# Vive la parole! 'Evidential freaks' in Ladakhi

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

With respect to the various so-called evidential markers and the (more) epistemic markers used in Ladakhi (and the other Tibetic languages), I would like to make the following distinction: Set 1 (*yin*, *yod*, the MARKED PAST with *-pin*), Set 2 (*ḥdug*, *rag*, the SIMPLE PAST or mere verb stem, *soŋ*, *byuŋ*), 'evaluative' markers for inferences, estimations, and probabilities. Set 1 corresponds partly to what other scholars call 'egophoric' markers, marking the main speech act participant's (speaker in statements, addressee in questions = MSAP) privileged access to, involvement in, responsibility for, and 'right' to speak with *personal* authority about, a situation. Set 2 is used mainly for immediate perceptive knowledge about 'others', 'evaluative' markers for knowledge that is either not based on privileged access or personal observations or is tuned down for various socio-pragmatic reasons.

All markers have a prototypical usage, corresponding to other Tibetic 'evidential' systems, but also various non-standard, marked usages, see Table 1, where the non-prototypical usages are marked by grey shading. The 'evidential' markers thus do not so much indicate access to knowledge, than a speaker's attitude towards the situation *and* towards the addressee and, in questions, the speaker's expectations about the addressee's attitude.
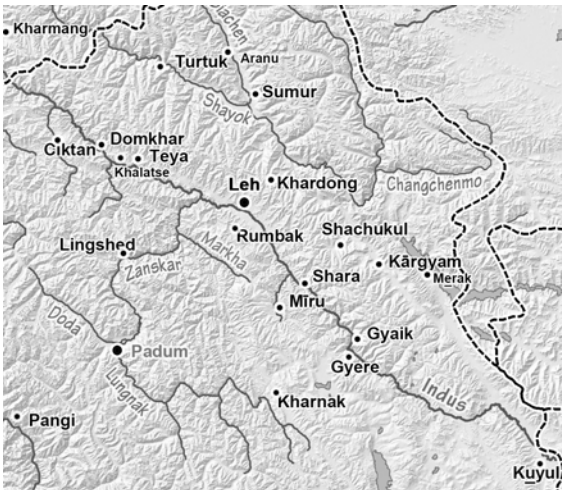


←*Fig 1* Map of Ladakhi dialects

*Table 1* (Non-) Prototypical use: Ladakhi 'evidentials'

| Domain | Set 1: | | Set 2: | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *yin / yod* | | *ḥdug / rag* | |
| identificat. copula | MSAP | OTHER | — | — |
| future | MSAP | OTHER | — | — |
| past/ anterior | MSAP | OTHER | — | — |
| attributive copula | MSAP | OTHER | OTHER | (MSAP) |
| existential | MSAP | OTHER | OTHER | MSAP |
| present/ simultan. | MSAP | OTHER | OTHER | (MSAP) |
| perfect/ resultative | MSAP | OTHER | OTHER | MSAP |
| **All domains** | | | | **other markers** |
| evaluative markers | | | OTHER | MSAP |
| quotation markers | | | OTHER | (MSAP) |

Some of the non-standard usages are rather unsystematic or 'freaky', sometimes even contradictory, and cannot even be explained by general assumptions about socio-pragmatic factors. I shall introduce some of the 'evidential freaks' I encountered in Ladakhi and shall discuss also a few more general problems in the description of the markers.

## 1. *yin* vs. *yod*

### 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 *ḥdug* and *rag* 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 such 'intrinsic' properties as being of a certain age. Others may restrict *yin* to properties one can be responsible for, e.g. being good, but not being beautiful (Kargyam), others again may use *yin* only in contrastive (vulgo comparative) constructions (Sumur).

Some speakers prefer *yin* with one property and *yod* with another, without there being a clear pattern behind the choice (Gya-Mīru). 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 differenciated 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.

(1) Shara 2017

*tene ŋ+e ṣeh+eha tɕhu jok-fen.*
then I+ERG threshold+PPOS water throw-RM=PA=I

*te-zane gun-la **ḥin-pen.** ṣeha+(:) taṛ tɕhak-te-duk.*
that-when winter-ALL be=Ic-RM threshold-ALL ice appear-LB-IIv=PERF

*te-zane ɲaglen-dʑik **ḥiot-pen.***
that-when bride.taking-LQ exist=Ie-RM

*tene mi tshaŋma raro-re themk+ehane tret-soŋ.*
then people all be.drunk-LB door.step-PPOS:ABL slip-IIexct

'So I threw water on the door step. It was winter. [So] ice formed on the door step. At that time there was a bride-taking ceremony. Then all the people, being drunk, slipped on the door step.'

But then, for many speakers *yod* indicates that one has a longer acquaintance with the item, while *yin* indicates a shorter acquaintance (Shara), (3). *yod* may also refer to a more general property (Shara), (4).

*yin* often signals that the item in question is in view or present, while *yod* is used for items out of view or for situations of the past (Shamskat, Gya-Mīru). With past time refer-

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: here *yin* always signals a shorter duration, while *yod* signals a longer duration or a more general situation.

(2)  Shara 2016

| ŋa | gjal'a | meṭ. | / | maṇ. |
|----|--------|------|---|------|
| I | good | NG.be=Ie | | NG.be=Ic |

'I am not good (*yin*: subjective perception / *yod*: objective: everybody says so).'

(3)  Shara 2016

| aʧe | pē | gjal'a | ɦin. | / | ɦot. |
|-----|----|--------|------|---|------|
| elder.sister | very | good | be=Ic | | be=Ie |

'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          b. Shara 2016

| thukpa | ʒimpo | rak. | | laḍaɣe | thukpa | ʒimpo | ɦot. |
|--------|-------|------|---|--------|--------|-------|------|
| soup | tasty | be=IInv | | Ladakh-GEN | soup | tasty | be=Ie |

'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 maṇ*"). 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          b. Gyere 2018

| ŋa | lāŋpoche-tsok | ʃuktɕɛn | ɦot. | | ŋa | lāŋpoche-tsok | jin. | / | ?ɦot. |
|----|---------------|---------|------|---|----|---------------|------|---|-------|
| I | elephant-like | strong | be=Ie | | I | elephant-like | be=Ic | | ?be=Ie |

'I am strong like an elephant.'          'I am like an elephant [that is, strong].'

c. Gyere 2018

| ŋa | lāk-tsok | jin, | thagriŋ-la | tā-ɲen-a-ɦot. |
|----|----------|------|------------|---------------|
| I | eagle-like | be=I | far-ALL | look-be.able-NLS-Ie=PRS |

'I am like an eagle, I can look far.'

d. Gyere 2018

| ŋ+e | mīk-te | lāɣ-e | mīk-tsok | %(ŋōŋpo) | ɦot | / | *jin. |
|-----|--------|-------|----------|----------|-----|---|-------|
| I+GEN | eye-DF | eagle-GEN | eye-like | %(sharp) | be=Ie | | *be=Ic |

'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 y*in.ɦog*) 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 in* 'where are you'. The informants differ somewhat with respect to the contexts in which *yin* is used and in which *yod* is used. The Shachukul 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 question. Most other speakers, however, would use *yin* for the momentaneous location in contrast to the general location for which *yod* is used. The addresse would then be free to state with *yin* s/he is at a certain place just now, adding with *yod* however the place where s/he is staying.

(6)  a. Shachukul 2016

| kɛni | ɦin? | khaŋba-ne | ɦin-a, | lē-ne | ɦin? | – |
|------|------|-----------|--------|-------|------|---|
| where | be=Ic | home-ABL/LOC | be=Ic-QM | Leh-ABL/LOC | be=Ic | |

| ŋa | khaŋba-ne | ɦin. | / | %ɦot. |
|----|-----------|------|---|-------|
| I | home-ABL/LOC | be=Ic | | %exist=Ie |

'Where are you (now)? Are you at home [in the village] or in Leh? – I am at home.'

b. Shachukul 2016

| kɛni | ɦot? | bazar-ne | ɦor-a? | – |
|------|------|----------|--------|---|
| where | exist=Ie | bazaar-ABL/LOC | exist=Ie-QM | |

| ŋa | bazar-ne | ɦot | / | %ɦin |
|----|----------|-----|---|------|
| I | bazaar-ABL/LOC | exist=Ie | | ?be=Ic |

'Where are you (now)? Are you in the bazaar? – I am in the bazaar.'

(7)  a. Sumur 2016

| khjoraŋ | / | ɲeraŋ | gana | in. | / | jot. |
|---------|---|-------|------|-----|---|------|
| fam.you | | hon.you | where | be=Ic | | exist=Ie |

'Where are you (just now / these days).'

b. Sumur 2016

| daksa | ŋa | diskit-na | in. | genazuga | ŋa | sumur-la | jot. |
|-------|----|-----------|-----|----------|----|----------|------|
| now | I | Diskid-ABL/LOC | be=Ic | generally | I | Sumur-ALL | exist=Ie |

'I am in Diskid right now. [But] generally, I am/ I stay in Sumur.'

Government employees are usually shifted about every three years to a different post. People thus frequently ask each other where they are presently posted. Since such postings are thought to be not permanent, the copula *yin* is commonly used.

(8)  Gya-Mīru 2013

| ɲeraŋ | / | ɲiri | ḍipṭi | ṭaksa | karua | ɦin? | – |
|-------|---|------|-------|-------|-------|------|---|
| hon.you | | hon.you.GEN | duty | now | where | be=Ic | |

| ŋa | / | ŋ+e | ḍipṭi | ṭaksa | upʃi-a | ɦin. |
|----|---|-----|-------|-------|--------|------|
| I | | I+GEN | duty | now | Upshi-ALL | be=Ic |

'Where are you presently [stationed]? / Where is your duty now? – I am presently [stationed] at Upshi. / My duty is in Upshi now.'

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:

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(9)   a. Teya 2017

| *ɲiri* | *ḍipṭi* | *garu* | *jot?* | / | *ɲiri* | *ḍipṭi* | *daksa* | *garu* | *in?* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| hon.you.GEN | duty | where | exist=Ie | | hon.you.GEN | duty | now | where | be=Ic |

'Where is your duty (now)?' (*The two persons have met somewhere on the road. yod* is used for a neutral question, *yin* when one is more concerned, e.g. when meeting a former colleague.)

b. Teya 2017

| *ɲiri* | *ḍipṭi* | *garua* | *in?* | / | *jot?* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| hon.you.GEN | duty | where | be=Ic | | exist=Ie |

'Where is your duty? (*yin*: the speaker calls the addresse on his/her mobile phone expecting him/her to be in the office or school. / *yod*: the speaker does not expect the addresse to be at the office or school. – The answer depends on where the person actually is, not on the question.)

c. Teya 2017

| *ɲiri* | *ḍipṭi* | *garua* | *jot?* | – |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| hon.you.GEN | duty | where | exist=Ie | |

| *ŋa* / | *ŋ+i* | *ḍipṭi* | *ɲoma+(:)* | *jot,* | *daksa* | *ŋa* | *tɕhuṭi-a* | *in.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | I+GEN | duty | Nyoma+ALL | exist=Ie | now | I | holiday-ALL | be=Ic |

'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 Gyaik, *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, GEM, which in many aspects ressembles 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, SEM, 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 *gju ḥindak* '**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

| *tɕiktan-la* | *ʒi(k)-khan-i* | *khar-po* | *jot-e-intsuk.* | / | *jot.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ciktan-ALL | ruin-NLS-GEN | castle-DF | exist-LB-GEM=PERF | | exist=Ie |

'In Ciktan, there is a ruined castle (as you know / you might not know).'

*Table 2* Example of asymmetries in the Kenhat dialect of Gyere (Rong-Cangtang)

| | attributive | existential | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | tɕhukpo | tā maŋbo | |
| MSAP | *ɲin* | *ɦot* | |
| OTHER | *ɲin-ḍo* | *ɦot-ṭo* | probability |
| | *ɲin-tig-duk* | *ɦot-tig-duk* | estimation based on vision |
| | *ɲin-kak* | %*ɦo-kak* | inference, conclusion |
| | *ɲin-dak* | *ɦo(t)-kak* | explanatory mood, sure |
| | *ɲin-kak* | *ɦot-ṭo / ɦot-tig-duk* ?*ɦote-inkak* *ɦo(t)-kak [??]* | distance, doubt |
| | *ɦote-jindak* | *ɦote-jindak* | explanatory mood; a) a bit less sure, inferential; b) more emphatic, assertive |

(11)   Gyere 2018

| *kungjam-esaŋ* | *līktsea* | *mị* | *maŋ-a-rik* | *ɦot-na,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kungyam-CNTR | Līktse-ALL | person | be.many-NLS-LQ | exist=Ie-CD |

| *jaŋ* | *gjere-saŋ* | *kungjama* | *mị* | *māŋ-a-rik* | *ɦot-na,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| again | Gyere-CNTR | Kungyam-ALL | person | be.many-NLS-LQ | exist=Ie-CD |

| *tene* | *gjere-saŋ* | *līktse-a* | *mị* | *māŋ-a-rik* | *ɦo-kak.* | / | *ɦo-te-jindak.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | Gyere-CNTR | Līktse-ALL | person | be.many-NLS-LQ | exist=Ie-DST | | *exist=Ie-LB-GEM=PERF |

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

(12)   Gyere 2018

| *kho* | *tɕhukpo* | *ɦo-te-jindak,* | *kho-a* | *ṇor* | *maŋbo* | *ɦo-te-jindak.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| s/he | rich | be=Ie-LB-GEM=PERF | s/he-AES | riches | much | have=Ie-LB-GEM=PERF |

'S/he is apparently rich, s/he has a lot of riches.' (Inference upon seeing somebody staying in a big hotel.)

(13)   Gyere 2018

| *i* | *tɕālak-te* | *gjela* | *jindak.* | / | *ɦo-te-jindak.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| this | thing-DF | good | be=GEM | | be=Ie-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* | *tā* | *maŋbo* | *ɦot.* | / | *ɦo-kak.* | / | *ɦo-te-jindak.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| s/he-AES | horse | many | have=Ie | | have=Ie-DST | | have=Ie-LB-GEM=PERF |

'S/he has many horses.' (*ɦot*: The speaker knows it well or is involved. *ɦokak* can be used when explaining the fact to somebody who needs horses or also when referring to hearsay information. *ɦotejindak*: 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

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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    ʈhuu   kho-e    ʈhopa-gun-saŋ    thuŋ-a    jot.   /  *in.
I·GEN   child   s/he-GEN   friend-PL-CNTR    be.short-NLS   be=Ie    *be=Ic

'My child is short in contrast to > shorter than his/her friends.'

b. Khardong 2016

ŋ+i    ʈhuu   kho-e    ʈhopa-gun-saŋ    ʧhu*un-a*[1]   in.   /  *jot.
I+GEN   child   s/he-GEN   friend-PL-CNTR    be.small/young-NLS   be=Ic    *be=Ie

'My child is young in contrast to > younger than his/her friends.'

(16) a. Khardong 2016

dorʤe   ŋ·i   thu-isaŋ    riŋ-a    &duk.   /  jot.   /  *inok.
Dorje   I·GEN   child-CNTR   be.tall-NLS   &be=IIv   be=Ie    *be=GEM

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

b. Khardong 2016

dorʤe   ŋ·i   thu-isaŋ    ʧhe-a    &inok.   /  in.
Dorje   I·GEN   child-CNTR   be.big/old-NLS   &be=GEM   be=Ic

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

(17) a. Shara 2016

ŋaʐ+e    khampa   khimtse-sesaŋ    tsapik-çig+e   ʧhenmo   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 ɦot.)

b. Shara 2016

khimtse-se    khampa   ŋaʐ+esan    ʦūun   ɦinak.
neighbour-GEN   house   we.excl+(GEN.)CNTR    small   be=GEM

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

(18) a. Shara 2017

çar+e    gonpa   lē   lākaŋ   som+esaŋ   ʧhuŋ-a-ʑik   ɦot.
Çara+GEN   monastery   Leh   temple   new+CNTR   small-NLS-LQ   be=Ie

'The Çara monastery is small in contrast to (> *is smaller than*) the New Temple of Leh.'

b. Shara 2017

lē   lākaŋ   soma   ŋaʐ+e   gonp+esaŋ   ʧhe-a-ʑik   duk.
Leh   temple   new   we.excl+GEN   monastery+CNTR   big-NLS-LQ   be=IIv

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

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[1] The form needs to be checked.

(19) a. Lingshed 2016

potal-e    khar   lekhar-asaŋ    ʧhenmo   jot-ʧa-duk.
Potala-GEN   palace   Leh.palace-CNTR   big    be=Ie-GRD-IIv=PROSP

'The Potala palace seems to be big in contrast to > bigger than the Leh palace (estimation based on visual input).' (The speaker has seen photographs of the Potala.)

b. Lingshed 2016

lekhar    potal-e    khar-asaŋ    tsuŋtse   duk.   /  in-ʧa-duk.
Leh.palace   Potala-GEN   palace-CNTR   small   be=IIv    be=Ic-GRD-IIv=PROSP

'The Leh palace is / seems to be small in contrast to > smaller than the Potala palace.'

(20) a. Ciktan 2016

ŋaʧ+i    brak-sak-patsek
we.excl+GEN    mountain-PL-CNTR

stok kaŋri   ma(:)   thonmo   jot   lo.   /  jot.   /  jot-suk.    /  jot-e-in.
Stok glacier   very   high   be=Ie   QOM   be=Ie   be=Ie-INF/DST    be=Ie-LB-Ic=PERF

'In contrast to > *Compared to* our mountains, the Stok kaŋri (a high mountain near Leh) is much higher, they say. / as I heard about it. / as I have once seen. / may be much higher, I haven't seen it.'

b. Ciktan 2016

stok   kaŋri-batsek   ŋaʧi    brak-sak   thonmo   met.   /  man.
Stok   glacier-CNTR   we.excl.GEN    mountain-PL   high   NG.be=Ie    NG.be=Ic

'In contrast to > Compared to Stok kaŋri, our mountains are not (very) high (more subjective / more objective).

## 3. The SIMPLE PAST (or unMARKED PAST stem) – a neutral category?

I recently had a discussion with Nicolas Tournadre about the neutrality of the Ladakhi SIMPLE PAST, i.e., the bare stem without any further morphology. As the past tense constructions lagged behind in the development of 'evidential' marking, it may have remained neutral. In my system, the SIMPLE PAST falls into the Set 2 category and is opposed to the MARKED PAST of Set 1: the past (or bare) stem plus remoteness marker *pin* (< *pa.yin*), typically used for the MSAP's past actions, plus well remembered situations of OTHER.

The SIMPLE PAST is typically used for personally observed past situations of the OTHER. No distinction is made between different types of perceptions. However, depending on the dialect – and on the speaker, there are a few exceptions.

The first, regular, exception concerns the dialects of Lower Ladakh and Purik, where the SIMPLE PAST is also used for the MSAP for situations belonging to the recent past (quite an elastic category, depending on the type of action: in the case of writing a letter, it typically refers to the present or past day, but in the case of house construction, it may be extended to the past year).

### 3.1.  Not personally observed situations

The second type of exceptions is more of a freaky nature. Accordingly, they are handled quite differently by individual speakers. The SIMPLE PAST may, but need not, be used for situations of the OTHER, which the MSAP did not or even could not observe him- or herself.

Among these count TV news – rather understandably: one has, in fact, seen the situation, if only through the lenses of somebody else. This use is rather common.

Another common use is for one's own distant [–ctr] situations, such as having lost or forgotten something, fallen from a tree, etc. In such cases, the past inferential marker is no longer applicable as it typically indicaes that one has found out about the fact only recently, cf. (30) b.

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.

(21) Domkhar 2005

| *api-a* | *di* | *sku-a* | *suŋ* | *dʑons.* | / *dʑon-bin.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| grandmother-AES | this | statue-AES | hon.speech | hon.be.expert.PA=II | hon.be.expert-RM=PA=I |

'The grandmother had the auspicious experience that the statue could speak.'

The first informant stated that the MARKED PAST implies that the speaker has observed the event. Since this sounded strange, I asked another Domkhar informant many years later. She said that with both the simple and the MARKED PAST, the speaker may or may not have observed the situation personally, but because it was a very special or famous situation everybody believes it *as if having witnessed it personally*. According to her, the MARKED PAST further emphasises this belief.

In Lower Ladakh, there is a widely attested belief that the Avalokiteśvara statue of the Tingmozgang monastery had once spoken to an old man from Hanu (further down river). The village of Teya is immediately neighbouring upon Tingmozgam, and for the villagers the story is a historical fact. However, when mentioning the event without further details, just stating that the statue could speak, the informant from Teya only used the distance marker, which among other things, refers to a distant past and/or an oral tradition. However, the moment she gave more details, namely to whom the statue spoke, the informant preferred the SIMPLE PAST.

(22) a. Teya 2017

| *tiŋmozgaŋ-i* | *phakspa* | *rʧenrasik* | *suŋ* | *\*dʑons(-pin).* | / |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tiŋmozgaŋ-GEN | Noble | Avalokiteśvara | hon.speech | \*hon.be.expert.PA(-RM) | |

| *suŋ* | *dʑon-kantsok* | *lo.* |
|---|---|---|
| hon.speech | hon.be.expert-DST | QOM |

'The [statue of] the Noble Avalokiteśvara was able to speak, [they say].' (The situation is apparently too unspecific.)

b. Teya 2017

| *hanupa* | *meme-ʒig-a* |
|---|---|
| Hanu.person | grandfather-LQ-AES |

| *tiŋmozgaŋ-i* | *phakspa* | *rʧenrasik* | *suŋ* | *dʑons(-pin).* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tiŋmozgaŋ-GEN | Noble | Avalokiteśvara | hon.speech | hon.be.expert.PA(-RM) |

'An old man from Hanu experienced it that the [statue of] the Noble Avalokiteśvara was able to speak.' ('I heard it from the grandparents, and we all believe it'.)

c. Teya 2017

| *hanupa* | *meme-s* | *khuri* | *papu phakspa* | *rʧenrasig-a* | *ʧol-e,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hanu.pers. | grandpa-ERG | s/he.self.GEN | shoe Noble | Avalokiteśvara-ALL | entrust-LB |

| *dʑal-ba+(:)* | *soŋ-khantsok.* | / *&soŋ.* |
|---|---|---|
| hum.visit-NLS+ALL | go.PA-DST | &go.PA |

| *jan* | *dʑal-tshar-e* | *lok-se-joŋ-tsana,* | *meme-s* |
|---|---|---|---|
| again | visit-end-LB | return-lb-come-when | grandfather-ERG |

| *phakspa* | *rʧenrasig-a* | *khatraŋ* | *«ŋ+i papu gare?»* | *ze:s-pa,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Noble | Avalokiteśvara-ALL | straight | I+GEN shoe be.where | say.PA-NLS |

| *phakspa* | *rʧenrasig-is* | *suŋ* | *dʑon-e* | *mols :* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Noble | Avalokiteśvara-ERG | hon.speech | hon.be.expert-LB | hon.speak.PA |

| *«ja-ja, khiri* | *papu* | *ŋa-s* | *ɲara ʧo-se-jot»* |
|---|---|---|---|
| intj fam.you.self.GEN | shoe | I-ERG | care do-LB-Ie=PERF |

| *mol-kantsok.* | / *&mols.* |
|---|---|
| hon.say-DST | &say.PA |

| *papu* | *daruŋ* | *sku-idunla* | *bor-e-jot-pin.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| shoe | still | hon.statue-PPOS | put.down-LB-Ie-RM=PA.PERF |

'The old man from Hanu had entrusted his shoes to the [statue of] the Noble Avalokiteśvara and gone to visit [the remaining part of the monastery]. When [he] had finished [his] visit and came back again, [he] said straight forwardly: «Where are my shoes?» Then the Noble Avalokiteśvara magically spoke. «Oh yes, your shoes, I have taken care [of them]», he said. The shoes were still [where the old man] had put [them] in front of the statue.'

Exceptional situations, like the 2010 flood in Leh or the 2007 Alci murder case, where two lamas had been killed by two Nepali workers, likewise allow the use of the SIMPLE PAST, if one feels involved enough, and with some emporal distance also the MARKED PAST. In such cases, one was typically emotionally strongly affected: worries, if not even grief about relatives and friends in the flood situation or religious excitement, bewilderment, irritation, and perhaps even hatred in the Alci murder case. In the latter case, the situation was discussed hotly week after week, and many people suggested that all Nepali workers should be expelled. As a result, even a bystander who merely participated in these discussions, such as BZ, is allowed or perhaps even expected to use the SIMPLE PAST. On the other hand, students who were children at that time or who had been studying outside Ladakh or had otherwise been cut off from the news and heard about these situations only later would typically not use the SIMPLE PAST, as they had not personally experienced the situation of excitement.

(23) Shara 2017

| *tɕhulok* | *ɦoŋ-zane* | *mi* | *maŋpo ɕi.* | / *\*ɕi-soŋ.* | / *\*ɕi-fen.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| flood | come-when | people | many die=PA=II | \*die-IIexct=PA | \*die-RM=PA=I |

'A lot of people died, when there was the flood.' (The informant has not personally witnessed the event, but her brother is in the police and has told her, and everyone was talking about it; hence she knows it well "in the mind".)

(24) a. Gya-Mīru 2008

| *ɲaniŋ* | *gorka* | *ɲise* | *meme-le* | *ɲi* | *sat.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| last.year | Gorkha | 2-ERG | hon.lama-hon | 2 | kill=PA=II |

'Last year, two Nepalis killed two lamas.'

b. Gya-Mīru 2015

| *lo* | *khatʧig-eŋona altʧi-a* | *gorkha* | *ɲī-se* | *geloŋ ɲī tūŋ.* | / *tūŋ-pen.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| year | some-PPOS Alchi-ALL | Gorkha | two-ERG | monk 2 hon.kill.PA=II | hon.kill.PA-RM=I |

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New, slightly revised version 18.03.19 14:25

'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 observed 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 Alci murder case, the Teya speaker could only use the MARKED PAST or a distant marker. S/he thought, however, that an Alci 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 *sug* 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 Alci murder case had a transregional effect, as it affected the Buddhist community and the belief system.

(25)  Teya 2017
*lo      khatʃig-esŋonla    altʃi-a*
year   some-PPOS          Alci-ALL
*gorkha ɲis-is lama ɲis *sats.   / sat-kantsok.   / sats-pin.*
Nepali  2-ERG lama 2   *kill.PA   kill-DST        kill.PA-RM
'A few years ago in Alci, two Nepali killed two lamas.' (The SIMPLE PAST *sats* is not used here, possibly because the event happened too long ago, although a speaker from Alci, according to the informant, might use it [or rather she might use it when talking about an event in Teya]. The distance marker is used rather neutrally for events in the distant past of which one knows from hearsay. The MARKED PAST, on the other hand, can be used, even when one was not involved, as it indicates that one remembers the situation well.)

(26)  Teya 2017
*ʒak  khatʃige-sŋonla ʃe  lamdon   sku:l-a*
day   some-PPOS       Shey Lamdon   school-ALL
*wardan-is   ʈhugu-ʒig-a reip  tʃos+ok       lo.   / *tʃos.*
warden-ERG  child-LQ-ALL  rape  do.PA+INF/DST  QOM    *do.PA
'A few days ago, the warden of the Shey Lamdon [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.)

(27)  Teya 2017
*naniŋ   saspol-a   khi-s     bomo-ʒik     sats.   / sats-pin.*
last.year Saspol-ALL dog-ERG   girl/woman-LQ kill.PA   kill.PA-RM
'Last year, dogs killed a woman in Saspol.' (The SIMPLE PAST is used more neurally, the MARKED PAST emphasises ones sorrow (*tsherka*) or shock. The event happened in a region she identifies with.)

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 subject makes one feel as if one has observed the situation oneself. This use is much less frequently accepted. In this case, several motivations crosscut. One motivation for not using the SIMPLE PAST is that when talking about history, one typically enters the explanatory mood, where the markers for shared knowledge and/ or personal distance or non-involvement are used. The opposite motivations for using the SIMPLE PAST are one's own confidence and also interest in the situations reported. The students with whom I usually work would hardly ever use the SIMPLE PAST, indicating thus that they do not know enough about the situation or also that were not much interested in it. By contrast, an elderly man, who descended from a family of quite high status, freely used the SIMPLE PAST, even for situations that happened in distant past. He also used the Set 1 marker *yod* for much more situations than anybody else, so that I had a hard time to invent situations he could possibly not know enough about. With his grammatical choices he signalled that he was very well acquainted 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 some dialects even with a specific narrative distance marker. Nevertheless, some speakers may switch between this form and the SIMPLE PAST for two reasons. One is, in fact, a neutralisation effect when talking about repeated similar sequences, e.g., the fight between two yaks is described at three subsequent time points or three brothers, one after the other, have a discussion with their father. On the other hand, however, the SIMPLE PAST also indicates that the narrator gets more involved with the story, virtually seeing it before his or her eyes. The switch back to the distance markers always occurs when the narrator returns to background information between the individual episodes. A person who has no good recollection of the story, like most of my informants, will definitely employ only the narrative distance markers, but an expert narrator will invoke the situation before his or her eyes and will tell the story as if personally observed. In the Lower Ladakhi version, e.g., the narrative distance markers are reserved for background information and the highlighting of surprising facts.

Jokes, on the other hand, are often presented, particularly by Shamskat speakers, with the SIMPLE PAST. I would think that the main reason to do so is to present the story vividly and as relevant as if one had experienced the situation oneself.

(28)  a. Teya 2012
*aba-s      ʈhugu-a  ze:s:   «ʈhugu,  dʒudʒu, sɲiŋ   taŋ-se   sil!»*
father-ERG child-ALL say.PA=II child   please  heart  give-LB  read/study.IMP
*de(:)kana ʈhugu-s ze:s:  «l̥tos-aŋ!   ŋa+(:) ‹sɲiŋ taŋ-se sil!›       zer-duk.*
thereafter child-ERG say.PA=II look.IMP-DIR I+ALL  heart give-LB read/study.IMP say-IIv=PRS
*aba khoraŋ-is migra taŋ-se sil-duk!»*
father s/he.self-ERG glasses give-LB  read-IIv=PRS
'A father said to his child: «My child, please read with all your heart [that is, study with concentration]!» Then the child said: «Look! [He] is telling me ‹to read with all my heart›. [But] the father himself is reading with glasses!»'

b. Kārgyam 2016

| *aw₊e* | *ʈūu-la* | «*ɲīŋ tāŋde sil!*» | *zer-pa,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| father-ERG | child-ALL | heart give-LB read/study.IMP | say-NLS |

| *ʈū-i* | «*tsūk* | *duk!* | *awa* | *khoraŋ* | *mīgra* | *ʧenmo-jik* | | *tāk-te* | *sil₊uk;* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| child-ERG | such | be=IIv | father | s/he.self | glasses | big-LQ | | put-LB | read-IIv=PRS |

| *ŋa₊(:)* | *ɲīŋ* | *tāŋ-de* | *sil!*› | | *lo»* | *zer.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I₊all | heart | give-LB | read/study.IMP | | QOM | say=PA=II |

'When the father told [his] child: «Read with all your heart [that is, study with concentration]!», the child said: «This is something! The father himself is reading, having put big glasses [on his nose], [but] to me [he] says: ‹Read with your heart!›»'

As the Kārgyam informant stated, the SIMPLE PAST *zer* for the child is suitable, because everybody is expected to laugh. One could also say that the SIMPLE PAST brings the narrated event closer to the audience and makes it more relevant.

The Ladakhi SIMPLE PAST is thus not a neutral category in the sense that it can be used in place of the marked categories or that it is a kind of garbage bin for an undefinable rest. In the Kenhat dialects, the SIMPLE PAST is used only for the OTHER. It typically signals immediate perceptive observation of the situation or, in a more extended or perhaps metaphorical usage, a somewhat more indirect mental involvement in the situation either through affectedness or deep interest, and thus a greater acquaintedness. Acquaintedness with the fact – but non-identification with the situation as being responsible for it – is also the reason for the use of the SIMPLE PAST for [–ctr] situations relating to the MSAP. All these functions hold true in the Shamskat dialects when referring to the OTHER. But when used for the MSAP, it signals the recentness of the situation.

Nevertheless, there seem to be peripheral dialects where the opposition between the simple and the MARKED PAST has not yet fully developed.

## 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 Zankar range is somewhat cut off from the valley and may thus have developed some idiosyncrasies or may lag behind in the development of the opposition between simple and MARKED PAST. Judged by the verbal forms, the dialect belongs to the Central Kenhat 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

| *ŋa* | *abi-le-naŋ* | | *meme-le₊(:)laga* | *duks.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | grandmother-hon-COM | | grandfather-hon₊PPOS | stay.PA(=I) |

| *tene* | *lo* | *ʈuk* | *ʧhatʃikponaŋ* | *aba-le-a* | | *gos-te-taŋs,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | year | 6 | go.be.about | father-hon-ALL | | share-LB-give.PA=II |

| *ʧifia* | *zer-na,* | *ŋa* | *phet-ʧik* | *ʒara* | *soŋ-pa,* | *khoŋ-a* | *gos-a-mi-ruk-pin.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| why | say-CD | I | half-LQ | blind | become-NLS | they-AES | need-NLS-NG-IIv-RM=IMPF |

| *tene* | *thagriŋ-e* | *maʈuŋ-ʧik* | *in-pin;* | *kho-elaga* | / | *kho-ɲampo* | *duks.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | far-GEN | aunt-LQ | be=Ic-RM | s/he-PPOS | | s/he-PPOS:COM | stay.PA(=I) |

| *inaŋ* | *kho* | *kuli* | *in-pin.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| but | s/he | labourer | be=Ic-RM |

| *tefia* | *ŋa₊(:)* | *jontan* | *gjala-ʒik* | *taŋ-ʧes-iphia* | *pene* | *met-pin.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| therefore | I₊ALL | education | good-LQ | give-GRD-PPOS | money | NG.exit=Ie-RM |

| *ŋa* | *gormen* | *sikul-a* | *taŋs.* | *rhʧu-tsakpa* | *sils.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | government | school-ALL | give.PA=II | 10-PPOS | study.PA(=I) |

| *testiŋna* | *rhʧupa* | *phel* | *soŋ.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| thereafter | 10th | fail | happen.PA=II |

| *tene* | *sekmola* | *samarkem-a* | *soŋ.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| then | SECMOL-ALL | summer.camp-ALL | go.PA(=I) |

| *tene* | *atʃi* | *beki-naŋ* | *kaa* | *aɲʧuk* | *thuk.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | elder.sister | Becky-COM | elder.brother | Aŋcuk | meet=PA=II |

| *tene* | *lda* | *khatʃik* | *duks,* | *las* | *ʧaba-ʧobe* | *ʧos,* | *sil-aŋ* | *sils.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| the | month | some | stay.PA(=I) | work | odd | do.PA(=I) | study-FM | study.PA(=I) |

| *testiŋna* | *sodeʧän-i* | *spera-ʒik* |
|---|---|---|
| thereafter | lucky-GEN | speech-LQ |

| *atʃi* | *beki-naŋ* | *kaa* | *aɲʧuk-ɲampo* | *ɲemo* | *gjur.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| elder.sister | Becky-COM | elder.brother | Aŋcuk-PPOS:COM | near | become=PA=II |

| *magar* | *lda* | *ɲis-sum-ʒig-ne* | *ʧomo* | *ʧo-a* | *soŋ,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| but | month | 2-3-LQ-ABL | nun | do-NLS.ALL | go.PA(=I) |

| *Dᵃramʃala₊(:)* | *ʃor-bin.* |
|---|---|
| Daramšala₊ALL | flee-RM=PA=I |

| *ʧomo* | *ʧos-te* | *lo* | *ʧuksum* | *duks.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| nun | do-LB | year | 13 | stay.PA(=I) |

| *ŋ₊e* | *ta* | *Saŋgjas-e* | *gopa₊ŋ* | *thop-ʧas-e* | *rewa* | *ʧos-pin.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I₊ERG | though | Buddha-GEN | understanding₊FM | get-GRD-GEN | hope | do.PA-RM=I |

| *inaŋ* | *ma-thop-pasaŋ* | *lok-te-joŋs-pin.* |
|---|---|---|
| but | NG-get-NLS₊ | return-LB-come.PA-RM=I |

'I [first] stayed with [my] grandparents. When I was about to become six, [they] sent me back (lit: shared and sent) to [my] father. That is, they did not need me, when I became half-blind. Then there was a distant aunt [not a real aunt]. I stayed with her. But she was just a labourer. Therefore there was no[t enough] money to give me a good education. [She] sent me to a government school. I studied until thenth [class]. [But] then I failed the thenth [class exam]. Then I went to the SECMOL summer camp. Then I met elder sister Becky and elder brother Aŋcuk. I stayed there a few months. I did some odd jobs [of the sort everybody in SECMOL has to do], and I also studied. Then, as it was my luck, I got closer to Becky and Aŋcuk. But after about two or three month I went off to become a nun, I run away to Dharamsala [that's it]. [The speaker continues upon a request:] [Ok,] I stayed 13 years as a nun. I had hoped, though, that I would obtain the understanding of a Buddha, but I didn't obtain it, and so I came back. [That's it. There would have been more to say about the situation, but I don't want to.]'

## 3.3. Set 2: *soŋ, byuŋ*, and the SIMPLE PAST

The Set 2 directional markers, exocentric *soŋ* and concentric *byuŋ*, are not used in the Shamskat dialects and in the Kenhat dialects around Leh. Further east, in the side valley of Gya-Mīru and along the narrow Indus valley, exocentric *soŋ* appears for observed situations that are either directed away from the MSAP or not directed towards the MSAP, but it may still alternate with the SIMPLE PAST. In several dialects it is not possible to use the observed past for [–ctr] situations related to the MSAP, such as losing or forgetting something, (30). For many speakers the complex form with the directional is more emphatic, the SIMPLE PAST thus somewhat more common for neutral statements. The SIMPLE PAST is also used

when the MSAP was somehow involved in, or responsible for, the situation, e.g., when having requested a certain action, (31).

Situations directed towards the MSAP are regularly presented with the SIMPLE PAST. The alternation between the SIMPLE PAST for events concerning or 'reaching' the MSAP and events that 'move away' from the MSAP (plus the alternation with the MARKED PAST for the MSAP's own activities) is nicely demonstrated in example (32).

(30) a. Shachukul 2016

| ŋa·(:) | kītap / pēne | ʒet-tuk. | / *ʒet-soŋ. |
|---|---|---|---|
| I·AES | book money | forget-PA.INF | *forget-IIexct |

'I (apparently) forgot my book / money.'

b. Shachukul 2016

| ŋa·(:) | pēne | **tōr.** | / tōr-duk. | / *tōr-soŋ. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I·AES | money | get.lost=PA=II | get.lost-PA.INF | *get.lost-IIexct |

'I lost my money (some time ago, of course, not witnessed / finding out recently).'

(31) Gyaik 2016

| ŋ+e | khi-a | khjinöni | zuk | ɦor+e, | ŋa+(:) | sat-ma-ɲen. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I+GEN | dog-AES | rabies-GEN | illness | come+LB | I+AES | kill-NG-be.able=PA=II |

| tene | ŋ+e | miŋbo-se | sat-soŋ. | / **sat.** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| then | I+GEN | brother-ERG | kill-IIexct | kill=PA=II |

'My dog had got rabies, [but] I couldn't kill him. Then my brother killed him.' (The excentric directional has the connotation of mere observation. The SIMPLE PAST is used because the speaker is responsible or involved, as she had requested the action; pity with the dog is not precluded.)

(32) Shara 2017

1 | thaŋʧik | ŋ+esaŋ | ʧhe-a | ɦot-kan-e | ʈūgu-ɦun-e | ŋa+(:) **lāp** : |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
one.time  I-CNTR  be.big-NLS  be=Ie-NLS-GEN  child-PL-ERG  I+ALL  teach=PA=II

2 «șeh+eha  ʧhu  jōk!»  lo.
threshold+PPOS  water  throw.IMP  QOM

3 tene  ŋ+e  șeh+eha  ʧhu  jok-fen.
then  I+ERG  threshold+PPOS  water  throw-RM=PA=I

4 te-zane  gun-la  ɦin-pen.  șeha+(:)  ʈar  ʧhak-te-duk.
that-when  winter-ALL  be=Ic-RM  threshold-ALL  ice  appear-LB-IIv=PERF

5 te-zane  paglen-dʒik  ɦot-pen.
that-when  bride.taking-LQ  exist=Ie-RM

6 tene  mi  tshaŋma raro-re  themk+ehane  ʈret-soŋ.
then  people  all  be.drunk-LB  door.step-PPOS:ABL  slip-IIexct=PA

7 tene  ŋaʒa  ʈūgu tshaŋma  got-pen.
then  we.excl  child all  laugh-RM=PA=I

8 tene  mi-ɣun-la  șo  ɦo+re,  ŋaʒa+(:)  dri-a-rak :
then  people-PL-AES  anger  come+LB  we+all  ask-NLS-IInv=PRS

9 «ʧhu su-i  jōk-soŋ?»  zer-de. tene  «ŋ+e jōk-fen»  zer-fen.
water  who-ERG  throw-IIexct=PA  say-LB  then  I-ERG throw-RM=PA=I  say-RM=PA=I

10 tene  «ʧia jōk-fen?»  lo.
then  why  throw-RM=PA=I  QOM

11 tene  «ŋa+(:)  aʧo-ɦun-e  **lāp**»  zer-fen.
then  I+ALL  elder.brother-PL-ERG  teach=PA=II  say-RM=PA=I

12 tene  trūgu tshaŋma  ʈet-e-kher-soŋ.
then  child  all  chase-LB-take.along-IIexct=PA

'Once the children that were older than me told me: «Throw water on the door step!» So I threw water on the door step. It was winter. [So] ice formed on the door step. At that time there was a bride-taking ceremony. Then all the people, being drunk, slipped on the door step. And we children were all laughing. Then the people got angry and asked us, saying: «Who threw the water?» Then [I] said: «I threw it.» Then [they] said: «Why did you throw it?» Then I said: «[Because] the elder boys had told me [so].» Then [they] chased all the children away.'

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)

| form | ll. | | usage for |
|---|---|---|---|
| -pin | 3 | jōkfen | the MSAP's narrated action |
| | 7 | gotpen | the narrated action of the MSAP and the members of her group |
| | 9 | jōkfen | the MSAP's narrated action |
| | 9 | jōkfen | a question concerning the MSAP's actions |
| | 11 | zerfen | the MSAP's narrated action |
| | 11 | zerfen | the MSAP's narrated action |
| -ø | 1 | lāp | an action directed towards the MSAP |
| | 11 | lāp | an action directed towards the MSAP |
| -soŋ | 6 | ʈretsoŋ | a narrated event concerning 3P (the guests) |
| | 9 | jōksoŋ | an information-seeking question, addressee not expected to be involved |
| | 12 | ʈete-khersoŋ | a narrated event concerning 3P (the other children) |

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

| ŋaze | rale+(:)nãa | çan | lēp. | / &lēp-ʨuŋ. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 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

| ŋaze | rale+(:)nãa | çan | lēp-te, | rama tshaŋmat sat. | / sat-soŋ. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| we.incl.GEN | pen+PPOS | snowleopard | arrive-LB | goat 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

| daŋ | mākp+e | ŋa duŋ. | / duŋ-ʨuŋ. |
|---|---|---|---|
| yesterday | husband+ERG | I beat=PA=II | beat-IIcnct=PA |

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

b. Gyere 2018

| daŋ | mākp+e | ʈūgu tshaŋmat duŋ. | / duŋ-soŋ. |
|---|---|---|---|
| yesterday | husband+ERG | child all | beat=PA=II beat-IIexct=PA |

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

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(35) Kharnak 2018

*ŋūn-a    kha   maŋbo  tā⁻+re,   ralu'      maŋbo  çi.       / çi-soŋ.*
early-ALL snow  much   give+LB   goat.sheep many   die=PA=II die-IIexct=PA

*mi      tshaŋma  nakpardo maŋbo thoŋ.   / thoŋ-soŋ.    / thoŋ-tcuŋ.*
people  all      suffering much  see=PA=II see-IIexct=PA see-IIcnct=PA

'Earlier, it snowed a lot more, and many gots 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 *byuŋ* indicates that s/he is part of the group.'

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

## 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 / jindak / intsuk* or of a few other evaluative 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.

(36) Domkhar 2011

*watse  khitsoks-i   semʃen-i    riks    intsok.*
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     tʃi   inok,   sŋanla   ma-thoŋ-ba? –*
this+DF  what  be=GEM  earlier  NG-see-NLS   –

*d+u     mobail  inok.   d+u-rgjude spera  taŋ-tʃa-inok.*
this+DF  mobile  be=GEM  that-PPOS  speech give-GRD-GEM=PROSP

'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

*ŋa  thorim-lopt+enaŋa  urdu   sil-pin.*
I    university+PPOS     Urdu   study-RM=I

*urd+inaŋa galip  ma: ʃaer-i    ma: miŋtʃan-tʃik hindak.*
Urdu+PPOS Ghalib very poet-GEN  very famous-LQ     be=GEM

*khõ-e      haweli dilli-a    dʒama madʒidi-ɲẽõa ɦot-e-indak.*
hon.s/he-GEN villa  Delhi-ALL Jāma  masjid-PPOS   exist=Ie-LB-GEM=PERF

*te    haweli+(:)nãa galib-e     kū-ʒik    ɦot-e-indak.*
that  villa+PPOS     Ghalib-GEN statue-LQ exist=Ie-LB-GEM=PERF

*khõ-e       tĩndʒug-e naksa     ɦot-e-indak.*
hon.she-GEN last-GEN  photograph exist=Ie-LB-GEM=PERF

'I studied Urdu [literature] at the university. Ghalib is very famous among the Urdu poets. His villa is near the Jāma masjid in Delhi. In that villa there is a statue of Ghalib [and] there is a photograph of him in his last days.' (*ɦoteindak* indicates shareable knowledge; the speaker also does not claim authority, as Ghalib is not a Ladakhi.)

Given the communicative openness of the GEM, it is also commonly used in gentle speech to small children. I could repeatedly overhear mothers asking their children who this aunty (BZ) might be, but the question is not restricted to foreigners, whom the children might not remember, but may refer to close relatives including the speaker him- or herself. In such cases, the child will answer with the same form.

(39) a. Sumur (2016)

*kho / ŋa su  intsuk.   –*
s/he  I   who be=GEM

*kho / ø atʃe       niki intsuk.  matʃuŋ       intsuk.*
s/he    elder.sister Niki be=GEM  aunt(MYS)   be=GEM

'Who might this / I be? – She is / [You] are elder sister Niki, mother's younger sister.'

b. Lingshed (2016)

*ŋa su  inok?    – kheraŋ aba    inok.*
I   who be=GEM     fam.you father be=GEM

'Who might I be? — You are [my] father.'

(40) a. Ciktan 2017

*kho su  intsuk? – kho aʒaŋ          / kaka ~ batʃho ~ atatʃho / batse ~ tsetse intsuk.*
s/he who be=GEM  – s/he mother's.bro father's.elder.brother              f.younger.bro   be=GEM

'[Adult to child:] Who is this? (The child is expected to know). – [Child:] He is [our] uncle (i.e. mother's brother / father's elder brother / father's younger brother.)' (If not speaking in this gentle manner to a child, the GEM could only be used in questions about persons one doesn't know.)

b. Ciktan 2016

*su  in?    – ŋa ahmet in.*
who be=Ic   – I  Ahmet be=Ic

'Who is [this]? – I am Ahmet.' (Information-seeking question and answer.)

Depending on the dialect or the relationship among the villagers, the use or non-use of the GEM can be a matter of status. This can be demonstrated by a small dramolett that I invented after the informant had explained the use of the GEM *hindak* as existential in the expression for *we all have knowledge, we all know*. I developed it sentence by sentence and she translated it accordingly. At the end she confirmed: "this happens all the time".

(41)  Shachukul 2016
A student belonging to the village was expected to make an important list together with the other villagers. In the meeting, the village head had 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:

«*daŋ      ʈap        ʧō-ɦan-naŋʒin*
yesterday   meeting     do- NLS-according
*oyo      tshaŋma+(:)    **gju**      **ɦot**:*
we.incl   all+AES       **knowledge**   **have=Ie**
*ʈeriŋ     gaʈi       ʧū-ika      dzom-ʧi,*
today     clock      10-PPOS     meet- NLS
*ɦinaŋ    su-aŋ      ʈu-ika      mā-lep.»*
but       who-FM     time-PPOS   NG-arrive

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

*ʈene    ãa-ʒig-a           ʂo       ɦoŋ-de,*
then     mother-LQ-AES       anger     come-LB
«*khjoraŋ      su_      _ɦin,*
fam.you.self    who      be=Ic
‹*ŋet       tshaŋma+(:)    **gju**      **ɦot**›      zer-kan?!*
we.excl.coll   all+ALL       **knowledge**   **have=Ie**     say- NLS
*khjoraŋ       ʈoruŋ    datpa    ma-tsho-a-ɦindak!*
fam.you.self    still    brain    NG-ripe-NLS-GEM=PERF
*ŋɛ-ᵃ      ʈerek    zer-ʧi     ʧī_      _in?!*
we.excl-ALL  such    say- NLS    what     be=Ic
*gow+e       ʈerek    zer-na+ŋ      dik.*
village.head+ERG  such    say-LOC+FM    be.ok
*ɦinaŋ    khjot      su_      _in?!»*
but       fam.you     who      be=Ic

'Then one lady (lit. mother) became angry [and said]: «*Who are you* to tell us ‹that we all **know it well (authoritative)**›?! You are, as it appears, still wet behind the ears! *What [kind of manner] is this, talking to us in this way?! 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:

«*daŋ      ʈap        ʧō-ɦan-naŋʒin*
yesterday   meeting     do- NLS-according
*oyo      tshaŋma+(:)    **gju**      **ɦot**:*
we.incl   all+AES       **knowledge**   **have=Ie**
*ʈeriŋ     gaʈi       ʧū-ika      dzom-ʧi    ʧō-re,*
today     clock      10-PPOS     meet- NLS   do-LB
*khjoraŋ       ʧīphia    ʈu-ika      mā-lep?*
fam.you.self    why      time-PPOS   NG-arrive
*jaŋ      ʧīphia    ʈū-a          ŋɛt      ʈu-pen?»*
again    why      youngster-ALL   blame    dig-RM
*ʈene    ãa       kha      daŋ-de-lu.*
then     mother    mouth    gape-LB-be.left

'«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 *gju ɦindak* 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.  *ḥdug* vs. *yod* — non-privileged access: partial observation

In order to use Set 2 marker *ḥdug* 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, *ḥdug* 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 *ḥdug* must be replaced by /nɛ/ (<?) and *yod.sug* for past time reference, otherwise the rule is the same. The Turtuk speaker, however, used *yod.sug* in both situations.

(42)  a. Shachukul 2016
*naniŋ      ŋa   khaŋba·(:)    ɦoŋ-zana,*
last.year   I    home·ALL      come-when
*ŋ+e       aba-le     lū     &tē·n-duk-(pen).          / tē·k-(pen).*
I·GEN     father-hon  song   &give·CNT-IIv=CNT.PRS-(RM=CNT.IMPF)   give·IIv=PRS-(RM=IMPF)
'Last year, when I came home, my father was singing.'

b. Shachukul 2016
*ʒak    khaʧig-etiŋne,    ŋa   khaŋba-ne    ʧha-zana·ŋ,*
day    some-PPOS:ABL     I    home-ABL     go-when·FM
*ŋ+e       aba-le     jaŋ   lū    tē·k-(pen)          / **tē·n-ɦot-pen**.*
I·GEN     father-hon  again  song  give·IIv=PRS-(RM=IMPF)   give·CNT-Ie-RM=CNT.IMPF
'Some days later, when I left home again, my father sang again (I saw the end of the activity). / my father was singing again (**I did not see not see the end of the activity, I don't know whether it was ongoing, and for how long.**)'

(43)  Pangi 2017
*ŋa   gon-na          leb-dzɛ,    lam   kol   molam   **ʈɛb-n[ɛ]**.*
I    monastery-ALL    arrive-when  lama  all   prayer   give-IIv.PA=IMPF
*ŋa   lok-e     ʧha-dzɛ,    la[m]  kol   tønte   molam   **ʈɛb-jet-en**.*
I    return-LB  go-when     prayer  all   still   prayer   give-Ie-RM=IMPF
'When I arrived at the monastery, the lamas were praying. When I returned, the lamas were still praying.'

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(44) Ciktan 2016

*naniŋ    ŋa    khaŋma+(:)    ḷep-tsana,*
last.year  I    home+all      arrive-when

*ŋatʃi      zanzos  tshaŋma-s  phjak   be+(:)n-jot-suk  /  *be+(:)n-duk-pin.*
we.excl.GEN  family  all-ERG   prayer   do+CNT-Ie-DST    *do+CNT-IIv-RM=IMPF

*daŋ      ŋa    khaŋma-na   biŋ-mana,    khoŋ   ŋu-in-jot-pin.*
yesterday  I    home-ABL    go.out-NLS&  they   cry-CNT-Ie-RM=IMPF

'Last year, when I arrived home, all family members were just praying. Yesterday, when I left home, they were crying.'

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(:)*



'my father was singing.'
(Speaker witnessed end of activity.)
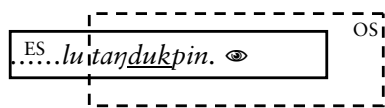
— *ŋe abale(:)*



'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

*ḷtos-aŋ!      bras-po   ṭam-en+uk.*
look.IMP-DM    rice-DF   get.scattered-CNT-IIv=PRS

'Look!, the rice is getting scattered.' (*ḥdug* 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

*ḷtos-aŋ!      bras-po   ṭam-et.*
look.IMP-DM    rice-DF   get.scattered-Ie=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, *ḥdug* will be used, but when the observed situation is apparently only part of the event situation, *yod* will be used.

(45) *braspo*



'the rice is getting scattered.'
(Speaker sees the rice flowing for some time, seeing the person from behind.)
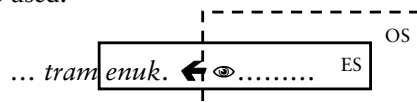
(46) *braspo*



'the rice is getting scattered.'
(Speaker sees the rice flowing only partially, seeing the person from the front.)
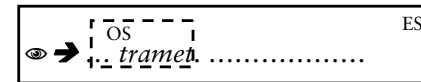
Not all speakers agree with this analysis. While the above analysis had been suggested by one (usually not very sophisticated) Domkhar speaker and was corroborated by the Teya speaker, another Domkhar speaker stated that she would use the experiential form *ḥdug* neutrally in both cases. The non-experiential form *yod* could be used when one wants to warn the person. But this again is possible only when one sees the situation only partially! In many dialects, however, the non-experiential form *yod* is not possible in such contexts.

The question, however, is: do we deal here with privileged access? Rather we deal with some kind of neutralisation.

### 5.2. *ḥdug* vs. *yod* — non-privileged access: shared observations

In some of the Shamskat dialects, including Balti, *ḥdug* has a strong connotation of personal access. It cannot be used when speaker and addressee observe the situation together and the speaker knows or assumes that the addressee sees the same things. The situation may be expected or surprising. In Lingshed, Teya, Domkhar, Turtuk Balti and Kharmang (?) Balti[2] *yod* will be used instead. In other Shamskat dialects, the existential auxiliary may be dropped or other special forms may be used. *ḥdug* indicates that the speaker wants to draw the attention of the addressee to the situation.

(47) Lingshed 2016

*ḷtos-aŋ,      lam-ika    laŋpotʃhe+k  ḍul-duk,    are!*
look.IMP-DM    road-PPOS  elephant+LQ  walk-IIv=PRS  intj

'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

*ḷtos-aŋ,      lam-ika    laŋpotʃhe+k  ḍul-et,     are!*
look.IMP-DM    road-PPOS  elephant+LQ  walk-Ie=PRS  intj

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

c. Lingshed 2016

*taksa   aŋmo    joŋ-et.*
now     Aŋmo    come-Ie=PRS

'Aŋmo is coming now.' (Speaker and addressee both observe the situation without being surprised.)

(48) Teya 2015

*ḷtos-aŋ!      Aŋmo    joŋ-et.*
look.IMP-DM    Aŋmo    come-Ie=PRS

'Look! Aŋmo is coming.' (Aŋmo had been expected to come at this time.)

(49) a. Khardong 16

*ḷtos-aŋ    a-ka        jak-tʃik   duk-se.*
look.IMP-DM  over.there-PPOS  yak-LQ  be=IIv-LB

'Look! Over there are some yaks!' (Speaker and addressee are watching together.)

---

b. Khardong 2016

l̥tos-aŋ       a-na           joŋ-at-se. /  *joŋ-at.      / jõ·uk-pa.
look.IMP-DM   over.there-ABL  come-Ie-LB    *come-Ie=PRS   come·IIv=PRS-emp

'Look! [They] are coming from over there.' (Speaker and addressee are watching to-gether. / The speaker tries to draw the addressee's attention towards the yaks.)

(50) a. Sumur 2016

tsheriŋ   lam-na        ḍul-ene.
Tsheriŋ   road-ABL/LOC  walk-CNT=PRS

'Tsheriŋ [is] walking on the road (as you can see).'

b. Sumur 2016

diiŋ    lam-ekana        khi  maŋp+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+(:)ka    l̥aŋpoʧ+ik  duk-se!  / ḍul-ene!
intj /  intj     that+PPOS   elephant+LQ  exist-LB    walk-CNT

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

(51) a. Ciktan 2016

wa!   / la!       l̥tos-aŋ!       e+(:)ka     haṭi+k       duk.
hey.boy  hey.girl  look.IMP-DM   that+PPOS    elephant+LQ   be=IIv

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

b. Ciktan 2016

wa!   / la!       l̥tos-aŋ!       e+(:)ka     haṭik!
hey.boy  hey.girl  look.IMP-DM   that+PPOS    elephant+LQ   ø

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

c. Ciktan 2016

wa!   / la!       l̥tos-aŋ!       e+(:)ka     haṭi+k       ḍul-in-duk.      / *ḍul-in-jot.
hey.boy  hey.girl  look.IMP-DM   that+PPOS    elephant+LQ   walk-CNT-IIv=PRS  / *walk-CNT-Ie=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. /ḍulinjot/ would mean that that the speaker is somehow connected with or responsi-ble for the elefant.)

## 5.3.  ḥdug 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 noice, 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     kūli-ḥun-e     lɛ    ʧõ·re,   kūʧo-kūliŋ    tāŋ-a-rak.      / tē·ek.
outside-ALL  worker-PL-ERG  work  do·LB    loud.noise    give-NLS-IIInv=PRS  give-IIv=PRS

ŋa·(:)   nīŋṭak      khol-de-ʃi-a-rak.
I·AES    irritation  boil[nctr]-LB-die-NLS-IIInv=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 / *ḥdug*: 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 *lo* 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 con-tent spoken of or if one has heard it a limited times from a limited number of Suber 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 *ḥdug*, even though the sources remain unspecific 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 *ḥdug*. 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 {*bat*} (< -*ba.yod*) for individual family members or a group of speakers to which she belongs (the people of her village). For other persons, even close friends, she uses the neutral present tense form -*et* (< -*ba.yod*). 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 cul-tural sphere are in both dialects represented with the Set 2 marker *ḥdug*.

(53) a. Teya 2018

«detsana stanmo maŋbo taŋ-ʧen»       zer-e, julpa-ŋun-is zer-en-ak-pin.
that.time show    many    give-GRD.Ic=GFUT say-LB villager-PL-ERG say-CNT-IIInv-RM=IMPF

'«At that time there where many performances», the villagers said (but I heard it only a few times).'

b. Teya 2018

«sŋonm-e tuz-la   ŋaʧi    jul-a       bakston maŋbo taŋ-ʧen»
early-GEN  time-ALL  we.excl.GEN village-ALL wedding   many    give-GRD.Ic=GFUT

zer-e, zer-duk.  / zer-en-ak.        / zer-et-pin.
say-LB say-IIv=PRS   say-CNT-IIInv=PRS   say-Ie-RM=IMPF

'«In earlier times, [people] gave many wedding festivities in our village», [they] have been telling [me]. / [someone] told [me].' (When using *rag* in this context, one indicates that was told only by one person, or that one overheard it, so one is not fully con-vinced. The imperfect with the Set 1 marker *yod* indicates that one not only heard it many times, but also that one is quite concerned; here about the loss of traditions. By contrast, the use of the Set 2 marker *ḥdug* indicates that one is not much concerned.)

c. Teya 2018

julpa-ŋun-is «ʧhulok  joŋ-ʧ+en»       zer-bat-pin.
villager-PL-ERG flood    com-GRD+Ic=GFUT say-NLS.Ie-RM=PA.HAB

'[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 be-lieves them.)

d. Teya 2018

naida-s «ṭhugu ldan-e-r̥tiŋna ŋatan-is skitpo ʧo-in"  zer-e, zer-et-(pin).
Naida-ERG child    grow.up-LB-after we.incl-ERG happy do-Ic=DFUT say-LB say-Ie-RM=PRS/IMPF

'Naida says / used to say: «When the children are grown up, we will enjoy [our-selves].»"' (Naida is the speaker's best friend.)

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e. Teya 2018

*standzin-is «ṣo maŋbo taŋ-tʃas ban tʃos!» zer-bat-pin.      daksa ŋa gjur.*
Standzin-ERG anger much  give-GRD end do.IMP say-NLS.Ie-RM=PA.HAB now  I  change=PA=II

'Standzin used to tell told [me]: «Stop getting angry so often!», and now I have changed.' (Standzin is the speaker's husband.)

While these usages roughly correspond to the accessibility hierarchy, there are also instances, where a speaker will chose 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 concommittant 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

*daŋ kho-s ŋa+(:) tsher maŋbo rduŋ-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

*ḷtos-aŋ, kho-s ŋa+(:) rduŋ-en+ak-pin.*
look.IMP-DM s/he-ERG I+ALL beat-CNT+IInv-RM=IMPF

*ʃa tshaŋma ṣŋonpo soŋ-se ṣaŋs.*
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

*dʒudʒu khi-a tʃik thoms-aŋ! ŋa+(:) 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

*ḷtos-aŋ! khi-s ŋa+(:) so  tab-en+ak-pin.*
look.IMP-DM dog-ERG I-ALL tooth apply-CNT+IInv-RM=IMPF

*ṛmaka khatʃik phiŋ-se, dagdar-is hapso tᵉaŋs.*
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

*daŋ tʃhenmo-s ŋa+(:) 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

*daŋ tʃhenmo-s ŋa+(:) mi-ŋun-idunla stot-en+uk-pin.      / *stot-en+ak-pin.*
yesterday boss-ERG I+ALL people-PL-PPOS laude-CNT-IIv-RM=IMPF laude-CNT-IInv-RM=IMPF

'Yesterday the boss lauded me in front of all the people.'

---

(57) a. Domkhar 2018

*daŋ makpa-s ŋa+(:) mi+(:)dunla rduŋ-en+uk-pin,      /*
yesterday husband-ERG I+ALL people+PPOS beat-CNT+IIv-RM=IMPF

*\*rduŋ-en+ak-pin,  su-s-aŋ jato ma-tʃos.*
\*beat-CNT+IInv-RM=IMPF who-ERG-FM help NG-do.PA

'Yesterday [my] husband was beating me in front of the people, [but] nobody helped me.'

b. Domkhar 2018

*daŋ makpa-s ŋa+(:), kutʃo tᵉaŋ-en, rduŋ-en+jot-pin.      /*
yesterday husband-ERG I+ALL, shouting give-CNT beat-CNT+Ie-RM=IMPF

*\*rduŋ-en+uk-pin.  / *rduŋ-en+ak-pin.*
\*beat-CNT+IIv-RM=IMPF   \*beat-CNT+IInv-RM=IMPF

*khimtshespa-sag-a kutʃo tshor lo, rduŋskat tshor lo,*
neighbour-PL-AES  shouting hear QOM beating.noise hear QOM

*ŋa ŋu-khan-po-aŋ tshor lo, in(n)aŋ ḷta+(:) tʃiktʃig-aŋ ma-joŋs.*
I cry-NLS-DF-FM hear QOM but look+NLS.ALL single-FM NG-come.PA

*tʃi ṛtsokpo-kat intsuk, hamaŋgo.*
what evil-LQ be=GEM NG.understand=PA=II

'Yesterday, [my] husband 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 had 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 *zer* and the Set 2 marker for non-visual perception. As one informant stated, a *verbum dicendi* accompanied with the auxiliary for 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

*kho ŋal-e-dak        zer+ak.    / lo.*
s/he be.tired-LB+IInv=PERF  say+IInv=PRS  QOM

'S/he is tired, [s/he] said (over the phone or via a 3rd person / directly, face to face).'

(59) Lingshed 2016

*kho-s dizuk lo.   / zer-duk.  / zer-en-ak.*
s/he this.way say/QOM  say-IIv=PRS  say-CNT-IInv=CNT.PRS

'S/he 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 *zerenak* is preferred when overhearing somebody's speach 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* | *ŋ+e* | *khelab-a* | *ige+k* | *ḍi-se-rak*. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| this | village-GEN | people-PL-ERG | I+GEN | back-ALL | letter-LQ | write-LB-IInv=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* | *ŋ+e* | *khelab-a* | *ige+k* | *ḍi-se-duk* | *lo*. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| this | village-GEN | people-PL-ERG | I+GEN | back-ALL | letter-LQ | write-LB-IIv=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 *ḥdug* 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 (*naŋtshaŋsi ḍigrim* 2015-06-21)

| «*ǰule,* | *ɲiska* | *ʧi* | *dzad-duk?*» ... |
|---|---|---|---|
| greetings | both | what | hon.do-IIv=PRS |

| «*ja* | *ǰule,* | *tshaŋka* | *ʧi* | *dzad-duk* | *le,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| intj | greetings | all.three | what | hon.do-IIv=PRS | hon |

| *raŋʈug-a* | *not-ʧas-i* | *spera-rik* | *taŋ-a?*» |
|---|---|---|---|
| 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 Kuyul 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 *ḥdug* for visual peception 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 *ḥdug*, 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 lingistic questions.

When we resumed work in 2018, I asked the speaker to make a nice sentence with an apropriate 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 *ḥdug* in situations where one gropes for something inside one's pocket. Most speakers rejected such usage right away, one speaker even stating explicitly that *ḥdug* means seeing something, and therefore could not be used. However, a few informants did accept the usage. They explained that *ḥdug* 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) Kharnak 2018

| *ŋa+(:)* | *ʦānḍa-naŋ* | *pēni* | *du<sup>ʔ</sup>.* | / | *ʈa<sup>ʔ</sup>.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I+AES | pocket-PPOS | money | have=IIv | | have=IInv |

'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

| *diaŋ* | *pene* | *jot-khan* | *ʧos;* | *diaŋ* | *pene* | *mi-nduk!* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| this+PPOS | money | exist-NLS | do.PA | this+PPOS | money | NG-exist=IIv |

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

b. Ciktan 2016/17

| *ŋa+(:)* | / | *ŋ+ila(:)* | *pene* | *mi-nduk.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I-AES | | I+PPOS | money | NG-exist/have=IIv |

'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

| *ŋ+ila(:)* | *pene* | *mi-nḍak.* |
|---|---|---|
| I+PPOS | money | NG-exist/have=IInv |

'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.)

## Abbreviations and conventions

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| "-" | segmentable | | I | Set 1 |
| "+" | non-segmentable | | Ic | Set 1 copula (*yin*) |
| "=" | functional equivalence | | Ie | Set 1 existential verb (*yod*) |
| ā | high tone | | II | Set 2 |
| a̱ | low tone | | IIcnct | Set 2 concentric marker (*byuŋ*) |
| ABL | ablative | | IIexct | Set 2 excentric marker (*soŋ*) |
| AES | aesthetive (allative for transitive experien-cer subjects) | | IInv | Set 2 non-visual marker (*rag*) |
| | | | IIv | Set 2 visual marker (*ḥdug*) |
| ALL | allative | | IMP | imperative |
| CD | conditional | | IMPF | imperfect |
| CNT | continuative | | incl | inclusive plural form |
| CNTR | contrastive (for comparisons) | | INF | inferential marker |
| COM | comitative | | INSTR | instrumental |
| ±ctr | ±control | | intj | interjection |
| DF | definiteness marker | | LB | *lhag.bcas* morpheme a.k.a. 'Semifinalpar-tikel' |
| DFUT | definite future | | | |
| DIR | directive (for commands and prohibitions) | | LOC | locational marker |
| DST | (mental) distance marker | | LQ | limiting quantifier ('a', 'some') |
| emp | emphatic marker | | NG | negation |
| ERG | ergative (instrumental for transitive agen-tive subjects) | | NLS | nominaliser |
| | | | NLS+ | nominaliser plus morphological material |
| excl | exclusive plural form | | PA | past |
| fam | familiar | | PERF | perfect |
| FM | focus marker | | PL | plural |
| GEM | generalised evaluative marker | | PPOS | postposition |
| GEN | genitive | | PROSP | prospective |
| GFUT | general(ised) future | | PRS | present |
| GRD | gerundive | | QM | question marker |
| HAB | habitual | | QOM | quote marker |
| hon | honorific | | RM | (temporal) remoteness marker |
| hum | humilific | | | |

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