Grammaticalized evidentiality in the Greater Himalayan Region

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Introduction

- Comparative diachronic-functional accounts of grammaticalized evidential distinctions in the Greater Himalayan Region (GHR) convey a picture of the phenomenon which strikingly differs from that presented by Aikhenvald (2004, 2018). Most notably, while Aikhenvald and the linguistic mainstream along with her follow Willett (1988: 91) in excluding agentive markers from the discussion, research on grammaticalized evidentiality in the GHR suggests that a descriptively adequate account must include such markers.

- In fact, most of the evidential contrasts we find in this region may be said to involve 'egophoric' and 'allophoric' markers, that is, markers which mainly occur when the speaker respectively is and isn't the subject in a statement (Tournadre 1991; Floyd, Norcliffe & San Roque 2018). However, nowhere do the contrasting evidentials keep to their ego- and allophoric domains in a strict fashion, and it is their overreaching uses which best allow us to distinguish their basic meanings.

Outline

1. The three basic types of evidential contrasts found in the GHR
   A. Factual vs. sensory evidential
   B. Privileged (conjunct) vs. non-privileged access (disjunct)
   C. Direct vs. indirect evidential
2. Characteristics which all these evidential contrasts share, and which allow us to identify a diachronic mechanism that distinguishes
   - **evidentials defined against other evidentials**

     from
   - **evidentials defined in their own right** (such as inferentials and reportatives)
3. Are there evidential contrasts in other regions of the world?
4. Conclusion

1. The three basic types of evidential contrasts found in the GHR

A.I.   Factual vs. direct evidence

A.II. High vs. low degree of personal involvement

A.III. Assimilated vs. newly-integrated knowledge

B.   Privileged vs. non-privileged access

C.   Direct vs. indirect evidence

	egophoric ~ speaker is the subject	**allophoric ~** speaker isn't the subject

Attested types:

A: factual

sensory evidential

B: privileged

non-privileged access

C: direct

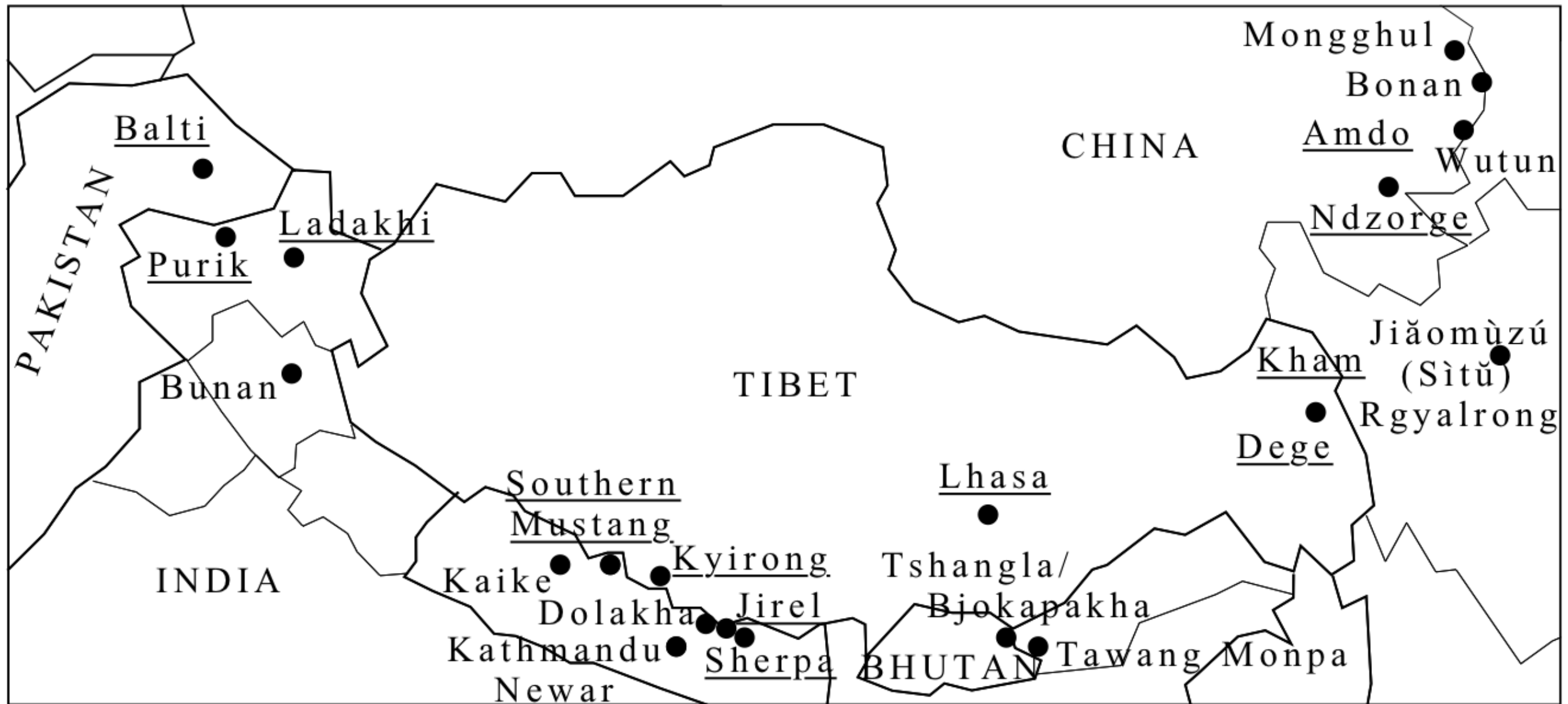indirect

insider

outsider

Map of the Greater Himalayan Region

A.1. Factual vs. direct

- Purik Tibetan:

  Contrasting with *'dug*, which indicates that a present state was directly witnessed, *yod* indicates that the speaker simply knows this present state (Zemp 2017).

Existential copulas in Purik Tibetan: factual *jot* vs. direct evidential *duk*

- Statement:

(1) *zamb-e-ri-ka*   *pulispa*   **jot**   / **duk**

bridge-GEN-DEM-LOC police.man   EX.**FACT** / EX.**DIREV**

'(I know / I saw that) there are policemen by the bridge.'

- Question:

(2) *zamb-e-ri-ka*   *pulispa*   **jot-a**   / **dug-a**

bridge-GEN-DEM-LOC police.man   EX.**FACT-Q** / EX.**DIREV-Q**

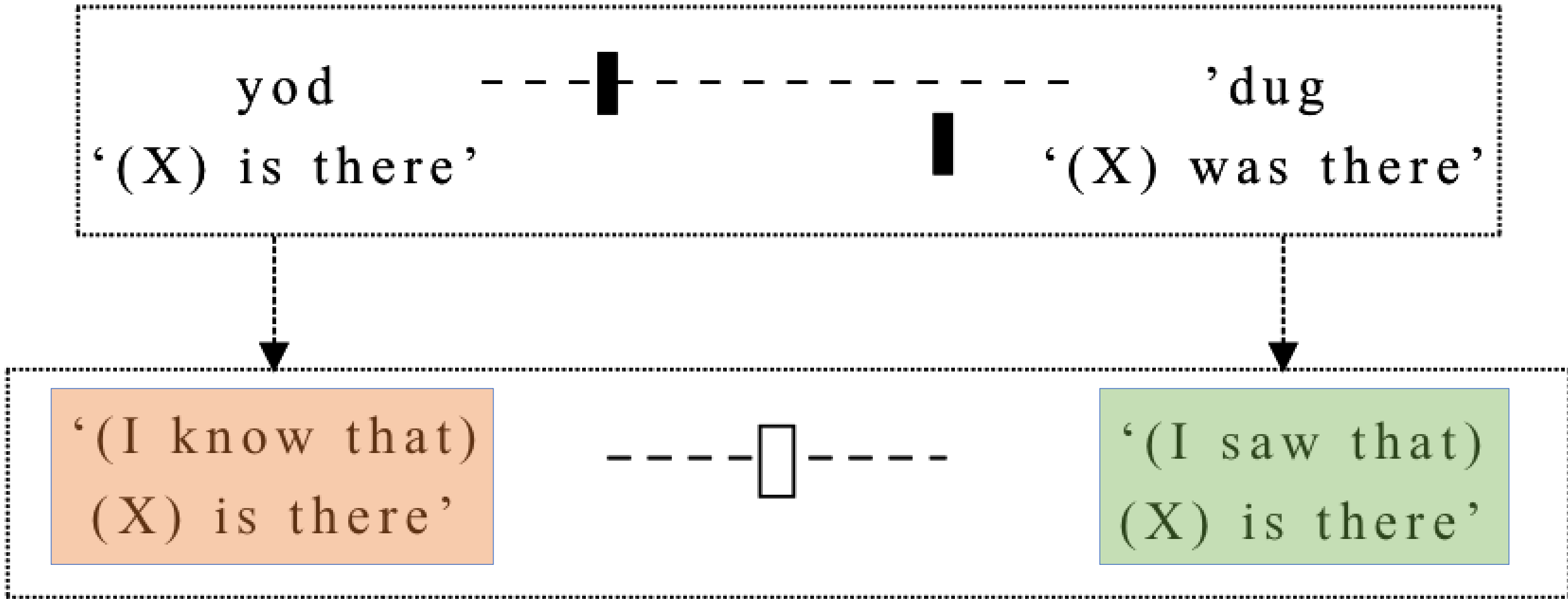'Are there policemen by the bridge (do you know / did you see)?'

- (Simple, non-reported) statement:

(3) *ŋa-a*   *pene*   *maŋmo*   **jot**   /   **duk**
   I-DAT   money   a.lot   EX.**FACT**/ EX.**DIREV**
   '(I know / I saw that) I have a lot of money.'

- Reported statement:

(4) *kʰo-a*   *pene*   *maŋmo*   **jod-lo**   /   **dug-lo**
   s/he-DAT   money   a.lot   EX.**FACT**-QUOT / EX.**DIREV**-QUOT
   'S/he has a lot of money (the source knows / saw).'

Tense/aspect- or TA-alignment

Kyirong (Huber 2005) *V-s-yod* vs. *V-s-'dug*

(5) ŋa̱ du̱ŋmō-la ɕẽ̄: cāb-jø:

I churn-LOC hoop put-PERF.**EXPER**

'I have put hoops around the churn.'

(6) kʰø̀: cīrō̃:-la kʰāŋbā cāb-jø:

he:ERG Kyirong-LOC house built-PERF.**EXPER**

'He has built a house in Kyirong.'

(7) nām tʰīm-nu:

sky be.covered-PERF.**SENS**

'The sky is covered.'

Purik *V-set (< *V-s-yod)* vs. *V-suk (< *V-s-'dug)*

- That the factual construction is not only used when the informant is the subject, but sometimes also when s/he isn't, is also clear in Purik, where the two discussed resultative constructions have come to primarily refer to past events, as illustrated on the following slides.

V-*suk* (<**V-s-'dug*) 'V appears to have taken place'

(8) *tʃuli   sarasire   soŋ*-**suk**,   *ot   pʰoχ*-**suk**
apricot   reddish   went-**INFR**   light   hit-**INFR**
tʃuli   karpo   ʃes-en-duk
apricot   white   be.recognized-PROGR-EX.DIREV
'The apricots have become reddish, the light hit them (they have come to shine); the apricots look bright.'

V-*set* (<*V-s-yod*) '(I know that) V has taken place'

- With **informant-subject**:

(9) *kʰo-a*   *skje-ʃik*   *kʰur-**set**-a*
     s/he-DAT   gift-INDEF   carry-**RES**-Q
     'Did you bring her a present?'

(10) *marpo zaŋsbw-i-aŋ*   *taŋ-se*   *ʒu-**set***   *ŋa-s*
     red   copper.pot-GEN-INE   give-CNJ   melt-**RES**   I-ERG
     'I've melted (it) in a red copper pot.'

- With **other subject:**

(11) *ɲim-e-ka*   *kʰa-o*   *ʒu-set*
      sun-GEN-LOC   snow-DEF   melt-**RES**
      'The snow has melted in the sun.
      (I've been aware of it at several stages.)'

(12) *nas*   *smin-set*
      wheat   ripen-**RES**
      'The wheat has ripened.'
      (I've been observing it.)

Summing up

- In profiling a present state (viz. result of a past event), Proto Western Tibetan (see Zemp 2017) existential copula *jot* (meaning 'is there') became contrasted with the Simple Past *duk* meaning 'stayed, was there' – While the latter came to imply that the present state was recently witnessed, the former came to imply that the speaker simply knows it.
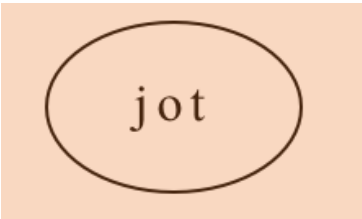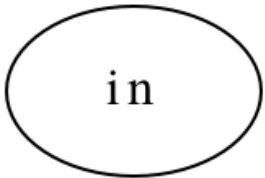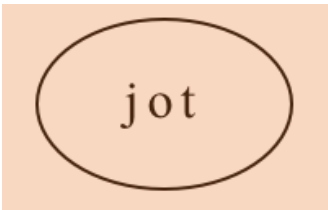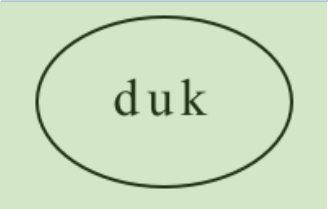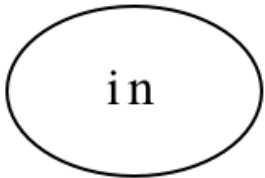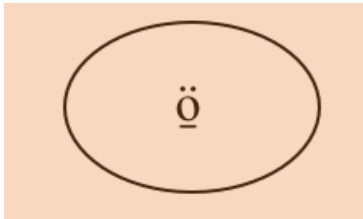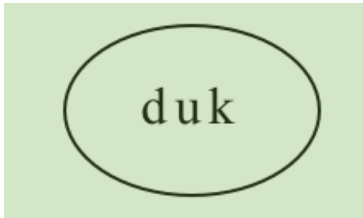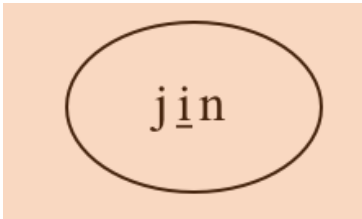
The **ternary** distinction of existential copulas in Ladakhi

- While Purik has two evidentially contrasting existential copulas, factual *jot* and direct evidential *duk*, in Ladakhi, a neighboring dialect east of Purik, a third existential copula denoting **non-visual sensory** evidence evolved from the Simple Past *rag* *'was felt'.
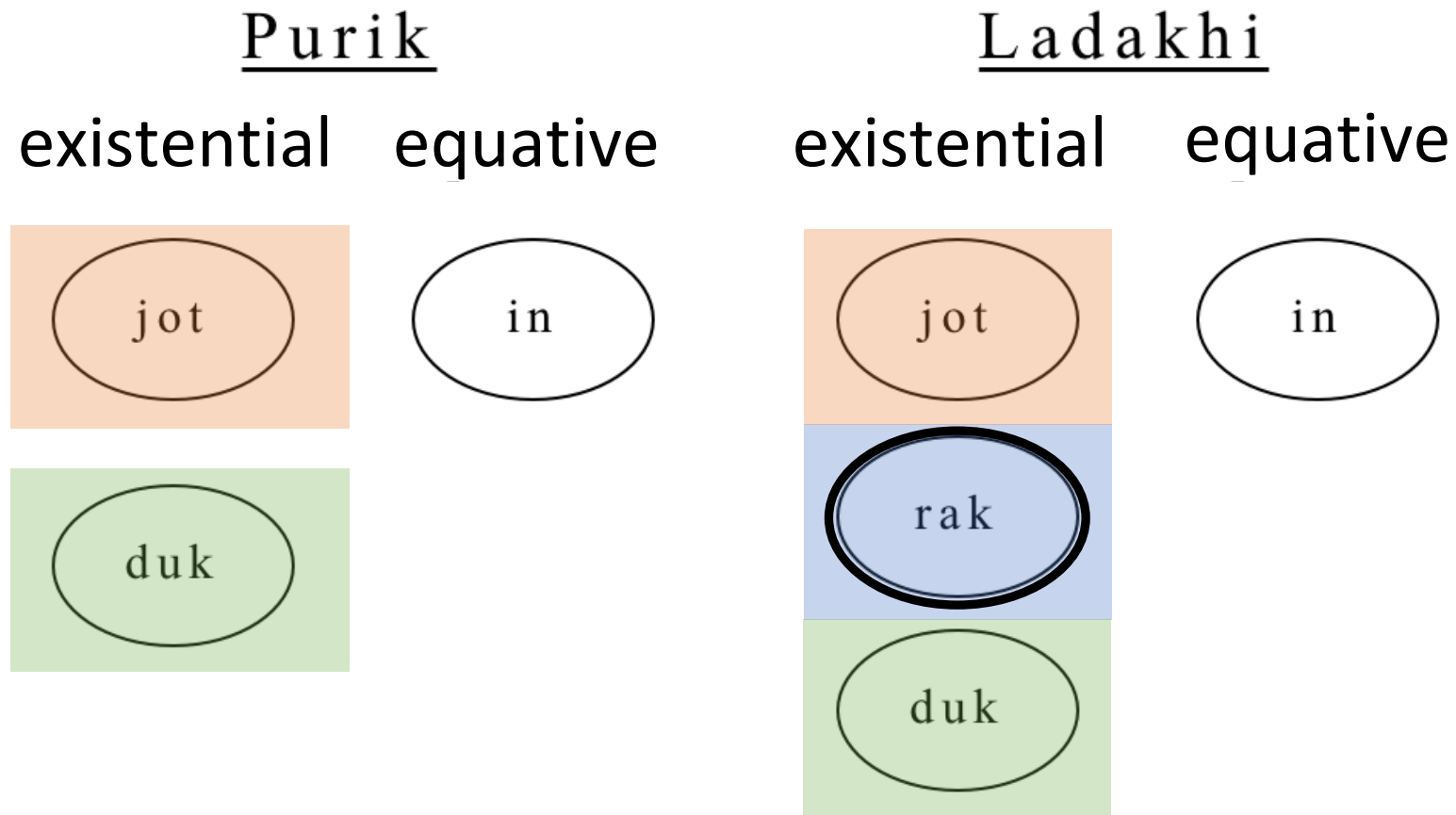
A.2. High vs. low degree of personal involvement

- While Ladakhi thus has three evidentially contrasting existential copulas (*jot, rak,* and *duk*) but only one basic equative copula (*in,* Written Tibetan *yin*), the same *rak* became contrasted with the equative copula (*jin*) in the mid-western Tibetic dialect of Southern

Southern Mustang equative copulas

(13) *tȉ* ŋ-*i̱* kʰaŋpa *ji̱n* / *ra̱k*
this I-ERG home EQ.**PERS** / EQ.**NEUTR**
'This is my home.' (Kretschmar 1995: 109:
ji̱n conveys greater personal engagement,
ra̱k is neutrally "konstatierend")

(14) ŋ*a̱* cȅwo *ji̱n* / *ra̱k*
I king EQ.**PERS** / EQ.**NEUTR**
'I am the king.' (Kretschmar 1995: 109:
ji̱n conveys a stronger emotional connotation,
ra̱k general validity)

Dege-Kham (Häsler 2001: 10):

(16) ŋa̠ xīlɛ̄: ɕe̠: ɲə̄ jĩ̠:
I'ABS fieldwork do person be

'I am a farmhand.'

(17) kʰō xīlɛ̄: ɕe̠: ɲə̄ re̠:
he'ABS fieldwork do person be

'He is a farmhand.'

Dege-Kham (Häsler 2001: 14, 15):

(34)

A: 'What work is he doing now?'

B: 'He is at home now and has no work.'

A: 'Well, if he has no work, tell him to come here and carry wood.'

B: lạso, lạso. ŋɛ: kʰō-la sẹ: tsʰō. kʰō tạtā ọ̃:-le jĩ:
yes, yes. I'ERG he-DAT say will. he'ABS immediately come-IPFV be

'Yes sir, yes sir! I'll tell him. He shall come immediately.'

(Kraft and Hu (1990): 52.13)

(36) ŋạ dēkē-le ndzọ-le rẹ:
I Dege-DAT go-IPFV be

'I am going to Dege.' (The speaker talks about her dream.)

Southern Mustang Tibetan
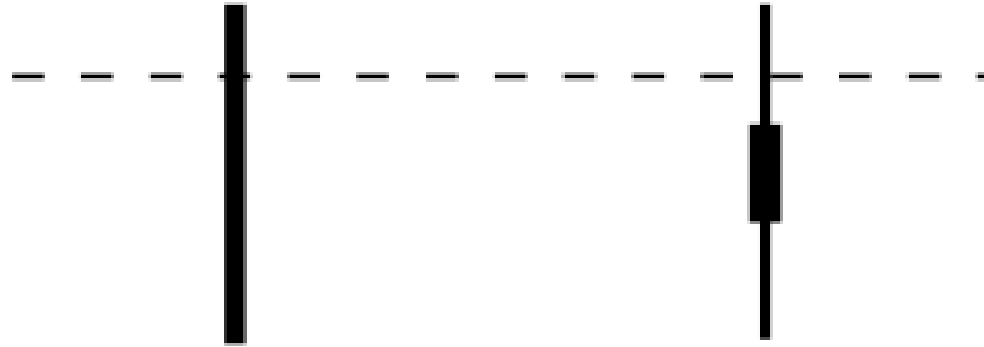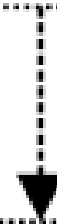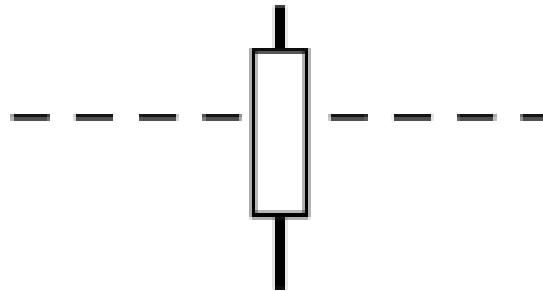
Summing up: Tibetan *yin* vs. *rag ~ re(d)*

- In profiling an identity, the equative copula *yin* (meaning 'is') in Pre-Southern Mustang Tibetan became contrasted with the Simple Past *rag* meaning 'was felt' – While the latter came to imply that an identity was felt from the outside, the former came to imply that the speaker simply knows it, and that s/he must have therefore been personally involved in it.

Mongghul (Southern Mongolic; cf. Chinggeltai 1989; Georg 2003; Faehndrich 2007; Åkerman 2012):

- 'Subjective' (= high personal involvement, **HPI**) **-ii** and 'objective' (= low personal involvement, **LPI**) **-a** predominantly occur when the speaker respectively is and isn't the subject. However, they symmetrically deviate from this predominant pattern: -ii may be used when the speaker is *not* the subject of the event profiled when s/he was *personally involved to a higher degree* than one would expect from a non-subject, and -a may be used when the speaker *is* the subject when s/he was *personally involved to a lower degree* than one would expect from a subject. Thus, the two contrasting markers symmetrically encroach on each other's domains.

(16) *bu re-gun-ii*
    I   come-FUT-**HPI**
    'I will come.'

(17) *tie re-gun-a*
    s/he come-FUT-**LPI**
    'He will come.'

(18) *tie tara ghadi-la xi-gun-ii*
    s/he crops harvest-PURP go-FUT-**HPI**
    'He will go to harvest the crops (I decided).'

(19) *bu re-gun-a*
    I   come-FUT-**LPI**
    'I'll come (because I am told to).'

Interim conclusion

- **The discussed evidentials have no noticeable semantic effect when they occur in their "typical environments"** (egophoric markers with informant-subjects and allophoric markers with other subjects), i.e. they don't express anything that isn't already clear from the context (such as personal pronouns denoting the subject).

- Hence, in order to distinguish different types of ego- and allophoric markers, we need to pay special attention to their uses in **"atypical environments,"** where their semantics are manifested more clearly,
  - as best illustrated by Mongghul *-ii* and *-a* on slide 27;
  - Purik V-*set*, on the other hand, cannot mean HPI on slide 17, as the speaker has no influence on the melting of snow in (11) or the ripening of wheat in (12) – instead, it appears to mean that the speaker simply knows.

A.3. Assimilated vs. newly-integrated knowledge

- A third type of evidential contrasts may be identified in Wutun (Sandman 2016), a Sinitic language strongly influenced by Amdo Tibetic.

- The contrast between Wutun *-yek* and *-li*, which may be analyzed as respectively indicating assimilated and newly-integrated knowledge about an ongoing event, is again illustrated by two "typical" and two "atypical" examples on the next slide.

Wutun -*yek* vs. -*li* (Sandman 2016: 182, 183, 279):

(457)   *ngu*   *rek*   *qe-di-yek*

       1SG   meat   eat-PROGR-EGO

       'I am eating meat.' (Cairangji)

(463)   *aba*   *yinhang-li*   *xawa*   *wanlan-di-yek*

       father   bank-LOC   work   do-PROGR-EGO

       'My father works in a bank.'

       (Janhunen 2009: 132, Sandman's glosses)

(697)   *gu-ha e-di-li*

       3SG-OD hungry-PROGR-SEN.INF

       'S/he is hungry.' (Xiawu

                  Dongzhou)

(460)   *ngu-de*   *tuze*   *e-di-li*

       1SG-ATTR stomach hungry-PROGR-SEN.INF

       'I am hungry.' (Cairangji)

(8) *ni*   *ya-li-ge*   *qui-lai-da*

     2SG   yard-LOC-REF   exit-COME-IMP

     ni   *ngu-de*   *yangze-ge*   *jhan-da*   *ni-de*

     2SG   1SG-ATTR   appearance-REF   see-IMP   2SG-A TTR

     xen   *beibo-**yek***   *ya*

     heart explode-**EGO**   EMPH

     'Come out to the yard, look at me, and your heart will explode! [Folktale_Pilgrimage1102006]

Parallel developments: egophoric < copula

- *'dug* 'was there', *rag* 'was felt', and *li* *'became' all originally indicated past events, whereas the copulas with which they became contrasted have always indicated a present state (or identity).

- So, contrasting markers, which originally had distinct tense/aspect- or TA-values, in the course of their evidentialization appear to have aligned these TA-values.

- Their shared TA-value (present) reflects the contexts in which the two forms became contrasted and defined against each other: they were all contrasted in talking about a present state (or identity), and it is in this context that their contrasting evidential implications grammaticalized together with the shared TA-value.

yod 'is   - - - -▮- - - - - - - - - - - -   'dug 'was there'
yek there'   ▮   li 'became'
yin 'is'   rag 'was felt'

'(I know that)   - - - -▯- - - -   '(I learned that)
(X) is (there)'   (X) is (there)'

- "Factual," "high personal involvement," and "assimilated knowledge" are **three subtypes of (factual) egophoric markers which may occur also when the speaker isn't the subject** – this distinguishes them from **a second type of egophoric marker** identified in the GHR, which **only occurs when the speaker is the subject**, indicates **privileged access** (Hargreaves 2005) to the information conveyed in a sentence and contrasts with an allophoric marker indicating non-privileged access.

- It is this fourth type of ego- vs. allophoric contrasts for which Austin Hale (1971, 1980) proposed the term **"conjunct-disjunct,"** and besides Kathmandu Newar, we have been able to identify it in West Himalayish Bunan, in Kaike, and in Dolakha Newar.

B. Privileged vs. non-privileged access (conjunct vs. disjunct)

- For all of the mentioned languages, we may observe that while the **conjunct** (= **privileged** access) markers in statements **only occur when the speaker is the subject**, the **disjunct** (= **non-privileged** access) markers not only occur whenever the speaker isn't the subject, but sometimes also when s/he is, namely to signal that s/he lacked the privileged access one would expect from such a subject (typically control over her/his own action).

Kathmandu Newar conjunct V-*ā* vs. disjunct V-*a*

(34) *ji ana* *wanā*
      I there went.CONJ
      'I went there.'

(35) *wa ana* *wana*
      he there went.DISJ
      'He went there.'

(38) *ji gwārā* *tul-ā* / *tul-a*
      I ball roll-PFV.CONJ / roll-PFV.DISJ
      'I rolled over.' (on purpose / by accident)

(37) waa   wa ana *wanā*   / *wana*   dhakāā dhāla
he.ERG [he there went.CONJ / went.DISJ] COMP   said
'He$_i$ said that he$_{i/j}$ went there.'

(41) wã: tā:s   mhit-ā   *cwan-ā*   / *cwan-a*   hã
3:ERG   cards   play-CNC   stay-PST.CONJ / stay-PFV.DISJ   QUOT
'S/he said / It is said that s/he is playing cards.'

(42) ji: jyā   *yān-ā*   cwan-ā
I:ERG   work   do-CNC   stay-PST.CONJ
'I was doing some work.'
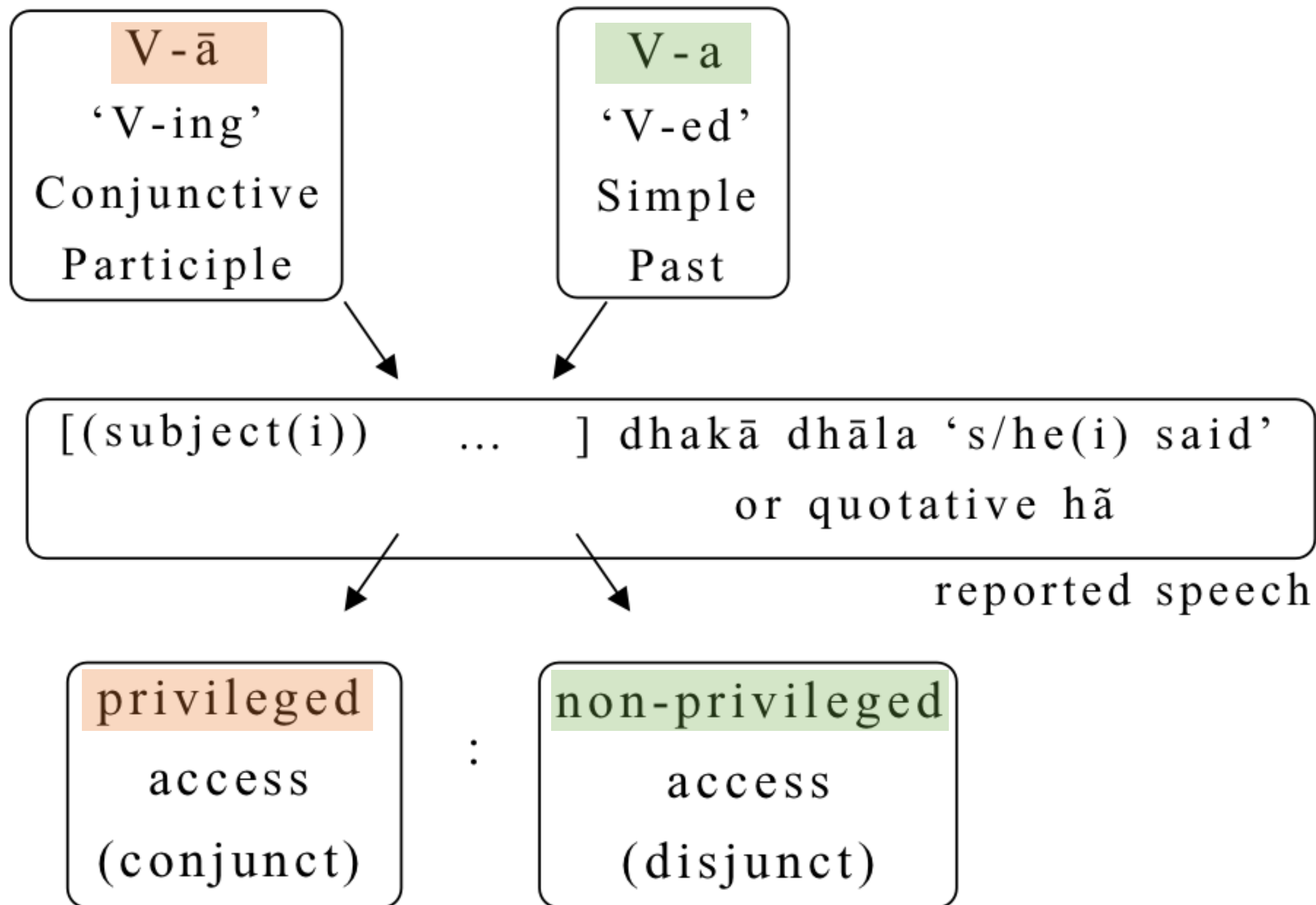
West Himalayish Bunan: conjunct V-*ek* (< 1st pers.) vs. disjunct V-*are* (< 3rd pers.)

(20) *gi*   *len*   *lik-tɕ-ek*
     1SG   work   do-TR-PRS.**CONJ**.SG
     'I am working.'

(21) *han=dzi* *kʰa*   *lik-tɕ-ek*
     2=ERG.SG what   do-TR-PRS.**CONJ**.SG
     'What are you doing?'

(22) *dordʑe=dzi*   *dzaŋpo=tok*   *dzamen* *lik-tɕ-are*
     Dorje=ERG.SG Zangpo=DAT food   do-TR-PRS.**DISJ**.SG
     'Dorje is cooking food for Zangpo.'

(23) *gi   dat-k-are*
     1SG   fall-INTR-PRS.**DISJ**.SG
     'I am falling!'

(24) *gi=tok   karma   tant-k-are*
     1SG=DAT star   see-INTR-PRS.**DISJ**.SG
     'I can see the stars.'

(25) *gi   ek   bar   ra-k-are*
     1SG   one   time   come-INTR-PRS.**DISJ**.SG
     'I appear once (in this video).'

(26) *gi   tsʰer-k-ek*
     1SG   be.sad-INTR-PRS.**CONJ**.SG
     'I am sad.'

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┌─────────────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────────────┐
│        -ek (1sg)            │   │       -are (3sg)            │
│     'I am V-ing'           │   │    's/he is V-ing'         │
│    (present-future)        │   │    (present-future)        │
└─────────────────────────────┘   └─────────────────────────────┘
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┌──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  [(subject(i)) V-    ... ] rak-are 's/he(i) says'             │
└──────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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reported speech

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┌──────────────────┐          ┌──────────────────────┐
│    privileged    │    :     │   non-privileged     │
│                  │          │                      │
│     access       │          │      access          │
│   (conjunct)     │          │    (disjunct)        │
└──────────────────┘          └──────────────────────┘
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B. Privileged vs. non-privileged access
(conjunct vs. disjunct)

- For all the languages mentioned on slide 34, we may observe that while the **conjunct (= privileged** access) markers in statements **occur only when the speaker is the subject**, the **disjunct (= non-privileged** access) markers occur not only whenever the speaker isn't the subject, but sometimes also when s/he is, namely to signal that s/he lacked the privileged access one might expect from a subject.

- That the **egophoric marker has a restricted range of occurrence** coincides with the fact that it **contrasts** with the only type of **allophoric marker (non-privileged, disjunct)** that is **defined negatively**, namely, **indicates restricted access to information**.

- At the same time, the egophoric markers of this type have an inherent egophoric implication (prolonged involvement, first-person ending).

C. Direct vs. indirect

- The third main type of evidential contrasts has a less straightforward link with egophoricity, but still – let's quickly look at three subtypes found in the GHR:

i. Amdo Tibetic past **direct** V-$t^hæ$ vs. **indirect** V-$zaç$

ii. Haixi-Deedmongol past **direct** V-*lAA* (< MM V-*lUA*) vs. **indirect** V-*JEE* (< V-*JUU*)

- Only in **Mongolic** languages may the direct evidential be used also by someone who *performed* the past event, while in **Amdo Tibetic**, it may only be used by someone who *observed* it.

- The **direct** past category in some Tibetic varieties has the following subdistinction:

iii. **informant-directed** V-*byung* **vs. neutral** V-$t^hæ$ (Kham)/V-*soŋ* (Ü-Tsang)

Ndzorge-Amdo (Sun 1993):
direct *V-$t^h æ$ vs. indirect *V-$zəg$ [$zəç$]

(27) *ʈʂaɕʰi=kə*   ᴴ*tæ*   *ɲu=tʰæ*
Bkra-shis=ERG horse buy=**DIREV**
'(I saw that) Tashi bought a horse.'

(28) *ʈʂaɕʰi=kə*   ᴴ*tæ*   *ɲu=zəg*
Bkra-shis=ERG horse buy=**INDIREV**
'(It appears that) Tashi bought a horse.'

Haixi-Deedmongol **direct -*lAA*** (vs. indirect -*jee*)

subject ≠ informant:

(30) *girmaan-aas*   *ir-seng*   *kiin*   *kür-aa*   *ir-lää*
Germany-ABL   come-PFV.PTCP   person   reach-CVB   come-**DIR**.PST
'The person (who has come) from Germany has arrived [here].'

subject = informant = speaker (statement):

(31) *bi*   *odoo*   *ondoon*   *ämtan-d*   *türeesel-qig-lee*
1SG   now   other   being-DAT   rent-COMPL-**DIR**.PST
'I have now rented it to somebody else.'

subject = informant = addressee (question):

(32) *qii*   *yuu*   *aw-aa*   *ir-lää,*   *en*   *udaa*
2SG   what   take-CVB   come-**DIR**.PST   this   occasion
'What have you brought this time?'

The difference between direct evidentials in Tibetic and Mongolic

- While direct evidential V-*lAA* in Deedmongol may also be used by someone who *performed* the event profiled, V-$t^hæ$ in Amdo Tibetic may only be used by someone who *observed* it.

- The restriction of **Amdo Tibetic V-*thæ*** to non-agentive informants reflects the origin of the suffix employed, which meant **'went past'**, while the contrasting **V-*zaç*** derives from ***V-*s-'dug* 'is there, having V-ed'**

- While the ultimate origin of **Deedmongol V-*lAA*** is unclear (it derives from Middle Mongol direct evidential V-*lUGA*, for which see Brosig 2014: 33–5), its use with agentive informants suggests that it originally indicated a **(past) change of state** (rather than a past movement like Amdo Tibetic V-*thæ*).

Direct past
informant-directed V-*byung* vs. neutral V-*song*/V-*tha*

- In some Ü-Tsang Tibetic dialects, *V-*song* (pronounced [-*sõ*] or [-*so*]) contrasts with *V-*byung* [-*tɕũ*] – both indicate a directly witnessed past event, but only V-*byung* one that approached the speaker, as described for Shigatse by Haller (2000: 92-93); for Lhasa by Tournadre & Dorje (2003: 147, 129-130, 167); for Dingri by Herrmann (1989: 69-70); and for Kyirong (V-*bo* vs. V-*so*) by Huber (2005: 121-123).

- This is sensible, as *byung* originally meant 'appeared'.

- An equivalent contrast is found in Dege-Kham Tibetic, where speaker-directed V-*byung* contrasts with neutral V-*the* (discussed above for Amdo), as illustrated on the next slide.

Dege-Kham V-ɕũ: (<byung) vs. V-tʰe: (<thal)
(Häsler 1999: 191, 193)

(33) *ape*   *ŋa̠*   *nʰō*   *ɕṹ:*
father:ERG   I:ABS   hit   AUX
'Father hit me.'

(35) *kʰō*   *dʐā:*   *tʰē:*
he   sneak   AUX
'He sneaked (around).'

(34) *kʰō*   *ndʐo̠pa*   *tsē*   *ɕṹ:*
he   fast   arrive   AUX
'He has come fast hitherwards.'

(36) *ŋɛ:*   *kʰō-la*   *dʐe̠:*   *tʰē:*
I:ERG   he-DAT   hit   AUX
'I hit him.' (It was an accident.)

All of these evidential contrasts share the following characteristics

i. The contrasting markers are **defined against each other**, and hence, the contrasts are typically binary.

ii. While the markers have contrasting **implications as to how one knows** what is being profiled in a statement (i.e. as to **what a statement is based on**), one of the markers always implies longer and/or more direct personal involvement (of the 'informant' or 'primary knower', see iv.) than the other marker (which are best called **'insider** and **outsider evidentials'**, respectively).

iii. Contrasting markers have a **shared tense-aspect (TA) value** (their tertium comparationis, reflecting the context in which their contrasting evidential implications became conventionalized).

iv. Ego- and allophoric markers **reflect the perspective of the** same (evidential) origo, which corresponds to the **speaker in statements**, the **addressee in questions**, and the **source in reported speech clauses**.

An extended source determination hypothesis

- In accordance with these characteristics, we may identify a **diachronic mechanism which sets evidentials defined in contrasts apart from those defined in their own right** (such as inferentials and reportatives). The outcome of this mechanism, viz. the meaning (which typically combines a TA-value with an evidential implication) of an evidential X contrasting with another evidential Y, appears to be determined by the following parameters:

i.   the meaning of its own diachronic source (*X);

ii. the meaning of the construction (*Y) with which this *X (conventionally) became contrasted;

iii. the context(s) in which *X and *Y became contrasted;

iv. the shared TA-value *X and *Y had in this/these context(s).

Evidence for previously unidentified diachronic processes

- This diachronic scenario – that a verbal form is defined against another verbal form, as their contrasting evidential implications conventionalize – appears not have been considered in any of the cross-linguistic literature on evidentiality, such as Chafe & Nichols (1986), Willet (1988), Johanson & Utas (2000), Aikhenvald (2004, 2018), or on (the evolution of) verbal inflection in general, e.g. Comrie (1976, 1985), Dahl (1985), Palmer (1986), and Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994).

A look at evidentials in other regions

- Can we find evidential contrasts, viz. evidentials which are defined against other evidentials, also in other regions of the world?

- Yes, we can, e.g. in North American languages such as Cherokee, Amazonian languages such as Tuyuca (Eastern Tucanoan) and Quechua, and in the New Guinea Highlands (e.g. Huli).

- The types found in these regions have a number of features which have not been found in the GHR.

- But let's first have a look at Aikhenvald's „evidentiality systems with two choices"…

TABLE 2.1 Semantic parameters in evidentiality systems

		I. VISUAL	II. SENSORY	III. INFERENCE	IV. ASSUMPTION	V. HEARSAY	VI. QUOTATIVE
2 choices	A1	firsthand		non-firsthand			
	A1	firsthand	non-firsthand				
	A1	firsthand		non-firsthand		different system or <no term>	
	A4	<no term>	non-visual	<no term>		reported	
3 choices	B1	direct		inferred		reported	
	B2	visual	non-visual	inferred		<no term>	
	B2	visual	non-visual	inferred			
	B3	visual	non-visual	<no term>		reported	
	B4	<no term>	non-visual	inferred		reported	
4 choices	C1	visual	non-visual	inferred		reported	
	C2	direct		inferred	assumed	reported	
	C3	direct		inferred		reported	quotative
5 choices	D1	visual	non-visual	inferred	assumed	reported	

Aikhenvald's (2004: 25) "evidentiality systems with two choices"

A1. Firsthand and Non-firsthand;

A2. Non-firsthand versus 'everything else';

A3. Reported (or 'hearsay') versus 'everything else';

A4. Sensory evidence and Reported (or 'hearsay');

A5. Auditory (acquired through hearing) versus 'everything else'.

A1: Cherokee (Iroquoian, Pulte 1985, Aikhenvald 2004: 26–7)

2.3 wesa u-tlis-ʌʔi
cat it-run-FIRSTH.PAST
'A cat ran' (I saw it running)

2.4 un-atiyohl-ʌʔi
they-argue-FIRSTH.PAST
'They argued' (I heard them arguing)

2.5 uhyʌdla u-nolʌn-ʌʔi
cold it-blow-FIRSTH.PAST
'A cold wind blew' (I felt the wind)

2.6 uyo ges-ʌʔi
spoiled be-FIRSTH.PAST
'It was spoiled' (I smelled it)

2.7 u-wonis-eʔi
he-speak-NON.FIRSTH.PAST
'He spoke' (someone told me)

2.8 u-gahnan-eʔi
it-rain-NON.FIRSTH.PAST
'It rained' (I woke up, looked
out and saw puddles of water)

For A2, A3, and A5, however, 'everything else' is not marked

- Regarding A3, Aikhenvald (2004: 31) writes: „The reported term is marked, and the non-reported ('everything else') term is not marked."
- The 'everything else' category is unmarked also for A2 and A5.
- But knowing how contrasting evidentials may affect each other's meanings, can we really expect for the unmarked 'everything else' category in A2 to develop a 'firsthand' meaning like the marked category contrasting with 'non-firsthand' in A1?

A1	firsthand	non-firsthand
A2	non-firsthand	–
A3	reported	–
A4	sensory	reported
A5	auditory	–

A1	firsthand	non-firsthand
A2	–	non-firsthand
A3	–	reported
A4	sensory	reported
A5	–	auditory

Evidentials in Tuyuca according to Barnes (1984: 258)

		Visual	Nonvisual	Apparent	Secondhand	Assumed
Past	other	-wɨ	-tɨ	-yu	-yiro	-hĩyu
	3 m. sg.	-wi	-ti	-yi	-yigɨ	-hĩyi
	3 f. sg.	-wo	-to	-yo	-yigo	-hĩyo
	3 pl.	-wa	-ta	-ya	-yira	-hĩya
Pres.	other	-a	-ga	——*	——	-ku
	3 m. sg.	-i	-gi	-hĩĩ*	——	-ki
	3 f. sg.	-yo	-go	-hĩo*	——	-ko
	3 pl.	-ya	-ga	-hĩra*	——	-kua

* There is no first-person evidential in this paradigm. (See **2.3.**) The remaining three evidentials serve for second person as well as third person.

(1) *díiga apé-wi*
'He played soccer'. (I saw him play.)

(2) *díiga apé-ti*
'He played soccer'. (I heard the game and him, but I didn't see it or him.)

(3) *díiga apé-yi*
'He played soccer'. (I have seen evidence that he played: his distinctive shoe print on the playing field. But I did not see him play.)

(4) *díiga apé-yigɨ*
'He played soccer'. (I obtained the information from someone else.)

(5) *díiga apé-hĩyi*
'He played soccer'. (It is reasonable to assume that he did.)

D. (past) visual vs. other sensory vs. inferential

- In **Tuyuca (Eastern Tucanoan)**, suffixes with an initial **-w-, -t-, and -y-** respectively indicate whether the **speaker saw a past event (-w-)** or **inferred it from other sensory (-t-) or circumstantial (-y-) evidence**; all three suffixes **agree with person, number, and gender of the subject** of the event, so that the endings are (acc. to Barnes 1984):

		Visual	Nonvisual	Apparent
Past	other	-wɨ	-tɨ	-yu
	3 m. sg.	-wi	-ti	-yi
	3 f. sg.	-wo	-to	-yo
	3 pl.	-wa	-ta	-ya

Striking differences between the evidential contrast of the Tuyuca past tense and contrasts found in the GHR

- The Tuyuca endings exhibit **agreement** (in person, number and gender) with the subject – something which is found nowhere in the GHR.

- A **ternary** contrast between two direct (**'visual'** and **'other sensory'**) and an indirect (**'inferential'**) category is nowhere found in the GHR, the most similar contrast being that of Ladakhi between a 'factual' (*jot*) and two direct present-tense existentials ('other sensory' rak < 'felt', 'visual' duk < 'there was').

E. Exclusive vs. shared knowledge

- In **Upper Napo Kichwa**, a **contrastive-focus** marker (**=*mi***) became contrasted with a **confirmative** marker (**=*tá***), whereby the two markers came to indicate whether a statement is based on the **speaker's exclusive knowledge (=*mi*)** or **knowledge shared by speaker and addressee (=*tá*)** (Grzech 2020).

- In **Sihuas Quechua**, this distinction was reanalyzed as being expressed by the vowels **-*i*** and **-*a***, which ended up in three contrastive pairs of markers indicating what Hintz & Hintz (2017: 93 ~ 5) call 'individual vs. mutual knowledge', namely 'assertive' **-*mi* vs. -*ma***, 'conjectural' **-*chri* vs. -*chra***, and 'reportative' **-*shi* vs. -*sha***.

Upper Napo Kichwa (Grzech 2020: 86, 88)

(4)

Chi	rumira	**payna**mi	churasha,	chapanushka	chibi...
Chi	rumi-ta	payguna=mi	chura-sha	chapa-nu-shka	chi-pi
D.DEM	stone-ACC	3PL =MI	put -COR	wait -3PL-ANT[6]	D.DEM-LOC

'They have placed this stone...they've waited [having put it there]' [el_25092014_03 048]

(11)

a.   A: Kamba   warmi   maybira?
         kan-pa   warmi   may-pi=ta
         2SG-GEN woman   where-LOC=INT
         'Where [is] your wife?'

c.   A: Wasiycha?
         wasi-pi=cha
         house-LOC=CHA
         'At home?'

b.   B: Wasi**mi**. | #Wasiyrá
         wasi-pi=**mi** | wasi-y=**tá**
         house-LOC=MI | house-LOC=TÁ
         'At home.'

d.   B: Wasiyrá!
         wasi-y=**rá** !
         house-LOC=TÁ
         'At home!' [el_28112014_05

Cuzco Quechua
(Faller 2002; Grzech 2016: 78)

(1)   Direct/best possible ground =*mi*

Para-sha-n=**mi**.

rain-PROG-3=**mi**

It is raining. [speaker sees that it is raining]

(2)   Conjectural =*chá*

Para-sha-n=**chá**.

rain-prog-3=**chá**

It is raining. [speaker conjectures that it is raining]

(3)   Reportative =*si*

Para-sha-n=**si**.

rain-PROG-3 =**si**

It is raining. [speaker was told that it is raining]

Striking differences between evidential contrasts found in Quechua and those found in the GHR

- Unlike any evidential contrast found in the GHR, the Quechua contrasts have **no fixed TA-values**, as they derive from focus markers (and thus occur with a variety of hosts such as nouns, adverbials, and finite verbal forms).

- Quechua contrasts have **inter-subjective** evidential meanings: =*mi* indicates knowledge which contrasts with that of the addressee, while =*tá* confirms the knowledge of the addressee – I have not found any evidential contrast in the GHR which directly relates to the addressee's stance.

- The ternary contrast documented for Cuzco Quechua includes a **reportative** marker – something I have not found in the GHR.

F. Current vs. previous evidence

- In Huli (New Guinea Highlands), *=da* and *=ya* indicate whether a statement about a past event is based on currently or previously obtained evidence (Rule 1974: 60).

(35)   a.   *ì   kāgua gīlibi-ru=da*
               [1SG bad   write-1SG.PST=RESU.CURRENT]
               'I wrote badly (going on the evidence of the bad writing on the paper before him).' (Rule 1974: 60)

         b.   *ì   kāgua gīlibi-ru=ya*
               [1SG bad   write-1SG.PST=RESU.PREVIOUS]
               'I wrote badly (after having seen his bad writing in his book, and then going home without the book, and telling his parents).' (Rule 1974: 60)

Striking differences between the Huli (PNG) contrast and those found in the GHR

- While the inherent TA-values of all GHR evidential contrasts primarily refer to the time at which an event took place, the mentioned Huli evidentials refer to the **time at which knowledge about an event was acquired**.

- At the same time, unlike anywhere in the GHR, the event-time is not indicated by the evidentials, but by the verb forms to which these are cliticized.

Conclusion

- A descriptively adequate account of evidential contrasts needs to **include agentive markers** (or markers used by a speaker who is the agent), not only in the GHR, but also in other regions of the world.

- Only if we include agentive markers do we recognize that **evidentials** are **often defined against one another**, that such evidential contrasts always involve an insider and an outsider evidential, and that many of these respectively pattern ego- and allophorically.

- **Apart from these contrasts**, two types of evidentials are found in all regions: **reportatives** and **inferentials**.

- Both of these (the latter more commonly than the former) may trigger the grammaticalization of a contrasting marker as an insider evidential.

- So it appears that traditional accounts of evidentiality stop where it gets really interesting…

Non-contrastive evidentials

- Due to their **composite structure**, inferentials and reportatives invite an evidential interpretation by themselves.

- Thus, not only are all non-contrastive evidentials either inferentials or reportatives, most evidential contrasts also appear to involve such bipartite constructions – in fact, these constructions likely yielded the first sparks of grammaticalized evidentiality in all the languages we're dealing with.

Wintu, a 'system with five choices'

Wintu

2.96   k̓upa-**be·** 'he is chopping wood (if I see or have seen him)': VISUAL

k̓upa-**nt^he·** 'he is chopping wood (if I hear him or if a chip flies off and hits me)': NON-VISUAL SENSORY

k̓upa-**re·** 'he is chopping wood (I have gone to his cabin, find him absent and his axe is gone)': INFERRED

k̓upa-**ʔel·** 'he is chopping wood (if I know that he has a job chopping wood every day at this hour, that he is a dependable employee, and, perhaps, that he is not in his cabin)': ASSUMED (EXPERIENTIAL)

k̓upa-**ke·** 'he is chopping wood (I know from hearsay)':REPORTED

Contrasting Wintu and Kashaya

Wintu	VISUAL	NON-VISUAL SENSORY	INFERRED	ASSUMED (EXPERIENTIAL) 'must be V-ing'	REPORTED
Kashaya	PERFORM-ATIVE	FACTUAL/ VISUAL	AUDITORY	INFERENTIAL	QUOTATIVE

- 'Performative' (- *ŵela*/-*mela*) signifies that 'the speaker knows of what he speaks because he is performing the act himself or has just performed it' (it is used only with first person).
- 'Factual/visual' pair - *ŵă, -yă* (the two forms correspond to imperfective and perfective) signifies 'that the speaker knows of what he speaks because he sees, or saw, it'.
- 'Auditory' -*ŵnnă* signifies that 'the speaker knows of what he speaks because he heard the sound of the action, but did not see it'.

Inferentials

- Inferentials play a role in all regions in which we find grammaticalized evidentiality

- Resultative constructions regularly allow for an inferential reading

- And in all these regions, resultative constructions are the origin of many evidential contrasts – in inferring a past event, they became contrasted with forms directly referring to that event.
  - Tibetan and Mongolic
  - Quechua, where I should (maybe) mention also the ternary distinction between =mi, =chi, and =shi found in some varieties!?
  - PNG: current- vs. previous result distinctions!

type of contrast	evidentials and their sources			
	insider		**outsider**	

Greater Himalayan Region

	insider		**outsider**	
A	copula > **factual**		**sensory evidential**	
B	conjunctive participle ___ 1st person ending	> **privileged** access	**non-privileged** access <	simple past ___ 3rd person
C	'went', 'appeared' > **direct**		**indirect** < resultative inferential	

Amazonia

	insider		**outsider**	
D	past event (or its subject, as indexed by PNG-agreement) was **seen**		**otherwise perceived**	**inferred**
E	contrastive focus > **exclusive**		**shared** < confirmative	
	exclusive		**inferred**	**reported**

New Guinea Highlands

	insider		**outsider**	
F	? > **previous** evidence		**current** evidence < ?	

The link between evidentiality and egophoricity

- In the GHR, we find various evidential contrasts which appear to involve ego- and allophoric markers, that is, markers which typically occur when the informant respectively is and isn't the subject in a statement.

- However, most of these markers occur also in atypical environments, that is, egophoric markers when the speaker isn't the subject in a statement, and allophoric markers when s/he *is*.

- In order to distinguish and identify the basic meanings of different types of ego- and allophoric markers, we need to pay special attention to these atypical uses.

- It then becomes clear that, at least in the GHR, **egophoricity is only an epiphenomenon of evidential contrasts**. That is, while most of the evidential contrasts found there *pattern* ego- and allophorically, their meanings are more nuanced.

- Let us retrace how the different egophoric markers developed:

The origin of egophoric markers (Type A)

- For the first type of contrasts between ego- and allophoric evidentials discussed in this talk, the egophoric evidentials derive from copular verbs which were reanalyzed as implying **knowledge (based on best-possible evidence)** when they became contrasted with what became their allophoric counterparts:

I. while Western Tibetic *'dug* 'was there' came to imply that a present state was directly witnessed by the speaker, ***yod* 'is there'** came to imply that the **speaker *simply knows*** this state;

II. while Tibetic *rag* 'was felt' came to imply that an equation was identified from the outside, ***yin* 'is'** came to imply that this equation is identified within the speaker viz. that the **speaker is personally involved** in it;

III. while Wutun *-li* *'became' came to imply that knowledge about an event was newly integrated, ***yek* 'is there'** in the same morphosyntactic contexts came to imply that the conveyed **knowledge** is **assimilated**.

The origin of egophoric markers (Type B)

- In a second type of contrast, the **egophoric marker only ever occurs when the informant is the subject**.

- This type came into being when **a contrasting marker** which typically referred to events with a subject different from the speaker **came to** be employed also when the speaker was the subject, namely to **imply non-privileged access** to information, viz. that one lacked the privileged access (namely will and/or control) that could be expected from the subject of the event referred to.

- In some languages, the **evidentialization of the privileged-access marker** appears to have been **prompted in reported speech clauses**, which by default imply that the source had privileged access to the information conveyed.

Appendix:
A tentative typology of evidential contrasts in the Greater Himalayan Region

I. Factual vs. direct evidential

I	Language	Tense/aspect value	Meanings and diachronic sources		
			factual	vs	**direct**
I-a	Purik Tibetic	existential	*jot* < existential copula		*duk* < 'was there'
I-b	Ü-Tsang Tibetic	perfect	V(*-s)-*jö:* < *V-*s-yod*		V(*-s)-*nu* < *V-*s-'dug*
I-b'	Purik Tibetic	resultative past	V-*set*		V-*suk*
I-c	Jiǎomùzú rGyalrong	perfect	*to*-V		*'na*-V
I-d	(Prins 2016: 476, 479) 🔍	present (3.sg.)	*ŋa*-V-w		*'na*-V-w
I-e	Purik Tibetic	prospective	V-*et* 'will V'		V-*(t/n)uk* 'might V'

					vs	non-visual evidential *rak* < 'was felt'	vs	visual evidential *duk* < 'was there'
I-a'	Ladakhi Tibetic	existential	factual *jot* < ex. cop.		vs	non-visual evidential *rak* < 'was felt'	vs	visual evidential *duk* < 'was there'
I-f	Tawang Monpa (East Bodish, Tombleson 2020)	existential	personal *nou*		vs	neutral *num*	vs	testimonial *ni*

II. High vs. low personal involvement

II			personal involvement		
			high	vs	**low**
II-a	Tibetic (Bielmeier 2000)	equative copula	*yin* < equative copula		*rak / re(d)* < 'was felt'
II-b	Southern Mongolic 🔍	Mongghul (Georg 2003)	copular suffix	*-i(i)* < Tib. equative copula *yin*		*-wa* > *-o* < Tib. focus marker *-pa* ~ *-wa* /
II-c		Bao'an (Wu 2003)	copular suffix	*-wi* < Middle Mongol *bui* 'is'		*-a* < Tib. deictic dem. 'there'

III. Assimilated vs. newly-integrated knowledge

			knowledge		
III			**assimilated**	vs	**newly-integrated**
III-a 🔍	Wutun (Amdo Sinitic, Sandman 2016, 2018)	present/ imperfective	-*yek* < existential copula		-*li* < change-of-state marker *le*, cf. Sandman 2018: 192?
III-b	Bjokapakha (Grollmann 2020a, 2020b) 🔍	progressive V-*(n-)*	-*lo* < neutral present ending(?)		*la* < sensory-inferential/mirative < ostensive 'there!'(?)
III-c	Tshangla (Andvik 2010)		*tsha* < Nepali ex. cop.		

IV. Privileged vs. non-privileged access

			access		
IV			**privileged**	vs	**non-privileged**
a	**evidentialized in reported-speech clauses**				
IV-a-i	Kathmandu Newar (Hale 1980; Hargreaves 2005)	past	V-*ā* < conjunctive participle		V-*a* < simple past
IV-a-ii	Kaike (Watters 2006) 🔍	past	V-*pa*		V-*bo*
IV-a-iii	Bunan	present/future	V-*ek* < 1st pers. sg.		V-*are* < 3rd pers. sg.
IV-a-iv	Kaike (Watters 2006) 🔍	imperfective	V-*tse*		V-*ŋə*

b	**evidentialized in simple statements/questions**				
IV-b-i	Dolakhae (Genetti 2007)	future (with interlocutor-subject)	-*i* = 1st / -*ina* = 2nd		-*eu* = 3rd

V. Direct vs. indirect evidential

V			evidence		
			direct	vs	**indirect**
V-a	Amdo Tibetic (Sun 1993, inter alia)	past	V-*tʰæ* < V-*tha(l)* 'went past V-ing'		V-*zəç* < V-*s-'dug* 'was there after having V-ed'
V-b	Sherpa/Jirel Tibetic (Volkart 2000)	past	V-*soŋ* < V-*song* 'went (past) V-ing'		*V(*-s)-*nu:* < V-*s-'dug* 'was there after having V-ed'
V-c	Evenki Tungusic (Malchukov 2000)	past (3.sg)	V-*re-n*		V-*ce-n*

Factual vs. direct vs. indirect

	factual 🔍: evidentialized?	vs	direct	vs	indirect
V-d	Middle Mongol past (Street 2009; Brosig 2014; Slater 2018)				
	V-*ba*		V-*lUGA* < past progressive(?)		V-*JUGU* < present resultative(?)
V-e	Bunan past (Widmer 2017a, b)				
	V-*et(n)* (intr./med.) / V-*men* (tr.)		V-*dza* (sg.) / V-*tsʰa* (pl.)		V-*dʑi* (sg.) / V-*tɕʰok* (pl.) / V-*ta* (tr.)

Direct: **informant-directed** vs. neutral

			direct		
V-f	Tibetic	past	**informant-directed**	vs	**neutral**
	Ü-Tsang		V-*byung* < 'appeared V-ing'		V-*soŋ* < 'went (past) V-ing'
	Kham				V-*tʰæ* < 'went past V-ing'

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