

Evidential and epistemic sentence adverbs in Romance languages

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Abstract

In this paper evidential and modal adverbs will be studied, such as French *apparemment*, *évidemment*, *visiblement*, Italian *apparentemente*, *evidentemente*, *ovviamente*, and Spanish *aparentemente*, *evidentemente* and *visiblemente*. The development of their signification will be discussed, including German adverbs like *offensichtlich*. In these means of expression, the functional-semantic categories evidentiality and epistemic modality seem to overlap: on the one hand, they are used if the state of affairs talked about cannot be verified, that is, if there is still a moment of insecurity concerning the transmitted information. Then adverbials with a special structure (preposition + article + nominal form of a verb) will be analysed, and we will examine if they behave in the same way.

1 Introduction

The aim of this paper is to investigate epistemic and evidential sentence adverbs in Romance languages. First regularly formed adverbs will be studied, such as French *apparemment*, *évidemment*, *visiblement*, Italian *apparentemente*, *evidentemente*, *ovviamente*, and Spanish *aparentemente*, *evidentemente* and *visiblemente*. The adverbs were chosen for two reasons: firstly, they denote the visual access to information to different degrees and, secondly, they are used frequently in the three languages. For the latter reason we did not pursue the etymologically linked form in Italian and studied *ovviamente* rather than *visiblemente*. Then adverbials with a special structure, consisting of a preposition, an article and a nominal form of a verb will be analysed: Spanish *al parecer*, Portuguese *ao parecer* and *ao que parece*, Italian *all'apparenza*, *in apparenza* and Russian *no-видимому*. Regularly derived adverbs and adverbial constructions were analysed to find out if the adverbial character determines their syntactic and semantic behaviour or if the different kinds of adverbial are used in different ways.

The term “epistemic modality” denotes the speaker’s assessment of the probability that the content of the utterance applies or is certain and the possible alternatives on a scale of probability. On the other hand, the adverbial locutions are often used if the information being talked about comes from an external information source, that is, an information source which cannot be identified as the speaker or author. With the term “evidentiality” we denote the marking of the source of the speaker’s knowledge, as coming from visual or auditory perception, being

derived from some indices, learned by information from other people or hearsay, or being deduced by reflexion.¹

The study will analyse whether the adverbs under discussion may be used sentence-initially (1), parenthetically (2), as an adverbial with broad (3) or narrow scope (4) or as the component that modalises the predication (5):

1. “**Apparently**² I’m a crack addict!” Michelle Keegan jokes about snaps [...]. (*Daily Mail* 08.07.2012)
2. These days, **it seems**, we marry the property rather than the person. (*The Guardian* 20.07.2006)
3. **Apparently** he saved a child from certain death, at the expense of his own. (BNC, AN7 1775)
4. Nicolas Sarkozy reaches out for Carla to spice up a **seemingly** boring meeting on his Indian state visit. (*Daily Mail* 09.12.2010)
5. “She **apparently** has not learned her lesson”: Thieving girl, 13, forced to hold “I steal from my family” sign at busy intersection. (*Daily Mail* 15.02.2012)

This study is based on written data which were obtained mainly from newspaper texts by looking for occurrences of the adverbials. In order to obtain data from different newspapers and other texts, the following corpora were used: CREA, CORDE, CORPES XXI of the Spanish Academy, *Frantext*, the PAISÀ corpus italiano, the Russian National Corpus, Korpus Leipzig, and the corpus programme *GlossaNet*. These corpora are not all of the same size and are differently constructed, but the concentration on occurrences in the same types of texts allows some observations to be made.

2 Evidentiality, speaker’s stance and epistemic modality

Evidentiality is considered to be a structural dimension of grammar, the values of which are expressed by types of constructions that code the source of information which a speaker imparts. Drawing a boundary between speaker’s stance, epistemic modality and evidentiality presents difficult problems in many European languages. Even if we assume that there are linguistic elements which fulfil the original function of marking the source of the speaker’s knowledge, this is contingent on the marking of the speaker’s stance and epistemic modality. The speaker’s stance is a superordinate category, which includes several overlapping subcategories (cf. Hennemann 2013: 419):

¹ For recent studies on evidentiality cf. Alonso-Almeida/Adams (2012), Boye (2012), Capone (2001), Celle (2009), Cornillie (2007a, 2007b, 2010a), Dendale/Van Bogaert’s (2007), Estellés Arguedas/Albelda Marco (2014), González Ruiz/Izquierdo Alegría/Loureda Lamas (2016), Haßler (2003, 2004, 2010, 2016), Hennemann (2012, 2013), Marín Arrese/Haßler/Carretero (eds.) (2017), Pietrandrea (2007), Squartini (2008), Wiermer/Plungjan (2008), Paducheva (2011), Plungjan (2011). Studies on evidential adverbs include, for example, Cornillie (2010b), Hennemann (2012, 2013). Simon-Vandenberg/Aijmer (2007) show that *obviously* is “really” evidential because some French translations gave proof of this analysis: the most frequent French translations of *obviously* were *évidemment*, *de toute évidence* or *à l’évidence* – clearly being evidential expressions and thus confirming the inherent evidential status of *obviously*.

² Boldface has been added by the author in the examples of this paper.

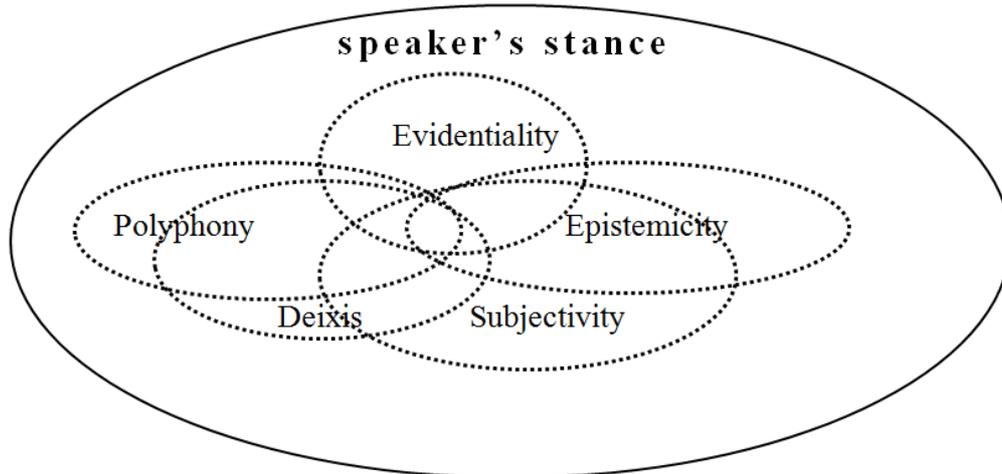


Figure 1: Speakers stance and its subcategories

With the definition of speaker's stance as an indication of the speaker's commitment to the status of the information that they are providing, we have determined that this category is central to a pragmatic study. Stance-taking indicates how the speaker's position is to be interpreted with respect to a particular utterance. At a basic level, stance can be expressed by contextualisation cues, culturally specific tools or resources for stance-taking. Stance-taking has to do with indexing the speaker's orientation to the propositional content of discourse, to the speaker's interactional partners, or to conventional social identity categories. For the purpose of this paper we shall use the following definition of stance: "Stance is generally understood to have to do with the methods, linguistic and other, by which interactants create and signal relationships with the propositions they utter and with the people they interact with" (Johnstone 2009: 30–31).

Epistemic stance is likewise culturally grounded because it is embedded in particular regimes of knowledge and authority. Consequently, epistemic stance markers can be used to downgrade speaker authority and acknowledge other interactants' greater claims to hold relevant information (cf. Rauniomaa 2007: 232). To establish a relation of concomitance between stance and evidentiality, we need a broad notion of evidentiality that will be different from what typologists understand by this term. But even the grammaticalised means of expression of evidentiality in languages with genuine evidentials can also serve to express the speaker's stance. In Tuyuca one has to distinguish between the following kinds of evidentiality: (6a) the direct personal and visual experience of the speaker, (6b) the perception through hearing, (6c) making deductions from evidence, (6d) learning from the report of another person and (6e) drawing a conclusion based on logic (cf. Barnes 1984):

6. a. *díga apé-wi*
 soccer play-3.PERS.PRET.VISUAL
 'He played soccer [I saw it]'
- b. *díga apé-ti*
 soccer play-3.PERS.PRET.NOT VISUAL
 'He played soccer [I heard it but didn't see it]'

- c. *díga apé-yi*
 soccer play-3.PERS.PRET.INFERENCE
 ‘I have physical evidence that he played soccer, but I didn’t see it’
- d. *díga apé-yigi*
 soccer play-3.PERS.PRET.REPORT
 ‘I was told that he played soccer’
- e. *díga apé-hīyi*
 soccer play-3.pers.PRET.CONCLUSION
 ‘It can be logically assumed that he played soccer’

The simple assertion that someone played soccer is not possible here without providing the source of this knowledge. Cognitively, however, an individual’s own visual perception is more reliable than hearsay or the derivation of evidence (cf. Aikhenvald 2004; Chafe/Nichols 1986; Cornillie 2007a).

Epistemic adverbs express the validity of a proposition and as sentence adverbs have a wide scope. In the Spanish utterance (7) the promising development of a person to a football star is not presented as part of the real world of the speaker, but as a possibility. In utterance (8), in contrast, the coolness of the two young men is more certain to be comparable to the ideal:

7. Si sigue confirmando su crecimiento como futbolista, **posiblemente**, más pronto que tarde acabara en Primera División. (Gómez, Javier: «La explosión esperada». *ABC.es*. Madrid, <https://www.abc.es/> [17.12.2012])
 ‘If his growth as a football player continues to be confirmed, he will **possibly** end up sooner rather than later in the First Division.’³
8. Me sacaron del atolladero dos detectives, ex compañeros míos en el Liceo de Hombres de Los Ángeles, y mi amigo Fernando Fernández, que tenía un año más que yo, veintiuno, pero cuya sangre fría era **sin duda** equiparable a la imagen ideal del inglés que los chilenos desesperada y vanamente intentaron tener de sí mismos. (Bolaño, Roberto: «Carnet de baile». *Putas asesinas*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 2001, 34, from CORPES XXI [02.10.2018])
 ‘I was got out from an impasse by two detectives who were my former classmates of the boys’ high school of Los Angeles, and a friend of mine, Fernando Fernández, who was twenty one, one year older than me, but whose cold blood was **surely** comparable with the ideal image of an Englishman that the Chileans tried to have desperately and vainly of themselves.’

Epistemic adverbs seem to be able to establish a scale of possibilities which can be represented as a net of relations, using the modal possibility operator (\diamond), the modal necessity operator (\square) and the negation operator (\neg) (cf. Martin 1983: 111; Becker 2014: 61; Haßler 2016: 303). But the linguistic realization of these logical relations by epistemic adverbs is far from simple:

³ In this paper adapted translations are used.

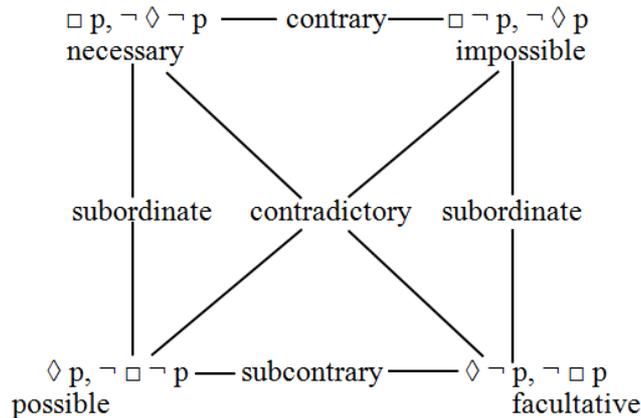


Figure 2: Different kinds of modality

Evidential adverbs fulfil the function of indicating the source of information for the transmitted content of a proposition. The semantic-functional understanding of evidentiality is necessary when studying evidentiality in Romance languages, since the starting point for adducing evidential meanings in a language that does not possess real evidentials is the function rather than the form. This can be seen, for example, in the Spanish adverb *visiblemente* ‘apparently’, which in its lexical meaning refers to immediate visibility (9):

9. La suma de estos quebrantos – que se hizo evidente cuando el gobierno debió renegociar su gigantesca deuda externa – ya obligó al Presidente Figueiredo a someterse a una delicada operación de by-pass y lo ha afectado **visiblemente** en lo físico. (*Hoy*, 25.04.-01.05.1984, from CREA [02.10.2018])

‘The sum of these losses, which became evident when the government had to renegotiate its gigantic foreign debt, had already compelled President Figueiredo to undergo a serious by-pass operation and had **visibly** affected him physically.’

Evidential adverbs referring to immediate visibility can be used not only to refer to a process simply seen with one’s own eyes, but also to a conclusion drawn from complex observations or something that the speaker may have learned from another person. In sentence (10) *evidentemente* refers to a psychical inclination of all Spaniards which can hardly be described as derived from visual perception. In sentence (11) *aparentemente* is even combined with a word denoting invisibility (*invisible*). In both sentences it marks a conclusion drawn by the writer. Primarily evidential adverbs can thus express inferential and quotative evidentiality in addition to direct visual evidentiality as well as epistemic restrictions.

10. Esta confianza estaba **evidentemente** fundada en la disposición general de todos los españoles, que guiados por el instinto de la felicidad, que el autor de la naturaleza puso en el corazón de los hombres, sabían que no había otro camino para que se mejorase la suerte de la España, que el de cambiar las instituciones, ni otro medio de conseguirlo que por un alzamiento militar. (*El Imparcial*, 01.06.1822, from CORDE [02.10.2018])

‘This trust was **evidently** based on the general disposition of all Spaniards who – guided by the instinct of happiness which the creator of nature has placed in the human heart – knew that there was no other way for the fate of Spain to turn positively than to change the institutions, and there was no other means to achieve that than by a military uprising.’

11. Y, de igual manera que en el Estado jurídico se destacan lazos legislativos que descubren y ordenan las relaciones en todo el ámbito nacional, porque a todos protegen y a todos obligan las relaciones **aparentemente** invisibles de la colectividad, de la misma manera en el ámbito económico nacional hay que descubrir también las interrelaciones económicas entre los distintos sectores, [...]. (Contabilidad Nacional, ABC, 11.07.1958, from CORDE [02.10.2018])

‘And in the same way that in the lawful state legislative ties dominate which uncover and organise the relationships on the entire national level because they protect everyone and oblige everyone to uphold the **apparently** invisible relationships of the group, in the same way on the national economic level one must also uncover the economic interrelationships between the different sectors [...].’

Using an evidential marker like *evidentemente* or *aparentemente* restricts at the same time the speaker’s recourse liability for the content of the utterance. That means that they modalise the predication by using evidential adverbs. The occurrence of *aparentemente* in example (12) is primarily a modalisation of the proposition ‘that children keep something in their memory’:

12. La aportación de Gadino nos parece útil para comprender cómo la escuela actual, en ciertos casos, está llevando a que los niños gestionen el conocimiento (que no es lo mismo que aprendan esquemas y los guarden **aparentemente** en su memoria). (López, Daniel F.; Mendizábal, Iván Rodrigo: La gestión del conocimiento y la comunicación digital, México, 2013, from CORPES XXI [02.10.2018].)

‘We find Gadino’s contribution very useful for understanding how, in some cases, the current school is conducting the children to manage the knowledge (which it does not mean the same as they learn schemes and **apparently** keep them in their memories).’

On the other hand, adverbs lexicalized with primarily epistemic meaning may be used as markers of evidentiality. In the following utterance, for example, *posiblemente* marks conclusion drawn by the writer that the visual culture of Venezuela should be influenced by the figurative language of the Italy of the end of the century:

13. No han sido identificadas todavía, de manera concreta, las fuentes de su cultura visual, **posiblemente** inspirada en cierto lenguaje figurativo de la Italia de fines del siglo pasado, pero aún con cierta vigencia a lo largo de los años veinte y treinta. (Noriega, Simón: *Venezuela en sus artes visuales*. Mérida, 2001, from CORPES XXI [02.10.2018])

‘The sources of his visual culture have not yet been concretely identified, **possibly** inspired in some figurative language of Italy of the end of the last century, but still having some validity throughout the twenties and the thirties.’

The marking of evidentiality cannot be separated from the subjectification of the utterance, its relativisation to the epistemic centre of the speaker and thus the expression of speaker’s stance.

In cases examined here, the functional-semantic categories of evidentiality and epistemic modality seem to overlap: on the one hand, they are used if the state of affairs talked about cannot be verified, that is, if there is still a moment of uncertainty concerning the information transmitted. On the other hand, these adverbial locutions are often used if the information

being talked about comes from an external information source, i.e., an information source which cannot be identified as the speaker or author.

3 The position and the scope of evidential and epistemic modals

We will now investigate whether the adverbs may be used sentence-initially, parenthetically, as an adverb with wide or narrow scope or as a component of a modalised predication. In the following table the total number of occurrences of the adverbs in the different corpora is listed. The three most frequently used purely modal adverbs (Spanish *posiblemente*, French *peut-être* and Italian *forse*) were also taken into account. From these occurrences, 300 random examples were analysed manually in each case, distinguishing cases in which the adverbs take wide scope over the whole proposition from those where they modalise or add an evidential meaning only to part of it (narrow scope). For the wide scope and the narrow scope we arrived at the following results by analysing the occurrences in the different corpora:

Language corpus	adverb	Total	analysed examples	wide scope	narrow scope
Spanish CORPES	posiblemente	5611	300	70 %	30 %
French FRANTEXT	peut-être	50000	300	72 %	28 %
Italian PAISÀ	Forse	49642	300	51 %	49 %
Spanish CORPES	probablemente	7294	300	85 %	15 %
French FRANTEXT	probablement	9148	300	67 %	33 %
Italian PAISÀ	probabilmente	38020	300	81 %	19 %
Spanish CORPES	aparentemente	3804	300	51 %	49 %
French FRANTEXT	apparemment	5427	300	79 %	21 %
Italian PAISÀ	apparentemente	6367	300	48 %	52 %

Spanish CORPES	evidentemente	2558	300	95 %	5 %
French FRANTEXT	évidemment	14016	300	93 %	7 %
Italian PAISÀ	evidentemente	5633	300	84 %	16 %
Spanish CORPES	visiblemente	1112	300	12 %	88 %
French WORTSCHATZ LEIPZIG	visiblement	3410	300	87 %	13 %
Italian PAISÀ	ovviamente	16189	300	86 %	14 %

Table 1: Occurrences of the adverbs in the corpora

We have to proceed with caution when using the results presented in this table. The corpora of the different languages are not of the same size and the period covered by each of them is not the same. For example, CORPES is strictly limited to the 21st century and contains many different types of texts, even oral speech, while *Frantext* is mainly based on literary texts. Even if we excluded the older periods, the difference between the corpora may have influenced the results. The Italian corpus PAISÀ is a research engine which explores the internet, in the same way as *Wortschatz Leipzig*, which we used for French *visiblement*, for which *Frantext* did not return any results. Nevertheless, some results can be deduced from the corpus analysis.

All the adverbs appear with wide and narrow scope. For the adverbs lexicalized with a primarily modal meaning, the wide scope is predominant; this means that these adverbs occur mainly as modal sentence adverbs, modalising the whole proposition. Only Italian *forse* is an exception, with 49 % of its occurrences with narrow scope. But the percentage of modal adverbs with narrow scope is also rather high in the other languages.

For the adverbs with a primarily evidential meaning, we have to differentiate between the degree of grammaticalisation of the adverbs. Spanish *aparentemente*, Italian *apparentemente*, and French *apparemment* can express both evidentiality and modality. In the Spanish and Italian corpora, they are used with wide and narrow scope in equal measure. The less frequent use of French *apparemment* with narrow scope could be related to the fact that this adverb nearly always conveys epistemic and not specifically evidential meaning, so it approximated the usage of the modal adverbs.

The adverbs expressing direct visual access to information are mainly used as sentence adverbs, with the exception of Spanish *visiblemente*. The general tendency to use them with

wide scope could be explained by the relatedness of the source of knowledge to the verb. The exception of Spanish *visiblemente* could arise from the fact that this adverb has established lexical collocations with adjectives denoting mental states. In the corpus we could find collocations of *visiblemente* with the following adjectives: *visiblemente emocionado, conmovido, afectado, enfadado, enojado, ilusionado, cansado, molesto, desmejorado, fatigado, pálido, mareado, relajado, alterado, azarado, agitado, dolido, torcido, manipuladas, relajados, sucias, feliz, llena de energías, agotado, contrariado, alcoholizado, azorada, turbado, conturbada, amargado, serio, nervioso, inquieto*. These are adjectives describing mental states of persons which are detectable from their visual appearance. In these occurrences, the adverb *visiblemente* has maintained its meaning of direct visual evidentiality and it seems to “attract” a specification of the state by an adjective. It is appropriate for such collocations to appear as secondary predicates, specifying the subject as in the examples (14) and (15):

14. **Visiblemente** *incómodo*, el secretario improvisaba una explicación. (Maronna, Jorge; Pescetti, Luis María: *Copyright: plagios literarios y poder político al desnudo*. Barcelona, 2001, from CORPES XXI [02.10.2018])
 ‘**Visibly** uncomfortable, the clerk improvised an explanation.’
15. Sin embargo, el letrado, **visiblemente** *cansado*, se ha mostrado muy escueto en sus manifestaciones. (*El Mundo.es*, 2012.05.02, from CORPES XXI [02.10.2018])
 ‘However, the attorney, **visibly** tired, has proved to be very succinct in his statements.’

In these sentences, *visiblemente* modifies the adjectives *incómodo* and *cansado*, characterising them as temporarily visible properties of respectively the secretary and the lawyer. The extensive use of *visiblemente* in such contexts could explain the high percentage of this adverb with narrow scope in the corpus.

Concerning their position in the sentence, we were able to establish that all the adverbs appear in the initial, intermediate and final position. The initial position is common for all adverbs and, with the exception of Spanish *visiblemente*, in this position their scope is the whole sentence. Here are examples of the evidential adverbs in the three Romance languages we studied:

16. **Apparemment** cette union n’avait rien de solennel. (Guibert Hervé, *Le protocole compassionnel*, 2007, from *Frantext* [02.10.2018])
 ‘**Apparently**, this union had nothing solemn.’
17. **Évidemment**, la philosophe peut se montrer bien plus exigeante que les rabbins, elle n’est pas chargée d’ouailles. (Weil Sylvie, *Chez les Weil: André et Simone*, 2009, from *Frantext* [02.10.2018])
 ‘**Obviously**, the philosopher can show herself to be more demanding than the rabbis. She is not in charge of a flock.’
18. Et **visiblement**, il n’a pas l’habitude qu’on discute ses ordres. (www.lyonmag.com, crawled 26.04.2010, from Wortschatz Leipzig [02.10.2018])
 ‘And **visibly**, he is not accustomed to his orders being discussed.’

19. **Apparentemente** la sua idea di necessario accrescimento di potere della nazione potrebbe essere interpretata come una sorta di egoismo nazionalista. (https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich_List, from PAISÀ [02.10.2018])
 ‘**Apparently**, his idea of the necessary growth of the nations could be interpreted as a kind of nationalist egoism.’
20. **Evidentemente**, un gioco a informazione perfetta è anche un gioco a informazione completa, ma non è vero il contrario. (http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gioco_ad_informazione_completa, from PAISÀ [02.10.2018])
 ‘**Obviously**, a perfect information game is also a complete information game, but the reverse is not true.’
21. **Ovviamente** il programma più importante è quello dedicato alla gestione della libreria musicale e infatti l’iPod appena collegato si sincronizza con iTunes e ovviamente si integra perfettamente con iTunes Music Store. (http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/IPod_mini, from PAISÀ [02.10.2018])
 ‘**Obviously**, the most important program is that dedicated to the management of the music bookstore and, in fact, the iPod just connected syncs with iTunes and, obviously, it integrates perfectly with the iTunes Music Store.’
22. **Aparentemente**, cuando los conductores se encontraban dentro de los establecimientos, el sujeto aprovechaba para robar los artículos que dejaban dentro de los automóviles. Garita, Andrés: «De dos balazos asesinan a supuesto “tachador” de autos». (*La Nación*. San José: nacion.com, 18.03.2012, from CORPES XXI [02.10.2018])
 ‘**Apparently**, when the drivers were inside the establishments, the individual took advantage of this to steal the articles the drivers left in the cars. [...]’
23. **Evidentemente** el léxico se va construyendo a lo largo de su historia con palabras que reflejan las influencias culturales del entorno. (García Mouton, Pilar: «La fuerza de las palabras». *El País.com. Babelia*, 21.01.2012, from CORPES XXI [02.10.2018])
 ‘**Evidently**, the lexicon is constantly built along its history with words that show cultural influences of the surroundings.’

Sometimes the adverb is preceded by a connector, as in the case of French *visiblement* (18). There are many occurrences with initial use of *visiblemente* in Spanish, but they are not sentence adverbs (cf. example (14)).

The evidential adverbs rarely appear in the final position of a sentence. Nevertheless, we found occurrences for all the adverbs:

24. De vagues études de lettres, ce sont encore les parents qui l’entretiennent et très confortablement, **apparemment**. (Lagarce Jean-Luc, Journal 1977-1990, from *Frantext* [02.10.2018])
 ‘In vague studies of literature they are still the parents who maintain it and very comfortably, **apparently**.’

25. Elle s’incarne au moins autant dans le partage des appartements et des corps que nous effectuons chaque jour, que dans une croyance littérale en un Grand Soir dont l’essence religieuse commence à m’apparaître. Victor nous le reproche, **évidemment**. (Arnaud Claude, *Qu’as-tu fait de tes frères?* 2010, from *Frantext* [03.10.2018])
‘It is embodied at least as much in the distribution of the apartments and the bodies we do every day as in a literal faith in a big night whose religious essence begins to make his appearance to me. Victor blames us for it, **evidently**.’
26. Pas moyen d’utiliser le touchpad pour le retour arrière sur cette version **visiblement**. (feed.macgeneration.com, crawled 01.10.2011, from Wortschatz Leipzig [03.10.2018])
‘No way of using the touchpad for the backspace on this version, **visibly**.’
27. Non c’è che dire. Leggevo sul Liverpool ECHO che lui ha molte amicizie nell’ambiente dei carceri **apparentemente..bah!** (www.gazzetta.it, crawled 02.07.2008, from Wortschatz Leipzig [03.10.2018])
‘I must say. I read on the Liverpool ECHO that they have many friends in the surroundings of the prisons, **apparently..bah!**’
28. Sono andata a vederlo, in un cinema palermitano, **ovviamente**. (www.rosalio.it, crawled 01.06.2008, from Wortschatz Leipzig [03.10.2018])
‘I have gone to see him in a Palermo movie, **obviously**.’
29. En la escena del crimen, las autoridades policiales encontraron varios casquillos de arma de fuego, de pistola nueve milímetros, **aparentemente**. («Encuentran a joven ultimado en el anillo periférico». *La Tribuna*. Tegucigalpa: latribuna.hn, 16.01.2012, from CORPES XXI [03.10.2018])
‘At the scene of the crime, the police authorities found several shells from a firearm, of a nine-millimetre gun, **apparently**.’
30. ¿De qué hablamos cuando hablamos de fútbol? Podemos hablar del juego, **evidentemente**. (González, Enric: «Héroes trágicos». *El País*. 06.02.2012, from CORPES XXI [03.10.2018])
‘What do we speak about when we speak about soccer? We can speak about the game, **evidently**.’
31. La insistencia de su enemigo le perturba **visiblemente**. (Carazo, Jesús: «Las guerras del soldado desconocido». *Luna de miel. Las guerras del soldado desconocido*. Madrid, 2012, from CORPES [03.10.2018])
‘The insistence of his enemy disturbs him **visibly**.’

In these utterances the post-posed adverb conveys an evidential marking, as far as the content is derived from hearsay or from the speaker’s judgement. Even in the French sentence (26) the source of the information is not clearly identified as the speaker’s eyes, only in sentence (31) might a person’s disconcertment be presented as visually perceived. The final position of the evidential adverbs seems to favour the amalgamation of the evidential meaning and the function of mitigation.

Evidential adverbs in intermediate position can function as sentence adverbs, but they can also modalise parts of the sentence in isolation or mark them as obtained from a specific

source. In sentence (32) something is declared to be easy in general, but – on the basis of a judgment or information obtained from someone else – not for a certain person. In sentence (33) the proposition ‘that she asked a question’ is not modalised, but the quality of this question is related to somebody’s interpretation:

32. C’est tout simple, mais **apparemment** pas pour toi. (Carrère Emmanuel, *Un roman russe*, 2007, from *Frantext* [03.10.2018])

‘It is very easy, but **apparently** not for you.’

33. Je croyais qu’elle avait oublié que ma femme était morte, et elle me posait une question **apparemment** plausible sur ma nouvelle amie. (Pachet Pierre, *Devant ma mère*, 2007, from *Frantext* [03.10.2018])

‘I thought that she had forgotten that my wife had died, and she stated an **apparently** plausible question about my new friend.’

In sentence (34) *evidentemente* marks evidentially the weakness of the subject without indicating the exact source of the information.

34. A questo punto Patty Schnyder, **evidentemente** debilitata, ha iniziato a perdere sempre più incontri e a scendere di posizione in classifica, fino a perdersi oltre la trentesima posizione. (http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patty_Schnyder, from PAISÀ [03.10.2018])

‘At this stage Patty Schnyder, **evidently** weakened, has begun to increasingly lose matches and to go down positions in the classification, until she lost the 30th position.’

In (35) the author deduces the policemen’s nationality based on his visual perception of physical features he assumes are characteristically Irish:

35. Los policías, **visiblemente** irlandeses de origen -espaldas, rojos cuellos de atleta, pequeños maliciosos y un tanto malignos ojos y bocas siempre próximas a la risa-, siguieron bebiendo sin inmutarse. (Monteforte Toledo, Mario: *Los adoradores de la muerte*. México, 2001, from CORPES [03.10.2018])

‘The policemen, **visibly** of Irish origin – big backs, red necks of athletes, small malicious and a bit evil eyes with mouths almost smiling – continued drinking without being perturbed.’

In the intermediate position, the meaning of an evidential adverb as a marker of a certain type of source of knowledge is possible, as in example (35), but it can also mark evidentiality in general without marking a concrete source (like in 34) or simply function as a mitigator (as in 32 or 33).

4 Commonalities and demarcation problems in the marking of different types of evidentiality and modality

The demarcation problems in the marking of different types of evidentiality and modality appear in many languages. They can also be seen in the German adverb *offensichtlich* ‘apparently’, which in its lexical meaning refers to immediate visibility. Example (36), however, does not refer to a process simply seen with one’s own eyes, but rather to a conclusion drawn from complex observations or something that the journalist may have learned from the com-

pany mentioned. *Offensichtlich* can thus express inferential and quotative evidentiality in addition to direct visual evidentiality.

36. Das schnelle Wachstum des Internet-Auktionshauses Ebay hat **offensichtlich** weitreichende technische Probleme zur Folge. (<http://www.spiegel.de/> [03.01.2005])
‘The rapid growth of the Internet auction house Ebay has **apparently** led to far-reaching technical problems.’

Without *offensichtlich*, the sentence would doubtlessly be more definite than with the adverb, which, according to its original lexical meaning, would have to underscore the obviousness of the conclusion. Through frequent use, the definition of *offensichtlich* has undergone a change, which licenses its use for indirect evidentiality. With the use of *offensichtlich* as evidential marking, the author even infers an epistemic modalisation as ‘very probable’ and expresses their attitude towards the conveyed content, which is, however, less binding than without the evidential marking. Still greater indefiniteness is expressed in sentence (37), where a generally applicable statement which encompasses the future is weakened with the word *offensichtlich*.

37. Das macht die Quellenlage **offensichtlich** unanfechtbar. (<https://www.berlinonline.de/> [14.01.2005])
‘That makes the source material **apparently** indisputable.’

The lexical meaning of *offensichtlich* must have undergone changes for it to be used as the modalisation of an event that may be seen as only hypothetical. As adverb, *offensichtlich* can only partially take on the meaning of the adjective in *ein offensichtlicher Irrtum* (‘an obvious error’). As adjective, *offensichtlich* means ‘what comes about with direct necessity and without any possibility of doubt on the level of interpretation or judgement’, while in adverbial usage the characteristics ‘direct visibility of the proof’ and ‘exclusion of error’ have diminished in importance. Basically, the adverb used in this way contains an additional predicate and could be transformed into a main clause, with the sentence in which it stands containing the argument:

- 36a. Es ist **offensichtlich**, dass das schnelle Wachstum des Internet-Auktionshauses Ebay weitreichende technische Probleme zur Folge hat.
‘It is **apparent** that the rapid growth of the Internet auction house Ebay has led to far-reaching technical problems.’
- 37a. Es ist **offensichtlich**, dass die Quellenlage dadurch unanfechtbar wird.
‘It is **apparent** that this makes the source material indisputable.’

While with the explication of the predication with the predicate adjective the author makes a clear statement about the plausibility of their conclusion, with the adverb they merely mark the conclusion as such. No explicit reference is made to what lies behind it or its basis. The use of the adverb *offensichtlich* allows the sources of the reported knowledge to be tuned out. However, the existence of such sources is not called into question. Thus, this construction imbues the assertion with a certain degree of vagueness, which the writer does not have to commit themselves to or specify. This reduced commitment of the writer could be called limitation of the recourse liability. It takes place through the evidential marking of the statement,

which is concluded from reasons and sources of knowledge that are not specified more closely.

The other German evidential adverbs, such as *offenkundig* ('evidently', 'obviously'), *anscheinend* ('seemingly'), *wie es scheint* ('as it seems'), *offenbar* ('clearly', 'evidently'), *augenfällig* ('as is particularly evident'), behave quite similarly and have to a great extent lost the reference to visual evidentiality that underlies them etymologically. The syntactic analysis of the German adverbs will therefore be limited to *offensichtlich*. The flexibility of its position in the sentence can serve as an argument for its status as a marker of epistemic modality. As an adverb, *offensichtlich* can take any position in the sentence. In the corpus of the *Digitales Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, it is primarily found in the sentence in a position following the verb and at the beginning of a sentence:

38. Dem Wal gefiel **offensichtlich**, was ich tat. (Moers, Walter, *Die 13 1/2 Leben des Käpt'n Blaubär*, Frankfurt a.M., 1999, from DWDS [03.10.2018])
'The whale **apparently** liked what I was doing.'
39. Beim Bundesparteitag in Hamburg saß ein Mann auf dem Podium, der **offensichtlich** antisemitische und rechtsradikale Ansichten hegt. (*Die Zeit*, 09.07.2009, from DWDS [03.10.2018])
'At the national convention of the party in Hamburg a man sat on the podium who **obviously** holds anti-Semitic and radical right-wing views.'
40. **Offensichtlich** gibt es aber noch eine zweite Information, die man bisher im Zusammenhang mit dem Test nicht öffentlich machte. (*Die Zeit*, 05.07.2009, from DWDS [03.10.2018])
'However, there is **apparently** a second piece of information, which to date has not been made public in connection with the test.'

But *offensichtlich* can also appear at the end of an utterance:

41. Doch anstatt dies als Warnung zu betrachten und die eigenen Bilanzen kritisch zu prüfen, drohten die Banken der Regierung mit Klagen und versuchten zu handeln. Erfolgreich **offensichtlich**. (*Die Zeit*, 05.07.2009, from DWDS [03.10.2018])
'But rather than looking at this as a warning and critically examining their own balance sheets, the banks threatened the government with lawsuits and attempted to negotiate. With success, **apparently**.'

In a similar way, this applies to the Spanish adverbs *visiblemente* 'visibly', *aparentemente* 'apparently' and *evidentemente* 'evidently', 'obviously', which in their direct meaning denote visual access to the content of the proposition. However, while this access for *visiblemente* is explicit, *aparentemente* and *evidentemente* can also denote conclusions which are not based on visual perception (see the examples (9) to (11), cf. Haßler 2004).

In example (42) *aparentemente* is used autonymically in an oral interview and indicates the process of becoming conscious of its use. At first the speaker uses it formulaically (*David es un niño supernormal, aparentemente*) after which she becomes aware that her speech act is not a conclusion, but a simple statement. For this reason she corrects herself with words such as *bueno, aparentemente y sin aparentemente, es supernormal*:

42. El segundo se llama David. David es un niño supernormal, **aparentemente**, bueno, **aparentemente** y **sin aparentemente**, es supernormal y tiene ahora pues yo creo que veintiséis veinticinco, bueno, nunca me aclaro con estos dos. (Entrevista CSC008, mujer, 20 años, 1998, from CREA [03.10.2018])

‘The second one is named David. David is apparently a supernormal child, well, **apparently** and **not apparently**, he is supernormal, and now I think he’s twenty-six or twenty-five, I’m not sure which of the two.’

The data from the French corpus *Frantext* also confirm this usage of evidential adverbs, whereby *apparemment* in particular is also used increasingly within a narrow scope, that is with modalising or limiting function only with reference to a word or a part of the sentence. In the following sentence, *apparemment* refers to the property of superiority to be decisive and thus marks this quality as conclusions or coming from hearsay. The doubting context (*I never understood the nature...*) also suggests that a modalisation is not very probable here:

43. [...] je n’ai jamais bien compris la nature de cette supériorité **apparemment** decisive. (Genette, Gérard, Bardadrac, 2006, from *Frantext* [03.10.2018])

‘[...] I never understood the nature of this **apparently** decisive superiority.’

The Italian adverbs *apparentemente*, *evidentemente* and *ovviamente* behave in the same way (cf. examples (19) to (21) above). They are used to reduce the discourse obligation of the speaker and to indicate that the content of the proposition comes from a source or a reflection, but not necessarily from visual experience. None of the above examples aim to state visible facts, but rather to convey conclusions. The evidential meaning of the adverb has clearly shifted from characterising visually observable phenomena to conveying one’s own conclusions. Inferential evidentiality and epistemic modality are expressed by these adverbs in equal measure. Besides this, by means of the adverbs, the speaker subjectifies their statement, they convey their stance.

If a speaker describes a really evident fact, for example a situation they and the hearer are experiencing, they do not need to use evidentials. Whenever the speaker seems motivated to explicate evidence, a reduction of the degree of evidentiality always takes place as well. It seems possible in these cases to suppose a lexical meaning of the evidential marker that is very general. It does not indicate that the knowledge of the speaker comes from visual or auditory perception, from hearsay or the speaker’s own reflection, but it marks the existence of a source in general. It is not that the content of the utterance is apparent, not that it is visible, but rather the non-presence, the not-mentioning of the information source which is decisive for the use of the adverbs.

5 The evidential use of adverbials in Romance languages and Russian

Besides the adverbs mentioned, there are locutions consisting of a preposition and a verb meaning ‘to seem’ that show the same behaviour. A strikingly large number of locutions with the etymological meaning of seeing or visual appearance have become multiple-element adverbials in European languages: Spanish *al parecer*, Portuguese *ao parecer* and *ao que*

parece, French *avoir l'air de*, Italian *in apparenza* and Russian *no-видимому*.⁴ These adverbial locutions do not have the same meaning and have a broad range of functions. Their morphological structures vary, but typical for them all is the interplay of prepositional and (in some cases deverbal) nominal components:

Span. <i>al parecer</i>	preposition + article infinitive
Port. <i>ao parecer</i>	preposition + article infinitive
Port. <i>ao que parece</i>	preposition + article conjunction verb form
French: <i>avoir l'air de</i>	verb article substantive preposition
Ital. <i>in apparenza</i>	preposition (deverbal) substantive
Russ. <i>no-видимому</i>	preposition substantivised deverbal adjective

The nominal components (*el parecer*, *o parecer*, *o que parece*, *l'air*, *apparenza*, *видимый*) have two different meanings: 'visible' and 'apparently'. In the following discussion, we will see how the meaning components change upon evidential usage in the languages investigated.

5.1 Spanish *al parecer*

This 'visible' and 'apparent' polysemy of *parecer* can already be seen for Spanish in examples from the 17th century:

44. En mi conciencia, en mi conciencia, término de que él usaba siempre en Palacio cuando daba su **parecer** en el Gobierno, diciendo se hiciese sobre su conciencia; cosa que sintió sobre manera. (Valencia, Juan Antonio, 1677-1678, from CORDE [03.10.2018])
 'In my consciousness, in my consciousness, [an] expression he always used in the Palace when he gave his **opinion** on the government [...].'
45. Crisis de criados, á quienes despedían para **parecer** pobres. (Valencia, Juan Antonio, 1677-1678, from CORDE [03.10.2018])
 'A crisis for servants, whom [rich people] fired in order to **appear** poor.'

Whereas in example (44) *parecer* refers to a personal opinion which was 'evidently' or 'obviously' perceived by others, example (45) is about the appearance of being poor that is aroused but does not correspond with the facts. This latter meaning is dominant in the *al parecer* connection and can be found in various different functions. Here, as evidential usages developed, a merging with the function of *parecer* that points to real sensual perceptions has obviously occurred.

Al parecer can already be found in a non-specific evidential function in texts dating from the first half of the 17th century. By non-specific evidential function, we mean the reference to a source of knowledge where it remains open whether this source is based on one's own view or conclusion, or whether it comes from a third-party. In the following example, the contagious character of an illness is communicated evidentially. A degree of uncertainty as to whether the illness is in fact contagious also resonates in the sentence:

⁴ For a more precise account of these adverbials, see Böhm/Haßler/Hennemann (2017).

46. [...] muchos enfermos y de enfermedad **al parecer** contagiosa, que comenzaba á cundir entre gente de importancia. (Anónimo, *Noticias de la Corte*, 1659-1664, from CORDE [03.10.2018])

‘[...] many sick [people] and of **apparently** contagious diseases, which began to spread among important people.’

Al parecer is predominantly used parenthetically; it can be placed at the beginning of a phrase or inserted within it. It is largely used with a broad scope, but usages with a narrow scope are also possible, as in example (47), where the characteristic of being unsolvable is introduced evidentially, and simultaneously focused upon.

47. Pero hay un problema, **al parecer** irresoluble, para estar seguros no ya de que el lagarto va a volver a poblar toda la isla, [...]. (Delibes de Castro, Miguel, *Vida. La naturaleza en peligro*, 2001, from CREA [03.10.2018])

‘But there is a problem, **apparently** unsolvable, to ensure that the lizard is not going to repopulate the entire island, [...].’

5.2 Russian *по-видимому*

It is astounding that the same polysemy of ‘visible’ and ‘apparent’ that occurs with *parecer* can be found in the Russian substantivised adjective *видимый*. When used without a preposition, *видимый* is always used in the Russian National Corpus with the meaning ‘visible’ (48):

48. Астрономы в своих исследованиях использовали только **ВИДИМЫЙ** свет. (Шкловский, И. С., *Вторая революция в астрономии подходит к концу*, 1979, from RNC [02.10.2018])

‘The astronomers only used **visible** light for their research.’

At the same time, *видимый* can also mean ‘visible’ in the figurative sense:

49. **ВИДИМЫЙ** результат 1992-1993 гг. в том, что насытился товарный рынок. (Арбатов, Георгий, *Человек Системы*, 2002, from RNC [02.10.2018])

‘A **visible** result of the years 1992-1993 was that the goods market became saturated.’

In contrast, *по-видимому* appears to have specialised in the evidential reading. It is striking here that this construction comprising a preposition and a substantivised adjective is used parenthetically and with a broad scope in the Russian National Corpus, with few exceptions. In the exceptions, a certain phrase is marked evidentially, and thus focused upon:

50. Ищут како́го-то Васю, **по-ви́димому** шофёра, гро́мко выклика́я его́, [...]. (Распутин, В. Г., *Новая профессия*, 1998, from RNC [02.10.2018])

‘They are looking for someone called Vasja, **apparently** a driver, and call out his name [...].’

51. Произошёл самопроизво́льный взрыв, **по-ви́димому** в результа́те нагрева́ния. (Грекова, И., *На испытаниях*, 1967, from RNC [02.10.2018])

‘A spontaneous explosion occurred, **apparently** as a result of overheating.’

These examples are taken from text passages that are characterised by simulating speech.

The evidential marking can be placed at the beginning or inserted into the phrase. There was no use of *по-видимому* at the end of the phrase in the corpus. The expression can be used for various types of evidentiality. Hence, in the following example, the source of information would appear to be from hearsay:

52. Случи́лось э́то, **по-ви́димому**, в февралё́ или ма́рте со́рок второ́го го́да; одни́ говоря́т – зимо́й, други́е – весно́й. (Анатолий Рыбаков. *Тяжелый песок*, 1975-1977, from RNC [02.10.2018])

‘It **apparently** occurred in February or March of the year 42; some say in winter, others in summer.’

In (53) the author communicates his own internal perception:

53. **По-ви́димому**, я попа́л как раз на взрыв́ взаи́мной не́нависти. (Катаев, В. П., *Алмазный мой венец*, 1975-1977, from RNC [02.10.2018])

‘**Apparently** I fell into the outbreak of mutual hatred.’

In the following example, the visual perception of the events is the source of knowledge:

54. Посети́телей мно́го, аппети́т хоро́ший, настрое́ние, **по-ви́димому**, преотли́чное. (Аксенов, Василий, *Круглые сутки нон-стоп* // «Новый Мир», 1976, from RNC [02.10.2018])

‘There are many visitors, their appetite is great, the mood is **apparently** excellent.’

By contrast, *по-видимому* introduces a conclusion in sentence (59) that is then justified with a clause:

55. **По-ви́димому**, они́ делеги́рованы о́чередью, потому́́ что де́йствуют реши́тельно, как и все лю́ди, де́йствующие не от своего́́ и́мени. (Искандер, Фазиль Бедный демагог, 1969, from RNC [02.10.2018])

‘**Apparently** they were delegated pursuant to the ordinance because they acted decisively, as do all people who are not acting in their own name.’

5.3 Portuguese *ao parecer/ao que parece*

In the Portuguese corpus, we found 38 occurrences of the locution *ao parecer*. Some of them refer to the outward appearance, and it can be doubted whether this is a true reflection of the facts:

56. A dona da casa, por certo traquejada nessas bolandinas do marido, estava sossegada, ao menos **ao parecer**. (Simões Lopes Neto, *Contos Gauchescos*, 1912, from CDP [03.10.2018]).

‘The mistress of the house, surely experienced in these mad outbursts of her husband, was quiet, at least **apparently**.’

It must also be taken into account here that *parecer* is lexicalised in Portuguese as a substantive with the meaning ‘view’, ‘opinion’, ‘expertise’. *Ao parecer* occurs with this meaning in almost half of the examples in the corpus (17 times):

57. Esta animava-os à prática de novos crimes, e expunha ao público descrédito a administração menos digna de temer-se, **ao parecer** deles, do que o particular que muitas

vezes resistia, defendendo a sua propriedade. (Franklin Távora, *O Cabeleira*, from CDP [03.10.2018])

‘This encouraged them to commit new crimes, and exposed the administration to public discredit, in their **opinion**, than an individual who resisted various times, defending his property.’

It is also used with an unspecific evidential meaning, however. Syntactically, it is then generally used parenthetically and can have both a wide (58) or a narrow (59) scope:

58. De feito, vai, **ao parecer**, dando demasiado nas vistas esta nossa vida fácil e perdulária, esta nossa vida à gandaia, ociosa e comodista, [...]. (Euclides da Cunha, *Contrastes e Confrontos*, from CDP [03.10.2018])

‘In fact, **it seems** [that] our easy and wasteful life, our roguish, lazy and complacent life [...].’

59. [...] foi um vulto escuro e, **ao parecer**, feminino, que, [...]. (Almeida Garrett, *Arco de Sanct’Anna*, from CDP [03.10.2018])

‘[...] it was a dark figure and, **apparently**, a woman, who [...].’

It is probably attributable to the lexicalisation of *ao parecer* with the meaning ‘view’, ‘opinion’, ‘expertise’ that the unspecific evidential meaning is largely expressed in Portuguese with another locution: *ao que parece*. *Ao que parece* is mostly used parenthetically. It is inserted into the sentence (60), placed at its beginning (61) or its end (62):

60. A lei, **ao que parece**, caiu em desuso. (Lima Barreto, *Os Bruzundangas*, from CDP [03.10.2018])

‘The law, **it seems**, has fallen into disuse.’

61. **Ao que parece**, este doutor Carvalho nunca empregou nos outros a terapêutica que ele ensinava. (Lima Barreto, *Vida Urbana*, from CDP [03.10.2018])

‘**Apparently**, this doctor Carvalho never employed [...].’

62. Tanto que com ela ele ousou, **ao que parece**. (Carvalho, Bernardo, *Os Bêbados e Os Sonâmbulos*, 1996, from CDP [03.10.2018])

‘So much so that with her he dared it, **it seems**.’

In these examples, it is left open whether the imparted information comes from a person’s own view or conclusion, or from a third-party report. The unspecific evidentialisation simultaneously communicates a restriction of the speaker’s certainty as to whether the statement is indeed true or not. In all, *ao que parece* in Portuguese proves to be an element that is specialised in expressing unspecific evidentiality and that can be used in various syntactic positions, but that clearly prefers parenthetical usage. It is used non-parenthetically mostly in spoken or simulated spoken language.

5.4 Italian *all’apparenza/in apparenza*

The results for the Italian *all’apparenza* and *in apparenza* are very similar; this is why they will be presented only briefly. The meaning ‘by all appearances’ is accentuated in the following examples by adding the construction *anche solo*:

63. Capelli lunghi, sigaretta in mano: i due, anche solo **all'apparenza**, sembrano avere molte cose in comune.

(http://www.gossipnews.it/paparazzate/mischa_barton_per_le_vie_di_hollywood_con_il_nuovo_fidanzato_capelli_lunghi_e_sigaretta_sperw.html?id=883ad042a51a47ebfd235c0b6716430f [08.10.2018])

'Long hair, cigarette in the hand: the two, if only **by all appearances**, seem to have much in common.'

In apparenza can also refer to the external appearance that is contrary to the actual facts:

64. Nella vita reale, tutt'altra storia: l'attrice è una bella ragazza tranquilla, **in apparenza** più giovane dei suoi 21 anni.

(http://www.repubblica.it/2006/08/sezioni/spettacoli_e_cultura/cinema/veneziana/dalia-nera/dalia-nera/dalia-nera.html [08.10.2018])

'In real life, [it is] a different story: the actress is a beautiful quiet girl, **appearing** younger than 21 years.'

All'apparenza can, however, also denote the visual origin of the speaker's knowledge:

65. Un tipo tosto, **all'apparenza**, atletico e belloccio.

(<http://www.cronacaqui.it/news/apri/17202>, from PAISÀ [05.01.2018])

'A cool guy, **apparently**, athletic and handsome.'

Unspecific evidentiality can also be expressed using the combination of a preposition and *apparenza*. In examples (66) and (67), both a conclusion and a communication by third parties are possible:

66. **In apparenza**, il discorso dell'amministrazione americana è persino convincente.

(http://italy.peacelink.org/pace/articles/art_12317.html [08.10.2018])

'**Apparently**, the speech of the American administration is even convincing.'

67. E tutto, **in apparenza**, mi pare assurdo e incredibile.

(<http://www.codicesorgente.it/feedsaggregator/index.php/Ho%2Bvisto%2Bcose> [08.10.2018])

'And the whole thing, **apparently**, seems to me absurd and incredible.'

5.5 French *avoir l'air de*

In French, the collocation *à l'apparence* took on the meaning of a deceptive appearance very early, and it is not used evidentially, but rather always refers to an appearance of a certain fact or person. The following quote is designed to illustrate this meaning of an appearance that can possibly be accurate:

68. [...] c'est celui auquel on n'a presque jamais pensé, et que l'on a toujours été prêt à sacrifier à l'appât d'un gain sordide et **à l'apparence** du moindre profit à faire sur l'étranger. Je dis **à l'apparence**; je ne prétends pas insinuer par-là que ce profit soit toujours illusoire; [...] (Destutt de Tracy, *Commentaire sur l'Esprit des Lois de Montesquieu*, 1807, from Frantext [08.10.2018])

'[...] that's the one from whom we hardly ever thought it, and that you were always ready for him to abjure the lure of sordid gain and the **appearance** of lesser profit to be

made in the foreign countries. I say the **appearance**; I do not pretend to insinuate that this profit is always illusory; [...]

The meaning that we established as coming from the combination of a preposition and a nominal element in other Romance languages is assumed in French by the adverb *apparemment* and the verbal expression *avoir l'air de*.

6 Cross-linguistic generalisation and conclusion

What contributions do the data discussed above make to our understanding of evidentiality? What can we say about the evidential nature of the functions and syntactic usages of the adverbs and locutions made up of a preposition and nominal element in the different languages examined here?

Firstly, the evidential value of the adverbs and the locutions proves to be indeterminate, that is the decision whether the case is quotative or inferential evidentiality or hearsay depends on the context and is not determined by the markers of evidentiality themselves. It therefore appears to us to be justified to speak of a non-specific evidential function.

Secondly, the evidential markers investigated here can be used parenthetically and non-parenthetically, with a wide or narrow scope. They can be used in different positions in the sentence, whereby a placement at the end of the sentence occurs very rarely in Spanish and is ruled out in Russian on the basis of the corpus data. Where the usage is at the end of a sentence or with a narrow scope, it is always in the spoken language or with the aim of depicting spoken language in a written text. The prototypical uses of the observed evidentiality markers are hence the parenthetical placement at the start and in the middle of a sentence, and the wide scope. The usage with narrow scope is considered to be conspicuous and therefore simultaneously serves to mark a focus.

Thirdly, it can be concluded that the lexemes with the two meanings ‘visible’ and ‘apparent’ in combination with a preposition, the spatial meaning of which is a direction, show the tendency of developing an evidential meaning. This tendency is total in Spanish and Russian, but less defined in Italian. In Portuguese, the special lexicalisation of *parecer* gives rise to the substitute construction *ao que parece*, whereas in French the largely monosemantic usage of *à l'apparence* rules out evidential usages. In Italian, *all'apparenza/in apparenza* occurs evidentially, but also with the meaning ‘apparently in contradiction with the real situation’.

Corpora

BNC = *British National Corpus*. www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/ [08.10.2018].

CDP = *Corpus do Português*. www.corpusdportugues.org/ [08.10.2018].

CORDE = *Corpus Diacrónico del Español*. www.rae.es/recursos/banco-de-datos/corde [08.10.2018].

CORPES XXI. *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI*. www.rae.es/recursos/banco-de-datos/corpes-xxi [08.10.2018].

CREA = *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*. www.rae.es/recursos/banco-de-datos/crea [08.10.2018].

DWDS = *Digitales Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*. www.dwds.de/ [08.10.2018].

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