

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EVIDENTIALITY AND MODALITY IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES



Madrid 6-8 October 2014
Departamento de Filología Inglesa I
Facultad de Filología
Universidad Complutense de Madrid
<https://www.ucm.es/emel14>

Organizing Committee

Juana I. Marín Arrese (Conference Chair)
Marta Carretero (Conference Secretary)
Jorge Arús
Karlos Cid Abasolo
Bert Cornillie
Elena Domínguez
Julia Lavid
Carmen Maíz Arévalo
M^a Victoria Martín de la Rosa
M^a Ángeles Martínez Martínez
Juan Rafael Zamorano-Mansilla

Scientific Committee

Bas Aarts
(University College London)

Francisco Alonso Almeida
(Universidad de Las Palmas
de Gran Canaria)

Johan van der Auwera
(University of Antwerp)

José Luis Berbeira
(University of Cádiz)

Marisa Blanco
(Universidad Rey Juan Carlos)

Kasper Boye
(University of Copenhagen)

Jill Bowie
(University College London)

Frank Brisard
(University of Antwerp)

Pierre Busuttil
(University of Pau)

Piotr Cap
(University of Lodz)

Peter Collins
(University of New South Wales)

Bert Cornillie
(Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

Nicole Delbecque
(Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

Patrick Dendale
(Universiteit Antwerpen)

Ilse Depraetere
(Lille III University)

Angela Downing
(Universidad Complutense de
Madrid)

Roberta Facchinetti
(University of Verona)

Teresa Fanego
(Universidad de Santiago de
Compostela)

Laura Filardo-Llamas
(Universidad de Valladolid)

Ad Foolen
(Radboud University Nijmegen)

Francisco Garrudo
(Universidad de Sevilla)

Gaëtanelle Gilquin
(Université Catholique de Louvain)

María de los Ángeles Gómez
González
(Universidad de Santiago de
Compostela)

Montserrat González
(Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

Ramón González
(Universidad de Navarra)

Christopher Hart (University of Lancaster)	Nicole Nau (Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza)	Šinkūnienė (Vilnius University)
Liesbet Heyvaert (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)	Dirk Noël (The University of Hong Kong)	Jolanta Šinkūnienė (Vilnius University)
Laura Hidalgo Downing (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)	Begoña Núñez Perucha (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)	Augusto Soares da Silva (Universidade Católica Portuguesa)
Dylan Glynn (University of Paris 8)	Ignacio Palacios (Universidad de Santiago)	Katerina Stathi (University of Hanover)
Istvan Kecskes (State University of New York, Albany)	Paola Pietrandrea (Université François Rabelais de Tours & CNRS LLL)	Anastasios Tsangalidis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)
Paul Larreya (University of Paris 13)	Vladimir Plungian (Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences)	Aurelija Usoniene (Vilnius University)
Julia Lavid (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)	Amalia Rodríguez Somolinos (UCM)	An Van linden (University of Leuven)
Alexander Letuchiy (National Research University Higher School of Economics, Moscow)	Jesús Romero Trillo (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)	Björn Wiemer (Universität Mainz)
Lucía Loureiro-Porto (Universitat de les Illes Balears)	Anna Ruskan (Vilnius University)	Christopher Williams (University of Foggia)
Javier Martin Arista (Universidad de La Rioja)	Louis de Saussure Louis (Université de Neuchâtel)	Astrid De Wit (University of Antwerp)
Tanja Mortelmans (Antwerp University)	Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenberghe (University of Ghent)	Peter R.R. White (University of New South Wales)
	Jolanta	Debra Ziegeler (Université Sorbonne-Nouvelle Paris 3)

Financial support: *‘The expression of Evidentiality and Modality in English and other European Languages: Cross-linguistic perspectives’ (EUROEVIDMOD)*, (FFI2011-23181), research project funded by the Spanish ‘Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad’ (<http://www.ucm.es/euroevidmod>) & Departamento de Filología Inglesa I, UCM.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
EVIDENTIALITY AND MODALITY IN EUROPEAN
LANGUAGES 2014 (EMEL'14)

INDEX

Plenary speakers	3
General Session Papers	9
Workshop 1: Evidentiality and the semantics-pragmatics interface	101
Workshop 2: Evidentiality, Modality and Corpus Linguistics	117
Workshop 3: Evidentiality, Mirativity and Modality	132

Plenary speakers

Rebecca CLIFT (University of Essex)

rclift@essex.ac.uk

Stance in the sequence

The notion of linguistic stance as a non-grammaticalized form of evidentiality is here explored through an investigation of naturally-occurring English interaction. Recent work in conversation analysis has revealed how speakers may use various linguistic and paralinguistic resources in particular sequential positions to make claims to epistemic priority or subordination vis-à-vis their recipients. Such resources are not identifiable as stance markers independently of the sequential contexts in which they appear; sequential position is shown to be central in providing at once a constraint on what can be said and a resource to exploit in saying it. I shall examine a number of clips of audio and videoed interaction to show how both the composition of an interactional resource (e.g. reported speech, laughter, certain forms of embodiment) works in synergy with its sequential position to deliver the action implemented by a turn in interaction.

Biodata:

Rebecca Clift is Senior Lecturer in Linguistics at the University of Essex. She conducted her doctoral research at the University of Cambridge on 'Misunderstandings in Conversation' and her subsequent research has investigated a range of topics in naturally-occurring English interaction. She has published work on English particles, reported speech (including a co-edited volume with Elizabeth Holt, *Reporting Talk: Reported Speech in Interaction*, CUP, 2007) and embodiment and laughter in interaction. She is the author of the forthcoming volume on *Conversation Analysis in the 'Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics' series*.

Ronald W. LANGACKER (University of California, San Diego)

rlangacker@ucsd.edu

Evidentiality in Cognitive Grammar

Grammar effects the implementation of semantic functions. A full clause serves the intersubjective function of presenting and negotiating a proposition. As component subfunctions, it both describes an occurrence and gives some indication of its epistemic status. The latter consists primarily in an assessment of whether the occurrence is realized, but may also include the basis for this assessment, and since there is no sharp distinction between the two, evidentiality constitutes a dimension of clausal grounding. Both dimensions of grounding are organized egocentrically in terms of immediacy to the ground and increments of distance from it.

Examples are given of the multifaceted characterization of highly grammaticized grounding systems. In a broad sense of the term, grounding is also implemented by lexical and grammatical means (e.g. reportedly; they say). These represent a higher level of functional organization concerned not with the occurrence of events but with the validity of propositions. These constructions are examined from the standpoint of their structure and potential for grammaticization.

Biodata:

Ronald W. Langacker received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Illinois in 1966. Starting at that time, he was a professor in the Department of Linguistics at the University of California, San Diego, retiring in 2003. After his training and early research in generative syntactic theory, Langacker largely devoted the first ten years of his professional career to the comparative grammar and historical reconstruction of the Uto-Aztecan family of Native American languages. In 1976 he began developing the theory that has come to be known as Cognitive Grammar. Through the years, this framework has continued to be refined, further articulated, and applied to a progressively wider range of languages and phenomena. Langacker is a founding member of the International Cognitive Linguistics Association and served as its president from 1997-99. He is a member of numerous editorial and advisory boards and has published a substantial number of books and articles dealing with a broad array of issues in cognitive linguistics.

Jan NUYTS (University of Antwerp)

jan.nuyts@ua.ac.be

Deconstructing evidentiality

This talk will offer a ‘conceptual analysis’ of the status of evidentiality in the system of ‘tense-aspect-modality’ categories or ‘qualificational’ categories more in general, with special focus on its relation to the modal categories (cf. the analysis of the latter in Nuyts 2005). It will argue that evidentiality as such, as ‘the marking of the source of information’ (e.g. Willett 1988, Aikhenvald 2004), is not a coherent semantic category, and should rather be dissolved and split up in a number of entirely independent categories, each with quite different semantic properties, and with a quite different conceptual status.

References

- Aikhenvald, A. (2004). *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nuyts, J. (2005). The modal confusion: On terminology and the concepts behind it. In: A.Klinge, H.Müller (eds.), *Modality: Studies in form and function*, 5-38. London: Equinox.
- Willett, T. (1988). A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticalization of evidentiality. *Studies in Language* 12: 51-97.

Biodata:

Jan Nuyts (PhD 1988, Habilitation 1994) is a Professor in the Linguistics Department at the University of Antwerp (Belgium). Major research area: cognitive-functional semantics. His current focus of attention concerns the cognitive and functional structure of ‘time-aspect-modality’ or ‘qualificational’ categories – and the modal categories quite in particular – and their linguistic expressions, synchronically and diachronically, and what one can learn from them regarding the ‘language and thought’ issue. Most important book publications: *Aspects of a cognitive-pragmatic theory of language* (Amsterdam, J. Benjamins, 1992) and *Epistemic modality, language and conceptualization* (Amsterdam, J. Benjamins, 2001). He is currently editing the *Oxford Handbook of modality and mood* (jointly with Johan van der Auwera; due in the course of 2014), and preparing a new monograph on *Modality in mind*.

General Session Papers

(Contributions in alphabetical order of first author)

Marta ALBELDA MARCO and Dorota KOTWICA (Universidad de Valencia)

marta.albelda@uv.es

Dorota.Kotwica@uv.es

Tendencias en la evidencialidad del español: ¿Directa y/o indirecta?

El objetivo de esta comunicación es examinar el tipo de evidencialidad que el español, como lengua no tipológicamente evidencial, tiende a expresar. Se parte de la propuesta de Boye (2009, 2010) en la que se considera la evidencialidad como una categoría semántica universal que puede expresarse a través de distintos mecanismos.

Las preguntas de investigación son tres: i) de acuerdo con los procedimientos reconocidos como marcadores de evidencialidad del español, ¿cuál es la tendencia más frecuente en esta lengua respecto al tipo de evidencialidad (directa/indirecta)?; ii) ¿puede el español expresar evidencialidad directa como significado nuclear (core meaning)?, y iii) en caso afirmativo, ¿bajo qué criterios se puede reconocer?

El estudio se realizará a partir de un análisis de corpus orales del español de España (corpus Val.Es.Co., 2.0, www.valesco.es; corpus PRESEEA, Briz et alii 2002; Cabedo & Pons online, Gómez Molina 2001-2007; y corpus CORLEC, Cresti y Moneglia 2005) desde una óptica sincrónica, y se basará en el estudio de las estructuras que se forman bajo los lemas “ver” y “parecer” (al parecer, por lo visto, se ve que, según parece). Los primeros resultados del análisis muestran que podemos establecer una tendencia hacia la construccionalización de estructuras evidenciales de tipo indirecto, mientras que los casos de evidencia directa surgen en construcciones polisémicas.

Referencias

- Boye, Kasper & Peter Harder, 2009. Evidentiality: Linguistic categories and grammaticalization. *Functions of Language* 16/1.9-43.
- Boye, Kasper, 2010. Evidence for what? Evidentiality and scope. *STUF-Language Typology and Universals Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 63 (4), pp. 290–307.
- Cornillie, Bert 2007. Evidentiality and epistemic modality in Spanish (Semi-) Auxiliaries. *A Cognitive-Funtional Approach*. Berlín: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Briz Gómez, Antonio & Val.Es.Co. Group, 2002. *Corpus de conversaciones coloquiales*. Madrid, Arco/Libros.
- Cabedo, Adrian & Salvador Pons, online (Eds.). *Corpus Val.Es.Co 2.0*. Retrieved from <http://www.valesco.es>.
- Cresti, Emmanuela y Massimo Moneglia (Eds.), 2005. *C-ORAL-ROM. Integrated Reference Corpora for Spoken Romance Languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins (Studies in Corpus Linguistics 15).
- Diewald, Gabriele & Elena Smirnova (eds.), 2010. *Empirical Approaches to Language Typology: Linguistic Realization of Evidentiality in European Languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin/New York.
- Estellés, María & Marta Albelda, 2014. Intonation, evidentials and politeness in Spanish. A corpus analysis. *Journal of Politeness Research*.
- Gómez, José-Ramón (coord.) 2001-2007. *El español hablado de Valencia. Materiales para el estudio sociolingüístico*. Vol. I, II, III. Valencia: Universidad.

- González Condom, Montserrat, 2005. An approach to Catalan evidentiality. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 2 (4), 515-540.
- González Ramos, Elisa, 2004. Por lo visto: marcador de evidencialidad y sus valores pragmáticos en español actual. *Interlingüística* 15, 665-673.
- Grossmann, Francis & Agnès Tutin, 2010. Evidential markers in French scientific writing: the case of the French verb *voir*. In: Diewald, G., Smirnova, E. (Eds.), *The Linguistic Realization of Evidentiality in European Languages*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, pp. 279- 308.
- Kotwica, Dorota, 2013. Los valores del significado de la partícula evidencial *al parecer*: la atenuación y el efecto de disociación. In: Cabedo, A., Aguilar, M., López-Navarro, E. (Eds.), *Estudios de lingüística: investigaciones, propuestas y aplicaciones*. Valencia, Universidad de Valencia, pp. 403-410.

Marta ANDERSSON (Stockholm University)

marta.andersson@english.su.se

Subjectivity of result relations

Subjectivity is generally accepted to be a feature of the context, but it can also be argued that it is at least to some extent related to specific linguistic elements conveying speaker involvement, such as modal auxiliaries, evidentiality and affect markers, deictic elements (Scheibman, 2002; Traugott and Dasher, 2002; Traugott, 2010). In coherence relations, it is believed that subjectivity is reflected in the connective choice. The current paper presents the findings of a corpus study of two resultative English connectives: *as a result* and *for this reason*. The main goal was to investigate different types of Result relations signaled by these connectives from the perspective of subjectivity and modal/evidential expressions.

The analysis is based on the model proposed by Stukker and Sanders (2009) in their study of Dutch connectives. They operationalize the notion of subjectivity by linking it to specific linguistic indicators. The present study found a statistically significant preference for *as a result* to be followed by fewer overt indicators of the writer's stance than for *for this reason*, which co-occurs significantly more frequently with linguistic features carrying subjectivity and evidentiality. This is in line with other studies, which show cross-linguistic preferences for some connectives to occur in subjectively and others in objectively realized contexts (Pander Maat and Sanders, 2000; Pander Maat and Degand, 2001; Stukker and Sanders, 2009; Sanders et al., 2009). Similar distinctions are also observable on the level of domains of use (Sweetser, 1990). The phrase *as a result* is predominant with more objective content Result relations, but scant in inherently subjective epistemic (argument-conclusion) contexts and absent from speech acts. *For this reason*, by contrast, is operative in all three domains of use. Consider the following example conveying speaker involvement and with the connective endorsing epistemic reading:

- (1) It is for the court to decide the weight which should be given to statements which are not made on oath and cannot be tested by cross-examination. For this reason/?as a result it may be unwise to rely on hearsay evidence, particularly in contested proceedings, where it is possible to call a witness to give direct evidence of the facts in issue. (BNC: J76 1073)

These observations relate to another interesting finding of the present study. This finding concerns the phenomenon of veridicality understood as the speaker's commitment to the truth of an utterance and manifested by her use of linguistic expressions to a high extent convergent with those believed to convey subjectivity and epistemic stance (Giannakidou, 1998). The quantitative analysis indicates that *for this reason* is significantly more frequent in contexts that involve, for example, conclusions expressed via modal elements (hence, non-asserted), while *as a result* more commonly occurs in relations with the truth conditions asserted by the speaker.

The results of the study of subjectivity elements, domains of use and veridicality of the Result relations marked with *for this reason* and *as a result* thus quite consistently demonstrate that there is a strong interplay between these different elements, which, as a result, jointly contribute to the subjectivity of the context. Moreover, there are significant preferences for the objectively oriented connective *as a result* to occur in less subjective contexts, while for

this reason shows the opposite tendency. However, it is important to note that they both can occur also in less prototypical environments, but they are just peripheral members of the causal category in such cases (Stukker and Sanders, 2012). Thus the present usage-based analysis offers not only verification of expected recurrent patterns but also insights into linguistic and conceptual creativity.

References

- Giannakidou, A. (1998). Polarity sensitivity as (non)veridical dependency. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Pander Maat, H. and Degand, L. (2001). Scaling causal relations and connectives in terms of speaker involvement. *Cognitive Linguistics* 12 (3), 211-245.
- Pander Maat, H. and Sanders, T. (2001). Subjectivity in causal connectives: An empirical study of language in use. *Cognitive Linguistics* 12-3, 247-273.
- Sanders, J., Sanders, T. and Sweetser, E. (2012). Responsible subjects and discourse causality. How mental spaces and perspective help identifying subjectivity in Dutch backward causal connectives. *Journal of Pragmatics* 44, 191–213.
- Scheibman, Joanne, (2002). Point of View and Grammar. *Structural Patterns of Subjectivity in American English Conversation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Stukker, N. and Sanders, T. (2009). Another('s) perspective on subjectivity in causal connectives: a usage-based analysis of volitional causal relations. *Discourse, Linearization and Segmentation in Discourse* (Special issue).
- Stukker, N. and Sanders, T. (2012). Subjectivity and prototype structure in causal connectives: A cross-linguistic perspective. *Journal of Pragmatics* 44, 169-190.
- Sweetser, E. (1990). *From etymology to pragmatic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, E. and Dasher, R. (2002). *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, E. (2010). Revisiting subjectification and intersubjectification. In: Davidse, K., Vandelanotte, L. and Cuyckens, H. (eds.), *Subjectification, Intersubjectification and Grammaticalization*, 29-70. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

David BANKS (Université de Bretagne Occidentale, Brest)

David.Banks@univ-brest.fr

The use of modality in the early academic article. The *Journal des Sçavans* and the *Philosophical Transactions*, 1665-1700

The very first periodical of an academic nature was the *Journal des Sçavans*, whose first issue appeared in Paris on 5 Jan. 1665. This was followed closely by the *Philosophical Transactions*, whose first issue came out in London 6 Mar. 1665. Study of the contents of these two periodicals in their early years is of interest since they can be seen as the seeds from which the contemporary academic article developed. The *Journal des Sçavans* was edited by Denis de Sallo, and its content was mainly book reviews, covering the whole range of new knowledge of the time. The *Philosophical Transactions* was edited by Henry Oldenburg; it was based on his voluminous correspondence, and was restricted to the field of science and technology, or “natural philosophy” as it was then called. This study is based on a corpus of over 143,000 words, approximately 66,000 for the *Journal des Sçavans*, and 77,000 for the *Philosophical Transactions*. Although the grammatical forms of modality in French cannot be directly compared with those of English, it can be noted that verbal forms (as opposed to adverbial, adjectival etc;) are the commonest in both languages. If the expressions of modality identified in the corpus are distinguished in terms of epistemic, dynamic, and deontic modality, it is found that dynamic modality is the most common in both journals. Nevertheless, the incidence of dynamic modality is considerably higher in the *Philosophical Transactions* than in the *Journal des Sçavans*. This is mainly due to the *Journal des Sçavans* having considerably more examples of deontic modality than the *Philosophical Transactions*. This can be explained in terms of the editorial decisions made by the respective editors, which themselves can be seen as emanating from the differing historical contexts in France and England.

María José BARRIOS SABADOR (Universidad de Nebrija)

mjbarrio@nebrija.es

La conjunción de evidencialidad y modalidad epistémica en la expresión de incertidumbre en español

Los predicados cognitivos carecen, al igual que los operadores de probabilidad (quizá, a lo mejor, puede que, entre otros), de valor veritativo; en patente contraste, su condición verbal conlleva la introducción del conceptualizador en la escena conceptualizada, frente a la ausencia de este en el operador de probabilidad, a excepción de estar seguro de que. Aunque no todos los estudiosos coinciden en la discriminación modalidad epistémica – evidencialidad, parece que las razones aducidas para su distinción se hallan bien fundamentadas. Dichas razones se asientan en el binomio evaluación – ausencia de evaluación del hablante (De Haan 1999), en el componente deíctico de la evidencialidad (De Haan 2005) o en el discernimiento entre compromiso epistémico del hablante y fiabilidad del conocimiento (Cornillie 2009). Otras caracterizaciones se centran menos en la confrontación y abordan la descripción del valor evidencial presente en las expresiones epistémicas mediante una reformulación de la modalidad epistémica objetiva y subjetiva de Lyons (Nuyts 2001).

Dada la distinta configuración de la escena propiciada por los predicados cognitivos y los operadores de probabilidad, partimos de la hipótesis de que ambos no figurarían como recursos complementarios en la modalización de un mismo enunciado.

No obstante, la investigación del empleo de veintitrés operadores de probabilidad en cinco mil textos orales de hablantes de España en el Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (CREA) revela la relativa interacción entre los operadores de probabilidad y los predicados cognitivos. La conjunción de ambos recursos implicaría la doble construcción de la escena: objetiva – mediante el operador de probabilidad – y subjetiva – con la presencia del hablante en su enunciado a través del predicado cognitivo –¹. Nuestro análisis detecta el recurso a predicados cognitivos como apoyatura al espacio epistémico de probabilidad de los operadores investigados en un 13,5% del total de frecuencias.

Lexemas como creer, pensar o parecer son susceptibles de contener un sentido modal o de opinión, mientras que otros – imaginar, figurarse, suponer – ofrecen solo una lectura modal. El contexto se desvela esencial para discriminar la intención modal o argumentativa y desvela la superioridad de empleos modales en los textos estudiados, con creer como el lexema más reiterado. El análisis de coincidencias distingue a seguro que como el operador con menor presencia de predicados cognitivos, mientras que operadores de baja certitud como puede (ser) que, es posible que y quizás cuentan con una mayor recurrencia de predicados cognitivos. Cabe concluir que la indicación de escasa certidumbre admite la presencia de predicados cognitivos junto a operadores de probabilidad, frente a la renuencia de operadores de elevada certitud como seguro que. Hemos comprobado la mayor utilización del pronombre de sujeto o de objeto (en el caso de parecer) en la expresión de opinión. La inserción del pronombre en el juicio valorativo acrecienta aún más la perspectivización y subjetivización de la escena, de ahí

¹ Aquí empleamos los términos objetivo y subjetivo en el sentido propuesto por el modelo teórico de Langacker (1990, 1991b/ 2002).

que sea coherente el incremento de su uso en la opinión, más comprometida que la indicación de incertidumbre.

Referencias

- Carretero, M. (1991 – 92). “Una propuesta de tipología de la modalidad: la aceptación como categoría modal”. *Dicenda. Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica*, 10, 4 – 61. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Cornillie, B. (2005). “On modal grounding, reference points and subjectification”. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 3, 56 – 77.
- Cornillie, B. (2009). “Evidentiality and epistemic modality: On the close relationship between two different categories”. *Functions of Language*, 16 (1), 44 – 62.
- De Haan, F. (1999). “Evidentiality and epistemic modality: setting boundaries”. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 18, 83-101.
- De Haan, F. (2005). “Encoding speaker perspective: evidentials”. En Z. Frajzyngier, A. Hodges y D. Rood (Eds.), *Linguistic Diversity and Language Theories* (pp. 379 – 397). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- De Saeger, B. (2007). “Evidencialidad y modalidad epistémica en los verbos de actitud proposicional en español”. *Interlingüística*, 17, 268 – 277.
- De Saeger, B. (2008). “Speaker involvement through cognition verbs in Spanish”. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, 22 (1), 63 – 81.
- De Haan, F. (1999). “Evidentiality and epistemic modality: setting boundaries”. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 18, 83-101.
- Delbecque, N. y Lamiroy, B. (1999). “La subordinación sustantiva: las subordinadas enunciativas en los complementos verbales”. En I. Bosque y V. Demonte (Dir.), *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española* (pp. 1965-2081). Madrid: Espasa Calpe. 2.
- Langacker, R. W. (1990). “Subjectification”. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 1 (1), 5 – 38.
- Langacker, R. W. (1991a). *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar. II. Descriptive Application*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, R. W. (1991b/ 2002). *Concept, Image, and Symbol. The Cognitive Basis of Grammar*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Nuyts, J. (1993). “Epistemic modal adverbs and adjectives and the layered representation of conceptual and linguistic structure”. *Linguistics*, 31, 933 – 969.
- Nuyts, J. (2001). “Subjectivity as an evidential dimension in epistemic modal expressions”. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33, 383 – 400.
- Wachtmeister Bermúdez, F. (2004). “La categoría evidencial del castellano: metonimia y elevación de sujeto”. *Boletín de Lingüística*, 22, 3 – 31.
- Wachtmeister Bermúdez, F. (2005). *Evidencialidad. La codificación lingüística del punto de vista*. Tesis doctoral (Phd). Stockholms Universitet. Institutionen för Spanska, Portugisiska och Latinamerikastudier.

Erika BERGLIND SÖDERQVIST (Uppsala University)

erika.soderqvist@engelska.uu.se

Gender differences and similarities in the use of inferential evidentiality markers in spoken British English: A corpus-based study

The present study investigates whether there is sex-dependent variation in the use of indirect evidentiality markers in spoken English, using data from the British National Corpus (BNC). The focus of the study is the type of indirect evidentiality termed *reasoning* (Willett 1988:57), meaning instances where cognitive processes such as assumption or logical reasoning are referred to as the source of evidence; typical linguistic examples of such expressions include *I think* and *I remember*. Following Aikhenvald (2007:211), the present study refers to this type as assumption evidentiality.

Very little research has been done in the area of looking at the potential relevance of evidentiality markers as indexical of sociolinguistic variation, or of sex differences in the use of evidentiality expressions in English. Precht (2008) conducted a large-scale study of sex differences in the use of stance markers in English, with evidentiality as one of her categories of stance. She found that men's and women's usage patterns of evidentiality are quite similar with the exception of a few lexical items. Leaper and Robnett's (2011) meta-analysis of 29 studies of sex differences in tentative speech found some differences that are statistically significant, yet small and context-dependent. These are examples of studies that seem to call for further research within this area. While the present study exclusively investigates assumption evidentiality markers that express the source of information (and not certainty), the semantic scope of such constructions and lexical items often extends to speaker's stance in addition to evidentiality.

1. I believe everybody else has been here before (FYB 48)
2. I remember I knocked out a man's teeth in front of witnesses, just by using my mi—my fist (G5E 90)
3. The end of August I think it is in, which means then in July doesn't it? (F7F 1491)

Examples 1 through 3 (extracted from the BNC) illustrate expressions of assumption evidentiality as well as their potential semantic overlap with stance. The present study aims to add depth to the understanding of sex-dependent variation and evidentiality markers in English by investigating sex-based variation in the use of assumption evidentials in spoken British English in greater detail than has been done before. Aside from investigating differences in the frequency to which the respective sexes use assumption evidentials, this study also looks for any qualitative differences between men and women in this regard. Considering what has previously been found about the related semantic category of stance, it is anticipated that a significant difference will be found in the case of the verb *know*, whereas differences are likely to be smaller or insignificant in other lexical items and constructions. It is hoped that these results will pave the way for further investigations of the possible significance of sex variation in evidentiality.

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2007. "Information Source and Evidentiality: What Can We Conclude?" *Rivista di Linguistica*. 19.1: 209–227.

- The British National Corpus, version 3 (BNC XML Edition). 2007. Distributed by Oxford University Computing Services on behalf of the BNC Consortium. URL: <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/>
- Leaper, Campbell and Robnett, Rachael D. 2011. "Women Are More Likely than Men to Use Tentative Language, Aren't They? A Meta-Analysis Testing for Gender Differences and Moderators." *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. 35.1: 129–142.
- Precht, Kristen. 2008. "Sex Similarities and Differences in Stance in Informal American Conversation." *Journal of Sociolinguistics*. 12.1: 89–111.
- Willett, Thomas. 1988. "A Cross-Linguistic Survey of the Grammaticization of Evidentiality." *Studies in Language*. 12.1: 51–97.

Anne-Laure BESNARD (University of Nantes)

anne-laure.besnard@etu.univ-nantes.fr

BE LIKELY TO and BE EXPECTED TO: Epistemic modality or evidentiality? Markers of (non)commitment in journalistic discourse

- (1) Temperatures are likely to be above the national average of 3.7C, according to the latest long-range forecasts for December, January and February. ¹
- (2) Cold and rain are expected to linger a little longer in much of Europe [...].²

At first sight, those two utterances present striking similarities as far as the surface syntactic structure and semantic value of the highlighted segments are concerned. Indeed, they both revolve around an expression denoting probability or conjecture and composed of an adjective or past participle preceded by a form of BE and followed by to. Yet, despite the definition given by the Oxford Learner's for likely ("probable or expected"), it also appears that the two markers are not completely interchangeable: although there would be no such problem in (2), we could hardly replace likely with expected in (1) without it becoming questionable. In fact, this seems to be linked to the presence of according to... which specifies the source of the information in the first utterance — while no equivalent marker is to be found in the second one. This compatibility difference might in turn be due to be likely to being a mere semi-auxiliary of epistemic modality (Quirk et al. 1985: 236), while be expected to, a passive form of the verb expect, already implies reported speech along with epistemic modality (Delesse 2006).

Those observations raise a number of issues: How exactly do these structures operate as evaluative markers? What is the respective weight of evidentiality and epistemic modality in their core values? What kind of commitment do they imply on the part of the speaker? To answer those questions, we will need to conduct a quantitative and qualitative, corpus-based survey of both constructions using the tools provided by the Theory of Enunciative Operations, which should allow us to put forward their defining characteristics. Our objective is to offer a description of the way evidentiality and epistemic modality interact in those markers so that we may consider their impact on the expression of commitment in journalistic discourse — a crucial matter given their level of representation in press articles.

Our hypothesis is that both markers combine evidential and modal components which have different functions in both cases : likely is an old evidential etymologically linked to the notion of appearance(s), which served as a basis for the construction of epistemic modality, now dominant in contemporary English — especially in the BE likely to structure; expect is not evidential in itself but fundamentally modal so that the evidential value actually results from the passive structure which erases the primary source of the modal judgement, thus merely reported by the speaker. It would follow that the two markers imply a very different sort of commitment on the part of the speaker, while the evidential components allow facts to be presented in a relatively neutral way — hence the high number of occurrences³ found in journalistic discourse.

Notes

1 The Guardian, November 24, 2007

2 The Guardian, April 3, 2007

3 Cf. Corpus entry in the references.

References

- BIBER, Douglas and Edward FINEGAN. "Styles of stance in English: Lexical and grammatical marking of evidentiality and affect." *Text* 9.1 (1989): 93-124.
- BOYE, Kasper, and Peter HARDER. "Evidentiality: Linguistic Categories and Grammaticalization." *Functions of Language* 16.1 (2009): 9–43.
- CELLE, Agnès. "Analyse unifiée du conditionnel de non prise en charge en français et comparaison avec l'anglais." *Etudes sémantiques et pragmatiques sur le temps, l'aspect et la modalité*. Ed. Louis de SAUSSURE, Jacques MOESCHLER, and Genoveva PUSKAS. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007. 43–61. *Cahiers Chronos*.
- . *Temps et modalité - L'anglais, le français et l'allemand en contraste*. Bern: Editions scientifiques européennes, 2006. *Etudes Contrastives* 7.
- . "The Intersubjective Function of Modal Adverbs - A Contrastive English-French Study of Adverbs in Journalistic Discourse." *Languages in Contrast* 9.1 (2009): 23–36.
- CHUQUET, Jean, Eric GILBERT, and Hélène CHUQUET. "English definitions of key terms in the Theory of Enunciative Operations" *SIL International*. Web. 21 Mar. 2014.
- CORNILLIE, Bert. *Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality in Spanish (Semi-)Auxiliaries: A Cognitive-Functional Approach*. Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2007.
- DE BRABANTER, Philippe, and Patrick DENDALE, eds. *Commitment*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Compagny, 2008. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 22.
- DE HAAN, Ferdinand. "Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality: Setting Boundaries." *Southwest journal of linguistics* 18.1 (1999): 83–101.
- DELESSE, Catherine. "Les Structures du type 'X is said to/reported to V...' : Discours rapporté ou modalité épistémique ?" *Discours rapporté(s) - Approche(s) linguistique(s) et/ou traductologique(s)*. Arras: Artois Presses Université, 2006. 53–73.
- DENDALE, Patrick, and Liliane TASMOWSKI. "Introduction: Evidentiality and related notions" *Journal of Pragmatics* 33.3 (2001): 339–348.
- HANOTE, Sylvie, and Hélène CHUQUET. "Who's speaking, please?" *Le Discours rapporté*. Gap: Ophrys, 2004. *Gramvoc Anglais*.
- MARNETTE, Sophie. "L'effacement énonciatif dans la presse contemporaine." *Langages* 156 (2004): 51–64.
- NOLKE, Henning. "La Dilution linguistique des responsabilités. Essai de description polyphonique des marqueurs évidentiels il semble que et il paraît que." *Langue française* 102 (1994): 84–94.
- NUYTS, Jan. "Subjectivity as an evidential dimension in epistemic modal expressions." *Journal of Pragmatics* 33.3 (2001): 383-400.
- PALMER, F. R. *Modality and the English Modals*. London: Longman, 1990. Longman Linguistics Library.
- RIVIERE, Claude. "Modal Adjectives : Transformations, Synonymy, and Complementation." *Lingua* 59 (1983): 1–45.
- Dictionaries and grammars:
Cambridge Dictionaries Online. Cambridge University Press. Web. 21 Mar. 2014.
HARPER, Douglas. "Online Etymology Dictionary." *Online Etymology Dictionary*. N. p., 2010. Web. 21 Mar. 2014.

HUDDLESTON, Rodney, and Geoffrey K. PULLUM. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

LARREYA, Paul, and Claude RIVIERE. *Grammaire explicative de l'anglais*. Edinburgh Gate: Longman, 1999.

Oxford Learner's Dictionaries. Oxford University Press. Web. 21 Mar. 2014.

QUIRK, Randolph et al. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. New York: Longman, 1985.

SIMPSON, John Andrew, and Edmund S. C. WEINER. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 20 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989. 2nd edition.

Corpus The Guardian, 2007 — 39,214,895 words, including 3,841 occurrences of BE expected to and 3,717 occurrences of BE likely to.

Kasper BOYE (University of Copenhagen)

boye@hum.ku.dk

Propositions, states-of-affairs and verbal mood. A Danish case study.

Some languages distinguish both sentence types (e.g. declarative, interrogative, imperative) and verbal moods (e.g. indicative, imperative, subjunctive). There is wide agreement that sentence types code different kinds of illocutionary values (e.g. Searle 1989: 540; Lyons 1977: 745-748; Dik 1997: 300-304), but verbal moods are poorly understood. One problem concerns the imperative mood (cf. Palmer 1986: 24). It is generally assumed that it has the same function as the imperative sentence type (hence, the name “imperative” for both), but is this really so? Why would many languages consistently use two distinct expressions redundantly for the same purpose? Another problem concerns the indicative mood. Scholars tend to consider it as “unmarked” and to associate it with the declarative sentence type, just as the imperative mood is associated with the imperative sentence type (e.g. Palmer 1986: 24). Morphologically, however, indicative moods used in declarative sentences are entirely identical to the moods used in interrogative sentences.

With the general aim of proposing a solution to these problems, this paper presents a semantic analysis of the verbal mood contrast between indicative and imperative in Danish. The gist of the analysis is that this contrast Danish must be understood in terms of the distinction between distinction between states-of-affairs (non-truth-valued clause meanings) and propositions (truth-valued ones) (see e.g. Lyons 1977: 842-843; Palmer 1979: 35; Perkins 1983: 7-8; Dik & Hengeveld 1991 on closely related distinctions). More precisely, uninflected imperative verb forms mark SoAs, whereas the indicative suffix is a proposition marker. Among other things, this analysis accounts for the distribution of epistemic expressions across the three major sentence types declarative, interrogative and imperative, and it accounts for the finding that declaratives and interrogatives can be used in indirect speech acts to convey commands, whereas imperatives cannot be used in indirect speech acts to convey assertions or polar questions.

The theoretical background is a recent functional-cognitive theory of the distinction between SoAs and propositions (Boye 2012). Embedded in this theory, the proposed analysis entails that the indicative mood marks propositions understood as linguistic prompts to construe a Langackerian process (Langacker 1987: 244-274) as referring to an extra-linguistic situation, whereas the imperative mood marks SoAs understood as linguistic prompts to evoke a Langackerian process not construed as referring. This analysis fits nicely with the etymology of the term indicative: Indicatives “point” towards the extra-linguistic world.

The proposed analysis presents a solution to the abovementioned problems in that it entails a strict distinction within the domain of mood between elements associated with illocutionary values (declaratives, interrogatives, and sentence-type imperatives), and elements associated with Langackerian process construal (indicatives, subjunctives, mood imperatives).

The parts of the argumentation that involve empirically testable claims (e.g. the argument concerning the distribution of epistemic expressions across the three major sentence types) is based on a 56 million word corpus of written Danish.

References

- Boye, K. (2012). *Epistemic meaning: A crosslinguistic and functional-cognitive study*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dik, S.C. (1997). *The theory of Functional Grammar, Part 1: The structure of the clause* (ed. K. Hengeveld). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dik, S.C. & K. Hengeveld. (1991). The hierarchical structure of the clause and the typology of perception-verb complements, *Linguistics* 29, 231-259.
- Langacker, R.W. (1987). *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, Vol. 1: Theoretical prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Lyons, J. (1977). *Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Palmer, F.R. (1979). *Modality and the English modals* (1st ed.). London: Longman.
- Palmer, F.R. (1986). *Mood and modality* (1st ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Perkins, M.R. (1983). *Modal expressions in English*. London: Frances Pinter.
- Searle, J.R. (1989). How performatives work, *Linguistics and philosophy* 12.5, 535-558.

Lieselotte BREMS (University of Liège), Kristin DAVIDSE (University of Leuven), An VAN LINDEN (University of Leuven & Research Foundation Flanders)

lbrems@ulg.ac.be

Kristin.Davidse@arts.kuleuven.be

An.VanLinden@arts.kuleuven.be

Negative polarity as a trigger for the development of modal meaning

This paper investigates the interaction between negation and modality from a diachronic perspective, and focuses on the role of negative polarity as a trigger for the development of modal meaning in verbo-nominal expressions. In contrast with the spate of diachronic studies of modal verbs, the acquisition of modal meaning by verbo-nominal expressions has received far less attention (e.g. Loureiro-Porto 2010). Yet, studies of verbo-nominal expressions with no doubt (Simon-Vandenberghe 2007; AUTHOR-X et al. To appear) and no question (AUTHOR-X & other 2012) have revealed interesting interactions between (nominally expressed) negation and modal meanings, with lexicalization of the strings often preceding their grammaticalization.

In this paper, we will reconstruct the changes that led to the current modal and mirative (evidential) uses of expressions containing be/have + negative polarity item (NPI) + nouns need (1), chance (2) and wonder (3).

- (1) “Stop it! This is not easy for any of us. There is no need for you to make it even harder.” (WB)
- (2) “We are at war with these terrorists. There is no chance that they will succeed because the collective will of the Saudi people rejects their goals,” the prince said. (WB)
- (3) It’s no wonder Norwegians hunt whale. There’s nothing else left to catch. (WB)

It is hypothesized that across the pathways reconstructed it is negative polarity that triggered the development of grammatical (modal, mirative) meaning. The pilot study on need by AUTHOR-Z et al. (2011), for instance, showed that the noun need is found in both positive and negative modal expressions, but that the negative expressions always have a larger share of grammatical (as opposed to lexical) uses than the positive ones. With negative polarity being the marked variant (even literally) within the polarity paradigm (cf. Horn 2001: ch. 3), the idea is that new meaning attaches more easily to a marked value that has a formal substance than to ‘nothing’.

Previous research on developments of NPIs has focused on the expressive, emphatic force of such items, such as their potential for hyperbole (e.g. AUTHOR-Y 2007; Eckardt 2012), which is relevant to such strings studied as ‘no’ chance. More generally, it is assumed in this paper that the discourse-pragmatic function of negation, viz. to deny expected presuppositions in the mind of the addressee (cf. Langacker 1991: 132ff) is very similar to how modal expressions function (cf. Werth 1999), as well as mirativity, which involves denial of expectations in the mind of the speaker (cf. DeLancey 2001). In other words, it is no coincidence that negative polarity in interaction with the specific nouns studied has a natural functional affinity with the various grammatical meanings the strings developed.

The data used for this study will be drawn from the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE), Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, Second Edition (PPCME), Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME), the Corpus of Late

Modern English Texts, Extended version (CLMETEV), and the synchronic WordBanks Online (WB).

References

- DeLancey, S. 2001. The mirative and evidentiality. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 369-382.
- Eckardt, R. 2012. The many careers of negative polarity items. In Davidse et al. (eds.), *Grammaticalization and Language Change: New Reflections*, 299-325. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Horn, L. 2001. *Negation*. 2nd Ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Langacker, R. 1991. *Foundations of cognitive grammar*, vol 2. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Loureiro-Porto, L. 2010. Verbonominal constructions of necessity with þearf n. and need n.: competition and grammaticalization from OE to eModE. *English Language and Linguistics* 14: 373-397.
- Simon-Vandenberg, A.M. 2007. No doubt and related expressions. A functional account. M. Hannay & G. Steen (eds) *Structural-functional studies in English grammar: in honour of Lachlan Mackenzie*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Werth, P. 1999. *Text Worlds*. London: Longman.

Ruth BREEZE (Universidad de Navarra)

rbreeze@unav.es

Passive of reporting verb: mapping the behavior of an existential structure using corpus tools

In its narrow definition, evidentiality can be regarded as a subcategory of a broader dimension of language which has been called epistemological positioning (Bednarek 2006). In this view, 'evidentials express the kinds of evidence a person has for making factual claims' (Anderson 1986: 273), and so evidentials concern the aspect of epistemological positioning that marks the basis of the speaker's/writer's knowledge (Bednarek 2006: 637). In English, most attention so far has focused on adverbs and verba dicendi (Aikhenvald 2003). Within this, the English passive of reporting/thinking verbs ("be said/thought to be") is a structure that still has considerable potential interest. This structure is used to convey "hearsay", i.e. reported information with no reference to those it was reported by (Aikhenvald 2004), as in the example "He was said to be very angry", which clearly belongs to the category of evidentiality. It is also used to communicate what Bednarek (2006: 643) terms "mindsay", or quoted mental experience, as in the example "She is thought to live in Algiers", which arguably belongs to the evidential category of "assumption" or shared/general knowledge (2004). These structures constitute interesting examples of the type of evidentiality in which the source of the averral is the self, but the basis is supposed to be outside the self, standing mid-way between straightforward attributions and straightforward averrals (Bednarek 2006). However, they have rarely formed the specific object of critical attention, and the crucial difference in terms of evidentiality between "mindsay" and "hearsay" has often been ignored.

This paper uses corpus data (British National Corpus, Corpus of Historical American English, Corpus of Contemporary American English) to trace developments in the use of this structure over the last two hundred years, focusing particularly on two "hearsay" verbs ("say" and "report") and two "mindsay" verbs ("think" and "believe"). First, a diachronic analysis is carried out to identify long-term trends in the use of this structure. Whereas the passive of "hearsay" verbs experienced a significant rise in the later 19th century and a steady decline over the 20th century, the passive forms of the "mindsay" verbs were rare in the 19th century, but then rose to a peak in the 1980s. The corpus data also point to an increasing tendency for this structure to move from being scattered across genres to being concentrated in news or magazine journalism and TV news. Second, an analysis of concordance data from the Corpus of Contemporary American English is carried out to establish the local grammar for the passives of the verbs "say", "report", "think" and "believe" (Hunston and Francis 1998), and then to identify the distributional patterns associated with each structure from 1990 to 2010. The results corroborate the findings of the longer-term diachronic study, since all the structures associated with the passive of "hearsay" verbs became steadily less frequent from 1990 to 2000, while those containing "mindsay" verbs remained stable. These results are discussed in the light of Noel's (2001) claim that such structures are gradually becoming grammaticalised as evidentiality markers.

References

- Aikhenvald, AY (2003) Evidentiality in Typological Perspective. In Aikhenvald, AY and Dixon, RMW (Eds) *Studies in Evidentiality*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Anderson, LB (1986) Evidentials, paths of change and mental maps: Typologically regular asymmetries. In *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*, W Chafe and J Nichols (eds), 273–312. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Bednarek, M (2006) Epistemological Positioning and Evidentiality in English News Discourse: A Text-driven Approach. *Text & Talk*, 26, 6, 635-660.
- Hunston, S and G Francis (1998) Verbs observed: a corpus driven pedagogic grammar. *Applied Linguistics* 19, 1, 45-72.
- Noel, D (2001) The passive matrices of English infinitival complement clauses. Evidentials on the road to auxiliarihood? *Studies in Language* 25, 2, 255-296.

María Luisa CARRIÓ PASTOR (Universitat Politècnica de València) and Francisco ALONSO ALMEIDA (Universidad de las Palmas de Gran Canaria)

lcarrio@idm.upv.es

falonso@dfm.ulpgc.es

A contrastive analysis of the use of epistemic modals in genres

Language is not a static form of communication; it changes depending on the context, the culture and the social background of the speaker. The development of technology has increased international communication and globalisation so that now, speakers are able to transfer knowledge to people from other continents and with different linguistic backgrounds. Speakers communicate in a lingua franca whose rhetoric strategies are used depending on the receiver, the sender and the message. This fact creates different ways to express the same discourse in different genres. The internal structure of a genre within a particular professional or academic context constrains the form of the linguistic resources and the functional values they assume in discourse. In this sense, writers do not always use language in the same way; the choice of linguistic features varies a fact stated by Samraj (2002, 2004), Freddi (2005), Charles (2007), Ozturk (2007), Carrió-Pastor and Candel-Mora (2013) and Carrió-Pastor (2013). We would like to point out in this paper a further aspect: the fact that language can change depending on the genre. Human beings transmit emotions and thoughts in a different manner, in this way knowledge could also be expressed using different linguistic devices, i.e. epistemic strategies (Marín Arrese 2004, Alonso-Almeida and Cruz-García 2011, Alonso-Almeida 2014). As White (2003) citing Volosinov (1995: 139) explains: “The actual reality of language-speech is not the abstract system of linguistic forms, not the isolated monologic utterance, and not the psychological act of its implementation, but the social event of verbal interaction implemented in an utterance or utterances”.

In this paper, our main objective is to determine if linguistic variation exists when written in different genres. In order to accomplish with this purpose, ten scientific papers and ten newspaper articles written by English speakers were analysed and compared. Epistemic modals were detected in the corpus and contrasted to find out if the use of different genres caused variation in the use of epistemic modals. The occurrences found were analysed in order to show that language is an individual act and it is used in a unique way by different speakers. Results were analysed and the conclusions evidenced the initial hypothesis: variation exists in the use of epistemic modals in different genres.

References

- Alonso-Almeida, F. and L. Cruz-García. 2011. “The value of may as an evidential and epistemic marker in English medical abstracts”. *Studia anglica posnaniensia* 46.3: 59–73.
- Alonso-Almeida, F. 2014. “Evidential and Epistemic Devices in English and Spanish Medical, Computing and Legal Scientific Abstracts: A Contrastive Study”. In M. Bondi and R. Lorés (eds.) *Abstracts in Academic Discourse. Variation and Change*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Carrió Pastor, M. L. & M. A. Candel. 2013. “Variation in the translation patterns of English complex noun phrases into Spanish in a specific domain”. *Languages in Contrast*, 13-1: 28-45.

- Carrió-Pastor, M. L. 2013. "A contrastive study of the variation of sentence connectors in academic English". *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, 12-3: 192-202.
- Charles, M. 2007. "Argument or evidence? Disciplinary variation in the use of the noun that pattern in stance construction". *English for Specific Purposes* 26: 203-218.
- Marín-Arrese, J. I. 2004. "Evidential and epistemic qualifications in the discourse of fact and opinion: A comparable corpus study". In J. I. Marín-Arrese (ed.) *Perspectives on Evidentiality and Modality*. Madrid: Editorial Complutense: 153–184.
- Ozturk, I. 2007. "The textual organisation of research article introductions in applied linguistics: Variability within a single discipline". *English for Specific Purposes* 26: 25-38.
- Samraj, B. 2002. "Introductions in research articles: Variations across disciplines". *English for Specific Purposes* 21: 1-17.
- Samraj, B. 2004. "Discourse features of the student-produced academic research paper: Variation across disciplinary courses". *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 3: 5-22.
- Freddi, M. 2005. *Arguing linguistics: Corpus investigation of one functional variety of academic discourse*. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 4: 5-26.
- Volosinov, V. N. 1995. *Marixism and the Philosophy of Language*. London: Routledge.
- White, P. R. R. 2003. "Beyond modality and hedging: A dialogic view of the language of intersubjective stance". *Text* 23.2: 259-284.

Patrick DENDALE (Universiteit Antwerpen)

patrick.dendale@uantwerpen.be

The French conditional as reportative evidential marker. Linguistic characteristics

In this lecture we will talk about a specific use of the French conditional, which has often been described as an evidential reportative marker since the studies of Dendale (1991, 1993). More than 35 studies have been published about this use since these initial studies, describing mainly its semantic properties and some of them its textual properties.

The main questions about its semantics properties concern the semantic components it contains and their importance within the semantic structure of this use. This issue is of great importance for the study of evidentiality because the semantic components at stake are an evidential (report of information) one and two modal-epistemic ones (degree of certainty and commitment to the truth), posing again the question about the relation between evidentiality and epistemic modality. Depending on which of these components is/are dominant in the semantics and/or the use of the conditional, the tense will be called an evidential marker, a modal marker, a non commitment marker or a “mixed” marker, all positions that have been defended by linguists in the past and that also explain the numerous names (listed by Kronning 2004) that have been given to this use of the conditional.

In our talk we will first very briefly recall the main analyses that have been proposed for this use of the conditional, resulting in a quick state of the art of what we know about this use and what we do not know yet.

We will then add some new elements to its semantic description: starting from a corpus of more than 1000 examples – both invented and authentic, retrieved ones – taken from studies on the reportative conditional or on the conditional in general published by different linguists, we will describe several characteristics that have not been systematically explored yet, like types of verbs occurring most frequently in the reportative conditional (e.g. aspect of these verbs), distribution between simple and composed forms, presence of other modal and evidential elements in the sentence (e.g. clauses with *Selon*, modal adverbs, (non) commitment markers), presence of elements pointing to the future (e.g. certain adjectives and verbs), general sentence structure (subordinate proposition, main proposition, adverbial proposition, presupposed proposition etc.), right appearing sentences giving indications on the truth value of the sentence in the conditional, etc.

We will check with this research (part of a larger study on examples of this use of the conditional as proposed in linguistic and grammatical studies) to which extent the characteristics described above confirm the elements of recent semantic analyses, amongst which different innovating studies by Kronning (2005, 2013) and to what extent they can help us to solve some of the unanswered questions, for instance about the future or non future reference of the reportative conditional.

References

Dendale P. (1991): *Le marquage épistémique de l'énoncé : esquisse d'une théorie avec applications au français*, Thèse de doctorat non publié, Université d'Anvers.

- Dendale P. (1993): « Le conditionnel de l'information incertaine : marqueur modal ou marqueur évidentiel ? », in G. Hilty (dir.), *Actes du XXe Congrès International de Linguistique et Philologie Romanes*, Tübingen, Francke, 1, p. 165-176.
- Kronning H. (2004): « Kunskapens källa och kunskapens styrka. Epistemisk konditionalis i franskan som evidentiellt och modalt grammatiskt uttryck », in *Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala. Årsbok 2002 [Annales Societatis Litterarum Humaniorum Regiae Upsaliensis]*, Uppsala, Swedish Science Press, p. 43-123.
- Kronning H. (2005): « Polyphonie, médiation et modalisation : le cas du conditionnel épistémique », in J. Bres, P.P. Haillet, S. Mellet, H. Nølke et L. Rosier (dir.), *Actes du colloque de CERISY 'Dialogisme, polyphonie : approches linguistiques'*, Bruxelles, de Boeck-Duculot, p. 297-323.
- Kronning H. (2012): « Le conditionnel épistémique : propriétés et fonctions discursives », *Langue française*, 173, p. 83-97.

Blanca GARCÍA RIAZA (Universidad de Salamanca)

bgr@usal.es

The interplay of participants and reporting verbs in science popularization reports: analysis of an electronic corpus of newspaper articles

Newspapers have nowadays gained a relevant position as digital sources of information for a general readership that surfs the Net. Digital editions of newspapers have achieved a spreading level far beyond printed editions, also expanding their sections to include areas of knowledge such as science popularization articles, that disseminate scientific findings (Giannoni 2008: 212) and explain the social meaning of scientific events (Gotti 2014: 27). Science popularizations constitute a new type of text that presents scientific advances and represents the linguistic experiences (Halliday & Mathiessen, 2004: 441) that were used to originally make the scientific progresses known. This process of re-contextualizing information is carried out through language events' reports (Thompson, 1996: 501), a resource for journalists to include different voices in the story (Martin and Rose, 2003: 23): his/her own one and that of the scientists.

The research we present is the result of an analysis of language reports in a corpus of science popularization articles from the British newspaper *The Guardian*, from a corpus linguistics approach. For this purpose, we followed the transitivity system presented by Halliday (1985: 101) and also took advantage of the digital research tool *WordSmith Tools* 5.0. (Scott, 2009). Participants and reporting verbs in language events' reports have been chosen due to their relevance as attribution references that create an authority that legitimizes the journalists' words (Caldas-Coulthard 1994: 303) presented in the digital texts that popularize scientific facts, as well as providing readers with relevant information about the original production of the language event. The main research hypothesis of this study is how the different elements of transitivity present in the language events studied relate among them, and, more specifically, how reporting verbs can be typically associated with sources of attribution.

The results here presented are meant to be a step forward in the analysis carried out by Garcia Rianza (2012), by providing new insights into the type, position and degree of specificity of the source of attribution given in science popularization reports, thus contributing to develop a thorough portray of the scientific voices included in newspaper recontextualizations of scientific knowledge.

References

- Caldas-Coulthard, C.R. (1994) "On reporting reporting: the representation of speech in factual and factional narratives". En Coulthard, M. (ed.) *Advances in written text analysis*, London, Routledge,; 295-308.
- Garcia Rianza, B. (2012) *Attribution and thematization patterns in science popularization articles of The Guardian newspaper*. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca. Colección Vitor, 310.
- Giannoni, D. S. (2008). Popularizing features in English journal editorials. *English for Specific Purposes* 27: 212-232.
- Gotti, M. (2014). Reformulation and recontextualization in popularization discourse. *Ibérica* 27: 15-34.

- Halliday M.A.K. and Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen. (2004). *An introduction to functional grammar*. 3rd revised edition. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1895). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London. Edward Arnold.
- Martin, J. R. and D. Rose. (2003). *Working with discourse: meaning beyond the clause*. London/N.Y.: Continuum.
- Scott, M. (2009). *WordSmith Tools, Version 5.0*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, [Software].
- Thompson, G. (1996). 'Voices in the text: discourse perspectives on language reports'. *Applied Linguistics* 17(4): 501-530.

Sonia GÓMEZ-JORDANA (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

sgjordana@filol.ucm.es

The evolution of the marker *comme qui dirait* in French

The aim of this paper is the evolution of the discourse marker *comme qui dirait* from old French to contemporary French. At the beginning, the marker has the sense of an hypothetical comparative *si comme l'en diroit / comme + qui + diroit* meaning *comme si l'on disait*. In a second stage, the marker becomes a reformulative marker meaning *c'est-à-dire*. Finally, in a third stage, it becomes a polyphonic attenuator marker.

There are several markers of *comme* that refer to words of others, whether virtual or actual, such as *comme on dit* studied for example by Anscombe (2005), *comme dirait l'autre* or *comme quoi* studied by Lefevre (2003 a and b). Here, we will focus on the marker *comme qui dirait* whose contemporary sense does not seem compositional. We can therefore ask ourselves whether there is always a comparison marker in *comme* to whom the subject pronoun *qui* refers to or why the verb is conjugated in the conditional tense, whereas in Spanish the indicative mode is used in this phrase (*como quien dice*).

The diachronic study of *comme qui dirait* explains its contemporary meaning and reveals the semantic traces by appearing as a marker. In addition, a polyphonic analysis will allow understanding the role of the locutor and of the enunciators in the enunciation of the marker. Our work is framed in the studies of media markers such as Guéntcheva (1996), Dendale and Tasmowski (1994) or Anscombe (2005). This kind of markers indicates the type of sources used by the locutor to say something.

Our hypothesis is to defend the existence of three diachronic values that might overlap; contemporary French only represents the last one of them. Even if we do not dedicate much space to the syntax, we shall find that the semantic evolution is accompanied by a syntactic change. We start from an extensive corpus produced on the basis of Frantext data, to the corpus of medieval literature of the *langue d'oïl* and scores found online in Google since the 14th century to the day.

Montserrat GONZÁLEZ CONDOM (Universidad Pompeu Fabra) and Aina TORRENT-LENZEN (Fachhochschule Köln & Universität Wien)

montserrat.gonzalez@upf.edu

aina.torrent_lenzen@fh-koeln.de

Evidential markers and translation (Spanish-English-German)

The aim of this paper is to analyze, from a contrastive perspective, the discourse function of Spanish lexical units such as *la verdad*, *a fe que* or *así de claro* that carry out an evidential role, focusing on their translation into English and German.

The relationship between evidentiality and epistemicity has been approached differently by the various authors who have analyzed them (cf. Cornillie 2009; De Haan 2001; Fitneva 2001; Plungian 2001). Evidentiality refers to the linguistic encoding of the source of the information; epistemicity to the degree of commitment that a speaker has in the truth-value of a proposition. Our approach is that, although there is interrelation between both categories, they can be analyzed separately, in the construction of the speaker's stance (cf. Wiemer 2010: 60).

Our starting point is the following: in a translation, given a specific source of information in the source text, and bearing in mind that there is always certain loss of information in the target text, is it possible to reproduce the exact sort of source? Our hypothesis is that the discourse context determines, to a great extent, the translator's decision. In the case of evidentials, this is because of the different lexical material that each language offers, making it very difficult to be absolutely fair with the evidential content.

The data we analyze come from monolingual and bilingual corpora of authentic natural language, parallel corpora and translation corpora found in public web pages in internet. Our first findings show that the evidential category tends to be translated either from a strictly evidential or epistemic perspective, or by means of intensification, the three parameters being tightly linked and context-dependent. The contrastive approach taken in translation studies has been little explored, to the moment. Our study represents a step forward in the field of translation.

References

- Cornillie, Bert (2009). Evidentiality and epistemic modality: on the close relationship of two different categories. *Functions of Language* 16(1): 32-44.
- De Haan, Ferdinand (2001). The relation between modality and evidentiality. In Müller, Reimar & Reis, Marga (eds.), *Modalität und Modalverben im Deutschen*. Linguistische Berichte, Sonderheft 9. Hamburg: H. Buske, 201-216.
- Fitneva, S. A. 2001. Epistemic marking and reliability judgments: Evidence from Bulgarian. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33, pp. 401–420.
- Hasler, G. 2010. Epistemic modality and evidentiality and their determination on a deictic basis: the case of Romance languages. In Diewald, G., Smirnova, E. (Eds.), *Linguistic Realization of Evidentiality in European Languages*. Walter de Gruyter: Berlin / New York, pp. 223–248.
- Marín Arrese, J. 2011. Epistemic legitimizing strategies, commitment and accountability in discourse. *Discourse Studies* 13(6), pp. 789–797.

Plungian, V. A. 2001. The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33, pp. 349–357

The covert modality of “letting” in English middle

Modality and genericity are presented as typical features of the English middle construction in the linguistic literature. According to Keyser and Roeper (1984: 384), middles, “sometimes called generic sentences, state propositions that are held to be generally true.” Massam (1992: 121) defines the English middle as a “sentence which contains a certain modality which lends a generic meaning to the sentence” (1992: 121).

Authors like Fagan (1992) and Iwata (1999) have proposed a modal analysis of the English middle construction. Fagan (1992: 54) paraphrases the meaning of (1a) as in (1b), implying that the middle construction realizes the modal notions of possibility or ability:

- (1) a. [about a kind of siding:] It nails easily. It cuts easily.
- b. It can be nailed easily. It can be cut easily.

Against this analysis, which changes the syntactic structure of the middle, Davidse and Heyvaert (2003: 68) propose that the modality in middles is associated with the inanimate entity, and not with the implied agent, and that it has to be understood in terms of Talmy’s (2000: 409) force-dynamic notion of “letting”.

Following Davidse and Heyvaert (2007: 39), in this paper I will analyze middle constructions as structures “expressing a modal letting value”, linked to the “conducive nature” of the subject. According to Heyvaert (2003: 143), the modality of “letting” and the notion of conduciveness are argued to “constitute general properties of middle constructions in that they schematize over the various process types and Subject-entities which the middle can take”.

Middles do not realize the modal notions of ability and possibility but rather involve intrinsic modality concerned with “a person’s or thing’s intrinsic disposition, which has the potential of being actualised” (Radden and Dirven 2007: 246). The assessment of potentiality in middles is connected to the feature of “genericity”. According to Fagan (1992: 152), the sentence in (2) can be true “even if the organizer has never been mounted and even if it never is:”

- (2) This shoe organizer mounts securely on a door or against a wall. (Fagan 1992: 151)

However, contra Fagan, I will argue that the middle construction in (2) is not generic in the way that the sentence in (3) is:

- (3) This machine crushes oranges (Krifka et al. 1995: 54)

This sentence can indeed be true “even if the machine never has and never will have crushed a single orange” (Krifka et al. 1995: 54). On the other hand, the “capacity middle” (Rapoport 1999) in (2) focalises the habitual result of a potential action, recognised as such in virtue of the implied agent’s previous experience with the subject entity (see Author 2013: 142).

Drawing upon the assumption that the middle predication is essentially modal (Davidse and Heyvaert 2007), I will try to identify the semantic (and pragmatic) components that are specific

to the covert “letting” modal relationship, and will provide corpus evidence that it is the inherent (and/or noninherent) properties of the inanimate subject entity which motivate its construal as Subject by the speaker in prototypical and non-prototypical English middles.

References

- Davidse, K. and L. Heyvaert (2003) On the middle construction in English and Dutch. In S. Granger, J. Lerot and S. Petch-Tyson (eds) *Corpus-based Approaches to Contrastive Linguistics and Translation Studies*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 57-73
- Davidse, K. and L. Heyvaert (2007) On the middle voice: an interpersonal analysis of the English middle. *Linguistics* 45.1: 37-83.
- Fagan, S.M.B. (1992) *The Syntax and Semantics of Middle Constructions*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Guerrero Medina, Pilar (in press, 2013) “Lexical-constructional integration in non-prototypical English middles: the role of high-level metonymy as a motivating factor.” *Journal of English Studies* 11: 133-147
- Heyvaert, L. (2003) *A Cognitive-Functional Approach to Nominalization in English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Keyser, S.J. and T. Roeper (1984) “On the middle and ergative constructions in English”. *Linguistic Inquiry* 15: 381-416.
- Krifka, M., F. J. Pelletier, G.N. Carlson, A. ter Maalen, G. Link and G. Chierchia (1995) “Genericity: An introduction”. In G.N. Carlson and F.J. Pelletier (eds) *The Generic Book*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1-93.
- Massam, M. (1992) “Null objects and non-thematic subjects”. *Journal of Linguistics* 28: 115-137.
- Radden, G. and R. Dirven (2007) *Cognitive English Grammar*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Rapoport, T.R. (1999) “The English middle and agentivity”. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30: 147-155.
- Talmy, L (2000) *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*. Vol. 1: *Concept structuring systems*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Ingeborg HARMES (University of Münster / University of Antwerp)

iharmes@uni-muenster.de

A synchronic and diachronic study of the auxiliary verb 'zou'

Modal auxiliaries typically express modal meanings, but the Dutch modal *zullen* 'shall' is a special case in this regards, since next to some modal meanings it predominantly expresses a temporal meaning (future). The preterite form *zou* 'should' is even more special since in Modern Dutch it serves as the past time of *zullen* only in roughly 20% of its occurrences. For the rest, it serves functions which are absent in *zullen*, including the marking of evidentiality, hypotheticality and counterfactuality. In addition, *zou* very often functions as a modifier of another modal, as for example in *zou kunnen* 'should can', or *zou moeten* 'should must'. All of this indicates that *zou* has become a separate auxiliary, independent of *zullen*. The aim of this talk is to present an overview of the diachronic development of the meanings and uses of *zou*, as well as of its grammatical properties. Special attention will be devoted to the question whether the meanings and uses of *zou*, and the evolutions in them, correlate with specific functional or grammatical properties of the host clause – cf. features such as appearance in indirect speech reporting, embedding under mental state predicates, or the occurrence in the protasis or apodosis of conditional structures.

The study is corpus based. It involves an analysis of the meanings and uses and of the grammatical properties of *zou* in four language stages: Modern Dutch (post 1980), Early New Dutch (1550-1650), Early Middle Dutch (1250-1300) and Old Dutch (before 1200). The data consist of samples of 200 instances per period (or, for Old Dutch, all the instances available in the few remaining texts for that period). For Modern Dutch two samples of 200 instances are used, one exclusively written, one exclusively spoken. The samples were randomly drawn from the representative Corpus Gesproken Nederlands, the CONDIV Corpus, the Corpus Gysseling, the online Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren, and a few reliable internet sources (websites of newspapers, online journals, etc.). All instances have been analyzed in terms of their meaning or function, as well as in terms of a range of structural and functional features of the clause in which they appear (e.g. grammatical pattern, type of state of affairs, temporal structure, presence of other modal or evidential forms, etc.). The study uses a cognitive-functional model (e.g. Nuyts 2001, 2008) as its analytical framework.

Zou featured modal meanings (dynamic and deontic) only in the early language stages. Its use to mark future in the past, still the most important one in the older stages, gradually decreases over time. The marking of hypotheticality, present from the oldest stages, becomes absolutely dominant in Early New Dutch and Modern Dutch. The evidential use of *zou*, in most instances involving 'hearsay' marking, only emerges in Early New Dutch, and is often (about 65%) combined with other evidential markers. The findings suggest that the evidential use developed out of the hypothetical use.

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Yurievnaay. 2004. Evidentiality. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- De Haan, Ferdinand. 2001. The Relation between Modality and Evidentiality. In Müller, R & M. Reiss (eds.) *Modalität und Modalverben im Deutschen* (Linguistische Berichte. Sonderheft 9), 201-216.
- Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren. URL: <http://www.dbnl.org>
- Nederlandse Taalunie. 2004. *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands. Versie 2.0*. Leiden: TST-Centrale INL.
- Nuyts, Jan. 2001. Epistemic Modality, language, and conceptualization. A cognitive-pragmatic perspective. Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- Nuyts, Jan. 2004. Over de (beperkte) combineerbaarheid van deontische, epistemische en evidentiële uitdrukkingen in het Nederlands. Wilrijk: Antwerp Papers in Linguistics 108.
- Nuyts, Jan. 2005. The modal confusion: On terminology and the concepts behind it. In Klinge, Axel & Hendrik Hoeg Müller (red.), *Modality: Studies in form and function*, 5-38. London: Equinox.
- Nuyts, Jan. 2006. Modality: Overview and linguistic issues. In Frawley, William, Erin Eschenroeder, Sara Mills & Thao Nguyen (red.), *The expression of modality*, 1-26. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Nuyts, Jan. 2008. Qualificational meanings, illocutionary signals, and the cognitive planning of language use. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 6, 185-207.
- Nuyts, Jan. 2011. Degrammaticalisatie in de Nederlandse modale hulpwerkwoorden. *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 121, 155-182.
- Nuyts, Jan. P. Byloo and J. Diepeveen . 2010. On deontic modality, directivity, and mood: The case of Dutch *mogen* and *moeten*. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42, 16-34.
- Grondelaers, S., Deygers, K., van Aken, H., van den Heede, V. & Speelman, D. (2000). Het ConDiv-corpus geschreven Nederlands. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 5, 356-363.
- Haeseryn, W., K. Romijn, G. Geerts, J. de Rooij & M.G. van den Toorn (1997). *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst*. 2nd ed. Groningen.
- Horst, J. Van der (2008). *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse syntaxis*. Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven.
- SDU Uitgevers. 1998. *CD-ROM Middelnederlands*. Den Haag.

Gerda HAßLER, Anja HENNEMANN and Verónica BÖHM (Potsdam University)

hassler@uni-potsdam.de

henneman@uni-potsdam.de

On the evidential use of English adverbials and its equivalents in Romance languages and Russian. A morpho-syntactic analysis.

The aim of the present study is to investigate the use of the English adverbials seemingly, it seems, apparently, obviously and their equivalents in Romance languages and Russian: the adverbial locutions in Spanish *al parecer*, Portuguese *ao que parece*, French *avoir l'air de faire qc* as well as *paraît-il*, Italian *in apparenza* and Russian *по-видимому*. The analysis will be based on news reports.

In these means of expression the functional-semantic categories evidentiality and epistemic modality seem to overlap: on the one hand, it is used if the state of affairs talked about cannot be verified, that is, if there is still a moment of insecurity concerning the transmitted information. On the other hand, these adverbial locutions are often (always?) used if the information talked about is based on an external information source, i.e., on an information source which cannot be identified with the journalist proper.

The investigation is based on the hypothesis that the syntactic behaviour of the means of expression analysed here is motivated by their morphological composition. The study will analyse whether the adverbial locution under discussion and its equivalents in Romance languages and Russian may be used sentence-initially (2), parenthetically (4), as an adverbial with broad (2, 3) or narrow scope (1) or as a component of a modalised predication (5), as the English examples (1)-(5) illustrate:

- (1) Nicolas Sarkozy reaches out for Carla to spice up a seemingly boring meeting on his Indian state visit (Daily Mail 09/12/2010)
- (2) 'Apparently I'm a crack addict!' Michelle Keegan jokes about snaps [...] (Daily Mail 08/07/2012)
- (3) Hospitals ordered to stop 'obviously unacceptable' practice of sending patients home in the middle of the night (Daily Mail 17/04/2012)
- (4) a. I'm an Anglophile, it seems. Can one be an Anglophile and also a Scottish nationalist? (The Guardian 24/02/2012)
b. These days, it seems, we marry the property rather than the person (The Guardian 20/07/2006)
- (5) 'She apparently has not learned her lesson': Thieving girl, 13, forced to hold 'I steal from my family' sign at busy intersection (Daily Mail 15/02/2012)

In order to obtain data from different newspapers, the authors worked with the corpus programme GlossaNet (<http://glossa.fltr.ucl.ac.be/>). It provides a pre-selected pool of different newspapers, which is considered a perfect database if analysing the use of seemingly and its equivalents qualitatively.

References

- Cornillie, Bert (2007a): Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality in Spanish (Semi-)Auxiliaries. A Cognitive-Functional Approach. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Cornillie, Bert (2007b): "On the continuum between lexical and grammatical evidentiality. Evidence from Spanish". In: Italian Journal of Linguistics (Evidentiality between Lexicon and Grammar) 19 (1), 108-129.
- Haßler, Gerda (2003): "Modalisierung und Vagheit in der italienischen Pressesprache". In: Radatz, Hans-Ingo / Schlösser, Rainer (eds.): *Donum grammaticorum*. Festschrift für Harro Stammerjohann. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 115-129.
- Hennemann, Anja (2013): A Context-sensitive and Functional Approach to Evidentiality in Spanish or Why Evidentiality needs a Superordinate Category. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Carlos HERRERO ZORITA (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

carlos.herrero@uam.es

Deontic modality markers in a Spanish spoken corpus

Modality, “the concern with the status of the proposition that describes the event” (Palmer, 2001:1), or as Moreno-Cabrera states, “the relationship between the attitude of the speaker and the utterance” (1991: 314), is with no doubt an ever-present linguistic feature in all languages. Although the classification of this feature may vary according to the theoretical approach or the language, there are two mayor types that have found a common ground among theoreticians. On the one hand the epistemic modality, or the evaluation of the certainty of the events; and on the other the deontic modality, or the way of changing or acting on reality (Moreno-Cabrera, 1991: 320).

This work will focus on the second type, the deontic modality, in the wider sense, referred to as event modality by Palmer (2001:9) or situational by Van de Auwera and Ammann (2013). That is, we will study the linguistic markers of obligation, permission and ability. We have selected a very specific discourse for this matter: spontaneous spoken Spanish, which will be provided by the Spanish C-ORAL-ROM corpus (Moreno et. al. 2005), a collection of 335,471 words in both informal and formal registers.

Regarding Spanish language, deontic modality can be expressed with the mood of the verb, the intonation of the utterance and in a syntactic level through, for example, subordination (Ridruejo, 3214). Since the corpus has been morphologically tagged, and also transcribed using precise transcription marks that include paralinguistic features such as intonation and hesitations, we are able to identify, quantify, and study these modality markers.

The objective is then to answer the question of how deontic modality markers are used in a spoken Spanish corpus, as well as to study their frequency of use, taking into account both formal and informal registers. Our hypothesis is that we will find different markers in both registers, but their frequencies will be high in both of them. Following Douglas Biber’s conclusions comparing different discourses, in conversations speakers have “primary concern for their feelings, attitudes, evaluations, and assessments of likelihood: what we have referred to as personal stance. Many of the most common grammatical features in conversation are used to express stance, including modal verbs, complement clause constructions, and stance adverbials” (Biber et. al. 2002: 433). Due to the interactive nature of the conversation, there is a high level of speech acts such as requests or orders in both formal and informal registers. For example, imperative sentences are much more frequent in conversations than in any other type of discourse (2002: 255).

We intend with this work to perform a similar corpus based study on this type of modality markers in Spanish, that hopefully would lead to future and more complete studies regarding modality in a spoken and spontaneous Spanish discourse.

References

- Biber D., Conrad S., Leech G. (2002). Longman grammar of spoken and written English. Harlow, England: Longman.
- Moreno Cabrera, J. C. (1991). Curso Universitario de Lingüística General. (Vol. 1). Madrid: Síntesis.
- Moreno-Sandoval, A., De la Madrid, G., Alcántara, M., González, A. and De la Torre, R. (2005). "The Spanish Corpus". In: Cresti y Moneglia (eds.). C-ORAL-ROM Integrated Reference Corpora for Spoken Romance Languages. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2005.
- Palmer, F. R. (2001). Mood and Modality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ridruejo, E. (2000). Modo y modalidad. El modo en las subordinadas sustantivas. In Bosque, I. and Demonte, V. Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española. Madrid: Espasa Calpe. 2000.
- Van der Auwera, J. & Ammann, A. (2013). Situational Possibility. In: Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) The World Atlas of Language Structures Online. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/74>)

Laura HIDALGO DOWNING (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

laura.hidalgo@uam.es

Modality, evaluation and stancetaking in two genres of scientific discourse: a corpus approach to scholarly and semi-formal publications

The present paper discusses the similarities and differences in the use of modal verbs and adverbs, together with other types of evaluative language in two different corpora of scientific discourse. The topic of the articles is the phenomenon known as cell suicide. The first corpus consists of a selection of research articles from the open access online journal *PLOS ONE* (68,436 words), while the second one is a corpus of articles from *New Scientist* (58,846 words). I apply Myers' distinction between the narratives of science and of nature (1990, 1994), Nerlich et al.'s (2009) and Low's (2005) approach to the popularization of scientific discourse, in order to account for variations between the two genres with regard to how the process under study is understood, labeled and used as markers of stancetaking towards different audiences. Modality is here considered as the grammatical manifestation of evaluative language, following Hunston and Thompson 2000, Thompson and Alba-Juez 2014 (also see Marín Arrese et al. 2014), being thus closely related to evaluation expressed by lexical means and to the expression of stance (Also see Englebreston 2007). Keyword analysis is first used to identify significant uses of modal verbs and adverbs and of selected evaluative lexis in the two corpora in order to explore the differences in the frequency and use of these linguistic resources in the two genres. Results confirm the differences outlined by Myers with regard to the grammatical differences of narratives of science and of nature in different scientific genres. More specifically, they reveal that the semi-formal corpus shows a tendency for a higher frequency of the use of modal verbs and interpersonal adverbs, together with evaluative lexis to describe scientific phenomena, often using personification and objectification. By contrast, the scholarly corpus shows a lower frequency of modal resources and evaluative lexis. These results are discussed in the light of the implications they reveal with regard to the linguistic choices which are preferred in stancetaking and the communication of scientific research to different audiences.

References

- Robert Englebretson (ed.) (2007) *Stancetaking in Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hunston, Susan and Geoff Thompson (eds). 2000. *Evaluation in Text: Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Low, G. (2005) Explaining evolution: the use of animacy in an example of semi-formal science writing. *Language and Literature* 14/2, 129-148.
- Marín-Arrese, J.I., M. Carretero, J. Arús Hita & J. van der Auwera (Eds.) (2013). *English Modality: Core, Periphery and Evidentiality*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter
- Myers, Greg. 1994. "Narratives of science and nature in popularizing molecular genetics." In *Advances in Written Text Analysis*, Malcolm Coulthard (ed.), 179–190. London: Routledge.
- Nerlich, B. R. Elliott and B. Larson. (2009). *Communicating Biological Sciences. Ethical and Metaphorical Dimensions*. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate.
- Thompson, G. and Alba-Juez, L. (2014) *Evaluation in Context*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Are certainty adverbs prototypical evidentials? Revisiting the semantics of certainty adverbs from a narrow perspective of evidentiality.

Since the introduction of the notion of evidentiality in the descriptive studies about European languages, certainty adverbs such as *obviously*, *evidently*, *certainly*, *clearly* and their cognates in other European languages have been classified as evidential adverbs by both scholars who regard evidentiality in a large sense and those who apply it in a narrow sense.

Furthermore, some authors connect the term *evidentiality* to the noun *evidence* with the sense of ‘proof’ instead of ‘hint’, ‘trace’ and, consequently, consider these adverbs as prototypical evidentials or even restrict the notion of evidentiality to such units and other expressions of certainty (Ifantidou 1993; Fraser 1996; Simon-Vandenberg & Aijmer 2007; Ernst 2009, among others). This position is semantically favored in Romance languages like Spanish, since the primary sense of the word *evidencia* (cognate to *evidence*) is ‘proof’ and the sense ‘hint’ is much more uncommon (see, e.g., the definition included in DRAE: s.v.). This is why there are substantial studies in Spanish-language literature which describe certainty adverbs like *obviamente* (‘obviously’), *evidentemente* (‘evidently’, ‘obviously’) or *claramente* (‘clearly’) as the only or, at least, the most prototypical evidentials in Spanish (Martín Zorraquino & Portolés 1999; Rodríguez Ramalle 2003, 2005; Müller 2008; Brenes 2010; NGL 2009; Serret Lanchares 2012; Sánchez Jiménez 2013).

This paper will critically revisit the status of certainty adverbs in Spanish within the limits of the notion of *evidentiality* in a narrow sense (that is, defined as the semantic domain referring to the way the speaker obtained the information communicated). The research questions are the following:

- 1) Are any of the certainty adverbs in Spanish true, prototypical evidentials?
- 2) Do all the certainty adverbs in Spanish share an evidential semantic feature?
- 3) What kind of evidentiality (if any) do these adverbs convey?

As it will be demonstrated with corpus evidence, certainty adverbs will not be considered prototypical evidentials.

On the one hand, some adverbs like *evidentemente* or *obviamente* are “mixed” modal-evidential particles: although they can only be applied to situations where information was obtained in a particular way (through inference), they encode an epistemic feature which is more salient: the speaker’s degree of certainty that the state of affairs under consideration applies in a possible world. This is why certainty adverbs will not be considered “archetypal” evidentials, though some of them do encode an evidential feature.

On the other hand, not all the certainty adverbs share an evidential semantic feature: whereas *evidentemente* and *obviamente* convey the speakers’ high certainty (epistemic feature) and the fact that his/her certainty is the result of an inference based on easily accessible evidence (evidential feature), other certainty adverbs like *indudablemente* (‘undoubtedly’) or *indiscutiblemente* (‘indisputably’) encode only an epistemic feature: they express the speaker’s certainty but nothing is said about the kind of evidence on which his/her certainty is based.

Finally, unlike some authors (e.g. Hennemann 2012), I will show that the evidential feature of *obviamente* and *evidentemente* conveys indirect-inferential evidentiality instead of direct-visual evidentiality.

References

- Brenes, E. (2010): "Evidencialidad, aserción y (des)cortesía verbal: el receptor como garante de lo dicho", *Español actual*, 93, 7-28.
- Ernst, Th. (2009): "Speaker-oriented adverbs", *Nat Lang Linguist Theory*, 27, 497-544.
- Fraser, B. (1996): "Pragmatic markers". *Pragmatics*, 6, 167-190.
- Hennemann, A. (2013): *A Context-sensitive and Functional Approach to Evidentiality in Spanish or why Evidentiality Needs a Superordinate Category*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Ifantidou, E. (1993): "Sentential adverbs and relevance", *Lingua*, 90(1), 69-90.
- Martín Zorraquino, M.A. & J. Portolés (1999): "Los marcadores del discurso". In: I. Bosque y V. Demonte (coords.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, vol. III, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 4051-4213.
- Müller, G.E. (2008): "Adverbios de modalidad epistémica y evidencialidad en artículos de investigación y conferencias académicas. Funciones metadiscursivas y aspectos cognitivos", *Romanistisches Jahrbuch*, 58, 329-364.
- Real Academia Española y Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española (2009): *Nueva gramática de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa.
- Rodríguez Ramalle, M.T. (2003): *La gramática de los adverbios en -mente: o cómo expresar maneras, opiniones y actitudes a través de la lengua*. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Rodríguez Ramalle, M.T. (2005): *Manual de sintaxis del español*. Madrid: Castalia.
- Sánchez Jiménez, S.U. (2013): "La evolución de algunos adverbios evidenciales: *evidentemente, incuestionablemente, indiscutiblemente, indudablemente, naturalmente, obviamente*". In M. P. Garcés Gómez (ed.), *Los adverbios con función discursiva: procesos de formación y evolución*, Madrid/Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 239-273.
- Serret Lanchares, S. (2012): *Los adverbios oracionales y la periferia izquierda*, Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Simon-Vandenberghe, K. & Aijmer, A.M. (2007): *The semantic field of modal certainty: a corpus-based study of English adverbs*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Karolien JANSSENS and Jan NUYTS (University of Antwerp)

karolien.janssens@uantwerpen.be

jan.nuyts@uantwerpen.be

Epistemic modality, evidentiality and subjectivity: independent categories in Dutch mental state predicates

The literature offers ample evidence for the fact that mental state predicates (MSPs, e.g. think, believe, seem,...) undergo a process of subjectification (e.g. Brinton 1996 & 2008, Palander-Collin 1997, Diewald 2001, Apothéloz 2003, Van Bogaert 2006, Cuyckens & Shank 2009,...). Expressions like I think in (1) are usually interpreted with reference to three subjective meaning categories: epistemic modality in the narrow sense (marking the degree of likelihood of a state of affairs), evidentiality (marking the nature of the source of information for the state of affairs) and subjectivity (marking that the speaker is expressing his personal perspective).

(1) (talking about and blowing out birthday candles)

Kevin: I think they're relightable. (Thompson 2002: 133)

Most authors assume that these predicates combine all three notions (their meaning is then often labeled as 'epistemic modal', but then defined in a broad sense), but there is controversy concerning whether the three semantic domains should be kept apart in the analysis. A consensus on this matter is still not in sight. This study starts from the assumption that the three meaning categories are distinct hence should be kept separated in the analysis of the MSPs, and it aims to demonstrate that doing so leads to interesting insights into their synchronic and diachronic relationship. The discussion draws on a diachronic corpus study of five MSPs in Dutch: denken 'think', dunken (impersonal) 'think', geloven 'believe', vinden 'find' and vermoeden 'assume/suspect'.

Method: The meanings of these five predicates, and the diachronic evolution in them, are investigated on the basis of corpora from four stages of the language: Old Dutch, Early Middle Dutch, Early New Dutch and Present Day Dutch. Samples of 200 instances per verb, per period (selected on the basis of criteria such as representativity and comparability across periods) have been analyzed. Present Day Dutch is represented by two samples of 200 instances, one written and one spoken.

Results: The analyses not only show that epistemic modality, evidentiality and subjectivity occur as independent meanings in these verbs, but also that they exhibit partly distinct diachronic evolutions: epistemic modality and evidentiality are usually separate evolutions out of 'objective' mental state meanings, subjectivity can evolve out of either of these subjective meanings or can emerge directly from objective mental state meanings. Moreover, most verbs occupy a unique 'spectrum' in these three domains, across the periods (i.e., there is some kind of 'division of labor' between them), and the diachronic evolutions in them can at least in part be explained with reference to this spectrum. E.g., dunken and denken show a strong semantic overlap in Present Day Dutch, and this possibly explains why the former verb is now gradually disappearing in the language.

References

Aijmer, Karin. 2009. Seem and evidentiality. *Functions of Language* 16(1): 63-88.

- Apothéloz, Denis. 2003. La rection dite 'faible': grammaticalisation ou différentiel de grammaticité? *Verbum* 25 (3): 241-262.
- Brinton, Laurel J. 1996. *Pragmatic markers in English: Grammaticalization and discourse functions*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Brinton, Laurel J. 2008. *The Comment Clause in English: Syntactic Origins and Pragmatic Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chafe, Wallace. 1986. Evidentiality in English conversation and academic writing. In W. Chafe and J. Nichols (eds), *Evidentiality: the linguistic coding of epistemology*, 261-272. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Cuyckens, Hubert and Shank, Christopher. 2009. A Diachronic Perspective on the Grammaticalization of zero-complement clauses in English: The Case of Think, Feel, and Realize. In: S. Slembrouck, M. Taverniers and M. Van Herreweghe (eds.), *From will to well. Studies in Linguistics offered to Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenberghe*, 117-134. Gent: Academia Press.
- Dendale, P. and Van Bogaert, J. 2007. A semantic description of French lexical evidential markers and the classification of evidentials. *Rivista di Linguistica* 19(1): 65-89.
- Diewald, Gabriele 2001 Scheinen-probleme: Analogie, Konstruktionsmischung und die Sogwirkung aktiver Grammatikalisierungskanäle. In R. Müller and M. Reis (eds), *Modalität und Modalverben im Deutschen*, 87-110. Hamburg: Buske.
- Palander-Collin, Minna. 1997 A medieval case of grammaticalization, methinks. In M. Rissanen, M. Kytö and K. Heikkonen (eds), *Grammaticalization at work: Studies of Long-term Developments in English*, 371-403. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Palmer, Frank R. 2009. *Mood and modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nuyts, Jan. 2005. The modal confusion. on terminology and the concepts behind it. In A. Klinge and H. H. Müller (eds), *Modality: Studies in form and function* , 5-38. London & Oakville: Equinox Publishing.
- Nuyts, Jan. 2012. Notions of (inter)subjectivity. *English Text Construction* 5: 53-76.
- Simon-vandenberghe, Anne-marie. 2000. The functions of I think in political discourse. *International journal of applied linguistics* 10(1): 41-63.
- Thompson, Sandra A. 2002. "Object complements" and conversation: towards a realistic account. *Studies in language* 26(1): 125-164.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. and Richard B. Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in semantic change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Bogaert, Julie. 2006. I guess, I suppose and I believe as pragmatic markers: grammaticalization and functions. *BELL New Series* 4: 129-149.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 2006. *English: Meaning and Culture*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Meri LARJAVAARA (Université d'Åbo Akademi)

meri.larjavaara@abo.fi

Reported lies: “Incredulous evidentiality” and speaker’s commitment

The paper discusses a particular case of reported speech in contemporary French, namely texts where the speaker reports lies s/he has been told. These texts are found on the internet, most commonly in different kinds of discussion forums. The texts in question have several common characteristics: they are anonymous, monologous and aim to say everything that matters. One typical example would be a girl reporting the behaviour of her unfaithful boyfriend who has been lying to her.

The paper claims that in this particular text type – reported lies –, a specific kind of evidentiality can be found. We can call it incredulous evidentiality: “evidentiality”, because the source of the information is expressed and because it is explicitly made clear that the information is reported (cf. Dendale & Tasmowski 2001), and “incredulous”, because the fact that the speaker claims it is lies s/he is reporting labels the whole text.

The paper has two separate objectives. Firstly, it analyses the reportative mechanisms. How is incredulous evidentiality expressed in French? Which linguistic markers pertain to incredulous evidentiality? In French evidentiality is mainly expressed lexically and not in the morphosyntax. When it comes to incredulous evidentiality, some of the markers are more purely reportative and some reveal the incredulousness of the speaker. These two are ordered in a particular way.

The second objective is to discuss the speaker’s commitment when it comes to incredulous evidentiality. In reportative evidentiality (‘My brother told...’) the speaker commits her/himself at least partially to the referential content, and the reportative mood deals with degree of probability (cf. Desclés 2009); in contrast to this, in incredulous evidentiality (‘My brother told and he is lying...’) the speaker commits to the falseness of the referential content and does not deal with degrees of epistemic modality. The two categories are clearly different.

References

- Dendale, Patrick & Tasmowski Liliane 2001: “Introduction: Evidentiality and related notions”, *Journal of Pragmatics* 33, p. 339–348.
- Desclés, Jean-Pierre 2009: “Prise en charge, engagement et désengagement”, *Langue française* 162, p. 29–53.

Julia LAVID and Lara MORATÓN (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

julavid@filol.ucm.es

laramoraton@gmail.com

Writer's stance and engagement in English and Spanish newspaper genres: a contrastive corpus-based study

The study of interactive features of language has been a very productive source of insights into written discourse in recent years, revealing the ways that writers engage with readers to successfully persuade them of a particular viewpoint in a range of different genres and contexts. Hyland's model of interaction has been particularly valuable in revealing how writers project themselves into their discourse to signal their understandings of their material and their audience. In this paper we draw on Hyland's (2001, 2005) model of interaction –as elaborated under the notions of Stance and Engagement- to explore some of the ways that interaction contributes to the success of three different journalistic genres in English and Spanish. The corpus used for the study consists of a total of one hundred and eighty texts, compiled from a variety of British and Spanish newspapers and including three bilingual (English-Spanish) subcorpora: a bilingual corpus of fifty news reports, a bilingual corpus of fifty editorials, and a bilingual corpus of eighty letters to the editor. The contrastive analysis reveals interesting genre-specific and some language-specific differences in the use of expressions of Stance and Engagement in the three journalistic genres. News reports present a much lower frequency of expressions of Stance and Engagement than the other two genres. This is probably due to the communicative purpose of this genre whose writers must remain 'impartial' and 'objective' and avoid – or at least minimize – showing their interpersonal involvement in the text's construction. Editorials, by contrast, are opinion articles with the important communicative function of contributing to the formulation of certain 'preferred' viewpoints about the world. Their function is "to offer newspaper readers a distinctive and sometimes authoritative voice that speaks to the public directly about matters of public importance" (Wang 2008: 170). The higher frequency of expressions of Stance is a linguistic reflection of this generic feature in both languages, in comparison with the much lower frequency in News reports. Letters to the editor, and more specifically, those written by individual readers, are subjective and often passionate, carrying a personal tone and generally used for expressing personal views on certain issues, making complaints, making suggestions and recommendations, and calling for a change or remedial actions. As their communicative purpose is mainly to evaluate and to recommend action, expressions of Stance and Engagement predominate in this genre, as reflected by the high frequency found both in the English and in the Spanish letters. Our analysis reveals that despite the broadly similar audience and sources of these genres, authors structure their interactions very differently, contributing to the rhetorical distinctiveness of these newspaper genres. As to the language-specific differences, it was found that Stance and Engagement expressions tend to be more frequent in the Spanish genres, specially, in the Letters to the editor, than in the English ones. This confirms the tendency studied by Biber and Finegan in a corpus of spoken and written registers of English, where they came to the conclusion that "the expression of stance [affective or evidential] is a 'marked' choice in English and that the prevailing norm is to leave

stance lexically and grammatically unmarked, thus putting the burden on the addressees to infer a speaker's stance" (1989: 103-118).

References

- Biber, D., and E. Finegan (1989) Styles of stance in English: Lexical and grammatical marking of evidentiality and affect. In T.A. Van Dijk (ed.), *Text* vol. 9.1. The Hague: Mouton De Gruyter, pp. 93-124.
- Hyland, K. (2001) 'Bringing in the Reader: Addressee Features in Academic Writing', *Written Communication* 18(4): 549–74.
- Hyland, K. (2005). "Stance and engagement: a model of interaction in academic discourse", *Discourse Studies* 7 (2), pp. 173-92.
- Wang (2008). Newspaper commentaries on terrorism in China and Australia: A contrastive genre study. In *Contrastive Rhetoric: Reaching to Intercultural Rhetoric [Pragmatics & Beyond New Series 169]*, U. Connor, E. Nagelhout & W. Rozycki (eds), 169–191. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Polifonía y evidencialidad en los marcadores discursivos

En los estudios sobre marcadores discursivos se señala que algunos marcadores portan valores polifónicos, esto es, activan un punto de vista distinto al punto de vista del enunciado. Ese punto de vista puede ser un topos (Anscombe y Ducrot 1994), pero también puede corresponder al mismo locutor –como ocurre en los modalizadores (Vion 2006)– o a un tercero, cuya voz puede ser o haber sido manifiesta (polifonía marcada) o simplemente es aludida (polifonía no marcada). Sobre todo en estos casos, polifonía y evidencialidad se entrecruzan y se ocupan del mismo fenómeno, si bien desde distintas aproximaciones; así, en la evidencialidad, cuando el punto de vista corresponde a un tercero, la fuente de la información procede del discurso referido o de los rumores (hearsay). Asimismo, polifonía y evidencialidad se interrelacionan en aquellos marcadores modalizadores que requieren de un contexto previo en el que se afirme o sugiera el contenido que confirman (discurso referido) o que proporcione indicios de los que se derive el contenido que el marcador presenta (inferencia).

La intersección bosquejada entre evidencialidad y polifonía se explica a partir del análisis de tres marcadores discursivos: por lo visto, por su parte y en efecto; aunque en los tres se activen los tipos de evidencias señalados (hearsay, discurso referido e inferencia), sí existen diferencias respecto a la frecuencia de uso. Para el análisis, se ha examinado una muestra de 200 ocurrencias extraídas del CREA de manera aleatoria.

Referencias

- Aikhenvald, A. (2004). *Evidentiality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alexandra Kratschmer, Merete Birkelund, Rita Therkelsen (2009). *La polyphonie: outil heuristique linguistique, littéraire et culturel*. Frank y Timme GmbH Verlag: Berlín.
- Anscombe, Jean-Claude. 2008-2009. “La polifonía: nociones y problemas”. *Archivum*. Revista de la Facultad de Filología, nº 58-59, págs. 21-51.
- Bermúdez, F. (2004) La categoría evidencial del castellano: Metonimia y elevación de sujet. *Boletín de lingüística*, 22: 3-31.
- Carel, Marion y Oswald Ducrot (2009) “Mise au point sur la polyphonie”. *Langue française*, nº 164, págs. 33-43.
- Cornillie, B. (2007) *Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality in Spanish (Semi-) Auxiliaries. A Cognitive-Functional Approach*. Berlin/Nueva York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Cornillie, B. (2009) “Evidentiality and epistemic modality: On the close relationship of two different categories”. *Functions of Language*. 16.1: 44-32.
- De Haan, F. (2005) *Encoding speaker perspective: Evidentials*. In Z. Frajzyngier, and D. Rood (eds.), *Linguistic diversity and language theories*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Dendale, P. et Tasmowski, L. (éds) (2001). *On Evidentiality*. Special Issue of the *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science.
- Dendale, Patrick y Danielle Coltier (2003). “Point de vue et évidentialité”. En *Cahiers de praxématique*, 4, págs. 105-130.

- Dendale, Patrick y Danielle Coltier (2006). Les versions française et scandinave de la théorie de la polyphonie linguistique. Présentation critique et comparaison. En Perrin, L. (dir.), Dialogisme et polyphonie en langue et en discours. Collection Recherches linguistiques, 28. Metz.
- Ducrot, Oswald (1990): Polifonía y argumentación. Conferencias del seminario. Teoría de la Argumentación y Análisis del Discurso, Cali, Universidad del Valle.
- Ducrot, Oswald (2001): "Quelques raisons de distinguer locuteurs et énonciateurs", en Polyphonie-linguistique et littéraire, III, 19-41.
- Gras, Pedro y Bert Cornillie (2013). "An interactional approach to evidential discourse markers in Spanish". En 13th International Pragmatics Conference, New Delhi.
- Llopis Cardona, Ana (en prensa): "Entre la modalidad y la conexión. El caso de en efecto". Rilce Revista de filología hispánica, vol. 31.
- Llopis Cardona, Ana (2014): Aproximación funcional a los marcadores discursivos. Análisis y propuesta lexicográfica. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Nølke, Henning; Fløttum, Kjerstin; Norén, Cocó (2004): ScaPoLine. La théorie scandinave de la polyphonie linguistique. París, Kimé.
- Nølke, Henning (2009): "La polyphonie de la ScaPoLine 2008". En La polyphonie: outil heuristique linguistique, littéraire et culturel. Alexandra Kratschmer, Merete Birkelund, Rita Therkelsen, Frank y Timme GmbH, Berlin, págs. 11-40
- Vion, Robert (2006): "Les dimensions polyphonique et dialogique de la modalisation". Le français modern, n°. 1, págs. 1-10

Stefania MACI (University of Bergamo)

stefania.maci@unibg.it

Evidentiality in scientific discourse: The case of medical posters

The genre of scientific posters is a very complex one, because it implies combining written and oral modes in communication. Such complexity is further increased by the fact that posters are created in such a way as to stand alone and do the talking while showing medical research, all in a single visual plan (MacIntosh-Murray, 2007: 351-352). Such extreme condensedness is possible only if redundant information, seen as accessory matters, is deleted. In the medical context, this means that the cohesion usually provided by explicit linkage is supplied by the reader's background knowledge (Hobbs, 2003: 459), and, we may assume, supported by evidential markers that, while facilitating the understanding of poster cognitive mapping, indicate the authors' level of expertise and attitude toward knowledge (Chafe 1985: 271).

Given the fact that no consistent linguistic investigation of posters exist from the applied linguistic perspective, it is the aim of this study to describe how evidentiality is realized in such a condensed genre. Drawing from Chafe (1986), I will, more specifically, focus my investigation on those linguistic forms regarded as evidential markers showing various degrees of knowing and degrees of reliability within the written form of medical posters, in order to illustrate how evidentiality is linguistically realized, and what evaluative and pragmatic functions it has. This investigation, based on the analysis of the verbal components of a corpus of 28 medical posters published on-line between 2002 and 2011, has been carried out on attested language use in the written discourse of medical posters. The findings highlight the fact that evidentiality is dependant on the socio-interactional work the speaker operates to construct authority, responsibility, and entitlement in a particular context and with a particular recipient (see Fox 2011).

References

- Chafe, Wallace L., Nichols Johanna. (ed.s). 1986. Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology. *Advances in Discourse Processes* 20. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Fox, Barbara A. (2001) 'Evidentiality: Authority, Responsibility, and Entitlement in English Conversation', *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 11, 167-192.
- Hobbs, Pamela. 2003. The use of evidentiality in physicians' progress notes. *Discourse Studies*. 5, 451-478.
- MacIntosh-Murray, Anu 2007. Poster Presentations as a Genre in Knowledge Communication: A Case Study of Forms, Norms, and Values. *Science Communication*. 28/3, 347-376.

Lidia MAÑOSO PACHECO (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

lidiampacheco@yahoo.com

Reportive evidentials in newspaper discourse: A revised taxonomy

Over the last decades, there have emerged partial classifications of reportives (Willett 1988, Plungian 2001, Aikhenvald 2004 or Boye 2012, among others), based on criteria such as the degree of specification of the original speaker's voice (hearsay vs. quotative), the style of the reportive evidential (direct vs. indirect) or the mode of access to the source of information (second-hand, third-hand, etc.). Nevertheless, there are still terminological discrepancies in the field; Plungian, for instance, considers 'quotative' as a hyperonym of 'reportive' while other authors claim the reverse.

In this paper, I present a taxonomy of reportives that takes as point of departure a full understanding of evidentiality as a functional-conceptual domain, which means a generic category on its own that includes the expression of evidentiality by grammatical, semantic and pragmatic means. The proposed classification divides reportives into various subtypes regarding several parameters of analysis: concreteness (specific vs. non-specific source), reporting style (quotative direct vs. quotative indirect), writer's commitment (qualified vs. non-qualified), clause type (finite, non-finite or prepositional phrases) and person (first, second, third or unspecified). Direct reportives will be proved not to be always proper verbatim reproductions of the words of the original source in all the cases, since the former voice of the assertion may well be mingled with the voice reporting the evidence. Following this perspective, quotative direct reportives are not considered in my study proper verbatim reproductions of the prior source. Furthermore, within indirect reportives the distinction between *de dicto* and *de re* reported speech will be beheld. As regards writer's commitment, I will analyse cases of reportives in which the writer qualifies her/his commitment to the truth of the proposition (qualified reportives), in addition to non-qualified samples. With respect to person parameter, the number of first-person reportives, whose pragmatic function is closely associated with denying the validity of the evidence and mitigation of responsibility, is expected to be reduced in the corpus. However, inferential-conceptual reportives in the first present indicative are foreseen to be more frequent.

A quantitative analysis based on this taxonomy will be carried out on reportive evidentials in a compilation of journalistic texts extracted from British and Spanish journals from various lines of thought (The Guardian, The Times, El País and El Mundo). The results will uncover that reportives in newspaper discourse are often used to launch personal opinions and criticisms, even in articles that are supposed to be objective. Intertextual transparency is blurred by subtle introduction of writers' opinions by means of qualified reportives, and direct reporting is often used in the place of indirect reporting, when the words cited cannot count as a verbatim reproduction of the words of the original source. In other instances, writers tend to clarify who the author of the original assertion is, by making use of reportive evidentials to merely reinforce the veracity of the discourse of the source of the report, or of qualified evidentials to support journalists' own ideas.

References

Aikhenvald, A. (2004). *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

- Anderson, L. (1986). 'Evidentials, paths of change, and mental maps: Typologically regular asymmetries'. In: Chafe, W., J. Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: The linguistic encoding of epistemology*. Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation. 273-312
- Boye, K. & P. Harder. (2009). 'Evidentiality: Linguistic categories and grammaticalization'. *Functions of Language* 16. 9-43
- Boye, K. (2012). *Epistemic Meaning: A Crosslinguistic and Functional-Cognitive Study*. Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter Mouton
- Chafe, W. (1986). 'Evidentiality in English conversation and academic writing'. In: Chafe, W., J. Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*. Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation. 261-272
- Chojnicka, J. (2012). 'Reportive evidentiality and reported speech: Is there a boundary? Evidence of the Latvian oblique'. In: Usonienė, A., I. Dabašinskienė, N. Nau, (eds.), *Multiple Perspectives in Linguistic Research on Baltic Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 170-192
- Cruschina, S. & E. Remberger (2008). 'Hearsay and reported speech: Evidentiality in Romance'. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 33. 99-120
- Curnow, T. (2002). 'Evidentiality and me: The interaction of evidentials and first person'. In: C. Allen (ed), *Proceedings of the 2001 Conference of the Australian Linguistic Society*. <http://www.als.asn.au/proceedings/als2001/curnow.pdf>. Consulted 9-2-2012
- De Haan, F. (2005). 'Semantic distinctions of evidentiality'. In: Haspelmath, M., M. Dryer, D. Gil, B. Comrie (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures—WALS*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 314–317
- Martínez, E. (2004). 'Evidentiality and the verbal expression of belief and hearsay'. In *Perspectives on Evidentiality and Modality*. Editorial Complutense. 185-204
- Palmer, F. (2001). *Mood and Modality*. Cambridge: CUP
- Plungian, V. (2001). 'The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space'. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33. 349-57
- Willett, T. (1988) 'A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticization of evidentiality'. *Studies in Language* 12. 51-97

Celia MARQUÉS-AMORÓS (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

functional.language@gmail.com

Is that what the President said? When reported words make headlines. A British-Spanish corpus study

The appraisal and evaluation theoretical frameworks (Martin & White 2005, Hunston & Thompson (ed.) 1999, among others) have provided powerful tools to predict the linguistic patterns we can expect in media discourse. Research has established typological differences between the subjectivity markers to be expected in commenting texts, versus the absence of such subjectivity markers in reporting texts (ledema and Feez 1994, Marín-Arrese 2004, Marín-Arrese & Núñez 2006b in particular). Hard-news headlines, as a hyper-synthesized type of reporting text, are expected to be free of overt subjectivity markers but they are not exempt from covert linguistic marks of subjectivity. In particular, when the news consists of the statement somebody has made, the way the utterance is reported reveals a certain degree of stance of the reporter's part towards the reported utterance.

This paper will examine the different ways in which someone's utterance can be turned into a hard news headline (direct style, indirect, style, variations of free indirect style, interpreting the speech act...). A Filemaker Pro database is used to analyse, quantitatively and qualitatively, all the different reporting strategies present in a prestigious newspaper corpus. The paper will attempt to show that stance of the part of the reporting voice can manifest in different ways and possibly degrees: from the apparent total absence of mediation when direct style is used to the indirect reporting of the implicature of a statement rather than the exact utterance stated.

The reported speech headlines analysed belong to a corpus of 800 headlines from four prestigious newspapers. This corpus was used in a wider scope study attempting to quantify and qualify covert positioning strategies in hard-news headlines. The paper relies on the double pairing Guardian/El País versus Times/ABC, established by research such as Hidalgo (2004) & Marín-Arrese (2004) for a cross-linguistic perspective and a progressive/conservative ideological contrast.

Several conclusions seem to emerge from the analysis. Firstly, that different ways of reporting reveal different ways of appraising the content. Secondly, that interpreting the speech act of an utterance is one of the covert strategies by means of which the reporting voice may show positioning towards the reported issue. Thirdly, that British newspapers, when compared to the Spanish ones, seem to have developed a wider variety of free indirect styles that combine features of both direct and indirect reporting. The paper will look at this cross-linguistic difference and will try to define each newspaper "reporting style".

References

- Hidalgo-Downing, Laura. 2004. "Non-verbal markers or modality and evidentiality and the expression of writer stance in a comparable corpus of English and Spanish editorials and news articles". *Perspectives on Evidentiality and Modality*, Juana Marín Arrese (ed.), 205-228. Madrid: Editorial Complutense.
- Hunston, Susan & Geoff Thompson (eds.). 1999. *Evaluation in Text: Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*. Oxford: OUP.

- Iedema, R., S. Feez & P.R.R. White. 1994. *Media Literacy*, Sydney, Disadvantaged Schools Program, NSW Department of School Education.
- Marín-Arrese, Juana. 2004. "Evidential and epistemic qualifications in the discourse of fact and opinion: A comparable corpus study". In *Perspectives on Evidentiality and Modality*, Juana Marín-Arrese (ed.), 153-184. Madrid: Editorial Complutense..
- Marín-Arrese, Juana and Núñez-Perucha, Begoña. 2006b. "Evaluation and Engagement in Journalistic Commentary and News Reportage". *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses* 19. 225-248.
- Martin, James and White, Peter. 2005. *The Language of Evaluation. Appraisal in English*. New York: Palgrave.

Eric MELAC (Sorbonne Nouvelle University, Paris 3)

ericmelac@yahoo.fr

Lexical vs grammatical evidentiality: a corpus study of Tibetan and English

Aikhenvald (2004, 2007) argues that English does not possess evidentials, as this term only applies to languages with a grammatical evidential system. Other scholars adopt a more flexible approach and investigate the different forms that encode the source of information in European languages (Squartini 2007; Diewald & Smirnova 2010). This paper does not challenge the typological and morphological basis of Aikhenvald's stance, but aims to present the semantic and pragmatic consequences of the assumed lack of grammatical evidentiality in English. In this paper I offer a quantitative and qualitative comparison between the linguistic expression of evidentiality in English - as a representative of languages with a lexical evidential system - and in Tibetan - which possesses a rich and highly grammaticalised evidential paradigm.

The corpus I have used was especially collected for this study at Tibet University (Tibet, P.R.C.) and Cambridge University (UK) and the same methodology was adopted for the two languages (10 hours total). Ten pairs of native speakers asked each other questions involving different modes of access to information. These questions were designed to elicit evidential markers by addressing distant and recent memories, second-hand information, opinions, emotional stories and dreams. The corpus also includes three activities: inferring what some mysterious pictures represent, identifying sounds and describing a story from a comic strip. Other methods - such as acceptability questionnaires and the investigation of larger corpora - were used to supplement the analysis of this contrastive corpus.

The first obvious difference between English and Tibetan evidential markers is that the former are optional, and consequently more sparse and pragmatically marked. The corpus revealed a frequency ratio of 1 evidential in English for 14 in Tibetan. Another difference is that lexical semantics is more detailed, concrete and specific than grammatical semantics. For example, no English translation of the Tibetan hearsay suffix *-za* covers the whole functional spectrum of hearsay evidentiality: 'he said' specifies the source, 'I was told' indicates that the information was targeted at you, and 'I heard' would not be used for a written source, etc. Most English indirect evidentials affect speaker commitment whereas Tibetan possesses several indirect evidentials that are fully assertive, e.g. the Tibetan inferential suffix *-bzhaḡ* entails full commitment to the truth of the state of affairs whereas inferential markers like *must*, 'I guess' or *apparently* entail an epistemic meaning. Moreover, English evidentiality often requires more morphological and structural efforts. Tibetan possesses several monosyllabic evidential copulas and suffixes whose semantic equivalents in English are heavy matrix clauses such as 'I could see that...' or 'I assume that...', etc. Finally, because of all the previous characteristics, one of the main differences between English and Tibetan evidentiality is that the former is comparatively foregrounded in terms of informational hierarchy. Using an evidential in English inevitably draws attention to it, whereas in Tibetan it is common to simply specify how the speaker got access to the information inconspicuously. Many examples from the corpus will both illustrate and qualify these key differences between the two systems and will clarify to what extent evidentiality is a relevant notion for a linguistic description of English.

References

- Aikhenvald, A Y. (2004) Evidentiality. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
- Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2007). Information source and evidentiality: what can we conclude. *Italian Journal of Linguistics*, 19(1), 209-227.
- Boye, K., & Harder, P. (2009). Evidentiality: Linguistic categories and grammaticalization. *Functions of Language*, 16(1).
- Cornillie, B. (2007). The continuum between lexical and grammatical evidentiality: a functional analysis of Spanish *parecer*. *Italian Journal of Linguistics*, 19, 109-128.
- Diewald, G., & Smirnova, E. (Eds.). (2010). Linguistic realization of evidentiality in European languages (Vol. 49). Walter de Gruyter.
- Lazard, G. (2001). On the grammaticalization of evidentiality. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33(3), 359-367.
- Squartini, M. (2008). Lexical vs. grammatical evidentiality in French and Italian. *Linguistics*, 46(5), 917-947.
- Talmy, L. (2000). *Toward a cognitive semantics, Vol. 1: Concept structuring systems*. The MIT Press.
- Tournadre, N. (2008) Arguments against the Concept of 'Conjunct'/'Disjunct' in Tibetan (CNRS, Paris)
- Wiemer, B. (2010). Hearsay in European languages: toward an integrative account of grammatical and lexical marking. *Linguistic realization of evidentiality in European languages*, 49, 59-129.
- Whitt, R. J. (2010) *Evidentiality and Perception Verbs in English and German*. Peter Lang.

Natalia MORA (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

nataliamora@ucm.es

Evidential and epistemic expressions in English and in Spanish online reviews

In the last twenty years, the emergence and spreading of the called “Web 2.0” (O’Rilley 2005) — a shift from the Internet of the one-sided posting on the server by an administrator to the Internet of (interactive) posting by any user — has triggered a dramatic change in the meaning, purpose and use of the Web. Thus, this phenomenon has witnessed the creation of specific websites that allow the sharing of not only information but also opinions among different users all around the world. Opinions and evaluative language have particular linguistic characteristics and have been largely studied in the last decades (Chafe y Nichols 1986; Biber and Finnegan 1989; Ochs and Schiefflen 1989; Bybee and Fleischman 1995; Niemeier & Dirven 1997; Wierzbicka 1990; Conrad and Biber 2000; Hunston 2000; Hunston and Thompson 2000). More specifically, a comprehensive approach has been designed that fully covers evaluative language. This is the “Appraisal Theory”, developed by Martin (2000) and White (2002, 2003). This theory divides evaluative meanings into three axes, namely Attitude (the emotional, ethic and aesthetic opinions), Engagement (the existence and alignment or absence of alternative viewpoints with respect to a manifested opinion) and Graduation (the ways of intensifying or weakening the strength of these opinions). It is the second one that addresses two of the pivotal elements in opinions, evidential and epistemic expressions, inasmuch as these types of wordings are used by the speaker to indicate a position inside a number of possible positions (Martin and White 2005: 104). This paper aims to explore the use of evidential and epistemic items in the expression of opinion in consumer-oriented online reviews following Martin and White’s theory. More specifically, it aims to analyse the differences in the use of these elements in this type of texts from two points of view: a cross-linguistic (English and Spanish) and a cross-domain perspective (opinions on different products). The corpus of the study consists of 400 reviews (200 in each language, including positive and negative reviews) taken from the web (www.epinions.com and www.ciao.es) on different products (games, books, hotels, smartphones and computers). It is hypothesized that there will be both a qualitative and a quantitative change in the use of these elements depending on the language used and the product reviewed, for the users may expect and focus on different qualities of those items. The results will hopefully shed some light on the features of evidential and epistemic expressions but also on the generic characterization of online reviews.

References

- Biber, D. and E. Finnegan. (1989). Styles of stance in English: lexical and grammatical marking of evidentiality and affect. *Text*, 9(1) (Special Issue on the Pragmatics of Affect). 93-124.
- Bybee, J. and S. Fleischman. (1995). *Modality in Grammar and Discourse*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Chafe, W. and J. Nichols (eds.). (1986). *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex. (Advances in Discourse Processes XX).
- Conrad, S. and D. Biber. (2000). Adverbial marking of stance in speech and writing. In Hunston and Thompson (eds.), 56-73.

- Hunston, S. (2000). Evaluation and the planes of discourse: status and value in persuasive texts. In Hunston and Thompson (eds.). 176-207.
- Hunston, S. and G. Thompson (eds.). (2000). Evaluation in text: authorial stance and the construction of discourse. Oxford [etc.]: Oxford University Press.
- Martin, J.R. (2000). Beyond exchange: Appraisal systems in English. In S. Hunston and G. Thompson (Eds.), Evaluation in Text: Authorial Distance and the Construction of Discourse. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 142-175.
- Martin, J.R. & P.R.R. White (2005) The Language of Evaluation. Appraisal in English. New York: Palgrave.
- Niemeier, S. and R. Dirven (eds.). (1997). The Language of Emotions: Conceptualisation, Expression, and Theoretical Foundation. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- O'Reilly, T. (2005). What is Web 2.0.
(<http://www.oreillynet.com/pub/a/oreilly/tim/news/2005/09/30/what-is-Web-20.html>,
March 2014)
- Ochs, E. and B. Schiefflen. (1989). Language has a heart. *Text*, 9(1) (Special Issue on the pragmatics of affect). 7-25.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1990). The semantics of emotions: fear and its relatives in English. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 10(2) (Special Issue on the Semantics of Emotions). 359-75.
- White, P.R.R. (2002) Appraisal. In J. Verschueren et al. (eds.). *Handbook of pragmatics*, 1–27. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- . (2003). Beyond modality and hedging: A dialogic view of the language of intersubjective stance. *Text*, 23 (2), 259–284.

Tanja MORTELMANS (University of Antwerp) and Jeroen VANDERBIESEN (FWO, University of Antwerp)

tanja.mortelmans@uantwerpen.be

The systems of reportive evidentiality in German and (Netherlandic /Belgian) Dutch

In their study on evidentiality in German, Diewald & Smirnova (2010: 66) seem to shy away from a thorough discussion of reportive evidential markers in German, as reportive evidentiality is one of the evidential subareas that is not well understood and clearly delineated. It is especially the relationship between reportive evidentiality and quotativity that proves problematic.

In our presentation, we will first make a conceptual distinction between quotatives and reportives that is not based on the criterion that quotatives mention the exact author, whereas reportives don't (pace Mushin 2001, Plungian 2001; Aikhenvald 2004). More crucial regarding the difference between quotatives and reportives is their epistemic status (in the sense of Boye 2012): reportives are used to justify the speaker's proposition (by signalling that the speaker only has indirect access to the proposition she reports on via a source that is completely unrelated to her), whereas quotatives attribute knowledge to a particular source (thereby typically evoking the idea of a preceding speech act to which is being referred) (see Vanderbiesen forthc.) With reportives, the proposition is seen and construed from the perspective of the current speaker, whereas quotatives shift the vantage point to a secondary speaker (see also Diewald & Smirnova 2010:66ff.)

This distinction will provide the conceptual background for the discussion of the following markers: for German, we will investigate the modal verbs *sollen*, *wollen* and the (present/past) subjunctive (as a marker of indirect speech). We will show that *sollen* is indeed a classic reportive (Diewald & Smirnova 2010: 66; Mortelmans 2009), whereas *wollen* has a hybrid function, which makes its classification as either a reportive or quotative marker problematic (Diewald & Smirnova 2010: 66, Mortelmans & Vanderbiesen 2011). The German subjunctive is a quotative marker, whereby it should also be stressed that different degrees of quotativity (and 'reportativity', for that matter) can be discerned for one and the same marker. For Dutch, we will concentrate on the evidential uses of the verbs *zou/den* and *schijnen* (in different construction types). It must be noted that especially in Belgian Dutch, *schijnen* seems to have evolved to a reportive evidential; its relation with reportive *zou/den* has hardly received any attention in the literature. Finally, some attention will also be paid to the reportive status of prepositional markers like Dutch *volgens* or German *laut*, *zufolge* 'according to' and of adverbials like *angeblich* 'as is said'.

Goal of our presentation is a coherent picture of the reportive evidential system in two closely related, but different languages (German & Dutch) that lay out the reportive evidential puzzle in a clearly different way.

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra (2004). *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Boye, Kasper (2012). *Epistemic Meaning. A Crosslinguistic and Functional-Cognitive Study*. (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 43). Berlin, New York: Mouton De Gruyter.

- Diewald, Gabriele & Elena Smirnova (2010). *Evidentiality in German. Linguistic Realization and Regularities in Grammaticalization*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Mortelmans, Tanja (2009). Erscheinungsformen der indirekten Rede im Niederländischen und Deutschen: zou, soll und der Konjunktiv I. In: Abraham, Werner / Elisabeth Leiss (eds), *Modalität. Epistemik und Evidentialität bei Modalverb, Adverb, Modalpartikel und Modus*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 171-187.
- Mortelmans, Tanja & Jeroen Vanderbiesen (2011): 'Dies will ein Parlamentarier "aus zuverlässiger Quelle" erfahren haben. Reportives wollen zwischen sollen und dem Konjunktiv I der indirekten Rede". In: Diewald, Gabriele & Elena Smirnova (eds.): *Modalität und Evidentialität – Modality and Evidentiality*, 69-88.
- Mushin, Ilana (2001). *Discourse Analysis: Evidentiality and Epistemological Stance: Narrative Retelling*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Plungian, Vladimir A. (2001) The Place of Evidentiality within the Universal Grammatical Space. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33(3): 349–357.

Gijs MULDER (Radboud University Nijmegen)

g.mulder@let.ru.nl

Pienso, luego tuíteo: the use of mental verbs in Spanish tweets

Besides their primary, literal meaning, mental verbs can convey different epistemic and evidential meanings, in particular when used in the first person. This paper explores how mental verbs are used in Spanish. The empirical data are provided by Twitter, which turns out to be a rich source for the epistemic and evidential use of these verbs. The analysis is both quantitative and qualitative. For each of the most frequent mental verbs several samples of 30 cases in the first person present tense were collected. This material was supplemented by instances of specific constructions, in order to understand the relevant linguistic factors involved.

Creer ('believe') is by far the most frequent Spanish mental verb. In the Twitter-data, first person *creo* occurs typically with a complementizer and encodes epistemicity and evidentiality. *Creo* has several of the hallmarks of grammaticalization: it is nearly never used in its primary, propositional meaning, it is used parenthetically and it can appear clause-initially, clause-medially and clause-finally (cf. Posio, 2014; De Saeger, 2007).

When using *creo*, a speaker of Spanish has several options, since it can occur with or without a subject pronoun (*creo* vs *yo creo*), which can be inverted (*yo creo* vs *creo yo*), and it can include a reflexive pronoun (*creo* vs *me creo*). The Twitter-data seem to confirm recent accounts concerning the presence or absence of the subject pronoun with *creo* (Aijón Oliva & Serrano, 2010; Posio, 2013; Hennemann, 2012): *yo creo* is typical of a subjectively oriented communicative style, whereas *creo* is used in more hypothetical contexts with a mitigating function. However, further analyses are needed.

The Spanish counterpart of 'I think', *pienso*, is far less frequent and cases in which this form is used evidentially are relatively rare in Peninsular Spanish. In Spanish American tweets however, *pienso* is used as an evidential device.

The other mental verbs that will be discussed have different characteristics and can fulfill different functions, but they all can be used epistemically and/or evidentially. The same is true for mental predicates that are normally not included in this category, such as *se me ocurre que* ('it occurs to me that', 'it comes to my mind that') and *se me hace que* ('I get the impression/feeling that').

References

Aijón Oliva, Miguel Ángel & María José Serrano (2010). 'El hablante en su discurso: expresión y omisión del sujeto de *creo*.' *Oralia*, 13, 7-38.

- De Saeger, Bram (2007) 'Evidencialidad y modalidad epistémica en los verbos de actitud proposicional en español.' *Interlingüística*, 17, 268-277.
- Foolen, Ad, Helen de Hoop, Gijs Mulder & Vera van Mulken (2014). 'Evidentiality in Dutch, German, English and Spanish: Evidence from a Twitter corpus'. Paper presented at the First Workshop *Empirical Evidence for Evidentiality*, Radboud University Nijmegen, Jan. 10, 2014.
- Hennemann, Anja (2013). *A Context-sensitive and Functional Approach to Evidentiality in Spanish or Why Evidentiality needs a Superordinate Category*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Posio, Pekka (2013). 'The expression of first-person-singular subjects in spoken Peninsular Spanish and European Portuguese: Semantic roles and formulaic sequences.' *Folia Linguistica*, 47, 253–291.
- Posio, Pekka (2014). 'Subject expression in grammaticalizing constructions: The case of *creo* and *ancho* 'I think' in Spanish and Portuguese.' *Journal of Pragmatics*, 63, 5-18.

Teresa OLIVEIRA (CLUNL-FCSH / C3i–IPPortalegre)

mtfoliveira@gmail.com

Between evidentiality and epistemic modality: the case of the future and the conditional in European Portuguese

As it is common in Romance languages, the future and the conditional verbal forms combine, in Portuguese, temporal, modal and evidential values. As evidential markers, both verbal forms can identify the source of the information as reported or inferred. Note that, while the use of reportative conditional is common in Romance languages, that use of the future is specific for European Portuguese (cf. Squartini 2001: 319, 2004: 69), since it is unknown even to its Brazilian variant.

The future and the conditional, in European Portuguese, can both therefore be analyzed as inferential or reportative markers. In the first case, the values in question fall within the domain of evidentiality, because they identify the source of information with a reasoning of the enunciator, but also of epistemic modality, in that they are inseparable from an attitude towards the propositional content of the utterance, as it is shown by the possibility of replacing them with periphrases with modal verbs:

(a) A esta hora o João já estará _[FUT] / deve _[MOD VERB] estar _[INFINITIVE] em casa.

‘By this time John must be already home.’

(b) Quando a conheci, ela teria _[COND] / devia _[MOD VERB] ter _[INFINITIVE] uns 15 anos.

‘When I first met her, she should be about 15 years.’

In the second case, the verbal forms, while marking reported facts, have an evidential value clearly isolable from other values constructed in utterances. This case illustrates the autonomy of reportative evidentiality in relation to epistemic modality. Utterances like:

(c) O sujeito terá _[FUT] fugido _[PAST PARTICIPLE] a pé.

‘The individual would have escaped on foot.’

(d) De acordo com a polícia, ele teria _[COND] aliciado _[PAST PARTICIPLE] a vítima pela Internet.

‘According to the police, he would have lured the victim through the Internet.’

do not convey any attitude of uncertainty on the part of the enunciator subject nor do they allow themselves to be replaced by periphrases with modal verbs. Rather, these formulations are understood as expressing factive states of things, corresponding to strict validated assertions, but by other sources of enunciation.

This paper aims to present a characterization of the forms (simple and composite) of the future and the conditional, as inferential and reportative markers, drawing a framework for the respective distribution in journalistic texts. This sort of written texts was chosen due to the fact that the reportative use is almost exclusive of news texts. Thus we resort to an online corpus of journalistic texts (CETEMPúblico, in www.linguateca.pt).

The analysis shows that different categories (evidentiality, modality, tense, and aspect) contribute to the construction of the values in question. These same values are also sensitive

to textual genre: the reportative uses emerge in news texts, while the inferential uses appear more frequently in opinion texts.

It is intended ultimately to show how the use of these forms sheds light on the boundary between epistemic modality and evidentiality.

References

- Azzopardi, S. (2011). *Le futur et le conditionnel : valeur en langue et effets de sens en discours. Analyse contrastive espagnol / français*. Thèse de doctorat. Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III.
- Cornillie, B. (2009). Evidentiality and epistemic modality. On the close relationship between two different categories. *Functions of Language* 16(1), 44-62.
- de Haan, F. (1999). Evidentiality and epistemic modality: Setting boundaries. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 18, 83-101.
- Dendale, P. (2012). Le conditionnel “journalistique”, marqueur de modalisation en discours second : éléments d’archéologie grammaticale. In S. Branca-Rosoff et al. (éds), *L’hétérogène à l’œuvre dans la langue et les discours. Hommage à Jacqueline Authier-Revuz*. Paris: Lambert-Lucas, 229-248.
- Duarte, I. M. (2009). Futuro perfeito e condicional composto: mediativo no discurso jornalístico em português europeu e em português brasileiro. In D. da Hora (ed.), *Anais do VI Congresso Internacional da Abralín (João Pessoa, 2009)*.
- Haillet, P. P. (2002). *Le conditionnel en français : une approche polyphonique*. Paris: Ophrys.
- Kronning, H. (2002). Le conditionnel « journalistique » : médiation et modalisation épistémiques. *Romansk Forum* 16, 561-575.
- Martins, A. (2010). Evidencialidade no discurso dos *media*. *Estudos Linguísticos/Linguistic Studies* 5. Lisboa: Edições Colibri/CLUNL, 235-245.
- Palmer, F. R. (2001). *Mood and modality*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rocci, A. (2000). L’interprétation épistémique du futur en italien et en français : une analyse procédurale. In J. Moeschler (ed.), *Inférences directionnelles, représentations mentales et subjectivité, Cahiers de linguistique française* 22, 241-274.
- Saussure, L. de (2012). Modalité épistémique, évidentialité et dépendance contextuelle. *Langue française* 173, 131-143.
- Squartini, M. (2001). The internal structure of evidentiality in Romance. *Studies in Language* 25(2), 297-334.
- Squartini, M. (2004). La relazione semantica tra Futuro e Condizionale nelle lingue romanze. *Revue Romane* 39(1), 68-96.

María PÉREZ BLANCO (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

maria.perez.blanco@pdi.ucm.es

From evidentiality to expectedness: the functions of English evidential adverbs in newspaper opinion discourse

This paper addresses a corpus-based study of the functions of the two most frequent evidential adverbs in English, *clearly* and *obviously*, as they are found in a corpus of opinion discourse (OPRES1). The relation between epistemic modality and evidentiality has been widely discussed by linguists (Dendale and Tasmowski 2001). But, either considered as part of epistemic modality, or as a separate epistemological category, i.e., evidentiality, so-called evidential adverbs have semantically developed from original manner adverbs to sentence adverbs whose core meaning is the expression of evidence. As a subtype of epistemic adverbs (Quirk et al. 1985, Biber et al. 1999), evidentials convey certainty based on 'what can be seen or noticed'. However, the purpose of this study is to show that in addition to the expression of objective solid evidence, evidential markers have developed other related textual and pragmatic meanings, mainly, expectedness (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 23). This will be especially true in the case of newspaper opinion discourse where persuasion is the central goal. Building argumentation on a common ground or drawing on shared knowledge with readers may warrant success in convincing an audience. The evidential adverbs *clearly* and *obviously* are also likely to appear as emphasizees (Quirk et al. 1985) in this type of texts. However, rather than emphatic, a dismissive context-dependent use has also been noted for *obviously* (Simon-Vanderbergen and Aijmer 2007: 224). The analysis focuses on describing the different pragmatic functions of *obviously* and *clearly* which can be ranged on a cline from explicit source of evidence in the surrounding context or co-text to 'what is obvious or expected by the reader', i.e., shared knowledge. Both being evidential adverbs, the study is also concerned with analyzing the differences and/or overlaps between *clearly* and *obviously* in opinion texts and the rethorical strategies underlying their use, as well as the possible overlaps with other related adverbs such as *of course*. This paper subscribes a corpus-based methodology. The source of empirical data is provided by the three most widely read British upmarket newspapers The Times, The Guardian and The Daily Telegraph. The analysis is focused on opinion genres: editorials, opinion columns and comment articles. Further evidence of the fluid boundaries of the category of evidential adverbs will be gathered through the analysis of their functional translation equivalents in Spanish.

References

- Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad S. and Finegan, E. 1999. Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English. London: Longman.
- Dendale, P. and Tasmowski, L. (eds.). 2001. Evidentiality. Special issue of Journal of Pragmatics 33 (3).
- Quirk, R., Starvik, J., Leech, G. and Greenbaum, S. 1985. A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language. Londres: Longman.
- Simon-Vanderbergen A. M. and Aijmer, K. 2007. The Semantic Field of Modal Certainty: A Corpus-based Study of English Adverbs. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Thompson, G. and Hunston, S. 2000. Evaluation: An Introduction. In S. Hunston and G. Thompson (eds.). *Evaluation in Text. Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-27.

Miriam PÉREZ VENEROS and Izaskun ELORZA (Universidad de Salamanca)

mpveneros@usal.es

iea@usal.es

The flow of authorized and journalists' voices in English and Spanish: A cross-linguistic study of science popularizations

This paper discusses how different voices are constructed along the narration of scientific findings in the discourse of popularization articles from newspapers. Our main aim is to see if there is any relation between the construction and indexing (Clift 2006) of authorial stance, in this case defined as the writer's expression of feelings and assessments concerning epistemic considerations, attitudes and style (Conrad and Biber 2000; Bednarek 2006) and the introduction of external sources of information. We rely on Chafe's (1986) broad notion of evidentiality as the attitudes towards knowledge, considering that knowledge is "the basic information whose status is qualified in one way or another by markers of evidentiality" (Chafe 1986: 262). Readers' expectations about how popularizations are constructed include the assumption that the journalists narrate scientific findings objectively, without expressing their personal position on the events narrated, and that they are fully reliable on the mediation given to the information they provide. As Du Bois points out (1986: 322), utterances are not accepted without authority and hence readers expect journalists to rely on authorized sources of information, namely the scientists responsible for the findings reported or other relevant stakeholders. The introduction of the voices coming from those external sources requires some transition from the voice narrating to the voice that is being introduced, which is constructed by means of reported speech, considered a hearsay marker of evidentiality (Bednarek 2006; Chafe 1986; Clift 2006).

Reported speech involves the journalists' presentation in their narrations of speech previously produced by others and which can be conveyed in the text either directly or indirectly. In direct speech (DS), we typically find a structure consisting of a reporting clause which introduces a quotation, whereas in indirect speech (IS) the speech is presented through the journalist's rephrasing. Direct speech is assumed to lend full reliability to the discourse (Bednarek 2006: 125) and, in this sense, the expectations of popularization readers are fulfilled. However, when speech is presented indirectly, the transition between voices is not so clear but rather represented as a continuous flow of voices. At least in the case of the popularizations analysed, a third possibility also exists, which combines the journalist's rephrasing (IS) of some information as a means of introducing a quotation (DS) just afterwards. These 'combined structures' (Smirnova 2009) are the focus of the study presented here. The claim being made is that the narration space preceding the introduction of quotations constitutes a potential area for the journalists' expression of evaluation on the information provided in the subsequent quote. This is supported with the results of an analysis of the type of reporting verbs, the evaluative expressions used in this area where voices blur, and a cross-linguistic comparison of how this blurring is constructed in popularizations in *The Guardian* and *El País* newspapers respectively. The results obtained are interpreted as evidence of cross-linguistic differences on journalists' attitudes towards the speech of the authorized voices they bring to the text.

References

- Bednarek, M. 2006. *Evaluation in Media Discourse*. London: Continuum.
- Chafe, W. 1986. "Evidentiality in English Conversation and Academic Writing." In Chafe, W. and Nichols, J. (eds.) *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex. 261-272.
- Clift, R. 2006. "Indexing Stance: Reported Speech as an Interactional Evidential." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 10(5): 569-595.
- Conrad, S. and Biber, D. 2000. "Adverbial Marking of Stance in Speech and Writing." In Hunston, S. and Thompson, G. (eds.) *Evaluation in Text: Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 56-73.
- Du Bois, J.W. 1986. "Self-Evidence and Ritual Speech." In Chafe, W. and Nichols, J. (eds.) *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex. 313-333.
- Smirnova, A.V. 2009. "Reported Speech as an Element of Argumentative Newspaper Discourse." *Discourse & Communication* 3(1): 79-103.

Mihaela Cecilia POPESCU and Oana Adriana DUȚĂ (U. of Craicova)

cecilia99_ro@yahoo.com

oana.duta@yahoo.com

Romanian Presumptive, evidential and/or epistemic marker

In terms of typology, one of the features distinguishing Romanian language among Romance languages is the specific method of expressing suppositional indirect evidence. For instance, in a sentence such as (1a):

- (1) a. Luminile nu sunt aprinse. O fi dormind/o dormi la ora asta.
- b. « Il n’y a pas de la lumière. Il dormira probablement/il doit dormir à cette heure ».
- c. “Las luces no están encendidas. Estará durmiendo/dormirá a estas horas”.
- d. „A quest’ora starà dormendo”,

Romanian language does not use the canonical form of the future tense, as happens in French (1b), Spanish (1c) or Italian (1d), but employs either a special structural type of its four prospective forms, i.e. *oi cânta* (the apheresized form of the auxiliary *a vrea* < *VELLE*, in the future tense and the short infinitive of the lexical verb) “I may sing” (acronym: *Foi*), or a periphrastic structure including the future tense of the auxiliary *a fi* “to beFUT” and the gerund of the lexical verb for expressing [PRESENT TENSE], or past participle for [PAST TENSE]: *(v)oi fi cântând* “I may be singing” (acronym: *FoiG*) / *(v)oi fi cântat* “I may have sung” (acronym: *FoiP*).

This range of forms known in Romanian linguistics as presumptive has an uncertain grammatical status, but its significance is unanimously accepted in recent literature as epistemic-inferential and/or evidential (see Bibliography). This means that Romanian, unlike other Romance languages, has grammaticalised distinct forms of expressing evidential-epistemic inference, formally separating temporality from modality.

Our contribution will show that, in terms of evidentiality, presumptive has two types of significance: an inferential significance in independent, declarative sentences, where the speaker expresses an inference-based supposition, and a citational significance in adversative or concessive constructions, when the utterer does not take responsibility for the truthfulness of information from another source. The specialisation of these constructions in expressing indirect evidence also stems from the fact that they primarily actualise inductive inference, but are also compatible with deductive or abductive inference.

However, this evidential content is neutralised in implicit or explicit interrogative contexts, where such verbal morphemes become “an additional epistemic mark of uncertainty” (Zafiu 2009: 302). Actually, strictly regarding epistemic modality, presumptive forms cover a wide range of levels of [certainty] (see Iliescu 1999: 100): a /probably strong/ potential, a /probably weak/ potential bordering with /possible/ potential or a /dubitative/ potential, and they can be transferred to the previously mentioned Romance languages not only through corresponding V forms, but also through conditional or (in some cases) through modal periphrases (especially *devoir*EPISTEMIC/*dovere*EPISTEMIC/*deber de* + infinitive). In other words, depending on the syntactic-enunciative structure they are inserted in, *Foi*/*FoiG* actualises a modal value AND/OR focalise the cognitive process resulting in the informational source. This shows that a clear distinction between the values of highly specialised formal structures is difficult in most cases. Along with conditional forms, Romanian presumptive is a mark of indirect evidentiality in Willet’s classification (1988: 58), but these two paradigms do

not overlap: Foi/FoiG are only secondarily compatible with the citational function, and COND is not able to express inference, inductively or otherwise.

Selected Bibliography

- Barceló, Gérard Joan (2007), « Le futur des langues romanes et la modalité: monosémie et dialogisme », in Cahiers de praxématique, 47: Aspectualité, temporalité, modalité, en ligne sur <http://praxematique.revues.org/1036>, Presses Universitaires de la Méditerranée, p.177-190.
- Barbet, Cécile / Louis de Saussure (eds.) (2012), Modalité et évidentialité en français, thematic issue of Langue française 173.
- Gennari, Silvia (2000), "Semantics and pragmatics of future tenses in Spanish", in Campos, Héctor / Elena Herburger / Alfonso Morales-Front / Thomas J. Walsh (eds), Hispanic Linguistics at the Turn of the Millennium. Papers from the 3rd Hispanic Linguistics Symposium. Somerville MA: Cascadia Press, p. 264-281.
- Iliescu, Maria (1999), « Pour un statut sémantique et syntaxique du 'présomptif' roumain », in Rosanna Brusegan / Michele A. Cortelazzo (eds.), Omaggio a Lorenzo Renzi, Roma, ESEDRA Ed., p. 97-112.
- (2000), « Grammaticalisation et modalités en roumain: le futur déictique et épistémique », in Martine Coene/Walter de Mulder/Patrick Dendale/Yves D'Hulst (eds.), Traiani Augusti Vestigia Pressa Sequamur. Studia Linguistica in Honorem Lilianae Tasmowski, Padova, Unipress, p. 429-441.
- Irimia, Monica-Alexandra (2009), "Romanian Evidentials", in Proceedings of the 32nd Annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium. University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics, vol. 15, 1, Pennsylvania, Penn Linguistics Club, p. 105-114 and online: <http://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol15/iss1/13>
- (2010), "Some remarks on the evidential nature of the Romanian presumptive", in Reineke Bok-Bennema / Brigitte Kampers-Manhe / Bart Hollebrandse (eds.), Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2008: Selected papers from 'Going Romance' Groningen 2008, Amsterdam / Philadelphia, John Benjamin Publishing Company, p. 125-144.
- Mari, Alda (2010), « On the evidential nature of the Italian future », in Archive électronique de l'Institut Jean Nicod, En ligne sur http://jeannicod.ccsd.cnrs.fr/ijn_00678549.
- Popescu, Cecilia Mihaela (2009), « La grammaticalisation du présomptif en roumain », in Revue Roumaine de Linguistique, 54, 1-2, p. 151-160.
- (2012a), « Le futur, le présomptif et le conditionnel dans le système verbal du roumain. Hypothèses et hypostases », in Zafiu, Rodica / Adina Dragomirescu / Alexandru Nicolae (eds.), Limba română: direcții actuale în cercetarea lingvistică (I): Gramatică. Fonetică și fonologie. Istoria limbii române, filologie. Actele celui de al 11-lea COLOCVIU INTERNAȚIONAL AL DEPARTAMENTULUI DE LINGVISTICĂ, București, Editura Universității din București, p. 199- 208.
- (2012b), « Le futur des langues romanes: usages temporels et/ou usages modaux? », in Analele Universității din Craiova. Seria Științe Filologice. Lingvistică, Anul XXXIV, nr. 1-2, p. 226-238,
- Reinheimer-Rîpeanu, Sanda (2000), « Le présomptif roumain: Marqueur évidentiel et épistémique », in M. Coene / W. De Mulder / P. Dendale / Y. D'Hulst (eds.), Traiani Augusti

- vestigia pressa sequamur: studia linguistica in honorem Lilianae Tasmowski, Padova, Unipress, p. 481–491.
- Rocci, Andrea (2000), « L'interprétation épistémique du futur en italien et en français: une analyse procédurale », in *Cahiers de Linguistique Française*, 22: Inférences directionnelles, représentations mentales et subjectivité, 2000, p. 241-274.
- Squartini, Mario (2004), „La relazione semantica tra futuro e condizionale nelle lingue romanze”, *Revue Romane*, 39, 1, p. 68-96.
- (2005), “L'evidenzialità in rumeno e nelle altre lingue romanze”, in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 121, 2, p. 246–268.
- (2010), « Where mood, modality and illocution meet : the morphosyntax of Romance conjectures », in Martin G. Becker / Eva-Maria Remberger (eds.), *Modality and mood in Romance. Modal interpretation, mood selection, and mood alternation*, Berlin/New York, de Gruyter, p. 109-132.
- Zafiu, Rodica (2009), „Interpretări gramaticale ale prezumtivului”, in R. Zafiu / B. Croitor / A.-M. Mihail (eds.), *Studii de gramatică. Omagiu Doamnei Profesoare Valeria Guțu Romalo*, București, Editura Universității din București, p. 289-305.
- Willett, Thomas (1988), “A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticization of evidentiality”, in *Studies in Language*, 12, p. 51–97.

Adriana RAMOS and Heliana MELLO (Federal University of Minas Gerais)

dricoutoramos@gmail.com

The use of certainty adverbs in Brazilian Portuguese and American English: A semantic-pragmatic approach

‘Adverbs of certainty are multifunctional and have social meanings on different dimensions.’ (Simon-Vandenberg; Aijmer, 2007). This suggests that adverbs assume a polypragmatic behaviour and can hold, amongst others, the semantic function of modalizers as well as the pragmatic function of politeness markers. In this paper, based on data extracted from two comparable spontaneous speech corpora, the main objective is to map and describe the semantic and pragmatic uses of adverbs and adverbial expressions of certainty in both Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and American English (AE). Our main research questions are: 1. how are adverbs of certainty employed in both languages, 2. to what extent does sociocultural variation determine both type and frequency of the indexes, and 3. is there a clear boundary between the semantic and pragmatic content of a certain index? In order to meet the preceding questions, this paper contemplates two main parts: the first one dedicated to the adaptation of a subcorpus of AE to make it comparable to the already existing BP one, and a second part that contemplates a qualitative and quantitative study of certainty adverbs in such languages. The BP data was extracted from the C-ORAL-BRASIL corpus and the AE data from the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English. The analysis shows an upward curve representing an increased use of modal adverbs in lower diastraty in BP if compared to higher ones, which may indicate socioculturally based differences in the expression of politeness in the two groups. We hope the contrastive analysis of the data will help establish a network of relations and meanings between the semantic and pragmatic use of certainty adverbs, which will hopefully contribute to the investigation of qualitative and quantitative differences in the settings of sociolinguistic parameters of both modality and politeness in such languages.

Keywords: modality, politeness, adverbs of certainty, Semantics, Pragmatics

References

- DU BOIS, John W.; CHAFE, Wallace L.; MEYER, Charles; and THOMPSON, Sandra A. *Santa Barbara corpus of spoken American English, Parts 1-5*. Philadelphia: Linguistic Data Consortium. ISBN 1-58563-164-7.
- RASO, T.; MELLO, H. (Eds.). *C-ORAL-BRASIL I: corpus de referência do português brasileiro falado informal*, Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2012.
- SIMON-VANDENBERGEN, Anne-Marie, AIJMER, Karin. *The Semantic Field of Modal Certainty: a corpus-based study of English adverbs*, Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2007.

Claudia RICCI and Elena SIMINICIUC (University of Neuchâtel)

claudia.ricci@unine.ch

elena.siminiciuc@unine.ch

Modal future and commitment in French, Italian and Romanian

Our aim is to present the results of a cross-linguistic analysis of modal future in French, Italian and Romanian. We are currently exploring the way in which future forms typically characterized as modal express pragmatic values as well as the relationship that such values hold with the notion of commitment.

In Italian, the same morphological future form (synthetic future) conveys, often indistinctly, a modal or a temporal reading, the relevant one being activated contextually (avrà vent'anni – 'he will be 20 years old' – can be read either as expressing a posterior state of affairs or as an inference of the speaker). In French, although possible, ambiguous readings of the synthetic future form are less frequent, temporal meanings are more likely to be activated and many modal values are conveyed through other expressions (peut-être – 'maybe', or the use of the modal verb *devoir* – 'must'). In turn, Romanian differs from French and Italian in that, besides a purely temporal future, it has a specific grammaticalized form, corresponding morphologically to a future tense but unambiguously conveying modal values: the presumptive mood, formed with 'o' (a derivative form of the archaic verb *a voi*, 'to want') + lexical verb. Interestingly, Romanian presumptive and Italian future seem to share a larger number of pragmatic values than those shared by the Italian and French synthetic future forms. For instance, a modal future can easily convey a concessive flavor in Italian and Romanian, but is less likely to enable this interpretation in French:

1. *Avrà letto tutto, ma non ha capito niente*
(Lit. He will have read everything, but he understood nothing
He may have read everything, but he didn't understand a thing)
2. *fi citit tot, dar nu a priceput nimic.*
3. **Il aura tout lu, mais il n'a rien compris*

Moreover, Italian future and Romanian presumptive can both be used to strengthen the assertive force of an utterance:

1. *Intendo difendere i miei interessi. Non sarò avvocato per niente!*
(Lit. I intend to protect my interests. I will not be a corporation lawyer for nothing!
I intend to protect my interests. I'm not a corporation lawyer for nothing)
2. *Vreau să-mi apăr interesele. N-oi fi avocat degeaba!*
3. **J'entends défendre mes intérêts. Je ne serai pas avocat pour rien!*

On the other hand, French allows for the use of the future as a hedging device to express a desire (as in *vous me donnerez un morceau de ce jambon* – 'you will give me a piece of this ham'). Such use is not available in Italian, or in Romanian.

Our research will show that such divergences originate from a different characterization of the commitment level in the three forms: unlike French, in Italian future and Romanian presumptive the expression of commitment is ruled out: no entity can be described by default as endorsing the responsibility for the utterance.

The methodological basis of our research is the qualitative analysis of data representing contemporary written language, more specifically journalistic prose. Our analysis is conducted

on a discursive level: each marker is examined with respect to the pragmatic values it conveys according to a specific context.

References

- Dendale, P. (2001), "Le futur conjectural versus devoir épistémique: différences de valeur et restrictions d'emploi", *Le français moderne*, 69, 1, 1-20.
- Fleischman, S. (1982), *The Future in Thought and Language. Diachronic Evidence from Romance*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Friedman, V.-A. (1997), "On the Number of Paradigms in the Romanian Presumptive Mood (Modul prezumptiv)", *Studii și cercetări lingvistice*, XLVIII, 1-4, 173-179, București.
- Mihoc, T. (2013), "The Romanian Presumptive Mood: The key to the Romanian will-Future", <http://artsites.uottawa.ca/clo-opl/doc/Mihoc2013.pdf>
- Reinheimer-Rîpeanu, S. (2007), "Observații privind viitorul romanic folosit cu valoare epistemică", *Studii și cercetări lingvistice*, LVIII, 2, 417-425, București.
- Rocci, A. (2000), "L'interprétation épistémique du futur en italien et en français: une analyse procédurale", in J. Moeschler (ed.) *Inférences directionnelles, représentations mentales et subjectivité*, *Cahiers de linguistique française*, 22, 241-274.
- Squartini, M. (2004), "La relazione semantica tra futuro e condizionale nelle lingue romanze", *Revue romane*, 39, 68-96.
- Zafiu, R.-I. (2009). « Interpretări gramaticale ale prezumtivului », in Zafiu, R. Croitor, B. & Mihail A.-M. (éds.): *Studii de gramatică. Omagiu Doamnei Profesoare Valeria Guțu Romalo*, București: Editura Universității din București, 289-305.

Susana RODRÍGUEZ ROSIQUE (Universidad de Alicante)

susana.rodriguez@ua.es

The future of necessity in Spanish: epistemic modality, inferential evidentiality and deictic projection at the crossroad

Traditionally, Spanish grammars talk about a future of necessity, and characterize it for presenting events as expected due to some previous circumstances:

- (1) Si dos ángulos valen uno recto, el otro será ángulo recto.
 - (2) Usted comprenderá que después de lo ocurrido nada debo aceptarle.
- (Fernández Ramírez 1986)

While this use may seem a new challenge concerning the interaction between epistemic modality and inferential evidentiality (Dendale & Tasmovoski 2001), most of the cases which have been labelled as futures of necessity obey in fact to different phenomena. The aim of this presentation is to deal with the so-called future of necessity in deictic terms.

From a radical perspective, Escandell (2010) argues that future in Spanish is an evidential: it always denotes that the proposition is a speaker's inference, either because the event is in another time or because it is in another space. From this perspective, the future of necessity combines the two situations. According to Squartini (2001, 2008, 2012), future in Romance languages is an evidential strategy in terms of Aikhenvald (2004): the source of information is not its primary meaning, but it may behave as an evidential in some contexts. In Squartini's (2008) and Cornillie's (2009) views, it is necessary to make a distinction between inferential evidentiality and epistemic modality. As an argument, they claim that conjectural future in Italian may occur with adverbs conveying different degree of commitment (3). From Van der Auwera & Plungian's perspective (1998), however, inferentiality is the place where evidentiality and epistemic modality collapse.

- (3) [Suonano alla porta] Forse / Sicuramente sarà il postino

Future may be defined in deictic terms. It elaborates one of the most universal templates: distance; specifically, it conveys "distance forwards" (Fleischman 1989; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994). This template may be projected upon an axle of subjectivity which traverses different levels of meaning (Sweetser 1990; Traugott 1989). First, in the initial level – the content level, the distance forwards is conceived as a peculiar temporal instruction. Most of the examples which are considered futures of necessity are still located in posteriority:

- (4) Este es un proceso que necesariamente será lento y del que todavía solo tenemos atisbos.

Second, in the epistemic level, the distance forwards reflects an indirect access to information, through inference (conjectural future). In modal terms, the proposition conveys positive distance, and is placed in an intermediate zone, between realis and hypotheticality. Conjectural futures are thus interpreted as probable by default, but they may gradually approach to realis. In the most of the cases of futures of necessity, the process of inference is embedded in a conditional construction (example 1) (Dancygier 1998; Schwenter 1999; Rodríguez Rosique 2008). Finally, some other examples traditionally labelled as futures of necessity are in fact cases in which the distance is projected upon the utterance (example 2).

Both evidentiality and epistemic modality have been related to deixis (Haßler 2010). Adopting an initial, wide definition of future in deictic terms may offer a unitary explanation of all its

uses, and may help to orthogonally understand most of the cases traditionally labelled as futures of necessity.

References

- Aikhenvald, A. (2004): *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bybee, J., R. Perkins & W. Pagliuca (1994): *The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Cornillie, B. (2009): "Evidentiality and epistemic modality. On the close relationship between two different categories". *Functions of Language* 16:1. 44–62.
- Dendale, P. & L. Tasmowski (2001): "Introduction: evidentiality and related notions". *Journal of Pragmatics* 33, 339-348.
- Escandell Vidal, M. V. (2010): "Futuro y evidencialidad". *Anuario de Lingüística Hispánica*, 26, 9-34.
- Fernández Ramírez, S. (1986): *Gramática Española*. 4. El verbo y la oración. Madrid: Arco Libros.
- Fleischman, S. (1989): "Temporal distance: A basic linguistic metaphor", *Studies in Language* 13-1: 1-50.
- Haßler, G. (2010): "Epistemic modality and evidentiality and their definition on a deictic basis", in M. G. Becker & E. M. Remberger (eds.): *Modality and Mood in Romance: Modal interpretation, mood selection, and mood alternation*. New York: Walter de Gruyter. 95-108.
- Rodríguez Rosique, S. (2008): *Pragmática y gramática. Condicionales concesivas en español*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Schwenter, S. (1999): *Pragmatics of Conditional Marking*. New York: Garland.
- Squartini, M. (2001): "The internal structure of evidentiality in Romance". *Studies in Language* 25:2. 297–334
- Squartini, M. (2008): "Lexical vs. grammatical evidentiality in French and Italian", *Linguistics* 46(5). 917–947.
- Squartini, M. (2012): "Evidentiality in interaction: The concessive use of the Italian Future between grammar and discourse". *Journal of Pragmatics* 44. 2116-2128
- Sweetser, E. (1990): *From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Traugott, E. C. (1989): "Subjectification in grammaticalisation", in D. Stein & S. Wright (eds.): *Subjectivity and subjectivisation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 31-54.
- Van der Auwera, J. & V. Plungian (1998): "Modality's semantic map", *Linguistic Typology* 2, 7-124.

On inferential and reportative evidential markers in Lithuanian newspaper discourse

The studies into the category of evidentiality in European languages have disclosed the use of evidential markers in a number of discourse types, namely academic (Grossmann, Tutin 2010), spoken (Cornillie 2010) and newspaper (Bednarek 2006; Hidalgo 2006; Marín 2006; Martínez 2006; Hennemann 2012). In Lithuanian, evidential markers have been primarily addressed intralinguistically and crosslinguistically in fiction and academic prose (van Olmen, Šinkūnienė 2012; Ruskan 2012; Usonienė forthcoming). In newspaper discourse, only individual inferential and reportative markers such as *matyt* 'evidently', *neva* 'as if', *esą* 'they say' have been analysed (Wiemer 2007; Wiemer 2010). The current study focuses on non-agreeing adjectives (*akivaizdu* 'evident', *aišku* 'clear'), verbs (*sakyti* 'say') that function as Complement-Taking-Predicates (CTPs) subordinating that clauses or parentheticals and adverbs (*akivaizdžiai* 'evidently', *tariamai* 'allegedly') used as sentence adverbials, for example:

- (1) LT: Akivaizdu, kad mes susigrąžinome rinkėjų pasitikėjimą.
EN: 'It is evident that we have regained our voters' trust.'
- (2) LT: M.Mažvydo bibliotekai pabaigti, sako, reikia dar 10-20 mln. litų.
EN: 'You need 10-20 mln LT, they say, to finish the renovation of M. Mažvydas library.'
- (3) LT: Milžiniška pinigų suma tariamai buvo paslėpta krepšyje tarp maišelių su maisto produktais.
EN: 'A large sum of money was allegedly hidden in the basket with food.'

The goal of the study is to identify the evidential functions of the non-agreeing adjectives, verbs and adverbs under study and reveal their distribution in Lithuanian newspaper discourse. The study will explore the manifestations of the source (the author or third party) responsible for the proposition (Bednarek 2006: 639) and types of evidence (inferences and reports) that ground the proposition (Plungian 2001). The data have been obtained from the Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language, namely from the subcorpus of central newspapers (<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt>). Since it is maintained that the context determines the functions of the evidential marker but not its form (Lampert, Lampert 2010), an attempt will be made to identify the contextual clues favouring the rise of evidential functions.

The preliminary results show that in Lithuanian newspaper discourse reports conveyed by specified third parties are the most frequent types of evidence. Although the author may distance himself/herself from personal evaluation of the proposition by providing reports made by third parties, his/her attitude towards the reported proposition can be expressed by the adverbial *tariamai* 'allegedly', which implies untrustworthy source and possibly false information. The adjectives *akivaizdu* 'evident', *aišku* 'clear' and adverbs *akivaizdžiai* 'evidently', *aiškiai* 'clearly' mark the author's inferences drawn from perceptual or conceptual evidence. However, in newspaper language these inferential markers frequently occur under the scope of reportative CTPs, which means that they are attributed to third parties and the author's perspective is withdrawn.

References

- Bednarek, Monika. 2006. Epistemological position and evidentiality in English news discourse: A text driven approach. *Text & Talk* 26 (6), 635–660.
- Cornillie, Bert. 2010. An interactional approach to epistemic and evidential adverbs in Spanish conversation. *Linguistic realization of evidentiality in European languages*. Diewald, Gabriele, Elena Smirnova, eds. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 309–330.
- Grossmann, Francis, Agnès Tutin. 2010. Evidential markers in French scientific writing: The case of the French verb *voir*. *Linguistic realization of evidentiality in European languages*. Diewald, Gabriele, Elena Smirnova, eds. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 279–308.
- Hennemann, Anja. 2012. The epistemic and evidential use of Spanish modal adverbs and verbs of cognitive attitude. *Folia Linguistica* 46 (1), 133–170.
- Hidalgo, Laura. 2006. The expression of writer stance by modal adjectives and adverbs in comparable corpus of English and Spanish newspaper discourse. *Corpus linguistics: applications for the study of English*. Hornero, Ana Maria, María José Luzón, Silvia Murillo, eds. Bern, Berlin: Peter Lang. 125–140.
- Lampert, Günther, Martina Lampert. 2010. Where does evidentiality reside? Notes on (alleged) limiting cases: *seem* and *be like*. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 63 (4), 308–321.
- Marín, Juana I. 2006. Epistemic stance and commitment in the discourse of fact and opinion in English and Spanish: A comparable corpus study. *Corpus linguistics: applications for the study of English*. Hornero, Ana Maria, María José Luzón, Silvia Murillo, eds. Bern, Berlin: Peter Lang. 141–157.
- Martínez, Elena. 2006. The verbal expression of belief and hearsay in English and Spanish: Evidence from newspaper discourse. *Corpus linguistics: applications for the study of English*. Hornero, Ana Maria, María José Luzón, Silvia Murillo, eds. Bern, Berlin: Peter Lang. 159–175.
- Plungian, Vladimir A. 2001. The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33, 349–357.
- Ruskan, Anna. 2012. Evidential adjectives in Lithuanian academic discourse. *Kalbotyra* 64 (3), 103–123.
- Šinkūnienė, Jolanta, Daniel Van Olmen. 2012. Modal verbs of necessity in academic English, Dutch and Lithuanian: Epistemicity and/or evidentiality? *Darbai ir Dienos* (58), 153–181.
- Usonienė, Aurelija [forthcoming]. Non-morphological realizations of evidentiality: the case of parenthetical elements in Lithuanian. *Contemporary approaches to Baltic linguistics*. Arkadiev, Peter, Axel Holvoet, Björn Wiemer, eds. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wiemer, Björn. 2007. Lexical markers of evidentiality in Lithuanian. *Rivista di Linguistica* 19 (1), 173–208.
- Wiemer, Björn. 2010. Lithuanian *esą* – a heterosemic reportive marker in its contemporary stage. *Baltic Linguistics* 1, 245–308.

Malgorzata SOKOL (Szczecin University)

msokol@autograf.pl

Epistemic verbs and the construction of professional self in academic weblogs

With the development of social media and Science 2.0, academic weblogs have emerged as informal platforms for the negotiation of professional identity. As academic blogging primarily serves to realize educational and science popularization objectives, the focus on epistemic verbs can give us insight into how knowledge is recontextualised from the scientific, institutional context to the networked and collaborative context of social media. In addition, through the study of epistemic verbs we can investigate academic bloggers' discursive choices in how they disseminate knowledge to the non-specialist audience.

The aim of the paper is to study the construction of the professional self through the investigation of the function and use of epistemic verbs in the corpus of Polish academic blogs run by individual humanities and non-humanities bloggers. The basis of the qualitative-quantitative analysis of the data is Danielewiczowa's classification of Polish epistemic predicates. This approach allows me to study how academic bloggers negotiate their online professional identity through their relation to the knowledge claims they advance, through their alignments and non-alignments, and the relations with the audience. In this way, I follow the discursive approaches to studying identity construction in language, where identity is viewed as a relational phenomenon, intersubjectively produced in interaction (e.g. Bucholtz and Hall 2005). Overall, the preliminary results of my study confirm the bloggers' compliance with the 'traditional' norms of scholarly interaction in the communicative context of the academic weblog. At the same time, the use of epistemic verbs in the data proves the persuasive and collaborative nature of blogging discourse that results from making knowledge accessible to non-specialists.

References

- Bucholtz, M. and K. Hall. 2005. "Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach." *Discourse Studies* 7(4-5): 585-614.
- Danielewiczowa, M. 2002. *Wiedza i niewiedza: Studium polskich czasowników epistemicznych*. [Knowledge and non-knowledge: A study of Polish epistemic verbs] Warszawa: Katedra Lingwistyki Formalnej UW.

Daisuke SUZUKI (Kyoto University)

suzuki0213@gmail.com

(Inter)subjectification in the development of English modal adverbs: The cases of *maybe* and *perhaps*

This study examines “possible” modal adverbs from a functional perspective, focusing mainly on the two synonymous adverbs: *maybe* and *perhaps*. As is well-known, these expressions fall into the same semantic category and express a speaker’s judgment about the possibility of a proposition (Greenbaum 1969; Hoyer 1997; Biber et al. 1999; Huddleston and Pullum 2002; Swan 2005). In this paper, I identify what factors are significant in predicting each adverb’s usage and how these adverbs differ.

After extracting usage data from the British National Corpus (BNC), this study explores the following factors by analyzing the target adverbs in a larger context: (i) the co-occurrence of *maybe* and *perhaps* with modal verbs, (ii) the position (i.e., initial, medial, or final) the target adverbs occupy in a clause, and (iii) which pronouns fill the subject slot in *maybe/perhaps* clauses. In order to explore the dynamic status of the target expressions in contemporary English, data were also extracted from the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English (LOB) and the Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English (FLOB) for the years 1961 and 1991, respectively.

Based on the quantitative analysis of the data from the BNC, LOB, and FLOB, two important implications follow. First, a closer association of *maybe* with modal verbs and in the initial position reveals that *maybe* has a preference for more subjective use; a stronger relation with first and second person pronouns indicates that the use of *maybe* is more intersubjective than the use of *perhaps*. Second, the further development in the meanings of *maybe* and *perhaps* is a case of increased subjectification, whereas *maybe* is further advanced than *perhaps* in the process of subjectification (cf. Traugott and Dasher 2002; Brinton 2008; Traugott 2010).

By analyzing these two types of data, the results demonstrate that the target adverbs conveying the same degree of possibility fulfill different functions at the discourse-pragmatic level, and the factors influencing the use of these adverbs are strongly associated with the parameters of modality, discourse, and interaction. In addition, I suggest that *maybe*, in contrast to *perhaps*, has gone far in the process of (inter)subjectification. These results can be applied to establish clear usage guidelines for *maybe* and *perhaps*.

References

- Bellert, Irena. 1977. On semantic and distributional properties of sentential adverbs. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8(2). 337-351.
- Biber, Douglas, Stig Johansson, Geoffrey Leech & Susan Conrad. 1999. *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. Harlow: Pearson.
- Brinton, Laurel J. 2008. *The comment clause in English: Syntactic origins and pragmatic development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Doherty, Monika. 1987. *Perhaps*. *Folia Linguistica* 21(1). 45-65.
- Ernst, Thomas. 2004. Principles of adverbial distribution in the lower clause. *Lingua* 114. 755-777.
- Ernst, Thomas. 2009. Speaker-oriented adverbs. *Nat Lang Linguist Theory* 27. 497-544.

- Ernst, Thomas. 2010. Adverbs and light verbs. In Lauren E. Clemens & Chi-Ming L. Liu (eds.), *Proceedings of the 22rd North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics (NACCL-22) and the 18th International Conference on Chinese Linguistics (IACL-18) 2*, 178-195. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- Fowler, Henry W. 2004. *Fowler's Modern English Usage*, 3rd edn. Revised by Robert W. Burchfield. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Greenbaum, Sidney. 1969. *Studies in English adverbial usage*. Coral Gables: University of Miami Press.
- Halliday, Michael A. K. 1970. Functional diversity in language as seen from a consideration of modality and mood in English. *Foundations of Language* 6. 322-361.
- Halliday, Michael A. K. & Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen. 2004. *An introduction to functional grammar*, 3rd edn. London: Arnold.
- Hoye, Leo. 1997. *Adverbs and modality in English*. London: Longman.
- Huddleston, Rodney & Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyons, John. 1977. *Semantics 2*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech & Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.
- Simon-Vandenberg, Anne-Marie & Karin Aijmer. 2007. *The semantic field of modal certainty: A corpus-based study of English adverbs*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Swan, Michael. 2005. *Practical English usage*, 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Swan, Toril. 1988. *Sentence adverbials in English: A synchronic and diachronic investigation*. Oslo: Novus.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. 1989. On the rise of epistemic meanings in English: An example of subjectification in semantic change. *Language* 65. 31-55.
- Traugott, Elizabeth C. 2010. (Inter)subjectivity and (inter)subjectification. In Kristin Davidse, Lieven Vandelanotte & Hubert Cuyckens (eds.), *Subjectification, intersubjectification and grammaticalization*, 29-71. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Miriam THEGEL (Uppsala University)

miriam.thegel@moderna.uu.se

Obligation and necessity in Spanish: the case of *deber* and *tener que*

Modality undoubtedly constitutes a strong research field within modern linguistics, and epistemic modality in particular has received a large amount of attention during the last few decades. Nevertheless, other subcategories within modality have not been dealt with to the same extent, for instance deontic modality, which can be regarded as a neglected area within the field (Nuyts et al 2010). Hoping to contribute to filling this gap, the aim of this paper is to account for the deontic readings of two Spanish modal verbs: *deber* and *tener que*. The existing literature on these verbs tends to focus mainly on force, that is, the degree of obligation, when reporting on their semantic differences (Sirbu-Dumitrescu 1988, Müller 2001). However, there might be several other aspects that distinguish *deber* and *tener que*. The question at issue is how it is possible to contribute to a nuanced description of the verbs *deber* and *tener que*. Would notions such as speaker orientation and performativity be valuable tools in order to reach a better understanding of the actual use of these verbs?

The corpus used for this research consists of 613 plenary debates from the European Parliament, conducted by 28 Spanish MEPs between 2010 and 2011. The verbs in question were identified through Wordsmith Tools and further classified according to variables such as tense, grammatical person and diathesis. The aim for this paper is to present quantitative data but also to bring up individual examples for discussion.

The intention is to approach these questions from a predominantly cognitive-pragmatic perspective, inspired by Narrog (2005) and Nuyts et al (2010). It is considered that speaker-orientation, applied by Narrog (2005) and related to the ground (Langacker 1990), i.e., the communicative context, is useful in order to grasp the difference between *deber* and *tener que*. Speaker-orientation can be easily related to the notion of performativity, which according to Nuyts et al is described as the “presence of speaker commitment in the use of a linguistic form” (2010: 27). The hypothesis is that *tener que* is a more speaker-oriented verb, usually appearing in a performative reading, while *deber* tends to be less speaker-oriented and therefore is more common than *tener que* in descriptive contexts, such as legislation and other regulations. This hypothesis is strengthened when looking at the results of some classificatory variables, used in the preliminary analysis of the data. To begin with, the use of first person is more frequent with *tener que* than with *deber*. In addition, *deber* is strikingly common in the conditional form, while *tener que* seldom appears in this tense. Finally, *deber* is more often impersonalized, utilized in passive clauses or with the impersonal pronoun ‘*se*’. In this presentation, these aspects as well as others will be discussed in order to contribute to a better comprehension of Spanish modals in particular and of modality in general.

References

- Langacker, R. W. (1990). Subjectification. *Cognitive Linguistics* 1 (1), 5-38.
- Müller, H. H. (2001). The Spanish modal auxiliaries. In H. H. Müller (ed.) *Reflections on Modality* 39-66. *Copenhagen Studies in languages* 26.
- Narrog, H. (2005). Modality, mood and change of modal meaning: a new perspective. *Cognitive Linguistics* 16 (4), 677-731.

- Nuyts, J., Byloo, P., Diepeveen, J. (2010). On deontic modality, directivity, and mood: the case study of Dutch *mogen* and *moeten*. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42 (1), 16–34.
- Sirbu-Dumitrescu, D. (1988). Contribución al estudio de la semántica de los verbos modales en español. *Hispania*, 71, 139-147.

Aurelija USONIENÉ and Jolanta ŠINKÜNIENÉ (Vilnius University)

aurelia@usonis.lt

jolanta2palmeris@gmail.com

Potential vs use: revisiting evidential participial constructions in Lithuanian

Lithuanian is one of the European languages which are considered to have a grammatical realization of evidentiality, which is expressed by means of evidential constructions (Ambrazas 1994; 2006; Gronemeyer 1997; Holvoet 2001, 2004, 2007; Wiemer 2006; Kehayov 2008). The two participial constructions containing active and passive participles are said to mark (1) reportive and (2) inferential evidentiality, e.g.:

- 1) *Profesorius pasakė, kad mano priėmimui astronomijos katedros laborantu prieštarauja dekanas X. Jis **pavadinęs** mane „nestropiu“ ir **sakęs**, kad aš ne toks jau geras studentas, ...* (CorALit)

‘The professor said that the dean was against my appointment as an assistant at the Department of Astronomy. Reportedly, he **called** (**‘call’PST.AP.AGR**) me “negligent” and **said** (**‘say’ PST.AP.AGR**) that I was not a good student ...’

- 2) *Vyruko **būta** liekno - paspruko pro kaminą.* (CCLL)
guy.GEN be.NAGR.PP slim.GEN escape.PST.3 through chimney.ACC

‘Obviously the guy was slim – (he) escaped through the chimney.’

They could be regarded as “evidential extensions of non-evidential categories” (Aikhenvald 2007) because the evidential meaning is triggered by the syntactic configuration and the grammatical meaning of the participle (Gronemeyer 1997; Wiemer 2006). While the two constructions have been described theoretically in literature, there are no studies that would attest to the frequency and patterns of use of these constructions in authentic contemporary Lithuanian. The aim of the paper is to find out whether the existing potential of the grammatical means of expression of evidentiality in Lithuanian is common in the actual use of contemporary language. The analysis has been carried out in the light of the theoretical approach and the template of the database of evidential markers in European languages (Wiemer and Stathi 2010).

As shown in Usonienė (forthcoming), active participles used in the “reportive construction” can also be non-agreeing as in the “passive evidential” construction. Thus, the focus of the analysis is on three types of participles: active agreeing and non-agreeing participles vs. passive non-agreeing participles (*-ma/-ta* participles), e.g.:

- 3) agreeing active participle (AGR.AP): *gyvenę* ‘live’PST.AP.AGR
- 4) non-agreeing active participle (NAGR.AP): *esant/buvus* ‘be’PRS/PST.AP.NAGR
- 5) non-agreeing passive participle (NAGR.PP): *esama/būta* ‘be’PRS/PST.PP.NAGR

The study employs corpus based quantitative and qualitative methodology in order to investigate the distributional patterns of the two constructions in different types of discourse (fiction, academic and journalistic) in Lithuanian. The data have been collected from two corpora: the Corpus of Academic Lithuanian (CorALit) and the Corpus of Contemporary Lithuanian Language (CCLL). The findings of the corpus-based analysis show that these

constructions are most common in academic and journalistic discourse, in the narrative text type. A very frequent use of the non-agreeing active participles has been observed in *verba dicendi* and mental verb complementation, e.g.:

- 6) *J. M. Antonjanas žiaurumą mano esant asmenybės*
 Antonjanas cruelty.ACC believe be.PRS.AP.NAGR personality.GEN
bruožu, ... (CorALit)
 feature.INS
 ‘Antonyan believes cruelty to be a feature of personality, ...’

Data sources

CorALit Corpus Academicum Lithuanicum (<http://coralit.lt/>)

CCLL Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language (<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/>)

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ambrasas, Vytautas. 1994. On the interpretation of Lithuanian constructions with neuter passive participles. *Linguistica Baltica* 3, 7–11.
- Ambrasas, Vytautas. 2006. *Lietuvių kalbos istorinė sintaksė* [Historical syntax of the Lithuanian language]. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos instituto leidykla.
- Gronemeyer, Claire. 1997. Evidentiality in Lithuanian. *Working Papers Lund University* 46, 93–112.
- Holvoet, Axel. 2001. On the paradigm of the oblique mood in Lithuanian and Latvian. *LinguisticaBaltica* 9, 69–86.
- Holvoet, Axel. 2004. Evidencialumo kategorija [The category of evidentiality]. In *Gramatinių kategorijų tyrimai* edited by Axel Holvoet and Loreta Semėnienė, 105–120. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas.
- Holvoet, Axel. 2007. *Mood and Modality in Baltic*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagellońskiego.
- Kehayov, Petar. 2008. *An Areal-typological Perspective to Evidentiality: the Cases of the Balkan and Baltic Linguistic Areas*. Ph.D. dissertation, Tartu: Tartu University Press.
- Usonienė, Aurelija. (forthcoming). Non-morphological realizations of evidentiality: the case of parenthetical elements in Lithuanian. In *Contemporary Approaches to Baltic Linguistics* edited by Peter Arkadiev, Axel Holvoet and Bjoern Wiemer. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wiemer, Björn. 2006. Grammatical evidentiality in Lithuanian (A Typological assessment). *Baltistica* 36, 33–49.
- Wiemer, Björn and Katerina Stathi. 2010. The database of evidential markers in European languages. A bird’s eye view of the conception of the database (the template and problems hidden beneath it). *STUF* 63(4), 275–289.

Marion WEERNING (Università di Palermo)

marion.weerning@unipa.it

German 'modulating' particles and their translatability into Italian: expressing probability, unquestionability or an inescapable conclusion

In German, modality can be expressed not only by lexical adverb-like “commenting” particles (*Kommentarteilchen*, CPs) such as *wahrscheinlich* (“probably”), but also by pragmatic “modulating” particles (*Abtönungsteilchen*, MPs): probability is expressed by the MP *wohl*, unquestionability by *ja*, an inescapable conclusion by *eben*. Contrary to German, many languages (such as English or Italian) do not possess MPs which have (nearly) no lexical, but only pragmatic meanings. What is the difference between CPs and MPs? From a syntactical point of view, in contrast to CPs, MPs cannot stay in position 1 before a finite verb (*Wahrscheinlich kommt Anna später. *Wohl kommt Anna später. “Probably A. is coming later.”*). From a pragmatic point of view, both are modifiers. A CP modifies the whole utterance and its validity; the speaker undercuts the validity of an utterance by expressing a subjective degree of validity (*Anna kommt wahrscheinlich. → degree of validity of Anna's coming: quite high*).

On the other hand, an MP modifies the speech act or, more precisely, the manner in which the illocutionary act is performed; the speaker does not undercut the validity but only transmits, in an interaction with the listener, her/his attitude to what (s)he says (*Anna kommt wohl. → speaker's attitude: quite high certainty*), after having evaluated not only the communication situation, but also what the listener knows and her/his preferences.

This cross-linguistic study, analyzing the Italian translation of a German novel, examines how Italian as a language which does not possess this word class tries to convey these three pragmatic evidential particles by looking for alternative lexical means to express – probably in a less precise way – the speaker's certainty, the unquestionability of what (s)he says or the inescapable conclusion (s)he has reached.

Analyzed Corpus

Heidenreich, Gisela. 2010. *Das endlose Jahr. Die langsame Entdeckung der eigenen Biographie – ein Lebensborn-Schicksal*. Frankfurt a/M: Fischer Taschenbuch.

Heidenreich, Gisela. 2004. *In nome della razza ariana. Il viaggio di una donna alla ricerca della propria identità*. Translated by Marco Belli. Milan: Baldini Castoldi Dalai.

Some references

Burkhardt, Armin. 1985. “Der Gebrauch der Partikeln im gesprochenen Deutsch und im gesprochenen Italienisch.” In *Gesprochenes Italienisch in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, edited by Gunter Holtus and Edgar Radtke, 236-75. Tübingen: Narr.

Thune, Eva M. and Ortu, Franca (eds.). 2007. *Gesprochene Sprache – Partikeln*. Frankfurt a/M: Lang.

Dahl, Johannes. 1988. *Die Abtönungsteilchen im Deutschen*. Heidelberg: Groos.

Diewald, Gabriele. 2007. “Abtönungsteilchen.” In *Deutsche Wortarten*, edited by Ludger Hoffmann, 117-41. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter.

- Heggelund, Kjell T. 2001. "Zur Bedeutung der deutschen Modalpartikeln in Gesprächen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sprechakttheorie und der DaF-Perspektive". *Linguistik Online* 9, 2/01. Accessed June 7, 2013. http://www.linguistik-online.de/9_01/Heggelund.html.
- Helbig, Gerhard, and Werner Kotz. 1981. *Die Partikeln*. Leipzig: Enzyklopadie.
- Helling, Christa. 1983. *Die deutsche Modalpartikel im Übersetzungsvergleich*. Udine: Del Bianco.
- Linke, Angelika, Markus Nussbaumer, and Paul R. Portmann. 1996. *Studienbuch Linguistik*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Masi, Stefania. 1996. *Deutsche Modalpartikeln und ihre Entsprechungen im Italienischen. Äquivalente für doch, ja, denn und wohl*. Frankfurt a/M: Lang.
- Meibauer, Jorg. 1994. *Modaler Kontrast und konzeptuelle Verschiebung. Studien zur Syntax und Semantik deutscher Modalpartikeln*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Metrich, Rene and Eugene Faucher. 2009. *Wörterbuch deutscher Partikeln. Unter Berücksichtigung ihrer französischen Äquivalente*. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter.
- Weydt, Harald. 1969. *Abtönungspartikel. Die deutschen Modalwörter und ihre französischen Entsprechungen*. Bad Homburg, Berlin

Shirley Zhong-yi XU (University of Lancaster)

z.xu@lancaster.ac.uk

Evidentiality in Political Discourse Analysis: Towards a New Typology

Evidentiality has been studied widely both in semantic studies (e.g. De Haan 1999; Palmer 2001; DeLancey 2001; Aikhenvald 2004; Boye & Harder 2009) and discourse studies (e.g. Mushin 2001, 2013; Bednarek 2006; Hart 2011; Marín Airese 2004, 2011a, 2011b). Drawing on the previous studies (e.g. Willett, 1988; Nuyts, 1992, 2010), evidentiality in this paper is defined as the source and quality of information used by a speaker/writer in justifying his/her stance.

The relationship between evidentiality and modality (specifically with epistemic modality) has also been discussed a lot from the perspective of (inter)subjectivity or objectivity (e.g. Lyons 1977; Kratzer 1981; Langacker 1990, 1999; Nuyts 1992, 2001b; Traugott & Dasher 2002; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; Traugott 2006; Marín-Arrese 2006; Portner 2009). However, so far there has been no consensus towards this issue.

Furthermore, the typology and functions of evidentiality have been relatively neglected in previous discourse studies. Thus, this paper aims to redress the balance by exploring the typology of evidentiality and its interaction with modality in terms of (inter)subjectivity or objectivity in political discourse from a cognitive-functional perspective. It will do so in the context of a corpus-assisted, comparative analysis of three political speech cases: Tony Blair, Barak Obama and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Each case consists of a corpus of ten speeches (around 26,000 words) from the same politician, with topics ranging from war, racism, education, economy, election, to foreign relations and weather change, etc. The data analysis of this study can be divided into four steps: (i) defining & classifying evidentiality & modality; (ii) retrieving forms of evidentials and modality; (iii) coding the data; (iv) analyzing the data quantitatively & qualitatively.

This paper combines quantitative and qualitative approaches to data analysis. Specifically, this paper attempts to answer the following questions: 1) How can we define and classify evidentiality in political discourse? 2) What does evidentiality function in political discourse, particularly in term of the interaction with modality?

This paper proposes a new typology of evidentiality in political discourse based on the interaction of source of evidence and strength of evidence. It also aims to examine the functions of evidentiality in political discourse, particularly focusing on its relationship between modality.

The study shows interesting results in terms of nine evidential types and three types of modality among three speakers. There are both similarities and differences between the three political speakers in terms of evidential markers and modal markers. It also reveals that the three speakers' choices of evidentials reflect their different commitments, legitimise their stances and encode their subjectivity, inter-subjectivity and objectivity in the use of modal markers respectively.

References

Aikhenvald, Y. (2004). *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Boye, K and Harder, P. (2009). Evidentiality Linguistic categories and grammaticalization. *Functions of Language*, 16(1):9-43.
- De Haan, F.(1999). 'Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality: Setting Boundaries.' *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, (18):83-101.
- DeLancey, S. (2001). The mirative and evidentiality. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 33: 369-382.
- Halliday, M.A.K.& Matthiessen, C. (2004). *An introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Arnold.
- Hart, C. (2011). Legitimizing assertions and the logico-rhetorical module: Evidence and epistemic vigilance in media discourse on immigration. *Discourse Studies*, 13(6): 751-814.
- Kratzer, A. (1981). The notional category of modality. In Eikmeyer, H.-J. and Rieser, H. (eds), *Words, Worlds, and Contexts*, pp. 38–74. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Langacker, R.W. (1990). Subjectification. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 1: 5–38.
- Langacker, R. W. (1999). *Grammar and Conceptualization*. Berlin and NewYork: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lyons, J. (1977). *Semantics*. Volume II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marin-Arrese, J. (ed.) (2004a). *Perspectives on Evidentiality and Modality*. Madrid: Complutense.
- Marin-Arrese, J. (2011a). Effective vs. epistemic stance and subjectivity in political discourse legitimising strategies and mystification of responsibility. In: Hart, C. (ed.). *Critical Discourse Studies in Context and Cognition*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.pp.193-224.
- Marin-Arrese, J. (2011b). Epistemic Legitimising Strategies, Commitment and Accountability in Discourse. *Discourse Studies*. 13:789.
- Mushin, I. (2001). *Evidentiality and Epistemological Stance*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mushin, I. (2013). Making knowledge visible in discourse: implications for the study of linguistic evidentiality. *Discourse Studies*, 15(5):627-645.
- Nuyts, J. (1992) 'Subjective vs. objective modality: What is the difference?' In: Michael Fortescue, Peter Harder and Lars Kristoffersen, (eds.), *Layered Structure and Reference in a Functional Perspective*, Amsterdam: Benjamins, pp. 73-97.

Sonja ZEMAN (LMU München)

Sonja.Zeman@germanistik.uni-muenchen.de

On prophecies, predictions, and speaker knowledge: German modal verb *sollen* + inf. between temporality, epistemicity, and evidentiality

The main issue in the present tense of *sollen*, therefore, is not one of quantity, of how much modality or how much futurity, but rather of source. (Maxwell 1968: 415f.)

According to grammaticalization theory, it is a well established fact that epistemic and evidential meanings of modal verbs historically arise from root modals (cf. Traugott 1989; Bybee et al. 1994). The German modal verbs seem to follow this well-known grammaticalization path: It is commonly assumed that their epistemic meanings do not develop until the 16th century (cf. e.g. Fritz 1991: 46, 1997; Diewald 1999; Axel 2001; Maché 2008: 387). Furthermore, it is claimed that an earlier development is “blocked” by the fact that some of the later modal verbs are used as future tense markers in earlier stages of German (cf. e.g. Diewald 1999). The paper aims at modifying this line of development by addressing the German modal verb *sollen* which exhibits both an evidential and epistemic component of meaning and hence constitutes a promising object of investigation for exploring the interface between temporality, epistemicity and evidentiality. In this respect, the paper pursues the following line of argumentation.

Based on an exemplary analysis of Middle High German (MHG) *suln* + inf., it is argued that the modal verb construction can neither be seen as a future tense form nor is its usage fully accounted for by its root modal meaning. Rather, the MHG examples are characterized by the reference to an external source and by *de dicto* readings, whereby the modal verb indicates that the embedded proposition is not part of the speaker’s knowledge – a meaning which is commonly not expected until the 17th century (cf. DWb 16, 1448f.; Diewald 1999: 421). This analysis is furthermore supported by data from Old High German, where the construction is particularly used in contexts of prophecies and predictions.

Based on the data analysis, a semantic model is proposed that allows for a unified account of the diachronic unfolding of temporal, epistemic and evidential meanings and suggests a more fine-grained line of development than commonly assumed. According to this model, epistemic and evidential meanings, although belonging to distinct categories, share the same basic principle of acting as modifiers of the proposition and can be derived from the structure of modal verbs, characterized by the biphasicness inherent in their deictic temporal structure. Such an analysis will finally offer an explanation of the Modern High German so-called “Schicksalsfutur” / ‘future of fate’ (e.g. *Er sollte sie nie wieder sehen*. ‘He was not to see her ever again.’). This construction has so far been described as an unexplained “special case” with respect to its modal meaning as it indicates a high degree of certainty. Taking into account the multidimensional structure of narrative discourse, it is shown that the preterite form of the modal verb triggers an epistemic effect on the textual surface by indicating a split of narrator and character level and, linked with that, a potential divergence between different knowledge systems.

References

- Axel, Katrin. 2001. Althochdeutsche Modalverben als Anhebungsverben. In Müller, Reimar / eis, Marga (eds.), *Modalität und Modalverben im Deutschen*. Hamburg: Buske [Linguistische Berichte: Sonderheft 9], 37-60.
- Bybee, Joan, Perkins, Revere, and Pagliuca, William. 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Diewald, Gabriele. 1999. *Die Modalverben im Deutschen: Grammatikalisierung und Polyfunktionalität*. Tübingen: Niemeyer [Reihe Germanistische Linguistik 208].
- Fritz, Gerd. 1991. Deutsche Modalverben 1609: Epistemische Verwendungsweisen. Ein Beitrag zur Bedeutungsgeschichte der Modalverben im Deutschen. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 113, 28-52.
- Fritz, Gerd. 1997. Historische Semantik der Modalverben. Problemskizze – exemplarische Analysen – Forschungsübersicht. In Fritz, Gerd / Gloning, Thomas (eds.), *Untersuchungen zur semantischen Entwicklungsgeschichte der Modalverben im Deutschen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1-157.
- Grimm, Jacob. [1989]1989. *Deutsche Grammatik* 4. Part I. Reprint Hildesheim u.a.: Olms-Weidmann.
- Maché, Jakob. 2008. The autopsy of a modal – insights from the historical development of German. In Abraham, Werner / Leiss, Elisabeth (eds.), *Modality-Aspect Interfaces. Implications and typological solutions*. Amsterdam: Benjamins [Typological Studies in Language 79], 385-415.
- Maxwell, Harry J. 1968. Aspects of futurity in modern uses of *sollen*. *The German Quarterly* 41/3, 413-421.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1989. On the rise of epistemic meanings in English: an example of subjectification in semantic change. *Language* 65, 31-55.

Workshop papers

Workshop 1: Evidentiality and the semantics-pragmatics interface

Convenors:

Bert Cornillie (KU Leuven), bert.cornillie@arts.kuleuven.be

Björn Wiemer (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz), wiemerb@uni-mainz.de

Abstracts

**José AMENÓS PONS (UNED), Aoife K. AHERN (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)
and Pedro GUIJARRO-FUENTES (Universidad de las Islas Baleares)**

jose.amenos@gmail.com

akahern@ucm.es

pedro.guijarro-fuentes@plymouth.ac.uk

Metarepresentations and evidentiality in Spanish tense and mood interpretation: a cognitive pragmatic account

Cognitive approaches such as Sperber & Wilson's Relevance Theory (RT) emphasize that language may express not only representations of the world, but also representations of other representations. According to RT, some metarepresentational utterances articulate thoughts, while others report previous utterances. Metarepresentational content is not necessarily attributional, that is, determining the source of a reported thought is not always essential for utterance interpretation.

The Spanish subjunctive has been characterized as inherently metarepresentational (Ahern 2004, 2006, 2010), but this does not mean that mood is intrinsically evidential. Utterances (1) and (2) express metarepresentational content, but only in (2) does the subjunctive echo a clearly attributed utterance:

- (1) Te quiero y siempre te querré. Aunque se acabe el mundo te seguiré amando.
- (2) Ya te he oído, pero aunque te vayas no te puedo atender ahora. Espérate un momento.

Unlike mood, tenses are not inherently metarepresentative. However, they may also behave as evidential devices, especially if they are imperfective (Escandell-Vidal & Leonetti 2003). This can be seen in (3):

- (3) + ¿Y Juan?
- Compraba unas cervezas y venía para acá.

In Spanish, if-hypothetical clauses may take the imperfect indicative (IMP-IND) and the imperfect subjunctive (IMP-SUBJ), with different interpretive effects. IMP-SUBJ is generally understood as reporting a possibility (4), while IMP-IND may picture iterated events (4) or attributed thoughts (5):

- (4) Si no lloviera, el domingo podríamos ir al campo.
- (5) ¡Qué malos éramos de pequeños! Si mi hermana lloraba, yo saltaba y reía.
- (6) Hoy también había partido de la Liga española. Importantísimo para ambos conjuntos. Para el Betis, porque si ganaba se clasificaba para la final.

The interpretation of the IMP-IND, in each case, largely depends on predicate type and contextual assumptions: telic predicates expressing unique events that can be planned favour evidential readings, particularly if such events may not be contextually located in the past (Amenos-Pons 2010, in press).

If the IMP-SUBJ (unlike the IMP-IND) is naturally metarepresentational, the coexistence of a non attributional IMP-SUBJ in (4) and an evidential IMP-IND in (5) is a remarkable paradox that must be accounted for. We argue that evidential readings of the IMP-IND appear only as a last resort interpretive effect, linguistically mandated but strongly influenced by pragmatics.

Evidential IMP-IND is closely related to extreme cases of aspectual coercion, where integration of information from different cognitive modules (linguistic and pragmatic) is at stake. This type of coercion has been described in the psycholinguistic literature as particularly difficult to process (Bott 2010). In contrast, the interpretation of the IMP-SUBJ in if-hypothetical environments is much more straightforward and does not normally require complex interface operations. Processing difficulties related to interface issues may be expected to correlate not only with longer processing times (Bott 2010), but also with a perceptible degree of variability in interpretations. It may also be expected that those difficulties will be more apparent in the case of non-native speakers, as current SLA theories such as the Interface Hypothesis (Sorace 2011, 2012) have found.

To support this idea, we provide original experimental data from an utterance interpretation task, where indicative and subjunctive moods alternate in if-hypothetical clauses. The task, in the form of a written questionnaire (20 multiple choice items), was carried out by two different groups of adult learners of Spanish (48 L1 French and 40 L1 English speakers, at B2-C1 levels of Spanish respectively). A control group of 35 native Spanish speakers was also used. Our results show that, as expected, the ability to efficiently integrate linguistic and non-linguistic cues is particularly costly for non-native speakers. Still, native speakers also reveal, to a lesser degree, the effect of cognitive complexity, with a slightly lower (although statistically significant) percentage of correct answers in those items containing evidential uses of IMP-IND. We discuss the implications of these findings and conceptualize them as part of broader theoretical processes.

References

- AHERN, A. 2004. *El subjuntivo: significado e inferencia. Un estudio basado en la Teoría de la Relevancia*. PhD Dissertation. Madrid: UNED.
- AHERN, A. 2006. "Spanish mood, metarepresentation and propositional attitudes. In *Where Semantics Meets Pragmatics*". K. Turner and K. von Heusinger (eds.), *Where Semantics Meets Pragmatics*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 445-471.
- AHERN, A. 2010. "Propositional attitudes in relevance theory: an overview". In E. Wałaszewska, M. Kisielewska-Krysiuk y A. Piskorska (eds.), *In the Mind and across Minds: a Relevance-Theoretic Perspective on Communication and Translation*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 147-167.
- AMENÓS-PONS, J. 2010. *Los tiempos de pasado del español y el francés: semántica, pragmática y aprendizaje de E/LE. Perspectivas desde la Teoría de la Relevancia*. PhD Dissertation, Madrid: UNED.
- AMENÓS-PONS, J. 2014. "Spanish 'Imperfecto' vs. French 'Imparfait' in Hypothetical Clauses: A Procedural Account". *Cahiers Chronos* 27, 243-271.

- BOTT, Oliver (2010). *The Processing of Events*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- ESCANDELL-VIDAL, V. & M. LEONETTI (2003). "On the quotative readings of Spanish Imperfecto". *Cuadernos de Lingüística X*, 135-154.
- SPERBER, D. & D. WILSON (1986/1995). *Relevance. Communication and Cognition*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- SORACE, A. (2011). "Pinning down the concept of 'interface' in bilingualism". *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism 1*, 1-33.
- SORACE, A. (2011). "Pinning down the concept of "interface" in bilingualism: a reply to peer commentaries". *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism 2*, 209-216.

Kira BOULAT (Université de Fribourg)

kira.boulat@unifr.ch

Are you committed? A pragmatic model of commitment

The notion of commitment is widely used in the domains of modality and evidentiality (Papafragou 2000, 2006; Ifantidou 2001). Studies on modality construe commitment as referring to the attitudinal counterpart of epistemic modality (Pietrandrea 2008: 221). It is generally defined as the speaker's attitude towards the truth of some propositional content (Brabanter & Dendale 2008: 6) or as a "subscription to truth" (Papafragou 2000: 529). Linguistic markers indicating epistemic modality are taken to express the degree of speaker commitment. It is therefore conceived of as a graded notion: Nuyts (2006: 6) interprets epistemic modality as a scale going from the absolute certainty that the state of affairs expressed is not real to the absolute certainty that it is.

Commitment is a graded phenomenon in the domain of evidentiality as well. Evidentials are commonly understood as indicating the different degrees of commitment the speaker has towards a communicated content (Ifantidou 2001; Papafragou 2000; Marín-Arrese 2007; *inter alia*). Within this framework, commitment is linked to "the speaker's appraisal of the knowledge used and the hearer's interpretation of its reliability" (Cornillie & Delbecq 2008: 38) and is construed as a graded notion computed on the basis of the 'proximity' of the evidence.

We propose an alternative account of the notion of commitment by focusing on commitment assignment processes in a hearer-oriented perspective (Morency *et al.* 2008). Our aim is to present a new pragmatic model with clear predictions within a relevance-theoretic framework (Sperber & Wilson 1995) and in the light of recent studies on epistemic vigilance (Sperber *et al.* 2010; Mascaro & Sperber 2009; Mazzarella 2013; *inter alia*). We posit that commitment depends on the strength of the contextual assumptions determined by a given utterance. Strength is defined as a function of the certainty of the information conveyed by the utterance and of the reliability of its source. We distinguish four kinds of commitment: speaker commitment, communicated commitment, attributed commitment and hearer commitment. This hearer-oriented approach focuses on the two last kinds of commitment which depend on three main factors: i) linguistic triggers; ii) the source of information and iii) the salience of the communicated assumption in the hearer's cognitive environment.

We will mainly show that epistemic modals and evidentials give an indication regarding the degree of certainty and reliability (i.e. strength) assigned by the speaker to his/her utterance and that the hearer's hypotheses regarding the source of information must be taken into account. According to Wilson (2012: 24), modality and evidentiality are distinct but related in the sense that they "both have their roots in a suite of cognitive mechanisms for 'epistemic vigilance'". We will claim that the source of information overrides linguistic cues during strength assignment. Indeed, as Mazzarella (2013: 32) puts it, if the source is detected as unreliable by some epistemic vigilance mechanisms, the hearer will question the believability of the information.

References

- Brabanter, Philippe de & Patrick Dendale (eds). 2008. *Commitment*. Belgian Journal of Linguistics 22. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Cornillie, B. & N. Delbecque. 2008. "Speaker commitment: back to the speaker. Evidence from Spanish alternations." In Brabanter, Philippe de & Patrick Dendale (eds). 2008. *Commitment*. Belgian Journal of Linguistics 22. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 37-62.
- Ifantidou, E. 2001. *Evidentials and Relevance*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Marín-Arrese, J.I. 2007. "Commitment and subjectivity in the discourse of opinion columns and leading articles, a corpus study". In Alonso Belmonte, I. (ed.): *Different Approaches to Newspaper Opinion Discourse*: 82-98.
- Mascaro, O. & Dan Sperber. 2009. "The Moral, Epistemic, and Mindreading Components of Children's Vigilance towards Deception" *Cognition* 112 (2009) 367–380.
- Mazzarella, D. 2013. "'Optimal relevance' as a pragmatic criterion: the role of epistemic vigilance". UCL Working Papers in Linguistics, Vol. 25, pp. 20-45.
- Morency, P., Oswald, S. & Saussure, L. de (2008), "Explicitness, implicitness and commitment attribution: A cognitive pragmatic approach" in *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 22, 197-220.
- Nuyts, J. 2006. "Modality: overview and linguistic issues" In Frawley, W. (ed.); with the assistance of Erin Eschenroeder, Sarah Mills and Thao Nguyen. *The expression of modality*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 1-25.
- Papafragou, A. 2000. *Modality: issues in the semantics-pragmatics interface*. Oxford: Elsevier Science.
- Papafragou, A. 2006. "Epistemic modality and truth conditions" in *Lingua* 116: 1688-1702.
- Pietrandrea, P. 2008. "*Certamente* and *sicuramente*. Encoding dynamic and discursive aspects of commitment in Italian". In Brabanter, Philippe de & Patrick Dendale (eds). 2008. *Commitment*. Belgian Journal of Linguistics 22. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 221-246.
- Sperber, D. & Wilson, D. 1995. *Relevance: Communication and Cognition*. 2nd edition. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publ.
- Sperber, D., Clément, F., Heintz, C., Mascaro, O., Mercier, H., Origgi, G. & Wilson, D. 2010. "Epistemic vigilance" in *Mind & Language* vol. 25: 4. 359-393.
- Wilson, D. 2012. "Modality and the conceptual-procedural distinction". In Walaszewska, E. & A. Piskorska (eds.). *Relevance Theory: more than understanding*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing: 23-43.

Marta CARRETERO and Karlos CID-ABASOLO (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

mcarrete@filol.ucm.es

abasolo@filol.ucm.es

The interaction between epistemic modality and evidentiality: a semantic-pragmatic analysis of Basque *behar* and *omen / ei*

This paper sets forth an analysis of two Basque expressions of epistemic modality and evidentiality, namely the epistemic construction formed by the noun *behar* followed by an auxiliary and the evidential synonymous particles *omen* and *ei*. The analysis concentrates on the distinction between semantic meanings and pragmatic conversational implicatures (Levinson 2007, Wiemer and Stathi 2010). The work presented here is part of the research carried out within a larger project aimed at the creation of a database of modal and evidential expressions in European languages (EUROEVIDMOD). The paper takes as point of departure a definition of epistemic modality as the expression of the estimation of the chances for a proposition to be or become true, and a definition of evidentiality as the expression of the kind and/or source of the evidence for or against the truth of a proposition (Nuyts 2001, Carretero and Zamorano-Mansilla 2013). With the aid of authentic data from journalistic texts as well as fiction and non-fiction books, *behar* will be shown to be a polysemous expression, with the meanings of necessity, intentional future, deontic modality and epistemic modality (cf. Jendraschek 2003). Epistemic *behar* may be considered as a correlate of English epistemic *must*, but a number of restrictions, such as its impossibility to be used in negative clauses and its occurrence almost exclusively with copular verbs, indicate that its use is less established in everyday language. Epistemic *behar* is often used with explicit evidence in favour of the truth of the proposition, and hence it may be considered to have evidential extensions in the sense of Boye (2012), but, as several tests will show, it does not have an evidential semantic meaning different from the epistemic meaning.

As for *omen / ei*, two synonymous particles used in different dialectal areas, they will be described as having a context-independent semantic evidential meaning of hearsay, and a pragmatic epistemic Generalized Conversational Implicature of lack of certainty, which is cancelled or suspended in certain contexts (Zubeldia 2011, 2013). This implicature will be proved to be best captured in terms of non-total vs. total certainty rather than high vs. low degree of certainty. Within non-total certainty, the implicated degree of speaker/writer's commitment to the truth of the proposition is highly variable, depending on the context. The data will also show that, even if *omen / ei* are associated with a non-specific source of evidence, they can also occur with a source previously specified in the linguistic context.

Finally, the paper argues that this analysis of *behar* and *omen / ei* provides additional evidence in favour of the adequacy of a general category of epistemicity that covers epistemic modality and evidentiality (Boye 2012).

References

Boye, Kasper (2012). *Epistemic Meaning: A Crosslinguistic and Functional-Cognitive Study*. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Carretero, Marta & Juan Rafael Zamorano-Mansilla (2013). Annotating English adverbials for the categories of epistemic modality and evidentiality. *English Modality: Core, Periphery and*

- Evidentiality*, eds. Juana I. Marín-Arrese, Marta Carretero, Jorge Arús Hita & Johan van der Auwera. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. 317-355.
- Jendraschek, Gerd (2003). *La modalité épistémique en basque*. München: LINCOM Europa (LINCOM Studies in Basque Linguistics, 05).
- Levinson, Stephen (2007) [1983]. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nuyts, Jan (2001). *Epistemic Modality, Language and Conceptualization: A Cognitive- pragmatic Perspective*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Wiemer, Björn & Katerina Stathi (2010). The database of evidential markers in European languages. A bird's eye view of the conception of the database (the template and problems hidden behind it). *STUF, Akademie Verlag*, 63.4, 275-289.
- Zubeldia, Larraitz (2011). 'Omen' partikula: ziurtasunak eta ziurtasunik ezak". *Gogoa* 11.1, 1-32.
- Zubeldia, Larraitz (2013). (Non)-determining the original speaker: reportative particles versus verbs. *Research in Language* 11.2, 103-130.

Bert CORNILLIE (KU Leuven) and Björn WIEMER (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)

bert.cornillie@arts.kuleuven.be

wiemerb@uni-mainz.de

How can we describe the division of labour between semantics and pragmatics in the domain of epistemicity?

The target of the workshop is to come to grips with (the relation between) the semantics and pragmatics of evidential expressions. We want to give a rough overview of the following phenomena and open questions.

In line with Boye/Harder (2009), we understand evidentiality as a conceptual domain, regardless of the grammatical vs. lexical status one wants to ascribe to the given linguistic device. However, lexical and grammatical means are likewise results of conventionalization and, in this sense, are to be opposed to meanings which are only calculated/inferred “online” on the basis of the current discourse. Yet, researchers seldomly try to answer how to define the criteria of conventionalization (grammaticalization or lexicalization) and, even more so, how to apply them in the analysis of concrete data.

We advocate a strict distinction between epistemic and evidential meanings from an onomasiological point of view (cf. Aikhenvald 2004; Cornillie 2009; Wiemer/Stathi 2010). In many works on evidential (or other propositional) markers researchers claim to be able to determine whether an evidential marker carries epistemic overtones or, the other way around, that an epistemic marker has acquired (or switched to) an evidential function (cf. Hennemann 2011; 2013; Wiemer/Kampf 2012, among many others). Rarely, however, are such claims accompanied by an explicit indication of how diagnostics has been performed, other than relying on one’s intuitions about the language and context. Notwithstanding this problem, there seems to be convergent insight among evidentiality researchers that epistemic overtones can often be captured as (generalised) conversational implicatures (cf., for instance, Faller 2012, Wiemer/Kampf 2012, Korta/Zubeldia 2014). Apart from this notion there might be other concepts and tests that can account for an operative distinction between stably encoded and pragmatically inferred meaning components.

Moreover, there are divergent viewpoints on how to treat seemingly contradictory findings on scope phenomena involving epistemic and evidential markers: under conditions yet to be clarified either type can include the other one, or they may display identical scope (e.g., Kehayov 2008). FDG (Hengeveld/Mackenzie 2008) even assume three different positions in their model of functional layers, splitting up evidential expressions into those indicating direct perception and located on an inner level in comparison to epistemic and inferential ones, which are, in turn, included into the scope of reportive expressions. Recently, Boye (2012: 236-244) argued that, instead, all epistemic and evidential expressions “should be assigned *en bloc* to one and the same position in a universal ordering of grammatical expressions” (2012: 236), the different (and often variable) scope properties being conditioned by pragmatic implicatures. In other words: Boye advocates a “division of labour” between semantic (coded) and pragmatic (inferred) meaning in the domain of propositional markers.

Finally, evidential and epistemic markers create the problem of descriptive (language-specific) vs. comparative (cross-linguistically applicable) categories, i.e. the question to which extent evidential markers and functions can be compared across languages and how *tertia comparationis* should be chosen. This issue has been raised, first and foremost, by Haspelmath with respect to grammatical distinctions on levels such as clausal syntax (alignment, argument structure, etc.), case semantics or TAM-marking (cf., e.g., Haspelmath 2010); it has though not yet been applied to markers scoping over higher-level units, such as propositions or illocutions.

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Yu. (2004): *Evidentiality*. Oxford etc.: Oxford U.P.
- Boye, Kasper (2012): *Epistemic meaning (A crosslinguistic and functional-cognitive study)*. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter.
- Boye, Kasper & Peter Harder (2009): Evidentiality: Linguistic categories and grammaticalization. *Functions of Language* 16:1, 9-43.
- Cornillie, Bert. (2009): Evidentiality and epistemic modality: On the close relationship between two different categories. *Functions of Language* 16:1, 44-62.
- Faller, Martina T. (2012). Evidential Scalar Implicatures. *Linguistics and Philosophy*. 35, 285-312.
- Haspelmath, Martin (2010): Comparative concepts and descriptive categories in cross-linguistic studies. *Language* 86-3, 663-687.
- Hengeveld, Kees & J. Lachlan Mackenzie (2008): *Functional discourse grammar: a typologically-based theory of language structure*. Oxford etc.: Oxford U.P.
- Hennemann, Anja (2011): The epistemic and evidential use of Spanish modal adverbs and verbs of cognitive attitude. *Folia Linguistica* 46 (1), 133-170.
- Hennemann, Anja (2013): *A context-sensitive and functional approach to evidentiality in Spanish or Why evidentiality needs a superordinate category*. Frankfurt am Main, Bern: Peter Lang.
- Kehayov, Petar (2008): Interactions between grammatical evidentials and lexical markers of epistemicity and evidentiality: a case study of Bulgarian and Estonian. In: Wiemer, Björn & Vladimir A. Plungian (eds.): *Lexikalische Evidenzialitäts-Marker in slavischen Sprachen*. München, Wien: Sagner, 165-201. (= *Wiener Slawistischer Almanach*, Sonderband 72.)
- Korta, Kepa & Larraitz Zubeldia (2014): The contribution of evidentials to utterance content: Evidence from the Basque reportative particle *omen*. *Language*. 90:2. Pages to be specified.
- Plungian, Vladimir A. (2001): The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33, 349-357.
- Plungian, Vladimir A. (2011): Types of verbal evidentiality marking: an overview. In: Diewald, Gabriele & Elena Smirnova (eds.): *Linguistic Realization of Evidentiality in European Languages*. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton, 15-58.
- Wiemer, Björn & Veronika Kampf (2012): On conditions instantiating tip effects of epistemic and evidential meanings in Bulgarian. *Slověne* 2, 5-38.
- Wiemer, Björn & Katerina Stathi (2010): Introduction: The database of evidential markers in European languages. A bird's eye view of the conception of the database (the template and problems hidden beneath it). In: *Wiemer, Björn & Katerina Stathi (eds.): Database on evidentiality markers in European languages, 275-285. (STUF – Language Typology and Universals 63-4.)*

Kepa KORTA and Larraitz ZUBELDIA (Universidad del País Vasco)

kepa.korta@ehu.es

larraitzza@gmail.com

Basque particles and the semantic/pragmatic distinction

Evidentials are said to have epistemic meaning/overtone, but a clear semantic/pragmatic distinction is not always made. This work aims to propose a set of diagnostic criteria to distinguish between the semantic meaning and the pragmatic contents of evidential elements, taking as a basis the analysis of Basque particles *omen* (reportative, 'it is said') and *bide* (inferential, 'apparently', 'probably').

It is a widely held assumption in Basque linguistics (e.g. Euskaltzaindia 1987) that the speaker using an *omen*-utterance expresses uncertainty, besides indicating the source of information. We argue that the content of uncertainty often attached to *omen*, if present, belongs to the pragmatic content of the utterance. Although in some cases by using *omen* the speaker implicates uncertainty, in many others she conveys the absolute certainty that things have (not) happened in the way someone else reported. Therefore, the uncertainty cannot be part of the meaning of the *omen*-sentence. The only thing present in all cases is the indication that the speaker is reporting what someone else stated. Uncertainty is not part of what is said by an *omen*-utterance either; the results of Grice's (1967) cancellability 'test' show that the content of uncertainty is cancellable. So, we conclude that it is a conversational implicature; more precisely, a generalized conversational implicature (GCI). It is inferred from the utterance of an *omen*-sentence, in general, without having a particular context in mind, assuming that the speaker is observing the Cooperative Principle and the second maxim of quality. In particular circumstances, the uncertainty can be present or not, and certainty can also be implied without any contradiction.

Another argument for uncertainty being a GCI comes from the provisional results of our *reportability* test. *Omen* can be used to report the *enriched* contents of someone else's utterances, articulating elements that were left unarticulated in the original utterance (like the location of the event in an utterance of "It's raining"), but it cannot be used to report the indirect contents, presuppositions, particularized implicatures, and the expression of uncertainty.

As for *bide*, most literature on the topic associates this particle to the degree of certainty or probability, as well. We argue that this is not its semantic content, but rather an implicature generated by using a *bide*-utterance. Its meaning has to do with the inference made by the speaker based on observation or reasoning (*perceptual* or *conceptual* inference, following Diewald & Sminorva 2009). Then, in particular circumstances, the content of the degree of certainty/probability will be present or not.

Selected references

Euskaltzaindia (1987): *Euskal gramatika. Lehen urratsak II*. Bilbao.

Diewald, Gabriele & Elena Smirnova (2009): *Evidentiality in German. Linguistic realization and regularities in grammaticalization*. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton.

Grice, P. (1967): "Logic and conversation". In D. Davidson & G. Harman (eds.) (1975), *The Logic of Grammar*, Encino: Dickenson, 64-75. Also published in P. Cole & J.L. Morgan (eds.) (1975), *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech Acts*, New York: Academic Press, 41-58. Reprinted in P. Grice (1989), *Studies in the way of words*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 22-40.

‘Evidentiality’ in pre-standardized Bulgarian

Contemporary Standard Bulgarian is assumed to code evidentiality morphologically, in terms of the ‘renarrative’ category. According to D’omina (1970), the first systematic manifestations of this category appear in 17th century texts and indicate deviations from the main story line. The usage of these forms – *l*-participle plus auxiliary in the 1st and 2nd, but not 3rd person – in pre-standardized Bulgarian is usually analysed against the background of the alleged contemporary state and judged as not (yet) complying with the respective rules (e.g. Andrejčin 1978). Given the doubtful status of evidentiality as a grammatical category in contemporary Bulgarian (e.g. Friedman 2003), this ‘back-projection’ is problematic. Looking instead at the usage of those forms on the text level reveals the following patterns: These forms are used in genres involving a narrating instance, e.g. exegetical (vs. liturgical), entertaining or autobiographic texts. Interpretations like ‘renarration’ or ‘non-witnessed’ arise in subordinate contexts, e.g. embeddings to *verba sentiendi*, cf. *razbraхъ* ‘I understood’ in (1). In (2), this interpretation is triggered by *nyi ot tova nikoџ vѣstъ ne imaxmi* ‘and we did not have any news of that’. These forms also serve to ascribe the embedded content to the matrix subject, cf. (3) (suggested by *davno* ‘hopefully’), or more generally indicate the de-anchoring of the narration from the narrator, cf. (4), thereby foregrounding the narration (cf. Fielder 1995 on contemporary Bulgarian). This is also basic to uses as in (5), where these forms elaborate an event from the main story line (*metnaxu go umoreto [...] padnu umoreto* ‘threw him into the sea’ [...] ‘fell in the sea’):

- (1) *slѣdъ tri dni razbraхъ, kako gonil sultan oĉa eџ da go ubii, a onъ pobѣgal, i ufatilъ brata eџ i bil go mnogo [...]* (Žitie, 36)
- (2) I kato *poišle* do Fandaklii *svadili* sѣ tamo pomeždu si *ovĉarete* i *ubili* ednogo ot nixъ. *fatil* gi tamošnia sultan i *položil* gi u zatvorka, i onyџ ovcy *usvoilъ* [...] a *nyi ot tova nikoџ vѣstъ ne imaxmi*. (Žitie, 33–34)
- (3) I taka se pom(o)li i naděeše se na b(og)a, *davno vidělъ* někogy togova ĉl(ově)ka. (Trojanski, 177)
- (4) Vtorij boj *napravilъ* Konstantinъ sъ Vizantiџ (Carigradъ) i kato *obladalъ* Bъlgaria. *zelъ* Vizantia i *prinesalъ* svoџ stolninъ otъ Rimъ vъ Vizantia [...]. (PE, 270)
- (5) I *metnuxago [...]* *umoreto* i tovae bilo otveĉerъ koti *otpeli* duxovnici *veĉernja izlezli* izmanastirъ i *zatrovili* vratata pasi *utišli* u kelij kogi *onja momkъ padnu xudno umoreto* (Sbornik, 24v)

These diverging interpretations can be accounted for if ‘perspectival anchoring to non-narrator’ is assumed as semantic basis, which may contextually be specified in terms of ‘evidential’ values. This analysis also fits the specific development of the *l*-pariphrasis in Balkan Slavic as compared to the rest of Slavic, and accounts for the fact that in Bulgarian the alleged contradictory values of ‘evidentiality’ and ‘admirativity’ (cf. Plungjan 2003 for a discussion) are expressed by one and the same morphological form.

Evidentiality in pre-standardized Bulgarian texts thus arises as possible interpretation from the interplay of semantics, context and discourse. Its contemporary status as grammatical

category is primarily a result of intentional language planning but not mandatorily predetermined by language internal development.

References and sources

- Andrejčin, L. 1978. Uvod: Njakoi vāprosi okolo izgraždaneto i razvoja na bālgarskija knižoven ezik. Andrejčin, L. *Xristomatija po istorija na novobālgarskija knižoven ezik*. Sofija, 5-23.
- D'omina, E. I. 1970. Kām istorijata na modalnite kategorii na bālgarskija glagol. *Bālgarski ezik* 20/5, 405-421.
- Fielder, G. 1995. Narrative perspective and the Bulgarian *I*-participle. *The Slavic and East European Journal* 39/4, 585–600.
- Friedman, V. 2003. Evidentialis in Balkan Slavic, Albanian and Turkish. Friedman, A. (ed.). *Turkish in Macedonia and beyond*. Wiesbaden, 84-111
- PE: Sofronij Vračanskij. *Poučitelno Evangelie*. 1806.
- Plungian, V. A. 2001. The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33, 349-357
- Sbornik: *Pop Punčov Sbornik*. 1796
- Trojanski: Ivanova, A. 1967. *Trojanski damaskin*. *Bālgarski pametnik ot XVII vek*. Sofija
- Žitie: Dylevskij, N.M. & A. N. Robinson (eds.). 1976. *Sofronij Vračanski. Žizneopisanie*. Leningrad

Marie-Stephan SPRONCK (Australian National University / KU Leuven)

stephan.spronck@anu.edu.au

Semantic indexicality versus situated stance: modal evaluators, evidential positioners and pragmatics effects within the stance triangle

Predicates of perception and personal taste (Lasersohn 2005), modal expressions (Stephenson 2007), evidential constructions (Cornillie 2009, Haßler 2010), interjections (Wilkins 1986) and illocutionary frames (Bruil 2014) all share the property of indexicality. In other words, each of these linguistic structures relies for its interpretation on the notional presence of one or more discourse participants. Indexicality has traditionally been recognised through a diverse set of labels such as ‘judge dependence’ or ‘(inter)subjectivity’. But the fundamental insight that indexicality is a necessary component of the semantic profile of each of the examples above has been articulated as early as in Jakobson (1957).

In this paper I argue that any analysis of the distinction between epistemic modality and evidentiality, the various cross-linguistically common patterns of polysemy between markers encoding the categories and attested examples of (conventional and conversational) implicature has to be informed by the indexical properties of modal and evidential expressions. Drawing on the ‘stance triangle’ model in Du Bois (2007) I argue that linguistic structures indexing discourse participants not only introduce the indexed entity into the semantic profile of the construction but assign it a clearly defined role. I suggest that these roles may be laid out along a continuum, from ‘represented’ (semantic) roles to ‘situated’ (pragmatic) ones, and that since every utterance is multiply indexical these roles interact in complex but predictable ways. I focus on the interaction of two such roles, which I refer to as the ‘modal evaluator’ and the ‘evidential positioner’.

Using the corpus tools from the Python Natural Language Toolkit (Bird et al. 2009) I illustrate and refine this model on the basis of a corpus of chunked and tagged Russian literary and dialogue texts, revealing regular correlations between evaluator and positioner roles that differ slightly for the genres examined.

I conclude by sketching a typological context within which the Russian findings may be understood.

References

- Bird, S., E. Klein, and E. Loper (2009). *Natural Language Processing with Python*. O’Reilly
- Bruil, M. (2014). *Clause-typing and evidentiality in Ecuadorian Siona*. Ph. D. thesis, Universiteit Leiden.
- Cornillie, B. (2009). Evidentiality and epistemic modality. On the close relationship between two different categories. *Functions of Language* 16(1), 9–43
- Du Bois, J. W. (2007). The stance triangle. In R. Englebretson (Ed.), *Stancetaking in Discourse*, pp. 139–182. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Haßler, G. (2010). Epistemic modality and evidentiality and their determination on a deictic basis: the case of romance languages. In G. Diewald and E. Smirnova (Eds.), *Linguistic Realization of Evidentiality in European Languages*, pp. 223–248. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton.

- Jakobson, R. (1957). *Shifters, verbal categories and the Russian verb*. Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- Lasersohn, P. (2005). Context dependence, disagreement, and predicates of personal taste. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 28, 643–686.
- Stephenson, T. (2007). Judge dependence, epistemic modals, and predicates of personal taste. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 30, 487–525.
- Wilkins, D. P. (1986). Particle/clitics for criticism and complaint in Mparntwe Arrernte (Aranda). *Journal of Pragmatics* 10, 575–596.

Axelle VATRICAN (University of Toulon)

axelle.vatrican@orange.fr

Why rumor conditional in Spanish is evidential?

There is in Spanish, as in many Romance languages like French, Italian and Portuguese, a modal use of Conditional which is called “journalistic” or “rumor” conditional (‘condicional periodístico’ (Veiga 1991), ‘condicional del rumor’ (Casado Velarde 1995; NGRAE 2009) as in:

- (1) Un 60% de los encuestados *no comería* patatas transgénicas. (*El Mundo*, 17/07/1997)
- (2) El PNV *ganaría* las elecciones autonómicas del País Vasco el próximo 21 de octubre al obtener 27 de los 75 escaños del Parlamento, según una encuesta electoral (...). (05/10/2012)

In both cases, (1) and (2), Conditional is considered as expressing epistemic modality together with evidentiality.

It expresses EPISTEMIC MODALITY because the meaning of the statement is a propositional possibility:

- (3) [Es posible que] el 60% de los encuestados coma patatas transgénicas.
- (4) [Es posible que] el PNV gane las elecciones autonómicas del País Vasco.

NGRAE (2009 § 23.15m) claims that rumor Conditional and probability Conditional have very close meanings since both express possibility:

- (5) En aquella época, Juan *tendría* unos 40 años.
- (6) [Es posible que] Juan en aquella época *tuviera* unos 40 años.

Rumor conditional also expresses EVIDENTIALITY (Frawley (1992: 413 & Willett 1988: ‘hearsay’ evidential markers). An equivalent for (1) and (2) is:

- (7) {Según dicen / Parece que} el 60% de los encuestados *come* patatas transgénicas.
- (8) {Según dicen / Parece que} el PNV *va a ganar* las elecciones autonómicas del País Vasco.

However, it seems that most of analyses fail to account for the two following problems:

- i. If rumor conditional and probability conditional in Spanish express epistemic modality, why is the former evidential whereas the latter is not? (En aquella época, Juan *tendría* unos 40 años # Según dicen, Juan *tenía* unos 40 años).
- ii. Since there exist 4 types of conditional in Spanish (hypothetical, politeness, probability and rumor), why do we understand this kind of conditional as an evidential one?

Our hypothesis is that:

- i. It always appears with A THIRD PERSON:

Un 60% de los encuestados no comería patatas transgénicas: rumor / (1st person: Yo *no comería* patatas transgénicas: hypothetical).

- ii. Tense focus of the statement is THE PRESENT OR THE FUTURE, not the past (probability conditional):

- (9) Un 60% de los encuestados *no comería* patatas transgénicas = no {come / *comía} probablemente patatas transgénicas.
- (10) El PNV *ganaría* las elecciones = El PNV {va a ganar / *ganaba} probablemente las elecciones.

(11) En aquella época, Juan tendría unos 40 años = Juan {tenía / *tiene / *va a tener} probablemente unos 40 años.

- iii. Rumor conditional depends on a protasis which is linked to the truth of the facts introduced by the speaker, not to another situation which would have to be realized:

(12) Un 60% de los encuestados no comería patatas transgénicas [si son ciertas estas informaciones / *si tuvieran más dinero].

I shall conclude that it is an illocutionary operator (Faller 2002) which modifies the sincerity conditions of the speech act.

Bibliography

ABOUDA, L., 2001, "Les emplois journalistique, polémique et atténuatif du conditionnel. Un traitement unitaire", in P. Dendale & L. Tasmowski (éds.), *Le conditionnel en français*, Paris, Klincksieck, p. 277-294.

AIKHENVALD, A., 2004, *Evidentiality*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

ALARCOS LLORACH, E., 1970, "Cantaría: modo, tiempo y aspecto", in *Estudios de gramática funcional del español*, Madrid, Gredos, p. 95-108.

ANDERSON, L., 1986, "Evidentials, Paths of Change, and Mental Maps: Typologically Regular Asymmetries", in W. Chafe & J. Nichols (eds), *Evidentiality: the linguistic coding of Epistemology*, vol. XX, Ablex Publishing Corporation, New Jersey, p. 273-312.

CASADO VELARDE, M., 1995, "El lenguaje de los medios de comunicación", in M. Seco & G. Salvador (éds.), *La lengua española hoy*, Madrid, Fundación Juan March, p. 153-164.

DENDALE, P. & TASMOWSKI, L., 1994, "L'évidentialité ou le marquage des sources du savoir », *Langue française*, 102, p. 3-8.

DENDALE, P., 2001, "Les problèmes linguistiques du conditionnel français", in P. Dendale & L. Tasmowski (éds.), *Le conditionnel en français*, Paris, Klincksieck, p. 7-18.

FALLER, M., 2002, *Semantics and Pragmatics of evidentials in Cuzco Quechua*, PhD Dissertation, Stanford.

FRAWLEY, W., 1992, *Linguistics semantics*, New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

EL PAÍS, 1991, "El condicional de rumor", in *Libro de estilo*, Madrid, Ed. El País.

GILI GAYA, 1943, *Curso superior de sintaxis española*, Barcelona, Vox, [1993].

Workshop 2: Evidentiality, Modality and Corpus Linguistics

Convenors:

Dylan Glynn (University of Paris 8), dglynn@univ-paris8.fr

Paola Pietrandrea (Université de Tours), paolapietrandrea@gmail.com

Abstracts

Philipp DANKEL (University of Basel)

philipp.dankel@unibas.ch

Evidentiality and communicative purpose – the Spanish hearsay marker *dizque* and its link to epistemic modality

The link between evidentiality and epistemic modality is still lively discussed in the research literature (e.g. Cornillie 2009, De Haan 1999, Squartini 2004) mainly on the basis of inference and epistemic necessity (e.g. van der Auwera & Plungian 1998, Diewald & Smirnova 2010).

Also for hearsays-evidentiality it is often claimed, that these markers develop overtones of epistemic doubt and finally become epistemic markers (e.g. Miglio 2010, Squartini 2009).

However, the explanations of this phenomenon often focus on written data and furthermore lack an in-deep analysis of the cited examples.

On the basis of corpus data of three varieties of spoken Andean Spanish and of a large database of internet forums entries in the same three varieties, this talk focuses on two often overlooked aspects:

- (1) The link between hearsay and epistemic doubt is not as clear and natural as frequently stated. Hearsay can perfectly be used to refer to epistemically fully valid information. The data shows, that evidentials are mostly the instruments for stance taking (to claim authority or doubt). Epistemic doubt has its place in the context around the evidential marker and is no overtone.
- (2) The development of evidentials into markers of epistemic doubt is found in very restricted environments, in which the linguistic genre creates a necessity for these functions.

The qualitative analysis of these corpus examples indicate, that the link between evidentiality and epistemic modality is less a question of an abstract category relationship, but of the dynamics of communicative purposes that speakers negotiate in daily discourse.

References:

- van der Auwera, Johan & Plungian, Vladimir A. (1998): "Modality's semantic map". In: *Linguistic Typology* 2(1), 79-124.
- Cornillie, Bert (2009): "Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality: On the Close Relationship between Two Different Categories". In: *Functions of Language* 16(1), 44-62.
- Diewald, Gabriele & Smirnova, Elena (2010): *Evidentiality in German*, 228. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.
- De Haan, Ferdinand (1999): "Evidentiality and epistemic modality: Setting boundaries". In: *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 18(1), 83-101.

- Miglio, Viola G. (2010): "Online Databases and Language Change: The Case of Spanish *dizque*". In: Stefan Th. Gries et al. (Eds.): *Corpus-Linguistic Applications: Current Studies, New Directions*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Rodopi, 7-28.
- Squartini, Mario (2009): "Evidentiality, Epistemicity, and their Diacronic Connections to Non-Factuality". In: Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen & Jacqueline Visconti (Eds.): *Current Trends in Diachronic Semantics and Pragmatics*. Bingley: Emerald, 211-226.
- Squartini, Mario (2004): "Disentangling Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality in Romance". In: *Lingua: International Review of General Linguistics* 114(7), 873-895.

Ilse DEPRAETERE (Katholieke Universiteit Brussel) and Raphael SALKIE (University of Brighton)

ilse.depraetere@univ-lille3.fr

Source of modality and *need to*

Recent overviews of the distribution of modal verbs in English (Smith 2003, Leech et al. 2009) have shown that *need to* is claiming an increasingly important space in the paradigm of verbs expressing obligation. Smith reports a 287% increase in British English between 1960 (LOB) and 1990 (FLOB) and Leech et al 2009 a 125% increase in American English.

In this talk, we will present the results of a corpus analysis that aims to position *need to* more explicitly in the paradigm of necessity verbs (must, should, have to, ought to). The distributional development suggests that *need to* is intruding upon the fields of meaning covered, until recently, by other verbs. Does its increase indeed partially fill the gap left by the decrease in the use of *must*, which Myhill (1997) explains in terms of a changing, less authoritarian society where blunt and strong expressions of obligation are avoided? (cf. also Smith 2003) Are necessities and obligations being reformulated in terms of needs in order to facilitate smooth communication? In order to answer these questions, we analysed the source of the modality associated with *need to* in a sample of 585 sentences extracted from the BNC. The sample reflects the occurrence of the different forms of *need to* normalized to 1 million words (spoken and written). What modal source is typically associated with *need to* and how does the distribution of sources compare to that associated with other modal verbs? In order to position *need to* with respect to *must*, *have to*, *should* and *ought to* in terms of the source of the modality, the results from the analysis of the BNC sample will be compared to those of similar investigations into *must*, *have to*, *should* and *ought to* (Depraetere and Verhulst 2008, Verhulst et al. 2013).

References

- Depraetere, I. and A. Verhulst. 2008. Source of modality: a reassessment. *English Language and Linguistics* 1: 1[25].
- Myhill, J. 1997. *should* and *ought*: the rise of the individually oriented modality in American English. *English Language and Linguistics* 1: 3[23].
- Leech, G., Hundt, M., Mair, C. and N. Smith. 2009. *Change in Contemporary English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, N. 2003. Changes in the modals and semi[modals of strong obligation and epistemic necessity in recent British English. In Facchinetti, R., M. Krug, and F. Palmer (eds.) *Modality in contemporary English*. Berlin/New York, NY: Mouton de Gruyter, 241–266.
- Verhulst, A., I. Depraetere and L. Heyvaert. 2013. Source and strength of modality: an empirical study of root *should*, *ought to* and *be supposed to* in Present[day British English, *Journal of Pragmatics* 55: 210–225.

Dagmar DIVJAK (University of Sheffield), Nina SZYMOR (University of Sheffield), Steven CLANCY (Harvard University), Ol'ga LYASHEVSKAYA (Russian Higher School of Economics), Maria OVSJANNIKOVA (Russian Academy of Sciences), Mateusz-Milan STANOJEVIĆ (University of Zadar) and Anita PETI-STANTIĆ (University of Zadar)

d.divjak@sheffield.ac.uk

Towards a usage-based categorization of modality in Slavic

Over the past two decades, several theoretical accounts have been proposed to capture modality (inter alia, Perkins 1983, Huddleston 1988, Sweetser 1990, Bybee et al. 1994, van der Auwera and Plungian 1998, Palmer 2001, Hengeveld 2004, Nuyts 2006). Given the abstract nature of this concept, it is unsurprising that linguists do not agree on the number of modality types to distinguish, with Palmer (2001) proposing two types (event modality and propositional modality), Perkins (1983) suggesting three (dynamic, deontic and epistemic modality), and van der Auwera and Plungian (1998) insisting on four (deontic, epistemic, participant-internal, and participant-external modality).

In this talk, we present the results of a study on Russian, Polish, Czech and Croatian planned that aims to shed light on the number and nature of modal categories that are supported by language use. We look at the role corpus and experimental data and quantitative methods can play as objective viewpoints on previous intuitive analyses of modal types.

In a first step, we analyze random samples of 250 independent observations for the most frequent modal words, extracted from the national corpora. Observations are annotated for modal type as well as for morphological, syntactic and semantic properties using the Behavioral Profiling approach (Divjak and Gries 2006). Multiple correspondence analysis explores the corpus data, and (polytomous) regression models which aspects of usage may be crucial in triggering a specific modal reading. The Polish data reveal low inter-annotator agreement (60-80%) for modal types and suggest that only deontic modality is supported by morphological, syntactic or semantic properties.

In a second step, we validate our findings with data from a forced choice design in which a number of naïve native speakers are trained to use different classifications of modality and are asked to label the modality expressed in a number of sentences taken from the random samples.

The analysis captures the way in which the different modality types correlate with usage data and the extent to which theoretical linguistic classifications correspond to semantic categories that naïve speakers employ.

Corpora

Polish national corpus NKJP - <http://www.nkjp.pl/>

Russian national corpus RNC - <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/>

Croatian national corpus HNC - http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr/default_en.htm

Czech national corpus CNC - <http://ucnk.ff.cuni.cz/index.php>

Selected references

- Bybee, Joan L., Revere D. Perkins and William Pagliuca (1994) *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Divjak, Dagmar S. & Stefan Th. Gries (2006). *Ways of Trying in Russian. Clustering Behavioral Profiles*. *Journal of Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*, 2 (1): 23-60
- Hengeveld, K. (2004) *Illocution, mood and modality*, in G. Booij, C. Lehmann, J. Mugdan and S. Skopeteas (eds), *Morphology: An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation*, Vol. 2, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Huddleston, Rodney (1988) *English Grammar: An Outline*. Cambridge University Press.
- Nuyts, J. (2006) *Modality: 'Overview and linguistic issues'* in William Frawley (ed.) *The Expression of Modality*, pp. 1-26. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Palmer, Frank R. (2001) *Mood and Modality*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Perkins, Michael R. (1983) *Modal Expressions in English*. London: Frances Pinter & Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Sweetser, Eve (1990) *From Etymology to Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van der Auwera, Johan and Vladimir A. Plungian (1998) *Modality's semantic map*. *Linguistic Typology* 2: 79-124.

Izaskun ELORZA and Miriam PÉREZ-VENEROS (Universidad de Salamanca)

iea@usal.es

mpveneros@usal.es

Analysing perspective in polyphonic texts in English: The problems of annotating viewpoint in popularization articles

This paper addresses the notion of perspective and the construction of viewpoint through different speech presentations (Semino and Short 2004) in the discourse of popularization articles in newspapers. One of the main characteristics of this text-type is its polyphonic nature (Ducrot 1984); that is, the appearance of different voices which give the text a specific structure progressively. Our aim is to help clarify the analysis of perspective in order to better characterise the construction of stance, defined as the writer's expression of feelings and assessments concerning epistemic considerations, attitudes and style (Conrad and Biber 2000; Bednarek 2006), and the inclusion of several voices in those texts. We rely on Paradis' notion of perspective as the different conceptualizations of texts depending on the orientation and angle from which we see them (2004: 73). She further defines perspective as including viewpoint, deixis and objectivity/subjectivity. In our case, we need to study reporting as the defining characteristic of perspective in popularizations. Furthermore, although it is possible to annotate evaluative adjectives or other discrete elements typically associated with the construction of stance, automatic annotation for those voices in polyphonic texts cannot be carried out because, when there are transitions from one voice to another, not always can we rely on formal signals and text progression must be taken into account as well. Therefore, it is necessary to annotate texts manually. Reporting, as one of the elements used to construct newspaper argumentation (Smirnova 2009), involves the journalists' presentation in their narrations of speech previously produced by others and can be conveyed in the text either directly or indirectly. In popularizations, we encounter different speech presentations and the most problematic one is the presentation of free speech. Traditionally, free speech has been mainly studied in relation to literary texts (Fludernik 1996; 2009) and it has been typically associated with the well-known 'stream of consciousness' of the characters. Some authors (Semino et al. 1997; Semino and Short 2004) have also studied the presentation of free speech in newspaper discourse but no consensus has been reached as to a clear characterization of it. Thus, in this paper we claim that free speech is sensitive to text type because its realization depends on text progression so it must necessarily be analysed in relation to its surrounding co-text and the viewpoint from which it is being uttered. As a result, its annotation scheme must be designed for a larger discursive unit than 'voice'. This is supported with an analysis of the different speech presentations in science popularization articles from *The Guardian*, specifically focusing on the presentation of free speech as a 'continuum' of presentation of external voices to the text.

References

- Bednarek, M. 2006. *Evaluation in Media Discourse*. London: Continuum.
- Conrad, S. and Biber, D. 2000. "Adverbial Marking of Stance in Speech and Writing." In Hunston, S. and Thompson, G. (eds.) *Evaluation in Text: Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 56-73.

- Ducrot, O. 1984. "Esbozo de una Teoría Polifónica de la Enunciación." *El Decir y lo Dicho: Polifonía de la Enunciación*. Barcelona: Paidós. 174-238.
- Fludernik, M. 1996. *Towards a 'Natural' Narratology*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Fludernik, M. 2009. *An Introduction to Narratology*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Paradis, C. 2004. "Towards a Theory of Lexical Meaning as Ontologies and Construals." *The Department of English in Lund: Working Papers in Linguistics*: 51-79. ISSN: 1652-0017.
- Semino, E.; Short, M. and Culpeper, J. 1997. "Using a Corpus to Test a Model of Speech and Thought Presentation." *Poetics* 25: 17-43.
- Semino, E. and Short, M. 2004. *Corpus Stylistics: Speech, Writing and Thought Presentation in a Corpus of English Writing*. London: Routledge.
- Smirnova, A.V. 2009. "Reported Speech as an Element of Argumentative Newspaper Discourse." *Discourse & Communication* 3(1): 79-103.

Dylan GLYNN (University of Paris 8) and Karolina KRAWCZAK (Adam Mickiewicz University and Université de Neuchâtel)

dglynn@univ-paris8.fr

karolina@wa.amu.edu.pl

Operationalisation and robust manual annotation of non-observable usage-features. An exploratory study in English and Polish

Recent years have seen a range of studies employing multifactorial usage-feature / profilebased analysis (Dirven *et al.* 1982; Geeraerts *et al.* 1994; Gries 2003) to subjective nonobservable linguistic phenomena (Glynn 2007, 2009; 2014; Krawczak & Glynn 2012; Krawczak 2014; Fabiszak *et al.* 2014). Regardless of the success of these studies, the adequate operationalisation of the features and the reliability of their annotation remains a difficult and important hurdle for corpus-driven approaches to semantics. Since objective analysis is impossible, in order to achieve descriptive adequacy, manual annotation of nonobservable features must be shown to be: (i) replicable – sufficiently operationalised so that comparable categorisation is obtained across distinct analyses and (ii) robust – applicable to all data types and across languages. This study addresses specifically the problem of how to achieve these goals.

The study proposes three analytical steps in annotation. The first is a heuristic applied during the manual tagging which consists in developing semantic ‘tests’ for each of the categories under analysis. The second step is to apply these tests cross-linguistically. Demonstrating that the operationalisation of functional categories, such as epistemicity and evidentiality, is typologically valid is an important step not only for cross-linguistic research, but for assuring a robust coding schema. The third step is the use of multiple coders and Kappa statistics to test the reliability of the operationalisation and annotation. Although such techniques are commonplace in multifactorial usage-feature analysis (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2006; Divjak 2010; Glynn & Fischer 2010; Glynn & Robinson 2014), this study will specifically test their efficacy in response to the problem of subjectivity in the manual analysis of non-observable phenomena.

The case study examines epistemic uses of first person mental predicates in English and Polish. The non-observable categories under investigation include: speaker evaluation; speaker engagement; speaker commitment; propositional verifiability; epistemic class; and subjectivity construal. The data are taken from American, British and Polish online personal diaries. In total, 1000 examples for 1st person uses of *think*, *believe* and *suppose* and their American and Polish equivalents are examined. Standard multifactorial usage-feature analysis is employed. The quantitative treatment of the results implements multiple correspondence analysis and multinomial logistic regression.

References

- Dirven, R. Putseys, Y., & Vorlat, E. 1982. *The scene of linguistic action and its perspectivization by SPEAK, TALK, SAY, and TELL*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Divjak, D. 2010. *Structuring the Lexicon: A clustered model for near-synonymy*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Fabiszak, M., Hebda, A, Kokorniak, I., & Krawczak, K. 2014. The interaction of prefix and patient

- semantics in the Polish verb *to think*. D. Glynn & J. Robinson (eds.), *Corpus Methods for Semantics. Quantitative studies in polysemy and synonymy*, 223-251. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Geeraerts, D. et al. 1994. *The Structure of Lexical Variation. Meaning, Naming, and Context*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Glynn, D. & Fischer, K. (eds.). 2010. *Quantitative Methods in Cognitive Semantics. Corpus-driven approaches*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Glynn, D. & Robinson, J. (eds.). 2014. *Corpus Methods for Semantics. Quantitative studies in polysemy and synonymy*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Glynn, D. 2007. *Mapping Meaning. Usage-based method for Cognitive Semantics*. PhD. University of Leuven.
- Glynn, D. 2009. Polysemy, syntax and variation. A usage-based method for Cognitive Semantics. V. Evans & S. Pourcel (eds.). *New Directions in Cognitive Linguistics*, 77–104. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Glynn, D. 2014. Corpus-driven lexical semantic evidence for conceptual structure of ANGER. I. Novakova, P. Blumenthal, & D. Siepmann (eds.), *New directions in lexical semantics and discourse organization*, 69-83. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Gries, St. & Stefanowitsch, A. (eds.). 2006. *Corpora in Cognitive Linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Gries, St. 2003. *Multifactorial Analysis in Corpus Linguistics: A study of particle placement*. London: Continuum.
- Krawczak, K. & Glynn, D. 2011. Context and Cognition. A corpus-driven approach to parenthetical uses of mental predicates. K. Kosecki & J. Badio (eds.), *Cognitive Processes in Language*, 87-99: Frankfurt: Lang.
- Krawczak, K. 2014. Shame and its near-synonyms in English: A multivariate corpus-driven approach to social emotions. I. Novakova, P. Blumenthal, & D. Siepmann (eds.), *New directions in lexical semantics and discourse organization*, 83-94. Frankfurt: Lang.

Juana I. MARÍN-ARRESE (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

juana@filol.ucm.es

Epistemic Stance in Journalistic Discourse Genres: A cross-linguistic study

This paper examines the use of epistemic stance resources in three distinct genres of journalistic discourse in English and Spanish: newsreports, editorials and opinion columns. Epistemic stance pertains to speakers striving for ‘epistemic control’ in the discourse (Langacker 2013), and to ‘epistemic justification’ of the speaker’s claim in making an assertion (Boye 2012). Epistemic stance comprises meanings pertaining to the conceptual domains of epistemic modality, evidentiality, cognitive attitude and factivity (Marin---Arrese 2011). Epistemic stance expressions are also by default indexical of the speaker's subjective and intersubjective attitude (Langacker 2009; Marin---Arrese 2011; Nuyts 2012). The research questions focus on the following issues: (a) whether there exist genre---related and language---related distinctions in the pattern of preferences for the various stance resources, and as indices of subjectivity/intersubjectivity; and (b) in the case of evidential expressions, the degree to which certain evidential values are associated with particular evidential constructions in the two languages. The data consists of naturally occurring examples of stance expressions, randomly selected from a comparable corpus of journalistic texts in the two languages (Corpus of English and Spanish Journalistic Discourse, 1999---2010, CESJD). The analysis of the data will explore: (a) the pattern and distribution of stance resources and the indexing of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in the three genres of newspaper discourse in the two languages; and (b) the range of evidential values these markers express in relation to the various constructions. In line with Diewald and Smirnova’s (2010: 74) classification of evidential values, and the distinctions adopted within the EUROVIDMOD project, the following categories of indirect evidentiality are considered: Indirect---Inferential evidence, which includes both perceptual---based and conceptual---based inferences, as well as report---based inferences, and Indirect---Reportative. Preliminary results point to significant differences across languages in both genre---related preferred types of stance resources, and to cross---linguistic differences in the degree to which there are correlations between evidential values and evidential constructions.

References

- Boye, Kasper (2012). *Epistemic meaning: A crosslinguistic and functional---cognitive study*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Diewald, Gabriele and Elena Smirnova (2010) *Evidentiality in German. Linguistic Realization and Regularities in Grammaticalization*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Langacker, R.W.(2009). *Investigations in Cognitive Grammar*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Langacker, Ronald W.(2013) Modals: Striving for Control. In: J. Marin---Arrese, M. Carretero, J. Arús and J. van der Auwera (eds.) *English Modality: Core, Periphery and Evidentiality*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 3---55.
- Marin---Arrese, Juana I. (2011) Effective vs. Epistemic Stance and Subjectivity in Political Discourse: Legitimising Strategies and Mystification of Responsibility. In: C. Hart (ed.), *Critical Discourse Studies in Context and Cognition*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 193---223
- Nuyts, Jan (2012). Notions of (inter)subjectivity. *English Text Construction* 5 (1): 53---76.

Paola PIETRANDREA (Université de Tours), Elisa GHIA (University of Pavia), Andrea SANSO (University of Insubria) and Caterina MAURI (University of Pavia)

paolapietrandrea@gmail.com

elisaghia@gmail.com

asanso@gmail.com

caterina.mauri@unipv.it

Annotating modality cross-linguistically: theory, practice, problems

In the current contribution, we present a multi-lingual annotation scheme for modality and its implementation to a corpus of parallel/comparable texts (see List of Corpora below for details). The scheme shows some innovative features over state-of-the-art annotation proposals: i) hierarchical and layered structure; ii) primacy of the functional level; iii) identification, characterisation, and linking of modality triggers.

Recently, the Computational Linguistics and Natural Language Processing communities have shown interest in automating the recognition of extra-propositional components of meaning in general and modality in particular. The first step towards the development of systems that can automatically deal with the interpretation of modality is the creation of appropriate, annotated resources. The last few years have witnessed the development of annotation schemes and annotated corpora for different aspects of modality in different languages (Nierenburg and McShane (2004), Hendrickx et al. (2012), Baker et al (2012) , Wiebe et al (2005), Szarvas et al. (2008), Sauri and Pustejovsky (2009), among others). While important contributions, these remain mainly separate efforts, and no shared standards for converting modality-related issues into annotation categories are found. Under this respect, linguistic typology has already gone a long way in the study of modality across languages.

We promote (i) a cross-linguistic annotation model of modality which relies on a wide, typologically motivated approach, and (ii) a hierarchical, layered model accounting for both factuality and speakers attitude (modality in the tool), while modelling these two aspects through separate annotation schemes. We also take care of characterising the linguistic triggers of these two aspects. Working in a multilingual environment eases the task of leaving the layer of functional categories distinct from the actual linguistic realisation, while making it possible to observe how each language encodes with its own means what is specified at the functional level.

We have implemented our scheme using the MMAX2 annotation tool (Müller and Strube 2006), which allows for customised categories to be organised hierarchically, and typed links between annotated entities. This way we can code and visualise separate links between triggers of modality and triggers of factuality and let each trigger have its own specific features. This is crucial as features might differ when triggering factuality or modality, even if the linguistic item is exactly the same. For example, “permettono” (en: they permit) is a trigger of factuality on a macro-level due to its being in the indicative form – a morphological feature (Figure 1).

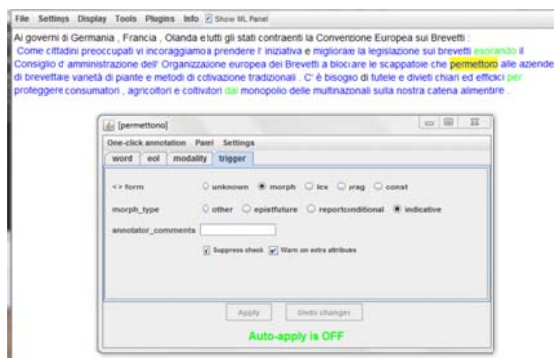


Figure 1: Marking morphological features for the trigger “permettono”.

However, the same string also triggers both the factuality and the modality of what follows thanks to its semantics – a lexical feature (Figure 2).

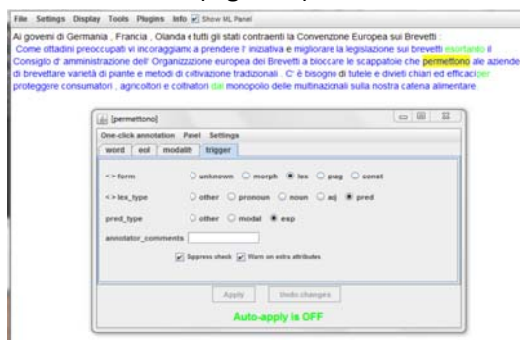


Figure 2: Marking lexical features for the trigger “permettono”.

The tool allows to specify this through separate annotations of the same string and separate typed links (Figure 3 and Figure 4).

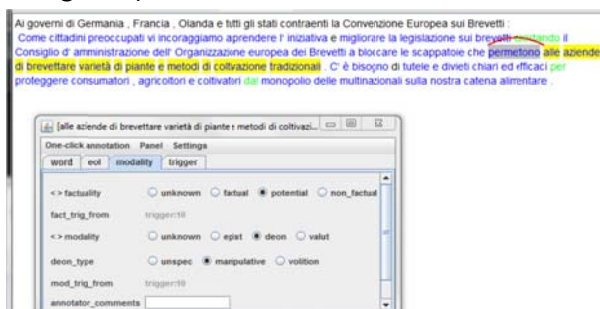


Figure 3: Marking “permettono” as a factuality trigger (red link) and specifying factuality features as well as speaker’s attitude (“modality”) features for current markable (highlighted).



Figure 4: Marking “permettono” as a modality trigger (yellow link) and specifying factuality features as well as speaker’s attitude (“modality”) features for current markable (highlighted).

After discussing some crucial issues to achieve shared standards in modality annotation, we will illustrate our scheme and its implementation to a small corpus of comparable/parallel texts. Eventually, we will discuss annotation-related issues and how they affect the notion of modality from a typological, theoretical, and practical perspective. We will also offer a demo of the annotation tool.

References

- Baker, K., B. Dorr, M. Bloodgood, C. Callison-Burch, N. Filardo, C. Piatko, L. Levin, and S. Miller (2012). Use of modality and negation in semantically-informed syntactic MT. *Computational Linguistics* 38(2).
- Hendrickx, I., A. Mendes, and S. Mencarelli (2012). Modality in text: a proposal for corpus annotation. In *Proceedings of the Eight International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC 2012)*, Istanbul, Turkey.
- Koehn, P. (2005). Europarl: A Parallel Corpus for Statistical Machine Translation. In *Conference Proceedings: the Tenth Machine Translation Summit*, Phuket, Thailand, pp. 79-86. AAMT.
- Müller, C. and M. Strube (2006). Multi-Level Annotation of Linguistic Data with MMAX2. In: S. Braun, K. Kohn, J. Mukherjee (Eds.): *Corpus Technology and Language Pedagogy*. New Resources, New Tools, New Methods. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, pp. 197-214.
- Nirenburg, S. and M. McShane (2008). Annotating modality. Technical report, University of Maryland, Baltimore County.
- Sauri, R. and J. Pustejovsky (2009). Factbank: a corpus annotated with event factuality. *Language Resources and Evaluation* 43(3), 227-268.
- Szarvas, G., V. Vincze, R. Farkas, and J. Csirik (2008). The bioscope corpus: annotation for negation, uncertainty and their scope in biomedical texts. In *Proceedings of the Workshop on Current Trends in Biomedical Natural Language Processing, BioNLP'08*, Stroudsburg, PA, pp. 38-45.
- Wiebe, J., T. Wilson, and C. Cardie (2005). Annotating expressions of opinions and emotions in language. *Language Resources and Evaluation* 39(2-3), 165-210.

Pilot corpus collection (ca. 6500 words)

Parallel component:

- Declaration of Human Rights (lang: de, en, fr, it, nl)
- Europarl (lang: en, fr, it)
- Petitions (lang: en, es, it)
- Press (lang: en, fr, it)
- Petit Prince (lang: en, fr, it)
- Pavia Corpus of Film Dialogue (lang: en, it)

Comparable component:

- Map Task (lang: en, it)

Juan Rafael ZAMORANO, Marta CARRETERO and Julia LAVID (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

juanrafaelzm@filol.ucm.es

mcarrete@filol.ucm.es

lavid@filol.ucm.es

The annotation of modality and evidentiality in English-Spanish comparable and parallel texts

The work reported in this paper is part of the research currently carried out within the MULTINOT project¹, aimed at the multidimensional annotation of comparable and parallel texts (English-Spanish) for linguistic and computational investigations. A bilingual corpus is being compiled, consisting of parallel and comparable texts of an approximate size of 1,000 words, from eight different genres. This paper describes the annotation steps of a number of English modal and evidential expressions in four of the selected genres, namely fictional texts, websites, popular science texts and political essays on economics. The annotation of modality and evidentiality was carried out according to the coding schemes proposed in previous research done as part of the earlier CONTRANOT project (Carretero and Zamorano-Mansilla 2013 a, b; Zamorano-Mansilla and Carretero 2012; Lavid et al., in press), in which a series of criteria were set to annotate expressions of different types of modality (epistemic, deontic, dynamic) as well as evidential expressions. A common feature of these criteria is the priority given to semantics at the expense of pragmatics.

The expressions covered are, on the one hand, the English modal auxiliaries and the equivalent Spanish periphrases *poder* ('can, may'), *deber (de)* ('must') and *tener que* ('have to'), which may express epistemic, deontic and dynamic modality. The key factor of the coding scheme for distinguishing these categories is based on Perkins' (1983) distinction between rational, social and natural laws. The scheme set additional criteria for difficult cases, as in the case of generic statements, the meanings of impossibility or and the existence of pragmatic conversational implicatures. On the other hand, the analysis includes a number of epistemic and evidential adverbials. Some of these, such as *maybe*, *perhaps*, *probably*, *apparently* or *evidently* and their Spanish equivalents are always epistemic or evidential, and therefore suitable for automatic annotation. Others, such as English *possibly*, *definitely*, *clearly* or *plainly* and Spanish *claramente* ('clearly') or *definitivamente* ('definitely'), are polysemous and were therefore annotated according to a scheme, which included factors such as combinations of modal auxiliaries, kind of process expressed by the verb or paraphraseability with other expressions. Finally, reference will be made to the findings about the similarities and differences in the epistemic and evidential expressions mentioned above, depending on language and register.

Notes:

1 The MULTINOT project is financed by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (MINECO) under the I+D Research Projects Programme (reference number FF12012-32201). As members of the team, we gratefully acknowledge the support provided by Spanish Ministry and also the BSCH-UCM grant awarded to the research group to which we belong.

References

- Carretero, M. & J.R. Zamorano-Mansilla (2013a). Annotating English adverbials for the categories of epistemic modality and evidentiality. In Marín-Arrese, J. I, M. Carretero, J. Arús Hita & J. van der Auwera (eds.) (2013). *English modality: Core, Periphery and Evidentiality*. *Topics in English Linguistics*, 81. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. 317-355.
- Carretero, M. & J.R. Zamorano-Mansilla (2013b). An analysis of disagreement provoking factors in the analysis of epistemic modality and evidentiality: the case of English adverbials. *Proceedings of the IWCS 2013 Workshop on Annotation of Modal Meanings in Natural Languages (WAMM)* URL <http://wing.comp.nus.edu.sg/~antho/W/W13/#0300>
- Lavid, J., Arús, J. Carretero, M., & Zamorano, J.R (in press). *Contrastive corpus annotation in the CONTRANOT project: issues and problems*. *Festschrift in honour of Christopher Butler*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins.
- Perkins, M. R. (1983). *Modal Expressions in English*. London: Frances Pinter.
- Zamorano-Mansilla, J.R. & Carretero, M. (2012). An annotation scheme for dynamic modality in English and Spanish. *Linguistics and the Human Sciences* 6: 297-320.

Workshop 3: Evidentiality, Mirativity and Modality

Convenors:

Agnès Celle, Université Paris Diderot, Sorbonne Paris Cité

agnes.celle@univ-paris-diderot.fr

Anastasios Tsangalidis, Aristotle University, Thessaloniki

atsangal@auth.gr

Abstracts

**Karolina KRAWCZAK (Adam Mickiewicz University and Université de Neuchâtel) and
Dylan GLYNN (Université de Paris 8)**

karolina@wa.amu.edu.pl

dglynn@univ-paris8.fr

Constructional construal of mirativity in English: A corpus-based quantitative account

The present study is a usage-based investigation of the constructional construal of mirativity in English. Mirativity, argued to be a subcategory of epistemicity, encodes the speaker's attitudinal state of surprise with respect to a given aspect of the interactive event (Dendale & Tasmowski 2001: 343). More specifically, mirative markers indicate that some information is not readily integratable with the speaker's overall epistemic system and expectations (DeLancey 2001: 380).

Mirativity is here operationalized through four constructional alternatives instantiating it, [WHAT + NP], [TO + NP], [IN + NP] and [WITH + NP], where the nominal slot corresponds to a set of near-synonyms of *surprise*, such as *amazement*, *disbelief*, *shock*.

The goal is to identify the conceptual-functional profile of mirativity in English relative to its constructional construals. It is hypothesized that the [WHAT + NP] construal represents the prototypical mirative construction in English, with the most generic and intersubjectively engaged profile. The prepositional construals, on the other hand, are expected to be less dynamic and varied in usage.

To test the hypotheses and to reveal the conceptual-functional differences between the constructions, a corpus-based quantitative approach is employed. It identifies frequency-based usage tendencies (Geeraerts *et al.* 1994, 1999; Gries 2006; Glynn 2009). The underlying assumption is that contextualized language structure provides access to conceptual structure and socio-cultural profiling of the linguistic phenomenon under scrutiny.

200 occurrences per construction are extracted from dialogical personal diaries (Speelman & Glynn 2005). All the occurrences are manually annotated for a range of semantic-pragmatic usage features, including: construction type; experiencer; speaker attitude; speaker engagement; stimulus. To reveal the complex structure of the constructionally encoded mirative event, the qualitatively analyzed data are then submitted to multivariate statistical modeling in the form of exploratory (correspondence analysis) and confirmatory (logistic

regression) analyses. This procedure results in the identification of verifiable usage patterns associated with the mirative constructions under investigation.

References

- DeLancey, S. 2001. The mirative and evidentiality. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 369–382.
- Dendale, P. & L. Tasmowski. 2001. Introduction: Evidentiality and related notions. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 339–348.
- Geeraerts, D., St. Grondelaers & P. Bakema. 1994. *The Structure of Lexical Variation. Meaning, naming, and context*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Geeraerts, D., St. Grondelaers & D. Speelman. 1999. *Convergentie en Divergentie in de Nederlandse Woordenschat*. Amsterdam: Meertens Instituut.
- Glynn, D. 2009. Polysemy, syntax, and variation. A usage-based method for Cognitive Semantics. V. Evans & S. Pourcel (eds.), *New Directions in Cognitive Linguistics*, 77–106. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Gries, St. Th. 2006. Corpus-based methods and cognitive semantics: The many meanings of to run. St. Th. Gries & A. Stefanowitsch (eds.), *Corpora in Cognitive Linguistics: Corpus-based approaches to syntax and lexis*, 57–99. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Speelman, D. & D. Glynn. 2005. LiveJournal Corpus of British and American English. Leuven University.

Theocharis MEXAS (Universiteit Leiden)

harismexas@gmail.com

Mirativity as “realization” marking: implications for Turkish as an indirective language

Aikhenvald (2012), the most informed typological overview of mirativity available so far, defines mirativity as a category encompassing the meanings (i) sudden discovery, sudden revelation or realization, (ii) surprise, (iii) unprepared mind, (iv) counterexpectation and (v) new information.

In this paper I would like to argue that, with further scrutiny, all these values are reducible to a semantic core of “realization”, which, if applied on mirative instantiations, can offer a new insight on the relation between mirativity and evidentiality. Shifting the essence of mirativity from “surprise” to “realization” has direct implications, among others, on the category of indirectivity as a constellation of evidential and mirative meanings. Focusing on Turkish, if we forget about “surprise” as the meaning of mirativity and replace it with the term “realization”, we can show that it doesn’t apply only on the “mirative” usage of *-miş*, but could also be the source of the “hearsay” and “inferential” ones (following the trichotomy of Slobin & Aksu 1982). In the same line as Faller (2004), who calls for a re-evaluation of the evidential character of *-sqa* in Quechua, I here propose that indirective functions like hearsay and inferential can, in the case of Turkish, be accounted for as extensions of the mirative one, provided that the latter is more solidly defined by taking into account recent typological analyses. This suggestion places mirativity at the semantic core of indirective marking, which, strangely enough, agrees with the tentative analysis made by DeLancey (1997) and questions the primarily evidential character attributed to it by more recent studies like Johanson (2003) and Aikhenvald (2004).

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2012. The essence of mirativity. *Linguistic Typology* 16, 3. 435–485
- Faller, Martina. 2004. The Deictic Core of ‘Non-Experienced Past’ in Cuzco Quechua. *Journal of Semantics* 21: 45–85
- Johanson, Lars. 2003. Evidentiality in Turkic. In (eds.) Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald & R.M.W. Dixon. *Studies in Evidentiality*. 273-290. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins
- Slobin, Dan I., and Ayhan A. Aksu. 1982. Tense, aspect, modality, and more in the use of a Turkish particle. *Tense-Aspect*, ed. by Paul J. Hopper, 185-200. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Evidentiality and mirativity in Spanish

Evidentiality and mirativity can be considered separated categories, independent of each other (DeLancey 1997, Aikhenvald 2004). Evidentiality marks source information –whether seen, heard or inferred– (Boas 1938: 133) whereas mirativity “covers speaker’s ‘unprepared mind’, unexpected new information, and concomitant surprise” (Aikhenvald 2004: 195). However, evidentiality strategies may acquire mirative extensions in many languages. In this talk I prove that such an extension takes place in Spanish.

Spanish exclamative statements in (1) are introduced by the perception verb *mirar* ‘to look’ in the second singular person of the imperative form. The verb takes a subordinate clause headed by *que* ‘that’ as direct complement. However, these sentences do not give the hearer an order to look at anything; contrarily, they express the speaker’s emotion about the fact described by the involved proposition:

- (1) a. ¡Mira que eres linda!
Look that you.are pretty ‘How pretty you are!’
b. ¡Mira quién habla!
Look who talks ‘It is so surprising that person is talking!’
c. ¡Mira que haber dejado tu empleo!
Look that haveINF left your job ‘It is unbelievable that you have left your job!’

These sentences are a challenge for semantic and pragmatic analysis, since they express both a kind of evidential meaning and a kind of mirative meaning at the same time. Verbs of visual perception enjoy a place at the top of the hierarchy of perception verbs used as evidentiality markers, since vision is our primary and most reliable means of perceiving the world (Whitt 2009: 20). In declarative sentences, the verb *ver* ‘to see’ is used as an evidentiality marker that, contrarily to *mirar* ‘to look’, focuses on the act of perception itself without any special reference to the subject’s intent. As expected, *veo* ‘I see’ does not refer to a visual perception in the example (2); instead, it means that the speaker has some evidence about the content of the subordinate proposition:

- (2) Veo que tienes la intención de dejar tu empleo.
I.see that you.have the purpose of leaveINF your job
‘I can see that you are thinking of leaving your job’

Contrarily, in the sentences in (1) the verb *mirar* ‘to look’ does not merely convey evidentiality, but also has a mirative meaning: using the form *mira* ‘look’, the speaker asks the hearer to accept that the evidence the speaker has, justifies his emotion about the proposition conveyed in the statement. I explain how the semantic properties of *mirar* ‘to look’ (and, therein, the differences between *mirar* ‘to look’ and *ver* ‘to see’) allowed the grammaticalization of the form *mira* ‘look’ as a mirative marker.

The sentences in (1) are also a challenge for syntactic analysis: (1a) expresses a degree of the quality *linda* ‘pretty’ without using any degree word, and (1c) is the unique case in Spanish where an infinitive sentence is introduced by a subordinating conjunction *que* ‘that’. I propose

that these properties can be explained under a grammaticalization analysis of mira 'look' as a mirativity marker.

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y., 2004. Evidentiality, Oxford, Oxford Linguistics.
- Boas, F., 1938. "Language", in F. Boas ed.) General Anthropology, Boston, New York, D.C. Heath and Company, 124---45.
- DeLancey, S., 1997. "Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information", Linguistic Typology, 1, 33---52.
- Whitt Richard J., 2009. Evidentiality. Perception verbs in English and German, Oxford, Peter Lang (German Linguistic and Cultural Studies, 26).

Mario SERRANO (Universidad Santiago de Compostela)

mario.serrano@usc.es

Raising *turn out* in late Modern English: The rise of a mirative construction

As a raising verb, present-day English *turn out* can take both *that*-clauses and *to* infinitive clauses as complements. Alongside their evidential readings, such *turn out*-constructions express mirativity; that is, they signal information which is new or unexpected to the speaker, with overtones of surprise and counter-expectation (DeLancey 1997; Aikhenvald 2012):

- (1) It *turns out* that elephants have an advanced sense of self, which means in part that they're smart enough to be capable of really caring about others. (2008, COCA)
- (2) I headed into the shower but it *turned out* to be a window. I wasn't used to the place, you know. (2012, COCA)

However, in spite of the profusion of such constructions in the language, *turn out* miratives have not received sufficient attention in the literature yet; even less so from a diachronic perspective.

In this presentation I analyze the increasingly complex syntactic configuration of *turn out* as a raising verb and the mechanisms whereby *turn out*-constructions develop evidential and mirative readings from a historical perspective. Moreover, I examine its main complementation patterns –namely, *that*-clauses and *to*-infinitive clauses– and the existing differences between these mirative *turn out* constructions.

Thus, the purpose of this study is twofold. On the one hand, it aims to account for the diachronic development of raising mirative *turn out* constructions, which took place from the eighteenth century onwards. On the other, it aims to shed light on the discussion of whether raising can be considered the result of grammaticalization (de Haan 2007) or not (Boye 2005, 2010). Expectedly, this is a corpus study. Although several diachronic corpora of English were consulted, the bulk of the data were recovered from the *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts* (CLMET3.0), compiled by De Smet *et al.*

My preliminary findings suggest that unlike other raising verbs such as *seem*, which is a somewhat early development in the history of English (Gisborne & Holmes 2007), *turn out* is a rather recent one. Cases such as (1-2) seem to have stemmed from instances in which *turn out* was used as a verb of result or becoming (3-4). Such uses can be traced back to the eighteenth century:

- (3) As things have fortunately turn'd out. (1735, OED)
- (4) The day has turned out better then I expected it. (1769, OED)

Throughout its history, *turn out* evolves from a lexical (predominantly resultative and change-of state) verb to a raising verb: 2

- (5) if that matter should *turn out* to be as you represent it (and, indeed, I doubt nothing of what you say), I may, perhaps, in time, be brought to think better [...] (1749, CLMET3.0)
- (6) Somewhat to my relief, the reality *turned out* to be of a gentler character. (1852, CLMET3.0)
- (7) "And the more they try to be good, the more it will *turn out* that they ain't been good," Veronica reflected. (1909, CLMET3.0)

As will be shown in this presentation, over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries *turn out* underwent a process of subjectification through which evidential and, eventually, mirative values were grammaticalized.

References

Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2012): The essence of mirativity. *Linguistic Typology* 16: 435-85.

- Boye, K. (2005): Raising verbs vs. auxiliaries. In: M. Fortescue, E. Skafte Jensen, J. E. Mogensen & L. Schøsler (eds.), *Historical Linguistics 2003: Selected papers from the 16th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Copenhagen, 11-15 August 2003*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 31-46.
- Boye, K. (2010): Raising verbs and auxiliaries in a functional theory of grammatical status. In: K. Boye & E. Engberg-Pedersen (eds.), *Language usage and language structure*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter: 73-104.
- CLMET3.0 = De Smet, H., H. J. Diller & J. Tyrkkö (2013): *The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts*, v. 3.0. https://perswww.kuleuven.be/~u0044428/clmet3_0.htm
- COCA = Davies, M. (2008-): *The Corpus of Contemporary American English: 450 million words, 1990-present*. <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>
- De Haan, F. (2007): Raising as grammaticalization: The case in Germanic SEEM-verbs. *Rivista di Linguistica* 19(1): 129-150.
- DeLancey, S. (1997): Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information. *Linguistic Typology* 1: 33-52.
- Gisborne, N., & J. Holmes (2007): A History of English Evidential Verbs of Appearance. *English Language and Linguistics* 11: 1-29.

Andreas TROTZKE (Universität Konstanz)

andreas.trotzke@uni-konstanz.de.

Mirativity, emphasis, and German word order

We demonstrate that specific German constructions yield an emphatic character that is related to the notion of mirativity. Crucially, these word order options cannot be due to information structure.

The notion of emphasis: We show that the notion of emphasis is related to mirativity (DeLancey 1997), and we build on independent evidence that emphasis is a concept in syntax (Bayer 2001; Frey 2010; Poletto and Zanuttini 2013).

German word order and emphasis: As noted early in the literature (Jacobs 1991: 8), the category that undergoes movement to the left periphery of the German clause may be smaller than the focus (1) or larger than the focus (2a), and sometimes it coincides with the focus (2b).

- (1) *Was hat er gemacht?* (2) *Was hat er gelesen?*
'What has he done?' 'What did he read?'
Ein BUCH hat er gelesen. a. *Ein BUCH gelesen hat er.*
a book has he read b. *Ein BUCH hat er gelesen.*

Concerning cases like (1), it is noted that "[n]ative speakers sometimes characterize SFF [subpartof-focus-]constructions as being more emphatic" (Fanselow and Lenertová 2011: 179, n. 15).

Topicalization of parts of idioms: As shown in (3), parts of idiomatic verb phrases can show up in the left periphery (Trotzke 2010).

- (3) a. *den Löffel abgeben* (German 'to die,' lit. 'pass the spoon')
b. *Den Löffel hat er abgegeben.*
the spoon has he passed
'He died.'

As *den Löffel* is meaningless in isolation, fronting it cannot be triggered by its discourse status. We therefore claim that SFF constructions display an interpretation distinguished from information structure and related to the notion of emphasis. This is corroborated by the fact that these configurations are restricted to main ('root') clauses:

- (4) * *Maria ist sicher, [ein BUCH]i hat er ti gelesen.*
Maria is sure a book has he read

References

- Bayer, Josef. 2001. Asymmetry in emphatic topicalization. In Caroline Féry and Wolfgang Sternefeld (eds.), *Audiatur Vox Sapientiae*, 15-47. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- DeLancey, Scott. 1997. Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information. *Linguistic Typology* 1, 33-52.
- Fanselow, Gisbert and Denisa Lenertová. 2011. Left peripheral focus: Mismatches between syntax and information structure. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 29, 169-209.
- Frey, Werner. 2010. \bar{A} -Movement and conventional implicatures: About the grammatical encoding of emphasis in German. *Lingua* 120, 1416-1435.
- Jacobs, Joachim. 1991. Focus ambiguities. *Journal of Semantics* 8, 1-36.
- Poletto, Cecilia and Raffaella Zanuttini. 2013. Emphasis as reduplication: Evidence from *sì che/no che* sentences. *Lingua* 128, 124-141.
- Trotzke, Andreas. 2010. Rethinking syntactocentrism: Lessons from recent generative approaches to leftperiphery-movement in German. PhD dissertation, University of Freiburg.

Nigel VINCENT (The University of Manchester) and Mary DALRYMPLE (University of Oxford)

nigel.vincent@manchester.ac.uk

mary.dalrymple@ling-phil.ox.ac.uk

Mirative meets conative

Consider the following English sentence:

1. I slept all day today and when I awoke I thought the pain was gone but I **went to sit up** and my God it felt like I had just been pushed down 12 flights of stairs.

(<http://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20120312190244AATqUik>)

The combination of GO + infinitive (henceforth the GO-TO construction) expresses both an attempt to do something — the conative component — and an unexpected or surprising lack of success in achieving the desired outcome — the mirative component. Note in particular that what is expressed is surprise on the part of the agent rather than the speaker or addressee (Aikhenvald 2012: 437). This GO-TO construction does not appear to have been noticed in the specialist literature and is not discussed in standard grammars. We begin therefore by characterising its main features (see too Dalrymple & Vincent 2014) before moving on to explore two questions:

- a) On the semantic side: how do these meaning components interact? Following Potts (2005), we distinguish the pragmatic implicature of mirativity from the conative 'at-issue' meaning.
- b) On the form side: is it a matter of chance that the verb involved in this construction is GO? Our answer is no. Wiklund (2009) discusses examples such as Swedish *han gick och dog* '(to our surprise) he died, *lit* he went and died'. These have parallels in Danish (where *gå* 'go' is reinforced with *hen* 'around') and in English *he went and won the lottery*. The use of a 'go' verb to narrate significant and surprising events is also argued by Detges (2004) to be the origin of the Catalan *perfet perifràstic* as in *el seu discurs va causar un gran impacte* 'his speech had (*lit.* goes to cause) a great impact'. Our paper examines in greater detail such cross-linguistic differences and similarities.

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2012. The essence of mirativity. *Linguistic Typology* 16: 435-485.
- Dalrymple, Mary & Nigel Vincent. 2014. The GO-TO construction. Unpublished ms.
- Detges, Ulrich. 2004. How cognitive is grammaticalization? The history of the Catalan *perfet perifràstic*. In Olga Fischer, Muriel Norde and Harry Perridon (eds) *Up and down the cline. The nature of grammaticalization*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 211-227.
- Potts, Christopher. 2005. *The logic of conventional implicatures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wiklund, Anna-Lena. 2009. The syntax of surprise: Unexpected event readings in complex predication. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 84: 181–224.

Keynote speaker:

Bettina ZEISLER (Universität Tübingen)

zeis@uni-tuebingen.de

Evidentiality, speaker's attitude, and mirativity in Ladakhi (a Tibetic language spoken in the Northwest of India)

Tibetic languages are known to grammatically encode evidentiality. The systems are complex, flexible, with different cut-off points, so that the descriptions vary (see e.g. Bielmeier 2000, Haller 2000, Häslér 2001, Koshal 1979, Sun 1993, Tournadre 2008). In my opinion, the opposition rather encodes the speaker's attitude. On the formal side, the opposition is based on two auxiliaries:

- *yod*: authoritative and intimate knowledge (plus inferences) of the speaker in assertions (the addressee in questions).
- *hdug* (or other verbs): non-authoritative knowledge based on mere perception.

Common applications for *hdug* are facts outside one's cultural sphere. A tourist would be obliged to use *hdug* (or inferential or quote markers) when talking about facts in Ladakh. A Ladakhi would use *hdug* for facts in Delhi, no matter how long s/he may have been living there, indicating his/her alienation. The researcher, again, has eventually obtained the 'permission' to make *some* statements with *yod* about facts she has become acquainted with over the years (Said when a person enjoys the pain of another, e.g., swinging around a child, although s/he is crying.). See Zeisler (2004: 299–304, 649–656, particularly 2012).

DeLancey (1986) interprets *hdug* as expressing novelty, later (1997) as expressing mirativity. This was criticised by Zeisler (2004: 302f., 657f.) and Hill (2012). While Hill (who never conducted any fieldwork) categorically denies the possibility of mirative marking, Zeisler criticises DeLancey's weakening of the term *mirativity* as compared to the description of the Balkan *admirative* by Friedman (1986). *Sometimes*, however, *hdug* does indicate surprise. Zeisler (2000) further argues that while there is no *grammatical* marker of mirativity in Tibetan, mirativity may be expressed by the non-canonical use of tense markers. It can be added that in Ladakhi, also non-canonical use of case markers and even evidential markers may indicate mirativity:

(1) *!tosan!* *tsamjik* *Kha* *rdanet!*
look.IMP-DM how.much Mouth open.wide-PRS:YOD
'Look, how [you] are (/ [s/he] is) yawning!' (Teya 2013)

(2) *pitse(:)* *şokna* *třhet.* *bila(:)* *hjaŋspa* *joŋet!*
mouse-GEN life-ABL go-PRS:YOD cat-AES fun come-PRS:YOD
'The mouse is going to die. [But] the cat is having fun!' (Said when a person enjoys the pain of another, e.g., swinging around a child, although s/he is crying.)(Domkhar 2013)

Here, *yod* is used in assertions about a second or third person in a new situation just being observed. The speaker is not responsible for this, which could otherwise license the use of *yod* for a non-first person. The unexpected use of *yod* indicates surprise and/or embarrassment.

(Both sentences were offered spontaneously. Such examples are rare (6 out of 21,000 sentences elicited for case marking, and not one in the ca. 50 hours of transcribed recordings). Both *yod* and *hdug* are used for habits and generic facts. Here, the notion of novelty cannot be crucial for the choice of *hdug*. Instead, it indicates that the speaker does not want to assume authority or does not want to be associated with the custom.

I shall outline the Ladakhi evidential system, the pragmatic use of the markers for authoritative and non-authoritative or polite statements and their possible mirative values. This will be followed by some examples of other non-canonical constructions with mirative connotations and a brief outline of the semantic development of the marker *hdug*.

A special focus will lie on the workshop's theoretical questions, namely, the connections between unexpectedness, evidentiality, and speaker's authority, the role of deviation, and the location of mirativity outside the TMA-system as a property of the sentence/utterance. I shall additionally comment on the problem that dense descriptions of evidential systems are rare.

References:

- Bielmeier, R. 2000. Syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic-epistemic functions of auxiliaries in Western Tibetan. In: B. Bickel, ed., *Person and evidence in Himalayan languages*. Part I. *LTBA* 23(2): 79–125.
- DeLancey, Scott. 1986. Evidentiality and volitionality in Tibetan. In: Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: the linguistic coding of epistemology*. Norwood, NJ: 203–213.
- . 1997. Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information. *Linguistic Typology* 1: 33–52.
- Friedman, Victor A. 1986. Evidentiality in the Balkans: Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Albanian. In: Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: the linguistic coding of epistemology*. Norwood, NJ: 168–187.
- Haller, Felix. 2000. Verbal categories of Shigatse Tibetan and Themchen Tibetan. In Bickel ed. 2000. *Person and evidence in Himalayan languages*. Part I. *LTBA* 23(2): 175–191.
- Häsler, Kathrin. 2001. An empathy-based approach to the description of the verb system of the Dege dialect of Tibetan. In B. Bickel, ed., *Person and evidence in Himalayan languages*. Part II. *LTBA* 24(1): 1–34.
- Hill, Nathan W. 2012. “Mirativity” does not exist: *hdug* in “Lhasa” Tibetan and other suspects. *Linguistic Typology* 16: 389–433.
- Koshal, Sanyukta. 1979. *Ladakhi Grammar*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Sun, J.T. 1993. Evidentials in Amdo Tibetan. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei*, 63(4): 945–1001.
- Tournadre, Nicholas. 1996. 2008. Arguments against the concept of ‘Conjunct’/‘Disjunct’ in Tibetan. In: B. Huber, M. Volkart und P. Widmer (Hrsg.) *Chomolangma, Demawend und Kasbek. Festschrift für Roland Bielmeier zu seinem 65. Geburtstag, Band I: Chomolangma*. Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies: 281–308.
- Zeisler, Bettina. 2000. Narrative conventions in Tibetan languages: the issue of mirativity. In B. Bickel, ed., *Person and evidence in Himalayan languages*. Part I. *LTBA* 23(2): 39–77.
- . 2004. Relative Tense and aspectual values in Tibetan languages. A comparative study. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, New York.
- . 2012. Evidentiality and inferentiality: Overlapping and contradictory functions of the so-called evidential markers in Ladakhi (West Tibetan). Extended handout: <http://media.leidenuniv.nl/legacy/zeisler-bettina-handout.pdf> (last accessed: 24.02.2014).