

## Outside the Clause:

Form and function of Extra-clausal constituents

Workshop

Vienna, 4-5 July 2014

## ABSTRACTS



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## **The formal and functional variability of pragmatic markers in some types of English**

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Pragmatic markers (e.g. *well, actually, I think*) do not have a fixed meaning but are flexible and context-bound elements. It will be suggested that they can be associated with a maximally rich meaning representation or 'meaning potential' representing the speaker's general knowledge of the meaning and use of a particular marker. Moreover inferencing and negotiation are important because they make it possible for the speaker to use pragmatic markers in novel ways. Pragmatic markers also need to be described with regard to the grammatical factors (e.g. position, collocation, sentence type) constraining their meaning and use. In the communication situation a particular meaning is picked out on the basis of the constellation of contextual factors. In my contribution special attention will be given to how the meanings of pragmatic markers can be stretched to accommodate the demands associated with different activity types and how their formal and functional flexibility are exploited in different types of English.

## Towards a unified constructional characterisation of the nonfinite periphery: on verbal absolutes and free adjuncts in English

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This paper focuses on two extra-clausal verbal constructions: free adjuncts (FAs) and absolute constructions (ACs), in (1) and (2), respectively:

- (1) *Not feeling at first the Pain of the Stroke*, he wondered what was become of the Ball,  
(DODDRIDGE-1747,10.72)
- (2) *Your Barrels being ready*, strow the Bottom with Salt: ...  
(DRUMMOND-1718,32.359)

In broad outline, FAs and ACs comply with the defining characteristics of extra-clausal constructions (Haspelmath 1995, Dik 1997: 381, Huddleston and Pullum *et al* 2002: 1356, Kaltenböck *et al* 2011): (i) 'bracketed-off' status, (ii) lack of (full) integration in the syntactic structure of the clause, (iii) mobility, (iv) relatedness to the clause by coreference, and (v) expression of some kind of adverbial subordination.

Despite the controversy as regards the origin of FAs and ACs in English (native Germanic, Latin borrowing or convergent source), our standpoint is strictly synchronic and based on Modern and Present-Day (PDE) English. This allows us to treat FAs and ACs as constructions (*ie* sufficiently frequent compositional form-meaning pairings; see Goldberg 2006), more specifically, as two micro-constructions (involved in grammatical constructionalisation, using Trousdale's 2012 terminology) of a meso-construction which we call 'nonfinite-periphery construction'. The definition of the meso-construction would be:

- Syntax: [(Introducer) Subject<sub>i NP/pronominal//Ø</sub> V<sub>nonfinite</sub>]nonfinite periphery [i] [... Xi ...]<sub>(orthodox) clause</sub>  
(and reversed version)
- Semantics: [nonfinite periphery] R [clause], where R implies (specialised, unorthodox or even multiple) adverbial subordination)

The open slot or parameter [ $\pm\emptyset$ ] in the subject of the nonfinite periphery determines the ascription of the construction to either the FA or the AC type.

In order to connect the results reported by Río-Rey (2002) for Early Modern English (EModE) and Kortmann (1991) for PDE, we have analysed c2,300 ACs and FAs from the Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English, a multi-genre parsed corpus of Late Modern English (1700-1914). We hypothesise that FAs and ACs deserve unitary constructional treatment in Modern and PDE, on the basis of:

- (i) the wider range of verbal predicates entering the nonfinite periphery in both constructions from Old English to the present (see van de Pol and Cuyckens 2013: 342-350): present and past participle clauses and infinitives
- (ii) the fixation of the set of introducers in Modern and PDE: a closed list of conjunctions/prepositions in FAs (*by*, *when* and *after* account for approximately 70 percent of the examples) and empty augmentors in ACs (*with* and *without* amount to c60 percent)

- (iii) the comparable proportions of ACs and FAs semantically 'related' to the clause: 99.44 and 89.47 percent, respectively, in LModE
- (iv) the statistically significant increase of sentence-final ACs and FAs
- (v) as a consequence of (iv), the adjustment of the semantic relations, same-time, cause, addition and manner now accounting for more than 70 percent of the ACs and the FAs in the database.

As an extra-clausal construction, the nonfinite-periphery construction is not alien to the process of syntacticisation common to other peripheral strategies (*eg* left dislocation) in English. This is shown by the decrease in the frequency of the micro-construction which most radically deviates from the SVX pattern, that is, the AC, from 13.3 and 12.4 instances per 10,000 words in, respectively, EModE (Río-Rey 2002) and LModE, to 6 instances in PDE (Kortmann 1991), the frequency of FAs being approximately 30 instances per 10,000 words in the three periods.

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## Formal and semantic-discursive properties of mirative expressions (*it's*) *no wonder*: a synchronic-diachronic approach

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This paper studies from a synchronic-diachronic perspective the formal and semantic-discursive properties of the qualifying expressions (*it's*) *no wonder*. They are associated with a general discourse schema expressing both *speaker attitude* and *discourse organization*: the speaker assesses a proposition (P) as ‘non-surprising’ (Delancey 1997) by assigning *no wonder* to it as a mirative qualifier (MQ), and motivates this evaluation by an explicit justification (J). The overall rhetorical structure can be viewed as the opposite of concession, which denies expectation (Mann & Thompson 1988): *no wonder* precisely emphasizes the *expected* relation between justification and proposition.

In Present-day English, the *thetical* adverbial uses of *no wonder* predominate. Their different positions are not in free variation but correlate with two distinct subtypes of the general discourse schema. On the one hand, there is the disjunct *no wonder* that typically precedes P (1), with J either preceding (1a) or following P (1b). On the other hand, there is anaphoric *no wonder*, which inherently follows P, and which is followed by J (2).

- (1) a. J + MQ(P), e.g. You never did have a heart, Sophie. *No wonder* your first husband had an affair! (WB)
- b. MQ(P) + J, e.g. *No wonder* they can't touch him. Over the years he 's had connections up to Downing Street level. (WB)
- (2) P + anaMQ + J, e.g. PC-based apps have given way to Web-based services *and no wonder*: They do a much better job. (WB)

Historically, these two adverbial subtypes are related to different *non-thetical* multi-clausal constructions predating them. These are, respectively, extraposition, which typically fixes MQ before P (*It's no wonder your first husband... It's no wonder they can't ...*), and paratactic sentences in which MQ is a separate assertion which refers back to P and announces J (*PC-based apps have given way... And it's no wonder for they do ...*).

We will characterize the distinct properties of the disjunct and extraposition patterns on the one hand and the anaphoric adverbial and paratactic patterns on the other in current written (400 tokens from WordbanksOnline) and spoken usage (175 tokens). For the spoken data, we will examine the hypothesis that the anaphoric MQ is prosodically more independent, while in the other patterns the MQ is bound to P (cf. Kaltenböck 2008). The distinct structural relations found between MQ, P and J in the two subtypes will also be systematically charted. Regarding rhetorical structure, we hypothesize that sequence (1a) emphasizes the ‘expectedness’ of a straightforward reason (J) - conclusion (P) relation, while in (1b) and (2) the ‘predictability’ of J from P (2) may be rhetorically exploited to end on a strong point or striking revelation.

These synchronic findings will be fed back into our diachronic reconstruction of the *no wonder* expressions (cf. Matthijs et al. 2012). We will assess the relative explanatory power for them of Thetical versus Sentence Grammar (Kaltenböck et al. 2011) and primary versus secondary discourse status (Boye & Harder 2012), and also consider the role of persisting rhetorical strategies (Waltereit 2012).

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## The recent rise of “saying” ECCs: (*I’m*) *just saying*, *All I’m saying (is)*, and *What I’m saying (is)*

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*(I’m) just saying* may function as an extra-clausal constituent (ECC) in Present-day English. It has reached the level of frequency to generate considerable, often prescriptive commentary on online sources (see references), though it is not treated in works on discourse markers in English. Related forms, *All I’m saying (is)* and *What I’m saying (is)*, have to date received no attention:

- (1) a. Well, maybe that’s a dumb idea. **I’m just saying.** (2012 COCA: FIC)
- b. You need a little manicure. **Just saying.** (2010 COCA: SPOK)
- c. **All I’m saying**, forget Cramer. (2004 SOAP: OLTL)
- d. **What I’m saying is**, don’t get married in Vegas. Take your time.” (2007 COCA: MAG)

These constructions have all of the features of (para)theticals identified by Kaltenböck, Heine, and Kuteva (2011: 853). Syntactic independence and extra-clausality is shown by the fact that *(I’m) just saying* may be post-positive or stand alone as a complete utterance, and that all of the forms may be followed by non-declarative (independent) clauses. The so-called double copula construction, a phenomenon which is widely treated in the literature, is particularly telling evidence of the lexicalized nature of *all/what I’m saying is*:

- (2) a. So **what I’m saying is**, is that it’s nice to complain, but we can’t confirm (1998 COCA: SPOK)
- b. **All I’m saying is**, is that we certainly shouldn’t be using military intervention to promote our interests in Africa (1991 COCA: SPOK)

Online sources agree that *I’m just saying* typically follows a statement which is either intentionally insulting or controversial or unintentionally causes offense to the hearer. According to Lee-Goldman (2011: 77) using this form is a “rhetorical backoff”, in which the speaker reaffirms his or her commitment to the truth of what was just said but not to the implications that could be drawn from having made those claims”. However, an analysis of corpus data (from SOAP, which provides relatively large numbers of examples of these forms) provides a more nuanced understanding of the function of all three.

The origins of *I’m just saying* are “murky” (Simon 2010). In this paper I will present data collected from a wide variety of historical corpora and text collections, including Google Books, to probe the sources of all three forms (in main clauses and pseudo-clefts), the dates of their appearances, and plausible routes of development. The paper will also shed light on possible reasons for the rise of the double be construction.



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## A diachronic approach to extraposition

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In this paper we will, on diachronic grounds, propose a different delineation of the extraposition construction than the one assumed in the English synchronic tradition with expletive *it* and *be* in the matrix (e.g. Huddleston & Pullum 2002). We argue that the schematic extraposition template also subsumes matrices *there is* and *I have* (and related expressions), as in *It's / there's / I have no doubt she will do well at the Olympics*. Both the whole construction and the component elements constitute very similar form-function pairings, as shown particularly clearly by matrices that (came to) occur in all three variants over time. In support of our redefinition of extraposition we will present diachronic qualitative and quantitative analyses of the extraposition structures developed by *it/(there) be / (have) no/any/a wonder (that), there/(it) be/have no/any/a need to, it/there be/ have no/any/a doubt (that)*. They all have lexical and grammatical uses, with grammaticalization processes being accelerated by the presence of negative polarity items (e.g. Davidse, De Wolf & Van linden forthcoming). We hold that the predicative, existential or possessive forms of the matrix express different meanings in the lexical uses and even in the grammaticalized uses, which may involve modal, mirative or interactional meanings. Their development goes back to Middle English (*doubt*, with *twoe* as its Old English counterpart) and Old English (*need/ neodðearf/ ðearf* and *wonder*). Data-sets were extracted from the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE), the Penn corpora of Historical English for Middle (PPCME) and Early Modern English (PPCEME), the Corpus of Late Modern English texts (CLMETEV), and the Present-day British English subcorpora of WordBanksOnline.

The earliest variants of the extraposition schema are generally assumed to have matrices without overt subject or with cataphoric *þæt* (Van linden 2012). The latter has distinct discourse-pragmatic properties as it “claims the audience’s attention and anticipates that something of high information value follows in the appositional clause” (Möhlig-Falke 2012:176). The subjectless matrix with *be* alternated with, and was replaced by either predication *it* or existential *it/there* when the subject became syntactically obligatory. (Existential *it* occurred in older stages of English in simple existential clauses (Breivik 1983: 278, 319; López-Couso 2006:182), as well as in extraposition matrices.) The fact that predication and existential extraposition matrices share the same origin is diachronic evidence for including the latter into extraposition constructions.

We argue in addition that the formal and semantic similarities between structures like *it/there is no wonder/need/doubt* and *I have no wonder/need/doubt* suggest inclusion of possessive matrices in the extraposition schema. They are all followed by a clausal complement spelling out what the wonder, need or doubt is about, and the grammaticalized uses express attitude attributed to the speaker either overtly (*I have*) or covertly (*it/there is*).

In reconstructing the general grammaticalization paths followed by these expressions, we will pay special attention to their thetical variants, which include the early constructions with cataphoric *that* as well as parenthetical variants of the three matrix types, which typically postdate the extraposed ones. We will reflect on the pros and cons of viewing these variants as part of Thetical Grammar, whereas core extraposition is part of Sentence Grammar (Kaltenböck et al. 2011).

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## The janus-like nature of disjuncts in discourse

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This paper examines the distribution, function and collocates of the first-person-singular cognitive-verb-based syntagmatic configurations *I think*, *I mean* and *I believe* in argumentative political discourse, considering their status as disjunct in monologic and dialogic spoken data, and in selected subsections of the BNC. The explicit accommodation of local context allows for a fine-grained analysis, filtering out not only those contextual configurations in which the cognitive-verb-based configurations may count as ECCs, but also particularising possible discourse patterns, which may signify their multiple functions in discourse.

Its goal is twofold: First, to supplement the beyond-the-clause-anchored definition of disjunct (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik 1985), which is an ECC par excellence, with systemic-functional metafunction and multiple theme (Halliday 1994), arguing for a conjunctive function of disjuncts (Thompson & Zhou 2000) which goes beyond the ideational plane of discourse, connecting the ideational with interpersonal and textual planes. Second, to identify discourse-domain-specific patterned co-occurrences of *I think*, *I mean* and *I believe* with other interpersonal (IT) and textual themes (TT), which assign them the status of a discourse pattern (Ariel 2008, Fetzer 2014).

The janus-like nature of the syntagmatic configurations under investigation fulfils an important function in the construal of local and global discourse coherence regarding its ideational, textual and interpersonal planes. They connect what-is-said with what-has-been-said and what-may-be-said, thus displaying both anaphoric and cataphoric reference. As regards their syntax, they play a superior role to other clause elements, being somewhat detached from and superordinate to the clause, over which they have scope, while at the same time contributing to the construal of discourse coherence on the interpersonal plane. However, it is not only the cognitive-verb-based syntagmatic configurations, which are of relevance to the construal of discourse coherence. Rather, it is their patterned co-occurrences with other ITs and TTs, e.g. [TT, IT] (*and I think*) or [IT, IT] (*I mean I think*), which particularize their conjunctive function, connecting the textual and interpersonal planes with the ideational one, or the interpersonal plane with the ideational plane.

To capture the fine details of the orchestrated interplay of ECCs and clauses in discourse, an integrated approach considering quantitative and qualitative methodologies is needed. This allows not only for the explicit accommodation of the local contextual constraints and requirements, but also for the more global constraints genre.

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## Extra-Clausal Constituents in contact situations: A case study.

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The present study aims at giving an account of the discursive and pragmatic functions of extra-clausal constituents (ECCs henceforth) in a bilingual corpus of spoken language collected in Gibraltar. In this setting code-switching (CS henceforth) between English and Spanish occurs with incredibly high frequency, and at all levels of language structure. This is mainly due to the bilingual proficiency of most of the population.

CS between an ECC and the clause falls into the more general case of inter-sentential code-switching. Several studies have so far observed that this type, as opposed to intra-sentential code-mixing, is mostly relevant at a discourse level and is subject to discourse-pragmatics principles, mostly concerning a) the participants, b) the contents of the discourse, c) the organisation and management of the contents in the discourse; see *inter alia* Gumperz (1982), Auer (1995), Cerruti-Regis (2005), Berruto (2012). As far as ECCs are concerned, on one hand functional grammar has thoroughly provided a taxonomy accounting for different pragmatic values (Dik 1997: Ch. 17). On the other hand, contact linguistics studies such as Matras (1988) have fruitfully observed that elements with a pragmatic rather than lexical value, such as discourse markers, appear to be favoured *loci* for code-switching. In this view, we discuss here three different phenomena concerning three different types of ECCs: i) nonce borrowing of coordinating conjunctions; ii) nonce borrowing of discourse markers; iii) code-switching between dislocated elements and the head-clause. Regarding coordinating conjunctions, we observe the highly frequent use of Spanish *y* for expressing a combination relation between two English sentences, and of Spanish *pero* for adversative relation. We then concentrate on the massive use of local Spanish discourse markers in bilingual discourse, which is mirrored in low frequency of English discourse-markers both in terms of type and token. Finally, we take into account Theme and Tail constituents. This case, perhaps sometimes overlooked in literature, is the most remarkable: while conjunctions and discourse-markers are in a sense easier to borrow, being syntactically light and lacking referential meaning, Theme and Tail are full NPs and have referential meaning. These features however do not make this kind of constituents less „codeswitchable“. On the contrary, CS can be seen as a discourse strategy which helps conveying discourse pragmatic functions, which are easily comparable with the ones observed in studies on monolingual Spanish such as Downing (1997).

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## Two types of apposition

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In his innovative account of appositives, Potts (2005) argues that anchors compose with two predicates, the *supplement* and the remainder of the host clause. The result of composition is two independent clauses.

- (1) a. Terry, *the plumber*, is coming at three o'clock.
- b. Terry is coming at three o'clock.
- c. Terry is *the plumber*.

While Potts only examines a subset of appositions, Heringa (2011) proposes that a syntactic version of this theory (the 'underlying clause' analysis, UC) should be extended to all appositions. Following McCawley (1998), I will oppose this generalisation, and maintain that appositions must be bifurcated. Specifically, I argue for (2):

- (2) a. If both the apposition and its anchor are definite individual noun phrases, the apposition *may* be a UC (provided other conditions are met).
- b. If an apposition is an indefinite noun phrase, and if its anchor is *not* an indefinite noun phrase, the apposition is a UC.
- c. Otherwise, appositions are not UCs.

According to (2), all non-nominal appositions and the majority of nominal appositions display the same semantic type of their anchor. Thus, constructions that can be afforded the UC analysis (according to which the apposition is type t, and the anchor is type e) are the exception, not the norm. These exceptional cases should therefore be excluded from one's set of 'true' appositions, and instead be aligned with other clausal parentheticals, such as those in (3).

- (3) a. Terry – *he's the plumber* – is coming over at 13:00.
- b. Kristian's bicycle, *which is a racer*, has a flat tyre.

I will present a number of diagnostics for 'true' appositionhood, along with observations that support the bifurcation that I propose. These include data from the realisation of morphological case, from the distributional of quantified elements, and from the possible presence of so-called *apposition markers*.

The UC analysis provides an obvious account of the semantic import of appositives: they contribute a secondary proposition. But if 'true' appositions are subclausal constituents of the same type as their anchor, how to they convey the meaning that they do? Time permitting, I will outline an approach that treats appositions as establishing a set-membership relation with their anchor (i.e. anchor  $\supseteq$  apposition).

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## Final *but* and information structure

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The purpose of this study is to complement recent studies on final *but*, an emerging construction in American English and Australian English (Mulder and Thompson 2008, Mulder, Thompson and Williams 2009) and show it is attested in Southern and Northern British English by examining the spoken demographic section of the *British National Corpus* and the spoken section of the *Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech*.

Relying on the five criteria that define the category of theticals, it will be shown that final *but* can be classified as a thetical (Kaltenböck et al. 2011: 861). It will be demonstrated that final *but* is a type of constructional theticals (Kaltenböck et al. 2011: 875) as it has a schematic structure of its own.

Much attention will be paid to the relationship between final *but* and information structure in order to account for the strategy of information organization. It will be shown that its status as a post-rheme element, which takes into account the position of this particle, does not pay tribute to its main function of textual cohesion and interactional coherence. Its potential status as an Antitopic (Lambrecht 1981) will also be discussed and questioned.

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## Clause-final particles in spoken English

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This talk is about a set of elements occurring in clause-final position in spoken English called “final connectors”, “linking adverbials” or “particles”, as illustrated in (1).

- (1) o1 A: Have you seen The Editors?  
o2 B: \_\_\_\_\_  
o3 A: You ought to go and see that **actually/then/though/anyway/...**

Depending on B’s response to A’s question, A can attach a variety of final particles to the core proposition expressed in the clausal unit in line 3 in order to link it to B’s utterance. As shown in (1), the final position has become the host for a set of paradigmatically organized monomorphemic elements whose clausal status is not at all clear: the fact that they are deletable without altering the grammaticality and the semantic content of the clause they are attached to suggests that they are outside the clausal structure. However, intonational integration and the fact that their deletion would result in a loss of an important interpretive cue suggests that they are, in some way, linked to the clause they accompany.

In my talk I will address two questions: What is the function of these elements, and what is their grammatical status? The functional analysis of final particles, which is based on a blend of the principles of conversation analysis with a functional-grammar approach, rests upon an inspection of all occurrences of final particles in sequences of spontaneous talk-in-interaction attested in the British component of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE-GB). Three major functional domains could be identified: (i) *discourse-structural functions* (indicating a particular type of link between two subsequent units of discourse), (ii) *illocutionary functions* (e.g. modifying illocutionary force, changing illocutionary type), and (iii) *conversational functions* (e.g. improving the design of a transition-relevant place).

A major descriptive problem concerns the grammatical status of final particles since these elements do not operate on the clause level, establishing relationships between syntactic constituents, but on the discourse level, i.e. across clauses: final particles always form part of paratactic structures, linking two structurally independent clausal units produced by two different speakers or incrementally by one and the same speaker. In order to solve this problem, I will argue for a broader view of grammar, i.e. one which does not only include sentence-/clause-internal relations (=“micro-grammar”), but also integrates relations established across sentence boundaries, which I call “macro-grammar” and which includes aspects such as information structure and relations in discourse. In English, macro-grammatical elements predominantly occur in two particular *fields* (for the use of this term in German linguistics see Eisenberg 2006; Auer 1997), that is, in a structural position that either precedes (=“initial field”) or follows a completed clausal structure (=“final field”) and which is available for the indication of macro-grammatical information. The analysis of final particles will be linked to the communicative functions of the final field.

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## On Extra Clausal Constituents: The case of imperatives

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Imperatives exhibit crosslinguistically a wide range of structures, and this makes it difficult to generalize on them or to propose a structural definition that really would apply to all, or at least to most of them. My concern will be more narrowly with what has been called “canonical imperatives”, that is, with information units having an (implicit) second person singular subject referent as a hearer (or reader or signee) and expressing commands or requests directed at the hearer.

Canonical imperatives have been called extragrammatical or extrasyntactical forms (Watkins 1963; Aikhenvald 2010). Building on the recent work within the framework of Discourse Grammar (Kaltenböck et al. 2011; Heine et al. 2013) I will attempt to account for such forms within this framework. While exhibiting central features of extra-clausal constituents, imperatives pose some problems both to this concept and to the framework of Discourse Grammar. These problems will be the subject of the paper to be presented.

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## On insubordination: form, function and development of insubordinate *if*-clauses

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Insubordination, defined by Evans (2007: 366) as “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses”, has received increased attention in recent years (e.g. Evans 2007, Mithun 2008, Verstraete et al. 2012). The main interest has been on the communicative function and origin of insubordinate clauses, while their form is generally assumed to be invariant, with subordination in English being signalled for instance by the use of a subordinator. The present study contributes to the discussion of function and development of insubordinate clauses but in addition shows that they also differ formally from their subordinate counterparts, viz. in their prosodic realization. Based on corpus data from the spoken part of the British component of the *International Corpus of English*, the main focus will be on insubordinate *if*-clauses, as in (1).

(1) *If you'll just come next door* (ICE-GB:s1a-o89-159)

More specifically, the proposed paper identifies prosodic patterns typically associated with prototypical uses of insubordinate *if*-clauses and shows how they diverge from the prosodic realisation of their syntactically dependent counterparts. Such difference in formal realisation provides evidence for separate storage of insubordinate clauses and supports the view that they belong to a different component of the grammar (Heine et al. 2013).

Formal analysis of insubordinate *if*-clauses presupposes clear delimitation of the category in question and identification of functional subtypes. Based on a detailed analysis of spoken corpus data the study distinguishes different functional types, which fall into the two main categories prospective and retrospective, as well as different degrees of fixation ranging from spontaneous to formulaic uses. All of these have in common that they are semantically non-restrictive and instead relate to the immediate situation of discourse particularly the components discourse organisation, speaker attitude and speaker-hearer interaction. This, together with their syntactic independence, makes them typical members of a larger category of extra-clausal constituents, also referred to as theticals (Heine et al. 2013).

The paper concludes with a brief outline of the presumed development of insubordinate clauses which can accommodate both Evans's (2007) ellipsis hypothesis and Mithun's (2008) extension hypothesis. Drawing on the concept of cooptation (Heine et al. 2013), it is argued that insubordinate clauses arise through a spontaneous operation which redefines (coopts) subordinate clauses for pragmatic purposes. Through repeated use such instantaneous insubordinate clauses may develop into more fixed constructional or even formulaic insubordinate clauses.

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## **(DET) fact is (that) construction in English and Dutch: a Functional Discourse Grammar account**

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This paper will deal with a frequently used construction in English and Dutch which can be broadly described as the (DET) (adj) *fact is (that)* construction; some examples can be found in (1) and (2):

- (1) a. *The fact is*, there's been a complete lack of consultation. (BNC, S\_meeting)  
b. And *the plain fact is that* Hector isn't. (BNC, W\_fict\_prose)
- (2) a. *Vaststaand feit is dat* Kolonel Weber daar was (S, CGN)  
definite fact is that Colonel Weber there was  
b. *Feit is dat* verbeteringen tijd kosten. (W, 38M)  
fact is that improvements time take

Entirely different accounts have been given of these constructions in English and Dutch: for English, Aijmer (2007) argues that, similar to the *thing is* construction, *the fact is that* is becoming grammaticalized, gradually changing from a matrix clause into a pragmatic marker; Hoeksema (2000), focusing on Dutch constructions with bare nouns (*feit is dat*) only, analyses these constructions as topicalized predicative (copular) constructions.

The present paper has two major aims. Using authentic data, the paper will begin by providing a detailed discussion of the differences and similarities between the English and the Dutch constructions in both form and function. The formal aspects to be considered will include (i) the presence and form of the determiner; (ii) the presence and type of any modifier (in terms of scope and function), (iii) the form of the complement clause (e.g. subclause vs. main clause word order in Dutch); and (iv) the use of punctuation, stress and intonation. As for their specific pragmatic and discourse functions, a detailed analysis will be provided showing subtle but systematic differences between the two languages.

The second aim of this paper is to propose a Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG) analysis of constructions of this type reflecting their specific formal and functional properties. It will be argued that the sequence (DET) *fact is (that)* functions as a semi-fixed pragmatic and/or discourse-rhetorical marker in a presentative (non-specificational) construction; as such, it is not regarded as a matrix clause, but as an extra-clausal constituent. It will be shown that by exploiting the distinctive characteristics of FDG, an accurate and insightful account can be provided of (i) the nature of both the (different degrees of) variability exhibited by these constructions as well as constraints on this variability, and (ii) the interaction between the pragmatic, semantic, syntactic and phonological features of these constructions, demonstrating the non-arbitrary relationship between their function and their form.

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## A constructional account of right-dislocation in English

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The so-called Right Dislocation (RD) in English (e.g., *They're excellent company, the Smiths*) consists of a sentence-final noun phrase (NP<sub>2</sub>) which is coreferential with a pronominal expression (NP<sub>1</sub>) in the preceding matrix clause (Huddleston and Pullum 2002). In this paper, we, together with attested corpus-examples, offer a Construction Grammar (CxG) based account of the RD in which all levels of description (including morpheme, word, phrase, and clause) are understood to involve pairings of form with semantic or discourse functions (Goldberg 2006).

The NP<sub>1</sub>'s grammatical functions can vary (object, prepositional object, or predicative complement) as attested from the COCA (Contemporary Corpus of American English):

- (1) a. ... I wanted to comfort **him**, the poor man.
- b. No one has to take responsibility on this job except for **me**, the structural engineer.
- c. ... I guessed his name before I took in his long body and knew it was **him**, the golden boy.

The NP<sub>1</sub>, often called 'resumptive pronoun', can be even an indefinite one as seen from the COCA examples:

- (2) a. Then **something** at the back of his mind nagged him, an unscratched itch.
- b. He says the police had misread **something else**, those online searches.

The corpus search yields examples where the NP<sub>1</sub> antecedent is repeated or even split:

- (3) a. They take **it**, they accept **it**, this un-American status.
- b. ... **she** laughed, and **he** laughed with her, these two, these motherless children.

The typical NP<sub>2</sub> is definite and cannot involve a *wh*-expression. However, observe in the following corpus examples in which even a free-relative functions as the NP<sub>2</sub> (cf. Leonarduzzi and Herment 2013):

- (4) a. We were talking about it, **what she was doing wrong**.
- b. His elbow was red, with a skin bubble on it, **where he'd burned himself**.

The semantic relation between the two NPs are traditionally to be taken anaphoric (Quirk et al. 1995), but we suggest that the relation is a 'copula-relation' which can be interpreted as equative, predicational, or specificational, respectively (cf. Ziv and Grosz 1994):

- (5) a. I like **him**, John.
- b. ... began to noisily clean his clothes and he was sure that whoever had entered would hear it and find **him**, a naked burglar.
- c. Then **something** at the back of his mind nagged him, an unscratched itch.

In the equative relation (5a), the pronominal NP *him* in (5a) equates the referent of the NP<sub>2</sub> *John*. In (5b), the NP<sub>2</sub> *a naked burglar* is rather predicated of the pronoun *him*. In the specification relation example (5c), the NP<sub>2</sub> *an unscratched itch* can be interpreted as the value for the variable that the indefinite NP *something* sets up. In terms of pragmatic function, the

RD expression is taken to identify and reintroduce an evoked entity to make it discourse-salient (Ziv and Grosz 1994, Huddleston and Pullum 2002). Note that these semantic and pragmatic properties are not compositional – no linguistic expression involved in the construction can mark the ‘copula-relation’ or the ‘reinforce’ or clarification function. This also means that the RD surely contributes to the final at-issue meaning of the whole sentence. In this sense, the regularities as well as idiosyncrasies of the construction can be expected once we suppose there is an independent RD construction linked to its constructional meaning. This constructional-view can be expanded to cover variants of the RD construction as in the following COCA examples in which the NP2 is followed by a copula verb like (Quirk et al. 1985):

- (6) a. ... death was more real to a person after he turned forty. Any forty-year-old would confirm this. It was more present, **death was**.  
 b. He held his position for a moment, testing the wind. It was in his face, **praise be**.

The data then imply that there are two different types of RD in English with the different syntax. These two subconstructions share the semantic and discourse functions but differ in syntax. This way of describing English syntax, armed with the network system of constructions with inheritance, offer us a comprehensive grammar of English including core as well as peripheral constructions alike.

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## Operationalizing the function of discourse markers via sequencing constraints: the case of English *so*

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An important challenge in the study of extra-clausal constituents, specifically discourse markers (DMs), is the task of objectively determining their extra-clausal (i.e., discourse-level) status. The English discourse markers *and*, *but*, and *so* are a case in point. These markers remain formally identical to their sentence-level counterparts, i.e. coordinating or subordinating conjunctions. As a result it may be difficult or even impossible to determine with certainty whether a speaker intended for the form to be understood as marking a discourse-level relationship or a sentence-level relationship. This indeterminacy hampers the objective study of DMs, as the burden of evidence shifts entirely to qualitative observations.

In this talk, we argue that a solution to this problem can be found if we capitalize on the well-known tendency for DMs to be used in two-part sequences, e.g. *now therefore*, *but then*, etc. In earlier work, we have found that DMs in such sequences exhibit strong ordering preferences (Koops & Lohmann 2013). Typically, two DMs' preferred order is that which is predicted from the canonical order of their sentence-level counterparts, so that, for example, DMs deriving from coordinators precede DMs deriving from subordinators. Accordingly, the sequence *and so* is common but the sequence *so and* is rare. Here we are specifically interested in the conditions underlying non-canonical ordering, for example the initial position of *so* in *so and*. We test the hypothesis that occurrence in non-canonical position is correlated with a DM's discourse-level (as opposed to sentence-level) function. In this sense, ordering constraints serve as a formal indicator of DM status.

Our analysis focuses on *so* in sequence with *and* and *but*. We extracted all instances of the ordering possibilities of *so* relative to *and* and *so* from the *Fisher* corpus of North American English telephone conversations (Cieri et al. 2004, 2005), i.e. both canonical and non-canonical ordering. Our results show that, as predicted, in the case of canonical ordering (e.g. *and so*), *so* typically functions as a marker of result or consequence, with scope over the following clause only. When occurring in a non-canonical order (e.g. *so and*), it frequently has larger scope and functions to structure discourse, as in signaling topic continuation or functioning as a turn-taking device. We interpret these results as reflecting varying degrees of decategorialization of *so* as DM (in the sense of Hopper 1991), with an increase in positional variability reflecting *so*'s taking on more abstract, discourse-level functions.

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## The status of the first clause in Old English correlative constructions

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This paper will consider the structural characteristics and discourse semantic functions of correlative constructions Old English (OE). An example of a correlative construction with temporal þa is given in (1). Van Kemenade and Los (2006) argue that in (1) the subclause, introduced by the conjunction þa, serves to locate the event in time/discourse, while the second clause, introduced by the resumptive adverb þa, relates the follow-up event. The subclause can also be introduced by þonne or conditional gif.

- (1) þa he þa to him cwom, þa wæs he forht geworden.  
 then he then to him came, then was he fearful become  
 'When he then came to him, he had become fearful.'  
 (Bede\_2:9.128.17.1222)

Although not strictly located outside the clause or completely independent, the nature of the subclause in correlative constructions provides an interesting perspective on the tension between parataxis and hypotaxis in OE. Although the first clause shows subclause characteristics, it functions more like a main clause (van Kemenade & Los, 2006). In addition, the structural relation between the two parts is somewhat complex: the resumptive adverb need not be present, but when it is, it might steer the subclause towards a more extra-clausal function. This characteristic provides a challenge for syntactic modelling, raising the question how to structurally analyse these constructions in OE and over time as their presence seems to be related to a number of discourse-configurational properties. Several hypotheses will be presented: 1) OE was a discourse-configurational language, as reflected in part in its V2 character and promoted by the availability of demonstrative pronoun and deictic adverb paradigms (van Kemenade, 2009); 2) correlative constructions play an important role in establishing temporal/conditional linking in OE discourse; and 3) based on evidence from Present-day Dutch (Bennis, 1986; Zwart, 2011) the structural analysis of the subclause in relation to the main clause is assumed to be related to the absence/presence of the resumptive adverb. Using a qualitative and quantitative approach (using the YCOE and PPCME2 corpora), I expect to show changes in both structure and discourse function. It will also be explored to what extent the properties of correlative constructions are related to the division of labour between parataxis and hypotaxis in OE. The results suggest that the decline of these OE correlative constructions goes hand-in-hand with the collapse of demonstrative and deictic paradigms, and the loss of V2.



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## From clause to adverb: On the history of *maybe* and related forms

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Complementation structures in which an originally complement-taking-predicate clause is downgraded to a parenthetical provide one of the most common developmental paths for pragmatic markers. This is, for example, the origin that has been posited for widely studied first person epistemic parentheticals like *I think*, *I guess*, and *I gather* (cf., e.g., Thompson & Mulac 1991; Boye & Harder 2007; Kearns 2007; but cf. Brinton 2008: chapter 10). On the other hand, impersonal parenthetical clauses with a third person singular subject (e.g. *it seems*) have not attracted so much scholarly attention. These are precisely the focus of our ongoing research project (cf. López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 2014a; 2014b; forthcoming). Interestingly, some of these third person parentheticals have lost their clausal features, thus coming close to adverbs. Examples of this process of adverbialization are Middle and Early Modern English *methinks* (cf. López-Couso 1996; see also Palander-Collin 1996; Wischer 2000), as in (1), and Contemporary American English *looks like*-parentheticals (cf. López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 2014b), as in (2).

- (1) Respect to all kind of Superiours is founded **methinks** upon Instinct. (1711 R. Steele *Spectator* No. 6. 5; OED s.v. *methinks* v.a)
- (2) He didn't like it, **looks like**, just shouted. (COCA 1990 CNN\_King)

According to the OED (s.vv.), epistemic adverbs such as *maybe* and *mayhapp(en)* (cf. (3a-b)) also originate in the reanalysis of a clause featuring the modal *may* followed by the verb *be* or a verb meaning 'happen'.

- (3) a. This, **may be**, was the reason some imagin'd Hell there. (1661 J. Glanvill *Vanity of Dogmatizing* 175; OED s.v. *maybe* adv., n. and adj. A.1.a)
- b. Or hast thou **mayhap** wandered wide? (1870 W. Morris *Earthly Paradise* II. iii. 37; OED s.v. *mayhap* adv.)

In this paper we examine the development of *maybe*, *mayhapp(en)*, and related forms (cf. OED s.v. *may* v', Phrases 2) from clauses to adverbs. Data are drawn from the standard historical dictionaries and various historical English corpora (*Helsinki Corpus*, *ARCHER*, *Corpus of Early English Correspondence*, *Corpus of English Dialogues*, and *Old Bailey Corpus*), with special emphasis on texts showing a high degree of speechlikeness. The development of these epistemic adverbs is considered here as an instance of grammaticalization, featuring decategorialization, fusion, semantic bleaching, and pragmatic strengthening.

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## Left-dislocated Noun Phrases in Modern English: discourse functions and genre

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Left Dislocated Noun Phrases (LDNPs) have been frequently considered a word-order design characteristic of spoken discourse (Geluykens 1992, Lambrecht 1994). In historical data from the Early Modern and Late Modern periods, LDNPs (e.g. *After it was dark any Ship that came to us we engaged them*) may fulfill rhetorical purposes within the text very different from those they would take up today in either written or spoken English discourse (Montgomery 1982, Kies 1988, Prince 1997, Gregory and Michaelis 2001) such as, for example, parenthetical uses (e.g. *Moreover these Creatures [rather Sheep than Goats as they breed greater or lesser Stones,] they discover it by their Gate...*). Nonetheless, all LDNPs share one particular feature regardless of where they are attested, namely their topic-setting function (Lambrecht 1994). In an attempt to assess their contribution to the categorization of historical genres, this paper divides the foregrounding default role of LDNPs into two hyper-functions: (a) a discourse-organisational function (Prince 1997, Gregory and Michaelis 2001, Netz et al. 2011) and (b) an affective role (Keenan-Ochs and Schieffelin 1976; Geluykens 1992; Kim 1995).

The analysis focuses on genre distribution and discourse functions of the 989 LDNPs extracted from the Penn Parsed Corpora of Early Modern English (PPCEME), Modern British English (PPCMBE) and Early English Correspondence (PCEEC). As for the distribution of LDNPs across historical genres, the findings suggest that the frequency of LDNPs in speech-like texts (letters and diaries) is lower (0.13; norm. freq. per 1,000 words) than in speech-purposed (drama and sermons; n.f.: 0.94) or mixed (fiction and trial proceedings) and written ones (biography, educational treatise, handbook, history, law, philosophy, science and travelogue; n.f.: 0.64) in the recent history of English. However, concerning their discourse function, those LDNPs that deploy an affective or highlighting role (in the sense of Keenan-Ochs and Schieffelin 1976:245; Geluykens 1992:95; Kim 1995:285), rather than a more neutral discourse-organisational role, have been found to be more frequent in speech-like (58.2%) and speech-purposed (55.8%) genres (only 35.2% in mixed genres and 37.5% in written genres). Additional variables suggest that the form and function of LDNPs reflect differences between speech-related and purely written genres. For instance, a tally of the element which may precede LDNPs (usually a conjunction or a complementiser) shows that 34.2% of all instances of LDNPs preceded by a conversational item such as clause-level *and* (Culpeper and Kytö 2010:166) is attested in letters and diaries (by far the highest percentage for any genre). In addition, bare LDNPs (i.e. with no previous conjunction) are most frequent in speech-purposed (70.2% in sermons and drama) and mixed texts (67.6% in fiction and trial proceedings), while those that have a previous marker of any kind are more likely to convey a highlighting functional shade (44.1% of the total for affective roles) rather than a neutral discourse-organisational role (35.8% of the total for discourse-organisational roles). These findings suggest that LDNPs seem to have been particularly useful as deictic rhetorical devices in written-to-be-spoken texts such as sermons and drama, and that other conversational clause-initial markers such as *and* interacted more regularly with LDNPs when the authors/speakers felt freer to innovate (i.e. in genres with less editorial control).

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## ***Uh, um* and pragmatic particles: overlapping functions and complementary distribution**

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The status of *uh* and *um* has been debated by earlier researchers, and terminology has varied: *fillers*, *filled pauses*, and *hesitation markers*, etc. They have been regarded as involuntary symptoms of “speech-productive labor” (Goffman 1981) or voluntary signals from speakers that they want to start, continue or end their turns. Their status as words has also been debated – Clark & Fox Tree see them as words belonging among interjections, whereas O’Connell and Kowal argue against that view.

My purpose in this paper is to test the hypothesis that “[w]hat is operating in this instance is diachronic language change” (O’Connell & Kowal) and that *uh* and *um* are developing from being mere *symptoms* of speech-productive labor to pragmatic markers, *signals* that can be used by speakers to implicate different meanings, not just ‘I’m thinking’ (Fischer 2006), and that they end up as fully-fledged *words* functioning as (often ironic) stance markers (especially in writing).

I want to do this by studying overlapping functions of *uh* and *um* and bona fide pragmatic markers such as *well*, *you know*, *I mean* and *like*, and also the apparently complementary distribution of *uh* and *um* and those pragmatic particles in the speech of individuals and different speech situation, using the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (SBC).

Although it is clear that *uh*, *um* and pragmatic markers can be used in similar ways in spoken discourse, little attention has been paid to this fact in the previous literature. (But see Tottie (2014). Consider (1), where a college instructor asks students how their parents were affected by the Vietnam War. The student prefaces her responses with lengthened *u=m*, where she might as well have used the pragmatic marker *well*, which is characteristically used turn-initially. In the first of the examples *well* is also added after *u=m*:

- (1) MONTROYA: ... How about your parents.  
CAROLYN: ... U=m,  
... **well** my dad was drafted.  
MONTROYA: ... He was in Vietnam?  
CAROLYN: ... U=m,  
... long story,  
he didn’t make it to Vietnam but,

In (2) a speaker who uses very few instances of *uh* or *uhm* uses *well*, *you know*, and *I mean* where other speakers might have uttered *uh* or *um*:

- (2) JO: [2He i2]=s teaching,  
he’s teaching something about business,  
and,  
... **well** what he’s in.  
**You know.**



CAM: [Recreation]?  
JO: [% **I mean uh**],  
... not really the recreation part,  
but,  
... how you keep books and,  
... **you know**,  
WESS: Ye- --

I am examining 25 different texts consisting of face-to-face interaction from the first and fourth parts of SBC, totaling 110,000 words and containing 957 instances of *uh* and *um*. However, only speakers who contributed over 1,000 words will be included in the study.

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## On the semantic and functional variation of *as*-parentheticals in English and Lithuanian

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*As*-parentheticals have been attested cross-linguistically and their formal and functional properties have been analysed in English, Danish, German, Polish and Lithuanian (Quirk et al. 1985; Potts 2002; Brinton 2008; Bogusławski 2008; Blakemore 2009; Usonienė 2013). Although these parentheticals reveal “cross-linguistic consistency and robustness” (Potts 2002, 686), they can be subject to formal and functional variation in different types of discourse across languages. The current study focuses on two structural types of *as*-parentheticals, namely *as V-ed* (*as shown/reported/noted*) and *as PRN V* (*as I say/said, as you know, as we saw/noted*) in English and Lithuanian spoken and written discourse. The core element in the given is either a non-finite or finite perception, communication or cognition verb, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (1) *This may not satisfy common law and equitable requirements which, **as seen above**, may require full disclosure.* (BNC-ACAD)
- (2) (SP:PS65G) *There are rumours that war is imminent, so presumably it would be dangerous to go now?*  
(SP:PS66H) *Yes, I think, I mean, it varies from day to day, but **as you say** the rumours at the moment are that the (unclear) is being upped a bit <...>* (BNC-SPOKEN)
- (3) ***Kaip žinoma**, originalių lietuviškų knygų XIX a. pradžioje dar nebuvo, <...>* (CorALit) ‘As known, there were no original Lithuanian books at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.’
- (4) *Lietuviai, **kaip žinom**, krikščionybę pradėjo priimti tik keturioliktame <...> amžiuje.* (CCLL)  
‘Lithuanians, as (we) know, have started to adopt Christianity only in the 14<sup>th</sup> <...> century.’

The purpose of the study is to analyse functional distribution of *as*-parentheticals in English and Lithuanian along with their qualitative and quantitative parameters. The main features for comparison are syntactic independence, “non-restrictive” meaning, syntactic mobility, internal syntax of the parentheticals (Kaltenböck et al. 2011), their frequency and type of discourse. The study is corpus-based and the data have been collected from the sub-corpora of spoken, academic and newspaper registers in the British National Corpus (BNC) and two Lithuanian corpora: the Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language (CCLL) and the Corpus of Academic Lithuanian (CorALit).

The preliminary findings suggest that both in spoken and written English and Lithuanian, *as*-parentheticals can display epistemic qualifications (evidential meaning) and a range of discourse functions; an interaction feature of reader-writer engagement among them (Hyland 2008). *As PRN V* parentheticals are more frequent in spoken discourse, while *as V-ed* parentheticals are most common in written discourse.

### Data sources

BNC British National Corpus (<http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/>)

CCLL Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language (<http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/>)

CorALit Corpus Academicum Lithuanicum (<http://coralit.lt/>)

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## The syntax of sentence-peripheral discourse markers: A neo-performative analysis

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In this paper, we explore the form, function and distribution of discourse markers such as *eh*, *huh*, etc. which appear to be outside the clause as in (1). They typically appear at the right periphery of the clause and are restricted to root clauses, as shown in (2).

- (1) *You have a new dog, {eh, huh, hey, right, yeah, ...}?*  
= Confirm that it's true that you have a new dog.
- (2) *Anne knows that you have a new dog, {eh, huh, hey, right, yeah, ...}?*  
= Confirm that it's true that Anne knows that you have a new dog.  
≠ Confirm that it's true that you have a new dog.
- (3) *I have a new dog, {eh, hey, ...}?*  
= Confirm that you know I have a new dog.

As discourse markers, they play an important role in interaction management: they are used to request confirmation from the addressee. Particles differ according to what the speaker expects the addressee to confirm. In (1) the addressee is asked to confirm that the proposition is true while in (3) the addressee is asked to confirm that s/he knows that the proposition is true. Interestingly, only a subset of the discourse markers (viz. *eh* and *hey*) is felicitous in the latter constellation; there is no such distributional restriction for the former one.

This difference among the discourse markers, we argue, suggests that these particles exhibit a range of syntactic properties despite their peripheral surface position. For their internal syntax, we propose a complex phrase containing an anchor to the common ground and an intonational morpheme. For their external syntax, we propose an updated version of Ross' (1970) performative hypothesis according to which the utterance of a clause is embedded in a higher structure determining the speech act (see also Speas & Tenny 2003). Consequently, discourse markers may either attach at the propositional level (yielding confirmation of truth) or else at the speech act level (yielding confirmation that the speech act of assertion is appropriate):

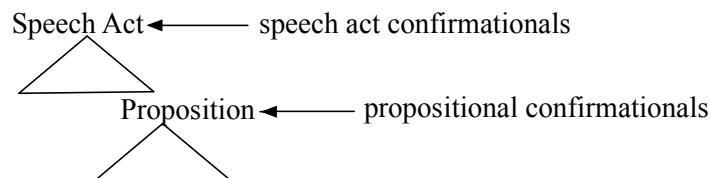


Figure 1: different combinatorial properties of discourse markers

In this paper, we explore the predictions of this neo-performative hypothesis and its implications for the syntax-pragmatics interface. Evidence based on data collected via story-board elicitation will include i) word-order; ii) scope; iii) sentence intonation; iv) lexicalization patterns; and v) cross-linguistic variation.

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## Left and right dislocation across varieties of English

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Prototypical dislocation constructions consist of a noun phrase in a peripheral position which is co-referential with a pronoun in the core of the clause. The noun phrase can be placed at the left or right periphery of the clause proper, yielding left dislocation (LD) (*This cat she's fourteen*) and right dislocation (RD) (*He's brilliant your dad*). Dislocation constructions are well suited to the needs of spoken interaction as they facilitate the online production and processing of an utterance by breaking it down into smaller chunks. Studies on the constructions' discourse functions have found that LDs mainly serve a topic-promotion or reference-establishing function (e.g. Geluykens 1992, Biber 1999), while RDs often contain an emotive dimension and serve to establish a bond with the interlocutor (e.g. Aijmer 1989, Timmis 2010).

In recent years attention has also been given to the construction's sociopragmatic and cross-varietal behaviour. Lange (2012), for example, finds that LDs are very frequent in Indian English, while RDs occur only rarely. High frequencies of LDs have also been attested for the 'Celtic Englishes' (e.g. Filppula 2009).

The present study adds to these analyses and provides a broader view on dislocation by systematically comparing data from several first- and second-language varieties of English. The data has been culled from the 'private dialogues' sections in the relevant components of the International Corpus of English (ICE). I expect to find quantitative and qualitative differences, which can be accounted for by various interacting forces (e.g. substrate influence).

My investigations show that LDs are by far most frequent in Indian English. Contrary to expectation, the construction is not that widely used in Irish English. Yet, for this variety of English a number of qualitative idiosyncratic features can be identified, which are probably due to influence from Gaelic Irish. For example, LDs are co-referential not only with subject and object pronouns but also with possessive pronouns (*Tommy his Granda died*). Furthermore, there is a type of RD which is only rarely found in the other varieties: the dislocated element is introduced by *so* followed by a pronoun and an operator (*He's driving a bus now so he is*).

Examining various ICE corpora, the present study provides deeper insights into the use of dislocation constructions across varieties of English and adds to the discussion on language contact.

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