International Conference

Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3

Evidentiality and Modality

At the crossroads of grammar and lexicon

June 10-11th 2021

Keynote speakers

Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (Central Queensland University)

Bernd Heine (Köln University)

Jan Nuyts (University of Antwerp)

Nicolas Tournadre (Université Aix-Marseille, Lacito, IUF)

Organizing committee

Eric Mélac (Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3, EMMA), Pascale Leclercq (Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3, EMMA), Jacques Bres (Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3, Praxiling), Eric Corre (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3, Prismes), Nicolas Tournadre (Université d'Aix-Marseille, Lacito et IUF)

Convenors and support

Marouan Abed, Patrick Caudal, Eric Corre, Beatrice Dal Bo, Patrick Dendale, Amanda Edmonds, Pascale Leclercq, Manon Lefebvre, Anaïs Méry, Françoise Rose, Nicolas Tournadre

Scientific committee

Karin Aijmer (University of Gothenburg), Dalila Ayoun (University of Arizona), Henrik Bergqvist (Stockholm University), Dominique Boulonnais (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3), Kasper Boye (University of Copenhagen), Jacques Bres (Université Paul Valéry – Montpellier 3), Patrick Caudal (CNRS – LLF), Agnès Celle (Université Paris Diderot), Hillary Chappel (Crlao, Ehess), Bert Cornillie (University of Leuven), Eric Corre (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3), Östen Dahl (University of Stockholm), Patrick Dendale (Université d'Anvers), Ilse Depraetere (Université de Lille), Gabriele Diewald (Leibniz Universität Hannover), Amanda Edmonds (Université Paul Valéry – Montpellier 3), Grégory Furmaniak (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3), Edward Garrett (School of Oriental and African Studies), Laurent Gosselin (Université de Rouen), Zlatka Guentchéva (CNRS – Lacito), Nathan Hill (School of Oriental and African Studies), Martin Howard (University College Cork), Gwendolyn Hyslop (University of Sydney), Guillaume Jacques (CNRS, Crlao, Inalco), Thomas Jügel (Goethe University Frankfurt am Main), Seppo Kittilä (University of Helsinki), Laure Lansari (Université Paris Diderot), Pascale Leclercq (Université Paul Valéry – Montpellier 3), Juana I. Marin-Arrese (Universidad Complutense de Madrid), Piotr Michalowski (LSA International Institute – University of Michigan), Marianne Mithun (UC Santa Barbara), Tanja Mortelmans (Antwerp University), Irina Nevskaya (Goethe University Frankfurt am Main), Dirk Noël (University of Hong Kong), Anna Papafragou (University of Delaware), Paola Pietrandrea (Université de Lille), Mathilde Pinson (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3), Seongha Rhee (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies), Corinne Rossari (Université de Neuchâtel), Louis de Saussure (Université de Neuchâtel), Camille Simon (Inalco, Lacito), Elena Skribnik (Ludwig-maximilians Universität Munchen), Mario Squartini (University of Torino), Nicolas Tournadre (Université d'Aix-Marseille), Daniel Véronique (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3), Zuzana Vokurková (Charles University), Richard Whitt (University of Nottingham), Björn Wiemer (Johannes Gutenberg – University Mainz), Bettina Zeisler (University of Tubigen), Debra Ziegeler (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3)

Please note that the abstracts in this book are presented in **alphabetical order** (name of the first author).

KEYNOTE TALKS

June 10th at 9am

Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (Central Queensland University), *The web of knowledge: Evidentiality at the crossroads*

June 10th at 1.30pm

Bernd Heine (Köln University), *The grammar of interactives: The challenge of discourse*

June 11th at 9am

Nicolas Tournadre (Université Aix-Marseille, Lacito, IUF), *The status of egophoric markers within the Tibetic evidential-epistemic systems*

June 11th at 1.30pm

Jan Nuyts (University of Antwerp), *On the relations between modality and evidentiality*

Event witnessability and evidentiality: A preliminary study on healthy aging Turkish adults

Seckin Arslan (Anadolu Üniversitesi), Semra Selvi Balo (Anadolu Üniversitesi), İlknur Maviş (Anadolu Üniversitesi), Fanny Meunier (CNRS – Bases, Corpus, Langage)

Evidentiality encases a grammatical category that refers to how information is acquired in one's proposition (e.g. Aikhenvald, 2004; Plungian, 2001; Willett, 1988). In Turkish, the direct evidential refers to the speaker's direct witnessing on an event, the indirect evidential codifies that the speaker has no direct evidence but either inferred or was told about the event (e.g. Aksu-Koç & Slobin, 1986). The time course of incremental evidentiality processing in adult Turkish speaker has only recently been explored (see Arslan, 2015). The preliminary dataset presented in this study is a part of an ongoing project that looks into how grammatically encoded evidentiality is processed across adult lifespan of Turkish speakers. An aim here is to unveil how far online evidentiality processing is maintained throughout the lifespan of unimpaired native Turkish speakers, and which factors (i.e. age, event witnessability) predict individual differences in evidentiality processing. The event witnessability is a construct we tested with a total of 60 native speakers of Turkish with an offline questionnaire that included 80 events encompassing our experimental action verbs(e.g. *reading a poem at an event*, *banning the importation of eggs*). Participants rated these events on a 7-point scale based on how likely it is that they may witness such an event in theirlife.

We administered a self-paced-reading experiment to an age-continuous group of 40 individuals (aged 18-69) together with a set of cognitive screening tasks. Our materialsincluded 80 sentences presented with four conditions of witnessed and reported information source – direct and indirect evidentiality mis/matches (e.g. *Ben gördüğüme eminim/Başkaları gördüğünü söylüyor, Anıl etkinlikte şiirini okumuş/okudu.* 'I have certainly seen that/Others say they have seen that Anıl read his poem at the event.'). The participants read the sentences at their own pace and responded to an acceptability judgement task. Figure 1 demonstratesour results. The end-of-sentence response data showed that there is a three-way interaction between Age x Mismatch (Mismatch vs. Match) x Evidential (Direct vs. Indirect) (ß=-2.86, SE=1.25, z=-2.27, p=.02), suggesting that recognising evidentiality mismatches become more difficult with advancing age. We observed reading disruptions at the immediate post-critical word region for both evidential forms that mismatch to their appropriate information sources. Outputs from a mixed-effects regression model showed significant fixed-effects of Age (ß=1.41, SE=2.93, t=4.82, p<.001; 95% CIs[0.01, 0.02]), of Event Witnessability (ß=-3.13, SE=1.06, t=-2.95,

p=.004; 95% CIs[-0.05, -0.01), and of Mismatch (ß=6.72, SE=2.00, *t*=3.35, *p*<.001; 95% CIs[0.02, 0.1]).

Positive estimates in Age and Mismatch factors indicate that reading times increased as age increased, however, the absence of interaction effects with Age indicates that our condition differences in reading times were not modulated by age-effects. Importantly, event witnessability impacted Turkish readers' online reading profiles, for evidentiality sentences without any mismatch: rather witnessable events are associated with quicker reading times as compared to less witnessable events. In conclusion, the preliminary data showed no significant age-effects on online evidentiality processing, but importantly, we showed that event witnessability influences how evidentials are processed.

Figure 1. A- end-of-sentence response rates, and B – reading times at the immediate post-critical verb region, and C – reading times in the post-critical region by event witnessability rating scores.
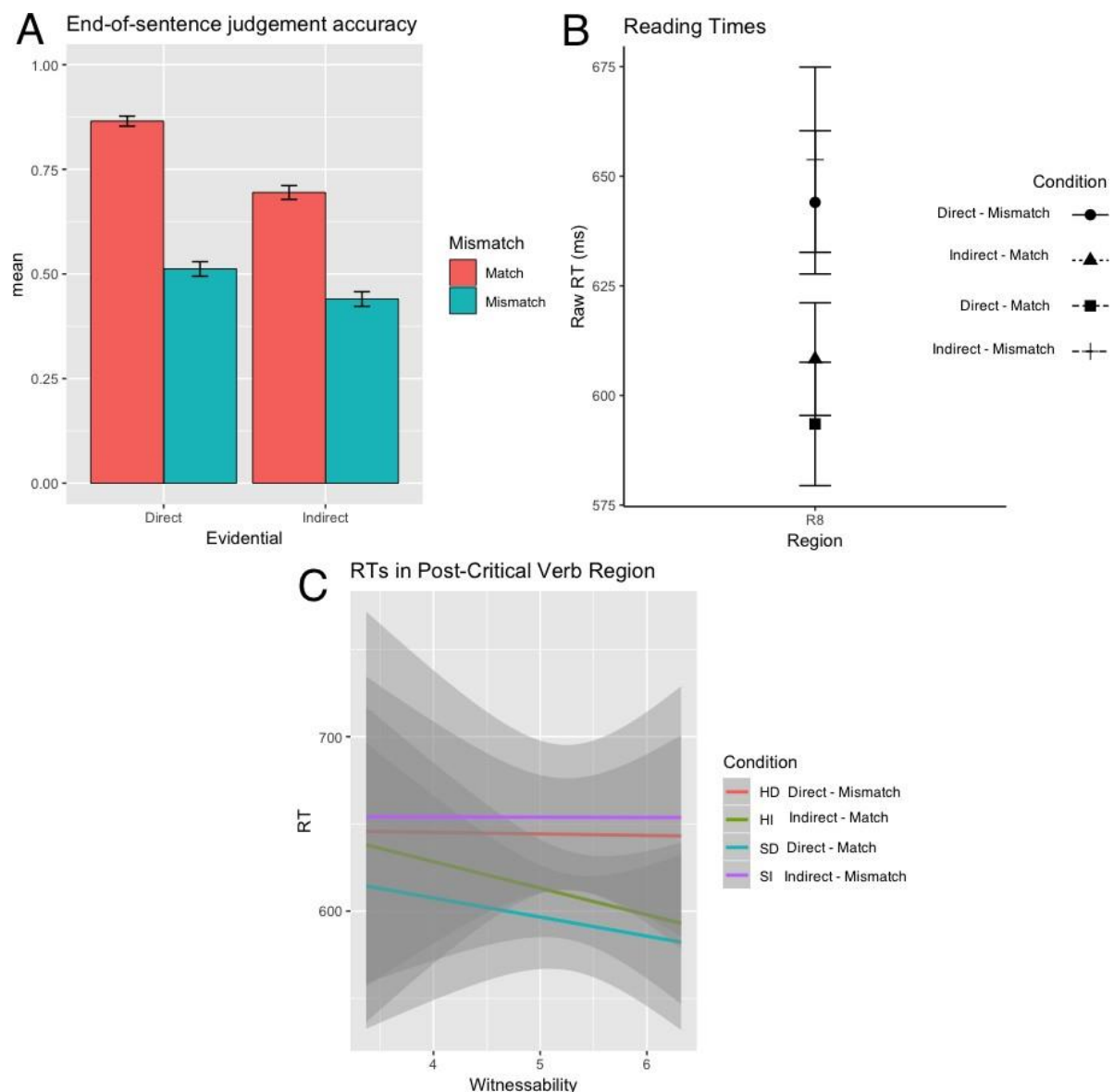
References

Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2004). *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aksu-Koç, A., & Slobin, D. I. (1986). A psychological account of the development and use of evidentials in Turkish. In C. Wallace & J. Nichols (Eds.), *Evidentiality. The linguistic coding of epistemology* (pp. 159-167). New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Arslan, S. (2015). *Neurolinguistic and Psycholinguistic Investigations on Evidentiality in Turkish.* (PhD Thesis). University of Groningen, Groningen.

Plungian, V. A. (2001). The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space. *Journal of Pragmatics, 33*(3), 349-357.

Willett, T. (1988). A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticization of evidentiality. *Studies in language, 12*(1), 51-97.

The grammaticalization of quotatives in evidentiality: Exploring the pragmatic link between illocutionary force modulation and quotative readings of hearsay evidentials

María Eugenia Arthuis Blanco (INALCO / ENS Paris)

In the formal semantics literature, there has been a line of fruitful work which aims to model evidential markers as elocutionary force operators (Faller, 2002, 2006; Murray, 2006, 2016; Korotkova, 2016). Recently, there have been attempts to formally describe linguistically diverse, overt evidential markers and accurately derive theirmeanings. Among these, quotative readings of hearsay reportative evidentials, most notably in Cuzco Quechua (Faller, 2002; Korotkova, 2016) have been discussed. These readings, first observed by Faller (2002), generate what Korotkova (2017: 685) calls a "'someone said' effect" in the gloss. That is, a canonical interpretation of the hearsay evidential (glossed in English as "It is said that P") can be ambiguously interpreted as quotative (as in a sentence of the form "Someone said: 'P'").

It has come under the attention of such authors that the availability of these readings is strikingly rare cross-linguistically, as, to date, they have been attested inonly seven, mostly unrelated languages (Korotkova, 2017). This posits, at the very minimum, a typological question: why should this reading unavailability tend to be the case in natural language? And, conversely, how is it that these readings are nonetheless possible in some systems?

Here, I argue that the answer could be found in the intersection between pragmatics and grammaticalization theory. I use data from languages that have been described as using two quotative strategies in complementary distribution: a lexical one and a grammaticalized, evidential one (e. g. Nanti, ISO: 639-3, based on Michael's (2008, 2012) description). I argue that the existence of such a functional split should be expected if evidential quotatives have in fact grammaticalized based on a specialization and restriction to informational source, with cancelling of speaker commitment. Direct quotation, especially that which embeds third-party attitudes and questions, appears to pragmatically habilitate (yet not obligate) a certain level of commitment from the speaker, that is, a certain elocutionary force in regards to the proposition under the scope of the quotative. The speaker, by the very elocutionary act of reporting third-party sayings, is indeed also performing a secondhand elocutionaryact from but also *for* a determinate third-party via this embedding.

I hypothesize that the grammaticalization of full-fledged evidential quotatives is rooted in a need for encoding cancellation of such pragmatically available elocutionary force embeddings (a concept posited by Krifka, 2014). If this is the case, then it should be predicted that, in a system with grammaticalized and non-grammaticalized quotative strategies, the latter (but not

the former) do allow elocutionary force conveyed act of third-party quotation. This allows us to formulate and explain a typology of evidentials based on speaker commitment, and also explain why a dual derivation of both hearsay and quotative readings from a same construction should be scarce yet possible across systems.

What's theoretical about evidentiality?

Henrik Bergqvist (Stockholm University), Karolina Grzech (Stockholm University)

A narrow view of evidentiality states that the semantic core of (grammaticalized) evidentials can be characterized as the speaker's "source of information" for a talked-about event (Aikhenvald, 2004, 2014). This definition has become a reference point for cross-linguistic explorations of evidentiality. There are, however, several problems with this narrow approach (e.g. Cornillie, 2010; Guentchéva, 2018) and in this talk, we focus our discussion on two observed deficiencies: i) a sufficient level of abstraction is lacking for making adequate theoretical generalizations, ii) adhering to "information source" as the core meaning of evidentiality confines analyses of evidentials based on their use, to the margins as exceptions, or "effects" (Aikhenvald, 2004: 179). We address these problems using a comparative, corpus-based approach.

With respect to the first point, we focus on the grammaticalization of evidentials. Comparing evidentiality with well-established categories, such a tense, we demonstrate that theoretical claims concerning evidentiality has not taken sufficient care to abstract away from the meaning of individual markers, thus leading to inadequate generalisations. It is a well-known fact that verbs of perception can be polysemous and that 'seeing' may be equated to 'knowing', and 'hearing' correspond to 'understanding' (Viberg, 1983; Sweetser, 1990). Verbs of "saying" can also be usedto attribute both utterances and mental states to others (e.g. 'feelings', 'wants', 'thoughts', McGregor, 1994; Loughnane, 2005). It has not been demonstrated how these polysemous meanings and uses relate to the (eventual) encoded meaning of evidentials that target corresponding modes of access. A further problem is that lexico-semantic content gives way to functional meaning in the process of grammaticalization (e.g. Bybee *et al*., 1994). Why would we expect e.g. 'seeing' to be preserved semantically in grammaticalized evidentials? We argue that the field of evidential research has fallen prey to oversimplification of the categories it regards as theoretically grounded by permitting folk definitions in the form of direct translation/paraphrase to be used *in lieu* of abstracted analysis.

To address the second issue, we discuss data from distinct varieties of Quechua. In the typological literature, languages belonging to this language family are viewed as having a set of grammaticalized evidentials (e.g. Aikhenvald, 2004, 2018; de Haan, 2013). We show that the synchronic picture emerging from descriptions of individual varieties is much more complex than the literature suggests. Using examples taken from corpus data, we demonstrate that cognates of purported evidential markers encode meanings related to ownership of and authority over knowledge rather than information source (Grzech, 2016; Hintz & Hintz, 2017). The narrow approach to evidentiality rejects such findings instead of allowing this semantic complexity to be incorporated in the analysis of evidential systems.

The overall aim of our talk is to point out that we may be well served to revisit some of the long-standing assumptions and conceptions that have been cemented in the literature, and that we need to make room for new data resulting from the ever-growing documentation of evidentials systems. Doing so would allow us to shape a coherent theory of evidentiality; one that makes adequate predictions about the systems we actually encounter, rather than confining us to making neatly structured taxonomies.

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2014. The grammar of knowledge: a cross-linguistic view of evidentials and the expression of information source. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald & R. M. W. Dixon (eds.), *The Grammar of Knowledge*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1–51.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (ed.). 2018. *The Oxford handbook of evidentiality* (Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics). First edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bybee, Joan L., Revere D. Perkins & William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cornillie, Bert. 2010. An interactional approach to evidential and epistemic adverbs in Spanishconversation. In Gabrielle Diewald & Elena Smirnova (eds.), *The linguistic realization of evidentiality in European Languages*. Berlin; New York: De Gruyter Mouton, 309–330.

Grzech, Karolina. 2016. *Discourse enclitics in Tena Kichwa: A corpus-based account of information structure and epistemic meaning*. SOAS, University of London. PhD Thesis. https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/24336/.

Guentchéva, Zlatka (ed.). 2018. *Epistemic modalities and evidentiality in cross-linguistic perspective* (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology volume 59). Berlin ; Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Haan, Ferdinand de. 2013. Coding of Evidentiality. In Matthew S. Dryer & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute forEvolutionary Anthropology. http://wals.info/chapter/78 (5 June 2017).

Hintz, Daniel J. & Diane M. Hintz. 2017. The evidential category of mutual knowledge in Quechua. *Lingua* (Essays on Evidentiality) 186–187, 88–109.

Loughnane, Robyn. 2005. Reported speech constructions in Golin. In Nicholas Evans, Jutta

Besold, Hywel Stoakes and Alan Lee (eds.), *Materials on Golin: Grammar, texts and dictionary* Melbourne: Department of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, The University of Melbourne,131–152.

McGregor, William B. 1994. The grammar of reported speech and thought in Gooniyandi. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 14:1, 63–92.

Sweetser, Eve. 1990. *From etymology to pragmatics: Metaphorical and cultural aspects of semantic structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Viberg, Åke. 1983. The verbs of perception: A typological study. *Linguistics* 21, 123–162.

Description d'un emploi de *devoir* comme marqueur évidentiel d'information rapportée en français

Jacques Bres (Praxiling, UMR 5267 – CNRS, Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3)

La question des liens entre *devoir* et l'évidentialité (van der Auwera & Plungian, 1998 ; Lazard, 2001 ; Plungian, 2001) a fait l'objet de différentes recherches dans les 30 dernières années. Alors que, dans les travaux antérieurs – notamment Huot (1974), Sueur (1979), – étaient distingués deux grands types d'emplois : déontique (modalité du faire) et épistémique (modalité de l'être), ces recherches plus récentes font souvent, de différentes manières, appel à la catégorie de l'évidentialité : pour Rossari *et al.* (2007), ce sont tous les emplois de *devoir* qui sont évidentiels en ce sens que cette forme indiquerait que l'énoncé procède d'une source, qui peut être une règle (modalité déontique) ou un fait (modalité épistémique). Moins radicalement, Dendale (1994) analyse comme évidentiels les seuls emplois de la modalité de l'être. C'est toujours l'évidentialité qui est convoquée mais pour être récusée comme valeur de base de *devoir* épistémique dans Barbet (2012) et dans Saussure (2012). L'évidentialité dont il est question dans ces travaux, ou qui est discutée, est l'un des deux types d'évidentialité indirecte : l'évidentialité par *inférence*, et seulement elle. C'est, à notre connaissance, seulement dans Squartini (2004) qu'il est parlé du second type d'évidentialité indirecte, « reportive », pour analyser un type bien particulier d'emploi de *devoir* que l'on a dans (1) et (2) :

(1) Le président français Emmanuel Macron, en première ligne sur le dossier iranien, ***devait revoir*** Donald Trump hier après avoir rencontré Hassan Rohani lundi. (…) La chancelière allemande Angela Merkel ***devait***, elle aussi, de son côté ***rencontrer*** séparément MM. Trump et Rohani. (*La Dépêche du Midi*, 25/09/2019)

(2) C'était le mois prochain qu'ils ***devaient s'enfuir***. Elle partirait d'Yonville comme pour aller faire des commissions à Rouen. (G. Flaubert, *Mme Bovary*)

Remarquons que, très pertinemment, dès 1929, Gougenheim avait parlé de « convention » (p. 68), notion reprise par Damourette et Pichon (1911-1936, vol. V) et Imbs (1960), pour cet emploi présent au moins dès le XIIIe siècle :

(3) Si l'amoit mout Achillès, por ce que sa seror li ***devoit*** doner a feme. (Roman de Troie en prose, XIIIe) (sens de 'il était convenu qu'il lui donnerait sa sœur pour femme') (*apud* Gougenheim 1929)

Notre communication a pour objet de décrire plus en détail ce type de tour que nous analyserons comme relevant de l'évidentialité indirecte par *information rapportée* : *devoir* présuppose que le procès à l'infinitif a fait l'objet d'une interaction antérieure qui l'a programmé. Dans un premier temps, nous présenterons les analyses de Kronning (2001) et de Gosselin (2010) : pour le premier,

devoir exprime la *nécessité aléthique lato sensu* ; pour le second, la modalité *déontique*. Dans un second temps, nous développerons l'explication de l'évidentialité indirecte par information rapportée :

(i) en distinguant ce type de tour, dans lequel *devoir*, de trait (+ prospectif), n'implique pas la *factualité* du procès (1, 2), du tour dans lequel il l'implique (4, 5) :

> (4) Elle avait envie de faire confiance à cet étrange visage dont les lèvres malicieuses démentaient la permanente mélancolie du regard. Elle ne **devait** plus le **revoir.** Des années plus tard, elle apprendrait par hasard qu'il était mort de vieillesse, d'ennui ou bien des deux. (J. Kristeva, *Les Samouraïs*, 1990)

> (5) Toute cette pauvre famille proscrite s'embarqua sur un frêle bâtiment, et le futur César mit à la voile, protégeant de sa fortune ses quatre frères, dont trois ***devaient être*** rois, et ses trois soeurs, dont l'une ***devait être*** reine. (Dumas, *Napoléon*, 1839)

A la différence de (1) et (2) où les procès *revoir, rencontrer, s'enfuir* pourront par la suite se réaliser ou ne pas se réaliser, en (4) et (5) les procès *revoir, être roi, être reine* sont compris comme s'étant effectivement réalisés, et *devoir* ne renvoie pas à une source d'information extérieure. Ce dont il nous faudra rendre compte.

(ii) en appuyant cette explication sur le fait que l'ultériorité du procès peut être précisée par le SP temporel *dans x temps*, qui nécessite, pour son emploi en cotexte passé, une énonciation rapportée antérieure différente de l'énonciation principale (6). L'emploi de ce SP n'est pas possible avec *devoir* non évidentiel (7), qui devra user, pour précision de l'ultériorité, du SP *x temps plus tard* :

> (6) nous nous séparâmes sans mélancolie car nous **devions** nous **retrouver** à Paris **dans peu de temps**. (S. de Beauvoir, *Mémoires d'une jeune fille rangée*, 1958)

> (7) Il y avait, si ma mémoire est bonne, Cohn-Bendit, Sauvageot, Geismar et Castro. C'est de ces deux confrontations que **devait sortir quelque temps plus tard** le « Cohn-Bendit ?... connais pas » de Séguy. (S. Signoret, *La Nostalgie n'est plus ce qu'elle était*, 1976) (?? *devait sortir dans quelque temps*)

(iii) en expliquant pourquoi *devoir* est défectif dans ce tour : on le trouve au présent, au futur, à l'imparfait et au conditionnel, mais pas au passé simple ni au passé composé ;

(iv) en faisant appel à la diachronie pour avancer une hypothèse qui propose de cet emploi une dérivation par grammaticalisation (Fleischman, 1982 ; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca, 1994) de l'emploi premier déontique.

Références

Barbet C. (2012). *Devoir* et *pouvoir*, des marqueurs modaux ou évidentiels ? *Langue française*

173, 49- 63.

Bybee J., Perkins R. & Pagliuca W. (1994). *The evolution of Grammar : Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*, Chicago : University of Chicago Press.

Damourette J. & Pichon E. (1911-1936), *Des mots à la pensée*, Paris : D'Artrey, vol V.

Dendale, P. (1994). *Devoir* épistémique, marqueur modal ou évidentiel, *Langue Française* 102 : 24-40.

Dendale, P. (2000). Devoir épistémique à l'indicatif et au conditionnel: inférence ou prédiction? In: Englebert,A., Pierrard, M., Rosier, L., van Raemdonck, D. (Eds.), Actes du XXIIe Congrès International de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes, Vol. 7. Sens et Fonctions. Niemeyer, Tübingen, 159–169.

Fleischman, S. (1982). The Future in Thought and Language. Diachronic Evidence from Romance. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Gosselin, L. (2010). *Les modalités en français. La validation des représentations*. Amsterdam / New York: Rodopi.

Gougenheim, G. (1929). *Etude sur les périphrases verbales de la Langue française*. Les Belles Lettres, Paris.

Huot, H. (1974). *Le Verbe ''Devoir''. Etude synchronique et diachronique*. Klincksieck, Paris.

Imbs, P. (1960). *L'emploi des Temps Verbaux en Français Moderne. Essai de Grammaire descriptive*. Klincksieck, Paris.

Kronnig, H. (2001). Pour une tripartition des emplois du modal *devoir* », *Cahiers Chronos* 8 : 67-84.

Lazard, G. (2001). On the grammaticalization of evidentiality. In: Dendale, P., Tasmowski, L. (Eds.), *Evidentiality* (special issue). *Journal of Pragmatics* 33, 359–367.

Plungian, V. A. (2001). The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space, *Journal of Pragmatics* 33(3): 349-357.

Rossari C. *et al.* (2007), *Devoir* et l'évidentialité en français et en roumain, *Discours* [http://discours.revues.org/116].

Saussure L. (2012). Modalité épistémique, évidentialité et dépendance contextuelle, *Langue Française*.

Squartini M. (2004). Disentangling evidentiality and epistemic modality in Romance, *Lingua* 114, 873–895.

Sueur, J.-P. (1979). Une analyse sémantique des verbes *devoir* et *pouvoir*. *Le français moderne* 47, 97–120.

van der Auwera, J., Plungian, V.A. (1998). Modality's semantic map. *Linguistic Typology* 2, 79–124.

From perfect auxiliary to epistemic modal sentence-final particle: A history of Japanese *-kke*

John Bundschuh (Ohio State University [Columbus])

The Japanese sentence-final particle *-kke* is a marker of epistemic modality with evidential and mirative overtones. Its most common application is indexing uncertainty in interrogative sentences (Matahira 1996, Ikeya 2012, Ma 2017), which Hayashi (2012) calls the epistemic stateof "uncertainty in recollection." It can be used in both Wh-questions, as in example (1), and polar questions, as in example (2) below:

> (1) kyō-no tenki-wa nan da-kke?
> today-GEN weather-TOP what COP-KKE
> 'What is today's weather? ((I don't recall. Please remind me.))'
> (2) kyō-wa ame da-kke?
> today-TOP rain COP-KKE
> 'Is it raining today? ((I don't recall. Please remind me.))'

On the other hand, *-kke* is used in declarative sentences to index a reaffirmation of thecertainty of the predicate (Matahira 1996), as in example (3) below:

> (3) kyō-wa ame da-kke.
> today-TOP rain COP-KKE
> '((I now recall the fact that)) It is raining today.'

Declarative uses of *-kke* such as example (3) mark the sentence as certain due to an information update process. Matahira (1996) describes this use as either a secondhand evidential or mirative—the former if one sees a wet umbrella on the way to the door (inferred) or has just beeninformed by an interlocutor (reported), the latter if uttered when looking out the window to see the rain falling, which reflects a common mirative extension of secondhand evidentials used in firsthand contexts (Aikhenvald, 2004). Although Japanese has numerous sentence-final particles that index epistemic modality, *-kke* is unique in its historical development from an auxiliary.

The sentence-final particle *-kke* found in Japanese today developed from the older Japanese auxiliary *-keri* (Martin, 1975; Frellesvig, 2010). Quinn (1983) demonstrates *-keri* is an evidential modal that indexes externally established facts. Shinzato (1991) compares the evidentiality, temporality, and epistemicity of Classical Japanese *-keri* to Turkish *-miş*, finding both index secondhand evidentiality, mirativity, perfect temporality, and non-integrated information.

This paper traces the grammatical development of *-keri > -kke*, citing examples from8th-century Japanese through today, and argues for the following diachrony:

1. Origin: past tense *-ki* + stative *-ari* > perfect *-keri* (Kasuga 1985[1942])

2. Semantic broadening: perfect > perfect, epistemic modality, secondhand evidentiality, mirativity due to metaphor (see Ivorski 1997 and Lau & Rooryck 2017)

3. Semantic narrowing: *-keri* no longer indexes perfect due to the primacy of its epistemic use and newer perfects *-tari* and *-ari*

4. Morphological change: *-keri* > *-keru* due to a convergence of the conclusive and adnominal finite forms of all Japanese predicate paradigms

5. Phonological change: *-keru* > *-kkeru* due to a reanalysis of the participle's final consonant, which assimilates to the following consonant, as being part of the *-keru* morpheme

6. Phonological reduction: *-kkeru* > *-kke* due to deletion of final *-ru* in auxiliaries (Frellesvig 2010)

7. Syntactic & Semantic change: auxiliary > sentence-final particle; confirmed fact > "uncertainty in recollection" due to shift from governing participles to finite predicates; only the latter being possible candidates for judgement of epistemic status

This research thus provides evidence that modal sentence-final particles can develop from auxiliaries when the contexts in which they are used become restricted over time.

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford University Press.

Frellesvig, Bjark. 2010. *A History of the Japanese Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hayashi, Makoto. 2012. "Claiming Uncertainty in Recollection: A Study of *Kke*-Marked Utterances in Japanese Conversation." *Discourse Processes* 49-5: 391–425.

Ikeya, Tomoko. 2012. "Functions of the Japanese Sentence-final Particles *-tto* and *-kke*: Personal Domain Information Marked by *-tto -kke* and the Invisible Listener." *Theoretical and Applied Linguistics at Kobe Shoin* 15: 11–25.

Ivorski, Roumyana. 1997. "The Present Perfect as an Epistemic Modal." *Proceedings of SALT* 7:222–239.

Kasuga, Masaji. 1985[1942]. *Saidaiji-bon Konkōmyō saishōōkyō koten no kokugogakuteki kenkyū* ('A Linguistic Study of the Old Diacritics of the Saidaiji Golden Light Sutra'). Tōkyō: Benseisha.

Ma, Yingrui. 2017. *Nihongo gimonbun no tōgo goyōronteki kenkyū* ('A Syntactic-pragmatic Study of Japanese Interrogative Sentences'). Doctoral Dissertation: Hokkaido University.

Matahira, Emiko. 1996. "Shūjoshi no kenkyū: 'kke' no kinō ('A Study of Sentence-final Particles: The Functions of 'kke'')." *Tsukuba Nihongo kenkyū* 1: 21–33.

Martin, Samuel. 1975. *A Reference Grammar of Japanese*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Quinn, Charles. 1983. "Ōchō sanbun no gyōshūsei: jisei to asupekuto o chūshin ni ('Cohesion in Heian Vernacular Prose: The Role of Mood, Tense, and Aspect')." *Proceedings of the 7thInternational Conference on Japanese Literature in Japan*: 9–29.

Shinzato, Rumiko. 1991. "Where Do Temporality, Evidentiality and Epistemicity Meet? A Comparison of Old Japanese *-ki* and *-keri* with Turkish *-di* and *-miş*." *Gengo kenkyū* 3:25–57.

Tensed periphrastic vs. synthetic modal inflections in Iwaidja – a novel insight into grammaticalization cycles for modality in Northern Australia?

Patrick Caudal (Laboratoire de Linguistique Formelle), Robert Mailhammer (Western Sydney University)

The present talk will capitalize on results from recent fieldwork conducted on the modal system of Iwaidja, a severely endangered non-Pama-Nyunga (nPN) Australian language spoken in Northwestern Arnhem Land, and assess in its light whether or not the grammaticalization path put forth in (Osgarby, 2018) for modal inflections Mirndi languages, could be applied to Iwaidja. The Iwaidja modal system offers the classic (nPN morphological makeup outlined in (Osgarby, 2018), cf. verb template (1) (with *TAM1-*∽ *-TAM2* forming circumfixes, rather than suffix vs. prefix morphemes):

(1) [Portmanteau prefix (TAM1+Subject(+Object))]-[Verb Root]-[RED]-[TAM2]

Our recently collected data indicates that Iwaidja possesses constructions that appear to form a periphrastic modal system complementing its well-established inflectional system. It combinesa modal particle (*mana*, *angkad*, *maju* or *wurrkany*) with a modally inflected verb or a *bona fide* realis verb. Interestingly, one of these particles, namely *wurrkany* ('was about it/seemed to') encodes past temporal anchoring; it preferentially associates with verbs in the past counterfactual (PCF), cf. (2). Moreover, although it can combine with future forms (3) as well as untensed adjectival forms (5), the resulting sequence nevertheless receives a past irrealis or past evidential reading (see e.g. the associated motion serial verb construction in (4), where thecombination of *wurrkany* and a motion verb in the future (*janara*) pairs up with a lexical verb in the PCF) – and additionally, it can combine with a verb in the anterior tense (ANT) (i.e., a simple past-like past tense) and produce an avertive reading (Kuteva, 1998) (6). While this givesextra support to Osgarby's (2018) idea that nPN inflectional modals derive from morphologizedmodal particles/clitics *via* lexically separate 'auxiliaries' rather than a single verb template, *contra* e.g. (Evans, 2003), this also suggests that Osgarby's theory should be amended so as to incorporate temporal parameters. Indeed such auxiliaries should combine temporal and modal/evidential meanings, as shown by the very rigid past anchoring associated with *wurrkany*as opposed to other Iwaidja modal particles – a most welcome move given the prevalence of inflectional oppositions between past vs. present inflectional irrealis paradigms in nPN languages.

(2) wurrkany nanilda ba walij ba karlu riwany

    Pst.MOD 3msg>3sg.PCF-eat-PCF DET food CONJ NEG 3msg>3sg.ANT-eat-ANT

    '[The dog] looked like he was going to eat the food, but he didn't'

    (TAIM_190604MM_Modality_1.eaf@ 00:30:21.204)

(3) wurrkany janara

    Pst.MOD 3sg.FUT.DIST-go-FUT

    'He was going to leave (but he didn't)' (TAIM_190603MM_Modality_1.eaf@00:03:23.870)

(4) wurrkany nanimalanma janara

    Pst.MOD 3sg>3sg.PCF-drive-PCF 3sg.FUT.DIST-go-FUT

    'He was going to go fishing [by driving]' (TAIM_190604MM_Modality_1.eaf@00:14:58.321

(5) wurrkany ruka mudika burruli

    Pst.MOD that car good

    'Apparently this car was good (but now it's broken)'

    (TAIM_190604MM_Modality_2.eaf@00:05:23.344)

(6) wurrkany awukung ba walij rardudban

    MOD.Pst 1sg>3sg.ANT-give-ANT DETfood 3msg>3sg.ANT-leave.behind-ANT

    'I tried to give him food but he left it behind.' (TAIM_190604MM_Modality_1@27:43)

We will finally compare the Iwaidja periphrastic modal system with related data points across other nPN languages, i.e. Ngarnka (Osgarby, 2018), Jaminung (Caudal & Schultze-Berndt, 2019) and Nyulnyulan languages (McGregor & Wagner, 2006), to illustrate how temporal factors might play a part in the development of modal inflections in other languages.

References

Caudal, Patrick & E. Schultze-Berndt. 2019. Realistic vs. hypothetical modality in Jaminjung (Australia). Conference talk presented at the SLE 2019 – 52nd Annual Meeting, Leipzig.

Evans, Nicholas. 2003. Comparative Non-Pama-Nyungan and Australian historical Linguistics. In Nicholas Evans (ed.), *The non-Pama-Nyungan languages of northern Australia: comparative studies of the continent's most linguistically complex region*, 3–25. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Australian National University.

Kuteva, Tania A. 1998. On Identifying an Evasive Gram: Action Narrowly Averted. *Studies in Language* 22(1). 113–160. doi:10.1075/sl.22.1.05kut.

McGregor, William & Tamsin Wagner. 2006. The Semantics and Pragmatics of Irrealis Mood in Nyulnyulan Languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 45(2). 339–379.

Osgarby, David. 2018. Reconstructing Proto-Mirndi Verbal Morphology: From Particles and Clitics to Prefixes. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 38(2). 223–292. doi:10.1080/07268602.2018.1400504.

Can modal adverbs be genuine evidentials? The case of French adverb *certainement*

Patrick Dendale (University of Antwerp – GaP)

In the study of evidentiality, much effort has gone to the definition of the *notions* of evidentiality and epistemic modality. This resulted in several distinctive definitions of the two notions: e.g. de Haan, 1999; Nuyts, 2001; Dendale & Tasmowski, 2001; Kronning, 2003; Aikhenvald, 2004; Cornillie, 2007; Boye, 2012; Tournadre, 2014; Guentchéva, 2014; Wiemer, 2018. Much work, however, is still to be done to establish a uniform protocol capable of identifying, in a stable and coherent way, evidential *expressions* (*evidentials*) and setting them apart for different other kinds of expressions, in the first place *modal expressions* (Haßler, 2010). Such a protocol is crucial in an onomasiological perspective for establishing complete and consistent inventories of the (grammatical and lexical) evidentials of individual languages. On several occasions, we illustrated the lack of agreement amongst scholars in establishing the evidential nature of an expression: e.g. the French reportive conditional (Dendale, 2018), the adverb *visiblement* (Dendale *et al*. forthc.), a verb like *s'avérer* (Dendale, 2019).

In this talk, we will examine closely the French adverb *certainement*, most often called "modal" adverb (together with *sûrement, sans (aucun) doute, probablement…*) because of its morphological composition (*certain*), which links it to epistemico-modal evaluation, defined as "the evaluation of a proposition in terms of certainty" (Le Querler, 2004) or as theevaluation of a state of affairs in terms of probability" (Nuyts, 2001). Corpus data (*Frantext, frTenten12, GBooks, Internet*) however show that in the vast majority of its contexts of use *certainement* more often has a function that is to be considered inferential-evidential, in a waysimilar to items like *devoir, visiblement, à coup sûr* (Anscombre, 2013) etc. (cf. (1)). Only in specific and limited contexts, it can be said to have an epistemico-modal function (cf. (2):

(1) Mon interlocutrice était **certainement** plus âgée que moi, mais la confusion était telle que j'avais du mal à ne serait-ce que mettre un âge sur son visage. (*frTenTen12*)

(2) Pourquoi cette vidéo va-t-elle **certainement** vous émouvoir? (*Internet*)

We will describe the function and semantic properties of *certainement* in both types of contexts and characterize the contexts in which both uses can be typically found. The main conclusions of our analysis are that:

(i) *certainement* has two functions, an evidential one (inferentiality) and an epistemico-modal one (full certainty), both with their typical co(n)texts of appearance, which, in our view, forces

to classify it not only as a modal adverb but also as an evidential adverb;

(ii) these two functions are mutually exclusive (even in ambiguous contexts); they cannot coincide;

(iii) the evidential function with inferential value is responsible for the interpretation of *certainement* as a weak epistemic-modal marker in certain contexts;

(iv) the evidential function of *certainement* is always accompanied by what we call a certainty "posture"; this is an "epistemico-modal-like" property different, however, from epistemico-modal evaluation expressed by *certainement* in its genuine epistemico-modal use;

(v) theoretically: we will argue that the actual evidential use of *certainement* is not an evidential extension or overtone (Aikhenvald 2004) of its epistemico-modal meaning, not a pragmatically derived value;

(vi) methodologically: in order to complete inventories of lexical evidentials (Wiemer & Stathi 2010), the categorization and precise semantics of the different uses of all so-called 'modal' expressions should be reexamined, along lines like those sketched here.

References

Aikhenvald, A. Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Anscombre, J. C. 2013. "*A coup sûr/Bien sûr* : des différentes manières d'être sûr de quelque chose", Revue de Sémantique et Pragmatique, 33-34, 2013 (67-98

Boye, K. 2012. *Epistemic Meaning: A Cross-Linguistic and Cognitive Study*. Berlin / New York, Mouton de Gruyter.

Cornillie, B. 2009. Evidentiality and epistemic modality: On the close relationship between two different categories. *Functions of language*, *16*(1), 44-62.

De Haan, F. 1999. Evidentiality and epistemic modality: Setting boundaries. *Southwest journal of linguistics*, *18*(1), 83-101.

Dendale, P. 2018. « Évidentialité ou non-prise en charge ? Le cas du conditionnel épistémique en français : une réanalyse », *Langue française,* 200, p. 63-76.

Dendale, P. & Tasmowski, L. 2001. "Introduction. Evidentiality and related notions", *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33, 3, p. 339-348.

Dendale, P., Vanderheyden, A. & Izquierdo Alegría, D. forthc. "*Visiblement* en français, *visiblemente* en espagnol : des marqueurs évidentiels de perception directe ou d'inférence ?" soumis à Loureda, Óscar, Parodi, Giovanni, Rudka, Martha & Salameh, Shima (éds.) (à par.) *Marcadores del discurso y lingüística contrastiva en las lenguas*

románicas, Iberoamericana/Vervuert, P.63-96.

Dignoire, C. 1969. « Observations concernant l'utilisation de l'adverbe *certainement* », *Bulletin de la société roumaine de linguistique romane*, 6 : 41-50.

Guentchéva, Z. 2014 : "Aperçu des notions d'évidentialité et de médiativité". *Cahiers de lexicologie : Revue internationale de lexicologie et lexicographie*, (105), 57-77.

Haßler, G. 2010. Epistemic modality and evidentiality and their definition on a deictic basis. in *Modality and Mood in Romance: Modal interpretation, mood selection, and mood alternation [Versión electrónica].Berlin: Walter de Gruyter*, 95-108.

Kronning, H. 2003. « Modalité et évidentialité », in Birkelund et al., *Aspects de la modalité*. Tübingen, Niemeyer.

Le Querler, N. 2004. « Les modalités en français », *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire,* 82, 3 : 643-656.

Nuyts, J. 2001. *Epistemic modality, language, and conceptualization: A cognitive pragmatic perspective*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia, Benjamins.

Simon-Vandenbergen, A.-M. & Aimer, K. 2007. *The Semantic Field of Modal Certainty*. Berlin / New York, Mouton de Gruyter.

Tournadre, N., & LaPolla, R. J. 2014. Towards a new approach to evidentiality: Issues and directions for research. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, *37*(2), 240-263.

Wiemer, B. & Stathi, K. 2010. « The database of evidential markers in European languages. A bird's eye view of the conception of the database (the template and problems hidden beneath it) », *STUF,* 63/4 : 275- 289.

Wiemer, H. 2018. « Evidentials and epistemic modality», in A. Y. Aikhenvald*, Handbook of evidentiality*, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 85-108.

Evidentiality in Nivkh: A "hidden" semantic category

Ekaterina Gruzdeva (University of Helsinki)

The paper discusses the status, semantics and diachronic development of evidential markers in the Amur (A) and East Sakhalin (ES) varieties of Nivkh (Paleosiberian, isolate). Evidentiality has been grammaticalized in Nivkh to a varying degree and is realized predominantly in combination with other categories. As a result, evidentiality has remained in the shadow of other linguistic phenomena, though it has been indirectly identified in previous studies on Nivkh, cf. Kreinovich, 1979: 316.

Nivkh differentiates three types of evidential meanings which rather straightforwardly follow the classifications proposed in Willett (1988: 57) and Plungian (2001: 353). *Direct* (*visual*) *evidentiality* is a semantic feature typical of at least three verb forms: emphatic evidentials, miratives and visual apprehensives. Within the scope of *indirect evidentiality*, Nivkh distinguishes *inferentialevidentiality* expressed through inferential apprehensives and *reported evidentiality* indicated by reportatives.

- Emphatic evidentials are used when the speaker personally observes the situation s/he is talking about and wants to attract the interlocutor's attention to it. These most basic evidential mood forms are marked by the suffix *-ra* (A), *-(ŋ)ra* (ES):

  (1) *j-ama-ve*   *odla-gu*   *p^hrə-ivi-ra*.

       3SG-look-IMP:2PL   child-PL   come-PROGR-EVID:DIR/EMPH

       'Look [you:PL]! Children are coming.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 118)

- Miratives describe an event as witnessed and having taken place unexpectedly. The markers are the clitic *=hari* (A, ES), cf. (2), or a mood suffix *-c^hari* (A), cf. (3). The clitic has emerged as a result of lexicalization and further grammaticalization of the functional verb *ha-* 'do so' in combination with the expressive variant of the emphatic/evidential suffix *-ri*: *ha-ri > hari > =hari*. In (A), *=hari* has been undergoing a secondary grammatical change merging with the indicative suffix *-ɟ/-c* and in that way suffixalizing into the mirative/evidential mood suffix *- c^hari*: *-ɟ/-c=hari > -c^hari.*

  (2) *c^hi*   *taf + p^hi-d=hari*.

      you:SG   house + be-IND= EVID:DIR/MIR

      'You turn out to be at home!' (ES)

(3) *o:la*   *cʰi*   **pʰrə-cʰari**.

    child:VOC   you:SG   come-EVID:DIR/MIR

    'Child! It turned out that you came.' (A) (Panfilov 1965: 228)

- Visual apprehensives are issued when the speaker directly observes the addressee's behaviour that may lead to undesirable consequences. They are marked by polycompositional mood suffixes *-nəra* (A), *-inəŋra* (SG), *-inəŋta* (PL) (ES), which comprise emphatic/evidential suffix *-(ŋ)ra,* the future tense suffix *-nə-* in (A) and the desiderative/intentional suffix *-inə-* plus the nominalizer *-ŋ* in (ES):

    (4) *lařk + **vaχc-u-inəŋra**.*

      dress + burst-TR-APPR:VIS:2SG'Do not tear your dress!' (ES)

- Inferential apprehensives are used when the speaker assumes that in the future the addressee maycarry out potentially harmful actions. This assumption is based not on a direct evidence, but on a previous negative experience or on a general knowledge of the situation. Given forms aremarked by polycompositional mood suffixes *-ijra* (A), *-jaŋra* (SG)*, -jaŋta* (PL) (ES), which also comprise the emphatic/evidential suffix *-(ŋ)ra,* an unidentifiable segment *-ij* in (A) and the 2SG imperative marker *-ja* plus the nominalizer *-ŋ-* in (ES):

    (5) **zosq-jaŋta**.

      break-APPR.INFER:2PL

      'Don't break [it] [you:PL]!' (ES)

- Reportatives are expressed by the reportative clitic *=furu/=pʰuru*, which is derived from the speech verb *fur-/-pʰur-* 'tell':

    (6) *pət*   *ɲəŋ-doχ*   *caŋgi-ɣu*   **pʰrə-nə-ɟ=furu**.

      tomorrow   we:EXCL-DAT   boss-PL   come-FUT-IND=EVID:REP

      'They say that tomorrow bosses will come to us.' (A)

References

Kreinovich, Eruhim A. 1979. Nivxskij jazyk [The Nivkh language]. In: *Jazyki Azii i Afriki III. Jazykidrevnej perednej Azii*

Panfilov, Vladimir Z. 1965. *Grammatika nivxskogo jazyka* [A grammar of Nivkh] 2. Moskva,Leningrad: Nauka.

Plungian, Vladimir A. 2001. The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 349-358.

Willett, Thomas. 1988. A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticization of evidentiality. *Studiesin Language* 12:1, 51–97.

The grammar of interactives: The challenge of discourse

Bernd Heine (Köln University)

Most work on grammatical analysis has focused on the structure of clauses and sentences organized in a propositional format. Work on discourse processing and the organization of texts suggests, however, that there are many linguistic phenomena that are elusive to a description in terms of 'sentence grammar'. A number of frameworks, commonly known as 'dual process models' (e.g., Evans and Stanovich, 2013; Heine, 2019), have been proposed to account for such phenomena and their psychological and neurolinguistic correlates (e.g., Marini et al., 2005; Haselow, 2019).

Based on this line of research, the present paper argues that there is crosslinguistically a pool of linguistic expressions that appear to be anchored immediately in the situation of discourse rather than in the syntactic or semantic structure of sentences. These expressions, referred to as 'interactives', include interjections, ideophones, discourse markers, social formulae, as well as a number of types of linguistic forms. The goal of the paper is to define these expressions as a grammatical category distinct from other linguistic categories.

References

Evans, J.S.B.T. and Stanovich, K.E. 2013. Dual process theories of higher cognition: advancing the debate. Perspectives on Psychological Science 8, 3: 223–241.

Haselow, Alexander 2019. Discourse markers and brain lateralization: Evidence for dual language processing from neurological disorders. Typescript.

Heine, Bernd 2019. Some observations on the dualistic nature of discourse processing. Folia Linguistica 53, 2: 411-442.

Marini, Andrea, Carlomagno, S., Caltagirone, C. and Nocentini, U. 2005. The role played by the right hemisphere in the organization of complex textual structures. Brain and Language 93: 46-54.

Evidentiality and Modality in Shumcho/Humcho

Christian Huber (Phonogrammarchiv, Austrian Academy of Sciences)

Shumcho/Humcho, a West Himalayish language spoken in the Distt. Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh, India, has two copulas, *to* and *taš* (both 'be'), which partake in the expression of egophoricity, evidentiality, and modality. Based on original fieldwork, I will discuss the properties of the copulas in various contexts as well as the properties of some modal constructions as they emerge from the currently available data.

The copula *to* occurs with subjects of all persons (e.g. *to-kʰ/-n/-Ø* [be-1SG/-2SG.NH/-3NH], etc.) whereas *taɛ* occurs with 3rd person subjects only. Both copulas have no future forms but occur only in the present or past (and a modal form). Roughly, *to* indicates internally established knowledge, personal experience, or presence in some situation (egophoric, Tournadre & LaPolla, 2014; San Roque *et al.*, 2019), *taš* indicates knowledge freshly obtained or not based on personal experience (non-egophoric, mirative, DeLancey, 1997). (1i) can only be uttered when the speaker is with *Kailash* and is aware that *Kailash* is working, his/her knowledge of the situation therefore involves sensory perception. In (1ii) the speaker only found *Kailash* working, or knows so from a reliable source. *taš* may thus involve perceptual or reported evidence. However, both versions are factual statements.

(1) | *kɛlaːš* | *len* | *la-u* | (i) | *to-Ø* | / (ii) | *taš* |
| NAME | work | do-PROG | | be.EGO.PRS-3NH | | be.MIR.PRS.3 |
'Kailash is/was working' (lit. 'doing work')

In constrast, in possessive or dative experiencer constructions, which make reference to a mental state or experience, *to* cannot be licenced by perceptual evidence or familiarity with the situation, therefore *taš* occurs in (2bi) and (2c), and *to* only in (2a) and (2bii), where the askee's internal knowledge is addressed. The licencing conditions for *to* thus also depend on the type of predicate.

(2) a. | *aŋ=ra* | *tsaːkuː* | *to-Ø* |
| 1S.POSS=DAT | knife | be.EGO.PRS-3NH |
'I have a knife (right now)'

b. | *giroua* | *tsaːkuː* | (i) | *taš* | / (ii) | *to-Ø=a* |
| YOU.S.H.ADESS | Knife | | be.MIR.PRS.3 | | be.EGO.PRS-3NH=Q |
(i) 'You have a knife (right now)'/(ii) 'Do you have a knife (right now)?'

c. | *kɛlaːš=ua* | *tsaːkuː* | *taš* | (*to-Ø) |
| NAME=ADESS | Knife | be.MIR.PRS.3 | (be.EGO.PRS-3NH) |
'Kailash has a knife (right now)'

to also has an imperfective/habitual form *toi* that indicates a non-momentary, general state of

affairs that holds not only at some reference time (as in tensed forms) and lies beyond full external evidential evaluation, rather relying on the speaker's internal knowledge or beliefs, (3). *toi* is also used to express hypothetical states of affairs, e.g. in unreal conditionals, (4).

(3) dote: *guru*   *to-i*
    3S.DIST.NVIS.HON   guru   be.EGO-HAB
    'He is/was/used to be a (spiritual) teacher.'

(4) *bizili:*   *tu.n-naŋ*   *gɨ:*   *len*   *la-ma*   *to-i*
    electricity   come-COND   I   work   do-INF   be.EGO-HAB
    i) 'If electricity came (back), I would work'; ii) 'If electricity had come (back), I would have worked.'

Both *to* and *taš* can host the modal *–gjo*, which yields an inferential reading, (5). According to informants, *tašgjo* is used if conclusions are drawn from external circumstantial evidence, while *totgjo* indicates inference based on internal reasoning.

(5) a. *oi*   *aŋ*   *taš-gjo-Ø*   b. *dži*   *tšʰe*   *to.t-gjo-Ø*
         DD.3S.NH PROX   1S.POSS   be.MIR-IRR-3NH   3S.NH.PROX   what   be.EGO-IRR-3NH
         'This one [pointing] must be mine'   'What may he have been (in a previous life)?'

I also will briefly discuss additional evidential and modal constructions.

References

DeLancey, S. 1997. "Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information." *Linguistic Typology* 1, 33–52.

San Roque, L., S. Floyd & E. Norcliffe. 2019. "Egophoricity: An introduction." In: Floyd, Norcliffe & San Roque, *Egophoricity*. John Benjamins, pp. 1–78.

Tournadre, N. & R. LaPolla. 2014. "Towards a new approach to evidentiality: Issues and directions for research". *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 37(2), 240–263.

Lexical sources of Kurtöp evidential, mirative, and egophoric markers

Gwendolyn Hyslop (University of Sydney)

Like many other Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas, Kurtöp has a rich system of evidential and evidential-like markers. For example, we find a five-way epistemological contrast in perfective aspect, and a two-way contrast in both imperfective aspect and future tense. In addition to these, there is a rich set of contrasts encoded in the copulas and the option to add extra evidential and evidential-like markers as clause-final enclitics (Hyslop, 2017, *inter alia*). While even a rich system like Kurtöp's is uncommon in the region, the diachronic source of these systems is still relatively unknown (though see Widmer, 2017 forone recent exception). The aim in this talk is to advance our understanding of the historical development of epistemological systems by examining the lexical sources of the evidential and evidential-like forms in Kurtöp.

Based on primary fieldwork in Bhutan, we use synchronic and comparative data to argue for the origins of the evidential and evidential-like system in Kurtöp. To take the five perfective markers, for example, we can say the following. The form-*pala* is used when the speaker expects someone else to have first-hand knowledge of the event; -*para* is used when the speaker presumes that a given event took place; and -*mu* codes indirect evidence of an event.These forms also contrast paradigmatically with -*na*, which marks the mirative (recent and surprising knowledge of an event, e.g. DeLancey, 1997) perfective. The final perfective form, -*shang*, is used in egophoric (e.g. Tournadre, 2008) contexts, when the speaker has privilegedaccess to knowledge.

Both -*para* and -*pala* are the result of recent grammaticalizations of a nominalizer plus either an auxiliary verb *ra* 'to come' (> -*para*) or a copula *la* (> -*pala*). The mirative -*na* is a recent grammaticalization from an auxiliary verb 'to be at'. The source of -*mu* is still unknown, while we can fairly confidently state that -*shang* has been borrowed from a Tibetic variety.

Taking the system as a whole, we can see that the source of miratives is easy to trace, viarecent grammaticalizations of auxiliaries like **nak* 'to be at' and **tak* 'to become'.

Evidentials, marking source of knowledge (e.g. Aikhenvald, 2004), are harder to trace in Kurtöp, while the one egophoric in the language is highly likely a borrowing. In sum, Kurtöp provides a case-study for the lexical sources of several evidential and evidential-like markers. A careful examination of the differences of these allows us to raise questions about whether or not there is anything intrinsic to the semantics of these lexical items, making them more orless likely to grammaticalize into certain epistemological contrasts.

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: OUP.

DeLancey, Scott. 1997. Mirativity: The Grammatical Marking of Unexpected Information. *Linguistic Typology* 1: 33–52.

Hyslop, Gwendolyn. 2017. *A Grammar of Kurtöp*. Languages of the Greater HimalayanRegion 18. Leiden: Brill.

Tournadre, Nicolas. 2008. Against the concept of "Conjunct"/"Disjunct" in Tibetan. In *Chomolangma, Demawen und Kasbek, Festschrift für Roland Bielmeier*, 281-308. International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH.

Widmer, Manuel. 2017. The evolution of egophoricity and evidentiality in the Himalayas: the case of Bunan. *Journal of Historical Linguistics* 1(1-2): 245-274

À la croisée de l'évidentialité indirecte, l'engagement et le désengagement : analyse du marqueur espagnol por lo visto face à ses équivalents en français et en estonien dans un corpus parallèle

Izquierdo Alegría Dámaso (GRADUN-ICS, Universidad de Navarra & Universidad Internacional de la Rioja), Anu Treikelder (Université de Tartu)

En espagnol, la locution adverbiale por lo visto a été largement décrite comme un marqueur d'évidentialité indirecte (Reyes, 1994 : 25-26 ; González Ramos, 2004 ; Marcos Sánchez, 2005 ; Cornillie, 2007: §3.1.6 ; Martín Zorraquino, 2010 ; Albelda, 2018). Les descriptions de sa sémantique et/ou pragmatique ont aussi souligné sa capacité d'exprimer le désengagement du locuteur. Cependant, d'autres études plus récentes (González Ramos, 2016 ; Izquierdo Alegría, 2016 : 144-147) ont démontré que ce désengagement n'est pas total : hors les exemples avec une fonction ironique très marquée, la locution *por lo visto* ne peut pas être suivie d'un enchaînement où le locuteur se dissocie complètement du point de vue qu'elle introduit (#Por lo visto ha venido, pero no ha venido ; ' « por lo visto » il est venu, mais il n'est pas venu'), contrairement à d'autres unités sémantiquement très proches, comme *aparentemente* ou *parece* (que). Ainsi, por lo visto a un statut intermédiaire concernant le degré d'engagement codifié : même s'il n'y a pas d'engagement complet du locuteur, le point de vue introduit doit coïncider avec celui du locuteur, qui, alors, ne pourra pas être réfuté dans son discours. Dans des langues comme le français ou l'anglais il n'y a pas d'équivalent clair qui codifie exactement ce contenu : les unités dont le sémantisme s'approche le plus de celui de por lo visto sont des cognats de *aparentemente* (apparently, apparemment), qui, eux aussi, acceptent la dissociation totale entre le point de vue du locuteur et celui qu'ils introduisent. Nous proposons une analyse des unités équivalentes du marqueur espagnol por lo visto dans une langue romane, donc apparentée (le français), et dans une langue non indo-européenne dont l'expression linguistique de l'évidentialité n'est pas seulement lexique, mais aussi grammaticale : l'estonien. Cette étude est basée sur l'analyse des versions estoniennes et françaises des 88 occurrences de *por lo visto* trouvées dans les corpus parallèles EuroParl, Open Subtitles, DGT et EUR-Lex, qui constituent, à notre connaissance, la totalité de corpus parallèles publics avec des textes en espagnol, français et estonien. Les résultats révèlent une énorme variété dans le choix d'éléments équivalents en estonien et en français, surtout en ce qui concerne le type et le degré d'engagement qu'ils codifient: parmi les unités identifiées, il y a des marqueurs d'évidentialité indirecte qui sont plus ou moins associés à une suite négative (marqueur+p, mais non-p), tels que fr. apparemment, il semble que…, est. *nähtavasti, näiliselt, ilmselt* ; des marqueurs grammaticaux d'évidentialité reportative (fr. conditionnel épistémique, est. -vat) ; des adverbes épistémiques qui marquent

36

un degré de certitude faible (fr. sans doute, est. *arvatavasti, vist*) ; des unités qui codifient un haut degré de certitude (fr. manifestement, à l'évidence, en fait ; est. *ilmselgelt, tegelikult*) ; ou encore des assertions catégoriques dépourvues d'un marqueur spécifique. Ces variations, dans la plupart des cas liées à la fonction attribuée par le traducteur à l'unité du texte source, semblent témoigner de ce statut intermédiaire de *por lo visto* en ce qui concerne l'engagement du locuteur.

Références

Albelda, M. 2018. "¿Atenuación del compromiso del hablante?: el caso de los evidenciales por lo visto y se ve que". RILCE. Revista de Filología Hispánica, 34/3, 1179-1214.

Cornillie, B. 2007. Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality in Spanish (Semi-) Auxiliaries: A Cognitive-Functional Approach. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

González Ramos, E. 2004. "Por lo visto: marcador de evidencialidad y sus valores pragmáticos en español actual", Interlingüística, 15, 665-673.

González Ramos, E. 2016. "Por lo visto y al parecer: evidencialidad y restricción del compromiso con la verdad de un contenido enunciado". In R. González Ruiz, D. Izquierdo Alegría et Ó. Loureda Lamas (éds.), La evidencialidad en español: teoría y descripción. Madrid/Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 129-152.

Izquierdo Alegría, D. 2016. Alcances y límites de la evidencialidad: aspectos teóricos y propuesta de análisis aplicada a un conjunto de adverbios evidencialoides del español. Thèse de doctorat, Universidad de Navarra (Pampelune, Espagne).

Marcos Sánchez, M. 2005. "A propósito del marcador por lo visto". In L. Santos Río et al. (éds.), Palabras, norma, discurso: en memoria de Fernando Lázaro Carreter. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 777-786.

Martín Zorraquino, Mª A. 2010. "Las partículas discursivas en los diccionarios y los diccionarios de partículas discursivas (con referencia especial a desde luego/sin duda y por lo visto/al parecer)". In E. Bernal, S. Torner et J. DeCesaris (éds.), Estudis de Lexicografia 2003-2005. Barcelone: IULA-Documenta Universitaria. 231-257.

Reyes, G. 1994. Los procedimientos de cita: citas encubiertas y ecos. Madrid: Arco/Libros.

Expressing doubt in the evidence, or expressing pretense? The Finnish dubitative particle *muka*

Elsi Kaiser (University of Southern California)

Evidentiality conveys information about the nature of the information source (e.g. Aikhenvald'04). Since information sources differ in their strength/reliability (e.g. visual, hearsay), evidentials also affect a *speaker's level of commitment* to the proposition (e.g. Faller'02). To better understand the linguistic encoding of commitment, I use corpus data to investigate the Finnish dubitative particle *muka* ('supposedly, allegedly, as if'). *Muka* signals the speaker's level of commitment to a proposition (Kangasniemi'92, Kuiri'84, Nordlund/Pekkarinen'14). Prior work has identified two seemingly distinct uses of *muka*. However, I propose these two uses can be unified, yielding a uniform meaning.

USE#1 Expressing doubt. Kangasniemi'94 (i.a.) notes that *muka* signals the speaker received the information from someone else and doubts its truth/does not agree with it:

(1) Liisa asuu muka Lahdessa.

Liisa MUKA lives in Lahti

'It has been claimed that Liisa lives in Lahti but I doubt this'

USE#2 Intentional pretense. *Muka* can also be used when the speaker says something that s/he *knows to be false* but someone (speaker, maybe others) *pretends* to be true. This covers make-believe contexts involving children's play (2a), and contexts where a person pretends something, hoping others think it's real (2b).

(2a) Nyt hän on *muka* lentokone. (child playing; Kangasniemi'92:209)

Now s/he is <u>MUKA</u> airplane

'Now s/he is <u>pretending to be</u> an airplane.'

(2b) Katselin *muka* näyteikkunoita (www)

Looked-at-1st <u>MUKA</u> shop-windows

'I <u>pretended to</u> look at shop windows.'

My claim: Earlier, these two meanings of *muka* have been treated as largely distinct, but I use corpus data to show that they can be unified if we conceptualize the meaning of *muka* as consisting of two components:

First, one component is the epistemic dubitative contribution: *Muka* signals that **proposition p is not part of the set of things that speaker X believes** (cf. Schenner/Sauerland'13 on Bulgarian). The **second** component is that *muka* signals that **there exists a person Y who said/conveyed proposition p**. This stems from the fact that, on the doubt use, *muka* is <u>not</u>

felicitous with out-of- the-blue propositions. (If nobody said/indicated anything about L. living in Lahti, (1) is infelicitous.) Here, *muka* expresses doubt about a proposition <u>already introduced</u> by someone else.

How does this approach unify the doubt and pretense uses of *muka*? I propose that both uses share the same two meaning components, but crucially differ in ***whether the person who does not believe proposition p (person X) is the <u>same person</u> who says/conveys proposition p (person Y).*** On the doubt use, X ≠Y. On the pretense use, X = Y. This captures both the intentional-pretense and doubt usages.

This analysis can be extended to explain *muka*'s co-occurrence with the hearsay evidential *kuulemma* (7). A probabilistic account (e.g. Davis etal.'07) could be extended the the hearsay *kuulemma*, with *muka* contributing the meaning sketched out above.

(7) Liisa asuu kuulemma muka Lahdessa. / Liisa lives KUULEMMA MUKA in Lahti.

The present work provides a new analysis of dubitative *muka* and offers a uniform account of itsmeanings and interaction with the hearsay evidential.

References

Aikhenvald, A. 2004. Evidentiality. Oxford University Press.

Davis, C., Potts, C & Speas, M. 2007. The Pragmatic Values of Evidential Sentences. In T. Friedman and M. Gibson (eds), Proceedings of SALT XVII 71-88, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University

Faller, M.: 2002, Semantics and Pragmatics of Evidentials in Cuzco Quechua, PhD thesis, Stanford University. Kangasniemi, H. 1992. *Modal Expressions in Finnish*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Kuiri, K. 1984. *Referointi Kainuun ja Pohjois-Karjalan murteissa*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Nordlund, T & Pekkarinen, H. 2014. Grammaticalisation of the Finnish stance adverbial muka, 'as if, supposedly, allegedly'. In *Diachronic Corpus Pragmatics*, edited by Irma Taavitsainen, et al., John Benjamins.

Schenner, M. & Sauerland, U. 2013 On Embedding and Evidentiality in Bulgarian. Contrastive Linguistics, 38, 131-152.

Evidentiality and reported imperatives in Latvian

Andra Kalnaca (University of Latvia), Ilze Lokmane (University of Latvia)

Latvian is one of the relatively few languages that have developed specific oblique mood for the expression of evidentiality (e.g., Plungian, 2001, 2010; Aikhenvald, 2004; Kehayov, 2008; Diewald, Smirnova, 2010). Oblique forms are used to indicate that the author of a text is not the source of the information contained in that text (e.g., Holvoet, 2007, 2018; Nītiņa, Grigorjevs, 2013), i.e., to express that information comes from someone else's verbal report (e.g., Aikhenvald, 2004; AnderBois, 2014).

The fact that information has been obtained from an extraneous source in Latvian is either expressed by means of the oblique mood alone or signalled by *verbum dicendi* in the first part of a composite sentence (1) (among others, Nītiņa, Grigorjevs, 2013; Chojnicka, 2012, 2016):

(1)   *Sieviete*   **noprasīja,**   *kurš*   *no*   *bērnības*
woman.NOM.SG ask.PST.3   who.NOM.SG   from   childhood.GEN.SG
atcer-oties   *kādu*   *skaitāmpantiņu.*
remember-OBL.PRS   some.ACC.SG   nursery_rhyme.ACC.SG
'The woman asked who could remember a nursery rhyme from their childhood.'
(LVK2018)

The oblique narration can vary from a relatively precise citation to a more loose one, even taking the form of a commentary on the text from external sources.

In Latvian, the oblique forms are used also in the cases when one needs to report an order, demand or permission expressed by a person (or persons), which can be linked with the indirect speech, i.e. indirect order. A specific use of oblique together with the subordinator *lai* combines evidential and imperative meanings (2):

(2)   *Kad mājas saimnieks teicis,*
lai   *[kaimiņi]*   **savāc-ot**   *[izbērtās smiltis],*
SUB   [neighbour]   clear-OBL.PRS   [scatter sand]
[tie   *esot]*   *teikuši:*
[they   be.AUX.OBL.PRS]   say.PTCP.NOM.PL
jā,   *bet*   *nevākuši.*
yes   but   not_clear.PTCP.NOM.PL
'When the house owner told [the neighbours] to clear [the scattered sand] away, [they reportedly] said: yes, but didn't.' (Latvijas Avīze)

In such cases we can speak of the second-hand imperative (e.g., Aikhenvald 2004, 250–253, see also Korotkova, 2017). Here, too, there is a particular syntactic construction – a complement clause introduced by the subordinator *lai*, while the oblique form is in the simple present tense (other oblique forms are not used in such cases).

The fact that the subordinate clause contains an initial imperative is demonstrated by the

subordintor *lai*, that is also used in the function of the particle adjacent to the 3rdperson imperative form of the verb (Nītiņa, Grigorjevs 2013) (example 3):

(3) **Lai** *[viņš] atnāk,*

    let   [he]   come.IMP.3

    es   *ar*   *viņu*   *parunāšu!*

  I. NOM with   he.INS talk.FUT.1SG

 'Let [him] come, I'll talk to him!' (LVK2018)

Accordingly, it can be claimed that in Latvian one is able to express reportative deonticmodality, i.e. the combination of the evidential and deontic meanings (order, demand or permission). The objective of the paper is to examine interaction of the reportative evidential and the deontic meanings of the oblique in Latvian that depend on pragmaticand discourse factors, especially in connection with the indirect speech.

The examples have been taken from different sources: fiction, public media, websites, *The Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian* (LVK2018).

References

Aikhenvald, Aleksandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

AnderBois, S. 2014. On the exceptional status of reportative evidentials. *Semantics and Linguistic Theory,* 24, 234–254.

Chojnicka, Joanna. 2012. Reportive evidentiality and reported speech: is there aboundary? *Multiple perspectives in linguistic research on Baltic languages.* Aurelija Usonienė, Nicole Nau & Ineta Dabašinskienė (eds.). Cambridge ScholarsPublishing, 170–192.

Chojnicka, Joanna. 2016. Latvian verbs of speaking and their relations to evidentiality. *Kalbotyra,* 69, DOI: https://doi.org/10.15388/Klbt.2016.10367

Diewald, Gabriele & Elena Smirnova. 2010. Introduction. Evidentiality in European languages: the lexical-grammatical distinction. *Linguistic Realization ofEvidentiality in European Languages.* Diewald, Gabriele & Elena Smirnova (eds). Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton, 1–25.

Holvoet, Axel. 2007. *Mood and Modality in Baltic.* Kraków: Wydawnictwo universitetu Jagiellońskiego.

Holvoet, Axel. 2018. Epistemic modality, evidentiality, quotativity and echoic use. In Zlatka Guentchéva, ed., *Epistemic Modalities and Evidentiality in Cross-Linguistic Perspective.* Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 242–258.

Kehayov, Petar. 2008. *An Areal-Typological Perspective to Evidentiality: the Cases ofthe*

Balkan and Baltic Linguistic Areas. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Korotkova 2017. Evidentials and (relayed) speech acts: Hearsay as quotation. *Proceedings of SALT,* 25, 676–694.

Nītiņa, Daina & Juris Grigorjevs (eds). 2013. *Latviešu valodas gramatika.* [A Grammar of Latvian.] Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts.

Plungian, Vladimir A. 2001. The Place of Evidentiality within the Universal Grammatical Space. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33 (3), 349–357.

Plungian, Vladimir. 2010. *Types of verbal evidentiality marking: An overview*. In Gabriele Diewald & Elena Smirnova (eds.), *Linguistic realization of evidentiality in European languages*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 15–58.

The Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian. [Līdzsvarotais mūsdienu latviešu valodas tekstu korpuss (LVK2018).] Available at: http://www.korpuss.lv/id/LVK2018

The perfect and evidentiality in neo-Aramaic dialects

Geoffrey Khan (University of Cambridge)

It has been widely recognized that in many languages the perfect can develop evidential functions (Aikhenvald, 2004). This is the case also in the Neo-Aramaic dialects (Semitic), in which the perfect can express indirect evidentiality of a past event. Most of the literature on evidentiality concentrates on a semantic or pragmatic analysis of the phenomenon (e.g. Izvorski, 1997; Faller, 2002; Potts, 2005). Analysis of the full range of the functions of the perfect in the Neo-Aramaic dialects shows that the evidential function can be regarded as a subcategory of a more generic function of the perfect, which has its basis in the cognitive construal of an event. This can give us some insight into the broader cognitive basis of the linguistic expression of evidentiality and its grammatical expression, supporting the view that evidentiality does not have an independent functional status (Bruil, 2015).

In the Neo-Aramaic dialects the perfect has the following functions.

1. Resultative State

2. Anterior

3. Existential

4. Evidential (lack of visual witnessing, through report or inference)

5. Remote past

Such past events are presented with perfective aspect with a specific event time. In such cases the event may have been witnessed by the speaker, but he/she is separated from it by a long interval of time.

6. Presuppositional

A past event with a specific event time is expressed by the perfect when it is not in focus but is part of the presupposition of a clause.

7. Mirative

The common denominator of the above-mentioned diverse functions of the perfect is the fact that the event is cognitively **defocalized** by construing it as being viewed from an **indirect**

reference point. The different functions arise from (i) the nature of the indirect perspective, i.e. temporal (resultative, existential), epistemic (evidential, remote past), communicative (presuppositional), processing (unpreparedness of the mind of a mirative) and (ii) the definiteness of the event (indefinite specific, indefinite non-specific, definite [i.e. bound to a definite point in time]). This wide range of functions of the perfect shows that the development of the evidential function of the perfect in Neo-Aramaic should not be regarded as an independent functional category (Aikhenvald, 2004) or simply as an epistemic counterpart of temporal relations (e.g. Izvorski, 1997) but rather a grammatical instantiation of a broader operation of cognitive construal whereby the event is defocalized.

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford.

Bruil, Martine. 2015. "When Evidentials Are Not Evidentials: The Case of the Ecuadorian Siona Reportative." *Linguistic Typology* 19: 385–423.

Faller, Martina. 2002. "Semantics and Pragmatics of Evidentials in Cuzco Quecha." Ph.D. Thesis, Stanford.

Izvorski, Roumyana. 1997. "The Present Perfect as an Epistemic Modal." In *Proceedings of SALT 7*, edited by Aaron Lawson and Eun Cho, 222–39. Ithaca: CLC.

Khan, Geoffrey. 2004. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabja*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 44. Leiden.

Khan, Geoffrey. 2016. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Assyrian Christians of Urmi*. 4 vols. Leiden-Boston.

Potts, Christopher. 2005. *The Logic of Conventional Implicatures*. Oxford.

The unspecified external evidence particle *vissiin* of Finnish

Seppo Kittilä (University of Helsinki)

Finnish lacks evidentiality as an obligatory grammatical category, but information source may be expressed by lexical verbs and evidential particles. There are particles, e.g., for inference, assumption and hearsay. In this paper, one of the particles, namely *vissiin* will be discussed. In general, *vissiin* is used whenever the speaker has some kind of external evidence for his/her claim, whose nature is not specified, but contextually determined. In this respect, the particle differs from the inferential/assumptive particles *varmaan* and *näköjään*.

First, *vissiin* is used for expressing some kind of inference/assumption, as in (1), where it contrasts with *varmaan* and *näköjään*:

(1) *Kalle **vissiin**/varmaan/näköjään* *väittelee* *ensi vuonna*

  PN defend.3SG.PRS next year.ESS

  'Kalle is probably/inferably going to defend his PhD next year'

In (1), *varmaan* is most appropriate when the speaker is making an assumption based on his/her general knowledge of the world, for example s/he knows that Kalle has proceeded so well with his work that he must defend next year. *Vissiin* may appear, for example, when the speaker knows that Kalle has submitted his thesis without knowing the outcome yet, but having good grounds for believing that the thesis will be accepted. Finally, *näköjään* is appropriate when the speaker has seen a Facebook update by Kalle where he says that his thesis has been accepted. Second, *vissiin* can also be used as a hearsay/quotative particle; *Kalle vissiin väittelee ensi vuonna* can also mean that the speaker is quoting someone without having evidence of his/her own for this (*vissiin* can be replaced with the hearsay particle *kuulemma* in this case). *Näköjään* and *varmaan* are excluded for this function.

The two different functions of *vissiin* both very well highlight the basic semantics of vissiin. In the first function, vissiin contrasts with *näköjään* and *varmaan*, both of which specify the nature of evidence the speaker has, while *vissiin* is silent on this. In the second case, *vissiin* is the only possible particle for the same reason; using either other particle would specify the nature of evidence, but this is not done, because we cannot directly specify the nature of quoted evidence; *vissiin* only states that we have some external evidence for our claim.

In my talk, I will illustrate the functions of *vissiin* in light of actual linguistic data, both elicited and from actual language use. The discussion will also include particles *varmaan* and *näköjään*, because their use aids in illustrating the exact semantics of *vissiin* better.

The development of evidential grammatical markers in Ibero-Romance

Víctor Lara Bermejo (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia)

Since Squartini's (2001) work on evidentiality in Romance, more and more studies have focused on the future and conditional tenses as grammatical markers of evidentiality in these languages. In the case of the Ibero-Romance, the literature states that in Spanish and Portuguese the expression of conjecture (and to a lesser extent reportativity), as well as other modal readings, is by far the most frequent use of these tenses (Sedano, 2006; Escandell-Vidal, 2014, for Spanish; Oliveira, 1985; Cunha & Cintra, 1992, for Portuguese), while temporal readings are hardly found (except perhaps in formal registers). Catalan, in contrast, seems to have specialised both tenses for temporal readings, to the extent that other non-temporal interpretations are disallowed (Badia i Margarit, 1962; Wheeler *et al.*, 1999). However, most analyses have been based on either the scholars' own knowledge of the language or written/literary sources. Inorder to verify whether the future and conditional tenses convey evidential meaning as their primary function in the different varieties of the Ibero- Romance, I have taken data from an array of dialect corpora, which show spontaneous speech of Spanish, Portuguese, Galician and Catalan.

The occurrences prove that both the future and the conditional exhibit temporal nuances, but also modal and evidential readings, and that the preponderance of either semantic reading is subjected to the linguistic variety and the diachronic stage of such. As a result, Portuguese, Galician and Spanish have specialised the future and the conditional tenses as markers of conjecture and reportativity, virtually ousting the temporal nuance, while Catalan prefers them for temporal references though it is developing conjectural readings as well. Furthermore, when comparing these data to the ones found in the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (1920 – 1950), it is possible to trace the development of the future and the conditional during the last seventy-five years.

The results suggest that all the Romance varieties of the Iberian Peninsula have tended towards evidentiality when using the future and the conditional tenses and that the directionality of such a change goes systematically from temporalto evidential interpretations, though at different paces in different languages. Unlike the situation that seemed to emerge in the first half of last century, in which evidential nuances were secondary or, at least, an extension of the temporal meaning of the future and the conditional, nowadays these tensesarise to mainly express source of information, except in Catalan. This linguistic area offers a more conservative picture to this respect, since it still possesses both tenses for temporal readings and, secondarily, for evidential meanings.

References

Badia i Margarit, A. 1962. *Gramàtica catalana*. Barcelona: Enciclopedia Catalana.

Cunha, C. & Cintra, L. F. L. 1992. *Nova gramática do português contemporâneo*. Lisbon: João Sá da Costa.

Escandell-Vidal. V. 2014. Evidential futures: the case of Spanish. In P. De Brabanter et al. (eds.), *Future times, future tenses*, 221 – 246. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Oliveira. F. 1985. O futuro em português: alguns aspectos temporais e/ou modais. *Actas do 1º Encontro da Associação Portuguesa de Linguística*, 353-373. Lisbon: Associação Portuguesa de Linguística.

Sedano, M. 2006. Importancia de los datos cuantitativos en el estudio de las expresiones de futuro. *Revista Signos* 39(61): 283 – 296.

Squartini, M. 2001. The internal structure of evidentiality in Romance. *Studies in Language* 25(2): 297 – 334.

Wheeler, M. et al. 1999. *Catalan: A comprehensive grammar*. London: Routledge.

Le paradigme évidentiel du persan : un nouvel angle d'analyse

Homa Lessan Pezechki (Aix-Marseille Université)

La notion de médiativité ou d'évidentialité en persan n'a pas fait l'objet d'étude comme il se doit. Le terme médiatif a été proposé par Gilbert Lazard en 1956 dans un article sur le tadjik. Auparavant, le grammairien iranien Kasravi, avait proposé le terme *nâ-did-e* « non-témoin » (litt. Non vu) pour désigner ces formes en fârsi. Lessan Pezechki, (1997-2002) propose de recourir au terme de *bardâšti* « déductif, abductif ». Récemment dans un article publié en Iran, Omidvari et Golfam (2017) ont opté pour le terme persan *govâh-namâyi* « litt. Témoin-montrer/rendre », métalangage assez opaque dans cette langue.

Ce n'est qu'avec les travaux de Kasravi avec la notion de *nâ-dide* « non-vu » et de Lazard avec la notion de « médiatif » que cette catégorie grammaticale distincte est progressivement apparue. Bien les linguistes aient progressivement introduit cette catégorie grammaticale, leur intégration dans la didactique reste actuellement très limitée que ce soit en Iran, au Tadjikistan ou en Afghanistan. De ce fait, les locuteurs ne sont généralement pas conscients de l'existence de cette catégorie.

L'évidentialité est définie comme une catégorie linguistique dont *le sens premier est d'indiquer la source d'information* (Aikhenvald, 2004 : 3). Elle peut être définie plus précisément comme *la représentation de la source et de l'accès à l'information d'après la perspective et la stratégie du locuteur.* (Tournadre et LaPolla, 2014).

Comme le mentionne (Yazdanian, 1978 : 555-563) citant A. Kasravi (1890-1946), le passé en persan ancien et classique comportait 13 formes et avait déjà grammaticalisé certaines formes évidentielles (excepté le progressif qui est une construction récente). Ces formes sont attestées dans les textes anciens (*Shâh-Nâme, Safar-Nâme, Târikhe beyhaghi, Golestân, e*tc.).

Les langues dérivées du néo-persan comme le fârsi, le dari et le tadjik ainsi que d'autres langues iraniques comme le kurde ont grammaticalisé l'évidentialité dans leur système verbal. D'un point de vue historique, l'évidentiel se construit pour les 4 temps-aspects sur le modèle du parfait à l'aide d'un participe passé en – *e* en persan et – *a* en tadjik associé à l'auxiliaire *ast* « être » au présent.

Traditionnellement les paradigmes que l'on nomme maintenant « évidentiel » ou « médiatif » étaient désignés par le terme arabe de *naqli* (en persan) et наклӣ (en tadjik) signifiant « [mode] narratif ».

D'un point de vue fonctionnel, on peut distinguer 4 fonctions de l'évidentiel :

Le marquage d'une source distincte

Le marquage de l'accès inférentiel

La distanciation

La supposition

Nous allons enfin examiner un processus de grammaticalisation qui pourrait conduire à l'apparition d'un évidentiel futur en persan.

Références

Aikhenvald, A., Y., *Evidentiality*, New York Oxford University Press, 2004.

Bres, J., « Dialogisme et temps verbaux de l'indicatif », in *Langue française* 3, n° 163, 2009, p. 21-39.

Guentchéva, Z., *L'énonciation médiatisée*, 1996, Louvain-Paris, Peeters.

Guentchéva, Z., *Aspectuality and Temporality, Description and theoretical issues*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam, Philadelphia, 2016.

Kalbassi, I., *Fârsi Iran va Tadjikestân, (yek barresiye moghâbeleyi)*, « le persan de l'Iran et de Tadjikistan (une étude contrastive) », daftar-e motâleât-e siâsi va beynolmellali, vezârat-e omur-e khâreje, 1374/1995.

Lazard, G., « L'inférentiel ou passé distancié en persan, » in *Studica Iranica* 14 :1, 1985, p. 27-42.

Lazard, G., *Grammaire du persan contemporain*, nouvelle édition, Téhéran, IFRI, Farhang Moaser, 2006.

Lessan Pezechki, H., *Système verbal et Deixis en persan et en français*, L'Harmattan, 2002.

Lessan Pezechki, H., « Un médiatif d'exception », in *Faits de langues*, *revue de linguistique* n°25, « l'exception entre les théories linguistiques et l'expériencee, directeur scientifique : Irina Vilkou-Pourstovaïa, 2005, Ophrys, p. 219-227.

Lessan Pezechki, H., « Les valeurs du médiatif persan », in *Faits de langues*, revue de linguistique n° 38, « Du Persan à la typologie, L'apport de Gilbert Lazard », directeur scientifique : Amr Helmy Ibrahim, Ophrys, 2011, p. 43-58.

Lessan Pezechki, H., « Les Homologues du conditionnel français en persan » in *Faits de langues*, revue de linguistique n° 40, « Ultériorité dans le passé, valeurs modales, conditionnel », directeur scientifique : Jacques Bres, Sophie Azzopardi et Sophie Sarrazin, Ophrys, 2012, p. 197-204.

Omidvari, A., & Golfam, A., « barresi-ye govâhnamâ-yi dar zabân-e fârsi : ruykard-i rade šenâxt-i » (The study of evidentiality in Persian : A typological approach) in *Jastârhâ-ye zabâni*, volume 8 (1) , 2017, p. 79-99.

Tournadre, N., « Personne et médiatif en tibétain », in *La personne. Faits de langue,* n°3, 1994, p. 149-158.

Tournadre, N., « Typologie des aspects verbaux et intégration à une théorie du TAM », In *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, vol.99, n°1, 2004, p.7-68.

Tournadre N. et LaPolla, R., « Towards a new approach to evidentiality, Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area» vol. 37:2, 2014, p. 240–263

Disentangling epistemic modality from evidentiality in spoken discourse: afocus on the *comment clause* in Present-day Italian

Maria Cristina Lo Baido (Università degli studi di Bergamo)

Main theme of the paper: study how discourse particles and constructions can express evidential and modal meanings.

The paper addresses 679 constructions defined as comment clauses (henceforth, CCs, Quirk *et al.*, 1972), i.e., parenthetical verbs like *penso* 'I think' and *mi sa* 'it seems to me' (Aijmer, 1991; Schneider, 2007) conveying epistemic (258) and evidential functions (421).

We keep a distinction between the functions (de Haan, 2006; Mushin, 2001; Nuyts, 2005). Whereas epistemic modality expresses "the evaluation of the chances that a certain hypothetical state of affairs under consideration [...] will occur, is occurring or has occurred […]" (Nuyts, 2001: 21), evidentiality refers to the source or the type of evidence for the SoA (Nuyts, 2009: 144).

We classify the semantic properties of the constructions (weak/strong assertive (Hooper, 1975) *vs* semifactive (Borillo, 1982) or perceptual predicates and so on). Moreover, in drawing their discourse profile, we argue that epistemic and evidential CCs can occur in hosts whose classification requires the level of macrosyntax, which encompasses structures such as verbless hosts (Debaisieux, 2016) with which CCs form *arrangements* conveying speaker's stance through a syntactically detachable construction (Haselow, 2016). Only 15% of CCs occurs in *irrealis* contexts suggesting their role in conveying modalization, beyond occurring exclusively in assertions and despite not constituting a grammatical paradigm.

We follow a constructional approach (Pietrandrea, 2018). In identifying whether a predicateis used evidentially or epistemically, not only the sentence level is invoked (Hennemann, 2012). Therefore, we show that weak assertive predicates may be used in evidential contexts (Aikhenvald, 2004) as in (1), in which the evidential nuance is co-textually contributed:

(1) *non mi ricordo bene di che livello, pero' comunque era=una certificazione che si faceva alle medie, quindi **penso** livello base qualcosa del genere (KIParla, TOD2011)*

> *I do not remember well what kind of level, however it was a certification that was required inprimary school, therefore **I think** beginner level something like that*

In (1), despite employing a weak predicate, the speaker is *deducing* from a premise rather than merely supposing (notice the causal connective *quindi* 'so' signalling an inference; in classifying the types of evidence, we adopt Plungian's (2001) distinction between direct,

mediated, and reflected).

We query the Lip (Voghera *et al.*, 2014) and the KIParla Corpus of spoken Italian (Goria and Mauri, 2018), employing distributional (CC position, CCs host type; co-occurrence with causal connectives, inferential futures; host *irrealis* status) and functional parameters (semantic properties of the predicates).

CCs play more frequently evidential functions (62%), in microsyntactic medial (42.2%) and initial (34.1%) position through various sources (weak predicates 26,1%, *verba dicendi* 30.8%, semifactives 9.2%). The less frequent epistemic function (38%) is generally distributed in medial (45.3%) and final position (41.7%). We specify *where* such constructions occur in spoken variety and *how* they gradually emerge (Boye and Harder, 2012), along with explaining their behaviours.

Towards grammar: the growing role of emerging constructions playing evidential and epistemic functions is mirrored with the low occurrence in *irrealis* contexts. Therefore, despite not being canonically grammaticalized items (not undergoing decategorialization and fixation, Van Bogaert, 2011), syntactically detachable markers convey what can be expressed through grammatical categories.

References

Aijmer, K. 1991. I think - an English modal particle. In T. Swan, O., J. Westvik, (eds.), *Modality in Germanic Languages: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 1-47**.**

Aikhenvald, A., Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Borillo, A. 1982. Deux aspects de la modalisation assertive: croire et savoir. *Langages* 67, pp. 33-53.

Boye, K., Harder, P. 2012. A Usage-based Theory of Grammatical Status and Grammaticalization. *Language* 88 (1), pp. 1–44.

Debaisieux, J. M. 2016. Toward a global approach to discourse uses of conjunctions in spoken French. *Language Sciences*, 58, 79-94.

De Haan, F. 2006. Typological approaches to modality. *The expression of modality*, 27, pp. 40-69.

Goria, E., Mauri C. 2018. Il corpus KIParla: una nuova risorsa per lo studio dell'italiano parlato. In F. Masini, F. Tamburini (eds.). *CLUB Working Papers in Linguistics Volume 2*, pp. 96-116.

Haselow, A. 2016. A processual view on grammar: macrogrammar and the final field in spoken

syntax. *Language Sciences* 54, pp. 77-101.

Hennemann, A. 2012. The epistemic and evidential use of Spanish modal adverbs and verbs of cognitive attitude. *Folia Linguistica* 46/1, pp. 133–170.

Hooper, J., B. 1975. On assertive predicates. In J. B. Kimball (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics*. Vol. 4. New York: Academic Press, pp. 91–124.

Mithun, M., 1986. Evidential diachrony in Northern Iroquoian. In W. Chafe, J. Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, pp. 89-112.

Mushin, I. 2001. *Evidentiality and epistemological stance: Narrative retelling* (Vol. 87). John Benjamins Publishing.

Nuyts, J. 2001. Subjectivity as an evidential dimension in epistemic modal expressions, *Journal of Pragmatics* 33, pp. 383–400.

Nuyts, J. 2005. The modal confusion: On terminology and the concepts behind it. In A. Klinge, H. Høeg Muller (eds.), *Modality: Studies in Form and Function*. London: Equinox, pp. 5-38.

Nuyts, J. 2009. The "one-commitment-per-clause" principle and the cognitive status of qualificational categories. *Linguistics* 47–1, pp. 141-171.

Pietrandrea, P. 2018 Epistemic constructions at work. A corpus study on spoken Italian dialogues. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 128, pp. 171-191.

Plungian, V., A. 2001. The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33, pp. 349–58.

Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., Svartvik, J. 1972. *A grammar of contemporary English*. London: Longman.

Schneider, S. 2007. *Reduced Parenthetical Clauses as Mitigators: A Corpus Study of Spoken French, Italian and Spanish*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Squartini, M. 2001. The internal structure of evidentiality in Romance. *Studies in Language* 25 pp. 297– 334.

Van Bogaert, J. 2011. I think and other complement-taking mental predicates: A case of and for constructional grammaticalization. *Linguistics* 49 (2), pp. 295–332.

Voghera, M., Iacobini, C., Savy, R., Cutugno, F., De Rosa. A., Alfano, I. 2014. VoLIP: a searchable Italian spoken corpus in Complex Visibles Out There. In L. Veselovska, M. Janebova (eds.), *Proceedings of the Olomouc Linguistics Colloquium: Language Use and Linguistic Structure*. Olomouc: Palacky University, pp. 628–640.

The grammaticalization of evidentiality: What do we know so far?

Eric Mélac (Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3)

Although evidentiality is now a major topic of investigation, the grammaticalization pathways that lead linguistic forms to encode evidentiality are still not fully understood. This is partly because evidentiality studies are a relatively recent field, and because many languages with a highly advanced evidential system still need further synchronic and diachronic documentation. This paper aims at discussing how the grammaticalization of evidentiality can be investigated by examining what has been attested about the diverse evolution patterns of evidentials (Lazard, 2001; Boye & Harder, 2009; Aikhenvald, 2011; Friedman, 2018). Examples will be taken from the literature on evidentiality in the world's languages (Aikhenvald, ed., 2018 *inter alia*), and from a corpus-based investigation of the evidential systems of Tibetan and English (Mélac, 2014; in press).

In order to examine how evidential forms grammaticalize, it is first essential to agree on how to identify evidentials. Building on a revised version of the criteria proposed by Anderson (1986), semantic tests will be presented to distinguish an evidential semantic feature from an evidential implicature. The mechanisms of grammaticalization, i.e. extension, desemanticization, decategorialization, and erosion (Heine et al., 1991), will also be examined to determine the degree of grammaticalization of evidentials. The evidential systems of the world's languages differ greatly, but it seems that even languages which do not possess evidential inflections resort to (semi-)grammatical forms encoding information sources. The diachronic data on English show that markers such as *must*, *I guess*, *ØLooks like* or *apparently* do show signs of partial grammaticalization. Written documents from Old to Modern Tibetan can provide evidence that reveals the different stages leading to a fully grammaticalized evidential system. By incremental syntactic and semantic changes which started before the 8th century, the lexical verbs *'dug* 'be located', *bzhag* 'put', and *ze*r 'say' have evolved into evidential morphemes, namely a direct copula, an inferential suffix, and a hearsay clitic respectively (Tournadre, 1996; Mélac, 2014: 428-36).

A typological perspective on the development of evidentials allows us to document universal tendencies and to offer hypotheses on the general cognitive processes motivating them. Although the origins of evidentials are obscure for many languages, several lexical sources have been identified in genetically unrelated languages. One of the most common sources for a hearsay evidential is, for example, a verb meaning 'say' (Aikhenvald, 2011; Kuteva et al., 2019: 381-2). The lexicon is not always the immediate source of an evidential, as it seems that

evidential inflections frequently originate from the semantic shifts of already grammaticalized forms. These shifts can be explained by the conventionalization of evidential implicatures frequently involved when expressing other grammatical categories. In Tibetan, as in several other languages such as Turkish or Udmurt (Bybee et al. 1994: 95-97 ; Kuteva et al. 318-19) , the resultative perfect *-bzhag* has acquired an inferential meaning, probably because emphasizing a resultant state can imply that the speaker knows about the event by observing its effects (Mélac 2014: 484-6). Deictic morphemes can develop an evidential meaning (Aikhenvald 2011), mainly because deixis refers to the speaker's perspective, and thus often implies that the speaker is, or has been a witness of the situation described. The locative *'dug* and the translocative *-song* are both deictic forms that saw their meaning shift to the expression of direct perception (Tournadre, 1996; Oisel, 2013, 2017). I argue that, since these patterns of language change rely on universal implicatures, the diachronic investigation of Tibetan evidentiality offers a unique opportunity to research the origins of evidentials in the world's languages and better understand their grammaticalization from a cross-linguistic perspective.

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2011. The grammaticalization of evidentiality. In Bernd Heine & Heiko Narrog (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*. Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (ed.). 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality*. Oxford University Press.

Anderson, Lloyd B. 1986. Evidentials, paths of change, and mental maps: Typologically regular asymmetries. In Wallace L. Chafe & Johanna Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology* (Advances in discourse processes 20). Norwood: Ablex.

Boye, Kasper & Peter Harder. 2009. Evidentiality: Linguistic categories and grammaticalization. *Functions of language* 16(1). John Benjamins.

Bybee, Joan L., Revere Dale Perkins & William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. University of Chicago Press.

Friedman, Victor A. 2018. Where do evidentials come from? In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality*. Oxford University Press.

Heine, Bernd, Ulrike Claudi, & Friederike Hünnemeyer. *Grammaticalization: A conceptual framework*. University of Chicago Press.

Kuteva, Tania, Bernd Heine, Long Bo, Long Haiping, Heiko Narrog & Seongha Rhee (eds.). 2019. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge University Press.

Lazard, Gilbert. 2001. On the grammaticalization of evidentiality. *Journal of pragmatics* 33(3). Elsevier.

Mélac, Éric. 2014. *L'évidentialité en anglais-approche contrastive à partir d'un corpus anglais-tibétain*. Doctoral diss., Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3.

Mélac, Éric. In press. The grammaticalization of evidentiality in English. *English Language and Linguistics*. Cambridge University Press.

Oisel, Guillaume. 2013. *Morphosyntaxe et sémantique des auxiliaires et des connecteurs du tibétain littéraire: étude diachronique et synchronique* (Doctoral diss., Université Sorbonne nouvelle - Paris 3.

Oisel, Guillaume. 2017. On the origin of the Lhasa Tibetan evidentials song and byung. In Lauren Gawne, & Nathan W. Hill (eds.), *Evidential systems of Tibetan Languages*. Mouton De Gruyter.

Tournadre, Nicolas. 1996. *Comparaison des systèmes médiatifs de quatre dialectes tibétains : Tibétain Central, Ladakhi, Dzongkha et Amdo*. Peeters.

Epistemic modality and discourse strategy: A corpus-based study of Galician adverbs

Vítor Míguez (Universidade de Santiago de Compostela & Instituto da Lingua Galega)

In conversation analysis and similar frameworks, epistemic markers are studied in actual contexts of use, paying special attention to their interactional dimension (e.g. Kärkkäinen, 2003).These works tend to assume that using expressions of (un)certainty attenuates or reinforces what is said, in other words, that epistemic expressions readily entail the presence of a mitigating or strengthening discourse strategy. This paper claims that such standpoint is not adequate as it obscures the notions of epistemic modality and discourse strategy. Thus, its aim is to disentangle both concepts and show how they relate to each other on the basis of corpus data.Epistemic modality is a functional domain concerned with the linguistic expression of likelihood, in particular, it is a qualification of a state of affairs as possible or more or less probable, as made by the speaker (Nuyts, 2001). Mitigation and strengthening are discourse strategies (hence linguistic phenomena) at the service of (im)politeness (a social phenomenon) used by speakers to decrease or increase elocutionary force, respectively.

Empirical studies of epistemic and evidential markers show the benefits of distinguishing strategical from non-strategical uses: mitigating uses of Spanish evidential expressions are rare and highly dependent on discourse genres (Estellés Arguedas & Albelda Marco, 2017), whereas English *certainly* features strengthening as the most common use and epistemic modality as themost uncommon (Byloo, Kastein, & Nuyts, 2007).

This contribution studies the uses of three Galician epistemic adverbials (*certamente* 'certainly', *quizais* 'maybe' and *se cadra* 'perhaps') in journalistic and narrative prose. Samples of 100 occurrences of each adverb in every genre were taken from CORGA, the biggest corpus for present-day Galician. The resulting 600 observations were coded for the relevant semantic-pragmatic categories, namely epistemic modality, mitigation, strengthening and others that were detected in the corpus, such as rhetorical and tendentious uses in questions. The results reveal a clear difference between certainty and uncertainty forms as regards strategic uses: *certamente* is primarily a strengthener and, to a lesser extent, a epistemic certainty marker; *quizais* and *se cadra* are markers of epistemic possibility and feature other uses, including mitigation, of little quantitative significance. These results lead us to conclude that there exists an asymmetric relation between epistemic modality and discourse strategy, insofar as a certainty marker is more likely to be used strategically than a possibility marker. The basis of this divergence lies in the

discursive status of (un)certainty: the default expression for certainty in language is an unqualified assertion, whereas the qualification of a state of affairs as uncertain requires a specific linguistic mark. Expressing epistemic certainty is anomalous by virtue of the maxim of quantity and poses a risk of threatening the face of interlocutors by asserting the cognitive superiority of the speaker. These issues are solved by using certainty markers as strengtheners, thus allowing for a range of pragmatically suitable strategies, such as showing agreement with interlocutors.

References

Byloo, P., Kastein, R., & Nuyts, J. (2007). On *certainly* and *zeker*. In M. Hannay & G. J. Steen (Eds.), *Structural-functional studies in English grammar: In honour of Lachlan Mackenzie*(pp. 35–57). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

CORGA = Centro Ramón Piñeiro para a Investigación en Humanidades. (2017). *Corpus de Referencia do Galego Actual [3.0]*. Retrieved from http://corpus.cirp.gal/corga/

Estellés Arguedas, M., & Albelda Marco, M. (2017). Evidencialidad, atenuación y descortesía en *al parecer* y *por lo visto*. Influencias del género discursivo. In B. Cornillie & D. IzquierdoAlegría (Eds.), *Gramática, semántica y pragmática de la evidencialidad* (pp. 169–201). Pamplona: EUNSA.

Kärkkäinen, E. (2003). *Epistemic stance in English conversation: A description of its interactional functions, with a focus on* I think. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Nuyts, J. (2001). *Epistemic modality, language, and conceptualization: A cognitive-pragmatic perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Evidentiality and egophoricity in Japanese: A typological perspective and a model for evidentiality

Hiroyuki Miyashita (Waseda University)

Although Japanese is one of the most well-described languages, the information on evidentiality in Japanese is not accessible enough to typological researchers. Most studies commenting on Japanese evidentiality have been based on Aoki (1986), which provides an excellent, concise overview of evidentials in Japanese. Nevertheless, an essential characteristic of evidentiality inJapanese has been overlooked, partly because the description of Aoki remains insufficient. Thus, Aikhenwald (2004: 81) concluded that "the evidential specification does not appear to be obligatory" in Japanese. In this paper, I argue that Japanese is a full-fledged evidential language. Based on data from a Japanese children's book corpus, I demonstrate that four evidential categories, namely, direct, inferred, assumed, and hearsay, are distinguished and expressed by several auxiliaries and suffixes in Japanese, just as in prototypical evidential languages, and more importantly, their coding is obligatory in Japanese. Among several criteria for evidential languages, obligatoriness of evidential marking is most crucial. In the literature, another relevant phenomenon of evidentiality has often been mentioned, that is, adjective predicates for feelings and sensations are person restricted in Japanese (Aikhenwald, 2004: 128 based on Aoki, 1986: 226-227, 2018: 13; San Roque, Floyd & Norcliffe, 2018 based on Hasegawa & Hirose, 2005: 229). These predicates can be employed in declarative sentences in the first person or in interrogative sentences in the second person without markers, but evidential markers are required for the third person, for example:

```
a. Watashi-wa    atsu-i.
I-TOPIC         hot-NON.PAST
'I feel hot.'
b. Anata-wa      atsu-i?
you-TOPIC        hot-NON.PAST
'You feel hot?'
c. *Kare-wa      atu-i.
he-TOP  hot-NON.PAST
'He feels hot.'
d. Kare-wa       atu-i-mitai-da/-sooda.
he-TOPIC         hot-INFERENTIAL/HEARSAY
'He seems/is said to be hot.'
```

As in a and b, in a first person declarative sentence and in a second person interrogative sentence, the unmarked form is used. In the third person in c, however, the sentence is unacceptable if it is unmarked, and either inferential or hearsay evidentials are necessary to make it appropriate.

This behavior is known as conjunct–disjunct opposition (DeLancy, 1986; Curnow, 2002) or, more recently, egophoricity (Tournadre, 2017; San Roque, Floyd & Norcliffe, 2018). In this paper, based on an informant survey, I argue that the restriction is not confined to inner sensory predicates as is often assumed in Japanese linguistics. Instead, the unmarked form expresses personal knowledge in general. Finally, I propose a model that incorporates egophoricity in an evidentiality system. Using this model, I attempt to outline the differences in functional mappings in coding egophoricity. I also argue that to understand the evidentiality phenomena, the definition of evidentiality as the coding of an information source should be revised in terms of access to information, as Tournadre & LaPolla (2014) and Miyashita (2015, 2019) have suggested. I further argue that evidentiality should be redefined as the coding of information accessibility for the sake of hearer. In this sense, evidentiality can be characterized as an intersubjective category of epistemology, rather than subjective.

References

Aoki, Haruo. 1986. Evidentials in Japanese. In Chafe & Nichols (eds.), 223-238.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chafe, Wallace L. & Joanna Nichols (eds.). 1986. *Evidentiality. The linguistic coding of epistemology*. Norwood: Ablex.

Curnow, Timothy J. 2002. Conjunct/disjunct marking in Awa Pit. *Linguistics* 40, 611-627.

DeLancey, Scott. 1986. Evidentiality and volitionality in Tibetan. In Chafe & Nichols (eds.), 203-213.

San Roque, Lila, Simeon Floyd, & Elisabeth Norcliffe. 2018. Egophoricity: An introduction. In Simeon Floyd, Elisabeth Norcliffe & Lila San Roque (eds.), *Egophoricity*, 1-77. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Hasegawa, Yoko & Yukio Hirose. 2005. What the Japanese language tells us about the alleged Japanese relational self. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 25:2, 219-251.

Miyashita, Hiroyuki. 2015. Evidentialität im Japanischen. Eine konstrastiv-sprachtypologische Charakterisierung. In Yoko Nishina (ed.) *Sprachwissenschaft des Japanischen. LingustischeBerichte Sonderheft* 20, 47-71. Hamburg: Buske.

Miyashita, Hiroyuki. 2019. Nihongo no shookosei to gengo ruikeiron (Evidentiality in Japanese and language typology). In Harumi Sawada, Yoshio Nitta & Masaaki Yamanashi (eds.), *Bamen to shutaisei/shukansei*, 441-464. Tokyo: Hituji publishers.

Tournadre, Nicolas. 2017. A typological sketch of evidential/epistemic categories in the Tibetic languages. In Lauren Gawne & Nathan W. Hill (eds.), *Evidential Systems of Tibetan*

Languages, 95-129. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Tournadre, Nicolas & Randy J. LaPolla. 2014. Towards a new approach to evidentiality. Issues and directions for research. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 37:2, 240-262.

The "exceptionality" of reportative evidentiality revisited

Tanja Mortelmans (University of Antwerp)

In the literature on evidentiality, reportative evidentiality is often accorded special status, as it is said to be cross-linguistically associated with other epistemic values (i.e. with less commitment) in comparison to markers of direct evidentiality or indirect (inferential/conjectural) evidential markers (e.g. AnderBois, 2014; Maier, 2019; Spronck & Nikitina, 2019). According to Maier (2019: 202), there is "no commitment to the at-issue proposition" with reportative evidentials, a situation which is labelled as "reportative exceptionality" by AnderBois (2014), i.e. reportatives are different from other evidentials (and thus exceptional) while they are compatible with interpretations in which the speaker denies or questions the proposition at stake immediately after using a reportative evidential, as in the following example:

(1) Bisher gibt es dafür jedenfalls keine stichhaltigen Belege. Aus Japan gibt es zwar einen älteren Bericht über ein Kind, das nach Gebrauch eines 3D-Displays zu schielen begonnen haben **soll**, <u>aber ich halte ihn nicht für besonders glaubwürdig</u>. https://www.heise.de/tr/artikel/Krank-macht-es-vermutlich-nicht-1397407.html
"At any rate, there is no conclusive evidence for this so far. There is an older report from Japan about a child who **is said to** have started squinting after the use of a 3D display, but I don't think it is very credible."

For Spronck & Nikitina (2019), this reportative exceptionality is one of the arguments to include reportative markers in the (syntactic) category of 'reported speech', together with markers of (in)direct speech, and thus to neglect the special status of reportative markers as evidentials. In fact, Spronck & Nikitina (2019) argue that evidentiality is an inherent feature of the category of reported speech itself.

In my presentation, I want to address this alleged lack of epistemic commitment associated with reportatives. On the basis of a corpus analysis of the reportative markers *zou* (in Dutch), *sollen* (in German) and the French *conditionnel*, I will show that there are good arguments to keep distinguishing reportative evidentials from the category of reported speech. I will argue (in line with AnderBois, 2014) that the epistemic values associated with the use of reportative evidentials (like epistemic distancing or non-commitment to the proposition) are in fact different from the ones associated with (in)direct speech. The latter are much more prone to variation and may involve both strengthening and weakening commitment to the content of the

reported utterance (as is shown for instance in Michael, 2012). Moreover, I want to argue that (even) inferential evidential markers – at least in German and Dutch - do not necessarily imply the speaker's epistemic commitment to the proposition (see also Mortelmans, 2000), as in the following example from Dutch, in which the speaker draws a conclusion (expressed by the inferential verb *moeten*) which she does not believe:

(2) Of het **moet** zijn dat Gert een ongelooflijke komediant is, <u>maar dat geloof ik niet</u>.

"Or it **must** be the case that Gert is an incredible comedian, <u>but I don't believe it</u>."
<u>https://www.voetbal24.be/news/55728/het-moet-zijn-dat-gert-verheyen-een-ongelofelijke-komediant-is</u>

In view of this, the alleged exceptionality of reportatives can be somewhat weakened or relativized, such that reportative evidentials behave in a lesser exceptional way than is often suggested.

References

AnderBois, Scott (2014). On the exceptional status of reportative evidentials. In *Proceedings of SALT* 24, 234–254.

Maier, Emar (2019). On the exceptionality of reported speech. *Linguistic Typology* 23 (1), 197-205.

Michael, Lev (2012). Nanti self-quotation. Implications for the pragmatics of reported speech and evidentiality. *Pragmatics and Society* 3(2), 321–357.

Mortelmans, Tanja (2000). On the 'evidential' nature of the 'epistemic' use of the German modals *müssen* and *sollen*. In van der Auwera, Johan & Patrick Dendale (eds.), *Modal verbs in Germanic and Romance languages*, 131–148. John Benjamins.

Spronck, Stef & Tatiana Nikitina (2019). Reported speech forms a dedicated syntactic domain. *Linguistic Typology* 23 (1), 119–159

Evidence vs. evident: On meaning differences between evidential sentence adverbs and correlating expressions in German

Kalle Müller (Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen)

This talk explores meaning differences between sentence adverbs and especially correlating adjectives, the former indicating information source and the latter describing a state of being evident. It uses introspective data, shows examples from written corpora of different time periods and presents experimental data from rating studies.

Sentence adverbs are one of several lexical means of indicating information source (e.g. Aikhenvald, 2007). However, they do not always constitute an open class to the extend that e.g. adjectives and nouns do, but are often the result of diachronic processes from adjectives or lower adverbs (e.g. Traugott, 1989; Axel-Tober & Müller, 2017 on especially on evidential adverbs in German), which puts them between grammar and lexicon in the middle of a grammaticalization cline.

We look at three instances of adjectives that appear in the form of ADJ + *dass*/"that"-clause and have later developed into sentence adverbs. In this construction all of them contribute the meaning "it is evident that". As an adjective *scheinbar* has appeared in this construction and meaning in Middle High German, *offenbar* was used like this in (also Early) New High German, but is unusual in this construction in Present Day German, and *offensichtlich* + *dass*/"that"-clause is frequently used in Present Day German. In this meaning, they describe a property which is only indirectly related to information source.

However, none of these have kept this meaning as sentence adverbs. This will be shown with respect to several aspects: i) while 'being evident' requires conclusions to be intersubjectively available, the sentence adverbs refer to the personal access to the information source by the speaker, ii) they are compatible with different kinds of indirect evidence, iii) they lower the commitment of the speaker to the proposition which is not uncommon (but neither necessary) for some types of indirect evidence like assumption and reportative evidentials (cf. Aikhenvald, 2004; Wiemer, 2018), and iv) they acquire a commentary status to the main utterance which has been described e.g. as 'subjective' (Lyons, 1977), 'performative' (Nuyts, 2001) or as 'not at-issue' (Simons *et al.,* 2010) in more recent literature. These three examples show that differences between adjectives correlating sentence adverbs resulting from a diachronic development are systematic.

As evidential sentence adverbs, they belong to a class which cannot be arbitrarily extended in German (contrary to evaluatives with -*weise*) and hence do not constitute a (completely) open class. However, the use of evidential sentence adverbs is neither obligatory nor paradigmatic,

which is typical for development of discourse markers (Brinton & Traugott, 2005).

References

Aikhenvald, A. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: OUP.

Aikhenvald, A. 2007. Information source and evidentiality. *Rivista di Linguistica* 19:1, 209-227.

Axel-Tober, K. & K. Müller 2017. Evidential adverbs in German. *Journal of Historical Linguistics* 7:1-2, 9-47.

Brinton, L. J. & E. C. Traugott 2005. *Lexicalization and Language Change*. Cambridge: CUP.

Lyons, J. *Semantics*. Vol. 2. Cambridge: CUP.

Nuyts, J. 2001. *Epistemic Modality, Language, and Conceptualization*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Simons, M., J. Tonhauser, D. Beaver & C. Roberts. 2010. What projects and why. *Proceedings of SALT 20*, 309-327.

Traugott, E. C. 1989. On the rise of epistemic meanings in English. *Language 57*, 33-65.

Wiemer, B. 2018. Evidentials and Epistemic Modality. In A. Aikhenvald (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality*, Oxford: OUP, 85-108.

La construction polonaise « *mieć* (avoir) + infinitif » : valeur médiative, modale et aspectuelle

Malgorzata Nowakowska (Pedagogical University of Cracow)

Parmi les différents types de phénomènes relevant de l'évidentialité, la langue polonaise dispose de marqueurs exprimant la médiativité (Guentchéva, 1990). Probablement parce qu'il s'agit d'une *covert category* (au sens de Whorf, 1945), elle n'a été décrite que récemment et découverte par des linguistes s'intéressant non seulement au polonais, mais surtout aux langues balkaniques et baltes. Dans ces langues, la médiativité est grammaticalisée par des formes verbales. C'est pourquoi les termes qu'on utilise pour la description du polonais viennent souvent des analyses de ces langues : « distance » (au sens de celle du locuteur vis-à-vis de ce qui est dit) (Topolińska, 2000) ou « non-perception » (pol. *imperceptywność*) (Korytkowska & Roszko, 1997 ; Holvoet, 2011).

Les marques de médiativité en polonais peuvent avoir un caractère univoque ou non. Les marques univoques sont des adverbes énonciatifs comme *podobno* (*podobnież*, *ponoć*), *rzekomo*, *jakoby*. Le sens de ces adverbes est analogue à *paraît-il*, *prétendument*, *soi-disant*, *apparemment*, et ils se distinguent les uns des autres notamment par la distance que prend le locuteur vis-à-vis du contenu du message (Wiemer & Socka, 2016).

Parmi les marques non-univoques, il y a la construction « *mieć* (*avoir*) + infinitif ». Cette construction peut avoir une interprétation modale (déontique, alétique ou boulique), médiative ou aspectuelle (prospectivité). Le but de notre communication est d'examiner cette construction en montrant que, dans la majorité des cas, ses interprétations modale et aspectuelle ne sont pas dépourvues d'un composant médiatif.

Le composant médiatif implique 'une source seconde de l'information' et il est défini ici comme une position qu'ouvre la construction en *mieć*, à l'instar de la position d'argument ouverte par un prédicat. Cette position est remplie quand la construction en *mieć* est accompagnée de l'indication de la source d'information, comme dans *według Gazety Wyborczej* (*selon la Gazeta Wyborcza*). Quand aucune source n'est indiquée, la position reste vide. Dans les deux cas, la construction polonaise peut être comparée au conditionnel « journalistique » ou « de citation » du français (cf. Dendale, 1993, 2001). Dans certains cas, elle est accompagnée d'adverbes médiatifs, qui renforcent, voire rendent univoque, cette interprétation.

Quand la construction « *mieć* (*avoir*) + infinitif » a une interprétation déontique, le composant médiatif consiste dans l'implication d'un acte langagier ou mental préalable. L'obligation est

alors médiatisée par la parole ou la pensée d'autrui, ce qui constitue un composant non-dit. Ce composant apparaît quand on compare la construction « *mieć* (*avoir*) + infinitif » avec les formes verbales modales suivantes : *musieć* ('*devoir*' signifiant une obligation intérieure ou la modalité épistémique) et *powinno się* ('*devoir*' signifiant une obligation extérieure). Si l'on compare les contextes d'emploi de ces trois expressions conjuguées à la deuxième personne (pour accomplir un acte directif de type *Tu dois le faire*), on constate que seule la construction en *mieć* accepte d'être suivie, dans un dialogue, par la question *Skąd to wiesz ?* (*Tu le sais comment ?*). Un francophone pourrait restituer le composant médiatif de cet emploi par une formulation comme : *X est censé faire p.* Cette expression française présuppose aussi une parole ou pensée préalable.

La construction « *mieć* (*avoir*) + infinitif », dans son interprétation prospective, sert à former une prolepse dans un texte narratif (anticipation dans le cours des événements, cf. par ex. le conditionnel « des historiens » en français). Elle a généralement été analysée sans prendre en considération son rôle textuel : on y a vu la nécessité aléthique (cf. « destiny » in : Weiss ms et Holvoet, 2012 ; « fatalistiches Futur in der Vergangenheit » in : Hansen, 2001: 133-137). Cette modalité implique la présence d'une instance narratrice qui anticipe les événements à un moment de la narration, dévoilant ainsi sa pré-connaissance de ce qui est narré. L'implication d'une instance narratrice s'identifie donc avec le composant médiatif de la construction en *mieć*. Par contraste, le futur proleptique polonais crée seulement un « saut » dans le temps de la narration sans aucune dimension médiative. Cet emploi de la construction en *mieć* pourrait se traduire en français par « X *allait* / *devait* + infinitif », « X + conditionnel du verbe lexical », expressions qui ne contiennent pourtant pas de composant médiatif au sens que nous lui donnons ici.

Références

Abraham, Werner & Jadwiga Piskorz (2014): A rare case of covert modality. In: Elisabeth LEISS, Werner ABRAHAM (eds): Modes of Modality: Modality, typology and universal grammar. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 409-455.

Aliuk, Ana (2010): Imperceptywność w językach bałtyckich i w językach słowiańskich. Acta Universatis Lodziensis. Folia linguistica 45, 5-14.

Boas Franz, Yampolsky Helene Boas & Zellig S. Harris (1947): Kwakiutl Grammar with a Glossary of the Suffixes. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 37/3, 203-377.

Dendale, Patrick (1993). Le conditionnel de l'information incertaine : marqueur modal ou marqueur évidentiel ? in : Gerold Hilty (éd.) Actes du 20e Congrès international de linguistique et philologie romanes, Université de Zurich (6-11 avril 1992), tome 1, Tübingen : Francke, 165-176.

Dendale, Patrick (2001). Les problèmes linguistiques du conditionnel en français. In : Patrick Dendale et Liliane Tasmowski (éds). Le conditionnel en français, Paris : Klincksieck, 7-18.

Guentcheva, Zlatka (1990): L'énonciation médiatisée en bulgare, Revue des études slaves 62, fascicule 1-2, 179-196.

Hansen, Björn (2001): Das Modalauxiliar im Slavischen: Grammatikalisierung und Semantik im Russischen, Polnischen, Serbischen/Kroatischen und Altkirchenslavischen. Slavolinguistica 2. München: Sagner.

Hansen, Björn (2015): Opis polskich czasowników i predykatów modalnych w słowniku walencyjnym. In: Danuta ROSZKO, Joanna SATOLA-STASKOWIAK (éds): Semantyka a konfrontacja językowa, vol. 5. Warszawa: SOW (Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy), 161-171.

Holvoet, Axel (2011): O leksykalnych wykładnikach użycia interpretatywnego. Linguistica Copernicana 1 (5), 77-91.

Holvoet, Axel (2012): Polish mieć and the semantic map of interpretive deontics. Zeitschrift für Slawistik, Vol. 57, No. 2, 129-146.

Jakobson, Roman (1963) : Les embrayeurs, les catégories verbales et le verbe russe, In : Essais de linguistique générale. Paris : Éd. de Minuit.

Korytkowska, Małgorzata & Roman Roszko (1997). Modalność imperceptywna. Gramatyka konfrontatywna bułgarsko-polska, tom 7, część 2, Warszawa : SOW.

Lempp, Albrecht (1986): Mieć. 'To have' in modern Polish. München: Verlag Otto Sagner.

Sapir, Edward (1922): The Takelma language of southwestern Oregon. In: Franz Boas (ed), Handbook of American Indian Languages. Part 2, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1-296.

Squartini, Mario (2003) : Disentangling evidentiality and epistemic modality in Romance, Lingua 114, 873-895.

Topolińska, Zuzanna (2000): „Dystans" – informacja zgramatykalizowane w polskim systemie werbalnym? In: Jolanta Mindak & Krzysztof Wrocławski (éds): Folia Philologica Macedono-Polonica, tom 5, Warszawa: UW, 86-93.

Weiss, Daniel (manuscript): Semantyka konstrukcji „mieć + bezokolicznik". Próba

rozstrzygnięcia polisemii.

Whorf, Benjamin Lee (1945): Grammatical Categories. Language 21 (1), 1–11.

Wiemer, Björn (2006): Particles, parentheticals, conjunctions and prepositions as evidentiality markers in contemporary Polish (A first exploratory study). Studies in Polish Linguistics 3, 5-67.

Wiemer, Björn & Anna Socka (2016): How much does pragmatics help to contrast the meaning of hearsay adverbs? (Part 1), Studies in Polish Linguistics 11, 3, 27–27.

Les évidentiels de la langue Shipibo-Konibo – sémantique, morphosyntaxe etpragmatique

Guillaume Oisel (Lacito)

La langue Shipibo-Konibo parlée dans la jungle centrale péruvienne présente un système évidentiel étonnant qui est marqué non seulement sur les constituants verbaux, mais sur différentes unités syntaxiques.

Les clitiques évidentiels de la langue Shipibo-Konibo sont ici analysés à partir du cadre théorique de Tournadre & LaPolla (2014) et Oisel (2017) et des discussions qui ont eu cours à l'Université de Tübingen en février 2019.

Ce système se décline en trois catégories. L'information de première main ou sensorial *–ra* correspond à la notion d'égophorique. Elle indique un engagement du locuteur ou une connaissance intime du locuteur d'une information exogène ou endogène (intention, conscience, sentiment, sensation, etc.). L'information de seconde main – *ronki(-ki)* fait référence à un désengagement plus ou main fort du locuteur ou une connaissance rapportée. L'inférentiel épistémique *–bira* et *–mein* indiquent un type de raisonnement et diverses modalités épistémiques.

L'apport de la pragmatique et de la syntaxe dans l'étude de l'évidentialité révèlent par ailleurs un jeu d'emphase des différents éléments du discours quel que soit leur fonction syntaxique. Cela nous amène à reconsidérer la possibilité de combiner deux évidentiels décrite antérieurement.

Références

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Oisel, Guillaume. (sous presse) "How to narrate a soccer match in Shipibo-Konibo(Pano)? A first approximation to a new functional domain of a Peruvian indigenouslanguage." In Llames (avec Roberto Zariquiey Biondi & al.)

Oisel, Guillaume. 2017. *Re-evaluation of the Evidential System of Lhasa Tibetan andits Specific functions*, en Himalayan Linguistics 16-2. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9v08z3b4

Tournadre, Nicolas; and LaPolla, Randy. 2014. "Towards a new approach to evidentiality: Issues and directions for research". *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*37.2: 240-262.

Valenzuela, Pilar. M. 2003. Evidentiality in Shipibo-Konibo, with a comparative Overview of

the Category in Panoan. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon (eds.), *Studies in Evidentiality*, pp. 33-61. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Seeing and thinking in inferential evidentiality: The case in Korean

Seongha Rhee (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies)

The Korean evidentiality system does not form a homogeneous paradigm but consists of diverse forms across multiple categories in grammar (thus a topologically rare 'scattered' evidentiality system, Aikhenvald, 2018: 9). The most variegated and heterogeneous group is inferential, in which various periphrastic constructions of nominal and verbal sources form multiple layers. Two verbs prominent in the system are *po-* 'see' and *siph-* 'think', which together create about ten inferentials through combination with other lexical and grammatical formants. These perception and cognition verbs have differential historical depths and paths that converge in the evidentiality system in contemporary Korean.

The emergence of inferentials from the 'see' and 'think' verbs exhibits a number of interesting aspects of grammaticalization. The most prominent one is the strategies of creating the 'inferred probability' sense by combining perception ('see') or cognition ('think')with a co-occurring question marker, which is the sentence-type marker of an embedded question, one containing the content of the inference. In this head-final language, the question marker occurring at the final position of an embedded quotation clause and the perception/cognition verb of the matrix clause occur in succession, in the configurations of $_S[_S[...Q?]$ see] or $_S[_S[...Q?]$ think]. The syntagmatically juxtaposed formants [Q-see] and [Q- think] are reanalyzed as inferential markers, a change analogous to [I see "Is it raining?"] > [It seems to be raining.] Interestingly, the question markers are those specializing in marking the 'speaker-internal questions', i.e. monologual or 'audience-blind' questions. Since questions are inherently indeterminate, the combination of indeterminacy and 'think/see' engenders 'inferred probability' in the epistemic/evidential domain. Another strategy by 'think' is to host the nouns denoting 'shape'. Since these nouns make reference to 'appearance (only)', i.e. indeterminacy with respect to the true essence of an object, the concept is metaphorically mapped onto the epistemic world of 'probability' with respect to the veracity of a proposition.

In the course of development, these verbs also engendered diverse grammatical markers, such as Attemptive, Hypothetical, Causal, and Concessive for 'see', and Desiderative, Conjectural, Apprehensive, Tentative, Dubitative, and Similative for 'think'. Even in the evidentiality domain, the two verbs exhibit differential specializations with subtle functional distinctions depending on the markers recruited in the source construction. All these point to the fact that grammaticalization is triggered not by a single lexeme but by the context in which it occurs.

Drawing upon the data from historical and contemporary corpora, this paper analyzes the diachronic paths of grammaticalization of 'see' and 'think' into the evidentiality domain with

special focus on the enabling conceptual mechanisms and the reorganization of paradigms asa consequence of the emergence of new grammatical forms.

Reference

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality.* Oxford: OUP.

Epistemicity in Mojeño demonstratives

Françoise Rose (CNRS - Dynamique Du Langage)

Amazonian languages are known for letting temporal relations permeate the nominal domain (Tonnhauser, 2006; Haude, 2006), and in particular demonstratives (Krasnoukhova, 2012). In Mojeño (Arawak, Bolivia), not just tense but epistemics and evidentiality as well are found expressed in the NP, and in demonstratives in particular, adding new data to the existing literature on evidentiality in determiners (Gutiérrez and Matthewson, 2012; Jacques to appear). This talk will investigate the semantic functions of the Mojeño demonstratives, on the basis of a corpus of spontaneous texts and data elicited with stimuli.

Mojeño displays 9 sets of adnominal demonstratives. The first three sets (*-ka, -ro, - na*) encode a speaker-oriented three-distance contrast. The other four sets are less specific about location, involve non-visual evidence at utterance time and vary in terms of presence/absence of the referent, timing of the evidence and strength of assertion of the localization (epistemics). They will be presented along a continuum of reliability of evidence for localization. The fourth set (*-kni*) refers to a non-visible entity which localization is nevertheless strongly asserted. The fifth set (*-ngi*) refers to an entity that is not visible any more, but for which there has been visual evidence in the past. The sixth set (*-kro*) refers to a non-visible entity as well, but its localization is only weakly ascertained, for the evidence is not reliable. Examples with *-kro* could maybe be described in terms of engagement, an emerging notion that participates to the domain of intersubjectivity and covers the epistemic perspectives of both speech-act participants (Evans *et al.,* 2017). More specifically, in assertions, it indicates that the speaker's awareness is strong, contrarily to that supposed of the addressee. In questions, it expresses the doubts of the speaker and the presupposition that the addressee knows better. The seventh set (*-ko*) refers also to a non-visible entity for which the speaker not only has very low evidence of localization but also of existence. Finally, the suffix-less set and the set with *-e* seem to be used as a default form, used when the speaker and the hearer share a common ground. Their use is very similar to that of articles.

The epistemic/evidential values of the Mojeño demonstratives are interesting for several reasons. First, while demonstratives have often been described as having some temporal uses, they are more rarely described as expressing epistemicity. However, since demonstratives are "deictic expressions which are used to orient and focus the

hearer's attention on objects or locations in the speech situation" (Diessel, 1999:2), they are subject to take part in intersubjectivity and are expected to temporally locate the state of affairs within the speech situation or the universe of discourse. Second, the characterization of the

four sets of demonstratives that do not explicitly refer to distance is based on both epistemics and evidentiality, readdressing the question of the boundary between these categories (Faller, 2002; Matthewson *et al.,* 2008).

References

Diessel, Holger 1999. Demonstratives: Form, Function, and Grammaticalization, Typological Studies in Language 42, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Evans, Nicholas R., Henrik Bergqvist, and Lila San Roque. 2017. The grammar of engagement I: framework and initial exemplification, Language and Cognition. UK Cognitive Linguistics Association. Cambridge University Press, 1-31.

Faller, Martina. 2002. Semantics and pragmatics of evidentials in Cuzco Quechua, PhD dissertation, Stanford University.

Gutiérrez, Analía and Matthewson, Lisa. 2012. "Evidential Determiners: Best (Sensory) Evidence", SULA 6: The Semantics of Under-Represented Languages in the Americas, Amherst, MA, GLSA. 63-79.

Haude, Katharina. 2006. A Grammar of Movima, Doctoral thesis, Radboud University Nijmegen.

Jacques, Guillaume. 2018. "Non-propositional evidentiality", in The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality, Alexandra Aikhenvald (ed), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 109-123.

Krasnoukhova, Olga. 2012. The Noun Phrase in the Languages of South America, Vol. 301, Dissertation Series, Utrecht: LOT

Matthewson, Lisa, Rullmann, Hotze and Davis, Henry. 2008. "Evidentials as Epistemic Modals: Evidence from St'at'imcets", in The Linguistic Variation Yearbook 7, 201–254.

Tonhauser, Judith. 2006. The Temporal Semantics of Noun Phrases: Evidence from Guaraní,

Evidentiality in Turkmen

Gulshen Sakhatova (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)

My contribution aims at summarizing the essential features of the grammatical and lexical categories as well as morpho-emotional means of evidentiality found in Turkmen, spoken in Turkmenistan. The linguistic materials were gained as a part of numerous field expeditions in Turkmenistan/Central Asia in the years 2016, 2017, 2018 with a main objectiveto establish a picture of the evidentiality system/evidential structure(s)/strategies in Turkmen and to describe it as accurate as possible.

Turkmen's morphological type is agglutinating; it belongs to the Oghuz branch of Turkic and is classified in the south-western group of the branch, together with Turkish, Azerbaijani, Gagauz etc. It is still considered to be an under-studied Turkic language, especially in the fields of moods/modality, not to mention the fact that ways of acquiring and expressing of information in Turkmen have not been studied sufficiently until today.

After introducing and specifying the methodology of my investigation which hasfollowed the principles laid down in Aikhenvald (2004, 2018, among others *the guide providingfield linguists*), Johanson's system typing for *Turkic indirectivity* (2018: 511-524) I will give various examples which illustrate devices of access to information in Turkmen or in other words, how (grammatically, lexically, and also morpho-emotionally) Turkmen speaker marks any sources of his/her evidences (hearsay, inference, perception, presumption, etc.).

My Turkmen data bank consists of examples both from different literary genres/narrated stories/texts, and from various (spontaneous) communication circumstances in day-to-day life, such as gossips, etc. Further, it contains propositions from the standard Turkmen and its dialects such as *Teke*, *Yomud* or *Ärsary*; the latter is more distant from the standard Turkmen. They will be cited according to the official Latin script of Turkmen and given in traditional Turcological transcription, respectively. From propositions following, you can form an opinion about how Turkmen speakers convey some of evidence semantics:

(1) *goynuň   buduny   it   al-dī*   (**I saw this**)
    lamb-of *leg*-its   *dog*   pick-PRF3Sg
    A dog picked the leg of lamb

(2) *goynuň   buduny it   al-an*   *ýaly bol-dī* (**I heard noises as if/like 'simile'**)[1]
    lamb-of *leg*-its *dog*   pick-PST/PTCP   like was-PRF3Sg
    (I heard) It was as though a dog picked the leg of lamb

(3) *goynuň buduny it* **al-īpdīr** (**I see traces of this act/I see the dog nibbling**)

lamb-of *leg*-its *dog* pick-PSTsubjec3Sg

(I discover/observe) a dog picked the leg of lamb

(4) *goynuň buduny it* **al-īpdīr** (**I've heard that from others/hearsay**)

lamb-of *leg*-its *dog* pick-PSTsubjec3Sg

(I've heard that from others) a dog picked the leg of lamb

(5) (expressing disappointed realization/apparently/surprisingly/hearsay/gossip)

goynuň buduny it **al- ay- pdīr- a**

lamb-of *leg*-its *dog* pick-SURP-PSTsubjec3Sg-DISAPP/UNEXP

(I've heard that from others/I see/note that surprisingly) a dog picked the leg of lamb

(6) *goynuň buduny it* **al- an- dīr** (**believing that the act took place/presumption**)

lamb-of *leg*-its *dog* take-PST/PTCP-CONF

(I guess) a dog has taken away the leg of lamb

A dog might have taken away the leg of lamb

(7) *goynuň buduny it* **al- an eken** (**revealed facts/hearsay**)

lamb-of *leg*-its *dog* take-PST/PTCP it seems/it turns out

It seems/turned out that a dog picked the leg of lamb

(8) *goynuň buduny it* **al- an bol-malī** (**presumption**)

lamb-of *leg*-its *dog* take-PST/PTCP be-OBLA

dog must have taken away the leg of lamb

(9) *goynuň buduny it* **al- an** (**narration/folklore/time distance**)[2]

lamb-of *leg*-its *dog* take-PST/PTCP

A dog picked the leg of lamb

(10) *goynuň buduny it* **al- an ýaly - la** (**it seems as if/like**)

lamb-of *leg*-its *dog* take-PST/PTCP like almost sure

(I hear/they say that) a dog picked the leg of lamb

(11) *goynuň buduny it* **al- an- mīş-īn** (**hearsay**/**they say**)

      lamb-of *leg*-its *dog* take-PST/PTCP EVIDreport-3Sg

      The leg of lamb was taken by a dog, they said that

And in the example (12) the speaker repents for his act/for all events unfortunate to him:

(12) budī daşarda goý-**malī däl eken-im**! (**regret/repentance/*self-penalty***)

      leg outside let-OBL NEG it seems/it turns out-1Sg

      (After all causalities I wish) I should not have left the leg outside

Finally, I will sum up, classify and discuss the findings obtained through the initial investigations on the Turkmen evidentiality. Allow me, to point out here only a few of some results with an initial value. The evidentiality system in Turkmen possesses clearly evidential categories with both the *all-inclusive*, or comprehensive systems, respectively as well as simpler structures (following Johanson's systematization of evidential systems in Turkic).

Possessing of the comprehensive evidentiality systems (tense-aspect/perfect/pluperfect[3] and lexical markers) is one of the most conspicuous characteristics that Turkmen shares with other Turkic languages such as Uyghur, Uzbek or Kazakh. But much more interesting and exiting finding is however, that Turkmen's inventory owns other morphologic tools which *color emotionally* an unexpected realization of an event when the speaker can be surprised and disappointed simultaneously (5).[4]

Further, in the propositions (6) and (8) the speaker conveys his/her attitude toward the possibility of an action applying markers of epistemic modality or, to put it more accurately, he/she expresses presumptive semantics using markers with necessity senses.[5] The speaker draws conclusions however, only from his/her (life)experiences, without having any visual traces or evidences for this event.[6]

Turkmen gathering material does not indicate further, any changes in the evidentiality systems under influence of Russian, not even in the language of Turkmen-Russian bilinguals living in Turkmenistan (see in that regard Aikhenvald, 2004: 386 on evidentials which are extremely prone to diffusion und are likely to change under the impact of introducing new — and losing old — cultural practices; Aikhenvald, 2018: 148-175 on evidentiality and language contact).

Finally, the issue on correlations between evidentiality markers and markers of other grammatical categories, such as of epistemic modality will be also discussed.

I hope that elicited new linguistic data on evidential systems and strategies in Turkmenwould enable insights into the use and meaning of evidentials and contribute to the cross-linguistically valid parameters bank "Evidentiality in the Languages of the World".

Additional abbreviations to *the Leipzig Glossing Rules*:

CONF	confirmation
DISAPP/UNEXP	marker for expressing of disappointment/unexpected
EVIDreport	evidential reportive
PASTsubjec	subjective past indefinite tense[7]
SUPR	marker for expressing of surprise toward an action

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (ed.). (2018). *The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality*. Oxford. Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2004). *Evidentiality*. Oxford.

Chafe, Wallace L.&Nichols, Johanna (eds.) (1986). *Evidentiality. The Linguistic coding of epistemology*. Norwood, N.Y.

Clark, Larry (2005). *Turkmen Reference Grammar*. Wiesbaden.

Comrie, Bernard (2000). Evidentials: Semantics and history. In: Johanson, Lars & Utas, Bo (eds.): *Evidentials:Turkic, Iranian and neighboring languages.* Berlin.

DeLancey, Scott (2001). The mirative and evidentiality. In: *Journal of Pragmatics.* Vol. 33, pp. 369–382.

DeLancey, Scott (1997). Mirativity. The grammatical marking of unexpected information. In: *Linguistic Typology*, 1, 33-52.

Givón, Talmy. (1982). Evidentiality and epistemic space. In: *Studies in Language* 6, 23–49.

Guentchéva, Zlatka (ed.) 2018. *Epistemic modalities and evidentiality in cross-linguistic perspective.*Berlin/Boston.

Heine, Bernd&Narrog, Heiko (eds.) (2011). *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*. Oxford.

Johanson, Lars (2018). Turkic Indirectivity. In: Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality*, pp. 511-524.

Johanson, Lars & Utas, Bo (eds.) (2000). *Evidentials: Turkic, Iranian and neighboring languages.* Berlin. Lazard, Gilbert (1999). Mirativity, evidentiality, mediativity, or other?'. In: *Linguistic Typology* 3, 91–110.

Nevskaya, Irina (2002). Evidentials, miratives, and indirectives in Shor. In: Demir, Nurettin& Turan, Fikret(eds.). Scholarly depth and accuracy. A Festschrift to Lars, Johanson. Ankara.

Nuyts, Jan & van der Auwera, Johan (eds.) (2016). The Oxford Handbook of Modality and mood. Oxford.

Nuyts, Jan (2001). Subjectivity as an evidential dimension in epistemic modal expressions. In: *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 383–400.

Plungian, Vladimir A. (2000). *Obschaja morfologija.* Moskva.

Plungian, Vladimir A. & van der Auwera, Johan (2006). Towards a typology of discontinuous pastmarking. In: *Sprachtypologische Universalienforschung*, 59, pp. 317–349.

Plungian, Vladimir A. (2001). The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space'. In: *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 349–58.

Slobin, Dan I., and Aksu-Koç, Ayhan A. (1982). Tense, aspect, and modality in the use of the Turkish evidential'. In: Hopper, P. J. (ed.), *Tense-Aspect: Between Semantics and Pragmatics*. Amsterdam, pp. 185–200.

Thieberger, Nicholas (2011). *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Fieldwork*. Oxford.

van der Auwera, Johan & Plungian, Vladimir (1998). Modality's Semantic Map. In: *Linguistic Typology* 2, pp.79-124.

Willet, Thomas L. (1988). A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticalization of evidentiality. In: *Studies in Language*, Vol. 12, pp. 51-97.

---

[1] The Turkmen postposition *ýalī* ‚like, as' is semantically varied; see in this context also in Turkish the postposition *gibi* 'as/like', in for instance: *gitmiş gibi* 'as if … having gone'.

[2] Cf. Johanson 2018: 521 „…in traditional storytelling, e.g. in fairy tales and other folklore texts, indirectives tend to create a specific narrative key…"; see also Nevskaya 2002 for similar forms in Shor folk tales.

[3] Cf. Plungian & van der Auwera 2006 on semantic potentials of past/perfect forms; van der Auwera & Plungian 1998 on modality value in evidential semantics.

[4] Analogously to the term 'unprepared mind' in Slobin & Aksu 1982, describing mirative semantics.

[5] Cf. Givón 1982, Plungian 2001 on correspondences between evidential and modal semantic zones; further studies of Guentchéva (ed.) 2018; Nuyts 2001.

Cf. Clark 2005: 465-466 on the particle -DIR which generally functions to express confirmation that an action has occurred or that something is true. A less common nuance of -DIR is to add a shade of uncertainty, mainly in those cases where the speaker expects confirmation.

[6] Analogously to probability of an event or the reliability of information as 'mirative', following the definition by DeLancey 1997, 2001; other studies in that regard such as Lazard 1999.

[7] Following the definition of Clark 2005: 244 "The past indefinite tense expresses an action that occurred at some unspecified point in the past. In its subjective use the speaker is not aware of having performed or witnessed this action… Turkmen indicates the subjective past indefinite tense with the suffix -IPDIR."

Evidentiality in spoken Catalan: the reportative marker *diu que*

Andreu Sentí (Universitat de València)

The discussion around what exactly is grammar and what is lexis has remained a constant in cognitive as well as functional linguistic models, which prefer to speak about a continuum rather than an actual distinction. In fact, the studies on evidentiality have revealed the existence of various constructions which cast doubts on this distinction (Squartini, 2007; Pietrandrea, 2007; Diewald & Smirnova, 2010). A good example can precisely be found in the Catalan marker *diu que* ('(s)he.says.that', 'it is said that'), and the Romance correlates *dizque* (Spanish), *diz que* (Aragonese), *disque* (Galician), *nachi* (Sardinian), *dice che* (Italian), *dicica* (Sicilian) or *cică* (Romanian).

This study deals with a Catalan evidential marker without a written tradition, but mainly an oral one: *diu que.* This marker results from the grammaticalization of a verb *dicendi*, *dir* ('say') with the complementizer *que* which has eventually become an evidential marker of an indirect reportative nature. Hence it is being referred to as an *emergent evidential form* (Alcázar 2018) (cf. Travis, 2006; Cruschina, 2015; Cruschina & Remberger, 2008; Olbertz, 2005, 2007; Miglio, 2010):

(1) I una vegà, allí en la quadrilla, hi haven dos que **diu que** eren guàrdia civils i mosatros no s'hocreíam […] i resulta que sí que eren guàrdia civils (corpus *Parlars*)
    'And one time, there in the group, there were two guys who **they say that** they were civil guards and we didn't believe it [...] and it turns out that they were indeed civil guards'

Methodology

The spoken and dialectal nature of this construction forces us to search for different sources in order to approach it. The study focuses on the oral recordings of *Museu de la Paraula*, an ethnological archive that includes 300 oral interviews with speakers born before 1936. The study will be completed with the examination of the first results of the colloquial corpus *Parlars*, a dialectal and informal corpus with monological and dialogical spoken texts. We have obtained a total of 95 tokens.

Results

The analysis of *diu que* shows a partially grammaticalized construction with a reportative evidential value. A mirative extension can be also found, but not a pure epistemic meaning. Also, the rise of *diu que* has been seen as an example of grammatical constructionalization with a

tendency towards more subjective meanings, from a quotative strategy to a reportative evidential marker. Related constructions such as *que diu que* or theconventional formula to begin tales *això diu que era* have been attested (folklore).

This marker shows a certain degree of grammaticalization reflected in morphosyntactic and semantic features such as impersonalization or formal fixation. A special mention must be made in this respect of the possibility to find the marker dislocated within a parenthetical construction, either sentence-finally or postposed to the verb of the main utterance:

(2) l'agüelo va morir de càncer o no sé què, fumae molt **diu que.** (*Museu*)

    'grandpa died of cancer or I don't know what, he smoked a lot, **they say**'

Our analysis about it leads us to conclude that the properties of this marker justify its categorization as a verbal modifier.

References

Alcázar, A. (2018), "Dizque and other emergent evidential forms in Romance languages", in *The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality*, Aikhenvald, A. Y. (ed.), Oxford, Oxford UniversityPress.

Cruschina, S. (2015), "The expression of evidentiality and epistemicity: Cases of grammaticalization in Italian and Sicilian", *Probus*, 27(1), pp. 1–31.

Cruschina, S. & Remberger, E.-M. (2008), "Hearsay and reported speech: Evidentiality in Romance", *Revista de Gramática Generativa*, 33, pp. 95-116.

Diewald, G. & Smirnova, E. (2010), "Evidentiality in European languages: the lexical-grammatical distinction", in *Linguistic realization of evidentiality in European languages*, dins Diewald, G. & Smirnova, E. (eds.), Berlin/New York, Walter de Gruyter, pp. 279- 308.

Miglio, V. (2010), "Online Databases and Language Change: the Case of Spanish *dizque*", in *Corpus Linguistics Applications: Current Studies, New Directions*, Gries, S. Th., S. & Davies, M. (eds.), Amsterdam, Rodopi, pp. 7-28.

Olbertz, H. (2005), "*Dizque* en el español andino ecuatoriano: Conservador e innovador", in *Encuentros y conflictos: Bilingüismo y contacto de lenguas*, Olbertz, H. & Muysken, P. (eds.), Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.

Pietrandrea, P. (2007), "The grammatical nature of some epistemic-evidential adverbs in spoken Italian", *Italian Journal of Linguistics*, 2, pp. 39-64.

Squartini, M. (2007), "Investigating a grammatical category and its lexical correlates", *Italian*

Journal of Linguistics, 19(1), pp. 1-6.

Travis, C. (2006), "*Dizque*: a Colombian evidentiality strategy", *Linguistics*, 44, pp. 1269-1297.

Corpus

Museu = Museu de la Paraula, Museu Valencià d'Etnologia <http://www.museudelaparaula.es/web/home/info.php>

Parlars = Corpus oral del valencià colloquial. Universitat de València.

<http://www.uv.es/corvalc>

Evidentiality in embedded clauses

Vesela Simeonova (University of Ottawa)

While evidentiality has enjoyed a great deal of interest in the past few decades, the behavior of evidential markers particularly in **embedded clauses** remains an understudied area of inquiry. This paper presents three results from our ongoing investigation of this topic.

I. Differences between embedded evidentials and modals. One of the greatest debates by scholars of evidentiality from multiple theoretical frameworks is whether evidentiality is related to epistemic modality (see for an overview Aikhenvald, 2004). Our study informs this question by providing evidence for a divide between evidentiality and epistemic modality, by showing that: (i) they can co-occur, while modal hypotheses favor complementary distribution; (ii) modals and evidentials have different scope with respect to negation; (iii) modals and evidentials have different behavior in clauses embedded under attitude verbs.

II. Interaction between embedded evidentials and matrix verbs. Our work explores the selectional restrictions that different matrix verbs impose on different types of evidential markers. The few works there are on embedded evidentials assume that different kinds of evidentials (direct, reportative) have a consistent behavior under the same verb. Our study challenges this on methodological and empirical grounds. We introduce a fieldwork framework for a systematic, comprehensive investigation of this question. Our major finding is that the consistency hypothesis is borne out only with respect to a limited class of verbs, but others allow one type of evidential but not another. For example, communicative predicates allow embedded reportative evidentials, but not direct ones. Matrix perceptual predicates, on the contrary, allow direct evidentials but not reportative ones.

III. Interpretation of embedded evidentials. The semantics of embedded evidentials has been notoriously elusive in the few works that have considered it: for example, according to Schenner (2010), "[the reportative] evidential does not make any contribution on its own, but only harmonically supports the meaning of the utterance predicate" (p. 200); Schwager (2010): calls it "vacuous" (p. 233); according to Korotkova (2016), it may have a meaning but it "just repeats the content of the attitude verb" (p. 234). A methodological flaw of these works, which is further illuminated by our preceding discussion in §II, is that they only look at one matrix verb, *say*. By

investigating the interactions between the embedded reportative evidential and a greater variety of matrix verbs, we show that the contribution of the evidential is neither vacuous nor repeating the matrix verb, but remains uniform under different verbs and retains the same meaning that it has in matrix clauses.

Conclusion. This paper contributes novel data on evidentiality in embedded clauses from a cross-linguistic perspective and discusses the theoretical implications for a better understanding of the nature and properties of evidentiality. It also provides a methodological layout that can be used for other languages in future work.

References

Aikhenvald, A. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford University Press.

Korotkova, N. 2016. *Heterogeneity and uniformity in the evidential domain*. Ph.D. thesis, UCLA.

Schenner, M. 2010. Evidentials in complex sentences: Foundational issues and data from Turkish and German. In *Evidence from Evidentials*, ed. Tyler Peterson and Uli Sauerland, 183–220. UBC.

Schwager, M. 2010. On what has been said in Tagalog. In *Evidence from evidentials*, ed. Tyler Peterson and Uli Sauerland, 221–246. UBC.

Egophoricity: between involvement and claim of epistemic authority

Camille Simon (Lacito)

The grammatical category of egophoric, first coined by Tournadre (1991) to describe a marker of personal knowledge in Lhasa Tibetan. Over time, this term has been used to refer to different dimensions, related to the main speech act participant's (MSAP) access to information and epistemic authority over the described event. Schematically, three aspects are relevant to egophoricity (1) Personal involvement of the MSAP in the event ; (2) Intentionality and degree of control ; (3) Specific epistemic authority over the given information (a dimension of "engagement", Evans, Bergqvist & San Roque, 2018). Recently, it has been claimed that the dimension of epistemic authority should be the primary function of egophoric markers cross-linguistically (Bergqvist & Knuchel, 2017). However, Widmer and Zuñinga (2017) have shown that these dimensions interact in a more complex way. Amdo-Tibetan data provide a clear model for the analysis of such interactions, insofar as the above-mentioned dimensions are grammaticalised independently.

Hence, in example (1a), the morpheme -*ni* is used to indicate that the MSAP is involved as the instigator of the event (participatory, intentional egophoric); in example (1b), -*a* is used to indicate that the MSAP is non-intentionally involved in the event (participatory, non-intentional egophoric). In example (2a), the copula *jin* is used as a participatory egophoric, whereas in (2b) the copula *jənnəre*[1] is used to claim a specific epistemic authority of the MSAP in comparison with the other speech act participant(s)[2].

(1a) ད་   ངས་   ཁ་དོན་   བྱེད་ཉིས།
    ta　*ŋi*　*kʰatøn*　*je-ni*
    well　1SG.ERG　prayer　LIGHTV-GENER.PARTA
    'well, I recite prayers.

(1b) ཧ་ཧ།　དེ་མོ་　དེ་　འདེབས་རྒྱ་བོའ་　དགའ་ར།　ང།
    haha　*təmo*　*tə*　*ⁿdep-dʑu*　*ʳga:*　*ŋa*
    haha　like.that　DEM　LIGHTV-NMLZ.DEF.DAT　like-GENER.PARTB　1SG
    'Haha, [I] loved so much to play like that, me!'

(2a) རོགས་བ་ར　དེ་མོ་　དེ་ར　ཨ་ཁུ་ཟིག　ཡོད་ནི་བོ་ཟིག　ཡིན་མོ་　ང།
    rokwa-ra　*təmo*　*təra*　*aχa-sək*　*jo-nə-sək*　*jin-mo*　*ŋa*
    friend-COM　like.that　DEM-COM　a.lot-INDF　EXIST-NMLZ-INDF　EQU.PART-DISC　1SG
    '[I] was a [child] who had many friends, etc., me!'

(2b) རམ་ཟིག་ར　སྐར་ས་　གཉིས་　ཡིན་ནི་རེད་མོ།
    ramasəka　*ʳkarma*　*ʳŋi*　*jənnəre-mo*
    goat-INDF-DAT　point　two　EQU.AUTH-DISC
    'For a goat, it's two points!'

Thus, in this presentation, I will show that the analysis of Amdo-Tibetan morphemes helps refining the grammatical domain of egophoricity. The claim of epistemic authority may be the primary function of a given egophoric marker in a given language. Alternatively, in other languages, egophoric markers primarily mark the MSAP's personal involvement in the event, whereas, in this case the claim epistemic authority is merely a secondary feature, realised by conventionnalised implicature.

References

Bergqvist, H. & Knuchel, D. (2017) "Complexity in egophoric marking: from agents to attitude holders." In: *Open Linguistics* 2017/3 (359-377).

Evans, N., Bergqvist, H., & San Roque, L. (2018) "The grammar of engagement I: Framework and initial exemplification." In: *Language and Cognition, 10*/1 (110-140).

Tournadre, N. (1991) "The rhetorical use of the Tibetan ergative" In: *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 14/1 (93-107).

Widmer, M. & Zúñiga, F. (2017) "Egophoricity, involvement, and semantic roles in Tibeto-Burman languages." In: *Person and knowledge: from participant-role to epistemic marking. Special issue of Open Linguistics* 3 (419-441).

[1] Synchronically indecomposable.

[2] In Amdo-Tibetan, the claim of MSAP epistemic authority, as well as the claim of shared knowledge (also marked with a specific TAME/E morpheme), is always calculated in relation with the supposed state of knowledge of the co-speaker, and never as a general fact

Evidentiality in abductive reasoning: Experimental approach

Anastasia Smirnova (San Francisco State University)

Evidentiality and modality Evidentiality is traditionally defined as a marker of information Source (Aikhenvald, 2004). Whether evidentials also encode epistemic modality as part of their meaning has been a topic of debate (Aikhenvald, 2002; Matthewson *et al*., 2007). In this paper, I test experimentally the predictions of modal (Izvorski, 1997; Smirnova, 2013) and non-modal analyses (Koev, 2016) for the inferential evidential in Bulgarian by drawing on recent research in inferential reasoning. The results provide support for modal analyses of evidentials.

Modality and inferential reasoning Recent findings show that modal words in argument conclusions affect acceptability judgments of deductive and abductive arguments differently (Krzyżanowska *et al*., 2013; Lassiter & Goodman, 2015). In deductive arguments, i.e. arguments in which the conclusion is entailed by the premises, conclusions without modals have a higher acceptability rate compared to modal conclusions. In abductive arguments, in which the conclusion can be viewed as the best explanation given the available evidence, conclusions with modals (e.g., *must*) are preferred (Krzyżanowska *et al*., 2013). If evidentiality encodes epistemic modality, we predict that the argument type will have a similar effect on the distribution of evidential vs. non-evidential forms: in abductive arguments, conclusions with evidentials will be preferred compared to deductive arguments. Non-modal analyses predict that the argument type will have no effect on the choice of evidential vs. non-evidential conclusions.

Experimental study 92 native speakers of Bulgarian participated in an experiment hosted on Qualtrics. The participants saw 12 scenarios, 6 deductive and 6 abductive. All scenarios had the same information source: inference based on observable evidence. In each scenario, the conclusion was presented in two forms, evidential (EVID) and non-evidential (NON-E) (see (1)). In the Evidential Choice Task, the participants were asked to choose the form, EVID or NON-E, that was more appropriate in a given scenario. In the Argument Strength Evaluation Task, the participants assessed the strength of the argument by rating how strongly the conclusion follows from the premises on a 6-point Likert scale (1 weak connection; 6 strong connections).

(1) All white cats have a gene that predisposes them to blindness. [Deductive argument]

   You notice that Murka, your neighbors' cat, is white.

   So Murka has EVID a gene that predisposes her to blindness. Evidential conclusion

So Murka has NON-E a gene that predisposes her to blindness. Non-Evidential conclusion

Results In the Argument Strength Evaluation Task, participants perceived deductive arguments as stronger than abductive arguments (t(71)=2.51, p=0.01, two-tailed). In the Evidential Choice Task, evidentials were more likely to be chosen as a conclusion of abductive than of deductive arguments (t(87)=4.57, p<.001, two-tailed). These results show that deductive and abductive arguments are perceived differently and that the argument type, deductive vs. abductive, influences the choice between EVID and NON-E forms.

Conclusion The results are compatible with the predictions of the modal analyses, according to which the Bulgarian evidential grammatically encodes the speaker's epistemic commitment, and is comparable in strength to the English modal *must*. Non-modal analyses assume that evidential and non-evidential forms express the same degree of certainty, and cannot explain the observed differences in their distribution.

Sensory access in the evidential system of Choswateng Tibetan (rGyalthang, Yunnan)

Hiroyuki Suzuki (National Museum of Ethnology)

Tibetic languages are known by their well-developed evidential-epistemic system. Choswateng Tibetan is a dialect spoken in bDechen Prefecture, Yunnan Province, China, and generally classified into Khams Tibetan. It possesses an evidential-epistemic system consisting of six major categories: egophoric, statemental/factual, visual sensory, non-visual sensory, inferential, and mnemic. Its word forms of the copulative and existential verbs are tabularised as follows (N.B. epistemicity [strong to weak] is valid only within inferential forms):

verb type *epistemicity*	egophoric	statemental	visual sensory	nonvisual sensory	inferential	mnemic
copulative *strong*	́zẽ ́jĭ	́reʔ `ʔa ᵐbo	ˆzẽ-nɔ̃	́cɑʔ ˆzẽ-cɑʔ	ˆzẽ-loʔ ˆzẽ-pa ʔa ́zẽ-ⁿdɔʔ ˆʔa jĭ ʑeː nɔ̃ ́zẽ-ⁿɖa ʔa nɔ̃ ˆzẽ-ʔa jĭ sũj ́zẽ-ʔa ⁿdɔʔ sũj	ˆzẽ-ʔa jĭ ʑeː nɔ̃
weak						
existential/nonanimate	ˆjuʔ	ˆjuʔ-reʔ	̄nɔ̃	̄nɔ̃	ˆjuʔ-IF	ˆjuʔ-ʔa jĭ zə reʔ
existential/animate	ˆⁿdɔʔ ˆⁿdɔʔ-ʰtɕi	ˆⁿdɔʔ-reʔ	(V-nɔ̃)	(V-nɔ̃)	ˆⁿdɔʔ-IF	ˆⁿdɔʔ-ʔa jĭ zə reʔ

This paper will focus on two sensory evidential markings of the copulative and existential verbs. It first describes the usage of these markings compared with other evidential categories and claims that the nature of 'sensory' is access to information rather than source of information based on the phenomenon that a speaker intentionally chooses a sensory evidential among the evidentials in the tabular following the speaker's thinking of the utterance. This possibility to choose a specific evidential among these categories suggests that these categories belong to a single system of the evidential-epistemic complex in Choswateng Tibetan. Hence, we can consider evidentiality of Tibetic languages as a system expressing access to information as well as source of information which the paper does not discuss in detail; the tabularised system merely reflects access to information. Hearsay (quotative and reportative), one of the well-known evidential categories, is not taken into consideration above since it belongs to a category expressing source of information.

Meanwhile, the paper discusses the morphology of the sensory evidentials. As displayed in the table above, two non-visual copulative verbs exist, whereas only one visual copulative verb exists. The analysis is that the visual sensory copulative, an analytical form consisting of a verb root and a visual sensory suffix, cannot become a suffix only (degrammaticalisation of a suffix) because the existential visual verb already functions with the stem identical to the visual sensory suffix.

Evidentiality in Udmurt. Results of a linguistic fieldwork

Ditta Szabó (Eötvös Loránd University)

In the Udmurt language (Permic, Finno-Ugric, Uralic) grammatical evidential markers (e. g. morphological elements denoting the source and the type of information) overlap with tense markers. The use of the so-called 2nd past tense forms in Udmurt can denote evidential meanings (1).

(1) Kolja   tolon   lykt-em.

    kolja   tomorrow   arrive-PST2.3SG

    'Kolja arrived tomorrow (but I did not see it).'

(Siegl 2004: 29)

Following Aikhenvald (2005), I consider Udmurt evidentials a small system, since only a single marker expresses this function. However, the usage of this marker is diversified because it has historically derived from a participle that originally could serve as a marker of the perfect aspect, where the speaker focuses on the result of a former action affecting the time of the utterance. The 2nd past tense verbal suffixes have other meanings as well, these areevidentiality (and its subcategories like mirativity) and inference (cf. Siegl, 2004). The exact meaning of the expression can be determined only in virtue of the context or the whole text.In addition, evidentiality in Udmurt can be expressed by lexical elements (2) and analytic forms (3) as well.

(2) Ton,   pe,   kyrža-ny   usto   bygati-śk-od.

    you,   it_is_said, sing-INF   masterly   can-PRS-2SG

    'It is said that you can sing masterly.'

(Kozmács, 2002: 332)

(3) So   uśt-em   vylem.

    he/she   open-PST2.3SG   be.PST2

    'He/she has opened it (but I did not see that).'

(Nazarova, 2014: 236)

However, grammatical evidentiality in Uralic languages is not an inherited feature from Proto-Uralic or Proto-Finno-Ugric, these languages share several properties of their evidentiality systems, not only in the types of encoding but in terms of evidential values as well (cf. Skribnik – Kehayov 2018).

The present paper aims at discussing the results of a linguistic fieldwork took place in Udmurtia. The research consists of two parts: the social cognition test based on visual stimuli and half-structured interviews.

The main questions of the research are the followings: 1. Is there any difference in the usage of the evidential marker when the speakers talk about things that are already known or familiar to them and about things that include new informations? 2. Is there any difference between the use of evidential markers based on dialectical variances? 3. Is it possible the make a chronology about the appearance of different functions (aspect, evidentiality, etc.) of the 2nd past tense marker in Udmurt?

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2005. *Evidentiality*. Oxford University Press, USA. Kozmács, István 2002. *Udmurt – magyar szótár*. Savaria University Press, Szombathely.

Nazarova, E. V. (Назарова, Е. В.) 2014. Удмурт кыл [The Udmurt language]. Удмуртский государственный университет, Ижевск.

Siegl, Florian 2004. *The 2nd past in the Permic languages – Form, function, and a comparative analysis from a typological perspective*. MA thesis. Tartu.

Skribnik, Elena – Kehayov, Petar 2018. *Evidentials in the Uralic languages*. In: Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (ed.) Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Evidentiality in Bulgarian: what I (don't) know or what I (don't) trust?

Ekaterina Tarpomanova (Sofia University Saint Kliment Ohridski), Bilyana Mihaylova (Sofia University Saint Kliment Ohridski)

Bulgarian is one of the few Indo-European languages and the only Slavic language with a grammaticalized evidentiality, which can be viewed as a Balkan feature: within the Balkan *Sprachbund* this is a similarity shared with Albanian, probably developed under Turkish influence. Evidentiality appeared only recently in the inherited tense-aspect-mood verbal system of Bulgarian (12th – 13th century at the earliest, cf. Gerdzhikov, 2003: 259), but it achieved a high level of obligatorification and in today's language almost every verb form can be interpreted in terms of evidential meaning. Still, the nature of the core categorial meaning is under discussion and the viewpoints of the researchers differ considerably. A brief review of the opinions in recent works shows that evidentiality is defined as: a cognitive state of the speaker connected to the source of information and its classification (Nitsolova, 2008); indirect information with a certain level of approval or distance (Guentchéva, 1996); personal confirmation or lack of confirmation of the information by the speaker (Friedman, 2004); level of reliability of the information acquired personally or intermediately (Gerdzhikov, 2003). According to Plungian, the evidential and the modal values overlap in the field of the epistemic modality, where the probability of the proposition is evaluated – the visual perception is considered more reliable, while mediated information is always less reliable (Plungian, 2001). To sum up, when defining the central meaning of evidentiality different authors give weight to its capacity either to indicate the information source or to evaluate the reliability of the statement.

The problem may be approached by exploring the typical contexts of the indirect evidentials and detecting the source of the speaker's knowledge and the level of credibility of the utterance from the viewpoint of the speaker.

The reported, which is morphologically marked by the *–l* participle and the omission of the auxiliary in the 3rd person, is the most frequent evidential and the only one that may be used in long texts. Its usage covers colloquial speech, fiction, folklore, scholarly texts of history, anecdotes, media texts.

The inferential is typically found in colloquial speech, detective fiction and scientific hypotheses. Marked by the presence of the auxiliary, its most frequent form (aorist) coincides with the indicative perfect and the disambiguation is sometimes quite difficult.

The dubitative is marked by the additional auxiliary *bil* and its typical contexts are the expressive colloquial speech, fiction and (yellow) media texts.

The analysis of the contexts evidentials are used could bring us one step closer to the understanding of the category by defining its semantic kernel and periphery.

References

Friedman 2004: Friedman, V. The typology of Balkan evidentiality and areal linguistics. – O. M. Tomić (Ed.). *Balkan Syntax and Semantics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004, pp. 101-134.

Gerdzhikov 2003: Герджиков, Г. 1984/2003. *Преизказването на глаголното действие в българския език.* София: Университетско издателство "Св. Климент Охридски", 2003.

Guentchéva 1996: Guentchéva, Zl. Le médiatif en bulgare. – Zlatka Guentchéva (Ed.). *L'énonciation médiatisée*. Louvain – Paris, 1996, p. 45-.-70.

Nitsolova 2008: Ницолова, Р. *Българска граматика. Морфология.* София: Университетско издателство "Св. Климент Охридски", 2008.

Plungian 2011: Plungian, Vl. The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space. – *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33, 2001, pp. 349-357.

Lexical markers of inferentiality, epistemic modality and evidentiality in Meadow Mari

Bogáta Timár (Eötvös Loránd University)

Meadow Mari is a Uralic language spoken in the Volga-Kama region of Russia. Areally, it belongs to the languages of the so-called „Great Evidential Belt", a territory which strips from the Balkans through the Asian steppe region and the Far East, which is the most significant locality for grammatical evidentiality, both in size of land and in the number and diversity of languages spoken in the region (Diewald – Smirnova, 2010). As such, evidentiality, i.e. the grammatical marking of the source of the information (Aikhenvald, 2004) has long been believed to be encoded in the past tense system of the Mari language (possibly as a Turkic influence, cf. Bereczki, 2002), meaning that the speaker's choice between the 1st and 2nd past tense is determined by whether the information is eye-witnessed or not.

(1) *Kürtnəgorno   stancij salan-əš.*

railway   station collapse-PST1.3SG

'The railway station (has) collapsed.' (Nelson &Vedernikova, 2017)

(2) *Kürtnəgorno   stancij salan-en.*

railway   station PST2.3SG

'The railway station (has) collapsed.' (Nelson & Vedernikova, 2017)

Similar motivation is assumed of the speaker's choice beteween the compound past tenses (the 3rd and 4th past tense). In 3rd past tense, the particle *əl'e* is used when the action was directly observed by the speaker,   while in the 4th past tense, the particle *ulmaš* is used to imply uncertainty or inference (Riese *et al.*, 2019).

(3) *Kürtnəgorno   stancij salan-en   əl'e.*

railway   station collapse-PST2.3SG   PCL

'The railway station collapsed.' (Nelson & Vedernikova, 2017)

(4) *Kürtnəgorno   stancij salan-en   ulmaš.*

railway   station collapse-PST2.3SG   PCL

'It turns out the railway station collapsed.' (Nelson & Vedernikova, 2017)

These claims have been repeatedly challenged (Kozlov & Golosov, 2017) and given a more

detailed view (Nelson, Vedernikova & Bradley, 2018; Sapasheva, 2018), but so far, the research of evidentiality and inferentiality in Meadow Mari has been restricted to the past tense system. The aim of this talk is to shed light on the epistemic, inferential and evidential marking in present tense in the use of modal particles in Meadow Mari, such as *dər, dokan, očəni, mozəč, ala,* etc. (Riese *et al.*, 2019). These particles, according to the sources, express various degrees of uncertainty, but their exact usage, especially in terms of inferential or non- eyewitnessed value have so far not been subject to detailed research. For my research, I use the audio of my own fieldwork conducted on Meadow Mari speakers eliciting the Family Problems Picture Task (San Roque *et al.*, 2012), completed by corpus research from the Meadow Mari Social Media Corpus of 3,59 million words. Preliminary results show that some of the modal particles, paired with present tense indicative, are able to encode not only epistemic and inferential, but evidential value as well.

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality.* Oxford University Press. Oxford.

Bereczki, Gábor 2002. *A cseremisz nyelv történeti alaktana.* Studies in Linguistics of the Volga-Region; Supplementum I. Kossuth egyetemi kiadó. Debrecen.

Diewald, Gabriele – Smirnova, Elena 2010. *Linguistic Realization of Evidentiality in European Languages.* Walter de Gruyter. Berlin.

Kozlov, Alexey – Golosov, Fedor 2017. *Fake Evidentiality Unmasked: Hill Mari Past Tenses.* Conference on the Syntax of the Uralic Languages. Budapest.

Nelson, Diane – Vedernikova, Elena 2017. *Evidentiality in Meadow Mari.* Conference on the Syntax of the Uralic Languages. Budapest.

Nelson, Diane – Vedernikova, Elena – Bradley, Jeremy 2018. *The Syntax of Meadow Mari: Some issues around TAM and phrase structure.* Under publication.

Riese, Timothy – Schötschel, Monika – Bradley, Jeremy – Yefremova, Tatiana 2019. *Mari (марий йылме): An Essential Grammar for International Learners* [draft version]. University of Vienna. Vienna. [published online at grammar.mari-language.com]

San Roque, L., Gawne, L., Hoenigman, D., Miller, J. C., Rumsey, A., Spronck, S., Carroll, A. & Evans, N. (2012). *Getting the story straight: Language fieldwork using a narrative problem-solving task.* Language Documentation & Conservation, 6, 135-174.

Saypasheva, Anastasiya 2018. *Az I. és II. múlt idő funkciói a baskíriai mariban.* In: Fazekas Boglárka, Kaposi Diána, P. Kocsis Réka (eds.) Félúton 12 : Tanulmánykötet a 12. Félúton konferencia előadásaiból. ELTE Magyar Nyelvtudományi és Finnugor Intézet. Budapest.

Turkish heritage speakers' evidentiality processing during spoken sentence comprehension

Suzan Dilara Tokac[1,2,3], Seçkin Arslan[2], Lyndsey Nickels[3]

[1]*International Doctorate for Experimental Approaches to Language and Brain (IDEALAB), Universities of Potsdam (DE), Groningen (NL), Newcastle (UK), and Macquarie University, Sydney (AU)* [2]*Center for Language and Cognition Groningen (CLCG), University of Groningen* [3]*Department of Cognitive Science, Macquarie University*

Heritage language speakers (HLS) are bilingual individuals who have grown up in a home speaking a mother tongue other than the dominant or national language of wider society (i.e.,a heritage language) [1,2,3,4]. HLS perform differently to their monolingual peers, with heritage language attainment shaped by factors such as amount of heritage language input, and age of onset of bilingualism [5,6]. Grammatical phenomena are not equally affected in heritage language acquisition and processing, with several different theories explaining why this happens [1,7,8,9]. We aimed to extend the research regarding heritage language speakers' processing of evidentiality, as a linguistic phenomenon that is only acquired in fullrelatively late in Turkish by comparing a group of HLS to a reference bilingual group who had a later onset of bilingualism.

Twenty-two HLS of Turkish (12 females, M_{AGE}=31.4years), who had been exposed to Turkish from birth at home, participated. The reference group consisted of twenty-two Turkish-English late bilingual speakers (10 females, M_{AGE}=36years), who were born and raised in Turkey. They learned English during their childhood and emigrated as adults to Australia (Emigrant speakers, ES). All participants were living in Australia and spoke bothTurkish and English.

Participants were presented with recordings of 120 *evidentiality* and 80 filler sentences and were asked to press the space bar as fast as possible when they noticed a contextual mismatch in the sentence, and not press for correct sentences. Each evidentiality sentence started with the indication of the information source (firsthand vs. nonfirsthand) followed by a clause that included the target verb inflected with a matching or mismatching evidentiality marker.

Accordingly, there were four *evidentiality* conditions, two of which were the mismatching conditions to which participants were required to respond:

A) *nonfirsthand-direct**

'*Yerken görmüşler, az önce adam yemeği yedi*'*

lit. I saw the man eating, he ate the food (reportedly)*;*

B) *firsthand-indirect**

'*Yerken gördüm, az önce adam yemeği yemiş'*

lit. they saw the mean eating, he ate the food (witnessed).

The data were analysed using linear mixed-effects models for reaction times (RTs), and generalized linear mixed-effects models for accuracy. For RTs, we found a significant fixed-effect of *group* signalling that the HLS performed more slowly (*mean*=2234ms, *SD*=248) compared to the ES (*mean*=1716ms, *SD*=1165; *ß*=-.374, *SE*=.139, *z*=-2.687, *p*=.007). For accuracy, there were fixed-effects of both *group* and *evidentiality condition*. The ES performed significantly more accurately (*mean*=.81, *SD*=.38) than the HLS (*mean*=.51, *SD*=.50; *ß* =2.188, *SE*=674, *z*=3.242, *p*=.001). Both groups responded to the violation of firsthand information with the indirect evidential marker (Firsthand-Indirect*, Example B) (*ß*=.493, *SE*=.168, *z*=2.93, *p*=.003) more accurately than the Nonfirsthand-Direct* condition(Example A). There were no significant interactions.

In sum, HLS were slower and less accurate than ES in evidentiality processing, suggesting that the early acquisition of English may have hindered the complete acquisition of evidentiality. Nevertheless, both groups performed better on the condition with violation of firsthand information than of nonfirsthand information. This asymmetry is in line with previous studies showing better performance/earlier acquisition for evidentiality marking of a firsthand information source [10].

References

[1] Benmamoun, E. , Montrul, S. & Polinsky, M. (2013). Defining an "ideal" heritage speaker: Theoretical and methodological challenges Reply to peer commentaries. *Theoretical Linguistics 39*(3-4), 259 – 294.

[2] Pascual y Cabo, D. & Rothman, J. (2012). The (il)logical problem of heritage speaker bilingualism and incomplete acquisition. *Applied Linguistics 33*, 1 – 7.

[3] Polinsky , M. & Kagan, O. (2007). Heritage languages: in the "wild" and in theclassroom. *Language and Linguistics Compass 1*, 368 – 395.

[4] Valdes, G. (2000). Introduction. *Spanish for Native Speakers Volume I*. AATSP Professional Development Series Handbook for Teachers K-16, 1-29. New York, NY: Harcourt College.

[5] De Houwer, A. (1997). The role of input in the acquisition of past verb forms in Englishand Dutch: evidence from a bilingual child. In E. Clark (ed.) Proceedings of the 28th Stanford Child Language Research Forum (pp. 153–162). Stanford, CA: CSLI.

[6] Unsworth, S. (2013). Assessing the role of current and CUMULATIVE exposure in simultaneous bilingual acquisition: The case of Dutch gender. *Bilingualism: Language andCognition 16*(1), 86–110.

[7] Neisser, U. (1984). Interpreting Harry Bahrick's Discovery: What Confers Immunity

Against Forgetting. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General 113*, 32-3

[8] Montrul, S. (2002). Incomplete acquisition and attrition of Spanish tense/ aspectdistinctions in adult bilinguals. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 5(1), 39-68.

[9] Pascual y Cabo, D. & Rothman, J. (2012). The (il)logical problem of heritage speaker bilingualism and incomplete acquisition. *Applied Linguistics 33*, 1 – 7.

[10] Schmid, M. S. & Karayayla, T. (2019). The roles of age, attitude, and use in first language development and attrition of Turkish–English bilinguals. *Language Learning.*

Source vs. Stance: Interpreting evidential and modal expressions in Turkish and English

Sumeyra Tosun (Medgar Evers College), Jyotsna Vaid (Texas A&M University)

Languages vary in how they encode and interpret attested information. This research empirically examined the relationship between evidentiality and modality in sentence interpretation by Turkish vs. English speakers. Evidentiality, a linguistic property, commonly refers to the linguistic marking (in the grammar or the lexicon) of source of knowledge about an asserted event (e.g. Aikhenvald, 2004; Aksu-Koc & Slobin, 1986; Chafe, 1986; Plungian, 2001).

Modality, on the other hand, has been defined as attitude, judgment or commitment of the speaker towards how likely the situation described is to occur in a possible or actual world (e.g., Chafe, 1986; Givon, 1982; Palmer, 1986). This study takes a cross-linguistic approach to the question of the relationship between evidentiality and modality by empirically examining how speakers of two different languages, one in which evidentiality is marked in the grammar (Turkish) and another in which it is marked in the lexicon (English), interpret evidential and modal expressions in their language. The relationship between evidentiality and epistemic modality differs depending on how evidentiality is defined. Four different views have been argued in the literature: 1) complete disjointment which claims that the two structures convey different kinds and nature of information (e.g., Aikhenvald, 2004; de Haan, 1999, 2004; Lazard, 2001) 2) inclusion which argues that one of the categories is analyzed as a subtype of the other (Dendale & Tasmowski, 2001), 3) overlap which states that there are pure evidentials and pure modals, but also ambiguous markers, which can be both (DeLancey, 2001; Faller, 2002; van der Auwera & Plungian, 1998), 4) identity which proposes that all evidentials are epistemic modals and all modals are evidentials (Matthewson, 2010). This research examined whether evidential information is interpreted strictly as conveying source information (firsthand, or non-firsthand), or whether it is also perceived as signaling reliability of particular sources. Participants were presented with identical sentences differing only in whether evidential or modal markers were inserted. The evidential expressions used in the study (*reportedly, apparently, presumably and supposedly*) were selected according to linguistic scholars' predictions (e.g., Aikhenvald, 2004; Chafe, 1986; Gisborne & Holmes, 2007; Izvorski, 1997; Mushin, 2001). The modal expressions (*must, should, could, might*) were selected among the most common studied modals. For each sentence they were asked to make judgments about the source of evidence and about their relative confidence about whether the asserted event had actually occurred. The results demonstrated that both Turkish and English speakers found that there was enough information to judge the source and degree of certainty of various evidential and modal expressions. The results support the view that there is a close relationship between evidentiality and modality. Further, it was found that the linguistic level of evidentiality indication

affected the source and epistemic value interpretations. Evidential expressions were interpreted in more varied ways by Turkish speakers, while modal expressions were interpreted in more varied ways by English speakers.

References

Aikhenvald, A. Y. 2004. *Evidentiality.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Aksu-Koc, A. & Slobin, D. 1986. A psychological account of the development and use of evidentials in Turkish. In W. Chafe & J. Nichols (Eds.), *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology* (pp. 159-167). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Chafe, W. 1986. Evidentiality in English conversation and academic writing. In W. Chafe & J. Nichols (Eds.), *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology* (pp. 261-272). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

de Haan, F. 1999. Evidentiality and epistemic modality: Setting boundaries. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics, 18,* 83-102.

de Haan, F. 2004. Encoding speaker perspective: Evidentials. In Z. Frajzyngier, A. Hodges &

D. S. Rood, (Eds.), *Linguistic diversity and language theories* (pp. 379-397). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

DeLancey, S. 2001. The mirative and evidentiality. *Journal of Pragmatics, 33*, 369-382. Dendale, P., & Tasmowski, L. (2001). Introduction: Evidentiality and related notions. *Journal of Pragmatics, 33,* 339-348.

Faller, M. T. 2002. *Semantics and pragmatics of evidentials in Cuzco Quechua.* Ph.D.dissertation, Stanford University.

Gisborne, N., & Holmes, J. 2007. A history of English evidential verbs of appearance. *English Language and Linguistics, 11*, 1-29.

Givon, T. 1982. Evidentiality and epistemic space. *Studies in Language, 6*, 23-49.

Lazard, G. 2001. On the grammaticalization of evidentiality. *Journal of Pragmatics, 33,* 359-367.

Izvorski, R. 1997. The present perfect as an epistemic modal. In A. Lawson & E. Cho (Eds.), *Seventh conference of semantics and linguistic theory* (pp. 1-18). Cornell: CLC Publications.

Matthewson, L. 2010. *Evidential restrictions on epistemic modals.* Workshop on Epistemic Indefinites, University of Göttingen.

Mushin, I. 2001. *Evidentiality and epistemological stance: Narrative retelling.* Amsterdam,The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing.

Palmer, F. R. 1986. *Mood and modality.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Plungian, V. A. 2001. The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space. *Journal of Pragmatics, 33,* 349-357.

van der Auwera, J., & Plungian, V. A. (1998). On modality's semantic map. *Linguistic Typology, 2,* 79-124.

The Status of Egophoric Markers within the Tibetic Evidential-Epistemic Systems

Nicolas Tournadre (AMU, Institut Universitaire de France, LACITO)

After having discussed some definitions of evidentiality and epistemic modality, I will concentrate upon the main characteristics of the Tibetic Evidential-Epistemic systems, which are among the most complex E-E systems attested in the World. The central notion of access to information will be discussed in detail. I will then address the category of egophoric, its status and its relationship with sensory markers (sensory and endopathic) in Common Tibetan, as well as some typological features of egophoric markers in other Tibetic languages.

References

Aikhenvald, A., Y. 2004. Evidentiality, New York Oxford University Press, 2004.

Barnes, J. 1984 Evidential in the Tucuya verbs, International Journal of American Linguistics. 50: 255-271

Faller, M. 2002. Remarks on evidential hierarchies. In D. I. Beaver, L. D. C. Martinez, B. Z. Clark & S. Kaufmann (Eds.), The construction of meaning (pp. 89-111). Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Gawne, L. & Hill, N. (Eds.), 2017. Evidential Systems of Tibetan Languages, De Gruyter Mouton, Guentchéva, Z., L'énonciation médiatisée, 1996, Louvain-Paris, Peeters.

Guentchéva, Z., 2016. Aspectuality and Temporality, Description and theoretical issues, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam, Philadelphia, Tournadre, N., « Personne et médiatif en tibétain », in La personne. Faits de langue, n°3, 1994, p. 149-158.*

Hill, N. 2021 review of Egophoricity. Simeon Floyd, Elisabeth Norcliffe, and Lila San Roque, eds. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. Typological Studies in Language.118.

Karma Tshering & G. van Driem. 2019. The Grammar of Dzongkha, Revised and Expanded, with a Guide to Roman Dzongkha and to Phonological Dzongkha. Santa Barbara, California: Himalayan Linguistics

sKal-bzang 'Gyur-med (Kesang Gyurmé). 1992. Bod kyi brda sprod rig pa'i khrid rgyun rab gsal me long: Le clair miroir. Enseignement de la grammaire tibétaine. Traduit, adapté et commenté par Heather Stoddard et Nicolas Tournadre. Arvillard: Éditions Prajñā. [Second edition, 1994]

Oisel, G. 2017. 'Re-evaluation of the evidential system of Lhasa Tibetan and its atypical functions', Himalayan Linguistics.

Mélac, E. 2014. L'évidentialité en anglais - approche contrastive à partir d'un corpus anglais-

tibétain, PdD, Université Paris 3.

Simon, C. « La catégorie égophorique dans les langues de l'Amdo (Tibet) » Société linguistique de Paris, le 24 avril 2021.

Tournadre, Nicolas. 2008. Arguments against the concept of 'conjunct/disjunct' in Tibetan. In Brigitte Huber, Marianne Volkart and Paul Widmer (hrgb.) Chomolangma, Demawend und Kasbek : Festschrift für Roland Bielmeier zu seinem 65. Geburtstag, 281- 308. Halle: Wissenschaftsverlag.

Tournadre, N., 2004 « Typologie des aspects verbaux et intégration à une théorie du TAM », In Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, vol.99, n°1,, p.7-68.

Tournadre, N. 2014b. Le prisme des langues, essai sur la diversité linguistique et les difficultés des langues, préface Claude Hagège. Paris : L'Asiathèque.

Tournadre N. & LaPolla, R. 2014 « Towards a new approach to evidentiality, Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area» vol. 37:2, 2014, pp. 240–263

Tournadre, Nicolas. 2016. The future tenses in the Tibetic languages. In Zlatka Guentcheva (ed) Aspectuality and Temporality: Descriptive and theoretical issues, 1-24. (Studies in Language Companion series 172). Amsterdam : John Benjamins

Tournadre, N. 2014. The Tibetic languages and their classification. In Th. Owen-Smith & N. W. Hill (eds.) Trans-Himalayan Linguistics: Historical and Descriptive Linguistics of the Himalayan Area, 105-129. Walter de Gruyter.

Tournadre N. 2017 "A typological sketch of evidential /epistemic categories in the Tibetic languages". In Gawne, L., & Hill, N., (Eds.), Evidential Systems of Tibetan Languages, De Gruyter Mouton

Tournadre, N. and H. Suzuki. 2021. The Tibetic Languages: An Introduction to the Family of Languages Derived from Old Tibetan (with the collaboration of Xavier Becker and Alain Brucelles for the cartography). Linguistic diversity series, Lacito, CNRS. Preface: R. LaPolla.

Tournadre, Nicolas & Sangda Dorje. 2003. Manual of Standard Tibetan. Ithaca: Snow Lion (with two CDs and maps of Tibet).

Tournadre, Nicolas & Mingyuan Shao. forthcoming. Intentionality, evidentiality and epistemicity in Amdo Tibetan.

Vokurkova, Z. 2017. Epistemic Modality in Standard Spoken Tibetan. Epistemic Verbal Endings and Copulas. Karolinum Press.

Yliniemi, Juha 2019. A descriptive grammar of Denjongke (Sikkimese Bhutia), PhD. University of Helsinki

Zeisler, B. 2017. The emergence of the Ladakhi inferential and experiential markers from a marker of admirativity (non-commitment): the case of hdug and snang, Jsall. De

Gruyter Mouton.

Zeisler, B. 2018. Don't believe in a paradigm that you haven't manipulated yourself! – Evidentiality, speaker attitude, and admirativity in Ladakhi. Himalayan Linguistics.

Zemp, M. A. 2018. A Grammar of Purik Tibetan. Series: Brill's Tibetan Studies Library, vol 21. Languages of the Greater Himalayan Region.

Elfdalian modals: A semantic study on a non-standard variety

Mikael Tsiouris (Uppsala University)

The Germanic modals are probably the best-studied modal markers in the world. This fact, however, only pertains to the modals in the Germanic standard languages, as studies on modals in non-standard varieties are rare. My PhD research project aims in broadening the present picture of the Germanic modals by studying the modals in the non-standard Scandinavian variety *Elfdalian.*[1]

Research on Elfdalian modals or other modal markers is virtually non-existent. This is striking since grammatical descriptions of the variety (cf. Levander 1909: 115 and Åkerberg 2012: 284) yield some interesting semantic features on the subject matter. For instance, three verbs are described as used for expressing the ability and possibility senses of dynamic verbs such as English *can* and German *können*. The following dictionary example illustrates this nicely:

(1)

Naug	***kann***	*ig*	*sę*	*leså,*	*men*	*ig*	***dug***	*it*	*autå*	*glasogur,*
surely	can	I	then	read	but	I	can	not	without	glasses
og	*för rest'n*	***beller***	*ig*	*it*	*för*	*ig*	*ir*	*lit*	*brått' um.*	
and	by the way	can	I	not	for	I	am	little	hurry	

'Surely, I can read, but not without glasses, and, by the way, I cannot, because I am in a bit of hurry.' (Steensland 2006: 59)

In the sentence above, the verbs *kunna* and *dugå* refer to an intellectual and physical ability respectively (cf. the French verbs *savoir* and *pouvoir*), while the verb *bella* refers to a general possibility (cf. the notion of root-possibility in Bybee *et al.,* 1994, or participant-external modality in van der Auwera and Plungian, 1998). This division of labour is probably unique in the modern Germanic languages.[2]

If one stretches the field of modality by also including evidentiality, more interesting features can be noticed. In the sentence below, for example, the verb *luss* has an evidential-mirative readingthat has no lexical equivalent in any of the mainland Scandinavian languages (or in English and German for that matter):

(2)

Ulov	***luss***	*it*	*kum*	*jųät*	*og*	*els ǫ*	*noð*	*mjer.*
Ulov	luss	not	come	here	and	visit	any	more

'It surprisingly appears that Ulov does not come here to visit anymore.' (Åkerberg 2012: 286)

In my presentation, I will give an overview of my planned PhD research project titled *The Seman- tics of the Elfdalian Modals*. No definitions of the Elfdalian modals have previously been formulated. Therefore, my initial research question revolves around which verbs are to

be considered modal. I advocate for a semantic definition and discuss if the modals should be seen as expressionsof possibility and necessity (cf. van der Auwera & Plungian, 1998), non-factuality (cf. Palmer, 2001; Narrog, 2005), or speaker's attitude (cf. Nuyts, 2005).

After defining the modals, I will continue by studying their semantics in a broader linguistic context. The material for my study comes from authentic written and spoken Elfdalian. The Elfdalian literary tradition is limited, but ample enough to enable corpus research on the modals. The text corpus is a compilation of children's books, novels, bible translations, magazine texts, diaries, and dialectological texts. The spoken corpus consists of recorded interviews.

At the conference, some first preliminary results of my research will be presented.

References

Åkerberg, Bengt, 2012: *Älvdalsk grammatik* [Elfdalian Grammar]. Älvdalen: Ulum Dalska.

van der Auwera, Johan and Plungian, Vladimir, 1998: Modality's Semantic Map. In *Linguistics Typology 2*: 79–124. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bentzen, Kristine, Rosenkvist, Henrik and Johannessen, Janne Bondi (eds.). 2015. *Studies in Övdalian Morphology and Syntax: New Research on a Lesser-Known Scandinavian Language*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bybee, Joan, Perkins, Revere and Pagliuca, William. 1994. *Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fritz, Gerd. 2005. *Einführung in die historische Semantik*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Garbacz, Piotr. 2010. *Word Order in Övdalian: A Study in Variation and Change*. Lund: Centrefor Languages and Literature, Lund University.

Karlander, David. 2017. *Authentic Language: Övdalsk, Metapragmatic Exchange and the Marginsof Sweden's Linguistic Market*. Stockholm: Department of Swedish Language and Multilingualism, Stockholm University.

Levander, Lars. 1909. *Älvdalsmålet i Dalarna: ordböjning ock syntax* [Elfdalian in Dalarna: Morphology and Syntax]. Stockholm.

Melerska, Dorota. 2011. *Älvdalskan: mellan språkdöd och revitalisering* [Elfdalian: Between Language Death and Revitalisation]. Poznán: Katedra Skandynawistyki, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza.

Narrog, Heiko. 2005. On Defining Modality Again. In *Language Sciences 27*: 165–192. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Nuyts, Jan. 2005. The Modal Confusion: On Terminology and the Concept Behind It. In

Klinge, Alex and Müller, Henrik Høeg (eds.) *Modality: Studies in Form and Function* 5–38. London: Equinox.

Palmer, Frank R. 2001. *Mood and Modality*. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Steensland, Lars. 2006. *Liten älvdalsk-svensk och svensk-älvdalsk ordbok* [Small Elfdalian-Swedish and Swedish-Elfdalian Dictionary]. Second edition. Älvdalen: Ulum Dalska.

---

[1] Elfdalian (internationally also known as Övdalian) is spoken in the parish of Älvdalen in West Middle Sweden and has traditionally been regarded as a Swedish dialect. However, many Elfdalian speakers along with a number of linguists consider Elfdalian a proper language due to its linguistic distinctiveness (see Garbacz 2010: 23–53 for an overview). Elfdalian is an understudied variety, but in the last decade, an increasingly amount of academic research can be noticed, especially in the areas of morphosyntactics (cf. Garbacz 2010 and Bentzen, Rosenkvist and Johannessen eds. 2015), and sociolinguistics (cf. Melerska 2011 and Karlander 2017).

[2] The phenomenon is however attested in diachronic research on other Germanic languages, cf. Fritz 2005: 204–206 regarding the Old High German verbs *kunnan*, *mugan* and *muozan*.

Perfects, evidentiality and narrative in the eastern Caucasus

Samira Verhees (National Research University Higher School of Economics)

Across a large area within Eurasia, perfect forms of verbs frequently obtain an indirect evidential meaning. The meaning first emerges as a conversational implicature: the perfect's focus on the resulting stage of an event suggests that the speaker had access to the event through its results, and by contrast did not witness the event unfold (+ inferential). Further on, the form may expand its usage to situations where the speaker did not witness the event or its results (+ reportative), giving rise to a general indirect or unwitnessed meaning. The development of a perfect into an indirect evidential is not uncommon in the world's languages (Bybee *et al.,* 1994), and can occur without the influence of a contact language. At the same time, the phenomenon is suspiciously frequent in a specific area stretching from the Balkans through the Caucasus and Central Asia into Siberia: the so-called "Evidential Belt" (cf. Plungian (2010: 19-21)). This suggests that the feature could be contact-induced at least in some cases.

In languages where the perfect has an indirect evidential meaning, this form can occur in the main line of narratives about events not witnessed by the speaker. It is often implicitly assumed that this function represents a more progressed stage in the grammaticalization process, because it presupposes that the generalization from inferential to indirect evidential has already taken place. Though this might seem like a trivial observation, it is not altogether unthinkable that in a situation of language contact characterized by intensive literary exchange, the perfect as a narrative tense could be borrowed as a style figure associated with specific genres. An example of an area where such intensive exchange took place is the republic of Dagestan (Adžiev, 1991). In this study I compare the use of perfects in a corpus of folklore texts in various languages of Dagestan (including languages of the East Caucasian and Turkic language families) to descriptive accounts of how the perfects in these languages are used. Dagestan is a linguistically diverse North Caucasian republic located at the center of the Evidential Belt. Evidentiality is well-attested among the indigenous languages (Forker, 2018) as well as their neighbors, though some languages lack the feature. There are some caveats to using narrative data for comparative purposes, including the tendency for evidential markers to function as "genre tokens" in this context, and the alternation of different main line past tenses for text-level grounding (Nichols, 1981). But as I will show, the use of the perfect as an unwitnessed narrative tense does indeed implicate indirect evidential uses in other contexts, and vice versa: languages in which the perfect appears to lack an indirect evidential meaning, or where it remains at the stage of a weak inferential implicature, do not employ the perfect as an unwitnessed narrative tense.

References

Adžiev, A.M. 1991. 'Vvedenie [Introduction].' A.M. Adžiev, F.O. Abakarova, X.M. Xalilov (eds.)*Tradicionnyj fol'klor narodov Dagestana [Traditional folklore of the peoples of Dagestan].*Moscow: Nauka, 1-18.

Bybee, J. L., R. Perkins & W. Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect and modality in the languages of the world.* Chicago/London: The University ofChicago Press.

Forker, Diana. 2018. 'Evidentiality in Nakh-Daghestanian languages'. Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality.* Oxford: Oxford University Press,490-509.

Nichols, J. 1981. Transitivity and foregrounding in the North Caucasus. D. K.

Alford, K.A. Hunold, M.A. Macauly, J. Walter, C. Brugman, P. Chertok, I. Čivkus & M. Tobey (eds.) *Proceedings of the Seventh annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society.* Berkley: Berkley Linguistics Society, 202-221.

Plungian, Vladimir A. 2010. Types of verbal evidentiality marking: An overview. G. Diewald & E.Smirnova (eds.) *Linguistic realization of evidentiality in European languages.* Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton, 15-58.

Lexical and grammatical expression of evidential meaningsdemonstrated on the example of Czech and Tibetan

Zuzana Vokurkova (Charles University Prague)

The paper aims at demonstrating the expression of evidential meanings across languages and comparing two different means of expression, lexical and grammatical, on the example of Czech and Tibetan.

Evidential meanings specify, as Palmer (1986) put it, the speaker's commitmentto what he says in terms of the kind of evidence he is basing his statement upon. They are often defined as a grammatical means of expressing a source of information (Aikhenvald, 2004), or more broadly, as the expression of the speaker's access to information, considering as well the subjective strategy or perspective of the speaker in representing a particular state of affairs (Mélac, 2014; Tournadre, LaPolla, 2014). They are associated with observation (evidence of senses) or inference (sensorial, logical) and with hearsay (what is reported, quotatives). One can, therefore, speak of two types of evidence: 'firsthand' and 'secondhand' evidence or 'direct' and 'indirect' evidence.

Evidential meanings are at times regarded as a separate linguistic category (Aikhenvald, 2004; de Haan, 2005; Nyuts, 2001), at times as part of the same linguistic category of modality together with epistemic meanings (Dik, 1997; Bhat, 1999; Tournadre, 2004), and in other cases the first one is considered as a sub-category of the latter (Bybee, 1985; Palmer, 1986; Chafe & Nichols, 1986; Willet, 1988), or vice versa (Papafragou, 2000). Having a large conception of modality, in accordance with Bhat (1999) and Tournadre (2004), I consider evidentials as a modal type.

Although it is possible to mark one's information source in all languages, in a number of them it is not obligatory. Czech is an example of such language. The expression of evidential meanings is done by lexis. On the other hand, there are languages which have an "obligatory inflectional system with information source as its core semantics" (Aikhenvald, 2004, 2011). As Aikhenvald (2004) put it, "in languages with grammatical evidentiality, marking how one knows something is a must." Spoken Tibetan is an example of language that obligatorily marks information sources. The evidential sources identified as basic by Willett (1988) are personal experience, direct (e.g. sensory) evidence, indirect evidence and hearsay. These evidential sources can be illustrated by the evidential system of spoken Tibetan (Garrett, 2001; Tournadre & Sangda Dorje, 2003).

The aim of the present paper it to study expressing evidential meanings by lexical means on

one hand, and by grammatical means on the other so that one can see the differences in the pragmatic information given by speakers of either type of language. Furthermore, the research aims at discussing the frequency of lexical means conveying evidential meanings in the type of language in which these meanings are not obligatorily expressed.

References

Aikhenvald, A.Y. 2004. Evidentiality. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, A.Y. 2011. Evidentials. Oxford Bibliographies Online. http://oxfordbibliographiesonline.com/view/document/obo-9780199772810/obo-9780199772810-0014.xml

Bybee, J.L. 1985. Morphology: A study of the relation between meaning and form. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Comp.

Barnes, J. 1984. "Evidentials in the Tuyuca verb", in International Journal of American Linguistics. 50. pp. 255-71.

Bhat, D.N.S. 1999. The Prominence of Tense, Aspect and Mood. Amsterdam /Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Chafe, W.L., Nichols, J. (eds.). 1986. Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Garrett, E. J. 2001. Evidentiality and assertion in Tibetan. University of California, Los Angeles. Ph.D. Dissertation.

Guentcheva, Z. (ed.). 1996. L'Énonciation médiatisée. Louvain-Paris: Editions Peeters. DeHAAN, F. 2005. "Typological approaches to modality", in W. Frawley (ed.). The Expression of Modality. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Dik, S.C. 1997. The theory of Functional Grammar. Part 1: The structure of the Clause. Part 2: Complexes and Derived Constructions. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Mélac, É. 2014. L'évidentialité en anglais. Approche contrastive à partir d'un corpus anglais-tibétain. Université de la Sorbonne nouvelle-Paris 3. Ph.D. Dissertation.

Nuyts, J. 2001a. Epistemic modality, language, and conceptualization: A cognitive pragmatic perspective. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Comp.

Palmer, F. 1986. Mood and modality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. PAPAFRAGOU, A. 2000. Modality: Issues in the semantics-pragmatics interface. Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd.

Tournadre, N. 2004. "Typologie des aspects verbaux et intégration à une théorie du TAM.", in Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris. Vol. XCIX. fasc.1. Pp. 7-68.

Tournadre, N., LaPolla, R. 2014. "Towards a new approach to evidentiality. Issues and directions for research", in Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area. Vol. 37:2. John Benjamins Publishing Company. Pp. 240-262.

Tournadre, N., Sangda Dorje. 2003. Manual of Standard Tibetan. Language and Civilization. Ithaca, New York: Snow Lions Publications.

Willett, T. 1988. "A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticalization of evidentiality", in Studies in Language, 12/1. Pp. 51-97.

L'évidentialité en baké

Wang Sanchuan (Inalco & Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3)

Le baké est une langue tibéto-birmane avec environ 2500 locuteurs parlée dans la région tibétaine du Kongpo, dans une vallée encaissée autour du lac Basum. Malgré ladomination du tibétain dans toute la zone, standard ou régional, le baké a survécu comme une langue non-tibétique strictement orale avec beaucoup d'emprunts autibétain. Une simple analyse de son lexique nous donne l'impression que la majoritéde son lexique vient directement du tibétain, mais le noyau reste des cognats ou sans lien avec le tibétain.

En ce qui concerne le système verbal, il est bien établi qu'en tibétain standard, nous avons trois modalités d'évidentialité : égophorique, perceptif et factuel. Ces modalitésse répandent dans tout le système verbal, des copules simples jusqu'aux expressions d'épistémicité. Alors pour une langue non-tibétique comme le baké, mais qui a absorbéde très nombreux vocabulaires tibétains, il serait particulièrement intéressant de voir siles mêmes phénomènes grammaticaux se sont produits, et si oui, leurs formes exactes.Il faudra également comprendre s'il s'agit d'un processus de grammaticalisation à partirde son propre lexique ou tout simplement d'un calque sur la structure tibétaine. À partirdes exemples bilingues glosés, nous chercherons à documenter le système évidentiel du baké et éventuellement le comparer au tibétain pour une meilleure compréhension de sa fonctionnalité.

Exemples simples des copules existentielles :

(1) Baké :   i53   (ka)   tep14 tɯʔ53 nɛʔ14
Tibétain de Lhassa :   ŋa14   la   tʰep14 tɕiʔ53 jøʔ12
Glose :   1p.SG DAT livre   NUM   COP.EXI.EGO
Traduction :   J'ai un livre. (Le livre appartient au locuteur)

(2) Baké :   mo55   (ka)   tep14 tɯʔ53 nɯ55
Tibétain de Lhassa :   mo14   la   tʰep14 tɕiʔ53 tuʔ12
Glose :   3p.F.SG DAT livre   NUM   COP.EXI.PER
Traduction :   Elle a un livre. (Le locuteur l'a vue avec un livre)

(3) Baké :   po53   (ka)   tep14 ku11-søʔ14   ni53
Tibétain de Lhassa :   kʰo53   la   tʰep14 kʰa14-tsɛʔ53 joʔ12-reʔ
Glose :   3p.M.SG DAT livre   combien   COP.EXI.FAC
Traduction :   Comment de livre a-t-il ? (En général)

Nous pouvons déjà constater que les trois copules existentielles affirmatives, /nɛʔ14/, /nɯ55/ et /ni53/ s'emploient ici comme en tibétain standard. Cependant, les formes sontcomplètement différentes. Une analyse plus approfondie du corpus nous montrera quece système existe dans la négation, dans les temps grammaticaux et même dans son système épistémique.

Egophoricity in Dzongkha: speaker representation of knowledge and interlocutor accessibility

Stephen Watters (SIL Intl)

The evidential system of Tibetic languages has been described as more than source of knowledge, positing such categories as the egophoric, mirative, and factive (DeLancey, 2018). Dzongkha, a southern Tibetic language, provides insight into this discussion with a three way distinction in copula and existential verbs. The distinction is not perfectly analogous with one another across verb types, but together the six member set provides the basis for a fairly elaborate set of egophoric, evidential, epistemic, and factual distinctions (Watters, 2018). These categories are analyzed as belonging to separate grammaticalcategories, rather than to one single over-arching category such as evidentiality.

Evidentiality is narrowly defined here as marking source of knowledge (Aikhenvald, 2018). Epistemicity is defined as assessment of truth (Wiemer, 2018). While how these systems operate in Dzongkha is interesting in their own right, this paper will focus on a description of the egophoric system.

Egophoricity is best described as pragmatic in Dzongkha with two independent parameters: speaker representation of knowledge, and accessibility of knowledge. The former has to do with how the speaker chooses to represent his world to his interlocutors. This representationis subjective, and based on discourse-pragmatic goals. The latter has todo with whose knowledge in the interlocutor relationship is profiled: speaker, addressee, or shared knowledge. Speaker representation is prominent in declarative clauses, whereas in interrogatives and imperatives, it is accessibility that is prominent.

In addition to copula clauses, egophoricity is encoded as part of the tense aspect system in suffixes and auxiliaries. Speaker representation and accessibility of knowledge are fused in these forms; they are only separable on the basis of pragmatic implications. However, there are two sets of non-obligatory post-verbal particles that each independently codeone aspect of egophoricity. The accessibility set are grammaticalizations of the reflexive and indefinite pronouns. The other set codes a three waydistinction in speaker representation that is used in declaratives and imperatives. The post-verbal particles operate as independent parameters of egophoricity with interesting pragmatic implications.

A three way distinction in accessibility can also be seen in imperatives,interrogative particles, and tag questions. Of particular interest for the discussion here is the grammaticalization of the modal verbs /go/ 'want' and /no/ 'think' in tag question to code distinctions in shared interlocutor

responsibility.

The study presented here is based primarily on conversational data that shows a richness of interlocutor dynamics not commonly used in studies ofevidentiality. The data demonstrate that interlocutors use these values to co-construct a shared world. Representation of knowledge is done on the fly in conversation, and is an ever evolving state of affairs, sometimes assertive, sometimes reconciliatory, sometimes close, sometimes distant, but always co-constructed within the subjectivity of interlocutor relationships.

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y, eds. 2018. The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality.Oxford: OUP.

DeLancey, Scott. 2018. Evidentiality in Tibetic. The Oxford Handbook ofEvidentiality, ed. by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, 580-94. Oxford. OUP.

Watters, Stephen. 2018. A grammar of Dzongkha (dzo): phonology, words, and simple clauses. Houston, Texas. Rice University Ph.D. dissertation.

Wiemer, Björn. 2018. Evidentials and epistemic modality. The Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality, ed. by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, 85-108. Oxford. OUP.

Polish *jakoby*: How to make it the whole way from comparison to reportivity

Björn Wiemer (Johannes Gutenberg – University of Mainz)

Gipper (2018) points out several types of similative markers which can be regarded as sources of evidential expressions moving on a recurrent pathway:

[1] (i) similarity ($\supset$ irreal) > (ii) visual/perceptual evidence   > (iii) inference

+ uncertainty

This pathway has been claimed to exist for some unrelated languages; the involved units are derivational suffixes, enclitics, or lexical verbs.

Polish *jakoby* is another similative marker, but it differs from the cases discussed by Gipper (and elsewhere) in at least three respects, which allows us to complement the pathway in [1]. First, the origin and syntactic class: *jakoby* arose from the coalescence of the comparison marker *jako* 'how, like' with the irrealis enclitic *by*. Since the 14th century, i.e. before this fusion was finished, *jako+by* served as a flexible marker of comparison able to scope over constituents of virtually any syntactic format. Like other similative markers, *jakoby* implied a non-factual status of the object, property or situation referred to, and this favored a transition to marking uncertainty and inference (see [1]); cf. Wiemer 2015). Second, contrary to the cases surveyed by Gipper, before *jakoby* entered the inferential domain, it was frequently used as a connective introducing purpose and/or manner clauses. Moreover, *jakoby* did not turn into a morphologically or prosodically bound element, nor into a functional verb (unlike Germanic SEEM-verbs); instead, it developed into an evidential (inferential > reportive) complementizer and a (non-clitic) particle.

This is connected to the third difference, namely, functional development: *jakoby* belongs to a small group of 'as if'-units in languages of Eastern Europe whose development has not stopped at stage (ii) or (iii) of [1], but started specializing as a reportive marker. In this respect, Pol. *jakoby* differs even from its cognates in other Slavic languages (except Russ. *jàkoby*). Likewise, in no Germanic or Romance language have 'as if'-units developed that far; cf. Wiemer (2018: 313-328). The same applies to its syntactic status: jakoby is one of only very few specialized reportive complementizers in European languages, if not worldwide (cf. the surveys in Boye et al. 2015; Boye/Kehayov (eds.) 2016).

The studies in Wiemer (2015; 2018) generated some hypotheses, but they were based mainly on entries from dictionaries (*SłStar*, *SłPolXVI*) comprising the late 14th to the end of the 16th century, compared to *jakoby* in contemporary Polish (based on *NKJP*). By the late 16th century, *jakoby* was only sparsely used in indirect evidential (particularly reportive) meanings, and

nominal attachment sites in the complementizer function did not predominate, in sharp contrast to contemporary Polish (cf. also Stępień 2008). Moreover, purpose/manner-clauses introduced by *jakoby* still made up about one-third of all registered tokens.

On this backdrop, the present talk will take advantage of the recently released corpus *KorBa*, which spans the period 1600-1772 and supplies rich metadata, in order to provide a token-based analysis for a period which most likely was crucial for the functional shift of *jakoby* into reportive evidentiality. For this purpose, we will test its behavior and distribution, addressing, among others, the following questions:

> 1) When did changes in the share between adverbal and adnominal complementation occur?
>
> 2) How much has the relative frequency of reportive uses changed for *jakoby* in particle and complementizer use? Were these changes relevant for the shift into reportivity?
>
> 3) Did certain text genres and regions favor the spread of *jakoby* into the evidential domain?

References

Boye, Kasper & Petar Kehayov (eds.). 2016. *Complementizer semantics in European languages*. Berlin, Boston. De Gruyter Mouton.

Boye, Kasper, Eva van Lier & Eva Theilgaard Brink. 2015: Epistemic complementizers: a cross-linguistic survey. *Language Sciences* 51, 1-17.

Gipper, Sonja. 2018: From similarity to evidentiality (Uncertain visual/perceptual evidentiality in Yurakaré and other languages). In: Foolen, Ad, Helen de Hoop & Gijs Mulder (eds.): *Evidence for Evidentiality*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins, 257-280.

Stępień, Marzena. 2008: O wzajemnym przenikaniu się ewidencjalności i modalności epistemicznej (na przykładzie wybranych polskich czasowników i wyrażeń funkcyjnych). In: Wiemer, Björn & Vladimir A. Plungjan (eds.): *Lexikalische Evidenzialitätsmarker im Slavischen* (*Wiener Slawistischer Almanach, Sonderband 72*), 313-333.

Wiemer, Björn. 2015. An outline of the development of Pol. *jakoby* in 14th-16th century documents (based on dictionaries). In: Wiemer, Björn (ed.): *Studies on evidentiality marking in West and South Slavic*. München: Sagner, 217-302.

Wiemer, Björn. 2018: On triangulation in the domain of clause linkage and propositional marking. In: Hansen, Björn, Jasmina Grković-Major & Barbara Sonnenhauser (eds.):

Diachronic Slavonic Syntax: The Interplay between Internal Development, Language Contact and Metalinguistic Factors.Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 285-338.

Corpora and dictionaries

KorBa: Elektroniczny korpus tekstów polskich z XVII i XVIII w. (do 1772 r.). http://korba.edu.pl/query_corpus/ („Korpus Barokowy")

NKJP: Narodowy korpus języka polskiego. http://www.nkjp.pl/

SłStar: *Słownik staropolski*, vol. III (1960-62). Urbańczyk, Stanisław (ed.). Warszawa, Kraków: PAN.

SłPolXVI: *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku*, vol. IX (1975). Pepłowski, Franciszek (ed.). Wrocławetc.: Ossolineum—Wydawnictwo PAN.

Confirmation/agreement Seeking Marker in the perspective of Epistemic Gradients: with special reference to the interrogative particle "HAO"（嚎）in northeastern Mandarin Chinese

Shihong Zhou (Beijing Normal University)

This paper examines the interactive and coordinative functions of the discourse particle HAO (嚎) inthe Northeastern Mandarin Chinese from the perspective of epistemic gradients (Heritage 2012a, b;2013), using the data of natural conversation. The data includes 20-hour natural conversation collected by the author himself, as well as the dialogic transcription from Northern dialectal film and television program.

In previous studies, HAO(嚎)was often regarded as a modality particle at the end of the sentence. This paper proposes that HAO(嚎)is different from the other modality particles which occur at the end of sentence/utterance, like BA(吧), NE(呢), etc.in Mandarin Chinese.HAO(嚎) is an interjective particle, independent from the preceding utterance, and should be categorized as utterance tag. The " HAO(嚎?)" tag is a single word question that is attached to the end of theimmediate preceding utterance and is highly positional sensitive for turn construction, and therefore should be regarded as a discourse operator (Norrick, 2009; Onodera, 2014), or to be specific, the one-word tag question (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2018: Chapter 8). For example:

(1) 你结婚了，嚎？

You married hao

You're married, aren't you?

(2) 今天天气不错，嚎？

Today weather not bad, hao

It's a good day, isn't it?

(3) 我吧嚎，从小就爱看电影。

I particle (uncertain) hao, from childhood like to watch movie

As for me, right? I like watching movie since I was a child.

In the framework of the epistemic gradience (Heritage, 2012), this paper proposes that the epistemic gradience of the HAO(嚎) question is the slightest compared to other types of questions,including polarity questions in Chinese. The tag question HAO（嚎）is not so

much used to seekinformation as it is to confirm the content of the just-said within the speaker's utterance.

The HAO (嚎)tag question can not only be used to seek confirmation of the addressee(example1), but also solicitate agreement or supportive answer from the addressee(example 2). In the narrative style (example 3), HAO (嚎) also can be used inviting the hearerto interact and coordinate to reach a common ground. This paper tries to give a unified explanation ofthe HAO (嚎) in different speech context.

References

Heritage, John (2012). Epistemics in action: Action formation and territories of knowledge. Researchon Language & Social Interaction 45.1: 1-29.

Norrick, Neal R. (2009). Interjections as pragmatic markers. *Journal of pragmatics* 41.5: 866-891.

Onodera, Noriko O. (2014). Setting up a mental space: A function of discourse markers at the left periphery (LP) and some observations about LP and RP in Japanese. *Discourse functions at the left and right periphery: Crosslinguistic investigations of language use and language change* 2014: 92-116. Leiden & Boston:Brill.

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth, and Margret Selting (2018). Interactional linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

On the grammaticalization of an attributive in English: The case of *according to NP*

Debra Ziegeler (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3)

The status of the novel category of attributives has been argued by Guardamagna (2017) to be distinct from those of reportatives, at least in Latin and Romance languages, one important reason being that reportatives involve an element of communication whereas attributives, in the Latin case at least, involve only mental content; that is, opinion, thought and belief (Guardamagna, 2017: 177). However, in her study of the Latin reportative use of *secundum NP* 'according to NP' Guardamagna proposes an extended use which is not possible in the English use of *according to*, that of self-attribution, and she also distinguishes attributives from reportatives by the fact that they appear to develop differently: reportatives being closely connected to 'conformity' meanings and attributives arising through what Guardamagna labels 'limitation' – an extension of conformity in which Gricean Quantity 1 implicatures restrict the report conveyed to its original source or attribute, with or without the endorsement of the speaker.

In the case of English *according to NP*, it has been observed that the Anglican Church liturgy recently (after 1975) revised the wording of the Nicene Creed, represented in the older versions as: *On the third day he rose again according to the scriptures*, to *On the third day he rose again, in accordance with the scriptures*, a change indicating the diachronic shifts in meaning of *according to the scriptures* from 'conforming to the scriptures' (that is, the earlier prophecies) to later express attribution to a source which may or may not carry the endorsement of the speaker, something to be considered unacceptable in an expression of Christian faith. The present study examines the diachronic development of *according to NP* since Middle English times, using the Helsinki Corpus and the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (CLMETS). It is noted in the data that *in accordance with* did not appear until the latter half of the 18th century, indicating the need to renovate the lexical source meanings of conformity. The present study proposes that, like Latin *secundum NP*, *according to NP* was co-opted from an adverbial clause of manner, and that its progress to an attributive was a further development from its reportative stage. This is shown by the loss of subject control and relaxation of selection restrictions characteristic of many cases of grammaticalization (Grossman and Polis, 2014), resulting in scope-widening effects as well as heightened speaker-subjectification (the speaker being the only source remaining for control). Thus, the rise of unendorsed, attributive senses associated with *according to NP* is due as much to an increase in speaker-subjectification as to the 'bridging contexts' described by Guardamagna (2017) as responsible for the attributive meanings of the Latin counterpart. It is questioned whether the case of *according to NP* may be

considered a viable instance of grammaticalization.

References

Grossman, E., & Polis, S. 2014. On the pragmatics of subjectification: The grammaticalization of verbless allative futures (with a case study in Ancient Egyptian). *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia*, *46*(1), 25-63.

Guardamagna, Caterina. 2017. Reportative evidentiality, attribution and epistemic modality: A corpus-based diachronic study of Latin *secundum* NP ('according to NP'). *Language Sciences* 59: 159-179.

Mélac, Eric. The grammaticalization of evidentiality in English. (Ms.)

Corpora:

CLMET(EV): *The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (Extended Version)*, compiled by Hendrik de Smet. https://perswww.kuleuven.be/~u0044428/clmet.htm

The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts (1991). Department of Modern Languages, University of Helsinki. Compiled by Matti Rissanen (Project leader), Merja Kytö (Project secretary); Leena Kahlas-Tarkka, Matti Kilpiö (Old English); Saara Nevanlinna, Irma Taavitsainen (Middle English); Terttu Nevalainen, Helena Raumolin-Brunberg (Early Modern English). (see the Corpus Resource Database, CoDR Helsinki).

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English_versions_of_the_Nicene_Creed#Nicene_Creed_as_altered_in_381

DAY ONE 10 June 2021

8:30-9:00	Opening (Sandrine Sorlin)		
9:00-10:00	**Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, The web of knowledge**		
	Room 1: Grammaticalization 1 (convenor: F. Rose)	**Room 2: Corpus and experimentation** (convenor: P. Leclercq)	**Room 3: Discourse** (convenor: A. Méry)
10:00-10:30	Rhee, S., Seeing and thinking in inferential evidentiality: The Case in Korean	Smirnova, A., Evidentiality in abductive reasoning: Experimental approach	Arthuis Blanco, M. E., The grammaticalization of quotatives in evidentiality: Exploring the pragmatic link between illocutionary force modulation and quotative readings of hearsay evidentials
10:30-11:00	BREAK		
11:00-11:30	Wiemer, B., Polish jakoby: How to make it the whole way from comparison to reportivity	Arslan, S., Selvi Balo, S., Mavis, I. & Meunier, F., Event witnessability and evidentiality: A preliminary study on healthy aging Turkish adults	Míguez, V., Epistemic modality and discourse strategy: A corpus-based study of Galician adverbs
11:30-12:30	POSTER SESSION		
12:30-13:30	LUNCH		

13:30-14:30	**Bernd Heine, The grammar of interactives: The challenge of discourse**		
	R1: Typology and language documentation 1 (convenor: N. Tournadre)	**R2: Romance languages** (convenor: E. Corre)	**R3: Grammaticalization 2** (convenor: A. Edmonds)
14:45-15:15	Lessan Pezhechki, H., Le paradigme évidentiel du persan: un nouvel angle d'analyse	Dendale, P., Can modal adverbs be genuine evidentials? The case of French adverb *certainement*	Ziegeler, D., On the grammaticalization of an attributive in English: The case of *according to NP*
15:15-15:45	Oisel, G., Les évidentiels de la langue Shipibo-Konibo : sémantique, morphosyntaxe et pragmatique	Sentí, A., Evidentiality in spoken Catalan: the reportative marker *diu que*	Lara Bermejo, V., The development of evidential grammatical markers in Ibero-Romance
15:45-16:15	BREAK		
16:15-16:45	Nowakowska, M., La construction polonaise « mieć (avoir) + infinitif » : valeur médiative, modale et aspectuelle	Lo Baido, M. C., Disentangling epistemic modality from evidentiality in spoken discourse: a focus on the comment clause in Present-day Italian	Caudal, P. & Mailhammer, R., Tensed periphrastic vs. synthetic modal inflections in Iwaidja – a novel insight into grammaticalization cycles for modality in Northern Australia?
16:45-17:15	Izquierdo Alegría, D. & Treikelder, A., À la croisée de l'évidentialité indirecte, l'engagement et le désengagement : analyse du marqueur espagnol "por lo visto" face à ses équivalents en français et en estonien dans un corpus parallèle	Bres, J., Description d'un emploi de devoir comme marqueur évidentiel d'information rapportée en français	Tarpomanova, E. & Mihaylova, B., Evidentiality in Bulgarian: What I (don't) know or what I (don't) trust

DAY TWO 11 June 2021

9:00-10:00	**Nicolas Tournadre, The status of egophoric markers within the Tibetic evidential-epistemic systems**	
	Room 1: Theory and evidential categories (convenor: E. Corre)	**Room 2: Egophoricity and evidentiality 1** (convenor: A. Méry)
10:00-10:30	Mélac, E., The grammaticalization of evidentiality: What do we know so far?	Miyashita, H., Evidentiality and egophoricity in Japanese: A typological perspective and a model for evidentiality
10:30-11:00	BREAK	
11:00-11:30	Mortelmans, T., The "exceptionality" of reportative evidentiality revisited	Suzuki, H., Sensory access in the evidential system of Choswateng Tibetan (rGyalthang, Yunnan)
11:30-12:00	Bergqvist, H. & Grzech K., What's theoretical about evidentiality?	Vokurkova, Z., Lexical and Grammatical expression of evidential meanings demonstrated on the example of Czech and Tibetan
12:00-12:45	POSTER SESSION	

12:45-13:30	LUNCH

13:30-14:30	**Jan Nuyts, On the relations between modality and evidentiality**		
	R1: Evidentiality and its interaction with other grammatical categories (convenor: P. Dendale)	**R2: Typology and language documentation 2** (convenor: P. Caudal)	**R3: Egophoricity and evidentiality 2** (convenor: N. Tournadre)
14:45-15:15	Verhees, S., Perfects, evidentiality and narrative in the eastern Caucasus	Sakhatova, G., Evidentiality in Turkmen	Watters, S., Egophoricity in Dzongkha: Speaker representation of knowledge and interlocutor accessibility
15:15-15:45	Bundschuch, J., From Perfect Auxiliary to Epistemic Modal Sentence-final Particle: A History of Japanese -kke	Khan, G., The perfect and evidentiality in Neo-Arameic dialects	Hyslop, G., Lexical sources of Kurtöp evidential, mirative, and egophoric markers
15:45-16:15	BREAK		
16:15-16:45	Gruzdeva, E., Evidentiality in Nivkh: a "hidden" semantic category	Rose, F., Epistemicity in Mojeño demonstratives	Simon, C., Egophoricity: Between involvement and claim of epistemic authority
16:45-17:15	Final discussion		

POSTERS

Timár, B., Lexical markers of inferentiality, epistemic modality and evidentiality in Meadow Mari

Kalnaca, A. & Lokmane, I., Evidentiality and reported imperative in Latvian

Huber, C., Evidentiality and modality in Shumcho/Humcho

Kittilä, S, The unspecified external evidence particle vissiin of Finnish

Kaiser, E., Expressing doubt in the evidence, or expressing pretense? The Finnish dubitative particle *muka*

Müller, K., Evidence vs evident: On meaning differences between evidential sentence adverbs and correlating expressions in German

Simeonova, V., Evidentiality in embedded clauses

Szábo, D., Evidentiality in Udmurt. Results of a linguistic fieldwork

Tosun, S., Source vs stance: interpreting evidentials and modal expressions in Turkish and English

Tokac, S., Arslan, S., Nickels, L., Turkish heritage speakers' evidentiality processing during spoken sentence comprehension

Tsiouris, M., Elfdalian modals: A semantic study on a non-standard variety

Wang, S., L'évidentialité en bake

Zhou, S., Confirmation/agreement Seeking Marker in the perspective of Epistemic Gradients: with special reference to the interrogative particle "HAO" （嚎）in northeastern Mandarin Chinese