With respect to the various so-called evidential markers and the (more) epistemic markers used in Ladakhi (and the other Tibetan languages), I would like to make the following distinction: Set 1 (yin, yod, the MARKED PAST with yin), Set 2 (ḥdug, ḙag, the SIMPLE PAST or its counterparts with ḙag), ‘evaluative’ markers for more verb stems, són, byon), ‘evaluative’ markers for their general, intrinsic, but short-term, individual vs. accidental, but long-term, general cases, the existential auxiliaries ḡdug and ṡag can be used for merely perceived attributes, while yin and yod compete for the MSAP’s authoritative stance. In Ladakhi, there is still a limit that cannot be crossed: (real) identities can only be expressed with the copula yin (or an evaluative marker based on the copula). However, if the identity is of a more accidental character or associated with positive or negative evaluations, such as being a thief or a very religious person, the same rules apply as for attributes.

One might thus say that yin refers to the ‘intrinsic and invariable’ (Bielmeier 2000: 79; cf. Zemp 2013: 615 for the characterisation as ‘intrinsic’) or ‘absolute’ (Takeuchi) character, yod to a more accidental, ‘ancillary’, ‘temporary’ (Zemp) or ‘relative’ (Takeuchi) character. This is only partially true, and perhaps only for the evaluated identities. With respect to attributes or properties, the Ladakhi dialects differ significantly in the proportionality to which yin can be used. Some dialects (or some speakers) disallow the use of yin, except perhaps for the yod of an idiosyncratic accessibility.

Some speakers prefer yin with one property and yod with another, without there being a clear pattern behind the choice (Gya-Miru). The only common pattern I have seen among the dialects is the use of yin with the adjectives ‘big’ or ‘small’ when treating age and age differences and the use of yod when treating size or differences in size, cf. example (15) further below. Finally, there are speakers who use yin rather neutrally besides yod. In the latter case, yin would indicate a more objective property, about which many people and the MSAP agree, yod a more subjective property (Ciktan, Domkhar, Shara), (2).

When identifying a certain past temporal reference frame, at least one speaker differentiated between a longer frame, such as a season, and a shorter frame, such as a festivity, using yin.pin for the former, yod.pin for the latter.

Table 1 (Non) Prototypical use: Ladakhi ‘evidentials’

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1.1. Intrinsic, but short-term, individual vs. accidental, but long-term, general

Unlike speakers of English, speakers of Tibetan originally made a clear distinction between being (something) and being (somewhere). In the modern languages this distinction has been blurred to a certain extent for attributes and in the auxiliary constructions. In these cases, the existential auxiliaries ḡdug and ṡag can be used for merely perceived attributes, while yin and yod compete for the MSAP’s authoritative stance.

In Ladakhi, there is still a limit that cannot be crossed: (real) identities can only be expressed with the copula yin (or an evaluative marker based on the copula). However, if the identity is of a more accidental character or associated with positive or negative evaluations, such as being a thief or a very religious person, the same rules apply as for attributes.

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ence, yod (plus remoteness marker pin) may refer to a more generally valid situation, while yin (plus remoteness marker pin) can only refer to an individual situation (Khardong).

Finally, the opposition in terms of ‘invariance’ or more ‘general applicability’ and ‘temporariness’ is completely inverted in the present tense and present perfect constructions: where yin always signals a shorter duration, while yod signals a longer duration or a more general situation.

(2) Shara 2016

ng jhā a met. / man.
I good NG.be=le NG.be=lc
‘I am not good (yin: subjective perception / yod: objective; everybody says so).’

(3) Shara 2016

atfe pē jhā a hin. / hit.
elder.sister very good be=lc be=le
‘The elder sister is very good (yin: not 100% sure, staying with the person for only a limited time / yod: 100% sure, staying with the person all time).’

(4) a. Shara 2016

thukpa ʒimpo rak.
ladaye thukpa ʒimpo hit.
soup tasty be=Inv Ladakh-GEN soup tasty be=le
‘The soup is tasty.’ ‘The Ladakhi soup is (generally) tasty.’

A rather unexpected feature showed up in Gyere. The speaker mainly used yod for self-descriptions, but in a few cases also yin. The more surprising feature, however, was that an equative comparison ‘being like’ would trigger the copula yin, when one compares oneself directly with another being. The use of yod would not be nice (“demo man”). When ascribing oneself a particular property of the other being, however, yod must be used. yod must also be used when comparing one’s bodypart directly with that of the other being.

(5) a. Gyere 2018

ŋa ḥəpoc-tsok ʃukceŋ hit. ŋa ḥəpoc-tsok jin. / ʔtɔt.
elephant-like strong be=lc I elephant-like be=lc ?be=le
‘I am strong like an elephant.’ ‘I am like an elephant [that is, strong].’

c. Gyere 2018

ŋa lāk-tsoŋ jin, thagrɨŋ-la tə-nən-ə-hit.
I eagle-like be=I far-ALL look-able-NSL-Ie=PRS
‘I am like an eagle, I can look far.’

d. Gyere 2018

ŋ e ʃik-təŋ ʃik-tsoŋ ʃik-ʔeŋ / ʃik. ʃik.
e-gen eye-def eagle-gen eye-like %sharp be=le *be=lc
‘My eyes are %sharp like eagle eyes.’ (It is not the case that the adjective is necessary, but without it, the interpretation would be rather that the eyes look like eagle eyes, that is, are yellowish.)

1.2. Use of yin (or yin.bog) for existentials

One limit not to be crossed would be that the copula is never used for the localisation of items. For Ladakhi, one should say: almost never. There is a notable exception, bringing us back to the problem or rather the inversion of the intrinsic vs. temporary opposition. As Zemp (2013: 615) suggests: “when the existential copulas indicate the existence or the location of an entity, these assertions tend to have a transient nature.”

However, the copula yin is frequently used instead of the existential linking verb yod when asking somebody on the phone where s/he is now. I once observed a lady calling a taxi driver every 2 or 5 minutes in a reproachful tone always with the same question kane ‘where are you’. The informants differ somewhat with respect to the contexts in which yin is used and in which yod is used. The Shakukul speaker, e.g., would use yin when she has no clue where the addressee might be and yod when she has some ideas or when the addressee is on the way. She would also think that the answer should take the form of the general situation.

For the Teya speaker, however, the choice between yin and yod in this context depends a) on how much one is concerned, and b) whether or not the addressee is (expected to be) in the office, particularly when talking on the phone:
Evidentiality, epistemic modality, and speaker attitude in Ladakhi

Example of asymmetries in the Kenhat dialect of Gyere (Rong-Cangtang)

| (9) a. Teya 2017 | 
| **ɲiri** | **dipti** | **garu** | ** jot** |
| *hon.*,**yul,** Gen | duty | exist=le | hon.*,**yul,** Gen | duty | now | be=lc |
| Where is your duty (now)? (The two persons have met somewhere on the road, *yin* is used for a neutral question, *yin* when one is more concerned, e.g. when meeting a former colleague.) |

| (9) b. Teya 2017 | 
| **ɲiri** | **dipti** | **garu** | ** in** |
| *hon.*,**yul,** Gen | duty | where | be=lc | exist=le |
| Where is your duty? (*yin*: the speaker calls the address on his/her mobile phone expecting him/her to be in the office or school. *yod*: the speaker does not expect the address to be at the office or school. – The answer depends on where the person actually is, not on the question.) |

| (9) c. Teya 2017 | 
| **ɲiri** | **dipti** | **jota** |
| *hon.*,**yul,** Gen | duty | exist=le |
| Where is your duty? – I am [posted] / My duty is in Nyoma, [but] now I am on leave. (Speaker and addressee have met in Leh.) |

For the speaker of the tiny village of Vyaik, *yin* would be used for one’s present momentary location, *yod* for one’s posting, while one would use the verb ‘stay’ for one’s more permanent settlement.

While this usage of the copula *yin* is widely spread among the dialects of the Leh district, it is not possible in the Balti dialect of Turtuk, the Purik dialect of Ciktan, and the Pangi dialect. No data is yet available for the Zanskar dialects.

1.3. The asymmetry between the evaluative markers based on *yin* and *yod*

The combination of the copula *yin* and an inferential marker (ultimately derived from the verb *ḥdug*) yields two markers with values of their own, the GENERALISED EVALUATIVE MARKER, *yod*, which in many aspects resembles Central and East Tibetan *red* and *yod.red*, but has also other functions, among them identifications based on mere visual perceptions, and the SPECIALISED EVALUATIVE MARKER, *yin*, which is most commonly used for identifications based on non-visual perceptions. Combinations of the existential linking verb *yod* and the same inferential markers are either not at all possible (the case of the Kenhat marker -og ~ -ag). Or it yields a completely different function (the case of the Shamskat marker *sug*). In Western Sham, e.g., *yod.sug* is clearly inferential, and in Ciktan, *yod.sug* can only refer to a past situation, whereas *yin.sug* can refer to the present or to general situations.

The GEM can appear for existentials in certain contexts, as in *ɲiŋ ḥaŋdak* ‘have knowledge’, cf. (41). As a rough existential counterpart of the GEM, a perfect construction of *yod* with the GEM as auxiliary can be used, cf. (10), although not in all situations, where the GEM might be used.

| (10) Ciktan 2016 |
| **fiktan-la** | **zi(k)-han-i** | **khar-po** | **jot-e-intsuk** |
| *Ciktan-ALL* | ruin-NLS:Gen | castle-DF | exist=le | GEM=PERF | exist=le |
| ‘In Ciktan, there is a ruined castle (as you know / you might not know).’ |

Vive la parole! Evidential ‘freaks’ in Ladakhi

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| (11) Gyere 2018 |
| **kungiam-esāŋ** | **liktse** | **mi** | **māŋ-a-rik** | **fiot-na,** |
| Kungyam-CNTR | Līktse-ALL person | be.many-NLS-LQ | exist=le-CD |
| *jan gieɾe-san gungima* | **mi** | **māŋ-a-rik** | **fiot-na,** |
| again Gyere-CNTR | Kungyam-ALL person | be.many-NLS-LQ | exist=le-CD |
| *tete gieɾe-san liktse-a* | **mi** | **māŋ-a-rik** | *fiot-kak,* / *fiot-te-jindak,* |
| then Gyere-CNTR | Līktse-ALL person | be.many-NLS-LQ | exist=le-DST | *exist=le-LB-GEM=PERF |

‘If there are more people [living] in Līktse than in Kungyam, and if there are more people [living] in Kungyam than in Gyere, then [it is clear that] there are more people [living] in Līktse than in Gyere.’ (*fiotjindak* cannot be used, because it is a sure conclusion.)

| (12) Gyere 2018 |
| **kho לחוקפו ɦo-fio-te-jindak** | **kho-a** | *manbus* *fio-te-jindak,* |
| She rich | be=le-LB-GEM=PERF | be=le-1B-GEM=PERF |
| *fio-te-jindak,* |
| ‘She is apparently rich, she has a lot of riches.’ (Inference upon seeing somebody staying in a big hotel.) |

| (13) Gyere 2018 |
| i wakl-ak te giela jindak | / *fio-te-jindak,* |
| this thing-DF good | be=GEM | be=le-LB-GEM=PERF |
| ‘This thing/instrument is good. / is definitely good.’ (The first expression with the GEM copula is normal and neutral, the second one, with the GEM perfect is more like specifically more pointing to the item, making it more important.) |

| (14) Gyere 2018 |
| **kho-a** | **tə manbo** | **fiot,** / *fio-kak,* / *fio-te-jindak,* |
| *sche* | *haves-lse* | have=le-DST | have=GEM=PERF |
| ‘She has many horses.’ (fiot: The speaker knows it well or is involved. fiokak can be used when explaining the fact to somebody who needs horses or also when referring to hearsay information. fotejindak: commenting or confirming. Eg. somebody gave us quite a few horses, and then one comments this with this remark. Or somebody has expressed his or her surprise about the quantity of horses, and one confirms the fact.) |

2. Contrasting A with B is not the same as contrasting B with A!

I would have expected that when comparing or rather contrasting two items the evidential status concerning the relation as such or one’s attitude towards the relation as such would be the same, independent of which way round the relation would be viewed. That is, the status of the relation between A and B should have been the same, whether one contrasts A with B or B with A. However, this is obviously not the case. What counts is the speaker’s...
mental relation with, or attitude towards, the ‘subject’ or comparee. When the speaker has a different attitude towards A and B, e.g., because A belongs to his/her personal or cultural sphere and B does not, then different markers will be used, depending on whether A or B is the comparee. Word order, on the other hand, does not matter.

(15) a. Khardong 2016

ŋ˖i thu-isaŋ riŋ-a & duk. / jot. / / *inok.  
Dorje 1-GEn child-CNTR be:small/young-NLS be=IC  be=Ie  *be=GEn

‘Dorje is old in contrast to > older than my child (immediate observation / assimilated knowledge as the child has grown up close to us).’

b. Khardong 2016

dorʤe ŋ˖i thu-isaŋ riŋ-a & duk. / jot. / / *inok.  
Dorje 1-GEn child-CNTR be:big/old-NLS &be=GEn be=IC

‘Dorje is tall in contrast to > taller than my child (immediate observation / assimilated knowledge as the child has grown up close to us).’

(17) a. Shara 2016

ŋaz˖e khampa khimtse-sesan tsapik-čig˖e ʨhenmo ɦin.  
we:excl GEN house neighbour-(GEN.)CNTR a:bit-LQ-INSTR big be=IC

‘Our house, in contrast to the neighbour’s is a bit big. > Our house is a bit bigger than the neighbours’ house. (But the builder can say hot.)

b. Shara 2016

khimtse-sen khampa ŋaz-esay ʨuun ɦinak.  
neighbour-GEN house we:excl(Gen.)CNTR small be=GEn

‘The neighbours’ house, in contrast to ours is small. > The neighbour’s house is smaller than ours.’

(18) a. Shara 2017

čar-ʧe gonp˖a lē ɫakan som-esay ʨhu-aj-zik ɦit.  
Čara GEN monastery Leh temple new-CNTR small-NLS-LQ be=le

‘The Čara monastery is small in contrast to (is smaller than) the New Temple of Leh.’

b. Shara 2017

lē ɫakan soma ŋaz-ʧe gonp-esay ʨhe-aj-zik duk.  
Leh temple new we:excl GEN monastery-CNTR big-NLS-LQ be=Iv

‘The New Temple of Leh is large in contrast (is larger than) our monastery.’ (The blind informant has experienced the dimension of the New Temple through walking during a short time visit.)

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1 The form needs to be checked.

A situation similar to the TV news holds for exceptional situations concerning the community and being part of heated discussions or also situations repeatedly re-narrated. To the repeatedly re-narrated situations belong the circumstances of the MSAP’s own birth, although the present perfect with the Set 1 marker yin is preferred when giving official information. Markers for non-observation, that is, inferential or distance markers may be used for a non-standard situation of which one has heard only few times, e.g., an emergency birth in the hospital. Conversely, foreigners, like BZ, or the new generations in Ladakh, who are typically born in a hospital, could then use the SIMPLE PAST for the normal hospital situation, and an inferential or distance marker for an uncommon and critical situation at home.

Re-narrated situations otherwise typically concern supernatural behaviour of particular statues of particular monasteries. In such cases, typically only the people affiliated with the monastery or region will use the SIMPLE PAST. Some might even use the MARKED PAST. Both forms signal identification or affectedness and firm belief. If one doesn’t use the SIMPLE PAST, one shows one’s mental distance: scepticism, disbelief, or non-belonging.

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Bettina Zeisler, DfG Project Evidentiality, epistemic modality, and speaker attitude in Ladakhi

'Some years ago in Alchi, two Nepalese men killed two monks (as everybody knows. / as everybody knows and I remember well).'

As the informant stated, the SIMPLE PAST can be used here, even though one did not observe the event oneself, because it is an established fact and everybody had been talking about it. The MARKED PAST then indicates that one remembers the fact well. The murder happened in 2007, and particularly the Buddhists were absolutely shocked, since killing a monk is beyond one’s imagination. For weeks, everybody was talking about the crime.

The choice of the simple and the MARKED PAST is very sensitive to various factors. 10 years after the Alchi murder case, the Teya speaker could only use the MARKED PAST or a distant marker. She thought, however, that an Alchi speaker might use the SIMPLE PAST, which means that she might have used it for a similar event in her village, (25). It seems that in such cases, the SIMPLE PAST conveys a notion of historicity. By contrast, with respect to the rape-incident in the Shey boarding school, which had just happened a few days earlier, she said that she would not use the SIMPLE PAST, because it was ‘too early’. However, given the double hedging with the inferential-cum-distance marker sng and the quote marker, I assume that she simply was not affected enough, (26). When talking about the ferocious-dog incident in Saspol, which happened a year earlier, she used both the SIMPLE PAST and the MARKED PAST, the latter for emphasising her feelings, (27). Both Saspol and Teya are villages of Lower Ladakh, west of Leh, whereas Shey belongs to Upper Ladakh, east of Leh. It is clear that people are more affected by events happening in their neighbourhood or sphere of identity than by those happening at some other place. The Alchi murder case had a trans-regional effect, as it affected the Buddhist community and the belief system.

Some years ago in Alchi, two Nepalese men killed two monks (as everybody knows. / as everybody knows and I remember well).'

Historical facts derived from written and oral sources can also be rendered with the SIMPLE PAST. In this case, however, the use of the SIMPLE PAST depends on how seriously (one thinks that) one has studied the sources. As some informants stated, an intensive occupation with the historical facts derived from written and oral sources can also be rendered with the SIMPLE PAST. In this case, however, the use of the SIMPLE PAST depends on how seriously (one thinks that) one has studied the sources. As some informants stated, an intensive occupation with the facts because he had a keen interest in the world around him and beyond. Cf. example (22) above from Teya.

Folk tales, including the Kesar epic are typically rendered with the distance markers. In this case, however, the use of the SIMPLE PAST also indicates that the speaker was not involved, as it indicates that one remembers the event well.

A few years ago in Alchi, two Nepalese men killed two monks (as everybody knows. / as everybody knows and I remember well).'

A few days ago, the warden of the Shey Ladmon [boarding] school apparently raped a child, [they say]. (According to the speaker, the SIMPLE PAST could not be used, because the event is too new. It is also possible that she was not particularly affected by these shocking news, because it happened in a region she does not identify with.)


New, slightly revised version 18.03.19 14:25
b. Kārgyam 2016

Vive la parole! Evidential ‘freaks’ in Ladakhi

3.2. MSAP, tight-lipped MARKED PAST, talkative SIMPLE PAST

So far, only one speaker stated that she would generally use the SIMPLE PAST for her own actions, when in a mood to tell more. According to her, the MARKED PAST with the remoteness marker pin would function like saying ‘full stop’, signalling there is nothing more to say or also that there would have been more to say about the situation, but she just doesn’t want to. It is not clear how far this is an individual feature or how far it is typical for her village dialect or also other dialects. The Rumbak village at the foot of the Zankan range is somewhat cut off from the valley and may thus have developed some idiosyncrasies of its own lag in the development of the opposition between simple and the MARKED PAST. Judged by the verbal forms, the dialect belongs to the Central Khent dialects, but there are also some influences from the Shamskat dialects (as perhaps also in other villages on the left side of the Indus river), particularly the initial clusters are more of the Shamskat than of the Leh type.

Rumbak 2017

3.3. Set 2: son, byun, and the SIMPLE PAST

The Set 2 directional markers, exocentric son and concentric byun, are not used in the Shamskat dialects and in the Khent dialects around Leh. Further east, in the side valley of Gya-Mīru and along the narrow Indus valley, exocentric son appears for observed situations that are either directed away from the speaker or also other dialects. The Rumbak village at the foot of the Zankan range is somewhat cut off from the valley and may thus have developed some idiosyncrasies of its own lag in the development of the opposition between simple and the MARKED PAST. Judged by the verbal forms, the dialect belongs to the Central Khent dialects, but there are also some influences from the Shamskat dialects (as perhaps also in other villages on the left side of the Indus river), particularly the initial clusters are more of the Shamskat than of the Leh type.

(29) Rumbak 2017

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Note the different linking verbs *yin* and *yod* for the temporal reference: *yin.pin* is used for the longer-lasting season, *yod.pin* for the short-term festivity!

**Table 3** Distribution of the past tense forms in the Shara narrative, example (32)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Usage for</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-pin</td>
<td>a. Gyere 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><strong>jokfen</strong> the MSAP’s narrated action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td><strong>gotpen</strong> the MSAP’s narrated action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><strong>jokfen</strong> the MSAP’s narrated action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><strong>zerfen</strong> the MSAP’s narrated action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td>a. Gyere 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><strong>lāp</strong> an action directed towards the MSAP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td><strong>lāp</strong> an action directed towards the MSAP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sonj</td>
<td>a. Gyere 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><strong>tretson</strong> a narrated event concerning 3P (the guests)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><strong>jokson</strong> an information-seeking question, addressee not expected to be involved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td><strong>tete-kherson</strong> a narrated event concerning 3P (other children)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The concentric directional *byuŋ* is used only in dialects closer to the Tibetan border, but its usage appears to be less common than in Standard Spoken Tibetan. The SIMPLE PAST is often used neutrally. For the Gyere speaker the SIMPLE PAST is preferable for neutral statements and for statements in face-to-face communications, while the directionals are more common when talking over the phone. Particularly the concentric directional *byuŋ* is in need of a stronger motivation, that is, the MSAP should be affected. This may be the case when s/he receives a letter from a family member, but more often, when some negative event occurs.

(33) a. Gyere 2018

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{naze} & \text{ rale(-)nāa can lēp.} / \& lēp-\text{wun}.
\end{align*}
\]

we.incl.GEN pen-pPOS snowleopard arrive=PA=II &arrive-IIcnct=PA

‘A snowleopard / wolf came into our pen (neutral statement / emphatic statement, showing affectedness).’

b. Gyere 2018

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{naze} & \text{ rale(-)nāa can lēp-te, rama tshaŋma got-pen.}
\end{align*}
\]

we.incl.GEN pen-pPOS snowleopard arrive=PA=II all kill=PA=II kill-exct=PA

‘A snowleopard came into our pen and killed all the goats (neutral statement / emphatic statement, showing affectedness).’

(34) a. Gyere 2018

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dan} & \text{ mākp-e nā dun.} / \& dun-wun.
\end{align*}
\]

yesterday husband-ERG I beat=PA=II beat-IIcnct=PA

‘[My] husband beat me yesterday (neutral / more affected).’

b. Gyere 2018

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dan} & \text{ mākp-e tūgu tshaŋma dun.} / \& dun-soŋ.
\end{align*}
\]

yesterday husband-ERG child all beat=PA=II beat-IIcnct=PA

‘[My] husband beat the children yesterday (neutral / more affected).’

4. Shared and shareable knowledge: the explanatory mood

It has been obsered elsewhere (San Roque 2015: 206) that certain ‘evidential’ markers can be used to present a fact as potentially perceptable to everybody and particularly to the addressee. An ‘impersonal evidential’ “may encourage the addressee to share in co-appraisal of a thing or proposition with the speaker and thus reach a similar evaluative stance” San Roque (ibid.).

Many usages of the GENERALISED EVALUATIVE MARKER (GEM): inok / inak / jindak / intsuk or of other evidential markers correspond to this ‘impersonal’ function. In most Ladakhi dialects surveyed so far, these markers are used both when the addressee is expected to know the fact and when s/he is expected not to know. So far, only Ciktan Purik makes an exception. In this dialect, the Set 1 markers, indicating the speaker’s authoritative knowledge, are used when the addressee is expected not to know, cf. (10).

In all other dialects it is a matter of communicative politeness to tune down one’s in relation to the addressee – privileged access when referring to situations that may be generally known. Even personal facts belonging to one’s privat sphere may be presented in the explanatory mood. When using markers for shared or shareable knowledge, the speaker invites the addressee to share the knowledge in case she does not yet have access to it. The markers also signal that the speaker is ready to give more details and also that s/he is open for discussion. As one informant stated, one would more likely ask for further details, when the facts are presented with the GEM, than when they are put straightforwardly on the table (FD Shachukul 2016, similarly Leh 2016). That is, the GEM presents a fact or situation as at issue. Conversely, the GEM in questions signals friendly curiosity as opposed to an authoritative inquisition. My late landlord used to ask me repeatedly about which crops were growing in Germany, using the highly impersonal future / generic construction -anok (most probably < NLS & GEM: -ba,yin,hog) – and, of course, expecting me to answer in the same tone.

(35) Kharkarn 2018

\[ n̂in-a kha ṁaŋbo t̄ē- ṅre, ral̄u m̄aŋbo ̄ci / ci-soŋ. \]

cardi-ALL snow much give=UJB goat, sheep many die=II die-iczCT=PA

\[ mi t̄shayna nakpardo m̄aŋbo thoŋ, / thoŋ-soŋ, / thoŋ-ʨuŋ. \]

people all suffering much see=II see-iczCT=PA see-iczCT=PA

‘Earlier, it snowed a lot more, and many goats and sheep died. The people suffered a lot.’ (The excentric directional soŋ is used, when the speaker is not part of the people talked about. The concentric directional byun indicates that s/he is part of the group.)

The SIMPLE PAST thus does have a neutral value with respect to directionality and emphasis.

(36) Domkhar 2011

\[ wəste kbi̱stoks-i semfen-i riks intsuk. \]

fox dog-like GEN animal GEN class be=GEM

‘The fox is a dog-like animal.’ (Fact expected to be, or presented as, generally known or presented in an explanatory mood to somebody who does or might not know.)

(37) Lingshed 2016

\[ d-u ʧi inok, ʃan̄la m̄a-thon-ba? – \]

d-DF this DEF what be=GEM earlier NG-seec-NLS –

\[ d-u mobail inok. d-u-ɡi̱dwe spera tän-fa-inok. \]

d-DF mobile be=GEM that-PPOS speech give=GRD-GEM=G2PROSP

‘What is this, that [we] did not see earlier (seeking information)? – This is a mobile. One can talk through this (explaining to somebody who doesn’t know).’

(38) Shachukul 2016

\[ ɲ̃ūn-a kha maŋbo t̄ē-re, ral̄u maŋbo ̄ci. / ci-soŋ. \]

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New, slightly revised version 18.03.19 14:25
A student belonging to the village was expected to make an important list together with the other villagers. In the meeting, the village head told everybody to come on time next morning at 10 o'clock, but nobody came in time, some people did not come, at all. The student was quite frustrated and went to search the villagers, saying:

«Following yesterday’s meeting, all of us know it well (authoritative): today [we were supposed] to meet at ten, but nobody came on time.»

Then one lady (lit. mother) became angry [and said]: «Who are you (that we all know it well (authoritative)?)! You are, as it appears, still wet behind the ears! If the village head speaks like this, it is ok. But who, [do you think], are you?!»

When the student complained to the village head, the latter was also not amused. He went to that lady and made a scene, himself:

«Following yesterday’s meeting, all of us know it well (authoritative): it was agreed to meet at ten today, so why didn’t you come on time? And why did you wrongly scold the youngster?» Then that lady couldn’t say anything any more (lit. was left with the mouth open wide).”

As one can assume, the knowledge state of all three persons is the same. All have been in the meeting and were involved in the decision making, if only as witness. The student speaks with not-at-issue authority, legitimised by the decision. But the lady rejects this authority on the pretense of his or her age-related low status. She would have preferred the student to use the less authoritative at-issue form gi₇i₇i₇donak with the GEM. Of course, the lady simply does not accept being criticised. She has to accept, however, the authority of the village head, qua his position.

5. Accessibilities

As Nicolas Tournadre has shown, privileged access ranks higher than access through sense perceptions, sense perception higher than inferences, vision higher than other senses and hearsay. The rest is somewhat more complicated. One may also say that lower ranking access is more specific than higher ranking access.

5.1. bdu₇ vs. yod — non-privileged access: partial observation

In order to use Set 2 marker bdu₇ for visual sense perception, one must have seen a crucial part of the situation, and this must have taken place in one’s deictic sphere. If the situation moves out of one’s deictic sphere or if one moves out of the situation, bdu₇ must be replaced by the next higher marker, yod. I have observed the effect of the speaker moving out so far in all dialects, except Turtuk Balti. In Pangi and Ciktan bdu₇ must be replaced by yod₇ or yod₇.sug for past time reference, otherwise the rule is the same. The Turtuk speaker, however, used yod₇.sug in both situations.

a. Shachukul 2016

(42) Shachukul 2016

Then the student complained to the village head, the latter was also not amused. He went to that lady and made a scene, himself:

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a. Shachukul 2016

(42) Shachukul 2016

'When I arrived at the monastery, the lamas were praying. When I returned, the lamas were still praying.'
Rather than being a question of evidence or assimilation, it is a question, along the lines proposed by Speas (2012 and Kalsang et al. 2013), of whether the observed situation (OS) comprises – a relevant part of, that is, here: the end of – the event situation (ES) (> Set 2) or not (> Set 1):

— **ŋe abale(ETHER)
  ‘my father was singing.’
(Speaker witnessed end of activity.)

— **ŋe abale(ETHER)
  ‘my father was still singing.’
(Speaker did not witness end of activity.)

Some Shamskat speakers go even further. They would use **yod, when seeing only part of the situation, e.g. when seeing a person from the front, who is carrying a leaking sack of grain.

(45) Domkhar 2009

{\text{itos-}αγ\\ \text{look,IMP-DM} \ \text{rice-DEF} \ \text{get.scattered-CNT-IIv=PRS}}

‘Look!, the rice is getting scattered.’ (**yod** is used when one sees the person from behind and thus can see the flowing going on. It is not necessary that the beginning or the end is observed.)

(46) Domkhar 2009

{\text{itos-}αγ\\ \text{look,IMP-DM} \ \text{rice-DEF} \ \text{get.scattered-LE=PRS}}

‘Look!, the rice is getting scattered.’ (**yod** is used when one sees the person who carries the sack of rice from the front or when the person takes up the sack and the grain just starts to flow. In both cases, one does not really see the full flow.)

Again one can describe the difference between the two situations as the difference between observing the situation fully, that is, when the event situation lies – spatially – within the observed situation, **yod** will be used, but when the observed situation is apparently only part of the event situation, **yod** will be used.

(47) Lingshed 2016

{\text{l̥tos-αγ, lam-ika lanpogbe-k dul-duk, are!\\ \text{look,IMP-DM} \ \text{road-PPos} \ \text{elephant-LE} \ \text{walk-IIv=PRS} \ \text{inf}}} \ \text{LQ walk-IIv=PRS inf}}

‘Look! An elephant is walking there on the road!’ (The addressee was not looking, and the speaker tries to draw his or her attention to the situation.)

b. Lingshed 2016

{\text{l̥tos-αγ, lam-ika lanpogbe-k dul-et, are!\\ \text{look,IMP-DM} \ \text{road-PPos} \ \text{elephant-LE} \ \text{walk-Ie=PRS} \ \text{inf}}} \ \text{LQ walk-Ie=PRS inf}}

‘Look! An elephant is walking there on the road!’ (Both speaker and addressee are observing the situation.)

c. Lingshed 2016

{\text{t̥ka-sa aŋmo jon-et.\\ \text{now Ajmo come-LE=PRS}}}

‘Ajmo is coming now.’ (Speaker and addressee both observe the situation without being surprised.)

(48) Teya 2015

{\text{l̥tos-αγ\\ \text{look,IMP-DM}}} \ \text{Ajmo come-LE=PRS}}

‘Look! Ajmo is coming.’ (Ajmo had been expected to come at this time.)

(49) a. Khardong 16

{\text{l̥tos-αγ a-ka jakt-fik dul-se.\\ \text{look,IMP-DM} \ \text{over.there-PPos} \ \text{yak-LE} \ \text{be=IV-LE}}}

‘Look! Over there are some yaks!’ (Speaker and addressee are watching together.)
Evidentiality, epistemic modality, and speaker attitude in Ladakhi

b. Khardong 2016

[59x45] ‘Look! [They] are coming from over there.’ (Speaker and addressee are watching together. / The speaker tries to draw the addressee’s attention towards the yaks.)

(50) a. Sumur 2016

tsherįŋ lam-na dul-ene.
Tsherįŋ road-ABL/LOC walk-CNT=PRS

‘Tsherįŋ [is] walking on the road (as you can see).’

b. Sumur 2016
diiŋ lam-ekana kbi manp-ek duk-se.
today road-PPOS/ABL/LOC dog many-LQ exist-LB

‘There are a lot of dogs on the road, today (as you can see).’

c. Sumur 2016

ani, / amalele, e(ː)ka lanpoık-duk-se! / dul-ene!
intj / intj that-PPOS elephant-LQ exist-LB / walk-CNT=PRS

‘Oh, my! / Heavens! Over there is an elephant! / Over there walks an elephant!’

(51) a. Ciktan 2016

wet / la! Ʉitos-ay! e(ː)ka ʰatʃi-k duk.
hey.boy hey.girl look.IMP-DM that-PPOS elephant-LQ be=Lv

‘Hey, look! Over there is an elephant!’ (Telling somebody who didn’t look.)

b. Ciktan 2016

wet / la! Ʉitos-ay! e(ː)ka ʰatʃi-k
hey.boy hey.girl look.IMP-DM that-PPOS elephant-LQ 0

‘Hey, look! Over there is an elephant!’ (Speaker and addressee are looking together.)

c. Ciktan 2016

hey.boy hey.girl look.IMP-DM that-PPOS elephant-LQ walk-CNT=PRS / *walk-CNT=LIe=PRS

‘Hey, look! Over there is an elephant walking (!)’ (The construction is used both when drawing the attention of the addressee to the fact and when looking together. /dulinjot/ would mean that the speaker is somehow connected with or responsible for the elephant.)

5.3. bdug vs. rag (vs. yod) — interference of 3rd person witnesses

As a rough rule: when one has multiple access, one will chose the markers for the higher ranking channel. Hence when seeing a dog and hearing it barking, one will use the marker for visual perception when commenting upon its barking, even though one might not really see any physical signs of barking. Some, but definitely not all, speakers may go even further. When they have seen workers producing loud noise, they may still comment about the noise with the visual marker, even if they are now in a different room and can’t see them.

(52) Shachukul 2016

philog-a kāli-fun-Ʉe gq-ore, kūɡo-kilin tāŋ-ə-arak. / tē-ek.
outside-ALL worker-PL-ERG work do-LB loud.noise give-NLS-IInv=PRS give-IIE=PRS

‘Outside, the workers make a lot of noise while working (rag: as I can hear: I didn’t see them working before hearing the noise / bdug: as I could see: I saw them working when I came to the office etc. and now, without seeing them, I hear the noise). I feel extremely irritated.’

When one refers to hearsay knowledge, one has various options. For the quote marker to see below, § 5.4. Set marker 2 for non-visual knowledge rag is used with the present tense or imperfect of the verb say, if one wants to indicate that one has merely overheard the content spoken of or if one has heard it a limited times from a limited number of persons or from one unreliable person. When referring to content one has heard many times from trustworthy sources, one will use Set marker 2 for visual perception bdug, even though the sources remain unspecified and are typically out of view; there is usually also not a vivid memory of having been told so that could motivate the use of bdug. With specific sources Set 1 marker yod may also be used, if one wants to demonstrate one’s full acquaintedness.

The speaker from Teya – a Shamskat dialect with features of Central Ladakhi Kenhat – shows here an interesting distinction: she uses the special Shamskat Set 1 habitual form ḥdug (< -et-tense form). I have not yet seen this kind of discrimination between well known habits of one’s own group and of others in the more western Shamskat dialects. The Kenhat dialects do not have a special habitual form. Habits outside one’s personal or cultural sphere are in both dialects represented with the Set 2 marker ḥdug.

b. Teya 2018

‘sgonm-e tuz-la ɳatʃi jul-a bakston manbo tāŋ-ʧen»
early-GEN time-ALL we.excl. GEN village-ALL wedding many give-GRD.Ic=GFUT

‘[Our] villagers used to say that «floods would come [regularly]»’ (The villagers know well that every year a flood would come at a certain place, and the speaker really believes them.)

c. Teya 2018

julpa-nun-is Ʉgulok joŋ-γ-en» zer-bat-pin.
villager-PL-ERG flood com-GRD-Ic=GFUT say-NLS=IE=PRS

‘[Our] villagers used to say that «floors would come [regularly]»’ (The villagers know well that every year a flood would come at a certain place, and the speaker really believes them.)
While these usages roughly correspond to the accessibility hierarchy, there are also instances, where a speaker will choose the Set 2 marker *rag over *ḥdug in violation of the hierarchy. This mainly happens with intensive, often negative, situations, where the feeling and emotional involvement of the speaker as a victim is more important than the concomitant visual observation of the situation. In such cases, the use of the auxiliary *ḥdug would convey a feeling of disconnection with the body (Domkhar). In these contexts, Set 2 marker *rag can also be used for a past situation, even when showing the visible traces of an attack.

(54) a. Domkhar 2018
dan kbo-s na(-i) tsher manybo rdun-en-ak-pin. yesterday s/he-ERG I-ALL time many beat-CNT-IInv-RM=IMPF
‘Yesterday he was beating me several times.’

b. Domkhar 2018
l̥tos-an, kbo-s na(-i) rdun-en-ak-pin. look,IMP-DM s/he-ERG I-ALL beat-CNT-IInv-RM=IMPF
fasha tsbham-na sjonpo son-se šaŋs.
flesh all blue go-LB swell=PA=II
‘Look! He has beaten me, I have blue spots and swellings all over my body.’

(55) a. Domkhar 2018
dʒudju kbi-a gik thoms-anj na(-i) so tab-en-ak-pa.
please dog-ALL one hold,IMP-DM I-ALL tooth apply-CNT-IInv=PRS-emp
‘Please hold off the dog for a while! It’s biting me.’

b. Domkhar 2018
l̥tos-an, kbi-s na(-i) so tab-en-ak-pin.
look,IMP-DM dog-ERG I-ALL tooth apply-CNT-IInv-RM=IMPF
r̥maka khafiq phin-se, dagdar-is hapso tən̥s.
wound some bring.out-LB doctor-ERG stitches give.PA=II
‘Look! The dog has bitten me. It caused some wounds, and the doctor stitched them.’

This usage could be tested so far only with a few other speakers, but appears to be commonly acceptable. However, some, but certainly not all, informants would again switch back to *ḥdug, when 3rd person witnesses were involved. According to the Domkhar informant, *yod should be used, if the witnesses did not observe the situation visually but only by other channels.

(56) a. DOMe18
dan ghenmo-s na(-i) stot-en-ak-pin.
yesterday boss-ERG I-ALL laude-CNT-IInv-RM=IMPF
‘Yesterday the boss lauded me.’ (The speaker saw it and heard it, but was positively affected, feeling proud.)

b. DOMe18
dan ghenmo-s na(-i) mi-ŋun-idunla stot-en-ak-pin. / stot-en-ak-pin.
yesterday boss-ERG I-ALL people-PL-PPOS laude-CNT-IInv-RM=IMPF laude-CNT-IInv-RM=IMPF
‘Yesterday the boss lauded me in front of all the people.’

b. Domkhar 2018
dan makpa-s na(-i), kuJo tən̥-en, rdun-en-jot-pin.
shouting give-CNT-IInv-RM=IMPF beat-CNT-IInv-RM=IMPF
khimtshespa-sag-a kuJo tshor lo, rdunskat tshor lo,
neighbour-PL-AES shout-QOM hear QOM beating.noise hear QOM
na nhkhan-po-an tshor lo, in(n)aŋ l̥to(-i)
what evil LQ be= GEM NG.understand=PA=II
‘Yesterday he was beating me, while shouting [a lot]. The neighbours [later] said they had heard [his] shouting, they had heard the sound of the beating, they also heard my crying. But nobody came to look. What kind of evil [people they] are! [I] don’t understand [this].’

Obviously, for some speakers, not only the knowledge and observation of the addressee plays a role, but also the knowledge and observation type of other persons, bystanders to the narrated event.

5.4. *rag vs. *lo — the certainty of direct communication

According to the accessibility hierarchy originally proposed by Nicolas Tournadre in his abstract, non-visual perceptions are higher than quotations and second-hand information. Second-hand information would thus also be less certain than non-visual perception. In Ladakhi, this may be true for endopathic non-visual perceptions. However, with respect to information obtained through the auditory channel, the opposite is true.

The quote marker *lo is used when one is directly informed, by preference in a face-to-face communication. I have observed it when people directly cited passages from a book, but otherwise information from written sources may be marked with the Set 2 marker *ḥdug for visual perception. In a similar manner, information obtained by phone or via a third person may be expressed with the *verbum dicendi accompanied with the auxiliary for non-visual or non-visual sense-perception reflects the perspective of an outsider to a conversation, either from close by with the visual marker or from a certain distance with the non-visual marker (Lingshed).

(58) Lingshed 2016
kbo ʂal-e-dak zer-ak. / lo.
she be.tired-LB IInv=PERF QOM say-IInv=PRS say-IInv=PRS
‘She is tired, [s/he] said (over the phone or via a 3rd person / directly, face to face).’

(59) Lingshed 2016
kbo-s dizuk lo. / zer-duk. / zer-en-ak.
she this.way say-QOM say-IInv=PRS say-CNT-IInv=PRS
‘She says/ said such.’ (The quote marker lo is preferred when one had been talked to directly, even on the phone, in an individual speech act. / The visual form zerduk is preferred when one sees somebody talk to somebody else, observing from close by. / The non-visual form is zerduk when overhearing somebody’s speech from some distance. The non-visual form is also used when one is talked to about the issue several times; this is then preferred to zerduk and the latter to lo.)

(60) a. Khardong 2016

i jul-e mi-gun-ise p’e khelab-a iqe-k di-se-rak.

this village-gen people-pl-erg I-gen back-all letter-LQ write-LB-Inv=perf

‘The people from this village have written a letter behind my back (as I’ve heard somehow.)’ (With /rak/ one defocuses from the speech act.)

b. Khardong 2016

i jul-e mi-gun-ise p’e khelab-a iqe-k di-se-duk lo.

this village-gen people-pl-erg I-gen back-all letter-LQ write-LB-Inv=perf Qom

‘These people from this village have written a letter behind my back (as I’ve been told).’ (The quotation marker puts more stress on the person who told me the fact, even if she is not mentioned.)

5.5. Not a question of accessibility: What are you doing?

When speakers of the central dialects meet on the road, the casual question What are you doing? takes the Set 2 marker bdog for the MSAp. Most speakers agree that there should be a plurality of addressees and that the honorific verb mdzad should be used. The addressees would then, however, answer with the Set 1 marker yod. Speakers from the more peripheral, especially western dialects typically reject this usage.

(61) Leh radio (nantshang diqrim 2015-06-21)

‘djule, niska ti dzad-duk?’ ...

greetings both what hon-do-inv=prs

‘ja djule, tshanka ti dzad-duk le,

int greetings all.three what hon-do-inv=prs hon

rantug-a not-fas-i spera-rik tan-ta?’

own.child-AES harm-GRD-gen speech-LQ give-QM=I

[Two women have met on the road and have started a conversation. A third woman appears and asks the first question. After a while a man appears and joins the conversation with the second question] ‘Hello, what are [you] two doing here?’ … ‘Hey, hello, what are the three of you doing, talking about what is harmful to one’s children?’

Example (61) from a radio play, has been judged to be a bit artificial. Usually people would simply state that they are there: jot le or duksejot le ‘we are here’, and would not necessarily explain what they were doing (Rumbak). One speaker commented that when seeing the people doing some work, it would be odd to ask with the Set 1 marker yod; this would sound as if the speaker were blind. However, when the people are resting and not doing anything, Set 1 marker yod is appropriate for an information-seeking question (Gyere).

5.6. The (dis)appearance of a ghost — idiosyncratic accessibility

In 2017, the Kuyl informant was about to leave, when I asked him whether he had taken a certain item, either his keys or his money. He groped for it inside the pocket of his jeans and said duk, duk! ‘Yes, I have it’. I was startled and asked him immediately why he would use the Set 2 marker bdog for visual perception and not the Set 2 marker rag for non-visual perceptions, thinking that in his border dialect the latter marker was perhaps not used. How-ever, he demonstrated that if he searched the money from inside the pocket, he would use bdog, but when feeling item in the pocket from outside, he would use rag. I was too amazed to write down the full sentence, but simply made a note for the next session. However, the informant was too busy and we did not meet again for linguistic questions.

When we resumed work in 2018, I asked the speaker to make a nice sentence with an appropriate item in the pocket. To my surprise, the speaker stated that he would only use rag, and he could not believe that he should have said otherwise and should have even demonstrated the difference to me. He tried the different ways of searching inside and outside the pocket again, but insisted only rag would be possible in both cases. Was the 2017 incidence then a mere hallucination?

Not quite so. Of course, I immediately started asking other speakers about the possible use of the Set 2 marker bdog in situations where one gropes for something inside one’s pocket. Most speakers rejected such usage right away, one speaker even stating explicitly that bdog means seeing something, and therefore could not be used. However, a few informants did accept the usage. They explained that bdog could be used when feeling the item in question immediately upon the fingertips or also feeling that nothing is there at all. One would be much more sure about the absence, because one would have checked more closely. When groping from outside the pocket, the perception of the item would be more indirect, and in the case of absence, one would be less sure, possibly thinking that the item might still turn up, if one would check more carefully.

(62) Kharkar 2018

nya(·) w:anda-nan pemi du· / ta·.

I-aes pocket-ppos money have=ivl have=innv

‘I have [some] money in my pocket (touching the money when groping inside the pocket, a bit more sure than / only feeling from outside).’

(63) a. Ciktan 2016

dian pene jot-khan fos; dian pene mi-nduk!

this-ppos money exist-nls do.pa this-ppos money NG-exist=iv

‘I thought (lit. did) I had money in there; [but] in there isn’t any.’ (Looking into the purse.)

b. Ciktan 2016/17

nya(·) / nya(·) pene mi-nduk.

I-aes I-ppos money NG-exist/have=iv

‘I don’t have [any] money with me.’ (Uttered after feeling around the body, there is definitely none; checking the pockets from inside, even without looking.)

c. Ciktan 2016

nya ila(·) pene mi-nduk.

I-ppos money NG-exist/have=iv

‘I don’t have [any] money with me.’ (Uttered while checking the pockets from outside, but one might still find some if one looks inside.)

Informants: Turtuk: ABDUL HAMID; Sumur: STANZIN YANGSKIT; Khardong: TSHEWANG RIGDZIN; Ciktan: SARFRAZ AHMED; Lingshed: TUNDUP NANGYAL; Domkhar: TSHERING DISKIT; Teya: TSHERING DOKLAR; Rumbak: KUNZANG DOLMA; Gya-Miru: MENGNYU TSOMO; Shara: THUJE DOLMA; Gyaik: JIGMET ANGMO; Gyere: SONAM DORJE; Shachukul: TSERING KUNDEZ; Kargyam: CHAMBHA TSETAN; Kharkar: TSERING ANGTRAK; Kuyul: JIGMET TANDAR; Fangi: TENZEN DOLKAR.

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Abbreviations and conventions

- segmentable
- functional equivalence
- high tone
- low tone
- ablative
- aesthetic (allative for transitive experiencer subjects)
- allative
- conditional
- continuative
- contrastive (for comparisons)
- comitative
- ±control
- definiteness marker
- definite future
- directive (for commands and prohibitions)
- (mental) distance marker
- emphatic marker
- exclusive plural form
- familiar
- focus marker
- generalised evaluative marker
- genitive
- general(ised) future
- gerundive
- habitual
- honorific
- humiliﬁc
- Set 1
- Set 1 copula (yiin)
- Set 1 existential verb (yod)
- Set 2
- Set 2 concentric marker (byung)
- Set 2 excentric marker (sopa)
- Set 2 non-verbal marker (rug)
- Set 2 visual marker (bjud)