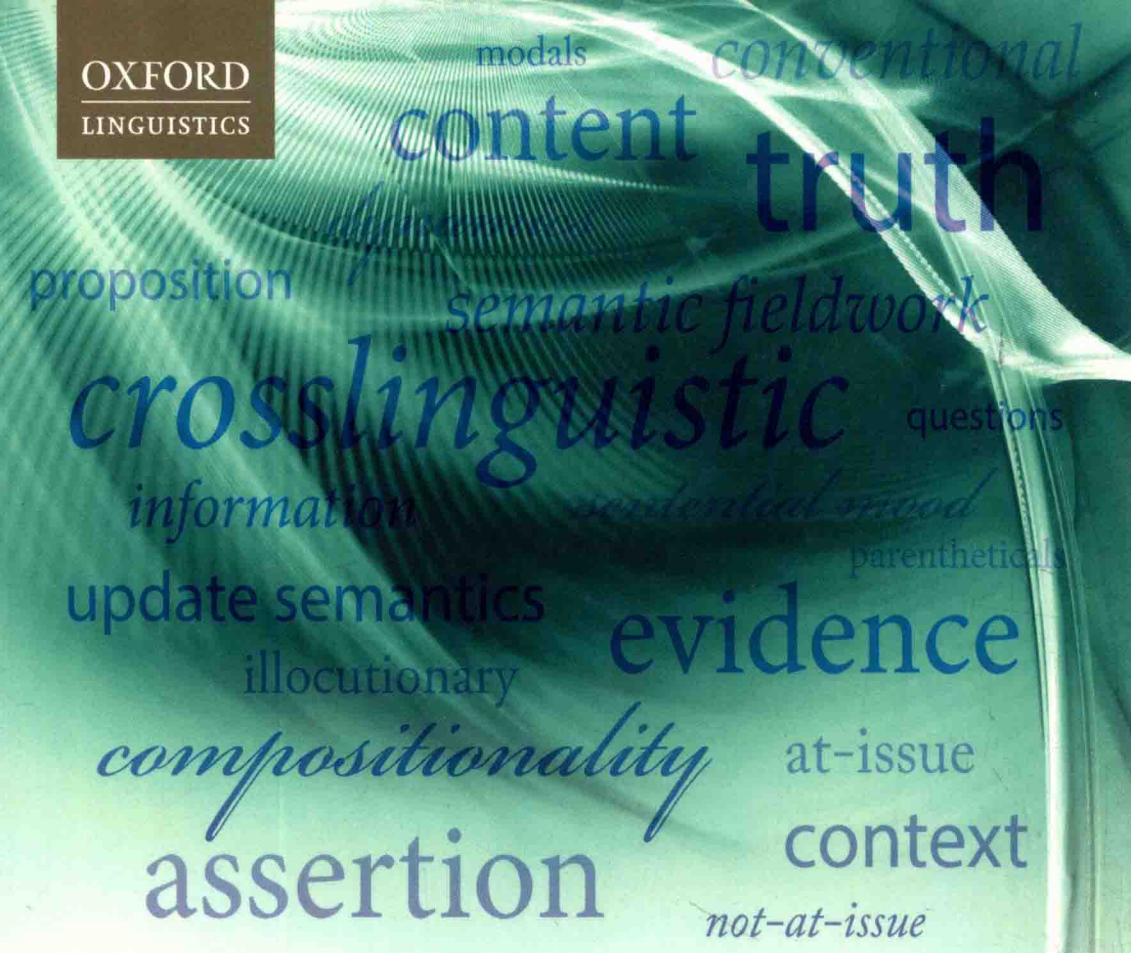

SARAH E. MURRAY

The Semantics of Evidentials

OXFORD STUDIES IN SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS 9

The Semantics of Evidentials

SARAH E. MURRAY

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Sarah E. Murray 2017

The moral rights of the author have been asserted

First Edition published in 2017

Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016953464

ISBN 978-0-19-968157-0 (hbk.)
978-0-19-968158-7 (pbk.)

Printed in Great Britain by
Clays Ltd, St Ives plc

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

The Semantics of Evidentials

OXFORD STUDIES IN SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS

GENERAL EDITORS: Chris Barker, New York University, and Chris Kennedy, University of Chicago

PUBLISHED

1 *Definite Descriptions*
Paul Elbourne

2 *Logic in Grammar*
Polarity, Free Choice, and Intervention
Gennaro Chierchia

3 *Weak Island Semantics*
Márta Abrusán

4 *Reliability in Pragmatics*
Eric McCready

5 *Numerically Qualified Expressions*
Christopher Cummins

6 *Use-Conditional Meaning*
Studies in Multidimensional Semantics
Daniel Gutzmann

7 *Gradability in Natural Language*
Logical and Grammatical Foundations
Heather Burnett

8 *Subjectivity and Perspective in Truth-Theoretic Semantics*
Peter Lasersohn

9 *The Semantics of Evidentials*
Sarah E. Murray

IN PREPARATION

Meaning over Time
The Foundations of Systematic Semantic Change
Ashwini Deo

Measurement and Modality
Daniel Lassiter

Plural Reference
Friederike Moltmann

A History of Formal Semantics
Barbara Partee

此为试读，需要完整PDF请访问：www.ertongbook.com

General preface

Oxford Studies in Semantics and Pragmatics publishes original research on meaning in natural language within contemporary semantics and pragmatics. Authors present their work in the context of past and present lines of inquiry and in a manner accessible both to scholars whose core areas of expertise are in linguistic semantics and pragmatics, and to researchers in related and allied fields such as syntax, lexicology, philosophy, and cognitive science. The series emphasizes rigorous theoretical analysis grounded in detailed empirical investigation of particular languages.

This is a companion series to *Oxford Surveys in Semantics and Pragmatics*. The *Surveys* series provides critical overviews of the major approaches to core semantic and pragmatic phenomena, a discussion of their relative value, and an assessment of the degree of consensus that exists about any one of them. The *Studies* series equally seeks to put empirical complexity and theoretical debate into comprehensible perspective, but with a narrower focus and correspondingly greater depth. In both series, authors develop and defend the approach and line of argument which they find most convincing and productive.

In languages with grammatical evidential systems, the form of an utterance obligatorily indicates the source of the information conveyed by the utterance. Depending on the language, evidential marking might indicate whether information was directly perceived by the speaker or indirectly acquired, for example through testimony. Evidentiality is common in the world's languages, and in languages that have evidential systems, evidentiality distinctions are deeply embedded in the basic core of the grammar, like tense in English, or honorifics in Japanese. Despite its cross-linguistic prevalence, as well as its presence at the heart of every communicative act, evidentiality has so far not received nearly the theoretical attention it deserves.

In this volume, Sarah Murray makes a welcome contribution to our understanding of evidentiality by offering a major new theory of the meaning of evidential systems. One important theoretical innovation is a formal system in which an utterance contributes negotiable at-issue content, which can be accepted or rejected, in parallel with non-negotiable content (the evidential stance) that is automatically added

to the common ground. The main case study comes from Murray's fieldwork on Cheyenne, with many discussions of evidential patterns from other languages. One distinctive aspect of the proposal is a fully integrated treatment of evidentiality in phrase types other than declarative sentences, notably including interrogatives. In addition to significantly advancing our understanding of evidentiality, this analysis provides a theory of multi-dimensional meaning that is of interest beyond evidentiality.

Preface

This book argues for a compositional semantics for evidentials across languages, drawing on and synthesizing much of the literature on the semantics of evidentials and related phenomena from the past two decades. It is an adaptation, revision, and extension of my dissertation (Murray 2010), incorporating a recent paper (Murray 2014) and much feedback over the past few years. While the core of the analysis persists, this book focuses on how the theory applies to evidentials across languages, how it captures the patterns evidenced by the crosslinguistic data. Beyond any particular analysis, I hope to advocate for a unified approach to the semantics of evidentials.

This book would not exist were it not for Chris Barker and Chris Kennedy—they have my sincere thanks for their detailed feedback, editorial guidance, and stalwart encouragement. I would also like to thank two anonymous reviewers for comprehensive comments and suggestions, as well as John Davey, Julia Steer, Vicki Sunter, and others at Oxford University Press. Many more people have helped improve this work over the past few years, too many to enumerate. But I would like to acknowledge Maria Bittner, Wayne Leman, Richard Littlebear, and William Starr for their extensive input and inspiring challenges over the past decade and counting, and I would like to renew my thanks to the others acknowledged in Murray 2010 and Murray 2014, especially the rest of my thesis committee, Roger Schwarzschild, Matthew Stone, and Jeroen Groenendijk.

Parts of this work have been presented at numerous outlets over the years, including my first ever presentation on evidentials at SALT 19 at OSU (2009) where Hans Kamp asked me how my theory for Cheyenne evidentials might extend to various English phenomena. At that time, I hadn't really considered how like, and unlike, English the evidential constructions were, but doing so has greatly influenced my ideas about the kinds of meaning contributed by language. I have been very lucky to be able to share my ideas on this topic with many audiences, including at SALT, PEPA, SULA, Rutgers, Cornell, UT Arlington, Rochester, Buffalo, UChicago, and UPenn, and am grateful for the supportive intellectual environment our field can foster.

Though the scope of the proposed theory of evidentials is intended to be crosslinguistic, it was first designed to account for Cheyenne and this book uses Cheyenne to exemplify much of the analysis. My thanks go to all of the Cheyennes who have shared their language with me and taught me over the past ten years. Lastly, I would like to express my immense gratitude to my family for their constant love and support, and their confidence in me; I dedicate this book to them.

List of tables

2.1. Challengeability and deniability results 25
2.2. Embedding and projection results 43
2.3. Summary of interactions with questions results 50
2.4. Summary of diagnostic results 53
3.1. Summary: semantic contributions of mood and NRRs 66
3.2. Summary: semantic contributions of evidentials in declaratives 82
3.3. Summary: semantic contributions of evidentials in interrogatives 88
3.4. Variation in commitment to the scope proposition 90
3.5. St'át'imcets declarative with a reportative evidential 92
3.6. Variation in interrogatives 94
4.1. Sample UC_{ω} information states 100
4.2. Sample UC_{ω} information states 101
4.3. Information states for (4.3) 104
4.4. Information states for (4.5) 109
4.5. Information states for (4.7) 114
4.6. Summary: implementation of semantic contributions 122
4.7. Summary: updates contributed by each component 123
5.1. Information states for (5.2) 127
5.2. Polar interrogative update, rows reordered 127
5.3. Sample information states for (5.9) 133
5.4. Polar interrogative with a reportative, rows reordered 134
A.1. Sample UC_{ω} information states 149
A.2. Updates for (A.2) 150
A.3. Sample updates for (A.4) 152
B.1. Semantic contributions of various phenomena 159
B.2. Implementation of semantic contributions 160
B.3. Summary: updates contributed by various phenomena 160

List of figures

3.1. Simple English declarative 62
3.2. English declarative with an NRR 64
3.3. Simple English polar interrogative 65
3.4. Cheyenne declarative with a direct evidential 69
3.5. Cheyenne declarative with a reportative 71
3.6. Cheyenne declarative with an inferential 75
3.7. Deniability of the reportative's scope 78
3.8. Scope of the direct not deniable 79
3.9. Evidence not deniable 81
3.10. Cheyenne polar interrogative with a reportative 85
3.11. Alternate illocutionary relation diagram for (3.13) 86
4.1. Simple English declarative 103
4.2. Diagram for (4.4): the direct evidential 108
4.3. Diagram for (4.6): the reportative evidential 112
5.1. Updates for (5.1): polar interrogative mood 126
5.2. Polar interrogative with a reportative (5.7) 131
A.1. Assertion of (A.1), after Bittner 2009, 2011 148
A.2. Assertion of (A.3), after Bittner 2011 151

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com

List of abbreviations

Cheyenne glosses

-	morpheme boundary
=	clitic boundary
.	meaning part boundary, e.g., 'walk.to'
+	fused morpheme, e.g., 3+FUT
1	first person
3	third person
3:1	third person acting on first person
AN	animate
CND	conditional
CNJ	conjunct (dependent) clause
CNTR	contrast
HAB	habitual
HYP	hypothetical conjunct mood
INAN	inanimate
IND	indicative conjunct mood
INF	inferential evidential
INSTR	instrumental
INT	interrogative mood
INV	inverse voice (object higher than subject on person hierarchy)
NEG	agreement that appears with negation and the inferential evidential
PL	plural
PST	past
PURP	purposive
Q	interrogative proclitic
RPT	reportative
SG	singular
TRL	translocative (away from speaker)
WTN	direct (witness) evidential

Cheyenne orthography

V́	high pitch vowel
V̇	Voiceless vowel (all final vowels in Cheyenne are voiceless but unmarked)
V̄	mid pitch vowel
'	glottal stop (IPA: ʔ)
š	voiceless alveolar fricative (IPA: ʃ)

Language codes

CHY	Cheyenne
DEU	German
JPN	Japanese
KAL	Kalaallisut (West Greenlanic)
LIL	St'át'imcets (Lillooet)
QUZ	Cuzco Quechua
TAE	Tariana

Who has seen the wind?
Neither you nor I:
But when the trees bow down their heads,
The wind is passing by.

Christina Rossetti

Nevá'ėsesto tsééševóomaa'ėtse háa'hávėhane?
Nésáa'éševóomóhe naa násáaešėtšėhe'ševóomóhe.
Naa oha hóohtseto hó'xamaa'éoeotsévòhtse
nėhe'xóvéva háa'hávėhane **móa**mėsóhpeo**he**hé**he**.

Translated by Otséóhtsé'e*

* Translated directly from the English poem above. The Cheyenne version includes two evidentials (bolded), a reportative in the first line and an inferential in line four. My thanks to Kovááhe as always, for feedback, transcription help, and discussion.

Contents

General preface vii
Preface ix
List of tables xi
List of figures xiii
List of abbreviations xv

1 Introduction 1

2 A semantic classification of evidentials 9
2.1. Challengeability and commitment 11
2.1.1. Direct and indirect challengeability 11
2.1.2. Commitment to scope 17
2.1.3. Commitment to evidence 21
2.1.4. Summary 25
2.2. Embedding and projection 26
2.2.1. Negation 28
2.2.2. Tense and modality 31
2.2.3. Conditionals 34
2.2.4. Embedding verbs 38
2.2.5. Summary 42
2.3. Interaction with questions 43
2.3.1. Polar interrogatives 44
2.3.2. Content interrogatives 47
2.3.3. Summary 50
2.4. Summary and theoretical implications 52

3 Evidentials and varieties of update 59
3.1. A semantics for sentential mood: sentences without evidentials 60
3.2. Declarative sentences with evidentials 67
3.2.1. The direct evidential 68
3.2.2. The reportative evidential 70
3.2.3. The inferential evidential 74
3.2.4. Conjunctions as sequential update 76
3.3. Interrogative sentences with evidentials 82
3.3.1. Polar interrogatives with evidentials 83
3.3.2. Content interrogatives with evidentials 87

3.4. Accounting for crosslinguistic patterns 89
3.4.1. Challengeability and commitment 90
3.4.2. Embedding and projection 92
3.4.3. Interaction with questions 94
3.5. Summary 95

4 Declarative sentences 97
4.1. Framework: Update with Modal Centering 97
4.2. Declarative mood 102
4.3. Declaratives with evidentials 106
4.3.1. The direct evidential 107
4.3.2. The reportative evidential 111
4.3.3. The inferential evidential 115
4.4. Conjunction as sequential update 116
4.5. Challengeability and commitment diagnostics 118
4.6. Summary 121

5 Interrogative sentences 125
5.1. Interrogative mood 125
5.2. Polar interrogatives with evidentials 130
5.3. Content interrogatives with evidentials 135
5.4. Summary 140

6 Conclusion 143

Appendix A: Definitions and worked examples 147
A.1. Illustrating UC_ω 147
A.1.1. Direct update and assertion 147
A.1.2. Negation and the bottom sequence 151
A.2. Update with Modal Centering (UC_ω) (Bittner 2011) 153
A.2.1. Type theory 153
A.2.2. DRT-style abbreviations for UC_ω-terms 156
A.2.3. Addition for analyzing interrogative mood 157

Appendix B: Semantic contributions by phenomenon 159

References 161
Index 169

1

Introduction

Consider the following English sentence:

(1.1) *It is raining.*

What sort of evidence could a speaker of (1.1) have to make such a claim? The speaker could be looking out a window, seeing the rain; she could be lying next to an open window, hearing the rain; she could be outside and feel drops of rain on her face. Perhaps the speaker's friend just came in from outside and is soaking wet, or perhaps someone told her that it is raining. In English, there is no way to tell from (1.1) what the speaker's source of information is. In other languages, there are obligatory morphemes which encode just such information. In the Arawak language Tariana, spoken in northwestern Brazil, every sentence must indicate source of information (Aikhenvald 2003a). As the examples in (1.2) illustrate, if one wants to convey the information that Cecília scolded the dog, one must also indicate how that information was acquired (Aikhenvald 2003a: 134–5).

(1.2) a. *Ceci* *ʧinu-nuku* *du-kwisa-**ka*** (TAE)
Cecília dog-TOP.NON.A/S 3SGF-scold-REC.P.VIS
'Cecília scolded the dog' (I saw it: VISUAL)

b. *Ceci* *ʧinu-nuku* *du-kwisa-**mahka***
Cecília dog-TOP.NON.A/S 3SGF-scold-REC.P.NONVIS
'Cecília scolded the dog' (I heard it: NONVISUAL)

c. *Ceci* *ʧinu-nuku* *du-kwisa-**pidaka***
Cecília dog-TOP.NON.A/S 3SGF-scold-REC.P.REP
'Cecília scolded the dog' (I have learnt it from someone else: REPORTED)

d. *Ceci* *ʧinu-nuku* *du-kwisa-**sika***
Cecília dog-TOP.NON.A/S 3SGF-scold-REC.P.INFR
'Cecília scolded the dog' (I inferred it: INFERRED)

The Semantics of Evidentials. First edition. Sarah E. Murray.
© Sarah E. Murray 2017. First published 2017 by Oxford University Press.
此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com