# Switch-reference in Tibetan

(1) śru-tvā        spṛṣtvā      ca      dṛṣtvā      ca      bhuktvā      ghrā-tvā
   [[[hear-ABS]   [touch:ABS   and]    [see:ABS    and]    [enjoy:ABS]   [smell-ABS

   ca      yo                naraḥ|            na      hṛṣya-ti
   and]    who:NOM.SG.M      man:NOM.SG       not     rejoice-3.SG.IND.ACT]

   glāya-ti                      vā   sa              vijñeyo
   be.wearied-3.SG.IND.ACT       or]  that:NOM.SG.M   who.is.to.be.regarded.as:NOM.SG.M

   jitendriyaḥ||
   who.is.master.of.his.senses:NOM.SG.M
   'The man who, having heard, touched, seen, enjoyed and smelled, does not rejoice nor is
   wearied, is to be regarded as one who is master of his senses.' (Manu 2.98; quoted from
   Stenzler 1997 [1869]: 96, 339/ 7) श्रुत्वा स्पृष्ट्वा च दृष्ट्वा च भुक्त्वा घ्रात्वा च यो नरः। न हृष्यति
   ग्लायति वा स विज्ञेयो जितेन्द्रियः॥ (my translation from the Sanskrit)

## • Switch-reference in Shigatse Tibetan

|  | written Tibetan (Jäschke 1990 [1881]) | Shigatse dialect |
|---|---|---|
| 'to cut' (c) | gcod, bcad, gcad, chod | tɕiè, tɕiè, tɕœ̀ |
| 'to be cut' (nc) | 'chad, chad, 'chad | tɕʰiè, tɕʰiè |
| 'to break' (c) | gcog, bcag, gcog, chog(s) | tɕà, tɕà, tɕòa |
| 'to be broken' (nc) | 'chag, chag(s), 'chag | tɕʰà, tɕʰà |

cA      control verb (agent$_{absolutive}$)
(2) tɕʰĩ́ (only pfv.) 'to go' ཕྱིན
   ŋa̠     ʈʂʰōm-la        tɕʰĩ́-pa＝jĩ.
   I       market-DAT      go.PFV-NR-VOL.DIREV
   'I went to the market.' བཁྲོམ་ལ་ཕྱིན་པ་ཨིན།

cEA     control verb (agent$_{ergative}$, patient$_{absolutive}$)
(3) kàm, kàm, kòm 'to dry' བསྐམས, སྐོམས
   pīēmiè        ɕā      ka̠m-so.
   Pema:ERG      meat    dry.PFV-NVOL.DIREV
   'Pema dried meat.' པདྨས་ཤ་བསྐམས་སོང་།

cEDA    control verb (agent$_{ergative}$, beneficiary/ recipient$_{dative}$, patient$_{absolutive}$)
(4) ca̠p, ca̠p, co̠p 'to do' བརྒྱབ, རྒྱོབ
   ʈʂāɕì＝kʰi     ŋa̠lā     liẽ     ca̠p＝tɕu.
   Tashi-ERG     I:DAT     answer   do.PFV-NVOL.DIREV
   'Tashi answered me.' བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཀྱིས་ང་ལ་ལན་བརྒྱབ་བྱུང་།

cED     control verb (agent$_{ergative}$, patient$_{dative}$)
(5) mù, mù, no imp. 'to bite (dog, insect; only animate patients)' རྐུག
   cī tʰu̠        ŋa̠lā     mù＝tɕu.
   dog DEF:ERG   I:DAT    bite.PFV-NVOL.DIREV
   'The dog bit me.' ཁྱི་དེས་ང་ལ་རྐུག་བྱུང་།

ncA        non-control verb (patient/ experiencer$_{absolutive}$)
(6)   cʰà, cʰà 'to freeze' འཁག་
      tɕʰū      cʰà-ne.
      water     freeze.PFV-NVOL.DIREV
      'The water is frozen.' ཆུ་འཁག་ནེ།

ncAD       non-control verb (experiencer$_{absolutive}$, stimulus$_{dative}$)
(7)   ʈʂʰè̤, ʈʂʰè̤ 'to be afraid' ཟེད་
      ŋa̤    tà-la      ʈʂʰè̤-kì.
      I      tiger-DAT   be.afraid.IPFV-NVOL.DIREV
      'I am afraid of the tiger.' ང་སྟག་ལ་ཟེད་གིས།

ncDA       non-control verb (beneficiary/ recipient$_{dative}$, patient$_{absolutive}$)
(8)   ɲì, ɲì 'to find' རྙེད་
      ŋa̤lā    ţe̤mì = tɕi    ɲì = tɕu.
      I:DAT    key-INDEF     find.PFV-NVOL.DIREV
      'I found a key.' ང་ལ་ལྡེ་མིག་ཅིག་རྙེད་བྱུང་།

ncEA       non-control verb (experiencer$_{ergative}$, patient/ stimulus$_{absolutive}$)
(9)   ra̤ː, ra̤ː 'to be torn' རལ་
      ŋiè̤       ra̤ = kʰi     tʰe̤p = kʰo     ra̤ː-so.
      I:ERG      you-GEN    book-DEF    be.torn.PFV-NVOL.DIREV
      'I tore your book unintentionally.' ངས་རང་གི་དེབ་ཁོ་རལ་སོང་།

| Increasing active involvement in the event | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| | agent (Ag) | |
| | experiencer (Exp) | |
| ↑ | beneficiary/ recipient (Ben) | ↓ |
| | patient (Pat) | |
| | stimulus (Stim) | |
| Decreasing active involvement in the event | | |
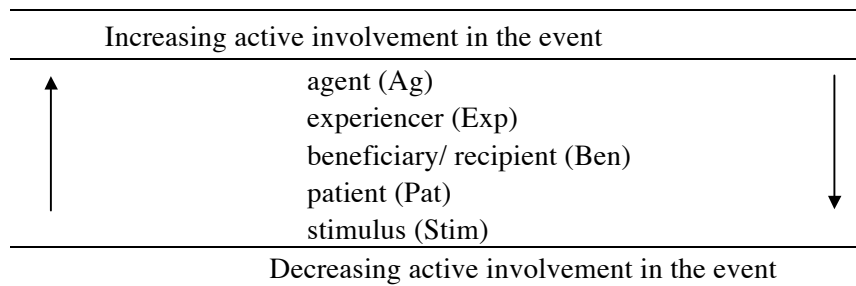
*Table 1. Hierarchy of semantic roles*


Two subordinators: *-ne* (written Tibetan *nas*) vs. *-pata* (written Tibetan *pa dang/ ba dang*).
Allomorphs *-ata, -lata, -ŋata, -wata*

(10)  piēmiè        kʰāpāː      **çà̤-ne,**        āmā-la       kātɕā
      [Pema:ERG    telephone   put.PFV-TEMP]    mother-DAT   speech

      **ɕiè-so.**                          çà̤-wata*
      speak.PFV-NVOL.DIREV
      'After Pema had put (down) the telephone (temporarily, she) spoke to mother.' པད་མས་ཁ་པར་
      བཞག་ནས་ཨ་མ་ལ་སྐད་ཆ་བཤད་སོང་།

(11)  piēmiè        kʰāpāː      **çà̤-wata,**       āmā-la       kātɕā
      Pema:ERG    [telephone   put.PFV-TEMP]    mother-DAT   speech

      **ɕiè-so.**                          çà̤-ne*
      speak.PFV-NVOL.DIREV
      'After (the other person) had hung up the telephone, Pema spoke to mother. (Pema spoke to
      a third person, and after the telephone call was finished, this person hung up the telephone
      and thereafter Pema hung up too.)' པད་མས་ཁ་པར་བཞག་པ་དང་ཨ་མ་ལ་སྐད་ཆ་བཤད་སོང་།

(12) $k^h\bar{o}$tsœ̀    $p^h$œ̀-wata,    ŋa̱    $t\text{ç}^h\tilde{\text{i}}$-pa＝ɲ̃ı.    $p^h$œ̀-ne*

[they:ERG    call.PFV-TEMP]    I    go.PFV-NR-VOL.DIREV

'After they had called (me), I went (into their presence).' ཁོང་ཚོས་བོས་པ་དང་ང་ཕྱིན་པ་ཨིན།

(13) ʈṣā¢ì-la    ŋū:    ɲ̀ì-wata,    tɕʰē:kā    piēmā-la

[Tashi-DAT    money    find.PFV-TEMP]    half    Pema-DAT

tē:-so.    ɲ̀ì-ne*

present.PFV-NVOL.DIREV

'After Tashi had found money, (he) presented Pema with half (of it).' བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལ་དངུལ་རྙེད་པ་དང་ཕྱེད་ཀ་པདྨ་ལ་སྟེར་སོང་།

(14) ʈṣā¢ì    ta̱ŋkò    na̱ŋ-la    lò̱a-ne,    piēmā-ta    ʈṣo:mā

[Tashi    yesterday.evening    home-DAT    return.PFV-TEMP]    Pema-and    Drolma

tɕʰāla    tiēmō    tiè-so.    lò̱a-wata*

together    television    watch.PFV-NVOL.DIREV

'After Tashi had returned home yesterday evening, (he) watched television together with Pema and Drolma.' བཀྲ་ཤིས་མདང་དགོང་ནང་ལ་ལོག་ནས་པདྨ་དང་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཆ་ལ་ལྡུག་མོ་བལྟས་སོང་།

(15) ʈṣā¢ì＝$k^h$i    piēmā-ta    ʈṣo:mā    tɕʰāla    pà    tsè-ne,

[Tashi-ERG    Pema-and    Drolma    together    playing.card    play.PFV-TEMP]

ʈṣā¢ì-la    $t^h\bar{o}$p-so.    ~ tsè-wata

Tashi-DAT    get.PFV-NVOL.DIREV

'After Tashi had played cards together with Pema and Drolma, (he) won.' བཀྲ་ཤིས་གིས་པདྨ་དང་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཆ་ལ་སྤུག་བརྩེས་ནས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལ་ཐོབ་སོང་།

(16) ta̱:kì    ōlō-la    $k^h$œ̃cū    jò̱a,    tō    tēr,    kᾱkō

[I:ERG    child-DAT    clothes    dress.PFV]    [food    give.PFV]    all

tɕʰiè̱-wa＝ɲ̃ı.

make.PFV-NR-VOL.DIREV

'I dressed the child, fed (it) and did everything (else).' བདག་གིས་ཨོ་ལོ་ལ་གོན་རྒྱུ་གཡོགས་ལྟོ་སྟེར་སྨད་པོ་བྱས་པ་ཨིན།

## • Switch-reference in the Biography of Milarepa

cEDA + cEDA (cf. ex. 4)

Nine subordinators: *rjes, te/ ste/ de, rting, na, nas* (Shigatse *-ne*), *pa dang/ ba dang* (Shigatse *-pata*), *pa la/ ba la, pa las/ ba las*, and *pas/ bas*

• Group 1 with the predominant reference relation $Ag_1Ben_2 > Ag_1Ben_2$, i.e. agent and beneficiary/ recipient of both clauses are coreferential.

| c | | c |
|---|---|---|
| E | ➡ | E |
| D | ➡ | D |
| A | | A |
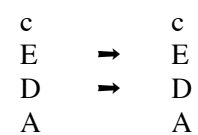
te/ ste/ de (5):

| | |
|---|---|
| $Ag_1Ben_2 > Ag_1Ben_2$ | (4) |
| $Ag_1Ben_2Pat_3 > Ag_1Ben_2Pat_3$ | (1) |

nas (18):

| | |
|---|---|
| $Ag_1Ben_2 > Ag_1Ben_2$ | (15) |
| $Ag > Ag$ | (2) |
| $Ben_1Pat_2 > Ag_1Pat_2$ | (1) |

(17) te/ ste/ de

| ngas | gser | g.yu | kun | **phul te|** … | **zhus** pas| … |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [I-ERG | gold | turquoise | all | give.PFV-TEMP] | request.PFV-TEMP |

'After I, (Milarepa), had given (him, the lama,) everything, the gold (and) the turquoise, (I) requested (of him): …' (**3**: 15) ངས་གསེར་གཡུ་ཀུན་ཕུལ་ཏེ། ··· ཞུས་པས།

(18) nas

| khyad par | Mdzes se'i | pha mas | rgyags | chu | sdor |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [especially | Dzese-GEN | parents-ERG | food | water | sth.added.to.a.soup |

| me shing | yan | **bskur nas** | nga | klog | slob sar |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| firewood | up | send.PFV-TEMP] | [I | reading | learn.IPFV-NR-LOC] |

| Mdzes se | mo rang | sems gso la | yang yang | **btang** byung| |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dzese | she-PTL | consolation-DAT | again.and.again | send.PFV-NVOL |

'After especially the parents of Dzese, (the fiancé of Milarepa), had sent food, water, things to be added to a soup (and) firewood up (to me, Milarepa, they also) sent herself, Dzese, again and again for (my) consolation to the place where I learnt reading.' (**2**: 30) ཁྱད་པར་མཛེས་ སེའི་ཕ་མས་རྒྱགས་ཆུ་སྡོར་མེ་ཤིང་ཡན་བསྐུར་ནས་ང་ཀློག་སློབ་སར་མཛེས་སེ་མོ་རང་སེམས་གསོ་ལ་ཡང་ཡང་བཏང་བྱུང་།

• Group 2 with the predominant reference relation $Ag_1Ben_2 > Ag_2Ben_1$, i.e. the agent and the beneficiary/ recipient of the first clause are coreferential with the beneficiary/ recipient and the agent of the second clause.

```
        c           c
        E           E
        D    >X     D
        A           A
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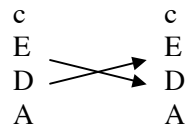
| pa la/ ba la (9): | pas/ bas (19): |
|---|---|
| $Ag_1Ben_2 > Ag_2Ben_1$   (8) | $Ag_1Ben_2 > Ag_2Ben_1$ |
| Ben > Ben           (1) | |

(19)   pa la/ ba la

| e 'ong | ltos dang | **zer ba la|** | ngas |
|---|---|---|---|
| [[[INT-be.practicable.IPFV] | see.IMP-PTL] | say.PFV-TEMP] | I-ERG |

| e yong | lta'o … | **byas** pas| … |
|---|---|---|
| [[INT-be.practicable.IPFV] | see.IPFV-PTL] | say.PFV-CAUS |

'After (my mother) had said: "Please see whether (this) will be practicable!", I, (Milarepa), said: "(I) will see whether (this) will be practicable! …"' (**3**: 6.2) ཨེ་འོང་ལྟོས་དང་ཟེར་བ་ལ། ངས་ཨེ་ཡོང་ ལྟའོ་ ··· བྱས་པས།

(20) pas/ bas

| nga yang | sho lan | len | **zer bas** | rung |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [[I-PTL | return.game.of.dice | take.IPFV] | say.PFV-TEMP] | [be.all.right.IPFV] |

**zer|**
say.PFV

'After (the trickster) had said: "I too want (a) return game of dice!", (Mila Dorje Senge, the grandfather of Milarepa,) said: "(This) is all right!"' (**1**: 27) ང་ཡང་ཤོ་ལན་ལེན་ཟེར་བས་རུང་ཟེར།

(21)  der                Ras chung pas      rje btsun la        phyag    **btsal**|         snyun
    [that-LOC    Rechungpa-ERG      venerable-DAT   bow      make.PFV]     [disease

**dris** nas|           rje btsun gyi        drung du          pus mo    **btsugs**
ask.PFV-TEMP]      [venerable-GEN    presence-LOC      knee       place.PFV]

thal mo    **sbyar** te                       'di skad ces          gsol ba
[palm        hold.together.PFV-TEMP]    [in.these.words       request.IPFV-NR]

btab bol|
make.PFV-PTL

'After Rechungpa (one of the most eminent disciples of Milarepa) had there bowed to the venerable one and inquired after (his) health, (he) kneeled (down) in (his) presence, folded (his) hands and requested (of the venerable one): …' (**1**: 16) དེར་རས་ཆུང་པས་རྗེ་བཙུན་ལ་ཕྱག་བཙལ། སྙུན་དྲིས་ནས། རྗེ་བཙུན་གྱི་དྲུང་དུ་པུས་མོ་བཙུགས་ཐལ་མོ་སྦྱར་ཏེ་འདི་སྐད་ཅེས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་བོ།།

(22)  This passage of the frame is preceded by the following context: The mother of Milarepa hides gold for him in the lining of the clothing of a yogin, and writes Milarepa about this in a letter that the yogin is to deliver to him. She is therefore forced to express herself enigmatically in the letter. Milarepa and his lama do not understand the letter, but the wife of the lama does. For that reason, she thinks up a trick to get hold of the clothing of the yogin and take the gold out of the lining. She first instructs Milarepa to call the yogin …

**bos nas**            me        chen po    **btang**|         chang    zhim po    byin te|
[call.PFV-TEMP]    [fire      big          make.PFV]     [beer      tasty        give.PFV-TEMP]

rnal 'byor pa'i    rgyab nas    bem po            phud de                yum gyis
[yogin-GEN         back-ABL      lined.clothing    take.off.PFV-TEMP]    [wife-ERG

gyon nas|            bem po            'di 'dra    gyon nas            rgyal khams
wear.PFV-TEMP]    [[[lined.clothing    such        wear.PFV-TEMP]    kingdom

skor ba'i                    mi la            skyid         yong           gsung zhing| …
wander.IPFV-NR-GEN]    human-DAT    happiness    come.IPFV]    say.PFV-CONN

My translation of this passage runs as follows:

'After (I) had called (him, I) made (a) big fire (at her behest), gave (him) tasty beer, and (she) took the lined clothing off (his) back, put (it) on and said: "(A) person wearing such lined clothing that wanders through the kingdoms will be happy!" …' (**3**: 52) བོས་ནས་མེ་ཆེན་པོ་བཏང་། ཆང་ཞིམ་པོ་བྱིན་ཏེ། རྣལ་འབྱོར་པའི་རྒྱབ་ནས་བེམ་པོ་ཕུད་དེ་ཡུམ་གྱིས་གྱོན་ནས། བེམ་པོ་འདི་འདྲ་གྱོན་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་སྐོར་བའི་མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་ཡོང་གསུང་ཞིང་།

Translation 1: Bacot (1925: 71): "Quand l'ermite fut là, elle lui fit un grand feu, et elle lui donna de la bière excellente. Puis, enlevant le manteau du dos de l'ermite, elle s'en couvrit et dit: 'Voici un manteau agréable pour voyager de royaume en royaume.'" (When the hermit arrived, she made a big fire for him and gave him some excellent beer. Then, removing the hermit's coat from his back, she covered herself with it and said: "This is a nice coat for travelling from kingdom to kingdom." (my translation from the French))

Translation 2: Evans-Wentz (1999 [1928]: 76): "She [i.e. my Guru's wife] read through the letter once, and then ordered me to call the pilgrim, which I did. She then had a nice big fire made, and *chhang* [beer] served, and caused the pilgrim to take off the cloak he was wearing. Then, assuming a playful air, she put it on her own back, and strutting up and down the room said, 'Happy indeed those persons must be who can go everywhere with no other clothing but this on their back!'"

Translation 3: Lhalungpa (1997 [1979]: 31-32): "When the yogin came, the lama's wife made a big fire and gave him some excellent beer. Then, removing the cloak from the yogin's back, she put it on herself and said, 'This is a nice cloak for traveling from place to place.'"

Translation 4: Wang (1997: 234): 瑜伽行者被请进来以后，太太便燃起熊熊的炉火，以甘美的酒给行者喝。到行者的背后，把他补缀的衣裳脱下，穿在自己身上说："穿着这样破衣朝山的人，一定很舒服的吧！""After the yogin had been asked to come in, the wife (of the master) lighted a blazing fire in the stove and gave the monk sweet and refreshing beer to drink. (She) went behind the monk, took off his patched clothing, put (it) on herself and said: 'A person wearing such worn-out clothes that makes a pilgrimage to a holy mountain will certainly feel very comfortable!'" (my translation from the Chinese)

Translation 5: Chang (1991 [1971]: 52): 師母就燒了一盆大火，請行者進去烤火喝酒。師母指天劃地，東說西說，順便就從行者的背後，把他的大衣脫下來，披在自己的身上說：「穿著這樣破舊的衣服去朝山，福氣一定會來的。」"The wife of the master lighted a big fire at once and asked the monk to go in to warm himself by the fire and drink beer. (She) chatted (with him) without restraint, took off (the monk's) overcoat from behind in passing, put (it) on herself and said: 'If (someone) wearing such old and shabby clothes goes to make a pilgrimage to a holy mountain, good luck will certainly come.'" (my translation from the Chinese)

Translation 6: Liu (1994 [1985]: 44): 我招呼瑜伽师进来，烧起温暖的火盆之后，给他斟上很好的酒，师母便从行者的背后帮他把衲衣脱下，自己披在身上说："穿着这样的衲衣云游天下的人，会很舒服的！""I told the yogin to come in, lighted a warm fire pan and, thereafter, poured him very good beer; the wife of the master helped (the monk) to take off (his) patchwork vestment from behind, put (it) on herself and said: 'A person wearing such a patchwork vestment that wanders about in the world is sure to feel very comfortable!'" (my translation from the Chinese)

• cEA + cEA (8):

| | |
|---|---|
| $Ag > Ag$ | (7) |
| $Ag_1Pat_2 > Ag_1Pat_2$ | (1) |

• cEA + cEDA (11):

| | |
|---|---|
| $Ag > Ag$ | (8) |
| $Ag_1Pat_2 > Ag_1Ben_2$ | (2) |
| $Ag_1Pat_2 > Ag_2Ben_1$ | (1) |

• cEDA + cEA (11):

| | |
|---|---|
| $Ag_1Ben_2 > Ag_1Pat_2$ | (6) |
| $Ag > Ag$ | (4) |
| $Ben > Ag$ | (1) |

• cEDA + cEDA (18):

| | |
|---|---|
| $Ag_1Ben_2 > Ag_1Ben_2$ | (15) |
| $Ag > Ag$ | (2) |
| $Ben_1Pat_2 > Ag_1Pat_2$ | (1) |

## Signs and Abbreviations

In the interest of economy, a category that is always expressed by zero, e.g. the absolutive case, is not shown in the interlinear gloss. The translation of the Sanskrit in the interlinear gloss refers to the root with absolutives and to the stem with finite verb forms.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| * | ungrammatical | | IMP, imp. | imperative |
| > | subordinate clause precedes superordinate clause | | IND | indicative |
| ~ | about equivalent, but not preferred | | INDEF | indefinite |
| A | absolutive | | INT | interrogative |
| ABL | ablative | | IPFV, ipfv. | imperfective |
| ABS | absolutive (Sanskrit) | | LOC | locative |
| ACT | active (parasmaipadam of Sanskrit) | | M | masculine |
| Ag | agent | | nc | non-control verb |
| Ben | beneficiary/ recipient | | NEG | negative |
| c | control verb | | NOM | nominative |
| CAUS | subordinator expressing a causal relation | | NR | nominalizer |
| CONN | subordinator expressing a copulative relation | | NVOL | non-volitional |
| | | | Pat | patient |
| D, DAT | dative | | PFV, pfv. | perfective |
| DEF | definite | | PTL | particle |
| DIREV | direct evidential | | SG | singular |
| E, ERG | ergative | | Stim | stimulus |
| Exp | experiencer | | TEMP | subordinator expressing a temporal relation |
| GEN | genitive | | VOL | volitional |
| | | | 3 | 3rd person |

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