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What is a minority language?

Johanna Laakso, Anneli Sarhima, Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark, Reetta Toivanen. 2016. *Towards Openly Multilingual Policies and Practices: Assessing Minority Language Maintenance Across Europe*. (Linguistic Diversity and Language Rights 11). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

This book reports on the large-scale international and interdisciplinary project *European Language Diversity for All (ELDIA)*, funded by the European Commission from 2010-2013. ELDIA studied the social and legal context of the maintenance of twelve minority languages (all of them part of the Finno-Ugric language family) ranging from Slovenia in the south, to Norway in the north, and from Germany in the west to Russia in the east. The book involves the interdisciplinary cooperation of academics from disciplines as diverse as law, IT and linguistics, and hailing from six countries (Austria, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Slovenia and Sweden). These authors profited from a strong theoretical basis, on which a comprehensive methodology for the twelve case studies of varied minority languages was built.

The introduction describes the monolingual bias in traditional views of European multilingualism, and explains the strategies to overcome this in the ELDIA research. Both the survey questionnaires and the interviews were offered in the respective minority and majority languages. The respondents were not only free to choose either, but also allowed to name more than one first language. Generally, the survey emphasised an interest “in the respondents’ multilingual life and language choices” (p. 16). The introduction also shows how the monolingual bias influences language policies, language education, media contents and laws.

The second chapter presents the tool developed by and for the ELDIA project: the European Language Vitality Barometer (EuLaViBar), an instrument integrating data collection, analysis and representation. EuLaViBar consists graphically of a diagram measuring four focus areas; namely, *capacity, opportunity, desire* and *language products*. Each focus area, in turn, is analysed according to four different dimensions: *language use and interaction, legislation, media* and *education*. The quantitative result of the survey for each dimension is indicated as a value on the language maintenance scale, from 0 (“severely and critically endangered”) to 4 (“maintained at the moment”). While the EuLaViBar charts might seem complex and difficult to read at first glance, after an initial learning phase and with the help of the textual

explanations, the charts for the different minority languages become easier to understand with every new case study. They therefore end up providing the reader with a useful tool for the comparison of the individual maintenance status of very diverse minority languages. I do not doubt that EuLaViBar will become – if not the standard model for measuring maintenance of minority languages – at least the standard basis for future models adapted to specific languages or groups of languages. Small flaws in the design of EuLaViBar, virtually unavoidable in a pioneering large-scale study such as ELDIA (and honestly admitted, cf. p. 38), can easily be amended in future research designs based on this model. The EuLaViBar charts for each individual language are then contextualised with qualitative data in the fourth chapter, “Analysis”.

Before that, however, the massive third chapter (more than 100 pages, i.e., a third of the volume’s length) presents twelve case studies. The chapter’s title, “Apples, Oranges and Cranberries: Finno-Ugric Minorities in Europe and the Diversity of Diversities”, leads to the crucial question of what actually constitutes a minority language. The authors are not following the politically determined narrow definition of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML), which only recognises “traditional” languages (excluding what an individual state legislation chooses to define as an “immigrant” language) and “languages” (excluding what an individual state legislation chooses to define as a “mere” dialect). The case studies present instead what the authors rightly call a “diversity of diversities”, from languages perfectly fitting the ECRML model of “traditional” minority languages, such as Hungarian in Austria and Slovenia (pp. 52-65), to more recently established “immigrant” languages, such as Estonian in Germany and Finland (pp. 65-72 and 115-121); from languages clearly distinct from the majority variety, such as North Sámi in Norway (pp. 137-145) or Veps in Russia (pp. 85-96), to languages with a precarious status between being dialectal varieties of the majority variety and being languages in their own right, such as Karelian in Finland (pp. 194-115) and Seto or Võro in Estonia (pp. 72-85). Each case study consists of descriptions of the history and the present situation of the respective language in the media, legally and socially, and the corresponding EuLaViBar results. The quotes of respondents in every case study are just as illustrative as the quantitative EuLaViBar charts here.

The “Analysis” chapter compares the EuLaViBar results of all case studies and puts them in a wider context. It also discusses the overall legal context of minority languages and language policy in Europe, as well as sociological, ethnographic and media discourse aspects. While the first part of this chapter, focused on comparing the case studies, is

valuable and highly readable, the rest of it is quite a mixed bag. In particular, the section on the legal context lacks the immediate relation to the case studies presented. This might have to do with the fact that these legal analyses were published separately (p. 173; a hint as to where they actually were published would certainly have been helpful here; it is unnecessarily difficult to pick the legal texts out of the list of references or online publications from the project at Phaidra, the University of Vienna repository, cf. www.eldia-project.org/index.php/news-events-ac). In any case, it robs the joint analysis of the case studies of an important aspect.

An outlook chapter on implications and recommendations, and an afterword (not by the volume's authors, but by Miklós Kontra, M. Paul Lewis and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas) conclude the book. Given that the afterword is so general that it is not immediately clear why it should be part of this particular volume, it represents, together with the second half of the "Analysis" chapter, the few content elements of the book that are slightly less fascinating and instructive than the rest of it. In form, the volume is as well-produced and edited as books by this publisher generally are. The only little thing that the reader must get accustomed to is the alphabetical order of the list of references. Umlauts seem generally sorted after all other letters, which explains why T. Hämynen appears after T. Herdina, A. Räisänen after E.J. Ruiz Veytez and H. Öst after D. Zwitter. Where exactly double vowels immediately following the initial letter of the surname are to be sorted, however, seems rather mysterious. Is it at the end of all surnames with the respective initial letter (H. Haarmann is listed after T. Herdina and T. Hämynen)? Or at the beginning of surnames with the respective initial letter (J. Laakso is sorted before W.E. Lambert)? A small fault that makes the list of references – otherwise very comprehensive and up to date at the time of publishing (2016) – a bit cumbersome to navigate.

I'm of two minds about the fact that neither the title nor the subtitle actually mention that all the languages studied belong exclusively to the Finno-Ugric family. This was probably done at the request of the publishers, who might have feared losing potential readers. On the one hand, the tendency of publishers to choose the most generic title possible to widen the appeal of books has a somewhat sneaky aftertaste. On the other, any linguist interested in multilingualism and minority languages who would neglect to read this book by reason of it being based on a language family he or she might not be familiar with would miss out on the opportunity to become acquainted with a study which, by virtue of its incomparably wide scope and sound theoretical basis, certainly deserves a wide readership. The European Language Vitality Barometer should also be mentioned, which is a valuable instrument for

measuring language maintenance within groups and has the potential to become a standard tool in language maintenance studies.

With refreshing Nordic directness, the advance organiser of the foreword “To the Reader” (p. xv) asks about general ideas in regard to the role minority languages play in the political and research landscapes in Europe, and thus concludes: “Don’t be naïve. Don’t believe everything you are told. Read this book”. I second that.

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His research interests include: pragmatics, terms of address.

Heinz Kretzenbacher: Review on *Towards Openly Multilingual Policies and Practices*. 2016.

In PRAGMATICS.REVIEWS 2018.6.1

English Historical Linguistics: A textbook for the 21st century?

Laurel J. Brinton (ed.). 2017. *English Historical Linguistics: Approaches and Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

English Historical Linguistics should be evaluated against the question: What is expected of a modern textbook in the second decade of the twenty-first century? This issue indeed lies at the very origins of the publication. The book identifies and addresses the typical shortcomings of an English historical linguistics textbook: the insufficient awareness of and coverage of the “bird’s eye view” of the discipline. Instead of building a linear narrative around the levels of language organisation or periodisation that have dominated similar textbooks, this volume undertakes a more challenging task. Brinton’s research has contributed many significant ideas to the theories of grammaticalisation, lexicalisation and intersubjectivity. Recently, Brinton coedited the monumental *English Historical Linguistics. An International Handbook* (2012; with Alexander Bergs) that is still viewed as an invaluable handbook (but see Nevalainen and Traugott 2012; Kytö and Pahta 2016). Indeed, few scholars with a similar record of not only experimental, but also state-of-the-art publications, would be better qualified to supervise the work on a new student-friendly synthesis of the field of English historical linguistics. Although the publisher describes the book as an “essential resource for advanced, undergraduate and graduate students”, Brinton’s *English Historical Linguistics* is not your regular textbook. Nor does it aim to be, as the editor emphasises: unlike a typical textbook, this one aims to provide “descriptive information on methodology and approach” and “the contextual information necessary for the student to understand where they fit within the broader framework of approaches” (p. 2).

As the subtitle indicates, the focus is on different approaches and perspectives in English historical study over time, with 11 valid approaches singled out and discussed in individual chapters. In effect, the publication provides an overview of English historical linguistics from the perspective of Neogrammarians through generative approaches, to the sociocultural and pragmatic turn accompanied by a growing trend towards interdisciplinarity with emphasis on corpus-based approaches to language change. The book includes an introduction, a list of figures (over 40), a list of tables (over 30), a list of case studies (over 30), a note on the contributors, a list of abbreviations, and 13 chapters, each followed by an exercise section (with answers online). Chapters include an introduction, a theoretical overview and a number of case studies (between 2 and 5), and end with concluding remarks and suggestions for further study that precede the exercises section and the endnotes. As the blurb announces,

chapters contain text boxes on how to conduct research in individual areas. The references section, glossary of key terms and an index close the book. In particular, the glossary and the index show a lot of thoughtful selection. Moreover, due attention is given to psycholinguistic and grammaticalisation- and discourse-based perspectives on language variation, contact and standardisation. What the readers have in their hands is a comprehensive presentation of the scope of English historical linguistics.

Language change is “closely intertwined” with the psychological processes that shape language use here and now (p. 71). Martin Hilpert discusses such interfaces in Chapter 4, which is devoted to usage-based linguistics. He provides a detailed description of the so-called “domain general cognitive processes” and their role in the current linguistic theories. It is important to bear in mind that linguistic theories differ as to the relative importance assigned to them, along with the important question: Do the processes operate only in language acquisition or over a lifetime? Another crucial issue is to investigate which structures in English exemplify the ways the psychological processes influence language change. Corpus-based approaches to language change are the topic of Hundt and Gardner’s contribution (Chapter 5). In the opening sections, the differences between a narrow and a broad definition of corpus-based historical linguistics are discussed (p. 96). Furthermore, issues of representativeness, specific historical corpora and their limitations, as well as speech-like properties or written genres (p. 99) follow. Then the authors list major historical corpora (e.g. corpora of English outside the British Isles, p. 100) and then turn to corpus methodologies. This section aims to provide a hands-on description of steps taken in the analysis based on “start” vs. “begin” variation in Present Day English, with online interfaces of some corpora and concordance software introduced in the process. In particular, the problems related to precision and recall (p. 103), normalisation, statistical significance (e.g. instructions for online calculations of log likelihood at Lancaster, cf. Paul Rayson) are treated.

The next chapters (6 and 7) provide a thorough treatment of the origins, development and offshoots of grammaticalisation theories. As a functional-cognitive and usage-based approach, grammaticalisation – which is among the most robust relatively recent perspectives on language change – contrasts with other theories that ascribe change to incomplete intergenerational transmission in acquisition. In Chapter 6, Reims and Hoffman reflect on the intersection of the processes of grammaticalisation and lexicalisation and the changes in their research foci. Among these, the move from the formal effects (morphosyntax, for instance) to pragmatic-semantic changes, including the possibility of their reconstruction and the increased attention to context, should be singled out. The authors

address the question of whether pragmaticalisation may be viewed as instance of grammaticalisation, and how the distinction between the two needs to be viewed on different levels of grammar (p. 135). The chapter also offers succinct overviews of specific approaches (e.g. Traugott and Trousdale's constructionalisation) and problems (unidirectionality & degrammaticalisation), as well as limitations of empirical verification and corpus-based grammaticalisation studies in particular. Chapter 7 testifies an expansion of pragmatically informed approaches to language change that are related to grammaticalisation theory and psycholinguistics. López-Couso focuses on the role of pragmatic inferencing in language change, and reviews in detail Traugott's theory of subjectification and intersubjectification in relation to grammaticalisation. This analysis is based on a synthesis of case studies on epistemic modals like parentheticals, the 'while' adverbial clauses and expletives. The chapter also presents Grice's cooperation principle and maxims, conversational implicature, the role of polysemy in *Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change*, and draws a clear line of division between subjectification and intersubjectification.

Discourse-based approaches are the topic of Chapter 8 written by Claudia Claridge. In the opening, registers are shown to relate closely to linguistic choices and functions, as well as to the modes of language use over time. Connections are clarified between genre conventionalisation and language processing, and the questions addressed by discourse approaches are discussed. Furthermore, the focus is placed on processes of vernacularisation and standardisation and the role of translation and multilingualism therein. On page 192, the following approaches to researching historical discourse are mentioned: Historical Discourse Analysis proper (pragmaphilology), diachronic Discourse Analysis (diachronic pragmatics) and discourse-oriented diachronic linguistics (pragma-historical linguistics). Later, the interfaces of information packaging and syntactic options are discussed on the basis of the loss of the V2 constraint in Old English. In Chapter 9, on sociohistorical approaches, Peter Grund shows the reader the ropes of English historical sociolinguistics. The discussion brings together the absolute basics: the uniformitarian principle, micro- and macrosociolinguistics, i.e. sociology of language, synchronic vs. diachronic, change from below and above, units of analysis (such as e.g. the Community of Practice), social networks, the "bad" data problem and the most significant corpora available. Grund also reflects on the spoken (vernacular) vs. written distinction and speech-based genres, complexity of social rank and status, and gender as analytic categories and notions. The chapter involves an important reflection upon the state of the art and the existing models of English historical sociolinguistics. For instance, on pages 219-220, the difference between

Berg's (2005) and Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg's models (2012) is elucidated. It "lies in how the authors view the relationship between modern sociolinguistics and historical sociolinguistics (...) The kind of data considered and the integration of insights from historical research are the two aspects that set the disciplines apart". This citation shows how historical sociolinguistics may be viewed both as an independent subdiscipline in Bergs' view, and also a more coherent uniform approach to the social aspects of language study in Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg's view.

In Chapter 10, Laurel Brinton provides an overview of English historical pragmatics. She emphasises that methodologically, this subdiscipline has moved toward corpus linguistics (p. 255) and has increasingly relied on multigenre and specialised corpora. Brinton discusses in greater detail the development and change of comment clauses in view of the processes of lexicalisation, grammaticalisation or pragmaticalisation, and concludes that the latter two show too much similarity to be distinguished from one another. Chapter 11 on standardisation and prescriptivism by Ingrid Tieken Boon van Ostade presents a gripping narration of the rise of prescriptivism. Illustrated with photos of artifacts and presented as a broader social phenomenon, including insights into the book market and back stage of the production of grammars and dictionaries, the discussion also touches upon issues of plagiarism and the treatment of misleading evidence (for example, an anonymous but authorised edition's of Lowth's grammar). The author stresses the significance of studying the original documents in the archives, also for the periods when printed sources have become extensive.

In Chapter 12, Merja Stenroos provides an overview of geographical variation and presents a modern sociolinguistically-informed view on English historical dialectology. The chapter presents a clear and readable narration in the form of a thought experiment introduced as an approximation of difficulties pertaining to historical studies. The account includes a general introduction to the basics of variation, the distinction between written and spoken language, and issues of prestige. According to Stenroos, modern historical dialectology should focus on "the localisation of texts, the use of historical corpora, and the interpretation of written linguistic data" (p. 318). The author also emphasises the growing dialogue between the subdisciplines: "Even though some scholars would still differentiate between sociolinguistic to historical variation and 'historical dialectology', all these directions have been informed by each others' insights to the point that drawing dividing lines is no longer necessarily useful." (p. 318). Stenroos also stresses the importance of studying local documents, regardless of the difficulties of accessing these texts, and illustrates how questions pertaining to

geographical, diachronic and domain-related variation need to be addressed in parallel (case study into the sound and spelling of *wh-*). Chapter 13 is devoted to language contact, and opens with a comparison between English and German to show how English diverged from the typical Germanic features (esp. V2). On top of language contact theory, Schneider presents five case studies into Celtic and Scandinavian influences on OE as change from below (p. 339); Latin borrowings as change from above (p. 342); New Zealand English (including a curio on Pasifika English, p. 349), Singlish and language shift in Singapore and Nigerian Pidgin English.

Approaching comprehensive publications like Brinton's *English Historical Linguistics* that aim to take stock of a broad field, the reader is likely to follow her own interests and employ the vantage point of her own expertise. I would therefore like to single out the chapters devoted to the social, discourse and pragmatic perspectives, and the account of prescriptivism. First of all, Grund's contribution on sociolinguistics is methodologically informed, but not theoretically overloaded, and thus truly accessible to a non-specialist, keen audience. At the same time, Grund's account is still valuable to a more expert reader: as the author positions himself within the frameworks (e.g. Milroy's and Bergs' work is approached with subtle criticism) rather than simply synthesising the development of the subdiscipline. Moreover, the chapter juxtaposes the advantages offered by the use of different kinds of evidence (e.g. spelling vs. social commentary on *h*-dropping), thus fulfilling the promise of a "bird's eye view" of English historical linguistics. Moreover, Chapters 8, 9, 10 and 12 in particular have been written with a student audience in mind. For instance, in her discussion of prescriptivism and standardisation, Tieken presents research as a quest for the unknown that is frequently rewarded by remarkable discoveries (p. 278 on Percy's 2008 and 2009 comparison between Lowth and Baker collections of usage problems; p. 286 on Tieken's monograph on Lowth; 2011). In doing so, she encourages the reader to undertake detective work on grammars (and beyond). The forcefulness and entertainment stemming from some of the examples and the skilled application of suggestive illustrations have a strong appeal, both to the less-experienced as well as the specialist audience. These, and some other chapters (e.g. by Merja Stenroos) also show the authors' awareness that a good course book should awaken curiosity, not only through memorable elements or patches of storytelling, but also by indicating closeness and tangibility of the research matter that is presented (e.g. p. 235 with a list of research questions based on Walker's 2007 study into *thou* and *you*). *English Historical Linguistics* may in fact be a great course book, on the condition that an interested student receives well-informed guidance from more experienced linguists and teachers. It would be difficult to see it as a textbook, unless perhaps it were used as part of a

PhD curriculum for young linguists at the beginning of their research. The blurb promises a sort of American-style teaching aid: written by an international team of leading scholars, it is engaging and offers easy navigation and quick cross-referencing. A closer look into these student-friendly and interactively designed features may be a bit disappointing: for instance, not all chapters include the text boxes “on how to conduct research within different subfields” (missing from Chapter 5), some only include 1 or 2 (Chapter 2 and 3). Individual chapters devote unequal space to the exercises, and the design of such sections could have been more creative in some cases. For instance, the exercises in Chapter 6 are much more engaging and open-ended than those in Chapters 5 or 7, where they are clearly related to specific examples discussed in the pieces, and do not encourage the students to go beyond what they have been taught. Chapter 10, for instance, has a very extensive exercise section that fulfils the needs of student readers more effectively than some other contributions. More experienced readers, especially those familiar with the more recent handbooks in the discipline, would also notice a remarkably low level of dialogue between the individual chapters: cross-referencing is rare, contributing to the overall feel of the compartmentalisation of the approaches. For instance, it would make sense to somehow link and juxtapose the differing significance and roles that more traditional frameworks have played in the development of the individual perspectives (structuralism and generative theory as opposed to pragmatic or functional theories, for instance). This could be achieved in a series of text boxes (like the ones “on how to conduct research”) that would highlight both the affinities and disparities in this respect. Finally, the editorial side of the book is nearly flawless.¹

Overall, there’s no denying that the book is successful in delivering more than the textbooks we have become accustomed to: on the one hand, the discussions are highly specialist and informative. On the other, its usefulness seems greater to post-graduate or doctoral students, or as a course book for advanced students of linguistics. This is in itself unsurprising: the editor assembled a team of a top-notch contributors to provide a comprehensive overview of English historical linguistics; thus, the result comes closer to a readable handbook rather than to a textbook. However, the publication is not only rich in content, but also novel and very likely to supplement the classics in the area.

¹ I noticed the following errors: a misspelling (Joanna Kopaczyk instead of Kopaczyk; p. 229) and missing references to Kopaczyk and Jucker’s coedited collection (2013; referred to mistakenly as 2014; p. 229) and Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2012; p. 219).

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Matylda Włodarczyk: Review on *English Historical Linguistics*. 2017. In
PRAGMATICS.REVIEWS 2018.6.1

Epistemic Stance in Italian and in the Mind

Andrzej Zuczkowski, Ramona Bongelli, Ilaria Riccioni. 2017. *Epistemic stance in dialogue: Knowing, unknowing, believing*, (Dialogue studies 29). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

1. Introduction

“*Epistemic stance in dialogue: Knowing, unknowing, believing*” is a joint publication by Andrzej Zuczkowski, Ramona Bongelli, and Ilaria Riccioni, who are all members of the research center *Psicologia della comunicazione e semiotica del testo J.S. Petoefi* at the University of Macerata, Italy. Its overall structure is divided into three major parts: the first introduces the theoretical background and the model of Knowing, Unknowing, and Believing (KUB) throughout chapter 1-4, the second applies the KUB model to three different dialogue corpora in chapter 5-7 (troubles talk, clairvoyant-journalist interviews, and crime case talk-shows). The third concludes with a comparison of the KUB model and those of Akio Kamio (The theory of territories of information) and John Heritage (The epistemic management of conversational interactions) in chapter 8, and an outlook on future perspectives follows in chapter 9.

This review provides a brief summary of each chapter before concluding with an overall evaluation of the book as a contribution to research on epistemic stance in general linguistics. Readers with a primary interest in a purchase recommendation might want to jump directly to the last section.

2. Summary

2.1 Chapter 1

The psychological background of the KUB model, outlined in chapter 1, can be summed up in a concept of human *experiencing*, an activity that encompasses both *perceiving* and *cognizing*. In line with Metzger (1975), the authors attribute a level of reality to each of these activities. They distinguish an *experiential reality* from the *physical reality*, and then further divide the former into a *perceptual* and a *cognitive reality*. The five senses, plus proprioception, feed into our *perceptual reality*, which interacts with but does not limit our *cognitive* construction of memory, thought, and imagination. All contribute gradually to our experience of reality, giving rise to different degrees of certainty about states of affairs.

2.2 Chapter 2

Language, in turn, is thought of as a means of referring to the *experiential* reality of interlocutors. In chapter 2, the authors build upon the *Atomic Text* model (Petöfi 1973) to conceptualize the linguistic mechanisms that allow interlocutors to verbalize these perceptual and cognitive processes. It assumes three hierarchically ordered propositions to be present in every *Atomic Text*: a *performative proposition* (*pp*) akin to the concept of *illocutionary force* in Austin (1962), a *world-constitutive proposition* (*wcp*) that refers to the means of access to reality (evidentiality) and the commitment to its truth (epistemicity), and a *descriptive proposition* (*dp*). An *Atomic Text* is a deep structure, so a schematic representation of (1) would also include those propositions that are not overtly expressed:

- (1) Alex was on the beach
- pp: Here and Now I (S/W) tell you (H/R) that
wcp: Here and Now I *remember* that
dp: (There and Then) Alex was on the beach

Evidentiality is defined as a linguistic device that refers to *source of information*, while other possible definitions (*source of knowledge, modes of knowing*) are rejected due to a lack of clarity about the notion of *knowledge* (as opposed to belief, imagination, etc.). Moreover, the authors reject the applicability of experiential evidential categories (i.e. reported/hearsay) to past events. Instead, they include cognitive processes (i.e. think, believe, imagine, remember) as modes of acquiring information, some of which are linked to specific temporal relations (remember-past, imagine-future).

The wide range of possible definitions for epistemicity (*reliability of information, judgement of likelihood* of the proposition, *commitment to the truth* of a message) are reduced to *degrees of certainty*. The authors postulate that certainty and uncertainty are communicated through both *epistemic* and *evidential* markers. Unfortunately, they fail to define *certainty* beyond the claim that it is independent of the notion of *truth*, which they attribute to an extra-linguistic process of corroboration. This leaves us with two negative definitions: *epistemicity* as a contribution to *certainty* that is not *evidential*, and *certainty* as a claim to truth that has to be verified extra-linguistically in order to become *true*.

2.3 Chapter 3

Chapter 3 is internally divided into six parts spread across 40 pages. Subsection 3.1 gives a summary of Bongelli and Zuczkowski (2008), a study on lexical and morphosyntactic

markers of evidentiality and epistemicity in a corpus of 780 written texts obtained during a video-description task where participants were asked to describe what they had *seen and felt* (ital.: *'visto e sentito'*) when watching three recordings of different dances (dervishes and acrobatic contemporary dances). The texts were qualitatively evaluated sentence by sentence for epistemic markers. The authors opt for an exemplification of their methodology with three text examples from the corpus, two of which show no *world-constitutive* (wc) markers. The first text (T1) is written in the past tense and mentions *seeing* and *hearing* as source of information, so the authors attribute it a *chain of worlds* as in (2):

(2) [I REMEMBER [I have seen and heard [T1]_{dp}]_{wcp}]_{pp}

Whereas the second text does not contain wc-markers either, the third contains five types of world-constitutive markers (4 verbs: *penso* 'I think', *credo* 'I believe', *ritengo* 'I think', *mi sembra* 'it seems to me'; 1 adverb: *forse* 'perhaps'). It thereby illustrates some lexical possibilities for expressing epistemic meanings in Italian and gives the reader an idea of what forms of expression are relevant for the KUB model.

Subsection 3.2 continues the discussion of the three corpus texts as well as made-up examples, but now with the goal of introducing the relation between evidential and epistemic worlds and the KUB model. Its main proposal is to interpret *certainty* as a form of communicating a *Knowing position*, *uncertainty* as a form of communicating a *Believing position*, and *wh-questions* as a form of communicating an *Unknowing position*.

Subsections 3.3 to 3.6 are dedicated to a summary of the respective markers of these positions. The *Knowing position* is attributed to verbs of knowing in the 1.PERS.PRST.IND. (such as *ricordo* 'I remember', *sento* 'I hear/feel', *vedo* 'I see', *so* 'I know') and in the 3.PERS.PRST.IND. (as in *immagini che richiamano alla mente I vortici corporali di Aldo Mondino* 'images that **recall** the whirling bodies of Aldo Mondino'). Moreover, verbal expressions such as *sono certo* 'I am sure' or *non ho dubbi* 'I have no doubt', as well as adverbs and adjectives such as *indubbiamente* 'undoubtedly', *sicuramente* 'surely', *certo* 'certain' etc., are subsumed under the *Knowing position*. The *Unknowing position* is attributed to *indirect wh-questions* as in (3), negations of *verbs of the Known* (4), and positive forms of *ignorare* (5). It is moreover associated with adjectives like *sconosciuto* 'unknown', *ignoto* 'unknown', *a me incomprendibile* 'incomprehensible to me'.

(3) **T13:** *Poi ho visto il ballerina in rosso e non so perché ma mi ha ricordato l'elemento fuoco*

Then I saw the dancer in red and **I don't know why but** he made me think of the element of fire

The *Believing position* covers a particularly large set of expressions, the categories of which are reproduced here:

- Lexical markers
 - Verbs (*suppongo* 'I suppose', *potere* 'can', *dovere* 'may/must')
 - Adjectives and adverbs (*probabile* 'likely', *possibile* 'possible', *forse* 'perhaps' etc.)
 - Nouns (*impressione* 'impression', *dubbio* 'doubt' etc.)
 - Noun expressions (*secondo me* 'In my opinion', *a mio parere* 'in my view' etc.)
- Morphosyntactic markers
 - Verbs in the conditional mood (*potrei* 'could', *dovrei* 'should', *vorrei* 'would' etc.)
 - Uncertain questions (*È forse X?* 'Is it maybe X?')
 - If-clauses and *congiuntivo trapassato*
 - Epistemic future

Finally, we also learn that, in total, about 13 percent of the words in the dervishes sub-corpus were syntactically dominated by a marker of *Belief*, 2 percent of markers of *Unknowing*, and the rest was communicated from a *Knowing position*.

2.4 Chapter 4

Chapter 4 aims at an experimental evaluation of the question if *certain* and *uncertain* are not just terminologically opposed (antonyms), but psychological contraries that are experienced as opposite ends of a single perceptual continuum. Based on an approach developed by Bianchi et al. 2013, they check whether two poles are inverse measurements of the same characteristics or rather measure different characteristics of a particular object. The chapter describes two successive experiments aimed at testing both the gradedness and unidimensionality of expressions used to refer to *certainly* and *uncertainty*.

The first experiment included 18 university students and two tasks. First, an individual production task had participants produce sentences that were in some way certain or uncertain. This method obtained 23 ways of expressing degrees of certainty and 22 ways of expressing degrees of uncertainty. Then, an inter-observation task asked the participants to discuss and collectively order the sentences along a horizontal bar (printed on paper)

according to their degree of certainty. Finally, the participants concluded the task by drawing a perpendicular line to indicate a division between certainty and uncertainty that would divide the entire set of expressions. The results show that both certainty and uncertainty are perceived as graded, though uncertainty receives a much higher degree of gradedness than certainty (with 2 out of 6 groups of participants considering it a point, that is, not gradable).

The second experiment involved 120 university students who had to rate the degree of certainty in 12 sentences on a 7-point Likert scale. The stimuli consisted of 6 pairs of sentences corresponding to the following categories of markers: (i) *sentence structure*: declarative – interrogative; (ii) *knowing – not knowing whether*: I know – I don't know whether; (iii) *doubt – absence of doubt*: undoubtedly – I doubt; (iv) *certainty – uncertainty*: I'm certain – I'm not certain; (v) *belief*: I believe – I think; (vi) *probability*: probably – perhaps. All these markers were combined with a carrier sentence about catching the 3 pm train, as in (4):

- (4) *Prenderò il treno delle 15*
I'll catch the 3 pm train

The results are evaluated by means of Guttman's deterministic scalogram (1950) and an Extended Logistic Model of the Rasch Model family (see e.g. Andrich 1978a; Andrich 1978b; 2010 among others). They show that all 12 sentences express *uncertainty* on a single continuum, whereas the interrogative sentence does not lie on a continuum of *certainty* with the other 11 sentences. The rest of the examples yield continuums for both dimensions with an 'item separation index' of 0.69, i.e. 'good' (Wright and Masters 1982; Embretson and Reise 2009). Moreover, the function obtained by combining the ratings for the two scales yields an identity function, which means that the two questionnaires measure one latent construct (Bond and Fox 2001).

2.5 Chapter 5

Chapter 5 explores advice giving activities in sequences of troubles talk. Its total length of 46 pages can roughly be divided into a short introduction and a summary of a previous study by the authors on troubles talk in 30 sequences from natural conversation (Riccioni, Bongelli and Zuczkowski 2014; subsection 5.1 and 5.2), an application of the KUB model to the same data (5.3 and 5.4).

In their previous study, the authors tried to capture the dynamics of troubles talk by focusing on the complementary roles of the *confider* (the party who talks about their own trouble) and

the *confidant* (the receiver of confidence) in what they see as an advice-giving triplet: *Initiation – Advice – Reaction* (IAR). Each position in the triplet has a certain paradigm of forms it can take (see Table 1 for forms and their number of occurrences in a total of 124 triplets).

Initiation	Requested (explicitly)	35
	Solicited (implicitly, by expressing doubt etc.)	9
	Unrequested (only problem mentioned)	80
Advice	Mitigated	49
	Unmitigated	75
Reaction	Alignment (endorsement of advice/roles)	34
	Partial alignment	30
	Misalignment	36

Table 1. Occurrences of advice giving strategies in troubles talk in Riccioni et al. (2014)

The three possible reaction categories do not sum up to the total of 124 because in 24 cases, there was no clear reaction by the confidants. Instead, they often ignored unrequested and unmitigated advice and simply continued their line of thought (a reaction coined *self-continuity*). Only seven combinations of IAR-triplets reached a frequency of above 5 percent. They are presented in Table 2.

IAR Triplet Types	N. IAR	%
UNREQUESTED—UNMITIGATED—MISALIGNED	21	16.9 %
REQUESTED—UNMITIGATED—ALIGNED	14	11.3 %
UNREQUESTED—UNMITIGATED—SELF-CONTINUITY	14	11.3 %
UNREQUESTED—MITIGATED—MISALIGNED	12	9.7 %
UNREQUESTED—MITIGATED—PARTIALLY ALIGNED	9	7.3 %
UNREQUESTED—UNMITIGATED—PARTIALLY ALIGNED	9	7.3 %
UNREQUESTED—MITIGATED—ALIGNED	7	5.6 %

Table 2. IAR triplet types in Riccioni et al. (2014) with frequency above 5 %

The core tendency is that unrequested advice will lead to misalignment in reactions, with mitigation playing a role in aligning the interlocutors' stances in some cases. The KUB model is then used as a means of explaining this tendency in the analysis of seven dialogues. They showcase a strong misalignment effect in one case of advice giving where confider and confidant both operate from a *Knowing* position, whereas different degrees of epistemic negotiation take place in the six other configurations of *Knowing*, *Believing*, and *Unknowing* confider and confidants.

2.6 Chapter 6

Chapter 6 investigates two interviews broadcast on an Italian TV-channel in the context of a case of homicide; the interview takes place between two journalists and a person who considers herself to be a clairvoyant. The first interview takes place while the victim is still considered missing, while the second takes place after the discovery of the corpse in a place and manner very similar to the one indicated by the supposed clairvoyant. Two excerpts from the first interview and four excerpts from the second interview are qualitatively and quantitatively compared in order to demonstrate the means by which the interlocutors attribute different epistemic statuses to each other and to themselves.

In sum, the journalists play two different roles, one displaying trust in the clairvoyant and the other showing skepticism, while the clairvoyant positions herself in a knowing position and aligns her answers only with the trustful interlocutor.

2.7 Chapter 7

Chapter 7 investigates a true crime-based talkshow on the murder of a child. Five participants of this show (a defense attorney, two psychiatrists, and two journalists) discuss evidence in a homicide case against the child's mother. Six excerpts were transcribed and annotated according to the KUB model and evaluated in terms of epistemic position and scope of the respective linguistic markers.

The quantitative evaluation of the annotated excerpts shows that the participants live up to their roles by assuming different epistemic positions. The attorney puts himself in a *Knowing position* by means of declarative sentences and the use of adverbs (*absolutely*, *completely*, *unequivocally*). The journalists, in turn, use a *Believing position* (consisting of hypotheses and 'hostile, hyperbolic rhetorical questions') to raise doubts about the attorney's view. Finally, the two psychiatrists build up a *Believing position* using counter-argumentation.

2.8 Chapter 8

After the three case studies in Chapters 5, 6, and 7, the authors turn to a comparison of their KUB model with Akio Kamio's theory of *Territories of information* (cf., e.g., (Kamio 1997a; Kamio 1997b)) and John Heritage's epistemic model (cf., e.g., (Heritage 2012a; Heritage 2012b)). As for Kamio's theory, its main point of divergence from the KUB model is the absence of an explicit *Unknowing position* and the conceptualization of information as belonging to either the speaker's or the hearer's informational territory. Moreover, the theory intends to give an account of the functional relationship between evidentiality and politeness in Japanese and English, an aspect not directly addressed in the KUB model.

Building on Kamio's theory, Heritage established the distinction between *epistemic status* and *epistemic stance*. The former is a role associated with responsibilities and rights in the social construction of truth, while the latter is a position an interlocutor can take in a conversation by choosing specific linguistic forms. Incongruence between the epistemic statuses of interlocutors are then seen as the driving force (the '*epistemic engine*') behind conversations in which the participants, who can occupy either a *more knowledgeable (K+)* or a *less knowledgeable (K-)* position, try to reach an informational equilibrium. The main difference between Heritage's theory and the KUB model is the absence of a *Believing position*, represented only in terms of degrees of knowledge on an assumed epistemic gradient between speaker and hearer.

2.9 Chapter 9

The outlook in Chapter 9 puts the KUB model into a disciplinary perspective, positioning it in between psychology and linguistics. The authors emphasize the highly unequal distribution of the three epistemic positions of the model in their empirical investigation, with high percentages of *Knowing* and *Believing*, whereas the *Unknowing position* only rarely occurred in the type of data analyzed. Based on the observation that forms of expressing the *Believed* are more numerous and varied cross-linguistically than markers of the other two epistemic positions, they argue for an investigation of such markers that take into account three levels: illocutionary forces, evidential-epistemic aspects, and propositional contents. Such a future scientific endeavors, they propose, should be based on combinatorics that link two KUB positions (speaker, hearer) and model the possible epistemic relations that arise. To give an example, see the combinations of KUB provenance and destination for wh-questions, yes-no questions, and rhetorical questions in Figure 1.

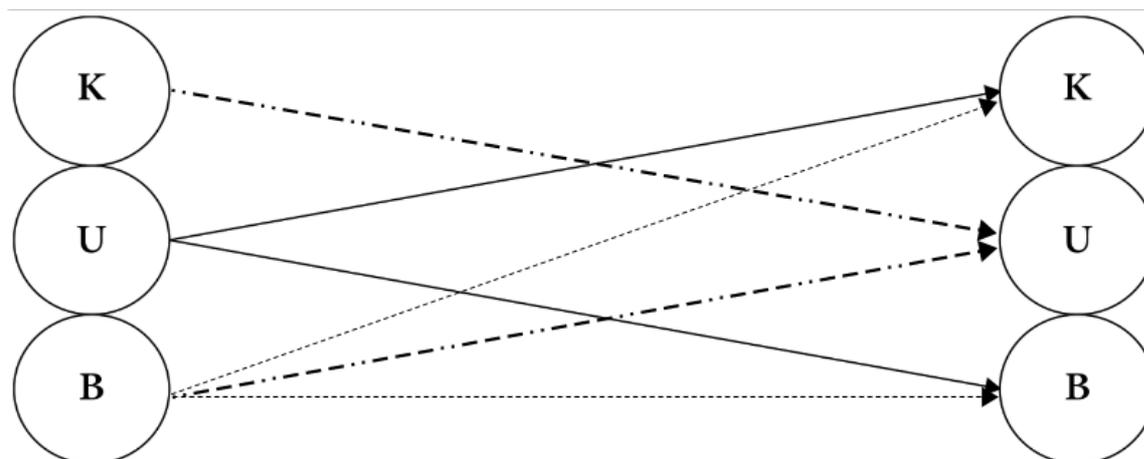


Figure 1. KUB provenance and destination of wh-questions (solid line), yes-no questions (dashed line), and rhetorical questions (dash-dotted line).

3. Evaluation

Only seldom does linguistic research combine the observation of a functional paradigm in natural language with an empirical investigation of the uni- or multidimensionality of the related psychological domain. Chapter 4 is therefore particularly innovative in the context of grammatical investigations in the field of conversation analysis and speech act theory. It is likewise of the utmost importance to have an explicit theory of both individual knowledge (Chapter 1) and interactional attribution of epistemic status and stance (Chapter 8) when analyzing such linguistic and psychological phenomena in dialogue data. Otherwise, the grammatical terminology all too often becomes a holistic label for a deeply structured phenomenon.

When dealing with the terminological pitfalls in the domain of evidentiality, epistemicity, speaker certainty, modality, attenuation, politeness, etc., it is moreover crucial to define every notion in terms of its relation to the other terms involved (level of analysis, implicational relations, interdependency, epiphenomena). As mentioned above (2.2), the authors define epistemicity only negatively as a contribution to certainty that is not evidential, but then fail to give an explicit account of (communicative) certainty in its own right. Given that the authors explicitly refer to Heritage's knowledge gradient (Heritage (2012b:32), they could have enhanced their definition of certainty by linking the two approaches. Certainty, defined as a stance based on a high position on the knowledge gradient in a conversation, could be observed in longer sequences of dialogue and would then form a point of departure for a narrower view on the epistemic forms used in specific utterances or turns.

The analysis of individual utterances or sentences in transcriptions from dialogue corpora, in turn, demands a fine-grained labelling and glossing of the lexical, morphological, and syntactic strategies that contribute to these levels of meaning. Zuczkowski, Bongelli, and Riccioni aim at accounting for both lexical and morphological forms, while taking into account the scope of these markers within specific sentences. In the discussion of specific examples, though, only passages of text are highlighted, without any further information on the grammatical mechanisms involved. From the perspective of linguistics, this reduces the cross-linguistic and theoretical comparability of the phenomena analyzed. From a typological perspective, a higher degree of consciousness about the specific language that forms the object of study, Italian, would also have made it easier to tie the results of this research to other investigations of epistemic and interactional phenomena in Italian (cf. (Portner and Zanuttini 2003); (Squartini 2010); (Cruschina 2011)), Romance languages (Cornillie 2010; Diewald and Smirnova 2010; Haßler 2010), and genetically unrelated languages (van der Auwera and Ammann 2013).

Finally, the authors make frequent use of prosodic cues to disambiguate the epistemic meanings of the sentences they analyze. The reader can only guess the specific acoustic form of what they call “*hostile hyperbolic rhetorical questions*” (Zuczkowski, Bongelli and Riccioni 2017:254) and has to believe the authors when they claim that “*from the tone with which the question is uttered it is impossible to assume that it is a challenge question (Koshik 2003) or an unmasking question (Vincze et al. 2016).*” (Zuczkowski et al. 2017:173). Given the recent surge of interest in epistemic prosody, a more explicit account of such cues would be a next step in this promising line of research (cf. Savino and Grice 2011, Vanrell et al. 2013, Moraes and Rilliard 2014; Frota and Prieto 2015; Bianchi, Bocci and Cruschina 2016; Reich in press).

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