

ROMANIAN EVIDENTIAL ADVERBS REVISITED

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Abstract: *The paper investigates the syntactic and semantic properties of Romanian evidential adverbs, focusing on the adverb ‘cică’. It refutes some of the claims previously made in the literature regarding the syntax and semantic properties of the adverb and proposes an analysis differing in certain respects from that put forward in a previous study, which accounts for its semantic properties as well. The first section reviews some of the literature on the category of evidentiality, arguing, in section 2, along the lines of previous studies, that, although Romanian does not have a grammatical category of evidentiality, it does have a wide range of linguistic devices for expressing the source of evidence, some of which, namely evidential adverbs, may be analysed as grammaticalized markers of evidentiality. The third section reviews the syntactic properties of the evidential adverb ‘cică’, bringing evidence against some of the claims in Remberger (2015), and proposing a unified analysis of ‘cică’ as an adjunct which may be attached as a parenthetical. The final section addresses some of the semantic properties of the epistemic adverb, proposing a uniform semantic analysis of ‘cică’ as a marker of evidentiality, the additional semantic values being considered to be pragmatic effects of the context. Particular attention is paid to the interaction between evidential adverbs and epistemic adverbs, the proposed analysis refuting their incompatibility on semantic grounds as well.*

Keywords: *evidentiality, evidential markers, hearsay, paranthetics, adjunction, epistemic modality*

1. Evidentiality and evidential markers

The linguistic category of evidentiality has been the focus of many studies during the last three decades, particularly as the research extended to previously under-documented languages. The term *evidential* was coined by Jakobson in his 1957 study on Russian verb morphology (reprinted in 1971, 1986). He defines the term *evidential* as:

“a tentative label for the verbal category which takes into account three events – a narrated event, a speech event and a narrated speech event, namely the alleged source of information about the narrated event. The speaker reports an event on the basis of someone else’s report (quotative, i.e. hearsay evidence), of a dream (revelative evidence), of a guess (presumptive evidence) or of his own previous experience (memory evidence).
(Jakobson 1971: 135)

He gives, as examples, Bulgarian, Kwakiutl (currently known as Kwak’wala, an Indigenous language spoken in Western Canada), Hopi (a North-American Indian language spoken in northeastern Arizona, United States) and Tunica (an extinct Native American language which was spoken in the Central and Lower Mississippi Valley), all of which use special morphological markers to indicate the fact that the speaker’s assertion is based on somebody else’s testimony. Of the four categories of evidence identified by Jakobson, the first and the last one are undisputedly considered as characterizing distinct types of evidentiality, the third one being, generally, taken to represent the category of epistemic modality, closely connected and considered, by some linguists, to be a subtype of evidentiality or the superordinate category including evidentiality.¹

Some recent studies argue for a narrow interpretation, evidentiality being defined as the grammaticalized systematic marking of the source of evidence:

“There are, in every language, means for saying how one knows what one is talking about, and what one thinks about what one knows or has learnt. Every language has some means of phrasing inferences and assumptions, evaluating probability and possibility, and expressing belief or disbelief. The source of knowledge can be expressed in a variety of ways.

In quite a few languages one has to specify the information source on which a statement is based—whether the speaker saw the event happen, didn’t see it but heard it (or smelt it), made an inference about it based on visual traces or reasoning or general knowledge, or was told about it. This is the essence of evidentiality, or *grammatical marking of information source...*” (Aikhenvald 2018: 1)

An example of such a system in Taku, a Tibetic language, is provided below.

(1)

a. me:lə ʃoχtsi: t^ho: ɳʃ^hõ:-wɛ
cat table:GEN top:DAT jump-DIRECT:PAST

The cat jumped onto the table (I witnessed the act. The cat is not on the table now).

b. me:lə ʃoχtsi: t^ho: ɳʃ^hõ:-tsə
cat table:GEN top:DAT jump-INDIR

¹ Among the linguists who reject such a position is Aikhenvald (2004), according to whom “Cross-linguistically, evidentiality, modality (relating to the degree of certainty ‘with which something is said’: Matthews 1997: 228), and mood (relating to a speech act) are fully distinct categories.” Aikhenvald (2004: 7)

The cat jumped onto the table (I did not witness the act. The cat is not on the table now).

c. me:lə ʃɔɪtsi: t^ho: ɱʃ^hõ:-**wu**?
 cat table:GEN top:DAT jump-IMMED

The cat jumped onto the table (I did not witness the act. The cat is still on the table). (Sun 2018: 53)

The three sentences are identical (the content of the proposition is the same) except for the verb particles *-wə*, *-tsə* and *-wu* which mark whether the subject experienced the event directly (1a) or not - (1b) and (1c), the latter marking inferential evidence (the speaker has seen the effect of the event – the presence of the cat on the table).

Other studies, though, treat evidentiality in a wider sense, defining this category as the expression of the source of evidence for a proposition (Peterson, Déchaine, Sauerland, 2010: 1), irrespective of the grammatical means by which this is expressed.² These include a wide variety of categories, ranging from lexical items, mostly verbs and adverbs, but also complementizers, interjections, phrases and constructions, to aspect and mood morphology and type of complementation, many of which have other uses in addition to that of marking the source of evidence. Some of the linguistic devices marking evidentiality in English are exemplified in (2)-(5) below.

- (2) She **apparently** phoned him shortly before I spoke to her today. (BNC)
- (3) At first I thought it was steam from the coffee machine. Then I realised it **must** be a ghost.' It ran through the living room. I looked closer and I suddenly recognised who it was -- Laurence Olivier's first wife, Vivien Leigh!' (BNC)
- (4) When **it looks like** she's finished, I sit her in front of the television. She usually keeps quiet while she's watching, which suits me fine. (BNC)
- (5) ... they **say** that insurance has risen from three hundred to twelve hundred pounds. (BNC)

A distinction is made, within this category, between **direct evidence** (*perceptual* evidence, visual or auditory), marked by the construction *it looks like* in (4), and **indirect evidence** (*hearsay* and *quotative*, i.e. reported information, or *inferred* information), exemplified in (2) and (5) – in which the adverb *apparently* and the report verb *say* indicate that the source of information is a third person (2) or news/ studies (5), and in (3), the modal verb

² Aikhenvald (2018) uses the phrase *evidentiality strategies* to refer to other means of expressing the source of information.

must indicating that the assertion is a logical deduction based on indirect evidence.

- (6) Bakan hasta-**ymış** (Turkish)
minister sick-NONFIRSTH.COP
“The minister is reportedly sick” (spoken by someone told about the sickness) (Stott, Smith, Chang, Bond, 2010: 264)

Among the languages that have a morphological evidentiality system, Turkish languages, most of which have one evidential marker (for indirect evidence), are analysed in terms of a *direct* and *indirect* evidentiality binary distinction, a classification that was taken over for other languages as well.³

2. Evidentiality in Romanian

Romanian, like most Indo-European languages, is not an evidential language, i.e. it doesn't exhibit obligatory marking of the source of evidence for a proposition as part of its morphological system, but it does have an array of lexical items, constructions and mood auxiliaries which indicate the source of evidence for a proposition, in terms of a direct/indirect evidence opposition. Zafiu (2002) splits these devices into lexicalized and grammaticalized markers, although her classification does not overlap with the category of grammaticalized evidentiality markers proposed by Aikhenvald (2018).

³ The general applicability of this classification is challenged by Aikhenvald (2018) and Nuckolls (2018). “The prominence of two-term firsthand/non-firsthand evidential systems in Eurasian languages has led some to a sweeping assumption that the basic semantic distinction for all evidential systems is between direct and indirect, or firsthand and non-firsthand information sources. The facts of most languages show that there is much more to the meanings of evidentials than an easy-to-manage binary distinction. And each term in an evidential system may be semantically complex a process whereby a subordinate clause acquires the status of a main clause (sometimes misleadingly referred to as ‘insubordination’, a term referring to military disobedience). (Aikhenvald 2018:14)

“This pre-theoretical opposition has been deployed in many studies on evidentiality and it continues to form the basis for its typological categorization. The assumed contrast between direct and indirect experience is an imperfect heuristic for the study of evidential systems because it carries a *tabula rasa* assumption within it, namely, the assumption that learning mainly takes place through sensory experience, and that the mind is primarily a processing mechanism for sensations. This is problematic because it ignores the cultural and psychological scaffolding that is essential for human learning, and which seems to have been alluded to in Boas' description of evidentials for Kwakiutl (1911b: 443) where he described them as marking ‘source of subjective knowledge’. (Nuckolls, 2018: 202)

According to Zafiu (2002:128) the grammaticalized evidential markers⁴ in Romanian are those that indicate inferential evidence (the presumptive and the conditional mood) and, partially, those that indicate reportative (hearsay) evidentiality. The latter category includes the adverbs *cică*, *pasămite*, *chipurile*, which are the object of research of this paper, all of which mark indirect evidentiality and are characteristic of the oral and colloquial register, but feature frequently in the written media discourse as well (Scripnic and Găță 2009).

- (7) Și, în ciuda lamentărilor precum că, **pasămite**, „la noi nimic nu funcționează”, eu observ nu numai că totul merge, ci că o face într-un ritm accelerat. (CoRoLa)
“And, despite lamentations that, presumably, “nothing works here”, I notice that not only do things work, but they do so at a fast pace.”
- (8) ... în Sibiu toata lumea **spune** că sportul este pe moarte dar, în același timp, avem evenimente sportive internaționale de mare calitate... (CoRoLa)
“in Sibiu everybody says that sport is dying, but, at the same time, we have high-quality international events”
- (9) Însă, **în opinia lui**, prin deschidere și curiozitate, orice părinte poate schimba lucrurile... (CoRoLa)
“But, in his opinion, by openness and curiosity, any parent can change things”
- (10) Cu alte cuvinte, Descartes ar putea fi oricând acuzat că primul principiu al filozofiei pe care îl caută - și pe care **pretinde** că l-a găsit în acest așa-zis adevăr absolut...l-a preluat, de fapt, de la Sf. Augustin (CoRoLa)
“In other words, Descartes could always be accused that the first principle of philosophy that he searches for – and pretends to have found in this so-called absolute truth... is, in fact, borrowed from St. Augustin”
- (11) Vă mărturisesc că au fost destul de evazive câteva mesaje care au ajuns la mine **cum că ar fi** bine să renunț, că nu e bine... (CoRoLa)
“I confess that some of the messages that I received were fairly elusive, that, presumably, I had better give up, that it’s not good...”
- (12) ... nu **o fi** ea mai bună ca altele, dar nici mai rea, pentru că sufletul încă nu i s-a întinat ... (CoRoLa)

⁴ In the discussion on evidentiality in Romanian, the label *evidentiality marker* will be used in its less restricted interpretation, as any morphological or lexical device that serves to indicate the source of evidence.

The indirect evidentiality markers in the examples above are quotative markers (7) and reportative markers (8)-(12) which belong to the lexical category of adverbs (*pasămite*), report verbs (*a spune* and *a pretinde*), complementizers (*cum că* - a variant of the simple complementizer *că* with a stronger epistemic flavour), prepositional phrases (*în opinia lui*) specialized for introducing the source of the reported information and the morphological mood markers (the conditional marker *ar* in (11) and the presumptive mood marker *o* in (12), the two forms being analysed in the literature as markers of epistemic modality and evidentiality (Zafiu 2002, GALR 2008, Irimia 2010, 2017, Mihoc 2012, among others).

Zafiu (2002) remarks that the use of evidential markers has the effect of weakening the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition, hearsay evidentiality markers marking a distancing from information presented. Certain reported verbs, such as *a pretinde* (En. *pretend*), are specialized (lexicalized) means of refuting the proposition, while with other markers the distancing or refutation interpretation is contextual. Indirect hearsay evidentiality markers may co-occur, as exemplified in (11), where both the complementizer *cum că* and the conditional mood marker are present, the semantic-pragmatic effect being a strengthening of the non-commitment interpretation.

Inferential evidentiality markers include epistemic adverbs (*probabil* (En. *probably*)), epistemic verbs (*a presupune* (En. *suppose*)), epistemic modal verbs (*trebuie* (En. *must*)), evidential adverbs (*peșemne* (En. *perhaps*)) and mood markers. A discussion of this type of markers further than the properties that they share with hearsay evidentiality is beyond the scope of this research. See Zafiu (2002) for a more detailed inventory of epistemic evidential markers and GALR 2008, Irimia (2010), (2017) and Mihoc (2012) for a discussion on the epistemic value of the conditional and presumptive mood.

3. Romanian evidential adverbs

Among the means of marking reportative evidentiality, a class of adverbs stands out as being grammaticalized markers of evidentiality, in the sense of their primary function being that of indicating that the source of knowledge for the proposition is someone other than the speaker. This class includes the adverbs *cică*, *pasămite*, *chipurile* (En. *presumably*, *allegedly*, *they say*) and regional variants *pisinică*, *matincă* (Cojocar, 2015) which share many syntactic and semantic features.

(13) **Cică** omului îi trebuie un vis ca să suporte realitatea. I₁⁵

⁵ Internet sources are indicated at the end of the paper in the Corpus section

- “They say man needs a dream to cope with reality.”
- (14) Tocmai atunci, un scârțâit s-a auzit din depărtare, / Căci **pasămite**, niște care treceau pe drum. (CoRoLa)
“Just then they heard a grinding noise in the distance, since, apparently, some carts were passing by.”
- (15) Astăzi oamenii ăștia, **chipurile**, a organizat ziua ușilor deschise la Vila Dante. I₂
“Today, presumably (s)he organized the Open days at the Dante Villa.”
- (16) Când s’o ‘ntâmplat asta? – **Mătincă** acu o săptămână (Iordan 1950: 276 quoted in Cojocaru 2015: 248)

Some of these adverbs resulted from the grammaticalization of syntactic structures including a report verb (*cică* < (*se*) *zice că* (En. *they say that*)), a verb of perception (*pasămite* < *mi se pare* (En. *it seems to me*)) and a psychological verb (*matincă* < *mă tem că* (En. *I fear that*)). Remberger (2015: 33-34) shows that the adverb *cică* exhibits all the properties of a grammaticalized lexical item: **phonological erosion** (from /se zɪfte kə/ to /ʃtikə/ by the deletion of the impersonal pronoun and the clipping of the first syllable of the verb), **morphological decategorisation** (the verbal component in its structure loses its status as a verb, as shown by the fact that it is no longer marked by tense or agreement inflection), **syntactic reanalysis** (as will be shown later in this section, *cică* no longer occupies the syntactic position of the verb + complementiser structure, but it is much more mobile, similarly to adverbs, which has led GALR to assign it the lexical category of an adverb⁶; moreover, it is sometimes followed by the complementizer *că*, similarly to epistemic adverbs such as *posibil* (En. possibly), a clear indication that the complementizer in its structure has lost its status), **semantic bleaching** (the verb in its structure has lost its meaning, as indicated by the occurrence of *cică* in structures where it is preceded by the verb *zice*, as noted by Dindelegan 2020: 191)). Remberger (2015) points out that a similar process takes place in other Romance languages as well, where report verb+ complementizer structures have undergone a process of grammaticalization, giving rise to evidential markers synonymous to *cică*: Spanish (*dizque* < *dice que*), Sardinian (*nachi* < *narat chi*), Sicilian (*dicica* < *dici ca*), Galician (*disque* < *dise que*).

In the following section I will analyse the syntactic behaviour of *cică*. While the focus will be on the adverb *cică*, many of the properties discussed here are shared by the other members of the class of evidential adverbs, so they are taken to be features of the entire class, not just idiosyncratic properties of *cică*.

⁶ The lexical status of adverb is rejected by Pop (2017)

The syntactic behaviour of *cică*

Romanian dictionaries indicate the etymology of the adverb *cică* as being the syntactic structure *se zice că*, containing the impersonal report verb *se zice* (En. *they say*) and the complementizer *că*. Remberger (2015: 36) proposes that the construction started as a bi-clausal structure (17a), the steps towards the grammaticalization and the syntactic behaviour of parenthetical of *cică* being the topicalization of the subject of the embedded clause and movement in front of the impersonal verb (17b), the syntactic detachment and parenthetical status (17c), the morphological fusion and syntactic reanalysis (17d).

(17)

a. **Se zice că** Maria e furioasă.

REFL says that Maria is furious

b. Maria, **se zice**, e furioasă.

c. Maria - **se zice** - e furioasă.

d. Maria, **cică**, e furioasă.

‘They say that Maria is furious.’

The problem with this proposal is that the parenthetical use of the report verb, still active in Romanian, requires a certain syntactic detachment from the host sentence⁷ indicated by the absence of the complementizer, while the latter is preserved in the reduced fused form of the adverb *cică* (*ci-că*). This fact is not, however, crucial to the analysis.

In its current state, the evidential adverb is fully grammaticalized, as shown in the previous section, and can occupy either a clause initial position or a position in the middle of the sentence, inserted in front of any constituent, as long as adjacency conditions do not prevent its adjunction (for example, Romanian does not allow the insertion of constituents between negation and the lexical verb or between other clitics, including auxiliaries, and the lexical verb), or in final position, the last two positions corresponding to its status as parenthetical.

(18) **Cică** a fost argat 20 de ani la stână și a fost bătut de poliție. (CoRoLa)
“They say he had been a hired man at the sheep yard and he was beaten by the police.”

(19) Și Fuhrer-ul **cică** ar avea una. (CoRoLa)
“They say the Fuhrer has one”

(20) Doctorul i-a dat mici șanse, dar a fost dusă la terapie intensivă și acolo **cică** au un bun specialist. (CoRoLa)

⁷ For a syntactic analysis of a similar construction in English see Giorgi (2016).

- “The doctor gave her a slim chance, but she was taken to the intensive care unit and there, presumably, they have a good specialist.”
- (21) Prezicerea devine adevărată plasând la locul convenit o virgulă, cauzată, **cică**, de starea hipnotică. (CoRoLa)
“The prediction comes true by placing a comma in the proper place, caused, presumably, by the hypnotic state.”
- (22) Eu, Nick West, sunt un criminal nebun, **cică**. (Dindelegan 2020:189)
“I, Nick West, am a mad criminal, presumably.”

A clause initial position can also be argued for in examples such as (19) and (20) where the insertion of the adverb *cică* is followed by the topicalization of a sentence constituent, typically the subject (19). The preverbal position, with or without the topicalization of the subject or another constituent, is the most frequent construction. This can be accounted for taking into consideration that this position corresponds to that of the report verb (*se zice*) and, more importantly, it represents the scope position of *cică*, no post-syntactic operations being necessary to ensure the correct interpretation. The insertion of *cică* in sentence-middle position (21), as a parenthetic, is less frequent, while the post-verbal position (22) is very rare, as noted by Dindelegan (2020: 190) as well. This can be explained along the same lines, given that both the middle and the final position require an additional LF operation motivated by scope properties, when the evidential is interpreted as having scope over the entire sentence.

The parenthetic can also be adjoined to various types of phrases, in front (23) or at the end of the phrase (24). This configuration, mentioned by Dindelegan (2020: 190), but not by Remberger (2015) or Pop (2017), is different from the ones mentioned before in terms of the semantic properties, the particle having scope over that constituent alone.

- (23) Și au venit unii, [**cică** de la Protecția Consumatorilor] și ne-au amendat. Ce protecție, bă Mihăiță? (CoRoLa)
“Some guys, allegedly from the Customer Protection agency, came and fined us. What protection, Mihăiță?”
- (24) Mi s-a cerut să platesc o factura de 520 lei [restantă **cică**], ... I₃
“I was requested to pay an invoice of 520 lei, presumably outstanding.”

In the examples above the evidential is adjoined to a preposition phrase (23) and an adjectival phrase (24) having scope over the constituent, and not over the entire phrase. In sentence (23) the source of the evidence for the proposition is interpreted as being the speaker’s direct visual experience. Only the information regarding the identity of the men fining the speaker is presented as hearsay, in a scenario where the individuals introduced themselves as such

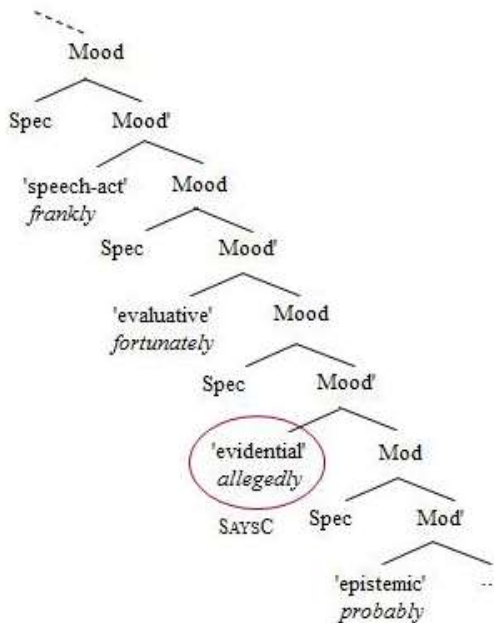
but the speaker could not verify the information. Similarly, example (24) is interpreted as a proposition for which the speaker has first-hand evidence, having participated in the event, the only part which is presented as stemming from hearsay evidence is that the invoice was outstanding. In both cases, the pragmatic effect is that of non-commitment or rejection of the truth of the information.

In very rare cases, the evidential can be inserted inside a preposition phrase, between the preposition and its complement, as shown in (25) below.

- (25) Formula conține [extracte de frunze [de **cică** (cunoscute și sub denumirea de iarbă de tigru), o plantă populară asiatică]]. I₄
 “The formula contains leaf extracts, supposedly of a popular Asian plant.”

While allowing for the treatment of the evidential *cică* as a paranthetical, Remberger (2015) also proposes a syntactic analysis in the cartographic tradition, with the evidential adverb occupying a MoodP position dedicated to evidential modality, using Cinque (1999)’s hierarchy.

(26)



Cinque (1999)/ Remberger (2015)

Remberger bases this analysis on the unavailability of certain word orders and the incompatibilities that are taken to exist between the evidential and certain epistemic adverbs.

- (27) a. *Probabil **cică** e o eroare.
SAYSC probably is an error
“Presumably, there is possibly an error.” (Remberger 2015:37)

But, as noticed by Pop (2017) as well, evidential and epistemic modal adverbs can co-occur, in both orders. An internet search provides examples such as the ones reproduced below.

- (28) Explicația lor a fost că, **cică, probabil**, a adormit pe drum. I₅
“Their explanation was, presumably, that he probably fell asleep on the way.”
- (29) Mare doamna cum s-a aflat ea, **probabil, cica** s-au strans vreo 600.000 (SASE SUTE DE MII) de babute... I₆
“Being an important lady, probably, apparently around 600.000 grannies gathered ...”

Examples such as (28) and (29) above show that epistemics and evidentials are not syntactically incompatible. An explanation for why they are not semantically incompatible either will be provided in section 4. Such syntactic structures can be accounted for if both adverbs are analysed as paratheticals, an analysis frequently proposed in the literature for such adverbs, supported by the phrase-final position of the epistemic in examples such as (30).

- (30) Si unde ai absolvit tu dreptul ? La coada vacii probabil ...cica testare practica ...mai absolventa draga testarea practica dureaza poate o zi dar nu o saptamina
“And where do you complete your law studies? In the barn (lit. at the cow’s tail) probably ... practical skills testing, she says ... dear law graduate the practical skills testing may take a day, not a week”

Most of the examples containing the epistemic > evidential order found in the internet corpus involved the insertion of the epistemic adverb at the end of a phrase, hence a parenthetical use, proving that the two types of adverbs are inserted as paratheticals and not as heads of dedicated projections in the left periphery of the sentence. I propose that evidential adverbs may adjoin to the left of any constituent, as long as no language-specific adjacency restrictions apply, its appropriate scope position being obtained by LF movement to a higher position. The final position is obtained by heavy shift of the constituent. At this point, I do not exclude an analysis along the lines of Potts (2002) according to which the adverb would adjoin to the left of the constituent that it scopes over, hence at CP or constituent level, the sentence-middle positions with wide scope interpretation being a result of heavy shift. Such an analysis

would have the advantage of not postulating LF movement of the adverb, but further properties of the heavy shift movement would have to be investigated.

4. Some remarks on the semantics of evidential adverbs

As shown in the previous section, Remberger (2015) proposes a syntactic analysis of *cică* on Cinque's hierarchy, with the adverb occupying a position above epistemic adverbs such as *probabil*, *sigur*. The claim that these two classes are incompatible, in the order evidential > epistemic could not be motivated by syntactic considerations and would have to be motivated semantically. One possible argument would be that evidentials are a sub-type of epistemics, a semantic analysis proposed in Zafiu (2002). The alleged incompatibility could then be assumed to be of a semantic nature. However, as I have shown in the previous section, evidentials and epistemics are not in fact incompatible, an Internet search showing that speakers use both types of adverbs in either position (epistemic > evidential, evidential > epistemic), the second order having a much higher number of occurrences. As has been shown, this can be explained if *cică* and the epistemic adverb are analysed as paratheticals. This does analysis does not influence the semantic analysis and scope properties of the evidential.

I propose a semantic analysis of *cică* in accordance with GALR 2008 and Dindelegan (2020) as quotational or reportative evidential marker indicating that a certain propositional content is taken over from an external source, i.e. a different speaker. Following Speas (2018) and Aikenvald (2018)⁸, I do not consider that the evidential adverb is polysemantic, but rather that its systematic function is to mark indirect evidence, the epistemic value (indicating weak or strong non-commitment to the truth of the information) being a pragmatic effect induced by the context. In fact, as noticed by Dindelegan (2020) the non-factual interpretation of *cică* varies depending on the context. We believe that this is not only the case with the quotational use of the adverb, but that in its reportative use the adverb can also lack a non-factual interpretation.

- (31) Ajuns acolo, aş vrea să văd musai portul, **cică** e uriaş! (CoRoLa)
“After I get there, it's a must to see the harbour; they say it's huge!”

In the example above, the adverb indicates merely that the speaker heard the information from somebody else, in my opinion, no judgement with respect to the reliability of the information being conveyed.

⁸ ... the speaker's level of certainty depends crucially on the reliability of evidence, but neither level of certainty nor reliability is encoded directly as a core part of an evidential meaning. [...] Reliability of evidence is pragmatically determined, and as such is not specified as part of the denotation of an evidential (Speas 2018: 311, also assumed by Aikenvald 2018: 6)

The epistemic flavour of *cică* may be induced or reinforced by its association with other epistemic markers, particularly the conditional mood, with the effect of strengthening the distancing interpretation.

- (34) Odată, **cică ar fi găsit** nemții într-un oraș oarecare pe una în durerile facerii. (CoRoLa)
EVID COND. BE find.PERF
“Apparently, one time the Germans may have found some woman in labour in a town.

The same effect is generated by its association with other evidential adverbs, for which non-factuality is part of the lexical content, such as *chipurile*.

- (35) **Chipurile**, acu’ de sărbători, **cică** a plecat la colindat. -Auzi, auzi! Ce le dă prin cap nenorociților! (CoRoLa)
“Presumably, now, for the holidays, they say that we went carolling. – Can you believe what the bastards cooked up?”

In rare cases, the evidential can also acquire a counterfactual interpretation, outside conditional structures, in particular pragmatic contexts.

- (36) Eu îi schimb în shekeli, ți-i dau matale și, când o să fim împreună cu Liuba, eu **cică** te rog să-mi împrumuți niște bani, mata îmi plasezi suma și gata! (CoRoLa)
“I exchange them for shekels and give them to you and, when we get together with Liuba, I pretend to ask you to lend me some money, you give me the amount and that’s that!”

Regarding the interaction with other epistemic modals, I propose that the epistemic interpretation of the reportative evidential is not incompatible with other epistemic modality markers, but the only possible interpretation of such sentences is that the source of the epistemic judgement for the two adverbs is different.

- (37) Și l-au dat afară noaptea din Port, așa ceva nu se face nicăieri. Explicația lor a fost că, **cică, probabil**, a adormit pe drum. I₅
“And they kicked him out of the harbour at night, no one does that. Their explanation was, presumably, that he probably fell asleep on the way.”

In the context above the evidential acquires an epistemic interpretation of rejection of the truth of the proposition. It is not, however, incompatible with

the epistemic adverb *probabil* (En. *probably*) because the source of the epistemic judgement assigned to the evidential by the context is the speaker, while the source of the epistemic judgement contributed by *probabil* is another speaker, the one who is the source of the reported information. The sentence could be paraphrased as ‘I, the speaker, doubt your judgement that he may have fallen asleep on the way’. At LF, the scope position of the evidential is always higher than that of the epistemic, the latter being under its scope. In case the evidential is adjoined, as a parenthetical, after the epistemic adverb, a reordering of the two adverbs will take place at LF.

This analysis accounts for the possibility of combining the evidential with the epistemic adverb *sigur* (En. *certainly*) in contexts where the speaker does not commit to the truth of the proposition.

- (38) Nu știm de ce, dar ***cică sigur*** Niki Moise urmează să fie vizitat în aceste zile de doi ofițeri de la Serviciul de Cercetări Penale. I₇
“We don’t know why, but, apparently, Niki Moise will certainly receive the visit of two Criminal Inquiry officers”.

In the example above, the preceding sentence denies the existence of evidence for the assertion introduced by *sigur*, calling into question the truth of the proposition presented as true by the source of the report. The sentence is not infelicitous. The truth of the proposition can also be openly rejected by a tag such as ‘but I don’t believe it’.

Further research is necessary to account for the interaction of evidential adverbs with other markers of epistemic modality and any constraints that these may impose on the syntactic position of the evidential.

Conclusions

The paper has investigated the syntactic and semantic properties of evidential adverbs, particularly the adverb *cică*, within the frame of evidentiality. I have argued for a less restricted interpretation of the category of evidentiality and the treatment of *cică* as an evidential marker, notwithstanding the fact that Romanian is not an evidential language in the sense that it does not have a systematic morphological system of marking evidentiality. I have proposed that, in the class of lexical and morphological devices of marking the source of evidence for a proposition in Romanian, evidential adverbs occupy a special place, being grammaticalized items whose primary function is that of marking evidentiality. Investigating the syntactic properties of *cică*, I have shown that the analysis proposed in Remberger (2015) is not supported by the evidence, and I have proposed an analysis of *cică* as a parenthetical, in agreement with previous studies such as Pop (2017) and Dindelegan (2020). In the last section I have suggested a semantic analysis of the epistemic values of *cică* in terms

of the pragmatic effect of the context and I have shown that evidential adverbs are not incompatible with epistemic adverbs on semantic grounds, the two adverbs introducing a different source of epistemic judgement.

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Corpus

BNC - British National Corpus

CoRoLa - Corpusul de referință pentru limba română contemporană

I₁ - <https://z-p42.www.instagram.com/p/B-H5wmXBUZk/?hl=af>

I₂ - <https://www.ziaruldeiasi.ro/national-extern/basescu-le-spun-simpatizantilor-mei-ca-voturile-in-favoarea-mea-nu-ne-ajuta-ne-ajuta-statul-acasa~ni8ogc>

I₃ - https://www.dreptonline.ro/raspunsuri_juridice_intrebari/raspunsuri_intrebare.php?id_intrebare=98254

I₄ - <https://www.pinkpanda.ro/produs/revolution-skincare-crema-hidratanta-multifunctionala-cica-multi-use-balm>

I₅ - <https://www.replicaonline.ro/mazare-cere-ancheta-in-cazul-velierului-esuat-cei-de-la-capitanie-si-frontiera-sunt-idioti-120937/>

I₆ - <https://jimerino.wordpress.com/2008/10/14/dati-mi-o-caciula-sa-am-ce-sa-mi-ciordesc/>

I₇ - <https://www.monitoruldevrancea.ro/2006/06/02/intimpliri-neadevrate/>