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The Inclusive-Exclusive Distinction in Spoken and Written Tibetan

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1. Overview

Filimonova (2005: ix) noted that “[t]he term[s] ‘inclusive’ and ‘exclusive’ are traditionally used to denote forms of personal pronouns which distinguish whether an addressee (or addressees) are included in or excluded from the set of referents which also contains the speaker.” Descriptive studies show that most spoken Tibetan languages feature the inclusive (INCL) - exclusive (EXCL) distinction in first-person plural and dual pronouns (except in Southern Tibetan). Furthermore, this distinction is also found in Old Tibetan and Middle Tibetan texts (as is pointed out in Zadoks 2004, Hill 2007, 2010).

In this paper, we will first conduct an overview of the INCL-EXCL distinction in both spoken and written Tibetan. Then, based on this data, the following points will be discussed: 1) the classification of the INCL and EXCL forms of first-person pronouns, 2) the relations between these forms (of the two forms, which to identify as the default form for first-person pronouns), and 3) the historical development of INCL and EXCL first-person pronouns in Tibetan.

2. Data from Spoken Tibetan Languages

This section describes the INCL-EXCL distinction in first-person plural pronouns and provides some examples from the following Tibetan languages (dialects):

- 2.1 Amdo Tibetan
- 2.2 Kham Tibetan
- 2.3 Central Tibetan
- 2.4 Western Archaic Tibetan
- 2.5 Western Innovative Tibetan
- 2.6 Southern Tibetan

2.1. Amdo Tibetan

In Amdo Tibetan, many dialects show the INCL-EXCL distinction in the first-person plural and dual (in many cases the dual pronoun is not described). Table 1 shows that in most cases, Amdo Tibetan dialects have the same plural or dual marker but different plural and dual pronouns. Plural markers are *-te^ho*, *-te^hu*, *-te^ho?*, *-ro*, *-s^ho*. Most of these markers can also be added to nouns. Dual markers are *-ŋəka*, *-ŋika*, *-hŋi*, *-ŋərhka*, *-ŋiya*; they are derived from the number ‘two’ (WT¹: *gnyis*). All the EXCL pronouns are derived from 1SG pronoun *ŋa* (WT: *nga*). INCL pronouns are those starting with vowels: *ə*, *ako*, *uk*, *oŋngo*.

In the following data, Rgyaye is from Ebihara (2010), Chabcha is from Ebihara (2008), and Grotshang 2 and Dpa’ ris data is from the present author. Themchen data is from Haller (2004). Dgabde, Rtsekhog, Grotshang 1, and Arig are from Gesang and Gesang (2002). Rmachu is from Zhou (2003).

Table 1: Amdo Tibetan

	1SG	1PL INCL	1PL EXCL	1DU INCL	1DU EXCL
Rgyaye	ŋa	ə-te ^h o	ŋə-te ^h o	ə-ŋəka	ŋə-ŋəka
Chabcha	ŋa	ako-te ^h o	ŋə-te ^h o	ako-ŋəka	ŋə-ŋəka
Themchen	ŋa	ə-te ^h u	ŋə-te ^h u	-	-
Dgabde	-	uk-te ^h o?	ŋə-te ^h o?	-	-
Rtsekhog	ŋa	ə-ro	ŋə-ro	-	-
Grotshang 1	ŋa	ako	ŋa-htso	-	-
Grotshang 2	ŋa	ako (ts ^h anma)	ŋa-ts ^h o	ako-ŋika	ŋa-ŋika
Arig	-	uk-te ^h o	ŋə-te ^h o	-	-
Dpa’ ris	ŋa	oŋngo	ŋə-s ^h o	ə-hŋi	ŋe-hŋi
Rmachu	ŋa	ə-tehaka	ŋə-tehaka	ə-ŋiya	ŋə-ŋiya

The following examples are from the Rgyaye dialect of Amdo Tibetan. In them, the INCL and EXCL forms are not interchangeable.

- (1) a. *ŋəte^ho amdo wol jən.*
 1PL.EXCL Amdo Tibetan COP
 ‘We [EXCL] are Amdo Tibetan.’

- b. *c^hite^ho k^hamba=kə wol tɛ.*
 2PL Kham.people=GEN Tibetan COP
 ‘You are Kham Tibetan.’

¹ WT is the abbreviation of Written Tibetan.

- c. *əte^ho jəkə woʔ tɛ.*
 1PL.INCL all Tibetan COP
 ‘We [INCL] are Tibetan.’
- (2) a. *ŋətɛ^hi sak^han hsarwa=zək hət=tan=ŋa.*
 1PL.EXCL.ERG restaurant new=INDF open=AUX=AUX
 ‘We [EXCL] opened new restaurant.’
- b. *ŋəntsək=zək=a c^ho=ra çok=ra, əte^hi ɛegə*
 some.time=INDF=DAT 2SG=PP come.IMP 1PL.INCL.ERG very
tək sa.
 a.little eat.IPF
 ‘Please come sometime and we [EXCL] will eat a lot.’
- (3) a. *c^ho ɛ^he=kə rək sa-ʝo ga=gə.*
 2PL flour=GEN kind eat.IPF-NMLZ like=AUX
 ‘You like eating food made from flour.’
- b. *ŋətɛ^ho nɛ sa-ʝo ga=gə.*
 1PL.EXCL rice eat.IPF-NMLZ like=AUX
 ‘We [EXCL] like eating rice.’
- c. *tergoŋ əte^hi tɛ^həzək sa=ʝi?*
 tonight 1SG.INCL what eat.IPF=AUX
 ‘What will we eat tonight?’
- (4) a. *c^hite^hu gɛrgan k^hu=tan=zək.*
 2PL.GEN teacher get.sick=AUX=AUX
 ‘Your teacher got sick.’
- b. *ŋətɛ^hu gɛrgan=kə=ra ma ʃi=tan=zək.*
 1PL.EXCL.GEN teacher=ERG=PP take.rest.PF=AUX=AUX
 ‘Our [EXCL] teacher took a rest, too.’

c. *hŋika* *joŋ=ŋi* *loptʰəl* *jəl* *tʰəp=ʃəmare.*
 two.persons come=CONJ lecture do.IPF can=AUX.NEG
 ‘Two (teachers) cannot come and give a lecture’

d. *ətɕʰi* *mŋam=kə* *raŋdzon* *jɛc=ci?*
 1PL.INCL.ERG together self.study do.IPF=AUX
 ‘Shall we [INCL] do self-study together?’

(5) *ə-ŋəka* *sama* *sa=gə* *ŋo=re?*
 1DU.INCL food eat.IPF=PUR go.IPF=SFP
 ‘How about we two [INCL] go to eat something?’

2.2. Kham Tibetan

In Kham Tibetan, the formation of INCL and EXCL pronouns shows more variety than in Amdo Tibetan. In the Khri ’du dialect, the plural marker *tuiũ²²bə³³* (WT: *dum bu*) is used in both INCL and EXCL plural pronouns, but the pronoun is different. In the Sdedge dialect, the INCL form is formed by the insertion of *rĩ:* (WT: *rigs*) into the EXCL form *ŋe:-nã:*. In the Dongwang dialect, INCL and EXCL forms are totally different from each other (*=kĩ* is a popular plural marker for pluralizing nouns, while *ˈdza⁵⁵* is a plural marker only for pronouns, according to [Bartee 2007: 108]). Further, both INCL and EXCL forms are different from the 1SG form. In the ’Ba’ thang dialect, both INCL and EXCL pronouns start with *ŋ-*, but the following parts are different (*ro¹³* is a plural marker only for pronouns). In Nangchen, the INCL and EXCL pronouns are the same, but the plural markers for them are different.

Khri ’du data is by Tshe skyid Dbang mo (personal communication), Sdedge is from Häslér (2003), Dongwang is from Bartee (2007), ’Ba’ thang is from Ge sang and Ge sang (2002), Nangchen is from Causemann (1989), and Gaize is from Qu and Tan (1983).

Table 2: Kham Tibetan

	1SG	1PL_INCL	1PL_EXCL	1DU_INCL	1DU_EXCL
Khri 'du	ŋa ⁵³	ŋui ²³ tũ ²² mbui ³³	ŋɛ ²² tũm ²² bui ³³	ŋui ²² ɲi ³³	ŋɛ ⁵⁵ ɲi ³³
Sdedge	ŋa	ŋɛ: 'rĩ: -nã:	ŋɛ:-dã:, ŋɛ:-nã: ŋɛ:-ts ^h õ	-	-
Dongwang	ŋa ¹³	ə ¹¹ k ^h u ⁵⁵ (=kĩ)	wo ⁵⁵ⁿ dza ⁵⁵ (=kĩ)	-	-
'Ba' thang	ŋa ¹³¹	ŋo ¹³ ro ¹³	ŋø ¹³	-	-
Nangchen	ña, ñak	ñekä	ñegä	ñäik 'ñi:	ñe 'ñi:
Gaize	ŋa ³¹	ŋəɽ ²² so ⁵³	ŋə ²² so ⁵³		

The following examples are from the Khri 'du dialect. In these examples, INCL and EXCL forms are not interchangeable.

- (6) a. *ŋɛ³² tũ²² mbui³³ khã²² ba³³ rɛ⁵³.*

1PL.EXCL Kham people COP

'We [EXCL] are Kham Tibetan.'

- b. *hui³² tũ²² mbui³³ ã⁵⁵ do³³ rɛ⁵³.*

2PL Amdo COP

'You are Amdo Tibetan.'

- c. *ŋui²³ tũ²² mbui³³ ruu²² ŋɛ³³ bɛ⁵³ rɛ⁵³.*

1PL.INCL all Tibetan COP

'We [INCL] are Tibetan.'

- (7) a. *ŋui²³ tũ²² mbui³³ ruu²² gɛ³³ pha²² wa³³ tɛɛ²³=guu⁵³ bui²² dzu³³ rɛ⁵³.*

1PL.INCL all parents one=GEN children COP

'We all [INCL] are born from the same parents.'

- b. *ɖui²² ʒui³³ ho⁵³ cu⁵⁵ ndui³³ ɖui³³ tho⁵³ du²³.*

but 2SG that like tall COP

'But, you are tall like that.'

- c. *ŋɛ²³ tũ²² mbui³³ ui⁵⁵ ɖui³³ thũ⁵³ du²³.*

1PL.EXCL this like short COP

'We [EXCL] are short like this.'

- (8) $\eta u^{22} \eta i^{33}$ $sa^{55} wa^{33}$ $sa^{53} = ji^{32}$ qo^{53} .
 1DU.INCL food eat=PUR go
 ‘Let’s we two [INCL] go to eat!’ (Literal translation)

2.3. Central Tibetan

In Lhasa, the INCL form is created by inserting *rang*, meaning ‘self’, into EXCL *nga tsho*². In Shigatse, in contrast, plural markers are different: *ɲari* (INCL) and *ɲateà* (EXCL, neutral). The form *tàtso* is also used as an EXCL form because it serves as a modest form, excluding the second-person. This form is originally a modest expression but incidentally serve as EXCL. In Dingri, the INCL form *ɲantshō* is created by adding a plural *-tshō* to 1SG *ɲa*, while the EXCL forms *taktshō* and *jɛ:ca* are formed by adding plural markers *-tshō*, *-ca* to 1SG forms *tak*, *jɛ:*.

Lhasa dialect data is from Jin (2002: 165). Shigatse dialect is from Haller (2000). Dingri dialect is from Herrmann (1989).

Table 3: Central Tibetan

	1SG	1PL_INCL	1PL_EXCL	1DU_INCL	1DU_EXCL
Lhasa	nga, nga rang	nga rang tsho	nga tsho	nga rang gnyis	nga gnyis
Shigatse	ɲa (neutral) tà (modest)	ɲari	ɲateà tàtso	-	-
Dingri	ɲa tak jɛ: jɛ:ca	ɲantshō	taktshō jɛ:ca	-	-

Jin (2002: 165-168) shows the following examples of INCL and EXCL pronouns in the plural and dual in Lhasa. Tibetan transcription of these examples here is altered in order to tailor it to the style of this volume. Glosses and translations are also added by the present author.

- (9) a. nga.tsho kha.lag bzas tshar.
 1PL.EXCL food eat.PF finish
 ‘We [EXCL] have eaten meal.’

² About the Lhasa dialect data, Jin (2002) only shows written Tibetan transcription.

b. khyed.rang ya'i (yang) kha.lag bzas tshar-pa.re.
 2PL too meal eat.PF finish-AUX-SFP
 'You have finished eating meal, too'

c. da nga.rang.tsho mnyam-du khrom-la 'gro-do.
 now 1PL.INCL together market-DAT go.IPF-AUX
 'Shall we [INCL] go to the market together?'

(10) a. nga.gnyis khrom-la 'gro-gi.yin.
 1DU.EXCL market-DAT go.IPF-AUX
 'We two [EXCL] are going to the market.'

b. khyod.rang sdod-a'a!
 2SG stay.IMP-SFP
 'You stay!' (Literal translation)

Jin Peng adds that "in [Mandarin] Chinese and [Lhasa] Tibetan, exclusive forms can also be used as inclusive, but inclusive forms cannot be used as exclusive" (2002: 167), as shown in the example (11).

(11) khyed.rang.tsho glog.brnyan blta-kag 'gro-gas,
 2SG.PL movie watch.IPF-PUR go.IPF-Q
 'Will you go to watch a movie?'

phyin-na nga.tsho (alternation of *nga.rang.tsho*) mnyam-du 'gro.
 go.PF-CONJ 1PL.EXCL together go.IPF
 'If you go, we [INCL] go together!'

2.4. Western Archaic Tibetan

In all dialects of Western Archaic Tibetan, plural INCL and EXCL markers are different (namely, *-dan*, *-tan*, *-ṭan* for INCL and *-ya*, *-zha*, *-za*, *-ča* for EXCL); however, INCL and EXCL pronouns are the same and are derived from 1SG form.

Balti data is from Read (1934), Ladakhi (as spoken in Leh) from Norman (2001), Ladakhi (as spoken in Sham) data is from the present author, and Purik (Purki) from Rangan (1979).

Table 4: Western Archaic Tibetan

	1SG	1PL INCL	1PL EXCL	1DU INCL	1DU EXCL
Balti	ŋa	ŋa-dan	ŋa-ya	-	-
Ladakhi (Leh)	ŋa	ŋa-tang	ŋa-zha	-	-
Ladakhi (Sham)	ŋa	ŋa-tan	ŋa-za	ŋatanŋiska	ŋazaniska
Purik (Purki)	ña	ña-tan	ña-ča	-	-

2.5. Western Innovative Tibetan

Six dialects of Ngari Tibetan are shown in Table 5. In Ga'er and Zhada, pronouns are different; the INCL forms are vowel initial ($o^{11}ko^{53}$, $o^{11}ku:n^{55}$), while the EXCL forms are derived from 1SG. In other dialects, such as Ritu, Pulan, Geji, and Cuoqin, $ra:\eta$ (WT: *rang*) is inserted into the EXCL form, whose formation is similar to that in the Lhasa dialect.

The data on the six variants of Ngari are from Qu and Tan (1983).

Table 5: Western Innovative Tibetan

	1SG	1PL INCL	1PL EXCL
Ga'er	ŋa ¹²	$o^{11}ko^{53}$	ŋeʔ ¹²
Zhada	ŋa ¹²	$o^{11}ku:n^{55}$	ŋeʔ ¹²
Ritu	ŋa ¹²	ŋa ¹¹ ra:ŋ ⁵⁵ tso ⁵³	ŋã: ¹¹ tso ⁵³
Pulan	ŋa ¹²	ŋeʔ ¹¹ ra:ŋ ¹⁴	ŋeʔ ¹²
Geji	ŋa ¹²	ŋa ¹¹ ra:ŋ ⁵⁵ ts'o ⁵³	ŋa ¹¹ ts'o ⁵³
Cuoqin	ŋa ¹²	ŋa ¹¹ ra:ŋ ⁵⁵ ts'o ⁵³	ŋa ¹¹ ts'o ⁵³

2.6. Southern Tibetan

Only one first-person pronoun is described in grammars of Dzongkha (van Driem 1992) and Dénjongké (Sandberg 1895). Fuminobu Nishida (personal communication) also mentions that there is no INCL-EXCL distinction in Dzongkha.

Table 6: Southern Tibetan

	1SG	1PL
Dzongkha	nga	ngace
Dénjongké	ngá, ngárang	ngácha

3 Data from Written Tibetan

Next, we will consider the data from Written Tibetan. Most scholars who specialize in Old Tibetan (OT) and Middle Tibetan (MT) do not mention any INCL-EXCL distinction; exceptions are Zadoks (2004) and Hill (2007, 2010).

3.1 Old Tibetan (OT)

3.1.1 Previous Studies

Zadoks (2004) shows the following paradigm for OT. Transcription is altered in order to tailor it to the style of this volume. Zadoks also states that *skol* in *'o skol* is derived from *sku la* (body.HON DAT). This gives the grounds for his argument that *'o skol* is honorific. However, it needs more discussion to decide whether or not *'o skol* is honorific.

Table 7: First-person plural pronouns in OT, by Zadoks (2004)

	1PL INCL	1PL EXCL
plain diction	'u bu cag ~ yu bu cag	nged
elegant/honorific	'o skol	bdag cag

Hill (2010) investigated the text “The envoys from Phywa to Dmu” (Pt. 0126), and says that *'o skol* is INCL and *nged* is EXCL.

Table 8: First-person plural pronouns in OT, by Hill (2010)

1PL INCL	1PL EXCL
'o skol	nged

3.1.2 Data from OTDO (Old Tibetan Documents Online)

Five types of first-person plural and dual forms are shown in Table 9.

Table 9: First-person plural pronouns in OTDO

INCL		EXCL	
'o skol	2 examples (Pt. 0126)	bdag cag	29 examples (Pt. 0016, Pt. 0126, Pt. 0239, Pt. 1071, Pt. 1078bis, Pt. 1085, Pt. 1089, ITJ. 0751)
'u bu cag gnyis	3 examples (Pt. 1040)	bdag cag rnam nged	1 example (Pt. 0016) 7 examples (Pt. 0126, Pt. 1046B, Pt. 1283, insc Skar)

Two examples of *'o skol* appear, in the form *khyed 'o skol*. Both Zadoks (2004) and Hill (2010) state that *'o skol* is an INCL pronoun, but it is doubtful that it can be used as an INCL pronoun on its own, without the second-person singular pronoun *khyed*.

Similarly, two examples of *'u bu cag gnyis* appear, in the form *khyod 'u bu cag gnyis*. Thus, it is doubtful that *'u bu cag gnyis* can be used as an INCL pronoun without the second-person pronoun, *khyod*.

Since *bdag* is the modest first-person pronoun, *bdag cag* and *bdag cag rnam*s exclude the hearer. Five examples of *bdag cag ngan pa* provide evidence for this. Zadoks (2004) also states that *bdag cag* is EXCL.

3.2 Middle Tibetan (MT)

3.2.1 Previous Studies

Zadoks (2004) shows the following paradigm for MT, using examples from the Tibetan history book, GSM (*rGyal rabs gSal ba'i Me long*) and the biography of Milarepa, Mila (*Mi La ras pa'i rnam thar*). It is interesting to note that *nged rang* is INCL in GSM but EXCL in Mila.

Abbreviations in Table 10 are tailored to suit the present author.

Table 10: First-person plural pronouns in MT by Zadoks (2004)

	GSM	Mila
<i>'o skol</i>	-	hapax, INCL. but not HON. unless sarcastic
<i>'o cag ~ 'u cag</i>	-	INCL, mostly within nuclear family.
<i>'o cag rnam</i> s	hapax, EXCL	-
<i>'o cag tsho</i>	hapax, INCL	-
<i>rang re</i>	-	INCL, to equals or inferiors
<i>nged rang</i>	INCL, also to superiors ⇄	EXCL+reflexive='ourselves' (not polite)
<i>nged rnam</i> s tsho	-	INCL with 2SG. reference, very polite

Hill (2007) investigated the chapter III of Mila. He reports three INCL forms (*rang re*, *'u cag*, *'u chag*), of which *'u cag* and *'u chag* appear only in conversation; this might be a dialectal feature.

Table 11: First-person plural pronouns in Mila, by Hill (2007)

INCL	EXCL
<i>rang re, 'u cag, 'u chag</i>	<i>nged</i>

3.2.2 GSM (*rGyal rabs gSal ba'i Me long*)

Izumi Hoshi (personal communication) shows the INCL-EXCL distinction in the following Table 12.

Table 12: First-person plural pronouns in GSM, by Hoshi

INCL	EXCL
nged rang rnam nged rang tsho nged rang gnyis nged rang gnyis ka nga gnyis 'o cag rnam 'o cag tsho	nged rnam nged ...rnam nged tsho nged cag rnam nged gnyis ³ nged gsum po bdag cag

She also claims that the formational distinction between *ng-* with *rang* (INCL) and *ng-* without *rang* (EXCL) is similar to that in Lhasa dialect.

3.2.3 Data from Pt. 1284

This text presents a dialogue between Confucius (Kongzi) and a child. There exist two manuscripts; Pt. 1284 and Pt. 992 (for further information on this text, see Soyumié 1954). The first-person pronoun *'o skol* (INCL) is found in the conversation given in Pt. 1284 (one example), but with the second-person pronoun, as *khyod 'o skol gnyis*.

4. Conclusion

It can be said that INCL-EXCL distinction is widely found in spoken Tibetan dialects and in Written Tibetan. In Tibetan dialects, out of 31 recognized, 29 have the INCL-EXCL distinction; however, there are differences in usage. INCL and EXCL are strictly distinguished in (for example) the Rgyaye dialect (Amdo) and the Khri 'du dialect (Kham) Tibetan. On the other hand, in some cases, for example in

³ She reports one example of *nged gnyis* used as INCL.

Lhasa dialect, the distinction is not strict. Since most descriptions of these dialects do not show examples exhibiting INCL and EXCL forms in detail, we cannot know more detailed differences in usage.

4.1 Classification of the INCL and EXCL forms of First-person Pronouns

LaPolla (2005: 305) presents a system for marking the INCL-EXCL distinction across Tibeto-Burman languages, covering situations where the forms have:

- (1) the same dual/plural marker but different pronouns,
- (2) the same pronoun but different dual/plural markers,
- (3) completely different forms,
- (4) a form that is a coalescence of the first- and second-person forms, and
- (5) a special marker added to the dual/plural form for inclusive or exclusive.

All of these except (4) are represented among Tibetan dialects.

- (1) having the same dual/plural marker but different pronouns:
 most dialects of Amdo (except Grotshang 1, 2 and Dpa' ris), Khri 'du,
 Dingri, Gaize
- (2) having the same pronoun but different dual/plural markers:
 Nangchen, all the dialects of Western Archaic Tibetan
- (3) having completely different forms:
 Grotshang 1, 2, Dpa' ris, Dongwang, 'Ba' thang, Ga'er, Zhada
- (4) having a form which is a coalescence of the first- and second-person forms:
 none
- (5) adding a special marker to the dual/plural form for inclusive or exclusive:
 Sdedge, Lhasa, Shigatse, Ritu, Pulan, Geji, Cuoqin

With regard to Type (1), most dialects of Amdo use vowel-initial pronouns for INCL and *ŋ*- initial pronouns for EXCL. In the Khri 'du dialect, the vowel and tone are different between INCL and EXCL, and in the Dingri dialect, the modest form *tak* is used for INCL. In Gaize, a glottal stop ʔ follows the INCL form.

In Type (2), Nangchen uses the INCL plural marker *-kä* and EXCL plural marker *-gä*. Western Archaic Tibetan has *-daŋ*, *-taŋ*, and *-taŋ* for INCL plural and

-*ya*, -*zha*, -*za*, and -*ča* for EXCL plural.

In Type (3), INCL forms in Grotshang 1 and 2 and Dpa' ris lack a plural marker, but both INCL and EXCL pronouns correspond to those in other Amdo Tibetan dialects. In contrast, INCL and EXCL pronouns and plural markers in Dongwang are totally different from one another. Finally, EXCL forms in 'Ba' thang, Ga'er, and Zhada lack plural markers.

Type (4) is not seen in spoken Tibetan, but it is seen in OT (Pt. 0126, Pt. 1040) and MT (Pt. 1284) as *khyod 'o skol* (2SG+1PL) or *khyod 'u bu cag gnyis* (2SG+1DU 2). However, in these examples, the first- and second-person forms are just juxtaposed, not fused, so that it is difficult to say that these forms are being used as single pronouns. Probably the best conclusion is that these examples show the process of development of the INCL pronoun.

In Type (5), the special marker *rī*: (WT: *rīgs*) is added in Sdedge and *rī* (WT: *rīgs*) in Shigatse.

The marker *rang* is used in Lhasa, Ritu, Pulan, Geji, and Cuoqin.

In written Tibetan, there are three types of INCL pronoun:

- a) verb-initial (*'o cag*, *'o skol*, *'u cag*, *'u bu cag*, etc.)
- b) *ng-*+*rang* (*nged rang tsho*, *nged rang rnams*, etc.)
- c) *rang re*

INCL pronoun types in OT, Mila, GSM, and spoken Tibetan are summarized in Table 13. Types a) and b) are still used in some Tibetan dialects.

Table 13: INCL form types in OT, Mila, GSM, Spoken Tibetan

	OT	Mila	GSM	Spoken Tibetan
a) verb-initial	+	+	+	+ (Amdo, Dongwang, Ga'er, Zhada)
b) <i>ng-</i> + <i>rang</i>	-	-	+	+ (Lhasa, Ritu, Pulan, Geji, Cuoqin)
c) <i>rang re</i>	-	+	-	-

From Table 13, we can see that a) is most widely used and that c) is used only in Mila. Types a) and b) are used in several Tibetan dialects, which have much more variety than written Tibetan.

4.2 Relation between INCL and EXCL

As noted above, in Tibetan dialects, out of 31 recognized, 29 have the INCL-EXCL distinction. INCL forms are marked in many cases (20 out of 29), while in other cases, INCL and EXCL forms are equal in markedness. Therefore, EXCL forms are less marked overall in Tibetan dialects. Also, they were less marked historically, prior to the emergence of the INCL form.

4.3 Some remarks on the historical development of the INCL-EXCL distinction in Tibetan

LaPolla (2005) has determined that the INCL-EXCL contrast cannot be reconstructed to Proto-Tibeto-Burman or to any mid-level grouping, which therefore makes INCL-EXCL innovative in Tibetan.

It is not known whether the INCL-EXCL distinction was genetically inherited from the Tibetan protolanguage or has been diffused among these languages, because we do not have enough examples from OT to determine this. In OT, two forms of INCL (*o skol*, *'u bu cag gnyis*) appear with second-person pronouns, which means that INCL forms had not yet been established at that time. Later on, it seems, first-person pronouns might have divided into two categories (INCL and EXCL) and developed several distinct forms in various regions.

Among the dialects of spoken Tibetan, only Southern Tibetan does not have an INCL-EXCL distinction. The reason for this lack is not known at this time. Possible inferences include that the distinction disappeared due to some factor such as language contact or the development of honorific expressions,⁴ or that the distinction now present in other areas is a later innovation.

In this paper, I did not include data from the recently published vocabularies of Tibetan (Hua 2002, Suzuki 2009). For further investigation of the historical development of INCL and EXCL pronouns in Tibetan, these spoken data (covering six dialects of Amdo Tibetan [Hua 2002] and 24 from the Ethnic Corridor of West Sichuan [Suzuki 2009]), as well as more data on written Tibetan, should be included.

⁴ Matsumoto (2003: 98-99) discusses the loss of the INCL-EXCL distinction due to the emergence of honorific expressions in languages spoken on the Pacific coast (e.g., Japanese, Vietnamese, Indonesian and Javanese).

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Abbreviation

-	Affix boundary
=	Clitic boundary
1	First-person
2	Second-person
3	Third-person
AUX	Auxiliary verb
CONJ	Conjunction
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
DU	Durative
ERG	Ergative
EXCL	Exclusive
GEN	Genitive
HON	Honorific
INCL	Inclusive
INDF	Indefinite
IMP	Imperative
IPF	Imperfective
NEG	Negative
NMLZ	Nominalizer
PF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PP	Pragmatic particle
PUR	Purposive
Q	Question
SFP	Sentence final particle
SG	Singlur
WT	Written Tibetan