Evidentials and questions

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The behavior of evidentials in questions is strikingly uniform across languages. First, evidentials *shift*, namely, they change their perspective from speaker to the addressee, as in *And when*, *allegedly*, *will be the "end of the world"?* the adverbial *allegedly* requests a reply based on hearsay. Second, a logically possible interpretation is not attested, namely, a reading such that evidentials-in-questions remain speaker-oriented. The first property is frequently discussed in the literature and there are several competing accounts. The second property is not addressed directly and is usually derived as a side effect. I show that theories hard-wiring the shift to the semantics and/or syntax of evidentiality make wrong predictions. I further argue that the inability to be speaker-oriented in questions is an intrinsic property of evidentials and that the shift is better understood in pragmatic terms.