Evidentiality in Discourse

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1. Introduction

The present volume brings together two fundamental concepts: evidentiality, which we regard as a dynamic component in communication, and discursive genre, understood here as an operative factor of communication that both shapes and it is shaped by the evidential content. Genres, as Swales (1990) acknowledges, are influenced by cultural and time constraints, and so is evidentiality and its expression. Therefore, it is paramount to uncover the ways in which evidential expressions acquire emerging pragmatic meanings tied to specific genres and discursive moves, particularly in languages that feature evidentiality as a functional category, as in Spanish. From this perspective, all the contributions in this volume share the common goal of investigating the pragmatic and discursive extensions of the evidential meaning, taking as a point of departure an interdisciplinary and intertextual model of evidentiality. In doing so, each contribution sheds light on particular aspects of the relationship between evidentials and discourse that have not been contemplated in former studies on evidentiality, namely the role of genre in modulating the evidential meaning, or the parameters of intersubjectivity, speaker's epistemic stance, and social identity as mediators between evidentiality and genre. On a more general note, the individual chapters seek to enhance our knowledge of the different facets and dimensions of evidentiality in actual discourse, and to account for some of the complex ways in which evidentials adapt their original indexical content in discourse, how these extensions of meaning might evolve to be part of the stable content of certain

evidentials, and how these evidentials might become essential linguistic features of a particular discursive genre.

More precisely, the present volume is dedicated to investigations concerned with the array of pragmatic meanings that evidential markers attain and develop in discourse. By examining these extensions of the original core meaning of evidentials –indication of the source of information–, the authors highlight the multiple dimensions that articulate, expand and enrich the evidential dimension in actual texts. This way, a more nuanced understanding of how evidentials operate in discourse emanates from the analysis. The articles encompassed in this volume make a significant contribution, theoretical as well as empirical, to the current state-of-the-art investigation of evidentiality in discourse, by inquiring into the still underdeveloped area of research of pragmatic enrichments of the evidential content that depend on genre and/or mode of communication (oral, written, or computer mediated).

We are concerned with the potential extensions of meaning conveyed by evidentials across a number of different genres, ranging from academic and scientific texts to illness narratives, from political and parliamentary discourses to online forum interactions. The genres examined in this volume illustrate a variety of discourses produced in different areas of public and private life, with the aim to uncover the multiple ways the semantics of evidentials can be exploited according to the discursive and interactional demands of effective communication. We also explore the evidential indication carried by certain linguistic forms across written and oral genres, to identify and systematize the array of pragmatic enhancements originating from the core evidential meaning that has been adapted to the goals and conditions of each type of communicative event.

All the chapters are empirical, corpus-driven, and eclectic with regard to the methods and the theoretical frameworks adopted. Some contributions (Kotwica; Maldonado & De la Mora; Llopis; Cabedo) combine a quantitative analysis with a

qualitative analysis of the data, and investigate the semantics and pragmatics of evidentials across time and genres. Specifically, Kotwica's study examines the dimension of access to the evidence in a nineteenth century corpus of Spanish biology articles; Maldonado and De la Mora track the diachronic evolution of evidential-epistemic meaning of the Spanish marker *según* ('according to') across several diatopical varieties, whereas Llopis explores the role of *según* as a quotative in different written genres. Cabedo, in turn, addresses the contribution of prosody and genre on the evidential meaning of Spanish *por lo visto* ('apparently') across six oral discourse genres. Other contributions, in contrast, render a fine-grained qualitative analysis focusing on specific dimensions of the evidential meaning in particular genres. This is the line of research developed in the chapter by Albelda and Estellés, relative to the dynamicity of evidential scales in political and academic discourse; by González, with regard to epistemic stance in unplanned oral genres; by Figueras, on the rhetorical moves by which evidentials are deployed to articulate the psychological construct of the self in illness narratives; and by Miche, on the interplay between the categories of evidentiality and deonticity when performing the speech act of advice in online forum interactions. Taking a more theoretical standpoint, the contribution by Rodríguez Rosique on the array of discursive roles of the Spanish future tense that extend beyond evidentiality completes the vision of evidentiality as a semantic domain that expands its deictic meaning through and within the discourse.

Once the general purpose of this collective volume has been laid out, and before proceeding to the presentation of the individual chapters (section 4 below), a brief discussion of the notion of evidentiality and its articulation in discourse (section 2), as well as a practical definition of the concept of genre applied in all the chapters, is necessary in order to lay the groundwork for bringing the two key notions of this volume –evidentiality and discourse genre– together (section 3).

2. The domain of evidentiality

Evidentiality has been routinely defined as the coding of the source of information or the mode of knowledge (Aikhenvald 2004; Anderson 1986; Chafe & Nichols 1986; Squartini 2001; Willett 1988). More specifically, evidentiality constitutes the set of linguistic mechanisms wherein languages encode "how the speaker has come to know the proposition expressed by an utterance" (Fox 2001:167). Being originally the focus of research of descriptive linguists interested in languages with morphological systems, evidentiality now attracts typologists (Aikhenvald 2004; Anderson 1986; Wierzbicka 1994; Willett 1988), discourse analysts (Chafe 1986; Du Bois 1986; Givón 1982; 1989; Hill & Irvine eds. 1993; Pomerantz 1984), psycholinguists (Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1986; Kamio 1994; 1997), and linguistic anthropologists (Fox 2001; Hill & Irvine 1993).

The investigation of the linguistic elements that carry the evidential meaning and the function that these elements play in communication has led to a distinction between languages in which evidentiality is a mandatory grammatical category and languages in which it represents an optional functional category "that refers to the perceptual and/or epistemological basis for making a speech act" (Cornillie 2009:45). As a result, languages are classified in two groups with regard to the coding of evidentiality: group E_1-languages (non Indo-European languages; cf. Diewald and Smirnova 2010), with obligatory marking by resorting to a defined set of mainly morpho-syntax devices (cf. Aikenvald 2004; Boas 1911); and E_2-languages, in which evidentiality is expressed by an open set of diverse, multifunctional, and nonobligatory devices deployed in discourse to point to the sources of direct and indirect information (Fetzer 2014; Fetzer & Oishi 2014). Evidentiality, in fact, is a functional category with a further scope than just grammar that operates in the majority of world languages, and, hence, this semantic domain is thought to be a language universal (Albelda 2015; Boye 2010; Cornillie 2009). Evidential markers represent a universal semantic class of units indexing the source of information.

In the case of Spanish, an E$_2$-language, one of the problems faced by scholars has been the systematization of the conditions that a particular form or construction must meet to become an evidential marker (Albelda 2015). With the aim to respond to this query, several studies on the evidential mechanisms in Spanish have been conducted focusing on specific markers, namely, perceptual verbs (Cornillie 2007; Fernández Jaén 2012; Figueras submitted; Albelda 2016); temporal structures and tenses, such as the future (Bermúdez 2005a; Escandell 2010; 2014; Rodríguez Rosique 2008; 2015), the condicional (Bermúdez 2004; González & Lima 2009), the imperfect (Leonetti & Escandell 2003), the present perfect tense (Bermúdez 2005a); lexical markers, like the old reportative adverb *dizque* (Babel 2009; De la Mora & Maldonado 2015); consecutive connectives (Bermúdez 2005b; Rodríguez Ramalle 2015); semi-auxiliary evidentials, such as *parecer* ('to seem') and *resultar* ('to appear') (Cornillie 2007); impersonal structures with the Spanish *se* or the personal pronoun *tú* (Fernández 2008; Hugo 2011); and syntactic constructions, including the subject raising structure (Bermúdez 2002; 2005b), the modal verb *deber* followed by *de que* (Schwenter 1999; Demonte & Fernández 2005), and *que* as a discursive marker with evidential adverbs (Rodríguez Ramalle 2007; 2008), among other mechanisms.

The fact that evidentiality can be regarded as a grammatical and as a functional category, in addition to the close relation that this semantic domain bears with epistemicity[1] have prompted some researchers to differentiate between a narrow and a

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[1] The limits between evidentiality and epistemic modality have been one of the main theoretical hurdles in defining evidentiality (Dendale & Tasmowski 2001). For languages in which evidentiality is a functional category, this construct has been viewed as either the site where epistemicity and information source intersect (van der Auwera & Plungian 1998), or as a subdomain within the epistemic domain (Givón 1982; Chafe 1986; Ifantidou 2001).

From the end of the '90s onward, a concerted effort to specify the singular and distinctive nature of evidentiality, and its association with other related semantic domains, has been made. Within this line of research, several authors have advocated for a clear differentiation between epistemic and evidential contents (Aikhenvald 2004; Cornillie 2009; Cornillie et al. 2015; De Haan 1999), where others have intertwined both concepts. Thus, for Fetzer and Oishi (2014), by resorting to an evidential device, the speaker shows his/her commitment to the truth of the propositional content, while, at the same time,

wide view of evidentiality (Mushin 2001; Fetzer & Oishi 2014; Nuckolls & Michael 2012). The former, following Fetzer and Oishi (2014), is strictly circumscribed to the indication of the source of information, whereas the latter amounts to the specification of the source for the speaker's or the writer's epistemic evaluation of the information. For the proponents of this more inclusive definition, epistemic modality, and other types of stances, and attitudes on propositions and states of affairs (knowledge) should be considered part of the domain of evidentiality (Nuckolls & Michael 2012). The dispute about these two competing conceptions of evidentiality has not yet come to a resolution in the literature.[2]

Following Bermúdez (2005b), we assume that evidentiality is not only concerned with the source of information of an utterance. It is also a deictic phenomenon referring to a speaker and his/her complex management of information and its sources. In Bermúdez's words: "La evidencialidad es una forma de perspectivización, esto es, un aspecto de la expresión del punto de vista del hablante" [evidentiality is a form of perspectivization, that is, an aspect of the expression of the point of view of the speaker] (Bermúdez 2005b:30-31). The evidential coding tells nothing about the assessment of the source itself, or about the motivations and attitudes playing a role in the choice of evidential forms (Mushin 2000). However, the strategic deployment of evidentials always conveys an epistemic stance built on a complex evaluative relationship between the speaker, the proposition and the audience. To understand evidentials, the referential content of evidentiality has to be established in the situated discourse.

Evidentials, therefore, represent a class of grammatical means referring to the "perceptual sources of information" (Babel 2009). In addition, evidentials inform about how speakers construct the source of information (Babel 2009), an operation that implies

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conveys his/her stance toward the reliability of the source and the epistemic status of the information itself (cf. Chafe & Nichols 1986; Dendale & Tasmowski 2001; Diewald & Smirnova 2010).

[2] More recently, Boye (2012) has proposed to regard evidentiality and epistemic modality as two distinct categories that subsume into the more inclusive and broader category of epistemicity.

evaluating the relationship between the speaker and the source. As a result, epistemic stance ("marking the degree of commitment to what one is saying, or marking attitudes toward knowledge", according to Kärkkäinen 2006:705) becomes part of the evidential marking. Recent work on evidentials and stances also shows the interactive, intersubjective and dialogical nature of stance and evidentiality (Clift 2006; Kärkkäinen 2006; 2007; Lempert 2008; Du Bois 2007). Stance can be conceptualized in terms of a triangle of acts performed by a stancetaker (Du Bois 2007): evaluation of the object, positioning of the self, and alignment with other subjects. From this perspective, epistemic or evidential stance is built on the triadic relationship between a speaker, a proposition and the audience.

It follows that a fluid connection between evidentiality and other semantic domains, such as epistemiticy or deontic modality, can be established through the articulation of epistemic and evaluative stances in particular texts. The limits and interrelations of evidentiality with other semantic categories, as well as the pragmatic enrichments of the core meaning of "source of information" associated with evidential forms when deployed in discourse become the focus of attention of the contributions included in this volume. Thus, Maldonado and De la Mora show how the original evidential content associated with certain expressions (Spanish *según*, an evidential reportative marker) has diachronically evolved toward a more epistemic path in oral genres. This particular study reveals the changes in the original evidential meaning motivated both by genre and by the communication needs of the speakers. Relatedly, González uncovers the differences in the semantic-pragmatic functions and scope of the epistemic phrase *no sé* ('I don't know') in two oral genres (conversation and oral opinion reports). In the same line, Miche's contribution highlights the complex relations between deontic and evidential meanings when giving advice in an Internet forum platform. What these studies evince is that the communicative goals of the participants, combined with the features of the particular genre of the exchange, shape the evidential content, modifying and enlarging

its original default indexical meaning.

The expression of evidentiality in discourse, therefore, is a multifunctional, dynamic and subjective operation that is constrained by the specific requirements of the communicative event. In fact, and according to Hoye (2008: 155), evidentiality in discourse involves the articulation of four components: *evidential texture*, *evidential weaving*, *the pragmatic principle of evidential substantiation*, and *evidential embedding*. Evidential texture embraces the evidential properties emerging from the particular composite of evidential expressions in discourse, whereas evidential weaving is concerned with the task of selecting the evidential expressions with which the speaker/writer will effectively build his/her epistemological stance. The pragmatic principle of evidential substantiation, in turn, together with the process of evidential embedding (the codification of the sources of the information deployed in the talk), explain the "why and how evidence is invoked in discourse" (Hoye 2008:155). In the operation of supplying evidence for the claims made, evidential expressions might acquire and develop particular meanings sensitive to contextual factors, such as genre. The issue of the different meanings that the intertwinement between epistemic evaluations and evidential forms/units/constructions acquire in discourse is, precisely, the main focus of the contributions that constitute the present volume.

2.1. Evidentials in discourse

Whereas the grammar of evidentials has been extensively studied since the decade of the '80s (see the reviews in Aikhenvald 2004 and Speas 2008), the social, cultural, and interactional aspects factoring in when speakers/writers resort to evidentials have been less systematically considered (see Atkinson 1999; Chafe 1986; Cliff 2006; Fox 2001; Hill & Irvine 1993; Ifantidou 2001; Mushin 2001; Kärkkäinen 2003; Sakita 2002). Notwithstanding, in the mid-nineties evidence and evidentiality started being regarded as inextricably associated with social, cultural and even political meanings among

participants in interaction (Fox 2001). From that theoretical standpoint, Hill and Irvine (1993:2) contended that "of central importance to an approach that emphasizes dialogicality and the social construction of meaning is the connection between knowledge and agency. To interpret events, to establish fact, to convey opinion, and to constitute interpretations as knowledge –all these are activities involving socially situated participants, who are agents in the construction of knowledge as well as being agents when they act on what they have come to know, believe, suspect, or opine".

To further develop the investigation of evidentiality in discourse, in recent years there has been a growing interest in articulating a more complete and consistent description of the pragmatic and discursive dimensions of evidentials, as attested to in some collective up-to-date works. In particular, a renewed interest in the discursive aspects of evidential markers and strategies has emerged in the specialized literature. Within this framework, the contributions included in Nuckolls and Michael (2012) address relevant aspects of the interactional and cultural dimensions of evidentiality, taking into consideration the relation of these functional meanings with the grammatical properties of evidentials. Nuckolls and Michael (2012) contend that these elements perform social and interactional functions constraining both their occurrence and frequency in discourse. The grammaticalization of the evidential strategies, or lack thereof, depends on the societal functions attributed to them in the interaction. The study of grammaticalizing evidentials that are currently in use in E_1-languages thus represents a way to explore the social factors involved in their deployment in different discourses, such as conversations, electronic news reports, or narratives of personal experience.

In a similar vein, Fetzer and Oishi (2014) bring together different contributions concerned with the discursive use of evidentials. All the studies are grounded in the assumption that evidentiality has to be regarded as a pragmatic construct, by which speakers codify their epistemic attitude toward the information provided. For Fetzer and Oishi (2014), the optionality in the evidential marking in E_2-languages is significant in

relation to the realization of speech acts in those languages. According to Fetzer and Oishi (2014), the functional status of evidentiality in E_2-languages affords the speakers the strategies to enter evidence into the on-going discourse, either by referring explicitly or implicitly to the source of information. Direct attested evidence may be introduced by resorting to quotations and by spelling out the sources, while implicit or mediated evidence may be presented by deploying modal auxiliaries that index hearsay or reasoning as the source of the evidence. In the later scenario, evidentiality can be assigned the status of a pragmatic presupposition, in terms of the Gricean Principle of Cooperation, conversational maxims and conversational implicature (Fetzer & Oishi 2014: 326-327).

Relatedly, González (2015) offers a collection of contrastive empirical studies that delve into the evidential and epistemic context-bound strategies that are deployed by the speakers to convey their attitude and their commitment towards the informational content of their discursive productions. Evidentiality and epistemicity are, therefore, contemplated from a pragmatic and functional perspective that focuses on the interactional nature of communication. According to González (2015), this dynamic interactional approach situates evidentiality, as a discursive construct, in relation to factors such as participants' intentions, and the purpose and context of the exchange. In E_2-languages, the coding of evidentiality is expressed through linguistic elements, lexical and syntactic, whose evidential and epistemic values "work as anaphoric and cataphoric units that bridge segments and make reference to previous and following stretches of discourse" (González 2015:117-118).

With the specific focus on the issue of stancetaking in discourse, the recent volume edited by Marín, Haβler and Carretero (2017) tackles the issue of evidentiality and epistemic modality as connected to the speaker's epistemic stance. The volume adopts corpus-based methods, which allow the researchers to bring further insights into the linguistic reality of using evidentials in discourse. The majority of the articles in

Marín, Haβler and Carretero (2017) deal with particular discourse domains and genres (journalistic and scientific texts, for instance), and the expression of stance in different cross-linguistic contexts.

All in all, these collective works expand our understanding of the evidential marking beyond its grammatical properties to engage in multifaceted and multileveled contextual descriptions of evidentials. Progressively, we have a better understanding of the socio-cultural and interactional factors that contribute to the articulation of evidentiality in the situated discourse. As a result, certain aspects of the analysis become more salient, such as the complex relationships between epistemicity and evidentiality and the different ways in which the epistemic status of the information and the speakers' attitudes toward knowledge are contextually managed. At the same time, a wealth of new analytic tools and concepts has been developed to better describe the discursive evidential dimension, such as expressive stance and interactional force when employing evidential markers in an utterance (Hanks 2012), epistemic stance expressions used as legitimation strategies (Marín Arrese 2011; 2015), epistemological positioning or stance (Bednarek 2006; Mushin 2001), or evidential texture of discourse (Hoye 2008).

As Papafragou (2000) remarks, communication is multi-layered, in the sense that there are different levels of meaning conveyed by the utterance; evidentials can contribute both to the proposition and to the higher-level representation of the speech act, and, in this regard, play a role in multiple acts of communication. Assuming this perspective, a better comprehension of how evidentials work in E_2-languages (languages in which the evidential marking is not compulsory) necessarily requires the exploration of their role in framing discourse. Consistent with this perspective, what the recent research on the pragmatics and discursive instantiation of evidentiality has revealed is that the choice of an evidential marker is motivated by a multiplicity of factors, including the speaker's motivation, attitude and stance toward the informational content, the specifics of the interaction, the intersubjective meanings related to the kind of interaction, the

topic, and the genre (Hoye 2008). As many researchers have pointed out, the evidential meaning should not be considered a core, intrinsic and constant value of particular forms and constructions, but as a flexible, functional content that emerges in discourse, and is modulated and shaped within particular contexts and in co-occurrence with other meanings (Albelda 2015; Cornillie 2007; Boye 2010; Hassler 2010).

Taking this standpoint, the present volume delves into the underexplored interrelations between evidentiality and discourse genre in Spanish. All the contributions are the result of a panel held July, 2015, at the International Pragmatic Association Conference in Antwerp, Belgium, dedicated to reflect on the particularities of content and use of evidentials according to genre. Adopting a discursive approach, we assume that the functional category of evidentiality is brought to discourse by the deployment of a set of linguistic strategies that make explicit what counts as evidence in certain contexts and in certain textual genres, and what particular pragmatic meanings these mechanisms acquire, invoke and project onto the on-going discourse. Borrowing Hoye's (2008) reflections, the role of evidentiality in communication is more obvious and better investigated within and through discourse, in delimited and recognizable contexts where the multiple levels of meaning in interactional practices are manifested. Evidential meanings become, indeed, more apparent when considered contextually made.

Previous research on evidentiality in Spanish has underscored the difficulty of separating the semantic content codified by the evidential markers (essentially, the expression of the source or mode of information) and the pragmatic meanings that the use of these expressions generates contextually. These pragmatic values are quite rich and diverse, ranging from facework, irony, epistemic distancing, and mitigation, to boosting, or even mockery. In that regard, several studies have explored the triggering of particular pragmatic nuances of evidentials in relation to certain discursive genres. For instance, Cuenca and Marin (2012) systematize the different functions that the catalan word *clar* plays in various syntactic and pragmatic contexts, whereas Estellés and Albelda (2014)

perform a fine-grained analysis of the Spanish evidential expressions *al parecer*, *según parece* ('apparently'), and *por lo visto* ('seemingly'), which, in certain contexts, develop modal meanings (such as attenuation or impoliteness) that are added to the core evidential meaning codified by these forms.

Adopting different theoretical frameworks, the studies collected in the present volume seek to uncover the extensions of evidential meaning resulting from discursive factors, such as genre, and the mediating communicative aspects of goals, motivations, attitudes, and stances of the speaker. More precisely, the authors address the following questions:

1. Is there an univocal relationship between evidential expressions and the pragmatic meaning(s) triggered by these expressions?

2. If there is not such a relationship, what are the factors, if any, favouring the emergence of one pragmatic meaning over the other(s)? Is genre one of these potential factors?

3. If genre mediates the relationship between evidentials and their meanings, what are the genres that more easily activate particular contextual meanings? Do these genres share any common features or traits that differentiate them from the rest?

3. Evidentiality and discourse genre: pragmatic overtones

While evidentiality, as it has been previously discussed, has been narrowly defined as a semantic mechanism that serves to identify sources of information (Aikhenvald 2004; Bermúdez 2005b; Squartini 2008; Cornillie 2009; Hassler 2010), it is not always clear why speakers choose certain evidential mechanisms above others; or, in particular, why sometimes the sources of information must be marked or the specific speech act of reporting must be referenced. The factor of textual genre could account for some of these

choices. If that is the case, evidentiality, a deictic category with pragmatic and discursive overtones in Spanish, might find its realization through various genres.

The concept of genre has been the focus of interest in the area of the studies of discourse, and, in particular, in the modality of written discourse for the last thirty years (Tardy & Swales 2014:165). In most definitions, this construct is linked to actions and communicative purposes (Miller 1984; Swales 1990). Indeed, genres constitute rhetorical strategies that are socially and contextually situated, and, therefore, are always dynamic and in evolution (Tardy & Swales 2014). By virtue of their social situatedness, genres both modify and are modified by the communities of practice that adopt them. On the one hand, genres are constrained and defined by the values, beliefs, common experiences and shared knowledge that bond the members of the discourse communities. On the other hand, once a genre has been organized, users' practices and beliefs are also shaped by this conventional structure (as it occurs with genres of academic cultures; Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995).

Generally speaking, a genre is an abstract model consisting of a set of characteristics shaped by a concrete discourse community. As Swales (1990) proposes, a genre is a class of communicative events with common sets of communicative goals that is shared by a community of speakers. Admittedly, genres are recognizable by users on the basis of formal features, such as grammatical constructions, lexical units, organizational structures, discursive moves, and even visual defining characteristics (Hyland 2004; 2008; 2015; Miller 1984; Tardy & Swales 2014). Genres thus serve as the backdrop for the analysis of any particular linguistic element (Calvi 2010; Biber & Conrad 2009; Giltrow & Stein 2009). The linguistic forms chosen for use in discourse can be derived from general rules of expression or be specially determined by the discourse genre. These forms can include all types of linguistic phenomena, such as evidentials, mitigation, irony, etc.
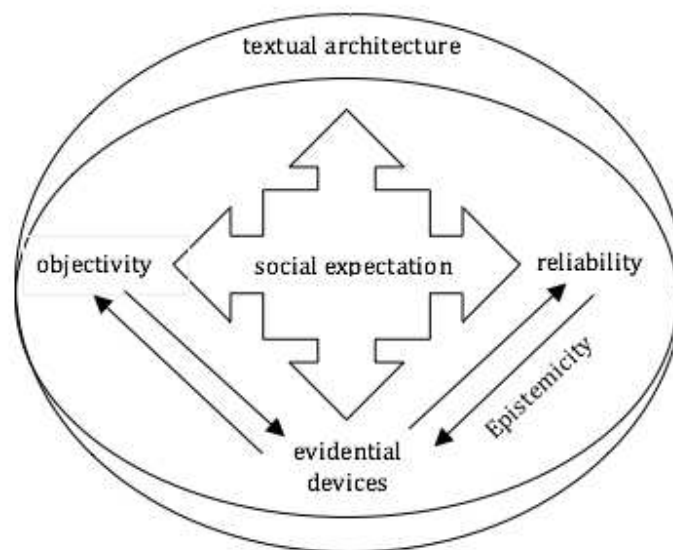
Figure 1. Factors in the deployment and use of evidential devices.

Figure 1 suggests that a logical explanation for the deployment of certain linguistic forms (including evidentials) is the pressure exerted by certain social expectations on given textual architectures (understood as the discourse "skeletons" of genres); ultimately, they are social constructs built with a concrete socio-discursive purpose (Biber & Conrad 2009; Giltrow & Stein 2009). Similarly, there are superstructures (Van Dijk 1980a; 1980b) associated with the expression of various genres. For example, scientific articles share the Introduction–Literature Review–Method–Results and Discussion–Conclusion (ILM[RD]C) structure (Cargill & O'Connor 2009), while other genres, such as casual conversation, are much more free, although still governed by concrete floor transfer offset parameters (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Levinson & Torreira 2015).

Genres are not mere collections of texts that share similar formal features, but, as Hyland (2015:32) claims, they represent "the schema we develop through our shared experiences to see how these texts help construct particular contexts". Genres become, in fact, what Bazerman (1997) calls "frames for social action"; that is, spaces to create meanings and relationships (cfr. Swales 2004). From this perspective, the entities we

refer to as genres determine both the "building" of discourse (or superstructure, following Van Dijk [1980a; 1980b]) and the various textual mechanisms that "inhabit" it. Among other things, the latter include several evidential forms (such as the future tense; Rodríguez Rosique this volume), the verbal periphrasis *tiene que* + infinitive (Miche this volume), the adverb or preposition *según* (Maldonado & De la Mora this volume), among others. For example:

> (1)
> A: ¿Qué hora es?
> [What time is it?]
> B: **Serán**$_{Future}$ las cuatro
> [It must be four]
> (Bello [1847] 1971: 236) / Rodríguez Rosique this volume)

This use of the Spanish future tense is a general feature of spoken discourse, used in (1) by the speaker to show uncertainty as to the exact time. It also signals a sort of inferential evidentiality, since it refers to the speaker's inner process (Escandell 2010; 2014). In everyday speech, then, the future tense serves as an evidential mechanism while also adding uncertainty, and even acting as a mitigator, given that it protects the speaker's face in case the information given is mistaken.

This is so because the speaker follows a potential social expectation that citing the source of information lends credibility to what is said. This expectation is activated by the mental image of a prototypical reader or hearer (who is not necessarily present at the moment of utterance). The need for credibility leads to the use of mechanisms conveying objectivity and reliability: in terms of evidentiality, these mechanisms include direct quotation (*según dijo X* Maldonado y De la Mora this volume; Llopis this volume; *como se puede deducir de X*, Albelda y Estellés this volume).

> (2)
> El ministro ruso rechazó la oferta del presidente georgiano de enviar observadores al desfiladero de Pankisi, ya que, **según** dijo, los guerrilleros lo han abandonado tras un acuerdo con las autoridades georgianas.
> (El País, 2002, NCREA)

[The Russian minister rejected the offer of the Georgian president to send observers to Pankisi Gorge because he said the guerrillas deserted him following an agreement with the Georgian authorities.]
(Llopis this volume)

Example (2) illustrates a prototypical evidential marker, reported speech with a *verbum dicendi*. The mechanism is highly frequent in the written press, especially news items; it renders truthfulness to what is said and, generally, to the information presented.

However, the credibility of the source's words does not necessarily need to be based on criteria of objectivity; at times the configuration of the genre requires the use of more introspective language in order to attain credibility. For example, in illness narratives (Figueras this volume) speaking about the development of the sick self (Bury 1988; Charmaz 1999) requires an increased use of endophoric reference (Bermúdez 2005b), as well as the discursive construction of two selves: a current one, affected by its own imbalance brought on by illness, and a past one, which can be denied (eating disorder [ED]) or even diluted into an explanatory nothingness (borderline personality disorder).

(3)
mi tío me mandó las fotos que nos había hecho y al ver mi cuerpo en bikini sentí rabia, asco, odio, vergüenza. Pensé "¿cómo se te ocurre enseñar eso, no tienes conciencia de lo gorda que estás?"
[my uncle sent me the pictures he had taken of us and when I saw my body in a bikini I felt rage, disgust, hate, shame. I thought "How dare you show that, don't you realize how fat you are?"]
(Figueras this volume)

The excerpt in (3), from an ED narrative, shows instances of the internal and personal use of verbs of emotion (*sentí rabia*) as part of the evidential mechanism. While the information is known first-hand, it should be borne in mind that patients see their past self as an external being, which makes the use of evidential expressions important as a means of recognizing their illness and, indeed, towards making treatment possible.

To summarize, we have seen that there are genres that use evidentials as an anchor between the credible and the objective. Such is the case of scientific discourse (Kotwica

or Albelda & Estellés, both this volume) and television news (Cabedo this volume). However other genres, such as Internet forums, anchor the credible to the subjective.

Another important concept related to evidentiality and genre is intersubjectivity (Nuyts 2012). For example, in scientific articles (Kotwica this volume), evidence given is frequently shared by or accessible to the scientific community as audience. This is another instance of intersecting expectations activated by the genre: both the writer and the reader expect the evidence to be accessible. For example:

> (4)
> Caracteres.—Longitud total, hasta 250 mm.; latitud máxima, 1 a 4 mm. Las dimensiones varían según la edad y estado de contracción del ejemplar. En los nuestros sus apariencias eran tan diferentes, que los tuvimos por especies diferentes, hasta que su investigación microscópica nos demostró eran una misma. (17-1919-RevRAC)
> [Constitution.—Total length up to 250 mm.; maximum latitude, 1 to 4 mm. Dimensions vary depending on age and state of contraction of the specimen. In ours [specimens] their appearances were so different, that we took them for different species until its microscopic examination showed us they were the same.]
> (Kotwica this volume)

Furthermore, evidentiality, credibility and modality (evaluation) are mutually required; indeed, the analysis of evidentiality and epistemicity as two elements fused into a single form is common. Thus, sources are identified and the degree of certainty is evaluated in a unified, not easily separated way. This is most readily observed in colloquial conversation (González this volume, exploring the expression *no sé*, 'I don't know'; and Miche this volume, focusing on the verbal periphrasis *tener que* + infinitive).

> (5) *No sé* ('I don´t know'*)* as an adjunct / epistemic parenthetical*:*
> No me encuentro bien. **No sé**, creo que he pillado un resfriado.
> [I don't feel well. I don't know, I think I've caught a cold.]
> (González this volume)

Lastly, while speakers' preference to mark sources of information in a scalar manner has been studied extensively (models like De Haan [1998] or Faller [2002]), questions that have not been widely explored include the internal flexibility of these scales, and whether the preference for one source-marking form over another is due to the influence of genre. Indeed, it is interesting to observe the pragmatic game established in

certain genres that use elements from these scales, but in the opposite direction to the expected one, or for unexpected strategic reasons.

Thus, in some genres, such as parliamentary discourse (Albelda y Estellés this volume), speakers use direct evidential mechanisms ("according to speaker X") to include their own inferences. This word game is habitually associated with irony. We can summarize this as follows: according to speaker A, B said Y, where Y is an utterance/statement that puts B's image into question. However, B did not really say Y; the speaker is using an argumentative strategy to attack a political opponent's face. For instance, in (6), excerpted from the Spanish official parliamentary proceedings, the speaker resorts to the expression *al parecer* ('apparently') to introduce some information that is attributable to his political opponent (specifically, to Mr Ayllón and, by extension, to his political party):

> (6)
> Esto es lo que tenemos en este país, es decir, el país se está hundiendo y usted viene a culpar a la oposición de que se oponga. No me extraña para nada que el Parlamento le sobre porque, como dijo el propio señor Ayllón el otro día en la Diputación Permanente, el Gobierno lo que hace es intentar que el Parlamento no haga nada porque cuando el Parlamento actúa, **al parecer**, la crisis del país se profundiza. Pues defiendan ya ustedes directamente, y dejémonos de mandangas, un Gobierno autoritario con unas Cortes decorativas. Ya lo tuvimos durante muchos años y ya sabemos lo bien que le fue al país. (Spanish Parliament proceedings, 2014. Speaker: Carlos Martínez Gorriarán [UPyD])
>
> [This is what we have in this country; our country is collapsing and you come to blame the opposition for exercising political opposition. No wonder that, according to you, the Parliament is unnecessary, because, as Mr. Ayllón himself said the other day in the Permanent Council, what this Government tries to say is that the Parliament does nothing, because when the Parliament acts, apparently, the crisis in our country worsens. Well, just stop beating about the bush and say it straight out: you want an authoritarian government with a decorative Parliament. We already had one for many years, and we know how good it was for the country.]
> (Albelda y Estellés this volume)

These pragmatic values are not limited to attacking the opponent's image, but also help preserve the opponent's face through mitigating linguistic forms, i.e., evidentials, and convey the core meaning of the source of information. They create a second layer of

meaning that is activated contextually. These values include instances of irony and mitigation. The latter is observed primarily on occasions when speakers wish to protect their own face or that of their interlocutor (or reader) despite the message being expressed. This is the case, for instance, in the excerpt from a colloquial conversation in which one of the participants resorts to the evidential marker *por lo visto* to express his reluctance to commit to the reliability and truthfulness of the information about the infidelity rates in Norway. The evidential expression allows the speaker to preserve and save his face in the exchange:

(7)
A: y me ha hecho gracia luego también el noruego↑ // lo que ha salido diciendo↓/ quee- Humberto no sé- ¡ah! porque en ese programa dicen al principio algo de unass- de unass encuestas↓ no sé qué estadísticas↑ patatín patatán ¿no?// yy-// y dice el noruego↑ que también hicieron unas estadísticas en Holanda↑ unas encuestas paraa alguna historia↑ y que **por lo visto**↑ // era curioso porque deel centro de Nolan- dee- de Noruega[…] del centro de Noruega al NORTE↑ el norte de Noruega↑ que **por lo visto**↑ sí quee es verdad que en general era maayor la infidelidad↓/ (Corpus Valesco 2.0, Conversación 31, Intervenciones 37-45)
[A: and later, I also found it funny, that Norwegian guy, what he was saying, that- Humberto… I'm not sure what… Oh! Because, in this program, at the beginning, they say something about some- some surveys, something about some statistics, blah, blah, blah, right? And the Norwegian guy says that they also have made surveys in Norway, for some other reasons, and apparently… It was interesting, because in central Hol-…in central Norway […] from central Norway to the north… in the north, in northern Norway, apparently it is true that, in general, infidelity rates are higher.]
(Corpus Valesco 2.0, Conversación 31, Intervenciones 37-45) (Cabedo this volume)

Returning to Figure 1, it is clear that genres determine the use of any linguistic form they contain: social expectations always force the selection of certain words rather than others (Biber & Conrad 2009).

4. Presenting the chapters

In general this volume includes articles that deal in some way or another with the concrete relationship between evidentiality and discourse in Spanish, focusing in particular on the pragmatic extensions of the evidential meaning (reliability, epistemicity,

obligation, shared knowledge, evaluation of the source, and so forth) in the context of various discourse genres:

1. Albelda and Estellés: evidentiality scales. Indirect pragmatic values. Academic and political discourse.

2. Kotwica: shared evidentiality. 19th century scientific discourse.

3. Figueras: perceptual, endophoric and indirect evidentiality in online illness narratives.

4. Miche: the verbal periphrasis *tener que* + infinitive (greater epistemicity than evidentiality). Online forums.

5. Cabedo: prosody of *por lo visto* in six more and less formal oral genres.

6. Llopis: the use of *según* as an evidential marker. Four written genres.

7. Maldonado and De la Mora: diachronic development of *según* (from evidential to epistemic). Written and oral corpus from CREA (Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual).

8. González: the verb *saber* (epistemic values) in conversational exchanges and oral opinion reports.

9. Rodríguez Rosique: use of the future tense (inferential evidentiality). Written and oral corpus from CREA (Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual).

These nine chapters can be grouped according to two focal issues: the studies dedicated to highlight the evidential strategies that have become more prevalent in certain genres, seeking to determine the idiosyncratic pragmatic nuances triggered by each genre; and the contributions that examine specific evidential markers and their pragmatic values, either linked to one specific genre or across different genres.

As part of the former group, Albelda and Estellés' contribution identifies and explores the phenomenon of "pragmatic indirectness" in evidentiality, as well as its role as a rhetorical strategy in two particular genres: academic and political discourse. The

authors define "pragmatic indirectness" as the deliberate choice of evidence made by speakers/writers in a dynamic scale that organizes evidentials according to degrees of preference contextually determined. Depending on their personal intentions and goals, and constrained by contextual expectations, speakers strategically try to modulate their discourse conforming to these scales. To do so, they resort to two main mechanisms: selection of the best evidence in a particular context; if not available, concealment of the (less preferable) evidence accessible by deploying evidentials located higher in the preference scale.

In connection to the semantics of evidentials, Kotwica's study delves into the notion of "access to evidence" (a concept akin to *intersubjectivity*) and applies this concept to develop a classification of criteria to differentiate between shared and non-shared evidence within the framework of the classical typology of evidential meanings. Scientific articles, argues Kotwica, promote shared and available evidence and, hence, accessibility of evidence has to be regarded as one of the main features of evidentiality in academic genres. From this standpoint, the author examines the nature of the evidence in a corpus of Spanish biology articles produced in the period between 1850 and 1920, yielding the finding of a strong tendency to employ evidential constructions of shared nature. This result can be related to the discursive practices of the scientific community in that historical period.

Focusing on a different discursive genre, illness narratives, Figueras' chapter explores the sources of evidence to inform the self in three types of illness stories collected from the Internet: narratives of eating disorders (ED), borderline personality disorder (BPD), and chronic fatigue syndrome (CFS). The analysis revealed a different source of evidence in each type of personal account: visual perception, in the case of ED narratives (body as self); inner emotional states, for BPD stories (mood as self), and embodied perception, in CFS testimonies (sensations as self). These results indicate that evidential strategies are genre-sensitive and that they develop particular discursive

functions according to the type of illness and the explicative frame adopted by the writer to produce the personal tale of the experience.

Turning the attention to online interactions, Miche argues that the notion of evidentiality is entrenched in epistemicity and intensification, and that Internet forums constitute a suitable platform to observe and to investigate the relation between these three dimensions. Miche explores the constructions *tienes que* + infinitive and *debes* + infinitive ['you have' + infinitive and 'you should' + infinitive] with deontic meaning, and she reaches the conclusion that these structures operate more to express modality than to indicate source of information. They are deployed to intensify the content and the quality of the speech act of advice.

Taking a complementary perspective, the works by Cabedo, Llopis, Maldonado and De la Mora, González, and Rodríguez attend to specific evidential constructions that acquire different values across genres. On that account, Cabedo's experimental contribution performs an analysis of 29 records of different variables, mainly phonic (TOBI accents, pitch, intensity, speech rate and so on), of the evidential discourse marker *por lo visto* ('apparently') in six oral discourse genres: everyday conversation, discussion, sociolinguistic interviews, TV talks, parliamentary interventions, and news. The analysis showed significant differences in the prosodic patterns according to genre. Thus, a predominance of the tonal accent L + H* was found in news, political discourse and sociolectal interviews, whereas *por lo visto* as an independent intonational phrase was only present in the political discourse and sociolectal interviews. It appears that prosody allows discrimination between the *pragmatic* and the *core* meanings of the evidential *por lo visto* in genres in which both possibilities coexist.

The paper by Llopis examines the context-dependent meanings of the quotative individual lexical marker *según* by comparing its grammatical features, indication of sources of evidence (with special attention to reporting verbs), and frequency in four different genres: academic articles, essays, news and novels. The author observes that the

evidential function of *según* is accomplish by means of a prepositional phrase or a clause bringing a reporting verb, in contrast to what happens with its lexical equivalent in other languages. She concludes that the evidential function is more common in written genres, with a noticeable increase in the news.

In a related study, Maldonado and De la Mora examine the diachronic evolution of the evidential-epistemic marker *según*, and provide a systematic organization of the synchronic values of this marker, both in oral and written registers of contemporary Spanish from CREA (*Corpus de Referencia del Español actual*) and CSDM (*Corpus Sociolingüístico de la ciudad de México*) corpora. The authors found that epistemic meanings were more prevalent in oral data, and that mitigating meanings were also present, noting that as the reportative meaning diminishes, the subjective evaluation of the event increases. Maldonado and De la Mora explain these values suggesting that *según* operates as a space builder, so that the assertion introduced by this marker is confined, not to the space of reference, but to an alternate space in which its veracity is defined in the conceptualizer's domain.

González's study, meanwhile, is concerned with the discussion of the semantic and pragmatic functions of the epistemic phrase *no sé* ('I don't know'). The author explores the attitudinal stance and the evidential grounding carried by this expression. González takes into consideration two unplanned oral genres: conversational exchanges and oral opinion reports. Both genres incorporate negotiation and, consequently, feature speakers' engagement and value judgments. The results of the analysis indicate a predominant role of *no sé* in both discursive genres as an attitude marker, conveying affect, judgement and appreciation. In addition, and as an epistemic form, *no sé* constitutes a marker of uncertainty, so that it expresses a low degree of commitment towards the propositional content.

Lastly, the focus of Rodríguez's chapter is to uncover the structure of discursive values brought up by the Spanish future tense that go beyond evidentiality in the

conversational genre. Rodríguez reasons that, from a discursive viewpoint, future can display a number of discursive roles and extend through a range of discursive dimensions beyond evidentiality. Thus, the Spanish future tense can be used as a strategic tool to build negotiation and conversational management (persuasive future); to construe counter-argumentation (concessive future); or to perform an expressive speech act (mirative future). To articulate these values in discourse, they must have already been activated during the course of the interaction.

Altogether, each of the nine papers included in the present volume engages in a particular aspect of the complex intertwinement of evidential markers, pragmatic meanings, and genre when accounting for the dimension of evidentiality in discourse.

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