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Evidentiality in Middle Classical Tibetan

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ABSTRACT: This study presents the first comprehensive analysis of Evidentiality in Middle Classical Tibetan. This is of great importance since Middle Classical Tibetan is the oldest system in typological studies yet identified that uses evidentiality beginning in at least the 15th century. This article also highlights the distinction between the notions of information source and information access in an evidential system. By using a morphosyntactic approach, the usage of evidentiality can be properly described in that language. Specifically, certain types of highly complex copula and auxiliary verb constructions, which had not been previously analyzed, can be used to demonstrate how evidentiality is grammaticalized in Middle Classical Tibetan. This approach avoids the pitfalls of lexical-only analyses, which have previously not been able to support a comprehensive and accurate description of evidentiality. Further, the intricate interaction between evidentiality, aspect, and epistemic modality reveals the subtlety and complexity of the system. Finally, the interaction between evidentiality and politeness register, reveals discursive complex social relationships which have not been previously described and the importance of social deixis in the study of evidentiality.

Keywords: Tibetan, morphosyntax, semantics-pragmatics interface, evidentiality, aspect, politeness register, personal and social deixis, epistemic modality

L'évidentialité en tibétain classique moyen

RÉSUMÉ :

Cette étude présente la première analyse complète de l'évidentialité en tibétain classique moyen. Elle est d'une grande importance car il s'agit du système le plus ancien dans les études typologiques qui utilise l'évidentialité depuis au moins le XVe siècle. Cet article met également en exergue la distinction entre les notions de source d'information et d'accès à l'information dans un système évidentiel. En utilisant une approche morphosyntaxique, l'emploi de l'évidentialité peut être correctement décrit dans cette langue. Plus précisément, certains types de constructions de copules et de verbes auxiliaires très complexes, qui n'avaient pas été décrits auparavant, peuvent être utilisés pour démontrer comment l'évidentialité est grammaticalisée en tibétain classique moyen. Cette approche évite les pièges des analyses uniquement lexicales, qui n'étaient auparavant pas en mesure de fournir une description complète et précise de l'évidentialité. De plus, l'interaction complexe entre l'évidentialité, l'aspect et la modalité épistémique révèle la subtilité et la complexité du système. Enfin, l'interaction entre l'évidentialité et le registre de politesse révèle des relations sociales discursives complexes qui n'ont pas été décrites auparavant et l'importance de la deixis sociale dans l'étude de l'évidentialité.

Mots-clés : Tibétain, morphosyntaxe, interface sémantique et pragmatique, évidentialité, aspect, politesse, déixis personnelle et sociale, modalité épistémique

1. Introduction

The present study on evidentiality in Middle Classical Literary Tibetan (15th century, also named Middle Tibetan in Zeisler, 2004) is based on the famous biography of Milarepa.¹ During the last decade, there have been several scholars who have dealt with evidentiality in Classical Tibetan, namely Zadoks (2004), Oisel (2013), Hill (2013), Zeisler (2018a), and to some extent DeLancey (2018).² As Zeisler and Delancey published their respective book chapters in two important edited books about evidentiality at the same time (in Foolen et al., 2018, and Aikhenvald, 2018), they could not reach the same conclusion.

According to DeLancey (2018: 581), “Evidentiality is not a feature of Classical Tibetan grammar”. This statement must be somewhat qualified. Zeisler (2018a: 232) states, “[...] Classical Tibetan, the language of the religious texts, lacks a fully grammaticalized evidential system, although certain texts show more or less developed forms of evidential marking in passages of direct speech. [...]” Earlier, Oisel (2013: 147) had also pointed out the same fact:

“It seems that some (literary) genres favor evidential and epistemic auxiliaries while others prefer causative and resultative auxiliaries. This is particularly the case in Sanskrit translation literature. Admittedly, the two types can coexist, but it is generally observed in a text that one of the two systems is dominant”.³

Evidentiality is indeed not a feature of certain famous Tibetan literary genres, notably philosophical, religious and historical texts; nevertheless, it is a common feature in hagiographical texts, *rnam.thar*, and folk tales, *sgrung*.

Zeisler (2018a) presents the verbs *’dug* vs. *’yod* as “evidence for the development of evidentiality as a grammatical category in the Tibetic languages”. Zeisler (2018a: 233, fn.5) is skeptical about previous studies made by Zadoks (2004), Hill (2013a), and Oisel (2013). The unpublished paper by Zadoks, presented at a conference, is indeed unfinished as it was a draft. Hill (2013a) mainly aims to evaluate the state of the art in the linguistics literature at

¹ This article derives from a few chapters from my doctoral thesis (University of Paris 3, La Sorbonne-Nouvelle, 2013) which have been revised. A preliminary version of this article was presented at the 47th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, in October 17-19th, 2014, in Yunnan Normal University, in Kunming, in China, as well as in a lecture in August 22nd, 2018, in CASS (China Academy Social Sciences), Minzu University of China, Beijing, organized by the late professor Lü Jia (North China Electric Power University, Baoding) and professor Jiang Di (Jiangsu Normal University). I would like to thank Eric Mélaç (Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier, France), Nathan W. Hill (Trinity College Dublin, Ireland), Cameron Warner (Aarhus University, Denmark) and Ray Denning (Vistage Worldwide, USA) for reviewing my English and their insightful comments, as well as the anonymous reviewers for their kind and useful comments which allow me to improve this study.

² As for studies on Classical Tibetan in general, see Gyurmé (1981, 1992), Beyer (1992), Hahn (1996), Schwiieger (2006).

³ My translation from the French version: “Il semble que certains styles privilégient les auxiliaires évidentiels et épistémiques tandis (que) d’autres préfèrent les auxiliaires causatifs et résultatifs. C’est notamment le cas dans la littérature de traduction du sanskrit. Certes les deux types peuvent coexister mais on constate généralement dans un texte qu’un des deux systèmes est dominant. “

that time and only deals with the verb *‘dug*. As for Oisel’s thesis (2013), Zeisler does not quote or compare any examples as it would probably have been out of the scope of her study.

There is also a study of Milarepa’s biography by professor Zhou (2000), but it is basically a comparison between Classical Tibetan, Lhasa Tibetan and Dun Huang auxiliary verb forms without analyzing the grammatical function (such as evidentiality) nor the discursive context. Another study of the biography of Milarepa was carried out by Haller (2009) for his habilitation thesis. This study covers the first three chapters according to the title, but it has not been published.

Regarding Milarepa’s biography, Zeisler (2018a: 233) claims that “the text shows that evidential marking has not yet fully developed and does not yet cover all temporal domains.” However, this article intends to show the opposite, since a complex copula verb system and various auxiliary verb constructions are used in the corpus if one considers the morphosyntactic approach. The actual complex verb system indicates evidential and epistemic values with almost all tenses and aspects.

The present study is based on the transcription of the biography of Milarepa edited by the Tibetan Cultural Printing Press of Dharamsala - TCPPD - (1990 [1994]) which is a copy of a Chinese version published in the 80s in Qinghai province.⁴ I also consider another version edited by de Jong (1959) which contains comments from four other different versions. It will obviously be necessary to compare more versions in the future to see linguistic and orthographic variations.⁵ However, the philological objective, its methodology and timeline do not always match with those of linguistics, but are definitely complementary in the long run.

The paper is organized as follows. I first present the definition of copulas and auxiliary verb constructions which indicate evidentiality and epistemic modality in section (2). Then, I define the notion of evidentiality in section (3), in interaction with aspect in section (4), with politeness register in section (5), with personal deixis in section (6) and, finally, with epistemic modality in section (7).

2. Copulas and Auxiliary Verb Constructions

An equative verb (or copula) is generally analyzed as a grammatical empty category assigning a feature (identification, categorization, characterization and location) to a non-verb predicate (adjective, noun). The notion of copula can be broadened to existential verbs which predicate the existence of an entity (X exists, there is X) or which locate it.⁶

⁴ This probably is why it is the main version which writes the verb ‘to come’ as *‘ong* instead of *yong*, due to the Amdo literary tradition which is located in the actual province of Qinghai in China. This tradition is also applied now in modern usage for instance in *The Facetious Tales of the Corpse* (Robin, 2005) in which text the same verb ‘to come’ is written *‘ong*. It thus may reflect an orthography specific to the Amdo region. However, more research is still needed since the *bstan rgyas gling* and the *bkra shis lhunpo* editions from Central Tibet (de Jong, 1959: 40, fn. 6) also write *‘ong* instead of *yong*.

⁵ De Jong’s version of Milarepa’s life presents some orthographic differences compared to the TCPPD’s one. The consonant suffix *-ng* in TCPPD (1994) tends to be mistakenly substituted by *-d* in De Jong (1959), due to the graphic similarity between these two Tibetan letters in some old editions. The other way round also occurs.

⁶ Motion verbs in Tibetan are also often used as copulas with existential and equative features (Oisel, 2013: 88-90), but, they do not convey evidentiality or epistemic modality.

Another complementary definition of copulas has been proposed by Creissels (2006: 346-347, chapter 20): “the semantic functioning (of a copula verb) differs from that of an ordinary verb by the fact that instead of assigning semantic roles in the usual sense of this term to its subject and its complement, it designates its subject as the argument of the non-verbal predicate which constitutes syntactically its complement” (my translation).⁷

An auxiliary assumes intermediate functions between a full verb and an affix (Heine, 1993: 86-87). The auxiliary partially preserves in certain cases the proper lexical meaning of the verb from which it comes. Auxiliaries result from cognitive processes reflecting various degrees of grammaticalization on the chain which leads a verb to become a grammatical marker indicating tense, aspect and mood or modality. The process of grammaticalization of auxiliaries is located between the two extremes of a continuum: on one side the verb used with its purely lexical function and, on the other, the verb used as an affix with its purely grammatical function. Between these two extremes, Anderson (2006) highlighted different types of syntactic constructions with an auxiliary.

In Middle Classical Tibetan, the copulas indicate different features (identification, categorization, characterization, possession, and location), evidential categories (authoritative, sensory, inferential, revelatory, and gnomic), different registers (ordinary versus politeness), and/or epistemic modality (medium probability, high probability, improbability).

Similarly, auxiliary verb constructions encode evidentiality (authoritative, reportative, gnomic and rumor source, as well as sensory and inferential access), different registers and/or epistemic modality. These constructions diachronically proceed from nominalized (*-pa+AUX*), completive (*-pa-r+AUX*) and clause-chaining constructions (*-nas/te/cing+AUX*). Auxiliary verb constructions may contain two auxiliaries (*yod+pa+yin*, *yod+par+'dug*), which diachronically are a copula combined with an auxiliary (Oisel, 2013: 109-114).⁸ Like copular constructions, auxiliary verb constructions are used in an independent clause (declarative or interrogative *-gam*) or in a clause-chaining encoding syntactic coordination (*-pas*, *-pa.la*, *-pa.las*, *-te/-ste*, *-cing*, *-pa'i tshe*) without losing their evidential functions. However, auxiliary verb constructions are not used when clause-chaining markers encode syntactic subordination, with an adverbial subordinated clause or an embedded clause; they are not used either in the case of desentailization, with an adverbialized clause (Oisel, 2013: 160-170).⁹

I will first define the notion of evidentiality and analyze copulas and auxiliary verb constructions in Middle Classical Tibetan.

3. Evidentiality

In the 15th century biography of Milarepa and in general in Middle Classical Tibetan, the notion of evidentiality and epistemic modality are grammaticalized in equative and

⁷ “[...] le fonctionnement sémantique (d’un verbe copule) diffère de celui d’un verbe ordinaire par le fait qu’au lieu d’assigner à son sujet et à son complément des rôles sémantiques au sens usuel de ce terme, il désigne son sujet comme argument du prédicat non verbal qui constitue syntaxiquement son complément” (Parentheses are mine).

⁸ In Modern Literary Tibetan (Oisel, 2013: 224-226), there are auxiliary verb constructions with three auxiliaries, which diachronically are a copula combined with a complex auxiliary.

⁹ Regarding the notion of desentailization, see Lehmann (2004).

existential verbs (i.e. copulas). As it has been noted in typology, evidentiality may come from copular constructions (Aikhenvald, 2004: 283).

Evidentiality is “the representation of source and access to information according to the speaker’s perspective and strategy” (Tournadre and LaPolla, 2014:240).¹⁰ The different types of sources and access are summarized as follows in Oisel (2017b: 91):

“[...] the source of information is either the speaker or someone else, whereas access to information can be the five senses (vision, audition, smell, touch, and taste), endopathic feelings (anger, disease, etc.), reported speech, hearsay, inference based on different types of evidences (logic, sensory, reported speech, and hearsay), memory (at the recognition stage), and consciousness (including self-awareness, and novel realization triggered by a logical process, a sensory observation, or a reported speech).”

Note that the speaker as the source of information is named the “authoritative” source (Tournadre, 2017) in contrast with the reportative, gnomic, corroborative and rumor sources in the actual study (see also, Oisel et al., *forthcoming*).¹¹

“The use of an authoritative implies that the speaker has/had access to information not via senses or inferences, neither via reported speech but either through *his/her own knowledge* or through *general knowledge* but also *objective information* available to her/him.” (Tournadre and Suzuki, 2023: 411)

Among the evidential values encoded in the copulas which have already emerged in Middle Classical Tibetan, there are the authoritative, the sensory, the inferential and the revelatory (cf. Table 1). In minor respects, one may also encounter the gnomic and the corroborative. The authoritative is marked by the verbs *yin*, *lags*, *yod*, and *mchis*, as well as the negative forms (*med* and *ma-mchis*).¹² The sensory is indicated by the verb ‘*dug*, *gda*’ and *bdog* and their respective negative counterparts (*mi-‘dug* and *mi-gda*).¹³ The compound existential verbs *yod.par.‘dug* and *yod.par.gda*’ are grammaticalized expressions of the reportative-inferential. The compound equative verbs *yin.par.‘dug* is a grammaticalized expression of

¹⁰ The difference between source and access has been used indeed since 2005 in Oisel’s thesis in collaboration with Tournadre, his supervisor (Oisel, 2005; 2006; 2013) and in their Sherpa dictionary (Tournadre et al., 2009: 271).

¹¹ The term authoritative has been first proposed in Tibetic studies by Zeisler (2017; 2018b) but with a slightly different meaning. It is mainly equivalent of the speaker’s commitment and matches with different notions such as “self-evident knowledge, not based on immediate perception (neutral category); intimate or authoritative knowledge and committed statements; assertive; own/ controlled activities” (Zeisler, 2018b: 80–82; 89). In contrast, the notion of ‘non-authoritative’ or non-commitment corresponds to three evidentials in Ladakhi, “observed situations, inference and second hand information” according to Zeisler (2018b). The distinction made by the author is problematic since an observed situation (marked by a sensory evidential) also encodes the speaker’s epistemic authority. For more discussions on the authoritative as an epistemic category indicating the speaker’s stance/attitude, one can read the studies of Bergqvist (2017), Bergqvist and Kittilä (2020), Simon (2021).

¹² *ma.yin* and *ma.lags* are not attested in the actual corpus

¹³ *mi-bdog* is not attested in the actual corpus.

the revelatory. As for the compound existential verbs *yod.pa.yin* and *yod.pa.lags*, they indicate the gnomic value.¹⁴

Those verbs which are highly grammaticalized in Middle Classical Tibetan generally come from lexical verbs of posture or motion: *'dug* 'to sit (on), to be seated, to take a seat', *gda* 'to exist, to be located (Old Tibetan: 'to come', 'to reach, to arrive') and *mchis* 'to exist (Old Tibetan: 'to go', 'to come')'.¹⁵ Some of those archaic meanings (notably with *'dug* and *gda*) have been kept in some modern dialects.¹⁶

Table 1. Evidential, epistemic and politeness register copulas in Middle Classical Tibetan

identification, categorization 'to be'	
<i>yin, yod</i>	Authoritative source
<i>lags</i>	Politeness authoritative source
<i>'dug</i>	Sensory or self-experience-inferential access
<i>yin.par.'dug</i>	Revelatory access
<i>yod.par.'dug</i>	Reportative-inferential access
<i>yin.par.yod.par.'dug</i>	Corroborative source
<i>yin.pa.'dra</i>	Sensory-inferential access + medium probability
<i>yin.las.che, yin.'ong</i>	Logical-inferential access + high probability
characterization, existence, possession, location 'to be (present), to have, to exist, to be located'	
<i>yod</i>	Authoritative source
<i>mchis</i>	Politeness authoritative source
<i>'dug</i>	Sensory access
<i>gda', bdog</i>	Politeness sensory access
<i>yod.par.'dug</i>	Reportative-inferential access
<i>yod.par.gda'</i>	Politeness reportative-inferential access
<i>yod.pa.yin</i>	Gnomic source
<i>yod.pa.lags</i>	Politeness gnomic source
<i>yod.pa.'dra.par.'dug</i>	Sensory-inferential access + high probability

Similarly, as described above with copular constructions, evidentiality is also marked in auxiliary verb constructions (cf. Table 2). The interpretation of evidentiality depends to some extent on tense-aspect-modality, type of event, register, and deixis. Aikhenvald (2004: 264-8) and Forker (2018) also mentions an interaction between tense and evidentiality. Auxiliary verb constructions can indicate three types of evidentials in Milarepa's text: authoritative, sensory, reportative and inferential. There are two other evidentials in the

¹⁴ The following compounds are not attested: **yin.par.gda'*, **yin.pa.yin*, **yin.pa.lags*.

¹⁵ See Samdrup (2022) for the origin of the verbs mentioned. The origin of *yin* is not clear. See Hill (2023:111, note 6) for the hypothetical origin of *lags* as the past stem of *ldog* 'to turn'.

¹⁶ Notably in Hor and several northern Kham dialects (Tournadre and Suzuki 2023: 338, 393).

literature of that time: gnomic and rumor. The former is marginal in the present corpus. The latter does not occur in Milarepa's biography at all.

Table 2. Evidential auxiliary verb constructions in function of the aspect, the politeness register and the epistemic modality in Middle Classical Tibetan

	Perfective past	Perfect	Progressive	Imperfective
Authoritative source	V(2)- <i>pa.yin</i> V(2)- <i>pa.med</i> V(2)- <i>pa.lags</i>	V(2)-(nas). <i>yod</i>	V(1)- <i>cing.yod</i> V(1)- <i>gin.yod</i>	V(1)- <i>pa.yin</i> <i>mi-V(1)-ba.yin</i> V(1/2)- <i>pa.lags</i>
Sensory access (resultative with perfect, inferential with future, or imperfective negation)		V(2)-(te).' <i>dug</i> V(2)-(nas).' <i>dug</i> V(2)- <i>nas.gda'</i> V(2)- <i>gda'</i>	V(1)- <i>cing.'dug</i> V(1)- <i>gin.'dug</i> V(1)- <i>gin.gda'</i> V(1)- <i>zhing.bdog</i>	V(1)- <i>par.'dug</i> V(1)- <i>par.gda'</i>
Reportative source		V(2)- <i>yod.'dug</i>	V(1)- <i>kyin.yod.'dug</i>	V(1)- <i>par.yod.'dug</i> V(1)- <i>ba.yod.par.'dug</i> V(1)- <i>pa.yin.pa.'dug</i>
Inferential access (based on sensory, logical or reportative)	V(2)- <i>pa.'dra</i> V- <i>pa.ying.'ong</i> V(2)- <i>las.che</i>			V(1)- <i>pa.'dra</i> V(1)- <i>ba.yod</i> V(1)- <i>bar.yod.las.che</i> V(1)- <i>ba.'dra.ba.'dug</i>
Gnomic source		V(2)-(nas). <i>yod.pa.yin</i>	V(1)- <i>cing.yod.pa.yin</i>	
Rumor source	V(2)- <i>par.grags</i>			

(1) present-future stem, (2) past stem

The authoritative (*assomptif*; Oisel, 2013: 229-232; authoritative, Tournadre, 2017; Tournadre and Suzuki, 2023; Oisel et al., *forthcoming*) refers to the speaker as the information source of authority.¹⁷ However, from an extralinguistic point of view, this information may be presented as well-known by the speaker either because it is a personal one (primary source) like the copula *yin* in (1), (3) and (4) or as a secondary one because it is an objective information or general knowledge (non-primary source) at the precise moment of the discourse, like in (2), (69).¹⁸

¹⁷ The French terminology '*assomptif*' works well in French, but it should be dropped when translating into English as the equivalent could be the assumptive or "assumption" (Aikhenvald, 2004: 63) which can be interpreted either as a supposition (uncertainty, belief) or as someone taking for granted something (speaker's responsibility). The second definition corresponds to the actual use in French and it is related to the notion of authoritative, however I make a distinction between epistemic authority and information source of authority.

¹⁸ The authoritative source in this article has to be contrasted with the gnomic source (*yod.pa.yin*, which will become a factual, *yod.red* in Lhasa Tibetan), rumor source (*grags* > *grag* in Bathang, *grags* > *rag*, like in Ladakhi, marking non-visual access in both languages, cf. Tournadre and Suzuki, 2023: 402) and the quotative source (lexical verb *zer* > enclitic *-za/-ze* in Lhasa Tibetan). In Lhasa Tibetan, the authoritative source of Middle Classical Tibetan has evolved into an egophoric or a primary source marker whereas the factual, refers to a non-primary source (Tournadre and Suzuki, 2023: 390-391; 410-411).

- (1) མི་བསྐྱོད་པ་ལས་ཚོས་ཉན་པ་འང་རྗེ་བསུན་གྱི་བཀའ་འདྲིན་ཡིན།
mi.bskyod.pa-las chos nyan-pa-'ang rje.btsun-gyi bka'.drin yin
 Mikyöpa-ABL doctrine listen-NMLZ-FOC master-GEN privilege be.AUT
 ‘Having heard the doctrine from Mikyöpa’s own mouth is a privilege granted by my
 venerable master.’ (TCPPD, 1994; Ch.1.1; de Jong, 1959: 25, line 8-9)

- (2) ལོ་གོ་དེ་ནམས་གྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་ནི་སླ་སླེ་བ་མང་པོར་ཚོགས་བསགས་སློབ་པ་སྤངས་པ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་འབྲས་བུ་ཡིན།
gong-gi de-rnams-kyi yon.tan-ni sku.skye.ba mang.po-r
 previously-GEN that-PL-GEN qualities-TOP rebirth many-LOC
tshogs.bsags sgrib.pa sbyangs-pa-las byung-ba-'i
 accumulate.merits.PAST obstructions purify.PAST-NMLZ-ABL occur.PAST-NMLZ-GEN
'bras.bu yin
 fruits be.AUT
 ‘The spiritual qualities of those who were previously described are fruits attained through the
 accumulation of merit and the purification of obstructions during the course of many
 lifetimes.’ (TCPPD, 1994; Ch.1.1; de Jong, 1959: 24, line 21-23; Quintman, 2010: 12)

Note that the copula *yod*¹⁹ also has an identification feature like the copula *yin*, and it can thus be translated like the verb ‘to be’: མཚོན་པའི་ལྷོ་བོ་སྤྲོད་ཟེས། *gcig na.re zhu.ba.po su yod zer* ‘Another asked, who is the one who will request it?’ (TCPPD, 1994; Ch.1.1; de Jong, 1959: 25, line 24).²⁰ It also has a possession feature like the verb ‘to have’ ལྷོ་བོ་རང་ཅི་ཡོད་དམ། *nus pa rang ci yod dam* ‘What power does he still have?’ (TCPPD, 1994; Ch.1.3; de Jong, 1959: 44, line 3).

In the following example, the source is a primary one since that based on the context, Milarepa’s mother claims in her letter that the yogi (the agent) lives in the valley: it is marked by the imperfective auxiliary construction *-pa.yin*.

- (3) རྩམ་མཚན་ན་ལུང་བ་དེའི་ནང་ན་རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་འདི་རང་བཞུགས་པ་ཡིན་པས་གཞན་དུ་མ་འདྲི།
rtsad.ma.chod-na lung.ba de-'i nang-na rnal.'byor.pa 'di.rang
 have.no.idea-CO valley that-GEN inside-LOC yogi this.same.one
bzhugs-pa.yin-pas gzhan-du ma-'dri
 live.HON-IPFV.AUT-CO other-DAT NEG.IMP-ask.IMP
 ‘This yogi himself lives in this valley, so don’t ask anyone else questions if you don’t figure it
 out.’ (TCPPD, 1994; Ch. 1.3, p.44; de Jong, 1959: 46, line 7-8; translation adapted from
 Quintman, 2010: 39)

In the example below with the same auxiliary verb construction, the source is also a primary one, but the agent refers to the first person plural *nga.dag* ‘we’. The authoritative has an intentional reading in this context.²¹

¹⁹ Zeisler (2018: 241-242, ex.12-13) quotes two examples of the use of the copula *yod* in Milarepa, however she classifies them as auxiliaries.

²⁰ See also example (28): *ngo mi shes.pa bden yod* ‘It is true that you really do not know me’.

²¹ The intentional reading is one of the features of the “egophoric” evidential access in Lhasa Tibetan (Oisel 2017b). However, with the verb ‘*dod*’ to desire’, one would say ‘*dod-yod*’ in Lhasa Tibetan instead of ‘*dod-pa.yin*’: the imperfective aspect is not marked in the same way.

- (4) ང་དག་ལྟོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་དུ་བེར་གྱིན་ལུ་ཉ་ཞོན་པའི་ཡོལ་ཚེན་ཟུང་བ་དག་འདི་ཚའི་གཞུང་ཐོག་ན་མར་ཤུད་དེ་བ་ཞིག་འདོད་པ་
ཡིན་ཏེ།

<i>nga-dag</i>	<i>khyod-kyi</i>	<i>steng-du</i>	<i>ber</i>	<i>gyon</i>	<i>'og-tu</i>	<i>rta</i>
I-PL	you-GEN	on-LOC	thick.cloak	wear	under-LOC	horse
<i>zhon-pa-'i</i>	<i>yob.chen</i>	<i>sdang.ba</i>	<i>dgra</i>	<i>'di-tsho-'i</i>	<i>gnya'</i>	<i>thog-na</i>
ride-NMLZ-GEN	stirrups	hateful	enemies	this-PL-GEN	neck	on-LOC
<i>phar.shud</i>	<i>de.ba</i>	<i>zhig</i>	<i>'dod-pa.yin-te</i>			
cut.deeply	that.one	INDF	desire-IPFV.AUT-CO			

'We want you to wear a thick cloak, and under it one of your horse's stirrups cuts deeply into the neck of our enemies.' [...] (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.3; de Jong, 1959: 37, line 8-10)

The sensory indicates that the information has been seen or heard (or felt, tasted, smelt) by the speaker. The copula is *'dug*, which usually encodes, but not all the time, a visual sensory access to the information. The copula *'dug* has various semantic features. It can be either the location 'to be present or located' in (5), or the identification, categorization, characterization 'to be someone/something' in (6).

In (5), the speaker, who is one of the hunters, asks his mate to verify whether the creature in the cave is a demon or a yogi whose human appearance is unrecognizable. The speaker uses the verb *'dug*, which indicates that the sensory corresponds to a visual statement. The addressee answers with the same copula *'dug* to confirm what he has seen.

- (5) ད་དུང་འདུག་གམ་ཟེར། ད་དུང་ཡང་འདུག་ཟེར་བས།

<i>da.dung</i>	<i>'dug-gam</i>	<i>zer</i>	<i>da.dung</i>	<i>yang</i>	<i>'dug</i>	<i>zer-bas</i>
still	be.present.SEN-INT	say	still	also	be.present.SEN	say-CO

(“You needn’t worry about ghosts appearing in the daylight. Take a good look!) Is it still there?” “It’s still there”, said the others. (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.7; de Jong, 1959: 129, line 2-3; translation adapted from Quintman, 2010: 138)

The copula *'dug* can be used to refer to an oneiric perception or a contemplative state-like vision. In (6), the speaker Rechungpa explains to his addressee what he saw during his meditative state that teleported him to a celestial site where deities and Buddhas live.

- (6) བཞིན་བཟང་ཞིང་བཟླ་ན་སྤྱུག་པ་ལོ་ན་འདུག་སྟེ།

<i>bzhin.bzang-zhing</i>	<i>blta.na.sdug.pa</i>	<i>kho.na</i>	<i>'dug-ste</i>
beautiful-CO	pleasant.to.see	just	be.SEN-CO

(The inhabitants wore silk clothes and adorned themselves with bone ornaments and jewelry.) ‘It was just beautiful and pleasant to see.’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.1; de Jong, 1959: 23; line 19-20)

The copula *'dug* may have a self-experience inferential reading depending on the context. In the following example *'dug* is combined with the noun *rtags* ‘a sign’ is a good illustration. Since the speaker did not see the person in question coming back, he thus infers that is a sign.

- (7) ལོ་ན་ནངས་ང་ལ་ཁམས་བདེ་ལྷན་མི་འོང་བ་དེ་ཡང་ལོག་འོང་བའི་རྟགས་སུ་འདུག།

<i>kho</i>	<i>na.nangs</i>	<i>nga-la</i>	<i>khams.bde.zhu-r</i>	<i>mi-'ong-ba</i>
he	today.morning	I-DAT	say.goodbye-CO	NEG.come.PRES-NMLZ
<i>de-yang</i>	<i>log-'ong-ba-'i</i>		<i>rtags-su</i>	<i>'dug</i>

that-FOC come.back.PRES-VEN-NMLZ-GEN sign-TRAN be.SEN-INF
 'The fact that he didn't come to say goodbye to me this morning is a sign that he will be back.' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.3; de Jong, 1959: 39, line 28-29)

This type of reading also occurs in early classical Tibetan in the 12th century, according to Zeisler (2018a: 237, ex.2), citing and reinterpreting Hill's analysis (2013: 4, ex.4).

The lexical use of the verb *'dug* still appears, but is very scarce in Milarepa's biography. It means 'to sit (on), to be seated' in (8). It could also be translated as a copula by 'to be (present)'. In other examples (9, 10), one may appreciate the meaning 'to stay, to take a seat, to live. In early classical Tibetan (12th century), it has a similar meaning 'to sit down' in the example (11), borrowed from Zeisler (2004: 850).

- (8) ལྷ་རི་མ་དེ་ཡང་གོས་དམར་པོ་གཅིག་གྱུན་ཏེ་གཙོ་མོའི་ཚུལ་དུ་འདུག་པས་ ་་་ ་བཟོད་ནས།
bha.ri.ma de-yang gos dmar.po gcig gyon-te
 Bharima that-FOC cloth red one wear-CO
gtso.mo-'i tshul-du 'dug-pas [...] brjod-nas
 female.teacher-GEN way-TRAN sit-CO [...] say-CO
 'Bharima, [...], dressed in red and sitting among them as if she were their teacher, said: "...'.
 (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.1; de Jong, 1959: 23, line 22-24)

- (9) དེ་ནས་ལྷ་རི་མ་ན་རེ་ཚ་བོ་རང་འདིར་རེ་ཞིག་ཟློང་ཅིག་ ་འདུག་ཅིག་ ་ངས་སངས་རྒྱལ་ལ་གནང་བ་ཞུས་འོང་གིས་ཟེར་སོང་བ་
 ལས་གནང་བ་ཐོབ་སྟེ།
de.nas bha.ri.ma na.re tsha.bo rang 'dir re.zhig sdod-cig / 'dug-cig
 then Bharima QUO nephew you here for.a.while stay.IMP/ stay-IMP
nga-s sangs.rgyas-la gnang.ba zhus-'ong-gis zer
 I-ERG Buddha-DAT permission ask.PAST-AUX.FUT-PRM say
song-ba.las gnang.ba thob-ste
 go.PAST-CO permission obtain-CO
 'Bharima then said to me: Stay here for a while, my nephew, I will ask for permission from the Buddha. She went there, obtained approval [...]' (*sdod* in TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.1, p.9; *'dug* in de Jong, 1959: 24; line 6-7)

- (10) ང་རང་འདུག་སར་ཚགས་བྱས་ནས་ཞག་ཤས་དེར་བཟུང་དེ།
nga.rang 'dug-sa-r tshags.byas-nas zhag-shas der bsdad-de
 myself sit-NMLZ-LOC keep.PAST-CO day-some there stay.PAST-CO
 'I kept it at the place where I was living and stayed there a few days.' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.1, p.58; de Jong, 1959: 56, line 25)

- (11) གྱེ་མ་འདུག་ན་ནམ་ཁའི་དགྱེལ་དུ་འདུག་
kye.ma 'dug-na nam.kha-'i dkyil-du 'dug
 INTJ sit-CO sky-GEN middle-LOC sit
 'Oh! When sitting, I sit/am able to sit in the middle of the sky.' (Zeisler, 2004: 850, ex. 868 referring to Naropa text).

In Old Tibetan, Hill (2013: 8 ex.15, 17) pointed out some scarce examples. The other examples presented by Hill with *'dug* in Old Tibetan correspond indeed to its copular function. The identification feature occurs in Hill (2013: 10 ex.20; 11 ex.22). The location feature is also marked in Hill (2013: 10, ex. 21; 11 ex.23; 12, ex. 24-26).

The verb *'dug* has been grammaticalized into a copula with different features and functions as I have shown above. It is also used in simple and complex auxiliary verb constructions with distinct tense, aspect and evidential functions in Middle Classical Tibetan (cf. Table 3).

Table 3. The semantic map of *'dug* in Middle Classical Tibetan

Category	Meaning or Function	Example
Verb		
intransitive, deictic verb	'to be seated, to sit, to stay, to stand, to live'	(8, 9, 10, 11, 72, 82)
Copula		
copula with the locative and deictic feature	Sensory 'to be present, to be located'	(5, 59)
copula with the identification, categorization or characterization feature	Sensory or Inferential 'to be someone or something'	(6, 7)
copula with the existential feature	Sensory 'to exist, to have'	(40)
compound copula	Sensory-Inferential	(18, 19, 20, 21, 94)
compound copula	Revelatory	(27, 28, 29, 30)
compound copula	Corroborative	(33, 34)
Auxiliary		
auxiliary verb construction	Sensory Resultative sensory Sensory-Inferential	(12, 13, 42, 43, 44, 55) (14, 40) (15, 16, 17)
complex auxiliary verb construction	Reportative source	(22, 23, 24, 25)

The sensory is also indicated by the imperfective and progressive auxiliary verb construction, respectively, *-bar.'dug* in (12) and *-zhing.'dug* in (13).

- (12) ཡུལ་པ་འདི་པས་ཁྱོད་འཚོལ་དུ་བཏང་ནས་བསད་ཉིང་ང་ཡང་གསོད་ཟེར་བར་འདུག་པས།
yul.pa 'di.pa-s khyod 'tshol-du btang-nas bsad-rting
 inhabitant these-ERG you look.for.PRES-CO send.PAST-CO kill.PAST-CO
nga yang gsod zer-bar.'dug-pas
 I also kill.PRES say-IPFV.SEN-CO

'The countrymen here say they will send a party to search for you, and after they have killed you, they will also kill me.' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.3; de Jong, 1959: 46, line 3-4; Quintman, 2010: 37)

- (13) ཚོས་གསུང་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་། རྣམ་ཐར་ལོ་ན་གསུང་ཞིང་འདུག་པས།
chos gsung-ba thams.cad [...] nmam.thar
 teaching say.HON.PRES-NMLZ everything hagiography
kho.na gsung-zhing.'dug-pas
 only say.HON.PRES-PROG.SEN-CO
 ‘All of his teachings exposed nothing but life (the works, genealogies and estates of Bodhisattvas and Buddhas).’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.1; de Jong, 1959: 24, line 11-13)

Hill (2013: 5, ex. 7) also pointed out the construction *V-par.'dug*, but he does not specify whether it is a copula or an auxiliary. He only deals with semantics. According to his corpus (*bshad-mdzod yid-bzhin nor bu*, 14th century), this auxiliary verb construction is translated as ‘we behold that’, which would be thus interpreted as a sensory evidential ‘I see or I observe that’.

As for the auxiliary construction *V-'dug* in Milarepa biography, Hill (2013: 6 ex. 10-12) gives the following example (14), which I would analyze *V-'dug* as a perfect resultative sensory. There is no reason to differentiate the two verbs as two separate temporal events: “My mother fainted in an instant, and when (I beheld that) she had fallen.” (Hill, 2013: 6, ex.10). Actually, it is a single complex predicate with the enclitic *-nas* embedded in a subordinate clause *-pa'i.tshe* ‘when’-temporal- > ‘as’-causal- (cf. *adverbialisation*, Oisel 2013: 168, *desententialization* Lehmann, 2004; Jendraschek, 2011).²² I propose the following literal translation.

- (14) ཇམ་ཡུག་ཅིག་བརྒྱུད་ནས་འགྲེལ་འདུག་པའི་ཚེ་སྲིན་མོ་ཡང་ཐོན་བྱུང་སྟེ།
a.ma yug cig brgyad-nas 'gyel-'dug-pa-'i-tshe
 Mother moment INDF fall-ADV faint-PRF.SEN-NMLZ-GEN-CO
srin.mo-yang thon-byung-ste
 sister-FOC get.out-PFV.CIS-CO
 ‘While she lay there collapsed [lit.: When/as she fainted while collapsing], my sister came over (and said [...])’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.3; de Jong, 1959: 36, line 23-24; Quintman, 2010: 28)²³

The sensory also appears with the perfective aspect (Mélac 2023: 152, ex.27; Mélac and Bialek, 2024:20, ex.20), but its use is quite rare and restrained to a category of verbs (verb of state *shi* ‘to die’; verb of action *spungs* ‘to pile’) since the auxiliary verb *-song* mainly indicates a translocative function with motion verbs in Middle Classical Tibetan (Oisel, 2017a).

The sensory in a future context can also encode an inferential based on observation (i.e. sensory-inferential) as shown in the following examples. It is marked by the sensory imperfective auxiliary construction *-bar.'dug*.

²² In Kakataibo (Pano language), Zariquiey (2011: 563-564) distinguishes between converbs and clauses with change of reference or cross-reference (switch-reference clauses). In Matsés (another Pano Language), Fleck (2003: 1073-1074) distinguishes adverbialized clauses from adverbial clauses.

²³ However, Quintman (2010: 63) translated it twice; meanwhile it appears only once in the original Tibetan text: “With this, she fainted and fell to the ground. While she lay there collapsed, my sister came over [...].”

- (15) རེ་ཞིག་ཐབས་ཅི་བྱས་ཅུང་ཟླ་མས་ཉོད་ལ་ཚོས་མི་གནང་བར་འདུག་ལྟེ།
re.zhig thabs ci byas-rung bla.ma-s khyod-la chos
 by.now means whatever do.PAST-CO Lama-ERG you-DAT Dharma
mi-gnang-bar.'dug-ste
 NEG-give.HON-IPFV.SEN-INF-CO
 'Whatever you may want to do by now, the lama is not going to teach you the Dharma.'
 [Said Marpa's wife after Marpa slapped Milarepa's face as he tried to run away.] (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.2; de Jong, 1959: 66, line 3-4; Quintman, 2010: 63)

In (15), the speaker (the lama's wife) infers from her husband's attitude that he will not teach Milarepa any spell. The inferential is based on observing the behavior. Similar examples are also found in Early Classical Tibetan (Zeisler, 2018a: 236), but with the notion of doubt which is not the case in (15) and (16).²⁴

- (16) མཐུ་ངས་བྱས་ཀྱང་ཚོག་པར་འདུག་ལྟེ་ཉལ་ཉོབ་ལར་མི་འདྲེན།
mthu nga-s byas-kyang chog-par.'dug-ste
 magical.power I-ERG do.PAST-CO suffice-IPFV.SEN-INF-CO
tab.tob lar mi-'dren
 hastily yet NEG.PRES-unleash.PRES
 'The magic I practice will suffice, but let's not unleash it hastily.' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.3; de Jong, 1959: 40, line 17-18; another translation in Quintman, 2010: 31)

In (16), the speaker (the lama) infers from his experience that the effectiveness of his magic will be sufficient.

Hill (2013: 6, ex.9) also pointed out the construction *-par.'dug*, with a future reading. Hill described it as a testimonial marker 'I see that', however it is not exactly a direct sensory as the speaker is not seeing himself dead. He infers he will be dying.

- (17) ངོན་བསྐྱུ་ལ་ངག་ཏུ་ང་ད་ལན་གྱི་ནད་འདིས་མི་གཏོང་བ་འདུག་ཅིང་།
don.bsdu-la ngag-tu
 meaning-collected-TRAN word-TRAN
nga da lan-gyi nad 'di-s mi-gtong-ba.'dug-cing
 I now time-GEN illness this-ERG NEG.PRES-release-IPFV.SEN-INF-CO
 'In sum, (*I see that>It seems that) this current disease will not release me.' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.2; de Jong, 1959: 31, line 10-11)

The inferential also appear with the other auxiliary verb constructions which also encode epistemic modality and other access (cf. section 7).

Apart from its sensory function, the verb *'dug* also occurs in compound copular constructions *yod.par.'dug* with a reportative-inferential²⁵ function and in complex

²⁴ In this study, the inferential corresponds to the copula *yod.par.'dug* (in this section) and the epistemic-inferential, the copula *yin.pa.'dra*, the auxiliary verb constructions *-pa.'dra*, *-pa.'dra.ba.'dug*, etc. (section 7).

²⁵ Tournadre and Suzuki (2023: 430-434) propose the notion of 'reportive-inferential modality' (i.e. reportative-inferential in my study) for the tibetic language of Ladakh. The authors (2023: 430-431) define it as follows: "the reportive-inferential modality does not explicitly mention reported speech, nor does it include any verb of speech, but rather implies that the speaker had access to the information through media or, in some cases, through his own logical inference. It may be rendered in English as 'According to what I heard or

auxiliary verb construction with a reportative function. The copula *yod.par.'dug* has various semantic features. It can encode identification (18), categorization (19), possession (20) and location (21) features. Surprisingly, the identification and categorization feature should be expected with the copula *yin.par.'dug*, like in examples (1, 2). However, the copula *yin.par.'dug* has another function indeed which is the *revelatory*.²⁶ Synchronically, both copulas should be analyzed as a single syntactic unit *yin-pa-r+'dug* > *yin.par.'dug* (identification feature) and *yod-pa-r+'dug* > *yod.par.'dug* (identification, categorization, possession and location feature).²⁷

In (18), the speaker (Milarepa's sister) infers from what the hunters sang that the yogi in the cave is a buddha. The compound copula *yod.par.'dug* encodes a reportative-inferential and an identification feature.

- (18) དེའི་ས་ན་པེ་ཏ་ཡང་སྤོང་མོ་བྱེད་ཅིང་ཡོད་པས་ཐོས་ཏེ་ཁོང་དེ་སྐད་ཟེར་མཁན་དེ་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཡོད་པར་འདུག་བྱས་པས།
de-i sa-na pe.ta yang slong.mo byed-cing.yod-pas
 that-GEN place-LOC Peta also beggar do.PRES-PROG.AUT-CO
thos-te khong de skad zer-mkhan de
 hear-CO he.HON that word say-NMLZ that
sangs.rgyas shig yod.par.'dug byas-pas
 Buddha INDF be.REP.INF do.PAST-CO
 'Peta was also begging there (where the hunters sang the song of Mila the yogi) and heard them. "Whoever spoke those words is a buddha," she cried.' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.7; de Jong 1959: 131, line 30-31; translation adapted from Quintman, 2010: 141)

In (19), someone from the audience listening to the Buddha (the speaker) infers from what the latter said that it would be very useful to listen to him. The compound copula *yod.par.'dug* also encodes a reportative-inferential, but in this case the copula indicates a categorization feature.

- (19) ཆོས་གྱི་མཚུགས་ཏུ་ནང་པར་གོང་དུ་བཤད་པ་དེ་རྣམས་ལས་ཀྱང་མཚོགས་ཏུ་གྱུར་པ་མི་ལ་རས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་འཆད་པས་ཉན་དུ་ཤོག་གསུང་ཞིང་འདུག་པ་ལ། འཁོར་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་ཁ་ཅིག་ན་རེ་གོང་གི་དེ་རྣམས་ལས་མཚོགས་ཏུ་གྱུར་པ་བྱ་ཐབས་ཡོད་དམ། ཡོད་ན་ངོ་མཚར་ཚད་ལས་འདས་པ་ཅིག་ཡོད་པར་འདུག་ཟེར།
chos-kyi mjug-tu nang.par gong.du bshad-pa
 teaching-GEN end-LOC in.the.morning earlier explain.PAST-NLMZ
de-rnams-las-kyang mchog-tu gyur-pa mi.la ras.pa-'i
 that-PL-COMP-even excellent-TRAN become.PAST-NLMZ Mila yogi-GEN
rnam.thar 'chad-pas nyan-du shog gsung-zhing.'dug-pa.la
 autobiography explain.PRES-CO listen-CO come.IMP say.PRES.HON-PROG.SEN-CO
'khor-rnams-kyi nang-nas kha cig na.re
 surrounding.person-PL-GEN inside-ABL voice INDF QUO
gong-gi de-rnams-las mchog-tu gyur-pa bya.thabs yod-dam

read, or as far as I know'. In a way, from a cognitive point of view, the reportive modality functions more like an access marker than a source marker since it is not concerned with a precise source of information but rather with the cognitive access to information, which is not sensory but mediated."

²⁶ In Hill (2013:5 ex.6), there is a similar copula *yin.par.'dug* in *Rgyal-rabs gsal.ba'i me.long* text (14th century). The author analyzes it distinctly: as the equivalent of a sensory 'we behold that'.

²⁷ In Modern literary Tibetan (Oisel, 2013: 239-241), *yin-pa-r+'dug* and *yod-pa-r+'dug* became *yin.'dug* and *yod.'dug*.

earlier-GEN that-PL-COMP excellent-TRAN become.PAST-NLMZ means have-INT
yod-na ngo.mtshar tshad.las.'das.pa cig yod.par.'dug zer
 have-CO marvel immeasurable INDF be.REP-INF say

'At the end of his dharma teaching, the Buddha said, "Tomorrow I shall narrate the life story of Milarepa, which is even more excellent than those I have just described, so come and listen." Some in the assembly said, "Is there something more excellent than the previous accounts? If there were it would be a marvel of immeasurable proportions." (*yod-dam* TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.1; *med-de* de Jong, 1959: 24, line 19-21; translation adapted from Quintman, 2010: 12)²⁸

In (20), after Milarepa gave the letter written by his mother to his master, the lama (the speaker) infers from it that she really wants to kill everyone who dispossessed her. The compound copula *yod.par.'dug* also encodes a reportative-inferential, but in this case the copula indicates a possession feature.²⁹

- (20) ཡི་གེ་དེ་ཚེར་གཅིག་གཞིགས་ནས། རྗེས་སུ་བཤམས་ཏེ་ཕྱི་ལྷོ་ཨ་མ་དེ་ཞེ་སྤང་ཆེན་པོ་རང་ཅིག་ཡོད་པར་འདུག་མི་དེ་ཙམ་གྱི་རྟིང་ཡང་
 ད་དུང་སེར་བ་པོ་བ་ཟེར་བ་བྱས་གངའ། ཕྱིད་ལ་བྱང་ན་ཉེ་ཚམ་ཅི་འདྲ་ཡོད་གསུང་།
yi.ge de tshar.gcig gzigs-nas thos.pa.dga' khyod-kyi a.ma de
 letter that once see.HON-CO Thöpağa you-GEN mother that
zhe.sdang chen.po rang cig yod.par.'dug mi de.tsam shi-rting
 hatred big really INDF have.REP-INF person that.much die-CO
yang da.dung ser.ba phob zer-ba.byas-gda'
 again again hail make.fall.IMP say-INTE.PAST-POL-INF
khyod-la byang-na nye.tshan ci.'dra yod gsung
 you-DAT north-LOC relative what.kind have.AUT say.HON.PRES
 'When (the lama) read the letter, "Thöpağa, your mother has really great hatred. Even after the death of so many people, she still says intentionally, 'Make a hail fall! What kind of relatives do you have in the north?'" (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.3, p.44; de Jong, 1959: 46, line 17-18)³⁰

In (21), the speaker is a disciple who is guessing from what s/he previously and personally heard before joining the first day of the teaching. The source of the information is not specified either in the actual context. The compound copula *yod.par.'dug* also encodes a reportative-inferential and additionally a location feature.

- (21) ཡང་གཅིག་ན་རེ་མི་ལ་རས་བཤེད་ད་ལྟ་གང་ན་བཞུགས་ཟེར། གཅིག་ན་རེ་མངོན་དགའ་འམ་འོག་མིན་གང་རུང་ན་ཡོད་པར་
 འདུག་ཟེར་བ་ལས།
yang gcig na.re mi.la ras.pa de da.lta gang.na bzhugs
 again someone QUO Mila yogi that now where reside.HON
zer gcig na.re mngon.dga'-'am 'og.min
 say someone.else QUO Abhirati-CO Akaniṣṭha
gang.rung-na yod.par.'dug zer-ba.las
 either-LOC be.located.REP-INF say-CO

²⁸ Quintman's version surely was *bya thabs med de* like de Jong's version since he translates it: "There couldn't be anything [...]". De Jong (1959: 24) notes that in the *bsTan-rgyas.gling* and *bKra-shis lhun.po* editions it was written *yod de* and in the *sPo* edition it was written *yode*.

²⁹ See also example (94)

³⁰ The translation of Quintman (2010: 39-42) reveals a distinct version from de Jong's and TCPPD's ones.

'Someone else asked, "Where does Milarepa currently reside? Some said, "He is either in Abhirati or Akaniṣṭha." (yod.par.'dug TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.1, p.11; *bzhugs*³¹ de Jong, 1959: 24, line 28-29; translation adapted from Quintman, 2010: 13)

The reportative source refers to someone speech which the speaker has directly listened to without being explicit regarding the source of information.³² The reportative source is the unique function with the compound auxiliary construction: the imperfective *-par.yod.'dug* (22) and *-ba.yod.par.'dug* (23), the progressive *-kyin.yod.'dug* (24), the perfect *-yod.'dug* (25), the future *pa.yin.pa.'dug* (26).

In (22), the speaker (Milarepa) reports that what he says is based on the speech of one herdsman he heard. Few lines before in the original text, the herdsmen shared their experience when they met the yogi in the cave.

- (22) ཁོང་རྣམས་ངའི་ཚོས་སྐྱོང་ལ་འཇིགས་པར་ཡོད་འདུག་པས་ང་ལ་གཞོན་པ་བྱེད་མི་བྱས་པར་འདུག་སྐྱམ་པ་དང་།
khong-rnams nga'i chos.skyong-la 'jigs-par.yod.'dug-pas
 he.HON-PL I-GEN protector-DAT be.afraid.of-IPFV.REP-CO
nga-la gnod.pa.byed mi-nus-par.'dug snyam-pa.dang
 I-DAT attack.PRES NEG.PRES-dare-IPFV.SEN think-CO

“(According to one herdsman,) they all reportedly are afraid of my protectors and dare not attack me,” I thought to myself.’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 2.6; de Jong, 1959: 110, line 25-26, another translation in Quintman, 2010: 118)

Note that in contrast in the example above, the auxiliary construction *mi-V.par.'dug* with the verb *nus* ‘to dare’ indicates that the same speaker infers that what he says is based on the same reported speech (reportative-inferential).

In (23), the speaker, one of the maidens who appears like a rainbow in Rechungpa’s dream, reports that what she says is based on the speech of the Buddha Aksobhya who said so early in the morning in the original text.

- (23) བླ་མ་པར་མི་ལ་རས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་གསུང་བ་ཡོད་པར་འདུག་པས་ཉན་དུ་འགྲོ།
nangs.par mi.la.ras.pa-'i rnam.thar gsung-ba.yod.par.'dug-pas
 tomorrow.morning Milarepa-GEN life say.HON.PRES-IPFV.REP-CO
nyan-du 'gro
 listen-CO go.PRES

‘Hence the life of Milarepa is reportedly to be told (according to the Buddha Aksobhya) tomorrow morning, said one of them, I am leaving in order to listen to her.’ [Said maidens of Oddiyana who heard Aksobhya’s account] (TCPPD 1994, Ch.1.1; *-ba-yong-bar.'dug* in de Jong 1959: 25, line 23-24; another translation in Quintman 2010:14)³³

³¹ According to de Jong (1959: 24), *yod.par.'dug* is also used instead of *bzhugs* in three others versions: in the *bstan rgyas gling*, *sPo*, and *bkra shis lhunpo* editions.

³² This is the only used in Modern Literary Tibetan (Oisel, 2013: 239): non-commitment reportative source or *médiatif*.

³³ The footnote 20 in De Jong (1959: 25) indicates that in the *bstan rgyas gling* and the *bkra shis lhunpo* editions it is transcribed *-pa.yod.par.'dug* instead of **-ba-yong-bar.'dug* (de Jong’s version). There is no grammatical comment. Consequently, in de Jong’s version, the suffix *-d* has been transcribed as *-ng* in this case.

In (24), Milarepa (the speaker), counting his life, directly reports what his master Marpa told him regarding Naropa's habits during the festival in question, hence the reportative - *kin.yod.'dug*. Naropa was the master of Marpa. The following sentence with the sensory - *cing.'dug* contrasts with the reportative. Milarepa was witnessing what his master Marpa was doing during that celebration day, but not what Naropa was doing.

- (24) བཤམ་ཆེན་མོ་འདི་ཚོས་བསུ་ལ་ཚོགས་གཏོར་གྱི་མཚན་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་མཛད་ཀྱིན་ཡོད་འདུག་པས།
paN.chen nA.ro.pa de tshes bcu-la tshogs gtor-gyi mchod.pa
 Panchen Naropa that date ten-LOC banquet Torma-GEN offerings
rgya.chen mdzad-kyin.yod.'dug-pas
 sumptuous do.HON-PROG.REP-CO
de-i stobs-kyis mar.pa yang tshes bcu mdzad-cing.'dug
 that-GEN force-INST Marpa also date ten do.HON-PROG.SEN
 '[According to Marpa,] the Panchen Naropa was reportedly always dedicating the tenth day of the month to a banquet of Torma offerings. Because of this, Marpa was also celebrating this tenth day.' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.2; de Jong, 1959: 70, line 9-11; another translation in Quintman, 2010: 68)

In (25), Milarepa's father only repeats what he just read in his wife's letter announcing the birth of his child, the future Milarepa, hence the use of the reportative.

- (25) ད་ལན་བྱུང་སྐྱེས་ཡོད་འདུག་པ་དེ་ཚོས་བའི་གཏམ་ལ་དགའ་བ་ཞིག་བྱུང་བས་ངའི་བྱའི་མིང་ལ་ཚོས་བ་དགའ།
da.lan bu-r skyes-yod.'dug-pa de thos-pa-'i
 now son-TRAN be.born.PAST-PRF.REP-NMLZ that hear-NMLZ-GEN
gtam-la dga'-ba zhig byung-bas
 speech-LOC be.happy-NMLZ INDF occur.PAST-CO
nga-'i bu-'i ming-la thos.pa.dga'
 I-GEN son-GEN name-TRAN Thöpaga
 'As I was fortunate to hear that now my son has reportedly been born (according to my wife's letter), his name will be Thöpaga.' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.1; de Jong, 1959: 29-30, line 33-1)

In (26), the discursive situation is complex. There are two sources of information involved in the utterance. Milarepa's uncle (the speaker, source 1) addresses Milarepa's mother (*zer-ba.byung*)³⁴ and reports what someone read in Milarepa's father's testament (*slong.byed.pa.yin.pa.'dug*) on his behalf as he is probably illiterate. As Milarepa is old enough to take care of his mother, he said so to announce that he would organize a family reunion to supposedly give Milarepa back the authority over his wealth.

- (26) ལྷུང་ཚ་དཀར་རྒྱན་མ་སྤང་ཞོར་སྤོང་བྱེད་པ་ཡིན་པ་འདུག་ཟེར་བ་བྱུང་།
myang.tsha dkar.rgyan ma.smad nor slong.byed-pa.yin.pa.'dug
 Nyantsa Kargyen mother.and.children wealth claim.PRES-IPFV.REP
zer-ba.byung
 say-PFV.CIS
 'I am told that Nyantsa Kargyen would reportedly claim her property and that of her children.' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.2; de Jong, 1959: 33, line 9)

³⁴ See the notion of metaphorical cislocative motion in Oisel (2017a: 176).

The revelatory access implies that the speaker has just discovered or become aware of whatever s/he is asserting’ (Tournadre and Dorje, 2003: 141).³⁵ It can be considered as an evidential category since the access to the information is the ‘novel realization’ (*prise de conscience*, mirative, counter-expectation).³⁶ The revelatory can also be used when the speaker pretends to recently realize what s/he says. It is therefore a strategy to catch the attention of the addressee to make the latter realize something important.³⁷

In (27), it is a revelatory function (copula with the identification feature). The speaker, a farmer in his field, in the village of Longda accompanied with his son, just realized that he is seeing Milarepa flying in the sky.

- (27) གཡོན་ཅན་མི་ལ་ཟེར་བའི་གོག་བ་ལྷོ་མ་ཕྱིད་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ཡིན་པར་འདུག
g.yon.can mi.la zer-ba-'i gog.pa.lto ma-phyid-pa
 cunning Milarepa be.called-NMLZ-GEN stomach NEG-be.satiated-NMLZ
zhig yod-pa de yin.par.'dug
 INDF have-NMLZ that be.REV
 ‘Hey! This is that cunning Mila who has been worn down by starvation.’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.7; de Jong, 1959: 138, line 23; another translation in Quintman, 2010: 149)

In (28), the speaker (Milarepa) realizes that the cleric who said that he would introduce him to the Lama is the lama himself (i.e. Marpa). The following example is quite long, but it is very informative about the discursive context.

- (28) དེ་ནས་ང་བྱ་རྒྱུད་དེ་དང་བསྐྱེབས་ཏེ་ནང་དུ་ཕྱིན་པས་ལྷ་ནས་གྱི་བན་རྗེ་དེ་ས་གདན་གྱི་སྒྲེང་ན་འབོལ་གཉིས་རྗེས་ལྷན་ཅོ་དང་
 ལྷན་རྗེས་སྐྱེས་འབོལ་དང་བཅས་པའི་སྒྲེང་ན་ལྷན་ཕྱིས་ཤིག་བྱས་པ་ལ་སློན་ལྷན་དང་སྐྱེའི་བྱ་གཤོག་གི་གཤོངས་སྤྱི་ར་དང་ཨག་
 ཚོམ་རྣམས་འབྲི་བ་མ་བྱུང་བར་ས་ལས་ལེ་བ་ཞིག་བྱས་ནས་ལྷོ་ཚོལ་སྤྱུག་གི་འདུག་པ་ལ་འདི་ནི་ལྷ་ར་གྱི་དེ་ཀྱི་ཡིན་པར་འདུག་ལྷ་མ་
 གང་ན་བཞུགས་པ་ན་ལྷན་བསྐྱེས་པས་ལྷ་མའི་ལས་ནས་ངོ་མི་ཤེས་པ་བདེན་ཡོད་མར་བ་ང་རང་ཡིན་ཕྱག་ཚོལ་ཅིག་གསུངས།
de.nas nga bu.chung de-dang bsdebs-te nang-du phyin-pas
 then I small.child that-ASS join-CO inside-LOC go.PAST-CO
snga-nas-kyi ban.dhe de sa.gdan-gyi steng-na
 previous-ABL-GEN cleric that carpet-GEN upon-LOC
'bol gnyis rtseg grum.tse-dang
 cushion two pile woolen.rug-ASS
sum rtsegs snyes.'bol-dang bcas-pa-'i steng-na
 three pile back.pillow-ASS possess-NMLZ-GEN above-LOC
snum phyis.shig.byas-pa.la smin.phrag-dang sna-'i bya gshog.gi
 grease wipe.off.PAST-CO eyebrows-ASS nose-GEN bird wing-GEN
gshongs sma.ra-dang ag.tshom-rnams 'phyi-ba ma-byung-bar
 cavity moustache-ASS goatee-PL wipe-NMLZ NEG-occur-CO
sa khal.le.ba zhig-byas-nas lto tshil lhug.ge 'dug-pa.la
 ground loudly relax-INTE.PAST-CO meal fat loosely seat-CO
'di-ni sngar-gyi de.ka yin.par.'dug

³⁵ In Lhasa Tibetan and Common Tibetan, the ‘revelatory’ is the copula *red.bzhag* [resha’]. See also the notion of ‘mirative’ or ‘admirative’ in Tournadre and Suzuki (2023: 456-459)

³⁶ Oisel (2017b: 112)

³⁷ In Lhasa Tibetan (my own data), when someone in the market is replying to the question of a customer, s/he can use the copula *red.bzhag*: The customer: *sgor.mo ga.tshod red* ‘How much is that?’ The seller: *sgor.mo bcu red.bzhag* ‘Hey! It costs 10 yuans [You realize that?! Buy it!]’

this-TOP	previous-GEN	that.one	be.REV		
<i>bla.ma</i>	<i>gang.na</i>	<i>bzhugs-pa-na</i>	<i>snyam</i>	<i>bltas-pas</i>	
Lama	where	stay.HON-NMLZ-LOC	think	look.PAST-CO	
<i>bla.ma-'i</i>	<i>zhal-nas</i>	<i>ngo</i>	<i>mi-shes-pa</i>	<i>bden</i>	<i>yod</i>
Lama-GEN	mouth.HON-ABL	face	NEG-know-NMLZ	true	be.AUT
<i>mar.pa</i>	<i>nga.rang</i>	<i>yin</i>	<i>phyag.tshol-cig</i>	<i>gsungs</i>	
Marpa	myself	be.AUT	prostrate.IMP-IMP	say.HON.PAST	

'I joined the youth and went to the lama's home. The cleric I had met previously sat upon a carpet, raised high with two cushions and a woolen rug, and a pillow at his back. He had wiped himself off, but his brow, his nostrils [lit.: the bird wing cavity of his nose], his moustache, and his goatee had not come clean. He sat there in a relaxed manner [lit.: he relaxed loudly on the ground], waiting for his meal [lit.: he loosely sat for a high fat meal]. I thought, "Hey! This is the same man as before. Where is the lama seated?," and I looked about. The lama said, "It is true that you really do not know me. I am Marpa. Prostrate yourself!" (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.1; de Jong, 1959: 56, line 3-8; translation adapted from Quintman, 2010: 51)³⁸

Contrary to the previous examples, in (29), the speaker (Milarepa's mother) is not surprised and is not realizing what she says. She uses the revelatory *yin.par.'dug* to catch the attention of her addressee (i.e. to make her addressee realize something). She is thus lowering down the necessity of the youngsters who accompany Milarepa in their quest of receiving teachings. Then, in the following sentence, the speaker uses the authoritative *yin* to assert her personal knowledge: she wants her son to learn black magic so that she could take revenge against the relatives who kick her and her son out of their house.

- (29) ལུས་དུ་མཐུའི་རྟལ་ས་ཐོན་པ་ཞིག་ཅིས་ཀྱང་གྱིས་ཤོག་ཅིག་ཁོང་ཚོའི་མཐུ་དང་འུ་ཅག་གི་མཐུ་མི་འདྲའོ་ཁོང་ཚོ་གཅེས་ལུག་རང་
 དགའ་རྟལ་ས་པའི་མཐུ་ཡིན་པར་འདུག་འུ་ཅག་མས་སྣང་སྲུག་ལུག་པའི་མཐུ་ཡིན་པས་ཁྱོད་སྣང་བྱས་སྣང་ཤོག་ཅིག
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| <i>yul-du</i> | <i>mthu-'i</i> | <i>rtags</i> | <i>thon-pa</i> | <i>zhig</i> | <i>cis.kyang</i> | <i>gyis-shog.cig</i> |
| region-LOC | magic-GEN | sign | show-NMLZ | INDF | whatever | do.IMP-OPT |
| <i>khong-tsho-'i</i> | <i>mthu-dang</i> | <i>'u.cag-gi</i> | <i>mthu</i> | <i>mi-'dra-'o</i> | | |
| he-PL-GEN | magic-ASS | we-GEN | magic | NEG-similar-FP | | |
| <i>khong-tsho</i> | <i>gces.phrug</i> | <i>rang.dga'</i> | <i>rgyags pa'i</i> | <i>mthu</i> | <i>yin.par.'dug</i> | |
| he-PL | darling.child | pleasure | satisfy-NMLZ-GEN | magic | be.REV | |
| <i>'u.cag</i> | <i>mas.smad</i> | <i>sdug.thug-pa-'i</i> | <i>mthu</i> | <i>yin-pas</i> | | |
| we | dishonor | suffer-NMLZ-GEN | magic | be.AUT-CO | | |
| <i>khyod</i> | <i>snying.rus</i> | <i>skyed-shog.cig</i> | | | | |
| you | perseverance | grow-OPT | | | | |

'I hope you can do whatever you can to show signs of black magic in our region. The black magic of your companions and our magic are not the same. Hey! Theirs is black magic for the pleasure of fine young men [you must realize it]. Ours is black magic for a desperate family. I hope you persevere.' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.3, p.32; de Jong, 1959: 38, line 6-9; translation adapted from Quintman, 2010: 29)

³⁸ The number of orthographic variations is important in this paragraph: *ban de des gdan, rtseg, 'ong, gsungs* (TCPPD) instead of *ban dhe de sa gdan, rtsegs, yod, gsung* (de Jong), respectively. I kept the de Jong version, except for the verb *gsungs* I used in the TCPPD version. Interestingly, the verb *yod* 'to be' is correctly written in de Jong instead of *'ong* (TCPPD) or *yong* (in the *bsTan.rgyas.gling, sPo*, and *bKra.shis lhuna.po* editions).

Similarly, in (30), the speaker (Milarepa's master) is not surprised and **is not** realizing what he says by using the revelatory *yin.par.'dug*. Talking to Milarepa, the speaker wants to catch the attention of his addressee about the fact that his wife's turquoise belongs to him since he is the husband, hence the use of the revelatory. He has no doubt about that since he previously asserts it with insistence when talking with her wife by using the copula *yin* and the enclitic *mod*. (emphatic assertion, cf. section 7).

(30) ལྷོད་རང་རིལ་པོ་ང་དབང་ན་གཡུ་ང་ཡི་དབང་ཡིན་མོད། མཐུ་ཆེན་ལྷོད་རང་ལ་རྗོར་ཡོད་ན་ལྷུང་ཤོག དབང་བསྐྱར་གྱིས་གཡུ་ང་
རང་གི་ཡིན་པར་འདུག་གསུང་རུང་།

<i>khyod.rang</i>	<i>ril.po</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>dbang-na</i>	<i>g.yu</i>	<i>nga-yi</i>	<i>dbang</i>
yourself	wholly	I	control-CO	turquoise	I-GEN	possession
<i>yin-mod</i>	<i>mthu.chen</i>		<i>khyod.rang-la</i>	<i>nor</i>	<i>yod-na</i>	
be.AUT-EMP	great.magician		yourself-DAT	wealth	have.AUT-CO	
<i>khyer-shog</i>	<i>dbang</i>	<i>bskur-gyis</i>		<i>g.yu</i>	<i>nga.rang-gi</i>	
bring-IMP	initiation	empower-INTE.IMP		turquoise	myself-GEN	
<i>yin.par.'dug</i>	<i>gsung-rung</i>					
be.REV	say.HON.PRES-CO					

‘(The master replying to Dakmeam, his wife,) [...] If I am wholly your master, I am definitely master of the turquoise. Great Magician [Milarepa], if you have wealth, bring it here and take the initiation. Hey! The turquoise is mine [you must realize it].’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.2, 74; de Jong, 1959: 67, line 13-15; translation adapted from Quintman, 2010: 65)

The gnomic source indicates a general truth or a piece of information well-known by a group of people belonging to a community sharing the same cultural values, in that present case, a Buddhist sect.³⁹ It can be translated by a phrase such as ‘as everyone knows’, but most of the time this construction is not translated into English. The gnomic source contrasts with the authoritative and reportative source we have seen previously. It is marked by the compound copula *yod.pa.yin* and auxiliary verb constructions: the perfect -*nas.yod.pa.yin* (32) and the progressive -*cing.yod.pa.yin* (74). Their use is very scarce in the main corpus. There are seven occurrences in total in Milarepa as a copula and auxiliary verb.

(31) རང་རེ་ནུ་རྗོ་མི་ཉིདེ་རྒྱུད་པ་ལ་ ་་་་ ་གདམས་ངག་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན།
rang.re *nA.ro* *mai.tri-'i* *rgyud.pa-la* [...] *gdams.ngag* *yod.pa.yin*
we Naropa Maitripa-GEN lineage-LOC instructions have.GNOM
‘We in the lineage of Naropa and Maitripa have an oral instruction.’ (called ‘driving one hundred birds with a single slingshot’ through which terrible sinners may swiftly become a buddha) (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.2; de Jong, 1959: 73, line 21-23; Quintman, 2010: 72)

The gnomic is also indicated by the compound auxiliary construction *V-nas.yod.pa.yin*. This construction has been extracted from the biography of Urgyenpa (bSod nams 'od zer, 1997).

³⁹The gnomic seems to be at the origin of the factual-reportative *yod.pa.red* in Modern Literary Tibetan (Oisel, 2013: 235) and the factual *yod.red* in Lhasa Tibetan (Oisel, 2017b: 96).

- (32) སློབ་དཔོན་པད་མ་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀྱིས་ཚོ་གྲུབ་མཛད་པའི་ཚེ་ཚུ་འོན་ལྷན་དྲི་རིགས་ལྡེ་ལ་བྱམ་པ་དེ་སྤྲོས་ནས་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན།
slob.dpon pad.ma 'byung.gnas-kyis tshe grub.mdzad-pa-'i tshe.chu
 Padmasambhava-ERG life achieve.HON-NMLZ-GEN nectar
'on.ljang.rdo-'i rigs.lnga-la bum.pa de sbas-nas.yod.pa.yin
 small.turquoise.rock-GEN five.sciences-LOC vessel that hid.PAST-PRF.GNOM
 ‘Padmasambhava hid the vessel (which contains) the nectar of immortality and enlightenment and the text of Sadhana.’

The corroborative source indicates that the speaker personally confirms what someone reports. The compound copula *yin.par.yod.pa.'dug* can be translated like the adverb ‘indeed’. There is only one occurrence in Milarepa corpus in (33). The second example is extracted from the biography of Urgyenpa in (34). The corroborative source can be considered as a type of reportative one. Diachronically, it could be analyzed as the combination of the authoritative copula *yin* with the reportative auxiliary verb construction *-par.yod.pa.'dug*.⁴⁰

- (33) མ་དུ་ཚོ་ཚོ་ཡིན་པར་ཡོད་པ་འདུག དང་པོ་དང་ཡང་མཉམ།
ma.ngu jo.jo yin.par.yod.pa.'dug
 NEG-cry older.bother be.COR
dang.po nga-dang yang phrad
 first I-ASS also meet.PAST
 “Don’t cry! It is indeed your brother. I met him some time ago.” (TCPPD 1994, Ch.2.7; de Jong 1959: 132, line 5-6; translation adapted from Quintman 2010: 142)⁴¹

- (34) དྲིའི་དུས་སྤྱི་དབྱུང་པའི་མི་ལལ་བ་རྒྱས་མེད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བསམ་པ་ལ་སླ་མ་མུ་རྒྱན་པའམ་དེ་ག་ཤེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེན་པོ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་ཡོད་པར་འདུག།
de-'i dus-su dbus-pa-'i mi phal.pa
 that-GEN time-LOC central-NMLZ-GEN people ordinary
rgyus.med-rnams-kyi bsam.pa-la bla.ma u.rgyan.pa-'am
 unfamiliar-PL-GEN thought-LOC master Urgyenpa-FOC
de.ga shed-kyi rgyal.po chen.po zhig yin.par.yod.par.'dug
 that.one powerful-GEN king great INDF be.COR
 ‘At that time, the ordinary people of Ü who were unfamiliar with him thought that Lama Urgyenpa was indeed a great and powerful king.’

Finally, the rumor source refers to information that has been reported by unknown sources. It is encoded by the auxiliary construction *-par.grags*. This can be translated by phrases like ‘it is said that’ (*on raconte que* in Gyurmé, 1994: 13). This example has been extracted from aphorisms of *dbyangs.can dga'.ba'i blo.gros* (15th century) in Gyurmé (1994).

⁴⁰ In Modern Literary Tibetan, it corresponds to the compound copula *yin.pa.red.'dug* and the auxiliary verb constructions: *V-yod.pa.red.'dug*, *V-bzhin+yod.pa.red.'dug*, *V-gi/-rgyu+yod.pa.red.'dug*, *V-rgyu+yin.pa.red.'dug* (Oisel, 2013: 235-236).

⁴¹ It is written *yin.pa.yod.paR.'dug* in the sPungs.thang and the Vidyabhusana editions. Quintman translates it with the adverb ‘probably’ which would correspond to an epistemic.

- (35) དུད་འགོ་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མི་ཞིག་བཟུང་ནས་འདི་བདག་ཅག་གི་རིགས་ཡིན་པ་ལ་མཇུག་མ་མེད་དོ་ཞེས་འཇུག་མོད་དང་བཞད་གད་བྱས་པར་བྱགས།
- | | | | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| <i>dud.gro.spre</i> | <i>rgan-rnams-kyis</i> | <i>mi</i> | <i>zhig</i> | <i>bzung-nas</i> | |
| monkey | old-PL-ERG | man | INDF | catch.PAST-CO | |
| <i>'di</i> | <i>bdag-cag-gi</i> | <i>rigs</i> | <i>yin-pa.la</i> | <i>mjug.ma</i> | <i>med-do-zhes</i> |
| this | LHUM-PL-GEN | species | be-CO | tail | have.NEG.AUT-FP-QUO |
| <i>'phya.smod-dang</i> | <i>bzhad.gad</i> | <i>byas-par.grags</i> | | | |
| mocking-ASS | joke | do.PAST-PFV.RUM | | | |
- 'After catching a man, it is said that the old monkeys made a joke and mocked (the man):
"He is of our species but he's got no tail."

In the next section, we will analyze auxiliary verb constructions which encode evidentiality and aspect.

4. Evidentiality and aspect

In addition to evidentiality, simple and compound auxiliary verb constructions indicate various aspects: perfective past, perfect, progressive and imperfective (cf. Table 2).⁴² The tense is deduced from the context with the progressive and imperfective.

The perfective past is attested with rumor (35) and authoritative (36). The perfective past indicates that the event (action or state) is completed at the time of the utterance. Unlike the perfect, the result at the time of the utterance is not taken into account. It is marked by the auxiliary construction *-pa.yin* (authoritative).

- (36) མཐུ་དང་སེར་བས་སྤྲིག་བསགས་པ་ཡིན་གསུངས།
- | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| <i>mthu-dang</i> | <i>ser.ba-s</i> | <i>sdig</i> | <i>bsags-pa+yin</i> | <i>gsungs</i> |
| magic-ASS | hailstorm-ERG | misdeeds | accumulate.PAST-PFV.AUT | say.HON.PAST |
- "I accumulated misdeeds through black magic and casting hailstorms," replied (the master Milarepa). (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.3; de Jong, 1959: 36, line 2-3; Quintman, 2010: 27)

In (37), the perfective negation of *V-pa.yin* is *V-pa.med*. One may have expected the form *V+pa.min* instead of *V-pa.med*. The construction *V+pa.min* has been attested only in a double negative construction in our corpus (cf. section 7). There is one example of *V-pa.med* in Zeisler (2018a: 240, ex.4, *yongs.pa.med*).⁴³

- (37) མི་ཁྱེད་ཡོད་སར་ངས་འོངས་པ་མེད་པས་བདག་ལ་སྲོག་སྦྱུལ་ཅིག
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| <i>mi</i> | <i>khyed</i> | <i>yod-sa-r</i> | <i>nga-s</i> |
| man | you | exist-NMLZ-LOC | I-ERG |
| <i>'ongs-pa.med-pas</i> | <i>bdag-la</i> | <i>srog</i> | <i>stsol-cig</i> |
| come.PAST-PFV.NEG.AUT-CO | LHUM-DAT | life | give-IMP |
- 'Man, as I never came to your place, spare (lit. grant) my life!' [The evil spirit pleads.] ('ongs TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.1, p.16; *yongs*. de Jong, 1959: 27, line 32-33)

⁴² Regarding the notion of aspect, see Comrie (1976a) and Tournadre (2004).

⁴³ As for the imperfective negation, Zeisler (2018a: 240, ex. 7) pointed out the negative construction, *mi-V-ba.yin* (future context).

Note that the negation auxiliary *med* is derived from the negation copula which is used in general to encode authoritative and existential features, but it does not indicate the aspect.⁴⁴

- (38) རེད་མ་སྐད་བས་སྐྱུག་པ་ནི་ས་ཐོག་ན་མེད་བས་ཁོ་ནི་སྐྱུ་ལེན་མི་ཐང་སྐྱམ་ནས།
nged ma.smad-bas sdug-pa-ni sa thog-na
 we mother.and.son-COMP be.sad-NMLZ-TOP earth on-LOC
med-pas kho-ni glu.len mi-thang snyam-nas
 exist.NEG.AUT-CO he-TOP sing NEG-need think-CO
 (“What is this?” she wondered. “This voice sounds like my son’s.) ‘But nowhere on earth is there anyone more miserable than me and my children, so how could he be singing?’” [lit.: “There are no people more miserable than us on earth, and there is no need to sing,” she thought.]’ (*thang* in TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.3; *thad* in de Jong, 1959: 36, line 15-16; Quintman, 2010: 27)⁴⁵

The perfect is used with the authoritative (39), resultative sensory (40), reportative (25) and gnomic (32). The perfect contrasts with the perfective past since it indicates that the result of the event remains relevant at the time of speech.⁴⁶

- (39) ང་རས་འགའ་ཁལ་གསུམ་དྲེས་རྒྱུན་མ་དེ་གྲོན་ནས་མཉམ་བར་བཞག་ཡོད་པ་ལས།
nga ras.'ga' khal gsum dres rdog.ma de gyon-nas
 I thick.cloth.of.cotton load three jute.plant piece that wear-CO
mnyam.par.bzhag-yod-pa.las
 remain.in.balance-PRF.AUT-CO
 ‘I was clothed in the three cloth sacks tied with a jute rope and resting in meditative equipoise [lit.: I remained in balance].’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.7, p.155; de Jong, 1959: 129, line 25-26; Quintman, 2010: 139)

- (40) ཁོང་ཚོས་སྐྱེ་མ་ལ་གཏང་རག་དང་ཕྱག་ཕུལ་ནས་ཆས་འདུག་པ་ལ།
khong-tsho-s bla.ma-la gtang.rag-dang phyag phul-nas
 he.HON-PL-ERG master-DAT reverence-ASS greeting offer.HUM.PAST-CO
chas-'dug-pa.la
 leave-PRF.SEN-CO
 ‘They set off after bowing down and thanking the lama.’ (*-pa.la* in TCPPD, 1994, Ch.1.3; *-pa.las* in de Jong, 1959: 39, line 20-21; Zeisler, 2018a: 240, ex.6)

The progressive indicates that the event is in progress at the time of the utterance or at another time located in the past. The progressive, therefore, can be used with the present or past tense. It can be associated with various obvious evidentials: authoritative, sensory, inferential and gnomic.

⁴⁴ Zeisler (2018: 241-242, ex.12-13) quotes two examples of the use of the copula *yod* in Milarepa, however she classifies them as auxiliaries.

⁴⁵ The word *thang* ‘need’ in TCPPD refers to a word used in the 12th century, and is a synonym of *dgos*. In Dan Martin’s note of *Tshan Lha* 12th century vocabulary list in Tibetan and Himalayan Library, one can find the following entry: *mi thang* = *mi dgos* ‘no need to’. In De Jong, the word *thang* has been replaced by the word *thad* ‘regarding’, which does not make any sense.

⁴⁶ Tournadre (2004: 26)

As described by Zeisler (2004: 315-468), the verb inflection sometimes determines the tense value of the utterance, but this is not always the case. Indeed, with the progressive aspect, the inflection of the so-called “present” is often used while it refers to a past action. The verbal inflection is therefore determined by aspect instead of tense.

- (41) ཨ་བོ་མཐུ་ཆེན་ཐོན་ལ་སོངས་ལ་ཡུམ་གྱི་དྲུང་དུ་ངེད་རྣམས་འོང་ཞིང་ཡོད་ཀྱིས་ལ།
a.bo mthu chen sngon-la songs-la yum-gyi drung-du
 young.man magician big ahead-LOC go.IMP-IMP mother-GEN in.front.of-LOC
nged.rnams 'ong-zhing.yod zhus-la
 we come.PRES-PROG.AUT say.HUM.IMP-IMP
 ‘Go ahead, Grand Magician my brother. Tell the mother we’re coming.’ (*'ong.zhing.yod* in TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.2; *yong.gin.yod* in de Jong, 1959: 75, line 30-31)

The use of the auxiliary verb constructions *V-zhing/cing.yod* with the authoritative in the examples above have a parallel in Zeisler (2018a: 240, ex.3) with *-gin.yod*.

Auxiliary verb constructions with the sensorial are *-zhing/cing/gin.'dug*. One may encounter a similar example in Zeisler (2018a: 240, ex.5) with *V-zhing.'dug*.

- (42) ཏུ་ཞིང་འདུག་པ་ལ་བདེན་སྣང་ནས་ང་རང་ཡང་མཆེ་མ་མང་པོ་ཤོར།
ngu-zhing.'dug-pa.la bden snyam-nas
 cry(pres.)-PROG.SEN-CO true think-CO
nga.rang yang mchi.ma mang.po shor
 myself also tears a.lot.of shed
 ‘As she was crying, I thought to myself, “It’s true”, and I too shed a lot of tears.’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.3; de Jong, 1959: 36, line 24-25)
- (43) ལྷ་མ་རང་ལ་འང་དེ་བས་ལྷག་པ་མེད་གསུང་གིན་འདུག་པས། ངེད་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མཐུའི་སློ་འདོགས་ཚོད།
bla.ma rang-la-'ang de-bas lhag.pa med
 master himself-DAT-FOC that-COMP better have.NEG.AUT
gsung-gin.'dug-pas nged.rnams-kyis mthu-'i sgro.'dogs chod
 say.HON.PRES-PROG.SEN-CO we-ERG magic.power-GEN doubt be.cut.off
 ‘As the lama himself was claiming that he had none better than this, our doubts about his magic power faded!’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.3; de Jong, 1959: 39, line 18-19)

- (44) དེ་ཐམས་ཅད་བདག་ལ་ཆོག་ནི་མི་སྣ་བར་དགའ་བའི་འཇུག་དང་ཐུན་བས་མེག་སལ་ཆེར་ཚུར་ཅེར་ལྟ་ཞིང་འདུག་པ་ལས།
de thams.cad bdag-la tshig-ni mi-smra-bar dga'-ba-'i
 that all I.HUM-DAT word-TOP NEG.PRES-say-CO happy-NMLZ-GEN
'dzum-dang ldan-pa-s mig phal.cher tshur cer.lta-zhing.'dug-pa.las
 smile-ASS possess-NMLZ-INST eye most.of hither stare.at.PRES-PROG.SEN-CO
 ‘Without saying a word to me, most of them were staring at me, smiling at me.’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.1; de Jong, 1959: 23, line 20-21)

- (45) སྐྱེལ་ཆང་འཐུང་སར་ཨ་མས་ངའི་གོགས་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་ཁ་བརྟེན་ཅིང་འདུག།
skyel.chang 'thung sa-r a.ma-s nga'i grogs.po-rnams-la
 farewell.barley.beer drink.PRES place-LOC mother-ERG I-GEN friend-PL-DAT
kha.brda mang.po byed-cing.'dug
 recommendations a.lot.of do.PRES-PROG.SEN

'My mother was giving many recommendations to my companions, including where to drink the farewell *chang*. [...]' (*kha.brda* in TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.3; *kha.lta* in de Jong, 1959: 38, line 2-3)

In the examples above, the verbs '*ong* 'to come', '*byed* 'to do', '*ngu* 'to cry', '*gsung* 'to say, affirm, expose', '*lta* 'to watch' appear with the so-called present inflected form and not with the so-called past form which would have corresponded respectively to '*ongs*, '*byas*, '*ngus*, '*gsungs*, '*btas*. These inflections are followed by an auxiliary verb construction *-cing.yod* (authoritative with the progressive) or *-zhing.dug* (sensory with the progressive).

Sometimes, only the context can determine the temporal value of the progressive construction. In (24), the verb *mdzad* 'to do' does not have a form to distinguish past and present tenses, but it has an imperative form *mdzod*. Therefore, the tense must be inferred from the context.

Unlike the example (41), the following example (46) highlights the past progressive. The past stem of the verb 'to meditate', *bsgoms* (present *sgom*), is followed by the progressive construction *V-shing.yod*. This type of example seems to be rare in the corpus. According to de Jong (1959: 128, fn.29), it is also transcribed as such in the *bstan rgyas gling* and *bkra shis lhunpo* editions, as well as in the chapter 7 by Vidyabhusana. As for de Jong's version, it is written with the future form *bsgom*.

- (46) ལུལ་གོག་དང་རེ་ཚལ་གྱི་གོས་གདན་གང་འཁེབས་ཀྱིས་མཚན་ཅི་འཁྲོལ་བྱས་བསྐྱེམས་ཞིང་ཡོད་པའི་ཚེ་ལ་གཅིག་ཙམ་སོང་བ་དང་།
thul.gog-dang re tshal-gyi gos gdan
 ragged.blanket-ASS each piece-GEN cloth cushion
gang.'khebs-kyis mtshan.ci 'khyol.byas
 cover-CO as.best complete.PAST
bsgoms-zhing.yod-pa-'i tshe lo gcig tsam song-ba.dang
 meditate.PAST-PROG.AUT-NMLZ-GEN moment year one about go.PAST-CO
 'At night I covered the cushion with the ragged blanket and tatters of cloth and continued as best I could. In this way I spent another year or so meditating.' (*bsgoms* in TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 2.7, p.153-154; *bsgom* in de Jong, 1959: 128, line 28-30; translation adapted of Quintman, 2010: 138)

The imperfective corresponds to a non-delimited event identified in relation to the moment of the utterance or to another moment located in the past. While the progressive only indicates an ongoing and concomitant dynamic event, the imperfective may also refer to an iterative or habitual event. The imperfective thus appears in present or past contexts. The imperfective is just like the progressive usually associated with the present inflection, even in the case of a past context.

The imperfective is attested with the authoritative (3, 4), the sensory (12) and the reportative (22). Note that the "past" inflection with the auxiliary verb construction *-pa.yin* would not indicate the imperfective aspect, but the perfective past as in (36).

In the following two examples, the imperfective is used in a past context, but with **the** "present" stem of the verb. The action verbs *gtong* 'to give' and *gsol* 'to consume, drink, eat' are combined with the construction *-par.dug* (imperfective sensory).

- (47) ལྷ་མ་དང་མཇལ་བའི་ཚེ་ཁོང་གོགས་པོ་ནུམས་ནི་བྱས་ཉེན་སྣ་རེ་ཙམ་ལས་མི་གཏོང་བར་འདུག
bla.ma-dang mjal-ba-'i tshe khong grogs.po-rnams-ni

master-ASS meet.HON-NMLZ-GEN moment he.HON friend-PL-TOP
phyag.rten sna.re.tsam las mi-gtong-bar.'dug
presents.HON a.few only NEG.PRES-give.PRES-IPFV.SEN
‘When we saw the lama, my companions were only giving him a few presents.’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.3; de Jong, 1959: 39, line 1-2)

In the following example, the verb *gsol* is an invariable verb. It is also associated with the imperfective negation *mi* (and not with the perfective negation *ma*). It confirms the interpretation as an imperfective aspect in a past context.

(48) ལྷ་བ་ནས་ཡུམ་གྱིས་ཞལ་རེག་པ་རེ་མཛད་ནས་མང་པོ་མི་གསོལ་བར་འདུག།
sla.ba.nas yum-gyis zhal reg-pa re mdzad-nas
lightly mother-ERG mouth touch-NMLZ each do:HON-CO
mang.po mi-gsol-bar.'dug
much NEG.PRES-drink.HON-IPFV.SEN
‘The mother was not drinking much, lightly dipping her lips (in the beer).’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 2.2; de Jong, 1959: 70, line 16-17)

The future tense is not marked but it can be deduced from the context with the authoritative (49), sensory (15-17) and reportative (26). It is generally the "present" stem (and not the "future" stem), which is used to indicate the future with action verbs: *gtong* ‘to send’ (past *btang*, future *gtang*).

(49) དེས་ན་ཁྱོད་ཀྱང་ཁོང་གི་བྱང་དུ་ང་རང་གི་བྱ་འདི་དང་བསྐྱེབས་ནས་གཏོང་བ་ཡིན།།
des.na khyod-kyang khong-gi drung-du nga.rang-gi
consequently you-FOC he.HON-GEN in.front.of-LOC myself-GEN
bu 'di-dang bsdebs-nas gtong-ba.yin
son this-ASS join.PAST-CO send.PRES-IPFV.AUT
‘Consequently, you are the one who I will send in front of him with my son.’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.3; de Jong, 1959: 41, line 7-8)

In the next section, we will examine auxiliary verb constructions which encode evidentiality and politeness register at the same time.

5. Evidentiality and politeness register

Copulas and auxiliary verb constructions also indicate evidentiality and the politeness register.⁴⁷ These copulas are allomorphs of the ones which have been previously described (cf. Table 4). These copulas also function as auxiliaries (cf. Table 5).

The notion of politeness register has been borrowed from Samdrup and Suzuki (2019) used for Mabzhi Amdo Tibetan. Mélac and Tournadre (2021: 189) use another term, the notion of “honorific domain” in Lhasa Tibetan.⁴⁸ They give the following definition:

“Tournadre & Dorje (1998, 2003) distinguish four planes for the honorific domain in addition to the ordinary plane: the honorific, the humilific, the high honorific and the double

⁴⁷ In typology, languages like Wanka Quechua (WQ) and Shipibo-Konibo (SK) employ an evidential category, inferential-*chr* (WQ) and -*mein* (SK), to indicate politeness (Aikhenvald, 2004: 252-253).

⁴⁸ Tournadre and Suzuki (2023: 108) use the notion of “respectful register” instead of honorific domain.

honorific. The plane for a given linguistic item is chosen according to the social status of the participants mentioned in the sentence (explicit or implicit) with respect to the speaker. The honorific domain not only refers to people, but also to their spheres, that is, the objects and other entities that are related to them. What is special about verbs is that they generally connect several participants in a sentence, which makes all of these planes relevant for some verbs, whereas nouns generally distinguish between only the ordinary and honorific forms at most.”

Inside the “honorific domain” or politeness register, Middle Classical Tibetan only distinguish the honorific and the humilific, but this contrast is not marked with copulas and auxiliaries (*lags*, *gda'*, *mchis*, *bdog*) as they only refer to the humilific register in the actual study (cf. Table 4 and 5). The discursive context will determine the social relationship between the speaker, the addressee(s) and the participant(s) of the sentence. For verbs in general, Mélac and Tournadre (2021: 190) give the following definitions and criteria for the Lhasa Tibetan verb ‘to give’ which has three forms:⁴⁹

- a. The honorific form GNANG encodes that the agent has a higher status than the speaker,
- b. The humilific form PHUL encodes that the agent has a lower status than the recipient, c.
- The double honorific form PHUL.GNANG encodes that the agent has a higher status than the speaker and that the agent has a lower status than the recipient”

These criteria will be systematically applied and described in Middle Classical Tibetan with copulas and auxiliaries to determine social deixis. However, there will be some adjustments since the examples of the corpus reveals the existence of three addressees (explicit, implicit and “bystander”).⁵⁰ Note that the notion of addressee is synonym of recipient in Mélac and Tournadre (2021). Only the first notion will be kept since the notion of recipient is rather used for defining semantic roles.⁵¹ The Table 4 summarizes the copulas used for marking the politeness register and evidentiality.

Table 4. Ordinary and politeness register copulas in Middle Classical Tibetan

	Ordinary register	Politeness register
Authoritative source	<i>yin, yod</i>	<i>lags, mchis</i>
Sensory access	<i>'dug</i>	<i>gda', bdog</i>
Inferential access	<i>yod.par.'dug</i>	<i>yod.par.gda'</i>
Gnomic source	<i>yod.pa.yin</i>	<i>yod.pa.lags</i>

⁴⁹ The existence of the honorific and the humilific register exist for nouns, verbs and pronouns since Old Tibetan (Samdrup, 2022; Bialek, 2023). However, the use of auxiliaries indicating both registers seems to be a recent development of Middle Classical Tibetan based on Old Tibetan lexical motion verbs *mchis* ‘to go, to come’, *gdag* ‘to reach, to arrive’. The lexical verb *lags* and *bdog* have not been studied while they appear in Old Tibetan archives of Pelliot Tibétain, Pt₀₁₂₆ and Pt₁₂₈₃ respectively. In modern colloquial languages, such as Lhasa Tibetan (Tournadre, 2003) and Mabzhi-Amdo (Sandrup and Suzuki, 2019), honorific or humilific auxiliaries are not attested, even though Tournadre and Suzuki (2023: 111), as well as Tournadre (2003: 37) mentioned the use of auxiliaries in their general definition of the honorific register.

⁵⁰ See the notion of ‘bystander deixis’ in Rijkhoff (1995), ‘social deixis’ in Levinson (1979), and also ‘speaker-addressee, speaker-referent, speaker-bystander’ in Comrie (1976b).

⁵¹ For discussions on semantic roles in Typology, Bornkessel et al. (2009), and in Tibetic studies, see Tournadre (1996).

The politeness authoritative is marked by the copulas *lags* (categorization feature, ‘to be something’) and *mchis* (existential feature, ‘to exist, to have’). The copula *mchis* is quite rare in the corpus: it occurs three times in TCPPD (Chapter 2.4, 2.5 and 2.9). The copulas *lags* and *mchis* are the equivalents of the ordinary register copulas *yin* and *yod*, respectively. The copula *bdog* ‘exist, have’ indicates a sensory observation associated with the humilific register. It is quite scarce in the corpus of Milarepa, there are only three occurrences as a copula or auxiliary (Mila 1.3, 2.2, 2.5).⁵² The politeness inferential is indicated by the possessive compound copula *yod.par.gda’*, which corresponds to the ordinary register construction *yod.par.’dug*. The politeness gnomic is indicated by the existential compound copula *yod.pa.lags*. It corresponds to the ordinary register compound copula *yod.pa.yin*.

Table 5 summarizes the auxiliary verb constructions used for encoding the politeness register and evidentiality.

Table 5. Evidential-politeness auxiliary verb constructions in Middle Classical Tibetan

	Past perfective	Past perfect	Progressive	Imperfective
Authoritative source	V(2) <i>-pa.lags</i>			V(1/2) <i>-pa.lags</i>
Sensorial or inferential access		V(2) <i>-nas.gda’</i> V(2) <i>-gda’</i>	V(1) <i>-gin.gda’</i> V(1) <i>-zhing.bdog</i>	V(1) <i>-par.gda’</i>

(1) present-future stem, (2) past stem

The politeness register is attested with the authoritative and the sensory in auxiliary verb constructions. The politeness authoritative construction *-pa.lags* is the equivalent of the ordinary one *-pa+yin* (past perfective). The auxiliary constructions conveying the sensory *-gin.gda’* (progressive), *-ba(r).gda’* (imperfective or future) as well as *-gda’* (perfect), are the politeness equivalents of the respective ordinary register constructions *-gin.’dug*, *-zhing.’dug* (progressive), *-par.’dug* (imperfective) and *.’dug* (perfect). The auxiliary constructions conveying the sensory *-zhing.bdog* (progressive) is the politeness equivalent of the ordinary register constructions *-zhing.’dug*. The politeness register *is* sometimes attested with inferential and gnomic in copular constructions *yod.pa.gda’* and *yod.pa.lags*, but not with auxiliary verb constructions. The rumor source construction *-par.grags* and the corroborative source *-yin.par.yod.par.’dug*, which are rare in the corpus, does not have a politeness form. The revelatory does not have a politeness form either. In the case of the rumor source, the absence of a politeness form is probably due to the fact that the speaker does not have to show any sign of respect towards an unidentifiable source of information. The copula *mchis* which is rare in the corpus selected for this study, are not attested in auxiliary verb constructions (**-nas.mchis*, **-zhing.mchis*).

In the following examples, various discursive contexts in Middle Classical Tibetan will be given in order to establish the different social relationships in which the politeness register is used and its interaction with evidentiality. The examples are presented based on the configuration between speaker, participant(s) and addressee(s). In the first cases (50-55), the speaker has a semantic role in the utterance. In the second ones (56-59), the speaker

⁵² Das (1902: 671-672) gives some examples which might indicate the humilific sensory access, but the author does not mention his sources nor the discursive contexts. We have selected some of them: *dgon pa ni gang du bdog* ‘where is your monastery?’, *khyod la ’di ’dra ba’i slob ma bdog gam* ‘have you such scholars?’, *bdag la phug pa bdog* ‘I have a cavern’.

does not have a semantic role. In the third ones (60-66), the speaker, the participant and the addressee are distinct.

In (50), the copula *lags* is associated with the use of the humilific first person pronoun *bdag* ‘I’ with the theme role. This is a binary social relationship between a disciple and his master, the *Lama*, which is from a higher rank in the society of that time. The speaker is the disciple and the addressee is the master who is implicit in the sentence (i.e. the referent). The relationship refers to the humilific register (disciple ↑ master). The speaker presents a personal knowledge hence the use of authoritative with the copula *lags*.

- (50) བདག་ཉི་མ་ལ་སྟོད་ནས་འོངས་པའི་མི་ཐྱིག་པོ་ཆེ་ཞིག་ལགས་པས།
bdag nyi.ma la.stod-nas 'ongs-pa-'i
 I.HUM Nyima Latö-ABL come.PAST-NMLZ-GEN
mi sdig.po che zhig lags-pas
 man sin big INDF be.POL.AUT-CO

‘(I then told the lama:) “The man who came from Nyima Latö (i.e. me), is a terrible sinner (and requests a dharma teaching that brings about liberation in this lifetime).” [lit.: I am a big sinner who came from Nyima Latö] (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.1; de Jong, 1959: 53, line 14)

In (51), the speaker (Milarepa) is the agent of the ordinary register past form of the intransitive verb *phyin* ‘to go’ (present *gro*) combined with the auxiliary *lags*. He has been previously introduced in the discourse with the humilific first person pronoun followed by the ergative case *bdag-gis* and the transitive verb *thon* ‘to show’. Milarepa addresses his master (the implicit addressee), hence the humilific reading. This discursive context also reveals a binary social relationship between a disciple and his master. The relationship also refers to the humilific register (disciple ↑ master). The speaker presents a personal knowledge hence the use of authoritative with the auxiliary verb construction *-pa.lags*.

- (51) བདག་གིས་མཐུའི་རྟགས་མ་ཐོན་བར་ཡུལ་དུ་ལོག་ན་བདག་གི་མདུན་དུ་ཨ་མ་ལྗེབས་ནས་འཆེ་བ་ཡོད་པས་མ་ཕྱིན་པ་ལགས།
bdag-gis mthu-'i rtags ma-thon-bar yul-du log-na
 I.HUM-ERG magic.power-GEN sign NEG.PAST-manifest-CO region-LOC return-CO
bdag-gi mdun-du a.ma lcebs-nas 'chi-ba.yod-pas
 I.HUM-GEN in.front.of-LOC mother suicide-CO die.PRES-IPFV.EPI-CO
ma-phyin-pa.lags
 NEG.PAST-go.PAST-PFV.POL.AUT

‘If I returned home without a sign of magical power manifesting, she would kill herself in front of me. So, I didn’t leave.’ [primary authoritative source] (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.3; de Jong, 1959: 40, line 11-12)

In (52), the speaker who is the young Milarepa addresses his master (implicit addressee), hence the use of the humilific first person pronoun with the dative case *bdag-la* ‘I’. The dative case corresponds to the beneficiary role in a possessive construction. This is a binary social relationship between a disciple and his master. The relationship also refers to the humilific register (disciple ↑ master). Contrary to the two previous examples, the speaker has been witness to the event described, by using the sensory copula *bdog*.

- (52) བདག་ལ་ཡུལ་མི་གྲིམ་མཚོས་སྐྱོད་ཏུ་ཕངས་པ་འགའ་བདོག་བས།
bdag-la yul.mi khyim.mtshes skyid-du phangs-pa
 I.HUM-DAT local.people neighbor happiness-TRAN destroy-NMLZ
'ga' bdog-pas
 some.people have.POL.SEN-CO

‘(Master!) As it turns out that some of the locals and my neighbors have destroyed my happiness, (I ask you out of compassion that you grant me the magical powers that will prove to the village that I have them).’ [lit.: I see that I have some people who destroy the happiness of (my) local neighbors] (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.3; de Jong, 1959: 39, line 3)

In (53), the adult Milarepa (the speaker) addresses his deity (explicit addressee), hence the use of the humilific word *rje* ‘venerable’. This is a binary social relationship between a disciple and his deity. The relationship refers to the humilific register (disciple ↑ deity). In the following one, the speaker is sharing his emotional state (i.e. endopathic access), by using the sensory copula *bdog*.

- (53) རྗེ་མི་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་ངོ་བོ་ལྷགས་རྗེ་ཅན་། སེམས་འབྲེང་བར་བྱ་བ་འདི་འདྲ་བདོག་
rje mi-skyod-kyi ngo.bo thugs.rje-can [...]
 lord NEG-move-GEN nature compassion-NMLZ
sems.'phreng-bar+bya-ba 'di.'dra bdog
 be.sad-REL+AUX-NMLZ like.this have.POL.SEN

‘O compassionate lord of unchanging nature! [...] here is what concerns me. [...] (lit.: there is something like that which makes me sad)’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.5; de Jong, 1959: 99, line 8-12)

In (54), the speaker is complaining about his economic situation, hence the use of the authoritative copula *mchis*. The addressee is explicit. He is mentioned by the vocative title *rje* ‘lord’. This is a binary social relationship between a disciple and his deity. The relationship also refers to the humilific register (disciple ↑ deity) while the speaker **is** addressing his deity with reverence.

- (54) རྗེ་མི་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་ངོ་བོ་ལྷགས་རྗེ་ཅན་། ཡུལ་རྒྱ་རྩ་རྩ་ཡི་གོ་རྣམ་ན་ཞོར་ལུས་པའི་དངོས་པོ་མ་མཚེས་ཏེ།
rje mi-skyod-kyi ngo.bo thugs.rje-can [...]
 lord NEG-move-GEN nature compassion-NMLZ
yul skya.rnga.rtsa-yi ko.ron-na nor lus-pa-'i
 region Kyanatsa-GEN Korön-LOC wealth left.over-NMLZ-GEN
dngos.po ma-mchis-te
 thing NEG-have.POL.AUT-CO

‘Oh, compassionate lord of unchanging nature! [...] In Korön of Kyanatsa, I have no more possessions [...]’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.5; de Jong, 1959: 99, line 8-11)

In (55), the verb stem is the "present" ordinary register form, *gtam.gtong* ‘to pronounce, to say’ (past *gtam.btang*). The pronoun is the ordinary register *nga* ‘I’, contrary to the two previous examples with the humilific pronoun *bdag* ‘I’ (50-52). The use of the ordinary verb and pronoun forms does not affect the humilific reading of the auxiliary verb construction *-pa.lags* (future context).

This is a binary social relationship between the speaker, Milarepa’s mother (the first person, the agent) addressing her elder brother, Milarepa’s maternal uncle (the implicit addressee, i.e. the referent). The relationship refers to the humilific register (sister ↑ elder brother). The speaker uses the authoritative *-ba.lags* since she is sharing her future plan or intention.

- (55) འོ་ལགས་སོ་བུ་སྐྱེས་པ་ལ་མིང་ཚང་བྲངས་པ་ལ་གཏམ་བྱ་བར་གདའ་བས་ང་ཡང་གཏམ་ཚིག་གསུམ་པ་ཞིག་གཏོང་བ་ལགས་པས།
'o lags.so bu skyes-pa.la ming.chang drangs-pa.la
 INTJ INTJ son be.born.PAST-CO newborn.beer be.served.PAST-CO
gtam bya-bar.gda'-bas
 speech do.FUT-IPFV.HUM.SEN-CO
nga yang gtam tshig gsum.pa zhig gtong-ba.lags-pas
 I also speech word third INDF give.PRES-IPFV.POL.AUT-CO
 ‘Okay! Since a name (will be given) to the newborn and a speech will be given when the beer is served, I will also give a small speech in three words.’ [primary authoritative source] (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.2; de Jong, 1959: 33, line 17-18)

In (56), this is a binary relationship between a woman, Milarepa’s mother (the speaker) and her relatives, the deceased husband’s brother and wife (the addressees). Contrary to the previous examples, the speaker does not have a semantic role (like the agent) in the utterance. The addressees are implicitly the referents and the agents at the same time. This relationship refers to the humilific register (relative ↑ other relative). The speaker infers from what has been previously said that a speech will be given, hence the use of the reportative-inferential *-bar.gda'*.

- (56) ཚང་བྲངས་པ་ལ་གཏམ་བྱ་བར་གདའ་བས།
chang drangs-pa.la gtam bya-bar.gda'-bas
 beer be.served.PAST-CO speech do.FUT-IPFV.HON.INF.REP-CO
 ‘A speech will be given when the beer is served.’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.2; de Jong, 1959: 33, line 1)

In (57), this is a binary social relationship between the disciple Rechungpa (the speaker) who is supplicating his master, the adult Milarepa (the implicit addressee) for telling his life’s stories. Like in the previous example, the speaker does not have a semantic role in the sentence. This relationship refers to the humilific register (disciple ↑ master). The speaker addresses with humility the master Milarepa who had cleared his karmic debt after having done bad things when he was young. Rechungpa gives the following statement based upon the knowledge of Milarepa’s life from his buddhist lineage, hence the use of the gnostic copula *yod.pa.lags*.

- (57) ཏུ་ཐོ་བ་དང་དགོད་ཐོ་བའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་དེ་ལ་དགོས་དོན་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་ལགས་པས།
ngu bro-ba-dang dgod bro-ba-'i rgyu.mtshan de-la
 cry feel-NMLZ-ASS laugh feel-NMLZ-GEN cause that-LOC
dgos.don bsam-gyis mi.khyab-pa zhig yod.pa.lags-pas
 reason thought-INST NEG-embrace-NMLZ INDF have.POL.GNOM-CO

'There are countless reasons for wanting to laugh or cry. (based on the manner in which you first did bad and good things)' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.1; de Jong, 1959: 26, line 34)⁵³

Binary social relationships as seen above can be embedded in the same sentence at the morphosyntactic level when the speaker uses reported speech. I have selected two examples in the corpus (58-59).

In (58), the young disciple (the speaker) asks something to his master (the explicit addressee) in the first clause which is an interrogative. He uses the humilific register (disciple ↑ master). This clause is embedded in a declarative one in which the disciple (the speaker) says how he addresses his master by using the humilific "past" form of the verb *zhus* 'to say, to ask'. This is also a humilific register (disciple ↑ master). The speaker uses the authoritative copula *lags* in the interrogative since he is anticipating the answer of his addressee (cf. section 6 for more discussion on the notion of anticipation in Middle Classical Tibetan). The answer should be with the copula *yin* in a dialogue as the addressee (the master) is from a higher social rank. However, that is a rhetorical question. There is no answer expected.

- (58) ལླ་མ་ལགས་དེ་འདྲའི་ཞལ་འཇུག་ནག་པ་ཅི་ལགས་ཞུས་པས།
bla.ma-lags de.'dra-'i zhal.'dzum nag.pa ci
 master-HON like.this-GEN smile dark what
lags zhus-pas
 be.POL.AUT say.HUM.PAST-CO
 "Lama," I said, "why look so dark?" [Lit.: what's a dark smile like that?] (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.1; de Jong, 1959: 51, line 12-13)

In (59), Thöpagpa, the young Milarepa (the speaker), asks with humility the wife of his master (the implicit addressee) where is the money his mother had hidden for him in the yogi's cloak (the theme role). This interrogative clause with the politeness sensory copula *gda'* is embedded in a sentence with the humilific past form of the verb *zhus* 'to say, to ask'. This is a social relationship between a disciple and the wife of his master. This relationship refers to the humilific register (disciple ↑ master's wife).

The speaker uses the politeness register sensory copula *gda'* 'to be located, to be present', since he is anticipating the answer of his addressee who replies in the following sentence with the ordinary register sensory copula *dug*.

The woman (the second speaker answering to the question), belonging to a higher social rank and being older, replies with the ordinary register (copula *dug*) to the young Milarepa (the implicit addressee), who studies with her husband. This is an ordinary social relationship between the wife of a master and a disciple (master's wife → disciple).

⁵³ See the complete context: *gdung khyung po/rigs jo sras/de la mi lar mtshan gsol ba'i rgyu mtshan dang / sku 'khrungs nas dang po las nag po mdzad tshul/ bar du dkar po mdzad tshul la brten nas/ ngu bro ba dang dgod bro ba'i rgyu mtshan de la dgos don bsam gyis mi khyab pa cig yod pa lags pas/ 'Yet there is tremendous significance in the reasons why your clan is Khyungpo, why your familial line is Josey, and why you were given the name Mila, and also in the reasons why the manner in which your first committed evil deeds and you later practiced virtue are the causes for laughter and tears.'*

 (Quintman, 2010: 15)

- (59) གསེར་གང་ན་གང་འཁྲུས་པས་རྒྱལ་འབྱོར་པའི་བེམ་པོའི་ནང་ན་འདུག།
gser gang.na gda' zhus-pas
 gold where be.POL.SEN ask.HUM.PAST-CO
rnal.'byor.pa-'i bem.po-'i nang-na 'dug
 yogi-GEN cloak-GEN inside-LOC be.SEN
 “Where was the gold?” I asked. “It was inside the yogi’s cloak,” replied the lama’s wife.
 (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.3; de Jong, 1959: 46, line 31-32)

As we have seen in all the examples above, there are two types of speaker-addressee configurations in binary social relationships. In the first case, the speaker has a semantic role (theme, agent, beneficiary, experiencer) and the addressee can be either implicit or explicit (50-55). In the second case, the addressee has a semantic role and the speaker is implicit (56-59).

Some discursive relationships can be more complex. The following examples (60-66) refer to trinary social relationships in which there are three distinct social deictics: the speaker the addressee and a participant who is not any of the two formers.

In (60), Milarepa (the speaker with the patient role) talks about his mother (the agent) while talking to his master (the implicit addressee). The ordinary register “past” stem of the verb *brdzangs* ‘to send’ (present form *rdzong*) indicates the type of relationship between Milarepa and his mother due to his affective connection. The humilific register first person pronoun *bdag* ‘me’ (absolutive case > patient role) and the auxiliary *lags* refer to the relationship between Milarepa and his master. This is a nested social relationship (trinary one) between a son and his mother and between a disciple (i.e. the son) and his master. The ordinary and the humilific registers are used at the same time (son → mother + disciple ↑ master). Keep in mind that this observation will be even more important in analyzing the examples (63) and (64): the honorific with the humilific.

The speaker presents a personal knowledge as he uses the authoritative auxiliary verb construction *-pa.lags*.

- (60) དེ་ལ་ལན་གཞན་ལློན་པའི་སྟོབས་མེད་པར་ཨ་མས་བདག་མཐུ་སྟོབ་ཏུ་བརྒྱུངས་པ་ལགས།
de-la lan gzhan glan-pa-'i stobs med-par
 that-DAT answer another respond.PAST-NMLZ-GEN force not.to.have-CO
a.ma-s bdag mthu slob-tu brdzangs-pa.lags
 mother-ERG I.HUM magic study.PRES-CO send.PAST-PFV.POLAUT
 ‘Without strength to defend herself, my mother sent me to study the art of magic.’
 [primary authoritative source] (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.3; de Jong, 1959: 40, line 9-11)

In (61), the wife of Milarepa’s master (the speaker), addresses his husband (the implicit addressee) describing the pain of the victim (the inanimate agent ‘blood pus’), who is the young Milarepa (the implicit experiencer). The ordinary register verb *'dzag* ‘to flow’ defines the relationship between a woman and a young person. The humilific register auxiliary verb construction *-gin.gda'* indicates the type of social relation between the woman and his husband, Milarepa’s master. This is also a nested social relationship between a woman and a young victim of torture and between a wife and her husband (woman → young victim + wife ↑ husband).

The speaker has been witnessing the wounds flowing out from the young man's back, hence the use of the sensory auxiliary verb construction *-gin.gda'*.

- (61) རྒྱལ་ལ་སྐལ་མིག་གསུམ་བྱུང་བ་ནས་རྒྱག་ལྷག་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་བྱུང་བ་འཇོག་གིན་གདའ།
rgyab-la *sgal.mig* *gsum* *byung-ba-nas* *rnag* *khrag*
 behind-LOC wounds.on.the.back three occur-NMLZ-ABL pus blood
bsam-gyis *mi-khyab-pa* *'dzag-gin.gda'*
 thought-INST NEG.PRES-apprehend-NMLZ flow.out-PROG.POL.SEN
 'Pus and blood are flowing out from the three wounds on his back. It's unimaginable.'
 (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.2; de Jong, 1959: 64, line 9-10)

In (62), like in the previous example, since Milarepa's master wife (the implicit speaker) described the health condition of Milarepa (the implicit experiencer) to her husband, Milarepa's master (the implicit addressee). The ordinary register "past" stem of the verb *song* 'to go', meaning here 'to reach, to win', indicates the type of relationship between the woman and the young victim. The humilific register auxiliary *gda'* defines the social relation between the woman and his husband. This is also a nested social relationship between a woman and a young victim of torture and between a wife and her husband (woman → young victim + wife ↑ husband).

The sensory perfect auxiliary verb construction *V-gda'* encodes a resultative sensory observation made by the speaker.

- (62) སྐལ་མ་བྱུང་བ་ཙམ་དུ་མ་ལྷས་པར་རྒྱབ་སྐལ་མར་སོང་གདའ།
sgal.rma *byung-ba.tsam.du* *ma.lus.par*
 wounds.on.the.back occur.PAST-CO entirely
rgyab *sgal.rma-r* *song-gda'*
 back wounds-TRAN go-PRF.POL.SEN
 'Not only has his kidneys been injured, but the wound has reached his entire back.'
 (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.2; de Jong, 1959: 64, line 21-22)

In (63), the disciple (the speaker) talks to the master's wife (the addressee) about the important teaching of the master (the agent). The speaker is implicit and refers to the patient role. The addressee is implicit. The agent role is marked by the ergative case and the honorific verb form *gnang* 'to give, to grant'. The honorific relationship between the disciple (the speaker) and the master (the agent) is thus encoded in the verb stem. The humilific relationship between the disciple and the wife of his master (the addressee) is indicated by the auxiliary *gda'*. This is a nested social relationship between a disciple and a master through the master's wife listening to the former (master ↓ disciple + disciple ↑ master's wife).

The speaker infers what he is saying based on the observation of his master behavior and on his master words he heard, hence the use of the inferential imperfective auxiliary verb construction *-bar.gda'* (future context).

- (63) ལྷ་མས་ཚོས་ཀྱང་མི་གནང་བར་གདའ།
bla.ma-s *chos-kyang* *mi-gnang-bar.gda'*
 master-ERG teaching-still NEG.PRES-give.HON-IPFV.POL.SEN

'The lama will still not grant (me) the dharma.' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.2; de Jong, 1959: 70, line 1; translation adapted from Quintman, 2010: 68)

In (64), Milarepa (the speaker) who was traveling with the master Ngokpa has been commissioned by the latter to inform his wife that he was coming. Milarepa talks to his master's wife (the addressee) about the arrival of his master (the agent). The honorific relationship between the disciple (the speaker) and the master (Nogkpa) is encoded in the honorific stem *'byon* 'to arrive, to come'. The humilific relation between the disciple and the wife of his master is indicated by the sensory auxiliary *bdog*. This example contrasts with the preceding sentence in the original text (cf. (41)) with the ordinary register verb *'ong* 'to come' and the auxiliary verb construction *-zhing.yod*.⁵⁴ This is a nested social relationship (master ↓ disciple + disciple ↑ master's wife).

The speaker has witnessed the arrival of his master since he was **traveling** with him. Therefore, he uses the sensory progressive auxiliary verb construction *-zhing. bdog*.

- (64) ལྷ་མ་རྩོག་པ་འབྱོན་ཞིང་བདོག་པས་བསུ་ཆང་ཞིག་གནང་བར་བྱ་བུ་ཞུས་པས།
bla.ma rngog.pa 'byon-zhing.bdog-pas bsu.chang zhig
 master Ngokpa arrive.HON-PROG.POL.SEN-CO welcome.beer INDF
gnang-ba-r zhu zhus-pas
 offer.HON-NMLZ.-CO.PUR ask.HUM.PRES say.HUM.PAST-CO
 'Lama Ngokpa is coming, so please give some beer to welcome him.' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.2; de Jong, 1959: 76, line 2-3; Quintman, 2010: 74)

Finally, the two following examples reveal even more complex discursive situations. In (65), the woman (the implicit speaker) says to her husband (the intermediary addressee or the bystander one) indirectly replying to the young Milarepa question (the real addressee) that she perceives intelligence in Milarepa's mother letter (the theme role). Indeed, his mother had hidden gold in the yogi's coat which had to be discovered by reading a letter full of metaphors. The husband is the intermediary addressee (i.e. the bystander one), since the woman does not use the humilific register with the young Milarepa (cf. (61) and (62)). Milarepa is the real and final addressee to whom is oriented the politeness register marked by the copula *yod.par.gda'*. He is one of the sentence participants with the beneficiary role marked by the dative case. The theme role is given to the mother marked by the absolutive case (morpheme zero). This is a transferred social relationship (a type of trinary one) between a woman and a young person through her husband (woman ↑ husband ↑ boy).

The speaker infers the mother's cleverness based on the written letter, hence the use of the reportative-inferential copula *yod.par.gda'*.

- (65) གསེར་གང་ན་གདའ་བུས་པས་ཐོས་པ་དགའ་ལ་མ་གྲུང་མོ་རང་ཞིག་ཡོད་པར་གདའ།
gser gang-na gda' zhus-pas
 gold where-LOC be .POL.SEN ask.PAST.HUM-CO
thos.pa.dga'-la ma grung.mo rang.zhig yod.par.gda'
 Thöpada-DAT mother smart.woman really have.POL-INF

⁵⁴ The example of *-zhing.bdog* is the only one in Milarepa's biography with the progressive construction.

“Where was the gold?”, I asked. “Thöpaga seems to have a really smart mother,” she said.’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.3; de Jong, 1959: 46-47, line 32-1; translation adapted from Quintman, 2010: 38)

The example (66) is the sentence which follows the previous one (65) in the original text. The wife of Milarepa’s master (the speaker) humbly talks to her husband (the intermediary addressee) indirectly replying to Milarepa’s question (the real addressee) about his mother’s message in the letter (the agent). The humilific register is encoded in the auxiliary *gda*. This is also a transferred social relationship (woman ↑ husband ↑ boy).

In parallel, the use of the ordinary register with the invariable verb *zer* ‘to say’ also indicates the ordinary register between the woman and Milarepa’s mother (woman → another woman). The combination of the two registers in the same sentence (ordinary + humilific) implies a nested complex relationship (woman → another woman + woman ↑ husband ↑ boy).

The speaker reads Milarepa’s mother letter, hence the use of the sensory imperfective auxiliary verb construction *-par.gda*’ (past context).

- (66) ལུང་བ་ལ་བྱང་དུ་ལྷ་བ་ལ་ཉི་མ་མེད་ཆར་བ་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་འཕྱོར་བའི་བེམ་པོ་ནང་ལ་ཉི་མ་མེད་ཆར་བ་ལ་ཟེར་བ་གདམས།
lung.ba kha byang-du lta-ba.la
 valley entrance north-LOC look.at.PRES-CO
nyi.ma mi-'char-ba ltar rnal.'byor.pa-'i bem.po-'i nang-la
 sun NEG.PRES-get.up.PRES-NMLZ just yogi-GEN mantle-GEN inside-LOC
nyi.ma mi-'char-ba-la zer-ba.gda'
 sun NEG.PRES-get.up.PRES-NMLZ-INTJ say-IPFV.POLSEN

[Her mother] was saying/said, “Just as when looking north from a valley, the sun is not visible, neither does the sun appear through the yogi’s mantle!” (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.3; de Jong, 1959: 47, line 1-2; translation adapted from Quintman, 2010: 38)

After having considered various discursive situations, different social relationships have been defined in Middle Classical Tibetan: binary relationship, trinary relationship (nested and/or transferred). Each relationship implies one or two addressees who can be the explicit addressee vs. the implicit one, and the intermediary addressee vs. the final or real one. These self-coined concepts proposed in the current study can be associated with Comrie’s notions (1976) of ‘speaker-addressee’ (explicit), ‘speaker-referent’ (implicit), ‘speaker-bystander’ (intermediary), respectively.

In the following section, we will see copulas and auxiliary verb constructions which encode evidentiality in interaction with the personal deixis.

6. Evidentiality and personal deixis

I will now examine the possible correlations between personal deixis and evidentiality in Middle Classical Tibetan. When the speaker acts intentionally, he is in principle aware of his own acts but he can become an observer of her/his own acts in certain situations involving inattention, unconsciousness, dreaming, lack of control, involuntary or unconscious character of his/her act. In Lhasa Tibetan, Oisel (2017b: 99) has identified the following values: personal transfer principle, retrospection, emphatic assertion, recognition, novel realization, lower intentionality (external or internal constraint).

The authoritative is used with all persons (in the role of agent or experiencer) without any change of meaning. The sensory, inferential and gnomic, are used with the other participants. Nonetheless, there are exceptions that will be discussed below.

Nevertheless, in the present corpus, the authoritative is more frequent with the first and third person than the second person. The latter appears especially in the interrogative. Following are examples with the first person:

- (67) དེས་ན་ཚྱོད་ཀྱང་ཁོང་གི་རྩུང་དུ་ང་རང་གི་བྱ་འདི་དང་བསྐྱབས་ནས་གཏོང་བ་ཡིན།
des.na khyod-kyang khong-gi drung-du nga.rang-gi
 consequently you-FOC he.HON-GEN in.front.of-LOC myself-GEN
bu 'di-dang bsdebs-nas gtong-ba.yin
 son this-ASS join.PAST-CO send.PRES-IPFV.AUT
 ‘Consequently, you are the one who I will send in front of him with my son.’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.3; de Jong, 1959: 41, line 7-8)

The following example shows the third person with the authoritative (perfective aspect).

- (68) ཁོང་མཐུ་གཏད་སོགས་དྲག་ལྷགས་ལ་གྲུབ་བ་ཐོབ་བ་ཡིན།
khong mthu.gtad sogs drag sngags-la
 he power.of.conjuration etc. violent mantra-TRAN
grub.pa thob-pa.yin
 realization obtain-PFV.AUT
 ‘He obtained the ultimate powers (lit.: the realization) of violent mantras including the power of conjuration.’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.1.3; de Jong, 1959: 38, line 28-29)

As shown in the following example, the authoritative is also associated with the second person in the case of a question asked to the hearer. This correlation is reminiscent of “the rule of anticipation” (Tournadre and Dorje, 2003: 111). In such a context, the speaker anticipates the knowledge of his/her addressee.

- (69) ཚྱོད་དང་ཕོ་ངའི་སར་སྐྱབས་མ་ཐག་ལྷུས་ངག་ཡིད་གསུམ་ང་རང་ལ་ཕུལ་ཚར་བ་ལ་ད་ཚྱོད་གང་དུ་འགོ་བ་ཡིན།
khyod dang.po nga-'i sa-r slebs-ma.thag lus ngag yid
 you first I-GEN place-LOC arrive.PAST-CO body speech spirit
gsum nga.rang-la phul tshar-ba.la da khyod gang.du
 three myself-DAT offer.HUM finish-CO now you where
'gro-ba.yin
 go.PRES-IPFV.AUT
 ‘As soon as you arrived at my house, you offered me your body, your speech and your mind, in totality. So where will you go now?’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.2; de Jong, 1959: 65, line 26-28)

Zeisler (2018a: 241, ex. 8-11) uses similar examples of the authoritative with the first and third person. She did not notice any use with the second person in an interrogative sentence.

The rule of anticipation is confirmed by the use of the sensory in an interrogative when the speaker anticipates the observation of her/his addressee and the latter replies with the same sensory access in a declarative like in (5) of the section 3. In (59) of section 5,

the speaker uses the politeness register sensory copula *gda* and the addressee replied with the ordinary register sensory copula *dug*.

The sensory-inferential is generally used with the third person as the agent of an action verb: see previous examples (15, 16, 17, 22). It is rarely used with the first person in the corpus except in certain special cases, for example if the first person has the semantic role of the beneficiary (dative case) - the narrator-author is seeing himself in the future - (70) or the semantic role of the agent (ergative case) - the narrator is having a retrospection of his own past - (71). The notion of retrospection was described with Lhasa Tibetan in Oisel (2017b: 107-109).

- (70) གསུངས་པ་གྲ་བ་ཞིག་གིས་ང་ལ་བསྐྱར་བས་གོ་བཅད་མཐུ་བུར་བ་ཞིག་འོང་བར་འདུག་སྐྱེས་དགའ་ནས།
gsungs-pa grwa.pa zhig-gis nga-la bskyar-bas
 say.HON.PAST-NMLZ monk INDF-ERG I-DAT repeat-CO
go.bcad mthu zur.pa zhig 'ong-par.'dug snyam dga'-nas
 excellent magic.power rest INDF have-IPFV.SEN think be.happy-CO
 'A monk having repeated his words to me, I rejoiced thinking, "I will get the rest of the instructions [lit.: the rest of the instructions will come to me]."' (*'ong.par.'dug* in TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.3; *yong.bar.'dug* in de Jong, 1959: 40, line 3-4)⁵⁵

- (71) ངེད་མ་སྐད་ཕྱིས་མི་འཕྲད་བ་དེ་སེམས་ཀྱིས་ཚར་བ་ཡིན་པར་འདུག།
nged ma.smad phyis mi-'phrad-pa de
 we mother.and.children later NEG.PRES-meet-NMLZ that
sems-kyis tshor-ba.yin.par.'dug
 mind-ERG feel-IPFV-INF
 'I had a feeling that we (me and my mother) would never see each other again. [lit.: it must have been what was feeling (my) mind that ...]' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.3, p.32; de Jong, 1959: 38, line 17-18)

Similarly, Zeisler (2018a: 243, ex. 15) gives an example with the copula *dug* and a first-person subject in the role of the agent, which she calls "indirect experiential". Zeisler analyzes as a type of "free indirect speech". It is in fact the lexical verb *dug* 'to be seated, to sit, to stand' described previously (section 3, the different meanings of *dug*). It does not indicate evidentiality. Zeisler translates the following example like: *nga mi 'dug pa dang* by "but as soon as [she realized that] I was not there, [...]", which could also be understood as *nga mi 'dug pa dang* 'As I was not sitting there, [...]' The connector *-pa.dang* does not necessarily mean 'as soon as' (immediate simultaneity), it could also correspond to a simple anterior event (*anteriority, addition*, see Oisel, 2013: 181).

- (72) བོ་ཏས་བལ་སྤུ་བྱུང་ཚད་བསྐྱས་ནས་བཟོས་པའི་སྐྱམ་བུ་ཞིག་ཕྱིར་ཏེ་བྲག་དཀར་རྟ་སོར་བྱིན་པས་ང་མི་འདུག་པ་དང་ཀུན་ལ་
 འདྲི་ཞིང་འཚོལ་དུ་བྱིན་ཚེ་།...།
pe.ta-s bal.spu byung.tshad bsdus-nas
 Peta-ERG wool.hair everything.sb.got gather.PAST-CO
bzos-pa-'i snam.bu zhig khyer-te brag.dkar rta.so-r
 fabricate.PAST-NMLZ-GEN woolen.cloth INDF carry.PAST-CO Trakar Taso-LOC
phyin-pas nga mi-'dug-pa.dang kun-la 'dri-zhing
 go.PAST-CO I NEG.PRES-stand-CO all-LOC ask-CO

⁵⁵ *'ong.par.'dug* in the *bstan rgyas gling* and the *bkra shis lhunpo* editions (de Jong, 1959: 40, footnote 6)

'tshol-du *phyin-tshe* [...]
 search.PRES-CO go.PAST-CO

'Peta went to Trakar Taso ('White Rock Horse Tooth') carrying along a woolen cloth, which she had made after collecting all the wool hairs she got. As I was not sitting there, she went searching (for me) asking everybody (about me), and [...]' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.7; de Jong, 1959: 144, line 14-16)

Zeisler (2018a: 233) points out the importance of the notion of a “fictive narrator” when studying evidentiality, notably when the narrator (Tangnyön Heruka) reports a vision of someone (Repa Zhibawö) telling someone else’s life story (Milarepa). The “fictive deixis” and “fictive observer” are also mentioned in Oisel (2017a: 165) for Milarepa’s hagiography.⁵⁶ That is the reason why, in this literary genre, one may also encounter several sentences with epistemics and evidentials, which occur not only in the dialogues, but also in the narrator’s discourse. The fictive speaker also occurs when Tsangnyön Heruka (15th century) reports Milarepa’s speech or talks on the behalf of Milarepa (11th century). According to Quintman (2010: xxix), Tsangnyön Heruka considered himself an incarnation of **Milarepa**.

The following example from Zeisler (2018a: 243, ex. 14) refers to a dreamlike vision that introduces Milarepa to the Dakinis according to someone else’s report (Repa Zhibawö). In sum, there are three deictic centers: the author Tsangnyön Heruka (perspective 1) > the master Repa Zhibawö (perspective 2) > the master Milarepa (perspective 3). Zeisler analyses the following example as an “indirect experiential”. It is indeed a “deictic projection” or a case of duplication of the fictive deixis (Diessel 2012; Lyons 1977: 579; Jakobson 1957; Fillmore 1997).

- (73) རས་པ་ཞི་བ་འོད་ན་རེ་། མཁའ་འགོ་རྣམས་གྱིས་བཞུག་ནས་ཞིང་ཁམས་གཞན་དུ་གདན་དྲངས་འགོ་གྲབས་སུ་འདུག་པ་དེ་
 ལ་། རྣ་དང་མཁའ་འགོ་རྣམས་མཁའ་གང་བས་དབྱངས་ལེན་ཅིང་མཚོན་པ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་བྱུང་བ་འབྲུལ་ཞིང་འདུག་པ་ལ།
ras.pa zhi.ba.'od na.re[...] *mkha'gro-mnams-kyis* *bteg-nas*
 Repa Zhibawö QUO dakini-PL-ERG lift.up-CO
zhing.khams gzhan-du gdan.drangs *'gro-grabs.su+'dug-pa*
 universe other-LOC invite.take.seat.PAST go.PRES-BE.ABOUT.TO+INF.SEN-NMLZ
de-la [...] *lha-dang mkha'gro nam mkha'* *gang.bas dbyangs.len-cing*
 that-LOC deity-ASS dakini-PL sky fill-CO song-CO
mchod.pa bsam-gyis mi-khyab-pa *'bul-zhing+'dug-pa.la*
 offering thought-INST NEG.PRES-embrace-NMLZ offer.PRES-PROG.SEN-CO

'Repa Zhibawö said: (“... At this time, while Rechungpa was staying in the hermitage Lorodol, he had a dream-like vision, where it appeared to him ...) that the Dakini (had taken up a crystal stupa enshrining the teacher, which was filling the sky with light,) and that [they] were about to convey it to the other world (INFERENTIAL), and ... that the deities and Dakinis were chanting throughout the heaven and were offering oblations [so splendid] that the mind could not encompass it ...(SENSORY)” (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 2.9; de Jong, 1959: 187, line 7-17)

The gnomic source is generally used with a third-person "subject" as in (31), but it can also be used with the second person in a rhetorical question.

⁵⁶ See also the fictive non-speaker/addressee with evidentiality for Shipibo-Konibo language (Peru) in Zariquiey et al. (2020: 10-11).

In the example below, the speaker (the lama) speaks in a rhetorical manner by asking his wife and Milarepa, his disciple, what they are doing while he has seen them plotting behind his back.

- (74) བདག་མེད་མ་ཁྱེད་གཉིས་ཅི་བྱེད་ཅིང་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་གསུངས།
bdag.med.ma khyed gnyis ci byed-cing.yod.pa.yin gsungs
 Dagmema you both what do.PRES-PROG.GNOM say.HON.PAST
 ‘Having seen this, the lama said, “Dagmema! So, what are you two doing?” (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 2.2; de Jong, 1959: 65, line 20)

In the following example, the uncle and the aunt mock Milarepa's mother by asking her in a rhetorical manner where the inheritance is. Everyone in the village is supposed to know that there is none according to the uncle and the aunt, hence the use of the gnomic.

- (75) ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་རྫོང་རམ་དེ་གང་ན་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན།
khyed-kyi nor-ram de gang.na yod.pa.yin
 you-GEN wealth-INT that where be.located.GNOM
 ‘Your goods? Where are they, then?’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.2; de Jong, 1959: 34, line 1)

The rule of “anticipation” with the authoritative source is the neutral way of asking without being rhetorical in Middle Classical Tibetan.

In the next section, we will analyze copulas and auxiliary verb constructions which encode evidentiality and epistemic modality.

7. Evidentiality and epistemic modality

The interaction between evidentiality and epistemic modalities in modern spoken Tibetic languages have been well described (Vokurková, 2008; 2011; 2018; Tournadre, 2017; Tournadre and Suzuki, 2023). However, this type of study has not been done in Middle Classical Tibetan.

Epistemic modality indicates that the speaker assesses the probability that a clause is true or her/his commitment regarding its veracity (Cornillie, 2009: 47).⁵⁷ This modality is encoded in copulas, auxiliary verb constructions, double negatives and in one enclitic in Middle Classical Tibetan. The epistemic modalities are emphatic assertion, medium probability, high probability and improbability. These modalities also encode in general evidential access such as logical-inferential, sensory-inferential or reportative-inferential function. The inferential indicates that the speaker infers a piece of information that is being drawn from his/her own reasoning, sensory traces or a speech that he has heard or read.

The copulas are quite complex since they are compound with one or two auxiliaries which come from lexical verbs such as *dra* ‘to be similar’, *ong* ‘to come’, *yod* ‘to exist’, *dug* ‘to seat, to stay, to stand, etc.’ (cf. Table 6). The same compound copulas are also used as compound auxiliaries (cf. Table 7).

⁵⁷ See also Palmer (1986: 51), Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994: 179), Nuyts (2001: 21-22).

Table 6. Epistemic-inferential copulas in Middle Classical Tibetan

identification, categorization 'to be'	
<i>yin.pa.'dra</i>	Medium probability + sensory-inferential
<i>min.pa.'dra</i>	Improbability + sensory-inferential
<i>yin.'ong</i>	High probability + logical-inferential
<i>yin.las.che</i>	High probability + logical-inferential
characterization, existence, possession, location 'to be (present), to have, to exist, to be located'	
<i>yod.pa.'dra.par.'dug</i>	High probability + sensory-inferential

Table 7. Epistemic-inferential auxiliary verb constructions in Middle Classical Tibetan

	Perfective	Imperfective
Medium Probability + logical-inferential		V(1)- <i>ba.yod</i>
Medium Probability + sensory-inferential or reportative-inferential	V(2)- <i>pa.'dra</i>	V(1)- <i>pa.'dra</i> V(1)- <i>ba.'dra</i>
Improbability + sensory-inferential		<i>mi-V(1)-ba.'dra</i>
Improbability + logical inferential		<i>mi-V(1)-pa.yin.las.che</i>
High Probability + logical-inferential	V- <i>pa.ying.'ong</i> V(2)- <i>las.che</i>	V(1)- <i>bar.yod.las.che</i>
High probability + sensory-inferential		V(1)- <i>ba.'dra.ba.'dug</i>
(1) present-future stem; (2) past stem; (none) invariable		

Medium probability can be based on sensory-inferential with the use of the compound copula *yin.pa.'dra*. In the two following examples, the speaker infers the content of his/her utterance based on a visual observation and indicates that s/he is not totally sure of what he is saying.

- (76) འདི་མི་ཡིན་ནམ་འདྲེ་ཡིན་གཟུགས་བརྟན་ནམ་གོས་སམགང་ནས་བལྟས་ཀྱང་འདྲེ་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་ཟེར་བ་ལ།
'di mi yin-nam 'dre yin gzugs.brnyan-nam gos-sam
 this man be.AUT-INT demon be.AUT body.reflection-INT cloth-INT
gang-nas bltas-kyang 'dre yin.pa.'dra zer-ba.la
 Where-ABL look.PAST-CO demon be-EPL.SEN-INF say-CO
 'Is it a man or a demon? A shape or a garment? It could be a demon in view of his attire.'
 (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 2.7; de Jong, 1959: 129, line 27-28)

- (77) སྐྱ་ཡིངས་ཡིགས། ལ་འཇིགས་པ་ཡན་ལག་རྒྱམས་འཆག་ལ་ཁད་པ་དེ་མཐོང་ནས་ཐོག་མར་འདྲེ་ཡིན་པ་འདྲ་སྐྱམ་འཇིགས་པ་ལས།
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| <i>skra</i> | <i>ye(n)gs-la</i> | <i>'jigs-pa</i> | <i>yan.lag-rnams</i> | |
| hair | move.away-CO | be.horrific-NLMZ | limbs-PL | |
| <i>'chag-la</i> | <i>khad-pa</i> | <i>de</i> | <i>mthong-nas</i> | |
| be.broken-CO | be.on.the.verge.of-NLMZ | that | see-CO | |
| <i>thog.mar</i> | <i>'dre</i> | <i>yin.pa.'dra</i> | <i>snyam</i> | <i>'jigs-pa.las</i> |
| at.first | demon | be-EPLSEN.INF | think | be.terrified-CO |
- 'When (my sister) saw that (my) hair was falling apart and frightful (disarray), and (my) limbs were about to break, (she) was terrified, thinking at first: "It seems to be a ghost".' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 2.7; de Jong, 1959: 132, line 13-15; translation adapted from Quintman, 2010: 142)

Note that in (77), the sensory-inferential appears in an imaginary context as the speaker says what her sister could have thought of him while seeing him meditating in the cave.

Medium probability is also coded in the auxiliary verb construction *-pa.'dra* in the future (78), the past (79) or in the present context (80). The construction *V-pa.'dra* can also be combined with the "past" stem: *bkug* 'to summon, recall, bring back' (present: *'gugs*, future: *dgug*, imperative: *khug*). The auxiliary construction can also be combined with the "present" stem of the verb *'dzin* 'to accept' (past: *bzung*, future: *gzung*, imperative: *zung*).

The medium probability inferential can be based either on a visual observation (79) or a reportative source (78) and (80), i.e. sensory-inferential and reportative-inferential, respectively

In (78), the wife of Milarepa's master (the speaker) infers what she says based on her husband's order: 'Turn around'.

- (78) ད་ལྟོད་ལ་སྐྱམས་ཚོས་ཤིག་གནང་བ་འདྲ།
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| <i>da</i> | <i>khyod-la</i> | <i>bla.ma-s</i> | <i>chos</i> | <i>shig</i> | <i>gnang-ba.'dra</i> |
| now | you-DAT | master-ERG | teaching | INDF | give.HON-IPFV.EPLSEN.INF |
- 'Now it seems the lama will grant you the dharma. (When I said you had gone away he said, 'Turn around my fortunate son,' and broke down in tears.)' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 2.2; de Jong, 1959: 69, line 14-15; Quintman, 2010: 67)

Then, the utterance in (79), which follows the previous one (78). A few lines later in the original text, the same speaker infers what she says based on her husband's behavior breaking in tears.

- (79) ལྟོད་སྐྱམས་མའི་སྐྱགས་རྗེས་བཀུག་པ་འདྲ།
- | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>khyod</i> | <i>bla.ma-'i</i> | <i>thugs.rjes</i> | <i>bkug-pa.'dra</i> |
| you | master-GEN | compassion | bring.back.PAST-PFV.EPLSEN.INF |
- 'The lama's compassion seems to have drawn you back.' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch.2.2; de Jong, 1959: 69, line 16-17; Quintman, 2010: 67)

In (80), Dakmema (the lady speaker), who has been called by Marpa to bring Milarepa back in front of him, informs Milarepa prudently inferring what she says based on Marpa's speech.

- (80) ཇ་བོ་མཐུ་ཆེན་ད་རང་ལྷོ་མཁུ་ལྷོ་རྗེས་སུ་འཛིན་པ་འདྲ།
a.bo mthu.chen da.rang la.ma-s khyod rjes.su.'dzin-pa.'dra
 young.man great.magician right.now master-ERG you believe.PRES-IPFV.EPL.SEN-INF
 'Young man, great Magician, the lama now seems to accept you as a disciple.' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 2.3; de Jong, 1959: 80, line 24-25; translation adapted from Quintman, 2010: 82)

Medium probability can be marked through three types of auxiliary verb constructions - *ba.yod* (perfective). Contrary to the previous examples, in the following ones, the probability is based on a logical-inferential.

- (81) ཡང་ལྷ་མ་བྱོན་ཏེ་དོ་རྒྱལ་དགེལ་འཁོར་གྱི་མཐར་མཐུའི་རྟགས་འོང་བ་ཡོད་དོ་གསུངས།
yang bla.ma byon-te do.nub dkyil.'khor-gyi mthar.mthu'i
 also master arrive.HON-CO tonight mandala-GEN edge-GEN
rtags 'ong-ba.yod-do gsungs
 sign come-IPFV.EPL.LOG-INF-PF say.HON.PAST
 '(On the evening of the fourteenth day,) the lama returned and said, "Tonight, signs of black magic will [probably] appear at the edge of the mandala [lit.: will come]".'
 ('ong.ba.yod in TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.3; yong.ba.yod in de Jong, 1959: 41-42, line 27-1; Quintman, 2010: 33 [brackets mine])

- (82) བདག་གིས་མཐུའི་རྟགས་མ་ཐོན་བར་ཡུལ་དུ་ལོག་ན་བདག་གི་མཐུན་དུ་ཨ་མ་ལྷེབས་ནས་འཆེ་བ་ཡོད་པས་མ་ཕྱིན་པ་ལགས།
bdag-gis mthu-'i rtags ma-thon-bar yul-du log-na
 I.HUM-ERG magic.power-GEN sign NEG.PAST-manifest-CO region-CO return-CO
bdag-gi mdun-du a.ma lcebs-nas 'chi-ba.yod-pas
 I.HUM-GEN in.front.of-LOC mother suicide-CO die.PRES-IPFV.EPL.LOG-INF-CO
ma-phyin-pa.lags
 NEG.PAST-go.PAST-PFV.HUM.AUT
 'If I returned home without a sign of magical power manifesting, she would kill herself in front of me. So I didn't leave.' (Milarepa addresses the master) (TCPPD, 1994, Ch. 1.3; de Jong 1959: 40, line 11-12)

High probability is indicated by the compound copula *yin.'ong* in (83) and the auxiliary verb construction *-pa.yin.'ong* (imperfective) in (84).⁵⁸ They both refer to a logical-inferential.

- (83) ལ་སང་ནས་ངེད་འབོད་རང་འབོད་ཅིང་བསྐྱལ་བ་དེ་འདི་ཀ་དགོས་པ་ཡིན་འོང་ཟེར།
kha.sang-nas nged 'bod rang 'bod-cing bskul-ba de
 for.some.days-ABL we call.out ourself call.out-CO urge-NMLZ that
'di.ka dgos-pa yin.'ong zer
 the.very.one desire-NMLZ be.EPL.LOG-INF say
 '(That night, oath-bound protectors of the teaching appeared carrying thirty-five human heads and hearts, covered in blood.) They say, "For some days, you have called upon us and this is just [must be] what you have asked for." (and they piled the head and hearts at the edge of the mandala.)' (*yin.'ong* in TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.3, p.38; *yin.yod* in de Jong, 1959: 42, line 3-4; Quintman, 2010: 33 [brackets mine])

⁵⁸ The epistemic copula *yin.'ong* 'must be' (= *yin.yong* > egophoric *yong* in Lhasa Tibetan see Oisel (2017b)) has been intentionally and mistakenly transcribed as *yin.yod* in the de Jong's edition despite having consulted various versions.

- (84) ལྷོད་ཀྱི་དེ་བདེན་པ་རང་ཡིན་ན་ང་རྗེས་བཤམ་བྲན་པས་མ་ཟེན་པ་ཅིག་དང་སྐྱག་པ་ཡིན་འོང་གསུང་།
khyod-kyi de bden.pa rang yin-na nga smyo.ba-'am
 you-GEN that true onself be-CO I crazy-CO
dran.pa-s ma-zin-pa cig-dang thug-pa.yin.'ong gsung
 attention-INST NEG.PAST-retain-NMLZ INDF-ASS come.across-PFV.EPI.LOG.INF say.HON.PRES
 (“Surely the lama himself ordered the tower for his son,” I replied. He said, “I don’t recall giving any such instructions.) ‘If what you say is indeed true, I must be either absent-minded or completely crazy.’” [lit.: I must have come across craziness or a lack of attention] (*yin.'ong* in TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 2.2 p.73; *yin.yod* in de Jong, 1959: 59, line 24-25; Quintman, 2010: 56)

High probability is also indicated by the auxiliary verb constructions *-las.che* (perfective) in (85) or *-bar.yod.las.che* (imperfective) in (86) and by the compound copula *yin.las.che* (87). They also refer to a logical inferential.

Milarepa’s mother (the speaker) pretends to be her son **who wrote the letter and to say so** in (85). The fictive speaker assumes without any proof that herself as a mother and her daughter very likely have seen a sign of her own magic spells.

- (85) ཇ་མ་དང་སྲིང་མོ་ཁམས་བཟང་དངོས་ནས་མཐུའི་རྟགས་མཐོང་ལས་ཆེ།
a.ma-dang sring.mo khams bzang
 mother-ASS younger.sister health good
dngos.nas mthu-'i rtags mthong-las.che
 be.really-CO magic-spells-GEN sign see-PFV.EPI2.LOG.INF
 ‘Mother and younger sister, having really good health, you very likely saw/have seen a sign of my magic spells.’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.3; de Jong, 1959: 45, line 10-11; translation adapted from Quintman, 2010: 37)

Then, in (86), the same speaker (the mother) seen above wrote on the other side of the letter directly addressing her son and assuming without having a clue that he is very likely well.

- (86) ཐོས་པ་དགའ་ཁམས་བཟང་བར་ཡོང་ལས་ཆེ།
thos.pa.dga' khams bzang-bar.yod.las.che
 Thöpağa health good-IPFV.EPI2.LOG.INF
 ‘You must be healthy, Thöpağa.’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.3; de Jong, 1959: 45, line 25-26)

Another example is also found in Gyurmé (1994), but the context is not defined.

- (87) མངོན་སུམ་ཡིན་ནམ་ཟླེ་ལམ་ཡིན་ལས་ཆེ།
mngon.sum yin-nam rmi.lam yin.las.che
 direct.perception be.AUT-INT dream be.EPI2.LOG.INF
 ‘Is it real? It’s more likely a dream.’ (*Nor.bzang gyi rnam.thar* in Gyurmé, 1994: 47)

Contrary to the previous constructions, the existential copula *yod.pa.'dra.bar.'dug* indicates a high probability associated with a sensory observation in the present context (88).

- (88) འདི་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱང་མོས་རབ་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་བར་འདུག་པས་རྟག་ཏུ་བཞུགས་ན་རབ།
'di phyogs-kyi mi-rnams-kyang mos.rab
 this side-GEN man-PL-FOC respect
yod.pa.'dra.bar.'dug-pas rtag.tu bzhugs-na rab
 have.EPI2.SEN.INF-CO always stay.HON-CO perfect
 'Since people in this area obviously seem to have some devotion for you, you should settle here permanently.' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 2.7; de Jong, 1959: 148, line 18-19)

Contrastively, in (89), the auxiliary verb construction *V-ba.'dra.bar.'dug* indicates a high probability associated with a hypothetical sensory observation (i.e. imaginary context like in (77)). Milarepa's mother just imagined her son first slashing the throats of his uncle's family with a stirrup. Then, she thought of black magic.

- (89) དེ་རང་མི་འོང་བ་འདྲ་བར་གཞུག་ཆེ་རབ་འོང་བ་འདྲ་བ་འདུག་པས།
de.rang mi-'ong-ba.'dra
 that.same.one NEG.PRES-be.suitable.PRES-IPFV.EPI3.SEN.INF
ngan.g.yo che.rab 'ong-ba.'dra.ba.'dug-pas
 trick greater be.suitable.PRES-IPFV.EPI2.SEN.INF-CO
 'As such a thing doesn't seem doable, a more elaborate trick will obviously be more suitable.' (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.3; *mi.yong.ba.'dra vs. yong.ba.'dra.ba.'dug* in de Jong, 1959: 37, line 10-11; another translation in Quintman, 2010: 28)

Improbability is indicated by the auxiliary verb construction *mi-V(1)-ba.'dra* in (89), the compound copula *min.pa.'dra* in (90), and the auxiliary verb construction *mi-V(1)-pa.yin.las.che* in (91). In (89) and (90), they are the negative forms of high-probability sensory-inferential auxiliary verb construction *-pa.'dra* and copula *yin.pa.'dra*, respectively. They encode improbability based on a hypothetical or real sensory-inferential, respectively, whereas, in (91), the construction encodes improbability based on logical-inferential.

- (90) མོ་ན་རེ་བྱེད་དང་ཁོང་ཚོའི་ཆ་ལྟགས་དང་སློབ་པ་ཀྱན་བྱེད་རང་བྱེད་པ་བཞིན་རྒྱབ་ལོག་རང་དུ་འདུག་པས་གང་རུང་ཅིག་ཚོས་
 མེན་པ་འདྲ།
mo na.re khyed-dang khong.tsho-'i cha.lugs-dang spyod.pa kun
 she QUO you-ASS they-GEN manner.of.dress-ASS practice all
khyed.rang zer-ba bzhin rgyab.log rang-du 'dug-pas
 yourself say-NMLZ according.to opposite oneself-TRAN stand-CO
gang.rung cig chos min.pa.'dra
 whatever INDF dharma be.NEG.EPI3.SEN.INF
 She replied, "As you say, your practice and manner of dress and theirs are exactly the opposite [lit.: they stand themselves against what you said]. It seems that one of them is not (in) the *dharma* [morally appropriate]." (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 2.7, 144; de Jong, 1959: 120, line 28-30; translation adapted from Quintman, 2010: 129)

- (91) ད་ལྟམ་ཡང་སྐྱགས་རྗེས་མི་འདོན་པ་ཡིན་ལས་ཆེ།
da yum-yang thugs.rjes mi-'dzin-pa.yin.las.che
 now mother-again compassion NEG.PRES-perceive.PRES-IPFV.EPI3.LOG.INF
 '(My) mother probably doesn't have too much compassion anymore for me now.'
 (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 2.2; de Jong, 1959: 75, line 13)

The way of marking emphatic assertion is the use of a double negative which was first observed by Tournadre in Gyurmé (1993: 116) who identifies it as a type of “*affirmation*”. There are two types of double negatives. The first one corresponds to the combination of two copulas with the negative form or the negation. It can be separated with an indeterminate word (IND) *ci.yang* ‘anything > nothing (with a negation)’.

N-COP-NMLZ(IND) COPULA
N-min-pa ci.yang med
N-min.pa ci.yang mi.'dug
N-mi+'dra-ba min

In this type of double negative, the final copula may indicate an evidential function like the authoritative (92) and the sensory (93).

- (92) ང་ལ་ཟླ་མིན་པ་ཅི་ཡང་མེད། ངེད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ཁྱེད་བཏེག་ཡོད་པས་ངེད་ཚོ་ཡང་ཚུགས་ཅིག་ཟེར། གཅིག་ཅིག་དེ་ན་རེ་འཇུག་ལྷགས་མི་
 འདྲ་བ་མིན་པ་རྒྱུག་པ་ལག་ཐོག་ཟེར།
nga-la zwa min-pa ci.yang med
 I-DAT nettle be.NEG.AUT-NMLZ nothing have.NEG.AUT
nged-kyis-kyang khyed bteg-yod-pas nged-tsho-yang chug-cig zer
 I-ERG-again you lift.up-PRV.AUT-CO I-PL-FOC leave-IMP say
gcig de na.re 'jug.lugs mi-'dra-ba min-pa
 one that QUO entrance NEG.PRES-similar-NMLZ be.NEG.AUT-NMLZ
'jug-pa khag.theg zer
 get.inside-NMLZ make.sure say
 “I have nothing but nettles,” I replied again. “Lift this hermit up and see if he has left anything for us”. One says, “Make sure to get inside what definitely looks like an entrance!” (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 2.7; de Jong, 1959: 128, line 1; another translation in Quintman, 2010: 137)

- (93) ཕུག་པའི་ནང་དུ་སོང་བས་ཟླ་མིན་པ་ཅི་ཡང་མི་འདུག་པ་དང་།
phug.pa-'i nang-du song-bas
 cave-GEN inside-LOC go.PAST-CO
zwa min-pa ci.yang mi-'dug-pa.dang
 nettle be.NEG.AUT-NMLZ nothing NEG.PRES-have.SEN-CO
 ‘Entering the cave, they found nothing at all but nettles.’ (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 2.7; de Jong, 1959: 129, line 6-7; Quintman, 2010: 138)

The second type of double negative corresponds to the combination of an auxiliary verb construction (Verb-RELator + AUXiliary) and a copula, both negated. The copula may indicate the authoritative (94), the future (95), the past (96) or the sensory (97).

V-REL.AUX-NMLZ COPULA
V-pa.min-pa med
V-ba.min-pa ma.byung
V-ba.min-pa mi.'dug
V-ba.min-pa mi.'ong

- (94) དེ་མིན་ངའི་སྟོ་སྟོན་པ་མིན་པ་མེད་ཚུད་རང་ལ་འགྲོ་ས་ཡོད་པར་འདུག་པས་སོང་། གསུང་། སྟོ་སྟོན་པ་ས།
de.min nga'i lto gron-pa.min-pa med
 otherwise I-GEN food waste-IPFV.NEG.AUT-NMLZ have.NEG.AUT
khyod.rang-la 'gro-sa yod.par.'dug-pas song[s] gsung[s] pas
 you-OBL go-NMLZ have-INF-CO go.IMP say.HON.PAST-CO
 'Otherwise, since I will only waste my food (for you) and since you seem to have somewhere to go, then leave.' [lit.: the only thing not to do is not waste my food] (TCPPD, 1994: 2.2; de Jong, 1959: 69, line 28-29; another translation in Quintman, 2010: 67-68)⁵⁹
- (95) མཐུའི་ཉགས་མ་ཐོན་པར་ཡུལ་དུ་ལོག་ཅང་མ་སྐྱེ་བས་ཏེ་འཆི་བ་མིན་པ་མི་འོང་སྟམ་ནས།
mthu-i rtags ma-thon-par yul-du log-rung
 magic-GEN sign NEG.PAST-get.out-CO region-LOC return-CO
a ma lcebs-te 'chi-ba.min-pa mi-'ong snyam-nas
 mother die.PAST-CO die.PRES-IPFV.NEG.AUT-NMLZ NEG-come.PRES think-CO
 'And my mother would surely kill herself were I to return home without showing signs of magic.' [lit.: the only thing that doesn't come is not dying] ('ong in TCPPD, 1994: 1.3, 34; yong in de Jong, 1959: 39, line 13-15; Quintman, 2010: 30)
- (96) ངོ་མིང་སྲིང་གཉེས་ཀྱིས་ནི་ར་མདའ་ཏུ་བ་མིན་པ་མ་བྱུང་།
nged ming.sring gnyis-kyis-ni ra.mda'
 I sister both-ERG-TOP help
ngu-ba.min-pa ma-byung
 weep-IPFV.NEG.AUT-NMLZ NEG-occur.PAST
 'My sister and I could do nothing for her but weep.' [lit.: the only thing that didn't occur was not to cry] (TCPPD, 1994: 1.2, 26; de Jong, 1959: 34, line 16-17; Quintman, 2010: 25)
- (97) ང་མ་རྒན་མོ་ནི་བསམ་མཚོན་བཏང་གིན་ཡི་སྟུག་པ་དང་ཏུ་བྱོ་བ་མིན་པ་མི་འདུག་ཟེར།
nga ma.rgan.mo-ni bsam.mno.btang-gin yi.mug-pa.dang
 I old.mother-TOP think-CO feel.despair-CO
ngu bro-ba.min-pa mi-'dug zer
 cry feel-IPFV.NEG.AUT-NMLZ NEG-have.SEN say
 'When I think about it, I, your old mother, feel despair and all I can do is cry.' [lit.: the only thing that's not obvious is not wanting to cry] (TCPPD, 1994, 1.3; de Jong, 1959: 37, line 4-5; Quintman, 2010: 28)

Interestingly, one may see through the double negative what would correspond to the intermediary layer before the grammaticalization of the final copula into an auxiliary in what looks like a double auxiliary verb structure diachronically, and the reanalysis of the nominalizer *-pa* into TAM component (a RELator) of an auxiliary verb construction.

V-REL+AUX-NMLZ+COPULA > V-REL+AUX-REL+AUX

However, all double negatives seen previously in this section do not necessarily appear without double negation. The following forms are not attested in Milarepa's life: *N-*yin-pa ci.yang+yod*; *N-*yin.pa ci.yang+'dug*; *N-'*dra-ba yin*; *V-*pa+yin-pa yod*; *V-*ba+yin-pa byung*.

⁵⁹ Quintman (2010: 68) translates it: "Since it is a burden to feed you [...]"

The following *V-ba+yin.pa.dug* (reportative); *V-ba+yin.(pa.)'ong* (high probability) are attested but with a different function as we have seen in section 3 and 7, respectively.

Another way of marking emphatic assertion is indicated by the enclitic *mod* which refers to the speaker's commitment to the veracity of her/his statements. It contrasts with the simple assertion value of the authoritative *yin* or *yod*, seen previously. This type of use is rendered in English by adverbial phrases or adverbs such as 'in fact, really, well, truly, anyway'. As a clitic, it can be combined with an adjectival predicate *adjective=mod* (98-99), a simple auxiliary verb construction *V-pa.lags=mod* (100) or compound auxiliary verb construction *V-med.pa.yin=mod* (101). It can also be used as a connective adversative that may be rendered by 'but' (Gyurmé, 1994: 166).⁶⁰

- (98) བླ་ཏར་མ་སོང་ན་ང་རང་དབང་བའི་ལྷ་ས་ངག་ཡིད་གསུམ་དུམ་བྱ་བརྒྱར་གཏུབས་ཀྱང་ང་རང་དབང་ཆེ་མོད།
nan.tar ma-song-na nga.rang dbang.ba-i lus ngag yid gsum
 really NEG-go.PAST-CO myself power-GEN body word spirit three
dum.bu brgya-r gtubs-kyang nga.rang dbang che=mod
 small.pieces hundred-TRAN cut.into-CO myself power big=EMP
 'If you don't really leave, even cut into a hundred small pieces, your body, your word, your spirit remains in my power anyway (lit: are truly under my enormous power).'
 (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 2.2; de Jong, 1959: 65, line 28-29)

- (99) ལྷ་རྒྱལ་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་ཚོགས་དབུས་སུ་མི་བསྐྱོད་པ་ལས་ཚོས་ཉན་པའང་ངོ་མཚར་ཆེ་མོད་དེ།
u.rgyan mkha'.gro-i tshogs dbus-su mi.bskyod.pa-las
 Urgyen Dakini-GEN assembly center-LOC Mikyöpa-ABL
chos nyan-pa-'ang ngo.mtshar che=mod-de
 teaching listen-NMLZ-FOC miracle big=EMP-CO
 'It is truly extraordinary to listen to Mikyöpa Buddha teach among the dakinis of Urgyen. [...]' (lit.: it is really a big miracle) (TCPPD, 1994: Ch. 1.1; de Jong, 1959: 25, line 5-7)

The emphatic assertion enclitic occurs with authoritative and gnomic evidentials in the corpus under study. The following construction *V-pa.lags=mod* combines with the "past" inflection of *brtsigs* 'to build'. It indicates the emphatic authoritative in the past.

- (100) བལ་ཐོག་ལས་ལྷག་པའི་བྱ་བས་བརྗེགས་པ་ལགས་མོད་འུས་བས།
bcu thog-las lhag-pa-i khyams
 ten stage-COMP exceed-NMLZ-GEN courtyard
brtsigs-pa.lags=mod zhus-pas
 build.PAST-PFV.HUM.AUT=EMP say.HUM.PAST-CO
 'She replied, "He actually built a lot more than ten stories."' (TCPPD, 1994, Ch. 2.2; de Jong 1959: 64, line 16-17)

⁶⁰ The morpheme *red* 'to be', which occurs only once in TCPPD 1994 (Oisel, 2013: 81), has been discarded as it is an editor correction of missing and misreading letters (?-d ད འ ?-ng འ) that probably appeared in the original manuscript used by the editor of Qinghai. It would be *nga* 'I' according to de Jong's version (1959: 64, line 16-17), which could be also problematic as the author also confused the other way round *-ng* with *-d*, as one can see with words like *thang* > **thad*; *yin.'ong* > **yin.yod*. See also Shao (2016) and Zeisler (2022) for more discussions on the problematic occurrence of *red* in certain Early and Middle Classical texts.

Contrary to the previous construction, in the next one *V-med.pa.yin=mod* is combined with the invariable verb *don.gnyer* ‘to be interested’. It indicates the emphatic gnomic in a perfect negative construction.

- (101) བཟའ་བ་དང་བཏུང་བ་དང་མནལ་བ་ཙམ་ཞིག་ལས་དོན་གཞེར་མེད་པ་ཡིན་མོད།
bza'-ba-dang btung-ba-dang mnal-ba tsam.zhig las
 eat-NMLZ-ASS drink-NMLZ-ASS sleep-NMLZ about Only
don.gnyer-med.pa.yin=mod
 be.interested-PFV.NEG.GNOM=EMP
 ‘(Regent Taktsewa) actually only cared about drinking, eating and sleeping.’ (Biography of *Mi.dbang Pho.lha.nas* (1689-1747) in Gyurme, 1994: 162)

8. Conclusion

The present study argues for the importance of using a morphosyntactic approach when describing evidentiality in Middle Classical Tibetan in order to describe the whole functional paradigm of the language and to prevent semantic analyses only based on lexical verb entries like *yod* and ‘*dug*. Evidentiality is grammaticalized through copulas and auxiliary verb constructions. Certain types of copula and auxiliary verb constructions, which had not been previously described, are highly complex when they combine two auxiliaries like *yin.par.‘dug*, *yin.pa.‘dra*, *yin.las.che*, *yin.‘ong*, *yod.par.‘dug*, *yod.par.gda*, *yod.pa.yin*, *yod.pa.lags*, *yod.pa.‘dra.par.‘dug*, *yin.par.yod.par.‘dug* (see also in Modern literary Tibetan, with constructions such as *yod.pa.red.‘dug*, or in Lhasa Tibetan *yod.pa.yin.pa.red*). I have also presented other syntactic ways of marking a specific epistemic modality, the emphatic assertion, by using enclitic *mod* and double negatives.

There are five main evidentials (authoritative source, sensory access, inferential access, reportative source, revelatory access), three less frequent evidentials (gnomic, corroborative and rumor source), and four epistemic modalities (medium probability, high probability, improbability, emphatic assertion) which also have evidential readings (sensory-inferential, logical-inferential, reportative-inferential). There is also another evidential category which has not been considered in the present study. The quotative evidential, referring to a specific source, is marked through the enclitic *na.re* introducing a reported speech. As for the enclitic *-zhes*, it mainly occurs with nouns whereas it does not seem to appear with verbs in my corpus. In Middle Classical Tibetan, the lexical verb *zer* ‘to say’ and its suppletive forms *byas*, *gsungs*, *zhus* (ordinary -two forms-, honorific, humilific register, respectively) are in general used after a verb, copula or auxiliary verb construction at the end of a final clause in order to seal the reported speech. In Lhasa Tibetan, only the lexical verb *zer* has been grammaticalized as an enclitic *-ze* or *-za*. This could explain why different sources versus access are marked in copulas and auxiliary verb constructions in Middle Classical Tibetan (as well as in and Modern Literary Tibetan), whereas, in Lhasa Tibetan, only the access to information is encoded in copulas and auxiliary verb constructions (egophoric, sensory, inferential, mnemonic, self-corrective, cf. Oisel, 2017b).

The importance of this morphosyntactic approach allows us to present the interaction between evidentiality and aspect, politeness register, as well as epistemic modality which are very intricate. I have highlighted the interaction between the perfect aspect and sensory evidential which results in the resultative sensory (and past inferential in Modern literary style and Lhasa Tibetan), the interaction between the sensory and the

future tense which marks an inference about the future. The interaction between politeness register and evidentiality reveals discursive complex social relationships since the auxiliaries which only encode the humilific register can be combined with ordinary or honorific register verbs. This has not been previously described. The interaction between epistemic modality and evidentiality allows to encode different epistemic modalities (high-probability, medium probability, improbability) and inferentials (based on reportative source, sensory or logical access).

For the studies of Tibetan historical linguistics, the evidential system found in the present corpus is not negligible as the life of Milarepa was well-circulated during the early days of the spread of printing woodblocks in the 15th century (Helman-Ważny, 2014; Triné and Gonkatsang, 2016). It is important to state that this evidential system is not the same as the one used in Lhasa Tibetan nowadays (Vokurková, 2008; 2011; 2018; Tournadre, 2017; Oisel, 2017b), either the one used in Modern Literary Tibetan (Oisel, 2005; 2013; Oisel, 2017a), and probably not the one used in later classical Tibetan (or “new Tibetan”, Zeisler, 2004), which has not been properly described.

Abbreviations

ABL Ablative case; ADV Adverbializer; ASS Associative case; AUT authoritative source; CIS cislocative; CO Connective (cause, anteriority, addition, purpose, concession, contrastive affirmative or negative, conditional, simultaneity, alternative); COMP Comparative; COR corroborative source; DAT Dative (destinatory, beneficiary or emotional origo); EMP Emphatic assertion enclitic; EPI medium probability (epistemic modality); EPI₂ high probability (epistemic modality); EPI₃ improbability (epistemic modality); ERG Ergative case; EXH exhortative mood; FP Final “particle” (conclusive); FOC Focus; FUT future stem; GEN genitive; GNOM gnomic source; HON Honorific register; HUM Humilific register; IMP Imperative mood; INDF Indefinite article; INF inferential access; INST Instrumental case; INT Interrogative; INTE intentional auxiliary; INTJ Interjection (surprise, vocative, agreement, exclamative); IPFV imperfective aspect; LOC Locative case (temporal, locative, superessive, inessive); LOG logical access; NEG Negation (“present”, “past”); NMLZ Nominalizer; OPT optative, PAST Past tense stem; PFV perfective aspect; PL Nominal plural; POL politeness register; PRES Present tense stem; PRF perfect aspect; PRM promise; PROG progressive aspect; PUR purpose; QUO Quotative (enclitic); REL relator; REP reportative source; REV revelatory, RUM rumor source; SEN sensory access; TOP Topicalizer; TRAN Transformative case; VEN Venitive (associated motion)

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