A Contrastive Approach to the Evidential System in Tibetic Languages: Examining Five Varieties from Khams and Amdo

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Abstract: Tibetic languages constitute a language complex with a complicated evidential-epistemic marking system. Many studies have described evidentiality in various Tibetic languages; however, significant variations in terminology and framework make a contrastive approach to the evidential system of these languages difficult. In this article, we describe the 'access-type' evidential marking system of copulative and existential verbs in five Tibetic languages and make a morphological analysis by using a common questionnaire based on the evidential system of Lhasa Tibetan, the most-described variety of the Tibetic languages. Next, we discuss the dissimilarities between languages. In conclusion, we show that the copulative and existential verbs in the Tibetic languages of the Khams and Amdo regions discussed in this article share the essential system of evidential marking under the unified framework of the evidential category, although they demonstrate significant differences.*

Key words: Tibetic, access to information, egophoric, sensory, epistemicity

1. Introduction

Recent studies (Tournadre and LaPolla 2014, Gawne and Hill 2017) on the evidential systems in Tibetic languages (Tibeto-Burman; see Tournadre 2014 for a definition of *Tibetic*) have revealed peculiar features of evidentiality of these languages not examined by Aikhenvald (2004). Most Tibetic languages encode various evidential features in their morphosyntactic system. Thus, Tournadre and LaPolla (2014: 241) define *evidentiality* as 'the representation of source and access to information according to the speaker's perspective and strategy'. Vokurková (2008) argues that the evidential system in Tibetic languages is strongly related to an epistemic system. A full description of evidentiality in a Tibetic language can include its epistemic variation, as indicated by Oisel (2017).

The Aikhenvald's (2018) handbook contains the latest arguments on the evidentiality of the world's languages. Here the author provides an evidentiality framework. Her summary of the evidential system is sexpartite, consisting of the *visual*, *sensory*, *inference*, *assumption*, *reported*, and *quotative* segments (Aikhenvald 2018: 16–17). However, her analysis excludes egophoricity or 'access to knowledge' from evidentiality, as stated in Aikhenvald (2018: 1). DeLancey (2018), dealing with evidentiality in Tibetic, also takes the same position as Aikhenvald. Their view is acceptable from the semantico-cognitive perspective, but Tournadre and LaPolla (2014) and Tournadre (2017), focusing on Tibetic languages, suggest incorporating *egophoric* into the evidential system. Tournadre's (2017) view of sensory (including visual) as being 'access to information' also differs from that of Aikhenvald, who posits *sensory* and *visual* within 'information source'.

Some terminology issues regarding evidentiality are also found in studies on Tibetic languages. The most studied variety of Tibetic languages is Lhasa Tibetan or Common Tibetan (*spyi skad*). There are many descriptions of this variety, with different terms existing independently across languages (cf. Wang 1994 in Chinese, Tournadre and Sangda Dorje 2003 in French, Hoshi 2003 in Japanese, and Oisel 2017 in English). However, scholars have debated some of the terms (see DeLancey 1992 vs Tournadre 2008 on *conjunct/disjunct*; DeLancey 1997 vs Hill 2012 on *mirativity*). The situation that various terms co-exist even in descriptions of only a single language prevents scholars from contrasting the evidential systems written in various languages.

Tournadre and Konchok Jiatso (2001) were pioneers in examining final auxiliary verbs, including the copulative and existential verbs, across various Tibetic languages spoken in the Chinese Tibetosphere (see Roche and Suzuki 2018 for the concept Chinese Tibetosphere), including principal word forms with different evidential functions. However, as their starting point for discussion is Literary Tibetan (LT) forms, this approach cannot reveal cases that are different from the system of LT. Besides, their analysis indicates a methodological restriction to describing a system of a given variety. Therefore, by referring to this work, we are unable to understand whether the evidential system is common in Tibetic languages.

This article, following the definition of evidentiality by Tournadre and

LaPolla (2014), examines how the evidential system of the copulative and existential verbs functions in five lesser-known Tibetic languages (i.e. Lhagang, Lethong, Choswateng, Bragkhoglung, and Mabzhi), based on the first-hand data. Lhagang[1] is a dialect belonging to Minyag Rabgang Khams (Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo 2017). Lethong[2] is a dialect belonging to Southern Route Khams (Suzuki 2018b). Choswateng[3] is a dialect belonging to the rGyalthang group of Sems-kyi-nyila Khams (Suzuki 2018a), and Bragkhoglung[4] is a dialect belonging to Cone Tibetan (Suzuki 2015). Finally, Mabzhi[5] is a dialect belonging to the Kokonor group of Amdo Tibetan (Tsering Samdrup and Suzuki 2017). All the languages are spoken in the eastern Tibetosphere, located at Sichuan, Yunnan, Gansu, and Qinghai provinces of China. See Figure 1 for their geographical distribution.

In traditional studies of Tibetan dialects (see, for example, Zhang 1996), Lhagang, Lethong, and Choswateng, as well as Bragkhoglung, are classified under Khams Tibetan, whereas Mabzhi is classified under Amdo Tibetan. Several reference grammars for Khams and Amdo have already been published in various languages (see Häsler 1999 for Derge Tibetan of Khams, Bartee 2007 for gTormarong Tibetan of Khams, and Haller 2004 for Themchen Tibetan of Amdo). In addition to these, some publications specifically discuss the evidentiality of Khams and Amdo, such as Hongladarom (2007) for rGyalthang Tibetan, Tshe skyid dBang mo (2015, 2020) for Khrindu Tibetan, and Shao (2014) for Arig Tibetan of Amdo. However, all follow different definitions of evidentiality; among these works, Tshe skyid dBang mo (2020) applies Tournadre and LaPolla's (2014) methodology and describes the evidential categories of Khrindu Tibetan as a system.

The structure of this article is as follows: Section 2 presents methodology and

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[1] [Sound system of Lhagang Tibetan] Consonantism: /pʰ, p, b, tʰ, t, d, ʈʰ, ʈ, ɖ, kʰ, k, g, (qʰ, q, ɢ,) ʔ, tsʰ, ts, dz, tɕʰ, tɕ, dʑ, ɸ, sʰ, s, z, ʂ, ɕʰ, ɕ, z, xʰ, x, ɣ, h, ɦ, m, m̥, n, n̥, ɳ, ñ̥, ŋ, ŋ̊, l, l̥, r, w, j/; Vocalism: /i, e, ɛ, a, ɑ, ɔ, o, ɯ, u, ʉ, ɵ, ə/; Suprasegmentals: word-tone system with four types, ˉ high-level, ´ rising, ` falling, and ˆ rising-falling. The sound system differs in generations and sociolinguistic variations; see Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2017) for details.

[2] [Sound system of Lethong Tibetan] Consonantism: /pʰ, p, b, tʰ, t, d, ʈʰ, ʈ, ɖ, kʰ, k, g, ʔ, tsʰ, ts, dz, tɕʰ, tɕ, dʑ, sʰ, s, z, ɕʰ, ɕ, z, xʰ, x, ɣ, h, ɦ, m, m̥, n, n̥, ɳ, ñ̥, ŋ, ŋ̊, l, l̥, r, w, j/; Vocalism: /i, e, ɛ, a, ɑ, ɔ, o, ɯ, u, ʉ, ɵ, ə/; Suprasegmentals: word-tone system with four types, ˉ high-level, ´ rising, ` falling, and ˆ rising-falling.

[3] [Sound system of Choswateng Tibetan] Consonantism: /pʰ, p, b, tʰ, t, d, ʈʰ, ʈ, ɖ, cʰ, c, ɟ, kʰ, k, g, ʔ, tsʰ, ts, dz, tʂʰ, tʂ, dʐ, tɕʰ, tɕ, dʑ, sʰ, s, z, ʂʰ, ʂ, z̢, ɕʰ, ɕ, z, çʰ, ç, j, xʰ, x, ɣ, h, ɦ, m, m̥, n, n̥, ɳ, ñ̥, ŋ, ŋ̊, l, l̥, r, r̥, w, j/; Vocalism: /i, e, ɛ, a, ɑ, ɔ, o, ɯ, u, ʉ, ɵ, ə, ɿ~ʅ/; Suprasegmentals: word-tone system with four types, ˉ high-level, ´ rising, ` falling, and ˆ rising-falling. See Suzuki (2014b) for details.

[4] [Sound system of Bragkhoglung Tibetan] Consonantism: /pʰ, p, b, tʰ, t, d, ʈʰ, ʈ, ɖ, kʰ, k, g, ʔ, tsʰ, ts, dz, tʂʰ, tʂ, dʐ, tɕʰ, tɕ, dʑ, sʰ, s, z, ɬ, ʂʰ, ʂ, z̢, ɕʰ, ɕ, z, xʰ, x, ɣ, h, ɦ, m, n, ŋ, l, l̥, r, r̥, w, j, ɥ/; Vocalism: /i, e, ɛ, a, ɐ, ɑ, ɔ, o, ɯ, u, ɵ, ə/; Suprasegmentals: word-tone system with two types, ˉ high and ´ low. See Suzuki (2012b) for details.

[5] [Sound system of Mabzhi Tibetan] Consonantism: /pʰ, p, b, tʰ, t, d, ʈʰ, ʈ, ɖ, cʰ, c, ɟ, kʰ, k, g, q, ʔ, tsʰ, ts, dz, tɕʰ, tɕ, dʑ, sʰ, s, z, ʂ, ɕʰ, ɕ, z, ɟ̊ʰ, ɦ, xʰ, x, ɣ, χ, ʁ, h, ɦ, m, m̥, n, n̥, ɳ, ñ̥, ŋ, ŋ̊, l, l̥, r, w, j/; Vocalism: /i, e, a, o, ɷ, u, ʋ, ə/; No suprasegmental contrasts.
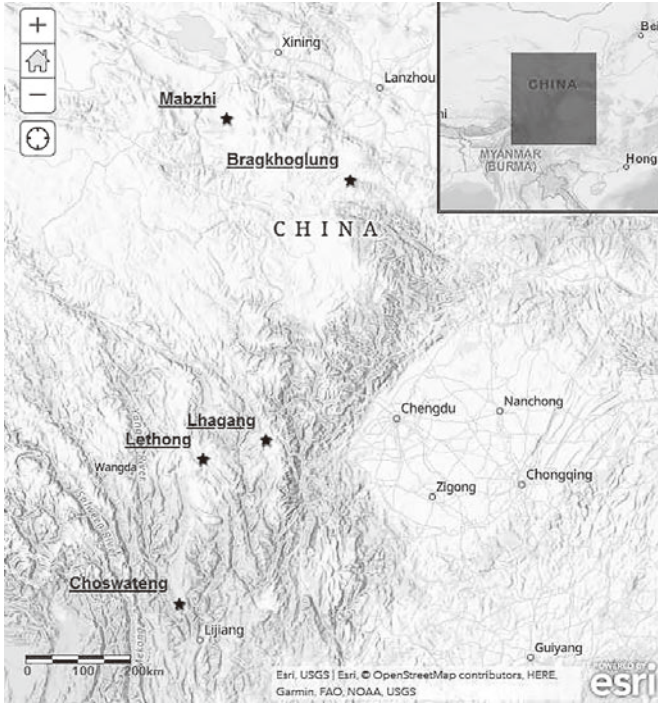
Figure 1. Geographical distribution of the five Tibetic languages (designed with ArcGIS online)

terminology. Section 3 presents the result of the description of the evidential system of five languages. Section 4 discusses the findings of the contrastive description in Section 3, and Section 5 concludes the article.

2. Methodology and terminology

Our principal interest in the article is to find out whether a common core framework of evidentiality exists across Tibetic languages, and if so, how. To investigate this issue, we need to apply a common, well-developed framework to all the target languages. For this purpose, we follow the definition of evidentiality of Tournadre and LaPolla (2014) and design a research method. Tshe skyid dBang mo (2020) obtains successful results by following Tournadre and LaPolla's (2014) approach.

There are two principal tasks for the issue in the present article. One is to examine the validity of the framework, that is, whether the system is demonstrated as a tabular form like in Oisel (2017). The other is to analyse each word form occupied in every column of the tabular.

2.1. Methodology

We take a questionnaire-based data collection and discuss how the evidential sys-

tem can be described cross-linguistically through a description of five varieties of Tibetic languages. To conduct this research, we should follow the identical framework for all the target languages to be examined. Therefore, we employ a questionnaire by Tournadre et al. (2018), designed to examine the evidential category of Tibetic languages. Although there is a critical view to provide a system of evidentiality based on a ready-made model, for example by Zeisler (2018), the unclear use of terminology and lack of understanding when it comes to evidentiality as a system will puzzle scholars even more (Hill and Gawne 2017: 3–8). Therefore, a contrastive approach by a single (group of) author(s) is a necessary contribution to the study on the evidentiality of Tibetic languages.

The original questionnaire designed by Tournadre et al. (2018) contains sentences with their utterance contexts asking an interviewee for the most appropriate verb form for each sentence. The questionnaire is designed for all verb classes, which consist of copulative verbs, existential verbs, stative verbs (adjective predicate), endopathic verbs, noncontrollable verbs, and controllable verbs. It examines the following evidential categories: *factual*, *egophoric*, *sensory*, *sensory inferential*, and *logical inferential* in three sentence types (i.e. *affirmative declarative*, *negative declarative*, and *affirmative interrogative*).

Oisel (2017) is the most comprehensive work that displays a single tabular paradigm of the Lhasa Tibetan evidentiality that is close to the system of Tournadre et al. (2018). He demonstrates the Lhasa Tibetan evidentiality as a single 'system'. His recapitulative tabular (Oisel 2017: 125–128) includes five main evidentials: *egophoric*, *sensorial*, *factual*, *inferential*, and *mnemic*. Additionally, various epistemic values such as *sure*, *real*, *strong probability*, and *weak probability* are considered. Oisel's description only deals with the 'access' type of evidentiality; the 'hearsay' evidential, including 'reportative' and 'quotative', is not discussed because it does not appear in the same syntactic slot as other evidential forms (Tournadre 2017: 104) which are all related to access to information. Note that Oisel mentions eight evidential categories in total in his article; the rest is *self-corrective*, *quotative*, and *hearsay*. His recapitulative tabular, however, does not include these three. Oisel (2017: 98) thinks that further research is required regarding the self-corrective category; others function as a source of information and are marked with a clitic.

The arguments by Tournadre (2017: 104) regarding different syntactic slots occupied either by the access type or source type of evidential markers are essential when dealing with the morphosyntactic system of evidentiality in Tibetic languages. Although the reported and quotative evidential categories play a crucial role cross-linguistically in the evidential system, as mentioned by Aikhenvald (2018: 16–17), the present study is going to focus on a contrastive approach to the access-type evidential system in Tibetic languages, as this system is expected to be encoded in a common syntactic slot.[6] Our framework follows the question-

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[6] The source-type evidential category in Tournadre (2017) includes *hearsay* and *reported speech*, that is, *reportative*, *quotative*, and *hearsay* in our terminology. In this article, we skip discussing this category not only due to its syntactic slot differing from the access-type evi-

naire by Tournadre et al. (2018), which, to a greater extent, reflects the position of Tournadre (2017) and Oisel (2017).

Data were collected through elicitation and introspection because the second and third authors are native speakers of Lhagang Tibetan and Mabzhi Tibetan, respectively. Then, we examined as many data as possible, with cases appearing in natural conversations. Additionally, we partially contrasted the data with examples appearing in narrative stories. To sum up, the primary data for the present description are derived from elicitation; however, we doublechecked them whenever possible.

In the present study, we only describe affirmative forms of copulative and existential verbs. Tournadre et al. (2018), as well as Tournadre (2017) and Oisel (2017), think that the copulative and existential verbs follow the same evidential system, while other authors, such as Hoshi (2003), Shao (2018), and Ebihara (2019), think that each category of verbs applies different systems of evidentiality, information structure, and person (egophoricity); see also Section 2.2. If this study's methodology works well, we can show that the evidential system of copulative and existential verbs is identical. If not, the result means that the framework is not applicable to all varieties. We examine five principal evidential categories of the 'access' type: *egophoric*, *statemental/factual*, *sensory*, *sensory inferential*, and *logical inferential*. Typical example sentences with contexts included in the questionnaire for each evidential category are as follows:

- Egophoric (when a speaker introduces themselves):
    – 'I *am* a student.' (copulative)
    – 'I *am* home.' (existential)
- Factual/Statemental (when a speaker desribes a person to a friend):
    – 'He *is* a student.' (copulative)
    – 'He *is* home.' (existential)
- Sensory (when a speaker tastes transparent liquid in the glass):
    – 'This *is* barley wine.' (copulative)
    – 'There *is* barley wine in the bottle.' (existential)
- Sensory inferential (according to a speaker's perception):
    – 'This *can be* water.' (copulative)
    – 'There *can be* water.' (existential)
- Logical inferential (according to a speaker's knowledge):
    – 'He *must be* a teacher.' (copulative)
    – 'He *must be* home.' (existential)

For a more detailed description of the evidential categories, we discuss terminological issues in Section 2.2.

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dential category but also due to the potential difference in the strategy of evidential marking between 'access' and 'source'. See Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2019a, b) and Yliniemi (2019).

2.2. Issues regarding terminology

Applying the common terminology in given languages is a prerequisite for obtaining results in a contrastive study. We will discuss three key terms that we are to examine. Note that the existence of multiple views itself is not problematic; in the present article, however, we need to clarify discrepancies between our terminology and that of previous works. Our focus is on three evidentials: *egophoric*, *statemental/ factual*, and *sensory*.

2.2.1. Egophoric category

Egophoric is an evidential category which denotes 'access to personal knowledge'. It has often been called *ego* (Garrett 2001, Kalsang et al. 2013), *personal* (Hill 2012, Caplow 2017), and *self-person* (Sun 1993) in literature of Tibetic languages written in English. It has also been discussed under a concept known as *egophoricity* across languages (Floyd et al. 2018). However, *egophoric* in Tibetic languages does not just mean 'personal knowledge', but it also contains dynamism mentioning 'access' to personal knowledge, as emphasised by Tournadre and LaPolla (2014: 241). Hence, terms with a stative connotation should be avoided. *Self-oriented* (Suzuki 2012a) is synonymous with egophoric; therefore, as an evidential category, it does not differ from egophoric. As a Chinese term, Huang (2013) uses *xiang ziwo* 向自我 as a translation of egophoric, which reflects a full connotation of the original word.

In Japanese, we find other terms such as *naiteki* 内的/ *uti* ウチ (internal/ inner) (Takeuchi 1990; Ebihara 2010, 2019; Hoshi and Tahuwa 2017), which seems to occupy the slot of egophoric. This is another term generated in a different view in the system of evidentiality in terms of its counter-concept (see below). Ebihara (2019: 259) explicitly states that the concept *uti* is outside evidentiality. A similar approach is also taken by Shao (2018: 230), using the term *xiangxin* 向心 in Chinese. Thus, we should not combine these Japanese terms with egophoric.

To understand the difference among the terms, we should examine counter concepts of egophoric. We find *other-person* (Sun 1993), *non-egophoric* (Suzuki 2012a), and *alterophoric* (Post 2013), as well as *gaiteki* 外的/ *soto* ソト (external/ outer) in Japanese, and *fei xiang ziwo* 非向自我 in Chinese. Since egophoric contrasts with the factual/statemental and sensory, as well as epistemic categories of inferential, a single 'non'-form or direct counter concepts of 'other' are not simply acceptable. From a theoretical aspect, the concept of 'access to others' knowledge' is impossible; thus, alterophoric is a wrong neologism based on a misunderstanding of the evidential system. As for the Japanese terms *gaiteki* 外的/ *soto* ソト (external/ outer), they belong to another view of the system (see Hoshi and Tahuwa 2017: 11, 42 for details).

2.2.2. Factual/statemental category

Several terms refer to the factual/statemental category; however, there have not been any debates over which terms are exclusive and more suitable for the category. For example, Oisel (2017: 96) defines *factual* as 'a specific or common fact without indicating the source and the access to information'. In this sense, we can

take the term *neutral*, used in Kalsang et al. (2013) and Yliniemi (2017, 2019: 258) into consideration. *Statemental* is a newly coined term, originally derived by Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo's (2018) 'statement', which is intended to make a distinction from *factual* with an 'assertive' function.

The function of this category differs depending on varieties. In our definition, statemental does not entail any certainty, and factual implies the speaker's certainty (or uncertainty) in making the statement. In this case, our factual is similar to assertive in Tournadre (2008). Whether this category is factual or statemental depends on varieties. Factual, used by Tournadre and LaPolla (2014) and Oisel (2017), functions well when considering Lhasa Tibetan and Amdo Tibetan. However, it generally does not work in Khams Tibetan, as displayed in Sections 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3, because the forms in this category do not convey a factual meaning. We use the term statemental for these varieties.

2.2.3. Sensory category

Depending on varieties, sensory is divided into two types: (1) sensory access through any of the five senses and (2) visual sensory access vs nonvisual sensory access. In our description, only Choswateng Tibetan belongs to the latter (see Section 3.3 for details).

Regarding the terminology, there were many issues with naming this category. Similar terms to *sensory* are *testimonial* (Hill 2012) and *perceptual* (Caplow 2017). Their essential meaning might be close to sensory; however, sensory denotes a 'dynamic process of access to information', whereas they denote a 'result by accessing information'. Authors such as Oisel (2017) and Yliniemi (2017) employ *sensorial* instead of *sensory*; however, we regard both the terms as the same and uniformly use *sensory*. Again, *sensory* is also an 'access' to information as the system of evidentiality, not derived from epistemic varieties such as *experiential* (Hongladarom 1993) and *mirative* (Delancy 1997).

However, in reality, this category is often related to 'new(ly acquired) knowledge', as opposed to 'old knowledge'. If we only consider the cases of existential verbs in a specific Tibetic language, this understanding might be accurate. Nevertheless, considering the whole evidential system, we should say that 'old knowledge' corresponds to egophoric (access to personal knowledge). Another concept 'observed knowledge' (*kansatuti* 観察知) as opposed to 'stable knowledge' (*teityakuti* 定着知), as employed by Hoshi (2003, 2016), is a complex of 'access to information' and 'information structure'. Additionally, *mirativity* is pragmatically expressed with *sensory* based on the observation and elicitation; however, it is merely one of the many functions of sensory, and hence it never functions as an alternative term of *sensory*.

To sum up, the terminology issue on sensory is principally caused by various functions represented by this term. However, previous works often do not consider the commonality of the evidential system in the whole verb categories. Referring to the definition of evidentiality as 'access' to information, we find sensory to be informative enough and applicable.

3. Description

This section provides the evidential system of five languages: Lhagang, Lethong, Choswateng, Bragkhoglung, and Mabzhi. Each subsection consists of a summary table and a morphological analysis of the word forms within the table. The analysis focuses on how to give a gloss to word forms.

A morphological analysis of evidential markers and expressions is not always fixed at present. As a working hypothesis, we uniformly use the term *suffix* for all the morphemes, following a verb stem, except for sentence-final tags (SFT). We primarily refer to the glossing method of Zeisler (2004), that is, to give single glossing to a complex suffix. However, in the process of morphological analysis, we apply etymologically analysed, morpheme-by-morpheme glossing.[7]

3.1. Lhagang Tibetan
Summary

Table 1. Copulative and existential verbs in Lhagang Tibetan

verb type	egophoric	statemental	sensory	sensory inferential	logical inferential
copulative	ˊji:	ˊreʔ		ˊji: sʰa reʔ ˊji: ɦdʑɯ reʔ	ˊji: lə reʔ
existential	ˊjoʔ	ˆjoʔ reʔ	ˆji: tu	ˊjoʔ sʰa reʔ ˊjoʔ ɦdʑɯ reʔ	ˊjoʔ lə reʔ

Morphology

Three independent verbs are attested, each of which we give a single gloss:

(1) a ˊŋa ⁻ɦge ɦgɛ ˊji:
        1   teacher   CPV.E
        'I am a teacher.'
     b ⁻kʰo ⁻ɦge ɦgɛ ˊreʔ
        3   teacher   CPV.STM
        'He is a teacher.'
     c ˊŋa ˆnɔ̃-la ˊjoʔ
        1   house-LOC   EXV.E
        'I am in the house.'

Lhagang Tibetan lacks a sensory copulative form, for which the statemental counterpart is used instead. The affirmative statemental existential form can be described as in (2) and analysed as in (3):

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[7] [Abbreviations] †: hypothetical analytic description; *: logically unacceptable analysis; -: morpheme boundary; 1: first person; 3: third person; CMPL: complementiser; CONJ: conjunction; CPV: copulative verb; DAT: dative verb; E: egophoric; EXV: existential verb; FAC: factual; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; HUM: humilific; INFR: inferential; LGINFR: logical inferential; LOC: locative verb; NDEF: nondefinite; NML: nominaliser; NPFT: nonperfect; NVSEN: nonvisual sensory; PFT: perfect; Q: question marker; SEN: sensory; SNINFR: sensory inferential; SFT: sentence-final tag; STM: statemental; VSEN: visual sensory.

(2)   ˉkʰo-la   ´ta jɑ   ˈjo reʔ
       3-DAT   money   EXV.STM
       'He has money.' (='He is rich.')
       Situation: Everyone knows this.

(3)   a ˈjo reʔ
          EXV.STM
       b ˈjo-reʔ
          EXV–CPV.STM
       c ˈjo-reʔ
          *EXV.E–CPV.STM

        Here we use * for a logically unacceptable analysis. The analysis of (3b) seems
to be acceptable. Since the forms of (3) denote the statemental evidential, the
analytic form of the existential verb stem (3b) does not contain 'ᴇ' in its gloss. We
consider that two and more access-type evidential functions do not co-occur in a
single suffix, which should have a single evidential meaning, as illustrated in (3).
This interpretation suggests that the stem /ˈjoʔ/ itself does not contain the func-
tion of egophoric (ᴇ), but it acquires that function when used alone. This analysis is
applied to the following relevant examples.
        The analytic approach to the sensory existential form (4) triggers a problem,
see the analysis (5).

(4)   ˉkʰo-la   ´ta jɑ   ˆjiː tu
       3-DAT   money   EXV.SEN
       'He has money.'
       Situation: The speaker has seen him bringing cash.

(5)   a ˆjiː tu
          EXV.SEN
       b †ˆjiː-tu
          EXV–SEN
       b' ˆjiː-tu
          *CPV–SEN

        Here we use † for a hypothetical analytic description. Thus, (5b) is acceptable,
but from the morphological aspect, the verb stem is identical to the egophoric
copulative form as presented in (5b'). There are no reasons to analyse this stem as
a copulative form. To avoid confusion, (5a) is a more appropriate description than
(5b). Thus, we claim that the option of (3a) is also better than (3b) for the state-
mental copulative verb.
        Two inferential forms of both the copulative and existential forms consist
of an egophoric form plus a disyllabic suffix. Analysing the inferential copulative
forms, we can recognise the following elements (7c, 8b, 10b):

(6)   ˉkʰo   ˉɦge ɦgɛ   ´jiː sʰa reʔ

3   teacher   CPV.SNINFR
'He is perhaps a teacher.'
Situation: The speaker has seen him, an adult, in a classroom of the elemen-
    tary school.

(7)   a   ´jiː sʰa reʔ
           CPV.SNINFR
       b   ´jiː-sʰa reʔ
           CPV-SNINFR
       c   †´jiː-sʰa-reʔ
           CPV-NML-CPV.STM

(8)   a   ´jiː ⁿdʑɯ reʔ
           CPV.SNINFR
       b   †´jiː-ⁿdʑɯ reʔ
           CPV-FUT

(9)   ⁻kʰo   ⁻ⁿge ⁿgɛ   ´jiː lə reʔ
       3   teacher   CPV.LGINFR
'He is perhaps a teacher.'
Situation: The speaker knows him working in a school with a master degree.

(10)   a   ´jiː lə reʔ
           CPV.LGINFR
       b   †´jiː-lə reʔ
           CPV-NPFT.STM

The analytic descriptions in (7bc), (8b), and (10b) might be useful for con-
sidering the history of the construction of inferential forms. The analyses above
show that the stem of the inferential forms is identical to the egophoric forms.
The suffixes are identical to those for lexical verbs, denoting sensory inferential
(7b), future (8b), and nonperfect (10b) (Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo 2018). The
suffixes can be further analysed as a connector-morpheme (or nominaliser) plus a
statemental copulative verb as in (7c), which we will discuss in Section 4 (Table 9).

3.2. Lethong Tibetan
Summary

Table 2. Copulative and existential verbs in Lithang Tibetan

verb type	egophoric	statemental	sensory	inferential
copulative	´jĩ	´reʔ		´jĩ ⁻xʰaʔ xʰaʔ reʔ ´jĩ sʰa reʔ
existential	´jəʔ	´jəʔ kʰə	´ⁿgə	´jəʔ ⁿdʑɯ reʔ ba

Morphology
Four independent verbs are attested, each of which we give a single gloss:

(11) a ˆŋa ʼʰge ʱgɛ̃   ʼjĩ
       1   teacher   CPV.E
       'I am a teacher.'
    b `kʰo   ʼʰge ʱgɛ̃   ´reʔ
       3   teacher   CPV.STM
       'He is a teacher.'
    c ˆŋa ˆnɔ̃-la   ʼjθ
       1   house-LOC   EXV.E
       'I am in the house.'
    d ˆteː na   `teʰɯ   ʼŋgə
       there   water   EXV.SEN
       'There is water.'
       Situation: The speaker has seen that there is water.

Lethong Tibetan lacks a sensory copulative form, for which the statemental counterpart is used instead. It seems possible to analyse the affirmative statemental existential form (12); however, the second morpheme /-kʰə/ is not productive. Thus, the analysis (13b) awaits confirmation.

(12) `teʰɯ   ˆteː na   ʼjθʔ kʰə
    water   there   EXV.STM
    'Water is there.'
    Situation: Everyone knows this.

(13) a ʼjθʔ kʰə
      EXV.STM
    b †ʼjθʔ-kʰə
      EXV-STM

An inferential copulative form (14) can be analysed as shown in (15):

(14) `kʰo   ʼʰge ʱgɛ̃   ʼjĩ ⁻xʰaʔ xʰaʔ reʔ
    3   teacher   CPV.INFR
    'He is definitely a teacher.'
    Situation: The speaker knows him working in a school with a master degree.

(15) a ʼjĩ ⁻xʰaʔ xʰaʔ reʔ
      CPV.INFR
    b ʼjĩ-⁻xʰaʔ xʰaʔ-reʔ
      cpv-definitely-cpv
    c †ʼjĩ-∅   ⁻xʰaʔ xʰaʔ   ´reʔ
      CPV-CMPL definitely   CPV.STM

The synthetic form (15a) consists of the elements displayed in (15b); however, its original form should be (15c), a sentence containing a subordinate clause; its literal translation would be: 'it is definite that...'. Note that we need not specify the access-type evidential marking of the verb stem before a complementiser in (15c),

since its marking is neutralised in the subordinate clause, where the copulative and existential verb stems functioning as the egophoric evidential are used.[8] Other inferential forms are simpler than (15):

(16) a ´jĩ sʰa reʔ
            CPV.INFR

       b ´jĩ-sʰa reʔ
            CPV-INFR

       c † ´jĩ-sʰa-reʔ
            CPV-NML-CPV.STM

(17) a ´jɵʔ ɦdʑɯ reʔ ba
            EXV.INFR

       b † ´jɵʔ-ɦdʑɯ reʔ-ba
            EXV-FUT.STM-SFT

       c † ´jɵʔ-ɦdʑɯ-reʔ-ba
            EXV-NML-CPV.STM-SFT

The analyses above show that the stem of the inferential forms is identical to the egophoric forms. The suffixes are identical to those for lexical verbs, denoting inferential (16b) and future (17b), respectively. The suffixes can be further analysed as a connector-morpheme (or nominaliser) plus a statemental copulative verb as in (17c). We will discuss its morphological aspect in Section 4 (Table 9).

3.3. Choswateng Tibetan
Summary

Table 3. Copulative and existential verbs in Choswateng Tibetan

verb type	egophoric	statemental	visual sensory	nonvisual sensory	inferential
copulative	´zẽ	´reʔ	ˆzẽ-n̥õ	´caʔ	ˆzẽ-loʔ
	ˆjĩ	`ʔa ᵐbo		ˆzẽ-caʔ	ˆzẽ-pa ʔa
					´zẽ-ⁿdɔʔ
					¯ʔa jĩ ʑe: n̥õ
					´zẽ-ⁿɖa ʔa n̥õ
					ˆzẽ-ʔa jĩ sɯ̃j
					´zẽ-ʔa ⁿdɔʔ sɯ̃j
existential nonanimate	ˆjʉʔ	ˆjʉʔ reʔ	¯n̥õ	ˆjʉʔ-caʔ	ˆjʉʔ-loʔ
					ˆjʉʔ-pa ʔa
					´jʉʔ-ⁿdɔʔ
					´jʉʔ-ⁿɖa ʔa n̥õ
					ˆjʉʔ-ʔa jĩ sɯ̃j
					´jʉʔ-ʔa ⁿdɔʔ sɯ̃j

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[8] A similar phenomenon is reported in Drenjongke (a.k.a. Lhoke; Southern Section of Tibetic; Tournadre 2014) by Yliniemi (2019: 362).

(Table3. Continued)

existential animate	ˈⁿdɔʔ ˆⁿdɔʔ-ʰtɕi	ˆⁿdɔʔ-reʔ	(V-n̥ɔ̃)	(V-n̥ɔ̃)	ˆⁿdɔʔ-loʔ ˆⁿdɔʔ-pa ʔa ˈⁿdɔʔ-ⁿdɔʔ ˈⁿdɔʔ-ⁿɖa ʔa n̥ɔ̃ ˆⁿdɔʔ-ʔa jĩ sɯ̆j ˈⁿdɔʔ-ʔa ⁿdɔʔ sɯ̆j

Morphology

Unlike the system of Tournadre et al. (2018), Choswateng Tibetan distinguishes between the nonanimate and animate in the existential verb category. A similar phenomenon has been also attested in several Tibetic languages, as described in Hongladarom (2007), Bartee (2011), and Suzuki (2014a, 2019).

Eight independent verbs are attested, each of which we give a single gloss:

(18) a ˈŋa ⁻lɔ: sə   ˈzẽ
          1   teacher   CPV.E
          'I am a teacher.'
      b ˈŋa ⁻lɔ: sə   ˈjĩ
          1   teacher   CPV.E
          'I am a teacher.'
          Situation: In a formal speech
      c ⁻kʰwə ⁻lɔ: sə   ˈreʔ
          3   teacher   CPV.STM
          'He is a teacher.'
      d ⁻kʰwə ⁻lɔ: sə   ˋʔa ᵐbo
          3   teacher   CPV.STM
          'He is a teacher.'
          Situation: As you also probably know.
      e ⁻ⁿdjə ˆʔa raʔ   ˈcaʔ
          this   alcohol CPV.NVSEN
          'This is an alcoholic drink.'
          Situation: After the speaker drank transparent liquid.
      f ˈŋa ⁻ɦŋʉ: ˆjʉʔ
          1   money   EXV.E
          'I have money.'
      g ⁻ɦŋʉ: ⁻tjə ra ⁻n̥ɔ̃
          money   there   EXV.SEN
          'There is money.'
      h ˈŋa ⁻pʰaʔ   ˈⁿdɔʔ
          1   pig   EXV.E
          'I have a pig.'

As Table 3 displays, Choswateng Tibetan's evidential system distinguishes visual sensory from nonvisual sensory. Morphologically, only copulative verbs use different forms. These forms show interesting morphology as in (20) and (22) with examples (19) and (21):

(19) ⁻ⁿdjə ´po mə   ˆzẽ n̥ɔ̃
    this   girl   CPV.VSEN
    'This is a girl.'
    Situation: There is a child coming to the speaker, who just got known that
      the child is female.

(20) a ˆzẽ n̥ɔ̃
     CPV.VSEN
    b ˆzẽ-n̥ɔ̃
     CPV–VSEN

(21) ⁻ⁿdjə ˆʔa rɑʔ   ˆzẽ cɑʔ
    this   alcohol   CPV.NVSEN
    'This is an alcoholic drink.'
    Situation: After the speaker drank transparent liquid.

(22) a ˆzẽ cɑʔ
     CPV.NVSEN
    b ˆzẽ-cɑʔ
     CPV–NVSEN

Each analysis of (20) and (22) is acceptable because the morphemes /-n̥ɔ̃/ and /-cɑʔ/ are used as suffixes of lexical verbs (Suzuki and Lozong Lhamo 2021). As an independent stem, /-n̥ɔ̃/ functions as EXV.SEN (18g), and /´cɑʔ/ functions as CPV.NVSEN (18e). Both are also used as suffixes in (20b) and (22b). We should note that these analytic forms include the egophoric copulative stem.

A statemental existential form (23) can be analysed as shown in (24), which is common to the case of (3):

(23) ⁻tʂʰɯ   ⁻tjə ra ˆjɨʔ reʔ
    water   there   EXV.STM
    'Water is there.'
    Situation: Everyone knows this.

(24) a ˆjɨʔ reʔ
     EXV.STM
    b ˆjɨʔ-reʔ
     EXV–CPV.STM

There are many inferential forms as displayed in Table 3. They are ordered following certitude or probability, from high to low. We present hypothetical analytic forms of the copulative inferential verbs in (26) through (30) with an example sentence (25).

(25) ⁻kʰwə ⁻lɔː sə   ˆzẽ loʔ
      3   teacher CPV.INFR
      'He is probably a teacher.'
      Situation: I know him working in a school with a master degree.

(26) a ˆzẽ loʔ
         CPV.INFR
      b ˆzẽ-loʔ
         CPV-INFR

(27) a ˆzẽ pa ʔa
         CPV.INFR
      b ˆzẽ-pa ʔa
         CPV-INFR
      c †ˆzẽ-pa-ʔa
         CPV-INFR-SFT

(28) a ⁻ʔa jĩ zeː n̥ɔ̃
         CPV.INFR
      b †⁻ʔa-jĩ-zeː-n̥ɔ̃
         Q-CPV-ʔ-EXV.VSEN

(29) a ´zẽ ⁿɖa ʔa n̥ɔ̃
         CPV.INFR
      b †´zẽ-ⁿɖa-ʔa-n̥ɔ̃
         cpv-be similar-Q-EXV.VSEN

(30) a ˆzẽ ʔa jĩ sɥ̃j
         CPV.INFR
      b †ˆzẽ-ʔa-jĩ-sɥ̃j
         CPV-Q-PFT.E-doubt

We do not provide an analysis of the form /⁻ʔa-jĩ-zeː-n̥ɔ̃/, which is regarded as a single suffix when attached to other verbs. As seen in (26)–(30), the inferential forms are basically able to be divided into smaller morphemes. However, their combination is restricted. In particular, the stem is only the egophoric form, and no other forms appear. Thus, we deal with inferential forms in a synthetic manner (26a, 27a, 28a, 29a, 30a). We will discuss their morphological aspect in Section 4 (Table 9).

3.4. Brakhoglung Tibetan
Summary

Table 4. Copulative and existential verbs in Bragkhoglung Tibetan

verb type	egophoric	statemental	sensory	inferential
copulative	´jĩ	´re:	´rə mo	´jĩ no ´kʰo tʰɑ: re:
existential	⁻ji:	⁻ji: ti:	´ʰnɑ̃ gə	´ja lo ´kʰo tʰɑ: re:

Morphology

Four independent verbs are attested, each of which we give a single gloss:

(31) a ´ŋa ´ʰge ʰgɛ̃   ´jĩ
       1   teacher   CPV.E
       'I am a teacher.'
     b ´kʰɔ roɯ   ´ʰge ʰgɛ̃   ´re:
       3   teacher   CPV.STM
       'He is a teacher.'
     c ´ŋɑ: ⁻hɑ: ⁻ji:
       1.DAT pig   EXV.E
       'I have a pig.'
     d ⁻ⁿdə ra   ⁻tʂʰɯ   ´ʰnɑ̃ gə
       here   water   EXV.SEN
       'There is water.'

Bragkhoglung Tibetan has an independent form for each column in Table 4. In other words, all the evidential categories are represented by different forms. Among them, sensory forms are noticeable. The sensory existential form (31d) is not a single stem; see (34) for a detailed morphological analysis. Considering the sensory copulative form, it can be analysed as a statemental form with a simple sentence final tag (33b):

(32) ⁻ⁿdə   ⁻tʂʰɯ   ´rə mo
      this   water   CPV.SEN
      'This is water.'
      Situation: After the speaker drank transparent liquid.

(33) a ´rə mo
        CPV.SEN
     b ´rə-mo
        CPV.STM-SFT

For the sensory existential form, it seems that the disyllabic form can be analysed from the morphological aspect as in (34b) and (34c); however, the affirmative form as in Table 4 should have a second syllable, and the isolate use of the stem (34a") is thus not acceptable.

(34) a ⁻ⁿdə ra   ⁻tʂʰɯ   ˊʰnã gə
          here   water   EXV.SEN
          'There is water.' (=31d)
          Situation: The speaker has seen water there.
      a' †ˊʰnã-gə
          EXV.SEN-?
      a" *ˊʰnã
          *EXV.SEN
      b ⁻ⁿdə ra   ⁻tʂʰɯ   ˊmə-ʰnɑː
          here   water   NEG-EXV.SEN
          'There is no water.'
      c ⁻ⁿdə ra   ⁻tʂʰɯ   ⁻ʔə-ʰnɑː
          here   water   Q-EXV.SEN
          'Is there water?'

The affirmative statemental existential form (35) seems to be analysed as
(36b); however, the suffix-like morpheme is reserved for the given form; hence, the
analysis (36b) awaits confirmation.

(35) ⁻tʂʰɯ   ⁻ⁿdə ra   ⁻jiː tiː
      water   here   EXV.STM
      'Water is here.'
      Situation: Everyone knows this.

(36) a ⁻jiː tiː
          EXV.STM
      b †⁻jiː-tiː
          EXV-STM

The inferential forms can be divided into smaller morphemes (38, 39):

(37) ˊkʰɔ roɥ   ˊʰge ʰgɛ̃   ˊjĩ no ˊkʰo tʰɑː reː
      3   teacher   CPV.INFR
      'He is definitely a teacher.'
      Situation: The speaker knows him working in a school with a master degree.

(38) a ˊjĩ no ˊkʰo tʰɑː reː
          CPV.INFR
      b †ˊjĩ-no-ˊkʰo tʰɑː reː
          CPV-NML-INFR
      c †ˊjĩ-no-ˊkʰo tʰɑː-reː
          CPV-NML-definitely-CPV.STM

(39) a ˊja lo ˊkʰo tʰɑː reː
          EXV.INFR
      b †ˊja-lo-ˊkʰo tʰɑː reː
          EXV-NML-INFR

  c †´ja-lo-´kʰo tʰɑː-reː
    EXV-NML-definitely-CPV.STM

The analyses (38b) and (39b) show that the stem of the inferential forms is identical to the egophoric forms followed by a nominaliser and that the forms contain a morpheme denoting 'definitely'. Different degree of certitude is expressed in another manner other than suffixes. We will discuss the morphological aspect of (38b) and (39b) in Section 4 (Table 9).

3.5. Mabzhi Tibetan
Summary

Table 5. Copulative and existential verbs in Mabzhi Tibetan

verb type	egophoric	factual	sensory	sensory inferential	logical inferential
copulative	jən	re / rə	re	jən kʰo tʰəχ re	jən ⁿɟə re
		re ko o	re la	re-pa	jən-pa
		jən nə re		re-ko	jən-ⁿgo
				jən kʰa zəx re	jən na tʰən
				jən nə ⁿɖa zəx re	jən tʰa ɣo
				jən na tʰəŋ gə	
existential	jo	jo nə re	jo kʰə	jo kʰo tʰəχ re	jo ⁿɟə re
		jot tʰa	jo kʰa	jo kʰə-pa	jo-pa
				jo kʰa zəx re	jo-ko
				jo nə ⁿɖa zəx re	jo na tʰən
				jo na tʰəŋ gə	jot tʰa ɣo

Morphology
Four independent verbs for three categories are attested, each of which we give a single gloss:

(40) a ŋa ⁿge ʳgen ʔa xʰa ma-zəx jən
      1   teacher   HUM-NDEF   CPV.E
      'I am a teacher.⁹'
    b kʰə ʳge ⁿge ʳgen ʔa xʰa ma-zəx re
      3   teacher bad-NDEF   CPV.FAC
      'He is a bad teacher.'
    c ŋa kʰəŋ ŋə   nəŋ-na   jo
      1   house.GEN inside-LOC EXV.E
      'I am in the house.'

We find two copulative factual forms /re/ (40b) and /rə/, between which no semantic differences are recognised. /re/ is used for both factual and sensory evidentials, and /rə/ principally appears in negative forms. See Tsering Samdrup and

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⁹ The use of a humilific form (HUM) is common in the utterance (38a). See Tsering Samdrup and Suzuki (2019) for humilifics.

Suzuki (2018) for more examples.

All the four stems appear as stems of other evidential forms. Even factual evidential forms have the following forms (41)-(48). The copulative verb from Example (41) with its morphological analysis (42) functions as factual.

(41) ŋa ʱma ʷzə ɣə re ko o
     1 Mabzhi's   CPV.FAC
     'I am a Mabzhi's [person] (not other places')!'
     Situation: The speaker was doubted as a person not coming from Mabzhi.

(42) a re ko o
       CPV.FAC
     b re-ko-o
       CPV.FAC-SFT-SFT

The copulative verb of Example (43) with its morphological analysis (44) functions as authoritative factual.

(43) kʰə ʳge l̥op ma jən nə re
     3   student CPV.FAC
     'He is a student.'
     Situation: The speaker is giving a person a role of 'student'.

(44) a jən nə re
       CPV.FAC
     b jən-nə-re
       CPV-NML-CPV.FAC

The existential verb of Example (45) with its morphological analysis (46) functions as factual.

(45) tə-na   ʔo tɕa jo nə re
     that-LOC   milk tea EXV.FAC
     'There is milk tea there.'
     Situation: The speaker explains the fact.

(46) a jo nə re
       EXV.FAC
     b jo-nə-re
       EXV-NML-CPV.FAC

The existential verb of Example (47) with its morphological analysis (48) functions as factual in the past.

(47) tə-na   tɕʰə ʳgul jot tʰa
     that-LOC   hot water EXV.FAC.PFT
     'There has been hot water there.'

(48) a jot tʰa
      EXV.FAC.PFT
    b jot-tʰa
      EXV-PFT.SEN

Both synthetic and analytic descriptions of the forms of (42), (44), (46), and (48) are acceptable. The structure of (44) and (46) is identical; the stem is identical to the stem in the egophoric category, and the suffix is common to both. We should note that the statemental form (48) denotes an existence (including possession) sometime in the past although the other evidential categories of existential verbs cannot specify any tense aspects. Note that, as (48b) shows, it is possible to interpret the function of the suffix /-tʰa/ as the sensory evidential, the same as for lexical verbs. See Tsering Samdrup and Suzuki (2018).

There are two sensory copulative forms, one of which is with a suffix-like syllable /la/ (49b), but its meaning alone is not specified, although the sentence (49b) pragmatically conveys a mirative sense.

(49) a ⁿdə   ɟʰa   re
      this   meat   CPV.SEN
    'This is meat (not vegetables).'
    Situation: The speaker has recognised the meat by tasting or looking.
    b ⁿdə   ɟʰa   re la
      this   meat   CPV.SEN
    'This is meat! (not vegetables)'
    Situation: The speaker has incidentally recognised the meat by tasting or looking.

For sensory existential forms (50), a suffix follows the egophoric existential stem (51).

(50) a tə-na   ɟʰa-zəx   jo kʰə
      that-LOC   deer-NDEF   EXV.SEN
    'There is deer.'
    Situation: The speaker saw, heard, etc.
    b tə-na   cʰə jo kʰa
      that-LOC   dog EXV.SEN
    'There are dogs!'
    Situation: The speaker incidentally saw, heard, etc.

(51) a jo kʰa
      EXV.SEN
    b jo kʰə-a
      EXV.SEN-SFT
    c jo-kʰə-a
      EXV-SEN-SFT

The analysis of (51) contains two forms in (50a) and (50b). The form (50a)

can be analysed as a combination of the existential verb stem (40c) in the egophoric category, followed by a sensory suffix (50c).

Mabzhi clearly distinguishes sensory inferential forms from those of logical inferential. Moreover, there are many forms, ordered by certitude or probability, from high to low. We present hypothetical analytic forms of several copulative sensory inferential verbs in (53)–(56), with an example sentence (52).

(52) ⁿdə   lə ʁa   jən kʰo tʰəχ re
      this   two-year-old male sheep   CPV.SNINFR
      'This is definitely a two-year-old male sheep.'
      Situation: The speaker utters, looking at an animal.

(53) a jən kʰo tʰəχ re
         CPV.SNINFR
      b jən-kʰo tʰəχ re
         CPV-SNINFR

(54) a jən kʰa zəx re
         CPV.SNINFR
      b jən-kʰa zəx re
         CPV-SNINFR

(55) a jən nə ⁿɖa zəx re
         CPV.SNINFR
      b †jən-nə-ⁿɖa-zəx-re
         CPV-NML-be similar-NDEF-CPV.FAC

(56) a jən na tʰəŋ gə
         CPV.SNINFR
      b †jən-na-tʰəŋ-gə
         CPV-CONJ-doubt-SEN

A logical inferential copulative form (57) can be analysed as shown in (58):

(57) kʰə ˈge   ɦge ˈgen   jən ɦʝə re
      3   teacher   CPV.LGINFR
      'He is probably a teacher.'
      Situation: I know him working in a school with a master degree.

(58) a jən ɦʝə re
         CPV.LGINFR
      b †jən-ɦʝə-re
         CPV-NML-CPV.STM

We will discuss morphological analyses (53b, 54b, 55b, 56b, 58b) in Section 4 (Table 9).

Interestingly, two pairs of (57) and (58) express sensory inferential (57a) and (58a) and logical inferential (57b) and (58b), respectively; however, the analytic

description shows a difference between the verb stem and the second syllable is simply a sentence-final tag specifically with an inferential meaning. Thus, the original evidential category of the verb stem is maintained.

(59) a ⁿdə   ma mᴐ   re-pa
         this   ewe   CPV.SEN-SFT.INFR
         'This is probably an ewe.'
         Situation: The speaker assumes it based on the observation.
      b ⁿdə   ma mᴐ   jən-pa
         this   ewe   CPV.E-SFT.INFR
         'This is probably an ewe.'
         Situation: The speaker assumes it based on the knowledge.

(60) a tə-na   lə ɣə-zəx   jo kʰə-pa
         that-LOC   newly born lamb-NDEF   EXV.SEN-SFT.INFR
         'There is probably a newly born lamb.'
         Situation: The speaker assumes it based on the observation.
      b tə-na   lə ɣə-zəx   jo-pa
         that-LOC   newly born lamb-NDEF   EXV.E-SFT.INFR
         'There is probably a newly born lamb.'
         Situation: The speaker assumes it based on the knowledge.

The forms (59) and (60) suggest that the sensory inferential category is related to the sensory evidential, while the logical inferential category is related to the egophoric evidential. The verb stem of (59a) is uniquely interpreted as the sensory copulative form due to that in (60a) displaying that the verb stem is identical to the sensory existential form. Considering the term *egophoric* is also called *personal knowledge* (see Section 2.2.1), we can connect the egophoric category with the logical inferential access to information derived from the speaker's personal knowledge.

4. Discussion

This section discusses two issues based on the description in Section 3. One is regarding the framework of the evidential system, and the other is regarding word forms in the evidential system.

4.1. Framework of the evidential system

The framework of the evidentiality that we have examined is adapted from the present questionnaire. It consists of egophoric, factual, sensory, sensory inferential, and logical inferential. Through the description of the five varieties in Section 3, we provide recapitulative tabular of each variety in parallel in Table 6, in which we include the Lhasa Tibetan system described by Oisel (2017) and the Khrindu Tibetan system based on Tshe skyid dBang mo (2020).

Table 6. Contrast of evidential systems of six Tibetic languages

Lhasa	egophoric	factual	sensory		sensory inferential	logical inferential
Khrindu	egophoric	factual	visual sensory	nonvisual sensory	sensory inferential	logical inferential
Lhagang	egophoric	statemental	sensory		sensory inferential	logical inferential
Lithang	egophoric	statemental	sensory		inferential	
Choswateng	egophoric	statemental	visual sensory	nonvisual sensory	inferential	
Bragkhoglung	egophoric	statemental	sensory		inferential	
Mabzhi	egophoric	factual	sensory		sensory inferential	logical inferential

The most crucial finding from Table 6 is that the model of the evidential system of the questionnaire (Tournadre et al. 2018) and the cases of Lhasa Tibetan examined by Oisel (2017) are applicable to a greater extent to varieties from Khams and Amdo, and the system of Amdo (Mabzhi Tibetan) is the closest to that of Lhasa among the varieties in the present article. However, we found two differences in the evidential system in Khams: (1) no difference between sensory inferential and logical inferential (Lethong, Choswateng, and Bragkhoglung); and (2) difference between visual sensory and nonvisual sensory (Choswateng). The most complicated system is observed in Khrindu Tibetan; in our first-hand data, however, we have not found any varieties in which the evidential system is identical to it.

Another finding is an imbalance of evidential categories between copulative and existential verbs. Lhagang and Lethong do not have an independent form for the sensory copulative, but the statemental copulative shares the function. However, these varieties distinguish sensory existential from other evidential categories, which implies that sensory access is marked; moreover, the sensory evidential in the existential verbs is an independent category from the morphological viewpoint. Thus, we claim that the sensory evidential functions as a category in the whole system.

Although there are differences, the model provided by Tournadre et al. (2018) functions well. However, based on the description of Choswateng Tibetan, as well as Khrindu Tibetan (see Tshe skyid dBang mo 2020), we should divide the sensory evidential into visual and nonvisual evidentials, and this manner can make the questionnaire more comprehensive. We also find that animacy is one of the differences within the system. However, as far as evidentiality is concerned, animacy does not influence the evidential system itself since its difference is reflected in the verb type, as displayed in Table 3.

4.2. Word forms in the evidential system

We discuss word forms occupied in each column of the evidential system. With this approach, we can find morphological features consisting of the evidential system. From the viewpoint of morphology and lexicons, we find common verb stems for specific evidentials (see Table 7) that correspond to LT forms (the transliteration of LT follows de Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956). Generally, egophoric forms have a LT origin: LT *yin* for the copulative verb, LT *yod* for the existential verb,

and both for verb suffixes. As for the statemental/factual copulative verb, all the languages have a form corresponding to LT *red*.[10]

Table 7. LT correspondences of copulative and existential verb stems

LT	Lhagang	Lithang	Choswateng	Bragkhoglung	Mabzhi
yin	ˊji: (CPV.E)	ˊjĩ (CPV.E)	ˊjĩ (CPV.E)	ˊjĩ (CPV.E)	jən (CPV.E)
yod	ˊjoʔ (EXV.E)	ˊjəʔ (EXV.E)	ˊjɥʔ (EXV.E)	ˉji: (EXV.E)	jot (EXV.E)
red	ˊreʔ (CPV.STM)	ˊreʔ (CPV.STM)	ˊreʔ (CPV.STM)	ˊre: (CPV.STM)	re (CPV.FAC)
grag	—	—	ˊcaʔ (CPV.NVSEN)	—	—
snang	—	—	ˉn̥ɔ̃ (EXV.SEN)	ˊʰnɑ̃(-gə) (EXV.SEN)	—
'dug	—	—	ˊⁿdɔʔ (EXV.E)	—	—

Other than the forms in Table 7, there are forms which do not correspond to LT, such as /ˊgə/ (Lethong), /ˊzẽ/ (Choswateng), and /ˋʔa ᵐbo/ (Choswateng). Among them, /ˊzẽ/ (Choswateng) also appears in compound forms occupying other evidential categories. We first summarise statemental/factual existential forms in Table 8.

Table 8. Contrast of morphological features of statemental/factual forms

Language	EXV.STM/FAC	analytical description	cf.
Lhagang	ˊjo reʔ	EXV-CPV.STM	(3b)
Lithang	ˊjəʔ kʰə	EXV-STM	(13b)
Choswateng	ˆjɥʔ reʔ	EXV-CPV.STM	(24b)
Bragkhoglung	ˉji: ti:	EXV-STM	(36b)
Mabzhi	jo nə re	EXV-NML-CPV.FAC	(46b)

We have been unable to specify the function of the suffixes attested in Lethong and Bragkhoglung since they are attached only to the existential egophoric stem. Hence, from the morphological aspect, we simply claim that the statemental form is derived from the existential egophoric stem. The Mabzhi form (46b) exhibits nominalisation of the existential verb stem before adding the copulative factual stem, whereas the Lhagang and Choswateng forms are a compound of the existential egophoric stem and the copulative statemental stem. Although the morphological process differs in the necessity of a nominaliser, the three varieties have a commonality of adding a copulative statemental/factual stem.

We notice great differences in two inferential categories. From the morphological viewpoint, the four languages have the features displayed in Table 9.

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[10] See Suzuki (2016) for a more detailed description of the copulative and existential verb forms attested in varieties spoken in the eastern Tibetosphere.

Table 9. Contrast of morphological features of inferential forms

Language	NML+CPV	simple suffix	complex suffix
Lhagang	yes	potential	no
Lithang	yes	no	yes
Choswateng	no	yes	yes
Bragkhoglung	no	no	yes
Mabzhi	yes	yes	yes

The part NML of NML+CPV in Table 9 denotes a morpheme composing a suffix. This morphological process is attested in Lhagang (7, 8, 10); Lethong (16, 17); and Mabzhi (58). The type of adding simple suffix is attested in Choswateng (26, 27) and Mabzhi (59, 60). The examples (27) in Choswateng and (59, 60) in Mabzhi as well as (17) in Lethong contain a sentence-final tag /-pa/ or /-ba/, which is analysed as a suffix. This pattern is also attested in Lhagang as an inferential expression described by Suzuki and Sonam Wangmo (2016: 30), who, however, leave that form out of the evidential system due to its morphological status as a sentence-final tag. Here we find different approaches to a morphosyntactic analysis, and if we interpret /-pa/ as a suffix, Lhagang Tibetan will also have a single suffix pattern. Thus, the column of Lhagang Tibetan's simple suffix pattern in Table 9 is 'potential'. The type of adding complex suffix is attested in four varieties except for Lhagang: Lethong (15), Choswateng (28?30), Bragkhoglung (38, 39), and Mabzhi (53–56). We can partially divide the form of these examples into several morphemes; however, this approach does not reveal the function, and we thus understand them as suffixes at the moment as a working hypothesis.

As seen above, the five languages have an entirely different morphology in inferentials. Of them, Mabzhi's case is worth noting. Looking at two inferential categories of copulative and existential verbs, we find that single suffix forms take the different verb forms from the others (59, 60). The verb form for sensory inferential is the same as sensory (/re/ and /jo kʰə/), whereas the counterpart for logical inferential is the same as egophoric (/jən/ and /jo/). This fact suggests that the inferential forms with a simple suffix are derived from sensory and egophoric forms. Complex forms attested in Choswateng and Mabzhi are derived from other verb stems including copulative and existential verbs such as /re/, /ˊjĩ/, and /ˉn̥ɔ̃/, as well as lexical verbs such as /ⁿɖa/ 'be similar'. The last verb also appears in Lhasa as a part composing inferential forms (Oisel 2017). An outstanding feature of inferential forms in Choswateng is to use a /ʔa/-morpheme, which is an interrogative prefix. However, as inferential, it does not convey an interrogative sense (see 28–30) but expresses less probability of the utterance. To sum up, inferential forms are variegated depending on languages, although there are at least three ways of the morphological process.

In the morphological analyses above regarding the inferential evidentials, we mentioned their internal etymological structure, for example, the use of sensory and egophoric stems. However, such an analysis as a synchronic description should

be avoided since the evidential function in utterances is produced by a whole suffix, not by a combination of original senses of every etymologically analysable element. Therefore, as Zeisler (2004) suggests, it is preferable to accept single glossing for a complex suffix rather than an etymologically analysed counterpart, if we look at the whole evidentials as a system.

Although Oisel (2017: 92) argues that the evidential system of Lhasa Tibetan consists of eight categories as opposed to Hill's (2012) analysis of three (personal, factual, and testimonial), we suggest that the core or essential evidentials of Tibetic languages are ternary of egophoric, factual/statemental, and sensory from the contrastive viewpoint of morphology of the evidential system across Tibetic languages presented above. Sensory inferential and logical inferential are morphologically compounds containing one of the other evidential forms, and full of dialectal differences. Therefore, we acknowledge the argument by Oisel (2017) that the latter two are also parts of the evidential-epistemic system in Tibetic languages; however, the inferential categories simply occupy a secondary position, although they are strongly related to other evidential categories within the whole system.

5. Conclusion

By applying the framework of evidentiality designed by Tournadre et al. (2018), this article examined the evidential system in five lesser-known Tibetic languages: Lhagang, Lethong, Choswateng, Bragkhoglung, and Mabzhi. As such, we have found the following features:

- Five categories of access-type evidentiality are described in a systematic way: egophoric, factual/statemental, sensory, sensory inferential, and logical inferential. Depending on languages, sensory is further divided into two categories: visual sensory and nonvisual sensory. To the contrary, some varieties do not distinguish sensory inferential from logical inferential.
- From a morphological perspective, egophoric, factual/statemental, and sensory are essential evidentials in every Tibetic language discussed in the article.
- Each evidential system is common regardless of types of verbs: copulative and existential.
- Some varieties of Tibetic languages, at least Choswateng and Mabzhi, have various forms in the inferential, depending on the degree of epistemicity.

We can conclude that the framework by Tournadre et al. (2018) functions basically across Tibetic languages; however, small adjustments are needed. In particular, we can pay attention to the subcategories of the sensory evidential: visual sensory and nonvisual sensory. To describe the evidential system of a given Tibetic language, this framework is valid at the beginning of an investigation. More detailed descriptions from other approaches should be examined after obtaining a sketch result with the present method.

The key framework of the access-type evidentiality examined in the article has begun to be employed in non-Tibetic languages spoken in the Tibetosphere, where mutual language contacts have always existed between Tibetic and non-

Tibetic languages. For example, Jacques (2019) argues a tripartite evidential system—including egophoric, factual, and sensory—in Japhug (rGyalrongic, Tibeto-Burman; spoken in Sichuan Province). Zhou and Suzuki's (2020) approach to evidentiality in Selibu (Sinitic; spoken in Yunnan Province) models the Choswateng Tibetan's system. Suzuki and Tashi Nyima's (2021) examination of the evidential system in Lamo (Qiangic, Tibeto-Burman; spoken in the Tibet Autonomous Region) successfully reveals its similarity with the system of Tibetic languages. The article's approach carries potential significance in a description of other languages in the Tibetosphere.

Meanwhile, we should emphasise that our work functions simply as a model of contrastive, typological study of the evidential system within various Tibetic languages only based on first-hand data. It is certain that one needs a common framework and terminology to examine an evidential system within Tibetic languages from the perspective of dialectology and historical linguistics.

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【要旨】

チベット系諸言語における証拠性の体系に関する対照研究
——カム及びアムド地域の5言語の事例から——

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　チベット系諸言語は複雑な証拠性・認識性の標示体系をもつ言語群として知られている。これまで多くの先行研究がさまざまなチベット系諸言語の証拠性の記述を行ってきたが，用語と枠組みが先行研究によって多岐にわたるため，これらの言語の証拠性に関する対照研究は困難であった。本稿では，研究蓄積のあるラサチベット語の証拠性の体系を１つの基準として，共通の調査票を用いて５種類のチベット系諸言語の判断動詞と存在動詞に関する「アクセス系」に属する証拠性の体系を記述し，各形式の形態を分析する。次いで，言語間に認められる異同を議論する。結論として，本稿で取り上げたカム及びアムド地域のチベット系諸言語は，判断動詞と存在動詞を統一的な証拠性の枠組みのもとに記述することが可能であり，その中で細部に異なりが認められるものの，本質的な体系を共有していることを示す。