



Differentiated access to general truths ?

Camille Simon

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Differentiated access to general truths ?

Verb endings related to the expression of general truth in Amdo Tibetan

1. Corpus

2. "General truth"

2.1. Definition: general truth, habitual and stative

2.1.1. Habitual:

« [Habits] describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period. » (Comrie 1976: 27-28, emphasis added)

(1)a. English (Croft 2012: 148)	(1)b. English (Croft 2012: 114)
I eat dairy products (every day).	Owls hunt at night.

(2)a. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014
ta <i>'tonzak</i> <i>'dza-pa</i> <i>'gə-wa</i> <i>naŋ-a</i> ta ta <i>tonṭca</i> <i>nt'ak-konare-ja</i> DISC autumn.end eight-ORD nine-ORD inside-DAT TOP DISC harvest grind-IPV.FACT-DISC 'In the end of autumn, during the 8th or 9th month, [we] grind the harvest.'

(2)b. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014
ta <i>'maya-saŋ-a</i> <i>'dza-sok-ka</i> <i>'da</i> <i>maya</i> <i>sa-kə-ja</i> Chinese-Salar-ERG DEM many eat.GENER.SENS-DISC 'Chinese and Salar people eat a lot of that !'

2.1.2. Stative:

E.g. (3) 'I eat dairy products.'

- a. 'I eat dairy products (I am not allergic to them)' = Permanent state = generic, general truth
 - b. 'I eat dairy products (every day)' = habitual
- (Croft 2012: 148)

(4) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014
ta <i>'tonzak</i> <i>'dza-pa</i> <i>'gə-wa</i> <i>naŋ-a</i> ta ta <i>tonṭca</i> <i>nt'ak-konare-ja</i> DISC autumn.end eight-ORD nine-ORD inside-DAT TOP DISC harvest grind-IPV.FACT-DISC 'In the end of autumn, during the 8th or 9th month, [we usually] grind the harvest.' (habit) 'In the end of autumn, during the 8th or 9th month, the harvest is grinded.' (Permanent property)

2.1.3. Generic statement or general truth:

Generic statement or general truth:

- (1) A predication applied to a non-specific topic, i.e. a statement about a whole class of entities
And/Or:
- (2) A statement considered valid at any past, present, or future time, in other words, a tenseless statement

(5) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ta <i>'asi</i> <i>'dza-pa</i> <i>'gə-wa</i> <i>naŋ-a</i> <i>vlan-i</i> ta <i>janjy</i> te
DISC 1.PL.ERG eight-ORD nine-ORD inside-DAT take.PV-CONV TOP potatoe DEM
'The potatoes we harvest during the 8th or 9th month, burst.open-GENER.SENS-DISC

ta <i>'sana</i> <i>naŋ</i> <i>'tsi-na</i> ta <i>janjy</i> te <i>kwa-kə-ja</i>
DISC pot inside cook-COND TOP potatoe DEM
When you cook [them] in a pot, these potatoes burst open.'

2.2. Verb endings used to express a general truth in (Xunhua) Amdo-Tibetan

Table 1: Verb endings attested in general truth statements

(6)a.	(6)b.	(6)c.	(6)d.	(6)e.	(6)f.
V- <i>ni</i> V-nare	V- <i>ni</i> V-kə	V- <i>ni</i> V-kare	V- <i>ni</i> V-kokə	V- <i>ni</i> V-konare	V- <i>ni</i> V-dzəre

(6)a. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ta <i>'taymu</i> <i>"naŋ-a</i> <i>'tsatʃʰə</i> <i>ser-nare</i>
water first.GEN name-DAT white.watering say-GENER.FACT

(6)b. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ta <i>'an-a</i> <i>'zak-ko-no</i> <i>ti</i> <i>"naŋ-a</i> <i>'dotʰen</i> <i>ser-kə-mo</i>
ground-DAT put-IPV.NML.DF DEM.GEN name-DAT threshold.stone say-GENER.SENS-DISC

(6)c. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ta <i>'ewo-ra</i> <i>ser-kare</i>
basket-too say-GENER.FACT.SHAR

'It is also called "a basket".'

(6)d. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ta <i>'ketsʰ-e</i> <i>'ketsʰ-e</i> <i>ji</i> <i>ser-koka</i> <i>ketsʰ-e-ka</i>
DISC DEM-ERG 1PL.ERG oil say-IPV.SENS.PHAT ketse-ERG

'Well, (the product made) of that, we call it "oil", of ketse'

(6)e. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ta <i>'gawo</i> <i>ser-konara</i>
chicken say-IPV.FACT.PHAT

'[these] are called "chicken".'

(6)f. Amdo-Tibetan, Rebkong 2017

མ་ཀ්-ལ་ ལිෂු- ມ- དී- སූ- བැ- མ- བ- བ-
manakʰan̥ jaŋa manə tice 'kor-ʰo
manikhang TOP mani such turn-NML.LOC.DF DEM name-DAT manikhang say-FUTFACT
'As for the manikhang, the place where people turn the prayer wheel is called "manikhang".'

3. General truth: evidential and aspectual distinctions

3.1. General truth and evidentiality

Table 2. aspectual and evidential values of the six verb endings used in general truth statements

generic, factual	generic, factual, shared knowledge	imperfective/progressive, factual	future, factual	imperfective/generic, sensory???	imperfective/progressive, sensory
V- <i>ྨ-ྨ</i> V-nare	V- <i>ྨ-ྨ</i> V-kare	V- <i>ྨ-ྨ-ྨ-ྨ</i> V-konare	V- <i>ྨ-ྨ</i> V-dzare	V- <i>ྨ</i> V-ka	V- <i>ྨ-ྨ-ྨ</i> V-koka

3.1.1. Differentiated access to general truth?

"Most (but not all) stative clauses are marked as direct evidence (IPFV.DE) -ka regardless of the identity of the subject or how the speaker knows the information." (Tribur 2017: 391, emphasis added)

Table 3: Occurrences of -ka and -nare in stative events

	V- <i>ྨ</i> V-ka	V- <i>ྨ-ྨ</i> V-nare	TOTAL
Stative verbs	12	2	14
V- <i>ྨ-ྨ</i> 'go' 'must'	18	2	20
V- <i>ྨ-ྨ</i> 't ^h ok' 'to be fine'	11	1	12
V- <i>ྨ-ྨ</i> 'nen' 'to be fine'	1		1
V- <i>ྨ-ྨ</i> 't ^h ap' 'can'	1		1
V- <i>ྨ-ྨ</i> 'ndo' 'want' (endopathic)	4 (+1 - <i>ྨ-ྨ-ྨ</i>)		5
TOTAL	47 (+1)	5	53

But I don't think that it means that the evidential value of these morphemes are neutralised. First, there is still a formal opposition of the two verb endings. Examples in (7) shows a parallel use of the stative verb 'to be tasty', first with the factual form -nare and then with the sensory -ka. So, if the two morphemes don't oppose on an evidential value, we must find another functional and semantic motivation.

(7)a. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

අ- ම- සූ- පා- ම- ම- ම- ම-
har-naŋ tsʰər-naŋ ji "go-ka
away-inside inward-inside oil be.covered-conv CAUS-conv eat-COND too be.tasty-GENER.FACT
'If you cover [it] with oil and eat [it] with oil on both sides, it is tasty too.'

(7)b. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

අ- ම- සූ- ම- ම- ම- ම- ම-
ta asi kore ta kore "də ji te "dgen-li vzi-na ta
DISC 1PL.ERG bread TOP bread DEM oil DEM.DAT penetrate-CONV eat-COND TOP
අ- ම- ම- ම- ම- ම-
ta "ŋoni-tfak fəm-ka-ja
DISC really-INDF be.tasty -GENER.SENS-DISC
'Well, the bread, if we eat the bread moistened with oil, well, this is really tasty !'

(8) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

අ- ම- ම-
ha-tsʰar-ti
remove-finish-when
TOP
'When [women] have removed [the dung]

අ- ම- ම- ම- ම- ම-
ta tsʰakesak nəma tsʰakesak far-joka
a.bit sun a.bit shine -PERF.SENS.PHAT
Sichuan-GEN place DEM region be.big-GENER.SENS.PHAT mountain-COM DEM NEG.EXIST.SENS.PHAT
Well, this Sichuan place is a vast region, right ? There are no mountains, and so.'

Table 4: Evidential marking in general truth statements

Verb endings	V- <i>ྨ</i> V-ka	V- <i>ྨ-ྨ</i> V-koka	V- <i>ྨ-ྨ</i> V-dzare	V- <i>ྨ-ྨ</i> V-nare	V- <i>ྨ-ྨ-ྨ</i> V-konare	V- <i>ྨ-ྨ</i> V-kare
Number of occurrences	67	31	13	7	5	4
Evidential value	SENSORY (98) FACTUAL (29)					

3.1.2. Sensory-factual alternation as a discourse strategy?

(9) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

අ- ම- ම- ම- ම- ම- ම-
ta "nema tan-oti ta tʰə-sək tan-tan-na tʰok-ka
DISC ear LIGHTV-IPV-when TOP water-INDF LIGHTV-AUX-COND be.ok-GENER.SENS
(wife): When the ears appear, you can irrigate.
අ- ම- ම- ම- ම- ම-
sanjtʰə ton-go-ka
purif.water LIGHTV-GENER.SENS
but rain fall-AUX-COND LIGHTV-must-NEG.GENER.FACT-PHAT
You have to do the "purification watering". (husband): 'But if it rains, you don't need to.'

(10) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

අ- ම- ම- ම- ම- ම-
x'fak-ka sa-koka-pa ama kʰare-ka sa-ka
one-ERG eat-IPV.SENS-DISC mother alone-ERG manger.GENER.SENS
(wife): 'One eats. Mother alone eats (i.e. stays at home and lives on the harvest).'

ឆ្លែ	សមិទ្ធសារ_តា	អាយេ	សមិទ្ធសារ_ពីរាជា	អាមា	សមិទ្ធសារ_ពីរាជា	ឆំ_សិទ្ធិចិត្តឯកិច្ចា
dza	x ^h ək-a	aje	x ^h əko-kə	ama	x ^h əko-kə	sa-konare
month	one-DAT	grand.mother	alone-ERG	mother	alone-ERG	eat-IPV.FACT
(husband):	'During one month (every year), only the grandma, only the mother eats.'					

(10) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ឆ្លែ	សិនុស្រោះ_តា	នាក់_តា	និងិស្រោះ_តា	នាក់_តា	ឆំ_សិទ្ធិបិទ្ធិ
ta	k ^h ut ^h ok-a	v ^z ak-na	ndo-na	k ^h ut ^h ok-a	v ^z ak-na
bon	steam.cooker-DAT	put-COND	want-COND	steam.cooker-DAT	put-COND
(wife):	'Well, if you want to put [it] in a steam cooker, you can.'				
ឆ្លែ	សិនុស្រោះ	នាក់_ពិទ្ធិបិទ្ធិ	សិនុស្រោះ	នាក់_ពិទ្ធិបិទ្ធិ	
kore	xhantsi	li-konare	xhantsi	li-koka	
bread	steamed	LIGHTV-IPV.FACT	steamed	LIGHTV-IPV.SENS	
(husband):	'You make steamed bread.'		(wife):	'You make steamed bread.'	

3.2. General truth and stative / dynamic distinction

3.2.1. Imperfective/stative -ka with dynamic events

« For activity or process verbs [...] [VP followed by the morpheme -ka] has a habitual interpretation. » (Tribur 2019: 393) - **herders eat meat**

10 occurrences of -ka with [+dynamic] verbs :

- 'to shear (sheep)' • 'to prepare food' • 'to weed (a field)' • 'to water (a field)' •
- 'to thresh the grain' • 'to eat food' • 'to burst open (when you overcook a potatoe)' •

(13) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ឆ្លែ	សិនុស្រោះ_តា	នាក់_តា	និងិស្រោះ_តា	នាក់_តា	ឆំ_សិទ្ធិ
fafan	lak ^h a	jon-i	ta	napnam	v ^z i-taŋ-ni
harrow	on	ride-CONV	TOP	even	LIGHTV-AUX-CONV
[You/we]	make (the field)	even, on a harrow, and		like.that	
[...]	ូរុកា	ូរុកា			
	jərma	jər-ka			
	weed	weed-GENER.SENS			
[...]	[you/we]	weed (the fields).'			

(14) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ឆ្លែ	សិនុ_តា	នាក់_ពិរាជា	សិនុ_តា	នាក់_ពិនិត្យ_នា	ឆ្លែ	[...]
ta	ng ^h o-a	v ^z əŋ-ka-pe	ng ^h o-a	v ^z əŋ-taŋ-i	ta	
DISC	head-DAT	hit-GENER.SENS-DISC	head-DAT	hit-AUX-CONV	TOP	
'Then, [you/we]	thresh	[the grain].	After you have threshed it,		[...]	
ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	
ndə	v ^z əm-ka	ta	ŋəmə	v ^z əm	ta	
grain	dry-CONV	TOP	day	three	four	
[you/we]	dry	the grain, and,	[you/we]	must dry	the grain three or four days.'	

(15) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ឆ្លែ	និងិស្រោះ	និងិស្រោះ_ពិនិត្យ	ឆ្លែ	នាក់_ពិនិត្យ_នា	ឆ្លែ	ឈុណុយ្យ	ឆ្លែ
ta	əzi	v ^z aŋ-pa	ga-wa	naŋ-a	v ^z laŋ-i	ta	janjy
DISC	1.PL.ERG	eight-ORD	nine-ORD	inside-DAT	take.PFV-CONV	top	potatoe
'The	potatoes	we harvest	during the	8th or 9th	month,		DEM
ឆ្លែ	និងិស្រោះ	និងិស្រោះ_ពិនិត្យ	ឆ្លែ	ឈុណុយ្យ	ឆ្លែ	ឈុណុយ្យ_ឲ្យ	ឆ្លែ
ta	saŋwa	naŋ	v ^z si-na	ta	janjy	te	kwa-ka-ja
DISC	pot	inside	cook-COND	TOP	potatoe	DEM	burst.open-GENERAL.SENS-DISC
'When	you cook [them]	in a pot,	these	potatoes	burst open.'		

3.2.2. Progressive/dynamic imperfective -konare and -koka in general truth statements

Table 5. Number of occurrence of -koka and -konare in the corpus

	Sensory	Factual
Imperfective progressive???	V-សិទ្ធិបិទ្ធិ V-koka	V-សិទ្ធិបិទ្ធិ V-konare
Number of occurrences	31	5

(16) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ
ta	te	hane	k ^h u-tika	ta	ta	wətsʰa
tea	DEM	all	boil-when	TOP	DISC	man-PL
'When	the tea	boils, etc.,	well,	the men	get up /	are getting up.'

(17) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ
h ^h ame	jaŋ	ta	te	re	v ^z ə-taŋ-i	
early.morning	again	DISC	DEM	EQU.FACT	milk-AUX-CONV	
In the early morning, again		it is like this: [women]	milk, and			
ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ
jon-ni	ta	sama	li-ka-pe	sama	li-tika	
come-CONV	TOP	food	do-GENER.SENS-DISC	food	do-when	
[they come (back), [they]	prepare the meal.			When [they]	prepare the meal,	
ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ
wətsʰa-t ^h i	li-kameka	wəme-t ^h i	sama	li-koka		
man-PL.ERG	do-NEG.IPV.SENS	woman-PL.ERG	food	do-IPV.SENS		
Men don't do /	are not doing [it].	Women	prepare /	are preparing	the meals.'	

(18) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	...
wəme-t ^h i	v ^z əse	laŋ-i		
woman-PL	early	get.up-CONV		
'Women get up early, and				
ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	ឆ្លែ	
h ^h əwa	hane	raŋ-ka	raŋ-ka	
dung	all	self-ERG	self-ERG	
		like.this	like.this	collect-CONV
[they] collect all the dungs by themselves, like this, and				

བྱନ୍ଦྰ-ସନ୍ଦ-ରୂ	ସିମ୍ବ	ସର-ର	କୁ-ଶିଷ୍ଟାନ୍ତିରୀ
<i>ti-tan-i</i>	<i>hriwo</i>	<i>har-a</i>	<i>ha-koka</i>

collect-AUX-CONV all away-DAT remove-IPV.SENS.PHAT once [they] have collected [them], [they] remove / are removing all of them.'

3.2.3. Discourse strategies related to aspectuality?

(19) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତାନ୍ତିରୀ	ଶନ୍ମା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରି	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	କଣ୍ଟାନ୍ତି	ନ୍ଦ୍ରି
<i>masha-ka</i>	<i>sanma</i>	<i>Nda</i>	<i>tap-na</i>	<i>t'ok-ka</i>	<i>ta</i>

'In lower places, you can plant these peas, but (lit. Lower places can plant these peas, but)

ଅର-ର	ଶନ୍ମା-ନ୍ତି	ଶନ୍ମାନା	କେ-ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା		
<i>jar-a</i>	<i>kon-ka</i>	<i>χək</i>	<i>t'ēe-soñ-ni</i>		
high-DAT	higher.part-GEN	body	be.big-AUX-CONV		
ଶନ୍ମା	ଶନ୍ମା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରି	ଶନ୍ମା-ନ୍ତିନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତି-ଭ୍ୟ		
<i>go</i>	<i>sanma</i>	<i>Nda</i>	<i>thok-kameka-ja</i>		
head	pea	DEM	can.carry-NEG.IPV.SENS-DISC		
the stems grow high, and the top can't bear the peas (because the stems are too high).'					

(20) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ଯେ-ନ୍ଦ୍ରା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରକ-କ	ନ୍ଦ୍ରା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା
<i>gojmo</i>	<i>jən-na-ra</i>	<i>wəts'a-t'f'o</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>Nt'əta</i>	<i>zon-i</i>

evening EQU-COND-COM man-PL TOP motorbike ride-CONV

ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା-ର	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା
<i>ta</i>	<i>fanth'ok-ra</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>h'zon'h'ok</i>
DISC	county.seat-COM	DISC	district DEM.DAT
In the evening, too, men go by motorbike to the county seat and the district there, you know			

ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	କ୍ରିପ୍-ନ୍ଦ୍ରା	କ୍ରିପ୍-ନ୍ଦ୍ରା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା
<i>təka</i>	<i>t'ēr-a</i>	<i>jon-tika</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>naj-a</i>
like.that back-DAT come-when TOP inside-DAT arrive-CONV 3SG				

And when [he] comes back, once he has arrived at home

ଶନ୍ମା-ନ୍ତିରୀ ସାନ୍ଦା ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା

gamo-ka t'apk'aj naj-a ne-sak v'zak-i t'ja-sak t'ku-v'zokka

wife-ERG kitchen inside-DAT fire-INDEF LIGHTV-CONV tea-INDEF boil-AUX.PERF.SENS his wife has made a fire in the kitchen, and [she] has put a tea to boil.

ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା

gapo-ka t'ja Nt'oj-a Ndək-dəo tə re ta

man-ERG tea drink-DAT stay-NML.DF DEM EQU.FACT DISC

The man [only] has to drink tea.

ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା

ta h'gamo-ka s'oj-i nor Ndok-koka nor t'ak-na te

DISC wife-PL go-CONV cattle tie.up-IPV.SENS cattle tie.up-COND DEM

Their wives go, and [they] tie up the cattle [when they] tie up the cattle,

ଶିତୁରୀ	ଶିତୁରୀ	କେ-କୁ	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା-ନ୍ତିରୀ	କେ-କୁ	କେ-କୁ	କେ-କୁ	କେ-କୁ
<i>witə</i>	<i>wita</i>	<i>t'ēt'f'oj</i>	<i>t'ēt'f'oj</i>	<i>Ndok-koka</i>	<i>t'ēwo</i>	<i>t'ēwo</i>	<i>t'ōno</i>

calf calf size size tie.up-IPV.SENS.DISC big big small small

[they] tie up the calves size by size. The big [with] the big, the small [with] the small.'

4. Other verb endings in general truth statements

4.1. V-ଶିଖି/ General truth + shared knowledge

(21) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ଜ୍ଵା-ନ୍ତିରୀ	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା
<i>t'ə</i>	<i>t'ak-kare-mo</i>	<i>ena</i>	<i>ta-ka</i>	<i>naj-a</i>	<i>t'che</i>	<i>Ndep-kare-mo</i>

water pour-GENERIC.SHAR-DISC PHAT DEM-GEN inside-DAT flour LIGHTV-GENERIC.SHAR-DISC PHAT 'You pour water, you know ? Right ? Inside, you add the flour, you know ? Right ?'

4.2. V-ଶିଖି/ General truth + modal (deontic) meaning

(22) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା
<i>t'ak</i>	<i>naj-a</i>	<i>sek-də</i>	<i>Nda</i>	<i>nəməkən</i>	<i>sa-dəre</i>

iron inside-DAT grill-NML DEM noon eat-FUT.FACT.PHAT eat-NML EQU.FACT.PHAT

The one [kind of bread] that is grill in a pan, [people] eat it for lunch is the one eaten for lunch

ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା
<i>kore</i>	<i>xantsi</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>h'name</i>

bread steamed DEM early.morning eat-NML.DF EQU.FACT-PHAT

The steamed bread is the one eaten in the morning, right ?

ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା
<i>ta</i>	<i>"gojmo</i>	<i>t'əkpa</i>	<i>Nthon-də</i>

DISC evening noodles drink-NML DEM EQU.FACT-PHAT

And what we eat at night is noodle, right ?

(23) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014

ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା
<i>ta</i>	<i>hane</i>	<i>tshajma</i>	<i>Vlan-ts'har-i</i>	<i>xək-ni</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>janjy</i>

DEM all all take-AUX-CONV back-ABL DISC DISC potatoe take-FUT.FACT-DISC

'Once you have harvested everything, after that, well, you should harvest potatoes.

ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା	ନ୍ଦ୍ରାନ୍ତା
<i>janjy</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>at'hək-ka</i>	<i>xək-ka</i>

potatoe TOP LIGHTV-ERG back-erg take-FUT.FACT-DISC

The potatoes are harvested / should be harvested at last.'

- | | |
|------|---|
| (24) | Amdo-Tibetan, Rebkong 2017 |
| | མ་ཀུན་འདར་ ལྷོན་ན་ བྱི་ ད୍ୡ རྩୁ- གླ མା ཁ୍ୱ ཉ- ན གླ གୁ- ང ཉ- གୁ- ང |
| | <i>manəkʰan̥ jəna manə tice 'kor-sʰo</i> |
| | manikhang TOP mani such turn-NML.LOC.DEF DEM name-DAT manikhang say-FUT.FACT
'As for the <i>manikhang</i> , the place where people turn the prayer wheel is called / is what should be called " <i>manikhang</i> ".' |

5. Conclusions

Abbreviations:

1: first person; AUX: aspectual auxiliary verb; CAUS: causative; COND: conditional; CONV: converb; DAT: dative; DEM: demonstrative; DF: definite; DISC: discourse marker; EQU: equative copula; ERG: ergative-instrumental; EXIST: existential copula; FACT: factual; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; GENER: generic; INDF: indefinite; IPV: imperfective; LIGHTV: light verb; LOC: locative; NEG: negative; NML: nominaliser; ORD: ordinal; PERF: perfect; PHAT: phatic; PL: plural; PV: perfective; SENS: sensory; SHAR: shared knowledge; TOP: topic marker

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