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ABSTRACT

This article describes the various usages of a little-known past tense morpheme of the northern part of the Ladakhi Changthang: /-pak/, /-phak/, or {-puk} (< *pa.-hdug*). To some extent, the functions of this morpheme correspond to the so-called ‘evidentially neutral’ or ‘factual’ marker *pa.red* of Standard Spoken Tibetan. However, the morpheme in question cannot be described as being ‘evidentially’ or ‘epistemically’ neutral.

KEYWORDS

Ladakhi dialects, evidential-epistemic marking

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1 Introduction

All Ladakhi dialects, both the Shamskat dialects of Purik, Lower Ladakh/ Sham, and Ldumra (a.k.a. Nubra) and the Kenhat dialects of the Leh area, Upper Ladakh, and Zanskar have the following past tense (PA) markers:

- an ego-centred (so-called ‘egophoric’) past tense form $V(pa)^{1+}/pin/$ (<*pa.yin*; cf. Koshal 1979: 200f.; describing it as a ‘past perfect’), used for the epistemic *origo*’s or main speech act participant’s (MSAP)² own intentional and controlled activities plus for well-known situations within the MSAP’s personal sphere or *territory of information* (see Kamio 1997 for this term); this marker cannot be used for the MSAP’s own non-volitional or non-controlled situations, such as accidents or perceptions and the like;
- a more neutral past, consisting of the mere (past) stem, $V(PA)$; this is used primarily for observed situations (Koshal 1979: 119f.; described as a ‘simple perfect’), but it can be used more factually for past situations one has not observed, but nevertheless knows well, and in the more western dialects it can be used also more neutrally for a recent past of the MSAP;
- a past inferential form $/-tok/$ (and variants; cf. Koshal 1979: 216f.; this will be indicated by downward arrows in the bluish area of Map 1 below) or a somewhat less specific inferential-*cum*-distance marker $/-sok/$ (and variants; indicated by upward arrows in the orange area);³ both forms are often used for just becoming aware, but also very frequently for appropriated hearsay,⁴ and the former is common in the news;
- and at least one distance marker⁵, which indicates a more complex process of reasoning, some distance in time, some mental distance (non-identification, disbelief, etc.), or

¹ Not all verbs have a separate past stem and most dialects east of Leh and surroundings do not differentiate between a past stem (that would have the past tense suffix *-s* or at least a trace, such as umlaut) and a non-past stem.

² That is, the speaker in statements, the addressee in information-seeking questions. This should not be taken as a somewhat weird person category, but solely the as the vantage point for taking stance.

³ Both forms go back to a perfect construction *V-ste-hdug*, as discussed in Zeisler (2017: 271–281) for the various Ladakhi dialects. Cf. also Zemp (2017: 616) for the form $/-suk/$ in the Purikpa dialect of Kargil.

⁴ That is, while being aware that the information comes from another person, one treats it as personal knowledge.

⁵ The term was first introduced by Zeisler (2004: 658–663), but this early description certainly needs some qualification. However, this is not the topic of this article. Koshal (1979) calls the Eastern Ladakhi form “kək” /kak/

also somewhat lesser certainty, e.g., Lehpa /-kjak/ (most likely <**mkhan/k(h)a+yin+hdug/hdag*).⁶

- Additionally, the Kenhat dialects east of the central area have a non-obligatory excentric⁷ past perceptive marker /-soŋ/ (<*soñ*) for observed situations that are not directed towards the centre of the utterance, the MSAP, see blue area of Map 1 below. When used for recent situations, it emphasises the MSAP's affectedness. It is also used for situations in the more distant past of which one only observed the resulting state. The inferences that one made at that time point have merged with the observation to become a well-remembered act. In that case, the excentric past perceptive underlines the temporal distance, rather than the affectedness of the MSAP.
- Some of them further have a non-obligatory concentric⁷ past perceptive marker /-fjuŋ/ (<*byuñ*) or also /-joŋ/ (<*yoñ*) for observed situations directed towards the centre of the utterance, the MSAP, see purple area of Map 1 below.⁸ When used, it emphasises the MSAP's affectedness.

A few dialects, located along a geological fault line, which forms a northern parallel to the Indus river, have an additional marker, which contrasts with the past perceptive marker /-soŋ/, with the assimilating past inferential {-tok}/ {-tuk}, and the (partly assimilating) distance marker {-kan(d)ak} ~ {-kak} (< *mkhan+hdag* <*mkhan+hdug*). That marker takes the form /-pak/ in the Lalokpa dialects of the Durbuk block near Trangtse and along the Pangong lake, where a hidden final past tense suffix *-s* may lead to an aspirated form /-phak/, and it takes the assimilating form {-puk} in some dialects at the border to Tibet (PR China), see dark green area of Map 1. The

a “narrative” morpheme (191, 205-207), but she also describes it as signalling, “a certain degree of uncertainty as the speaker cannot vouchsafe for it” (Koshal 1979: 191). Koshal comments, “As [the] speaker in such cases is making statements about something which he has neither seen himself nor has a direct knowledge of, no definiteness is ever implied by such forms” (p. 205). Koshal (1982: 523) adds that the speaker was not involved in the event.

⁶ Other forms are Shamskat /-khan(in)tsuk/ (<**mkhan+yin+ste+hdug*), Southern Sham /-ka(no)k/ besides /-kak/, Kenhat /-kan(d)ak/ ~ /-kak/ (possibly all <**mkhan/k(h)a+yin+hdug/hdag*). It is not fully clear what the original form of the first element looked like. As the Shamskat form implies, it might have been aspirated, but whether it is related to the classical nominaliser *mkhan* is an open question.

⁷ I use the notions ‘concentric’ for the form that describes a movement towards the MSAP – as the *centre* of the utterance – and ‘excentric’ for the form that describes a movement away from the MSAP or not directed towards the MSAP. Most authors term the concentric form ‘egophoric’, blurring thus the distinction between the authoritative forms based on *yin* and *yod*, used mainly for the MSAP's own activities, and the non-authoritative or lesser-authoritative form, used for observations relating to the non-MSAP. The main difference between the concentric and the excentric form is the directionality of the situation, and while one may argue that the MSAP is more involved passively when the situation is directed towards the MSAP and may thus have some higher degree of authority, this cannot be compared with the authority expressed by the ego-centred markers *yin* and *yod*.

⁸ The Baltipa dialects, including those spoken in Ladakh, display quite a reduced system of evidential-epistemic marking. In some eastern dialects, one can find the perceptual knowledge marker *snañ* with its past tense equivalent *yod.s[te.hd]ug*. However, they seem to lack a developed ego-centred vs. non-ego-centred distinction, that is, *yin* and *yod* are used more neutrally or factually also for third persons. These dialects also lack a dedicated ego-centred past tense construction. The bare past stem and the past stem plus nominaliser {pa} (+GEN+*yin*) are used for both 1st and 3rd persons. The latter form gives the statement a more definite character (see also Bielmeier 1985: 114f.). It usually indicates that one has observed the situation from close-by and remembers it well, but it also appears in historical narratives besides the unmarked stem. One can find the Shamskat-type inferential-*cum*-distance marker /suk/, but apparently no further past or narrative distance marker.

form, provisionally called a *special non-ego-centred past marker* (SNEP), is most likely a contraction of the nominaliser *pa/ba* and the originally admirative existential *hdug* and its non-accentuated, and thus lowered and unrounded variant *hdag*.⁹ There is no mention of this marker in the Ladakhi grammar of Koshal (1979), nor is there mention of this or a similar form in the overview work given by Tournadre and Suzuki (2023). It seems, however, that the dialect of Tabo in Spiti, Himachal Pradesh, India, features a similar form /-(w)ak/ (</-wa ak/), described by Hein (2001: 36, 44; 2007: 198; 2017: 117) as a past form for unspecified knowledge or also as a “kind of general knowledge which is not based on the speaker’s direct perception,” with the additional connotation ‘I know’ in the respective translation (Hein 2001: 44). Hein does not give a more detailed description in which pragmatic contexts this verb form is used, but it appears as an unmarked past tense form in a narrative besides /-kak/, the latter glossed by Hein as imperfect (cf. Hein 2017: 121 /tɛɛːwak/ ‘it was said’, /majojwak/ ‘did not come, were not’, p. 122 /putak/ ‘went’; p. 123 /jɛpkak/ ‘went (round)’ or perhaps rather ‘was going (round)’?). /-(w)a/ serves as the nominaliser also in other past tense constructions of the dialect of Tabo. The special non-ego-centred past marker is thus quite specific for the Ladakhi Lalok area, but there is apparently some continuation into a near dialect region.

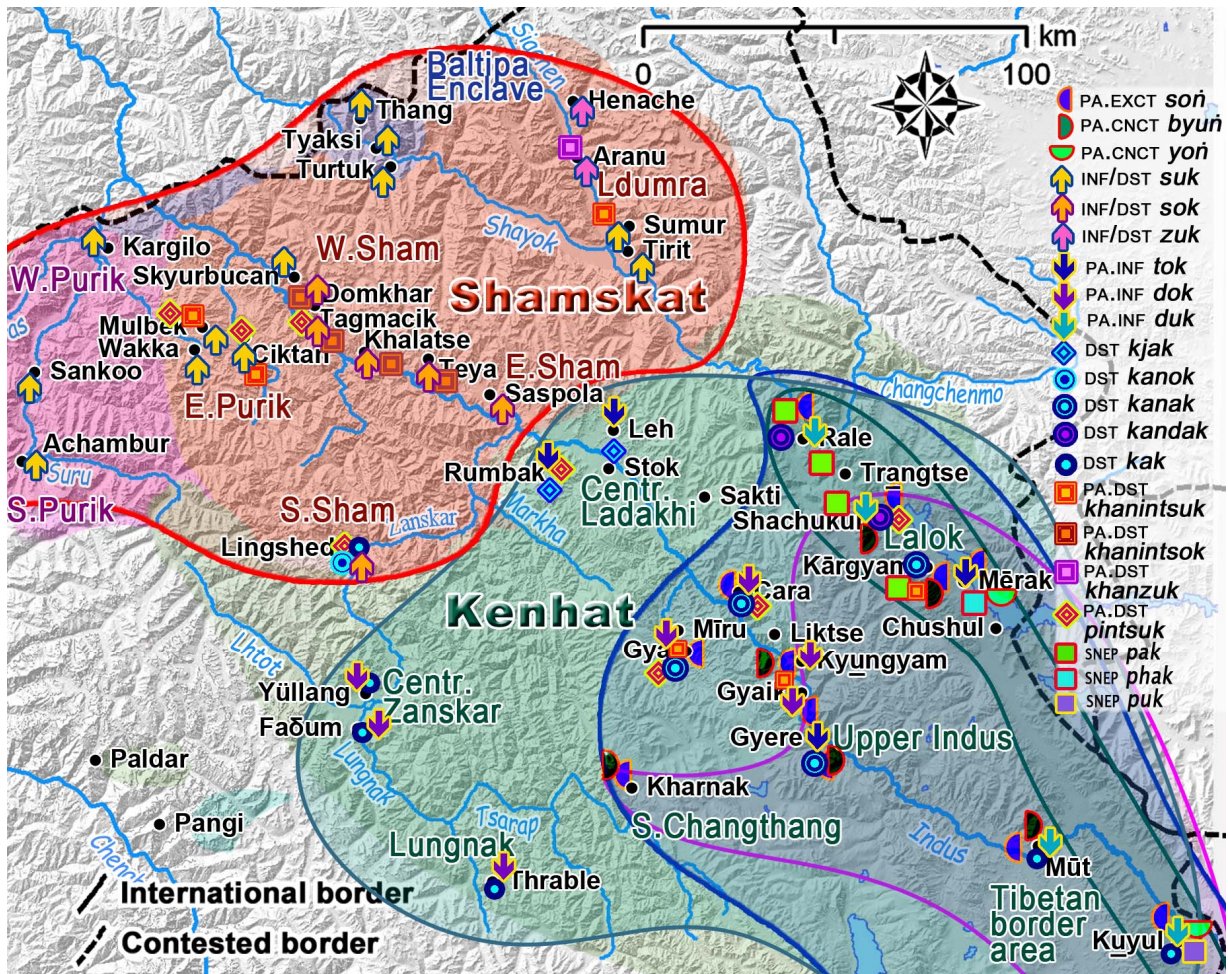
The marker has been observed from speakers of the following villages, from north-west to south-east: Rale, Trharuk near Trantse, Shachukul, Kārgyam, Mān-Mērak, and Kuyul at the border to China. The younger speakers from Trantse and its neighbourhood have practically given up the form, and the best data so far is from the Ralepa speaker. Rale is situated to the north-west of Trantse, higher up in a side valley, while Trantse, an ancient halting place on the trade routes, lies at a main thoroughfare.

The special non-ego-centred past marker indicates the MSAP’s certain or perhaps also assimilated knowledge, based on quite different input (observation, inference, and hearsay); it can be used for generic (or shared) knowledge, including historical facts, for epistemic downgrading, and for counterfactuals. To some extent, it might be compared to the allegedly ‘evidentially neutral’ so-called ‘factual’ marker *pa.red* of Standard Spoken Tibetan, but it is not a neutral past tense form, devoid of any evidential, epistemic, or pragmatic functions.¹⁰

⁹ Tournadre, however, would argue that it is a combination of the nominaliser with the verb *hdag* ‘be pure’, interpreted as meaning ‘be correct’, and forms like /-kanok/ would show a merger or conflation with *hdug*, cf. Tournadre and Suzuki (2023: 331, and especially p. 633, where he argues that *hdag* is more archaic). I cannot see a semantic motivation for the use of the verb *hdag* ‘be pure’ for functions related to inferences and epistemic-pragmatic hedging in the sense of not belonging to the MSAP’s territory of information, higher amount of reasoning, and/ or potential lesser certainty. Except in the dialect of Tö-Ngari, the form /dak/ **hdag* never appears alone and in place of the perceptive existential *hdug*. For the nasal counterpart, one can find /-nuk/ in Ladakhi bound forms, such as /minuk/ for /mi(n)duk/. Non-bound /nak/ or simply /na/ for the perceptual existential is found in the dialect of Lo-Mönthang and in the Brokpa dialect of Bhutan (cf. Tournadre and Suzuki 2023: 331).

There is no evidence that *hdag* ‘purify, cleanse; be pure’ ever had the meaning ‘be correct’, nor that it was ever used as an auxiliary in Classical Tibetan. By contrast, there is plenty of evidence for the use of *hdug* as an originally admirative (or non-confirmative), later perceptual auxiliary, cf. Zeisler (2018). One can thus assume that forms like /dak/ and /nak/ are secondary reduced forms, which most likely first developed as bound and thus deaccentuated forms, before they were generalised for the plain existential. One might perhaps also think of a merger between *hdug* and its near synonym *gdah*.

¹⁰ In my opinion, the so-called ‘factual’ marker is all but neutral, but could be described as a marker for pragmatic hedging or for downtuning one’s epistemic authority, see the discussion in Zeisler (2024).



Map 1. Past evidential and evaluative markers in the Ladakhi dialects as far as attested. Full data was not available from all villages. Background topographical map courtesy Quentin Devers

While the descriptions for the ‘factual’ marker *red* usually suggest that it would not matter how the MSAP came to know, or even that the marker would be freely available and could be used in place of any other marker,¹¹ this is certainly not the case for the special non-ego-centred past marker. Its specific motivation and accordingly its interpretation depend on the specific context – which is usually evident for the local, i.e., Lalokpa, interlocutors. It appears to be easier to define for which function the form is not used or to which forms and their functions it stands

¹¹ E.g., DeLancey (2018: 583, 588) describes the ‘factual’ as follows: “The speaker feels no need to justify the claim, and asks the addressee to simply take it as given.” ... “But this establishes the true function of the Factual category: it simply disregards the question of evidence.” DeLancey (p. 588) further explains that one should not mistake the ‘factual’ for a generic knowledge marker. “It is used in that function, because, by definition, one can always assume that one’s interlocutor shares one’s attitude toward such facts, and so their evidential status is not in question.” Under the header ‘Factual’, Tournadre and Suzuki (2023: 413f.) write, “The speaker simply presents the information as a fact. The marker is used for specific facts, known by the speaker as well as gnomic and historical information. [...] [T]he term ‘factual’ may also indicate a logical inference or an authoritative stance”.

in opposition, rather than to define a unified function for the five observed quite different usages, namely

- for personally observed situations as a member of a cooperating group – contrasting with the past perception marker /soŋ/ (see § 2);
- for inferences and hearsay – contrasting with the past inferential marker {-tuk} (§ 3);
- for shared knowledge and generic facts, including history – contrasting both with the past perceptual markers (unmarked stem or excentric /-soŋ/) and the distance marker /-kandak/ (§ 4), which signals a somewhat weaker epistemic force, and in place of the distance markers of other Kenhat dialects;
- for a distanced view upon own activities done in an uncontrolled manner – in contrast to the epistemically weaker distance marker /-kandak/, and in place of the distance markers of other Kenhat dialects (§ 5);
- for irrealis, that is, counterfactual propositions – in contrast to the epistemically weaker distance marker /-kandak/ and in place of the distance markers of other Kenhat dialects (§ 6).

The only common denominator for these usages is that the marker refers to *well-known* situations or facts of the past, with the *pragmatic* hedging or downtuning *that they do not belong to the MSAP's territory of information*. The territory of information is the domain of highest epistemic authority or exclusive personal knowledge, exclusive at least with respect to the addressee(s), but usually also with respect to the larger speech community. It is the domain of the so-called 'egophoric' or rather ego-centred markers *yin* and *yod*.

The highest epistemic authority has to do with the pragmatically conditioned *rights* to claim such exclusive knowledge, less with questions of one's knowledge base or certainty. In principle, a speaker can claim highest epistemic authority only for his or her own identity, attributes, possessions, and intentional/ volitional and controlled activities and plans. This epistemic authority can be expanded to some extent to include identities, attributes, possessions, and habits of family members, friends, and subordinate persons, when talking to outsiders. To assume the highest epistemic authority implies not only that one has the *right* to assume it, but also that one *wants* to assume it, because one identifies with the situation and one's personal involvement and/ or responsibility. This has been discussed in detail in Zeisler (2023 and 2024).

Merely observed interactions of other persons are not normally part of an MSAP's territory of information, even if the MSAP may be somehow associated. Only if the MSAP were responsible for these activities, e.g., because s/he ordered or scheduled them, could they fall into the MSAP's territory of information, and in such cases, the ego-centred markers might be used.

Inferences and hearsay automatically fall out of an MSAP's territory of information. By definition, hearsay is not exclusive personal knowledge. Like mere observations, inferences (based on immediate observations or hearsay) may be personal, but not exclusively personal. Personal observations and hearsay are accidental and thus lack somewhat in the way they can be confirmed.

Shared knowledge, which includes mutual knowledge between speaker and addressee as well as generic facts, likewise cannot be part of an MSAP's exclusive territory of information.

With a distanced view upon one's own activities, one leaves one's territory of information and the assertive force that comes along with marking one's territory. Not using the ego-centred

markers for one’s own identities, attributes, possessions, and activities indicates that one does not want to assume highest epistemic authority and that one does not accept, or does not identify with, the situation.

Finally, irrealis contexts, such as counterfactuals cannot be part of an MSAP’s territory of information, just because they are merely hypotheticalal.

Nevertheless, indicating that a situation does not belong to the MSAP’s territory of information is not the privilege of the special non-ego-centred past marker, but shared with all other non-ego-centred evidential and epistemic markers. The particular functions of the special non-ego-centred past marker can only be defined through the contrast with the respective competing markers.

2 Personally observed situations as a member of a cooperating group

As mentioned, the special non-ego-centred past can be used for personal observations. The main contrast between the excentric past perceptual /-soŋ/ and the special non-ego-centred past for observations is that the former can be used for all kinds of situations that one has observed, whether as an outsider or as a participant. The special non-ego-centred past, by contrast, indicates some kind of interactive involvement as a member of a cooperating group, particularly in the domestic sphere.

As the Ralepa informant explained, if one says /kho(e) kūpak/ (instead of /kūsoŋ/) ‘s/he stole, as I saw’, this implies that one was a thief oneself and helped in the situation, e.g., one tells the boss of the thieves (or mama thief) what the others members of the group were doing, while oneself was keeping cave. However, when talking about any other person and to an outsider, such as the neighbour or the police, the same statement /kho(e) kūpak/ is either inferential ‘s/he must have stolen, upon what I saw’ or based on hearsay ‘s/he stole, as I heard (from a reliable source)’. Whether the statement is to be interpreted as an immediate observation among group members or as inference or hearsay concerning unrelated persons, depends on the context of the utterance and upon what the addressee can be expected to know about this context.

A common domestic in-group usage is that one person, say the mother, asks another person, say, one of her children, what the other child or children has or have done. The mother would use the special non-ego-centred past when asking only about the other child(ren), cf. (1), first question alternative. When the addressee is also implied in the question, only the ego-centred past can be used in the question for the collective, (1), second question alternative. The answer, as far as it concerns the MSAP, is likewise with the ego-centred past, while the special non-ego-centred past is used for the other person(s). (1), second line.

(1) Ralepa (Field data 2024)¹²

[A:] *kho-e fti fō-pak?* / *su-i fti fō-pin?* / **fō-pak?* –
 s/he-ERG what do-SNEP who-ERG what do-RM=EC.PA *do-SNEP

[B:] *kho-e lut dak-pak, ŋ·e buri·(:) kha zum-pin.*
 s/he-ERG manure stuff-SNEP I·ERG sack·GEN opening hold-RM=EC.PA

ཁོ་ཅི་ཚེ་པག། / སུ་འི་ཚེ་ཚེ་པག། / *ཚེ་པག། – ཁོ་འི་ལུང་འདག་པག། རེ་འདུ་རི་འི་ཁ་བུམ་པིག།¹³

¹² If not otherwise specified, all examples have been elicited. For the elicitation methods, cf. Bendix (1993) and Zeisler (2023: 4).

¹³ This is a phonological rendering, not an attempt at writing Classical or Standard Tibetan. I have been asked by one of the reviewers, why I keep the classical spelling with the *h*- preradical, when the latter evidently has lost its

[A/ The mother:] ‘What did s/he do (as you could observe)? / Who [of you all] did what?’ – [B/ The child:] ‘S/he stuffed the manure [into the sack] (as I observed), [while] I held the rim [of the sack].’ (The first question alternative implies that the speaker assumes that the addressee knows what the third person was doing, because the addressee and the third person both worked together. The second question alternative refers also to the addressee’s own activity; hence, the special non-ego-centred past cannot be used.)

Similarly, when one talks about a event of cooperation without being asked, one’s own action is represented with the ego-centred past, while the other person’s activity is represented with the special non-ego-centred past marker (2).

(2) Ralepa (Field data 2024)

kho-e *ʈi-pak*, *ŋ·e* *zer-pin*.
 s/he-ERG write-SNEP I·ERG say-RM=EC.PA
 ཁོ་འེ་ཤི་པཀ། རེ་ཟེར་པིན།

‘S/he wrote it (as I observed [as]) I dictated it.’ (A boss might say.)

Quite recently, I accidentally came across a similar usage of the distance marker /-kaʔ/ in the dialect of Faðum in Zanskar.¹⁴ It is thus possible that this or a similar usage of the respective distance markers shows up also in other Kenhat dialects, but I have not had the opportunity to ask other speakers. I could, however, establish that, quite by contrast, the use of the same distance marker /-kak/ in the Southern Shamskat dialect of Lingshet in the context of example

original guttural or laryngeal quality before consonants, and its alternative effect of prenasalisation is likewise lost in absolute initial position. The nasal, however, is preserved in various compounds after open syllables, cf. *hdra.hdra* ‘same-same’ > /dʌnˈdʌ/ ‘equal’, *mi.hdra-mi.hdra* ‘different-different’ > /minˈdʌ-minˈdʌ/ ‘various’ (Zeisler 2009; cf. also Zeisler 2004: 613 for this effect after negation markers in various Shamskat dialects) and it may sporadically appear as prenasalisation across word boundaries after open syllables. Apart from this, it has, like other pre-radicals or prefixes, preserved the voicedness of the initial in all Ladakhi dialects. Compare *dug* ‘poison’ > /tuk/ or /tʌk/ with *hdug* ‘stay’ > /duk/ ‘stay’ or perceptive existential. The letter ^ʕh will thus be used as a generalised voicedness marker in my phonologically inspired written Ladakhi version.

¹⁴ In that case, the difference between the use of the perceptive past and the use of the distance marker would be that the latter conveys some more specific connotations, such as contrasting different activities. It might be also more emphatic, indicating some sort of emotional involvement, such as surprise or satisfaction. Furthermore, in contrast to the perceptive past, it would positively indicate that the particular job is completely done, and so the situation is “more past”, as the informant commented.

(i) Faðumpa (Field data 2025)

khova *tshaym·e* *ʈi* *ʈoʔ* / *ʈo-haʔ* –
 they all·ERG what do.PA=PA.PRC do.PA-DST
khafiy·e *ne* *dən-kaʔ*, *khafiy·e* *sa* *dən-kaʔ*.
 some·ERG barley transport-DST some·ERG grass transport-DST
 ཁོ་བ་ཚང་མེ་ཅི་ཅོ། / ཅོ་ཉལ། – ཁ་ཅི་ཅི་ཞེ་འཕྲུག་ལ། ཁ་ཅི་ཅི་ས་འཕྲུག་ལ།

[Parent:] ‘What did the others do? / What exactly has been done by the others?’ – [Child:] ‘Some carried over the [harvested] barley, some carried over the [cut] grass.’ (The first question alternative indicates that the speaker has no idea whether anything was done. / The second question alternative indicates that the speaker knows that some work has been done, but now wants to know more about it. The addressee is expected to have observed the work while doing something else.)

When the speaker has been implied directly in the question and has thus been expected to be part of the specific work force, the distance marker cannot be used. This is similar to example (1) above. However, in contrast to example (1), the distance marker cannot be used in the answer for the other persons, even when there is some

(2) would indicate that the speaker found out only later that the other person had written what the speaker had told.

When talking about what the speaker and the addressee had done together or when talking about the addressee’s past actions, the ego-centred past *V(PA)-pin* cannot be used, because this would imply that the speaker knows better than the addressee – which is normally not the case. Even if the addressee does not remember, many speakers avoid the ego-centred past, in order not to sound too arrogant. Various strategies have been observed in this situation. Among them, the special non-ego-centred past is particularly suitable. If one does not remember one’s own actions, one can accordingly solicit an answer by using the special non-ego-centred past for oneself in the question.

(3) Ralepa (Field data 2024)

tezak na ft̥ ft̥-pak-e? – *tezak-te khjo ofis-la soŋ-pak.*
 that.day I what do-SNEP-intj that.day-DF fam.you office-ALL go.PA-SNEP

དེ་ཞག་ང་ཅི་ཅི་ཕག་ལྷོ།། དེ་ཞག་དེ་ཉོ་མོ་ཤིས་ལ་མོང་ཕག།།

‘What did I do that day/ those days [I don’t remember, at all]? – That day,/ Those days, you went to the office [if I may tell you].’

Another strategy found in various dialects is to use a truncated form of the perfect, that is, without auxiliary (*V-LB-ø*).¹⁵ In the Ralepa dialect, its use is more emphatic than the use of the special non-ego-centred past.

(4) Ralepa (Field data 2024)

tezak gun-la oyo nō: ft̥ ft̥-pak? –
 that.day winter-ALL we.incl both what do-SNEP
oyo nō: pal kāl-de, hit-u mē-rag-a? / *kāl-pak.*
 we.incl both wool spin-LB=TRUNC.PRF mind-LOC NG-exist.NVIS-QM spin-SNEP

དེ་ཞག་འགུན་ལ་མོ་འགོ་རྩོལ་ཅི་ཕག།། – མོ་འགོ་རྩོལ་བལ་ཀལ་འདི། འདྲ་རྒྱ་མེ་རག་ལ། / ཀལ་ཕག།།

‘What did we two do that day in winter [I don’t remember]? – We two were spinning wool, don’t you remember? / We two were spinning wool [if I may tell you].’ (The truncated perfect is used when one tries more emphatically to reactivate the addressee’s memory. / The special non-ego-centred past is used more neutrally.)

contrast between speaker and the other persons:

(ii) Faḍumpa (Field data 2025)

khizi tshaŋm.e ft̥ft̥ ft̥-ven? –
 fam.you.PL(excl) all-ERG what.what do.PA-RM=EC.PA
khova tshaŋm.e-ne faka ma-ft̥øe, leha tshaŋma ŋ.e ft̥-ven.
 they all-ERG-TOP anything.at.all NG-do.PA=PA.PRC work all I-ERG do.PA-RM=EC.PA

ཁོ་ཞི་ཚང་མེ་ཅི་ཅི་ཕག།། – ཁོ་ཞི་ཚང་མེ་ཞེ་ཅ་ཀ་མ་ཅི། ལེན་ཚང་མ་དེ་ཅི་ཕག།།

[Parent:] ‘What did each of you do?’ – [Child:] ‘They didn’t do anything at all, I did all the work.’

¹⁵ This truncated form is usually roughly equivalent to the somewhat more neutral combination with the copula (*V-LB-yin*). The truncated perfect differs in function as well as in intonation from the Purikpa and Baltipa use of clause-final demonstratives as described by Zemp (2021).

centred past is used when the speaker is quite sure, because **there is some proof or the person talked about has admitted the theft; but it also signals that the speaker obtained this certainty only some time after the event.** – In the second part, the speaker is more like talking to him/herself.)

For similar inferential and second-hand usages in the other dialects, cf. (8) to (14).

- (8) Shachukulpa (Field data 2016)

kho soŋ-pak.

s/he go.PA-SNEP

ཁོ་སོང་པག།

‘S/he went/ must have gone (I **did not see anything, but heard it** from the subject or somebody else).’

- (9) Kārgyampa (Field data 2016)

sonam-e tā tshayma tsōŋ-pak. te pēne-raŋ galđi nō-pak. –

Sonam-ERG horse all sell-SNEP that money-COM vehicle buy-SNEP

su-i lo? / teīphia nō-pak?

who-ERG say why buy-SNEP

སོ་ནམ་འེ་ཏ་ཚང་མ་ཚོང་པག། དེ་ཕེ་ནེ་རང་འགལ་འཛེ་ཉོ་པག། – སུ་འེ་ལོ། / ཅི་ཕི་འེ་ཉོ་པག།

‘Sonam (has) sold all [his] horses (as I’ve been told). With the money [he] (has) bought a car (as I’ve been told). – Who says [this]? / Why did [he] buy [a car]?’ (The first speaker **has heard the facts from a reliable source.** The source could have been the subject himself or a person closely related, such as the subject’s family member, or a person related to the transaction, such as the trader. For this speaker, the special non-ego-centred past cannot be used, if the information comes from any other person. The addressee may then ask about the source, as well as for further information.)

- (10) Merakpa (Field data 2016)

kho lē-a soŋ-phak.

s/he Leh-ALL go.PA-SNEP

ཁོ་ལྷེ་འ་སོང་པག།

‘S/he went to Leh (I **met the person** on the road [in the direction of Leh] and thus I **infer** that s/he was going to Leh or: I **heard from the person** that she planned to go to Leh before s/he actually went and later I **found his/her room empty**, and thus I **infer** that s/he **had gone to Leh**).

- (11) Kuyulpa (Field data 2024)

kh·ø daŋ galđi soma nō-buk. / nō-rok.

s/he·ERG yesterday vehicle new buy.PA-SNEP buy.PA-PA.INF

ཁོ་འདང་འགལ་འཛེ་སོ་མ་ཉེ་འབྲུག། / ཉོ་རོག།

‘S/he (**obviously** / apparently) bought a new car yesterday.’ (The special non-ego-centred past can be used **upon seeing** a new car at the neighbours or also seeing them driving this new car, but there is an **additional confirmation**, because **one has been told** about the car or about the intention to buy one. / The past inferential is used when one only has the visual input and no earlier knowledge. There may be a connotation of surprise.)

(12) Kuyulpa (Personal narrative, recorded 2024)

ja:, *ʃtʰɪpɛ zɛr-na*, *roaʃ izúk demo ʃtʰo-buk*,
 intj why say-CD road this.way nice do.PA-SNEP
ɲõnma roaʃtsok duk-mi-duk.
 early road.like be.VIS-NG-be.VIS

ཡ། ཅི་པ་ཟེ་ར་ན། རོ་འཇ་ཨི་ཟུག་འདེ་མོ་ཅོ་འབུག། རྫོན་མ་རོ་འཇ་ཅོག་འདུག་མི་འདུག།

[The informant talks about a road trip from Dras to Srinagar within 3 hours. Upon a comment that this is fast, he continues:] ‘Yeah, (**obviously**) because the road has been done sooo well, it is not at all like the earlier road.’ (The informant has not seen how the road was done, but **has the experience of its quality after driving several times on it**. When he tells about it, he already knows for sure.)

For the Kuyulpa speaker, one factor for choosing the special non-ego-centred past is whether the situation took place outside in the mountains or within the household. There might be a connotation of lesser responsibility in the former case, (13) a/ b, and, by contrast, a stronger connotation of affectedness and (self-) blame in the latter case, (13) c. While the spatial distance thus plays a role, the temporal distance does not play any particular role for the use of the special non-ego-centred past marker, as shown with the different temporal adverbs.

(13) a. Kuyulpa (Field data 2024)

nɛniŋ ɲ·ɛ rãã ʃaŋgu-ik sɛt-soŋ.
 last.year I·GEN goat wolf-LQ kill-EXCT.PA.PRC

ཚེ་ནིང་དེ་རྩི་འུང་འགྲུ་ལྷག་སའེད་སོང་།།

‘Last year, my goat was killed by a wolf.’ ([At that time,] the speaker saw the dead animal [and drew the relevant conclusion. Together this has become an assimilated observation. The speaker is affected as the owner.])

b. Kuyulpa (Field data 2024)

rãã ʃaŋgu sɛt-(t)ok.
 goat wolf kill-PA.INF

རྩི་འུང་འགྲུ་སའེད་ཉོག་།།

‘Apparently, the goat was killed by a wolf.’ (Upon seeing the dead animal [and the conspicuous traces somewhere in the mountains.])

c. Kuyulpa (Field data 2024)

nɛniŋ / daŋ / tɛʃi ɲãõ taŋr·enaŋa jāk sɛ-puk.
 last.year yesterday earlier morning stable·PPOS yak kill-SNEP

ཚེ་ནིང་/ འདང་/ དེ་ཅི་རྫོ་འོ་དང་རེ་ནང་འ་ལྷག་སའེད་ལུག་།།

‘Last year, / Yesterday, / Earlier this morning, the yak was (found) killed in(side) the stable.’ (“We saw the animal **in the stable**.” [That is, the situation is closer by and lies within the household sphere. Compared to the observation outside in the mountains as in (13) b, the speaker seems to be more involved or affected, particularly if s/he feels responsible for the safety of the animals.])

The special non-ego-centred past may contrast also with various perfect constructions, as in (14).

(14) Kārgyampa (Field data 2016)

i jigé kh.e t̥i·re-in. / *t̥i·re-ⁿduk.* / *t̥i-pak.*
 this letter s/he-ERG write-LB-CP=PRF write-LB-VIS=PRF write-SNEP
 ཨི་ཡི་འགོ་ཁོ་རྩི་རྩི་འོན། / རྩི་རྩི་འདུག། / རྩི་པག།

‘This letter, s/he has written [it].’ (The copula signals the speaker’s involvement, s/he may have ordered the writing or may have observed the act of writing. / The visual marker is used when talking about the letter itself, and recognising the handwriting or signature; similarly when identifying a roll number in an exam. / The special non-ego-centred past signals a more indirect knowledge, e.g., **when one has heard it from somebody else**. The speaker, however, is quite convinced.)

4 Knowledge of history and other generally known facts

Knowledge about history or other generally known facts is common or shared knowledge, which does not belong to any speaker’s territory of information. It can also be seen as shareable knowledge in certain settings, such as teaching or explaining. One might thus be tempted to treat the special non-ego-centred past as a factual marker. However, at the same time, generic or common knowledge is a case of hearsay knowledge, based on a reliable source. For this reason, Ladakhi speakers use various types of epistemic (modal) markers, and the speakers of the northern Changthang likewise use a marker with an indirect function (inference or hearsay), either the special non-ego-centred marker when they are confident, (15) a, or the distance marker when they have some doubts, (15) b.

(15) a. Ralepa (Field data 2014)

*d̥amjan̄ nāmgyal zer-kan-de gjapo-zik fiot-(d)ak.*¹⁶
 Jamyañ Nāmgyal say-NLS-DF king-LQ exist-FINF
kho-e balti jul-a māk kher-pak.
 s/he-ERG Balti country-ALL army/war take.along-SNEP
 འཇམ་ཡང་རྣམ་འགྲུལ་ཟེར་ཀན་འདེ་འགྲུ་པོ་ཞིག་འོད་འདག། ཁོ་འོ་འབལ་ཉི་ཡུལ་འ་ལྷག་ཁོར་པག།

‘There was a king called Jamyañ Nāmgyal. He took an army to Baltistan./ made war against Baltistan.’ (Shared knowledge; **the speaker has no doubts and is confident** with respect to all details.)

b. Ralepa (Field data 2024)

d̥amjan̄ nāmgyal zer-kan-de gjapo-zik fiokandak.
 Jamyañ Nāmgyal say-NLS-DF king-LQ exist-DST
kho-e balti jul-a māk kher-kandak.
 s/he-ERG Balti country-ALL army/war take.along-DST
 འཇམ་ཡང་རྣམ་འགྲུལ་ཟེར་ཀན་འདེ་འགྲུ་པོ་ཞིག་འོ་ཀན་འདག། ཁོ་འོ་འབལ་ཉི་ཡུལ་འ་ལྷག་ཁོར་ཀན་འདག།

‘There once was/ must have been a king called Jamyañ Nāmgyal. He apparently took an army to Baltistan./ apparently made war against Baltistan.’ (Shared knowledge; the speaker is not fully certain about the facts or the details.)

¹⁶ While the morpheme’s initial *d-* is not pronounced or rather combines with the preceding final, it has to be postulated, because otherwise, in this dialect, an intervocalic dental changes into a palatal glide, cf. /fiot/ (<yod) ‘(I) have’ vs. /fiɔ’ja?/ (<yod-ħa) ‘do (you) have?’ That the morpheme in question has a voiced initial is apparent from the combination with the copula, such as /fiindak/ or also from the distance marker /-kandak/.

b. Kārgyampa (Field data 2016)

lɔ khaek nōn-la ladag-a tɛhulok ʂante hoŋ. /
 year some early-ALL Ladakh-ALL flood hard come.PA.PRC
hoŋ-dzuŋ. / hoŋ-soŋ.
 come-CNCT.PA.PRC come-EXCT.PA.PRC

འོ་ཁ་འགོ་མཚན་ལ་འདག་ལ་ལྷོ་མོག་པ་ན་ཉི་འོང་། / འོང་འཇུང་། / འོང་སོང་།

‘Some years ago, there was a great flood in Ladakh (as I know well / as I was there / as I saw in the news).’ ([The past perceptive is used neutrally, indicating that one knows well, because everybody talked about.] / The concentric past perceptive can be used when one was in the affected area; it is not necessary to have witnessed the flood directly. / The excentric past perceptive can be used when one has seen the situation on TV.)

5 Distanced view upon one’s own activities done in an uncontrolled manner

The special non-ego-centred past marker cannot be used for the MSAP’s controlled activities. However, as soon as there is a lack of control, e.g., when doing something more accidentally, e.g., out of anger, the special non-ego-centred past marker can be used. By not using the ego-centred past, the speaker indicates that s/he does not, or no longer, identify with what s/he had done. S/he takes an outside perspective on him/herself, (19). Speakers of other Kenhat dialects would use a distance marker in such situations, cf. examples (20) and (21).

(19) Ralepa (Field data 2024)

ŋ·e kho-a ʃhonla nēt tu-pak, tɪŋdene ŋa-a gjot.
 I·ERG s/he-ALL for.nothing allegation dig-SNEP afterwards I·AES repent.PA.PRC

ངེ་ཁོ་འཚོན་ལ་སྐྱོད་ཏེ་པག། ཉིང་འདི་ནི་ང་ལ་འཇུང།

‘I happened to provoke him/her baselessly, [so] afterwards I felt regret.’

(20) Gya-Mīrupa (Field data 2005)

daŋ ŋ·e ɲeraŋ-eduna ane ʃhonɖol-a ʂante māt-pen.
 yesterday I·ERG hon.you-PPOS aunt Chondrol-ALL very talk.bad-RM=EC.PA

han! ŋ·e ʃhonla ɲeraŋ-a zer-hanak.

intj I·ERG for.nothing hon.you-ALL say-DST

kho tōt-ʃe-zik duk, sokpo mi-nuk.

s/he laud-NLS-LQ be.VIS bad NG-be.VIS

juzu he, ŋ·e pēra zer-han tshayma sem-a ma-khur!

please intj I·ERG/GEN speech say-NLS all mind-ALL NG-carry=PRHB

འདང་ངེ་ཉི་རང་ལེ་འདུན་ལ་མ་ཉེ་ཚོན་འཕྲོལ་ལ་པ་ན་ཉེ་སྐྱོད་པེག། ཉན། ངེ་ཚོན་ལ་ཉི་རང་ལ་ཟེར་ཉ་ནག། ཁོ་ཉིང་ཚེ་ཞིག་འདུག། སོག་པོ་མ་རུག།
 འཇུ་ལྷོ་ཉེ། ངེ་པེ་ར་ཟེར་ཉན་ཚང་མ་སེམ་ལ་མ་ཁུར།

‘Yesterday, I said something very negative about aunt Chondrol in your presence. Sorry! I told (lit: **must have told**) you [this] without any reason! S/he is [only] to be lauded; she is not bad at all. Please, forget about all that I have said!’

(21) Faɖumpa (Field data 2019)

jabeja, ŋ·e tshonla tsō-ha?

intj I·ERG for.nothing sell-DST

ཡ་འབེ་ཡ། ངེ་ཚོན་ལ་ཙོ་ཉལ།

‘Oh my dear! I should not have sold [them]! (Lit. I **must have sold** [them] for no use.)’ (The speaker realises that s/he lost an opportunity by selling the horses.)

7 Discussion

Except for the observational usage as a member of a cooperating group (examples (1)–(4)), all described usages of the special non-ego-centred past marker have a parallel in the so-called ‘factual’ marker *pa.red* of Standard Spoken Tibetan. As shown in Zeisler (2024), Standard Spoken Tibetan *pa.red* is frequently used for inferences and unspecific hearsay (similar to examples (5)–(13) above); it is used for generic facts or common knowledge, as a subtype of (unspecific) hearsay (comparable to examples (15)–(17) above); it can be used for a distanced view upon one’s activities, when one acted in anger (here example (19)); and it can be used for counterfactuals (such as examples (22)–(24) above). Given these parallel usages, it is quite tempting to call the special non-ego-centred past marker likewise a ‘factual’ past marker, except that most of these usages cannot be called ‘factual’ or ‘evidentially neutral’, at all, namely inferences and hearsay (evidential-epistemic), distanced self-perspective (pragmatic hedging), counter-factual (non-factual, irrealis), and the use for observation within a cooperating group (evidential).

The only ‘factual’-type usage is for historical and generic facts, but as Zeisler (2024) argued, different societies may treat such knowledge quite differently, and the speakers of the Ladakhi dialects, as well as those of most Tibetic languages, prefer to present such facts in a more downtoned manner, and particularly not as exclusive personal knowledge. Arguably, historical facts and many generic facts are transmitted from generation to generation, and, therefore, one’s knowledge about these facts could (or even should) be treated as second-hand or hearsay knowledge. At the same time, this is shared and, with respect to the following generations, also shareable knowledge. Thus in all such cases, the ‘factual’ marker indicates that the proposition does not belong to the MSAP’s territory of information, and that it may not even belong to one’s personal observations. It cannot be used freely in place of the ego-centred or the perceptual markers, without an essential pragmatic meaning shift.

I cannot avoid the feeling that the term ‘factual’ and the description as being ‘evidential neutral’ are chosen just because the ‘factual’ marker is used in many different functions that cannot be derived from a single basic semantic category, such as ‘evidentiality’ or modality. This may have to do with the fact that the relevant theoretical linguistic concepts are not (yet) fine-tuned to the pragmatics of communicative interactions.

What generally speaks against a ‘factual’ category in the Ladakhi dialects is that, unlike Standard Spoken Tibetan *red* (and all combinations thereof), there is not one single marker (plus combinations thereof) that may be said to encode a more ‘neutral’ or even ‘factual’ perspective on a situation. There are specific markers for a non-ego-centred future (neutral and inferential/assumptive), different markers for well-known and lesser known habits (visual, or evaluative), specialised markers for shared or shareable knowledge (*inok* and related forms plus some future inferentials), the past perceptive (i.e., the bare stem) for well-known facts, alternating with the various distance markers, and, depending on the dialect, also additional past or narrative distance markers, mostly restricted to story telling, as listed briefly in Zeisler (2023: 21f.).

Most, if not all, functions of the special non-ego-centred past are covered by the respective distance markers of other Kenhat dialects: Lehpa /-kjak/, Zanskarpa {-ka?}, Upper Indus {-kanak} ~ {-kak}, in part also by the Lingshetpa (Southern Shamma) distance markers {-kanok} and {-kak} and the past distance marker /-khanintsuk/ (and variants) of other Shamskat dialects. Additionally, these distance markers are also used to indicate a lower degree of certainty or a residue of doubt. In this

respect, they correspond to the weak epistemic force of the distance markers {-kan(d)ak} ~ {-kak} of the Lalokpa dialects.

Possibly, because they are frequently used for historical narratives and facts, Tournadre, (in Tournadre and Suzuki 2023) interprets the Ladakhi distance markers as factual markers.¹⁸ But he also interprets Lehpa /-kjak/ and the combination /jotkjak/ as reportative-inferential (pp. 421, 431, 432), adding that it “*may be weakened* and interpreted as an equivalent of ཡོད་ཀ་ནོག་ YOD.KA.NOG or ཡོད་དེ་ཡིན་ནོག་ YOD.DE.YIN.NOG which convey a factual or gnomic meaning” (emphasis added). Tournadre thus agrees that /-kjak/ is primarily an evidential-epistemic form, but can have an apparently more ‘neutral’ or ‘factual’ usage.

It is, however, not the case that the evidential-epistemic function of Lehpa /-kjak/ is ‘weakened’ to become an equivalent of the ‘evidentially neutral’ dialectal forms /-kanok/ and {-kanak} ~ {-kak}. Except for the Lalokpa dialects, these latter forms are fully equivalent to Lehpa /-kjak/. As mentioned, the Lalokpa distance marker has only the epistemic function of uncertainty and doubt, although this might be a result from the contrast with the special non-ego-centred past marker.

The description as ‘reportative-inferential’ is further not exclusively applicable to these markers, but this also depends on what one understands by ‘inferential’. The functional description ‘reportative-inferential’ certainly also applies to the Kenhat past inferential marker /-tok/ (and variants) and to the Shamskat inferential-*cum*-distance marker /-sok/ (and variants). These two forms are used for situations one has not witnessed, but infers and becomes aware of through immediate sensory input. They are further used for second-hand information that one has, so to speak, appropriated as certain knowledge, and the Lehpa form /-tok/ is particularly common in news.¹⁹ These latter forms might thus be called reportative-sensorial-inferential, cf. examples (6), third alternative, (11), second alternative, and (13) b above for the sensorial-inferential usage and examples (27) and (28) below for the reportative usage.

By contrast, the distance marker /-kjak/ and the related forms point to a more complicated process of reasoning and could thus be called ‘reportative-logical-inferentials’. But they often indicate that the speaker is less convinced, less certain, or keeps some emotional or mental distance to the reported situation. They also often implicate a longer distance in time. They are thus the preferred choice when it comes to situations of the distant past, cf. example (27), reports that one has merely overheard, cf. (28), or reports that have been handed down through several generations, and thus they are *also* used for historical narratives and historical facts. This latter usage does not make them ‘factual’ or ‘evidentially neutral’ markers. They should be rather described as markers of (slightly) lowered epistemic force. Apart from this, many Kenhat speakers use these distance markers in irrealis contexts, such as past counterfactuals (see above, examples (25) and (26)) or, in the case of /-kjak/, for hypothetical situations in explanations (see also Zeisler 2023: 62), which also contradicts a factual connotation.

¹⁸ See Tournadre and Suzuki (2023) for Lehpa /-kjak/ (pp. 300, 336; spelled *kyag*), for Lingshetpa /-kanok/ (cf. p. 336, spelled *mkhan.nog*; but not specified for any particular dialect), for the Upper Indus and Changthang dialects /-kanak/ (p. 608, equated with the following form), and for the Lalokpa and Tibetan border area dialects /-kandak/ or /-kak/ (pp. 337, spelled *mkhan.dag*).

¹⁹ Tournadre, p. 386, calls them a sensory perfect. This is correct only in so far as they both have been derived from a sensory perfect with the auxiliary *hdug* (Zeisler 2017). However, this sensory perfect Purikpa V-LB-*hdug*, and the more specialised forms visual V-LB-*hdug* or V-LB-*snañ* and non-visual V-LB-*rag* are still found in all Ladakhi dialects, cf. example (14) above for the visual perfect. And while there may be some overlap in the epistemic values, the inferentials have lost the focus on the resulting state, which the perfect constructions, by contrast, retain.

(27) Kārgyampa (Field data 2016)

ŋa kē-saŋ ŋān-la lalun luŋba·(:) tēhu tēhat. /
 I be.born-CNTR early-ALL Lalun valley·ALL water be.cut.PA.PRC
tēhat-tuk. / tēhat-kak.
 stop-PA.INF stop-DST

ངག་སང་ཚེ་ལ་ལ་ལུང་ལུང་འབའ་འ་ཚུ་ཚུད། / ཚུད་ཉུག། / ཚུད་ཀྱག།

‘Before I was born, the water stopped/ got cut off in the Lalun valley.’ ([The past perceptual or bare stem is used neutrally for situations one has been told repeatedly.] / The past inferential is used when one has seen some evidence or when one has read about the situation (a case of hearsay or being directly told). / The distance marker is used **when one had no direct evidence**; but one may have heard something about the past situation. It also refers to a more distant past, and in this case, **emphasises the temporal distance.**)

(28) Lehpa 2nd generation (Field data 2016)

daŋ lam·eka mi nis-e ſante nols. / nol-tok. / nol-kjak.
 yesterday road·PPOS person 2-ERG terribly fight.PA=PA.PRC fight-PA.INF fight-DST

འདང་ལམ་ལེ་ཀ་མི་ཉི་མའི་ཤ་ན་ཉེ་ལོས་གྲོགས། / ལོས་ཉེ་གྲོགས། / ལོས་ཀྱགས།

‘Yesterday on the road, two people were fighting badly (as I saw / as I saw the traces or was specifically told / **as I overheard some people talking about it.**)

8 Conclusion

The special non-ego-centred past marker of the Lalokpa and Tibetan border area dialects shares some properties with the just described distance markers, but unlike the latter, it indicates somewhat more certain and typically already quite assimilated knowledge. It may also signal a slightly higher epistemic authority than the excentric past perceptual marker /-soŋ/. It is not ‘evidentially neutral’ in the sense that it does not matter how one came to know or that one could use it whenever one does not want to be more specific about one’s sources and access channels. The particular function, however, is dependent on the context – which is usually evident for local interlocutors: when the talk is about another person’s activity in a situation of collective work, one understands that the speaker has observed the situation from a position of cooperation. When the talk is about other individual situations, one understands that the speaker has been told about the situation or could infer it, and that s/he came to know already some time ago. When the talk is about generic facts and history, one automatically knows that the speaker does not talk about his/her exclusive personal knowledge and one also knows that the speaker somehow learned the facts, either being told or having read about them. When the speaker refers to him/herself, one realises that the speaker is not exactly happy with what happened, as s/he did not pay attention or acted uncontrolled out of anger, or that s/he has other reasons to describe him- or herself from an outside perspective.²⁰ Finally, when the talk is about a hypothetical situation, one automatically knows that the speaker does not refer to facts – and as a listener, one certainly does not think about these situations as facts.

The special non-ego-centred past marker, while hardly definable for a positive unified function, takes a specific slot among the evidential and epistemic markers. It interacts and contrasts

²⁰ As I just learned from a speaker from Lingshet (speaking a Southern Shamskat dialect), one may use a distance marker for oneself also, when one is quite astonished that one has successfully completed a difficult task, such as harvesting juniper from among the rocks.

with the past perceptive constructions, either the mere (past) stem or the complex excentric form with /-soŋ/, with the past inferential marker {-dok} ~ {-duk}, and with the distance marker /-kak/ ~ /-kan(d)ak/.

One could possibly view the above-described usages as remnants from an earlier more broader function of the form, which may have had the same application as the distance markers elsewhere or the same function as the so-called ‘factual’ marker *pa.red*, but which has been marginalised through the influence of other dialects, specifically the local *lingua franca*, the Leh dialect.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Italics in the main text are used for the written (Old or Classical) Tibetan etymologies. The rendering in Tibetan script is phonological and does not correspond to either Classical Tibetan or Standardised Modern Tibetan. The equal sign “=” does not separate clitics, but represents its original “equals” function, summing up the morphemes on the left side into the function on the right side.

AES	aesthetive (experiencer subject marker)	fam	familiar
ALL	allative	FINF	future inferential
CD	conditional	GEN	genitive
CNCT.PA.PRC	concentric past perceptive <i>byuñ</i>	hon	honorific
CNTR	contrastive	incl	inclusive plural form
CP	copula <i>yin</i>	intj	interjection
DF	definiteness enhancer (typically combines with already definite items)	LB	<i>lhag.bcas</i> morpheme (here in converbial function)
DST	distance marker	LOC	locative
EC.IMPF	ego-centred imperfect	LQ	limiting quantifier (‘a, about, some(what)’; not an indefinite article)
EC.PA	ego-centred past	MSAP	main speech act participant
ERG	ergative	NG	negation marker
EX	existential <i>yod</i>	NLS	nominaliser
excl	exclusive plural <i>form</i> (used in some dialects also for 2P/ 3P)	NVIS	non-visual
EXCT.PA.PRC	excentric past perceptive <i>soñ</i>	PA	past (stem)
		PA.INF	past inferential

- Zeisler, Bettina. 2009. “སྐད་དི་འགྱུར་ཅ་ནང་། རོ་བའི་མེན་ཏོག་ཚོགས་ལ་ལུས་ཀྱི་ནི་སློན་འཇུག་བའི་རྩིས་སྐོར་ལ། Language change and the fossilization of the Old Tibetan b- prefix in Ladakhi and Balti”. In Ahmed, Monisha; and Bray, John (eds.), *Recent Research on Ladakh 2009. Papers from the 12th colloquium of the International Association for Ladakh Studies, Kargil*, 81–96. Kargil & Leh: International Association of Ladakh Studies.
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