

Vitoria Gasteiz, May 2017



The syntax of interaction

Towards a formal typology of discourse markers

Martina Wiltschko, UBC

Lecture I

<https://blogs.ubc.ca/syntaxofinteraction/>

Introduction

Dissertation (University of Vienna):
IDs in Syntax and Discourse.
An analysis of extraposition in German.

Theoretical interests:

- Syntax and its interfaces:
 - Syntax-Morphology
 - Syntax-Lexicon
 - Syntax-Semantics
 - Syntax-Pragmatics (Speech acts)
 - Syntax-Phonology (Prosody)

Overarching theme of my research:

The nature of categories



<http://www.linguistics.ubc.ca/people/martina>

Introduction

Languages:

Fieldwork: Halkomelem (Salish)
Blackfoot (Algonquian)
Ktuanxa (aka Kutenai)

Others: German (Upper Austrian)
Medumba (Grassfield Bantu)
Atayal (Formosan)
Mandarin



<http://syntaxofspeechacts.linguistics.ubc.ca/>

Introduction

Methodologies

- Introspection
- Field-work
 - Elicitation
 - story-telling
 - story-boards
- Experimentation



Introduction

Personal life



Family



Dog, Yoga,
Vancouver Island



Martial arts

Introduction

You

- i) Research interests
- ii) Language(s)
- iii) Expectations for this course

Overview

	Topic
Day 1 Introduction	<i>From Speech acts to Interaction</i>
	<i>The syntacticization of speech acts</i>
Day 2 Introducing an idea	<i>The syntacticization of interaction</i>
	<i>Framework: The extended Universal spine</i>
	<i>Methodology: storyboards</i>
Day 3 Case study I	<i>Confirmational</i>
Day 4 Case study II	<i>Response markers</i>
Day 5 Conclusions	<i>Other discourse markers</i>
	<i>Towards a typology of discourse markers</i>

Today

Day 1	Background
9-9.30	Introduction
9.30-10.00	What is a sentence
10.00-10.30	How do sentences change in interaction
10.30-11.00	Break
11.00-11.30	From speech acts to interaction
11.30-12.00	The syntacticization of speech acts
12.30-1.00	Questions, discussion

What is a sentence?

Defining linguistic domains

- Phonetics
- Phonology
- Morphology
- Syntax
- Semantics
- Pragmatics

What are the Units of Analysis?

UoA

- Phonetics: _____
- Phonology: _____
- Morphology: _____
- Syntax: _____
- Semantics: _____
- Pragmatics: _____

Semantics:

UoA = PROPOSITION

Syntax:

UoA = SENTENCE

“Syntax is the study of the way in which phrases and sentences are structured out of words and so addresses questions like ‘What is the structure of a sentence?’”

Radford 2004: 1

What's a sentence?

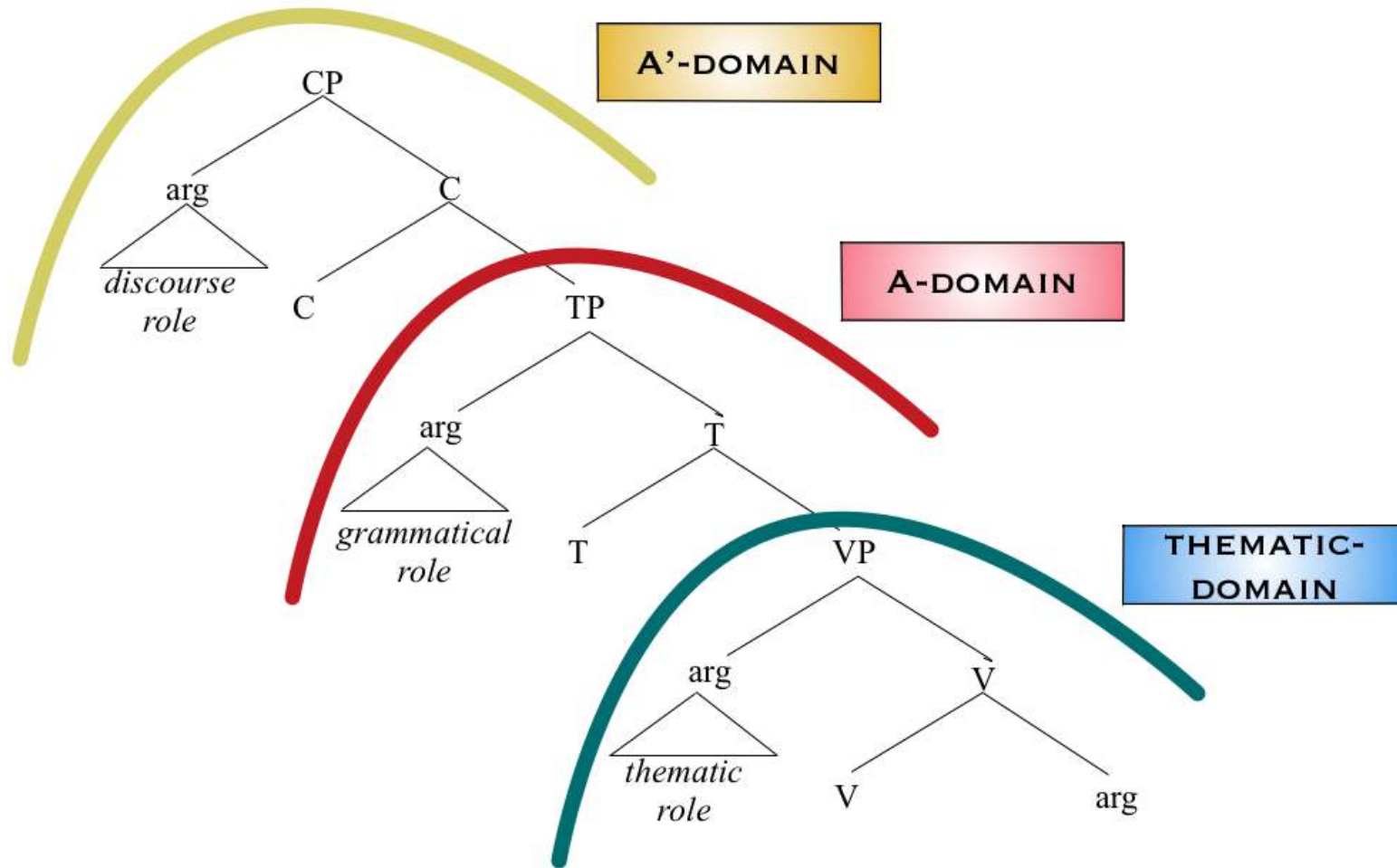
Example:

- i) English
- ii) your language of choice

Analysis

Definition

Sentence structure



Lessons from fieldwork



‘You have to put yourself into the sentence’



“This is for when you’re just saying it.”
“This is when you are telling someone.”

Sentences change in interaction

Observation task

- Get in groups of 3-4!
- Identify 2 people as those that will have a conversation.
- The other student(s) in the group will be in charge of **observing** the conversation.

Task for observers

People who will be having conversations, please don't look now!

Task for observers

- i) Do conversation participants speak in full sentences?
- ii) How do conversation participants determine how to take turns?
- iii) What kinds of little, “meaningless words” are used (such as *uh, uhm, eh, yeah, ok, aha ...*). How are they used? What function do they have?

(you can focus on one or more of these questions)

Task for people who talk

People who will be observation, please don't look now!

Task for people who talk

Talk about any or all of these topics

- i) What did you do on the weekend?
- ii) Should all restaurants, bars, and cafes be smoke-free zones?
- iii) Do you think university courses should have grades?
- iv) Do you have any plans for the summer?

Results

- i) What are the building blocks of conversations?
- i) How do conversation participants determine how to take turns?
- i) What kinds of little, “meaningless words” are used (such as *hm*, *uh*, *so*, *well*, *huh*, *right*, *okay*, *yeah*). How are they used? What function do they have?

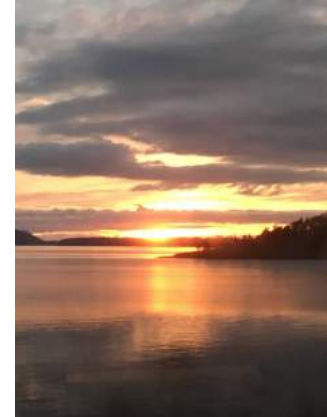
Sentences change in interaction

- Sarge: **Well**, you're the one keeping the secret. I'm just obliging.
- Jack: **Oh**, then it's gonna be a talk about that.
- Sarge: You didn't actually think I'd come over here without bringing it up, **did you? I mean**, you never answered my question before.
- Jack: I have an appointment scheduled for tomorrow.
- Sarge: **And?**
- Jack: **And what?**
- Sarge: Are you going to keep it or not?
- Jack: **Well**, I have every intention of going.
- Sarge: **Yeah**. Intentions, **eh**...
- Jack: **Okay, okay, okay, yeah, yeah, yeah**, I'm definitely going in. They can run tests to their hearts' content.
- Nikki: Tests? What, you're having tests?
- Jack: **Yeah**, just routine, **uh**, you know the hospital.
- Sarge: Doctors love to be thorough.
- Nikki: **Oh. Well**, in that case, I'm all for it.

Corpus of American Soap operas
<http://corpus.byu.edu/soap/>
Young and Restless 2012-05-29

Sentences change in interaction

- A: *Now **that was a gorgeous sunset**, eh?*
B: *Yah, **I know**, right?*

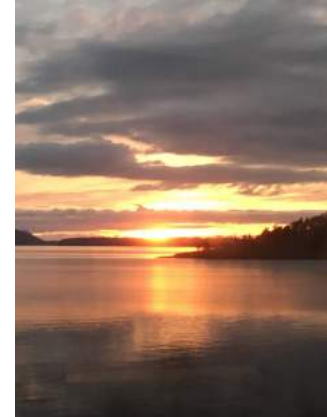


What is said

Sentences change in interaction

A: *Now that was a gorgeous sunset, eh?*

B: *Yah, I know, right?*



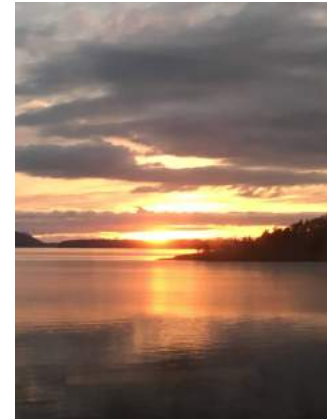
What is done

Sentences change in interaction

A: *Now that was a gorgeous sunset, eh?*

B: *Yah, I know, right?*

Confirmational

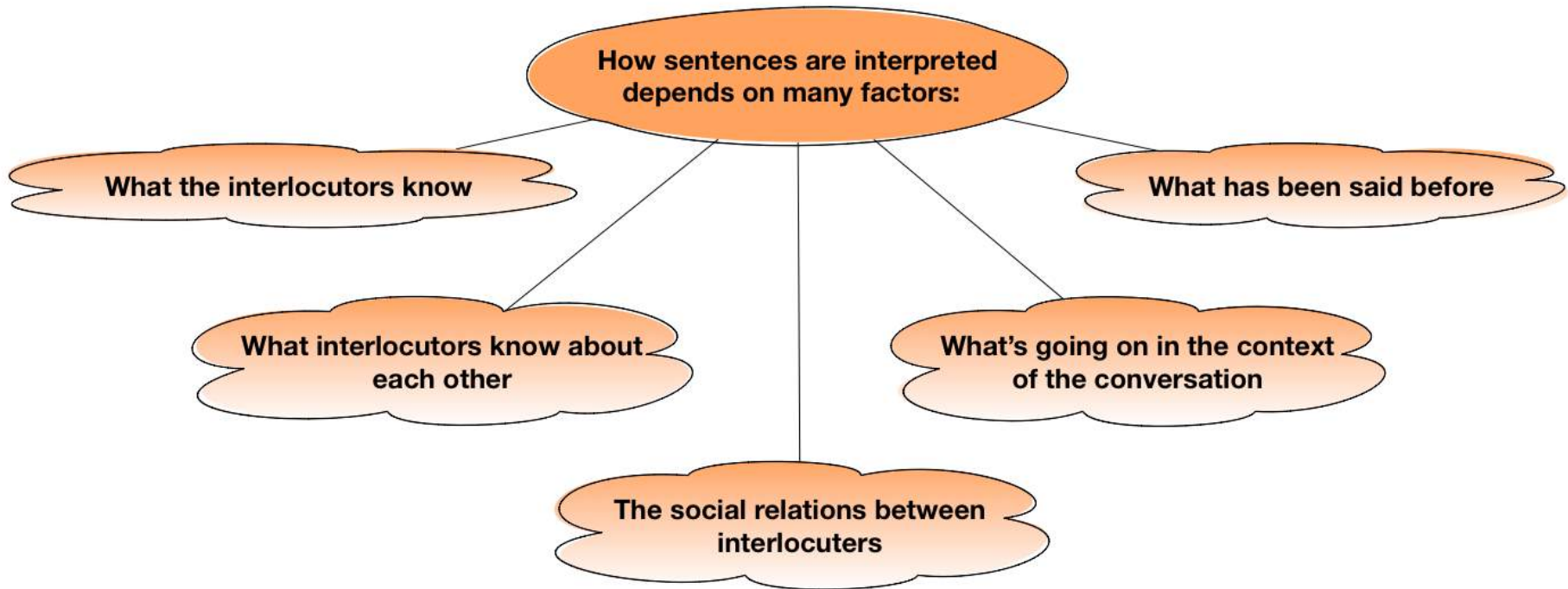


Response
marker

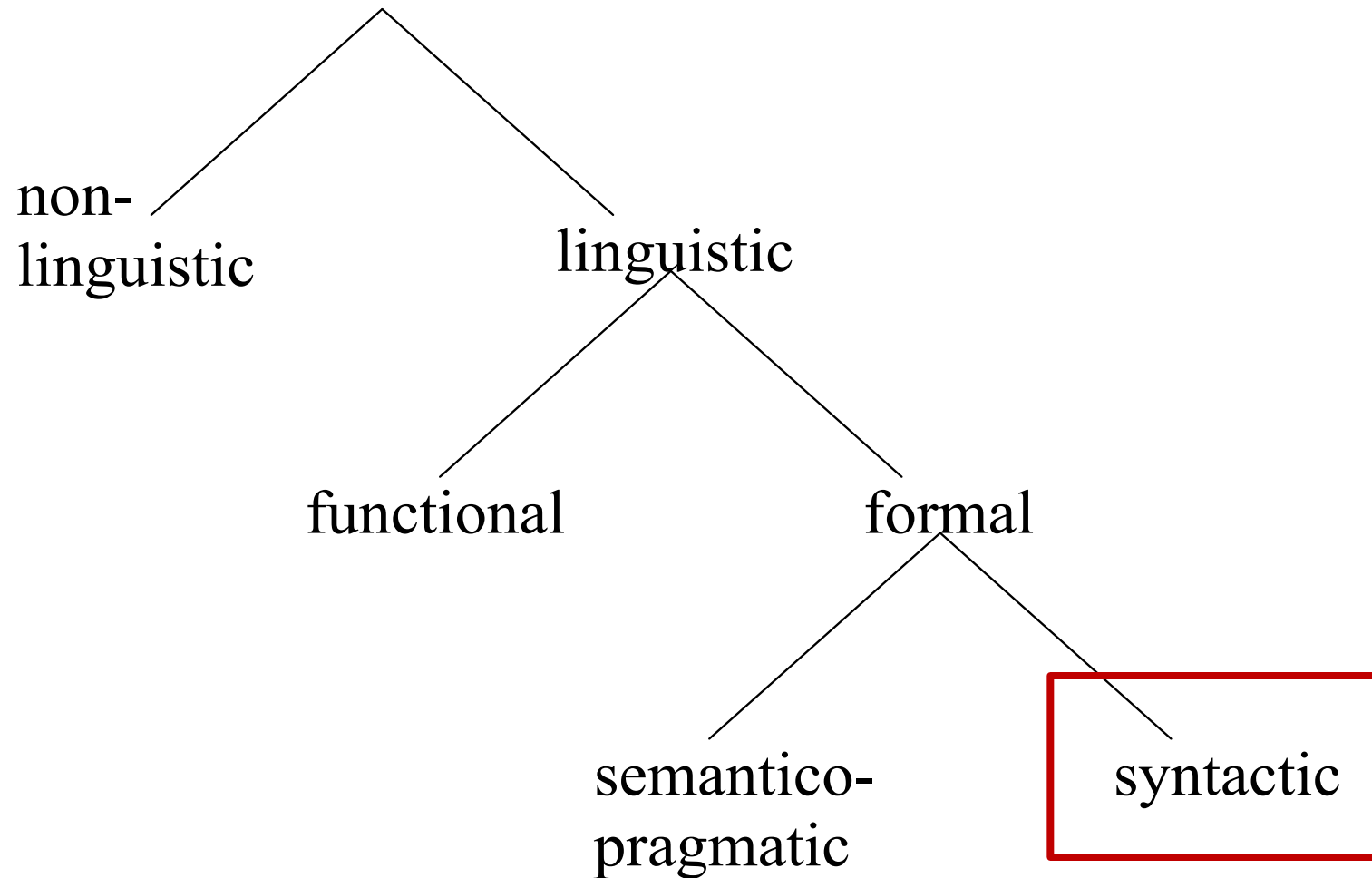
Pragmatic markers
Discourse markers

When we say things, we **do things**.

Languages have means to encode this **interactive dimension**



Ways to analyse the (inter-)active dimension



Why not syntax?

- i) Discourse markers are not necessary for the grammaticality of the sentence

Common definition of **syntax**:

module of language responsible for generating well-formed **sentences**

→ discourse markers are outside the scope of syntax

Why not syntax?

ii) outside of sentence proper

- Discourse markers are in sentence-peripheral positions
- sometimes discourse markers are set apart prosodically
- classified as **extra-clausal constituents**.

Unit of analysis for syntax:

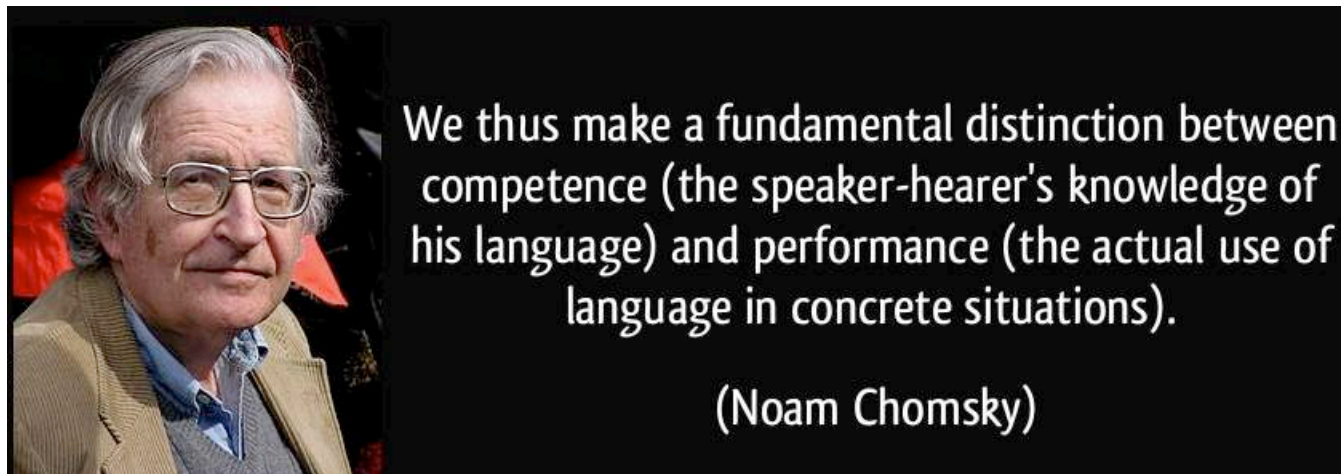
sentence

→ discourse markers are outside the scope of syntax

Why not syntax?

iii) Competence vs. performance

- Generative syntax explores language competence
- Interactive conversations are part of language performance



Discourse markers belong to the interactive dimension and hence are outside the scope of syntax

4 reasons for a syntactic approach

- i) Modern syntactic theory is well-equipped to deal with **language variation**
- ii) Modern syntactic theory aims to understand our **language faculty**
- iii) Some discourse markers are syntactically derived
- iv) Syntax **mediates** between **form and interpretation**

Variation



(1) *Oh, you have a new dog eh?*

(2) *(*Oh) you have a new dog eh?*

Variation

There is language variation in the use of discourse markers



(1) *Du host leicht an neichn Hund?*

You have part a new dog?

(2) **Du host an neichn Hund, geu?*

You have a new dog, conf

(3) **Du host leicht an neichn Hund?*

You have part a new dog?

(4) *Du host an neichn Hund, geu?*

You have a new dog, conf

Variation

Speakers have clear judgements about the use of discourse markers



(1) *Du host leicht an neichn Hund?*

You have part a new dog?

(2) **Du host an neichn Hund, geu?*

You have a new dog, conf

(3) **Du host leicht an neichn Hund?*

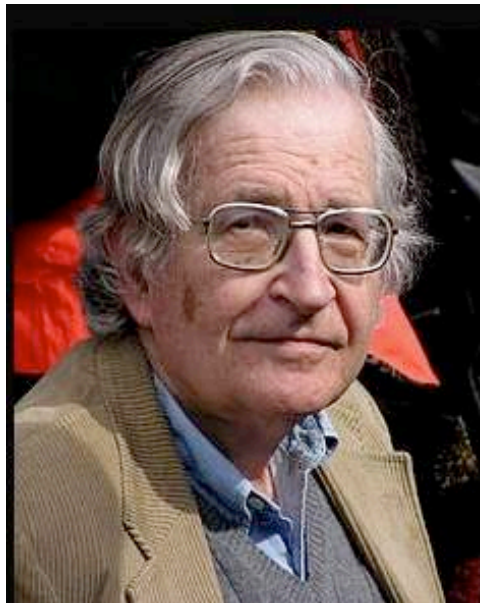
You have part a new dog?

(4) *Du host an neichn Hund, geu?*

You have a new dog, conf

- Speakers have clear **judgments** about the use of conversational markers
- Systematic **variation**

There is a grammar of discourse markers



We thus make a fundamental distinction between competence (the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language) and performance (the actual use of language in concrete situations).

(Noam Chomsky)

Conversational competence

Cf. Elinor Ochs Keenan 1974

- *communicative competence*

Dell Hymes

- *pragmatic competence*

N. Chomsky 1978, 1980

- *Interaction is built into the grammar.*

Ginzburg 2012: 2

4 reasons for a syntactic approach

- i) Modern syntactic theory is well-equipped to deal with **language variation**
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- iii) Some discourse markers are syntactically derived
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Reasons for a syntactic approach

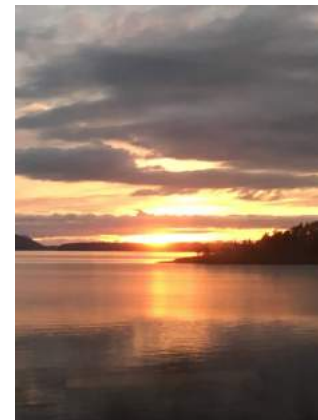
iii) Some discourse markers are syntactically derived

A: *Now **that was a gorgeous sunset**, wasn't it*

B: **It was.**

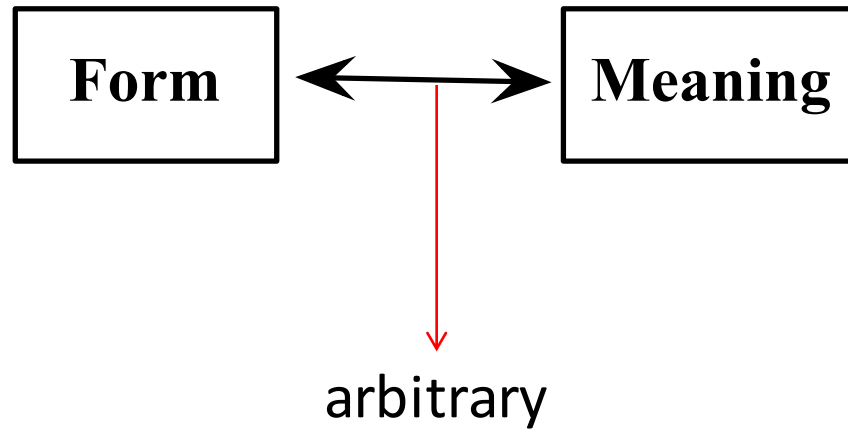
Response marker

Confirmational

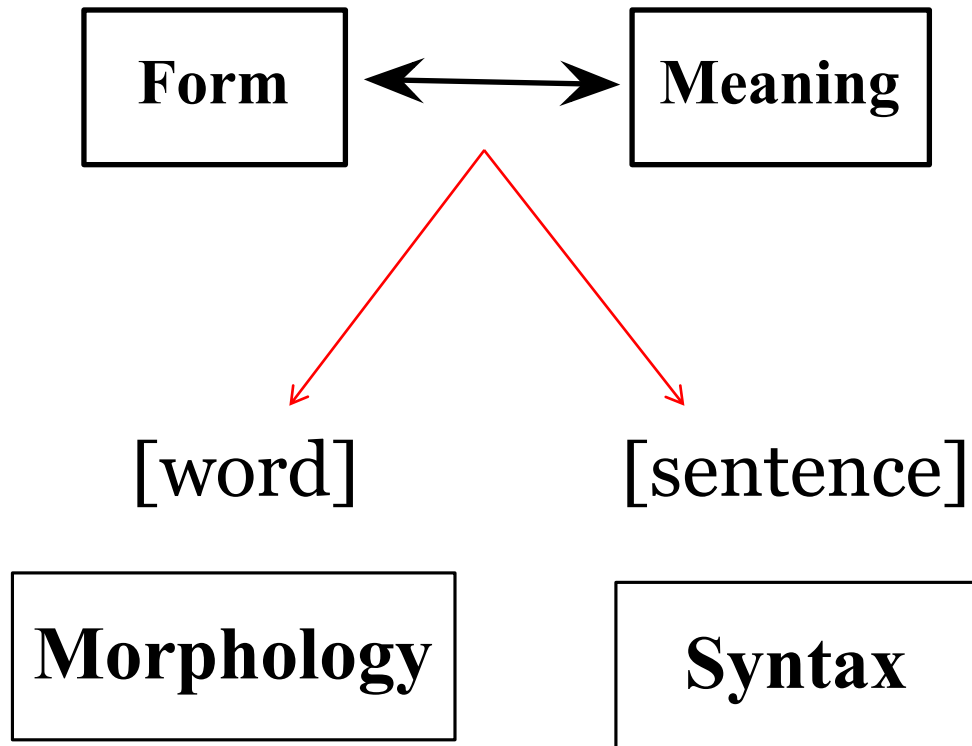


The relation between form and meaning

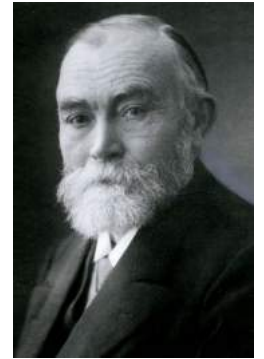
For simplex expressions



The relation between form and meaning



The relation between form and meaning



(1) Principle of compositionality

The meaning of any complex expression is a function of the meanings of its parts and of the way they are syntactically combined.

Partee 2014: 9 (10)

(2) Principle of contextuality

A word has a meaning only in the context of a sentence.

Baker & Hacker 1980: 258

The relation between form and meaning

Interpretation	Syntactic context	Form
State	Put it on the clear_A table. <pre> graph TD DP --> D1[D] DP --> D2[D] D1 --- the[the] D2 --> A[A] D2 --> NP[NP] A --- clear[clear] NP --- table[table] </pre>	clear
Event	He clear_V -ed the table. <pre> graph TD S --> Tense[Tense] S --> VP[VP] Tense --- ed[-ed] VP --> V[V] VP --> DP[DP] V --- clear[clear] DP --- the_table[the table] </pre>	clear

The relation between form and meaning

Interpretation	Syntactic context	Form
property	This is the right_A room.	right
confirmational	This is the room, right_{conf.}	right

The relation between form and meaning

discourse markers/pragmatic markers

= parts of language that contribute to the (inter-)active stance

= *extra-clausal* constituents (Kaltenboeck 2016),

They serve to compose complex expressions that have a predictable meaning.

What's in a sentence?

Extra-clausal constituents

parentheticals, discourse markers, appositions, non-restrictive relative clauses, tails and afterthoughts, in subordinate clauses, vocatives, interjections, left-dislocands, formulae of social exchange, etc.

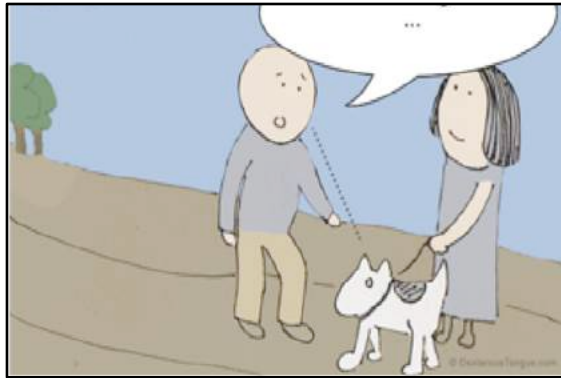
outside ordinary
sentence grammar

syntactically
independent from
the linguistic
environment

only loosely
associated with a
host construction

not easily
accountable in
terms of clause-
internal rules of
sentence grammar

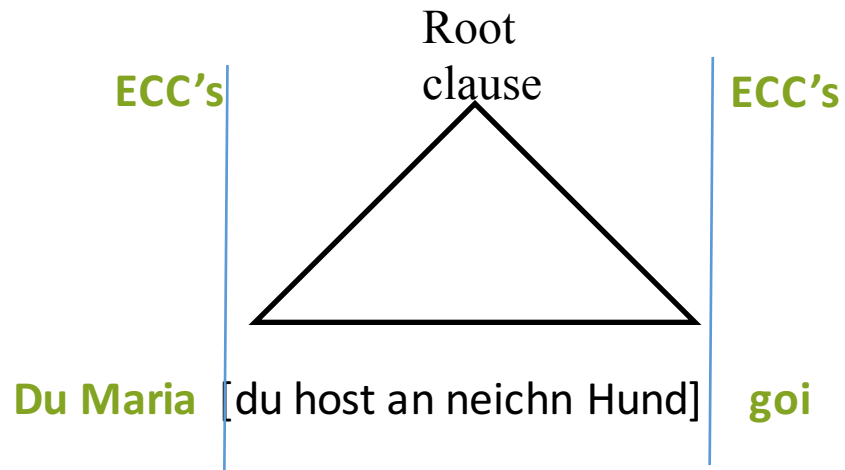
What does it mean to be outside the clause?



(1) **Du Maria** [du host an neichn Hund] **goi**

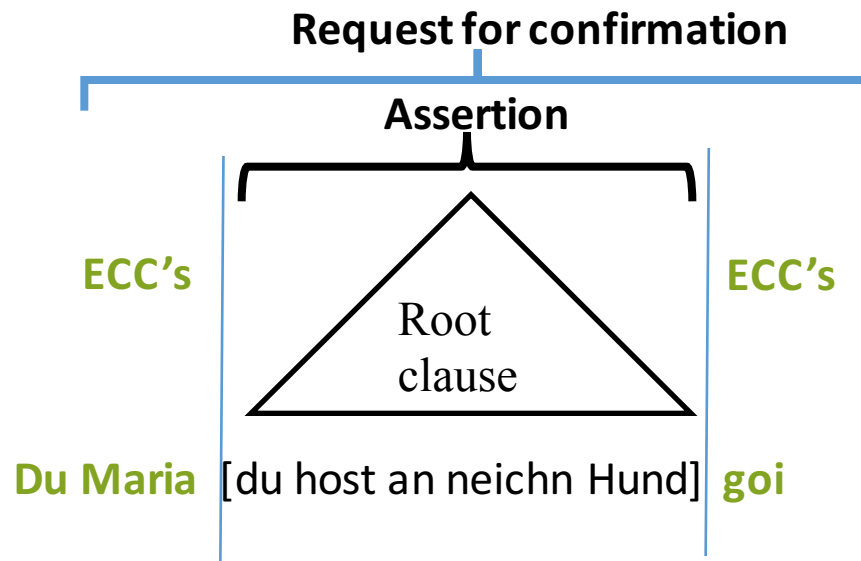
What does it mean to be outside the clause?

Distribution: Sentence-peripheral



What does it mean to be outside the clause?

Function:
Speech
Act
Modifier

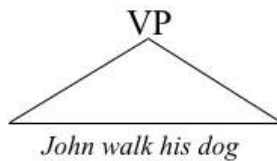


What's a sentence?

Small Clause:

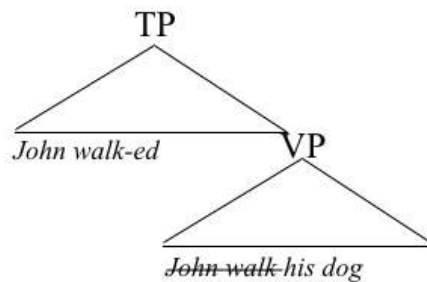
Bob saw ...

John walk his dog.



Tensed Clause:

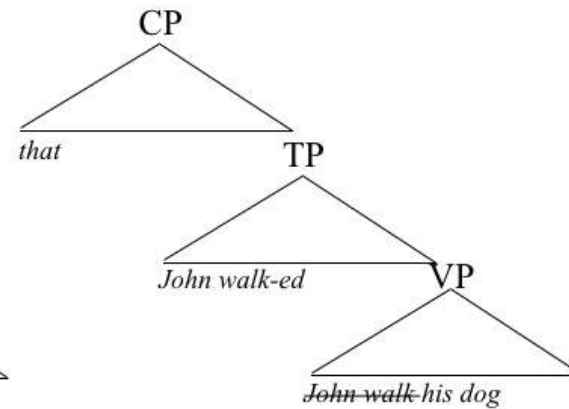
John walked his dog.



Embedded clause

Bob knew ...

that John walked his dog.



Discourse markers

are merged outside of propositional structure

Sentence –final

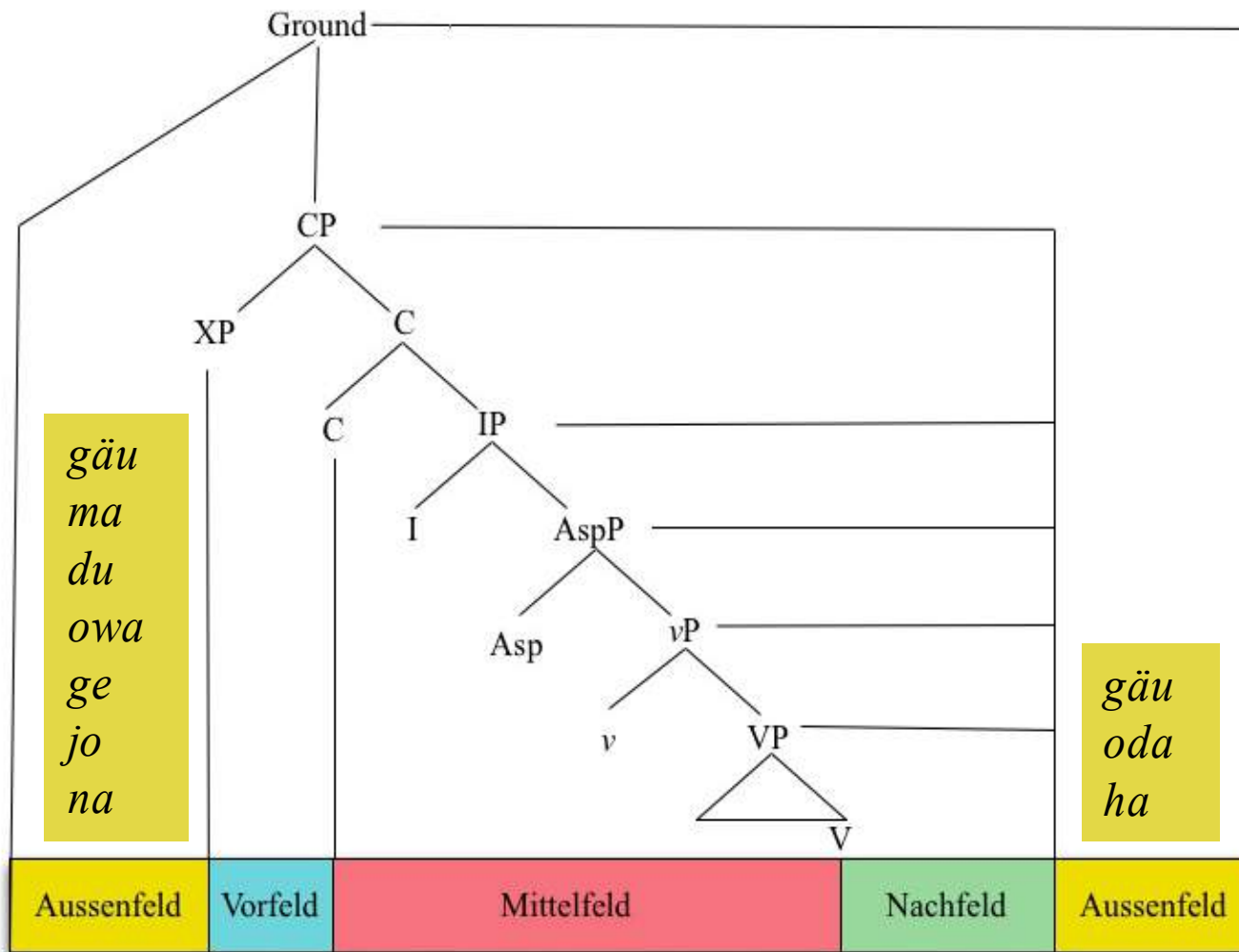
(1) *Du wiast moagn kumma, **gäu** ?*

→ in violation of V-last

Sentence –initial

(2) ***Gäu**, du kommst moagn*

→ in violation of V2



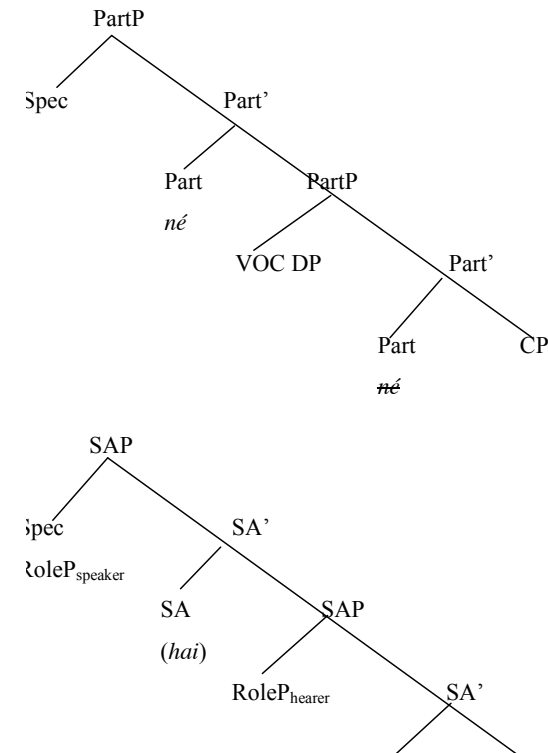
The syntax of interaction

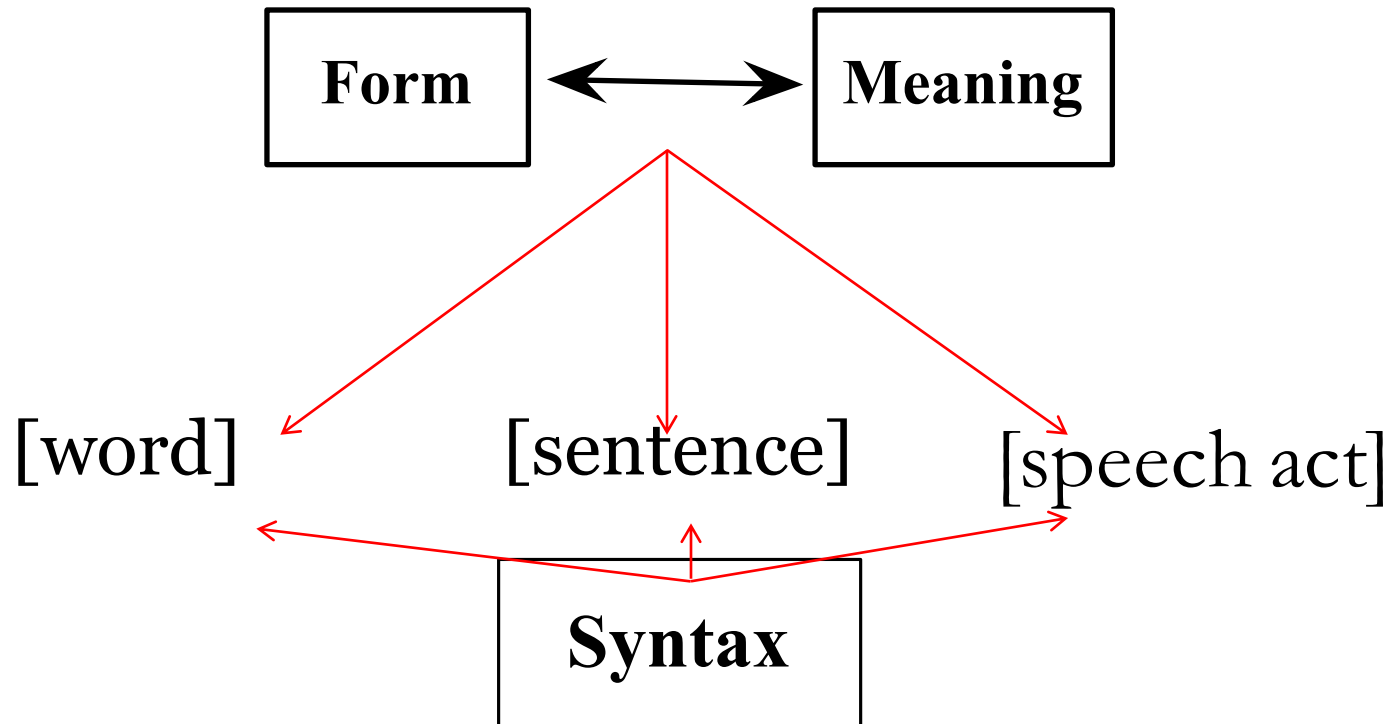
A generative view

WEST FLEMISH VERB-BASED DISCOURSE MARKERS AND THE ARTICULATION OF THE SPEECH ACT LAYER*

Liliane Haegeman, Ghent University

Abstract. This paper focuses on the West Flemish discourse markers on the edge of the clause. After a brief survey of the distribution of discourse markers in WF, the paper proposes a syntactic analysis of the discourse markers *né* and *wè*. Based on the distribution of these discourse markers, of vocatives and of dislocated DPs, an articulated speech act layer is elaborated which corroborates the proposals in Hill (2007b). It is postulated that there is a syntactic relation between particles used as discourse markers and vocatives. The paper offers further support for the grammaticalization of pragmatic features at the interface between syntax and discourse and for the hypothesis that the relevant computation at the interface is of the same nature as that of the narrow syntax.

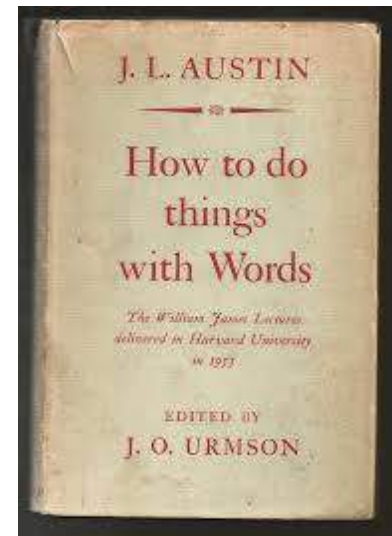




Speech act theory

Sentences change in interaction

When we talk to others,
we do not only say things,
we do things.



Performative verbs



By saying this,
the couple is married.

Performative verbs



By saying this,
the groom made a
promise

Performative verbs

Some verbs are performative:

1. I promise to be a good husband
2. I christen this ship

We can test this by using the verb *hereby*:

3. I *hereby* promise to be a good husband.
4. I *hereby* christen this ship.

Performative verbs

According to Ross, all sentences are performative.

However, not all **verbs** are:

1. I think I am a good husband.
2. *I hereby think I am a good husband.
3. I forgot to be a good husband.
4. *I hereby forgot to be a good husband.

By saying these sentences, the speaker is not "thinking" or "forgetting", so the use of hereby is infelicitous.

Performative acts

A: *Now that was a gorgeous sunset, eh?*

B: *Yah, I know, right?*



What is done

Information
Sharing of beliefs
Acceptance of beliefs
...

Speech act theory

locutionary act

= what is being said

illocutionary act

= what is being intended by the speaker

perlocutionary act

= what is being effected in the hearer

Speech act theory

Speech acts are associated with conditions that regulate their felicitous use.

Illocutionary force of *assertion* is felicitous only if

- i) the speaker believes what s/he says and
- ii) if the speaker wants the hearer to also believe what s/he says.

→ Explains the *action* of assertion.

Speech-act theory:

UoA = SPEECH ACT

“Illocutionary acts are important for the purpose of philosophical semantics because they are the primary units of meaning in the use and comprehension of natural language.”

Vanderveken, 1990, p. 1.

SPEECH ACTS

assertives (*assert,...*)

commissives (*commit, promise, bet...*)

directives (*direct, request,...*)

declaratives (*declare, resign,...*)

expressives (*apologize, thank, condole,...*)

“words uttered by participants are seen as actions by the speaker. Interlocutors display their understanding of this prior action through their own turn at talk. Actions are thus “activities being negotiated in the talk: as requests, proposals, accusations, complaints and so on”

(Hutchby & Woofitt, 1998, p.14).

The syntacticization of speech acts

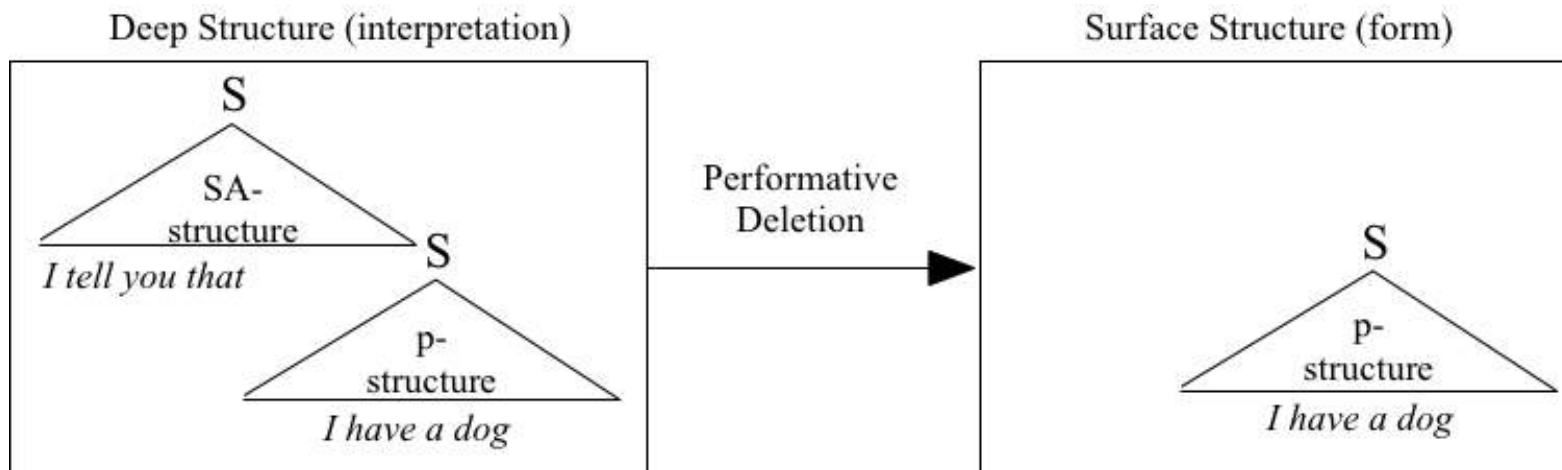
The performative hypothesis

Neo-performative hypotheses

The performative hypothesis

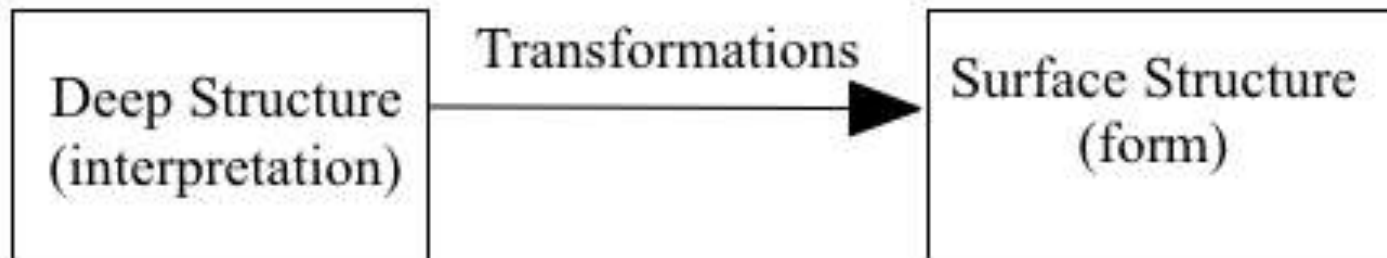


John R. Ross



Background

Transformational grammar:



Background



Jerry Katz



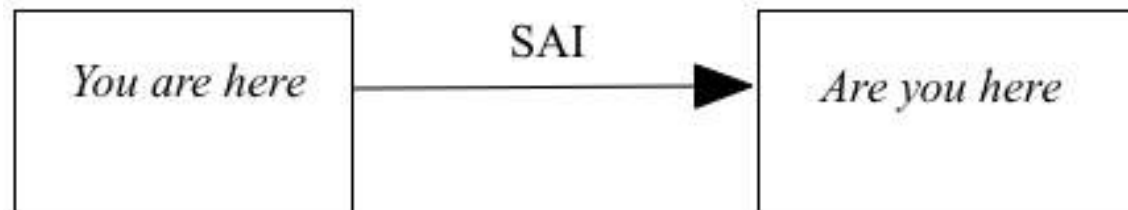
Paul Postal

Problem:

illocutionary force of a sentence is changed by SAI

Problem:

illocutionary force of a sentence is changed by SAI

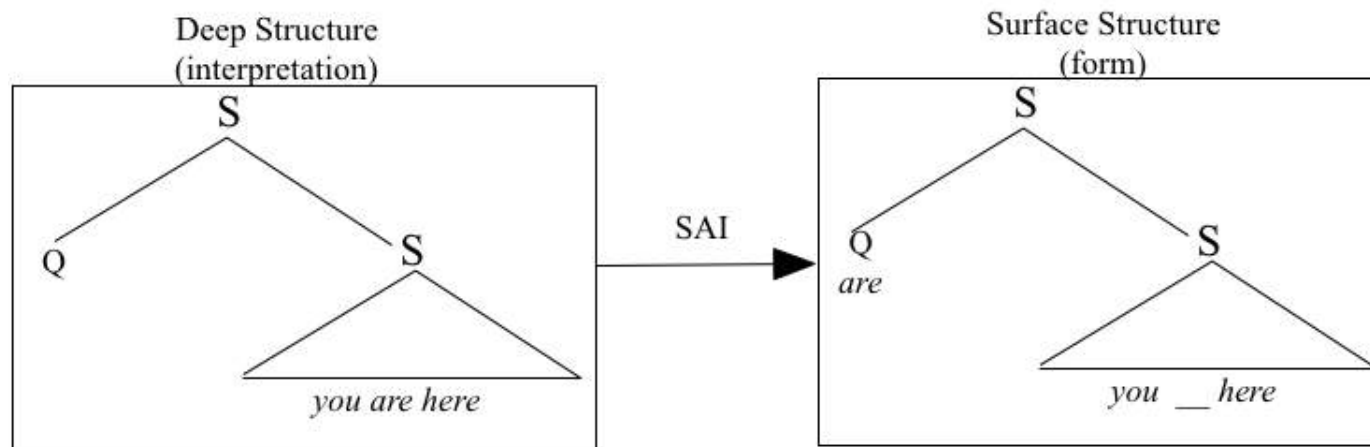


Background

Illocutionary force is encoded at Deep structure

Q-morpheme

- ...present at Deep Structure
- ... triggers question interpretation
- ... triggers SAI



The performative Hypothesis

Ross (1970): All sentences are performative utterances.
(We're doing something with everything we say!)

(1) SS: Mary is the culprit.

DS: **I tell you that** Mary is the culprit.

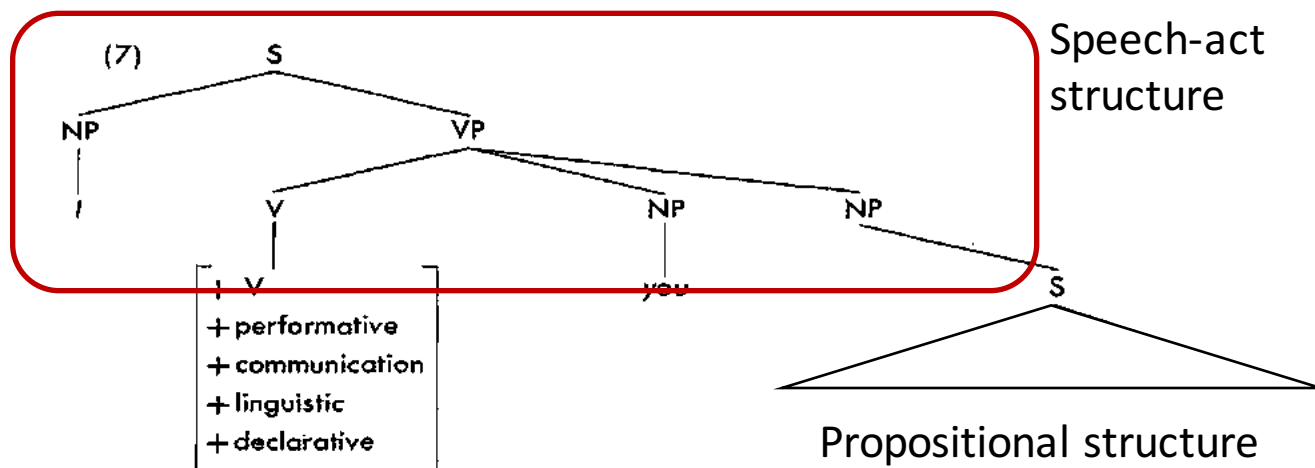
(2) SS: Is the exam tomorrow?

DS: **I ask you whether** the exam is tomorrow.

The performative Hypothesis

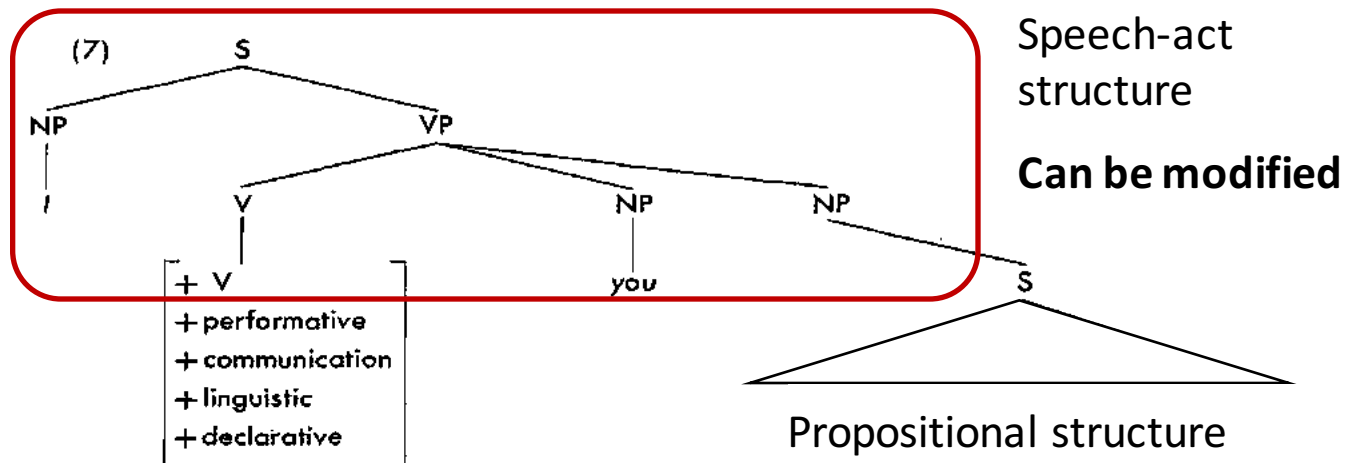
Ross (1970): All sentences are performative utterances.
(We're doing something with everything we say!)

What we are doing is encoded in the sentence at D-S!



Evidence for the performative hypothesis

- (1) Jenny isn't here, **for I don't see her.**
- (2) Mary is getting married, **because I heard it from her mother.**



Evidence for the performative hypothesis

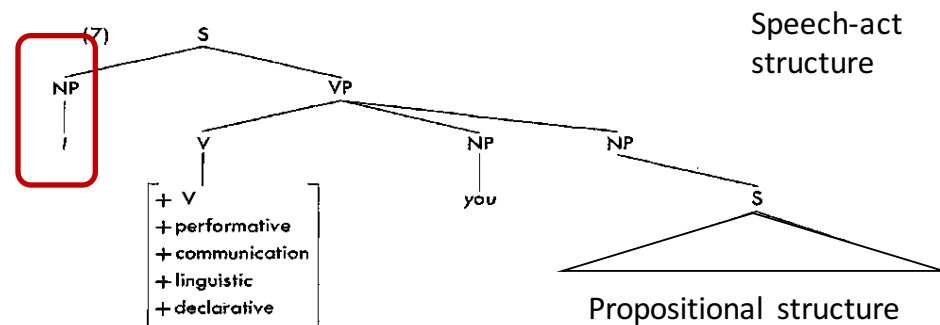
Thai speaker agreement (Ross 1970:260 (119))

a. Khaw maa khráp.
 he come spkr=male

"He is coming."

b. Khaw maa khâ.
 he come spkr=female

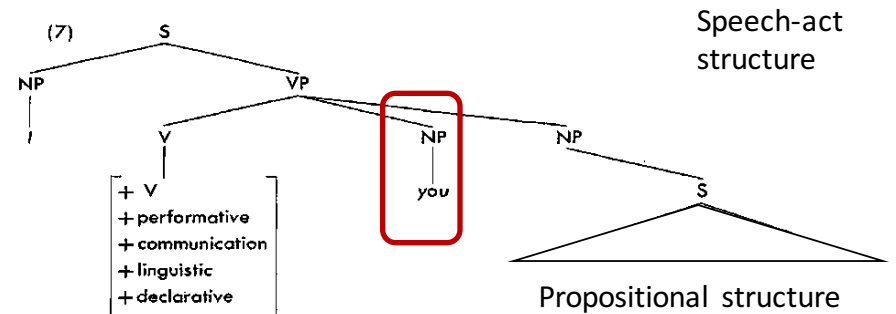
"He is coming."



Evidence for the performative hypothesis

Basque addressee agreement (Miyagawa 2012 (8))

- a. Pettek lan egin dik.
Peter work do.prf aux-2masc
"Peter worked."
- b. Pettek lan egin din.
Peter work do.prf aux-2fem
"Peter worked."



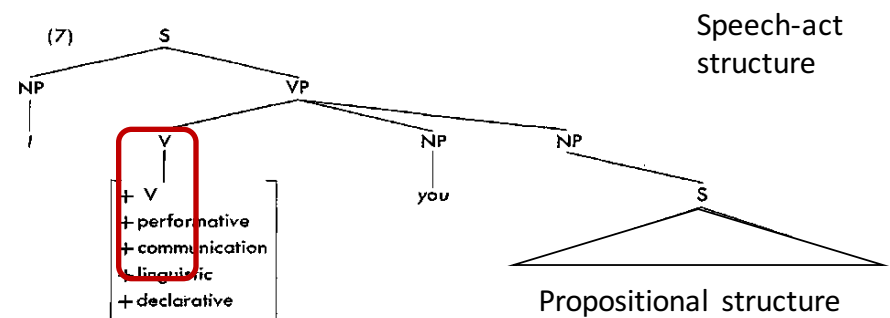
Problems with the performative hypothesis

i) The problem of **recursion**:

How many performative clauses?

(1) ~~I tell you that~~ I tell you that Mary is the culprit.

ii) What determines which V of saying is in the embedding clause?



Problems with the performative hypothesis

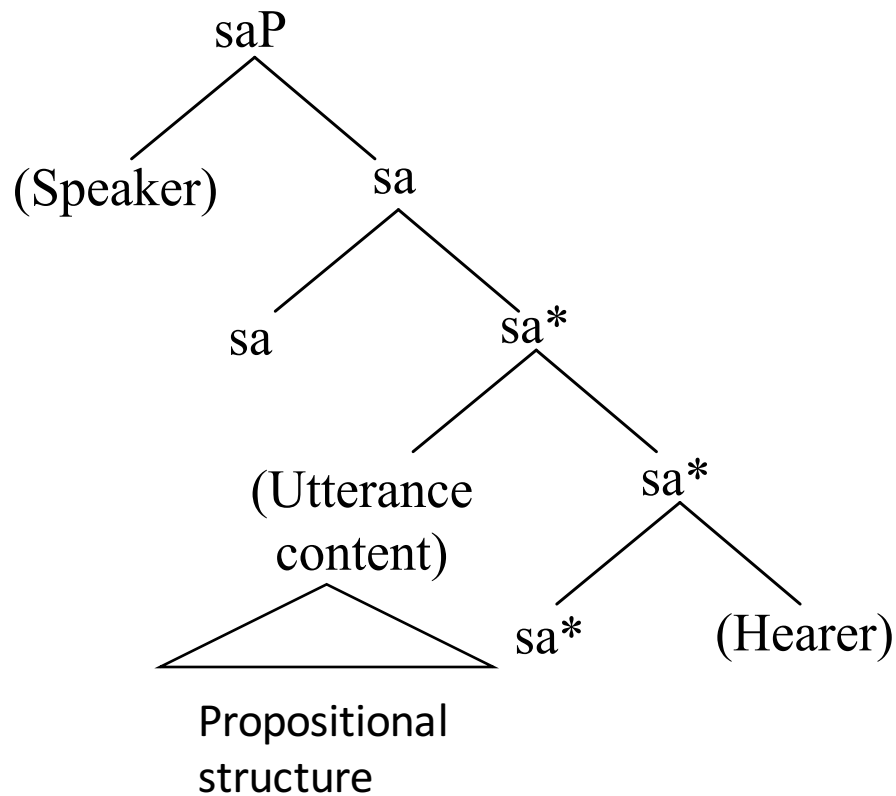
- iii) PH needs to assume **Literal Force Hypothesis:**
 - ... 1:1 mapping between clause type and speech act
 - ... but one clause type (e.g. declarative) can give rise to many speech acts
- (1) You will go home tomorrow
 - (a) Assertion (b) Command (c) Prediction (d) Reply
- iv) The general **rejection of 'generative semantics'** in favor of an interpretive semantics (resulting in the Linguistic Wars)

The syntacticization of speech acts

The performative hypothesis

Neo-performative hypotheses

Reviving the performative hypothesis



Speas & Tenny 2003

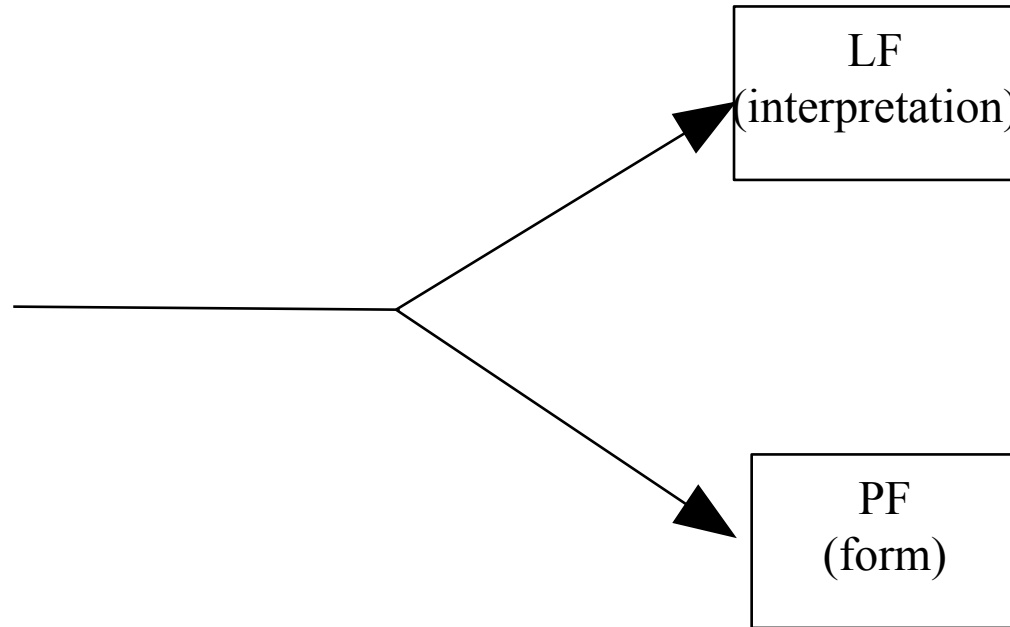


Peggy Speas



Carol Tenny

Background: Form & meaning



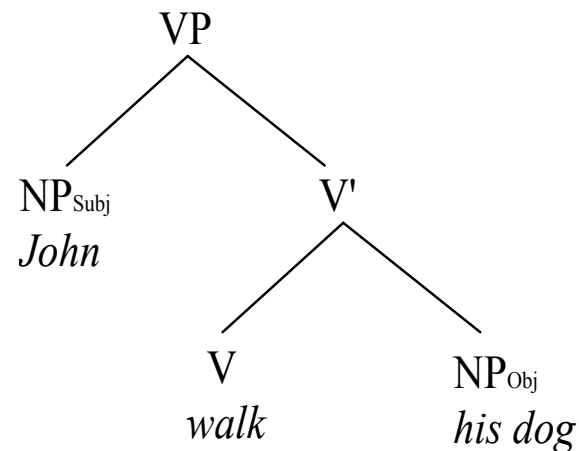
Background: clause structure

What is a clause?

Def 1: Consists (minimally) of **subject and predicate**

Expresses a proposition

(1) I saw [**John walk his dog**]



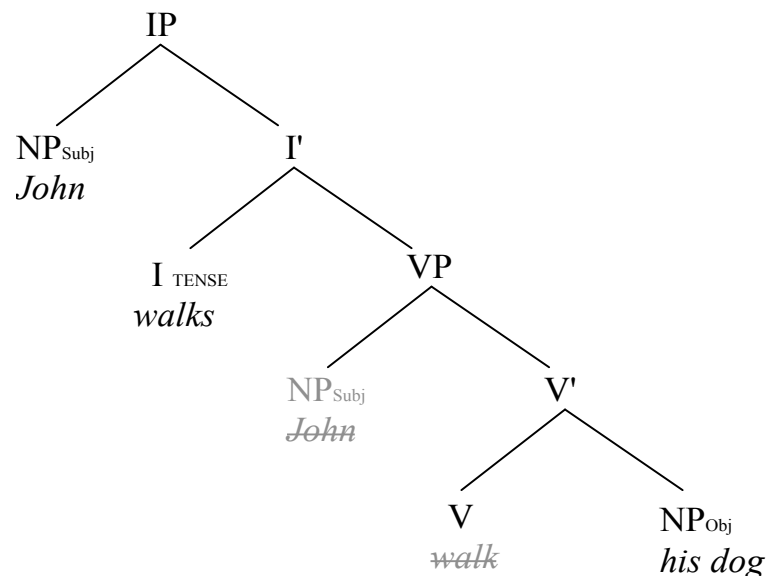
Background: clause structure

What is a clause?

Def. 2 Consists (minimally) of subject and predicate

Independent clauses require **tense & agreement**

- a. *John walk his dog
- b. John **walks** his dog.
- c. John **walked** his dog.



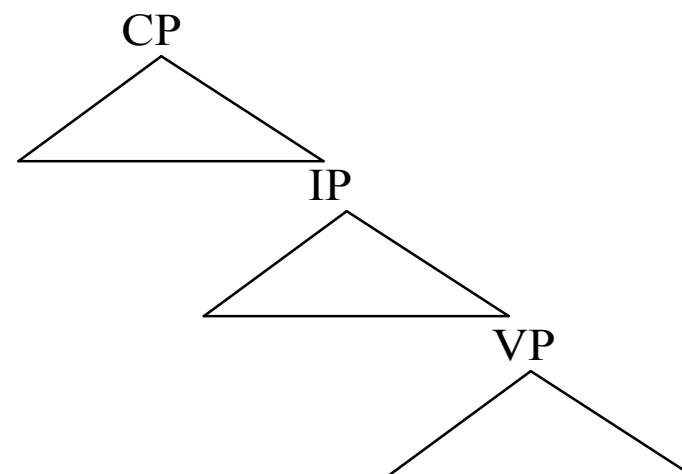
Background: clause structure

What is a clause?

Def. 3: A clause is the maximal projection of the **highest functional category associated with** a small clause.

But what is the highest functional projection?

(1) I know [that John walks his dog.]

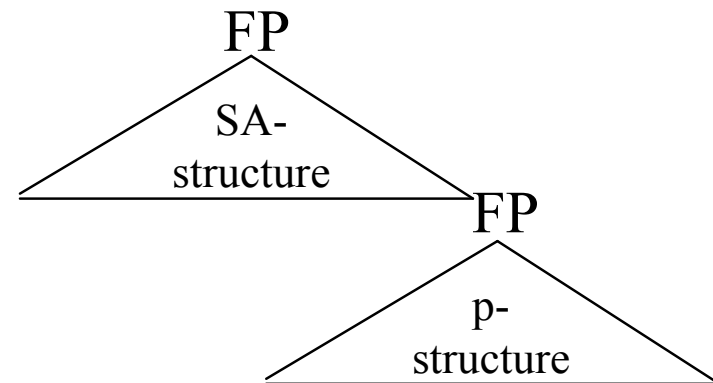


Syntacticization of speech acts – pragmaticization of syntax

Speech act structure is part of the **functional architecture** of the clause.

= interface between the utterance and the discourse

What is the function of the speech act structure?



Neo-performative hypotheses

Labels of SA-structure

i) reflect the ‘performative aspect of SA

DiscourseP (Beninca 2001, Garzonio 2004)

PragP (Hill 2006)

SpeechActProjection (SAP, Hill 2007a,b)

ii) reflect the Speaker’s relation to the utterance

Modal values (Speas & Tenny 2003, Speas 2004)

Attitude (Paul, 2-14)

PartP (Haegeman 2015)

Neo-performative hypotheses

Empirical domains covered by these hypotheses

- evidentials
- discourse particles
- discourse markers
- sentence-final particles
- response particles
- speaker and addressee agreement
- vocatives

Speas & Tenny 2003

Basic syntactic principles constrain

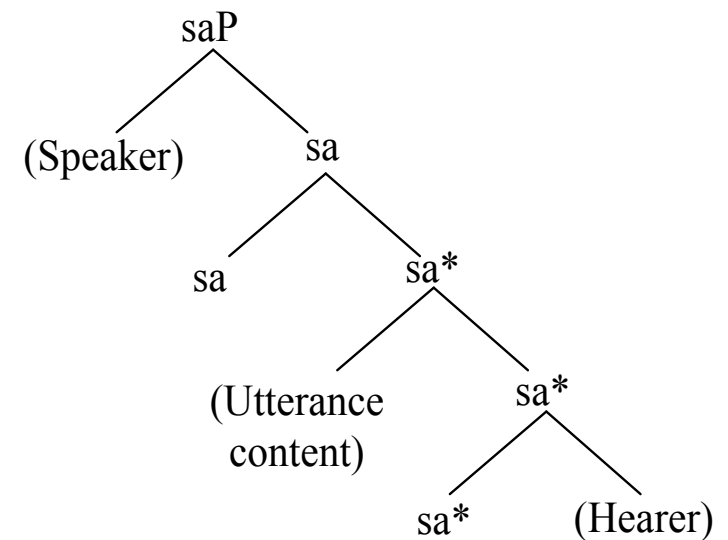
... projections of pragmatic force

... the inventory of grammatically relevant pragmatic roles.

(S&T 2003: 315)

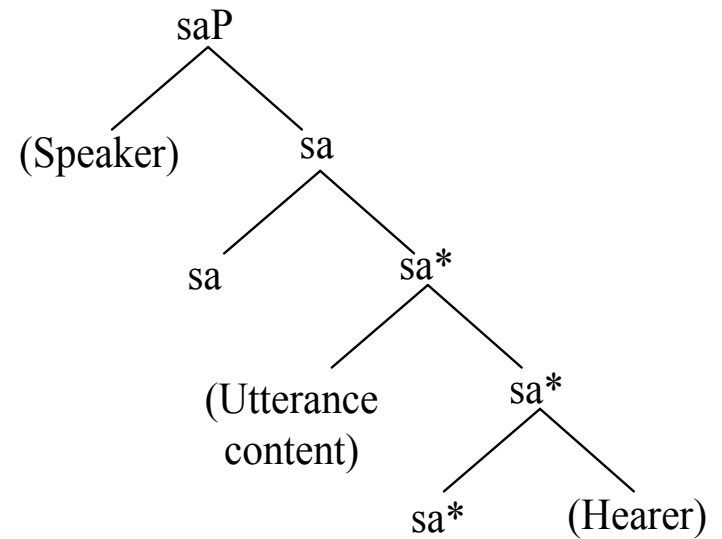
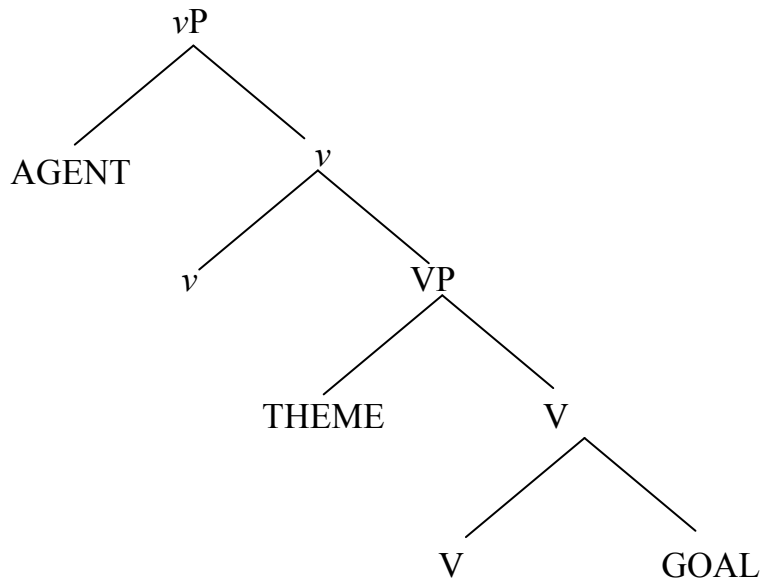
... SA-structure is isomorphic to

event-structure (à la Hale & Keyser)



Speas & Tenny 2003

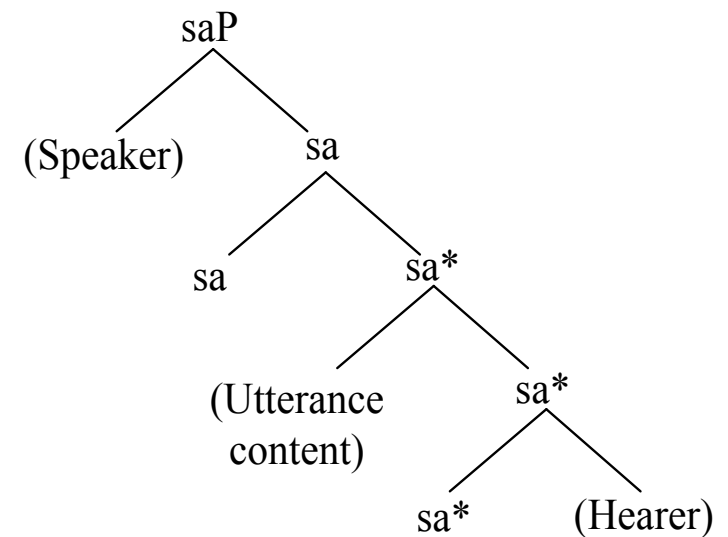
Parallels to event/argument-structure



Speas & Tenny 2003

Derives the limited number of **Sentence modes**

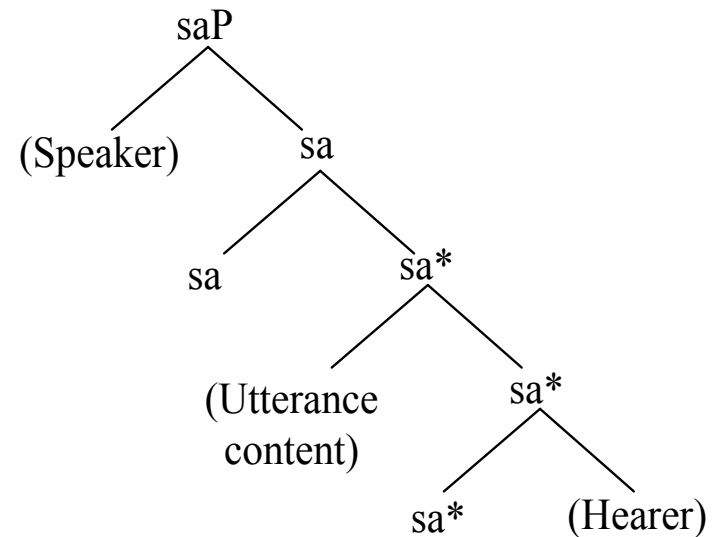
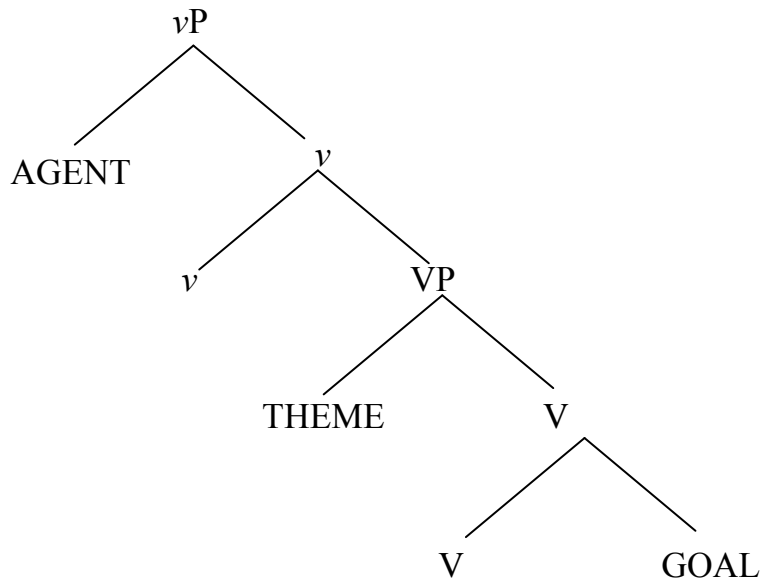
- **Interrogative**
= passive-like: Hearer > Speaker
- **Imperative/subjunctive**
= non-finite utterance content



Problems with S&T

Speas & Tenny 2003

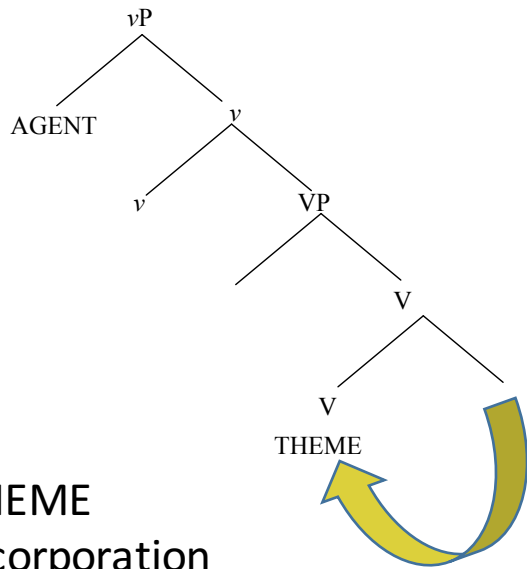
Parallels to event/argument-structure doesn't quite hold



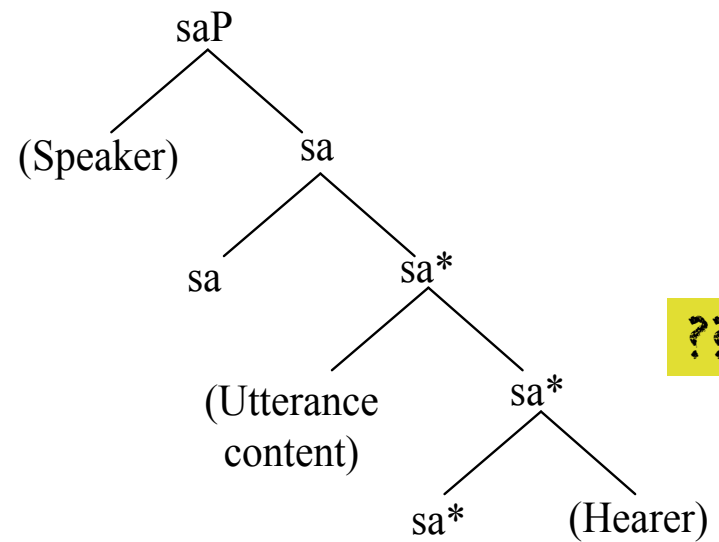
Problems with S&T 2003

Expected Argument-structures of Hale & Keyser

Unergatives
= concealed transitives



THEME
incorporation

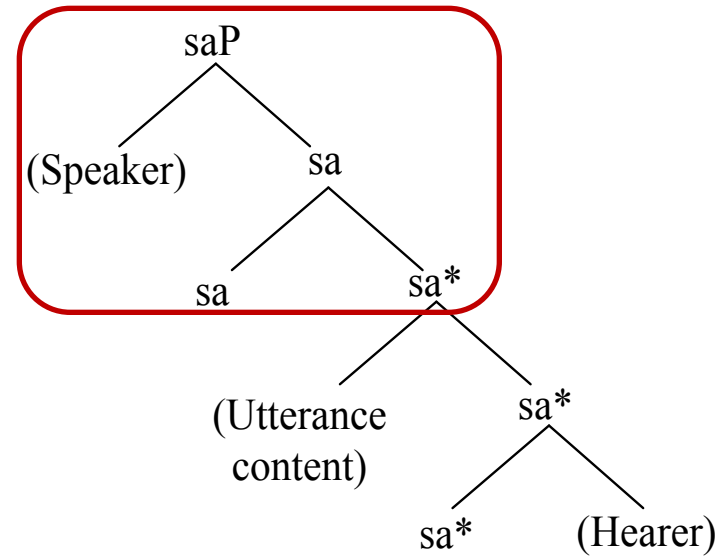
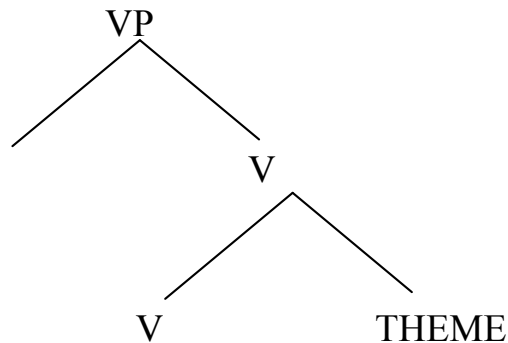


Problems with S&T 2003

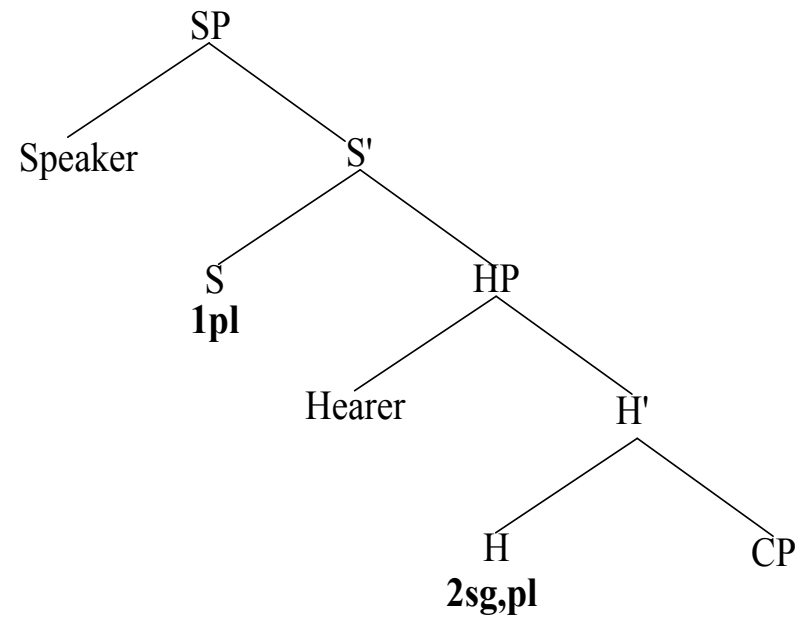
Expected Argument-structures of Hale & Keyser

How can the Spkr role be missing?

unaccusatives
= lacking vP



Zu 2015 on Jingpo



Zu 2015 on Jingpo

Addressee agreement instead of subject agreement

- a. hkyinggade htu s-a'-tâ?
time how.many point COS-3SG.GOAL1-WH
'What time is it?'
- b. hkyinggade htu s-e-tâ?
time how.many point COS-**2SG.GOAL1**-WH
'What time is it?' (singular addressee)
- c. hkyinggade htu me-s''in-tâ?
time how.many point **PL-COS-2.GOAL1**-WH
'What time is it?' (plural addressee)

Zu 2015



- Jingpo has a **rich inventory** of sentence final particles (approx. 350)
- They are mostly **obligatory**
- **Decomposable:**
 [A+B]
- A = carries **agreement** morphemes and optionally encodes other grammatical functions (incl. aspectuality (of an event), path (of a movement) and urgency (of a request, promise, or suggestion).
- B = **clause typing** (declarative, interrogative, imperative, speculative, exclamative, and exhortative)

Zanuttini and colleagues



Core imperatives: Subject = Addressee

- a. Be here at 3 o'clock!
- b. Everyone please stand up!
- c. Slow traffic keep right!

Properties of subjects of core imperatives

- null subjects allowed across lgs. (even if otherwise not null-subject)
- Has 2nd person features

- a. Raise your hand!
- b. Wash yourselves!
- c. Raise your hand, won't **you**?
- d. Wash yourselves, won't **you**?

Zanuttini and colleagues

In English, null subjects are otherwise generic,
in imperatives they pick out the addressee (=specific)

- a. PRO hiking is popular.
- b. He likes PRO to hike.
- c. Eat!
- d. Don't leave now!

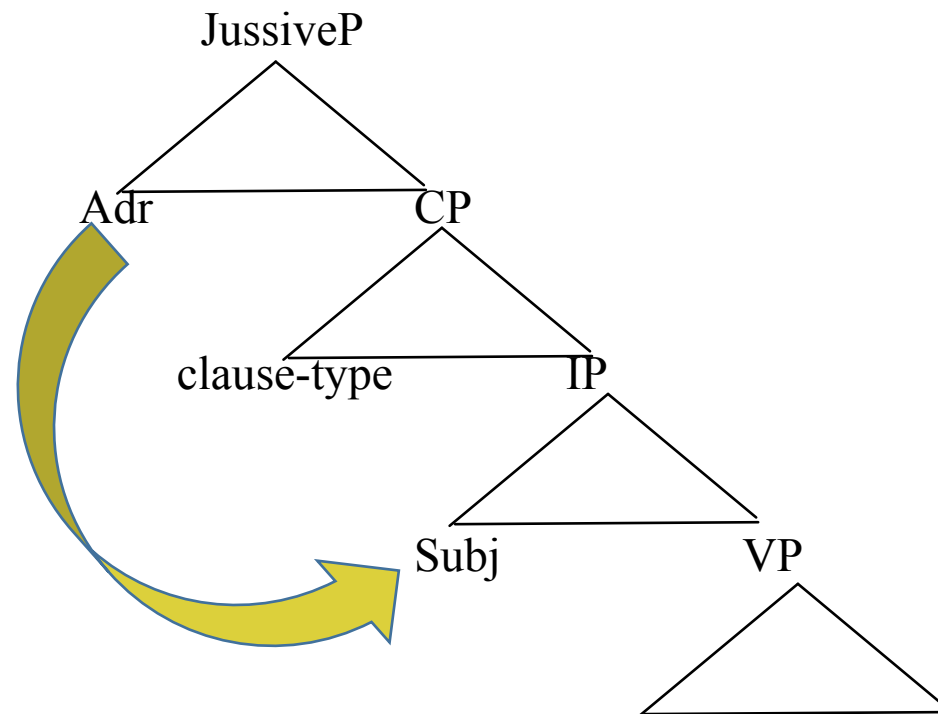
Zanuttini and colleagues

Otherwise null subjects are licensed by rich inflection;
but imperative inflection is typically not rich
Imperative subject has to be 2nd person

- a. You do it!
- b. *I do it!
- c. *He do it!

→ c. cannot mean “you make sure that he does it”

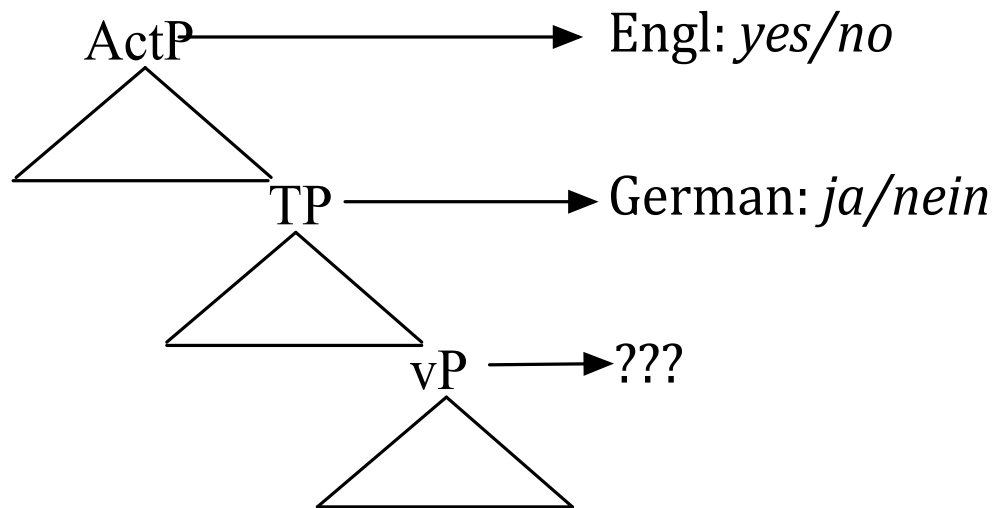
Zanuttini and colleagues



Krifka 2013



Response particles as propositional anaphors



More problems with neo-performative hypotheses

The interactive nature of speech acts

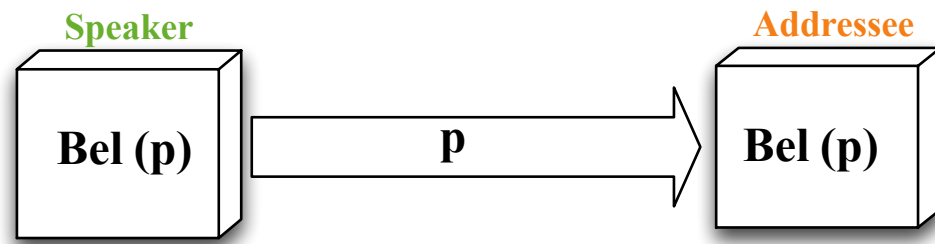
Ordering restrictions on SFPs suggests $A > S$

The interactive nature of speech acts

S asserts p if

- i) S believes p**
- ii) S wants A to believe p**

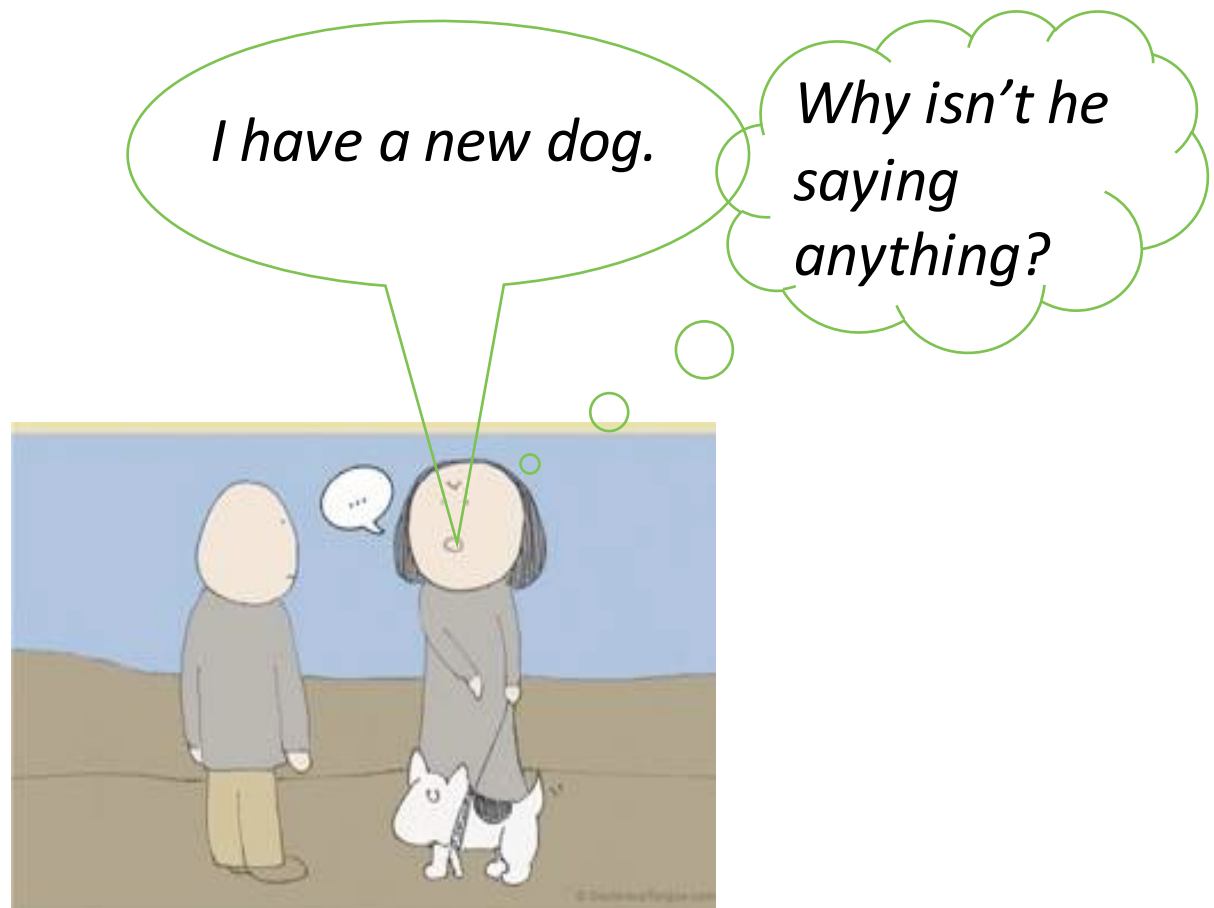
Bach & Harnish 1979



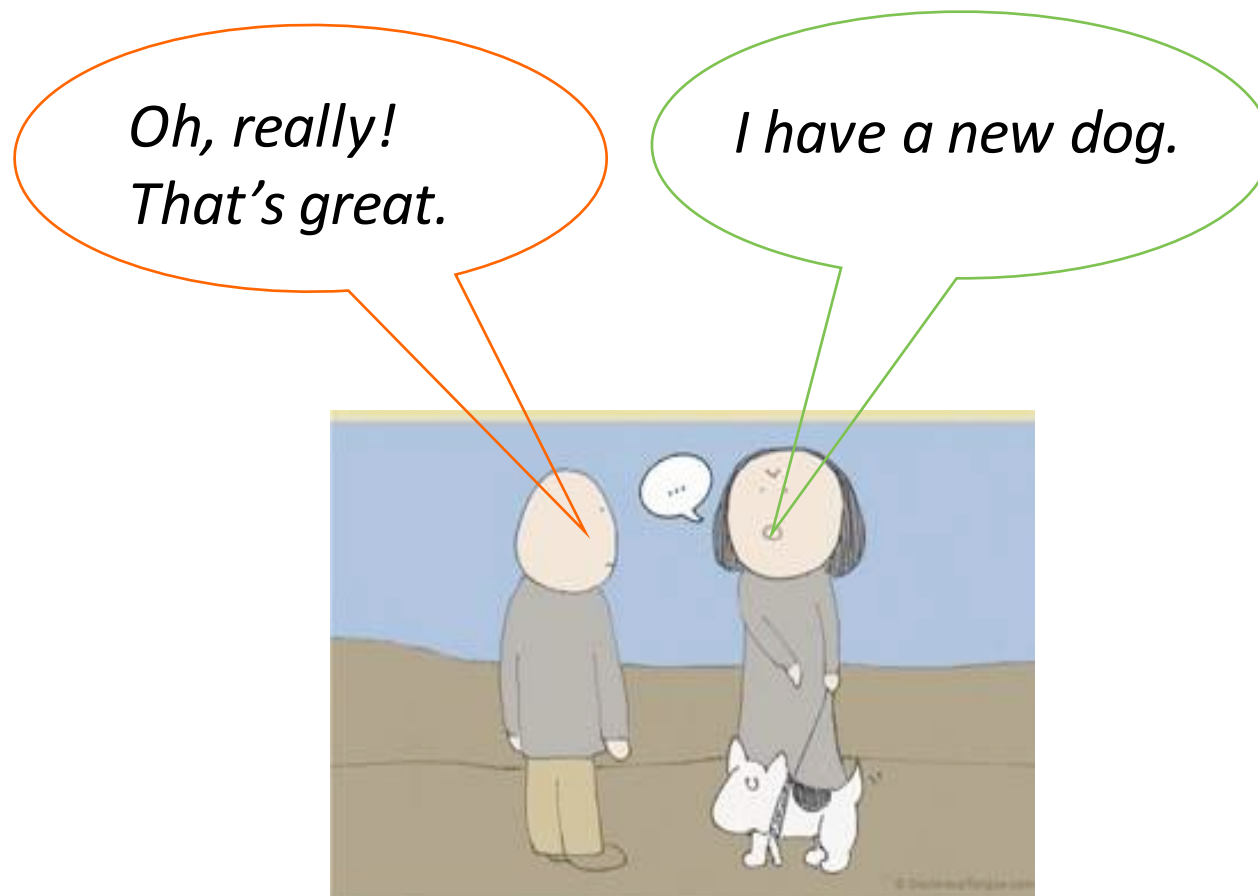
The syntax of interaction

The interactive nature of speech acts

Assertions often need a response



The interactive nature of speech acts



The syntax of interaction

Complexity of speech acts



Unbiased question: A-not-A in Cantonese

Scenario: Jimmy is asked to take a seat in an interrogation room of a police station. A police officer asked for Jimmy's name and then says this.

a. nei5 hai6 m4 hai6 mei5gwok3 jan4?
2SG Cop Neg Cop USA person
'Are you American?'

b.#nei5 hai6 mei5gwok3 jan4 me1?
2SG Cop USA person Prt^Q
'You aren't American, are you?'

c.#nei5 hai6 mei5gwok3 jan4 ho2?
2SG Cop USA person Prt^Q
'You are American, right?'

Lam 2014

Complexity of speech acts

Biased question: S believes [not p] + request for confirmation

Scenario: Rachel is Jimmy's mother and they are both Canadians. One day, they travel to the US together. At the immigration, Jimmy walks towards the line for US residents. Rachel says this to Jimmy.

a. nei5 hai6 m4 hai6 mei5gwok3 jan4?

2SG Cop Neg Cop USA person

'Are you American?'

b. nei5 hai6 mei5gwok3 jan4 me1?

2SG Cop USA person Prt^Q

'You aren't American, are you?'

c.# nei5 hai6 mei5gwok3 jan4 ho2?

2SG Cop USA person Prt^Q

'You are American, right?'

Lam 2014

Complexity of speech acts

Biased question: S believes A believes p + request for confirmation

Scenario: Dorothy met Jimmy at a speed-dating event. Three days later, they are meeting up for lunch. Dorothy vaguely remembers that Jimmy said he was born in Seattle. She says this to Jimmy.

- a. nei5 hai6 m4 hai6 mei5gwok3 jan4?
2SG Cop Neg Cop USA person
'Are you American?'
- b.#nei5 hai6 mei5gwok3 jan4 me1?
2SG Cop USA person Prt^Q
'You aren't American, are you?'
- c. nei5 hai6 mei5gwok3 jan4 ho2?
2SG Cop USA person Prt^Q
'You are American, right?'

Lam 2014

Ordering restrictions: A>S

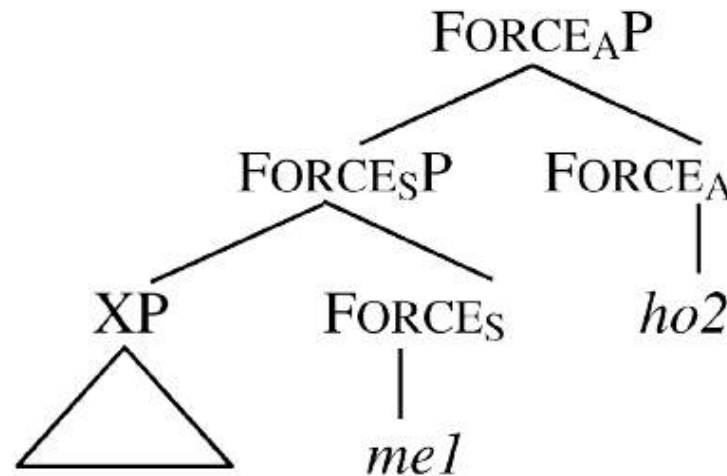
(1) *daai6 seng1 zau6 dak1 laa3 me1 ho2?*
big voice then okay change.of.state me1 ho2
'Can one get by just by being loud? I don't think so!
You'd agree I'm asking a valid question, right?'

**daai6 seng1 zau6 dak1 laa3 ho2 me1*

Lam 2014

Ordering restrictions: A>S

The complex ForceP structure



Input	<i>mel</i>	<i>ho2</i>
declarative	✓ output=interrogative	✓ output=interrogative
interrogative	*	✓ output=interrogative
imperative	*	✓ output=interrogative
exclamative	*	✓ output=interrogative

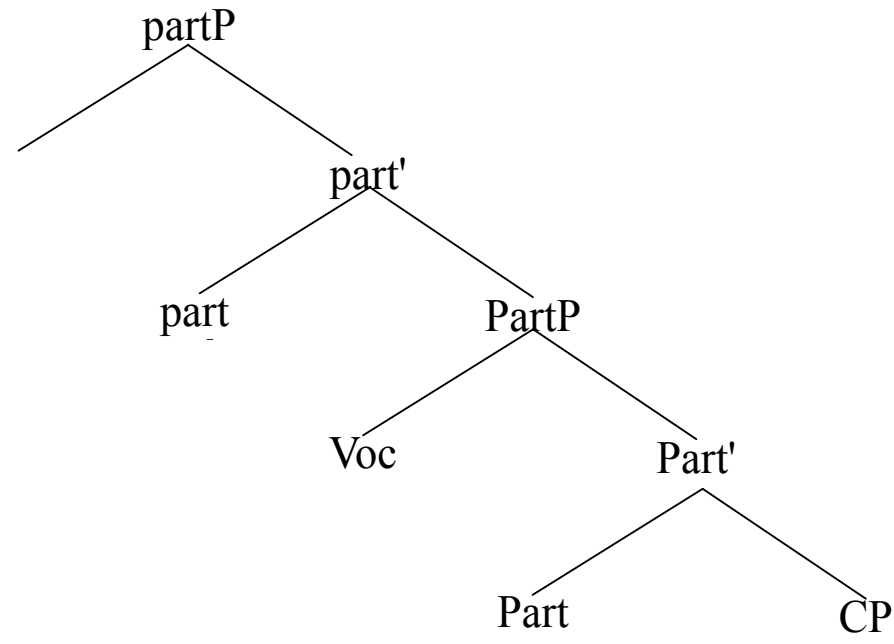
One more neo-performative hypothesis

Haegeman & colleagues

Haegeman & colleagues



The syntax of sentence peripheral particles in West Flemish



Haegeman & colleagues

The syntax of sentence peripheral particles in West Flemish *né* can be S-initial and S-final

- a. **Né**, men artikel is gedoan.
Né my paper is done
There we go: my paper is finished.”
- b. Men artikel is gedoan, **né**.

wè can only be S-final

- a. ***Wè**, men artikel is gedoan.
wè my paper is done
- b. Men artikel is gedoan **wè**.

Haegeman & colleagues

Né and *wè* can co-occur; if both are S-final, then *wè* has to precede *né*

- a. **Né**, men artikel is gedoan **wè**.
- b. ***Wè**, men artikel is gedoan **né**.
- c. Men artikel is gedoan **wè né**.
- d. *Men artikel is gedoan **né wè**.
- e. ***Né wè**/***Wè né** men artikel is gedoan.

zè > né; wè > zè

- a. Men artikel is gedoan **zè né**.
- b. *Men artikel is gedoan **né zè**.
- c. Men artikel is gedoan **wè zè**
- d. *Men artikel is gedoan **zè wè**.

Haegeman & colleagues

Maximally 2 sentence peripheral particles (unless separated by intonation break)

- a. *Men artikel is gedoan **wè zè né**.
- b. Men artikel is gedoan wè zè. **Né!**
- c. ??* **Né**, men artikel is gedoan wè zè.
- d. **Né!** Men artikel is gedoan wè zè.

Interaktion mit Vokativ

- a. **Né Valère**, men artikel is gereed.
né Valère, my paper is ready
- b. Men artikel is gereed, **Valère, né**
- c. Men artikel is gereed, **né Valère**.
- d. Men artikel is gereed **wè Valère né**.

Haegeman & colleagues

Generalizations:

- a. né (voc) CP
- b. CP (voc) né (voc)
- c. (voc) CP (*voc) wé (voc)
- d. CP (*voc) wé (voc) né (voc)

Haegeman & colleagues

S-peripheral particles realize the speech act structure

... they take CP complements and host another functional projection (F)

... they are base-generated preceding the CP (head-initial structure)

... S-final particles are derived by moving the complement CP to SpecFP

a. $[_{FP} \quad [_{F^\circ} \text{né}] [_{CP} \text{CP}]]$

b. $[_{FP} \text{CP} \quad [_{F^\circ} \text{né}] [_{CP} \text{CP}]]$

c. $[_{FP} \text{CP} \quad [_{F^\circ} \text{wé}] [_{CP} \text{CP}]]$

Haegeman & colleagues

To account for co-occurrence between 2 particles: 2 projections

- a. $[_{FP1} [_{F1^\circ} \text{né}] [_{FP2} \text{CP} [_{F2^\circ} \text{wé}] [_{CP} \text{CP}]]]$
- b. $[_{FP1} [_{FP2} \text{CP} [_{F2^\circ} \text{wé}] [_{CP} \text{CP}]]] [_{F1^\circ} \text{né}] [_{FP2} \text{CP} [_{F2^\circ} \text{wé}] [_{CP} \text{CP}]]]$

To account for interaction with vocative:

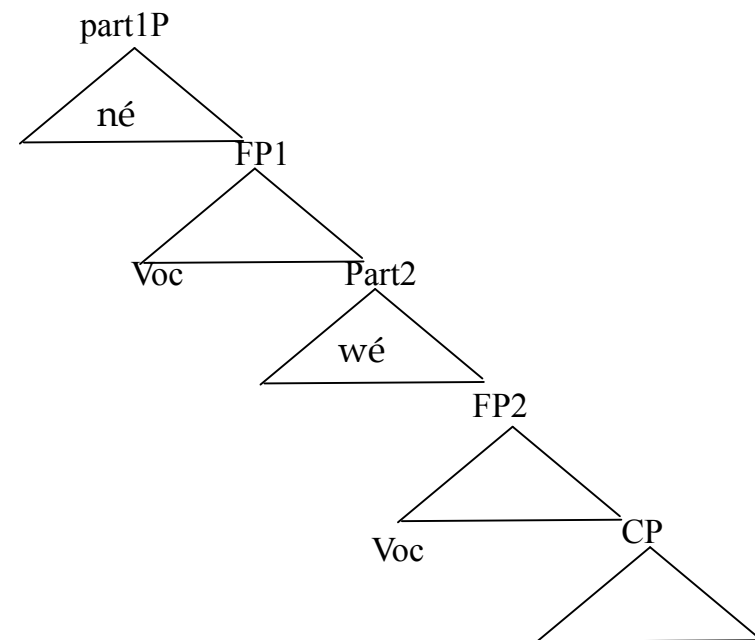
ParticlePhrase (for DM) and FP (for vocative)

- a. $[_{PartP} [_{Part} \text{né}] [_{FP} \text{voc} [F] [_{ForceP} \text{CP}]]]$
- b. $[_{PartP} \text{CP} [_{Part} \text{né}] [_{FP} \text{voc} [F] [_{ForceP} \text{CP}]]]$
- c. $[_{PartP} \text{CP} [_{Part} \text{wé}] [_{FP} \text{voc} [F] [_{ForceP} \text{CP}]]]$

Haegeman & colleagues

To account of multiple vocative positions:

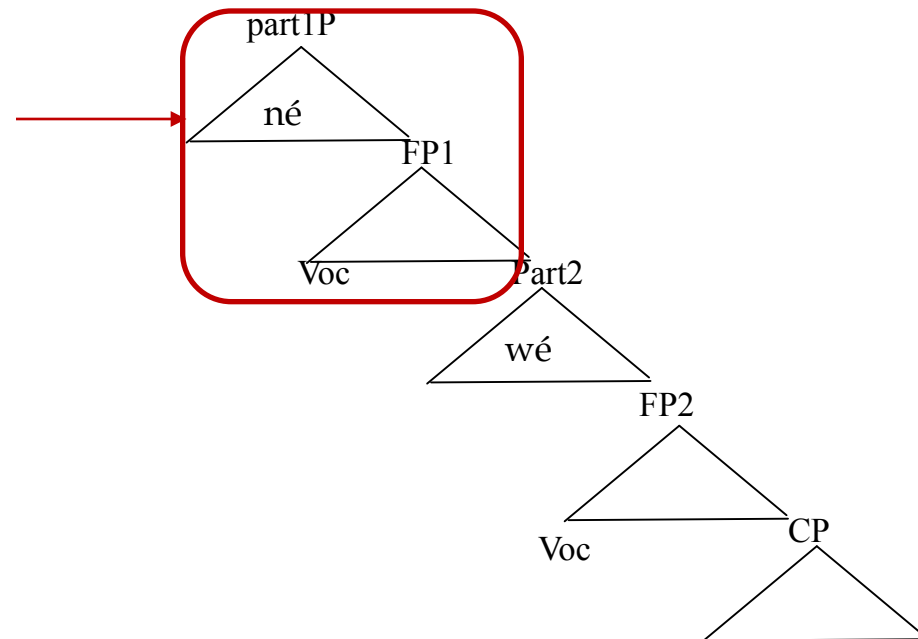
- 2 PartPs + 2 FPs
- always projected, even if not overtly manifested



Haegeman & colleagues

The Function of the 2 SA layers

... **dynamic** and **directional**:
relates Utt to Adr
... “Call”-vocative

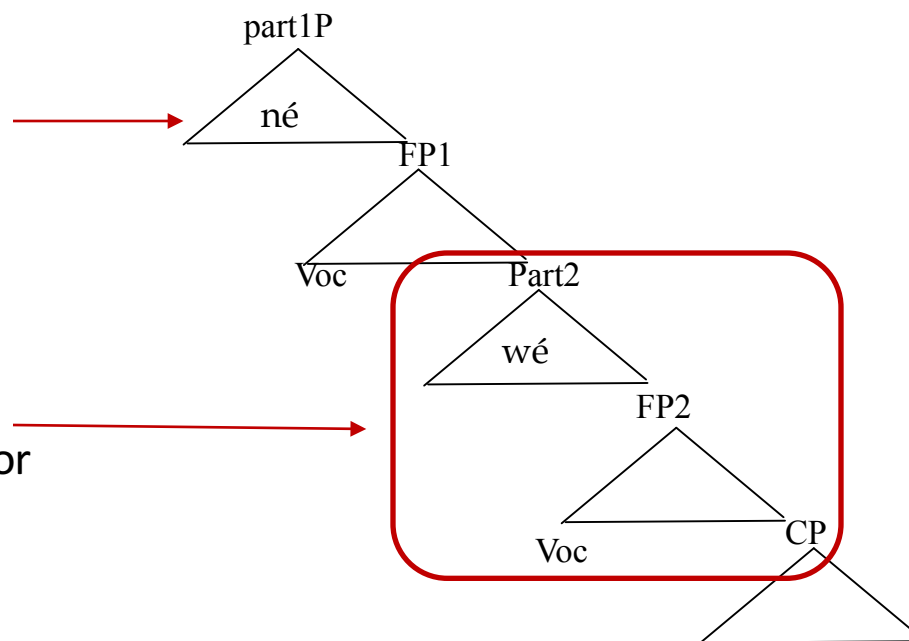


Haegeman & colleagues

The Function of the 2 SA layers

... **dynamic** and **directional**:
relates Utt to Adr
... “Call”-vocative

... **stative**, and **attitudinal**
... signals that Spkr has authority for
making the statement
... “address-vocative”



...many, as congregational moves, some recursive ones, like Cabby and ice cream man, are usable as calls but not as addresses:

(32) Cabby, take me to Carnegie Hall.

(33) *I don't think, cabby, that the Lincoln Tunnel is the best way to go to Brooklyn.

i) **Calls** = used to catch the addressee's attention

(1) Hey **lady**, you dropped your piano.

ii) **Addresses** = used to maintain or emphasize the contact between Spkr and Adr

(2) I'm afraid, **sir**, that my coyote is nibbling on your leg.

Zwicky 1974

2 types of vocatives

i) **Calls** possible with all types of NPs (including names of professions and 2nd pron)

- (1) Hey **cabby**, take me to Carnegie Hall
Hey **you**, give me that boat hook.

ii) **Addresses** = more restricted

- (2) *I don't think, **cabby**, that the Lincoln Tunnel is the best way to go to Brooklyn
What I think, *you, is that we ought to tke the money and run.

All address forms are usable as calls

Zwicky 1974

2 types of vocatives

i) **Calls** are restricted to discourse initial position (a few discourse elements can precede)

(1) {Hey, oh} Lord Darnley! Watch out for your head

ii) **Addresses** wider occurrence can occur sentence internally like parenteticals, and after a wider variety of discourse elements (well, why, please, come on, tell me, you know, hi, hello, good morning, wow, dammit, oh boy,

(2) a. You must realize, I'm sure, that this can't go on.

b. You must realize, honey, that this can't go on

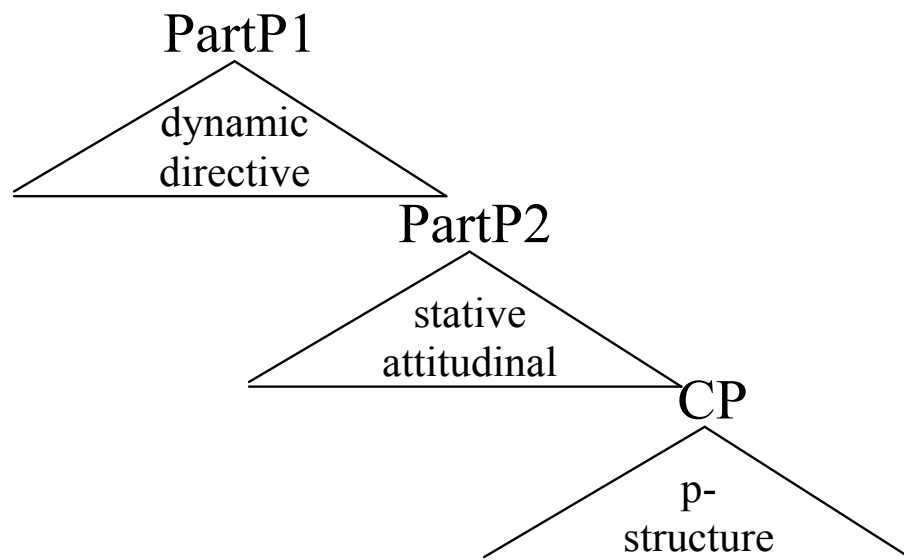
(3) a. Mark assured us that, I imagine, the spiders are friendly.

b. Mark assured us that, dumbass, the bet was negligible

Zwicky 1974

Haegeman & colleagues

- 2 types of labels for SA-structure identified in the literature reflect 2 distinct layers in a complex speech act structure
- Adr-oriented layer > Spkr-oriented layer (contra Ross, Speas & Tenny 2003)



More problems with neo-performative hypotheses

Not all languages use SFPs

The role of intonation

What is the role of interaction?

Not all languages use SFPs

- Blackfoot (Algonquian) lacks particles
(own field-notes; Heather Bliss, p.c.)



*‘You have to put yourself into
the sentence’*

The role of intonation



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A floating tone discourse morpheme: The English equivalent of Cantonese *lo1*

John C. Wakefield*

Abstract

Cantonese linguists have said that Cantonese sentence-final particles (SFPs) express the same kinds of meanings that are expressed by intonation in languages such as English, yet apparently no study has ever systematically attempted to discover whether any SFPs have English intonational equivalents. This study identifies the English intonational counterpart to the SFP *lo1* by looking at the pitch contours of Cantonese-to-English audio translations, which were provided by four Cantonese/English native bilingual participants. Based on the data, it is concluded that the English equivalent of *lo1* is a high-falling pitch contour. A definition using the natural semantic metalanguage is formulated to define *lo1*, and native English-speaker judgments indicate that this same definition also defines the meaning of *lo1*'s English equivalent. Examples are given to demonstrate that this definition succeeds at defining either *lo1* or its English equivalent in any context within which they are used. It is proposed that this *lo1*-equivalent pitch contour is a floating tone morpheme in the English lexicon. Linguists have long debated whether or not any forms of intonation have context-independent meanings. This study offers empirical evidence in support of the argument that they do.

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Keywords: Cantonese; Discourse particle; Floating tone; Evidential marker; Discourse intonation; Natural semantic metalanguage

Unmarked declaratives: the “*I’m telling you*” context

Mary, who just got a new dog, runs into Anne, who does not yet know about Mary’s dog. Since Mary is so excited about the fact that she has a new dog, she wants to tell Anne right away and utters:

I have a new dog ↘

Rising declaratives: the “*I don’t believe it*” context

John mistakenly believes that Anne has a new dog. When he runs into Anne, he asks her how her new dog is doing. Naturally, Anne is confused and responds:

I have a new dog ↗

Sentence-final *eh*: the “*Confirm that you know*” context

Mary, who just got a dog, runs into her friend John. Mary cannot remember whether she has already told John that she has a new dog. To be sure she utters:

I have a new dog, eh ↗

eh with different intonation

Confirmational *eh*

A: *Now that was a gorgeous sunset, eh?*

B: *It was.*

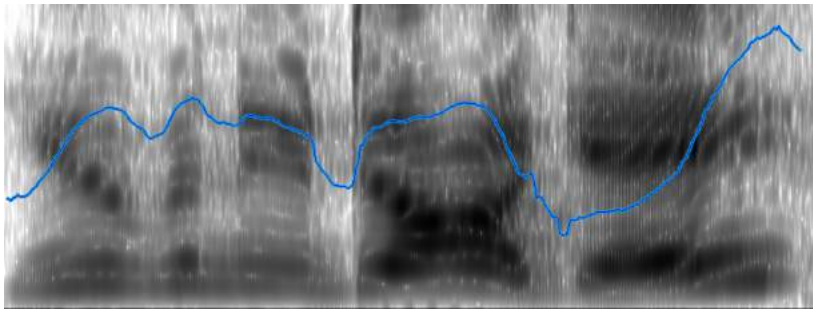
Narrative eh

*“So I go to this shrink, **eh**, and he goes like I don’t have no confidence, **eh**. I go, ‘No way, man.’ He goes I should take assertiveness training. Weird, **eh**? Like I’m always supposed to be seeking approval, **eh**, from, you know, other people? I felt like he could kiss my Royal Canadian, **eh**? But, sayin’ it woulda been too pushy. Dyuh think?”*

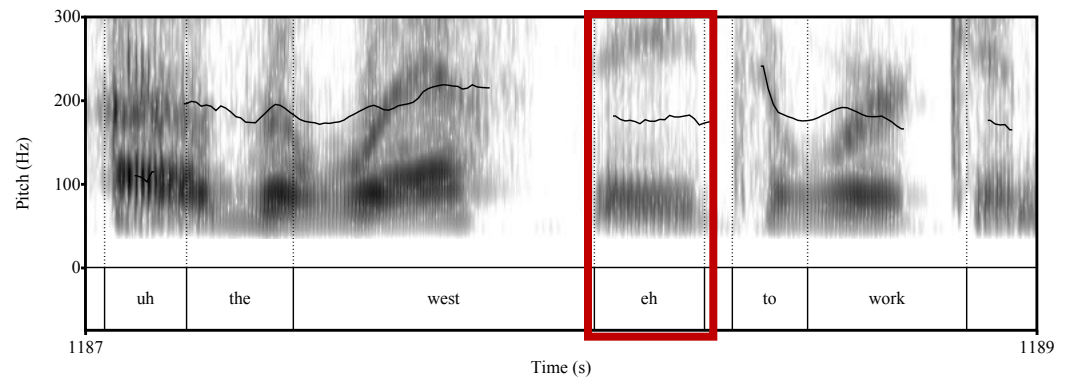
http://www.billcasselmann.com/casselmania/mania_eh.htm

The role of intonation

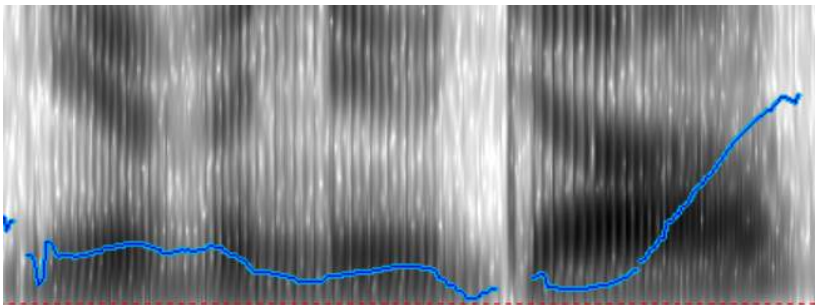
Confirmational eh



Narrative eh



Rising declarative

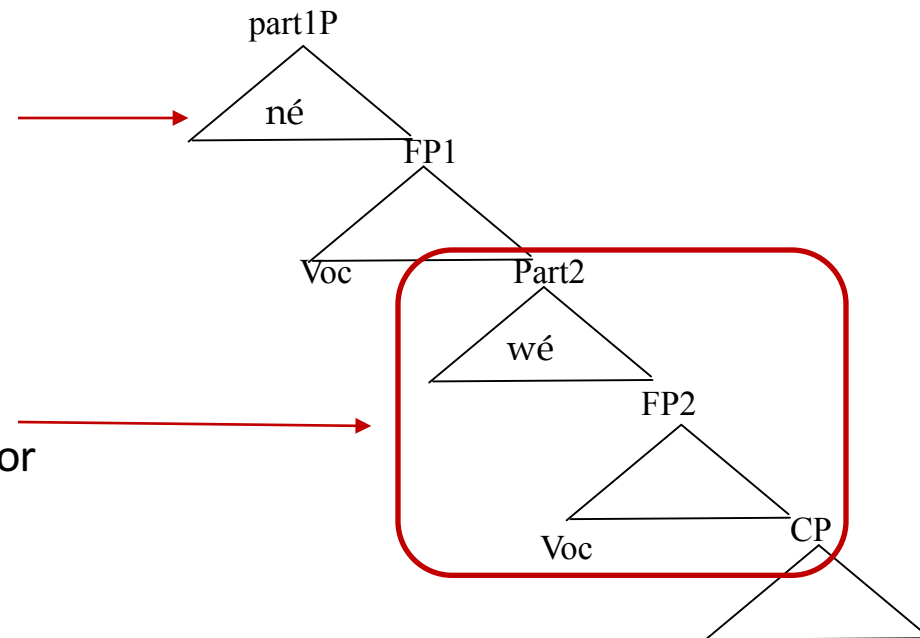


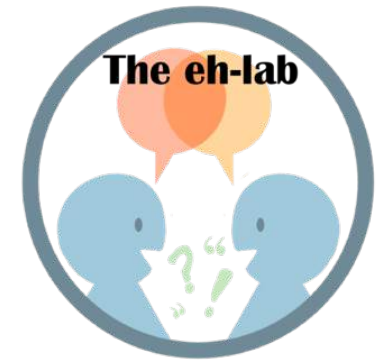
The role of interaction

- What is FP?
- How is stative/dynamic stance derived?
- What prohibits recursion?

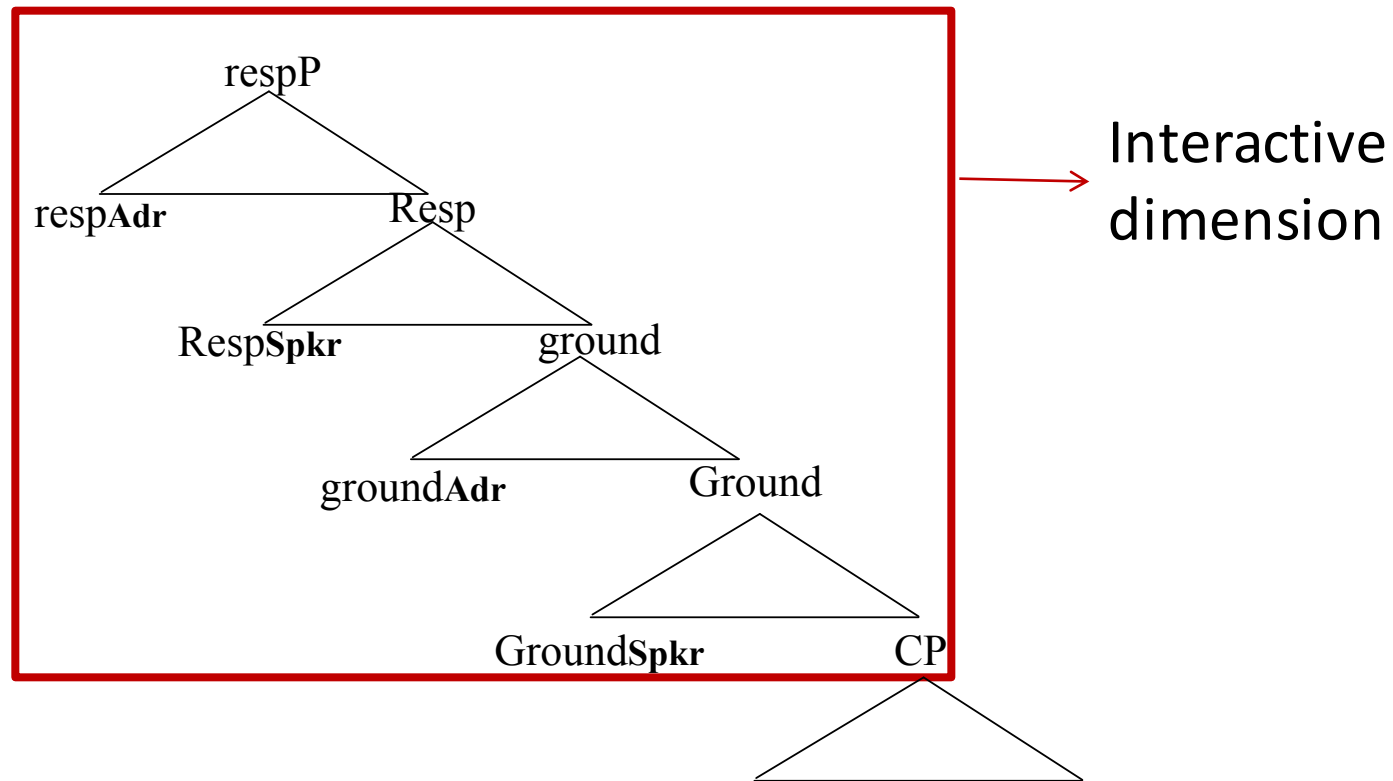
... **dynamic** and **directional**:
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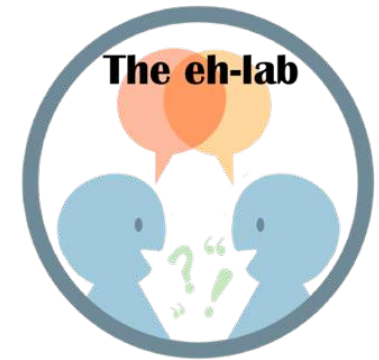
... **stative**, and **attitudinal**
... signals that Spkr has authority for
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..."address-vocative"



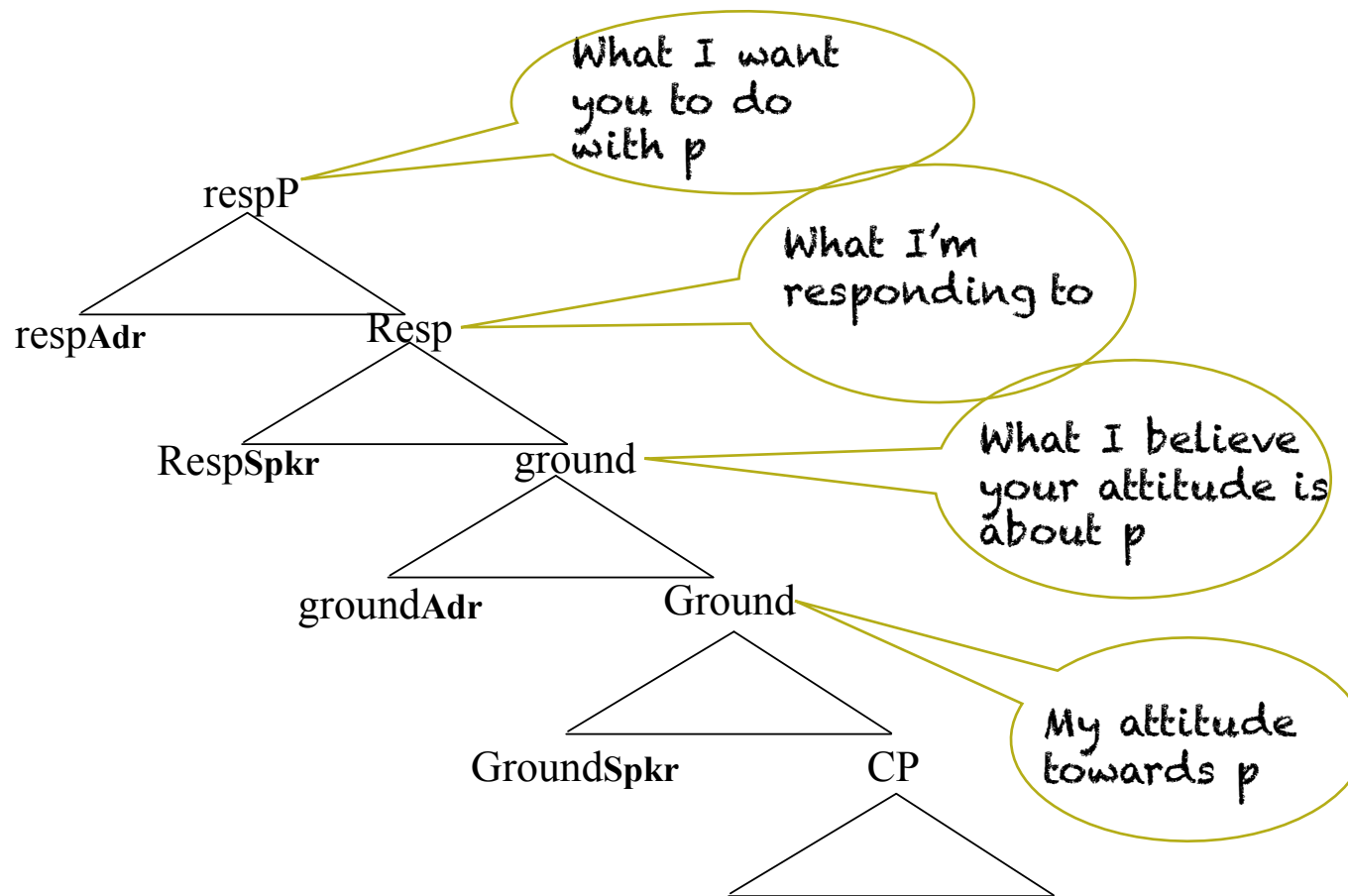


The syntax of interaction





The syntax of interaction



From speech acts to interaction

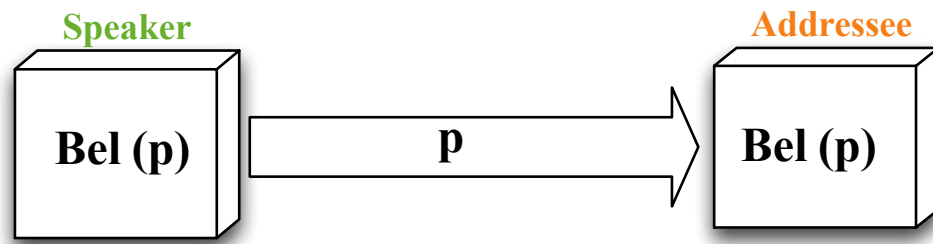
Discourse conditions for assertions

S asserts p if

i) S believes p

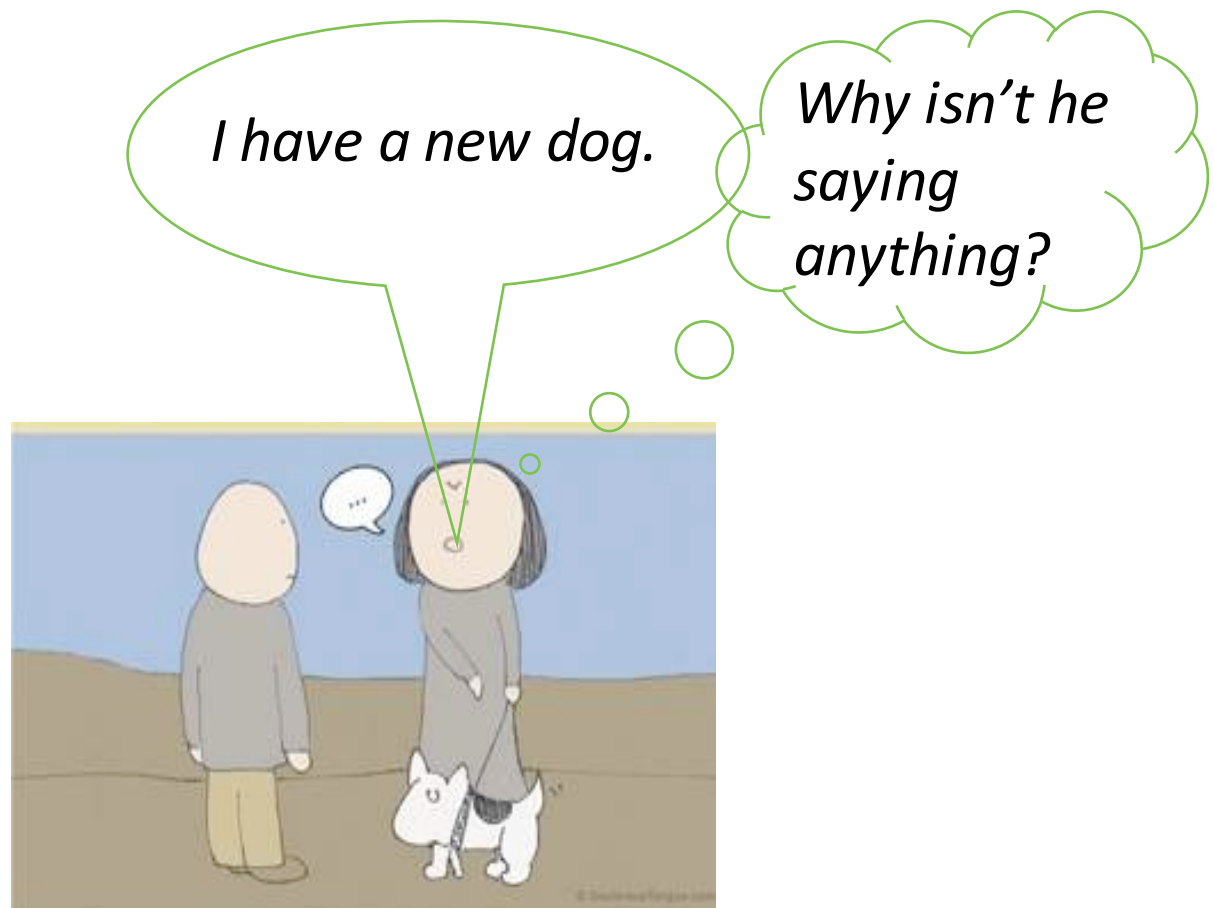
ii) S wants A to believe p

Bach & Harnish 1979



The syntax of interaction

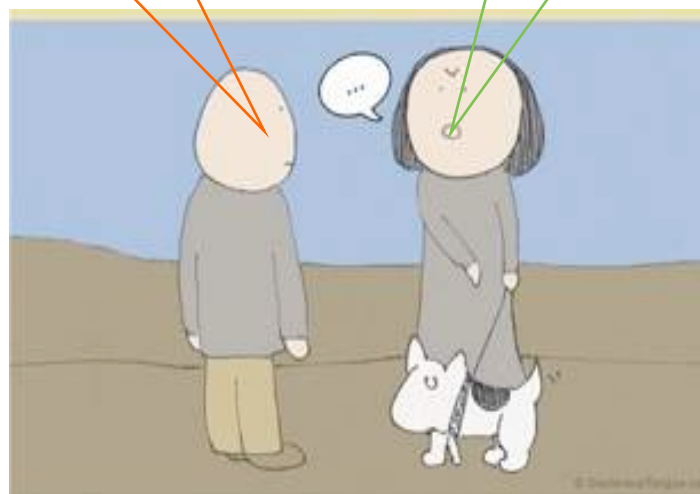
Assertions often
need a response



The syntax of interaction

*Oh, really!
That's great.*

I have a new dog.



The syntax of interaction

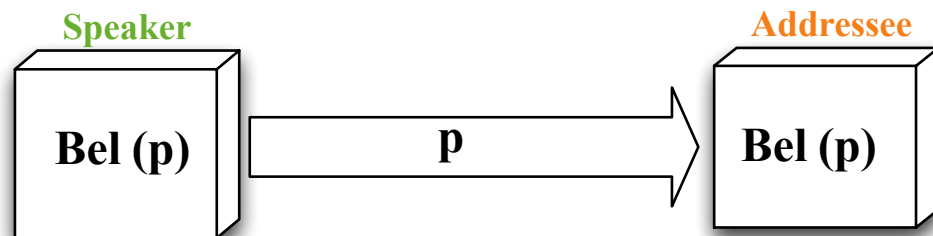
Discourse conditions for assertions (the classic view)

S asserts p if

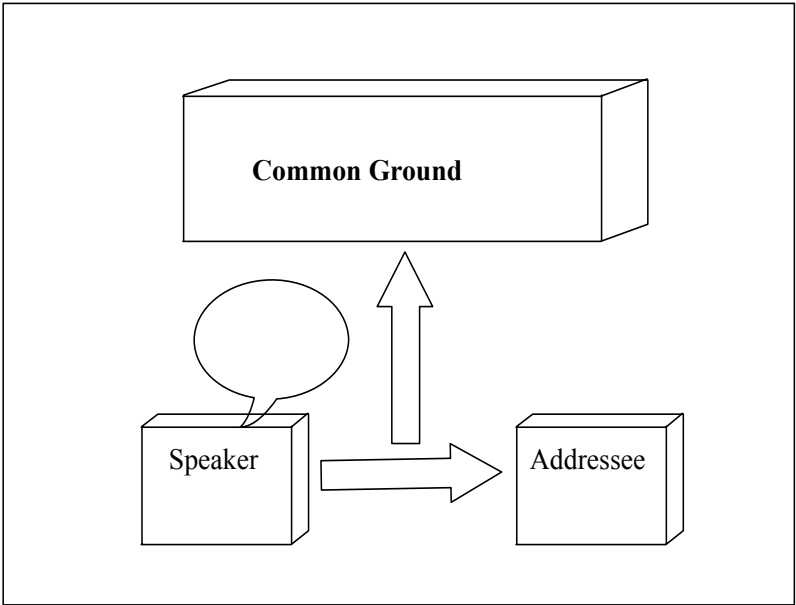
- i) S believes p
- ii) S wants A to believe p

Bach & Harnish 1979

Explains the ACTION
of assertion.
But not its
INTERACTIVE aspect

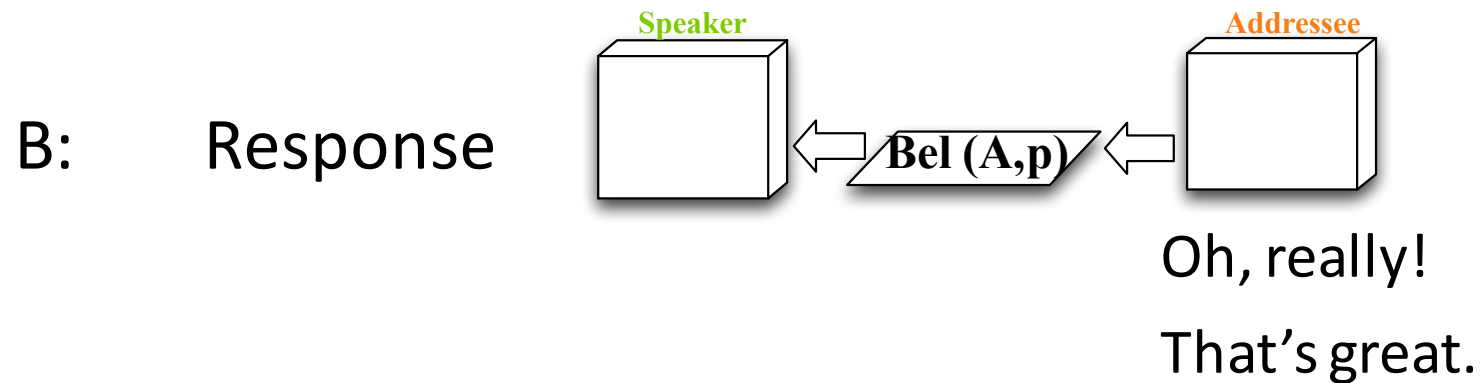
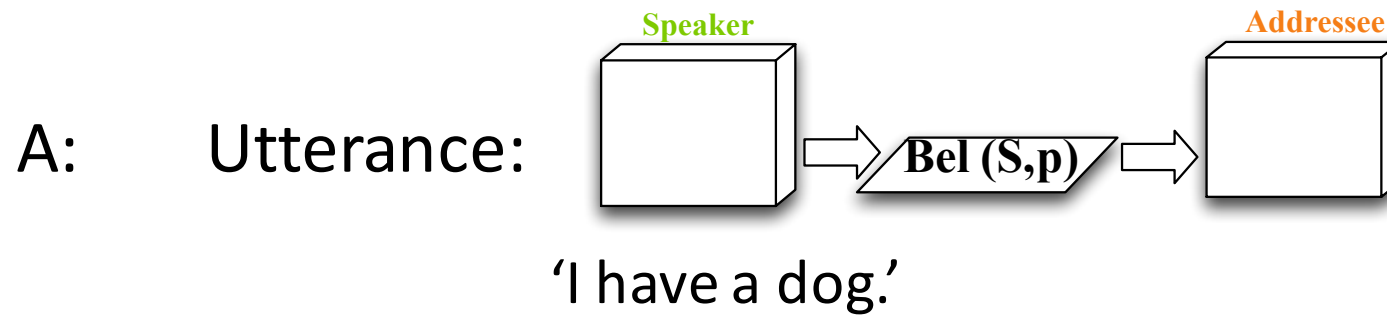


The syntax of interaction

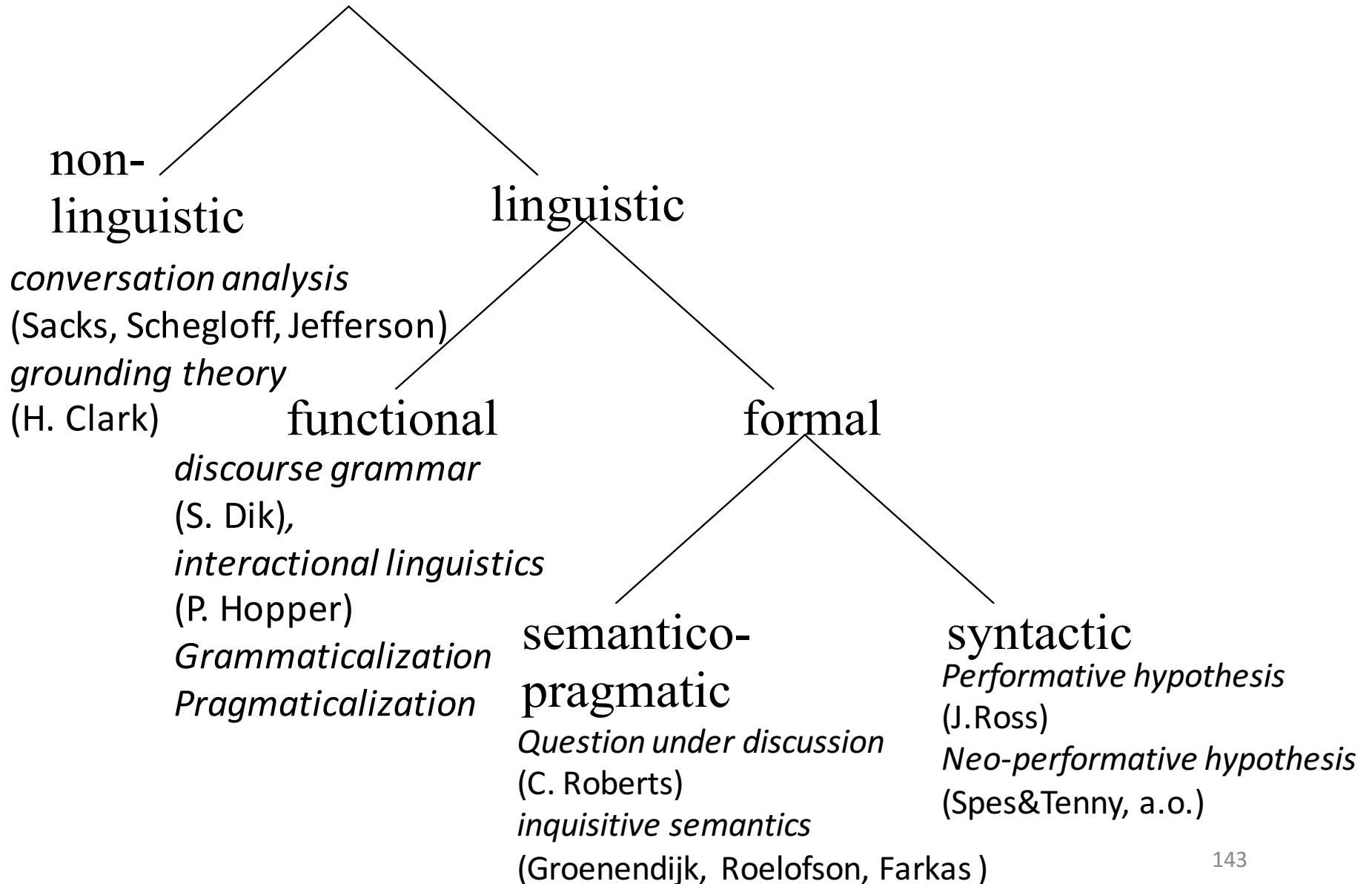


The speech act model of interaction

Minimal conversational units



Ways to analyse the (inter-)active dimension



Grounding theory

The common ground (= the mutually shared beliefs of the interlocutors) cannot be properly updated without the process of *grounding*

Grounding:

involves speaker and hearer.

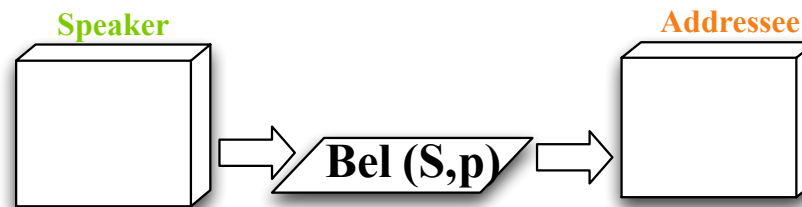
involves the coordination of communicative content and its process.



H. Clark
(Stanford University)

Presentation phase (= Utterance)

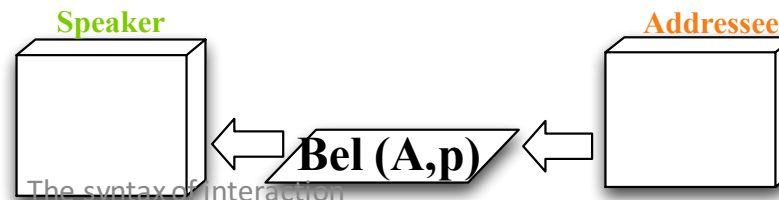
A presents utterance u for B to consider. He does so on the assumption that, if B gives evidence e or stronger, he can believe that she understands what he means by u .



Acceptance phase (= Response)

B accepts utterance u by giving evidence e that she believes she understands what A means by u . She does so on the assumption that, once A registers the evidence, he will also believe that she understands.

Clark & Schaefer 1989: 265



Grounding theory

Acceptance

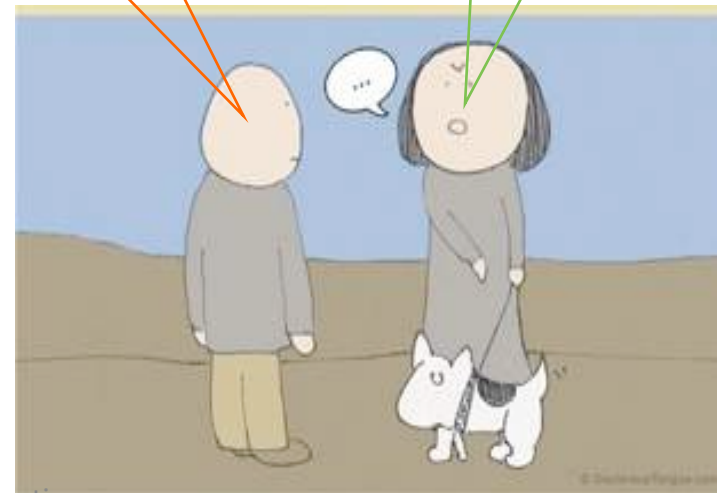
*Oh, really!
That's great.*

Presentation

I have a new dog.

Assertion:

- S presents p for H to accept as true.
- Once accepted by H, p enters CG.
- p is grounded



How do we explore conversational competence?

Minimal conversational units

A: Presentation:
[[*You have a dog*]_{Utt} *eh*_{conf}]

B: Acceptance:
[*yes*_{Resp} [*I do*]_{Utt}]

Conversation analysis:

UoA = CONVERSATION

TURN CONSTRUCTION UNIT

Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974

