

“I DIDN’T SAY IT. SOMEBODY ELSE DID.” THE ROMANIAN HEARSAY MARKER *CIC*

Eva-Maria REMBERGER

Institut für Romanistik, Universität Wien, Vienna, Austria

Abstract: Romanian employs a particular evidential marker that has developed from the third person singular form of the verb ‘to say’ plus a subjunction (a complementiser = C), namely *cic* from (se) *zice c* ‘(one/)he/she says’ (cf. Ion *cic fumeaz* vs. Ion *zice c fumeaz*). This adverb encodes the fact that what is said by the speaker is not his/her own (“I didn’t say it.”) but second hand knowledge (“Somebody else did.”); it is typical of spoken conversation. Similar adverbs based on a verb of saying + complementiser (here called SAYSC) are found in other Romance varieties, e.g. Latin-American Spanish (*dizque*), Brazilian Portuguese, Galician (*disque*), Sardinian (*nachi*) and Southern Italian (Sicilian *dicica*). In general, adverbs derived from the pattern lexical predicate + incorporated complementiser (PREDICATEC-adverbs) are involved in various interpretational domains mostly within the left periphery of the sentence, in particular evidentiality (i.e. the source of the information) and epistemic modality (probability according to the knowledge of the speaker) (*cic* SAYSC, *parc* SEEMSC, *credc* BELIEVEC, *pisinic* BYSIGNC, *matinc* MEFEARC for – regional – Romanian). In this paper I discuss the syntax and the semantics of *cic* in Romanian and put forward a proposal with regard to the reconstruction of its diachronic development. This proposal is based on properties common to parentheticals and provides a valuable example model for the development of similar SAY-elements in other languages (for example, in addition to Italian *dice*, Greek *lei*, Macedonian *veli*, Croatian *kaže*) and for the development of PREDICATEC-elements in general.

Keywords: hearsay, evidentiality, reported speech, Romance

1. INTRODUCTION

Several Romance languages and varieties, and indeed other languages, make use of a linguistic element derived from the canonical verb ‘to say’ but now used mainly as an evidential marker. To introduce this type of marker I begin with a Pan-Romance perspective, but later discussions will focus specifically on Romanian.

In several Romance languages or varieties – and this list is not exhaustive – we find examples like those given in (1) to (5):

- (1) Latin American Spanish
*sí, sí, **dizque** estamos progresando, **dizque** ...*
yes yes SAYSC we-are progressing SAYSC
‘yes, yes, people say we are progressing, they say’
(Company Company, 2006:108)
- (2) Sardinian
*In custu castellu **nachi** bi istaiada su fizu ‘e su re ...*
in this castle SAYSC there stayed the son of the king
‘In this castle the son of the king was said to live...’
(Archivi del Sud, 1996)
- (3) Sicilian
***Dicica** ci avivanu finutu i grana.*
SAYSC there they-had finished the money
‘It is reported that they had finished their money.’
(Cruschina, Remberger, 2008:95)

- (4) Romanian
*Amu **cic** era odat într-o țară un crai, care avea trei feciori.*
now SAYSC was once in-a country a king who had three girls
‘Once upon in a time (they said) there was a king who had three daughters.’
(Creang , *Povestea lui Harap-Alb*)
- (5) Galician
***Disque** a filla da Antonia marchou á Coruña vivir co mozo.*
SAYSC the daughter of-the A. went to-La Coruña to-live with-the friend
‘Antonia’s daughter reportedly went to La Coruña to live with her boyfriend.’
(Cruschina, Remberger 2008:96)

The element in bold face can be rendered by several English translations such as ‘they say’, ‘it is reported’, ‘reportedly’, ‘allegedly’, etc. It is composed of a third person singular form of the lexical verb ‘to say’ and an incorporated subjunction or complementiser (= C), namely ‘that’, in all the languages at issue here. In this paper and in what follows I will gloss this element with SAYSC. SAYSC is a kind of adverb or discourse marker, and it is a lexicalised marker of

evidentiality, a linguistic category I will discuss in the next section.

This paper is based on former work presented in several talks (Remberger, 2009a;b; 2011 a;b; 2012; 2014a;b;c) as well as in Cruschina, Remberger (2008), concerning related topics and phenomena. After this short introduction I will discuss the grammatical notion of evidentiality and what role hearsay plays in an evidential system. In section 3, I will provide an overview of the grammaticalisation of the evidential marker SAYSC in Romance. Then I will focus on the semantics and syntax of SAYSC, with examples of the use of the Romanian marker *cic*; furthermore, I will trace the possible development of this marker. At the end of this paper there is a short conclusion summing up the results and an outlook. The specific aim of this talk is thus to show that, first, there is an evidential marker that crosslinguistically follows a particular word formation pattern; second, that this evidential marker is more or less grammaticalised; and, third, that the current syntax and meaning of this evidential marker – or adverb – can be derived by an internal path of development.

2. HEARSAY AND EVIDENTIALITY

2.1 Hearsay. Let us first illustrate what is meant by hearsay and evidentiality. In the languages of the world, hearsay can be expressed by several grammatical and lexical means. The examples in (6)–(9) illustrate this:

- (6) English
*The suspect was **allegedly** involved in the robbery, but his alibi placed him in another state at the time.*
(Wiktionary, s.v.)
- (7) German
*Der Mann **soll** nichts von dem Brief gewusst haben.*
the man shall nothing of the letter known have
'The man is said to have known nothing of the letter.'
- (8) French
*John est très grand, **dit-on**.*
John is very tall says-one
'John is very tall, people say.'
(Dendale, Van Bogaert, 2007:84)
- (9) Romanian
*Zicea **lumea c** l'ar fi **ajutând** i cu bani.*
said people-the that him 3SG.COND-OPT be.INF
help.GER also with money
'Les gens disaient qu'il avait (l'aurait) aidé aussi avec de l'argent.'
'People said that he could have helped with money too.'
(I. Teodoreanu, following Lombard, 1974:272, which is also the source of the French translation).

In (6) we find is a so-called reportative adverb, *allegedly*, by which the speaker marks the content of the proposition as external information. In (7), from German, there is a modal verb, *sollen*, which causes the content of the proposition to be marked as third hand knowledge by the speaker. In example (8), from French, at the end of the clause, like an afterthought, there is an explicit verb of saying, but in an impersonal and syntactically inverted form, *dit-on*, where the source of the information remains unknown. And finally, in (9), again there is an explicit verb of saying, where its subject, *lumea*, is overt, but semantically equivalent to an impersonal interpretation, since it has an arbitrary referent. What is said is in the so-called *mode présomptif* (Fr.) / *prezumtiv* (Ro.), the presumptive, a periphrastic form particular to Romanian (cf. Mihoc, 2014; Flu, 2014). Observe also that a typical grammatical means of expressing evidential meaning or hearsay in Romance is the past conditional, as is clear from the French translation in parentheses, *il l'aurait aidé* (for evidentiality in Romanian and Romance cf. also Squartini, 2001; 2004; 2005; Irimia, 2009).

2.2 Evidentiality. All the examples mentioned up to this point show evidential meaning, encoded by different grammatical or lexical means, depending on the language at issue. The term 'evidentiality' was introduced for languages in which interpretations like hearsay can be or must obligatorily be encoded by morphology, e.g. verbal inflection. When the linguistic notion 'evidentiality' was first introduced by Roman Jakobson in 1957, it was indeed meant to indicate a verbal category: For him, 'evidential' was "a tentative label for the verbal category which takes into account three events – a narrated event, a speech event, and a narrated speech event" (Jakobson, 1957:135). One of the most frequently quoted current definitions of evidentiality is Aikhenvald's (2004:3) definition, which states that evidentiality is "a linguistic category whose primary meaning is source of information". Other definitions focus on the "kind of evidence a person has for making factual claims" (Anderson, 1982:273) or the "information or sources of knowledge behind assertions" (Dendale *et al.*, 2001:340), be it from the speaker's own experience, from visual or auditory evidence, as is the case with hearsay (see also Aikhenvald, 2003; Giacalone Ramat, Topadze, 2007; Lazard 2001; Plungian 2001).

A language in which evidential marking is obligatorily expressed by an inflectional verbal suffix is Quechua (cf. Tayler, 1996; Faller, 2006).

In Quechua there are different inflectional suffixes, depending on where the information for the assertion stems from: *mi/n*, if it stems from the speaker’s own, direct, perhaps visual experience; *si/s*, if the information was reported to the speaker; and *chá*, if the information is derived by inference from other evidence:

(10) Quechua

- a. *Ines-qa qaynunchay ñaña-n-ta-n watuku-rqa-n.*
‘Ines visited her sister yesterday (and I have direct evidence for this).’
- b. *Ines-qa qaynunchay ñaña-n-ta-s watuku-rqa-n.*
‘Ines visited her sister yesterday (I was told).’
- c. *Ines-qa qaynunchay ñaña-n-ta-chá watuku-rqa-n.*
‘Ines visited her sister yesterday (I suppose).’
(Faller, 2006)

You can recognise the evidential marking in these three parallel examples in (10): The propositional content of these examples is the same – ‘Ines visited her sister yesterday’ – but the kind of evidence for that claim varies: So the suffix *s* in (10a) encodes that the speaker has direct (probably visual) evidence for his claim, in (10b) he reports the information and in (10c) she/he has evidence that allows him to infer the claim. These are the three main types of evidentiality that can be grammatically encoded in several languages of the world, namely: direct sensory evidence, e.g. as a direct witness, i.e. first-hand knowledge; indirect or reportative evidence, that is, knowledge reported by some specific individual (i.e. second-hand) or by an arbitrary source (i.e. third-hand); and inferential knowledge, which comes very close to what is usually called epistemic (i.e. knowledge based) modality.

2.3 Reportative evidentiality. Of course it is indirect or reportative evidence that is mainly involved with the evidential marker SAYSC. The category of reportative evidentiality has been further subdivided for those languages that do have this type of grammatical distinction (e.g. by Palmer 2001: 41) into second-hand, third-hand, and generic sources of information. Willet (1988) introduced another category ‘folklore’ for orally transmitted common knowledge (for indirect evidentiality in Romance, cf. also Ramat 1996; for Romanian Pop, 2000; 2002; Scripnic, G 2008). Essentially all these subtypes of reportative evidentiality, i.e. second-hand information where the source is known, third-hand knowledge where it is unknown, and common knowledge / folklore / oral history, can be encoded by the SAYSC marker that is the subject of this paper, as Cruschina, Remberger (2008) have already shown. Based on

observations made by Travis (2006) for Spanish (for Spanish *dizque* cf. also Kany, 1944; Lipski, 1986; Escobar, 2000; De Granda, 2001; Magaña, 2005; Olbertz, 2005; 2006; 2007; Babel, 2009; 2010; Miglio, 2010; Company Company, 2007), we have shown that in the Romance languages under discussion there is variation in the use of the SAYSC element (cf. table 1):

Table 1. SAYSC in Romance (Cruschina, Remberger, 2008)

language	indirect evidence / reportative evidence			other uses	
	second hand	third hand	folklore	labeling	
	direct speech	indirect speech	hear-say	common knowledge	scare-quotes ‘so-called’
Latinamer. Spanish	+	+	+	+	+
Sardinian	+	+	+	+	-
Romanian	-?	+	+	+	-
Galician	-	+	+	+	-
Sicilian	-	+	+	-	-

In what follows, I will mainly be interested in the semantics and syntax of SAYSC in Romanian, leaving aside the other languages and the use peculiar to Latin American Spanish that Travis calls “labelling”. However, the variation in use in Romance already suggests that the evidential marker SAYSC might be at different (advanced) stages along a path of grammaticalisation in the Romance varieties under discussion.

3. THE GRAMMATICALISATION OF THE HEARSAY MARKER IN ROMANCE

We will first look in more detail at the four linguistic levels relevant to grammaticalisation (cf. also Lehmann, 1986; Traugott, 1982; 1989; 1995; 1999; Heine, 1993; Heine, Kuteva, 2002), i.e. phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. In what follows you will see examples from Latin American Spanish, Sardinian, Sicilian, Romanian and Galician.

3.1 Phonological erosion. As (11) shows, the phonological form of the evidential marker stems from a third person singular present tense form of the verb ‘to say’ and the subordinator or complementiser ‘that’.

- (11) Phonology
 - a. Spanish
dizque < *dice que*
SAYSC ‘he/she says that’
 - b. Sardinian
naki < *narat ki*

SAYSC ‘he/she says that’

c. Romanian

cic < (*se*) *zice c*

SAYSC ‘(one) he/she says that’

d. Sicilian

dicica [ˈdi. ti.ka] < *dici ca* [ˈdi. ti ˌka]

SAYSC ‘he/she says that’

e. Galician

disque < *dise que*

SAYSC ‘one says that’

(Cruschina, Remberger, 2008)

These two elements, the former verbal form and the complementiser, are phonologically reduced and have become one single element in all the languages discussed here, like in Romanian *cic* instead of *zice c* or *se zice c* (cf. Moței, n.y.; Tiktin, 1903–1925: s.v. *cic*; DEX: s.v. *cic*). Sardinian *nachi* also contains a reduced form of the full verbal form *narat* > *nat* (Wagner, 1951:357–398; Jones, 1993:126–127; however, *nat* is also still commonly used as a verbal form proper, cf. also Puddu, 2000: s.v. *narrere*). In Sicilian (11d) the phonological reduction is even more visible since the former verbal part of the evidential marker *dicica*, namely *dici*, is phonetically different from its origin due to the fact that it is now word-internal.

3.2 Morphological decategorisation. The examples in (12) show that it is also the case that the verbal part of the SAYSC-element can no longer be inflected: it has become an invariable, frozen form:

(12) Morphology

a. Spanish *dizque*

**diceque* PRES, **decíaque* IMPF, **dijoque* PRF

b. Sardinian *naki*

naratchi PRES, **naraiatchi* IMPF, **naduchi* PRT

c. Romanian *cic*

**zicec* PRES, **zic c* SUBJ, **ziceac* IMPF, **zisc* PRT

d. Sicilian *dicica*

**dicivaca* IMPF, **dissica* PRF, **dicissica* SUBJ

e. Galician *disque*

**diseque* PRES, **digaseque* SUBJ, **dicíaseque* IMPF

(Cruschina, Remberger, 2008)

The former verbal form has become incompatible with verbal inflection: e.g. Romanian *cic* cannot be inflected for time (**zicec* PRES, **ziceac* IMPF) or mood (**zic c* SUBJ), nor can it appear as a participle (**zisc* PRT). The same holds for the other languages and varieties under discussion here (for Sicilian, cf. also the observations in Menza 2006).

3.3 Syntactic reanalysis. With regard to the syntactic properties of the hearsay marker SAYSC,

examples (13)–(16) show that it is now also used in contexts other than its original form “inflected verb + complementiser”. Moreover, in some Romance varieties it can appear in complete isolation, like in Sardinian, Galician and Sicilian, e.g. as an answer to a question (cf. (13), (15), (16)); in others, like Romanian (cf. (14)), the marker always must appear together with a marker of affirmation or negation (cf. also Cruschina, Remberger, 2008):

(13) Sardinian

Nachi muzere tua s’est illierada?! – Nachi!

SAYSC wife your REFL is liberated SAYSC

‘People say your wife has given birth? – People say!’ (Puddu, 2000)

(14) Romanian

E adev rat c Ion pleac la New York? – Cic da/nu.

is true that Ion leaves to New York SAYSC yes no

‘Is it true that Ion is going to New York? – Apparently yes/no.’

(15) Galician

Entón Anxo vendeu o piso? – Disque (si).

thus Anxo sold the flat SAYSC yes

‘So Anxo sold his flat? – They say he did.’

(16) Sicilian

Chi jè veru ca Maria av’a partiri pi l’America? – Dicica!

INT is true that Maria has to leave for the America SAYSC

‘Is it true that Maria has to leave for America? – It is said so!’

Furthermore, there are many syntactic environments where in conjunction with the evidential marker SAYSC the complementiser ‘that’ appears again, as in (17)–(20), before and/or after the SAYSC marker itself; see the somewhat cacophonous Romanian example (18) (in Romanian a sequence of two or more combinations of /k/ plus central vowel is stigmatized as coarse and thus usually avoided). This indicates that the complementiser *c* within the marker itself is not transparent, i.e. it is not interpreted as a complementiser anymore:

(17) Sardinian

E nachi chi issa no b’andaiada nudda.

and SAYSC that she not there went nothing

‘and it was said that she didn’t go there at all.’

(Archivi del Sud, 1996)

(18) Romanian

i nu vine acas de la serviciu c cic c are edin e.

and not comes home from at service because SAYSC that has meetings

‘... and he doesn’t come home from work, because allegedly he has meetings.’

(19) Sicilian
Vippi troppu assà, (ca) dicica (ca) jera fattu stari na pezza.

I-drank too-much very that SAYSC that I-was made stay a rag

‘I drank so much that I was smashed, they say.’

(20) Spanish
Y los tres defensores enfurecidos [...] que dizque estaban dispuestos que dizque a hacerse matar, que dizque si fuera necesario, del que no tenía armas.

‘And the three furious defenders ... that *dizque* they were ready that *dizque* to have themselves killed, that *dizque* if it was necessary, by him who was unarmed.’ (F. Vallejo, 1994, following Travis, 2006:1282)

It should be mentioned here that Spanish (including European Spanish) has a special use of the complementiser *que* as a quotative marker, i.e. a marker encoding an implicit direct or indirect speech act, which is not introduced by a verb of saying (cf. Etxepare, 2008; 2010). This has the natural consequence that quotative *que* and evidential *dizque* appear together in the varieties that allow both.

3.4 Semantic bleaching. Turning now to the semantics of this marker: The meaning of the verbal part of the marker, i.e. of ‘to say’, no longer appears to have the lexical meaning of a verb, since there are many cases where the verb ‘to say’ reappears as a lexical unit without doubling its meaning, cf. the examples (21)–(25) (Cruschina, Remberger, 2008):

(21) Spanish
Y dicen que diz que [...] no más trabajan en el campo.

and they-say that SAYSC not anymore they-work on the field

‘And they say that they don’t work on the field anymore.’ (Kany, 1944:172)

(22) Sardinian
e an cominzadu a faeddare, e nachi ana nadu
 and have started to talk and SAYSC have said
 ‘and they started to talk and it’s said they said’ (Archivi del Sud, 1996)

(23) Romanian
Ziua se cunoa te de diminea , cic a a se zice.
 day.the one knows from morning SAYSC so one says
 ‘It is said that one recognises the day by its morning.’

(24) Galician
Disque dixo Xoel que tiña moito traballo e preferiu quedar na casa.
 SAYSC said Xoel that had much work and preferred stay in-the house
 ‘Apparently Xoel said that he had a lot of work and he would prefer to stay at home.’

(25) Sicilian
Maria mi dissi ca dicica arrubbaru a machina au dutturi.

Maria to-me said that SAYSC they-stole the car of-the doctor

‘Maria told me that apparently they stole the doctor’s car.’

Note in particular the Romanian example (23) where after the SAYSC marker *cic* a periphrasis with exactly the same content is repeated (*a a se zice* ‘so one says’); in the other examples instead there is a personal form of a verb of saying, sometimes even with an explicit subject (like *Xoel* in (24) or *Maria* in (25)), which is thus the direct source of the the alleged content.

3.5 Grammaticalisation. As shown in this section, the hearsay marker is phonologically eroded, it is morphologically decategorised, since it doesn’t inflect, it is syntactically reanalysed as an adverb and it no longer has the semantics of a lexical verb. All these criteria are considered typical indicators of grammaticalisation processes by many researchers, such as Heine (1993) and others.

4. SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF THE HEARSAY MARKER

4.1 Semantics. Referring back to Table 1, from Cruschina, Remberger (2008), I now illustrate the use of the SAYSC marker *cic* in some Romanian examples, in order to show the context-dependent variation in its meaning, cf. (26)–(29):

(26) ... *s c utam ceva de lucru, c burta, auzi, cic n-am mâncat de ieri...*

SUBJ we-look-for something of work that belly-the you-hear SAYSC not-have eaten since yesterday

‘... let’s look for work because the belly, you hear it, SAYSC [=it says that] I haven’t eaten since yesterday...’ (Ispirescu, following Macrea, 1955–1957: s.v. *cic*)

(27) *Mo popa, când spune de evanghelie, cic s rabzi i iar s rabzi.*

old-man pope when he-talks of gospel SAYSC SUBJ you-be-patient and again SUBJ you-be-patient

‘The old priest when he preaches always SAYSC [=he says that] to be patient and to be patient again.’ (Delavrancea, following Macrea 1955–1957: s.v. *cic*)

(28) *Cic Ion e bolnav.*

SAYSC Ion is ill

‘Ion is said to be ill.’

(29) *Cic banul n-aduce fericirea.*

SAYSC money-the not brings happiness-the

‘Money doesn’t give you happiness, people say.’ (L. Ardelean)

In (26), interestingly, we have an explicit subject for the SAYSC element *cic*, as if it still were a full verb, namely *burta* ‘the belly’: ‘Let’s look for work since the belly, you can hear it, SAYSC I haven’t eaten since yesterday’ – in fact, this example is somehow ambiguous since it could be either indirect or direct speech (the latter without quotation marks). Is it the belly speaking who hasn’t eaten since yesterday, thus direct speech, or is it the narrator of the belly speaking, thus indirect speech? In any case, you can hear it and in (26) *cic* clearly marks second hand evidence, as it does in (27), another example of (direct or) indirect speech: ‘The old priest when he preaches always SAYSC [=he says that] you should be patient and be patient again.’ In (28) and (29) *cic* is a hearsay marker proper, with no indication of the source of knowledge, with the difference that in (29) as in the fairy tale example (4) at the beginning of this talk, it encodes folklore or generalised common knowledge (the saying *Cic banul n-adeuce fericirea*. ‘Money doesn’t give you happiness.’), whereas *Cic Ion e bolnav* ‘Ion is said to be ill’ refers to a specific situation marked by reportative evidentiality. Example (30) shows a very interesting effect of the position of *cic*:

- (30) a. *Cic el zice c a lucrat mult.*
 ‘SAYSC [=they say/one says] he says, that he has worked a lot.’
 b. *El zice c cic a lucrat mult.*
 ‘He says that he SAYSC [=he says] has worked a lot’

In (30a), *cic* can have scope over the whole biclausal sentence *el zice c a lucrat mult*, whereas in (30b), the evidential marker *cic* is embedded under the verb of saying which leads to a kind of evidential concord (not a second marking of evidentiality), with the source of the information being identified by the subject of the main verb, thus *el zice* ‘he says’. However, there are clear minimal pairs for the use of the proper verb of saying and the evidential marker, such as in (31a) and (31b):

- (31) a. *Ion cic fumeaz .*
 Ion SAYSC he-smokes
 ‘Ion smokes, allegedly.’
 b. *Ion zice c fumeaz .*
 Ion says that he-smokes
 ‘Ion says that he smokes.’

4.2 Syntax. If *cic* evidentially marks the whole sentence, it is sentence-initial or appears after a topicalised subject as in (31a). However, *cic* can also appear in several positions within the clause, as long as it does not intervene where

adjacency conditions are active (e.g. it cannot appear within the Romanian auxiliary clitic cluster cf. (32c) and Giurgea, 2011):

- (32) a. *Cic individul a fost prins.*
 b. *Individul cic a fost prins.*
 c. **Individul a cic fost prins.*
 d. *Individul a fost prins cic .*
 e. *Individul a fost prins cic .*
 (SAYSC) individual-the (SAYSC) has (SAYSC) been (SAYSC) arrested
 ‘Allegedly the individual was arrested.’

These intrasentential positions are indeed the same positions where not only adverbials but also parenthetical expressions can be found (for parentheticals in this context, cf. Dehé, 2009; Dehé, Wichmann, 2010; Venier 1991). I claim that it is indeed these parenthetical positions that opened the way for *cic* and similar elements in other Romance varieties to develop from a verb + complementiser construction into an evidential marker.

4.3 Analysis. I propose, therefore, that elements like *cic* start to develop into an evidential marker when they begin to appear in the syntactic – or parasyntactic – position of parentheticals. A starting point would be a biclausal sentence containing a verb of saying like (33):

- (33) *Ana zice c Ion fumeaz .*
 Ana says that Ion smokes
 ‘Ana says that Ion smokes.’
 ⇒ SAY + complement clause

Now in this sentence we can get rid of its syntactic subject and make the construction impersonal, like in (34), i.e. *se zice c* (impersonal) instead of *Ana zice c* (with an explicit subject):

- (34) *Se zice c Ion fumeaz .*
 one says that Ion smokes
 ‘One says that Ion smokes.’
 ⇒ SAY_{IMPERSONAL} + complement clause

If the subject of the embedded sentence then moves into a topicalised position in the left periphery of the structure, i.e. into a position which marks it as an aboutness topic (cf. Reinhart, 1981) as in (35), this could be the first step towards a parenthetical structure:

- (35) a. *Ion se zice c fumeaz .*
 one says that Ion smokes
 ‘One says that Ion smokes.’
 ⇒ topicalised subject + SAY_{IMPERSONAL} + complement clause
 b. *Ion – se zice c – fumeaz .*
 one says that Ion smokes
 ‘One says that Ion smokes.’

⇒ SAY_{IMPERSONAL} + C as a parenthetical inserted into a main clause

(35a) could also be interpreted as in (35b) – a parenthetical structure proper. In any case, the final result of the morphological fusion of *se zice c* or *zice c* into *cic* can then also appear in a sentence-final position, i.e. when the new evidential marker is born (cf. also figure 1 for an illustration):

- (36) (*cic*) *Ion (cic) fumeaz (cic)*.
 ‘Allegedly Ion smokes. / Ion smokes allegedly.’
 ⇒ SAYSC as an evidential marker

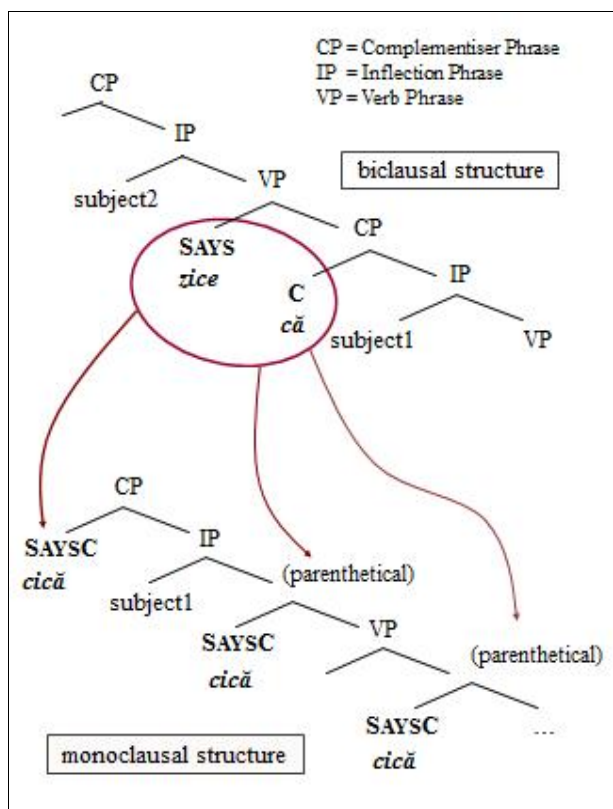


Fig.1 The development from a lexical verb of saying + C to SAYSC as an evidential marker or adverb

Originally, the verb of saying takes a complement clause to form a biclausal structure, with two subjects: one subject of the saying predicate and one subject of the embedded clause. Through topicalisation of the second subject to the left periphery, a stepwise loss of the specific or personal referentiality of the first subject and the possibility of interpreting the SAY + C (i.e. the complementiser) as a parenthetical, which goes hand in hand with the morphophonological fusion of the two elements, a new construction arises, namely a monoclausal structure with just one subject and the SAYSC element as an evidential marker or adverb.

At this point, a further excursion into the syntax of *cic* needs to be investigated: After Pollock’s (1989) split-IP approach and Rizzi’s (1997) studies on the left periphery, adverbial hierarchies have played a role in syntactic analysis, in particular in Cinque (1999). So if we examine the syntactic position of *cic* relative to other adverbs, it is clear, as the examples (37) and (38) show, that *cic* is above lower adverbs or quantifiers like *de obicei* ‘usually’ / *adesea* ‘often’ / *mereu* ‘always’ / *mult* ‘a lot’ / *pu in* ‘little’ (37a is fine, 37b is ungrammatical). It is also above negation ((38a) is ungrammatical, but (38b) is well-formed):

- (37) a. *El se ocupă cic de obicei / adesea / mereu / mult / pu in cu sportul.*
 he REFL occupies SAYSC usually often always a lot little with sport-the
 ‘Allegedly he often / always / usually occupies himself / a lot / little with sports.’
 b. **El se ocupă de obicei / adesea / mereu / mult / pu in cic cu sportul.*
 he REFL occupies often always usually a lot little SAYSC with sport-the
- (38) a. **nu tiu dac ai auzit nu cic e bine s întorci copilul la sân*
 not I-know if you-have heard not SAYSC it-is good SUBJ you-take-back child-the to breast
 b. *nu tiu dac ai auzit cic nu e bine s întorci copilul la sân*
 not I-know if you-have heard SAYSC it-is not good SUBJ you-take-back child-the to breast
 ‘I don’t know if you have heard, people say, it’s not good to go back breastfeeding your child.’

The situation is not quite as clear with respect to higher adverbs, as they sometimes appear incompatible with each other: see *cic* with *din p cate* in (39) and *cic* and *probabil* in (40). *Cic* seems to be better above *poate*, cf. (41):

- (39) a. **Din p cate cic e o eroare.*
 unfortunately SAYSC it-is an error
 b. **Cic din p cate e o eroare.*
 SAYSC unfortunately it-is an error
- (40) a. **Cic probabil e o eroare.*
 SAYSC probably it-is an error
 b. **Probabil cic e o eroare.*
 probably SAYSC it-is an error
- (41) a. *Cic poate s v fac podul.*
 SAYSC maybe SUBJ you make.SUBJ.3SG bridge-the
 b. ?*Poate cic s v fac podul.*
 maybe SAYSC subj you make.SUBJ.3SG bridge-the
 ‘They maybe make you the bridge, it is said.’

Further research is certainly required in this regard, but it seems to be justified to assume that

cic, as an evidential marker or adverb, occupies the position in the sentence which was assigned to an evidential Mood Phrase by Cinque (1999), i.e. above elements like *probably* and *perhaps*, but below evaluative or speech act adverbs like *unfortunately* and *frankly*; see his well-known structure in figure 2:

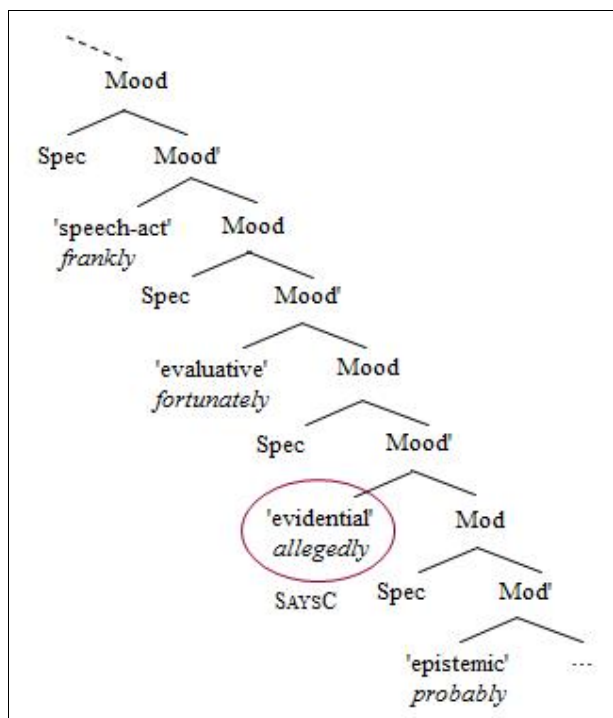


Fig.2 Adverbial hierarchy according to Cinque (1999)

The position labelled ‘evidential’ by Cinque (1999) would be the canonical position of *cic* in the left periphery, but, as for other adverbials, parenthetical positions (as in (36)) are also always an option.

5. CONCLUSIONS & OUTLOOK

5.1 Conclusions. In this paper I showed, based on Cruschina, Remberger (2008) but extended for Romanian, that the evidential (quotative) marker SAYSC is present in many Romance languages and varieties. Its origin is the third person singular form of a verb of saying + complementiser. It is more or less grammaticalised. The syntactic and semantic path of development of the hearsay marker was illustrated using the example of Romanian *cic*.

5.2 Outlook. Of course, more research is needed to trace the historical development of *cic* and to further explore its syntactic and semantic properties with respect to other higher adverbs. Similar elements, namely (semi-)grammaticalised

third person present tense forms of ‘to say’ (i.e. SAYS-elements) are also found, e.g. in Italian (*dice*, cf. Lorenzetti, 2002; Cruschina, 2011), Greek (*lei*, cf. Pietrandrea, Stathi, 2010), Macedonian *veli*, and Croatian *kaže*, cf. Wiemer, Plungian, 2008)

Furthermore, there are other evidential relatives of *cic*, at least in the spoken language, like *parc*, *credc*, *pisinic*, *matinc* (the last two being features of regional varieties of Romanian) given in (40), and many more, depending on the varieties at issue, which also would merit an investigation:

- (42) *parc credc pisinic matinc*
SEEMSC BELIEVEC BYSIGNC MEFEARC

Evidential and epistemic markers like in (42) are also found in Sicilian (*parica* SEEMSC, *pènzica* THINKC, *capacica* ABLEC etc., cf. Cruschina 2008, 2011, 2015). It is clear that these evidential and epistemic markers follow a word formation pattern, namely “inflected predicate / adjectival predicate / PP-predicate etc. + complementiser”, i.e. PREDICATEC, which is different from the use of other adverbs + *c*, illustrated in (43) and (44):

- (43) a. *Fire te c are dreptate.*
of-course that has right
‘Of course he is right.’
b. *Fire te, are dreptate. / Are, fire te, dreptate.*
of-course has right has of-course right
‘He is, of course, right.’
(Lombard, 1974:334–335)
- (44) a. *Probabil / desigur c are dreptate.*
probable sure that has right
‘Probably he is right / he is surely right.’
b. *Poate c are / s aib dreptate. / Poate are dreptate.*
maybe that has SUBJ have.3SG.SUBJ right maybe has right
‘Maybe he is right.’ (Lombard, 1974:335)

Adverbs like *fire te*, *probabil*, *poate* can appear together with *c* (= C), but only sentence-initially and not in the typical parenthetical positions and not morphophonologically fused like *cic*. These constructions are not fully grammaticalised (cf. also Kocher 2014). So there are several degrees of grammaticalisation, not only crosslinguistically for SAYSC (and SAYS) elements, but also for various PREDICATEC elements which represent a lexical unit following a particular word formation pattern for adverbs in comparison with other PREDICATE + C constructions: As is also shown in Cruschina, Remberger (to appear) there are at least three different constructions involving adverbs / verbs / adjectives + complementisers, which must be

distinguished with respect to their degree of grammaticalisation. The hearsay markers analysed in this paper, like Romanian *cic*, however, can be said to be quite grammaticalised.

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