, emphasis in original)

Reciprocally, as mentioned above (§1.1), the lack of deictic center does not imply an observer, so non deictic sources can lead to assumptive or factual evidentials (Oisel 2013: 34, 229–235).

---

<sup>11</sup> Note that *ngas brlags song* ‘I lost’ (30) and *brnyed byung* ‘I found’ (36) both occur.

## 6.6 Conclusions

Middle Tibetan uses a personal deictic (*song* and *byung*) versus relative deictic (*phyin* and *'ongs*) secondary verb system. Modern Literary Tibetan uses a relative deictic auxiliary system (*song* versus *byung*/*'ongs*). It has grammaticalized the perfective sensorial from the deictic translocative *song*. The sensorial occurs with non-motion verbs. Colloquial Lhasa Tibetan uses an evidential auxiliary system (*song* versus *byung*). It has grammaticalized the egophoric. The receptive egophoric comes from the deictic cislocative *byung*. The evidential system can be combined with a secondary verb system indicating motion (*phyin* and *yong*). Deixis and evidentiality are closely related in Tibetan. Thus, Tibetan supports de Hann's perspective (1999, 2005) that evidentiality is a deictic category.<sup>12</sup>

For future research, it will be necessary to analyze and to compare through the centuries the imperfective forms *'gro* 'to go' and *'ong* 'to come' (as well as its variant *yong*), forms which are quite rare in my Middle Tibetan corpus.<sup>13</sup>

## Abbreviations

ABL ablative case, And andative, ART indefinite article, ASS associative case, CIS cislocative, CO connective/clause linker, CP conclusive particle, EGO egophoric, ERG ergative case, FAC factual, gEn genitive case, hon honorific word, IMP imperative particle, imp imperative stem, imperf imperfective stem, InC inchoative aspect, Lit literally, nEG negation, NOM nominalizer, OBL oblique case, PERF perfective aspect, perf perfective stem, PL plural particle, PRM promise particle, PT perfect aspect, QUO quotative particle, REC receptive, SEn sensory, THEM thematizer, TRAn translocative, VEn ventive

## References

- Adelaar, Willem F. H. 2006. The vicissitudes of directional affixes in Tarma (Northern Junín) Quechua. In Rowicka, G. J. & Carlin, E. B. (eds.), *What's in a verb? Studies in the verbal morphology of the languages of the Americas*, 121-142. Utrecht: LOT.
- Agha, Asif. 1993. *Structural Form and Utterance Context in Lhasa Tibetan*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

---

<sup>12</sup> But, some other evidentials may not necessarily be related to it. Aikhenvald (2004: 284/285) has mentioned some evidentials which may originate from epistemic meanings (i.e. modality).

<sup>13</sup> For *yong* in Modern Literary Tibetan see Oisel (2013: 243–246). For *'gro* and *yong* in Lhasa see Vokurková (2008: 230–239, 274–282) and Tournadre and Jiatso (2001: 89–96).

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2011. The grammaticalization of evidentiality. In Narrog, Heiko & Heine, Bernd (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*. (Oxford Handbook in Linguistics), 605-613. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. & Dixon, R. M. W. (eds.). 2006. *Serial Verb Constructions. A Cross-linguistic Typology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Anderson, Gregory D. S. 2006. *Auxiliary verb constructions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bourdin, P. 2002. The grammaticalization of deictic directionals into modulators of temporal distance. In Wischer, I. & Diewald G. (eds.), *New reflections on grammaticalization*, 181-200. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Chelliah, S.L. 1997. *A Grammar of Meithei*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Desclés, Jean-Pierre & Guentchéva, Zlatka. 2000. Enonciateur, locuteur, médiateur, in Aurore Monod-Becquelin & Philippe Erikson (eds.), *Les Rituels du Dialogue*, 79-112. Nanterre: Société d'Ethnologie.
- DeLancey, Scott. 1991. The Origins of Verb Serialization in Modern Tibetan. *Studies in Language* 15(1). 1-23.
- Denwood, Philip. 1999. *Tibetan*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Diessel, Holger. 2012. Deixis and demonstratives. In Claudia Maienborn, Klaus von Heusinger, Paul Portner (eds.), *An International Handbook of Natural Language Meaning*, Vol. 3, 2407-2431. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ducrot, Oswald. 1980. Esquisse d'une théorie polyphonique de l'énonciation. In *Le Dire et le Dit*, 171-233. Paris: Minuit.
- Ebert, Karen H. 1987. Grammatical marking of speech act participants in Tibeto-Burman. *Journal of Pragmatics* 11. 473-482.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1997. Coming and going. In *Lectures on Deixis*, 77-102. Stanford, CA: CSLI.
- Gyurmé, Kesang. 1994. *Le clair miroir. Enseignement de la grammaire tibétaine* (traduction et adaptation et commentaires de Heather Stoddard et Nicolas Tournadre). Arvillard: Editions Prajñā.
- De Haan, Ferdinand. 1999. *Visual evidentiality and its origins*. Manuscript, University of New Mexico.
- De Haan, Ferdinand. 2005. Encoding speaker perspective: Evidentials. In Z. Frajzyngier & D. Rood (eds.), *Linguistic diversity and language theories*, 379-397. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Hongladarom, Krisadawan. 1995. On the emergence of epistemic meanings: A study of Tibetan deictic motion verbs. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 25. 15-28.
- Hooper, Robin. 2002. Deixis and aspect: The Tokelauan directional particles *mai* and *atu*. *Studies in language* 26(2). 283-313.
- Jakobson, Roman [1957] 1971. Shifter, verbal categories, and the Russian verb. In: R. Jakobson. *Selected Writings*, vol. 2, 130-147. The Hague: Mouton.
- Jungraithmayr, H. & Johann G. W. Möhlig (eds.). 1983. *Lexikon der Afrikanistik*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Kuno, Susumu & Etsuko Kaburaki [1975] 1977. Empathy and Syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8(4). 627-672. (First published in *Harvard Studies in Syntax and Semantics* 1. 1-73) LaPolla, Randy. 2003. Dulong. In Thurgood & LaPolla (eds.), *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*, 674-684. London: Routledge.
- Larsson, Stefan. 2012. *Crazy for Wisdom: The Making of a Mad Yogin in Fifteenth-Century Tibet*. Leiden: Brill.

- Linn, Mary S. 2000. *A grammar of Euchee (Yuchi)*. PhD. dissertation. University of Kansas.
- Lounsbury, Floyd G. 1953. *Oneida Verb Morphology* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology 48). New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Lyons, John 1977. *Semantics*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Matisoff, James A. 1991. Areal and universal dimensions of grammaticalization in Lahu. In Traugott, E. C. & Heine, B. (eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, vol. 2, 383-453. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Montgomery-Anderson, Brad. 2008. *A Reference Grammar of Oklahoma Cherokee*. PhD dissertation, University of Kansas.
- Nakazawa, Tsuneko. 2007. A typology of the ground of deictic motion verbs as path-conflating verbs: the speaker, the addressee, and beyond. *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 43 (2). 59-82.
- O'Connor, Loretta. 2004. Going getting tired: 'associated motion' through space and time in Lowland Chontal. In M. Achard & S. Kemmer (eds.), *Language, Culture and Mind*, 181-198. Stanford: CSLI publications.
- Oisel, Guillaume 2013. *Morphosyntaxe et sémantique des auxiliaires et des connecteurs du tibétain littéraire: étude diachronique et synchronique*, Doctoral dissertation, Université de la Sorbonne nouvelle-Paris III.
- Paillard, Denis. 2013. Les constructions verbales en série en khmer contemporain. *Faits de langues* 41 (1). 11-39.
- Quintman, Andrew. 2010. *The Life of Milarepa*. New York: Penguin classics.
- Robin, Françoise. 2005. *Les Contes facétieux du Cadavre*. l'Asiathèque. Paris.
- Rus pa'i rgyan can. 1994. *Rnal byor gyi dbang phyug chen po mi la ras pa'i rnam mgur* (The life and the songs of Milarepa). Tibetan cultural printing press, Dharamsala.
- Tournadre, Nicolas & Konchok Jiatso. 2001. Final auxiliary verbs in literary Tibetan and in the dialects. Person and Evidence in Himalayan Languages. [Special Issue]. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 24 (1). 177-239.
- Tournadre, Nicolas & LaPolla, Randy. 2014. Towards a new approach to evidentiality: issues and directions for research. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 37 (2). 240-263.
- Tournadre, Nicolas & Sangda Dorje. 2003. *Manual of Standard Tibetan*. Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion.
- Vokurková, Zuzanna. 2008. *Epistemic Modalities In Spoken Standard Tibetan*. Ph. D. dissertation. Filozofická Fakulta Univerzity Karlovy - Université Paris 8.
- Zeisler, Bettina. 2004. *Relative tense and aspectual verbs in Tibetan Languages*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.