

# On the emergence of epistemic meanings: A study of Tibetan deictic motion verbs

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## 1. Introduction

This study is a product of my ongoing research on the origins of grammatical categories in Tibetan.<sup>1</sup> In my previous paper (Hongladarom 1994) I have investigated the historical development of Tibetan verbs of location whose semantic shifts give rise to new grammatical constructions, namely the existential and the copulative. An example of such verbs is *tyu*, which originally meant 'to sit, stay'. This verb has become a marker of evidentiality, thus making a minimal contrast with another existential auxiliary *yr̥e*. In this paper I focus my attention on the semantic extensions of deictic motion verbs, 'go' and 'come' in Tibetan. Their paths of development from deictic to evaluative uses will be discussed

The two sets of deictic motion verbs in Tibetan are (1) *to* 'to go', and *yon* 'to come'; and (2) *sōŋ* 'Written Tibetan imperative and perfective form of *to*, and *cūŋ* 'perfective form of the orthographic *'byuñ* meaning 'to emerge, appear, obtain'. The former set are versatile verbs: they occur both as main verbs and as secondary verbs following verb heads in concatenation construction. The latter set are sentence-final auxiliary verbs marking perfective aspect, evidentiality, and volitionality. They are known as the markers of source and goal in Tibetan (DeLancey 1985).

Based on Traugott's model of semantic change (1989) and Clark's in-depth analysis of deictic verbs in English (1974), I offer below an account for the development of epistemic meanings from these two sets of verbs. The term epistemic not only refers to the status of knowledge which directly relates to evidential markers but also refers to subjectification, the mechanism in which the speaker's attitude comes to be encoded in the grammar of the language. My focus will be mainly on the diachronic and synchronic uses of *sōŋ* and *cūŋ*. Finally, I argue that the emergence of epistemic meanings sheds light on the development of the grammatical category 'person' in Tibetan, and thus provides us with insight into the origin of the agreement system in other Tibeto-Burman languages.

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## 2. Semantic extensions of deictic verbs

We have seen from cross-linguistic evidence that deictic motion verbs tend to develop grammaticized meanings associated with time. As Levinson (1992:22) notes: "Motion can be thought of as a directed arc, an 'arrow'; so of course can time and thus it is natural that motion conception provides the primary metaphor for temporal conception." The English verb *go*, for example, is used as a marker of immediate, planned future, as in the periphrastic auxiliary construction *be going to*. The original meaning of Thai *kwàa* was 'to go or pass beyond', as can be seen in such a contemporary expression as *pi kwàa* 'more than a year' (indicating that a year has passed). In its contemporary usage, *kwàa* is now used as a marker of comparative construction as well as a temporal conjunction indicating the sense of 'before or prior to'.

Moreover, deictic verbs have also been reported to be associated with other grammatical categories such as directive and benefactive. The verbs *ɛ*, *é* 'go' and *li*, *lá* 'come' in Bisu, whose normative usages tie up with cardinal directions (North/East and South/West respectively), have developed their novel usages as "modal particles of direction" indicating simply the orientation upwards and downwards (cf. Beaudouin 1991).<sup>2</sup> The verbs *yaru* and *kureru* 'give' in Japanese, though they are not related to physical motion directly, are additionally used to indicate deictic meanings. Alam (1994) clearly demonstrates how these verbs which encompass the speaker's viewpoint become dative markers in the language.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, the Lahu verb *lá* 'come' gives rise to two forms with different tones: *la* and *lá* (Matisoff 1991). The former indicates direction, i.e. 'hither', 'close to the deictic center or the focal point of discourse', whereas the latter becomes a benefactive marker, indicating that the verbal action is for the benefit of (or impinges upon) a non-third person. Matisoff gave the following examples:

<sup>2</sup> Bisu is a Southern Loloish language, Burmese-Lolo branch, Tibeto-Burman group. Deictic motion verbs in *Mpi*, which belongs in the same immediate branch as Bisu, also encode cardinal directions (personal communication with Sithichai Sa-iam, Ph.D. student in linguistics at Chulalongkorn University). It would be interesting to find out if this feature is unique among the languages of this group.

<sup>3</sup> The Japanese verbs of giving *yaru* and *kureru* have been argued to encode the speaker's viewpoint or what I prefer to call the "self/other" distinction. The former implies that the act is oriented toward someone else, whereas the latter suggests that the act is oriented toward the speaker himself. Alam (1994: 10) cites the following two examples which show how pragmatically complex these two verbs are:

- a.     Kureru?  
       give  
       '(Can) (you) give (it) (to me)?'
- b.     Yaru.  
       give  
       '(I'll) give (it) (to you).'

- (1) mû-yè là  
rain come  
'It's raining.'
- (2) ʃi la  
die come  
'Be close to death.'
- (3) chɔ lâ  
chop BEN:SELF<sup>4</sup>  
'Chop for me/us/you.'
- (4) chɔ pî  
chop BEN: OTHER  
'Chop for him/her/them.'

In (1) *là* simply conveys a movement towards the deictic center or what Levinson calls the "ground" of the discourse, which in this case refers to the time of the speech event and the location of the speech act participants. The derived form in (2) does not connote a physical movement but metaphorically conveys an orientation toward the state described in the utterance. The benefactive morphemes in (3) and (4) are interesting, as they form a paradigmatic contrast based on person distinction. The benefactive *là*, grammaticized from *là* 'come' still retains its goal-oriented sense; it implies that the action is for the benefit of first and second persons only.<sup>5</sup> That is, it is used, like deictic verbs of motion, based on the speaker-addressee deixis. In this way, it develops a contrastive meaning with the benefactive *pî*, which is a grammaticized function of the verb 'give' of the same form. *pî* implies

<sup>4</sup> Abbreviations used in this paper: BEN benefactive; CT Classical Tibetan; COP copular; ERG ergative; DET determiner; EXIST existential; H honorific; GEN genitive; PF perfective; PP postposition; Q interrogative suffix; CS conjunctive suffix; SFS sentence-final suffix; VN verbal noun suffix.

<sup>5</sup> Tibetan has a morpheme which functions in a similar manner to the benefactive *là*, but, unlike Lahu, lacks the third-person usage. The Tibetan verb final suffix *-ko*, most likely grammaticized from *kɔɔ* or *kʉʉ* 'to want', conveys that the action to be carried out is for the benefit of the addressee. Note that the subject, if overt, must be the first person, and often is ergatively marked. For example,

- a.       ŋɛ      chɛko  
          I-ERG do-BEN  
          'I'll do it for you; Let me do it for you.'
- b.        (upon seeing the addressee carrying a lot of things)
- khyɛko  
          carry-BEN  
          '(Let me) carry (it) for you.'

The presence of the ergative case in (a) emphasizes the speaker's volition in helping the addressee. Tibetan is an aspectually split-ergative language, which means that ergative marking is required only when referring to completed events. But in certain constructions such as (a) the ergative marked subject is preferred.

that the action is for the benefit of a third person. In the following sections, based on Tibetan data, I will argue that the extended meanings of deictic verbs are still related to their original deictic senses.

Other than a wide range of grammatical functions illustrated above, deictic motion verbs also have a tendency to develop epistemic or subjective meanings. In her stimulating work, Traugott (1989) has convincingly shown how epistemic meanings have developed in the three domains of related semantic areas in English: auxiliaries, speech act verbs, and modal adverbs. She argues that the development of epistemic meanings is not a weakening process, the so-called 'semantic bleaching', as has been generally understood. Based on a theory of pragmatic inference, Traugott points out how the speaker's attitude comes into play in the process of language change. Table 1 illustrates the unidirectional path of change at three basic levels: lexical, textual/metalinguistic, and evaluative/subjective. Table 2 gives a list of words that have undergone semantic shifts.

TABLE 1. PATH OF SEMANTIC EXTENSIONS  
(Based on Traugott's model)

Stage I	Stage II	Stage III
Lexical meaning based on the reality of the physical world	Textual/Metalinguistic meaning based on the extension to the textual or metalinguistic situation	Evaluative/Subjective meaning based on the speaker's viewpoint

TABLE 2. EXAMPLES OF GRAMMATICIZED ITEMS

Stage I	Stage II	Stage III
ENG while 'the time that' TIB tuu 'sit, stay' THAI læy 'pass by'  THAI ðək 'exit, go out'	'during' existential/copulative 'then; so'  'out'	'although' evidential 'at all'; 'excessively' 'tending to be,' 'becoming rather' when followed by the pre-verbal cà? (Thai data from Diller 1988)

### 3. Deictic motion verbs in Tibetan

Tibetan has two sets of 'go' and 'come' verbs. One set consists of *tɔ* 'to go' with the perfective form *chīn*, and *yoŋ* 'to come'.<sup>6</sup> In Modern Tibetan these two verbs function both as main verbs and as secondary verbs occurring with other verbs of motion such as *khyēe* 'to carry'; and *phīi* 'to fly'. The following paradigm demonstrates the various forms of *tɔ* and *yoŋ* in concatenation constructions.

#### Verb head

*khyēe* 'carry (deictically neutral)'

#### Verb head + deictic motion verbs

- |    |                                    |                                    |
|----|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| B. | 1. <i>khyēe tɔki rɛe</i>           | '(s/he) will take (it)'            |
|    | 2. <i>khyēe tɔki tɕu/ yɔɔ rɛe</i>  | '(s/he) takes/ is taking(it)'      |
|    | 3. <i>khyēe chīmpə rɛe</i>         | '(s/he) took (it)'                 |
| C. | 1. <i>khyēe yoŋki rɛe</i>          | '(s/he) will bring (it)'           |
|    | 2. <i>khyēe yoŋki tɕu/ yɔɔ rɛe</i> | '(A.s/he) brings/is bringing (it)' |
|    | 3. <i>khyēe yoŋpə rɛe</i>          | '(s/he) brought (it)'              |

Here we see that *tɔ* and *yoŋ* have not lost their status as lexical verbs. As part of the concatenation, they still retain deictic senses, i.e., conveying orientation toward or away from the speaker. The information about aspect and eventuality is encoded in the auxiliary predicates, *-ki rɛe* for future tense, *-ki tɕu/ yɔɔ rɛe* for imperfective, and *-pə rɛe* for perfective. We may also substitute the perfective *-pə rɛe* in B3 and C3 with another set of deictic morphemes, *sōŋ* or *cɕŋ* (see examples in Section 4). In Central and Lhasa Tibetan *tɔ* and *yoŋ* are still classified as lexical verbs, but the sentence-final *sōŋ* and *cɕŋ* are not. The latter have become enclitics. They have undergone a phonological change. Both morphemes are generally not stressed and pronounced as [su, so] or simply long [s], and [cɕ] or [cɕ] respectively.

Other than conveying the opposite movement and direction at the sentence level, *tɔ* and *yoŋ* are also used contrastively in discourse. Examples (5)-(6) taken from a conversation about dream interpretations illustrate how speakers metaphorically and skillfully employed the two forms. Note that there is no orientation or motion involved in this case.

- (5) *thə yaɔpa ciŋa kām chīn cɛɛ kuŋka chāa tɔ*  
*tüü yaŋ chuŋwa maŋa thəŋmo chāa cɛɛ chuŋwa kumpɛe*  
*soŋapo ci chāa, thə kəp tɛɛ ŋīlam ci tənki yöŋ sūŋpə rɛe.*

<sup>6</sup> Tibetan is an honorific language. Each lexical word has two forms: ordinary and honorific. The honorific forms of *tɔ* and *yoŋ* are *thēe* and *phēe* respectively. Nowadays there is a tendency to use *phēe* (this is also true for *thēe*) to refer to both going and coming. I will not deal with the development of these forms in this paper.

'Well, when it comes to wintertime, the *yaapa* tree and others become dry and it (lit. nature) gets colder, becoming like a contracted element, then it is said that during that time one will have a certain kind of dreams.'

- (6) *thā saṭöḥ yaakyēe c̄e yāaka chāa yōŋ*  
*tüü jīlam yāaka taŋki r̄e sūŋpə r̄e.*

'When it comes to summertime, the warmth having been better, it is said that one will have a better kind of dreams.'

In (5) and (6) the expressions meaning 'to become' *chāa t̄o* (become + go) and *chāa yōŋ* (become + come) are underlined to emphasize the difference in the speaker's viewpoint. In (5) the speaker wants to convey a negative attitude toward the barrenness of winter which causes people to have "a certain kind of dream" (in the context this refers to nightmares). In contrast, summer brings life to nature and this affects the kind of dreams people may have. Here the speaker switched to *yōŋ*, which seems to suggest a positive, hopeful attitude toward the situation.<sup>7</sup>

The figurative usage of deictic verbs of motion like the Tibetan *t̄o* and *yōŋ* has been reported in other languages. Upon studying English deictic verbs, i.e. 'go', 'come', 'bring', and 'take', Clark (1974) argues that their idiomatic usages are related to the concept of deictic center which is not necessarily based on the speaker-addressee deixis but has to do with the concept of normal state and speaker viewpoint. Clark (1974:317) explained that sentences like 'Mortimer went out of his mind' and 'Lovelace came back to his senses' differ in that the one with *go* connotes departure from normal state, whereas the one with *come* suggests entrance into normal state. This notion of normal state, Clark emphasizes, leads to the evaluative uses of the forms; as a result, *come* conveys that the person or event described has ended up in some speaker-approved or public-approved state, whereas *go* is either neutral or negative in this connotation. That is, the destination of *come* evokes a positive state, whereas the destination of *go* evokes only a neutral or negative evaluation. The contrast in the speaker's viewpoint conveyed by the deictic motion verbs can be clearly seen in (7) and (8):

- (7) The tomatoes are coming along nicely this year.  
 (8) The tomatoes are going along nicely this year.

(Clark 1974:327)

According to Clark, (7) can be uttered by the grower of tomatoes himself, or by anyone who favors growing tomatoes and looks at the act of growing approvingly. On the other hand, (8) does not connote this interpretation. Therefore, it is less likely that the grower will utter it. This hint of positive involvement of *come* reminds me of the presence of *yōŋ* in an existential construction. Let us consider (9).

<sup>7</sup> The contrastive use of linguistic forms is common indeed. In Hongladarom (1993) I gave a few examples of contrastive uses of *t̄u* and *yōŋ r̄e*. In my opinion, the forms in contrast simply reflect indeterminacy of language.

- (9) phöö lə yāa maŋpo yŋ  
 tibet PP yak many come  
 'There are many yaks in Tibet.'

As far as I know, this use of *yŋ* is first reported by Chang and Chang (1984). They claim that *yŋ* is used as an existential verb presupposing the speaker's habitual knowledge. Chang and Chang might interpret (9) as meaning 'There are usually many yaks in Tibet.' But from my point of view, the emphasis of this motion verb is not simply on the habitual state. Rather it is on the speaker-approved state. A native speaker of Lhasa explained to me that (9) would be appropriate as a response to the question like the following.

- (10) phöö lə yāa maŋpo yŋ tuukee<sup>8</sup>  
 tibet PP yak many come EXIST-Q  
 'Are there many yaks in Tibet?'

The question (10) implies that the addressee (the speaker of 9) has expertise of how to raise yaks. Thus, (9) would be uttered by a yak herdsman who knows the positive environmental conditions in which yaks proliferate, such as having good grass and cold climate. This extra information encodes the speaker's viewpoint, in a similar manner to the examples in English mentioned above.

The other set of deictic motion verbs and their semantic change to be examined in this paper are *sŋ* and *cuŋ*. These two morphemes constitute the basis of the Tibetan verbal system. I will demonstrate that the grammatical encodings of epistemic meanings stem from the semantic extensions of these verbs.

#### 4. Source and goal marking

##### 4.1 *Sŋ* and the notion of source

As a main verb, *sŋ* is an imperative and perfective form of *tŋ* 'to go'. Jäschke (1954:51) gave the following example in Classical Tibetan:

- (11) nam laŋs nas soŋ [soŋ]  
 night rise (Past) CS went  
 'When the night had risen, (he) went.'

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<sup>8</sup> For this sentence, I am thankful for the comments given by Nichola Tournadre, Kyalsang Gyurme and another Lhasa professor, who attended the Tibetan session of the 27th ICSTLL. This latter professor remarked that this particular sentence was not acceptable if spoken without a pause between the deictic *yŋ* and *tuukee*. If there is a pause, it would be better to translate this sentence as one person says: "There are many yaks in Tibet (using *yŋ* as a sentence-final existential verb)." And the other comments, "Are there? (using the more common *tu*, which conveys newly asserted knowledge, as a sentence-final existential verb)."

Note that this usage of *sōŋ* is no longer common in Central and Lhasa Tibetan, except in writing and in certain idiomatic expressions such as *tī sōŋtsaŋ* 'because of this; therefore' (*-tsaŋ* is a causative conjunctive suffix). The imperative usage of *sōŋ* is more common in regional dialects.

As an auxiliary verb, *sōŋ* generally appears in non-first person constructions marking perfective aspect and evidentiality. Contrastive to *-pə rɛ* and *shāa*, the other two perfective auxiliaries that mostly occur in non-first person constructions, *sōŋ* conveys the speaker's direct source of information. When occurring with first-person subjects in declarative sentences and second-person subjects in interrogative sentences (including rhetorical questions), the verb indicates the speaker's or the hearer's lack of volition in performing the acts described in the utterances. Figure 1 schematizes both meanings of *sōŋ* with first person, abbreviated as 1st in the figure and non-first person subjects, abbreviated as 3rd.

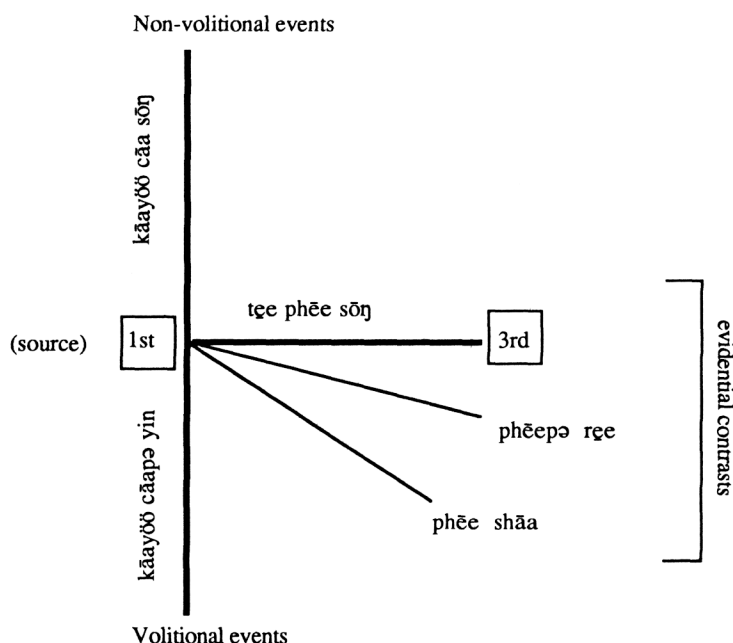


Figure 1. *Sōŋ* with volitional and evidential contrasts

In Figure 1, the volition (vertical) line and the evidentiality (horizontal) line intersect at the point which I label 1st representing the speaker's source of knowledge. The subject of the vertical line is always first-person [*ŋə*]. Both *sōŋ* and *-pə yin* can



occur in first-person constructions with volitional contrasts.<sup>9</sup> *sōŋ* indicates that the event is non-volitional whereas *-pə yjn* conveys the opposite meaning. Thus, the sentence *kāayōō cāa sōŋ* implies that the speaker did not intend to break the cup. It was broken by accident.<sup>10</sup> In contrast, *kāayōō cāapə yjn* conveys that the speaker willingly broke the cup. Note that the verb *cāa* (perfective form of *cōō*) is a volitional, transitive verb. To indicate that the event takes place by accident, we may substitute the verb *cāa* with the intransitive *chāa*. In that case, the agent is not the focus of the sentence.

On the other hand, the subject of the horizontal line is never first-person. Yet, semantically it relates to the speaker in that the action conveys the speaker's source of or attitude toward knowledge. Therefore, the sentence *tɛe phēe sōŋ* '(He/she/you) came here' presupposes that the speaker had eye-witness knowledge of the utterance, i.e., the speaker was there when the subject of the sentence came. Also, the fact that the verb is an honorific form also tells us that the covert subject cannot be first-person. Two lighter lines paralleling the *sōŋ* line indicate evidential contrasts. *-pə rɛe* connotes the speaker's indirect source of information such as hearsay; *shāa* conveys the speaker's inferencing in gaining information.

In brief, *sōŋ* may occur with the first-person subject, but in that case it conveys the lack of volitionality. As an evidential marker, *sōŋ* makes a contrast with the other two verbal constructions. That is, *sōŋ* can appear in two kinds of grammatical constructions: one involving evidentiality and the other volitionality. There have been attempts to relate these two functions, such as DeLancey proposing that both meanings stem from a superordinate semantic category, Source. But, in my opinion, the function of *sōŋ* as a marker of source is not at all clear. Moreover, it is not obvious if the emergent functions of this morpheme are still related to its original sense of direction. But what is obvious is that the development of epistemic meanings is a result of evaluative uses of the form.

#### 4.2 *Cuŋ* and goal orientation

The perfective marker of goal, *cuŋ* 'toward the speaker', occurs mainly with noncontrollable predicates in first-person constructions.<sup>11</sup> As a main verb, *cuŋ*

<sup>9</sup>*-pə rɛe* can also occur with first-person subjects. Chang and Chang (1984: 27) gave the following example (for consistency, transcription adjusted according to my system):

ŋa	lhēesaa	chīmpə	rɛe
I	lhasa-DL	went-VN	PF (COP)

'I went to Lhasa (i.e., for example, I was taken as a child)'

<sup>10</sup> J. Demsey suggested (during my presentation at the 27th ICSTLL and from our electronic communication) that the verb *cāa* in Figure 1 must not be correct, because it is a volitional verb. It should be replaced by the non-volitional *chāa* (aspirated initials are common for verbs that indicate non-volitionality, such as *chāa* 'broken by accident').

<sup>11</sup>*cuŋ* may occur with volitional predicates. Consider the following examples:

- (a) rɛe khyəraŋ la khāsīŋ ŋīlām shu u *cuŋa*
  - (b) khāsīŋ rɛe amālaa la shu pə yjn
- 'Yesterday I told you the dream, didn't I? Yesterday I (also) told mother.'

means 'to take place, come out, appear, obtain.' This usage is still common in Modern Spoken Tibetan. Only as an auxiliary verb, it connotes deictic sense, i.e. related to the speech act participant (speaker in declarative sentences and hearer in interrogative sentences). Most of the data below are from my own fieldnotes and recordings, except where noted.

#### 4.2.1 As a main verb

- (12) rmlam nañ du byuñ ba'i ama de,  
 dream in-DL appear-VN-GEN mother that  
 dalta dños su yod na dga'ba la  
 now real-DL exist if glad-VN PP (here used to  
 express exclamation)

(CT, 'groba bsañmo in Skal-bzañ 'Gyur-med 1981:87)

'If the mother who had appeared in the dream  
 really showed up now, how happy (I) would be!'

- (13) khākha yañ mə cūñ koññe mj shēnta la  
 lapna ani yañ khō yōñki mə rēe  
 'Before anything happens, if one tells others, then it will not  
 come (true).'

- (14) ŋaa ŋüü tsetsə cūñ/ cūñpə rēe  
 I-DL money a little get/ get-VNCOP (PF)  
 'I got a little money'

(Chang and Chang 1984:28)

As a main verb, *cūñ* has several meanings none of which relate to deixis or motion, even though one of the verb's original meanings is 'to emerge/ come out'. This deictic orientation, however, is retained in the auxiliary usage. *cūñ* often occurs in first-person statements or in utterances related to the speaker, as illustrated in 4.2.2.

#### 4.2.2 As an auxiliary verb

When functioning as an auxiliary verb carrying information about aspect and person, *cūñ* indicates that the speaker is the recipient of the action.

- (15) sēepo shēepo ci tāñ cūñ  
 clear very DET send PF: SELF  
 '(I) had a very clear (dream)'

We note that *cūñ* appears after the main verb *shyu* 'tell' in (a) but not in (b), despite the fact that these utterances are connected. It is possible that the rhetorical question has an influence on the speaker's preference of the non-volitional *cūñ*, instead of the expected volitional *-pə yjn*.

- (16) shēeshēe tāŋ cʉŋa  
 speak-speak send PF: SELF-SFS  
 '(She) scolded you, didn't she?'

Though the subject and the direct object in (15) and (16) are not explicitly stated, the presence of *cʉŋ* implies that the subject of (15) is the speaker and the object of (16), a rhetorical question, is the hearer.

- (17) ŋaa antee pīilam tāŋ cʉŋ  
 I-DL like this dream send PF: SELF  
 'I had this dream (what I'm going to tell you now).'

The subject of the *cʉŋ* construction is often marked in dative-locative case, as we can see in (17): *ŋaa* 'to me, for me'. This is understandable, for *cʉŋ* implies that the subject (most of the time referring to the speaker) has no control over the act. However, there are also other verbs that take ergative subjects but require *cʉŋ*. Such verbs are non-controllable predicates, e.g. *cɛe* 'forget', *thēŋ* 'miss', and *pīi* 'find', and perception verbs *thōŋ* 'see' and *khɔ* 'hear', as in (18).

- (18) ŋɛe thōŋ cʉŋ  
 I-ERG see PF: SELF  
 'I saw (it).'

Though *cʉŋ* is mainly used with first and second person subjects, its presence in third person constructions is not rare.

- (19) khōŋ tɛe phēe cʉŋ  
 he/she (H) here come (H) PF: SELF  
 'He/she came here (for me, i.e. to visit me in particular).'

The subject of *cʉŋ* is not necessarily the speaker or the hearer of the utterance, but the verb implies that the action is oriented toward the speaker. In other words, we may say that the deictic *cʉŋ* draws the hearer's attention to the trajectory toward the speaker's location. Note that an alternative saying of (19) is (20) below.

- (20) khōŋ tɛe phēe sōŋ  
 he/she (H) here come (H) PF: OTHER  
 'He/she came here (I know because I was here when he came).'

The extra information encoded in parentheses is what distinguishes *sōŋ* from *cʉŋ*. When used with third-person subjects, *sōŋ* marks the speaker's source of knowledge, while *cʉŋ* entails that the speaker is the recipient of the act. Figure 2 illustrates the use of *cʉŋ*, which indicates goal-orientation and control.

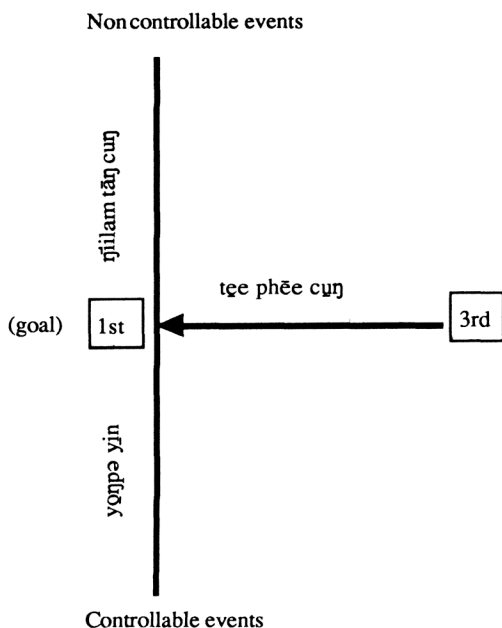


Figure 2. *Cuŋ* with goal orientation and control

The two intersecting lines in Figure 2 with the deictic center labeled as 1st representing the goal of an event are the control (vertical) line and the motion/orientation (horizontal) line. *cuŋ* and *-pə yin* occur with first-person subjects: the former takes only noncontrollable predicates whereas the latter, as in *yongpə yin* '(I) came' occurs with controllable verbs (i.e. in this case *yong*). Interestingly, *cuŋ* may take non-first person subjects, but even then it connotes orientation toward the speaker or goal of the utterance.

So we have seen how *sōŋ* and *cuŋ* come to be associated with the grammatical encodings of epistemic meanings. The use of *cuŋ* as an auxiliary verb and person marker is attested in Classical Tibetan, as we can see in the following example, where *cuŋ* is used to address the hearer.

- (21) khyod la yulmis stugpo ci'dra  
 you DL neighbor-ERG suffering how  
 btañ byuñ (cuŋ) gsuñs  
 send PF: SELF said  
 '(The lama) asked, "How did your neighbors (lit. the people in your region) cause you suffering?"

(*Mila raspa'i mam thar* in Skalbzaiñ 'Gyurmed 1981:236)

## 5. Conclusion

The grammaticization of deictic motion verbs and basic-level verbs of location may be a universal tendency, but the development of evidentiality and volitionality seem to be restricted to at least those in the Bodish branch of the Tibeto-Burman group. Based on the paths of development of the four verbs studied in this paper, it is clear that the emergence of the category "person" in Tibetan is related to deixis and its extensions to other semantic domains. This category is not new in Tibeto-Burman languages. In fact, it characterizes Newari and many other pronominalizing languages of the Himalayas. Person marking emerges in Tibetan in a wide range of forms, interacting in interesting ways with well-established constructions such as the existential predicates *yöð* (SELF) versus *tuu /yɔɔ rɛe* (OTHER), and the copulative *yjn* (SELF) versus *rɛe* (OTHER).

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