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THE INTENSIFYING FUNCTION OF MODAL PARTICLES AND MODAL ELEMENTS IN A CROSS-LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

The aim of this paper is to analyze the intensifying function of German modal particles and equivalent modal expressions in Croatian and English. Our hypothesis is that some modal particles in German and their functional equivalents in Croatian and English can express different degrees of intensity and types of intensification. The presented study comprises two parts. First, the use of intensifying modal particles by a group of speakers of L1 Croatian and L2 German/English is investigated. On the basis of the results obtained, and by means of a previously conducted corpus analysis (cf. Kresić and Batinić 2014), an intensification scale with respect to the inventory of German modal particles and corresponding particles in Croatian as well as equivalent English expressions is suggested. Some German and Croatian modal particles and equivalent modal elements in English can be classified on the upper and partially on the lower part of the proposed intensification scale when compared to the norm, i.e. an utterance unmarked by a modal particle.

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to discuss the intensifying function of modal particles (in the following text abbreviated as MPs) and equivalent modal expressions in a cross-linguistic perspective. This issue has not received adequate attention in the literature so far.

MPs are non-inflecting items constituting a functional class in German and Croatian (cf. Diewald 2007, Kresić and Batinić 2014) which is mainly used in spoken discourse. Some of the members of this category are: ger. *ja, denn, eigentlich, doch, schon*, cro. *ma, pa, a, baš, eto*. The main hypothesis is that some MPs in German and Croatian and corresponding modal elements in English (e.g. *anyway, after all, on earth, but of course*) express different degrees and types of intensity which represents an additional aspect of meaning, extending their basic function of relating the respective utterance to a verbalized or un verbalized pragmatic context (cf. *ibid.*). Intensity is defined as “the quality of language which indicates the degree to which the speaker’s attitude toward a concept deviates from neutrality” (Bradac et al. 1979: 258). Intensity can be expressed with prosodic, syntactic and lexical means (intensifiers), among which we can find adjectives, adverbs, nouns, verbs and particles.

The study presented here sheds light on the intensifying aspect of particle meanings and consists of two parts. First, we investigated how native speakers of Croatian and learners of English and German use intensifying MPs. The data used in this part of the study consists of 1224 answers given by participants in 9 tasks; missing MPs and modal elements had to be supplied in sentences in which their use is obligatory in a pragmatic sense. Second, an intensification scale with respect to the inventory of German MPs is developed and the intensifying function of German and Croatian MPs and of equivalent English expressions is discussed. The analysis of the meanings of MPs and equivalent modal elements is based on corpora of German, Croatian and English (cf. Kresić and Batinić 2014). The result of the analysis is that MPs and equivalent modal elements in these three languages can be classified on an intensification scale and categorized with respect to different degrees of intensity. The intensifying function of MPs is treated as an additional semantic aspect which contributes to the expression of emotional and connotative meanings.

2. Modalization

For the purpose of this paper, modalization is defined as the process whereby linguistic means express modal meanings, the corresponding semantic-functional and grammatical category being modality.

2.1. Modality

Modality is traditionally defined as “the grammaticization of speakers’ (subjective) attitudes and opinions” (Bybee et al. 1994: 176) with regard to

a predication's reality/factuality, obligation, probability, possibility, necessity, desirability, credibility etc. (cf. *ibid.*: 177–242). Bybee et al. (1985: ch. 6) point out the necessity to study the diachronic developments of modal elements in order to come to a profound understanding of modality. They propose the distinction between epistemic¹, agent-oriented, speaker-oriented and subordinating modality.

Modality is a “cross-language grammatical category” (Palmer 2001: 1) which, just like tense or aspect, is concerned with the event or situation being reported by the utterance. However, while tense and aspect refer directly to a characteristic of the event (its time and nature), modality refers to the status of the proposition (cf. *ibid.*).

The grammatical (morphological, syntactic and also lexical) markers of modality vary across languages and can be subdivided into three categories (cf. Palmer 2001: 19): a. individual suffixes, clitics and particles, b. inflection and c. modal verbs. De Haan (2004: 10–23) shows that the grammaticalized expression of modality can take on the form of modal auxiliary verbs, mood (*realis* mood: indicative, *irrealis* moods: subjunctive, optative, imperative, conditional), modal affixes (necessitative, permissive) or lexical means, such as modal adverbs and adjectives, modal tags and MPs.

A relevant factor for the analysis of modal strategies or a certain modal category in a language is the context in which a modal element occurs, for example with respect to MPs, as laid out in the description of their meaning in Section 2.2. Kratzer (1981, 1991) also argues that modal elements are context-dependent or related to one or more conversational backgrounds, which is in line with the description of the pragmatic meaning of MPs laid out in the next section.

Research on modality within functional linguistics has been very interested in the notions of subjectivity and subjectification, as developed by Traugott (e.g. 1989, 2003) and her associates (e.g. Traugott and Dasher 2002). We argue that the process of intensification in general and the intensifying meaning of MPs in particular fall into the realm of subjectification, which Traugott discusses as a specific type of semantic change, and subjectivity as a specific type of meaning of linguistic elements. According to this approach, linguistic items encode certain degrees of speaker involvement. The more speaker involvement an item expresses, the higher is the encoded degree of subjectivity. Subjectification, as

¹ An important distinction is the one between epistemic modality, which “refers to the degree of certainty the speaker has that what s/he is saying is true”, and deontic modality, which refers to “the degree of force exerted on the subject of the sentence to perform an action”, the force coming “from the speaker, but also from an unspecified third source” (cf. De Haan 2004: 6).

the process leading to increased subjectivity, produces meanings “based in the speaker’s subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition” (Traugott 1989: 35). It can be assumed that semantic change with respect to some members of the word category of MPs also moves into the direction of subjectification through the inclusion of intensification as a part of their context- and speaker-dependent meaning. Diachronic studies are needed to shed light on these phenomena.

2.2. MPs as specific means of modalization

MPs are linguistic elements that constitute a clear-cut functional class in German and Croatian, mainly occurring in spoken discourse. The German language is considered to be a particle-rich language. However, Croatian has an even higher number of particle lexemes (Kresić and Batinić 2014). English uses other linguistic means to express the same modal function, such as adverbs (e.g. *then, just, so*), interjections (*oh, boy*), discourse markers (*well*), interrogative expressions (*how come*), phraseological expressions (*on earth, you know, but of course, you’d better*), specific syntactic constructions (*do you mean to tell me, don’t hesitate to, you’re welcome to, may well*), emphatic additions of the verb *do* or *go*, stress of the modal verb (*must, have to*) and prosodic/intonational means (cf. *ibid.*).² The correct use of MPs in German and Croatian represents a challenge for second and third language learners, while their correct use is a feature typical of high conversational proficiency.

The following two examples show the use of MPs in German and Croatian (with the respective translations in English):

- (1) *Was ist denn das für ein Unsinn?* [DWDS: Quartett, 25]

Cro. *Pa kakva je to besmislica?*

Eng. *Well, what nonsense is this?*

- (2) *Kako se on ono zove?* [HJK, Vj: 20001112]

Ger. *Wie heißt er gleich?*

Eng. *What was his name *again*?*

MPs are listed as a distinct word class in most grammars of the German language, with the following main members:

aber, auch, bloß, denn, doch, eben, eigentlich, etwa, halt, ja, mal, nur, schon, vielleicht, wohl (cf. Gelhaus 1998: 371; Helbig and Buscha 2001: 421–422).

² In most languages, the modal function expressed by MPs and equivalent modal elements can additionally or alternatively be expressed through specific intonation. Its analysis is not encompassed by the study presented here, since it would require a specific methodology.

In addition to these, there are seven periphery members which are used less frequently:

fein, ganz, gerade, gleich, einfach, erst, ruhig (cf. Diewald 2007: 118).

The Croatian language has a higher number of linguistic elements that can be categorized into the word class of MPs:

a, al, ala, ama, bar, barem, baš, čekaj, daj/dajte, deder, e, eto, hajde, i, inače, ipak, jednostavno, li, ma, malo, naprosto, nego, ono, opet, pa, pobogu, prosto, samo, slobodno, stvarno, ta, uglavnom, uistinu, uopće, ustvari, valjda, vjerojatno, zaista, zapravo, zar (Kresić and Batinić 2014: 18)³.

The listed items belong to the word category of MPs in the narrower sense. In Croatian, the same modal function is also accomplished by modal particle groups, modal phrasemes and specific modal constructions (for more details on the latter cf. *ibid.*: 18–19).

The German and Croatian MPs share various morphological and syntactic characteristics (cf. *ibid.*: 20):

- They are non-inflecting items that constitute an open word class.
- Free combinations of mostly two particles are very frequent.
- They are syntactically dispensable, i.e. they have no constituent-value.
- They can neither be negated nor coordinated.

However, it is necessary to point out that, on the dialogic level, they are necessary linguistic means which connect the utterance to the pragmatic context. A more detailed account of their semantic function follows below.

The German and Croatian MPs differ with respect to the following formal characteristics (cf. *ibid.*: 21):

- Whereas most German MPs are monosyllabic, Croatian particles often consist of two or more syllables.
- German MPs exclusively occur in the so-called middle field position of the sentence. Croatian MPs, on the other hand, occur in various positions in the sentence.⁴

³ This inventory is based on a detailed corpus analysis and systematic comparison of German and Croatian MPs (Kresić and Batinić 2014). It is possible that further elements are members of this word category in Croatian. However, no other potential members were identified in the corpora used in that study (*ibid.*).

⁴ The distribution of Croatian MPs, however, cannot be considered to be free; some patterns in their distribution are largely related to the word category from which the MP originates (e.g. MPs derived from conjunctions always take the initial position in the sentence) and to the sentence type (e.g. they occupy the first position in polar questions and imperative sentences). MPs originating from adverbs can be considered as exceptions in this respect, as their syntactic position is free. Further investigations on this issue are needed.

Although German and Croatian MPs differ in some morphological and syntactic aspects, they share the same semantic function, which also applies to the equivalent English elements and constructions (cf. *ibid.*: 21–23):

- MPs are synsemantic words, i.e. they do not have a referential meaning, but a functional, pragmatic one.
- They have sentence scope, i.e. modify the whole utterance or clause.
- Semantically, they operate on the level of speaker and speech act, i.e. utterance and pragmatic context.
- MPs are dialogue-grammatical elements that have a relational meaning, i.e. they connect the utterance in which they occur with the pragmatic context (cf. Diewald et al. 2009: 196–199, Diewald 2007: 134). Their meaning can be explained in terms of the speaker's – verbalized or un verbalized – assumptions about the *state of affairs* in the context of the communication (cf. Kresić and Batinić 2014: 22).
- Each MP has a basic relational meaning, i.e. a meaning which is determined by the way in which it connects the utterance to the pragmatic context, for example *adversative* (e.g. ger. *aber*) or *affirmative* (e.g. ger. *ja*) (cf. *ibid.*).
- Most MPs have meaning variants which are derived by change of sentence type and speech act.

3. Intensification

In this paper, intensification refers to the process in which a linguistic element expresses a certain degree of intensity with respect to the content of another linguistic element. Intensity, as a cognitive concept, refers to cognitive processes based on conscious or subconscious comparisons of everything we perceive (cf. Tafel 2001). Comparisons result in a scale of values, depending on the position of objects on the scale. Values are determined by the norm⁵, and the entities modified by intensifiers⁶ can be located on “a point on an abstractly conceived scale” (Quirk et al. 1985: 589) which can have an upward or downward direction. Those that are located above the norm, are called amplifiers (which can be further distinguished as maximizers, e.g. *completely*, and boosters, e.g. *very*), whereas those on the lower end of the scale are called approximators (e.g. *almost*), compromisers (e.g. *more or less*), diminishers (e.g. *partly*)

⁵ The norm is culture-specific: European cultures, for example, will conceive that something is big or high differently than some African cultures (cf. Tekavčić 1989: 63–64).

⁶ In this paper we use the term intensifier for both spheres of intensity: amplification and diminishing.

or minimizers (e.g. *hardly*). The scale of intensifiers also applies to the grading of the intensified entity. Bolinger (1972: 17) distinguishes between boosters (upper end of the scale, e.g. *He is a perfect idiot*), compromisers (middle part of the scale, e.g. *He is rather an idiot*), diminishers (lower part of the scale, e.g. *It was an indifferent success*), minimizers (lower end of the scale, e.g. *He's a bit of an idiot*). Based on the above classifications, Paradis (1997: 27) proposes two main groups of degree modifiers of adjectives: reinforcers and attenuators. Reinforcers are subdivided into maximizers (*absolutely, completely*) and boosters (*very, terribly, extremely*). Attenuators comprise moderators, approximators (*quite, rather, pretty*) and diminishers (*a little, slightly*). Van Os (1989) distinguishes between eight areas of intensity in the German language: absolute degree, approximative degree, extremely high degree, high degree, moderate degree, diminishing degree, minimal degree and negative degree. Kirschbaum (2002) deals with metaphorical models of expressing intensity in German and suggests a degree scale, which consists of an end or complementary area, an endpoint and a maximum of experience. Pavić Pintarić (2010) investigates German and Croatian phrasemes used for expressing intensity and distinguishes between complete (absolute) degree, high degree, higher degree of an already graded feature, moderate degree, incomplete degree, lower degree of an already graded feature and low degree.

Intensity can be expressed with adjectives, adverbs, nouns, particles and verbs. More specifically, gradability is regarded as a grammatical category of verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs (Bolinger, 1972, e.g. *He's such a baby!*). Van Os (1989: 1–2) treats intensification as a functional-semantic category and distinguishes the following means of intensification: intensifying particles, intensifying adjectives, reduplication, emphatic accents, prepositional phrases, word formation and idioms. In this paper, we focus on particles as intensifying means. With reference to the German language, Helbig and Buscha (2001: 423–424) mention grading particles or intensifiers (“Intensifikatoren”) which can be used with adjectives and adverbs, e.g. *Er ist weit fleißiger als sein Bruder. Er arbeitet weit fleißiger als sein Bruder* ‘He is far more diligent than his brother. He works far more diligently than his brother.’ According to Gelhaus (1998) these particles express the grade of a certain property. They can be used with adjectives, adverbs and verbs, e.g. *Sie besucht uns sehr oft. Die Wahl verlief überst spannend* ‘She visits us very often. The election was extremely exciting.’ Adjectives are often used for grading in their uninflected form, e.g. *Das ist echt gut. Das tut toll weh* ‘That's really good. That hurts like hell.’ Götze and Hess-Lüttich (2005) discuss modal adverbs with an intensifying function, e.g. *besonders, weitaus, zutiefst*.

With respect to the Croatian language, Silić and Pranjković (2007: 254–255) distinguish between intensifying particles (intensifiers) and grading (comparing) particles. The first group intensifies or emphasizes words in a sentence, sentence parts or the whole sentence, e.g. *I njemu su dali poklon* ('He also was given a gift'), *Pa to je da čovjek poludi* (Oh, that drives you crazy), *Reci bar sestri* ('At least tell your sister'). Grading particles modify properties expressed by adverbs or adjectives in such a way that these properties are graded and compared to some other properties. They are usually classified as adverbs, e.g. *mnogo, puno, vrlo, veoma, previše, skroz, posebno, naročito*.

Intensifiers are often used in expressive, emotional sentences. They have a stronger emotional and/or connotative function than mere comparison/grading (cf. Jachnow 2001: 490). Amplification is considered to be an important language function. Suščinskij (1985: 97) argues that means of amplification are normally used when the author (speaker/writer) wishes to emphasize something so that the addressee becomes aware of his or her intentions. According to Athanasiadou (2007), intensification serves to express subjectivity. Degree adverbs show the speaker's involvement and add an emotional and subjective dimension to the discourse. According to Suščinskij (1985: 96–97), the analysis of certain speech acts with intensifying means shows that they do not only express an intensifying, i.e. emotional-expressive function, but have other complex functions at the same time, e.g. marking the rhematic element of the expression, amplifying the speech in the whole utterance through amplification, implicitly expressing a high degree of the speaker's certainty about the reality of the statement/utterance (expression of modality). Intensifiers imply the desire of the speaker to induce the listener to a specific behaviour, attitude or way of thinking, and point out the emotional attitude of the speaker.

In the following two sections, two studies are presented. The first investigation (Section 4) sheds light on the use of intensifying vs. non-intensifying MPs by speakers with L1 Croatian who are learners of English and German. Its results motivated us to explore the intensifying function of MPs more extensively in spoken and written corpora of German, Croatian and English. On the basis of the insights gained in both investigations, an intensification scale for the investigated items is proposed (Section 5).

4. Study on the use of intensifying MPs

In this section, the results of a study on the use of intensifying MPs are presented and discussed. The study investigates whether and to what extent such elements are used by 136 Croatian students of German and English (87 first

year students and 49 fourth year students). Participants were asked to supply missing MPs and modal elements in sentences given in a cloze test, in which their use is obligatory in a pragmatic sense. The students were given 9 tasks and produced 1224 answers.

The hypothesis is that the investigated group of learners tends to use MPs with an intensifying function less often than MPs without intensifying function, as previous studies indicate that marked elements (in our case intensifying items = MPs) are more likely to appear later or even not to appear in second language learners' speech (cf. Van Patten and Benati 2010: 106).

Students were presented with a sentence in one of the three languages and had to supply answers in the other two languages. Below are examples with German as the source language.

(3) *Das Wasser ist aber warm!* / *Al/Baš je voda topla!* / *Oh, the water is really warm!*

In this sentence, the given MP *aber* has an intensifying function. The underlined particles in the Croatian and English examples are (expected) correct answers. The first year students filled in the following elements (with the total number of answers given in square brackets):

(4) *Baš je voda topla!* [23] *Kako je voda topla!* [16] *Ali je voda topla!* [9]

In their Croatian answers, students apparently recognized the necessity to supply a modal element and gave the highest number of correct answers with an intensifying meaning. The fourth year students used the same particles, but with a different distribution:

(5) *Kako je voda topla!* [14]) *Baš je voda topla!* [6] *Ali je voda topla!* [2]

The first year students used intensifying MPs in 67% of their English answers, whereas 22% gave no answer at all:

(6) *Oh, the water is so warm!* [43] *Oh, the water is really warm!* [15] *Oh, the water is _ warm!* [19]

The fourth year students used the same modalizing elements, but in a much higher percentage (94%). Only three answers lacked a modalizing element.

(7) *Oh, the water is so warm!* [27] *Oh, the water is really warm!* [19] *Oh, the water is _ warm!* [3]

The examples in both languages show that most participants in our study recognized the appropriateness of supplying a modalizing element with an intensifying function. They seemed to be aware of the possibility and/or appropriateness to use intensifying items. In the following, the answers with respect to the

three target languages (i.e. the languages in which the answers had to be provided) are presented separately.

In Table 1 we extracted the sentences used by students in the target language (German) in which they had to supply appropriate German MPs (the respective English translations are given in brackets). Participants gave priority to those with an intensifying function. The expression of an intensifying meaning can also be recognized in students' answers in which the grading particle *sehr* was used. A higher percentage of answers contains an intensifying MP, whereas a very low percentage of learners did not supply an answer at all. An even lower percentage of answers contains an element that is either a non-intensifying MP or not an MP at all.

Example	Group of students	Answers (percentage)			
Er wird <u>schon</u> genug Stimmen bekommen! (Don't worry, he'll get enough votes!)	1 st year	schon (78%)	doch (7%)	no answer (9%)	eben, sicher, sehr (2%)
	4 th year	schon (81%)	doch (2%)	-	sicher, aber (2%)
Wie viel Geld er <u>nur</u> ausgibt! (He sure/How he spends a lot of money!)	1 st year	nur (37%)	doch (10%)	no answ. (21%)	sehr, eigentlich, so (2%)
	4 th year	nur (51%)	doch (12%)	no answ. (20%)	wohl (2%)
Das ist <u>vielleicht/echt/aber</u> ein Auto! (That's <u>what I call</u> a car!)	1 st year	aber (24%)	echt, wirklich (8%)	no answ. (36%)	ja (14%)
	4 th year	aber (33%)	echt, wirklich, vielleicht (4%)	no answ. (2%)	ja, wohl (6%)
Hast du <u>etwa</u> die Dokumente verloren? (You <u>didn't</u> lose the documents, <u>did you</u> ?)	1 st year	etwa (14%)	denn (14%)	-	vielleicht (9%)
	4 th year	etwa (25%)	denn (14%)	no answ. (12%)	vielleicht, doch (8%)

Table 1. Students' answers in German

Table 2 shows the results in the tasks with English as the target language, with a fairly low percentage of correct answers. Students either supplied no answer or used pronouns instead of modalizing elements. The English answers support our hypothesis of a lower tendency to use marked linguistic elements among language learners.

Example	Group of students	Answers (percentage)			
<u>Don't worry</u> , he'll get enough votes!	1 st year	don't worry (9%)	well (22%)	no answ. (44%)	surely (12%)
	4 th year	don't worry (8%)	well (22%)	no answ. (26%)	surely, sure (12%)
<u>He sure/How he</u> spends a lot of money!	1 st year	how he (3%), he sure (5%)	he really (10%)	no answ. (12%)	truly he (1%), he (59%)
	4 th year	how he , he sure (4%)	he really (10%)	no answ. (16%)	how much, what he (2%), he (67%)
Why <u>on earth</u> did she just leave?	1 st year	on earth (8%)	in the world (1%)	no answ. (80%)	for God's sake, only, the heck (1%)
	4 th year	on earth (12%)	in the world (2%)	no answ. (78%)	only, indeed, then (4%)

Table 2. Students' answers in English

Table 3 shows two example tasks in which students had to provide Croatian MPs. The results show the learners' tendency of using modalizing elements with an intensifying function, especially in the group of fourth year students.

Example	Group of students	Answers (percentage)			
E to mi je pravi automobil! (That's <u>what</u> I call a car!)	1 st year	e to (10%)	to (76%)	no answ. (3%)	e ovo (2%)
	4 th year	e to (10%)	to (73%)	no answ. (4%)	e ovo, ma (2%)
Ma/A/Pa zašto je samo tako otišla? (Why <u>on earth</u> did she just leave?)	1 st year	ma (12%), pa (25%), a (3%)	ali (12%)	no answ. (29%)	ama (4%)
	4 th year	pa (37%), a (18%), ma (4%)	ali (27%)	no answ. (14%)	jednostavno (2%)

Table 3. Students' answers in Croatian

We investigated how native speakers of Croatian and learners of English and German use intensifying MPs. The data used in this part of the study consists of 1224 answers given by the participants in 9 tasks; missing MPs and modal elements had to be supplied in sentences in which their use is obligatory in a pragmatic sense.

The results have not confirmed our hypothesis that learners of German tend to use MPs with an intensifying function less often. In German as well as in Croatian, the tested students use more marked elements, i.e. intensifying MPs, than non-intensifying MPs or other non-intensifying elements, whereas this is not the case with respect to English. In the tasks in which equivalent English modalizing elements had to be supplied, we observed a low tendency to use intensifying linguistic means. Moreover, we observed that the investigated fourth year students of German in particular use intensifying MPs to a slightly higher extent than the first year students of German. The question arises whether learners of German as a foreign language tend to produce intensifiers as marked elements at a later stage of learning. Longitudinal studies using different types of data elicitation are necessary to explore this question in more detail.

5. MPs and intensity

For the purpose of this paper, an extensive analysis of the intensifying aspect of MP meanings was conducted on the basis of corpora of German, Croatian and

English. The results of these corpus analyses are discussed in detail in this section. An intensification scale with respect to the inventory of German and Croatian MPs and equivalent English expressions is suggested. The main hypothesis is that some MPs in German and Croatian and corresponding modal elements in English express different degrees and types of intensity which represents an additional aspect of meaning extending their basic function of relating the respective utterance to a verbalized or un verbalized pragmatic context. The different degrees and types of intensity can be expressed on a scale which takes into account the distribution of MPs with respect to different sentence types.

5.1. The intensifying function of MPs: intensification types

The modal function of each MP in German and Croatian consists in relating the utterance to the pragmatic context in a specific way, i.e. each MP modifies the sentence by adding the particle's basic relational meaning to it (cf. Diewald 2007, Kresić and Batinić 2014). The starting point of the analysis presented here are the German MPs, which are contrasted with the Croatian MPs as well as with equivalent English expressions, a procedure also laid out in Kresić and Batinić 2014.

We argue that these lexical means of expressing modality can have an intensifying function as an additional aspect of their meaning. MPs can express different degrees of intensity just like other lexical intensifiers. However, in order to classify MPs on a scale of intensification, the following crucial question must be taken into consideration: Which linguistic units are intensified by MPs?

For the purpose of identifying those units as well as the additional intensifying function of MPs, we will first compare an MP that we assume to be an intensifier with another lexical element expressing intensity without a modal function, such as an intensifying adverb.

A closer look at the following minimal pairs of sentences in German, Croatian and English can illustrate the difference between an intensifying adverb (b) and an intensifying MP (c):

(8) German	Croatian	English
a. Das Wasser ist warm.	a. Voda je topla.	a. The water is warm.
b. Das Wasser ist <i>sehr</i> warm.	b. Voda je <i>jako</i> topla.	b. The water is <i>really</i> warm.
c. Das Wasser ist <i>aber</i> warm!	c. <i>Al</i> je voda topla!	c. (<i>Oh</i> ,) the water is <u><i>really</i></u> warm!

In all three languages, a. is an unmarked sentence, i.e. a sentence without an intensifying element. Sentence b. is marked by an intensifying adverb: *sehr* in German, *jako* in Croatian and *really* in English, while sentence c. is marked by an intensifying MP (or an equivalent modal expression in English): *aber* in German, *al* in Croatian and an emphatic addition of the adverb *really* in English, which can be further emphasized by introducing the sentence with the exclamation *oh*.

A closer look at the two different types of intensifiers (b. and c.) reveals the following: while the adverb intensifies the adjective which is the head of the adjective phrase (AdjP or AP) containing the adverb (i.e. the modifier of the head of the phrase) in all three languages, the modal intensifiers in sentences c. are not a part of the adjective phrase, but added to the whole sentence. Furthermore, the addition of an intensifying MP to the sentence results in a change from declarative to exclamative sentence type.

Consequently, we argue that the main distinguishing feature between an intensifying adverb or other lexical intensifiers without a modal function and an intensifying MP is their scope. Whereas a non-modal intensifier intensifies another lexical element in a phrase in which it occurs (in the example above, the head adjective of the adjective phrase is intensified), intensifying MPs have sentence scope.

The meaning of most MPs can be graded with respect to the degree of intensity they (can) express. MPs express different degrees of intensity which is added to the content of the whole sentence. Due to its sentence scope, a correlation and interaction between the type of intensity an MP expresses and the sentence type in which it occurs can be assumed. The sentence type influences the way in which an MP intensifies the content of a sentence. More specifically, the sentence type determines the type of intensity which an intensifying MP expresses in a certain sentence.

By using a certain intensifying MP, the speaker not only indicates that the respective sentence is modified by the specific basic modal meaning of the particle in question, but also expresses a certain degree of:

- 1) the necessity of accepting the state of affairs (in a declarative sentence),
- 2) the necessity of performing the requested action (in an interrogative and an imperative sentence),
- 3) the speaker's emotional involvement in expressing a wish or astonishment (in an exclamative and a wish sentence).

There are three different types of intensification that can be accomplished by MPs, depending on their occurrence in different sentence types. The following table illustrates this:

Type of intensification of MPs	Sentence type
Intensification of the necessity of accepting the state of affairs	declarative sentence
Intensification of the necessity of performing the requested action	interrogative sentence imperative sentence
Intensification of the speaker's emotional involvement in expressing a wish or astonishment	exclamative sentence wish sentence

Table 4: Types of intensification of MPs with respect to sentence types

The position of the individual intensifying MPs on the intensification scale is based on the intensification types. If an MP expresses a higher degree of one of the above listed intensification types, it can be considered an amplifying intensifier and is therefore classified on the upper part of the intensification scale. If an MP expresses a lower degree of intensity with respect to the norm, it expresses one of the diminishing grades of intensity and is placed on the lower part of the intensification scale.

Difficulties in determining the position of a certain MP on the scale (i.e. in identifying the intensifying degree expressed by it) can arise from the fact that the same MP usually can occur in more than one sentence type. MPs can be classified into two groups: a. MPs that are stable with respect to the degree of intensity they express, showing the same degree of intensity regardless of the sentence type they occur in, and b. MPs whose intensity degree is sentence type sensitive, with a varying intensification type according to the sentence type they are used in. Thus, the sentence type not only affects the MP's intensification type, but it can also affect its intensity degree.

Most MPs are classified on the amplifying, i.e. upper part of the intensification scale, with a distribution that is sensitive to sentence types. The classification of an MP occurring in different types of sentences is shown in the following scale:

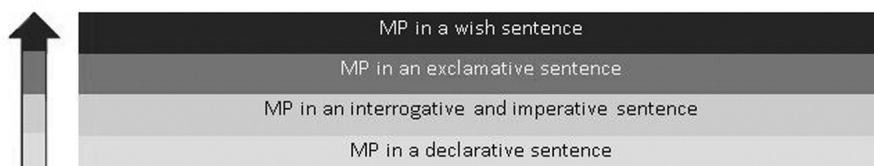


Figure 1: Intensification scope of MPs with respect to sentence types

The intensity of some MPs, if used in certain sentence types, increases as indicated on this scale. If an MP can be used in several sentence types, and if its grade of intensity varies, this is due to the sentence type. An MP in a declarative sentence is placed rather low on the amplifying part of the intensification scale, due to the representative function of a declarative sentence, i.e. the speaker declares something about a certain state of affairs. An MP expresses a higher degree of intensity in an interrogative or imperative sentence, since these sentence types entail an expectation that a certain course of action will be performed. An even higher grade of intensity is expressed by an MP in an exclamative, and therefore emotionally marked sentence. Finally, an MP can add very high degrees of intensity to a wish sentence due to the implied desire and simultaneous uncertainty concerning the realization of the wish which is why the emotional involvement of the speaker appears to be even higher. Accordingly, if a certain MP (e. g. German *doch*) can be used in both a declarative and a wish sentence, its intensity degree will be higher in the latter.

MPs have sentence scope, hence their intensifying function also operates on the sentence level, i.e. they modify and some of them additionally intensify the whole utterance in which they occur, and not only a specific part of the sentence. Due to their sentence scope, both the modal and intensifying function of MPs vary according to the sentence type in which they occur.

5.2. Intensification scale

We suggest the following intensification scale. It represents the different degrees of intensity expressed by MPs in German and Croatian and by corresponding expressions in English:

CROATIAN MODAL PARTICLES ²	GERMAN MODAL PARTICLES	ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS
bar / barem / samo	bloß / nur / doch (wish s.)	(if +) only
li / li + samo / pobogu	bloß / nur (exclamative, interrogative (wh) and imperative s.)	on earth / you'd better
baš / ma / stvarno / al / ala / li / pa / ma + daj + pa / a / pa / ta + uopće / daj / dajte / deder / (da + past tense) / pa + zar / valjda + ne / pa + ne + valjda	aber² / doch³ / schon (interrogative (wh), imperative s.) / wohl⁴ / etwa⁵	emphatic <i>do</i> / emphatic <i>really</i> / after all / oh, come on / but of course / already / just / ever / stress on the main verb in a polar question (<i>Will you stop it?</i>)
ma / pa / ala / al / pobogu / e + baš	ja (imperative and exclamative sentence) / vielleicht (exclamative s.)	you'd better / why / wow / hey / well / boy / some / that's what I call
zapravo / zaista / čekaj	eigentlich⁶	actually
jednostavno / naprosto / prosto / eto / ono / jednostavno / e	einfach⁷ / eben⁸ / halt⁹ / ja (declarative s.)	just / that's just the way / simply / as you know / anyway / you know
ma / ma + već	schon (declarative s. – type 1)	don't worry / never fear / surely
(po svoj prilici / izgleda da) / pa + stvarno	wohl¹⁰	may well / must / have to / will
Unmarked sentence: a sentence without modal particle		
a/ma (+ iako/ali/ipak ¹¹)	schon (declarative s. – type 2)	-
malo / (hajde da) / daj / (dajte da) / daj/dajte + malo/samo	mal¹²	just / will / can / for a minute (used to tone down a request)

¹ Modal constructions are listed if relevant. They are indicated in writing with parenthesis and grey coloured letters.

² Sentence types: imperative, exclamative.

³ Sentence types: declarative, imperative, exclamative.

⁴ Sentence types: only imperative.

⁵ Sentence types: only interrogative.

⁶ Sentence types: declarative, interrogative (wh and polar)).

⁷ Sentence types: declarative, interrogative (polar), imperative, exclamative.

⁸ Sentence types: declarative and imperative sentence.

⁹ Sentence types: declarative and imperative sentence.

¹⁰ Sentence types: declarative and exclamative sentence.

¹¹ These are conjunctions that introduce the clause preceded by the clause containing the MP.

¹² Sentence types: interrogative and imperative sentence.

Figure 2: Intensification scale of MPs

This classification of MPs in Croatian and German and their functional equivalents in English is based on the inventory presented in Kresić and Batinić (2014), as well as on semantic descriptions of MPs developed in the same study. The distribution of MPs on the intensification scale in the present study is based on a detailed corpus analysis of MPs and equivalent expressions and on the results of the experiment presented in Section 4.

The scale representing the intensifying function of MPs has an upward and a downward direction. Values are determined by the norm, i.e. a sentence unmarked by an MP. The following German and Croatian imperative sentences illustrate the intensifying function of MPs and will serve to explain how the intensifying values are determined:

(9) German	Croatian	English
a. Denk drüber nach!	a. Razmisli!	a. Think about it!
b. Denk <i>schon</i> drüber nach!	b. <i>Daj</i> , razmisli!	b. <i>Do</i> think about it!
c. Denk <i>mal</i> drüber nach!	c. <i>Daj malo</i> razmisli!	c. Think about it <i>for a minute</i> !

In a simple imperative sentence like a. the speaker expresses a request of some kind, pointing out an action that he or she demands to be performed. Because sentence a. is not marked by an intensifying MP (or a functionally equivalent expression), it is considered as the norm with which the respective sentences b. and c., each marked by an intensifying MP, are contrasted. The aim of the analysis is to identify the intensifying degree expressed by individual MPs and to determine their position on the intensification scale. By adding an MP to an imperative sentence, the speaker can intensify the necessity of following the requested course of action (b). In this case, the respective intensifying MP (e.g. ger. *schon*, cro. *daj*, eng. emphatic addition of *do*) is placed on the amplifying part of the scale. Alternatively, the speaker can tone down the necessity of following the requested course of action (c). In that case the MP in question (e.g. ger. *mal*, cro. MP group *daj malo*, eng. *for a minute*) is placed on the diminishing part of the intensification scale.

The amplifying or the upper part of the scale consists of more grades than its diminishing or lower part, since only few MPs display lower intensity in relation to the norm. Not every intensifying MP can express different intensity degrees. However, if it does, its intensification scope depends on the sentence type (Figure 1), as discussed in Section 5.1.

In the next part of this section, the explanation for the proposed classification of MPs on the intensification scale (Figure 2) will be given with reference to the German MPs. In our line of argumentation, however, the explanation will always refer not only to a specific German MP, but also to its equivalents in Croatian and English.

The basic meaning of the MP *wohl* is tentative, indicating that it is possible or probable that the state of affairs is true. In a declarative and exclamative sentence, the state of affairs is evaluated as fairly certain. This MP is therefore placed on the upper part of the grading scale, representing the first amplifying degree.

The second intensity degree is expressed by the particles *einfach* (regardless of the sentence type, i.e. in a declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamative sentence), *eben* and *halt* (both in a declarative and an imperative sentence) and *ja* (only in a declarative sentence). The basic meaning of *einfach* is evidential-plausible. It serves to evaluate a certain state of affairs as evident, unchangeable and easy to understand (in a declarative, interrogative and exclamative sentence) or as easy to perform (if occurring in an imperative sentence). *Eben* and *halt* (in a declarative and imperative sentence) with their basic stating function indicate that the state of affairs has to be accepted, as it does not require any further explanation from the speaker's point of view. The MP *ja* with its basic affirmative meaning is used to confirm the expressed state of affairs and to evaluate it as evident and indisputable. The MP *ja* (in a declarative sentence) therefore expresses the same degree of intensity as the stating particles *eben*, *halt* and *einfach*.

The MP *eigentlich* fulfills a focusing and (topic-)initiating function. However, only when used in the function of *focusing* the discourse on an essential aspect of the topic (both in the declarative and in the interrogative sentence) is it considered to be an intensifier. Thus, it is placed on the upper part of the grading scale as a (partially) intensifying MP.

The MP *ja* used in an imperative sentence points out the unquestionable necessity of following a certain course of action. It is placed on the upper part of the scale above the MPs *ja* (in a declarative sentence), *eben*, *halt*, *einfach* and *eigentlich*. In an exclamative sentence, *ja* intensifies the speaker's emotional involvement in expressing astonishment, due to the fact that he or she expected something else to be the case. Therefore, *ja* in an exclamative sentence is placed on the same level as *ja* in an imperative sentence. Although *vielleicht* has a dubitative meaning, if added to an exclamative sentence, it can be placed on the same level of the amplifying part of the scale with *ja* (in an imperative and

exclamative sentence), since in that case it expresses the speaker's strong astonishment caused by the fact that something is hard to believe.

Four particles are positioned above *ja* (in an imperative and exclamative sentence): *aber* (basic meaning: adversative), *doch* (concessive-adversative), *schon* (concessive), *wohl* (tentative) and *etwa* (undesiderative). Among these particles, only *doch* can be used in a declarative sentence⁷, emphasizing that the speaker holds his or her opinion despite possible contrary views, which is why it expresses a high degree of intensity. Each of these particles, when used in an imperative sentence, indicates that the requested action needs to be performed urgently despite an existing contrary state of affairs (*aber*) or a possible contrary view on the state of affairs (*doch* and *schon*). Although the basic meaning of *wohl* is tentative and the speaker, by using it, evaluates the state of affairs as fairly certain⁸, if used in an imperative sentence, it indicates that the request needs to be fulfilled by all means. Because the demand is emphasized as very strong and urgent, *wohl* in an imperative sentence expresses a very high degree of intensity. If used in an interrogative sentence, *schon* and *etwa* indicate the speaker's strong expectations with respect to a certain expected answer to a question: a. the MP *schon* in an interrogative sentence (i.e. wh-question) indicates that contrary opinions are not justified, highly intensifying the necessity of accepting the current state of affairs, b. the MP *etwa* with its basic undesiderative meaning is used only in a polar question, in which it indicates that the speaker does not wish the expressed conclusion to be true, while intensifying the speaker's expectation concerning the answer.

Even higher degrees of intensity are expressed by the MPs *bloß*, *nur* and *doch*. The synonymous particles *bloß* and *nur* are positioned very high on the amplifying part of the intensification scale. With their basic focusing function, they indicate a strong emotional involvement and the focus of the speaker on a certain state of affairs. In an interrogative sentence, these MPs express the astonishment of the speaker and his or her strong interest in finding out the answer to the respective question. If used in an exclamative sentence, *bloß* and *nur* indicate the speaker's surprise or astonishment concerning a certain state of affairs. In an imperative sentence, they point out the necessity of following a certain course of action.

Three German MPs share the same high degree of intensity if they are used in a wish sentence: *bloß*, *nur* and *doch*. In a wish sentence, they indicate the speaker's strong wish regarding a certain event or state of affairs, i.e. they in-

⁷ The particle *schon* is excluded here and will be discussed later.

⁸ This is why *wohl* is placed on the lower part of the intensification scale.

tensify the wish expressed by the respective sentence. Each of these three MPs functions as a highly intensifying element in a wish sentence. Among all MPs, these three elements are positioned on the highest possible level of the amplifying part of the intensification scale.

On the diminishing part of the intensification scale, we can place only the two MPs *schon* and *mal* which express a lower degree of intensity with respect to the norm. The particle *schon* functions as a highly intensifying MP in interrogative or imperative sentences. However, when used in a declarative sentence, its intensity degree varies. The basic meaning of *schon* has three different variants in the declarative sentence. In one of the meaning variants, *schon* indicates that the speaker's agreement with the current state of affairs is partial, i.e. restrained or reserved. In this case, *schon* expresses a lower degree of intensity with respect to the norm by indicating the necessity of accepting the state of affairs.

With its primary encouraging-punctual function, *mal* in an imperative sentence indicates that the requested action will take a short period of time and/or that it will be done only once. In this manner *mal* tones down the encouragement for an action, i.e. the expressed necessity of performing the requested course of action. As it is used in both an interrogative and an imperative sentence to tone down a request, it is placed on the lower part of the intensification scale. Low intensity of *mal* in an interrogative sentence is additionally signalled by the use of modal verbs such as *can* or *may* (ger. *können* and *dürfen* used in the indicative or conjunctive/subjunctive mood, cro. *moći*, *smjeti*). An utterance containing the MP *mal* is understood as a polite request.

It is important to note that none of the German MPs nor their Croatian and English equivalents can express the absolute degree of intensity. MPs can be intensifying means expressing different degrees of intensity determined by the norm, which is represented by a sentence without an MP, but they can never reach the maximum degree of intensity, as opposed to some intensifying adverbs such as *absolutely*, *completely*, *totally* etc.

5.3. MPs without intensifying function

Certain MPs have no intensifying function whatsoever. Therefore, they have no intensity value and can be placed neither on the upper part of the intensification scale nor on its lower part. The following MPs do not have an intensifying function at all: *denn*, *ruhig*, *gleich* in all sentence types in which they can occur⁹, *doch* in a wh-question, *eigentlich* with the modal function to initiate a

⁹ It is important to note that *gleich* can only be used in a wh-question.

topic, and *schon* if its specific meaning variant is expressed in a declarative sentence. The particle *denn* has a basic consecutive meaning and is used to introduce a question or exclamation which is motivated by what the speaker has just heard or witnessed. Because its meaning does not comprise an evaluation concerning the degree of necessity of performing a requested action or the degree of the speaker's emotional involvement in expressing astonishment, *denn* cannot be considered an intensifier like the MPs discussed above can. The particles *gleich* and *doch* in an interrogative sentence share the same reminiscent function. They are used in a question to mark that the speaker should know the answer to this question but cannot recall it at the moment, and as such do not have an intensifying function. By using *ruhig*, the speaker adds a sedative meaning to an utterance, using it as an invitation or reassurance with respect to a certain course of action. By the use of *ruhig*, the speaker indicates to the addressee that possible doubts regarding a certain course of action are unnecessary. Thus, *ruhig* is an MP without an additional intensifying function.

As mentioned in the discussion of the position of individual MPs on the intensification scale in Section 5.2, *eigentlich* has two basic relational meanings, both in a declarative and in an interrogative sentence. The focusing meaning comprises an additional intensifying function, while the other meaning, the (topic-) initiating meaning, cannot be considered to be intensifying. It does not add a certain degree of intensity to the content of the sentence in comparison to the norm.

The element *schon* is a polyvalent MP with reference to the expression of intensity, as shown above (Figure 2). Each MP has a basic relational meaning defined by the way in which it connects the utterance to the pragmatic context, and most MPs have meaning variants which derive from the change of sentence type and speech act (cf. Kresić and Batinić 2014). The particle *schon* has a basic concessive meaning and can be used in different sentence types. Not only does its meaning vary depending on the sentence types in which it occurs, but it also has three different meaning variants in one of the sentence types, i.e. in the declarative sentence. In two of the three possible meaning variants, *schon* shows different degrees of intensity added to the utterance. One of these intensification grades is placed on the amplifying part of the scale, while the other one represents a diminishing grade with respect to the unmarked sentence. The third meaning variant of *schon* in a declarative sentence does not have an intensifying function at all, but indicates that the speaker's opinion expressed in the utterance is different from other possible opinions regarding a certain state of affairs.

The intensifying function of MPs in interrogative sentences has not been dealt with in the present study. We are concluding the analysis with some remarks concerning the particle *vielleicht* with its basic dubitative relational meaning which is used to express a doubt with respect to the truth condition of the state of affairs. By using *vielleicht* in an interrogative sentence, the speaker points out that it is hard to believe that the state of affairs is true, and makes a statement about the truth condition of the state of affairs. At this point, on the basis of the analysis carried out in this paper, it is difficult to say whether *vielleicht* also has an intensifying function. Further analyses are required to determine the possible intensifying role of *vielleicht* and other MPs in interrogative sentences.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we have discussed the intensifying function of MPs in a cross-linguistic perspective, focusing primarily on German MPs, but also encompassing Croatian MPs as well as equivalent modal elements in English in the proposed intensification scale. Previous studies on intensification have mainly dealt with grading particles, adjectives and adverbs, reduplication, emphatic accents, prepositional phrases, word formation and idioms as means of intensification. The present study offers an analysis of intensification expressed with modal particles in the aforementioned languages.

First, we investigated to what degree intensifying MPs are used by a group of 136 Croatian students of German and English. The aim of this part of the study was to explore the amount of the use of intensifying MPs vs. non-intensifying MPs by native speakers of Croatian who are at the same time foreign language speakers of German and English, i.e. who have a knowledge and assumed competence in using these elements in all three investigated languages. Our hypothesis is that the investigated group of language learners tends to use MPs and modal elements with an intensifying function less often was confirmed only with respect to English modalizing elements, whereas in German as well as in Croatian students use marked elements, i.e. intensifying MPs, to a relatively high degree. Furthermore, fourth year students of German use intensifying MPs to a slightly higher extent than the investigated first year students of German. Although the same participants were not tested in a longitudinal study (in their first year of studies and in their fourth year of studies), the comparison of these two different groups of students (first year and fourth year) can lead to the assumption that intensifiers as marked elements may appear at a later stage of learning German as a foreign language. This hypothesis requires further in-

vestigation, taking into account different combinations of L1 and L2/L3. The insight into the investigated speakers' relatively high tendency to use intensifying MPs both in their L1 (Croatian) and L2 (English) led us to investigate the intensifying function of MPs in more detail.

On the basis of a detailed analysis of the meaning of German and Croatian MPs and equivalent modalizing expressions in English (Kresić and Batinić 2014), which was conducted using spoken and written corpora in all three languages, the basic modal meaning of each MP was described. Two insights from that previous investigation (*ibid.*) were crucial with respect to the development of the intensification scale of MPs in the present study: 1) the basic meaning of each MP consists in the way in which the particle relates the respective utterance to the verbalized or un verbalized pragmatic context, 2) the sentence type in which an MP occurs can affect its basic function resulting in different meaning variants of a specific MP. This led us to the conclusion that the sentence type can affect both the modal and intensifying function of MPs. Moreover, MPs can express a variety of intensification types that differ with respect to the sentence type. Three intensification types that an intensifying MP can express have been suggested in this paper. The study has shown that the sentence type can affect the intensity degree of MPs, as well. Intensifying MPs can either be stable with respect to the intensity degree they express, regardless of different sentence types in which they can occur, or their intensity degree can vary according to the type of sentence in which they are used. Furthermore, it has been shown that the scope is the only difference between an intensifying MP and other lexical means of expressing intensity.

The main result of the study is the suggested intensification scale encompassing the inventory of MPs in German, along with the equivalent Croatian particles and corresponding English equivalents. MPs are classified on the upper (amplifying) or on the lower (diminishing) part of the intensification scale. The position of each MP on the scale was discussed in detail. Some MPs were shown not to be classifiable on the intensification scale, i.e. it was argued that they have no intensifying function, but are rather particles with an exclusively modal function.

To sum up, this study has shown that some MPs in German and Croatian and their corresponding modal elements in English express different degrees and types of intensity which represents an additional aspect of their meaning. Thus, we have shed new light on the additional intensifying meaning aspect of MPs and extended the scope of the cognitive and semantic domain of intensity by applying it to the word class of MPs whose intensifying function has not

been taken into account adequately, so far. Further studies on other languages and language pairs are needed in order to explore universal and language-specific ways of expressing the intensifying meaning that is conveyed by MPs in German and Croatian and their modalizing equivalents in English.

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Pojačajna funkcija modalnih čestica i modalnih elemenata iz međujezične perspektive

Sažetak

Cilj je ovoga rada analizirati pojačajnu funkciju njemačkih modalnih čestica i ekvivalentnih modalnih izraza u hrvatskom i engleskom jeziku. U radu se polazi od pretpostavke da pojedine njemačke i hrvatske modalne čestice te njihove funkcionalne istovrijednice u engleskom jeziku mogu izraziti različite pojačajne stupnjeve kao i tipove pojačajnosti. Pojačajnosti se pristupa kao dodatnome aspektu značenja modalnih čestica koji proširuje njihovu temeljnu funkciju povezivanja iskaza u kojem se nalaze s izrečenim ili neizrečenim pragmatičkim kontekstom. Istraživanje se sastoji od dvaju dijelova. Prvo se ispituje uporaba pojačajnih modalnih čestica kod govornika hrvatskoga (J1), njemačkoga (J2/J3) i engleskoga jezika (J2/J3), a na temelju dobivenih rezultata i prethodno provedenih korpusnih analiza predlaže se ljestvica pojačajnosti s obzirom na inventar njemačkih modalnih čestica i njihovih hrvatskih i engleskih ekvivalenata. Rezultati su analize pokazali da se pojedinim njemačkim i hrvatskim modalnim česticama i ekvivalentnim engleskim izrazima mogu izraziti različiti tipovi pojačajnosti kao i različiti pojačajni stupnjevi te da se s obzirom na to ispitane jedinice mogu svrstati pretežito na gornji, a dijelom i na donji dio pojačajnosne ljestvice u odnosu na normu, odnosno rečenicu neobilježenu modalnom česticom.

Ključne riječi: čestice, modalne čestice, modalnost, pojačajnost, intenzifikacija, intenzifikatori, ljestvica pojačajnosti, njemački, hrvatski, engleski

Key words: particles, modal particles, modality, intensity, intensification, intensifiers, intensification scale, German, Croatian, English

