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**REPORTIVE EVIDENTIALITY. A THEORETICAL REVISION
EVIDENCIALIDAD REPORTATIVA. UNA REVISIÓN TEÓRICA**

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Abstract

Notwithstanding the wide-ranging investigations into the phenomenon of reportive evidentiality, there is still a need for clarification of its scope and related notions. This paper presents a theoretical revision of reportive evidentials, i.e., those cases in which the speaker/writer reports the evidence given by another information source. The review starts with an examination of the main taxonomies found in the field of linguistics, suggesting the use of the term 'reportive' to encompass reporting markers. The paper continues by discussing the relationship between reportive evidentiality and reported speech. We support that there is a cline of functions between the two categories. Despite this, we single out possible criteria to distinguish reporting expressions. They focus on the presence of the original source of the information, as well as the propositional scope of the reporting and reported segments. We conclude by presenting some areas to further explore these issues, such as the relation between reported speech and modality.

Keywords

Evidentiality – Discourse – Linguistics – Source of information

Resumen

A pesar de las amplias investigaciones sobre el fenómeno de la evidencialidad reportativa, todavía existe necesidad de clarificar su ámbito y conceptos relacionados. Este documento presenta una revisión teórica de los evidenciales reportativos, esto es, aquellos casos en los que el hablante/escriptor reporta la evidencia dada por otra fuente de información. La revisión comienza con un análisis de las principales taxonomías existentes en el campo de la lingüística, sugiriendo el uso del término 'reportativo' para abarcar las marcas citativas. El artículo continúa tratando la relación entre la evidencialidad reportativa y el discurso citativo. Sostenemos que existe un gradiente de funciones entre las dos categorías. A pesar de esto, señalamos posibles criterios para distinguir las expresiones citativas. Estos se centran en la presencia de la fuente original de la información, así como el ámbito proposicional de los segmentos citativo y reportado. Concluimos

presentando algunas áreas para seguir explorando estas cuestiones, como la relación entre el discurso reportado y la modalidad.

Palabras Claves

Evidencialidad – Discurso – Lingüística – Fuente de información

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Introduction

Human existence is determined by the array of experiences and events that occur to individuals, which are moulded through language. Linguistic signs are the tool through which humans know and approach reality, comprising, *inter alia*, verbal symbols and graphic conventions that allow people to express the most intricate meanings.

Broadly speaking, communication implies the readjustment and interpretation of verbal and non-verbal signs between at least two interlocutors for the goal of information exchange. In the digital era we live in, information is spread in the twinkling of an eye. This fact forces news writers to report events from the very moment they occur. On certain occasions, some journalists opt for deliberately distorting the reported facts in order to bias public opinion, the so-called post-truth. This term applies to a social and cultural product that derives from the interaction between humans, comprising both linguistic and practical dimensions¹. Besides, this notion involves a verbal report of events in which the emotional component is more essential than the quoted objective facts themselves². It is common to find its use in politics, as in Donald Trump's speeches, where the employment of hyperboles and overstatements allows the politician to hide real facts that are key and deserve to be known by citizens³. The employment of this device is problematic since, as Mittermeier and Soriano acknowledge, the readership can only know the truth from the way it is embedded in words⁴.

Another characteristic of post-truth style is the use of rumour, probability and speculation⁵ aimed at moving the audience towards a certain stance⁶. These resources can easily be found in the media, since news reporters commonly try to direct readers' information processing by foregrounding certain pieces of information at the expense of other data that are relegated to second place. In the field of Linguistics, rumours or 'unverified claims', understood as hearsay evidence that needs to be verified⁷, fall into the category of 'reportive evidentiality'. This category serves to "mark that information comes from someone else's report"⁸, though there is no total agreement on their definition and scope, as will be seen below. The use of reportive evidentials implies that the news writer of the assertion, who has obtained the information from linguistic messages, does not subscribe to the quoted evidence without reserve. Thus, their employment allows journalists to avoid responsibility for the quoted statements.

¹ Carlos María Cárcova, "Acerca del concepto de posverdad", *Anamorphosis Revista Internacional de Direito e Literatura*, Vol: 4 num 1 (2018): 5-16.

² Johanna Mittermeier and Jaume Soriano, "Desmontando la posverdad. Nuevo escenario de las relaciones entre la política y la comunicación" (MA dissertation, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 2017).

³ Johanna Mittermeier and Jaume Soriano, "Desmontando la posverdad. Nuevo escenario..."

⁴ Johanna Mittermeier and Jaume Soriano, "Desmontando la posverdad. Nuevo escenario..."

⁵ Catalina Gayà, "El Periodismo de Interacción Social, una propuesta de dinamización del campo periodístico" (PhD thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2015).

⁶ Nereida Carrillo, "El género-tendencia del infoentretenimiento: definición, características y vías de estudio", in *Infoentretenimiento: El formato imparable de la era del espectáculo*, Carme Ferré Pavia (ed.) (Barcelona, España: Editorial UOC, 2013).

⁷ Caroline Clark, "Evidence of evidentiality in the quality press 1993 and 2005", *Corpora*, Vol: 5 num 2 (2010): 139-160.

⁸ Alexandra Aikhenvald, "Evidentiality in grammar", in *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, Keith Brown (eds.) (Oxford: Elsevier, 2006), 324.

The study of evidentiality as a whole has a long tradition in Linguistics, addressing aspects of modality, grammatical marking, as well as semantic and pragmatic domains. Studies in the field are extensive, ranging from typological descriptions to cognitive linguistic researches⁹. Generally, the term ‘evidentiality’ designates “a linguistic category whose primary meaning is source of information”¹⁰. Thus, evidentials aim to indicate “something about the source of information of the proposition”¹¹. This category may be embedded in verbal markers, though not all languages grammaticalise this category, such as English. Evidentiality can also comprise pragmatic relations and/or entail semantic properties, leading to be regarded as a category on its own or a ‘functional-conceptual domain’¹².

A common source of conflict among scholars is the relation between evidentiality or the “kind of evidence a person has for making factual claims”¹³, and epistemic modality, or “the resulting degree of certainty”¹⁴. Some authors claim that there is a certain overlap between these two notions, such as Crystal. According to him, evidentiality should be considered as

“[a] type of epistemic modality where propositions are asserted that are open to challenge by the hearer, and require justification, [which expresses] [...] a speaker’s strength of commitment to a proposition in terms of the available evidence (rather than in terms of possibility or necessity)”¹⁵.

This view has been labelled as ‘inclusion’, since “one is regarded as falling within the semantic scope of the other”¹⁶. Nevertheless, there is no consensus in the literature concerning this approach. Some experts also following the conflationist view posit that there is a cross-linguistic overlap between evidentiality and epistemic modality but without acknowledging the existence of any superordinate domain¹⁷.

⁹ Roman Jakobson, “Shifters, verbal categories, and the Russian verb”, in *Selected Writings*, vol. II, Roman Jakobson (ed.) (The Hague: Mouton, 1971); Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology* (Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1986); Patrick Dendale and Liliane Tasmowski, “Introduction: evidentiality and related notions”, *Journal of Pragmatics* num 33 (2001); Claudia Brugman and Monica Macaulay, “Characterizing evidentiality”, *Linguistic Typology* Vol: 19 num 2 (2015); Juana I. Marín-Arrese et al., *Evidentiality and Modality in European Languages. Discourse-pragmatic perspectives* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2017); and Lila San Roque and Simeon Floyd “Evidentiality and interrogativity”, *Lingua: an International Review of General Linguistics* num 186/187 (2017), *inter alia*.

¹⁰ Alexandra Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 3.

¹¹ Joan Bybee, *Morphology: a study of the relation between meaning and form* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1985), 184.

¹² Kasper Boye and Peter Harder, “Evidentiality: Linguistic categories and grammaticalization”, *Functions of Language* num 16 (2009).

¹³ Lloyd Anderson, “Evidentials, paths of change, and mental maps: typologically regular asymmetries”, in *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Encoding of Epistemology*, Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols (eds.) (Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1986): 273.

¹⁴ María José Barrios, “The Combination of Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality in Spanish. The Use of Probability Markers and Cognitive Verbs to Express Uncertainty”, in *Evidentiality and Modality in European Languages. Discourse-pragmatic perspectives*, Juana I. Marín-Arrese, María Pérez-Blanco, Julia Lavid, Julia and Elena Domínguez (eds) (Bern: Peter Lang, 2017), 338.

¹⁵ David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (6th ed.) (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 127.

¹⁶ Hanzhen Liu, “Evidentials in Chinese”, *International Journal of Linguistics* Vol: 8 num 2 (2016). Available at <<http://www.macrothink.org/journal/index.php/ijl/article/view/8959>>

¹⁷ Montserrat González et al., “Epistemic and evidential marking in discourse: Effects of register and debatability”, *Lingua* num 186/187 (2017).

Focusing on evidentiality, different taxonomies are found to express the modes of access to the information or evidential types. Aikhenvald¹⁸, for instance, classified this category into visual, non-visual sensory, inference, assumption, hearsay and quotative. According to her, depending on whether there is an overt reference to the quoted source or not, we can identify quotative and hearsay evidentiality, respectively. However not all experts establish such hierarchy concerning reportive evidentiality, neither use the same terminology, as will be seen below.

The present paper presents a comprehensive view of reportive evidentials based on the examination of this phenomenon in the field of linguistics. The indication of the acquisition of knowledge or evidence coming from somebody else's verbal report lacks consensus in the literature regarding its scope and connotations, and so an in-depth analysis of reportive evidentials is required for the establishment of clearer boundaries.

Method

The present theoretical revision of the phenomenon of reportive evidentiality in the discourse arises from the need for clarification of the precise boundaries surrounding reportive markers as regards their scope and relationship with reported speech. There is still an open debate in the field of discourse analysis on the part of linguists and research practitioners over, for instance, whether reportive evidentiality must be dealt with as a synonym of other expressions, such as quotative or hearsay evidence. Besides, its connection with reported speech keeps on being one of the central cores of dispute in linguistics.

Various experts in the field have focused their work on the discussion of the nature of reportive evidentiality and its related notions, which led us to conduct a thorough revision of this linguistic notion. To that aim, we considered relevant sources of information that were included in scientific databases available on the Web, such as *Google Scholar*, *Research Gate*, as well as prestigious scientific journals indexed in the *Web of Science* and/or *Scopus*. The criterion followed in the selection of references was determined by the international scope of the works, as well as their position in the theoretical frameworks found in this domain as applies to reporting.

This paper is the result of an in-depth theoretical revision of the subject of reportive evidentiality, and it is organised as follows: the previous section provides a brief overview of post-truth as a preliminary to introduce the issue of reportive evidentiality and evidentiality as a whole. Section 2 continues a literature review of the conceptualisation of reportive evidentiality and the main taxonomies found in the field. This section finishes with a theoretical discussion of its connection with reported speech. The relationship between reportive evidentials and reported speech markers pays particular attention to the perspective held by Chojnicka¹⁹. Finally, the last section is devoted to the conclusions and suggests some lines for further research in the field.

¹⁸ Alexandra Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹⁹ Joanna Chojnicka. "Reportive evidentiality and reported speech: is there a boundary? Evidence of the Latvian oblique", in *Multiple Perspectives in Linguistic Research on Baltic Languages*, Aurelija Usonienė, Nicole Nau and Ineta Dabašinskienė (eds.) (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012).

Theoretical discussion

Reportive evidentials are one of the main exponents of evidentiality, a phenomenon described as the linguistic marking of the source of evidence²⁰. Reportives imply that “the speaker is not expressing his/her own cognitive material, but is passing on the opinions of others”²¹. Thus, they may be regarded as a way to mitigate responsibility on what has been said (the quoted evidence), which was originally reported by another person. There are different categorisations based on typological data that attempt to provide a full understanding of reportives. Broadly, linguists divide them into several subdomains with reference to the modes of knowing the information²². However, there is a great deal of confusion with regard to the definition, terminology and scope of reportives.

Plungian²³ organises his division taking the term ‘quotative’ as the hypernym to encompass all types of reportive evidentials. He describes this concept as an evidential nuance conveyed to indicate that the speaker was told about a described situation, for instance,

- (1) “They say he’s leaving” or “He is said to have left”²⁴.

He distinguishes some additional notions applied to quotatives, such as “reported speech (presupposing a known author) vs. generalized, second-hand information (presupposing an unknown or non-definite ‘anonymous’ author) vs. tradition or common knowledge (where no personal author is invoked)”²⁵. According to him, quotatives normally reject any kind of personal involvement on the part of the speaker, though he admits that “not all languages are equally sensitive to this property of quotative uses, [...] there are evidential systems which seem to prefer the parameter of speaker’s involvement”²⁶.

Other authors, by contrast, prefer using ‘hearsay’ instead of ‘quotative’ for samples of reported evidence. This is the case of Chafe, who also states that a ‘quotative’ is a “hearsay evidential expressed in [its] most precise and deliberate form”²⁷. For instance, if we consider the following report:

- (2) Last week, Beijing banned Microsoft’s Windows 8 operating system on government computers, laptops and mobile phones, *according to Xinhua [emphasis added]*²⁸.

²⁰ Sümeyra Tosun, Jyotsna Vaid and Lisa Geraci, “Does obligatory linguistic marking of source of evidence affect source memory? A Turkish/English investigation”, *Journal of Memory and Language*, num 69 (2013): 121-134 and Alexandra Aikhenvald, “Evidentials: Their links with other grammatical categories”, *Linguistic Typology*, Vol: 19 num 2 (2015): 239-277.

²¹ Marize Hattner and Mattos Dall’Aglio, “Evidential subtypes and tense systems in Brazilian Native Languages”, *D.E.L.T.A.*, Vol: 33 num1 (2017): 165.

²² Mario Squartini, “Mirative extensions in Romance: evidential or epistemic?”, in *Epistemic Modalities and Evidentiality in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, Zlatka Guentchéva (ed.) (Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2018).

²³ Vladimir Plungian, “The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space”, *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33 (2001).

²⁴ Vladimir Plungian, “The place of... 354.

²⁵ Vladimir Plungian, “The place of... 352.

²⁶ Vladimir Plungian, “The place of... 353.

²⁷ Wallace Chafe, “Evidentiality in English conversation and academic writing”, in *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*, Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols (eds.) (Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1986), 269.

²⁸ Jonathan Kaiman, “China reacts furiously to US cyber-espionage charges”, *The Guardian*. Available at <<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/20/china-reacts-furiously-us-cyber-espionage-charges>>

- (3) El contrabando de gasolina *podría* estar en el origen que ha provocado el accidente [The smuggling of gasoline *could be* at the origin that has caused the accident] [emphasis added]²⁹.

The former reportive evidential (according to) clearly delimits the source of knowledge (Xinhua), whereas the rumour marker using the conditional 'podría' [could be], weakens the presence of the information source in the report, thus being less precise.

Therefore, for Chafe quotative is a hyponym of hearsay, whose scope is more restrictive than in Plungian's classification³⁰. Korotkova³¹ also supports this hierarchy stating that sometimes hearsay evidentials can entail quotative nuances, in particular, in the use of questions and imperatives; both create an effect of "relayed speech act" as the speaker reports a speech act previously performed by a third party³².

Anderson³³, however, chooses a different organisation of reportive evidentials, which has served as the starting point of more recent publications and studies³⁴. He takes 'reportive' as the superordinate and divides it into the following co-hyponyms: "(a) hearsay, (b) general reputation, (c) myth and history (these three being evidentials), and (d) 'quotative' (marginally an evidential)"³⁵. Hence, he does not endorse the position of considering 'quotative' a pure evidential expression, as in the case of the previous mentioned taxonomies.

Another well-known classification of evidentials is the one by Willett³⁶. He bases his hierarchy on a study of 38 American Indian languages. The terminological division of reportive evidentials he suggests is quite distinct, since he distinguishes three subtypes of 'reported' evidence, understood as evidence via verbal report: second-hand, third-hand and folklore³⁷. He defines them as follows³⁸:

²⁹ Salud Hernández-Mora, "Al menos 33 menores mueren en Colombia calcinados tras estallar el autobús en el que viajaban". El Mundo. Available at <<https://www.elmundo.es/america/2014/05/18/53790897e2704ebe7a8b4582.html>>

³⁰ Vladimir Plungian, "The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space", *Journal of Pragmatics*, num 33 (2001): 349-357.

³¹ Natasha Korotkova, "Evidentials and (relayed) speech acts: Hearsay as quotation", in *Proceedings of SALT*, 25, Sarah D'Antonio, Mary Moroney and Carol Rose Little (eds.) (2017).

³² Natasha Korotkova, "Evidentials and... 676.

³³ Lloyd Anderson, "Evidentials, paths of change, and mental maps: typologically regular asymmetries", in *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Encoding of Epistemology*, Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols (eds.) (Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1986).

³⁴ Jan Nuyts, "Evidentiality reconsidered", in *Evidentiality Revisited. Cognitive grammar, functional and discourse-pragmatic perspectives*, Juana Marín-Arrese, Gerda Haßler and Marta Carretero (eds.) (John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2017); Bert Cornillie, "On speaker commitment and speaker involvement. Evidence from evidentials in Spanish talk-in-interaction", *Journal of Pragmatics*, num 128 (2018): 161-170 and Teija Greed, "Evidentiality and related categories in four non-Slavonic languages of the Russian Federation: Bashkir, Even, Lezgi and Tatar" (PhD thesis, University of Helsinki, 2019), among others.

³⁵ Lloyd Anderson, "Evidentials, paths of change, and mental maps: typologically regular asymmetries", in *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Encoding of Epistemology*, Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols (eds.) (Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1986): 289.

³⁶ Thomas Willett, "A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticization of evidentiality", *Studies in Language*, num 12 (1988): 51-97.

³⁷ Thomas Willett, "A cross-linguistic survey... 57.

³⁸ Thomas Willett, "A cross-linguistic survey... 96.

- a. Second-hand evidence (hearsay): “the speaker claims to have heard of the situation described from someone who was a direct witness”. E.g., “he says”.
- b. Third-hand evidence (hearsay): “the speaker claims to have heard about the situation described, but not from a direct witness”. E.g., “I heard”, “I hear tell”, “it is said”, “they say” (impersonal). Thus, it represents information which has been transmitted from one person to another and finally to the speaker.
- c. Folklore: “the speaker claims that the situation described is part of established oral history (fairy tales, mythology, oral literature, proverbs and sayings)”.

This division is very extensive according to some authors, such as Travis, who restricts his classification of reportives to just two categories. He uses ‘reported speech’ in the sense of second-hand evidence and ‘hearsay’ for third-hand and folklore, in Willett’s terms³⁹.

Cruschina and Remberger⁴⁰ tried to provide a refined typology integrating Travis’ division with that of Willett. They divided indirect/reportive evidentiality into second-hand and third-hand. The former included direct and indirect speech and the latter refers to hearsay and folklore.

Another model partly based on Willett was proposed by Aikhenvald. She uses the debatable terms ‘reported’ and ‘quotative’ as distinct categories. Aikhenvald states that

“If a language has two reported type evidentials, the most common distinction is that between reported (stating what someone else has said without specifying the exact authorship) and quotative (introducing the exact author of the quoted report)”⁴¹.

Thus, ‘reported’ implies an unidentified authorship, whereas ‘quotative’ evidentials include an overt reference to the quoted source⁴². Besides, for Aikhenvald the term ‘quotative’ should be applied to those expressions that are “introducing a verbatim quotation of what someone else has said”⁴³. For example,

- (4) ‘He is said to have committed the crime’ (reported) vs. ‘Tom tells me John is the burglar’ (quotative)⁴⁴.

If we compare Aikhenvald’s and Willett’s division of reportives, reported would correspond to third-hand or folklore, whilst quotative would be a synonym of second-hand evidence.

Later on Aikhenvald, together with LaPolla, analysed samples taken from Tibeto-Burman languages and concluded that this distinction (reported vs. quotative) was not a

³⁹ Catherine Travis, “Dizque: a Colombian evidentiality strategy”, *Linguistics*, Vol: 44 num (2006): 1278.

⁴⁰ Silvio Cruschina and Eva-Maria Remberger. “Hearsay and reported speech: evidentiality in Romance”, *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa*, num 33 (2008): 99-120.

⁴¹ Alexandra Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004): 177.

⁴² Alexandra Aikhenvald and Randy LaPolla, “New perspectives on evidentials: a view from Tibeto-Burman”, *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, Vol: 30 num 2 (2007): 211.

⁴³ Alexandra Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 214.

⁴⁴ Elly Ifantidou. *Evidentials and Relevance* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2001).

consistent feature in all of them. In Darma and nDrapa, for instance, the difference cannot be found because these languages have only one type of reportive evidential⁴⁵.

Palmer uses similar terminology to Aikhenvald but with certain divergences. According to him, 'quotative' "indicates that the speaker regards what he has said to be something that everyone knows" and 'hearsay' "indicates that the speaker was told the information given in the sentence by someone else, but has no evidence of its truth value"⁴⁶. Palmer also specifies the different possibilities in the type of subject of the reportive evidence that can arise in the discourse:

"If the quotative is used where there is a verb of reporting in the context, or at least understood from the context, it is clear who is responsible for what is said. If it is not, there is a possible distinction between 'Someone told me...' and 'People say...' [...]. In other languages it may be that no distinction is made. [...] Another possibility is that there is a form to indicate that what is being said is part of a myth or story – that it is what everyone in the society knows"⁴⁷.

Finally, we may find the division of reportives made by Boye, who connects them with the subdivisions established in previous classifications, namely reportive or reportative evidence, hearsay evidence, second-hand evidence, third-hand evidence and quotative⁴⁸. He acknowledges that there have been terminological disagreements tied to the quotative term, which has been taken as a synonym of reportive evidence or hearsay evidence in several descriptions, as in Aikhenvald⁴⁹. Furthermore, he disagrees with her in considering quotative evidentials those expressions that literally reproduce other sources (verbatim reproductions of a previous source). According to him, quotatives should indicate "reportive justification", i.e. some sort of indirect epistemic nuance⁵⁰; then, Boye confers degrees of reliability upon evidential meanings, reportives in this case.

After reviewing all these classifications and viewpoints towards the concept of reportive evidentials, we suggest the use of the term 'reportive' following Anderson⁵¹ or its synonym 'reportative', as Boye⁵² acknowledges, to encompass all types of reportive nuances. This label can in turn be divided into second- or third-hand evidence, following Cruschina and Remberger's⁵³ classification. Nevertheless, those second-hand markers with an overt indication of the information source must be regarded as closer to reported speech rather than under the umbrella of evidentiality, as will be seen further below

⁴⁵ Alexandra Aikhenvald and Randy LaPolla, "New perspectives on evidentials: a view from Tibeto-Burman", *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, Vol: 30 num 2 (2007): 14.

⁴⁶ Frank Palmer. *Mood and Modality* (2nd edition) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 37.

⁴⁷ Frank Palmer. *Mood and...*: 73-74.

⁴⁸ Kasper Boye, *Epistemic Meaning: A Crosslinguistic and Functional-Cognitive Study* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2012), 20.

⁴⁹ Kasper Boye, *Epistemic Meaning...* 32.

⁵⁰ Kasper Boye, *Epistemic Meaning...* 32.

⁵¹ Lloyd Anderson, "Evidentials, paths of change, and mental maps: typologically regular asymmetries", in *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Encoding of Epistemology*, Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols (eds.) (Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1986).

⁵² Kasper Boye, *Epistemic Meaning: A Crosslinguistic and Functional-Cognitive Study* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2012).

⁵³ Silvio Cruschina and Eva-Maria Remberger, "Hearsay and reported speech: evidentiality..."

examining Chojnicka's study⁵⁴. Hence, considering that the notion of reportive evidentiality frequently overlaps with that of reported speech, whenever we approach this issue we should bear in mind that it is indeed a grading scale that cannot set a clear division among its elements.

The relationship between reportive evidentiality and reported speech has also given rise to a heated debate in the literature that continues to this day⁵⁵. This is still an open-ended issue due to the lack of consensus with respect to the extent these categories actually cover. Departing from the acknowledgement of an interconnection between evidentiality and reported speech, we may find distinct positions, for instance, Li⁵⁶ who considers that reported speech is a hyponym of evidentiality, or Fleischmann⁵⁷ claiming that reportive evidentiality is actually a hyponym of reported speech. There are other authors, such as Lampert and Lampert⁵⁸ or Chojnicka⁵⁹, who posit that there is a cline of functions between reported speech and reportive evidentiality, which is the position held in this paper. According to Chojnicka, reportive evidentiality and reported speech may be defined as follows:

“Reportive evidentiality is concerned with marking information as coming from another speaker(s), i.e. indicating that the current speaker has not witnessed the event him/herself but has merely heard about it from other sources [e.g. *allegedly*] (...). Reported speech, on the other hand, brings together tools and devices used for attributing knowledge to another speaker [and] it is usually divided into direct and indirect speech (...) [e.g.] *He said he was tired*”⁶⁰.

Although both terms deal with a similar concept, i.e., information which cannot be attributed to the current speaker/writer, reportive evidentiality focuses more on the coding of somebody else's information and the statement that “there is some evidence”⁶¹, rather than the source of the reported assertion itself. Then, the distinction between reportive evidentiality and reported speech could be formulated according to primary or secondary

⁵⁴ Joanna Chojnicka, “Reportive evidentiality and reported speech: is there a boundary? Evidence of the Latvian oblique”, in *Multiple Perspectives in Linguistic Research on Baltic Languages*, Aurelija Usonienė, Nicole Nau and Ineta Dabašinskienė (eds.) (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012).

⁵⁵ Ilana Mushin, *Evidentiality and Epistemological Stance. Narrative Retelling*. (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2001); Gerda Haßler, “Evidentiality and reported speech in Romance languages”, in *Reported Discourse. A Meeting Ground for Different Linguistic Domains*, Tom Güldemann and Manfred von Roncador (eds.) (2002); Silvio Cruschina and Eva-Maria Remberger, “Hearsay and reported speech: evidentiality in Romance... and Natasha Korotkova, “Evidentials and (relayed) speech acts: Hearsay as quotation”, in *Proceedings of SALT*, 25, Sarah D'Antonio, Mary Moroney and Carol Rose Little (eds.) (2017), *inter alia*.

⁵⁶ Charles Li, “Direct speech and indirect speech: a functional study”, in *Direct and Indirect Speech*, Florian Coulmas (ed.) (Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 1986).

⁵⁷ Suzanne Fleischmann, “Imperfective and irrealis”, *Typological Studies in Language*, num 32 (1995): 519-552.

⁵⁸ Guenther Lampert and Martina Lampert, “Where does evidentiality reside? Notes on (alleged) limiting cases: seem and be like”, in *Database on Evidentiality Markers in European Languages*, Björn Wiemer and Katerina Stathi (eds.) (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010).

⁵⁹ Joanna Chojnicka, “Reportive evidentiality and reported speech: is there a boundary? Evidence of the Latvian oblique”, in *Multiple Perspectives in Linguistic Research on Baltic Languages*, Aurelija Usonienė, Nicole Nau and Ineta Dabašinskienė (eds.) (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012).

⁶⁰ Joanna Chojnicka, “Reportive evidentiality... 173

⁶¹ Alexandra Aikhenvald, “Evidentiality in typological perspective”, in *Studies in Evidentiality*, Alexandra Aikhenvald and Robert Malcolm Ward Dixon (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1.

discourse status, that is, whether or not the information source is part of the propositional content of the utterance, though this issue is debatable, as acknowledged by Boye and Harder⁶².

Although the definition provided by Chojnicka appears to be clear, she recognises that the classification of linguistic markers concerning these two phenomena usually poses a problem in linguistics⁶³.

The present paper advocates the above-introduced viewpoint claimed by Chojnicka⁶⁴ and Lampert and Lampert⁶⁵, who state that there is a cline of functions between reported speech and reportive evidentiality. Nevertheless, despite assuming that there is a continuum between these two criteria, some criteria must be set in order to classify the linguistic units as reported speech markers or evidential ones *per se*. Firstly, the presence of the actual source of information of the reported evidence should be considered in order to differentiate reported speech from reportive evidentiality. According to Chojnicka,

“The original speaker’s perspective is present to the largest extent in direct speech; in indirect speech, the current speaker attributes knowledge to another speaker from his/her own perspective. As the cline moves towards reportive evidentiality, the original speaker’s perspective becomes gradually weaker and is finally lost. When it comes to source, in reported speech it is stated and linked to the reported information, whereas in evidentiality the source is not given. In the middle of the cline, in ambiguous examples, the source is stated implicitly and in context (further away from the reported information, not linked to it)”⁶⁶.

Hence, following the criterion that “the more [the original speaker’s voice] is absent, the more distinctly the example belongs to evidentiality”⁶⁷, we can say that those cases that contain reportive expressions whose information source is unclear, would be nearer evidentiality than the rest of cases with an explicit indication of the information source. For instance, citation segments that include reportive expressions such as ‘allegedly’, ‘was reported’, ‘seemingly’, or the Spanish expression ‘podría’ [could be] should be regarded as falling under the umbrella of reportive evidentiality. Generally, these samples indicate that “there is some sort of basis for the modified proposition, without stating *explicitly* what this basis is” [italics in the original]⁶⁸. Thus, they imply a less overt presence of the original source of information in the reporting segment and, by contrast, a more explicit intervention of the reporting voice.

⁶² Kaster Boye and Peter Harder, “A usage-based theory of grammatical status and grammaticalization”, *Language*, Vol: 8 num 1 (2012): 1-44.

⁶³ Joanna Chojnicka, “Reportive evidentiality and reported speech: is there a boundary? Evidence of the Latvian oblique”, in *Multiple Perspectives in Linguistic Research on Baltic Languages*, Aurelija Usonienė, Nicole Nau and Ineta Dabašinskienė (eds.) (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 173.

⁶⁴ Joanna Chojnicka, “Reportive evidentiality...”

⁶⁵ Guenther Lampert and Martina Lampert, “Where does evidentiality reside? Notes on (alleged) limiting cases: seem and be like”, in *Database on Evidentiality Markers in European Languages*, Björn Wiemer and Katerina Stathi (eds.) (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010).

⁶⁶ Joanna Chojnicka, “Reportive evidentiality... 178-179.

⁶⁷ Joanna Chojnicka, “Reportive evidentiality... 179.

⁶⁸ Monika Bednarek, “Epistemological positioning and evidentiality in English news discourse: a text-driven approach”, *Text & Talk*, Vol: 26 num 6 (2006): 641.

Another principle that may be applied to distinguish reported speech from reportive evidentiality establishes that the reporting segments that are part of the same proposition as the reported content have to be considered closer to evidentiality than those that belong to a distinct proposition. As Chojnicka claims,

“There are always two propositions in reported speech, one denoting a speech event and the other denoting the content of that speech event (...), while evidential information does not form an independent proposition. The consequence of such an approach is that the same device may be an evidential or a reported speech marker, depending on the context”⁶⁹.

Following this viewpoint, if we compare these two sentences:

- (5) *According to the victim’s father*, she has been forced to change her identity five times and is effectively living life “on the run” [emphasis added]⁷⁰
- (6) *Merkel said that* she was not announcing her support for fundamental reform of the EU⁷¹

We may notice that in the former both the reporting and reported segment belong to the same propositional scope, whereas in the latter example the reported segment is a dependent clause, and so the second case should not be considered as a sample of reportive evidentiality. Moreover, a reporting utterance introduced by ‘according to X’ seems to create a distancing effect that its paraphrasing equivalent ‘X said that’ does not. Summarising, this principle establishes that reportive evidentials are “markers that do specify the type of evidence, but not in a separate proposition [as in (6) ‘Merkel said that’] – they encode the information inside the proposition that conveys the content of the report”⁷². However, since the former expression identifies the source of information, this can hardly be considered as prototypical evidential, but rather as an ‘in between’ case.

Apart from these two principles, more and more criteria might keep on coming up in order to distinguish reportive evidentiality from reported speech; however, as Chojnicka claims, there will always be a certain overlap between both categories. As we indicated above,

“The distinction between reported speech and reportive evidentiality [should not be regarded as] a bipolar division, but as a continuum (“cline”) of functions, with distinctly reported-speech uses on one end, distinctly evidential uses on the other, and ambiguous or “merging” uses in-between”⁷³.

From what has been stated previously, it may be inferred that the line dividing reported speech and reportive evidentiality will always be blurred. Thus, regardless of the

⁶⁹ Joanna Chojnicka, “Reportive evidentiality and reported... 175.

⁷⁰ Ched Evans and Sandra Laville, “Ched Evans website referred to CPS over alleged identification of rape victim”, The Guardian. Available at <<https://www.theguardian.com/football/2015/jan/16/ched-evans-website-investigation-identification-rape-victim>> [consulted 8 January 2018] (2015).

⁷¹ Andrew Sparrow, “Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, visits Britain: Politics live blog”, The Guardian. 2014. Available at <<https://www.theguardian.com/uk>>

⁷² Joanna Chojnicka, “Reportive evidentiality and reported... 175.

⁷³ Joanna Chojnicka, “Reportive evidentiality...”, 178.

efforts made to separate both notions, there will always be some overlap at play considering and assessing reporting expressions.

Conclusion

The present paper has reviewed the domain of reportive evidentiality by presenting a theoretical revision of the main taxonomies in the field⁷⁴. Reportive evidentials indicate that another source reported the evidence to the speaker/writer. As it is stated in the methodology section, there is still a need for clarification of the precise boundaries surrounding reportive markers as regards their scope and terminological distinctions.

There is widespread confusion regarding the terms surrounding reportive evidentiality and their possible relationship. As Aikhenvald⁷⁵ indicates, most of the confusion referring to reportive evidentials has to do with the terms 'reported' and 'quotative', whether treated as different, equivalents, or related in the form of hypernym and hyponym, respectively, or vice versa. All these discrepancies exemplify that the issue of reportive evidentiality, its related notions and scope, is yet to be dealt with as an open debate in the area of discourse studies.

We advocate the use of the term 'reportive' to cover all kinds of reportive nuances. This term correlates with Anderson's classification⁷⁶, and can be used as a synonym of the expression 'reportative', as acknowledged by Boye⁷⁷. This label may be divided in turn into second- or third-hand evidence, though second-hand markers that overtly indicate the source of information should be regarded as closer to reported speech rather than reportive evidentiality.

The paper continues by discussing the intersection between the devices of reportive evidentiality and reported speech on the basis of Chojnicka's criteria⁷⁸. We support that there is a cline of functions between both categories; however, some criteria may be established to distinguish reporting expressions, such as the presence of the information source or the propositional scope of the reporting and reported segments.

There are some areas of study that have not been fully explored in this paper that could be a vibrant continuation of this paper. For example, the establishment of a

⁷⁴ Lloyd Anderson, "Evidentials, paths of change, and mental maps: typologically regular asymmetries", in *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Encoding of Epistemology*, Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols (eds.): (Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1986); Wallace Chafe, "Evidentiality in English conversation and academic writing", in *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*, Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols (eds.) (Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1986); Vladimir Plungian, "The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical..."; Alexandra Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Kasper Boye, *Epistemic Meaning: A Crosslinguistic and Functional-Cognitive Study* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2012), among others.

⁷⁵ Alexandra Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Alexandra Aikhenvald, "Information source and evidentiality: what can we conclude?", *Rivista di Linguistica*, Vol: 19 num 1 (2007): 209-227.

⁷⁶ Lloyd Anderson, "Evidentials, paths of change, and mental maps: typologically regular asymmetries", in *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Encoding of Epistemology*, Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols (eds.) (Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1986).

⁷⁷ Kasper Boye, *Epistemic Meaning: A Crosslinguistic and Functional-Cognitive Study* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2012).

⁷⁸ Joanna Chojnicka, "Reportive evidentiality and reported..."

particular scope for evidentiality, to further analyse whether it is a grammatical, semantic or a functional-conceptual category, as described by Boye and Harder⁷⁹. As regards grammatical marking, there are some languages where evidentiality is coded in clitics, morphemes, inflections and other free syntactic elements, leading many to think that evidentiality into a morphosyntactic category on its own⁸⁰. Supporters of this approach claim that the main function of these markers is the indication of secondary information, since they are not part of the main predication of the clause. However, secondariness is not consistent in all evidential cases, which makes it insufficient to justify that evidentiality is a pure grammatical marker⁸¹.

The theoretical approach offered in the last part of the discussion can well be complemented with an examination of the relation between reported speech and modality, in particular the grammatical coding of these transitional phenomena in Romance languages. Moreover, the boundaries between evidentiality and epistemic modality have not been clearly defined as regards reportive evidentiality. Hence, a revision of borderline cases, as well as the establishment of criteria for identifying these cross-linguistic generic categories would be worth exploring.

Analysing all these related notions, their conceptual foundations and boundaries, might lead us to conclude that the only fact we may be completely sure of is that evidentiality marks the source of evidence⁸². Languages can express a wide range of attitudes towards knowledge, and evidentials are the perfect embodiment of such amalgam of nuances.

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⁷⁹ Kasper Boye and Peter Harder, "Evidentiality: Linguistic categories and grammaticalization", *Functions of Language* 16 (2009).

⁸⁰ Lloyd Anderson, "Evidentials, paths of change, and mental maps: typologically regular asymmetries", in *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Encoding of Epistemology*, Wallace Chafe and Johanna Nichols (eds.) (Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1986); and Alexandra Aikhenvald, "Evidentiality and language contact", in *Oxford Handbook of Evidentiality*, Alexandra Aikhenvald (ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

⁸¹ Kasper Boye and Peter Harder, "Evidentiality: Linguistic categories and grammaticalization", *Functions of Language* num 16 (2009): 9-43.

⁸² Gerda Haßler, "Evidentiality and reported speech in Romance languages", in *Reported Discourse. A Meeting Ground for Different Linguistic Domains*, Tom Güldemann and Manfred von Roncador (eds.) (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2002), 18.

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