

# Expressing inner sensations: a comparison of Denjongke, Common Tibetan and some other Tibetic languages

**Journée d'Étude / Workshop**

**Typologie des systèmes évidentiels/ Typology of evidential systems.**

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# Why this presentation?

**Exceptionality** of Denjongke within Tibetic languages in terms of expressing **inner sensations** such as hunger, cold, illness, etc (cf. Tournadre’s “endopathic” forms).

“In the Tibetic languages (with some rare exceptions such as Balti and Western Purik), endopathic is morphologically marked with the same forms as the sensory markers.” (Tournadre 2021)

# Contents

- 1) “Endopathic” forms in Common Tibetan and some other Tibetic languages.
- 2) Equivalent forms expressing inner sensations in Denjongke
- 3) Why the difference?

# Common Tibetan

	future	present	past	perfect
personal (egophoric)	<i>V-kiyin</i>	<i>V-kiyö'</i>	<i>V-payin</i>	<i>V-yö'</i>
factual	<i>V-kire'</i>	<i>V-kiyöpare'</i>	<i>V-pare'</i>	<i>V-yöpare'</i>
sensorial	-----	<i>V-kidu'</i>	<i>V-song</i>	<i>V-sha'</i>

Table 1. verbal auxiliaries

(Oisel's [2017: 143] adaptation of Hill [2012: 392])

# Common Tibetan: same forms used for external perception and inner sensations

ཁོ་སྐྱུག་སྐྱུག་བཏང་གི་རྩེ་འདུག།  
*Kho sbag.sbag btang-gi ('dug)*  
He scooter drive-[UNCP+ SENS]  
'He's driving his scooter.' [ComTib]

སྒྲེབས་བཞག་ *slebs-bzhag* (ComTib) [ PERF+SENS INFER].  
« (She) has arrived [I see the light in her house, the car parked, etc.)

ང་གྲོད་ཁོག་ལྷོགས་ཀྱི་འདུག་ *nga grod.khog ltogs kyi 'dug* (ComTib) [PRES+ENDO SENS] « I am hungry [I feel hunger]

ང་འབྲུག་བཞག་  
*nga 'khyag-bzhag*  
Oh, I am freezing (realizing right now) (ComTib) [ PERF+ENDO SENS INFER].

External  
perception

Inner  
sensation

## Common Tibetan: use of personal forms for expressing inner sensations is very limited

Personal (or egophoric) *-kiyö'* (*gi.yod*) can be used with inner sensations to express habituality.

ང་ན་གི་ཡོད།

*nga na-gi yod*

'I'm chronically sick.'

(Denwood 1999: 138)

ང་གྲོང་ཁོག་ལྷོགས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

*nga grod.khog ltogs-kyi.yod*

'I am always/often hungry.'

(Tournadre p.c.)

Personal future form *-kiyin* cannot be used because it is volitional. Instead factual *-kire'* is used

\*ང་གྲོང་ཁོག་ལྷོགས་ཀྱི་ཡིན།

\**Nga grod.khog ltogs.kyi.yin*

'I will be hungry.'

(Tournadre p.c.)

ང་གྲོང་ཁོག་ལྷོགས་ཀྱི་ཡིན།

*nga grod.khog ltogs.kyi.red*

'I will be hungry.'

(Tournadre p.c.)

## Common Tibetan: expressing inner sensations

Used in future instead of  
-kiyin, which is volitional

	future	present	past	perfect
personal (egophoric)	<i>V-kiyin</i>	<i>V-kiyö'</i>	<i>V-payin</i>	<i>V-yö'</i>
factual	<i>V-kire'</i>	<i>V-kiyöpare'</i>	<i>V-pare'</i>	<i>V-yöpare'</i>
sensorial	-----	<i>V-kidu'</i>	<i>V-song</i>	<i>V-sha'</i>

to express habituality

Table 1. verbal auxiliaries

(Oisel's [2017: 143] adaptation of Hill [2012: 392])

The default form

To emphasize discovery

“In the case of involuntary verbs of experience used for the 1st person *hdug* is the default option.” (Hill 2012: 403)

# Other Tibetic languages:

If a Tibetic language has a non-visual sensory form, it is used for expressing inner sensations (Tournadre in press).

**Dege (sde.dge) Tibetan** expressions of inner sensations use the same form *tsa?* as external perceptions based on auditory evidence.

*k<sup>h</sup>ø:*    *xī:*    *ts<sup>h</sup>ā:*    *tsa?*,    *ŋa*    *ko*    *ɕū:*  
he.ERG    wood    split    AUX    I.ABS    hear    AUX

ཁོས་    ཤིན་    སྒྲལ་?    གྲག་    ང་    ལོ་    སྤྱང་

‘He is splitting wood, I hear it.’ (Häsler 1999: 176)

*ŋa*    *ts<sup>h</sup>ēpa*    *na*    (*du:*)    *tsa?*.  
I.ABS    fever    be.sick (V2:DUR)    AUX

ང་    ཚད་པ་    ར་    འདུག་    གྲག་

‘ I have a fever.’ (Häsler 1999: 177)

**Inner sensations are not expressed by “strong empathy” forms *jø:* and *ji:***

“When the speaker is himself the experiencer of the described event *tsa?* marks that the speaker feels the event happening. Used with a non-speaker experiencer *tsa?* usually denotes that the speaker hears the event happen to another person.” (Häsler 1999: 176)



## **Interim conclusion:**

**Personal/ego(phoric)/strong empathy** forms associated with WT *yin* and *yod* are in Tibetic languages typically **not used** with involuntary verbs of experience (Balti and Western Purik are exceptions, along with the habitual use in Common Tibetan). Instead, (external) **sensorial forms are used**.

# Denjongke (sip, also Lhoke, Sikkimese, and Bhutia)

	Nonpast/Future		Present			Past		"Perfect"		
	Periphr.	Simple	IPFV	Progressive	Continuous	Periphr.	Simple	Resultative	Perfect/Pl. perfect(?)	CMPL
<b>Personal</b>	<i>V-ḡε ḡ:</i>	<i>V ḡ:</i>	<i>V-do ḡ:</i>	<i>V-tḡen jḡ?</i>	<i>V dḡ: jḡ?</i>	<i>V-po ḡ:</i>	<i>V-tḡε</i>	<i>V jḡ?</i>	<i>V(-RDP)-po jḡ?</i>	<i>V-ts<sup>h</sup>a(:)</i>
<b>Neutral</b>	<i>V-ḡε bε?</i>		<i>V-do bε?</i>	<i>V-tḡen jḡ-po bε?</i>	<i>V dḡ: jḡ-po bε?</i>	<i>V-po bε?</i>		<i>V jḡ-po bε?</i>	<i>V(-RDP)-po jḡ-po bε?</i>	
<b>Sensorial (alterphoric)</b>				<i>V-tḡen du(kε) (V-tḡunge)</i>	<i>V dḡ: du?</i>			<i>V du?</i>	<i>V(-RDP)-po du?</i>	

Denjongke verbal forms (for more information, see chapter 8 of Yliniemi 2021)

Comments:

- *jḡ-po bε?* is often reduced to *jḡbbe?*
- Progressive *-tḡen* has the allomorph *-zḡen* when following voiced sounds
- **Alterphoric** forms *-tḡunge* and *-ts<sup>h</sup>ake* are probably abbreviations of *-tḡen duke* and *ts<sup>h</sup>a duke*, which occur in writing. As eliding *du?* results in innecessity of sensoriality, the alterphoric forms simply express action done by someone else than the speaker.
- Auxiliaries may be added to *V-ts<sup>h</sup>a(:)* to mark evidentiality (e.g. *V-ts<sup>h</sup>a du?*, *V-ts<sup>h</sup>a bε?*)

## Common Tibetan

	future	present	past	perfect
personal (egophoric)	<i>V-kiyin</i>	<i>V-kiyö'</i>	<i>V-payin</i>	<i>V-yö'</i>
factual	<i>V-kire'</i>	<i>V-kiyöpare'</i>	<i>V-pare'</i>	<i>V-yöpare'</i>
sensorial	-----	<i>V-kidu'</i>	<i>V-song</i>	<i>V-sba'</i>

Table 1. verbal auxiliaries

(Oisel's [2017: 143] adaptation of Hill [2012: 392])

# Terminological clarification 1: Why “neutral” instead of “factual”?

The term “neutral” underlines the **interdependence** of the evidential forms. Neutral *bεʔ* is best described apophatically as not expressing the categories personal (like *ĩ:* or *jòʔ*) or sensorial (like *duʔ*). In Lhasa Tibetan, the apophatic nature of “factual” is suggested by Oisel (2017: 96, emphasis original):

“The factual signals that the speaker states a specific or common fact **without indicating the source and the access to information.**”

In the same vein, DeLancey (2018) states that in Tibetic languages

Neutral in D. used for imaginary realities

[t]he Factual verb endings are the only forms in the system which **neither assert nor imply anything about the source of information...**Emphasizing the use of this form to express “generally known facts” is thus misleading...Factual category...simply **disregards the question of evidence.** (DeLancey 2018)

In the context of Denjongke, saying anything more than “neutral” (or some equivalent) seems too particular. For instance, calling the category “factual” (instead of “neutral”) seems to mistakenly imply that the speaker wants to emphasize the factuality of the statement. The label “factual” may also mistakenly suggest that the other forms (personal and sensorial) present propositions that the speaker considers less factual than propositions marked by personal and sensorial categories.

## Terminological clarification 2: evidentially non-committed vs. sensorial vs. alterphoric vs. apparentive

ཁུ་སློབས་ཚར།

*k<sup>h</sup>u ʃɛp-tʰa:*

3SG.M arrive-CMPL

‘He has arrived.’ (**Evidentially non-committed**)

ཁུ་སློབས་ཚར་འདུག་(གེ།)

*k<sup>h</sup>u ʃɛp-tʰa du(kɛ)*

3SG.M arrive-CMPL EX.SEN(-IN)

‘He has arrived.’ (**Sensory evidence** of arrival, no decrease in certainty)

ཁུ་སློབས་ཚར་གེ།

*k<sup>h</sup>u ʃɛp-tʰakɛ*

3SG.M arrive-CMPL.APH

‘He has arrived.’ (**Alterphoric**, other-centred but sensory evidence not necessary, no decrease in certainty)

ཁུ་སློབས་པོ་འདྲེད།

(འདྲེད་= འདྲ་ཟད་)

*k<sup>h</sup>u ʃɛp-o*

*dɛ?*

(*dɛ?*= *da*

*bɛ?*)

3SG.M arrive-2INF AP.EQU.NE

be.similar EQU.NE

‘He seems to have come.’

ཁུ་སློབས་པོ་འདེམ་འདུག།

*k<sup>h</sup>u ʃɛp-o*

*dɛm*

*du?*

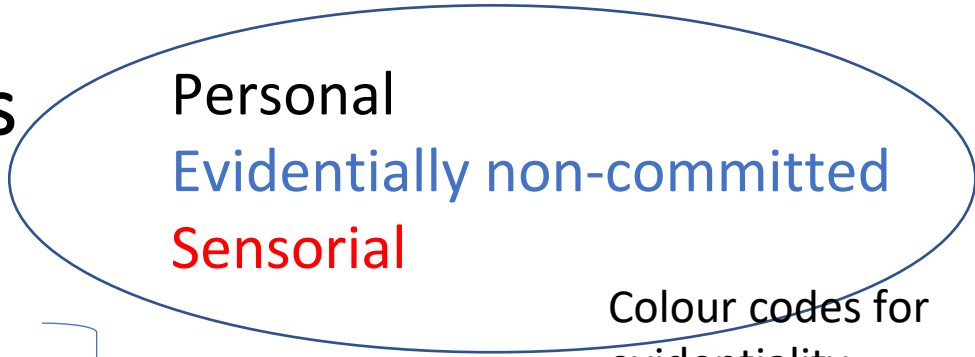
3SG.M arrive-2INF like.this EX.SEN

‘He seems to have arrived./It’s like he has arrived’

The two two clauses above are used in an inferential context where the speaker sees or hears some evidence of coming, e.g. hearing the referent’s voice or seeing his car. The apparentive *dɛ?* marks **inferentiality + decreased certainty**.

See also Caplow (2017: 255), who states that explicitly inferential markers in Diasporic Common Tibetan also “express non-certainty”.

# Default D. forms for inner sensations



Translating ‘I have headache’:

ང་མགོ་བྱུག་རྒྱབས་ཏེ་(ཨིན།) | *ŋà go sùk kjap-to ǐ:*  
1SG head pain strike-IPFV EQU.PER

ང་མགོ་ན་ངོ་(ཨིན།) | *ŋà go nà-do ǐ:*  
1SG head be.ill-IPFV EQU.PER

ང་ལོ་མགོ་ན་བཞིན་ཡོད། | *ŋà(=lo) go nà-zǎ: jø?*  
1SG(=DAT) head be.ill-PROG EQU.PER

ང་མགོ་བྱུག་རྒྱབས་པོ་སྤང། | *ŋà go sùk kjap-o bε?*  
1SG head pain strike-2INF EQU.NE

Personal imperfective

Personal progressive

Neutral periphrastic past (with stative verbs can be used for presently holding states)

# Default D. forms for inner sensations

Translating ‘I’m hungry’:

ང་/ང་ལོ་/*ངས་ གྲོད་བ་ ལྷོགས་ཚར།	<i>ŋà/ŋà=lo/*ŋá:</i> <i>k`jøp</i> <i>to:-tsʰa:</i> 1SG/1SG=DAT/*1SG.AGT stomach be.hungry-CMPL	} Completive (evidentially non-committed)
ང་ གྲོད་བ་ ལྷོགས་པོ་ ལྷང།	<i>ŋà</i> <i>k`jøp</i> <i>to:-po</i> <i>bεʔ</i> 1SG      stomach be.hungry-2INF EQU.NE	} Neutral periphrastic past
ང་ (གྲོད་བ་) ལྷོགས་པོ་ ཡིན།	<i>ŋà</i> <i>k`jøp</i> <i>to:-po</i> <i>ĩ:</i> 1SG      stomach be.hungry-2INF EQU.PER	} Personal periphrastic past

# Default D. forms for inner sensations

Translating ‘I love you from the bottom of my heart’:

ངས་ རང་ལོ་ ངའི་ སྙིང་ལས་ར་ དགའ་བོ་ ཡིན།    *ŋá: rã:=lo    ɲè: ɲiŋ=lɛ=ra                    ga-u            ǎ:*  
 1SG 2SG=DAT my heart=ABL=AEMPH love-2INF EQU.PER  
 (Also possible with personal imperfective *ga-do ǎ:*)

Translating ‘Now I fell ill’:

ད་ ང་ བ་ཚར།	<i>t'a    ɲà    nà-tsʰa:</i>	
	now 1SG	be.ill-CMPL
ད་ ང་ བ་བོ་ ཟླད།	<i>t'a    ɲà    nà-u            bɛ?</i>	
	now 1SG	be.ill-2INF EQU.NE
ད་ ང་ བ་བོ་ ཡིན།	<i>t'a    ɲà    nà-u            ǎ:</i>	
	now 1SG	be.ill-2INF EQU.PER
ད་ ང་ བ་ རྗོད་ ཡོད།	<i>t'a    ɲà    nà    dø:    jø?</i>	
	now 1SG	be.ill stay EX.PER
ད་ ང་ བ་ ཡོད།	<i>t'a    ɲà    nà            jø?</i>	(One consultant was not totally happy with this form)
	now 1SG	be.ill-2INF EX.PER

# “External perspective” on oneself is also possible in Denjongke.



Melac  
2021

ཨ་ཇི་, རོས་ འབག་མཐན་ འདི་ ལྷོས་ཚ་གེ་(ཤོ)།

*ádzi t'o: bak-kʰɛ:=di p`jo:-tsʰa-kɛ(=ɕo).*  
 oh load carry-NMLZ=DEMPH flee-CMPL-APH(=AT)  
 ‘Oh, the porters have escaped (I discover).’

The same (alterphoric) form used for external perception and inner sensation

ཡ! ང་ ལྷོདབ་ ལྷོགས་ཚ་གེ་(ཤོ)།

*já?, ɲà k`jɔp to:-tsʰa-kɛ(=ɕo)*  
 Oh 1SG stomach hunger-CMPL-APH=AT  
 ‘Oh, I’m hungry (I discover).’

(One of the two consultants considered this awkward without the attention marker =ɕo)

Using the sensorial, which implies having an outsider’s perspective on oneself, is not the default form but requires some contextual justification. The use of the attention marker provides the justification for the use of outsider’s perspective because it reveals the speaker’s surprise.



Further examples of sensorials being used for expressing speaker's inner sensations

ཡ་ ང་ མགོ་ ཟུག་ རྒྱབས་ཅེན་ འདུག། *jà? ηà go sùk kjap-tçen du?* ‘Oh, I have headache (I observe)’.

ང་ ལེབ་ གྲངས་བཞིན་ འདུག། *ηà lep k`jã:-zɛn du?* ‘I’m very cold./I’m freezing.’

ང་ ལེབ་ གྲངས་ཚར་ འདུག། *ηà lep k`jã:-ts<sup>h</sup>a: du?* ‘I’m very cold./I’m freezing.’

ཡ་ ང་ གྲོད་བ་ ལྷོགས་ཚར་ འདུག།

*jà? ηà k`jøp to:-ts<sup>h</sup>a: du?*

Oh 1sg stomach be.hungry-C M P L EX.SEN

‘Oh, I’m hungry’

(KN accepts but KT considers awkward)

ཡ་ ང་ གྲོད་བ་ ལྷོགས་ཚར་ འདུག་ཤོ།

*jà? ηà k`jøp to:-ts<sup>h</sup>a: du=ço*

(Both accept)

# Expressing other person's inner sensations

Translating 'He has headache'

ཁུ་མགོ་བྱུག་རྒྱབས་པོ་ལྷན།

*k<sup>h</sup>u go sùk kjap-o bε?*

3SG head pain strike-2INF EQU.NE

'He has headache' (Just making a statement)

ཁུ་ལོ་མགོ་ན་ཡོད།

*k<sup>h</sup>u=lo go nà jø?*

3SG=DAT head be.ill EX.PER

'He has headache.' (presumed meaning: I know well)

ཁུ་མགོ་ན་འདུག། *k<sup>h</sup>u go nà du?*

ཁུ་མགོ་ན་སྤྱོད་འདུག། *k<sup>h</sup>u go nà dø: du?*

'He has headache.' (presumed meaning: I just found out)

# Teasing out the difference between evidentially non-committed vs. sensorial form

ང་ མིག་དོག་ རྒྱབས་ཚར་ ཉ།

*ŋà mi:du kjap-tsʰa: nà*

1.SG eye(s) strike-CMPL TAG.ASR

‘I’m drowsy, I tell you.’ (I’ve reached the state of drowsiness)

ང་ མིག་དོག་ རྒྱབས་ཏོ་ ཉ།

*ŋà mi:du kjap-to nà*

1.SG eye(s) strike-IPFV TAG.ASR

‘I’m drowsy, I tell you.’ (I am in the state of drowsiness)

ང་ མིག་དོག་ རྒྱབས་ཚར་ འདུག་(ཀེ་ཤོ།)

*ŋà mi:du kjap-tsʰa du(-kɛ=ɕo)*

1.SG eye(s) strike-CMPL EX.SEN(-IN=AT)

‘I’m nodding off.’ (I’m actually nodding off and getting an “outsider’s perspective” when waking)

# Strategies for reacting to hearing one's own stomach rumbling (some options):

ཡ་, ད་ ང་ གྱེད་བ་ ལྷོགས་ཚར་ ཉ།

*jà?, t'a ηà k'jɔp to:-ts<sup>h</sup>a: ná*  
 Oh now 1SG stomach be.hungry-CMPL TAG.ASR  
 'Oh, now I am hungry, I tell you.'

Completive + assertive tag

ཡ་, ད་ ང་ གྱེད་བ་ ལྷོགས་ཚར་ འདུག་ཤོ།

*jà?, t'a ηà k'jɔp to:-ts<sup>h</sup>a du:=ɕo*  
 'Oh, now I am hungry (I discover to my surprise).'

ཡ་, ད་ ང་ གྱེད་བ་ ལྷོགས་ཚར་ འདུག་གེ་ཤོ།

*jà?, t'a ηà k'jɔp to:-ts<sup>h</sup>a dukɛ=ɕo*  
 'Oh, now I am hungry (I discover to my surprise).'

Completive sensorial (marked by *du?*) + attention marker

ཡ་, ད་ ང་ གྱེད་བ་ ལྷོགས་ཚར་གེ་ཤོ།

*jà?, t'a ηà k'jɔp to:-ts<sup>h</sup>akɛ=ɕo*  
 'Oh, now I am hungry (I discover to my surprise)'

Completive alterphoric + attention marker

ད་ གྱེད་བ་ ལྷོགས་པོ་ འདྲ་ ཟླ།

*jà?, t'a ηà k'jɔp to:-po da bɛ?*  
 Oh now 1SG stomach be.hungry-2INF be.like EQU.NE  
 'Oh, I seem to be hungry.'

Apparentive  
 (inference is made explicit and certainty reduced)

# Effect of contact language

When translating English "I'm hungry", consultant KN first offered the imperfective form *-do i̇:*. On another day, different forms were offered when asked to translate the below Nepali clauses.

Nepali

*ma-lai bhog lag-yo.*  
1.SG-DAT hunger happen-PST.3G  
'I'm hungry.'

*ma-lai bhog lag-echa.*  
1.SG-DAT hunger happen-DISCOVERY  
'I'm hungry, I discover.'

Peterson comments on Nepali *-echa* that "[t]his category expresses both unexpected information and inference through results" (Peterson 2000: 16).

Denjongke

*ŋà=to k'jɔp to:-tsʰa:*  
1SG=CEMPH stomach be.hungry-CMPL  
'As for me, I'm hungry'

*jaʔ ŋà=to k'jɔp to:-tsʰa-kɛ(=ɛo)*  
Oh 1SG=CEMPH stomach be.hungry-CMPL-APH(=AT)  
'Oh, I'm hungry (I discover).'

The default Nepali expression uses a past form, as does Denjongke (completive)

Three elements contribute to convey an effect similar to Nepali "mirative/inferential":

- 1) Interjection *jaʔ*
- 2) External perspective by alterphoric *-tsʰakɛ*
- 3) Surprise by *=ɛo*

Conclusion on Denjongke forms:

**Personal** forms and **evidentially non-committed** forms (neutral forms ending in *bεʔ* and *õ:/-tεε/-ts<sup>h</sup>a(:)* which do not participate in the evidentiality system) are typically used for expressing inner sensations. **Sensorial** forms are possible when the speaker for some reason takes an outsider's perspective on their own sensations, for instance to underline suddenness or surprise.

	Nonpast/Future		Present			Past		"Perfect"		
	Periphr.	Simple	IPFV	Progressive	Continuous	Periphr.	Simple	Resultative	Perfect/Pl. perfect(?)	CMPL
<b>Personal</b>	<i>V-tεε í:</i>	<i>V õ:</i>	<i>V-do í:</i>	<i>V-tεεn jøʔ</i>	<i>V dø: jøʔ</i>	<i>V-po í:</i>	<i>V-tεε</i>	<i>V jøʔ</i>	<i>V(-RDP)-po jøʔ</i>	<i>V-ts<sup>h</sup>a(:)</i>
<b>Neutral</b>	<i>V-tεε bεʔ</i>		<i>V-do bεʔ</i>	<i>V-tεεn jø-po bεʔ</i>	<i>V dø: jø-po bεʔ</i>	<i>V-po bεʔ</i>		<i>V jø-po bεʔ</i>	<i>V(-RDP)-po jø-po bεʔ</i>	
<b>Sensorial (alterphoric)</b>				<i>V-tεεn du(kε) (V-tεunge)</i>	<i>V dø: duʔ</i>			<i>V duʔ</i>	<i>V(-RDP)-po duʔ</i>	<i>(V-ts<sup>h</sup>ake)</i>

"Default" forms for expressing inner sensations  
(although neutral forms are also used)

Why is it possible in Denjongke (unlike most Tibetic languages) to use personal (or ego) forms to express inner sensations?

A significant factor is that in Denjongke the category "personal" is not associated with **intentionality/volitionality**, unlike the related Common Tibetan category personal/egophoric.

# Intentionality/volitionality is not central to Denjongke verbal morphology

## Common Tibetan

(Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 141)

Intentional

བལྟས་བ་ཡིན།

*tā'-payin.*

'I looked.'

Non-  
intentional

མཐོང་བྱུང་།

*thōng-cung.*

'I saw.'

\**thōng-payin*

## Denjongke

(Yliniemi 2021: 87)

ལྟ་བོ་ ཡིན།

*ta-u*

*í..*

(*ta-bo > ta-u*)

look-N M LZ EQU.PER

'(I) looked.'

མཐོང་བོ་ ཡིན།

*t<sup>h</sup>õ:-po*

*í..*

see-N M LZ EQU.PER

'(I) saw.'



# Intentionality/volitionality is not central to Denjongke verbal morphology

Standard Tibetan  
(Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 141)

Denjongke  
(Yliniemi 2021: 87)

Intentional

བཟླས་པ་ཡིན།  
*tā'payin.*  
'I looked.'

ཟླ་བོ་ཞིན།  
*ta-u      ǎ̃..*      (*ta-bo > ta-u*)  
look-N M LZ EQU.PER  
'(I) looked.'

Non-intentional

མཐོང་བྱུང།  
*thōng-cung.*  
'I saw.'

མཐོང་བོ་ཞིན།  
*t<sup>h</sup>ǎ̃:-po      ǎ̃..*  
see-N M LZ EQU.PER  
'(I) saw.'

**Denjongke:**  
Same ending for volitional and non-volitional verbs

**Standard Tibetan:**  
Different endings for volitional and non-volitional verbs

\**thōng-payin*

If personal/egophoric forms are strongly associated with volitionality, there would seem to be a functional need in the grammar to develop and use other forms for expressing speaker's non-volitional experiences.

Many Tibetic languages indeed have a "receptive egophoric" which can be used for expressing the speaker's (non-volitional) inner sensations.

Standard Tibetan	<i>cung</i>	(Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 147)
Rgyalhang Tibetan	<i>ɛaŋ</i>	(Hongladarom 2007: 31-32)
Dege Tibetan	<i>ɛũ:</i>	(Häsler 1999: 192)

*ŋa na-byuŋ.*  
I sick-PERF  
'I got sick.'

However, in Denjongke there is no functional need for a "receptive egophoric" because "regular" personal forms marked by *ĩ:* and *jøʔ* can be used for non-volitional actions.

# Volition: Denjongke vs. Common Tibetan future constructions

## Denjongke

a) གལ་སྲིད་ ང་ ཟམ་ མན་ཟ་ནེ་) ང་(ལོ་) གྲོད་བ་ ལྷོགས་ཤང་ ཡིན།  
k'ɛ:si? ηà sàm màn-za-ne ηà(=lo) k'jøp to:-ɕɛ ɦ̃:  
if 1SG food NEG-eat-COND 1SG(=DAT) stomach be.hungry-INF EQU.PER

b) གལ་སྲིད་ ང་ ཟམ་ མན་ཟ་ནེ་) ང་(ལོ་) གྲོད་བ་ ལྷོགས་ཤང་ སྤང།  
k'ɛ:si? ηà sàm màn-za-ne ηà(=lo) k'jøp to:-ɕɛ bɛ?  
if 1SG food NEG-eat-COND 1SG(=DAT) stomach be.hungry-INF EQU.NE  
'If I do not eat, I will be hungry'

### Teasing apart the difference between personal and neutral in future context

In an attempt to describe the difference between the personal form in a) and the neutral form b) consultant KN said that in a) the speaker as if **already knows** about the coming hunger at the time of speaking (spatiotemporal foregrounding, here and know), whereas b) suggests that the speaker **will become aware** of the hunger only in the future (spatiotemporal backgrounding, there and then).

## Common Tibetan

..... \*tō-kiyin  
'...I will be hungry.'

....tō-kire'  
'...I will be hungry.'

Personal future marker  
-kiyin not allowed  
because it is a volitional  
form

Unlike Common Tibetan, Denjongke allows “personal/egophoric perfect” to be used of non-volitional actions

### Common Tibetan

ང་ན་བྱང་། nga na-cung.

\*ང་ན་ཡོད། nga na yö’.

’I fell ill. I have fallen ill.’

ངས་ མཐོང་བྱང་། ngä’ thōng-cung

\*ངས་མཐོང་ཡོད། ngä’ thōng yö’.

’I saw. I have seen.’

(Tournadre & Dorje 2003: 165)

### Denjongke

ང་ ན་ ཡོད། *ŋà nà jø?*

’I fell ill, I have fallen ill’\*

ངས་ མཐོང་ ཡོད། *ŋá: t<sup>h</sup>õ: jø?*

’I saw, I have seen’

\*However, one of my two consultants was hesitant to accept this form)

# However, volitionality does affect Denjongke casemarking

ང་ གྲངས་དོ་ (ཨིན།)

*ŋà k'jã:-do (i:).*

1SG be.cold-IPFV (EQU.PER)

'I'm cold.'



Experiencer treated as **actor**  
(syntactic pull to align with  
volitional verbs)

ང་ལོ་ གྲངས་དོ་ (ཨིན།)

*ŋà=lo k'jã:-do (i:).*

1SG=DAT be.cold-IPFV (EQU.PER)

'I'm cold.'



Experiencer treated as **patient**  
(semantic pull to align with the  
nature of the situation)

The centrality of volitionality in other Tibetic languages:  
Shigatse Tibetan (Haller 2000)

	<i>Volitional</i>	<i>Non-volitional</i>
<i>Imperfective</i>	<b>-kījœ</b>	<b>-kì, -kījoapie</b>
<i>Perfective I</i>	<b>-jœ</b>	<b>-ne, -joapie</b>
<i>Perfective II</i>	<b>-pajl</b>	<b>-so/-tcu, -papie</b>
<i>Future</i>	<b>-cījl</b>	<b>-, -cīpie</b>

Volitionality in Shigatse Tibetan (Haller 2000: 176)

# The centrality of volitionality in other Tibetic languages: Dongwang Tibetan

Expressions of inner sensation pattern with non-intentional verbs.

Intentional      *k<sup>h</sup>a<sup>55</sup>ba<sup>53</sup> ka<sup>11</sup>dzi<sup>53</sup> ŋõ                      ta<sup>53</sup> ji*  
rim                    how.much VIS.IPFV look SELF.PST  
'(I) **looked** at how big the rim was' (Bartee 2007: 128)

Non-  
intentional      *ŋe<sup>13</sup>      zi<sup>13</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>55</sup>ŋi<sup>53</sup> ɕũ<sup>55</sup>=nə      t<sup>h</sup>ũ<sup>353</sup> sõ*  
1SGEN book 3PLGEN house=LOC see EGO  
'(I) **saw** my book at their house' (Bartee 2007: 128)

*ŋa<sup>13</sup>      tu<sup>53</sup>      sõ*  
1SABS hungry EGO  
'I am **hungry**' (Bartee 2007: 158)

So, *ji* (perfective) and *dzĩ* (imperfective) are **intentional** auxiliaries in clauses with first person agentive arguments. The auxiliary *sõ*, on the other hand, is an **unintentional** (perfective) auxiliary that primarily indicates action or result directed towards the speaker. This is the 'ego-deictic' auxiliary. In transitive and intransitive clauses, *sõ* indicates that the action or result is somehow directed towards the speaker...**Non-control verbs cannot co-occur with the auxiliaries *ji* and *dzĩ*.**" (Bartee 2007: 128)

# Lamjung Yolmo

”While the semantics of the verb in relation to volitionality and control can interact with the evidential system, it is not as central to the Lamjung Yolmo lexical verb structure as it is in other Tibetic languages... This may be a result of Yolmo’s ongoing contact with Nepali, which does not encode volitionality distinctions...” (Gawne 2016: 44)

”That the egophoric in Lamjung Yolmo can be used for a broader range of situations appears to contribute, in part, to the lack of focus on volitionality in the Lamjung Yolmo verb structure, as it can be used with a wider range of person agents and subjects than just first person, or first person related, volitional actors.” (Gawne 2016: 87)

*ŋà      nà-ti      yè*  
1SG    be.ill-PERF    AUX.EGO  
'I am ill.'                    (AL 101013-02)

(Gawne 2016: 102)



# Conclusion

Unlike Common Tibetan, Denjongke does not use sensorials as default forms for expressing inner sensations. Personal and evidentially non-committed forms are used instead, while sensorials are used in specific contexts where speaker wants to take an outsider's perspective on their sensations (e.g. sudden discovery). The reason why personal forms can be used for expressing inner sensation in Denjongke but not in Common Tibetan is that in Denjongke personal forms are not (strongly) associated with volitionality whereas in Common Tibetan they are.

## **Hypothesis:**

In languages which do have a sensorial form but do not have a non-volitional personal form (includes languages without personal forms and those in which personal forms are strongly associated with volitionality), the sensorial may be the best option for expressing inner sensations. In Denjongke, however, the personal form, which is not associated with volitionality, seems to be the best option in the system for expressing default cases of inner sensation.

# Used abbreviations:

AEMPH	anaphoric emphatic
AP	apparentive
APH	alterphoric
AT	attention marker
CEMPH	contrastive emphatic
CMPL	completive
EQU	equative
EX	existential
IN	intensifier
NE	neutral
PER	personal
SEN	sensorial

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