

Contents

Preface — V

Part I: Prolegomena

1	Björn Wiemer and Juana I. Marín-Arrese: Introduction	3
1.1	Evidentiality and evidential units	5
1.2	The lexicon – grammar cline	11
1.2.1	Relations between units and their “hosts”	17
1.2.2	Evidential extensions of established verbal paradigms	21
1.2.3	Correlations between constructions and functions	23
1.2.4	On the distinction between particles and sentence adverbs	25
1.3	Functional distinctions – how to divide them?	26
1.3.1	A grid of functional values	27
1.3.2	Conjectures – inferences based on no particular stimuli	32
1.3.3	Other expression classes related to, but not included in, evidentiality	37
1.4	Languages considered and divisions applied in this volume	41
1.5	Criteria in the contributions to this volume	43

Part II: Language Profiles – Germanic

2	Juana I. Marín-Arrese, Marta Carretero and Aurelija Usonienė: Evidentiality in English	57
2.1	Introduction	57
2.2	Indirect-inferential	59
2.2.1	Markers derived from SEE-verbs	60
2.2.2	Markers derived from SEEM-verbs	61
2.2.3	Inferential extensions of epistemic modal auxiliaries: <i>must</i>	64
2.2.3.1	Type of evidence and inferential meaning	66
2.2.3.2	Evidential justification: overt justification vs. non-overt or no evidence	67
2.2.3.3	Epistemic and/or evidential meaning	68
2.2.4	Inferential sentence adverbs: <i>apparently, clearly, evidently, obviously, seemingly</i>	69
2.3	Reportative evidentiality	72

2.3.1	Markers derived from SAY-verbs — 73
2.3.2	Markers derived from SEEM-verbs and THINK-verbs — 73
2.3.3	Reportative sentence adverbs: <i>allegedly</i> , <i>reportedly</i> , <i>supposedly</i> — 74
2.3.4	<i>according to</i> — 79
2.4	Inferential and reportative uses: Multifunctionality of <i>apparently</i> , <i>seemingly</i> and <i>supposedly</i> — 82
2.5	Further items and issues — 84
2.6	Remarks on diachrony — 84
3	Tanja Mortelmans: Evidentiality in Dutch — 95
3.1	Introduction — 95
3.2	Overview — 97
3.3	Inferential units — 99
3.3.1	Adverbs — 99
3.3.1.1	The inferential adverbs <i>kennelijk</i> , <i>blijkbaar</i> and <i>klaarblijkelijk</i> 'apparently, obviously, evidently' — 99
3.3.1.2	The inferential adverbs <i>schijnbaar</i> and <i>ogenschijnlijk</i> '1. only seemingly; 2. apparently' — 103
3.3.2	Inferential modal verb constructions: <i>moeten</i> + INF — 105
3.3.3	Constructions with the SEEM-verbs <i>lijken</i> , <i>blijken</i> and <i>schijnen</i> — 109
3.3.3.1	<i>lijken</i> -constructions — 111
3.3.3.2	<i>blijken</i> -constructions — 117
3.3.3.3	<i>schijnen</i> -constructions — 121
3.4	Reportive units — 124
3.4.1	Reportive adverb(ial)s — 124
3.4.1.1	The hearsay adverbials <i>naar verluidt</i> and <i>naar het schijnt</i> — 124
3.4.1.2	The hearsay adverbial <i>naar eigen zeggen</i> — 126
3.4.1.3	The non-factual adverbs <i>zogezegd</i> and <i>zogenaamd</i> — 127
3.4.2	Reportive modal verb constructions: <i>zou</i> + INF — 128
3.4.3	The source preposition <i>volgens</i> 'according to' — 130
3.4.4	The hearsay particle ('t) <i>schijnt</i> — 131
3.5	Some notes on diachrony — 131
4	Tanja Mortelmans and Katerina Stathi: Evidentiality in German — 137
4.1	Introduction — 137
4.2	Overview — 137
4.3	Inferentials — 138

4.3.1	Inferential adverb(ial)s — 138
4.3.2	Inferential modal verb constructions: <i>müssen</i> + INF — 145
4.3.3	Inferential constructions with verbs of <i>seeming</i> : <i>scheinen</i> + zu-INF — 150
4.4	Reportives — 153
4.4.1	Reportive adverbs — 153
4.4.2	Reportive modal verb constructions: <i>sollen</i> + INF and <i>wollen</i> + INF — 154
4.4.3	Source adpositions — 156
4.5	Notes on diachrony — 160

Part III: Language Profiles – Romance

5	Patrick Dendale: Evidentiality in French — 171
5.1	Introduction — 171
5.2	Inferentials — 174
5.2.1	Sentence adverbs and adverbial idioms — 174
5.2.1.1	<i>visiblement</i> and <i>audiblement</i> — 175
5.2.1.2	<i>apparemment</i> and <i>selon toute apparence</i> — 176
5.2.1.3	<i>selon toute évidence</i> , <i>de toute evidence</i> and <i>à l'évidence</i> — 178
5.2.2	Inferential extensions of MUST-verbs — 180
5.2.2.1	Epistemic <i>devoir</i> — 180
5.2.2.2	Epistemic <i>il faut que</i> / <i>il fallait que</i> — 185
5.2.2.3	Idiomatic expression <i>faut croire</i> — 187
5.2.3	Markers derived from SEEM-verbs — 189
5.2.3.1	<i>paraître</i> — 189
5.2.3.2	<i>sembler</i> — 191
5.2.3.3	<i>avoir l'air</i> — 195
5.2.4	Markers derived from SAY-verbs — 196
5.2.4.1	Semi-auxiliary verbs derived from <i>promettre</i> , <i>menacer</i> — 196
5.2.4.2	A copular verb derived from <i>s'annoncer</i> — 198
5.2.4.3	Markers derived from <i>dire</i> in the conditional: <i>dirait-on</i> , <i>on dirait</i> — 199
5.3	Reportives — 201
5.3.1	Reportive use of the conditional — 201
5.3.2	Markers derived from SEEM-verbs — 205
5.3.3	Sentence adverbs — 206
5.3.3.1	<i>soi-disant</i> — 206
5.3.3.2	<i>prétendument</i> — 209

5.3.3.3	<i>censément</i> — 211
5.3.4	Complex prepositions: <i>au(x) dire(s) de X/à en croire X</i> — 211
5.3.5	Markers based on SAY-verbs — 213
5.3.5.1	Parenthetical <i>dit-on</i> — 213
5.3.5.2	Prepositional phrases with <i>à ce que/selon ce que + (entendre) dire</i> — 214
5.4	Indifferent indirect markers: prepositions <i>selon X (d'après X)</i> — 216
5.4.1	Reportive use — 216
5.4.2	Inferential use — 218
5.4.3	Related prepositions — 221
5.5	Some notes on diachrony — 222
6	Juana I. Marín-Arrese and Marta Carretero: Evidentiality in Spanish — 235
6.1	Introduction — 235
6.2	Inferential evidentiality — 238
6.2.1	Expressions derived from SEE-verbs — 242
6.2.2	Expressions derived from SEEM-verbs: <i>parece</i> — 243
6.2.3	Expressions derived from THINK-verbs and miscellaneous quasi-modal verbs — 246
6.2.3.1	Epistemic and/or evidential meaning: <i>creo, supongo, calculo</i> — 246
6.2.3.2	Miscellaneous quasi-modal verbs: <i>amenaza, promete</i> — 247
6.2.4	Inferential use of epistemic modal verbs: <i>deber (de) + INF</i> — 248
6.2.5	Inferential sentence adverbs — 250
6.3	Reportative evidentiality — 258
6.3.1	Expressions derived from SAY-verbs — 258
6.3.2	Expressions derived from SEEM-verbs: <i>parece ser, según parece</i> — 261
6.3.3	Expressions derived from BELIEF-verbs: <i>según se sospecha, se cree, supuestamente</i> — 262
6.3.4	Expressions derived from SEE-verbs: <i>por lo visto, por lo que se ve</i> — 262
6.3.5	Reportative ACCORDING TO-units: <i>según, de acuerdo con</i> — 263
6.4	Inferential and reportative uses: multifunctionality of <i>parecer, al parecer, aparentemente</i> and <i>supuestamente</i> — 265
6.5	Further items and issues — 266
6.6	Remarks on diachrony — 269
6.6.1	Expressions derived from SEE-verbs — 270

6.6.2	Expressions derived from SEEM-verbs — 271
6.6.3	Diachronic extensions of modal <i>deber</i> (<i>de</i>) — 273
6.6.4	Indirect-inferential and reportative sentence adverbs — 275
6.6.5	Reportative expressions derived from SAY-verbs: <i>se dice que</i> and <i>dicen que</i> — 277
7	Andreu Sentí: Evidentiality in Catalan — 287
7.1	Introduction — 287
7.2	Overview — 288
7.3	Inferential units — 288
7.3.1	Markers derived from SEEM-verbs — 289
7.3.2	Modal verbs and conjectural future — 295
7.3.2.1	The modal verbs <i>haver de</i> , <i>deure</i> and <i>poder</i> — 295
7.3.2.2	The conjectural future and conditional — 303
7.3.2.3	The modal verb <i>voler</i> — 305
7.3.2.4	Conclusion: the modal verbs — 306
7.3.3	Inferential sentence adverbs and adjectives — 307
7.4	Reportive units — 309
7.4.1	Markers derived from SAY-verbs — 310
7.4.2	Markers derived from SEE-verbs — 313
7.4.3	Markers derived from SEEM-verbs — 315
7.4.4	The marker <i>resulta que</i> — 316
7.4.5	Reportive conditional — 317
7.5	Indirect-indifferent markers — 318
7.5.1	The marker <i>es coneix que</i> ‘(it) is known that’ — 319
7.6	Other evidential markers — 320
7.6.1	Direct evidentials and perceptual verbs — 320
7.6.2	Pragmatic markers (<i>és</i>) <i>clar</i> ‘it is true’ and <i>la veritat</i> ‘it is true’ — 322
7.7	Remarks on diachrony — 323
7.8	Conclusion — 325
8	Mercedes González Vázquez and Elena Domínguez Romero: Evidentiality in Galician — 331
8.1	Introduction — 331
8.1.1	The Corpus — 331
8.1.2	A panoramic view of evidentiality in Galician — 331
8.2	Inferential expressions — 334

8.2.1	Inferential expressions derived from SEE-verb: <i>vexo que</i> ‘I see that’, <i>vese que</i> ‘(it) is seen that’, <i>ben se ve</i> ‘(it) is clearly seen that’, <i>polo que se ve</i> ‘as it is seen’ — 334
8.2.2	Inferential expressions derived from SEEM-verbs: <i>parece/semella</i> ‘(it) seems’ + INF, <i>parece/semella que</i> ‘(it) seems that’ + clause, <i>parece/ semella coma se</i> ‘(it) seems as if’, <i>aparentemente</i> ‘apparently’, <i>ó parecer</i> ‘allegedly’ — 337
8.2.3	<i>deber</i> ‘must’ — 346
8.3	Reportive expressions — 348
8.3.1	Reportive expressions derived from verbs: <i>dicir</i> ‘say’ and <i>contar</i> ‘tell’ — 349
8.3.2	Reportive expressions derived from the verb <i>parecer</i> ‘to seem’ — 355
8.3.3	Reportive expressions derived from verbs: <i>escoitar</i> ‘listen to’ and <i>oír</i> ‘hear’ — 358
8.4	Indirect indifferent evidential expressions — 360
8.5	Diachronic remarks on evidentiality in Galician — 363
8.6	Conclusion — 365
9	Elena Domínguez Romero, Victoria Martín de la Rosa and Viviane de Moraes Abrahão: Evidentiality in Portuguese — 371
9.1	Introduction — 371
9.1.1	The corpus — 371
9.1.2	A panoramic view of evidentiality in Portuguese — 372
9.2	Inferential expressions — 373
9.2.1	Markers derived from SEEM-verbs — 373
9.2.1.1	Perceptual — 373
9.2.1.2	Conceptual — 374
9.2.1.3	Reportive — 374
9.2.2	Markers derived from SEE-verbs — 377
9.2.3	Inferential <i>dever</i> ‘must’ — 379
9.3	Reportive expressions — 381
9.4	Indifferent indirect evidential markers — 386
9.5	Future and conditional tenses — 387
9.6	Diachronic approach to evidentiality in Portuguese — 389
9.7	Conclusions — 390

Part IV: Language Profiles – Slavic

10	Björn Wiemer and Alexander Letuchiy: Evidential marking in Russian — 397
10.1	Introduction — 397
10.2	Inferential units — 398
10.2.1	±perceptual basis of inference and circumstantial facts — 399
10.2.2	Perception-based inferences and direct perception — 405
10.2.3	±visual perception — 407
10.2.4	Extensions of perception-based inferentials: hearsay and remembrance — 408
10.2.4.1	[– perception]-based inferentials: borderline cases — 409
10.2.4.2	Predictions — 410
10.2.4.3	Plans and desires — 411
10.2.5	“Scientific” vs. “ordinary” inference — 412
10.2.6	Inferentials with and without contextual support — 413
10.2.7	Summary on inferentials — 415
10.2.8	Predicatives related to sensory perception — 418
10.3	Reportive units — 421
10.3.1	<i>jakoby</i> — 421
10.3.2	<i>budto by</i> — 423
10.3.3	Emergent reportive markers — 424
10.4	Complementizers — 427
10.4.1	List of complementizers and their combinatorial properties — 427
10.4.2	Assessment of syntactic properties — 432
10.5	Indirect-indifferent units — 435
10.6	Additional issues — 436
10.6.1	Confirmation demand — 436
10.6.2	“Xenomarkers” — 437
10.6.3	New quotatives — 439
10.6.4	Forms of <i>govorit</i> ‘say[IPFV]’ — 442
10.6.5	On distributional properties of markers with enclitic <i>by</i> — 444
10.7	Remarks on diachrony — 445
11	Björn Wiemer and Anna Socka: Evidential marking in Polish — 457
11.1	Introduction — 457
11.2	Inferential markers — 458
11.2.1	Adverbs, particles and predicatives — 459

11.2.1.1	widać: heterosemy and relation to other perception-based predicatives — 461
11.2.1.2	Other inferential units — 470
11.2.2	Inferential extensions of modal auxiliaries — 473
11.2.3	Markers derived from SEEM-verbs — 478
11.3	Reportive markers — 479
11.3.1	Reportive sentence adverbs (particles) and one reportive adjective — 480
11.3.2	Reportive use and interpretive semantics: <i>mieć</i> ‘have > should > said to’ — 488
11.3.3	Adpositional phrases — 497
11.4	Indirect-indifferent evidentials — 499
11.4.1	Extensions into memory-based judgments — 500
11.4.2	Connections to other discourse functions — 501
11.5	Other phenomena — 502
11.5.1	<i>słychać</i> — 502
11.5.2	<i>niby</i> — 505
11.5.3	<i>jakoby</i> as a complementizer — 508
11.6	Remarks on diachrony — 512
11.6.1	Sentence adverbs and particles from adjectival roots — 512
11.6.2	<i>jakoby</i> — 513
11.6.3	Petrified infinitives as predicatives — 514
11.6.4	<i>mieć</i> ‘have > should/ought to > said to’ — 515
11.6.5	Other auxiliaries — 517

Part V: Language Profiles – Other

12	Aurelijus Usonienė and Anna Ruskan: Evidentials in Lithuanian — 525
12.1	Introduction — 525
12.2	Direct and indirect evidentials — 527
12.3	Inferentials — 531
12.3.1	Markers derived from perception verbs — 532
12.3.2	Markers derived from one-word predicatives and adverbs — 537
12.4	Reportives — 544
12.4.1	ACCORDING TO-type markers — 547
12.5	Distancing markers — 550
12.6	Observations on diachrony — 557

13	Katerina Stathi: Evidentiality in Standard Modern Greek — 563
13.1	Introduction — 563
13.2	Overview — 564
13.3	Inferential markers — 565
13.3.1	TAM markers — 565
13.3.1.1	Future — 566
13.3.1.2	Conditional — 568
13.3.2	Modal auxiliary: MUST — 568
13.3.3	SEEM: <i>fénete</i> — 571
13.4	Reportive markers — 572
13.4.1	SAY: <i>léi</i> — 572
13.4.2	ACCORDING TO: <i>símfona me</i> — 575
13.4.3	OBVIOUS(LY): <i>profan-ís/(-ós)</i> — 575
13.4.4	LIKE: <i>san na</i> — 576
13.4.5	Summary — 576
13.5	Evidential functions — 577
13.5.1	Inferential — 577
13.5.2	Reportative — 579
13.5.3	Indirect-indifferent — 579
13.6	Lexical and grammatical restrictions — 580
13.7	Remarks on diachrony — 580
14	Karlos Cid Abasolo and Marta Carretero: Evidentiality in Basque — 585
14.1	Introduction — 585
14.1.1	Structure of the chapter — 585
14.1.2	The corpora — 585
14.1.3	A brief typological characterization of Basque — 586
14.1.4	A panoramic view of evidentiality in Basque — 588
14.2	Inferential expressions — 590
14.2.1	<i>irudi</i> and <i>eman</i> ‘seem’ — 590
14.2.2	<i>behar</i> ‘must’ — 596
14.3	Reportive expressions — 602
14.3.1	<i>esan</i> ‘say’ and <i>arabera</i> ‘according to’ — 603
14.3.2	Hearsay: the particles <i>omen</i> and <i>ei</i> — 605
14.3.3	Other expressions of hearsay — 616
14.4	Perceptual expressions — 617
14.5	Indirect indifferent expressions — 619
14.5.1	Adverbial clauses meaning ‘as it seems’ — 619
14.5.2	The particle <i>bide</i> — 622

14.5.3	The adverb <i>nonbait</i> — 624
14.6	Remarks on diachrony — 624
14.7	Conclusions — 626

Part VI: Results

15	Björn Wiemer: Conclusions and outlook — 631
15.1	Recurrent phenomena — 632
15.1.1	Necessity modals: MUST — 633
15.1.2	Fossilized MUST, MAY, and SAY — 635
15.1.3	Future grams — 636
15.1.4	SEEM-verbs — 640
15.1.4.1	Correlations between construction types and functions — 644
15.1.4.2	Sharework between SEEM-units in the same language? — 650
15.1.5	Propositional modifiers with word status: sentence adverbs and particles — 651
15.1.5.1	Sentence adverbs — 652
15.1.5.1.1	The origin of reportive adverbs — 653
15.1.5.1.2	Adverbs with inferential functions — 655
15.1.5.2	Particles — 657
15.1.6	ACCORDING TO-units — 658
15.1.6.1	ACCORDING TO with clausal complements — 663
15.1.6.2	A specific construction in Basque — 664
15.1.6.3	Different etymologies and function ranges — 665
15.1.7	Types of heterosemy — 670
15.1.7.1	Adjective – adverb — 672
15.1.7.2	ACCORDING TO-adpositions — 672
15.1.7.3	Verb > particle — 673
15.1.7.3.1	Inferential or indirect-indifferent markers — 673
15.1.7.3.2	Hearsay particles — 674
15.1.7.4	SAYC — 675
15.1.7.5	Predicatives — 676
15.1.7.6	Particle-complementizer, with some doubtful cases — 677
15.1.8	SAY-ONE with conditional — 678
15.2	Areal features — 679
15.2.1	Mood distinctions employed for evidential purposes — 680
15.2.2	Perfects (anterior grams) — 684
15.2.3	Constructions with non-finite verb forms — 685
15.2.4	Auxiliaries — 687
15.2.5	Predicatives — 689

15.2.6	Complementizers with an evidential function — 690
15.3	Conclusions — 698
15.3.1	Methodological concerns — 698
15.3.2	Some tentative generalizations — 701

List of Contributors — 715

Index of Authors — 721

Index of Languages — 728

Index of Subjects — 730

