

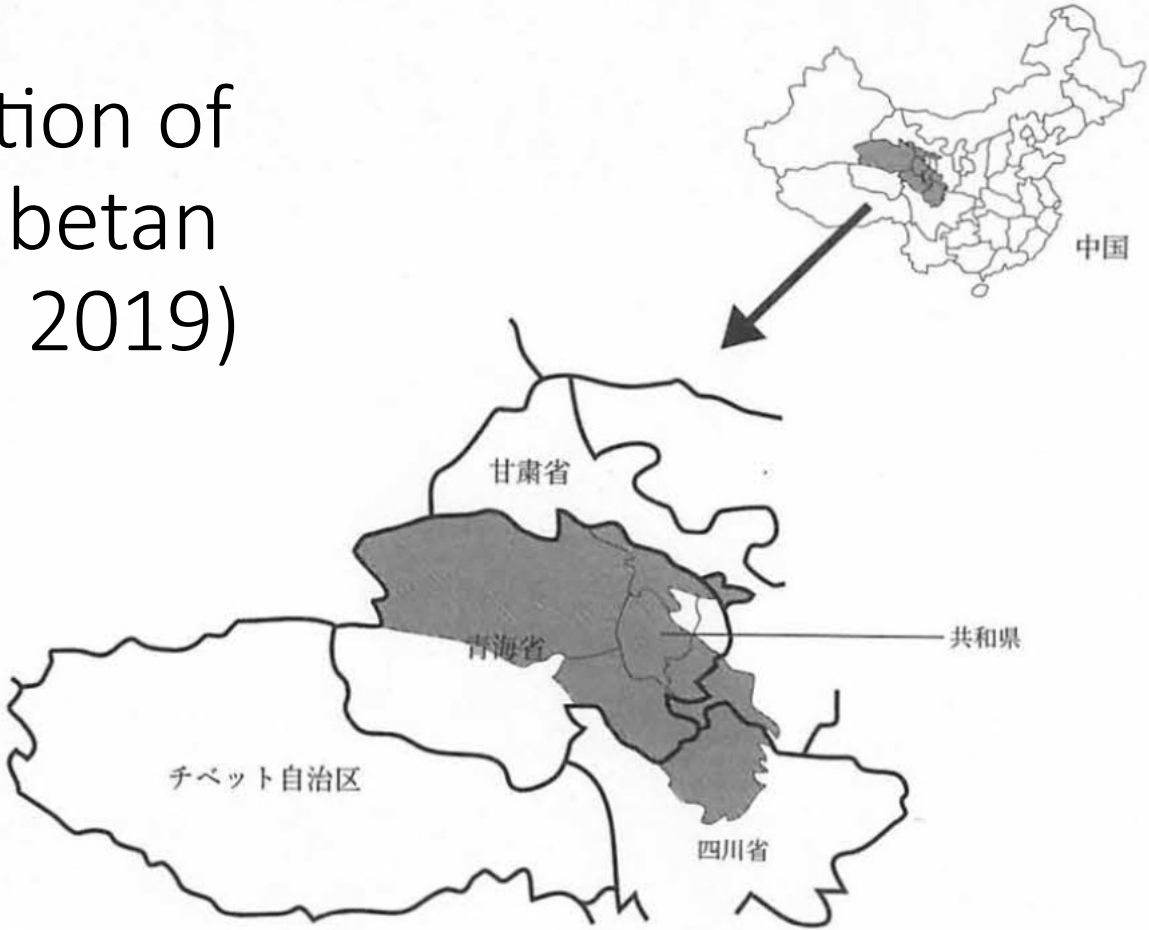
A preliminary account of “non-canonical” occurrences of epistemic markers in spontaneous speech data of Amdo Tibetan

Zoe Tribur
Sangrgyas Tshering
Rtamgrin Lhamo
Nankai University

Questions

- To what extent do the epistemic/evidential systems of closely related Tibetic languages resemble each other?
 - Are cognate forms analogous in function?
 - What about non-cognate forms?
- What can “non-canonical” distributions of epistemic/evidential markers reveal about the functions of individual markers and how the larger system is organized?
- What is the relationship between egophoric(ity) and the rest of the evidential system in these languages?

Distribution of Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara 2019)

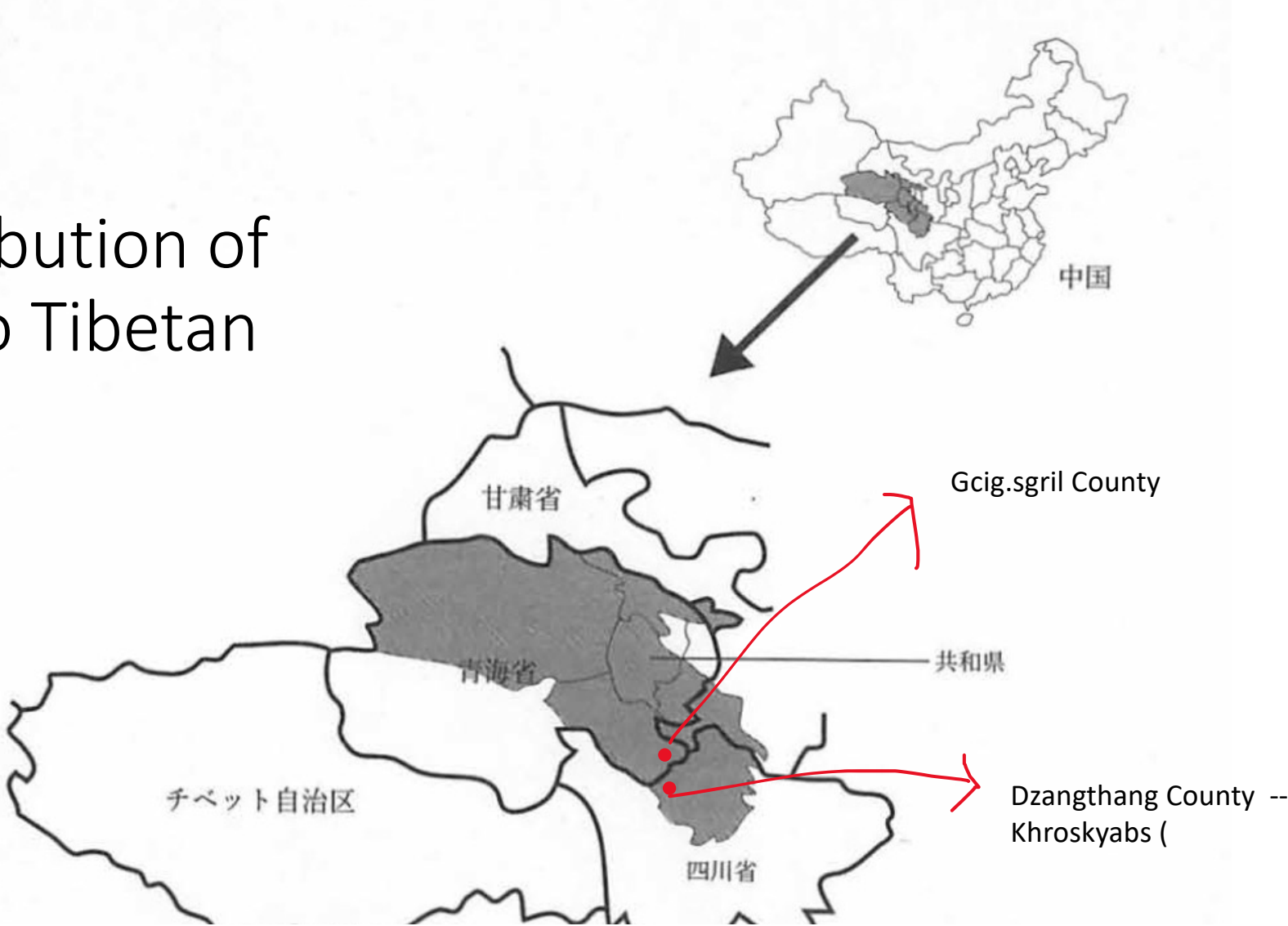


Distribution of Amdo Tibetan

Mgolog dialect



Distribution of Amdo Tibetan



Mgolog Amdo

- Possesses phonological, lexical, etc. properties that make it easily recognizable as a dialect for people from other parts of Amdo.
- Traditionally, Mgolog spills over into Sichuan. The traditional Khangsar region, which extends from Gcig.sgril County in Qinghai Province to the northern border of Rdzangthang County in Sichuan, has historical ties to the Kingdom of Dege, considered as part of the **Khams** geo-cultural region, not Amdo.
- Largely ethnically, linguistically, religiously, vocationally homogenous/homogenious, but in the south (Padma County and parts of the old Khangsar territory) we see evidence of a displacement/absorption of stone-house dwelling Rgyalrongic speakers. Borders Rgyalrongic in the south.

Assertor role: evidential origo

- From Creissels (2008)
- The *origo* of an epistemic system

Egophoricity vs. Egophoric Evidentiality

- Tournadre (1992) adopted a pre-existing term, ‘egophoric’, for the grammatical category of “personal knowledge”, or “self-awareness” (e.g., Tournadre & LaPolla, 2014).
- Fits in with T & L’s definition of evidentiality as both “source and access to information”. Egophoric/personal evidentiality counts as “access”.
- Supported by distributional behavior of Egophoric in Lhasa Tibetan, in which it is part of three-way contrastive system with Sensorial Evidence and Factive Evidence

Egophoricity vs. Egophoric Evidentiality

- DeLancey (2018):

“The Tibetic Egophoric category is not part of the evidential system; it is an independent, and more fundamental, category which affects evidential meanings that come under its shadow. Rather than an evidential category, Egophoric is a category to which evidentiality is not applicable.”

- C.f, Widmer & Zúñiga (2017), citing Hargreaves (1991, 2005):
Egophoricity is “a binary grammatical category that marks one’s access to mental states as privileged or non-privileged.”

Lhasa system – Existential and Equative Copulas

Existential Copula Set

	Positive	Negative
Testimonial	<i>tù</i>	<i>mi-ndù</i>
Factive	<i>jòre</i>	<i>jòmare</i>
Egophoric	<i>Jø</i>	<i>mè</i>

Equative Copula Set

	Positive	Negative
Factive/ allophoric	<i>rè</i>	<i>ma-rè</i>
Egophoric	<i>jìn</i>	<i>mìn</i>

Objective/Subjective (self/other) - Amdo

- Amdo does not have an equivalent of Lhasa's Sensorial Existential verb འདུག *tù*. The analogous *jo-kə* ཡོ་ཀེ shows much more "flexibility" in appearing with Assertor-subject sentences than Lhasa's *tù*.

1. *təraŋ* *ŋa* *kormo* *mango* *jo* *(-kə)*
today 1S.DAT money many have (-OBJ)

'I have a lot of money today!' (You are in luck: I'm buying us dinner)

- ❖ *jo* → Emphatic focus on assertor ("I am the one who has a lot of money"); permanence of state ("I have a lot of money today, like always.")
- ❖ *jo-kə* → New development (I just got paid, or you expect me to be poor); temporary state; "objective" viewpoint (anyone could tell me that I have a lot of money)

Objective/Subjective - Amdo

- Amdo does not have an equivalent of Lhasa's Sensorial Existential verb འདུག *tù*. The analogous *jo-kə* ཡོད་གི shows much more “flexibility” in appearing with Assertor-subject sentences than Lhasa's *tù*.
- Stative verbs often behave the same way (*jo* is a morphosyntactically marginal stative verb in Amdo, not Lhasa).

Conventionalized greeting for travelers

2. *c^ho* ə- *rga* -*o*
2S.DAT Q- like -EGO

‘Are you happy?’ (i.e., ‘Do you like it here?’)

3. *a* *ççIγə* *rga* -*γə*
1S.DAT very like -OBJ

‘I’m really happy.’ (i.e., ‘I really like it here.’)

Objective/Subjective - Amdo

- *-kə* also occurs with **imperfective activity verbs**, also contrasting with Egophoric zero or *-a*. However, the same “flexibility” is NOT observed for non-states.
- For states, the same flexibility is not observed for non-Assertor subjects.
- Sung and Bla (2005: 83) give the following example (IPA added):

4. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ང་ཆེ་བཤེན་ཟེར་རྒྱུ་

<i>c^hu</i>	<i>mŋaŋ</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>tɕ^hizək</i>	<i>zer</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>/*-kə</i>
2S.GEN	name	-DAT	what	call	-EGO	

‘What is your name?’

5. ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ང་ཆེ་བཤེན་ཟེར་གྱི་

<i>mu</i>	<i>mŋaŋ</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>tɕ^hizək</i>	<i>zer</i>	<i>-kə</i>
3FS.GEN	name	-DAT	what	call	-OBJ

‘What is her name?’

Amdo Existential Set

Epistemic value		Negative
Egophoric	<i>jo / jo -a</i>	<i>me</i>
Objective	<i>jo -kə</i>	<i>me -kə</i>
Past testimonial	<i>jo -t^ha</i>	<i>me -t^ha</i>
Inferential	<i>jot -ziç</i>	<i>me -ziç</i>
Egophoric factive	<i>jo -nəjin</i>	<i>jo nəmin</i>
Allophoric factive	<i>jo -nəre</i>	<i>jo -nəmare</i>

Lhasa Existential Set

Evidential value		Negative
Egophoric	<i>jø</i>	<i>mè</i>
Testimonial	<i>tù</i>	<i>mi-ndù</i>
Factive	<i>jòre</i>	<i>jòmare</i>

Semantics of Egophoric differs depending on predicate type (both Lhasa and Amdo)

Lhasa Evidential Contrasts

Activity				Permanent State (Individual-level)	Temporary State (Stage-level)
Perfective	Volitional	Sensorial	Factive	Personal Knowledge	Personal knowledge (long-term, general state)
Imperfective	Volitional	Sens. (PROG)	Fact (IPF)	Sensorial	Sensorial (specific, or repeated direct experience)
Future	Volitional	Non-volitional		Factive (familiar knowledge)	Factive (generic knowledge)

Semantics of Egophoric differs depending on predicate type (both Lhasa and Amdo)

Amdo Evidential Contrasts

Perfective	Volitional		Past-Sensorial	Inference	Factive Egophoric	Factive Allophoric
Imperfective	Volitional	Objective	Past-Sensorial	Inference	(Factive Egophoric)*	Factive Allophoric
Future	Volitional			Non-volitional		
States (Controllable)	Subjective	Objective	Past-Sensorial	Inference	Factive Egophoric	Factive Allophoric
States (Non-controllable)	Self	Other	Past-Sensorial	Inference	Factive Egophoric	Factive Allophoric

Is Egophoricity a non-evidential contrast in Amdo?

- Amdo Tibetan system seems to have an egophoricity domain that is distinct from (but connected to) evidentiality

- Subjective/objective distinction (contrast not of information access, but of familiarity toward information per Kamio's Territory of information?)

6. *ŋa kormo me (-kə)*
1S.DAT money NEG.EXIST-OBJ
'I don't have money (right now).'

❖ Unlike Past-Sensorial and Inference markers, information access is not highly salient for *-kə*.

7. *kʰərga kormo me -ziç*
3S.DAT money NEG.EXIST -INF

'He has no money.' (Looking at the way he's dressed and the large blanket he carries around with him.)

8. *kʰərga kormo me -tʰa*
3S.DAT money NEG.EXIST -PST.SENS

'He had/has no money.' (I was with him last night when he discovered that his wallet and phone had been stolen.)

Synchronic evidence of different status of Egophoric between Amdo and Lhasa

- Morphologically un-marked category in Amdo = Egophoric

9. *ŋi* *zama* *zu*
1S.ERG food eat.PFV -EGO

'I ate (already).'

- Morphologically un-marked category in Lhasa = Direct evidence/non-Egophoric

10. *p^hèjy* *-le* *kjà̂var* *tç^hé.wa* (*jòre*)
Nepal -ABL India bigger FACT

'(I personally know) India is bigger than Nepal.)

Amdo Egophoricity = Kamio's "personal" vs.
"public" information

11. *štsemo* =ZIÇ *caŋ* *bke* *-pi* *me*
game =INDEF any laugh -NMZ EXIST.NEG. EGO

'There wasn't any one (particular) game that (we) played.'

(This information is about me. I was aware of the situation at the time.)

12. *ʌla* *-na* *šta* =ZIÇ *-a* *tí* *re*
rent -COND horse =INDEF -DAT how.much COP. ALLO

'How much to rent a horse?'

(Anyone could/should know this.)

Egophoricity as a separate category in Amdo:

- Egophoricity appears to operate at multiple levels.

- Factive contrast between Allo/Ego

13. *ŋa* *c^hɪm* *-na* *jo* *-nəɪɪn*
1s home -LOC EXIST -FACT.EGO

'I am/was at home.' (Strong confirmation?)

14. *k^hərgə* *c^hɪm* *-na* *jo* *-nəre*
3S home -LOC EXIST -FACT.ALLO

'They are/were at home.' (Strong confirmation)

- In addition to Subjective/Objective contrast (for Assertor-subjects)

15. *ŋa* *c^hɪm* *-na* *jo*
1s home -LOC EXIST.EGO

'I am/was at home.'

“Non-canonical” uses of (non)Egophoric in Amdo

- For stative verbs:
 - Non-controllable states are always non-egophoric
 - Controllable states: the Assertor needs to be an instigator or an effected participant to trigger Egophoric marking.
 - Objective marking is almost always an acceptable alternative to Egophoric, however.
 - Except for the Gcig.sgril dialect of Mgolog, Egophoric marking can be extended to family members, etc.
- Assertor shift but also shift between subjective/objective

“Non-canonical” uses of (non)Egophoric in Amdo
(Actually, high frequency suggests not non-canonical)

- For equative sentences:
 - Egophoric *jin* can be used for situations that somehow involve the assertor, even when assertor isn't the subject
 - Allophoric *re* is often used for assertor-subjects
 - Past Sensorial Evidence *-t^ha* and Inferential *-ziç* are frequently used, with same function as in stative and activity sentences
 - Factive *jinnəre* is used with a “remote” primary sense, and an epistemic certainty extended sense
- Assertor shift but also shift between subjective/objective

“Non-canonical” uses of (non)Egophoric in Amdo
(Actually, high frequency suggests not non-canonical)

- For verbal predicates:
 - Egophoric used for non-assertor subjects when **speaker** has a causal or “immediate” connection to the event
 - Flexibility in Factive between Ego/Allo when assertor is one of multiple subjects

“Canonical” assertor shift

- Assertor role can be shifted to a third person, such as when repeating reported information.

18. *mərgə* *ɣcigo* *zɔn* *-ni* *soŋ* *-nəre*
3S.F alone ride -CV go.PST -PFV.ALLO

‘She rode alone.’

19. *mərgə* *ɣcigo* *zɔn* *-ni* *soŋ* *-nəjin* =zer
3S.F alone ride -CV go.PST -PFV.EGO =RPT

‘She_i says she_i rode alone.’

Flexibility in assigning privileged access

- When the assertor is construed as the sole **volitional instigator** of an event the egophoric form is obligatory.

20. *ŋa* *raŋ* *-gə* *ɣciŋo* *ʒon* *-ni* *soŋ* **-nəjin**
1S self -GEN alone ride -CV go.PST **-FACT.EGO**

‘I rode (a horse) all by myself.’ (Speaker is recounting a horse trek from the previous summer.)

21. *ŋts^ho* *bgjat* *ta* *ʂkora* *ji* *soŋ* **-a**
lake eight then revolution make go.PFV **-EGO**

‘We circumambulated eight lakes.’ (Speaker is describing the same horse trek as above).

Non-canonical “shifts”

Mgolog uses egophoric to express information is close to assertor

<i>22. ta</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>ŋitɕ^ha</i>	<i>jitɣ-kə</i>
now	3S.F.ERG	1PL.DAT	writing-INST

<i>ɸtsab</i>	<i>-no</i>	<i>ɕ^hitɣə</i>	<i>bzaŋ</i>	<i>-a</i>
teach	-NMZ	very	be.good	-EGO

'She taught us really well.'

Flexibility in assigning privileged access

- Sometimes egophoric is used when the assertor isn't an instigator, but is **affected by the situation**.

23. *jɪɖon* *ɕɪɣə* *bzanɲ* **-gə**

Yedrol very be.good **-TEST**

'Yedrol is very good.' (Speaker personally knows her.)

24. *ʈokmo* *jɪɖon* *ɲi* *ʂtaŋa* *ɕɪɣə* *bzanɲ* **-a**

friend.F Yedrol 1S.GEN on very be.good **-EGO**

'Friend Yedrol is very good to me.'

When assertor is one of multiple assertors, there is flexibility in assuming (non-) privileged access.

25. *c^hItç^ha* *nəbmo* *tç^hI* =ZIÇ *-i* *ηa* *-nəre*
2.PL evening what =INDEF -INST sleep -FACT.ALLO

‘What did you two sleep on at night?’ (Asking in formal interview)

26. *nəbmo* *ηIηiya* *kəɾ* *çCIγ* *-kə* *naηa* *ηa* *-nəre*
Evening 1DU tent one -GEN inside sleep -FACT.ALLO

‘At night we two slept in one tent.’

Maybe assertor shift and shifting between privileged and non-privileged access are two different processes?

Shift from subjective to objective: introducing a concept to an infant

27. *ŋa* *si* *re* / *ŋa* *aʒaŋ* *re*
1S who COP.ALLO 1S uncle COP.ALLO

‘Who am I? I’m ‘Maternal Uncle’!

In botquestion, **the assertor role is assigned to the addressee**. In response, *re* is used because this is the first time the word ‘uncle’ is being presented to the addressee.

- Shift from privileged to non-privileged access (**from subjective to objective**) (Lhasa and Amdo)

28. *ani* *ŋa* *tandən* *re*
aunt 1S Tantrim COP.FACT

‘Aunty, I’m Tandrim.’ (Speaking to a blind or cognitively impaired relative. Also, correcting a mistake.)

Consultant feels that the *re* is NOT expressing the perspective of Aunty, or at least not her perspective alone, but is rather expressing a sort of objective reality to someone who is not aware of it (but should be).

Emotional “immediacy” for Egophoric in cases where Assertor is one of many participants

28. *nəbmo* *ηιηα* *kə* *γciγ* *-γə* *naηa* *ηa* *-nəre*
Evening 2DU tent one -GEN inside sleep -FACT.ALLO
'At night we two slept in a tent.' **(objective view)**

29. *ηitç^{hi}* *lam* *-ni* *šte* *çor* *bgat* *çor* *joη* *-nəjin*
1PL.ERG road -ABL game play laugh play come -FACT.EGO
'We played games and laughed on that trip.' **(subjective view)**

“Objective” fact in such cases when
Allophoric form is used

30. <i>lo</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>-γə</i>	<i>†optox</i>	<i>re</i>
year	how.many	-GEN	classmate	COP.ALLO

‘So, how many years were you guys classmates for?’

31. <i>ηιηιγε</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>γηι</i>	<i>-γə</i>	<i>†optox</i>	<i>re</i>
1DU	year	two	-GEN	classmate	COP.ALLO

‘We two were classmates for two years.’

Shifting to subjective to show Assertor's involvement or responsibility

32. *k^həga* *nde* *joŋ* *-gəjo*
3S DEM.DAT come -PROG.EGO

'He is coming here.' (Speaker is with the subject or is the one who made the subject come.)

Chapcha dialect of Amdo Tibetan, spoken in Gonghe County, adapted from Ebihara (2018:242).

Shifting from objective to subjective

33) *təxə* *φcamştsetcan* =ZİÇ *jin*
and compassionate.being =INDEF COP.EGO
'Also, (she) was a kind person.'

Most of Amdo can extend ‘Personal’ knowledge, but Gcig.sgril can’t

Dzangthang Mgolog

36. *ŋi atɕe laobɛn re / jɪn*
1S.GEN sister business.owner COP.ALLO COP.EGO

‘My older sister is a business owner.’ (Speaker lives with sister and sometimes helps with the business.)

Gcig.sgril Mgolog

37. *ŋi atɕe laobɛn re / *jɪn*
1S.GEN sister business.owner COP.ALLO *COP.EGO

‘My older sister is a business owner.’ (Speaker lives with sister and sometimes helps with the business.)

Under some circumstances, Gcig.sgril speakers can use the egophoric equative with a 3rd person non-assertor

38. *ηə c^ho ηi rɣɛrgan =ziç ηoφtoχ ji -la -ja*
 1S.ERG 2S.DAT 1S.GEN teacher =DEF introduce do -EMP -SFP

'I shall introduce a teacher of mine to you.'

39. *mo heloŋtɕaŋ -ni joŋ -nəre*
 3S.F Heilongjiang -ABL come **-FACT.ALLO**

'She comes from Heilongjiang.'

40. *rɣamo =ziç re | çɕiγə rɣɛrgan bzaŋbo =ziç jin*
 Han.F =INDEF **COP.ALLO** very teacher good =INDEF **COP.EGO**

Citations

- Creissels, Denis. 2008. Remarks on so-called ‘conjunct/disjunct’ systems. Paper presented at the conference *Syntax of the World’s Languages III*, Berlin.
- DeLancey, Scott. 2018. Evidentiality in Tibetic. In: Alexandra Yurievna Aikhenvald (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of evidentiality*, 580–594. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ebihara, Shiho. 2019. *Amudo-tibettogo bunpoo* [Grammar of Amdo Tibetan]. Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo.
- Haller, Felix. 2004. *Dialekt und Erzaehlungen von Themchen*. Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH.
- Jin, Peng. 1979. Lun zangyu lasa kouyu dongci de tedian yu yufa jiegou de guanxi. [On the characteristics of the verb in spoken Lhasa Tibetan and their relationship with grammatical structure]. *Minzu Yuwen* 1979(3). 172-81
- Kamio, Akio. 1997. *Territory of Information*. John Benjamins Publishing.
- Shao, Mingyuan. 2014. *Anduo Zangyu Arouhua de shizheng fanchou*. [Evidentiality in A-rig dialect of Amdo Tibetan]. Nankai University. (Doctoral dissertation.)
- Sun, Jackson T.-S. 1993. Evidentials in Amdo Tibetan. *Bulletin of the institute of history and philology* 63(4). 945–1001.
- Sung, Kuo-Ming & Blabyamsrgyal. 2005. *Colloquial Amdo Tibetan*. Beijing: Tibetology Publishing House.
- Tournadre, Nicolas. 1992. La deixis en tibétain: quelques faits remarquable. On Morel M. A et Danon-Boileau (eds.) *La Deixis*, 197-208. Paris.
- Tournadre, Nicolas & LaPolla, Randy J. 2014. Towards a new approach to evidentiality: Issues and directions for research. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 37(2): 240-263.
- Tribur, Zoe. 2019. *A Verbal Morphology of Amdo Tibetan*. Ph.D dissertation. University of Oregon, Eugene.
- Zemp, Marius. 2017. “The origin of the opposition between Testimonial and Factual Evidentials in Purik and other varieties of Tibetan.” *Open Linguistics* (3), 613-637.

བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ།

- This research made possible by funding from Chinese Ministry of Science and Technology

