

EVIDENTIALITY IN CONTRAST: SERBIAN AND ENGLISH ACADEMIC JOURNAL ARTICLES

TAMARA TOŠIĆ

University of Belgrade

Abstract: *This case study aims to compare the manner in which bilingual Serbian authors use evidential strategies in academic journal papers written in English and Serbian. Based on the results of manual corpus analysis, it can be concluded that the two languages are typologically similar in this regard. Nevertheless, considerable differences were found as well, such as the discrepancies in the ratios of evidential categories and parts of speech between the subcorpora. These dissimilarities may testify to the authors' high level of bilingualism. The conclusions reached in this paper apply only to the dataset under investigation.*

Keywords: *academic writing, bilingual authors, epistemic stance, evidentiality, intersubjectivity*

1. Introduction

Evidentiality, as a field of research within linguistics, has attracted the attention of researchers for several decades and, thus, has established a tradition of its own. To begin the consideration of evidentiality in this paper, the term must be accurately defined. The working definition, which will be applied throughout the empirical segment of this paper, is that evidentiality is the linguistic marking of information source. The said definition is derived from other more complex explanations proposed by renowned linguists (e.g. Aikhenvald 2004, 2007; Chafe 1986; Cornillie 2009; Nuyts 2017). One such exposition can be found in Chafe (1986: 262–263), who puts knowledge at the centre of his model. Tightly related to the notion of knowledge are modes of knowing, i.e. belief, induction, hearsay and deduction, which are based on sources of knowledge (unknown, evidence, language and hypothesis, respectively). It is the modes of knowing that are marked linguistically and that are examined in this study and many others.

One of the most influential theories of evidentiality was formulated by Aikhenvald (2004; 2008). The focal point of her model is the distinction between languages with mandatory evidentiality marking and languages in which disclosing the information source is optional. Languages from the former group use grammatical means to signal evidentiality, while those belonging to the latter group, according to her, may either use evidential strategies, i.e. extensions of already existing grammatical devices, or other means of marking information source, i.e. lexical devices. Serbian and English, the languages under consideration in this paper, both

belong to the second group. As was the case in Tošić (forthcoming), following Trbojević Milošević (2018), so as to avoid any confusion, the term *evidential strategy* will be used to cover both options Aikhenvald provides for languages without an obligatory linguistic category of evidentiality.

Delineating evidentiality as a linguistic category has sparked quite a lively debate. Namely, authors disagree on what the relationship between evidentiality and epistemic modality is. As is neatly summarized in Tosun and Vaid (2018: 133–134), the relations between the two categories suggested so far by eminent linguists (e.g. Aikhenvald 2004; Cornillie 2009; de Haan 1999; Palmer 2001; van der Auwera and Plungian 1998) are (1) complete disjointment – they are two wholly separate categories; (2) inclusion – one category subsumes the other; (3) overlap – the two categories share certain markers but possess their own unshared markers as well; (4) identity – they are the same and all markers are shared between them. Trbojević Milošević (2021: 32) offers a solution to this everlasting discussion. Her *interfacing* view postulates evidentiality as a cornerstone of epistemic modality. This makes perfect sense – broadly speaking, we need to bear in mind what the information is and where it comes from in order to be able to form our stance on it. Also, it can be said that epistemic modality is necessary for comprehending pragmatics and the inner workings of language in everyday life. Therefore, evidentiality is a vital link in the chain of understanding human communication as a whole. This is especially true for the academic writing register, where, without a clear presentation of the sources from which the researcher has gathered her/his information, the paper would be deemed unacceptable.

Another vital aspect to give thought to prior to commencing research on the topic of evidentiality is the categorization paradigm that will be adopted. In this case study, the classification given in Trbojević Milošević (2018: 137–139) will be enforced, for it is straightforward yet comprehensive. The author divides evidence into direct and indirect, based on the type of access speakers have to it. Sensory evidentiality is derived from direct evidence, while indirect evidence gives rise to reportive and inferred evidentiality. Sensory evidentiality is founded on information gathered using the senses, reportive evidentiality rests on the knowledge we have heard or learned from other people and inferred evidentiality draws on the speaker's or others' thought processes. Of course, a plethora of other paradigms have been devised by linguists. For instance, Čikara (2017: 130–133) follows Popović (2012) in distinguishing between evidentials marking first-hand personal experience (which incorporate zero evidentiality i.e. sensory evidentials and inferential evidentials) and reportive evidentials.

Two more terms shall be accounted for within this theoretical framework – epistemic stance and intersubjectivity. These concepts are highly significant for qualitative analysis since they pertain to the way evidentiality is used in context and its pragmatic effects.

As defined by Biber and Finegan (1988: 2), epistemic stance markers denote “[...] speakers’ (or writers’) attitudes towards their messages.” Naturally, the epistemic stance expressed by a speaker may be stronger (marked by e.g. *surely*) or

weaker (marked by e.g. *maybe*). Interestingly enough, during their cluster analysis, Biber and Finegan (1988: 23) claim that epistemic stance signals are not and should not be frequent in academic discourse. However, Gray and Biber (2015) reassess this belief by proving the hypothesis that, in academic discourse, stance is conveyed in less obvious, more sophisticated ways. The hypothesis will be tested in this case study as well.

According to Verhagen (2008: 307), intersubjectivity is “understood as the mutual sharing of experiential-conceptual content between subjects of experience.” If applied to evidentiality, intersubjectivity can be seen as an assertion of the shared status of evidence. The word *assertion* is intentionally used here since, in academic writing, as will be seen, intersubjectivity is most commonly used to reinforce the arguments presented in the paper. For instance, as Trbojević Milošević (2021: 31) illustrates, the first person plural may be used to present attitudes as belonging to a group of people, which may, in turn, strengthen them. As will be shown in the qualitative part of the analysis below, this phenomenon also occurs in the corpus at hand.

Bearing the abovementioned in mind, the aim of this paper is to identify and analyse the evidential markers bilingual Serbian researchers in the field of linguistics (and literature) use when writing in English and Serbian and to determine whether a typological similarity or difference may be asserted. This case study is a continuation of the one given in Tošić (forthcoming).

2. Corpus and methodology

The corpus for this case study comprises 10 academic journal articles written in English by Serbian linguists and 10 more authored by the same researchers in Serbian. The English subcorpus, which was the subject of the study presented in Tošić (forthcoming), was taken as a starting point. The 10 papers constituting the said subcorpus were all taken from the 10th edition of the BELLS journal. Since the issue was edited by Rasulić and Trbojević (2018) in honour of Ranko Bugarski, one of the most prominent Serbian linguists, it features a representative sample of the most acclaimed language researchers from Serbia. Then, using Google Scholar as the main search engine, the Serbian subcorpus was compiled out of papers written by the same authors in their native language, Serbian. Both external and internal criteria were taken into consideration when selecting the articles for inclusion in the Serbian segment of the corpus. In terms of external aspects, only open-access papers were considered for this study in order to ensure research transparency and reproducibility. Apart from that, the length, type of paper (i.e. research vs. review paper), number of authors and year of publication were all taken into account. With regard to internal features, an effort was made to mirror the topics found in the English subcorpus. Nonetheless, a considerable challenge presented itself during this part of the study – the choice of papers written in Serbian was highly limited, which forced certain discrepancies between the two corpora into being. Most noticeably, two articles in the Serbian subcorpus are co-authored, while all

the papers in the English subcorpus are single-authored and the length of the two subcorpora is not the same. The limited number of academic articles written in Serbian can be explained by a broader phenomenon, where authors tend to write in English instead of their native language in order to increase the visibility of their research (see e.g. Ammon 2001; Filipović 2014).

Be all that as it may, the corpus analysed in this study contains 116,929 words in total. The English articles contribute 61,785 words to that count, while the Serbian subcorpus totals 55,144 words. The full list of articles can be found in the Corpus section at the end of this paper. The abbreviations given in the said section will be used when citing examples from the corpus. The corpus was studied manually instead of using a pre-made list of devices in order to catch the more subtle and unusual ways of marking evidentiality representative of the academic register and to highlight qualitative insights. While manual analysis is one of the greatest advantages of this study, it is one of its pitfalls as well. Namely, all the figures presented in the Results and Analysis section should be viewed as preliminary and will be verified in a future computer-assisted study. Another limitation of this piece of research is the abovementioned disparity between the corpora, which is why all the values will be normalized per one thousand words. Finally, it must be emphasized that the conclusions reached in this case study apply only to the limited dataset it was performed on.

3. Results and analysis

This part of the paper will contain a brief overview of the preliminary quantitative data, followed by a focus on qualitative data i.e. the presentation of evidential markers found in the corpus and the analysis of several notable examples. The qualitative data will provide the full picture of the two subcorpora and, therefore, lead to an interpretation of the quantitative data. At this point, it must be stressed one more time that a study based on the English part of the corpus was presented in Tošić (forthcoming), so some of the data put forward in that article will be given here as well with minor corrections and adjustments. Nonetheless, in this paper, the emphasis will be on comparing and contrasting the two subcorpora in order to determine whether they display typological similarity or difference.

3.1. Quantitative overview

To begin with, the English segment of the corpus includes 1,574 evidential strategies (25.47 per one thousand words – hereinafter ptw), while 1,783 evidentials can be found in the Serbian part of the corpus (32.33 ptw). Both of these counts are quite high when compared to other genres, such as political interviews (Trbojević-Milošević 2018) or academic abstracts (Alonso-Almeida 2014). The frequency of evidentials is notably higher in the Serbian subcorpus than in its English counterpart.

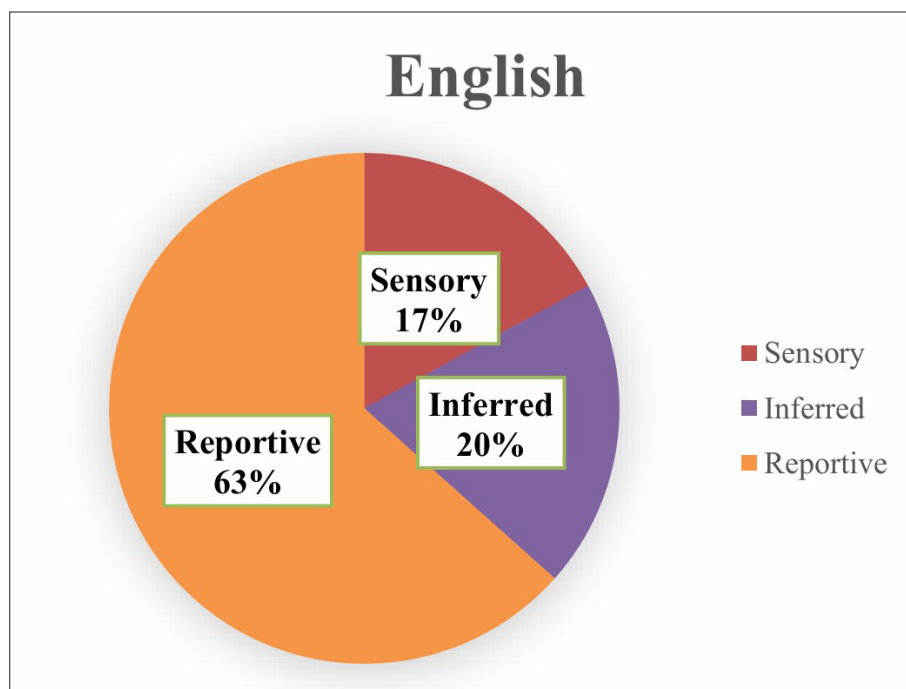


Figure 1. Ratio of evidential categories in the English subcorpus

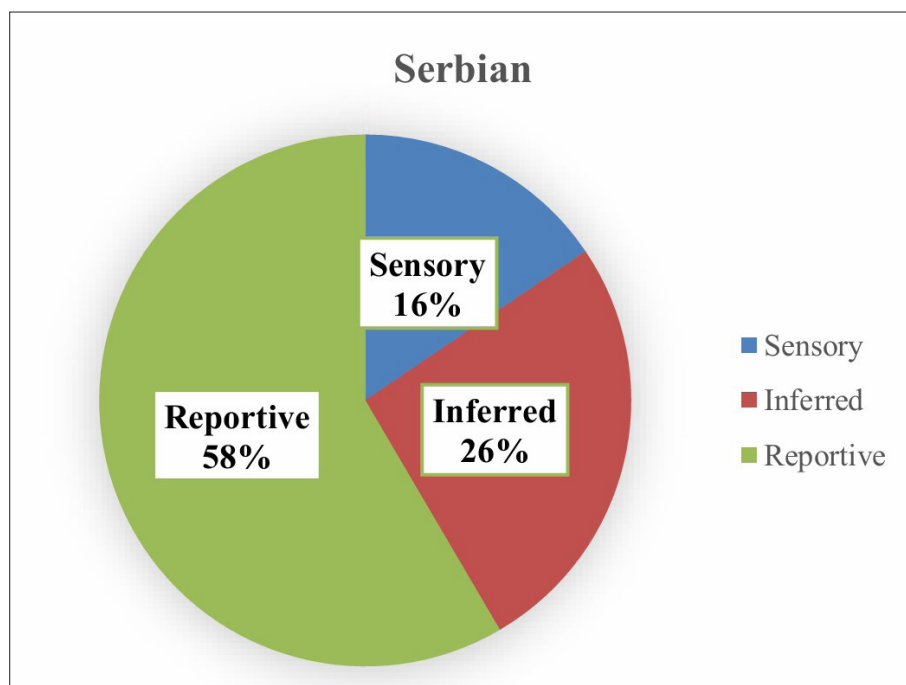


Figure 2. Ratio of evidential categories in the Serbian subcorpus

The pie charts featured in Figures 1 and 2 show how well-represented each of the evidential categories is in the English and Serbian subcorpora, respectively. Overall, the categories are distributed similarly, with reportive evidentials leading the counts in both data subsets. However, the inferred category is more common in Serbian academic papers, where it occurs 8.41 times ptw, compared to 4.98 times ptw in articles written in English.

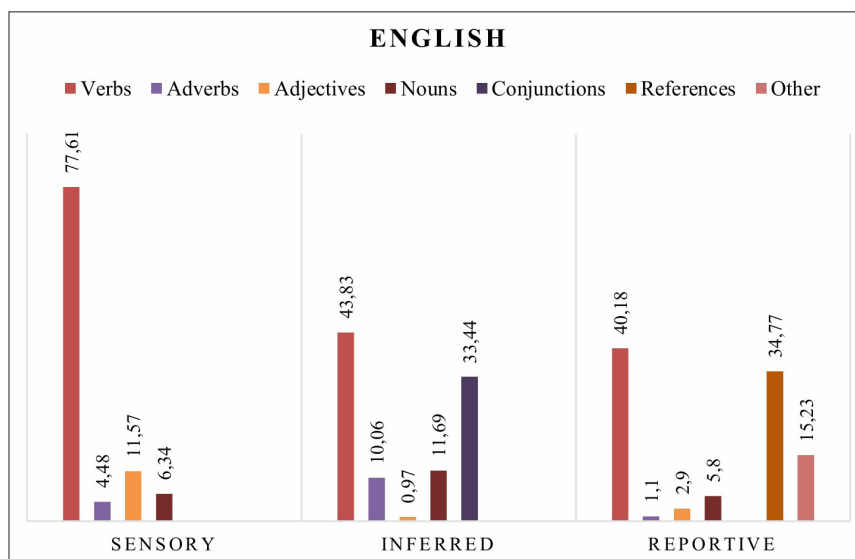


Figure 3. Part of speech distribution per evidential category (English subcorpus); given as percentage per category

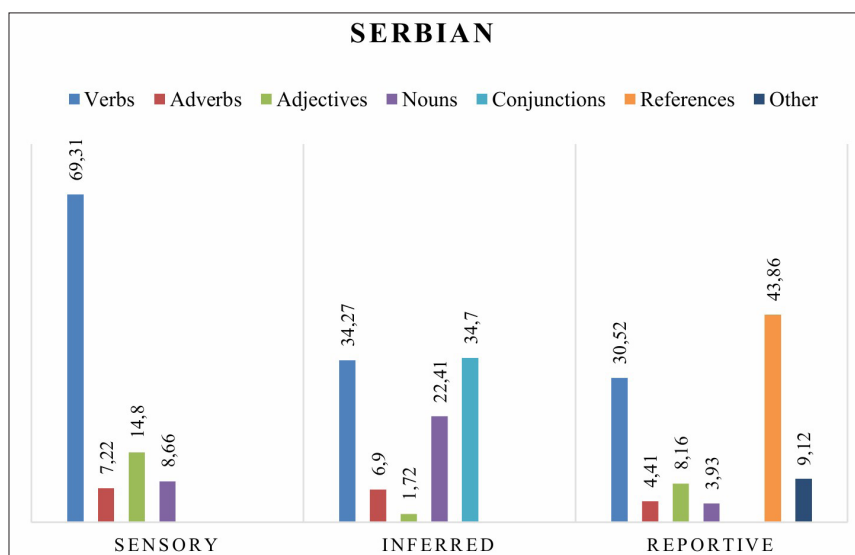


Figure 4. Part of speech distribution per evidential category (Serbian subcorpus); given as percentage per category

When it comes to the dispersal of part of speech categories within the evidential categories, in Figures 3 and 4, several considerable differences between the two subcorpora can be noticed. Though the ratio between the parts of speech in the sensory category is quite similar in both languages, it can be seen that authors tend to use sensory adverbs, adjectives and nouns more frequently when they write in Serbian. The dissimilarities are more evident in the inferred category. According to the collected data, authors favour inferred nouns in Serbian more than they do in English, while the opposite is true for inferred adverbs. This spike in the use of inferred nouns may explain the higher frequency of inferred evidentials in the Serbian corpus and partly account for the higher frequency of evidential strategies in general in the Serbian corpus – inferred nouns are used 36 times in the English subcorpus (0.58 ptw) and 104 times in the Serbian subcorpus (1.89 ptw). The reportive category also highlights the discrepancy between the two languages. Namely, references dominate the counts in the Serbian subcorpus, while reportive verbs are the most common in the English corpus. Furthermore, markers belonging to the “other” category (including evidential uses of the Saxon Genitive and certain linking phrases, as will be explained in the next section) occur more often in English, but reportive adjectives are 4 times more frequent in Serbian. All of the listed quantitative data will be contextualized and interpreted in the next part of this paper.

3.2. Qualitative analysis

This section will set forth the evidential markers discovered in the corpus and the relevant examples featuring those markers, followed by a discussion of several significant qualitative observations made during the corpus analysis.

ENGLISH		SERBIAN	
VERBS		VERBS	
see (59; 0.95) show (26; 0.42) find (20; 0.32) reveal (19; 0.31) identify (16; 0.26) perceive (14; 0.23)	observe (13; 0.21) notice (5; 0.08) recognize (5; 0.08) feature (5; 0.08) appear (5; 0.08)	primetiti <i>notice</i> (29; 0.53) videti <i>see</i> (27; 0.49) uočiti <i>identify</i> (22; 0.4) posmatrati <i>view</i> (19; 0.34) pokazati <i>show</i> (19; 0.34)	javiti se <i>appear</i> (13; 0.24) činiti se <i>seem*</i> (10; 0.18) naći <i>find</i> (10; 0.18) otkriti <i>reveal</i> (6; 0.11) uvideti <i>realize*</i> (5; 0.09)
ADVERBS	ADJECTIVES	ADVERBS	ADJECTIVES
clearly (9; 0.15)	clear (9; 0.15) evident (7; 0.11)	jasno <i>clearly</i> (9; 0.16) naizgled <i>seemingly*</i> (7; 0.13)	jasan <i>clear</i> (13; 0.24) prisutan <i>present</i> (7; 0.13) očigledan <i>obvious</i> (5; 0.09)
NOUNS		NOUNS	
observation (5; 0.08)		[imati u] vidu <i>[bear in] mind*</i> (10; 0.18) pogled <i>glance/view*</i> (5; 0.09)	

Table 1. Sensory evidential markers

Table 1 above displays the most frequent sensory evidentials found in the two subcorpora, along with their absolute and relative (per one thousand words)

frequencies in the brackets. For all the Serbian evidential devices, English equivalents are also provided in italics. In this table and the ones that follow, only items that occur 5 or more times and are used by more than one author are offered, as they are the most consequential for the current study.

Firstly, the asterisk symbols appearing next to some of the markers shall be addressed. As is apparent from the English equivalents, the words and phrases singled out here lean towards the inferred category of evidentials. Nevertheless, in Serbian, their semantics is clearly sensory, which is not the case in English. For instance, in the phrase *imati u vidu*, *vid* (i.e. sight) translates into English as *mind*. This is a feature characteristic of the Serbian evidential system, which has been previously noticed by linguists. Popović (2010: 23), among others, notices that, in the mind of a Serbian speaker, visual input plays a vital role in the way an individual experiences life. Popović (ibid.) classifies such phrases as inferred markers, while, here, the decision was made to count them as sensory based on their semantics. Either way, this phenomenon makes the line between inferred and sensory evidentials in Serbian exceptionally thin.

Moving on to the interpretation of the data presented in the table, it can be seen that the markers used in both languages are roughly the same, but the frequencies are different. *See* is by far the most common sensory evidential verb in English, whereas, in Serbian, *primetiti*, which is similar in meaning to *notice*, tops the frequency list, while *videti* (i.e. *see*) closely follows. The examples below show the similarities in how *see*, *primetiti* and *videti* are used:

- (1) As *can be seen* from Table 2 below, the adjunct clauses are [...] (VPe: 97; emp. mine)
- (2) *Može se primetiti* i da u okviru pojedinih lingvističkih teorija i pristupa [...] (VPs: 427; emp. mine) (*It can be noticed* that within certain linguistic theories and approaches [...])
- (3) *Vidi se* da trener na samom početku koristi marker privlačenja pažnje [...] (ITMs: 50; emp. mine) (*It can be seen* that, at the very beginning, the coach uses an attention-grabbing marker [...])

Sentences (2) and (3) demonstrate that, when used in context, *primetiti* and *videti* are almost interchangeable in Serbian. The similarity between the two languages becomes blatantly obvious when the English example is taken into consideration. What these three sentences have in common when it comes to verb forms is that they are all passivized. Sentences (1) and (2) make use of the same modal verb (*can* or *moći*), combined with the passive infinitive in English and the reflexive passive in Serbian. Though the third example features only the reflexive passive, if it were translated into English, it would also incorporate the modal verb *can* and a passive infinitive. All the explained devices, i.e. modal verbs and passivized forms, provide the author with a certain amount of distance from what is being said and, thus, allow her/him to assume an objective stance.

ENGLISH		SERBIAN	
<u>VERBS</u>		<u>VERBS</u>	
seem (27; 0.44) consider (18; 0.29) understand (14; 0.23) take to [be/mean...] (14; 0.23)	draw on (10; 0.16) interpret (7; 0.11) appear [to be] (6; 0.1) believe (6; 0.1) conclude (5; 0.09) think (5; 0.09) find (5; 0.09)	smatrati <i>consider</i> (43; 0.78) podrazumevati <i>imply</i> (39; 0.71) zaključiti <i>conclude</i> (15; 0.27)	misлити <i>think</i> (12; 0.22) shvatiti <i>understand</i> (8; 0.14) znati <i>know</i> (5; 0.09)
<u>CONJUNCTIONS</u>		<u>CONJUNCTIONS</u>	
thus (39; 0.63) therefore (15; 0.24) consequently (9; 0.15) since (8; 0.13)	hence (7; 0.11) [which] is why (6; 0.1) due to (6; 0.1) because (5; 0.09) bearing in mind (5; 0.09)	jer <i>because/for</i> (29; 0.53) zbog <i>because of</i> (27; 0.49) budući da <i>since/as</i> (25; 0.45) stoga <i>therefore/ consequently</i> (25; 0.45)	dakle <i>consequently</i> (20; 0.36) pošto <i>since</i> (8; 0.14) zato <i>because</i> (7; 0.13) tako da <i>so</i> (6; 0.11) samim tim <i>therefore</i> (5; 0.09)
<u>NOUNS</u> reason (11; 0.18) conclusion (5; 0.09) assumption (5; 0.09)	<u>ADVERBS</u> perhaps (11; 0.18) probably (9; 0.15) possibly (6; 0.1) seemingly (5; 0.09)	<u>NOUNS</u> stav <i>attitude</i> (30; 0.54) [uzeti u/s] obzir[om] <i>consider[ing]</i> (16; 0.29) razlog <i>reason</i> (11; 0.2) mišljenje <i>opinion</i> (5; 0.09)	<u>ADVERBS</u> verovatno <i>probably</i> (13; 0.24) možda <i>maybe</i> (9; 0.16) nesumnjivo (7; 0.13)
		<u>ADJECTIVES</u> poznato <i>known</i> (5; 0.09)	

Table 2. Inferred evidential markers

Looking at Table 2, it can be concluded that the markers employed by linguists in English and Serbian are relatively similar, with two distinct differences. First of all, the inferred verbs in Serbian are slightly less variegated than the English verbs – there are 11 English verbs with 5 or more mentions in the corpus, while there are only 6 on the Serbian side. Moreover, while *seem* and *consider* are the most common inferred verbs in the English articles, when writing in Serbian, authors usually opt for *verovati* (i.e. *consider*) and *podrazumevati* (i.e. *imply*) in Serbian. The case of *podrazumevati* is quite fascinating since it is highly frequent in Serbian, which is not the case with its English equivalent *imply*.

- (4) [...] pri čemu *se podrazumeva* da je reč o prošlom vremenu. (TaPs: 153; emp. mine) ([...] whereby *it is implied* that it is about a past tense.)

Sentence (4) exemplifies a typical context in which *podrazumevati* appears in Serbian. The author utilizes the reflexive passive to increase the deictic distance between herself and the stated information. This dovetails with the idea that the said verb is borderline reportive since it appeals to common knowledge or refers to information other people take for granted.

As it was mentioned in the previous section, another notable dissimilarity between the two subcorpora is that inferred nouns appear more often in Serbian than in English. It needs to be disclosed here that *stav* (i.e. *attitude*) owes its high frequency to a paper which reports on language attitudes through history (ABs).

Still, inferred nouns are much more common in Serbian than in English with as many as 16 nouns not even making it to Table 2 since they occurred fewer than 5 times.

- (5) Iako u nekim disciplinama još uvek vlada *stav* da poštovanje publike uključuje držanje pripremljenog sinopsisa u rukama, [...] (BAs: 944; emp. mine) (Although in some disciplines the *attitude* that respecting the audience entails holding a prepared synopsis still prevails, [...])

The noun *stav* usually occurs in contexts akin to sentence (5). Here, it is followed by a *da*-clause (*that*-clause) which elucidates the attitude in question and, therefore, presents it quite objectively. This evidential is also partly reportive since it refers to other people's opinions.

ENGLISH		SERBIAN	
VERBS		VERBS	
say (37; 0.6)	signal (12; 0.19)	navesti <i>state</i> (36; 0.65)	[s]pomenuti <i>mention</i> (11; 0.2)
note (25; 0.4)	emphasize (11; 0.18)	istaći <i>emphasize</i> (32; 0.58)	objasniti <i>explain</i> (11; 0.2)
point out (21; 0.34)	write (11; 0.18)	govoriti <i>say</i> (20; 0.36)	pisati <i>write</i> (10; 0.18)
describe (20; 0.32)	add (10; 0.16)	prikazati <i>show</i> (19; 0.34)	napomenuti <i>note</i> (10; 0.18)
mention (16; 0.26)	address (10; 0.16)	opisati <i>describe</i> (19; 0.34)	ukazati na <i>point to</i> (8; 0.14)
argue (16; 0.26)	illustrate (7; 0.11)	kazati <i>say</i> (18; 0.33)	predložiti <i>suggest</i> (7; 0.13)
present (15; 0.24)	claim (6; 0.1)	predstaviti <i>present</i> (16; 0.29)	implicirati <i>imply</i> (7; 0.13)
suggest (14; 0.23)	state (6; 0.1)	reći <i>say</i> (15; 0.27)	zabeležiti <i>record</i> (7; 0.13)
propose (14; 0.23)	stress (6; 0.1)	naglasiti <i>stress</i> (13; 0.24)	tvrditi <i>claim</i> (7; 0.13)
show (14; 0.23)	depict (6; 0.1)		
discuss (14; 0.23)	follow[ing] (5; 0.08)		
point to (13; 0.21)	acknowledge (5; 0.08)		
	establish (5; 0.08)		

Table 3. Reportive evidential markers – verbs

ENGLISH		SERBIAN	
OTHER		OTHER	ADJECTIVES
Saxon Genitive (68; 1.1)	by + name (18; 0.29)	possessive adj. derived from name (30; 0.54)	dat <i>given</i> (24; 0.43)
[to be] based on (24; 0.39)	adj. derived from name (6; 0.1)	[noun] + name in Genitive (27; 0.49)	[s]pomenut <i>mentioned/said</i> (16; 0.29)
according to (19; 0.31)	of course (5; 0.08)	prema <i>according to</i> (19; 0.34)	[gore]naveden <i>[above] mentioned</i> (14; 0.25)
		na osnovu <i>based on</i> (8; 0.14)	takozvani <i>so-called</i> (11; 0.2)
			uobičajen <i>usual</i> (7; 0.13)
NOUNS	REFERENCES	NOUNS	REFERENCES
fact (22; 0.36)	347 (5.62)	činjenica <i>fact</i> (20; 0.36)	457 (8.29)
description (11; 0.18)		navođenje <i>stating</i> (5; 0.09)	
ADVERBS		ADVERBS	
usually (11; 0.18)		obično <i>usually</i> (22; 0.4)	
		naravno <i>of course</i> (10; 0.18)	
		svakako <i>certainly</i> (8; 0.14)	

Table 4. Reportive evidential markers – other parts of speech

Devices used to mark reportive evidentiality are provided in Tables 3 and 4. Before we move on to the analysis, it should be noted that adverbs such as *usually* and *obično*, adjectives like *uobičajen* (*usual*) and the noun *fact* (*činjenica*) were not taken into consideration in Tošić (forthcoming), but are recognized here as markers of common knowledge – if something is usually the case or is a fact, then we are reporting what we have heard and learned from other people so far. This is illustrated by examples such as (6) and (7):

- (6) The primacy dispute [...] developed as a result of the *fact* that both evidentiality and epistemic modality had (or rather have) been understood in their broader and narrower senses [...] (ITMe: 133; emp. mine)
- (7) *Obično* se kao „zlatno doba” određuje neki pređašnji period [...] (ABs: 212; emp. mine) (*Usually*, a past period is defined as a “golden age” [...])

The reportive evidentiality in sentence (6), as well as other examples featuring the evidential noun *fact*, is not only contained in the semantics of the noun itself but also in the presupposition triggered by the *that*-clause. The subordinate clause explaining what the fact is presupposes its existence, making such claims quite assertive. On the other hand, example (7) is more straightforward. The author refers to what he has heard or learned is most commonly the case.

The rest of Tables 3 and 4 provides ample opportunity for analysis as well. Starting with Table 3, i.e. the reportive verbs, it can be observed that, similarly to the verbs from the inferred category, the verbs used in Serbian are less heterogeneous than those the authors employ when writing in English. Namely, in the English subcorpus, 25 verbs have frequency counts higher than five, with *say* being the most usual one, while in Serbian, only 18 reportive verbs appear more than five times, with *navesti* (i.e. *state*) being the most common one. Even though the most frequent verbs differ in the two data subsets, it should be noted that reportive verbs *govoriti*, *kazati* and *reći* converge towards the verb *say* in English; that is, their meanings are more or less the same, as is evident from Table 3. Thus, it can actually be claimed that the most commonly chosen reportive verb is the same in both corpora.

Table 4 presents the remaining parts of speech used to signal reportive evidentiality in both languages. The largest difference observed in this segment of the data is the fact that, in Serbian, researchers tend to use adjectives rather frequently, which is not the case when they are writing in English. Some examples featuring reportive adjectives in Serbian are as follows:

- (8) [...] nova prevodilačka rešenja koja autorka smatra kreativnijim i adekvatnijim u *datim* primerima. (OPKs: 93; emp. mine) ([...] new translation solutions which the author considers more creative and more adequate in the *given* examples.)
- (9) U ovoj završnoj rečenici *tzv.* implicitna [...] metafora „povinovanja“ [...] (KBs: 149; emp. mine) (In this final sentence the *so-called* implicit metaphor of “compliance” [...])

Example (8) shows that reportive adjectives in Serbian may be used to refer to what has been mentioned prior in the article – *pomenut* and *naveden* from Table 4 (both meaning *mentioned*) carry out the same function. Another role of reportive

adjectives is instantiated by sentence (9), where *tzv.* (short for *takozvana*, i.e. *so-called*) points to common knowledge.

Even though several dissimilarities between the two corpora were foregrounded with regard to reportive evidentiality, it must be emphasized that the authors employ the same (or at least remarkably similar) devices to mark the said category. The greatest difference is the distribution of the markers, but the languages are comparable in this respect.

The qualitative analysis section of this paper will be closed with a couple of remarks concerning the entirety of the two subcorpora, which will highlight their similarities. Starting with the way the listed markers occur in context, it was noticed that, in both Serbian and English, evidential strategies incorporate the use of the passive or modal verbs. Note the following examples:

- (10) [...] *it is hoped* that the present discussion provides a step towards more nuanced methodologies [...] (KBe: 126; emp. mine)
- (11) *Smatra se* da je zalaženje u publiku više štetno nego korisno, ali [...] (BAs: 944; emp. mine) (*It is considered* that going into the audience does more harm than good, but [...])
- (12) [...] the author of this paper suggests that its function as a self-politeness strategy *could be seen* as fitting into the frame of [...] (OPKe: 168; emp. mine)
- (13) *Može se primetiti* i da u okviru pojedinih lingvističkih teorija i pristupa [...] (VPs: 427; emp. mine) (*It can be noticed* that within certain linguistic theories and approaches [...])

Sentences (10) and (11) show that the passive is used in both languages to increase the distance between the author and the information s/he is presenting and to display the proposition as being objective, even though it may be completely subjective, like in example (10). In Serbian, authors tend to employ the reflexive passive, with the reflexive pronoun *se* (i.e. *[one]self*), more frequently than its counterpart formed with the auxiliary *biti* (i.e. *to be*). The use of modals is exemplified by sentences (12) and (13). In both examples, the authors decided to complete the modals with passives – a passive infinitive in English and a reflexive passive in Serbian. The combination of modals and passives is quite common throughout the two subcorpora and fuses the properties of the passive explained above with the epistemic meaning of the modals.

Similarly to the passive, intersubjectivity and epistemic stance are marked in nearly identical ways in the two languages. Examples include:

- (14) *We can see*, in other words, that even when Yugoslav linguists did engage in sociolinguistics [...] (ABe: 195; emp. mine)
- (15) [...] *što* u savremenom srpskom jeziku, kao *što smo videli* na mnogobrojnim primerima, nije slučaj. (TaPs: 158; emp. mine) ([...] which is not the case in contemporary Serbian, as *we have seen* in numerous examples.)
- (16) [...] only one metaphorical representation is *clearly* found to be prominent in both datasets [...] (KBe: 113; emp. mine)
- (17) Ovde je *nužno* istaći dve bitne okolnosti: prvo, [...] (TvPs: 32; emp. mine) (*It is necessary* to emphasize two important circumstances here: firstly, [...])

As can be seen from (14) and (15), in both languages, authors usually opt for the first person plural when they want to mark intersubjectivity. Of course, in English, the personal pronoun is a necessary marker, while the morphological grammatical marking is sufficient in Serbian. By employing intersubjectivity, as explained in the Introduction, the authors strengthen their position by presenting their views and observations as if they belonged to a group of people. In both Serbian and English, writers commonly resort to adjectives and adverbs to signal their epistemic stance. Thus, in examples (16) and (17) the authors express a stronger epistemic stance, using an adverb in the former and an adjective in the latter.

4. Conclusion

What can be concluded from the above analyses is that, based on the datasets studied here, Serbian and English are typologically similar in terms of the evidential strategies used in the academic writing register. The categorization of evidentials is the same in both languages (sensory, inferred, reportive), both languages predominantly mark evidentiality lexically, the parts of speech used to signal evidentiality are remarkably similar and the contextual devices appearing frequently with the evidentials are identical (passives, modals, intersubjectivity, epistemic stance). Nevertheless, considerable differences between the two subcorpora were discovered as well, such as the discrepancies in the ratios of evidential categories and parts of speech occurring in the corpus and a more diverse range of inferred and reportive verbs in English than in Serbian. It can be said that these dissimilarities are larger than anticipated and that they may testify to the fact that the authors display a high level of bilingualism and have independent mental lexicons for the two languages at their disposal (see e.g. Macnamara 1967; Scarborough et al. 1984).

The two major limitations of this study are the manual corpus analysis providing only tentative quantitative data and limited corpus data overall, including papers of only 10 authors in total. Both of these limitations will be addressed in future studies by broadening the scope of the corpus and using corpus analysis software to obtain figures. Those future pieces of research, along with this case study and Tošić (forthcoming), will all be a part of my PhD thesis focused on evidentiality in academic writing across varieties and disciplines, whose aim is to help clarify the rules of academic writing which many writers find elusive.

Corpus

English subcorpus

- Journal: Rasulić, Katarina, Ivana Trbojević Milošević (eds.). 2018. *BELLS 10* [Special issue].
- Articles: AAe: Aničić, Andrijana. 2018. "The common language of discipline: *Nesting pedagogy* and alternative subject positions in power in Serbia" in *BELLS*, 10, pp. 259-281.
- BAe: Arsenijević, Boban. 2018. "The language of Dorian Gray: Why the social and cultural treatment of genders cannot be improved by acting on their reflections in language" in *BELLS*, 10, pp. 283-298.

- ABe: Bjelaković, Andrej. 2018. "Whither variationist sociolinguistics in Serbia?" in *BELLS*, 10, pp. 193-227.
- KBe: Bogetić, Ksenija. 2018. "Discursive metaphorical frames: *The violence over language* frame in Serbian and British newspaper discourse" in *BELLS*, 10, pp. 105-130.
- GLKe: Lalić-Krstin, Gordana. 2018. "Translating English wordplay into Serbian: Evidence from three dystopian novels" in *BELLS*, 10, pp. 327-348.
- OPKe: Panić-Kavgić, Olga. 2018. "Hedging in disagreements in US film dialogues: A sign of (self-)politeness, politic behaviour and an identity marker" in *BELLS*, 10, pp. 157-175.
- VPe: Pavlović, Vladan. 2018. "On the blurred boundaries between superordinate and subordinate clauses in English" in *BELLS*, 10, pp. 85-103.
- TaPe: Petrović, Tanja. 2018. "Linguistic creativity: A view from the periphery of the Serbian linguistic space" in *BELLS*, 10, pp. 299-325.
- TvPe: Prčić, Tvrtko. 2018. "The makings of an ideal general-purpose dictionary: theoretical underpinnings" in *BELLS*, 10, pp. 67-83.
- ITMe: Trbojević-Milošević, Ivana. 2018. "Corpus evidence for evidentials in English and Serbian political interviews" in *BELLS*, 10, pp. 131-156.

Serbian subcorpus

- BAs: Arsenijević, Boban. 2012. "Poruka svetu: Kako svom istraživanju obezbediti dobro predstavljanje zajednici" in *Теме – Часопис за друштвене науке*, 36 (2), pp. 939-951.
- ABs: Bjelaković, Andrej. 2013. "Evolucija stavova o jeziku na engleskom govornom području: Od preskriptivizma ka deskriptivizmu" in *Анали Филолошког факултета*, 25 (2), pp. 207-236.
- KBs: Bogetić, Ksenija. 2015. "Metaforička konceptualizacija jezika u srpskom novinskom diskursu: Metajezik, jezičke ideologije i društvena kognicija" in *Наслеђе*, 31, pp. 137-160.
- AAAs: Kovačević, Branka, Andrijana Aničić. 2017. "Pripovedački postupci u građenju muških i ženskih likova u prozi Ernesta Hemingveja" in Tijana Parezanović et al. (eds.). *Језик, књижевност и популарна култура*. Belgrade: Alfa BK University, pp. 89-103.
- GLKs: Lalić-Krstin, Gordana. 2014. "Upotreba slivenica u srpskom političkom diskursu" in Snežana Gudurić, Marija Stefanović (eds.). *Језици и културе у времену и простору IV/2*. Novi Sad: Faculty of Philosophy, pp. 355-366.
- OPKs: Panić-Kavgić, Olga. 2010. "Filmski naslovi i njihovi prevodi: Šta se promenilo u poslednjih trideset godina" in Biljana Mišić Ilić, Vesna Lopičić (eds.). *Језик, књижевност, промене: Језичка истраживања*. Niš: Faculty of Philosophy, pp. 83-96.
- VPs: Pavlović, Vladan. 2019. "O primeni velikih elektronskih tekstualnih korpusa u sociolingvističkim istraživanjima" in *Philologia Mediana*, 11, pp. 421-437.
- TaPs: Petrović, Tanja. 2017. "Gramatička i semantička terminologija u radovima o glagolskom vremenu na primeru italijanskog i srpskog jezika" in *Лунар*, 18 (64), pp. 145-159.
- TvPs: Prčić, Tvrtko. 2014. "Objedinjena kontaktno-kontrastivna lingvistika: Principi i primene" in Snežana Gudurić, Marija Stefanović (eds.). *Језици и културе у времену и простору IV/2*. Novi Sad: Faculty of Philosophy, pp. 31-45.
- ITMs: Vekarić, Gordana, Ivana Trbojević Milošević. 2020. "Diskurs disciplinovanja – strategije u govoru trenera" in *Физичка култура*, 74 (1), pp. 47-56.

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2007. "Information Source and Evidentiality: What Can We Conclude?" in *Rivista di Linguistica* 19 (1), pp. 209-227.
- Alonso-Almeida, Francisco. 2014. "Evidential and Epistemic Devices in English and Spanish Medical, Computing and Legal Scientific Abstracts: A Contrastive Study" in Marina Bondi, Rosa Lorés Sanz (eds.). *Abstracts in Academic Discourse: Variation and Change*. Bern: Peter Lang AG, International Academic Publishers, pp. 21-42.
- Ammon, Ulrich (ed.). 2001. *The Dominance of English as a Language of Science*. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Biber, Douglas, Edward Finegan. 1988. "Adverbial Stance Types in English" in *Discourse Processes* 11, pp. 1-34.
- Chafe, Wallace. 1986. "Evidentiality in English Conversation and Academic Writing" in Wallace Chafe, Johanna Nichols (eds.). *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, pp. 261-272.
- Cornillie, Bert. 2009. "Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality: On the Close Relationship between Two Different Categories" in *Functions of Language* 16 (1), pp. 44-62.
- Čikara, Tatjana. 2017. *Evidencijalnost i epistemička modalnost: Epistemički modalni operatori kao nosioci evidencijalnih značenja u engleskom i srpskom jeziku* [unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Belgrade: Faculty of Philology.
- de Haan, Ferdinand. 1999. "Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality: Setting Boundaries" in *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 18 (1), pp. 83-101.
- Filipović, Jelena. 2014. "Academic Publishing from the Periphery: English as the International Language of Scientific Publications in Humanities and Social Sciences" in Snežana Gudurić, Marija Stefanović (eds.). *Jezici i kulture u vremenu i prostoru IV/2: Tematski zbornik*. Novi Sad: Faculty of Philosophy, pp. 367-373.
- Gray, Bethany, Douglas Biber. 2015. "Stance Markers" in Karin Aijmer, Christoph Rühlemann (eds.). *Corpus Pragmatics: A Handbook*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 219-248.
- Macnamara, John. 1967. "The Linguistic Independence of Bilinguals" in *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behaviour* 6 (5), pp. 729-736.
- Nuyts, Jan. 2017. "Evidentiality Reconsidered" in Juana Isabel Marín Arrese, Gerda Haßler, Marta Carretero (eds.). *Evidentiality Revisited: Cognitive grammar, functional and discourse-pragmatic perspectives*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 57-83.
- Palmer, Frank Robert. 2001. *Mood and Modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Popović, Ludmila 2010. / Поповић, Људмила 2010. "Категорија евиденцијалности у српском и украјинском језику" in *Зборник Матице српске за славистику* 77, pp. 17-47.
- Scarborough, Don, Linda Gerard, Charles Cortese. 1984. "Independence of Lexical Access in Bilingual Word Recognition" in *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behaviour* 23 (1), pp. 84-99.
- Tosun, Sumeyra, Jyotsna Vaid J. 2018. "Activation of Source and Stance in Interpreting Evidential and Modal Expressions in Turkish and English" in *Dialogue & Discourse* 9 (1), pp. 128-162.
- Tošić, Tamara. forthcoming. "Evidentiality in Academic Journal Papers: A Case Study in the Field of Linguistics".
- Trbojević-Milošević, Ivana. 2018. "Corpus Evidence for Evidentials in English and Serbian Political Interviews" in *BELLS* 10, pp. 131-156.
- Trbojević Milošević, Ivana. 2021. "Epistemic Modality, Evidentiality and (Inter)subjectivity: A Changing Paradigm?" in *Наслеђе* 48, pp. 25-35.

- van der Auwera, Johan, Vladimir A. Plungian. 1998. "Modality's Semantic Map" in *Linguistic Typology* 2, pp. 79-124.
- Verhagen, Arie. 2008. "Intersubjectivity and the Architecture of the Language System" in Jordan Zlatev, Timothy P. Racine, Chris Sinha, Esa Itkonen. (eds.). *The Shared Mind: Perspectives on Intersubjectivity*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 307-331.