Mapping the conceptual space of intersubjective epistemicity

Jenneke van der Wal

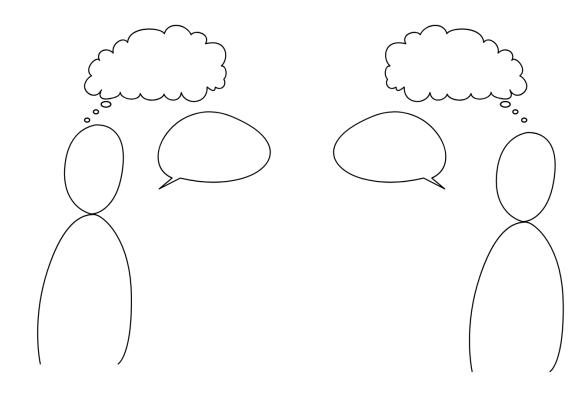
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Speakers of any language continuously keep track of what others know and how their own knowledge can be related to the knowledge of others.

(Bergqvist & Kittilä 2020: 12)



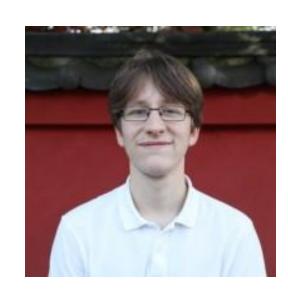
- 1.A: Sai mica se l'Antonio verrà più tardi? know.2sg at.all if the.Antonio will.come more late 'Do you know by any chance if Antonio will come later?'
- 2.B: l'Antonio, non so, ma la Vitto sicuro. l'Antonio NEG know.1SG but the Vitto sure 'As for Antonio, I do not know, but surely Vitto is'
- 3.A: No vabbè! La Vitto? Era al mare nè, mi aveva detto.

 NEG PRT the Vitto was at.the sea PRT to.me had told

 'No way! Vitto? She was at the seaside heh, she told me'
- 4.B: Sarà già tornata...will already be.back...'She must be back already'
- 5.A: Mah, non mi ha mica scritto niente. Tu vieni?

 PRT NEG to.me has PRT written nothing you come?

 'Sounds weird, she did not text me anything though...You, on the other hand?'
- 6.B: Vengo, ma potrei essere in ritardo. come.1sg but could.1sg be in late 'I'm coming, but I might be late'



• How certain is the speaker of this information?

epistemic modality

West-Greenlandic (Inuit, Greenland; Fortescue 1984: 293, via Boye 2012)

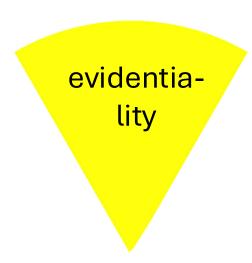
- (1) Qama-junnarsi-vuq. be.out.hunting.seals-EPMOD-3sg.IND 'He's **probably** out hunting seals.'
- (2) Tamma-qquuqa-at. get.lost-EPMOD-3PL.IND 'They **must** have got lost.'

What is the source of speaker's knowledge?

Tariana (Arawak, Brazil; Aikhenvald 2004:320)

- (3) a. Juse irida di-manika-**ka**.

 José football 3M.SG-play-RECPST.**VISUAL**'José played football (we saw it).'
 - b. Juse irida di-manika-mahka.
 José football 3M.SG-play-RECPST.NONVISUAL
 'José played football (we heard it).'



• Does the speaker have privileged access to the information, e.g. being involved in the event?

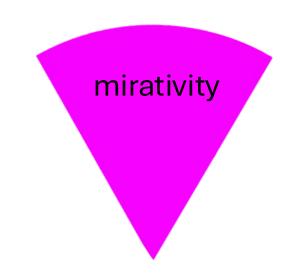
Newar (Tibeto-Burman, Nepal; Bendix 1992: 233–236, via San Roque et al. 2018)

- (4) ji wan-**ā** I go-**INT** 'I went.'
- (5) wa wan-a s/he go-**EXT** 'S/he went.'
- (6) ji kutuwal-a l get.lost-**EXT** 'l got lost.'

	statement	question
1st	EGO	NON-EGO
2nd	NON-EGO	EGO
3rd	NON-EGO	NON-EGO

egophoricity

egophoric distribution



Is the information is surprising for speaker or hearer?

Dhimal (Sino-Tibetan, Nepal; King 2009: 251, 252, via García 2016:187)

- (7) dhemal-lai katha phərra mare-**sa**-khe ru!
 Dhimal-PL language flowingly kill-**MIR**-IMPF EXCL
 'Why, it seems [he] speaks Dhimal fluently!'
- (8) rem-pha gwamgwam-pa ca-sa-hi be.good-do heartily-do eat-MIR-PST 'It seems he really ate with gusto (the poor thing must have been starved)'

information structure

How old/new/contrastive is the information for the hearer?

Makhuwa-Enahara (Bantu, Moçambique)

- (9) DJ K-o-m-phwány-a Fernáántu. 1SG.SM-PFV.DJ-1OM-find-FV 1.Fernando 'I met Fernando.'
 - CJ Ki-m-phwany-alé Fernaantú. 1SG.SM-1OM-find-PFV.CJ 1.Fernando 'I met Fernando (and not someone else).'



• Is the knowledge and attention shared between speaker and hearer or not? "grammaticalised intersubjectivity" (Evans et al. 2018a: 113)

Kogi (Arwako-Chibchan, Colombia) has 4 auxiliaries na- means that 'the speaker knows e and expects the addressee to be unaware of e' (1a), and ni- means that 'the speaker knows e and expects the addressee to know e too' (1b) (Bergqvist 2016: 2)

- (10) a.kwisa-té **na**-nuk-kú dance-IMPF **SPKR.ASYM**-be.LOC-1S 'I am/was dancing.' (informing)
 - b. kwisa-té **ni**-nuk-kú dance-IMPF **SPKR.SYM**-be.LOC-1S 'I am/was dancing.' (confirming)

Table 1. Meaning dimensions of epistemic marking prefixes in Kogi (after Bergqvist, 2016)

	Speaker-authority	Addressee-authority
Asymmetric	na-	sha-
Symmetric	ni-	shi-
Non-Speech Participant	ska	a(n)-

Discussion for each:

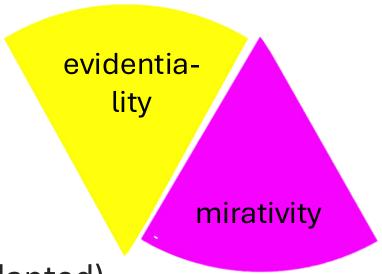
- Is it an independent category?
- What is the definition of the category?
- Is the category universal?

egophoricity

3)

Duna (San Roque 2015: 191-192, via Bergqvist & Grzech 2023)

- source of evidence
- but distributed as egophoric marking
- (11) a. *Ita-ka no mbou ali-tia*. pig-ERG 1.S garden dig-**PFV.VIS** 'Pigs dug up my garden (**I** saw).'
 - b. Ita-ka no mbou ali-tia=pe?
 pig-ERG 1.S garden dig-PFV.VIS=Q
 'Pigs dug up my garden (you saw)?'



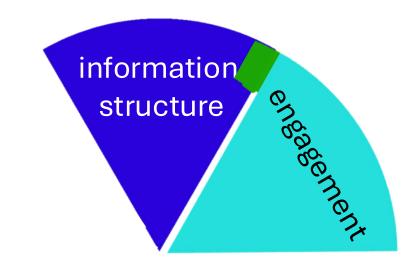
Fur (Nilo-Saharan, Sudan; Waag 2010: 260, glosses adapted)

- speaker has witnessed event
- unexpectedness for the addressee

(12) D-íí-ŋ bára **kamaŋ** ʔéla.

SG-2SG-GEN brother EV 3SG.come.PFV

'Your brother has really come.' (I have seen him)



Coastal Marind (Papuan; Olsson 2019)

'absconditive' (info hidden to hearer) "expresses the addressee's lack of attention, or lack of epistemic access, to the state of affairs conveyed by the verb."

- thetics
- verum
- privileged access

- (13) Kosi-awe **up**-ø kw-aɣit-a. small-fish(II) ABSC:II-3SG.A- INESS-run-around:3SG.U-EXT 'There's a little fish swimming around inside.'
- (14) **Ep**-ak-o- laγ-e.

 ABSC:I-1SG.A-3SG.DAT- talk-IPFV

 'I am talking to him.'

Rukiga (Bantu, Uganda; Asiimwe & Van der Wal 2021)

- contrastive topic
- surprise
- (15) O-kw-éézi (**kw-ó**) n-áá-kú-reeb-a.

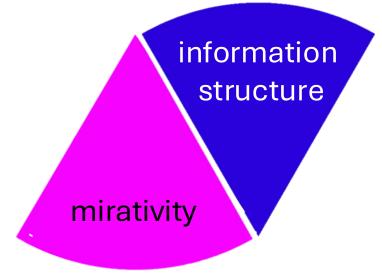
 AUG-15-moon 15-CM 1SG.SM-N.PST-15OM-see-FV

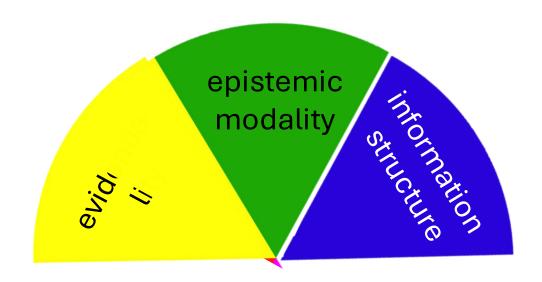
 'The moon I have seen (the sun and/or the stars maybe I have not seen)'.
- (16) Context: Someone has a function or has organised an event and sends out invitations. S/he does not expect many guests to turn up, but... Abantu bó bíija.

a-ba-ntu ba-o ba-ij-a

AUG-2-person 2-CM 2SM.N.PST-come-FV

'People really came (many people turned up, more than those expected).'



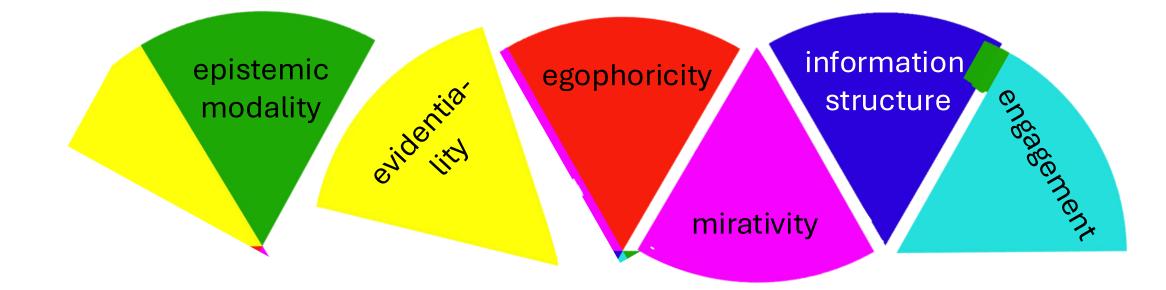


!Xun (Khoisan, Namibia; König 2013: 80, glosses adapted)

- non-firsthand evidential
- uncertainty
- contrast with addressee's expectation

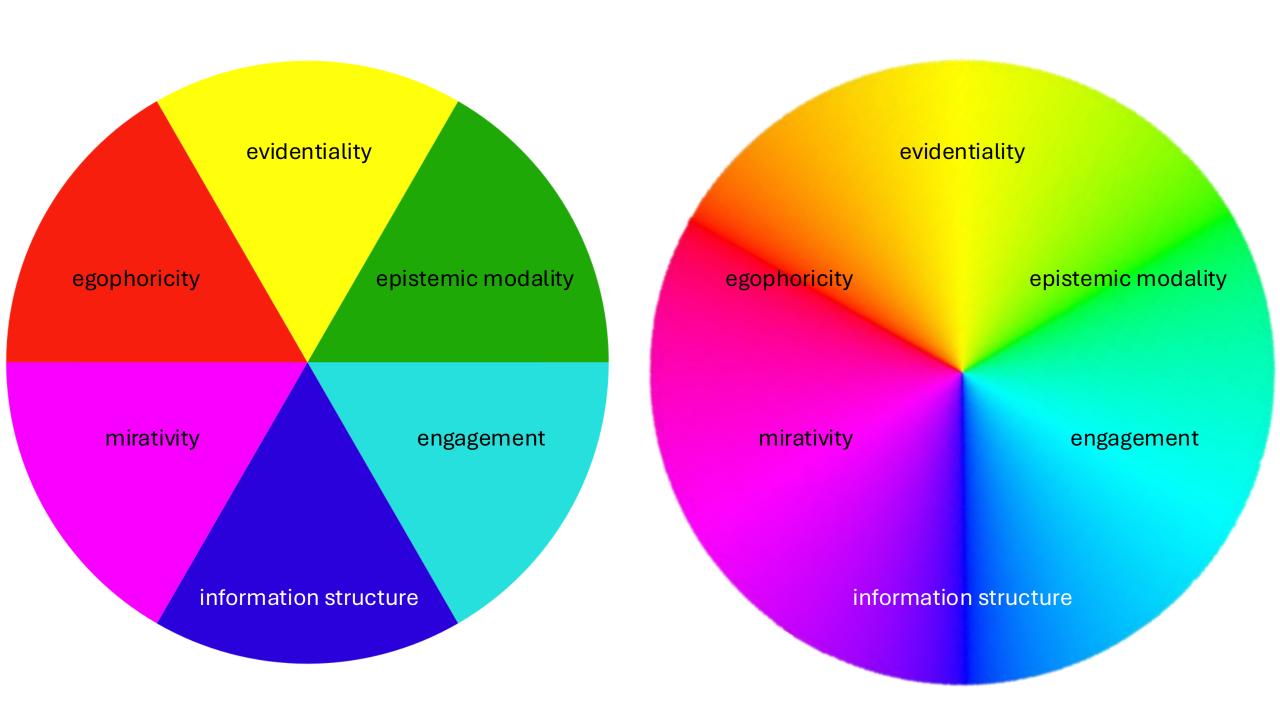
(17) Hà á **cālā** kē ú | 'àn hà.

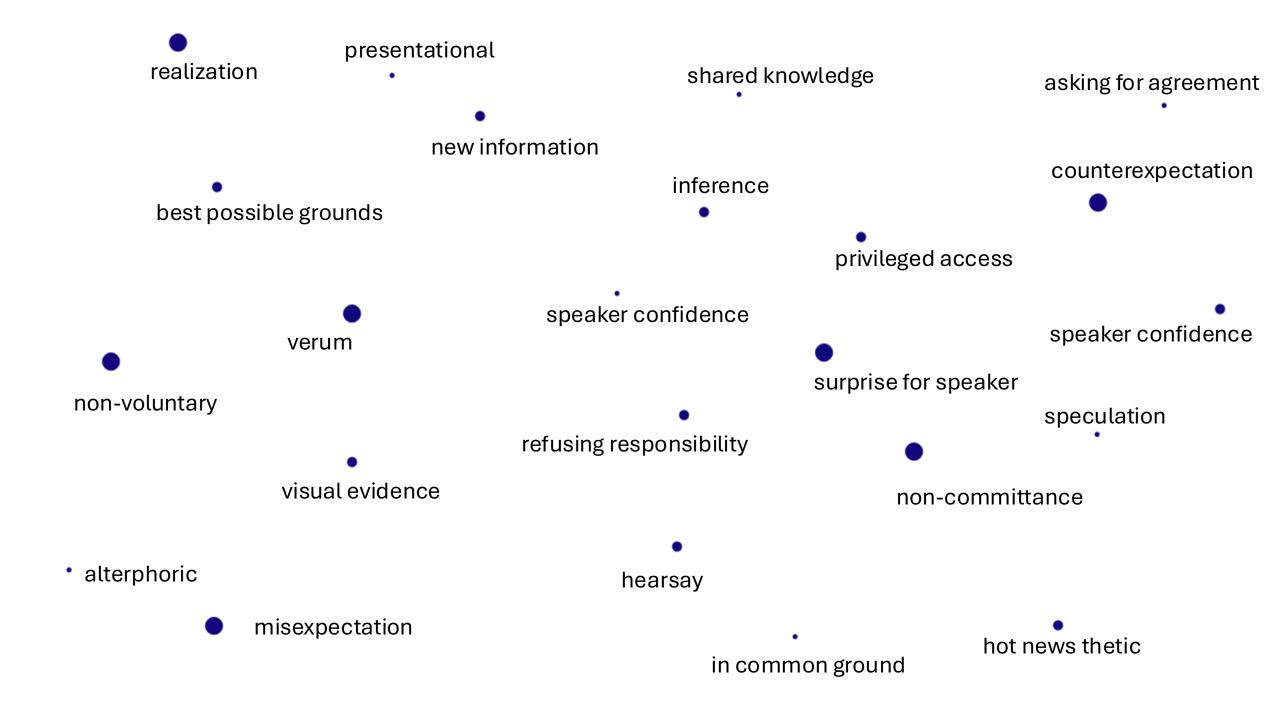
PRO Q NONFIRSTH.EV PST go with PRO
'He is said to have left together with her (but I doubt it).'



It is a widely known fact that the abovementioned categories overlap in form, meaning, and function (Bergqvist & Kittilä 2020:4) "The four groups of knowledge-related meanings – evidentiality, egophoricity, mirativity, epistemic modality – interact. [...] In such cases, one category is used as a 'strategy' to express some meanings which are core to another one."

(Aikhenvald 2023: 6)





Conceptual space

If... (assumptions & hypotheses)

- These are universal interactional needs
- They represent a universal conceptual space
- Linguistic structure is indicative of conceptual structure
- Only adjacent concepts can be expressed together (Croft's connectivity hypothesis)

then...

- we can use co-expression within a language and across languages to see which aspects are closer together
- we can use the consecutive and overlapping co-expression to create a multidimensional map
- with this map we get an insight into the conceptual space of epistemic and attentional knowledge management

MapLE research questions



- 1. What are the nodes in this conceptual space?
- 2. How are the nodes grouped in linguistic strategies?
- 3. What does the grouping tell us about the relations between the nodes?
- 4. What do those relations reveal about our linguistic ability, our conceptual organisation, and their possible interaction?

1. What are the nodes?

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2. How are the nodes grouped?





(Aikhenvald 2005: 303)



(Aikhenvald 2005: 303)



addressee thought it's not (contrast)

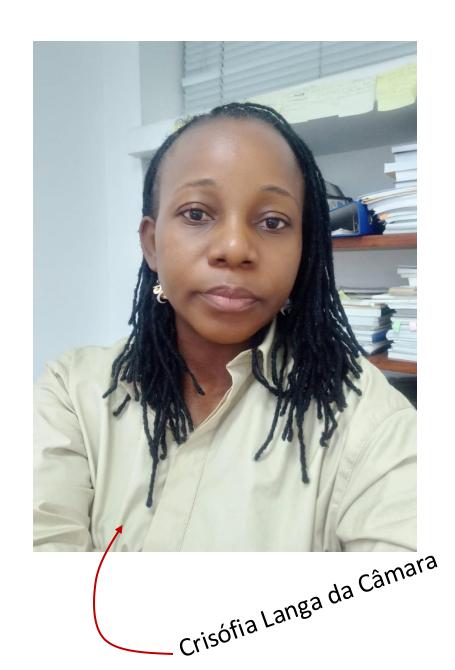
speaker/addr both know it (engagement)

it is true

speaker witnessed it (source)

unlike what speaker/addr expected (mirativity)

speaker is certain (epistemic modality)



Cinyungwe (Mozambique, Crisófia Langa da Câmara)

(18) Ku-nemb-a w-a-nemb-a(=di).

INF-write-FV 2SG.SM-PST-write-FV=VERUM

'You DID write.' (I didn't think you did) /

'You really wrote!' (more than expected)

(19) A: I am not convinced that he can sing. He told me he can. Have you ever heard him sing?

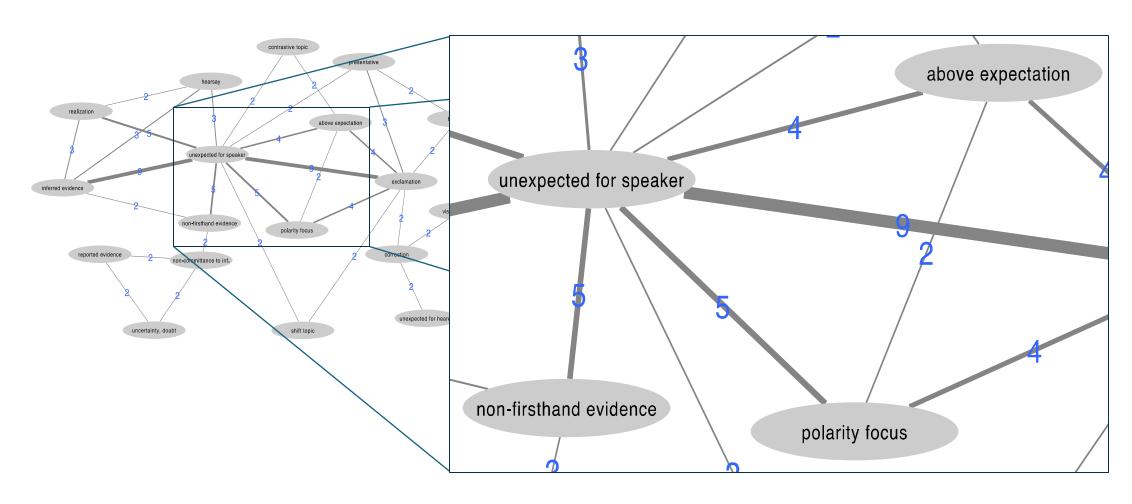
B: A-ni-yimb-a=di

1SM-PRS-sing-FV=VERUM

'He DOES sing!'

Interpretation: "I am confirming that he can really sing. I heard him singing; I am the witness."

3. What is the relation between the nodes?



Test typological predictions

"Visual or direct evidentials hardly ever have any mirative extensions."

(Aikhenvald 2021: 35)

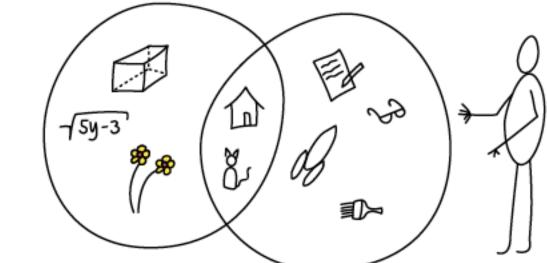


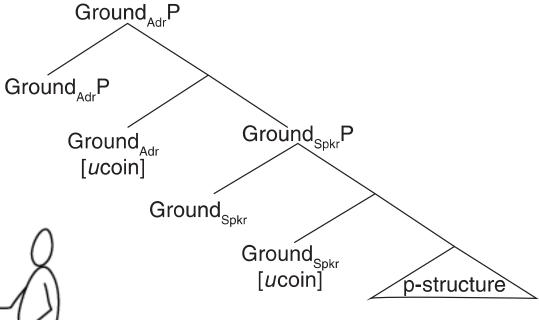


"only certain kinds of evidentials can be used to express surprise; specifically, in systems with two or more grammatical evidentials, the evidential that is most specialized for **sensory evidence** is usually the one that expresses mirativity." (Peterson 2016: 1329)

Test typological predictions

• Implications for theoretical models





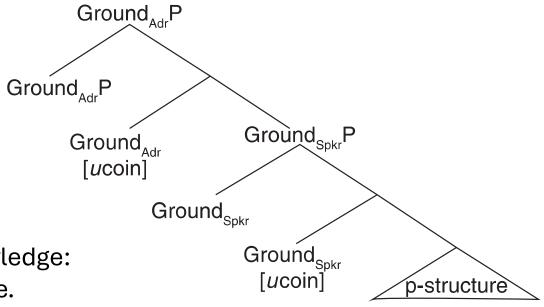
Territory of knowledge (Kamio 1997)

- Test typological predictions
- Implications for theoretical models

Wiltschko (to appear):

Bare declarative clauses are used to express knowledge: Uncertainty must be marked; certainty need not be.

[GroundSpkr Ground-Spkr [+ coin] [CP It's raining]]
[GroundSpkr Ground-Spkr [+ coin] [CP I suppose it's raining]]
[GroundSpkr Ground-Spkr [+ coin] [CP I know it's raining]]



Mandarin: *le* as a marker of certainty?

GroundSpkr [+coin]

GroundSpkr [-coin] OR GroundAdr [+coin]

statements

1sg (na=na) pala ku-mtu-s (1sg.Nom=top) plantain eat-IMPF-EGO 'I am eating plantains.'

2SG (nu=na) pala ku-mtu-y
2SG.NOM=TOP) plantain eat-IMPF-NONEGO
'You are eating plantains.'

3SG (us=na) atal ayna-mtu-y
(3SG.NOM=TOP) chicken cook-IMPF-NONEGO
'S/he is cooking chicken.'

questions

1sg mɨn-ta=ma ashap-tu-y?
who-ACC=INTER annoy-IMPF-NONEGO
'Whom am I annoying?'

2sg shi=ma ki-mtu-s?
what-INTER do-IMPF-EGO
'What are you doing?'

3sg mɨn=ta-s a-mtu-y?
where=LOC-ABL come-IMPF-NONEGO
'Where is he coming from?'

Awa Pit (Curnow 2002)

Speas (2004): "Dick Hudson commented in the discussion that these morphemes could be described as agreement with the source of information or authority, which is the speaker in a statement and the hearer in a question."

kwisa-té na-nuk-kú dance-IMPF **SPKR.ASYM-**be.LOC-1s 'I am/was dancing.' (informing)

kwisa-té ni-nuk-kú dance-IMPF SPKR.SYM-be.LOC-1s 'I am/was dancing.' (confirming) Kogi (Bergqvist 2016: 2) nas hanchibé **sha**–kwísa=tuk–kú

1s.IND good **ADR.ASYM**–dance=be.LOC–1s

'I am dancing well (in your opinion)?'

ma kwisa-té shi-ba-lóx
2s.IND dance-IMPF ADR.SYM-2s-be
'You're dancing (you look like you are)?'
Kogi (Bergqvist 2016: 3)

GroundSpkr [+coin]
GroundAdr [-coin]

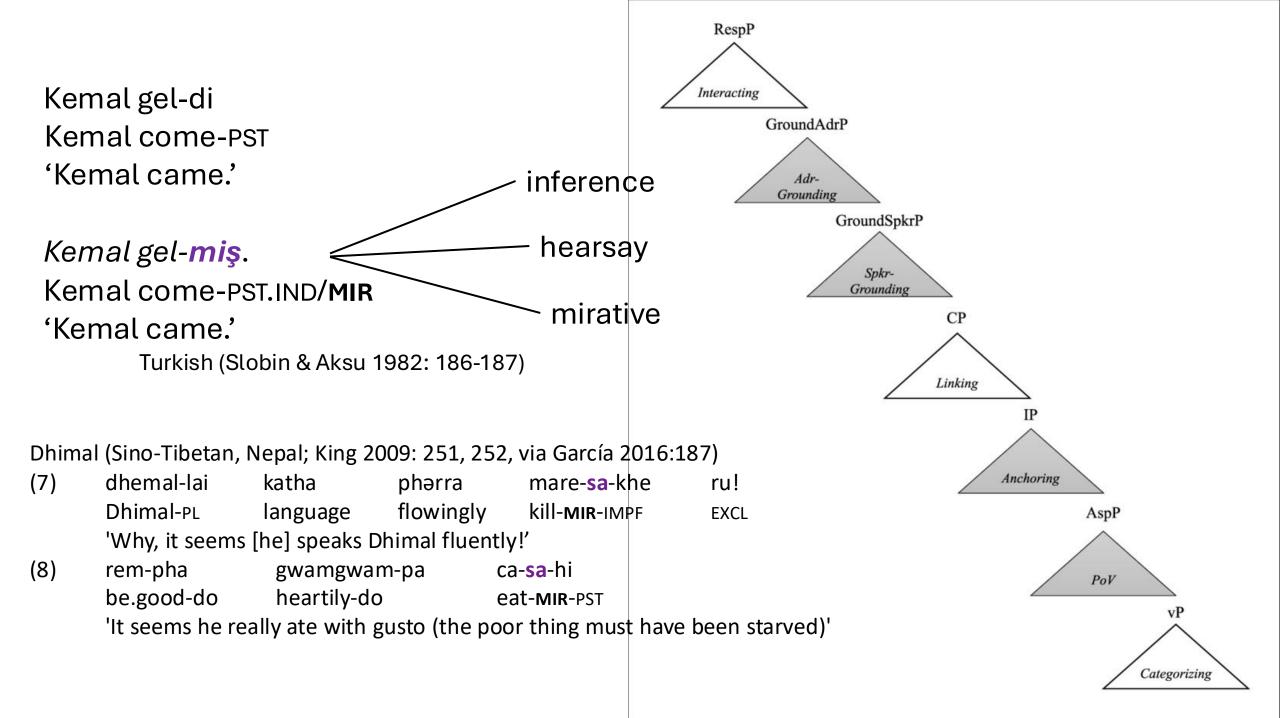
GroundSpkr [-coin]
GroundAdr [+coin]

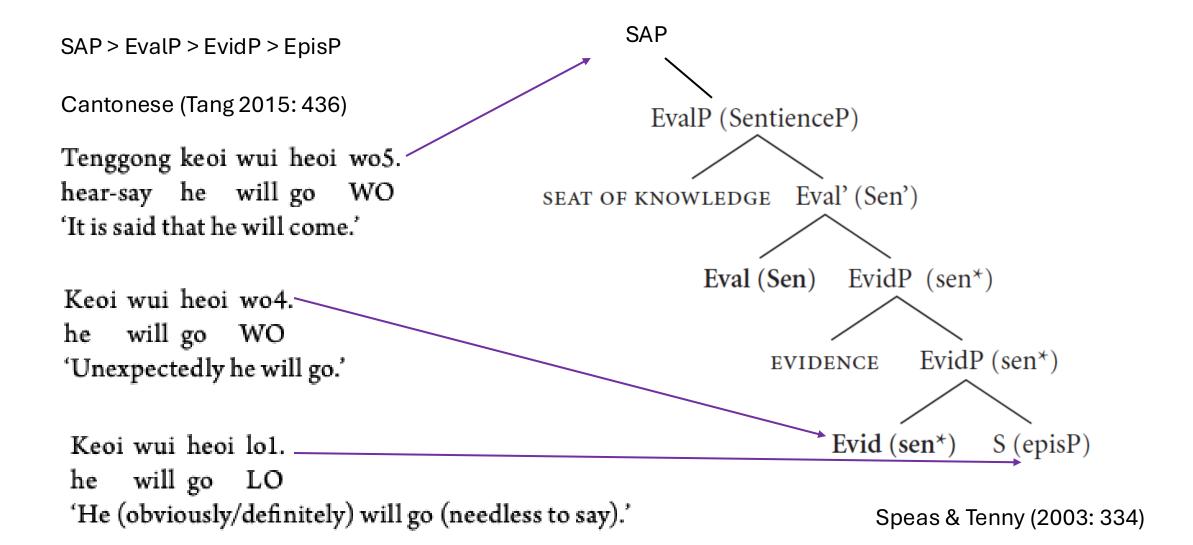
	speaker- authority		addressee- authority
asymmetric	na-		sha-
symmetric	ni-		shi-
non-speech participant		ska(n)-	

GroundSpkr = GroundAdr

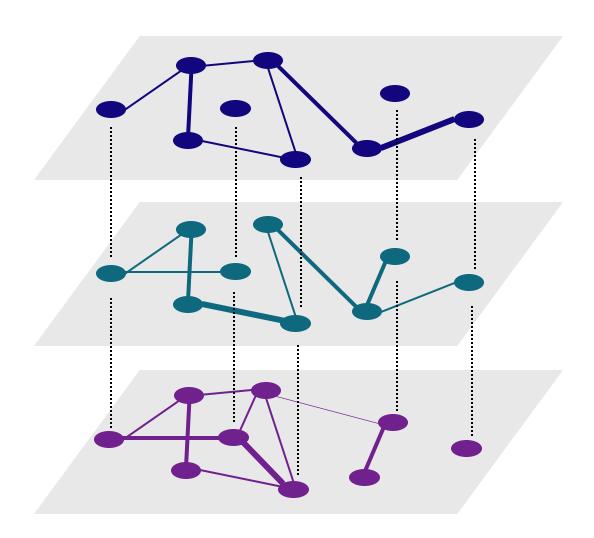
GroundSpkr ≠ GroundAdr

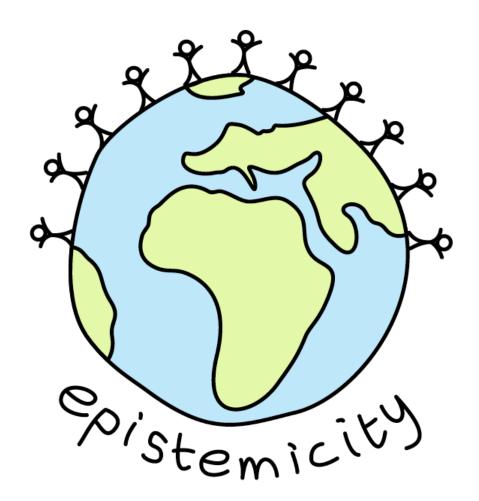
Kogi (Evans et al. 2018b:145, Bergqvist 2016: 2)





- Test typological predictions
- Implications for theoretical models
- Relativity hypothesis

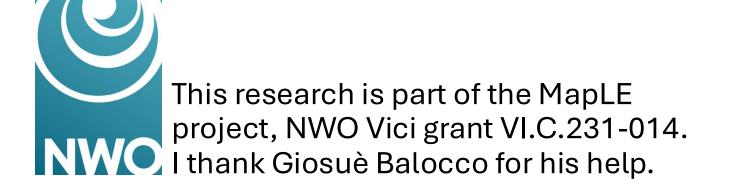




- Aspects of epistemicity can be found anywhere in any language
- They form one conceptual space
- But taking them as crosslinguistically valid categories may not be most interesting of helpful

Thank you!







https://epistemicity.net/

