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Paths and process of Semantic Change:
A Study Based on Evidentials in Chinese

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Paths and Processes of Semantic Change :
A Study Based on Evidentials in Chinese

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1. Introduction

Evidentials are taken to constitute a linguistic category which applies to predications that the speaker assumes to have a reasonable likelihood of being true, but which he cannot vouch for out of direct observation or experience. The study of evidentials is basically a study about human awareness that truth is relative, and particularly about the ways in which such awareness is expressed in language. There are some things people are sure of, either because they have reliable evidence for them, or because, probably more often, they have unquestioning faith that they are true. There are other things people are less sure of, and some things they think are only within the realm of possibility. Languages typically provide a repertoire of devices for conveying these, various attitudes toward knowledge.

The concept of evidentials as a category seems to have existed in Americanist circles for several generations; it is but scantily attested in print, however, and the label "evidential" itself is relatively recent. The concept of evidentials seems to be lacking in the standard linguistics textbooks and surveys of grammatical categories, if there had not been the collection of essays by Chafe and Nichols, entitled *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology* (1986). This must be due in large part to the absence of distinctive evidential forms in the better-known European and classical languages.

One undercover evidential in English is the inferential value of polysemous *must*, distinct from its obligational sense, though this has not traditionally been segretated as inherently different from the meanings of other modals (Chafe 1970; Bolinger 1975). In fact, the interest in evidentiality was much aroused by American Indian languages, and especially by those of Northern California, where the marking of evidentiality through verb suffixes is widespread.

Traugott's theory (1982) states that semantic change in general tends to be from the propositional to the textual to the expressive, or more broadly, words tend to move towards more personal meanings. Other work by Traugott (1982, 1985), Sweetser (1984), Fleischman (1982) strongly suggested that there are regular, often "one-way" historical directions in semantic change. Specifically, Traugott (1987) argued that there are three closely-related tendencies regarding semantic change, the first of which can feed the second and either of which can feed the third:

Tendency I: Meanings based in the external described situation > meanings based in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) described situation.
Tendency II: Meanings based in the external or internal described situation > meanings based in the textual and metalinguistic situation.
Tendency III: Meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition.

Based on the data drawn from Chinese, we will investigate to see if epistemic meaning tends to become increasingly situated in the speaker's subjective belief state or attitude toward the proposition. We hope to see if the process of change in Chinese evidentials in terms of the linguistic categories marking modality is , as hypothesized by Traugott (1989), strengthening of pragmatic inferences to relevance, or as assumed by Sweetser (1984), via metaphorical transfer.

2. Methodology and Findings

After analysis of spoken and written data in Corpra (see the appendix for a complete listing and distribution of all the modals studied), we suggest that there are three stages of grammaticalization of Mandarin modals and verbs. The three stages correspond to three types of modality: dynamic, deontic and epistemic[1]. Our definition of the

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[1] Traditionally modality can be divided into three types: dynamic, deontic and epistemic. The classification between epistemic and deontic modality is one of the most fundamental issue in discussion of modality. Deontic modality is involved with the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents, whereas epistemic modality is concerned with matters of knowledge and belief (Lyons 1977). Palmer (1990) distinguishes the three types of modality with the following definitions. Dynamic modality is related with the ability your volition of the subject of the sentence. Deontic modality has to do with influencing actions, states or events and expressing what Searle calls 'directives.' Epistemic modality is about how the speaker makes a

deontic modality conforms to Bybee's (1994) claim that deontic modality expresses speaker's desire, will and hope. And what Bybee terms as "root possibility" is also included in the second stage. It is because root possibility, i.e., the ability made possible by physical condition, is very similar to the necessity relation of deontic modality. We do not see any need to divide another stage to account for the minute difference between deontic modality and root possibility. Like the studies in many other languages, we do encounter difficulties in separating the two stages, deontic and epistemic. We at last propose criteria for division of the two, which are presented in the following table.

Stage 2	Stage 3
1. There is a causal relation between the event before and after the modal	. There are no relations as listed on the left column between two events before and after the modal
2. The depicted event after the modal is natural phenomenon	2. The event after the modal is based on author or speaker's belief not from any evidence
3. Two events are in a sequential relation	
4. The modal reflects judgement of event based on well-grounded fact	3 The modal is used to express the author or speaker's attitude
5. The construction is a conditional sentence	4 The modal is used to express the author or speaker's evaluation

judgment about the truth of the proposition. Coates (1983) just makes a two-way distinction. One is epistemic, which is concerned with speaker's assumptions or assessment of possibility and includes the necessary truth of propositions. Root possibility covers both the deontic and dynamic categories of modal logic. Our study has much do with Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca's research (1991,1994). According to their analysis, epistemic modality, which is our third stage, applies to assertions and indicates the extent to which the speaker is committed to the truth of what he/she says. The agent-oriented modality reports the existence of internal and external conditions on an agent with respect to the completion of the action expressed in the main predicate. This modality comprises the notions of necessity, obligation, permission, root, possibility, desire, ability). Our second stage refers the relations and notions expressed by this modality. The third type of modality is speaker-oriented. It signals what the speaker wants to accomplish with the utterance.

There are relatively few studies about the modals and verbs for Mandarin. The only related study we found is Liu's (2000) study of the semantic development of Hakka modal *oi²*. We do not agree with Liu's classification for the following reasons. First, future cannot be the fourth stage in the development. Traugott (1989) deals with temporals like *will* and *shall* in a separate section, distinct from deontic and epistemic. She indicates relative tense develops earlier than the predictive future and hypothetical/conditional future. Bybee (1994) also regards the future use as ramification from the main path of development. Second, there is no solid ground to claim the imperative mood is the final stage of development, especially when it is involved with obligation. The notion of obligation is concerned with the deontic modality.

3. Conclusion

A change in the function of a particular evidential marker can be usefully conceptualized in terms of movement through evidential space. The grammaticalization of Mandarin modals are similar to that of English modals. The three tendencies for English modals pointed out by Traugott (1989) stand true for Mandarin. Meanings based in the external described situation changes into meanings based in the internal described situation, and then meanings based in the external or internal described situation may change into meanings based in the textual and metalinguistic situation. Finally, meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition.

When we say that semantic change tends to move from concrete to abstract, we mean there is some mapping between concrete and abstract domains, which designates

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[2] Liu (2000) distinguishes five stages of semantic development. The types and meanings are presented in the following partially produced table:

Type	Stage	Modality	Meaning	Number	Frequency
lexical verb	1		to like	12	7%
deontic	2	deontic	volition	95	59%
epistemic	3	epistemic	prediction	23	14%
epistemic	4	epistemic	future	9	6%
imperative	5	imperative mood	obligation	22	14%

correspondences between entities in the two domains. It must therefore be made clear that taking the rise of epistemic meanings as a case of pragmatic strengthening is not to deny the force of metaphor. The metaphorical process of mapping from some semantic domain onto another is taken to characterize the speaker's attempt to increase the information content of an abstract notion, which concerns mainly representation of cognitive categories. The process of coding pragmatic implicature is on the other hand used in the speaker's attempt to regulate communication with others, concerning mainly the strategic negotiation of speaker-hearer interaction and in that connection, expressing the speaker's attitude. Semantic change presuppose a world not only of objects and states of affairs, but of values and of linguistic relations that cannot exist without language. In other words, the later meanings are licensed by the function of language.

Different languages express speaker's attitudes regarding truth, certainty, reliability of information, probability, inference, etc. and attitudes toward knowledge in sometimes similar, sometimes quite different ways. The term "evidential" has come to be used for the linguistic device used to code such attitudes. The study of evidentiality is thus important in the sense that it may serve as an important linguistic evidence for the understanding of cross-cultural pragmatics.

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口語語料部分: 全部語料總時間: 691'98"

　　(蘇以文口語語料庫時間: 54'92"; 台大漢語口語語料庫時間: 401'16")

書面語料部分: 中研院平衡語料庫

<一> 情態副詞:

「會」在中研院平衡語料庫中之統計

階段	意義	筆數	頻率	例子
一	能力	35	2%	從來不認為劉瑞琪會唱歌
二	推論	638	35%	如果今日大盤衝關不成,華隆集團將會進場
三	可能性	1163	63%	人在逆境中是越挫越勇,有的人反而會怨天尤人
總計		1836	100%	

「會」在蘇以文口語語料庫及台大漢語口語語料庫中之統計

階段	意義	筆數	頻率	例子
一	能力	71	6%	那天剪的短髮其醜無比,那個人不會剪
二	推論	206	17%	我覺得我會考上,是因為大家都不怎麼寫
三	可能性	906	77%	我覺得我論文會寫不完
總計		1183	100%	

「會」在蘇以文口語語料庫、台大口語語料庫及中研院平衡語料庫中之統計

階段	意義	筆數	頻率	例子
一	能力	106	3%	從來不認為劉瑞琪會唱歌
二	推論	844	29%	我覺得我會考上,是因為大家都不怎麼寫
三	可能性	2069	68%	人在逆境中是越挫越勇,有的人反而會怨天尤人
總計		3019	100%	

「能」在中研院平衡語料庫中之統計

階段	意義	筆數	頻率	例子
一	能力、善長	240	12%	人能弘道、非道弘人
二	准許(有推論或因果關係)	1360	68%	我們若能獨具隻眼看生活,生活每刻都在變化
三	可能性	400	20%	富貴怎能買賣呢
總計		2000	100%	

「能」在蘇以文口語語料庫及台大口語語料庫中之統計*

階段	意義	筆數	頻率	例子
一	能力	22	13%	他能說流利的英文
二	准許、禁止(有推論或因果關係)	104	61%	半年是受訓，半年後我才能算正式的 不寫真的來不及，我絕不能睡
三	准許、禁止、可能性	44	26%	它唯一的缺點就是不能打中文 秀文說她還不能很確定
總計		170	100%	

*「能」之統計包括「能」及「不能」的例子

一	能	能力	3	
二	不能	推論，禁止	12	不寫真的來不及，我絕不能睡
	能	推論	1	半年是受訓，半年後我才能算正式的
三	能	相信	4	我媽會講閩南語好不好？ 我能說不好嗎？
	不能		3	它唯一的缺點就是不能打中文 秀文說她還不能很確定

「能」在蘇以文口語語料庫、台大口語語料庫及中研院平衡語料庫中之統計

階段	意義	筆數	頻率	例子
一	能力、善長	262	12%	人能弘道、非道弘人
二	推論、准許、禁止(有推論或因果關係)	1464	67%	我們若能獨具隻眼看生活，生活每刻都在變化 半年是受訓，半年後我才能算正式的
三	准許、禁止、可能性	444	21%	它唯一的缺點就是不能打中文 富貴怎能買賣呢
總計		2170	100%	

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助動詞（會十能）三階段在口語語料庫及中研院平衡語料庫中之統計

階段	筆數	頻率	例子
一	368	8%	從來不認為劉瑞琪會唱歌 他能說流利的英文
二	2308	44%	我覺得我會考上，是因為大家都不怎麼寫 我們若能獨具隻眼看生活，生活每刻都在變化 半年是受訓，半年後我才能算正式的
三	2513	48%	我覺得我論文會寫不完 秀文說她還不能很確定 它唯一的缺點就是不能打中文
總計	5189	100%	

由上表可知，情態動詞第一階段的使用率相當低(8%)，第三階段(48%)略高於第二階段(44%)，第一階段的「能力」語意不常用有可能是在中文的語用環境(pragmatic context)(至少台灣地區)多避免談及人的能力，以防衝突(confrontation)發生。而第二階段也高的原因，則是大部分中文裏的推論句，含條件句(conditional sentence)，假設句(subjunctive sentence)，幾乎都用到「會」及「能」。

★「會」在不同階段詞性及意義

階段	詞性	意義	例子
一	動詞	聚合、符合、相遇、盟誓、會試、能力	天下會於一 音韻清暢，又深會女心 聽得二位少老爺訪他，他巴不得連夜來會 會，謂盟也，盟誓所以結血 會天下才人，盡呈卷子 我會書法
	情態動詞	能力	那天剪的短髮其醜無比，那個人不會剪
二	情態動詞	推論	如果今日大盤衝關不成，華隆集團將會進場
三	情態動詞	可能性	人在逆境中是越挫越勇，有的人反而會怨天尤人

★「能」在不同階段詞性及意義

階段	詞性	意義	例子
一	動詞	能力、善長	人能弘道,非道弘人 吾少也賤,故多能鄙事
	情態動詞	能力	他能說一口流利英文
二	情態動詞	准許、禁止(有推論或因果關係)、推論	半年是受訓,半年後我才能算正式的 不寫真的來不及,我絕不能睡 我們若能獨具隻眼看生活,生活每刻都在變化
三	情態動詞	准許、禁止、可能性	它唯一的缺點就是不能打中文 富貴怎能買賣呢

　　情態動詞的第一階段語義通常起源於動詞的語義,如「能」的動詞語義也與「能力」有關,而「會」的古代動詞語義則沒有「能力」一項的記載,目前無法確定其「能力」意義的起源為何,也許其「能力」的動詞語義近代才出現。
第二和第三階段以後則轉變成純為情態動詞。

<二> 動詞
「想」在蘇以文漢語口語語料庫及台大口語語料庫中之統計

階段	意義	筆數	頻率	例子
一	思考、感覺、打算、回憶、思念、想像	110	30%	我想一下 我好累,好想睡 我想問你 我想起來了 好想你們啊 把它想得很可愛
二	意願、希望	130	36%	你為什麼讀這系? 你以為我想嗎? 他蠻想下班的
三	相信	125	34%	我想她應該已經到美國了
總計		365	100%	

「想」在中研院平衡語料庫中之統計

階段	意義	筆數	頻率	例子
一	思考、想念	621	36%	總要想辦法好好活下去 反反覆覆的想她
二	願意、希望 推論	657	36%	他想維持父女親情，就要辭掉部長一職 他比誰都想把這批貨趕出去 你對我好，我自然會想對你好
三	相信	449	26%	我想應該是有吧
	total	1727		

「想」在蘇以文口語語料庫、台大口語語料庫及中研院平衡語料庫中之統計

階段	意義	筆數	頻率	例子
一	思考、感覺、打算、回憶、思念、想像	731	35%	我想一下 我好累，好想睡 我想問你 我想起來了 好想你們啊 把它想得很可愛
二	願意、希望 推論	787	38%	他想維持父女親情，就要辭掉部長一職 他比誰都想把這批貨趕出去 你對我好，我自然會想對你好
三	相信	574	27%	我想應該是有吧
總計		2092	100%	

「看」在蘇以文漢語口語語料庫及台大口語語料庫中之統計

階段	意義	筆數	頻率	例子
一	看見 欣賞 看起來 瞧一瞧 讀 探望 診治	206	58%	我是看到你在那裏,我就想說, 然後很愛看電影的,_ 就是整個人看起來很可怕那樣@ 那她會寄到我=這邊來. 不過,..我我不常來看 A:<L2 seminar L2>要弄多久?\ B:　(0)　拜託，-..我都還沒看耶.\ 這他媽媽要過去看她是不? 所以我我弟弟帶她去看病
二	推論	104	30%	我是覺得她有一些經歷,應該會讓人家有一些暇想吧.你看那樣,那個,..(0.9)活潑獨立自主的女孩子啊,_
三	相信	43	12%	我看他不見得會理你
總計		353	100%	

「看」在中研院平衡語料庫中之統計

階段	意義	筆數	頻率	例子
一	觀賞、看見、探望、讀、窺探、觀察	1080	57%	坐在院子看遠方的山 看過桂花 朋友帶我去看一位古董收藏家 看報紙 我們從出生開始就一直向外看 高僧看了看他
二	推論	762	40%	當你從那個角度來看時,所有的有限都可被超越
三	相信	68	3%	我看你就跟唐三藏一樣,一點用處都沒有
	total	1910		

「看」在蘇以文口語語料庫、台大口語語料庫及中研院平衡語料庫中之統計

階段	意義	筆數	頻率	例子
一	觀賞、看見、探望、讀、窺探、觀察診治瞧一瞧	1286	57%	坐在院子看遠方的山 看過桂花 朋友帶我去看一位古董收藏家 看報紙 我們從出生開始就一直向外看 高僧看了看他 所以我我弟弟帶她去看病 那她會寄到我=這邊來.不過,..我我不常來看
二	推論	866	38%	當你從那個角度來看時,所有的有限都可被超越
三	相信	111	4%	我看你就跟唐三藏一樣,一點用處都沒有
總計		2263	100%	

「認為」在蘇以文漢語口語語料庫中之統計

階段	意義	筆數	頻率	例子
一	認作	0	0%	
二	推論	11	26%	在這樣的環境之下,我們的小孩會認為說謊是理所當然的
三	相信	32	74%	小孩子他們認為媽媽的要求很高
總計		43	100%	

「認為」在中研院平衡語料庫中之統計

階段	意義	筆數	頻率	例子
一	認作	9	0.6%	獨行俠被認為是與世無爭的好人
二	推論	497	35.1%	因此我們認為台灣研究應有不同聲音
三	相信	911	64.3%	禪家認為影響情緒最重因素是貪
總計		1417	100	

「認為」在蘇以文口語語料庫、台大口語語料庫及中研院平衡語料庫中之統計

階段	意義	筆數	頻率	例子
一	認作	9	0.6%	獨行俠被認為是與世無爭的好人
二	推論	508	34.8%	因此我們認為台灣研究應有不同聲音 在這樣的環境之下，我們的小孩會認為說謊是理所當然的
三	相信	943	64.6%	禪家認為影響情緒最重因素是貪
總計		1460	100%	

★「想」在不同階段詞性及意義

階段	詞性	意義	例子
一	動詞	思考、打算、思念、好像	寶玉想一想，果然有理 周進跟到貢院門口，想挨進去看 覽物想故國 雲想衣裳花想容
二	動詞	希望願意推論	四海想中興之美 你為什麼讀這系？你以為我想啊 你對我好，我自然會想對你好
三	動詞	相信	我想應該是有吧 你想就是先生了

★「看」在不同階段詞性及意義

階段	詞性	意義	例子
一	動詞	觀賞、看見、探望、讀、窺探、觀察、診治、瞧一瞧	坐在院子看遠方的山 看過桂花 朋友帶我去看一位古董收藏家 看報紙 我們從出生開始就一直向外看 高僧看了看他 所以我我弟弟帶她去看病 那她會寄到我這邊來不過我不常來看
二	動詞	推論	當你從那個角度來看時，所有的有限都可被超越
三	動詞	相信	我看他不見得會理你

★「認為」在不同階段詞性及意義

階段	詞性	意義	例子
一	動詞	認作	獨行俠被認為是與世無爭的好人
二	動詞	推論	因此我們認為台灣研究應有不同聲音
三	動詞	相信	禪家認為影響情緒最重因素是貪

不同於情態動詞的是，動詞第一階段用法仍然很多。推究其原因，可能是動詞本身的意義多元，如「看」就有九個意思，「想」也有六個意思，意思多且廣使得第一階段的用法頻率增加。其中，「看」因為原本是感官動詞，其推論的用法(第二階段)也暗示了有視覺或非視覺的證據存在，故發展成第三階段的「相信」用法較難，因此第三階段比例較低。然而「想」第一階段的意義本來就很抽象，全部與心理活動有關，其頻率與第二階段及第三階段照理說應很相近(口語語料庫反映此現象)，但中研院也許因語料選取問題，用法多集中在第二階段，也就是意義多為「希望」和「願意」。使得「想」的統計統計結果第二階段遠高於第三階段。

動詞三階段在蘇以文口語語料庫及中研院平衡語料庫中之統計

階段	筆數	頻率	例子
一	2026	35%	我想一下 我好累，好想睡 我想問你 我想起來了 好想你們啊 把它想得很可愛 坐在院子看遠方的山 看過桂花 朋友帶我去看一位古董收藏家 看報紙 我們從出生開始就一直向外看 高僧看了看他 所以我我弟弟帶她去看病 那她會寄到我這邊來不過我不常來看 獨行俠被認為是與世無爭的好人
二	2161	37%	他想維持父女親情，就要辭掉部長一職 他比誰都想把這批貨趕出去 你對我好，我自然會想對你好 當你從那個角度來看時，所有的有限都可被超越 在這樣的環境之下，我們的小孩會認為說謊是理所當然的
三	1628	28%	我想她應該已經到美國了 我看你就跟唐三藏一樣，一點用處都沒有 禪家認為影響情緒最重因素是貪
總計	5815	100%	

　　我們可以從上表看出大部分的動詞使用屬第二階段 (37%)，第一階段也很多 (34%)，而第三階段最少，只有 29%。有趣的是僅管第一階段各個動詞「想」、「看」和「認為」的意義紛歧，到了第二階段及第三階段意義均相當一致，都是「推論」和「相信」。只有「認為」無法查得古代的意思，因古代的動詞多為一個字，目前暫時假設為「認作」。

ALFA (Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association) 今年在荷蘭 Amsterdam 舉辦的國際南島語言會議已是第七屆, 於 5 月 11 日至 5 月 13 日假 Amsterdam 的 Vrije Universiteit 舉行 。與會者為來自世界各地的從事南島語言學研究的專家學者及研究生, 是南島語言學界一年一度的盛會。

今年的大會分三天舉行, 共有十場次, 內容包括來自歐、亞、美、澳等地的三十篇論文。國立台灣大學多年來致力於台灣南島語研究的工作團隊幾乎全數參加, 有黃宣範教授、宋麗梅教授及筆者本人。另外, 任教於靜宜大學, 從事南島語研究成績豐碩的何德華教授也在大會中宣讀了一篇精彩的論文。國內從事南島語研究的學者屈指可數, 得以有數天一齊切磋討論的機會極為難得。

此次宣讀之論文內容包羅萬象, 涵蓋了音韻學、語法學、語意學、語用學等, 討論的角度亦十分廣泛, 從語言學習(language acquisition), 歷史語言學, 語言類型 (typology)乃至語言與認知的關係皆在研討之列。與會的學者所宣讀的論文雖然大多以單一語言為主, 但因為這些學者對許多語言都有涉獵, 所以視野其實十分宏觀, 也多能給其他論文宣讀者精闢的看法和中肯的建議, 討論的時段所提出來的問題也多能激發發人深省的討論, 提供了一個最佳的學習機會。

尤其難能可貴的是 AFLA 雖然以 Formal approach(形式主義)為主軸, 但大會所宣讀的論文並不受此限, 多篇精彩的以 Functional approach(功能主義)為主的論文也羅列其中。得以在一個有規模的國際年會中看到兩個涇渭分明的派別如此

融洽地交換研究心得是一次十分特殊的經驗。這其實也充分顯示出語言學之所以是一門科學的真精神。參加這次的會議給多年來標榜功能語法的我一次完全不同的學習經驗。

值得一題的是我所宣讀的論文 "Evidentials and Mental Spaces: A Study of Tsou Narrative" (講義如附)所探討的雖然是 evidentiality 的問題, 但卻在會議中得到意外的收穫。William Foley 指出我 data 中所列舉的 "case marker"就南島語群其他語言的表現及語法上的界定標準而言, 稱之為 "determiner"似乎更為恰當這個問題其實困擾了我多時, Foley 的論調相當足以採信, 只是國內其他研究鄒語的學者全數採用 "case marker"之名稱, 由來已久, 要做任何名稱上的修正必須連同其他台灣南島語一齊來考量。Foley 的說法的確是值得考慮的。

這次大會的第一天晚上由主辦單位在 Amsterdam 市中心設宴歡迎與會人士, 並提供一個暖身的機會,讓與會人士及大會工作人員間彼此更為熟悉,果然第二天的討論比第一天熱絡許多,大概是晚宴間那種非正式的和諧氣氛發揮了它應有的功效。晚宴在印尼菜的餐廳舉行,筆者也因此更清楚地看見印尼文化對荷蘭的影響,印證了語言與文化密不可分的關係。

五月似乎是荷蘭的旅遊旺季,早在三月筆者得知論文為大會所接受時,住的安排就費煞了苦心,幾乎是處處爆滿,一房難求。到了 Amsterdam,見識了當地便利的大眾交通工具,純樸親切的民風,合理的物價,人民流利的外語能力及豐富的文化藝術資源後,我完全可以了解荷蘭何以會成為一個不斷吸引觀光客前來的城市。參加國際會議是學術知識的交流,也是經驗見聞的累積。我覺得這次參加AFLA 7 對我而言是一次印象深刻的學習之旅。

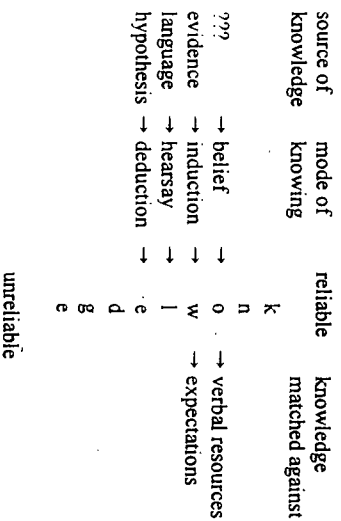Evidentials and Mental Spaces –
A Study Based on Tsou Narratives

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1. **Definition of Evidentiality**

■ Jakobson (1958:4): The term "evidential" is "a tentative label for a verbal category which indicates the source of the information on which the speaker's statement is based."

■ Bybee (1985:184): Evidential markers are "linguistic markings that indicate something about the source of the information of the proposition."

■ Mithun (1986:89-90): Evidentials express the kinds of evidence a person has for making factual claims and evidential markers may qualify the reliability of information communicated in four primary ways:

1) the source of evidence on which statements are based
   (e.g., inference, appearance, hearsay);
2) their degree of precision (e.g., validation, hedging, non-committing);
3) their probability (e.g., hedging certainty), and
4) expectations concerning their probability.

■ Anderson (1986:274-7):

a) evidentials show the kind of justification for a factual claim which is available to the person making that claim

b) evidentials are not themselves the main predication of the clause, but are rather a specification added to a factual claim about something else

c) evidentials have the indication of evidence as their primary meaning, not only as a pragmatic inference

d) morphologically, evidentials are inflections, clitics, or other free syntactic elements

■ Chafe's diagram on evidentiality (1986)

source of knowledge	mode of knowing	reliable	knowledge matched against
		n	
???	→ belief	k	
evidence	→ induction	o	→ verbal resources
language	→ hearsay	w	
hypothesis	→ deduction	l	→ expectations
		e	
		d	
		g	
		e	

unreliable

2. Case Marking System in Tsou

Table 1 Case Marking System of Tsou by Zeitoun (1992)

	Oblique	Nominitive
Being seen by the speaker and the hearer		
Near	ta	'e
Middle	ta	si
Distant	ta	ta
Not being seen by both but having been seen by the speaker	to	'o
and having not been seen by the speaker	no	na

Table 2 Case Marking System of Tsou by Szakos (1994)

DISTANCE	VISIBILITY FOR:			DEFINITENESS
	Hear & Speaker	Speaker	Other	
Near speaker	'e	'o	co	Definite
Near hearer	si		ci	
Far	ta (1) / ta (2)	to	na / nca	Indefinite
	ne	ne		
	Given Topic	New Topic		

*ta (1) is the nominitive case marker and ta (2) is the oblique case marker.

Table 3 Case Marking System of Tsou (Chang 1998)

Definiteness		Nominitive case marker	Oblique case Marker
Definite	near	'e	ta
	middle	si	ta
	far	ta	ta
Indefinite	Specific	'o	to
	Nonspecific	na	no

Table 4 Case Marking System of Tsou (Zeitoun 1993)

The case-marked NP is:	Case markers	
	Nominative	Oblique
Referential		
Identifiable		
Visibel and/or near (spatially, metaphorically)		
From		
Speaker	'e	
Hearer	si	ta
Visible but away from Speaker and hearer	ta	
(Non) identifible	'o	to
Invisible and far (spatially, metaphorically) from Speaker and hearer or newly introduced in the Discourse		
Non-referential		
Identifiable (audibly)	co	nca
Non-identifiable (usually implies a scanning of a class Of elements)	na	no,ne

Table 5 Case Markers and Evidentiality (Yang 2000)

source of knowledge	case	Nom.	Obl.	Definiteness	referring
sensation	Near	'e	ta	+	+
	Middle	si	ta	+	+
	Far	ta	ta	+	+
	auditory sense / tactile sense / olfactory sense	co	nca/*ninca	+/-	+
cognition	have known	'o	to	+/-	+
	have known the spatial direction or location		ne	+/-	+
	have not known	na	no	+/-	+/-

1. a) co knuyu tało pasuya
   CM lie CM pasuya
   "Pasuya's lie" (Pasuya is/is not on the spot)

b) na knuyu ta pasuya
   CM lie CM Pasuya
   "Pasuya's lie" (Pasuya on the spot)

c). na knuyu to pasuya
   CM lie CM Pasuya
   "Pasuya's lie" (Pasuya on the spot)

d) 'e knuyu to pasuya o'a te taUzva
   CM lie CM Pasuya NEG hear
   "Don't believe in Pasuya's lie." (Pasuya is not on the spot)

2. a) mais'a 'o mo'o
   seem CM Mo'o
   "That seems to be Mo'o."

b) mais'a na mo'o
   seem CM Mo'o
   "That seems to be Mo'o."

c) mais'a 'e mo'o
   seem CM Mo'o
   "That seems to be Mo'o."

d) *mais'a si/ta mo'o
   seem CM Mo'o
   "That seems to be Mo'o."

e) ci mais'a 'o mo'o
   seem CM Mo'o
   "That seems to be Mo'o!"

3. a). 'e hia ta kaebU ho ita eaa 'e mo $100
   CM how CM happy if 3s have CM AF $100
   "How happy he is now that he has $100"

b) si hia si kaebU ho isi eaa si mo $100
   CM how CM happy if 3s have CM AF $100
   "How happy he is now that he has $100" (He actually has $100)

c) ta hia si kaebU ho isi eaa ta mo $100
   CM how CM happy if 3s have CM AF $100
   "How happy he is now that he has $100" (He actually has $100)

d) 'o hia si kaebU ho isi eaa 'o mo $100
   CM how CM happy if 3s have CM AF $100
   "How happy he is now that he has $100" (He actually has $100)

e). ? to hia si kaebU ho isi eaa 'o mo $100
   CM how CM happy if 3s have CM AF $100
   "How happy he is now that he has $100" (He actually has $100.)

f). *na/*no hia si kaebU ho isi eaa 'o mo $100
   CM how CM happy if 3s have CM AF $100
   "How happy he is now that he has $100" (He actually has $100.)

g). no/na tasi hia kaebU ho tasi eaa 'o mo $100
   CM how CM how happy if AF-3s have CM AF $100
   "How happy he would be if he had $100" (He doesn't have $100 now)

4. a) mais'a mo amangzo maitan'e
   seem AF weak today
   "He seems to be sick."

b) mais'a no (=eno) mita amangzo maitan'e
   seem AF-3s weak today
   "Isn't he sick today?"

c) no mita amangzo maitan'e
   AF-3s weak today
   "He is, as expected, really sick today."

d) *eno mita amangzo maitan'e
   AF-3s weak today

5. a) mais'a mo bibimi no ma'maica
   seem AF search CM something
   "It seems that he's searching for something."

b) mais'a no miko bibimi no peisu
   seem CM AF-2s search CM money
   "Aren't you looking for money?"

c) *na mais'a no bibimi no ma'maica
   seem AF search CM something

d) *ma mais'a no miko bibimi no peisu
   seem CM AF-2s search CM money

6. i'o tposU to feango-si mio c'o maica ho
   patterns CM body-3s just like (this) Conj.

   tueu 'o cucufili to mo tposUsi.
   three angle CM AF patterns
   "The patterns on his body are like (this): in three angles." [Snake #18-21]

7. a).
```
i-si        cu     amza paskui   no    vici   ho
NAF-3.s            then going trap  CM   vine   Conj.

i-si        paepoisa  na   finguu  no   ba'efkoi.
NAF-3.s     tie       CM   head    CM   snake
```
"He is then going to use the vine to trap and tie the snake's head."
[Snake #198]

b).
```
ina   'e   cmoi eni..  mo    na'nopak'i ho   mo   eaokoa
           CM  bear this  AF   very fiery Conj. AF   have child
```
"This bear was very fiery when she was pregnant."   [Bear #14-16]

8. a)
```
ko'ko   eno  ta    tan'evo, o-he   la   eainca  ta    moso la maameoi,
therefore    CM • here   NAF-3p  say  CM   AF     the old

'e   ba'efkoi zou   macucuma no   ak'emameoi,
CM   snake         thing       CM   (ground) God
```
"Therefore the old Tsou people said that the snake belongs to the (ground) God."
[Snake #120]

b).
```
i'e   eatatiskova   mo   eamamespingia ho   hahocngUa
CM   people         AF   have female    and   male
```
"There are females and males."

9. a)
```
mo   mav'ov'o  'e    euskU   ta   c'oeha
AF   all sorts  CM   fish     CM   river
```
"There are fish in the river"(generic vs. specific)

b)
```
'e   emucu  'a la   titha  eahioa
CM   hand    HAB use  work
```
"Hands are used for working"

10. a)
```
mo   botngonU   'e    eatatiskova   ta    taipahu
AF   many       CM   people         CM   Taipei
```
"There are many people in Taipei "(Speaker is/is not in Taipei)

b)
```
mo   botngonU   'o    eatatiskova   ne   America
AF   many       CM   people         CM   America
```
"There are many people in America. "(Speaker has been to America)

c)
```
mo   botngonU   na    eatatiskova   ne   America
AF   many       CM   people         CM   America
```
"There are many people in America. "(Speaker has never been to America)

11. a) 'a eno a'UmtU botngonU 'e   eatatiskova   tan'evo
       really many   CM   people   here
"There are really a lot of people here"(witnessed by the speaker)

b) 'a eno a'UmtU botngonU na/'o eatatiskova   tan'evo
   really many   CM   people   here
"There are really a lot of people here"(not witnessed by the speaker)

12. * 'e <unicorn>/<dragon>

13.
```
namac'o  a'UmtU fih   no    zomU        ho   fih  no   UmnU  ci
until only really by   CM   bird (sound)  and  by   Obl   good  RL

a'a'ausna  nia   nte   s'a   meelU   mai   no   nte   to'tohUngU   ho
phenomena                            Obl        thought    and

elU      ta    mo   maica    ci la   eon ta   ceoa   ci   coi.
find out Obl   AF   like-this  RL    live CM  ground RL   reptile
```
"Only when (you) follow the bird sounds and good phenomena can (you) find
out the reptile in the ground like this as your wish."   [Snake #118]

14
```
ihonci  eno  aha'o mici ceoconU   ho   ucia i'ima,o'a   teto   ahtu
if                   want walk    and  want find NEG    never

meelU  mai   no   nte-to   to'tohUngU   ho   peela  i'ima.
can          CM   thought             and   can   find
```
"If (you) just want to talk and then find one (snake), it will never happen as our
wish that we can find one."   [Snake #119]

3. Tesne/Aspectual System in Tsou

Table 6. The temporal, aspectual and modal system of Tsou (Zeitoun 1996)

| | Realis | | | Irrealis | |
	Remote	Immediate	Habitual	Remote	Immediate
AF (Imperfective)	mo(h)-moso	mi-mo			
AF/NAF			da	ta-nto(h)ntoso	te nte
NAF (Perfective)	o(h)-	i-			

15.a). 'a mo tuucocosU
        AF ask
"He asks questions."

b). 'a mita   n'a   tuucocosU
    AF-3s   ask
"He is still asking questions."

c). 'a mo n'a tuccocosU
   AF ask
   "He is now asking questions."

16.a) 'a micu e'ohU
   start off
   "He is gone."

b). 'a mo e'ohU
   AF start off
   "He's gone (to work)."

c). 'a moso cu e'ohU
   AF start off
   "He has left."

d). 'a moso cu e'ohU
   AF start off
   "He had already left."

e). 'a moh cu e'ohU
   AF start off
   "He already left."

17. tesi 'so la aiti no noachipa 'e eatatiskova
   FUT-3s see CM god CM people
   "God will look after all the people."

18. a) te'o cu ahoi eahioa
   FUT-1s start work
   "I am going to start working."

b). te'o cu tosUvo eahioa
   FUT-1s stop work
   "I am going to stop working."

19. a) te'o cu tosUvo eaei ci te'o eahioa
   FUT-1s stop talk FUT-1s work
   "I am going to stop talking 'cause I'm going to work."

b). te'o cu tosUvo eaei ho eahioa
   FUT-1s stop talk Conj work
   "I am going to stop talking and then work."

20.a) teto cu ahoi bonU ta naveu
   FUT-1p start eat CM rice
   "We are going to eat the rice."

b). teto cu ahoi bonU ta naveu
   FUT-1p start eat CM rice
   "We are going to start eating the rice (first)"

21.a) teto cu ahoi bonU
   FUT-1p start eat
   "Let's start to eat."

b). teto ahoi bonU
   FUT-1p start eat
   "We will start eating first."

22.a) 'a moso cu bonU 'o pasuya
   AF eat CM Pasuya
   "Pasuya has already eaten." (event)

b). 'a moso bonU 'o pasuya
   AF eat CM Pasuya
   "Pasuya has already eaten."

23.a) te mia cu e'ohU
   FUT start off
   "We are leaving right away."

b). te mia e'ohU
   FUT start off
   "We are going to leave."

24. A: teko   uhnenu?
       FUT-2s   go where
       "Where are you going?"

    B: te'o   cu   maine'e
       FUT-1s   go home
       "I am going home."

25. te'o   mici   eahioa
    FUT.1s   want   work
    "I want to work."

26. te/tato/tena ahoi tan'e ho   eahioa
    FUT-1p start here Conj. work
    "I will start to work (from) here."

27. os'o ta'u nana te/nte/tena uhtan'e 'o   pasuya
    think   FUT   go here CM Pasuya
    "I think that Pasuya will come here."

28. tena'u cu/ta'u/te'o la bumemealU
    FUT-1s   work hard
    "I will work hard."

29. teta/tena/tena cu   maine'e   hotaseona   'e   pasuya
    FUT   here   tomorrow morning CM Pasuya
    "Pasuya will be back tomorrow morning."

30. na   te   mici uhta taipahu te   acUhU eon to <diansha>
         FUT want go Taipei FUT all take train
    "Whenever (you) want to go to Taipei, you have to take the train."

31. a) na tena ivaho beahci ci evi tena seocavi
           FUT again fruit   tree FUT save as seeds
    "The trees that can bear fruits again will be saved as seeds."

    b) tena seocavi   na   tena ivaho beahci ci evi
       FUT save as seeds   FUT again fruit   tree
    "The trees that can bear fruits again will be saved as seeds."

32. a) 'a   mo   seolUa   no   tuucocosU
           AF   be suitable to   ask
    "It so happens that (he) is asking.>> He is now asking questions."

    b) 'a   mo   n'a   tuucocosU
           AF   ask
    "(He) is asking (questions)."

c) 'a   mo   n'a   seolUa   no   tuucocosU
        AF   be suitable to   ask
   "It so happens that (he) is asking.>> He is now asking questions."

33. mio   seolUa   no   bonu
           be suitable to   eat
    "(He) is now eating."

34. a) 'a   taini
                3s.
    "It's he."

    b) zou 'so taini
    "It's he."

    c) ua   taini
    "It must be he."

    d) uan   taini
    "It should be he."

    e) ahtu o'te   taini
              NEG   3s
    "It IS he."

35. a) ci te'o eahioa
                  work
    "I might have to work." (counter-expectation)

    b) ma   te'o eahioa
                  work
    "I am going (back) to work." (as expected)

4. Conclusion

■ Involvement
■ Perception
■ Deictic Center