CAUSAL AND CONCESSIVE ADJUNCTS IN PRESENT-DAY ROMANIAN: MODALITY AND EVIDENTIALITY

Alice-Magdalena Bodoc
Transilvania University, Brasov, Romania
alice_bodoc@unitbv.ro

Abstract

The present study investigates the use of modality markers and subordinators in complex sentences with causal and concessive adjuncts from present-day Romanian. Cristofaro (2003), Longacre (2007), Nordström (2010), Kuroshima (2017), among others, bring evidence from different languages that modality and subordination have much in common, and, even more, that sometimes, certain subordinators can also function as modal markers (as they denote propositional modality – Nordström, 2010, p. 1). In this paper, I do not intend to defend nor to contradict Nordström's hypothesis, but the purpose of my research is to explain how the modal markers and the subordinators influence each other, and, at the same time, how these elements influence the rest of the complex sentence. Furthermore, I intend to prove that the type of adjunct and/or the corresponding subordinating conjunction influence(s) the speaker's selection of the adverbial modal marker, and also the selection of the verbal mood. To achieve this purpose, both a qualitative and quantitative analysis will be conducted on an electronic corpus.

Keywords

Modality, Evidentiality, Adjuncts, Present-Day Romanian

1. Introduction

The Romanian important grammars (GALR, 2008; GBLR, 2010; GR, 2013) contributed to the understanding of modality as a pragma-semantic category in general or they described the modal elements used by the speakers in the communication. Still, little has been said or written about the influence of this category on the construction of complex sentences or about the connection between the modality markers and the subordinators. Therefore, the lack of Romanian data and the importance that this data could have for the comparative or the typological international studies motivated me to choose this subject of investigation.

1.1 Aim and Objectives of the Paper

Following contributions of international researchers, such as Bhatt (1999), Giorgi & Pianesi (2002), Cristofaro (2003), Longacre (2007), Nordström (2010), Kuroshima (2017), among others, the present study investigates the use of modality markers and subordinators in the complex sentences with causal and concessive adjuncts from present-day Romanian. According to their investigation, there is no doubt that modality and subordination have much in common in many languages of the world, and they bring evidence that sometimes, certain subordinators can also function as modal markers (as they denote *propositional modality* – Nordström, 2010, p. 1). Although this is a very interesting hypothesis that deserves our attention, the purpose of my present research is to describe how the modal markers and the subordinators influence each other, and, at the same time, how these elements influence the rest of the complex sentence. In the end, I intend to demonstrate that the type of adjunct and/or the corresponding subordinating conjunction influence(s) the speaker's selection of the adverbial modal marker, and also the selection of the verbal mood. A primary objective of the study is to examine the use of modal adverbials and to understand how these lexical modals combine to different types of sentence connectors or to certain grammatical modals in the complex sentences with clausal adjuncts from Romanian.

1.2 Corpus

In order to achieve the objectives of the paper, both a qualitative and quantitative analysis will be conducted on an electronic (online) present-day Romanian corpus, CoRoLa. The use of such a large corpus is, undoubtedly, the best way of collecting data. As we shall see, the research concerns the last phase in the development of Romanian language, as the investigated corpus contains, according to the authors' confession, only texts from present-day (after 1989) Romanian written and spoken language. The texts of the corpus cover four main domains (Arts & Culture,

Nature, Science, Society) that were organized in almost seventy sub-domains (with different text genres). The search within the electronic corpus was conducted following the pattern: causal/concessive subordinator + modal adverb. More precisely, the causal connector investigated was *deoarece*/'because', and the concessive connector was *deşi*/'although'. As far as the modal adverbs are concerned, a list was organized according to the three types of modality: *epistemic*, *deontic,* and *appreciative* adverbs. For this paper, the investigation was limited to causal and concessive propositional adjuncts, but I intend to extend the investigation to other types of adjuncts, so as to register the differences or the similarities.

1.3 Methodology

From a methodological point of view, the analysis from this paper is based on an extensive corpus, and the qualitative observations will be using the concepts of various domains: morphosyntax, semantics, and pragmatics. This is intended to be a formal description of a Romanian linguistic phenomenon and I consider that it should be based on naturally occurring contexts. For the present study, the investigation was restricted to the causal and concessive propositional adjuncts, the other types of adjuncts being left aside, although I believe that they can also provide important data for the theme. The two types of adverbial clauses – causal and concessive – were not arbitrary chosen, but based on their close formal and semantic relations (see König & Siemund, 2000).

2. Modality and Evidentiality – General Aspects

Although this section of the paper was supposed to come up with a brief presentation of *modality*, it should be accepted that "it may be impossible to come up with a succinct characterization of the notional domain of modality" (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca, 1994, p. 176).

As an intellectual evaluation or as an affective attitude of the speaker towards the reflected reality of his words, modality appears in any type of communication. It concerns everything the sentence conveys, being an important part of the general framework of an utterance. This is why sometimes both the logicians and the linguists thought that an utterance needed to distinguish between the content – called *dictum* –, and the attitude of the speaker regarding this content – called *modus* or modality (Ducrot & Schaeffer, 1996, p. 449). The concept of *modality* has been defined and used in different ways in the literature of various fields. For instance, in philosophy (Perkins, 1983; Palmer, 2001) and, sometimes, in linguistics (Ransom, 1986; Dietrich, 1992), this notion is

commonly used in a broad sense, and it refers to "any kind of speaker modification of a state of affairs, even including dimensions such as tense and aspect" (Nuyts, 2006, p. 1).

As defined by the most important Romanian grammar studies (GALR, 2008; GBLR, 2010; GR, 2013), *modality* represents a semantic category, partially grammaticalized, that expresses (through specific means) the speaker's attitude towards the truth or the value of the described states of affairs. The term *modalisation* refers to the process, to the marking of the speaker's attitude, while *modality* designates the result, the expressed attitude, and this is the more common and accepted definition that we are going to adopt in this paper.

2.1 Types of Modality

The terms: *modality, modalisation, modal markers* define semantical-functional concepts, but these markers can also acquire a syntactic role in a sentence, that is a syntactic position. There are languages in which the modal markers underwent a grammaticalization process, becoming auxiliaries or simple grammatical morphemes. In Romanian, the grammaticalization is just partial or unfinished, i.e. there is a specialization of some modal verbs or some adverbial structures (GBLR, 2010, p. 631). The most important types of modality (propositional attitude) accepted by the Romanian researchers are:

● *epistemic* (cognitive): <u>*Se pare*</u> *că s-au construit case.* / 'It *seems* like houses have been built'

● *deontic* (prescriptive and/or volitive): <u>*Trebuie* / <u>*vrem*</u> *să se construiască case.* / 'We *must/want* to build houses'

● *appreciative* (evaluative): <u>*E bine*</u> *că s-au construit case.* / '*It's good* that houses have been built'

Some perspectives of the logicians replace the appreciative modality with the so-called *alethic* modality that is responsible for the objective truth of the sentence, although this is very difficult to evaluate in natural language (GALR, 2008, p. 702). Given its frequency in language use and its variety of means, *the epistemic modality* is considered prototypical in Romanian (GBLR, 2010, p. 631). It has two important dimensions that depend on each other: the evaluation or the cognitive judgment (the proper/simple epistemic modality) and the manifestation of the sources of knowledge (evidentiality). The first dimension – *the epistemic judgment* – represents the evaluation act of a sentence truth, the expression of the speaker's degree of certainty about the reality of the states of affairs described by the sentence. It "can be construed as a scale – from *absolute certainty* via *probability* to fairly neutral *possibility* that the state of affairs is real. Moreover, if one assumes that the category also involves polarity, the scale even continues further on to the negative side,

from *uncertainty* via *improbability* of the state of affairs to absolute certainty that it is not real - *impossibility*" (Nuyts, 2006, p. 6). The second dimension – *evidentiality* – "deals with the source of evidence a speaker has for his or her statement. Evidential morphemes mark whether a speaker has been a direct witness to the action he/she is describing or whether s/he has received the information about the action or event from another source" (de Haan, 2006, p. 56). Different types of sources divide evidentiality into two subcategories: (a) "*indirect* evidentiality, which marks that the speaker was not a witness but obtained knowledge about the action from another person (hearsay or quotative evidentiality)" (*Se zice că Maria ar fi plecat. /* 'It is said that Mary left'), or through inference, deduction (inferential evidentiality) (*Maria trebuie să fi plecat; nu răspunde nimeni. /* 'Mary must have left; nobody is answering'), and (b) "*direct* evidentiality, which marks that the speaker was a witness to the action" (direct sensorial perception) (*Uite, nu-i nimeni în grădină. /* 'Look, there's nobody in the garden') (de Haan, 2006, p. 57). The clear indication of a source for the content of a sentence involves an appreciation of its certainty degree, and, of course, the speaker's implication: the direct perception is generally accepted as the most certain source, while the most uncertain will be the communication of the others (citation) (GALR, 2008, p. 707). Some researchers who included evidentiality in the category of epistemic modality (see Bybee, 1985; Palmer, 2001), others that treated the two categories as related, but separate types of modality that could be included in the type category of *propositional* modality (Willett, 1988; Frawley, 1992; Palmer, 2001). Other linguists simply exclude evidentiality from the modal categories (e.g., Anderson, 1986; Bybee et al., 1994; de Haan, 2006).

Deontic modality indicates the degree of obligation or permission of the described circumstances from a sentence as compared to a pre-existing set of laws. As in the case of epistemic modality, this type has two dimensions: *the proper deontic modality* (*Trebuie să plecaţi! /* 'You have to leave!'), and the *volitive/desiderative* modality, indicating the subjective degree of necessity or acceptability of an action (*Vreau să plecaţi! /* 'I want you to leave!'). The real deontic modality must have extralinguistic, objective support, but, in its absence, the speaker may invoke pseudo-rules that are more likely to correspond to his subjective will; in this way, the *deontic* gets closer to the *volitive* value (GALR, 2008, p. 718).

The most subjective type of modality is the *appreciative* one, even if it can take forms that seem to be objective, impersonal, based on current evaluations shared by different groups of speakers (the so-called "current opinion"). There is a big difference between the appreciative and

the other two types of modality: only states of affairs can be known or allowed, but, besides the states of affairs, also objects and other isolated entities can be appreciated: *E frumos să fii darnic.* ('It's nice to be generous') / *Dărnicia e frumoasă.* ('Generosity is beautiful') / *Darul e frumos.* ('The gift is beautiful'). Similarly, appreciative modality connects the propositional content to the speaker and also to the moment of the utterance (*Mă bucur că afară plouă.* / 'I'm glad it's raining outside'), and it has two dimensions. The appreciation can be *nonemotional, evaluative* (considering the accepted social values) – *E corect să fie primit.* / 'It's fair to be received' – or *emotional* (considering the feelings or the internal states of the speaker) – *E îmbucurător să fie primit* / 'It's nice to be received'. Undoubtedly, the border between the two dimensions is very thin (GALR, 2008, pp. 723-724).

2.2 Expressions of Modality

As seen in the previous section, the researchers refer not only "to different types of modal categories, but also to dimensions which further subdivide (some of) them. These dimensions are meant to account for differences in individual usages of modal expressions or different usage properties of modal expression types" (Nuyts, 2006, pp. 12-13). Across languages, modality or modal meanings can be expressed by different lexical, morphological, and syntactic categories, but the most common means are verb inflection (mood) and modal verbs or markers (see de Haan, 2006 for a full discussion of the typological studies). Romanian expresses modality using the following devices registered by GALR (2008, p. 703):

(a) grammatical devices: verbal moods

(b) lexico-grammatical devices (specialized modal expressions): adverbs and adverbial phrases; modal verbs (modal markers/operators);

(c) lexical devices: verbs with a modal meaning (epistemic, volitive, deontic, appreciative meaning), such as *a ști* / 'to know', *a crede* / 'to believe'; free or fixed periphrases;

(d) prosodic devices: intonation.

Some of these modal devices are undergoing a grammaticalization process (such as the modal verbs *a trebui* 'must', *a putea* 'can') or interact with each other in a sentence; for example, the certainty expressed by the indicative mood of the verb can be canceled by the epistemic adverb of probability (*Doarme.* / 'He is sleeping' > *Probabil doarme.* / 'He is probably sleeping'); the prototypically indicated permission of the modal verb is transformed by the conditional mode into a

suggestion or a hypothesis (*Poate plăti în rate. /* 'He can pay in installments' > *Ar putea plăti în rate. /* 'He could pay in installments').

For the present paper, only the lexico-grammatical devices are of interest, more precisely the modal adverbs and modal adverbial phrases, but the other devices will be also brought into the discussion whenever necessary. The Romanian modal adverbials can be classified according to their value (GR, 2013, pp. 506-507) in:

- *epistemic modal adverbials*, placed on the scale certitude/incertitude: *certitude*: *desigur* 'certainly', *evident* 'obviously', *sigur* 'surely', *bineînţeles* 'of course', *fireşte* 'certainly'; *de bună seamă* 'certainly', *cu siguranţă* 'surely', *fără îndoială, fără nici o îndoială, fără doar şi poate* 'undoubtedly', *mai mult ca sigur* 'absolutely certain' and through the sequences *în* 'in'+ *mod* 'way' (or *în* 'in'+ *chip* 'way') + adjective: *în mod cert* 'certainly', *în mod sigur* 'surely', *în chip evident* 'obviously'*; incertitude*: *poate* 'maybe', *probabil* 'probably', *eventual, parcă* 'possibly';

- *deontic modal adverbials: obligation: obligatoriu, neapărat, negreşit,* (vernacular) *musai* 'obligatorily'*,* sequences such as *în mod / chip necesar* 'necessarily'*, în mod / chip obligatoriu* 'obligatorily'; *permission: eventual* 'maybe'.

- *appreciative modal adverbials*: *bine că* 'good that', *noroc că* 'luckily that', *păcat că* 'pity that', *ciudat că* 'strange that' etc. or exclusively as incident / integrated elements: *din fericire* 'fortunately', *din păcate, din nenorocire, din nefericire* 'unfortunately'.

Evidentiality is also strongly marked, especially in the colloquial language, using the quotation (*cică*, *pasămite, chipurile, vezi Doamne* 'apparently') or the inferential (*pesemne* 'seemingly') evidential markers which indicate the fact that the information taken over is not assumed. Perceptual evidentiality is less marked, especially through presentative interjections: *iată, uite* 'look'.

3. Modality and Evidentiality in the Complex Sentences with Causal and Concessive Adjuncts – Corpus Analysis

The starting idea of this section is that "although the adverbial subordinators do not denote propositional (epistemic) modality, it must be acknowledged that they often entail or presuppose the factual status of the subordinate clause. Semantically, adverbial clauses can be divided in terms of factuality (Hengeveld, 1998, p. 349). Adverbial clauses of cause ('because'), simultaneousness

('when/while'), anteriority ('after'), reason ('because'), concession ('although'), and explanation ('for') can be classified as factual, whereas adverbial clauses of potential circumstances ('in case'), purpose ('so that'), condition, unreal circumstances ('as if') can be classified as non-factual (Hengeveld, 1998, p. 357ff)" (Nordström, 2010, p. 249). So, I can also assume that the modal markers' value interferes with the specific values of the subordinated clause. In fact, this was one of the conclusions of the corpus investigation. In addition, the corpus analysis revealed many other interesting aspects that surpassed my intuition. For example, I noticed that the modal adverbials occur almost exclusively in the presence of a simple subordinator, being incompatible (or very rare) with complex causal or concessive subordinators. This is a very intriguing Romanian phenomenon that requires further investigation, and it certainly has a strong linguistic or extralinguistic motivation. Still, modality can be expressed in such complex sentences using modal verbs or impersonal expressions:

(1) *informarea cu privire la unele construcții industriale noi sau la cele existente deja dar supuse modernizărilor <u>cu toate că</u> <u>este imposibil</u> să nu fi știut Dej despre existența sateliților-spion.*

'information on some new industrial constructions or those already existing but subject to modernization, *although* <u>it is impossible</u> that Dej did not know about the existence of spy satellites'

As concerns the concessive adjuncts, all the complex subordinators have been searched for, and only one example was found having the modal adverbial *poate* 'maybe'. A similar result had the investigation of the causal adjuncts with complex subordinators, i.e. one example in which the modal adverbial phrase *în mod cert* 'certainly' combines with the complex subordinator.

(2) *Primești teme, trebuie să înveți „ca să iei notă mare!", <u>chit că poate</u> tocești și nu îți va mai rămâne nimic în cap.*

'You get homework, you have to learn "to get a high grade!", *even if maybe* you are swotting and you won't have anything left in your head'

(3) *Comisarul șef a spus, în exclusivitate <u>pentru că în mod cert</u> va fi o anchetă care va analiza măsurile luate la momentul respectiv.*

'Chief Commissioner said exclusively *because* it will *certainly* be an investigation that will analyze the measures taken at that time'

As in the case of simple subordinators, all the possible combinations have been taken into consideration during the investigation. Take a look at the numbers resulted from the investigation of sentences with a complex subordinator + a modal adverbial:

Table 1: *Distribution of Concessive Adjuncts with Complex Subordinators in CoRoLa*

Complex concessive subordinators	Total number of contexts in CoRoLa	Complex subordinator + modal adverbial contexts
chit că / 'although'	343	1
măcar că / 'although'	37	0
chiar de / 'although'	10323	0
chiar dacă / 'although'	189	0
cu toate că / 'although'	38	0

Table 2: *Distribution of Causal Adjuncts with Complex Subordinators in CoRoLa*

Complex causal subordinators	Total number of contexts in CoRoLa	Complex subordinator + modal adverbial contexts
pentru că / 'because'	233	1
pe motiv că / 'because'	2581	0
din cauză că / 'because'	11	0
din moment ce / 'because'	19	0
de vreme ce / 'because'	24	0
din pricină că / 'because'	2	0

As far as the simple subordinators are concerned, I selected for this analysis the causal connector *deoarece*/'because', and the concessive connector *deși*/'although'. From a total number of 96.202 contexts in which the simple causal subordinator appears, 542 are complex sentences constructed with *deoarece* combined with a modal adverb or a modal adverbial phrase. Furthermore, CoRoLa contains 90.654 complex sentences with the simple concessive subordinator *deși*, out of which 880 concessive adjuncts have the connector associated with a modal adverbial. As illustrated by the figure, both types of adjuncts contain a great number of epistemic adverbials, more precisely, the causal subordinator combines with 531 epistemic adverbials, while the concessive subordinator occurs with 862 epistemic adverbials.
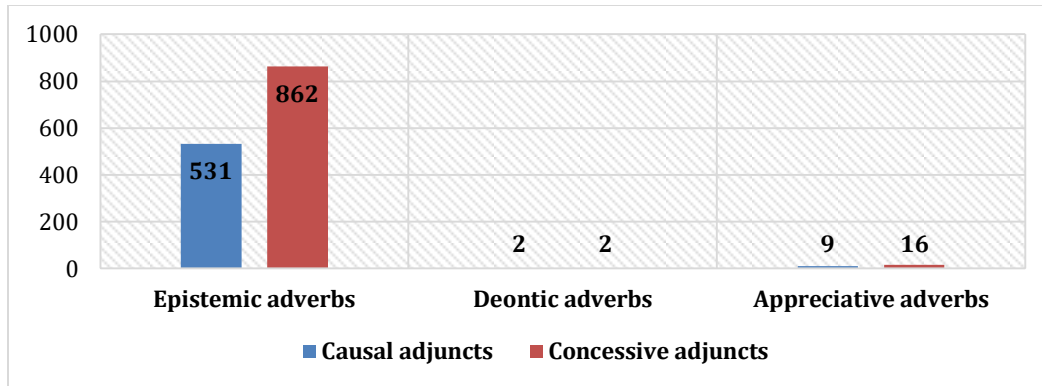
Figure 1: *Distribution of Modal Adverbs in CoRoLa*

The quantitative analysis implied an electronic counting of the total number of contexts followed by a rigorous selection and evaluation of the investigated patterns. Figures 2 and 3 illustrate the distribution of the most frequently used modal adverbials in the Romanian concessive and causal adjuncts. As expected, the modal having the biggest number of occurrences is *poate* in both types of adjuncts, but this can be easily explained by the fact that the word *poate* has two morphological values in Romanian. It may be an adverb 'maybe' or a verb 'to be able to/to can', but, in both cases, the epistemic modal value is obtained.
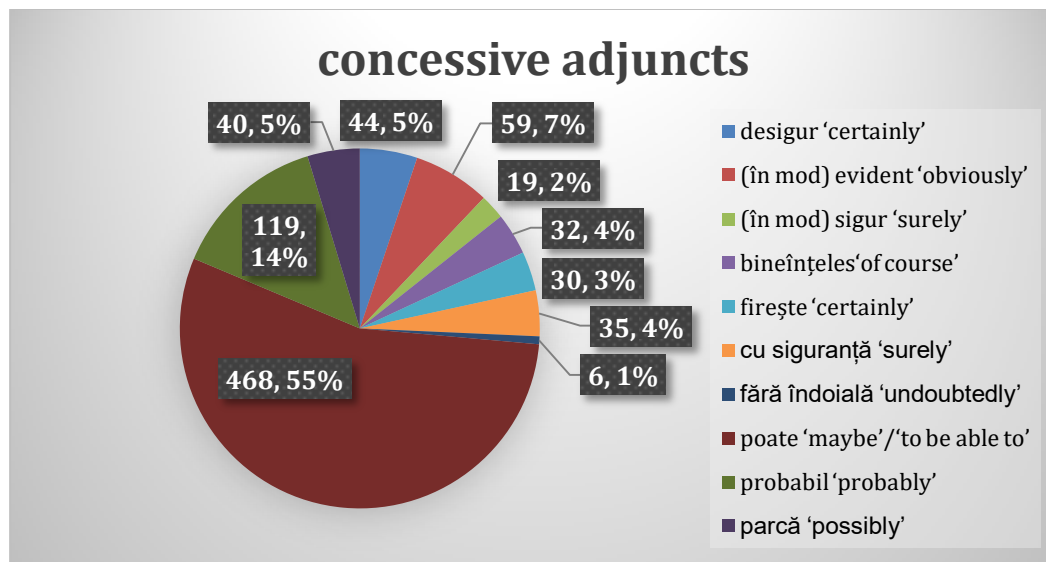

Figure 2: *Distribution of Modal Adverbs in Complex Sentences with Concessive Adjuncts*
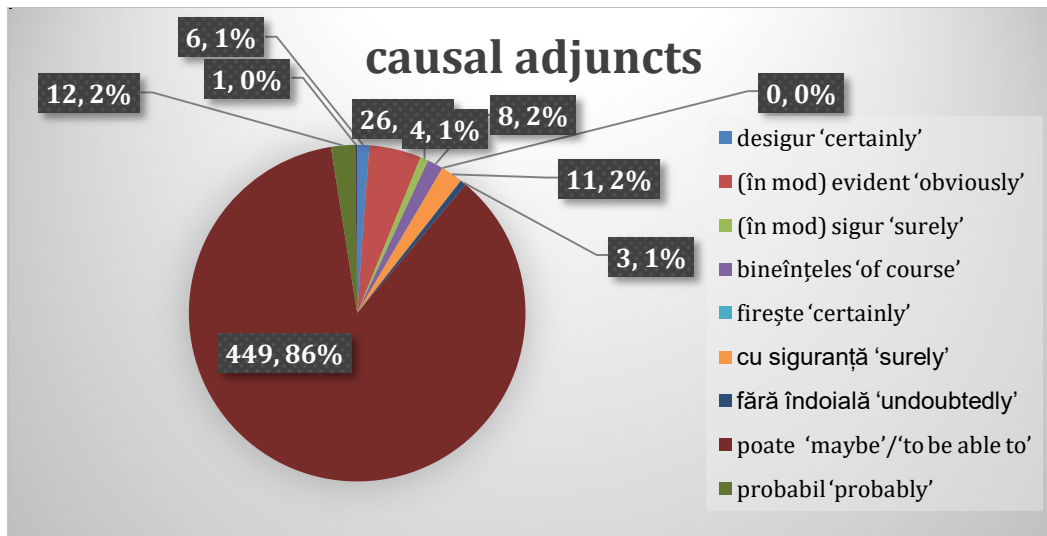
Figure 3: *Distribution of Modal Adverbs in Complex Sentences with Causal Adjuncts*

From a syntactic point of view, the modal adverbial can be in Romanian: a regent grammatical element of the modal sentence (*Bineînțeles că vine.*/'Of course it comes'), an incidental, parenthetical element (*Vine, bineînțeles .*/'It comes, of course') or an integrated element (*Bineînțeles vine.*/'Of course it comes'). The first type is outside our investigation, but the other types were both identified in the online corpus at the level of complex sentences with adjuncts. They occupy the syntactic position of a modal adjunct in the causal or in the concessive subordinate clause, but they modify the whole sentence.

"A concessive or adversative relation involves two clauses: the main clause is, as usual, asserted, while the concessive clause describes a situation which would ordinarily lead to a negative implication about the main clause. The function of the concessive clause is to say that in spite of the negative implication, the main clause assertion stands" (Bybee et al., 1994, p. 225). So, a possible link can be established between concessive and epistemic functions/values. Some Spanish researchers argue that "the concessive use derives directly from the probability use in interactional contexts in which the speaker wants to concede to the opinion of the addressee. The probability use indicates that the speaker has reservations about the truth of the proposition, but the concessive use expresses reservations about unconditionally accepting the ordinary consequences of the proposition. In other words, the epistemicity applies to the connection between the two propositions, rather than to the proposition which contains the epistemic marker. Such a change appears to be a further instance of the broadening of scope that is so characteristic of grammaticization" (Bybee et al., 1994, p. 225).

3.1 Epistemic Modality

In Romanian, epistemic adverbials have certain construction particularities: they are intonationally integrated (4) or, in most of the contexts, they are parenthetic (5):

(4) *Un prânz de afaceri, desigur, adăugă ea repede, <u>deşi evident</u> nimănui nu-i păsa.*

'Certainly a business lunch, she added quickly, *though obviously* nobody cared'

(5) *Am recunoscut că nu pricep cum s-ar putea rezolva prin pase bioterapeutice situaţia mea, <u>deşi, evident</u>, aş fi fericit să scap de operaţie.*

'I admitted that I do not understand how my situation could be solved through biotherapeutic passes, *although, obviously*, I would be happy to get rid of the operation'

Sometimes, the entire adjunct is parenthetical:

(6) *Lumea nouă e atât de frumoasă şi de luminoasă (<u>deşi, evident, nu este</u>)...*

'The new world is so beautiful and bright (*although obviously,* it is not)'

There are also contexts in which the modal adverb takes a complement clause introduced by the connector *că*. In this situation, the syntactic function of the adverb is very important for the complex structure, as it has the role of an adverbial predicate.

(7) *Feţele oamenilor par familiare, <u>deşi evident</u> <u>că</u> nu-i cunoşti.*

'People's faces seem familiar, *although* you *obviously* don't know them.

It is well-known that trust in the truth of a fact is a continuum, with a scale of values such as: *certain - probable - possible - uncertain - improbable - impossible.* This was also revealed by the investigated corpus, and the identified values are the following:

- ☐ *Certainty* is expressed through adverbials such as:
  - ● *desigur* 'certainly':

    Acest lucru ar putea fi bun, <u>deoarece, desigur,</u> avem nevoie de taxe.

    'This fact could be good, *because* we *certainly* need taxes'
  - ● *evident* 'obviously':

    Templierii au aşteptat treizeci şi şase de ani, nu treizeci şi cinci sau treizeci şi şapte, <u>deoarece, evident,</u> numărul 36 avea pentru ei valenţe mistice.

    'The Templars waited thirty-six years, not thirty-five or thirty-seven, *because obviously* the number 36 had mystical valences for them'
  - ● *sigur* 'surely':

Poate să ni se pară că din întâmplare sfântul Toma nu s-a aflat printre ei, <u>deşi, sigur,</u> nu este o întâmplare.

'It may seem that by chance St. Thomas was not among them, *although* it is *surely* not a coincidence'

- *bineînţeles* 'of course':

În intervenţia reprezentantului Consiliului, am auzit cuvântul Rusia o singură dată, <u>deşi bineînţeles</u>, Rusia este cheia situaţiei din Georgia.

'In the intervention of the Council representative, I heard the word Russia only once, *although of course* Russia is the key to the situation in Georgia'

- *fireşte* 'certainly':

Domnul are într-adevăr multe cauze de nemulţumire, <u>deşi fireşte</u> de altă natură.

'The Lord does have many causes of displeasure, *although certainly* of a different nature'

- *de bună seamă* 'certainly':

Impostura ideologiei n-a avut limite, <u>deoarece</u>, <u>de bună seamă</u> dintr-un complex de inferioritate, ea şi-a propus a înghiţi toată cultura.

'The imposture of ideology had no limits *because* it *certainly* intended to swallow all the culture due to an inferiority complex'

- *cu siguranţă* 'surely':

Nimeni nu mi-a zis nimic, (...) <u>deşi cu siguranţă</u>, ei ştiau tot ce fac.

'Nobody told me anything, (...) *although* they *surely* knew everything they do'

- *fără îndoială, fără nicio îndoială, fără doar şi poate* 'undoubtedly':

Memoria părinţilor ajunge mai departe <u>deoarece</u>, <u>fără îndoială</u>, grupul pe care-l formau altădată nu a fost complet absorbit de familia lărgită.

'The memory of the parents goes on *because*, *undoubtedly*, the group they once formed was not completely absorbed by the extended family'

- *în* 'in'+ *mod* 'way' (or *în* 'in'+ *chip* 'way') + adjective: *în mod cert* 'certainly'; *în mod sigur* 'surely'; *în mod firesc* 'obviously'; *în chip/mod evident* 'obviously'; *în mod vizibil* 'obviously':

Aproape că a citit de pe carte <u>deşi, în mod sigur</u>, îşi pregătise cuvântul!

'He almost read from the book, *although* he *surely* had prepared his word!'

Limuzina a trebuit să fie înlocuită <u>deoarece în mod firesc</u> nu-i mai era pe plac.

'The limousine had to be replaced *because* he *obviously* didn't like it anymore'

Some of the modal adverbs specialize more and more for the pragmatic function of a connector, of a discoursive marker. For example, *desigur* 'certainly' has the role of signaling a concession, announcing the appearance of an adversary member of the phrase. This explains the increased number of occurrences of this modal adverb in the complex sentences with concessive adjuncts (44 occurrences), as compared to the causal adjuncts (6 occurrences). According to the corpus, *evident* 'obviously' and *în mod evident* 'obviously' are the preferred modal adverbials for the Romanian legislative texts belonging to the juridical domain.

 Incertitude is another epistemic value expressed through a smaller number of adverbials:

● *poate* 'maybe':

Vinovat de situația creată este handicapatul, <u>deoarece, poate</u>, nu a binevoit să împartă comisioane!

'The disabled person is to blame for the situation created *because maybe* he was not willing to share commissions'

Very interesting are those contexts that involve the pattern: subordinator + *poate*, because this word *poate* receives either verbal or adverbial value in a sentence, depending on its meaning. If the meaning is that of probability, then *poate* 'maybe' is an adverb, while the meaning of *poate* 'to be able to/to can' is connected to the verbal value (8).

(8) *Are un singur grad de libertate <u>deoarece poate</u> ajunge numai unde-l duc șinele.*

'He has only one degree of freedom *because* he *can* only get where the rails take him'

In fact, GR (2013, p. 503) brings evidence that "a form of the verb *a putea* – 3rd person present indicative: *poate* – is grammaticalized as an adverb of epistemic modality (incertitude)". However, this word has a modal meaning, and it should be interpreted as a modal marker. The double value of this Romanian word explains the significant number of occurrences in the selected corpus.

● *probabil* 'probably', *eventual* 'possibly':

Are ceea ce reprezintă, tehnic vorbind, o democrație, <u>deși eventual</u> doar o semidemocrație după standarde occidentale.

'It has what technically represents a democracy, *although possibly* only a semi-democracy by Western standards'

3.2 Evidentiality

As concerns the evidential adverbial markers, their number is reduced in the investigated corpus, and they can be included in the second group – *quotational evidential markers*: *cică* (9), *chipurile* (10) 'apparently' – in contexts belonging to the colloquial language, indicating the fact that the information taken over is not assumed:

(9) *Sunt foarte supărată pe Olanda pentru că nu o lasă pe țara mea, România, să intre în spațiul Shengen, <u>deoarece cică</u> că țara mea este foarte coruptă.*

'I am very angry with the Netherlands because it does not allow my country, Romania, to enter the Schengen area, *because apparently* my country is very corrupt'

(10) *mecanismul economico-financiar produce încurcături, <u>deși</u>, <u>chipurile</u>, a fost elaborat cu scopul de a îmbunătăți activitățile.*

'the economic-financial mechanism confuses, *although*, *apparently*, it was developed to improve activities'

Unlike some evidential verbs or verbal moods that also illustrate the taking over of the discourse, the quotation adverbs *cică* and *chipurile* 'apparently' (also called *marks of the narration/citation*) highlight the minimum distance from the source or the distrust of the quoted opinion. They show that the information is taken from others, *from hearsay*, from which the speaker detaches himself.

A modal marker used with the evidential value of *perception* is the epistemic adverb *parcă* 'possibly'/'apparently') that has a significant number of occurrences in the complex sentences with concessive adjuncts (40 occurrences). The source of knowledge is, in this case, the spontaneous impression, the feeling, the direct observation of the phenomenon, not the inference. Combined with verbs of perception or with other types of verbs expressing uncertainty, this adverb is frequently used to express uncertainty in perception (11) or memory (12).

(11) *Nu ne-am înzăpezit cu adevărat, <u>deși parcă</u> a nins mai mult decât aici.*

'We didn't really get snow, *although apparently* it was snowing more than here'

(12) *Iubirea paternă mi-o amintesc vag, deoarece, <u>deși parcă</u> văd și acum chipul zâmbitor al tatălui ce mă ținea pe genunchi, a fost de scurtă durată.*

'I vaguely remember my father's love, because, *although* I still seem to see the smiling face of my father holding me on my knees, it was short-lived'

Obviously, the complex sentences with causal and concessive adjuncts contain many other evidential markers (such as verbs or verbal moods), but very interesting are the *presentative interjections* that mark perceptual evidentiality: *iată, uite* 'look'. They indicate immediate access to information (obtained directly, by sensory means), and sometimes the idea of surprise is added:

(13) *Orice existenţă umană este o îmbinare de moarte şi de înviere, ca fiind pe pragul morţii, <u>deşi iată</u> că trăim.*

'Every human existence is a combination of death and resurrection, as being on the verge of death, *although look*: we live!'

3.3 Deontic Modality

As results from the above figures, the deontic adverbials have the smallest number of occurrences. Although there are, in general, two types of deontic modality in Romanian – *proper deontic modality* and *volitive modality* (see GBLR, 2010, p. 634) – I only found modal adverbials from the first category in the selected corpus. In addition, I noticed that they are especially modalizers of *obligation***:**

● *obligatoriu, neapărat, negreşit* 'obligatorily/necessarily/unmistakably':

Dorinţa duce pe cel călăuzit de ardorile ei la nefericire pămîntească, <u>deoarece, negreşit,</u> din cenuşa dorinţei împlinite se renaşte.

'Desire leads the one guided by its ardor to earthly unhappiness, *because, unmistakably*, from the ashes of fulfilled desire is reborn'

● *în mod necesar* 'necessarily':

Un cărăuş, nu este împins ori forţat de vreo necesitate atunci când îşi mână carul. O face în mod liber, folosindu-şi iscusinţa, <u>deşi, în mod necesar,</u> Dumnezeu ştia dinainte că el o va face.

'A carrier is not pushed or forced by any necessity when handling his cart. He does it freely, using his skill, *although* God *necessarily* knew in advance that he would do it'

These examples evidence the fact that deontic modal statements are, prototypically, imperative, even when they do not contain imperative verbs. As the epistemic adverbials, the deontic adverbials identified in the extracted contexts are generally integrated (14), more rarely incident and parenthetic (15).

(14) *Felix avu impulsiunea să declare că nu avea nevoie de nimic, însă i se păru absurd, <u>deoarece neapărat</u> trebuia să doarmă undeva.*

'Felix had the urge to say he didn't need anything, but it seemed absurd to him, *because* he (*obligatorily*) had to sleep somewhere'

(15) *Dorința duce pe cel călăuzit de ardorile ei la nefericire pămîntească, <u>deoarece, negreșit</u>, din cenușa dorinței împlinite se renaște altă dorință.*

'Desire leads the one guided by her ardor to earthly unhappiness, *because***,** *unmistakably*, another desire reborn from the ashes of the fulfilled one'

3.4 Appreciative Modality

In Romanian, the appreciative adverbials occur exclusively as an incident or as integrated elements, although the isolation is not always marked by commas. The adverbial phrases having this modal value are organized in two categories expressing positive and negative feelings:

- *din fericire* 'fortunately':

    Și lui îi plac plantele, <u>deși, din fericire</u>, nu vorbește cu ele.

    'He also likes plants, *although, fortunately,* he doesn't talk to them'

- *din păcate* 'unfortunately':

    amintirea acelor vremuri înfiorătoare a lăsat urme care nu trebuie acoperite de praful uitării ci chiar accentuate prin reluări continue <u>deoarece, din păcate</u>, ele se pot repeta.

    'the memory of those horrible times left traces that should not be covered by the dust of oblivion but even accentuated by continuous repetitions *because, unfortunately*, they can be repeated'

- *din nefericire* 'unfortunately':

    Finalul este tragic <u>deoarece din nefericire</u> nu doar Nadahkan a fost lovit de otravă letală a văduvei tigrate, ci și Nya.

    'The end is tragic *because unfortunately* not only Nadahkan was hit by the deadly poison of the brindle widow, but also Nya'

- *din nenorocire* 'unfortunately':

    Suntem în partea vestică a lacului și l-am localizat pe fugar. Vine spre noi, <u>deși, din nenorocire</u>, cred că ne-a văzut.

    'We are in the western part of the lake and we located the fugitive. He comes to us, *although, unfortunately,* I think he saw us'

As we can see from the examples above, appreciative modality is "the most subjective of all types of modality, and expresses the degree to which the speaker evaluates positively or negatively a fact; of course, the evaluation can also include emotional elements" (GBLR, 2010, p. 635).

3.5 'Special' Modal Markers

The investigated corpus revealed some modal markers that are not necessarily included in one of the three categories discussed above, although they are associated, in general, with the epistemic modality of uncertainty. I called these modal adverbials *special modal markers*, and they are *oare* 'I wonder' (16) and *cumva* 'maybe / somehow' (17):

(16) *Eminescu, dacă ar fi trait în aceste timpuri, n-ar fi avut nevoie să tot posteze pe colo și pe acolo...deoarece, oare nu deșertul aglomerărilor proprii ar spune tot?*

'If Eminescu had lived in these times, he would not have needed to post here and there... *because*, wouldn't the desert of his own agglomerations say everything?'

(17) *Foarte interesantă în eseul lui Gheorghe Filip este preocuparea sa pentru personajul narator, cu poftă de vorbă, deși cumva reținut, luându-l pe cititor ca martor.*

'Very interesting in Gheorghe Filip's essay is his preoccupation for the narrator character, the one with a desire to talk, *although somehow* restrained, taking the reader as a witness'

The modal adverb *oare* 'I wonder' appears in interrogative sentences and it marks the questioning of a certain propositional content explicitly stated in a previous statement. In fact, it functions first of all as a pragmatic marker, i.e. an additional mark of the verbal act of questioning. However, it can also receive an epistemic modal value, highlighting uncertainty.

3.6 'Harmonic' and 'Disharmonic' Combinations of Modal Markers

Quite interesting are the situations in which the modal values are amalgamated, and these structures were called 'harmonic' and 'disharmonic' combinations (GR, 2013, p. 507). I noticed in the selected corpus that in the same complex sentence, modal markers of different types (for example epistemic + deontic (18); epistemic + appreciative (19)) or of the same type with similar degrees ("harmonic combinations", for example, certainty + certainty (20)) and even different (certainty + uncertainty, "disharmonic combinations" (21)) can be combined.

(18) *Am înțeles că dânsul face campanie împotriva USL, deși, sigur, președintele nu ar trebui să facă campanie.* (epistemic adverb + deontic verb)

'I understand that he is campaigning against USL, *although, of course*, the president should not campaign'

(19) *Suntem în partea vestică a lacului şi l-am localizat pe fugar. Vine spre noi, <u>deşi, din nenorocire,</u> cred că ne-a văzut.* (appreciative adverbial phrase + epistemic verb)

'We are in the western part of the lake and we located the fugitive. He comes to us, *although, unfortunately*, I think he saw us'

(20) *de îndată ce ţi-ai dezvăluit intenţiile unuia care este nemulţumit, i-ai şi dat motiv să fie mulţumit, <u>deoarece cu siguranţă</u> el poate să nădăjduiască să tragă de aici orice profit.*

'as soon as you revealed your intentions to someone dissatisfied, you gave him a reason to be satisfied, *because* he can *certainly* hope to make some profit from here'

(21) *în ceea ce-l priveşte pe V.P. nu pare a fi schimbat, <u>deşi, sigur,</u> mulţi observatori ai vieţii politice i-<u>ar recomanda</u> o schimbare de strategie* (epistemic adverb expressing certainty + conditional verbal mood expressing uncertainty)

'As for V.P., he does not seem to be changed, *although, of course*, many observers of political life would recommend him a change of strategy'

The markers can be from the same morphological class (22) or from different classes (23), for example, two similar adverbs or an adverb and a modal verb/verbal mood:

(22) *Sora mea spune că sunt obsedată şi că văd discriminări peste tot, <u>deşi, cumva poate</u> şi în urma influenţei mele, reacţiile ei mi-au adus multe momente de bucurie.*

'My sister says that I am obsessed and that I see discrimination everywhere, *although, maybe* even due to my influence, her reactions brought me many moments of joy'

(23) *Felix avu impulsiunea să declare că nu avea nevoie de nimic, însă i se păru absurd, <u>deoarece neapărat</u> trebuia să doarmă undeva.*

'Felix had the impulse to declare that he didn't need anything, but it seemed absurd to him *because* he *had to* sleep somewhere'

Sometimes, the two types of modalities seem to act simultaneously, at the same level and with a common domain, simultaneously expressing the degree of (un)certainty and the degree of appreciation:

(24) *a fost, <u>deşi poate</u> pare neverosimil, prima oara într-un an când m-am rugat* (epistemic adverb + appreciative verb)

'it was, *although* it *may seem* unlikely, the first time in a year when I prayed'

The meaning of the appreciative verb *a părea* / 'seem' is epistemic-evidential: incertitude produced by a visual pseudo-perception (which excludes supposition).

4. Conclusions

The investigation of the online corpus, using an integrative theoretical framework, which combines concepts of morphosyntax, semantics, and pragmatics resulted in a formal description of the adverbial modal markers that are used by the Romanian speakers in their complex sentences with causal and concessive adjuncts. I brought evidence in this paper that the assumption according to which the modal markers' value interferes with the specific values of the subordinated clauses is sustained. In addition, the corpus analysis revealed many other interesting aspects, such as the fact that the modal adverbials are compatible almost exclusively with simple subordinators, being incompatible (or very rare) with complex causal or concessive subordinators. This is a very intriguing Romanian phenomenon that implies further investigation, and I believe it has a linguistic or extralinguistic motivation. Other results of the analysis can be summarized as follows:

- Romanian has a significant number of lexical and grammatical devices for expressing all the three types of modality (including evidentiality)
- The most frequent lexical modal marker is, for both types of adjuncts, *poate* – used either as an epistemic adverb ('maybe') or as an epistemic verb ('can/be able to')
- There is a connection between the type of adjunct and the selection of the modal adverbial; for example, the epistemic adverb *parcă* / 'possibly' is frequently used in combination with the concessive subordinator *deși* / 'although'
- There are many interesting combinations of lexical modal markers (including adverbs, verbs, and moods) that build harmonic or disharmonic constructions.

In conclusion, the present paper brings a certain contribution to the existing linguistic literature on the modality in Romanian, and also on the complex sentences with adjuncts. The innovative character of my paper resides in the originality of the investigated corpus which was not previously described from this point of view. In the end, I consider that such an approach may also lead to the identification of certain typological features or reveal some interesting aspects of Romanian as a Romance language.

CORPUS

CoRoLa = Corpus de referință pentru româna actuală / Reference corpus of present-day Romanian (corola.racai.ro).

REFERENCES

Anderson, L. B. (1986). Evidentials, paths of change, and mental maps: Typologically regular asymmetries. W. Chafe & J. Nichols (Eds.), *Evidentiality* (pp. 273-312). Norwood: Ablex.

Bhatt, R. (1999). Covert Modality in Non-Finite Contexts. Ph.D. thesis, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Bybee, J. L. (1985). Morphology. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.9

Bybee, J., Perkins, R., & Pagliuca, W. (1994). The Evolution of Grammar, Chicago, and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Cristofaro, S. (2003). Subordination. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

de Haan, F. (2006) Typological approaches to modality. W. Frawley (Eds.), *The Expression of Modality* (pp. 27-70). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Dietrich, R. (1992). Modalität im Deutschen. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-322-90759-2

Ducrot, O. & Schaeffer, J.M. (eds.) (1996). Noul dicționar enciclopedic al științelor limbajului. București: Editura Babel.

Frawley, W. (1992). Linguistic Semantics. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

GALR - Guțu Romalo, V. (ed.). (2008). Gramatica limbii române. Vol. I-II. București: Editura Academiei Române.

GBLR - Pană Dindelegan, G. (ed.). (2010). Gramatica de bază a limbii române. București: Univers Enciclopedic Gold.

Giorgi, A. & Pianesi, F. (2002). Complementizer deletion in Italian. L. Rizzi (Eds.), *The Structure of CP and IP: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures* 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

GR - Pană Dindelegan, G. & Maiden, M. (eds.). (2013). The Grammar of Romanian. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hengeveld, K. (1998). Adverbial clauses in the languages of Europe. J. van der Auwera (Eds.), *Adverbial Constructions in the Languages of Europe* (pp. 335-419). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

König, E. & Siemund, P. (2000). Causal and concessive clauses: Formal and semantic relations. E. Couper-Kuhlen & B. Kortmann (Eds.), *Cause – Condition – Concession – Contrast. Cognitive and Discourse Perspectives* (pp. 341-360). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110219043.4.341

Kuroshima, N. (2017). Modality in Adverbial Clauses and Clause Linkage in Korean. Komaba: The University of Tokyo.

Longacre, R. E. (2007). Sentences as combination of clauses. T. Shopen (Eds.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, vol. II, *Complex Constructions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nordström, J. (2010). Modality and subordinators. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.116

Nuyts, J. (2006). Modality: Overview and linguistic issues. W. Frawley (Eds.), *The Expression of Modality* (pp. 1-26). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Palmer, F. (2001). Mood and Modality (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139167178

Perkins, M. R. (1983). Modal expressions in English. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Ransom, E. (1986). Complementation: Its Meanings and Forms. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.10

Willett, T. (1988). A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticalization of evidentiality. Studies in Language, 12, 51-97. https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.12.1.04wil