Internal and External Factors in Language Change. **Aspect in Tibeto-Kinnauri**

Anju Saxena
Uppsala University

RUUL. Reports from Uppsala University Linguistics # 32
1997

Department of Linguistics, Uppsala University
Box 513
S-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden

© 1997 Anju Saxena
RUUL # 32, ISBN 91-630-6193-7
Printed by Reprocentralen HSC, Uppsala 1997

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
a/e	aspect/evidential
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADV	adverbial
AGR	subject agreement
ASP	aspect
AUX	auxiliary
CLP	clause linkage particle
COMP	complementizer
COP	copula
CT	Classical Tibetan
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
D.PST	distant past
EFV	end of a finite verb
ELEG	elegant
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
EVID	evidential
EXCL	exclusive
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
INCL	inclusive
INF	infinitive
INST	instrumental
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NF	nonfinal
NOM	nominalizer
NP	noun phrase
OBJ	object agreement
PART	participle
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
PROG	progressive
PRST	present
PST	past
QUOTE	quotative
S	sentence
SG	singular
SUBO	subordinator
t, TNS	tense
TOP	topic
V	verb
VOL	volitional
VP	verb phrase

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Language changes constantly. This simple fact is the *raison d'être* of historical linguistics, which has set itself the tasks of describing the ways in which languages develop through time and of trying to explain the mechanisms of language change. All levels of linguistic structure are subject to change but, traditionally, researchers in historical linguistics have concentrated their attention to a large extent on the description of sound change and lexical change, while change in the grammar—especially syntactic change—has received less attention, a situation that has started to change in recent years. Increasingly, it is felt that research on how the grammars of languages develop through time—the mechanisms and causes of grammatical change—can make a significant contribution to our understanding of the phenomenon of language in general. The growing interest in grammatical change coincides with a general trend in linguistics where language is seen as inextricably rooted in a social and historical context and not merely as an abstract system, which can be studied just as well, if not better, in isolation from that context as in it.

Grammatical change includes change in the inflectional morphology and syntax of a language. Boundaries between these two levels of linguistic description, on the one hand, and the lexicon, on the other, is so fuzzy, so that the classification of a particular change as grammatical rather than lexical is not always unproblematic. Nevertheless, the notion that some kinds of change are best described as grammatical has proven its worth in historical linguistics. Morphological and syntactic changes are often interdependent, since a common type of change is one where some grammatical category changes from morphological expression to syntactic expression, or vice versa. How, then, do languages acquire new grammatical

constructions and categories and discard old ones? Regular sound change frequently leads to loss of morphological categories, while new bound morphology often arises through the process of *grammaticalization*, i.e., the development of content words into bound grammatical morphemes via intermediate stages as function words and clitics. Exactly the same developments—grammaticalization clines or pathways—have been attested again and again in languages around the world, for example, the development of nouns into case endings via postpositions, or that of verbs into morphological markers of tense or aspect via an auxiliary stage (Hopper and Traugott 1993:106ff). The end result of grammaticalization may be zero, i.e. bound grammatical morphemes are ultimately ground into dust by regular sound change. Grammaticalization in many cases is seen as a part of a larger cycle of grammatical change, in which languages move through the successive stages isolation – agglutination – fusion – isolation. This cycle is fed by the constant mustering of new content words as input to grammaticalization (Givón 1979:208f). An important characteristic of grammaticalization is that it is unidirectional, that is, it leads from a “less grammatical” to a “more grammatical” unit, but not vice versa.

Both sound change, with the concomitant loss of bound morphology, and grammaticalization are first and foremost seen as internally motivated changes, i.e. their causes are intrinsic to the particular language system in which they take place and they can be described and explained without reference to social factors—such as stylistic varieties, language planning, prestige, taboo, etc.—or to the influence of other languages (Gerritsen and Stein 1992b contains a lucid discussion of internal and external factors in language change). To put the matter drastically, even if there existed only one language in the world, that language would still change over time. The reality we live in is different, of course, as there are quite a few languages in the world (counted in the thousands, but, according to most estimates, not more than 6000, cf. Majewicz 1989:9), coexisting in the sense that a large proportion of the world’s population (at least half, according to Romaine 1989:8) speaks more than one language. In this reality the

question naturally arises whether grammatical change could not also be motivated by influence from another language, i.e., by language contact, rather than, or in addition to, causes internal to the language itself. This is a question on which linguists stand divided, however, whether a language can borrow grammatical contructions and categories from another language, or whether foreign influence at most can bring about a change in the distribution of already existing constructions and categories. Difference here is between the addition of new grammar and the elimination of old distinctions. It is generally agreed that language contact may play a role in the latter case, and it is only to the former that we may properly apply the label ‘borrowing’. There is no lack of consensus about the possibility of borrowing in the lexical domain, including the borrowing of some derivational morphology. It would be hard to claim otherwise, since loanwords are a fact of life in most languages. Borrowing in the phonological system is also deemed possible by many linguists. It is mainly when it comes to grammatical borrowing that linguists differ in their opinions. Some linguists find it natural and self-evident that languages should borrow grammar, while others are more skeptical (Prince 1995: 2):

> I believe that the overwhelming majority of cases of language contact phenomena involve importing new meanings to old forms and that the borrowing of new forms, at least at the syntactic level, is highly unlikely.

There is generally no disagreement about the relevant facts, only about their interpretation, as is so often the case in linguistics. Different linguists mean different things by the terms ‘grammatical change’ or ‘syntactic change’, depending on their theoretical preferences. Some linguists understand ‘syntactic change’ very broadly; for example, Rþóe-Draviña (1969:73ff), who includes valency changes in individual verbs under this heading, but also the appearance of new coordinating constructions as a result of the borrowing of coordinating conjunctions by languages where those did not exist earlier. On the other hand, generative linguists in particular tend to construe the term

extremely narrowly; for them, there is only one kind of syntactic change, viz. reanalysis of syntactic rules, which takes place on a 'deep' level of grammar. Generative grammar is explicitly categorial and not stochastic, so that, for example, a change in relative frequency in the use of two competing constructions cannot count as syntactic change (Gerritsen and Stein 1992b:5).

Prestructuralist linguists generally had no qualms about attributing grammatical change to language contact (cf. chapter 22 in Paul 1909). With Saussure and structuralism, however, emerged a view of language as a self-contained system, governed by its own internal laws, with little scope for language-external influence, be it from non-linguistic factors or from other language systems. The lexicon is not part of the linguistic system in the strict sense; hence, it is the only part of a language open to outside influence: "Thus, one is always returned to the same conclusion: that which is borrowed, in essence, are elements of vocabulary" (Meillet 1958 [1914]:87). Today the structuralist tradition is continued mainly by generative grammar in its various incarnations. It is not so much that adherents to this linguistic tradition deny the possibility of externally motivated grammatical change, but rather that there is a systematic theoretical bias against invoking external factors in general, and language contact in particular, as significant factors in language change:

> It would certainly be odd to encounter a book with the title *Monolingualism*. However, it is precisely a monolingual perspective which modern linguistic theory takes as its starting point in dealing with basic analytical problems such as the construction of grammars and the nature of competence. Chomsky (1965: 3), for instance, has defined the scope of reference for the study of language as follows: 'Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogenous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly.' (Romaine 1989:1)

We could add that not only is the “basic analytical problem” of “construction of grammars” preferably dealt with in the generative tradition from a basically monolingual perspective, but also change in grammars and its causes.

Even though language contact phenomena have been observed and noted for a long time by linguists, it could be fair to say that contact linguistics as a distinct research field was born in the 1950’s. The first attempt at a comprehensive systematic account of the multiplicity of factors involved in language contact is *Languages in Contact* by Weinreich (1970 [1953]), a frequently cited and many times reprinted work which includes chapters on the bilingual individual and the socio-cultural setting of contact situations. Weinreich, following Meillet (1958 [1914]), suggests that structural similarity between the languages involved in a contact situation makes borrowing easier, because the bilingual individual gets cues from structural or functional similarities of the category involved. He also explicitly states that elements belonging to all levels of grammar can be borrowed, namely, “phonic”, grammatical and lexical.

Unfortunately, Weinreich’s work was somewhat out of tune with the times. It appeared in the heydays of American structuralism, and a few years before the start of the Chomskyan ‘revolution’ in linguistics. As previously mentioned, language contact studies were not high on the agenda in either of those two frameworks. Nevertheless, quite a few linguists were interested in language contact in spite of the untimeliness of the topic in the quarter century after the appearance of Weinreich’s book. Even during this period there was a slow but steady accumulation of research findings, contributed from many linguistic disciplines, notably the research on such topics as language variation, language attrition and language death, bilingualism, language planning and standardization and pidgin and creole formation, often conducted under the wider heading of sociolinguistics.

A related, and slightly older, discipline is areal linguistics, which examines issues that arise when a group of languages have been in contact with each other for a long time, of which the classic example is the so-called Balkan linguistic union, or *sprachbund* (first described by Sandfeld 1930), and the languages in question share structural features which cannot be ascribed to common heritage. In the case of the Balkan *sprachbund*, we know the histories of the languages involved (Greek, Albanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbian, Romanian and Turkish) fairly well, so that those shared traits which are unlikely to be due to a common genetic origin can be singled out. For most of the worlds languages, we are not so fortunate, however, making it very hard, or impossible, to distinguish similarities between languages due to common heritage from those due to contact in such cases. This is at the root of the so called Sapir/Boas controversy in the early decades of this century in American linguistics. The controversy concerned the grouping of the American Indian languages, where Franz Boas tended to see common traits as areal phenomena, i.e., spread through borrowing, while his student Edward Sapir was more inclined to posit genetic relationships on the basis of the same traits (Haas 1976:66f; Emeneau 1980 [1962]:56f). Boas argued that in contact situations all levels of grammar can be influenced, and that there is no level of language that can remain unaffected (1911:48). Sapir, on the other hand, was convinced that it is only the 'superficial' aspects of language that can be affected by borrowing: this includes nonbasic lexicon and phonology, but not the "deeper kernel" of language, for example, bound morphology (1971 [1921]:192ff). The Sapirian viewpoint became more popular in mainstream—especially American—linguistics, despite the clear evidence to the contrary available in the literature.

In the 1980's contact linguistics started attracting the attention of a wider linguistic audience. In Europe, several symposia on language contact and related matters took place, among others, under the auspices of the Center for Bilingualism in Brussels, founded in 1977, and the Linguistic Circle of Mannheim (Nelde *et al* 1986). The second

half of the decade saw the publication of a number of book-length works devoted to language contact and related matters, such as Appel and Muysken 1987, Lehiste 1988, Van Coetsem 1988 and Thomason and Kaufman 1988. The last mentioned of these works turned out to be the most influential, which can be seen from the way most subsequent works on contact linguistics explicitly define their own theoretical positions in reference to it. It contains a detailed examination of various aspects of language contact; ranging from evidence from code-mixing/switching to pidgin and creoles. Despite some minor problems or limitations that have been brought out at times with the framework presented by the authors, it remains the single most comprehensive model for examining language change in contact situations. The most impressive aspect of the framework presented in the book is the incorporation of linguistic and extralinguistic factors within a unified theoretical framework. They criticize earlier work for putting excessive emphasis on the role of linguistic factors (such as markedness and typological distance) and ignoring the importance of extralinguistic factors. While this criticism may be largely justified, it ignores the contributions of some works such as Weinreich (1970 [1953]) who stated explicitly linguistic as well as extralinguistic factors as crucial ingredients for language change.

Thomason and Kaufman argue that investigation into the extra-linguistic history of a contact situation provides revealing answers about which elements are transferred in a particular contact situation and which elements fail to get transferred. A direct consequence of their insistence on the primacy of the sociolinguistic setting in determining the linguistic outcome of a language contact situation is their distinction between two types of contact situations: language maintenance and language shift. The latter is traditionally known as substratum influence. These two types of contact situations are linked with two types of processes: borrowing and interference through shift.

Language maintenance is the most widespread type of contact situation. In this situation, the languages which are in contact are maintained. The consequence of the contact situation is such that one or several of these languages—or rather, the speakers of the language—borrow constructions from the neighboring language. The most easily borrowed items in such a contact situation are lexical items. This happens even in casual contact situations, and it is only in the context of intense contact with a lot of bilingualism that syntactic elements get borrowed. In language maintenance, the direction of borrowing as well as which items get borrowed depend(s) to some extent on the degree and length of the contact. All languages involved maintain their own grammars in this language contact situation.

In language shift, on the other hand, speakers of one language abandon their language and adopt the language of another group. This only happens in special set-ups, requiring powerful extra-linguistic causes, which drive speakers to consciously shift to the other language, and abandon their own language. For this reason, in order to examine the shift varieties, a grasp of linguistic as well as extra-linguistic factors is necessary. The linguistic outcome is also different from that of borrowing, beginning in this case with phonological and syntactic elements.

While Thomason and Kaufman emphasize the role of sociolinguistic factors, such as length of contact and degree of bilingualism, Trudgill (1990) criticizes them for not taking into consideration the factor of age of speakers. Trudgill (1994) makes a distinction between language contact situations involving adult speakers only on the one hand, and situations involving child language contact and bilingualism on the other hand, because, he argues, the results of these two situations are different. The first kind leads to pidginization in the short term and to the formation of a creole language in the longer term, through the three processes of reduction, admixture and simplification. The second kind of contact situation occurs in stable long-term bilingual/multilingual setups, and the long-term result here is not

reduction or simplification, but convergence, and sometimes complication, in the linguistic systems of the languages involved. There is a large amount of borrowing of lexical items, and also borrowing at the sound-level. An example of the latter is the acquisition of click consonants in Bantu languages from the neighboring Khoi-San languages. There can also be borrowing of syntactic features, cf. Gumperz and Wilson's (1971) work in Kupwar village in Gujarat, India, where (the local varieties of) Kannada, Marathi and Urdu have converged through borrowing (of lexical items as well as grammatical) so that "messages show word-for-word or morph-for-morph translatability, and speakers can therefore switch from one code to another with a minimum of additional learning" (Gumperz and Wilson 1971:165).

Van Coetsem (1990) argues that the relative dominance of the languages involved, a factor largely ignored by Thomason and Kaufman, and from which quarter the transfer is initiated—from the target language speaker (TL agentivity), or from the receiving language speaker (RL agentivity)—are also crucial factors in a contact situation. RL agentivity is the same as borrowing, but TL agentivity is called 'imposition', and leads to shift in Thomason and Kaufman's terminology.

Thomason and Kaufman conclude the main part of their book with the observation that case studies on contact situations are urgently needed which "strike a better balance of linguistic and social analysis than most of the literature we have studied reflects" (1988:213). They partly respond to that need in the second part of the book, which consists of eight case studies of language contact situations. In recent years, there have appeared several volumes devoted to the linguistic and social aspects of contact situations and contact languages, for example, Ivir and Kalogjera 1991, Gerritsen and Stein 1992a, Bakker and Mous 1994 and Thomason 1997. A major difference between these recent works on language contact and the older works on the topic is the increasing insistence on the necessity of "discovering the

relevant linguistic facts and correlating them with known social facts" (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:214). They systematically attempt to provide an overall framework to account for issues that arise in language contact situations, and also to provide a large body of data, making it feasible now to evaluate principles and hypotheses which have been made over the years in this field of investigation, and thereby laying the foundation for more precise generalizations and principles.

Another parallel development in the recent history of linguistics is an increasing awareness among linguists about the need to take into consideration data not only from the much-studied Western languages, but also from lesser-known languages. The present study is a representative of this positive development.

This monograph concerns itself with issues involved in grammatical change, in particular, in the development of the modern aspect markers in Tibeto-Kinnauri languages. It is a descriptive, comparative and historical study of the aspect morphology in these languages. The Tibeto-Kinnauri languages examined for this purpose are Kinnauri, Paṭani, Tinani and Lhasa Tibetan.

The Tibeto-Kinnauri languages form a subbranch of Tibeto-Burman, a language family which includes several hundred languages, and in which the classification of individual languages in several subbranches is still uncertain. A brief background on the current classification of the Tibeto-Kinnauri languages is provided in chapter 2, together with a socio-geographical sketch of the languages which provide the data discussed in the subsequent chapters.

A descriptive analysis of the finite verb morphology in the Tibeto-Kinnauri languages is presented in chapter 3. In this analysis, attention is paid to morphosyntactic structure and the discourse context where that structure is used, and to the semantic and pragmatic differences between various structural patterns. In this chapter, we will see that

the perfective and the imperfective aspect markers in Tibeto-Kinnauri languages occur in a number of related constructions, but that Kinnauri and Paṭani show one kind of patterning, while the closely related Lhasa Tibetan and Tinani exhibit another kind, a state of affairs which calls for an explanation.

The historical part of the study, contained in chapters 4 and 5, examines the creation of aspect morphology. Tibeto-Kinnauri languages present interesting data in this regard, raising questions concerning motivations and mechanisms of grammaticalization and syntactic change. If lined up diachronically, the various "functions" of the perfective aspect markers in these languages suggest two pathways for the development of the modern aspect markers:

(1) Lhasa Tibetan, Gahri and Tinani are grammaticalizing nominalizers as perfective aspect markers.

(2) Kinnauri and Paṭani are reanalyzing participle forms as perfective and imperfective aspect markers.

Synchronic as well as single language diachronic evidence will be presented to suggest that the reanalysis of nominalizers as aspect markers in Tibeto-Kinnauri is a language-internal development, whereas the reanalysis of the participle forms as aspect markers is triggered by the influence of the neighboring Indic languages.

Two frequently observed historical sources of tense/aspect and evidential morphology are verb serialization and nominalization. A diachronic study of the development of modern aspect and evidential markers in Lhasa Tibetan is presented in chapter 4. The materials examined for this purpose are listed here in their chronological order:

(i) a sixth century Tibetan text from *Tunhuang* (Thomas 1957),
(ii) classical Tibetan texts (Hahn 1974),
(iii) *Mi=la ras=pa'i rnam thar*, a fourteenth century Tibetan text (De Jong 1959), and
(iv) data from standard Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 1985, 1986, 1990, 1992).

Examination of Tibetan texts representing various time periods suggest that certain aspectual and evidential markers in modern standard Lhasa Tibetan evolved by grammaticalizing the older nominalized copula construction. It will be argued that the copulas in such constructions have been reinterpreted as evidential markers in Lhasa Tibetan, and that the verb suffix *-pa*, which has a perfective interpretation in Lhasa Tibetan, is a reanalysis of the nominalizer *-pa*, when it precedes evidential markers (such as *yin* and *'dug*), and that *=gi*, the imperfective marker, is a reanalysis of *gin*, a nonfinal marker indicating temporal overlap. As a sequel to the reinterpretation of copulas as evidential markers and *-pa* as the perfective marker, the clause structure in Lhasa Tibetan is also undergoing change, where the evidential markers also indicate the end of a finite verb.

Givón (1979) suggests that syntactic constructions arise from loose paratactic constructions involving lexical items which slowly increase in discourse frequency until they become a required part of syntax. In chapter 4, arguments will be presented to suggest that the loss of the old tense/aspect system in Tibetan led to the development of a periphrastic construction consisting of a nominalized clause with a copula:

$_s$[NP $_s$[NP VP]$_s$ NOM COPULA]$_s$

The copula eventually took on the values of aspect and evidentiality, which led to a reanalysis of the structural configuration of the clause in Lhasa Tibetan:

$_{s}$[NP V-ASP EVID]$_{s}$

The present study, while discussing the pathway for development of the new aspect markers, will also examine the factors that motivate the functional extensions. This is the topic of chapter 5, where it will be suggested that the direction as well as functional extensions are motivated by links which speakers perceive between any two adjacent points on the pathway. The notion of 'metaphor' is invoked in this regard, which, in some cases, leads to functional extension (Heine and Reh 1984).

A related question concerns the choice of competing sources for developing aspect markers. The question that will be raised in this regard is: What is the functional motivation for utilizing the same set of markers for a range of functions, including the perfective marker, and what implication(s) does it have for its historical development?

The various "functions" of the perfective aspect markers in Tibeto-Kinnauri languages, such as Kinnauri and Paṭani are those of

(I) past participle
(II) nonfinal verb followed by a subordinator in adverbial clauses
(III) nonfinal verb in the clause chain construction
(IV) nonfinal verb in the compound verb
(V) perfect marker

These functions could be seen as diachronic stages in the development of the modern perfective morphology. The order of these stages is toward increasing formal dependence of the verbal constituents involved, and a gradual loss of the semantic features of the units concerned, the latter exhibiting some sort of 'bleaching' (Givón 1984). This development at the semantic front affirms the claim that the morpheme undergoing reanalysis "is only partially empty in the sense that some feature values are suspended while others are held constant"

(Vincent 1993:436). The pathway suggested in chapter 5 illustrates the gradual bleaching of the semantic features of the morpheme and its accompanying increasingly dependent nature. In Kinnauri, a subordinator follows the nonfinal verb in the temporal adverbial construction (stage II), but not after the nonfinal verb in the clause chain construction (stage III). Furthermore, while the constructions at stages II and III may have different subjects in each clause, the compound verb construction and the construction involving the copula auxiliary do not allow this possibility, suggesting a difference in the degree of independence of the verb.

Chapter 5 also examines the issue of internal vs. external motivations for the development of perfective aspect markers in the Tibeto-Kinnauri languages. It will be argued here that it is not easy to distinguish language-internal from language-external factors in a contact situation. Rather in some cases a more advantageous approach is to recognize the relevance of both (Aitchison 1981, Mithun 1992). One crucial prerequisite for most kinds of contact-induced language change is an extended period of close contact between the target and the recipient languages. The Tibeto-Kinnauri languages have long been in contact with Indic languages. The data presented in chapter 5 suggests that the reanalysis of participial forms as perfective and imperfective markers in the Tibeto-Kinnauri languages examined is due to external factors, namely, contact with neighboring Indic languages (a subbranch of Indo-European). Yet the very potential for this reinterpretation existed in the structure of the languages themselves; illustrating an interplay of external and internal factors. This conclusion is arrived at after examining the tense and aspect markers not only in the aforementioned Tibeto-Kinnauri languages, but also in Indic languages spoken in the geographical region where Tibeto-Kinnauri languages are spoken and Tibeto-Burman languages (of which the Tibeto-Kinnauri languages form a subbranch) outside this region. It is shown that, on the whole, the diachronic sources for new aspect morphology are different in the two (genetically unrelated) language groups Tibeto-Burman—which favors nominalized forms—

and Indic—where participles are preferred. The exceptions in this investigation are made up by those Tibeto-Burman languages (including Tibeto-Kinnauri languages) which are, and long have been, in intimate contact with Indic languages in a sociolinguistic setting where one or more of the Indic languages are prestige languages, i.e. the kind of setting that favors structural borrowing from the more prestigious to the less prestigious language. In these Tibeto-Kinnauri languages we find new aspect markers that have participle forms as their diachronic source. It is important to note, however, that the markers themselves have not been borrowed, but only the concept of reanalyzing the participle forms as aspect markers, suggesting a complex interaction of internal and external factors in a certain contact situation.

Chapter 2

BACKGROUND

2.1 **Tibeto-Kinnauri languages**

There have been several attempts to classify the Tibeto-Burman languages, for example, Shafer (1955, 1966, 1967, 1974), Benedict (1972), Thurgood (1985) and Nishi (1990). Classification of Tibeto-Burman languages is still uncertain. Fig. 1 presents the classification of the Tibeto-Kinnauri languages based on our current knowledge. The postulation of Tibeto-Kinnauri as a separate branch is from Benedict (1972) and the classification of West Himalayish is from Nishi (1990). The parenthesized languages under West Himalayish are my additions (Saxena 1992).

Fig. 1 Classification of the Tibeto-Kinnauri subgroup

Tibeto-Burman
- Bodic
  - Bodish
    - Tibeto-Kinnauri
      - Tibetan: Western, Central, Southern, Khams, Amdo, Monpa
      - West Himalayish:
        - a) Kinnauri-Paṭani, (Tinani)
        - b) Thebor-Gahri, Rangpa, Chaudangsi, (Darmiya)

The Tibeto-Burman language family includes several hundred languages. These languages are spoken from northeastern Vietnam in the east to northern Pakistan in the west, from the Tibetan plateau in the north to the Malay peninsula in the south. There has been

relatively little work done on comparative Tibeto-Burman. Genetic classification of some of the subbranches remains problematic. However, most Tibeto-Burmanists agree that the four major branches of the Tibeto-Burman language family are Bodic, Baric, Burmic and Karenic. The two subbranches of Bodic are Bodish and East Himalayan. Tibeto-Kinnauri belongs to the Bodish subbranch. It includes Tibetan, which is one of the two best known Tibeto-Burman languages (the other being Burmese) and West Himalayish languages, which are some of the least documented languages among the Tibeto-Burman language family. The Tibeto-Kinnauri languages considered in this monograph are Tibetan, Kinnauri, Paṭani and Tinani.

2.2 **West Himalayish**

There has been very little work done on the West Himalayish languages. We do not, for example, have a definite knowledge of how many languages there are in this subbranch. The following languages are listed in the *Linguistic Survey of India* (Grierson 1909) as belonging to the West Himalayish subgroup Gahri (also known as [= hereafter] Bunan), Paṭani (= Pattani, Manchad), Tinani (= Tinan), Kanaawarii (= Kinnauri), Ranglooi (= Ranglo), Kanaashii (= Kanash), Tibarskad (= Thebor), Rangkas, Darmiya (= Darma), Chaudangsii (= Chaudans), and Byaangsii (= Byans). Chitkal (= Chitkulii) was first mentioned in Bailey (1920). Kinnauri, Paṭani and Tinani are spoken in the Himachal Pradesh state in India.

2.2.1 *Socio-cultural background*

The Indian subcontinent has a long history of linguistic diversity and multilingualism, spanning more than three millennia. Languages spoken in this region belong to four language families: Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and Munda.

Societal multilingualism is an established tradition in India, where not all languages, which are spoken in one community, are employed in all spheres of activity. Instead, in the Indian context, language use is often situationally differentiated, where one language is used, for example, in school or at work, another at home, and possibly yet another for religious purposes. Individuals in such communities may either be fluent in all the languages involved or they are fluent in their mothertongue, but have working knowledge of the other languages in that particular social situation. In this regard, the linguistic situation in India differs from the pattern which migrating social groups in the Western world commonly display, where the second or third generation immigrants give up their mother tongue, and accept the language of the new country (for example, English in the US) as their own language. In such cases language shift is the norm and language maintenance is an exception. In the Indian setting, on the other hand, language maintenance is the norm, not the exception. A native speaker of Kannada, a Dravidian language spoken in Karnataka, maintains his/her language, even when (s)he moves to another state (for example, Gujarat, where Gujarati is the dominant language) and the next generation continues to regard Kannada as their mother tongue and uses Gujarati in certain specific spheres of activities. Such contact situations have enormous impact on the linguistic structures of these languages. The case study by Gumperz and Wilson (1971) of the linguistic situation in a particular multilingual speech community in India, the village of Kupwar, shows that as a result of close long-term language contact, shift from one language to another does not necessarily mean shift from one grammar to the grammar of another language. Instead, the grammars of the three languages involved have converged to the point that switching from one language to another often entails nothing more than the exchange of lexical items of one language for those of another in a grammatical framework which remains the same across languages.

Despite this stable multilingualism, language death is not uncommon in the Indian context, either. In India, as elsewhere in the world,

languages have died and are dying at an alarming rate because of the social upheavals brought about by industrialization and urbanization. Indigenous languages with no written tradition and with no or very little political and/or economic power at the local and national level are especially likely to fall by the wayside enroute to modernity. Speakers of these languages in many cases favor the neighboring dominant language rather than their own language, seeing the latter as more of a liability than as an asset. Some languages completely vanish from the face of the earth and others are given up in particular contexts. The socially dominant languages in India belong to two language families: Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, both of which are relatively well researched and described in the linguistic literature. Communities which speak West Himalayish languages are classified as tribal communities. Tribal languages have been ignored to the extent that we do not even know how many of them exist.

In modern times, partly because of the rapid development in technology and changing socio-economic patterns in India, the socio-cultural patterns in the region where West Himalayish languages are spoken, are also undergoing changes. As is typical of the whole of India, speakers of minority languages (West Himalayish languages are regarded as minority languages) are bilingual to a varying extent. While minority-language speakers learn the language of the dominant group, the reverse is usually not the case. Most young people of this region who strive for higher education are bilingual. There is no university in this region, forcing them to migrate (in some cases temporarily and in others permanently) outside this area, where the medium of instruction and the *lingua-franca* are not their mother tongue. Many of them also end up taking jobs outside their region. Such social situations have important linguistic consequences for these languages. An example of this will be presented in chapter 5. It will be suggested there that one set of the modern aspect markers in West Himalayish language represents a case of syntactic convergence with the neighboring Indic languages.

The geographical region where the West Himalayish languages are spoken display contact with ‘outsiders’ (i.e., non-West Himalayish) at various points in their history, manifesting layers of different socio-cultural traditions. Regions where Kinnauri, Paṭani and Tinani are spoken lie on the Indo-Tibetan border. Tibet is a sacred land where Gods and Godesses live according to some Indian mythology. Pran Chopra (“On an Indian Wonder”) proposes seeing a pervasive Indic influence in the region wherein all aspects of social life are impinged upon. This can, for example, be seen very clearly in the festivals of Kinnauri. The festivals of Kinnaur include Hindu festivals, Buddhists festivals and indigenous festivals.

Here is some brief information on the geographic description of the West Himalayish languages considered in this study.

Kinnauri

Standard Kinnauri is spoken in the area extending from Saraahan to Poo, i.e., Nichar, Kalpa, Sangla (excluding two villages (Chitkal and Rakcham) where Chitkal is spoken), most subcounties in Morang, and several villages in the Poo county. The total number of native speakers of Kinnauri is 59,154 (Census report of India 1981).

Paṭani

Paṭani is spoken in the Paṭan valley region, from Tandi to Thirot. It is the *Lingua franca* of the region. The number of native speakers, according to the Census report of India (1981), is 7,121. However, this number also includes the speakers of another language, Daagi.

Tinani

Tinani is spoken between Sissu Nullah and Tandi. This region is called Gondhala. Rangloi is an adjoining language, spoken in Khoksar. The number of native speakers of Tinani is 1,833 (Census report of India 1981).

2.2.2 *Background literature: West Himalayish*

While there are a number of individual Bodish languages and dialects for which documentation is lacking, the West Himalayish subbranch remains the most seriously underdocumented genetic unit within Bodic. While reconstructing the proto-Tibeto-Burman verb agreement system, DeLancey states,

> The Kanauri languages [West Himalayish], unfortunately, constitute another group for which documentation is inadequate. (1989:324)

This can be measured by the fact that these languages have so far been considered non-tonal (thus tones are not marked on the data), whereas my work has shown that at least one of them (Paṭani) is tonal (Saxena 1991a). Most of the works that are available on these languages, provide only sketchy descriptions of morphology and, at the most, a passing mention of syntax.

Two varieties of Kinnauri have been mentioned in the literature. They are labelled as Lower Kinnauri and Upper Kinnauri. There has been no comparative work done on these two varieties of Kinnauri, which allows one to determine whether they are two separate languages, or are two varieties of a single language. In this study we will concentrate on the Lower Kinnauri, which is also referred to as the standard variety of Kinnauri.

The available material on Kinnauri (Bailey 1909, Joshi and Rose 1909, Neethivanan 1971, Sharma 1988) are good initial attempts to describe Kinnauri. However, they miss some very important phonological and grammatical facts. They lack the kind of detailed information needed to do comparative and historical work (Saxena 1992, 1995, 1997).

Of the literature for the remaining languages of this group, we have only the *Linguistic Survey of India* (Grierson 1909), Francke (1909), Zoller (1983), Sharma (1989) and Saxena (1992,1997). Zoller (1983) is a reasonably complete and reliable description of Rangpa. Francke (1909) presents sets of verb paradigms and nominal conjugations in Tinani, Gahri, and Paṭani. This provides useful material on begining work on case marking and verb morphology for these languages. However, it has limitations. Francke does not describe the morphemic alternations that are permissible, nor deals with the semantics of the copulas and verb endings, crucial for studies such as the present one. One faces similar problems while using Sharma (1988, 1989) as reference material.

2.2.3 *Data for the present study: West Himalayish*

The Kinnauri, Paṭani and Tinani data for this study was collected during my two fieldtrips to India in 1989-90 and 1994.[1] The description of my Kinnauri, Paṭani and Tinani consultants follows.[2]

Kinnauri

For Kinnauri, my primary consultants were Santosh Negi, Suraj Negi and Sneh Negi. At various stages, I also collected data from Arjun Negi and Jwala Sukhi Negi. Jwala Sukhi Negi has since passed away. Suraj Negi and Santosh Negi are sisters and Jwala Sukhi Negi was their mother. They are not related to Arjun Negi and Sneh Negi. Arjun Negi and Sneh Negi are similarly not related.

Jwala Sukhi Negi lived in the Kanai village, which comes under the jurisdiction of Sangla county in Kinnaur district. She was about sixty five years old at the time of data collection. She never left Kinnaur, except for occasional visits to Simla, the closest city. She could understand and speak some Hindi, an Indic language. Although illiterate, she was a very good storyteller.

Santosh Negi was born and brought up in the Kanai village. She was about thirty three years old at the time of data collection. She had left Kinnaur ten years ago to go to school in Simla. She now works in a government office in Simla. Her family is still in Kinnaur, with whom she maintains close contact. She visits Kinnaur very frequently. She is well-versed in Hindi.

Suraj Negi was born and brought up in the Kanai village. She was about thirty seven years old at the time of data collection. She lives in the village with her daughter and her sister-in-law. She has never left Kinnaur, except for occasional visits to Simla to visit her sister. Unlike her sister, she is illiterate. She speaks Hindi fluently. I met her in Simla when she was visiting her sister. She is an extremely warm and friendly person. This characteristic of hers created some problems while working with her. Her desire to be accomodating proved to compromise data collection. She was afraid to say that a particular form is not acceptable in certain constructions. It took me a while to realize this. After that, I did not collect data from her, and had to recheck the entire dataset with Santosh Negi, who was not afraid to speak her mind.

Sneh Negi is also from the Sangla county. She was about twenty four years old at the time of data collection. She was studying for her masters degree at the Himachal Pradesh University at the time of data collection. Her mother lives in the village. She visits Kinnaur frequently. She is fluent in Hindi.

Arjun Negi is from the Rikhong Pyu village which comes under the jurisdiction of the Kalpa county. He was about twenty five years old when I worked with him. He was studying for his bachelors degree in business management. His family still lives in Kinnaur. He visits them very frequently. There are some morphophonemic differences between his speech and the speech of the rest of my Kinnauri consultants. My consultants attributed these differences to the geographic distance between his village and theirs. He was a fluent Hindi speaker.

Paṭani

My consultants, for Paṭani, were Chemme Angmo Shabnam and Sonam Dolma. None were related to one another. I collected data with Chemme in Simla, and from Sonam in Delhi. Most of the Paṭani data used in this study was collected from Chemme. Data from Sonam was collected, primarily, to fill in the gaps towards the end of the first fieldtrip.

Chemme is from Sumnam village which comes under the jurisdiction of Tandi county in Lahul district. She was about twenty three years old at the time of data collection. She left her village as an adolescent to live with her father in Kullu, the closest city. She presently visits her village every summer. She was attending the Himachal Pradesh university in Simla when I worked with her. Though Paṭani is her native language, she was a fluent speaker of Hindi.

Sonam Dolma was about fifty five years old at the time of data collection. She left her village in the Paṭan valley upon getting married. Her husband's job frequently required moving to different places. She has lived in many places outside of the Paṭan valley. She visits her village once or twice every year and constantly has people visiting her from her village. She talks to her husband and relatives in Paṭani and in Hindi to her children.

Tinani

Tinani data was collected with the help of Rajesh Thakur from Teeling village in the district of Lahaul and Spiti in the state of Himachal Pradesh. He was well-versed in Paṭani and Hindi, the former being the *lingua-franca* of the region.

Data collection technique

For my data collection I used a combination of direct elicitation and narratives, as I feel that a combination of these two techniques yields a better result than using either in isolation. I chose Hindi as the medium

for data collection, because all of my consultants, except one, were well-versed in Hindi (I am also fluent in Hindi, my native language). Besides collecting a large corpus of direct-elicited data on various topics, I also collected narrative texts. Paṭani and Tinani texts were collected from Chemme Angmo and Rajesh Thakur, respectively. The Kinnauri texts were collected primarily from Santosh Negi, Sneh Negi and Jwala Sukhi Negi. The data with Jwala Sukhi Negi was collected during my trip to her village in Kinnaur. Santosh accompanied me on this trip. All the stories were told in storytelling sessions, where Jwala Sukhi was the narrator and her family members were sitting around her. Storytelling was a common feature in their household. The tape recording was a novelty at the beginning of the first few sessions, but was soon forgotten. The stories were directed at her grandchildren, and the grandchildren in return responded to the narrator appropriately at various intervals. The narratives were folktales and personal narratives. Narratives collected from Sneh Negi, Santosh Negi and Chemme Angmo were in more formal settings.

2.3 **Tibetan**

Unlike West Himalayish, there is substantial data and analyses available for Tibetan. There are fairly detailed dictionaries available of Classical Tibetan as well as modern Tibetan (for example, Jäschke (1881) for Classical Tibetan; Goldstein (1978) for modern Tibetan). For Central Tibetan there are the works of Chang and Chang (1964, 1965, 1978, 1980, 1981, 1983, 1984), Goldstein (1973), DeLancey (1985, 1986, 1990, 1992) and my own (Saxena 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1991b, forthcoming). There are also Tibetan texts of various time periods available, for example, sixth century Tibetan texts (Thomas 1957), Classical Tibetan texts (Hahn 1974, Jäschke 1954), and modern standard Lhasa Tibetan texts (Chang and Chang 1978). Standard Lhasa Tibetan represents the speech of the educated community of Tibetan speakers of the Lhasa region in Tibet. The Tibetan writing system displays a remarkable degree of conservatism, so while spoken

Tibetan dialects display variation, they produce the same written form of their cognates. An example of this is *skra*, the written word for 'hair'. All educated Tibetans recognize this along with its meaning, but a Tibetan from Bhutan or Sikkim pronounces this as *kya*, from Tao-fu as *Stra*, from Purik as *skra* and from Central Tibetan as *ṭa.*

2.3.1 *Data for the present study: Tibetan*

In order to examine the development of the modern finite verb morphology in Tibetan, the following materials, listed in their chronological order, are examined.

(i) Sixth century Tibetan texts from *Tun huang* (Thomas 1957) (*Tunhuang* texts, hereafter),
(ii) Classical Tibetan texts (Hahn 1974) and descriptions (Francke 1929, Jäschke 1954),
(iii) *Mi=la ras=pa'i rnam thar*, a fourteenth century Tibetan text (De Jong 1959), and
(iv) Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 1985, 1986 1989, 1992).

Tunhuang Texts

The *Tunhuang* texts were procured from the famous walled-up library at *Chi'en=fo=tung* near *Tunhuang* in Western *Kan=su* in what used to be Northeastern Tibet (now a part of China). These texts are the oldest Tibetan texts available. They represent the Old Tibetan variety of Tibetan. The term Old Tibetan is used "for the language spoken during the earliest period for which written records exist - more or less arbitrarily, for the language spoken, say, from the seventh to the tenth century" (Beyer 1992:19). For the present study, texts III and IV of Thomas (1957) were analyzed. Text III is entitled *The decline of the good age*. It depicts transition from the Golden Age to an Age of Decline, describing the decline of humanity after the retreat of the gods to heaven, which resulted in the deterioration of religion, morals,

and an increase in immoral activities, whereby immoral people became rich and powerful. The Text IV is entitled *Age of decline, the skyi [Lhasa] kingdom and its religion*, describing the pre-Buddhist religion and mythology of the Skyi kingdom.

Thomas (1957) makes the following conjectures concerning the time range of these texts, and the geographical area which they represent. Text III makes reference to a Black-face king, the Turk tribes and their division, and Text IV makes reference to a Turk alien. Historical works show that Turks were in control of Western Kan=su by 560 A.D. Power was passed from the Turks to the Tibetans around 662 A.D. Thomas takes this to suggest that text III "relates itself probably to the first half of the VIIth century A.D.", and Text IV is dated around 500 A.D. The texts, according to Thomas (1957), reflect the geographical area in Western Kan=su or Chinese Turkistan. A closer look at the *Tunhuang* texts suggests that dialectal variation existed even in Old Tibetan (Thomas 1957, Beyer 1992).

Classical Tibetan

Classical Tibetan is the standard written variety of Tibetan. According to the Tibetan tradition, the first grammar of Tibetan was written by Thon-mi Saṃbhota in the seventh century A.D. (Hoffman 1975). Later varieties of Classical Tibetan are adaptations of Saṃbhota's description of the language. As Beyer states "The basic phonological distinctions underlying the classical language have remained - throughout its history - those of Old Tibetan" (1992:37). Because Classical Tibetan does not relate to one particular time period, it creates some problems for doing a diachronic study. For example, a grammar of Classical Tibetan can have data from relatively older texts as well as relatively newer ones, for example, fourteenth century and nineteenth century, where they represent the standard written Tibetan. This should, however, not lead one to suggest that a Classical Tibetan from all age represents exactly the same speech. An example of Classical Tibetan reflectng variations based on the prevalent speech is

mi=la ras=pa (see below). The description of Classical Tibetan in this mongraph is based on the analysis of Classical Tibetan texts provided in Hahn (1974), except where otherwise mentioned.

Mi=la ras=pa'i rnam thar

Mi=la ras=pa was a Tibetan poet-saint, who lived from 1040-1123. His songs are still very popular among the Tibetans. *Mi=la ras=pa'i rnam thar* 'a biography of *Mi=la ras=pa*' was compiled by *Dur-khrod ñul-ba'i rnal-'byor-pa rus-pa'i rgyan-can* lama (De Jong 1959). It describes significant events in *Mi=la ras=pa*'s life. The text is divided in nine chapters. Chapter III is taken here as the representative of the Tibetan of this period. This chapter describes *mi=la ras=pa'*s youth and his indoctrination into the mysteries and craft of black magic. De Jong believes that the text was written sometime between 1188 and 1548. The language used in this text is relatively colloquial and is said to show signs of the Tibetan spoken in the Tö and Tsang regions.

Lhasa Tibetan

Lhasa Tibetan is one of the varieties of Central Tibetan. It represents the speech of the educated classes in the Lhasa region. It is the same variety of Lhasa Tibetan which is described in various works of Chang and Chang (1964, 1965, 1978, 1980, 1981, 1983) and DeLancey (1985, 1989, 1990, 1992).

Notes

[1]. The first fieldtrip was supported in part by NSF grant BNS-8711370 and the second by an Olof Gjerdman travel grant from Uppsala University.

[2]. I would like to express my thanks and gratitude to my language consultants for their support. A special note of thanks to my Kinnauri consultant Santosh Negi for her help with practical arrangments while in the field. Census figures are from secondary sources.

Chapter 3

CREATION OF ASPECT MORPHOLOGY: SYNCHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

3.1 **Introduction**

Verbs take different sets of affixes depending on the position of their respective occurrences. When verbs occur in nonfinal positions, they require nonfinal marker; likewise, when they occur in the final position, they require one or more finite verb suffixes. Tense, aspect, agreement and evidential markers occur in the final position in Tibeto-Kinnauri languages and function as the finite verb morphology.

The aim of this chapter is to provide a description of the finite verb morphology in selected Tibeto-Kinnauri languages, concentrating on their aspect morphology. For the sake of brevity, attention will be focussed here on the finite verb structure in affirmative constructions. The analysis of each language will begin with a description of the basic finite verb morphology, which will be followed by an account of the aspect and its related morphology in that language. The descriptive account of the finite verb morphology in Tibeto-Kinnauri languages, presented in this chapter, will form the basis for examining the development of the modern aspect markers in this group of languages in chapter 5.

When describing the verbal system in Tibeto-Kinnauri languages, the terms ‘perfective’ and ‘imperfective’ are frequently used. They are defined here as follows:

Perfective

> A PFV [perfective] verb will typically denote a single event, seen as an unanalyzed whole, with a well-defined result or end-state, located in the past. More often than not, the event will be punctual, or at least, it will be seen as a single transition from one state to its opposite, the duration of which can be disregarded. (Dahl 1985:78)

Imperfective

> ... an imperfective situation may be one viewed as in progress at a particular reference point, either in the past or present, or one viewed as characteristic of a period of time that includes the reference time, that is, an habitual situation. (Bybee *et al* 1994:125)

3.2 **Kinnauri**

Tibeto-Burman languages are clause chaining languages, in which the verb of the final clause carries the tense, aspect and agreement morphology. A finite verb in Kinnauri involves a verb stem, tense marker and a subject agreement marker (Saxena 1995). In some cases the object agreement marker, honorific marker and aspect marker are also affixed (see below for details). The copulas and other verbs in Kinnauri share subject agreement markings and some tense suffixes. Section 3.2.1 provides a description of the basic finite verb morphology in Kinnauri. The sections on the copulas and other verbal constructions follow next, concentrating on the features that are specific to them.

3.2.1 *Basic finite verb morphology*

Table 1 describes the subject agreement markers in Kinnauri.

Table 1. Kinnauri subject agreement markers

Person	SG	Dual	PL
1	*-k*	*-č* (EXCL)	*-č* /*-me* (INCL)/PL
2 (-HON)	*-n*	*-n*	*-n(o)*
2 (HON)	*-ñ*	*-č*	*-č*
3 (-HON)	0 / *-t,-d*	0	0
3 (HON)	*-š*	*-š*	*-š*

The subject agreement markers are the same in copula and noncopula constructions. There is, however, some variation among Kinnauri speakers in regard to the first person dual (INCL) and the plural agreement marker and in regard to the third person nonhonorific singular subject agreement marker. In the speech of my language consultants from the Kanai village in the Sangla county, two suffixes, *-č* and *-me*, function as the first person dual (INCL) and plural agreement markers. On the other hand, Kinnauri speakers from other regions have only *-č* as the agreement marker in such constructions. Concerning the third person singular subjects, all language consultants, except one, have 0 as the subject agreement marker. In this consultant's speech[1], there is an alternation between 0 and *-t*/*-d* for third person nonhonorific singular subjects in noncopula constructions, as for example, *k^{h}ya*, *k^{h}ya-d* '(s/he) saw', *ža*, *ža-d* '(he/she) ate'. Such an alternation is restricted to a few verbs in the past tense, even in this consultant's speech. More work needs to be done in order to examine the alternation in detail.

A finite verb in Kinnauri can have one of the following two structures: V-(OBJ)-TNS-AGR or V-(OBJ)-ASP (AUX-TNS-AGR). Copula constructions have the structure V-TNS-AGR, where *to*, *du* and *ni* function as the copulas (see the section on copula construction for their distribution). Copulas may also occur in noncopula constructions, where they function as auxiliaries. Such noncopula constructions have the structure V-(OBJ)-ASP (AUX-TNS-AGR). In my dataset, the imperfective aspect marker *-Id* is never followed by an auxiliary; with other aspect markers the occurrence of the auxiliary is optional. The tense markers in copula constructions as well as in noncopula constructions involving copulas, are the same, i.e., *-ta*/*-tI*/*-te*/*-to*/*-I*/*-o* (future tense) and *-ke*/*-ge* and *-gyɔ* (past tense). The present tense does not have any overt marking. All the examples in my data involving noncopula verbs in the finite verb structure V-(OBJ)-TNS-AGR are in the past or in the future tense. The future tense markers are the same, as indicated above. A separate set of past tense markers (*-ɔ*/*-e*/*-a*/0) occurs in this finite verb structure (see the section on noncopula construction for the distribution of this set of past tense markers).

The distribution of future tense markers (*-ta*/*-tI*/*-te*/*-to*/*-I*/*-o*) is as follows; *-ta* precedes the first person singular and second person nonhonorific agreement markers (exx. 1-2), *-tI* precedes the first person dual (EXCL) and second and third person honorific agreement markers (exx. 3-4), *-te* comes before the first person dual (INCL) and plural agreement markers (ex. 5) and *-to* occurs with the third person nonhonorific subject (ex. 6). The distribution of *-I* and *-o* is phonologically conditioned. The suffix *-I* occurs with verbs ending with /*š* / (ex. 7) and *-o* occurs with verbs ending with /*č* / (ex. 8).[2]

(1) *gə piǰarɛs ni-ta-k*
I priest be-FUT-1SG
'I will be a priest.'

(2) *kə-s nab Id pɪkčar k^{h}i-ta-n*[3]
you(-HON)-ERG tomorrow a movie see-FUT-2(-HON)
'You will watch a movie tomorrow.'

(3) *niši piǰarɛs ni-tI-č*
we(Dual) priest be-FUT-1Dual(EXCL)
'We will be priests.'

(4) *ama nab bə-tI-š*
mother tomorrow come-FUT-3HON
'Mother will come tomorrow.'

(5) *kiša tseiki piǰarɛs ni-te*
we all priest be-FUT/1PL
'We will be priests.'

(6) *dɔ kaməŋ lan-to*
s/he work do-FUT/3(-HON)
'S/he will do the work.'

(7) *ki kətab hUš-I-ñ*
you(HON) book read-FUT-2SG(HON)
'You will read the book.'

(8) *ram rupya k^{h}uč-o*
name money steal-FUT
'Ram will steal (some) money.'

The suffixes *-ke*/*-ge* and *-gyɔ* function as past tense markers. *-ke* occurs with the copula *to* and *-ge* occurs with the copula *du*. When followed by an agreement marker, *-ke* and *-ge* are sometimes realized as *-če*.

(9) *gə-s Id t^{h}ar sa-ts to-ke-k*
I-ERG a lion kill-IMPF be-PST-1SG
'I had killed a lion.'

(10) *dɔ piǰarɛs du-ge*
s/he priest be- PST
'S/he was a priest.'

(11) *gə piǰarɛs to-ke-k / to-če-k*
I priest be-PST-1SG be-PST-1SG
'I was a priest.'

The suffix *-gyɔ* functions as the distant past tense marker. It is sometimes realized as *-kyɔ*. The distribution of *-kyɔ* and *-gyɔ* is not phonologically conditioned.

(12) *nɪš ʧʰaŋ-ɔ byɔ-gyɔ*
two boy-PL go-D.PST
'The two boys went.'

(13) *dɔ-s lo-kyɔ*
s/he-ERG say-D.PST
'S/he said (it).'

Copula construction

To, *du* and *ni* function as equational as well as existential copulas. *To* and *du* occur in non-future tenses. Clauses involving the copula *to* may have all three persons as their subjects, but *du* may only take third person arguments as their subjects. The copula *ni*, on the other hand, occurs in all tenses.[4] In the future tense it can occur with all persons, where the tense and subject agreement markers are suffixed to the copula *ni* (ex. 14) but it can take only third person subjects in past and present tenses. No inflectional endings are affixed to *ni* in non-future tenses (ex. 15); here discourse context specifies the tense of the clause. All three copulas can occur with third person subjects in the nonfuture (ex. 15). In such constructions their distribution is semantically conditioned (see below for details).

(14) *gɔ nab kɪm-o ni-ta-k*
I tomorrow house-LOC be-FUT-1SG
'I will be at home tomorrow.'

(15) *dɔ-gɔ skul-o hʊš-ɪdya ʧʰaŋ-ɔ du-ge / to-ke / ni*
s/he-PL school-LOC read-NOM boy-PL be-PST be-PST be/nonFUT/3
'They were students.'

Besides the copula function, *ni* in Kinnauri also functions as a verb, meaning 'stay'.

(16) *gə nɪš ratɪŋ anǰu-dəŋ nini*
I two night name-near stay/PERF
'I stayed with Anju for two nights.'

The following examples illustrate that *to* occurs with all three persons, but *du* and *ni* occur only with third person subjects in equational constructions.

(17) *gə masṭər to-k / *du-k*
I teacher be-1SG be-1SG
'I am a teacher.'

(18) *kə masṭər to-n / *du-n*
you(-HON) teacher be-2SG(-HON) be-2SG(-HON)
'You(-HON) are a teacher.'

(19) *ram masṭər to / du / ni*
name teacher be/PRST/3SG be/PRST/3SG be/PRST/3SG
'Ram is a teacher.'

The distribution of *to*, *du* and *ni* with third person honorific and nonhonorific subjects is semantically conditioned. The semantic interpretations of *to* and *du* with honorific subjects are different from their interpretations with nonhonorific subjects.

We will first consider the semantic interpretations associated with the copulas in clauses involving nonhonorific subjects. *To* in such constructions indicates that the subject is somehow related to the speaker. This may either be because they are members of the same family or because they are in physical proximity. *Du* is used in contexts where the subject does not belong to the speaker and the speaker has no information or knowledge about the subject. *Ni* is used in conversations where the hearer has some doubts either about the very existence of the subject, or in identifying the subject as either A or B, while the speaker definitely knows the answer (either because he himself saw it or because he has some way of knowing the truth). Consider the following sentence.

(20) *kətab dam to / du / ni*
book good be/PRST/3SG be/PRST/3SG be/PRST/3SG
'The book is good.'

To is used in (20) above, when the book either belongs to the speaker or is in his possession when speaking; *du* is used when the book neither belongs to the speaker nor is in his possession; *ni* is used if the hearer has some doubts concerning the book being good, while the speaker is quite confident that the book is good.

The distribution and the semantic interpretations of the copulas (*to*, *du* and *ni*) remain the same with animate subjects. In (21) below, *to* is used when Sonam is either a family member of the speaker, or is presently with the speaker. *Du* is used in (21) when Sonam is not a family member of the speaker, nor is she in physical proximity to the speaker. *Ni* is used if the hearer has some doubts about Sonam being a good person, and the speaker knows that she is a good person.

(21) *sonam dam to / du / ni*
name good be/PRST/3SG be/PRST/3SG be/PRST/3SG
'Sonam is good.'

The following examples show that the distribution and the semantic interpretations associated with the copulas remain the same in the past tense.

(22) *gə piǰarɛs to-ke-k / *du-ge-k*
I priest be-PST-1SG be-PST-1SG
'I was a priest.'

(23) *kə piǰarɛs to-ke-n / *du-ge-n*
you(-HON) priest be-PST-2(-HON) be-PST-2(-HON)
'You(-HON) were a priest.'

(24) *nu skul-o hUš-Idya čʰaŋ to-ke / du-ge / ni*
s/he school-LOC read-NOM boy be-PST be-PST be/nonFUT/3
'S/he was a student.'

The copula *to* is used in (24) above, if the subject is either a family member of the speaker or is in physical proximity to the speaker. *Ni* is used if the hearer has some doubts regarding the subject being a student, while the speaker knows that the subject was a student. Otherwise, *du* is used.

Next, the semantic interpretations of the copulas with honorific subjects is considered. The choice of the copulas *to* and *du* in such constructions is determined by the semantic feature animacy of the subject. *To* occurs with animate subjects and *du* occurs with inanimate subjects. The semantic interpretation of *ni* with honorific subjects remains the same as with nonhonorific subjects.

(25) *sudeš šare to-š / *du-š / ni*
name beautiful be-3(HON) be-3(HON) be/nonFUT/3
'Sudesh is beautiful.'

(26) *dɔ-gɔ-nu gas-ɔ dam du-ge-š / *to-ke-š*
s/he-PL-GEN clothe-PL good be-PST-3(HON) be-PST-3(HON)
'Their clothes were good.'

The copulas *to*, *du* and *ni* also function as existentials. Their distribution is the same, as mentioned above for equational copulas. In this case too, all three copulas are permissible with third person subjects. The semantic interpretations of the copulas with honorific and nonhonorific subjects are the same; as described above for equationals. For example, *to* in (28) indicates that the dog either belongs to the speaker or is with the speaker at that moment. *Du* indicates that the dog does not belong to the speaker and that he has no knowledge how it (=dog) got in the house. *Ni* is used if the hearer has some doubts concerning the dog being in the house, while the speaker knows that there is a dog in his house.

(27) *gə kIm-o to-k / * du-k*
I house-LOC be-1SG be-1SG
'I am in the house.'

(28) *aŋ kɪm-o i kui to / du / ni*
my house-LOC a dog be/PRST/3SG be/PRST/3SG be/PRST/3SG
'There is a dog in my house.'

As in equational constructions, the choice of the copula with honorific subjects is determined by the animacy feature. *To* occurs with animate subjects and *du* occurs with inanimate subjects.

(29) *hɔn-gɔ yUg-o to-š / *du-š*
he(HON)-PL below-LOC be-3(HON) be-3(HON)
'They (HON) are downstairs.'

(30) *ama yUg to-ke-š / *du-ge-š*
mother below be-PST-3(HON) be-PST-3(HON)
'Mother was downstairs.'

Tables 2-4 present the Kinnauri copula paradigms in the past, present and future tenses. These tables also summarize the distribution of the copulas.

Table 2. Kinnauri copula paradigm (Past tense)

Person	SG	Dual	PL
1	*to-ke-k*	*to-ke-č* (EXCL)	*to-ke-me* (EXCL)/ PL
2(-HON)	*to-ke-n*	*to-ke-n*	*to-ke-n(o)*
2(HON)	*to-ke-ñ*	*to-ke-č*	*to-ke-č*
3(-HON)	*to-ke* / *ni* / *du-ge*	*to-ke* / *ni* / *du-ge*	*to-ke* / *ni* / *du-ge*
3(HON)	*to-ke-š* / *du-ge-š* / *ni*	*to-ke-š* / *du-ge-š* / *ni*	*to-ke-š* / *du-ge-š* / *ni*

Table 3. Kinnauri copula paradigm (Present tense)

Person	SG	Dual	PL
1	*to-k*	*to-č* (EXCL)	*to-me* (INCL)/PL
2(-HON)	*to-n*	*to-n*	*to-n(o)*
2(HON)	*to-ñ*	*to-č*	*to-č*
3(-HON)	*du* / *to* / *ni*	*du* / *to* / *ni*	*du* / *to* / *ni*
3(HON)	*du-š* / *to-š* / *ni*	*du-š* / *to-š* / *ni*	*to-š* / *du-š* / *ni*

Table 4. Kinnauri copula paradigm (Future tense)

Person	SG	Dual	PL
1	*ni-ta-k*	*ni-tI-č* (EXCL)	*ni-te* (INCL)/PL
2(-HON)	*ni-ta-n*	*ni-ta-n*	*ni-ta-n(o)*
2(HON)	*ni-tI-ñ*	*ni-tI-č*	*ni-tI-č*
3(-HON)	*ni-to*	----	*ni-to*
3(HON)	*ni-tI-š*	----	*ni-tI-š-(o)*

Copulas also occur in possessive constructions. The semantic distribution of the copulas in such constructions is the same, as described above. *To* in (33), for instance, indicates that the land belongs to the speaker but the subject has the temporary possession of it. *Ni* in this sentence occurs only in response to a query, 'Does he have seven acres of land?'. Otherwise, *du* is used.

(31) *aŋ-da* *ɪd kɪm* *to* / *du* / *ni*
my-with a house be/PRST/3SG be/PRST/3SG be/PRST/3SG
'I have a house.'

(32) *ka-n-da* *ɪd kɪm* *to* */ du* */ ni*
you(-HON)-GEN-with a house be/PRST/3SG be/PRST/3SG be/PRST/3SG
'You(-HON) have a house.'

(33) *dɔ-gɔ-n-da* *ɪd kɪm* *to* */ du* */ ni*
s/he-PL-GEN-with a house be/PRST/3SG be/PRST/3SG be/PRST/3SG
'They have a house.'

Noncopula construction

If the object is a first or a second person pronoun, then Kinnauri marks object agreement on the verb. The object agreement marker is -*č* (except for the verb 'give', see below for details). It is suffixed to the main verb and occurs in all tenses and aspects. Clauses involving object agreement can have all three persons as their subjects. (34) is an example of a sentence involving the object agreement marker. (35) shows that the object agreement marker does not occur with third person objects.

(34) *ram-ɪs* *aŋ-u* *taŋ-č-e-š*
name-ERG me-DAT see-OBJ-PST-3(HON)
'Ram saw me.'

(35) *ram-ɪs* *ts^{h}ɛʈs^{h}ats-(u)* *taŋ-e-š*
name-ERG girl-DAT see-PST-3(HON)
'Ram saw a girl.'

Examples of object agreement in clauses involving the imperfective and progressive aspects follow.

(36) *ki* *aŋ-u* *dzu-č-ɪd*
you(HON) me-DAT like-OBJ-IMPF
'You like me.'

(37) *gə ki-nu* *taŋ-č-o* *du-k*
I you(HON)-DAT see-OBJ-PROG be-1SG
'I am watching you.'

Though -*č* is the most frequent object agreement marker, the verb 'give' shows a change in verb form depending on the person that is being affected. The verb form *ker* 'give' occurs with first and second

persons and the verb form *ran* ‘give’ occurs with third person recipients. In such cases the object agreement marker *-č*, does not occur.

(38) *arǰun-Is mohan-u kətab ran-ɔ-š*
name-ERG name-DAT book give-PST-3(HON)
‘Arjun gave a book to Mohan.’

(39) *ama-s aŋ-u ža-mu ker-ɔ-š*
mother-ERG me-DAT eat-NOM give/OBJ-PST-3(HON)
‘Mother gave me food to eat.’

(40) *ram-Is ki-nu Id kətab ker-tI-š / *ran-tI-š*
name-ERG you(H)-DAT a book give/OBJ-FUT-3(HON) give-FUT-3(HON)
‘Ram will give a book to you.’

The finite verb structure

The two finite verb structures in noncopula constructions are V-(OBJ)-TNS-AGR and V-(OBJ)-ASP (AUX-TNS-AGR). Copulas (*to*, *du* and *ni*) function as the auxiliaries in such constructions.

(41) *ram-Is mohan-u taŋ-e-š*
name-ERG name-DAT see-PST-3(HON)
‘Ram saw Mohan.’

(42) *ram-Is čʰaŋ-u taŋtaŋ du-ge / to-ke*
name-ERG boy-DAT see/PERF be-PST be-PST
‘Ram saw a boy.’

In the imperfective and progressive aspects, the semantic distinction of the copulas is carried over in the noncopula constructions. In the perfective, however, the semantic distinction of *to* and *du* is indicated by the choice of the finite verb structure. The semantic interpretation of the structure V-PERF *to/du*-AGR parallels *du* (i.e., it indicates that the subject does not belong to the speaker and that he has no information about it) and V-PST-AGR parallels *to* (i.e., it indicates that the subject is somehow related to the speaker). At this stage the function of the copulas in the perfective is not entirely clear.

V-(OBJ)-TNS-AGR

Clauses involving the structure V-(OBJ)-TNS-AGR, in my data are in the past or in the future tense. Their subject agreement, object agreement and future tense markers have already been described. Hence, I do not repeat their description here (see tables 1 and 4 above).

The past tense markers are *-e*/*-a*/*-ɔ*/0 and *-gyɔ*. The suffix *-gyɔ*, as mentioned earlier, functions as the distant past tense marker (ex. 43). The distribution of the remaining past tense markers has *-e* occurring when the verb stem ends with /*č* / or /*š* / (ex. 44) and *-a* following verbs ending with a consonant other than /*č* / or /*š* / (ex. 45).

(43) *dok nIš ʧʰaŋ-ɔ byɔ-gyɔ*
then two boy-PL go-D.PST
'Then, the two boys went (to the brahmin).'

(44) *ram-(Is) aŋ-u taŋ-č-e- š*
name-ERG me-DAT see-OBJ-PST-3(HON)
'Ram saw me.'

(45) *gə-s šanəŋ ʈək-mu košIš lan-a-k*
I-ERG lock break-NOM try make-PST-1SG
'I tried breaking the lock.'

(46) *sonam kIm-o byɔ-š*
name house-LOC go-3(HON)
'Sonam went home.'

(47) *gə-s me gas-ɔ či-ɔ-k*
I-ERG yesterday clothe-PL wash-PST-1SG
'I washed clothes yesterday.'

The past tense marker *-ɔ* alternates with the other past tense markers, such as *-a* and 0 (for example, *rIŋ-a* and *rIŋ-ɔ* '(s/he) said' or *ši* and *ši-ɔ* '(s/he) died'). It is plausible that *-ɔ* is an allomorph of *-gyɔ*. My consultants regularly gave verb forms with *-gyɔ* and *-ɔ* as alternate forms.

V-(OBJ)-ASP AUX-TNS-AGR

Examples of the finite verb structure V-(OBJ)-ASP (AUX-TNS-AGR) follow.

(48) *ram kaməŋ lan-o du*
name work do-PROG be/PRST/3SG
'Ram is working.'

(49) *sonam-Is Id tʰar sasa du-ge*
name-ERG one lion kill/PERF be-PST
'Sonam killed a lion.'

The morphosyntax of the object agreement marker and the auxiliary complex have already been described. The distribution of the various aspect markers is presented next.

3.2.2 Aspect morphology

A three-way aspectual distinction is made in Kinnauri; perfective, imperfective and progressive. Aspect markers are suffixed to the main verb.

Perfective aspect

The suffix *-Is* and the reduplicated form of the verb (e.g. *taŋtaŋ* 'see/PERF' from *taŋ* 'see') function as the perfective aspect markers in Kinnauri. Their distribution is phonologically conditioned. The suffix *-Is* occurs when the verb ends with / *č* / or / *š* /. The reduplicated form of the verb occurs in all other cases.

(50) *sonam-Is me Id kətab hUš-Is du*
name-ERG yesterday a book read-PERF be/PRST/3SG
'Sonam has read a book yesterday.'

(51) *sonam-Is ram ši-mu batəŋ tʰəstʰəs du*
name-ERG name die-NOM talk hear/PERF be/PRST/3SG
'Sonam has heard the news of Ram's death.'

The perfective formation of the second type (i.e., the reduplicated form) is formed by reduplicating the final syllable of the verb stem. Most Kinnauri verbs are monosyllabic and the perfective is the reduplicated form of the full verb stem. However, when the verb stem is disyllabic, the perfective is formed by reduplicating the final syllable of the verb stem (compare 51 and 52).

(52) *gə dilli byo-mu sUntsetse to-k*
I Delhi go-NOM hear/PERF be-1SG
'I have heard about (his) going to Delhi.'

The perfective in Kinnauri also occurs in certain nonfinal positions. In such constructions the phonological distribution of its allomorphs remains the same. First, it functions as the nonfinal verb form in the clause chain construction (ex. 53) and in the compound verb construction (ex. 54). "A compound verb comprises the finite form of one of these [auxiliaries] following a non-finite or stem form of a main or primary verb" (Hook 1991:60). Auxiliaries, which add specific information to the main verb in the compound verb construction also function as lexical verbs in the language.

(53) *də kətab hUš-Is k^{h}au žaža yag-a*
s/he(-HON) book read-NF food eat/NF sleep-PST
'S/he read a book, ate food and (then) slept.'

(54) *hUdu dak-ts banIŋ ǰəgǰəg byɔ / ǰəg-ɔ*
his near-ABL pot break/NF GO/PST[5] break-PST
'He broke the pot (accidentally).'

Second, it also functions as the past participle verb form, occurring in the attributive position.

(55) *ram bəbə*
name come/PERF
'Ram came.'

(56) *dilli-ts bəbə mi*
Delhi-ABL come/NF man
'The man who came from Delhi.'

Third, it occurs before a subordinator in adverbial clauses.

(57) *gə-s mi-pəŋ gitʰaŋ ləmlən nipi taŋ-e-k*
I-ERG man-DAT song make/NF SUBO see-PST-1SG
'I saw the man after he sang a song.'

Imperfective aspect

The two imperfective aspect markers in Kinnauri are *-Id* and *-ts*. The imperfective marker *-Id* occurs after the object agreement markers as well as after verbs ending with /*č*/ or /*š*/ and *-ts* occurs in all other cases.

(58) *gə dyaro čʰaŋ-ɔ-nu taŋ-ts du-k*
I everyday boy-PL-DAT see-IMPF be-1SG
'I see boys everyday.'

(59) *ram hʊyʊ kɪm-o toš-Id*
name this house-LOC stay-IMPF
'Ram lives in this house.'

Besides functioning as imperfective aspect markers, *-ts* and *-Id* also have certain additional functions. They function as the present participle markers (exx. 60-61) and as the agentive nominalizer (exx. 62-63).

(60) *gə-s gitʰaŋ lan-ts mi-pəŋ taŋ-e-k*
I-ERG song make-NF man-DAT see-PST-1SG
'I saw a man while he was singing.'
'I saw a man while I was singing.'

(61) *gə-s sita ʊč-Id taŋ-ɔ-k*
I-ERG name angry-NF see-PST-1SG
'I saw Sita getting angry.'

(62) *yak-ts čʰaŋ-ɔ*
sleep-PART child-PL
'Children who are sleeping.'

(63) *maṭiŋ-u dɛn toš-Id čʰaŋ-ɔ*
floor-GEN on sit-NF child-PL
'Children who are sitting on the floor'

Loan words in Kinnauri do not necessarily follow the phonological rules governing the distribution of the various aspect markers. *Poš* 'cloth/spread' is an Indic loan word. Following the morphophonemic rules, *poš* should take *-Id* and *-Is* as the imperfective and the perfective aspect markers respectively. Yet, *poš* takes *-ts* and the reduplicated form of the aspect markers. Loan words tend to take the more frequently used allomorphs, when, as is the case in Kinnauri, they do not follow phonological rules. The suffix *-ts* and the reduplicated forms are the more frequently occurring aspect markers.[6]

(64) *ram-Is poš-u poš-ts*
name-ERG bedding-ACC spread-IMPF
'Ram spreads the bedspread.'

(65) *ram-Is poš pošpoš*
name-ERG bedding spread/PERF
'Ram has spread the bedspread.'

Progressive aspect

The progressive aspect marker is *-o*.

(66) *ts^{h}ɛts^{h}ats gas-ɔ čɨ-o to-š*
girl clothing-PL wash-PROG be-3(HON)
'The girl is washing clothes.'

(67) *aŋ-u ak^{h}a ker-o du-ge*
me-DAT pain bring(OBJ)-PROG be-PST
'I was having pain.'

The progressive aspect marker, like other aspect markers, may also occur in nonfinal positions. In such cases, it has the following functions. First, it functions as a noun modifier indicating an on-going action. For example,

(68) *ši-o mi*
die-NF man
'The dying man'

Second, it also functions as a nonfinal verb in the clause chain construction, where it marks temporal overlap.

(69) *suraǰ krab-o-gi tse-i rɪŋ-ɔ*
name cry-NF-EMPH all-EMPH tell-PST
'Suraj weeping, told everything.'

3.3 **Paṭani**

3.3.1 Basic finite verb morphology

A finite verb in Paṭani involves a verb stem, tense marker, subject agreement marker and, optionally, an aspect marker. In Paṭani, as in other Tibeto-Kinnauri languages, copulas and other verbs share the subject agreement markers and some tense suffixes but they differ concerning other finite verb morphology. Table 5 provides the subject agreement schema in Paṭani[7]. As this table shows, every agreement marker has two allomorphs each.[8] These allmorphs are in free variation.[9]

Table 5. Paṭani subject agreement markers

Person	SG	Dual	PL
1	*-g(à)*	*-š(ì)*	*-ñ(ì)*
2 (+/-HON)	*-n(à)*	*-š(ì)*	*-ñ(ì)*
3	0 / *-to*	*-k(ù)*	*-r(è)*

Unlike Kinnauri, honorificity in Paṭani is marked on second person pronominal arguments but is not indicated on the verb.

(70) *kə̀ rò ǰe fé ṭe šw-à*[10] *tá-n*
you(-HON) everyday sleep happen-IMPF AUX-2SG
'You (-HON) sleep everyday.'

(71) *kéna rò ǰe fé ṭe šw-à tá-n*
you(HON) everyday sleep happen-IMPF AUX-2SG
'You (HON) sleep everyday.'

Copula construction

Tó and *šú* function as the copulas in Paṭani. Tables (6-9) present the copula paradigms. As these paradigms suggest, the tense markers in copula constructions are *-ò* (future tense)[11] and *-ì* (past tense). Present tense does not have any overt marker.

Table 6. Equational & existential copula paradigm (Future)

Person	SG	Dual	PL
1	*šú-o-g(à)*	*šú-o-š(ì)*	*šú-o- ñ(ì)*
2 (+/-HON)	*šú-o-n(à)*	*šú-o-š(ì)*	*šú-o- ñ(ì)*
3	*šú-o-to*	*šú-o-k(ù)*	*šú-o-r(è)*

Table 7. Equational & existential copula paradigm (Past)

Person	SG	Dual	PL
1	*tó-i-g(à)*	*tó-i-š(ì)*	*tó-i-ñ(ì)*
2 (+/-HON)	*tó-i-n(à)*	*tó-i-š(ì)*	*tó-i-ñ(ì)*
3	*tó-ì*	*tó-i-k(ù)*	*tó-i-r(è)*

Table 8. Equational copula paradigm paradigm (Present)

Person	SG	Dual	PL
1	*šú-g(à)*	*šú-š(ì)*	*šú-ñ(ì)*
2 (+/-HON)	*šú-n(à)*	*šú-š(ì)*	*šú-ñ(ì)*
3	*šú*	*šú-k(ù)*	*šú-r(è)*

Table 9. Existential copula paradigm (Present)

Person	SG	Dual	PL
1	*tóto-(g)*	*tóto-š(ì)*	*tóto-nò (ì)*
2 (+/-HON)	*tóto-n(à)*	*tóto-š(ì)*	*tóto-ñ(ì)*
3	*tó*	*tóto-k(ù)*	*tóto-r(è)*

The copula *tó* also occurs in the progressive construction, in the stative construction and in the obligative construction. The copula carries the finite verb morphology in these constructions too. The progressive construction has an infinitive verb form followed by the progressive morpheme *lèki* and ending with the copula *tó*. In the stative construction the main verb has the same form as the nonfinal verb in the clause chain construction followed by the copula *tó* and the obligative construction involves a nominalized clause with the copula *tó*. (72-74) illustrate these three constructions.

(72) *ràm-(è)* *kʰám-žè* *čák-tsì* *lèki* *tó*
name-ERG clothe-PL wash-INF PROG be/PRST/3SG
'Ram is washing clothes.'

(73) *dù* *dòr* *dà-čè* *tó*
s/he there fell-NF be/PRST/3SG
'S/he is fallen over there.'

(74) *dù pén tsúm-ʑì tó*
s/he pen buy-INF be/PRST/3SG
'S/he is to buy a pen.' (= He needs to buy clothes.)

The copula *šú* also functions as a lexical verb where it has 'happen' interpretation. In the following sentence *féṭe* 'sleep' functions as a noun, and *šú* as the verb.

(75) *šánti féṭe šú-ì*
name sleep happen-PST
'Shanti slept.'

Noncopula construction

The noncopula construction in Paṭani has two finite verb structures V-TNS-AGR and V-ASP AUX-AGR. The former structure has *-ò*/*-pò*/*-mò* and *-rì*/*-ì*/*-ʑì* as the respective future and past tense markers. There is no overt marking for present tense. The distribution of the future tense markers is phonologically conditioned to a large extent. The suffix *-mò* occurs when the verb ends with a nasal and the stem final nasal is deleted if non-velar (compare (76) and (77)). The suffix *-ò* occurs with verbs ending with a vowel (ex. 78) with the stem final vowel deleted for such constructions in more rapidly spoken speech. There are, however, some instances where the future tense marker *-pò* (which occurs in the remaining enviornments) also occurs with verbs ending in vowels (ex. 79).

(76) *gè tí túŋ-mò-(g)* (túŋ 'drink')
I water drink-FUT-1SG
'I will drink water.'

(77) *dò-ì píkčar kʰá-mo-tò* (kʰán 'see')
s/he-ERG movie see-FUT-3SG
'S/he will watch a movie.'

(78) *gè gìt kò-g* (kù 'make')
I song make-1SG
'I will sing a song.'

(79) *gè šér sá-pò-(g)* (sá ‘kill’)
I lion kill-FUT-1SG
‘I will kill a lion.’

(80) *sónam pʰál ṭrík-po-to* (ṭrík ‘cut’)
name fruit cut-FUT-3SG
‘Sonam will cut fruits.’

The following examples illustrate the various past tense markers.[12]

(81) *ràm gìlas tʰák-rì*
name glass break-PST
‘Ram broke the glass.’

(82) *nèrè ši̋-ri-ñì*[13]
we die-PST-1Dual
‘We died.’

(83) *sónam fé̋ṭe šú-ì*
name sleep become-PST
‘Sonam slept.’

(84) *gè póg-ǐ-gà*
I run-PST-1SG
‘I ran.’

In the finite verb structure V-ASP AUX-AGR in Paṭani, unlike Kinnauri, copulas do not function as auxiliaries in non-progressive constructions (i.e., in perfective and imperfective aspects). Rather, a different set of auxiliaries (*tì*, *tá*, *tʰù* and *tó*) occur. These auxiliaries seem to have temporal interpretations denoting a two-way tense distinction, distant past and non-distant past tense. The latter could be, depending on the context, interpreted as present or future tenses. The auxiliary *tì* has the distant past tense interpretation and auxiliaries *tá*, *tʰù* and *tó* have non-distant past tense interpretation. The syntactic distribution of these auxiliaries is as follows. *Tì* occurs with all three persons, *tá* with nonthird person subjects, *tʰù* with third person singular subjects with volitional verbs, while *tó* occurs with third person dual and plural subjects. The occurrence of the auxiliary is obligatory, except, with third person singular subjects.

In the progressive construction, on the other hand, the existential copulas function as the auxiliaries. Their distribution in this construction is the same as when they function as copulas. Sentences (85-90) illustrate *tá*, *tʰù, tó* and *tì* functioning as auxiliaries in the perfective and imperfective constructions and (91-92) illustrate copulas functioning as auxiliaries in the progressive.

(85) *gè ìtsa kʰám tsúm-ñè tá-(g)*
I a cloth buy-PERF AUX/non3-1SG
'I bought a piece of cloth.'

(86) *gè ìtsa kʰám tsúm-žà tá-(g)*
I a cloth buy-IMPF AUX/non3-1SG
'I buy a piece of cloth.'

(87) *kè-ì ìtsa kʰám tsúm-ñè tá-n*
you-ERG a cloth buy-PERF AUX/non3-2SG
'You bought a piece of cloth.'

(88) *sónam káməŋ là tʰù*
name work make/PERF AUX/3SG
'Sonam did her work.'

(89) *káṭu-rè káməŋ là tó-r*
boy-PL work make/PERF AUX-3PL
'The boys did their work.'

(90) *nèrè èrə(g) féṭe šú tì-ñì*
we yesterday sleep happen/PERF AUX-1PL
'We slept yesterday.'

(91) *gè féṭe šú-bì lèki tótò-(g)*
I sleep happen-NOM PROG be/PRST-1SG
'I am sleeping.'

(92) *gè ère(g) čúŋ-a ì-bì*[14] *lèki tó-i-gà*
I yesterday house-LOC go-NOM PROG be-PST-1SG
'I was going home yesterday.'

3.3.2 Aspect morphology

Paṭani also makes a three-way aspectual distinction, perfective, imperfective and progressive.

Imperfective aspect

The imperfective aspect markers in Paṭani are based on the infinitive verb form. Paṭani has a range of infinitive markers (*-ʈrɨ̈/-ɖrì*, *-tsì*, *-ʒ̈ì*, *-pì*/*-bì*, *-mì* and *-ì*). Their distribution is not phonologically conditioned[15]. Verbs take one particular infinitive marker from this set. The imperfective in Paṭani is formed by substituting the final vowel of the infinitive verb stem with *-à*[16]. The only exception to this rule is the verb 'go' which has a suppletive form *ì-bì* (INF) with *yò-à* (IMPF). Table 10 lists verbs in their infinitive and imperfective forms to illustrate the similarity of the two forms.

Table 10. Paṭani imperfective aspect morphology

Infinitive	Imperfective	Gloss
kú-ʈrì	*kú-ʈrà*	'say'
túŋ-mì	*túŋ-mà*	'drink'
tsé-tsì	*tsé-tsà*	'write'
ǯè-ì	*ǯò-à*	'eat'
lè-i / là-ʒ̈ì	*là-ǯə*	'make, do'

The imperfective in Paṭani can be followed by one of the aforementioned auxiliaries (*tì, tá*, *tʰù* or *tó*). Their distribution is the same; as described above. The auxiliary occurs obligatorily, except when the clause has a third person singular subject, in which case its occurrence is optional.

(93) *gè ròǰ kʰám-žè tsúm-žà tá-(k)*
I everyday clothes buy-IMPF AUX/non3-1SG
'I buy clothes everyday.'

(94) *ràm-è ròǰ kʰám-žè tsúm-žà (tʰù)*
name-ERG everyday clothes buy-IMPF AUX/3SG/VOL
'Ram buys clothes everyday.'

(95) *yàdzì ròǰ bàgat là-žà*
mother everyday food make-IMPF
'Mother cooks everyday.'

(96) *káʈu-tsì ròǰ bàgat là-žà* tó-r
boy-PL/ERG everyday food make-IMPF AUX-3PL
'Boys cook food everyday.'

The imperfective in Paṭani, as in Kinnauri, occurs in certain additional constructions. First, it occurs in the present participle construction. In such constructions the verb can, without, apparently, causing a major change in meaning, be either the complete imperfective form or the verb form without the final syllable (see, examples 97-98).[17] The morpheme *tár* optionally follows the participle form (ex. 98). The occurrence of this morpheme is restricted to the present participle construction in the dataset. The present participle in Paṭani is frequently repeated.

(97) *dù bàgat là-žə (tár) kráp-ì lèki tó-ì*
s/he food make-NF SUBO cry-NOM PROG be-PST/3SG
'S/he was crying, while cooking.'

(98) *káʈu-bì téŋ-žə (tár) yà-dzì dì kú-ɽì*
boy-ACC hit-NF SUBO mother-ERG this say-PST/3SG
'Mother said this, while beating the kid.'

Second, the imperfective in Paṭani also functions as the agentive nominalizer, denoting 'one which "verbs" ' (Comrie and Thompson 1985).

(99) *gàna kú-ʈrà mètsəmi-káʈu-rè*
song say-NF woman-child-PL
'The singing girls'

(100) *šér sá-tsà mì*
lion kill-NF man
'The man who kills lions'

(101) *bʰàyik-tsà tí*
flow-NF water
'The flowing water'

The imperfective marker *-tsà* seems to be the most frequently used marker in this nominalized construction. As can be seen in table 11 below, it also occurs with verbs which take some other suffix in the infinitive and imperfective. Further, all the Indic loan-verbs in the dataset have *-tsà* as the suffix in this construction. For example,

(102) Nominalized forms
čəlɪk-tsà 'drive-NF'
páṛik-tsà 'read-NF'
síkʰa-tsa-rè 'teach-NF-PL'

The following table illustrates the similarity in the infinitive form, the imperfective form, the present participle and the agentive nominalizer in Paṭani.

Table 11. Paṭani imperfective and related morphology

Infinitive	Imperfective	Present Participle	Agentive nominalizer	Gloss
sá-tsì	*sá-tsà*	*sá-tsà tár*	*sá-tsà*	'kill'
lèi / là-žɨ	*là-žà*	*là-žə / là tár*	*là-žə*	'do'
kú-ṭrì	*kú-ṭrà*	*kú tár*	*kù-ṭrà*	'say'
téŋ-žɨ	*téŋ-žà*	*téŋ-žà tár*	*téŋ-žà*	'hit'

Perfective aspect

The perfective aspect markers (*-čà/-ǰà, -à/-è, -ɳè and -šə)* are suffixed to the verb stem (i.e., the verb form without the infinitive marker). Their distribution is not phonologically conditioned. Each verb consistently takes one particular perfective marker. Only four verbs *(ràn 'give', žà 'eat', là* 'do, make', *hán* 'take') in the dataset never take any perfective suffix. All instances of these four verbs in the dataset are followed by auxiliaries. Sentences (103-104) illustrate the perfective construction and table 12 presents the perfective markers.

(103) *dù èreg kráp-čà*
s/he yesterday cry-PERF
'S/he cried yesterday.'

(104) *ràm-è bùʈh ʈrík- à* t^{h}ù
name-ERG tree cut-PERF AUX/3SG/VOL
'Ram cut the tree.'

Table 12. Paṭani perfective aspect morphology

Infinitive	Perfective	Gloss
sá-tsì	*sá-čà*	'kill'
wà-pì	*wà-čə*	'laugh'
kráp-ì	*kráp-čà*	'cry'
túŋ-mì	*túŋ-à*	'drink'
làŋ-žì	*làŋ-à*	'sell'
à-pì	*àn-ǰà*	'come'
ì-bì	*ìl-ǰà*	'go'
tsúm-žï	*tsúm-ɳè*	'buy'
t^{h}ák-tsì	*t^{h}ák-šə*	'break'

The perfective in Paṭani can be followed by one of the aforementioned auxiliaries (*tì*, *tá*, *tʰù* or *tó*). Their distribution is the same; as described earlier. The occurrence of an auxiliary is obligatory with all persons and numbers, except with third person singular subjects.

(105) *gè ìtsa kʰám tsúm-ñè tá-(g)*
I a cloth buy-PERF AUX/non3-1SG
'I bought a piece of cloth.'

(106) *sónam káməŋ là tʰù*
name work make/PERF AUX/3SG/VOL
'Sonam did her work.'

In constructions involving auxiliary, the perfective verb form in Paṭani displays two types of alternations. First, the perfective suffix is not obligatory. The following examples illustrate that both forms, with the perfective suffix and without the suffix, are possible when it is followed by an auxiliary. When perfective is the bare verb (i.e., without perfective marker), the auxiliaries *tá* and *tʰù* are realized as *dá* and *dù*, respectively, in fast speech, when the verb stem ends with /*l*/ and /*n*/. A similar alternation is also found with the auxiliary *tì*. It is realized as *dì*.

(107) *káṭu də-čà tí / də dì*
child fell-PERF AUX fell AUX
'The child fell down.'

(108) *káṭu èreg dïr féṭe šú-ə tì*
child yesterday there sleep happen/PERF AUX
'The child slept there yesterday.'

The second variation which is permissible in perfective constructions involving auxiliaries concerns the verb final vowel *-à*. It is sometimes realized as *-è*. The perfective verbs allowing the final *-è* always have the verb form with a final *-à* as an alternate form.

(109) *dò-ì tí túŋ-à tʰù / túŋ-è tʰù*
s/he-ERG water drink-PERF AUX/3SG/VOL drink-PERF AUX/3SG/VOL
'S/he drank water.'

The perfective verb forms in Paṭani, as in Kinnauri, also occur in certain non-perfective constructions.

First, it functions as the nonfinal verb in the clause chain construction and in the compound verb construction. (110-111) illustrate the clause chain construction, where the perfective verb form functions as a nonfinal verb and (112) illustrates its occurrence in the compound verb construction.

(110) *dù žèher túŋ-à ší-à*
s/he poison drink-NF die-PST/3SG
'S/he died after drinking poison.'

(111) *dò-ì bə̀gət lè-è féṭe šú-čè ìlǰà*
s/he-ERG food make-NF sleep happen-NF WENT
'S/he cooked food and slept.'

(112) *káṭu dè-čè ìlǰa*
boy fell-NF WENT
'The boy fell down.'

In such constructions my informants overwhelmingly gave nonfinal verb forms ending with the final *-è*, though the forms ending with *-à* were also accessible.

(113) *dù žèher túŋ-è / túŋ-à ší-à*
s/he poison drink-NF drink-NF die-PST
'S/he died after drinking the poison.'

Second, the verb forms functioning as the perfective in Paṭani also function as past participle forms.

(114) *də̀-čè bùṭʰ*
fall-NF tree
'The fallen tree'

A piece of evidence suggesting that the perfective verb form and the nonfinal verb form in the aforementioned constructions are related is the fact that the distribution of the suffixes in the perfective and

nonperfective constructions are the same. For example, verbs such as *drink*, *forget*, *sit*, *be scared* take the suffix *-à*/*-è* when they function as the perfective verb forms and as the nonfinal verb forms in the clause chain and compound verb constructions. On the other hand, verbs such as *come*, *went*, *kill*, *cry* take the suffix *-ɟ̂a*/*-ɟ̌è* when they function as the perfective verb forms and also as the nonfinal verb forms.

(115a) *dù čúŋka àn-ɟ̌à*
s/he home come/PERF
'S/he came home.'

(115b) dò-ĩ àn-ɟ̌è đi k^{h}ɔ́bər ràn dù
s/he-ERG come/NF this news give/PERF AUX/2SG/VOL
'S/he came and gave the news.'

(116a) *ràm àg ʈ́rík-ə́ t^{h}ù*
name vegetable cut-PERF AUX/3SG/VOL
'Ram cut the vegetable.'

(116b) *ràm-è fɔ́səl ʈ́rík-è làŋ-à t^{h}ù*
name-ERG crop cut-NF sell-PERF AUX/3SG/VOL
'Ram cut the crop and sold it.'

Progressive aspect

The progressive construction in Paṭani involves the infinitive verb form, followed by *lèki* and ending with a copula (V-INF *lèki* COP-TNS-AGR).

(117) *gè féʈe šú-bì lèki tóto-(g)*
I sleep happen-INF PROG be/PRST-1SG
'I am sleeping.'

(118) *gè ère(g) čúŋ-à ì-bì lèki tó-i-gà*
I yesterday house-LOC go-INF PROG be-PST-1SG
'I was going home yesterday.'

(119) *dù mùtaŋ féʈe šú-bì lèki šú-o-to*
s/he tomorrow sleep happen-INF PROG COP-FUT-3SG
'S/he will be sleeping tomorrow.'

The progressive verb form (i.e., the infinitive verb form followed by *lèki*), like other aspect markers in Paṭani and Kinnauri, also occurs in nonprogressive construction. It functions as a noun modifier denoting an on-going action.

(120) *dà-pì lèki p^{h}ál* (*dà-pì* 'fall-INF')
fall-INF PROG fruit
'The fruit which is falling'

(121) *gàna kú-ʈrì lèki mètsəmi-káʈu-rè* (*kú-ʈrì* 'say-INF')
song say-INF PROG woman-child-PL
'Girls who are singing songs'

3.4 **Tinani**

3.4.1 Basic finite verb morphology

A finite verb in Tinani involves a verb stem, tense marker, subject agreement marker and optionally an aspect marker. The subject agreement marker is regularly suffixed to the finite verb, except in one set of the perfective aspect construction (see below for details). The agreement schema[19] is presented in table 13.[20] The third person dual and plural agreement markers function in Tinani, as also in Paṭani, as the dual and plural markers, respectively, for (pro)nominal arguments. But, unlike Paṭani, honorific distinction in Tinani is indicated in second person pronominals as well as in verb agreement.[21]

Table 13. Tinani subject agreement markers

Person	SG	Dual	PL
1	*-g(à)*	*-š(ì)*	*-ñ(ì)*
2	*-tì* (HON) *-nà* (-HON)	*-tsì*	*-tsì*
3	0	*-kù*	*-r(è)*

Copula construction

Tó and *šú* function as copulas in Tinani. They also function as lexical verbs, where *šú* has 'happen' interpretation and *tó* has 'have' interpretation. Besides, the copula *tó* occurs also in imperfective and progressive constructions, where it occurs as an auxiliary.

(122) *nìš ròǰ kʰám čák-tsǐ tóto-š*
we(2) everyday clothes wash-IMPF exist/PRST-1Dual
'We wash clothes everyday.'

The past tense marker in the copula construction is *-rì* and the present tense does not have any overt marking. The future tense construction, on the other hand, has a nominalized structure as its basic structure (*šú*-NOM *tó*-AGR).

Noncopula construction

The noncopula construction has one of the following two finite verb structures: V-TNS-AGR or V-ASP AUX-AGR. The distribution of the various tense markers in the finite structure V-TNS-AGR is as follows. *Tó* functions as the future tense marker (ex. 123). Suffixes *-kyà*/*-gyà*, *-žà* and *-ì*/*-rì*/*-ɲ̀* function as the past tense markers. Their distrbution is as follows: *-kyà*/*-gyà* occurs with third person singular subjects (ex. 124). *-žà* occurs with nonfirst person subjects (ex. 125), whereas *-ì*/*-ɲ̀*/ /*-ɲ̀* can occur with all persons (exx. 124-126). The distribution of *-ì*/-*-rì*/*-ɲ̀* is phonologically determined to a large extent; *-ì* occurs predominantly with verbs ending in /n/ or back vowels, *-rì* with /ŋ/ or front vowels and *-ɲ̀ǐ* with verbs which take *-ɲ̀trǐ* as the infinitive marker. In some cases, however, alternation between the allomorphs *-ì* and *-rì* is possible (for example, *žà-ì-g* and *žà-rì-g* '(I) ate'). In constructions where several past tense markers are permissible their occurrence seems to be semantically conditioned.

(123) *kə̀ mùtaŋ kyúmuŋ ìl-tó-n*
you(-HON) tomorrow home go-FUT-2SG
'You will go home tomorrow.'

(124) *dò-i čá túŋ-rì / túŋ-gyà*
s/he-ERG tea drink-PST drink-PST/3SG
'S/he drank tea.'

(125) *kà-i èki sónam táŋ-žà-n / táŋ-rì-n*
you(-HON)-ERG yesterday name see-PST-2SG see-PST-2SG
'You saw Sonam yesterday.'

(126) *gè čá túŋ-rì-g / *túŋ-žà-g*
I tea drink-PST-1SG
'I drank tea.'

In the finite verb structure V-ASP AUX-AGR, *tì* /*dì*, *tá* and the copula *tó* function as auxiliaries. The copula *tó* functions as an auxiliary in the imperfective and progressive aspects. In such constructions it retains its copula inflectional endings (exx. 127-128). The auxiliary *tì*, which could as well be a cognate of the Paṭani auxiliary *ti*, occurs in the perfective construction; perfective being the bare verb stem. *Tì* has two allomorphs, *tì* and *dì*, where *tì* occurs with verbs ending with consonants and *dì* occurs with verbs ending in vowels. The auxliary *tá* occurs only in constructions involving the perfective aspect marker *-(k)ì*, which occurs only with third person plural subjects. The remaining perfective marker *-mìn* does not take any auxiliary. Sentences (129-130) illustrate *tá* and *tì* functioning as auxiliaries and (131) shows that constructions involving the perfective marker *-mìn* do not take any auxiliary.

(127) *ràm dì tʰé-žĭ lə̀gik tó-rì*
name this think-INF PROG be-PST
'Ram was thinking (about) this.'

(128) *gè ròǰ tés šá-tsì tóto-g*
I everyday story tell-IMPF be/PRST-1SG
'I tell stories everyday.'

(129) *yòre-tsì tés šá-kì tá-r*
children-ERG story tell-PERF AUX-3PL
'Children told stories.'

(130) *dò-i* *èki* *ìtsa* *gəlas* *tʰák* *tì*
s/he-ERG yesterday one glass break/PERF AUX
'S/he broke a glass yesterday.'

(131) *àmi* *tés* *šá-mìn*
mother story tell-PERF
'Mother told the story.'

3.4.2 *Aspect morphology*

Tinani, like other West Himalayish languages (for example, Kinnauri and Paṭani) makes a three-way aspect distinction, perfective, imperfective and progressive.

Imperfective aspect

The imperfective aspect markers in Tinani are identical with the infinitive markers[22]. This can be seen by comparing the infinitive and the imperfective verb forms in table 14. Tinani and Paṭani not only have cognate verb forms to a very large extent, but they also have cognate infinitive suffixes. As is the case in Paṭani, in Tinani too, the distribution of the infinitive/imperfective markers is not phonologically conditioned. Each verb, however, consistently takes one particular infinitive/imperfective marker.[23]

Table 14. Tinani imperfective aspect morphology

Infinitive	Imperfective	Gloss
šá-tsì	*šá-tsì*	'tell'
tsé-tsì	*tsé-tsì*	'write'
túŋ-bì	*túŋ-bì*	'drink'
ràn-ʈrì	*ràn-ʈrì*	'give'
kú-ʈrì	*kú-ʈrì*	'say'

The existential copula *tó*, as mentioned above, functions as an auxiliary in the imperfective construction. The occurrence of the auxiliary is obligatory with all persons and numbers, except with third person singular subjects, where its occurrence is optional. When the auxiliary does not occur, the final vowel of the imperfective (i.e., *-ì*) is realized as *-à* (see examples 134-135).

(132) *gè ròǰ sábǯi ʈrík-tsì tóto-(g)*
I everyday vegetable cut-IMPF be/PRST-1SG
'I cut vegetables everyday.'

(133) *kə̀-i ròǰ kú-ʈrì tóto-n / tó-n*
you(-HON)-ERG everyday say-IMPF be/PRST-2SG be/PRST-2SG
'You say (this) everyday.'

(134) *dò-i ròǰ gè táŋ-tsì tóto / táŋ-tsà*
s/he-ERG everyday I see-IMPF be/PRST/3SG see-IMPF
'S/he sees me everyday.'

(135) *àmi ròǰ tés šá-tsì tóto / šá -tsà*
mother/ERG everyday story tell-IMPF be/PRST/3SG tell-IMPF
'Mother tells stories everyday.'

The imperfective form in Tinani, as is the case in Kinnauri and Paṭani, occurs in certain additional constructions.

Tinani has two ways of forming present participle constructions. One strategy involves the imperfective verb form which is optionally followed by *tár-(ò)*[24]. The participle is frequently repeated in such constructions. The other mechanism for forming the present participle construction in Tinani involves the suffix *-pà*/*-bà*. Sentences (136-137) illustrate the two participle constructions.

(136) *àmi bàgat ràn-ʈrì tár(ò) dì kú-kyà*
mother/ERG food give-NF SUBO this say-PST
'Mother said this, while giving food.'

(137) *yòts bàlə tʰák-pà tʰák-pà pʰírkən ìlì*
boy flower pluck-NF pluck-NF outside went
'The boy went out while plucking flowers.'

The participle construction which involves the imperfective verb form can either have the complete imperfective form (for example, *tsúm-tsì* ‘hold-INF/IMPF’) or just the bare verb form (i.e., without the infinitive/imperfective marker) (for example, *tsúm* ‘hold’). This option seems possible in all cases.

(138) *pʰúntsok kʰám čák-tsì tár-ò gìt kú-ɕĭ tóto*
name clothe wash-NF SUBO song say-IMPF AUX/PRST/3SG
‘Phuntsok sings while washing clothes.’

(139) *tʰílaŋ pálmo túŋ tár (túŋ tár) dò-ʑĭ*
child milk drink/NF SUBO drink/NF SUBO sleep-IMPF
‘The child falls asleep while drinking milk.’

Second, the imperfective in Tinani also occurs in predicate complement constructions.

(140) *dù gème-tsì màŋi kʰám kʰám-ʑĭ tóts*
DEM girl-ERG red clothes cloth(V)-IMPF be
‘That girl has red clothes on.’

The following table provides verbs in their infinitive, imperfective and present participle forms in Tinani which illustrates the similarities in their form.

Table 15. Tinani imperfective and related morphology

Infinitive	Imperfective	Present participle	Gloss
tsé-tsì	*tsé-tsì*	*tsé-tsì*	‘write’
túŋ-bì	*túŋ-bì*	*túŋ-bì tár*	‘drink’
ràn-ʈì	*ràn-ʈì*	*ràn-ʈì tár(ò)*	‘give’
kráp-ì	*kráp-ì*	*kráp(à) tár(ò)*	‘cry’
téŋ-ʑĭ	*téŋ-ʑĭ*	*téŋ-ʑĭ tár*	‘hit’
sá-tsì	*sá-tsì*	*sá-tsì tár*	‘kill’

Perfective aspect

The three possible structures involving the perfective aspect in Tinani are:

(i) V-*(k)ì tá*-AGR
(ii) V *tì*-AGR
(iii) V-*mìn*[25]

While (i) occurs only with third person plural subjects, (ii) and (iii) can occur with all persons and numbers. When the perfective is the bare verb stem *tì* functions as the auxiliary. No auxiliary is permitted after the perfective marker *-mìn* (i.e., mechanism (iii)). If a verb ends with a non-velar nasal, then the verb final nasal is lost, when *-mìn* is affixed to the verb stem (cf. 143 and 144, the infinitive forms are *táŋ-tsì* 'see-INF' and *ràn-ʈrì* 'give-INF', respectively). Sentences (141-142) illustrate the perfective formations of the types (i) and (ii). Sentences (143-145) illustrate the perfective construction involving *-mìn*.

(141) *yò-re-tsì tés šá-kì tá-r*
child-PL-ERG story tell-PERF AUX-PL
'Children told the story.'

(142) *ràm-ì sál ʈrík-yè làŋ tì*
name-ERG crop cut-NF sell/PERF AUX
'Ram cut the crop and sold it.'

(143) *ñìš èki sónam táŋ-mìn*
we(2) yesterday name see-PERF
'We saw Sonam yesterday.'

(144) *dò-rè bàtte-tsì sónam-rìŋ ạḥu rà-mìn*
s/he-PL all-ERG name-DAT patato give-PERF
'They gave patatoes to Sonam.'

(145) *dù kyúmuŋ ì-mìn*
s/he home go-PERF
'S/he went home.'

The suffix *-mìn* in Tinani, as in other West Himalayish languages, functions as a nominalizer. Examples of *-min* as a nominalizer follow. (The examples are the same in Kinnauri, Paṭani and Tinani).

(146)	ža	'eat'	:	ža-min	'food/eating'
	krap	'cry'	:	krap-min	'crying/weeping'

The semantic difference among the three perfective formation devices is not clear at this stage. One hypothesis is that the structure V-PERF AUX-AGR represents the older perfective formation mechanism, whose occurrrence in modern Tinani is restricted to some verbs with third person plural subjects and V-*mìn* represents the newer mechanism, which has now become generalized as the perfective marker.

Progressive aspect

The progressive construction in Tinani has the following structure: V-INF *làgig* COP-AGR. The occurrence of *làgig* is confined to the progressive construction in the dataset.[26]

(147) *gè dì gàppa kú-ṭrì làgig tóto-g / tó-g*
I this talk say-INF PROG be/PRST-1SG be-1SG
'I am saying this.'

(148) *ràm dì t^{h}é-ẑï làgik tó-rì*
name this think-INF PROG be-PST/3SG
'Ram was thinking this.'

3.5 **Lhasa Tibetan**

3.5.1 *Basic finite verb morphology*

Tibetan, like other languages considered here, is a clause chaining language, where a number of clauses are linked together by a nonfinal marker. Aspect and evidential markers occur only at the end of a clause chain. When verbs occur in nonfinal positions, they require a

nonfinal marker, and when they occur in the final position, they require one or more finite verb suffixes.

(149) *kyi gcig-gis sha rdog gcig brnyed-pa*[27]
dog a-ERG meat single a find(PERF)-NOM

kha-la 'khyer-nas[28]
mouth-LOC take(nonPERF)-ABL

zam=pa-'i steng-du 'gro skabs
bridge-GEN on-LOC go(nonPERF) during

rang-gi gzut brnyan chu-'i rang-du
self-GEN ?lead image water-GEN self-LOC

gsal-pa
show(SAME)-NOM

de mthong-ba red
DEM see(SAME)-PERF/INFERENCE
'A dog found a piece of meat, taking that in his mouth, while going on the bridge, he saw his shadow in the water.'

Copula construction

In Lhasa Tibetan *yin* and *red* are equational copulas and *yod* and *'dug* are existentials. In statements, *yin* occurs with first person subjects and *red* with non-first person subjects.

(150) *nga bod=pa yin*
I Tibetan (person) be
'I am Tibetan.'

(151) *kho bod=pa red*
he Tibetan (person) be
'He is Tibetan.'

Hale (1980) labelled this type of system as "conjunct" vs. "disjunct" for Newari, a Tibeto-Burman language. In Lhasa Tibetan the conjunct/disjunct distinction is intertwined with evidentiality.

The distribution of the existentials (*yod* and *'dug*) is similar to that of *yin* and *red*, where *yod* occurs with first person and *'dug* with non-first person subjects.

(152) *nga-r dngul tog=tsam yod*
I-DAT money some exist
'I have some money.'

(153) *kho-r dngul tog=tsam 'dug*
he-DAT money some exist
'He has some money.'

However, in some cases both conjunct and disjunct forms of existential can occur with first person arguments. (154) and (155) demonstrate that the choice of the form is based on semantic factors other than person. DeLancey (1986) argues that *'dug* is linked with "new knowledge". (155) is possible in the context where the cat does not belong to the speaker and he has no idea how it came in the house.

(154) *nga-'i nang-la shimi yod*
I-GEN house-LOC cat exist
'There's a cat in my house.'

(155) *nga-'i nang-la shimi 'dug*
I-GEN house-LOC cat exist
'idem.'

In Lhasa Tibetan, the conjunct/disjunct distinction is neutralized in subordinate constructions. In such constructions only the conjuncts (*yin* and *yod*) can occur[29].

(156) *nga/kho bod=pa yin/*red-tsang*
I/he Tibetan be-because
'Because I am/he is a Tibetan...'

Noncopula construction

The two sets of verb endings which occur at the end of a finite verb in noncopula constructions are provided in table 16. The second column

in the table lists the verb endings, the third column describes their tense/aspect and conjunct/disjunct distribution and the fourth column describes their evidential interpretations.[30]

Set I is comprised of forms which reflect nominalization of the clause with a final copula. The nominalizer in such constructions functions as the perfective aspect markers and copulas function primarily as evidential markers. Set II represents cliticization of earlier serial verbs.

Table 16. Finite verb endings in Lhasa Tibetan

I	*-pa red*	DISJUNCT PERF	INFERENCE
	-pa yin	CONJUNCT PERF	DIRECT, VOL
	=gis	DISJUNCT IMPF	DIRECT,EVENT
	=gi yod	CONJUNCT IMPF	DIRECT, VOL
	=gi yod-pa red	IMPF	INFERENCE
	=gi red	DISJUNCT FUT	INFERENCE
	=gi yin	CONJUNCT FUT	DIRECT, VOL
II	*-song*	PERF	DIRECT
	-zhag	PERFECT	INFERENCE
	-byung	PERF	SPEAKER AS GOAL

The conjunct/disjunct distinction of the copulas is retained in noncopula constructions. As mentioned earlier, *yin* and *yod* are conjuncts and *'dug* and *red* are disjuncts.

(157) *nga-s byas-pa yin / *red*
I-ERG do(PERF)-PERF/VOLITIONAL
'I did it.'

(158) *khyed=rang-gis / kho-s byas-pa red / *yin*
you-ERG / he-ERG do(PERF)-PERF/INFERENCE
'You/he did it.'

Finite verb endings which include copulas, have the same evidential values as the copulas, with the addition of volitionality. Here I will briefly describe the evidential values associated with *yin* and *'dug*.

Yin occurs with first person subjects in perfective and imperfective aspects. It marks volitionality, so it does not occur with nonvolitional verbs.

(159) *nga shi-byung*
I die-happen
'I died.'

(160) **nga shi-ba yin*
I die-PERF/VOLITIONAL

With verbs which can have volitional as well as nonvolitional interpretations, *yin* occurs only when the clause involves volitional interpretations.

(161) *nga-s dkaryol bcag-pa yin*
I-ERG cup break(PERF)-PERF/VOLITIONAL
'I broke the cup (intentionally).'

(162) *nga-s dkaryol bcag-song*
I-ERG cup break-PERF/DIRECT
'I broke the cup (unintentionally).'

'dug, on the other hand, occurs only in the imperfective. In the interrogative and negative constructions *'dug* follows the imperfective marker, but in the affirmative, it does not occur in spoken Lhasa Tibetan, instead the imperfective marker has a falling tone, which suggests that there must have been an obstruent coda, presumably an *-s*. For this reason, the imperfective marker is represented here as *=gyis* when *'dug* does not follow the imperfective marker.

'dug occurs with all persons. With non-first person subjects, *=gi 'dug/gyis* marks direct knowledge of the event. It contrasts with *=gi*

yod-pa red, another verb ending, which shows that the information is based on inference.

(163) *kho-s thang=ka 'gel=gyis*
s/he-ERG thangka hang-IMPF/DIRECT
'S/he is hanging up *thangkas*.' (Based on the speaker's direct perception)

(164) *kho-s thang=ka 'gel-gyi yod-pa red*
s/he-ERG *thangka* hang-IMPF/INFERENCE
'S/he is hanging up *thangkas.'* (Based on report of inference)

'dug occurs with first person subjects in nonvolitional event clauses.

(165) *nga na-gyis*
I sick-IMPF/DIRECT/NONVOLITIONAL
'I am sick.'

The Lhasa Tibetan verb system, presented here, shows that a finite verb complex in Lhasa Tibetan encodes evidentiality and volitionality, besides aspectual and verbal information. The perfective and the imperfective distinctions, in set I constructions, are indicated by *-pa* and *=gi*, where *-pa* has the perfective interpretation, and *=gi* in the same position has the imperfective interpretation. Chapter 4 presents a diachronic study of the development of the set I finite verb morphology in Lhasa Tibetan. It presents data which suggest that the verb suffix *-pa*, which has a perfective interpretation in Lhasa Tibetan, is a reanalysis of the nominalizer *-pa*, when it precedes evidential markers (such as *yin*, *'dug*). Similarly, *=gi*, the imperfective aspect marker, is a reanalysis of *gin*, a nonfinal marker indicating temporal overlap. This development can, schematically, be represented as follows.

-pa (NOM)	>	Perfect	>	Perfective
-gin (Temporal overlap)	>	...	>	Imperfective

3.6 **Summary**

To summarize, in the Tibeto-Kinnauri languages examined here, perfective and imperfective markers occur in a number of related constructions. For example, the perfective verb form in Kinnauri and Paṭani also occur in the past participle construction, the clause chain construction, the serial verb construction, the compound verb construction and it also has the perfect interpretation. However, in Tibetan and Tinani, the perfective marker is homophonous with one of the nominalizers in the languages. If lined up diachronically, the various 'functions' of the perfective aspect marker in these languages represent various points in the development of the modern perfective aspect markers in these languages. In chapter 5 we will examine the development of the modern perfective aspect in Tibeto-Kinnauri languages, where functional motivations will be provided in support of the pathway suggested here.

Notes

[1]. This consultant is from the Kalpa region in Kinnaur. According to my consultants, *-t/-d* is a peculiarity of the Kinnauri spoken in the Kalpa region.

[2]. The distribution of the future tense markers reflects the speech of the Sangla region. According to my consultants, there is a variation among the Kinnauri speakers depending on the geographical area of Kinnaur to which they belong. The future marker *ta* is realized as *to* in the Kalpa region.

[3]. The verb 'see' has two variants *k^hya* and *k^hi*. This variation is yet another instance of variation among Kinnauri speakers, which my informants attributed to variation among speakers depending on the region to which they belong.

[4]. *Ni* also occurs in the construction *ma=ni=ma* [NEG=be=NEG] 'if not', where it has the interpretation of 'unless'.

[5]. The auxiliary function of the "versatile" verbs (Matisoff 1976) is indicated here by providing the gloss in capitals.

[6]. There are, however, some loan words which follow the regular phonological rules of Kinnauri. *k^hUŠ* 'happy' is, for example, an Indic loan word and the choice of the imperfective (*k^hUŠ-Is*) is determined by the same phonological rule as indigenous verbs.

[7] . See Saxena (1991) for a discussion of the tonal system in Paṭani.

[8]. The first and second person plural marker *-m̃i* is realized as Ṽ+ ĩ when the verb ends with a vowel.

[9]. It is possible that these agreement markers were originally clitics and are now on their way to becoming suffixes. This would account for the variation.

[10]. The detailed form of *šw-à* is *šú-à.* It is realized as *šwà* in rapid speech.

[11]. The forms in table 6 reflect careful speech; in informal speech the verb final *-u* is usually dropped. For example, *šò-g* instead of *šú-ò-g*.

[12]. The verb *kú* 'say' allows an alternation between *kú-ì* and *kú-ɽì* as its past tense forms.

[13]. The verb ‘die’ takes only *-rì* as the non-future tense marker.

[14]. The perfective and the non-perfective forms of the verb ‘go’ are *yò* and *ìl*, respectively.

[15]. Non-phonologically determined environments in Paṭani and, as will be shown below in Tinani, could be a consequence of the historical developments in these languages (just as in Maori), where, at one stage, suffixes were simple vowels, but at a later stage words were resegmentalized, with the result that the stem final consonant got reanalyzed as part of some suffixes. Similarly, the relationship between the past allomorph *-ṛì* and the infinitive *-ʈṛì* in Tinani, suggests that retroflexion could be a part of the verb stem, otherwise it would be difficult to account for the fact as to why only those verbs which take *-ʈṛì* as the the infinitive, take the past tense marker *-ṛì* in the structure V-TNS-AGR.

[16]. It is plausible that in older Paṭani the imperfective marker *-à* was suffixed to the infinitive verb form, including the final vowel *-ì*. In modern Paṭani, the infinitive marker is completely lost in imperfective verb forms.

[17]. There is only one verb in Paṭani, which allows *-čà* as the imperfect participle marker; the verb ‘laugh’ (*wàpì* (INF), *wàpì* (IMPF), *wàčə̀ tár* (imperfect participle).

[18]. Both Paṭani as well as Tinani show a frequent alternation between /*a*/ and /*ə*/.

[19]. The first person singular agreement marker is realized as *-kà* with the copula *šú*.

[20]. When the verb stem ends with a consonant, the first person plural marker is realized as *C̃ĩ*.

[21]. The agreement marker *-tsì* also occurs with second person singular honorific subjects.

[22]. The imperfective verb form in Tinani is identical with the infinitive verb form, except in the following cases. *ìbì* / *ìi* ‘goes’ (INF *ìbì*), *bèi* ‘is scared’ (INF *bèbì*), *dòspì* / *dòskì* ‘sleeps’ (INF *dòspì*), à*nkì* ‘comes’ (INF à*mpì*), *jòkkì* ‘lives’ (INF *ǰòpì*), *šúkì* ‘happens’ (INF *šúbì*). Even in these cases, the two forms are very similar. These are all the cases of *-kì* as the imperfective marker.

[23]. The infinitive verb in Tinani occurs also in nonfinite complement constructions (subject, direct object and oblique complements). The complement clauses in such constructions are never followed by a headnoun.

[24]. The only exception to this is the verb *go*. The infinitive and imperfective forms of the verb '*go'* is *ìbì* (INF, IMPF), but the present participle is *ìl (tár(ò)*).

[25]. *Min*, which functions also as a nominalizer in some other West Himalayish languages, occurs in some nominalized constructions in Tinani and Gahri, too. For example, it occurs in the relative clause construction and in the complement construction in Tinani. In the latter case, if the subjects of the two clauses are not coreferential, the head noun occurs obligatorily.

[26]. Due to the lack of relevant data, it is not possible to determine if the progressive marker in Tinani has additional functions.

[27]. Examples of Lhasa Tibetan appear in the transliterated form of the written Tibetan. The tonal patterns of *-pa* and *=gi* are different. The suffix *-pa* behaves like a regular suffix. Like all suffixes, it is toneless. The suffix *=gi*, on the other hand, has the tonal pattern of a compound word. This difference in the tone pattern is shown here by - and =. Verb endings such as *yin* and *'dug* are not linked to the aspect markers by means of hyphens, because they have the status of independent morphemes. Since the morphosyntax and semantics of the verb endings are sensitive to the determination of aspect, the gloss of *-pa yin* and *=gi 'dug* is treated as one unit.

[28]. *Nas* is an ablative case marker in Tibetan. It also functions as a subordinator.

[29]. DeLancey (1989) notes that *'dug* occurs in nonfinal contexts in certain circumstances. For example,

(1) *kho-r dep de yod / 'dug-na*
he-DAT book that exist-if
'If he has the book...'

[30]. All contemporary varieties, for which adequate descriptions are available, seem to have an evidential system generally similar to that of Lhasa (DeLancey 1990).

Chapter 4

CREATION OF ASPECT AND EVIDENTIAL MORPHOLOGY: DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

4.1 **Introduction**

Tibeto-Kinnauri languages, as seen in chapter 3, display two plausible sources of their modern aspect markers; the nominalizer and the participle form. This chapter traces the development of the modern perfective and imperfective aspect markers in Lhasa Tibetan. The finite verb structure relevant for the present purposes in Lhasa Tibetan is V-*pa*/=*gi*-EVID, where -*pa* has the perfective interpretation and =*gi* has the imperfective interpretation. *Yin*, *red*, *yod* and *'dug* which otherwise function as copulas, function here as evidential markers. Results of the diachronic study, as will be presented below, suggest that -*pa* which has a perfective interpretation in standard Lhasa, is a reanalysis of the nominalizer -*pa* when it precedes evidential markers (such as *yin* and *'dug*) and =*gi* (the imperfective marker) is a reanalysis of *gin*, a nonfinal marker indicating temporal overlap**.**

Standard Lhasa Tibetan has two sets of finite verb endings in noncopula constructions; (i) finite verb endings which reflect what was at an earlier stage a nominalized clause with a final copula and (ii) verb endings which reflect cliticization of earlier serial verbs. The set (i) finite verb system (hereafter, the finite verb system) involves a verb stem, aspect marker and a copula which functions as an evidential marker. The evidential markers indicate the source of the information contained in the clause. Sentences (1-7) below show that the verb stem is followed by an aspect marker, where -*pa* marks the perfective and =*gi* marks the imperfective.[1]

Lhasa Tibetan has a four-term copular system. *Yin* and *red* are equational copulas and *'dug* and *yod* are existentials. They also occur in noncopula constructions. Their distribution in such constructions is as follows. *Yin* occurs with first person subjects, where it indicates volitionality (exx. 1-2). *Red* occurs with non-first person subjects in the perfective, but can occur with all persons in the imperfective. *Red* marks that the information is based on inference (exx. 3-5). *'dug* occurs with non-first person subjects in event clauses (ex. 6), where it marks direct knowledge of the event. *'dug* occurs with first person subjects in nonvolitional event clauses (ex. 7). In the following description I will use 'evidential' as a cover term for these morphosyntactic and semantic features.

(1) *nga-s stag bsad-pa yin*[2]
I-ERG tiger kill-PERF/VOLITIONAL
'I killed a tiger. (volitionally)'

(2) *nga-(s) stag bsad=kyi yin*
I-ERG tiger kill-IMPF/VOLITIONAL
'I will kill a tiger. (deliberately)'

(3) *khyed=rang-gis / kho-s byas-pa red*
you-ERG / he-ERG did-PERF/INFERENCE
'You/he did it.' (based on inferential information)

(4) *khyed=rang-(gis) stag bsad=kyi red*
you-ERG tiger kill-IMPF/INFERENCE
'You will kill a tiger.' (based on inferential information).

(5) *nga-s stag bsad=kyi red*
I-ERG tiger kill-IMPF/INFERENCE
'I will kill a tiger.' (accidentally).

(6) *khong gzas btang=gi 'dug*[3]
s/he song emit-IMPF/DIRECT
'S/he is singing.' (direct knowledge)

(7) *nga na=gi-('dug)*
I sick-IMPF/DIRECT/NONVOLITIONAL
'I am sick.'

Table 1 presents the tense/aspect and evidential values associated with this set of the finite verb endings.

Table 1. Tense/aspect/evidentiality values of the finite verb endings

	NO DIRECT KNOWLEDGE	DIRECT KNOWLEDGE, VOLITIONAL	DIRECT KNOWLEDGE, EVENT
PERFECTIVE	*-pa red*	*-pa yin*	
IMPERFECTIVE	*=gi yod-pa red*	*=gi yod*	*=gi-'dug/ =gyis*
FUTURE	*=gi red*	*=gi yin*	

The finite verb system of Lhasa Tibetan differs significantly from the original Tibetan finite verb system. In the original system, tense/aspect/mood distinctions were indicated by prefixes, suffixes and change of the root vowel. Thus, a transitive verb could potentially have four verb forms. For example, *rnga* (IMPF), *brngas* (PERF), *brnga* (FUT), *rngos* (IMP) 'reap' (Shafer 1950:709). Unlike Lhasa Tibetan, in this system, each finite declarative verb ends with a declarative marker (*'o*). Differences in the two finite verb systems raise questions about the development of the modern system. In this chapter we will pursue the development of *-pa* and *=gi* as the perfective and the imperfective markers, respectively, and the emergence of *yin* and *'dug* as evidential markers. We will argue that *-pa* is a reanalysis of the nominalizer *-pa*, when it precedes evidential markers (such as *yin* and *'dug*) and that *=gi* is a reanalysis of the nonfinal marker *gin*, which indicates temporal overlap. As a consequence of the reanalysis of the nominalizer as the perfective marker and the copula as an evidential marker, the structural configuration of a clause is also undergoing reanalysis. (8a) presents the original structure involving a nominalized copula construction. (8b) illustrates the finite verb structure in Lhasa Tibetan.

(8a) s[NP s[NP VP]s NOM COPULA]s

(8b) s[NP V-ASP EVID]s

The development of the modern finite verb system involves the loss of the original tense/aspect system and the final declarative marker (*'o*). Degeneration of these two systems happened at the same time. In Lhasa Tibetan, the evidential markers also mark the end of a finite verb (EFV, hereafter).

It is important to point out here that Lhasa Tibetan has not reached the stage where copulas such as *yin* and *'dug* have been completely reanalyzed as finite verb markers and have lost all traces of the verb in noncopula constructions. This is evident from the fact that the native speakers recognize the evidential marker *yin* as the copula *yin* and the tone configuration of evidential markers is that of an independent morpheme in the slow speech of educated informants. However, it is possible that if this development continues, these morphemes might lose some of their phonological material and be treated as suffixes.

The materials which I have investigated for the present study are listed under (9) in chronological order.

(9)(i) Sixth century Tibetan texts from *Tun huang* (Thomas 1957) (*Tunhuang* texts, hereafter);

(ii) Classical Tibetan texts and descriptions (Hahn 1974, Francke 1929, Jäschke 1954);

(iii) *Mi=la ras=pa'i rnam thar*, a fourteenth century Tibetan text, (De Jong 1959) (*Mi=la ras=pa*, hereafter); and

(iv) Data from Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 1985, 1986, 1990, 1992)

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 4.2 presents the background material for the study, including a brief overview of the inferred original verb schema and the Lhasa Tibetan system. In section 4.3 we trace the development of the modern finite verb system in Lhasa Tibetan. This will be done by examining the aforementioned Tibetan texts, beginning with the *Tunhuang* texts in section 4.3.1. This description, it is hoped, will show a gradual degeneration of the original

system and a slow rise of the modern system. In section 4.4 the development of the perfective and the imperfective markers in modern Lhasa Tibetan will be examined. In section 4.5 evidence will be presented which suggests that the structural configuration of a finite clause in modern Lhasa Tibetan is undergoing reanalysis, as a consequence of the reanalyses of the nominalizer as a perfective marker and copulas as evidential markers.[4]

4.2 **Background**

4.2.1 *Overview of the original and the Lhasa Tibetan verbal systems*

The original verbal system

In the inferred original Tibetan verb inflection system, the tense/aspect information was indicated by prefixes, suffixes and changes in the root vowel (Shafer 1950, 1951). For intransitive verbs, a two-way tense/aspect distinction was made. The imperfective had the prefix *'-*[5] and the perfective had the suffix *-s*. For transitive verbs a four-way tense/aspect distinction was made, where the imperfective had either an *'-* or a *g-* as the prefix; the perfective had the prefix *b-* and suffix *-s*, the future had either *b-* or *g-* as the prefix and the imperative had *o* as the root vowel and suffix *-s*. The original verb inflection system is summarized in table 2. Various morphophonemic rules affected the realization of this system with particular root-initial or root-final consonants (see Shafer 1950, 1951 for details).

Table 2. The original transitive verb inflection system

	Imperfective	Perfective	Future	Imperative
CLASS 1	’------	b------s	b------	------s
CLASS 2	’------	b------s	g------	------s
CLASS 3	g------	b------s	b------	------s
CLASS 4	g------	b------s	g------	------s

For example, *’chang* (IMPF), *bcangs* (PERF), *bcang* (FUT), *chong(s)* (IMP) ‘hold’[6]

In addition, finite affirmative verbs were followed by a declarative marker (EFV) *’o*. It has two allomorphs *’o* and *to*. *To* occurred with the perfective verb forms ending in *n*, *r* or *l*. *’o* occurred elsewhere. *’o* repeated the stem final consonant, if the verb ended with a consonant[7]. (In the gloss of each verb, the tense/aspect information, given within parenthesis, describes the tense/aspect of the verb stem.)

(10a) *gyur* *to*
become(PERF) EFV

(10b) *’ong* *ngo*
come(IMPF) EFV

(10c) *’tsho* *’o*
live(IMPF) EFV

The Lhasa Tibetan verbal system

As noted earlier, in the original system a verb can have up to four forms, perfective, imperfective, future and imperative. In Lhasa Tibetan the stem alternations are disappearing.[8] A large number of verbs make a distinction only between perfective and nonperfective and a number of other verbs have only one invariant form of the verb (for example, the verb ‘become’ has only one form *’gyur* (SAME) ‘become’)[9]. If more than

one verb item is available, certain verb endings in Lhasa Tibetan require a specific form of the verb. The perfective marker *-pa* and the nominalizer *-pa* require the perfective form of the verb and the imperfective marker *=gi* requires the imperfective form of the verb.

When verbs occur in nonfinal positions, they take a nonfinal marker and when they occur in the final position, they occur with one or more finite verb suffixes. Tibetan is a clause chaining language, where a number of clauses are linked together by a nonfinal marker. Aspect and evidential markers occur only at the end of a clause chain.

(11) *kyi gcig-gis sha rdog gcig brnyed-pa*
dog a-ERG meat single a find(PERF)-NOM

kha-la 'khyer-nas[10]
mouth-LOC take(nonPERF)-ABL

zam=pa-'i steng-du 'gro skabs
bridge-GEN on-LOC go(nonPERF) during

rang-gi gzut brnyan chu-'i rang-du
self-GEN ?lead image water-GEN self-LOC

gsal-pa
show(SAME)-NOM

de mthong-ba red
DEM see(SAME)-PERF/INFERENCE
'A dog found a piece of meat, taking that in his mouth, while going on the bridge, he saw his shadow in the water.'

Copula construction

In Lhasa Tibetan *yin* and *red* are equational copulas and *yod* and *'dug* are existentials. In statements, *yin* occurs with first person subjects and *red* with non-first person subjects.

(12) *nga bod=pa yin*
I Tibetan (person) be
'I am Tibetan.'

(13) *kho bod=pa red*
he Tibetan (person) be
'He is Tibetan.'

Hale (1980) labelled this type of system as "conjunct" vs. "disjunct" for Newari, a Tibeto-Burman language. In Lhasa Tibetan the conjunct/disjunct distinction is intertwined with evidentiality.

The distribution of the existentials (*yod* and *'dug*) is similar to that of *yin* and *red*, where *yod* occurs with first person and *'dug* with non-first person subjects.

(14) *nga-r dngul tog=tsam yod*
I-DAT money some exist
'I have some money.'

(15) *kho-r dngul tog=tsam 'dug*
he-DAT money some exist
'He has some money.'

However, in some cases both conjunctive and disjunctive forms of existential copula can occur with first person arguments. (16) and (17) demonstrate that the choice of the form is based on semantic factors other than person. DeLancey (1986) argues that *'dug* is linked with "new knowledge". (17) is possible in the context where the cat does not belong to the speaker and he has no idea how it came in the house.

(16) *nga-'i nang-la shimi yod*
I-GEN house-LOC cat exist
'There's a cat in my house.'

(17) *nga-'i nang-la shimi 'dug*
I-GEN house-LOC cat exist
'idem.'

In Lhasa Tibetan, the conjunct/disjunct distinction is neutralized in subordinate constructions. In such constructions only the conjuncts (*yin* and *yod*) can occur[11].

(18) *nga/kho bod=pa yin/*red-tsang*
I/he Tibetan be-because
'Because I am/he is a Tibetan...'

Noncopula construction

The two sets of verb endings which occur at the end of a finite verb in noncopula constructions are provided in table 3. The second column in the table lists the verb endings, the third column describes their tense/aspect and conjunct/disjunct distribution and the fourth column describes their evidential interpretations. [12]

Table 3. Finite verb endings in Lhasa Tibetan

I	*-pa red* *-pa yin* *=gis* *=gi yod* *=gi yod-pa red* *=gi red* *=gi yin*	DISJUNCT PERF CONJUNCT PERF DISJUNCT IMPF CONJUNCT IMPF IMPF DISJUNCT FUT CONJUNCT FUT	INFERENCE DIRECT, VOL DIRECT,EVENT DIRECT, VOL INFERENCE INFERENCE DIRECT, VOL
II	*-song* *-zhag* *-byung*	PERF PERFECT PERF	DIRECT INFERENCE SPEAKER AS GOAL

Set II represents cliticization of earlier serial verbs. Set I is comprised of forms which reflect a nominalized clause with a final copula. Copulas in this construction function, however, as evidential markers and not as copulas. The conjunct/disjunct distinction of the copulas is retained in noncopula constructions. As mentioned earlier, *yin* and *yod* are conjuncts and *'dug* and *red* are disjuncts.

(19) *nga-s byas-pa yin / *red*
I-ERG do(PERF)-PERF/VOLITIONAL
'I did it.'

(20) *khyed=rang-gis / kho-s byas-pa red / *yin*
you-ERG / he-ERG do(PERF)-PERF/INFERENCE
'You/He did it.'

Finite verb endings which include copulas, have the same evidentiality values as the copulas, with the addition of volitionality. Here I will briefly describe the evidential values associated with *yin* and *'dug*.

Yin occurs with first person subjects in perfective and imperfective aspects (see exx. 1-2 above). It marks volitionality, so it does not occur with nonvolitional verbs.

(21) *nga shi-byung*
I die-happen
'I died.'

(22) **nga shi-ba yin*
I die-PERF/VOLITIONAL

With verbs which can have volitional as well as nonvolitional interpretations, *yin* occurs only when the clause involves volitional interpretations.

(23) *nga-s dkaryol bcag-pa yin*
I-ERG cup break(PERF)-PERF/VOLITIONAL
'I broke the cup.' (intentionally)

(24) *nga-s dkaryol bcag-song*
I-ERG cup break-PERF/DIRECT
'I broke the cup.' (unintentionally)

'dug, on the other hand, occurs only in the imperfective. In the interrogative and negative constructions *'dug* follows the imperfective marker, but in the affirmative, it does not occur in spoken Lhasa Tibetan, instead the imperfective marker has a falling tone which suggests that there must have been an obstruent coda, presumably an *-s*. For this

reason, the imperfective marker is represented here as *=gyis* when *'dug* does not follow the imperfective marker.

'dug occurs with all persons. With non-first person subjects, *=gi 'dug/gyis* marks direct knowledge of the event. It contrasts with *=gi yod-pa red*, another verb ending, which shows that the information is based on inference.

(25) *kho-s thang=ka 'gel=gyis*
s/he-ERG *thangka* hang-IMPF/DIRECT
'S/he is hanging up *thangkas*.' (Based on the speaker's direct perception)

(26) *kho-s thang=ka 'gel-gyi yod-pa red*
s/he-ERG *thangka* hang-IMPF/INFERENCE
'S/he is hanging up *thangkas.'* (Based on report of inference)

'dug occurs with first person subjects in nonvolitional event clauses.

(27) *nga na-gyis*
I sick-IMPF/DIRECT/NONVOLITIONAL
'I am sick.'

To summarize, the description, presented here, shows that a finite verb complex in Lhasa Tibetan encodes evidentiality and volitionality, besides aspectual and verbal information. In set I noncopula constructions the perfective and the imperfective distinctions are indicated by *-pa* and *=gi*, where *-pa* has the perfective interpretation and *=gi* in the same position has the imperfective interpretation.

4.3 **Development of the modern aspect and evidentiality system**

The organization of this section is as follows. The verbal system of the *Tunhuang* texts is described first. It suggests that even in the earliest available texts, the original system was breaking down. The Classical Tibetan verbal system is presented in section 4.3.2. It demonstrates the loss of the original system to a large extent; seeds of the modern finite verb system are seen here. The verbal system in *Mi=la ras=pa* is

described next. It shows the continuing decay of the original system and further developments of the modern system. The functional developments of *yin* and *'dug* and the structural development of *yin* in *Mi=la ras=pa* are consistent with the patterns found in Lhasa Tibetan.

As is the case with any study relying on written texts alone, the present work is confronted with the following two limitations. Texts do not always contain all the information needed for an adequate analysis. Texts from different periods differ in style. Despite these limitations, as will be shown below, there is sufficient datacorpus to trace the development of the modern finite verb system.

4.3.1 *The Tunhuang texts*

Tense/Aspect

The *Tunhuang* texts retain the original tense/aspect system to a very large extent. The original imperative form of the verb is consistently used in the texts. Examples of this are *snyogs* 'run(IMP)' (cf. *snyegs* 'run(IMPF)') and *lobs* 'speak(IMP)' (cf. *lab* 'speak, talk(IMPF)'). Besides the imperative suffix, Tibetan also has an imperative morpheme, *cig*, which follows the verb. It has three allomorphs *cig*, *shig* and *zhig*. *Shig* occurs when the preceding morpheme ends with an *s*, *zhig* occurs after *ng*, *n*, *m*, *r*, and *l* and *cig* in all other places. In some instances in the texts, the imperative suffix is phonetically implied. For example, in *khob shig* 'cover(IMP) IMP' and *zo shig* 'eat(IMP) IMP' the imperative morpheme is realized as *shig* in conformity with the imperative suffix *-s*, which is later deleted (*khobs cig --> khobs shig --> khob shig* 'cover(IMP) IMP'). (28) illustrates the original system in the *Tunhuang* texts.

(28) *'cha'* (IMPF), *bcas* (PERF), *bca'* (FUT), *chos* (IMP) 'make'
'jog (IMPF), *bzhag* (PERF), *gzhag* (FUT), *zhog* (IMP) 'put, place'

At the same time, the *Tunhuang* texts also show signs of decay of the original system. This is evident from the irregularities in the spelling system. In some cases the morphological rules concerning the choice of

the verb form are not followed and in other cases deviant verb forms are found. In Tibetan *ma* is the general negative morpheme and *m(y)i* occurs with the future verb forms. However, the texts have a few instances where the perfective form is used with *myi*. The regular form also occurs in the texts.

(29a) *myi-tshugs*
NEG-begin(PERF)

(29b) *ma-tshugs*
NEG-begin(PERF)

Similarly, there is a considerable laxity in the use of the perfective suffix *-s*. Forms with and without the perfective suffix occur in neighboring environments, for example, *bcugs*/*bcug* 'make(PERF)'.

The degeneration of the original tense/aspect system is, to a large extent, clearly seen in the loss of the future form. To quote Thomas, "the Future, a necessary, and no doubt, ancient, independent form with Prefix *g-* of obscure etymology, had in the period of the first spellings and grammarians become considerably muddled" (1957:61).[13]

Further, a careful look at the examples of variant spellings of verbs in Thomas (1957) suggests that the variation is in the prefixes, root vowels and suffixes. As described earlier, these are the mechanisms to mark tense/aspect (see section 4.2.1 for details). Table 4 lists a set of deviant spellings found in the *Tunhuang* texts. In this set of examples, the irregular forms appear as variants of the other member of the pair, but are not found in Jäschke's Classical Tibetan dictionary, or in Goldstein's modern Tibetan dictionary, except for *blan*, which is listed as a variant of *glan* in Jäschke's dictionary.

Table 4. Deviant spellings in the *Tunhuang* texts

	Regular forms	Irregular forms	Gloss
Prefixes	*nyan*	*bnyan*	'listen to'
	glan	*blan*	'patch up'
	gab	*bgab*	'hide'
	gug	*bgug*	'be bent'
Suffixes	*bzhugs*	*bzhug*	'sit'
Vowels & suffixes	*skom*	*skams*	'be thirsty'

This variation has stabilized in Lhasa Tibetan, where in some cases two variant spellings are found for the same meaning (see Goldstein 1978). For example,

(30) *zhon* ~ *bzhon* 'ride'
bdog ~ *bdag* 'self/to own'

Besides the deterioration in the spelling system, development of new words from already existing words intensified the breakdown of the original system. *Skor* 'surround' and *bkyon* 'blame' are derived from already existing words *'khor* 'go around' and *skyon* 'fault' (Thomas 1957). It is possible that such words did not always develop forms based on the mechanical system (of having different prefixes and/or suffixes and a change in the root vowel to mark tense/aspect distinctions); thus, increasing the number of cases which are not consistent with the original verbal system. This deterioration continued, resulting in one single form of a verb in many cases and retention of multiple verb forms in some cases in Lhasa Tibetan.

Copula construction

The occurrence of a copula is not obligatory in an equational clause in Tibetan. For example,

(31) *'dzangs=po zhes*[14]
wise QUOTE
' "(He is) wise." thus (he said).'

The equational copulas in the *Tunhuang* texts are *yin* and *lags* and the existentials are *'dug* and *yod*.

Yin and *lags* can occur in the final as well as nonfinal positions. In the nonfinal position, they are followed by a nonfinal marker, such as *te* and in the final position they are optionally followed by the EFV *'o*. There is a discrepancy in the texts concerning the EFV marker with *lags*. In some cases the EFV is *o* and in others it is *so* (i.e., *lags-o* and *lags-so*).

Constructions involving *'dug* and *yod* have third person subjects. *Yod* occurs in the final as well as nonfinal positions. *'dug*, on the other hand, occurs only in subordinate clauses where it is followed by a subordinator, such as *-pa-r*, NOM-LOC[15]. This is especially interesting, because, in Lhasa Tibetan, the occurrence of *'dug* and *yod* is largely neutralized in subordinate clauses, where only *yod* occurs.

Bare verb

According to the handbooks of Tibetan, every verb is followed either by a nonfinal marker or an EFV, except in imperative sentences and when a question is expressed by an interrogative morpheme. In these two cases the EFV does not occur at the end of a finite verb. The term 'bare verb' refers here to verbs, excluding those in these two aforementioned constructions, which are not followed either by a nonfinal marker or an EFV.

In the *Tunhuang* texts the EFV follows most finite verbs. (32) is one of the few cases where the verb is not followed by an EFV.

(32) *'ung=nas chos dang tshe ngan=pa-la*
since religion and life evil-LOC

bab ste
settle(PERF) CLP

'dre' dang srin-gyis gnod dgur brg[y]a langs
fiend and demon-ERG harm crooked 100 arise(PERF)
'Since religion and life had fallen upon evil days, all sorts of harm from demons and fiends rose in hundreds.'

The *Tunhuang* texts are written in a semi-poetic style. Bare verbs occur in certain idiomatic expressions, probably to give a rhyme. The following is one such instance.

(33) *'tsho-'i tshigs 'di*
live(nonIMPF,nonIMP)-GEN verse DEM

thos kyang
hear(SAME) also

ma thos
NEG hear(SAME)

mthong yang
see(SAME) again

ma mthong-ba ni
NEG see(SAME)-NOM TOP

myi legs nyes-gyi bar-du
men happy(SAME) evil(SAME)-GEN time-LOC

'tsho 'o
live(nonIMPF,nonIMP) EFV
'They do not hear, when seeing do not see, and men live between good and evil.'

In short, the original tense/aspect system and the finite verb system in the *Tunhuang* texts is retained to a large extent. At the same time, the texts also show signs of decay. This is seen in the irregularities in the verb forms and the absence of the EFV marker at the end of a sentence. In the next section we will examine the Classical Tibetan verbal system, where

we will observe further degeneration of the original tense/aspect system and the EFV system. In the CL texts we begin to see the use of copulas as well as noncopulas as auxiliaries. The verb preceding *yin* in such constructions is always nominalized with *-pa* (akin to the *-pa yin* construction in Lhasa Tibetan), but at this stage *yin* neither marks volitionality nor does it function as EFV (which is the case in Lhasa Tibetan).

4.3.2 *Classical Tibetan*

Tense/Aspect

Classical Tibetan (CT, hereafter) shows further loss of the original tense/aspect system. This is also indicated by the irregularities in the spelling system and further degeneration of aspect markers. (34) exemplifies irregularities in CT. *Zhig* in (34) indicates that this is an imperative construction. Following the morphological rules of Tibetan, the verb in this example should not have the perfective form *btang*, which is the case here.

(34) *mi 'di-s rta ma btang zhig ces*
man DEM-ERG horse NEG let go(PERF) IMP QUOTE
'This man (said): "Don't let the horse let go." '

CT does not have a consistent morphological device to mark tense/aspect. Jäschke (noted in Thomas 1957:62) states: "the mute *s* in the Perfect [perfective] and Imperative is in most cases either put or omitted very arbitrarily". The same structure is used for imperfective and perfective. The following quotations from Francke (1929) are illustrative:

> [T]he auxiliary *yin* is placed after the present participle *byed-pa yin* [do(IMPF)-NOM-be] 'he is doing [it].'. (1929:149)

And at another place (pg.150), he states:

> [T]he auxiliary *yin* is placed after the past participle *mthong-ba yin* [see(SAME)-NOM-be] 'I saw it.'.

These types of contradictory statements regarding tense/aspect are found in Jäschke (1954)[16] as well. Assuming that these authors correctly interpreted the time reference of the examples, this nominalized construction may have been neutral to tense.

This description suggests that the occurrence of the perfective and the imperfective in CT is not determined at the clause level. In order to examine the functions of the perfective and the imperfective verb forms in CT, I analyzed two CT texts *Boy and the bird* and *The story of Yug=pa=can the brahman* (Jäschke 1954). For this, I took into consideration verbs which were specified for the perfective or the imperfective aspect. Examination of these texts suggests that verbs which indicate mainline events have the perfective form and verbs which indicate background information have the imperfective form.

The following passage from the text *Boy and the bird* is illustrative. In this text verbs 'see' and 'do' have the imperfective verb forms and verbs 'go' and 'leave' have the perfective form. The imperfective forms occur in purposive clauses and in the direct quotation construction which constitute background information. The perfective, on the other hand, occurs in clauses which indicate mainline events. These discourse-related functions of the perfective and the imperfective aspect markers are in conformity with the observations made in Hopper (1979, 1982).

(35) *de-nas ring zhig lon-pa dang*
DEM-ABL long a pass(SAME)-NOM and

dus gzhan zhig-na rgyal=po gzhan zhig-gi
time other a-LOC king other a-GEN

yul-du rol=mo byed do zhes thos-nas
country-LOC fair do(IMPF) EFV QUOTE hear(SAME)-ABL

khye'u de bya de-la zhon te
boy DEM bird DEM-LOC mount(SAME) CLP

yul pha=rol=po-r ltad=mo lta-r
country otherside-LOC sights see(IMPF)-LOC

song-nas
go(PERF)-ABL

bya shing=ka-r bzhag ste
bird tree-LOC leave(PERF) CLP

khye'u ni ltad=mo lta-r
boy TOP sights see(IMPF)-LOC

zhugs so
enter(PERF,IMP) EFV
'Then a long time passed and at another time in another king's country they were having a fair, he heard, the boy mounted his bird and (went to) the other country to see the sights, leaving the bird in a tree, the boy went to see the sights.'

Copula construction

The equational copulas in CT are *yin* and *lags* and the existentials are *'dug* and *yod*. *Yin* occurs in final as well as nonfinal positions. In the final position it is followed by an EFV and in the nonfinal position it is followed by a nonfinal marker. All instances of *'dug* and *yod* are in the nonfinal position in the texts I examined. Since *yod* occurs in the final position both before (in the *Tunhuang* texts) and after this (in *Mi=la ras=pa*) it is likely that this was not a syntactic restriction in CT.

Auxiliaries

The term 'auxiliary' is used here to refer to a verb in a verb complex, where some other verb is the main verb. For example, in *song 'dug* 'go(PERF,IMP) exist' and *mthong-ba-r 'gyur* 'see(SAME)-NOM-LOC become(IMPF)', *song* and *mthong* are the main verbs and *'dug* and *'gyur* are the auxiliaries.

In CT, unlike the *Tunhuang* texts, there is a set of verbs which function as auxiliaries. This includes copulas and some noncopula verbs. Jäschke (1954) mentions the following noncopula auxiliaries *tshar* 'finish(PERF)',

zin ‘be finished(PERF)’, *song* ‘go(PERF,IMP)’, *’gyur* ‘become(IMPF)’, *’ong* ‘come(IMPF)’, *byed* ‘make(IMPF)’, *byas* ‘make(PERF)’, *bya* ‘make(FUT)’, *btong* ‘let go(IMP)’, *mdzad* ‘do(SAME)’ and *’ongs* ‘come(PERF)’. Verbs functioning as auxiliaries in CT are “versatile” verbs (Matisoff 1969), because they also function as lexical verbs. In (36) *song* functions as a lexical verb, but in (37) *song* functions as an auxiliary and *mthong* as the main verb.

(36) *song* *’dug*
go(PERF,IMP) exist

(37) *mthong* *song*
see(SAME) go(PERF,IMP)

A verb complex involving an auxiliary in CT can have one of the following three structures (i) V AUX, (ii) V-NOM *yin* or (iii) V-NOM-LOC AUX[17]. (38-40) illustrate each of these three structures. In these examples *song*, *’dod* and *mthong* function as the main verbs and *’dug*, *yin* and *byas* as the auxiliaries.

(38) *song* *’dug*
go(PERF,IMP) exist

(39) *’dod-pa* *yin*
like(SAME)-NOM be

(40) *mthong-ba-r* *byas*
see(SAME)-NOM-LOC do(PERF)

Copula auxiliaries

As mentioned above, copulas (*yin*[18], *’dug*, *lags* and *yod*) function as auxiliaries in CT. Clauses involving *yin* and *’dug* have non-first person subjects in the texts, I examined. As is the case in Lhasa Tibetan, verbs preceding *yin* are always nominalized with *-pa*. However, at this stage *yin* neither marks volitionality nor functions as an EFV.[19]

(41) *khyod-kyi skad snyan-pa yin no*
you-GEN voice low-NOM be EFV
'(Your) voice is nice (to hear).'

(42) *gyos=po-'i khyim-du 'gro*
father-in-law-GEN house-LOC go(nonPERF)

'dod-pa yin-gyis
like-NOM be-INST
'Because (you) like to go to your father-in-law's house...'

The following examples occur in adjacent clauses in the text. It is interesting to note that *-pa yin* occurs in (43a) but not in (43b). (43a) precedes (43b) in the text.[20]

(43a) *khyod-kyi skad snyan-pa yin no*
you-GEN voice low-NOM be EFV
'(Your) voice is low.'

(43b) *skad mi snyan no*
voice NEG low EFV
'(Your) voice is not low.'

Unlike *yin*, *'dug* occurs in a variety of syntactic constructions in CT.

(44) *yi=mug ste 'dug pa-las*[21]
despair(SAME) CLP stay NOM-ABL
'While despairing...'

(45) *de-'i drung-na tha=ga=pa zhig*
that-GEN near-LOC weaver a

thags='thag cing 'dug-ba de-'i
weave NF exist-NOM that-GEN

steng-du lhung
upper part-LOC fall
'Near that place sat a weaver weaving, and (he) fell on top of him.'

(46) *dbyig=pa=can khyod stan-la*
name you mat-LOC

mi rtog-pa-r 'dug-pa yang
NEG consider(IMPF)-NOM-LOC exist-NOM also

nyes so
damage EFV
'*Dbyig=pa=can*, you also sinned in being unaware that [the baby] was on the mat.'

Noncopula auxiliaries

As mentioned earlier, a number of noncopula verbs started functioning as auxiliaries in CT. This development correlates with the gradual deterioration of the original tense/aspect system. The language used other devices, such as the increasing use of auxiliaries which are marked for tense/aspect. In CT *tshar* 'finish(PERF)', *zin* 'be finished(PERF)' and *song* 'go(PERF,IMP)' frequently occur after a lexical verb, where they are marked for perfectivity. Similarly, *'gyur* 'become(IMPF)' or *'ong* 'come(IMPF)' after a lexical verb are marked for nonperfective or the future tense. The function of an auxiliary is especially clear with main verbs which do not have separate stems to mark tense/aspect distinction (for example, *mthong* 'see(SAME)'). The auxiliaries in such cases are marked for tense/aspect. It is the tense/aspect of the auxiliary which specifies the tense/aspect of the main verb in such cases. In the following example, (47a) has the imperfective interpretation, (47b) has the perfective interpretation and (47c) has the future interpretation, not because of the choice of auxiliary, but because the auxiliaries in (47a), (47b) and (47c) provide aspectual information (imperfective aspect (*byed* 'do(IMPF)'), perfective aspect (*byas* 'do(PERF)' and future tense (*bya* 'do(FUT)')), respectively).

(47a) *mthong-ba-r byed* 'see'
see(SAME)-NOM-LOC do(IMPF)

(47b) *mthong-ba-r byas* 'saw'
see(SAME)-NOM-LOC do(PERF)

(47c) *mthong-ba-r* *bya* 'will see'
see(SAME)-NOM-LOC do(FUT)

This shows that the tense/aspect system in CT diverges from the original tense/aspect system. The tense/aspect in CT is sometimes indicated by a sequence of verbs, instead of one single verb stem. Despite this difference, the mechanism for tense/aspect marking in CT is still the old morphological alternation.

Bare verb

'o continues to mark EFV in CT, though it shows signs of further decay. This is evident from the violation in the rules governing the distribution of *'o* and *to* and in the irregularities in the forms. In CT the EFV *to* sometimes occurs with nonperfective verb forms, which, following the morphological rules, should have *'o* as the EFV. Further, in CT *'o* does not always repeat the stem final consonant, when the verb stem ends with a consonant (ex. 48). (49a-b) show that the regular as well as the irregular forms occur in the texts.

(48) *dag* *'o*
clean(SAME) EFV

(49a) *med* *'o*
NEG/be EFV

(49b) *med* *do*
NEG/be EFV

At the same time, there is an increase in the frequency of bare verbs in CT. For example, if a direct quote construction in CT texts has more than one occurrence of the negative existential (*med*), only the last one is followed by the EFV - the rest of them have bare negatives.

(50) *de=la 'di skad ces bka'=stsal to*
then DEM voice QUOTE say EFV

khyod-kyi bsam=pa bzhin te
you-GEN thought truth CLP

nga-la yang dag-pa-r
I-DAT also sincere-NOM-LOC

nyes-pa-'i skyon yang med
loss-NOM-GEN fault also NEG(be)

chung=ma ngan-pa yang med
wife bad-NOM also NEG(be)

mag=pa khyim-du 'du-ba yang med
son-in-law house-LOC come(nonPERF)-NOM also NEG(be)

zhing brang ran-pa dang
field halting place keep(SAME)-NOM and

glang stor-ba-'i mya=ngan byed-pa yang
ox lost-NOM-GEN misery make(nonPERF)-NOM also

med do
NEG(be) EFV

khyod rab=tu 'byung-ba-r
you very visible-NOM-LOC

dga'am zhes bka'=stsal-ba dang
wish QUOTE say-NOM and
'Then that voice said: "Your thought is pure because you are sincere to me. To me you are really without sin. You don't have [your] bad wife. You don't have [your] son-in-law coming to the house. You don't have the burden of the field and the lost ox. Do you want to become a monk?" Said (the voice) and...'

Apart from the instances of negative existentials within direct quotations, bare verbs occur at the end of clause chain constructions too (see ex. 51). The following two pieces of evidence suggest that the bare verb is EFV in such constructions. First, it is frequently followed by a quotative which marks the end of a direct quotation and second, the clause following it

often starts with words such as ‘now’, marking the beginning of a new episode.

(51) *mag=pa rnams-kyis 'dug-tu*[22] *mi ster*
son-in-law PL-ERG sit-LOC NEG give

da khyim=mtshes-kyi ba=lang brnyas-na[23]
now landlord-GEN bull borrow-LOC
‘My son-in-laws did not give (me) a place to sit. Now when I borrowed a bull from the landlord...’

Bare verbs in CT also occur in certain nonfinal positions. Such constructions occur in my texts only in direct quotations, where two clauses are closely connected in a discourse. In the following sentence *bsad* is considered a nonfinal verb because the clauses involving *gcig-tu* and *gnyis-su* seem like conjoined sentences.

(52) *mi de-s smras-pa*
man DEM-ERG speak(PERF)-NOM

gcig-tu na bdag-gi rta bsad
a-LOC when self-GEN horse kill(PERF)

gnyis-su na bdag-gi lce bcad-pa
two-LOC when self-GEN tongue cut(PERF)-NOM

bas
settle(PERF)

dbyig=pa=can rgyal-ba-r gyur kyang
name victory-NOM-LOC become(PERF) also

bla 'o
great EFV
‘That man said: “For one, (he) killed my horse, and secondly, decision is made to cut my tongue, *dbyig=pa=cin* has won.”.’

In short, CT shows further loss of the original tense/aspect system. For the first time verbs in CT are seen functioning as auxiliaries, where they are marked for tense/aspect. Tense is still, however, indicated by the old morphological alternation. CT also shows further degeneration of the old EFV marking system and an increase in the occurrence of bare verbs.

Copulas *yin* and *'dug* have also started functioning as auxiliaries. The verb preceding *yin* is always nominalized in these texts with the nominalizer *-pa* (similar to *-pa yin* in Lhasa Tibetan). But at this stage *yin* neither marks volitionality nor does it function as EFV, which is the case in Lhasa Tibetan.

4.3.3 *Mi=la ras=pa*

Tense/Aspect

The loss of the original tense/aspect system continued during *Mi=la ras=pa*. This is suggested by the irregularities in the verb forms and the increasing use of auxiliaries. *-pa yin* and *=gi 'dug* in *Mi=la ras=pa* show further developments as aspect/evidential markers. *Mi=la ras=pa* also shows an almost complete loss of the old EFV marking system; suggesting a further development in the colloquial speech represented in *Mi=la ras=pa*.

(53) illustrates irregularities in the verb form. Following the morphological rules of Tibetan, the verb which precedes the nonfinal marker *cing* should have the imperfective form. But in (53) the preceding verb has the perfective form.

(53) *a=ma-s nga-'i lag=pa-nas bzung ste*
mother-ERG I-GEN hand-ABL take(PERF) CLP

bcang bcang byas shing
hold hold do(PERF) NF

gdong mchi=ma-s gang-ba-'i ngu ngag-gis
face tears-INST full-NOM-GEN cry talk-INST

bu 'u=cag=ma=smad-kyi las=skos-la ltos
son we:son&mother-GEN fate-LOC look(IMP)
'Mother taking my hand, holding it, with tears on her face, sobbing (she said): "Son, look at our fate!".'

As in CT, and so too in *Mi=la ras=pa*, auxiliaries are frequently marked for tense/aspect. In (54) the auxiliary *byas* 'do(PERF)' specifies the aspectual information of the main verb, although Jäschke's Classical Tibetan Dictionary records all four verb stems of the verb 'let go' to mark tense/aspect distinctions (*gtong* (IMPF), *btang* (PERF), *gtang* (FUT), *tong* (IMP)).

(54) *nga-la mthu slob-tu byung*
I-DAT black magic teach(IMPF)-LOC happen(PERF)

tshad
whenever

khong-gi drung-du gtong-ba-r byas
he(HON)-GEN near-LOC let go(IMPF)-NOM-LOC do(PERF)
'Whenever I have someone to teach black magic, (I) send (that person) to him.'

Another development in *Mi=la ras=pa* is the frequent occurrence of *gin* and *kyin* as alternate forms of the nonfinal marker *cing*, which indicates temporal overlap. Following the handbooks of Tibetan, *cing* has three allomorphs *cing*, *shing* and *zhing*. (55-56) are examples of *gin* functioning as a nonfinal marker.

(55) *bla=ma-s dbus=phrug-gi gos legs=pa*
teacher-ERG place name-GEN clothing good

re kun-la btsems-nas
each all-DAT sewed(PERF)-ABL

gnang gin 'dug
give(PERF) NF be
'The teacher sewed clothes (brought from) *dbus=phrug* for each (of us) and gave (them) to us.'

(56) *nga ma rgan=mo ni bsam=mno*
I mother old woman TOP wise

btang gin
send(PERF) NF

yi=mug=pa dang ngu bro-ba min=pa
despair and cry(nonPERF) feel(SAME)-NOM except

mi 'dug
NEG exist
'Thinking of my old mother, I could feel despair and a desire to weep.'

Copula construction

The equational copulas in *Mi=la ras=pa* are *yin* and *lags* and the existentials are *'dug, gda'* and *yod*. They occur in final as well as nonfinal positions. In the final position *yin, 'dug* and *lags* are never followed by EFV but *yod* is followed by EFV in a limited number of cases.

Copula auxiliaries

Copulas in *Mi=la ras=pa* also function as auxiliaries. The following description of *yin* and *'dug* will show their increasing occurrences in constructions where they, among other things, are associated with aspect and evidential interpretations. These developments are in conformity with the functions of *-pa yin* and *=gi 'dug* constructions of Lhasa Tibetan.

yin

Mi=la ras=pa shows further development of *yin* as an aspect/evidential marker. In *Mi=la ras=pa yin* predominantly occurs with volitional verbs (see the results of the quantitative study, given below). In many cases it occurs in clauses where the speaker is reporting his own acts. These are seeds of the later development of *yin* as an evidential marker, denoting volitionality and direct knowledge of the act. These functional developments in *Mi=la ras=pa* correspond with the structural developments of *yin*. In *Mi=la ras=pa* the auxiliary *yin* is always

preceded by a nominalized lexical verb. These developments are consistent with the *-pa yin* construction in Lhasa Tibetan.

A quantitative study was done to examine the correlation of *-pa yin* with perfectivity and volitionality. The variables which were examined for this purpose are [+VOLITIONAL], [+PERFECTIVE], [+STATIVE], [+DIRECT QUOTE] and [+SPEAKER]. The justification for these variables, except for the last two, is self-evident. [+DIRECT QUOTE] and [+SPEAKER] were included in this study to examine the correlation between *yin* and direct knowledge of the act, which is associated with *yin* in Lhasa Tibetan. A verb was considered [+PERFECTIVE] if it had the perfective form. The results of the quantitative study are given in table 5. The total number of *yin* is 14. These are all the occurrences of the auxiliary *yin* in chapter III of *Mi=la ras=pa*.[24]

Table 5. Results of the quantitative study of *yin*

[+ VOLITIONAL]	78.5%	[-VOLITIONAL]	21.5%
[+ PERFECTIVE]	71.4%	[-PERFECTIVE]	28.6%
[+ DIRECT QUOTE]	61.4%	[-DIRECT QUOTE]	38.6%
[+ SPEAKER]	70%	[-SPEAKER]	30%

The results show that *yin* occurred with volitional verbs in 78.5% cases. A similar high degree of correlation is seen between *yin* and [+PERFECTIVE] (71.4%). This suggests that *yin* in *Mi=la ras=pa* frequently occurs with completed and volitional verbs. Out of all the occurrences of direct quotation constructions in the sample, 70% of the cases the direct quotations are about the speaker himself. The last one may be seen as the precursor of the future use of *yin* as a marker denoting direct knowledge of the act.

The reanalysis of *yin* in *Mi=la ras=pa* is, however, not complete. As pointed out earlier, in Lhasa Tibetan *yin* occurs with first person subjects (“conjunct”) and *red* with non-first person subjects (“disjunct”). In none

of the texts or descriptions of Tibetan, up through *Mi=la ras=pa*, is there any mention of *red*, the disjunct copula.[25]

'dug[26]

In *Mi=la ras=pa*, *'dug*, functioning as an auxiliary, is increasingly associated with noncompleted events and ongoing states. It has noncompleted interpretation, when it follows the nonfinal marker *cing*/*gin*.

(57) *a=ma-s nga-'i grogs=po rnams la kha*
mother-ERG I-GEN friend PL DAT mouth(advise)

mang=po byed cing 'dug
much make(nonPERF) NF exist
'Mother was giving much advice to my friends.'

It also has stative and perfect interpretations, when it immediately follows the main verb.[27]

(58) *zhag='ga'-nas myang=tsha=dkar=rgyan-gyi*
a few days-ABL name-GEN

bu mthu slob-tu song 'dug
son black magic learn(IMPF)-LOC go(PERF) exist

zer-ba-'i grags=pa chen=po
say(SAME)-NOM-GEN rumour big

byung
happen(PERF,IMP)
'After a few days, the big news spread that *myang=tsha=dkar=rgyan*'s son has gone to learn black magic.'

A quantitative study, similar to the one described above for *yin*, was also done for *'dug*. The variables examined for this study were the same, as used for the quantitative study for *-pa yin*. They are [+VOLITIONAL], [+PERFECTIVE], [+DIRECT QUOTE] and [+SPEAKER]. The results of the quantitative study are given in table 6. The total number of *'dug* is 41.

These are the total number of occurrences of the auxiliary *'dug* in chapter III of *Mi=la ras=pa*.

Table 6. Results of the quantitative study of *'dug*

[+ VOLITIONAL]	43%	[-VOLITIONAL]	57%
[+ PERFECTIVE]	19.5%	[-PERFECTIVE]	80.5%
[+ DIRECT QUOTE]	39%	[-DIRECT QUOTE]	61%
[+ SPEAKER]	0%	[-SPEAKER]	100%

The frequency of the occurrence of *'dug* with [+PERFECTIVE] is very low (only 19.5%), as opposed to 71.4% for *-pa yin* (see table 5 above). *'dug* occurs relatively less frequently with volitional verbs (43%); suggesting somewhat closer association with nonvolitional and stative verbs. These developments are in conformity with the *=gi 'dug* construction in Lhasa Tibetan, where *=gi 'dug* occurs in the imperfective event clauses. Further, *'dug* occurs in direct quotation constructions 39%, but none of these constructions is about the speaker himself. This suggests that *=gi 'dug*, unlike *-pa yin*, has not yet started associating with the direct knowledge of the event.

Though *Mi=la ras=pa* shows some further developments of *'dug* which are consistent with the *=gi 'dug* construction of Lhasa Tibetan, its reanalysis is not complete in *Mi=la ras=pa*. Unlike Lhasa Tibetan, in *Mi=la ras=pa*, *=gi 'dug* can be further nominalized (ex. 59) or be followed by a nonfinal marker.

(59) *a=ma yug cig brgyal-nas*
mother time a faint(SAME)-ABL

'gyel 'dug-pa-'i tshe
fall(IMPF) exist-NOM-GEN time
'At the time when (my) mother fell down after fainting for a brief moment...'

(60) *mthu nga-s byas kyang*
black magic I-ERG do(PERF) even

chog-pa-r 'dug ste
sufficient-NOM-LOC exist CLP

rtab=rtob=la ra mi 'dren
helter-skelter fence NEG draw
'I did (learned) black magic, but it is not enough to shake the fence.'

In short, *Mi=la ras=pa* shows increasing functional similarities of *yin* and *'dug* with the *-pa yin* and *=g(y)i 'dug* constructions in Lhasa Tibetan. In *Mi=la ras=pa yin* is getting stabilized in the *-pa yin* structure, but the structure of *'dug* is still not consistent with the Lhasa structure.

Noncopula auxiliaries

As in CT, in *Mi=la ras=pa* too, verbs function as auxiliaries. No detailed examination of the auxiliaries in *Mi=la ras=pa* is done to specify the details, but it will be safe to say that the set of auxiliaries is similar in CT and *Mi=la ras=pa*.

Mi=la ras=pa, however, diverges from CT auxiliary system in two respects. First, the frequency of occurrence of auxiliaries is increased. Second, unlike CT, two auxiliaries can follow a lexical verb in *Mi=la ras=pa*. The verb complex involving one or two auxiliaries can have one of the following four structures: (i) V AUX, (ii) V-NOM AUX, (iii) V-NOM-(LOC) AUX, (iv) V-NOM-(LOC) AUX_1 AUX_2. The structure (iv) was not available in CT. In (iv) the noncopula auxiliary occurs in the position AUX_1 and the copula auxiliary occurs in the position AUX_2. All the copulas, except *yin*, can occur in this position. The following sentences illustrate these structures.

(61) *song 'dug*
go(PERF,IMP) exist

(62) *'gro-ba yin*
go(IMPF)-NOM be

(63) *mthu yin-pa-r 'dug*
black magic be-NOM-LOC exist

(64) *bzi-ba-r song yod-pa-la*
drunk(SAME)-NOM-LOC go(PERF,IMP) exist(SAME)-NOM-LOC

(65) *zer-ba byas 'dug*
say(SAME)-NOM do(IMPF) exist

The noncopula auxiliary, in most cases, is marked for tense/aspect. It specifies the tense/aspect of the lexical verb (as described earlier for CT), whereas the copula auxiliary links the clause to the context. This distribution of copula and noncopula auxiliaries holds true whether the structure is V AUX_1 AUX_2 or V AUX[28]. For example, in (63) *yin* functions as a copula and *'dug* specifies that the situation existed at the time of narration. Similarly, in (64-65) the noncopula auxiliaries (*song*, *byas*) are marked for tense/aspect and the copula auxiliaries (*yod*, *'dug*, respectively) specify the temporal relevance of the verb with respect to the time of the narration. In this respect their ordering is iconic.

It is interesting to note that *yin* does not occur in the position AUX_2. As described earlier, *-pa yin* in *Mi=la ras=pa* shows high correlation with completed acts, which suggests that *-pa yin* is getting associated with the perfective aspect. Once *-pa yin* gets associated with the perfective aspect, the occurrence of a noncopula auxiliary in such constructions becomes redundant. In Lhasa Tibetan, where the aspectual information is conveyed by *=gi* and *-pa*, noncopula auxiliaries are not required to mark the aspectual information.

Though auxiliaries in *Mi=la ras=pa* frequently specify the tense/aspect of the lexical verb, in some cases, auxiliary adds other information, such as honorificity of the hearer or the speaker.

(66) *nyil mdzad*
[tears] fall down(SAME) do(HON,SAME)

(67) *chad gda' ba*
cut(IMPF) be(ELEG,SAME) NOM

So far, we have seen that *yin* and *'dug* in *Mi=la ras=pa* show increasing functional similarities with the *-pa yin* and *=gi 'dug* constructions of Lhasa Tibetan. *Gin* and *kyin* frequently occur as alternate forms of the nonfinal marker *cing*, to mark temporal overlap. In addition, there is a profusion of constructions involving auxiliaries.

The following section will show that this development of *-pa yin* and *=g(y)i 'dug* constructions in *Mi=la ras=pa*, is coupled with an almost complete loss of the original EFV. The latter could possibly have reinforced the occurrence of *-pa yin* and *=gi 'dug* in the finite position.

Bare verb

There is an almost complete loss of the original end of a finite verb (EFV) system in the variety of Tibetan represented in *Mi=la ras=pa*. Unlike the *Tunhuang* texts and CT, *Mi=la ras=pa* does not have any instance of the EFV *to*. The frequency of occurrence of *'o* is also extremely low. The bare verb is the predominant device to mark EFV in *Mi=la ras=pa*. However, bare verbs also occur as nonfinal verbs in complement constructions, in relative clauses and in some constructions involving an auxiliary.[29]

Absence of one distinct device to mark EFV might have reinforced the occurrence of *-pa yin* and *=gi 'dug* as EFVs, which as we saw earlier, are beginning to encode aspect and evidential information. And, such information is usually marked at the end of a clause in a verb final language. In Lhasa Tibetan aspect/evidentiality markers also mark EFV.

In short, the signs of morphologically encoding the tense/aspect and evidentiality information in *Mi=la ras=pa* are consistent with the patterns found in Lhasa Tibetan. *Yin* and *'dug* show increasing functional similarities with the *-pa yin* and *=gi 'dug* constructions of Lhasa Tibetan. *Yin* in *Mi=la ras=pa* is getting stabilized in the *-pa yin* structure, but the structure of *'dug* is still not consistent with its structure in Lhasa Tibetan.

4.4 **Development of the modern perfective and imperfective markers in Lhasa Tibetan**

In this section we will examine the development of *-pa* as the perfective marker and *=gi* as the imperfective marker in Lhasa Tibetan. Noncopula constructions in Lhasa Tibetan involve nominalized clause with a copula. In such constructions the perfective and the imperfective aspects are marked by *-pa* and *=gi*, respectively.

4.4.1 Imperfective marker

There are two possible sources of the imperfective marker *=gi* in Lhasa Tibetan. They are the genitive marker and the nonfinal marker *gin*, which indicates temporal overlap.

The first possible source (i.e., the genitive marker as a plausible source of the development of the modern imperfective marker) is rejected here for the following reasons. First, though the allomorphs of the genitive marker (*kyi*, *gyi*, *gi* and *'i*[30]) are very similar to allomorphs of the imperfective marker (*kyi*, *gyi* and *gi*), the distribution of the allomorphs of the imperfective and the genitive markers is not the same. After a vowel, we get genitive *'i*, but imperfective *gi*. Second, there is no evident semantic or syntactic basis for the reanalysis, or any historical evidence in my data of a construction involving the genitive which might have been the source of the imperfective construction.

It is suggested here that the imperfective marker in Lhasa Tibetan is a reanalysis of the nonfinal marker *gin*. Clauses linked by *-zhing*/*-gin* are in paratactic relationship to one another. Such constructions can have sequential or simultaneous interpretations, sometimes these interpretations shading into one another. (68) illustrates *-zhing*/*-gin* functioning as a nonfinal marker.

(68) *sha-la za zhing khrag-la 'thung*
meat-ACC eat PART blood-ACC drink
'To eat flesh and drink blood'

A chaining construction, such as the one given below, constitutes the origin of the modern imperfective marker. As mentioned earlier, *gin* and *kyin* are alternate forms of the nonfinal marker *zhing* (Beyer 1992). They occur frequently in *Mi=la ras=pa*.

(69) *ngu gin 'dug*
cry(nonPERF) NF sit/exist
'Crying'
'Sat while crying'

Motivations for the reanalysis of *gin* as the imperfective marker are as follows. One of the interpretations closely associated with the original function of *cing* is to indicate simultaneity, which is closely related to imperfectivity. Second, as we saw earlier, *'dug* is independently getting reanalyzed as an aspect/evidentiality marker, where it is increasingly associated with noncompleted events and states. The occurrence of *'dug* after *gin* is also not semantically incompatible. And, third, the V *gin* V structure already exists in the language; it is available for reanalysis. Thus its eventual reanalysis as an imperfective marker is not inconceivable.

As was mentioned earlier, the imperfective marker *=gi* in Lhasa Tibetan requires the imperfective verb stems. The nonfinal marker *gin* too, requires that the preceding verb be in the imperfective. This similarity in their occurrences supports my claim that the imperfective marker developed out of the nonfinal marker *gin*/*kyin*.

Regarding the loss of the final nasal, Jäschke (1881) and Francke (1929) mention that *ki*/*gi* are sometimes used in place of *kyin*/*gin* in CT too. Further, Lhasa Tibetan has another evidentiality marker *song* (literally meaning 'went'). In the speech of some Tibetan speakers, *song* (the evidential marker) is pronounced as [*so*^{h}]. Reasoning from this, it is possible that in the case of the imperfective marker also, the final nasal was lost and the imperfective marker in Lhasa Tibetan became *kyi*/*g(y)i*.

This analysis of the imperfective aspect provides evidence in favor of the observation made in Traugott (1982). According to Traugott, "if a meaning-shift in the process of grammaticalization occurs within a component, it is more likely to involve 'less personal to more personal' than the reverse" (1982: 253). The lexical interpretation of *kyin* is to mark temporal overlap which is less personal than the imperfective which is more specific, thus more personal.

4.4.2 Perfective marker

It is suggested here that the perfective marker *-pa* in Lhasa Tibetan is a reanalysis of the nominalizer *-pa* in constructions involving evidential markers. *-pa*, as a lexical and clausal nominalizer, has a long history, throughout Tibetan and it is a cognate of the nominalizer *-pa* found in other Tibeto-Burman languages. It is the nominalizer throughout CT. In Tibetan up through *Mi=la ras=pa* the nominalizer *-pa* could occur with perfective as well as imperfective verb stems. In Lhasa Tibetan it has been replaced in many of these functions by newer forms (*mkhan*, *yag* and *sa*), but it continues to be one of the nominalizers used only with perfective stems.

We have seen earlier that *yin* and *'dug* are being reanalyzed as evidential markers and are no longer functioning only as copulas. They are viewed as part of the V-complex (where the verb preceding *-pa*/*=gi* is the main verb). The morpheme *-pa* is no longer recognized as a nominalizer - thus, functionally, it is empty, and available for reanalysis.

As pointed out earlier, *yin* always has *-pa* preceding it, which is not always the case with *'dug* and *yod* (other evidential markers), and clauses involving *-pa yin* predominantly code a completed act, whereas the other ones involving copula auxiliaries do not. The frequent association of *-pa yin* with perfective and completed acts could possibly have triggered the reanalysis of *-pa* as the perfective marker. Further, in analogy with the

imperfective marker which requires the imperfective form of the verb, it later developed the restriction requiring the perfective form of the verb.

4.5 **Reanalysis of the structural configuration of a clause**

The above description outlines the development of the modern aspect and evidential system in Lhasa Tibetan, whereby the original copulas are getting reanalyzed as evidential markers, and the nominalizer *-pa* is getting reanalyzed as a perfective marker when it precedes evidential markers. As a consequence of these developments, the structural configuration of a clause in Lhasa Tibetan is also getting reanalyzed. (70a) presents the original structure involving a nominalized copula construction and (70b) demonstrates the finite verb schema in Lhasa Tibetan.

(70a) s[NP s[NP VP]s NOM COPULA]s

(70b) s[NP V-ASP EVID]s

Evidence in favor of this structural reanalysis is as follows. First, in texts prior to Lhasa Tibetan, *'dug*, as an existential copula, can optionally be preceded by a case marking (for example, *yin-pa-r 'dug*), whereas *yin*, as an equational copula, cannot (for example, *tshor-ba yin*). In Lhasa Tibetan, however, *-pa* is never followed by a case-marking, not even with *'dug*. Thus a structure such as *yin-pa-r 'dug* is not permissible in Lhasa Tibetan. This suggests that *'dug* is no longer an existential copula in such constructions. Second, the morpheme *-pa* does not necessarily have a perfective interpretation in texts up till *Mi=la ras=pa*, whether in verbal conjugations, or in nominalization (Saxena 1988). But in Lhasa Tibetan one of the major devices to mark the perfective-nonperfective distinction is by means of *-pa* vs. *=gi*. Third, DeLancey (1985, 1989, 1992) has shown that the distribution of *yin*, *yod* and *'dug* is strictly based on the evidentiality and not based on their literal meaning. Thus they function as auxiliaries, occurring with a main verb. These pieces of evidence suggest that the original schema comprised of a nominalized clause with a final

copula was $_{s}$[NP $_{s}$[NP VP]$_{s}$ NOM COPULA]$_{s}$. And, as a consequence of the reanalyses of the nominalizer as the perfective aspect marker, and copulas as evidential markers, the structural configuration of a finite clause in Lhasa Tibetan is $_{s}$[NP V-ASP EVID]$_{s}$.

4.6 **Summary**

Continuing our investigation of aspect morphology in Tibeto-Kinnauri language, we examined in this chapter the development of the modern perfective aspect marker *-pa* and the imperfective aspect marker *=gi* in Lhasa Tibetan. The diachronic study showed that the perfective marker *-pa* in Lhasa Tibetan is a reanalysis of the nominalizer *-pa* and that the imperfective aspect marker *=gi* is a reanalysis of the nonfinal marker *gin*, which indicates temporal overlap. An attempt was also made to examine the development of *yin* and *'dug* as evidential markers. Several arguments were presented to suggest that the reanalysis of *-pa* as the perfective marker and copulas as evidential markers triggered the reanalysis of the structural configuration of clausal structure in Lhasa Tibetan. The results of the diachronic study presented in this chapter and the descriptive analysis of the aspect markers in Tibeto-Kinnauri languages provided in the previous chapter would be used in the next chapter to examine the question concerning the roles internal and external factors play in change in grammar.

Notes

[1]. The perfective marker *-pa* has two allomorphs *-pa* and *-ba*, where *-ba* occurs after words which end with *ng*, *r*, *l* and vowels and *-pa* occurs in all other cases. The imperfective marker has the following allomorphs: *=kyi*, *=gi* and *=gyi*. The suffix *=gyi* occurs after *n, m r* and *l*, *=gi* after vowels and *=kyi* elsewhere. The tonal patterns of *-pa* and *=gi* are different. *-pa* behaves like a regular suffix. Like all suffixes, it is toneless. *=gi* on the other hand, has the tone pattern of a compound word. This difference in the tone pattern is shown here by - and =.

[2]. Verb endings such as *yin* and *'dug* are not linked to the aspect markers by means of hyphens, because they have the status of free morphemes. Since the morphosyntax and semantics of the evidential markers is sensitive to aspect, *-pa yin* and *=gi-'dug/=gyis* etc. are treated as one unit for glossing purposes.

[3]. *=gi* has a falling tone, when *'dug* does not follow it. This suggests that there must have been an obstruent, presumably an *s*.

[4]. An abridged version is to appear in Saxena (forthcoming). I would like to thank Scott DeLancey and two annonymous reviewers of that article for their comments.

[5]. *'* is called *achung* in traditional Tibetan grammars. It is manifested as prenasalization on the following segment.

[6]. This example is from Shafer (1950:707).

[7]. The rule of the hidden *da-drag* may be mentioned in this connection. See Beyer (1992) for details.

[8]. The description of the finite verb system in Lhasa Tibetan is largely based on DeLancey (1985, 1986, 1989, 1990, 1992). DeLancey's analysis differs in some cases from the one presented in Tournadre (1991). For the most part, the differences are in the terminology only. But there are two cases where Tournadre's system makes finer distinctions than the ones presented in DeLancey's analysis.

[9]. Examples of Lhasa Tibetan appear in the transliterated form of the written Tibetan. There are a number of cases where the dictionary has separate verb forms for the perfective and nonperfective (for example, *gsod* and *bsad* 'kill'), but only one verb stem is used in spoken Lhasa. For example, in sentences (1-5) *bsad* is used with the perfective as well as imperfective aspects.

[10]. *Nas* is an ablative case marker in Tibetan. It also functions as a subordinator.

[11]. DeLancey (1989) notes that *'dug* occurs in nonfinal contexts in certain circumstances. For example,

(1) *khor dep de yod / 'dug-na*
he-DAT book that exist-if
'If he has the book...'

[12]. All contemporary varieties, for which adequate descriptions are available, seem to have an evidential system generally similar to that of Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 1990).

[13]. The original system, to quote Thomas, "was ruined largely by phonetical interchanges among the Prefixes, losses of the same and losses of aspirates and terminal consonants; so that its survival is qualified by numerous exceptions" (1957:69).

[14]. The quotative marker has three allomorphs *zhes*, *shes*, and *ces*. *Shes* occurs after words ending with an *s*, *zhes* occurs after ng, n, m, r, l and *ces* in all other cases.

[15]. In Tibetan, as in some other Tibeto-Burman languages, a case marker preceded by a nominalizer also functions as a subordinator. The locative marker is used in reason clauses.

[16]. Jäschke provides two interpretations of *-pa yin*:

> Compound present tense can be indicated by "the participle connected with *yin*, for example, *mthong pa yin* '(I) see'." (1954:46)

But at another place (pg. 47), he states:

> The participle connected with *yin* occurs more frequently in the past tense than otherwise...*gla btangs ba yin* 'wages have been paid.'.

[17]. The structure of a purposive clause in CT is the same as the auxiliary structure (iii). It is V-NOM-LOC V.

(2) *khyim=bdag-gis mthong-ba-r byin*
house owner-ERG see(SAME)-NOM-LOC give(PERF)
'The houseowner gave (X in order) to see.'

The similarity in the structures of a purposive clause and the auxiliary structure (iii) can cause ambiguity if the non-initial verb is one of the auxiliaries listed above and the clause is considered in isolation.

(3) *bya de-s srog thar-pa-r byas so*
bird DEM-ERG life save-NOM-LOC do(PERF) EFV
'The bird saved his life.'
'The bird did (X) to save his life.'

[18]. There is no instance of *yin* in the text *dbyug=pa=can* (Jäschke 1954). So, it is not possible to say whether the *-pa yin* construction found in the text given in Hahn (1974) is only a stylistic peculiarity of that text. Jäschke (1954) gives examples of *-pa yin* as an auxiliary, but they could possibly be from *Mi=la ras=pa*.

[19]. *Gyis* is an instrumental case marker in Tibetan. It also functions as a subordinator, where it has a reason interpretation. In (42) *gyis* functions as a subordinator.

[20]. It will be interesting to analyze the semantic difference between the presence and absence of *yin* in such constructions in order to better see what determines its presence.

[21]. *Las* is an ablative case marker. It also functions as a subordinator, where it has a temporal interpretation.

[22]. *Tu*, locative marker, has three allomorphs *tu*, *su* and *du*. *Su* occurs after an *s*, *du* occurs after *ng*, *d*, *m*, *r* and *l* and *tu* occurs after *g* and *b*. These case markers also function as subordinators. They occur in purposive constructions.

[23]. *Na* is a case marker with an interpretation of 'in, on, at'. It also functions as a subordinator, where it has temporal interpretation.

[24]. This is a small corpus of data for a quantitative study. Similar quantitative studies of *yin* with a larger corpus of data would be able to confirm the observations made here.

[25]. At this stage the etymology of *red* is not known.

[26]. The original meaning of *'dug* is 'sit, dwell'. It occurs in CT. In Lhasa Tibetan it is replaced in this function by another verb *sdod*. The occurrence of *'dug* in Lhasa Tibetan occurs only in copula and in finite verb endings. The following sentence from the CT text *dbyug-pa-can* illustrates its literal meaning.

(4) *chung=ma-s rtag=tu spyo zhing*
wife-ERG always blame NF

bu=mo bdun dang mag=pa rnams kyis 'dug-tu
daughter seven and son-in-law PL ERG sit-LOC

mi ster
NEG give(IMPF)
'The wife always blames (him) and seven daughters and son-in-laws do not give (him any room) to sit.'

[27]. DeLancey (p.c.) reports that *'dug* continues to be used in this construction in a number of varieties of Tibetan, outside Lhasa. In standard Lhasa *zhag* is used in a similar construction. Like *'dug*, it has a perfect interpretation. It is used when the speaker does not have the direct knowledge of the event and he draws his conclusion on the basis of available evidence.

[28]. Subordinators which link various constituents in a verb complex are not part of the present study.

[29]. The question still remains: Why do we find auxiliary or complement taking verbs, preceded by bare verb in some cases, and by nominalized verbs in some other cases?

[30]. The distribution of the allomorphs is as follows. *-kyi* occurs after *d*, *b*, and *s*, *-gyi* after *n*, *m*, *r* and *l*, *-gi* after *g* and *ng* and *'i* after vowels.

Chapter 5

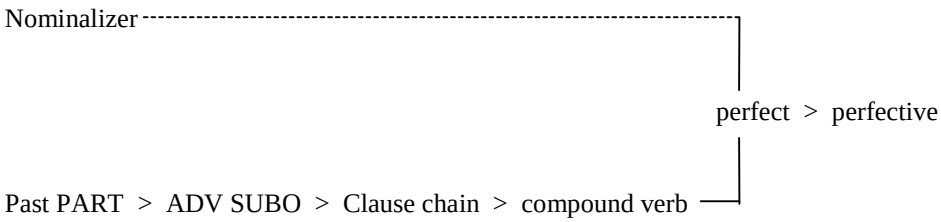
FACTORS GOVERNING SYNTACTIC CHANGE: LANGUAGE CONTACT OR INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT?

5.1 **Introduction**

Tibeto-Kinnauri languages provide crucial data concerning the development of the perfective aspect morphology. The perfective aspect marker in this subgroup, as shown in chapters 3 and 4, has a number of related functions, ranging from its function as a nominalizer to the clause chain marker. Further, Tibeto-Kinnauri languages display two sources for the perfective aspect morphology. In some Tibeto-Kinnauri languages (for example, Lhasa Tibetan and Tinani) perfective is a reanalysis of a nominalizer, whereas in some other languages of this subgroup (for instance, Kinnauri and Paṭani) it is a reanalysis of the past participle form. Such similarities among Tibeto-Kinnauri languages on one hand, and differences concerning the source of the aspect morphology on other hand, raise some very interesting questions. The questions that will be discussed here concern the functional motivation for utilizing the same set of markers for a range of functions, including the perfective marker; and implications this has for its historical development, as well as the motivation(s) for two separate sources for the development of the perfective aspect marker within one, otherwise, closely-knit subgroup of languages.[1]

Data will be presented in this chapter to suggest the following pathways for the evolution of the perfective aspect markers in Tibeto-Kinnauri. It shows that once a marker (whether a reanalysis of a nominalizer or a past participle form) starts functioning as the perfect marker, it acquires the potential to get reanalyzed as the perfective aspect marker. This is consistent with the claims made in Bybee and Dahl (1989).

Pathways of perfective morphology in Tibeto-Kinnauri



The results of this study suggest that the reanalysis of a nominalizer as the perfective aspect marker in Tibeto-Kinnauri is a language-internal development. The reanalysis of the participle form as the perfective aspect marker, on other hand, is triggered by external factors (namely, contact with Indic languages), even though the potential for this reanalysis existed in the structure of these languages, suggesting an interplay of internal and external factors. In an attempt to avoid premature conclusions about the role language contact plays in linguistic change, I have taken into consideration the aspect morphology in the neighboring Indic languages as well as in Tibeto-Burman languages (with which Tibeto-Kinnauri languages are genetically related) outside this region.

The organisation of this chapter is as follows. Section 5.2 summarizes the relevant information about the perfective aspect morphology in Tibeto-Kinnauri langauges. Section 5.3 discusses the functional motivations for the pathway suggested here and discusses the roles internal and external factors play in syntactic change. In this section data from the neighboring Indic languages as well as data from the Tibeto-Burman languages outside this geographical area will also be presented.

5.2 **Aspect morphology in Tibeto-Kinnauri**

This section recapitulates the description of the perfective aspect markers in Kinnauri, Paṭani and Tinani, followed by a brief description of the emergence of the modern aspect markers in Lhasa Tibetan.

5.2.1 *Kinnauri*

The reduplicated form of the verb (e.g. *taŋtaŋ* for the verb *taŋ* 'see') and its allomorph *-Is* function as the perfective aspect markers in Kinnauri. Their distribution is phonologically conditioned: *-Is* occurs with verbs ending with / *č*/, / *š* / or / ǰ / and the reduplicated form of the verb occurs elsewhere.

(1) *sonam-Is mɛ Id kətab hUš-Is du*
name-ERG yesterday a book read-PERF be/PRST/3SG
'Sonam has read a book yesterday.'

(2) *sonam-Is ram ši-mu bat tʰastʰas du*
name-ERG name die-NOM talk hear/PERF be/PRST/3SG
'Sonam has heard the news of Ram's death.'

The perfective verb form in Kinnauri also occurs in the following nonfinal constructions: the adverbial clauses, the clause chain construction, the past participle construction and the compound verb construction. "A compound verb comprises the finite form of one of these [auxiliaries] following a non-finite or stem form of a main or primary verb" (Hook 1991:60). Auxiliaries, which add specific information to the main verb in the compound verb construction, function also as lexical verbs in the language. The participle construction, on other hand, is a phrasal adjective, modifying a nominal argument. Examples (3-9) illustrate these constructions. The distribution of the markers in these constructions is the same as in the perfective construction.

ADVERBIAL CLAUSE

(3) *dɔ kIm-o ma-byɔbyɔ dos əma-pəŋ duk^{h}aŋ de-ɔ*
s/he house-LOC NEG-go/NF SUBO mother-DAT sad fell-PST
'Because (s)he didn't go home, (her) mother felt sad.'

CLAUSE CHAIN

(4) *sudeš-Is i kapaḍa dzɔgdzɔg aŋ-u kɛr-ɔ-š*
name-ERG one cloth buy/NF me-DAT give/1/2OBJ-PST-3HON
'Sudesh bought a piece of cloth and gave it to me.'

(5) *dɔ sants hayaŋ toš-Is byɔ*
s/he some here sit-NF go/PST/3nonHON
'(S)he sat here (for sometime, and then) went.'

COMPOUND VERB

(6) *banIŋ ǰəgǰəg byɔ^{2}*
pot break/NF GO/PST/3nonHON
'The pot broke (accidentally).'

(7) *dɔ-s k^{h}au žaža šɛšɛ*
s/he-ERG food eat/NF SEND/PERF
'(S)he ate up the food.'

(8) *ram-Is rIŋ-a ki^{3} dɔ-s kamaŋ šuŋšuŋ to*
name-ERG say-PST COMP s/he-ERG work finish/PERF be/PRST/3SG
'Ram said that he has finished the work.'

PAST PARTICIPLE

(9) *dilli-ts bəbə mi*
Delhi-ABL come/NF man
'The man who came from Delhi'

5.2.2 *Paṭani*

Paṭani has a set of perfective aspect markers (*-čà*/*-ǰà*, *-à*, *-ñè*, and *-šə*). Each verb takes consistently one particular perfective marker.

(10) *dù èreg kráp-čà*
s/he yesterday cry-PERF
'S/he cried yesterday.'

(11) *ràm-è bùʈʰ ʈrik-ə tʰù*
name-ERG tree cut-PERF AUX/3SG/VOL
'Ram cut the tree.'

The perfective marker, in Paṭani, also occurs in certain additional constructions. It functions as the nonfinal verb in the clause chain construction, in the compound verb construction and in the past participle construction.

CLAUSE CHAIN
(12) *dù žèher túŋ-à ši -à*
s/he poison drink-NF die-PST/3SG
'(S)he died after drinking poison.'

COMPOUND VERB
(13) gè súž -à šú-gà / súž -i-gà
I bathe-NF happen-1SG bathe-PST-1SG
'I bathed.'

(14) gè kʰám-žè tsúm-ñè tá-(g)
I clothes-PL buy-PERF AUX-1SG
'I bought clothes.'

PAST PARTICIPLE
(15) *dəčè bùʈʰ*
fall-NF tree
'The fallen tree'

5.2.3 *Tinani*

The two possible structures expressing the perfective aspect in Tinani are (i) V-PERF AUX-AGR and (ii) V-PERF. The suffix *-(k)ì* functions as the perfective aspect marker in structure (i). It occurs only with third person plural subjects. The suffix *-mìn* occurs in structure (ii). It can occur with all persons and numbers. No auxiliary or agreement marker is permitted after the perfective marker *-mìn*. (16) illustrates *-mìn* as the perfective marker.

(16) *ñÌš èki sónam táŋ-mìn*
we(2) yesterday name see-PERF
'We saw Sonam yesterday.'

The suffix *-mìn* in Tinani, as in Kinnauri, Paṭani, Tinani and some other languages of this subgroup, functions as a nominalizer. Examples of *-min* as a nominalizer follow. (The examples are the same in Kinnauri, Paṭani and Tinani).

(17) *ža*	'eat'	:	*ža-min*	'food/eating'
krap	'cry'	:	*krap-min*	'crying/weeping'

It is plausible that the perfective marker *-(k)ì* in the finite verb structure V-PERF AUX-AGR represents the older perfective formation device. And *-mìn*, the other perfective marker, represents the more recent development. In modern Tinani, the latter has become the regular perfective aspect marker.

5.2.4 *The Lhasa Tibetan verbal system*

In Lhasa Tibetan one set of the finite verb endings is comprised of forms which reflect a nominalization of the clause with a final copula. The nominalizer in such constructions functions, however, as the perfective marker *-pa* and the copulas function as evidential markers.

(18) *nga-s stag bsad-pa yin*[4]
I-ERG tiger kill-PERF/VOLITIONAL
'I killed a tiger.' (volitionally)

(19) *khong gzas btang=gi 'dug*
s/he song eat-IMPF/DIRECT
'(S)he sings.' (direct knowledge)

The finite verb system in Lhasa Tibetan differs significantly from the original Tibetan finite verb system. In the inferred original verb system the tense/aspect information was indicated by prefixes, suffixes, and

changes in the root vowels. An example of the original system is *'chang* (IMPF), *bcangs* (PERF), *bcang* (FUT), *chong(s)* (IMP) 'hold'.[5]

The evolution of the finite verb morphology in Lhasa Tibetan was discussed in chapter 4. Data is presented therein which suggest that the verb suffix *-pa*, which has a perfective interpretation in Lhasa Tibetan, is a reanalysis of the nominalizer *-pa*, when it precedes evidential markers (such as *yin*, *'dug*) and *-gi*, the imperfective aspect marker, is a reanalysis of *gin*, a nonfinal marker indicating temporal overlap.

5.3 **Discussion**

5.3.1 *Pathway of the new aspect morphology*

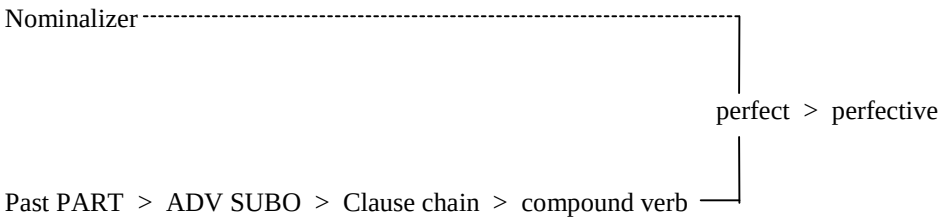
The above description shows that the perfective aspect marker in Tibeto-Kinnauri languages has a range of functions. Tibeto-Kinnauri languages are not alone in employing the same set of markers for the aforementioned functions. Nedjalkov (1995) notes that "the functions that in some languages are fulfilled by canonical converbs can be fulfilled in other languages (and often also in the same language) by forms that also have other functions, especially functions that are typical for the participle, the infinitive and the gerund". He uses the term "quasi-converb" to refer to such "multifunctional formations". (20) is one of the combinations, representing a quasi-converb, which he presents. This combination, as was seen in the preceding section and in chapter 3, is reminicent of the Tibeto-Kinnauri patterns examined earlier.

(20) converb, participle, gerund and finite verb

The "quasi-converb" situation, such as (20), raises questions regarding the functional motivation(s) for employing the same set of markers for these constructions and regarding the implications this has for its historical development.

The various “functions” of the perfective aspect markers in Tibeto-Kinnauri could be seen as diachronic stages in the development of the modern perfective morphology. One plausible sequencing of its evolution can be described as follows.

Pathways of perfective morphology in Tibeto-Kinnauri



An intermediate stage between the clause chain construction and the compound verb construction is the serial verb construction (or the ‘nonce concatenation’ construction in eastern Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff 1969)), where the two clauses (the nonfinal clause and the finite clause) share all the arguments, yielding a structure which is similar to the compound verb construction (see examples (6)-(7), above). Hook (1991) suggests serial verb construction as a plausible source of the compound verb in Indic languages.

For the paucity of space, we will concentrate here on the pathway involving the past participle source. The staging of these functions displays the increasingly dependent nature of the verbal constituents involved and a gradual loss of the semantic features of the units concerned, the latter exhibiting some sort of ‘bleaching’ (Givón 1984). This development at the semantic front affirms the claim made in Vincent that the morpheme undergoing reanalysis “is only partially empty in the sense that some feature values are suspended while others are held constant” (1993: 436).

At stages II and III on the scale (i.e., the subordinator in adverbial construction and the clause chain construction) the medial verb and the

"superordinate" verb in a clause chain construction have full lexical status, as they do, when they occur in simple sentences. The semantic contribution of the verb, functioning as an auxiliary at stage IV is considerably reduced. The auxiliary in such constructions (for example, *byɔ* 'GO' and *šɛ* 'SEND' in Kinnauri) has particular, but rather limited interpretation. The perfective in Kinnauri and Paṭani also occurs in constructions where it is followed by a copula. The latter functions as an auxiliary, marking the end of a finite sentence. The semantic weight of the copula auxiliary in terms of its literal interpretation is minimal; it is seen mostly as a hanger, on which, to hang the finite verb morphology. If the information indicated by the copula auxiliary can be gathered from the context, the copula may not occur. Consequently, the aspectually-inflected verb form may also conclude a finite sentence.

In clause chain constructions in Tibeto-Kinnauri languages as well as in the neighboring Indic languages (Masica 1991), the nonfinal clause marker denotes, among other things, temporal priority to the following verb. The chronological sequencing of an event is also described in some studies (Hopper 1982, Forsyth 1970) as the chief role of the perfective aspect.

Compound verbs consist of a sequence of two verbs, the first verb functions as the main verb and the second verb as an auxiliary. Auxiliaries in this construction are partially bleached of their lexical content. The core function of the auxiliary in compound verbs in Tibeto-Kinnauri can best be described, using the term *Aktionsart*. This function of the auxiliary could be seen as a step towards its eventual reanalysis as an aspect marker. While describing the terms 'aspect' and '*Aktionsart*', Dahl (1994) talks of "a continuum of meaning from more '*Aktionsart*'-like to more 'Aspect'-like one" (1994:240).

In each of the Tibeto-Kinnauri languages considered here (except for Tinani, for which relevant information is not available), the perfective marker also functions as a perfect marker. For example,

(21) **Kinnauri**
sonam hʊšɪ-mu dos barI mUlUk-o byɔbyɔ
name read-NOM SUBO outside country-LOC go/PERF
'Sonam has gone abroad to study (and he is there now).'

(22) **Kinnauri**
č^{h}aŋ ti-s kərkər du
boy water-INST thirsty/PERF be/PRST/3SG
'The boy is thirsty.'

Bybee and Dahl (1989) present the following, as one of the diachronic paths for the development of perfectives.

COP/have+past PART ---> Resultative ---> Perfect ----> Perfective

The semantic motivation for the shift from resultative to perfect to perfective is described as follows: "Resultative views a past event in terms of its prevailing results, the perfect de-emphasizes its link to the present moment, by focussing more on the past event, but requiring only that that event have some relevance to the present moment... The change to past or perfective is in the same direction: the sense of relevance to the current moment disappears altogether" (Bybee and Dahl 1989:77). This shows that the progression of the perfective morphology in Tibeto-Kinnauri is consistent with the pathway described in Bybee and Dahl (1989).

To conclude this section, the pathway, suggested in this section, illustrates the gradual bleaching of the semantic features of the morpheme. This development at the semantic level correlates with the increasingly dependent syntactic nature of the unit. In Kinnauri a subordinator occurs in the temporal adverbial construction (stage II), but not in the clause chain construction (stage III). Furthermore, while the constructions at stages II and III may have different subjects in each clause in Kinnauri, the compound verb construction and the construction involving the copula auxiliary do not allow this possibility, suggesting a difference in the degree of independence of the verb.

5.3.2 *Issue of contact-induced change*

In this section we will discuss the role internal and external factors play in language change, in particular the issue of internal vs. external motivations for the development of the modern perfective aspect markers in the Tibeto-Kinnauri languages. It will be argued here that it is not easy to distinguish the language-internal factors from language-external factors in a contact situation; rather in some cases a more advantageous approach is to recognize the importance of both of these factors. In this connection I agree with Aitchison (1981:123) and Mithun (1992) who argue against the traditional dichotomy.

Based on the results of the examination of tense and aspect formation in the neighboring Indic languages and in Tibeto-Burman languages (Tibeto-Kinnauri languages are genetically related to the Tibeto-Burman language family) outside this geographical region, it is suggested here that the actuation of the reanalysis of participle forms as the perfective and the imperfective markers in the Tibeto-Kinnauri languages is due to external factors (namely, the contact with neighboring Indic languages), even though the potential for this reinterpretation existed in the structure of these languages, illustrating an interplay of internal and external factors.

The Tibeto-Kinnauri languages have been in contact with Indic languages. Both, in terms of social prestige associated with these languages and number of speakers, Indic languages are the dominant languages in this region. Table 1 presents information about the past tense, perfective aspect and the past participle form in the Indic languages examined for this purpose and table 2 presents similar information concerning the imperfective, present tense and present participle form in these languages. The labels ‘past’, ‘perfective’, ‘present’ and ‘imperfective’ in these tables reflect the terms used in the source material. A dash (-) in the table indicates that relevant information was not available. These tables suggest that the neighboring Indic varieties have past/perfective markers which are homophonous with the past participle

forms and imperfective markers are homophonous with the present participle markers.[6]

Table 1. Past, perfective, past participle in Indic dialects

Languages	**Past**	**Perfective**	**Past PART**
Bhales	V-*to*	V-*to* AUX	V-*to*/*tuo*
Paaḍari	V-*ta*	--	V-*ta*
Tinauli	V-*ea*	V-*ea* AUX	V-*ea*
Punchi	V-*ea*	V-*ea* AUX	--
Rambani	V-*tumut* AUX	V-*tumut* AUX	V-*tumut*
Poguli	V-*tumut* AUX	V-*tumut* AUX	V-*tumut*
Kishṭawari	V-*mut*	V-*mut*	V-*mut*
Bilaspuri	V-*ea*	V-*ea* AUX	--
Gadi	V-*ea*	V-*ea*	V-*ea*
Kangṛi	V-*ea*	V-*ea*	V-*ea*
Koṭgarhi	PST PART	PST PART	PST PART
Koci	PST PART	PST PART	PST PART

Table 2. Present, imperfective, present participle in Indic dialects

Languages	Present Ind.	Imperfective	Present PART
Kului	PART+*s*	--	--
Bhadrawahi	--	V-*to* AUX	V-*to*
Bhales	V-*tau*	V-*tau* AUX	V-*tau*
Paaḍari	V-*na*	V-*na* AUX	V-*na*
Pangwali	V-*ta*	--	--
Punchi	V-*na* AUX	V-*na* AUX	V-*na*
Siraji	V-(*a*) AUX	V-*a* AUX	V-*a*
Rambani	V-(*a*) AUX	V-(*a*) AUX	V-(*a*)
Poguli	V-*ti* AUX	V-*ti* AUX	V-*ti*
Kishṭawaṛi	V-*an* AUX	V-*an*	V-*an*
Mandi Siraji	V-*ã*	V-*ã* AUX	V-*ã*
Eastern Mandeali	V-*daa*	V-*daa* AUX	V-*daa*
Gadi	V-*da*	V-*da*	V-*da*
Kangṛi	V-*da*	V-*da*	V-*da*

A comparison of the past tense marker, the perfective aspect marker and the past participle forms in table 1 and the present tense marker, the imperfective aspect marker and the present participle forms in table 2 show that the aspect markers in these Indic varieties are frequently based on the participle forms. As we saw earlier in section 5.2, this is also the case in some Tibeto-Kinnauri languages.

The Tibeto-Burman languages, on the contrary, are highly nominalizing. The participle constructions are found rather marginally. Further, Tibeto-Burman languages are clause-chaining languages, where the tense/aspect information is indicated at the end of a chain. Additionally, some languages employ a special marker to mark the end of a finite clause. Because of the uneven level of information available in the source materials, I examined, if the tense/aspect marker or the end of a finite verb marker shows any similarity in form

with the nominalizer or the participle form in the languages considered here. Fig. II presents the results of the survey done to examine the mechanism(s) used in the Tibeto-Burman languages family to form tense/aspect markers. It has two parts. The first portion of the figure presents the Tibeto-Burman family tree (largely based on DeLancey 1987). The latter half of the table lists the Tibeto-Burman languages examined for the present purposes.[7] The languages are listed under the subbranch to which they belong. If a language shows similarity in form with the nominalizer, this is indicated in the figure by ___ around the language name and the similarity in form with the participle form is shown by * in front of the language name, ? indicates that insufficient information is available to say anything conclusive and no marker on the language name denotes that the tense/aspect markers do not show any similarity in form with either the nominalizer or the participle form.

-attach TB

As Fig. II shows, a predominant mechanism for newer tense/aspect morphology in Tibeto-Burman is based on nominalized forms, whereas as we saw earlier it is the participle forms in Indic languages. Additionally, languages which show the participle-based forms in Tibeto-Burman languages are predominantly spoken in geographical areas where they have been in contact for a long time with Indic languages in a sociolinguistic setting where one or more of the Indic languages are dominant languages, i.e., the kind of setting that favors structural borrowing from the dominant language to the less dominant language. In these Tibeto-Burman languages we find new aspect markers that have participle forms as their diachronic source. Thus, contact as a driving force for this development in Tibeto-Kinnauri languages cannot be ruled out. It is, however, important to note that the Tibeto-Kinnauri languages have not borrowed the aspect markers themselves from Indic languages, rather only the concept of reanalyzing the participle forms as aspect markers. This highlights the complex interaction of internal factors and external factors in certain contact situations.

5.4 **Conclusion**

Almost three decades ago, Weinreich, Labov and Herzog, in their influential article “Empirical foundations for a theory of language change” formulated what, in their view, constituted the most basic problem for a theory of language change:

> What factors can account for the actuation of changes? Why do changes in a structural feature take place in a particular language at a given time, but not in other languages with the same feature, or in the same language at other times? This *actuation problem* can be regarded as the very heart of the matter. (1968: 102)

They recognize the relevance of both external and internal factors for coming to grips with the actuation problem, even though the linguistic

mainstream of the time strongly favored language-internal explanations. Since then, the importance of language-external factors—especially social factors—for the outcome of language change has been further emphasized in works such as Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Gerritsen and Stein (1992a). A lot still needs to be worked out in order to gain a better understanding of the roles internal and external factors play in language change, however, and the present study is intended as a contribution to this area of investigation. The data presented here shows that it is not always feasible to distinguish language-internal factors from language-external factors, rather in some cases a better approach is to recognize the importance of both.

Thus, the reanalysis of participle forms as aspect markers in Tibeto-Kinnauri is best seen as due partly to external factors, more specifically, to contact with neighboring Indic languages, and partly to language-internal factors, in that the potential for this reanalysis existed in the structure of the languages themselves. That is, functional motivations for the pathway involving the past participle form in the development of the perfective aspect markers, along with the data from the neighboring Indic languages, on the one hand, which the Tibeto-Kinnauri languages have long been in close contact with and Tibeto-Burman languages outside of this geographical area, which favor other sources than participle forms for their aspect morphology, on the other, were presented to suggest a complex interplay of internal and external factors in the evolution of the perfective aspect markers in Tibeto-Kinnauri.

Tibeto-Kinnauri aspect is not unique or even exceptional in this regard: it is becoming increasingly clear that most instances of language change can only be understood by invoking a complex array of internal and external factors. The research of the three decades which have passed since Weinreich, Labov and Herzog formulated the actuation problem have engendered a growing awareness among linguists of the significance of external factors in language change and of the necessity of social analysis to complement the linguistic analysis in the description of language change. Still, even though it seems that we are going in the right

direction, we have only come a small part of the way toward solving the actuation problem, and much further research is needed to illuminate the intricate linguistic and social details of the processes by which languages change through time.

Notes

[1]. Earlier versions of this chapter appeared in Saxena (1995) and Saxena (forthcoming b).

[2.] The auxiliary function of the "versatile" verbs (Matisoff 1976) is indicated here by providing the gloss in capitals.

[3.] The complementizer *ki* is an Indic borrowing in Kinnauri.

[4.] Examples of Lhasa Tibetan appear in transliterated form of the written Tibetan. The tonal patterns of *-pa* and *=gi* are different. This difference in the tone pattern is shown here by ˗ and ˭.

[5.] There are some traces of this system in Kinnauri. Some verbs in Kinnauri have separate forms to mark tense/aspect/mood. For example, *bə* 'come(nonIMP)' versus *ǰə* 'come(IMP)'.

[6.] The information about Koci and Koṭarhi is from Hendrikssen (1986) and the information about the remaining Indic languages is from Bailey (1908, 1920).

[7.] The information provided here is based on the following sources: Bodo and Dhimal (Hodgson 1880), Balti (Read 1934, Jinghpao (DeLancey, Diehl and Maran 1978), Karen (Jones Jr. 1961), Lahu and Burmese (Matisoff 1972), Lisu (Hope 1974), Ladakhi (Koshal 1979), Lushai, Sizang, Tiddim Chin, Sunwari (DeLancey 1989), Newari (Genetti 1994) and Nung (Saul and Wilson 1980).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aitchison, Jean. 1981. *Language change: Progress or decay?* London: Fontana.

Appel, R., and P. Muysken. 1987. *Language contact and bilingualism*. London: Edward Arnold.

Bailey, T. G. 1908. *Languages of the northern Himalayas*. (The Royal Asiatic Society Monographs vol. XII). London.

Bailey, T. G. 1909. A brief grammar of the Kinnauri language. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 63:661-687.

Bailey, T. G. 1920. *Linguistic studies from the Himalayas*. (The Royal Asiatic Society Monographs vol. XVIII). London.

Bakker, P., and M. Mous, eds., 1994. *Mixed languages. 15 case studies in Language Intertwining*. (Studies in Language and Language Use 13). Amsterdam: Institute for Functional Research into Language and Language Use.

Benedict, Paul K. 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: A conspectus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Beyer, Stephan V. 1992. *The Classical Tibetan language*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Boas, Franz. 1911. Introduction. In *Handbook of American Indian languages, part 1*, ed. Franz Boas, 1-83. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Bybee, Joan L., and Östen Dahl. 1989. The creation of tense and aspect systems in the languages of the world. *Studies in Language* 13:51-103.

Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar. Tense, aspect and modality in the languages of the world.* Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.

Chang, Betty Shefts, and Kun Chang. 1980. Ergativity in spoken Tibetan. *Academia Sinia: Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 51:15-32.

Chang, Betty Shefts, and Kun Chang. 1981. Perfective and imperfective in spoken Tibetan. *Academia Sinia: Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 52:303-321.

Chang, Betty Shefts, and Kun Chang. 1983. Tense and aspect in spoken Tibetan. In *Contributions on Tibetan language, history, and culture. Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Symposium, vol. 1*, ed. Ernest Steinkellner and Helmut Tauscher, 329-337. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und tibetische und Budhismuskunde, Heft 1. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.

Chang, Betty Shefts, and Kun Chang. 1984. The certainity hierarchy among spoken Tibetan verbs of being. *Academia Sinia. Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 55:603-634.

Chang, Kun, and Betty Shefts. 1964. *A manual of spoken Tibetan (Lhasa dialect)*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Chang, Kun, and Betty Shefts. 1965. A morphophonemic problem in the spoken Tibetan in Lhasa. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 85:34-39.

Chang, Kun, and Betty Shefts. 1978. *Spoken Tibetan texts. vol.1-2*. Nankang: Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica.

Chomsky, N. 1965. *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Comrie, B., and Sandra A. Thompson. 1985. Lexical nominalization. In *Language typology and syntactic description*, ed. T. Shopen, 349-397. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dahl, Östen. 1985. *Tense and aspect systems*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Dahl, Östen. 1994. Aspect. In *The encyclopedia of language and linguistics*, *vol. 2*, ed. R.E. Asher, 240-247. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

De Jong, J. W. 1959. *Mi la ras pa'i rnam thar. Texte Tibetain de la vie de Milarepa*. 'S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co.

DeLancey, Scott. 1985. Lhasa Tibetan evidentials and the semantics of causation. *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society*, 65-72. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistic Society.

DeLancey, Scott. 1986. Evidentiality and volitionality in Tibetan. In *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology*, ed. Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols, 203-213. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corp.

DeLancey, Scott. 1987. Sino-Tibetan languages. In *The world's major languages*, ed. Bernard Comrie, 797-810. London: Croom Helm.

DeLancey, Scott. 1989. Verb agrement in proto-Tibeto-Burman. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 51.2:315-333.

DeLancey, Scott. 1990. Ergativity and the cognitive model of event structure in Lhasa Tibetan. *Cognitive Linguistics* 1.3:289-321.

DeLancey, Scott, Lon G. Diehl, and LaRaw Maran. 1978. A localistic account of aspect in Jinghpaw. *University Of Michigan Papers in Linguistics* 2.4:49-64.

Emeneau, Murray B. 1980 [1962]. Bilingualism and structural borrowing. In *Language and linguistic area*, ed. Anwar Dil, 38-65. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Forsyth, John. 1970. *A grammar of aspect: Usage and meaning in the Russian verb*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Francke, A. H. 1909. *Tabellen der Pronomina und Verba in den Drei Sprachen Lahouls: Bunan, Manchad, und Tinan. Zeitschrift den Deutschen Morgenlandischen* 63.

Francke, A. H. 1929. Addenda. In *Tibetan grammar*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Genetti, Carol. 1994. *A descriptive and historical account of the Dolakha Newari dialect*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.

Gerritsen, M., and D. Stein, eds., 1992a. *Internal and external factors in syntactic change*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gerritsen, M., and D. Stein. 1992b. Introduction: On "internal" and "external" in syntactic change. In *Internal and external factors in syntactic change*, ed. M. Gerritsen and D. Stein, 1-15. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Givón, T. 1979. From discourse to syntax: Grammar as a processing strategy. In *Discourse and syntax*, ed. T. Givón, 89-112. (Syntax and Semantics 12). New York: Academic Press.

Givón, T. 1984. *Syntax: A functional-typological introduction, vol. 1*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Goldstein, Melvyn C. 1973. *Modern literary Tibetan*. (Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman linguistics 5). Urbana, IL: Center for Asian Studies, University of Illinois.

Goldstein, Melvyn C. 1978. *Tibetan-English dictionary of modern Tibetan*. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar. 2nd edition.

Goldstein, Melvyn C. 1984. *English-Tibetan dictionary of modern Tibetan*. California: The Regents of the University of California.

Grierson, G. A. 1909. *Linguistic survey of India, vol. III.I*. Calcutta, India: Suprintendent of Government Printing. [Reprint: 1967, 1973 Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass]

Gumperz, J. J., and R. Wilson. 1971. Convergence and creolization. A case from the Indo-Aryan/Dravidian border in India. In *Pidginization and creolization of languages*, ed. D. Hymes, 151-167. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haas, M. 1976. Boas, Sapir, and Bloomfield. *American Indian languages and American linguistics*, ed. W. L. Chafe, 59-69. Lisse: The Peter de Ridder Press.

Hahn, Michael. 1974. *Lehrbuch der klassischen tibetischen Schriftsprache. Mit Lesestücken und Glossar*. Bonn.

Hale, Austin. 1980. Person markers: Finite conjunct and disjunct verb forms in Newari. *Papers in south-east Asian linguistics (no. 7)*, ed. R. Trail *et al*, 95-106. Canberra: Australian National University.

Heine, Bernd, and Mechthild Reh. 1984. *Grammaticalization and reanalysis in African languages*. Hamburg: Buske.

Hendrikssen, Hans. 1986. *Himachali studies, part III: Grammar.* Kobenhavn: Munksgaard.

Hodgson, Brian H. 1880. *Miscellaneous essays relating to Indian subjects*, *vol. I.* London: Trübner Oriental Series.

Hoffman, Helmuth (in collaboration with Stanley Frye, Thubten J. Norbu, Ho-Chin Yang). 1975. *Tibet. A handbook*. Bloomington: Indiana University Publications.

Hook, Peter E. 1991. The emergence of perfective aspect in Indo-Aryan languages. In *Approaches to grammaticalization, vol. II*, ed. Elizabeth C. Traugott and Bernd Heine, 59-90. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Hope, Edward R. 1974. *The deep syntax of Lisu sentences. A transformational case grammar*. (Pacific Linguistic Series B, No. 34). Canberra: Australian National University.

Hopper, Paul J. 1979. Aspect and foregrounding in discourse. In *Discourse and syntax*, ed. T. Givón, 213-241. (Syntax and Semantics 12). New York: Academic Press.

Hopper, Paul J., ed., 1982. *Tense-aspect: Between semantics and pragmatics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hopper, P. J., and Elizabeth C. Traugott. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ivir, V., and D. Kalogjera, eds., 1991. *Languages in contact and contrast*. *Essays in contact linguistics*. (Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 54). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Jones Jr., Robert B. 1961. *Karen linguistic studies. Description, comparison, and texts*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Joshi, Pandit Tika Ram, and H. A. Rose. 1909. *A grammar and dictionary of Kanawari*. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.

Jäschke, H. Ä. 1881. *A Tibetan-English dictionary with special reference to the prevailing dialects to which is added an English-Tibetan vocabulary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass. [Reprinted, 1987]

Jäschke, H. Ä. 1954. *Tibetan grammar*. New York: Frederick Ungar.

Koshal, Sanyukta. 1979. *Ladakhi grammar*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Lehiste, I. 1988. *Lectures on language contact*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Majewicz, A. F. 1989. *J/zyki ∂wiata i ich klasyfikowanie*. Warszawa: Pa↘stwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Masica, Colin P. 1991. *The Indo-Aryan languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Matisoff, James A. 1969. Verb concatenation in Lahu: The syntax and semantics of 'simple' juxtaposition. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 12.1:69-120.

Matisoff, James A. 1972. Lahu nominalization, relativization, and genitivization. In *Syntax and semantics* 1, ed. J.P. Kimball, 237-257. New York: Academic Press.

Matisoff, James A. 1976. Lahu causative constructions: Case hierarchies and the morphology/syntax cycle in a Tibeto-Burman perspective. In *The Grammar of Causative Constructions*, ed. M. Shibatani, 413-442. (Syntax and Semantics 6). New York: Academic Press.

Meillet, A. 1958 [1914]. La problème de la parenté des langues. *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale* par A. Meillet. Paris: Champion, 76-101.

Mithun, Marianne. 1992. External triggers and internal guidance in syntactic development: Coordinating conjunction. In *Internal and external factors in syntactic change*, ed. M. Gerritsen and D. Stein, 89-129. (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 61). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Nedjalkov, 1995. Some typological parameters of converbs. In *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective: Structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms - adverbial pariciples, gerunds*, ed. Martin Haspelmath and Ekkehard König, 97-136. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gryuter.

Neethivanan, J. 1971. *A survey of Kanauri in Himachal Pradesh*. Calcutta: Office of the Registrar General.

Nelde, Peter. H., P. Sture Ureland, and Iain Clarkson. 1986. Introduction. In *Language contact in Europe*, ed. P. H. Nelde, P. S. Ureland and I. Clarkson, 1-10. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Nishi, Yoshio. 1990. The distribution and classification of Himalayan languages, part 1. *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 15.1:265-337. (in Japanese)

Paul, H. 1909. *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*. Halle: Max Niemeyer.

Prince, E. F. 1995. Yiddish as a contact language. Paper presented at the American Creole Workshop 95. University of Amsterdam. ms.

Read, A. F. C. 1934. *Balti grammar*. London: The Royal Asiatic Society.

Romaine, S. 1989. *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Rþóe-Draviña, V. 1969. *Språk i kontakt*. Stockholm: Aldus/Bonniers.

Sandfeld, K. 1930. *Linguistique balcanique: problèmes et résultats*. Paris: Champion.

Sapir, E. 1971 [1921]. *Language. An introduction to the study of speech*. London: Rupert Hart-Davis.

Saul, Janice E., and Nancy F. Wilson. 1980. *Nung grammar*. The University of Texas at Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Saxena, Anju. 1988. Nominalization in *Mi=la ras=pa'i rnam thar*. Ms. University of Oregon.

Saxena, Anju. 1989. Ergative or nominative-accusative?: The Tibeto-Burman case. In *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Pacific Linguistics Conference*, ed. Robert Carlson, Scott DeLancey, Spike Gildea, Doris Payne, Anju Saxena, 420-447. Eugene: University of Oregon.

Saxena, Anju. 1990a. Development of the modern evidentiality system in modern standard Lhasa Tibetan. Paper presented at the Summer Institute of Linguistics colloquium, University of Oregon.

Saxena, Anju. 1990b. Ergative in *Mi=la ras=pa'i rnam thar*. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 12.2:35-39.

Saxena, Anju. 1991a. Tone in Paṭani and Central Tibetan: Parallel developments?. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman area* 14.1:129-135.

Saxena, Anju. 1991b. Pathways of the development of the ergative in Central Tibetan. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 14.1:109-116.

Saxena, Anju. 1992. *The Finite Verb Morphology in Tibeto-Kinnauri*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Oregon.

Saxena, Anju. 1995. Finite verb morphology in Kinnauri. *Cahiers de Linguistique, Asie Orientale* 24.2:257-282.

Saxena, Anju. 1995. Aspect morphology: Where does it come from?. *Papers from the XVth Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics*, ed Inger Moen, H. G. Simonsen and H. Lodrup, 541-462. Oslo: University of Oslo.

Saxena, Anju. 1997. Towards a reconstruction of the proto-West Himalayish agreement system. In *Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas*, ed. David Bradley, 73-94. Canberra: Australian National University.

Saxena, Anju. Forthcoming. aspect and evidential morphology: A diachronic study. *Cahiers de Linguistique, Asie Orientale*.

Saxena, Anju. Forthcoming b. Diverging sources of the perfective aspect morphology in Tibeto-Kinnauri: External motivation or internal development?. In the *Proceedings of Twefth International Conference of Historical Linguistics*, ed Richard M. Hogg, J. C. Smth, Linda van Bergen, Belia Bentley. Amterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Shafer, Robert. 1950. Studies in the morphology of Bodic verbs. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13.3:702-724.

Shafer, Robert. 1951. Studies in the morphology of Bodic verbs. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13.4:1017-1031.

Shafer, Robert. 1955. Classification of Sino-Tibetan languages. *Word* 11:94-111.

Shafer, Robert. 1966-7, 1974. *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Sharma, D. D. 1988. *A descriptive grammar of Kinnauri*. Delhi: Mittal Publications.

Sharma, D. D. 1989. *Tribal languages of Himachal Pradesh, part 1*. Delhi: Mittal Publications.

Thomas, F. W. 1957. *Ancient folk-literature from north-eastern Tibet (introductions, texts, translations and notes).* Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Thomason, S. G., and T. Kaufman. 1988. *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Thurgood, Graham. 1985. Pronouns, agreement systems, and the subgrouping of Tibeto-Burman. In *Linguistics of the Sino-Tibetan area: The state of the art,* ed. Graham Thurgood *et al*, 376-400. (Pacific Linguistics Series C, no. 87). Canberra: Australian National University.

Tournadre, Nicolas. 1991. The Rhetorical use of the Tibetan ergativity. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 14.1:93-108.

Traugott, Elizabeth C. 1982. From propositional to textual and expressive meanings. Some semantic-pragmatic aspects of grammaticalization. In *Perspectives on historical linguistics*, ed. Winfred P. Lehmann and Yakov Malkiel, 245-273. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Traugott, Elizabeth C., and Bernd Heine, eds., 1991. *Approaches to grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Trudgill, P. 1990. Review of Lehiste 1988 and Thomason and Kaufman 1988. *Journal of Linguistics* 26:513-517.

Trudgill, P. 1994. Language contact and dialect contact in linguistic change. *Dialektkontakt, språkkontakt och språkförändring i Norden. Föredrag från ett forskarsymposium*, ed. U.-B. Kotsinas and J. Helgander, 13-22. (Meddelanden från Institutionen för nordiska språk vid Stockholms universitet MINS 40.) Stockholm.

van Coetsem, F. 1988. *Loan phonology and the two transfer types in language contact*. Dordrecht: Foris.

van Coetsem, F. 1990. Review of Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Lehiste 1988, and Wardhaugh 1987. *Language in Society* 19:260-268.

Vincent, Nigel. 1993. Exaptation and grammaticalization. In *Historical linguistics 1993. Selected Papers from the 11th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, ed. Henning Andersen, 433-445. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Weinreich, Uriel. 1970 [1953]. *Languages in contact*. *Findings and problems*. The Hague: Mouton.

Weinreich, Uriel, William Labov, and Marvin Herzog. 1968. Empirical foundations of a theory of language change. In *Directions for historical linguistics*, ed. Winfred P. Lehmann and Y. Malkiel, 95-188. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Zoller, C. 1983. *Die Sprache der Rang pas von Garhwal (Raŋ Pɔ Bhasa): Grammatik, Texte. Wörterbuch.* Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz.

Subject index

adverbial, 47; 125; 130; 132
affirmative, 31; 73; 84; 88
affix, 31
agentive nominalizer, 47; 56; 57; 125
agreement, 31-34; 36; 42; 44; 45; 47; 49; 62; 76; 77
Aktionsart, 131
allomorph, 46; 48; 49; 63; 64
animacy, 38-40
areal linguistics, 6
aspect, 10; 14; 31; 32; 34; 42; 43; 45; 47-49; 53; 55; 58; 61; 62; 64; 65; 68; 69; 72-74; 78-84; 87; 89-92; 94-96; 100; 101; 103-106; 111; 112; 114-118; 123-131; 135; 136; 138; 139; 141
aspectual distinction, 45; 55
attributive, 46
auxiliary, 34; 43; 45; 46; 53-55; 58; 59; 63; 64; 66; 68; 76; 97; 100; 105; 107; 109; 110; 111; 131; 132
bleaching, 13; 14; 130; 132
borrowing, 3-9; 48; 76; 138
clause chain, 32; 46; 49; 51; 60; 61; 69; 85; 123; 125; 127; 130-132
cliticization, 72
cognate, 64; 65
compound verb, 46; 60; 61; 125; 127; 130-132
conjunct, 70-72; 86; 87; 107
converb, 129
copula, 32-41; 43; 49; 50-54; 61; 63; 64; 66; 70; 72; 73; 77; 79; 80-83; 85; 87; 88; 93; 97; 98; 106; 108; 110; 111; 113; 115; 116; 117; 120; 128; 131; 132
declarative marker, 12; 81; 82; 84
diachronic, 1; 11; 13; 14; 79; 117; 129; 130; 132; 138
direct knowledge, 73
disjunct, 70-72; 86; 87; 107
distant past tense, 36; 44; 53
dual, 33; 34; 53; 62
equational, 36; 39; 40; 50; 51; 70; 80; 85; 93; 97; 106
event, 73; 74; 80; 89; 96; 109; 121
evidential, 31; 69; 70; 72; 73; 74; 78-83; 85-89; 104; 106; 112; 114-119; 128; 129
existential, 36; 39; 50; 51; 54; 66; 70; 71; 80; 85; 86; 93; 97; 101; 102; 106; 116
finite, 12; 31; 46; 51-53; 62-64; 69-71; 74; 79-82; 85; 87-90; 93; 112; 116; 118; 120
finite verb system, 34; 81; 128
first person, 33; 34; 37; 42; 70; 71; 73; 74; 76; 77
first person dual, 33; 34
future, 34; 36; 40; 44; 50; 52; 53; 63; 76
gerund, 129
grammatical change, 1-4; 10
grammaticalization, 2; 11; 12; 115
honorific, 32; 34; 37; 39; 40; 62; 77
iconicity, 111
imperfective, 11; 12; 34; 42-45; 47; 48; 53-57; 63-67; 73-81; 83; 84; 88; 89; 95; 96; 100; 104; 109; 113-118; 129; 133-135
inanimate, 39
inference, 74
infinitive, 51; 55; 57; 58; 61-63; 65; 67; 68; 77; 78; 129
inflectional, 36; 64
interrogative, 73
language, 7
language change, 1; 2; 4-7; 64; 65; 69; 75-77; 79; 123; 124; 130; 138-140
language contact, 3-9; 19-21; 123; 124; 133; 138; 139
language maintenance, 7; 8
language shift, 7; 8

language-external, 2; 4-9; 11; 14; 123; 124; 133; 138; 139
language-internal, 2-4; 6; 7; 9; 11; 14; 123; 124; 133; 138; 139
linguistic convergence, 9; 19; 20; 135
metaphor, 13
morphology, 31-33; 45; 49; 51; 57; 58; 62; 65; 67; 69; 74; 117
morphophonemic, 48
morphosyntax, 10; 45; 80
multilingualism, 18; 19
negative, 73
nominalization, 51; 57; 63; 72; 78; 79; 81; 87; 96; 98; 107; 109; 113; 116; 121; 128; 138
nominalizer, 47; 56; 57; 69; 72; 74; 78; 79; 81; 83; 85; 115-117; 119; 123; 124; 128; 129; 136
noncopula, 33; 34; 42; 43; 52; 63; 71; 72; 74; 79; 80; 82; 87; 89; 97; 100; 110; 111
nonfinal, 31; 46; 48; 49; 51; 60; 69; 74; 78; 79; 81; 85; 93; 97; 103; 104; 105; 106; 108; 109; 112-114; 117; 119
non-future, 36
nonhonorific, 33; 34; 37; 39
nonvolitional, 73; 74; 80; 88; 89; 109
noun modifier, 48; 62
object, 32; 42; 44; 45; 47
object agreement, 32; 42; 44; 45; 47
obligative, 51
paratactic, 113
participle, 46; 47; 56; 57; 60; 66; 67; 77; 78; 123-125; 127; 129; 130; 133; 135; 136; 139
past, 33-36; 38; 40; 44; 46; 50; 53; 60; 63; 76; 77
past participle, 96; 123; 125; 127; 130; 133; 135; 139
pathway, 2; 11; 12-14; 74; 77; 79; 113; 123; 124; 129; 130; 132; 139
perfect, 123; 131; 132
perfective, 11-13; 43; 45; 46; 48; 53-55; 58-60; 62; 64; 65; 68; 69; 72-75; 77; 79; 80-84; 88; 89; 91; 95; 96; 100; 104; 107; 111; 113; 115-118; 123-135; 139
phonological rules, 48; 76
phonologically conditioned, 34; 36; 45; 52; 55; 58; 65
plural, 33; 34; 53; 62; 64; 68; 69; 76; 77
possessive, 41
predicate complement, 67
present, 34; 36; 40; 47; 50; 52; 53; 56; 57; 63; 66; 67; 78
present participle, 56; 66; 134
progressive, 42; 43; 45; 48; 51; 53-55; 61-65; 69; 78
reanalysi, 77
reanalysis, 74; 79; 81; 83; 107; 109; 113-117; 123; 124; 129; 130; 131; 133
resultative, 132
second person, 34; 42; 43; 49; 62; 76; 77
semantic distribution, 36; 37; 41; 63
semantic interpretations, 37-39
sequential, 113
serial verb, 72; 79; 87; 130
simultaneous, 113
singular, 33; 34; 53; 55; 59; 63; 66; 77
sound change, 2
sprachbund, 6
stative, 51; 108; 109
subject, 32; 33; 34; 36; 37-44; 49; 53; 55; 59; 62-64; 66; 68-74; 77; 78
subject agreement, 32; 33; 36; 44; 49; 62
subordinate, 71; 86; 93
subordinator, 47; 78; 130; 132
suffix, 31-33; 35; 36; 42; 44; 45; 48; 49; 52; 57; 58-62; 65; 69; 70; 74; 76-78
synchronic, 11; 31
syntactic, 53
syntactic change, 1; 3; 4; 124
temporal, 49; 53; 74
tense, 31-36; 38; 40-42; 44; 49-53; 62; 63; 72; 76; 77
third person, 33-36; 37; 39; 42; 43; 53; 55; 59; 62; 63; 64; 66; 68; 69

transitive, 81; 83; 84
Tunhuang, 12; 89; 90-94; 97
verb, 31-34; 36; 42; 43; 44; 45; 46; 47; 49; 51; 52; 53; 55; 56; 58; 59; 60; 61; 62; 63; 64; 65; 66; 67; 68; 69; 70; 71; 72; 73; 74; 76; 77; 78
volitional, 53; 73; 74; 80; 88; 89; 98; 106; 107; 109

Author index

Aitchison, 14; 131
Appel, 7
Bailey, 17; 21
Bakker, 9
Benedict, 16
Beyer, 26; 27; 112
Boas, 6
Bybee, 31; 121; 130
Chang, 25; 28
Chomsky, 4; 5
Comrie, 55
Dahl, 31; 121; 129; 130
De Jong, 11; 26; 28; 81
DeLancey, 12; 21; 25; 26; 28; 70; 81; 85; 115
Forsyth, 129
Francke, 22; 26; 81; 94; 113
Gerritsen, 2; 9; 136
Givón, 2; 12; 13; 128
Goldstein, 25; 90; 91
Grierson, 17; 22
Gumperz, 9; 18
Haas, 6
Hahn, 11; 25; 26; 28; 81
Hale, 70; 85
Heine, 13
Herzog, 135; 136
Hoffman, 27
Hook, 45; 128
Hoppar, 2
Hopper, 95; 129
Ivir, 9
Joshi, 21
Jäschke, 25; 26; 81; 90; 94; 95; 96; 113
Kalogjera, 9
Kaufman, 7; 8; 9; 10; 136
Labov, 135; 136
Lehiste, 7
Majewicz, 2
Masica, 129
Matisoff, 97; 128
Meillet, 4; 5
Mithun, 14; 131
Mous, 9
Muysken, 7
Nedjalkov, 127
Neethivanan, 21
Nelde, 7
Nishi, 16
Prince, 3
Reh, 13
Romaine, 2; 5
Rose, 21
Sandfeld, 6
Sapir, 6
Saussure, 4
Saxena, 16; 21; 22; 25; 31; 115
Shafer, 16; 80; 82
Sharma, 21; 22
Stein, 2; 4; 9; 136
Thomas, 11; 25; 26; 27; 81; 90; 91; 94
Thomason, 7; 8; 9; 10; 136
Thompson, 55
Thurgood, 16
Traugott, 2; 113
Trudgill, 8
Van, 7; 9
Vincent, 13
Weinreich, 5; 7; 135; 136
Wilson, 9; 18
Zoller, 22

Contents

Abbreviations i

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

Chapter 2: Background 17
2.1 Tibeto-Kinnauri languages 17
2.2 West Himalayish 18
2.2.1 Socio-cultural background 18
2.2.2 Background literature: West Himalayish 22
2.2.3 Data for the present study: West Himalayish 23
2.3 Tibetan 26
2.3.1 Data for the present study: Tibetan 27
Notes for chapter 2 30

Chapter 3: Creation of aspect morphology: Synchronic perspective 31
3.1 Introduction 31
3.2 Kinnauri 32
3.2.1 Basic finite verb morphology 33
3.2.2 Aspect morphology 45
3.3 Paṭani 49
3.3.1 Basic finite verb morphology 49
3.3.2 Aspect morphology 55
3.4 Tinani 62
3.4.1 Basic finite verb morphology 62
3.4.2 Aspect morphology 65
3.5 Lhasa Tibetan 69
3.5.1 Basic finite verb morphology 69
3.6 Summary 75
Notes for chapter 3 76

Chapter 4: Creation of aspect and evidential morphology: Diachronic perspective 79
4.1 Introduction 79
4.2 Background 83
4.2.1 Overview of the original and the Lhasa Tibetan verbal systems 83
4.3 Development of the modern aspect and evidentiality system 89
4.3.1 The *Tunhuang* texts 90
4.3.2 Classical Tibetan 95
4.3.3 *Mi=la ras=pa* 104
4.4 Development of the modern perfective and imperfective markers in Lhasa Tibetan 113
4.4.1 Imperfective marker 113
4.4.2 Perfective marker 115
4.5 Reanalysis of the structural configuration of a clause 116
4.6 Summary 117
Notes for chapter 4 118

Chapter 5: Factors governing syntactic change: Language contact or internal development? 123
5.1 Introduction 123
5.2 Aspect morphology in Tibeto-Kinnauri 125
5.2.1 Kinnauri 125
5.2.2 Paṭani 126
5.2.3 Tinani 127
5.2.4 The Lhasa Tibetan verbal system 128
5.3 Discussion 129
5.3.1 Pathway of the new aspect morphology 129
5.3.2 Issue of contact-induced change 133
5.4 Conclusion 138
Notes for chapter 5 141

Bibliography 143

Subject index 153

Author index 157