

## February 2019

This questionnaire has been presented by N. Tournadre and C. Simon at the International Workshop: ‘*Evidentiality in Tibetic languages and beyond: a closer look*’ (16-17 February 2019, University of Tübingen).

**EESTAC project aims at documenting the evidential and epistemic systems found in the Tibetic languages but it may be used for other languages which have developed rich evidential and epistemic systems.**

The questionnaire is part of a larger collaborative project called *Evidential and Epistemic Systems and Tense-Aspect Correlations* (EESTAC) financed by the Institut Universitaire de France in collaboration with the Lacito (CNRS). It also involves the cooperation of colleagues from the Inalco.

The participants presently involved in the project include: N. Tournadre (project initiator), F. Robin, C.Simon, Chabdra Lhamo Kyab (Malho), Nyima Dorjee (Lhasa Taktse), Bora Sherab (Labrang Bora), Sonam Gyaltzen (Riwoche), Thubten Rigzin, Hiroyuki Suzuki and Eric Mélac.

Tibetic languages grammatically encode **evidentiality**, **epistemicity** as well as the speaker’s **engagement** or **stance**. Evidentials markers are defined as the representation of **source and access to information** according to the speaker’s perspective and strategy.(Tournadre and LaPolla, 2014)

Epistemic modality indicates the degree of **likelihood** the speaker attaches to a state of affairs or the **degree of certainty** s/he attaches to a certain thought (see Nuyts 2006)

The speaker's stance or engagement refers to the encoding of the relative accessibility of an entity or state of affairs to the speaker and addressee. It also takes into account the **speaker's authority** as well as **the speaker and hearer's common ground, their shared or unshared knowledge**. (see e.g. Evans, Bergqvist and San Roque, 2016; Zeisler, 2017).

EESTAC project includes elicitation of data by the means of a **questionnaire** (see below the presentation) as well as **short** (preferably 1 to 3mn) **recording interviews** (monologues and dialogues) related to various **discourse genres**:

### A. Past + personal

1)	ཕྱིར་དྭན་སྒྲུ་ཤོས།	First remembrance of the speaker
2)	ཕུ་གུ་ཡིན་དུས་ཀྱི་མི་ཆོ།	Childhood (of the speaker)
3)	མོ་མོ་འི་མི་ཆོ་ལོ་རྒྱུས།	Life story (of the speaker)
4)	མོ་མོ་འི་གཉིད་ལམ་སྒྲུ་ཆོགས།	Dream narratives
5)	གཉེན་གྱི་མི་ཆོ་འི་ལོ་རྒྱུས།	Life story of one's relative, parents, grand-parents

6)	གསར་འཕྲིན་ལས་ཡོང་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ།	News about a recent or past event acquired through mass media (TV, Internet, radio etc.)
7)	འོ་ཁ་ཤས་ནང་ལ་ཁྱེད་རང་ཡོད་ས་འཆ་ཁྱེད་རང་གི་པ་ཡུལ་ ལ་འགྱུར་ལྡོག་ཅི་ཞིག་བྱུང་། འགྱུར་ལྡོག་དེའི་ཡག་ཉེས།	Changes in the place (homeplace or residence place) during the recent years & opinion about the changes
8)	མི་གཞན་པའི་མི་ཚེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ རྒྱ་མི་སྐད་གྲགས་ཡངན་སྐད་ མི་པ་པ་རལ་ལོ་མི་པ་པ་ལོ་	Life story of famous people (real or legendary).

	འདྲམ་ཡོང་གི་རེད་(ཚིད་དཔག་)	village/region? (prediction).
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**Dialogues:**

མི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁ་བརྒྱུ་བརྒྱུ་འདྲ་མི་འདྲ་༡༠གཤམ་གསལ་ཡོད་ Two interlocutors talk about the proposed topics:

22)	གནམ་ཤིས་སྒོར་	Talking about the weather
23)	ལས་ཀའི་སྒོར་	Talking about professional activity
24)	ས་ཆག་པར་ཐེབས་ཡོད་མེད་	Asking about places where the speakers have been.
25)	ནང་མིའི་སྒོར་ གྲྲ་ནང་མི་གཚོད་ཡོད་པ་དང་ག་པར་སྤྲོད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ ་།	Talking about family
26)	བཟའ་བཏུང་སྒོར་ གྲྲ་ཟ་ག་རེ་ཟ་གི་ཡོད་ཆང་འཐུང་གི་ཡོད་མེད་ ་།	Talking about food
27)	ཁ་བར་བཞོལ་སྤྲདས་ཀྱི་སྒོར་	Talking about the telephone and its uses.
28)	ཕུ་གཉི་སྒོར་སྤྲོད་སྒོར་ གྲྲ་དམིགས་ཡུལ་སྐད་ཡིག་ག་རེ་ཕན་ཐོགས་ཡོད་རེ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ ་།	Talking about the children’s education. The use of languages at school. Hopes, etc.
29)	འཚོ་བའི་འགྱུར་བ་	Talking about recent changes in life and in the society.
30)	འཕྲོད་རྟེན་སྒོར་	Talking about health and diseases.
31)	གསར་འགྱུར་གནས་ཚུལ་གསར་བའི་སྒོར་	Talking about the news.

The reason to select various discursive genres is related to the hypothesis that **epistemic and evidential marking in both their forms and functions depends, to a certain extent, on the various genres**. For example, as shown in several publications, auxiliaries in dream narratives are not the same and are used in a specific way. **Recorded interviews will normally not exceed 3mn**, so that the transcription work will be relatively easy and won’t be time consuming. This will allow to conduct a significant number of interviews and thus document the use of evidential and epistemic auxiliaries. Additionally the interviews will allow to gather cultural information useful for anthropologists and pedagogues working in Tibet and in various Tibetic speaking areas.

**Metadata questionnaire**

- རྒྱ་བ་འདྲི་མཁན་གྱི་མིང། interviewer’s name
- ལན་བརྒྱབ་མཁན་གྱི་ མིང། consultant’s name
- སྤྱ་ཁྱུག་སའི་ས་ཆ། place of recording
- སྤྱ་ཁྱུག་སའི་ཆེས་པ། date of recording
- ཕོ་མམ་མོ་དང་ལོ་ཚད། age and sex
- ཕ་སྐད། (སློབ་གྲར་མ་འགོ་སྤྲོད་བཤད་པའི་སྐད།) mother tongue (before going to school)
- བཤད་པའི་སྐད་རིགས་གཞན་པ། other languages mastered by the consultant.
- སྤྱུས་ས། Place of birth
- སྤྱུས་ནས་སྤྲོད་སའི་ས་ཁུལ་གཙོ་བོ་དང་བསྐྱེད་པའི་དུས་ཚོད་རིང་ལུང། Main places of residence (and duration of the residence)
- སློབ་སྦྱོང་རྒྱ་ཚད། Education level.

## QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire is made of two parts. The first part is devoted to evidential markers which express certainty. The second part is devoted to epistemic markers which express a certain degree of uncertainty.

## PART 1 : Evidential markers

## Copulative verbs ཡིན་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཚིག་ཐོགས་སྒྲིག་སྒྲུབ་

## 1 Factual /authoritative marker

**Situation:** the speaker has already a prior knowledge and claims authority to identify the entity (person, object, etc.). It corresponds to verb ‘to be’ in English or 是 in Chinese used e.g in response to the unmarked question: ‘what is this?’. The verb used in the question by anticipation (see ‘anticipation strategy’) on the answer which will normally make use of a factual indicating that the addressee knows the information well (without the need of a sensory confirmation).

- འདི་ཅི་ ( ), *what is this?* 这是什么？
- ཁོང་ཅུ་ ( ), *who is he?* 他是谁？
- There are several thermos, with tea, coffee, water, etc. The speaker knows which thermos contains what and informs the hearer: འདི་ཚུ་ ( ) *this is water.* 这是水
- There are various people with different professions: doctor, a teacher, cattle-breeder, farmer, etc. The speaker knows these people very well and introduces them. For ex. ཁོང་དགེ་ལེན་ ( ); *She is a teacher* 她是老师

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms རིཚོག་དང་དགག་སྒྲུ།*

For ex. *Is she a teacher?* 她是老师吗? ; *She is not a teacher* 她不是老师

## 2 Egophoric / personal རང་དོས་ཀྱི་ཆོག་

**Situation:** the speaker insists on his personal knowledge and emotional relation to the matter. It corresponds to a subject in the 1<sup>st</sup> person (sujet or subject's modifier) in English and Chinese.

- རེ་བུ་ལྷན་པོ་ ( ); I am his /her son/daughter. 我是她(他)的女儿/儿子

*Provide the negative form* དགག་པ་

For ex. • ངའི་བུ་མོ་ ( ); I am not his /her son/daughter. 我不是他（她）的女儿/儿子

### 3 Sensory visual (or non visual) inferential marker དབང་ལྔ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་རྫེས་དཔག་

**Situation:** One looks at a picture that s/he had not seen before and suddenly recognizes his/her mother.<sup>1</sup>

- ཕྲ་མེད་ཀྱི་ཁ་མ་ ( ) Oh it is his/her mother 哦！这是他妈妈啊

**Situation:** One may use other senses to have access to information. For example, the speaker tastes a liquid:

⑤ ( ) *Oh it is tea!* 哦，这是茶啊！

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms* རྩིས་ཀྱི་དང་དགག་སྒྲུ།

# Existential verbs ཡོད་ཅིག་མེད་ཀྱི་ཚིག་གྲོགས།

## 4 Factual /authoritative marker

**Situation:** The speaker knows that his/her neighbor has a lot of money (he does not mention direct evidences but he knows).

- ཁོང་ལ་དངུལ་མང་( ) *He has a lot of money.* 他很有钱

The speaker knows the village:

- གྲོང་གསེབ་དེར་ཁང་པ་རྒྱུ་མང་པོ་( ) *In that village, there are a lot of old houses.* 那个村里有很多老房子

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms འི་ཚིག་དང་དགག་སྒྲ།*

## 5 Egophoric/ personal

**Situation:** The speaker has children (and knows it!). S/he says:

- རབ་བྱ་བྱ་( ) *I have children* 我有小孩

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms འི་ཚིག་དང་དགག་སྒྲ།*

## 6 Sensory marker (visual /non visual)-

**Situation:** The speaker notices that there is a lot of water on the road and thinks that the car won't get through.

- ཡོ་རྒྱུ་མང་པོ་( ) འཛོམས་གྱི་མ་རེད་. *There is a lot of water, we won't be able to go through.* 很多水，我们不会过去

**Situation:** The speaker notices a strange smell

- ཡོ་རྒྱུ་( ) *There is a smell!* 哦，有臭味！

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms འི་ཚིག་དང་དགག་སྒྲ།*

# Other non-controllable verbs or adjectives བྱ་རྒྱུ་གི་རྒྱུ་གསལ།

## Progressive / ongoing situation

### 7 Sensory marker

This illustrates the external sensory (visual and non-visual) as well as the endopathic (inner sensory):

**Situation:** The speaker has a headache right now.

- ད་ལྟ་རེ་མགོ་ན་ ( ) *I have a headache now.* 现在我头很痛

**Situation:** The speaker is hungry right now.

- རང་ལྟ་སྤྱོད་ཁོག་ལྟོགས་ཀྱི་ ( ) *I am hungry now.* 现在我肚子饿

**Situation:** It is raining right now and the speaker sees the rain falling:

- ད་ལྟ་ཆར་ལ་བཏང་ ( ) *Now it is raining.* 现在正在下雨

**Situation:** The speaker is tasting food or drink:

- རང་འདི་ཞིས་ ( ) *this tea is good.* 这个茶很好喝

**Situation:** The speaker lifts a bag right now and finds it heavy

- ལྗེ་དཔོ་ ( ) *This is heavy,* 这个很重

One can test other visual, non-visual and endopathic contexts with the following verbs:

*I am numb (I don't feel my fingers). I feel cold (endopathic), it is cold outside (external sensory), this smells good. I am afraid right now.*

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms རྒྱུ་ཆོག་དང་དགག་སྒྲ།*

## Habitual present

### 8 Factual /authoritative marker

**Situation:** The speaker knows that it usually snows a lot in the area.

- ལྷན་རྒྱུན་དེར་དགུན་ཁར་གངས་མངའ་གཏང་ ( ) *It snows a lot there in winter.* 冬天那里会下很多雪

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms རྒྱུ་ཆོག་དང་དགག་སྒྲ།*

## Completed past

### 9 Factual /authoritative marker

**Situation:** It is the usual way of saying 'I was born in X'.

The speaker knows it well and not no sensory access to information...

- རང་ ( ) ལ་སྐྱེས་ ( ) *I was born in X* 我在 X 出生

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms རྒྱུ་ཆོག་དང་དགག་སྒྲ།*

### 10 Egophoric / personal

**Situation:** Yesterday night the speaker experienced a headache, but now s/he is alright!

- མདང་དགོང་རེ་མགོ་ན་ ( ) *I got a headache yesterday.* 昨天我头痛, (现在好了)

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms རྒྱུ་ཆོག་དང་དགག་སྒྲ།*

*Provide the negative form དགག་སྒྲི།*

## Future

### 14 Factual /authoritative marker

**Situation:** The speaker knows makes a logical inference but it is certain. For example the speaker explains that his friend should eat otherwise, he will be hungry on the road (no doubt is involved).

- ཁ་ལག་མ་བཟས་ན་གྲོད་ལོག་ལྟོགས་ ( ) *If he does not eat, he will be hungry.* 如果他没吃东西，他会饿

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms འི་ཚིག་དང་དགག་སྒྲི།*

## Controllable verbs བྱ་བ་རང་དབང་ཅན་སྟོན་པའི་བྱ་ཚིག་

## Progressive /ongoing situations

### 15 Egophoric / personal

**Situation:** The speaker is now preparing the meal and tells the hearer:

- ད་ལྟ་ང་ཁ་ལག་བཟོ་ ( ) *I am preparing the meal.* 我在做饭

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms འི་ཚིག་དང་དགག་སྒྲི།*

### 16 Sensory marker (visual/ non visual)

**Situation:** The speaker witnesses the person preparing the meal.

- ད་ལྟ་ཁ་ལག་བཟོ་ ( ) *He is preparing the meal.* 他正在做饭

**Situation:** The speaker sees his friend coming back.

- ད་ལྟ་ཁོང་ཡོང་ ( ) *He is coming now.* 现在他来了

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms འི་ཚིག་དང་དགག་སྒྲི།*

## Habitual present

### 17 Factual /authoritative marker

**Situation:** The speaker knows that his friend always prepare meals at home.

- ཉན་པར་ཁ་ལག་བཟོ་ ( ) *He always prepares meals.* 他经常做饭

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms འི་ཚིག་དང་དགག་སྒྲི།*

### 18 Egophoric / personal

**Situation:** The speaker often prepares the meal.

- ང་ནམ་རྒྱུ་ཁ་ལག་བཟོ་ ( ) *I usually prepare the meal.* 我经常做饭

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms འི་ཚིག་དང་དགག་སྒྲི།*

## Completed past

### 19 Factual /authoritative marker

**Situation:** The speaker knows from historic sources that this fort / castle / *mkhar*. etc. was built 300 years ago.

- ངས་ལྷེ་མིག་ཅིག་ཅིན་སྒྲོང་བཞག་ ( ) ད་ལྟ་འདུག་གས་ I have put the keys on the table. Are they there?我把钥匙放好桌上。现在还有吗?

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms འི་ཚིག་དང་དགག་སྒྲུ།*

### 23 Sensory inferential marker

**Situation:** The speaker sees a dish already prepared on the table and deduces that his friend has prepared the meal.

- ཨོ་ཁོང་གིས་ཁ་ལག་བཟོས་ ( ) *He has prepared the meal.* Come and eat ! 他做好饭了

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms འི་ཚིག་དང་དགག་སྒྲུ།*

## Future

### 24 Factual /authoritative marker

**Situation:** The speaker knows for sure that his friend will come.

- སང་ཉིན་ཁོང་ཡོང་ ( ) *He will come tomorrow.* 他明天会来

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms འི་ཚིག་དང་དགག་སྒྲུ།*

### 25 Egophoric / personal

**Situations:** The speaker intends to come and informs the hearer that he will do so.

- སང་ཉིན་ང་ཡོང་ ( ). *I will come tomorrow.* 我明天会来

*Provide the interrogative and negative forms འི་ཚིག་དང་དགག་སྒྲུ།*

## PART 2 : Epistemic markers

### Copulative verbs ཡིན་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཚིག་གྲོགས།

### 26 Epistemic logical inferential marker

**Situation:** the speaker identifies the entity (person, object, etc.) on the basis of a logical inference. For example, he knows that there is usually water in this thermos, but he is not entirely sure:

- སལ་ཆེར་འདི་ཚུ་ ( ) *This is probably water.* 这可能是水

*Provide the negative forms དགག་སྒྲུ།*

### 27 Epistemic sensory inferential marker དབང་ལྡན་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་རྗེས་དཔག་

**Situation:** the speaker identifies the entity (person, object, etc.) on the basis of a sensory inference. For example, from the way she is dressed or talks, the speaker infers that she is a teacher, but s/he is not entirely sure.

- སལ་ཆེར་དགེ་མཉམ་ ( ) *She must be a teacher* 她应该是老师

# Other verbs (non controllable) བྱ་ཚིག་གི་ཚིག་གྲོགས།

## Progressive / ongoing situation

### 31 Epistemic Sensory marker

**Situation:** The speaker infers from the cloud over the pass that it must be raining over there.

- དུས་མཁའ་ཆེར་ཆར་པ་བཤད་ ( ) *Now it must be raining over there.* 现在好像在下雨

**Situation:** The speaker sees a big bag and thinks it must be heavy.

- ལྗིད་པོ་ ( ) *It must be heavy* 它应该很重

**Situation:** By smelling the soup, the speaker infers that it is good but s/he is not sure:

- ལུག་པ་ཤིམ་ ( ) *the soup must be good.* 这个汤应该很好吃

**Situation:** by looking at his behavior, the speaker infers, that X is lying:

- རྒྱུ་རྐྱུན་བཤད་ ( ) *He is probably lying.* 他应该说谎

*Provide the negative form དགག་སྒྲི།*

## Habitual present

### 32 Epistemic logical marker

**Situation:** by looking at his behavior, the speaker infers that the person usually drinks:

- ཆར་འཐུང་ ( ) *He probably drinks (alcohol).* 他应该喝酒

*Provide the negative form དགག་སྒྲི།*

## Completed past

### 33 Logical inferential marker

**Situations:** The speaker infers from the fact that there was a huge flood that a lot of people must have died.

- རྒྱལ་ཆེན་པོ་གཅིག་བྱུང་བ་རེད། མི་མང་པོ་གི་ ( ). *There was a huge flood. A lot of people must have died.* 有了一场洪水。应该有很多人死了

*Provide the negative form དགག་སྒྲི།*

## Perfect

### 34 Inferential

**Situation:** The speaker knows that his friend usually comes back at noon.

It is now noon so that he infers that his friend is already back but s/he is not sure.

- མཁའ་ཆེར་ འོང་སྟེབས་ ( ) *He has probably arrived now.* 他应该要到了

*Provide the negative form དགག་སྒྲི།*



## Completed past

### 38 Epistemic sensory inferential marker

**Situations:** The speaker infers from the architecture that this fort / castle (*khar*, *dzong*) etc. was probably built 300 years ago.

- རྩོད་འདི་(མ་ཁར་འདི་) ཕལ་ཆེར་ལོ་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ཕྱེད་ལ་བཞེངས་ ( )

*This fort was probably built 300 years ago.* 要塞应该盖了三百年了

*Provide the negative form དགག་སྒྲི།*

## Perfect

### 39 Sensory inferential marker

**Situations:** The speaker sees a dish already prepared on the table and infers that his friend has probably prepared the meal (but has no certainty)

- ཕལ་ཆེར་ཁ་ལག་ཁོང་གིས་བཟོས་ ( ) *He has probably prepared the meal.* 应该就是他做的饭

*Provide the negative form དགག་སྒྲི།*

## Future

### 40 Epistemic inferential marker

**Situations:** The speaker's friend told him that he might come and thus the speaker concludes that he will come (but has no certainty).

- ཁོང་ཕལ་ཆེར་སངས་ཉིན་ཡོང་ ( ) *He will probably come tomorrow* 他应该明天来

*Provide the negative form དགག་སྒྲི།*