

From Motion Verbs to Evidentiality in Tibetan

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- **Motion verbs** are an important component of explaining the emergence of the **evidential system** in Middle Tibetan (Classical Tibetan) and its full establishment in Colloquial Tibetan.
- I will present it through 3 verb systems
 - Middle Tibetan (15th century)
 - Modern Literary Tibetan (2 genres)
 - Standard Colloquial Tibetan (Lhasa)

1. Motion Lexical Verbs in Middle Tibetan

- There are two verbs both for ‘to go’ and ‘to come’ with the (past) perfective:
 - *phyin* vs *song* on the one hand
 - and ‘*ongs/yongs* vs *byung*, on the other hand.
- While there is only one verb for ‘to go’ and ‘to come’ with the imperfective:
 - ‘*gro*
 - ‘*ong* or its spelling variant *yong*
- I will only focus on **the perfective** in my presentation.

/phyin/ and /song/ ‘to go’

- These verbs at first glance reflect **a grammatical opposition based on deixis**.
 - The verb *phyin* is used in general **with the first person participant (theasserter), but not only**.
 - and the verb *song* **with the third and the second person (the other)**.
- This phenomenon may appear odd in Tibetan since it is a language without verb agreement according to grammatical person.
- The observed correlation between verb choice (or auxiliary) and person can not be generalized to classical Tibetan. Instead, **it is a tendency** which is strongly marked in my corpus: the life of Milarepa.

/phyin/ with the first person

- **In general**
 - *nga sngon.la phyin-pas thog.mar yum-dang mjal*
 - I before **to go(past)**-CO. first lama’s wife-ASS. to meet(hon.)
 - **I went** ahead and first met the lama’s wife. (Mila 2.2) (Quintman 2010: 74)
 - *phyag.phyi-la nga-yang phyin*
 - servant-OBL. I-THEM. **to go(past)**
 - 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)
- **Exception**
 - *pe.ta-s mthong-ste myur.du a.ma-i sa-r phyin-nas*
 - Peta-ERG. to see-CO. rapidly mother-GEN. place-OBL. **to go(past)**-CO.
 - Seeing the calamity that filled the area outside, **Peta rushed** to my mother and gave an account. (Mila 1.3) (Quintman, 2010: 34)

- The speaker, Mila, was not present in the village when his sister Peta saw his spell of black magic. Mila also wondered how it went few lines before.

/song/ with the third person

- *de.nas Bha.ri.ma na.re tsha.bo rang 'dir re.zhig sdod-cig*
- then Bharima CIT. nephew you here a moment to stay(imp.)-IMP.
- *nga-s sangs.rgyas-la gnang.ba zhus-'ong-gis zer*
- I-ERG. Buddha-OBL. permission to ask(past)-AUX. –PRM. to say
- *song-ba.las gnang.ba thob-ste*
- **to go(past)**-CO. permission to 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. (Mila 1.1) (Quintman 2010: 12)
- The speaker is Rechungpa seeing Bharima in his vision/dream.

/‘ongs/ and /byung/ ‘to come’

- The verb /‘ongs/ **does not indicate any grammatical opposition** based on the deixis.
- The verb /byung/ occurs with the second and third person only but it does not occur with the first person participant.

‘ongs with EVERY person

- *bla.ma-i rin.po.che da bdag-gis 'ongs-pa*
- Lama-GEN. precious now I-ERG. to come(past)-NOM.
- *dam.pa-i chos-la 'ongs-nas*
- pure-GEN. teaching-OBL. **to come(past)**-CO.
- Precious Lama, **I came** here for the genuine dharma, (but have done only evil deeds) (Mila 2.2) (Quintman 2010: 72)
- *khyod dang.po lan zhig yul-du 'ongs-pa-i*
- you first time ART. village-OBL **to come(past)**-NOM.-GEN.
- *gtam zhig byung-nas lo mang-du song*
- story ART. to be(past)-CO. year several-OBL. to elapse(past)
- It was said that **you once returned** to the village, but that was many years ago. (Mila 2.7) (Quintman 2010: 139)
- *khyed mi yin-nam 'dre yin zer*
- you(hon.) man to be-QUES. demon to be to say
- *nga mi.la thos.pa.dga' yin byas-pas*
- I Mila Thöpagä to be to say(past)-CO.
- *skad ngo.shes-te nang-du 'ongs nga-la 'jus-nas*
- voice to recognize-CO. inside-OBL. to come(past) I-OBL. to embrace(past)-CO.
- "Are you a man or a ghost ?" she asked. "I am Mila Töpagä," I replied. Recognizing my voice, **she came** in and embraced me, crying, “Borther, brother”. (Mila 2.7) (Quintman 2010: 142)

byung with the third person (or second)

- *nga-la sngar slob.ma ji.snyed.cig byung-ste*
- I-OBL. before disciple so many **to come(past)**-CO.
- So many disciples **came to me** in the past. (Mila 1.3)

Deixis *versus* Non-deixis In Middle Tibetan

- It is more precisely **the emergence of a double system of orientation (Oisel, 2013)**:
 - a deictic one (the asserter)
 - versus* a non-deictic one.
- Randy LaPolla (at SEALS 24, in May 2014) suggested naming it (personal) deixis *versus* relative deixis (other participant deixis, object deixis).

Deixis

- The couple *song* 'to go' and *byung* 'to come' is calculated **according to the location of the speaker (asserter)**.
- Therefore the verb *song* indicates something which is **moving away from the speaker** (I) while the verb *byung* indicates something which is **moving toward the speaker**.

Different kinds of deixis

- Real deixis**: the speaker was really present (in theory).
- Fictive deixis** (cf. "Deictic projection" implying a "fictive observer" in Diessel 2012, Lyons 1977: 579, Jakobson 1957, Fillmore 1997) :
 - Oneiric deixis**: the speaker was conscious in his own dream or vision
 - Hypothetical deixis**: the speaker imagines if he were present
 - Fake deixis**: the speaker pretends to be present (lies) in order to probably get the reader or the listener to imagine a specific sequence of a story.
 - This is what probably lies behind the *indirect evidential* category proposed by Zeisler (2014:10) which may convey **a borrowed deixis (i.e. a fictive deixis)**.
- These subcategories of deixis depend on the context.

Fictive Deixis

- Hypothetical deixis**
 - nan.tar ma-song-na khang.ba yang nged dbang-bas*
really NEG.-to leave(past)-CO. house also ours sovereignty-CO.
 - ma.smad-tsho phyi-r songs*
mother and children-PL. outside-OBL. to 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!
- Fake deixis**
- Mila the narrator who is not born yet did not see the scene of his father leaving hence the notion of fictive/fake deixis.
 - mi.la shes.rab rgyal.mtshan lho rdzas mang.po khyer-te*
Mila Sherab Gyaltsen south merchandise a lot to bring-CO.
 - byang stag.rtse-'i phyogs-su tshong-la song-nas*
north Taktse-GEN. surrounding-OBL. to sell(pres.)-CO. to leave(past)-CO.
 - Mila Sherab Gyaltsen having brought numerous goods from the South, **set out** to sell them in the vicinity of Taktse in the North. (Mila 1.1) (Quintman, 2010:18)

Relative deixis

- The verb pair *phyin* 'to go' and *'ongs* 'to come' does not depend on a deictic landmark
- It therefore explains why */phyin/* may occur sometimes with the third person.

- This is one reason why one can find many sentences in which the first person is used with the verb *phyin* but not with the verb *song* (because one can not in principle move away from oneself): *nga phyin* 'I left' occurs while *nga song* does not seem to.
- For the same reasons there are many instances with the first person which occur with the verb *'ongs* whereas it is not the case with *byung*: *nga 'ongs* 'I came' occurs but *nga byung* does not seem to.

(relative-)deixis > evidential

- A deictic landmark implies the existence somehow of an observer. This point plays an important role in the emergence of the evidential system and the occurrence of the sensory evidential.
- The lack of deictic landmark does not imply any observer and this is what lies behind the assumptive evidential.

Cislocative, translocative...

- I label the verb *byung* and *song* **cislocative** (toward me) and **translocative** (away from me) respectively when there is a deictic landmark.
- In parallel I respectively name the verb *'ongs* and *phyin* **vintive** (toward this place) and **andative** (away from this place) when there is no deictic landmark.

2. Motion auxiliary verbs In Middle Tibetan

- These assumptions are supported by the use of the same verbs as auxiliaries with motion verbs.
 - kho.rang thon-song*
he to go out-AUX.TR.
He also went out (and he walked away from me)
 - sring.mo yang thon-byung*
sister also to go out-AUX.CIS.
My sister went out (and she came toward me)
 - (nga) phyir thon-phyin*
(I) outside to go out-AUX.AND.
I went out (and I walked away from this place).
 - (nga) phyir thon-'ongs*
(I) outside to go out-AUX.VIN.
I went out (and I came back toward this place).
- Those auxiliaries are also used with metaphorical motion verbs (to say */zer/*, to give */gnang/*, to look */gzigs/*, etc.).
 - bla.ma gzims.khang-gi yang.thog-na zhal shar-la gzigs-nas*
lama room-GEN. terrace-OBL. face east-OBL to look(hon.)-CO.
 - thugs.dam-la.bzhugs-'dug-pas phyag-dang dar.yug phul-bas*
to seat in meditation practice(hon.)-AUX.-CO. salutation-ASS. bolt of silk to offer(h.pas)-CO.
 - zhal nub-tu gzigs-song*
face west-OBL. to look(hon.)-AUX.TR.
 - nub-nas phul-bas lho-r gzigs-song-ba.la*
west-ABL. to offer(hum.past)-CO. south-OBL. to look(hon.)-AUX.TR.-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)

Motion + Evidentiality

- I can thus claim that aside from **orientation** (direction) the translocative and the cislocative indicate a secondary value which is the sensory **evidential**.
- This is what lies behind the grammaticalization of the **sensory** and the **egophoric-receptive** in Colloquial Standard Tibetan.

3. Relative deictic Motion Lexical and Auxiliary Verbs In Modern Literary Tibetan

- **Two different corpses:**
 - *The Facetious Tales of the Corpse* “*Les contes facétieux du cadavre*”, Robin (2005). It has been translated from Chinese to MLT in **Amdo** –Qinghai and Gansu provinces-.
 - **The assenter is the narrator which is NOT present since he is telling a tale (i.e. there is an extended use of the fictive deixis with the ‘indirect’ sensory evidential song).**
 - Exile news papers and social media written **in India and the US.**
 - **The assenter is the reporter and is present since he is interviewing someone.**

In Tales

- The Middle Tibetan deictic opposition with the perfective is **not relevant** anymore.
 - **song** indicates a **translocative motion based on a relative deixis**. It works as an auxiliary and lexical verb.
 - It also conveys a **sensory evidential** with non-motion verbs.
 - **phyin** is not used.
 - **byung** indicates a **cislocative motion based on a relative deixis**.
 - **‘ongs** is only used as an equivalent of *byung*.
- **lexical verbs : song (relative deixis, translocative)**
 - *nyin gcig nu.bo don.grub-kyis rgyags.bro bskyal-nas der song ste/*
 - day one younger brother **Thöndrup-ERG.** supply to carry-CO. there **to go(past)-CO.**
 - *phu.bo-dang mnyam.du bsdad/* (Robin, 2005: 27)
 - elder brother-ASS. with to stay
 - One day his younger brother **Thöndrup went** there carrying some supplies and stayed with him. (Fictive deixis: the narrator speaking)
 - *gros.byed-rgyu-r da.bar.du nga-tsho lhan.cig song-nas*
 - to discuss(pres.)-NOM.-OBL. till now **I-PL.** together **to go(past)-CO.**
 - *ltad.mo mang.po mthong* (Robin, 2005: 44)
 - scenery a lot to see
 - They said : «Till now **we have walked along** together (lit.: **went** together) and have seen a lot of scenery. » (Real deixis : the seven brothers speaking)

• auxiliary verbs : **song VS byung** (translocative VS cislocative)

- *de.ma.thag gser nya gcig-tu sprul-nas chu'i gzhung-la bros-song /*
- immediately golden fish one-OBL. to turn into-CO. water-GEN. inside-OBL. **to flee(past)-AUX.TR.**
- *de.nas sgyu.ma.mkhan spun mdun.po yang*
- then magician brother the seven also
- *sram.mdun-la sprul-nas ded-byung /* (Robin, 2005: 33)
- otter-OBL. to turn into-CO. **to pursue-AUX.CIS.**
- As soon as he turned into a golden fish, he **fled away**. The seven magician brothers also turned into seven otters and **pursued him**. (Fictive deixis : The narrator speaking)

• auxiliary verbs : **‘ongs** (cislocative)

- *‘di-‘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/* (Robin, 2005: 35)
- this inside-OBL. **to fly-AUX.CIS.-NOM.** where to be located
- Where is the white pigeon who **flew to** this cave earlier (i.e. to you)? (Real deixis: the seven brothers asking Nagarjuna in the cave)

• auxiliary verb: **song** (sensory)

- *sgyu.ma sprul.sgyur-gyi man.ngag lhag.chad*
- magic emanation-GEN. instruction entirety
- *nor.gsum med-par shes-song* (Robin, 2005: 29)
- error not to have-CO **to know-AUX.SEN.**
- **He thus knew** in their entirety and without error, the instructions for the magic. (Fictive deixis : Narrator speaking)

In Newspapers

- In newspapers, the relative deictic motion system is mixed with an evidential system.
 - **song** indicates a **sensory evidential** with verbs of saying. It only works as an auxiliary, but NOT as a lexical verb.
 - **phyin** is still used as a lexical verb.
 - **byung** indicates a **cislocative motion based on a relative deixis** with (metaphorical) motion verbs.
 - It may also indicate the **inchoative** aspect (appearance of sth.) with other verbs. In this case only it may be combined with evidential final auxiliaries i.e. *byung* is a *secondary verb* (not an auxiliary).
 - **‘ongs** is NOT used anymore.
- **auxiliary verb song** (sensory)
 - *ngo.rgol.byed dgos-pa-‘i [...] rgyu.mtshan ‘grel.brjod.gnang-song*
 - to demonstrate(pres) must-NOM-GEN reasons to explain(hon)-**AUX.**
 - In addition, a Tibetan named Dorje **explained** [...] why they should demonstrate.
- **auxiliary verb byung** (relative deixis, cislocative)
 - *nye.char phyi.zla 6-pa-‘i nang bal.yul-gyi dmag.dpon*
 - recently month 6-NOM-GEN. in Nepal-GEN. the General
 - *pi.yar jang thwa.pa-dang rgya.nag [] -gi dmag.dpon*
 - Pi-yar Jung Thapa-ASS. China-GEN. the General

- *ka'o gang chung gnyis mjal.phrad-byung-skabs rgya.nag-gis*
- Cao Gang Chuan two to meet(hon.)-AUX.-CO. China-ERG.
- *bal.yul-la dmag.rogs bya-rgyu-i khas.len.byas-yod.pa.red*
- Nepal-OBL. military aid to do(fut.)-NOM.-GEN. to accept(past)-AUX.
- 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.

• ‘auxiliary’ verb *byung* (inchoative)

- *'jar.man-gyi bud.med de-'i rkang rus chag.gas-dang*
- German-GEN. woman that-GEN. leg bone fractures-ASS.
- *klad.pa skrang.sbos-byung-te dza.dra-gi gnas.stangs byung-yod.pa.red*
- brain to swell(past)-AUX.-CO. critical-GEN. condition to be(past)-AUX.2
- The German woman **had multiple leg fractures** (lit.: the bones of her legs **were broken**) and **had a cerebral edema** (lit. her brain **started swelling/swelled**), her condition was critical.

(Motion) Auxiliary verb > (Inchoative) Secondary verb

- *rste.gras-ru khag bzhi bdams.thon-byung-'dug*
- best-OBL team four to be selected-SecV.-AUX.
- The four best (Tibetan) teams (of football) **has (just) been selected**.
- *thengs gnyis.pa chu.tshod 10-dang skar.ma 14*
- time second o'clock 10-ASS. minutes 14
- *steng tshad.rim 5,3-can-gyi sa yom-byung-yod.pa.red*
- scale 5,3-NOM.-GEN. earth to shake-SecV.-AUX.2
- The earth **has (just) shaken** a second time (this morning) at 10:14 with a force of 5.3 on the Richter scale.

4. Motion > Evidentiality in Colloquial Tibetan

- The **translocative** /*song*/ (perfective) became a **sensory evidential**. It may also indicate a **proximal past**.
- The **cislocative** /*byung*/ (perfective) became a **receptive egophoric (evidential)**. It may also indicate a **distal past** or an endopathic (evidential).
 - One would probably expect the translocative (away from) implies a distal and the cislocative (towards) a proximal. But that is not the case.
- Contrary to Middle Tibetan, *song* and *byung* are used with **various verbs** i.e. **not only motion verbs**.

4.1. Translocative > Sensory

- It is also called the *sensorial*, *testimonial* or *constative*.
- Tournadre (2003: 558) : ‘...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 (tough, smell or taste).’

• [the whole process or at some point of it]

- *char.pa babs-song*
- rain to come down(past)-AUX.SEN.
- ‘It rained’ [I saw the rain falling] (Tournadre, 2001: 72)

- *sa.yom brgyab song*
- earthquake VBR(past)-AUX.SEN.
- ‘There was an earthquake’ [I was there and felt it] (*ibid*)

- *nyi.ma nang-la bsdad-song*
- Nyima home-OBL. to stay(past)-AUX.SEN.
- ‘Nyima stayed at home’. (Tournadre, 2003)

• [post-processual aspect]

- *nga-s brlags-song*
- I-ERG. to lose-AUX.SEN.
- ‘I’ve lost it’ (Tournadre, 2003: 200)

- *nga-s brjed-song*
- I-ERG. to forget-AUX.SEN.
- ‘I forgot’

- *shing.tog nyo-shul.ring.kar tang.ga.ril rku.ma.la.shor-song*
- fruit to buy(pres.)-CO. bicycle to be stolen-AUX.SEN.
- ‘Our bicycle **was stolen** while we were buying fruit’ (*ibid* 2003: 315)

- Tournadre (2003: 557, 199) : ‘The receptive egophoric 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.’ I add to the definition he can also undergone a state which implies an *endopathic value*.

- **The egophoric receptive is less grammaticalized than the sensory** i.e. the distinction between receptive egophoric and cislocative is not every time easy to make. One can still see more and less the (deictic) cislocative motion in the receptive egophoric use.

• [has been the recipient of it –actually or metaphorically-]

- *kho-s nga-la kha.par+btang-byung*
- he-ERG. I-OBL. to phone-AUX.EGO.REC.
- ‘He phoned **me**’ (Tournadre 2003: 172, 200)
- *khong nga-'i rtsa-la phebs byung*
- he(hon.) I-GEN. place-OBL. to come(hon.)-AUX.EGO.REC.
- ‘He comes **to my place**’ (*Ibid* 2003: 173)

• [perceived it]

- *lam.khag-nas brnyed-byung*
- road-ABL. to find-AUX.EGO.REC.
- ‘**I** found it on the road’ (*ibid* 2003: 180)

• [undergone the action]

- *khong-gis nga sman.khang-la khrid-byung*
- he(hon.)-ERG. I hospital-OBL. to take someone(past)-AUX.EGO.REC.
- ‘He took **me** to the hospital’ (*Ibid* 2003: 200)

[Here, the landmark would be the hospital and not the speaker if /*byung*/ were a **relative deictic cislocative**]

- [undergone the state –endopathic-]
 - *nga-s dran-byung*
 - I-ERG. to remember-AUX.EGO.REC.
 - ‘I remembered’

[The endopathic with the imperfective in those cases is marked by the suffix –gi or –gi ‘dug’]
- The **egophoric value is neutralized** in combination with the sensory. This also supports the fact that *byung* is less grammaticalized than *song*.
 - [receptive egophoric]
 - V + *dgos-byung* ‘I had to’
 - V + ‘dod- *byung* ‘I wanted to’
 - V + *long-byung* ‘I got time to’
 - V + *rgyu-byung*, V + *yag-byung* ‘I have been able to’
 - [receptive + sensory]
 - V + *dgos-byung-song* ‘he had to’
 - V + ‘dod-*byung-song* ‘he wanted to’
 - V + *long-byung-song* ‘He got time to’
 - V + *rgyu-byung-song*, V + *yag-byung-song* ‘He has been able to’

4.3. Translocative > Proximal Past versus Cislocative > Distal Past (Remote Past)

- with some specific verbs (Tournadre 2003: 200; *Ibid*, 2001: 73)
 - (*da*) *nga ha.go-song*
 - (now) I to understand-AUX.SEN.
 - ‘I have understood (right now)/Now I understand’
 - *versus*
 - *nga ha.go-byung*
 - I to understand-AUX.EGO.REC.
 - ‘I understood (before)’

4.4. Still Motion

- The perfective translocative /*phyin*/ (and imperfective /‘gro/) **is still used** as a motion auxiliary.
 - *bya phur-phyin-song*
 - bird to fly(past)-SecV.TR.-AUX.SEN.
 - ‘the bird flew **away from me**’ (Tournadre 2001: 91)
- The perfective cislocative /*yong(s)*/ (and imperfective) **is also still used** as a motion auxiliary.
 - *bya phur-yong(s)-byung*
 - bird to fly(past)-SecV.CIS.-AUX.EGO.REC.
 - ‘the bird flew **away toward me**’ (*Ibid*)
- But they are **NOT used anymore as final auxiliary verbs** i.e. they are called **secondary verbs** (Gyurme, 1994). They are always combined with evidentials.

Conclusion

- **Middle Tibetan** uses a **deictic versus relative deictic motion auxiliary system** (*song* VS *byung*, *phyin* VS ‘ongs). It indirectly implies sensory evidential *versus* assumptive evidential. It is only combined with (metaphorical) motion verbs.
- **Modern Literary Tibetan** uses a **relative deictic motion auxiliary system** (*song* VS *byung*/‘ongs). It has grammaticalized the perfective sensory evidential from the deictic translocative *song*. Sensory occurs with non-motion verbs.
- **Standard Colloquial Tibetan** uses an **evidential auxiliary system** (*song* VS *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* VS *yong-s*).

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Morphosyntax and semantics of ‘to go’ and ‘to come’ in Tibetan

	to go		to come	
	translocative (deixis)	andative (relative deixis)	cislocative (deixis)	vintive (relative deixis)
	<i>auxiliary and lexical verb</i>		<i>auxiliary and lexical verb</i>	
perfective	<i>song</i>	<i>phyin</i>	<i>byung</i>	‘ongs yongs
imperfective	‘gro		‘ong yong	

1. Middle Tibetan (Biography)

	to go			to come	
	sensory evidential	translocative (relative deixis)		cislocative (relative deixis)	
	<i>auxiliary verb</i>	<i>auxiliary verb</i>	<i>lexical verb</i>	<i>auxiliary verb</i>	<i>lexical verb</i>
perfective	<i>song</i>	<i>song</i>		<i>byung</i>	‘ongs
imperfective		‘gro		‘ong	

2. Modern Literary Tibetan (Tales, Amdo)

	to go			to come	
	sensory evidential	translocative (relative deixis)		cislocative (relative deixis)	
	<i>auxiliary verb</i>	<i>auxiliary verb ?</i>	<i>lexical verb</i>	<i>auxiliary verb</i>	<i>lexical verb</i>
perfective	<i>song</i>	<i>phyin</i>		<i>byung</i>	<i>yong</i>
imperfective		‘gro		<i>yong</i>	

3. Modern Literary Tibetan (Newspapers, In-Exile)

	to go			to come	
	sensory evidential	translocative		egophoric evidential	cislocative
	<i>auxiliary verb</i>	<u>secondary verb</u>	<i>lexical verb</i>	<i>auxiliary verb</i>	<u>secondary verb</u> <i>lexical verb</i>
perfective	<i>song</i>	<i>phyin</i>		<i>byung</i>	<i>yong</i>
imperfective		‘gro		<i>yong</i>	

4. Standard Colloquial Tibetan (Lhasa)