Dizque and other emergent evidential forms in Romance languages

Asier Alcázar

1. Introduction

This section defers the contextualization and definition of technical terms such as *grammatical* and *lexical evidentiality*, and potential bridges between them, *evidential strategies* and *emergent evidentials*, to the introduction of this volume and the references presented therein. Suffice it to say that the italicized terms are used in the sense of Aikhenvald (2004). Evidential strategies in general, and emergent evidentials in particular are at the centre of an important debate: whether or not lexical and grammatical evidentiality stand in a continuum (Squartini 2007b, Aikhenvald 2007; Diewald and Smirnova 2011). There remains insufficient evidence to resolve this question satisfactorily for now, because comprehensive descriptions of emergent evidentials, the forms that seem to straddle the line, are hard to come by. *Dizque* 'they.say.that' (ex. 1 cf. Alcázar 2014), an emergent evidential in Spanish, along with similar developments in Romance (Cruschina and Remberger 2008; Casseb Galvão 2001 on Brazilian Portuguese *diz que*), lie at the centre of this debate.

(1)   a.   *Dic-e-n*   *que*   *llegaron*   *tarde*

          say-THV-3PL   COMP   arrive   late

          'They say that they arrived late'

     b.   *Dizque*   *llegaron*   *tarde*

          DIZQUE   arrive   late

          '*Dizque* they arrived late'

The body of work on *dizque* is increasing, and gaining momentum. It has attracted the attention of formal and functional approaches to the study of language (typology, cognitive linguistics, generative grammar, corpus linguistics…). Yet the answer to most of the questions raised in this chapter are very much open to future debate. Further research and analysis are necessary.

The introduction is structured as follows: general characteristics of *dizque* are presented first (§1.1), followed by ongoing investigations into *dizque* and other emergent forms (§1.2), and theories regarding its origin (§1.3). The introduction ends with an outline of the review (§1.4). Due to space limitations, contact phenomena in the use of *decir* 'say' is excluded (see Klee and Lynch 2009, Andrade-Ciudad 2007, and references therein). The same goes for other potentially evidential phenomena (*dequeísmo*—the unnecessary addition of *de* 'of' with complementizer *que* 'that', Schwenter 1995, inter alios; uses of *como* 'like', Brucart 2009).

1.1. General characteristics of *dizque*

Decades after the pioneer work of Kany (1944) in diverse Latin American as well as Peninsular Spanish dialects, *dizque* has received due attention again, this time by scholars interested in evidentiality (Olbertz 2005, 2007: Mexican, Ecuadorian and Old Peninsular; Travis 2006: Colombian; López Izquierdo 2006: Old Peninsular; Lamy 2008: Panamanian; Babel 2009: Bolivian). These works are surveyed in Alcázar (2014), with reference to the grammaticalization of the form, and in an attempt to elucidate its origin. This survey concludes that there are two types of categories with evidential meaning, in a continuum. One is a PARTICLE; the other is a VERBAL MODIFIER.

PARTICLE *dizque* has a syntactic distribution of a parenthetical in that its position in the sentence is relatively unrestricted (see Kaltenböck et al 2011: 852-4 on general characteristics of

parentheticals; pp. 855-6 and references therein on other terms used). *Dizque* may have originated as a parenthetical verb in the third person (on parenthetical verbs in the first person, see Urmston 1952: 491). It has diverse semantic and pragmatic functions, to include quotative, reportative, indirect evidence, epistemic and mirative uses.[1] It is thus difficult to establish what the primary meaning of the form might be, but scholars have consistently pointed to the evidential function as primary. In its evidential uses, it is optional. Regardless of its semantic or pragmatic import, its scope is variable (predicate, constituent, sentential), as it may be expected in a particle. Yet associations are made between scope and interpretation (Travis 2006, Olbertz 2007), constituents and predicates readily associating with epistemic uses, while sentential scope is more likely interpreted as an evidential. Colombian, Mexican, Panamian and Old Peninsular feature a form of *dizque* that behaves like a particle.

VERBAL MODIFIER *dizque* creates a new syntactic unit with the verb (Olbertz 2005). Semantically, it has a primary evidential function (indirect evidence). Epistemic associations are absent or weak (see Cruschina and Remberger 2008 for similar characteristics in other Romance forms). Its scope is exclusively sentential. It may be semi-obligatory and exhibit collocations with the lexical verb *decir* 'say'. *Dizque* as a verbal modifier is likely a sentential category (Cinque 1999, Speas and Tenny 2003). It has characteristics expected of a grammatical evidential. In Ecuadorian Spanish, *dizque* is a verbal modifier. In Bolivian Spanish, *dizque* may not yet form a unit with the verb, but it is on its way. This form, particularly in Ecuadorian Spanish, merits consideration as a grammatical evidential.

The evolution from a particle use to a sentence level particle, to a verbal modifier suggests a continuum between lexical and grammatical evidentiality. Yet this may be the only well-documented case. The relationship of evidentiality to epistemic modality in earlier particle-

like stages requires further research. On the face of it, it appears to contradict de Haan (1999) and Aikhenvald (2004, 2007) in their separation of evidentiality from epistemic modality. That said, this may be an epiphenomenon of subjectification in primary grammaticalization (Traugott and Dasher 2002). Evolution into a grammatical evidential with sentential scope appears to be accompanied by a loss of epistemic (and mirative) uses that were associated with the earlier particle use.

1.2 Ongoing investigations into *dizque* and other emergent forms

Current studies of *dizque* focus on a number of varieties of Latin American Spanish and Portuguese. de la Mora and Maldonado (2015) present data where Mexican *dizque* is primarily epistemic, in contrast to previous research in Mexican Spanish, and other dialects. Treviño (2008), Demonte and Fernández Soriano (2013, 2014), de la Mora and Maldonado (2015) argue that complementizer *que* has reportative uses (in Mexican Spanish it co-occurs with *dizque*, de la Mora and Maldonado). With a different dialectal distribution, in Peninsular Spanish, Porroche-Ballesteros (2000) had viewed similar uses as reportative, and Etxepare (2007, 2010) as quotative. A highly relevant, yet lesser-known contribution, is that of Miglio (2010), a diachronic study based on several historical corpora (but see also López Izquierdo 2006). Miglio argues that *dizque* began grammaticalization by the 13th century in impersonal uses; that is, prior to contact with indigenous languages of South America, as an evidentiality strategy: 'the context in which it was used, in historical or legal prose, even cases of personal occurrences of *decir* tended to have an inanimate subject, often 'the document' or 'the law'' (p. 14). The following example refers to Roman times: *et **diz que** auia ally vna puente de canto con un arco muy grand que cogie este rio todo* or 'And *diz que* there was a stone bridge there whose arch spanned the whole river' (Alfonso X, Estoria de España, Corpus del español, corpusdelespanol.org, 1200s; cf. Miglio

2010: p. 14, in-text example). Miglio also points to calques from Latin as a potential source (*dicitur* 'it is said (that)'). In her dissertation on the use of Bolivian Spanish in bilingual communities, Quartararo (2015) suggests that *digamos* 'let's say' (as a form of *decir* 'say') can be interpreted as a further evidential (additional to *dizque*). This form has evidential and epistemic uses.

The analysis of *dizque* lies at the centre of rapidly evolving assumptions regarding the complexity of languages without grammatical evidentiality. This is an active line of research in the community, but finds itself at its early stages. Preliminary assumptions include that western Indo-European languages, for example, do not possess incipient forms of emergent evidentials, but are limited to semi-lexical, polysemous forms (Spanish *parecer* 'seem', Cornillie 2007a, 2007b), and (pragmatic) extensions of non-evidential categories, such as tense or modality (see again Squartini 2001, 2007b, Aikhenvald 2004, 2007). Spanish stands apart from other Romance languages in that it features emergent evidentials *dizque*, *que* and *digamos*, as well as compositional evidentials in *que dizque* and (potentially) *quesque* (de la Mora and Maldonado 2015). Are Spanish and Portuguese different from Romance languages in being in contact with indigenous languages of South America (and Basque)? Or is lexical evidentiality substantially more complex than we previously entertained?

1.3 Theories regarding the origin of *dizque*

Diverse evidence supports three hypotheses (Alcázar 2014). First, *dizque* could be due to SUBSTRATE INFLUENCE from indigenous languages of South America with grammatical evidentiality (and mirativity). It seems safe to assume that contact with Quechua has at least accelerated the evolution of *dizque* in Ecuadorian and Bolivian Spanish (Olbertz 2005, Babel 2009). Due to the early presence of *dizque* in the seed dialect (CORDE, Historical Corpus of the

Royal Spanish Academy), Basque substrate influence cannot be completely ruled out. The

second hypothesis is HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT across Spanish dialects and/or Romance. Kany

(1944) offers evidence in favor of *dizque* as a Pan-Hispanic phenomenon, dating back to Old

Spanish, regardless of language contact situations. Parallel developments are underway in

Romance, as noted. The patterns attested in these languages do not differ from others found

across languages (Aikhenvald 2004; see note 2). This second hypothesis is thus tenable, and

compatible with indigenous languages of South America accelerating grammaticalization in

Spanish and Portuguese. In effect, the evidential interpretation of *dizque* is supported by

Quechua varieties where *dizque* is borrowed from Spanish as an additional reported evidential

(de Granda 2003: 123-29). Related to the second, a third hypothesis is NATIVE DEVELOPMENT.

Taken collectively, recent research casts Spanish as a language with multiple emergent evidential
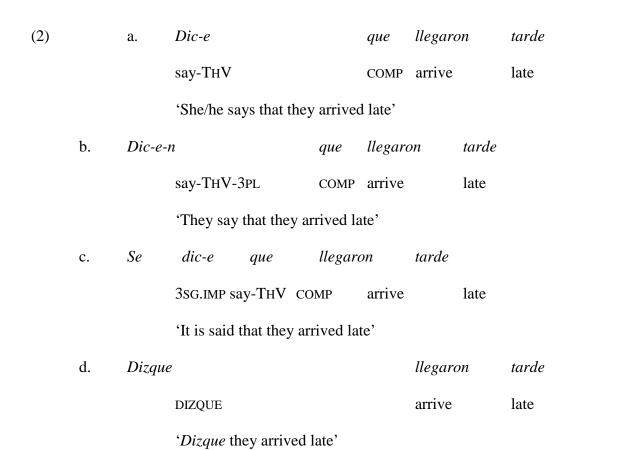
forms.[2]

1.4 Chapter outline

Section 2 discusses the status of *dizque* with reference to its interpretation and syntactic

distribution. Section 3 reviews competing analyses of evidential *que*, and it introduces the

emergent evidential *digamos*. Section 4 presents an overview of diverse lexical means to express

indirect evidence in Spanish, along with evidentiality strategies. Section 5 presents the

conclusions.

2. *Dizque* in Latin American and Peninsular Spanish

In contrast to lexical/semi-grammatical means (§4) and, to a certain extent, evidential *que* and

digamos (§3), *dizque* presents advanced features of grammaticalization (see Giacolone Ramat

and Topadze 2007). *Dizque* (2d) is phonologically reduced, a merger of *decir* 'say' with the

complementizer of its complement clause (2abc; 2 is adapted and expanded from Alcázar 2014, ex. 1). *Dizque* is the citation form commonly used in the specialized literature. Note that Kany (1944) had already presented severely reduced forms (*ihke*).[3] In the following sections, we will see examples where *dizque* appears in multiple syntactic positions where the original verb and complementizer could not occur. The form *dizque* originally consisted of a lexical verb 'say' and a complementizer. As a result of grammaticalization, the composite form *dizque* changed its status and developed into a particle or verbal modifier. As such, it acquired new evidential and epistemic functions.

(2)   a.   *Dic-e*   *que*   *llegaron*   *tarde*

say-THV   COMP   arrive   late

'She/he says that they arrived late'

b.   *Dic-e-n*   *que*   *llegaron*   *tarde*

say-THV-3PL   COMP   arrive   late

'They say that they arrived late'

c.   *Se*   *dic-e*   *que*   *llegaron*   *tarde*

3SG.IMP say-THV COMP   arrive   late

'It is said that they arrived late'

d.   *Dizque*   *llegaron*   *tarde*

DIZQUE   arrive   late

'*Dizque* they arrived late'

It may not be possible to establish what the particular source of *dizque* is in (2). It could be (a)

third person singular or (b) plural form, or (c) the impersonal passive (but see Miglio 2010).

This section is structured in three parts. The more familiar data and analysis of *dizque* as an evidential with epistemic and mirative extensions is presented first (§2.1). A brief comparison follows of the semantics and pragmatics of *dizque* with Romance developments and Brazilian Portuguese (§2.2). The data and epistemic analysis of de la Mora and Maldonado (2015), which includes compositional evidentials, concludes this section (§2.3).

2.1 *Dizque* as an emergent evidential form

Dizque is widely characterized by two meanings not yet recorded for *digamos* (§3): quotative (3) and reportative (4). The following examples are taken from Travis (2006), who studied Colombian Spanish. Regarding the reportative function, Travis notes that *dizque* may function as a neutral reportative, where the speaker asserts there is a source of evidence. Alternatively, *dizque* is also used to cast doubt on the information relayed (p. 1284). Travis also talks of a *labeling function* (a strong disclaimer where the speaker does not vouch for the information). Labeling uses seem to be limited to constituent scope.

(3)   A: *Y yo* dizque

        M: @@@

        A: [XXX], <VOX *mi amor*, *A qué horas fue que llegamos* VOX:?>

        Y <@ *no,* dizque @>, <VOX No=, *hace como dos o tres horas* VOX>

        Y hacia como media hora acabábamos de llegar.

        Angela: 'And I *dizque*,'

        María: @@@

Angela: 'XXX, 'Darling, what time did we get home?' And no, *dizque*, 'No, two or

three hours ago.' And we'd only just got home about half an hour before.'

Travis (2006: 1281-2; ex. 6)

(4)   *porque dizque iba a enterrar a una persona*

'because dizque she was going to bury a person'

Travis (2006: 1282; ex. 9)

Working on Mexican Spanish, Olbertz (2007) finds a correlation between the relative

length of the constituent modified (or scope) and evidential or epistemic meaning. In predicative

adjuncts and verbs (5) 'the expression of epistemic modality has in fact become the exclusive

function of *dizque*' (p. 161). Adjectives (6) favor an epistemic interpretation. Yet when *dizque*

modifies constituents and, specially sentences, the preferred interpretation is evidential.

(5)   *- Pues, ¿qué oíste?*

Una cosa que dijeron los del gobierno ese dizque *provisional*

'- So, what did you hear?

Something that those people of that *supposedly* provisional government said'

Olbertz (2007: 161, ex. 22; cf. *La casta divina* by Felipe Victoria Zepada)

(6)   *A los seis meses de andar* dizque *gobernando se puso enfermo*.

'After having gone about *pretending* to rule for six months he fell ill.'

Olbertz (2007: 162, ex. 25; cf. *Arráncame la vida* by Ángeles Mastretta)

In other dialects of Spanish, as noted, *dizque* becomes closer to a grammatical evidential.

Babel (2009) focuses on Bolivian Spanish, where *diz(que)/dice* marks direct/indirect speech and

reported information (7). In the example we can see double marking. According to Babel, Bolivian *diz(que)* is 'a true evidential, a reportative marker' (p. 10) and it is semi-obligatory. She acknowledges epistemic uses similar to Colombian Spanish, yet these do not undermine establishing evidentiality as the primary function of Bolivian *diz(que)*. In Bolivian Spanish, there is no apparent relationship between scope and interpretation noted for Colombian and Mexican Spanish (Babel, p.c.). Bolivian *diz(que)* sits somewhere between the particle use and the verbal modifier use.

(7)   dizque *ahicito*   *estaba*   *el   charango*

        dice

                        right.over.there   was   the musical.instrument

        '*dizque* the musical instrument was over there *dice*'

        (Babel 2009: 14, ex.1; spoken corpus)

Olbertz (2005) studied Ecuadorian Spanish. Ecuadorian Spanish differs from Bolivian Spanish in two distinctive ways in that *dizque* can only modify sentences and its syntactic position is not variable. It occupies the immediately preverbal position, even in negative sentences (8). For Olbertz (8) demonstrates that *dizque* + V constitutes a complex verbal construction (p. 90). With particular reference to the quotative function, it presents a semi-obligatory collocation with the verb *decir* 'say' (9). Thus, *dizque dijo* has become a conventional way of framing a speech report.

(8)   *No*   dizque *pod-ían*   *pag-a-r*   *a nadie*

            NEG   can-3PL.PST   pay-THV-INF   to nobody

'*They say* they could not pay anybody'

(Olbertz 2005: 7, ex. 27; Salcedo)[4]

(9)   *'Patrón   se   enoja   conmigo'*   dizque *dijo él.*

        boss   3SG.REFL   get.angry   with.me   said he

''My boss gets angry with me', he said.'

(Olbertz 2005: 5, ex. 16; Salcedo)

The association of epistemic modality to evidential interpretations in other Romance

languages, for forms similar to *dizque*, ranges from the *rather epistemic* to the *barely epistemic*.

2.2 Comparison with other Romance languages: focus on Brazilian Portuguese

Regarding emergent evidentials in Romance, evolutions parallel to Spanish *dizque* are attested in

Galician, Romanian, Sardinian, and Sicilian, where the evidential meaning is core and its relation

to subjectivity is tenuous (Cruschina and Remberger 2008; see also French *Il dit*, Hassler 2002,

López Izquierdo 2006; and Romanian, Friedman 2000; Romanian is spoken in the Balkans

linguistic area, whose one characteristic feature is evidentiality). Cruschina and Remberger

compare the semantics of Colombian *dizque* with its European counterparts: 'the labeling

function is less easy to find - perhaps even impossible - in the varieties under discussion. It is

also not yet clear whether each variety has a genuine dubitative […] or if the dubitative

interpretation is due to pragmatic implicatures.' (p. 13). By contrast, Brazilian Portuguese *diz que*

displays such uses. Casseb Galvão's (2001) detailed study of non-predicative *diz que* finds many

evidential and some epistemic functions. *Diz que* features a diversity of quotative and

reportative/hearsay uses; narrative uses 'once upon a time…' (see Adelaar 1977, McLendon

2003, Aikhenvald 2004, Ch. 10); strengthening of a presumed truth/general knowledge; inferential and epistemic uses (to include disclaimers of not vouching for the information presented). Under the analysis presented in Alcázar (2014), the presence or absence of these epistemic uses can be taken as markers of primary and secondary grammaticalization (Traugott and Dasher 2002). Discrepancies among these forms do not signal inconsistency but an ongoing process of grammaticalization. Having said that, there is one particular case, in Mexican Spanish, where *dizque* appears to be primarily epistemic (de la Mora and Maldonado 2015). We turn to this issue next.

2.3 *Dizque* as an epistemic form and compound evidentials *que dizque* and *quesque*

De la Mora and Maldonado (2015) present corpus data and interview questionnaires in their analysis of *dizque*, and less frequent forms *quesque* and *que dizque*. The authors argue that, in *dizque* and *quesque*, the dominant interpretation is epistemic (doubt, falsity, pretending): about 90% and 66%, respectively. Speakers find *dizque* and *quesque* to be interchangeable (the authors find minor differences). The authors consider that *quesque* could be compositional if it derives from *que* + *es que* (a weak explicative, in their view). A critical factor not considered is the scope of these forms. We know through the work of Travis (2006) and Olbertz (2007) that there are correlations between interpretation and scope, constituent and predicate level scope being strongly or exclusively identified with epistemic interpretation. The authors may have intended to talk about scope correlations: 'As a nominal modifier dizque undertakes evaluative meanings, as a clause modifier it undertakes epistemic meanings' [cf. abstract]. The issue of the potential scope of *dizque* remains outstanding. A review of the data could contradict the authors and throw results similar to those reported earlier.

According to de la Mora and Maldonado, the reportative function of *dizque* is 'salvaged' by co-occurrence with reportative *que* (about half of the uses are reportative). Consider the following example (10 cf. p. 9, ex. 22; emphasis in the original).

(10)   *No supo nunca lo que había hecho; usted cree, que dizque el guey lo hizo para las*

        señoras embarazadas

        'He never knew what he had done; can you believe it? **Que dizque (he said that he**

        supposedly) did that for the pregnant women' (CREA [corpus], Fiction, 1991)

The authors claim this is an interaction between evidentiality and epistemic modality: 'The reportative part is taken care of by *que*, while the epistemic meaning is encoded by *dizque*.' (p. 9). This may be the case. In an alternative interpretation of *que dizque*, both could be viewed as evidentials. Evidential stacking is a familiar phenomenon in the evidential literature (Eastern Pomo, McLendon 2003; Aikhenvald 2004, San Roque et al 2015). In the alternative analysis these emergent evidentials emulate a characteristic associated with grammatical evidentiality.

The change to a predominantly epistemic form in 20th century Mexican Spanish is presented as also innovative in morphosyntactic changes and new epistemic interpretations. For example, 'Even more innovative changes are to be found in the twentieth century. […] *dizque* has undergone a shift to modify nouns, adjectives and prepositional phrases instead of sentential complements' (p. 4). The syntactic changes are not innovative. The authors must have missed that, in López Izquierdo (2006, written in French), subsentential scope for constituents and predicates was attested in the (very) early 16th century. By then, those scope possibilities already appeared to be epistemic (cf. López Izquierdo: pp. 491-93). If one has access to the literature on

dizque, epistemic uses of doubt, falsity, or pretending do not seem innovative (cf. references in this chapter; *bragging* might be new, although this is only mentioned in the abstract).

The authors see *dizque* as a formerly evidential form. It is important to clarify what this means. The literature they refer to (p. 4) does not report a prior evidential-only use, Miglio (2010) excepted. The evidential-only uses of the 13th century concern impersonal uses of the (still) verb *decir* 'say' and (still) complementizer *que* 'that'; that is, a necessary, preliminary step. López Izquierdo documents the grammaticalization of the form into four stages. It is in the second stage (15th to 17th century) where *diz que/dizque* aquires a new syntactic behavior. It is in this stage where epistemic uses are found as well (pp. 491-93). I am not aware of an evidential-only *dizque*, understood as a particle or adverbial with category change. Evidential and epistemic interpretations surface together. But the latter may be an epiphenomenon, as noted.

de la Mora and Maldonado lament that only a few scholars 'recognize' the mirative interpretations of *dizque* (Olbertz 2007, Miglio 2010; but also Kany 1944). The authors view mirative extensions as epistemic. While mirativity is a category independent of evidentiality (§2.2), it strongly associates to grammatical evidentiality: mirativity is 'indubitably related' to evidentiality (DeLancey 1997: 33). This is not the case with epistemic modality according to de Haan (1999) and Aikhenvald (2004). Mirative interpretations associate *dizque* with evidentiality (or emanate from evidentiality), rather than separate it.

3. Other emergent forms: *Que* and *digamos*

This section begins discussing evidential uses of the complementizer *que* (§3.1). Although the specialized literature has concentrated on *dizque*, arguably, as Demonte and Fernández Soriano (2013, 2014) defend, certain root clause uses of *que*, where *que* is not introduced by a verb of

speech, constitute a grammatical evidential form in the language. An overview of Quartararo

(2015) on *digamos* follows (§3.2).

3.1 Evidential uses of *que*

With reference to the peninsular dialect, Etxepare (2007, 2010) and Demonte and Fernández

Soriano (2013, 2014) examine certain uses of complementizer *que* without a verb of speech in

what appear to be root clauses (e.g., 'Hey, THAT Barcelona has won the Champions League',

adapted from Etxepare 2007, see 11a), as well as certain paratactic and subordinate contexts (not

shown). The authors disagree on the analysis of the data. Etxepare adopts the view that many

such uses can be brought under the umbrella of a quotative function. For Demonte and

Fernández Soriano, some of Etxepare's data is better analyzed as 'echoic' sentences that repeat or

reiterate the information that was presented before (8b). Verbs of communication may underlie

other uses (12a). Yet (11), Demonte and Fernández Soriano argue, are better analyzed as

reportative (11-12 cf. Demonte and Fernández Soriano 2013: 3; exs. 1-2).[5]

(11)　a.　*Oye,　que el Barça　ha ganado　la Champions.*

　　　　listen　that the Barça　has won　　the　Champions-League

　　　　(Etxepare 2007: 25–26)

　　b.　*Que　el　paquete　no　ha　llegado*

　　　　That　the parcel　　not　has　arrived

(12)　a.　*Que　si　me　das　un　kilo de tomates*

　　　　that　if　to-me　you-give　one kilo of tomatoes

　　　　'(I have said that) if I can have one kilo of tomatoes.'

　　b.　Speaker A

> –*No me he acordado de sacar las entradas*
>
> not REFL I-have remembered of get the tickets
>
> 'I did not remember to get the tickets.'
>
> –*¿Qué no te has acordado?*
>
> that not REFL you-have remembered
>
> '(Are you saying/do you mean) that you did not remember?'
>
> (Porroche-Ballesteros 2000: 104)

Beyond the plurality of functions of complementizer *que* (e.g, see Porroche-Ballesteros 2000, inter alios), these examples are complicated by MIRATIVE READINGS.[6] These may not simply be pragmatically intertwined with quotative and/or reportative functions. They could be dominant (see 12b, and below)—authors may have ruled out mirative readings as pragmatic extensions. Demonte and Fernández Soriano (2014: 12; ex. 16) illustrate the use of reportative *que* with first person subjects (13). This creates what is known as a 'first person effect', that is, a mirative interpretation involving surprise and unprepared mind. Such an effect is widely reported for indirect evidence markers in grammatical evidential systems (Aikhenvald 2004: 219-31). It is one of several arguments they offer to consider reportative *que* a grammatical evidential.[7]

(13)　a.　Scenario: Listening to the lottery results, someone suddenly hears his number:

　　　　(*Oye,*) **que** *he ganado la lotería.*

　　　　Listen that I-have won the lottery [Surprise]

　　b.　Scenario: Someone receives a letter saying that she has been nominated Dean:

(Oye,) que   soy   la   *nueva*   *decana.*

Listen that   I-am   the   new   dean [Unawareness]

c.   Scenario: There is a party, the bell rings, a neighbor complains about the noise:

(Oye,) que somos muy ruidosos y   *tenemos que irnos.*

Listen that we-are very noisy   and we-have to leave [Surprise,

disagreement]

3.2 *Digamos*

One of the forms studied by Quartararo (2015) is *digamos* 'let's say'. Her dissertation examines

Bolivian bilingual communities. The forms considered include the verb *decir* 'say', and *dizque*

(low frequency in her elicitation tasks). Beyond the expected lexical meaning of *digamos*, she

finds evidential and epistemic uses. These are not limited to a contact situation with Quechua.

They are attested in monolingual communities (e.g., Peninsular Spanish and Italian). Her

research may lead to mirror studies in Romance and other languages.

Quartararo finds the three most frequent lexical uses of *digamos* are (i) paraphrasing (14),

(ii) self-correction, and (iii) exemplification. Evidential uses seem to be restricted to inferences.

If reported information is excluded in *digamos*, it may be, as Quartararo suggests, because it

could be conditioned in the nature of the experiment (elicitation tasks). Like *dizque*, *digamos* has

epistemic uses. In the particular context of elicitation tasks, the speaker may imply a disclaimer

in the weakness of the inference. *Digamos* tends to associate with low validation (at least in this

context). Scope varies: *digamos* expresses inference with sentential scope in (15a); predicate

level scope in (15b). These examples need to be understood in context, in relation to the

deductions or conjectures the subjects make in the elicitations tasks.

(14)   A: *aquí se mofan/ digamos / se hacen la burla / dig-ah no aquí está un chiquito.*

'here they mock me / *digamos* / they make fun / sa[y]-ah no here is a small one'

(cf. ex. 25a; 9_SP_TASK: 7)

(15)   a.   A: *con su pareja vivía bien digamos ¿no ve?* [...].

(cf. ex. 42; 3_SP_TASK: 9)

'she[or he] got along with her partner *digamos* can't you see?'

b.   A: [...] *después de eso / ya había sido esta persona de un lugar / digamos rural ¿no?*

[...]

'after that / this person had already been from a place / *digamos* rural'

(cf. ex. 40; 3_SP_TASK: 14)

Quartararo's data and analysis are relevant for several reasons. One is that *decir* 'say' appears to gain evidential functions outside *dizque*, in what constitutes a **second emergent evidential**. *Digamos* is less grammaticalized than the verbal modifier in Ecuadorian *dizque*: the former features variable scope (predicate, constituent, sentential scope) and epistemic extensions. *Digamos* also seems less grammaticalized than particle *dizque*. In the former, it would seem than phonological reduction has not yet taken place. Considering these characteristics, *digamos* can be accounted for under Aikhenvald's (2004, 2007) position.

4. Lexical evidentiality in Spanish

This section presents an overview of diverse means to express evidential meaning in Spanish: lexical, semi-grammatical forms, and set expressions (§4.1); evidential and mirative strategies (§4.2).

4.1 Lexemes and semi-grammatical forms

In the interest of space, Table 1 (16, cf. Alcázar 2011) is an efficient, concise overview of the array of lexical and semi-grammatical resources to express indirect evidence in contemporary journalistic prose (Peninsular). The data was extracted from a parallel corpus of consumer reports, the *Consumer Eroski Parallel Corpus* (Alcázar 2007). CEPC is a tetralingual corpus, consisting of Spanish originals, and translations into Basque, Catalan, and Galician. Table 1 is limited to reported evidence. The data was collected performing a search for the proclitic *omen* 'reported evidence' in Basque translations. The Spanish originals were collected and analyzed. The original Spanish sentences contain forms that, in the eyes of Basque translators, merit the use of *omen*. This is not tantamount to saying that said Spanish forms are restricted to expressing reported evidence alone. For example, Cornillie (2007a, 2007b) finds that *parecer* 'to seem', the most frequent form in Table 1, is also used for inference and various epistemic uses.

(16)   **Table 1**. Evidentiality strategies replaced by OMEN and their frequency.

Spanish ES	Frequency	Percentage	Translation
NB: In 23% of all cases there is no ES in Spanish	40	23.1	
parece (18), *parecen* (4),… it seems, they seem, ...	26	15.0	
se estima it is estimated	11	6.3	
al parecer (5), *aparentemente* (2)	7	4.0	

apparently, apparently			
se calcula it is calculated	6	3.4	
se considera (4), *considerarse* (1), ... it is considered, to consider.REFL	6	3.4	OMEN
se prevé (4), *se prevén* (1) it is/they are foreseen	5	2.8	
dicen (3), *dice* (1) they say, he/she says	4	2.3	
se atribuyen (3), *se atribuye* (1) they are/it is attributed to	4	2.3	
pretende (2), *se pretende* (1), ... plans, it is planned	4	2.3	
todavía (2), *aún* (1) still, yet	3	1.7	
supuestamente supposedly	2	1.1	
<u>NB</u>: other forms (mostly single occurrences of verbs)	55	31.7	
TOTAL	173	100	

In the table, we can see a diversity of elements that can be recruited to express reported evidence in Spanish. An important observation to make, at the top of the table, is that translators

insert omen in about a quarter of the sentences for which it is chosen, when, in fact, the Spanish original does not use any apparent reported evidence marking. Another, at the bottom of the table, is that the expression of reported evidence is **highly dispersed**, mostly carried out by single occurrences of verbs. The semi-auxiliary *parecer* 'to seem' is the most frequent form. *Parecer* has been described in non-evidential terms in earlier literature. It has been considered to be a near-copulative verb, raising verb and semi-modal form in its relation to the expression of probability and certainty (Bolinger 1972, Hernanz 1982, Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1986, Porroche Ballesteros 1990, Fernández Leborans 1999, Fernández de Castro 1999, Gómez Torrego 1999, Di Tullio 2005). In more recent studies, *parecer* has been analyzed either as an evidential or epistemic/evidential semi-auxiliary (Bermúdez 2002, Cornillie 2007a, 2007b, Ferrari 2009, 2010). By contrast, most other forms have gone unnoticed. Among these, we find impersonal passives, like *it is estimated*, *it is considered* or *it is calculated*; the future-oriented *anticipate*, *foresee*; and adverbials like *supposedly*, *apparently*. Such forms are sometimes the subject of study of lexical evidentiality (e.g. Hassler 2007 on French, inter alios). Beyond the lexical markers presented in the table, many other forms exist (e.g., adverbials such as *por lo visto* 'apparently', González-Ramos 2005; or the perfect conditional characteristic of journalistic prose, see next section).

Looking back at earlier stages of the language, Miglio (2010) finds set expressions in Colonial Spanish (1500-1800) that express evidentiality. Some of these set expressions are still in use, like '*tengo entendido que* 'I have heard that' 'or '*tengo por cierto* 'I know for a fact''. Other set expression are out of use: '*Soy informado (y tengo muy certificado) que* 'I have been informed (and it has been guaranteed to me that)' ' or '*sé decir y afirmo que* 'I can say and state that' ' (2010: 16). As we can see from all of the above examples in this subsection, Spanish finds

ample need to indicate information source, even if it lacks a system of grammatical evidentiality. This need also manifests in extensions of the use of other grammatical categories in the language.

4.2. Evidential strategies and mirative strategies

Parallel to lexical and semi-grammatical forms, Spanish has diverse evidential strategies, or evidential extensions of non-evidential categories (Aikhenvald 2004). Modality and tense are two such categories (see Squartini 2001 on Romance). Aikhenvald (2004: 143) reports on some of these for Spanish, although most of the examples concern varieties in contact with indigenous languages of South America or bilingual communities. For example, in Bolivian Spanish (referring to Laprade 1981) the pluperfect can have overtones of indirect evidence with strong disclaimers and mirative interpretation, which Laprade suggests come from Aymara.

Avellana (2013) points to varying interpretations of the pluperfect that depend on which indigenous languages of South America Spanish is in contact with. Thus, in northwestern Argentina, Spanish is in contact with Quechua; in the northeast, with Guarani. The pluperfect may be understood as mirative in the northeast (17a cf. ex. 2a, p. 32); indirect evidential in the northwest (17b cf. ex. 2b, p. 32). Avellana provides a paraphrase of the intended meaning in Spanish in the second line.

(17)   a.   *Mirá vos, había sido que la pistola de Robocop sí existe* [W1].

('*Resultó (ser) que la pistola de Robocop existe [pero yo no lo sabía hasta ahora].*')

'Hey, it turned out that Robocop's gun does exist [but I did not know it till now]'

[Lit. It *had been* that Robocop's gun does exist.]

         b.   *Le pegó otra vez. Lo agarra de la cabeza y va, lo mete en la pileta con agua. Lo*

baña bien.(…) Gritando había estado, el loro. [V:511, III]

('*El loro estaba gritando [lo cual no me consta personalmente].*')

'He hit it again. Grabs it from the head and goes and puts it into the basin with water.

He bathes it well. (…) The parrot was shouting [which I did not witness directly]'

[Lit. Shouting *had been*, the parrot]

A more general evidential strategy, seemingly independent of language contact, is the use of the future as an inferential (18a), akin to English or Spanish modals (glosses in 18; 19b). Particular dialects may develop specific evidential strategies, again in the absence of contact with indigenous languages of South America. For instance, the imperfect has a 'quotative' use (Leoneti and Escandell Vidal 2003). Demonte and Fernández Soriano (2014) point to the perfect conditional as a reportative: 'It is quite common, at least in Peninsular Spanish press, to use the perfect conditional/potential tense to indicate reported information' (p. 27; 19 below cf. ex. 29). López Izquierdo (2006) warns it is a French calque: 'Le conditionnel de discours rapporté en espagnol est une expansion récente, utilisée surtout dans le langage journalistique et absente de la langue oralle. Il est considéré comme un calque du français et les grammaires normatives condamnent son emploi' (p. 488). Evidential extensions thus have the potential to transfer through contact.

(18)   *Las luces están encendidas. El coche está aparcado.*

       'Lights are on. His car is parked.'

a. *Estará en casa.*

    'He must/should be home' [lit. He *will* be home]

b. *Debe de estar en casa.*

'He must/should be home'

(19) a.   *El   acusado   habría   intentado   fugarse.*

        the   defendant   would-have   tried   to-run away

        'Allegedly, the defendant tried to run away.'

b.   *La catástrofe   habría   sido   causada   por una explosión.*

        the catastrophe would-have   been   caused   by an explosion

        'Reportedly, the catastrophe was caused by an explosion.'

Other well-known strategies are extensions that express mirativity, as in (17a above). Mirativity is an independent category, closely related to evidentiality (DeLancey 1997, 2001, 2012; Aikhenvald 2004, Ch. 6, 2012). Mirativity expresses that information is new, unexpected to the speaker. The speaker's mind may be unprepared and find it difficult to integrate or accept this new knowledge. Mirativity is strongly associated to surprise (Slobin and Asku 1982), and this appears to be a strong cross-linguistic pattern (Aikhenvald 2012). In Latin America, perfect or pluperfect tenses can express mirativity as an extension (see Olbertz 2012 and references therein). Of these, Argentinian may be the better-known dialect. Consider (20), originally from Kany (1970: 208 cf. Olbertz 2012: 85; ex. 26). The context given is: '[speaker narrates that he had to sleep in a windy cave; he tried to find out where the wind came from]'

(20)   *pero no había habido huecos en la roca.*

'but it turned out there were no holes in the rock'

[NB: literally, 'but there *had been* no holes in the rock']

5. Conclusion

The need for Spanish to express evidential meaning extends beyond lexical evidentiality/ evidentiality strategies, into forms that are emergent evidentials, or evidentials in the making. This chapter has focused on emergent evidential forms *dizque, que* and *digamos* (also *quesque*, *que dizque*) in relation to the theoretical debate of whether a continuum exists between lexical and grammatical evidentiality. Only a few years after the special volume of *Rivista di Linguistica,* new contributions to the study of evidential meanings in Spanish suggest a revision is due of the confines of lexical evidential systems. Documentation and analysis of emergent forms offers new opportunities to gain a principled understanding of grammaticalization and contact phenomena. *Dizque* continues to beg questions regarding coexistence of evidential, epistemic and mirative readings, and their relationship to scope and syntactic structure.

References

Adelaar. Willem F.H. 1977. *Tarma Quechua: Grammar, Texts, Dictionary.* Lisse: De Ridder.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2007. 'Information source and evidentiality: what can we conclude?', pp. 209-227 of Squartini (2007a).

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2010. *Imperatives and Commands*. Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2012. 'The essence of mirativity.' Linguistic Typology 16 (3): 435-85.

Alcázar, Asier. 2007. 'Consumer Eroski Parallel Corpus.' In *International Journal of Basque Linguistics and Philology (ASJU) Special Volume for the Proceedings of the Bilbao-Deusto Student Conference in Linguistics 2005*, ed. Irene Barberia, Rebeka Campos-Astorkiza, Susana Huidobro and Leticia Pablos. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea. pp. 1-10.

Alcázar, Asier. 2011. 'Information source in Spanish and Basque: A parallel corpus study', in Diewald and Smirnova: pp. 131-156.

Alcázar, Asier. 2014. 'On the grammaticalization of *dizque*.' In *Perspectives in the study of Spanish Language Variation*, ed. by Andreés Enrique Arias, Manuel J Gutiérrez, Alazne Landa and Francisco Ocampo. Universidad de Santiago de Compostela.

Andrade-Ciudad, Luis Florentino. 2007. *Usos de dice en castellano andino: Estrategias evidenciales y narrativas en contacto con el quechua*. Master Thesis. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Lima.

Avellana, Alicia. 2013. 'Fenómenos de transferencia entre lenguas: Evidencialidad en el español en contacto con el Guaraní y el quechua.' *Estudios de Lingüística de la Universidad de Alicante* 27: 31-60.

Babel, A. 2009. 'Dizque, evidentiality and stance in Valley Spanish.' *Language in Society* 38: 487-511.

Bermúdez, Fernando. 2002. 'La estructura evidencial del castellano. Elevación de sujeto y gramaticalización.' *Romansk Forum* 16: 19-29.

Biber, Douglas and Edward Finegan. 1989. 'Styles of Stance in English: Lexical and Grammatical Marking of Evidentiality and Affect.' *Text* 9: 93-124.

Bolinger, Dwight. 1972. 'The Syntax of *Parecer*', pp. 65-76 of *Papers in Linguistics and Phonetics to the Memory of Pierre Delattre*, edited by Albert Valdman. The Hague and Paris: Mouton.

Bosque, Ignacio and Violeta Demonte (eds.). 1999. *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.

Brucart, José María. 2009. 'Sobre el valor evidencial de *como* en español', pp. 583-93 of In *La Lingüística como Reto Epistemológico y como Acción Social. Estudios dedicados al profesor Ángel López García*, edited by Montserrat Veyrat Rigat and Enrique Serra Alegre. Madrid: Arco Libros.

Casseb Galvão, Vânia Cristina. 2001. *Evidencialidade e gramaticalização no português do Brasil: Os usos da expressão diz que*. UNESP, Araraquara.

Cerrón-Palomino, Rodolfo. 1976. *Gramática Quechua: Junin-Huanca*. Lima: Ministerio de Educación e Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

Chafe, Wallace L. and Johanna Nichols (eds.) 1986. *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Chafe, Wallace. 1986. 'Evidentiality in English Conversation and academic writing', pp. 261-72 of Chafe and Nichols.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cornillie, Bert. 2007a. *Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality in Spanish (Semi-) Auxiliaries: A Cognitive-Functional Approach*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Cornillie, Bert. 2007b. The continuum between lexical and grammatical evidentiality: A functional analysis of Spanish *parecer*, pp. 109-28 of Squartini (2007a).

Cruschina, Silvio and Eva Remberger. 2008. 'Hearsay and reported speech: Evidentiality in Romance', pp. 95-116 of *Selected Proceedings of the XXXIV Incontro di Grammatica Generativa*, *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 33, Special issue edited by P. Benincà, F. Damonte and N. Penello.

Cusihuamán, Antonio. 1976. *Gramática Quechua: Cuzco-Collao*. Lima: Ministerio de Educación e Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

de la Mora, Juliana and Ricardo Maldonado. 2015. '*Dizque*: Epistemics blurring evidentials in Mexican Spanish. *Journal of Pragmatics* 85: 168-180.

de Granda, Germán. 2003. *Estudios Lingüísticos Hispanoamericanos*. (Historia, sociedades y contactos). Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

de Haan, Ferdinand. 1999. 'Evidentiality and epistemic modality: Setting boundaries.' *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 18: 83-102.

DeLancey, Scott. 1997. 'Mirativity: the grammatical marking of unexpected information.' *Linguistic Typology* 1 (1): 33-52.

DeLancey, Scott. 2001. 'The mirative and evidentiality.' *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 369-382.

DeLancey, Scott. 2012 'Still mirative after all these years.' *Linguistic Typology* 16 (3): 529-564.

Demonte, Violeta and Olga Fernández Soriano. 2013. 'Evidentials dizque and que in Spanish: Grammaticalization, parameters and the (fine) structure of Comp'. *Linguística. Revista de Estudos linguísticos da Universidade do Porto*.

Demonte, Violeta and Olga Fernández Soriano. 2014. 'Evidentiality and illocutionary force. Spanish matrix 'que' at the syntax-semantics interface', pp. Add *Left Sentence Peripheries in Spanish*: *Diachronic, Variationist, and Typological Perspectives*, ed. by A. Dufter y Á. S Octavio de Toledo. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Diewald, Gabriele and Elena Smirnova (eds.). 2011. *Linguistic Realization of Evidentiality in European Languages*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology).

di Tullio, Ángela. 2005. *Manual de gramática del español*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones La Luna.

Etxepare, Ricardo. 2007. 'Some aspects of the quotative construction in Iberian Spanish.' *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca Julio de Urquijo: International Journal of Basque Linguistics and Philology* 41(2): 25-58.

Etxepare, Ricardo. 2010. 'From hearsay evidentiality to samesaying relations.' *Lingua* 120(3) (Thematic issue *Exploring the Left Periphery*, ed. by Kleanthes K. Grohmann and Ianthi Maria Tsimpli): 604–627.

González Ramos, Elisa. 2005. 'Por lo visto: Marcador de evidencialidad y sus valores pragmáticos en español actual.' *Interlingüística* 15 *(Actas del XIX Encuentro de la Asociación de Jóvenes Lingüistas, Valencia, marzo de 2004)*: 665-673.

Friedman, Viktor A. 'Confirmative/Nonconfirmative in Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance and Albanian with additional observations on Turkish, Romani, Georgian and Lak', pp. 329-66 of *Evidentials. Turkic, Iranian and Neighboring Languages*, edited by Lars Johanson and Bo Utas. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.

Faller, Martina. 2002. *Semantics and Pragmatics of Evidentials in Cuzco Quechua*. PhD Dissertation. Stanford University.

Fernández de Castro, Félix. 1999. *Las perífrasis verbales en el español actual*. Madrid: Gredos.

Fernández Leborans, María Jesús. 1999. 'La predicación. Las oraciones copulativas.' In Bosque and Demonte: pp. 2357-2460.

Ferrari, Laura Daniela. 2009. Marcadores de modalidad epistémica y evidencial en el análisis de las conclusiones de artículos de investigación de disciplinas distintas. *Asociación Latinoamericana del discurso*.

Ferrari, Laura Daniela. 2010. 'Modalidad epistémica y evidencialidad en las *conclusiones* de artículos de investigación.' *Debate Terminológico* 6: 77-101.

Giacalone Ramat, Anna and Manana Topadze. 2007. 'The Coding of Evidentiality: A Comparative Look at Georgian and Italian.' *Italian Journal of Linguistics* 19: 7–38.

Gómez Torrego, Leonardo. 1999. 'Los verbos auxiliares. Las Perífrasis de infinitivo', pp. 3323-3390 of Bosque and Demonte.

Gutiérrez Ordóñez, Salvador. 1986. *Variaciones sobre la atribución*. León: Universidad de León.

Hassler, Gerda. 2002. 'Evidentiality and reported speech in Romance Languages',pp. 143-72 of *Reported discourse: A meeting ground for different linguistic domains*, edited by Tom Güldemann and Manfred von Roncador.

Hassler, Gerda. 2007. 'Le marquage épistémique de l'énoncé en français parlé' in *Etudes de syntaxe: français parlé, français hors de France, creoles*. Actes du colloque franco-allemand, Paris X, le 19 octobre 2007. Pp. 1-11.

Hernanz, Maria Lluïsa. 1982. *El infinitivo en español*. Bellaterra: Ediciones de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.

Kany, Charles E. 1944. 'Impersonal dizque and its variants in American Spanish.' *Hispanic Review* 12: 168-177.

Kany, Charles E. 1970 [1945]. *Sintaxis hispanoamericana* (versión española de Martín Blanco Álvarez). Madrid: Gredos.

Kaltenböck, Gunther, Bernd Heine and Tania Kuteva. 2011. 'On thetical grammar.' *Studies in Language* 35.4: 852-897.

Klee, Carol A. and Andrew Lynch. 2009. *El español en contacto con otras lenguas*. Georgetwon University Press.

Lamy, Delano 2010. 'Marcador epistémico y discursivo: 'dizque' en el español panameño.' Paper delivered at WSS5, University of North Carolina.

Laprade, R.A. 1981. 'Some cases of Aymara influence on La Paz Spanish', pp. 207-27 of *The Aymara Language in its Social and Cultural Context: A Collection of Essays on Aspects of Aymara Language and Culture,*edited by M.J. Hardman. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida.

Lazard, G. 2001. 'On the grammaticalization of evidentiality.' *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 358-68.

Leonetti, Manuel and Victoria Escandell Vidal. 2003. 'On the Quotative Readings of Spanish Imperfecto.' *Cuadernos de Lingüística* X: 135-154.

López Izquierdo, Marta 2006. 'L'émergence de dizque comme stratégie médiative en espagnol médiéval.' *Cahiers d'études hispaniques médiévales* 29: 483-493.

López Ferrero, C. 2005. 'Funciones retóricas en la comunicación académica: Formas léxicas de modalidad y evidencialidad.' *Signo y seña* 14: 115-139.

Martínez Caro, E. 2002. 'Impersonalisation and reference in English and Spanish: Evidence from newspaper discourse', pp. 71-88 of *Conceptualization of Events in Newspaper Discourse: Mystification of Agency and Degree of Implication in News Reports*, ed. by J.I. Marín Arrese. Proyectos Complutense 2000: Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

Martínez Caro, E. 2004. 'Evidentiality and the verbal expression of belief and hearsay', pp. 185-204 of *Perspectives on Evidentiality and Modality*, ed. by J.I. Marín Arrese. Madrid: Editorial Complutense.

McLendon, Sally. 2003. 'Evidentials in Eastern Pomo with a comparative survey of the category in other Pomoan languages', pp. 101-29 of *Studies in Evidentiality*, ed. By Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Miglio, Viola G. 2010. 'Online databases and language change: The case of Spanish *dizque',* pp. 7-28 of *Corpus Linguistics Applications: Current Studies, New Directions*, edited by Stefan Th. Gries, Stefanie Wulff, Mark Davies. Rodopi, Amsterdam. pp 7-28.

Olbertz, Hella. 2005. '*Dizque* en el español andino ecuatoriano: conservador e innovador', pp. 77-94 of *Encuentros y conflictos. Bilingüismo y contacto de lenguas en el mundo andino*, edited by Hella Olbertz and Pieter Muysken. Madrid: Iberoamericana.

Olbertz, Hella. 2007. 'Dizque in Mexican Spanish: the subjectification of reportative meaning', pp. 151-72 of Squartini (2007a).

Olbertz, Hella. 2012. 'The place of exclamatives and miratives in grammar: a functional discourse grammar view.' *Revista LinguíStica / Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Linguística da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro*. Volume 8 (1): 76-98.

Porroche Ballesteros, Margarita. 1990. *Aspectos de la atribución en español*. Zaragoza: Pórtico.

Porroche Ballesteros, Margarita. 2000. 'Algunos aspectos del uso de *que* en el español conversacional (*que* como introductor de oraciones 'independientes')'. *Círculo de Lingüística Aplicada* 3: 100-116.

Quartararo, Geraldine. 2015. 'Epistemic uses of the verb *decir* in La Paz Spanish: *digamos* and *dice*.' Paper presented at the *45th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages*, May 6-9, 2015. Campinas, São Paulo, Brazil.

Rodríguez Ramalle, Teresa M. 2008a. 'El *que* como marca enfática discursiva en adverbios e interjecciones.' In *25 años de Lingüística Aplicada en España: Hitos y retos*, ed. by Rafael Monroy and Aquilino Sánchez. Murcia: EDITUM. pp. 811–816

Rodríguez Ramalle, Teresa M. 2008b. 'Estudio sintáctico y discursivo de algunas estructuras enunciativas y citativas del español.' *Revista Española de Lingüística Aplicada* 21: 269–288.

Rosales Sequeiros, Xosé. 2001. 'Historical evolution of attributive adverbs in Galician'. Paper presented at the 15th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Melbourne.

San Roque, Lila, Simeon Floyd, and Elisabeth Norcliffe. 2015. 'Evidentiality and interrogativity.' *Lingua* (to appear).

Schwenter, Scott A. 1999. 'Evidentiality in Spanish morphosyntax: A reanalysis of *(de) queísmo*', pp. ADD of *Estudios de Variación Sintaáctica*, ed. by M.J. Serrano. Iberoamericana: Madrid.

Slobin, Dan I. and Ayhan A. Aksu. 1982. 'Tense, aspect, and modality in the use of the Turkish evidential, pp. 185-200 of *Tense-Aspect: between syntax and pragmatics*, edited by P. J. Hopper. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Speas, Margaret and Carol Tenny. 2003. 'Configurational properties of point of view roles', pp. 315-44 of *Asymmetry in Grammar. Volume I: Syntax and Semantics*, edited by Anna Maria Di Sciullo. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Squartini, Mario. 2001. 'The internal structure of evidentiality in Romance'. *Studies in Language* 25: 297–334.

Squartini, Mario. (ed.). 2007a. *Evidentiality between lexicon and grammar*. Special issue of *Rivista di Linguistica* 19 (2).

Squartini, Mario. 2007b. 'Investigating a grammatical category and its lexical correlates', pp. 1-6 of Squartini (2007a).

Traugott, Elizabeth and Richard Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Travis, Catherine. 2006. '*Dizque*: a Colombian evidentiality strategy.' *Linguistics* 44: 1269-1297.

Treviño, Esthela. 2008. '*Que*, una marca de evidencialidad en español.' Paper presented at *X Encuentro Internacional de Lingüística en el Noroeste*, UNISON, Hermosillo, Mexico.

Urmston, J. 1952. 'Parenthetical verbs.' *Mind* 61: 480-496.

Notes

[1] Kany (1944) finds mirative interpretations; Aikhenvald (2012) reports mirativity in multiple evidential strategies in Spanish.

[2] CONVERGENCE, in the sense of *parallel evolution* (vs. languages becoming alike), as in biological systems, is an ever-present hypothesis, and thus always difficult to rule out. Evidence of convergence is plentiful in typology. Two examples are evidentiality (Aikhenvald 2004) and imperatives (Aikhenvald 2010). In evidentiality, with particular reference to *dizque*, it is common to find languages develop a quotative/reportative out of a predicate in the class of verba dicendi; typically, this predicate will be its maximum exponent, the verb *say*. Whether convergence is evidence of a bioprogram, as entertained in Universal Grammar, or not, continues to the subject of research in formal and functional approaches to the study of language.

[3] Recent registers of the Internet may spell it with a 'k': *diske*.

[4] Salcedo refers to an unpublished corpus of Spanish in contact with Quechua compiled by Pieter Muysken
in 1978 in and near the town of Salcedo, province of Cotopaxi, Ecuador.

[5] For reasons of space, I am not able to go into the intricacies of the data, which is rather complex and nuanced (see Porroche-Ballesteros 2000, Rodríguez Ramalle 2008a, 2008b), or do justice to the complexity of the analysis of Etxepare and Demonte and Fernández-Soriano. I focus on pointing out additional evidence that relates these uses to evidentiality.

[6] In my reading of (11-12b), mirativity is also part of their meanings. If presented without a context, in other examples offered in the works cited, I tend to interpret them as mirative; though other readings are available (e.g., the examples in de la Mora and Maldonado (2015), which may be read as reportative, on first reading seemed mirative to me). In relation to this, note that part of the communicative function of many of these examples is to INCITE OR BEGIN CONVERSATION. In my ongoing corpus work on Basque, I find miratives have this function. This is another way in which mirative readings point to the evidential function of *que*.

[7] In Demonte and Fernández-Soriano's analysis (2013, 2014), reportative *que* is a grammatical evidential form. Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2013) compare reportative *que* with *dizque*. They conclude the former lacks the epistemic interpretations associated with the latter.

In the examples I have read, I agree with the authors. But I am not sure how they view mirativity. *Dizque* has mirative uses. They note *que* has narrative uses as well—another use associated with grammatical evidentials. But so does *diz que* in Brazilian Portuguese (Casseb Galvão 2001). To some extent, the analysis of *que* as a grammatical evidential hinges on the underlying syntactic structure. If *que* is functioning as a subordinating complementizer, then reportative uses could be conceived as an evidentiality strategy. Evidentiality strategies can lead to evidential, mirative and epistemic interpretations. If *que* is an early form, it may have not undergone primary grammaticalization, where subjectification is common (Traugott and Dasher 2002). In that sense, it may *appear* to look more as an evidential. There are dialectal differences between Peninsular and Mexican. Evidential *que* in the latter can be used sentence medially, outside its expected position (Treviño 2008). This could be interpreted as an incipient particle use of a former complementizer, and thus as an indication of category change.