EBERHARD KARLS UNIVERSITÄT TÜBINGEN

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Rethinking evidentiality: 'evidentiality', epistemic modality, and speaker attitude in Ladakhi

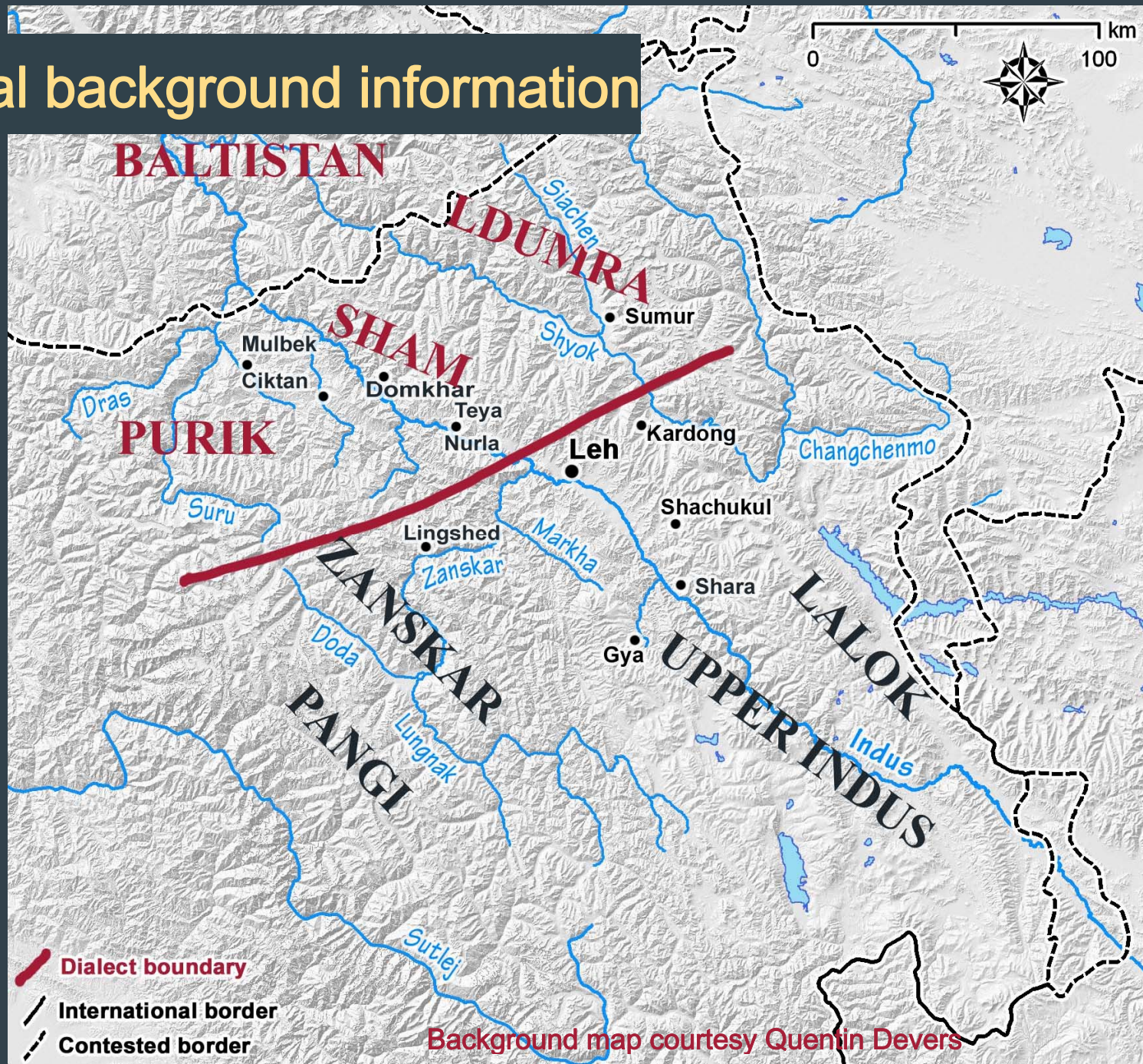*And to these, of course, we must also add the 'of-course-mood,' …*
Robert K. Merton. 1993. *On the shoulders of giants.*

Whosoever objects a statement put forward in the absolutive [mood]*, simultaneously challenges its user to a duel, which has to end with the death of one of the two interlocutors.*
Hans Widmer alias P.M. 1987. *Weltgeist Superstar.*

Societas Linguistica Europaea, 50th Annual Meeting, 10.–13.9.2017, Universität Zürich

Background map courtesy Quentin Devers

1.2. The system of 'evidential' and epistemic marking in Tibetic languages

‣ The common 'evidential' distinctions between 'direct' and 'indirect' knowledge (sense perception vs. hearsay and inferences); alternatively between sources of information (first- vs. second-hand) and different access channels (visual vs. non-visual vs. inferences) always omit one important source of knowledge,

namely knowledge about what I, the speaker, know about myself plus possibly what I know about all that belongs to my personal (or cultural) sphere.

‣ Any model that excludes this privileged *not-at-issue* access channel, cannot fully account for the standard Tibetic system, where self-centred *not-at-issue* knowledge or knowledge by personal involvement plays a crucial role.

‣ The evidential domain of direct/first-hand is thus split up between *internal(ised)*, non-sensory, *not-at-issue* self-knowledge based on acquaintance and control ("Set 1" markers: *yin, yod*) and *external* knowledge based on sensory perceptions ("Set 2" markers: *ḥdug/ snaŋ/ gdaḥ*, plus some bleached verbs).

Table 1: Basic evidential oppositions in comparison

cross-linguistic	direct		indirect (± mirative connotations)		
	own activities	observed situations	inference		second hand
Tibetan	own/ controlled activities		observed situations	inference	second hand
			(± mirative connotations)		(−mirative)
	authoritative		non-authoritative		

‣ I shall argue, that in Ladakhi, at least, but possibly also elsewhere, the choice of the so-called 'evidential' markers is not solely based on the source of knowledge, but also, if not even more, on a sub-field of speaker attitude (or stance), namely commitment or authoritative (*not-at-issue*) assertion vs.
non-authoritative, detached (*at-issue*) presentation.

‣ It is this large domain of non-authoritative, detached (*at-issue*) presentation which is then divided according to knowledge sources and access channels in the narrow, crosslinguistic sense.

‣ Questions naturally have to take into account the knowledge and attitude of the addressee: *what do you know, have seen, have heard, think is the case?*

‣ This perspectivising leads to a by and large equal treatment of the speaker in statements and the addressee in questions.

‣ Here, both discourse roles shall be comprised under the cover term "main speech act participant" (MSAP).

‣ The counterpart shall here be termed OTHER.

Table 2: The unmarked distribution of Tibetic auxiliaries

verbal domain	Set 1: MSAP authoritative	Set 2: OTHER		
		directly observed		'factual'
identifying	*yin*	GEM^{L}	SEM^{L}	*red*^{S}, GEM^{L}
future	*yin*, zero^{L}	—		*red*^{S}, *cen*^{L}
attributive	*yin / yod*	*ḥdug*	*rag*^{L}	*red*^{S}
past/ anterior	*pa.yin*	zero^{L}, *soṅ*^{SK}, *byuṅ*^{SK}	—	*pa.red*^{S}
existential	*yod*	*ḥdug*	*rag*^{L}	—
simultaneous	*yod / yin*^{L}	*ḥdug*	*rag*^{L}	—
perf/ resultative	*yod / yin*^{L}	*ḥdug, bžag*^{S}	*rag*^{L}	—
L. prospective	*yod / yin*	*ḥdug*	*rag*	—

all verbal domains	MSAP & OTHER	
	evaluation	second hand
	yin, yod & EM, *red*-*ḥdug/-bžag*^{S}	*verba dicendi*

‣ Many of the constructions subsumed under OTHER in Table 2 can be used for the MSAP and *vice versa* in almost all temporal domains. Such usages are pragmatically conditioned and highly marked.

‣ With Set 1 markers for OTHER, one claims authority and/ or responsibility and/ or personal involvement. With Set 2 or evaluative markers for the MSAP, one declines authority and/ or responsibility and/ or personal involvement, e.g. for reasons of politeness.

‣ If any proof be needed that the Tibetic 'evidential' markers are only loosely related to a person's perspective and do not reflect a person category, this inbuilt flexibility should be evidence enough.

Table 3: Prototypical and marked use of Tibetic 'evidentials'

domain	Set 1: yin / yod		Set 2:			
			ḥdug		red	
identificatory copula	MSAP	OTHER	—		OTHER	MSAP
future	MSAP	OTHER	—		OTHER	MSAP
past/ anterior	MSAP	(OTHER)	—		OTHER	MSAP
attributive copula	MSAP	OTHER	OTHER	(MSAP)	OTHER	MSAP
existential, possession	MSAP	OTHER	OTHER	MSAP	—	
present/ simultaneous	MSAP	OTHER	OTHER	(MSAP)	—	
perfect/ resultative	MSAP	OTHER	OTHER	MSAP	—	
Ladakhi prospective	MSAP	OTHER	OTHER	—	—	
evaluative markers (EM)	OTHER		MSAP			
quotation/ hearsay	MSAP & OTHER					

‣ It won't be possible to give examples for the un-marked usages in statements and questions, but these should be known by now at least from the over-simplifying overview literature. But it will also not be possible to give all relevant examples for my claims. Please find them in the handout.

‣ I will immediately jump to the socio-pragmatic factors of § 3 (p. 8).

3. Socio-pragmatic factors

3.1. Shared observations and experiences

‣ The social interaction in the communicative situation constitutes an important and, so far, underestimated factor for the choice of markers.

‣ In the western dialects of Purik and Sham (cf. Jones 2009:43f. for Balti), the non-sensual Set 1 marker is triggered by shared observations. The observed fact may be surprising as in (11), but as (12) shows, this is not a necessary condition.

(11) Lingshed (2016)

ˌltos-aŋ,   lam-ika ˌlaŋpotʃhe₊k drul-**duk**,   / drul- <mark>et</mark>,   are!
look.IMP-DM road-PPOS elephant₊LQ   walk-VIS=PRS   °-NSENS=PRS intj

'Look! An elephant is walking there on the road!' (The **ad-dressee was not looking**, and the speaker tries to draw his or her attention to the situation. / Speaker and addressee are **observing the situation together**.)

(12) Mulbekh (2016)

bja bos- <mark>et</mark>.   – tʃi   duk?   – bja   bos-e- <mark>in</mark>.
cock call-NSENS=PRS – what VIS.exist   –   cock call-LB-ASS.be=PERF

[Cock crowing –] 'A cock is calling.' – BZ: 'What is there?' – 'A cock has called.' (Speaker and BZ are **together watching** the 'Pearstory'.)

– Note my use of *ḥdug*, as conforming to the Leh dialect, and the undisturbed answer with the perfect construction with the Set 1 marker *yin*, in place of the non-visual experi-antial perfect with the Set 2 marker *rag*!

3.2. Shared and shareable general knowledge

‣ Shareable or general knowledge is presented with the GENERALISED EVALUATIVE MARKER (GEM), that is, the copula plus a dialect-specific inferential marker:

Balti, Purik, western Sham, Ldumra /in & suk/,

Eastern Sham and Central Ladakhi /in & (n)ok/,

Kenhat (Upper Indus) /ɦin & (n)ak/,

Kenhat (Lalok) /ɦin & dak/

Pangi (Himachal Pradesh) /jin & nɛ/.

‣ The GEM is commonly used both when explaining some facts to a person who does not know and when talking about facts the addressee is expected to know, particularly in formal speech situations.

▸ The socio-pragmatic factors of politeness have lead to a certain neutralisation of the evidential functions of the GEM. As one informant put it, when using the GEM while explaining facts, it doesn't matter how one came to know about the facts.

▸ In this respect, the GEM seems to correspond to the Standard Spoken Tibetan 'factual' marker *red*.

▸ The GEM, however, is far from being neutral. Even in its pragmatically conditioned use, it is best described as indicating de-personalised knowledge – in contrast to personal authoritative knowledge (Set 1), personal observations (Set 2), and personal inferences or estimations.

‣ Given its de-personalised character, the GEM signals openness for further discussion.

‣ One would more likely ask for further details when the facts are presented with the GEM than when they are simply 'put on the table' with a Set 1 marker.

‣ The GEM thus presents a fact or situation more politely or more gently as *at issue*.

‣ Conversely, the GEM in questions signals friendly curiosity as opposed to an authoritative inquisition.

- ‣ Apart from its very important pragmatic functions, the GEM has various evidential and epistemic functions.

- ‣ E.g., it is obligatory for identifications based on vision, (17) and (18).

- ‣ There is also a SPECIAL EVALUATIVE MARKER (SEM) for identifications based on other sense perceptions, which consists of the copula plus an element apparently related to the marker for non-visual perception.

- ‣ This sense-related pairing of forms corroborates the inherent evidential character of the GEM.

(17) Shachukul (2016)

i	*m̥aɡmal*	*hindak.*	/	*hinrak.*
this	velvet	be=GEM		be=SEM

'This is velvet (identified through vision). / This is velvet (identified through touching).'

(18) Lingshed (2016)

d+u	*ʧhaŋ*	*inok.*	/	*d+u*	*ŋati*	*ʧhaŋ*	*inak.*
this+DF	chaŋ	be=GEM		this+DF	we.incl.GEN	chaŋ	be=SEM

'This is *chaŋ* (upon judging the colour). / This is our *chaŋ* (tasting it blindfolded.)'

3.3. Authority and status

‣ The interplay of status and hence authority can be exemplified by a small dramolett, illustrating the difference in use between the forms *rgyus yod* (Set 1: *not at issue*) and *rgyus* plus GEM (*at issue*) 'have knowledge, know'.

‣ Note the italic passages in the translation of the second part, referring to authoritative status and its lack.

‣ Note also the use of the GEM for the non-assertive, inferential mental disqualification:
*khjoraŋ ṯoruŋ datpa m̱atshoa-**hindak***
'you are, **as it appears**, still wet behing the ears'.

(23) Shachukul (2016)

A student belonging to the village was expected to make an important list together with the other villagers. In the meeting, the village head had told everybody to come on time next morning at 10 o'clock, but nobody came in time, some people did not come, at all. The student was quite frustrated and went to search the villagers, telling them:

«daŋ   ṭap   ʧō-han-naŋʒin
yesterday   meeting do- NLS-according

oɣo   tshaŋma₊(ː) gju   ḥot ː
we.incl   all₊AES   knowledge   NSENS=ASS.have

ṭe̱riŋ ga̱ri ʧū-ika dzom-ʧʰi,
today   clock   10-PPOS   meet- NLS

ḥinaŋ   su-aŋ   tu̱-ika   mā-lep.»
but   who-FM   time-PPOS   NG-arrive

'«Following yesterday's meeting, all of us know it well (not at issue): today [we were supposed] to meet at ten, but no-body came on time.»'

te̱ne   ãa-ʒig-a   s̱o   hoŋ-de,
then   mother-LQ-AES   anger   come-LB

«khjoraŋ   su_ _hin,
fam.you.self   who ASS.be

‹ŋe̱t   tshaŋma+(ː) gju   hot›   zer-kan?!
we.excl.coll   all+ALL   knowledge NSENS=ASS.have say- NLS

khjoraŋ   to̱ruŋ   datpa   ma̱-tsho-a-ɦindak!
fam.you.self   still   brain   NG-ripe-NLS-GEM=PERF

ɲɛ-a   te̱rek   zer-ʧi   ʧi_ _in?!
we.excl-ALL   such   say- NLS   what ASS.be

gow+e   te̱rek   zer-na+ŋ   ɖik.
village.head+ERG   such   say-LOC+FM   be.ok

ɦinaŋ   khjot   su_ _in?!»
but   fam.you   who ASS.be

'Then one lady became angry [and said]: «*Who are you* to tell us ‹that we all know it well (not at issue)›?! YOU ARE, AS IT APPEARS, STILL WET BEHIND THE EARS! *What [kind of man-ner] is this, talking to us in this way?! If the village head speaks like this, it is ok. But who, [do you think], are you?!»*'

When the student complained to the village head, the latter was also not amused. He went to that lady and made a scene, himself:

«daŋ ʈap ʧō-han-naŋʒin
yesterday meeting do- NLS-according

oɣo tshaŋma₊(ː) gju ɦot :
we.incl all₊AES knowledge NSENS=ASS.have

tḛriŋ gaɽi ʧū-ika dzom-ʧi ʧō-re,
today clock 10-PPOS meet- NLS do-LB

khjoraŋ ʧīphia tṵ-ika mā-lep?
fam.you.self why time-PPOS NG-arrive

jaŋ ʧīphia ʈū-a ɲɛt ʈṵ-pen?»
again why youngster-ALL blame dig-RM

tḛne ãa kha daŋ-de-lṵ.
then mother mouth gape-LB-be.left

'«Following yesterday's meeting, all of us know it well (not at issue): it was agreed to meet at ten today, so why didn't you come on time? And why did you wrongly scold the youngster?» Then that lady couldn't say anything any more (lit. was left with the mouth open wide).'

‣ As one can assume, the knowledge state of all three persons is the same. All have been in the meeting and were involved in the decision making, if only as witness. The student speaks with *not-at-issue* authority, legitimised by the decision.

‣ But the lady rejects this authority on the pretense of his or her age-related low status. She would have preferred the student to use the less authoritative *at-issue* form *gju ḥindak* with the GEM.

‣ Of course, the lady simply does not accept being criticised. She has to accept, however, the authority of the village head, *qua* his position.

3.4. Speaking lightly

‣ When speakers of the central dialects meet on the road, the casual question *What are you doing?* takes the Set 2 marker *ḥdug* for the MSAP, (24).

(24) Leh (naŋthsaŋsi ḍigrim 2015-06-21)

F3: «*dʒule, ɲiska ʧi dzad-duk̓ ?*» ...
greetings both what hon.do-VIS=PRS

M1: «*ja dʒule, tshaŋka ʧi dzad-duk̓ le,*
intj greetings all.three what hon.do-VIS=PRS hon

raŋtrug-a not-ʧas-i spera-rik taŋ-a?»
own.child-AES harm-GRD-GEN speech-LQ give-QM

'F3: «Hello, what are [you] two doing [here]?» … M1: «Hey, hello, what are the three of you doing [here], talking about what is harmful to one's children?»'

‣ While this use of the Set 2 marker *ḥdug* for the MSAP has been rejected categorically by speakers from Purik, Sham, Ldumra, and the peripheral Kenhat areas, the use of the GEM in gentle questions to children has been confirmed so far by all speakers.

‣ I could repeatedly observe mothers asking their young children who that aunty (BZ) might be, with the expectation that they actually knew. I had also the opportunity to observe a real aunt in Leh asking her niece this way about herself. The answer is typically in the same mode.

(25) a. Sumur (2016)

*kho / ŋa su **intsukˑ**. –*
s/he I who be=GEM

*kho / ø aʈɕe niki **intsukˑ**. maʈʂuŋ **intsuk**.*
s/he elder.sister Niki be=GEM aunt(MYS) be=GEM

'Who might this / I be? – She is / [You] are elder sister Niki, mother's younger sister.'

b. Lingshed (2016)

*ŋa su **inok**? – kheraŋ aba **inokˑ**.*
I who be=GEM fam.you father be=GEM

'Who might I be? – You are [my] father.'

c. Alea, Pangi (2017)

*ŋa su **jinnɛ**? – khjo ɲɛ ati **jinnɛ**; ŋa(ː) ʃea*
I who be=GEM you we.excl.GEN grandpa be=GEM I-AES know

'Who might I be? – You are our grandfather; I know.'

4. Subjective attitude towards the fact and/ or the addressee

4.1. Mental distance: detachment and neglect

‣ One may use the Set 2 marker *ḥdug* instead of the Set 1 marker *yod* for well-known customs within one's cultural sphere, when one wants to distance oneself from an old fashion, or, more neutrally, one wants to indicate that one does not participate in the activities, (27). In contrast to the Set 1 marker, *ḥdug* also may indicate that one does not care much, (28).

‣ In such cases, the choice of the marker has nothing to do with the access channel or the newness of the observation. Statements about habits imply assimilated knowledge.

(27) Gya-Mīru 2013

Laday-e ama ʦhaŋma tāŋse pīgmo ʦūk-te-da{==ruk.==}
Lādakh-GEN mother all always knee plant-LB-stay.VIS=PRS
'The Ladakhi women always sit with one knee 'planted' [in the ground].' (The speaker indicates that **she is no longer part of this tradition**. – This example was elicited after a male speaker had spontaneously used *ḥdug*, apparently to indicate that this is not his cup of tea.)

(28) Shachukul (2016)

ŋe̱ aba-le ... ʧho sil-{==uk,==} */ sil-**at**.*
I-GEN father-hon religion read-VIS=PRS read-NSENS=PRS
'My father reads religious texts every day.'
(The Set 2 -*uk*-form indicates **mere observation**; the speaker **does not consider him/herself a religious person** or **doesn't care** about the father's habit. /
The Set 1 -*at*-form indicates that the speaker knows well, does the same thing, or cares about the father's habit.)

4.2. Assuming authority: emphatic usages

‣ Set 1 markers can be used for OTHER, when one claims responsibility, when alerting or warning, when scolding a person or showing *schadenfreude*, (32), or also when talking about the embarrassing behaviour of a third person, (33) and (34).

‣ Set 1 markers are also used in rhetorical questions about others and oneself (both OTHER), (35), see also (29). Depending on the situation and the speaker, Set 2 markers may not even be allowed, (31) and (32).

Cf. also Zemp (2017) for such usages in Purik.

‣ In the Domkhar hide-and seek game, the winner, that is, the child that has not been found in time, comes forth, saying:

(31) Domkhar (2013)
iptse pipi ʒar-e   thoŋ-ba-**met**!   / *thoŋ-ba-(mi)-nuk.
iptse pipi be.blind-LB see-NLS-NG.**NSENS**=PRS   *see-NLS-NG-VIS=PRS
'Iptse-pipi (that is, the searcher) is blind and doesn't see!'

‣ (32) is a common comment, when somebody got into calamities, especially when acting against one's advice:

(32) Lingshed (2016)
d+u   kheraŋ-is   ɲo-se-**in**.   / *ɲo-se-duk.
this-DF fam.you-ERG   buy-LB-**ASS.be**=PERF   *buy-LB-VIS=PERF
'You have brought this about yourself! (Lit. This one, you bought it.)'

(33) Lingshed (2016)
kho-s *phaksup* *za-se-in.*
s/he-ERG   bribe   eat-LB-ASS.be=PERF
'S/he has taken a bribe/ is corrupt (accusing, claiming knowledge, though one might have only little or none).'

(34) (Shachukul 2016)
ɛʧi *pēra* *tã₊at,*
elder.sister   speech   give+NSENS=PRS
ŋa₊(ː) *tsōlosa* *pāploŋ* *ma-hoŋ!!*
I+AES   anus.place   put.down.time   NG-come
'The elder sister is [calmly] drinking tea, and I [even] have no time to shit!'

(35) Teya (2013)
o *ŋa₊(ː)* *pene* *duk-mi₊nuk.*
intj   I+AES   money   VIS.have-NG+VIS.have
ɲo-a₊(ː) *ʧi* *ɲo-et?*
buy-NLS-ALL   what   buy-NSENS=PRS
'Oh (I see) I have no money with me, at all. [So] how can I buy anything?'

‣ The SIMPLE PAST, that is the bare stem, which usually indicates that the speaker has witnessed the situation, may be used for events the speaker has not witnessed, but of which everybody knows.

‣ Even the marker *pin* of Set 1, usually indicating one's active involvement or one's close association, can be used – depending on the dialect – to emphasise that one remembers the situation well or that one believes that the non-witnessed (miraculous) fact is true:

(37) Domkhar (2005)

api-a   di sku-a   suŋ   jons. / &jon-bin.
granny-AES this statue-AES hon.speech be.expert.PA   &be.expert-RM
'The statue could speak in the presence of the grandmother.'

5. The other half of the system: quotation & evaluation

‣ The description of the 'evidential' system in a Tibetic language is not complete without the quote or hear-say markers and the epistemically tinted evaluative markers.

‣ However, as too often is the case, there is no time to give even an overview!

Please have a look at the handout.

5.5. The *of-course*-mode

‣ Returning to the initial *motti*, Ladakhi does, in fact, have something like an emphatic *of-course*-mode. P.M.'s tongue-in-cheek warning against impending duels points to the fact that such speaker attitude should be handled with restriction.

‣ Merton (1993: 149), on the other hand, likewise tongue-in-cheek, points to the potential of misuse, that is, the use of expressions, such as *of course* or *doubtless*, when one actually does not know enough.

▸ Ladakhi sides with P.M. and opts for a more honest use. The marker *mkhan.la* indicates that the statement is "of course" true, and everybody, especially the addressee, knows this well.

▸ The construction can have an emphatically assertive overtone, indicating that "it is certainly the case, why should I lie?". It can thus be used as an assertion in contradiction to what has been said before.

▸ In (51), the addressee had been teasing the speaker, pretending not to recognise the glasses:

(51) Lingshed (2016)

d₊u	*migra*	*in-*	*kanla!*
this₊DF	glasses	be-SHK	

'Of course, these are glasses! (You know it well. Are you kidding?)'

‣ The construction may also signal that while a certain fact is known to the speaker, s/he is confused about other concomittant facts and seeks confirmation.

‣ E.g., everybody knows that a dam was being built at Alchi, but one wonders whether this is now completed. The use of *mkhan.la* serves thus to establish common ground as the base for further explanations:

(52) Domkhar (2012)
   altʃi-a   ɖem ̥rtsig-en-jot- khanla,   *man-ɖub-a?*
   Alchi-ALL dam   build-CONT-NSENS=(PRGR.)PRS-SHK NG-get.finished-QM
   '(As we all know,) they were /have been building a dam at Alchi; is [that] not [yet] completed?'

▸ The construction can also be used sarcastically, and for some speakers this is the main function. E.g., when a person without any children is complaining that s/he needs so many things, one might reply:

(53) Gya-Mīru (2013)
    ho-ho, khjoraŋ-a   ʈūgu ma̠ŋbo ho-<mark>*kana*</mark>*!*
    intj   fam.you-AES   child   many   NSENS.have-SHK
    'Oh yes, (we all know that) you definitely have a lot of/ too many children!'

‣ The Ladakhi and Tibetic auxiliaries and markers are perhaps best understood to refer to various continua with quite fuzzy cut-off points along several, partly parallel, partly cross-cutting axes in a multidimensional conceptual network:

– **attitude**: intimate, authoritative, committed (*not at issue*) vs. non-authoritative and/ or polite/ gentle speech (*at issue*)

– internal or external **access**: intimate, evaluated vs. perceived, quoted

– **ownership**, that is, personal vs. non-personal or shared knowledge: intimate, perceived, guessed vs. quoted and pragmatic use of inferential markers

– **epistemic**: certainty vs. probability and doubt

– (potential) **reality** vs. imagination, counterfactuals

– **temporal/ spatial distance**: now & here (visible) vs. then & there (invisible)

– **conceptual distance**: intimate, assimilated < perceived < quoted < evaluated < guessed

– **emotional distance**: familiarity, acceptance vs. alienation

‣ These more fine-grained distinctions in every-day usage could not be discovered with a standard framework of 'evidentiality' (especially not with Aikhenvald's 2004 questionnaire).

‣ The Ladakhi data was obtained mainly through the informants' spontaneous productions (during enquiries on other topics) and through long-time participating observation.

‣ Based on these observations I could develop a still growing detailed questionnaire (Zeisler [2016]), with which I can now more systematically research the dialects.
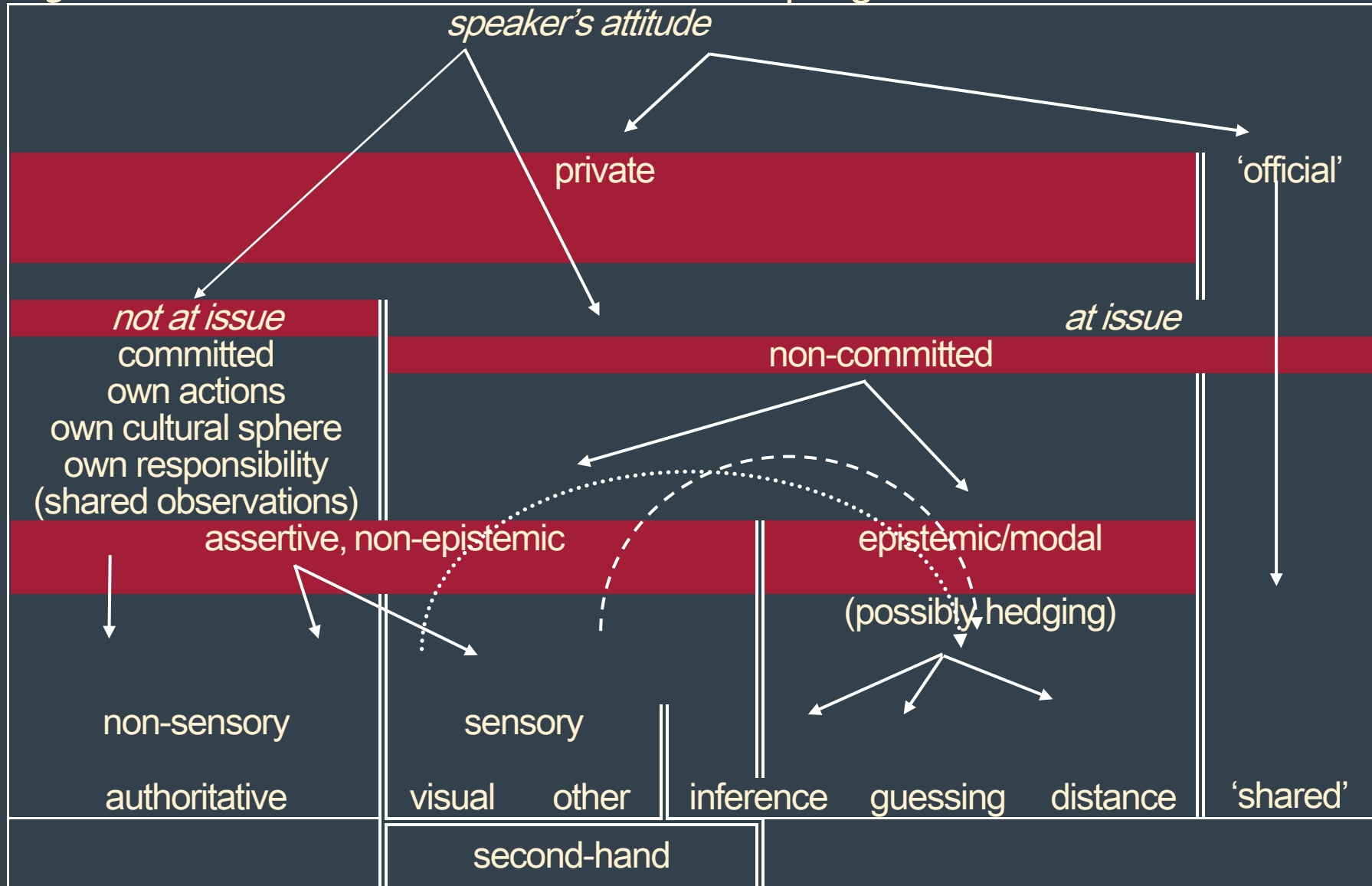
‣ Confronting speakers with (real) data from other speakers has proved to be more fruitful than using visual stimuly that typically only trigger the marker for visual perception or the inferential marker.

‣ In Ladakhi, a speaker's attitude (or stance), namely commitment or authority vs. non-commitment or detachment, is the dominant factor, while evidential distinctions in the narrow sense of the crosslinguistic discussion are restricted to the domain of non-committment, see Fig. 1.

‣ Speaker attitude comprises also a second overarching opposition, that between 'private' or personal knowledge and an 'official' setting of attenuation.

Fig. 1: A network of attitude and social pragmatics

speaker's attitude

private

'official'

not at issue

committed
own actions
own cultural sphere
own responsibility
(shared observations)

at issue

non-committed

assertive, non-epistemic

epistemic/modal

(possibly hedging)

non-sensory

authoritative

sensory

visual   other

inference   guessing   distance

'shared'

second-hand

‣ The Tibetic languages in general, and the Ladakhi dialects in particular, may be extreme in their flexible use of 'evidential' markers, but it may also be the case, as one reviewer once put it, that we "Tibetanists are getting better at talking about that" flexibility.

‣ Similar problems with the concept of 'evidentiality' are observed also in other languages, and the question is: do we need to redefine the concept of 'evidentiality'? And if yes, how should we redefine it?

‣ Would it be useful to redefine it "as a network of independent epistemic categories that all gravitate towards the notion of 'information source'" (as suggested in the call for the subsequent workshop)?

‣ I should think that Fig. 1 clearly shows that I am in favour of a network notion.

‣ I wonder, however, whether the idea of a network necessarily needs a single gravitation centre.

‣ Would not the very idea of a network suggest that there are several focus points or gravitation centres, as in Fig. 1?

‣ I should thus think that systems like the Tibetic ones are best described as multicentric, due to the co-grammaticalisation of two or more independent but cross-cutting categories.

‣ If we use only the 'evidential' categories 'direct'/ 'first-hand' vs. 'indirect'/ 'second-hand' as defined in the crosslinguistic discussion, we would end up with two categories that fall outside the narrow definition, namely ego-centred knowledge and the pragmatically conditoned usages of the 'factual' markers and the Ladakhi GEM.

‣ If one speaks of 'epistemic' categories, one would miss the fact, that the Tibetic Set 1 and Set 2 markers, as well as the markers for inferences and hearsay are all on the same epistemic level of certainty. The Tibetic languages have special evaluative markers for the indication of incertainty.

‣ If one further falls back on the person-related notion of 'information source', one captures only the switch between the speaker and the addressee, which is not restricted to evidential systems. One does not even cover the various sources and access channels with the notion 'information source'.

‣ Personally, I think that the idea of an 'anticipation rule' or the insistence on a linguistic category of 'information source' or even 'person' is pointing in the wrong direction.

‣ What is a natural shift of perspectives, which we probably encounter in all languages in one way or another, only appears to be something special as long as one conceives of the 'evidential' markers as some kind of weird person marking and as long as one thinks of the shift as a grammatical(ised) rule, instead of a simple psychological and/ or socio-pragmatic process.

Thank you

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