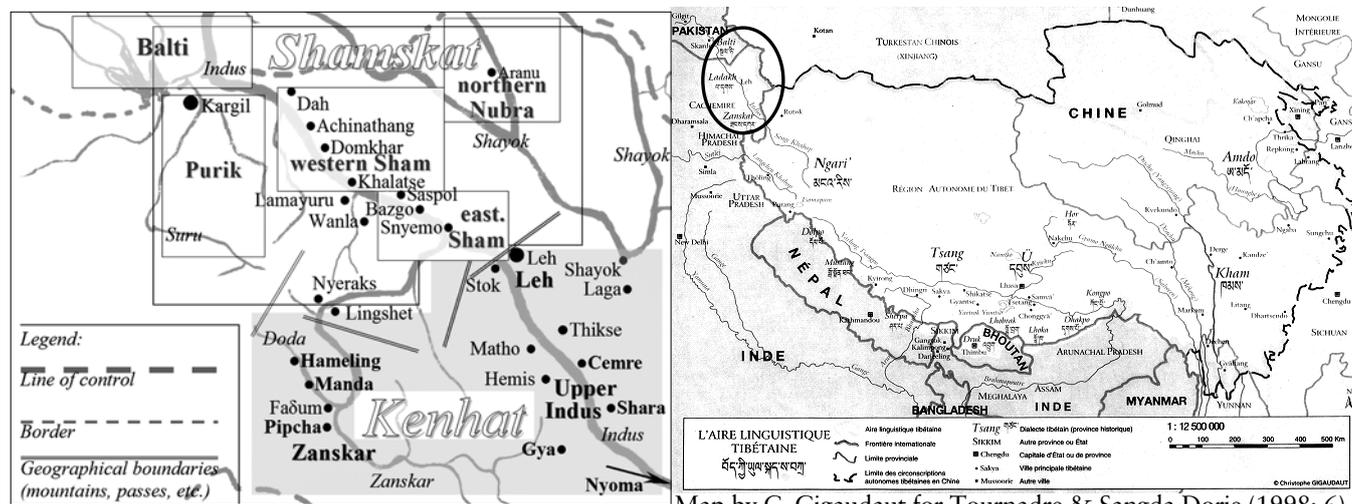


## Evidentiality and inferentiality: Overlapping and contradictory functions of the so-called evidential markers in Ladakhi (West Tibetan)

*jot-jotsuk. – endzu! – ltana, metsuk.*

‘Once upon a time, there was... – That’s true! – But if we take a closer look, it seems that there wasn’t anything.’ (Sham, a little joke about listener’s expectations.)

### 0. General information



Ladakhi is spoken by about 180.000 to 200.000 speakers in the Ladakh province of Jammu & Kashmir (India). Together with Balti (spoken in Pakistan) it forms the western-most branch of Tibetan and of the Tibeto-Burman language family. The Ladakhi dialects fall into two main groups, Shamskat (the ‘language of the lower regions’: Purik, Sham, and Nubra) and Kenhat (the ‘language of the upper regions’: Leh, Durbuk, Upper Indus, Gya-Miru, and Zanskar). The dialects of the nomads in the Changthang in the eastern part (not represented on the map) may form a third group, but for the time being, we lack suitable language data. The Kenhat and Shamskat varieties show some essential differences in grammar; among these is the use of different markers for general knowledge, inference, and mirativity. The Leh dialect shows a strong influence in its phonology from the Shamskat varieties or perhaps more particularly from Balti immigrants that had been settled in the area repeatedly. The Leh dialect, therefore, sometimes lines up with the Shamskat dialects, and sometimes with the Kenhat dialects (Zeisler 2011).

### 1. Evidentiality in Tibetan or the conjunct-disjunct system or the differentiation between assimilated and non-assimilated knowledge

The marking of sources of knowledge and/ or the evaluation of the veracity or probability of a statement is a grammatical feature in almost all modern Tibetan languages to the extent that a speaker obligatorily has to make a choice between two sets of markers. Set I, typically contains the modern forms of the classical linking verbs *yod* ‘exist (in some location)’ and *yin* ‘be (a certain item, of a certain property)’, set II the verb *hdug* ‘sit, stay, live’ and in most varieties also *red* (of unknown origin).

Table 1: The basic dichotomy of evidentials in most Modern Tibetan languages

function	set I: (controlled by) MSAP/ not directly observed	set II: all other/ directly observed
copula, future, past	<i>yin</i>	<i>red</i>
existential, present, perfect	<i>yod</i>	<i>hdug</i>

Roughly speaking, the auxiliaries of set I indicate four types of situations:

- a) The situation discussed is familiar to, or controlled by, the main speech act participant (MSAP) or what Creissels (2008) calls ‘asserter’, that is, the speaker in assertions, the addressee in questions.
- b) Well known habitual events and generic facts (Ladakhi).

Or, in combination with further morphemes:

- b) Well known habitual events and generic facts (Central Tibetan).
- c) The situation is inferred or generally known.
- d) The situation is somewhat unexpected and/ or of questionable trustworthiness (mirative marking), or irrelevant for the present situation (narrative marking).

‘Familiar’ means, that the knowledge of the situation is not derived from immediate perception. This condition is often captured by the notions of ‘old’ or ‘assimilated knowledge’, but see section 4 below for some critical evaluation of these concepts.

When the linking verbs are used as TMA auxiliaries, function a) also implies that the MSAP has, had, or is supposed to have control over the situation referred to. Set I auxiliaries not followed by inferential markers are thus typically restricted to [+control] verbs and the MSAP’s actions, while set II auxiliaries (or inferential markers) have to be used when describing events not controlled by the MSAP, that is, other person’s actions and inadvertent movements, perceptions, states, etc. of all persons.

The auxiliaries of set II typically indicate that the knowledge is based on some kind of immediate perception. The auxiliaries of set II are functionally marked and are restricted to finite clauses, so that in non-finite (chained or subordinated) clauses only set I auxiliaries appear, cf., e.g., example (68) below for Ladakhi. Set II auxiliaries are also not compatible with further morphemes of probability, estimation, or inference.

Apart from additional markers for inference and/ or probability, some varieties also have a quotation marker for hearsay information (Lhasa /-s/, Themchen (Amdo) /zi/ < CT *zer* ‘say’, Balti, Ladakhi, and some Western Tibetan varieties /lo/, /lɔ/ ‘say’, a defective verb, possibly derived from Skr. *loc* in the meaning ‘speak’). In most varieties the quotation is typically semi-indirect, that is, the ‘subject’ of the reported proposition is referred to by his or her name or by a third person pronoun, while the evidential, inferential, and evaluative markers in the reported speech correspond to the markers used in the original speech, cf. examples (17), (104), (105), (107) below for Ladakhi.

The individual Tibetan varieties show a certain variation on this general theme, such as a different choice of auxiliaries or a different functional distribution (altogether eight papers on Tibetan languages in the two volumes on *Person and evidence in Himalayan languages*, Bickel 2000, 2001, may give a first idea about the diversity and the common traits). The system, as we can derive it from the gram-

matical descriptions seems to be fairly straightforward. But apart from possible differences between the use of the auxiliaries as attributive or existential linking verbs and their use for TMA marking, I would also expect, based on my experience with Ladakhi, some further complications in actual usage.

There is, in any case, a certain flexibility in the use of the verbs or auxiliaries, allowing the MSAP to indicate with set I auxiliaries that s/he is in some sense involved in a situation concerning other persons, that is, s/he may be responsible for the situation, as a host for a guest in his/her house (2), s/he may be in the possession of one of the items in question (2), s/he may have authoritative control over the action of another person, e.g. in the case of boss and employee or teacher and student (4), s/he may have intimate knowledge of a person and his/her habits or intentions, as in the case of one's close relatives (5). Furthermore, set I auxiliaries can be used for situations the MSAP remembers well (Agha 1993: 178f., 181). The MSAP may further present [-control] events *as if* under his or her control. Cf. also Haller (2000b: 183–184, nos. 18 to 21). Conversely, the MSAP may use set II auxiliaries with [+control] verbs or as linking verb to defocus from his/her intentions and to focus on some outer conditions (7) or to indicate his or her lack of genuine intentionality (9).

(1) *lāmo* (phākīr) *tɛ̀-tù.*  
LHS Lhamo-ABS (over.there) stay-PERF=II  
'Lhamo has stayed/is/has been staying (over there).' (Tournadre 1996: 244).

(2) *lāmo* *ŋɛ* *naŋla* *tɛ̀-jɔ̀.*  
LHS Lhamo-ABS I-GEN house-ALL stay-PERF=I  
'Lhamo has stayed/is/has been staying in my house.' (Tournadre 1996: 245).

(3) *tà* *tshōŋpā* *ǰ̃.*  
SHI I.hum-ABS trader-ABS be=I  
'I am a trader.' (The speaker has chosen the job; Haller 2000a: 75.)

(4) *liekā-ni* *khā* *ǰ̃.*  
SHI work-ABS-TOP he-GEN be=I  
'This is his job.' (The speaker assigns the work; Haller 2000a: 75.)

(5) *ŋə* *ardzi* *rgerganyə* *φɕawa* *liyajo.*  
THM I-GEN father-ERG teacher-GEN work-ABS work-PRS=I  
'My father works as a teacher.' (Haller 2000a: 180, no. 6b).

(6) *ŋɛ̀* *lɛ̀ka* *tʃhikij̃.*  
LHS I-ERG work-ABS do-FUT=I  
'I'll do the work (focus on MSAP's intentions).' (Agha 1993: 198f. no 33a.)

(7) *ŋɛ̀* *lɛ̀ka* *tʃhikirè.*  
LHS I-ERG work-ABS do-FUT=II  
'I'll do the work (depending on conditions).'  
(Agha 1993: 198f. no 33c.)

(8) *khō* *kekiē* *piè.*  
SHI he-ABS teacher-ABS be=II  
'He is teacher.' (Haller 2000a: 76.)

(9) *ŋa       ãtā-jie      lāpt̪ʂà      piè!*  
 SHI I-ABS    now-emph    student-ABS    be=II

‘I am still a student!’ (The speaker signals that s/he does not want to continue; Haller 2000a: 76.)

## 2. Evidential marking in Ladakhi

Some varieties in the west, among them most Ladakhi dialects, show a distinction between visual perception and non-visual perception, including inner feelings or thoughts. The latter is encoded with an auxiliary of unknown etymology, but possibly related to Classical Tibetan *grag* ‘is heard of’. Visual perception is encoded in most Ladakhi varieties with a form of the *ḥdug* ‘sit, stay (at a place)’, in Nubra, however, with a form of the verb *snaŋ* ‘appear’.

Set I is represented in Ladakhi by a form of the identifying and attributive linking verb *yin* ‘be (sth), have (a certain property)’ and of the existential linking verb *yod* ‘exist (at a place)’. Unlike in many other Tibetan dialects, *yin* does not have an evidential counterpart in Ladakhi, whether it is used as copula or as an auxiliary in the complex tense constructions. As a result, some of the functions of the copula have been taken over by the existential linking verbs *yod*, *ḥdug*, and, if available, *grag*. Most probably this happened via an existential construction *x-du ḥdug/yod* ‘exist as x’ as attested in Classical Tibetan, and a subsequent loss of the case marker for the relation ‘as x’.

As a consequence, there is a certain asymmetry in the usage of the auxiliaries. On the one hand, *yin* is opposed to the experiential markers, on the other hand it also contrasts with the existential verb *yod*. The main factors in the choice between *yin* and *yod* seems to be a) whether the situation belongs to the sphere of the speaker and/ or b) whether elements of the situation are visible to both the speaker and addressee and/ or c) whether the situation is temporally close. If a and/ or b and/ or c are given, *yin* tends to be used. If not, *yod* tends to be used.

In general, only set I auxiliaries without further markers can be used in non-finite clauses (chained or subordinated).

### 2.1 Copular constructions

Table 2: Distribution of copular verbs

	MSAP		non-MSAP	
	attributive	identification	attributive	identification
non-experiential	<i>yin</i> (Ic)/ <i>yod</i> (Ie)	<i>yin</i> (Ic)/ <i>yod</i> (Ie)	<i>yod</i> (Ie)	<i>yin</i> (Ic)
experiential, visual	% <i>ḥdug</i> (IIv)	—	<i>ḥdug</i> (IIv)	<i>ḥdug</i> (IIv)
experiential, non-visual	<i>grag</i> (IIv)	—	<i>grag</i> (IIv)	—
inferential, mirative	<i>yin</i> & IM/DM	<i>yin</i> & IM/DM	<i>yin</i> & IM/DM	<i>yin</i> & IM/DM

#### 2.1.1 Attributive, set I: reference to MSAP, actual situation

(10) *ŋa      diriŋ      dalmo      in.*  
 NUR I-ABS    today    at.leisure-ABS    be=Ic

‘I am free/ at leisure today.’ (Bielmeier 2000: 97, no. 53.)

### 2.1.2 Attributive, set I: situation familiar to MSAP, reference to non-MSAP in general or distant situations

(11) *kho ma(:)\_ \_rgjalba jot.*

DOM s/he-ABS very good-ABS be=Ie

‘S/he is very good (knowledge by personal acquaintance, usually over a long time, particularly, acquaintance since childhood, or by working together very closely, exchanging ideas; FD.)’

The set I existential verb can be used for the MSAP as well as for the non-MSAP, when the situation discussed is temporally or spatially distant to the speaker and of no immediate importance:

(12) *dene a tshunrig[is] jaŋ rgatpoa drikhantsok:*

KHL then that young-LQ-ERG again old-ALL ask.SPR-DM

«*gandrik jotpin, meme, de phoŋpo?*» *zeretsok.*

what.like.LQ-ABS be=Ie-RM grandfather that rock-DF-ABS say-PRS-IM

«*phoŋpo dutsokfik jotpin.*» ... *zerkhantsok.*

rock-DF-ABS this.like-LQ-ABS be=Ie-RM say.SPR-DM

‘Then the youngsters would always ask the elders: «How was it, grandfather, that stone?», they would be saying. «That stone had been like this [namely out of copper].», ... [the elders] would say. (FD, remarks concerning a narration)

### 2.1.3 Attributive, set I: situation familiar to MSAP, reference to MSAP in non-actual or distant situations

(13) *tshundusla nalbatŋan jotpin. turo, zgotshuks metpin.*

KHL small.time-ALL poor-ABS be=Ie-RM animal cattle-ABS NG.have=Ie

*ta ziŋ rama rilugaŋ nuŋtse mene metpin.*

now field goat goat.sheep-ABS-FM few-ABS except NG.have=Ie

‘At the time when [I] was small, [we] were poor. [We] did not have any animals, no cattle. [We] had only a few fields and a few goats and sheep.’ (FD, personal narrative)

The set I existential verb has to be used for the MSAP, if speaker and addressee are spatially distant, e.g., when writing a letter or when talking on the phone.

(14) *neraŋ khamzaŋ joda le? – ŋa khamzaŋ jod\_ \_le.*

LEH hon.you.ABS healthy-ABS be=Ie HM I-ABS healthy-ABS be=Ie HM

‘Are you fine (over there)? – [Yes], I am fine (over here).’ (Interaction on the phone; FD.)

### 2.1.4 Attributive, set II: visually perceived, reference to non-MSAP, rarely MSAP

(15) *kho ta ma(:) gjalba duk,*

DOM she-ABS now very good-ABS be=IIv

*tŋiba zerna, khos de zaksfik ŋa(:) phantoks tŋos.*

why say-CC s/he-ERG that day-LQ I-ALL benefit-ABS do.SPA=II

‘S/he is, indeed, very good. Because that time, s/he did me a great favor.’ (FD)

The experiential linking verb *ḥdug* would be further used on just seeing the person for the first time. But the question of how much time elapsed is not really relevant. The main difference between the use of *yod* and *ḥdug* is, whether the first impression got reinforced in such a way that it became intimate knowledge.

Koshal (1979: 186) gives an example for the use of *ḥdug* with the MSAP:

(16) *ḡa rdemo duk.*

LEH I-ABS beautiful-ABS be=IIv

‘I am beautiful (seeing myself in the mirror).’ (Koshal 1979: 186.)

But it seems that such usage invokes a mirative connotation:

(16’) *ḡa(:)ḡ ldemo duk, he!*

LEH I-ABS-FM beautiful-ABS be=IIv Intj

‘Me, too, I am beautiful, am I not?!’ (Said with a mischievous flavour; Rebecca Norman, p.c.)

In neutral contexts, most people would prefer a sentence with a full verb, such as

(16’’) *ḡa ldemo thoḡduk.*

LEH I-ABS beautiful-ABS look-PRS=IIv

‘I look beautiful.’ (Rebecca Norman, p.c., and own observation.)

While situations of visual self-perception are not very frequent, and comments about them even less, expressions of non-visual self-perception are very common and obligatory when referring to the various states of one’s body or mind, such as feeling hungry, tired, cold, or sad (or the opposite).

### 2.1.5 Attributive, set II: non-visually perceived, reference to MSAP or non-MSAP

(17) *khoa kītpo rak l̥.*

GYA s/he-AES happy-ABS be=IIInv QOM

‘[S/he] says, that she is happy.’ (The experiencer ‘subject’ /khoa/ is the MSAP of the reported speech content, /ḡa(:)/ ‘I’ in direct speech; FD.)

(18) *i bakstoni trhims ḡhīrgjalpe trhimsbaṣaṅ*

TYA this wedding-GEN custom-ABS foreign-GEN custom-CONTR

*ma(:) jamtshan rak.*

very strange-ABS be=IIInv

‘This wedding custom is quite strange in relation to the foreign customs (as I feel/ think).’ (FD)

### 2.1.6 Identification and specification, set I: reference to MSAP or non-MSAP in view

The copula *yin* is used neutrally for both the MSAP and a non-MSAP. Its use typically implies that the persons in question is in view of both the speaker and the addressee. This is, however, not a hard condition, as example (22) below shows.

(19) *ḡa ladakspa in.*

DOM I-ABS Ladakhi-ABS be=Ic

‘I am a Ladakhi.’ (FD)

(20) *kho ladakspa in.*  
 DOM s/he-ABS Ladakhi-ABS be=Ic

‘S/he is a Ladakhi.’ Cf. Biemeier (2000: 93, no. 51 and 52), who gives a similar pair: *ŋa/ kho tshoŋpa in.* ‘I am /S/he is a trader.’

(21) *i bate karo fin? – i bate fama fin.*  
 GYA this bus-DF-ABS where be=Ic this bus-DF-ABS Sham-ALL be=Ic

‘Where is this bus [bound] for? – This bus is [bound] for Sham.’ (The information may be given by the driver, who exerts the control over the bus, and any passenger or bystander; FD.)

### 2.1.7 Identification and specification, set I: situation out of view

The existential verb *yod* can be used for the MSAP, when speaker and addressee cannot see each other. In the following example from the Kesar epic, the uncle Throthun had been punished by Kesar, who had wrapped him tightly into a fresh hide and left him to die, while the hide would dry and shrink. After a while, however, some traders come by, they sit down and make tea. Uncle Throthun hears them and asks them who they are. The traders, on their part, ask who that person in the hide is, which they cannot see, but only hear. Uncle Throthun uses the copula *yin* neutrally, when he asks for the identity of the traders, although he cannot see them. This may underline the fact that he is quite relieved that there is some rescue for him. The question about the identity of his potential rescuers seems to be less important. He is certainly not so much shocked about the presence of the traders as the traders are when hearing a voice out of nowhere.

It is a natural reaction to form an answer with the same evidential marker as used in the question. Accordingly, the traders use the copula *yin* for their self-identification. However, when they ask about the identity of the person in the hide, the traders use the existential verb *yod*, possibly in contrast to their own neutral answer. The use of the existential verbs seems to have some sort of mirative connotation: *who, the hell, are YOU?* That somebody speaks from inside a hide is certainly not the most typical situation.

(22) «*su\_ \_in? laŋuni, dika mi lepsedrakpa*» *zerkhantsok.*  
 KHL who-ABS be=Ic you-PL-TOP this-PPOS people-ABS arrive-PERF=IIInv-EM say.SPA-DM

«*ŋatfa tshoŋpari inba, kheraŋ diaŋ su jot,*  
 we.excl-ABS trader-LQ-ABS be=Ic-EM you-ABS that-PPOS who-ABS be=Ic

*diaŋ skat taŋkantfik?» zerspa...*  
 this-PPOS voice-ABS give-NOM-LQ say-CC

‘«Who are [you], you folk? I can hear that some people have arrived here», [uncle Throthun] said. «We are traders, indeed. But who are YOU, inside [the hide], speaking from inside?», they said and ...’ (FD, Kesar epic)

### 2.1.8 Identification and specification, set II: visual perception, reference to non-MSAP

(23) *ŋi bas gar duk?* – *bas nambar sumpa domkharla duk.*  
 DOM I-GEN bus-ABS where be=IIv bus number three-ABS Domkhar-ALL be=IIv  
 ‘Where is my bus [going] to? (Can you have a look?) – Bus number three is for Domkhar [according to the list].’ (A bus driver is asking at the office for his actual schedule. The official has to look at the list; FD.)

## 2.2 Existential and possessive constructions

Tibetan does not have a verb for ‘have’. The notion of possession is expressed with an existential verb and an experiencer subject in the aesthetive (that is, allative).

Table 3: Distribution of existential linking verbs

	MSAP		non-MSAP	
	exist	have	exist	have
non-experiential	<i>yod</i> (Ie)	<i>yod</i> (Ie)	<i>yod</i> (Ie)	<i>yod</i> (Ie)
experiential, visual	—	% <i>hdug</i> (IIv)	<i>hdug</i> (IIv)	<i>hdug</i> (IIv)
experiential, non-visual	—	% <i>grag</i> (IIInv)	<i>grag</i> (IIInv)	% <i>grag</i> (IIInv)
inferential, mirative	<i>yod</i> & IM/DM	<i>yod</i> & IM/DM	<i>yod</i> & IM/DM	<i>yod</i> & IM/DM

### 2.2.1 Existence, set I: situation familiar to MSAP, reference to MSAP or non-MSAP

(24) «*gar jot, kheraŋ, ŋa(:) du zerkhanfik?*» *zere*  
 KHL where exist=Ie you-ABS I-ALL this-DF-ABS say-NOM-LQ-ABS say-CC  
 ‘«Where are you, you, who is telling me this?» [He] said and...’ (FD, Kesar epic)

(25) *tshaseaŋna mendok maŋbo jot.*  
 DOM garden-PPOS flower many-ABS exist=Ie  
 ‘There are many flowers in the garden.’ (The speaker knows well, e.g., because s/he has grown them there; FD.)

### 2.2.2 Existence, set II: situation visually perceived, reference to non-MSAP

(26) *dutfik ladaksla turis maŋbo duk.*  
 DOM this.year Ladakh-ALL tourist many-ABS exist=IIv  
 ‘This year, there are many tourists in Ladakh.’ (FD)

### 2.2.3 Existence, set II: situation non-visually perceived, reference to non-MSAP

(27) *tharmosinaŋa tfa daruŋ raga mirak?*  
 LEH thermos.flask-PPOS tea-ABS still exist=IIInv-QM NG-exist=IIInv  
 ‘Is there still [some] tea in the thermos flask or not?’ (FD, daily interaction.)

While uttering this sentence, the speaker might take up the flask and shake it to feel whether there is some liquid left. S/he might also expect the addressee to do so or to have done so a moment before. If s/he would take out the cork and peep through the opening or if s/he expects the addressee to do so, s/he would use the existential verb for visual experience *hdug*. The speaker may also use the non-experiential existential verb *yod*, if s/he does not want to make a closer inspection, but rather tries to recall the last state of the flask or if s/he wants the addressee to do so.

### 2.2.4 Possession, set I: situation familiar to MSAP, reference to MSAP or non-MSAP

(28) *natʃa(:) koltʃasi dzoek met.*  
 DOM we.excl-AES employ-NOM-GEN dzo-LQ-ABS NG.have=Ie  
 ‘We don’t have an employable *dzo* (hybrid of yak and cow).’ (FD)

(29) *khoa pene manbo jot.*  
 DOM s/he-AES money much-ABS have=Ie  
 ‘S/he has a lot of money.’ (The speaker knows it for sure, and may have played a certain role in the bringing about of the situation; FD.)

### 2.2.5 Possession, set II: visually perceived, reference to non-MSAP, rarely to MSAP

(30) *khoa rta karpek dukpin. inaŋ daksa tsoŋsok.*  
 DOM s/he-AES horse white-LQ-ABS have=IIv-RM but now sell.SPA-IM  
 ‘S/he has had a white horse. But she has sold it now.’ (FD)

(31) *ŋaza(:) mane sakjat mane miruk.*  
 STO we.excl-AES ever land-ABS ever NG-have=IIv  
 ‘We [mother and I] do not have land, at all (and this is a scandal)!’ (FD, Kesar epic)

In the context of the story, the speaker is certainly familiar with the fact. The use of the experiential form instead of the expected set I linking verb *yod* has an inferential or mirative connotation: here, the speaker does not approve the situation, he claims his share of land and possessions. The sentence immediately follows example (33).

### 2.2.6 Possession, set II: non-visually perceived, reference to non-MSAP or MSAP

Possessor constructions with the perception verb *grag*, are somewhat restricted. In principle, one cannot directly feel or hear the possessions of another person. One can only make an inference on the base of the perception. Therefore, the use of the perception verb has an inferential connotation. Similarly, since one is usually well aware of what one possesses or not, the use of the perception verb for one’s own possessions, has a mirative connotation, such as surprise or disapproval.

(32) *khoa khi rak.*  
 NUR s/he-AES dog-ABS have=IIInv  
 ‘S/he (evidently) has a dog /has dogs (as I can hear).’ Bielmeier (2000: 97, no. 71).

(33) *ŋa(:) tʃigek mane mirak.*  
 STO I-AES one-LQ-ABS ever NG-have=IIInv  
 ‘I (evidently) do not possess a single thing (on my body), at all!’ (FD, Kesar epic)

As in example (31) above, the speaker certainly is familiar with the fact. Therefore, the use of the experiential form instead of the set I form *yod*, has a mirative connotation: the speaker does not approve the situation and he challenges his uncles and claims his share of land and possessions. The sentence immediately precedes example (31). While example (31) refers to landholding, the use of the non-visual form in this example indicates that the speaker refers to items he could carry close to his body, such as dresses, jewelry, weapons, or silver.

However, in many cases, where the speaker refers to items s/he has or has not with him or her, the use of *grag* is ambiguous between a possessive reading: ‘have’, an existential reading: ‘exist’, and a literal reading: ‘feel’.

### 2.3 TMA auxiliaries (for PRESENT tense, IMPERFECT, and PERFECT constructions)

The auxiliaries *yod*, *hdug*, and *grag* are used in the PRESENT TENSE constructions and the IMPERFECT constructions derived from them with the help of the remoteness marker *pin*. Both, the PRESENT TENSE and the IMPERFECT have an aspectually neutral construction and a continuous form. The latter is obligatory in western Sham for non-MSAPs in non-habitual and non-generic constructions. The non-continuative PRESENT TENSE form can also refer to imminent future events and/ or to habits and generic facts.

Table 4: Distribution of TMA auxiliaries

	MSAP	non-MSAP
	PRESENT, IMPERFECT	
non-experiential	[+ctr] <i>yod</i> (Ie)	<i>yod</i> (Ie)
experiential, visual	[-ctr] <i>hdug</i> (IIv)	<i>hdug</i> (IIv)
experiential, non-visual	[-ctr] <i>grag</i> (IIInv)	<i>grag</i> (IIInv)
inferential, mirative	<i>yod</i> & IM/DM	<i>yod</i> & IM/DM
	PERFECT	
non-experiential	<i>yin</i> (Ic) / <i>yod</i> (Ie)	<i>yin</i> (Ic) / <i>yod</i> (Ie)
experiential, visual	—	<i>hdug</i> (IIv)
experiential, non-visual	<i>grag</i> (IIInv)	<i>grag</i> (IIInv)
inferential, mirative	<i>yin/yod</i> & IM/DM	<i>yin/yod</i> & IM/DM

#### 2.3.1 Present tense and imperfect constructions

In the present tense and imperfect constructions, the set I existential verb can typically only be used for [+controlled] actions of the MSAP. (The usage of the set I auxiliary may be extended to situations, the MSAP claims to have in his or her control.)

- (34) *kheraŋ*      *ʃhana*, *ŋaʃa*      *duget!*  
 TYA fam.you-ABS go-CC we.excl-ABS stay-PRS=Ie  
 ‘Are you going? Well, we shall stay!’ (Lit.: ‘If you go, we’ll stay/ we are staying.’  
 Said jokingly, when one happens to have the door shut with a big bang; FD.)

- (35) «*çaŋku* *ʃoŋduk!*»      *zerte*,  
 CEM wolf-ABS come-PRS=IIv say-CC  
*khimtsepayunla*      *memese*      *çaŋ*      *hul.*  
 neighbour-PL-ALL grandfather-ERG attention-ABS exhort.SPA=II  
 ‘The old man warned the neighbours, shouting: «A wolf is coming!/ A wolf is about to come!» (FD)

While body and mental states of the MSAP need the marker for non-visual perception of set II, the marker for visual perceptions is used for a non-MSAP:

- (36) *kho*      *khjagzaŋ.*      *ŋa*      *khjagzak.*  
 ARA s/he-ABS freeze-PRS=IIv I-ABS freeze-PRS=IIInv  
 ‘S/he is freezing. I am freezing.’ (FD)

(37) *ṣolenayne biharpa nīse le fēruk.*  
 GYA corridor-PPOS Bihari two-ERG work-ABS do-PRS=IIv

*kūṭfo tare, tshikpa kholtfugarak.*  
 noise-ABS do-CC anger-ABS boil.cause-PRS=IIInv

‘(Out there) in the corridor, two Biharis are doing some work. As [they] make [a lot of] noise, [this] makes (me) angry.’ (FD)

As the set II auxiliary *ḥdug* typically conveys the connotation that the event takes place before the MSAP’s eyes, the set I auxiliary *yod* is frequently used for situations that are out of sight, even if the MSAP had seen the beginning of the event. This is, however, not a hard and fast rule, as the first part of the preceding example shows, which was formulated while sitting in my room – and suffering from the noise outside. One reason for the use of the set II auxiliary in the preceding example might be, that both speaker and addressee could have stepped out of the room and get a fresh visual impression, whereas in the example (39), the speaker has definitely left the situation.

(38) *daṅ ṅa khaṅpa(:) lebzane,*  
 LEH yesterday I-ABS home-ALL arrive.when

*ṅe abale(:) lu taṅdukpin.*  
 I-GEN father.hon-ERG song-ABS give-IMPF=IIv

‘Yesterday, when I arrived at home, my father was just singing.’ (The speaker witnessed the end of the activity; FD.)

(39) *daṅ ṅa khaṅpa(:) lebzane,*  
 LEH yesterday I-ABS home-ALL arrive.when

*ṅe abale(:) lu taṅjinjotpin.*  
 I-GEN father.hon-ERG song-ABS give.IMPF.CONT=Ie

‘Yesterday, when I arrived at home my father was already singing.’ (The activity was still going on when the speaker left again, after a while. The speaker refers to a moment when s/he was again spatially dislocated and indicates that s/he does not know whether or when the activity came to an end; FD.)

Even when dealing with situations or properties that belong to the non-visual sphere, such as the sound of an instrument, the auxiliary for visual experience *ḥdug* may be used instead of the auxiliary for non-visual experience *grag*, if the emphasis lies on (the memory of) a visual impression of the situation, cf. also (105) below, where the speaker refers to a local oral tradition.

(40) *daṅ khe daman somazik fērokpa, tūmdokpa,*  
 GYA yesterday s/he-ERG drum new-LQ-ABS make.SPA-IM-EM wrap.SPA-IM-EM

*tere kāt gjala trholarak. / trholuk.*  
 that-DF-GEN sound-ABS good sound.well-PRS=IIInv sound.well-PRS=IIv

‘Apparently, he made a new drum yesterday [and] covered it [with a hide]. Its voice sounds well (auditive experience)./ It has a full sound/ plays well (visual observation of the playing).’ (According to the auxiliary for visual experience indicates that the speaker saw how the drum was played. It is possible that she also remembered some kind of satisfaction, visible in the face of the player or of some people in the audience; FD.)

### 2.3.2 Perfect constructions

In the perfect constructions, the evidential markers focus on the resulting state of an event. There is a certain overlap between the use of the copula *yin* and the existential verb *yod*. Both are used for results that are not immediately perceived. The copula *yin* seems to be used by preference for results produced by the MSAP or a close family member and for resulting states of, or affecting, the MSAP produced by others. The existential verb *yod* seems to be used by preference for results out of view, that is, spatially or temporally distant. But it also seems that there is a certain flexibility, and speakers from different dialects or even individual speakers may have different preferences for the use of either *yin* or *yod*.

The marker for visual perception of set II *hdug* is used when the resulting state is or has been seen, the set II auxiliary *grag* when the resulting state is or has been perceived otherwise. The set II auxiliaries often have an inferential connotation.

#### 2.3.2.1 Set I copula for results produced by MSAP or affecting MSAP

(41) *migra*            *ʃiphia*            *tʰaŋsein?*            – *tsapik*            *zarein*.  
 DOM glasses-ABS    what-PPOS    give-PERF=Ic        a.bit            get.blind-PERF=Ic  
 ‘Why do [you] wear (lit. have you given) glasses? – [I] am (lit. have become) a bit blind.’  
 (FD)

(42) *gerganis*        *ŋa(:)*        *di*        *ʃolboa*  
 DOM teacher-ERG    I-ALL    this    corridor-DF-ALL  
  
*khimsa*            *zduʃasla*            *khak*            *kalein*.  
 sweepings-ABS    gather-NOM-ALL    task-ABS    assign-PERF=Ic  
 ‘The teacher has assigned me the task of sweeping this corridor.’ (FD)

#### 2.3.2.2 Set I copula *yin* for results without involvement of MSAP

(43) *du*            *ta*            *kheraŋis*            *noseinba!*  
 DOM this-DF-ABS    now    you.fam-ERG    buy-PERF=Ic-EMPH  
 ‘This is (only) what you deserve! / This will/ might teach you! / ‘You have brought this onto yourself! (Lit. This one, *you* have bought it.)’ (FD)

(44) *khoa*        *lama*        *thoneina*                            *he?*, *ʃanthaps*    *ʃiseduk*.  
 DOM s/he-AES    priest-ABS    get.finished-PERF=Ic-QM    Intj    robe-ABS    wrap-PERF=IIv  
 ‘Has he finished (studying for being) a lama? [He] is wearing a robe (as I see).’ (FD)

#### 2.3.2.3 Set I existential verb *yod* for results produced by, or affecting, MSAP

(45) *ŋa*        *lakpa*            *ʃtapsejot*.  
 SAS I-ABS    hand/arm-ABS    fold-PERF=Ie  
 ‘I have crossed my arms (not doing anything).’ (FD)

(46) *do*            *minjaŋ*            *taŋsejot*.  
 KHL that-DF-ABS    name-PPOS    give-PERF=Ie  
 ‘[We] have /had enrolled that [place] [in the land register].’ (FD, personal narrative)

(47) *defak* *ŋa(:)* *abe* *sakjat* *somažik* *ɲerehotpin.*  
 GYA that.day I-ALL father-ERG land new-LQ-ABS buy-PERF=Ie-RM  
 ‘These days, father bought /had bought some new land for me.’ (FD)

(48) *bom* *jestsana,* *ŋa* *ʃhatsharemetpin.*  
 DOM bomb-ABS explode.when I-ABS go.end.up.not.exist-PERF=Ie-RM  
 ‘When the bomb exploded, I had already left.’ (FD)

#### 2.3.2.4 Set I existential verb *yod* for results without involvement of MSAP

(49) *bom* *jestsana,* *kho* *ʃhatsharemetpin.*  
 DOM bomb-ABS explode.when s/he-ABS go.end.up.not.exist-PERF=Ie-RM  
 ‘When the bomb exploded, s/he had already left.’ (FD)

(50) *daɣdarze* *taŋkani* *ɣmanboze* *trhu:zak* *skjobzejot.*  
 ARA doctor-ERG give-NOM-GEN medicine-ERG child-PL-ABS protect-PERF=Ie  
 ‘The medicine given by the physician has protected/ cured all the children.’ (FD)

#### 2.3.2.5 Set II: visual observation of result produced by non-MSAP

The visual evidential marker of set II is rarely used for the MSAP, but there are a few contexts where the MASP may freshly perceive a result that affects him or her in some way, e.g., as a recipient:

(51) *gelonɣles* *ŋa(:)* *ʃruŋa* *skureduk.*  
 WAK monk-HM-ERG I-ALL talisman-ABS hon.send-PERF=IIv  
 ‘The monk has sent me a present /protective talisman.’ (FD)

(52) *amas* *ʃiŋ* *maŋbo* *rukseduk. /* *ruksejot.*  
 DOM mother-ERG wood much-ABS collect-PERF=IIv collect-PERF=Ie  
 ‘Mother has collected a lot of wood (upon seeing or not seeing the collected wood).’ (FD)

(53) *kho* *jōa* *rdžetsaŋ.*  
 ARA s/he-ABS come-nom-ABS forget-PERF=IIv  
 ‘S/he apparently forgot to come.’ (The speaker sees that the person is missing; FD.)

#### 2.3.2.6 Set II: non-visual observation of result produced by non-MSAP or MSAP

(54) *oho,* *ŋe* *ɣpe* *zaksenak,* *miŋ* *borsenak.*  
 DOM oho I-GEN example-ABS put.down-PERF=IIv name-ABS keep-PERF=IIv  
 ‘Oho, [I] really must have set up an example, [I] feel am getting famous!’ (Here, uttered sarcastically, after realising that one has done something wrong; FD.)

(55) *daŋ* *tshanphetnaphala* *ʃhāze* *ŋa* *ʃholtsak.*  
 TIR yesterday night.middle.from chaŋ-INSTR I-ABS talk.nonsense-PERF=IIv  
 ‘Yesterday, from the middle of the night onwards, I must have been talking /I heard myself talking nonsense because of [too much] chaŋ (the local beer).’ (FD)

(56) *di* *sperean* *su* *galedrak?*  
 DOM this matter-PPOS who-ABS do.wrong-PERF=IIv  
 ‘Who, do you think, is wrong /has done wrong in this matter?’ (FD)

## 2.4 Habits and generic facts and states

The Shamskat dialects have a particular present or past habitual construction with the morpheme /-bat/ -*bad* ~ /-pat/ -*pad* as set I form. The other dialects use the non-continuous present or imperfect /-at/ -*ad*.

For statements mainly based on visual perception, the Shamskat speakers use an evidential present tense or imperfect construction, in this case, typically the non-continuative form, so that there is again a contrast between individual and concrete events (continuous form), on the one hand, and habits and generic facts (unmarked form), on the other.

In all dialects, the set I form is used for habits and enduring mental states (such as knowing something) of the MSAP, cf. example (57), for habits of the MSAP's family members (intimate knowledge), examples (58) and (59), and for otherwise well-known habits or generic states of other non-MSAP, examples (60) and (61). In the case of generic facts, the use of the simple set I marker, as in examples (63) and (64), stands in competition with the DEFINITE FUTURE II, cf. examples (82), (106), and (107), the use of an inferential marker, example (96), and even with the experiential form, cf. examples (65) and (67).

The set II form for visual perception is used for situations involving a non-MSAP, example (68), including the MSAP's family members, example (66), when the MSAP wants to emphasise that his or her knowledge is mainly based on perception and/ or inference, or that s/he is not really well acquainted with the facts.

Again, it seems that the speakers have considerable freedom in their choice. Compare, e.g., examples (64) and (65) about animal behaviour. Examples (66) and (67) present facts that are well known to the speaker, so that one could expect the set I form instead of the chosen set II form; example (62), on the other hand, refers to a situation that appears to be accessible mainly through immediate perception, yet the informant chose a set I auxiliary.

### 2.4.1 Set I auxiliary *yod*, knowledge not based on immediate perception, reference to MSAP and the MSAP's family members

(57) *phurgutsana, ɲas ome kha ʃakpatpin, ʀkuse.*  
 DOM child.when I-ERG curd-GEN mouth-ABS break-PA.HAB steal-CC  
 'When [I was] a child, I used to take off the first bit from the [fresh] curd, secretly.' (FD)

(58) *ɲatʃi naɲa abe waɲ drulbat.*  
 DOM we.excl-GEN house-ALL father-GEN power-ABS work-PRS.HAB=Ie  
 'In our house, [our] father has the saying. (Lit: In our house, it is father's power that applies.)' (FD)

(59) *ɲonla memes tshoɲ kjap(p)at. / kjap(p)atpin.*  
 DOM earlier grandfather-ERG trade-ABS act-PRS.HAB=Ie act-PA.HAB=Ie  
 'Earlier, grandfather used to be a trader (and perhaps continues to do so/ but has stopped to do so).' (The latter alternative may also indicate the MSAP's personal knowledge or memory of the situation; FD.)

### 2.4.2 Set I auxiliary *yod*, knowledge not based on immediate perception, reference to non-MSAP and generic facts

- (60) *Rigzin aba(:) tshe kherbat.*  
 DOM Rigzin-ABS father-ALL life-ABS carry.away-PRS.HAB=Ie  
 ‘Rigzin is very much afraid of (his/her) father.’ (FD)
- (61) *āṅme māḱpa mā(:) sokpo ḥot.*  
 GYA Aṅmo-GEN husband-ABS very bad-ABS be=Ie  
*tḥaṅ maṅbo thure, āṅmoa tāṅse duṅat.*  
*chaṅ much-ABS drink-CC Aṅmo-ALL always beat-PRS=Ie*  
*ḥinaṅ āṅmo, pōmo paḱmo sofa, hop goṅdedarat.*  
 but Aṅmo-ABS girl decent-ABS become-ABS total bear.stay-PRS=Ie  
 ‘Aṅmo’s husband is very mean. When he has drunk too much *chaṅ*, he always beats her. But Aṅmo, being a good girl, bears it patiently.’ (FD)
- (62) *Tshiriṅdaṅ Pādma ṅēka tāṅse pēra/ samzol/ gowo zob(b)at.*  
 GYA Tshiriṅ-COM Padma both-ABS always speech/ thinking/ height-ABS be.equal-PRS=Ie  
 ‘The two [old ladies] Tshiriṅ and Padma have always the same way of speaking/ way of thinking/ are of the same stature.’ (FD)
- (63) *ṅānmane rimboṅṅhe Hemia tāṅse dan tḥagat.*  
 GYA earlier rinpoche-ABS Hemis-ALL always seat-ABS hon.tread-PRS=Ie  
 ‘Earlier, the *rimboche* used to stay in Hemis permanently.’ (As this statement includes all previous incarnations, the informant cannot know this by her own observation; s/he probably knows this from hearsay from within the family or village; FD.)
- (64) *bila tshaṅmas pitsea ḱḱab(b)at.*  
 DOM cat all-ERG mouse-ALL lie.in.wait-PRS.HAB=Ie  
 ‘All cats lie in wait for mice.’ (FD)

### 2.4.3 Set II auxiliary *ḥdug*, knowledge based on immediate perception, reference to non-MSAP, including MSAP’s family members

- (65) *rbul lḱarla drulduk.*  
 DOM snake-ABS flatness-ALL go-PRS=IIv  
 ‘Snakes (seem to /apparently) creep on the belly.’ (FD)
- (66) *khi khorzane, ame tāṅse ne sifuk.*  
 GYA threshing-ABS turn.when mother-ERG always barley-ABS winnow-PRS=IIv  
 ‘During threshing, [our] mother always winnows the barley.’ (This is actually a situation, quite familiar to the informant; FD.)
- (67) *Ladaye ama tshaṅma tāṅse piḱmo tsūktedaruk.*  
 GYA Ladakh-GEN mother all-ABS always knee-ABS plant.sit-PRS=IIv  
 ‘The Ladakhi women always sit /kneel with one knee up and the other touching the ground.’ (This is, of course, a generic fact, every Ladakhi knows; FD.)

- (68) *Lāmorəŋ Dorze khorəŋ nēka dzomdeinpasəŋ,*  
 GYA Lāmo-COM Dorze s/he.self both-ABS live.together-PERF-CC  
*khoŋ nēke khambe miḥun khofunsa(:) fiōaminuk.*  
 they both-GEN house-GEN people-pl-ABS they.place-ALL come-NG.PRS=IIv  
 ‘Since Lāmo and Dorze live together without marriage celebration, their family members (lit: people of their houses) do not come to their place.’ (FD)

## 2.5 Verb forms that do not fully fit into the system

Not all verbal forms, however, fit fully into the system. Some forms lack a direct evidential counterpart. That is, even if there are formal counterparts, they do have somewhat different TMA functions. In some cases, the forms violate the conjunct-disjunct distinction, where the MSAP is the speaker in assertions (including negations), but the addressee in questions.

The SIMPLE PAST (plain ‘past’ stem) is used mainly for set II functions, that is for [–control] events related to the MSAP and all kinds of situations related to non-MSAPs. The general connotation is that the situation was observed by the MSAP, see examples (15), (35), (69), (86), and (87). The plain past stem is functionally unmarked. It may combine with all sorts of inferential or distance markers, and in the Sham dialects, the SIMPLE PAST is also used instead of the MARKED PAST with set I function for the MSAP’s recent [+control] actions. The use of the MARKED PAST for recent actions would indicate some sort of mental remoteness, as when the speaker wants to emphasise that, contrary to the expectation of the addressee, the action is already or finally fully performed.

Table 5: Other TMA constructions

TMA-construction function	auxiliary	MSPA			non-MSPA		
		+ctr	–ctr	observed	not-obs.	generic	
SIMPLE PAST	∅	+(Sham)	+	+	+	–	–
MARKED PAST	<i>pin (payin)</i>	+	+	+	+	–	–
remoteness marker, other usages	<i>pin (payin)</i>	+	+	+	+	–	–
SIMPLE PRESENT FUTURE	∅	+	–			–	+
DEFINITE FUTURE I	<i>yin</i>	+	–			–	–
DEFINITE FUTURE II	<i>yin</i>	+	+			+	+
gerundivum non-experiential	<i>yin &amp; RM</i> <i>yod</i> <i>yod &amp; RM</i>	+	–	–	–	+	–
		–	+	–	–	+(Ken)	–
		+	–	–	–	+	–
gerundivum experiential visual	<i>ḥdug</i>	–	+	+	+	–	–
gerundivum experiential non-visual	<i>grag</i>	–	+	+	+	–	–
inferential markers		–	+	–	–	+	+

The MARKED PAST (‘past’ stem plus remoteness marker *pin* < *payin*) mainly represents set I functions. It is also be used for [–control] events related to the MSAP, indicating in this case, that the MSAP remembers the situation well. On the other

hand, in combination with present tense and perfect constructions, the remoteness marker *pin* is used for all persons and all types of events with the connotation that the event was observed by the MSAP and is remembered clearly.

(69) *daŋ ɲas kɥoa igek kals.*

DOM yesterday I-ERG s/he-ALL letter-LQ-ABS send.SPA=II

‘I sent him/her a letter yesterday.’ (FD)

(70) *daŋ ɲas igek kalspin.*

DOM yesterday I-ERG letter-LQ-ABS send-MPA=I

‘I sent a letter already yesterday. /I eventually sent a letter yesterday.’ (The letter was urgent and/ or the speaker was supposed to send it a week before; FD.)

(71) *naniŋ ɲas kɥoa igek kalspin.*

DOM last.year I-ERG s/he-ALL letter-LQ-ABS send-MPA=I

‘I sent him/her a letter last year.’ (FD)

(72) *[d]i ɣkunma tshaŋmas ɣta tshaŋma trolspin.*

DOM this thief all-ERG horse all-ABS untie-MPA=I

‘All these thieves (who are present) had untied the horses.’ (The speaker had witnessed the situation; FD.)

The SIMPLE PRESENT-FUTURE (the bare ‘present’ stem) is used for the speakers’s future [+control] actions. In this function, the construction is restricted to negated statements with the negation marker *mi* (as counterpart of the DEFINITE FUTURE I), (73), and to questions (the answer is typically a command), (74). In double-polarity questions, the construction is also used for a third person’s future actions, (75), and [–control] events relating to the speaker, (76). The bare ‘present’ stem is also used for prohibitions, (77). The SIMPLE PRESENT-FUTURE is further quite common in assertions with several [–control] modal and state verbs, where it may have a generic notion, e.g., in the case of a modal verbs.

(73) *ɲas juliphia frok miskjal.*

DOM I-ERG country-PPOS live-ABS NG-risk.SPRS

‘I won’t risk my life for the country.’ (FD)

(74) *ɲas papa tɕia spak? – papa ɲerma(:) spok!*

DOM I-ERG papa-ABS what-ALL dip.SPRS papa-ABS chilli-ALL dip.IMP

‘Into what shall/ can I dip the *papa* (a kind of dry polenta)? – Dip it into the chilly [sauce]!’ (FD)

(75) *thoras kɥo Lea tɕha(:)-mitɕha he?*

KHL tomorrow s/he-ABS Leh-ALL go.SPRS-QM-NG-go.SPRS Intj

‘Will s/he go to Leh tomorrow or not?/ S/he might perhaps go to Leh tomorrow.’ (The speaker does not really know; FD.)

(76) *naŋmoloa ɲa(:)ŋ galɕik ɣnet-mirɲeta he?*

DOM next.year-ALL I-AES-FM car-LQ-ABS get.SPRS-NG-get.SPRS-QM Intj

‘Next year, I definitely will get a vehicle, too, won’t I?’ (FD)

(77) *zaktoŋ las matɕo! zakɕik ta khom!*

DOM everyday work-ABS NG-do.SPRS day-LQ though rest.IMP

‘Do not work everyday! One day, at least, you should take some rest.’ (FD)

The DEFINITE-FUTURE I (present stem & *yin*) is used mainly for the speaker's [+control] actions in assertions, (78), and questions, (79). (For negation, the SIMPLE PRESENT-FUTURE must be used.) Infrequently, it is also used in assertion, wishes, predictions, or warnings for other persons and/ or for [-control] events, example (80).

(78) *oye phololiŋ tsāik trūyen.*  
 GYA we.incl-ERG wild.mint a.bit-ABS comminute-DFUT.I  
 'We shall comminute a bit of the wild mint.' (FD)

(79) *tā drona? – ja, dro, dro.*  
 GYA now go-DFUT.I-QM yes go.SPRS go.SPRS  
 'Shall we go? – Yes, let's go.' (FD)

(80) *gjelin he!*  
 SAS fall-DFUT.I Intj  
 [It] is / [you] are likely to fall! (Uttered as a warning: *Be careful not to let [it] fall! /not to fall!* FD.)

(81) *zakfik kheraŋis (goa) l̥tso gonin he.*  
 TYA day-LQ you-ERG (head-ALL) l̥tso-ABS wear-DFUT.I Intj  
 'One day you will be wearing *l̥tso* on (your head), really!' (Uttered as a curse. This has an extremely disgusting connotation, since *l̥tso* refers to the contents of the stomach of a dead, esp. of a slaughtered, animal; FD.)

The DEFINITE-FUTURE II (gerundivum & *yin*, contracted /-tʃen/ in Kenhat, /-tʃan/ in Shamskat), on the other hand, is used neutrally for all kinds of events and for all persons in assertions, questions, and negations alike. The events is expected to happen with great certainty. The construction is quite frequently used in the Shamskat dialects for generic facts (82), as well as for generally known customs of the past, cf. also (105)-(107) below. The construction seems to be somewhat less commonly used in the Kenhat dialects, where an inferential future construction seems to be preferred, at least by the Gya informants.

(82) *tʃhuināa tsha thimʃen.*  
 GYA water-PPOS salt-ABS dissolve-DFUT.II  
 'Salt dissolves in water.' (FD)

The evidential auxiliaries do not generate direct evidential counterparts. Most notably, the gerundivum & *grag* is frequently used to refer to a present perception or feeling, less frequently it refers to a habitual mental state or to a future state that might be accessed by non-visual perception. In some cases, it has an inferential connotation.

(83) *khe kamba mukʃerak.*  
 GYA s/he-GEN foot-ABS smell-GRD+IIInv  
 'His/Her feet are smelling (as I can perceive).' (FD)

(84) *taksa tʃēhane da:l phitoktshukpa tʃikʃerak.*  
 GYA now do-NOM-GEN lentil-ABS evening-PPOS get.spoiled-GRD+IIInv  
 'The lentils prepared just now will get spoiled until evening.' (FD)

Quite similarly, the combination of the gerundivum with the auxiliaries *yod* and *ʃdug* typically refers to a present situation, more or less out of view in the case of *yod*, and more or less in view in the case of *ʃdug*.

Additionally, the combination with *hdug* can be used as inferential construction, quite often in combination with a non-experiential gerundivum or perfect, see examples (92)-(94) below.

By contrast, the combination with *yod* can be used, in the Kenhat varieties, to refer to a past plan or a situation of failed attempt by a non-MSAP. In that case, it is often, but not necessarily joined by the remoteness marker *pin*. In the Shamskat dialects it seems that a past plan or situation of failed attempt can only be expressed by the combination with the remoteness marker. In that construction marker, both *yin* and *yod* are used for both the MSAP and the non-MSAP. It seems that *yin* is more commonly used when the situation is in some way linked with the MSAP's sphere and his or her decision making, while *yod* is more commonly used for external situations outside the MSAP's sphere. However, there does not seem to be a clear rule and my data also shows a preference for the *yin* construction among western Shamskat speakers, even for situations outside the MASP's sphere.

(85) *Sonamis basfik notfasinpin.*

DOM Sonam-ERG bus-LQ-ABS buy-GRD+Ic-RM

*inaŋ khoa baspoa pene lak nis rnasenuk.*  
but s/he-AES bus-DF-ALL money lakh two-ABS cost-PRS-IIv

*lak tŋik mene minuk.*  
lakh one-ABS except NG-exist=IIv

‘Sonam wanted to buy a bus. But the bus would cost him two lakh (200.000) rupees [and] [he] has only one lakh (100.000) [rupees].’ (FD)

(86) *dirinŋ ŋas ruŋs taŋfesindepin.*

KHL today I-ERG story-ABS tell-GRD+Ic-RM

*inaŋ mi maŋpo joŋs. tem mathop.*  
but people many-ABS come.SPA=II time-ABS NG-find.SPA=II

‘Today I wanted/was about to tell/would have told [you] a story, but [then] many people came [and] [I] did not find [spare] time.’ (FD, conversation)

(87) *Aŋmos ŋe tsadarbika mendok ŋultfasinpin.*

TYA Aŋmo-ERG I-GEN sash-DF-PPOS flower-ABS mix-GRD+Ic-RM

*inaŋ tus mathopa, lus.*  
but time-ABS NG-find-NOM be.left.SPA=II

‘Aŋmo wanted to embroider my sash, but as [she] did not find the time, [it] was left [unfinnished].’ (FD)

(88) *ŋa bazgoa tŋhatfasjotpinba, rŋemoa lepsok, thale.*

SAS I-ABS Bazgo-ALL go-GRD-RM-EM Sñemo-ALL arrive.SPA-INF pass-CC

‘Actually, I was to go to Bazgo, [but] I arrived in Sñemo, going too far.’ (FD)

(89) *khos las tŋotfasdukin/ tŋotfasjotpin.*

DOM s/he-ERG work-ABS do-GRD+IIv-RM do-GRD+Ie-RM

‘S/he had agreed to do/ was about to do/would have done the work, (but) ...’ (The speaker participated (IIv)/ did not participate (Ie) at the preceding discussion; FD.)

### 3. Markers of inference and mirativity (or distance)

In addition to the above described system, the Ladakhi dialects have several markers to encode estimation, probability, inference, or mirativity (or mental distance) for events that the main speech act participant has not observed.

Table 6: Evaluative markers in Ladakhi

tense	markers	Sham	Kenhat, Leh
PAST TENSE	probability estimation inferential distance	— stem & <i>thig</i> & aux stem & <i>tsug</i> stem & <i>kha(i)ntsug</i>	— stem & <i>thig</i> & aux stem & <i>tog</i> stem & <i>ka(na)g, kyag</i>
PERFECT, PRESENT TENSE	probability estimation estimation inferential distance	aux & <i>ḡgro</i> stem & <i>thig</i> & aux gerundivum & <i>ḡdug</i> aux & <i>tsug</i> , aux & <i>kha(i)ntsug</i>	aux & <i>ḡgro</i> stem & <i>thig</i> & aux gerundivum & <i>ḡdug</i> — aux & <i>ka(na)g/ tsug, kyag</i>
FUTURE, modal, generic facts	estimation probability inferential distance	gerundivum & <i>ḡdug</i> aux & <i>ḡgro</i> stem & <i>bog</i> —	gerundivum & <i>ḡdug</i> aux & <i>ḡgro</i> stem & <i>ka(na)g, ḡhanog</i> —

The probability marker /*ḡol*/ ~ /*ḡol*/ *ḡgro* ‘go’ follows the auxiliary of the PRESENT TENSE and PERFECT constructions, as well as the SIMPLE PRESENT-FUTURE and the DEFINITE FUTURE I. The construction indicates that something is likely to happen or to have happened in the present or in the future, but the speaker is not very sure about it. The best translation into English might be with the adverb *maybe* or with the modal verbs *might*, *could*, and *should* or with the modal constructions *sollte*, *müßte*, *könnte*, and *wird* plus *wohl* in German.

- (90) *te ēksidenḡenāa mi ḡhēnme lak ḡo(t)ḡo.*  
 GYA this accident-PPOS person big-GEN hand-ABS exist=Ie-PM  
 ‘Some bigwig might have had his hand in this accident.’

The estimation marker /*thik*/ *thig* ‘ruler, line, measurement’ follows directly the present or past stem or the auxiliary *yin* of a perfect construction and is followed again by any of the three experiential auxiliaries *yod*, *ḡdug*, *grag*, with past time reference also by *soḡ* ‘gone, happened’. The construction indicates that the speaker had somehow examined and evaluated the situation. An appropriate translation might be *it seems that* or *as I would think*.

- (91) *ḡaḡfi bila nakpo bila karpekna thukseinthikduk.*  
 DOM we.excl-GEN cat black-ABS cat white-COM mate-PERF=Ic-ESTM

*ḡfiba zerna, khoa bipbruk ḡhasukḡfik skeseduk.*  
 why say-CC s/he-AES kitten piebald-LQ-ABS get.born-PERF=IIv

‘Our black cat seems to have mated with a white cat, because it has given birth to some piebald kittens.’ (FD)

Competing with this construction is an experiential gerundive construction with the set I linking verbs *yin* and *yod*. These may combine into a more complex construc-

tion with a non-experiential perfect or gerundivum. The use of a gerundivum in the first part of the construction would shift the inferred event a bit into the future, whereas the use of a perfect construction locates the situation in the present.

(92) *khoa ŋi lakna go buntfaintfaduk. / buneintfaduk.*  
 DOM s/he-AES I-GEN hand-ABL head-ABS itch-GRD=Ic-GRD=IIv itch-PERF=Ic-GRD=IIv  
 ‘S/he seems to want me to hit him/her up./ S/he seems to be looking for a fight.’  
 (Lit. ‘S/he seems to be going to feel /to have felt itchy from my hand.’ FD)

(93) *khoni dzo khjolenuk. tŋiba zerna,*  
 DOM they-GEN dzo-ABS limp-PRS.CONT=IIv why say-CC  
*khoei talmoa phoksejottfaduk. / khoei talmo buteintfaduk.*  
 s/he-GEN loin-ALL be.hit-PERF=IIe-GRD=IIv s/he-GEN loin-ABS fall-PERF=Ic-GRD=IIv  
 ‘Their *dzo* is limping. That is, it’s hip joint seems to be hurt. / it’s hip joint seems to be dislocated.’ (FD)

(94) *tareka jafa sefa, tar trefhotferak.*  
 GYA ice-PPOS amusement-ABS play-CC ice-ABS get.warm-PERF=Ie-GRD=IIv  
*ŋe kamba hor.*  
 I-GEN foot-ABS break.through.SPA=II  
 ‘When I played on the ice, the ice must have warmed up and I broke through with my foot.’ (FD)

The inferential markers for future time reference /-buk/ ~ /-bok/ *bog* (< *baḥog*) in Shamskat, /anok/ *hanog* in Leh, and /kak/ *kag* or /kanak/ *kanag* in Kenhat follow directly the present stem. The markers have a predictive force, but are also often used to signal generic facts, in which case the construction may alternate with the DEFINITE FUTURE II. According to Koshal (1979: 209–211), the use of the marker /-ok/ implies that one has some concrete knowledge from which the inference is drawn.

(95) *terin sipe mai santsama tēanak.*  
 GYA today soldier-ERG down-GEN frontier-ALL look-FUT-IM  
 ‘Today, the soldiers must be watching /will probably watch the border down there.’ (FD)

(96) *du iŋlisian mingjurbok.*  
 DOM this-DF-ABS English-PPOS NG-translate[-ctr].FUT-IM  
 ‘This does not translate /cannot be translated into English.’ (FD)

The inferential markers /tok/ in Kenhat and /(t)suk/ ~ /(t)sok in Shamskat simply indicate that knowledge about the situation described is not based on personal experience, but on some kind of inference. The markers follow directly the past stem and, in the Shamskat dialects, the set I auxiliary *yod* of the PERFECT and PRESENT TENSE.

The mirative or distance markers /kha(i)ntsok/ ~ /kha(i)ntsok/ *kha(i)ntsug* in Shamskat, /kjak/ *kyag* in Leh, and /kanak/ *kanag*, infrequently also /(t)suk/ *tsug* in Kenhat follow directly the past stem and the set I auxiliary *yod* of the PERFECT and PRESENT TENSE. These markers indicate that the speaker distantiates him- or herself from the content for various reasons. One reason is that the knowledge about the situation described is not based on personal experience, but on some kind of inference. The markers are thus commonly used in place of the inferential markers de-

scribed above (in the Kenhat dialects they are the only inferential markers for present tense and perfect constructions). But the speaker may also distantiate him- or herself, because s/he is surprised or embarrassed by the situation, and does not trust his or her eyes (mirative function). S/he may also emphasise that the situation described is merely a story, thus neither relevant for the audience nor supposed to be true, at all (narrative function). The markers are thus commonly used in narrations, sometimes after every finite verb, sometimes only at the end of an episode, as to the personal style of the narrator.

When the inferential and distance markers are used side-by-side, as in the Shamskat dialects, the distance marker tends to refer to situations in the more remote past, while the inferential marker tends to refer to events in the more recent past or even in the present. A similar difference can be observed between the marker /ka(na)k/ and the less common marker /(t)suk/ in Gya: according to the informant, the information referred to with the marker /-ka(na)k/ is more assimilated, while the marker /(t)suk/ indicates that the speaker found out just now or that s/he is a bit more guessing. The marker also conveys a connotation of surprise (mirativity):

- (97) *ŋe ɲeraŋ ʃama ʃotkan ʃeatpen,*  
 GYA I-ERG hon.you-ABS Šam-ALL exist=IIe-NOM-ABS do-IMPf=IIe  
*ʃinaŋ ɲeraŋ lēa ʃotsuk.*  
 but hon.you-ABS Leh-ALL exist=IIe-DM  
 ‘I had been thinking you are in Šam, but (now) you are in Leh!’

The following example demonstrates the alternating use of the inferential and the distance marker in connected discourse:

- (98) *dene khalatse gazuk ʃhakskhantsok?*  
 bz then Khalatse-ABS how come.into.being.SPA-DM  
 ‘So then, how did Khalatse come into being?’

- (99) *khalatse zerkhani julpo syonla brokpa zere,*  
 KHL Khalatse-ABS say-NOM-GEN village-DF-ABS earlier Brokpa-ABS say-CC

*ozuga pat jotpasayna,*  
 that.way totally exist=Ie-CC

*khoran ... ana joŋskhantsok zerinduk,*  
 s/he.self-ABS [pause] that-ABL come.SPA-DM say-PRS.CONT=IIv

*gilgitsoks nupʃhoksna le.*  
 Gilgit.like north.direction-ABL HM

‘It is said that the village called Khalatse was originally a Brokpa (Dardic) [village], and as it is exactly so..., [they] are (obviously) saying that theyselves must have come from there, from the north, from somewhere like Gilgit.’

- (100) *dena joŋs[en]a, ʃharkeka, ʃhu jotsuk,*  
 KHL that-ABL come-CC other.side-PPOS river-ABS exist=Ie-IM

*siŋge ʃtsaŋspo, detsana.*  
 Lion river-DF-ABS that.time

‘Coming from there, on the other side [that is, from Lamayuru], [there] was the river, the Lion River (Indus), at that time.’

(101) *dene Singe ṛtsaṅspo thama zune mindra nis joṅspa,*  
 KHL then Lion river bank along people two-ABS come-CC

*a pharke khus tapsa zertfan brakfi[k] le,*  
 that other.side-GEN khus tapsa say-DFUT.II rock-LQ HM

*de brakpika ḷepse, ḷtasedukspa,*  
 that rock-PPOS arrive-CC look.stay-CC

*aṅospianḍu thanṭfik thoṅetsok le.*  
 that.side-PPOS plain-LQ-ABS see-PRS=Ie-IM HM

‘Then, two men came along the bank of the Indus – [on] that side over there [is] a rock, it is called *khus tapsa* ‘the place of shouting’ –, [they] arrived at that rock, and as [they] were looking around, [they] see a plateau over there [across the river].’

(102) *thanṭfik thoṅetsok. de thanṭpika budrek thoṅetsok.*  
 KHL plain-LQ see-PRS=Ie-IM that plain-PPOS tree-LQ-ABS see-PRS=Ie-IM

‘[They] see a plateau. On that plateau, [they] see a tree.’

(103) *dene khon, ṭfikpos «a budra ṅi hāi» zerkhantsok.*  
 KHL then they, one-ERG that tree-ABS I-GEN-ABS be(Urdu) say.SPA-DM

‘Then they..., one [of them] said: «This is tree is mine.»’

(104) «*dea ṅatan di ṭhula ṭi base ṭhen?» zerspa,*  
 KHL that-ALL we.INCL this river-ALL what-ABS do-CC go-DFUT.I say-CC

*ṭhula ṛkalba(:) khaspa jotsokp[a],*  
 river-ALL swimm-NOM-ALL knowledgeable-ABS be=Ie-IM-NOM

*khon ṭhula ṛkjale, biṅsejoṅspa, deka stargek jotsok lo.*  
 they-ABS river-ALL swim-CC get.out.come-CC there walnut-LQ exist=Ie-IM QOM  
 ‘They said: «How shall we get there [across] the river?» [But] obviously knowing how to swim across the river, they swam across the river, and when [they] reached (lit. got out to) the other side, there was a walnut tree, it is said.’

(105) *zertfan le. ferapi starga, ṣyonla jotkhantsok lo.*  
 KHL say-DFUT.II HM Šerapa-GEN walnut-ABS earlier exist=Ie-DM QOM

*zerbi spera duk.*  
 say-NOM-GEN speech-ABS exist=IIv

‘[The people] would say (so). The walnut tree of the Šerapa family, [it] was there before [they came], it is said. [This] is what [people] say.’

(106) *dene deka khalatsea dukse,*  
 KHL then that-PPOS Khalatse-ALL stay-CC

*a skini roṅsaya sakjat ṭfose-[j]oṅṭfan.*  
 that Skini[aj]-GEN ravine-PL-ALL site-ABS do-come-DFUT.II

‘Then [they] stayed there in Khalatse, and in the ravines of Skiniaṅ [they] would make [agricultural] sites.’

(107) *ne dina, thanpika sakjat, ana tshu rgjanse khjonse,*  
 KHL then this-ABL plateau-PPOS site that-ABL water-ABS fill-CC bring-CC  
*khalatse tsukskhantsok lo. zerbi spera [j]onʃan le.*  
 Khalatse plant.SPA-DM QOM say-NOM-GEN speech- come-DFUT.II HM  
 ABS

‘Then from here..., [to] the sites on the plateau, [they] brought the water in [canals] from over there, and established (lit. planted) Khalatse, it is said. [This kind of] talk can be heard (lit. would be coming).’

(108) *brokpas «brokrgjut intsok» zereintsok. o le.*  
 KHL Brokpa-ERG Brok.lineage-ABS be=Ic-IM say-PERF=Ic-IM that HM

‘The Brokpas (Dards) have (always) been saying that [they] are of the Brok [that is, Gilgit] lineage. That [is how it is].’ (FD, monologue on local history)

The combination of the copula with the marker /-(t)sok/ ~ /-(t)sug/ or /-ok/ ~ /-ak/ has developed into a marker of its own right: /intsok/ or /intsuk/ in Shamskat, and /inok/ or /inak/ in Kenhat. The marker is used for all kinds of information, whether generally known, personally known, observed, heard (or read), or inferred. It often combines with a perfect construction to describe resulting states. This construction is quite common in the radio news or other radio programs. There is a particular program, a kind of versified social or political review, which, after having heard it for the first time, I would immediately turn of, because of its over-repetitive use of the inferential perfect construction /joteinok/ *yoddeyinnog* ‘it must have been’ or simply ‘it has happened, it is’. This inferential perfect has likewise been overgeneralised so that one may find occasionally double perfect constructions for facts that are well known:

(109) *tjanan tɨmzogʂ thudejodeinok.*  
 TYA Tya-COM Tɨmzogʂ-ABS border-PERF=Ie-PERF=Ic-IM

‘Tya and Tɨmzogʂ [two neighbouring villages] border upon each other (since long).’ (FD)

The origin of many of these markers is unknown and open to speculation. The Kenhat inferential marker /-tok/, however, seems to be related to the auxiliary *ɣdug*. In some western Central Tibetan varieties a morpheme related to the auxiliary verb *ɣdug* appears in the same slot as Kenhat /tok/ with quite similar functions, namely to indicate non-witnessed events (Kagate), conjecture (Southern Mustang), invisibility and uncertainty (Jirel), cf. Volkart (2000: 128). *ɣdug* can also be used with mirative function in some other varieties (DeLancey 1997 for Lhasa, Volkart 2002: 148 for Lhomi).

While this might look contradictory, there is a certain conceptual relation between the epistemic function and the inferential function of the set II auxiliary. In Classical Tibetan, *snan* ‘appear, become manifest, shine’ is often used to express some kind of reservation with respect of the truth of the event. Something only *appears* to exist or to be of a certain kind. This implies an inference on the base of sense perception, which ultimately cannot be relied upon as the sole means of unfailing knowledge. In the Nubra dialects *snan* is used in practically the same contexts where the other Ladakhi dialects have *ɣdug*. One may thus assume that *ɣdug* in Ladakhi has, by and large, the same inferential connotation, which stands in opposition to intrinsic knowledge expressed by set I auxiliaries.

According to Volkart (2000: 143), the use of the existential verb *hdug* ‘sit, stay’ as an evidential marker for the meaning *I have seen it* developed from the basic meaning of the verb, so that a statement about a location of a certain item could become an assertion that *it is located before my eyes*. In the case of past events, what is there before my eyes and can be seen, is only the lasting result, but this again allows certain inferences to the event itself. The inferential value, which initially would not preclude that one had witnessed the event, could then become overgeneralised to the extent that the auxiliary signals positively that one did not see the event.

This analysis could in part explain why the Kenhat inferential marker /tok/ is found only with the past stem. However, under Volkart’s analysis, the construction should correspond to a (resultative) present perfect. But in the Kenhat dialects, the combination of the past stem with the marker /tok/ does not focus on the present result, but more neutrally on the past event itself. In order to explicitly refer to a present result, one would use the PERFECT and the appropriate evidential and/ or inferential markers.

It seems thus, that Kenhat dialects acquired the evaluative and evidential markers related to the existential verb *hdug* at least two times: after the original experiential marker *hdug* eroded to /tok/ and lost its experiential value, a new experiential marker had to be borrowed or to be again derived from the existential verb.

The element /kha(n)/ or /ka(n)/ seems to have or to have had an evidential value of its own. In combination with an emphatic (?) or vocative (?) /la/ it is used at least in the Shamskat varieties as an assertive marker of well-known facts, not to be further discussed (Zeisler 2004: 674, n. 243). It is noteworthy, in this connection, that there is a particular resultative or patient-oriented perfect construction in Ladakhi, not discussed in this paper, which makes use of the element /k(h)an/, which could well have had an evidential value originally, but is now followed by the same markers as the ordinary perfect construction described above (cf. Zeisler 2004, III.3.8.3). The Shamskat distance marker /kha(i)ntsuk/ ~ /kha(i)ntsok/ may actually go back to an inferential perfect construction, but it lost its resultative meaning completely.

#### 4. Summary: competing constructions and the interplay of the factors involved

It comes without surprise that an evidential system as elaborate as that in Ladakhi offers the speaker great freedom as to which marker s/he can actually choose. Probability, likelihood, the exact base of inference, the evaluation of truth, and the temporal and spatial distance of the event are not clear-cut concepts with benchmarks, the speaker could always map against an internal chart. Nor is it really necessary in communication to give the exact measurement of validity or distance. The forms available cover certain ranges on the mental scales which overlap considerably, in order to make (or keep) communication more practical, but also because several forms belong to different layers of innovations. Within his or her local and cultural sphere, the speaker may thus freely choose between:

- two set I linking verbs or auxiliaries, *yin* and *yod* (as linking verbs and in the gerundivum and PERFECT constructions)
- experiential, inferential and distance markers, and the complex gerundive construction for inferences about individual events in the present or past

- a probability marker or the inferential future construction for individual events in the present or future
- a set I and a set II form (PRESENT TENSE, IMPERFECT, or HABITUAL), the inferential future construction, or the DEFINITE FUTURE II for habits and additionally a simple or complex inferential marker for generic facts

There are less choices, when the speaker leaves his or her cultural sphere: the speaker can only use evaluative constructions, including the experiential constructions with their inferential connotation.

In practice, this means that the researcher cannot use the auxiliaries of set I without evaluative markers for anything she has observed in Ladakh, whether these are generally known facts (e.g. about the layout of a village) or facts she personally observed. As she lacks the basic intimacy with the country and its culture, she can only make inferences, not really *know* anything. Depending on whether she wants to emphasise the freshness of her perception or to de-emphasise her personal experience, she may then use either a set II auxiliary or any of the more explicit inferential constructions. Similarly, a Ladakhi may live continuously for ten years or more in Delhi, but s/he would never get acquainted to the extent that s/he could use the set I auxiliaries for anything in his or her immediate neighbourhood, as it was stated by a Zanskari informant of Thomas Preiswerk (p.c.).

This leaves us with the strange fact that certain inferences are made with specific inferential auxiliaries (*tog*), some are made on the base of set I auxiliaries (*yin* or *yod* + *tsug*, *kyag*, *kanag*; *yin* + *hog*, or *ka(na)g*), and others only with set II auxiliaries (*hdug*, *snaŋ*). Set I auxiliaries may encode intrinsic or unfailing knowledge and the opposite: mere inference. The possibly etymologically related markers *tog* and *hdug*, on the other hand, both indicate inference. The main difference between the use of the set II marker and the use of a set I marker plus inferential or distance marker may be that the former indicates positively that the inference is based on immediate perception, whereas the latter remains unspecified: the inference may be based on an immediate perception or on a perception some time ago or on other sources of input.

As mentioned in the beginning, several factors interplay in the constructions or superimpose each other, but none of them seems to be the crucial factor on which to base one's description and terminology.

#### 1. The conjunct – disjunct distinction:

The distinction does play a role, but it does not fully apply to all constructions and it cannot be fully analysed in terms of markedness. One major problem is the copula *yin*, which does not have a true evidential counterpart, and which is not yet fully replaced by the existential verbs *yod*, *hdug*, and *grag*. This leads to a certain asymmetry in the identificatory and in the perfect constructions, and to a rather neutral usage of the copula *yin*, in part contrasting, in part competing with the existential verb *yod*. The elements of set I appear to be functionally neutral because of their obligatory use in non-finite constructions, their use with all kinds of evaluative markers, including the experiential markers *hdug*, and *grag*, and their usage for habits of non-MSAPs. On the other hand, however, in most finite constructions, the usage of set I verbs and auxiliaries is restricted to situations relating to the MSAP or at least intimately known and/ or controlled by the MSAP, and would thus appear to be functionally marked.

## 2. Control and volitionality:

The basic distinction between [+control] action verbs and [-control] accidental event or state verbs does play a role in so far the latter verbs are in most cases excluded from the application of set I auxiliaries in finite constructions. There are, however, certain exceptions from this rule, in particular, [-control] verbs referring to mental states of the MSAP are used with set I auxiliaries. Set I auxiliaries are also used to refer to (well-known) recurring states and actions of non-MSAPs.

## 3. Relatively old or assimilated versus new or non-assimilated knowledge:

It is clear that freshly perceived and unexpected situations trigger the set II existential verbs and auxiliaries. Actions and events over which the MSAP has control are arguably not unexpected and not freshly perceived, if they have been planned or ordered before. However, set II auxiliaries are often used for habits and generic facts in competition with set I auxiliaries, and the distinguishing factor is not whether or not one is already acquainted with the facts – this holds in both cases – but whether or not one bases one's expectation more on one's visual perception or not. Set I verbs and auxiliaries are also used for inferences, which certainly constitute some kind of new knowledge. Furthermore, the terminology is quite misleading, when it comes to past events: after some time, all freshly acquired knowledge should turn into assimilated knowledge, and this effect can be observed with respect to the remoteness marker *pin*, which is, in most cases, only applicable to [+control] actions of the MSAP, but may be applied also for such cases, where the MSAP has (or is expected to have) a clear and vivid memory of situations falling outside of his or her control. This effect, however, is limited to the use of the remoteness marker and does not show up in the choice of set I or set II auxiliaries.

## 4. Epistemic marking: immediate perception versus other sources of knowledge:

It is quite evident that the epistemic function dominate the choice of the linking verbs: the set II form *hdug* is used for non-MSAP and MSAP alike, whenever the knowledge of the situation is based mainly on visual perception, and similarly the set II form *grag* is used for non-MSAP and MSAP alike, whenever the knowledge of the situation is based mainly on non-visual perception, including thoughts.

It would further seem that the above mentioned problem of functional markedness may be solved if one takes immediate perception as the functional category that is marked. This approach is supported by the fact that there is a further distinction between visual perception and non-visual perception. The speaker's own actions would be precluded, as they have been planned previously and are thus not primarily known from some kind of self-perception. The same would hold for any situation the speaker claims to have control of. Habits would be presented neutrally with the set I auxiliary *yod*, if the speaker wants to background his or her source of knowledge and would be presented with the set II auxiliary *hdug* or *snaŋ*, if s/he wants to emphasise the visual perception.

The representation of information in indirect quoted speech would follow the basic evidential distinction, that is, even if the quoted speaker is represented by a third person pronoun, the choice of the auxiliaries would be identical with the choice of the auxiliaries by the speakers themselves, see also example (17) above. The con-

junct – disjunct system would be superimposed on the evidential distinction, only in so far a switch between speaker and addressee takes place in questions.

However, there is the further complication that set II auxiliaries are used not only for immediate perceptions, but also for inferences, including generalisations about habits and generic facts. Set II auxiliaries stand thus in competition with inferential markers and the set I auxiliary *yod*, and here it is no longer clear, what the distinguishing factor really is, since most (if not all) inferences are based on some kind of earlier perception.

### 5. Evaluation of knowledge:

It seems thus that one important function of set II auxiliaries, and particularly the auxiliaries for visual perception *hdug* and *snaŋ*, as well as the function of all evaluative markers is to moderate one's statement and disclaim one's responsibility for its validity. Something that one has merely seen, does not necessarily exist in exactly the way one has perceived it, particularly, if one is not acquainted with the *local* context or 'world knowledge'. A merely perceived situation only appears to be of a certain kind. This connotation is quite explicit in the use of the set II verb *snaŋ* 'appear, manifest itself, shine' in Nubra. Since *snaŋ* is used in practically the same contexts where the other Ladakhi dialects have *hdug*, one may thus assume that the latter has, by and large, the same inferential connotation, which stands in opposition to intrinsic knowledge expressed by set I auxiliaries. This means that set II auxiliaries or existential verbs convey some sort of inference, based on sense perception, which ultimately cannot be relied upon as the sole means of unfailing knowledge.

Set I auxiliaries without additional evaluative markers can only be used for situations in which one has been acculturated, intimately known since one's childhood.

### 6. Pragmatic factors:

But, of course, this description does not capture all usages of set I verbs and auxiliaries given in the examples above. The MSAP will use set I auxiliaries for his or her recent [+controlled] actions even then, when s/he had ventured in new ways of behaviour, not learned in childhood. More particularly, the description does also not cover the flexible usages to state the MSAP's situation-specific control or non-control over the situation. It is possible that evidential marking of states and events follows a somewhat different logic, but I also cannot avoid the feeling, that many choices between the existential verbs and auxiliaries depend on the specific context, some pragmatic factors – and sometimes simply on the speaker's mood. Although the evidential and inferential marking is grammaticalised to the extent that any speaker obligatorily has to make a choice, the actual choice appears to be adjustable and situational in much the same way as the choice of the corresponding modal particles or constructions in English or German.

I have made the strange experience that when I ask a shopkeeper with a set I auxiliary whether s/he has a certain item, s/he answers with a set II auxiliary, but the next day, when I try the set II auxiliary with the same or another person, I typically get an answer with a set I auxiliary. This is particularly irritating, as people tend to use the same markers in the answer as used in the question, and as the resulting conjunct – disjunct system obliges one to using the same evidential markers in one's question as the addressee could be expected to use in his or her answer. So why am I wrong with my expectations all the time?

My impression is that in the first case, the question with a set I auxiliary, although formally correct, is perhaps a bit too straightforward, and the addressee thus tries to boil down my expectations towards his or her control or responsibility. On the other hand, if I am more modest in my speech act by using a set II auxiliary, the addressee might be more ready to assert his or her control over, and responsibility for, the stock.

Inferential markers are very frequent in the radio, not only because the speakers or editors deal with second hand material. According to Bielmeier (2000: 99), the inferential form *innog* may be used for reasons of modesty or politeness or in situations of uncertainty.

In fact, I realised that I get least corrected when I use an inferential marker, whether for situations outside my sphere of control or for myself. It seems that I am always on the safe side with inferential markers, and I have practically discontinued the use of set I and set II auxiliaries or, at least, I have discontinued to agonise over the ‘correct’ decision, using an inferential marker whenever feeling uncertain. While my feeling of uncertainty is related mostly to the correct linguistic usage, other Ladakhi speakers often feel uncertain or uncomfortable in the presence of people of authority, and this will certainly influence the choice of an evidential or inferential marker.

As the set II existential verbs and auxiliaries can have an inferential value, and particularly a value that serves as a disclaimer, I would argue that some, certainly not all, choices between set I and set II auxiliaries are triggered by considerations of modesty and politeness, cf. also the following examples:

(110) *dirin* *ŋa(:)* *milaktfiga* *mikhomboga?*

DOM today I-ALL man.hand-LQ-ALL NG-be.free.FUT-IM-QM

‘Are [you] free today to come to me for some help?’ Lit: ‘[You] would not be free today to [give] me a helping hand, would you?’

(111) *ŋa* *tshonpa* *inok.*

NUR I-ABS trader-ABS be=Ic-IM

‘I am a trader.’ (Bielmeier 2000: 95, no. 65)

Given these overlapping and in part contradictory functions and given the additional non-epistemic, pragmatic functions, such as politeness, it does not seem to be possible *to accurately map the relationships between evidential (and inferential) categories* in Ladakhi.

A rough mapping, as in the following table, shows that the main functional opposition between set I and set II auxiliaries in Ladakhi is that between immediate perception (set II, marked category) and other knowledge (set I, unmarked). A second opposition can be established between warranted information (set I auxiliaries without other markers, marked category) and non-warranted information or polite usage (set I auxiliaries plus evaluative markers, set II auxiliaries, unmarked). The opposition between assimilated and non-assimilated knowledge is the least important one, its boundary cuts across the usage of set I auxiliaries and across the domain of non-warranted information.

While habits, generic facts, and inferred facts may be represented both with set I and set II auxiliaries (the former with and without evaluative markers), intimate and warranted knowledge can only be represented with set I auxiliaries without further evaluative markers. Within the domain of warranted vs. non-warranted knowledge, the set I auxiliaries without further evaluative markers are functionally marked. On

the other hand, within the domain of experiential vs. non-experiential knowledge, the set II auxiliaries are functionally marked. Immediate perception can only be represented by set II auxiliaries. The range of the marker for non-visual perception is more restricted than that of visual perception. Non-visual perception is thus the marked category within the domain of experiential marking.

Table 7: A conceptual map of the epistemic and evaluative markers in Ladakhi

functions of		assimilated	non-assimilated		
		warranted	non-warranted		
set I	set II	set I: <i>non-experiential</i>		set II: <i>experiential</i>	
		direct	<i>inferred</i>	<i>visual</i>	<i>non-visual</i>
<i>intimate knowledge</i>		<i>yin / yod</i>			
habits		<i>yod</i>			
	<i>immed. perception</i>			<i>ḥdug</i>	<i>grag</i>
inference			<i>yin/yod &amp; eval. markers</i>		
generic facts					

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Abbreviations:

## 1. Dialects

ARA	Aranu (Nubra, Ladakh)	NUR	Nurla (eastern Sham, Ladakh)
DOM	Domkhar (western Sham, Ladakh)	SAS	Saspol (eastern Sham, Ladakh)
GYA	Gya-Miru (Upper Ladakh)	SHI	Shigatse (Central Tibet)
KHL	Khalatse (western Sham, Ladakh)	STO	Stok (Upper Ladakh)
LEH	Leh (Upper Ladakh)	THM	Themchen (Amdo Tibet)
LHS	Lhasa (Central Tibet)	TIR	Tirit (Nubra, Ladakh)

## 2. Grammatical and lexical markers

x_ _y	assimilation features across word boundaries	±ctr	[±control]
ABL	Ablative	COM	Comitative
ABS	Absolute	CONT	Continuative form
AES	Aesthetic	CONTR	Contrastive marker
ALL	Allative	DF	Definiteness marker
CC	Clause chaining (unspecified)	DFUT.I	DEFINITE FUTURE I
		DFUT.II	DEFINITE FUTURE II

DM	Distance marker	LQ	Limiting quantifier (a, some)
EM	Emphatic marker	MPA	MARKED PAST
ERG	Ergative	MSAP	Main speech act participant
ESTM	Estimation marker	NG	Negation marker
excl	Exclusive plural (addressee not included)	NOM	Nominaliser
FM	Focus marker	PA.HAB	PAST HABITUAL
FUT	Future	PERF	PERFECT
GEN	Genitive	PL	Plural
GRD	Gerundivum	PM	Probability marker
HM	Honorific marker	PPOS	Postposition
hon	Honorific form	PRS	PRESENT
IM	Inferential marker	PRS.HAB	PRESENT HABITUAL
IMP	IMPERATIVE	QM	Question marker
IMPF	IMPERFECT	QOM	Quotation marker
incl	Inclusive plural (addressee included)	RM	Remoteness marker
Intj	Interjection	SPA	SIMPLE PAST (AORIST)
INSTR	Instrumental	SPRS	SIMPLE PRESENT-FUTURE
		TOP	Topic marker

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