

Interpersonal Evidentiality (IE): The Mandarin *v-过 guo* construction and other evidential functions of ‘shared knowledge’

This study is based on the recently established pragmatic and grammatical category of **interpersonal evidentiality (IE)** (Tantucci 2013). IE grounds the illocutionary force of a statement in a form of intersubjective knowledge shared by the SP/W¹ and a 3rd party – i.e. other assumed member(s) of society – regardless of whatever the source of information is. Drawing on Nuyts’s (1992, 2001a,b, 2012) work on the evidential application of the notion of intersubjectivity (Traugott 1999, 2002, 2003, 2010, 2012; Nuyts 2001a, 2012; Verhagen 2005; Narrog 2010, 2012) this paper argues that the perfect *v-过 guo* evolved in Modern Mandarin into a new IE construction. I provide a targeted analysis on the grammaticalized status of IE in Spoken and Written Mandarin through a quantitative and qualitative corpus survey from the Linguistic Data Consortium (LDC) CALLHOME Mandarin Chinese Speech corpus, the Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese (LCMC) and the diachronic section of the Beijing University corpus (CLL).

In (Tantucci 2013) it is suggested that *v-过 guo* in Mandarin has grammaticalized into a SP/W’s² oriented IE construction from an older experiential perfect meaning, originally merely profiling the past experience of the syntactic subject (cf. Comrie 1976: 58; Li, Thomson & Thomson 1981; Dahl 1985: 141; Carey 1995; Yeh 1996; Dai 1996; Smith 1997; Wu 2003; Hedin & Dahl 2000; Xiao & McEnery 2004; Lin 2004; Lin 2006; Lin 2007; Chen 2008; Wu 2008). The present work is thus centered on the semasiological IE reanalysis of *过 guo* towards the end of the 清 Qīng (1644-1911) and after the 民国 *Min Guo* period (1912-1949). As shown in (1a-b), the grammatical status of this construction is proved by the non-acceptability of the perfective 了 *le* in contexts referring to interpersonally shared knowledge such as the one below:

- (1) a. 地球上 存在 过 恐龙。
dìqiú shàng cúnzài **guo** kǒnglóng
earth on exist **IE** dinosaur

¹ Speaker/writer.

‘The earth was populated by dinosaurs.’

- *b. 地球上 存在了恐龙。
dìqiú shàng cúnzài le kǒnglóng
earth on exist PF dinosaur
“.

(Tantucci 2013: 225)

IE can be seen as a proper typological category characterized by specifically grammaticalized items displaying similar features in many languages of the world: i.e. Turkic, Megleno Romanian, other Sinitic Languages, the Balkan group Iranian and neighbouring languages (cf. Lazard 1996, 1999, 2001; Guentchéva 1996, 2007; Chappell 2001, Smirnova 2012; Tantucci 2013). The theoretical implications of the establishment of IE as a typologically attested domain must lead us to redefine the primary semantics of evidentiality. The secondary claim of this paper is thus to reconsider evidentiality as a non-modal domain primarily marking different types of ‘acquired knowledge’ rather than ‘specific sources of information’. Evidential constructions encoding particular sources of evidence should be considered as a sub-class of the broader semantic scope of ‘acquired knowledge’ (AK). AK is here regarded as the primary pragmatic and semantic connotation of any type of evidential construction or strategy.

(word count: 492)

References

- Carey, Kathleen. 1995. Subjectification and the development of the English perfect. In D. Steinand & S. Wright (eds.), 83–102. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chappell, Hilary. 2001. A Typology of Evidential Markers in Sinitic Languages. In H. Chappell (ed.), *Chinese grammar: synchronic and diachronic perspectives*, 56–85. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chen, Qian Rui. 2008. *Hanyu timao yanjiu de leixingxue shiye [A study on the Aspectual System of Mandarin from a Typological Perspective]*. Beijing: The Commercial Press.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Apect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dahl, Östen. 1985. *Tense and aspect systems*. Blackwell: Oxford.
- Dahl, Östen & Eva Hedin. 2000. Current Relevance and Event Reference. In Ö. Dahl (ed.), *Tense and aspect in the languages of Europe*, 385–402. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dai, Yao Jing. 1997. *Xiandai hanyu shiti xitong yanjiu [A study of Aspect in Modern Chinese]*. Hangzhou: Zhejiang Educational Press.

- Guentchéva, Zlatka. 1996. Le médiatif en bulgare. In Z. Guentchéva (ed.), *L'énonciation médiatisée*, 47–70. Louvain: Peeters.
- Guentchéva, Zlatka & Jon Londaburu (eds.). 2007. *L'énonciation médiatisée*, vol. II. Louvain: Peeters.
- Lazard, Gilbert. 1996. Le médiatif en persan. In Z. Guentchéva (ed.), *L'énonciation médiatisée*, 21–30. Louvain: Peeters.
- Lazard, Gilbert. 1999. Mirativity, evidentiality, mediativity, or other? *Linguistic Typology* 3.1, 91–109.
- Lazard, Gilbert. 2001. On the grammaticalization of evidentiality. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33, 359–67.
- Li, Charles & Sandra A. Thompson. 1981. *Mandarin Chinese: A Functional Reference Grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lin, Jo Wang. 2007. Predicate restriction, discontinuity property and the meaning of the perfective marker Guo in Mandarin Chinese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 16, 237–57.
- Lin, Xin Nian. 2004. Shixi Tang Song shiqi de “guo” yufahua jincheng chihuan de yuanyin [An analysis of the slowdown in the grammaticalization process of guo during the Tang and Song periods]. *Yuyan Kexue* 6, 42–52.
- Narrog, Heiko. 2010. Modality and Speech-act orientation. Paper presented at Grammaticalization and (inter-)subjectification, Brussel.
- Narrog, Heiko. 2012. Beyond intersubjectification: Textual usages of modality and mood in subordinate clauses as part of speech orientation. *English Text Construction* 5.1, 29–52.
- Nuyts, Jan. 1992. Subjective vs. objective modality: what is the difference? In M. Fortescue, P. Harder & L. Kristoffersen (eds.), *Layered Structure and Reference in a Functional Perspective*, 73–98. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Nuyts, Jan. 2001a. Subjectivity as an evidential dimension in epistemic modal expressions. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33, 383–400.
- Nuyts, Jan. 2001b. *Epistemic modality, language, and conceptualization: a cognitive-pragmatic perspective*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Nuyts, Jan. 2012. Notions of (inter) subjectivity. *English Text Construction* 5.1, 53–76.
- Smirnova, Anastasia. 2012. Evidentiality in Bulgarian: Temporality, Epistemic Modality, and Information Source. *Journal of Semantics* 0, 1–54.
- Smith, Carlota. 1997. *The Parameter of Aspect*, 2nd edn. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Tantucci, Vittorio. 2013. Interpersonal Evidentiality: The Mandarin V-过 guo construction and other evidential systems beyond the ‘source of information’. *Journal of Pragmatics* 57, 210–30.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. 1999. From subjectification to intersubjectification. Paper presented at Fourteenth International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Vancouver, Canada.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs & Richard B. Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in semantic change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. 2003. From subjectification to intersubjectification. In R. Hickey (ed.), *Motives for Language Change*, 124–39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. 2010. Revisiting subjectification and intersubjectification. In K. Davidse & L. Vandelanotte (eds.), *Subjectification, Intersubjectification and grammaticalization*, 29–70. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Verhagen, Arie. 2005. *Constructions of Intersubjectivity: Discourse, Syntax and Cognition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Wu, Hsiao Ching. 2003. A case study on the Grammaticalization of Guo in Mandarin Chinese - Polysemy of the motion verb with respect to semantic changes. *Language and Linguistics* 4.4, 857–85.
- Wu, Jiun Shiung. 2008. Terminability, wholeness and semantics of experiential guo. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 17, 1–32.
- Xiao, Richard & Tony McEnery. 2004. *Aspect in Mandarin Chinese: A Corpus-based Study*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Yeh, Meng. 1996. Experiential -guo in Mandarin. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 5, 183–215.