

The syntax of evidential markers: The Romanian hearsay marker *cică*

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1. Introduction

Romanian illustrates the use of a particular evidential marker that has developed out of the 3rd p.sg. form of the verb ‘to say’ plus a complementiser: *cică* from (*se*) *zice că* ‘he/she says’:

- (1) a. Ion *cică* fumează.
Ion EVID he-smokes
‘Ion allegedly smokes.’
b. Ion *zice că* fumează.
Ion_i he-says that he_{i/j}-smokes
‘Ion says that he smokes.’

Similar adverbs (lexical predicate + incorporated complementiser) in other Romance varieties (e.g. Latin American Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, Galician, Sardinian, Southern Italian): cf. the hearsay marker (SAYC):

- (2) a. Sic. *Dicica* Maria jè malata.
c. Srd. *Nachi* Juanne est malàidu.
b. Ro. *Cică* Ion e bolnav.
SAYC M./J./I. be.PRES.3S ill
‘Apparently/Reportedly Mary/John is ill.’

(cf. Cruschina & Remberger in press)

PREDICATEC-adverbs: concern various interpretational domains within the left periphery, in particular evidentiality and epistemic modality (cf. Cruschina & Remberger in press):

- (3) a. Romanian: *cică* SAYC, *parcă* SEEMC, *credcă* BELIEVEC, *pisinică* BYSIGNC,
matincă MEFEARC;
b. Sardinian *nachi* SAYC, *bénichi* COMEC;

(Puddu 2000)

- c. Sicilian *dícica* SAYC, *pénzica* THINKC *capácica* ABLEEC, *pótica* CANC...;

(Cruschina 2008)

Organisation of the paper

1. Introduction
2. The syntax of *cică*
3. The semantics of *cică*
4. Diachronic reconstruction: A proposal
5. Summary and Outlook

Romanian *cică* as an exemplary case for

- a) the development of other SayC-elements in other languages (besides the above mentioned, e.g. in Greek *lei*, Macedonian *veli*, Croatian *kaže* etc.)
- b) the development of PREDICATEC-elements in general

2. The syntax of *cică*

Cică is an evidential adverb located in a leftperipheral syntactic position.

Unmarked position: sentence initial or immediately following the subject (if topical):

- (4) a. *Cică* banul n-aduce fericirea.
 SAYC the money not brings the happiness
 'It is said that money doesn't bring you happiness.'
 b. Blondinele *cică* nu sînt foarte inteligente.
 blond-ther SAYC not they-are very intelligent
 'Blond girls are not very intelligent, they say.'

Cică can appear in all positions that can normally be occupied by parentheticals:

- (5) a. *Cică* individul a fost prins.
 b. Individul *cică* a fost prins.
 c. *Individul a *cică* fost prins.
 d. Individul a fost *cică* prins.
 e. Individul a fost prins *cică*.
 (SAYC) individual-the (SAYC) has (*SAYC) been (SAYC) taken (SAYC)
 'They say, that the individual has been arrested.'

In research literature, verbal expressions stemming from epistemic verbs like *I think* or *I believe* have been analysed also according to their prosodic contour, cf. Dehé & Wichmann (2008):

Three prosodic types for these expressions, correlated with different syntactic distributional types:

- (A) a main clause => *zice că* in (1)b
 (B) a comment clause, or => parenthetical usage
 (C) a discourse marker => *cică* in (1) and (4)

=> (C) *cică* as an adverb/discourse marker which has its canonical place in the left periphery / a position conditioned by a fixed adverb hierarchy:

- (6) [*frankly* Mood_{speech act} [*fortunately* Mood_{evaluative} [***allegedly*** Mood_{evidential} [*probably* Mod_{epistemic} [*once* T(past) [*then* T(future) [*perhaps* Mod_{irrealis} [*necessarily* Mod_{necessity} [*possibly* Mod_{possibility} [*usually* Asp_{habitual} [*again* Asp_{repetitive(I)} [*often* Asp_{frequentative(I)} [*intentionally* Mod_{volitional} [*quickly* Asp_{celerative(I)} [*already* T(Anterior) [*no longer* Asp_{terminative} [*still* Asp_{continuative} [*always* Asp_{perfect} [*just* Asp_{retrospective} [*soon* Asp_{proximative} [*briefly* Asp_{durative} [*characteristically* Asp_{generic/progressive} [*almost* Asp_{prospective} [*completely* Asp_{SgCompletive(I)} [*tutto* Asp_{PICompletive} [*well* Voice [*fast/early* Asp_{celerative(II)} [*again* Asp_{repetitive(II)} [*often* Asp_{frequentative(II)} [*completely* Asp_{SgCompletive(II)} ...] (Cinque 1999: 106)

Cică is in a position above, and never below, aspectual adverbs like *usually*, *often*, *always* etc.:

- (7) a. El se ocupă *cică* de obicei / adesea / mereu / mult / puțin cu sportul.
 he REFL occupies SAYC usually / often / always / a lot / little with sports-the
 'Allegedly he is usually / often / always / a lot / little engaged in sports.'
 b. *El se ocupă adesea / mereu / de obicei / mult / puțin *cică* cu sportul.
 he REFL occupies usually /often / always / a lot / little SAYC with sports-the

It can also appear above certain mood positions as e.g. *perhaps*:

- (8) *Cică* poate să vă facă podul.
 SAYC CAN that you make bridge
 'Allegedly they maybe construct the bridge for you.'

Thus it is in the higher field of the CP and naturally it would be located in Mood_{evidential} (parallel to English *allegedly*). More than one evidential marker is ungrammatical, but also the combination of an evidential with an epistemic modal adverb is quite unaccepted (cf. English **?allegedly probably*):

- (9) *Ion *cică* mățincă fumează.
 Ion SAYC MEFEARSC he-smokes
- (10) *Ion *cică* probabil fumează.
 Ion SAYC probably he-smokes

Also the combination of a speech act adverb or an evaluative adverb together with an evidential is semantically unfortunate (cf. English **unfortunately allegedly*):

- (11) *Din păcate *cică* mașină nu e într-o stare prea bună.
 Of pity SAYC the-car not is in-a state too good
- Adverbs as maximal projections in specifiers or functional heads?
 - Particle-like adverbs vs. phrase-like adverbs?

Cică => adverb – particle – head

3. The semantics of *cică*

SayC-elements are modal adverbs (cf. Academia Română 2008 for *cică*, Jones 1993: 169 for Sardinian *naki*). Modal evidential verbs cannot be used in imperative nor interrogative sentences. They are unfortunate with performative verbs and cannot be in the scope of negation (*probably* can appear in interrogatives, cf. also Venier 36-41, Bellert 1977):

- (12) a. Come (**allegedly*) here tomorrow!
 b. Do you (**allegedly*) come tomorrow?
 c. I herewith (**allegedly*) promise that ...
 d. (**Not allegedly*) he will come to see us tomorrow.

Modal adverbs generally modify propositions, in the sense that they manipulate their truth value; compare the difference in meaning between the same sentence with or without a modal adverb:

- (13) a. John is ill.
 'The individual x to which the proper name *John* refers is ill.'
 b. *Allegedly*, John is ill.
 'As far as what is said is concerned, the individual x to which the proper name *John* refers is ill.'

Modal adverbs also sometimes can be paraphrased by a copulative construction:

- (14) a. He *probably* comes tomorrow.
 b. It is *probable* that he comes tomorrow.

This is not possible with SayC – and other PREDICATEC-elements – since they are not derived from adjectives, but mainly from verbs:

- (15) *Este *cică* că Ion e bolnav. (cf. Academia Română 2008:253)
 it-is SAYC that Ion he-is ill

In any case, as Bellert (1977) observed, semantically there is a difference between (14)a and b since

- (16) "modal adverbs should be interpreted as predicates over the truth of the proposition expressed by the respective sentence and [...] sentences with modal adverbs express two propositions; whereas the corresponding modal adjectives are predicates over the fact, event, or state of affairs referred to by the sentence, and sentences with modal adjectives express one complex proposition" (Bellert 1977:345).

Evidentiality

(cf. e.g. Aikhenvald 2004, Dendale & Tasmowski 2001, Plungian 2001, among others);

- "a linguistic category whose primary meaning is source of information" (Aikhenvald 2004:3);
- evidentiality as part of the modal system;
- three types of evidentiality: direct, indirect and inferential evidentiality (Willett 1988:57).
- evidential modal adverbs: either concerned with perception (*apparently, evidentially*), communication (*allegedly, reportedly*), or inference (*presumably, supposedly*) (cf. Michell 1976:501).
- SAYC-elements: indirect / reportative evidence (or 'reportive', cf. Anderson 2001:289; 'quotative', cf. Plungian 2001:252).
- Reportative evidence:
 - o 'Reported(2)', 'Reported(3)', 'Reported(gen)' (cf. Palmer 2001:41)
 - o 'second hand', 'third hand', 'folklore' (cf. Willett 1988).

Cică can encode all three kinds of reportative evidence (Cruschina & Remberger in press):

Reported(2) / second hand:

- (17) Ei au spus că *cică* vor termina lucrul pînă luni, dar vom vedea dacă vor reuși.
they have said that SAYC they-will finish work-the until Monday, but we-will see if they-will succeed
'They said they would, they say, finish the work until Monday, but we will see if they really will.'

- (18) Căutam ceva de lucru, că burta, auzi, *cică* n-am mîncat de ieri.
(Isirescu, following Macrea 1955-1957: s.v. *cică*)
I-looked-for something of work because stomach-the, you-hear, SAYC not-I-have eaten from yesterday
'I was looking for some work because the stomach, listen, says that I haven't eaten since yesterday.'

Reported(3) / third hand:

- (19) Ion *cică* fumează.
Ion SAYC he-smokes
'Ion allegedly smokes.'

Reported(gen) / folklore:

- (20) Amu *cică* era odată într-o țară un crai, care avea trei feciori.
now SAYC was one-time in-a land a king who had three girls (Creangă, *Povestea lui Harap-Alb*)
'Now once upon a time there was king a who had three girls.'

The ingredients of modality::

- (21) - a modal relation: e.g. necessity, possibility;
- a modal base (conversational background/model): what is *known, desired, reported...*
- an individual anchor: e.g. the speaker, the external argument, the context...
- a target which lies in its scope

Reportative evidentiality:

- modal relation of possibility? (cf. Michell 1976, Venier 1991).
- conversational background/modal base and individual anchor:
Quer (1998): two scenarios must be distinguished reported speech:
 - o declarative construction with a verb of saying plus complement clause: the verb of saying explicitly introduces a model of reported speech (MRC = Model of Reported Conversation, in his terms) with an individual anchor corresponding to the subject of the verb of saying (hence MRC(subject)):
 - o in other cases (in his example, the subjunctive mood) "the individual anchor is left undefined (informally speaking, something like „according to another source of information known to all of us)“ (Quer 1998:158).

Claim: for SAYC-elements, there is a modal base, with an undefined individual anchor; the latter might get a context value:

- "common knowledge" as in its folklore and fairy tale use (cf. (20));
- default case: purely arbitrary interpretation;
- some cases (a remainder from his origin as a full verb) coreferent to a subject, either of the same (cf. (18)) or of a superordinate clause (cf. (17)), but only in particular contexts.

Semantic representations (MB = Modal Base; RS = Reported Speech):

- (22) $MB_{RS}(x) \Rightarrow$
- a. $MB_{RS}(\text{arbitrary})$ (cf. most of the cases)
 - b. $MB_{RS}(\text{common knowledge/folklore})$ (cf. (20))
 - c. $MB_{RS}(x)$ with $x = \text{subject in superordinate clause}$ (cf. (17))
 - d. $MB_{RS}(x)$ with $x = \text{subject of the proposition}$ (cf. (18))

The normal case is that the individual anchor of the modal base and the subject of the sentence are not coreferent:

- (23)
- a. *Cică Ion a murit.*
SAYC Ion has died
'It is said that Ion has died.'
 - b. *Se zice că Ion a murit.*
One says that Ion he-has died.
'One says that Ion has died.'
 - c. *?Ion zice că a murit.*
Ion says that he-has died.
'Ion says that he has died.'

4. Diachronic reconstruction: a proposal

- (24) Etymology of Romanian *cică*
cică < (*se zi*)*ce că* 'one says that' (cf. DEX: s.v. *cică*) or *zice că* 'he/she says that' (Tiktin: s.v. *cică*). Regional forms and variants like *și că*, *o-s că* (< *a zis că* / *o zis că* 'he/she has said that' in the compound perfect) (Moței online)

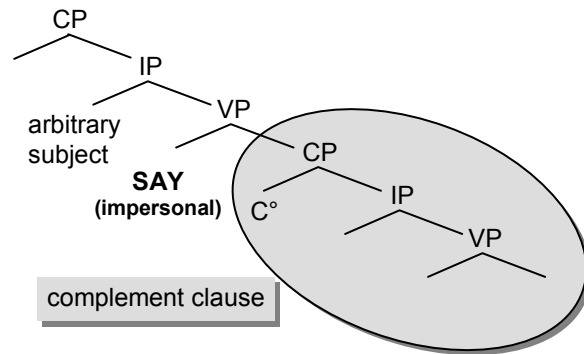
Reporting verbs: typically take a clausal complement introduced by a complementiser.
Reportative evidentials: take propositions in their scope.

Step IIa

- impersonal form of Say + complement clause

Se zice că Ion fumează.

- syntactically biclausal structure
- semantically one complex proposition with Say as a predicate, which has an impersonal subject and a state of affairs/event as complement

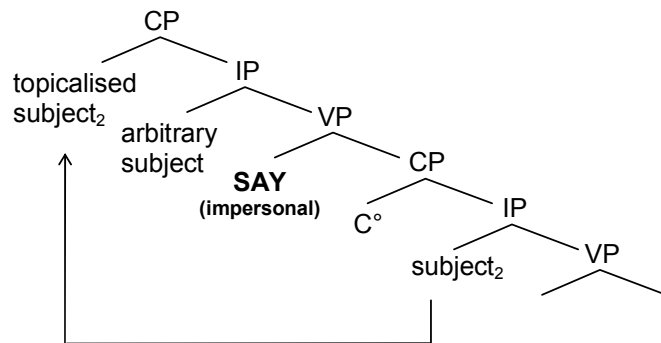


Step IIb

- impersonal form of SAY + complement clause

Ion se zice că fumează.

- syntactically biclausal structure
- semantically one complex proposition with SAY as a predicate, which has an impersonal subject and a state of affairs/event as complement; the subject of the state of affairs is topicalised.

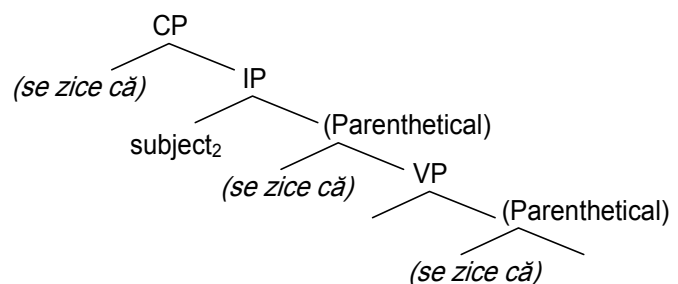


Step III

- main clause with inserted impersonal parenthetical SAY + complementiser

(se zice că) Ion (se zice că) fumează (se zice că).

- syntactically one clause with parenthetical insertions
- semantically one proposition plus a comment clause



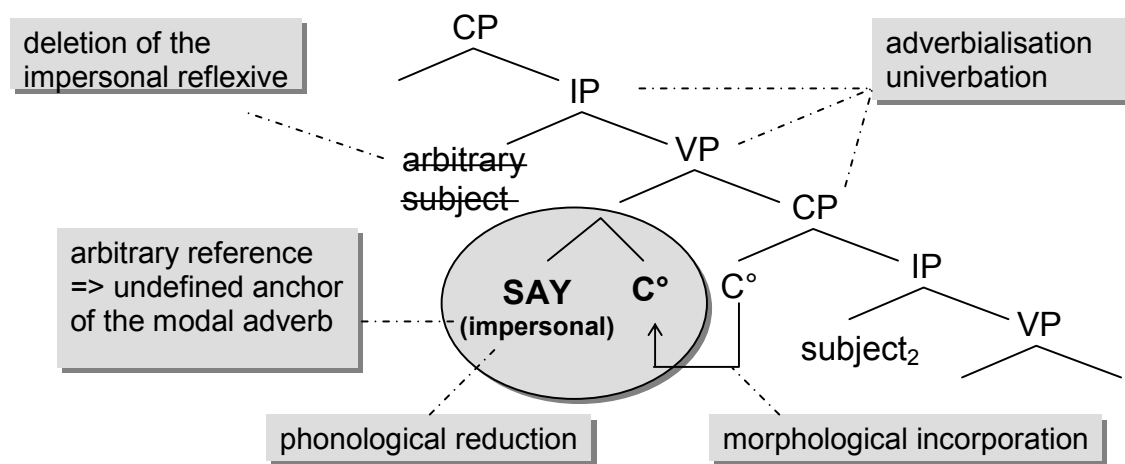
Step IV

- deletion of the impersonal reflexive, incorporation of C° in SAY + phonological reduction of SAY

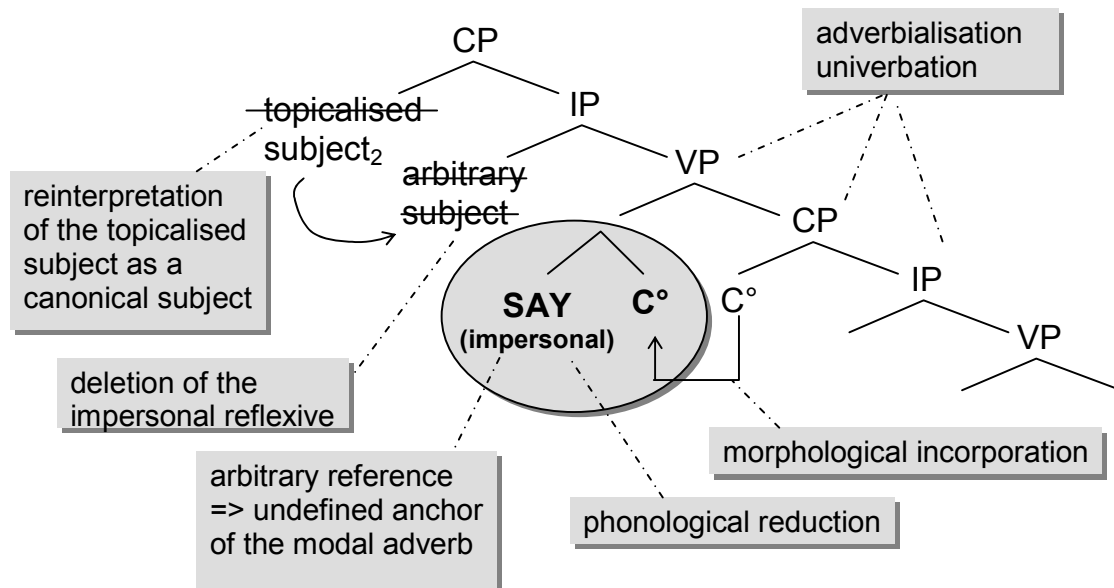
(cică) Ion (cică) fumează (cică).

- syntactically one clause with parenthetical insertions
- semantically one proposition plus a parenthetical adverb which takes scope over it

IVa



IVb

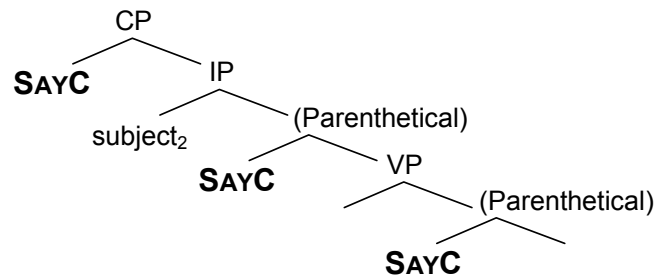


Step IV und V

- main clause modalised by evidential marker SAYC

Cică Ion fumează.

- syntactically monoclausal structure
- semantically two propositions, one which lies in the scope of a modal adverb, which on its part predicates over it (cf. also Bellert 1977:345).



Jackendoff (1972:97):

"parentheticals can occur in all the positions of speaker-oriented sentence adverbials, except possibly initial position (where they either do not exist or are indistinguishable from the normal complement construction)".

=> The use of a verb of saying as a parenthetical as the ultimate link between the two categories.

Parallel to the syntactic development, on the interpretational level there is a modal shift from a non-modalised declarative to an evidentially modified clause:

- (30)
- $[_{CP} C^{\circ} [_{IP} I^{\circ} [_{VP} DP_{SUBJ} SAY-MB_{RS}(DP_{SUBJ}) [_{CP} C^{\circ} [_{IP} I^{\circ} [_{VP} V^{\circ} \dots]]]]]]]$
 - $[_{CP} C^{\circ} [_{IP} I^{\circ} [_{VP} arb_{SUBJ} SAY-MB_{RS}(arb) [_{CP} C^{\circ} [_{IP} I^{\circ} [_{VP} V^{\circ} \dots]]]]]]]$
 - $[_{CP} C^{\circ} [_{IP} I^{\circ} [_{Parenthetical} arb_{SUBJ} SAY-MB_{RS}(arb)+C^{\circ}] [_{VP} V^{\circ} \dots]]]$
 - $[_{CP} C^{\circ} [SAYC: MB_{RS}(arb)] [_{IP} I^{\circ} [_{VP} V^{\circ} \dots]]]$

5. Summary and outlook

Lexical entries:

- (31)
- a zice*: syntactic properties: V: DP CP
semantic properties: 'say' $MB_{RS}(x_i)$ θ_{1_i} θ_2
 - cică*: syntactic properties: Adv(sentential)
semantic properties: ' $MB_{RS}(arb)$ '

Things to be done:

- to have a look at diachronic data which may give hints to the exact progress of the development sketched here;
- to check the prosodic features of this evidential marker in its varying positions in order to identify its status;
- to integrate theoretical considerations concerning parentheticals in general;
- to implement the grammatical change sketched here in the framework of Distributed Morphology;
- to explore similar SAYC-elements in other languages;
- to explore PREDICATEC-elements in Romanian and other languages.

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