

The Expression of Knowledge: Epistemicity and Beyond

Book of abstracts

Organized by the Linguistic Association of Finland, Research Project Evidego
and the University of Helsinki

23–25 August 2017

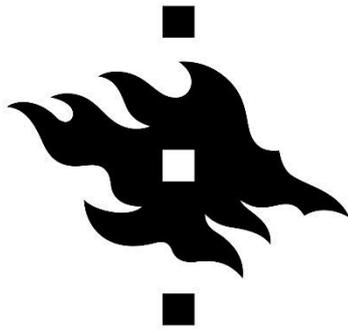
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Acknowledgements

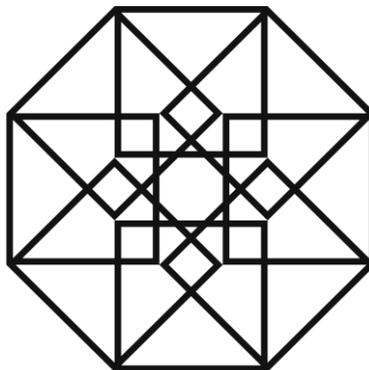
Financial support from the Academy of Finland, the University of Helsinki and the [Federation of Finnish Learned Societies](#) is gratefully acknowledged.



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I. Plenaries

On delimiting the function of evidential markers

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In this talk I explore different ways of delimiting the function(s) of evidential markers. On the basis of a critical review of the literature, I present a series of challenges and pitfalls of the way the field of evidentiality is evolving. I claim that, linguistically, a holistic approach to the expression of knowledge only makes sense if we come to grips with the specific nature of the different expressions that are part of it. The quest for a better delimitation of the evidential category does not exclude a broad epistemological view. Thus, this paper addresses the semantics, pragmatics and interactional use of evidentials.

As for the semantics, an important issue is the exact nature of the evidential category. Early work emphasized that evidentiality refers to “source of information”, a line of research that was also promoted by Aikhenvald (2004), but the numerous accounts of evidentiality in Western European languages have shown that this is not specific enough. The category would weaken with too many expressions referring to some source of information. Furthermore, other expressions referring to evidence, knowledge or epistemology have increasingly been included in the set of evidential markers. A major clarification is necessary. In line with Izquierdo Alegría (2016), I argue that for the sake of terminological and conceptual clarity, (i) it is imperative to distinguish between 'source of information', 'mode of access to knowledge' and 'evidential basis' and that (ii) the evidential category proper is only concerned with 'mode of access to knowledge'.

The debate on the semantics pragmatics interface of evidentiality has sharpened the question of whether an expression has evidentiality as its primary meaning. This problem can be approached in at least two ways. On the one hand, distinguishing between semantics and pragmatics is useful when looking at (the degree of) the grammaticalization of an evidential marker (e.g. hearsay markers stemming from say-verbs). On the other hand, the need of addressing the relation between semantics and pragmatics also comes from the epistemic overtones of evidential markers. In this context, the question arises whether a speaker uses an evidential marker to assert the proposition (evidentiality) or to evaluate the likelihood that a state of affairs takes or has taken place (epistemic modality). Furthermore, the semantics pragmatics interface is also at stake when it comes to study the relation between evidentiality and related dimensions such as intersubjectivity, stancetaking and addressee perspective.

Finally, as far as the interaction between speech participants is concerned, it is important to examine where evidential markers show up in flow of (interactional) discourse (Fox 2001). That is, which actions performed by speakers are reinforced or downplayed by evidential markers. Special attention is to be paid to the knowledge differential between speech participants (Heritage & Raymond 2005; Sidnell 2012, Gras & Cornillie submitted). Looking at talk-in-interaction also helps us widen the range of evidential markers in terms of 'mode of access to knowledge'. For instance, the use of complementizer *que* 'that' is used as a quotative in interactional Spanish (Gras 2011; Gras & Sansiñena 2015).

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Whither epistemicity?

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In this talk I consider the challenge for linguists presented by the call for papers for this symposium to “*extend the notion of expression of knowledge ...to include any possible way of referring to how and why we know what we know...*”. My focus is on how the recent ‘epistemic turn’ in Conversation Analysis (e.g. Heritage 2012) is deepening our understanding of the ways in which language is utilised as a resource for knowledge management, and the utility of knowledge management for achieving broader social goals. This in turn is leading us to consider lexicalised and grammaticalised expressions of knowledge more robustly in terms of their social embeddedness. Drawing on a range of data from different languages, I show how some of the classic issues in the study the ‘linguistic coding of epistemology’ (Chafe & Nichols 1986), such as the typology of evidential categories, and the relationships between evidentiality and epistemic modality may be recast through the lens of knowledge management as a key driver of social interaction.

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II. Workshop

Ways of Knowing in Indigenous Languages

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How do speakers of indigenous languages express through language what they know? To what extent their expressions encode the status of their knowledge? There are significant differences of what is real or not real in different cultures. Are there any linguistic correlates in indigenous societies for what Western cultures see as real or imaginary? In this workshop these issues will be addressed from a viewpoint of indigenous languages in different continents.

Keywords: indigenous, modality, evidentiality, knowledge, invisible, imaginary

Ways of Knowing in an Amazonian Language

Sidi Facundes, Marília Fernanda P. de Freitas, Bruna Fernanda S. Lima-Padovani & Pirjo Kristiina Virtanen*

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This paper addresses the Apurinã, a language, culture and people from the Purus River basin of Brazilian Amazon. The Apurinã people, or Pupÿkarywakury, speak a language of the Arawak linguistic family, with number of speakers ranging in a few hundred, out of a population of nearly 7,000 (Facundes 2000).

On one hand, an anthropological view will be presented so as to identify what it means to be real for the Apurinã people, and to examine to what extent the imaginary plays a role in their daily life. Research data, produced by ethnography (mainly interviews and participant observation) shows that for the Apurinã people, master spirits of animals and plants offer important information through dreams and sounds (Virtanen 2015a, 2015b). Certain animals are also able to warn people about future events. Are such events and knowledge expressed in the language in the same way as mundane events?

On the other hand, from a more strictly linguistic perspective, how does this language encode any differences in the degree of evidence or certainty people have about what they say, in light of their specific cultural and cosmological perspective? This language marks evidentiality primarily by means of lexical (rather than morphological) forms, as well as through the use of syntactic constructions. To indicate that what is being said comes from a secondary source, for example, the word for ‘speech’, *pira*, is used, causing ambiguity in the interpretation of such sentences. Also associated with the linguistic expression of knowledge, we describe how the deontic notions of ability and permission can be expressed through a lexical form borrowed from Portuguese, *posso* ‘I can, may, am able to’, as in

- (1) *Ywa kuna pusu-ta-ru y-takinhe-ru*
3M.SG not can-VBLZ-3F.O 3M-marry-3F
‘He cannot marry her.’

and in

- (2) *Py-pusu-ta-ry py-kanhikinhi*
2SG-be.able-VLBZ-3M.O 2SG-climb.up.tree
‘He’s able to climb up the tree’.

What is especially revealing about this loanword from Portuguese is that it suggests ways that the Apurinã people are being influenced (by the surrounding society, language and culture) in terms of how to talk about knowledge, how their linguistic expression of knowledge is being affected both by the surrounding dominant society, as well as by the ways that the surrounding dominant language itself talks about knowledge. Finally, it will be shown that, aside from this lexical form borrowed from Portuguese, Apurinã makes use of adverbial particles whenever it’s important to

indicate the degree of commitment of the speaker to the truth of the utterance, of which atxii 'perhaps' is an example.

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Common knowledge and reference resolution

Maria Khachatryan

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In this paper, I will explore strategies of reference resolution which rely heavily on common knowledge of the interlocutors, namely, bridging and recognition. I will study definiteness marking, demonstratives and other lexical and grammatical units which mark *cognitive access* to the referents (Hanks 2011). Unlike anaphora, which allows to track referents in the discourse immediately prior to the utterance in question, recognition and bridging enables access to referents through common ground of the interlocutors, which is constructed in previous interaction experience and is not necessarily available to observation. I will discuss these functions on a preliminary cross-linguistic sample. I will also study natural interactional data to analyze recognitional function in the Mano language (Mande).

In case of anaphora, the referent is mentioned in the prior discourse. In the case of bridging (Clark 1975), the referent is inferable by proxy: from a frame or other bridging context mentioned in the immediate prior discourse. Reference resolution by recognition relies solely on background knowledge of the interlocutors: no immediately prior context is needed. In Yucatec Maya, the recognitional function is often marked with the non-immediate enclitic *-o'*:

(1) *Father arrives home from travel and notices that one of his four children is not around and so asks his spouse:*

kux tuún le pàal o', tz'ú chan xantal má'a tinwilik

*How about **that kid**, it's been a while since I've seen him' (Hanks 2016)*

Deictic markers in the recognitional function can be used strategically, as a means to formulate an utterance that would presuppose the existence of common ground between the interlocutors and, in some cases, their joint community membership. This is the strategy that I frequently observed in the native Bible translations by the Catholic community of Mano (Mande; Guinea). These translations often occur spontaneously, during the Sunday service, when the catechists orally translate from the French Bible. Note the translation introducing (Lc 4:21) below. There was no previous discourse on the subject, so the usage of the distal demonstrative *yā* 'that' cannot be explained by the anaphoric function; neither the objects in question were present at the interaction scene or otherwise accessible.

(2) *wálàkà lé ē kē Nazareth yā wi ā, yé ē*
church FOC 3SG.PST be Nazareth DIST under TOP when 3SG.PST

ŋē gbāābō Isaie là sēbē yā gēē à ká ā...
stop now Isaiah 3SG.POSS book DIST say 3SG with TOP

'(In) the house of God that was in **THAT Nazareth**, when he finished reading **THAT book** of Esaiah...' (own data [service_nzao_0131_00:40:28])

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Egophoric marking, epistemic status and epistemic stance in Wutun

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In my talk I will discuss how speakers of Wutun use egophoric marking to manage epistemic rights in conversation. Wutun is a variety of Northwest Mandarin spoken by ca. 4000 people in Qinghai Province, Western China. It is spoken in a context of a linguistic area best termed *Amdo Sprachbund*, which consists of Sinitic, Tibetic, Mongolic and Turkic languages. While most of the Wutun basic vocabulary and grammatical morphemes come from Chinese, its morphosyntactic structure has been heavily influenced by Amdo Tibetan (see Sandman 2016).

A striking Tibetan feature of Wutun verbal morphosyntax is egophoric marking. In egophoric marking languages the same morpheme (EGO) is associated with speakers in declaratives and addressees in interrogatives. The key function of this category is to indicate which participant in a conversation has a privileged epistemic status as the instigator of the event; in assertions it is the speaker, while in questions it is usually the addressee. However, egophoric marking is not entirely tied to person and the choice of egophoric marking morphemes is constantly manipulated to express the moment-by-moment relationships between the participants in interaction. For example, by using non-ego with first person the speaker does not construct herself as the epistemic authority relative to the addressee, even if s/he would have the privileged access to the instigation of the event. Therefore, egophoric marking is also related to epistemic stance (cf. Englebretson 2007; Heritage 2012). The data for my talk is based on fieldwork among the Wutun speech community and it includes both everyday conversations and narrative telling.

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How 'knowing' the future is expressed in speaking Vepsian heritage language

Laura Siragusa

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This paper extends the concept of 'expression of knowledge' to ways of indicating how and why people know what they know with reference to language ecology. More specifically, I aim to answer the following questions: to what extent does language ecology shape the linguistic coding of knowledge? And, how do speakers of indigenous languages express what they know through language?

My presentation will focus on the specific case of Veps, a Finno-Ugric minority traditionally living in rural areas in north-western Russia and with whom I have been working since 2009. Most villagers indicate to feel a deeper connection with what they want to express and their own emotions when speaking Vepsian, their heritage language, despite being fluent also in Russian. Indeed, local knowledge is deeply intertwined with ways of speaking in the heritage language. An example of this is the way Veps express future predictions after observing odd behaviour in non-human animals, or unexpected events which took place around them.

Just like its kindred languages, the Vepsian language has no explicit verbal form to express the future time. Employing a temporal adverb or the context in which the speech act occurs can help identify the time which the speaker refers to. Another way to express the future is through the use of a morphological structure which indicates the beginning of an action which is formed by adding the affix *-ška(nde)* to the conjugated verb. When making a prediction Veps employ either the third singular person of the verb *lindä* (to become, to be), i.e. *linneb*, followed by either a noun or a verb in the infinitive form, or the translative case which is formed by adding the suffix *-ks* to the root of the word.

Knowing how and when to make a future prediction is a skill which Veps have learned by dwelling in this north-western Russian territory. Such localised epistemology derives from relations with other human and non-human beings. When attentively participating in life, the speakers observe something unusual and interpret it as valuable information for what is to come; and, thus, engages in specific ways of speaking. The overall ecology, the behaviour of non-human animals, and unusual occurrences sharpen the speakers' attention, and allow for certain ways of speaking to occur. Knowledge is a highly located and relational phenomenon which humans attend to by actively and passively mediating their social participation which can be manifested in ways of speaking in the heritage language and openness.

Besides, Veps tend to perceive the symbolic component attached to unusual events as real, hence, this can have agency on the practices which they consequently engage with, such as not only verbalising predictions but also getting ready to new possibilities.

Ways of knowing in Aboriginal Australia: Unpacking epistemic certainty

Stef Spronck

University of Leuven

Despite traditionally boasting over 250 Indigenous languages, the Australian continent is home to Aboriginal speech communities, whose communicative practises share many similarities. For example, Australian Aboriginal communication shows a preference for indirectness, vague speech and (feigning) uncertainty. Related communicative practices include showing deference through avoidance speech styles, and not claiming knowledge that is culturally inappropriate for the speaker to admit to possess.

In this talk I begin by introducing studies demonstrating the cultural significance of epistemic uncertainty in the languages of Aboriginal Australia. I present this literature as a context, however, for examining the role of a phenomenon that so far has received less attention, and that represents the opposite epistemic stance: displaying epistemic certainty, or, asserting knowledge.

After presenting a brief typology of linguistic strategies and categories in which epistemic certainty plays a role, I focus on two linguistic categories for which the notion is vital: evidentiality, understood as ‘the degree of mental contact the current speaker has with the reported [...] situation’ (Spronck, 2012) or ‘the access of the reporting speaker to the reported material’ (Buchstaller, 2014: 64), and ‘factive’ or doxic modality. These categories coincide in expressions of mistaken belief, as in (1), from Mparntwe Arrernte (Aranda) (also cf. Evans, 2006).

- (1) *arlenge-nge aherre-kathene* *ayenge itirre-ke,* *arleye-rle!*
far-ABL kangaroo-KATHENE 1.sgS think-pc, emu-TOP
‘Hey! From afar I thought it was a kangaroo, but it turns out that it’s an emu’ (Wilkins, 1986: 589)

Based on a sample of Australian languages (n = 30) I illustrate the types of marking and meaning categories involved in mistaken belief expressions, and conclude by relating these expressions back to a broader typology of grammatical displays of knowing and not-knowing in Aboriginal Australia.

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Information structure in Mansi: expression of the pragmatic roles topic and focus

Susanna Virtanen

University of Helsinki

In this paper, I will discuss two basic pragmatic roles, topic and focus, in Mansi language. Mansi is an indigenous language spoken in Western Siberia, in the Autonomous district of Khanty-Mansia of the Russian federation. Mansi is a very endangered language: less than 2000 people speak it in our days. There used to be four main dialects of Mansi, but only one them, the Northern one, still exists in spoken form. My paper will include data on the Northern and the already vanished Eastern dialect as well.

Topic can be briefly defined as the element the whole sentence is about, whilst *focus* is defined as the new, non-derivable or contrastive information provided in an utterance (see, e.g., Lambrecht 1994). According to my data, expression of these roles is connected to correlation between syntactic and pragmatic functions: the pragmatic role of topic is connected to prominent syntactic roles, whilst the role of focus is connected to non-core syntactic roles, oblique case inflection and also morphological unmarkedness of the direct object.

The most topical element of the sentence occupies the most prominent syntactic role, the role of subject. In case it is the semantic agent of the action, an active sentence will be used (1). In any other case a passive sentence will be used (2). Also in the passive conjugation the verb correlates with the subject in person and number.

(1) *möänk tok juw=møn-øw.* (WV II: 6B)

1PL.STRESS PARTIC to.home=go-1PL

'So, we will go home.'

(2) *näg jät keet-w-øn ämøn öätyi?* (WV II:31B)

2SG with send-PASS-2SG or NEG

'Shall you be sent [as a wife for me] or not?'

In the examples presented above, there is the possibility of choosing the most topical element to the role of subject, because there are several arguments in the sentence. However, in case of a one-argument sentence also a focal argument can occupy the syntactic role of subject (3):

(3) *söärøs öäløm=pöäl-t uus wonl-ii,*

sea opposite=side-LOC town exist-3SG

uus=uutrøng=uus.

town=prince=town

On the other side of the sea, there is a town, the town of a prince.'

Further, the correlation between pragmatic and syntactic functions causes also variation between three different ditransitive constructions. Examples of these will be presented in the paper. In addition, also arguments marked with local or directional cases may occupy syntactic core-roles.

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III. Section papers

Shared versus Established Common Ground: An Experimental study of meta-communicative devices in dialogues

Daria Bahtina-Jantsikene

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Successful communication presupposes a certain degree of common ground that speakers establish in order to reach understanding (Clark, 1996). When mutually available knowledge (shared common ground) is limited, meaning is jointly created through active co-construction (established common ground). There is growing evidence that knowledge expression can take various forms: in addition to grammaticalized markers there is a wide range of devices, from words to idioms to constructions to discourse patterns to nonverbal messages. While many of them are produced ad hoc, other types are semi-conventionalised and can be described in a more systematic manner. One area in which establishing common ground can be particularly tricky is when speakers of different languages interact. Studies on multilingualism describe an array of explicit strategies aimed at averting or repairing communicative misunderstandings (e.g., Mauranen, 2012). This paper reports on the use of meta-communicative devices (Bahtina-Jantsikene & Backus, 2016), both linguistic and interactive, in such settings. Special attention is paid to the efficiency of such strategies in situations that vary in degree of familiarity and level of conventionalisation, in various discourses and genres (e.g., everyday communication, institutional settings, business interaction).

Meta-communicative devices (henceforth, MCDs) are defined as ways people have developed to ease communication and help interlocutors recover the speaker's intentions. These strategies constitute a range of communicative mechanisms that is aimed both at filling the knowledge gap and at creating amiable atmosphere (e.g., reformulations and display of shared perspectives, respectively). We offer an open categorization of MCDs based on their functions and accessibility in interaction, assuming there is a difference in how MCDs are deployed depending on the availability of common ground. We use the notion of familiarity to address degrees of shared common ground, and in this set of experiments this is operationalized in three ways: whether participants are speakers of the same mother tongue, whether they are acquainted, and whether the type of communication is one they often engage in.

The paper reports on an experimental study in which participants were engaged in task-oriented dialogues via Skype. They had to negotiate with various types of interlocutors on different types of assignments. We will discuss which MCDs were used for which purposes and what their distribution was like across the familiarity conditions. These results will be used to sketch a model of how particular MCDs are used to fill particular kinds of knowledge gaps between interlocutors, and thus to build emergent common ground. On the basis of these data, we will also suggest which particular MCD uses seem to have potential for increasing communicative efficiency in various challenging real-life situations beyond these experimental settings.

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The scope of epistemic modality and evidentiality when expressed with abstract nouns

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This paper takes as point of departure broad concepts of epistemic modality and evidentiality. Epistemic modality is defined as the linguistic expression of the estimation of the chances for a proposition to be or become true (Nuyts 2001), and evidentiality as the linguistic expression of the kind, source and / or evaluation of the evidence that someone, typically the speaker/writer, has or claims to have at his / her disposal, for or against the truth of a proposition (Carretero 2016). Evidentiality is delimited by Anderson's first criterion (1986: 274): "[e]videntials show the kind of justification for a factual claim which is available to the person making that claim [...]". Both categories are viewed as functional-conceptual substance domains (Boye and Harder 2009), i.e. as notional meanings which may be expressed by grammatical, semantic or pragmatic devices, and as constituting the super-category of epistemicity (Boye 2012), since they are different ways of providing justificatory support to the communicated content.

The paper concerns the scope of epistemicity when expressed with abstract nouns. Even though the proposal presented here is in all probability valid for nouns in other languages, the arguments will be illustrated with English nouns and the cited examples will be obtained from the British National Corpus. That is to say, the paper will set forth a proposal about a) the scope of epistemic modality when expressed by nouns such as *possibility*, *probability*, *likelihood*, *certainty*... and by nouns expressing apprehension (Lichtenberk 1995), such as *hope*, *fear*, *danger* or *risk*, and b) the scope of evidentiality when expressed by nouns such as *evidence*, *indication*, *proof* or *sign*. Along the lines of Schmid (2000), epistemic modal nouns and evidential nouns will be characterized as two subtypes of shell nouns having different conceptual frames (Talmy 1996). The frame of epistemic modal nouns has two elements, a modality Indicator (the modal noun) and a modalized Proposition, which together express a Belief; the frame of evidential nouns has three elements: the Sign (an observed fact), the Belief (a qualification of the truth of a proposition) and a Relation between these two elements (the observation of the Sign triggers the Belief). The two kinds of nouns will be shown to express epistemicity in some cases, but not in others. The following conditions are proposed for delimiting the scope of epistemicity:

- 1) The Belief has to exist; it may be explicit or (partially or totally) implicit, in which case it has to be accessible by conversational implicature;
- 2) The noun is not within the scope of an irrealis operator;
- 3) When the proposition designates a plurality of states or events, the degree of commitment expressed by the Indicator in epistemic modal nouns or the Relation in evidential nouns has to be constant or correlative (i.e. dependent on a given factor).

Epistemicity so expressed with abstract nouns is of a semantic kind, since it is not defeasible without self-correction.

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Evidentiality in the Linguistic System of Icelandic

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The paper attempts to describe the general theoretical concept of evidentiality on the basis of the Icelandic data, exploring the relationship between evidentiality and other grammatical systems and categories such as modality, mood and aspect.

My theoretical approach is based on language typology and construction grammar (semantics and pragmatics). The findings are based on synchronic empirical Icelandic data, namely, by a corpus study that includes written Icelandic from selected written sources, including a questionnaire with selected evidential structures designed to test the speakers' attitudes toward them, as well, to a limited extent, oral sources, conversational data from the media.

The notion of evidentiality covers both grammatical (mainly morphological) and lexical means of marking. These are called 'evidentials'.

The subjunctive mood seems to be the only area where **grammatical evidentiality** is found in Icelandic (example 1).

There is a whole array of **lexical** evidentials that are expressed lexically (evidential verbs, adverbs, adverbial phrases, complex clause structures, modal verbs, discourse particles).

"It is interesting in this context that *kveðast*, *segjast* and *látast* are verbs of evidentiality, and these are subjective in the sense that they denote the awareness or the belief of the speaker (cf. Traugott 1989). In Modern Icelandic evidential predicates are typically verbs like *virðast* 'seem', *sýnast* 'seem', *heyrast* '(think to) hear' and *þykja* 'seem, feel', which all select for oblique subjects" (Barðdal, Eyþórsson 2003, 455) (example 2)

The verb *ætla* 'to intend' is used in epistemic sense in Icelandic (Thráinsson 2007, 425), expressing probability (example 3).

There is a large number of adverbs in Icelandic readily available to express evidential values. To mention a few: *greinilega* 'clearly', *augljóslega* 'evidently, obviously', *bersýnilega* 'visibly', *sýnilega* 'apparently' and many others (example 4).

There are many analytical adverbial, prepositional phrases and other fossilized expressions that express evidential marking: *að því er fullyrt er* 'allegedly', *að vísu* 'surely', *að sönnu* 'truly' and others (example 5).

Complex clause structures in Icelandic can carry evidential meanings, for instance, *að* subordinate clauses (example 6), infinitival constructions (example 7), small clause complements (example 8) (from Thráinsson (2007, 394, 438, 458):

Evidentiality also interacts with other categories, such as epistemic modality, mirativity, interrogativity, egophoricity and veridicality. For instance, the modal verb *eiga* has assumptive (suppositive, also reportative) value (examples 9 and 10). The verbs *geta*, *kunna*, *vilja* and *munu* express Epistemic possibility/probability (examples 11–14). *munu* also carries reportative value (example 15).

Finally, Thráinsson (2007, 39) mentions discourse particles that typically occur in the medial position and cannot be preposed (cannot be preceded by a preposition). They can also occur on their own (i.e. stand alone). It is difficult to translate them directly into other languages: *jú*, *nú?*, *sko*. Discourse particles typically function as fillers or expletives but could have evidential extensions (example 16). Some conjunctions such as *svo*, *og* or phrases *ég meina* also function like discourse particles. Their status needs to be investigated further.

Evidentiality is a broad category with multiple repercussions. "The linguistic categorization of information source has a direct bearing on human cognition, communication, types of knowledge, and cultural conventions. This is what makes a cross-linguistic study of evidentials important for all scholars dealing with human cognition and communication, including linguists, psychologists, anthropologists, and philosophers." (Aikhenwald 2004, 9)

Selected Examples

- (1) þegar grunur **hafi vaknað** um að í bifreiðinni **kynnu** að vera fíkniefni (..)
- (2) hún er ánægð að því er **virðist**
- (3) það **ætla** að rigna á morgun
- (4) hann er **greinilega** ekki nógu trúður
- (5) **það er fullyrt** að hann sé farinn til útlanda
- (6) hún segir **að tunglið sé úr osti**
- (7) fólk **telur hana hafa verið ríka**
- (8) hann er **sagður góður**
- (9) hann **á** að koma á morgun
- (10) það **má** þá rigna mikið
- (11) það **getur** snjóað á morgun
- (12) Fischer **kann** að flytja til Íslands
- (13) það **vill** oft kólna á kvöldin
- (14) þið **munuð finna** ungbarn
- (15) þú **munt** vera Bandaríkja-maður
- (16) A: Ég sver að ég er búin að gráta í 40 mínútur. B: **Nú?**

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Evidentiality in grammatical arts: treatment and typology of evidentiality in missionary grammars (16th-19th)

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During the last three decades work on descriptions of evidentiality systems of the languages of the world has been carried out. In spite of several attempts at generating a coherent typology of evidentiality (cf. Aikhenvald 2004) that would have a crosslinguistic scope, one can not yet talk about general consensus (cf. Cornillie 2009, Bruil 2014).

However, the acknowledgement of this category is not new at all. For instance, already in 8th century descriptions of Turkish by al-Kašġarī (cf. Friedman 2003) and in the first grammatical art of Quechua (cf. de Santo Tomás 1560), the necessity of a term to treat this category becomes urgent.

In this study we cover a wide range of languages of the Americas taking into account the existing grammatical descriptions of luso-hispanic catholic tradition prepared by missionaries during the 16th - 19th centuries. Special emphasis will be put on the metalanguage used in these grammars in relation to the categorization of evidentiality. Due to the normative-limiting character established by the greco-latin elaboration model of grammatical arts, it is really interesting to analyze the rethoric efforts used by the missionary-linguists to describe evidentials and evidentiality.

Based on the obtained information, we propose a typology of evidentiality. This presentation intends to set up a dialogue between the old grammatical descriptions and the most recent typological studies that deal with the phenomenon of evidentiality

The verb *pitää* in Old Literary Finnish - modal, temporal, or evidential

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The Finnish necessitative verb *pitää* 'must, have to, be supposed to' has a special characteristic. Whenever it is used, a connotation of hearsay comes along. The obligation it conveys typically does not stem from the speaker but from someone or somewhere else. In regional dialects, *pitää* used in the past tense may even express pure hearsay. *Pitää* in its conditional form, *pitäisi*, also carries the meaning of epistemic probability in contemporary Finnish.

In old literary language the verb *pitää* was a multifunctional marker of tense, aspect, and modality. It reflected the uses of the Swedish near-synonymous *skola*. What made this possible is its dialectal non-implicativity: the South-Western *pitää* expresses past time unfulfilled intentions, and the action of the governing infinitive always follows later in time.

Pitää was a polyphonic verb already in the earliest Finnish Bible translations by Mikael Agricola. In religious texts, the present moment is described both as the consequence of divine order and the fulfillment of prophecies. Likewise, what happens in the future depends on what is predestined and predicted today. These meanings of inevitability and certainty found their Finnish expression in the verb *pitää*, albeit partly as a by-product of the grammaticalization processes. Combined with 3rd infinitive instructive, *pitä-ä teke-mä-n* [must-3SG.PRS do-3INF-INSTR 'must do'] provided inner cohesion in the book and can be seen as an evidential strategy adopted by the translator. It became one of the genre characteristics of religious texts.

Yet the verb *pitää* had hardly any epistemic use in Agricola's translations. Its conditional form *pitä-isi* [must-COND 'should be obliged to'] was mostly used in expressions of purpose and irrealis. Hearsay meanings of *pitää* virtually always coexisted with the verb's modal and temporal functions. Thus, we are talking about an obstinate connotation of "these are not my words" rather than an obliged evidential marker here.

The polysemous *pitää* was probably a very practical means of conveying the biblical worldview. With just one verb the state of affairs could be marked as preordained, pre-seen and binding on individuals at any time. Even though the language contact through translation pushed the verb *pitää* into new constructions, from some perspective it was always suitable. The option of interpreting sentences as second-hand news probably in some cases facilitated the unification of contradictory attributes in these constructions.

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A Study and Annotation of Thai Modal Auxiliaries that Express (Un)certainty

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The definitions of modal markers are that they express the speaker's attitude towards propositional content of his/her utterance (Bybee et al. 1994). Modal markers are also regarded as qualifying the factuality of an utterance (Cornillie & Pietrandrea 2012). In this paper, we study Thai modal auxiliaries relevant to (un)certainty for annotating and labeling them in texts. The data is from Thai newspaper articles and the goal is to determine the degree of (un)certainty that appear in such texts, for information fusion purpose. This is because (un) certainty in texts is the issue that has not been widely dealt with, in natural language processing. Nonetheless, this issue is important especially nowadays when we are flooded with information. Only some of the information are facts, truths or reports which should be handled differently from trends, estimations, expectations, guesses, rumors, or other forms of possibilities.

We manually analyze the collected data and label the modal auxiliaries relevant to (un)certainty. In each sentence containing the auxiliary/ies, the 4 dimensions of certainty are determined, as follows:

1. Degree or level of certainty
2. Perspective of certainty (whose certainty is involved)
3. Focus or object of certainty
4. Time of certainty (when it is expressed)

It should be noted that while we are conducting this analysis, it is necessary to understand the meaning of each modal auxiliary as well as the whole system of modal auxiliaries in Thai. Similar to English modal auxiliaries, each Thai modal auxiliary has different facets of meaning depending on the context of usage. However, perhaps more interestingly, in Thai, modal auxiliaries can co-occur or they can occur with other types of markers or auxiliaries in a clause, which makes the meaning more complex as well as alters the semantics of modal auxiliaries. For example, the future marker or irrealis marker (Soithurum 2012) *cáp* 'will' can co-occur with the modal auxiliary *nâa* 'should' or 'probably' and render the sentence to have more 'probable' meaning than recommendation or obligation reading. Another example is mixed modal auxiliaries which cause problems in the labeling process of annotation. The complex modal auxiliaries contain *khon* 'may' and *tôn* 'must', whose meanings seem to be contrastive. When they co-occur, the sentence has concession meaning like 'let it be' or the speaker surrenders to the fact that what is said in the utterance is bound to happen (3).

To summarize, although the original goal of this research is computational in nature, to automate the annotation and labeling of Thai modal auxiliaries relevant to (un)certainty, we have found the basic problems in linguistic analysis of the auxiliaries and the meanings they express. To acquire the model for annotating and tagging Thai modal auxiliaries, we need to understand not only the meaning of each auxiliary in question but also how they interact as a whole system.

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The Quotative and its Epistemic Extensions in Bashkir

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The Kipchak Turkic language Bashkir spoken in Russia uses grammatical means to convey evidential meanings. The past-tense verb forms display non-firsthand and firsthand meanings, and grammaticalised particles express various non-firsthand meanings. This presentation discusses the particle *tip* used in speech reports, which marks “reported information with an overt reference to the quoted source” (Aikhenvald 2014: 9), that is, conveys a quotative meaning. The investigation and analysis in this study draws on data from both literary and spoken genres.

The default quotative meaning of the particle has two main extensions of meaning. The first extension occurs in conjunction with a complementation strategy involving the particle *tip* as a complementiser which links the main and the subordinate clauses. This construction can occur with a limited set of verbs in the main clause, primarily with verbs of perception and cognition. The following example from Xarisova (2016) is from a dream scene:

(1) Qap-qaranan	kejenep	urtalarynda			
pitch.black:ABL	dress:CVB	middle:PL:POSS:LOC			
joqlap	jata ₍₂₎	ikän	tip	kür-ðe ₁	uny ₂
sleep:CVB	lie:PRS MOD	QUOT	see-DEF.PAST	3SG:ACC	

She₁ saw her₂ as if she₂ was sleeping among them dressed in pitch black.

The scene experienced by the narrator is followed by *tip* and a finite verb *kürðe* ‘saw’. The particle *tip* signals that the event recounted by the narrator is subjectively experienced.

The second meaning extension of *tip* occurs both with subordinate clauses containing a finite verb, and with non-finite constructions. The marker signals a logical relationship between the main and subordinate clauses, most commonly that of purpose. In the following example (Mostafina 2005: 10) *tip* signals the purpose for the father not building a window in the cowshed:

(2) Qyşyn	hyuyq	bul-ma-hyn	tip,		
in.winter	cold	become-NEG-JUSS	QUOT		
atahy	täðrä	lä	eşlämägän	buldy.	
father:3POSS	window	ADD	make:NEG:PAST.PTCP	become:DEF.PAST	

So that it would not get cold in the winter, her father had decided not to build even a window.

The particle *tip* follows the subordinate clause, which by form is like a direct quote of the father’s thought. The construction with *tip* is partly synonymous with another construction, marked by the

postposition *ösön* (Juldašev 1981: 462). The latter is epistemically neutral, whereas the construction with *tıp* expresses an epistemic subjective meaning, and is more common in spoken register.

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Creating individual and shared knowledge: the use of clitics =*mi* and =*tá* in Tena Kichwa

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This talk explores how ‘shared cognition’ (cf. Hintz & Hintz 2017: 93 and references therein) and individual knowledge can be constructed in discourse by means of morphosyntactic marking. Although I focus on Tena Kichwa (henceforth TK) - an under-described Quechuan language spoken in the Ecuadorian Amazon - the TK data are contrasted with examples from other languages.

TK exhibits a paradigm of eight epistemic¹ discourse clitics. They all occur word-finally, attach to any phrasal category, and are grammatically non-obligatory. They attach to focal constituents, but their low frequency (2-6% of conversational turns, depending on the marker) indicates they associate with focus, rather than mark it. The enclitics in question encode different epistemic values. This talk focuses on =*mi* and =*tá*, which both encode ‘epistemic primacy’: the origo’s ‘relative right to know or claim’ (Stivers et al. 2011: 13). In other varieties of Quechua, =*mi* is analysed as a direct (e.g. Weber 1986; Floyd 1997) or Best Possible Ground (Faller 2002) evidential. However, in TK its use is associated with the origo’s subjective assessment of knowledge, rather than with the type of evidence. As far as I am aware, cognates of =*tá* are not attested in other Quechuan languages.

Both markers encode the origo’s epistemic primacy, but differ with respect to the origo’s expectation of the knowledge state of their interlocutor. While =*mi* indicates that the origo expects to be the sole holder of knowledge, =*tá* encodes the expectation that the knowledge is shared:

(1) A: Mana usha-ni
NEG can-1
‘I cannot (do this).’

B: [kan] usha-ngui=*mi* / #usha-ngui=*rá*
[2SG] can -2 =*mi* / #can -2 =*tá*
‘[Yes, you] can!’

attested

The above is an exchange I had with my consultant. I was convinced I will not be able to make a traditional drink (A), while my interlocutor was convinced otherwise (B). In this context, the use of =*tá* was not felicitous. However, if I was convinced I could make the drink, and my interlocutor wanted to encourage me further, she would say (2), instead of (1B):

(2) Usha-ngui=*rá*! / #usha-ngui=*mi*
can-2=*tá* / can -2 =*mi*

¹ I use the term *epistemic* in a broad sense, as encompassing a range of attitudes towards knowledge (Bergqvist 2017), not in the narrow sense of evidentiality and epistemic modality (Boye 2012).

'You can [do this]!

elicited

The difference between (1B) and (2) amounts to how the speaker assesses the expectations of the hearer. Hence, it is the perceived (im)balance of knowledge that conditions the speaker's choice of an enclitic. Drawing on examples from the TK corpus, I discuss the linguistics and interpersonal contexts in which the speakers choose to use *=mi* and *=tá*. I also compare the use of TK clitics to create shared/exclusive knowledge with strategies used to the same end in other varieties of Quechua (Hintz & Hintz 2017) and in unrelated languages, such as Japanese (Hayano 2011).

The corpus used in this study was collected in 2013 and 2014 as part of my PhD research. It comprises 13h of audio and video recordings of TK discourse, including 2h of 'elicited discourse', in which knowledge states of participants could be controlled. The data were analyzed with a mix of methods drawing on Conversation Analysis (Schegloff 2007) and sDRT (Asher & Lascarides 2003).

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Configurations of Clause Type and Modal Form - On the Syntactic Integration of the English Modals

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There has been a proliferation of studies in the semantics of modal expressions, i.e. those linguistic items that modify the proposition in terms of “notions such as possibility, probability, necessity, likelihood, obligation, permission, and intention” (Aarts/Chalker/Weiner 2014). While there was a focus on modal verbs in the 1970s and 1980s (Hermerén 1978, Joos 1964; Palmer 1990), authors then showed more interest in “modal carriers” (Hoye 2005) other than verbs, such as adjectives (van Linden 2012), adverbs (Biber/Finegan 1988), e.g. *possibly* (Nilsen 2004) or *indeed* (Traugott/Dasher 2002), and nouns (Schmid 2000). There has even been a growing interest in the modal status of certain expressions that do not fit into this more elaborate system of modality, such as the bundles *I think* or *I believe* (Thompson/Mulac 1991).

Given the huge amount of research on the semantics and lexico-grammar of these expressions, the claim that modal expressions are form-meaning pairings and, hence, constructions (in the sense of Croft/Cruise 2004), has some intuitive appeal. Interestingly enough, however, for a very long time, construction grammarians had basically shown no interest in modality or simply questioned the usefulness of describing modality in a constructionist framework. Wärnbsy (2002) was the first to discuss modal verbs along the lines of constructionist premises and assumptions (on the basis of the epistemic readings of *may* and *must*). Even though she agrees on the applicability of CxG to the phenomenon of modality, she sums up that is “fruitless” because “CG does not give [...] the possibility of identifying epistemic and non-epistemic construction within its theoretical apparatus” and “we would then be faced with a “bewildering web of constructions”. Despite this fairly negative outlook, there has been a renewed interest in the construction-like status of modal expressions (see e.g.. Boogaart/Fortuín 2016, Cappelle/Depraetere 2016, Goldberg/van der Auwera 2012 or, in terms of language pedagogy, Herbst 2016). However, even though these authors seem to be fairly optimistic about the advantages of a constructionist account of modal expressions, they remain hesitant to posit the existence of ‘modal constructions’.

This is where my approach begins. In my presentation, I will exploit the explanatory-interpretive strengths of Construction Grammar and the descriptive strengths of (Neo-)Firthian concepts, such as semantic preference, colligation and collocation in order to make a case for modal verb constructions. In the first part of my presentation, I will review previous constructionist accounts of modality and discuss some of the challenges that modal verbs pose for CxG; these challenges relate especially to the support verb status and the abstract nature of the modal domain. In the second part of the presentation, I will present findings from a Corpus analysis. The goal is to demonstrate how a constructionist account of modal verbs contributes to a more refined understanding of epistemic meanings; this includes especially the importance of co-textual information as well as more general psychological process of hypothetical thinking (Evans 2007). Using data from the British National Corpus, I analysed the syntactic and semantic surroundings of various modal auxiliaries with both qualitative methods (pattern grammar) and quantitative methods (HCFA, correspondence analysis). In the interpretation of the findings, I will focus especially on

the role of 'subject' + 'non-finite verb' patterns in modal verb construction (in the sense of Hunston/Francis 2000), the adaptation of modal verb constructions to the sentence (in the sense of Givón 1992, 1995), and the role of sense-sensitive adverbial modifiers (as in *might as well* or *might only*) (in the sense of Karttunen/Peters 1979) in modal verb constructions.

The presentation will contribute to the issues discussed at the conference especially in presenting a unified account of how modal knowledge becomes manifest in language use.

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Q-cold.NPST-SENS
Is it cold?

NEG-cold.NPST-SENS
It is not cold.

(3) Inferential:

dəva *gæ-v-rə-sʰi*.
tobacco IPFV-INV-buy.3>3-IFR
They bought cigarettes.

(4) *Reportative*:

bəsni *pʰjo-ræ-jə*.
today see.off.NPST-SENS-REP
The seeing-off (i.e., funeral) is today, [it is said].

In the second part, the paper will show that ‘perspective’ (see Bergqvist 2015) must be discussed in tandem with the prototypical evidential categories in Geshiza. The language uses the suffix *-go* to express non-shared information in discourse (5). While the prototypical evidentials indicate the source of knowledge, the perspective marker indicates its distribution across the speech-act-participants. It will be shown that the marking of non-shared information diverges from the canonical pattern illustrated in previous research.

(5) *tsaləŋ* *noŋ* *tɕʰaræ* *ndzə-go* *bɔ*.
bag inside thing EXV.3-NSI PART

There is a thing inside my bag (and I know what it is, but you are not supposed to).

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Evidential and epistemic meanings of the oblique in Latvian

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Latvian is one of the relatively few languages that have developed specific forms for the expression of evidentiality – the so-called oblique mood (e.g., Plungian 2001, 2010; Aikhenvald 2004). 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; Nītiņa, Grigorjevs 2013). The fact that information has been obtained from an extraneous source is usually signalled by *verbum dicendi* in the first part of a composite sentence:

- (1) a. *Man sacīja,*
I.DAT told.PST.3
*ka pret sauli **derot** arī pūderis.*
that against sun.ACC.F **be_useful.OBL.PRS** also powder.NOM.M
'I was told that powder could also protect against the sun.' (Z.Skujiņš)
- b. *Kā norāda eksperti, mājokļu tirgus*
as point.PRS.3 expert.NOM.PL.M housing.GEN.M market.GEN.M
*attīstība **būšot** pakāpeniska.*
development.NOM.F **be.COP.OBL.FUT** gradual.NOM.F
'As has been pointed out by experts, the development of the housing market will be gradual.' (www.diena.lv)

In Latvian, evidentiality is marked by means of the suffix *-ot*, the resulting forms expressing either present (1a) or future tense (1b) meanings depending on the kind of verbal stem used to produce them.

While, as a rule, oblique forms are used to renarrate information received from another person without confirming it, that is, without taking responsibility for its veracity, see examples (1) (Mathiassen 1997; Chojnicka 2012; Nītiņa, Grigorjevs 2013), they can also express epistemic meanings – ironic or negative assessments of events, actions or phenomena (usually in spoken language):

- (2) *Un tāda **esot** draudzene!*
and such.NOM.F **be.COP.OBL.PRS** friend.NOM.F
'And she would call herself a friend!' (www.google.com)

Moreover, evidential and epistemic meanings can be present simultaneously, for example, when one wishes to distance oneself from what is being reported and reveal one's scepticism, as in this news headline:

- (3) *Valsts pati gribot izputināt banku?*
state.NOM.F itself.NOM.F **want.OBL.PRS** destroy .INF bank.ACC.F
‘They say the state wants to make the bank bankrupt?’ (www.tvnet.lv)

Although in grammars of Latvian oblique forms are traditionally described as forming a distinct verbal mood, there is still much discussion over the exact nature of the relationship between evidentiality and modality. The fact that oblique forms can have an epistemic function, unequivocally shows that evidentiality and epistemicity are interrelated (for a theoretical discussion see, e.g., de Haan 1999; Mushin 2001; Cornillie 2009; Boye 2012).

The study aims to examine the relationship between evidentiality and epistemicity based on Latvian language material, i.e. the semantics of oblique forms and conditions that make it possible for them to be used with an epistemic function, such as verbal meanings, discourse factors, etc. The examples have been taken from different sources: fiction, public media, websites, *The Balanced Corpus of Modern Latvian (Līdzsvarots mūsdienu latviešu valodas korpuss*, available at www.korpuss.lv), as well as *google.lv* search results.

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On the scope properties of the Finnic Conditional

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Descriptive and theoretical accounts of grammatical moods of the European ‘subjunctive’ type often struggle with the question whether this mood – or specific uses thereof – apply to propositions (by conveying commitment to information about the world) or to states of affairs (by modifying descriptions of situations as they occur in the world). For instance, while ‘subjunctives’ are often associated with the notion ‘irrealis’ which refers to the reality status of a SoAs in the world (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008: 154), Nordström (2010: 127–147) argues that the main function of the Germanic Subjunctive is to mark propositional modality, and thus implies that the Subjunctive has propositional scope.

Treatments of the Conditional mood in Finnic languages only contribute to this controversy. ISK (2008), the newest and largest grammar of Finnish, explains the semantics of this mood in terms of ‘actualization, realizability’ and ‘correspondence to the truth’, often in the same type of context (see ISK 2008: §1594–§1596). While ‘actualization’ entails immediate scope over SoAs, ‘truth functionality’ entails propositional scope. Modern descriptions of Estonian follow suit; in Erelt (2013: 128–133), for example, the Conditional is claimed to express both ‘irrealis’ and ‘epistemic modality’ (i.e. propositional modality).

In this presentation I will discuss different uses of the Finnic Conditional, employing the conception of layering of meaning structure assumed in the Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008). I will claim that the Finnic Conditional mood has mostly, if not exclusively states of affairs in its immediate scope. However, there is an important caveat to this: the irrealis status of the states of affairs in the scope of Conditional makes them compatible (and harmonic) with non-factual propositions. There is a strong implication between the notions ‘irrealis’ and ‘non-factual’, on the one hand, and ‘realis’ and ‘factual’, on the other (Givón 1994). Therefore, the occurrence of a Conditional-marked irrealis SoAs within a non-factual proposition causes semantic coercion, which makes it difficult to distinguish the semantic scope of the Conditional from the semantic scope of expressions with propositional scope.

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Comparison of evidential terminology

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This study focuses on the terminology used for grammatical evidential categories. While reading grammars on different languages it is easy to notice that even though evidential categories may be fairly similar in their meanings and uses, the names of the categories can vary. For example, the category for inference based on assumption or expectations has been called “assumed”, “conjecture” and “deduced”, among other terms. On the other hand, the same term can be used for different kinds of categories – the term “experiential”, for instance, has been used for assumptional and direct sensorial categories. From terminological point of view, these are cases of term synonymy and term polysemy (or homonymy). The purpose of this study is to survey the terminology used in linguistic descriptions, to find and explain common terminological tendencies or discrepancies, such as term synonymy.

For this study, the evidential systems of 51 languages were analyzed. For the sake of convenience the languages were restricted to those with three or more evidential categories, because in smaller systems the categories are more likely to be polysemous and therefore harder to compare to more specific categories. The data, terms and definitions of evidential categories, was collected from about 60 linguistic descriptions, published between the years 1911 and 2016. The definitions of the evidential categories were compared and similar categories were grouped together and then the terms for each category group were listed and compared.

The results are that the evidential terminology shows polysemy and a great deal of synonymy, which makes the terms less comprehensible and less distinguishable. The terminological variation can be explained at least partly by the short research history of evidentiality. The common terminology has not yet had time to become established and there are some terms which are specific for certain research traditions. On the other hand, the categories of languages are different which is reflected in differing terminology. The most varying terminology is found in inferential and nonvisual sensorial categories, which are semantically complex and can be described in different ways, for example as various thought processes or evidence (“inferential” vs. “apparent”) or as non-seeing or hearing (“nonvisual” vs. “auditive”). The terminology and descriptions are most uniform for visual and reportative categories, for which the terms are most usually “visual” and “reported/reportative”. Quite few of the sources were published after Aikhenvald’s typology (2004), so its influence on terminology is hard to judge from the sample used in this study. However, some developments in terminology were observable: for instance, the terms derived from the verb ‘report’ (eg. “reported”) have become more common for reported evidentials while the terms derived from the verb ‘quote’ have become less used after Aikhenvald (2004). As a conclusion, the semantic aspects chosen to describe the categories and the overall semantic complexity of the categories affect the terminologies used for descriptions.

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Response particles as knowledge claims in Finnish

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This paper deals with knowledge expressions that are made using response particles. The specific focus is on Finnish particles that can be categorized as “change-of-state tokens”, i.e. elements that show that “its producer has undergone some kind of change in his or her locally current state of knowledge, information, orientation or awareness” (Heritage 1984: 299).

The paper will discuss three types of change-of-state tokens: receipts of new information, claims of remembering and claims of now-understanding. Specific interactional contexts where these knowledge claim are made relevant will be introduced. For instance, claims of remembering (particle *ai nii*) are relevant when the speaker has failed to take into account some mutually known information concerning her co-participant. By saying *ai nii* the speaker may suggest that she was, in fact, aware of the relevant information all along but just failed to remember it. *Ai nii* is thus a claim of newly restored epistemic access. Claims of now-understanding (particle *aa*) are used when the speaker has previously failed to understand something right in a timely manner. Claims of now-understanding thus work as markers of problem resolution, enabling resumption of the main line of talk. News receipts, on the other hand, may be used in multiple occasions. As responses to news announcement and other types of informings, news receipts are used in an aligning and affiliative manner, furthering the proposed course of action. In contrast, when following assessments or proposals, new receipts can be heard as disaffiliative, since they defer or resist the next relevant action such as an agreeing second assessment or a sign of compliance. Furthermore, different news receipts (such as *aijaa* and *aha*) involve very fine-grained epistemic distinctions that have to do with the nature and status of the new information in a particular context and the previous expectations by the particle speaker.

The paper will conclude that the ability to lexically distinguish between different cognitive shifts (as well as the abundance of other kinds of response forms) is a typical feature of Finnish language. This is something different from for example English that centrally operates on the particle *oh* and its different prosodic variants.

The data for the study are drawn from a large data archive containing audio and videotaped telephone and face-to-face conversations from everyday settings. The research method used in the study is Conversation Analysis.

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A weak construction. Syntactic background of the reported speech markers in Russian.

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The Russian language has no grammaticalized evidential markers, including those of reported speech. Still, there are ways to re-narrate in both Old and modern Russian language. The Russian reported speech markers are originated either from conjunctions in comparative constructions (e.g. *jakoby*, *kak by* etc. ‘allegedly’) or from verbs of speech in independent clauses (*mol*, *de* etc. ‘they say’). In this presentation, only the second type is taken into consideration. These lexicalized reported speech markers are considered as a result of development from specific verbal forms to damaged auxiliary items (e.g. Old Rus. *molviti* ‘to say’ → Rus. *mol*.PART ‘they say’). In my presentation, I will describe the moments they appear and—in many cases—disappear from the language. The data suggests that there are syntactic and prosodic parameters that support transformation of a speech verb along the well-established grammaticalization path [Hopper, Traugott 2003: 7]: content word → grammatical word → clitic → inflectional affix. However, in case of Russian the full path remains untrodden, and no affix is developed. I will discuss what causes the shortened path and will argue for the specific syntactic conditions that is called *a weak construction*. Summing up, a clause headed by a VP is syntactically reanalyzed, because there are no dependent phrases around, thus nothing is lost in terms of syntactic relations. In the case, the verbal head (a speech verb) does not perform its functions and transforms into a grammatical word, if not to a clitic. However, this process never leads to coining an evidential affix because a) these clitics may be attached to almost any part of speech, and b) the Wackernagel’s law [Wackernagel 1892] is no longer in force in Russian.

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The Particularity Hypothesis – On Mirative, Evidential, and Particular Readings of the Swedish Incongruous Past Tense

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In Swedish, the past tense usually refers to an event preceding the time of the utterance (Teleman, Hellberg & Andersson 1999:204). However, there are cases that buck the trend by expressing present or future time reference, as in example (1–2) below.

- (1) *Det var en söt bebis!*
that was a cute baby
'That's a cute baby!'
- (2) *Imorgon var det dags att åka hem.*
tomorrow was it time to go home
'It's time to go home tomorrow.'

I refer to such cases as *the incongruous past tense*. Observe that in example (1), the speaker does not mean that the baby has been cute before and suddenly lacks this property; he/she means 'baby-is-cute-right-now'. In (2), the past is used for a future event.

Most analyses relate the incongruous past to pragmatics. Teleman et.al. (1999:226), for instance, distinguish two types, *an evaluative past*, such as (1) above, and *a modifying past*, such as (2). The first is characterized as an expression of surprise and subjective evaluations, and the second as marking a planned event. However, restricting the meaning of the evaluative past to surprise alone, leads to a categorical rejection of other affective occurrences, e.g. anger; see example (3) below. Also, sticking to the meaning of the second type, rejects cases where the past tense conveys firsthand experience, as in (4).

- (3) *Fan vad du var sur då!*
damn what you was cranky then
'Damn you're cranky!'
- (4) *Lakrits och citron, dom smakerna passade bra ihop.*
licorice and lemon, those flavors went well together
'Licorice and lemon, those flavors go together well (in my experience).'

In Malm (2016) I show that the incongruous past is better described in terms of *mirativity*, the linguistic category manifesting unexpected information (DeLancey 2012) and *evidentiality*, the category manifesting the source of information (Aikhenvald 2004). Moreover, results indicate a connection between evidential and mirative readings of the incongruous past, and *generic* and *particular sentences* (Krifka, et.al. 1995).

The occurrences of the congruous and incongruous past were gathered by a corpus-based method (Tognini-Bonelli 2001). Categorically, the notions of mirativity and evidentiality capture more cases than those in Teleman et.al. (1999). Yet, empirical evidence suggests this not to be the entire

story. Distributional and semantic analysis reveal that: (i) modifying generic adverbials (such as *alltid* "always") do not occur in the incongruous past, as opposed to the congruent past, (ii) subjective adverbials e.g. *enligt mig* "in my opinion" are fewer in the incongruous cases than in the congruous ones, (iii) generic modification renders incongruous expressions congruous, and, (iv) a switch from past to present tense entails a switch from a particular to a generic reading. A shift to the present in (4) would entail that licorice and lemon go together well in general, objectively, contrary to the particular, subjective, opinion. Based on these observations, I argue for *the particularity hypothesis*, that speakers use the incongruous past to avoid generalizations, and for a connection between particular and evidential/mirative interpretations of the incongruous past.

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Displaying epistemic access in classroom interaction: Student-initiated question sequences

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The paper investigates how foreign language students explore the correctness and reliability of Finnish grammar rules by using different sources of knowledge. The study is based on classroom interactions during videotaped Finnish as foreign language lessons held at a French university.

I focus on turns in student-initiated question sequences where speakers make relevant the source of their knowledge and the access to it. My method is conversation analysis.

The aim is to show that language rules can be constructed through student-initiated question-answer sequences to which several participants contribute (teacher and students). These question-answer sequences do more than constitute an interactional practice in the classroom. First, they help to conceptualize previous information concerning grammatical rules and language. Second, they form the basis for inferences while students discuss the topic of the on-going interaction. Third, these question-answer sequences build future knowledge sources that students can refer to and use as evidence for the regularities and systematics of Finnish grammar rules.

When dealing with Finnish grammar, the students regularly question rules, test rules, or define and formulate them. This activity of questioning and exploring language can be referred to as process of schematization (Griggs 2010). The activity demands of the participants already some knowledge of Finnish grammar and knowledge of what has happened in the previous lessons. In this sense I consider both aspects of knowledge as sources which are used by students to give evidence for what they know (Pomerantz 1984).

Students use certain question formulations when they refer in a more or less explicit manner to a source or a basis. The question turns can include for example quotations and references to teacher's turns "But haven't you said", or negative why-questions, which both reveal that there is a gap between what the students had expected and what they are confronted with. According to foreign language acquisition studies, this phenomenon can be categorized as notice the gap principle, which enhances language acquisition (Schmidt and Frota 1984). My analysis supports this view: the discrepancy between what students expect and the evidence of what they notice concerning grammar in the on-going lesson is a key issue for questions that deliver sources or a basis of information. This kind of questions sequences seems to be motivated by a gap or divergence of knowledge and lead the student to recollect and reformulate already studied issues.

Key words: classroom interaction, question sequences, epistemic access and primacy

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The acquisition of evidentiality in Yukatek

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Evidentials are a central part of Mayan grammar (AnderBois 2014, Curiel 2016). Evidentials in Yukatek are not only used for expressing the source of information, but for a number of pragmatic and metapragmatic uses such as the marking of narrative speech-genres, the expression of vividness, or the indexation of climaxes. (Lucy 1993, Hanks 1993).

This study deals with the acquisition of the grammatical devices for expressing quoted and reported sources of information in Yukatek. Spontaneous longitudinal data of two children between aged between 1;1 and 3;3 and cross-sectional narrative data of three schoolchildren between 5 and 8 have been analyzed.

Clauses encoding information as the product of hearsay are marked with a reportative morpheme as in (1). This means that the utterance in the example was not attested by the speaker, but reported by some other mean.

- (1) *Yàan b'in u=tàal* (Hanks 1990: 213)
Aux report 3erg=come
'He is to come. So it is said.'

B'in occurs immediately after the verbal auxiliary, although it may also occur in sentence-final position. *B'in* cannot be inflected for person, nor can it be accompanied by an oblique phrase encoding an addressee.

The quotative *k-ih* is a defective verb with the meaning of 'says.he' (Lehmann 2016). It can be followed by a dative compliment (example 2).

- (2) *Yàan im=bin k-ih t-en* (Hanks 1990: 207)
AUX 1ERG=go QUOT-3ABS.SG DAT-1ABS.SG
'I've gotta go,' she (he) said to me.'

Unlike standard verbs, the quotative *k-* cannot mark for tense, aspect or mood. Furthermore, it cannot be questioned, negated or adverbially modified in any way to qualify the utterance it reports. Obligatorily the quotative follows the quoted discourse.

The analysis of the caregiver and the child speech reveal that in adult speech, reports and quotations are used for expressing source of information, but in particular for prompting the children's utterances or making them attend to specific objects.

Both children manage to use quotatives as prompts and as a marker of source of information from early age on. The fact, that the forms, *k-ech(-ti)* 'you should say (to her)' and *k-ih* 'says.she' are distinct phonologically and pragmatically allow children to distinguish them easily.

The timing of the acquisition of the morphological forms to express source of information differs in the children's speech: while at early ages they tend to have quotative/reportative meanings, the girl's data from age 2;9, which represent a somewhat later period, show a distinctive use of quotatives and reportatives.

The fact that evidentials are acquired early in the Mayan languages Yucatek and Tojolabal (Curiel 2016), Korean (Choi 1991) and Turkish (Aksu-Koç, Balaban & Alp 2009), but not in Bulgarian (Fitneva 2008) requires further cross-linguistic studies.

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Evidentiality in Amri Karbi

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This paper deals with evidentiality in Amri Karbi, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in North East India. The study is based on the natural data collected during author's fieldtrips to the areas where the language is spoken.

Evidentiality in Amri Karbi is expressed by several means, including modality, aspect, reportative and quotative *pusi* 'they say' among others. Amri Karbi uses realis mode and habitual aspect to mark information as direct witness (Aikhenvald 2004) and indefinite for neutral, epistemic mode and tag questions for inference. Amri Karbi uses quotative *pusi* 'they say' to specify the information source as indirect evidence and reportative *tangho* for similar function in a traditional narrative discourse. Quotative *pusi* 'they say' is used to mark information as valid, per the logic that a fact which was witnessed by many is regarded as more valid than the one that was witnessed by only a speaker. In a narrative, *tangho* is used for backgrounding as shown in (1) and both *tangho* 'REP' and *pusi* 'they say' exemplified in (2) is used for foregrounding a part of a narrative.

- (1) *Isi asarpe sarpepo he mane hen kiedam tangho.*
isi a-sar-pe sar-pe-po he mane hen ki-e-dam tangho.
one POSS-old-F old-F-husband INTERACT means yam NMLZ-plant-go REP
One old woman, old woman's husband, means, they were growing yam.

- (2) *Kuwang ayoqke akithema akithe aphurul pusi.*
ku-wang a-yoq-ke a-ki-the=ma a-ki-the a-phurul pu-si.
NMLZ-come POSS-OBJ-TOP POSS-NMLZ-be.big=Q POSS-NMLZ-be.big POSS-snake QUOT-NF
When he came out, he was a big snake.

When the indirect evidence information has become part of one's knowledge, as in the example (3), then after indirect *pusi* 'they say' another speech word with deontic *than uno* '(I am) able to say' is used resulting in *pusi than uno* which means 'I know' and literally 'I am able to say what they say'.

- (3) *Tene nang arkeng nang sal katiki arleng pusi than uno.*
tene nang arkeng nang sal ka-tiki arleng pu-si than un-o.
then 2 betelnut 2 work NMLZ-work man QUOT-NF say be.able-RL
Then I know you are the person who grows betelnut.

In everyday conversations the phrase 'they say' is often used after statements, that are regarded by a speaker as not part of her/his general knowledge or as a strategy to undermine self's notion, due to the culturally restricted territories of information or due to politeness.

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From Quotation to Surprise: The Case in Korean

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Korean has a number of grammatical devices to encode mirativity, a signal that the information has not yet been assimilated into the speaker's epistemic states of the mind. Such mirativity markers occur in the form of interjections, sentence-final particles (SFPs), or clausal connectives. One interesting case is the SFP *-tani*, whose usage is exemplified in contrast with non-mirative SFP, i.e., a declarative ender, in (1) (NOM: nominative; PST: past; DEC: declarative):

- (1) a. *ku-ka cwuk-ess-ta*
he-NOM die-PST-DEC
'He died.'
- b. *ku-ka cwuk-tani!*
he-NOM die-SFP
'That he died! (I can't believe it!)

The development of *-tani* is intriguing in a number of aspects from the point of view of grammaticalization of epistemic markers. The form began its life in the quotative construction involving an embedded declarative sentence (thus, still containing the DEC *-ta*, cf. (1a)) within the matrix clause. The SFP *-tani* also contains *-ni*, whose primary function is causality marking as a connective ('because/since/as'). Thus, the source of (1b) can be traced back to a clause, meaning 'As (they) say that he died.' The development, glossing over complex details, can be schematically presented as the following, with reference to the example (1) above:

- (2) a. As (*they*) say, "He died", xxx. (a clausal connective with a direct quote)
b. As (they) say that he died, xxx. (a clausal connective with a reportative)
c. As (they) say that he died... (a clausal connective with the main clause ellipsis)
d. That he died! (functional shift from a connective to a SFP)

As is evident from (2), the development of *-tani* involves the main clause ellipsis ('insubordination' Evans 2007) which triggered the functional shift from a connective to a SFP. When *-tani* became a mirative SFP it has also undergone morphosyntactic change in that it does not have to be marked with a tense marker (cf. (1a) vs. (1b)). It is also interesting that even though *-tani* developed from a quotative construction, the mirative SFP *-tani* does not have to host the information acquired from a third party. Therefore, (1b) can be uttered when the speaker is watching 'him' die, as well as when s/he heard the news from someone else. Therefore, one can utter with *-tani* a mirative statement about his/her mental states, such as 'That I forgot it!', 'That I am afraid of him!', etc. The mirative effect is largely attributable to the main clause ellipsis, because it triggered the pragmatic inference of possible meaning of the elided main clause, on the part of the addressee.

Drawing upon historical data, this paper traces the development of *-tani* and its relatives from their early stage of evidential function into the epistemic function, i.e., mirativity-marking.

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Evidentiality in Ikoma/Nata/Isenye, a Bantu language of Tanzania

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Ikoma/Nata/Isenye is a Bantu language spoken in the Mara Region of northwest Tanzania in close proximity to Serengeti National Park. The Ikoma, Nata, and Isenye consider themselves three distinct ethnic groups, but each of the three language varieties are mutually intelligible. Evidentiality has not been previously reported in any of the varieties. In fact, evidentiality is not typically found in African languages in general³, let alone Bantu, and is much more widely attested in other parts of the world (Aikhenvald 2004: 17, 291). Probably the most familiar previous documentation of Bantu evidentiality is that of Lega, a language of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (Botne 1997).

The evidentiality system in Ikoma/Nata/Isenye encodes a contrast between eyewitness and non-eyewitness information sources. This contrast manifests “fused with [...] tense-aspect [T/A] marker[s]”, in this case the past inceptive and perfective T/A markers (Aikhenvald 2003: 2). The past inceptive (*Vkǎ*⁴) marks eyewitness information source (visual and auditory), while the perfective (*-*ire*) marks non-eyewitness information source. Consider the following examples:

(1) **Ikoma** (Fieldwork 2014, 2016)

ni-βeere ne-rooch e a-βa-taki βa-ayá -tw-aang-á βa-taki
CONJ-NOW 1.SG-see-PFV government 3PL-INC-1.PL-refuse-FV government
βa-ta-yo-tótor-i
3.PL-NEG-IPFV-help-FV

Now, I have seen the government refuse to help us; the government does not help.

(2) **Isenye** (Fieldwork 2016)

Context: Someone is taking a nap in the bedroom of a house.

a. *a-kǎ-bhuk-a*

3.SG-INC-wake up-FV

He/she is waking up/has just woken up.

Further context: Speaker is in the same room and can see the person.

b. *a-kǎ-bhuk-a*

3.SG-INC-wake up-FV

He/she is waking up/has just woken up.

Further context: Speaker is in an adjacent room but can hear the person.

³ The lack of reported evidentials in African languages could also be due to incomplete descriptions.

⁴ As can be observed in example (1), the *k* in *Vkǎ* alternates with *γ* due to Dahl's Law, a process of voicing dissimilation in Bantu (e.g. Odden 1994: 304-5).

c. *n-a-bhuk-ire*

FOC-3.SG-wake up-PFV

He/she is waking up/has just woken up.

Further context: Speaker is outside the house and cannot see or hear the person.

The closest languages which attest evidentiality are several Nilotic varieties in Northern Uganda and South Sudan (along with previously mentioned Lega in the DRC) (Hieda 2012; Miller & Gilley 2007; Storch 2006). Because of the geographical distance involved with these other languages and the fact that evidentiality is so rare in African languages, Ikoma/Nata/Isenye almost certainly developed its evidential system through independent innovation. Coupled with the fact that Ikoma/Nata/Isenye has a close genetic relative (Ngoreme) with a similar aspectual system along with an inceptive that has no evidential meaning, this situation provides a unique opportunity to explore the grammaticalization of evidentiality.

The case of evidentiality in Ikoma/Nata/Isenye aligns with the relevant typology, that “such a distinction often [...] applies just in the past tense” (the perfective often takes on the role of immediate past), along with the fact that “typically a perfective or perfect-like tense carries an inferential or non-eyewitness specification” (Aikhenvald 2003: 3, 20). The very nature of the perfect itself (present relevance) gives rise to inference/hearsay overtones and eventually non-eyewitness evidentiality (Aikhenvald 2004: 279). The perfect (anterior) losing its requirement for present relevance and becoming a perfective or simple past is well-established (Bybee et al. 1994: 81). By the same token, the use of a past inceptive (‘has just’) does not require direct observation by any of the senses, but those overtones would certainly be present due to the form being used frequently in those situations. In summary, this paper provides a general description of evidentiality in Ikoma/Nata/Isenye, but also explores the evidential T/A markers in light of historical considerations.

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Ei jää varteenotettavaa epäilyä – beyond reasonable doubt, or not? The establishment of one potentially ambiguous legal term

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Profound aims of legal language include accuracy and avoidance of ambiguity (Mattila 2013: 87). The subject of this paper, the Finnish expression *ei jää varteenotettavaa epäilyä* (lit. ‘no noteworthy doubt remains’) severely challenges these aims. The purpose of this expression, translated from the English and Swedish equivalents (*beyond reasonable doubt*, *utom rimligt tvivel*) (HE 46/2014), is to convey needed certainty about the guiltiness of a condemned man: if reasonable doubt remains, the accused person must be found unguilty (732/2015). The challenge of the formulation, however, lies in the polysemy of the noun *epäily*, which besides ‘doubt’ may also signify ‘suspect’ and is used to express the ‘suspicion of crime’. In this case the noun *rikos* ‘crime’ appears either as an adjunct of a compound (*rikosepäily*) or as an elative adjunct (*epäily rikoksesta*).

The needed certainty in the phrase *ei jää varteenotettavaa epäilyä* is expressed through double negation: no uncertainty, i.e. no possibility of unguiltiness. While *varteenotettava epäily* expresses the possibility of unguiltiness, *rikosepäily* conveys the opposite – the possibility of crime and guiltiness. The syntactic similarity (elative adjunct) between the expression *epäily rikoksesta* ‘suspicion of crime’ and the official formulation of ‘reasonable doubt’ in Finnish legislation (see 1) concretizes the potential for misunderstanding between these two uses of *epäily*, and indeed, this polysemy has even led to misleading headlining in news reporting court judgments (MI 2011). It is noteworthy that the nouns in the English and Swedish source expressions of (1) lack this kind of polysemy (cf. Mattila 2013: 361).

(1)	Tuomion – –	edellytyksenä	on,	ettei	vastaajan
	sentence.GEN – –	prerequisite.ESS	be.3SG	that.NEG	defendant.GEN
	syllisyydestä	jää		varteenotettavaa	epäilyä.
	guiltiness.ELA	remain.CNG		noteworthy.PART	doubt.PART

‘The prerequisite of the sentence is that no reasonable doubt about the guiltiness of the defendant remains.’ (732/2015)

The formulation of (1) was not validated in the Finnish legislation until in the beginning of 2016 (732/2015). However, in the case law this way of expressing the production of evidence appears since 2002 in varying formulations (KKO 47/2002, Rautio 2012: 16). One crucial source of variation is the existence of an alternative noun *epäily*, which according to Salminen (2017) in fact shows more inclination to the syntactic environment and the semantics (‘doubt’) of the phrase in (1). The above defined polysemy and the possibility of another word choice strongly encourage to examine the development and establishment of the exact formulation in (1).

Drawing on the socio-cognitive viewpoint to the terms and terminologisation (Temmerman 2000), I approach the establishment of *varteenotettava epäily* as a result of (implicit) negotiation between the authors of the texts dealing with this concept. In order to follow this negotiation and the

development of the term in question, I examine a pilot data consisting of excerpts of case law and legal literature published 2002–2016. The data interestingly show that *epäily* and *epäilyks* may vary randomly even within a same text, which suggests that occasionally authors may not even differentiate between the two nouns (see e.g. Rautio 2012: 16). This observation and the fairly high frequency of *epäilyks* in the pilot data cast doubt to the grounds of the finally selected formulation of (1).

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There's planets evolving around: Pragmatic motivations for non-concord in the existential construction

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This paper examines the use of there's with plural subjects in spoken American English. The primary claim of the paper is that the existential construction 'there's + plural subject', which is generally considered substandard and ungrammatical, serves as a device to present knowledge on the part of the speaker, the interpretation of which requires visual/spatial recognition on the part of the addressee. The type of case to be examined in this study is illustrated by the following example:

Santa Barbara Corpus

1 she's changing apartments,

2 she's moving into her own condo.

3 (H) I walk in,

4 and the first hint that There's --

5 % this is gonna be something a little bit unusual,

→6 is There's all these helium balloons?

7 .. ut- --

8 .. up at the ceiling?

9 .. (H) With X- uh metallic= color=ed streamers coming down, ...

Previous studies have investigated the instances of non-concord in terms of number agreement primarily at the sentential level. It is shown that grammatical factors such as 'no' determiners, types of quantifiers (e.g., any, some, other), and tense forms affect the use of there's with plural noun phrases (cf. Britain and Sudbury, 2002). Sociolinguistic studies suggest that the gender and level of education of the speaker are key factors facilitating subject-verb concord (Meechan and Foley, 1994). The present study is motivated by the need to examine the use of there's in interactional contexts. To my knowledge, there have not been any studies to date that focus on the interactional nature of there's and its pragmatic functions as a resource for sharing perspectives.

A total of 120 tokens were drawn from the spoken language section of the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) (Davies, 2008–) and the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBCSAE) (Du Bois et al., 2000–2005). Each instance of 'there's + plural subject' was analyzed qualitatively focusing on its interactional import. The findings confirm that there's "behave[s] as a single invariable unit for the process of speech processing" (Biber et al., 1999) and that the construction should not be treated as a grammatical anomaly, but rather as a pragmatically motivated phenomenon in which there's functions as a means to achieve a common reference point and construe mutual knowledge between participants.

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Egophoric evidentiality in Salar: A case of selective linguistic copy

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A Turkic language spoken in the extreme North-East part of the Tibetan plateau, Salar shares a centuries-long history of contact with the neighbouring Tibetic, Sinitic and Mongolic varieties (cf. e.g. Dwyer 1995 & 2013, Janhunen 2007). As a result of contact with Amdo-Tibetan varieties, Salar has lost its system of personal agreement and has developed a form of egophoric category. This change represents a typological shift from a syntactically oriented language toward a more semantic-pragmatic based grammar: instead of marking the syntactic relation between the participants to the process and the process itself, Salar language marks the semantic-pragmatic relation between the speech-act participants and the event described (De Haan 2005: 379).

Evidential categories are known for being easily transferred in a language-contact situation (Aikhenvald 2004: 296) and several other cases of copy of the Tibetic evidential categories have been documented (Slater 2003, Fried 2010, Dwyer 2013, Tournadre & LaPolla 2014, Sandman 2016, Jacques (in preparation)). Such a development in Salar corresponds to a process of selective copying, as defined by Johanson (1992: 177-184): Tibetic influence on Salar does not generate a strict identity of the category in the two languages.

This presentation aims to describe and compare the category of egophoric evidential modality in Salar and Amdo-Tibetan languages. In a first part, I will illustrate different dimensions of functional and morpho-syntactic similarities. Thus, in both languages: (1) this category is used to express a personal access to information and do not correspond to a syntactic first person marker; (2) the use of an egophoric marker is not obligatory and may vary according to the perspective chosen by the speaker; (3) evidential distinction is neutralized in non-finite clauses and the forms morphophonologically corresponding to egophoric are used as neutral forms in this context; (4) asking questions requires that the speaker uses the evidential form that corresponds to the addressee's access to information (thus, a second person question will most often contain egophoric marker).

In the second part, I will contrast the two languages and describe the specificities of egophoric modality as grammaticalized in Salar and in Amdo-Tibetan: (1) contrary to Amdo-Tibetan, this category is restricted to imperfective aspect in Salar - this language retains the Turkic-type evidential categories in perfective; (2) evidential system as a whole is also more complex in Amdo-Tibetan, with categories, such as perceptive, unknown in Salar; (3) the relationship between egophoric marking and control or intention of the speaker slightly differs between the two languages.

Finally, I will propose an hypothesis regarding the grammaticalization path for egophoricity in Salar, which would account for the differences and the similarities observed.

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Transition points between ignorance and knowledge – the expression of processes of epistemic reasoning by means of Andean Spanish pluperfect structures

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In recent years, the use of pluperfect forms in Andean Spanish with epistemic and evidential values not present in other Spanish varieties and most possibly due to language contact with Quechua, has been a frequently cited example for a way of how languages without a grammaticalized evidential system develop evidential categories (e.g. Babel & Pfänder 2014, Siegel 2012, Slobin 2016). However, what kind of knowledge expression is actually referred to by this form has led to different adscriptions containing reported evidentiality, non-testimoniality, and inference. Other researchers see the main value of these constructions in mirativity, expressing surprise, sudden discovery, revelations or realizations in the moment of speaking, counter-expectations and new information (see. e.g. García Tesoro 2015).

In this contribution, we revise these adscriptions based on an extensive corpus of spoken Andean Spanish compiled in Bolivia and Peru and suggest, that the former adscriptions, including our own (Dankel & Soto 2012), encompass the phenomenon just partly. A reportative reading is problematic, because it turns out to just be valid in combination with other markers, like for example the reportative particle *dizque*. Also, an inferential reading would require strong contextual support. The more general categorization as a notion of non-testimoniality implies the presence of a specific source, which is not necessarily the case, and the expression of surprise, as in case of category of mirativity, cannot be claimed to be a primary notional component either, without support of other expressions in the context.

Therefore, we propose to give more attention to the cognitive-epistemic foundation behind the phenomenon and take on a more comprehensive view on the different values that have been ascribed to the Andean pluperfect. This leads us to suggest, that the structure is based on a cognitive-epistemic notion that allows the speaker to establish reference points regarding him/her finding out or accessing a piece of information or knowledge.

This proposal is also in line with observations in the contact language Quechua. For example, Adelaar in his recent work (2013) reevaluates the mirative in Quechua as a transition point between an epistemic state of ignorance to another state of consciousness.

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Justifications of two Finnish-speaking children from 2½ to 3½ years of age: Development of knowledge use in giving reasons

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This presentation is based on a case study on the development of justification constructions of two Finnish-speaking children from 2½ to 3½ years of age. The research task was to examine the early context-specific utterances by means of which the children justified their requirements addressed to other family members. The linguistic construction types of the utterances were identified and their development was examined by comparing two age-based utterance groups. The focus in the current presentation is on the types of knowledge the children manifested using when constructing justifications in the context of family interaction.

The study data contains a total of a hundred (108) usage events as scenes for the justifications. The data collection methods were audio recording and diary notes. The methodological idea of analyzing justification constructions is based on observing the process of usage-event-specific logical thinking, inferring and reasoning (Mercier & Sperber 2011) that the observed children manifested. Following up this process aimed for tracing the types of experience-based knowledge the children used in building up conceptualizations as the basis of their linguistic constructions (Langacker 2008). The constructions were adjusted in their usage events (Lieven & Tomasello 2008) that typically covered i) home as a physical environment and ii) mother–child interaction. ‘Interaction’ was considered covering the following meaning anchors as analytical units: linguistic constructions, co-verbal actions and experience-based knowledge the interactants share together.

In the current data of young children, the “grammar of evidentiality” seems to be embedded in the structures of (implicitly) complex sentences (Lieko 1992): The pragmasemantic dynamics between ‘justifications’ (J) and the ‘statements motivating them’ (S) formulate a comprehensive meaning structure in terms of which the co-interactant is aimed to be convinced. As the justifications are typically declarative constructions with no linguistic epistemic marking, the situational validity of them is thus for the present adult to interpret by the both linguistic and contextual elements of (J) and (S). The analysis showed that the children observed knew from experience (like daily routines) the kind of behavior with which they could influence their family members’ actions and decisions. They appealed, for instance, to their feelings (2;7: *Ota mua. (S) Mua pelottaa maassa. (J)* ‘Take me. I am scared on the ground.’ when the child knew that her mother’s back is sore) or physical needs (2;7: *Onpa täällä kuuma. (J) Pitää lähteä pois. (S)* ‘It is hot in here. One must leave.’ when a child wanted to wake up in the morning) as strategies for reaching their interactional goals. As children approached three years of age, the variety of warranties increased: they referred both to a wider range of content and developed from appealing to ego-centric feelings or perceptions towards appealing to established social rules (3;5: *Toisia ei saa kiusata. (S) Se on kiusaamista. (J)* ‘One is not allowed to tease the others. It is teasing’). The analysis also showed the importance of the increasing resources of knowledge as a platform for the developing language acquisition.

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How epistemic modal are quotative indexes in Udmurt?

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In colloquial Udmurt, there is quite a diverse system of quotative strategies. Besides the autochthonous quotative particles *pe* and *pěj*, there are a number of quotative strategies borrowed from Russian. Among those strategies one can find uses of the Russian complementizers *čto* and *budto* with speech and non-speech verbs (1), the quotative particles *mol* (2) and *deskat'*, and the new quotative *tipa* 'like' (3).

- (1) *Kožaškod, budto mon ug todišky*
 suppose.PRS.2SG like 1SG NEG.PRS.1SG get to know.CN
val, što ton vańze umoj šotod?
 be.PST.3SG COMP 2SG all.ACC3SG correctly give.FUT.2SG
 'You **suppose like** I wouldn't know that you will hand out everything correctly?' (Blog subcorpus).

- (2) *...izvińat'sa kari, mol jangyšaj.*
 sorry do.PST.1SG QI be mistaken.PST.1SG
 'I **apologized** here **like** I was wrong' (vk.com/udm_ept).

- (3) *...tipa, pofig hot' valady, hot' əd, ńe*
 like who cares if understand.PRS.2PL if NEG NEG
mynam jyrvišone.
 1SG.GEN headache.1SG
 '[Belosludtsev was talking in Udmurt before singing, without translating into Russian], **like**, who cares whether you understand or not, it is not my problem' (Blog subcorpus).

In Russian, both the complementizer *budto* and the quotative particles *mol* and *deskat'* bear epistemic meanings. Differently from the epistemic neutral complementizer *čto*, *budto* is used when the reporter aims to indicate uncertainty or low commitment to the accuracy of a quote (Shvedova 1980: §2277-79; Letuchij 2008: 229-30). The quotative particle *mol* and *deskat'* appear in reported discourse constructions to indicate a difference between the reported and the original text. By using

mol, a reporter aims to preserve the important information, and the less important facts are either left unspecified or are presented vaguely. Hence, the subjective position of the speaker is present the least. *Deskat'*, on the contrary, occurs quite frequently in contexts where a reporter intends to interpret reported discourse with a tone of subjectivism (Plungjan 2008: 291-93). By using the new quotative *tipa* 'like', the reporter aims to distance him-/herself from the ongoing reported discourse and shows that it is produced with a note of uncertainty (cf. Buchstaller & Van Alphen 2012: XV).

Since it cannot be taken for granted that Russian quotative indexes are replicated into Udmurt together with their epistemic meanings, several questions arise. First, it is important to understand whether the epistemic modal meanings are preserved also in colloquial Udmurt. Further, it is interesting to compare the epistemic meanings of autochthonous and Russian quotative particles in Udmurt. To answer these questions, qualitative research is carried out. As basic material, data depicting internet communications are used. The choice is motivated by the fact that the language in the social network sites largely reflects actually spoken language in the written form, combining both standard writing and colloquial speech inside one text (Hellasvuo *et al.* 2014: 13; Pischlöger 2014b: 144). The results show that the markers borrowed from Russian are replicated into Udmurt together with their epistemic meanings. Furthermore, the correspondence is observed in epistemic meaning that the QIs with similative semantics (autochthonous *kad'*, and borrowed *budto* and *tipa*) express.

Keywords: quotative indexes, quotative particles, epistemic modality, reported discourse, Udmurt.

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Egophoricity cline in Tibetic languages: Lhasa Tibetan, Denjongke and beyond

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This paper shows that although egophoricity in Lhasa Tibetan has received the most publicity, egophoric and related forms within Tibetic languages vary considerably, forming a cline where Lhasa Tibetan occupies one end by reinterpreting speaker's knowledge and/or involvement as a syntactic requirement for the first person. Lhasa Tibetan is well-known for a knowledge-related category known as egophoric (Tournadre 1992, Tournadre & Dorje 2003), which according to LaPolla & Tournadre (2014: 243) functions as an indicator of "personal knowledge". However, in addition to the semantic component of personal knowledge, Lhasa Tibetan also has a syntactic restriction on egophoricity. According to Garrett (2001: 103), ego(phoric) copulas are "rather free, allowing the overt or implied first-person to be a grammatical subject, object, possessor of a subject or object, or even a possessor of a possessor. Nevertheless, all ego sentences share a first-person restriction of some kind" [italics added]. Garrett (2001: 141-142) further notes that in some uses of the egophoric copula *yin* [jin], such as (1), the 1st person may be syntactically absent. In these cases, however, the referent has to be "closely related to the speaker, e.g. his son". (The example is edited from the original.)

(1) Standard Tibetan/Lhasa Tibetan

kho dge.rgan yin
he teacher COP.EQU.EGO
'?He is a teacher.'
'He (=my son) is a teacher.'

However, in another Tibetic language, Denjongke (Sikkim, India), the personal copula \bar{t} : (cognate of Lhasa Tibetan *yin*) is freely used without any requirement for the referent to be closely related to the speaker, as shown in (2).

(2) Denjongke

k^hõ: lópǎ: \bar{t} :
he.HON teacher COP.EQU.PER
'He is a teacher.'

The paper addresses egophoricity and related categories in select Tibetic languages such as Balti, Purik, Ladakhi/Nurla (Bielmeier 2000), Themchen Tibetan, Shigatse Tibetan (Haller 2000), Yolmo (Gawne 2013) and Denjongke, showing that these languages appear to form a grammaticalization continuum culminating in Lhasa Tibetan "egophoric": speaker's knowledge (e.g. Denjongke, Yolmo) > speaker's involvement (e.g. Shigatse and Themchen Tibetan) > speaker's syntactic presence (Lhasa Tibetan).

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Adverbs of Probability and Epistemic Stance in Spoken Mandarin

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Modal adverbs are among the most common epistemic stance markers (Perkins, 1983; Biber et al. 1999). Recent studies have reported that discourse and interactional functions are often associated with modal adverbs (Biber & Finegan, 1989; Simon-Vandenberg & Aijmer, 2007). Some of the uses of the modal adverb *qishi* 'actually' (Biq, 1994; Hsieh & Huang, 2005; Wang, Tsai, & Yang, 2009) exemplify such properties for Mandarin Chinese. However, interactional functions of other modal adverbs have received little scholarly attention. The current study intends to examine the role epistemic adverbs (including *keneng* 'possibly', *dagai* 'probably', and *yexu* 'perhaps') play in cases when speaker's epistemic stance incongruent with the epistemic status.

My database is the CALLHOME Mandarin Chinese speech of the Language Consortium Database (LCD), which consists of 120 telephone conversations between native speakers of Mandarin Chinese. Conversation analysis is the main approach used in this study. In the transcripts provided by LCD, 124 out of 310 instances of *keneng* 'possibly', 30 out of 41 *dagai* 'probably', 3 out of 13 *yexu* 'perhaps' are found occurring when the epistemic stance and the epistemic status are incongruent. In comparing the epistemic status and the expressed stance, I categorize the instances of discourse use into two types: 1. the speaker has adequate knowledge but takes an uncertain stance; 2. the speaker has little knowledge but takes an apparently knowing stance.

Three subclasses of the first type are observed: 1) uncertain stance is taken in negative assessments to mitigate face-threatening actions and disalignment. 2) uncertain stance to positive evaluation of the speaker's own plans. 3) uncertain stance in actions of informing upcoming events, which might implicitly conduct requests. In a conversation between friends, speaker A repeatedly uses *keneng* to inform speaker B that a common friend will visit B's city on a certain day. Although A does not explicitly alert and request, B realizes this alert and confirms that he will be prepared to host this friend.

For speakers with little knowledge, adverbs of probability are used to provide an account for the prior assessment related to the interlocutor, presenting speakers as more knowledgeable than their actual epistemic status. This often occurs in conversations between in-law relationship and unfamiliar friends where speakers try to align with the interlocutors. In a conversation between unfamiliar friends, B provides a possible account to support her previous positive assessment of A's voice change with the adverb *keneng* 'possibly'. B's effort to reinforce solidarity with A, however, does not work out as A provides counter evidence to explain changes with his voice.

In conclusion, different interactional functions emerge from discourses when speakers use adverbs of probability to take a stance that differ from their actual epistemic status. Findings in this study provide empirical evidences to support the argument that interactional functions of epistemic modality devices are emergent from discourse, and should be contextually determined.

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