བཞག　as an aspectual auxiliary verb in standard Tibetan

Abbreviations: 1: first person; 2: second person; 3: third person; ABD: abductive; ABS: absolutive; ADV: adverbializer; ASP: aspectual suffix; COMP: comparative; COND: conditional; CONN: connective particle; DAT: dative-locative; DEM: demonstrative; EGO: egophoric; EPIST: epistemic; EQU: equative; ERG: ergative; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; H: honorific; h: humilific; IMP: imperative; INDEF: indefinite; INDIR: indirect marker; INT: interrogative; IPFV: imperfective; LIGHTV: light verb; NEG: negative; NMLZ: nominalizer; NT: neutral (modality); PERF: perfect; PFV: perfective; PL: plural; REDUPL: reduplication; SG: singular; TEST: testimonial

(1) མང་ཆེ་བ་　　འདི་འི་　　ནང་ལ་　　བཞག་**བཞག**་བཞག

mangche-ba　　*'di-'i*　　*nang-la*　　*bzhag-**bzhag**-bzhag*
a.lot-COMP　　DEM-GEN　　inside-DAT　　put-**ASP**-PERF.ABD

'Most [letters] are included in here.'

(2) གང་ཐུབ་ཐུབ་　　བཤད་**བཞག**་ཡོད།

gang-thub-thub　　*bshad-**bzhag**-yod*
INT-can-REDUPL　　say-**ASP**-PERF.EGO

'I have explained as much as I could.'

I. Pragmatic implications

I.1. The process leads to a definitive change of state of the patient (« Irreversibility »)

(3) TTF 4, 154 l. 7-9

སང་ཉིན་　　ཞོགས་གས་　　བླ་མ་　　ཁོ་རང་ཚོ་　　རི་འི་　　སྒང་ལ་　　ཕ་ར

sangnyin　　*zhogsgas*　　*blama*　　*khorang-tsho*　　*ri-'i*　　*sgang-la*　　*pha-r*
tomorrow　　morning　　lama　　3-PL[ABS]　　mountain-GEN　　on-DAT　　tither

ཕེབས་དུས་ཚམ་　　མདང་དགོང་　　རི་འི་　　ནང་ལ་　　སྦས་**བཞག**་པ་འི་

phebs-dustsam　　*mdangdgong*　　*ri-'i*　　*nang-la*　　*sbas-**bzhag**-pa-'i*
come.H-when　　yesterday.evening　　mountain-GEN　　inside-DAT　　hide-**ASP**-NMLZ-GEN

གཏེར་བུམ་　　གང་ག　　ཚུར་　　བཏོན་བྱས་　　བཀྲམས་–བཞག་–འདུག

gterbum　　*gangga*　　*tshur*　　*bton-byas*　　*bkrams –bzhag –'dug*
treasure-vase　　all[ABS]　　hither　　take.out-CONN　　lay.out-ASP-PERF.TEST

'The next morning, when the lama and his group] went towards the mountain, all the treasure vases that had been hidden during the previous evening had been taken out and displayed.'

I.2. The process is performed quickly, easily, without effort:

(4) TTF 6, 206 l. 19-22

ཨ་ནི་　　བླ་མ་　　དེ་ས་　　ས་　　ས�ྒོག་ས་　　དེ་ར་　　ས་རོ་　　ཡོད་པ་

ani　　*blama*　　*de-s*　　*sa*　　*sngog-sa*　　*de-r*　　*saro*　　*yod-pa*
then　　lama　　DEM-ERG　　place　　dug-NMLZ　　DEM-DAT　　letover[ABS]　　exist-NMLZ

དེ་ཚོ་　　ཕར་　　མེད་པ་　　བཟོས་　　གཙང་མ་　　**ཡག་པོ་བྱས**་　　བཟོས་**བཞག**་པ་རེད།

de-tsho　　*phar*　　*med-pa*　　*bzos*　　*gtsangma*　　***yagpo-byas***　　*bzos-**bzhag**-pared*
DEM-PL[ABS]　　thither　　NEG.exist-NMLZ　　LIGHTV　　clean　　**good-ADV**　　LIGHTV-**ASP**-PFV.NT

'Then the lama got rid of the remains of the earth where he had dug out, he cleaned up [the place] nicely.'

I.3. The agent does not care about the consequences of his action (« inconsequence »)

(5) TTF 6, 180, l.1-3

དེ་ལས་　　ང་ཚོ་འི་　　ཕུ་གུ་འི་　　དགེ་རྒན་ལ་ཡA་　　ཕུལ་**བཞག**་ན་　　གོས་ཆོད་པ་　　རེད

de-las　　*nga-tsho-'i*　　*pugu-'i*　　*dgergan-layA*　　*phul-**bzhag**-na*　　*goschod-pa*　　*red*
DEM-COMP　　1-PL-GEN　　child-GEN　　teacher-DAT　　give.h-**ASP**-COND　　useful-COMP　　EQU

'It might be more useful if we offer [momos] the our child's teacher.'

I.4. The process has « deleterious effects » (DeLancey 1991: 9)

(6) TTF 4, 64 l. 13-15

ཤིང་　　དང་　　ཆུ་　　དང་　　ཅི་དག་　　གང་ག　　དེ་ར་　　ལེན་**བཞག**་ཡོད་རེད།

shing　　*dang*　　*chu*　　*dang*　　*cidag*　　*gangga*　　*de-r*　　*len-**bzhag**-yodred*
wood　　and　　water　　and　　etc　　all[ABS]　　DEM-DAT　　take-**ASP**-PERF.NT

ཨ་ནི་　　ཁོ་གཉིས་　　ཇ་　　བསྐོལ་　　ཁ་ལག་　　བཟོས་　　དུག་སེ་　　བསྡད་པ་འདྲ།

ani　　*kho-gnyis*　　*ja*　　*bskol*　　*khalag*　　*bzos*　　*dugse*　　*bsdad-pa'dra*
then　　3-two　　tea[ABS]　　boil　　food[ABS]　　prepare　　like.that　　stay-PFV.EPIST

'They took wood, and water, and everything, then, the 2 of them stayed like that, making tea and cooking food.'

I.5. 'The process is performed despite being unappropriate in a given situation' : ('improper[ly]', DeLancey 1991)

(7) TTF 3, 80, l. 15-16

དེ་ལས་　　ཆོས་ཐོག་འགྲོ་**བཞག**་ན་　　ཡག་པོ་　　ཡོང་ས་རེད་　　བསམས།

de-las　　*chosthog'gro-**bzhag**-na*　　*yagpo*　　*yong-sared*　　*bsams*
DEM-COMP　　leave-**ASP**-COND　　good　　come-FUT.EPIST　　think

'[If I stay here, he will eat me…] Better than that, [things] might be fine for me if I depart, he thought.'

II. General properties of the aspect auxiliaries

I.1. Frequency :

	Occurrences in TTF 4	Proportion
བསྡད། bsdad 'to stay'	165	58,5 %
ཚར tshar 'to finish'	42	14,9 %
བཞག bzhag 'to put'	40	14,2 %
ཡོང་ / འགྲོ yong/'gro 'to come / to go'	35	12,4 %
Total	**282**	**100 %**

	bsdad	*bzhag*	*tshar*	*yong/'gro*	**Total**
Total corpus	208	123	59	35	**425**

I.2. Compatibility with TAM suffixes (extended corpus and elicited data):

	perfect	aorist past	imperfective	future	imperative	nominalizer	connective particle
བསྡད། bsdad	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ཚར tshar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
བཞག bzhag	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ཡོང་ / འགྲོ yong/'gro	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

Proportion of verbal ending according to auxiliary :

	perfect	aorist past	imperfective	future	imperative	nominalizer	connective particle	Total in TTF 4
བསྡད། bsdad	26%	29%	4%	1%	4%	12%	25%	**100 %**
ཚར tshar	7%	21%	0%	0 %	2%	0 %	69%	**100 %**
བཞག bzhag	40%	30%	5%	0%	5%	15%	5%	**100 %**
ཡོང་ / འགྲོ yong/'gro	0%	37%	34%	6%	0 %	6%	17%	**100 %**
Total in TTF 4	22%	29%	7%	1%	3%	10%	28%	**100 %**

III. Aspectual category expressed by the auxiliaries:

### II.1. tshar, bsdad and 'gro/yong :

**1) tshar : precessive - ཚར tshar < 'to finish, to be completed'**

Tournadre (2004: 28) :

> « The process […] which was expected at the […] Reference time has, in fact, already occured, or started. »

(8) TTF 6, 6 l.2-5

ཤི་-དུས	སྐབས་-ལ	གཡོགཔོ	ཁོ་-ས	[...]	མིག	ཡའི	སྔོ་སྐྱ	ཆགས་-ཚར་-སོང་
shi-dus	skabs-la	g.yogpo	kho-s	[...]	mig[abs]	ya'i	sngoskya	chags-**tshar**-song
die-when	moment-DAT	servant	3SG-ERG	[...]	eye	top	pale.blue	become-**ASP**-PFV.TEST

'When [the horse] died, the servant [said] : « [It is dead, there is no hope. Its] eyes have already turned pale blue.'


'die' ཤི་བ | 'be pale blue' | R (the servant speaks)
སྔོ་སྐྱ་ཆགས་པ 'turn pale blue'
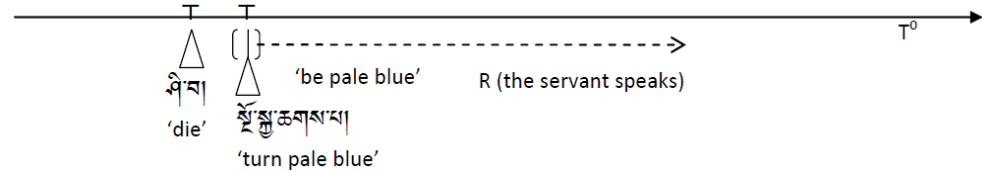
2) bsdad : durative - བསྡད *bsdad* < 'to stay, to sit down'

(9) TTF 4, 86, l. 20-21

ཤིང་སྡོང	དེ	འཇུས་-བསྡད་-པ་ཡིན
shingsdong	de	'jus-**bsdad**-payin
tree	DEM[ABS]	catch-**ASP**-PFV.EGO

'I held on to the tree.'

ཤིང་སྡོང་འཛུ་བ 'hold the tree'
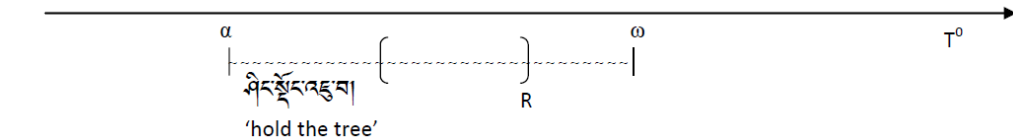
3) yong / 'gro : inchoative ཡོང་ *yong* < 'to come' འགྲོ *'gro* < 'to go'

(10) TTF 4, 186 l.3-4

དུས་ཚོད	འདྲ་པོ	གའི	མ་-ཕྱིན་-པ་-ཅིག་-ལ་ཡུ	ནམ་ལངས་-ཡོང་-པ་རེད
dustshod	'drapo	ga'i	ma-phyin-pa-cig-layA	namlangs-**yong**-pared
time	similar	nothing[ABS]	NEG-GO-NMLZ-DAT	rise(sun)-**ASP**-PFV.NT

'Hardly any time had elapsed, and the sun started to rise.'
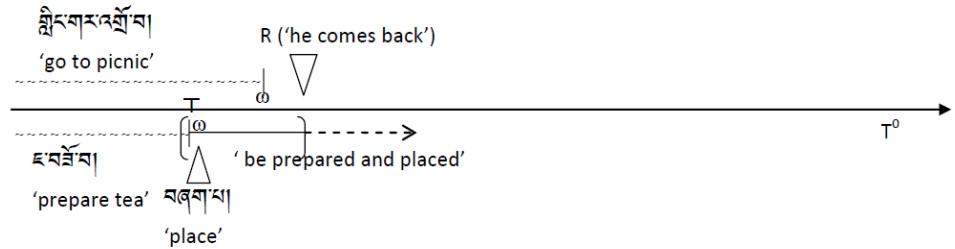

R : 'No time has elapsed'
ནམ་ལངས་བ 'the sun rises'
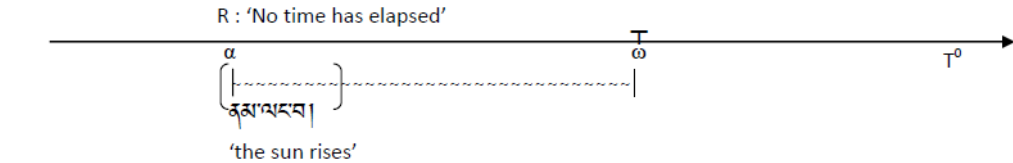
II.2. Bzhaq : delimitative and concomitative aspectuality :

Tournadre (2004 : 26):

"A process (or one of its phases) is concomitant with R if it is in the immediate vicinity of R, i.e. if it happens during R or if its outcome is still relevant in R."

1) Imperfective:

(11) TTF 4, 96, l. 19-20

གླིང་ག	འདྲ་པོ	ཕྱིན་-པ་ཡིན་-ན	ཤག་-ལ	ཚུར	སླེབས་-དུས
glingga	'drapo	phyin-payin-na	shag-la	tshur	slebs-dus
picnic	similar	go-PFV-COND	cell-DAT	hither	arrive-when

'If [the monk] went, for instance, to a picnic, when [he] came back to [his] cell,

ཇ	དོ་-ཚོ	བཟོས་-བྱས	བཞག་-བཞག་-གི་ཡོད་རེད	ཟ
ja	do-tsho	bzos-byas	bzhag-**bzhaq**-giyodred	za
tea	DEM-PL[ABS]	prepare-CONN	put-**ASP**-IPFV.NT	INDIR

'[The demon] would have prepared tea and put/placed it [somewhere for him].'

སྐྱིད་གར་འགྲོ་བ 'go to picnic' | R ('he comes back')

ཇ་བཟོ་བ 'prepare tea' བཞག་པ 'place' | ' be prepared and placed'

2) Aorist past :

(12) TTF 5, 238, l. 11-12

ཁྲིམས་ཁང་-ལ	ཞུས་བྱས	རྐུམ	གང་ག	འཇུས་-བཞག་-པ་རེད	ཟ
khrimskhang-la	zhus-byas	rkuma	gangga	'jus-**bzhaq**-pared	za
court-DAT	tell.h-CONN	thief	all[ABS]	catch-**ASP**-PFV.NT	INDIR

'It is said that it was reported to the court, and all the thieves were arrested.'

ཁྲིམས་ཁང་ལ་ཞུ་བ 'report to the court' | 'be arrested' | R
རྐུམ་འཛུ་བ 'arrest the thiefs'
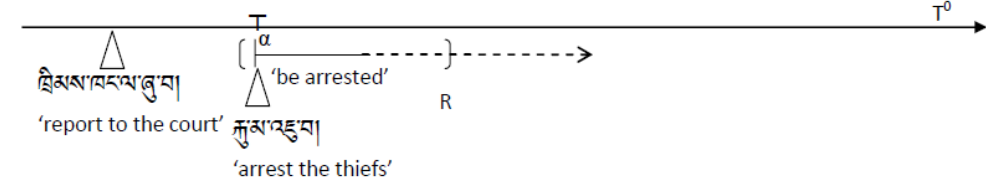
3) Perfect:

(13) TTF 1 162, l.16-19

བུ་མོ	དང	ཨ་མ	གཉིས	ལང་-ནས	ཕྱི་ལོགས་-ལ	དོན་-དུས་ཚ་ནས
bumo	dang	ama	gnyis	lang-nas	phyilogs-la	don-dustsanas
daughter	and	mother	two[ABS]	get.up-CONN	outside-DAT	go.out-WHEN

ཕར་ཕྱོགས	དེ་-ར	ཁང་པ	རྒྱལ་པོ་-འི	ཕོ་བྲང་-ལས	རྫིག་པ་-ཅིག	བརྒྱབ་-བཞག་-ཡོད་རེད
pharphyogs	de-r	khangpa	rgyalpo-'i	phobrang-las	rdzigpa-cig	brgyab-**bzhaq**-yodred
other.side	DEM-DAT	house	king-GEN	palace-COMP	beautiful.COMP-INDEF	LIGHTV-**ASP**-PERF.NT

'When the daughter and the mother got up and went outside, a house, more beautiful than the king's palace, had been built.'

ཁང་པ་བརྒྱབ་པ 'build a house' | 'be built' | R ('they get up and go outside')
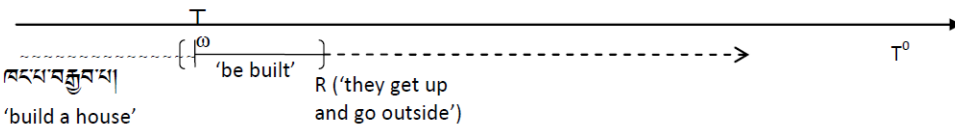
4) Future:

(14) TTF1, 176 l. 22-23

སྐྱག་རྫུན	མ་-ཤོད	ཁྱེད་རང	རྦད	དྲང་པོ	མ་-བཤད་-ན
skyagrdzun	ma-shod	khyedrang	rbad	drangpo	ma-bshad-na
lie	NEG-tell.IMP	2SG[ABS]	completely	honest	NEG-tell-COND

'Don't lie! | | If you don't speak perfectly honestly

ང་-ས	གྲི	བརྒྱབ་-བྱས	ཁྱེད་རང	རྦད	བསད་-བཞག་-གི་ཡིན
nga-s	gri	brgyab-byas	khyedrang	rbad	bsad-**bzhaq**-giyin
1SG-ERG	sword	LIGHTV-conn	2SG[ABS]	completely	kill-**ASP**-FUT.EGO

I will stab you, | | | and you will be killed for good !

T⁰ ... Tα 'be dead' R
བསད་པ།
'kill'
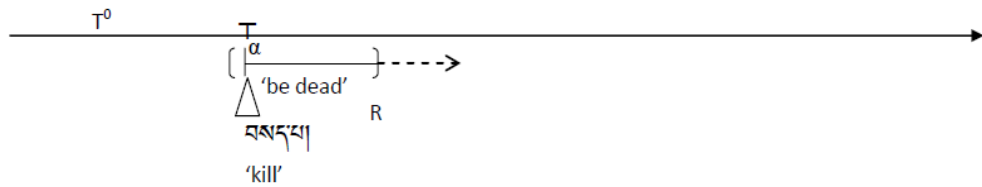
Telicity:

	lexical verb [+telic]	lexical verb [-telic]	Unclear [+/-telic]	Total	
བསྡད། bsdad	47%	33%	20%	208	100%
ཚར། tshar	83%	17%	0%	59	100%
བཞག། bzhag	91%	2%	7%	123	100%
ཡོང་ / འགྲོ yong / 'gro	97%	0%	3%	35	100%
Total	69%	19%	12%	425	100%

II.3. Control :

	lexical verb [+ control]	lexical verb [- control]	Unclear (slebs)	Total	
བསྡད། bsdad	76%	20%	3%	208	100%
ཚར། tshar	69%	20%	10%	59	100%
བཞག། bzhag	99%	1%	0%	123	100%
ཡོང་ / འགྲོ yong / 'gro	3%	97%	0%	35	100%
Total	75%	20%	5%	425	100%

(15) a.TTF 6, 64 l. 15-16

??? ལ་ དེ་ཡི་ འགོ་ དེ་ལ་ཡུA གངས་ བཏང་-**བཞག**-ཡོད་རེད།
??? la de-'i 'go de-layA gangs btang-**bzhag**-yodred
pass DEM-GEN top DEM-DAT snow[ABS] LIGHTV-**ASP**-PERF.NT
??? 'It had snowed on the top of the pass'

b. To be corrected to:

ལ་ དེ་ནི་ འགོ་ དེ་ལ་ཡུ་ གངས་ བཏང་-**བསྡད**-ཡོད་རེད།
la de-'i 'go de-layA gangs btang-**bsdad**-yodred
pass DEM-GEN top DEM-DAT snow[ABS] LIGHTV-**ASP**-PERF.NT
'It had snowed on the top of the pass'

II.4. Valency :

	lexical verb Monovalent	lexical verb Bi- or Trivalent	Total	
བསྡད། bsdad	46%	54%	208	100%
ཚར། tshar	42%	58%	59	100%
བཞག། bzhag	2%	98%	123	100%
ཡོང་ / འགྲོ yong / 'gro	80%	20%	35	100%
Total	36%	64%	425	100%

(16) TTF 3, 80, l. 15-16

དེ་ལས་ ཆོས་ཐོག་འགྲོ་-**བཞག**་-ན yagpo ཡོང་_ས་རེད་ བསམས།
de-las chosthog'gro-**bzhag**-na yagpo yong-sared bsams
DEM-COMP depart-**ASP**-COND good come-FUT.EPIST think
'[If I stay here, he will eat me…] Better than that, [things] might be fine for me if I depart, he thought.'

(17) TTF 5, 132, l. 4-6

phagi-r lhakhang yodred da yum dang sras srasmo phagi-r
there-DAT temple exist.NT so mother.H and son.H daughter.H there-DAT
lhakhang de-'i nang-la bskyal-**bzhag**-na ani lha khorang-tsho-s bsad-'gro-gired
temple DEM-GEN inside-DAT escort-**ASP**-COND then god 3-PL-ERG kill-ASP-FUT
'There is a temple over there. If you escort the queen, the prince and the princess in this temple, then, the gods will kill them.'

(18) TTF 4, 72, l. 18-19

དེ་ བསྐྱལ་-**ཚར**་-སོང་-ན khathug-la ma-r shog
de bskyal-**tshar**-song-na khathug-la ma-r shog
DEM escort-**ASP**-PFV.TEST-COND direct-DAT down-DAT come
'Once you have transported that, come down directly !'

	Single Argument པ pa (མཁན mkhan)	Agent མཁན mkhan (པ pa)	Patient པ pa	Dest. Benef. ས sa	Total
བསྡད། bsdad	7	13	1	1	22
ཚར། tshar	-	-	-	-	0
བཞག། bzhag	1	-	19	1	21
ཡོང་ / འགྲོ yong / 'gro	2	-	-	-	2
Total	9	13	20	2	45

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