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Making and agreeing to requests in Old Tibetan

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ABSTRACT

The verbs གསོལ་ *gsol* 'request' and གནང་ *gnañ* 'agree, grant', because of their complementary semantics and parallel syntax, provide a convenient window through which to cast 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 གསོལ་ *gsol* ‘request’ and གཞུང་ *gnañ* ‘agree, grant’, have clearly complementary meanings; those addressed by requests either grant them or not. In addition, གཞུང་ *gnañ* is an honorific verb and གསོལ་ *gsol* ‘request’ is a humilitic verb (Kitamura 1975). The verbs གསོལ་ *gsol* ‘request’ and གཞུང་ *gnañ* ‘agree, grant’ also share a parallel syntactic ability to govern subordinate clauses.¹ These subordinate clauses take two forms, which I call ‘terminative verbal nouns’ and ‘infinitives’.² The verbal nouns are those subordinated verb forms nominalized with the suffix ལ་ *-pa* or ལ་ *-ba*, to which the terminative case marker ར་ *-r* is added. The infinitives are subordinating verb forms followed directly by ཏུ་ *-du* and its allomorphs.³ 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 གསོལ་ *gsol* ‘request’ governs the future infinitive and གཞུང་ *gnañ* ‘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 of གསོལ་ *gsol* ‘request’ and གཞུང་ *gnañ* ‘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 *Rāmāyaṇa* (Jong 1989), a paraphrase in Tibetan of a well known Indic epic.⁴

¹ This research builds directly on unpublished work of Abel Zadoks, in particular the sixth chapter of Zadoks (2017).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 *à* 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 *Rāmāyaṇam*, I identify only the three matrix verbs ལུས་ *nus* ‘be able’ རྒོལ་ *dgos* ‘need’ རྩོད་ *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 གསོལ་ *gsol* ‘request’ and གཞུང་ *gnañ* ‘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 གསོལ་ *gsol* ‘request’

Subordinate clauses governed by the verb གསོལ་ *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 གསོལ་ *gsol* ‘request’ in direct speech

All examples of གསོལ་ *gsol* ‘request’ governing infinitives in Version I of the Old Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa* occur in direct speech. In most examples, the speaker requests of the addressee that the addressee undertake some action.

- (1) འིན་ཡིག་བཟང་དུ་གསོལ་ཞེས་གསོལ་པ་དང་།

« *prin-yig* *brdzañ-du* *gsol* » *žes* *gsol-pa-dañ* //
 « letter send\FUT-CVB.TRM request » QUOT request-NMLZ-ASS //

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

- (2) བདག་གི་བུ་མོ་མེ་གསེན་ན་འབྲུལ་ན་བཞེས་སུ་གསོལ་ཞེས། བུ་མོ་ཁྱིད་དེ་འོངས་ནས་བྱུལ་བ་དང་།

« *bdagi* *bu-mo* *Me-ga-sī-na* *hbul-na* *bžes-su* *gsol* »
 « me.GEN girl Meghasenā offer-CVB.LOC accept.HON-CVB.TRM request »

žes / *bu-mo* *khrid-de* *hoñs-nas* *bul-ba-dañ* //
 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) དེ་རྣམས་ལ་སྐྱར་གསོལ། ཞེས་མཆིནས།

de *rnams-la* *rmar* *gsol* / *žes* *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) ལྷི་སྤུག་གཟུགས་ཆན་འདི་ལས་ཕོག་དུ་གསོལ་ཞེས་མཆིན།

myī *sdug* *gzugs* *čhan* *hdi-las* *prog-du* *gsol* *žes*
 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 Rṣi and not simply asking that she be taken of his hands. Nonetheless, if we permit ourselves to entertain the hypothesis that that the future infinitive, when governed by གསོལ་ *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) ལུ་ནི་བརླུ་བའི་རིང་གས་ཡིན་བས། བསྟག་དུ་མྱི་རུང་སྟེ།

<i>hu</i>	<i>nī</i>	<i>bzlu-baḥī</i>	<i>ri-dags yin-bas/</i>	<i>bsñag-du</i>
this	NF	deceive-NMLZ.GEN	deer to be-NMLZ.ERG/	hunt-CVB.TRM

myi ruñ-ste /
NEG suitable-CVB.SF /

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

The clause བསྟག་དུ་མྱི་རུང་ *bsñag-du myi ruñ* 'is not suitable to be hunted', in which མྱི་རུང་ *myi ruñ* '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 གསོལ་ *gsol* 'request' in the narrative frame

In the narrative frame the verb གསོལ་ *gsol* '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. མཚོ་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི་ངང་དང་རུང་། ལུ་དུ་བུ་བུ་བུ་གནས་མ་མཆིས། *msho-la brten-paḥī nañ-dañ nur // gud-du ḥpur-du gnas ma mčhis //* Ducks and geese which live on the lake have nowhere to fly for shelter (Rama A 348).

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 ≠ addressee = undertaker).

(6) རྒྱལ་པོ་གཤེགས་པར་གསོལ་ནས།

rgyal-po *gségs-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) གཞུང་ལག་གི་ནས་སྔར་བརྒྱལ་བར་གསོལ་ནས།

gčun *Lag-śa-nas* *sñar* *brgal-bar*
younger.brother Lakṣana.ERG first-TRM cross-NMLZ-TRM

gsol-nas //
request\HON-CVB.ELA //

The younger brother Lakṣana 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) གང་ལ་མདའ་འཕངས་པོ་གཟིང་འགྲུམ་བར་གསོལ་བར་བསམས་པ་དང་། མདའ་དང་པོ་འཕངས་སྟེ་འགྲུམ་བར། ལྷ་མོས་བསྐྱར་ཉོ།

gañ-la *mdaḥ* *ḥphañs* *phog-čhiñ* *ḥgum-bar* *gsol-bar*
who-ALL arrow shoot.PST hit.PST-CVB.CONT die-NMLZ.TRM request-NMLZ.TRM

bsams-pa-dañ / *mdaḥ* *dañ-po* *ḥphañ-ste* *ḥgum-bar* /
think.PST-NMLZ-ASS / arrow first shoot.PST-CVB.SF die-NMLZ.TRM /

lha-mos *bsgyur-to* //
goddess.ERG change.PST-FIN //

‘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 གཞན་ *gnañ* ‘agree, grant’

The verb གཞན་ *gnañ* ‘agree, grant’ also governs both infinitives and terminative verbal nouns, but the obvious division of labor that worked in the case of གསོལ་ *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 གཞན་ *gnañ* (§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 གཞན་ *gnañ*

All examples of the verb གཞན་ *gnañ* ‘agree, grant’ governing infinitives in Version I of the Old Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa* happen to take the motion verb གཞེགས་ *gśegs* ‘go, come’ as their subordinate verb. Nonetheless, as we will see when we look at the distribution of terminative verbal nouns governed by གཞན་ *gnañ* ‘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) མྱི་འགོ་འོ་ཞེས་བྱུང་ནས། གཞེགས་མ་གནང་ངོ།

«*myi hgro-ḥo*» *žes byuñ-nas* // *gśegsu* *ma*
«NEG go\PRS-FIN» QUOT arise\PST-CVB.ELA // go\HON.CVB.TRM NEG

gnañ-ño //
grant\HON-FIN //

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

(10) མ་ཉ་དེ་བཞི་གཞེགས་གནང་བ་ཡང་མྱི་འདྲ་ལོ།

Ma-ha-de-ba ni *gśegsu* *gnañ-ba* *yañ* *myi*
Mahadeva NF go\HON.CVB.TRM grant\HON-NMLZ WF NEG

ḥdraḥ-na //
seem-CVB.LOC //

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

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) ལྷོད་ཀྱི་སུ་མོ་ཡང་། ལབ་དུ་བཞེས་པར་གནང་ངོ་ཞེས་བྱུང་ནས།

<i>khyod-kyi</i>	<i>bu-mo</i>	<i>yañ</i>	//	<i>khab-du</i>	<i>bžes-par</i>	<i>gnañ-ño</i>	<i>žes</i>
you-GEN	girl	WF	//	wife-TRM	take-NMLZ.TRM	grant\HON-FIN	QUOT
<i>byuñ-nas</i>	//						
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) ཚོ་བོ་ལྷེད་ཀྱིས་ལན་གླུན་ཞིང་ལྷ་རྣམས་ལ་གདག་པར་ཇི་གནང་ཞེས་གསོལ་བ་ལས།

<i>tsha-bo</i>	<i>khyed-kyis</i>	<i>lan</i>	<i>glañ-žin</i>	<i>lha</i>	<i>rnam</i>	//
nephew	you.HON-ERG	answer	answer-CVB.CONT	god	PL	//
<i>kha gdag-par</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>gnañ</i>	<i>žes</i>	<i>gsol-pa-las</i>		
kha gdag-NMLZ.TRM	what	grant\HON	QUOT	request-NMLZ-ABL	//	

‘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) རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཇོད་པར་སྲི་གནང་ན་ཡང་། ...

<i>rgyal-srid</i>	<i>mdzad-par</i>	<i>myi</i>	<i>gnañ-na</i>	<i>yañ</i>	//	...
reign	do-NMLZ.TRM	NEG	grant\HON-CVB.LOC	WF	//	...

‘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.

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

(17) བཀའ་སྤྱི་འབྲུབ་པར་ཇི་གནད་ཞེས་གསོལ་ནས།།

bkaḥ myi ḥbub-par jī gnañ 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) བདག་ནི་ཆགས་འོག་གི་སྒོ་ནོ་ལོ་བགྱིད་པར་ཇི་གནད་ཞེས་

bdag ni ḥchags ḥhog-gi blon-po bgyid-par ji gnañ
me NF shoe below-GEN minister do.PRS-NMLZ.TRM what grant

źes
QUOT

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

(19) ལྷ་མོ་ལ་བྲག་འཚལ་བར་ཇི་གནད་ཞེས་གསོལ་བ་དང་།།

lha-mo-la pyag ḥtshal-bar ji gnañ źes gsol-pa-dañ //
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) རེ་ཤིག་ན་སྲིན་པོ་བྱམ་རྩ་ཞེས་བྲ་བ།། སྤྱན་མེམས་ཤན་ཐམས་ཆད་ལ་ཟ་བར་དངོས་གྲུབ་བྱབས་པ་ལས།། ལྷ་འི་དབང་པོས།།

ཚིག་ལ་དབང་བའི་ལྷ་མོ་གཞིག་ལྷེའི་ཐོར་ཏོ་ལ་སྤྱུལ་ཏོ།། གཉིད་ལོག་པར་ཇི་གནད་ཞེས་བསྐྱར་ནས།། དུས་ཐམས་ཤད་དུ་གཉིད་ལོག་པ།།

re sig-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 dños grub bsgrebs-pa-las // lhañ
all-ALL eat-NMLZ.TRM siddhi achieve-NMLZ-ABL // god.GEN

<i>dbañ pos //</i>	<i>tshig-la</i>	<i>dbañ-baḥi</i>	<i>lha mo</i>	<i>gčhig</i>	<i>lčeḥi</i>
power.ERG //	speech-ALL	have power.NMLZ.GEN	goddess	ART	tongue.GEN
<i>thor to-la</i>	<i>sprul-to /</i>	<i>gñid log-par</i>	<i>jī</i>	<i>gnañ</i>	<i>zes</i>
tip-ALL	transform-FIN /	sleep-NMLZ.TRM	what	grant\HON	QUOT
<i>bsgyur-nas /</i>	<i>dus</i>	<i>thams-śad-du</i>	<i>gñid log-pa /</i>		
change-CVB.ELA /	time	all-TRM	sleep-NMLZ /		

‘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 གཤོག་ *gnañ* and གསོལ་ *gsol* as matrix verbs. The verb བགྱིད་ *bgyid* ‘do’, which is subordinate to གཤོག་ *gnañ*, is transitive.

(21) སྲིདགསུམ་ལ་དབང་བྱེད་པར་གསོལ་བར་བསམས་པ་དང་། ལྷ་ལ་དབང་བྱེད་པར་ཇིགནང་ཞེས། ལྷ་སོས་བསྐྱུར་རྟོ།།

<i>sriḍ</i>	<i>gsum-la</i>	<i>dbañ</i>	<i>byed-par</i>	<i>gsol-bar</i>	
world	three-ALL	power	do\PRS-NMLZ.TRM	request-NMLZ.TRM	
<i>bsams-pa-dañ /</i>	<i>lha-la</i>	<i>dbañ</i>	<i>bgyid-par</i>	<i>jī</i>	<i>gnañ</i>
think.PST-NMLZ-ASS /	god-ALL	power	do.PRS-NMLZ.TRM	what	grant\HON
<i>lha-mos</i>	<i>bsgyur-to</i>	//			
goddess.ERG	change.PST-FIN //				

‘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 མཇལ་པར་ *mjal-par* and it is not entirely obvious whether མཇལ་པར་ *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 མཇལ་ *mjal* is transitive (‘you consent to meet me’) or at least that there is no coreference (‘you consent to us meeting’).

(22) ལྷི་བདད་ལྷི་རུང་ན། ལན་ཆེག་མཇལ་པར་ཇིགནང་ཞེས་

<i>myi</i>	<i>prad-du</i>	<i>myī</i>	<i>ruñ-na</i>	//	<i>lan</i>	<i>čhig</i>
NEG	meet-CVB.TRM	NEG	be suitable-CVB.LOC	//	time	ART

<i>mjal-par</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>gnañ</i>	<i>zes</i>
meet.HON-NMLZ.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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