PRELIMINARY REPORT ON EVIDENTIAL CATEGORIES IN LENDE TIBETAN (KYIRONG)

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INTRODUCTION[1]

The grammatical marking of evidential categories has been shown to be an important phenomenon in the verbal system of several Tibetan dialects (see DeLancey 1986 for Lhasa Tibetan, Tournadre 1996 for standard spoken Tibetan[2], and Felix Haller for Shigatse and Themchen Tibetan in this issue). In all these cases these categories are closely connected with a speaker vs. non-speaker dichotomy.

The hitherto undescribed verbal system of the Tibetan dialect of Lende[3] also shows features which have to be analyzed in terms of evidentiality. The dialect of Lende is spoken in approximately ten villages in the Lende valley near Kyirong (Tsang), on the Nepalese border. It is very similar to the language varieties spoken in Kyirong and in the adjoining Tibetan speaking areas of Nepal.

The aim of this paper is to develop the necessary categories for the description of an essential part of the verbal system of Lende Tibetan. In Section 1 the two types of auxiliary verbs in Lende Tibetan, equative and existential, will be established. In 1.1 and 1.2 an analysis of the different auxiliary verbs and the comparison of their functions will be presented. It will be shown that the main distinction made in the auxiliary verb system depends on the type of knowledge the speaker has of the fact he is uttering.

The inventory of auxiliary verbs in Lende Tibetan does not differ considerably from those of other Tibetan dialects: *yin* and *yod*, the auxiliary verbs already known in Written Tibetan, and the more recent *'dug* consitute the basic inventory. In Lende Tibetan they are pronounced as *jĩ:, jø:* and *nu:*. In addition, the Lende dialect contains two more innovative auxiliary verbs, which function to express epistemological status, *jimbɛ:* and *jobajimbɛ:*. Although in

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[1] I would like to thank Roland Bielmeier and the other members of the Tibetan Dialects Project in Berne for contributing to fruitful discussions on this subject, and Danièle Klapproth for thoroughly proof-reading this paper.

[2] This is the translation of Tournadre's "Tibétain parlé standard".

[3] The only paper dealing with this dialect is Bielmeier 1982.

other dialects auxiliary verbs are interpreted and classified slightly differently, the main categorization focussing on the speaker and on his way of seeing things remains comparable. What is remarkable for Lende Tibetan is the extended use of the auxiliaries *jī:* and *jø:*, which can be shown to be very close to Written Tibetan.

In Section 2 an overview of selected parts of the Lende Tibetan verbal system will be given. In 2.1 the imperfective category will be described in more detail. It is formed with the morphemes -*jø:* and -*nu:*, which are both also used independently as auxiliary verbs. The comparison of this independent use with their respective functions when they are used as auxiliary morphemes will show that the application of the same descriptive criteria is justified.

1. AUXILIARY VERBS

There are five auxiliary verbs expressing the meaning "to be" in Lende Tibetan:[4] *jī:*, *jimbɛ:*, *jø:*, *nu:*, and *jobajimbɛ:*.[5] The two verbs *jī:* and *jimbɛ:* can only be used to link a noun with another noun or an adjective, in order to give a definition of the first mentioned noun or to identify it. Therefore for these two auxiliary verbs the term "equative"[6] will be adopted here. The three other verbs *jø:*, *nu:* and *jobajimbɛ:* are mostly used to express more subjective statements. They can also have a linking function, and in such cases they will be called "attributive". Furthermore they can be used in existential/locational contexts. As a cover term for all its different functions, this group of auxiliary verbs will be called "existential". An overview of the findings presented in this section is given in Table 1.

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[4]   Another column, entitled "not specified", has to be added to the category "old knowledge" in Table 1. I had not investigated this category in detail before this paper was completed. It contains the equative auxiliary verb *jiŋgē:* and the existential auxiliary verb *jokē:* (*jiŋgēna:* and *jokēna:* when the speaker is insisting). The difference between *jī:* and *jiŋgē:* cannot be accounted for in detail yet. They both seem to express speaker's old knowledge, which is not specified in terms of how it was acquired. But it is clear that the difference does not correspond to that between *yin* and *red* in Lhasa and standard spoken Tibetan. As far as the existential auxiliary verbs are concerned, *jokē:* expresses unspecified knowledge where the speaker does not need to explain how he acquired the information (he simply knows, and he is sure about it), whereas *jø:* emphasizes the personal experience of the speaker. In this respect, *jokē:* seems to correspond to *yod-pa-red* of Lhasa Tibetan.

[5]   The complex morphological structure of the verbs *jimbɛ:* and *jobajimbɛ:* will not be analyzed further.

[6]   This is the term used by van Driem (1997:125), whereas DeLancey (1990:295) calls this category *equational*. Tournadre (1996:228) also differentiates between *équatif* ("correspond à une définition, à un trait définitoire ou essentiel à propos duquel le locuteur ne formule pas d'appréciation") and *attributif* ("correspond à une qualification impliquant une appréciation du locuteur").

Type of knowledge	OLD knowledge	NEW knowledge[7]	
Way of acquiring information	-not specified (*jĩ:*) -experienced (*jø̯:*)	direct sensory evidence	indirect evidence (hearsay, inference)
Equative auxiliary verbs	*jĩ:*	*jimbɛ:*	
Existential auxiliary verbs	*jø̯:*	*nu̯:*	*jo̯bajimbɛ:*

Table 1. Auxiliary verbs of Lende Tibetan

As a general rule, the difference between sentences containing equative *jĩ:* and sentences containing an attributive *jø̯:* is the following[8]: *jĩ:* is used by the speaker to identify the object/person described by referring to its intrinsic nature, whereas with *jø̯:* he emphasizes a particular, more or less subjective quality of the object/person in question. Often with *jø̯:* a personal experience or subjective evaluation is involved. In many cases the choice of the linking verb depends only on the perspective or focus adopted by the speaker, as examples (1) and (2) show:[9]

(1)[10] ŋɛ:-ge   ādz̯ĩ   ba̯rō   jĩ:.
          I.GEN-GEN[11]   sister.ABS   rich.ABS   be

    'My sister is rich.'

(2) ŋɛ:-ge   ādz̯ĩ   ba̯rō   jø̯:.
       I.GEN-GEN   sister.ABS   rich.ABS   be

    'My sister is rich.'

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7 The general labels "old" and "new" knowledge used here have been suggested by DeLancey (1986:204) for Lhasa Tibetan.

8 Similar systems can be found in Nepali (*ho* vs. *cha*) and in Spanish (*ser* vs. *estar*) etc.

9 I collected the linguistic material presented in this paper during field research in Nepal in spring 1998. The man who acted as my informant lives in Sale, one of the bigger villages in Lende, and was at the time 27 years old. I am much indebted to him for his valuable collaboration and for enduring the heat of Kathmandu for ten weeks.

10 In my phonological transcription *ā* stands for high register tone and *a̯* for low register tone. In the course of future research, another feature, breathy voice, will probably turn out to be phonologically relevant. It is not taken into consideration in the present transcription.

11 This genitive is marked twice, with the genitive marker -*ge* attached to ŋɛ:, which is already the genitive of ŋa̯ "I". This phenomenon of double marking can be observed with all the nouns ending in a vowel, whereas nouns with consonantal endings can only form their genitives with -*ge*.

In example (1) the speaker focusses on an essential, generally accepted quality of his sister, in example (2) on the fact that the quality he is describing is part of his personal appreciation of his sister, regardless of whether other people think the same or not. The difference between such sentences thus depends on the context and is not always easy to account for.

1.1. Equative auxiliary verbs

The equative auxiliary verbs *jĩ:* and *jimbɛ:* are used in sentences with defining character, which convey objective information. The difference between the two equative verbs *jĩ:* and *jimbɛ:* is the following: whereas with *jĩ:* the speaker shows that what he is saying is a general truth, and moreover that he is certain about what he is saying because he has known it for a long time, with *jimbɛ:* he implies that to him the content of the sentence is new knowledge, in the broadest sense of the term.

(3)   ŋạ   pēmbā. tǿnḍūp   jĩ:.
        I.ABS   Pemba.Tondrup.ABS   be

        'I am Pemba Tondrup.'

(4)   mọrā̃:   ūbū-de   kẹkē̃:   jĩ:.
        she-(GEN) brother-DEF.ABS   teacher.ABS   be

        'Her brother is a teacher.'

(5)   pọdzā   lū   tāŋge:-de   pāsā̃:   jĩ:.
        child   song.ABS   singing-DEF.ABS   Pasang.ABS   be

        'The child who is singing a song is Pasang.'

In the three examples above the speaker identifies either himself or another person. These identifications are general truths, of which the speaker has been aware for a long time. With his statements he mainly focusses on the general validity of what he is saying and on his certainty about it, rather than on the degree of his personal involvement.

In the case where a speaker has only recently come to realize a generally valid fact, rather than having known it for a long time, the auxiliary verb *jimbɛ:* will be used. As with *jĩ:*, the use of *jimbɛ:* does not depend on whether the speaker or a non-speaker is the subject of the sentence. It is, however, less likely

to be used with a speaker subject, as one is usually aware of one's own intrinsic qualities.

In example (6) the speaker's statement is based on the fact that the men he is talking about are wearing a particular type of clothing. Because the speaker does not personally know these men and their station in life, he cannot use the verb *jĩ:*, which would indicate that he has known for a long time the fact he is uttering now. The use of *jimbɛ:* expresses primarily that the speaker has only just come to know about the situation, i.e. that strictly speaking he is making an inference:

(6) d̪i̪ca   kūço: ji̪mbɛ:.
     this-PL.ABS monk.ABS   be

     'These are monks.'

On the other hand, *jimbɛ:* can also be used when the speaker has gained some new information about himself by making an inference, as in sentence (7):

(7) ŋa̪   ma̪dᶻē̃:   ji̪mbɛ:.
     I.ABS   cook.ABS   be

     'I am the cook.'

This example can be uttered in a situation where different tasks are being assigned to a group of people. Because the other members of the group already have got their jobs, the speaker infers that he must be the cook. The sentence can as well be used after some utterance of another person which leads the speaker to the assumption that he must be the cook.[12]

These inferences can be treated as information which the speaker has just acquired on the basis of certain observations, and although he might not be absolutely certain about his conclusion, it can easily be classified as new knowledge.

Colours, as is shown in example (8) using *jimbɛ:*, are considered by Lende Tibetans as intrinsic qualities of an object or person.

(8) kʰø̄:   sȳ:ʈā:-de   ŋōmbō   ji̪mbɛ:.
     he.GEN   sweater-DEF.ABS blue.ABS   be

     'His sweater is blue.'

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[12] But sentence (7) would not be used after the explicit statement "You are the cook", which would be quoted in Lende Tibetan either by using the particle *lo*, or the verbal form *mɛ:nu* "he says, they say".

Because in sentence (8) the speaker sees the sweater probably for the first time, he does not use the other auxiliary of the group, *jī:*, but by using *jimbɛ:* emphasizes the fact that he is talking about something which to him is new information.

Although example (8) is very similar to example (6), where there is an inference made on the basis of the monks' physical appearance, for sentence (8) an inference made by the speaker is hardly conceivable, because he is talking about a fact he is directly observing. Furthermore, sentences in which changeable colours are expressed, which are not an intrinsic quality of the object/person in question (e.g. the paleness of the skin) are constructed with *nụ:* (the existential auxiliary verb used to express direct perception, cf. 1.2) and not with *jọbajimbɛ:* (the existential auxiliary verb used to express inferences, cf. 1.2). This leads to the conclusion that *jimbɛ:* can express new information acquired by inference as well as by direct perception. Sentence (9) gives the proof for this:

(9)   *dị*   *tɕa:*   *jimbɛ:*.
       this   tea.abs   be

       'This is tea.'

A Lende speaker will utter this sentence when, for example, he had thought that in a certain bottle there was water, but when he pours it into a glass, he sees that it is tea.

As far as the inventory of equative verbs is concerned, the system of Dzongkha as described by van Driem (1997:125) appears to be very close to that of Lende. The Dzongkha system consists of the two equative forms *'ing* (yin)[13] and *'immä* (yin pas) and the existential, locational and attributive verbs *yö* (yod) and *dû* ('dug). The equative verbs in Dzongkha are described by van Driem as follows:

> "The form *'ing* expresses old, ingrained background knowledge which is or has become a firmly integrated part of one's conception of reality, whereas the form *'immä* expresses knowledge which has been newly acquired." (van Driem 1997:127)

As is the case for *'ing* in Dzongkha, the use of *jī:* in Lende Tibetan is by no means restricted to propositions containing a first person, which, however, is the case for Lhasa Tibetan (cf. DeLancey 1990:295). In Lhasa Tibetan in case of a non-first person subject the auxiliary verb *red* has to be used (e.g. *kho bod-pa*

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[13] The forms in brackets, taken from van Driem 1997, are transliterations of Dzongkha script and do not necessarily represent the etymologically corresponding forms of Written Tibetan.

red "He is a Tibetan"), whereas the same sentence in Lende Tibetan is formed with *jĩ:* (*kʰō pǿpā jĩ:*). Thus the functioning of *jĩ:* in Lende Tibetan has remained essentially the same as that of *yin* in Written Tibetan.[14]

1.2. Existential auxiliary verbs

The three auxiliary verbs *jǿ:*, *nṳ:* and *jǫbajimbɛ:* are used to make a statement about the existence or location of a subject, or about one of its qualities. In terms of semantics, these functions are very closely related, so there is no specific treatment required for each. The existential auxiliary verbs may be described with the same categories as the equative auxiliary verbs described in 1.1 (cf. Table 1 in Section 1), thus the speaker's choice among the three auxiliaries depends on the degree of his familiarity with the situation as well as on his mode of perception. The main difference between the two auxiliary verbs *jǿ:* and *nṳ:*, as between *jĩ:* and *jimbɛ:*, is an epistemic one. *jǿ:* refers to the speaker's old, experienced knowledge, *nṳ:* refers to information newly acquired by direct perception.

Again a look at van Driem's description of Dzongkha reveals very similar characteristics of Dzongkha and Lende Tibetan:

> "The form *yö* is used to express assimilated or personal knowledge, whereas *dû* is used to express something about which the speaker has only acquired or objective knowledge." (van Driem 1997:135)

Additionally van Driem observes that the knowledge expressed by *dû* is acquired by direct observation. The third verb of this group, *jǫbajimbɛ:*, is also used to express newly acquired knowledge, but, as will be seen later, the conditions of its use are different from *nṳ:*.

For expressing situations that are part of the old, experienced knowledge of the speaker (and about the truth of which the speaker consequently has absolute conviction), the auxiliary verb *jǿ:* is used. In sentence (10) the speaker is talking about an object which belongs to him. The use of *jǿ:* thus indicates the speaker's personal experience and emphasizes the fact that he knows well what he is talking about.

(10) ŋɛ: pạkpā:-de   tsʰɛ̃:mɛ̄:   jo:bā   jǿ:.
     I.ABS   motorbike-DEF.ABS   very   fast.ABS   be

    'My motorbike is very fast.'

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[14] Beyer (1992:253) points out that *yin* is the only verb used to express equations and identifications in Old Tibetan. The equative verb *red*, which we find in some central Tibetan dialects in addition to *yin*, started to be used in texts only in the 14th century.

In example (11) the speaker refers to a person with whose qualities he is very familiar:

(11) *kʰō*   *kʰāŋbā*   *zǫdʑɛ:-la*   *tsʰɛ̄:mɛ̄:* *ūmdzɛ̄:* *kʰɛ̄:bā*   *jǿ:.*
      he.ABS   house.ABS   to.build-LOC   very   leader   skilled.ABS   be

      'He is very skilled in building houses.'

The characteristics of using *jǿ:* exemplified above for its attributive use remain unchanged if it is used in a context of location. In example (12) the speaker is talking about a fact which he has known for some time already and which probably does not change often. The durability of a situation seems to influence to a certain extent the choice of the auxiliary verb, as will be shown later.

(12) *kʰø̄:*   *kʰāŋbī:*   *nã̄:-la*   *nɛjdʄī:*   *ɲī:*   *jǿ:.*
      he.GEN   house.GEN   inside-LOC   bed   two.ABS   be

      'In his house there are two beds.'

There seems to be a slight difference in locational contexts depending on the kind of object the speaker is talking about. If one talks about an object which cannot move by itself, as the bed in sentence (12), for the use of *jǿ:* no influence by the speaker is necessary. If one talks about the whereabouts of an animal, however, *jǿ:* can apparently only be used when the speaker has influenced its location in some way, as in example (13):

(13) *cʰⁱbō*   *kʰāŋbī:*   *nã̄:-la*   *jǿ:.*
      dog.ABS   house.GEN   inside-LOC   be

      'The dog is inside the house.'

A sentence of this kind is uttered when the speaker was the person who let the dog into the house, so that his knowledge of the fact is absolutely reliable. In all the other cases the speaker's influence on the situation, or the presence of a first person in the sentence, are not necessary conditions for the use of *jǿ:*.

(14) *kʰō-la*   *tep*   *nāmō*   *maŋmō*   *jǿ:.*
      he-DAT   book   different   many.ABS   be

      'He has many different books.'

In this sentence, where the auxiliary verb is used in its possessive function, there is no influence of the speaker expressed at all.[15]   The situation simply has to be part of the speaker's personal, convinced knowledge, which is based on the fact that he has experienced it at some stage.

A comparison with Tournadre's analysis of standard spoken Tibetan (Tournadre 1996:220ff) shows that the use of the copula *jø:* is less restricted in Lende Tibetan. For standard spoken Tibetan, Tournadre states that the use of *yod* indicates an involvement of the speaker in some important way in what he is saying. The term "égophorique", which Tournadre uses for this auxiliary verb, emphasizes this fact. This corresponds to DeLancey's (1990) analysis, where *yod* is characterized as being used only with first persons, and to Haller,[16] who gives this auxiliary verb the label "volitional". Contrary to this, as the examples presented above demonstrate, in Lende Tibetan *jø:* is used whenever something is part of the speaker's old experienced knowledge. This difference demonstrates that the copula system of Lende Tibetan remains very close to that of classical Tibetan.[17]

The use of *nu:* is different in that it is used to express the speaker's direct perception (seen or felt) of some new information, as in example (15).   The difference from example (14), where the speaker is talking about a familiar situation, lies in the fact that in (15) the situation is relatively unexpected.

(15)   *ābī:*   *tūtū̃:*   *tsōkpā*   *nu̠:*.
         father.GEN   shirt.ABS   dirty.ABS   be

         'Father's shirt is dirty.'

Comparing examples (16) and (17) leads to the observation that sentence (17) means something like "I am a happy person", whereas sentence (16) is a statement expressing a spontaneous feeling in the sense of "I feel happy right now".   Here again the close relationship between the speaker's familiarity with a situation and its duration can be seen.   The longer a situation lasts, the more likely the speaker is to present it as being part of his old knowledge.

(16)   *ŋạ*   *cīpō*   *nu̠:*.
         I.ABS   happy.ABS   be

         'I am happy.'

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[15]   The possessive function is derived from the existential function, and is thus closely related to it.

[16]   Felix Haller's contribution in this issue.

[17]   Very little has been written about the functioning of *yod* and *'dug* in Written Tibetan, especially because the use of the independent verb *'dug* as an auxiliary started quite late. This fact makes a further comparison of the two systems difficult.

(17)   ŋa̱   cīpō   jø̄:.
       I.ABS   happy.ABS   be

      'I am happy.'

In this kind of utterance about immediately perceived feelings, *nu̱:* is likely to be used. The use of *nu̱:* in sentences with a speaker subject, which are based on visual perception, is, however, fairly restricted. This is quite logical. Whereas the perception of a feeling is something "direct", a visual perception of oneself is only possible in special situations, for example when the speaker is looking into the mirror or at a picture of himself, as in example (18):

(18)   ŋa̱   kʰāmsāŋbō   nu̱:.
       I.ABS   handsome.ABS   be

      'I am handsome.'

With this sentence the speaker does not mean to say that he considers himself a good-looking person, but that he thinks that on the photograph which he is looking at, he is looking handsome. So he is not talking about his intimate knowledge, but about a unique perception which can be classified as newly acquired knowledge. The existential use of *nu̱:* works the same way:

(19)   ŋɛ̱:   tɕa-la   tɕīnī   nu̱:.
       I.GEN   tea-LOC   sugar.ABS   be

      'There is sugar in my tea.'

Example (19) is based on the speaker's sensory perception. He has tasted the tea and is now uttering the sentence, whose content he reports as newly discovered information.

If the situation the speaker is talking about is neither part of his old experienced knowledge nor new information he has acquired by direct sensory perception, he will use the existential verb *jobajimbɛ:*. Since this is the case for inferential assumptions, the use of the existential verb *jobajimbɛ:* partly corresponds to the use of the equative auxiliary verb *jimbɛ:*. Sentence (20) can be uttered in a situation where the speaker only sees a pair of huge shoes and concludes that the owner of the shoes, whom he cannot see, must have very big feet:

(20)   mi̱-de   kāŋbā   tɕʰūmmū   jobajimbɛ:.
         man-DEF.ABS   foot.ABS   big.ABS   be

      'The man must have big feet.'

In analogy to the description of *jimbɛ:* above, this kind of statement can be treated as conveying information which is new to the speaker.

Sentence (21) shows the expression of knowledge newly acquired through an inference:

> (21)   *sūsīlīŋ-la*   *pøpā*   *maŋmō*   *jobajimbɛ:.*
>   Switzerland-LOC   Tibetan   many.ABS   be
>
> 'In Switzerland there must be many Tibetans.'

A sentence of this kind can be said, e.g. when a person from Switzerland has told the speaker about festivals for the Tibetan New Year in Switzerland. From this information the speaker concludes that there must be a big Tibetan population in Switzerland.

> (22)   *pēndē̃:*   *kʰōrā:la*   *tʰōp*   *ɕā:ɕā:*   *jobajimbɛ:.*
>   Palden   he-DAT   win   conviction   be
>
> 'Palden seems to believe that he will win.'

The information conveyed in sentence (22) is neither part of the speaker's old knowledge, nor does he know about the fact by direct perception, because the beliefs of another person normally cannot be seen or felt. The perception-channel is an indirect one: The speaker knows because he has made an inference based on utterances of Palden or on his behaviour.[18]

The main difference between the two auxiliary verbs *jø:* and *nu:* on the one hand, and *jobajimbɛ:* on the other, is the degree of the speaker's certainty or conviction about what he is saying. When uttering sentences with *jø:* and *nu:* the speaker is certain about what he is saying, either because it is part of his old experienced knowledge and thus not contestable, or else directly perceived by him at the moment of the utterance; when he uses *jobajimbɛ:* he implies that he is not certain about the fact, as he is only making an assumption which is based on observation of the environment by the speaker.

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[18]   Here again Palden's direct statement "I am sure that I will win" would be quoted in Lende Tibetan either by using the particle *lo*, or the verbal form *mē:nu* "he says" (cf. footnote 12).

2. AUXILIARY MORPHOLOGY

Besides the marking of tense/aspect, the verbal system of Lende Tibetan contains no personal endings, as some Western European languages do, but rather markers of evidentiality. As most of the finite verbal constructions are built on the auxiliary verbs, the categories of evidentiality described above for the auxiliary verbs remain more or less the same in the verbal system.

In the past tense, e.g., there are the three morphemes *-pa, -so,* and *-pajimbɛ:* (cf. the equative auxiliary verbs *jī:* and *jimbɛ:*). The present perfect category contains the two morphemes *-jø:* and *-nu:,*[19] which are related to the existential auxiliary verbs *jø:* and *ny:.* The use of the morphemes *-pa* and *-jø:* seems to correspond more or less to what has been said above for the use of *jī:* and *jø:,* that is, they refer to the speaker's old knowledge. In practice this means that in most cases where *-pa* or *-jø:* are used, the speaker as an agent is involved. The question whether volition could be the determining factor for the use of these two morphemes requires further research. However, for the imperfective category it can be said with certainty that the concept of volition does not play a significant role (cf. the argumentation below). The two morphemes *-so* and *-nu* represent the category "new information" in the past and present perfect respectively. Their use depends on the speaker's direct perception, either of the action itself (past) or of the result of the action (present perfect).[20] Lastly, the past tense form *-pajimbɛ:* belongs to the category "new information" as well.[21] It can be used to express information the speaker infers or has learnt from hearsay.

The remaining part of this paper will be restricted to demonstrating in more detail the functioning of the forms *-kojø:* and *-konu:* of the imperfective category and their close connection to the auxiliary verbs *jø:* and *ny:.* A preview of the findings of this analysis of the imperfective category, as well as the classificatory hypotheses for the morphemes of the other categories mentioned above, are displayed in Table 2:[22]

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[19] So far it is not certain whether in the present perfect there is a morpheme analogous to the past *-pajimbɛ:*.

[20] For a detailed description of perfect and past built with forms corresponding to Written Tibetan *'dug* in several other Tibetan dialects cf. Marianne Volkart's contribution in this issue.

[21] Here again we are dealing with a complex morpheme (*-pajimbɛ:*) that requires further investigation.

[22] In Table 2, under the category of old knowledge, another column entitled "not specified" has to be added. This category, which had not been investigated in detail before the completion of this paper, contains the marker *-gē:* in the imperfective, and *-jokē:* in the present perfect. These markers are used to express actions about which the speaker is certain, without necessarily having experienced them personally. The corresponding marker in the category "past" cannot be determined yet.

Type of knowledge	OLD knowledge	NEW knowledge	
Way of acquiring information	(personal experience)	direct sensory evidence	indirect evidence (hearsay, inference)
Imperfective	*-kojø:*	*-konu:*	*-bɛ:*
Past	*-pa*	*-so, -bo*[23]	*-pajimbɛ:*
Present perfect	*-jø:*	*-nu:*	-

Table 2. Auxiliary morphology of selected tense and aspect categories

The morpheme *-bɛ:*, which appears to function parallel to the usage of the existential auxiliary verb *jobajimbɛ:*, is only listed in this overview to complete the picture. This morpheme will require further attention, and is therefore not included in the description below.

2.1. The imperfective aspect

This category can be used to express continuous and habitual aspect and general statements with the morphemes *-kojø:* and *-konu:*. For some other dialects of Central Tibet the verbal morpheme which formally corresponds to Lende Tibetan *-kojø:* is shown to be closely connected to the speaker's will or influence.[24] This interpretation, which has already been mentioned for the independently used auxiliary verb *jø:* in these dialects (cf. 1.2), cannot be applied to this form in Lende Tibetan, but it will be shown later how closely related a speaker's intimate knowledge and his volition are.

The forms of the imperfective category can be somewhat confusing, in that with a certain group of verbs the imperfective markers *-kojø:* and *-konu:* are reduced to *-jø:* and *-nu* which are phonetically identical with the morphemes of the present perfect.[25] Compare example (23), containing an imperfective verbal form, with sentence (24), where the present perfect is used:

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[23] The second morpheme *-bo* is used to express, roughly said, actions directed towards the speaker.

[24] Cf. Felix Haller in this issue for Shigatse Tibetan, and Tournadre (1996:245) for standard spoken Tibetan.

[25] From a historical point of view this group of verbs consists mainly of those which had a final, postvocalic *-s* in their stem in Written Tibetan. Synchronically, however, the phenomenon is not as transparent. For the time being no rule can be given which would define the class of verbs where the imperfective morpheme is contracted.

(23)   d*į*-ca   b*ɛ*:   *ɲø*:nu:.
     they-PL.ABS   rice.ABS   buy.IPFV

     'They are buying rice.'

(24)   d*ạ̄*:   *ābē*:   *tɕadām*   *gɔ̄*:   *tɕʰūmmūtɕi*   *ɲø*:-nu:.
     yesterday   father.ERG   thermos.bottle   price   big-INDEF.ABS   buy-PERF

     'Yesterday father bought an expensive thermos bottle.'

The ending *-kojø*: can be segmented into the imperfective marker *-ko-*[26] and the morpheme *-jø*:, whose content will now be compared with the independently used auxiliary verb *jø*:. A comparison of the use of the morpheme *-jø*: here with the findings concerning the auxiliary verb *jø*: presented in the preceding section shows that very similar characteristics can be applied in the description. The first similarity, which can be seen from sentences (25) and (26), is the independence of the use of *-kojø*: from the presence of the speaker as the agent in the sentence. The characterization given for the morpheme *jø*:, i.e. the expression of the speaker's personally experienced and thus old knowledge of a fact, is valid for both these sentences with continuous aspect.[27]

(25)   *ŋạ*   *kȳtō*:   *ţim-gojø*:.
     I.ABS   thread.ABS   twist-IPFV

     'I am twisting a thread.'

(26)   *kʰāŋbā-de*   *capi*   *ţa:ɖ*ī: *p*į:-*kojø*:   *tiŋsã̄*:
     house-DEF.ABS   to.build   preparations.ABS   make-IPFV   nowadays

     ŋạ   *mạ*:   *oŋikā:nɛ*:.
     I.ABS   down   come.time
     'They were making preparations to build the house, at this time, when I came down.'

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[26] Historically, the alternation of *-ko-* with *-go-* depends partly on the final consonant the verbal stem had in Written Tibetan, and partly on assimilation.

[27] An action performed by the speaker is classified as old experienced knowledge throughout this section.

In example (27) the marker *-kojø:* is even used to express something that will happen in the future:

(27)   *naṇbā:*   *tɕʰāpā*   *cāp-kojø:,*   *ŋɛ:*   *cɛ::*   *tsū:-gojø:*
          tomorrow   rain.ABS   fall-IPFV   I.ERG   stake   bet-IPFV

        'I bet that it will be raining tomorrow.'

At first glance, this sentence is quite astonishing, as a situation which has not yet taken place is not supposed to be part of the speaker's experience. On the basis of our description, we can say that the speaker is convinced of his prediction to the extent that he treats it as being a real present situation and thus part of his experienced knowledge. This sentence neatly illustrates the difference between the function of the *-jø:* form in Lende Tibetan and the corresponding volitional form of Shigatse Tibetan, where such a statement would hardly be possible, except in contexts where the speaker is a magician who has the ability to make rain.[28]

A well-known fact about Tibetan is that in direct questions the verbal form of the addressee's answer is anticipated (cf. DeLancey 1990:295 and Tournadre 1996:221). Therefore, the use of the morpheme *-kojø:* in example (28) is nothing exceptional:

(28)   *cʰø̄:*   *tɕī*   *pi̱:-kojø:?*
          you.ABS   what   do-IPFV

        'What are you doing?'

Roughly speaking, the affix *-konu:*, which consists of the imperfective marker *-ko-* and the morpheme *-nu*, is used to express actions performed by a non-speaker or situations expressed with non-controlled verbs, where the speaker is the patient. In both cases the speaker relies for his statement on his direct sensory perception of a specific fact he was not aware of before, as in examples (29) and (30). There is thus great similarity with the use of the auxiliary verb *nu̱:*.

(29)   *mi̱-de*   *tep*   *lō:-gonu:.*
          man-DEF.ABS   book.ABS   read-IPFV

        'The man is reading a book.'

(30)   *ŋa*   *tsʰɛ̄:mɛ̄:*   *kōm-gonu:.*
          I.ABS   very   be.thirsty-IPFV

        'I am very thirsty.'

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28 Oral communication of Chungda Haller.

The following sentence can be uttered in a situation where the speaker is looking at a picture of himself or is watching a film in which he is drinking tea:

(31)   ŋa̱   tɕa: tʰūŋ-gonu:.
       I.ABS   tea.ABS   drink-IPFV

       'I am drinking tea.'

According to my Lende informant it is not possible to express the meaning " I am drinking your tea (by mistake)" as in the constructed example (32) below. This gives additional proof to the claim that the main functional difference between the morphemes *-kojø:* and *-konu:* cannot lie in a volitional vs. non-volitional distinction.

(32)   *ŋa̱   cʰə̄rā̃:   tɕa: tʰūŋ-gonu:
        I.ABS   you-(GEN)   tea.ABS   drink-IPFV

       * 'I am drinking your tea (by mistake).'

Such a sentence would make sense, however, when uttered in the perfect, in a situation where the speaker is just realizing what he has done, as in sentence (33). Thus it is quite evident that the quality distinguishing the morpheme *-nu* from *-jø:* must be the speaker's direct perception of a fact that is new for him, as we have described for the auxiliary verbs.

(33)   ŋɛ: cʰə̄rā̃:   tɕa̱   note   tʰūŋ-si-nu:.
       I.ERG   you-(GEN)   tea.ABS   by.mistake   drink-PERF-ACCOMPL[29]

       'I have drunk your tea by mistake.'

For the continuous aspect the use of *-kojø:* vs. *-konu:* has been qualified as expressing old, experienced knowledge vs. direct sensory perception of new information. The way these two morphemes are used in the habitual aspect has to be understood in connection with their semantic implications concerning old and new knowledge. It seems reasonable to assume that one cannot talk about a situation as a habitual state without having already experienced it or known it for a long time. The fact that the use of *-jø:* is determined by these two features

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[29]   The morpheme *-si(n)-* is historically derived from the Written Tibetan verb *zin* "to finish". Its function in Lende Tibetan can be described as assigning accomplished state to the action/situation expressed. In a translation it can be rendered as "I have drunk all your tea by mistake" or by adding the verb "to finish". However, it has not been analyzed in detail yet.

leads to the consequence that in such a system only *-kojø:* is expected to be used as a habitual marker, not *-konu:*. This assumption is confirmed by most of the examples. Furthermore, if we take into account that in most cases the auxiliary verb *nu:* is used for expressing specific situations, it is even more obvious that the related morpheme *-konu:* is not suited for describing long-lasting situations. In sentence (34), for instance, the speaker is making a statement about one of his personal habits, which is undoubtedly part of his old, experienced knowledge.

(34) ŋạ   jambū   tøpikā:nɛ: ɲịmā   tācāʔ   kōk
      I.ABS   Kathmandu-(LOC)   stay.time   day   every   Coke.ABS

      tʰūŋ-gojø:.
      drink-IPFV

      'When I was in Kathmandu, I drank Coke every day.'

In the examples (35) to (37), which contain the morpheme *-kojø:*, the speaker is not the actor. Moreover, in these examples it can be excluded that the speaker has any influence on the situation. What justifies the use of *-kojø:* here is again the speaker's experience of the habit or situation he is talking about.[30]

(35) dị   toŋbō-de-la   ɬā   nē:-gojø:.
      this   tree-DEF-LOC   god.ABS   dwell-IPFV

      'In this tree lives a god.'

(36) kʰǿ: cỹ:du   kētɕā   maŋmō   mē:jø:.
      he.ERG   always   speech   much.ABS   speak.IPFV

      'He always speaks a lot.'

(37) pøpā   tɕạ: nạkpō   mi:-tʰūŋ-jø:.
      Tibetan.ABS   tea   black.ABS   NEG-drink-IPFV

      'Tibetans do not drink black tea.'

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[30] Very similar examples are listed in Felix Haller's description of the Shigatse verbal system in this issue, e.g. the following sentence: *pʰịsā-ni ʈsʰɛ:-nā, ŋχ-kījœ* "If this child becomes afraid, it cries". The verbal ending in fact is a representative of the Shigatse volitional category. In this sentence, however, it is only used to express a fact which the speaker is well acquainted with. This shows that the origin of the grammaticalization of volitionality in Shigatse Tibetan probably was an evidential distinction similar to the one described here for Lende Tibetan.

We would expect now that every sentence referring to a habitual action is expressed with -*kojø:*. It is interesting to note, however, that verbs expressing the speaker's physical or emotional feelings apparently require a specific treatment. Even in situations which happen regularly and thus are likely to be part of the speaker's experienced old knowledge, the morpheme -*konu:* can be used, as is shown in sentence (38).

(38) *jạmbū-la*   *ŋạ*   *tācā:*   *cʰā:-gonu: (-gojø:)*
      Kathmandu-LOC   I.ABS   always   feel.cold-IPFV

      'In Kathmandu I always feel cold.'

According to the Lende consultant the meaning of the sentence does not change considerably when it is constructed with -*kojø:* instead of -*konu:*. Based on the analysis we have presented so far, we can assume that with the use of -*konu:* the speaker emphasizes his surprise about the fact, whereas with the use of -*kojø:* he presents the fact as being part of his old knowledge.

Accordingly, if the speaker is talking about someone else the use of both endings is possible, as is illustrated in sentence (39):

(39) *jạmbū-la*   *mọ*   *tācā:*   *cʰā:-gonu: (-gojø:)*
      Kathmandu-LOC   she.ABS   always   feel.cold-IPFV

      'In Kathmandu she always feels cold.'

The use of the morpheme -*kojø:* requires the speaker's long-term experience of and familiarity with the fact. In the case of sentence (39) -*kojø:* can be used if the speaker has been in Kathmandu with the person he is talking about.

Verbs that express a non-controllable action, but are not verbs of sensation in the strict sense, are treated in the same way as all other verbs. This is seen in sentence (40), which expresses the speaker's old knowledge and deep conviction of the fact.

(40) *ŋạ*   *maŋmō*   *çē:-gojø:.*
      I.ABS   much.ABS   know-IPFV

      'I know a lot.'

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This first description of the verbal system of Lende Tibetan has discussed the main categories that need to be applied in order to describe the auxiliary verbs of this Tibetan dialect. As in most of the other descriptions of Tibetan dialects, it has been shown for Lende that the type of the speaker's knowledge plays a primary role in the verbal morphology. In the description of the verbal system the categories "old knowledge" and "new knowledge" need to be applied, with a subdivision of the category "new knowledge" into the categories "direct evidence" and "indirect evidence" (cf. the overview given in Table 1 in Section 1, and Table 2 in Section 2).

This study has shown that the epistemic distinction between old and new knowledge manifests itself both in the system of auxiliary verbs and in the morphological system of the imperfective. Furthermore it could be demonstrated that in Lende Tibetan, contrary to other central Tibetan dialects, the speaker's volition or influence on the situation are not categorized. The use of the Lende Tibetan auxiliary verbs could thus be shown to be very close to their original use in Written Tibetan.

It has to be borne in mind, however, that the findings presented here are not based on the entire verbal system, but only on a few selected categories. However, research carried out so far indicates that a more thorough investigation of the other categories of the Lende Tibetan verbal system will support the analysis presented here.

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