

**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)<br><i>I eat dairy products (every day).</i>   | (1)b. English (Croft 2012: 114)<br><i>Owls hunt at night.</i> |
| (2)a. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014  |   |
| ད་ ལྷོན་གཞུག་ བརྒྱད་པ་ དྲུག་པ་ ནང་ལ་ ད་ ད་ རྩོད་ཀྱི་ འཇགས་ལྷི་ཡོད་ནི་རེད་ཡུ།<br><i>ta 'tonzək 'dza-pa 'gə-wa naŋ-a ta ta ʈoŋtɕa Ntʰak-konəre-ja</i><br>DISC autumn.end eight-ORD nine-ORD inside-DAT TOP DISC harvest grind-IPV.FACT-DISC<br>'In the end of autumn, during the 8th or 9th month, [we] grind the harvest.' |   |

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| (2)b. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014   |  |
| རྒྱ་སོག་གིས་ འདི་ མང་བ་ ཟ་གི་ཡུ།<br><i>'dza-sok-kə Nda maŋa sa-kə-ja</i><br>Chinese-Salar-ERG DEM many eat.GENER.SENS-DISC<br>'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)

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|--|--|
| (4) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014   |  |
| ད་ ལྷོན་གཞུག་ བརྒྱད་པ་ དྲུག་པ་ ནང་ལ་ ད་ ད་ རྩོད་ཀྱི་ འཇགས་ལྷི་ཡོད་ནི་རེད་ཡུ།<br><i>ta 'tonzək 'dza-pa 'gə-wa naŋ-a ta ta ʈoŋtɕa Ntʰak-konəre-ja</i><br>DISC autumn.end eight-ORD nine-ORD inside-DAT TOP DISC harvest grind-IPV.FACT-DISC<br>'In the end of autumn, during the 8th or 9th month, [we usually] grind the harvest.' ( <b>habit</b> )<br>'In the end of autumn, during the 8th or 9th month, the harvest is grinded.' ( <b>Permanent property</b> ) |  |

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

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|--|---|--|--|--|--|
| (5) Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014                     |   |  |  |  |  |
| ད་ ལུ་ཚེས་ བརྒྱད་པ་ དྲུག་པ་ ནང་ལ་ ལྷོན་ལེན་ ད་ ཡང་ཡུས་ དེ་ | <i>ta asi 'dza-pa 'gə-wa naŋ-a 'ʈaŋ-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 saŋa naŋ 'tɕi-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།<br><i>ʈʰiə taŋmu mnaŋ-a 'tɕatʰiə ser-nəre</i><br>water first.GEN name-DAT white.watering say-GENER.FACT<br>'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།<br><i>tʰaŋ-a ʈzak-ko-no ti mnaŋ-a 'dotʰen ser-ka-mo</i><br>ground-DAT put-IPV.NML.DF DEM.GEN name-DAT threshold.stone say-GENER.SENS-DISC<br>'That, what is put on the ground, is called "threshold stone".' |  |  |  |  |  |
| (6)c. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014  |  |  |  |  |  |
| སྤྲེལ་བོ་ར་ ཟེར་གི་རེད།<br><i>sʰewo-ra ser-kəre</i><br>basket-too say-GENER.FACT.SHAR<br>'It is also called "a basket".'  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (6)d. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ད་ དེ་གིས་ ལུ་ཚེས་ ཡོས་ ཟེར་གི་ཡོད་གི་སྟུ། ཀེཚ་གིས་<br><i>ta tə-kə ətʰi ji ser-koka ketsʰe-kə</i><br>DISC DEM-ERG 1PL.ERG oil say-IPV.SENS.PHAT ketse-ERG<br>'Well, (the product made) of that, we call it "oil", of ketse'   |  |  |  |  |  |
| (6)e. Amdo-Tibetan, Xunhua (Bismdo) 2014  |  |  |  |  |  |
| བྱ་བོ་ ཟེར་གི་ཡོད་ནི་རེད་སྟུ།<br><i>ʈɕawo ser-konəra</i><br>chicken say-IPV.FACT.PHAT<br>'[these] are called "chicken".'  |  |  |  |  |  |

(6)f. Amdo-Tibetan, Rebkong 2017

|                       |        |      |             |                       |                                     |
|-----------------------|--------|------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| མཉམ་མཉམ་              | ཡིན་ན་ | མཉམ་ | དེ་གྱི་འོག་ | མཉམ་མཉམ་              | ཟེར་བྱེད་པུ་                        |
| manək <sup>h</sup> an | jana   | mana | tice        | 'kor-s <sup>h</sup> o | <sup>N</sup> 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་འདྲེད།      | V-གི་འདྲེད།                        | V-གི་ཡོད་ཉི་འདྲེད།                 | 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<br>V-kä      | V-ཉི་འདྲེད།<br>V-näre | TOTAL     |
|--|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| Stative verbs                              | 12                | 2                     | 14        |
| V-དགོས་ <i>go</i> 'must'                   | 18                | 2                     | 20        |
| V-ཚོག་ <i>ŋ<sup>h</sup>ok</i> 'to be fine' | 11                | 1                     | 12        |
| V-ཉེན་ <i>ŋen</i> 'to be fine'             | 1                 |                       | 1         |
| V-མུག་ <i>t<sup>h</sup>ap</i> 'can'        | 1                 |                       | 1         |
| V-འདོད་ <i>ndo</i> 'want' (endopathic)     | 4 (+1 -གི་ཡོད་གི) |                       | 5         |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                               | <b>47 (+1)</b>    | <b>5</b>              | <b>53</b> |

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་འདྲེད། |
| har-nan | ts <sup>h</sup> ar-nan | ji   | <sup>N</sup> go-kä | <sup>V</sup> zak-i | <sup>V</sup> 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་ཟོས་ | ཀོ་རེ་  | ད།    | ཀོ་རེ་ | འདི་            | ཡོས་ | དེ་འ་ | ལྷེན་ལམས་            | བཟས་ན་             | ད།       |     |
| ta | asi     | kore    | ta    | kore   | <sup>N</sup> da | ji   | te    | <sup>h</sup> džen-li | <sup>V</sup> 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 <sup>h</sup>goni-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 <sup>h</sup> ar-ti | ta  | ts <sup>h</sup> akesək | ŋama  | ts <sup>h</sup> 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 <sup>h</sup> aŋ <sup>h</sup> o | <sup>N</sup> da | s <sup>h</sup> ak <sup>h</sup> ə | ŋ <sup>h</sup> e-ka | ra-ra                  | <sup>N</sup> 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<br>V-kä | V-གི་ཡོད་གི<br>V-kokä | V-བྱེད།<br>V-čäre | V-ཉི་འདྲེད།<br>V-näre | V-གི་ཡོད་ཉི་འདྲེད།<br>V-konäre | V-གི་འདྲེད།<br>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། | སྤྱེ་མ་           | བཏང་གི་ཡོད་དུས་ | ད།              | ཚུ་ཟིག་              | བཏང་བཏང་ན་ | ཚོག་གི་              |                  |
| ta | <sup>h</sup> nema | tan-koti        | ta              | ŋ <sup>h</sup> ə-sək | tan-tan-na | ŋ <sup>h</sup> 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་པུ།        | གཏོང་དགོས་གི་ | དེ་               | ནམ་           | བབས་བཏང་ན་         | བཏང་དགོས་ཉི་མ་འདྲེད་ལུ།         |
| sanŋ <sup>h</sup> 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་ལུ།   | ཨ་མ་   | ལུ་རེ་གིས་            | ཟ་གི་             |
| <sup>x</sup> ŋək-kə | sa-kokə-pa        | ama    | k <sup>h</sup> 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་འས་                       | མྱེལ་པོ་                                   | 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

|   |                 |             |                             |                  |           |
|---|-----------------|-------------|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------|
| དམའས་ཀྱིས་  | སྒན་མ་          | འདི་        | བཏབས་འན་                    | ཚོག་གི་          | ད་        |
| <i>ʼmasha-kə</i>  | <i>ʃanma</i>    | <i>ʼda</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་སྔང་འས་                  |                  |           |
| <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>ʼgo</i>  | <i>ʃanma</i>    | <i>ʼda</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་         | འུ་ཚ་ཚོ་          | ད་              | འཕུལ་ཏྲ་         | བཞོན་འས་      |
| <i>ʼgongmo</i>   | <i>jaŋ-na-ra</i> | <i>watsʰa-ʃʰo</i> | <i>ta</i>       | <i>ʼtʰata</i>    | <i>ʋʒon-i</i> |
| evening  | EQU-COND-COM     | man-PL            | TOP             | motorbike        | ride-CONV     |
| ད་   | གར་ཐོག་ར་        | ད་                | རྫོང་ཐོག་       | དི་འ་            | ད་            |
| <i>ta</i>  | <i>ʃaŋʰok-ra</i> | <i>ta</i>         | <i>ʼdzonʰok</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་འས་       |
| <i>təkə</i>  | <i>ʼcʰar-a</i>   | <i>jaŋ-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་འས་          | ར་ཟེག་        |
| <i>ʼgamo-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>ʼgapo-kə</i>  | <i>ʃa</i>        | <i>ʼtʰoŋ-a</i>    | <i>ʼdak-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་འས་           | ཚོར་            | འདོགས་གི་ཡོད་གི་ | ཚོར་          |
| <i>ta</i>  | <i>ʼgamo-kə</i>  | <i>sʰoŋ-i</i>     | <i>nor</i>      | <i>ʼdok-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་རྒྱར་       | ཆེ་རྒྱར་       | འདོགས་གི་ཡོད་གི་བྱ།  | ཆེ་པོ་   | ཆེ་པོ།       | རྒྱུ་པོ་     | རྒྱུ་པོ།     |
| <i>witə</i>                            | <i>witə</i> | <i>ʃʰeʃʰoŋ</i> | <i>ʃʰeʃʰoŋ</i> | <i>ʼdok-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>ʼlak-kare-mo</i>  | <i>ena</i> | <i>tə-kə</i> | <i>naŋ-a</i> | <i>ʼche</i> | <i>ʼdep-kare-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-ཚུ་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>ʃək-dzə</i> | <i>ʼda</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>ʰɲame</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་       | ལྷུག་མ་        | འཐུང་ཚུ་         | དི་            | རེད་བ།            |
| <i>ta</i>   | <i>ʼgongmo</i> | <i>tʰəkpa</i>  | <i>ʼthon-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་འས་        | གཞུག་འན་པ་          | ད་        | ད་        | ཡང་ཡུས་      | ལེན་ཚུ་རེད་ཡུ།      | [...] |
| <i>tə</i>   | <i>hane</i> | <i>tshaŋma</i>  | <i>ʋʌŋ-tsʰar-i</i> | <i>ʃʒək-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་          | ཨོ་སྤྱག་གིས་    | གཞུག་གིས་          | ལེན་ཚུ་རེད་ཡུ།      |           |           |              |                     |       |
| <i>janjy</i>  | <i>ta</i>   | <i>atʰək-kə</i> | <i>ʃʒək-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.'                          |             |                 |                    |                     |           |           |              |                     |       |

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(24) Amdo-Tibetan, Rebkong 2017

|                 |             |             |             |                  |            |               |                 |                   |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| མཎིཀམ་          | ཡིན་ན་      | མཎི་        | དྲིབས་      | སྐོར་སའོ་        | འདི་       | ལྷིང་འ་       | མཎིཀམ་          | ཟེར་རྒྱུ་རེད།     |
| <i>manəkʰaŋ</i> | <i>jəna</i> | <i>mana</i> | <i>tice</i> | <i>'kor-sʰo</i>  | <i>Nda</i> | <i>ʾŋaŋ-a</i> | <i>manəkʰaŋ</i> | <i>ser-dz̥are</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

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