<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Evidential system in Mabzhi Tibetan of Amdo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Tsering Samdrup; Suzuki, Hiroyuki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citation</td>
<td>Proceedings of the 51st International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics (2018)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issue Date</td>
<td>2018-09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="http://hdl.handle.net/2433/235311">http://hdl.handle.net/2433/235311</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Conference Paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textversion</td>
<td>author</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kyoto University
Evidential system in Mabzhi Tibetan of Amdo

Tsering Samdrup  Hiroyuki Suzuki
(IKOS, Universitetet i Oslo)

1 Introduction

Target language

- Mabzhi Tibetan: a variety of Amdo Tibetan (Tibetic)

- Classified into:
  - innovative pastoralists’ dialect group (Cham-tshang Padma IHun-grub 2009)
  - Kokonor group (Tournadre & Suzuki forthcoming)

Location

Around northern half of Guinan (Mang rdzong) County, Hainan (mTsho lho) Prefecture, Qinghai Province. See Tsering Samdrup & Suzuki (2017) for details.

Source: Tsering Samdrup & Suzuki (forthcoming); designed with ArcGIS Online
Framework

There are several previous descriptions on varieties of the Kokonor group, for instance, Haller (2004) for Themchen (Bong stag) and Ebihara (2010) for rGya ye. Descriptions regarding the evidential systems in Tibetic languages vary and various terms are used (Gawne and Hill 2017). Our attitude on evidentiality is based on the description by Tournadre and LaPolla (2014): “the [grammatical] representation of source and access to information according to the speaker’s perspective and strategy”. We also refer to Oisel’s (2017) basic terminology on evidentials as much as it is valid for Mabzhi Tibetan.

We focus on the evidential system of **copulative verbs** and **existential verbs** in the conference presentation, followed by a list of suffixes for lexical verbs classified based on the TAM system. Our view is, as reflected in the main body of the article, that the evidential system of Mabzhi Tibetan can be described with a set of terms unified throughout any types of verb predicates as displayed in Oisel’s (2017) tabulars of the evidential system of Lhasa Tibetan (dBus gTsang or Central) as well as Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo’s (2018) description of Lhagang Tibetan (Khams or South-eastern). Oisel (2017) provides tabulars consisting of following five greater evidential categories: **egophoric**, **factual**, **sensorial**, **inferential**, and **mnemic**. His tabulars contain multiple forms in each evidential feature, which reflects the difference of epistemicity discussed by Vokurková (2007).

Data and structure

- Mabzhi Tibetan is the mother tongue of the first author. All the data were taken from elicitation.

- The article has a nature of demonstration, not discussion. We first present the evidential system of Mabzhi Tibetan regarding copulative and existential verbs (Section 2), and then provide sentence examples (Section 3).

- We apply a synthetic glossing rule for evidentials, not an analytic counterpart.

Crucial findings

- The tabulars displayed in Section 2 demonstrate that Oisel’s (2017) framework also works well on Mabzhi Tibetan.

- This also means that the core terms of evidentiality work well on Mabzhi Tibetan.

- In addition to this, Mabzhi Tibetan has multiple ways of expression of different degrees of epistemicity.

- Based on the present description, we can assume that the evidential system of Mabzhi Tibetan (Amdo) is closer to that of Lhasa Tibetan and more distinct from Lhagang Tibetan (Khams).
# 2 Principal evidential system of copulative and existential verbs

Note that all the language data are described with phonetic symbols.  

## Affirmative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb type epistemicity</th>
<th>egophoric</th>
<th>factual</th>
<th>sensory</th>
<th>sensory inferential</th>
<th>logical inferential</th>
<th>mnemic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>copulative strong</td>
<td>jan</td>
<td>re / rø</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>jøn-kʰ'o tʰəɣ re</td>
<td>jøn-jø re</td>
<td>jøn-ma ma-ra ma-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>re-ko-o</td>
<td>re-la</td>
<td>re-ko</td>
<td>jøn-kʰ'a zøx re</td>
<td>jøn-na tʰæj</td>
<td>jøn-ma ma-ra ma-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jøn-na re</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jøn-na ʰqə zøx re</td>
<td>jøn-tʰ'a yo</td>
<td>jøn-ma ma-ra ma-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weak</td>
<td>jo</td>
<td>jo-na re</td>
<td>jo-kʰ'a</td>
<td>jo-kʰ'o tʰəɣ re</td>
<td>jo-hø re</td>
<td>jo-na ʰqə zøx jan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jot-tʰ'a</td>
<td>jo-kʰ'a</td>
<td></td>
<td>jøn-kʰ'a zøx re</td>
<td>jo-ko</td>
<td>jo-kʰ'a zøx jan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jo-na ʰqə</td>
<td>zøx re</td>
<td></td>
<td>jøn-na tʰæj</td>
<td>jøt-tʰ'a yo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>existential strong</td>
<td>mán</td>
<td>ma-ra</td>
<td>ma-ra</td>
<td>mán-kʰ'o tʰəɣ re</td>
<td>jøn-ⁿø ma-ra-yo</td>
<td>mán-ma ma-ra ma-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jøn-na ma-ra</td>
<td>ma-ra</td>
<td>ma-ra-yo</td>
<td>mán-kʰ'a zøx re</td>
<td>mán-na tʰæj</td>
<td>mán-ma ma-ra ma-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mán-na ʰqə zøx re</td>
<td>mán-na tʰæj go</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weak</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>jo-na ma-ra</td>
<td>me-kʰ'a</td>
<td>me-kʰ'o tʰəɣ re</td>
<td>jo-hø re</td>
<td>me-na ʰqə zøx jan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>met-tʰ'a</td>
<td>me-kʰ'a</td>
<td></td>
<td>me-kʰ'a zøx re</td>
<td>me-ko</td>
<td>me-kʰ'a zøx jan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>me-na ʰqə</td>
<td>zøx re</td>
<td>me-na tʰæj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>me-na tʰæj go</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Negative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb type epistemicity</th>
<th>egophoric</th>
<th>factual</th>
<th>sensory</th>
<th>sensory inferential</th>
<th>logical inferential</th>
<th>mnemic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>copulative strong</td>
<td>mán</td>
<td>ma-ra</td>
<td>ma-ra</td>
<td>mán-kʰ'o tʰəɣ re</td>
<td>jøn-ⁿø ma-ra-yo</td>
<td>mán-ma ma-ra ma-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jøn-na ma-ra</td>
<td>ma-ra</td>
<td>ma-ra-yo</td>
<td>mán-kʰ'a zøx re</td>
<td>mán-na tʰæj</td>
<td>mán-ma ma-ra ma-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mán-na ʰqə zøx re</td>
<td>mán-na tʰæj go</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weak</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>jo-na ma-ra</td>
<td>me-kʰ'a</td>
<td>me-kʰ'o tʰəɣ re</td>
<td>jo-hø re</td>
<td>me-na ʰqə zøx jan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>met-tʰ'a</td>
<td>me-kʰ'a</td>
<td></td>
<td>me-kʰ'a zøx re</td>
<td>me-ko</td>
<td>me-kʰ'a zøx jan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>me-na ʰqə</td>
<td>zøx re</td>
<td>me-na tʰæj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>me-na tʰæj go</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Minor types

hearsay: /se-ka/, /se-ka/

narrative non-sensory: /jøn-zøx/ (CPV), /jo-zøx/ (EXV), /mán-zøx/ (CPV.NEG), /me-zøx/ (EXV.NEG)

---

¹Mabzhi Tibetan sound system: Consonantism: /pʰ, p, b, tʰ, t, d, t, q, cʰ, c, j, kʰ, k, g, q, ?, tʰs, ts, dz, tʰs, ts, dz, sʰ, s, z, ?, cʰ, c, z, fʰ, xʰ, x, ɣ, ɣ, u, h, fi, m, m, n, n, n, ñ, ñ, ñ, l, ñ, l, r, w, j/; Vocalism: /i, e, a, o, ø, u, ɔ;/ No suprasegmental contrast.
3 Examples: Copulative and existential verbs

Concerning affirmative forms, there are two copulative verb stems, /jən/ and /re/, whereas there is only one single existential verb stem: /jo/.

3.1 Copulative verbs; affirmative

(1) Copulative; egophoric

a ɲə-ɸ ɣe ɪˈgan ʔa xʰa ma-zőn-ɸ jən
1-ABS teacher HUM-NDEF-ABS CPV.E
I am a teacher.[egophoric]
b ɲə ɕo lo-ɸ lop ma-ɸ jən
1.GEN son-ABS student-ABS CPV.E
My son is a student. [weak egophoric]
c ɕo ɭu-ɸ lop ma-ɸ jən
son.HUM-ABS student-ABS CPV.E
My son is a student. [weak egophoric demonstrated by a humilific form²]

(2) Copulative; factual

a ʔkʰor ge-ɸ lop ma-ɸ re / ɭə³
3-ABS student-ABS CPV
He is a student. [statement]
b ɲa-ɸ ʔmə wə ʃə-ɸ re-ko-o⁴
1-ABS Mabzhi’s-ABS CPV-PART-PART
I am a Mabzhi’s [person] (not other places’)! [factual]
c ʔkʰor ge-ɸ lop ma-ɸ jən-nə re
3-ABS student-ABS CPV
He is a student. [factual/authoritative]

(3) Copulative; sensory

a ʔdo-ɸ ʃjʰa-ɸ re
this-ABS meat-ABS CPV
This is meat. (not vegetables; recognised by tasting) [sensory access]
b ʔdo-ɸ ʃjʰa-ɸ re la
this-ABS meat-ABS CPV.SEN
This is meat! (not vegetables; recognised by tasting) [sensory access/mirative⁵]

²See Tsering Samdrup & Suzuki (forthcoming) for humilifics of Mabzhi Tibetan.
³/re/ and /ɭə/ are interchangeable without any conditions.
⁴Some speakers use /ɭə-ʃə-o/, but the first author does not use this.
⁵In our analysis, mirative is a pragmatic function belonging to the category of Sensory evidential.
(4) Copulative; sensory inferential
a  a do-∅  m dz o-∅  jən kʰ o tʰ r∅ re
this-ABS  male mdzo-ABS  CPV-EPI
This is definitely a mdzo. (Seeing a cow-like black animal)
b  a do-∅  m dz o mo-∅  re-pa
this-ABS  female mdzo-ABS  CPV.SEN⁶-INFR
This is probably a mdzo mo.
c  a do-∅  ləŋ jə-∅  re-ko
this-ABS  bull-ABS  CPV.SEN-INFR
This is quite probably a bull.
d  a do-∅  b jə rə-∅  jən kʰ a zəx re
this-ABS  two-year-old yak-ABS  CPV-EPI
This is perhaps a two-year-old yak.
e  a do-∅  wi lə-∅  jən nə qə zəx re
this-ABS  yak calf-ABS  CPV-EPI
This is likely a yak calf.
f  a do-∅  wap rəx-∅  jən na tʰ qə gə
this-ABS  cow calf-ABS  CPV-EPI
This is maybe a cow calf.

(5) Copulative; logical inferential
a  a do-∅  ne-∅  jən lɨjə re
this-ABS  highland barley-ABS  CPV-EPI
This is definitely highland barley.
(The known condition is “a barley-like plant growing over 3,500 m above the sea level”)
b  a do-∅  co-∅  jən-pa
this-ABS  wheat-ABS  CPV.E⁷-INFR
This is probably wheat.
c  a do-∅  jəx ko-∅  jən əqə
this-ABS  oat-ABS  CPV.E-INFR
This is perhaps oat.
d  a do-∅  lə nər-∅  jən na tʰ qə
this-ABS  rape seed-ABS  CPV-EPI
This is likely rape seed.
e  a do-∅  san mə-∅  jən tʰ a yo
this-ABS  bean-ABS  CPV-INFR
This is maybe bean.

In (4bc), the copulative verb /re/ is analysed as Sensory because of three points: (1) this category is Sensory inferential; (2) /jən/' appears in (4adef) instead of /re/; and (3) this case can be parallel with (5bc).

In (5bc), the copulative verb /jən/ is analysed as Egophoric because of two points: (1) this category is Logical inferential and is thus related to personal knowledge, and (2) this case can be parallel with (4bc).
(6) Copulative; mnemic
\[ \text{ta-} \phi \quad \eta-\phi \quad j\text{a-n-}a \eta \text{ a z} \text{a x} \text{ j} \text{a} \]
\[ \text{it-ABS 1.GEN-ABS CPV-MNE}\]
I remember that it is mine.

3.2 Existential verbs; affirmative

(7) Existential; egophoric
\[ \eta\text{-a ca j}i-\phi \quad j\text{o} \]
\[ 1\text{-DAT child-ABS EXV.E}\]
I am pregnant.
(If a speaker is a male, it means: I have children.)

(8) Existential; factual
a \[ t\text{a-}na \quad ?\text{o t}c\text{a-}\phi \quad j\text{o-n} \text{o re} \]
\[ \text{that-LOC milk tea-ABS EXV-STA} \]
There is milk tea there.
b \[ t\text{a-}na \quad t\text{c}h\text{o} \quad 'gul-\phi \quad j\text{o-t}h\text{a} \]
\[ \text{that-LOC hot water-ABS EXV-PFT} \]
There has been hot water there.

(9) Existential; sensory
a \[ t\text{a-}na \quad f\text{h}a-z\text{a x-}\phi \quad j\text{o-}k\text{h} \text{a} \]
\[ \text{that-LOC deer-NDEF}^{10}\text{-ABS EXV-SEN} \]
There is deer. (The speaker saw, heard, etc.)
b \[ t\text{a-}na \quad c\text{h} \text{a-}\phi \quad j\text{o-}k\text{h} \text{a} \]
\[ \text{that-LOC dog-ABS EXV-SEN} \]
There are dogs! (The speaker saw, heard, etc.) [experienced/mirative]

---

\(^8\)There is another form of Mnemic /jan-k^h\text{a z}ax j\text{a}n/; however, the meaning is almost the same. Therefore, we only present a single example. See also (12, 18, 24).

\(^9\)In our analysis, the stem /jo/ is not necessarily related to Egophoric because the existential verb is only this stem. When it is used alone, it has Egophoric evidential.

\(^{10}\)In Mabzhi Tibetan, ‘meat’ and ‘deer’ are homophony: /f^h\text{a}/. The latter can take a nondefinite marker /-z\text{a x}/ to indicate ‘being single’. In Example (9a), the speaker noticed just one individual of deer somewhere.
(10) Existential; sensory inferential

a  tə-na  lɔx-Ø  jo-kʰø  tʰɔx  re  
   that-LOC  sheep-ABS  EXV-EPI
   There is definitely sheep.

b  tə-na  lo  yɔξ-ɔx-Ø  jo-kʰø-pa  
   that-LOC  newly born lamb-NDEF-ABS  EXV-SEN-INFR
   There is probably a newly born lamb.

c  tə-na  mə-ɔx-Ø  jo-kʰa  ɔx  re  
   that-LOC  ewe-NDEF-ABS  EXV-EPI
   There is perhaps an ewe.

d  tə-na  ḥʰap  zɔn-ɔx-Ø  jo-nə  ʊqə  ɔx  re  
   that-LOC  castrated male sheep-NDEF-ABS  EXV-EPI
   There is likely castrated male sheep.

e  tə-na  ḥʰom-ɔx-Ø  jo-nə  ḥʰəŋ  ʊɡə  
   that-LOC  non-castrated male sheep-ABS  EXV-EPI
   There is maybe non-castrated male sheep.

(11) Existential; logical inferential

a  tə-na  mə-Ø  jo-ɬə  re  
   that-LOC  person-ABS  EXV-EPI
   There should be people.

b  tə-na  lo  lən-Ø  jo-pa  
   that-LOC  elderly-ABS  EXV.E₁¹-INFR
   There are probably elderlies.

c  tə-na  tə-wa-Ø  jo-ko  
   that-LOC  monk-ABS  EXV.E-INFR
   There are perhaps monks.

d  tə-na  ḥkən  ma-Ø  jo-nə  ḥʰəŋ  
   that-LOC  thief-ABS  EXV-EPI
   There are likely thieves.

e  tə-na  mə  tʰæ met-Ø  jöt-tʰa  ɣo  
   that-LOC  stranger-ABS  EXV-EPI
   There are maybe strangers.

(12) Existential; mnemic

ŋa-a  ɣwe  tʰæ-tə-Ø  jo-nə  ʊqə  ɔx  jən  
   I-DAT  book-DEF-ABS  EXV-MNE
   I remember that I have that book.

\[1\] In (11bc), the existential verb /jo/ is analysed as Egophoric because this category is Logical inferential and is thus related to personal knowledge. Cf. (4bc, 5bc).
3.3 Copulative verbs; negative

(13) Copulative; egophoric
a ɳa-phi ŋge ʰgan-phi mən
1-ABS teacher-ABS NEG.CPV.E
I am not a teacher. [egophoric]
b ɳa ɞó lɔ-phi ɭop ma-phi mən
1.GEN son-ABS student-ABS NEG.CPV.E
My son is not a student. [weak egophoric]

(14) Copulative; factual
a kʰor ge-phi ɭop ma-phi ma-rə
3-ABS student-ABS NEG.CPV
He is not a student. [statement]
b ɳa-phi ʰly ɭɔŋ ɡo-phi jən-nə ma-rə
1-ABS Lutshang’s-ABS CPV.NEG
I am not a Lutshang’s [person]! [factual]

(15) Copulative; sensory
a ⁿda-phi ʰj̪a-phi ma-rə
this-ABS meat-ABS NEG.CPV
This is not meat. (recognised by tasting) [sensory access]
b ⁿda-phi ʰj̪a-phi ma-ra
this-ABS meat-ABS NEG.CPV.SEN
This is not meat! (vegetables; recognised by tasting) [sensory access/mirative]

(16) Copulative; sensory inferential
a ⁿda-phi ʰtɕʰə-phi mən-kʰa ʰtʰəɣ re
this-ABS water-ABS NEG.CPV.EPI
This is definitely not water. (Seeing coloured liquid)
b ⁿda-phi ʰtɕʰə-phi ma-rə-pa
this-ABS water-ABS NEG.CPV.SEN.INFR
This is probably not water.
c ⁿda-phi ʰtɕʰə-phi ma-rə-gə
this-ABS water-ABS NEG.CPV.SEN.INFR
This is quite probably not water.
d ⁿda-phi ʰtɕʰə-phi mən-kʰa zőx re
this-ABS water-ABS NEG.CPV.EPI
This is perhaps not water.
e ⁿda-phi ʰtɕʰə-phi mən-na nʰə ｚəx re
this-ABS water-ABS NEG.CPV.EPI
This does not look like water.
f ⁿda-phi ʰtɕʰə-phi mən-na ʰɭəŋ go
this-ABS water-ABS NEG.CPV.EPI
This is maybe not water.
(17) Copulative; logical inferential
   a  ḥa-ba  ḥa-ba  jañ-ḥa ma-rə-yo
      this-ABS  water-ABS  CPV-NEG.EPI
      This is definitely not water.
      (The known condition is “the liquid, which smells very strongly”)
   b  ḥa-ba  ḥa-ba  mən-pa
      this-ABS  water-ABS  NEG.CPV.E-INFR
      This is probably not water.
   c  ḥa-ba  ḥa-ba  mən-go
      this-ABS  water-ABS  NEG.CPV.E-INFR
      This is perhaps not water.
   d  ḥa-ba  ḥa-ba  mən-na ḥa-raj
      this-ABS  water-ABS  NEG.CPV-EPI
      This is likely not water.
   e  ḥa-ba  ḥa-ba  mən-tha yo
      this-ABS  water-ABS  NEG.CPV-INFR
      This is maybe not water.

(18) Copulative; mnemonic
     ḥa-phi  ser-no  ḥa-phi  mən-nə ḥa zo  jən
     it-ABS  say-NML  I-ABS  NEG.CPV-MNE
     I remember that it is not me who said it.

3.4 Existential verbs; negative

(19) Existential; egophoric
    ḥa-phi  ca  jī-phi  me
    I-DAT  child-ABS  NEG.EXV.E
    I have no children.

(20) Existential; factual
     a  tə-na  tca-phi  jo-nə ma-rə
        that-LOC  tea-ABS  EXV-STA.NEG
        There is no tea there.
     b  tə-na  tca-phi  met-tha
        that-LOC  tea-ABS  EXV.NEG-PFT
        There has been no tea there.
(21) Existential; sensory

a $ta-na$ $^{9}de-\phi$ me-$k^{b}a$
that-LOC ghost-ABS NEG.EXV-SEN
There is no ghost. (The speaker did not feel anything on a ghost’s existence.)

b $ta-na$ $^{9}de-\phi$ me-$k^{b}a$
that-LOC ghost-ABS NEG.EXV-SEN
There is no ghost. [experienced]
(Though they say there is a ghost, the speaker did not feel its existence.)

(22) Existential; sensory inferential

a $ta-na$ tc-$^{b}h\phi$ me-$k^{b}o$ t-$\phi$re
that-LOC water-ABS NEG.EXV-EPI
There is definitely no water.

b $ta-na$ tc-$^{b}h\phi$ me-$k^{b}o$-pa
that-LOC water-ABS NEG.EXV-SEN-INFR
There is probably no water.

c $ta-na$ tc-$^{b}h\phi$ me-$k^{b}a$ z-$\phi$x re
that-LOC water-ABS NEG.EXV-EPI
There is perhaps no water.

d $ta-na$ tc-$^{b}h\phi$ me-$n^{a}a$ z-$\phi$x re
that-LOC water-ABS NEG.EXV-EPI
There is likely no water.

e $ta-na$ tc-$^{b}h\phi$ me-$n^{a}a$ t-$\phi$g $\phi$
that-LOC water-ABS NEG.EXV-EPI
There is maybe no water.

(23) Existential; logical inferential

a $ta-na$ tc-$^{b}h\phi$ jo-$^{b}h\phi$ ma-$\phi$
that-LOC water-ABS EXV-NEG.EPI
There is definitely no water.

b $ta-na$ tc-$^{b}h\phi$ me-pa
that-LOC water-ABS NEG.EXV.E-INFR
There is probably no water.

c $ta-na$ tc-$^{b}h\phi$ me-$k^{o}$
that-LOC water-ABS NEG.EXV.E-INFR
There is quite probably no water.

d $ta-na$ tc-$^{b}h\phi$ me-$n^{a}a$ t-$\phi$g
that-LOC water-ABS NEG.EXV-EPI
There is likely no water.

e $ta-na$ tc-$^{b}h\phi$ met-t$^{b}a$ yo
that-LOC water-ABS NEG.EXV-EPI
There is maybe no water.
Existential; mnemic
ŋa-a hḵam ba-tā-φ me-ṇo ʰŋa zəx jən
1-DAT wrench-DEF-ABS EXV-MNE
I remember that I do not have the wrench.

4 Concluding remarks

- Six categories of evidentiality are described in a systematic way; of them, the core evidentials are egophoric, factual, and sensory form a morphological viewpoint.

- Except for egophoric and sensory evidentials, there are several forms depending on the degree of epistemicity.

- Factual evidential functions as ‘factual’ and ‘authoritative’ other than neutral statement.

- Sensory evidential can distinguish simple sensory access from sensory experienced.

- Inferential evidentials have multiple degrees of epistemicity, and suffixes are basically common to the copulative and existential verbs.

- Inferential evidential forms generally contain an egophoric form; however, this feature does not imply an egophoric sense.

- Among various suffixes of Inferential evidentials, the stem followed by /-pa/ and /-ko, -ɡo/ is either Sensory (for Sensory inferential) or Egophoric (for Logical inferential).

Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>ABS</th>
<th>CPV</th>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>DEF</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>absolutive</td>
<td>copulative verb</td>
<td>dative</td>
<td>definite</td>
<td>egophoric</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EPI</th>
<th>EXV</th>
<th>HUM</th>
<th>INFR</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>MNE</th>
<th>NDEF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>epistemic</td>
<td>existential verb</td>
<td>humilific</td>
<td>inference</td>
<td>locative</td>
<td>mnemic</td>
<td>nondefinite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEG</th>
<th>NML</th>
<th>PART</th>
<th>PFT</th>
<th>SEN</th>
<th>STA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>negative</td>
<td>nominaliser</td>
<td>particle</td>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>sensory</td>
<td>statement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References


Tournadre, Nicolas & Hiroyuki Suzuki (forthcoming) *The Tibetic Languages: An introduction to the family of languages derived from Old Tibetan*. (with the collaboration of Xavier Becker and Alain Brucelles for the cartography)


Online: https://publication.aa-ken.jp/sag7_tone_2017.pdf


Appendix: List of suffixes for lexical verbs (affirmative)

The evidential system of suffixes for lexical verbs follows the same framework as copulative and existential verbs (For Mnemic, see the bottom of the tabular).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TA</th>
<th>egophoric</th>
<th>factual</th>
<th>sensory</th>
<th>sensory inferential</th>
<th>logical inferential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nonperfect</td>
<td>V-kə jo</td>
<td>V-kə jo nə re</td>
<td>V-kə jo kʰə</td>
<td>V-kə-EXV.SI</td>
<td>V-kə-EXV.LI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habitual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>V⁻¹jo jon</td>
<td>V⁻¹jo re?</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>V⁻¹jo-CPV.SI</td>
<td>V⁻¹jo-CPV.LI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>V-nə re</td>
<td>V-nə re</td>
<td>V-kə</td>
<td>V-SI</td>
<td>V-LI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(statement)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>V-kə</td>
<td>V-təŋ tʰa</td>
<td>V-kə kʰə</td>
<td>V-SI</td>
<td>V-LI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(endopathic)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>V-kə ra jo</td>
<td>V-kə ra jo nə re</td>
<td>V-kə ra jo kə</td>
<td>V-kə ra-EXV.SI</td>
<td>V-kə ra-EXV.LI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>Vp-Va-a</td>
<td>Vp-Va-zəx</td>
<td>Vp-Va-tʰa</td>
<td>Vp-tsʰar-sʰog-SI</td>
<td>Vp-tsʰar-sʰog-LI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Progressive mnemic: V-kə ra jo nə ḳa zəx jon
Perfect mnemic: V-jo nə ḳa zəx jon

N.B.

V  Nonperfect stem of a lexical verb
Vp  Perfect stem of a lexical verb
Va  directional verb auxiliaries: təŋ / sʰog
SI  All sensory inferential markings (Section 2) applied/ with a slight change
LI  All logical inferential markings (Section 2) applied/ with a slight change
CPV.SI  All sensory inferential forms of copulative verbs (Section 2) applied
CPV.LI  All logical inferential forms of copulative verbs (Section 2) applied
EXV.SI  All sensory inferential forms of existential verbs (Section 2) applied
EXV.LI  All logical inferential forms of existential verbs (Section 2) applied

Allophones  Sound changes of suffixes occur
/kə/  [kə], [ɣə], [ŋə], [kʰə]
/a/  [a], [ŋa]