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EVIDENTIALITY

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Edited by

ALEXANDRA Y. AIKHENVALD

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PREFACE

EVIDENTIALITY—OR grammatical encoding of information source—is a topic which fascinates linguists, anthropologists, and even journalists and the general public. This volume aims at providing a framework and state-of-the art view of evidentiality in its various guises, in the light of recent achievements and current developments in the field of linguistics. We place special focus on the analysis of evidentiality systems in the world's languages within a typological perspective, thus contributing to the appreciation of linguistic diversity. The majority of contributors are experts in inductively based linguistic analysis of grammatical structures of individual languages. This empirical focus is one of the highlights of the volume.

I owe the idea of putting this book together to Julia Steer, of Oxford University Press. Without her unfailing support and assistance at every stage, this project would not have been possible. Vicki Sunter and Karen Morgan, of OUP, have also been immensely helpful at every stage. I am grateful to all the contributors to this volume, for their chapters, comments, and scholarly interaction throughout the creation of this volume. R. M. W. Dixon provided comments and on-going support (in addition to insights on various languages of his expertise). Many thanks go to Professor Nola Alloway, Dean of the College of Arts, Society, and Education at James Cook University, and the Division of Tropical Environment and Society, for their moral and financial support. The work on this volume was partially supported by the Australian Research Council Discovery Project 'How languages differ and why', and my Australian Laureate Fellowship 'How gender shapes the world: a linguistic perspective'. We all owe a special debt of gratitude to Brigitta Flick, Angela Lansdown, and Jolene Overall, for meticulous editorial assistance, checking the manuscripts, and formatting them. Adella Edwards did a remarkable job helping many contributors prepare their maps. The JCU library, under the leadership of Heather Gordon, provided all the necessary resources. Special thanks go to Bronwen Forster and Carolyn Tredrea. The efficient interlibrary loan system worked like clockwork—many many thanks indeed to Lyn Clarke, Janine Meakins, Bridie Soo, and many other friends and colleagues at JCU library. A very big 'thank you' goes to Amanda Parsonage for her assistance and support at the Language and Culture Research Centre. And last but not least—our eternal debt is to speakers of languages with evidentials who shared their remarkable knowledge and insights with us, linguists, and fieldworkers. This volume is a homage to them all.

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Abbreviations and conventions

1	1st person	ASSUM	assumed
2	2nd person	AT	localization 'at, by'
3	3rd person	AUD	auditory, auditive
A	transitive subject	AUGMENT	augment
ABIL	abilitative	AUTH	authoritative
ABL	ablative	AUX	auxiliary
ABS	absolutive	AV	Actor voice
ABSENT	absential	AVS	adversative
ACC	accusative	B	gender b
ACT	active	BC	Buryat Corpus (source)
ADD	additive	BEN	benefactive
ADJ	adjective	BEST.SENS	best sensory
ADJZ	adjectivizer	BOU	boulomaic modality
ADN	adnominal	BPG	best possible ground
ADV	adverb, adverbial	C	conjunct order
ADVR	adverbial	CARD	cardinal numeral
AFFECT	affected	CAUS	causative
AG	agentive	CAUT	caution
AGNMLZ	agentive nominalization	CC	copula complement
AH	addressee honorific	CERT	certainty
ALL	allative case	CIRC	circumstantial modal
ALTER	alterphoric (non-ego)	CL	classifier
AN	animate	CM	specific class marker
ANIM	animate	CML	Corpus of Mari language
ANPH	anaphoric	CN	connegative
ANT	anterior past, anteriority	CND	common noun determiner
AOBL	attributive oblique		
AOR	aorist	CNJ	conjunct
APASS	antipassive	COH	coherence
APPLIC	applicative	COLL	collective
APPR	apprehensive	COMIT	comitative
APRX	approximative	COMP	complementiser
ART	article	COMPL	completive
ASP	aspect	CON	continuative
ASS	assertive	CONC	concessive
ASSERT	assertion, assertative	COND	conditional
ASSOC	associative	CONJ	conjunction

CONN	connective	du, DU	dual
CONQ	consequence	DUB	dubitative
CONS	consecutive	DUB.PT	dubitative particle
CONTACT	localization with contact	DUR	durative
CONT	continuous	DX	deixis
CONTR	contrast(ive)	DYN	dynamic modality
CONVB	converb	E	extension to core
COP	copula	E.V.	echo vowel
COR	coreference	EGO	egophoric
CORE	core argument, core case	ELA	elative case
COREF	coreferential	EMPH	emphasis
COS	change of state	EP	evidential particle
CRST	certainty marker	EPI	epistemic modality
CS	copula subject	EQUA	equational copula
CURR	current (for timing of perception event)	ERG	ergative
		EST	established past
CYC	cyclic	EVID	evidential
D	gender d	exc, EXCL	exclusive
DAT	dative	EXCLM	exclamation
DEC	declarative	EXIST	existential
DEF	definite	EXP	experiential
DEIC	deictic	EXPER	experienced
DEM	demonstrative	EXPECT	expectative
DEO	deontic modality	FACT	factual
DEP	dependent	FEM, F, f	feminine
DESID	desiderative	FIN	finite
DET	determiner	FNS	final nominal suffix
DIF	diffuse	FOC	focus
DIM	diminutive	FP	far past
DIR	directional	FPe	far past eyewitness
DIR.EVID	direct evidential	FPn	far par non-eyewitness
DIR.INDIV	direct evidential individual knowledge	FUT	future
		FUTIMP	future imperative
DIR.MUTUAL	direct evidential mutual knowledge	GEN	genitive
		GEN.KNOW	General Knowledge evidential
DIS	disjunct		
DIST	distal, distant	GEO.LOC	fixed geographic location
DISTR	distributive	GER	gerund
DM	discourse marker	GV	goal voice
DN	downtoner	HAB	habitual
DR	nominal animate classifier	HON	honorific
		HPL	human plural
DRC	direct	HSAY	hearsay evidential
DRT	(unmarked) direct evidential	HT	honorific title
		HUM	human
DS	different subject	IC	initial change

ICVB	imperfective converb	i-v	gender agreement markers
IDEO	ideophone		
ILL	illative case	JOINT.VIS	joint vision
ILL.M	illocutionary modification	KNC	Kalmyk National Corpus (source)
IMMED	immediate	LAT	lative
IMP	imperative	LIM	limitative
IMPER	imperfect	LINK	linker
IMPERS	impersonal	LOC	locative
IMPERV	imperfective	LOG	logophoric pronoun
IN	localization 'in'	LV	locative voice
INAN, INANIM	inanimate	MASC, M, m	masculine
INC, inc	inclusive	MASS	mass noun
INCEPT	inceptive	MED	medial
INCH	inchoative	MID	middle marker
INCL, incl	inclusive	MIR	mirative
INCOM	incompletive	MM	Middle Mongolian
INDCAUS	indirect causative	MOD	modal
INDEF	indefinite	N	neuter
INDEP	independent	N-	non-
INDEP.PR	independent (free) pronoun	N.1	non-first person
		N.EVID	non-evidential
INDEVID	indirect evidentiality	N.S/A.TOP	topical non-subject
INDIC	indicative	NARR	narrative
INDIR	indirect	NAV	non-Actor voice
INDOBJ	indirect object	NCERT	non-certainty
INDV	individual perspective (speaker only)	NCL	noun class
		NEG	negation
INE	inessive case	NEUT, N, n	neuter
INFIN	infinitive	NEUTRAL	neutrality
INFER	inferred	NEXP	non-experiential
INS	instantaneous	nf	non-feminine
INST	instrumental	NF	nonfinal
INTENS	intensifier	NFUT	non-future
INTER	interrogative	NOM	nominative
INTER.LOC	localization 'inter'	NOMZ	nominalizer
INTER.PAST	intermediate past	NON.A/S	non-Subject
INTERJ	interjection	NP	near past
INTR	intransitive	NPARTI	non-participatory evidence
INV	inverse		
IP	instrumental prefix	NPAST	non-past
IPNM	immediate past non-eyewitness	NPL	neuter plural
		NPN	non-possessed noun
IRR	irrealis	NPOT	non-potential
ITER	iterative	NRPAST	non-recent past
		nsg, NSG	non-singular

NUMB	number	POST	posterior
NVIS	non-visual	POT	potential
NW	nonwitnessed	PP	past participle
O	transitive object	PQ	polar question
OBJ	object, objective case	PR	pronominal animate classifier
OBL	oblique		
OBSERV.REC.PST	observed recent past	PR	polite request
OBV	obviative	PREDICT	predictive
OMT	onomatopoeic	PREP	preposition
OPT	optative	PRES	present
OR	orientation	PRET	preterit
ord	ordinal	PREV	previous (timing of perception event)
ORD	ordinal number		
OS	object over subject in Person Prefix Hierarchy, 'inverse voice'	PREVB	preverb
		PROB	probability, probabilitive
		PROG	progressive
OT	Old Tibetan	PROLAT	prolative case
OTHER	Other person or non-egophoric	PROP	proper name
		PROPR	proprietive
P	P-evidential form	PROSP	prospective evidential
PART	particle	PROX	proximal, proximate
PARTI	participatory evidence	PT	particle
PARTIC	participle	PURP	purposive
PARTIT	partitive case	PV	patient voice
PASS	passive	Q	interrogative, question marker
PAST.DIR	past tense direct evidential		
		QT	quotative particle
PAST.INDIR	past tense indirect evidential	QUAL	qualitative
		QUANT	quantifier
PAT	patient	QUOT	quotative
PDUB	preterit dubitative	R/R/M	reflexive/reciprocal/ middle
PER	perfect		
PERS	personal marking (finite verbs)	REAL	realis
		REAS	reasoning
PERS.N	personal name	REC	recent
PERSIST	persistive	REC.P	recent past
PERV	perfective	RECIP	reciprocal
PF	pause filler	REDUP	reduplicated
pl, PL	plural	REF	referential
PLN	place name	REFL	reflexive
PN	proper noun	REL	relative
PNC	punctual	REM	remote
PND	proper noun determiner	REM.P	remote past
PQ	Pastaza Quichua	RENARR	renarrative evidential
POL	politeness	REP	reported
POSS	possessive	RES	resultative

REST	restrictive	SU	subject
RETRO	retrospective	SUB	subordinator
RPAST	recent past	SUBJ	subjunctive
RS	reported speech	SUBORD	subordinate
RSP	reported speech particle	SUP	supine
S	intransitive subject	SUPP	supposition
S	S-evidential form	SUPPOS	suppositional
S/A.FOC	focussed subject	SURP	surprise
SAP	speech act participant	TAM	tense-aspect-mood
SBD	subordinative mode	TEMP	temporal
SBJN	subject marker	ThV	verbal thematic vowel
SENS	sensory evidential; non-visual sensory evidential	TOP	topic
		TOP.NON.A/S	topical non-subject
SEQ	sequential	TR	transitive
sg, SG, s	singular	TRANSL	translative case
SGNF	singular non-feminine	UNW	unwitnessed
SGVE	singulative	UT	utterance time
SH	Secret History of the Mongols (source) (Chapter 26)	UWPST	unwitnessed past
		V	verb
		VBZ	verbalizer
SH	subject honorific (Chapter 33)	VCC	verbless clause complement
SIMIL	similative	VCS	verbless clause subject
SIMULT	simultaneous	VEN	ventive
SMLF	semelfactive	VERS	versative
SNV	inferred on the basis of any, except visual, perceptual input	VIS	visual
		VN	verbal noun
		VOC	vocative
SOC	sociative voice	VS	verbal suffix
SOU	source	WH	question word
Sp	Spanish loanword	WIT	witnessed
SP	SP-evidential (Deferential Evidential)	WPST	witnessed past
		YESTP	yesterday's past
SPEC	specifier	YNQ	yes no question
SPR	superessive, location 'on'		
SPR	localization 'on'		
SS	same subject		
STAB	stabilizer		
STAT	stative		

Further conventions

=	clitic break
-	affix boundary
:	vowel lengthening

The Contributors

Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald is Distinguished Professor, Australian Laureate Fellow, and Director of the Language and Culture Research Centre at James Cook University. She is a major authority on languages of the Arawak family, from northern Amazonia, and has written grammars of *Bare* (1995) and *Warekena* (1998), plus *A Grammar of Tariana, from Northwest Amazonia* (CUP, 2003), and *The Manambu language of East Sepik, Papua New Guinea* (OUP, 2008) in addition to essays on various typological and areal topics. Her other major publications include *Evidentiality* (OUP, 2004), *Imperatives and Commands* (OUP, 2010), *Languages of the Amazon* (OUP, 2012), *The Art of Grammar* (OUP, 2014), and *How gender shapes the world* (OUP, 2016).

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Guillaume Jacques received his PhD at université Paris VII – Denis Diderot in 2004, and is currently researcher at CNRS. His main research interests are language documentation and typologically oriented historical linguistics. He has been working on the description of Japhug (a Rgyalrong spoken in Mbarkham, Sichuan, China) since 2002 and on that of Khaling (a Kiranti language from Solukhumbu, Nepal) since 2011. He has also done fieldwork on Situ, Zbu, Stau, Cone Tibetan, Chang Naga, and Pumi. In addition to a short grammar of Japhug in Chinese and a series of articles, he has published a multimedia dictionary of

Japhug and a dictionary of Khaling verbs. He is currently writing a grammar of Japhug, and his research focuses on Rgyalrongic and Kiranti comparative grammar, Trans-Himalayan historical linguistics, Siouan historical linguistics, and the general principles of language change (panchronic linguistics).

Lars Johanson (born and educated in Sweden), earned his undergraduate and doctoral degree in Turkic Studies at the University of Uppsala. For many years he was Professor of Turcology at the Department of Oriental Studies of the University of Mainz. Currently he is Emeritus Professor at the University of Mainz and a Senior Lecturer at Uppsala University. Lars Johanson has been instrumental in transforming the field of Turcology, which was traditionally more philologically oriented, into a linguistic discipline. Apart from his contributions to Turcology, Lars Johanson made a number of pioneering contributions to general linguistics and language typology, in particular to the typology of tense/aspect systems and the theory of language contact. Lars Johanson is the editor of the journal *Turkic Languages* (Harrassowitz) and of the monograph series *Turcologica* (Harrassowitz).

Marie-Odile Junker is a Professor of Linguistics at Carleton University, Canada. Her research interests include Indigenous language documentation, lexicography, and the relationship between language preservation and information technologies. She has been exploring participatory approaches to research. Her first website http://www.eastcree.org, which she started in 2000 in partnership with the Cree School Board of Quebec, has grown to encompass a large oral stories database, dictionaries, online language lessons, and games, and an interactive grammar of East Cree. Since 2005 she has participated in the creation of the Innu dictionary, one of the largest indigenous dictionaries to date, and directed its online and print (2016) publication. Current and on-going projects include the expansion of an online interactive linguistic atlas of Algonquian languages (atlas-ling.ca), the integration of twelve Algonquian dictionaries into a common digital infrastructure and a dictionary of the Atikamekw language.

Petar Kehayov is an associate research fellow at the Graduate School for East and Southeast European Studies at the University of Regensburg and Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich. He earned his BA, MA, and PhD degrees in linguistics at the University of Tartu. In his doctoral dissertation he studied the evidentiality systems of the languages of the Balkan and Baltic linguistic areas from a micro-typological perspective. In 2016 he earned his Habilitation in Finno-Ugric linguistics at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich with the thesis 'The Fate of Mood and Modality in Language Death: Evidence from Minor Finnic'. His research focus includes, language contact, structural decay in language obsolescence, conceptual complexity, mood and modality, evidentiality, clausal complementation, valency, and polarity items.

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Janis B. Nuckolls is a professor in the Department of Linguistics and English Language at Brigham Young University. She is an anthropological linguist with interests in grammar, discourse, ideophones, and more generally in the polysystemic nature of language. Most of her published work has concerned Pastaza Quichua, a dialect of the Quechua family of languages which is spoken in Amazonian Ecuador. Her most recent article *The systematic stretching and contracting of ideophonic phonology in Pastaza Quichua*, clarifies the systematic nature of Pastaza Quichua's expressive, ideophonic phonology. She has also published two books about ideophones, one which clarifies their integration with the aspectual subsystem of Pastaza Quichua grammar, and another about the linguistic culture of ideophone users. She has co-edited (with Lev Michael) *Evidentiality in interaction,* a volume of essays on the pragmatics of evidential usage in diverse languages, and is now working on a comprehensive grammar of Pastaza Quichua.

Chia-jung Pan is Associate Professor of the School of Literature at the Nankai University, Tianjin, P. R. China. His PhD thesis *A grammar of Lha'alua (Saaroa), an Austronesian language of Taiwan* was completed at the Language and Culture Research Centre, Cairns Institute, James Cook University in 2012. Currently, he is continuing his research into the Saaroa language and investigating neighbouring languages—Tsou and Kanakanavu.

Anna Papafragou is Professor in the Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences at the University of Delaware and holds a joint appointment in the Department of Linguistics and Cognitive Science. Papafragou received her BA in Linguistics from the University of Athens and her PhD in Linguistics from University College London. Her research interests focus on language acquisition and the relationship between language and other cognitive systems. She has received awards from the National Institute of Health and the National Science Foundation, and is the recipient of the Young Scholars Award of the Francis Alison Society at her institution. At the University of Delaware, she is a member of the multi-departmental Cognitive Science Steering Committee, and is Director of the Graduate Program in Psychological and Brain Sciences.

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Conor McDonough Quinn is an Adjunct Assistant Professor at the University of Southern Maine Department of Linguistics. A documentary and revitalization linguist whose theoretical research centres mainly around morphosyntax, he has worked primarily with the Eastern Algonquian speech communities indigenous to the current-day U.S.-Canadian Northeast. His dissertation examines gender, person, and referential- and clausal-dependency morphology in Penobscot verbal argument structure; subsequent and ongoing collaborative work has included creating an audiovisual archive of Passamaquoddy conversational speech,

devising learner-L1-informed approaches to ESOL/ELL teaching, and developing effective adult heritage-learner curricula for Maliseet, Mi'kmaw, and Abenaki revitalization efforts. He is now finishing a three-year NSF/NEH DEL-funded project to finalize and publish a legacy manuscript dictionary of Penobscot, while also continuing to focus on improving L2 pedagogical strategies for Eastern Algonquian and other indigenous North American languages.

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He is widely recognized as an advocate for academic acceptance of American Sign Language in universities in the United States. He also has taught signed language interpreting for many years and most recently has begun to demonstrate the application of Cognitive Linguistics to interpreting theory. He is author of several books and articles, including *The Phonetics of Fingerspelling* (1992); *Gesture and the Nature of Language* (with David F. Armstrong and William C. Stokoe, 1994); *Learning to See: Teaching American Sign Language as a Second Language* (with Phyllis Perrin Wilcox, 1997); and several edited collections.

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