INTRODUCTION: PERSON AND EVIDENCE IN HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES

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The present volume results from an initiative to foster cooperation among scholars of Himalayan languages in Europe. The initiative was launched five years ago and has brought about a series of annual workshop meetings and individual cooperative projects (cf. http://www.isw.unibe.ch/EuroHimal). The 1998 workshop, held in Heidelberg, was devoted to the role that notions of speech act participants play in the grammar of various Himalayan languages, and the present collection represents, with some additions and subtractions, the proceedings of this workshop. In the following I will discuss the rationale for the topics covered in this volume, especially the ways in which the indexing of speech act participants is related to evidentials and other epistemological operators. I close this introduction with a brief outline of the structure of the volume.

1. FROM EPISTEMOLOGY TO PERSON-MARKING

Modern Tibetan dialects have elaborate systems of epistemological coding through copulas and cliticized auxiliaries derived from them. Terminology and analysis varies, but what emerges as the functional core and the historical root of these systems is the marking of 'old, assimilated, first-hand, personal, intimate knowledge' vs. 'newly acquired, recent knowledge' (e.g. DeLancey 1992, 1997). What is at stake is knowledge of the **situation**, but, as Katrin Häsler shows in her contribution to this volume, the notion of assimilated and personal knowledge can have various contextual side-effects, such as implying that the speaker (or, in questions, the addressee[1]) was herself volitionally engaged in events leading to the reported situation. Compare the following Dege dialect examples from Häsler's chapter. (I regularize writing of the palatal glide to <y>.)

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[1]   In the following I refer to the combined set of speaker in statements and addressee in questions as the 'conjunct person', following Hale (1980) in terminology, but without endorsing an analysis of this in terms of implicit quote frames. For discussion, see Tournadre's and Häsler's chapters in this volume.

(1) a. khō　　　　　ə̄nā　yø̀ː.
        3SG.ABS　here　be [ASSIMILATED]

        'He is here.' (As an answer to "is he here?",
        implying that the speaker makes a well-informed statement.)

    b. khōnṑː　sɛ̀ː　ʈő̀ː-yi　ndʐo-si　　　　　yø̀ː.
        3PL.ABS food beg-NZR go-CONTINUOUS AUX.ASSIMILATED

        'They are going to beg for food.' (The speaker has told them to do so.)

In some dialects, notably in the best-known variety, i.e. what is labeled Standard Spoken Tibetan (SST) by Nicolas Tournadre (this volume), the epistemological operator no longer takes the situation per se as its argument, but is specifically focused on one of the **participants** in the clause. As a result, the marker no longer merely indicates that the conjunct person (the speaker in statements, the addressee in questions) has old, ingrained knowledge of the situation, but specifically, that she has such knowledge of a participant. This generally means that the conjunct person herself is, will be or was directly involved in the situation (cf. DeLancey 1992), and the marker thus assumes an 'egophoric' or 'ego-modal' function (Tournadre 1994, 1996, this volume). This is illustrated by the following examples from SST: [2]

(2) a. ṅas　　　　dpe.cha　　　yag.po lta-gi.yod. (Tournadre 1996: 275)
        1SG.ERG　Tibetan.book　well　　read-IMPERFECTIVE ASSIMILATED

        'As for me, I am reading the sacred texts.' (unlike the others)

    b. khoṅ　　　ṅa.'i　　　rtsa-la　　phebs-kyi.yod. (Tournadre 1996: 223)
        3SG.ABS　1SG.GEN　at-DAT　　come-IMPERFECTIVE ASSIMIL.

        'He comes to my place' (frequent fact well-known to the speaker)

    c. khor　　　dṅul　　tog.tsam　'dug　/*yod. (DeLancey 1997: 44)
        3SG.DAT　money　some　　be　　be [ASSIMILATED]

        'He has some money.'

Unlike in Written Tibetan, Dege and most other dialects reported on in this volume, the auxiliaries *yod* (roughly, existential) and *yin* (roughly, equational) are here restricted to clauses in which the conjunct person is involved as a participant in one way or the other, and this is why *yod* is odd in (2c). As Tournadre (1996:

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[2] An interesting parallel to this is found on the Eastern borders of the Himalayas, in the Loloish language Sangkong: here, the grammaticalized reflex of a first person pronoun $ŋa^{55}$ indexes either the speaker's personal acquaintance with the situation or his or her direct involvement in it (Matisoff 1993).

220, note 9) points out, a Written Tibetan sentence like *nam.khar skar.ma maṅ.po yod* 'there are a lot of stars in the sky' could only mean 'I have a lot of stars in the sky' in the standard spoken language! (cf. also Hein, this volume, on *in* in the Tabo/Spiti dialect.)

While in principle any participant can fall within the scope of Tibetan epistemological operators, in verb-headed clauses it is typically the **agent** that is at issue as the willful instigator of a situation. This manifests itself most strongly in SST, where the conjunct/egophoric or assimilated knowledge markers corresponding to WT *yod* and *yin* typically focus on the agent. While in the imperfective system, this is only a tendency (cf. (2b) above), other tense/aspect forms are more restrictive: the marker *yin* in the aorist and the future implies that the speaker was or will be a willful instigator. This is shown by the following contrast discussed by DeLancey (1990):

(3) a. ṅas   dkar.yol   bcag-pa.yin.
         1SG.ERG   cup   break-AORIST CONJUNCT AGENT
         'I broke the cup (intentionally).'

     b. ṅas   dkar.yol   bcag-soṅ.
         1SG.ERG   cup   break-AORIST
         'I broke the cup (accidentally).'

In the aorist system, the bias towards volitional instigators is further strengthened by the fact that in SST, *yin* not only contrasts with *soṅ* but also with what Tournadre (1996, this volume) calls the 'ego-receptive' auxiliary *byuṅ*. This auxiliary is as conjunct/egophoric as *yin*, but it focusses on patients, e.g. in *ṅa na-byuṅ* 'I got sick' or *g.yar-byuṅ* '[x] lent me sth.'; the latter is directly opposed to *g.yar-pa.yin* 'I lent [x] sth.' (Tournadre 1996: 232). This is in line with the etymological root sense of *byuṅ*, which is 'to show up, come forth, emerge, become visible in front of the speaker's eyes' (Roland Bielmeier, Randy LaPolla, p.c.), and the auxiliary often simply indicates that the action is spatially directed towards the speaker (also cf. DeLancey 1990).

This bias towards agents seems to be further grammaticalized in the Central Tibetan variety Lhomi, which is spoken in the upper reaches of the Aruṅ valley in Eastern Nepal. From Versalainen & Versalainen's (1980) short description it appears that the bias is found in this language across all tenses and aspects, and that the semantic notion of agent is furthermore replaced by a syntactified notion of transitive or semitransitive actor. Thus, forms cognate with WT *yin* would appear to be true person-markers, indexing the conjunct person in actor role ('...*q* designates a "tense and rising pitch contour"'):

(4) a. ŋe   taku-la   ra   'coŋ-enq.
         1SG.ERG friend-DAT goat   sell-CONJUNCT A[3]

         'I sold a goat to a friend.'

     b. ŋa   'khim-laq   'lip-enq.
         1SG.ABS house-DAT   come-CONJUNCT A

         'I arrived in the house.'

The agentive bias is a general concomitant of conjunct-marking in the Himalayas (but not necessarily elsewhere; see Curnow 2000). It is quite salient in Kathmandu Newar, where the conjunct form is restricted to scenarios with the conjunct person as agent in a controlled event (Hale 1980, Hargreaves 1991). The same bias is also detectable in Dolakha Newar, although this language grammaticalizes person in the sense of 1st vs. 2nd vs. 3rd rather than in the sense of a conjunct category (speaker in statements, addressee in questions): first person agreement tends to be limited to agentive subjects in Dolakha (Genetti 1994: 107, DeLancey 1992). These findings may shed light on typological curiosities found in other person-marking systems in the Himalayas, especially on Kiranti languages, which are bordered by both the Dolakha and Lhomi speaking areas.

First, verb agreement systems sometimes show traits of what one might call **split-accusativity**, the reverse of standard split-ergativity: whereas theories of alignment splits predict that higher-ranking persons trigger a nominative-accusative alignment of markers (e.g. Silverstein 1976, DeLancey 1981, Comrie 1981), verb endings in several Kiranti languages show ergative-absolutive or tripartite alignment in the first person singular that contrasts with traces of nominative-accusative or neutral alignment of persons lower on the hierarchy. In Hayu (Michailovsky 1988), for example, the suffix *-ŋo* (non-past; *-suŋ* in the past) covers first person singular S and O referents (e.g., *buʔ-ŋo* 'I get up', *puʔ-ŋo* 'he lifts me up') whereas the A-function is covered by *-ŋ/-N/-suŋ* if acting on a third person (e.g., *pu-ŋ* 'I lift him up') and by the portmanteau morpheme *-no* (-*Nno* in the past) if acting on a second person (*puk-no* 'I lift you up'). Third person referents, by contrast, show zero-marking in the singular in all functions and are coded by the equally role-neutral suffixes *-tshe* and *-me* in the dual and plural, respectively. There is even a trace of accusative alignment in the form of the suffix *-ko ~ -ku*, which is restricted to third person objects in past tense forms (e.g., *pux-ku-ŋ* 'I lifted him up', *pux-ko* 'you/he lifted him up' vs. zero-marked *buk* 'he gets up'). Essentially the same distribution holds for Yamphu (Rutgers 1998), Limbu (van Driem 1997, Michailovsky, this volume), Belhare

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[3] I use the Dixonian abbreviations S for sole argument of intransitives, A for transitive actors, and O for (primary or direct) objects.

(Bickel 1995, in press), and other Kiranti languages. Especially in the South and East of the Kirant, the accusative alignment of the third person is often strengthened by dedicated plural markers for S and A (e.g., *m(ε)-* in Limbu) distinct from those marking O-arguments (*-si*). Split accusativity is also found outside the Kiranti group: Jacquesson (this volume) reports that in Khiamnungan, a language spoken in Nagaland, first person singular pronouns have an ergative form *ŋo* in opposition to an absolutive (S/O) form *ni*. Second person singular, by contrast, shows no role alignment (with *nja* covering S, A and O alike).

This distinct coding of first person singular A-arguments may be explained as a variation on the same theme as the speaker-as-agent concept noted above for Tibetan and Newar languages: like in Lhomi, the semantic notion of agent is replaced by the syntactic notion of transitive subject, the 'A' argument; like in Dolakha Newar, person is conceptualized as speaker vs. addressee vs. third rather than as the conjunct category. Evidence that such conceptualizations indeed informed the development of these Kiranti agreement systems comes from the following: if distinct A-marking for the speaker is ultimately based on well-established knowledge of agency, we would expect deviations from this with non-singular first person referents, because here the speaker's knowledge about agency is less definite. This is indeed just what one finds. In nonsingular numbers, the first person markers do not all follow the ergative or tripartite alignment of the singular. Hayu, for example, does not distinguish argument roles for first person nonsingular numbers (e.g, *pux-kok* 'x lifts us [excl. pl.]' or 'we [excl. pl.] lift him', *bux-kok* 'we [excl. pl.] get up'). Yamphu has a nonsingular marker *-ma* which is role-neutral in 1>2 scenarios and restricted to A and S arguments in others; furthermore, first person nonsingular O-arguments are left unmarked if acted upon by third persons. In Limbu, deviations from ergative alignment in the first person nonsingular are mainly due to the intrusion of impersonal markers, which is discussed by Boyd Michailovsky in this volume.

A second curiosity that can perhaps be better understood in terms of a Tibetan-inspired 'epistemology of persons' is what van Driem (1988, 1993) called a '**marked scenario**' prefix in Dumi. The category, marked in Dumi by *a-*, encompasses all scenarios in which speaker or addressee are involved except those where the speaker is actor. That is, it covers the relations 2>1, 2>3, 3>1, 3>2 as well as second person intransitive scenarios. While such a category also seems to underlie the distribution of a prefix (*i-*) in Khaling (Toba 1978:159),[4] it

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[4]   Cf. Ebert (1994) for paradigms. The category also seems to play a role in Camling (Ebert 1997), where the second person prefix *ta-* is in complementary distribution with an inverse marker (*pa-*) covering 3PL>3SG and 3>1 scenarios. The combined scenario set of these

has been noted outside the Kirant as well, viz. in the Nungish languages spoken on both sides of the Northern portion of the Sino-Burmese border (Dulong *ɲə-*, Rawang *è-*; LaPolla 1989, 1992, in press; DeLancey 1989). Since the category is attested in distinct branches of Tibeto-Burman, it is possible, as DeLancey (1989) proposes, that it descends as such from a quirk of the proto-language, but it is also possible — and perhaps no more speculatively so — that the category reflects parallel grammaticalization motivated by the epistemology of persons: the scenarios that are 'marked' are just those with participants about which the speaker has, as it were, second-best knowledge of agency. The speaker knows best about agency where she herself is actor or subject. She knows virtually nothing about agency if neither she nor her partner in dialogue is involved in the situation. In between these two extremes, and therefore of special status, are just the 'marked' scenarios, i.e. situations where the addressee is involved as agent or undergoer, or the speaker as undergoer. In these cases, information about agency is, albeit unknown to the speaker, at least directly accessible in the *hic et nunc* of a conversation, either through consulting the co-present addressee or through examining the nature of the event by which the speaker or addressee is affected as an undergoer.

While these two observations and speculations await further research, there is another, more established sense in which the epistemological categories found in Tibetan are conceptually related to agreement morphology, and this involves the notion of **empathy**, first introduced by Kuno (1987) in analyses of Japanese and English and defined as the degree to which the speaker identifies or 'sides' with a participant in the clause. In Tibetan, empathy is one of the important effects that the marking of assimilated knowledge can have. As argued by Häsler (this volume), the function of the 'assimilated knowledge' marker *yī:* (WT *yin*) in Dege examples like the following is to signal that the speaker empathizes with the actor argument, i.e. takes the actor's viewpoint in portraying an event:

(5) laso, laso.   ŋɛ: khōla   sɛ: tshō.
     yes   yes   1SG.ERG 3SG.DAT say   will

     khō   tatā   ō:-le   yī:.
     3SG.ABS immediately come-IMPERFECTIVE   AUX:ASSIMILATED

     'Yes sir, yes sir! I'll tell him. He shall come immediately'.

     (As a response to a request to send someone)

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complementary devices is the same as the one covered by 'marked scenario' prefixes in the other languages (except for the inclusion of the inverse 3PL>3SG relation).

By taking the third person actor's viewpoint, the speaker signals her certainty about the person's future actions and thereby shows that she has the authority to fully comply with the request.

The concept of empathy is also clearly known to underlie the hierarchical ranking of speech act participants over third persons, since, as noted by Kuno & Kaburaki (1977) and DeLancey (1981), it is easier to empathize with oneself and one's partner in dialogue than with others. This ranking has proven a powerful theoretical tool in explanations of split-ergativity, inverse-marking and the treatment of first and second person forms in many languages of the Himalayas (see, among others, DeLancey 1981; Ebert 1987, 1991; Michailovsky 1988; LaPolla 1992; van Driem 1992; Bickel 1995; Pokharel 2054; and Jacquesson, this volume). The empathy hierarchy has also recently been identified as a fundamental parameter of verb agreement in Maithili, an Indo-Aryan language that has been and still is in contact with various Tibeto-Burman languages (Bickel *et al.* 1999 and King, this volume). The basic issue in all these cases is that scenarios with speaker or addressee involvement, i.e. scenarios with a naturally high empathy degree, require special or more elaborate marking, especially when neither speech act participant is in actor role.
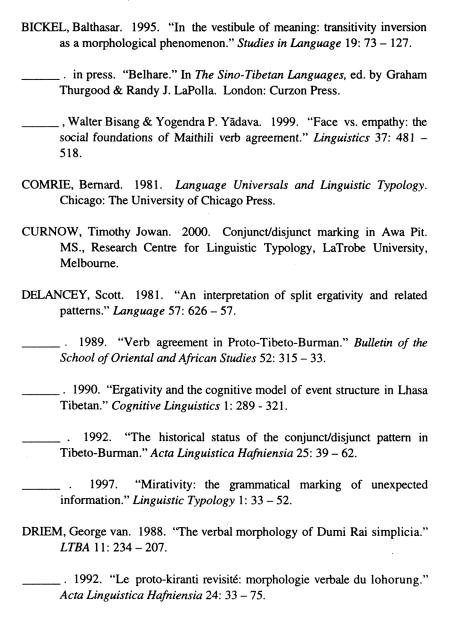
2. STRUCTURE OF THE VOLUMES

The chapters proceed from purely epistemological issues to purely person-related ones. The volume starts with **John Peterson's** description of mirativity and evidentiality in Nepali, the Indo-Aryan *lingua franca* in much of the Central Himalayas, and is followed by **Bettina Zeisler's** critical discussion of mirativity and related discourse phenomena in various Tibetan varieties. Zeisler's contribution opens up a series of Tibetan studies, first on dialects where the epistemological categories do not index (conjunct/disjunct) person on the clause level. **Roland Bielmeier** gives a detailed survey on copulas and auxiliaries in Western Tibetan, which is followed by a case-study of the auxiliary *'dug* in Central Tibetan by **Marianne Volkart**. The next four chapters are devoted to various dialects — **Brigitte Huber** on Lende (Kyirong), **Felix Haller** on Shigatse and Themchen, **Katrin Häsler** on Dege and **Veronika Hein** on Tabo/Spiti — while the subsequent chapter by **Nicolas Tournadre** concentrates on literary and Standard Spoken Tibetan and also provides a survey of the form of auxiliaries in a number of dialects. In the last two varieties discussed in this part, Tabo and SST, auxiliaries are more closely tied to conjunct person-indexing, i.e. they indicate that the speaker (addressee in questions) plays some role in the propositional schema of the clause, typically that of an agent. This bridges over to the next series of papers, which are devoted to systems of person-marking. **François Jacquesson** reports on his recent field research on

numerous person-marking systems in Northeast India. **Boyd Michailovsky** focusses on the marking of first person plural in Limbu and, in a companion article, gives a brief presentation of Hodgson's Limbu paradigms from 1857. The volume ends with **John King**'s treatise on how affinal kin relations between speaker and addressee can be indexed in Dhimal by special respect pronouns and corresponding agreement morphology on the verb.

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