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Himalayan Linguistics

Making and agreeing to requests in Old Tibetan

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ABSTRACT

The verbs sol 'request' and sol 'request' and sol 'gran' 'agree, grant', because of their complementary semantics and parallel syntax, provide a convenient window through which to caste light on the two forms of subordinate clauses that they both govern, namely infinitives and terminative verbal nouns.

KEYWORDS

Old Tibetan, switch reference, subordination

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Making and agreeing to requests in Old Tibetan

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1 Introduction

The verbs span gool 'request' and span 'agree, grant', have clearly complementary meanings; those addressed by requests either grant them or not. In addition, span is an honorific verb and span gool 'request' is a humilitic verb (Kitamura 1975). The verbs span 'agree, grant' also share a parallel syntactic ability to govern subordinate clauses. These subordinate clauses take two forms, which I call 'terminative verbal nouns' and 'infinitives'. The verbal nouns are those subordinated verb forms nominalized with the suffix span grant' -pa or span, to which the terminative case marker span added. The infinitives are subordinated verb forms followed directly by span and its allomorphs. Two verb stems make themselves available to function as infinitives, namely the present and the future. Terminologically we can thus further distinguish future infinitives' and 'present infinitives'. The verb span good 'request' governs the future infinitive and span agree, grant' governs the present infinitive (Garrett et al. 2013). To my knowledge the grounds on which verbs select either infinitives or terminative verbal nouns, and why some verbs govern present infinitives and others future infinitives, has not yet been discussed in print.

This essay attempts to elucidate these questions from the vantage point of the behavior or gsol 'request' and gsol 's gnan' agree, grant'. In order to ensure that we investigate a single linguistic system, the evidence examined here comes exclusively from Version I (mss. D + A) of the Old Tibetan $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$ (Jong 1989), a paraphrase in Tibetan of a well known Indic epic.

¹ This research builds directly on unpublished work of Abel Zadoks, in particular the sixth chapter of Zadoks (2017).

² The reader, like one anonymous referee, may prefer a different terminology than that used here, but since the English terminology for Tibetan verbal forms remains far from conventionalized and since a subordinate verbal form by any other name smells just as sweet, I implore the reader to bear with these terminological choices.

³ Taking inspiration from the French distinction between a "complément d'objet direct" that directly follows a verb and a "complément d'objet indirect" where an \hat{a} or de interposes itself between the verb and its object, one can draw a distinction between a Tibetan 'direct infinitive' and an 'indirect infinitive'. Where the subordinate verb directly precedes the matrix verb, this is the direct infinitive. In Version 1 of the Old Tibetan $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yanam$, I identify only the three matrix verbs $\sqrt[5]{n}$ "nus 'be able' $\sqrt[5]{n}$ " dgos 'need' $\sqrt[5]{n}$ phod 'dare' as governing a direct infinitive. Where the terminative converb interposes itself between the subordinate verb and the matrix verb, this is the indirect infinitive. Nonetheless, because both $\sqrt[5]{n}$ 'request' and $\sqrt[5]{n}$ 'gran' 'agree, grant' govern the indirect infinitive, it suffices for the purposes of this essay to understand 'infinitive' as always meaning 'indirect infinitive'.

⁴ Manuscript A has the shelf mark IOL Tib J 0737-1 and manuscript D the shelf mark IOL Tib J 0737-3.

2 The verb name gsol 'request'

Subordinate clauses governed by the verb $\P^{(s)}$ gsol 'request' show a striking distribution, whereby infinitives occur in direct speech (§2.1) and terminative verbal nouns in the narrative frame (§2.2).

2.1 The verb ন্ৰ্ৰিম gsol 'request' in direct speech

All examples of \P^{Nat} gsol 'request' governing infinitives in Version I of the Old Tibetan $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$ occur in direct speech. In most examples, the speaker requests of the addressee that the addressee undertake some action.

(1) ध्रेदणीन नष्ट्र नुर्नेस्य लेक न्यस्य पर्दा

```
« prin-yig brdzan-du gsol » źes gsol-pa-dan //
« letter send\FUT-CVB.TRM request » QUOT request-NMLZ-ASS //
```

'I request that [you] send a letter,' he said. (Rama A 273)

(2) नन्नी सुर्के से ना श्री सारस्या सम्बन्ध स्थान स्थान स्थान स्थान सुर्के हिन्दे देश स्थान स्था

```
« bdagi
               bu-mo Me-ga-sĭ-na
                                     hbul-na
                                                    bźes-su
« me.GEN
              girl
                      Meghasenā
                                     offer-CVB.LOC accept.HON-CVB.TRM request »
       / bu-mo
                      khrid-de
                                                           bul-ba-dan
                                                                          //
źes
                                     hons-nas
QUOT / girl
                      lead-CVB.SF
                                     come\PST-CVB.ELA
                                                           offer-NMLZ-ASS //
```

'I offer my daughter Meghasenā, I request that [you] accept her,' thus [he] brought his daughter and offered her. (Rama D 39-40)

(3) देह्रसमायास्य नार्थिया वेशासकेद्रमा

```
de rnams-la rmar gsol / źes mčhi-nas //
that PL-ALL ask.HON.CVB.TRM request / QUOT say-CVB.ELA //
```

'I request that [you] ask them,' he said. (Rama A 181-182)

In example (4) the agent of the subordinate verb is not the addressee, but generic.

(4) धुः सूना ना त्रुना था कदा यदी या शासी ना पुरान से विश्व सामित्री सामित

```
myĭ sdug gzugs čhan hdĭ-las prog-du gsol źes
NEG pretty form possess this-ABL rob\FUT-CVB.TRM request\HON QUOT
```

```
mčhiste / say\CVB.SF /
```

'I beg to be taken away from this ugly creature!' (Rama A 186)

Example (4) may lead us to wonder whether examples (1), (2), and (3) are also amendable to inter-pretation as passives, viz. 'request that a letter be sent', 'request that she be accepted', and 'request that they be asked'. If so, the implication in these sentences that the addressee is the one meant to undertake the action of the subordinated verb is a pragmatic result of the discourse situation rather than a syntactic consequence of the construction. Two further considerations weigh in favor of this passive interpretation. First, passives are cross-linguistically typical of the indirectness appropriate to polite requests; to say 'please be seated' lacks the impatient air of 'please sit down'. Second, a patient focused meaning characterises the future stem in general (Tillemans 1988, Tillemans and Herforth 1989, Tillemans 1991a, Tillemans 1991b). There are also considerations that speak against an analysis of examples (1)-(4) as passives; for instance, in example (2) the speaker is of course only offering his daughter to the Rsi and not simply asking that she be taken of his hands. Nonetheless, if we permit outselves to entertain the hypothesis that that the future infinitive, when governed by শ্ৰী gsol 'request', is syntactically passive and pragmatically a polite request, this hypothesis dovetails nicely with the wider tendency for future infinitives of transitive verbs to put the patient in focus.⁵ Example (5), with the unambiguous transitive subordinated verb 'hunt', makes this patient prominence clear.

(5) दुर्वः नञ्जुः नर्दः सेन्यायः धेवः नया नक्ष्याः नुः हीः सुरः हो।

```
hunĭbzlu-bahĭri-dags yin-bas/bsñag-duthisNFdeceive-NMLZ.GENdeer to be-NMLZ.ERG/hunt-CVB.TRMmyi ruṅ-ste/NEG suitable-CVB.SF /
```

This is a deceptive deer and is not suitable to be hunted (Rama A 145-146)

The clause \(\frac{\sqrt{3} \frac{3}{3} \frac{3}{5} \) bs\(\hat{n}ag\)-du myi run 'is not suitable to be hunted', in which \(\frac{3}{5} \) myi run 'is not suitable...' governs the future infinitive, includes no overt noun phrase, neither the hunter nor the quarry, but the unsuitableness obtains only to the quarry.

2.2 The verb sixin gsol request' in the narrative frame

In the narrative frame the verb space of 'request' governs the terminative verbal noun and not the infinitive. Naturally, those making the requests, those to whom these requests are made, and

_

⁵ Obviously, when the subordinated verb is intransitive it is the sole argument that is in focus, e.g. আইনিম্মেট্র্মার্মিন্ত্রিম্মেট্র্মার্মিন্ত্রিম্মেট্র্মার্মিন্ত্রিম্মেট্র্মার্মিন্ত্রমার্মিন্ত

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those who would engage in the requested activities are in the narrative frame all third person. Still, a variety of co-reference relationships are available among these parties; let us distinguish the three parties as 'speaker', 'addressee', 'undertaker'.

In example (6) the addressee and the one performing the requested activity are both the king (speaker \neq addressee = undertaker).

(6) कुल'र्य'म्भेगश्रप्यस्य र्शेल'दश्

```
rgyal-po gśegs-par gsol-nas /
king go\HON-NMLZ.TRM request-CVB.ELA //
```

They asked the king to come. (Rama A 115)

In example (7) the one requesting and the one performing the requested activity are both Lakṣana (speaker = undertaker ≠ addressee).

(7) নান্ত্ৰ-মেনা-প্ৰেৰ্থ-মূম-নক্ৰম-নমন্ত্ৰিম-ৰ্থা

```
gčun Lag-śa-nas snar brgal-bar
younger.brother Lakṣana.ERG first-TRM cross-NMLZ-TRM
gsol-nas //
request\HON-CVB.ELA //
```

The younger brother Laksana asked to cross first. (Rama A 314-315)

In example (8) the Devaputras are requesting a boon from Mahadeva, when the goddess of speech interferes. The request is for supernatural abilities; since no action is requested it is not meaningful for either the speaker or addressee to undertake the requested action (speaker ≠ addressee, no undertaker).

(8) वाद्रायाः अन्तरायः वस्त्रार्थेवा क्रेट त्वा्याः चरवार्थेवा चरव

```
mdah hphans
                                                 hgum-bar
                                                                gsol-bar
gan-la
                            phog-čhin
who-ALL arrow shoot.PST
                            hit.PST-CVB.CONT
                                                 die-NMLZ.TRM request-NMLZ.TRM
bsams-pa-dan /
                     mdah
                            dan-po hphan-ste
                                                        hgum-bar
                                                        die-NMLZ.TRM /
think.PST-NMLZ-ASS / arrow
                            first
                                   shoot.PST-CVB.SF
lha-mos
              bsgyur-to
              change.PST-FIN //
goddess.ERG
```

'They intended to ask that whoever they shot would be hit lethally, but the goddess changed it so the first arrow they shot would be lethal.' (Rama A 52-54)

In sum, the co-reference relations among the speaker, addressee and undertaker are in no way encoded by this construction.

3 The verb squai 'agree, grant'

The verb \P^{5} gnan 'agree, grant' also governs both infinitives and terminative verbal nouns, but the obvious division of labor that worked in the case of \P^{5} gsol 'request' with infinitives in direct speech and terminative verbals nouns in the narrative frame, does not here obtain. Instead, the present infinitive construction is used when the subordinate verb is intransitive and its sole argument is the same as the agent of \P^{5} gnan (§3.1), whereas if either of these criteria is not met, we instead find the terminative verbal noun construction (§3.2).

3.1 Present infinitives with the matrix verb and

All examples of the verb squan 'agree, grant' governing infinitives in Version I of the Old Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa happen to take the motion verb squan' gśegs 'go, come' as their subordinate verb. Nonetheless, as we will see when we look at the distribution of terminative verbal nouns governed by squan 'agree, grant', it seems likely that the plot of the story and not some grammatical constraint is the reason that we see infinitives only with this verb. The intransitivity of the subordinate verb is probably the salient factor.

(9) श्रीप्तर्ये प्रजिस्ति श्रीप्तर्था योभेगश्रासाम्बर्धाः

```
      «myi
      hgro-ho »
      źes
      byun-nas
      // gśegsu
      ma

      «NEG
      go\PRS-FIN »
      QUOT
      arise\PST-CVB.ELA // go\HON.CVB.TRM
      NEG

      gnan-no // grant\HON-FIN //
      //
```

He said: 'I shall not go' and did not agree to go. (Rama A 35)

(10) अ.२.५.म.ब्र.चीन्यश्चायद्मायसङ्गीतर्यस्था

```
Ma-ha-de-ba nǐ gśegsu gnaṅ-ba yaṅ myi
Mahadeva NF go\HON.CVB.TRM grant\HON-NMLZ WF NEG

hdraḥ-na //
seem-CVB.LOC //
```

'It doesn't seem like Mahadeva will agree to come.' (Rama A 37)

(11) र्क में इसका के निका त्यर गास्य राज्य निवाका सुर है निवर लेका

tsha-bo rnams tshe gčhig Lan-ka-pu-rar gśegs-su ji gnan »
nephew PL time ART Lankāpūra.TRM go\HON-CVB.TRM what grant\HON»

źes QUOT

'Would you nephews agree to go to Lankapura sometime?' (Rama A 8)

(12) क्षेत्रेत्र इस्रम्भ मनेनासु मन्दर हो॥

lhaḥiburnamsgśegsugnaṅ-ste//gods.GENsonPLgo\HON.CVB.TRMgrant\HON-CVB.SF //

The Devaputras agreed to go. (Rama A 9)

Looking for other examples of the present infinitive construction in the text, we find that among the verbs that Garrett et al. (2013) give as governing this construction our text offers only $\hat{\mathfrak{F}}$ byed 'do' and this only in one instance.

(13) इ.सर्वे (३५ केश नकर देश हित्सुय क्रेंस्हे। सं सं देश है। इ.स.ची (३५ स्था वी क्रेंस्ट्र त्रे केश नकर देश हित्स कर

rta-mgo hud čhes bčhad-nas / rdzu-hphrul stor-te / horse-head hud QUOT cut-CVB.ELA / magic lose-CVB.SF /

yo yo-nas / myi-dan spre-hu dmag-gĭ sten-du teeter teeter-CVB.ELA / men-ASS monkey army-GEN top-TRM

hgyel-du byed-pa-dan fall-CV-TRM do-NMLZ-ASS

The horse-head 'swoosh' was cut off. [The demon] lost his magical power. He swayed to and fro and made (as if) to fall on the army of the men and monkeys. (Rama A 319-20)

So, it is fair to say that co-reference between the subject of the super-ordinate and subordinate verb is part of the meaning of the present infinitive construction.

3.2 Terminative verbal nouns with the matrix verb 🍕 gnan

The terminative verbal noun is used whenever one of the two conditions (viz. coreference and intransitivity, §3.1) calling for the present infinitive construction do not obtain. Thus, we have

examples of co-reference but with transitive subordinate verbs (§3.2.1) and examples with intransitives but no co-reference (example 20).⁶

3.2.1 Examples of co-reference, but with transitive subordinate clauses

In example (14) the speaker, a Rṣi, agrees to himself accept in marriage Meghasenā, the daughter of Man-lya-pan-ta.

(14) हिंद्ग्री सुर्के प्यत्या विच सुरावेश पर विवर देविश सुरावेशा

```
khyod-kyi bu-mo yan // khab-du bźes-par gnan-no źes
you-GEN girl WF // wife-TRM take-NMLZ.TRM grant\HON-FIN QUOT
byun-nas //
occur-CVB.ELA //
```

'I consent to take your daughter as consort,' he replied. (Rama A 1)

In example (15) the addressees, the Devaputra, are asked to agree to themselves take revenge against the gods.

(15) र्ढ में हिन्दी अप्यवसूत्र बिरायु इसका वानान्यापर है नवर बेका नोर्कार प्राथमा

```
tsha-bo
              khyed-kyis
                                                         lha
                                                                 rnams //
                            lan
                                    glan-źiń
nephew
              you.HON-ERG answer answer-CVB.CONT
                                                                 PL
                                                                        //
                                                         god
kha gdag-par
                                                  gsol-pa-las
                                           źes
                     Ĭί
                            gnan
                                           QUOT request-NMLZ-ABL //
kha gdag-NMLZ.TRM
                            grant\HON
                    what
```

'Would you agree to take revenge and vanquish the gods?' he asked. (Rama A 20-21)

In (16) it is both Rama who does not agree and Rama who would rule (if he agreed to).

(16) ক্রিমে-শ্রীন্মর্লন্ম-শ্রেম্ব্রি-লাব্দ-ব্যথ্ন ।...

rgyal-srid mdzad-par myĭ gnaṅ-na yaṅ // \cdots reign do-NMLZ.TRM NEG grant\HON-CVB.LOC WF // \cdots

'Even if you don't agree to reign [...] (Rama A 88-89)

_

⁶ An anonymous referee proposes that examples (14)-(17) do not necessarily involve co-reference, and thus one can thus draw the stronger conclusion that the infinitive is used for coreference and the terminative verbal noun is used for switch-reference. I remain open minded about the possibility of this analysis, but believe it is appropriate for me to stay with the weaker analysis and hope that the referee will pursue this matter elsewhere.

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In a letter to king Rama, Hanuman requests that Rama does not rebuke him.

(17) नगायक्षे यस्य स्था सम्बन्धि स्था न स्था स्था ।

bkah myi hbub-par jǐ gnan źes gsol-nas word NEG send down.FUT-NMLZ.TRM what grant\HON QUOT request-CVB.ELA

'Would you agree not to rebuke me?' he asked. (Rama A 351-352)

3.2.2 Examples where there is no co-reference between the one agreeing and the one acting In examples (18) and (19) the addressee is asked to agree to let the speaker(s) do something. In both examples the subordinate verb is transitive.

(18) यन्यादीक्ष्याभार्त्यायीः र्वेद्रार्थाः यद्यीन्धरः हेयादरः देशः

bdag blon-po bgyid-par пĭ čhags hog-gi Ĭί gnaṅ below-GEN do.PRS-NMLZ.TRM what NF shoe minister me grant

źes QUOT

'... would you allow me to act as minister under your shoe?' (Rama A 88-89)

(19) भ्रुकें त्याध्यातर्कता चराहे या बरा लेका या केंद्रा राज्या

lha-mo-la pyag htshal-bar ji gnan źes gsol-pa-dan //
queen-ALL salute do-NMLZ.TRM what grant\HON QUOT request-NMLZ-ASS //

'Would you allow us to salute the queen?' they asked. (Rama A 414-415)

In example (20) a demon accidentally asks for the boon of sleep. The one granting the boon and the one sleeping are not the same. This example is intransitive.

(20) रेज़ैना दश्चेदर्भे तुम इलिया दुराना सुदर्भमा स्वर्था सम्प्रमान सम्प्रमान

क्ष्यायान्तरतादेश्चार्याम्बेनाञ्चेदेश्चर्त्रताङ्ग्यार्भे। याद्वेन्त्र्यापरद्यादरत्वेद्यास्त्रुस्या नुवाद्यव्याम्

re śig-na srin-po Bum-rna źes bya-ba // spun sems śan while ART-LOC demon Many-Eared QUOT do-NMLZ // fellow creatures

thams-čhad-la za-bar dňos grub bsgrubs-pa-las // lhaḫǐ all-ALL eat-NMLZ.TRM siddhi achieve-NMLZ-ABL // god.GEN

```
dban pos //
               tshĭg-la
                              dban-bahi
                                                     lha mo
                                                                     gčhig
                                                                            lčehi
power.ERG //
               speech-ALL
                              have power.NMLZ.GEN goddess
                                                                     ART
                                                                            tongue.GEN
thor to-la
               sprul-to/
                              gñid log-par
                                                             gnan
                                                     jĭ
                                                                            źes
               transform-FIN / sleep-NMLZ.TRM
                                                     what
                                                                            QUOT
tip-ALL
                                                             grant\HON
bsgyur-nas
                              thams-śad-du
                                             gñid log-pa /
                       dus
change-CVB.ELA /
                                             sleep-NMLZ /
                       time
                              all-TRM
```

'Once there was a demon named 'Many-Eared' who practised to acquire the power to eat all fellow creatures but, by the power of the gods, a goddess of speech transformed onto his tongue tip and changed [his request] into 'would you allow me to sleep,' whence he would sleep all the time.' (Rama A 301-303)

The goddess of speech also interfered with the wording of a request for a boon earlier in the narrative (example (21)). This example includes both spin and spin good as matrix verbs. The verb spin bgyid 'do', which is subordinate to spin gnan, is transitive.

(21) र्श्वन्वासुस्रात्मन्वरहोन्परवार्षात्मवरत्वस्रस्यान्दा भ्रात्मन्वरवहीन्परद्ववा भ्रास्त्रावस्य

```
srĭd
       gsum-la
                     dban
                            byed-par
                                                  gsol-bar
                     power do\PRS-NMLZ.TRM
world three-ALL
                                                  request-NMLZ.TRM
bsams-pa-dan /
                     lha-la
                                    dban
                                           bgyĭd-par
                                                                įĭ
                                                                        gnaṅ
think.PST-NMLZ-ASS / god-ALL
                                    power
                                          do.PRS-NMLZ.TRM
                                                                what
                                                                        grant\HON
lha-mos
              bsgyur-to
              change.PST-FIN //
goddess.ERG
```

"They intended to ask for power over the three worlds, but the goddess changed [this request] into 'would you grant us power over the gods?" (Rama A 50-51)

Example (22) is interesting because the second person addressee is potentially co-referenced as the subject of ALEALY mjal-par and it is not entirely obvious whether ALEALY mjal-par should be considered a transitive or intransitive verb. Nonetheless, since the terminative verbal noun is not used when both the subordinate verb is intransitive and there is coreference between the subjects of the matrix and subordinate verbs, we can conclude from the use of the terminative verbal noun that either the verb ALEALY mjal is transitive ('you consent to meet me') or at least that there is no coreference ('you consent to us meeting').

(22) श्रें स्५ ५ ५ हीं ५ ६ द्या यद केया सहया पर हे या दर लेखा

```
myiprad-dumyĭruṅ-na//lančhigNEGmeet-CVB.TRM NEGbe suitable-CVB.LOC//timeART
```

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mjal-par	jί	gnaṅ	źes
meet.HON-NML2	Z.TRM what	grant\HON	QUOT

'If it were not an option not to meet, would you consent to meeting once?' (Rama A 380-381)

4 Conclusions

In conclusion, future infinitives constitute a sort of passive that can be used as a polite imperative and present infinitives require an intransitive subordinate verb and coreference between the agent of the matrix verb and the sole argument of the subordinate verb. When neither the future or present infinitive are appropriate, the terminative verbal noun is used.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	ablative	NEG	negative
ALL	allative	NF	narrow focus
ART	article	NMLZ	nominalizer
ASS	associative	PFV	perfective
CONT	continuative	PL	plural
CVB	converb	PROX	proximate
ELA	elative	PRS	present
ERG	ergative	PRT	particle
FIN	finite suffix	PST	past
FUT	future	QUOT	quotative
GEN	genitive	SF	semifinal
HON	honorific	TRM	terminative
IMP	imperative	WF	wide focus
LOC	locative		

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