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THEMATIC ARTICLE

# *Additivity, concessivity, and illocutionary modification: The functions of Italian* pure *'also' and the post-modal domain*

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**Abstract**

This article investigates the polyfunctionality of the Italian adverb *pure* 'also' and its relationship with post-modal meanings. Beside its prototypical use as an additive focus adverb, *pure* displays secondary uses which involve categories that fall within the post-modal domain, such as concessivity, speech act marking, and illocutionary modification. Drawing on newly extracted corpus data, this article shows (i) how the additive semantics of *pure* lends itself to cover different discourse-pragmatic functions, (ii) describes their features and the connections between them, and (iii) highlights patterns of semantic change. The results contribute to shed light on the internal structure of the post-modal domain and on the different development paths leading to it. Special attention has been given to illocutionary modification, both in terms of the range of functions which can be subsumed under this category and its position in a layered model of grammar.

**Keywords:** illocutionary modification; post-modality; additivity; focus adverbs; semantic maps

**Résumé**

Cet article examine la nature polyfonctionnelle de l'adverbe italien *pure* aussi et sa relation avec les significations post-modales. Outre son usage prototypique en tant qu'adverbe de focalisation additif, *pure* présente des usages secondaires qui impliquent des catégories relevant du domaine post-modal, telles que la concessivité, le marquage de l'acte de parole et la modification illocutoire. S'appuyant sur des données de corpus récemment extraites, cet article montre comment la sémantique additive de *pure* se prête à différentes fonctions discursives et pragmatiques, décrit les caractéristiques de celles-ci et les liens qui les unissent, et met en évidence les tendances du changement sémantique. Les résultats contribuent à éclairer la structure interne du domaine post-modal et les différents chemins de développement qui y mènent. Une attention particulière a été accordée à la modification illocutionnaire, tant sur le plan de la gamme de fonctions pouvant être regroupées sous cette catégorie que de sa position dans un modèle grammatical stratifié.

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**Mots-clés:** modification illocutionnaire; post-modalité; additivité; adverbes de focalisation; cartes sémantiques

## 1. Introduction

In this article, I present an account of the different uses of the Italian adverb *pure* 'also', and investigate their functional distribution and their relationship with the post-modal domain.[1] Beside its prototypical use as an additive focus adverb, *pure* displays secondary uses which involve categories such as concessivity, speech act marking, and illocutionary modification. These categories have been associated with the post-modal domain by different authors (see van der Auwera and Plungian 1998; Narrog 2012, 2017). As a consequence, the issue arises of how to account for the relationship between additivity, the secondary uses of *pure*, and other post-modal meanings.

Describing the different uses of *pure* allows us to identify that they share additivity as a semantic feature, and highlights the adverb's role in expressing specific discursive and intersubjective functions. By taking advantage of the typology of additive markers proposed by Forker (2016) and Faller (2020), the functions of *pure* are connected to each other in a semantic map, which can in turn be connected to the semantic map of modality. Subsequently, focusing on illocutionary modification, the comparison with post-modal meanings is reconsidered in order to assess to what extent this category fits into the post-modal domain and to detect different development paths leading there. Thus, the article also contributes to a comprehensive treatment of illocutionary modification as a grammatical category (Hengeveld 2004, Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008).

The article is structured as follows. After this introduction, section 2 briefly presents the notion of post-modal domain and discusses different theoretical perspectives on it. Section 3 offers a description of the different uses of *pure* based on selected corpus examples. By reviewing the typological literature on this issue, section 4 further investigates the role of additivity across functions and proposes a semantic map for *pure*. Section 5 is dedicated to illocutionary modification and its relationship with the post-modal domain. Section 6 sums up my conclusions.

## 2. The post-modal domain

In this section, I will briefly review two essential research works to set out the theoretical coordinates of this paper. I will first present the notion of post-modal domain as proposed by van der Auwera and Plungian (1998), and then discuss the role of illocutionary modification in the model of modality elaborated by Narrog (2012). This discussion will be used to point out different ways of understanding post-modality.

[1] Abbreviations: 1/2/3: 1st/2nd/3rd person; ART: article; EPI: epistemic; F: feminine; FUT: future; IM: illocutionary modification; IMP: imperative; IMPF: imperfect; INDF: indefinite; INF: infinitive; M: masculine; NEG: negation; PL: plural; PST: past; PTC: particle; PTCP: participle; REFL: reflexive; REL: relative; SG: singular; SUBJ: subjunctive; TOP: topic.

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### 2.1 Post-modal meanings in van der Auwera and Plungian (1998)

The label *post-modal domain* appears several times in van der Auwera and Plungian's (1998) account of modality. Their study draws on previous research on the evolution of modal expressions that identified recurring development paths cross-linguistically (see Bybee et al. 1994, among others). Elaborating on this data, van der Auwera and Plungian (1998) put together different development paths and organized them into maps consisting of three domains. At one end, the pre-modal domain includes lexical source expressions that – through processes of grammaticalization and semantic change – enter the modal domain proper. The modal domain is represented by linguistic constructions marking various declinations of necessity, possibility, epistemicity, and so on. At the other end, the post-modal domain includes a wide range of elements that no longer carry modal meaning.

Among the post-modal meanings listed by van der Auwera and Plungian (1998) are categories such as concession, condition, complementation, future, imperative, optative, interrogative, and quotative. This list constitutes a rather heterogeneous set of meanings, which span from the expression of tense and mood to evidentiality, illocutionary functions, and discourse relations. Given their focus on the central domain of proper modality, van der Auwera and Plungian (1998) do not discuss in depth either specific features of post-modal meanings or the connections between them. As a consequence, the very concept of post-modal domain remains somewhat vague and lends itself to different (although closely related) interpretations.

On the one hand, this concept may denote the endpoint of different development paths undertaken by lexical source expressions that enter the modal domain and then move beyond it. This seems to be the interpretation suggested by van der Auwera and Plungian (1998), and puts the focus on the diachronic evolution of single linguistic forms. On the other hand, the concept can be used to refer to an abstract functional space placed beyond modality in a layered model of grammar (Hengeveld 1989, Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008).[2] This interpretation of post-modality puts the focus on the internal structure of the post-modal domain and the relationship between the different categories that are part of it.

Since the adverb under scrutiny in this article does not strictly represent a case of development from the modal to the post-modal domain, I will elaborate on this second interpretation of post-modality. I primarily aim at discussing some connections between post-modal meanings and neighbouring categories, and at better describing the internal structure of the post-modal domain itself. In particular, I will discuss the place of *illocutionary modification* within this domain. This grammatical category does not explicitly appear in van der Auwera and Plungian (1998); in order to properly introduce it, I will refer to the model of modality elaborated by Narrog (2012).

[2]Following the terminology adopted by Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008, Keizer 2015), this boundary would roughly overlap with the distinction between Representational Level and Interpersonal Level. The first is the level at which the relation between language and the external world is established, and is mainly defined in terms of semantic layers. The second is the level of linguistic action and is mainly defined in terms of pragmatic layers (see Hengeveld and Olbertz 2018 for a short summary). In this perspective, modal meanings pertain to the first, while the majority of post-modal meanings would be included in the second.

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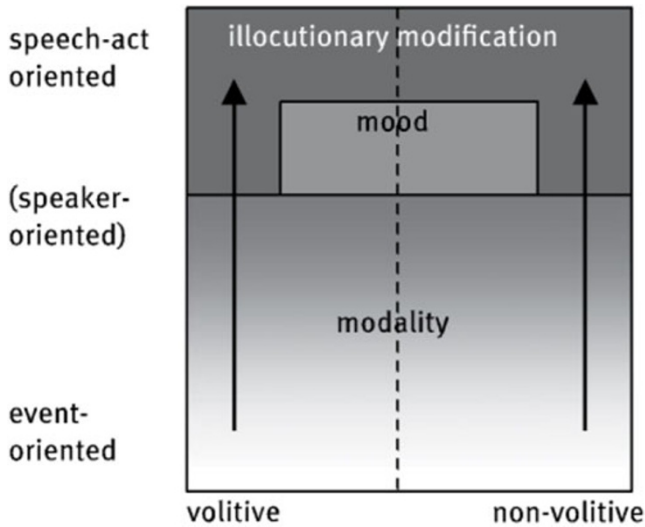



**Figure 1.** A model of modality and related categories.

### *2.2 Illocutionary modification in Narrog (2012)*

Narrog (2012; see Narrog 2017 for a shorter summary) distinguishes modal categories on the basis of two overarching features: volitivity and speech-act orientation.[3] Diachronic processes in the domain of modality are argued to share a comprehensive directionality of change towards increased speech-act orientation, which consists of one or more of the following three tendencies (Narrog 2012, 2017): (i) increasing orientation towards the speaker's perspective, (ii) increasing orientation towards the speech situation including the hearer, and (iii) increasing orientation towards discourse itself. This is represented in Figure 1, taken from Narrog (2012: 112).

Narrog (2012) discusses in detail the differences between this model and the one proposed by van der Auwera and Plungian (1998). For the purposes of this article, the crucial feature of Narrog's model is the explicit inclusion of illocutionary modification (hereafter IM) as a grammatical category bordering the domain of modality: "A further step beyond modality and mood are illocutionary force and illocutionary (force) modification (IM), i.e. the expression of the communicative purpose of an utterance, such as making a statement, a promise, or a prediction, and its modification" (Narrog 2012: 13). This category is not strictly modal (IM does not usually change the factuality

[3]See Narrog (2012: 46–60) for a detailed discussion of this model. Referring to Jespersen (1992), he considers volitivity (the presence of 'an element of will') as a crucial dimension in distinguishing different types of modality. In this way, epistemic, evidential, alethic, existential, and dynamic modalities are non-volitive, while deontic, teleological, preferential, and boulomaic modalities are volitive. The second dimension in which modal expressions systematically differ is speech-act orientation (as opposed to event orientation). A modal marker is speech act-oriented if it is directly linked to the external elements surrounding the speech act – the speaker's own modal judgment in the given speech situation, their attention to the hearer and to the speech situation (discourse/text) itself.

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of a sentence), and it is further up the scale of speech act orientation than modality: IM mainly concerns the interaction of speaker and hearer in discourse and the management of intersubjective meanings.[4] Narrog (2012) does not use labels such as *post-modal domain* or *post-modal meanings*, but it seems beyond doubt that IM can be considered a post-modal category in this model ("a further step beyond modality" in the quote above).

With respect to the development path leading from modality to IM, Narrog (2012) gives two examples. The first one is represented by the Hebrew adverb ʾ*ulay* 'perhaps'. In Biblical Hebrew, the adverb ʾ*ulay* was a common form for expressing epistemic possibility. In Modern Hebrew, along with the expression of epistemic possibility, it has acquired an additional function as an illocutionary force marker. Consider example (1):

(1) a. telex lešam?
go:2SG.M.FUT to.there
'Will you go there?'

b. ʾulay telex lešam?
perhaps go:2SG.M.FUT to.there
'Will you perhaps go there?'

(Narrog 2012: 134)

In this example, (1a) is a normal question, a genuine request for information, while (1b) – other things being equal – signals a suggestion or request, that is, a specific type of directive speech act. Moreover, with first person plural, the addition of ʾ*ulay* results in a hortative utterance. This example represents a case of development involving adverbial expressions that leads from epistemic modality to illocutionary modification and speech act marking.

The second example is represented by the Japanese particle *daroo* 'probably; I assume', which is the most frequent epistemic marker of Modern Japanese: it basically expresses an inference about a state of affairs, the factuality of which is unknown (Narrog 2012 labels it *speculative*). In addition to this, *daroo* also has an IM function as a marker that signals request for confirmation (roughly comparable to the function of some tag questions in English):

(2) Hora, it.ta toori, kare=wa ki.ta=daroo?
Hey say:PST way 3SG-TOP come:PST-EPI
'Hey, he has come, as I said, right?'

(Narrog 2012: 135)

[4]Further references on illocutionary modification will be introduced in the following sections.

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As Narrog (2012: 135) points out, in (2) the factuality of the state of affairs expressed in the clause is beyond doubt: someone has actually come, and the speaker pushes the argumentative point that they have already made this claim, but the hearer did not believe it. This way, *daroo* contributes to managing the speaker-hearer link in interaction, marking an utterance whose truth value is already decided but rhetorically presented as if it were still undecided.

These examples illustrate the case of two adverbial elements that develop from expressing modal meanings to marking illocutionary functions, and thus confirm the status of IM as a post-modal category.[5] This way, in Narrog's (2012) model, IM is firmly envisioned as part of a grammatical system and involved in the change processes affecting it. In the next section, I will move to the description of some uses of the Italian adverb *pure*, including specific illocutionary uses. Although they do not represent post-modal meanings in a narrow sense (*pure* is not a modal element in its prototypical use), the analysis of these uses will provide further evidence on IM, contributing to a better understanding of its features, its position in a grammatical system, and its relationship with other post-modal categories.

## 3. The functions of *pure*

The polyfunctionality of *pure* 'also' in contemporary Italian has not yet been studied in a systematic way, especially as regards the non-focusing uses of this adverb.[6] In this section I will describe three different uses of *pure*: uses as a focus adverb, illocutionary uses, and concessive uses. The examples in the following pages come from three corpora of contemporary Italian: I used the LIP corpus and the KIParla corpus for extracting spoken language data and the *La Repubblica* corpus for extracting written language data.[7]

### *3.1 Additive uses*

In its prototypical use, *pure* is an additive focus adverb.[8] One of the distinctive properties of focus adverbs is their interaction with the focus structure of an utterance: it is the information structure that determines the semantic contribution of focus adverbs to the utterance, and variations in the information structure correspond to variations

[5]A further example could be represented by the illocutionary uses of the Italian adverb *magari*, which is commonly used as an epistemic marker (see Masini and Pietrandrea 2010). It may also be mentioned here, in passing, that the Sicilian adverb *macari* (an etymologically cognate form of Italian *magari*) expresses additive focus as its primary function (Ramat 2020). The link between additive focus and epistemicity will be discussed in detail in the following sections (see in particular section 4).

[6]See Andorno (1999) and Ricca (1999) for a general overview on the semantics of focus adverbs in Italian, including examples of *pure*. D'Achille and Proietti (2015) and Ricca (2017) are devoted to the functions of *pure* in Old Italian. Sparse mentions of the illocutionary uses of *pure* can be found in Held (1988), Waltereit (2006), and Coniglio (2008).

[7]On the LIP corpus see De Mauro et al. (1993) and Schneider (2002). The KIParla corpus is described in Mauri et al. (2019), while the *La Repubblica* corpus is described in Baroni et al. (2004).

[8]On focus adverbs, see the seminal works by König (1991, 1993). On additive focus adverbs, see the recent volume edited by De Cesare and Andorno (2017). The most important contributions on Italian focus adverbs are Andorno (1999, 2000), Ricca (1999), and De Cesare (2010).

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in their semantic contribution (see König 1991). Besides the functional value of operators on the focus of a sentence, focus adverbs also have a lexical meaning: they do not only signal a pragmatic relation, but enrich it with specific semantic values. According to the description proposed by König (1991) for additive focus adverbs, there are two features that play a crucial role in the semantic analysis of these expressions. The first is the quantification effect, through which the value of the focused expression is related to a set of alternatives. Consider (3):

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (3) | a. | Giorgio ha | comprato | *pure* | del-le | mele |
| | | Giorgio have:3SG | bought | also | of-ART | apples |
| | | 'Giorgio *also* bought apples.' | | | | |
| | b. | Giorgio ha comprato delle mele | | | | |
| | | 'Giorgio bought apples.' | | | | [assertion] |
| | c. | Giorgio ha comprato qualcos'altro | | | | |
| | | 'Giorgio bought something else.' | | | | [presupposition] |

A sentence like (3a) can be described as the sum of two propositions, represented here by sentences (3b) and (3c). The sentence *Giorgio only bought apples* contains the assertion that *Giorgio bought apples* and builds on the presupposition that *Giorgio bought something else* (which is outside of the scope of the negation, cf. *It is not true that Giorgio also bought apples*, activating the same presupposition), thus suggesting that *apples* are part of a larger set of elements (depending on the context) and that at least one of the possible alternatives satisfies the relevant open sentence. Focus adverbs contribute quantificational force to the meaning of a sentence: they quantify over the set of possible alternatives to the value of the focused expression. The meaning contribution of *pure* is to include these alternatives as possible values for the open sentence in their scope, while at the same time asserting the validity of the sentence it has scope over.

In addition to the selection of alternatives, some focus adverbs may induce a ranking into the set of possible alternatives, meaning that they induce scalar structures in the domain of quantification. In this case, the alternatives and the focus value are part of a set that is hierarchically arranged. Some adverbs can, by themselves, induce a scalar ordering (e.g., English *even* and Italian *persino* 'even'); others (like *pure*) are compatible with a scalar reading when this is suggested by the context. Consider example (4), on the following page. In this kind of context, scalar focus adverbs activate an evaluation inference connected to the scalar ordering – that is, the value of the focus is characterized as ranking "high" or "low" on the scale. In the case of *pure*, the inference is often connected with a scale of expectation in discourse, whereby the referent it has scope over can be said to be more or less expected in that context. Thus, when used in a scalar way, *pure* activates the inference that the focus value ranks lower than the alternative values on the scale of expectation.

More broadly, in specific syntactic contexts, the additive and/or scalar value of *pure* can be downsized and exploited for discourse dynamics rather than for highlighting a referent. This typically happens when *pure* appears just after the finite verb form, a

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| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (4) | E | l’ | accoglienza | nelle | scuole | è | stata |
| | and | ART | reception | in-ART | schools | be:3SG | be:PTCP.SG.F |
| | considerata | molto | soddisfacente. | *Pure* | gli | studenti | meno |
| | considered | very | satisfactory | also | ART | students | less |
| | solerti, | racconta | chi | ha | | assistito | al-la |
| | diligent | tell:3SG | who | have:3SG | | witnessed | to-ART |
| | sperimentazione, | hanno | | seguito | con | grande | interesse |
| | experiment | have:3PL | | followed | with | great | interest |

‘And the reception in school has been considered beyond satisfactory. *Even* less diligent students, said someone who witnessed the experiment, followed with great interest.’

[La Repubblica corpus – article.id: 2242, comment: education]

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| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (5) | c’ | hai | ragione | sì | è | vero | è | vero // | |
| | there | have:2SG | reason | yes | be:3SG | true | be:3SG | true | |
| | c’ | ha | *pure* | i | suoi | difetti | Torino | eh | per |
| | there | have:3SG | also | ART | its | flaws | Turin | eh | for |
| | carità | però // | naturalmente // | cio-è | il | negativo | e | | |
| | charity | but | naturally | that-be:3SG | ART | negative | and | | |
| | il | positivo | c’ | è | ovunque // | | | | |
| | ART | positive | there | be:3SG | everywhere | | | | |

lit. ‘you’re right yes it’s true it’s true // it *also* has its flaws Turin eh by all means but // of course // I mean you find negative and positive things everywhere’

[KIParla corpus - TOD2013]

position from where it can operate on different sentence constituents.[9] Consider (5) and (6).

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (6) | Oh | sì, | gli | stranieri | sono | trattati | meglio, |
| | oh | yes | ART | foreigners | be:3PL | treated | better |
| | ma | è | *pure* | giusto | | | |
| | but | be:3SG | also | right | | | |

'Oh yeah, foreigners are treated better, but it's PTC right'

[*La Repubblica* corpus - article.id: 1795, comment: sport]

In (5), the narrow domain of association of *pure* is the NP *i suoi difetti* 'its flaws', but its scope extends on the whole utterance, which is marked as a concessive premise before introducing a contrast (marked by the connective *però* 'but'). In (6), it is not easy to identify a single element associated with the focus adverb: *pure* marks the whole utterance without evoking a real set of alternatives, but it is used for the argumentative purpose of marking the whole utterance as salient. These uses could be thought of as peripheral instances of *pure* as a focus adverb. In fact, they share certain features with the illocutionary and concessive uses of *pure* (first of all, the syntactic position), which will be described in the next subsections.[10]

### 3.2 *Illocutionary uses*

The fact that focus adverbs can undergo semantic change and come to express illocutionary functions has been already pointed out by König (1991) and investigated by a number of works (see among others Duvallon and Peltola 2017, Modicom and Duplâtre 2018, Favaro 2020).[11] By *illocutionary uses*, I refer to those contexts of use where focus adverbs express functions related to the modification of a speech act and its illocutionary force. These cases, whereby the association with the focus structure of the utterance is lost (*bleached focus constructions*), can be considered one of the possible endpoints of what Eckardt and Speyer (2016) call *focus cline*:[12]

[9]This position is sometimes referred to as the position characterized by *weitere Skopus* (Dimroth and Klein 1996: 93) or *portata ampia* (Andorno 2000: 51), that is, the position from where a focus adverb has 'wide scope'.

[10]An anonymous reviewer raised the issue concerning the relation between *pure* and its (quasi-)synonym *anche* 'also'. In fact, one may wonder whether these adverbs share the same secondary functions beside their primary additive value. This issue is beyond the scope of this article. Nevertheless, see Favaro (2021), which partially addressed this topic (with a focus on the illocutionary uses of both adverbs). With regard to the illocutionary uses of *anche*, see also Cognola et al. (2022).

[11]Most of these works analyze the illocutionary uses of focus adverbs as modal particles, a specific class of adverbial elements that can express different discourse-pragmatic functions in linguistic interactions (see Jacobs 1991, Waltereit 2001, Coniglio 2012, among many others).

[12]Further functional extensions include the use of focus adverbs as conjunctional adverbs and discourse markers (König 1991).

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> The pathway of focus change starts where words develop into focus sensitive particles and associate with focus, it continues where they foster into conventionalized alternative-based constructions, and it ends where reference to alternatives or focus-background structure is lost. We will refer to the later stages as *bleached focus*. (Eckardt and Speyer 2016: 503)

In the case of *pure*, the adverb has developed new functions in association with specific types of speech acts. In the following examples, in contrast with its use as a focus adverb, *pure* does not have scope over sentence constituents but on the whole utterance. In this way, its semantic contribution does not lie at the sentence level, but rather at the speech act level. Specifically, the adverb can operate on three different types of speech acts.

In directive speech acts, most typically expressed by imperative sentences, *pure* operates on the illocution carried by the verb and – depending on the case – it gives the directive the specific character of an invitation or permission to do something. As a pragmatic side effect, the directive sounds more polite/mitigated. Consider (7):

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (7) | va | bene | si | accomodi | // | comodate-vi | *pure* // |
| | go:3SG | well | REFL | sit_down:SUBJ.3SG | | sit_down:IMP.2PL-REFL | also |
| | 'all right have a seat // have a seat *please* //' | | | | | | |

[KIParla corpus - TOC1004]

In this kind of construction, *pure* modifies the illocutionary type directive, changing the conventional aspects of the construction so that it can be used in a specific kind of context and with different underlying conditions. In particular, directives with *pure* are common in conversational contexts where it is self-evident that the addressee has the possibility of performing some action that lies in the speaker's control area (see Waltereit 2006) but it is not certain that they will do so. On the speaker's side, the ordinary interpretation of these contexts is that the hearer is waiting for an explicit signal to act. Directives marked by *pure* are not orders coming out of the blue, but rather invitations that seek to meet certain expectations. In this way, *pure* specifies the aim with which the speech act is performed: the illocutionary point is adapted according to the common ground and the context of interaction.

A semantically bleached *pure* can also appear in sentences with the subjunctive mood to mark specific types of illocutionary forces, namely optatives (8) and hortatives (9), which are sometimes described as subcategories of directive constructions (König and Siemund 2007). In optative contexts, the speaker indicates to the addressee their wish that the positive situation evoked by the communicated content should come about. In hortative contexts, the speaker encourages themselves or an addressee together with themselves to carry out the action evoked by the communicated content (see Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008).

Finally, illocutionary uses of *pure* can also be found in declarative sentences expressing assertions. Since they occur with indicatives, it is more difficult to clearly separate these uses from instances of *pure* as a focus adverb – the illocutionary context being mostly the same. In fact, it is better to think of them as a continuum of uses rather than

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(8)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| chi | ci | vuole | | eh | giocare | su | questi | cosi | ci |
| who | there | want:3SG | | uh | play:INF | on | these | things | there |
| giocasse | | | *pure* | io | non | voglio | | giocare | non |
| play:SUBJ.PST.3SG | | | also | I | NEG | want:1SG | | play:INF | NEG |
| ho | | tempo | di | giocare | penso | | | | |
| have:1SG | | time | to | play:INF | think:1SG | | | | |

'who wants uh to play on these things go ahead *please* I don't want to play I have no time to play I think'

[LIP corpus – Naples C4]

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(9)

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| e | ho | trovato | difficoltà | a | socializzare | | | |
| and | have:1SG | found | difficulties | to | socialize:INF | | | |
| sì | no | vabbè | eh | diciamo-lo | *pure* | senza | vergogna | |
| yes | no | well | uh | say:1PL-it | also | without | shame | |
| sono | // | più | sociali | i | quartieri | pieni | | |
| be:3PL | | more | social | ART | neighborhoods | full | | |
| d' | extracomunitari | che | quelli | pieni | di | torinesi | | |
| of | immigrants | than | those | full | of | Turinese | | |

'and I found it difficult to socialize // yeah no well uh let's say it without shame // the neighborhoods full of immigrants are more social than those full of Turinese'

[KIParla corpus - TOD2014]

a clear-cut divide (see (6) above). In this kind of context, *pure* contributes to emphasizing the illocutionary force. Consider (10). In this example, the presence of *pure* gives the assertion a prominent position in the conversational exchange. Specifically, it contributes to projecting the assertion against a set of possible alternative assertions. These assertions, however, do not represent alternative referents or states of affairs (as happens when *pure* works as a focus adverb) but rather contextual assumptions, including what the speaker assumes about the addressee's beliefs, which are backgrounded by the illocutionary use of *pure*. In this manner, the assertion marked by the adverb does not represent one alternative among others, but the most relevant within the actual context.[13]

Given that they specify particular illocutionary features of the speech acts within which they occur, these uses of *pure* can be argued to fall within the grammatical category of IM as defined above. In particular, they "fine-tune" (Detges 2015) the performance of speech acts by specifying the intentions expressed by the speaker and adapting them to the conditions of the interactional context. Moreover, what most of these uses have in common is their intersubjective nature, as they evoke a viewpoint that is not simply ascribed to the speaker alone, but, crucially, also involves the hearer. Thus, "they provide clues as to how the speaker's assertion ties in with the addressee's world- and discourse knowledge as hypothesized by the speaker" (Detges and Gévaudan 2018: 308). In this perspective, these uses of *pure* can be analyzed as modal particles, adverbial elements that express different illocutionary and intersubjective functions (see among others Abraham 1991, Waltereit 2001, Zimmerman 2011, Artiagoitia et al. 2022).

### *3.3 Concessive uses*

A different development path involving *pure* calls into play another category that has been associated with the post-modal domain, namely concessivity. Specifically, the adverb appears as a collocation in a series of non-compositional constructions that express concessive meanings. A first set is represented by concessive uses of the Italian future, which have been discussed in detail by Squartini (2012), both in terms of the interplay of epistemicity and evidentiality in their interpretation and of their specific role in interaction. This last aspect is the most relevant for the purposes of this article. Consider (11). It is not possible in (11) to analyze *pure* as a normal instance of focus adverb: it retains its additive semantics, but there is no marked focus constituent and no set of alternatives is evoked, thus resulting in a bleached focus construction as in the definition given above (section 3.2). Its (residual) additive semantics can be successfully exploited as soon as concessivity is used in discourse. By using the concessive future with *pure*, the speaker concedes an additional point which is exploited to mitigate a contrast in conversation: this combination represents a commonly used

[13]Notice moreover that (10) also features a modal verb encoding epistemicity (*dovere* 'must'): it is possible that cases like this, with an extra modal marker, represent bridging contexts between the use *pure* as a focus adverb and its illocutionary use. In these kinds of contexts, the reduced adverbial form *pur* is also commonly used (see Coniglio 2008).

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| (10) | anche | perché | stavano | facendo | i | lavori | a | casa |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | also | because | stay:IMPF.3PL | doing | ART | works | at | house |
| | mia | dovevano | *pure* | entrar-ci | prima | o | poi | |
| | mine | must:IMPF.3PL | also | enter:INF-there | before | or | after | |

'also because they were doing the [renovation] works they *did* have to get into my house *anyway*, sooner or later.'

[KIParla corpus - TOD2002]

argumentative move (Anscombre and Ducrot 1983). The conceding move is thus introduced to acknowledge the validity of a first statement or point, before going on to claim the validity of a potentially contrasting second statement or point (Squartini 2012).

A second set of concessive uses of *pure* is represented by conventionalized constructions such as *sia pure* (12) and *che pure* (13). The collocation *sia pure* (12) is composed of the third person singular, present tense, of the verb *essere* 'to be' in the subjunctive mood followed by *pure*. It functions as a routinized concessive-conditional marker – similar to the conjunction *anche se* 'even if' – but it does not introduce a subordinate sentence, since it can only hold nominal constituents and not verb phrases. The collocation *che pure* (13) is composed of a relative marker followed by *pure*: in most cases, it introduces an appositive relative clause.[14] In fact, the additive semantics of *pure* lends itself well to appearing in an appositive relative clause, which has the function of adding information about the nominal constituents it refers to. However, in these contexts *pure* cannot be analyzed as an additive focus adverb, as it rather enriches the relative clause with a contrastive-concessive semantics.[15]

## 4. Additivity across functions

Given this description of the different functions of *pure*, one can try to arrange them on a semantic map.[16] Recently, two papers proposed a semantic map for additive markers: Forker (2016) and Faller (2020). Based on a typological survey of 42 languages, Forker (2016) built a semantic map for additive markers that comprises seven main functions: additivity and scalar additivity, indefinites, concessivity, constituent coordination, topic switch, and conjunctional adverb. Faller (2020) proposed a modified version of this map based on her study of the Cuzco Quechua additive marker *=pas*. These two maps can be found in Figure 2 and Figure 3 below.

The two maps present a few differences. First, following König (1991) and Gast and van der Auwera (2011), Faller (2020) considers scalar additivity as a subtype of additivity and includes the two categories in the same box. Secondly, based both on her data of Cuzco Quechua additive marker *=pas* and a review of the data discussed by Forker (2016), Faller (2020) links discourse connectivity (corresponding to conjunctional adverb in Forker's map) to constituent coordination instead of topic switch. Lastly, Faller (2020) includes the epistemic use of Cuzco Quechua *=pas* in her map, noting that semantic maps for modality link epistemic possibility to concessivity (van der Auwera and Plungian 1998). By doing so, she points out that the map of additivity can be connected to that of modality via concessivity. In particular, following van der

[14]The relative marker *che* 'which, that' is the most frequent, but other relative markers such as *il quale, del quale, con il quale, dove, cui* can also be found. The possibility of using the reduced form *pur* instead of *pure* also holds for (11)–(13).

[15]These examples show that *pure* can contribute to marking concessive sentences and generally suggest that concessivity plays an important role in many contexts in which *pure* occurs. This is not surprising, and is also confirmed by the fact that additive focus adverbs frequently show up as components of concessive connectives and concessive conditionals (for instance English *even though, even if*, and French *quand mR̂me* 'all the same'; see König 1991, Haspelmath and König 1998).

[16]On semantic maps as a tool for linguistic analysis, see Haspelmath (2003). See also the recent contribution by Georgakopoulos and Polis (2022).

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (11) | l’ | arroganza | e | l’ | impudenza | di | questo | potere |
| | ART | arrogance | and | ART | impudence | of | this | power |
| | che | sarà | *pure* | in | disfacimento | ma | continua | ad |
| | REL | be:FUT.3SG | also | in | decay | but | keep:3SG | at |
| | autoriprodur-si | ne-l | più | totale | disprezzo | del-l’ | | |
| | self_reproducing:INF-REFL | in-ART | more | total | disrespect | of-ART | | |
| | opinione | pubblica | | | | | | |
| | opinion | public | | | | | | |

‘The arrogance and the impudence of this power which might PTC be in decay but keeps self-reproducing in total disrespect of public opinion’

[LIP corpus – Rome D14]

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (12) | A | Venezia | invece, | *sia* | *pure* | per | un | |
| | at | Venice | instead | be:SUBJ.3SG | also | for | INDF.ART | |
| | attimo, | ha | fatto | la | sua | ricomparsa | il | sole |
| | instante | have:3SG | done | ART | its | reappearance | ART | sun |

lit. 'In Venice instead, *if only* for an instant, the sun showed up.'

[La Repubblica corpus - article.id: 1305, comment: weather report]

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| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (13) | La | protesta | de-i | liberali, | *che* | *pure* | fanno |
| | ART | protest | of-ART | liberals | REL | also | do:3PL |
| | parte | de-l | governo, | non | è | una | novità. |
| | part | of-ART | government | NEG | be:3SG | INDF.ART | news |

'The protest of the liberals, *even though* they are part of the government, is nothing new.'

[*La Repubblica* corpus - article.id: 1372, news-report: politics]

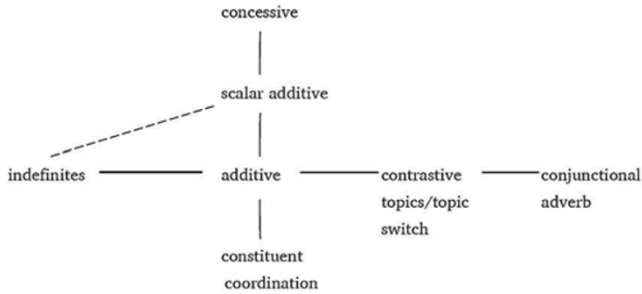



**Figure 2.** A semantic map for additive markers (Forker 2016: 87).

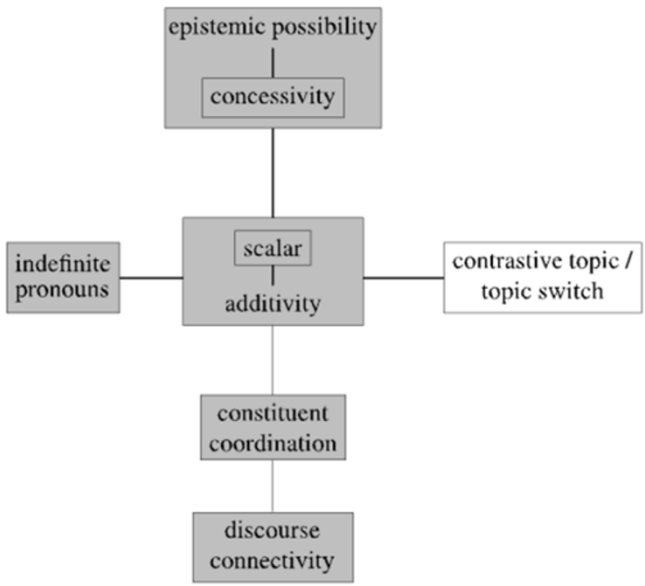



**Figure 3.** A semantic map for additive markers with the functions of Cuzco Quechua *=pas* shaded in grey (Faller 2020: 31).

Auwera et al. (2009), Faller (2020) treats concessivity as a subtype of epistemic modality, and the two categories are included in the same box in Figure 3. For the purposes of this article, it is not necessary to discuss the details of the subcategories employed by Faller (2020). However, this last consideration is highly relevant because it explicitly links the semantic map of additive markers to both the modal domain (epistemic possibility) and the post-modal domain (concessivity).

With reference to the functions of *pure*, the link between additivity and concessivity is also shown by the data described above. However, what is still missing from the picture is illocutionary modification. In fact, even though this category does not appear in either of these two versions of the semantic map of additivity, Forker (2016) mentions several examples of semantic extensions of additive markers that could be interpreted

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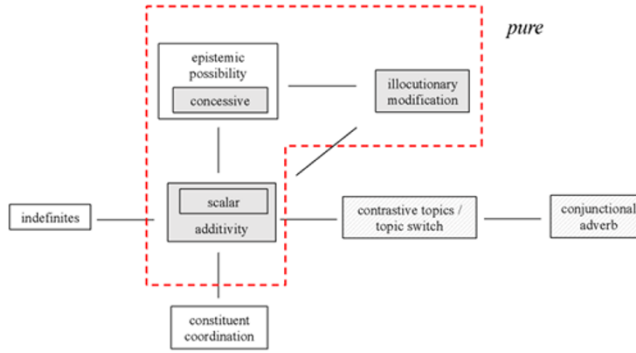



**Figure 4.** A semantic map for additive markers with the functions of Italian *pure* shaded in grey.

in this way. A case in point is the Finnish additive =*kin*, which, in specific contexts, can be used by the speaker to express subjective attitudes such as pleasant surprise or disappointment, to indicate that some expectation has been fulfilled, or to strengthen an exclamation. Other cases include additive markers that convey emphasis or mitigation (see the examples cited by Forker 2016). The illocutionary uses of *pure* as a speech act modifier can be included into this latter group. The functions covered by *pure* are represented on the semantic map for additive markers in Figure 4.

The semantic map in Figure 4 closely resembles the one proposed by Faller (2020), but it follows Forker (2016) in linking discourse connectivity (conjunctional adverb) to topic switch, as I find that Faller's (2020) changes on this issue are not fully convincing.[17] Apart from this, the main change here is the inclusion of the IM node in the map, as suggested both by the illocutionary functions of *pure* discussed above and by the examples reported in Forker (2016): this provides evidence for the link between additivity and IM. Moreover, recalling the two examples discussed by Narrog (2012) presented in section 2, it is necessary to link IM to epistemic modality as well. From van der Auwera and Plungian's (1998) perspective, this link would represent the shift from the modal to the post-modal domain. In the next section, capitalizing on the issues addressed so far, I will go back to the topic of IM to further discuss its features and its position in a layered model of grammatical categories.

## 5. Illocutionary modification as a grammatical category

One of the main reference points of this article was Narrog's (2012, 2017) model of modality and related categories. A crucial feature of that model is its explicit inclusion

[17] Faller (2020: 29-30) herself leaves the issue of the placement of discourse connectivity on the map somewhat open. Broadly speaking, it seems highly plausible that all three categories are linked to each other, as markers of constituent coordination (like the coordinating conjunction *and*) in many cases express discourse connectivity as well. In terms of the data of my case study, *pure* presents marginal uses as a conjunctional adverb and possibly as a marker of topic switch, while it does not display any use as a constituent coordinator. However, these uses represent limited occurrences in the corpus (mostly literate or old-fashioned examples). For this reason, the boxes are shaded grey, but not included within the dashed red line.

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of IM, which is treated as a functional domain placed beyond modality in a layered model of grammatical categories. In this perspective, referring to van der Auwera and Plungian's (1998) terminology, IM can be considered a post-modal category. Other categories, such as concessivity and clausal moods (imperative, hortative), represent further contact points between these two models of (post-)modality (see van der Auwera and Plungian 1998, Narrog 2012). Concessivity, speech-act marking, and IM are among the functions expressed by *pure* described above, a fact that has motivated the comparison between the functional developments of this adverb and the categories that van der Auwera and Plungian (1998) and Narrog (2012) included in the post-modal domain. But while the double link of concessivity with modality on the one hand and additivity on the other is well researched (see Baranzini and Mari 2019, Rossari and Smirnova 2021, Faller 2022, to name just a few recent studies), the status and the features of IM have received much less attention and deserve a closer look.

In linguistic theory, the notion of illocution refers to the grammatical domain where communicative intentions are coded onto conventionalized linguistic expressions: "The basic illocution of a sentence can be defined as the conversational use conventionally associated with the formal properties of that sentence which together constitute a sentence type" (Hengeveld 2004: 1190–1191). Basic illocutions are represented by categories such as declarative, interrogative, and imperative, while the notion of illocutionary force is used to distinguish among specific types of speech acts, such as statements, requests, orders, warnings, or permissions (see Searle 1969, Levinson 2017). In this respect, the notion of illocutionary modification refers to the various grammatical means that modify the illocutionary force of a speech act and further differentiate between communicative intentions. IM has not yet acquired an established position in language descriptions: until now, it has been mainly used by researchers working with functional approaches to grammatical categories (Hengeveld 2004, Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008, Narrog 2012). Besides that, it has been occasionally used to describe the functions of modal particles and similar elements (i.e. Jacobs 1991, Waltereit 2006, Coniglio 2012). Nevertheless, it has neither received an adequate theoretical treatment nor been consistently applied to the functional description of linguistic constructions.

The case study in this article aims to represent a further step towards a comprehensive handling of IM as a grammatical category. The illocutionary uses of *pure* showed that at least two functions can be subsumed under this label. On the one hand, *pure* as a modal particle specifies the communicative intention expressed by the relevant speech act: in particular, directive speech acts are specified as invitations and permissions. On the other hand, the use of *pure* as a modal particle allows the management of contextual inferences: *pure* marks directives that redundantly meet certain expectations on the part of the hearer, and thus contributes to integrating the speech act with the relevant common ground. This feature has been observed in the description of other modal particles and related constructions too (see Hansen 1998, Waltereit 2012, Detges and Gévaudan 2018, Favaro 2020), and should be taken into account when defining the specific properties of IM. According to this view, the linguistic constructions which code this category express two distinct but related functions. First, they operate on the *conditions* under which the speech act is performed: that is, they integrate the speech act with the common ground and contribute to managing the information flow with

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respect to the knowledge shared by the interlocutors. Second, they specify the *intentions* with which speech acts are performed: that is, they contribute to refining the illocutionary point of the speech act in an interpersonal perspective.

Moreover, the examples discussed in this article pointed out that different development paths can lead to illocutionary modification, which has been shown to be closely connected to other grammatical categories (epistemic modality, additivity). In this perspective, it represents not only one of the possible endpoints in the development of modal expressions, but also a functional domain with a specific position in a layered model of grammatical categories (see Hengeveld 1989, 2017; Hengeveld and Olbertz 2018), which at least partially overlaps with what van der Auwera and Plungian (1998) called the post-modal domain.

## 6. Conclusion

In this article, I have described the different uses of the Italian adverb *pure* 'also', identifying three main functional categories to group them: additivity, concessivity, and IM. This functional distribution has been discussed in the light of the debate over the evolution of modal expressions and the internal structure of the post-modal domain, within which both concessivity and IM can be included (van der Auwera and Plungian 1998, Narrog 2012). By reviewing previous works on the semantics of additivity (Forker 2016, Faller 2020), the data on *pure* have been reappraised in order to further explore the relationship between these domains. I have shown that, apart from being post-modal meanings, both concessivity and IM are connected to the evolution of additive expressions as well. Thus, both categories represent contact points between the semantic map of modality and the semantic map of additivity. On the one hand, these results contribute to the description of the internal structure of the post-modal domain and neighbouring domains. On the other hand, they contribute to a better understanding of IM as a category in grammar, the functions subsumed within it, and its position in a layered model of grammatical categories. Future research will study further examples of expressions that followed the development paths leading from modality and/or additivity towards IM, and will investigate in more detail the specific features of this category and the connections between different post-modal meanings.

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