

Revisiting the origo: a view from the Andes

Henrik Bergqvist

henrik.bergqvist@gu.se



GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET
FILOSOFI, LINGVISTIK OCH VETENSKAPSTEORI



Vetenskapsrådet

Today's talk

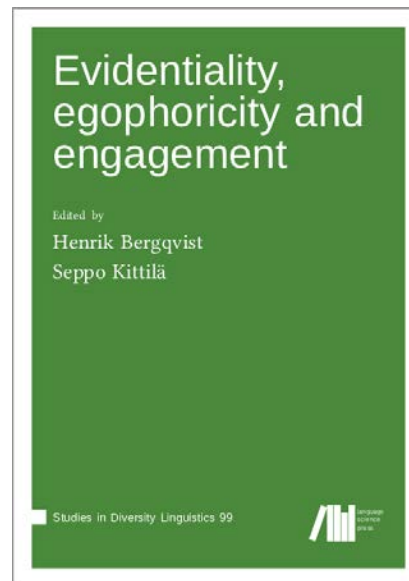
- Research background
- Theoretical background on epistemicity
- Engagement in Kogi
- Situating egophoricity in the functional domain of epistemicity
- Final remarks

Research background

- “Towards a Typology of Engagement”, a recent project funded by the Swedish Research Council (VR) and the Marcus and Amalia Wallenbergs Stiftelse (MAW).
- The project aimed to develop a typology of “engagement” in five genetically and typologically distinct languages in order to determine the typological range of such expressions in terms of their form, meaning, function, diachrony, and use (cf. Evans et al. 2018a, b).
- It also aimed at evaluating and developing strategies for eliciting forms of engagement with an aim to pinpoint their semantics in terms of accessibility to knowledge, and authority over knowledge.

Work on epistemicity

- A functional domain for the representation and attribution of propositional knowledge (see Bergqvist & Kittilä 2020).
- Cf. Boye (2012) who defines epistemicity as a meta-category including evidentiality and epistemic modality.
- Epistemicity minimally includes notional categories such as evidentiality, mirativity, epistemic modality, egophoric marking, and engagement, but labels like “attitude”, “data source”, and “stance”, may also be included.
- These notional categories contain *epistemics*, i.e. epistemic markers.
- Epistemicity has ontological characteristics, given the pervasiveness of epistemics in language, and speakers’ preoccupation with establishing epistemic territories (Heritage 2012; Stivers et al. 2011; cf. Dahl 2003).



Bergqvist, Henrik & Kittilä, Seppo (eds.). 2020. Evidentiality, egophoricity and engagement. (Studies in Diversity Linguistics 30). Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.3968344

Current project

- “A dialogue-based theory of evidentiality” (SRC, dnr 2020-01581) with Karolina Grzech (PI).
- The project advocates a dialogue-based approach to defining evidentiality: the linguistic coding of *how* speakers claim knowledge about events. It will be based on data from spoken-language corpora (collected by ourselves and ones deposited in language archives) to capture generalizable characteristics of evidential markers and provide analytical support for hypotheses regarding a cross-linguistically viable definition of evidentiality.



Grzech, Karolina, Schultze-Berndt, Eva and Bergqvist, Henrik.

"Knowing in interaction: An introduction". *Folia Linguistica* 54(2), 281-315.

<https://doi.org/10.1515/flin-2020-2041>

What's in the origo?

Bühler (1990 [1934])

- Language consists of a deictic and a symbolic field
- Deixis constitutes a “coordinate system of subjective orientation” (118)
- *I*: the “mark of the sender”
- Origo: the Speaker's Here and Now

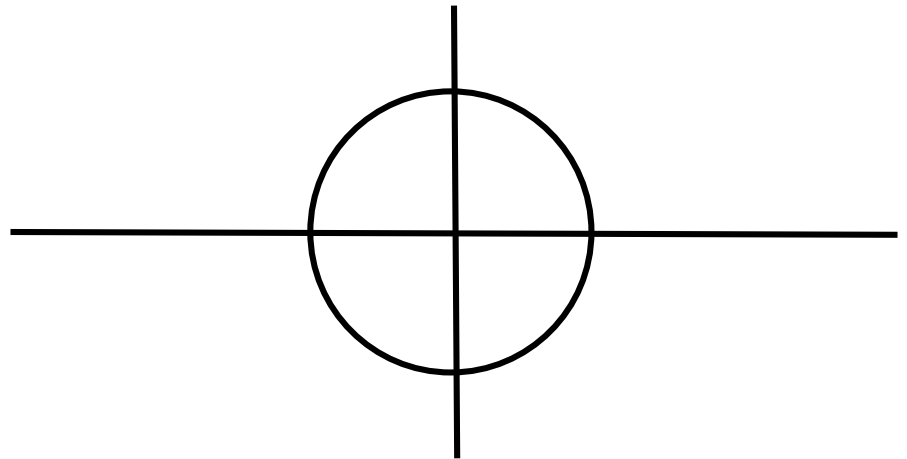


Figure. 1 Origo (after Bühler 1990 [1934])

The origo re-visited

- *I* and *You*
- Hanks' "relational theory of deixis"
- The ground is occupied by the speaker and the addressee
- Their respective relations to an object of reference

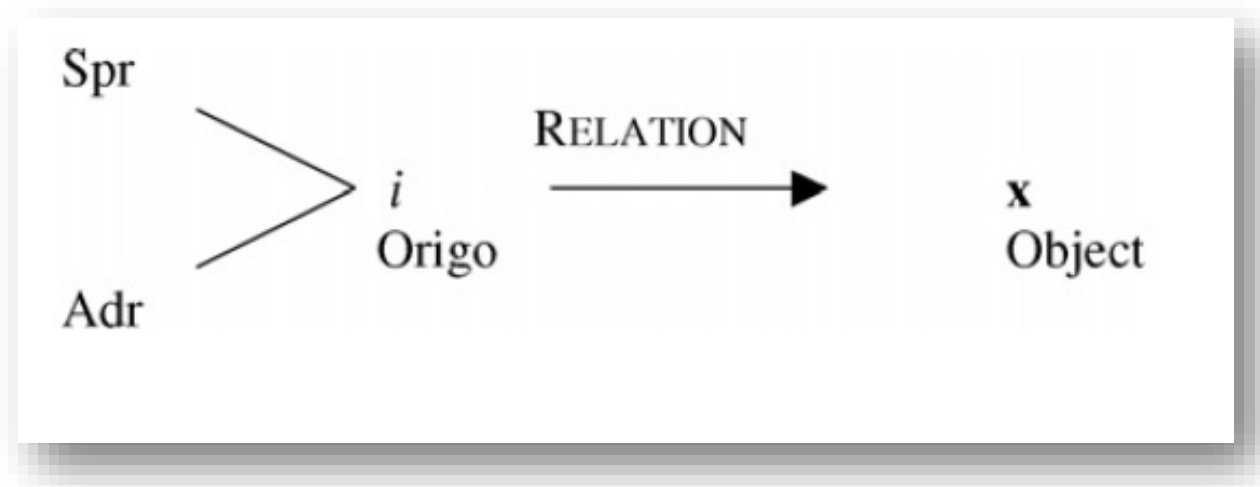


Figure 2. Relational structure of deictic reference (after Hanks 2009)

Theoretical issues for the analysis of epistemic forms

1. Epistemic authority
2. Perspectivization of knowledge
3. Dialogical negotiation of knowledge
4. Variability of knowledge: knowledge is claimed differently by different subjects in comparable situations

1. Epistemic authority

- The speech-act participants' rights to knowledge (cf. Kamio 1997, *territories of information*)
- Defining of egophoric marking/egophoricity (Bergqvist & Knuchel 2017; cf. Floyd et al. 2018; Hargreaves 2005, *epistemic primacy*)
- Also relevant for other forms of epistemic marking, such as direct evidentials (Bergqvist 2023; cf. Aikhenvald 2018) and engagement (Bergqvist & Knuchel 2019; cf. Evans et al. 2018a)
- What role does epistemic authority (and comparable formulations) play in the definition of epistemics, cross-linguistically?

2. Perspectivization of knowledge

- Knowledge vs. information
 - Knowledge can be represented and attributed (to self or other)
 - How knowledge is acquired vs. how knowledge is claimed
- i. Epistemics in questions (e.g. Lehmann 2012, “assessor shift”)
 - ii. Intersubjective semantics: evidentials, egophoric markers, and engagement markers (e.g. Bergqvist & Grzech 2023)
 - iii. Epistemics as a means to negotiate epistemic authority: “knowledge is never treated as objectively acquired (e.g. facts floating about the world waiting to be picked up) and interlocutors must position themselves with respect to the knowledge they have” (Mushin 2013: 637).

i. Assessor shift

Duna

(1)a. *Ita-ka* *no* *mbou* *ali-tia*
pig-ERG 1S garden dig-PFV.VIS

‘Pigs dug up my garden (I saw).’

b. *Ita-ka* *no* *mbou* *ali-tia=pe*
pig-ERG 1S garden dig-PFV.VIS=Q

‘Pigs dug up my garden (you saw)?’

(San Roque 2015: 191-192 [adjusted glossing])

ii. Intersubjectivity

South Conchucos Quechua

(2)a. *Tsay-pa-mi qati-ya-ra-n mama-yki-kuna.*

that-GEN-DIR follow-PL-PST-3 mother-2-PL

‘By that route your ancestors pastured animals (I affirm).’

b. *Tsay-pa-cha: qati-ya-ra-n mama-yki-kuna.*

that-GEN-MUT follow-PL-PST-3 mother-2-PL

‘By that route your ancestors pastured animals (as we all know).’

(Hintz & Hintz 2017: 93)

Engagement in Kogi

	Speaker authority	Addressee authority
Access symmetry	<i>ni-</i>	<i>shi-</i>
Access asymmetry	<i>na-</i>	<i>sha-</i>

Table 1. Kogi engagement prefixes
(after Bergqvist 2016)

- Two dimensions of meaning: *access* and *authority*
- Mainly found in exchanges where the speaker is a stake-holder in some capacity (see Bergqvist & Knuchel 2019; cf. Mushin 2013)
- The speaker's level of commitment is not at issue, nor is the quality of perceptual-cognitive access.
- The speaker's willingness to claim knowledge and to simultaneously make assumptions concerning the addressee's relation to the same knowledge is encoded in the prefixes.

The Family Problems Picture Task (FPPT)



Knuchel, Dominique. 2019b. Exploring Kogi epistemic marking in interactional elicitation tasks: A report from the field. Presentation at the workshop, “Knowing in interaction”, Organizers: Karolina Grzech, Henrik Bergqvist and Eva Schultze-Berndt, Societas Linguistica Europea 52nd Annual Meeting, August 22nd, University of Leipzig.

Access asymmetry

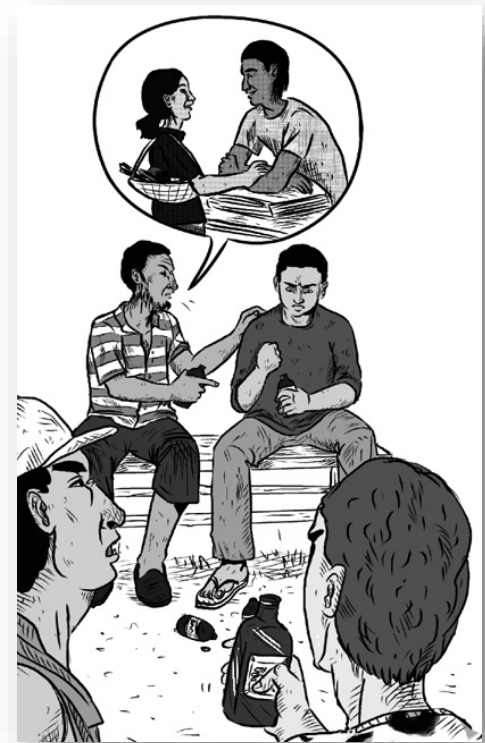
(3) *heki atshi-ka nakldá mihí munzhi*
DEM do-PRS **SPKR.ASYM.be** 2SG.POSS woman

ak-běya-té

3SG.IOBJ-say-IPFV

“This is what your wife does [without you knowing]”,
he is telling him.’

(fppt1-1_cnc)



Access symmetry



(4) *ekī sigí na ma-wa-tũ-ne*

DEM.ADV man with 2SG.DO-3PL.SJ-see-PST

nag-a-bě-ne nalda shã (shi-na)

1SG.IO-3PL.SJ-tell-PST be ADDR.SYM.be

[Man:] ‘They saw you like this with another man, is that so?’

no z-häbbia-l nuka ne-nuge nzha (ni-na)

no INTR-buy-PURP only go-1SG.PST SPKR.SYM.be

[Woman:] ‘No, I just went to buy [something].’

(fppt1-3_cnc)

3. Dialogical negotiation of knowledge

- Epistemics cannot be defined without taking into account the context of their use.
- Dialogic exchanges shape the meaning of epistemics by how they are used.
- Language use is crucial for the analysis of epistemics.

Director-matcher (a)symmetry: ShaCla-task

(5)

D: *ezwa ama kēyakēyá-gatse naldatshak zumēya tū-gatse*
one uhm edged-seem be.but star look-seem
'One, uhm, with edges but it looks like a star.'

M: *kēyakēyá-gatse naldatshak zumēya tū-gatse*
edged-seem be.but star look-seem
'One with edges but it looks like a star.'

meilde sha-hangu-kú, zumēya tū-gatse?
which.one ADDR.ASYM-think-1SG star look-seem
'Which one may it be (lit: I think)? It looks like a star?'

D: *hai hē nzha ni-hangu-kú hai kēyakēyá-gatse hai*
DEM DEM SPKR.SYM.be SPKR.SYM-think-1SG DEM edged-seem DEM
'Here, it's this one, I think [gestures with lips]. Here, the one with the edges,
here.'

Narrative: “The epoch of the colonization of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta”

Kogi

(6) *hate-kwe-ha~* *izhi-hi~dzaldzi-chi* *hixa* *aro~* *hixa*
father-PL-AGT bring-PRTC n.i.p.-ABL nor rice nor
aka-té *to-ã-ki* *hei-ni* *zeldaza~*
eat-PROG see-PERF-NEG this-LOC food

‘The elders were not bringing (food) from the outsiders; not rice, nor had they seen eating (of this kind) only traditional food.’

nukka akaka-hi~ *gwoxa*
just eat-PTCP enough

‘They just ate that, nothing else.’

hei-ki *hei-ki* ***shi-tu-lä-ku-a~***
this-FOC this-FOC **ADR.SYM-see-DUR-1S-PERF**

‘This, this is how it was (lit. This is what I saw).

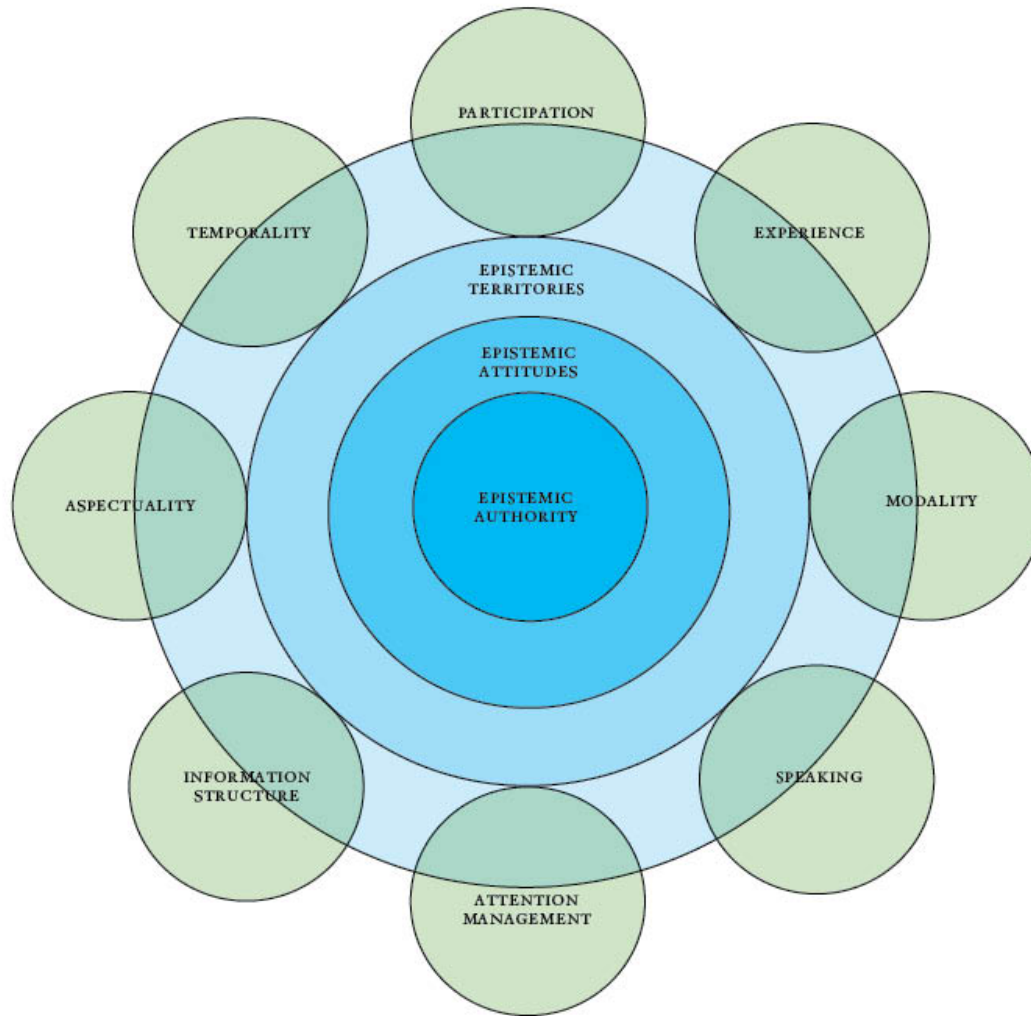
Bergqvist (2016: 25)

4. Variability of knowledge: knowledge is claimed differently by different subjects in comparable situations

- Idiosyncratic preferences affect the use of epistemics (cf. *epistemic trust*, Marková 2016)
- Sociolinguistic variables affect the use of epistemics
- Situations do not afford an automatic license for epistemic qualification e.g. Gipper (2018)

Gipper, Sonja. 2018. Talking about inner worlds: Individual vs. sociolinguistic variation in the expression of epistemic stance and reported speech and thought in Yurakaré. Presentation at SLE 2018, Tallin University, Estonia, August 29.

Modelling epistemicity as a functional domain



Issues for the exploration of epistemics: looking forward

Analytical notions

- *Subjectivity* – utterance made from the speaker's origo
- *Involvement* – utterance expressing the speaker's involvement including ownership, affectedness, attitude
- *Participation* – utterance made as an acting subject
- *Agency* – utterance expressing an intentional action
- *Instigation* – utterance made as an instigating subject
- *Volition* - utterance expressing a volitional action
- *Control* - utterance expressing control over an action

Socio-cultural domains and boundaries

- What can be claimed as personal knowledge?
- How is agency conceptualized?
- What are the boundaries between exclusive and general knowledge?
- How is the negotiation of authority performed in different contexts?
- Is there a discernible folk theory of "other minds"?
- What are the available speech registers in the community?

Final remarks

- The speaker's representation of knowledge and the attribution of knowledge to either/both speech-act participant(s) is at the heart of epistemicity.
- The dialogical exchange between the speech-act participants constitutes an indispensable starting point for the analysis of epistemics.
- An appropriate formulation of the functional domain of epistemicity should align with the observed use of epistemics (e.g. engagement markers) in discourse.
- This domain should be defined by non-defeasible, semantic features that are interactionally grounded, but not necessarily available for speakers' conscious reflection; they may be abstract, but indispensable.

References

- Bergqvist, H. 2016. Complex epistemic perspective in Kogi (Arwako). *International Journal of American Linguistics* 82:1, 1–34.
- Bergqvist, H. 2018a. The role of sentence type in Ika (Arwako) egophoric marking. In Floyd, S., E. Norcliffe, L. San Roque (eds.), *Egophoricity*, TSL 118, 347–375, John Benjamins.
- Bergqvist, H. 2020. Swedish modal particles as markers of engagement: Evidence from distribution and frequency. In Grzech, K., E. Schultze-Berndt, H. Bergqvist (eds.), *Knowing in Interaction. Special Issue, Folia Linguistica* 54(2), 469–496, Mouton De Gruyter.
- Bergqvist, H. 2023. Seeing and knowing: direct evidentials revisited. *Functions of Language* 30(2), 183–208.
- Bergqvist, H., S. Kittilä. 2017. Person and Knowledge: Introduction. *Open Linguistics* 3: 18–30.
- Bergqvist, H., D. Knuchel. 2017. Complexity in Egophoric Marking: From Agents to Attitude Holders. *Open Linguistics* 3: 359–377.
- Bergqvist, H., D. Knuchel. 2019. Explorations of engagement: Introduction. *Open Linguistics* 5: 650–665.
- Bergqvist, H., K. Grzech. 2023. The role of pragmatics for the definition of evidentiality. *STUF*, 67(1)
- Boye K. 2012. *Epistemic Meaning: A Cross-Linguistic and Functional-Cognitive Study*. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Bühler, K. 1990 [1934]. *Semiotic Foundations of Language Theory*. John Benjamins.
- Dahl, Ö. 2000. Egophoricity in discourse and grammar. *Functions of Language* 7(1), 37–77.
- Dahl, Ö. 2003. Animacy and egophoricity: Grammar, ontology, and phylogeny. *Lingua* 118(2): 141–150.
- Enfield, N. J., De Ruiter, J. P. 2003. The diff-task: A symmetrical dyadic multimodal interaction task. In N. J. Enfield (Ed.), *Field research manual 2003, part I: Multimodal interaction, space, event representation*, 17–21, Nijmegen: Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. doi:10.17617/2.877635.
- Evans, N, H. Bergqvist, L. San Roque 2018a. The grammar of engagement I: framework and initial exemplification, *Language and Cognition* 10(1), 110–140.
- Evans, N, H. Bergqvist, L. San Roque. 2018b. The grammar of engagement II: typology and diachrony, *Language and Cognition* 10(1), 141–170.

Selected references contd.

- Floyd, S., E. Norcliffe, and L. San Roque. 2018. *Egophoricity*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hanks, W. F. 2009. Field work on deixis. *Journal of Pragmatics* 41: 10-24.
- Heritage, J. 2012. Epistemics in Action: Action Formation and Territories of Knowledge. *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 45, 1-29.
- Hintz Daniel J, Hintz Diane M. 2017. The evidential category of mutual knowledge in Quechua. *Lingua* 186/187, 88–109.
- Kamio, A. 1997. *Territories of Information*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Lehmann, C. 2012. Speech-act participants in modality. MS, http://www.christianlehmann.eu/publ/lehmann_modality.pdf
- Mushin Ilana. 2013. Making knowledge visible in discourse: implications for the study of linguistic evidentiality. *Discourse Studies* 15(5), 627–45.
- Quartararo, Geraldine. 2017. Evidencialidad indirecta en aimara y en el español de La Paz: Un estudio semántico-pragmatico de textos orales. PhD Thesis, Stockholm University.
- San Roque, Lila. 2015. Using you to get to me: Addressee perspective and speaker stance in Duna evidential marking. *STUF* 68(2), 187–210.
- San Roque, Lila, L. Gawne, D. Hoenigman, J. Miller, S. Spronck, A. Rumsey, A. Carroll and N. Evans 2012. Getting the story straight: Language fieldwork using a narrative problem-solving task. *Language Documentation & Conservation* 6, 135–174.
- Seifart, F. 2003. Encoding shape: Formal means and semantic distinctions. In: Nick Enfield (ed.). *Field research manual 2003 part I: Multimodal interaction, space, event representation*. Nijmegen: Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. 57-59.
- Stivers T., L. Mondada, J. Steensig. 2011. *The Morality of Knowledge in Conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zeisler, B. 2016. Evidentiality, inferentiality, and speaker's attitude: Questionnaire or exemplary set. MS, Universität Tübingen.