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# SPEECH-ACT ADVERBS IN ENGLISH AND POLISH: A CROSS-LINGUISTIC AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

Speech-act adverbs constitute one of the categories of epistemic expressions. Studies on epistemic modality (as well as its other types) in English have traditionally concentrated on modal verbs; the few existing studies of modal adverbs are relatively recent. Most of them put English adverbs in a contrastive perspective with adverbs used in such languages as Dutch, German (e.g. Nuyts 2001, Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer 2007), Swedish and French (Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer 2007). Contrastive studies of English and Polish markers of modality have so far been rather fragmentary, and have tended to focus on modal auxiliaries (e.g. Kakietek 1980, Warchał 2010). It seems that the increasing number of studies contrasting English epistemic adverbs with their foreign counterparts have already created a methodological framework within which English-Polish contrastive studies can be placed. Recent publications on Polish epistemic adverbs (e.g. Tutak 2003, Danielewiczowa 2008) have also identified a number of problem areas which make such a contrastive study worthwhile. The present study is an attempt to compare the inventories and uses of speech-act adverbs in English and Polish. The findings obtained will be placed in a cross-cultural perspective, taking as the point of departure Wierzbicka's (2006) cross-linguistic and cross-cultural observations on the role of epistemic adverbs in modern English.

## 2. TYPES OF EPISTEMIC ADVERBS – TERMINOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

There is considerable terminological confusion regarding epistemic adverbs. Neither Anglophone nor Polish linguists have managed to develop a satisfactory classification of these expressions (cf. Danielewiczowa (2008) for an outline of classification problems). Moreover, approaches taken by Anglophone and Polish researchers are often incompatible. Epistemic adverbs are difficult to classify even on the level of one language; therefore, in cross-linguistic studies it is even more difficult to escape classification problems. However, cross-linguistic studies are often illuminating where difficulties occur in monolingual studies. As Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer put it: "By looking at correspondences in other languages one discovers subtle meaning distinctions which may go unnoticed if one considers monolingual data only" (2007: 7).

Problems emerging from the numerous attempts to define and classify *epistemic adverbs* result from the ambiguous status of both terms, i.e. the term *adverb* and the term *epistemic*. Thus, one of the problematic issues is the distinction between adverbs and modal particles, which some linguists choose to disregard (Nuyts 2001), while others see as important (Wierzbicka 2006). Epistemic adverbs are speaker-oriented, and also appeal to "some expected general consensus" (Wierzbicka 2006: 259). Their characteristic property is that they are not used in interrogative sentences, unless for emphasis (e.g. *presumably*, *arguably*). Modal particles, e.g. *for sure*, *surely*, *of course* are more interactive and addressee-oriented, which is why they can be used in questions. Wierzbicka (2006: 249) claims that if epistemic adverbs are separated from modal particles, it becomes clear that this class of adverbs is more numerous in English than in other languages.

The problem with the term *epistemic* is that some authors see it as a broad category, while others define it rather narrowly. While it is generally agreed that epistemic modality refers to "someone's world knowledge, typically that of the speaker" (Narrog 2012: 8), there is no agreement among researchers whether or not epistemic modality should be separated from evidential modality. Epistemic expressions suggest that the speaker expresses his/her own conviction while evidentials suggest that the speaker has some evidence for his/her claim. Palmer (2001: 8) writes about "evidential modality" and "epistemic modality" as distinct notions, and considers them to be subcategories of propositional modality.

lity, i.e. "modality concerned with the speaker's attitude to the truth-value or factual status of the proposition". However, like other authors (e.g. Portner 2009: 170), Palmer agrees that the two categories rely on similar concepts: deduction, reported information, hearsay, direct evidence. The ambiguity of the two notions is also visible in publications concerning modal adverbs. Tutak (2003) and Wierzbicka (2006), for instance, put together epistemics (e.g. *certainly*), and evidentials (e.g. *clearly*) on the grounds that both sets refer to the speakers' knowledge. Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer (2007: 84), in turn, in their cross-linguistic study of adverbs expressing certainty, set the two notions apart, and, additionally, distinguish two other categories: speech-act adverbs and expectation adverbs. Their classification is summarized below:

- 1. epistemic adverbs: those which focus on the speaker's own judgment of the reliability of truth: *certainly, definitely, undoubtedly, no doubt, indeed, surely, decidedly, for sure, for certain, assuredly, indubitably,*
- 2. evidential adverbs: those which refer to certainty coming from available evidence: *clearly, evidently, manifestly, obviously, patently, plainly,*
- 3. expectation adverbs: those which relate the speaker's expectations to the state of affairs: *of course, inevitably, naturally, necessarily,*
- 4. speech act adverbs: those which refer to speech acts which could potentially be used to support the speaker's opinion or raise voices against his/her point of view, e.g. avowedly, admittedly, arguably, incontestably, incontrovertibly, indisputably, unarguably, unquestionably, undeniably.

Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer's (2007: 84) classification is useful because it demonstrates that within the wide category of adverbs expressing the speaker's knowledge, there are subcategories which have distinct properties and functions.

#### 3. SPEECH-ACT ADVERBS IN ENGLISH

The present study focuses on the fourth group of adverbs distinguished by Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer (2007), i.e. *admittedly, arguably, avowedly, incontestably, incontrovertibly, indisputably, unarguably, unquestionably, undeniably, and their Polish equivalents.* 

Incidentally, the term *speech-act adverbs* which Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer (2007) use is also understood differently by different scholars.

For example, Mizuno's (2010) category of speech-act adverbs corresponds to Ifantidou-Trouki's (1993) category of illocutionary adverbials, i.e. adverbs which modify an implicit illocutionary verb, and includes such adverbs as *frankly, honestly, confidentially, seriously,* and *strictly,* as in: *Frankly, I'm bored* and *Mary has, confidentially, failed the exam.* In the present study, however, I will follow Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer's (2007) classification.

Of the four categories of adverbs discussed by the two scholars, speech-act adverbs are the most formal and, consequently, the most characteristic of written language. Because they refer to speech acts which may be used to support the speaker's opinion or raise arguments against it, they all have corresponding illocutionary verbs: *avowedly – avow, arguably – argue, indisputably – dispute,* etc., and they seem to be closer to verbal meanings than other epistemic adverbs. Since they mostly belong to written language, their frequencies are lower than the frequencies of adverbs which are more commonly used in speech (e.g. the frequency of *obviously* in the British National Corpus – 10 658 occurrences – is several times higher than the frequency of all speech-act adverbs taken together). Nevertheless, it may be helpful to establish their frequencies in order to examine the dynamics within the group. Table 1 below presents Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer's (2007) list of speech-act adverbs with their frequencies in the British National Corpus (100 million words).

Table 1. English speech-act adverbs and their frequencies

Adverb	Frequency per 100 million words
avowedly	37
admittedly	709
arguably	627
incontestably	4
incontrovertibly	14
indisputably	47
unarguably	14
unquestionably	219
undeniably	157

The group consists of three positive adverbs: admittedly, arguably, avowedly, and six negative ones: incontestably, incontrovertibly, indisput-

ably, unarguably, unquestionably, undeniably. While the range of negative speech-act adverbs is greater than the range of the positive ones, the positive adverbs, in particular admittedly and arguably, appear to have a higher frequency. Avowedly seems to be a marginal member of the group, both because of its low frequency and use. Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer (2007) do not discuss its uses in detail because the word is not even attested in their corpus. While admittedly and arguably clearly refer to the speaker and his/her knowledge, avowedly tends to modify the content of the proposition rather than the speaker's own view point, e.g.:

- (1) Feminist criticism, like Marxist, is *avowedly* evaluative, which sharply distinguishes it from the generality of current academic criticism, of whatever school. (BNC: <u>A1A</u> 421)
- (2) The convention was *avowedly* made on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam and for Admiral d'Argenlieu. (BNC: <u>FAN</u> 1617)
- (3) I believe she has even phoned an old school friend of mine whom she *avowedly* dislikes and asked him for the manuscript of a symphony we once composed together. (BNC: <u>I17</u> 2930)

Arguably, in turn, clearly refers to a claim made by the speaker. It "suggests that the speaker wishes to defend a particular viewpoint while at the same time recognizing the possibility of disagreement or alternative viewpoints" (Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer 2007: 192). Its use is thus illustrative of what Wierzbicka (2006: 259) perceives as the most characteristic function of epistemic adverbs, namely that they "allow speakers to partly "objectify" their stand, to hint at some valid grounds for it, to convey an expectation that their stance would be seen by other people as reasonable". The following sentences from the British National Corpus illustrate its characteristic uses quite well:

- (4) *Arguably* more important in the long run was the illusion of grandeur in the monetary field. (BNC: <u>A6G</u> 895)
- (5) The tree was *arguably* out of place in any equation involving human beings, however disparate, because it lacks their moral personality'. (BNC: <u>CM8</u> 647)

The meanings of *admittedly* differ from that of *arguably*. It tends to be used in concessive contexts. The speaker "concedes that something is true, while at the same time expressing that the proposition is less important in the argumentation than another one" (Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer 2007: 193). The concessive character of the contexts in which it appears, its placement between two arguments, is also signaled by its frequent co-occurrence with the conjunction *but*, as in the following sentences:

- (6) *Admittedly* if the component family abandons its claim to the land this will revert to the commonality <u>but</u> that does not mean that there are no such claims in normal circumstances. (BNC: <u>A6S</u> 1058)
- (7) *Admittedly* assessment at earlier ages was not approached as so all-enveloping a concern as at 16 <u>but</u> warnings about the national curriculum were serious. (BNC: HPX 826)

While each of the positive adverbs has its distinct functions, the negative ones do not appear to differ significantly from one another in terms of their meanings and uses. The only exception here is *incontrovertibly*, which has characteristics of both an adverb of manner (example 8 below) and a modal adverb (9):

- (8) 'But I am a servant now,' said McAllister *incontrovertibly*, 'not a delicate young lady. (BNC: <u>HGE</u> 1723)
- (9) The first phenomenon, the hatred, is *incontrovertibly* evil. (BNC: <u>B7K</u> 1605)
- In (8), it refers to the manner of speaking, while in (9) it expresses the speaker's knowledge of the situation described.

The major function of the other negative adverbs seems to be discouraging the addressee from raising any voices against the claim made by the speaker. They express a higher degree of certainty on the part of the speaker than the positive ones do. "What they do is to proclaim 'in advance' the impossibility of countering the proposition, i.e. stating that an alternative viewpoint is impossible" (Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer 2007: 193). Such uses are exemplified in sentences (10)–(14).

(10) By incorporating his favorite argument from the tides – *incontestably* a physical argument – he nevertheless transgressed the second of the two conditions. (BNC: <u>EEM</u> 1364)

- (11) For Somerset House, begun in 1776 and *indisputably* one of the finest Classical buildings in Britain, is, it seems, up for grabs. (BNC: <u>AHG</u> 1170)
- (12) *Unarguably*, the father in the poem is a despot, and the daughter is humiliated. (BNC: <u>AN4</u> 1349)
- (13) The basic attitude of the United States was *undeniably* one of active hostility. (BNC: <u>G1R</u> 790)
- (14) It was *unquestionably* the worst Cabinet meeting that took place in our first period of office. (BNC: <u>ABU</u> 413)

While the usage exemplified above is common, there are also contexts in which the negative adverbs co-occur with the conjunctions *but* and *though*, and, rather clearly, behave much like *admittedly*:

- (15) Stress-reduction exercises (the thousand and one forms of meditation, relaxation, and mental diversion) are *indisputably* valuable, though there is probably little to choose between the different methods apart from their cost. (BNC: <u>CBU</u> 2016)
- (16) He was *indisputably* a loyal servant of Edward II, <u>but</u> he was not the will-less, visionless opportunist which his skilful pragmatism may suggest. (BNC: <u>F9L</u> 850)
- (17) Len was *unquestionably* one of the best defenders in the 3rd Division South in the mid-1950s, <u>but</u> in addition he was a talented fellow who could turn out in a surprising number of positions (he actually played in seven different ones for us, and that in a day when 'utility' players were unusual) and his Palace career spanned ten seasons. (BNC: <u>B2H</u> 324)

It thus appears that concessive contexts are also possible with negative speech-act adverbs, though they are certainly less common than in the case of *admittedly*. *Unquestionably* and *undeniably* appear to be the most frequent among the negative ones. However, their frequencies are still considerably lower than the frequencies of the positive ones, which suggests that *arguably* and *admittedly* are the most important members of the class.

## 4. SPEECH-ACT ADVERBS IN POLISH

Polish publications do not seem to distinguish speech-act adverbs as a distinct class within the category of epistemic adverbs. In the present study, an attempt will thus be made to delineate this category for Polish on the basis of scattered data. Unlike English, Polish does not seem to have positive speech-act adverbs. Thus, there are no adverbial equivalents of admittedly, arguably or avowedly in Polish. The closest equivalent of avowedly is probably jawnie, but because of its reference to visual evidence on which a claim is based, it is more appropriate to classify it as an evidential adverb (cf. Rozumko forthcoming). Negative speech-act adverbs used in Polish include bezsprzecznie, bezapelacyjnie, bezspornie, bezdyskusyjnie, niezaprzeczalnie, niepodważalnie, niekwestionowanie. Table 2 below shows their frequencies in the PWN corpus of Polish. Since the size of the corpus is smaller (40 million words) than that of the BNC, the frequencies have been recalculated for 100 million words, to make the English and Polish data comparable.

Table 2. Speech-act adverbs in Polish

Adverb	Frequency per 100 million words
bezsprzecznie	165
bezapelacyjnie	75
bezspornie	77
bezdyskusyjnie	37
niezaprzeczalnie	47
niepodważalnie	2
niekwestionowanie	0

As demonstrated in the above table, the overall frequency of speech-act adverbs in Polish is comparable to the frequency of negative speech-act adverbs in English. The most frequent representative of the class is *bez-sprzecznie*, followed by *bezspornie* and *bezapelacyjnie*. The other ones appear to be less common. The adverb *niekwestionowanie* is not evidenced in the PWN corpus. It is attested in the IPI PAN corpus of Polish (250 million words), but there is only 1 occurrence of the adverb:

(18) Okna drewniane w budownictwie mieszkaniowym są *najlepsze*. (Eng. 'Timber windows are unquestionably best for homes') (IPI PAN corpus)

The uses of the other ones are exemplified in examples (19)–(24) below:

- (19) *Bezsprzecznie* najlepszą walką całych zawodów okazała się ostatnia walka tego dnia. (Eng. 'Indisputably the best fight that night was the last one') (PWN corpus)
- (20) Największą jednak atrakcją wieczoru *bezapelacyjnie* był Peja. (Eng. 'The chief attraction of the night was indisputably Peja') (PWN corpus)
- (21) Michał Kalecki (1899–1970) jest dziś *bezspornie* zaliczany do najwybitniejszych ekonomistów bieżącego stulecia (Eng. 'Michal Kalecki (1899–1970) is now unquestionably considered to be one of the best economists of the century') (PWN corpus)
- (22) "Gazeta Krakowska" *bezdyskusyjnie* najodważniejsza i uchodząca za najlepszą gazetę w Polsce była w kioskach praktycznie nie do dostania. (Eng. "Gazeta Krakowska" unarguably the bravest, and considered to be the best newspaper in Poland was almost impossible to buy at news-stands') (PWN corpus)
- (23) To *niezaprzeczalnie* doskonała przekąska (Eng. 'It is unquestionably the perfect snack') (PWN corpus)
- (24) Każdy przekaz uznany za *niepodważalnie* prawdziwy (Eng. 'Every report considered incontestably true') (PWN corpus)

The adverb *bezapelacyjnie* often refers to the speaker's conviction, as in (17) above, but when it collocates with the verbs *wygrać* and *zwyciężać* ('win'), it behaves more like an adverb of manner, as in:

(25) Starty w zawodach narciarskich rozpoczęła mając zaledwie 14 lat i we wszystkich *bezapelacyjnie* zwyciężała (Eng. 'She started participating in ski tournaments when she was 14 and won unquestionably all of them.') (PWN corpus)

In such cases it describes the victory rather than the speaker's conviction that the victory took place. It may also refer to the certainty of the

people who were involved in the event described. The sentence in (23) illustrates it well:

(26) Kazimierz Kutz wygrał Festiwal *bezapelacyjnie*. Jury nie miało wątpliwości, kto tu idzie "drogą serca". (Eng. 'Kazimierz Kutz won the Festival unquestionably. The Jury had no doubts as to who 'follows his heart'.) (PWN corpus)

Like their English counterparts exemplified in sentences (15)–(17), Polish negative speech-act adverbs are sometimes used in concessive contexts:

- (27) Giną ludzie i przepada dorobek człowieka. Co jest ważniejsze? *Bezsprzecznie* życie ludzkie, ale żal i owych materialnych śladów człowieka, od których zależy jego duchowy byt lub niebyt. (Eng. 'People die and their possessions go away with them. Which is more important? Indisputably human life, but the loss of the material evidence of human existence, which is connected with the spiritual life of an individual, is also sad') (PWN corpus)
- (28) Tak, *niezaprzeczalnie*, to była grafomania. Ale dobrze zakamuflowana. (Eng. 'Yes, undeniably it was graphomania. But it was well camouflaged') (PWN corpus)
- (29) Trudno cokolwiek mówić o stylistyce, gdyż dla wielu kierowców auto jest po prostu *bezdyskusyjnie* piękne, ale to oczywiście kwestia gustu. (Eng. 'It is difficult to say anything about its style because for many drivers the car is indisputably beautiful, though this, of course, is a matter of personal taste.') (PWN corpus)
- (30) Był on *bezspornie* wielkim człowiekiem, jednakże tworząc Gwardię Szwajcarską nie kierował się wzniosłymi pobudkami. (Eng. 'He was, indisputably, a great man, but, when he decided to create The Swiss Guard, his motives were not noble') (PWN corpus)

Clauses beginning with the conjunctions *ale* ('but'), *jednakże* ('however') introduce alternative or complementary ideas, thus making the adverbs less strong in meaning. More research is needed to establish how common such usage is in the two languages. It seems plausible that having no equivalent of *admittedly*, Polish makes up for it by broadening the scope of use of the negative adverbs. Such an explanation, however, does not work for English, where concessive usage is attested with both

positive and negative adverbs. There is certainly room for more research in this area.

#### 5. A CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE ON SPEECH-ACT ADVERBS

The existence of a rich repertoire of speech-act (and other epistemic) adverbs in modern English is, as Wierzbicka (2006: 249) suggests, "a fact of great cultural significance". In addition to a large number of epistemic adverbs, English also has a wide range of epistemic verbal phrases, such as I presume, I guess, I should think, many of which have no equivalents in other languages. Both epistemic adverbs and verbs "allow the speakers to say what they think and to delineate their stance accurately, carefully, responsibly, and unimposingly" (Wierzbicka 2006: 258). In her numerous publications comparing Anglo-American speech patterns with those found in other languages, Wierzbicka maintains that the Anglo-American emphasis on the accuracy of speech, tact and non-imposition goes back to the philosophy of the British Enlightenment: the works of empirical philosophers who cautioned about the limitations of human knowledge and stressed the importance of facts and evidence. The English common law with its system of jurors also appears to have played a role in the development of Anglo-American ways of thinking: the jurors rely on facts and evidence in forming their opinions (Shapiro 2000).

English appears to be rather exceptional in its emphasis on indirectness; other languages, including Polish, allow a greater use of straightforward and confrontational expressions. For instance, Polish is not the only language which does not have an equivalent of *arguably*. Wierzbicka (2006: 248) notices that German, Dutch and French do not have it, either. It thus seems that the inter-cultural component of cross-linguistic analyses of modal expressions is of considerable importance.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

Speech-act adverbs mainly belong in formal language, hence their rather low frequency in the two languages compared. The major difference between speech-act adverbs used in English and Polish is the apparent lack of positive speech-act adverbs in the latter. Polish has no counter-

parts of admittedly, arguably, and avowedly, whose major function is to objectify the speaker's statement and qualify some statements as opinions for which alternative choices exist. Both languages have negative speech act adverbs, e.g. unquestionably, undeniably in English, and bezspornie, bezdyskusyjnie in Polish, which are primarily used to discourage the addressee from raising any voices against the claim made by the speaker. Such findings are consistent with Wierzbicka's (2006) observations on the frequency and functions of epistemics in English and other languages. They also show that there is still a need for more extensive contrastive research in the area of epistemic adverbs.

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#### ELECTRONIC CORPORA

The British National Corpus: www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/

The IPI Pan corpus: http://korpus.pl/
The PWN corpus: http://korpus.pwn.pl/

# SPEECH-ACT ADVERBS IN ENGLISH AND POLISH: A CROSS-LINGUISTIC AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON

# Summary

Speech-act adverbs constitute one of the categories of epistemic expressions. There is considerable terminological confusion regarding epistemic adverbs, speech-act adverbs included. The present study uses the classification proposed by Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer (2007), who define speech-act adverbs as those which refer to speech acts which could potentially be used to support the speaker's opinion or raise voices against his/her point of view, e.g. admittedly, arguably, indisputably, unarguably, unquestionably, undeniably. The aim of this study is to identify Polish equivalents of such adverbs, and analyze the cross-cultural significance of the differences between the ranges and uses of speech-act adverbs in the two languages.

Key words: adverbs, epistemic, speech acts, English, Polish, intercultural.

# PRZYSŁÓWKI ODSYŁAJĄCE DO AKTÓW MOWY W JĘZYKU ANGIELSKIM I POLSKIM: ASPEKTY JĘZYKOWE I INTERKULTUROWE

#### Streszczenie

Klasyfikacja przysłówków epistemicznych, a do takich zaliczyć można grupę przysłówków odsyłających do aktów mowy nazywanych w niniejszym artykule speech-act adverbs, nastręcza badaczom wielu trudności. Punktem wyjścia w niniejszym artykule jest klasyfikacja Simon-Vandenbergen i Aijmer (2007), gdzie mianem tym określane są przysłówki odsyłające do aktów mowy, które mogą

być wykorzystane do zakwestionowania lub poparcia zdania wyrażonego przez nadawcę. W języku angielskim są to: admittedly, arguably, indisputably, unarguably, unquestionably, undeniably. Artykuł ten jest próbą ustalenia ich polskich odpowiedników, przeanalizowania kontekstów, w jakich występują w obu językach, oraz zasygnalizowania kulturowych uwarunkowań sposobów ich funkcjonowania w polszczyźnie i angielszczyźnie.

**Słowa kluczowe**: przysłówek, epstemiczny, akty mowy, angielski, polski, interkulturowość.