

Japanese Evidentials: -yooda and -rasii

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Goal

- ▶ To argue against McCready and Ogata's (2007) probability analysis of *yooda* and *rasii*.
- ▶ The argument will be based on the distinction between two types of inference: inference from reasoning and inference from result.

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Basic data: Japanese evidentials

▶ Inferential:

- 'It seems that John will come to the party tonight.'

- (1) a. Jon-wa kon'ya-no paatii ni ku-ru **rasii**.
John-TOP tonight-GEN party to come-NPST RASII
- b. Jon-wa kon'ya-no paatii ni kuru **yoo-da**.
John-TOP tonight-GEN party to come-NPST YOO-COP.NPST
- c. Jon-wa kon'ya-no paatii ni kuru **mitai(-da)**.
John-TOP tonight-GEN party to come-NPST MITAI-COP.NPST
- d. Jon-wa kon'ya-no paatii ni **ki-soo-da**.
John-TOP tonight-GEN party to come-INF-SOO-COP.NPST

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▶ Hearsay:

- (2) Jon-wa kon'ya-no paatii ni ku-ru **soo-da**.
John-TOP tonight-GEN party to come-NPST SOO-COP.PRES
'I heard that John will come to the party tonight.'
- ▶ *Rasii* is also compatible with hearsay evidence.
- (3) Mari-no hanasi-de-wa, Jon-wa paatii ni ku-ru
Mari-GEN speech-in-TOP, John-TOP party to come-NPST
{#yooda/#mitaida/rasii/sooda}.
YOODA/MITAIDA/RASII/SOODA.
'According to Mari, John will come to the party.'

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Past

(4) a. Jon-wa kinoo-no paatii ni ki-ta
John-TOP yesterday-GEN party to come-PST
{**rasii/yooda/mitaida**}.

RASII/YOODA/MITAIDA

'It seems that John came to the party last night.'

b.*Jon-wa kinoo-no paatii ni ki-sooda.
John-TOP yesterday-GEN party to come-INF-SOODA

(5) Jon-wa kinoo-no paatii ni ki-ta sooda.
John-TOP yesterday-GEN party to come-PST SOODA

'I heard that John came to the party last night.'

Target

- ▶ In this talk, I will focus on *yooda* and *rasii*, and compare them to epistemic modals such as *daroo* (would), *nitigainai* (must), and *kamosirenai* (possible).

Previous studies

- ▶ Two analyses of evidentials
 - Modal analysis:
Evidentials operate at the truth-conditional level.
 - Speech-act operator analysis:
Evidentials operate at the illocutionary level.

McCready & Ogata (2007)

- ▶ The evidential content must be truth-conditional, not illocutionary force.
- ▶ Evidence: Japanese evidentials can be embedded.
(3) Taro-ga ku-ru yooda-ttara osiete kudasai.
Taro-nom come-npst yooda-cond teach please
'If it looks like Taro will come, please tell me.'
- ▶ Problem: limited embeddability

- ▶ McCready & Ogata propose a unified analyses of the epistemic modals and the inferential evidentials in Japanese.
 - ▶ 'The inferential modals. were analyzed using an operator Δ^i , where *i* indexes an evidence source. Informally this was given the following semantics.'
- (4) $\Delta^i \phi$ is true given a world *w*, time *s*, and probability function μ iff:
- a. ϕ was less likely at some time preceding *s* (before introduction of some piece of evidence *i*);
 - b. ϕ is still not completely certain at *s* (given *i*);
 - c. the probability of ϕ never decreased between the time the speaker became aware of the evidence *i* and *s* as a result of the same piece of evidence *i* (i.e., the probability of ϕ given *i* is upward monotonic).

Two types of inference

- ▶ Cross-linguistically, it is common to use different markers for two types of inference.
 - *Inference from Reasoning* and *inference from Results* (Willett 1988)

Two types of inference

- ▶ Inference from reasoning
 - Assumption based on reasoning (Aikhenvald 2004: 174)
- (5) Heavy rain always lead to flooding in this area.
It rained a lot last weekend in this area.
Inference: There must have been a flood in this area last week.
- ▶ Inference from result
- (6) Heavy rain always lead to flooding in this area. Last week, there was a flood in this area.
Inference: It must have rained a lot in this area last week.

Inference from Reasoning

- ▶ Takubo (2001, 2006, 2007): The evidentials and epistemic modals in Japanese differs in the types of inference
 - ▶ *Yooda* and *rasii* cannot be used for inference from reasoning, while the epistemic modals can be used.
- (7) Heavy rain always lead to flooding in this area. It rained a lot last weekend in this area.
Sensyuumatu koko-de koozui-ga at-ta {*yooda/nitigainai}.
last.weekend here-LOC flood-NOM be-PST YOODA/must

Inference from Result

- ▶ *Yooda* and *rasii* can be used for inference from result.
- (8) Heavy rain always lead to flooding in this area. Last week, there was a flood in this area.
- Sensyuumatu koko-de ooame-ga fut-ta yooda/rasii.
last.weekend here-LOC heavy.rain-NOM fall-PST YOODA/RASII
- (9) Taroo looks at the newly published alumni newsletter and finds that one of his classmates has changed her surname.
- Kanozyo-wa kekkon-sita yooda.
she-TOP marry-PST yooda
'It appears that she has got married.' (Takubo 2007: (12a))

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Inference from Result

- ▶ Some epistemic modals can be used for inference from result, while others not.
- (10) Taroo looks at the newly published alumni newsletter and finds that one of his classmates has changed her surname.
- a. #Kanozyo-wa kekkon-sita daroo/kamosirenai.
she-TOP marry-PST would/possible
(Takubo 2007: (12b))
- b. Kanozyo-wa kekkon-sita nitigainai.
she-TOP marry-PST must

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Nominalizer *no* + epistemic modal

- ▶ All the epistemic modals can be used for inference from result with the nominalizer *no*.
- (11) Taroo looks at the newly published alumni newsletter and finds that one of his classmates has changed her surname.
- a. Kanozyo-wa kekkon-sita no daroo/kamosirenai.
she-TOP marry-PST NOMN would/possible
- b. Kanozyo-wa kekkon-sita no nitigainai.
she-TOP marry-PST nomn must

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Cross-linguistic data

- ▶ A similar distinction can be observed in other languages.
 - Typological studies (Willett 1988, Aikhenvald 2004)
 - ▶ Tibetan
- (12)a. A ma lags thab tsang nang la **yod kyi red**.
mother HON kitchen in(LOC) is INDIRECT
'Mother is in the kitchen (speaker knows through general inference)'
- b. A ma lags thab tsang nang la **yod sa red**.
mother HON kitchen in(LOC) is INDIRECT
'Mother is in the kitchen (speaker infers from concrete evidence)'
(Kalsang et al. ms.: (63))

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Cross-linguistic data

► Faller 2010: Cuzco Quechua has two Inferential enclitics.

- =*chá*: inference from reasoning
 - (Conjectual in Faller's term)
- =*chu-sina*: inference from result
 - (Perceived Evidence Inferential: PEI in Faller's term)

(13) Mana=**n** para kan=**chu**. Kunan wata=**qa** mana=**chá**
not=BPG rain be=NEG now year=TOP not=CONJ
allin=**chu** kuhichu ka=**nqa**!
good=NEG harvest be-3.FUT
'There is no rain. I guess/suppose/surely, the harvest this year
will be bad!' (Cushihuaman 2001, cited in Faller 2010)

Cuzco Quechua PEI

► Perceived Evidence Inferential =*chu-sina*

(14) Context: Maria looks very pale.

Unqu-sqa=**chu-sina** ka-sha-n-man.
sick-PRT=PEI be-PROG-3-COND

'She appears to be sick.' (Faller 2010: 665, (10a))

Perceived evidence

► Faller (2011):

PEI is used for inferences based on some kind of observable, partial evidence, often the result of the event described.

► *Yooda* and *rasii* require some 'observable' evidence for the inference.

- That is, the evidentials cannot be used for the inference based on hypothetical or uncertain premise.

Evidence 1: Conditionals

► *Yooda* and *rasii* cannot attach the consequence of conditionals, while the epistemic modal can.

(15) *Mosi ano booru-ga Ken-ni atat-tara, hone-ga
if that ball-NOM Ken-DAT hit-COND, bone-NOM
ore-ru **yooda**.
break-NPST YOODA

(16) Mosi ano booru-ga Ken-ni atat-tara, hone-ga
if that ball-NOM Ken-DAT hit-COND, bone-NOM
ore-ru **nitigainai**.
break-NPST must

Evidence 2: *Omou* ‘think’

- ▶ In the main clause, the non-past form *omou* ‘think’ refers to the speaker’s belief at the utterance time.
- ▶ *Yooda* cannot be embedded in the complement of *omou*.

(17) The speaker come home and see Ken’s shoes and bag in the hallway, but she cannot find him.

- a. *Ken-wa ie-ni iru **yooda** to omo-u kedo...
Ken-TOP house-in be YOODA COMP think-NPST but
- b. Ken-wa ie-ni iru **nitigainai** to omo-u kedo...
Ken-TOP house-in be must COMP think-NPST but

Takubo’s analysis

- ▶ Based on: Discourse Management Theory: DMT (Takubo 1997, 2006)
- ▶ DMT proposes that propositions are classified into the two categories; d-proposition and r-proposition. They both introduced in the mental space.
 - d-proposition is anchored to some entity in the actual world or in the existing knowledge.
 - r-proposition is anchored to none of them.
- ▶ An utterance of ‘P-rasii/yooda’ introduces P as r-proposition, and some proposition X as d-proposition.

Faller (2011)

- ▶ Based on: Possible world semantics
- ▶ Perceived Evidence Inferential = *chu-sia*

(18)

a. Perceptual modal base:

$$f_{pe}(w) = \{p \mid s \text{ perceived/-s the event described by } p \text{ in } w\}$$

b. $\llbracket PEI(p) \rrbracket^{w,c} = 1$ iff there exists a non-empty perceptual modal base $f_{pe}(w) \subseteq f_e$ and a non-empty doxastic ordering source $g_d(w)$ s.t. there is some $w' \in \max_{g_d}(\cap f_{pe}(w))$, $\llbracket p \rrbracket^{w',c} = 1$.

- ▶ Problem: ‘reinterpretation’ of the event/fact.

Summary

- ▶ Japanese epistemic modals and inferential evidentials are distinct concerning with the types of inference.
- ▶ The fact cannot be explained by the uniform analysis of the epistemic modals and evidentials.

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