



HAL
open science

Differentiated access to general truths ?

Camille Simon

► **To cite this version:**

Camille Simon. Differentiated access to general truths?: Verb endings related to the expression of general truth in Amdo Tibetan. Typologie des systèmes évidentiel: les langues tibétiques, Nicolas Tournadre; Françoise Robin; Eric Mélaç, Feb 2022, Paris (Inalco), France. hal-04330294

HAL Id: hal-04330294

<https://hal.science/hal-04330294>

Submitted on 7 Dec 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.



Distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial - ShareAlike 4.0 International License

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:*

« [Habituals] 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) <i>I eat dairy products (every day).</i> | (1)b. English (Croft 2012: 114) <i>Owls hunt at night.</i> |
| (2)a. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014 | |
| ད་ ལྷོན་གཞུག་ བརྒྱད་པ་ དྲུག་པ་ ནང་ལ་ ད་ ད་ མོང་ལྷ་ འཇགས་ལྷི་ཡོད་ནི་རེད་ཡུ། <i>ta 'tonzək 'dza-pa 'gə-wa naŋ-a ta ta ʈoŋtɕa Ntʰak-konəre-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 | |
| རྒྱ་སོག་གིས་ འདི་ མང་བ་ ཟ་གི་ཡུ། <i>'dza-sok-kə Nda maŋa 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 | |
| ད་ ལྷོན་གཞུག་ བརྒྱད་པ་ དྲུག་པ་ ནང་ལ་ ད་ ད་ མོང་ལྷ་ འཇགས་ལྷི་ཡོད་ནི་རེད་ཡུ། <i>ta 'tonzək 'dza-pa 'gə-wa naŋ-a ta ta ʈoŋtɕa Ntʰak-konəre-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 | | | | | |
| ད་ ལུ་མོས་ བརྒྱད་པ་ དྲུག་པ་ ནང་ལ་ ལྷོན་ལས་ ད་ ཡང་ཡུས་ དེ་ | <i>ta asi 'dza-pa 'gə-wa naŋ-a 'lan-i ta janjy te</i> | 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, | | | | | |
| ད་ ཟངས་ལ་ ནང་ བཙོས་ན་ ད་ ཡང་ཡུས་ དེ་ བཀད་གི་ཡུ། | <i>ta sanja naŋ 'tʰsi-na ta janjy te kwa-kə-ja</i> | DISC pot inside cook-COND TOP potatoe DEM burst.open-GENER.SENS-DISC | | | |
| 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-ནི་རེད། | V-གི | V-གི་རེད། | V-གི་ཡོད་གི | V-གི་ཡོད་ནི་རེད། | V-རྒྱ་རེད། |
| <i>V-nəre</i> | <i>V-kə</i> | <i>V-kəre</i> | <i>V-koka</i> | <i>V-konəre</i> | <i>V-dzəre</i> |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| (6)a. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014 | | | | | |
| ལྷུ་ དང་མེའི་ ལྷིང་ལ་ ལྷུ་ལྷུ་ ཟེར་ནི་རེད། | | | | | |
| <i>ʈʰiə taŋmu mnaŋ-a 'tɕatʰiə ser-nəre</i> | | | | | |
| water first.GEN name-DAT white.watering say-GENER.FACT | | | | | |
| 'The first irrigation is called "white watering".' | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| (6)b. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014 | | | | | |
| ཐང་ལ་ བཞག་གི་ཡོད་ནི་ལོ་ དེའི་ ལྷིང་ལ་ རྩོ་ཟེན་ ཟེར་གི་སྟུ། | | | | | |
| <i>tʰaŋ-a ʕzak-ko-no ti mnaŋ-a 'dotʰen ser-ka-mo</i> | | | | | |
| ground-DAT put-IPV.NML.DF DEM.GEN name-DAT threshold.stone say-GENER.SENS-DISC | | | | | |
| 'That, what is put on the ground, is called "threshold stone".' | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| (6)c. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014 | | | | | |
| སྟེལ་ལོ་ར་ ཟེར་གི་རེད། | | | | | |
| <i>sʰewo-ra ser-kəre</i> | | | | | |
| basket-too say-GENER.FACT.SHAR | | | | | |
| 'It is also called "a basket".' | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| (6)d. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014 | | | | | |
| ད་ དི་གིས་ ལུ་མོས་ ཡོས་ ཟེར་གི་ཡོད་གི་སྟུ། ཀེ་ཚེ་གིས་ | | | | | |
| <i>ta tə-kə ɬʰi i ji ser-koka ketsʰe-kə</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 | | | | | |
| བྱ་ལོ་ ཟེར་གི་ཡོད་ནི་རེད་སྟུ། | | | | | |
| <i>ʕawo ser-konəra</i> | | | | | |
| chicken say-IPV.FACT.PHAT | | | | | |
| '[these] are called "chicken".' | | | | | |

(6)f. Amdo-Tibetan, Rebkong 2017

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------|------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| མཉམ་མཉམ་ | ཡིན་ན་ | མཉམ་ | དེ་གྱི་འོག་ | མཉམ་མཉམ་ | ཟེར་བྱེད་པའི་ |
| manək ^h an | jana | mana | tice | 'kor-s ^h o | ^N da |
| manikhang | TOP | mani | such | turn-NML.LOC.DF | DEM name-DAT manikhang say-FUT.FACT |

'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-ཉི་ཤེད། | V-གི་ཤེད། | V-གི་ཡོད་ཉི་ཤེད། | V-བྱེད། | V-གི | V-གི་ཡོད་གི |
| V-näre | V-käre | V-konäre | V-čäre | V-kä | V-kokä |

3.1.1. Differentiated access to general truth?

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

Table 3: Occurrences of -*kä* and -*näre* in stative events

| | V-གི V-kä | V-ཉི་ཤེད། V-näre | TOTAL |
|--|-------------------|---------------------|-----------|
| Stative verbs | 12 | 2 | 14 |
| V-དགོས་ <i>go</i> 'must' | 18 | 2 | 20 |
| V-ཚོག་ <i>ŋ^hok</i> 'to be fine' | 11 | 1 | 12 |
| V-ཉེན་ <i>ŋen</i> 'to be fine' | 1 | | 1 |
| V-མུག་ <i>t^hap</i> 'can' | 1 | | 1 |
| V-འདོད་ <i>ndo</i> 'want' (endopathic) | 4 (+1 -གི་ཡོད་གི) | | 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 -*näre* and then with the sensory -*kä*. 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

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|------------------------|------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----|-------------|
| མར་ནང་ | ཚུར་ནང་ | ཡོས་ | འགོ་གི་ | བཞག་འཕམ་ | བཟས་ན་ | ཡང་ | ཞེས་ཉི་ཤེད། |
| har-nan | ts ^h ar-nan | ji | ^N go-kä | ^V zak-i | ^V zi-na | jan | fam-näre |

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

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---------|---------|-------|--------|-----------------|------|------|----------------------|--------------------|----------|-----|
| ད། | ལུ་ཟེམ་ | ཀོ་རེ་ | ད། | ཀོ་རེ་ | འདི་ | ཡོས་ | དེའ་ | ལྷེན་ལམས་ | བཟས་ན་ | ད། | |
| ta | asi | kore | ta | kore | ^N da | ji | te | ^h džen-li | ^V zi-na | ta | |
| | DISC | 1PL.ERG | bread | TOP | bread | DEM | oil | DEM.DAT | penetrate-CONV | eat-COND | TOP |

ད། དངོས་ནས་ཅིག་ ཞེས་གི་ཡུ།
ta ^hgoni-ŋək jam-kä-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

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|------------------------|-------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| ལུད་ཚར་དུས་ | ད། | ཚོ་གཟིག་ | ཉི་མ་ | ཚོ་གཟིག་ | ཤར་ཡོད་གི་ལུ། |
| hə-ts ^h ar-ti | ta | ts ^h akesək | ŋama | ts ^h akesək | far-joka |
| remove-finish-when | TOP | a.bit | sun | a.bit | shine -PERF.SENS.PHAT |

'When [women] have removed [the dung] the sun is a bit, up, a bit

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-----------------|------------|
| ད། | སི་ཁྲོན་གི་ | ས་ཚ | འདི་ | ས་ལུས་ | ཆེ་གི་ལུ། | རི་ར་ | འདི་ | མེད་གི་ལུ། |
| ta | səŋwon-kə | s ^h aŋ ^h o | ^N da | s ^h ak ^h ə | ŋ ^h e-ka | ra-ra | ^N da | mekə |
| | DISC | 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-གི V-kä | V-གི་ཡོད་གི V-kokä | V-བྱེད། V-čäre | V-ཉི་ཤེད། V-näre | V-གི་ཡོད་ཉི་ཤེད། V-konäre | V-གི་ཤེད། V-käre |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| 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

| | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|------------|----------------------|------------------|
| ད། | སྟེམ་ | བཏང་གི་ཡོད་དུས་ | ད། | ཚུ་ཟིག་ | བཏང་བཏང་ན་ | ཚོག་གི་ | |
| ta | ^h nema | tan-koti | ta | ŋ ^h ə-sək | tan-tan-na | ŋ ^h ok-kə | |
| | DISC | ear | LIGHTV-IPV-when | TOP | water-INDF | LIGHTV-AUX-COND | be.ok-GENER.SENS |

(wife): When the ears appear, you can irrigate.

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|-----|---------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| བསང་བྱེད་པའི་ | གཏོང་དགོས་གི་ | དེ་ | ནམ་ | བབས་བཏང་ན་ | བཏང་དགོས་ཉི་མ་ཤེད་ལུ། |
| sanŋ ^h ə | ton-go-kə | te | nampap-tan-na | tan-go-namara | |
| 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

| | | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|--------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| གཅིག་གིས་ | ཟ་གི་ཡོད་གི་ཡུ། | ཨ་མ་ | ལུ་རེ་གིས་ | ཟ་གི་ |
| ^x fək-kə | sa-kokə-pa | ama | k ^h are-kə | sa-kə |
| 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).'

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|--|--------------|----------------------|
| བདུས་བཏང་འཕམ་ | ཕྱིལ་ཐོ་ | ཡར་འ་ | ཕུད་གི་ཡོད་གི་བྱ |
| <i>ʼti-taŋ-i</i> | <i>hriwo</i> | <i>har-a</i> | <i>hə-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

| | | | | | |
|---|-----------------|-------------|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------|
| དམའ་མེ་གིས་ | སྒན་མ་ | འདི་ | བཏབས་འན་ | ཚོག་གི་ | ད་ |
| <i>ʰmasha-kə</i> | <i>ʂanma</i> | <i>ʰda</i> | <i>ʼtap-na</i> | <i>ʃʰok-kə</i> | <i>ta</i> |
| lower.places-ERG | pea | DEM | plant-COND | be.ok-GENER.SENS | but |
| 'In lower places, you can plant these peas, but | | | | | |
| (lit. Lower places can plant these peas, but) | | | | | |
| ཡར་འ་ | གོང་གི་ | གཟུགས་ | ཆེ་སོང་འན་ | | |
| <i>jar-a</i> | <i>koŋ-kə</i> | <i>χzak</i> | <i>ʃʰe-soŋ-ni</i> | | |
| high-DAT | higher.part-GEN | body | be.big-AUX-CONV | | |
| མགོ་ | སྒན་མ་ | འདི་ | ཐོགས་གི་མེད་གི་ཡུ། | | |
| <i>ʰgo</i> | <i>ʂanma</i> | <i>ʰda</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

| | | | | | |
|--|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| དགོང་མོ་ | ཡིན་ན་ར་ | བུ་ཚ་ཚོ་ | ད་ | འཕུལ་ཏྲ་ | བཞོན་འཕམ་ |
| <i>ʰgongmo</i> | <i>ʂən-na-ra</i> | <i>watsʰa-ʃʰo</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>ʰtʰata</i> | <i>ʋʒon-i</i> |
| evening | EQU-COND-COM | man-PL | TOP | motorbike | ride-CONV |
| ད་ | གར་ཐོག་ར་ | ད་ | རྫོང་ཐོག་ | དི་ | ད་ |
| <i>ta</i> | <i>ʂaŋʰok-ra</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>ʰdzonʰok</i> | <i>te</i> | <i>ta</i> |
| DISC | county.seat-COM | DISC | district | DEM.DAT | DISC |
| In the evening, too, men go by motorbike to the county seat and the district there, you know | | | | | |
| དི་གིས་ | ཕྱིར་འ་ | ཡོང་དུས་གིས་ | ད་ | ནང་འ་ | ཐོན་འཕམ་ |
| <i>təkə</i> | <i>ʼcʰər-a</i> | <i>joŋ-tika</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>naŋ-a</i> | <i>ʰon-i</i> |
| like.that | back-DAT | come-when | TOP | inside-DAT | arrive-CONV |
| And when [he] comes back, once he has arrived at home | | | | | |
| ཚུད་མོ་གིས་ | ཐབ་འང་ | ནང་འ་ | ཕྱི་ཟེག་ | བཞག་འཕམ་ | ར་ཟེག་ |
| <i>ʰgamo-kə</i> | <i>tʰapkʰaŋ</i> | <i>naŋ-a</i> | <i>ne-sək</i> | <i>ʋʒak-i</i> | <i>ʃa-sək</i> |
| wife-ERG | kitchen | inside-DAT | fire-INDF | LIGHTV-CONV | tea-INDF |
| his wife has made a fire in the kitchen, and [she] has put a tea to boil. | | | | | |
| ཚུད་མོ་གིས་ | ར་ | འཐུང་འ་ | འདུག་ཚུ་མོ་ | དི་ | རེ། |
| <i>ʰgapo-kə</i> | <i>ʃa</i> | <i>ʰtʰoŋ-a</i> | <i>ʰdak-dzo</i> | <i>tə</i> | <i>re</i> |
| man-ERG | tea | drink-DAT | stay-NML.DF | DEM | EQU.FACT |
| The man [only] has to drink tea. | | | | | |
| ད་ | ཚུད་མོ་ཚོ་ | མོང་འཕམ་ | ནོར་ | འདོགས་གི་ཡོད་གི་ | ནོར་ |
| <i>ta</i> | <i>ʰgamo-kə</i> | <i>sʰoŋ-i</i> | <i>nor</i> | <i>ʰdok-kokə</i> | <i>nor</i> |
| DISC | wife-PL | go-CONV | cattle | tie.up-IPV.SENS | cattle |
| Their wives go, and [they] tie up the cattle [when they] tie up the cattle, | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------|----------------|----------------|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| བེལུ་ཉི་ | བེལུ་ཉི་ | ཆེ་ཚུར་ | ཆེ་ཚུར་ | འདོགས་གི་ཡོད་གི་བྱ། | ཆེ་ཐོ་ | ཆེ་ཐོ། | ཚུར་ཐོ་ | ཚུར་ཐོ། |
| <i>witə</i> | <i>witə</i> | <i>ʃʰeʃʰoŋ</i> | <i>ʃʰeʃʰoŋ</i> | <i>ʰdok-koka</i> | <i>ʃʰewo</i> | <i>ʃʰewo</i> | <i>ʃʰoŋo</i> | <i>ʃʰoŋo</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-གི་རེད། General truth + shared knowledge

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

| | | | | | | | |
|--|----------------------|------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|------------------------|------------|
| ཚུ་ | ལྷུག་གི་རེད་སྟེ། | ཨོ་སྤྱ། | དི་གི་ | ནང་འ་ | ཕྱི་ | འདེབས་གི་རེད་སྟེ། | ཨོ་སྤྱ། |
| <i>ʃʰə</i> | <i>ʰdak-kəre-mo</i> | <i>ena</i> | <i>tə-kə</i> | <i>naŋ-a</i> | <i>ʰche</i> | <i>ʰdep-kəre-mo</i> | <i>ena</i> |
| water | pour-GENER.SHAR-DISC | PHAT | DEM-GEN | inside-DAT | flour | LIGHTV-GENER.SHAR-DISC | PHAT |
| 'You pour water, you know ? Right ? Inside, you add the flour, you know ? Right ?' | | | | | | | |

4.2. V-ཉོ་རེད། General truth + modal (deontic) meaning

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

| | | | | | |
|---|----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| ལྷུགས་ | ནང་འ་ | སྒྲིག་ཚུ་ | འདི་ | ཉི་མ་གུང་ | ཟ་ཚུ་རེད་བྱ། |
| <i>ʃʰak</i> | <i>naŋ-a</i> | <i>ʂek-dzə</i> | <i>ʰda</i> | <i>ɲamakəŋ</i> | <i>sa-dzəre</i> |
| iron | inside-DAT | grill-NML | DEM | noon | eat-FUT.FACT.PHAT |
| The one [kind of bread] that is grill in a pan, [people] eat it for lunch | | | | | |
| ཀོ་རེ་ | གར་བཞོན་མ་ | དི་ | སྤྱ་མོས་ | ཟ་ཚུ་མོ་ | རེད་བ། |
| <i>kore</i> | <i>xarŋtsi</i> | <i>tə</i> | <i>ʰŋame</i> | <i>sa-dzə</i> | <i>re-wa</i> |
| bread | steamed | DEM | early.morning | eat-NML.DF | EQU.FACT-PHAT |
| The steamed bread is the one eaten in the morning, right ? | | | | | |
| ད་ | དགོང་མོ་ | ལྷུགས་ | འཐུང་ཚུ་ | དི་ | རེད་བ། |
| <i>ta</i> | <i>ʰgongmo</i> | <i>tʰəkpa</i> | <i>ʰthon-dzə</i> | <i>tə</i> | <i>re-wa</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

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|---------------------|-------|
| དི་ | ཉེ་ | ཚང་མ་ | སྒངས་ཚང་འཕམ་ | གཞུག་འན་ | ད་ | ད་ | ཡང་ཡུས་ | ལེན་ཚུ་རེད་ཡུ། | [...] |
| <i>tə</i> | <i>hane</i> | <i>tshaŋma</i> | <i>ʋʌŋ-tsʰar-i</i> | <i>ʰʒək-ni</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>janjy</i> | <i>len-dzəre-ja</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. | | | | | | | | | |
| ཡང་ཡུས་ | ད་ | ཨ་ལྷུག་གིས་ | གཞུག་གིས་ | ལེན་ཚུ་རེད་ཡུ། | | | | | |
| <i>janjy</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>atʰək-kə</i> | <i>ʰʒək-kə</i> | <i>len-dzəre-ja</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་ཎིཀ་མང་ | ཡིན་ན་ | མ་ཎི་ | དྲི་བྱས་ | སྐོར་སའ་ལོ་ | འདི་ | ལྷིང་འ་ | མ་ཎིཀ་མང་ | ཟེར་རྒྱུ་རེད། |
| <i>manək^haŋ</i> | <i>jəna</i> | <i>mana</i> | <i>tice</i> | <i>'kor-s^ho</i> | <i>Nda</i> | <i>ˈŋaŋ-a</i> | <i>manək^haŋ</i> | <i>ser-ɕʰare</i> |
| manikhang | TOP | mani | such | turn-NML.LOC.DEF | DEM | name-DAT | manikhang | say-FUT.FACT |

'As for the *manikhang*, the place where people turn the prayer wheel is called / is what should be called "*manikhang*".'

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

References:

- ♦ Comrie, B. (1976) *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- ♦ Croft, W. (2012) *Verbs, Aspect and causal structure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ♦ Tribur, Z. (2017) "Ch. 12 Observations on factors affecting the distributional properties of evidential markers in Amdo Tibetan". In: L. Gawne & N. W. Hill (eds), *Evidential Systems of Tibetan Languages*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 367-422. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110473742-012>
- ♦ Tribur, Z. (2019) *Verbal Morphology in Amdo Tibetan*. PhD Thesis, University of Oregon. <https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/handle/1794/25268>
- ♦ Ebihara, S. (2019) *Amudo-Tibetogo Bunpoo [A grammar of Amdo Tibetan]*. Tokyo: Hitutzi Syoboo