

Apparently in an English-Swedish Cross-linguistic Perspective

Karin Aijmer (University of Gothenburg)

Abstract

Evidential markers have the function of indicating the source of information or evidence on which a statement is based. The aim of the present paper is to identify and disentangle the different evidential and epistemic meanings of the evidential adverb *apparently* through the lens of its translations into Swedish and other languages (German and French) in parallel corpora. The empirical findings from the translations show that *apparently* can cover many types of evidence and degrees of epistemic commitment. The evidential and epistemic modal meanings of *apparently* are separate but related to each other. The correspondences show that *apparently* has the evidential meanings inferential justification and hearsay (reportive justification). As shown by the correspondences, *apparently* can also have epistemic modal meanings indicating partial epistemic support. The correspondences of *apparently* as a *seem*-type verb used as a catenative have a hedging or downtoning function. The correspondences show that *apparently* can also situate an event in the domain of unreal or ‘what is apparent rather than real’. In terms of epistemic modality *apparently* has the meaning of neutral support where it represents epistemic meanings that can be characterized as completely uncertain or complete ignorance.

Keywords: evidentiality; epistemic modality; modal adverbs; English/Swedish

1. Introduction

Evidential markers have the function of indicating the source of information or evidence on which a statement is based. The grammatical means of expressing evidentiality have been studied in many non-European languages. An often-cited example is the use of evidential morphemes in the Amazonian language Tuyuca (Barnes 1984; Bergqvist and Grzech 2023: 5), shown in Table 1.

Aijmer, Karin. 2024. ‘*Apparently* in an English-Swedish Cross-linguistic Perspective.’ *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 23(2): 177–202. <https://doi.org/10.35360/njes.v23i2.39184>. Copyright (c) 2024 Karin Aijmer. This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

Table 1: The evidential paradigm in Tuyuca (from Bergqvist and Grzech 2023: 5)

direct visual	<i>diiga</i> soccer 'He played soccer' (I saw him play)	<i>ape.wi</i> play-3.VIS.DIR.PST
direct auditory	<i>diiga</i> soccer 'He played soccer' (I heard the game but didn't see it)	<i>ape-ti</i> play-3.NONVIS.DIR.PST
indirect visual	<i>diiga</i> <i>soccer</i> He played soccer (I have seen evidence that he played: his shoe print on the field, but I didn't see him play)	<i>ape-yi</i> play-3. VIS.INDIR.PST
reported	<i>diiga</i> soccer 'He played soccer' (I obtained the information from someone else)	<i>ape-yigi</i> play-3. REP.PST
reasoning	<i>diiga</i> soccer 'He played soccer' (It is reasonable to assume that he did)	<i>ape-hiyi</i> play-3. ASSUM.PST

The evidential paradigm in Tuyuca illustrates that morphemes can have evidential values such as direct or indirect visual and auditory meaning or reasoning in addition to indicating other features such as subject person or tense (Barnes 1984; Bergqvist and Grzech 2023).

Evidentials have also become a topic in languages where their presence is less prominent because the information source is expressed lexically rather than grammatically. In English, evidentiality can, for example, be expressed by the modal perception adverbs *apparently*, *clearly*, *evidently*, *obviously*. The evidential character of the adverbs is indicated by the fact that their function in the sentence is to indicate that the source of information is inferencing or hearsay. The adverbs can also be associated with epistemic meanings expressing a degree of certainty. A major challenge is therefore to account for their multifunctionality in terms of the relationship between epistemic and evidential meanings.

In this paper I want to contribute to this discussion by investigating the multifunctionality of the evidential adverb *apparently*. The aim is to identify and disentangle its different meanings through the lens of its translations into Swedish and other languages (German and French) in parallel corpora. Specifically, this methodology is used to find out how the type of evidence influences the speaker's degree of commitment to the statement.

The outline of the paper is as follows. Section 2 defines evidentiality in more detail and describes the controversies concerning the use of the term. Section 3 describes *apparently* as an evidential adverb. Section 4 introduces the translation-based methodology used to investigate the functions of *apparently* and describes the parallel corpora employed for the analysis. Section 5 presents the quantitative and qualitative findings of the investigation based on the correspondences of *apparently* in Swedish and corroborative evidence from German and French. Section 6 summarizes what we can learn about evidentiality and its interaction with epistemic modality and appearance from analysing the multifunctionality of *apparently* by means of the translation method.

2. Evidentiality

Evidentiality refers to the phenomenon that speakers (or writers) indicate their degree of commitment to what is said not in terms of knowledge and belief but in terms of source of information (Palmer 1986: 20). Specifically, evidential markers refer to the cognitive processes through which knowledge can be acquired such as inferencing, deduction and hearsay. Evidentiality is a popular topic of study in languages where it is obligatory to indicate the source of information morphosyntactically (see, e.g., Chafe and Nichols 1986; Palmer 1986; Aikhenvald 2004). In Tariana, another language spoken in Amazonia, one cannot simply say ‘José played football’, but speakers have to specify whether they saw the event happen, or heard it, or that someone else reported it (Aikhenvald 2004: 1–3). We are also beginning to learn more about how evidentiality can be expressed lexically by verbs, adverbs, and particles in European languages (Aikhenvald 2004: 10).

A central research question concerns the relationship between evidentiality and epistemic modality. In the literature evidentiality has been defined both in a narrow and a broad sense depending on whether the notion includes epistemic modality or not (see Squartini 2016: 58). In the narrow sense, evidentiality is restricted to the source of evidence whereas, in the broad or ‘holistic’ interpretation of the term, it also covers the degrees of certainty with which something is claimed to be true. The present approach sides with researchers such as Boye (2012) who keep evidentiality and epistemic modality separate (see also Aikhenvald 2004: 7 and the references there). Despite this we also need a category which is a generalization over the notions of evidentiality and epistemic modality.

Thus, according to Boye (2012), epistemic modality and evidentiality are included in a third category of modality referred to as ‘epistemicity’, defined as expressing justificatory support in terms of the representation of knowledge (Boye 2012: 3). Evidentiality is defined as source of information, evidence and justification. Boye prefers the notion (epistemic) justification because it emphasizes the relation to the more general notion of justificatory support (Boye 2012: 19). The notion of epistemic support is used rather than the more common notion of epistemic modality.

Boye is primarily interested in investigating how the categories of epistemic modality, evidentiality and epistemicity can be used to describe morphosyntactic systems across languages. However,

notional meaning generalizations may be significant not only for the description of morphosyntactically defined systems, but also for the description of cross-linguistic patterns pertaining to meaning change, polyfunctionality, morpheme ordering and scope properties (Boye 2012: 10).

The categories (epistemic) justification, epistemic meaning (support), epistemicity proposed by Boye will be used in the present study to analyse the multifunctionality of *apparently*.

3. Apparently

According to the *OED*, *apparently* is derived from the adjective *apparent*, which the dictionary defines as having the meaning ‘manifest to the understanding; evident, plain, clear, obvious, palpable.’ The adverb has the evidential function of indicating that the speaker makes an inference from what is apparent (obvious, manifest) or signals that the information conveyed is based on hearsay.

Evidential adverbs have mostly been discussed when they correlate with a high degree of certainty (e.g., *obviously*, *clearly*) (see Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer 2007).¹ *Apparently* expresses weaker certainty

¹ *Apparently* has not attracted a great deal of interest in previous research with some exceptions. Carretero and Zamorano-Mansilla (2013) discuss the problems of annotating *apparently* in terms of evidentiality or epistemic modality. Marín-Arrese (2017) discusses *apparently* and its Spanish correspondences in journalistic discourse. Böhm, Haßler, and Hennemann (2017) investigate the use

(weaker epistemic support) due to its association with appearance. According to *The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2005), 'it is used to say you have read or been told something although you are not certain it is true'.

A distinction needs to be made between direct and indirect evidential justification (see Willett 1988; Squartini 2016). On the one hand, the information source can be something that the speaker actually and directly observes. For example, the verb *see* indicates direct justification as in *I see that the snake is moving*. Indirect evidentials mark information that is acquired by inference and is therefore less reliable. In the sentence *Apparently John has been playing football* the indirect justification is based on inference from the observation that John's clothes are dirty. The notion of indirect justification also covers hearsay (reportive) evidence as in the following example:

Taxpayers are beginning to realise that the small proportion of their taxes which is *apparently* designated for 'development' is not in fact achieving that end.²

There are also reasons to describe the types of evidence as more or less reliable or strong (Boye 2012: 163). Evidence based on inference is, for instance, more reliable than hearsay inference.

4. Methodology

The methodology is contrastive and based on the translations and sources of *apparently* in parallel corpora. *Apparently* typically gets its meaning 'in the context'. However, the cross-linguistic correspondences can help us to analyse the relationship between the context and function by providing a large number of epistemic and evidential correspondences which may capture the meaning potential of *apparently* and which can be further analysed as sub-meanings or as 'overtones'. Translation correspondences have the advantage for the empirical semantic analysis of lexical expressions in that the meanings are more objective than the linguist's paraphrases since the translator has no theoretical concerns on her mind but chooses 'the best translation' based on contextual clues. According to

of the equivalents of *apparently* (and *seemingly*) in Romance languages and Russian.

² A shortened form of example (15) discussed in section 5.3.

Dyvik (1999: 218), the translational properties are more available than the meaning properties of a linguistic sign and can provide a window on its meaning properties.

The occurrences of *apparently* with their Swedish correspondences were retrieved from the fiction and non-fiction parts of the English-Swedish Parallel Corpus (ESPC) (about 1.5 million words) (Altenberg and Aijmer 2000). The examples were taken from both English originals (with translations into Swedish) and from English translations (from Swedish sources).

Data have been added from German and French translations of *apparently*. We can therefore make generalizations based on the translations of *apparently* into more than one language about the relationship between evidentiality and epistemic modality. The translations of *apparently* from English into German come from the Oslo Multilingual Corpus (OMC).³ The French translations are taken from the European Parliament Corpus (Europarl), a small part of the Opus corpus.⁴

Table 2 shows a correspondence paradigm based on the translations of English *apparently* into Swedish and the Swedish sources of *apparently* in the English-Swedish Parallel Corpus (ESPC). The correspondences represent both fiction and non-fiction.⁵ (See the Appendix, Tables A1 and A2 for an overview of the translations into German and French.) The categorization is based on the parameters evidential justification (types of evidence) and epistemic support, which are distinct but simultaneously subcategories of epistemicity defined in terms of justificatory support (Boye 2012: 317). Different degrees of epistemic support can be distinguished depending on the strength of the speaker's or writer's commitment. Neutral epistemic support is used to classify correspondences marking that an event is apparent not real.

³ <https://www.hf.uio.no/ilos/english/services/knowledge-resources/omc/>

⁴ <http://opus.nlpl.eu>

⁵ The majority of cases were found in fiction (62 examples). There were 31 examples in Swedish translations from English original texts and 31 examples in English sources): 24 examples of *apparently* were found in the non-fiction part (21 cases in translations from English originals and 3 cases in English sources).

Table 2: Swedish correspondences of *apparently* in the ESPC (sources and translations) expressing different types of justificatory support⁶

Evidential justification (types of evidence)	Swedish correspondences	No.
Inference	<i>tydligen</i> ‘obviously’	30
	<i>uppenbarligen</i> ‘apparently’	13
	<i>av allt att döma</i> ‘according to all evidence’	4
	<i>uppskattningsvis</i> ‘approximately’	1
Perception	<i>synbarligen</i> ‘visibly’	3
	<i>till synes</i> ‘as can be seen’	5
	<i>skenbart</i> ‘seemingly’	3
	<i>uppenbarligen</i> ‘apparently’	3
Hearsay	<i>sägs vara</i> ‘said to be’	1
Epistemic support		
Strong (partial) epistemic support	<i>förmodligen</i> ‘probably’	3
	<i>antagligen</i> ‘presumably’	2
Weak (partial) epistemic support	<i>tyck(a)s</i> (‘seem as if’, ‘seem to’)	5
	<i>se ut att</i> (‘look to’)	1
Neutral epistemic support (irrealis)	<i>verka</i> (‘seem + adjective’, ‘seem to’)	3
	<i>förefalla</i> (‘seem as if’, ‘seem to’)	2
	<i>vara som om</i> (‘be as if’)	1
	<i>liksom</i> (‘like’)	1

We can see from Table 2 that the Swedish correspondences of *apparently* represent both adverbs and verbs. There is also one example of a particle (*liksom* ‘like’).⁷ The factors needed to explain the classification of the correspondences are the scope of the adverb, the position of *apparently* in the sentence, and the larger context in which the sentence containing *apparently* occurs.

⁶ There were three examples of zero translation and three examples where the translations were disregarded because they deviated from the original text.

⁷ I follow Johansson (2007: 131) in regarding *like* (Norwegian ‘lik(e)som’) as a particle. According to Johansson, *lik(e)som* (which can be assumed to have the same meaning as Swedish *liksom*) is not normally included among the particles but ‘it behaves very much in the same way from the point of view of meaning’ (Johansson 2007: 131). See section 5.2.3.

5. Correspondences of *apparently* in the parallel corpora

This section discusses Swedish correspondences of *apparently* as attested in the ESPC, along with German and French correspondences from the Oslo Multilingual Corpus (OMC) and the Europarl Corpus. The discussion is organized according to the categories of evidential justification (5.1 and subsections) and epistemic support (5.2 and subsections).

5.1 Correspondences of *apparently* expressing evidential justification

5.1.1 Correspondences of *apparently* where the evidence is inference

As shown in Table 2, Swedish *tydlig* ('obviously') was by far the most frequent correspondence (translation or source) of *apparently* followed by *uppenbarligen* ('apparently') and less frequently by *av allt att döma* 'according to all evidence'. *Apparently* has scope over the whole sentence and it can be placed in different positions in the sentence.⁸

- (1) *Apparently* it makes it easier that the drug didn't cross a state line.
(AH1)⁹
Tydlig förnklas det hela av att medlet inte har förts från en delstat till en annan. (AH1T)

As an evidential adverb *apparently* marks a conclusion based on empirical facts or the situation. In (1) it can be inferred that the drug is legal from the fact that it did not cross a state line. In (2) the German translator has used the evidential inferential adverb *offenbar* (etymologically related to German *offen* 'open') to translate *apparently* in the same sentence as in (1).

- (2) *Apparently* it makes it easier that the drug didn't cross a state line.
(AH1)
Offenbar ist es von Vorteil, daß das Mittel keine Bundesstaatsgrenzen überschreiten mußte. (AH1TD)¹⁰

⁸ However, there was no example in my data where *apparently* was placed at the end of the sentence.

⁹ The annotation refers to the sources of texts in the corpora (ESPC and OMC). See <http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/cgi-bin/omc/PerITCE.cgi>.

¹⁰ Corpus identifiers marked with TD refer to translations into German in the OMC. See Appendix, Table A1 for a full list of German translations of *apparently* in the OMC.

Other German translations with evidential inferential meaning are *offensichtlich* and *offenkundig*.

The translation as *av allt att döma* ('according to all evidence'), as in (3), suggests that the conclusion is associated with a high degree of certainty.

- (3) In October 1918 he returned to Russia, insisting that 'he could not live outside the revolution' and *apparently* hoping to rehabilitate himself. (CAOG1)

I oktober 1918 återvände han till Ryssland. Han hävdade att han 'inte kunde leva utanför revolutionen' och hoppades *av allt att döma* kunna rehabilitera sig. (CAOG1T)

Apparently was also found with scope over a following adjective, as in (4).

- (4) Some months after K had moved out of the house, his wife happened to read an article about a young, *apparently psychopathic* murderer, who had been interned at the closed pavilion at Säter. (PE1T)

Några månader efter det att K flyttat hemifrån kom hans hustru att läsa en artikel om en ung *uppenbarligen psykopatisk* mördare intagen på den fasta paviljongen i Säter. (PE1)

The French translations of *apparently* in its evidential inferential meaning are *apparemment*, *visiblement*, *de toute évidence*, *à l'évidence*, *manifestement*, e.g., (5):¹¹

- (5) Meanwhile, for the Americans, the same international criminal law *apparently* applies to everyone apart from themselves. (Europarl)
Entre-temps, les Américains *semblent manifestement* estimer que le droit pénal international s'applique à tout le monde sauf à eux-mêmes. (EuroparlTF)

¹¹ See Appendix, Table A2 for a list of French translations of *apparently* in Europarl.

In addition to *manifestement* the French translation contains several evidential or modal qualifications: [les Américains] *semblent estimer que* ‘seem to consider that’.

To sum up this section, it is shown by the Swedish sources and translations of *apparently* as well as German and French translations that *apparently* has inference as its default meaning. The information source consists of empirical facts accessible to both the speaker and people in general from which a conclusion can reliably be drawn.

5.1.2 Correspondences of *apparently* where the evidence is perceptual

The perceptual evidence for the information conveyed by *apparently* is generally not specified but depends on the context. A translator may, however, choose a translation signalling that the evidence leading to a conclusion is perceptual, especially visual.

- (6) Given the litigious nature that we know was Rembrandt’s, and the passive disposition we attribute to Saskia, they *apparently* were well suited and the marriage probably was thoroughly satisfactory except, no doubt, for Saskia’s poor health and the deaths shortly after birth of their first three children. (JH1)

Med tanke på den processlystna läggning vi vet att Rembrandt ägde, och den passiva natur vi tillskriver Saskia, passade de *synbarligen* bra ihop och äktenskapet var sannolikt helt tillfredsställande, givetvis med undantag för Saskias dåliga hälsa och deras första tre barns död strax efter födelsen. (JHT)

However, the evidence is not necessarily visual. *Synbarligen* (‘visibly’) could also refer to evidence based on cognition. We can conclude from what is known about the dispositions of Rembrandt and Saskia in example (6) that they were well suited.

In (7) the translator may have chosen *uppenbarligen* to indicate that the conclusion is based on what can actually be observed.

- (7) His main problem was, *apparently*, whether to wear his belt above or below his paunch. (PDJ1)

Hans största problem var *uppenbarligen* om han skulle bära livremmen ovanför eller under kulmagen. (PDJ1T)

In (8) the French translation uses *visiblement* to refer to the perceptual nature of the evidence:

- (8) We are faced with a country which *apparently* fears its own citizens so much that it is willing to violate the most basic human rights. (Europarl)
Nous nous trouvons en face d'un pays qui *visiblement* craint tant ses propres citoyens qu'il ne rechigne pas à enfreindre les plus élémentaires droits de l'homme. (EuroparlTF)

The translations in (7) and (8) refer to perceptual evidence because it is assumed to be strong and reliable. However, the information acquired via perception may also be understood as misleading or false. This meaning of *apparently* was expressed when the Swedish correspondences had narrow scope over an adjective or a part of the sentence as shown in the Swedish sources of *apparently* in (9)–(11).

- (9) The background analysis on Sandström's *apparently inexplicable* escape was based almost wholly on openly published sources. (JG1T)
Bakgrundsanalysen till den *synbarligen oförklarliga* spionflykten byggde nästan uteslutande på öppna publicerade källor. (JG1)
- (10) He was an intelligent, sensitive and much liked boy, who had just completed his military service; he had then inexplicably, *apparently without reason*, taken the life of a six-year-old girl. (PE1T)
Han var en intelligent, känslig och allmänt omtyckt pojke som just fullgjort sin militärtjänstgöring; han hade då helt oförklarligt, och *till synes utan skäl*, tagit livet av en sexårig flicka. (PE1)
- (11) Her *apparently indolent* calm was a front to conceal her intelligence, watchfulness, and decisiveness. (KOB1T)
Hennes *till synes indolenta* lugn var en skärm som dolde hennes intelligens, vaksamhet och snabba urskiljningsförmåga. (KOB1)

In (9)–(11), *apparently* refers to the type of evidence as unreliable or misleading. In (9) the escape was only ‘visibly’ inexplicable but not really so. In (10) the speaker distances herself from the claim that the crime was committed without any reason because the evidence is not reliable. In (11), *till synes*—giving rise to *apparently* in the translation—suggests that the evidence is open to doubt (one does not know if her indolent calm was apparent or real).

According to Høye (1997: 192), ‘*apparently* denotes doubt and distances the speaker from the source of information to the extent that it may be used “to show that the speaker is aware of false evidence” (Swan 1981: 432)’. This use is apparent in example (12).

- (12) That was when he had attended a reception to mark the Chairman’s departure from the KGB back to the Central Committee, *apparently as a Secretary, in fact* to prepare for his predecessor’s coming death and to mastermind his own advancement. (FF1)

I maj 1982 hade han varit på en mottagning med anledning av ordförandens förflyttning från KGB till Centralkommittén, *skenbart som sekreterare, i själva verket* för att förbereda sig inför Bresjnevs förestående död och planera sitt eget avancemang. (FF1T)

In (12) there is a contrast between the role the Chairman appeared in and what he in fact did (prepare for his predecessor’s death). The Swedish translation uses *skenbart* ‘in appearance but not necessarily so’. The translation into German of the same sentence, given in (13), contains *angeblich* (‘allegedly’) contrasting what the chairman appears to be with what is in fact or in reality (*in Wahrheit* ‘in truth’) the case:

- (13) Das war im Mai 1982 gewesen bei einem Empfang anlässlich der Rückkehr des KGB-Chefs zum Zentralkomitee, *angeblich* als Sekretär, *in Wahrheit* aber zur Sicherung seines eigenen Aufstiegs nach Breschnews bevorstehendem Tod. (FF1TD)

The translation as *skenbart* ('ostensibly') in (12) was only found when *apparently* had narrow scope over an adjective or a part of a sentence. Another example is (14):

- (14) You may find it hard to swallow the notion that anything as large and *apparently* inanimate as the Earth is alive. (JL1)
Det kanske kan verka svårt att svälja att något så stort och *skenbart livlöst* som Jorden skulle vara levande. (JL1T)

5.1.3 Correspondences of *apparently* where the evidence is language (hearsay)

Apparently has more than one indirect evidential meaning as shown by the correspondences. In (15) the translation of *apparently* indicates that the information source is second-hand information (reportive justification), i.e., *sägs* ('be said') in the Swedish translation in (15) refers to the source of information as hearsay.

- (15) There are profound debates over whether aid realistically could or should be handled otherwise, but taxpayers in the North are beginning to realise that the small proportion of their taxes which is *apparently* designated for 'development' is not in fact achieving that end. (LT1)
Djupsinniga debatter pågår om bistånd kan eller borde hanteras annorlunda.
Under tiden börjar skattebetalarna i industriländerna inse att den lilla del av deras skatter som *sägs* vara avsedd för 'utveckling' sällan åstadkommer någon. (LT1T)

According to Marín-Arrese (2017: 200), hearsay (her term is 'indirect reportative evidence') 'typically involves information originating in some external voice(s) which includes, as Plungian (2001: 32) observes, "generalized, second-hand information (presupposing an unknown or non-definite 'anonymous' author)" and also "tradition or common knowledge (where no personal author is invoked)". There are degrees to which the speaker commits herself to the truth of what is said by referring to the source of information. The reference to hearsay evidence is associated with a distancing of the speaker from the event with the effect that the

speaker does not vouch for its truth. Example (15) is the only case of the hearsay meaning in the Swedish correspondences of *apparently* and there is no example in the translations of *apparently* into German.

In the translations of *apparently* into French, *on dit que* (also in the form *dit-on*), as in (16), illustrates the hearsay meaning:

- (16) You are saying that in 2007-2008, there will be a 4 million tonne surplus, hence the two proposals today for a regulation to obtain the abandonment, *apparently*, of almost 4 million tonnes of sugar. (Europarl)
 Madame la Commissaire, vous nous refaites le vieux discours—les montagnes de céréales, les océans de lait— en disant qu'en 2007-2008, il y aura 4 millions de tonnes d'excédents, d'où les deux propositions de règlement d'aujourd'hui, pour obtenir l'abandon, *dit-on*, de près de 4 millions de tonnes de sucre. (EuroparlTF)

Other translations use a form of *sembler* (*il semble que* 'it seems that', *il semblerait que* 'it would seem that', *sembler+infinitive* 'seem to') or of *paraître* (*paraît-il* 'appears-it', *il paraît que* 'it appears that') to indicate that the information source is hearsay. The translation can also be a verbal form in the conditional mood. Like its English cognate, *apparemment* can also refer to hearsay evidence.

Arguably there are two sub-types of hearsay evidentials. The French examples show that hearsay information can also include second-hand information having an explicit author (cf. Marín-Arrese 2017: 199 'Indirect-Inferential, Report-based') as illustrated in (17).

- (17) *According to the rapporteur*, however, everything is, *apparently*, more or less for the best, given that it stimulates 'competitiveness'. (Europarl)
 Mais, *selon la rapporteure*, tout *serait* presque pour le mieux puisque cela stimulerait la ... (EuroparlTF)

In (17) the speaker reports what the rapporteur has said as evidence for the truth of what is reported.

5.2 Correspondences of apparently expressing epistemic support

5.2.1 Correspondences where apparently expresses strong (partial) epistemic support

Apparently sometimes corresponds to an evidential adverb and sometimes to an epistemic modal adverb. In (18) *apparently* has an epistemic modal adverb (*förmodligen*) as its source.

- (18) 'Dead?'
'He died this morning. *Apparently* it was a heart attack. He died in his sleep. It would probably be best if you spoke with one of the doctors.' (HM1T)
– Död?
– Han dog i morse. *Förmodligen* var det en hjärtattack. Han dog i sömnen. Det är nog bäst att du talar med nån av läkarna. (HM1)

Apparently has been used to translate an epistemic modal adverb meaning probability (Swe. *antagligen*, *förmodligen* 'probably'). In (18), the speaker infers or assumes based on reasoning that that the person died of a heart attack. The translation indicates that *apparently* can have epistemic meaning on a par with its evidential meaning. In terms of epistemic modality, an assessment or evaluation is carried out through the expression of probability, and in terms of evidentiality, through the specification of the source or evaluation of the evidence.

Evidence for the probability meaning is also found in German and French translations of *apparently*. The German translation of *apparently* in (19) uses *wahrscheinlich* to express probability.

- (19) In the summer of '68 most of these hippies were on vacation in the Lakes Region with their wealthy parents before returning to their colleges in September, where they were *apparently* studying up on Protest, Pot, and Pussy. (SK1)
Im Sommer 1968 machten viele dieser Hippies zusammen mit ihren reichen Eltern im Seengebiet Urlaub, um im September wieder zu den Universitäten zurückzufahren, wo sie *wahrscheinlich* Protest, Hasch und Weiber studierten. (SK1TD)

In the Europarl Corpus the epistemic meaning of *apparently* is translated into French by *probablement, vraisemblablement* ('in all likelihood'), *soi-disant* ('self-evidently').

With regard to its epistemic modal meaning, *apparently* can be described on a scale of epistemic modality where a distinction is made between different types of epistemic justificatory support (Boye 2012: 22). Probability and likelihood express partial epistemic support and can be described on the epistemic modal scale as occupying the area 'which lies in between the regions covered by full support and neutral support'. The notion of partial support is described as covering meanings glossed with 'probability' and 'likelihood' as well as meanings glossed with 'doubt', 'dubitative' and, in some cases 'uncertainty' (Boye 2012: 23).

Summing up this section, we can conclude from the correspondences that the evidential and epistemic meaning of *apparently* are separate notions but related to each other since they are different ways of expressing epistemicity (justificatory support). *Apparently* either corresponds to an adverb expressing the speaker's epistemic support for the truth of the statement or to the speaker's reference to the strength (reliability) of the source of knowledge using an evidential adverb. In terms of epistemic modality, an assessment or evaluation is carried out through the expression of probability, and in terms of evidentiality, through the specification of the source or evaluation of the evidence (inferencing, hearsay).

5.2.2 Correspondences where *apparently* expresses weak (partial) epistemic support

Apparently can also correspond to a verb which is not a (formally) congruent translation (such as when an adverb corresponds to an adverb) (see Johansson 2007: 24). The verbs found as correspondences are 'seem-type verbs' (*tycks* 'seem', *förefalla* 'appear', *se ut* 'look', *verka* 'seem', *vara som om* 'be as if') marking inference based on perceptual (or conceptual) evidence. The *seem*-type verbs have attracted a great deal of attention from researchers because 'they show up an interesting semantic ambivalence, as they combine epistemic with evidential traits' (Mortelmans 2017: 123). The verbs are found in different types of constructions or patterns. The position adopted here is that there is a relationship between the constructions with *seem*-type verbs and the evidential and epistemic meanings of *apparently*.

The correspondences with a verb meaning ‘*seem+to*’+infinitive correspond to what Quirk et al. (1985) refer to as catenatives. According to Johansson (2007: 127–128) the term ‘refers to the first of the verbs concatenated in sequences like: *appear to realize, tend to avoid, fail to see*, etc’. Catenatives with a *seem*-verb are similar to modal auxiliaries and ‘there are indications that *seem* is involved in a process of grammaticalization’ (Johansson 2007: 128).

Seem-type verbs can vary with regard to the type of evidence and degrees of certainty expressed. With regard to the epistemic value of *seem (to)*, I follow scholars who regard it as linked to medium modality (López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 2014: 38) or semi-certainty (Sanders and Spooren 2009: 242). In terms of Boye’s (2012) scale of epistemic modality *seem (to)* would be linked to weak partial epistemic support.

The catenative *seem* presupposes that the evidence is based on the speaker’s (or writer’s) subjective epistemic evaluation and functions as a hedge or a downtoner ‘establishing a strategic option for the author avoiding full responsibility for the statement’ (Usonienė and Šinkūnienė 2013: 308). In (20)–(23) the correspondences of *apparently* are all *seem*-type verbs in a catenative construction.

- (20) With dictatorships *apparently* vanquished, this murderous new dictate invoking the power of international terrorism in the name of a great and respected religion should and can be dealt with only by democratic governments and the United Nations, as an offence against humanity. (NG2)
Nu när diktaturerna *ser ut att* ha besegrats får och kan detta mordbringande nya maktspråk, som anlitar den internationella terrorismen i namn av en stor och respekterad religion, inte annat än beivras av de demokratiska regimerna och Förenta Nationerna som ett brott mot mänskligheten. (NG2T)
‘Now that dictatorships look to have been vanquished ...’
- (21) Yes, there was Birk, *apparently* enjoying the scene. (AL1T)
Ja, där stod Birk och *tycktes* ha roligt åt hela spektaklet. (AL1)

- (22) Instead of conversation these days, Daggett *apparently* got right down to busting her chops, breaking anything else that came to hand. (SG1)
 Statt Konversation zu betreiben, *schien* Daggett jetzt direkt zur Sache *zu kommen*. (SG1TD)

In (20) the translation of *apparently* as *ser ut* ('looks')+infinitive retains the perceptual meaning of the adverb. In (21) the verb *tycks* ('seem')+infinitive as the source of *apparently* in the English translation shares properties with verbs of cognition (*think*). In (22) the German marker *scheint+zu* corresponds to the weak evidential meaning of *apparently* as a hedge with a downtoning function.

In the French corpus *apparently* has been translated as *sembler* plus infinitive with a weak inferential or hedging meaning.

- (23) Lebanon, following Syria's withdrawal, seems to be settling after its elections and arrests have now been made in connection with the assassination of Rafik Hariri, *apparently confirming* the suspicion of the involvement of the pro-Syrian security forces. (Europarl)
 La situation au Liban, à la suite du retrait de la Syrie, semble revenir à la normale depuis les élections et des arrestations ont à présent eu lieu en rapport avec l'assassinat de Rafic Hariri, lesquelles *semblent confirmer* les soupçons de participation des forces de sécurité syriennes. (EuroparlTF)

According to Dendale, *sembler* occurs in semi-auxiliary (catenative) constructions 'with a verb whose subject is not impersonal' (Dendale 2022: 191).

5.2.3 Correspondences where *apparently* expresses neutral epistemic support

The notions reality and unreality are needed for analysing the functions of *apparently*. *Apparently* places an event in the realm of the unreal or hypothetical as is evident from the translations by a *seem*-verb which have to be interpreted in terms of 'apparently but not really'. In (24) it is clear from the context that *förefalla att* has the meaning 'appearance but not

reality' rather than inference, thus suggesting that *apparently* means the same.

- (24) 'It was only a cat.'
She stopped.
'It had a little grinning head, with teeth.'
Nobody tried to say, how horrible, or what a relief. Then she said, not *apparently* changing the subject, 'Jan had no holiday'. (MD1)
'Det var bara en katt.'
Hon hejdade sig.
'Den hade ett litet grinande huvud, med tänder.'
Ingen försökte säga 'Så hemskt' eller 'Så skönt'. Sedan sade hon utan att *förefalla att* byta ämne: 'Jan fick ingen semester.' (MD1T)

The female character referred to in (24) did not appear to change the topic but she actually did. She was first talking about a cat and then started talking about Jan. In (25) and (26) the contrast between appearance and reality is marked explicitly by the reference to what is actually the case.

- (25) Toiling up the slope from Falmer railway station, you had the Kafkaesque sensation of walking into an endlessly deep stage set where *apparently* three-dimensional objects *turned out to be* painted flats, and reality receded as fast as you pursued it. (DL1)
När man kämpade sig uppför backen från järnvägsstationen i Falmer fick man en kafkaliknande känsla av att gå på en oändligt djup scen där de föremål som *verkade vara* tredimensionella *visade sig vara* målade kulisser, och verkligheten försvann undan innan man fick grepp om den. (DL1T)
- (26) It always surprised him that, *apparently* taking no account of him, she could *yet* recall comments he had made months earlier. (PDJ1)
Det förvånade honom alltid att trots att hon inte *verkade ta* någon större notis om honom kom hon *ändå* ihåg

kommentarer som han hade gjort månader tidigare.
(PDJIT)

In (25) the apparently three-dimensional objects turned out to be (and were in fact) painted flats. In (26) the connection between the clauses is concessive. Although the she-character did not seem to take any notice of him, she still remembered the comments he had made earlier.

In (27) the Swedish source of *apparently* contains *vara som om* ('be as if'), which is associated with unreality rather than epistemic meaning or evidentiality.

- (27) The sharp look had come back into his eyes and he looked cunning, *apparently* himself again as soon as he got his cap back on. (KE1T)
Hans stickiga blick var tillbaka. Han såg slug ut. *Det var som om* han blivit sig själv så snart han fått på sig mössan igen. (KE1)
'... It was as if he had become himself as soon as he got his cap on again'

In (27) the narrator does not know if the proposition is true or not or regards it as a possibility only.

It is not self-evident that a *seem*-type verb followed by an *as if* complementizer has epistemic meaning. In Boye's model of degrees of epistemic support *vara som om* ('be as if') would express neutral epistemic support 'taken to cover meanings glossed with "(epistemic) possibility", but also meanings that can be characterized as representing complete ignorance, complete uncertainty or the like' (Boye 2012: 25).

In (28) the German translation contains a form of the verb *wirken* ('seem') followed by an adjective, indicating that *apparently* expresses neutral epistemic support:

- (28) The curtain rose on Lucienne Boyer, 'La Dame en Bleu': a compact and rounded woman, approaching fifty *yet apparently ageless* and wearing a dress of dark blue satin, and a blue rose at the apex of her décolleté. (BC1)
Der Vorhang hob sich vor Lucienne Boyer, „La Dame en Bleu“: eine robuste, rundliche Frau, die auf die Fünfzig

zuring und doch alterslos wirkte. Sie trug ein dunkelblaues Satinkleid und eine blaue Rose in der Mitte ihres Dekolletes. (BC1T)

What characterizes the translation of *apparently* in (28) is that it is left open if the woman is ageless or not. Similarly, in (29) it is not possible to know if those around him were in a playful mood or not.

- (29) He stood with the digger in his hand and they were all round him, *apparently in a playful mood*. (KE1T)
Han stod med pärgrävet i handen och de var runt honom på alla sidor och *verkade lekfulla*. (KE1)

Examples where *apparently* is used with scope over a single element are problematic for an evidential and epistemic analysis of *apparently*. According to Boye (2012), evidentiality only involves propositions while, for example, Chafe (1986) suggests that categories can be used evidentially to indicate that the match between knowledge and category is imperfect. ‘But the match between a piece of knowledge and a category may be less than perfect. We would say in such a case that the knowledge has less than explicit codability’ (Chafe 1986: 270). An example of this is given in (30).

- (30) Over one shoulder—carelessly—lay a fur, the coarse, *apparently* sticky hairs indicating a nordic and heathen breed of animal. (SCO1T)
Över ena axeln låg—vårdslöst—ett skinn vars grova, *liksom* smetiga hår antydde nordisk och hednisk djurstam. (SCO1)

In (30) the particle *liksom* ‘like’ is the source of *apparently*, indicating that the following adjective should be interpreted as matching our knowledge of the category of the word (*sticky*) in terms of similarity or approximation (‘sort of sticky’, ‘as if sticky’).

6. Concluding discussion

In addition to the system of epistemic modality represented by adverbs such as *probably*, *certainly*, *indeed*, and *possibly*, English has evidential adverbs illustrated by *clearly*, *obviously*, *evidently*, *apparently*.

The evidential adverb *apparently* is associated with a range of functions having in common that they involve both evidential and epistemic considerations. The aim of the present study was to disentangle its evidential and epistemic meanings through the lens of its correspondences in Swedish with supporting evidence from its translations into German and French. The theoretical approach is based on the proposal by Boye (2012) that the category evidentiality (defined in terms of the source of information or epistemic justification) and epistemic support (degree of commitment) are related but separate branches of a third category epistemicity, defined as justificatory support for a proposition.

The empirical findings from the cross-linguistic correspondences show that *apparently* can cover many types of evidence and degrees of epistemic support. *Apparently* is associated with the evidential notion indirect justification rather than direct justification. The speaker does not report what she actually sees but draws a conclusion from evidence. Within the domain of indirect justification *apparently* is associated both with inference and hearsay (reportive inferential evidence).

The evidential and epistemic meanings of *apparently* are indeed shown to be separate but related to each other. *Apparently* may correspond to an evidential adverb expressing inference based on evidence in Swedish (and in German and French). The translation and/or source can also consist of an epistemic modal adverb indicating partial epistemic support covering the meanings probability and likelihood.

When *apparently* corresponds to a *seem*-type verb the interpretation depends on the construction the verb appears in. The correspondences of *apparently* as a *seem*-type verb used as a catenative have a hedging or downtoning function allowing the speaker to avoid taking responsibility for the truth of the statement. The hedging meaning can be associated with weak partial epistemic certainty (semi-certainty).

Judging from the cross-linguistic correspondences there may also be a link between a *seem*-type verb and the *as if* -complementizer. The translations show that *apparently* can situate an event in the domain of unreal or 'what is apparent rather than real'. In terms of epistemic modality

apparently has the meaning of neutral support where it covers meanings that can be characterized as completely uncertain or complete ignorance.

References

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Altenberg, Bengt, and Karin Aijmer. 2000. The English-Swedish Parallel Corpus. A resource for contrastive research and translation studies. In *Corpus linguistics and linguistic theory. Papers from the twentieth international conference on English language research on computerized corpora (ICAME 20), Freiburg im Breisgau 1999*, edited by Christian Mair, and Marianne Hundt, 15–33. Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi.
- Barnes, Janet. 1984. Evidentials in the Tuyuca verb. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 50: 255–227.
- Bergqvist, Henrik, and Karolina Grzech. 2023. The role of pragmatics in the definition of evidentiality. *STUF* 76(1): 1–30.
- Böhm, Verónica, Gerda Haßler, and Anja Hennemann. 2017. On the evidential use of English adverbials and their equivalents in Romance languages and Russian: A morpho-syntactic analysis. In *Evidentiality revisited. Cognitive grammar, functional and discourse-pragmatic perspectives*, edited by Juana I. Marín-Arrese, Gerda Haßler, and Marta Carretero, 87–104. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Boye, Kasper. 2012. *Epistemic meaning. A cross-linguistic and functional-cognitive study*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. 2005. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carretero, Marta, and Juan Rafael Zamorano-Mansilla. 2013. Annotating English adverbials for the categories of epistemic modality and evidentiality. In *English modality. Core, periphery and evidentiality*, edited by Juana I. Marín-Arrese, Marta Carretero, Jorge Arús Hita, and Johan van der Auwera, 317–355. Berlin and Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Chafe, Wallace. 1986. Evidentiality in English conversation and academic writing. In *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology*, edited by Wallace Chafe, and Johanna Nichols, 261–272. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

- Chafe, Wallace, and Johanna Nichols (eds). 1986. *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Dendale, Patrick. 2022. Evidentiality in French. In *Evidential marking in European languages: Toward a unitary comparative account*, edited by Björn Wiemer, and Juana I. Marín-Arrese, 171–234. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Dyvik, Helge. 1994. On the complexity of translation. In *Out of corpora. Studies in honour of Stig Johansson*, edited by Hilde Hasselgård and Signe Oksefjell, 215–230. Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi.
- Hoye, Leo. 1997. *Adverbs and modality in English*. London and New York: Longman.
- Johansson, Stig. 2007. *Seeing through multilingual corpora. On the use of corpora in contrastive studies*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- López-Couso, María José, and Belén Méndez-Naya. 2014. From clause to pragmatic marker. A study of the development of *like*-parentheticals in American English. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 15(1): 36–61.
- Marín-Arrese, Juana I. 2017. Multifunctionality of evidential expressions in discourse domains and genres: Evidence from cross-linguistic case studies. In *Evidentiality revisited. Cognitive grammar, functional and discourse-pragmatic perspectives*, edited by Juana I. Marín-Arrese, Gerda Haßler, and Marta Carretero, 195–223. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Mortelmans, Tanja. 2017. *Seem*-type verbs in Dutch and German: *Lijken, schijnen* and *scheinen*. In *Evidentiality revisited. Cognitive grammar, functional and discourse-pragmatic perspectives*, edited by Juana I. Marín-Arrese, Gerda Haßler, and Marta Carretero, 123–148. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- OED = *Oxford English dictionary*. <https://www.oed.com/> (Accessed November 2023).
- Palmer, Frank R. 1986. *Mood and modality in English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Plungian, Vladimir A. 2001. The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 349–357.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.

- Sanders, José, and Wilbert Spooren. 1996. Subjectivity and certainty in epistemic modality: A study of Dutch epistemic modifiers. *Cognitive Linguistics* 7(3): 241–264.
- Simon-Vandenberg, Anne-Marie, and Karin Aijmer. 2007. *The semantic field of modal certainty: A corpus-based study of English adverbs*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Squartini, Mario. 2016. Interactions between modality and other semantic categories. In *The Oxford handbook of mood and modality*, edited by Jan Nuyts, and Johan van der Auwera, 50–67. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Swan, Toril. 1987. *Sentence adverbials in English: A synchronic and diachronic investigation*. Tromsø: University of Tromsø.
- Usonienė, Aurelia, and Jolanta Šinkūnienė. 2013. A cross-linguistic look at the multifunctionality of the English verb *seem*. In *English modality. Core, periphery and evidentiality*, edited by Juana I. Marín-Arrese, Marta Carretero, Jorge Arús Hita, and Johan van der Auwera, 281–316. Berlin and Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Willett, Thomas. 1988. A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticalization of evidentiality. *Studies in Language* 12: 51–97.

Appendix

Table A1: The translations of *apparently* found in the Oslo Multilingual Corpus

German translation	Number
<i>offenbar</i>	11
<i>scheinbar</i>	10
<i>offensichtlich</i>	7
<i>scheinen</i> + infinitive	2
<i>scheint es</i> (parenthetical)	1
<i>wirken</i>	1
<i>angeblich</i>	1
<i>anscheinend</i>	1
<i>wahrscheinlich</i>	1
<i>offenkundig</i>	1
Ø	5
Other	3
Total	44

Table A2: The translations of *apparently* found in the Europarl Corpus in a sample of 200 occurrences from the beginning of the corpus (which returned 1174 hits in all)

French translation	Number
<i>apparemment</i>	97
<i>il semble que, semble-t-il, sembler+adjective, il semblerait, semblerait-il</i>	36
the conditional mood	17
<i>manifestement</i>	16
<i>d'apparence, en apparence</i>	6
<i>paraît-il</i>	5
<i>visiblement</i>	5
<i>soi-disant</i>	4
<i>devoir (doit, doivent, devrait)</i>	4
<i>de toute évidence</i>	4
<i>je le cite, il a été révélé que</i>	2
<i>probablement</i>	2
<i>dire +infinitive</i>	1
<i>vraisemblablement</i>	1
Total	200