

- all Shumcho data from fieldwork, mostly Kanam variety, taken from conversations/interviews, narrations, or elicitations

Disclaimers:

Since these are data from ongoing research, future corrections/revisions cannot be excluded

Transcription:

- representation of vowel quantities/qualities perhaps not entirely accurate, there is some variation among and in speakers
- tones cannot yet be indicated with sufficient certainty (there is minimally a high tone, e.g. *t^há:-ma* "break_{trans}" vs. *t^ha:-ma* "ask for sth.", *šó:-ma* "make ride" vs. *šo:-ma* "ripen", etc.)
- labels/glosses are to some extent preliminary only, glosses are simplified at times
- as the citation form of verbs the infinitive (VERB-ma) is used

Villages where the language is spoken (survey 2007; population figures from Census of India 2011)

	spoken by all castes	spoken by low caste(s)	other languages
Humcho area	Kanam (pop. 887)	---	---
	Labrang (pop. 828)	---	---
	Spillo/Karla (pop. 757)	---	---
Ropa valley	Shyaso (pop. 110)	---	---
	Rushkalang (pop. 316)	---	---
	Taling (pop. 56)	---	---
	---	Sunnam (pop. 594)	high caste speaks <i>Sunnami</i>
Jangram area	---	Jangi (pop. 1,157)	high caste speaks <i>Jangrami (variety B)</i>
	---	Lippa (pop. 1,161)	high caste speaks <i>Jangrami (variety A)</i>
	---	Asrang (pop. 338)	high caste speaks <i>Jangrami (variety A)</i>

Observations:

- language (grammar) uniform across villages and castes
- Jangram area: lexical influences from Kinnauri
- everyday discourse: much code mixing (Hindi)
- speakers often spend longer periods of time away from their villages (education, jobs)
- pressure from Hindi: administration/bureaucracy, education, mass media, social media
- in some/many families the language is no longer passed on to children

21 years ago today:

kat ma-ses-naŋ laʃa: laʃi:-u k^hota:
language NEG-know-COND deaf.M deaf.F-GEN like

“If one doesn’t understand the language, one is like (a) deaf (one)!”

Sonam Poti Negi, Kanam, April 26th 2003

Tibeto-Burman linguistics: Ongoing discussion of different types of evidentiality, egophoricity, mirativity, “conjunct/disjunct” patterns, modality etc. w.r.t. the copulas (and other elements) in Tibetic and other Bodic languages

(e.g. Aikhenvald 2004, 2018, DeLancey 1992, 1997, 2012, 2018, Hale 1980, Hargreaves 2005, Hill 2012, Hyslop 2018, San Roque et al. 2019, Tournadre & LaPolla 2014, Tournadre 2017, and many more)

West Himalayish languages usually not part of these discussions (many still underdocumented)

This talk:

Shumcho copulas *to* and *taš*, both “to be”:

- in certain contexts: evidential properties (in the “traditional” sense)
- partake in the expression of egophoricity and mirativity (“conjunct/disjunct” pattern etc.)
- partake in the expression of modality
- interaction with tense and aspect, and person

- use of *to* and *taš* in various contexts
- *to* and *taš* in modal forms
- future, imperatives
- *to* and imperfective/habitual aspect
- the zero copula
- reportative strategies
- some SAP-sensitive phenomena/constructions



Distribution of COPs/AUXs to *and* *taš*: Incomplete paradigms, no future forms

	PRES - \emptyset , PAST -(r)e	IRR -gjo	FUT -ro	IMP	INF -ma	COND -naŋ	IMPF/HAB -i	PROG -u	PERF -u	PERF -min
<i>to</i>	all persons (AgrS)	all persons	---	---	√	√	√	---	---	---
<i>taš</i>	3rd person only	3rd person only	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Verbal forms with and without AgrS

- (1) a. AgrS on lexical verb: (NEG-)VERB(-AgrO)-TAM-AgrS
 a'. NEG-VERB(-AgrO)-AgrS
 b. AgrS on AUX: (NEG-)VERB(-AgrO)-TAM AUX(-TAM)-AgrS
 c. No AgrS on lexical verb: (NEG-)VERB(-AgrO)-TAM
 d. No AgrS on AUX: (NEG-)VERB(-AgrO)-TAM AUX-TAM

Subject Agreement 1st and 2nd person progressive (PRS: *to*+AgrS, *taš*; PAST: *to-re*+AgrS, *taš-e*; see Huber 2013) e.g.:

- (2) a. *gi:* *dza-u* *to-k^h* / *to-re-k^h* "I am/was eating."
 1s eat-PROG be.EGO.PRS-1S / be.EGO-PAST-1S
- b. *giraŋ* *dza-u* *to-i* / *to-re-na:* "You (hon.) are/were eating."
 2S.HON sleep-PROG be.EGO.PRS-2S.HON / be.EGO-PAST-2S.HON
- c. **taš-k^h*, **taš-e-na:*, **to-ro-k^h*, **taš-ro* (etc.)
 *be.MIR.PRS-1S *be.MIR-PAST-2S.HON *be.EGO-FUT-1S *be.MIR-FUT

- (2c): - no 1st or 2nd person forms of *taš* ---> differences between *to* and *taš* can be observed only in 3rd person forms
 ---> certain effects expected to be found only with 3rd but not 1st or 2nd person forms
 - no future: ---> to do with the semantics of the copulas

3rd person (present, past): *to* vs. *taš* – different properties

Exx. (3) and (4): present and past forms of *to* and *taš* here indicate a (potentially temporary) state of affairs obtaining at reference time (utterance time or prior to utterance time). *to* indicates that the statement is supported by first-hand sensory/perceptual evidence (visual, auditory, olfactory, etc., or any combination) and awareness of, or involvement in, the situation. *taš* involves either first-hand sensory/perceptual evidence or reported evidence. However, both versions are stating the proposition a fact.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (3) a. <i>kɛla:š non-u to-∅ / to-re-∅</i>
K. sleep-PROG be.EGO.PRS/-PAST-3NH
“Kailash is / was sleeping.” (right now/then)
(Speaker is/was with <i>Kailash</i> and is/was aware that <i>Kailash</i> is/was sleeping.) | b. <i>kɛla:š non-u taš / taš-e</i>
K. sleep-PROG be.MIR.PRS/-PAST.3
“Kailash is / was sleeping.”(right now/then)
(Speaker found <i>Kailash</i> sleeping, or has confirmed so from, or was informed by, a trusted source.) |
| (4) a. <i>kɛla:š kjum-u to-∅ / to-re-∅</i>
K. house-LOC be.EGO.PRS/-PAST-3NH
“Kailash is / was at home.” (right now/then)
(Speaker is/was with <i>Kailash</i> and is/was aware that <i>Kailash</i> is/was at home.) | b. <i>kɛla:š kjum-u taš / taš-e</i>
K. house-LOC be.MIR.PRS/-PAST.3
“Kailash is / was at home.” (right now/then)
Speaker found <i>Kailash</i> at home, or has confirmed so (or was informed). |

--->

to indicates that the speaker has internally established or privileged knowledge about some state of affairs which may stem e.g. from her/his own experience, or personal involvement, or perceptive presence in some situation (especially if also an entity inalienably possessed by the speaker is involved, e.g. a body part or relative) ---> ≈ egophoric

taš indicates that the speaker’s knowledge about some state of affairs is freshly obtained and is not based on the speaker’s experience or personal involvement. Typically, the speaker has checked the state of affairs, or was informed by (or has confirmed from) someone else, or is confronted with some formerly unknown state of affairs. (Some consultants consider *taš* “more certain” than *to*, perhaps because *taš* often represents a more recent, updated state of knowledge.) ---> ≈ mirative

e.g.: In (5) the copula *to* is used because the speaker refers to experiencing his own body and condition.

In (6) the speaker, being the indirect object, has privileged knowledge of the situation due to her/his being involved in it.

(5) *tšʰaŋ aŋ diaŋ len ma-la-u to-∅ (?/*taš) bai*
now 1S.POSS body work NEG-do-PROG be.EGO.PRS-3NH (be.MIR.PRS.3) DM
“Now my body isn’t working!”

(6) *dote: aŋ-ra i tuŋ rĩũ (<riŋ-u) /suna:-s-u to-re (*taš-e)*
s/he.H 1S.POSS-DAT one story say.1/2-PROG /tell-1/2-PROG be-PAST.3NHON
“S/He was telling me a story.”

Evidentiality + Reference time ---> Consequences for tense: past tense forms (*to-re*, *taš-e*) must refer to states of affairs that are within the speaker’s immediate (*to*) or extended (*taš*) observational reach

Questions: Choice of copula anticipates askee's state of knowledge

- (7) a. i) *kɛla:š non-u to-∅-a* ii) *kɛla:š kjum-u to-∅-a*
K. sleep-PROG be.EGO.PRS-3NH-Q K. house-LOC be.EGO.PRS-3NH-Q

“Is Kailash sleeping / at home?”

(i) Speaker knows/assumes that askee is with *Kailash* and therefore knows whether *Kailash* is sleeping.

(ii) Speaker knows/assumes that askee is at home and therefore would know if *Kailash* is at home, too.

(Preferably, *Kailash* is a family member.)

- b. i) *kɛla:š non-u taš-a* ii) *kɛla:š kjum-u taš-a*
K. sleep-PROG be.MIR.PRS.3-Q K. house-LOC be.MIR.PRS.3-Q

“Is Kailash sleeping / at home?”

Speaker assumes that askee may have found out, or checked, or may know from a trusted source.

In (8), however, only *tore-a* is possible, as the askee is assumed to have privileged knowledge:

- (8) *dote: giraŋ-ra i tuŋ rĩũ (<riŋ-u) /suna:-s-u to-re-a (*taš-e-a)*
s/he.H you.S.H-DAT one story say.1/2-PROG /tell-1/2-PROG be-PAST.3N-Q

“Was s/he telling you a story?”

Alienable/temporary possession: properties of the copulas, different licencing conditions:

- (9) a. *aŋ-ra tsa:ku: to*
1S.POSS-DAT knife be.EGO.PRS.3NH
“I have a knife.” (at present, right now) (speaker knows s/he has a knife with her/him)
- b. *aŋ-ra tsa:ku: taš*
1S.POSS-DAT knife be.MIR.PRS.3
“I have a knife!” (speaker found the knife only accidentally, etc.)

However: 2nd pers: observation, knowledge or familiarity with the situation does not license *to*
In questions: addressing askee’s state of knowledge

- (10) *girou(r)a tsa:ku: taš (*to)* i) *girou(r)a tsa:ku: to-a*
2S.HON.ADESS knife be.MIR.PRS.3 2S.HON.ADESS knife be.EGO.PRS.3NH-Q
“You have a knife.” (at present) “Do you have a knife?” (at present)
(speaker doesn’t share the experience of having a knife) (speakers assumes that askee knows)
- ii) *girou(r)a tsa:ku: taš-a*
2S.HON.ADESS knife be.MIR.PRS.3-Q
“Do you have a knife?” (at present)
(speaker inquires if askee has found a knife on him/her)

3rd person possessors vs. 3rd pers. subjects: different licencing conditions: observation, knowledge or familiarity with the situation does not license COP *to*

- (11) *doteu(r)a tsa:ku: taš (*to)*
3S.HON.ADESS knife be.MIR.PRS.3 (be.EGO.PRS.3NH)
“S/he has a knife.” (at present)
(speaker doesn’t share the experience of having a knife)
(**to* even if the speaker has given the knife to the person beforehand)

Dative experiencer constructions: egophoric vs. mirative distribution, e.g. ex. (12)
 (formerly “conjunct/disjunct” pattern, e.g. DeLancey 1992, 1997)

In contrast to (3) and (4), also in possessive or dative experiencer constructions, which make reference to a mental state or experience, *to* cannot be licenced by perceptual evidence or familiarity with the situation, etc., therefore *taš* occurs in (12b-i) and (12c), and *to* occurs only in (12a) and (12b-ii), where the speaker’s or the askee’s mental experience is at stake.

---> The licencing conditions for COP *to* thus also depend on the type of predicate.

- (12) a. *aŋ-ra pata: / kolaŋ to* “I know / remember.”
 1S.POSS-DAT knowledge / memory be.EGO.PRS.3NH
- b. *giraŋ-ra pata: / kolaŋ i) taš / ii) to-a* “You know / remember.” // “Do you ... ?”
 2S.HON-DAT knowledge / memory be.MIR.PRS.3 / be.EGO.PRS.3NH-Q
- c. *dote:-ra pata: / kolaŋ taš* “S/he knows / remembers.”
 3S.HON-DAT knowledge / memory be.MIR.PRS.3

Similarly: *NP-DAT VERB-INF to/taš* “NP has to VERB”
NP₁-DAT NP₂ gin-ma [need-INF] to/taš “NP₁ needs NP₂”
NP-DAT VERB-INF ha:iŋ [necessity] NEG-to/taš “NP need not VERB”
NP-DAT VERB-INF (NEG-)tš^hoi [allowed] to/taš “NP is (not) allowed to VERB”
NP-DAT buk^ha:r/šot lau (1/2: lasu) to/taš “NP has a fever/illness”
NP₁-DAT NP₂-GEN datpa: [desire] to/taš “NP₁ has a desire for NP₂”
 (etc.)

“Present perfect/Past perfect” construction:

(Transitive verbs: Present perfect: SUBJ-∅ (ABS); Past perfect: SUBJ-ERG. AgrS in all persons (and irrespective of the number of OBJ): -∅ (3NH))

egophoric vs. mirative copula pattern (1stto, 2nd/3rdtaš, 2nd in Q: to)

	<i>(ca.) present perfect</i>				<i>(ca.) past perfect</i>			
1SG	<i>gĩ:</i>	<i>ša:star</i>	<i>k^hon-min</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>gĩ-s</i>	<i>ša:star</i>	<i>k^hon-min</i>	<i>to-re</i>
2SG.HON	<i>giraŋ</i>	<i>ša:star</i>	<i>k^hon-min</i>	<i>taš / to-a</i>	<i>giraŋ-k^h</i>	<i>ša:star</i>	<i>k^hon-min</i>	<i>taš-e / to-re-a</i>
3SG.HON	<i>dote:</i>	<i>ša:star</i>	<i>k^hon-min</i>	<i>taš</i>	<i>dote:-k^h</i>	<i>ša:star</i>	<i>k^hon-min</i>	<i>taš-e</i>
(etc.)	PRON-ABS	scripture	watch-PERF	COP (3 rd)(-Q)	PRON-ERG	scripture	watch-PERF	COP-PAST (3 rd)(-Q)
	“I have seen the scripture”, etc.				“I had seen the scripture”, etc.			

“Possessive present perfect/Possessive past perfect” construction:

(SUBJ = possessor, AgrS in all persons: -∅ (3NH). Apparently restricted to experiential contexts and intr. verbs.)

egophoric vs. mirative copula pattern (1stto, 2nd/3rdtaš, 2nd in Q: to)

	<i>possessive present perfect</i>				<i>possessive past perfect</i>			
1SG	<i>aŋ</i>	<i>oši</i>	<i>go:-min</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>aŋ</i>	<i>oši</i>	<i>go:-min</i>	<i>to-re</i>
2SG.HON	<i>girou</i>	<i>oši</i>	<i>go:-min</i>	<i>taš / to-a</i>	<i>girou</i>	<i>oši</i>	<i>go:-min</i>	<i>taš-e / to-re-a</i>
3SG.HON	<i>dote-u</i>	<i>oši</i>	<i>go:-min</i>	<i>taš</i>	<i>dote-u</i>	<i>oši</i>	<i>go:-min</i>	<i>taš-e</i>
(etc.)	PRON-GEN	like_this	hear-PERF	COP (3 rd)(-Q)	PRON-GEN	like_this	hear-PERF	COP-PAST (3 rd)(-Q)
	“I have heard like this”, etc.				“I had heard like this”, etc.			

Co-reference vs. disjoint reference in 3rd person matrix subjects and embedded arguments

Marix SUBJ, embedded EXP: Co-reference: ---> *to* (embedded SUBJ: *en* [4th PERS] ... *to-re-k^h* [1st PERS], see (49) for AgrO)
 Disjoint reference: ---> *taš*

(13) a. *riŋku:-s lo-u (ki) en-ra k^hati tu-u to-re*
 R.-ERG say.3-PERF (COMP) 4SG.NH-DAT cold come-prog be.EGO-PAST.3NH
 “Rinku1 said that he1 (=Rinku) was beginning to feel cold (lit. ‘cold was coming to him).”

b. *riŋku:-s lo-u (ki) dote:-ra k^hati dže-u taš-e*
 R.-ERG say.3-PERF (COMP) s/he.HON-dat cold go-PROG be.MIR-PAST.3
 “Rinku1 said that s/he2 (=someone else) was beginning to feel cold
 (lit. ‘cold was going to him/her).”

A similar situation is found in Kinnauri w.r.t. embedded SUBJs (Saxena 2000: 476, 2002: 169):

Marix SUBJ, embedded SUBJ: Co-reference: ---> *to*
 Disjoint reference: ---> *du*

(14) a. *ram-IS riŋ-a ki dɔ-s kaməŋ šʉŋšʉŋ to*
 name-ERG say-PST comp s/he-ERG work finish/PERF be/PRST
 “Ram said that he (Ram) has finished the work”

b. *ram-IS riŋ-a ki dɔ-s kaməŋ šʉŋšʉŋ du*
 name-ERG say-PST comp s/he-ERG work finish/PERF be/PRST
 “Ram said that he (someone else) has finished the work”

totgjo-AgrS, Both *to* and *taš* can occur with the modal *-gjo*, which indicates an uncertain statement or speculation based on inference, or, in questions, a consideration of options, e.g. (15), (16), (17).

According to consultants, *tašgjo-* is used if conclusions are drawn from, or include, external circumstantial or reportative evidence, while *totgjo-* indicates inference based on internal reasoning.

(*VERB-gjo-*: past; *totgjo-*, *tašgjo-*: past or non-future)

(15) *tatše: nambər dote: mi: taš-gjo-∅ dzani*
 how_many number that.HON person be-IRR-3 dunno
 “(on) which number that man would be, I don’t know”

(16) a. *do k^hon-naŋ taš-gjo-∅ mi: men-i raksani:*
 3S.DNVIS.NH watch-COND be.MIR-IRR-3NH person NEG.COP-EMPH demoness
 “If one had watched her, she would/may have been not a human but a demoness.”

b. *dza:ni: giran go-u-a ma-go-u taš-gjo-na:*
 dunno 2S.HON hear-PROG-Q NEG-hear-PROG be.MIR-IRR-2S.HON
 “I don’t know, you may have heard it or not.” (lit.: ‘you may have been hearing it ...’)

(17) *ka: tš^he to.t-gjo-n dzi tš^he to.t-gjo-∅ gʃ: tš^he to.t-gjo-k^h*
 2S.NH what be.EGO-IRR-2NH 3S.PROX.NH what be.EGO-IRR-3NH 1S what be.EGO-IRR-1S
 “(In an earlier life,) what may you have been, what may he (=CH) have been, what may I have been?”

However, if the observation on which a speculation or conclusion is based is mentioned, *totgjo-* or *tašgjo-* seemingly cannot be used. Instead, a future form of *waŋ* “happen, become” is employed. In (18) and similar examples, replacing *waŋro* with *tašgjo* is rejected by my consultants.

(18) *ʃa:naŋ do atarmatar to-ma-naŋ dote: k^hutši tora.k-se:*
 ornament that much/many be.EGO-INF-COM s/he.HON much vanity-“having”.FEM
waŋ-ro-∅ (taš-gjo-∅)*
 happen/become-FUT-3NH (be.MIR-IRR-3NH)
 “As she had lots of those ornaments, she was perhaps (or: ‘must have been’) a very vain person.”

Future forms, imperatives

to, *taš*: no future forms, no imperatives ---> *wan* “happen, become, turn out to be” replaces *to* and *taš* in imperatives and future forms.

---> *to* and *taš* seem to require some accessible state of knowledge at speech time, which is not given w.r.t. events that have not yet taken place.

Future forms featuring *wan* also serve for expressing speculations without inherently making reference to inference or a particular state of knowledge (blind guessing). Apparently, *wan-ro* [FUT] (as opposed to ordinary VERB-FUT) is not restricted to expressing future states or events but more generally just places them in possible worlds.

(19) *epo mi: wan-na* (*tonna < *to.t-na*)
good person happen-2S.H.IMP (*be.EGO-2S.H.IMP)
“Be a good person!”

(20) *dote: tora.k-se: wan-ro-∅* (**to-ro-∅*)
s/he.HON vanity-“-y”.FEM happen-FUT-3NH (*be.EGO-FUT-3.NH)
a. “She will be vain.”
b. “Perhaps she i) is / ii) was vain.”

(21) *dote: non-u wan-ro-∅*
s/he.HON sleep-PROG happen-FUT-3NH
a. “S/he will be sleeping.”
b. “Perhaps s/he i) is / ii) was sleeping.”

(22) *dote: non-i wan-ro-∅*
s/he.HON sleep-IMPF happen-FUT-3NH
a. “Perhaps s/he slept.”
b. ??/% “Perhaps she ‘uses to’/will ‘use to’ sleep.”

Imperfective/habitual: to + i (IMPF)

Expresses non-temporary states:

The eventuality is no longer bound to a fixed reference time, which apparently has the effect of relaxing the evidential requirements of

the copula *to* (decreasing the speaker's epistemic commitment), so that *toi* can also be used to refer to states of affairs not witnessed or experienced by the speaker her/himself or the speaker's informants, the statement is presented as a generally accepted fact to which also the speaker subscribes:

toi can be employed to refer to events taking place at times prior to the speaker's or his/her sources' lifetimes, e.g. (25), or for general statements that are independent of reference time (e.g. (26)) or (direct) evidentiality but rather represent accepted general knowledge on the part of the speaker, e.g. (27), or refer to events taking place only in hypothetical worlds, e.g. in the unreal conditionals in (28). *toi* is also used to generally refer to some unspecified time in the past (see Huber 2019).

---> Interaction of tense and the evidential properties of the copulas *to* and *taš*

- (25) *pehele:-li* *lotsa-io* (<*lotsa-o*) *to-i*, *desaŋ-li* *lotsa-io* *to-i*
before-also/even NAME-FOC be.EGO-IMPF now-also/even NAME-FOC be.EGO-IMPF
"Also (in) earlier (times) it was (only) Lotsa, also nowadays it is (only) Lotsa."

- (26) *aŋ* *lem* *i* *gut* *to-i* (**to*)
1s.POSS only one hand be.EGO-IMPF (be.EGO.PRS.3NH)
"I have only one hand." (with *to* ca. 'Presently I have only one hand.')

- (27) *mi: šuglaŋ* *lo-i*, (...) *ka:nam-u-o*, *t^hua* *t^horiŋ* *to-i*
(NAME OF PLACE) say(3)-IMPF Kanam-LOC-FOC up_over_there up_there be.EGO-IMPF
"One calls (the place) *mi: šuglaŋ*, it is in Kanam (but) it is high up over there, that (place)."

- (28) *bizili:* *tu.n-naŋ* *gɨ:* *len* *la-ma* *to-i*
electricity come-COND 1s work do-INF be.EGO-IMPF
i) "If electricity came (back), I would work." / ii) "If electricity had come (back), I would have worked."

Ex. (29) shows that *toi* is not compatible with a precise time indication:

(29) “Was Kailash at home last night?” OK: *širaŋ goŋkʰ kɛla:š kjum-u to-re-∅-a / tas-e-a*
yesterday late_evening K. house-LOC be-PAST-3NH-Q / be-PAST.3-Q

* *širaŋ goŋkʰ kɛla:š kjum-u to-i-a*
yesterday late_evening K. house-LOC be-IMPf-Q
(otherwise: “Is/was Kailash generally at home”)

---> OK with: *danbo* “in the past”, *taiŋ lo*: “nowadays”

However, in confirmatory questions *taš* is also used for expressing normally non-temporary states if the addressee could find that state of affairs to obtain upon inspection:

- (30) a. *litaŋ dze:-ma omp^h-ura, t^horiŋ we: ma-taš-a*
 L. go-INF path-ADESS up_there mountain NEG-be.MIR.PRS.3-Q
 “On the way/path to go to (the village of) Litang (i.e. Lippa), isn’t there a mountain up there?”
- b. *dat^h dopaŋ ma-ses-u ki namša: do taš-a*
 then they NEG-know-PERF COMP bride that be.MIR.PRS.3-Q
ki raksani:-u tsamet do taš
 COMP demoness-GEN daughter that be.MIR.PRS.3
 “Then they did not know whether she was the bride or the demoness’s daughter.”

Also consider (31) featuring the factive verb *recognize (that)*, where the truth of the complement clause is presupposed. In (31) only *to* is available as a copula, which seems consistent with a view that *to* refers in some way to established knowledge on the part of the speaker (here, the narrator) as opposed to *taš* referring to freshly acquired or formerly unavailable information.

- (31) *lotsa: rimpotše: to (# taš) ma-t^hot-u dopaŋ-k^h*
 L. R. be.EGO.PRS.3NH (be.MIR.PRS.3) NEG-recognize-PERF they-ERG
 “They did not recognize that he was Lotsa Rinpoche.”

Also in cases of confirmation, that is, if the state of affairs that is detected upon inspection or comparison has already been known, the copula *to* is used. (It could also be argued that it is in the presupposition here that G.R. is a lama.)

- (32) *ušo la:ma-u hisap^h(-us?) lannang, alea no gjawa rinpo:tše la:ma: to-š me:, hi:n do*
 just lama-GEN calculation(-ABL?) do.COND like that G.R. lama be.PRES-3H EMPH COP[?] that
 “If just doing (it by?) the calculation of a lama (i.e., if just considering what characterizes a lama), like the Gyawa Rinpoche (rgyal ba rin po che, the Dalai Lama) is a lama, he (=unclear) is indeed that (i.e. a lama) (or: ‘that is indeed so’)”

--->

It seems that the zero copula is used when the additional “load” that comes with an overt copula (a tensed form of *to* or *taš*, *totgjo/tašgjo* or the ‘habitual’ form *toi*) is unwanted or unnecessary or in the way.

That is, by hypothesis, the zero copula does not partake in the expression of evidentiality or egophoricity, or in the (overt) expression of tense or aspect.

Dropping the copula in (33a) (“I am NN”): Zero copula perhaps possible because in 1st and 2nd person, the COP *to* does not (seem to) partake in the kind of evidentiality or epistemicity that 3rd person forms of *to* or *taš* partake in

BUT: AUX in finite verbal forms (PROG, IMPF/HAB) cannot be dropped

Zero copula: Expresses a general state of affairs without (overtly encoded) epistemic commitment or source of information and without emphasising or restricting the time at which that state holds
(generic statements, ascribing an intrinsic property to an entity, individual-level predicates)

(36) *do koŋkone-ra sat-ma gotam bud-ra sat-ma tšikpa*
that ant-DAT kill-INF G.B.-DAT kill-INF same
“Killing that ant and killing Gautama Buddha is the same.”
(i.e., killing that ant is equivalent to killing Gautama Buddha)

(37) *uða:haraŋ k^he-u riŋ-riš ki maŋaŋ kirkirt^h tš^hu:*
example give-CONV say.1/2-IMP.hon COMP earth round why
“(The teacher asked the students) ‘Tell me, by giving an example, why the earth is round!’”

(38) *opoŋ-ta bra:k*
down-TOP leopard
“Down there, there are leopards.”

(39) *sat-pou (< -paŋ-u) kat-sa: hamkat me:, hamkat*
god-PL-GEN language-TOP[?] Hamkat EMPH Hamkat
“The language of the gods is Hamkat, Hamkat (i.e., ‘Standard’ Kinnauri!)”

---> Zero copula not a marginal phenomenon but an integral part of the system

to, taš and the null copula – some examples #1

(40) a. *kɛla:š kjum-u to*
K. house-LOC be.EGO.PRS.3NH
“Kailash is at home”
(speaker is with Kailash)

b. *kɛla:š kjum-u taš*
K. house-LOC be.MIR.PRS.3
“Kailash is at home”
(speaker found him there or has checked)

c. *kɛla:š kjum-u*
K. house-LOC
“Kailash is at home”
(speaker is not in the same place)

(42) a. *ti: k^hati taš*
water cold be.MIR.PRS.3
“the water is cold”
(speaker checked, found out, etc.)

b. (*aŋ*) *ti: k^hati to*
(1SG.POSS) water cold be.EGO.PRS.3NH
“(my) water is cold” (*to* only OK if there is a relation
between SUBJ and speaker)

(41) a. *kɛla:š kjum-u to-a*
K. house-LOC be.EGO.PRS.3NH-Q
“Is Kailash at home?”
(speaker knows that askee is at home and
knows that askee and Kailash share a room)

b. *kɛla:š kjum-u taš-a*
K. house-LOC be.MIR.PRS.3-Q
“Is Kailash at home?”
(speaker knows/assumes that askee and
Kailash usually stay in different rooms)

c. *kɛla:š kjum-u-a*
K. house-LOC-Q
“Is Kailash at home?”
(neutral w.r.t. the situation)

c. *ti: k^hati*
water cold
“water is cold”
(unmarked)

d. (*daŋbo*) *ti: k^hati to-i*
(past) water cold be.EGO-IMPF
“(in the past,) water was/used to be cold”

to, taš and the null copula – some examples #2

- (43) a. note: *pudža:ri:*
s/he.H.SG priest
“S/He is the/a priest”
- b. note: *pudža:ri: taš*
s/he.H.SG priest be.MIR.PRS.3
“S/He is the/a priest” (speaker checked, found out)
- c. note: *pudža:ri: to*
s/he.H.SG priest be.EGO.PRS.3NH
ca. “I have him/her as the/a priest”
“S/He, the priest, is here (with me)”
- d. note: *pudža:ri: to-i*
s/he.H.SG priest be.EGO-IMPF
“S/He was/used to be the/a priest”

Zero copula, participial verb forms

The question of the involvement of a zero copula also occurs in those cases where the only verb form in a sentence is a participle (zero copula involved or participle grammaticalized into a finite verb?)

Imperfective participles

- (44) *mí ma-to-i mi:* compare: *no mi:-u mí ma-to-i*
eye NEG-be-IMPF person that person-GEN eye NEG-be-IMPF
“person not having eyes”, “that person doesn’t have eyes”,
“person who has no eyes”, “that person has no eyes”,
“person of whom there aren’t eyes” “of that person there aren’t eyes”

- (45) *gjak^h-i mi:* compare: *no mi: gjak^h-i*
play-IMPF person that person-GEN play-IMPF
“person who plays”, “playing person” “that person plays”
(i.e. sportsperson)

Perfective participles

- (46) *tɕe:-min kita:b* compare: *rinku:-s kita:b tɕe:-min*
write-PERF book R.-ERG book write-PERF
“written book” “Rinku wrote/had written a book”

Various non-finite forms

The copula *to* (but not *taš*) occurs in a number of non-finite constructions ---> no contrasts involving different copulas available
epistemicity involved or not?

Conditional: to.t + suffix -naŋ "if"

(47) *tsuk^h bodi tonnaŋ (< to.t-naŋ), dat^h do mi:-ra dza-i, šuna: do-k^h*
shoe extra be-COND then that person-DAT eat-IMPF š. that-ERG

"If there were extra shoes, then he would eat that person (to whom the extra shoes belonged), the *šuna:* spirit"
(also interpretable as "if there are extra shoes, he eats/will eat ..." but the report from which this example is taken is set in the mythical past)

INF -ma + suffix -paring "when"

(48) *atš^ha: dži k^hatše:-paŋ to-ma-paraŋ lok^h-sa: kya: t^ha: ki, do, (...)*
well this muslim-PLUR be-INF-when around-TOP[?] what was COMP that

giraŋ-ra pata: to-∅-a
you.HON-DAT knowledge be.PRES-3NH-Q

"Well, at the time when these K^hache (muslims, Kashmiris) were here (in the village), what was (there), that is, (...), do you have knowledge (about that)?"

INF -ma + -COM (+ABL) “(ca.) because”

- (49) *dat^h da: p^ho: do ma-to-ma-naŋ dat^h da apu:-s rĩũ (< riŋ-u) rĩũ*
then there deer that NEG-be-INF-COM then there sister-ERG say.1/2-PERF since
p^hãũ (<phaŋ-u) p^hãũ dže-min
search-CONV dto. go-PERF

"Then because that deer was not there (but) since the elder sister had told (him) [=construed as indirect speech] '(It is) there!', he had gone searching (and) searching."

INF -ma + suffix -šam “up to, until”, “as long as (x lasts)”

- (50) *ni: to-ma-šam ra:baŋ tu-i*
sun be-INF-as_long_as warmth come-IMPF
“As long as there is sun, it is warm (lit. ‘warmth comes’)”

- (51) *ŋoše ma-to-ma-u wadža:-s uppaŋ do-sa: uppaŋ matãĩ (< ma-taŋ-i)*
clairvoyance NEG-be-INF-GEN cause-ABL we.INCL that-TOP? we.INCL NEG-see-IMPF
"Because of not having clairvoyance, we, as for that (or: ‘all that’), we do not see (that)."

Copula topicalization constructions

- (52) *do-ra rukja:-ma en-u tš^he himmat to.t-o ma-to-i*
that-DAT stop-INF 4SG-GEN what courage be-FOC NEG-be-IMPF
"She did not have any courage at all to stop that."

- (53) *to-ma-ta dži, kaha:ni: dži gop bošaŋ homšit-u kaha:ni: dži*
be-INF-TOP this story this many year ago-GEN story this
“As for what this is, this story is a story of many years ago”

Interim summary

- Present tense and past tense 3rd person forms: Clear contrast *to* (≈egophoric) vs. *taš* (≈mirative)
Interaction of evidentiality and tense
3rd person POSS/EXP: Different licensing conditions
- Co-referent vs. disjointly referent EXPs: Clear contrast *to* (≈egophoric) vs. *taš* (≈mirative)
- Present tense and past tense 1st and 2nd person forms: *taš* not available, contrast neutralised?
- IMPF/HAB *to-i*: Not bound to a particular reference time, epistemic commitment/stance decreased?
- Zero copula: No epistemic commitment?
- *to.t-gjo+AgrS*, *taš-gjo*: Nature/semantics of the contrast not yet fully clear
- No future forms of *to* and *taš* – presumably due to evidential properties of *to* and *taš*

otšeo !

(DD-QTY/NR-FOC)

“This much only!”

Reportative strategies

While, according to informants, the use of *taš* may involve a state of knowledge based on reportative evidence, *taš* is not used to indicate hearsay. For indicating hearsay, forms of the verb *riŋ* “say (to 1st or 2nd person)” are employed, e.g.:

(54) a. *no mi:-u do-u lomšit ezin-u apa: to-i rĩ (< riŋ-i) taš*
3S.NH person-GEN 3S.NH-GEN before 4S.H-GEN father be.EGO-IMPF say(1/2)-IMPF be.MIR.PRS.3
“Before that man₁, his₁ father was there, (they/people) say.”

b. *dat^h do mawa:nia:-paŋ gjet biam to-i opon tš^hodãũ to-i rĩ (< riŋ-i) me:*
then 3S.NH M.-PL 8 sibling be.EGO-IMPF down Chh.LOC be.EGO-IMPF say(1/2)-IMPF EMPH
“Then, the Mawanias are/were eight brothers, they are/were down in Chhodang, (they/people) say.”

c. *dza: musalma:n-pou (<-paŋ-u) do to-i rĩũ (< riŋ-u) taš-e*
here muslim-PL-GEN 3S.NH be.EGO-IMPF say(1/2)-PROG be.MIR-PAST.3
“(Before our Lord came,) that (Lord) of the muslims was here, (they/people) were saying.”

d. *lekin ret-i rĩũ (< riŋ-u) men-a no mi:*
but behave-IMPF say(1/2)-PERF[?] NEG.COP-Q 3S.NH person
“But he is said to behave (strangely), isn’t it, that man!”

Other SAP-sensitive phenomena/constructions (interlocutors vs. non-interlocutors)

Object agreement, *riŋ* and *lo(.t)* “say”, *tuma/dze:-ma*-construction (“come/go”): No “EGO-MIR” pattern

AgrO (marker -s) takes place if the OBJ or IOBJ is a 1st or 2nd person in declarative as well as interrogative clauses.

1→2	<i>gi-s</i>	<i>giraŋ-ra</i>	<i>pauli:</i>	<i>k^he-s-u</i>	/	<i>k^he-s-u-a</i>	(55)
	1S-ERG	2S.H-DAT	money	give-1/2-PERF	/	give-1/2-PERF-Q	
	“I gave you money” / “Did I give you money?”						
2→1	<i>giraŋ-k^h</i>	<i>aŋ-ra</i>	<i>pauli:</i>	<i>k^he-s-u</i>	/	<i>k^he-s-u-a</i>	“You gave me money.” / “Did you give me money?”
3→1	<i>dote:-k^h</i>	<i>aŋ-ra</i>	<i>pauli:</i>	<i>k^he-s-u</i>	/	<i>k^he-s-u-a</i>	“S/he gave me money.” / “Did s/he give me money?”
3→2	<i>dote:-k^h</i>	<i>giraŋ-ra</i>	<i>pauli:</i>	<i>k^he-s-u</i>	/	<i>k^he-s-u-a</i>	“S/he gave you money.” / “Did s/he give you money?”
1→3	<i>gi-s</i>	<i>dote:-ra</i>	<i>pauli:</i>	<i>k^he-u</i>	/	<i>k^he-u-a</i>	“I gave him/her money.” / “Did I give him/her money?”
2→3	<i>giraŋ-k^h</i>	<i>dote:-ra</i>	<i>pauli:</i>	<i>k^he-u</i>	/	<i>k^he-u-a</i>	“You gave h./h. money.” / “Did you give h./h. money?”
3→3	<i>ra:m-us</i>	<i>ni:la:-ra</i>	<i>pauli:</i>	<i>k^he-u</i>	/	<i>k^he-u-a</i>	“Ram gave Nila money.” / “Did R. give N. money?”

3→1/2 progressive forms: 1SGOBJ only with AUX *to*, 2nd OBJ with AUX *to* or *taš* (depending on the speaker’s presence during the event, etc.)

- (56) a. *do* *aŋ-ra* *i* *tuŋ* *suna:-s-u* *to-re-∅*
 3S.NH 1S.POSS-DAT one story tell-1/2-PERF be.EGO-PAST-3NH
 “He was telling me a story.”
- b. *do* *giraŋ-ra* *i* *tuŋ* *suna:-s-u* *to-re-∅* / *taš-e*
 3S.NH 2S.H-DAT one story tell-1/2-PERF be.EGO-PAST-3NH / be.MIR-PAST.3NH
 “S/he was telling you a story.”

***riŋ* “say (to 1st/2nd)” vs. *lo(.t)* “say (to 3rd)”**

The occurrence of *riŋ* with 1st or 2nd person addressees vs. *lo(.t)* with 3rd person addressees remains constant in declarative as well as interrogative clauses (*rĩũ<riŋ-u* [say(1/2)-PERF]).

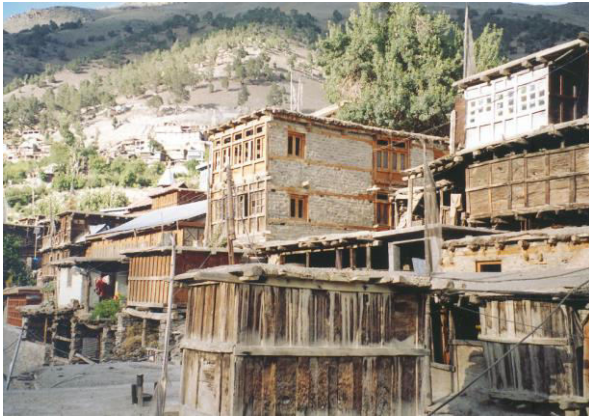
1→2	<i>gɨ-s</i>	<i>giraŋ-ra</i>	<i>i tʉŋ</i>	<i>rĩũ /rĩũ-a</i>	“I told you a story.” / “Did I tell you a story?”	(57)
2→1	<i>giraŋ-k^h</i>	<i>aŋ-ra</i>	<i>i tʉŋ</i>	<i>rĩũ /rĩũ-a</i>	“You told me a story.” / “Did you tell me a story?”	
3→1	<i>dote:-k^h</i>	<i>aŋ-ra</i>	<i>i tʉŋ</i>	<i>rĩũ /rĩũ-a</i>	“S/he told me a story.” / “Did s/he tell me a story?”	
3→2	<i>dote:-k^h</i>	<i>giraŋ-ra</i>	<i>i tʉŋ</i>	<i>rĩũ /rĩũ-a</i>	“S/he told you a story.” / “Did s/he tell you a story?”	
<hr/>						
1→3	<i>gɨ-s</i>	<i>dote:-ra</i>	<i>i tʉŋ</i>	<i>lo-u /lo-u-a</i>	“I told him/her a story.” / “Did I tell him/her a story?”	
2→3	<i>giraŋ-k^h</i>	<i>dote:-ra</i>	<i>i tʉŋ</i>	<i>lo-u /lo-u-a</i>	“You told him/her a story.” / “Did you tell him/her a story?”	
3→3	<i>ra:m-us</i>	<i>ni:la:-ra</i>	<i>i tʉŋ</i>	<i>lo-u /lo-u-a</i>	“Ram told Nila a story.” / “Did Ram tell Nila a story?”	

***tuma/dze:-ma*-construction (“come/go”):**

Interlocutor/non-interlocutor pattern (*come/go*) vs. “EGO-MIR” pattern (copulas in progressive forms):

(58)		<u>come/go</u>		<u>COP</u>		
EXP-DAT	1 st	} <i>tu-ma</i> (interlocutors)	1 st	} <i>to</i> (in questions: <i>to</i>)	(ego)	
	2 nd		2 nd		} <i>taš</i> (in questions: <i>to</i>)	(other)
	3 rd		<i>dze:-ma</i> (non-interlocutors)			3 rd

(59) a.	<i>aŋ-ra</i>	<i>k^hati</i>	<i>tu-u</i>	<i>to-re</i>	/ <i>taš-e-a</i>	“I began to feel cold.” / “Did I ...?”
	1S.POSS-DAT	cold	come-PROG	be.EGO-PAST.3NH	/ be MIR-PAST.3-Q	(lit. ca. ‘cold was coming to me’)
b.	<i>giraŋ-ra</i>	<i>k^hati</i>	<i>tu-u</i>	<i>taš-e</i>	/ <i>to-re-a</i>	“You began to feel cold.”/“Did you ...?”
	2S.H-DAT	cold	come-PROG	be.MIR-PAST.3	/ be.EGO-PAST.3NH-Q	(lit. ca. ‘cold was coming to you’)
c.	<i>dote:-ra</i>	<i>k^hati</i>	<i>dze-u</i>	<i>taš-e</i>	/ <i>taš-e-a</i>	“S/he began to feel cold.” / “Did ... ?”
	3S.H-DAT	cold	go-PROG	be.MIR-PAST.3	/ be MIR-PAST.3-Q	(lit. ca. ‘cold was going to her/him’)



Abbreviations

1	1 st person	AUX	auxiliary	DM	discourse marker	IMP	imperative	NH	non-honorific
1/2	1 st and 2 nd person	COM	comitative	EGO	egophoric	IMPF	imperfective	PAST	past
2	2 nd person	COMP	complementizer	EMPH	emphatic	INF	infinitive	PERF	perfective
3	3 rd person	COND	conditional	ERG	ergative	INTR	intransitive	PL	plural
4	4 th person	conj.	conjunct	EXP	experiencer	IOBJ	indirect object	POSS	possessive
ABL	ablative	COP	copula	FOC	focus	IRR	irrealis	PROG	progressive
ADESS	adessive	DAT	dative	FUT	future	LOC	locative	PRS	present
AgrS	subject agreement	DD	discourse deictic	GEN	genitive	MIR	mirative	Q	question marker
AgrO	object agreement	disj.	disjunct	H(ON)	honorific	NEG	negation	S, SG	singular

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2018. Evidentiality: The Framework. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality* (Oxford Handbooks Online), ch. 1 (55pp). Oxford University Press.
- DeLancey, Scott. 1992. The historical status of the conjunct/disjunct pattern in Tibeto-Burman. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia* 25: 39–62.
- DeLancey, Scott. 1997. Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information. *Linguistic Typology* 1: 33–52.
- DeLancey, Scott. 2012. Still mirative after all these years. *Linguistic Typology* 16(3): 529–564.
- DeLancey, Scott. 2018. Evidentiality in Tibetic. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality* (Oxford Handbooks Online), ch. 27 (20pp). Oxford University Press.

- Hale, Austin. 1980. Person markers: Finite conjunct and disjunct verb forms in Newari. *Papers in South-East Asian Linguistics* 7: 95–106.
- Hargreaves, David. 2005. Agency and intentional action in Kathmandu Newar. *Himalayan Linguistics* 5: 1–48.
- Huber, Christian. 2013. Subject and object agreement in Shumcho. In Thomas Owen-Smith & Nathan W. Hill (eds.), *Trans-Himalayan linguistics*, 221–274. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Hill, Nathan W. 2012. ‘Mirativity’ does not exist: ḥdug in ‘Lhasa’ Tibetan and other suspects. *Linguistic Typology* 16(3): 389–433.
- Huber, Christian. 2019. Progressivity and habituality in Shumcho. *Linguistic Typology* 72(1): 83–132.
- Hyslop, Gwendolyn. 2018. Evidentiality in Bodic. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality* (Oxford Handbooks Online), ch. 28 (19pp). Oxford University Press.
- San Roque, Lila, Simeon Floyd & Elisabeth Norcliffe. 2019. Egophoricity: An introduction. In Floyd, Norcliffe & San Roque, *Egophoricity*, 1–78. John Benjamins.
- Saxena, Anju. 2000. Evidentiality in Kinnauri. In Lars Johanson and Bo Utas (eds.). *Evidentiality: Turkic, Iranian and neighbouring languages*, 471–482. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Saxena, Anju. 2002. Speech reporting strategies in Kinnauri narratives. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 25 (1): 165–190.
- Tournadre, Nicolas & Randy J. LaPolla. 2014. “Towards a new approach to evidentiality: Issues and directions for research”. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 37(2): 240–263.
- Tournadre, Nicolas. 2017. A typological sketch of evidential/epistemic categories in the Tibetic languages. In Nathan A. Hill & Lauren Gawne (eds.), *Evidential Systems of Tibetan Languages*, 95–130. Berlin, Boston: DeGruyter Mouton.

