



Journée d'Étude / Workshop Typologie des systèmes évidentiels/ Typology of evidential systems

The categories of sensory, endopathic, and egophoric: Beware of labels

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Typology of evidential systems

- Objectives of this series of workshops

- bring together the **latest data** on a **diversity of languages**

- investigate cutting-edge questions on **evidentiality and related notions, such as epistemic modality**

- examine the connection between **cognitive processes** and **evidential categories**

- shed light on both **cross-linguistic universal tendencies** and **areal specificities**

- clarify** the **conceptual terminology** in Tibetic languages and other complex evidential systems

ཐུབ་སྒྲོངས་དང་གནས་སྤངས་གྱི་བརྗེས་སྤོང། ལྷོ་འཛིན་རྒྱུ་རིགས་ནང་བྱ་བའི་དུས་དང་གནས་ཚུལ་གྱི་འཇུག་
དང་གོ་བ་ལེན་ཐབས། ཐེ་ཚོམ་བཅས་སྒྲོན་པའི་ཚེ་གྲོགས།

- This *Journée d'Etude* or workshop is part of a **larger research project** called **EESTAC** (*Evidential and Epistemic Systems and Tense-Aspect Correlations*) supported by the Universitary Institute of France (IUF)
- We elaborated a small questionnaire in 2019 in order to document basic sentences and to offer a first description of under-documented languages with complex evidential systems
- We will organize once or twice a year similar workshops devoted to evidentiality and epistemicity. It will concern not only Tibetic languages but also languages with grammaticalized evidential and epistemic systems throughout the world

- ‘Speaking of oneself, from Tibet to Amazonia: A view of complex evidential systems’ (in preparation: E. Mélac, A. Aikhenvald & N. Tournadre).
- In this paper we aim at presenting the main differences between the complex evidential systems of these two geographic areas
- **Evidentials are compatible and often combined with epistemic markers**
- **Hearsay does not belong to the same paradigm as other evidentials**
- **Sensory are not used for one’s own intentional actions**
- These characteristics are present in the Tibetic languages (but not in Amazonian languages)

- In this paper, we will focus on situations where the speaker is talking about himself / herself. The reason of this choice is that the **speaker does not have the same access to information when s/he is talking about others and when s/he is talking about her/himself**
- When talking about oneself, one has a direct access to one's own intentions, sensations, projects, dreams, etc. whereas we don't have any direct access to others' sensations, projects, dreams, etc.
- Beyond the differences between the systems, we will discuss the meaning of labels such as 'sensory', 'visual', 'non-visual' 'inferential', which are sometimes used as 'nicknames'

Outline of the talk

1. The case of sensory evidential in Dzongkha: Beware of labels
2. *Endopathic*: A subcategory of *sensory* in most Tibetic languages
3. The confusion between *egophoric* and *endopathic*, and the distinction between the ‘egophoricity’ and ‘evidentiality’
4. Tibetic languages and other complex evidential languages

1. The case of sensory evidential in Dzongkha: *beware of labels*

'Sensory' category and alternative terms

- Most authors now use the term **sensory** or the variant *sensorial* (see Aikhenvald 2004; Ebihara 2017, Tournadre 2008; Gawne & Hill 2017; Oisel 2017; Yliniemi 2017) to refer to:

"[...] both 'external' and 'internal' sensory access to information. This category is attested in all the major Tibetic languages. It may be acquired through the sensory *channels* of the five senses of sight, sound, touch, smell, and taste. But the sensory marker may also be used for 'endopathic', a term coined by Tournadre (1996: 226), to indicate an 'internal sensory' access to information." (Tournadre & Suzuki 2022)

However, a number of alternative terms have been used in English to describe this category: **testimonial** (Tournadre & Dorje 2003, Zemp, 2017, Hill 2017), **direct experience**, **experienced perception**, **objective knowledge and acquired knowledge** [versus personal knowledge], (van Driem & Karma Tshering 2018), **direct evidential** (chirkova, 2017), **endophoric** (Watters 2019), **mirative** (Hyslop and Karma Tshering: 2017).

Sensory in Dzongkha

The term '**endophoric**' is used by S. Watters (2018) in his PhD to describe the *-mas* auxiliary which is described as ***direct experience, experienced perception or sensory*** by van Driem (1998) and van Driem & Karma Tshering (2019). However, the author did not question these authors' terminology. Nor did he explain why these authors' analysis is supposedly incorrect, and why the term 'endophoric' would be more suitable

- According to S. Watters, 'the [**endophoric**] copula *me* [written མཁས་ -MAS] codes speaker representation of an internal state (2018: 352) [or a knowledge which is **perceptually observed or which is an internal state known only to the speaker**' (*ibid*: 371)]

[ཁོས་]བེར་འཇུང་མ་མས། (Watters' PhD 2018 does not provide the Dzongkha orthography but I added it here for the sake of comparison)

[*kho=i*] *ber thung-m me* [...]

[3:sg=erg] beer drink-nmlz **aux:endo**

'(Yeah,) he drinks (a lot of) beer.' (Watters 2018, p409) [other ex. p. 433,etc.]

(endophoric ?? = sensory / perceived experience)

ད་རིས་ང་སྐལ་བ་ན་མ་མས།

d'ari nga kêp na-w me

today 1:sg back sick-nmlz **aux:endo**

'My back hurts today.'

(endophoric ?? = endopathic sensory = inner sensation).

Comparisons of sensory marking in Dzongkha and Common Tibetan.

ཁོ་ཞེས་མ་དར་ཚེལ་ཟ་མཁུ་མས།

Kho 'êma -d'âtsi z'au-me

3:sg chili cheese eat-[UNCP+ SENS]

'He is eating chili cheese (*'êma-d'âtsi*).' [Dz] (adapted from Tshering, Karma van Driem, G., 2018).

ཁོ་ཞེས་མ་དར་ཚེལ་ཟ་གི་འདུག།

Kho 'êma -d'âtsi za-gi.'dug

3:sg chili cheese eat-[UNCP+ SENS]

'He is eating chili cheese'. [ComTib]

2. *Endopathic*: A subcategory of *sensory* in most Tibetic languages

ད་ང་ན་མ་མས།

d'a nga nau-me

now 1:sg hurt-[UNCP+ SENS (ENDOPATHIC)]

'Now I feel ill.' (*ibid* p 208)

ད་ང་ན་གི་སྤྲུག་པོ།

d'a nga na-gi.('dug)

now 1:sg sick-[UNCP+ SENS (ENDOPATHIC)]

'Now I feel ill.'

- Most Tibetic languages do not distinguish between visual and non visual (auditory, gustatory, olfactory, tactile), but have a 'general' sensory marker
- However, some languages (a few Kham dialects [Bathang, rGyalthang], Spiti, Garzha, Ladaks, eastern Purik, etc.) have three categories: **visual sensory, non-visual sensory** and **endopathic**. In this case, the **endopathic** is always marked with the **non-visual sensory**.

- In most Tibetic languages, **sensory markers** (either visual or non visual sensory) are used for the **endopathic function** (i.e., the speaker's inner sensations and emotions). This is also true in Dzongkha: “[This endopathic / inner sensation] cannot be used to express the feeling of a third person subject because the sensations and emotions felt by a third person are not personally experienced by the speaker, which is an essential aspect of the meaning of this tense.” (van Driem & Karma Tshering, 2019: 108).
- There are rare exceptions where the endopathic function is not marked by a sensory evidential, e.g. Purik (in Ladakh) and Lhoke (in Sikkim)

ང་ལྷོགས་སེད།

nga ltogs-sed

1:sg hungry-UNCP+FACT

‘I am hungry.’ (Purik, see also Zemp)

ང་གྱོད་བ་ལྷོགས་དོ་ཨིན།

nga gyodb ltogs-?in

1:sg stomach hungry-UNCP+EGO

‘I am hungry.’ (ex. provided by Yliniemi, the gloss is ours)

3. The confusion between *egophoric* and *endopathic*, and the distinction between the 'egophoricity' and 'evidentiality'

Confusion between egophoric and endopathic

- According to San Roque et al. (2020, p. 10), “It is a core characteristic of egophoric markers that they shift from the expression of speaker perspective in a statement to that of addressee perspective in a question”
- As far as the Tibetic languages are concerned, the above claim is incorrect, because the **strategy of anticipation applies to all the evidential markers: sensory, inferential, egophoric, etc.**
- Consequently, it should be rephrased as:
- It is a core characteristic of the *Tibetic evidential markers (sensory, inferential, egophoric, factual, etc.)* that they shift from the expression of speaker perspective in a statement to that of addressee perspective in a question.

Confusion between egophoric and endopathic

- “Note that in Tibetan, the language for which the term ‘egophoric’ was invented, hunger, which in English has egophoric distribution, cannot be expressed with a personal evidential (egophoric), but instead must be reported with a sensory evidential (Tournadre’s ‘endopathic’, e.g. nga grod-khog ltogs-kyi-’dug [I stomach hungry-PRES-SENS] ‘I’m hungry’); egophoricity as a cross-linguistic typological category per se is a chimera.” (Hill, 2021. p4).

ང་གྲོང་ཁོག་ལྷོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་ལྡུག་པོ།

*nga grod.khog **ltogs-kyi(.'dug)***

'I am hungry.' (sensory)

ང་གྲོང་ཁོག་ལྷོགས་བཞག་པོ།

*nga grod.khog **ltogs-bzhag***

'I am hungry.' (sensory inferential)

ང་གྲོང་ཁོག་ལྷོགས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

*nga grod.khog **ltogs-kyi.yod***

'I am (always/often) hungry.' (egophoric)

- Some authors consider ‘egophoric’ as a separate category from evidentials and oppose two systems: ‘egophoricity’ versus ‘evidentiality’ (Widmer, 2020, see also San Roque et al 2020).
- According to this model, egophoricity is neither embedded in evidentiality or vice-versa

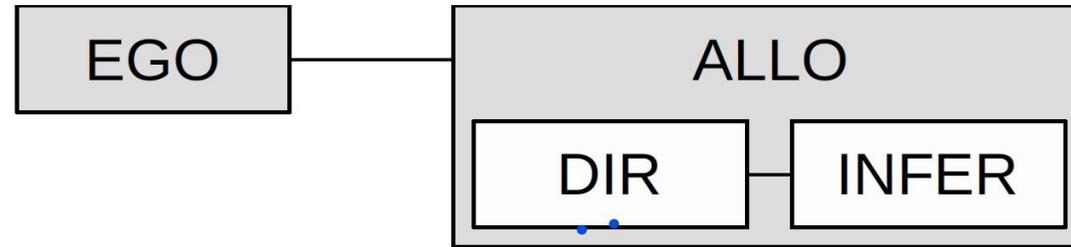


Figure 9.1: An egophoric system hosting an evidentiality distinction

In Bunan, we additionally encounter an evidential subcategory hosting an egophoric system. This is illustrated in Figure 9.2 below.

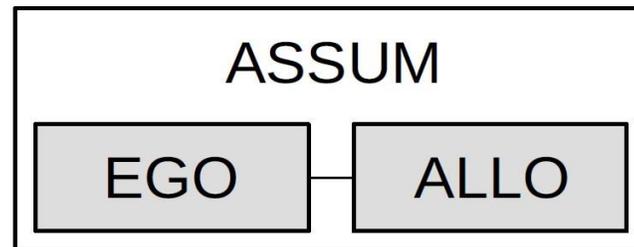


Figure 9.2: An evidential subcategory hosting an egophoric system

- The distinction between 'egophoricity' and 'evidentiality' leads to improbable interpretations.

tal=ts^{hi} ja: gi=tok k^het-∅-ku-ts^ha

3=PL yesterday 1sg=DAT beat-tr-**ego.und-pst.dir.allo.pl** (I highlighted in bold)

'They beat me yesterday.'

With the following comment: "On the one hand, the morpheme has a **direct evidential** value and accordingly indicates that the speaker gained the knowledge through **direct perception**. On the other hand, the morpheme expresses that the information represents "allophoric knowledge", i.e., [**non privileged access to the information**] [...]. Second, there is the secondary egophoric marker -ku. This morpheme indicates that **the speaker possesses privileged access** to the information contained in the proposition because she / he is coreferent with the patient argument of the predicate." (Widmer: 447)

In other words, the speaker has both privileged access and lacks privileged access to information...for the same sentence corresponding to the same situation

4. Tibetic Languages and other complex evidential languages

What is a 'complex evidential language'?

- Definition: a language that has **highly grammaticalized morphemes** encoding **multiple evidential distinctions**
- 'Highly grammaticalized' should be tested on **morpho-syntactic criteria**:
auxiliary → clitic → inflection
- Lehman's parameters: decategorialization (i.e. loss of morpho-syntactic properties), paradigmaticization (i.e. integration of a closed-class category), coalescence (i.e. attachment to a lexical host), obligatorification (i.e. infelicitous deletion), etc.
- 'Multiple evidential distinctions' should be tested on **semantic-pragmatic criteria**: Is the form under study only compatible with certain modes of access?
- A form can still be classified as evidential if it is **polysemous** (e.g. a form that is only evidential in certain contexts) and/or **cumulative** (e.g. a form expressing at the same time evidentiality and other notions, such as epistemic modality)
- Even though binary evidential systems (e.g. Bulgarian, Turkish, etc.) still need further investigation, our focus is on languages that have **several fully grammaticalized evidential morphemes** and distinguish **at least three evidential categories** (e.g. sensory, non-visual sensory, inferential, hearsay, etc.), such as several Tibetic, Arawak, Tucanoan, Madang, or Mongolic languages, etc.

Talking about one's own actions

- The objective is to include many evidentially complex languages. Today we will be focusing on a few contrastive features of common Tibetan and Tariana
- Authentic examples in CommTib come from the Tibet Student Corpus (TSC: 2009-2011, 8 native speakers, 4 hours ~25,000 words)
- Examples in Tariana come from Aikhenvald (2021)

གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལ་མཚོན་མཇུག་བྱ་བར་བྱེད་པ་ཡིན།

gtsug.lag.khang-la mchod.mjal zhu-kar phyin-pa.yin

gtsug.lag.khang-LOC worship (H) LV-PURP go-CP+EGO

'I went to the *gtsug.lag.khang* to do worship.' (TSC)

episi-aphi-nuku nu-thuka-ka

iron-CL:POT-TOP.NON.A/S 1:sg-break-REC.PVIS

'I broke the pot (on purpose).' (Aikhenvald 2021)

Since **Tariana** does not have egophorics, a **visual evidential** is used for the **speaker's intentional actions**

Talking about one's inner sensations vs others' inner sensations

ང་སེམས་ཁྲལ་རེ་ཅིག་ལང་གི་། རྒྱུ་གེ།

nga sems.khral re.cig lang-gi(.dug)

1:sg worry INTENS rise-UNCP+SENS

'I was getting really worried.' (TSC)

རྒན་སྐལ་ལྷན་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་ཅིག་གསུང་གི་རེད་བསམ་བཞག།

rgan skal.Idan 'od.zer-gyis cig gsung-gi.red bsam-bzhag

Master Kaldän Oser-ERG something say (H)-FACT FUT think-PFC+INFR

'He thinks that Master Kaldän Oser is going to say something.' (the speaker looks at a picture of someone who stares at his master) (TSC)

madalu-da i-pumina nu-na adaki dhipa-mhana

three-CL:ROUND INDEF-after 1:sg-OBJ fever 3.sg.nf+get-REM.P.NONVIS

'Three (days) later, fever got me.' (Aikhenvald 2021)

na-na-pita adaki dhipa-na-pita

3.pl-OBJ-AGAIN fever 3:sg+get-REM.P.VIS-AGAIN

'Fever got them again.' (Aikhenvald 2021)

For **speaker's inner sensations** (endopathic meaning), **standard Tibetan** uses a **sensory evidential**, while **Tariana** uses a **non-visual evidential** (just like Tibetic languages which possess a non-visual evidential, e.g. Ladaks)

For **another person's inner sensations**, **standard Tibetan** uses an **inferential evidential** (sensory or visual-sensory is excluded in Tibetan for indirect access to another person's inner sensations), while **Tariana** uses a **visual evidential**

Talking about oneself in altered states of consciousness

ང་ས་ཡོམ་བརྒྱབ་བློས་འགྲོ་གི་འདུག་ག

nga sa.yom brgyab bros 'gro-gi.'dug -ga

1:sg earthquake LV flee go-INCPL+SENS -PHAT

'I was running away from the earthquake, you know!' (speaker recounting a dream) (TSC)

paika nu-kapi-se dhita-mhana

father 1:sg-hand-LOC 3:sg.nf+take-REM.P.NONVIS

'Dad took me by the hand.' (speaker recounting a dream) (Aikhenvald 2021)

Evidential languages will use morphemes from **different evidential categories** (visual, non-visual, hearsay, etc.) to refer to **dreams** or other altered states of consciousness (trance, inebriation, etc.).

The shift from egophoric to sensory for the **perception of oneself in a dream** is a distinct feature of **Tibetic languages**

Thank you for your attention

We are looking forward to your contributions!



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