

EVIDENTIALITY IN DARMA (TIBETO-BURMAN)

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This paper outlines the evidentiality system found in Darma, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Uttarakhand, India. The source of information is indicated for four levels: direct evidence, general knowledge, inferential and reported. Sources that come from direct evidence and general knowledge are indicated through the choice of verb. The former is indicated with an equational verb and the latter is indicated with an existential verb. Information that is inferred is indicated in two possible ways. Either a bare verb stem is followed by a grammaticalised form of the existential, or a future form of the verb is followed with the grammaticalised form of the existential. The reported evidential is a clause final particle that is grammaticalised from the lexical verb ‘to say/call’. Indicating information source is not obligatory in Darma. The examples illustrating evidentiality in Darma are from a corpus of natural discourse.

Keywords: Evidentials, Tibeto-Burman, Himalayish.

1. INTRODUCTION

Darma is a Tibeto-Burman language that belongs to the Almora branch of the Western Himalayish languages. It is spoken by fewer than 2,615 people in the Dharchula Sub-District of Uttarakhand, India, which lies south of Tibet and on the northwestern border of Nepal (see the map in Illustration 1. below). Darma is thought to be closely related to Byansi and Chaudangsi—languages also spoken in the area—but the exact

relationship of these languages has yet to be determined (Gordon, 2005; Krishan, 2001; Trivedi, 1991).



Illustration 1. Map of North India⁴

¹ I am indebted to my primary consultant Bishan Singh Selal for his help with my study of Darma. I owe much of my understanding of the Darma language and culture to him. Of course I am also indebted to the Darma community for welcoming me into their lives so that I could learn about their language and way of life. Without them my work would not be possible. For this paper I would like to thank Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, Patience L. Epps, Randy J. LaPolla, Liberty A. Lidz, Carlota Smith, Anthony C. Woodbury, and my anonymous reviewer for their insight and comments with regards to my data and analysis. All mistakes in transcription, translation and analysis are of course my own.

² Darma is also called Darmiya in the literature. It is sometimes lumped together with its sister languages Byansi and Chaudangsi under the term Rangboli.

³ The state now called Uttarakhand was named Uttaranchal during the time of my fieldwork; the name was changed in early 2007.

⁴ This map is a political map of India (2001) produced by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and is provided courtesy of the University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.

The description of Darma presented here is based on my own research, which began in 2002 (cf Willis, 2007 for a more complete description of Darma). The data comes largely from natural discourse, which was recorded, transcribed and translated during four field trips from 2002-2005⁵.

This paper is organised as follows: After a brief typological overview (§1.1), I will outline the morphology of a finite verb (§1.2). I will then present the evidential indicating a direct source (§2.1). This will be followed by a description of the general knowledge evidential (§2.2). I will then present the inferential evidential (§2.3). Finally, I will present the reported evidential (§2.4)⁶. Further questions and future research will be discussed in the conclusion (§3).

⁵ The University of Texas at Austin partially funded a pilot-study for my dissertation research through a Liberal Arts Graduate Research Award (May 2002). Subsequent research was funded by the Fulbright Association through an IIE scholarship for 12 months of research (2002-2003 and part of 2004) and a DDRA Fellowship for another six months of research (2004-2005). Additional support from the National Science Foundation, through a Dissertation Improvement Grant (BCS 0236475 with Anthony C. Woodbury as PI), has made this research on Darma possible.

⁶ While I spent some time investigating evidentiality with my consultants, the evidential system in Darma requires further investigation. Future work will focus on topics outlined for field workers in Aikhenvald 2004 (pp. 385-390); specifically, an emphasis on day-to-day communication will be necessary to fully understand the semantic implications of the system described here.

1.1 Typological Overview⁷

Darma falls mid-continuum between a synthetic and an isolating language. The verb complex reveals agglutinative tendencies while grammatical relations are generally marked with postpositional particles. The negative marker *ma*- and the completive aspectual markers *ki*-, *pi*- and *ti*- are prefixes⁸. Tense and agreement morphemes are suffixes. Darma is a verb-final language with a basic constituent order of AOV/SV. The A argument of a transitive clause is generally marked with an ergative postposition⁹, while S in an intransitive construction and the O argument of a transitive construction are unmarked. Agreement with the A argument of a transitive verb and the S of an intransitive verb are marked on the verb for first person plural and for second person singular and plural. Inflection for the first person singular form of the verb is distinct.

⁷ Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: person is indicated 1, 2, 3; A an argument of a transitive verb; ABS absolute; AGR agreement; COMPL completive aspect; CONJ conjunction; CONT contrastive; CVB converb; DEM.NEUT demonstrative-neutral distance; DEM.NONVIS demonstrative-not visible; DEM.PROX demonstrative-proximate distance; ECHO echo word; EMPH emphatic; EMPRO emphatic pronoun; ERG ergative; EQ equational verb stem; EQU equative; EX existential verb stem; HM hesitation marker; INF infinitive; INFER inferential; INSTR instrumental; LN borrowed word; NEG negative; NOM nominaliser; NPT non-past; O object; PL plural; POSS possessive; PST past; RFLX reflexive; REP reported; S subject of an intransitive verb; SG singular; TAG1 confirmation tag; TAG2 biased tag; V verb (stem).

⁸ The completive prefixes are subject to vowel harmony with the vowel of the verb stem.

⁹ Marking the A argument with the ergative is not obligatory. While it has been previously documented that the ergative in Darma is marked only in past-tense clauses (Krishan 2001), this is not the case in the corpus I have analysed to date.

1.2 The Finite Verb¹⁰

Darma is a verb-final language. Potential verbs of a finite clause include an uninflected existential *lee*, an inflected existential *lee-* (functioning as a copular or as a lexical verb), an inflected equational *ni-* (functioning as a copula), or an inflected lexical verb (i.e. verbs other than the existential *lee-* or equational *ni-*). An inflected finite verb comprises a verb stem that bears tense (non-past or past), aspect and agreement morphology. Tense and agreement are obligatorily marked. The morpheme order for a finite verb is outlined in Table 1 below.

Clause Type	Morpheme Order
Past	(NEG)-(COMPL)-STEM-AGR-PST
Present	(NEG)-(COMPL)-STEM-NPT-AGR
Future	(NEG)-STEM-FUT-NPT-AGR

Table 1. Order of morphemes within an inflected verb

The morpheme order presented in Table 1 illustrates that the inflected verb in a past tense construction is different from a non-past construction. In non-past forms, the agreement marker follows the tense marker, while in past forms, the agreement marker precedes the tense marker. It appears that the past tense morpheme *su* has grammaticalised from the word *su* meaning ‘after’¹¹. The placement of the past tense morpheme after the agreement marker suggests that the past tense

¹⁰ Examples are written in a practical orthography where e = mid-low front unrounded vowel [ɛ]; ee = mid-high front unrounded vowel [e]; t = voiceless dental stop [t]; t' = voiceless alveolar stop [t]; rt = voiceless retroflex stop [ʈ]; rd = voiced retroflex stop [ɖ]; c = voiceless palatal stop [c]; j = voiced palatal stop [ɟ]; ? = glottal stop [ʔ]; ng = velar nasal [ŋ]; r' = alveolar tap [ɾ]; rr = retroflex tap; x = voiceless palatal fricative [ç]; xh = voiceless uvular fricative [χ]; ũ = nasalised vowel; h = aspiration on preceding consonant [h].

¹¹ While *su* is in free variation with *ju*, most of the examples presented in this paper have *ju* for the past tense marker and the morpheme meaning ‘after’.

marker became a part of the inflected verb at a later stage than the non-past morpheme¹².

Agreement is marked for the subject only. We find that the A of a transitive clause is cross-referenced on the verb and the S of an intransitive clause is cross-referenced on the verb. Agreement is overtly marked for first person plural, second person singular and second person plural. The same morpheme (-n) is used to mark agreement for all three¹³. The first person singular form of the past tense is distinct. The origins of this morpheme are unclear at this time. Agreement markers are shown in Table 2 below¹⁴.

Person & Number	STEM-AGR-PAST		STEM-NONPAST-AGR	
	Transitive	Intransitive	Transitive	Intransitive
1SG	ga-∅-yo	ra-∅-yo	ga-di-∅	ra-hi-∅
2SG	ga-n-su	ra-n-su	ga-de-n	ra-he-n
3SG	ga-∅-su	ra-∅-su	ga-da-∅	ra-ni-∅
1PL	ga-n-su	ra-n-su	ga-de-n	ra-he-n
2PL	ga-n-su	ra-n-su	ga-de-n(i)	ra-he-n(i)
3PL	ga-∅-su	ra-∅-su	ga-da-∅	ra-ni-∅

Table 2. Agreement markers on finite verbs *ga* 'to do/make', *ra* 'to come'

¹² Thank you to Randy J. LaPolla for pointing out that this assertion would also mean that the agreement marker came to Darma late (i.e. after the grammaticalisation of the future and non-past markers). This is problematic in light of the current understanding of the age of agreement morphology in TB languages. Clearly agreement morphology must be further investigated in Darma and the Himalayish languages of the Almora branch (i.e. Byansi and Chaudangsi).

¹³ It is important to note that the second person plural non-past forms occasionally appear with -ni (the vowel is shown in parentheses in Table 2). Based on the agreement morphology of other Himalayish languages, it is possible that a larger agreement system has been condensed to the current marker (i.e. -n).

¹⁴ I am not including the future constructions in this table. These constructions can be derived from the morpheme order presented in Table 1. The third person forms of intransitive verbs, however, are different; they are STEM-FUT with no overt non-past morpheme and no overt agreement marker.

2. EVIDENTIALITY SYSTEM

Darma has an evidential system in which the source of information can be indicated on four levels: direct/visual, general knowledge/indirect (assumed), inferred and reported. This is similar to the attested four-term systems found cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald, 2004; Aikhenvald and Dixon, 2003). While an evidential system has not been previously described for Darma, it is not uncommon for Tibeto-Burman languages to mark information source (LaPolla, 2003a). Unlike Lhasa Tibetan, which obligatorily marks evidentials in non-future, non-first person sentences (DeLancey, 1985), Darma does not always mark evidentials. Instead it is like another Tibeto-Burman language Qiang (LaPolla, 2003b), in which evidentiality is not obligatorily marked on all clauses.

Clauses where the source of information is not indicated have a default form of the finite verb where tense, aspect and agreement are marked directly on the lexical verb stem. In general, clauses that contain the default verb form are used for things that are happening at the time of utterance, or that the speaker is fairly sure about. For example, in (1) below¹⁵, the speaker is talking about an event that is taking place at the time of utterance.

(1) khee gu bar’tee¹⁶ ga-den
 grandson POSS haircut.ritual do-1PL.NPT
 ‘(We) are doing our grandson’s ritual haircut.’ (T0017:
 Haircutting Ceremony. 003)

At this time it appears that the clauses that are unmarked for evidentiality have a default meaning of ‘visual’ (i.e. something that the speaker can see happening or witnessed firsthand), but further work must be done to confirm this hypothesis. Further work will also clarify

¹⁵ The format of the examples presented in this paper is as follows: The first line is the spoken form, the second line is a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, the third line is the free translation followed by the source of the example in parentheses. Some sounds are found in free variation (e.g. [t] and [d]).

¹⁶ This word is probably borrowed from the IA *vrat*.

the conditions that prompt the use of evidentials. While they do not appear to be obligatory, it is not yet clear what circumstances compel speakers to use evidentials. In addition to indicating the source of information, sometimes evidential markers appear to indicate the speaker's attitude toward the reliability of a statement, what Aikhenvald (2003) refers to as an epistemic reading.

The issue of 'certainty' versus 'uncertainty' will be discussed again in the conclusion of this paper. In the remaining sections I will outline each level of evidentiality in Darma as it is currently understood; each evidential will be illustrated with examples from natural discourse.

2.1 *Visual/Direct Source*

If a speaker has directly witnessed something, or knows something to be a fact, then this can be indicated with an evidential construction. At this time there is no evidence that directly witnessing something implies any sensory information (e.g. seeing something versus hearing or smelling). There are two strategies to indicate a visual/direct source, both of which involve the equational *ni*. Either an inflected form of *ni* is used with a nominalised verb stem (VSTEM-*nu*) or an inflected form of the equational is used alone. Examples of these structures are shown in (2) and (3) below.

Example (2) comes from a narrative where the speaker is explaining the events of a ceremony that were taking place in the village while he was talking. In this example, the speaker is explaining that the ceremony used to be two days long, but is now completed in just one day. He remembers when the ceremony was celebrated over the course of two days, and states explicitly that one could see it oneself. His use of *niju* indicates that the source of information is direct evidence. The referent for the emphatic pronoun *?abi* is 'we', which is established in the lines preceding this example. Using *?abi* can refer to Darma people in general, but here because the construction indicating direct evidence is used, we understand that the narrator himself saw the two-day ceremony.

(2) ha ʔa ha ʔabi mee su tang-su ki
 then uh then EMPRO.LN eye INSTR see-PST CONJ.LN
 gabla cuti gabla nee jya lee-n¹⁷ ni-ju.
 god goddess god two¹⁸ day EX-NOM EQ-PST
 'Then, uh, then one saw it with one's own eyes that Gabla, the
 Cuti-Gabla celebration was for two days.' (T0031: Cuti Gabla.
 094)

In example (3), we see the equational verb in a copular construction where it is also functioning as an evidential indicating 'factual information'.

(3) r'ajdani t'ampawat¹⁹ ni-ju.
 capital.LN place.name EQ-PST
 'The capital was Campawat.' (T0025: Kiti Phondar. 003)

In the next section I will present a similar pattern with the existential verb, which results in a different evidential structure.

2.2 General Knowledge/Indirect Source

When a speaker wants to indicate that the information they are relating is general knowledge or is generally assumed to be true without having obtained the information directly, the existential verb is used. This can appear in two possible constructions: First, an inflected existential verb, *lee-*, is preceded by a nominalised verb stem (VSTEM-*nu*); or second, an inflected existential is used alone. The former pattern is similar to the

¹⁷ The nominaliser *-nu* alternates with *-n*. Preceding the equational verb *ni-* it is always pronounced *-n*.

¹⁸ The full form of the numeral 'two' is *nixyu*. Short forms of 'two' include *ni* (~ *nee*) and *nek*. The latter allomorph is rarely found in the corpus, but appears to be part of a larger pattern of alternative forms with [k]. The pattern of distribution of [k] is not yet clear (cf. Willis 2007 for a discussion of [k]).

¹⁹ While this place name is spelled with 'c' in the English spelling, it is not a true palatal in the Darma pronunciation. Thus, the Darma transcription differs from the English gloss.

pattern of evidentials that has developed in Lhasa Tibetan (LT) where a nominalised form is combined with a copula. While the copulas in the LT evidential constructions no longer function as copulas (Saxena, 1997), it appears that the copular function remains in the Darma construction²⁰.

Examples of the existential functioning as an evidential marking general knowledge/indirect source are shown in (4)-(5) below. These examples come from a story about Kiti Phondar, a hero from Darma Valley, who lived before the narrator's lifetime. These examples come from the first lines of the narrative where the main character of the story is being introduced. This story about Kiti Phondar is well-known to the Darma people and the information included in the narrative is considered common knowledge (see the Appendix for an abridged version of this story). Because the information is considered common knowledge, the narrator uses inflected forms of the existential verb *lee-*.

(4) dar'ma ju jo nini²¹ leecyang manajana jo nini,
 Darma DAT HM most famous HM
 gadi ji mi jo nini, khar'ee wala leecyang
 motherland and person HM that one.LN most
 lanu penu rder'a kiti phondar'lee-ju.
 wise known man.old EX-PST

'The most famous person from Darma, that is, the motherland and people, um, the wisest old man was Kiti Phondar.' (T0025: Kiti Phondar. 001)

²⁰This is based on the fact that both the equational and the existential forms also function as main verbs in Darma. The evidential meaning is in addition to their function as finite verbs in the Darma clause.

²¹*jo nini* is a hesitation marker/pause filler used like 'um'; it literally means 'that is'. The word *jo* comes from Hindi. The Darma phrase appears to be borrowed from the Hindi expression *jo hee*, which also means 'that is'. In fact, there are examples in the data presented here where the speaker uses the Hindi expression rather than the Darma expression. According to Randy J. LaPolla (p.c.) this type of borrowing is found in Qiang as well.

(5) to kitī phondar' jo ?alang t'oka dimag
 CONJ.LN DAT this.much much mind.LN
 lee-ju, ki ?idu bakte jo nini,
 EX-PST CONJ.LN DEM.NONVIS time HM
 sayed ning gu r'ajdani jo nini t'ampawat
 maybe.LN 1PL POSS capital.LN HM place.name
 lee-ju.
 EX-PST

‘So Kiti Phondar had such a clever mind, that at that time, um, maybe our capital was, um, was Campawat’. (T0025: Kiti Phondar. 002)

Compare the last part of example (5) above with example (3) above. In example (5), the speaker is introducing the story and stating things that are general knowledge, such as the idea that Kiti Phondar was a great man. In example (5), which comes first in the story, the narrator says that the capital was in Campawat. He uses *lee-* to indicate that the information is common knowledge. The narrator follows this immediately with example (3), where he restates that the capital was in Campawat. In the latter utterance, the use of the equational *ni-* indicates that the information is factual.

In example (6) below, we find a nominalised verb stem (VSTEM-*nu*) combined with an inflected form of the existential *lee-*. In this example, we are told that the king is ‘living underground’ (lit. ‘sitting underground’—this refers to the fact that the king is in hiding). As with previous examples from this story, the narrator is relating information that is considered common knowledge.

(6) ?u da r'aja da ?ander'gr'awnd r'u
 3SG CONT king.LN CONT underground.LN LOC
 xyung-xye-n lee-ju
 sit-RFLX-NOM EX-PST
 ‘*He, the king, was living underground.*’ (T0025: Kiti Phondar. 006)

Using different copulas or auxiliaries to indicate information source is not unheard of in the Tibeto-Burman languages. Saxena 1997 describes a pattern in Classical Tibetan that is similar to the pattern found in Darma. Also Trivedi (1991: 72-74), in his account of forms of ‘be’ in Byansi, describes the existential form as one that is used for ‘expressions based on the definite knowledge of the speaker’. He describes the equational form as one that is used for ‘expressing statements of universal applications and historical truth’. While his description does not include a section that explicitly outlines a system of evidentiality, it does appear that Byansi has an evidential strategy similar to that found in Darma.

2.3 *Inferential*

There are several ways to indicate that the information in an utterance has been inferred by the speaker. The first strategy includes a verb stem with a future suffix followed by *lee*. The inferential particle *lee* appears to have grammaticalised from the uninflected form of the existential copula. Aikhenvald 2004 states that copulas can become ‘non-firsthand’ evidentials: “These constructions often involve an existential verb”; the example she provides has an inferential reading (Aikhenvald 2004: 283). Another strategy for an inferential construction is similar to the first. In this alternative formation, the verb stem bears the suffix *-ya* and is followed by *lee*. Finally, there are examples of inferential constructions where a bare verb stem is followed by *lee* (*~ling*). Whether and how these strategies differ semantically is not yet clear. This is due to the fact that inferential evidentials are rarely found in the corpus and only one form (VSTEM + *lee* (*~ling*)) was provided during elicitation sessions.

2.3.1. *STEM-FUT + lee*

Example (7) below shows an inferential construction that is formed with a verb in the future form followed by *lee*. In this example, the narrator is setting up a dramatic part of the Kiti Phondar legend, where the hero is visited by a local king dressed as a holy man. The holy man asks for food, which obliges Kiti Phondar to feed him. Because he does not have

much flour, Kiti Phondar mixes ashes into the flour to make flatbread. In example (7), the narrator is explaining that Kiti Phondar must have only had a small amount of food (otherwise why would he mix ashes into the flour), and questions what he could possibly do with such a small amount.

(7) to ?u gu jo nini ?allya tak th'agu
 CONJ.LN 3SG POSS HM some one rice.cooked
 ni-yang lee kha ni-yang lee ?idu su?
 EQ-FUT INFER what EQ-FUT INFER DEM.NONVIS INSTR
 'Then his (KP), that is, it must have been one small meal, what
 could be with that (the food)?' (T0025: Kiti Phondar. 040)

2.3.2. *STEM-ya + lee*

Another inferential is formed with the verb stem followed by *-ya lee*. The examples with this structure are all inferred from direct evidence, or based on what the speaker has learned from others as illustrated in (8)-(9) below. Note that it is the combination of *-ya* and *lee* that forms the inferential; thus they are glossed together as inferential.

In the story preceding example (8), the hero, Kiti Phondar, has been telling the king about the events that led up to their meeting. Not knowing that the king was in hiding, Kiti Phondar had gone around the area asking people where he could find the king, but no one would tell him. In this example, Kiti Phondar uses the refusal to provide information as evidence that those queried must have thought that the king was in danger when they refused to divulge the whereabouts of the king.

(8) “khami su ma-batee-ju, ki gu gu
 who ERG NEG-tell.LN-PST CONJ.LN 2SG POSS
 khatar’ā lee-nu” lan-ju “khi-ya lee tab
 danger.LN EX-NOM say-PST think-INFER when
 ma-batee lee.”
 NEG-tell.LN EX
 “Nobody told me that you were in danger,” he said, “they must
 have known when they didn’t tell.” (T0025: Kiti Phondar. 024)

In example (9) below, a man is telling a story about a local heroine named Jaisuli Burri. This woman was widowed and left with great sums of money. Despairing over the loss of her husband, she was about to throw her money into the river when an Englishman happened along. He convinced Jaisuli Burri to entrust the money to him, which he used to build rest houses for travellers throughout the Kumaun region²². Several rest houses are reported to still exist and bear the name Jaisuli Burri, which has brought fame to the Darma within the region. In example (9) below, based on the actions of the Englishman, the narrator is inferring that he must have been a great man. He is also inferring what the Englishman must have said to Jaisuli Burri to convince her to entrust her fortune to him rather than throw it away²³.

(9) to ?angr’ez gu ta matlab jo nini,
 CONJ.LN Englishman.LN POSS one meaning.LN HM
 jo barriya mi ni-ya lee matlab jo nini
 that.LN good.LN man EQ-INFER meaning.LN HM

²² This regional area is also spelled Kumaon in English orthography. Both spellings are found in the literature.

²³ This particular passage contains a number of words that are of Indo-Aryan origin (e.g. *to, aangrez, matlab, jo, barriya, mantri hantri, dhan*, and *berbaad*); these are glossed as loan words (LN).

mantri hantri²⁴ jo le ni-ya lee
 minister.LN ECHO that.LN also EQ-INFER
 ?i su lee²⁵ lee ki, “ge ?alang
 DEM.NONVIS ERG say INFER CONJ.LN 2SG this.much
 dan gu jo nini khalan ber’bad ga-den?”
 wealth.LN POSS HM why waste.LN do-2SG.NPT
 ‘So the Englishman’s, I mean, um, he must have been a great
 man, I mean, um he must have also been a minister and all, he
 must have said, “You have so much wealth, um, why are you
 wasting it?”’ (T0027: Kiti Phondar. 032)

When considering the relationship between the two inferential constructions presented thus far, it is important to note that morphemes with a final velar nasal are found in free variation with morphemes that have a final non-velar nasal (e.g. *n*) or with \emptyset ; for example, the coordinating particle *ha* ~ *hang*, the phrase ‘after that’ *?idu su* ~ *?idu sang*, and the converb morpheme *-len* ~ *-leng*. Considering these attested alternations, it is likely that the inferential evidential construction with *-ya lee* is actually in alternation with *-yang lee*, and

²⁴ Like the echo words found in Indo-Aryan languages, echo words in Darma are basically words that rhyme with the preceding lexical word and mean ‘and all that’. This particular echo formation is based on the borrowed word *mantri*.

²⁵ It must be noted that Krishan (2001) has *hlee* for ‘say’, while I have both ‘say’ and the existential verb as *lee*. This is not unusual as there are many instances of homophony found in Darma. As is often the case with homophonous verbs, ‘say’ and the existential belong to different classes. The former is transitive while the latter is intransitive.

Randy J. LaPolla points out that it is possible that ‘say’ (rather than the existential) is the source of the inferential evidential (p.c.). This issue warrants further investigation especially considering the fact that the general knowledge/indirect source evidential also uses a form of *lee* (see for example the end of the previous line, where *lee* combines with the preceding suffix *-ya*). While morphologically similar, it is possible that the two evidentials actually have different sources.

that the inferential evidential comes from the future construction²⁶. In Aikhenvald 2004 (pp. 276-277), the future as a source for an inferential is described as a possible development since the future is “by its nature...close to a non-indicative modality”. The future and the inferential are similar in that both are referring to something about which the speaker does not have direct knowledge, “and of which they can only talk on the basis of an educated guess...”

In line with the statement in Aikhenvald 2004, it is also possible to get an inferential reading from a future construction without the *lee*. In these forms, the auxiliary form *ni* is marked with the future suffix *-yang*. This is preceded by a verb stem with the nominaliser suffix *-nu*. Examples of this are shown in (10)-(11) below.

In example (10), my main consultant and another Darma man are discussing whether or not a particular religious song has been recorded and transcribed. My consultant isn't sure which song the man is referring to and the man cannot think of the name of the song or its tune. My consultant has told him that I went to Darma Valley and made many recordings, some of which he and I had already transcribed and translated. He has not heard all of the recordings. In this example he is speculating that I must have recorded some song about the gods and goddesses.

(10) thor'o de ?ido khar'ee, khar'ee wala jo nini,
 there at then that that one.LN HM
 se sema wala ber'a kha lee? tho ?adiyo
 god goddess one.LN song what EX up audio.LN
 ki-ga-j-nu ni-yang.
 COMPL-do-RFLX-NOM EQ-FUT

‘Up there, then that, that one, that is, the god and goddess song, what is it? She must have recorded up there.’ (T0041:
 Conversation. 079)

²⁶ Loss of a morpheme final nasal is attested in Classical Tibetan and Lhasa Tibetan (Saxena 1997: 302). The loss of the final nasal in Lhasa Tibetan occurs on the evidential marker *song* (~ [so^h]).

In the dialogue preceding example (11) below, the speaker was talking about the exchange rate of the US dollar into Rupees. He was explaining that the cost of living is high in the United States and that, comparatively, India is inexpensive. Based on his knowledge of the exchange rate and how much rent one can expect to pay in a US city, the speaker is inferring that the cost of a bus ride to Dharchula must not seem like a lot of money to an American.

(11) wi da bas r'a wasu nadu ma
 3PL CONT bus.LN come until DEM.NEUT EQU
 so do so r'ipyā da
 hundred.LN two.LN hundred.LN rupees.LN CONT
 kher'i na ma-lagee-n ni-yang da-m r'u.
 thing only NEG-seem.LN-NOM EQ-FUT give-INF LOC
 'For them, though, coming here by bus, it's like this in giving
 100, or 200 rupees even, must not seem like anything at all.'
 (T0041: Conversation. 241)

The future construction with the equational verb appears to be an evidential strategy with an epistemic meaning of uncertainty. The transition to incorporating the future morpheme into an evidential with *lee* would not require a great leap. How these forms differ semantically, however, is yet to be determined.

2.3.3. *V STEM + lee*

Finally, something that is inferred based on direct evidence can be indicated with just the particle *ling ~ lee* following a bare verb stem. Examples (12) and (13) below show this.

In example (12), the speaker is talking about me and my partner. We have just arrived in their village, which sits on a hill at an altitude of about 14,000 feet. I was sitting with the speaker and other Darma speakers recording their conversation when my partner sat down next to me and said something in English. The woman speaking in (12) had not seen him before and she is trying to figure out where he came from. Based on our interaction, and the fact that we are clearly foreign, the

woman infers that my partner and I must have come to this remote village together.

(12) r'aksa na r'a ling.
 together EMPH come INFER
 'They must have come together.' (T0032: Conversation. 231)

In the dialogue preceding example (13), I am being asked which village I visited prior to arriving. The speaker is confused because the direction I arrived from would indicate that I had come from a village that I did not visit. She is trying to figure out how I arrived on the path I did. Based on the evidence, she is inferring that I took an alternative route.

(13) ?am khee lee.
 path change INFER
 '(They) must have changed paths.' (T0032: Conversation. 139)

Constructions with *ling* ~ *lee* are rare in natural discourse, but I have many other examples of this form of evidential from elicitation sessions. During these sessions, it was established that *ling* and *lee* are in free variation. The context for the examples with this evidential marker included inference based on physical evidence (e.g. luggage in the hallway indicating that someone has arrived).

2.4 Reported/Quotative

The evidential construction that indicates reported events and quoted speech comes from the verb 'to say/call'. Cross-linguistically, it is common for a reported evidential to be grammaticalised from the verb 'say'. Aikhenvald (2004: 272) lists languages from a wide variety of families (e.g. Northeast Caucasian, Papuan, Tibeto-Burman, Yuman, and Uto-Aztecán), where the reported evidential has grammaticalised from a 'verb of speech'. Aikhenvald (2004: 272) describes the third person form of a 'verb of speech' as a possible source for the

grammaticalised form of the reported evidential, which is what we find in Darma. The evidential *la*²⁷ has grammaticalised from an abbreviated form of the third person singular form of ‘say/call’ *leeda*. The path of grammaticalisation for the reported/quotative evidential can be traced in the corpus, which will be illustrated in examples (14)-(16) below.

In example (14) below, we see that both the full form *leeda* and the abbreviated form *la* meaning ‘he/she says/calls’ are available in constructions where the verb functions as the main verb of the clause. According to my consultants, both forms mean the same thing. In this example a single speaker uses both forms. The speaker is trying to figure out if the Darma word for ‘bed’ is the same as the Hindi word *bistar*²⁸.

(14) *bistar’ lee-da la? la, kha la*
 bed.LN call-3SG.NPT or call.3SG.NPT what call.3SG.NPT
xyung-hi-m bang?
 sit-RFLX-INF place
 ‘It is called a bed, right? It is called, what is it called the sitting place?’ (T0023: Migration. 010)

Even though the full form and the short form mean the same thing, the expression *kha la?* is used much more frequently than the full form *kha leeda?* Both expressions can be used to mean ‘what is it called’ or ‘what are they saying’. Example (15) below, shows the availability of *la* for the third person ‘say’. This example comes from a conversation where one woman has been asking me questions in Hindi. The speaker

²⁷ There is another morpheme *la* that is homophonous with the reported evidential. This other *la* is used as a tag question marker. It also means ‘or’ and is used to link to clauses.

lege t'u-n-ya la pixya par'-n-ya, than kha ga-n-ya?
 feet plant-1PL-HORT or head shake-1PL-HORT now what do-1PL-HORT
 ‘Shall we plant our feet or shall we shake our heads, now what shall we do?’
 (T0024: Election. 010)

²⁸ The traditional ‘bed’ for Darma people is a rectangular wool rug, which is placed on the floor. There are also long skinny rugs that are used for sitting.

wants to know what I am saying, and asks the woman whom I have been speaking with to translate.

(15) kha la?
 kha la
 what say.3SG.NPT
 ‘What is (she) saying?’ (T0032: Conversation. 059)

The abbreviated form of ‘say/call’ is also used as a quotative marker to indicate the speech of someone other than the narrator. This is shown in example (16) below. In this example, the person talking is providing a direct quote from someone else²⁹.

(16) nek co sum co ki-lee-yo “ji lung
 two times three times COMPL-call-1SG.PST 1SG back
 kang-ni” la “ji ma-dee-yo” la.
 hurt-3SG.NPT say.3SG.NPT 1SG NEG-go-1SG.PST say.3SG.NPT
 ‘I called, two times, three times, “my back hurts,” he says, “I
 didn’t go,” he says.’ (T0032: Conversation. 270)

The abbreviated form of ‘say/call’ is also used as a reported evidential particle. In these constructions *la* is not marking a direct quote. This is shown in examples (17)-(18) below.

Prior to example (17), the speaker was talking about some large rocks that are said to be kept in the temple grounds nearby. He is explaining that the rocks are reportedly there so that people can use them in a play competition, and that people should use them.

(17) ?idu ?idu jo he, ?a th’i-mu
 DEM.NONVIS DEM.NONVIS HM.LN uh available-INF

²⁹The verb in the phrase *ji lung kangni* is in the third person form because it agrees with *ji lung* ‘my back’. Possessive constructions are found both with and without an overt possessor for alienable and inalienable possession in Darma.

th'a-mu la.

play-IMP REP

‘Those, those, that is, uh, they say that they (the rocks) should be available, and you should play.’ (T0031: Cuti Gabla. 071)

In example (18) below, the speaker is telling about an accident that involved a local jeep driver hitting a child playing in the road. The woman has obtained her information from other members of the community, and recounting the details to her interlocutor. In this example she is explaining that it was reported that the jeep driver paid no money in damages, but that he reportedly donated some medicine for the boy’s hospital stay. This is followed by ‘I think’, which indicates that she is not certain that she is remembering the reported information correctly.

(18) khee r'i ma-phu, nee ga-su la, kхи-hi
 thing EMPH NEG-pay medicine make-PST REP think-1SG.NPT
 ‘(He) paid absolutely nothing, (he) made medicine, they say, I think.’ (T0026: Conversation. 242)

3. CONCLUSION

The system of evidentiality in Darma marks four sources of information: direct evidence, general knowledge, inferential and reported. The levels of this system are similar to those of four-term evidentiality systems attested cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald, 2004; Aikhenvald and Dixon, 2003). In Darma, indicating the source of information on a clause is not obligatory; and there are utterances that are formed using a default finite verb that is outside of the evidential system. The system is summarised in Table 3 below.

<i>Source</i>	<i>Structure of verb complex</i>
direct evidence	VSTEM-NOM + EQ-inflection
	EQ-inflection
general knowledge	VSTEM-NOM + EX-inflection
	EX-inflection
inferred	VSTEM + EX
	VSTEM-ya + EX
	VSTEM-FUT + EX
reported	CLAUSE + <i>la</i>
neutral	VSTEM-inflection

Table 3. Summary of evidentiality in Darma

Marking the source of information as coming from direct evidence or general knowledge appears to be the speaker's choice. It is possible to construct a sentence using a verb form that is not part of the evidential system. These default forms appear to be pragmatically neutral bearing no evidential interpretation. While allowing for clauses that are unmarked for source of information is not common in languages with evidential systems, there are languages where evidential marking is not obligatory (cf Qiang as described in LaPolla 2003b).

Unlike many evidential systems described in the literature, the system found in Darma does not consist of a fully grammaticalised paradigm (i.e. morphology that must appear in the inflected verb). Furthermore, while the inferential and the reported evidentials appear to be grammaticalised particles, the other evidentials outlined here serve multiple purposes. Both the equational and the existential verbs used in the direct evidence and general knowledge evidential constructions still function as copulas. This, along with the fact that the process of grammaticalisation for the inferred evidential and the reported evidential can be traced in the grammar, may indicate that the evidential system as described here is a recent development.

At this time it is unclear how a system of evidentiality may have developed in Darma. The language has been in contact with Indo-Aryan languages that are not attested to have evidential systems (i.e. Hindi,

Nepali, Kumauni). Byansi, which is closely related to Darma, appears to have a similar system in terms of direct evidence and general knowledge, but I find no discussion of inferential or reported evidentials in Trivedi 1991. One possible source for the evidential system is Tibetan. Until 1962, the Darma people were annually in contact with speakers of Tibetan. Perhaps the variety of Tibetan spoken at the markets in Tibet had a system of evidential marking that is similar to the system in Lhasa Tibetan described by Saxena 1997.

Further work must be done to fully understand the evidential system in this Tibeto-Burman language. The analysis here suggests that Darma has a distinction between direct evidence/visual source and general knowledge/indirect source, but this should be explored in more detail. It may be the case that the distinction between the equational and existential verb is one of certainty rather than one of evidentiality. Comparing examples (3) and (5) above, one certainly does wonder whether these verbs have an epistemic reading³⁰. This analysis, however does not account for all of the examples with *lee-* (cf. example (6) where the speaker is not expressing uncertainty).

Further research may also allow this analysis to be streamlined by omitting the nominalised verb from the analysis. At this juncture, however, the exact role of the nominalised form is unclear³¹. Other topics that need to be addressed include whether evidentials are available in all sentence types or whether they are restricted, and whether multiple evidential markers can be used within one clause.

³⁰ I would like to thank my anonymous reviewer for suggesting this alternative analysis.

³¹ Thank you to Randy J. LaPolla for the suggestion that the nominalised forms may indicate certainty. If this is the case, then the evidential system would include an epistemic level, in which case maintaining a distinction between utterances with the nominalised verb + copula and utterances with just the copula would be justified.

APPENDIX

Many of the examples presented in this paper come from a story about a folk hero named Kiti Phondar. Following is an abridged version of the text. I have excluded the end of the text because the narrator switched to Hindi. This text includes many words that are borrowed from Indo-Aryan (e.g. *manajana*, *dimag*, *sayed*, *kharapat*, *rajdani*, *kuc na kuc*, *koj*, *raja*, *jab*, *tab*, *bahut*, *jyada*, *peda*, and so forth). There are also a few words from English. These have been glossed as borrowed words (LN) throughout. Some phrases and structures have been borrowed from Indo-Aryan as well. One important structure is the frame for introducing a direct quote: SAY *ki* 'QUOTE', which differs from the structure commonly found in Darma texts where the verb 'say' follows the quoted material.

dar'ma ju jo nini leecyang manajana jo nini, gadi
 Darma DAT HM most famous HM motherland
 ji mi jo nini, khar'ee wala leecyang lanupenu rder'a
 and person HM that one.LN most wise old.man
 kiti phondar' lee-ju.
 EX-PST

'The most famous from Darma, that is, the motherland and people, um, the wisest old man was Kiti Phondar.'

to kiti phondar' jo³² ?alang t'oka dimag lee-ju,
 CONJ.LN DAT this.much much mind.LN EX-PST
 ki ?idu baktee jo nini, sayed ning gu
 CONJ.LN DEM.NONVIS time HM maybe.LN 1PL POSS

³² Dative *ju* is alternatively pronounced /su/ and /jo/.

r'ajdani jo nini t'ampawat lee-ju.
 capital.LN HM place.name EX-PST

‘So Kiti Phondar had such a clever mind, that at that time, um, maybe our capital was, um, was Campawat.’

r'ajdani t'ampawat ni-ju.
 capital.LN place.name EQ-PST
 ‘The capital was Campawat.’

to ?idu baktee wo jo nini, t'ampawat
 CONJ.LN DEM.NONVIS time 3SG.LN HM place.name

dee-ju ki “ji le dar'ma gu ta wikas
 go-PST CONJ.LN 1SG also POSS one development.LN

gu bar'ee r'u jo nini, ki kuc na kuc jo nini
 POSS about³³ HM CONJ.LN something.or.other.LN HM

koj ga-di” len-ju.
 investigation.LN do-1SG.NPT say-PST

‘So at that time he, um, went to Campawat, he said “I will investigate something about Darma’s development.”‘

to t'ampawat r'aja dor'o wan dee-ju ?u.
 CONJ.LN place.name king.LN near reach go-PST 3SG
 ‘So he reached Campawat near the king.’

wan dee-len khaxhcu, t'ampawat dee-len th'eet r'u
 reach go-CVB ABL place.name go-CVB place.name LOC
 ?u su jo nini, ki r'aja jo nini, ?u da
 3SG ERG HM CONJ.LN king.LN HM 3SG CONT

³³ The expression ‘about’ in Darma is modeled after the Hindi expression *kee baree mēē*. In Darma, the equivalent of *kee* and *mēē* are substituted while the *baree* remains intact.

r'aja da ?ander'gr'awnd r'u xyung-xye-nu lee-ju.
 king.LN CONT underground.LN LOC sit-RFLX-NOM EX-PST
 'From reaching, going to Campawat, in Chet, he, um, that the king, um,
he, the *king*, was living underground.'

to jab r'aja ?ander'gr'awnd r'u xyung-his-da
 CONJ.LN REL.LN king.LN underground.LN LOC sit-CAUS-3SG.NPT

kiti phondar' ju³⁴ lee-ju ki "t'ampawat than ji
 ERG say-3SG.PST CONJ.LN place.name now 1SG

wan pi-r'a-yo lekin r'aja wudee
 reach COMPL-come-1SG.PST but.LN king.LN where

xyung-he-ni?"
 sit-RFLX-3SG.NPT

'Then, when the king was made to live underground, Kiti Phondar said,
 "I have now reached Campawat, but where is the king?"'

?u jo, pata ma-l-ju.
 3SG DAT known.LN NEG-EX-PST
 'He didn't know.'

tab jakee tagu ju r'u-len khaxhcu ma-baddee-su
 when.LN going.LN first DAT ask-CVB ABL NEG-tell.LN-PST

r'aja wudee nini, nixyu ju r'u-su r'aja
 king.LN where EQ-3SG.NPT second DAT ask-PST king.LN

?ando da khatar'a lee-ju.
 for CONT danger.LN EX-PST
 'When he was going from asking the first person who didn't tell where
 the King is, he asked a second person whether the king was in danger.'

³⁴ Ergative *su* is in free variation with ergative *ju*.

bahut jyada khatar'a peda lee-n ni-ju.
 very.LN much .LN danger.LN born.LN EX-NOM EQ-PST
 'He was born into a lot of danger.'

sum jo r'u-su ma-badee-su.
 third DAT ask-PST NEG-tell.LN -PST
 'He asked a third who did not tell.'

laest su ga-len da, sum r'ee sum phal jo nini
 last.LN DAT do-CVB CONT three by three ration.LN HM

par'-gee-ju.

COMPL-finish-PST

'Finally, just as he was doing this, three by three, um, he finished his rations.'

matlab, kafi ?u jo dikat gu samna
 meaning.LN quite.LN 3SG DAT difficulty.LN POSS face.LN

ga-mu par'-ju.

do-INF must.LN-PST

'Meaning, he had to face a lot of difficulties.'

jab ?u ju, phal gee-ju, dikat gu samna
 REL.LN 3SG DAT ration.LN finish-PST difficulty.LN POSS face.LN

lee-m par'-ju.

EX-INF must.LN-PST

'When his rations were finished, he had to face difficulties.'

to ?u su jo nini ?apna dimag r'u, kha
 CONJ.LN 3SG ERG HM EMPRO.LN mind.LN LOC what

khur'apat sot'ee-ni ki "ji su ?agar'
 mischievous.idea.LN think.LN-3SG.NPT CONJ.LN 1SG ERG if.LN

ne gertho mee pu dang-di
DEM.NEUT mill.flour.LN fire start give.FUT-1SG.NPT

baydabee, to r'aja su t'um-len ji jo nini,
perhaps.LN CONJ.LN king.LN ERG capture-CVB 1SG HM

hado kur'-ang-da.”
DEM.NEUT take.away-FUT-3SG.NPT

‘So, he, um, what kind of mischievous idea occurs to him? “If I set this mill on fire, perhaps, then the king will catch me, um, and take me away to him”.’

“jo nini r'aja dar'o t'um-len kur'-ang-da,
HM king.LN near capture-CVB take.away-FUT-3SG.NPT

pulis su.”
police.LN ERG

“Um, to the king—they will capture me and take me away, the police that is.”

“to ji r'aja gu dar'san ga-ng-di.”
CONJ.LN 1SG king.LN POSS appearance.LN do-FUT-1SG.NPT
“Then I will meet the king.”

to ?esa hee jo ?u su jo nini
CONJ.LN like.this.LN COP.LN that.LN 3SG ERG HM

khur'apat dimag ga-len ju, ?u su
mischievous.idea.LN mind.LN do-CVB after 3SG ERG

gertho mee po-len ju, pulis su jo nini,
mill.flour.LN fire light-CVB afterpolice.LN ERG HM

t'um-len ju jo nini, r'aja dar'o sar'
capture-CVB after HM king.LN near deliver

pu-kur'-su.

COMPL-take.away-PST

‘Then it is like this, that he, um, after planning the mischievous idea, after he set the mill on fire, the police, um, after capturing him, um, they took him away and delivered him to the king.’

to r'aja su lee-su ki “ge, matlab ji
CONJ.LN king.LN ERG say-PST CONJ.LN 2SG meaning.B 1SG

ni mi gu ?annyay khelen ga-n-su
two person POSS damage.LN why do-2PL-PST

?adung tadung su?”

here there ABL

‘Then the king said, “You, I mean, why did you damage my men all over the place?”’

kiti phondar' su lee-su ki “sir'kar' lee-su ji
ERG say-PST CONJ.LN government.LN say-PST 1SG

gu gu dar'san ?andu su jo nini beetab
2SG POSS appearance.LN DEM.PROX INSTR HM eager.LN

ki-l-n ni-yo.”

COMPL-EX-NOM EQ-1SG.PST

‘Kiti Phondar said, to the king, he said, “I was eager to meet you.”’

“beetab ki-l-yo.”

eager.LN COMPL-EX-1SG.PST

“I was eager.”

“sar'a wolang jen ta ju r'u-leng badee jo nini
all.LN how.many people CONT DAT ask-CVB time HM

khami su ma-batee-ju, ki gu gu khatar'a
who ERG NEG-tell.LN-PST CONJ.LN 2SG POSS danger.LN

lee-nu” len-ju.

EX-NOM say-PST

“So many people, though, when I was asking, um, nobody told me that you were in danger,” he said.”

“khi-ya lee tab ma-batee lee.”

think-INFER when.LN NEG-tell.LN EX

“They must have known when they didn’t tell.”

“ju gu da jo nini ki ?umid ni-ju.”

1SG POSS CONT HM CONJ.LN hope.LN EQ-PST

“But it was my hope (to meet you).”

“ter’o khaxhcu, dar’ma khaxhcu ji ni do pedal

there ABL Darma ABL 1SG two here on.foot.LN

pi-r’ a-n ni-hi.”

COMPL-come-NOM EQ-1SG.NPT

“From there, from Darma I have come here on foot.”

“ji su ji gu ?annyay mi gu ?annyay

1SG ERG 1SG POSS damage.LN person POSS damage.LN

ga-len ju, t’um-len su ge dar’o kur’-ang-da.”

do-CVB after capture-CVB after 2SG near take-FUT-3SG.NPT

“I, my damage, after damaging the people, after being captured, they will take me to you.

“ji gu dar’san na kaphi l-yang lakh

1SG POSS appearance.LN only enough.LN EX-FUT much.LN

l-yang” lee-ju.

EX-FUT say-PST

“My appearance only will be enough, it will be a lot,” he said.”

?u su ?idu wala jo nini khar'ee ga-su.
 3SG ERG DEM.NONVIS one.LN HM something do-PST
 'He (the king) did something to that one.'

ga-m gu bad r'u r'aja su, lee-su ki "ge
 do-INF POSS after.LN LOC king.LN ERG say-PST CONJ.LN 2SG

?alang t'oka jo nini ge ji r'aksa milee-mu dangsu
 this.much much HM 2SG 1SG with meet.LN-INF for

ge ?alang dimag kur'-len ju ge su ?alang
 2SG this.much mind.LN take-CVB after 2SG ERG this.much

kam ga-n-ju."

work do-2PL-PST

'After doing this, the king said, "You, um, in order to meet with me, after you got this in your mind you really did a lot of work".'

"ge su gertho mee pu-n-su r'i ge ?andu
 2SG ERG mill.flour.LN fire start-2SG-PST EMPH 2SG EM.PROX

su koi ?annyay mahā."

INSTR some.LN damage.LN is.not

"You just started the mill fire, you didn't hurt anybody with this."

"matlab ge wastar'o ge ji ci-m gu,
 meaning.LN 2SG really.LN 2SG 1SG meet-INF POSS

kuc na kuc jo nini ge su ta r'asta
 s.thing.or.other.LN HM 2SG ERG one path.LN

nikalee-n-ju."

discover.LN-2SG-PST

"I mean, you really, you figured out the one way to meet me."

“t’alo koi bat ma-ni” len-ju, ?u su
 come.on.LN some.LN thing.LN NEG-EX say-PST 3SG ERG

?u banaya.

3SG made.LN

“Come on, it’s nothing,” he said and then he made him.’

?us kee bad, ?u su lee-su ki “ge wudee
 after.that.LN 3SG ERG say-PST CONJ.LN 2SG where

xyung-en?”

live-2SG.NPT

‘After that, he said, “Where do you live?”

?u su lee-su ki “ji ?askort parti r’u
 3SG ERG say-PST CONJ.LN 1SG place.name area.LN LOC

xyung-i.”

live-1SG.NPT

‘He said, “I live in the Askot area.”’

to ?askort parti r’u xyung-ung bad r’u ?u
 CONJ.LN place.name area.LN LOC sit-NOM later.LN 3SG

su lee-su ki “ge kha t’ij cing-hen?”
 ERG say-PST CONJ.LN 2SG what thing.LN want-2SG.NPT

‘Then after staying in the Askot area, he said, “What things do you want?”’

to ?idu bad dee?atala tangtangti misal tang
 CONJ.LN DEM.NONVIS after.LN place.name see

lee-nu ma gar’to ?u su jo nini, lal mahor’
 EX-NOM EQU type 3SG ERG HM medal

gu sath khar'e da-su ?u su.
POSS together.LN something give-PST 3SG ERG

‘Then after that, looking like the Tangtagti Misal at Deatala, he, um with the Lal Mahor³⁵, gave something, he did.’

lal mahor' gu daja da-su jis see jo nini
medal POSS ribbon.LN give-PST with.which.LN HM

sir'kar' jo nini, lal mahor' ?us ko diya, ?a
government.LN HM medal3SG.LNto.LN gave.LN uh

khar'e wala r'u, t'ampawat r'aja su.
that one.LN LOC place.name king.LN ERG

‘(He) gave the Ribbon of the Lal Mahor, with this, um, the government, that is, the Lal Mahor, he gave it to him, uh, at that one, Campawat, the King did.’

to jab ?o ju gar'jya r'aja-
CONJ.LN REL.LN 3SG ERG place.name king.LN
‘Then, when he, the King of Garjya—’

wahā par' jo nini jesa na gar'jya
there.LN at.LN HM such.as.LN only place.name

r'aja r'aja gubju jo nini jogi gu
king.LN king.LN sometime HM saint.LN POSS

bees mēē.
costume.LN in.LN

‘At that place, um, just like this, the King of Garjya, the king sometimes, um, dressed in the costume of a saint.’

³⁵ According to the Darma, the Lal Mahor is a medal of high honour.

?u gu jo nini dangsu r'u pi-r'a lee.
 3SG POSS HM tent LOC COMPL-come INFER
 'His, that is, he must have come back to the tent.'

to ?u gu jo nini ?allya tak th'agu ni-ya lee
 CONJ.LN 3SG POSS HM little one meal AUX-INFER

kha ni-yang lee ?idu su?
 what EQ-FUT INFER DEM.NONVIS INSTR
 'Then, his, that is, it must have been one small meal, what could be with
 that?'

r'orta ga-di ga-len baktee da,
 flatbread.LN make-1SG.NPT make-CVB time CONT

?idu baktee jo nini, jogi pi-r'a-ju
 DEM.NONVIS time HM saint.LN COMPL-come-PST

jogi su lee-su ki, "or' ji ta r'orta
 saint ERG say-PST CONJ.LN and.LN 1SG CONT flatbread.LN

ji ?andu lee l-yang la ?" lee-ju.
 1SG DEM.PROX EX EX-FUT TAG2 say-PST

"I am making flatbread", just at the time of making, at that time, um the
 saint came back, the saint said, "And, *my flatbread*? Will there be any
 for me, or not?" He said.'

tee ?idu beet'ar'a su lee-su "l-yang."
 there DEM.NONVIS poor.guy.LN ERG say-PST EX-FUT
 'There, that one the poor guy said, "There will be."

kiti phondar' su "l-yang ne gum ma-l-yang?" lee-ju.
 ERG EX-FUT TAG1 how NEG-EX-FUT say-PST
 'Kiti Phondar said, "There will be, why wouldn't there be?"'

bad r'u ?o man r'u kha jangsu dimag gu
later.LN 3SG mind.LN LOC what contrary mind.LN POSS

mathi r'a-ju de?
idea.LN come-PST now
'Later, what idea suddenly came into his mind?'

"?anda matlab jo nini ni mi ni-hen,
DEM.PROX meaning.LN HM two person EQ-1pl.NPT

?andu jo nini ?alang da hi ni-ni,
DEM.PROX HM this.much CONT flour EQ-3SG.NPT

?an su kha l-yang?"
DEM.PROX INSTR what EX-FUT

"I mean, um, we are two men, this, um, there is just this much flour,
what will become of this?"

jesa na jo nini, jogi tee phaye-m budu
such.as.LN only HM saint.LN there turn.around-INF pretend

ga-su da ?idu r'u pha gu du dee-su.
do-PST CONT DEM.NONVIS LOCash POSS mix go-PST
'Just like this, um, just as the saint pretended to turn away, he mixed
ashes into it (the flour).'

pha du- du-su r'ee ?u gu jo nini, wahā par'
ash mix mix-PST EMPH 3SG POSS HM there.LN at.LN

jo hee satyanas lee-ju, khar'ee r'u.
HM.LN devastation.LN EX-PST this LOC
'Just as he mi-, mixed in the ashes, his, um, at that place, that is
devastation happened, at this place.'

gar'jya khar'ee r'u.
place.name this LOC
'At Garjya.'

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