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Reported evidentiality in Tibeto-Burman languages

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ABSTRACT

Classifications of evidentiality all include at least one 'reported', 'quotative' or 'hearsay' category. This category is found in many language groups that are attested to have evidentiality, including the Tibeto-Burman family. Although attested, reported evidentiality is often under-described in both descriptive grammars of specific languages, and typologies of evidentiality across the family. This survey of reported evidentiality in the Tibeto-Burman family found mention of reported evidentiality in descriptions of 88 of 130 languages. While there are clear patterns with regards to the morphosyntactic features of reported evidentiality across these languages, there is a great deal of variation in the semantic features, including the number of reported evidential distinctions and the specificity of source. This survey demonstrates that reported evidentiality is complex and varied across languages, even within the same family, and outlines ways to improve future documentation and description.

KEYWORDS

Evidentiality, Reported Speech, Tibeto-Burman

Reported evidentiality in Tibeto–Burman languages

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1 Introduction

Evidentiality is the encoding of source of knowledge into the grammatical system of a language, and one commonly observed category is information reported from a prior utterance. In typologically-driven categorisations of evidentiality, a category of 'reported' or 'quotative' evidential is commonly included (Willett 1988; Plungian 2001, 2010; Aikhenvald & Dixon 2003; Aikhenvald 2004, 2014, 2015, 2018a). These reported evidential forms are distinct from the lexical reported speech strategies that occur in all of the world's languages.

The Tibeto-Burman family is known for having many languages with rich evidential systems (Aikhenvald & La Polla 2007; Aikhenvald 2014; Tournadre & La Polla 2014; Tournadre 2017, DeLancey 2018; Hyslop 2018), many of which contain a reported evidential, which is distinct from a lexical 'verb of saying'. Below are examples illustrating the difference between lexical and evidential strategies for reporting prior utterances in Lamjung Yolmo (ISO 639-3 scp), a Tibetic language of Nepal. Example (1) is an utterance with the lexical verb of saying *làp* and (2) is a with the reported evidential particle *ló*. Note that while the verb of saying has a subject and a dative-marked participant, *ló* does not take verb morphology or overtly marked subject or object. Example (2) was from an elicitation session where I gave AL an utterance in Nepali ('the rice is tasty') and asked her how she'd tell someone else that. Reported evidential particles in Lamjung Yolmo are typically used for a specific utterance, which is why there is an epithetical 'she' in the translation. Also note that while the lexical verb of saying has moved from its usual position after the reported speech content, common in Lamjung Yolmo naturalistic speech, this cannot happen with the reported speech marker, which always comes after the reported content.

1) | *lùndi* | **làp-sin** | *tɕàro=la* | *tɕàro* | *khé* | *lú* | *nèn* | *ɕée-ke* |
   | jackal | **say-PST** | crow=DAT | crow | 2SG | song | sing | know-NON.PST |
   '(the) jackal said to (the) crow "crow, you know how to sing a song."'
   (RL 101027-01 04:27) (Gawne 2015: 301)

2) | *tó* | *ɕìmbu* | *dù* | **ló** |
   | rice | tasty | COP.PE | **REP** |
   'the rice is tasty (she said)'
   (AL 110215-01) (Gawne 2015: 313)

Not only do the two forms differ grammatically, they also differ in their interactional function, with the reported speech particle used specifically for reporting utterances from specific

individuals in the recent past, and the lexical verb of saying having a broader distribution (Gawne 2015). Like other evidentials, the reported category marks source of information, but unlike other categories, this source of information in grounded in the speaker's interaction with previous discourse (Hengeveld & Hattnher 2015). This makes reported evidentiality an important category for understanding the role of socially-mediated information in interaction (Englebretson 2007; Du Bois 2007).

Although the reported evidential is often observed in descriptive grammars and discussions of evidentiality, the nature of this evidential category often underspecified in descriptions of individual languages. For example, in a discussion of evidentiality in the Bodic group, which is included in the survey in this paper, Hyslop (2018) describes the reported evidentials as "the most straightforward examples of Bodic evidentiality" (p. 603). While the reported speech markers are less immediately complex in their semantics and pragmatic effect than other categories of evidentiality found in this language group, when we take a whole-family approach we see a great deal of variation in the grammatical features and interactional function. Aikhenvald & La Polla's (2007) introduction to a volume of six descriptions of evidentiality in Tibeto-Burman languages summarises the findings of these papers, noting briefly some intriguing variation in regard to the presence of one or two reported forms per language, as well as epistemic implications of reported evidential use. Tournadre (2017: 105) notes that this variation exists within the Tibetic family, but does not discuss this category in detail, while Tournadre and La Polla (2014) and DeLancey (2018) do not discuss the category at all in their respective overviews of evidentiality in Tibetic.

When we expand out to the whole Tibeto-Burman family, we see that reported evidentiality is a pervasive evidential category. Not only is it a common, if under-described, feature, but one that shows both similarities and complex variation across the family. Because reported evidentiality in this family is under-described compared to other elements of the evidential system, this study provides a systematic survey of published work on reported evidentiality in the Tibeto-Burman family. 130 languages are included, with 88 describing some form of reported evidentiality.

I begin with an overview of the literature on evidentiality, with a focus on typological surveys from other language families (§2). I then outline the methodology of the survey (§3). The discussion of results cover morphosyntactic (§4.2), semantic (§4.3) and discourse (§4.4) features of the use of reported evidentiality, to better understand similarities within, and differences across, the Tibeto-Burman family. I also discuss the use of terminology in how the reported evidential is represented in the descriptive literature. I conclude with how this survey can enrich both our typological understanding of reported evidentiality, and the practice of documenting this phenomenon (§5).

2 Background

The inclusion of some kind of category of reported evidentiality is a consistent feature across evidential classification systems. What differs across these classifications is the terminology used to refer to this category, whether it is further sub-categorised, and how it is positioned in relation to other evidential categories. Many schemas include a category of 'reportative', 'reported' or 'report', which I treat as broadly equivalent unless the author makes some specific case for the specific meaning of the term. The category of 'quote' or 'quotative' often appears in evidential classifications as well, as does 'hearsay'. The category of 'quote' is predominantly used for when the form marks that the evidence is one specific speech act. In contrast, 'hearsay' is a category

term for when the speaker is not identified, marking only that the information is reported. It often also has additional connotations. Some additional terms are used in specific categorisations, discussed below. In this section I use the terminology of the original work. In all of these evidential categorisation schemas, some category of reported evidentiality is contrasted with other evidential categories, however there's a general consensus that it is possible for a grammaticalised reported evidential form to exist in contrast with a lexical reported strategy without contrasting with other evidential categories. Aikhenvald (2004: 31-34) discusses this linguistic profile, noting that it is widespread across language families, including the Tibeto-Burman family.

Willett (1988) provides one of the earliest, and still frequently cited, categorisations of evidentiality, includes a category of 'reported evidence'. This is further broken down into 'second-hand', 'third-hand', which are grouped together as types of 'hearsay', as well as 'folklore'. This is the maximal subcategorisation within reported speech of any of the classification schemas. As there is no attested language that has more than two semantically distinct reported evidential categories, few authors make this many divisions in their classifications. For Willett, the reported category sits within 'indirect' evidentials alongside 'inferring' (both from results or reasoning), which is in contrast to a 'direct' categorisation that includes sensory information ('visual', 'auditory' or 'other'). This contrast between 'direct' and 'indirect' categories is found in a number of other classification schemas as well, and has implications for how hierarchies of evidentiality are constructed, which I discuss below.

de Haan (1998) includes a category of 'quotative', which is used for all reported forms, from those which report a specific speech event, to those used "as markers of myth". This is the only commonly cited classification schema that uses 'quotative' for the macro-category rather than 'reported' (except for Aikhenvald's work, which as I discuss below has both 'quotative' and 'reported' categories).

Like Willett, Plungian (2010) distinguishes broadly between 'direct' and 'indirect' evidence, with 'direct' being used for both 'participatory' and sensory evidentials, in contrast to the 'indirect' categories of 'inference', 'presumptive' and 'reportative'. Plungian also makes an additional higher order distinction 'personal' and 'non-personal', which distinguishes the reportative from all other categories. Plungian (2010: 29) explains that this is because the reportative is the only category where the speaker's access to the information is through "a report in somebody else's words", rather than their own personal experience (whether that be a direct participatory experience or inference). Plungian (2010: 38) also notes there are subtypes of reported evidentiality based on the specificity of the speech act being reported.

Aikhenvald's (2004, 2014, 2015, 2018a) categorisation of evidentiality has been built up from large-scale typological work of evidentiality across the world's languages. This categorisation includes six categories, including 'visual', 'non-visual sensory', 'inference', 'assumption', 'reported' ('hearsay' in 2004) and 'quotative'. In Aikhenvald's classification the quotative points to reported information with a specific author of the original reported utterance, while the reported does not point back to a single specific author. It is for this reason that Aikhenvald (2018a: 12, f11) says that the reported can also be referred to as 'second-hand' or 'hearsay', and can also include further subcategorisations for specific languages, such as the third-hand evidential in Mamaindê (see Eberhard 2018: 350).

While the literature above aims to provide classifications of evidentiality that apply to the broadest range of languages, there is a growing body of literature that takes a look at a specific language family or linguistic area. San Roque and Loughnane (2012) give an areal perspective on evidentiality in twelve languages across six language families in the New Guinea Highlands area.

They classify 'reported' evidentiality along with 'inferring' as a form of indirect evidence. Reported evidence is subcategorised as either 'folklore' or 'hearsay', with the latter category including 'second-hand' and 'third-hand' reported. Although they make these finer distinctions in their classification, no language with reported evidentiality in the survey had more than one form categorised as such. Reported evidentials occur in seven of the surveyed languages, but unlike other evidential categories attested in these languages, including 'participatory', 'sensory' and 'inferring', none of the languages mark reported speech as verbal inflections. In only one of the 12 languages (Edolo, Bosavi) is the reported evidential the only category attested. Sarvasy (2018) expands on this work, looking across New Guinea, and finds reported speech is a prominent feature of evidential systems, either as part of a multi-category system, or as the only evidential attested. Sarvasy (2018: 635) also notes that Kamula has a tense distinction, with both a 'reported past' and 'reported future' (see Routamaa 1994: 27, 29 for more details), an unusual feature in the literature on reported evidentiality. Daguman's (2018) survey of 22 Philippine-type Austronesian languages is striking in comparison to work in other areas, in that no variation in the reported evidential across languages is described. A syntactically optional enclitic can be used for information received through communication (including speech, writing or sign), with the possibility of clearly identifying the source, or omitting it. Compare this to Pan's (2018) exploration of five Formosan languages, where there is a lot of variation in the evidential systems, from Bunun, which only has a reported evidential, to Tsou, where reported evidentiality is one of five categories (along with visual, non-visual, experiential and non-experiential), and then Paiwan, which only has an inferential/non-inferential distinction.

The languages of the Americas also show areas of rich evidential use. Thornes's (2018) survey of reported speech in the Uto-Aztecan languages of Northern and Central America found that even though these languages are not known for having elaborate systems of evidentiality, they do show a variety of evidential morphemes, with the reportative being the most common. Moving south to the Tukanoan language family (Stenzel & Gomez-Imbert 2018), where all nineteen languages in the survey have at least one reportative evidential, and Desano distinguishes between a reported and a quotative. Finally, of the four Nambikwara languages that have been documented, Eberhard (2018) notes that they all have at least one reported evidential form, with Mamaindê demonstrating an additional distinction between second-hand and third-hand reported information, and Lakondê distinguishing quotative from reportative, giving the reportative a hearsay function. Hengeveld & Hattnher (2015) performed a large-scale survey, looking at 64 native languages of Brazil across 27 families. Half the sample (32 languages) had some kind of reported evidential. These surveys of evidentiality in a given family or area demonstrate that where there is reported speech, variation is common.

This is not to say that all language families that have evidentiality include a distinct reported evidential category. Forker's (2018) survey of Nakh-Daghestanian languages and Johanson's (2018) survey of Turkic evidentiality both demonstrated that reported functions can be performed by a more general category of 'indirect' evidential, which is also used for inference.

Discussions of reported evidentiality commonly make mention of the fact that it is often used in narrative genres. This was the basis of Willett's (1988) inclusion of a 'folklore' category, and often comes up in the survey literature (de Haan 1997; Aikhenvald 2004: 64, 2018a: 28; Daguman 2018), as well as descriptions of evidential systems in specific languages (Aikhenvald 2003: 140; Stenzel and Gomez-Imbert 2018: 368; Wojtylak 2018: 403).

The organisation of evidential categorisation schemas often includes reported evidentiality towards the end of the list of categories. This reflects the fact that many evidential categorisations

focus, either overtly or implicitly, on a hierarchy of evidential values in relation to a model of evidential strength, predicated on how direct the speaker's source of information is. For example, direct visual evidence is considered 'stronger' than inference or hearsay, in regards to how trustworthy an interlocutor would find the information (Oswalt 1986: 43; de Haan 1998, 1999, 2001; Garrett 2001; Aikhenvald 2004: 307; San Roque & Loughnane 2012: 116-117, see also Brugman & Macaulay 2015: 212-215). In relation to this, the typological literature on reported evidentiality often notes that if there is some epistemic effect, it is usually that the reported evidential demonstrates weakened epistemic support (Aikhenvald 2003: 161; Aikhenvald 2004: 135, 2018a: 17; Chirikba 2003: 261; Weimer 2018: 92, 94-95). While typological approaches to reported evidentiality rarely include any mention of the possibility it could strengthen speaker commitment to the propositional content, Michael (2012) shows that this is also possible in Nanti (Arawakan) a language spoken in Peru. In the broader literature on reported speech structures, mostly focusing on lexical strategies, it is common to note that a report can either strengthen or weaken the speaker's commitment to the truth-value of the reported content, depending on context (Vandelanotte 2004; Cornillie 2009; Spronck 2015, 2017). As Weimer (2018) notes, with reportative markers in particular it is hard to predict the epistemic extensions that may be acquired by an evidential in a language, be that in relation to certainty or genre effects, as variation exists even in closely related languages. As I demonstrate below, this variation is also present in the languages of the Tibeto-Burman family.

Hengeveld & Hattnher (2015) take a different approach to the order in which they discuss categories of evidentiality. Using a Functional Discourse Grammar framework, they start their categorisation with 'reportativity', because it has the widest scope, and can occur with the widest range of sentences. Rather than focusing on epistemic value, Hengeveld & Hattnher focus on the flexibility of many reported evidentials; because a reported evidential can report any other speech act, it is theoretically possible for a reported evidential to co-occur with any sentence type (not just declarative and interrogative), and to even co-occur with other evidentials.

This wide scope is often possible because of what Aikhenvald (2014: 14) refers to as 'scattered' evidential coding, where evidentiality is distributed across more than one grammatical slot in a language. Aikhenvald notes specifically that reported speech is particularly prone to being 'scattered', allowing for a report to include the original speaker's evidential marking as (2018a: 9, 15). This poses a challenge for intentionally narrow definitions of evidentiality. For example, Brugman & Macaulay's (2015: 201-202) focus on evidentials (1) marking source of evidence and (2) being members of grammatical systems of closed-class items. In cases such as reported evidentiality, they acknowledge that it may be enough to say that items "may be grammatical morphemes" (225) rather than taking a paradigm approach. Bergqvist (2017: 15) notes that reported evidentiality is often in a part of the grammar that is further from the verb stem than other evidentials, which is what allows it to have wider scope than a category such as a direct sensory evidential. Unfortunately, this means that are often missed in analyses that focuses on the major paradigmatic distinctions (as we see in Tournadre & LaPolla 2014; DeLancey 2018 for Tibetic).

It is worth noting that languages from other families in contact with Tibeto-Burman languages also exhibit reported evidentiality. Nepali (Indo-Aryan), which is in contact with languages of the Tibeto-Burman family in Nepal and surrounding areas, has a reported speech particle *re* (Acharya 1991: 183, Peterson 2000). This is not to imply that contact with Tibeto-Burman is responsible for reported evidentiality in other languages, although it is common for languages to acquire evidential structures through language contact (Aikhenvald 2018b: 171).

Indo-Aryan also has a long history of grammatical reported evidentiality, see Degener (1998:182) and Bashir (2006) on the reported evidential *kila* in Sanskrit.

The Tibeto-Burman survey literature has mostly focused on the Tibetic group of languages (Tournadre & La Polla 2014; Tournadre 2017; DeLancey 2018). These works focus on the evidential distinctions encoded on the lexical verb, including a 'sensory evidential', 'factual', 'inferential' and an 'egophoric' or 'personal' category, which is well attested in languages of this group, but not commonly found in other evidential areas, but also do note that a reported evidential particle also exists in a separate grammatical paradigm without elaboration. The typological literature indicates that there are a variety of reported evidential types, from a direct reporting of a specific speech act as a quotative, to a less direct reporting of 'hearsay'. As we saw from exploration of reported speech typologies in other languages families, there is variation both in the distribution of reported evidentiality, and the function of this evidential category. A methodical survey of the existing literature regarding reported speech evidentiality in the Tibeto-Burman family can shed light on the distribution, form and function of this category in this language family as well. The literature above has helped frame the possibility space for reported evidentiality. By surveying existing documentation of reported evidentiality in the Tibeto-Burman family, we illustrate what is known about the phenomenon in these languages. This can help shape future descriptive work that is able to be clearer and more overt with regard to what is possible, and what is not possible, with the use of reported evidentiality in a particular language. This can then help us better understand how reported evidentiality is used in interaction in a wider range of languages.

3   Methodology

This paper presents a systematic review of linguistic documentation of languages in the Tibeto-Burman family. The survey began with ISO 639-3 codes, but was expanded when researchers provided documentation for a variety that is not given its own ISO 639-3 code but is considered distinct by the researcher. See, for example, the inclusion of Tangam, which is considered a dialect of Adi within Ethnologue, but it treated as distinct as per Mark Post (p.c). Glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2015) was used for the discovery of documentation, the family classifications and geolocation data used in the spatial representations of the data.

The majority (91/130) of sources consulted were descriptive grammars, with journal articles making up the majority of the remaining sources. Where possible, information about other evidential distinctions in the language were also noted, but as many grammatical descriptions made prior to the 1990s did not include a discussion of evidentiality as a distinct grammatical category (see Aikhenvald 2014: 18), I therefore do not present this as a structured survey, but discuss themes that emerged from the data more generally.

The majority of the survey was conducted between 2013-2016. The delay in publishing this survey has been a result of work relocation, parental leave and the Covid-19 pandemic. I make note where I discuss more recent work, and publications that I did not discover for the original survey. Details of the survey process are given in Appendix A. The full data table for this survey is available as an csv file alongside this publication.

4 Results

At the end of the survey period, 130 languages had sufficient description for inclusion. Of these 130 languages, 88 included mention of a reported evidential of some kind. The observation that this is a common feature of the languages of this family is supported, with reported evidentials in over 70% of the languages surveyed. In descriptions of the 42 languages where no form was observed there was no overt assertion that the language did not have a reported evidential. Therefore, it is possible that some of these languages do include an undocumented reported evidential, particularly where only older descriptive work exists. Therefore, the total number of languages with a reported evidential in this survey is a conservative one. In Figure 1, languages with an attested reported evidential are in black, and those where no reported speech form is attested are marked in white, other languages of the Tibeto-Burman family where no reference was available are marked in grey.
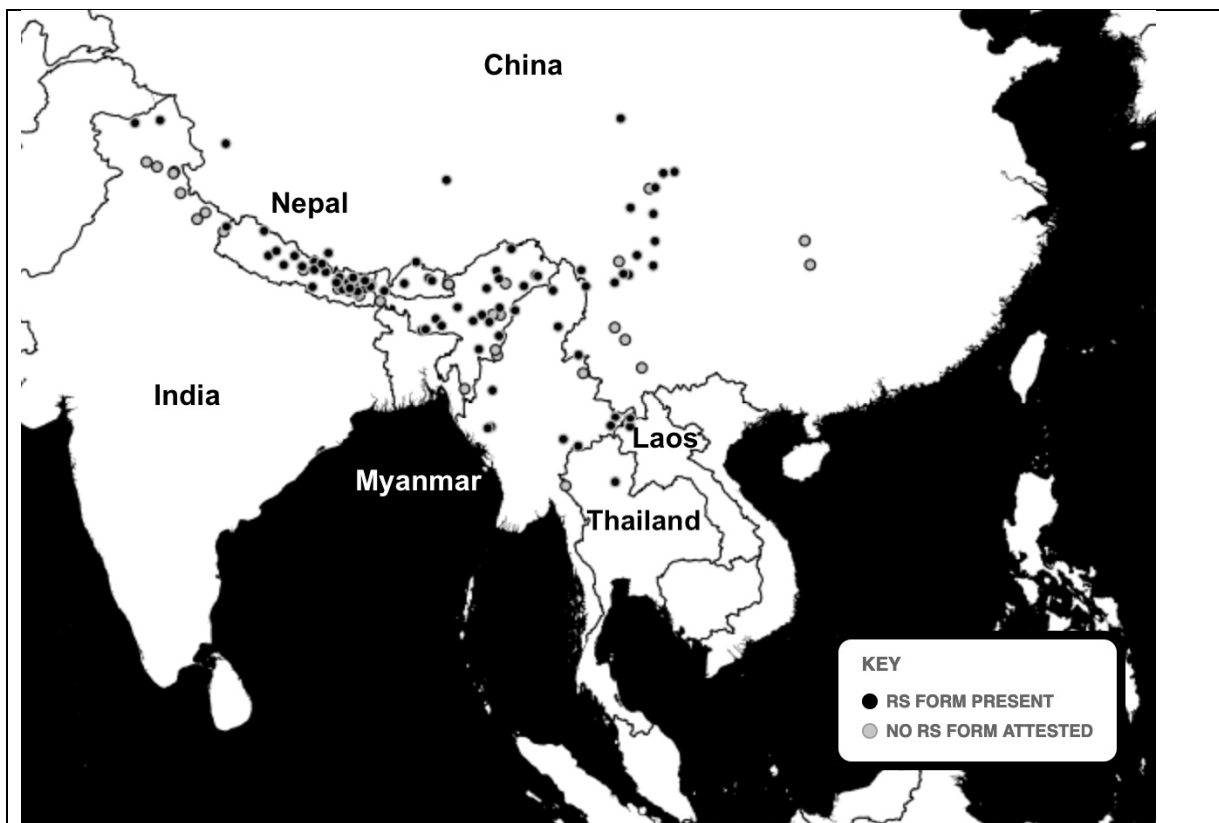
Figure 1. Distribution of languages with a reported evidential particle

As Figure 1 illustrates, languages with attested reported evidentiality cover the area where Tibeto-Burman languages are found. This map also illustrates the limited availability of documentation of languages of southern China and Myanmar, particularly in English or other European languages.

In full descriptive grammars, descriptions of reported evidentiality were mostly found in the sections on 'evidentiality' (e.g. So-Hartmann 2009: 297 for Daai Chin, Kuki-Chin-Naga, LaPolla 2003 for Qiang, Burmo-Qiangic), or 'particles' (e.g. Post 2007: 631 for Galo, Macro-Tani)

or clause types (e.g. van Breugel 2008: 482 for Atong, Brahmaputran). For some languages, the only indication of the presence of a reported evidential was that a reported speech gloss was included in the abbreviations list (e.g. Joseph 2007 for Rabha, Brahmaputran), or a form that was a reported evidential was clearly present in interlinearised text, but no description of its use was found (e.g. Yu 2007 for Lisu, Burmo-Qiangic). In these situations the language was still counted as having a reported evidential, even though little can be said about its use. It is my hope that this survey will help provide scaffolding for clearer descriptive work to prevent this in future descriptive grammars or articles that describe the evidential system of a language.

The full set of languages with a reported evidential is given with this publication as a supplementary data table (Appendix B). Included is the language name, ISO code, the reference(s) used and the documented form. Appendix C is a list of language for which I found sufficient resources to include it in the survey, but where no reported evidential was noted. For any language that is not included in either appendix, I was unable to find sufficient description of the language at the time of the survey to warrant its inclusion.

In each subsection below I discuss reported evidentiality within the Tibeto-Burman family from different perspectives. I begin with a discussion of the distribution of languages with this form (§4.1), before looking at the morphological (§4.2), semantic (§4.3) and discourse (§4.4) features of reported evidentiality. I then consider the variety of terminology used in discussion of reported evidentiality in Section 4.5.

4.1 Distribution within the Tibeto–Burman family

Reported evidentiality is not only attested across the geographical environment where Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken, as illustrated in Figure 1, but also across the level of macro-groupings within the family. At least one language in each subgroup has an attested reported evidential (Table 1). The subgroupings have been taken from Glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2015). The classification of languages within the Tibeto-Burman family is by no means without controversy, but as there is nothing about the distribution of reported evidentials that appears to contradict the macro-categorisation of the family used in this paper, I do not focus on the debate about the reconstruction of the Tibeto-Burman family. Although the focus of much of this paper is on synchronic variation, I look at the origins of evidentials and their distribution in §4.3.5. Regardless of the details of the language families In Table 1, the important thing to note is that regardless of the subgrouping, reported evidentiality is attested across the family.

Subgroup	Reference		No reference	Total
	Reported attested	**Reported not attested**		
Bodic	22	10	54	85
Brahmaputran	9	1	24	34
Burmo-Qiangic	19	5	104	128
Himalayish	20	9	20	49
Karenic	2	3	16	21
Kuki-Chin-Naga	8	8	74	90
Other	8	6	27	41
Total	88	42	318	448

Table 1. Results broken down by language subgroup

The number of languages in each daughter node of the family varies considerably. Table 1 individually lists the six groups with more than twenty member languages, the other 13 groups are included in the category 'Other' (Dhimalish, Geman, Gongduk, Kho-Bwa, Macro-Bai, Macro-Tani, Miji, Mishmic, Mruic, Nungish, Raji-Raute, Tujia, Unclassified). Unclassified in my survey includes Megam [mef], which is classified as Bogo-Garo in Ethnologue, but as an Austronesian languages in Glottolog. The totals are expressed as raw figures rather than percentages because the number of languages documented in each group varies greatly, as does the number for which we have record. For example, the Himalayish group has the highest proportion of languages documented, and also the highest rate of observation of reported speech (20 out of 29 references), in contrast Burmo-Qiangic has far fewer total documented languages, but a far greater number have reported evidentials attested. Whether this is just a reflection of the languages documented to date, or a higher prevalence in this family, is unanswerable at this point in time.

4.2   *Morphosyntactic features*

Most of the attested morphosyntactic features of reported evidentials demonstrate that they are highly grammaticised. In this section I discuss the fact that most reported evidentials are particles (§4.2.1), and that very few have any internal morphology (§4.2.2). Reported evidentials are rarely discussed in regard to negation (§4.2.3), but show a more varied relationship with interrogativity (§4.2.4).

4.2.1 Part of speech

In 65 languages, the reported evidential is a phonologically and syntactically 'free' particle that is not bound to another root. This is either made clear in the description of the form, or evident in the examples provided. Many of the bound forms were enclitics, which were not restricted in regard to which word class they could attach to. There are some exceptions. In Burmese (Burmo-Qiangic) there are three different particles that are noted to have reported evidential properties, with the variation dependent on the grammatical structure they attach to; *loʊ̀* marks complements and *té* is not followed by a verb head, while *loʊ́* is followed by a verb head, and *hsou* is a sentence final particle (Okell 1969: 119-121). There were no descriptions of reported evidentiality where this form was part of a larger evidential paradigm. All languages included in the survey had a clause final particle, but it is possible that a free particle could be in other positions, such as Simon's (1968) description of the reported speech marker *na.re* in Classical Tibetan, which precedes the reported content.

4.2.2 Internal morphology

The majority of reported evidential forms, including those that were bound, were mostly mono-morphemic particles. Descriptions of only 11 languages mentioned the reported evidential having morphological structure, or the ability to take other morphology. Ersu provides one example where the reported evidential forms are more complex. Zhang (2013: 571) argues that there are a number of reported evidential forms in the language. This includes morphologically simple forms =*dzà* and =*dzigə,* as well as more morphologically complex forms, including *tʰə-a-dzà, tʰə-a-dzě,* and *tʰə-a-dzigə.* These final three reported evidentials have internal morphology consisting of the verb of saying (*tʰə*), followed by a perfective suffix (*-a*) and then the *dzà/dzigə* reported evidential. Zhang (2013: 573) argues they are all used in free variation. This unusual construction is free-standing and is never used with an additional verb of saying. For these reasons, this set are all treated as reported evidentials. It is possible that it is a set of forms at an early stage of grammaticalisation. It is, however, in stark contrast to the more common monosyllabic particles that are usually found in these languages, as can be seen in Appendix A. The preference for reported evidentiality to be a particle is common cross-linguistically; San Roque and Loughnane's (2012) survey in Papua New Guinea found that all languages that mark reported evidentials use a particle.

Doubling of the reported evidential to achieve reported speech embedded in reported speech is not commonly noted. The only language in which reduplication is overly discussed is Nuosu (Burmo-Qiangic), where it is possible if the utterance is a direct quote within a direct quote (Gerner 2013: 378). Gawne (2015: 305) observed that duplication is not possible in Lamjung Yolmo (Bodic), instead a single reported evidential is maintained.

4.2.3 Negation

No description mentioned either the ability to take negation or a suppletive negative form. Utterances marked with reported evidential particles can contain negatives, but the reporting of the utterance with a reported evidential cannot be negated in the way a lexical verb of saying can be. Some descriptions overtly mention an inability to take negation, including Gerner (2013: 378) for Nuosu (Burmo-Qiangic) and Ding (2014: 210) for Southern Pumi (Burmo-Qiangic). de Haan (1997: 153) observes that in the relationship between negation and evidentiality, negation is often

more closely aligned with the verb. Given that we know reported evidentiality is almost always a particle in Tibeto-Burman languages, it has little to do with the verb directly, and therefore with negation.

4.2.4 Use in interrogatives

Vesalainen & Vesalainen (1980: 85) state that the reported particle cannot be used in Lhomi (Bodic) with questions, however descriptions of other languages observe that the reported form is often used in questions directed as an interlocutor to clarify something that was just said, either by the addressee or a second person, or as a self-directed question when trying to recall a word or name. This includes Tibetic languages related to Lhomi that use a *lo* cognate, including Kyirong (Huber 2005: 285), Mùwe Ké (John Archer, p.c.), Yolmo (Hari 2010:99) and Dzongkha (van Driem & Tshering 1998: 406). Further afield, but still in the Bodic group, Darma (Willis 2007: 515) and Kurtöp (Hyslop 2011: 620) also allow for the use of reported evidential in questions. It is not yet clear whether this is a feature of use common to only languages of the Bodic group, or is found more widely, but in Zaiwa (Burmo-Qiangic), the reported speech form is used specifically to ask the addressee to repeat something they or someone else said (Lustig 2010: 1012-1014). In a discussion of the relationship between evidentials and interrogativity, San Roque, Floyd & Norcliffe (2017) note that it is possible for languages to have specific evidential forms for interrogative structures. The only language where this was reported was Bumthangkha (Bodic) which has both a non-interrogative *re* and an interrogative *shu* reported evidential (van Driem 2015: 47). A similar system was not attested in any other language surveyed.

4.3   Semantic features

For no language in the survey were reported evidentials said to be obligatory in the context of reported speech, and 11 sources stated this optionality explicitly, which is unsurprising given that lexical reported speech strategies are always available to speakers as well.

4.3.1 Specificity of source

One of the main features of reported evidential variation discussed is whether the form refers to a specific speech event, or information that has been generally reported. As shown in the background (§2), this often leads to distinguishing between quotatives, which are used for a specific speech act, and reportative or hearsay categories, which are used when the report does not indicate a specific speech act. It total, the specificity of the quote was discussed in 27 of the 91 surveyed papers, which makes it one of the most commonly remarked upon semantic features of reported evidentials.

In four languages of the survey a reported evidential can be used with an overt reference, although it is not a requirement of the reported evidential in any of these languages.

In Amdo Tibetan (Bodic), it is possible for the speaker to refer to the speaker and addressee of the original speech act (Sun 1993: 985):

3) *ami*   *lhɑ̃mɔ*   *tɕho*   *ma*   *ndzo*   *se*
    mom(erg)   Lhamo(dat)   you(sg.abs)   neg   go(incom)   quot
    'mom said to Lhamo: "Don't go!" (I heard)'
    (Sun 1993: 985, ex. 37)

In Zhaba (Qiangic) the reported text can often include the logophoric pronoun *ˊtʉ*, which indicates that the referent is identical to the original speaker (Satoko 2007: 130).

4) *ˊreɴtɕi*   *ˊtʉ*   *ˉdʑədi=wu*   *ˉgə-ɴtɕi*   *ˊwu*   *ˊdɛ*
    Renchi   log   book=obj   dir-look   finish   hs.emph
    '(According to her*i*,) Renchi*i* finished reading a book.'
    (Satoko 2007: 130, ex. 6)

Although this is different from an overt speaker, it does allow for specific indication of who the original speaker was. This is not dissimilar to the structure of hybrid reported speech within the Tibetosphere (Tournadre 2008; Jacques 2016; Jacques et al. 2017:607; Lai 2017), where the verb maintains the viewpoint of the original speech act and the pronouns represent the perspective of the current speaker.

In contrast, there are languages where speakers do not consider it grammatically possible to overtly include the source of the original utterance. Guiqiong (Burmo-Qiangic), is one of the many languages where the source is never mentioned (Lì 2015: 248). Lì's translation of sentences with the Guiqiong reported evidential with "I heard that" also illustrates that the emphasis is not on who said the original utterance, but that the speaker heard it.

5) *zo*   *gutɕiɐ*   *ji-ˈwu-tsi-mu*
    3sg   Gūzán   go-gn-rep-ep
    'I heard that he is going to Gūzán'
    (Lì 2015: 248)

Similarly, in an analysis of Eastern Magar (Himalayish), Grunow-Hårsta notes that if the reported *ta* is used "the source of a report cannot be directly or explicitly stated" (2007: 167).

Note that the specificity of source can vary even between closely related varieties. In Melamchi Valley Yolmo (Bodic) Hari (2010: 61) mentions that there is "usually" an overt reference to who the original speaker was. In the Lamjung variety speakers consider this use highly unusual. The original speaker is almost never overtly referenced, and will only be overtly mentioned in a forced context (Gawne 2015).

Although only four sources mentioned the presence of an overt source of the utterance, in thirteen of the languages surveyed the reported evidential is used for one original specific quote. In Karbi (Kuki-Chin-Naga) the speech that is reported may be direct or indirect, but the quotative is used for words that were uttered by somebody specific and are then repeated (Konnerth 2014: 304).

In eleven languages the report is of a thing generally said, and does not refer back to a specific speech event by an identifiable individual. In Japhug (Rgyalrong, Burmo-Qiangic) the reported form gives "no implication that the wording reproduces that of the original speaker" (Jacques, p.c.).

In a further three languages, the reported speech particle can be used for either specific or general speech events. In Yakkha (Himalayish) the genre appears to affect the specificity of the quote, with the attested reported form used with a generic source in narratives, but indicates a specific source in other discourse genres (Schackow 2015: 506). Therefore, while the presence or absence of an overt reference to a specific speaker is not important, as discussed above, what is important is the specificity of the original utterance. Even then, a single form appears to have multiple functions. That some languages are able to use a single reported evidential for both functions is why I avoid the division between 'quotative' and 'reportative' evidential categories in my own discussion of these forms.

4.3.2 *Languages with multiple reported evidentials*

In ten of the 88 languages with reported evidentiality, multiple categories are attested. The most common division is between a 'quotative' form for specific utterances, and a 'reported' form for less direct reports. We see this division in Narua (Burmo-Qiangic) which has both a 'quote' *pi33,* used with an over source to indicate oral transmission, and 'reported' *tsi13,* used frequent in narratives. They can be used in combination, which gives a greater temporal distance for the original utterance (Lidz 2007). In Lepcha (Himalayish) *yang* is for a direct quote and *mere* is information by word of mouth (Plaisier 2007: 137-138). Similarly, Northern Pumi (Burmo-Qiangic) has a quotative *ɕə,* which follows the quoted element directly, and which contrasts with a hearsay form, which is used in narratives (Daudey 2014: 382-383, 387). Digaro-Mishmi (Mishmic) has two forms that are not as distinct as those above; *-la* indicates that a sentence has been reported once, from a specific source, while *-hala* form indicates that the content is much reported and not from a specific source (Sastry 1984).

The quotative/reported division is not the only division that has been noted. In Bumthangkha (Bodic) the distinction is between an interrogative hearsay evidential *shu* and a non-interrogative form *re* (van Driem 2015: 47). A similar system has not been attested in any other language surveyed.

4.3.3 *Semantic restrictions on reported evidentials*

There is very little description of any semantic restriction of the use of reported evidentiality. Sun & Liu's (2009:80) analysis of *-ua⁵⁵* in Anong (Nungish) notes that it is only used for hearsay/non-witnessed events in the future progressive and is restricted to third-person utterances. A similar tense restriction is not mentioned in relation to what appear to be cognate reported speech forms in the other Nungish languages, including *wǎ* in Dulong (LaPolla 2001) and *wa* in Rawang (LaPolla & Poa 2001). In no other language was any tense restriction reported, beyond the implied fact that the reported evidential is used to mark utterances that have already been made, and does not mark possible future utterances. Jacques (2017: 620) notes that in Japhug the hearsay sentence final particle k^hi "most commonly appears with the sensory evidential, but examples with the factual also exist." This is not a particularly strong restriction, but does seem to be a preference, and demonstrates the advantage of exploring a corpus of the use of reported speech in different interactional contexts.

4.3.4 Relationship to other evidential categories

While it is possible for reported evidentiality to be the only attested evidential category in a language (e.g. in Lepcha, Himalayish, Plaisier 2007), in many Tibeto-Burman languages it is part of a larger collection of evidential options. These evidentials are often not a part of the same grammatical paradigm of particles, but the reported evidential still exists in relation to these other evidential forms. It can be difficult to assess the nature of evidential systems in descriptive linguistic work prior to the mid-1980s, when evidentiality began to receive sustained attention, however in at least 26 of the sources there was discussion of other evidential categories. For example, in Qiang (Burmo-Qiangic), there is also a 'visual evidential' and 'inferred/mirative' (LaPolla 2003).

For all languages in the survey where the reported evidential can co-occur with another evidential, the reported form indicates the current speakers evidence, and the embedded evidential is the evidence for the original utterance. This is a common relationship between reported evidentials and other evidential categories cross-linguistically (Aikhenvald 2004: 92-93, San Roque & Loughnane 2012: 118). No other type of relationships was attested, although cross-linguistically in surveys beyond Tibet-Burman languages it is possible.

As mentioned in Section 4.2.1, the reported speech form is most likely to be a free particle. In the descriptions of other evidential categories they are often not free-standing particles, but incorporated into the verbal template. This allows for the reported speech particle to co-occur with other evidentials. Sun (1993: 984) makes explicit mention of this in Amdo Tibetan, illustrating that the embedded evidential form relates to the evidence for the original utterance, while the reported particle indicates the current speaker's evidence. In (6) the original speaker's evidence is direct, while in (7) it is indirect

6) *adæ   təb=wə   tʰæ   se*
   uncle   faint=away   dir   quot
   'uncle passed out" (I heard from eyewitnesses)'
   (Sun 1993: 984, ex. 36a)

7) *adæ   təb=sʰoŋ=zəg   se*
   uncle   faint=aux=indir   quot
   'uncle passed out" (I heard from uncle himself)'
   (Sun 1993: 984, ex. 36b)

If the reported evidential is a particle, it may also contrast or co-occur with other particles in the language. For example, in Garo (Brahmaputran) there are also particles for interrogative, emphatic, doubt and surprise, which the reported speech form can co-occur with (Burling 1961: 73-74).

4.3.5 Origins of reported evidentials

Twenty-one sources made comment on the origins of the reported evidential forms in the language. Sixteen argue that the reported speech form grammaticalised from a verb of saying, either current or historic, I discuss these in more detail below.

Three descriptions state that the origin of the reported speech form in a language is not clear. Post's (2007) reconstruction of Proto-Tani includes a reportative particle, indicating perhaps

a richer time-depth for the reported evidential than we see in other languages. In Bumthangkha (Bodish) van Driem notes that it is a "remarkable coincidence" (2015: 47) that the form in the language *re* is identical to that in Nepali, but offers no account for its origin. Saxena (1988: 377) makes clear that the Jingpho (Brahmaputran) form is not related to the verb of saying, but makes no suggestion of another possible origin.

The final three all have forms borrowed from larger contact languages, which is a known pathway for languages to acquire evidential forms (Aikhenvald 2018b: 171). Likewise, the Dura (Bodish) reported evidential is *re*, borrowed from the Nepali reported evidential (Nicholas Schorer p.c.). The Pa'o (Karenic) reported speech form also appears to be a borrowing, in this case from Burmese (Alys Boote Cooper p.c.).

Grammaticalisation from a verb of speech is a common path for reported evidentials cross-linguistically (Friedman 2018). Languages where the reported evidential is linked to a verb of saying occur across the Tibeto-Burman group; including in Nuosu (Burmo-Qiangic) (Gerner 2013), Rawang (Nungish) (LaPolla & Poa 2001), Pumi (Burmo-Qiangic) (Daudey 2014 for Northern, Ding 2014 for Southern) and Eastern Kayah (Karenic) (Solnit 1986). This indicating that even if the grammatical category is long established it continues to be re-innovated across the family. This accords with Friedman's (2018: 146) assessment of the development of evidentiality cross-linguistically, where we most often see shallow time-depth in reconstruction of forms.

Within some sub-groups cognate reported evidentials are easy to observe. Thurgood (1986: 221) notes that the form of the reported evidential *djé* in Akha (Burmo-Qiangic) is cognate with that related languages, including Phnoi *cè*, Bisu *kyì/tsì* and Mpi *tçe¹*.

Zooming in to the Bodic group, where 22 languages have attested reported evidentials, we can see how they pattern across a single family group of languages. Table 2 lists each language, and the attested evidential form. The sub-groupings that are of relevance are also given.

Sub-group	Language	Form	Reference
Tibetic, Amdo	Tibetan, Amdo	se	Sun (1993)
Tibetic, Tibetan	Tibetan, Central	-s	Tournadre & Dorje (2003: 214)
Tibetic, South-Western Tibetic	Helambu Sherpa	lo	Hari (2010)
	Jirel	-lo	Maibaum & Strahm (1973)
	Kagate	lo	Höhlig (1978)
	Kyerung	lo	Huber (2005)
	Lhomi	lo	Vesalainen & Vesalainen (1980)
	Mùwe Ké	-lo	Jon Archer (p.c.)

	Sherpa	lò	Kelly (2004)
Tibetic, Sothern-Tibetic	Dzongkha	lo	Driem & Tsering (1998)
Tibetic, Kham-Hor	Tibetan, Khams	-sə	Hongladarom (2007)
Tibetic, North-Western Tibetic	Balti	lo	Zeisler (2004)
	Ladakhi	lo	Zeisler (2004)
	Purik	lo	Zeisler (2004)
Tshangla-East Bodish, East Bodish	Bumthangkha	shu/re	van Driem (2015)
	Kurtöp	=ri	Hyslop (2011)
Kaike-Ghale-Tamangic	Kaike	ru	Regmi (2013)
	Chantyal	ro	Noonan (2003)
	Manangba	ro	Hildebrandt (2004)
	Tamang, Eastern	ro	Lee (2011)
	Tamang, Western	ro	Everitt (1973)
West Himalayish	Darma	la	Willis (2007)

Table 2. The reported evidential attested in the Bodic group

Within the Tibetic (Tournadre 2014) languages of this family, the reported evidential forms grammaticalised from two lexical verbs; the first is *zlo* 'repeat/say'*,* and a small number of others with *-s* or a related form, from <zer>. Those that use the *lo* form are languages of the South-Western, Southern and North-Western Tibetic groups, their widespread indicating that this form would possibly have been present relatively early in the spread of the Tibetic varieties across the region. They appear to share a cognate with languages of the Kaike-Ghale-Tamangic group which have a shared *ro* form (other than Kaike). The Bumthangkha form that van Driem could not place is perhaps related to the Kurtöp form *=ri*, as they are both in the East Bodish group.

4.4 *Discourse features*

In this section I discuss discourse features of reported evidentials, including epistemic effect (§4.4.1) and distribution by genre (§4.4.2). Documentation of evidentiality is increasingly sensitive to interactional effect, and we see variation across the family in regard to these features. Aikhenvald (2004: 137) notes that it is important to separate grammatical evidential strategies of reporting speech from the reporting with lexical verbs of saying, as the two strategies "often differ in their semantic nuances, and their function and usage". With clearer parameters for documenting the grammatical and syntactic features, linguists doing documentation can focus more on these discourse features in the description of reported evidentiality.

4.4.1 *Epistemic effect*

In the sixteen sources that discuss the epistemic effect of using reported evidentiality, speakers can use it to achieve a variety of mitigating effects on their stance towards the propositional content. In the majority of cases, this effect is to weaken epistemic stance. In Southern Pumi (Burmo-Qiangic) the use of the reported evidential mitigates speaker's certainty of the truth value of an utterance (Ding 2014: 211). In languages like Daai Chin (Kuki-Chin-Naga), the effect appears to be even stronger, with use indicating that the evidence for the utterance "is only weakly reliable" (So-Hartmann 2009: 297). This is in keeping with a common observation regarding reported evidentials in the general evidential literature (see §2), but it is not the only relationship that reported evidentials have with epistemic certainty. In Kham (Himalayish) Watters is clear to note that use does not express doubt, but "only disavows firsthand responsibility" (1997: 603). Gawne (2015: 314) argues that reported evidentiality in Yolmo can be used to assert a stronger claim as to the veracity of the reported content, by appealing to the knowledge state of the person who made the original report. This is more in keeping with the general literature on reported speech, where both weakening and strengthening effects are observed (Spronck 2017).

4.4.2 *Genre distribution*

There are 33 languages where genre-specific use is noted, making it the most frequently discussed feature of reported evidentiality in the survey. Narrative use is the most frequently mentioned, although reported evidentiality is never discussed as exclusively occurring in narrative. Folk stories are often particularly singled out, see Dolakha Newar (Himalayish) (Genetti 2007: 258), Magar (Himalayish) (Grunow-Hårsta 2007: 171), Thangmi (Himalayish) (Turin 2012: 445), Ersu (Burmo-Qiangic) (Zhang 2013: 571) and Galo (Macro-Tani) (Post 2007:632). Further distinctions in narrative genre are not made explicit. Within narratives the reported evidential may occur frequently, as in Lahu (Burmo-Qiangic) (Matisoff 1982: 380) and Kham (Himalayish) (Watters 1997: 609), or may be used less frequently, in which case it may indicate discourse structure in narratives, such as in Wadu Pumi (Burmo-Qiangic) (Daudey 2014: 387) and Yamphu (Himalayish) (Rutgers 1998: 309).

The form used in narratives may also be modified, or occur in genre specific structures, such as in Qiang (LaPolla 2003: 204), where in narratives of events in the distant past it often occurs with the inferential marker, or in Southern Pumi (Ding 2014: 210) where the reported evidential occurs along with the verb of saying.

Documentation of a handful of languages mentions other genre distributions. In Daai Chin (Kuki-Chin-Naga) So-Hartmann (2009: 297) makes it clear that it is not just folk narratives where

the reported evidential occurs, but also true-life stories and everyday narratives. Everitt (1973: 200) observes that Western Tamang (Bodic) reported evidentials are often used in conversation, not just narratives. In Manangba (Bodic) Hildebrandt (2004: 94) notes that the reported evidential often occurs in elicitation situations, where people are treating the elicitation target as not being their own speech. Two authors mention different interactions between a reported speech form and imperative constructions; in Lahu Matisoff (1982: 380) mentions a stylistic option where the reported speech form is "occasionally used in an imperative one is repeating for the second time", while in Chintang (Himalayish) use with an imperative indicates a command by proxy Paudyal (forthcoming: 279).

4.5   Terminology

Although I have mostly been referring to reported evidentiality, a range of terms have been used in the documentation of this phenomenon. In this section I discuss these terms, and how they relate to the features and function described. Table 3 is a summary of the terms used in discussion of this feature. I have grouped together related terms; for example we find reported speech, 'reportative', 'reported' and 'reported information', which I combine under the umbrella 'reported', and 'quote', 'quotative' and 'quoted' under 'quote'. As mentioned in the methodology, this survey only covers the English language literature, and other traditions may exist in other languages. The total is greater than 88 as some researchers used two terms. This happened when there were two evidentials of reported speech in the one languages (see §4.3.2), but also in situations where a form is discussed under multiple terms, such as van Driem's discussion of the ʔe particle in Dumi (Himalayish) as a "reported speech or 'hearsay evidential'" (1993: 263).

Term	Use
hearsay	34
report	32
quote	21
other/none	14
total	**96**

Table 3 Terminology used in discussion of reported evidentiality

The count above demonstrates that researchers working on Tibeto-Burman languages are using similar terminology to those working on evidentiality more generally or in other areas of the world, but there is no single way of discussing the phenomenon in these languages. Under other/none was Opgenort's (2004: 354-55) discussion of the 'second-hand' form in Wambule (Himalayish), and Gerner's (2013) reference to the Nuosu (Ngwi-Burmese) 'coverb'. The twelve

others are either where the author has given a gloss as prt or particle, has given a lexical gloss such as 'say', or refers to the reported evidential particle by its form without labelling it.

While larger typological surveys of evidentiality have clear definitional motivations, in this survey it is unclear if there is any consistency in how the different terms for reported evidentials are applied. For example, of the 16 forms that were discussed as having reduced epistemic certainty four were labeled 'reported', four were labeled 'quotative' and six were labeled 'hearsay' (with two not given labels). With reduced certainty we might expect that the term 'hearsay' would apply, as it is for information that is not from a specific source, as per Aikhenvald (2004) (§2). Similarly, in 12 languages it was noted that the reported evidential is used with a direct quote. This was referred to as a 'quotative' in six languages, 'reported' in two languages, 'hearsay' in two and 'reported/hearsay' in another. Here, a direct quote from a specific individual fits the category of 'quotative' as per Aikhenvald (2004, 2018).

Sometimes researchers choose a particular term because it was the one preferred by other researchers working on closely related languages, such as van Breugel's (2008: 483) use of 'quotative' for Atong (Brahmaputran). With more detailed understanding of the common parameters of reported evidentiality it will be possible for future descriptive work to be more sensitive to the variation in features and the terminology used to describe different reported speech types. This could subsequently lead to more standardized terminology in the typological literature.[1] For now, it is clear that typologists and readers of descriptive grammars cannot assume that there is consistency in the application of terminology when it comes to labelling reported evidential types in descriptive grammars.

5 Discussion

Aside from the most immediate observation that there are many languages of the Tibeto-Burman family for which we lack even basic documentation, where languages are documented the reported evidential is a feature that is found across the family. Almost 20% of the languages in the family are known to have reported evidentials, which is 67% of the languages with sufficient documentation to have been included in the survey.

Reported evidentials are most likely to be free particles or clitics, with no internal morphology, and unlikely to interact with negation. We do find some interaction with interrogatives, where this is mentioned at all. There is a great deal more variation when it comes to discussing the semantic and discourse features of the reported evidential. There is variation in the specificity of the source of the reported content, which does not always necessarily have anything to do with whether an original speaker is overtly mentioned. In some languages, like Karbi, we saw that the reported content is always from someone specific, while in Yakkha, the specificity of the quote depended on the genre and context. For languages where there are multiple evidentials, the distinction between a 'quotative' and 'reported/hearsay' appears to be the most useful distinction, which supports Aikhenvald's (2004, 2018a) division of these categories.

Where the origins of reported evidentials are made clear, they are often associated with a current or former reported speech verb, which is what has been observed in the literature in other language families as well. Even within groups that share a common reported evidential etymon, we see variation in the specificity of source. This may be an artefact of the limited description of

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[1] Although I have been using the term 'reported evidential' throughout this paper, I acknowledge that there are different preferences for different scholars. My thanks to one reviewer for the suggestion of the term 'reportative'.

these languages, but more likely points to the fact that reported evidentiality is grounded in the specific discourse context of the community of speakers who use it, and a sensitive approach to the function of this evidential category is needed for even basic documentation of its use.

While descriptive linguists are generally aware of the appropriate terminology with regards to reported evidentials, one clear difference between the typological literature and the literature surveyed in this article, is the lack of consistency in applying terminology to reported evidentiality with the Tibeto-Burman documentation tradition. While broader surveys of evidential categories are often clear to distinguish between a category that refers to a direct speech and one that refers to a speech act without any implicature that it originated from a single, specific source, it is apparent that this division did not hold in the Tibeto-Burman descriptive literature with any consistency. This is possibly because specificity of the source is not always so straightforward in these languages. As demonstrated in Section 4.3.1, while there is variation in whether an overt source can be referenced, there is also variation in specificity even for languages where an overt source of the report is dispreferred. While some languages do distinguish between a specific quotative and a general reported evidential (§4.3.2.), others rely on context to give a single form these two different functions.

How much of this variation is a reflection of the actual function of the reported evidential, and how much of it is a reflection of the paucity of documentation is as yet unclear. While this survey was primarily conducted to understand where reported evidentiality in the Tibeto-Burman sits with regard to the broader typological literature on evidentiality, it also provides fieldworkers with a set of parameters for understanding reported evidentiality, which will hopefully help to support better documentation in the future. In the spirit of Aikhenvald's (2018a: 37-40) 'fieldworker guide' to documenting evidentiality, I have provided an overview checklist in Appendix D of the main features of reported evidentiality, to help facilitate clearer documentation in the future. Future description of reported evidentiality would benefit from clearer description of the various parameters discussed above, as well as more attention to the discourse context in which the form is used. Reported evidentiality is ultimately about a speaker's relationship with another person's report. Unlike many other evidential types, reported evidentiality is not just reporting on a speaker's experience of an event or state, but information mediated through social interaction and prior utterances. Understanding the dimensions of reported evidentiality can help us understand the role of socially-mediated information in interaction.

6 Conclusion

In this article, I have presented a survey of reported evidentiality across the Tibeto-Burman family. This survey has confirmed that the reported evidential is highly prevalent, and can be found in all sub-branches of the family. Overall, the features of reported evidentiality in these languages are varied, even at times in closely related languages. Reported evidentiality in Tibeto-Burman languages shares many commonalities with similar categories observed more widely in the typological literature, but also demonstrates that we need more detailed documentation and description. By presenting the first major investigation into reported evidentials across this family, we now have a better understanding of this often under-described feature. We also have a clearer set of features that can be used to help researchers document and describe reported evidentiality, in both the Tibeto-Burman family and other language families.

Abbreviations

2	second person	INCOM	incomplete
3	third person	INDIR	indirect evidential
ABS	absolutive	NEG	negative
AUX	auxiliary	NOM	nominative
COMP	copula	LOG	logophoric
DAT	dative	NON.PST	non-past tense
DIR	direct evidential	OBJ	object
EMPH	emphatic	PE	perceptual evidential
ERG	ergative	PST	past
EP	present tense experienced perception	QUOT	quotative
GN	gnomic tense marker and agentive nominaliser	REP	reported speech
HS	hearsay	SG	singular

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Appendix A: Survey methodology

I started with the list of languages with ISO 639-3 codes in the Tibeto-Burman family as given on Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2013). Although this list has its limitations (see Morey et al. 2013), it provided a useful overview of the family. I did not restrict myself to only languages with ISO 639-3 codes; see, for example, the inclusion of Tangam, which is considered a dialect of Adi within Ethnologue, but it treated as distinct as per Mark Post (p.c.). Discovery of documentation for many languages was facilitated by Glottolog[2] (Hammarström et al. 2015), and the classifications of the languages that are referenced in this paper are drawn from Glottolog, as is the geolocation data used in the spatial representations of the data. This survey started before the online release of Glottolog 2.2 in 2013. Further analysis, such as distribution within Tibeto-Burman (§4.1) uses Glottolog.

For most languages only one relevant source was found, while for other languages a second source was used to confirm the absence of a reported evidential, or provide more information. I only count the main source I used. These second references are, however, noted in the bibliographic information in the included materials. The majority (91/130) of sources consulted were descriptive grammars, however journals also provided a number of sources (29/130), thanks in part to the growing genre of articles that discuss evidential systems in detail. The 2007 special issue on evidentiality in *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* provided a wealth of data that was more detailed than that usually found in descriptive grammars. Collections of texts also provided evidence of the presence of reported evidentiality in two languages, LaPolla (2001) for Dulong (Brahmaputran) and Maibaum & Strahm (1973) for Jirel (Bodic). Resources included were all in English, which was not an intentional initial parameter of the survey, but was the state of the list of materials at the end of the collection period. When existing written documentation had been exhausted, I emailed the Tibeto-Burman mailing list (August 2015). This allowed me to add details of the reported speech form, or discount its existence for eight languages.

For those languages that did have a reported evidential, I collected information about its structure and use. Where possible, information about other evidential distinctions in the language were also noted, but as many grammatical descriptions made prior to the 1990s did not include a discussion of evidentiality as a distinct grammatical category (see Aikhenvald 2014: 18), this was an ad hoc process rather than the systematic review used for the reported evidential. As discussed in the introduction, reported evidentiality often occurs in the absence of other evidential categories, or in a distinct grammatical slot from the main evidential paradigm, therefore, a survey that focuses on this evidential category alone can still inform us about reported evidentiality. It quickly became apparent that many descriptions lacked sufficient detail to provide a comprehensive cross-linguistic analysis of the features of reported evidentiality. I therefore do not present this as a structured survey, but discuss themes that emerged from the data more generally.

Examples throughout this paper are given using the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Bickel et al. 2008). Where examples are quoted from other sources attempts have been made to ensure that glossing conforms to the Leipzig Glossing Rules. Where this has not been possible see the abbreviations list at the end of this paper.

An earlier version of this work was presented at the International Workshop on Typological Profiles of Language Families of South Asia, at Uppsala University in September 2016. Since then

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[2] http://glottolog.org/

a number of new references have been added. As a result both raw count and percentages are now different. These results are an update on those at the workshops.

Appendix B: Languages with reported evidentiality attested

At the end of the survey period, I had 448 individual Tibeto-Burman languages. Of this total, 130 had sufficient description for the survey, and 88 of those descriptions included mention of a reported evidential. Those languages are listed below, along with their sub-group, ISO 639-3 code, the form of the reported evidential in the orthography of the original grammar, and reference(s).

Language	ISO 639-3	Sub-group	Form	Reference
Digaro-Mishmi	mhu	Mishmic	-la / -hala	Sastry, G. Devi Prasada. 1984. *Mishi grammar*. Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
Lepcha	lep	Himalayish	mere / yang	Plaisier, Heleen. 2007. *A grammar of Lepcha*. Leiden; Boston: Brill.
Anong	nun	Nungish	-ua^{55}	Sun, Hongkai, & Guankun Liu. 2009. *A grammar of Anong: Language death under intense contact*. Leiden: Brill.
Drung	duu	Nungish	wǎ	LaPolla, Randy J. 2001. Dulong texts: Seven fully analyzed narrative and procedural texts. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 24(2). 1–39; LaPolla, Randy J. 2003. Dulong. In Graham Thurgood & Randy J. LaPolla (eds.), *The Sino-Tibetan languages*, 674–682. London; New York: Routledge.
Rawang	raw	Nungish	wa	Morse, Robert H. 1965. Syntactic frames for the Rvwàng (Rawang) verb. *Lingua* 15. 338–369. ; LaPolla, Randy J. & Dory Poa. 2001. *Rawang texts, with grammatical analysis and English translation*. Berlin: Lincom. ; Nathan Straub. personal communication. RS in TB survey. August 5th 2015.
Adi	adi	Macro-Tani	naikə	Post, Mark W. personal communication. Email 5th August 2015.
Adi, Galo	adl	Macro-Tani	jùu / jukə̀	Post, Mark W. 2007. *A Grammar of Galo*. Melbourne: La Trobe University Doctoral dissertation.
Apatani	apt	Macro-Tani	júkè	Post, Mark W. personal communication. Email 5th August 2015.
Tangam		Macro-Tani	neikə	Post, Mark W. personal communication. Email 5th August 2015.
Kayah, Eastern	eky	Karenic	hé	David B. Solnit. 1986. *A grammatical sketch of Eastern Kayah (Red Karen)*. Berkeley: University of California Doctoral disseration.
Pa'o	blk	Karenic	tae	Boote Cooper, Alys. Personal communication. Email 22th August 2016.
Zaiwa	atb	Burmo-Qiangic	(N)o	Lustig, Anton. 2010. *A Grammar and Dictionary of Zaiwa*. Leiden: Brill.
Burmese	mya	Burmo-Qiangic	hsou / loú / té	Okell, John. 1969. A reference grammar of colloquial Burmese. London: Oxford University Press.
Lahu	lhu	Burmo-Qiangic	cê	Matisoff, James A. 1982. *The grammar of Lahu*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Lisu	lis	Burmo-Qiangic	dʒo21	Yu, Defen. 2007. *Aspects of Lisu phonology and grammar, A language of Southeast Asia*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics. ; David Bradley. 2010. Evidence and certainty in Lisu. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 33(2). 151-171.
Nuosu	iii	Burmo-Qiangic	ddix	Gerner, Matthias. 2013. *A grammar of Nuosu*. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
Akha	ahk	Burmo-Qiangic	djé	Thurgood, Graham. 1986. The nature and origins of the Akha evidential system. In W. Chafe & J. Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology,* 214-222. Norwood, N. J.: Ablex.
Bisu	bzi	Burmo-Qiangic	kyì / tsì	Thurgood, Graham. 1986. The nature and origins of the Akha evidential system. In W. Chafe & J. Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology,* 214-222. Norwood, N. J.: Ablex.
Mpi	mpz	Burmo-Qiangic	tçe1	Thurgood, Graham. 1986. The nature and origins of the Akha evidential system. In W. Chafe & J. Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology,* 214-222. Norwood, N. J.: Ablex.

Phunoi	pho	Burmo-Qiangic	cè	Thurgood, Graham. 1986. The nature and origins of the Akha evidential system. In W. Chafe & J. Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology,* 214-222. Norwood, N. J.: Ablex.
Ersu	ers	Burmo-Qiangic	=dzà / / tʰə-ɑ-dʑigə	Zhang, Sihong. 2013. *A reference grammar of Ersu: a Tibeto-Burman language of China.* Cairns: James Cook University Doctoral dissertation.
Narua	nru	Burmo-Qiangic	tsi13 / pi33	Lidz, Liberty A. 2007. Evidentiality in Yongning Na (Mosuo). *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30(2). 45-87.
Naxi	nxq	Burmo-Qiangic	tsʅ55	Liu, Jun [柳俊]. 2012. A Preliminary Study on Evidentiality in the Naxi Language. MA dissertation, Yunnan University of Nationalities./Liu, Jun. 2015. The Emerging of Evidentiality: a Case Study on Naxi. Proceedings of ICYLL6, Chengdu, 2012.11.
Guiqiong	gqi	Burmo-Qiangic	tsi	Lì, Jiāng. 2015. *A Grammar of Guìqióng.* Leiden: Brill.
Pumi, Northern	pmi	Burmo-Qiangic	ɕə / tɕɑw	Daudey, Henriëtte. 2014. *A grammar of Wadu Pumi.* Melbourne: La Trobe University Doctoral dissertation.
Pumi, Southern	pmj	Burmo-Qiangic	tʃɨ	Ding, Picus. 2014. *A grammar of Prinmi.* Leiden: Brill.
Qiang, Northern	cng	Burmo-Qiangic	-i	LaPolla, Randy J. & Chenglong Huang. 2003. *A grammar of Qiang with annotated texts and glossary.* Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Zhaba	zhb	Burmo-Qiangic	dɛ	Satoko, Shirai. 2007. Evidentials and evidential-like categories in nDrapa. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30. 125-151.
Rgyalron (Japhug)	jya	Burmo-Qiangic	-kʰi	Jacques, Guillaume (Xiang Bolin). 2008. *Jiarongyu yanjiu.* Beijing: Minzu Press.
sTodsde	jih	Burmo-Qiangic	-u	Huang, Chenglong. 2004. *Qiang yu Puxi hua can kao yu fa.* Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Doctoral disseration.
Kok Borok	trp	Brahmaputran	hŵn- / hin-	Jacquesson, F. 2008. *A Kokborok Grammar.* Kokborok tei Hukumu Mission.
Garo	grt	Brahmaputran	-na	Burling, Robbins. 1961. *A Garo grammar.* Pune: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute.
Atong	aot	Brahmaputran	=no	Breugel, Seino van. 2008. *A Grammar of Atong.* Melbourne: LaTrobe University Doctoral disseration.
Rabha	rah	Brahmaputran		Joseph, U.V. 2007. *Rabha.* Leiden: Brill.
Ruga	ruh	Brahmaputran	-na	Burling, Robbins. 2004. The language and the people. In *The language of the Modhupur Mandi (Garo),* 9-16. New Delhi: Bibliophile South Asia.
Jingpho	kac	Brahmaputran	taʔ3	Saxena, Anju. 1988. On syntactic convergence: the case of the verb 'say'in Tibeto-Burman. *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 14. 375-388.
Singpho	sgp	Brahmaputran	ska	Morey, Stephen. 2010. *Turung: a variety of Singpho language spoken in Assam.* Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
Turung	try	Brahmaputran	ska	Morey, Stephen. 2010. *Turung: a variety of Singpho language spoken in Assam.* Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
Kadu	zkd	Brahmaputran	ták	Sangdong, David. 2012. *A grammar of the Kadu (Asak) language.* Melbourne: La Trobe Doctoral dissertation.
Naga, Angami	njm	Kuki-Chin-Naga	ədi/ idi	Giridhar, Puttushetra Puttuswamy. 1980. *Angami grammar.* Mysore: Central Institute of Indian languages.
Naga, Ao	njo	Kuki-Chin-Naga	tə̀ɹ	Coupe, Alexander R. 2007. *A grammar of Mongsen Ao.* Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Karbi	mjw	Kuki-Chin-Naga	pu	Konnerth, Linda. 2014. *A grammar of Karbi.* Oregon: University of Oregon Doctoral dissertation.
Chin, Daai	dao	Kuki-Chin-Naga	mjoh	So-Hartmann, Helga. 2009. *A descriptive grammar of Daai Chin.* Berkely: University of California.
Meitei	mni	Kuki-Chin-Naga		Chelliah, Shobhana L. 1997. *A grammar of Meithei.* Amsterdam: Walter de Gruyter.

Naga, Tangkhul	nmf	Kuki-Chin-Naga	ciyici	Arokianathan, S. 1987. *Tangkhul Naga Grammar.* Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
Naga, Makuri	jmn	Kuki-Chin-Naga	zë	Shi, Vong Tsuh. 2009. *Discourse studies of Makuri Naga narratives.* Chiang Mai: Payap University MA dissertation.
Naga, Para	pzn	Kuki-Chin-Naga	tdi / tdix	Barkman, Tiffany. 2014. *A descriptive grammar of Jejara (Para Naga).* Payap University MA dissertation.
Tibetan, Amdo	adx	Bodic	se	Jackson T.-S. Sun. 1993. Evidentials in Amdo Tibetan. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 63(4). 143-188.
Tibetan, Central	bod	Bodic	-s	Zeisler, Bettina. 2000. Narrative conventions in Tibetan Language: The issue of mirativity. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 23(2). 39-77; Goldstein, Melvyn C. & Nawang Nornang. 1970. *Modern spoken Tibetan: Lhasa dialect.* Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
Helambu Sherpa	scp	Bodic	lo	Hari, Anna Maria. 2010. *Yohlmo Sketch Grammar.* Kathmandu: Ekta books.
Jirel	jul	Bodic	-lo	Maibaum, Anita & Esther Strahm. 1973. Jirel texts. In A. Hale (ed.), *Clause, sentence and discouse patterns in selected Languages of Nepal* (vol. 4 word lists), 177-300. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
Kagate	syw	Bodic	lo	Höhlig, Monika. 1978. Speaker orientation in Syuwa (Kagate). In J. E. Grimes (ed.), *Papers on discourse*, 19-24. Kathmandu: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
Kyerung	kgy	Bodic	lo	Huber, Brigitte. 2005. *The Tibetan dialect of Lende (Kyirong).* Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag.
Lhomi	lmh	Bodic	lo	Vesalainen, Olavi & Marja Vesalainen. 1980. *Clause patterns in Lhomi.* Canberra: Australian National University.
Mùwe Ké	muk	Bodic	-lo	Jon Archer. personal communication. Email 14th August 2015.
Sherpa	xsr	Bodic	lò	Kelly, Barbara F. 2004. A grammar of Sherpa. In C. Genetti (ed.), *Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal: Manange and Sherpa*, 232-440. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
Dzongkha	dzo	Bodic	lo	Driem, George van & Tshering Karma. *1998.* Dzongkha. Leiden, The Netherlands: Research School CNWS.
Tibetan, Khams	khg	Bodic	-sə / jŷ teâ	Hongladarom, Krisadawan. 2007. Evidentiality in Rgyalthang Tibetan. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30(2). 17-44.
Balti	bft	Bodic	lo	Zeisler, Bettina. 2004. *Relative tense and aspectual values in Tibetan languages: a comparative study.* Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Ladakhi	lbj	Bodic	lo	Zeisler, Bettina. 2004. *Relative tense and aspectual values in Tibetan languages: a comparative study.* Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Purik	prx	Bodic	lo	Zeisler, Bettina. 2004. *Relative tense and aspectual values in Tibetan languages: a comparative study.* Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Bumthangkha a	kjz	Bodic	shu / re	Driem, George van. 2015. Synoptic grammar of the Bumthang language: A language of the central Bhutan highlands. *Himalayan Linguistics* 6. 1-77.
Kurtokha	xkz	Bodic	=ri	Hyslop, Gwendolyn. 2011. *A grammar of Kurtöp.* Eugene: University of Oregon Doctoral dissertation.
Kaike	kzq	Bodic	ru	Regmi, Ambika. 2013. *A grammar of Magar Kaike.* Muenchen: Lincom.
Chantyal	chx	Bodic	ro	Noonan, Michael. 2003. Chantyal. In G. Thurgood and R. LaPolla (eds.), *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*, 315-335. London; New York: Routledge.
Manangba	nmm	Bodic	ro	Hildebrandt, Kristine A. 2004. A grammar and glossary of the Manange language. In C. Genetti (ed.), *Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal: Manange and Sherpa*, 1-192. Pacific Linguistics.
Tamang, Eastern	taj	Bodic	ro	Lee, Sung-Woo. 2011. *Eastern Tamang grammar sketch.* Dallas: Graduate Institute of Applied Arts Doctoral dissertation.
Tamang, Western	tdg	Bodic	ro	Everitt, Fay. 1973. Sentence patterns in Tamang. In Ronald L. Trail (ed.), *Patterns in clause, sentence, and discourse in selected languages of India and Nepal*, 197-234. Kathmandu: Summer Institute of Linguistics

Darma	drd	Bodic	la	Willis, Christina M. 2007. *A descriptive grammar of Darma: an endangered Tibeto-Burman language.* Austin: University of Texas Doctoral dissertation.
Dura	drq	Bodic	re	Nicholas Schorer. Personal communication. Email 1th February 2017.
Kham, Western Parbate	kjl	Himalayish	di	Watters, David E. 1997. *The Kham language of West-Central Nepal (Takale dialect).* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Doctoral dissertation.
Magar, Eastern	mgp	Himalayish	ta	Grunow-Hårsta, Karen. 2007. Evidentiality and Mirativity in Magar. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30(2). 151-194.
Magar, Western	mrd	Himalayish	ta	Grunow-Hårsta, Karen. 2007. Evidentiality and Mirativity in Magar. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30(2). 151-194.
Newar	new	Himalayish	hā	Genetti, Carol. 2007. *Dolakha Newar.* Berlin; New York: Mouton De Gruyter. ; Hale, Austin & Kedār P. Shrestha. 2006. *Newār: Nepāl bāhās.* Muenchen: Lincom.
Baram	brd	Himalayish	na	Kansakar, Tej R., Yogendra P. Yadava, Krishna Prasad Chalise, Balaram Prasain, Dubi Nanda Dhakal & Krishna Paudel. 2011. *A Grammar of Baram.* Kathmandu: Central Department of Linguistics and National Foundation for Development of Indigenous Nationalities.
Thangmi	thf	Himalayish	ŋa	Turin, Mark. 2012. *A grammar of the Thangmi language.* Leiden: Brill.
Bantawa	bap	Himalayish	ni	Doornenbal, Marius. 2009. *A grammar of Bantawa.* Utrecht: Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics Doctoral dissertation.
Belhariya	byw	Himalayish	=phu ~ =bu	Bickel, Balthasar. 2003. Belhare. In Graham Thurgood & Randy J. LaPolla (eds.), *The Sino-Tibetan Languages*, 546-570. London; New York: Routledge.
Chamling	rab	Himalayish	raicha / ar(e)	Ebert, Karen H. 1997. *Camling (Chamling).* Mèunchen: Lincom.
Chhintang	ctn	Himalayish	mo / pho	Paudyal, Netra Prasad. forthcoming. *grammar of Chintang.*
Kulung	kle	Himalayish	-tʰe	Tolsma, Gerard Jacobus. 2006. *A grammar of Kulung.* Leiden; Boston: Brill.
Limbu	lif	Himalayish	mu	van Driem, George. 1987. *A grammar of Limbu.* Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Yakkha	ybh	Himalayish	=bu	Shackow, Diana. 2015. *A grammar of Yakkha.* Berlin: Language Science Press.
Yamphu	ybi	Himalayish	-lo	Rutgers, Roland. 1998. *Yamphu: Grammar, texts & lexicon.* Leiden: Research School CNWS.
Dumi	dus	Himalayish	ʔe	George van Driem. 1993. A grammar of Dumi. Berlin ; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Koi	kkt	Himalayish	tʰe	Lahaussois, Aimée. 2009. Koyi Rai: An Initial Grammatical Sketch. *Himalayan Linguistics* 4. 1-33.
Thulung	tdh	Himalayish	-ʔe	Lahaussois, Aimée. 2003. Thulung Rai. *Himalayan Linguistics* 1. 1-25.
Wambule	wme	Himalayish	dyame ~ dyam	Opgenort, Jean Robert. 2004. *The Wāmbule Language: grammar, lexicon, texts and cultural survey of a Rai-Kiranti tribe of Eastern Nepal.* Leiden: Brill.

Appendix C: Languages with no reported evidentiality attested

Of the 130 languages with sufficient description for the survey, 42 of those descriptions did not include mention of a reported evidential. Those languages are listed below, along with their sub-group, ISO 639-3 code and reference(s).

Language	ISO 639-3	Sub-group	Reference
Mising	mrg	Macro-Tani	Jack F. Needham. 1886. An Outline Grammar of the Shaíyâng Miri Language. Shillong: Assam Secretariat Press. 155pp.; Bal Ram Prasad. 1991. Mising Grammar. (Central Institute of Indian Languages: Grammar Series, 17.) In G.D.P. Sastry and P.T. Abraham (eds.) Mysore, India: Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages. 143pp.
Nyishi	njz	Macro-Tani	Abraham, P. T. 2005. A Grammar of Nyishi Language. Delhi: Farsight Publishers and Distributors. 131pp.; Post, Mark W. personal communication. Email 5th August 2015.
Karen, Geba	kvq	Karenic	Shee, Naw Hsar. 2008. *A descriptive grammar of Geba Karen*. Chian Mai: Payap University Doctoral dissertation.
Zayein	kxk	Karenic	Naw, Hsa Eh Ywar. 2013. *A grammar of Kayan Lahta*. Chiang Mai: Payap University MA dissertation.
Karen, S'gaw	ksw	Karenic	Jones, Jr., Robert B. 1961. *Karen linguistic studies: description, comparison and texts*. Berkeley: Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Chin, Anu-Hkongso	anl	Mruic	Wright, Jonathan Michael. 2009. *Hkongso grammar sketch*. Dallas: The Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics MA dissertation.
Lalo, Central	ywt	Burmo-Qiangic	Björverud, Susanna. 1998. *A grammar of Lalo*. Lund: Lund University.
Lalo, Dongshanba	yik	Burmo-Qiangic	Björverud, Susanna. 1998. *A grammar of Lalo*. Lund: Lund University.
Lalu, Eastern	yit	Burmo-Qiangic	Björverud, Susanna. 1998. *A grammar of Lalo*. Lund: Lund University.
Shixing	sxg	Burmo-Qiangic	Chirkova, Katia. 2009. Shǐxīng, a Sino-Tibetan language of South-West China: A grammatical sketch with two appended texts. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 32. 1-89.
Lavrung	jiq	Burmo-Qiangic	Yin, Weibing [尹蔚彬]. 2007. *A Study on Yelong Lavrung* [业隆拉坞戎语研究]. Minzu Press.
Tujia, Northern	tji	Tujia	Brassett, Cecilia, Philip Brassett & Meiyan Lu. 2006. *The Tujia language.* München: Lincom.
Tujia, Southern	tjs	Tujia	Brassett, Cecilia, Philip Brassett & Meiyan Lu. 2006. *The Tujia language.* München: Lincom.
Tiwa	lax	Brahmaputran	Balawan, Michael. 1975. *Outlines of Lalung grammar*. Shillong: Don Bosco Technical School.
Dhimal	dhi	Dhimalish	King, John T. 2008. *A grammar of Dhimal.* Leiden: Brill.
Naga, Sumi	nsm	Kuki-Chin-Naga	Sreedhar. M.V. 1980. *A Sema grammar.* Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
Naga, Lotha	njh	Kuki-Chin-Naga	Acharya, K.P. 1983. *Lotha grammar.* Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
Mizo	lus	Kuki-Chin-Naga	Chhangte, Lalnunthangi. 1989. *The grammar of simple clauses in Mizo*. In David Bradley (ed.) *South-East Asian Syntax*, 93-174. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
Chin, Siyin	csy	Kuki-Chin-Naga	Sarangthem, Bobita. 2010. *Sizang (Siyin) grammar.* Imphal: Manipur University Doctoral disseration.
Chin, Tedim	ctd	Kuki-Chin-Naga	Henderson, Eugénie J. A. 1965. *Tiddim Chin: a descriptive analysis of two texts.* London: Oxford University Press.
Chin, Thado	tcz	Kuki-Chin-Naga	Krishan, Shree. 1980. *Thadou: grammatical sketch.* Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India.

Lamkang	lmk	Kuki-Chin-Naga	Thounaojam, Harimohon & Shobhana L. Chelliah. 2007. The Lamkang language: grammatical sketch, texts and lexicon. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 30. 1-189.
Naga, Tarao	tro	Kuki-Chin-Naga	Singh, Chunghkham Yashwanta. 2002. *Tarao grammar*. New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House.
Tshangla	tsj	Bodic	Andvik, Eric. 1999. *A grammar of Tshangla.* Leiden: Brill.
Jad	jda	Bodic	Sharma. D.D. 1990. Jad dialect. In D.D. Sharma (ed.), *Tibeto-Himalayan languages of Uttarakhand (Part 2),* 1-78. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
Stod Bhoti	sbu	Bodic	Sharma. D.D. 1989. *Pattani.* In D.D. Sharma (ed.), *Tribal languages of Himachal Pradesh (Part 1)*, 15-111. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
Dakpakha	dka	Bodic	Hyslop, Gwendolyn & Karma Tshering. 2008. Preliminary notes on Dakpa (Tawang Monpa). In Stephen Morey & Mark Post (eds.), *North East Indian linguistics Vol. 2)*, 1-22. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press India.
Dura	drq	Himalayish	Schorer, Nicholas. 2016. *The Dura Language: Grammar & Phylogeny*. Leiden: Brill.
Chaudangsi	cdn	Bodic	Krishan, Shree. 2001. A sketch of Chaudangsi grammar. In Yasuhiko Nagano & Randy J. Lapolla (eds.), *New research on Zhangzhung and related himalayan languages*, 401-448. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
Gahri	bfu	Bodic	Sharma. D.D. 1989. *Pattani.* In D.D. Sharma (ed.), *Tribal languages of Himachal Pradesh (Part 1)*, 15-111. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
Kinnauri	kfk	Bodic	Sharma, D.D. 1988. *A Descriptive Grammar of Kinnauri.* Delhi: Mittal Publications.
Pattani	lae	Bodic	Sharma. D.D. 1989. *Pattani.* In D.D. Sharma (ed.), *Tribal languages of Himachal Pradesh (Part 1)*, 15-111. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
Rongpo	rnp	Bodic	Sharma, Suhnu Ram. 2001. A sketch of Rongpo grammar. In Yasuhiko Nagano & Randy J. Lapolla (eds.), *New research on Zhangzhung and related Himalayan languages*, 195-270. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
Tinani	lbf	Bodic	Sharma. D.D. 1989. *Pattani.* In D.D. Sharma (ed.), *Tribal languages of Himachal Pradesh (Part 1)*, 15-111. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
Bhujel	byh	Himalayish	Regmi, Dan Raj. 2007. *The Bhujel language.* Kathmandu: Tribhuvan University Doctoral dissertation.
Chepang	cdm	Himalayish	Ross C. Caughley. 1982. *Syntax and Morphology of the Verb in Chepang.* Canberra:Pacific Linguistics.
Athpariya	aph	Himalayish	Karen H. Ebert. 1997. *A grammar of Athpare*. München: Lincom.
Puma	pum	Himalayish	Sharma, Narayan Prasad. 2014. *Morphosyntax of Puma, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal.* London: University of London Doctoral dissertation.
Bahing	bhj	Himalayish	Rapacha, Lal-Shyākarelu. 2008. *Kiranti-Bayung grammar, texts and lexicon.* Report submitted to SIRF, SNV.
Jerung	jee	Himalayish	Opgenort, Jean Robert. 2005. *A grammar of Jero.* Leiden: Brill.
Sunwar	suz	Himalayish	Borchers, Dörte. 2008. *A grammar of Sunwar: descriptive grammar, paradigms, texts, and glossary.* Leiden: Brill.
Tilung	tij	Himalayish	Opgenort, Jean Robert. 2013. Initial Grammatical Sketch of Tilung. In Thomas Owen-Smith & Nathan Hill (eds.), *Trans-Himalayan linguistics: historical and descriptive linguistics of the Himalayan area*, 329-392. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.

Appendix D: Fieldworker's guide to reported evidentiality

This Appendix is intended to be of use to researchers who would like to ensure that they have collected minimum sufficient information on reported evidentiality in a language they are working on. Where relevant, I indicate the section of the study where each of these features was discussed:

- Is there a reported evidential in the language? If not, this should be stated explicitly when discussing other evidential distinctions or clause-final particles in the language.
- Is there more than one reported evidential in the language? If so, what is the difference in their distribution? (§4.3.2)
- Does the reported evidential occur in a larger paradigm of evidentials? If so, is it part of the same grammatical paradigm, or able to stand in contrast to them? (§4.2.1, §4.3.4)
- Is the reported evidential syntactically or phonologically unbound? (§4.2.1)
- Is the reported evidential a particle with no internal composition? (§4.2.2, §4.2.3)
- What is the relationship between the reported evidential and negation? (§4.2.3)
- What is the relationship between the reported evidential and interrogativity? (§4.2.4)
- Does the reported form allow for overt reference to the original speaker? (§4.3.1)
- Does the reported evidential index one specific original utterance, a generally spoken thing, or both? (§4.3.1)
- Are there any restrictions on the reported evidential, for example with regards to tense, person or other evidentials? (§4.3.3)
- Does the reported evidential appear to have a historical relationship to either a current or former lexical verb of saying? (§4.3.5)
- What is the epistemic effect of using a reported evidential? Is this effect consistent, or context dependant? (§4.4.1)
- What genres does the reported evidential appear in? (§4.4.2)
- What do you propose to call this evidential category? Ensure that whatever terminological decision you make reflects the way that the form is used, and is consistent with the existing typological literature (§4.5)