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The 'Noun Phrase' across Languages

An emergent unit in interaction

edited by Tsuyoshi Ono
and Sandra A. Thompson

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Table of contents

CHAPTER 1
Introduction 1
Sandra A Thompson and Tsuyoshi Ono

Part I. Languages from Europe

CHAPTER 2
The Finnish *se että* initiated expressions: NPs or not? 11
Karita Suomalainen, Anna Vatanen and Ritva Laury

CHAPTER 3
Emergent complex noun phrases: On-line trajectories of 'relativized' NPs in French talk-in-interaction 43
Ioana-Maria Stoenica, Simona Pekarek Doehler and Anne-Sylvie Horlacher

CHAPTER 4
The noun phrase as an emergent unit in Finnish 71
Marja-Liisa Helasvuo

CHAPTER 5
Noun phrases in other-repetitions: Observations of Swedish talk-in-interaction 93
Jan Lindström, Martina Huhtamäki and Anne-Marie Londen

CHAPTER 6
Asserting no-problemness in Spanish: 'No hay (ningún) problema' and the study of noun phrases in interaction 119
Chase Wesley Raymond and Barbara A. Fox

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CHAPTER 7
Multimodal noun phrases 153
Leelo Keevallik

CHAPTER 8
Nouns and noun phrases in other-initiated repair in English atypical interaction: A case study of Augmentative and Alternative Communication 179
Patricia Mayes

Part II. Languages from other parts of the world

CHAPTER 9
Multiple nominal expressions in Garrwa conversation 211
Ilana Mushin

CHAPTER 10
The pragmatics of 'light nouns' in Besemah 237
Bradley McDonnell

CHAPTER 11
NP clustering in Mandarin conversational interaction 271
Hongyin Tao

CHAPTER 12
What can Japanese conversation tell us about 'NP'? 315
Tsuyoshi Ono and Sandra A. Thompson

CHAPTER 13
Robust argument phrases (DPs) but unruly NPs in Maa 329
Doris L. Payne

Index 363

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

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Across the field of linguistics, the 'Noun Phrase' (NP) appears to be one of the least controversial grammatical units that researchers work with. Taking 'Noun Phrase' as a linguistic construction with the noun as the central element, one of the strongest arguments for postulating a grammatical unit of 'NP' is the fact that NPs are said to prototypically serve as arguments of predicates (Dryer 2007; Genetti 2015; Hopper & Thompson 1984); in fact, for any given language, as well as across languages, the range of items that can fill argument slots in constructed sentences appears to be quite broad, but these items are taken by researchers to represent a unit 'NP' based on considerations like the following:

1. The NP is a crosslinguistically stable unit (compared to 'VP' or even 'clause') in that it can be manipulated in constructed examples similarly across languages of different structural types
2. The NP is a structurally robust unit in that, for any given language, its internal structure (order and type of modifiers) tends to be relatively fixed

Surprisingly, however, the empirical basis for NP has never been established. In fact, to our knowledge, the category has simply been assumed and almost never questioned.

Motivating the research for this volume, then, is a substantial body of studies, which, since the 1970s, have been uncovering the inappropriateness of such assumed linguistic categories for understanding language use.[1] The scholarship in

1. E.g., Goodwin 1979, 1981 and Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen 2005 (on 'clause'); Ono & Thompson 2003 (on 'pronoun'); Englebretson 2003; Keevallik 2008; Koivisto, Laury & Seppänen 2011; Seppänen & Laury 2007; Thompson 2002; (on 'complement'); Hopper 2004 (on 'pseudo-clefts'); Clift 2007 (on 'non-restrictive relative clause'); Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson 2008 and Laury 2012 (on 'extraposition'); Ford 1993; Ono, Thompson & Sasaki 2012 (on 'subordination'); Fox & Thompson 2007 (on 'relative clause'); Iwasaki & Ono 2001; Miller 1995 (on 'sentence'); Günthner 2000; Laury & Seppänen 2008; Mulder & Thompson 2008; Mulder, Thompson & Penry Williams 2009 and Seppänen & Laury 2007; (on 'clause connector'); Ford 1993 (on 'adverbial

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this research tradition has consistently shown that we need to test these assumed categories against the grammar of everyday language use across languages. Doing so has repeatedly revealed that many beloved grammatical categories are either unnecessary for an understanding of the way the language works as it is being used, or downright misleading. To understand the categories that speakers actually operate with on a daily basis, this scholarship consistently underscores the imperative to augment claims based on intuition and elicitation with richer and more realistic accounts that focus on how linguistic categories emerge from everyday language use.

Perhaps not surprisingly, trying to identify NPs in everyday interactions in fact proves quite challenging. First, there are 'fuzzy boundaries', challenging traditional static views of grammar where the NP is defined with a priori fixed set of criteria. Second, though the order of elements may be, and cross-linguistically typically is, relatively fixed within an NP, multi-element NPs are in fact quite rare in spontaneous interaction. Third, various kinds of nominalization, though they could be argued to be NPs, are often not readily assignable to the category of NP because there is wide variation among nominalization types, and because they behave, both structurally and pragmatically, quite differently from more prototypical instances of NP. Finally, many NPs do not appear to be serving 'argument' functions; conversationalists may use numerous 'free' NPs (Ford, Fox, & Thompson 2002; Helasvuo 2001a, b; Laury & Helasvuo 2015; Ono & Thompson 1994; Tao 1992, 1996), or use NPs which are more, or less, 'tightly' tied to predicates (Djenar, Ewing and Manns,. 2018). Given these problems, a promising avenue for understanding the reality of such a category for interactants (thus also for analysts) is to see it as emergent, where items clearly used as arguments to predicates serve as 'attractors', towards which a dynamic, self-organizing, but loose, structure tends to evolve.[2]

The papers in this volume examine the category NP, using interactional data from diverse languages, including minority endangered languages as well as better-researched, more dominant languages, and including a range of interactional settings, including, e.g., conversations among adults and among adults and children, as well as atypical interactions. The collection aims to determine the

clause'); Hopper 1997 (on 'verb'); Ono & Thompson 2009 (on 'adjective'); Geluykens 1987, 1992; Ochs & Schieffelin 1983; Ochs, Schieffelin & Platt 1979; Pekarek Doehler 2010, and Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani & Horlacher 2015 (on 'dislocation' and 'topic construction'); Akatsuka & Clancy 1993; Clancy 2007; Clancy, Akatsuka & Strauss 1997; Ford 1997; Laury 2012; Ono & Jones 2008; Schiffrin 1992 (on 'conditional' clause); Ono, Laury & Suzuki 2019 (on 'unit').

2. In the study of complex adaptive systems, 'attractors' are identified as states or patterns toward which an emerging system is drawn (Lorenz 1993; Strogatz 1994); thus NPs which refer to concrete entities and can be analyzed as arguments, which form a pattern towards which less clear instances of NP are drawn, can be seen as attractors in evolving grammatical systems.

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value of positing such a category from the point of view of participants actually engaged in ordinary communicative encounters.

The chapters are organized into two groups. Part 1 includes papers examining the category of NP in languages from Europe. Part 2 considers the NP in languages spoken in other parts of the world. All the chapters consider the NP from one or more of the following perspectives: the nature of linguistic categories, language change, and the emergence of linguistic structure from everyday interaction and language use.

What kind of a category is NP? Why does it seem so basic, and so natural, that reference grammars nearly universally include it and linguistic research assumes it? In approaching this question, we find it intriguing that NP was first postulated based on constructed sentences in English. For such examples, NP seems to work well: it is very easy to make up uncontroversial instances of sentences with NPs playing canonical argument roles. Even when we turn to natural discourse, it is still unproblematic to come up with clear-cut NPs in any English stretch of discourse. However, even English discourse data will also reveal forms whose categoriality is disputable; consider, for example, the question of whether the clause following a complement-taking predicate is an NP or a 'nominalization', or neither, as in these two instances from our conversational data:

(1) I *guess* **they walked right up in there**

(2) Shiloh *tried* **to get in the car.**

Obviously disputable categoriality is even easier to find with spoken language data from other languages, and this is the issue raised in all the chapters in this volume. Two chapters in Part 1, in fact, address the question of the categorial status of clauses in clause combinations. Suomalainen et al. are concerned with the appropriateness of 'complements' and 'nominalizations' as NPs in Finnish, and Stoenica, Pekarek Doehler and Horlacher document simple NPs in French interactions becoming complex NPs in dialogic co-constructions.

Helasvuo's chapter shows that while the internal structure of noun phrases is quite stable in Finnish, and NPs do serve as arguments, they may also occur as 'free NPs', interactional/prosodic units of their own, not tied to any clausal structure. Helasvuo contrasts the use of noun phrases as clausal arguments and as free NPs in Finnish conversation. Similarly, Lindström, Huhtamäki and London argue that NP-formatted utterances in their Swedish data constitute turns at talk in their own right, suggesting that the NP is an elementary unit of interactional participation, a unit with a high referential relevance in real-time meaning-making.

Raymond and Fox take a different approach to the NP in interaction; they investigate existential constructions in naturally-occurring Spanish conversational

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data, specifically targeting instances of presentative *haber*, 'there be', which can be followed by a range of NP-like (and non-NP-like) phrases. Their analysis of these constructions serves to interrogate the conceptualization of the NP as a concrete, identifiable linguistic category.

Keevallik's contribution advocates for an even more radical type of NP, one in which the speaker initiates a noun phrase but completes it with an embodied demonstration. This chapter looks at a collection of cases in Swedish and English, where a speaker has uttered a predicate, which would normatively be followed by an NP, initiates an NP with an article, determiner, or other non-head element, and then launches a temporally closely fitted embodied demonstration. The participants treat this multimodal gestalt as complete and comprehensible, revealing their orientation to such multimodal NPs.

The final chapter in Part 1 poses equally challenging questions for traditional views of NP. Specifically, Mayes examines 'Atypical Interaction', that is, social interaction involving people with a communication disability. Based on data from participants who use an Augmentative and Alternative Communication (AAC) device, she shows how repair processes unfold when the AAC user uses an apparent NP which becomes a trouble source for the recipient, arguing that recipients use the grammatical information surrounding the troublesome form to infer its function and its categorial status.

Part 2 looks at NP in languages from other parts of the world. From the opposite side of the planet from the languages dealt with in Part 1, Mushin reports that the production of referential expressions in Garrwa, an indigenous language of Australia, is contingent on their interactional context, and coordinates with prosodic and gestural features of the design of Garrwa turns. McDonnell's chapter shows that Besemah, a little-described Malayic language of southwest Sumatra, provides a rich arena for studying NPs. Here constructions analogous to relative clauses in European languages, best described as Noun Modifying Constructions (following studies of similar phenomena in languages like Japanese (Matsumoto 1997; Matsumoto, Comrie & Sells 2017)), most often occur with a 'light' head noun, whose distribution in everyday conversations is quite different from that of other 'nouns'. Tao's chapter focuses on stretches of conversation where NPs seem to cluster, and proposes an account based on the organization of the unfolding interaction.

Ono and Thompson find that conversational Japanese data reveals several types of forms that could be argued to be NPs according to one or another familiar criteria, yet these types form a diverse group and have little or nothing in common with each other, again raising questions about their status as 'NPs. Payne's chapter considers two divergent languages, Maa (Eastern Nilotic; Kenya/Tanzania) and Nivaĉle (Mataguayan; Argentina/Paraguay), arguing that in each language, NP is a problematic category, but DP (Determiner Phrase) is a very robust construction.

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Several themes emerge from this volume. The contributions focusing on 'NPs' containing clauses show for the first time how the pragmatic properties of these complex constructions enable them to do the kinds of social work they are used to do. Also prominent here are discussions that detail the subtlety and complexity in the way reference works when conversational discourse is examined. These data reveal the richness of the 'NP' in the world's languages, including its status as a construction, its patterns of modification, its role in clausal structures, and its pragmatic uses in ordinary interactional encounters.

With this volume, then, we see that that the categorial and syntactic properties claimed for 'NPs' do not accord well with the behavior of actual speakers in their daily social lives, due largely to the fact that grammatical categories such as 'NP' were established based on imaginary examples. When we examine daily interactions in a wide range of linguistic communities around the world, and recognize that language is a temporal phenomenon, both in terms of dialogic interactions in real time and language evolution, we begin to reveal the richly nuanced nature of the 'NP', a category many linguists had previously assumed was uncontroversial.

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PART I

Languages from Europe

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CHAPTER 2

The Finnish *se että* initiated expressions

NPs or not?

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This paper concerns the grammatical category of Finnish expressions initiated with *se että* (lit. 'it that'). In earlier studies based on written data, they have been considered clausal NPs functioning as subjects, objects and complements. In our spoken data, both present-day and older, *se että* initiated expressions have a wider range of functions. We show that some *se että* expressions have characteristics of NPs, but others are unlike NPs in certain ways, concluding that the category of NP is not binary, but rather a continuum with fuzzy boundaries. We also show that *se että* has been grammaticized into a projector phrase which does not initiate complement clauses but rather functions as a sedimented formula in the service of interactional practices.

Introduction

This paper concerns Finnish expressions initiated with *se että*[1] (see Leino 1999; Vatanen, Suomalainen & Laury, forthcoming). *Se että*, literally 'it that', consists of a demonstrative followed by a complementizer, and it can initiate clausal complement constructions but also more complex multi-clausal units in both spoken and written Finnish. The clause or clause combination initiated by *se että* can be integrated in another clausal construction, functioning as an argument in it (Example 1), but it can also be syntactically independent (Example 2).

(1) [Sg 441, Arkisyn]

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1  Liisa:  ni sit  ku  ajatus  oli       se et  ku  niil   on
           so then PTC thought be.PST.3SG SE ET  PTC 3PL-ADE be.3SG
           'so then because the idea was SE ET because they have'
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1. The second part of the expression, *että,* occurs in our data both in its full form (as in Example (2)) and shortened to one syllable, *et* (as in Example (1)). When we discuss the expression in general, we use the full form, but when we discuss particular uses in our data, we use the form in the actual use.

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2 *se (.) ↑jouluillaninen il- ↓plää plää↓ <jouluillallinen,>*
DEM christmas-diller di- duh duh christmas-dinner
'that Christmas diller di- blaa blaa Christmas dinner'

(2) [Sg 437, Arkisyn]

1 Tuula: *et se on parempi,*
'so (that) it is better'

2 (.)

3 Jaana: *niin o[n.*
'yes it is'

4 Tuula: *[semmone a@romi@*
'some kind of an aroma'

5 Jaana: *nii £(h) ja sitte **se että** kun mun mielest*
PTC and then SE ETTÄ because 1SG-GEN mind-ELA
'yeah £(h) and then SE ETTÄ because in my opinion'

6 *se on muka olevinaan terveellisemp°ää°£,*
DEM be.3SG PTC be-PC-PL-ESS-POSS healthy-COMP-PAR
'it is supposed to be healthier'

Standard descriptions of Finnish grammar (Hakulinen et al. 2004) as well as earlier work on *se että* (Siro 1968; Leino 1999) have claimed that *se että* initiated expressions are NPs which have referents. These earlier accounts on *se että* have, however, focused on standard written Finnish, and their description of the *se että* initiated expressions has thus been limited to that variety. In this paper, our aim is to extend the study of *se että* to spoken interaction. By examining occurrences of *se että* initiated expressions in ordinary everyday spoken Finnish, we wish to discuss whether the expressions initiated with *se että* should be considered nominalized clauses, hence NPs, or whether they constitute some other kind of unit. Our research questions are the following: (1) What characteristics do *se että* initiated expressions have that would lead linguists to classify them as NPs? (2) Do they have characteristics that NPs lack or do not normally manifest? (3) If not NPs, then what are the expressions initiated by *se että*? (4) What does the nature of synchronic and diachronic variation in the use of *se että* expressions indicate regarding their status as NPs?

In what follows, we will answer these questions by providing an analysis of the NP-like and the non-NP-like uses of *se että* in both modern day conversational data and dialect interviews from the 1960s and 1970s with elderly speakers. We will show that in our data, *se että,* in addition to initiating complement clauses functioning as NPs, also functions as a projector phrase, alerting the recipient to the nature of the upcoming talk.

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The paper is structured as follows. After discussing earlier research on the *se että* expression, we will describe our data and methodology. We will then discuss the status of *se että* initiated expressions as NPs, starting with those features and types of use which have led Finnish linguists to classify them as NPs, followed by a discussion of features and types of use where they lack features associated with NPs. The next section gives a diachronic perspective on the use of *se että* initiated expressions. Finally, we discuss the grammaticization of the *se että* expression, and then present our conclusions.

Background

In earlier research, it has been proposed that clauses initiated with *se että* are noun phrases (Leino 1999: 47; Siro 1968: 204). The most recent Finnish reference grammar, the influential Hakulinen et al. (2004: §1145, §1147), also makes this claim. The main argument for classifying *se että* expressions with associated clauses as NPs is that they serve functions similar to ordinary lexical noun phrases: they have been shown to function as subjects, objects, predicative subject complements (Hakulinen et al. 2004) and also as oblique (adverbial) complements (Siro 1968). Further, like ordinary NPs, as a consequence of functioning as arguments and adjuncts, *se että* expressions also take case. See Example (3) for a subject use, Examples (4) and (5) as object uses, Example (1) as a predicative subject complement and Example (7) as an oblique adverbial complement.

Although bare *että* clauses can also function as arguments, the *se* element has been thought to function as a nominalizer (Leino 1999: 31; Siro 1968: 203–204), as the head of the clausal NP in which case marking would index the role of the *että* complement clause in its matrix clause. For this reason, it has been suggested (Siro 1968) that *se* is compulsory if an *että* clause is used as an oblique argument; however, Leino (1999) shows that this is not the case. Furthermore, although *että* clauses most commonly occur in object position, only 10% of object *että* clauses in Leino's (1999) data were marked with *se*. Thus, it seems that indexing case cannot be at least the only or even the most important motivation for the use of *se* with *että* complement clauses.

Furthermore, it has been suggested that in the *se että* expression, *se* is referential and, as a consequence, *se että* clauses are referential NPs (Leino 1999: 45). *Se että* clauses have been said to present their content as something that is familiar to the speaker and identifiable by the addressee; they may reiterate something already said, or they express a proposition that is already present in the discourse in some other way (Leino 1999: 47). In Leino's written data, *se että* clauses often occur with factive predicates, thus presenting the content of the *se että* clause as

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a fact, something the speaker claims to be true, and they are also frequent with verbs expressing evidence (1999: 34). Further, in Leino's data, *se että* clauses that function as subjects often occur with predicate adjectives that express surprise, unexpectedness, or importance, or they are superlatives. In our analysis in this paper, we will examine whether the uses *se että* is put to in our spoken data manifest features found by Leino in his standard written Finnish data.

In our own earlier research (Suomalainen, Vatanen & Laury 2016; Vatanen, Suomalainen & Laury forthcoming), we have shown that in spoken Finnish, *se että* initiated expressions occur in contexts where the speaker is expressing her own knowledge, understanding and stance, in the course of activities such as storytelling, assessment, informing and asserting. In particular, when *se että* is not incorporated into another clause, it is a rather fixed expression in which the demonstrative *se* and the complementizer *että* are often fused together and commonly constitute just one prosodic word. In such uses, *se että* does not function as a complementizer, but rather it is a projective expression, an intersubjective placeholder which serves to focus the recipient's attention to some more talk of a certain nature upcoming in its speaker's multi-unit turn. In many ways, this type of *se että* resembles other projector phrases identified from English, German and French: As shown by Aijmer (2007), the English projector phrase *the thing is* carries the rhetorical meaning of explanation or justification for a point of view, a function shared by *se että*. Günthner (2011) has shown that the German *Die Sache ist*, like the Finnish *se että*, projects a continuation that is more relevant than the projector phrase itself; it focuses the recipient's attention on the continuation and prepares the recipients to align themselves to the upcoming information. Like *se että, Die Sache ist* often occurs in argumentative contexts, and it may include features which already project potential disagreement or disaffiliation. *Se että* also resembles the French *il y a X* and *ce que/ce qui X* (see Pekarek Doehler 2011): both are used as sedimented formulae/formats which project more talk of a certain nature to come, and no longer function in clause combining but rather as routinized interactional projection practices. (On projector constructions, see also Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 487–489.) In our analysis below, we will return to earlier studies of *se että* and projective constructions when relevant. But before that, we will describe our data and methodology.

Data and methods

This article is based on two data sets from two corpora of spoken Finnish. Our analysis mainly focuses on approximately 29.5 hours of data from the morphosyntactically coded Arkisyn corpus of conversational Finnish (University of Turku).

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These data consist of 16 mostly videotaped dyadic and multi-party conversations recorded from the 1990s to the present day, transcribed at the Universities of Helsinki and Turku. In our analysis, we compare these present-day conversational data with data from the Corpus of Finnish Dialects (Syntax Archives, University of Turku), which consist of dialect interviews recorded during the 1960s and 1970s with informants born in the late 1800s or early 1900s. This dataset consists of 142 audio recordings from different dialectal areas in Finland. Like the Arkisyn corpus, the Corpus of Finnish Dialects is also morphosyntactically coded and available at the Language Bank of Finland. The older dialect data and the newer conversational data are quite different in nature. Both do represent varieties of spoken Finnish. However, the dialect data consist of interviews in which the linguist making the recording tries to stay as quiet as possible, only prompting the dialect speakers to get them to speak as much as possible. Thus, most of these data are monologic and involve narratives, often from the speaker's own life, as well as descriptions of traditions and lifeways of the speaker's community. On the other hand, the newer recordings were made in naturalistic encounters which would have taken place even if they had not been recorded. The interaction is as spontaneous as possible, with no attempt to manipulate the situation, and no preset agenda.

For this study, we collected all occurrences of *se* (declined in any case) followed by *että* in our datasets. The data search was performed using the concordance search tool Korp (see Borin, Forsberg & Roxendal 2012) that is available through the Language Bank of Finland. We arranged all the occurrences of *se että* in tabular form, and then removed all instances in which *se* occurring just before *että* was an argument in the preceding clause and was followed by a 'bare' *että*-initiated complement clause. The following example (from Sg 440, Arkisyn) exemplifies cases that were removed from the data collection. In this example, *se* is used as a third person pronoun (see e.g. Priiki 2017), not the head of the clause that follows, and it functions as subject of the preceding verb form *sanoks* (say.PST-Q-CLI). The following complementizer *et* initiates a complement clause functioning as object of the verb *sanoa* 'to say'.[2]

sanoks ***se*** ***et*** *se tulee*
say.3SG.PST-Q-CLI 3SG COMP 3SG come-3SG
'did s/he say that s/he is coming'

As a result of these procedures, we have a collection of altogether 857 instances: 545 instances from the Arkisyn corpus (henceforth Arkisyn) and 312 instances from the Corpus of Finnish Dialects (henceforth FinDia). Table 1 shows how

2. In the first clause (*sanoks se* 'did s/he say'), the subject *se* 's/he' comes after the verb *sanoa* 'to say' because the clause is an interrogative.)

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these instances are distributed into the two main syntactic categories mentioned above: those embedded in a clausal construction (i.e., the syntactically integrated ones) and those not embedded in a clausal construction (i.e., the syntactically independent ones).

Table 1. The distribution of the occurrences of *se että* in the data

		Arkisyn	FinDia	Total
SE ETTÄ cases embedded in a clausal construction ('syntactically integrated use')	n	233	211	444
	%	43	68	52
SE ETTÄ cases **not** embedded in a clausal construction ('syntactically independent use')	n	312*	101	413
	%	57	32	48
Total	n	545	312	**857**
	%	64	36	**100**

*It is worth noting that one speaker produced altogether 192 cases of *se että*s that are not embedded in a clausal construction (in 3 hours' time). The remaining 121 cases are produced by other speakers in our data. In what follows, we focus on these 121 cases to achieve a more balanced analysis.

Our methods of analysis are interactional linguistics (see Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018) and conversation analysis (see Sidnell & Stivers 2013). Both entail detailed, moment-by-moment sequential analysis of the interaction, taking into account the participants' verbal and embodied behavior in the situated, material environment.

The status of *se että* initiated expressions as NPs

In this section we will discuss the status of *se että* initiated expressions as NPs based on our collection from the Arkisyn corpus. The *se että* expressions in our data carry both NP-like and non-NP-like features. On the one hand, we do have cases of *se että* that are integrated into a clause, that take case that marks their argument role in the clause, and that function as heads of clausal NPs. On the other hand, we also have cases where *se että* may be seemingly embedded in another clause, but is not appropriately case marked to index its argument role, or even cases where *se että* is not part of a clausal construction at all, but an independent element that may be followed by a lengthy stretch of talk that cannot be regarded as a clause. The former cases demonstrate NP-like features of *se että* expressions, while the latter call the membership of the *se että* initiated expressions in the category of NPs into question.

In the first subsection, we focus on those occurrences in our data where *se että* initiated expressions are integrated into a clause and could be analyzed as noun phrases. We examine the NP-like features of such occurrences and compare our

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results to those of Leino's (1999) on written Finnish. In the second subsection, we move on to investigate cases of *se että* initiated expressions that carry non-NP-like features and in which the membership of the *se että* initiated expression in the category of NPs is thus somewhat questionable. In the third subsection, we provide a summary on the main points made in this section.

NP-like features of se että *initiated expressions*

As has been suggested in earlier research (Hakulinen et al. 2004; Leino 1999; Siro 1968), the demonstrative *se* in the *se että* expression nominalizes the clause that comes after it and functions as the head of the clausal NP. When *se että* is embedded in another clause, *se* can also take case that indexes the role of *se että* initiated clause in the matrix clause. In what follows, we will show that *se että* and the clausal element that it initiates can function in various argument roles in another clause: as a subject, object, predicative subject complement, or complement of an existential. Our conversational data include *se että* clauses in all the functions identified by Leino (1999), as well as some not found in the written data Leino studied. As seen in Leino's data, *se että* clauses were frequently used as subjects in our spoken data, as shown in the next example.

(3) [Sg 120, Arkisyn]
minuu ärsytti ***se et*** *hh onks se sit niinku italialainen*
1SG.PAR irritate.PST.3SG SE ET be.3SG-Q-CLI DEM PTC like Italian
'I was irritated by SE ET does it make it like Italian then'

Note that even though the agent of *ärsytti* 'irritated' is oblique in the English translation, in the Finnish original, the affected party, *minuu* 'me', is in the partitive case and thus a direct object, and the *se et* clause is the subject: a more direct, though not very idiomatic, translation might be 'SE ET does it make it like Italian then irritated me'. This example could of course be analyzed as a case of extraposition. As such, it is a good example of a typical case of such a construction to express an evaluative stance, using a syntacticized interactional format where the first formulaic part strongly projects the other part (see Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson 2006; Hopper & Thompson 2008; see also Laury 2012 on extraposition in Finnish).

Se että clauses were also used as objects in our data. Finnish objects can be either accusative,[3] partitive or nominative, depending on a variety of factors, in-

3. Some Finnish grammars will say that Finnish objects can be genitive. The accusative case is syncretic with the genitive due to an earlier sound change. Personal pronouns do have accusative forms distinct from genitive forms.

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cluding the transitivity of the clause (Helasvuo 1996; Hopper & Thompson 1980; Laury 1982). See the following Examples (4) and (5).

(4) [Sg 441, Arkisyn]
täytyy sit sopia ***se että*** *nff että tota että mihin aikaa*
must.3SG then agree-INF SE.NOM ETTÄ ETTÄ PTC ETTÄ WH-ILL time-ILL
ollaam menossa
be-PASS go.NML-INE
'(we) need to agree then SE ETTÄ nff ETTÄ um ETTÄ at what time we'll go'

In this example, the *se että* clause is the object of the verb *sopia* 'to agree'. Like the subject in the previous example, *se* is here nominative. Objects in Finnish are nominative when there is no (overt) subject in the clause. The matrix clause *täytyy sit sopia* 'one/we must then agree' is formatted as a zero-person construction (see Laitinen 1995; Varjo & Suomalainen 2018): the verb is in the third person singular form, but there is no overt subject. One way to know that the *se että* clause is functioning as an object here is that in the negated version of the matrix clause, *se* would be partitive; objects in negated clauses are always partitive.

The next example also shows the use of a *se että* clause as an object, with *se* in the partitive case. It comes from a telephone call between a mother and a daughter. The daughter is discussing her difficulty finding transportation from an event, apparently with the purpose of getting her mother to offer her a ride.

(5) [Sg 111, Arkisyn]
Mä vaa pohdin ***sitä et*** *mite mää tuun sielt kotii*
1SG just ponder-1SG SE-PAR ET how 1SG come-1SG DEM.LOC-ABL home-ILL
'I just wonder SE ET how I will come home from there then'

In this example, the *se että* clause is the object of *pohdin* 'wonder-1SG', which takes a partitive object. Therefore, *se* is here in the partitive case, taking the form *sitä*. Here, the *se että* phrase appears to serve to focus the mother's attention on what follows *sitä että*, the part of the utterance that contains the gist of the daughter's turn.

We also have many examples of *se että* clauses as subject complements of copula clauses, both as predicate nominals and as adverbial complements. In the next example, the *se että* clause is a predicate nominal in the nominative case. The conversation concerns a well-known Finnish gun manufacturer.

(6) [Sapu 115, Arkisyn]
Suamikonepistoolin ongelma on ***se et*** *se heti lähtee*
NAME-submachine.gun-GEN problem be.3SG SE ET DEM immediately go-3SG
se hylsy taappäi
DEM case backwards

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'the problem with the Finnish submachine gun is SE ET the case goes immediately backwards'

The *se et* clause is here the complement of the copula clause, expressing the problem with 'the Finnish submachine gun', which is the subject.

Predicative subject complements of Finnish copula clauses can also be obliques, as in the next example, which comes from the same conversation as Example (5).

(7) [Sg 111, Arkisyn]
nyt se ongelma on ***siinä et*** *miten mä pääsen sieltä kotiin*
now DEM problem be.3SG SE-ESS ET how 1SG get-1SG DEM-ABL home-ILL
'now the problem is in SE ET how I will get home from there'

Here, the *se että* clause functions as an oblique adverbial complement in the copula clause. *Se* is in the essive case; a possible translation might be 'now the problem is (located in) how I will get home from there'. Note that again, the part projected by the *se että* phrase contains the most important part of the utterance.

There are also examples where the *se että* construction is used as a subject complement in simple copula clauses where the clause-initial pronominal subject is nearly empty, resembling formal subjects in languages like English. Consider the next example, where the speaker is complaining about not having time to study English for the national matriculation exam, although she believes she has to pass that subject.

(8) [Sg 120, Arkisyn]
se oj just ***se et*** *millom mie lue sitä englantii ku*
DEM be.3SG just SE ET when 1SG read DEM-PAR english-PAR because
'it's just SE ET when will I study English because'
s_ on niinku pakko päästä läpi s(h)iitä.
DEM be-3SG PTC must get-INF through DEM-ELA
'(one/you) like have to pass that (subject)'

Se että clauses also function as complements of existentials in our data. Complements of existentials have traditionally been considered subjects in Finnish, but Helasvuo and Huumo (2010) argue convincingly that they lack several characteristics of subjects and thus do not qualify as such. Instead, they suggest that complements of existentials form a category of their own, which they call the E-NP. Here is an example of a *se että* clause as an E-NP. The participants are discussing sharing the cost of a landline phone with roommates.

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(9) [Sg 123, Arkisyn]
*TOSIN siin on kyl **seki et** puhelin ei maksa ku*
PTC DEM-INE be.3SG PTC SE-CLI ET phone NEG.3SG cost-CONNEG CMP

satasen?
hundred-ACC

'in fact there is also SE ET a phone only costs a hundred'

This is a prototypical existential clause in which there is a locational term (here *siin* 'there') followed by the verb 'to be' (*on*) and after that, an expression of something whose existence is claimed, here a fact expressed in a clause. This is an example of the use of a *se että* construction to express evidence for some claim. Leino (1999: 34) also notes that in his written data, *se että* clauses were likely to occur with verbs connected with epistemic causality or evidentiality, such as *tarkoittaa, merkitä* 'to mean'. Note also the use of the particle *kyl* in this example; Keevallik and Hakulinen (2018) show that it is used to epistemically reinforce the speaker's proposition.

Our data also contain numerous uses of *se että* clauses as 'free' or unattached NPs (Helasvuo 2001a, b; Tao 1996), NPs which are not arguments in any clause. Free NPs are at least rare in written language and were apparently not present in the data discussed by Leino (1999). In the following case, the participants have been talking about the price of hair salon services compared to their quality.

(10) [Sg 151, Arkisyn]
ei viittis nii hirveesti #kampaajaa laittaa rahaa#,
NEG.3SG feel.like-COND so terrible-ADV hair.dresser-ILL put-INF money-PAR

*.hh mut **se et** jos sit laittaa vähä rahaa ja sit siit*
but SE ET if then put-3SG little money-PAR and then DEM-ELA

tukast tulee hirvee ni sekää ei o kiva.
hair-ELA come-3SG terrible so DEM-CLI NEG.3SG be.CONNEG nice
'…it's not worth spending a lot of money on a hairdresser, but SE ET if you spend only a little money and then your hair comes out terrible then that's not nice either'

In this example, the *se et* clause, or actually a clause combination, is not an argument in any other clause, neither the one that precedes it, to which it is linked with the coordinating conjunction *mut(ta)* 'but', nor the clause that follows is, the consequent clause which is linked to the *se et* clause combination with the coordinating conjunction *ni* 'so'. Here, the *se et* expression is a nominalized clause combination consisting of two clauses linked by *ja* 'and', functioning as a free or unattached NP. In this example, the *se että* clause could be considered a left dislocation, or,

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to use a better term, an initial detachment (see Fernandez-Vest 2015, for a very useful discussion of this terminology in mainly French linguistics), where the NP is first mentioned initially before the clause, and then represented by a pronoun, here *sekään* '(not) that either', incorporated in the clause that follows. Here the detached or left dislocated *se että* construction is used in an assessment context, an environment where left dislocations are routinely used in French conversation (Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani & Horlacher 2015: 115–121). But our data also include *se että* clauses which are entirely free, not even initial or final detachments. See the following Example (11). Two sisters, Jaana and Tuula, are discussing vacation destinations. The *se että* clause functioning as a free NP is in line 5.

(11) [Sg 437, Arkisyn]

1 Tuula: *.hh mut et ↑kyl siellä niinku, #v:::#armasti et et jos*
but ET PTC DEM.LOC-ADE PTC for.sure ET ET if
'but like for sure there like, certainly if'

2 *ois hyväl porukalla nin, hhmh tosi kiva käydä*
be.3SG-COND good-ADE group-ADE so really nice go-INF
'(one/you) had good company so (it would be) really nice to go'

3 *syömäs päivällä ja sillä lailla mutta,*
eat-INF-INE day-ADE and DEM-ADE way-ADE but
'to go eat during the day and so on but'

4 Jaana: *[mm,*

5 Tuula: *[.hhhh mut* ***se että*** *> mitä sitte tekee kaikki kaikki päivät. (0.4)*
but SE ETTÄ what then do.3SG all all day-PL
'.hhhh but SE ETTÄ what does (one) then do all all day.' (0.4)

6 *tommo[ses pai°kas°.]*
DEM.ADJ-INE place-INE
'in a place like that.'

7 Jaana: *[.hhhh no kato] siinhä mul justiin*
PTC look.2SG.IMP DEM.LOC-CLI 1SG-ADE just
'well you see that's just how'

8 *on ollu kauheen kiva noi kaks, (.)*
be.3SG be-PPC terrible-ADV nice DEM.PL two
'I have had it so nice the last'

9 *viimest reissuu et mull_ on ollu Tommi mu°ka[nah°.*
last-PAR trip-PAR ET 1SG-ADE be.3SG be-PPC NAME with
'two trips because I have had Tommi with me'

Jaana has suggested Malta as a destination, saying that it is not as spoiled as some other popular destinations mainly known for their beaches. Having noted that she is not one to get bored, Tuula (lines 1–3) mentions some fun activities available

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in beach resorts. But, in line 5, using a *se että* clause, she suggests there is nothing to do during the rest of the day. This *se että* construction is not embedded in any clause; it is not even represented by a pronoun in another clause, unlike the initial detachment in the previous Example (10). It is simply functioning as a free NP. Here, the *se että* expression is part of a concessive construction; Tuula first concedes Jaana's point that Malta might be a nice location (1–3), but her own point, which contrasts with the stance taken by Jaana, is that places like Malta might be quite boring (5–6). Here we see the use of *se että* in a context of slight disagreement.

Se että clauses and clause combinations functioning as free NPs can even be coordinated, as in the following example. Leino (1999) also found coordinated *se että* clauses in his written data, and suggested that in cases of coordinated *että* clauses, *se* is always present. Here the speaker is discussing her recent food intake and eating habits.

(12) [Sg 441, Arkisyn]
ensin mä päätin ett#en# mä syö mut sitte
first.ADV 1SG decide-PST-1SG COMP-NEG-1SG 1SG eat.CONNEG but then

#heikkous iski ja# mä söin >#niitä#<. .hh mutta tota niin
weakness strike-PST and 1SG eat-PST-1SG DEM.PL-PAR but PTC PTC

niin öö mhh ***se että*** *mä tiedän et mä otin ison*
PTC PTC SE ETTÄ 1SG know-1SG ET 1SG take-PST-1SG large-ACC

annoksen mutta mä en yleensä syö ku yhen aterian
serving-ACC but 1SG NEG-1SG usually eat.CONNEG CMP one-ACC meal-ACC

päivässä ja sit ***se että*** *hh mä oon koko viikon syöny tosi -*
day-INE and then SE ETTÄ 1SG be-1SG whole week-ACC eat-PPC really

-tosi tot#a# (0.2)ö ö [niinku kevyesti?
really PTC PTC light-ADV
'at first I decided that I won't eat but then weakness struck and I ate them but uhm so uhm SE ETTÄ I know that I took a big portion but I usually eat just one meal a day and then SE ETTÄ I have the whole week eaten very – very uhm lightly'

In this example, the two *se että* expressions are functioning as free NPs which are not arguments in any clause. Instead, the first *se että* expression is followed by a complex clause combination made up of a framing clause (*mä tiedän* 'I know') followed by a complement clause initiated with *et* 'that' and then a clause coordinated with that clause combination with a *mutta* 'but' clause. Then this complex clause combination initiated with *se että* is coordinated with *ja* 'and' with another *se että* expression consisting of just a simple clause. In uses like this, we seem not to be

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dealing with *se että* clauses any longer, but rather longer stretches of talk in which *se että* is followed by further material which can be a clause, a clause combination, or even something longer than that (see the next section).

Se että expressions can also be right dislocated or detached so that there is a cataphoric pronoun, in our data usually *se,* in the preceding clause, followed a *se että* expression which is coreferential with the pronoun. This is the case in the next example. Here, a group of teachers are discussing the problems of immigrant children in their classrooms.

(13) [Sg 346, Arkisyn]
tuleeks ***se*** *niist* *lapsista* *vai lasten*
come-3SG-Q-CLI DEM DEM.PL-ELA child-PL-ELA or child-PL-GEN

vanhemmista vai mistä ***se*** *nousee* ***se et#tä#*** ***et*** *siit* *nousee*
parent-PL-ELA or WH-ELA DEM rise-3SG SE ETTÄ ET DEM-ELA rise-3SG

niinku lähinnä niinku ne *ongelmat* *pintaan*
PTC mostly PTC DEM.PL problem-PL surface-ILL
'does it come from the kids or from their parents or where does it arise SE ETTÄ ET there arise like mostly like the problems to the surface'

In this example, the pronoun *se* is the subject of the verb *tuleeks* 'come-3SG-Q-CL' in the first clause as well as the subject of *nousee* 'rise-3SG' in the second clause (pronouns bolded in the transcript). The referent of *se* is then expanded upon in the right dislocated (detached) *se että* clause which follows: ***se*** *että et siit nousee niinku lähinnä niinku ne ongelmat pintaan*, 'SE ETTÄ ET there arise like mostly like the problems to the surface'. Leino (1999) also had cases in his data where there was *se* in the main clause followed by an *että* clause coreferential with that pronoun. According to Leino, in such cases of *se että* clauses the pronoun *se* was in a topicalized position. Our example is more complicated than those examined by Leino. Besides the two coreferential cataphoric pronouns, the *se että* expression is followed by another *et* complementizer. In this type of environment, *se että* no longer seems to have a syntactic function as a complementizer.

In Example (13), the use of the second *et* complementizer after the *se että* expression could be seen as being associated with the slight hesitation also hearable in the creaky voice in the first *et#tä#,*[4] but a second *et(tä)* complementizer can also follow a *se että* expression which is smoothly produced. This is the case in the next Example (14), where a daughter is asking her mother about the possibility of babysitting the next weekend.

4. The symbol # stands for creaky voice; see the list of transcription symbols in the Appendix.

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(14) [Sg 141, Arkisyn]
*m't me aateltiin just kysyä kans **sitä että** et onks*
but 1PL think-PST-PASS PTC ask.INF also SE-PAR ETTÄ ET be.3SG-Q-CLI

tota o onks sulla esimes lauantaiaamu hirvee
PTC be be.3SG-Q-CLI 2SG-ADE for.instance saturday-morning terrible-ADV

ohjelmoitu
program-PPPC
'but we were going to ask also SE ETTÄ ET is uhm are you terribly busy on Saturday morning for example'

In this example, the *se että* expression is marked as an object of the verb *kysyä* 'to ask'; the form *sitä* is partitive. In spite of this, the *sitä että* is followed by an *et* complementizer. The role of the first *että* as a complementizer is called into question by uses like this. Here, the clause preceded by *se että,* inquiring about whether the mother is busy Saturday afternoon, is the crux of the turn and quite possibly also the reason for the call, and in that sense *se että* can be seen to function to highlight what comes after it.

In this section we have seen that in ordinary conversation, *se että* clauses can function as subjects, objects, predicative subject complements and adverbial complements, as well as complements of existentials, E-NPs. In addition, in spoken data, *se että* expressions can initiate free or unattached NPs not syntactically integrated into any clause; these uses come very close to the independent (non-integrated) uses of *se että* expressions that will be discussed in the next section. *Se että* expressions can also be left or right dislocated. We have also shown, however, that *se että* expressions can be followed by another *et(tä)* complementizer, calling into question the syntactic role of the *se että* expression. Let us now move on to examine the *se että* cases that have even fewer NP-like features.

Non-NP-like features of se että *initiated expressions*

As mentioned, our data include a number of *se että* expressions that have various non-NP-like features. One such feature has to do with case marking: even though the case marking of most *se että* expressions in our data reflects their argument role in the clause they are embedded in, we also have cases where the *se että* expressions are seemingly embedded in another clause, and yet the *se* element is not 'appropriately' case marked (at least according to the canonical grammatical descriptions) to index its argument role, or there is something else that is non-canonical in the use of the expression (see Examples (15)–(16) below). Second, in our data, the *se että* expression can be followed by material which is a lengthy turn that does not have a clear end point and that cannot, because of

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this 'never-ending' nature (see Auer 1992) and complex structure, be regarded as a clause (cf. Hopper & Thompson 2008). Examples (17)–(18) below illustrate this usage of *se että*. Furthermore, prosodic analysis of the *se että* expressions in our data shows that the non-canonically used *se että* expressions often form just one prosodic word, not two separable elements, which also indicates that this type of *se että* no longer marks a nominalized clause preceded by a marker of definiteness.[5] Instead, the expression seems to be developing into a projector phrase (Aijmer 2007; Günthner 2008, 2011; Hopper & Thompson 2008; Pekarek Doehler 2011), and no longer functions as a subordinating expression or a complementizer (see Vatanen, Suomalainen & Laury, forthcoming). Such a prosodically reduced *se että* can also be followed by another use of *että*, which can be taken as evidence that *se että* is no longer a complementizer on what follows. Examples (17)–(18) also illustrate the projector-phrase *se että*.

Let us first examine cases where the [*se että* + following material] seems to function as an argument embedded in another clause but it is in some way non-canonical. In the next example, the [*se että* + following material] seems to function as an object in the matrix clause. However, the *se* element is not case marked as would be expected:

(15) [Sg 151, Arkisyn]
miun mielest s- voi niinku melkei pi[tää sellai varmana ***se et***
1SG-GEN mind-ELA can PTC almost hold-INF DEM-ADV certain-ESS SE ET

jos se linja vaa alkaa nii kyl sie sinne pääset.
if DEM program just begin-3SG so PTC 2SG DEM-ILL get-2SG

'I think (Ø) can almost consider certain SE ET if only the program starts then you will for sure get in'

Canonically, the object of *pitää varmana* 'consider certain', would be in the partitive form of *se*, that is, *sitä*. Here, however, the *se* element is in the nominative (*se*). Hence, here the case marking does not 'properly' index the role of the [*se että* + following clause] as an object of the matrix clause.

In the following case, the [*se että* + following material] initially seems to function as a complement of a copula clause, *mie oon* 'I am':

5. We have not done a detailed prosodic analysis of the canonically used (syntactically integrated) *se että* cases in our data, although we have done so for the non-canonical uses. Thus, we are not in a position to make a definite statement about the increased tendency for non-canonical uses to be prosodically fused into one word.

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(16) [Sg 151, Arkisyn]
koska muute sit mie oon kans ***se et*** *mie punotan siis*
because otherwise then 1SG be-1SG also SE ET 1SG red-1SG PTC

varsinki ku…
in.particular when

'because otherwise then I am also SE ET I turn red especially because…'

The characterizing complement of a copula clause (here *mie oon X*, 'I am X') would canonically be a demonstrative adjective such as *sellainen* 'such',[6] not *se* 'it', which we have here (cf. 'I am such that' vs. 'I am it that'). In this case, the non-canonical feature of the fragment is not the case marking but the choice of the item itself. In general, cases such as (15) and (16) above suggest that the *se että* expression may be so strong and expansive that it is spreading to new contexts, outside of its canonical usages.

Now let us take a look at a case where the material that follows *se että* seems to be 'never-ending'. Here two middle-aged sisters discuss their physical symptoms and diseases due to stressful situations in life.

(17) [Sg 437, Arkisyn]

01 Jaana: *ja mulhan on lähtenyt täält hiuksiaki si-,*
'and I have (as you know) even lost hair from here (si-)'

02 *(.) et [mull_o] tääl semmosii jotain*
'(.) so I have here such'

03 Tuula: *[mmm,]*
'mmm'

04 Jaana: *länttei et mihinkä ei koskaan tukkaa kasva?*
'patches here where hair never grows.'

05 Tuula: *.mth ja sitte mulla* ***se että****; .hhh et sillon ku*
and then 1SG-ADE SE ETTÄ ET then when
'.mth and then I (had) SE ETTÄ .hhh ET then when'

06 *tota:; (0.2) mt mä pyrin sinne*
PTC 1SG apply-PST-1SG DEM.LOC-ALL
'uhm, (0.2) I applied to the'

07 *>sihteeriopistooj< ja sit mä pääsin sinne ja mul oli hirvee*
'secretarial college and then I got in and I had a terrible'

08 *stressi siitä kun Jani ei hyväksyny sitä?*
'stress about the fact that Jani did not accept it'

6. See Kuiri (1999) on the characterizing use of *sellainen että.*

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09 *sehän, (.) ↓niinkun, (.) noteerasi, (0.2)*
'he (as you know) (.) like, (.) rated (0.2)'

10 *sen niinku ihan täysin pohjamutaan?*
'it like totally nothing'

11 *.th[hh että ja hu-,]*
'.thhh so and (hu-)'

12 Jaana: *[nii vaik se o arvos]tett[u koulu]*
'yeah even though it is a valued school'

13 Tuula: *[joo mut se] ei*
'yeah but he didn't'

14 *tiennys sitä sit viel >sillon=nyt se< tietää?*
'know it at that time now he knows'

((9 lines of Tuula's telling omitted))

24 Tuula: *.hhh niin, (.) ↑sillonha mulle puhkes se psoriaassis?*
'.hhh so, (.) it was then (as you know) when I got psoriasis?'

25 *.mthhh ja sitten; (.) sillon ku mä olin…*
'.mthhh and then; (.) when I was…'

In the beginning of this extract, Jaana reports on symptoms she has experienced in a stressful situation. Her sister Tuula receipts her telling by the acknowledgment token *mm* (line 3), and then initiates her own telling about her own symptoms. She begins her turn with *ja sitte mulla* ***se että*** 'and then I (have/had) SE ETTÄ'. With *ja sitte* she marks her turn as an addition to the prior. The next elements *mulla* ***se että*** 'I (have/had) SE ETTÄ' shows that she is talking about an issue (*se* 'the thing') that 'belongs' to her: *mulla* (1SG-ADE) initiates a possessive construction; however, here the copula which forms the other part of the possessive construction (*on* 'is') does not appear. The *se että* is followed by an inbreath and another instance of *et(tä)*, on one hand perhaps indicating that the speaker is processing her telling online and on the other hand that the first *että* might not function here as a complementizer as it is canonically thought to. After these elements, Tuula begins a telling about the time that was stressful for her and that resulted in her getting the psoriasis disease. The telling is lengthy and it is even momentarily interrupted by Jaana's side comment (line 12), after which Tuula resumes the telling and eventually reaches the punch line in line 24 – albeit going on even further ('and then, when I was…'), reporting on another stressful time in her life that resulted in other physical symptoms.

The whole telling by Tuula is framed with the *se että* expression. It is clear that what follows *se että* in this case cannot be considered a clause, not even a clearly definable multi-clausal unit, but rather a 'never-ending' (Auer 1992) or

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'indeterminate' (Hopper & Thompson 2008) stretch of talk. It is thus difficult, if not impossible, to consider cases like this as any type of NPs. In cases such as this, *se että* seems to do something other than functioning as the head of a clausal NP (see Hopper & Thompson 2008 for detailed arguments regarding issues pertinent to our point here). Here the *se että* expression may still have a pragmatic function as a 'nominalizer' of the long, complex turn it initiates: it frames the upcoming (often some kind of a telling) as one unit to be processed as a whole, and at the same time brings out and underlines the point of the speaker. In these cases, the point of the speaker is also designed to be recognizable for the recipient; in other words, *se että* contributes to recipient design. In this work, the semantics of the demonstrative *se* may play a role. *Se* has been shown to function as a marker of identifiability in spoken Finnish (Etelämäki 2005; Laury 1997): it suggests that what follows is in some way already known or at least epistemically accessible to the recipient. However, what is even more important here is that the *se että* focuses the recipient's attention on the continuation, as is typical for expressions that are used as projector phrases (Vatanen, Suomalainen & Laury, forthcoming, and references therein).

The following case (18) is similar to the previous one in that it also involves lengthy telling-like material that is framed with *se että*. Here, however, the *se että* occurs not in the beginning of a speaker's turn that was preceded by talk by the co-participant, as in Example (17). Instead, what precedes the *se että* utterance here is talk by the same speaker. The *se että* thus seems to be used in organizing the talk of the same speaker. This fragment is from a multi-party conversation where a group of young adults discusses issues related to religion and the Bible. Saila reports on how her understanding of the office of apostle has changed:

(18) [Sg 440, Arkisyn]

01 Saila: *tai sillee et, (0.2) niinku, (0.4) avautunus silmät*
'or I mean that, (0.2) like, (0.4) (my) eyes have opened'

02 *ja niinku se tavallaan se virka niinkut*
'and like the in a way the office like'

03 Kirsi: *[mm,*
'mm'

04 Saila: *tunnustettu ja nostet°tuh°.*
'has been acknowledged and raised (up).'

05 *(0.4)*

06 Saila: *mut seki että miten niinkuh, .hh (0.2) se sano, (.)*
but SE.CLI ETTÄ how PTC DEM say-PST-3SG
'but also SE ETTÄ how like, .hh (0.2) he said (.)'

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07 *just, (.) ku mä en ollus sitä aikasemmin tajunnu*
'just, (.) because I hadn't realized it before'

08 *että eihäm ↑Paavalikaa esimerkiks eihän se oo, (0.4)*
'that Paul for example he is not, (0.4)'

09 *sehän ei oot tavallaan niinkus se sama apostoli ku,*
'he is not in a way the same apostle as'

10 *.hh (0.2) ne oli ne, (0.4) opetus[lapset ka- koska…*
'.hh (0.2) were the, (0.4) disciples (ka-) because …'

11 Kirsi: *[nii.*
'right'

((19 lines omitted: Saila's reasoning and some short co-participants' responses))

31 Saila: *ni sit mä tavallaa tajusij just että sehä on; (0.2)*
'so then I in a way realized that it is (as you know) (0.2)'

32 *niinku:; (1.0) tavallaa ett_ei se oo olluv vaan ne vaan*
'like (1.0) in a way that it hasn't been just them but'

33 *se o oikeestin niinku semmonev virka mikä o asetettu*
'it is really like an office that has been appointed'

34 *niin#ku#, (1.4) niin#ku:#, (0.6) kaikillet tai silleih,*
'like (1.4) like (0.6) for everyone or so'

After the first lines in this fragment, receiving just an acknowledgment token *mm* from her co-participant Kirsi (line 3) and after a 0.4 second pause (line 5), Saila goes on to talk about the issue of apostles. She frames her talk with *mut **seki että***, indicating that it is somehow contrastive to what has been said before (*mut* 'but') but also an addition to it (the clitic *-ki* 'also'). The *se että* expression itself, we argue, frames the following lengthy material to be understood as one thing, as one single point that the speaker is making. Here the punchline of Saila's reasoning seems to occur only in lines 31–34, when she says *ni sit mä tavallaa tajusij just että…* 'so then I in a way realized that…' – which is relatively far from where she began the story that was to include several parentheticals and other insertions. Also, here it is clear that it is impossible to consider the material that follows *se että* to be any kind of coherent grammatical unit, certainly not a clause, and so it cannot be thought of as any type of NP either.

In fact, it seems that in our data, *se että* actually often functions as a projector phrase. As noted, our findings (Vatanen, Suomalainen & Laury, forthcoming) suggest that *se että* typically emerges in contexts of lengthy tellings, informings, assertions and assessments, and especially in turn/TCU beginnings it functions as a projector phrase in these contexts (on projector phrases in other languages, see Aijmer 2007; Günthner 2008, 2011; Hopper & Thompson 2008; Pekarek Doehler

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2011). In other words, the *se että* expression in many contexts no longer functions as a subordinator initiating a complement clause, but rather as a syntactically independent projector construction nearing status as a particle. Its function is to frame the upcoming material to be understood as one unit (cf. Mayes & Tao 2019) and to mark it as the main point or gist of the speaker's turn. In such contexts, *se että* expressions are used as sedimented formulae/formats which project more talk of a certain nature to come, and no longer function in clause combining but rather as routinized interactional projection practices – just like the *se että* cases (17) and (18) above. What is different, however, between the German and English projector phrases mentioned earlier and the Finnish *se että* is that the constructions in the other languages are clausal and include a predicate verb, whereas *se että* does not: there is just the demonstrative *se* and a complementizer/particle *että* in it.

Summary: Se että *initiated expressions as NPs*

In this section, we have taken a look into the NP- and non-NP-like features of the *se että* initiated expressions in the Arkisyn corpus of conversational Finnish. We have discussed the status of *se että* expression as a head of a clausal NP. Table 2 summarizes the main findings presented in this section.

As we have shown, not all of the *se että* initiated expressions in our conversational data can be clearly identified as belonging to the category NP; some occurrences have characteristics of NPs, but others lack them. Based on our data, it seems that there is a great deal of synchronic variation in the way *se että* is being used in modern spoken Finnish. To find out whether this variation is a modern-day phenomenon or whether it has existed for a longer time, in the next section,

Table 2. Features of *se että* initiated expressions in the Arkisyn corpus of conversational Finnish

NP-like features	Non-NP-like features
– *Se* nominalizes the clause that comes after it; it functions as the head of the clausal NP, and takes case that marks the role of the *se että* initiated expression in the matrix clause. – *Se että* and the clausal element that follows it can function as a subject, object, predicative subject complement, or complement of an existential in another clause. They can also be left and right dislocated. – Some *se että* constructions resemble 'free NPs'.	– *Se että* initiated expressions may be seemingly embedded in another clause, but the *se* element is not 'appropriately' case marked to index its argument role. – *Se että* can be followed by material which is a lengthy turn that does not have a clear end point ('never-ending' [Auer 1992]); i.e., it is not a clause. – *Se että* often functions as a projector phrase.

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we move on to analyze the variation in the use of *se että* in our older dataset collected from the Corpus of Finnish Dialects.

A diachronic perspective on *se että* initiated expressions

The previous section showed that there is variation in modern day conversational data as to what extent the *se että* initiated expressions belong to the category of NP. In this section, we examine *se että* initiated expressions from a diachronic point of view using data from the Corpus of Finnish Dialects (Syntax Archives, University of Turku), which consists of dialect interviews recorded during the 1960s and 1970s with informants born in the late 1800s or early 1900s. In this section, we also compare the variation of the *se että* initiated expressions in this older dataset to the way *se että* initiated expressions are being used in our modern-day data, as noted.

As was the case for the modern-day data, in the data from the Corpus of Finnish Dialects, the *se että* initiated expressions also have both NP-like and non-NP-like features, depending on the grammatical and interactional context they are a part of. In the dialect interviews, *se että* initiated expressions are quite often a part of clausal constructions and function as subjects, objects, predicative subject complements, and complements of an existential. However, they also occur as independent elements in the stream of talk, having the function of a projector phrase, followed by a lengthy stretch of talk without a clear endpoint.

The following Examples (19)–(21) demonstrate the variation in the use of the *se että* initiated expressions in the Corpus of Finnish Dialects. In (19), the *se että* initiated expression occurs in a context where the informant is telling the interviewer about a murder of a child and states that she does not remember whether it was the mother or the father who committed it. As in Example (5), *se että* in (19) is in partitive case and the expression that it initiates functions as an object of the verb *muistaa* 'to remember' in its negated form (*min- en muista* 'I do not remember').

(19) [Yli-Ii, FinDia]

1 *niill- oli huonot välit sev vaemosa kansaj ja tuota, (0.2) mutt (.)*
'he and his wife were on bad terms and uhm (0.2) but (.)'

2 *min- em (.) muista* ***sitä että*** *kumpi se sitte siinä*
1SG NEG-1SG remember.CONNEG SE-PAR ETTÄ which DEM then DEM-INE
'I do not (.) remember SE ETTÄ which one was in that (case)'

3 *rikollinen oli. (.) mutta siittä oli toenen, .hhh toener*
criminal be.3SG.PST but DEM.ELA be.3SG.PST other other
'the criminal. (.) but out of them one, .hhh one (was)'

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4 *rikollinen, =että kummalla se#:: (.) kumma- kumpi se oli se, (.)*
'the criminal so which one had it (.) which- which was the (.)'

While the *se että* initiated expression in (19) clearly shows features that place it in the category of a clausal complement functioning as an object NP, the following Example (20) is already more difficult to analyze in these terms. In (20), the *se että* initiated expression occurs in a context where the interviewer has asked the informant whether people were afraid of drying barns since they were often the places were the dying or dead people were taken to. The informant first says that he does not really know whether people were afraid or not but mentions that he does not think that anybody who lived in their house was afraid. The *se että* initiated expression occurs in line 3, in partitive case and as an object of the negated epistemic verb *tietää* 'to know'.

(20) [Kihniö, FinDia]

1 *=>em minä tiä,< ei meillä olek kyllä (.) mitä meillä on asuttu*
'I don't know, we have not really (.) had such a person living at our place'

2 *nin ollus semmosta joka om, (1.0) .hh mitää peläännyt,*
'who would have (.) .hh been afraid of anything'

3 *=että em minä tiäs sittes* ***sitä että*** *ni (2.4) että*
COMP NEG-1SG 1SG know.CONNEG then SE-PAR ETTÄ PTC COMP
'so I don't know then SE ETTÄ so (2.4) that'

4 *onko se, mhhh. (1.0) >tai< kyllä ne- sem- niitä o- niitä on (.) jokuja*
'is it, mhh. (1.0) or they do, such, they exist, they exist (.) some such'

5 *semmosia että ne (.) tuppaa nykyänsäkkiv vielä niin omp semmosia, (0.2)*
'(people) that they (.) still tend to be, there are such (people) (0.2)'

6 *.hh että ne pelekää ett- ei ne menisip mihkeekkää huoneeseem pimees.*
'.hh that they are afraid that they would not go into any room in dark.'

The case marking indicates that the *se että* expression in line 3 functions as an object of the verb *tietää* 'to know'. However, *se että* does not really get a full clausal complement in this example but is instead followed by the particle *ni* 'so' and a relatively long pause (2.4 seconds), after which the speaker produces another complementizer *että* that is then followed by a fragment of an interrogative copula clause and another long pause. After that, in line 4, the course of the turn-in-progress changes, and the speaker marks the initiation of self-repair with the particle *tai* 'or' which signals that he is about to replace something he has just said or to provide an alternative explanation to what precedes (see Sorjonen & Laakso 2005: 256–257). Indeed, in lines 4–6, the speaker does not deal further with what he does not know but instead moves on to admit that such people who are afraid do exist. Interestingly, the repair sequence here seems to be targeted

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towards the speaker's never-uttered thought (of what he claims not to know) that he introduced with *sitä että*.

In Example (20), the *se että* expression (*sitä että*) is case marked and could thus be analyzed to index the grammatical role of what follows in regard to what precedes (cf. Siro 1968: 203–204); the partitive case on *sitä* is due to the negative polarity of the framing clause, *että em minä tiäs* 'so I don't really know'. It is noteworthy that *sitä että* + the following particle *ni* are produced in the same TCU as the preceding framing clause, but the minimal interrogative clause *onko se* 'is it' that could be thought to function as the complement of *sitä että* comes after a relatively lengthy pause and another complementizer *että*, forming another TCU on its own. Here it thus seems that *sitä että*, rather than functioning as a head of a clausal NP, is part of a formulaic negative-initial expression *em minä tiäs sittes sitä että ni* that functions as an epistemic marker of uncertainty (see Laury & Helasvuo 2016: 86) and thus frames the upcoming as something the speaker claims not to have epistemic access to. In this formulaic expression, the role of *sitä että* can be analyzed as a signal that the speaker's not-knowing has an object, even though this object is not uttered. In this sense, the projective function *sitä että* has in its context in (20) seems to be of more importance than its task as a nominalizer: *sitä että* creates a slot for further talk (cf. Pekarek Doehler 2011: 127), even though, in this case, the subsequent talk remains a fragment and is followed by self-repair.

However, since the *se että* expression in (20) is case marked and functions as part of a preceding matrix clause, it is not an independent projector construction similar to, for example, the *se että* expressions in (17) and (18). The following Example (21), on the other hand, shows even more clearly that the older data from the Corpus of Finnish dialects also include cases where the *se että* expressions function as projector phrases. Just before the following extract, the informant has described how he was really ill one spring and had to drink spirit with wormwood (*artemisia absinthium*) added to it in order to get healthy again. In the fragment presented in (21), he goes on to explain how bitter such spirit was. The *se että* initiated expression occurs in an evaluative part of the turn where the bad taste of the spirit with wormwood is underlined; the informant states that the taste of pure spirit is not really delicious either, but that the taste of spirit with wormwood is even worse.

(21) [Mikkeli, FinDia]

1 *=em miä pa<u>L</u>jaaltee sitä viinoo ottant ni, .hhh*
'I did not drink the pure booze so .hhh'

2 *kyl se ol' ka<u>t</u>keraa. (0.6) >se_et,< (.) .hh (tä et)*
SE ET (PTC) (ET)
'it was really bitter. (0.6) SE ET (.) .hh that'

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3 *viinaa ei nii herkkuva oo (0.3) iLimankaa*
booze-PAR NEG.3SG so delicacy-PAR be.CONNEG without-CLI
'booze is not so delicious (0.3) without (it) either'

4 *taekka se ku an kato vielä katkeram mavun*
or DEM PTC give.3SG.PST PTC still bitter-ACC taste-ACC
'or as it ((=the wormwood)) gives you see moreover a bitter taste'

5 *£ni v(h)oe on(h)neton ku se ol' paham makuista ryyppiä.£* ((laughs))
'so oh boy it was bad tasting to drink.'

Similar to the modern-day Examples (17) and (18), the *se että* expression in (21) is fragmented in the sense that it is not a part of the preceding clausal construction. Preceded by a 0.6 second pause in line 2, the *se että* in line 2 is in nominative case and is followed by a pause, short audible inhalation, possibly followed by the syllable *tä* and another complementizer *et* (cf. Examples (13) and (14)). Prosodically, *se et* is produced as one unit, forming a TCU on its own. As we have argued earlier (Vatanen, Suomalainen & Laury, forthcoming), these features are typical for the *se että* expressions functioning as projector phrases. Also in Example (21), the *se että* initiated expression can better be understood as a projective practice than as having the syntactic function of a complementizer: in the context it occurs in, *se että* projects more talk to come and focuses the recipient's attention on what follows it as central to the interaction, underlining the subsequent content.

As is shown by the examples in this section, variation similar to what can be found in the *se että* initiated expressions in modern day conversational data is also present in the older data recorded during the 1960s and 1970s with speakers born in the late 1800s or early 1900s. As it seems, there are several co-existing layers of use when it comes to *se että* and the expressions it initiates, both from diachronic as well as synchronic point of view. Based on our data, we might argue that there is – and may have been for some time already – an ongoing expansion in the category of *se että*. Next, we will move on to discuss this issue in more detail.

Towards the grammaticization of *se että*

Based on the analysis presented above, our data suggest that there is an ongoing expansion in the category of *se että*, since it can function both as a nominalizer and a particle-like projector phrase in spoken Finnish. Based on the synchronic as well as diachronic variation in the way *se että* initiated expressions are being used, we propose that there is a continuum of different degrees of grammaticization (Auer & Pfänder 2011; Hopper & Traugott 1993) in the *se että* expressions in our data, as suggested in Figure 1.

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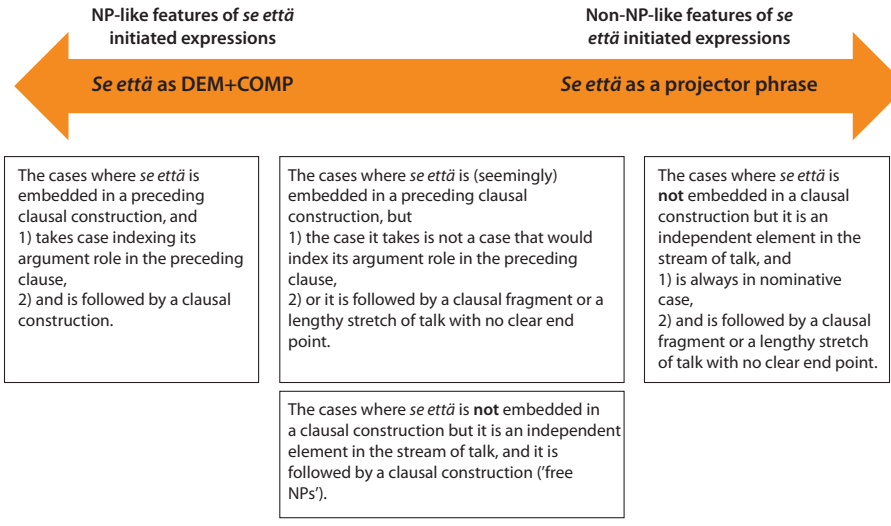

Figure 1. Continuum of different degrees of grammaticization of the *se että* expression

Figure 1 aims to show that at one end of the continuum of *se että*s, there are uses of *se että* where it can be analyzed as a demonstrative followed by a complementizer, as has been the canonical grammatical view of the role and function of *se että* initiated expressions. At the other end of the continuum, there are the more particle-ized (Suzuki 1999) instances of *se että* expression where the functions of *se että* are best understood through its role as a projector phrase. In the middle of the continuum are the cases that fall in between the two ends.

As can be seen in Figure 1, the occurrences of *se että* that are located more towards the left end of the continuum are the most NP-like by nature. These occurrences include cases where *se että* is embedded in a preceding clausal construction, takes case indexing its argument role in the preceding clause, and is followed by a clausal construction (see Examples (3)–(10) and (13); and Example (19)). In the middle of the continuum, we have placed two types of occurrences in our data. These occurrences of *se että* include, first, the cases where *se että* is at least seemingly embedded in the preceding clausal construction, but either the case that the *se* element takes is not a case that would index its argument role in the preceding clause (i.e., the non-canonical *se että* arguments, see (15) and (16)), or then the *se että* is followed by a clausal fragment or a lengthy stretch of talk with no clear end point (see (17) and (20)). Second, the middle of the continuum includes the cases in which the *se että* expression could be considered a 'free NP' (see (11) and (12)). Finally, the occurrences of *se että* located at the right end of the continuum in Figure 1 are the ones that have even fewer NP-like features or lack them altogether. For these cases, it is typical that *se että* is not embedded in a clausal construction at all but instead is an independent element in the stream of talk, most often followed

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by a lengthy stretch of talk (see (17), (18) and (21)). We consider this group of *se että*s as the most particle-ized instances of our data.[7] In this group, the role of *se että* as a projector phrase is more determinant than any other factor when it comes to defining its interactional role in its context of use.

However, since we find all the aforementioned types of uses in both data sets, we are not in a position to say that the independent, non-embedded use of *se että* expressions and the development of *se että* into a projector phrase, including its prosodic reduction, are a recent phenomenon, or even that the embedded use of *se että* expressions as NP arguments in another clause is older than the non-embedded use. Furthermore, if we deduct the 192 uses of non-integrated *se että* by one speaker in 3 hours in the present-day Arkisyn data, as we have done for this study, then the proportion of non-integrated uses is very similar in both datasets. It is true that the independent use of *se että* appears to be a phenomenon confined to the spoken language, or at least that it does not appear in the standard written Finnish data examined by Leino (1999). In non-standard uses of Finnish in genres such as internet discussions, independent, non-NP uses of *se että* expressions may in fact occur. This should be examined further.

Nevertheless, we are still in a position to say that the projector phrase use of *se että* may reflect a process of grammaticization that has been ongoing for a while in Finnish. It is to be expected that in such a process, older uses persist alongside with newer uses (see Hopper & Traugott 1993). On the other hand, we lack evidence that would show that the integrated uses are older, and the non-integrated uses have emerged later.

In our view, when it comes to the presumed expansion in the category of *se että* from a demonstrative followed by a complementizer into a particle-ized projector phrase, occurrences of *se että* where the expression is seemingly embedded in another clausal construction but is followed by a lengthy stretch of talk are of particular interest (see (17) and (20)). Such *se että*s occur in both of our data sets, in the older dialect data as well as in the modern-day conversational data. In these cases, it is quite common that the *se* and *että* are prosodically produced as one element and that they are followed by a pause, particle(s), (another) complementizer *että*, or all of these, before the lengthy stretch of talk starts. In occurrences like this, it seems that the role of *se että* is to show how the following talk relates to what precedes it, and in this sense the interactional role of this kind of occurrences of *se että* is rather projective in nature. As a matter of fact, it could be suggested that

7. Interestingly, both in the in-between cases as well as in the cases where *se että* functions as a projector phrase, *se että* is often followed by (another) complementizer *että* (see (17), (20) and (21)). This might indicate that the *se että* expression has such a fixed form that the first *että* no longer functions as a complementizer (see Vatanen, Suomalainen & Laury, forthcoming).

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the use of the syntactically independent *se että* expression as a projector phrase has synchronically developed from this type of in-between cases.

Conclusions

The *se* element in the Finnish *se että* initiated expressions has been earlier analyzed as a nominalizer, initiating clauses which function as subjects, objects, or predicative subject complements in another clause. *Se* has been analyzed as a marker of identifiability which shows case, indexing the role of the [*se että* + clause] expression in the matrix clause, and presents the upcoming as a fact already known or at least identifiable to the addressee.

In our spoken data, *se että* initiated expressions have a wider range of functions than they do in the written data examined earlier; they also function as complements of existentials and as free NPs. *Se* does not always show (appropriate) case indexing the role of the clause it initiates as an argument in the clause in which it is seemingly embedded. *Se että* can be followed by a lengthy span of talk not analyzable as a clause. Moreover, *se että* can initiate stretches of talk which are not embedded in any other clause. In such uses, the *se että* phrase often forms one prosodically fused expression, an independent unit of its own functioning as a projector phrase; its functions resemble those of the projector phrases identified in several other languages.

In all, we show that the boundaries of the category of NP are rather fuzzy, as speakers use grammatical constructions in a flexible manner to suit their own varied purposes when carrying out different social actions in turns-at-talk. Even for a central category such as the NP, it is not always clear what the criteria for inclusion in the category should be, and where to set the boundaries for such a category. Simple clauses preceded with *se että*, which do occur in our data, may fit in the category of NP, but lengthy, indeterminate stretches of talk, which also can be initiated with *se että*, do not seem to fit in the category in the same manner. Another problem is created by detached constructions preceded by *se että* – in what sense are they NPs; are they comparable to free NPs, and if so, how? Are these *se että* expressions to be included in the category NPs? Based on our examination of the *se että* cases in our data, it seems that the NP-ness of an expression is to be understood as a continuum, flexible for local variation, instead of a coherent, clearly defined set of features. In any case, NPs or not, the *se että* expressions in our data show what flexibility and adaptability grammatical categories may have in interactional use.

This article also shows that linguistic expressions may have a much wider range of uses in ordinary everyday spoken language than they have in the standard

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written language. Furthermore, it shows that while certain types of clauses may well be embedded in another clause and be shown to function as arguments in them, resembling noun phrases in such uses, this may not be their only or even main function. In the uses where the elements in question do not belong to any other clause and are not followed by a clausal element either, the range of social actions they build in interaction may also be wider than in the written standard language. In our data, *se että* is not only used for syntactic functions of clause combining; instead, like the French projector constructions examined by Pekarek Doehler (2011), it is a rather sedimented formula in the service of interactional practices.

Data sources

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Appendix. Transcription symbols

.	falling intonation
,	level intonation
?	rising intonation
↑	step up in pitch
↓	step down in pitch
sp<u>e</u>ak	emphasis
>speak<	faster pace than in the surrounding talk
<speak>	slower pace than in the surrounding talk
°speak°	quiet talk
sp-	word cut off
spea:k	lengthening of a sound
#speak#	creaky voice
£speak£	smiley voice
.h	audible inhalation
h	audible exhalation
.speak	word spoken during inhalation
[	beginning of overlap
]	end of overlap
=	latching of units
(.)	micropause (less than 0.2 seconds)
(0.6)	pause length in tenth of a second
(speak)	item in doubt
(-)	item not heard
boldface	focused item in the transcript

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CHAPTER 3

Emergent complex noun phrases

On-line trajectories of 'relativized' NPs in French talk-in-interaction

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In this paper, we document the temporal and contingent nature of noun phrases (NPs). Focusing on relativized NPs, we show that they are produced as an interactional accomplishment, emerging from how participants adapt to each other's verbal and non-verbal conduct. Based on 20 hours of French conversation, we identify two types of emergent complex NPs, and document their interactional working: Those resulting from a current speaker's adding on a relative clause increment to his/her preceding turn; and those resulting from a next speaker's production of such an increment, yielding jointly constructed NPs. We discuss implications for our understanding of the NP as an emergent unit, of the subordinate (or not) status of relative clauses, and of the notion of increment.

1. Introduction

Noun phrases (NPs) are among the most established units in research on grammar, arising from the basic communicative need to refer to persons and entities. Although the precise nature of such reference may depend on culture-specific principles for categorizing and naming persons or objects (cf. Stivers, Enfield & Levinson 2007), its omnirelevance for human communication may well explain why NPs are found across the languages of the world. Complex NPs of some sort (i.e., NPs containing an element that functions as a modifier) can equally be found across languages, and it has been argued that relativization – although it varies much in structure and distribution (e.g., Keenan & Comrie 1977)[1] – is one cross-

1. These authors define relativization semantically, independently of its morphological marking: "We consider any syntactic object to be an RC [i.e., a relative clause] if it specifies a set of objects (perhaps a one-member set) in two steps: a larger set is specified, called the domain of

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linguistically attested way in which 'simple' NPs of the [determiner + noun] type get extended into so-called 'complex' NPs (e.g., Givón 1984).

While recent research in interactional linguistics has challenged a range of long-established grammatical categories in light of language use in naturally occurring social interaction (see the introduction to this volume), the NP has largely resisted such critical empirical scrutiny. Work on free-standing NPs (Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002; Helasvuo 2001, 2019; Ono & Thompson 1994; Stoenica 2016; Tao 1996) has documented that NPs can occur as independent units of talk and action, unrelated to a predicate, and can be used by speakers for interactional purposes such as adding an assessment, giving confirmation (Helasvuo, 2019), or introducing a new topic (Tao 1996). Work on dislocated constructions (Horlacher 2015; Laury & Helasvuo 2015; Pekarek Doehler 2011a; Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani & Horlacher 2015) has shown how syntactically unattached NPs can be produced in response to local contingencies, as when they are added as increments onto clausal turn-patterns to fulfill a range of interactional functions. Yet, the 'unit' NP has not been questioned as such, nor have the possibilities of its local emergence or its interactional co-construction been addressed so far: The NP as a unit has been taken for granted.

In this paper, we scrutinize complex NPs of a precise type, namely relativized NPs, as shown in Excerpt (1):

(1) 'Un programme didactique qui doit être suivi'

[Corpus FNRS (J) – (55m57-56m01)]

```
01  SON:   c'était     trois langues  insérées dans un
           'there were three languages inserted into a'

02         programme didactique qui   doit  être  suivi,
           'didactic program    that needs to be attended'

03         ((turn continues))
```

Excerpt (1) shows the complex NP *un programme didactique qui doit être suivi* 'a didactic program that needs to be attended'. It is composed of a head NP (highlighted in gray), occurring in what is traditionally referred to as the main (or: matrix) clause, followed by a relative clause (RC) (in bold) introduced by a relativizer (here: *qui* 'that'). In French, the relativizer is compulsory according to normative grammar, as opposed to English, where it is compulsory only when it is the subject of the relative clause (e.g., Fox & Thompson 2007). Also, the relativizer

relativization, and then restricted to some subset of which a certain sentence, the restricting sentence, is true. The domain of relativization is expressed in surface structure by the head NP, and the restricting sentence by the restricting clause, which may look more or less like a surface sentence depending on the language" (*Ibid.*: 63–64).

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is marked for case (*qui* = subject; *que* = direct object; a range of forms such as *à qui, duquel* or *dont* for indirect (prepositional) objects; *où* for 'where'). Importantly, in French, RCs that modify a whole preceding clause (so-called 'periphrastic RCs', Riegel et al. 2016) are syntactically distinct from RCs that modify a head NP: The former are introduced by [*ce* + *relativizer*], *ce* being a neuter pronoun.

While in (Excerpt 1) the [main clause + RC] pattern containing the complex NP is produced under one coherent intonation contour, and is hence designed both syntactically and prosodically as one unit, speakers can be observed to deliver complex NPs in two strokes, so to say, by adding the RC post hoc as a turn-extension:

(2) 'Qui sait faire la lecture des profils' [Corpus FNRS (A) – 1h21m21-1h21m31]

((speaking about a newly introduced school class))

01 MYR: alors là on a engagé une super pro.
'so there we hired a super professional'

02 (0.7)

03 MON: [mhm

04 MYR: [**qui sait faire la lecture des profils,**
'who knows how to read profiles'

05 *((turn continues))*

Here, the speaker produces an object NP *une super pro* 'a super professional' in turn-final position, ending on a complex transition relevance place (TRP; Ford & Thompson 1996) marked by syntactic, pragmatic, and prosodic completion. After a short gap (line 02), the speaker then extends her turn (line 04), by means of the incrementally added RC *qui sait faire la lecture des profils* 'who knows how to read profiles', the onset of which overlaps with the co-participant's minimal response token *mhm*. As a result, what is first produced as a simple NP (line 01) gets then extended into a complex relativized NP (line 04). By the same token, what is initially produced as a simple clause (line 01), corresponding to a turn construction unit (TCU) and a turn, becomes retrospectively analyzable as a [main clause + RC] pattern, patched together 'on the fly'. Syntactically fitted turn continuations, as illustrated in (2), have been referred to as *increments* (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007; Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002; Luke, Thompson & Ono 2012; Schegloff 1996, 2001, 2016; Walker 2004). As we will show, incrementally composed complex NPs based on the adding on of RCs are recurrently found in talk-in-interaction.

In this paper, we draw on 20 hours of audio and video recorded ordinary conversations in French to analyze two types of such incrementally composed, and hence on-line emergent (Auer 2005, 2009; Hopper 1987, 2011), complex NPs: Those that result from one speaker's extending his or her preceding turn by means

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of an RC ('self-incremented RCs'; see also Stoenica & Pekarek Doehler 2020), as shown in Excerpt (2), and those that result from another speaker's completing a first speaker's turn-so-far by means of an RC ('other-incremented RCs'), yielding a co-constructed complex NP. We first discuss the syntactic and prosodic properties of such emergent complex NPs (Section 2), and then document the interactional contingencies that these NPs respond to (Section 3). Based on multimodal sequential analysis, we show that speakers add RC increments to their *own* turns for the purpose of pursuing recipient uptake or of doing referential repair (Section 3.1), and that next speakers add RC increments to *preceding speakers*' turns for the purpose of initiating referential repair and accomplishing a disaligning action (Section 3.2). The empirical findings offered in this paper extend recent research on the expandability of syntactic trajectories (Auer 1996, 2005, 2009; Deppermann & Günthner 2015; Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani & Horlacher 2015; Thompson, Fox & Couper-Kuhlen 2015) to the unit 'NP'. Based on these findings, we argue that the unit NP, in actual language use, is flexible, adaptable, and emergent, and we discuss implications for our understanding of increments and of the 'subordinate' status of incremented RCs (Section 4).

2. Formal properties of on-line emergent relativized NPs

Our analyses build on a collection of 37 incrementally composed relativized NPs, of which 23 involve self-incremented RCs and 14 involve other-incremented RCs. In this section, we discuss the formal properties of each of these types of patterns, while in Section 3 we document their interactional workings.

2.1 Relativized NPs resulting from self-incrementation

The most typical occurrence of self-incremented relativized NPs in the data is illustrated in Excerpts (2) above and (3) below: The head NP is relativized by an RC produced as a so-called post-gap increment (Schegloff 2001), i.e., following a noticeable absence of recipient response where such response is relevant. The syntactic function of the head is direct object, and the relativizer functions as a subject of the RC:

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(3) 'Qui est de nouveau un petit peu' [Corpus FNRS (J) – 01h15m10-01h15m27]

```
01  LIO:   euh voyez ce qu'elle dit eu:h [est-ce que ça: ça vous étonne&
               'see what she says          does       it it surprise you'

02  LIS:                                 [mhm

03  LIO:   &qu'on       tienne ce   genre de discours?
           'that people hold   this kind  of speech'

04         (1.6)

05  LIO:   qui est de nouveau un petit peu contrebalancé comme ça hein?
           'that is again a little bit counterbalanced like that PRT'
```

In both Excerpts (2) and (3), the speaker ends a first turn on a complex TRP, marked by syntactic and pragmatic completion, as well as final (falling or rising) intonation. In Extract (2), the speaker's informing (cf. Thompson, Fox & Couper-Kuhlen 2015) is met with lack of recipient response (line 02), the continuer *mhm* being produced in overlap with the incremented RC. In Excerpt (3), the speaker's request for information is even more strikingly met with a long silence on the part of the recipient (line 04). In both cases, the speaker then extends her/his turn with an incrementally added RC. By means of the post-gap incremented RC, what was first standing as a possibly complete NP (e.g., Excerpt (3): 'this kind of speech') becomes subsequently extended into a relativized NP ('this kind of speech that is again a little bit counterbalanced like that').

As to its prosodic delivery, the RC is clearly detached from what precedes, as illustrated in the following pitch trace of the relevant segment from Excerpt (3):[2]

2. The pitch traces shown in this paper were generated using the Praat script developed by Mertens (2004), which allows simulation of perceived intonation. The three lines containing letters show a phonetic, a syllable-by-syllable and a word-by-word transcription respectively. The thick black line presents a simulation of the perceived intonation, while the fine blue and green lines show an acoustic representation of f_0 and of volume, respectively (the representation of volume is distorted because of background noise).

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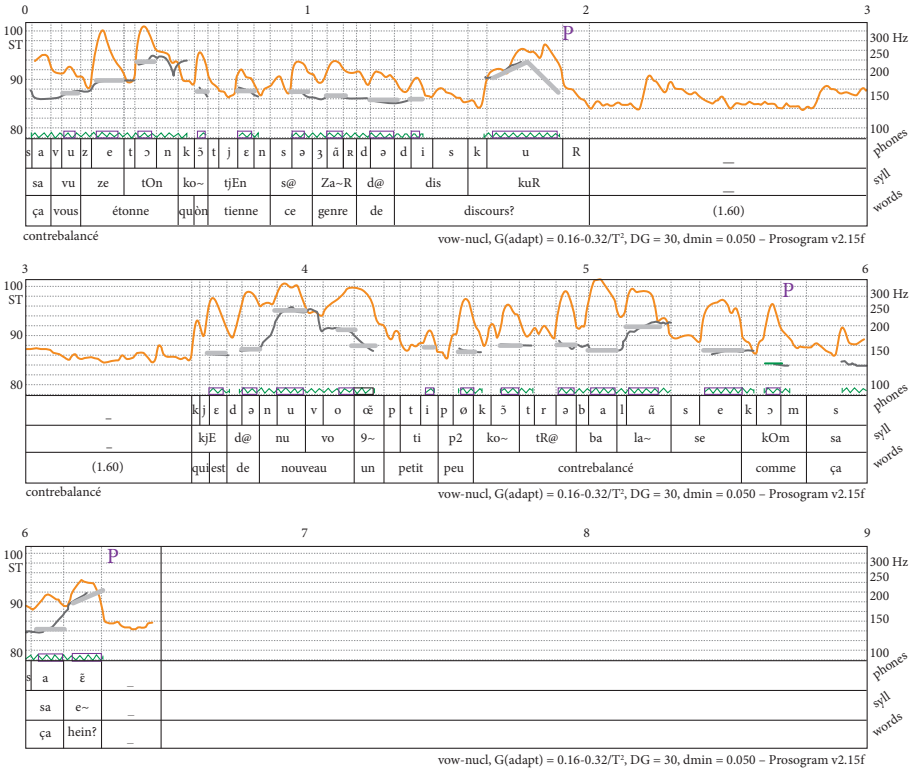

Figure 1. Pitch trace of Excerpt (3)

As shown in Figure 1, there are two distinct complete prosodic units that are observable in this fragment. The first one consists of the clause containing the head NP and ending on a rise-fall intonation on *discours* 'speech', with a clear nuclear accent on the second syllable of *discours*. Both of these features indicate prosodic completion (see Persson 2015 for the prosody of French talk-in-interaction). The second prosodic unit is formed by the incremented RC, beginning with a low pitch onset and ending with a rising intonation on the turn-final particle *hein* 'huh', which carries the nuclear accent, again signaling completion. So, prosodically, there is no "single line of pitch declination", in which the second piece prolongs the melodic line of the first, and which would function as a "prosodic index of relatedness" (Couper-Kuhlen 2012) between the 'host' turn and the RC increment. Rather, the second piece, i.e., the self-incremented RC, is distinctly produced as an autonomous prosodic unit. This is significant in as far as the incremented RCs, as we will show in Section 3, often accomplish an action that is distinct from the action accomplished by the 'matrix' clause, and hence occur as TCUs in their own right. In addition to their prosodic autonomy, there is hence a praxeological

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(action-related) autonomy of these RCs, which raises questions as to their subordinate status (see Section 4).

Such emergent relativizations of NPs are not restricted, in the data, to precise action contexts, nor to precise grammatical formats of the initial turn/clause. As mentioned above, Excerpt (2) shows an SVO declarative that accomplishes an informing, Excerpt (3) shows an *est-ce que* interrogative format (used for polar questions) implementing a request for information, and Excerpt (4), below, shows an assessment formatted as an SVO declarative.

As to the relativizer, while there is a preference for subject pronouns to function as such, again there does not seem to be a restriction in this regard, as other relativizers are also found in these incremented RCs. Excerpt (4) shows a locative subject pronoun as relativizer, again within a post-gap self-incremented RC:

(4) 'Où on a encore beaucoup de progrès'

[Corpus Pauscaf (Pause 23) – 28m48-29m00]

((speaking about the political will to support the training in intensive care needed for performing an organ transplant))

01 NAT: ça c'est un énorme point faible.
'that's a huge weak point'

02 (0.5)

03 NAT: **où on- on a encore beaucoup de**
'where we- we still have to make a lot of'

04 **progrès à faire dans la médicine intensive,**
'progress in intensive care'

05 *((turn continues))*

As illustrated in Excerpts (2) through (4), self-incremented RCs are typically found in the data with NPs that occur in post-verbal position, mostly as direct objects or as predicate nominals. This is of course favored by the proximity of the placement of objects and predicate nominals in French in or near turn-final position, which allows for adjoined placement of the incrementally added RC. By contrast, as they occur typically in or near the TCU initial position, subject NPs are not incrementally relativized, and this can be explained by the relative distance that would separate them from an RC occurring as a turn-extension. An exception here are NPs that occur as right-dislocated constituents and are co-referential with a subject pronoun within the clause. There are a few of such right-dislocated NPs (Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani & Horlacher 2015) in the data that do get incremented by an RC. This provides evidence of the turn-position-based argument just offered: The incrementation of right-dislocated NPs by means of an RC can

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be explained by the placement of such NPs in turn-final position, as illustrated in Excerpt (5), where the right-dislocated NP *ce locuteur natif* 'this native speaker', line 01, occurs at the end of Laura's assessment and is then incremented by means of an RC in line 04:

(5) 'Qui naît comme ça dans des langues' [Corpus FNRS (B) – 39m11-39m25]

```
01  LAU:   mais il [est marrant ce  locuteur natif.]&
           'but he is   funny   this native speaker'

02  NIC:           [l'autre   elle est affreusement][xx.
                   'the other one  is  dreadfully'

03  GIO:                                            [°ouais°
                                                    'yeah'

04  LAU:   &qui qui naît    comme ça  dans des langues.
           'who who is born like that in   the languages'

05  GIO:   ((laughs for 1.1))
```

One further noteworthy point about self-incremented RCs is that these only rarely occur after another participant has spoken, i.e., as post-other-talk increments (Schegloff 2016). And when they do, this happens in overlap with another speaker who has just started to talk, or after only minimal talk (e.g., a response token; see Excerpt (5) above).[3] In Excerpt (6), the RC increment follows a short (and prosodically backgrounded) response token (line 03):

(6) 'Que chais pas faire' [Corpus Pauscaf (Pause 14) – 11m08-11m15]

```
((talking about their statistics class))

01  MIC:   c'est même pas des vraiment des stats 'fin c'e:st
           'it's not even true      statistics anyway it's'

02         (0.4) chais pas   c'est un peu des trucs de base.
               'I don't know it's  a bit      basic stuff'

03  KAT:   °mhm mhm°

04  MIC:   que    chais pas         faire mais,
           'that I don't know (how) to do but'

05         c'est quand même   des trucs de base.
           'it's nevertheless     basic stuff'
```

In short, then, the grammatical properties of incrementally composed relativized NPs largely converge with what we know from relativization in general (Fox &

3. This is convergent with general findings on post-other-talk incrementation (e.g., Horlacher 2015).

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Thompson 1990, 2007 on RCs in English conversation, Groupe de Fribourg 2012 on spoken French). With the notable exception of subject NPs, there do not seem to be any distributional constraints on *incremental* relativization, neither in terms of the grammatical role of the head NP nor of the relativizer, nor on the form of that relativizer. In our data, subject head NPs occurring in pre-verbal position, however, are never relativized by means of RC increments, despite the fact that subject NPs have been documented – so far only for English – to be the most frequently relativized type of NPs in spoken interaction (Fox & Thompson 1990). At least in SVO languages, this restriction on the incremental relativization of pre-verbal subject NPs is due to the fact that RCs are typically juxtaposed with their head NP: The constraint of proximity of the RC with respect to its head NP works against the possibility of pre-verbal subjects to be relativized via an incrementally added RC, i.e., an RC that would occur at a distance from its head NP.

Importantly, the incrementally added RCs, though morphosyntactically marked as continuous with the last clause in the preceding host turn, are prosodically delivered as distinct units; that is, the [main clause + RC] pattern is prosodically built as two autonomous units (e.g., Figure 1 above). The relative autonomy of the RC increment is further highlighted by the fact that it can occur as post-gap or as post-other talk increment, and can be produced by a next speaker, occurring as a next-turn increment (see Section 2.2. below). Sequential analysis of RC increments will further elaborate this point, showing that these increments accomplish actions in their own right, and stand as TCUs in their own right – which has consequences for our understanding of the very nature of increments (see Stoenica & Pekarek Doehler 2020, and Sections 3 and 4 below). Among the affordances provided by such incrementally added material (as opposed to a syntactically independent turn) we observe the accomplishment of referential repair while maximizing the progressivity of talk, as well as the accomplishment of disalignment in ways that dissimulate a break in preference organization.

2.2 Relativized NPs resulting from other-incrementation

The second type of locally emergent complex NPs involving the incremental adding of an RC to a turn-so-far is illustrated in Excerpt (7). Just as with the self-incremented relativized NPs, a pervasive feature of such co-constructed complex NPs based on other-incrementation of the RC is that the RC systematically refers anaphorically to a proximal NP, i.e., an NP occurring at (or near) the end of a preceding turn, often an object NP. In these co-constructed relativized NPs, a first speaker produces a turn ending at a complex TRP (line 01), which is followed by a gap, and then an RC is produced by a next speaker (here preceded by a short *ah* 'oh'), which is syntactically 'fitted' as a continuation to the first speaker's turn.

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Note that in (7), Christoph's *que je t'avais dit* (line 05) might best be rendered (non-literally) in English as 'the one I told you about'.

(7) 'Que je t'avais dit ou pas' [Corpus Pauscaf (Pause 12) – 13m50-14m02]

```
01  ALI:   à part ça        il est assez    beau     gosse
           'other than that he is  a pretty handsome kid'

02         le-   le  mec^euh.
           'the- the chap'

03         (1.5)

04  CHR:   ah,
           'oh'

05         que je t'avais dit      ou pas?
           'who I told you (about) or not'
```

Only in two of the 14 cases of co-constructed relativized NPs in our collection does the first turn of the current speaker end on slight rise in pitch, projecting more to come, rather than at a complex TRP, as illustrated in the following excerpt:

(8) 'Qui envoie des mails' [Corpus Pauscaf (Pause 11) – (05m26-05m42)]

```
01  GER:   t'sais    y      a un groupe de théâtre antique,
           'you know there is an ancient   theatre group'

02         (1.3)

03  ELI:   qui envoie des mails en    début        d'année,
           'that sends  emails at the beginning of the year'

04         +venez nous rejoi ::ndre ((smiley voice))+=
           'come  join us'

05  GER:   =ouais exactement.
            'yeah precisely'
```

Interestingly, in these co-constructed relativized NPs, there can be additional material intervening between the head NP and the RC, either at the end of the first turn, or at the start of the incipient increment. One example is sound objects like *euh* in turn-final position (as illustrated in Excerpt (7) above). A second example includes particles such as change-of-state tokens (Heritage 1984) like *ah* 'oh' (see line 04 of Excerpt (7) earlier) or conjunctions such as *mais* 'but' at the start of the increment, as shown in (9) (note that line 01 contains a right-dislocation that does not translate into English: *le* 'it' and *ça* 'that' are co-referential, the *ça* being the right-dislocated constituent):

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(9) 'Mais où on n'a pas les mots' [Corpus FNRS (F) – (26m39-27m09)]

((talking about Italian classes in which the pupils are not given lists of words to memorize))

01 MON: rien ne vous empêchait de le faire en italien ça.
'nothing stopped you from doing it in Italian'

02 (0.3)

03 GAU: mais **où on n'a pas les mots.**
'but where we don't have the words'

04 (0.6)

Finally, a third example of material intervening between the head NP and the incremented RC is talk by other parties, in which case the RC increment occurs not as a next-turn increment (as illustrated in (7) to (9) above) but as a post-other talk increment, as shown in (10) below:

(10) 'Qui se ressemblent' [Corpus FNRS (B) – (01h07m02-01h07m18)]

01 LAU: c'est une autre langue le le le schwytzerdütsch
'it's another language Schwytzerdütsch'

02 et le le suisse allemand et le le hochdeutsch,
'and Swiss German and standard German'

03 (0.4).h sont deux lan:gues.
'are two languages'

04 (1.0)

05 BRU: mhm

06 LAU: hein?
'huh'

07 NIC: **qui se ress↑e:mblent.**
'that resemble each other'

Prosodically, these next-turn increments are consistently delivered as independent units, as illustrated in the pitch trace of the relevant section of Excerpt (10):

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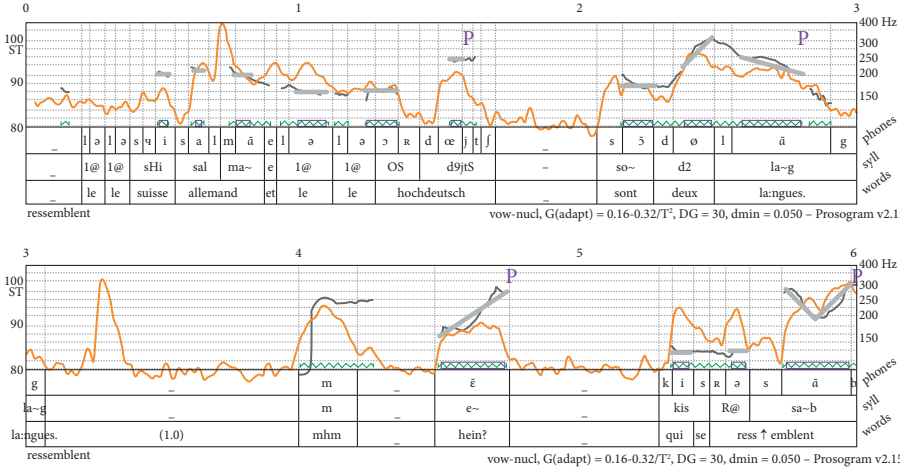

Figure 2. Pitch trace of Excerpt (10)

Just as with the self-incremented RC illustrated in Figure 1, the other-incremented RCs and their host turn are typically produced as two prosodic units. Figure 2 shows that the first turn ends on a clear rise-fall intonation, with a nuclear accent on the penultimate syllable, both signaling closure. The incrementally added RC in turn starts with lower pitch onset and ends on its own nuclear accent on the last syllable. Despite the morphosyntactic marking of their syntactic relatedness, both of these pieces are delivered as prosodic units in their own right, and their relative autonomy is formally further highlighted by the fact that they can have additional material (sound objects, particles, and the like; see above) intervening between what syntactically appears as a main clause and an (incremented) RC. As we will show in the next section, the prosodic independence of the two pieces is reflected in their praxeological independence: The incremented RC – whether self- or other-incremented – can accomplish an action in its own right, and can therefore stand as a TCU in its own right. This raises questions as to the subordinate status of the RC and to the very nature of increments.

3. The interactional workings of on-line emergent relativized NPs

In what follows, we first document how current speakers self-increment NPs by means of RCs for pursuing uptake or repairing reference (Section 3.1). We then show how next speakers increment, by means of RCs, NPs produced by first speakers, for initiating repair or accomplishing a disaligning action (Section 3.2). The four purposes we focus on here have been shown to be the most recurrent interactional functions of incremented RCs in French talk-in-interaction (Stoenica 2020).

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3.1 Self-incrementing an NP by means of an RC: Pursuing uptake and repairing reference

Self-incrementing an NP by means of an RC is a recurrent practice in French for extending a turn past a TRP (Stoenica 2020). Some of these RC increments work just like many other increments (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007; Ford & Thompson 1996; Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002): They are deployed in response to problems with recipiency, creating a second sequentially relevant point for recipient reaction after the noticeable absence of such reaction (Excerpt (11)). Others, however, accomplish more specific interactional purposes. Multimodal analysis, in particular, provides a more fine-grained picture, unveiling the distinctive nature of what RC increments allow speakers to accomplish, as opposed to many other types of increments, namely referential repair (Excerpt (12); see also Section 3.2 below).

Excerpt (11) (which reproduces Excerpt (3) in its larger context) illustrates the use of RC increments for dealing with problems of recipient uptake. It is taken from a focus group discussion in which the participants are talking about bilingualism in their everyday lives in Switzerland. Just before the excerpt begins, the participants have listened to a teenage girl's recorded testimony about the gap between the French-speaking and the German-speaking Swiss. Lionel (the focus group organizer) then takes the floor:

(11) 'Qui est de nouveau un petit peu' [Corpus FNRS (J) – 01h15m10-01h15m27]

01 LIO: euh voyez ce qu'elle dit eu:h [est-ce que ça: ça vous étonne&
'see what she says does it surprise you'

02 LIS: [mhm

03 LIO: &qu'on tienne ce genre de discours?
'that people hold this kind of speech'

04 (1.6)

05 LIO: **qui est de nouveau un petit peu contrebalancé comme ça hein?**
'that is again a little bit counterbalanced like that PRT'

06 BRU: je peux vous répondre par une anecdote.
'may I answer you by an anecdote.'

07 LIS?: ((laughter))=

08 LIO: =oui oui bien [sûr.
'yes yes of course.'

At lines 01 and 03, Lionel initiates a question-answer sequence inviting recipient response to the girl's testimony. His turn reaches a point of syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic completion at the end of line 03, projecting an answer as the relevant

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next action. However, Lionel's question is followed by a 1.6s gap (line 04) during which none of the participants takes the floor. At line 05, Lionel then extends his turn by means of an RC. In other words, what was first standing as the NP 'this kind of speech' becomes subsequently extended into a relativized NP. By adding the RC, Lionel not only specifies the head NP by providing additional information about it, but he also recompletes his turn (cf. Tanaka 1999), thereby creating a second slot for recipient reaction. This is exactly what is oriented to by his co-participants, as Bruno volunteers in line 06 to answer Lionel's question.

Prosodically speaking, the RC is clearly detached from its sequential environment (see Figure 1), both with regard to what precedes (note the rise-fall intonation on *discours* 'speech' indicating completion and the long pause before Lionel's incrementation), and to what follows. However, syntactically and pragmatically, the RC is perfectly fitted to its environment. The relativized NP resulting from this incrementation is an interactional accomplishment emerging from how Lionel adapts his turn on-line to his recipients' absence of response where such response is conditionally relevant. This is in line with general interpretations of the interactional workings of increments (Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002; Tanaka 1999).

Of particular importance for our understanding of the 'unit' NP is the fact that the speaker in Excerpt (11) does not simply 'produce' a relativized NP by implementing a pre-planned (complex) grammatical unit. What we may recognize a *posteriori* as a relativized NP is in fact, from a real-time perspective, patched together *ad hoc*, during the moment-by-moment unfolding of talk, in response to local contingencies. The incrementation of an NP by means of an RC is not only a way of elaborating an NP occurring in a turn-so-far; it also provides speakers with a resource for dealing with problems of recipiency, allowing them to secure transfer of speakership by creating a second sequentially relevant place for recipient reaction. The incrementally composed relativized NP reveals "a grammar in the making" (Horlacher & Pekarek Doehler 2014: 617).

Interestingly, however, self-incremented RCs can be used for more specific purposes than creating a second sequential slot for recipient response. Most prominent amongst these is referential repair. As a matter of fact, one distinctive feature of incremented RCs as opposed to other increments is that the RC allows speakers to increment their turn by adding further information about a referent mentioned in that very turn. This is illustrated in Excerpt (12) (discussed in more detail in Stoenica & Pekarek Doehler 2020), where David and Gebbe are talking about the action movies that they like watching. Prior to this fragment, they have told each other about the movies that they have seen lately, offering positive or negative assessments about the respective movies.

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(12) 'Que René il nous a parlé' [Corpus Pauscaf (Pause 18) – 02m10-02m18]

01 DAV: j'ai regardé le film Safe.
'I've watched the movie Safe'

02 ×*(0.6)*×
geb ×raises eyebrows and wrinkles brow×
quick middle-distance look to left

fig.3

03 DAV: **que René il nous a parlé *une fois.=**
'that René once told us about'

geb *quick middle-distance look to left->l.04

04 GEB: =euh*avec [euh
'with'
--->*looks at dav---------->>

05 DAV: [avec eu[:h
'with'

06 GEB: [Statham?

07 DAV: Statham ouais=
'Statham yeah'

08 GEB: ×=il est bien hein?×
'it's good huh'
×relaxes face, large smile×

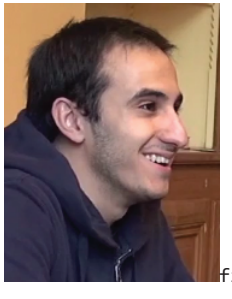
fig.4

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At line 01, David informs Gebbe that he watched the movie 'Safe'. This informing, which ends on a complex TRP, makes relevant a response by Gebbe (cf. Thompson, Fox & Couper-Kuhlen 2015). Gebbe's reaction (line 02) to David's informing is not verbal but embodied: He raises his eyebrows, wrinkles his brow, displaying an "out of focus 'middle-distance' look" (Goodwin 1987: 117) to his left (see Figure 3, line 02). David treats Gebbe's embodied conduct as signaling a problem with identifying the movie 'Safe'. He addresses this problem by using an RC (line 03 shows a nonstandard form, as French standard grammar would require the use of the relativizer *dont* 'about which' instead of *que* 'that/which'), through which he brings in some new information regarding the movie whose identification has proven problematic. The use of this RC, in this precise sequential position, allows David to repair the problem signaled by Gebbe. Subsequently, Gebbe first identifies the movie's leading actor (line 06) and then assesses it (line 08).

In this section, we have illustrated that RCs provide material for self-incrementation, which is something that has gained little attention in the literature so far. We have shown that speakers incrementally compose relativized NPs for practical interactional purposes, such as offering a second sequential place for recipient reaction. While this appears to be a basic function of increments independently of their lexico-syntactic make-up, we have also illustrated a more specific interactional purpose RCs are used to accomplish, namely providing further specifications about a referent and thereby enhancing referent identification (see Stoenica & Pekarek Doehler 2020 for further illustrations of this type of use). In both cases, the relativized NP emerges 'on the fly', as part of the speaker's dealing with local interactional contingencies. This does not question the category NP, but provides strong evidence for the NP as being flexible, adaptable, and emergent in real-time.

In the next section, we turn to the interactional workings of relativized NPs that are co-constructed by two different speakers.

3.2 Other-incrementing an NP by means of an RC: Initiating referential repair and accomplishing a disaligning action

In this section we document other-incremented RCs, resulting in co-constructed relativized NPs, as practical resource for initiating referential repair (Excerpt (13)) and accomplishing a disaligning action (Excerpt (14)).

The following excerpt (which reproduces Excerpt (7) in its larger context) is taken from a conversation between Aline and Christopher, who are a couple. Prior to the beginning of the excerpt, Christopher was teasing Aline, saying that by giving him kisses, she wanted to show off in front of the cameras. This generated a short sequence of shared laughter, following which Aline leans towards Christopher and whispers into his ear what follows:

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(13) 'Que je t'avais dit ou pas' [Corpus Pauscaf (Pause 12) – 13m50-14m02]

01 ALI: Δ*à part ça il est assez beau gosse
'other than that he is a pretty handsome kid'
Δleaning towards chr, whispers smiling into his ear---->l.02
chr *head and gaze downwards---------->l.02

02 le- le mec^euh.Δ*
'the- the chap'
---------->Δ
chr ---------->*

03 Δ*(1.5)Δ*
ali Δsits up straight and gazes at chr with a large smileΔ
chr *gazes into space, head raised----------*

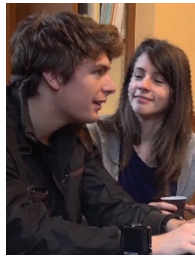
fig.5

04 CHR: *ah,*
'oh'
gazes into space, head gently turned to his left

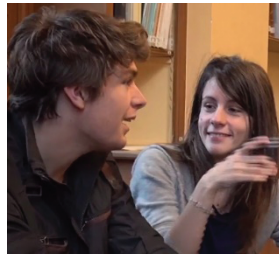
fig.6

05 *que je t'avais dit ou pas?*
'who I told you (about) or not'
gazes at ali, his head turned towards her

fig.7

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```
06          (0.4)

07  ALI:    mais no::n.
            'but no'

08          (0.4)

09  CHR:    non?
            'no'

10          (0.4)

11  CHR:    qui?
            'who'

12          (0.5)

13  ALI:    Δle-          le-Δ le  mec  en [en     ],
            'the-         the- the chap in  in'
            Δlooks at the cameraΔ

14  CHR:                                   [ah oui:],
                                           'oh yes'

15          °°le gars qui fait  les  enregistrements?°°
             'the guy who makes the  recordings'

16          Δ(0.3)Δ
    ali     Δnod of approvalΔ

17  ALI:    °mhm°

18          (0.3)

19  CHR:    je sais pas   si c'est lui qui va   écouter
            'I don't know if it's  him who will listen to'

20          +ça (xx) ((laughing))+
            'this'
```

At lines 01 and 02, Aline changes the topic of their discussion (as projected by the use of *à part ça* 'other than that') by making a positive assessment (*il est assez beau gosse le mec* 'he is a pretty handsome kid the chap') through which she seems to tease Christopher. According to Drew (1987), participants in interaction tend to react to being teased by producing serious responses whereby they resist the teasing. In our excerpt, such a possible next action (or any other) is absent at this point. During the 1.5s gap following Aline's assessment, Christopher gazes into space, as if searching to identify *le mec* 'the chap' that Aline is referring to (see Figure 5, line 03). Note here that Aline deploys embodied resources to mobilize recipient response (Stivers & Rossano 2010): She has her gaze fixed on Christopher while displaying a large smile. It is only after 1.5s that Christopher reacts with *ah, que je t'avais dit ou pas* 'oh who I told you (about) or not' (line 04–05). Note that

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the *que*-introduced RC cannot be interpreted as modifying the whole prior clause, but only the head NP (see Section 1 above).

Christopher's *ah* 'oh'-prefaced response confirms the fact that, during the preceding gap, he was seeking to identify the young man that was the object of Aline's preceding assessment. By means of the change of state token, he signals that he has finally (potentially) identified *le mec* 'the chap' in question, yet the turn-final rising intonation and the alternative question format *que je t'avais dit ou pas* 'who I told you (about), or not?' present the referent identification as a guess and invite Aline to confirm. This invitation is further corroborated by the fact that Christopher turns his head towards Aline, further soliciting her response (see Figure 7, line 05). The RC here is thus deployed as a means of other-initiating repair on a referential issue.

Aline, however, refutes Christopher's candidate (line 07), and Christopher then openly asks: *qui* 'who' (line 11). Interestingly, while Aline begins to provide an answer (line 13), she looks at the camera in front of her. Christopher appears to interpret that gaze as indexing the searched-for referent, as he finally identifies *le mec* 'the chap' as *le gars qui fait les enregistrements* 'the guy who makes the recordings' (line 15). Aline's nod of approval (line 16) and minimal ratification token *mhm* (line 17) bring to an end the repair sequence that Christopher had initiated by means of the incremented RC at line 05.

In sum, then, what formally appears as the clause-combining pattern of the [main clause + RC] type is produced here by two different speakers who thereby accomplish two distinct actions. Aline's turn is composed of the main clause by which she assesses the referent *le mec* 'the chap'. Christopher's turn is composed of the *ah* 'oh'-prefaced RC by which he initiates repair of Aline's preceding turn, targeting specifically the NP *le mec* 'the chap'. This is one recurrent interactional working of other-incremented RCs (see Stoenica 2020 for an extensive discussion).

A further recurrent interactional purpose that speakers accomplish by other-incremented RCs is disaligning. (Dis)alignment refers to the "structural level of cooperation" (Stivers, Mondada & Steensig 2011: 20). Aligning responses are ones that match the formal design preference, accept the terms of the preceding turn/action, and more generally support the ongoing activity or sequence. Disaligning responses are ones that do not match, accept or support the same issues. A disaligning use of an other-incremented RC is illustrated in Excerpt (14), taken from a focus group discussion. Prior to the beginning of this fragment, Laura has been arguing that Swiss German and standard German are two distinct languages, based on their differences in vocabulary. She then continues with what follows:

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(14) 'Qui se ressemblent' [Corpus FNRS (B) – (01h07m02-01h07m18)]

```
01  LAU:   c'est une autre langue le le le schwytzerdütsch
           'it's another   language       Schwytzerdütsch'

02         et le le suisse allemand et le le hochdeutsch,
           'and     Swiss German   and   standard German'

03         (0.4).h sont deux lan:gues.
                  'are two languages'

04         (1.0)

05  BRU:   mhm

06  LAU:   hein?
           'huh'

07  NIC:   qui se res[s↑e:mblent.        ]
           'that resemble each other'

08  LAU:             [mais là    vous fai]tes semblant euh
                      'but there you   pretend'

09         que:: ((laughter for 0.9)) en schwytzerdütsch
           'that'                    'in Schwytzerdütsch'

10         on  peut dire toute sorte de choses très xxx.
           'one can say all   kind   of things very'

11         (0.7)

12  GIO:   ((small laughter))

13  NIC:   ah oui?
           'oh yes'
```

Laura's turn in lines 01 to 03 is syntactically, prosodically and pragmatically complete, reaching a complex TRP at line 03 and hence making speaker transition relevant next. Laura's assertion, however, is met with a lack of uptake from co-participants, as indicated by the 1s gap at line 04. Bruno's non-committal *mhm* (line 05) apparently does not satisfy Laura, who, at line 06, calls for recipient uptake by using the interrogative particle *hein* 'huh' with a high rising intonation, inviting agreement (see Beeching 2002).

In response to Laura's call for recipient uptake, Nicolas displays, at line 07, overt disalignment with Laura's assertion. His action is formatted as an RC: *qui se ressemblent* 'that resemble each other'. In this sequential position, the incremented RC is used as a resource to counter Laura's argument and to state that the two languages are alike and not different. Even though the relative pronoun projects a syntactic and referential continuation of Laura's turn, the action accomplished through the RC marks a breach from the position taken by her. So, through the

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use of this RC, in which the relativizer exhibits it as syntactically and referentially continuous with Laura's preceding turn, Nicolas appears to actually hijack Laura's assertion. Nicolas' disalignment is also prosodically displayed by rise in pitch (↑) marking the verb *ressemblent* 'resemble' as if to signal the obviousness of his view of the two languages against that of Laura. Nicolas's disalignment is also confirmed by the subsequent course of action, where the two participants continue to defend their opposing views, as materializing for instance in Laura's *mais* 'but', her laughter and her mention of *vous faites semblant* 'you pretend' (lines 08).

As illustrated in the two excerpts discussed in this section, complex NPs containing a relative clause may emerge not only from a speaker's adding an RC increment to his or her own turn, but also from a next speaker's adding an RC increment to a preceding speaker's turn. Excerpts (13) and (14) show that other-incrementing an NP with an RC is a powerful resource through which speakers may display continuation of a preceding speaker's turn at the syntactic level, while, at the sequential level, accomplishing a distinct action. It is exactly this syntactic marking, through the relative pronoun, of the relatedness of a stretch of talk produced by a next speaker to a stretch of talk produced by a preceding speaker that gets exploited for all practical purposes: By projecting upcoming talk as syntactically coherent with preceding talk, the speaker dissimulates a break either in progressivity (in the case of other-initiation of repair) or in preference organization (in the case of disalignment). The relative independence of the RC from the preceding turn/clause hence materializes not only through the fact that the two are produced as two distinct prosodic units (see Section 2.2 above), and that lengthy gaps and even verbal material (see both Excerpts (13) and (14)) can intervene between them; it is most prominently realized through the fact that the incremented RC can be a vehicle for an action in itself, and can therefore implement a new TCU rather than continue the preceding TCU.

4. Discussion and conclusion

In this section, we discuss the implications of our findings for an empirically-based understanding of the unit NP as it is configured in real time, and we address the consequences that ensue as regards (i) the status of incremented RCs as subordinate clauses and (ii) the notion of increment.

Throughout this paper we have discussed relativized NPs (i.e., NPs containing an RC) as emergent units in French talk-in-interaction. The data show that these are either produced by one speaker or co-constructed by two speakers. In the first case, a speaker extends his or her turn containing an NP by means of a self-incremented RC; in the data under analysis, this is done recurrently to invite

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recipiency after lack of uptake (like other increments) or to do referential repair on the referent expressed in the head NP. In the second case, a next speaker extends a previous speaker's turn containing an NP by means of an other-incremented RC; in the data, this is recurrently done for the purpose of other-initiating repair on the referent expressed by the NP occurring in the first speaker's turn, or disaligning with the preceding speaker's turn and action. In both cases, what a *posteriori* can be read syntactically as a relativized complex NP is in fact patched together 'on the fly' in response to local interactional needs and contingencies.

Overall, the findings show that speakers exploit a routinized grammatical pattern [NP + RC] to build actions in talk-in-interaction in real time. This pattern may be produced as one unit (Excerpt (1)), in which case the RC is prosodically integrated with the stretch of talk containing its head NP. Recurrently, however, the [NP + RC] is produced incrementally, emerging *ad hoc* as a practical solution for dealing with the temporal unfolding of talk and its interactional contingencies. This documents that NPs are not fixed or static units, but are recurrently configured on-line, as part of an emergent grammar (see papers in Auer & Pfänder 2011, this volume and Helasvuo 2001; Laury & Helasvuo 2015). Taken together, the findings contribute to a growing body of evidence that challenges an understanding of long-established grammatical constituents and constructions as stable, a *priori* units of grammar, and instead highlights the temporal and contingent deployment of such 'units' as well as their interactional workings.[4]

Our observations also offer further evidence showing that speakers patch together syntactic trajectories on-line (Auer 2005; Hopper 1987; Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani & Horlacher 2015), and that, thereby, they can extend their turns beyond possible completion points or add syntactically coherent material onto other speaker's turns to accomplish a range of practical purposes (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007; Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002; Luke et al. 2012; Schegloff 1996, 2001; Walker 2004). Yet, the findings also raise critical questions about the syntactic status of incremented RCs and about the very nature of increments. The data show that, although the incremented RCs are morpho-syntactically marked as 'subordinate', they are often prosodically independent and interactionally self-standing, i.e., they accomplish an action in their own right. The prosodic delivery of the RC as an independent prosodic unit, together with its praxeological autonomy, suggest some independence (i.e., a lesser degree of integration) of the RC increment with regard to the preceding TCU/clause (for a more detailed discussion of

4. On RCs, see Clift 2007; Fox & Thompson 2007; Maschler 2011; Stoenica 2014, 2016; Tao & McCarthy 2001; on pseudo-clefts, see Hopper 2001; Hopper & Thompson 2008; Pekarek Doehler 2011b; on left- and right- dislocations, see Pekarek Doehler 2011a; Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani & Horlacher 2015.

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this issue see Stoenica 2020 and Stoenica & Pekarek Doehler 2020), and hence calls into question its status as a subordinate clause. Furthermore, Auer (1996: 86) notes about the realization of right expansions: "prosodic integration would result in one turn-constructional unit […] but prosodic exposure would result in two turn-constructional units". These prosodic properties, together with their praxeological nature as actions in their own right, suggest that the RC increments are not doing TCU continuation, as suggested by Schegloff (2016) to be a basic property of increments.[5] Rather, these increments occur as self-standing TCUs and turns.

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5. "increments are *not* introduced by their speakers as TCUs in their own right; rather they are deployed as additional components of *preceding* TCUs, on which they are presented as being grammatically 'dependant' or to which they are 'subordinate'". (Schegloff 2001: 15). But see Schegloff (1996: 75): "designing a spate of talk as a continuation is itself not necessarily incompatible with its being a TCU in its own right".

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Appendix[6]

Transcription conventions for verbal conduct

[	start of overlap
]	end of overlap
=	latching (no pause, no overlap)
&	turn continuation after overlap
(0.7)	measured pause in seconds and tenths of seconds
wo-	truncated word
wo:rd	syllable lengthening
?	rising final intonation
¿	mid-rise intonation
.	falling final intonation
,	continuing intonation
word	emphasis
°word°	softer than surrounding speech
WORD	louder than surrounding speech
↑word	marked high rise in pitch (refers to the next syllable)
word^word	phonetic 'liaison'
.h	in-breath
((laughter))	transcriber's comment

6. Talk has been transcribed following CA transcription conventions (see Appendix above, but also Jefferson's 2004 conventions), with the addition of the symbol ˆ, with which we indicate a liaison between two successive words. For the transcription of the multimodal conduct, we adopted Mondada's conventions (version : 3.1.0, 2018) retrieved from: <https://franzoesistik.philhist.unibas.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/franzoesistik/home/Personen/Mondada/Unterordner/Mondada_conv_multimodality.pdf>

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Transcription conventions for embodied conduct

* *	Indicates start and end of gaze or of gaze and other embodied conduct (e.g., nodding) of speaker A.
× ×	Indicates start and end of an additional embodied conduct (e.g., smile) of speaker A.
Δ Δ	Indicates start and end of an embodied conduct of speaker B.
*----->l.12	Continuation of the described embodied conduct until line 12 of transcript.
------>*	End of the described embodied conduct
*----->>	Continuation of the described embodied conduct until end of excerpt.

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CHAPTER 4

The noun phrase as an emergent unit in Finnish

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The article focuses on the use of noun phrases in Finnish conversation as arguments, contrasting these uses with the use of free NPs. I show that several grammatical processes characteristic of Finnish contribute to making the internal structure of NPs relatively stable. Agreement in case and number, together with the relatively fixed ordering of elements within the NP, help the co-participants to project the future course of the turn. In the construction of NPs as referring expressions, recipient design is an important preference. A close examination of the use of argument NPs and free NPs in interaction reveals different clusterings of features characteristic of NPs as units. Based on these findings, the NP emerges as a robust unit in Finnish.

1. Introduction

In the typological literature, the noun phrase (NP) has been taken to be a fairly robust cross-linguistic category. According to Hopper and Thompson (1984: 703), nouns prototypically serve to lexicalize the discourse function of "discourse-manipulable participant". Nouns typically introduce participants into discourse and deploy them. If a linguistic form is carrying out this prototypical function, it is likely to be coded as a noun and it will carry the full range of nominal trappings conventional in the language (Hopper & Thompson 1984: 710). Syntactically, nouns form noun phrases and typically serve as arguments for predicates (cf. e.g. Genetti 2015). In this article, I examine the empirical basis of the category of noun phrase in Finnish. Noun phrases serve as arguments (i.e. subjects and objects), but they may also form units of their own, which are not tied to a clausal structure. These free-standing units have been called 'free NPs' (Helasvuo 2001), 'unattached NPs' (Ono & Thompson 1994; Tao 1996; Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002) or 'detachments' (Barnes 1985; Fernandez-Vest 2016; Lagae 2007).

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The present study focuses on the use of noun phrases as clausal arguments – subjects and objects – and contrasts these with their use as free NPs in Finnish conversation. By free NPs I refer to noun phrases that are grammatically not part of any clause. I examine the structure of NPs in the data, their morphological marking, their referential features, and their use as resources in interaction. The data show that subject and object NPs are typically referential, while free NPs often serve predicating functions (e.g. assessing or characterizing). It is also quite common for those free NPs which serve a referring function to have referents which are propositional (e.g. *joku onginta* 'grab bag'; refers to a party activity for children). We can thus say that subject and object NPs are more prototypical in Hopper and Thompson's (1984) sense than free NPs, in that they typically refer to discourse-manipulable participants.

I start by introducing the data used and the methodology applied in the analysis. In Section 3, I discuss the grammatical characteristics of NPs in Finnish. I then move on to data analysis in Section 4. I first discuss the morphological and syntactic features of the NPs in the data, then look at the data from the viewpoint of reference.

2. Data and methodology

The data for this study come from the Arkisyn corpus (Arkisyn 2018). Arkisyn is a morphosyntactically annotated corpus of conversational Finnish, containing data from almost thirty hours of everyday interactions among family and friends (256 341 words). I have also made use of the video and audio recordings of the conversations.

To create a database both sufficient for the study at hand and manageable, I selected four conversations from the larger corpus for closer analysis. For this smaller dataset, I extracted all subject NPs from one conversation (SAPU117), all object NPs from two conversations (SAPU117 and SG396), and all free NPs from four conversations (SAPU117, SAPU118, SAPU119, SG396). The extracted data amount to 421 subject NPs, 532 object NPs, and 381 free NPs (see Table 1). Since the sources from which the data have been extracted vary in size, the raw numbers

Table 1. NP subjects and objects and free NPs in the smaller dataset

	N	Tokens per ∑ 1000 words
Subjects	421	97
Objects	532	34
Free NPs	381	14

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shown in Table 1 and in Section 4 are not comparable; to enable comparisons, Table 1 also shows the token frequency per 1000 words. In the discussion in Section 4, comparisons are based on percentages.

Table 1 shows that in the smaller dataset subject NPs are almost three times more frequent than object NPs, which in turn are over twice as frequent as free NPs.

The annotations in the Arkisyn corpus give information on the morphological form (case, number) and syntactic function (subject, object, free NP) of the NP. I have made further annotations regarding the structure of the NP and its referential features; the coding distinguished between NPs referring to a human referent, a concrete object, or an abstract concept.

The study was based on the methodology of interactional linguistics, which is an approach to grammar that combines insights from discourse functional linguistics, conversation analysis, contextualization theory, and linguistic anthropology (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2001: 1–3, 2018: 3–14). In this approach, linguistic structures are studied and described as interactional resources which are put to use in social interaction. The focus of interest is not on grammar *per se*, but rather on the ways in which it is used in interaction, and on the actions that grammatical resources serve to accomplish.

3. Grammatical characteristics of noun phrases in Finnish

In Finnish, nouns show case and number marking. There is a rich case system, with 15 cases (Hakulinen et al. 2004: §1222–1223). While word order is relatively free (Helasvuo 2001: 76–81; Vilkuna 1989), the ordering of elements within the noun phrase is quite fixed (Hakulinen et al. 2004: §1394). Let us now look more closely at the grammatical features of noun phrases in Finnish.

In most noun phrases, modifiers agree with the head in case and number (Example (1)). There are, however, some exceptions: most notably, genitive modifiers, as in (2), and certain adjectival modifiers, which do not show case inflection at all (3).

(1) SAPU117
nyt mä en haluis
now 1SG NEG-1SG want-COND
'Now, I wouldn't like to have'
mitää sellasta isoo ateriaa
nothing-PAR such-PAR big-PAR meal-PAR
'any big meal.'

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(2) SAPU117
mun ***nenä*** *murtu*
1SG-GEN nose.NOM break.PST.3SG
'My nose broke.'

(3) SAPU117
se on *kyl ihan* ***eri*** ***taval***
it be.3SG PTC quite different.NOM way-ADE
'It is in quite a different way.'

In (1), the NP *mitää sellasta isoo ateriaa* 'any big meal' is in the partitive case. The NP functions as an object, and as its content falls under the scope of negation, it is in the partitive case. Not only is the head noun *ateriaa* 'meal' in the partitive, but its premodifiers *mitää sellasta isoo* 'any such big' take this case as well. The same case marking (partitive) and number (singular, i.e. unmarked) create internal cohesion within the noun phrase. In (2), the NP *mun nenä* 'my nose' contains a possessive modifier *mun* 'my' that stands in the genitive case irrespective of the case of the head *nenä*, which is in the nominative. Finally, the adjectival modifier *eri* 'different' in (3) is not inflected for case but is in the base form, the nominative, even though the head of the NP *taval* 'way' is in the adessive. *Eri* belongs to a closed class, containing fewer than ten words, which are used syntactically as adjectives even though they lack case marking (Hakulinen et al. 2004: §60).

Personal pronouns may form NPs by themselves (cf. *mä* 'I' in Example (1)) or they may be used as genitive modifiers of nouns (*mun* 'my' in Example (2)). Demonstratives may either form NPs by themselves (cf. Example (3), *se* 'it') or modify lexical heads, as in (4). An NP may also consist of a noun with no modifiers (5).

(4) SAPU117
mä laske *sillai yksi kaksi* ***näit*** ***sekunttei?***
1SG count.1SG like one two DEM.PL-PAR second-PL.PAR
'I count these seconds like one two.'

(5) SAPU117

1 *sit täyty välttä kato*
then must.3SG avoid-INF PTC
'Then one must avoid'

2 *semssi tämssi ruokii*
DEM.ADJ-PL.PAR DEM.ADJ-PL.PAR food-PL-PAR
'these kinds of foods'

3 *et mis niinku* ***vatta*** *alka pömpöttä*
COMP REL-INE PTC belly begin.3SG be.bulging-INF
'where (one's) belly starts to bulge.'

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In (4), the object NP *näit sekunttei* 'these seconds' contains a demonstrative (*näit*) that is used as a determiner of the head noun (*sekunttei*). The demonstrative determiner agrees in case (partitive) and number (plural) with the head noun *sekunttei* 'seconds'. In (5) line 3, the subject NP *vatta* 'stomach' is a bare noun phrase, i.e. a noun phrase consisting merely of the head noun, with no modifiers.

In multi-word noun phrases, the ordering of elements within the NP is quite fixed. The modifiers most commonly precede their heads (see Examples (1)–(4)). Postmodifiers are also possible, but occur much less often. Consider (6):

(6) SG396

```
1  Pete:  motti kertoo   sillä   kertaa
          NAME  tell-3SG DEM-ADE time-PAR
          'That episode of MOT (a television show) is'

2         jostain   rautatieliikenteestä
          some-ELA  railway.traffic-ELA
          'about railroad traffic'

3         ja  sit  yks osa  siitä   ne     haastattelee
          and then one part DEM.ELA DEM.PL interview-3SG
          'and then one part of it, they interview'

4         sitte mua
          then  1SG-PAR
          'me'
```

In (6), the free NP *yks osa siitä* 'one part of it' (line 3) contains a demonstrative postmodifier *siitä* 'of it'. If there are several modifiers, the demonstrative determiners and pronominal modifiers come first, followed by possible descriptive adjectives (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979: 113–116). This can be seen in (1), where *mitää sellasta* 'any such' precedes the adjectival modifier *isoo* 'big'.

To sum up: there are several grammatical characteristics in Finnish which contribute to making the internal structure of noun phrases quite stable. First and foremost, agreement in case and number makes the noun phrase stand out as a unit of its own. Upon hearing the modifiers, the co-participants know to expect a head noun in a certain case (e.g. in the partitive, as in Example (1)). This of course helps the co-participants to project the future course of the turn. While word order at the clausal level is relatively free of grammatical constraints (see Helasvuo 2001: 76–81), we have seen that the ordering of elements within the NP is quite fixed.

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4. Argument NPs vs. free NPs in interaction

4.1 Grammatical features

Do argument NPs differ from free NPs in terms of grammatical features? It turns out that the answer to this question has several aspects. I tackle the question by examining the grammatical features of noun phrases in different syntactic functions, looking at both the structure of NPs and their morphological marking. In the following, I use the term *pronominal NP* for noun phrases consisting of a pronoun alone, with no modifiers. I refer to NPs with lexical nouns as their heads as *lexical NPs.* The term *bare noun phrase* will be reserved for NPs consisting of a lexical head alone, with no modifiers. Thus a lexical NP may be a bare noun phrase or may contain pre- or postmodifiers.

Table 2 shows the structure of NPs in the data. It is worth noting that in Finnish, numerals function as nominals and receive nominal case inflection. Modifiers include both genitive modifiers (as in Example (2) earlier) and modifiers which agree with the head of the NP in case and number (Examples (1) and (4)).

Table 2. Structure of subject, object and free NPs

Structure of NP	Subject NPs		Object NPs		Free NPs	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
pronominal	377	89.4	238	44.7	23	6.0
bare noun	25	5.9	128	24.1	253	66.4
modifier + N	19	4.7	144	27.1	80	21.0
numeral	0	0	4	0.7	9	2.4
numeral + N	0	0	16	3.0	13	3.4
N + postmodifier	0	0	2	0.4	3	0.8
Total	**421**	**100.0**	**532**	**100.0**	**381**	**100.0**

As we see from Table 2, in terms of their structure subject NPs stand out from object NPs and free NPs: almost 90% of subject NPs are pronominal, in sharp contrast to less than half pronominal object NPs (44.7%) and only 6% of free NPs. NPs containing modifiers are fairly common among object NPs (27.1%) and among free NPs (21%), but not among subject NPs (only 4.7% of subject NPs contain modifiers). Among free NPs, bare nouns form the majority of NPs (66.4%). Bare nouns are also common in object NPs (24.1%), but not in subject NPs.

Looking at the data more closely, we find that objects that are bare nouns may serve predicating functions in the data. Consider Example (7), derived from a

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conversation among seven young men. Riku's phone has been ringing repeatedly, and when this happens again, the co-participants start to tease him.

(7) SG396

1 Pete: *pitäskö meidän antaa*
must-COND.3SG-Q 1PL-GEN give-INF
'Should we give'

2 *aplodit Rikulle*
applause-PL First.Name-ALL
'Riku a round of applause.'

3 Lauri: *m(h)m[(h)m(h)m(h)*

4 Taavi: *[mum miäst ehkä*
1SG-GEN in.one's.view maybe
'I think maybe,'

5 *annetaanks annetaan,*
give-PASS-Q give-PASS
'should we, let's give (an applause).'

6 Riku: *hyvä idea.*
good.NOM idea.NOM
'A good idea.'

7 All: ((applauding))

Line 2 in (7) contains an object noun phrase formed with a bare noun *aplodit* 'applause', which is not referential but forms a predicate together with the verb *antaa* 'give'.

The results of the comparison shown in Table 3 regarding subject NPs vs. objects are of course to be expected in the light of the literature on Preferred Argument Structure (Du Bois 1987; Du Bois, Kumpf & Ashby 2003). Du Bois (1987) found that in Sacapultec Mayan there was a tendency for one lexical argument per clause (Du Bois 1987: 819). In Sacapultec, the lexical argument tended to serve as an object or an intransitive subject, thus exhibiting a patterning mirroring the ergative patterning found in the grammatical marking of arguments in Sacapultec. Helasvuo (2001, 2003) showed that in Finnish, both transitive and intransitive subjects function alike in this respect – i.e. they tend not to be lexical – but differ from objects: if there is only one lexical argument in the clause, it is more likely to be expressed in the object than in the subject role (transitive or intransitive).

The literature on Preferred Argument Structure has focused on the contrast between core arguments, objects and transitive and intransitive subjects. Table 3 brings free NPs into the comparison. It shows that in some respects free NPs resemble objects, especially if we focus on NPs containing modifiers or numerals.

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We also see that free NPs differ from both subjects and objects with respect to bare nouns, which form the majority of free NPs.

These patterns are illustrated in (8), from a conversation between a waitress and a customer:

(8) SAPU118

```
1  Varpu:    mä      voisin       ottaat   tota viel
             1SG.NOM can-COND-1SG take-INF PTC  still
             'I could still have'

2            semmose     piäne     kuiva-v  valkoviini-n.
             DEM.ADJ.ACC small.ACC dry-ACC  white.wine-ACC
             'one more small dry white wine.'

3  Waitress: viini. (.)  selvä?
             wine.NOM    clear
             'Wine. Right.'
```

In line 1 of (8), the first person pronoun *mä* functions as subject; the NP *semmose piäne kuivav valkoviinin* (line 2) functions as object. The object NP (line 2) is inflected in the accusative case. Because of the case marking, the NP in line 2 has to be interpreted as the object of the clause in lines 1–2. The waitress confirms the order with an NP *viini* (line 3), which is a bare noun. It is in the nominative and thus not fitted to the clause in lines 1–2 but instead forms a free NP. Example (8) exhibits the most typical patterns: the subject is a pronominal NP (*mä*), the object is an NP with several modifiers, and the free NP is a bare noun with no modifiers.

We next look at case marking patterns in subject, object and free NPs. The free NPs included three instances consisting of foreign words that could not be inflected (e.g. the English word *what*); these have been excluded from the analysis in Table 3. Finnish has a number of locative cases; the data for free NPs included NPs inflected in the adessive, allative, illative or elative case, all of which are locative in meaning. Since there are only a couple of examples of each of these locative cases, they are all included under locative in Table 3. The empty cells indicate case marking options not available for subject and object NPs.

Subject NPs show case alternation between the nominative and the genitive case. The genitive is used to mark subjects in certain modal constructions expressing necessity and in some infinitival constructions (see e.g. Leino 2015). Table 3 shows that genitive subjects are quite marginal in the data: the 421 subject NPs include only seven genitive subjects. The overwhelming majority of subjects (over 98%) are in the nominative; as exemplified by *mä* 'I' in line 1 of (7). Object NPs alternate between the nominative (22.4%), the genitive/accusative (26.1%; cf. Example (7), line 2) and the partitive (51.5%; cf. for instance Example (1)). The basis of this alternation is a complex mix of syntactic and semantic-pragmatic

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Table 3. Case marking of subject, object and free NPs

Case	Subject NPs		Object NPs		Free NPs	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
nominative	414	98.3	119	22.4	299	79.1
genitive/accusative	7	1.7	139	26.1	0	0
partitive			274	51.5	49	13.0
locative					11	2.9
nominative + locative					16	4.2
partitive + locative					3	0.8
Total	**421**	**100**	**532**	**100**	**378**	**100**

factors (for an overview, see Helasvuo 2001). Free NPs have a wider range of case-marking options, but as Table 3 shows, almost 80% are in the nominative (as in Example (7), line 3 *viini* 'wine'). Table 3 also shows that subject NPs and free NPs are alike in that nominative NPs dominate, whereas among object NPs the majority (51.5%) are marked with the partitive case.

Example (9) illustrates the case marking patterns. It comes from the same conversation as (7). Varpu is telling the others about suggestions she had received as to what kind of jewelry to wear:

(9) SAPU117

```
1  Varpu:  aatte(l) kui luova    hän     on
           think    how creative 3SG.NOM be.3SG
           'Think how creative she is'

2          ko hän     ehdotti
           as 3SG.NOM suggest-PAST.3SG
           'as she suggested (to me)'

3          ko mä      sanos(i)     et  ↑mun     tarttis
           as 1SG.NOM say-PAST.1SG COMP 1SG.GEN shall.COND.3SG
           'when I said that I should'

4          joku     valkonen  heh koru       saa- saada
           some.NOM white.NOM     jewelry.NOM     receive-INF
           'wear some piece of white jewelry'

5          tähä    ny  et   se      sopis
           DEM-ILL now COMP DEM.NOM suit-COND.3SG
           'here now so it would suit'

6          mu      niinko asusteisii
           1SG-GEN like   outfit-ILL
           'my outfit'
```

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7 *ko mull o valkone villatakki?*
as 1SG-ADE be.3SG white.NOM cardigan.NOM
'because I'm wearing a white cardigan'

8 *ni hän ehdotti*
PTC 3SG.NOM suggest-PAST.3SG
'so he suggested'

9 *£et pistä siihe kanamuna.£ hehehe*
COMP put.IMP.2SG DEM.ILL egg.NOM
'I should put an egg there'

There are several nominative subjects in (9): in lines 1, 2 and 8 the third person human pronoun *hän*, in line 3 the first person pronoun *mä*, and in line 5 the demonstrative *se*. There is also one genitive subject in line 3: the first person pronoun in the genitive case *mun* functions as the subject of the modal verb *tarttis* 'should'. The NP *joku valkonen koru* 'some white jewelry' (line 4) functions as a nominative object of the infinitive *saada* 'receive', and the NP *kananmuna* 'egg' (line 9) is a nominative object of the imperative *pistä* 'put'. Nominative marking of the object is possible in clauses with no nominative subject, as in the clause in lines 3–4, with a genitive subject, and in line 9, with a directive in the imperative and no subject.

In addition to case marking, NPs are marked for number. With regard to number, subjects are mainly in the singular (92%), and so are free NPs (97%), while objects are a little less commonly so (81%). Object NPs in Examples (4) (*näit sekuntte*i 'these seconds'), 5 (*semssi tämssi ruokii* 'these kinds of foods') and 7 (*aplodit* 'applause (PL.)') illustrate plural objects, while line 2 in (6), with *ne* 'they', gives a rare example of a plural subject NP.

An examination of the data for argument NPs and free NPs showed that in terms of structural features there does not seem to be any dividing line distinguishing between argument NPs and free NPs. Instead, subject NPs, object NPs and free NPs all show distinctive profiles. This applies both to NP structure and to case marking. I examined grammatical features, such as NP structure and case and number marking, as distinct features. Let us conclude by looking at how these features combine. The data show that a typical subject NP is a pronominal one and carries nominative marking and is in the singular: 81% of subject NPs have these characteristics. A typical free NP is a bare noun in the nominative case and in the singular: 56% of free NPs exhibit these features. A typical object NP is a pronominal NP in the partitive singular, but only 22% of the object NPs carry these markings. A close examination of the use of argument NPs and free NPs and their grammatical features in interaction thus allows us to depict different clusterings of the characterizing features of NPs as units. Based on this examination, the NP emerges as a robust unit in Finnish.

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4.2 Noun phrases from the perspective of reference

Do argument NPs and free NPs differ with regard to referential features? I next describe the referential features of subject and object NPs and compare them to those of free NPs. I focus on how NPs are formulated to meet the needs of the interaction and those of the recipients (for recipient design, see Pomerantz & Heritage 2012: 211–213, also Sacks 1992, II:148).

Reference is of course a much more complex matter than case and number marking. Because of the rich morphological marking typical of Finnish, it is simple enough to code an NP as singular or plural or as being inflected in the partitive or genitive; analyzing reference, on the other hand, is a multifaceted task, and the results of the analysis may be subject to debate. In the discourse-linguistic and anthropological linguistic tradition, it has been common to approach the interrelationship between reference and grammatical marking by analyzing NPs according to the semantic class of the referent (see e.g. the influential article by Silverstein 1976 regarding split patterns in grammatical marking, and articles in Du Bois, Kumpf & Ashby 2003). The analysis of the present data confirms previous findings (see e.g. Helasvuo 2001, 2003), showing that while human referents are common in subject NPs (63.9% of subject NPs have human referents), they are rare in objects (only 8.1% of object NPs had human referents). Free NPs resemble object NPs in this respect (only 3.4% of free NPs referred to human referents). Abstract entities are fairly common among the referents of object NPs (31.4%) and free NPs (26.0%), but not among referents of subject NPs (only 8.6%). However, such an approach only shows how reference is generally practiced in different NP types. It does not open up perspectives on ways in which the grammatical resources of a language can be used to meet the needs of an interaction in creating referents and talking about them. I next use examples from the data to show how the formulation of referring expressions is contingent upon the interactional context and on what has happened before, and how it contributes to shaping the future trajectory of the interaction.

Example (9) illustrates how reference is created with NPs in different syntactic functions. The participants are young women who are discussing what to wear the next day when they are going to attend an outdoor rock festival.

(9) SAPU119

```
1  Alina:  mä      e       JAKS       nym  miätti
           1SG.NOM NEG.1SG feel.up.to now  think-INF
           'I don't feel up to thinking'

2          mitä     mä  pistäm  päälle.
           what-PAR 1SG put-1SG on
           'what I'm going to wear.'
```

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3 Mirva: *ni mikä muu neulen kans sit sopis.*
PTC what other sweater-GEN with then suit-COND.3SG
'So what else would go with the sweater'

4 Alina: *no en tiädä.*
PTC NEG-1SG know-CONNEG
'Oh I don't know.'

5 Mirva: *ni, ↑voit miätti aamulla.*
PTC can-2SG think-INF morning-ADE
'So you can think (about it) in the morning.'

6 Alina: *aamul jaks miättim mitään,*
morning-ADE feel.up.to-CONNEG think-INF anything-PAR
'In the morning (one) doesn't feel up to thinking about anything.'

7 (0.5) *aamul o jo kaik valmist.*
morning-ADE be.3SG already everything ready-PAR
'in the morning everything is ready already.'

8 Mirva: *joo.*
PTC
'Yeah.'

9 Netta: *kauhee stressi.*
horrible.NOM stress.NOM
'Horrible stress.'

In (9), subject NPs refer mainly to human referents (the first person singular pronoun *mä* in lines 1 and 2). Clauses in lines 4 and 5 also have 1st and 2nd person subjects, but they are not expressed as separate NPs, merely with suffixes on the predicate verb. Line 6 has a negative clause, but the negation verb is missing; the negation is conveyed through the use of the connegative form of the verb (Savijärvi 1977 calls this ellipsis of the negation verb, and shows that it is common in Balto-Finnic languages) and of the negation-implicative pronoun *mitään* 'anything'. There is no subject, but the predication is offered as one anyone could identify with ('in the morning one doesn't feel up to thinking about anything'). Alina starts out with a personal perspective (lines 1, 2, and 4) referring to how she herself feels. In her response to Mirva's suggestion (line 5), Alina shifts to a more general level. She responds to the suggestion with a construction which does not have either a finite verb form or an overt subject (line 6), and thus no direct reference to who it is, specifically, that does not feel up to thinking about anything. What is implied is that it is Alina herself, but also anyone else who can identify with the content (cf. Laitinen 2006: 209 on the so-called "zero-person construction"). The formulation of line 6 conveys that deciding on what to wear for the upcoming event is difficult not just for Alina but for anyone planning to attend. After this, Alina voices a general assessment as to how things ought to be in the morning. The

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subject in line 7 has a general reference *kaik* 'everything'. Mirva responds to this with the particle *joo*, showing that she has understood Alina's turn, but she does not address its affiliation relevance (shows neither affiliation nor disaffiliation with it; Sorjonen 2001a: Chapter 7).

Netta, who hasn't participated in the discussion and is not going to join the others for the festival, joins in with an assessment *kauhee stressi* 'horrible stress' (line 9). The assessment is formed as a free NP which serves to make an assessment, but what is being assessed is not expressed overtly: Netta does not express who it is that is experiencing this horrible stress, or what is causing it. Other options for such an assessment would be to use a copular clause or a possessive clause. With either of these two options, the speaker would also need to choose a referring expression that would function as the subject of the copula clause or the possessor in a possessive clause (cf. Helasvuo 2019). What the assessment is about, however, is left vague: Netta may be assessing Alina as experiencing horrible stress, or she may be talking more generally about deciding on clothes for an outdoor event like a rock festival. Unlike for example a copular clause, the free NP provides a grammatical resource for making an assessment without having to refer to what is being assessed. With regard to reference, the free NP *kauhee stressi* 'terrible stress' is not referential but predicating, as is common for free NPs: Helasvuo (2019) shows that in her data from Finnish conversational interaction, 59% served predicating functions (cf. Ono & Thompson 1994: 407, according to whom the proportion of predicating NPs among free NPs in their English data was as high as 80%).

The object NPs in (9), *mitä* 'what' (line 2) and *mitään* 'anything' (line 6) either have general reference (line 2) or refer to abstract entities (line6). Also possible are clausal objects: the clause in line 2 functions as the object of the predication in line 1. The object NP does not need to be expressed overtly at all: the finite verb in line 4 *tietää* 'know' could have an object but there is none, nor is there one in line 5 *miettiä* 'think' ('about it' is placed in parentheses in the English free translation to indicate that it has no counterpart in the Finnish original).

To summarize our discussion of (9): in contrast with both object NPs and free NPs, subject NPs mainly have human referents (referring most often to speech act participants). Subject and object NPs may have general references, expressed by pronominal NPs (subject NPs *mikä* 'what', line 3, and *kaik* 'everything', line 7, object NPs *mitä* 'what'). The excerpt given in (9) ends with a free NP *kauhee stressi* 'terrible stress' which serves to make an assessment about what has been discussed previously. As we have seen, what exactly it is that is being assessed remains implicit and elusive; nevertheless, it is clear that the free NP is linked to the preceding conversation.

Free NPs may also function to open up new topics and thus be forward-looking (Laury & Helasvuo 2016: 152–155). This is illustrated in (10), derived from a

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conversation among seven young men who are planning a party together and are eating and drinking. They have been discussing fancy dress costumes:

(10) SG396

1 Lauri: *tykkäsitteks te siit vinkist*
like-PAST-2PL-Q-CLI 2PL DEM.ELA tip-ELA
'Did you like the suggestion'

2 *m(h)inkä mä annoin teille to- (.)*
REL.ACC 1SG give-PAST-1SG 2PL-ALL
'that I made you'

3 *naamiaisia (.) varten.*
costume.party-PAR for
'for the costume party'

4 Taavi: *joo.*
PTC
'Yeah.'

5 Riku: *°just just° @iha varmaan@.*
PTC PTC quite certainly
'Right, certainly. '

6 (?): *°#sitä sattu vähän.# °*
DEM-PAR hurt.PAST.3SG a.little
'He hurt (himself) a little.'

7 (0.5) ((the participants are eating))

8 Lauri: *hmm?*
PTC
'Hmmh.'

9 (1.5) ((the participants are eating))

10 Lauri: *toinen vaihtoehto*
another.NOM alternative.NOM
'another alternative'

11 *et lihottaa ittensä kymmenen kiloo,*
COMP fatten.up-3SG oneself-3SGPX ten kilo-PAR
'that (one) fattens oneself up ten kilos,'

12 *kattoo vähän Sopranosii ni,*
watch-3SG a.little NAME-PAR PTC
'watching (lit. 'watches') The Sopranos a little.'

13 Aapo: @m(hh)m(hh)@

In (10), lines 1–3, Lauri brings up a suggestion he has made previously to the others as to what to wear for a costume party, asking whether they liked it. Taavi

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responds to this with a confirming *joo* (Sorjonen 2001a: 52–53) but does not elaborate on it. It is not clear whether Riku's turn in line 5 is a response to Lauri's question in line 1 or whether it (and the following line) is part of another line of interaction which has been going on prior to this extract. The fact that line 5 is not a type-conforming response to the yes-no interrogative in line 1 (cf. Sorjonen 2001b) suggests that it belongs to another line of interaction. As Lauri's suggestion does not elicit any further talk by Taavi or anyone else and the co-participants just concentrate on eating (lines 7 and 9), Lauri brings up an alternative suggestion for dress-up: one should fatten oneself up ten kilos, in the style of the television series The Sopranos (lines 10–12). The suggestion is formed as a free NP *toinen vaihtoehto*, 'another alternative', followed by a postmodifying *että*-clause. The NP brings up a new line of talk, an alternative to what Lauri has previously suggested, and the *että*-clause specifies the alternative. The NP is abstract and semantically open; the complement clause gives it more specific content. This is received with laughter by Aapo (line 13), followed by more talk about the television series and its various episodes and characters.

In (10), Lauri constructs his first suggestion as an oblique argument of the verb *tykätä* 'to like'. It is formed as an NP *siit vinkistä* 'tip/suggestion'(line 1) in the elative case, followed by a relative clause modifying it (lines 2–3). The tip has not previously been discussed in this conversation (at least not during the recorded part of the conversation) but the reference is formulated so as to indicate that the co-participants know about it (the determiner *siit* and the relative clause). The second suggestion is made with the free NP followed by a clausal postmodifier, an *että*-clause (lines 10–12). There are similarities between the two NPs referring to Lauri's suggestions: both are NPs with clausal postmodifiers, but the first is an argument NP while the second is a free NP. Due to its nominative case marking, the free NP (line 10) is not fitted to be a member of any clausal structure in the context. The formulation of the free NP indicates that the speaker is not assuming that the co-participants have any prior knowledge about it. Thus the free NP (line 10) is forward-looking. It is semantically empty, but the complement clause attached to it explicates its semantic content.

The following Example (11) illustrates ways in which reference may be vague but sufficient for the purpose at hand. The excerpt comes from the same conversation as (8). Päivi is telling the other participants about a drink she has tasted:

(11) SAPU117

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1  Päivi:  ootteks      te  maistanu
           be-2PL-Q-CLI 2PL taste-PCP
           'Have you ever tasted'
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2 *sitä sellast kuahujuomaa,*
DEM-PAR DEM-ADJ-PAR sparkling-drink-PAR
‘this kind of sparkling drink’

3 *mikä on nyt ollu vissii*
REL.NOM be-3SG now be-PCP probably
‘which has probably been’

4 *tän kesän suasikki,*
DEM-GEN summer-GEN favorite.NOM
‘the favorite drink this summer’

5 *=mis o sitä survottuu mansikkaa.*
which-INE be-3SG DEM-PAR crush-PASS.PCP strawberry-PAR
‘which has crushed strawberries in it’

6 *semmone joku (.) äffäl alkava*
DEM-ADJ.NOM some letter.F-ADE start-PCP
‘something starting with the letter f’

7 *se nimi oli.*
DEM.NOM name.NOM be-PAST.3SG
‘that name was’

8 (0.4)

9 Päivi: *no en edes sano mikä.*
PTC NEG-1SG even say.CONNEG what.NOM
‘well I won’t even say what.’

10 *ette o °maistanu°.*
NEG-2SG be.CONNEG taste-PCP
‘you haven’t tasted it.’

11 Varpu: *ei,*
NEG
‘No.’

12 Päivi: *joo,*
PTC
‘I see.’

13 Varpu: *em mä o kuullukka.*
NEG-1SG 1SG be.CONNEG hear-PCP-CLI
‘I’ve never heard of (it/that).’

14 Päivi: *joo? mä ostin kevääl semmose*
PCP 1SG buy-1SG spring-ADE DEM-ADJ-ACC
‘Okay. I bought one such (bottle) in the spring’

15 *jääkaappii mökille,*
fridge-ILL cottage-ALL
‘(to keep it) in the fridge at the summer cottage.’

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16 *ja sit ku ↑mun kurssikaverit oli*
and then when 1SG-GEN course.mate-PL.NOM be.PAST.3SG
'and then when my classmates were there'

17 *siällä, ni me juatii sit se, (.) tervetuliaismalja*
there PTC 1PL drink-PAST.PASS then DEM welcome.toast.NOM
'we drank a welcome toast'

18 *laituri- laituril,*
jetty jetty-ADE
'on the jetty- on the jetty.'

19 *ja se oli iha älyttömä hyvää.*
and DEM be.PAST.3SG quite awful.GEN good-PAR
'and it was quite awesome.'

In line 1 of (11), Päivi asks the others whether they have tasted a certain drink. She introduces the drink with an NP functioning as an object. The NP has demonstrative determiners *sitä sellasta*, the head noun *kuahujuomaa* 'sparkling drink' (line 2) and two postmodifying relative clauses (lines 3–5). The first of the determiners, the demonstrative *sitä*, marks the referent as identifiable by the co-participants (Laury 1997), while the second one, the demonstrative adjective *semmosta*, indicates that more information is coming regarding the referent (Erringer 1996: 77–78). Indeed, more information is given in the two relative clauses in lines 3–5. Päivi refers to a type of sparkling drink, described by the complex NP. There are several transition-relevance places within the description (e.g. after each relative clause and during the pause in line 8) where the co-participants could respond to the question posed by Päivi starting in line 1; the lack of uptake indicates that they do not recognize the referent. Päivi gives up trying to remember the brand name of the drink (line 9). The declarative in line 10 seeks confirmation for the inference she has made, based on the lack of uptake, that they have not tasted it. Interestingly, the confirmation-seeking declarative (line 10) has a transitive verb *maistaa* 'to taste' but the object is not expressed; instead, it has to be inferred by the co-participants. This does not cause any problem in the interaction: Varpu confirms it (line 11), and further elaborates her confirmation by adding that she has never heard of it (line 13). Again, the argument of hearing is not expressed but has to be inferred.

The drink is referred to again by Päivi in line 14 with *semmose* 'one such', but the referent is no longer the brand but rather a bottle containing a substance representing the brand. In line 17, there is again talk about the drink, now as the object of the verb 'to drink' *juatii*. The verb creates the expectation that an object will follow. Päivi starts with *se*, which can be used as either a demonstrative or a determiner functioning as a definite article (Laury 1997). After a micropause, Päivi continues with *tervetuliaismalja* 'welcome toast', which changes the interpretation of *se* from a demonstrative forming an NP by itself into a determiner followed by

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the head of the NP. Had it been used as a demonstrative, *se* could have referred to the same referent as *semmose* in line 14. As the interaction evolves and *se* turns out to be a determiner in the NP *se tervetuliaismalja*, it can no longer be interpreted as referring to the same bottle as the NP in line 14, but rather, to a toast involving the substance in the bottle. The demonstrative *se* in line 19 is an anaphoric reference; its antecedent is revealed by the construction it is part of, in which *se* (line 19) functions as the subject of a copula clause, and the predicate adjective phrase *älyttömän hyvää* (literally 'awfully good') stands in the partitive case. The case marking of the predicate adjective reveals that *se* refers to a mass (such as a liquid) rather than a countable (such as a bottle or a glass; for the case marking of predicate nominals, see Hakulinen et al. 2004: §555, Huumo 2007). Thus *se* refers to the same substance, both as contained in the bottle and as used in the toast. The reference unfolds in the course of the interaction.

The participants in (11) are thus seemingly talking about the same referent; in a closer analysis, however, the reference shifts from the drink to a bottle, then to a toast involving the drink, and finally back to the drink itself. The referential forms are designed to meet the needs of the recipients (for recipient design, see Pomerantz & Heritage 2012: 211–213, and Sacks 1992, II:148): for example by using the referential expression *sitä sellast kuohujuomaa* 'this kind of sparkling drink' in Example (11), line 2 the speaker conveys that the referent is one that the recipients should be able to identify (as indicated by the use of *sitä* as a determiner), but at the same time that there is more information to come regarding the referent (by the use of *sellast* as another determiner). Furthermore, in referring to the toast (line 17), the speaker first uses *se*, which could stand alone as a demonstrative and form an NP by itself, but after a short pause adds a lexical noun *tervetuliaismalja* 'welcome toast' to explicate the shift in reference.

To sum up: we have seen that subject, object and free NPs differ in terms of the referents they refer to. Human referents are most likely to be referred to by NPs that function as subjects, and least likely by free NPs. We have discussed ways in which recipient design may emerge in the flow of interaction. For example, in (11) the choices of referential forms in lines 2 and 17 illustrate ways in which referential expressions are specifically designed to meet the needs of the interactional context and the recipient(s). Recipient design, however, is an organizational preference present in all interaction (Pomerantz & Heritage 2012: 211). It is thus relevant even at those points in an interaction where there is no overt mention of the referent (e.g. Example (9), lines 4 and 5, and Example (11), line 10) or where the referring expression is merely a pronoun (e.g. Example (10), line 2 *mä* 'I' and *teille* 'to you (PL.)'). Finally, I have shown that it is not just the formulation and design of the referring expression but also the construction it is part of that contributes to the interpretation of the reference: in Example (11), line 19 it is not the referring

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expression *se* 'it (NOM)' itself but the partitive case marking of the predicate adjective *hyvää* 'good (PAR)' that conveys an understanding of the referent of *se* as a mass (such as liquid) rather than a countable (such as a bottle or a glass of something).

5. Conclusions

We started out with the claim made in the seminal paper by Hopper and Thompson (1984: 703), that nouns prototypically serve to lexicalize the discourse function of "discourse-manipulable participant". Hopper and Thompson (1984: 710) argue that typologically, if a linguistic form is fulfilling this prototypical function, it is likely to be coded as a noun and will carry the full range of nominal trappings conventional in the language. Nouns form grammatical units, noun phases, which have the potential to carry these codings. We have seen that both argument NPs and free NPs are coded for the main nominal inflection categories of case and number. They thus carry the nominal trappings conventional in Finnish. It is important to note, however, that the inflectional paradigms for both case and number include forms that carry no formal marking. In the paradigm for case the nominative bears no marking, nor does singular number. Interestingly, these are the forms that are most common in language use (cf. Helasvuo 1997).

In Section 3, I showed that the grammatical characteristics of Finnish language use contribute to making the internal structure of noun phrases relatively stable in Finnish. Most notably, the morphosyntactic process of case and number agreement within the noun phrase is a powerful cohesive force which ties the different parts of the noun phrase together to form a unit of its own. Agreement contributes to the co-participants' ability to project the future trajectory of the clause and the turn: upon hearing the pre-modifiers, the co-participants already know that a head noun in a certain case and number is to be expected to follow. It was also noted that although word order at the clause level is relatively free of grammatical constraints, the ordering of elements within the NP is quite fixed. This adds to the projectability of the syntactico-semantic structure of the NP.

The data analysis in Section 4 showed that in terms of grammatical features such as structure of NP and case marking, subject and object NPs do not differ as a group from free NPs. Instead, subject NPs, object NPs and free NPs show quite distinct profiles in terms of NP structure and case marking. The typical subject NP is a pronominal NP in the nominative singular; more than 80% of subject NPs exhibit these characteristics. The typical free NP is a bare noun in the nominative case and in the singular; more than half (56%) of free NPs have these features. Finally, the typical object NP is a pronominal NP in the partitive singular. In contrast with our findings regarding typical subject NPs and free NPs,

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a remarkably low percentage (only 22%) of object NPs carry these markings. We can thus conclude that subject NPs are more uniform with regard to structural features, while object NPs show much greater variation.

Through a detailed and careful analysis of the examples, I have shown how the formulation of referring expressions is contingent upon the interactional context: it is dependent on the context and reflects an understanding of what has happened before, while at the same time it is context-renewing and directs the future trajectory of the interaction. We have seen that in the construction of referring expressions recipient design is an important preference. I have shown that recipient design is not relevant merely at certain points, where there is an overt indication of how this preference is taken into account. Rather, it is a principle of interaction which is all-encompassing.

Data source

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CHAPTER 5

Noun phrases in other-repetitions

Observations of Swedish talk-in-interaction

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This study examines noun phrases in a specific sequential context: other-repetitions in Swedish conversation, including everyday as well as institutional interaction. Repeating the previous speaker's words can have various interactional functions, e.g., initiating repair, indicating surprise or challenge, or registering information. Our distributional results show that the NP is the typical item in repetition turns. The original structures targeted by repetitions vary from a single NP to clausal units housing NPs. The analysis shows that the identification of the interactional function of other-repetitions builds on their sequential position, prosodic design, and contextual information. Other-repetitions serve the general function of promoting intersubjectivity and participation in conversation, and the NP is demonstrably a central vehicle for this.

1. Introduction

In Swedish, like in other Germanic languages, the noun phrase is a grammatically central and versatile category. Features like number, gender, definiteness and case (nominative/genitive) can be coded in the inflection of a single nominal item. The internal complexity of noun phrases varies greatly, from single-word expressions to constructions involving determiners and attributes that can build complex groups of words. Noun phrases also occupy various slots in different syntactic configurations, taking the role as the subject, object, predicative and adverbial in clausal constructions and the object in prepositional phrases. It is thus no wonder that typical heads of noun phrases, that is, common nouns and pronouns, constitute the most frequent word-class items in spoken and written Swedish. However, their proportions vary in speaking and writing. Pronouns top the word-class items in spoken language (22.6%) while common nouns rank in the fourth place (12.2%). In writing, common nouns top the word-class distribution (26.7%) while pronouns are in the third place directly after verbs (16.5%); for the

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counts, see Allwood 1999. These figures suggest that speakers rely more heavily on pronominal and deictic expressions, whose reference can be understood or specified in the immediate context of speaking, whereas writers must be more explicit in the choice of referential expressions (cf. Chafe & Danielewicz 1987 on English).

As often mentioned in the literature, noun phrases can in many cases stand alone as full utterances, i.e. as 'lexical' turn-constructional units (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974), perhaps typically in responses to questions, e.g. *What would you like to eat? – Fish.* (see e.g. Tomasello 2003: 196). While this may be true, we have found a specific sequential location in dialogic speaking in which noun phrases are particularly frequent when compared to other types of units (see also Robinson 2013 on *questioning repeats*): they are targeted in repetitions of what the previous speaker has said in the just-preceding turn (for the phenomenon, see Rossi in press; also Huhtamäki, Lindström & Londen 2020). This responsive pattern, then, warrants a closer analysis, and an example is given in Extract (1), taken from a sociolinguistic interview. The interviewer (Int) has asked two senior high school students (Jenny and Anna) whether they want to raise a family in the future, and in line 1 she asks whether they would like to have children. Jenny, then, replies *massa barn* 'lots of children' (line 3).

(1) HI:03. "Lots of children."

01	Int:	å barn då, h- sku ni villa ha,	
		and children then, h- would you like to have,	
02		(0.6)	
03	Jenny:	**[#mas]sa barn#, hh**	ORIGINAL TURN
		lots of children,	
04	Anna:	[( )]	
05	Int:	**£↑ma [ssa] barn£.**	REPETITION TURN
		lots of children.	
06	Jenny:	[huh]=	
		((laughter))	
07	Anna:	=ja sku nu int villa ha så hemst mycke men (0.6)	
		I would not like to have so awfully many but	
08		sådär två ti tre.	
		like two to three.	

The interviewer receipts the answer in the sequentially next turn (line 5) by repeating the verbal material from Jenny's prior turn, which we call *the original turn* and mark with **boldface**. The turn containing the other-repetition is called *the repetition turn* and is marked with boldface and **highlighting**. When studying

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other-repetitions, we focus on recyclings of some or all of the verbal material in a prior turn, thus excluding semantic repetition. In the transcripts, some prosodic properties of the focused turns are marked, such as underlining, e.g. *mas*sa, for the phonetically accented syllable, and an upwards arrow ↑ to mark high onset. Punctuation marks are used to indicate the final pitch of all turns; see Appendix for transcription symbols.

As Tannen (1989) has pointed out, repetition is one of the central devices through which speakers can display interpersonal involvement in conversation. The interactional functions of other-repetitions can be more specific than that, and it is our aim here to analyze the formal and functional properties of repetition turns that pick up a noun phrase from a preceding (original) turn. A quite typical function of other-repetitions is to signal a problem of hearing or understanding and thus to initiate a repair sequence (see e.g. Kendrick 2015), but in other cases, as in (1), the functional scope goes beyond repair, for example, suggesting surprise, amusement or challenge at what is reported (e.g. Robinson 2013). Some repetitions also seem to do more unmarked receipting work by merely registering the information the other has given (e.g. Persson 2015), also a possible function in (1). Repetitions can appear in question – answer sequences, as above, or as responses to a narrative.

Our study sheds light on the category of noun phrase from a new perspective, as noun phrases are analyzed in short utterances in which they stand in their own right, but show dialogic dependency on a preceding contribution which they repeat in full or partly. The typicality of noun phrases in other-repeating turns reflects, we argue, the noun phrases' elementary status in dialogic participation. Noun phrases have a high referential relevance in meaning-making in real-time interaction and, therefore, constitute a central vehicle for using talk to build intersubjectivity. The study is organized in the following way: Section 2 presents the data and Section 3 gives an overview of some distributional aspects of other-repetitions in the data. In Section 4 repetitions are analyzed in their sequential and functional contexts with a focus on the grammatical target of the repetition in the preceding turn. Section 5 summarizes the analysis including an account of prosody in repetitions, and the chapter ends with a conclusion.

2. Data

The analysis in this chapter is based on a corpus of Swedish talk-in-interaction that is collected from various settings, ranging from everyday to institutional situations, and from naturally-occurring conversations to arranged group discussions (see Table 1). The everyday situations include conversations among friends and

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families, while the institutional ones are service encounters. The arranged interactions are moderated, unscripted group discussions that serve the function of sociolinguistic interviews. Some of the older recordings in our corpus are audio-only, but no telephone conversations are included. Many of the recordings are multi-person interactions, but there are also dyadic conversations. All recordings represent southern varieties of the Swedish language spoken in Finland that in many prosodic respects have similarities with Finnish (see Bruce 2004 on prosody in Swedish; Reuter 1992 for Swedish as a pluricentric language). The data and the extracts cited in this chapter are transcribed according to standard conversation analytic principles (cf. Ochs, Schegloff & Thompson 1996) with some additional symbols for stress and pitch patterns.

Table 1. Types of research data; number and hours of recordings

	Number	Hours
Everyday settings	14	14:01:03
Institutional settings	30	3:29:25
Arranged group discussions	16	6:21:59
Multi-person interactions	27	16:30:50
Dyadic interactions	33	7:21:37
Video recordings	43	15:03:42
Audio recordings	17	8:48:45

The data contains 60 recordings of about 24 hours combined and the speakers are aged 9 to 89 years, both male and female. We have collected all other-repetitions of any lexical or syntactic category occurring in this data. This master collection contains 150 cases, of which 123 have a phrasal, non-clausal form. The majority of these phrasal repeats are noun phrases, $N = 78$ (63%), and it is this sub-collection of nominal repetitions that we focus on in the analysis in Sections 4 and 5.

3. The distribution of grammatical elements in repetitions

The structure of the repetition turn can vary from one-word phrases to multi-word phrases (like *massa barn* in Extract (1)) and to clausal constructions. When comparing these categories in our master collection of other-repetitions ($N = 150$) we can note that most of the repetitions are typically short and phrasal, one-word phrases in 48% and multi-word phrases in 34% of the cases, whereas clausal constructions occur in only 18% of the other-repetitions (Table 2).

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Table 2. The distribution of general structural types of repetition turns

Repetition turn	Occurrences	Percentage
One-word phrase	72	48%
Multi-word phrase	51	34%
Clause	27	18%
	150	*100%*

Table 3 presents the distribution of phrase types in other-repetitions that have a phrasal, i.e. non-clausal form ($N = 123$). We can conclude that noun phrases are clearly the dominant category (63% of all phrasal repeats) followed by adverbial phrases (12%), numeral phrases (8%), prepositional phrases (7%), adjectival phrases (5%), and verb phrases (5%).

Table 3. Phrase types in (phrasal) repetition turns

Phrasal repetition turn	Occurrences	Percentage
Noun phrase	78	63%
Adverbial phrase	15	12%
Numeral phrase	10	8%
Prepositional phrase	8	7%
Adjectival phrase	6	5%
Verb phrase	6	5%
	123	*100%*

Finally, when we break up the distribution in the category of noun phrase repeats ($N = 78$) we can in Table 4 see that common nouns stand as the head of the repetition turn most often (64% of all NP repetitions), followed by proper names (32%), and pronouns in only very few instances.

Table 4. Phrase heads in nominal repetition turns

NP head in repetition	Occurrences	Percentage
Common noun	50	64%
Proper name	25	32%
Pronoun	3	4%
	78	*100%*

This distribution differs radically from general frequencies for parts of speech in spoken Swedish where pronouns and verbs rank highest (see Introduction this volume and Allwood 1999). We do not have reference counts for proper names

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in spoken Swedish in general, but they are probably over-represented in the present collection of other-repetitions, since the basic data contains a fair amount of interactions from service encounters. In these encounters, the participants (clients and staff) frequently repeat names of persons, products and events in a registering function, for the obvious reason that a correct reception of this kind of information is essential for a successful service transaction.

Most repetitions are structurally simple, as we can conclude from Table 2, and only partially repeat the verbal material of the original turn. If we examine the formation of repetition turns consisting of noun phrases with a common noun as the head we can observe that simple units consisting of a single lexeme (e.g. *mat* 'food') are somewhat more frequent ($N = 30$; 60%) than structurally more complex noun phrases, i.e. NP + modifying attributes ($N = 20$; 40%), and 16 of these multi-word NPs are of the type where the head is preceded by one modifying attribute (e.g. *massa barn* 'lots of children'). Such lexical focusing in the repetition, i.e. keeping it short and specific, probably helps the recipient identify what exactly the speaker of the repetition turn targets as a possible problem or otherwise noteworthy information in the ongoing interaction.

4. Targets and functions of repetitions

The analysis presented in this section is based on our collection of 78 noun phrases that constitute the repetition turn in other-repetition sequences. The analysis is organized according to the structure of the original turn and the grammatical element that the repetition targets in it: a head of a compound, a single noun phrase, an object of a prepositional phrase, an object of a verb phrase, and a constituent of a clause. Interactional functions of the repetitions are discussed in the context of each example as well as key prosodic features of repetition turns (for the latter, see also the summary in Section 5).

4.1 Head of a compound

In some cases, the noun phrase that constitutes the repetition turn is just a repetition of a part of a larger nominal item – a compound – that has occurred in the original turn. Such repeating can serve the function of initiating repair, which is one of the conventional uses of other-repetition (see e.g. Kendrick 2015 on English and Rossi 2015 on Italian). These repair initiations typically have to do with problems of hearing or understanding the reference of an expression. This is also the case in Extract (2), in which it could be argued that the problem lies both in an uncertain hearing, or mishearing, and understanding the expression

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(because of the mishearing). The repetition targets the last constituent in a clausal TCU, but more significantly than that, only the latter part of this element which is a compound noun. The participants are three young women who are roommates, Sanna, Marina and Klara, sitting around their kitchen table. Sanna is using her tablet computer, while Marina is eating and Klara is concentrating on her smartphone. The sequence is initiated by Sanna moving her shoulders and sighing (line 1). Marina then suggests that they could give each other a massage, thereby interpreting Sanna as signaling pain (line 3). The third participant, Klara, responds enthusiastically and takes up the suggestion by proposing that they could line up to a *massagetåg* 'massage-train', i.e. sitting in a line giving and getting a massage from one another (line 4). The speaker is rubbing her nose, which possibly could disturb the hearing of what is said.

(2) Roommates. "Massage-train."

01	Sanna:	̊hha°
		((moving her back and shoulders))
02		(2.6)
03	Marina:	vi kan massera varandra?
		we can give each other a massage?
04	Klara:	*JÅ: kan vi ha så hä *massage#tåg#.
		*yes can we have like a **massage-train**.*
		**((looking up from her phone))*
		**((rubbing her nose))*
05		(1.0)
06	Marina:	↑**tåk.**
		((looking up at Klara))
07	Klara:	tå[g.]
		train.
08	Sanna:	[tå]:g:.
		train.
09		(2.0)
10	Marina:	mhuh mhuh massagetåk ba jeee.
		((laughing)) massage-tåk right yeah.

The original turn consists of two prosodic, grammatical and pragmatic units: the initial response particle *jå:* and the clause *kan vi ha såhä massagetåg*, in which the last word is a nominal compound consisting of a modifying part (*massage* 'massage') and head (*tåg* 'train'). The intonation contour of the original turn is falling, and the last syllable *tåg* is pronounced with a creaky, silent voice. A pause follows, possibly indicative of trouble, and then Marina repeats the head of the nominal

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compound, but pronounces it *tåk* [to:k] (line 6). *Tåk* means nothing in Swedish, and the repetition can be a reaction to an unidentified morpheme, although there is also some phonetic similarity to the verb *talk* in English. Both Sanna and Klara respond by correcting Marina's repetition to *tåg* [to:g] 'train' (lines 7–8). Sanna pronounces the item with a lengthening of the sounds and careful articulation [to:g:], which can indicate that she interprets Marina's repetition as a problem of hearing. Marina reacts with laughter and repeats her own wrong hearing/understanding of the word, now as a whole compound, *massagetåk* (line 10). By repeating only the head of the compound, the speaker focuses the repair on the key problematic item of the original turn.

4.2 Single noun phrase: Noun, pronoun, proper name

Lexical turn-constructional units that consist of a single noun phrase are not uncommon, particularly in certain sequential environments such as in answers to a question, as we could see in Extract (1) earlier. In this section we show examples of repetitions that target an original turn consisting of a single common noun, a pronoun, and a proper name.

Extract (3), taken from a sociolinguistic interview, presents a repetition that is embedded in a repair sequence. The participants are the interviewer (Int) and two senior high school students, Erik and Holger. The interviewer asks the students whether they think that the kind of education one has received has some bearing on the way one speaks (lines 1–3). This question is followed by a pause of 2.8 seconds, indicative of problems in tackling the question. Erik takes the turn in line 5 by saying slowly *säkert (nog)* 'probably', then noting that technical terms may enter into one's language. In line 8 he is about to continue with a reflective formulation, *om man tänker på* 'if we think about'. However, the interviewer intervenes here (line 11) and poses a question with the same initial formulation (*om man tänker på vardasspråke* 'if we think about everyday language') which is prefaced by the adversative conjunction *men* 'but' that marks this move as a perspective shift, proposing 'everyday language,' and disregarding professional talk, as the topic for further discussion.

(3) HI:02. "Everyday language."

```
01  Int:   dedär öm: nå tror ni att: #öhm:#
           PRT ehm well do you think that ehm

02         de har nån betydelse b-beroende på
           it has any significance depending on

03         va man har för utbildning hur man °talar°,
           one's education how a person speaks,
```

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```
04          (2.8)

05  Erik:   <säkert (nog)> (1.1) alltså, (0.4)
            certainly PRT (1.1) you know,

06          no kommer de ju in en massa facktermer
            PRT there will be a lot of technical terms

07          °å sånt här i ens språk å, (0.4)
            and things like that in one's language and,

08          om man tänker på  [(  )°=
            if we think about (  )

09  Int:                      [jå:
                               yes

10  Erik:   =(                      )  ]

11  Int:    men om man tänker på vardas ]#språke.#
            but if we think about everyday language.

12  Erik:   va,
            what

13          (0.3)

14  Int:    #vardasspråk[ke# ]
            everyday language

15  Erik:               [var_]dasspråke.
                        everyday language.

16          (0.9)

17  Int:    om man int disku#terar sitt fack#.
            if one is not discussing one's profession.

18          (0.4)

19  Erik:   °#mm:::#°

20          nåmen nu kanske de avspeglar sej nån
            well-but PRT maybe it is reflected some

21          (0.6) °nån vis no°.
                  somehow PRT.

22          (0.4)

23  Int:    °jå:,°
            yes,
```

In line 12 Erik produces an open-class repair initiator (*va* 'what'), apparently because of overlapping speech and a resulting problem of audibility; thus, the interviewer repeats the item *vardasspråke*. Erik then repeats this item in final

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overlap, possibly because the first part of the compound has been overlapped in the previous exchange and he is able now to signal early recognition of it. The interviewer treats this repetition turn as an indication of a problem of understanding and she offers a clarification in line 17. After this explanation of the concept 'everyday language' there is a short pause. Then Erik responds with the token *mm::*, with a soft and creaky voice, followed by the acknowledgment that 'it' (i.e. one's education) may be reflected in one's everyday language. This example differs from Extract (2) in that the original turn consists of a single noun, and thus the repetition recycles the original in full.

Pronouns constitute other-repetitions very infrequently, but Extract (4) shows us an instance of a personal pronoun (*du* 'you') in this environment. This is a conversation between teacher colleagues talking about old times. Liv mentions first her father in her turn in lines 1–3 and then continues to talk about how she has always liked sweet things. There is a problem of understanding the pronominal reference: Petra poses a controlling question in line 5, *han då* 'him?', asking whether Liv means her father. Liv then responds with the first person singular *ja:g* 'me', produced with contrastive stress. Petra closes the sequence in line 8 with a turn that repeats the pronominal element, shifted into second person *du*, and another participant (Eva) echoes her repetition in line 9. The repetition turn in line 8 signals realization: it is prefaced with the Finland-Swedish change-of-state marker *aj*[1] and ends in laughter.

(4) End of spring semester. "You."

```
01  Liv:    jå ja kommer nog ihåg  [när vi va: för att=]
             yes I remember for sure when we were because=

02  Petra:                         [int fanns di       ]
                                    there weren't any

03  Liv:    =min pappa va så himlades lyckli, (.)
             =my dad was so incredibly happy, (.)

04          ja ha allti varit snål efter gott.
            I have always been keen on sweets.

05  Petra:  han då.
            him PRT

06  Liv:    [ja:ag.
            me.

07  Synne:  [eheh
```

1. The marker *aj* parallels with the change-of-state token *ai* in Finnish, see Koivisto 2013.

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08 Petra: **aj du [:. heh[ehe**
oh you. *((laughing))*

09 Eva: [du. [hehe
you. ((laughing))

After this repair sequence, Liv continues with the story about how she was keen on sweets when she was a child.

Lexical other-repetitions do not always deal with an obvious interactional problem. Instead, they can indicate registering and adequate reception of the information in the prior turn (see Persson 2015; Yokomori, Yasui & Hajikano 2017). Extract (5) provides an example of the phenomenon from a service encounter at a ticket office between the staff employee (STA) and an elderly customer (CUS). After a reciprocal greeting sequence initiated by the employee (lines 1–2), the customer, somewhat hesitantly, asks where a movie about the Swedish jazz singer Monica Zetterlund is showing (lines 4–5). The employee answers the question in line 7 with the name of a theater that consists of two parts, a category label (*Kino*) and an identifying part (*Engel*).[2] The customer repeats this proper name after a slight pause in exactly the same lexical form (line 9).

(5) H:LUC:145. "Kino Engel."

01 STA: hej.
hi.

02 CUS: >hej hej<, ((coughs)) .h
hi hi,

03 (0.3)

04 CUS: ja vet inte om ja alls e på rätt plats men
I don't know if I'm at all in the right place but

05 .h var går den här Monica Zetterlundsfil£men£.
where is this Monica Zetterlund movie showing.

06 (0.6)

07 STA: **Kino Engel.**
Kino Engel. *((Name of a movie theater))*

08 (0.3)

09 CUS: **Ki[no Eng]el.**
Kino Engel.

2. In onomastics, the parts of a commercial name like *Kino Engel* are called "a part signifying the business concept" (*Kino*) and the actual naming or identifying part (*Engel*); see Ainiala, Saarelma & Sjöblom (2016).

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```
10  STA:    [går den på]
             it is showing in

11          (0.4)

12  STA:    har ja hört.
            I have heard.

13          (0.2)

14  CUS:    har du adress på den,
            do you have the address,
```

The staff employee seems to orient to the pause in line 8 by expanding his turn with two increments, the first in line 10 that comes partly in overlap with the customer's repetition turn, and the second in line 12. However, these additions are not to be understood as orientations to a problem of hearing or understanding the reference of an expression; rather, the expansion in line 10 appears to fix a delay in turn transition and the one in line 12 provides a hedge by reframing the information the employee has given as hearsay. The customer's repetition, then, is treated as an acknowledgement of received information, and as such not as a need of an explicit confirmation. The repetition turn does not have prominent prosodic features: the pitch onset is low and the pitch span is narrow. These overall downgraded prosodic qualities in relation to the original turn (see Curl 2005 and Ogden 2006 on prosodic upgrading and downgrading) suggest that the speaker is reflecting on the proper name *Kino Engel* and trying to recall what theater it refers to (cf. Kelly & Local 1989). The customer does not apparently know this theater or its location, as he asks for the address in an ensuing turn (line 14). A possibility would have been that the customer repeated only *Engel*, in which case this would have signaled that he knew other theaters beginning with *Kino*.

4.3 Object of a prepositional phrase

Prepositional phrases can stand alone as turn-constructional units in the same kinds of sequential environments as single nouns phrases, for example, in answers to questions, which can be seen in (6). The extract comes from a family meeting where the father acts as chair and the children respond to matters on the agenda. We enter in a sequence in which the father asks what the elder son Kasper needs additional pocket money for (lines 1–2). Kasper responds with the prepositional phrase *ti mat* that he needs the money for food (line 4). The father then repeats the noun *mat* 'food' (line 6). The repetition begins high in his pitch range and falls over a wide pitch span. It is also prolonged in relation to the original.

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(6) Family meeting. "Food."

```
01  Father:     .hhh #e:# kan du berätta va #ev:# vas- (.)
                .hhh e: can you tell me what ev: vas- (.)

02              va behöver (du) pengar till.
                what you need money for.

03              (0.6)

04  Kasper:     £ti ma:t?£
                for food?

05              (0.8)

06  Father: →   [↑ma::t.]
                  food.

07  Kasper:     [m-     ] mellanmål eftä: skolan?
                m- snacks after school?
```

The function of this repetition goes beyond repair: there is not a problem of hearing or basic understanding of the reference of the expression. Rather, the contents in the prior turn go against the recipient's expectations: in this case the father knows that Kasper gets food at home. Hence, he seems surprised and questions through the repetition the validity of what the son has reported in the previous turn, thereby challenging it and calling for a justification (see e.g. Benjamin & Walker 2013; Robinson 2013). The son then attempts to justify his claim by referring to a need to buy some snacks after the school classes. By repeating just the noun *mat*, the father singles out 'food' as the questionable item in a slot where the son has the possibility to provide an object for his need of more money (i.e. in the prepositional phrase that specifies the object). Kasper is probably aware of the problems with his formulation in line 4 as he produces it with a smile voice.

4.4 Object of a verb phrase

Verb phrases that do not appear in a clausal frame can occasionally constitute stand-alone turns. Extract (7) gives us an example in a question – answer sequence (line 8). The extract is taken from a sociolinguistic interview and the interviewer asks in lines 1–2 whether (or not) the two senior high school students Josefina and Carola that are being interviewed plan to do something special after their graduation. After a pause, Josefina responds laconically *utomlands* (line 4), i.e. that she will go abroad, ending the turn with some laughter that may indicate that the plan is not so serious at this point. The other interviewee, Carola, concurs in line 6. The interviewer then asks what the girls plan to do abroad, and Josefina replies with the verb phrase *studera franska* that she would study French (line 8).

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(7) HI:25. "French."

```
01  Int:    ni har alltså inga planer (.) #sen# (.)
             so you don't have any plans (.) then (.)

02           #efter# °studenten°.
             after the graduation.

03           (1.8)

04  Jos:     utomlands eh  [ehh
             abroad ((laughing))

05  Int:                   [hehe=

06  Carola: =jå (0.3) °utomlands°.
             yeah (0.3) abroad.

07  Int:     va ska ni göra utomlands.
             what will you do abroad.

08  Jos:     studera franska.
             study French.

09  Int:     franska.
             French.

10  Jos:     °mhm°.

11           (1.9)

12  Jos:     eller lära franska språke. eheh
             or learn French. ((mild laughter))
```

The interviewer repeats the object of the verb phrase, *franska* 'French', in line 9 with stronger prominence than the original turn, which calls for some further action. Josefina confirms minimally with *mhm*, and as a pause ensues, she adds the modification *eller lära franska språke* 'or learn French' (line 12). This modification also has the form of a verb phrase and is initiated with the conjunction *eller* 'or,' which makes it an alternative to the first answer in line 8. This modified, alternative formulation shows that Josefina treats the interviewer's repetition possibly as a call for a further motivation and specification of what was said in the original turn, i.e. there might be something 'wrong' or challengeable in it (cf. Benjamin & Walker 2013; Robinson 2013). By repeating just the noun *franska*, the interviewer shows that the crucial thing is not that Josefina has plans to continue her studies, but rather why French is the relevant item (e.g. would she travel to France or some other place, or why French in the first place?). As the ensuing interaction, which is not reproduced here, reveals, Josefina is not really planning to *study* abroad: she just wants to spend some time in France and learn the language in that way. This is a less serious plan for her life after graduation and is probably oriented to as

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such by Josefina's laughter in lines 3 and 11, and by her modification from the verb *studera* 'study' to *lära* 'learn.'

4.5 Constituent of a clause

Many original turns in the interactional sequences have a clausal form, although most repetitions are phrasal (see Section 3). This means that it is usual that the repetition turn picks up and singles out a specific item in a clausal configuration, i.e. the repetition targets a constituent in a clausal TCU: its subject, object or adverbial or predicative complement. Such repetitions can have various functional motivations; below we exemplify using two instances that have to do with problems of expectation. In Extract (8) we see a repetition that serves to display surprise or (ritualized) disbelief at what the other has reported. The participants are the couple Torsten and Siv, who are having coffee with their guest Ulla. The two women have been talking about how difficult it is to find craftsmen who would come to fix things at a home. Then, Torsten takes the turn and provides a concrete example of the problem: he and his wife Siv had made an inquiry about getting a tinsmith to fix the tin roof of their house (lines 1–3). The answer they received was that it could take two years (*de kan ta två år*) to get somebody, lines 6 and 9 in Torsten's turn).

(8) November coffee. "Two years"

```
01  Torsten:  å så fråga vi nån ställe att jahh (0.9)
               and then we asked some place that yes (0.9)

02             att öh kan man få: beställa nån
               that erm can we get to hire someone

03             som sku komma å laga [plåtta(k)  ]
               who could come and fix a tin roof

04  Siv:                            [  jå.      ]
                                       yes

05  Torsten:  ja: de (0.4) de .h h
               well it (0.4) it .h h

06             de kan ta två år inna [n du få-  ]=
               it can take two years before you ge-

07  Ulla:                            [    ↑↑TV  ]Å: Å:[R. ]
                                          two years.

08  Siv:                                                [jå:]
                                                         yes
```

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09 Torsten: =inna[n du får]
before you get

10 Ulla: [↑ e de s]ant.
is it true.

11 Siv: ↑#jå: jå:#.
yes yes.

12 Ulla: °@herrejes@°.
good heavens.

The long time it takes to get a roof repairman is the pragmatic key information that Ulla responds to by repeating the noun phrase *två år* 'two years' (line 7), still in overlap with Torsten's ongoing talk, which is a form of mutual participation in a moment when another's action is still in the process of emerging (see Goodwin 2018: 49). The repetition has a very high pitch onset, and both words in this noun phrase are produced with a wide rise-fall contour going above the speaker's habitual pitch range. Siv responds to Ulla's repetition with the confirmation *jå* 'yes' (line 7). Then, again in overlap with Torsten, Ulla displays ritualized disbelief (Heritage 1984; Wilkinson & Kitzinger 2006) by exclaiming *e de sant* 'is it true?' (line 10). Siv responds by reduplicating the response token *jå jå* (line 11), confirming the veracity of what Torsten reported and orienting to Ulla's signaled disbelief. Finally, Ulla follows up with the softly spoken exclamation *herrejes* 'good heavens' (line 12). The upgraded prosodic qualities of the repetition turn as well as Ulla's ensuing exclamations display surprise as well as a strong affiliative stance towards the trouble her host and hostess have had with finding a roof repairer.

Another kind of repetition dealing with unexpectedness is presented in Extract (9), taken from a casual conversation between two female friends in their twenties, Katti and Anne. The participants are having coffee, facing each other across the table, while Katti is talking about an encounter with an old mutual friend, Missu, whom she has seen at a wedding. This gossiping story is framed as 'strange' (*konstit*) by Katti in line 1, which refers to Missu's unexpected presence at the wedding.

(9) August coffee. "Missu."

01 Katti: men de va nu så konstit nä vi kom dit
but it was so strange when we came there

02 ti Connys å Lenas bröllop så,
to Conny's and Lena's wedding,

03 på lörda: så (.) Missu va där?
on Saturday so (.) Missu was there?

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04 (0.6)
((K gazes at A, A reciprocates with a delay))

05 **>kommer du ihåg< Missu från Eira?**
do you remember Missu from Eira?

06 (0.8)
((A and K gaze at each other))

07 Anne: **aj ↑Miss:[u].** *((nods down towards K))*
oh Missu.

08 Katti: [m]m:m.

09 ja ha int [sett henne lik]som en enda gång
I haven't seen her at all you know

10 Anne: [jaha:]
I see

11 Katti: >så hon< sällskapa me den dä ena, (0.2)
so she was together with that one,

12 Anttu kallades han (…)
Anttu he is called

The first mention of Missu is in Katti's turn in line 3, produced after a scene description that projects a newsworthy conclusion, Missu's presence at the wedding (*Missu va där* 'Missu was there'). During the pause in line 4, Katti directs her gaze towards the co-participant Anne, who has not displayed recognition or any active listenership. Then, Katti poses a question (using the person name Missu and a prepositional phrase associating her with a neighborhood) in an attempt to help Anne to identify, or indeed to 'remember,' the person in question (line 5). This turn ends with the pitch rising to mid in the speaker's pitch range, which frames it as an act of checking common ground before a story (cf. Huhtamäki 2015; Routarinne 2003). Katti's turn is followed by a pause again during which Anne, staring ahead of her, seems to be engaged in cognitive work as Katti has brought up the task of 'remembering' (line 5).

Eventually, Anne responds with a repetition turn that takes up the name Missu (line 7), prefaced by the change-of-state token *aj*. In addition to reacting to unexpectedness, the speaker retrospectively indexes trouble with the recognitional work that is overcome by the time the repetition turn is produced; thus, the repetition turn functions as delayed realization. The pitch onset of the repetition is high and the pitch span is wide as in (8) and Anne produces an embodied enhancement (Ambrazaitis & House 2017) by nodding downwards when she says the name Missu. Katti receipts the display of recognition with an accented and prolonged *mm:m* in line 8 and continues to talk about Missu. Anne produces a weak news

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receipt *jaha:* in overlap (line 10), an item which could have been adequate at the first mention of Missu.

The noun phrases in the two repetition turns above focus on the exact item that invokes the reaction, that is, the element that bears the moment of unexpectedness or newsworthiness: an item referring to an absurd duration ('two years') and the name of an infrequently seen mutual friend. The noun phrase *två år* in (8) is syntactically the object of a verb phrase but semantically close to an adverbial (cf. *Vi sökte en taklagare två år* 'We looked for a roof maker two years'). The repetition of the person name *Missu* in (9) also relates to the object complement of the original clausal turn. In addition, the name *Missu* is specified with the prepositional attribute *från Eira* 'from Eira' in the original. It is not, however, the larger noun phrase *Missu från Eira* that is targeted for the repetition but the very person name that was also intended as a sufficient reference in the first mention in the sequence. If the name and the prepositional attribute were repeated (*Missu från Eira*), it would rather suggest a contrast between two or several persons with the same name (e.g. *Missu från Stockholm*).

5. Summary on repetition forms, prosody and interactional function

The typical repetition turn in our sub-collection of nominal repetitions ($N = 78$) reiterates only partially the material of the original: a noun that is the head of a compound, the head of a noun phrase, a noun that is the object of a prepositional phrase or a verb phrase, or a noun that is a constituent in a clause. Such partial repetitions pick up a specific item that is targeted as the key problematic item in case of problems of hearing or understanding (repair), as the locus for something questionable or surprising in the context of speaking (expectation), or as the acknowledged key information (registering). Naturally, full repetitions occur when the original turn consists of a single noun phrase, but such verbatim repetitions are sometimes modified with additional elements, like the change-of-state token *aj* 'oh', that contribute to the function of the repetition turn, for example, as a display of realization. There is no clear general tendency for what kind of an element stands as the source for the repetition turn vis-à-vis its interactional function (cf. the analysis in Section 4). However, we can note that original turns that consist of a single noun phrase are most commonly repeated in instances of registering. Most of these are proper names and occur in service encounters, but reiterations of single-NP turns consisting of common nouns are also found in the other datasets in a registering function.

Turn position coheres with interactional function to some degree in that repetitions dealing with expectedness can serve as affiliative or challenging responses to

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an informing, for example, in a narrative episode, but they also occur in answers to questions. The typical locus of registering repetitions is as sequence-closing thirds (Schegloff 1997: 527), i.e. in a third-turn position where they indicate adequate reception following a question – answer adjacency pair. Next-turn repair initiation may become relevant in all sequential positions, but unlike affiliative repeats (dealing with surprise, for example) they always halt the sequential progressivity and initiate an insertion sequence to solve a targeted interactional problem.

Prosodic cues are also important for understanding what a repetition is doing. We have therefore performed acoustic and auditory analyses of prosodic properties of the repetition sequences. More specifically, we have compared the pitch onset and pitch span as well as the duration of the original turn and the repetition. For the acoustic analyses and visual presentations we used the software *Praat* (v. 6.0.39); see Boersma & Weenink 2018. The pitch traces were plotted on a logarithmic Hertz scale, with the generic range of 50–300 Hz for men and 100–500 for women (cf. Walker 2017). Our analysis shows that the speaker of the repetition turn may vary the prosodic design in relation to the original turn but also in the range of his or her own register. We present below three main prosodic types of repetitions with a short example of each, including a visual representation.

Repetitions used for repair initiation tend to have a (moderately) higher onset and a wider pitch span than the corresponding material in the original turn, as in Extracts (2) and (3) (see Huhtamäki, Lindström & Londen 2020). In Extract (2), the repetition turn *tåk* starts higher than the beginning of the second TCU of the original turn, and falls steeper than the syllable *-tåg* (see Figure 1). Furthermore, it is longer than the syllable *tåg* 'train' in the original turn. However, it is not possible to fully compare the two words, as *tåg* in the original is part of the clause-final compound *massagetåg* 'massage-train', and *tåk* is a turn (and phrase) of its own.

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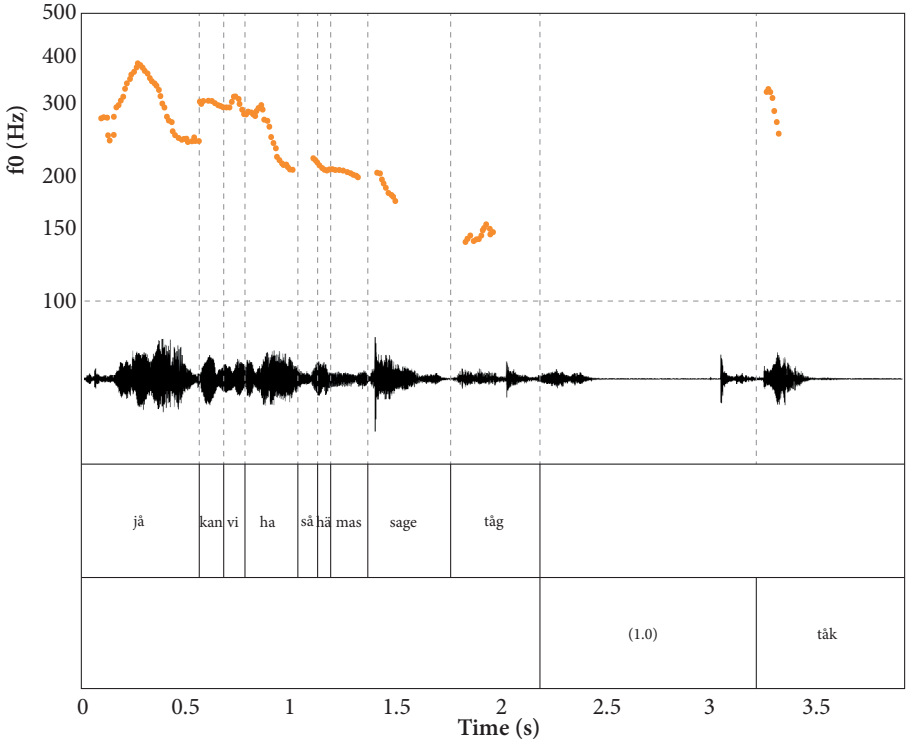

Figure 1. Pitch trace and waveform of the original turn and repetition of Extract (2); female speakers.[3]

Repetitions showing that a previous turn is unexpected or otherwise noteworthy often do that with a much higher onset and a considerably wider pitch span than the original turn, possibly in combination with longer duration. Such repetitions, then, are prosodically clearly upgraded in relation to the original (see Extracts (6), (8), (9)). For example, the contour of the name *Missu* in (9) consists of a rise-fall both in the original turn and in the repetition turn (see Figure 2). The onset on the accented syllable *Mis-* in the repetition is higher than the onset of the original turn and the pitch span in the repetition is much wider. The sibilant in *Missu* is also prolonged, which gives the name an extra emphasis. The upgraded prosody and the embodied enhancement, i.e. the nod (Ambrazaitis & House 2017), make the repetition turn and the recognitional work it is doing stand out in the context.

3. There are some movements in the waveform that stem from the sounds of cutlery on dishes (e.g. during the pause of 1.0 sec.).

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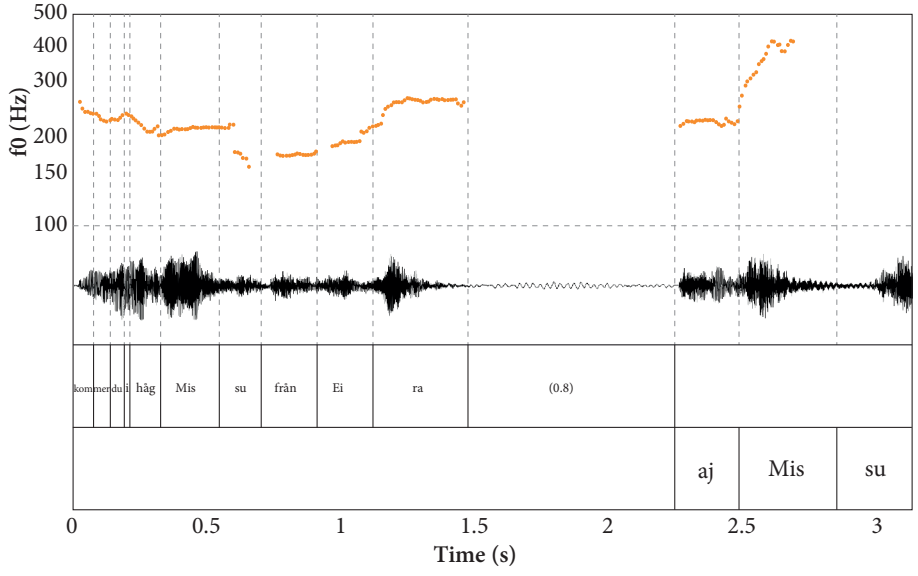

Figure 2. Pitch trace of the original turn and repetition of Extract (9); female speakers[4]

Repetitions used for registering, in contrast, tend to have the same or lower pitch onset, narrower pitch span and possibly a faster tempo than the original matter, i.e. they are prosodically downgraded. The original turn and the repetition in (5) have similar kinds of pitch contours with falling final pitch (see Figure 3), but the pitch onset is lower and the pitch span is narrower in the repetition. Although the repetition is in a partial overlap with the staff member's turn continuation (*går den på*) it is possible to detect the pitch span of the repetition turn (see note 6); moreover, the first and the last pitch accents of the repetition are outside of the overlapping segment. The proper name *Kino Engel* is accented in a way that is typical of lexicalized phrases in Swedish (see Anward & Linell 1976), realized as a moderate rise-fall on the first syllable of *Engel* in the original turn, and two small rise-falls in the repetition.[5]

4. The movement on the waveform on the last syllable stems from the beginning of Katti's *mm:m*, and because of the overlap, it was not possible to detect a pitch trace on the last syllable of the repetition.

5. The two accents are probably a reflection of the speaker's regional variety, as he is from the western part of southern Finland, known for varieties with special phrasal accentuation (cf. Selenius 1969).

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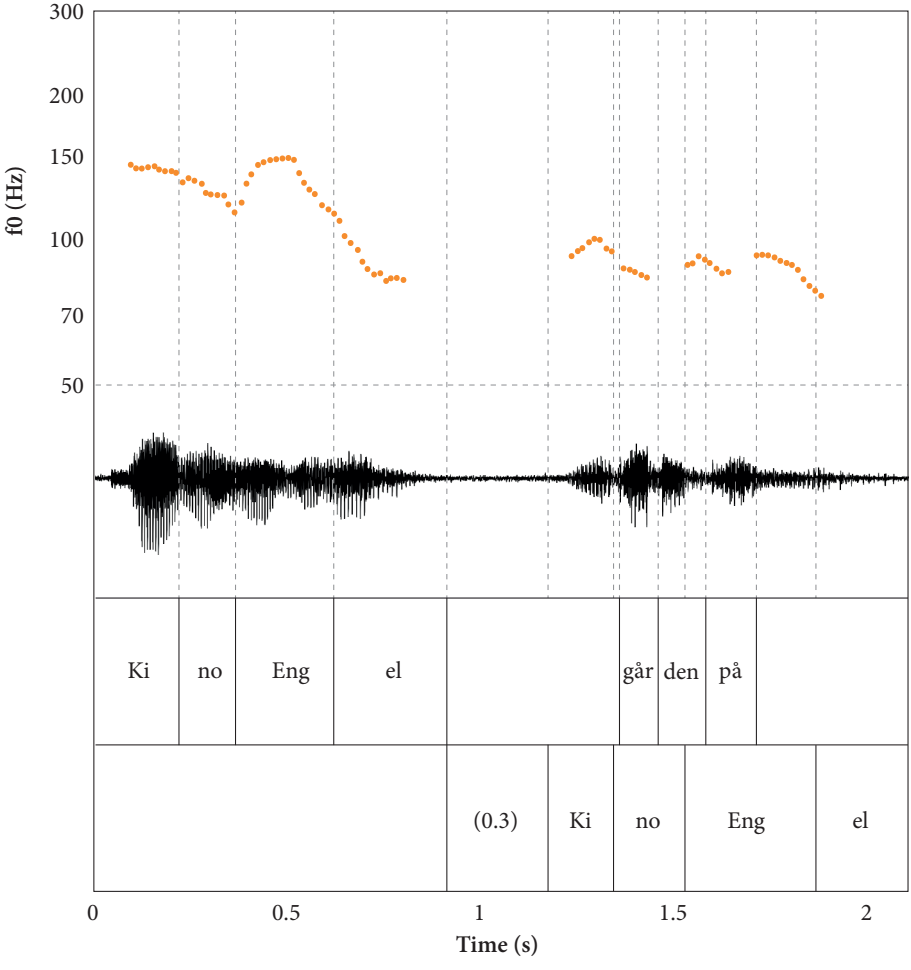

Figure 3. Pitch trace and waveform of the original turn and repetition of Extract (5); male speakers[6]

The mapping between function and prosodic form, however, is not complete, but prosodic features help recipients distinguish between the interactional functions of repetitions in combination with other cues, such as sequential position, the speakers' relative knowledge about the subject matter (epistemics) and other contextual information (for example, embodied cues); see further Huhtamäki, Lindström & Londen 2020.

6. The latter part of the waveform depicts both the customer's and the staff member's turns, but it was possible to separate the pitch contour of the customer's turn by listening to the turns and correcting the pitch trace manually.

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6. Conclusion

In this chapter we have demonstrated the relevance of noun phrases in the practice of other-repetition, which is an important sequentially-located phenomenon in intersubjective meaning-making in conversation. Generally, other-repetitions pick up an item from the previous speaker's turn that is consequential for the ensuing interaction: it may be in a need of clarification, in which case a repair sequence is initiated, or it engenders an affiliative or a challenging response calling for further talk and justification (in the case of challenge), or it is a piece of key information which is acknowledged through repetition. The functional values of repetitions – dealing with repair, expectation, registering – are tied to the sequential positioning of the repetition turn, its prosodic design, as well as other contextual cues (for an elaboration on function ascription, see Huhtamäki, Lindström & Londen 2020). Nominal repetitions are a powerful means to focus on the crucial item in the original turn. This is a difference, for example, to open-class repair initiations, like *huh* in English, which have the whole previous turn as their scope. When used as repair initiations, NP turns stop the sequential progression for as short a time as possible, as they are concise and specific.

Noun phrases are by far the most typical phrase type to occur in other-repetitions, which speaks strongly for their relevance as meaning-bearing elements in interactional sequences where the coordination of mutual understanding becomes an issue. Noun phrases, then, offer the speakers a fundamental means of participating in conversation and advancing intersubjectivity.

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Appendix. Transcription symbols

<u>but</u>	emphasis
bu:t	lengthening of a sound
#but#	creaky voice
°but°	sotto voce

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£but£	smile voice
@but@	altered voice quality
BUT	louder than surrounding talk
(but)	parenthesized words are possible hearings
bu-	cut-off word or unfinished intonation unit
<but>	talk at a slower pace than the surrounding talk
>but<	talk at a faster pace than the surrounding talk
.h	audible inbreath
h	audible outbreath
but=	two latching turns or the turn continues in a subsequent line
[but	beginning of overlapping talk
but]	end of overlapping talk
,	level ("continuing") intonation
.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation
↑	locally rising intonation
(0.6)	silences timed in 10ths of a second
(.)	micropause (less than 0.2 seconds)
((gazes))	transcriber's comments
*	timing of embodied action with talk (beginning point)
(…)	continuing talk

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CHAPTER 6

Asserting no-problemness in Spanish

'No hay (ningún) problema' and the study of noun phrases in interaction

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While much is known about noun phrases from morphosyntactic and typological perspectives, the study of nominal elements in interaction is just beginning. We contribute to this new area by exploring the interactional functions of the Spanish indefinite determiner *ningún* ('any', 'no') in the formula *No hay (ningún) problema* ('there isn't (any) problem'). We find that action and sequential environment are crucial in distinguishing between speakers' uses of the noun phrases *problema* and *ningún problema*, with the determiner deployed to upgrade the assertion of no-problemness compared to the version without the determiner. We use our analysis of these particular formulae to offer a theoretical and methodological contribution to the study of noun phrases in interaction, focusing on the generalizability of findings.

1. Introduction

While a great deal is known about noun phrases from morphosyntactic and typological perspectives, the study of noun phrases in interaction is just beginning. In this paper, we bring together what is known about noun phrases from a more structural and typological approach with an exploration of the interactional functions of some of these structural features. In particular, in this study we use Spanish telephone calls[1] to consider the presence/absence of the Spanish indefinite

1. Data are drawn from both the 'Call Home' and 'Call Friend' databases, publicly available via TalkBank (MacWhinney 2007). The participants in our collection all originate from Latin America and speak Latin American varieties of Spanish. While our dataset is not sufficiently representative to assert that our analysis can be extended to all dialects of Spanish, it bears mention that we could not detect any dialectal variation in the interactional uses of the specific

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determiner *ningún* ('any', 'no') in the formula[2] *No hay problema / No hay ningún problema* 'there isn't (a) problem/there isn't any problem'. This analysis thereby also aims to contribute to the small but growing body of conversation-analytic and interactional linguistic work on Spanish talk-in-interaction (e.g., Bolaños-Carpio 2017; Cashman & Raymond 2014; García-Ramón 2018; González Temer 2017; Raymond 2014, 2015, 2016, 2018a, 2018b; Raymond & Olguin, forthcoming.; Vázquez Carranza 2013, 2014).

It has been known since Hopper and Thompson's ground-breaking 1984 study that the prototypical function of the noun phrase is to introduce a referent into a spate of discourse, in order to track that referent. Most of a language's complex nominal morphology will be used for that prototypical function, and other functions of nouns and noun phrases will tend to show reduced morphological alternatives; for example, non-referential NPs may show neutralizations of case and number, and non-introductory mentions of a referent may be done with only a pronoun, thus losing all lexical information – in addition to sometimes case and number – or with nothing at all. Since the original 1984 paper, there have been some exciting studies of first mentions of referents and their morphological manifestations (Michaelis & Francis 2007), and many studies have been conducted on the choices between full NPs and pronouns or non-overt arguments (e.g., Fox 1987; Raymond, Clift & Heritage forthcoming; Schegloff 1996); to our knowledge, though, little research has been done on non-referential noun phrases, especially those within negated clauses (but see Du Bois 1980). Such noun phrases are particularly interesting because they show the greatest reduction in morphological options. We can ask then: for the minimal distinctions that a language makes available for such noun phrases, what functional or interactional uses are speakers making of them? Could even these minimal morphosyntactic distinctions carry interactional import?

In order to address these questions, we examine a specific morphosyntactic distinction in a particular negated clausal environment: the negative presentative in Spanish, in the form *No hay (ningún) problema*. The 'prototypical' noun in Spanish is marked for gender and number and can take determiners, which also bear gender and number marking. In the formula *No hay problema,* in contrast, the

practices we target in this chapter. All examples have been re-transcribed according to the conventions outlined in Jefferson (2004) and Hepburn & Bolden (2017).

2. We use the term 'formula' here rather than 'format' because the clause is entirely lexically specified (see Fox 2007). We will return to the issue of just how specified this format is in the discussion section.

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noun cannot show variation in number,[3] and the only determiner that can be used is *ningún* 'any/no', which is marked for number and gender (masculine/singular; cf. feminine/plural *ninguna(s)*). The distinction in Spanish, then, between bare *problema* and *ningún problema* is a kind of limiting case – an extreme environment, if you will, where some important nominal distinctions have been reduced to just one. Such an environment thus represents a fascinating testing ground for Sacks's (1984) early claim that there is order at all points, to wit: Could it be that even this very minimal distinction is a device through which speakers accomplish important interactional work? Could languages be organized at this level of detail in the service of interactional ends?

As will become clear in the analysis that follows, the answer to the questions above is 'yes'. We have found quite striking interactional differences between *No hay problema* and *No hay ningún problema*, a fact which strengthens our conviction that there is much still to be learned about noun phrases, and particularly about the structure and use of noun phrases in interaction.

At the heart of the formula we are exploring here is the non-referentiality of the noun *problema*. The verb in the formula is *haber* 'have', in a present indicative form that appears to be neutral for person and number,[4] and syntactically *problema* is generally considered to be the direct object of *haber* (literally, 'not has (any) problem') (Fernández Soriano & Táboas Baylín 1999: 1754). Despite being a direct object, however, *problema* does not refer to a specific problem that is being tracked over time; in fact, it doesn't refer at all, in part because of the negation environment in which it occurs (cf. Du Bois 1980). Thus, rather than allowing the speaker/listener to track a specific 'problem' referent in the talk, the formula instead offers other affordances, such as simply asserting the state of no-problemness. As we will show, it allows speakers to take up a stance towards the prior talk rather than introducing or tracking a referent.[5]

3. The negative presentative can introduce a plural form if the noun in question is always plural (e.g., *anteojos* 'glasses'), in which case a plural determiner could also be used. Outside of these sorts of nouns, however, the plural is not found in the negative presentative construction: **No hay ningunos libros* 'there aren't any book**s**' is ungrammatical, and indeed, we do not find any cases of *No hay (ningunos) problema**s*** 'there aren't any problem**s**' in our dataset.

4. It is sometimes referred to as an impersonal form for this reason (e.g., Alarcos Llorach 1999). It is noteworthy that some dialects have reanalyzed *haber* such that it behaves like other presentative verbs, showing subject-like agreement in terms of number with its *presentatum* argument (see, e.g., Brown & Rivas 2012 on Puerto Rican Spanish).

5. A different, but related, phenomenon is described for Japanese by Ono and Thompson (2004). In their study, Ono and Thompson explore the non-referring functions of first-person

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Also crucial to the form is the fact that the indefinite negative determiner *ningún* can be used. *Ningún* is a negative polarity item; that is, it can only appear in negative environments (and possibly some other non-assertive contexts). While the role of negative polarity items in interrogatives has been explored extensively in conversation-analytic and interactional linguistic studies (e.g., Couper-Kuhlen, Thompson & Fox forthcoming; Heritage & Robinson 2011; Raymond 2003; Schegloff 2007), very little work has been done investigating their use in declarative statements. The distinction is an important one, since in interrogatives a negative polarity item like *any* seems to take a potentially 'pessimistic' stance towards the truth of the proposition of the utterance (e.g., *Did anyone come to the wedding?* could embody an assumption that in fact no one did come), while we will argue that in our declarative utterance *No hay problema*, the use of *ningún* intensifies the speaker's stance that there is 'no problem at all.' That is, while both show movement away from a neutral stance towards an extreme stance, they do so in opposite directions. It is thus worthwhile to explore the use of negative polarity items in declarative statements.

Based on a collection[6] of 27 cases (12 with *ningún*, 15 without), we find that speakers use these negative presentative formulae in two circumstances, both focused on asserting a state of no-problemness: the version without the determiner is used to minimize initiating actions that the speaker is making, such as requests or offers (e.g., what is being requested is small and thus 'isn't a problem'); and the version with the determiner *ningún* is used when the recipient has previously expressed concern about a state of affairs via a question and the speaker of the *No hay ningún problema* turn responds by treating that concern as unnecessary ('it isn't any problem at all'). In other words, we find that sequential environment is crucial in distinguishing our two formats.

In addition, we suggest that the formula with the determiner *ningún* is an upgraded expression of no-problemness with regard to the version without the determiner, based on three observations. First, the determiner itself can be translated as 'any', or 'at all' (as in 'it isn't any problem at all'), indicating that there are truly no problems with the state of affairs under discussion. Second, we find it in responses to concerns raised by other parties, and this could be an environment in which

pronouns in Japanese. While these pronouns are referential, their main function is not to refer but rather to accomplish discourse-organizing tasks.

6. Excluded from this collection are cases ($n = 14$) where *no hay (ningún) problema* is produced as part of a more complex syntactic structure (e.g., *ella me dice que no hay (ningún) problema con los papeles*, 'she tells me that there isn't (any) problem with the papers'), as such constructions introduce a range of differences that could be consequential for their use, and could distinguish them from the cases examined in our study.

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convincing someone that their concern is unwarranted could require some extra work. Third, we sometimes find other indicators of the 'bumped up' no-problem nature of these cases, such as very high pitch, meta-pragmatic phrases such as 'I tell you,' and so on (on which, see Wilkinson & Kitzinger 2006; Thompson, Fox & Couper-Kuhlen 2015). Such an analysis of the *No hay ningún problema* formula finds common ground with what has been observed for so-called "redundantly" negated constructions in a range of languages, namely that they bear an "emphatic reading" (Zeijlstra 2010: 40; see also Bosque 1980). At the same time, our approach allows us to explore in more detail what exactly is meant by an 'emphatic reading' (on which, see also Larrivée 2016; Raymond 2017), as well as when and where participants deem such 'emphasis' interactionally relevant, and toward what functional aims.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. In the next section we explore the interactional use of *No hay problema* in minimizing a request or offer in the face of some resistance from the recipient. Then we turn to explore the interactional uses of *No hay ningún problema*, which ocurrs in a different action environment. We end with a discussion of the theoretical and methodological issues raised by our explorations.

2. 'No hay problema'

When a preferred or sufficiently affiliative response is not forthcoming following initiating actions such as requests and offers, first speakers have a range of practices at their disposal that can be used to pursue uptake from interlocutors (see, e.g., Davidson 1984; Pomerantz 1984). One of the primary functions of many such practices is to mitigate or otherwise minimize any contingencies (Curl & Drew 2008) that may be preventing the recipient from granting the request, or accepting the offer, as it was initially put forth. We find in our data that this is a prime locus for use of the determinerless *No hay problema* formula, deployed in the context of pursuing affiliative uptake to such initiating actions.

Example (1) below provides a case-in-point. Here, Héctor requests that Ana get a job for him (line 7). The response that Ana launches in line 8 is the first sign of many that this request will likely not be granted. Across the turns-at-talk that follow, Ana attempts to shut down the request, using a range of resources that push for sequence closure, as well as launching accounts that explain why the request cannot be granted. Nonetheless, Héctor pursues his request, respecifying it in various ways. It is in the context of this pursuit that he produces *No hay problema* in line 24.

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(1) Call Home 0951

```
01  Ana:  Estamos bi̲e:n.  [Estoy con  mis tres ]
          be.1p   well     be.1s with my  three
          We are we:ll. I'm with my three

02  Hec:                  [Y   cuándo me da-   ]
                           and when   me gi(ve)-
                           And when are ((you)) gi(ving) me

03        (0.2)

04  Ana:  Con  mis tres  trabajitos.
          with my  three jobs.DIM
          With my three little jobs.

05        (.)

06        Son precio[sos.
          are precious
          They are precious.

07  Hec:            [Y   cuándo me mandas  uno pa' mí pues Ana.
                     and when   me send.2s one for me then A
                     And when are you gonna send one for me then Ana.

08  Ana:  Ya::    pues Ne:gro.=El  asunto es    que tú:=
          already well black   the matter be.3s that you
          A::lright well Ne:gro[7].=The thing is that you:=

09  Hec:  =Búscame              un trabajo pues  que  trabaje:  de que  sea
           search.IMP.2s-for.me a  job     like  that  work.3s  of that be.3s
          =Look for a job for me well that wor:ks that is

10        dieciocho horas diarias.
          eighteen  hours daily
          eighteen hours a day.

11        pero [búscame              un trabajo pues Ana.]
          but   search.IMP.2s-for.me a  job     then A
          but look for a job for me then Ana.

12  Ana:       [hah hah hah hah                          ]

13  Ana:  .hhhh Herma[no. Está  bien.    ]
                 brother   be.3s good
          .hhhh Brother. It's fine.

14  Hec:            [No seas      ma:la.] >Tú  debes     conse-<
                     no be.IMP.2s bad      you should.2s ge(t-)
                     Don't be me:an. >You should get-<
```

7. *Negro* ('black') is used here as a term of endearment.

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15 Ana: Ya bue[no,<está bi-
already good be.3s go(od)
Fine okay, it's fi-

16 Hec: [Consígueme por ahí un trabajito.
get.IMP.2s-for.me for there a job.DIM
Get me a little job out there.

17 Ana: ↓Ya. Tienes que sacar [los pap-
already have.2s that get.INF the pap(ers)
↓Fine. You have to get the pap-

18 Hec: [Dieciocho horas.=
eighteen hours
Eighteen hours.=

19 Hec: =nada más te [pido. Dieciocho.<nada más.
nothing more you ask.1s eighteen nothing more
=that all I'm asking for. Eighteen.<nothing more.

20 Ana: [.hh hah hah haa hah

21 Ana: £Ya Negro. Está bi[en.£
already black be.3s good
£Fine Negro. It's fine.£

22 Hec: [Un poquito,
a little.DIM
A little bit,

23 Ana: Ya list- oke[y.
already ready okay
Fine done- okay.

24 Hec: [**No hay problema**.=Lo que sea.
no there.is problem it that be.3s
***There is no problem**.=Whatever.*

25 Hec: Así sea de lavapla:tos,=de sir[viente,=de mozo,=
thus be.3s of dishwasher of server of waiter
Like as a dishwa:sher,=a server,=a waiter,=

26 Ana: [˚heh heh˚

27 Hec: =[de caficho,=de: [(.) [( )
of pimp of
=a pimp,= a: (.) ( )

28 Ana: =[Oye oye tam- [tampoco te c[aigas.
listen.IMP.2s listen.IMP.2s nei- neither you fall.IMP.2s
=Listen listen don't- don't lower yourself.

29 Ana: Tam:poco te caigas, =hasta: (.) hasta hasta el suelo.
neither you fall.IMP.2s until until until the floor
Do:n't lower yourself,=to: (.) to to the floor.

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```
30        (.)

31  Ana:  .hh [Cuídate                    sí?]
               take-care.IMP.2s-yourself yes
          .hh Take care, yeah?

32  Hec:      [(                           )] no (que) importa.
                                               no  that matter.3s
               (                           ) doesn't matter.

33  Hec:  Con  tal  de que  me paguen bien,
          with that of that me pay.3p well
          As long as they pay me well,

34  Ana:  Y[a.
          already
          Alright.

35  Hec:    [No importa.=
             no matter.3s
             It doesn't matter.=

36  Ana:  =Ya      ya      ya.     Ya      está  bien.=que  está  bien.
           already already already already be.3s good  that be.3s good
          =Okay okay okay. It's fine.=it's fine.
```

In Ana's first response to Héctor's request (line 8), her turn-initial *ya* 'alright' and *pues* 'well' index a forthcoming problematization of some aspect of the preceding action (Raymond 2018a). The immediately subsequent term of endearment *Negro* then serves to pivot the turn into the account for the dispreferred response (Clayman & Raymond 2015), namely that Héctor does not have the required paperwork to be able to work where Ana is located (lines 8, 17).

Héctor interjects to specify that he is looking to work eighteen hours per day (lines 9–10), which Ana orients to as a joke with laughter in line 11. Despite the non-seriousness of this specification, which continues as the sequence progresses and beyond the data reproduced here, Ana nonetheless appears to take the request as a legitimate one: Not only does she produce an account for the dispreferred response, as mentioned above (line 17), but she also orients to the relevance of a response to the request by actively pushing for sequence closure (lines 21, 23). Moreover, there is evidence that Héctor takes these moves by Ana as resisting his request in that he reissues it in a modified form in line 16: the former *trabajo* 'job' that he has been requesting is redesigned as just a little *trabajito* 'little job' instead, via inclusion of the diminutive suffix *-ito* (line 16), which appears designed to reduce the burden being placed on Ana.[8]

8. See Raymond (forthcoming) for an interactional perspective on morphology.

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Following Ana's issuing of three sequence-closing and shift-implicative particles in line 23, Héctor produces *No hay problema*. This turn works to continue minimizing the nature of his request in the context of the request having been repeatedly not granted by his interlocutor. Immediately following this, he goes on to list sample jobs such as *lavaplatos* 'dishwasher', *sirviente* 'server', and *mozo* 'waiter' (line 25). The last job he lists is *caficho* 'pimp' (line 27), with which he appears to continue joking as a means to diminish the burden of the request, here specifically to illustrate just how open he is to whatever type of work Ana might be able to get for him.

Following Ana's redirected response in lines 28–29 (Sidnell 2007), in which she offers an implicit compliment to Héctor by suggesting that such jobs would be beneath him, Ana pushes for overall call closure with *Cuídate sí?* 'Take care of yourself, yeah?' (line 31), which seems geared toward having the phone passed back to the other person with whom she had been speaking. Like her previous attempts, this one too is disattended by Héctor, who continues his request in lines 32–33, and beyond the data reproduced here.

Thus, in the environment of a repeated non-granting of a request, we find speakers recurrently deploying *No hay problema* in concert with a range of other strategies (e.g., diminutivization, exemplification) that minimize the potential contingencies involved in granting the request. The co-occurrence of such practices in this particular interactional context provides additional support for our claim that the determinerless *No hay problema* formula is used as a resource to pursue the granting of requests.

It is important to note that Hector's *No hay problema* does not introduce a problem for the two of them to discuss. *Problema* likewise does not refer back to the 'little jobs' being discussed, or to the request that Hector has made of Ana. It simply serves to minimize the request that Hector has made, indicating that the request is not a big issue for Ana to grant. The non-referentiality of *problema* is thus a resource in the interactional work that *No hay problema* affords speakers.

It is not only in the context of pursuing the granting of requests that the *No hay problema* formula occurs; it is also recurrently found in pursuing the acceptance of offers. It is perhaps not surprising that the same formula is used to pursue affiliative uptake to both requests and offers, as these two actions share many interactional features and indeed are often discussed together in the literature (e.g., Clayman & Heritage 2014; Davidson 1984; Pomerantz 1984; see also Kendrick & Drew 2016).

Prior to the following case (2), Los-Angeles-based Juan has discovered that his interlocutor, Raúl, will be flying home to Argentina from Canada. Here Juan inquires whether Raúl might consider having a layover in Los Angeles, because if so, he could stay at Juan's house during his visit.

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(2) Call Friend 5861

01 Juan: Escuchame si vas pa' Argentina::_
listen.IMP.2s-to.me if go.2s to Argentina
Listen if you're going to Argentina::_

02 vos vas a ir directamente: de Canadá,=
you go.2s to go.INF directly from Canada
are you going directly: from Canada,=

03 =o podés hacer escala en: Los Ángeles.
or can.2s do.INF layover in Los Angeles
=or can you do a layover in: Los Angeles.

04 (1.0)

05 Raúl: °mm no sé bien.° hh
no know.1s well
°mm I'm not sure.° hh

06 Juan: No=porque si querés hacer escala e-
no because if want.2s do.INF layover
No=cuz if you want to do a layover e-

07 Ah: >lo que pasa< es que yo no voy a estar acá.
oh it that happen.3s is that I no go.1s to be.INF here
Oh: >the thing is< that I'm not going to be here.

08 (.)

09 Pero bueno.
but good
But anyway.

10 (0.2)

11 Pero vos n- no tenés gente conocida en Los Ángeles,
but you no have.2s people known in Los Angeles
But you d- don't have people you know in Los Angeles,

12 Raúl: °mm:° conozco gente.
know.1s people
°mm:° I know people.

13 Juan: Porque si conocés, podés pas- parar en casa.
because if know.2s can.2s stop.INF in house
Because if you do, you can pas- stay at the house.

14 (1.0)

15 Juan: Te podé::s este: yo- yo le digo a mi viejo. =viste=
you can.2s uhm I I him tell.1s to my old-man saw.2s
You ca::n uhm: I- I'll tell my dad.=you know=

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```
16          =y:: y   .hhh y   tenés   alojamiento en casa.
             and and      and have.2s lodging     in house
            =A::nd and .hhh and you've got lodging at the house.

17          No hay      problema.
            no there.is problem
            There is no problem.

18  Raúl:   Ah:  alojamiento tengo=heh .hh
            oh   lodging     have.1s
            Oh: lodging I have=heh .hh

19          Tengo   en: (.) t(h)odos l(h)ados cr(h)eo(h) °heh heh°
            have.1s in      all      sides    think.1s
            I've got it (.) a(h)ll o(h)ver I th(h)ink(h) °heh heh°

20  Juan:   Ah. (.) Bueno. (.) No yo- y:- p-=
            oh      good       no I   I
            Oh. (.) Okay. (.) No I- I:- p-=

21  Raúl:   =No:: Gracias igual.
             no   thanks  same
            =No:: Thanks anyway.
```

In lines 1–3, Juan asks if Raúl might take an extended layover in Los Angeles on his way to Argentina. Notwithstanding Raúl's delayed response, which is certainly less enthusiastic than a canonical 'go ahead' (Schegloff 2007), and may also be topic-closing implicative (Keevallik 2011), Juan launches what is headed toward an invitation in line 6. Interestingly, this invitation moves from framing Raúl as 'able' to have a layover in Los Angeles (*podés*, line 3) in the pre-sequence, to him 'wanting' to do so in the invitation proper (*querés*, line 5). After launching this action, though, Juan realizes that he himself actually won't be home during that time (line 7), and he adds another pre-sequence action asking if Raúl knows anyone else in Los Angeles (line 11). From how the sequence progresses, this request for information is designed to check whether Raúl would have a reason to visit Los Angeles in Juan's absence; that is, if Raúl has other friends there, he might want to visit them, whereas if not, then perhaps the layover wouldn't be worth it since Juan won't be there.

Raúl's nonconforming response at line 12 (G. Raymond 2003; C. W. Raymond 2015) disconfirms the negative implications of Juan's utterance at line 11, and indicates that he would have other people besides Juan whom he could see if he visited Los Angeles in Juan's absence. It is in this context that Juan finally produces what becomes an offer in line 13: *Porque si conocés, podés pas- parar en casa* 'Because if you do (know people in LA), you can pas- stay at the house'. While the initial version of this turn may have been going toward *pasar* 'to pass' – as in *pasar por la casa* 'to stop by the house' – this verb is abandoned in favor of *parar* 'to stop/stay',

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which makes the action of this turn clearly an offer to stay at Juan's house for some period, rather than just an invitation to 'drop by' briefly during his visit.

A full one-second gap emerges following Juan's offer in line 13. Juan then pursues a response first by explaining away the contingency of letting his father know about the plan (line 15), and then by reissuing the offer proper in line 16. Across these two turns, Juan provides numerous opportunities for a response from Raul, including incorporation of a discourse marker that seeks uptake and is turn-final (*viste* 'you know', literally 'you saw'; cf. Clayman & Raymond, in prep.), as well as vowel elongations, in-breaths, and self-repairs that would invite recipient participation (see, e.g., Goodwin 1979), particularly in the context of a conditionally relevant responsive action being overdue. It is in this context of a repeatedly demonstrated lack of uptake from Raúl (across lines 14–16) that Juan produces *No hay problema* (line 17). With this particular assertion of no-problemness, Juan endeavors to negate the possible contingencies (or 'problems') that may be preventing Raúl from accepting his offer, thereby simultaneously renewing the relevance of a response to that initiating action. In this case, in the subsequent lines 18–19, Raúl produces an account which serves as a rejection of the offer in that he already has lodging (which he apparently would have *en todos lados* 'all over'), and he thanks Juan for the offer anyway (line 21).

Here again we see that *problema* in *No hay problema* does not introduce a problem for the participants to discuss, nor does it refer back to Juan's offer of lodging. Rather, again we see that it is non-referential, serving as part of a formula which minimizes the imposition of the previous action on one of the participants (in this case, the speaker).

Consider one final case of this sort, seen in (3). In this example, after discussing what sort of winter hat(s) Daughter and Luis want Mom to make for them (lines 1–9), Daughter reasserts her desire to have something made by Mom in line 10. Following a delay, Mom receipts the aforementioned hat design specifications with *Ah, bueno mi amor* 'Oh, okay my love' (line 12). While in principle this could be heard as a granting of the request, it is treated as insufficient by Daughter, likely because it does not overtly agree to make the hat without a pompom. Such an analysis is supported by the fact that *bueno* routinely serves as a shift-implicative discourse marker, markedly moving to new topics and activities (see Landone 2009); here it appears that Daughter takes Mom's turn as such a device – an attempt to shift away from the topic of hat design. As this proposed shift is occurring in a position where an overt acceptance has been made conditionally relevant, Daughter resists the shift, pursuing a more enthusiastic and on-record acceptance with a loud and prosodically marked "Ah:::?" at line 13. Daughter then backs off from the request for Mom to make her a hat at all with the *pero* 'but'-prefaced

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addition – *Pero si tenés <ga:na:s>* 'But if you <fee::l> like it.' – and then produces *No hay problema* in line 17.

(3) Call Home 1747

```
01  Mom:  Y   dice   Papi que  cómo  querés=
           and say.3s dad  that how   want.2s
           And Dad is asking how you want=

02         =el  gorro.=[sin     pompó:n,]
            the hat     without pompom
           =the hat.=without po:mpom,

03  Dau:               [que  no sea   c-] con <pompón>.
                        that no be.3s w-  with pompom
                        that it not be w- with a <pompom>.

04  Dau:  Como un [(hecho)] no más  no.
           like a        fact    no more no
           Like a ( ) is all.

05  Mom:          [no?    ]
                   No?

06         (0.2)

07  Dau:  [Dice   Luis que  no-
           say.3s L    that no
           Luis says that no-

08  Lu?:  [Una así (    )= ((off phone))
           one thus
           One like this (    )=

09  Dau:  Dice   Luis que  no pero No:.=
           say.3s L    that no but  no
           Luis says no but No:.=

10         =sí  yo quiero  tener    algo      hecho por u-  por vos.
            yes I  want.1s have.INF something made  by      by  you
           =Yeah I want to have something made by y- by you.

11         (0.2)

12  Mom:  Ah: bueno mi amor.=[(      )]
           oh  good  my love
           Oh: okay my love.=(      )

13  Dau:                    =[ AH:::? ]

14         (.)
```

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15 Dau: Pero si [tenés <ga:na:s>.=
but if have.2s desires
But if you <fee::l> like it.=

16 Mom: [°Bue::no° °°bue:- °°
good go(od)
°Oka::y° °°oka:- °°

17 Dau: =**No hay probl[ema.**
no there.is problem
=There is no problem.

18 Mom: [Qué tal la cocine::ra.=Todo bien?
What such the cook all good
How's the coo::k.=Everything going well?

In the context of what Daughter deems a less-than-sufficient response to her request for a homemade winter hat from Mom, the *No hay problema* formula is used to mitigate the potential burden that granting this request will place on Mom. Again, we see this resource co-occurring in conjunction with other contingency- and burden-reducing practices – here, specifically, the qualification in line 15. This offers additional support for our claim that speakers produce the determinerless formula in the service of pursuing uptake to initiating actions such as requests and offers – actions for which the minimization or elimination of contingencies (or 'problems') associated with the granting of the request, or the acceptance of the offer, is deemed a relevant means to pursue an affiliative response.

We have seen in this section that the formula without the determiner – *No hay problema* – is regularly used to minimize the burden of a request or offer on one of the participants in the face of some resistance to that initiating action from the recipient. In the next section, we examine the formula with the indefinite determiner, *ningún*.

3. 'No hay ningún problema'

The formula *No hay ningún problema* – with the determiner included in the noun phrase – occurs primarily in a different action environment than the determiner-less *No hay problema* version that we have seen thus far. We do not find cases in which *No hay ningún problema* is used to mitigate or qualify the assumed contingencies involved in granting or accepting requests and offers, which was the primary function of *No hay problema* that we described in the previous section. Rather, the *No hay ningún problema* formula is geared at targeting the assumptions and/or (topical) agenda of a first action (usually a question), with the inclusion of *ningún* endeavoring to resist the apparent assumption on the part of the first speaker that

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there are grounds for concern. As will be shown in the examples that follow, this formula is routinely produced in the context of repeated expressions of concern from the recipient, or repeated moments of not overtly accepting that there are no grounds for concern. It thereby also seems to push, in many cases, for sequence and/or topic closure. With *No hay ningún problema*, then, the speaker conveys their interpretation that the first action produced by the recipient *assumed* that there was some problem that merits discussion, but in fact, 'there isn't any problem at all'.

Consider Example (4) below. Here, Gloria and Susana are discussing the romantic relationship of a couple known to both of them. The participants dislike one member of the couple (Scott), and think that he is not a good fit for their friend Mónica. In line 1, Gloria asks what Susana is going to say to another party (Carlos) about this situation.

(4) Call Home 0681

```
01  Glo:  Qué  le  vas    a  decir    a  Carlos, eh?
          what him go.2s  to say.INF  to C
          What are you going to tell Carlos, huh?

02  Sus:  Nada.=
          nothing
          Nothing.=

03  Glo:  =[Qué  le  vas   a  decir   a  Car-]
            what him go.2s to say.INF to C
          =What are you going to tell Car-

04  Sus:  =[Ya:     ya      todo está        ] arreglado.
            already already all  be.3s         fixed/arranged
          =Everything is already fixed/arranged.

05  Sus:  Ya      todo está  arreglado      porque  yo le  dije,
          already all  be.3s fixed/arranged because I  him said.1s
          Everything is already fixed/arranged because I said to him

06        .hhh (.) ya      he      hablado con  Mónica  por teléfono
                   already have.1s spoken  with M       by  phone
          .hhh (.) I've already talked with Mónica on the phone

07        y   me ha     dicho,
          and me has.3s said
          and she told me,

08        .hh oye    sabes   que:#: (.) no sé:=
              listen know.2s that       no know.1s
          .hh listen you know tha:#:t (.) I dunno:=

09        =a  Scott lo  he      notado medio::: (.)
           to S     him have.1s noted  half
          =I've found Scott to be sort o::f (.)
```

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10 estricto con Alejan[dra.
strict with A
strict with Alejandra.

11 Glo: [Sí.
Yeah.

12 Sus: Y entonces >yo le he dicho< [Mira Carlos.=
and then I him have.1s said Look C
And so >I said< Look Carlos.=

13 Glo: [Ya
already
Right

14 Sus: =si Mónica me dice estricto,
if M me says.3s strict
=if Mónica is saying (he's) strict

15 le debe de haber gritado o algo así.
her should.3s of have.INF yelled or something thus
he must have yelled at her or something like that.

16 (0.5)

17 Sus: Entonces me di[ce ya ves?
then me says.3s already see.2s
So he says see?

18 Glo: [Ya.
already
Right

19 Sus: Me dijo sí.=
me said.3s yes
He said yeah.=

20 =dile a Moni(ca) que se vaya con cuidado.
tell.IMP.2s to M that self go.3s with care
=tell Moni(ca) to be careful.

21 porque a mí? (.) Scott no: no me parece para ella.=°me dijo°.
because to me S no no me seem.3s for her me said.3s
because to me? (.) Scott doesn::'t seem right for her.=°he said.

22 (0.3)

23 Me parece que es un hombre [medio raro y (.)
me seem.3s that is a man half strange and
To me he seems like a man who is kind of strange and (.)

24 Glo: [Ya.
Already
Right.

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25 Sus: con problemas.=>o sea que< él está de acuerdo.
with problems or be.3s that he be.3s of agreement
with problems.=>that is to say< he agrees.

26 (0.5)

27 Glo: Ya.
already
Right.

28 Sus: (eso) [**no hay ningún problema.**
that **no there.is any problem**
(that) ***there isn't any problem at all.***

29 Glo: [Está bien.
be.3s well.
That's good.

30 Sus: Sí me ha dicho.=
yes me have.3s said
He did say to me.=

31 =Dile bien a- que Mónica que ve:a si q-
tell.IMP.2s well to that M that see.3s if
=Make sure you tell Mónica to see if

32 se quiere casar con él.
self want.3s marry.INF with him
she wants to marry him.

33 (0.2)

34 Porque ya [a casarse, (ti]ra a mayores).
because already to marry-self throw to adults
Because after getting married, (it's more difficult).

35 Glo: [Ya está bien per-]
already be.3s well but
That's good then but-

36 (0.7)

37 Glo: [Está perfecto ya.]
be.3s perfect already
That's perfect then.

38 Sus: [↑(porque él está) él] está perfecto.=
because he be.3s he be.3s perfect
↑(because he's) he is perfect.=

39 =ya no te preocupes si- (0.5)
already no you worry.IMP.2s if
=so quit worring if- (.)

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```
40        Oye           la  Chela escrib-…
          listen.IMP.2s the C     write.3s
          Listen Chela wrote-…
```

Susana's initial response to Gloria's question – *Nada* 'nothing' – is immediately followed by a summary account for why she doesn't plan to say anything to Carlos, namely that everything has already been resolved (lines 4–5). Across lines 5–25, then, Susana recounts the conversation that she has already had with Carlos, who actually offered up the same negative assessment of Scott and had even advised Susana to tell Mónica to proceed with caution in her dealings with Scott (lines 19–23/25). Susana's telling concludes with a summative *>o sea que< él está de acuerdo* '>that is to say< he agrees' (line 25).

Following the upshot of the story, a half-second silence emerges (line 26), after which Susana re-completes the story with *No hay ningún problema* (line 27). Note that in addition to her initial expression of concern at lines 1 and 3, Gloria offers no overt acceptance or appreciation of Susana's message, which is that she has already told Carlos and he agrees with them about the situation. Although Gloria produces several receipt-of-information markers (*ya*, 'right') throughout the telling, these push for story closure without her taking an explicit stance toward, or producing her own upshot of, the telling (e.g., 'okay good, Carlos agrees with us'), or any other kind of acceptance of it, as would be preferred following a story's climax (Jefferson 1978a; Sacks 1974; Stivers 2008). It is in the face of this lack of acknowledgment that the situation has been taken care of, and a lack of an affiliative stance on Gloria's part more generally, that Susana produces *No hay ningún problema.*

We argue that, through the inclusion of the determiner *ningún*, Susana targets a particular presupposition from Gloria's initial question-word question, namely that something needs to be communicated to Carlos and that he will not like the information – i.e., that there will be some 'problem' when she tells him. With *No hay ningún problema*, then, Susana resists this expression of concern from Gloria's initial question, as well as her repeated lack of overt acknowledgment that the situation has been taken care of and is thus no longer worthy of concern.[9]

In this extract, although Gloria does indicate concern regarding what Susana will tell Carlos, and Susana can infer that Gloria thinks there will be a 'problem,' her

9. This function of the negative determiner *ningún* in our collection is reminiscent of the function of *no*-prefacing in English, as described by Raclaw (2013). Raclaw finds that *no*-prefacing is used to index a problematic assumption in a prior turn and to reject that assumption (see also Busquets, Koike & Vann 2001). In our cases, *ningún* links back to a question and treats the concern behind the question as unwarranted, indicating to the questioner that what they have expressed concern over through the question is 'not any problem at all.'

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utterance *No hay ningún problema* does not refer back – in the technical sense of Du Bois (1980) – to that unstated problem, nor does it introduce a problem for the participants to discuss. If *problema* did refer back to Gloria's unstated but implied 'problem,' we would expect the the tense of the utterance to change (e.g, 'there will be no problem when I talk to Carlos'), or for it to be definite (e.g., 'the problem you are concerned about will not arise'). Given that it is indefinite, negated, and in present tense suggests to us that *problema* is non-referential, in Du Bois's terms, used here as part of an action that emphasizes that the concern expressed by the other participant is unnecessary.

Example (5) below illustrates this use of the formula with *ningún* further. Here, Mario has purchased a plane ticket for his mom, who does not understand why her trip from Miami to Toronto includes a layover in New York. Prior to the extract below, Mario has already expressed that the flight is what it is, and that they would incur a $ 50 penalty fee if they were to change the flight now. Nonetheless, Mom continues to problematize the selection of this flight. We enter the conversation as Mom asks why Julia (likely Mario's partner or sister, given the context) opted for this particular flight itinerary. Notice that the *No hay ningún problema* turn (line 15) comes after Mom has expressed concern many times about the iterinary:

(5) Call Friend 5367

```
01  Mom:  Sí  pues pero:: (.) Julia por qué:
          yes well but        J     for what
          Yeah well bu::t (.) Julia why:

02        hizo   ese  vue[lo.
          did.3s that flight
          did she do that flight.

03  Mar:                [Bueno Julia no hizo   eso.=
                          well  J     no did.3s that
                          Well Julia didn't do that.=

04  Mar:  =sino que  eso  le  han     dado  en American Airlines.
           but  that that her have.3p given in A        A
          =but rather that's what they gave her at American Airlines.

05        (0.2)

06  Mom:  Mm[hm

07  Mar:  [Ya?    =Así  que  tú: no le  eches       la  culpa a  Julia.
           already thus that you no her give.IMP.2s the fault to J
          Alright?=So you don't blame Julia.

08  Mom:  .hh No [pero tú:
                 no  but  you
          .hh No but you:
```

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09 Mar: [Simplemente es el vuelo que ha puesto=
simply is the flight that has.3s put
It's simply the flight that ((she?)) put

10 Mar: =porque si no yo lo hubiera tomado pues.
because if no I it have.COND.1s taken then
=because if not then I would have taken it then.

11 Mom: Cl<u>a</u>:ro.=pero: Yo sé:.=
clear but I know.1s
Of cou:rse.=bu:t I kno:w.=

12 =Pero tú [no le pediste.
but you no her asked.2s
=But you didn't ask her ((for it)).

13 Mar: [Ya. =Tú te vas a Nueva York=
already you yourself go.2s to New York
Alright.=You are going to New York=

14 Mar: =ahora si quieres, tomas un vuelo directo.=
now if want.2s take.2s a flight direct
=now if you want, you can take a direct flight.=

15 **=No hay ningún problema,**=[te digo.
no there.is any problem you tell.1s
=There isn't any problem at all,=*I'm telling you.*

16 Mom: =[.hhh No no no.=Yo pregunto.
no no no I ask.1s
.hhh No no no.=I'm asking.

17 Mom: Yo pregun[to. Cuando tú- cuando pedistes el vuelo…
I ask.1s when you when asked-for.2s the flight
I'm asking. When you- when you requested the flight…

18 Mar: [Ya. >Entonces-<
already then
Alright. >So-<

This extract starts with a challenge and complaint from Mom about a ticket that Julia has arranged for her, with an on-record account solicitation: *Julia por qué hizo ese vuelo* 'Julia, why did she do that flight' (Bolden & Robinson 2011; cf. Raymond & Stivers 2016). In other words, Mom presents opting for this particular flightpath – which includes a layover – as *accountable*, as requiring explanation.

In response, Mario first attempts to correct Mom's interpretation that Julia purposefully selected this itinerary (lines 3–4, 7, 9–10). During and following this explanation, Mom's responses are either minimal (line 6), or actively combative (lines 8, 12). Mario then interdicts Mom's claim in line 12 to address what he infers to be Mom's desire, based on her persistence across this sequence. First,

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he reasserts that, at present, she is traveling through New York. He then uses *ahora* 'now' to pivot (Clayman & Raymond 2015) between this current plan and a paraphrase of what he takes Mom to be angling for, namely a direct flight: *ahora si quieres, tomas un vuelo directo.=No hay ningún problema,=te digo* 'now if you want, you can take a direct flight.=There isn't any problem at all,=I'm telling you.' (lines 14–15). *Ningún* here addresses the initial complaint and subsequent disaffialitive responses from Mom (articulated explicitly in Mario's paraphrase of what he takes Mom to be wanting) in order to index that the complaint is problematic because the situation is 'no problem at all' – the ticket can be changed if she wants. So once again we see in this example that *No hay ningún problema* targets a concern that was revealed in a prior action (here, the initial account solicitation), treating that concern as particularly unwarranted in light of the interlocutor's repeated resistance to attempts at resolving the concern.

It is noteworthy to mention that, in this case, immediately following the *No hay ningún problema*, Mom issues a multiple saying (*No no no*), geared at shutting down the course of action Mario is pursuing (Stivers 2004), followed immediately by a meta-comment that what she has been doing interactionally is just 'asking': *Yo pregunto. Yo pregunto* 'I'm asking. I'm asking' (lines 16–17). Mom's assertion that she is 'asking' – as opposed to doing some *other* action – is effectively a repair after next turn (Schegloff 1992): It reveals Mom's interpretation of Mario's prior turn as based on the incorrect assumption that she has been doing *more* than just asking. This offers data-internal evidence that the inclusion of *ningún* is indeed designed to target and set aside the expression of a prior concern because, with her turn in lines 16–17, Mom aims to correct Mario's understanding by asserting that she isn't concerned at all; rather, she's simply 'asking'.[10]

Earlier in Section 1, we noted that the formula with *ningún* can be understood as an upgraded version of the determinerless version, and in Example (5) we see additional evidence for that. In this example Mario says *te digo* 'I'm telling you' immediately after *No hay ningún problema. Te digo* is an interesting utterance-type, since of course it goes without saying that he has just told her that it is no problem at all. So why does Mario produce *te digo*? We suggest that he is further underscoring his epistemic and deontic authority over the no-problemness of the situation – Mom can absolutely change her ticket if she wants to, and Mario has the epistemic and deontic authority to definitively make that claim. So, we find *ningún* in an environment of upgraded authority, which adds evidence to our claim that *ningún* is 'bumped up' in its stance with regard to the formula without the determiner.

10. Of course, whether Mom's assertion here is a truthful one or not is not relevant for our present purposes.

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In this extract we can also see that *ningún problema* serves to emphasize or intensify the speaker's stance that the concern expressed by the other participant is misplaced, rather than to introduce a referent or refer back (again, in the sense of Du Bois 1980) to an unstated 'problem'.

The account for *No hay ningún problema* that we offer here can also be observed in the context of reported speech. In the following Example (6), Beatriz, a Fulbright Scholar, is telling Carolina about the difficulties she had in registering for classes abroad, as they were all full (line 5). This is presented as particularly surprising given that she had previously spoken with some unnamed representatives at the university who assured her that there would not be any problem getting into the classes she wanted (lines 8/10/12). While she does not report what her initial question to the university representatives was, it is evident from the initial *No* answer included in the reported speech event that she had asked if there would be any difficulties with her enrolling for classes. Their response, which Beatriz reports with exceptionally high prosody, was ↑↑*No, no hay ningún problema.*↑↑. The initial *No* thus reports their answer to her question, while *no hay ningún problema* targets and aims to correct an inapposite inference revealed by that question, namely that registering for classes might be problematic in some way. From the university representatives' perspective, then, Beatriz's asking about being able to enroll in classes assumes that she might encounter problems in doing so, and it is that concern which *ningún* works to target and correct.

(6) Call Friend 4876

```
01  Car:  Y   ya      tienes  clas- ya      t- (.)
          and already have.2s class already
          And do you already have clas- already t- (.)

02        hablaste  con  el  advisor?
          talked.2s with the advisor
          did you talk with the advisor?

03  Bea:  A::h sí.  =ya     fui.
          oh   yes  already went.1s
          Oh:: yes.=I already went.

04  Car:  Y:?
          A:nd?

05        Te  hicieron tu   plan de estudios.
          you made.3p  your plan of studies
          Did they make your schedule for you.

06  Bea:  S-  ah  para este- ya      todas las     materias=eh (.) ocupadas.=hh
              uhm for  this  already all   the     classes         full
          Ye- uhm for this- all the classes are already=eh (.) full.=hh
```

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```
07        (0.5)

08  Bea:  Y   [te] acuerdas=
          and you  remember.2s
          And you remember

09  Car:      [e-]

10  Bea:  =que- que  fui     yo les    dije    [que  antes=
          that  that went.1s I  you.2p told.1s  that before
          =that- that I went I told you all that before=

11  Car:                                       [sí:
                                                Yea:h

12  Bea:  =me dijeron ↑↑No, no hay      ningún problema.↑↑=
           me said.3p   no  no there.is any    problem
          =they told me ↑↑No, there isn't any problem.↑↑=

13  Car:  =Sí.
           Yeah.

14  Bea:  .hhh Bueno pues las básicas    que: (.) que  son   dos…
               well  well the basic-ones that     that be.3p two
          .hhh Well so the basic ones tha:t (.) that there are two of…
```

Even without access to the initial question that Beatriz asked, the response that she reports receiving supports the analysis presented here, which can thus be extended to reported speech contexts as well.

We also note the very high pitch through which *no hay ningún problema* is produced. The prosody in this example is further evidence that the presence of the *ningún* is part of a 'bumped up' stance towards the claim of no-problemness and that the concern raised by the recipient is altogether unwarranted.

4. Discussion and conclusion

This study was intended as an experiment into the organization of morphosyntax and interaction, with a specific focus on a particular noun phrase in Spanish – (*ningún*) *problema* – which we examined by holding constant the larger syntactic formula in which it occurs, namely following the negative presentative (*no hay*). Our goal was to see if this lexically fixed and non-referential expression, whose only point of variation is the presence or absence of the negative determiner *ningún*, would show variation in interactional use depending on the appearance of that determiner. Our question really was: Could interaction be organized at this fine level of detail? And as Sacks (1984) might have predicted, with his claim that there is order at all points, in fact we did discover an interactional distinction

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between *No hay problema* and *No hay ningún problema*. While both formulas make a claim about a state of no-problemness, the determiner *ningún* provides for a 'bump up' in the stance of the speaker towards that no-problemness. Making use of that affordance, speakers use *No hay ningún problema* to resist a recipient's initial expression of concern and subsequent persistence with that concern (or at least lack of movement towards accepting that there is no basis for the concern), to insist that 'there isn't any problem at all'. The formula without the determiner, on the other hand, was found to be used to minimize the contingencies or burdens associated with requests and offers in the face of some resistance to those actions.

Thus, interaction can indeed be organized at this extreme level of detail, even in the environment of non-referential noun phrases. This is quite a remarkable finding, and one that could not have been imagined through the use of invented sentences (see Sacks 1984). Relatedly, the examples presented in this chapter might initially be considered unnecessarily long for a study of a turn-level, morphosyntactic feature like the presence or absence of a determiner. And yet, as we have shown, it is precisely the sequential progression of the talk (e.g., resistence from a recipient across multiple turns following a sequence-initiating action) that offers us the most profound insight into why a participant would design their noun phrase with one or another morphosyntactic resource – insight that would be altogether unavailable by looking solely at the target utterances in vacuo. Our study thus provides evidence for the power and import of the method we have used in uncovering interactional functions of even comparatively small bits of grammatical structure.

It might be argued that our very narrow focus on one NP within a single lexico-grammatical formula leaves us with no generalization about how NPs operate in interaction as a class, and therefore that our study has little to offer scholars interested in the affordances of NPs in interaction. We agree that our study offers no generalizations about NPs as a class, and in fact our study was explicitly designed to test whether such a generalization might be possible. On the basis of our findings, we suggest that the differences uncovered between *problema* and *ningún problema* reveal there is no generalization to be made about what NPs as a class offer speakers in an interaction, because even a very small and subtle difference involving a determiner creates a very large, systematic interactional difference. By holding the lexico-grammatical frame constant except the variation in presence/absence of the determiner, we were able to reveal the powerful difference afforded by the determiner *ningún*, and we propose that any other methodology would have masked that difference by introducing too many, potentially intervening variables.

There is precedent for our having proceeded with the analysis in this way. Conversation analysts and interactional linguists routinely form collections and analyses which hold constant features such as action and sequential position – e.g.,

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distinguishing the formats used in first assessments from those used in second assessments. We do this because we are cognizant of the fact that features of position and composition can have significant effects on the practices or actions that the analysis aims to uncover, and thus conflating *a priori* all such cases together analytically (e.g., simply as 'assessments') would risk masking the interactionally relevant distinctions between them. Here we have adopted this way of working and expanded upon it in order to explore the interactional functions of the internal structure of noun phrases. As research on noun phrases in interaction is still in its beginning stages, we are not yet aware of all the complexities that may affect their production and interpretation. An analysis of a more general format to explore the structure of NPs – e.g., [*No* + VERB + (*ningún*) + NOUN] – would certainly have included the *No hay (ningún) problema* cases examined here; but it also would have analytically presupposed that all NPs behave in the same way, regardless of the specific verb that introduces them, or the specific noun that occurs as the direct object of that verb. Those were assumptions that we were not willing to make. Our approach was therefore intentionally designed to offer a more conservative examination, targeting a particular formula and thereby minimizing such potentially intervening variables. We hope this way of working will serve as motivation for scholars interested in typology and morphosyntax to explore the method in examining nominal structures in their own languages.

If our methodology has revealed important interactional patterning, a logical next step would therefore be to examine the same lexical NP options in a *different* lexico-syntactic frame. This extension of our method would allow us to see if the variation noted for *problema* vs. *ningún problema* is particular to a single lexico-syntactic frame, or if it could be argued to be general for that NP. We would then be able to begin to offer generalizations about the internal structure and interactional functions of NPs, while doing so in a controlled, empirical, and stepwise manner.[11]

Put differentlly, our thus far conservative approach raises the question as to whether it is the fixed noun phrase itself – *problema* vs. *ningún problema* – which accomplishes the interactional functions we have uncovered, or if it is the whole fixed clausal formula – *No hay problema* vs. *No hay ningún problema* – which is at work. As we noted in the introduction, *hay* is neutral for person and number and thus allows for an impersonal reading of the utterance. It could be that the impersonal and highly general nature of the no-problemness of the situation is also

11. Another way of proceding would be to hold the negative presentative (*no hay*) constant, and look at the structure of different NPs beyond *(ningún) problema*; whereas in this last example, we hold the NP constant and introduce variation in the verb taking the NP as its direct object. Each way of proceding with the analysis can offer distinct benefits depending on the specific focus of the study.

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crucial to the interactional functions of these formulae. While a full exploration of this question is beyond the scope of the current study, it may be useful to explore one example in which *ningún problema* is used, but within the context of a different clausal format: with the verb *tener* 'to have', which can be conjugated to reflect the person who 'doesn't have (any) problem'. Let us now turn to an examination of such a case, in which the speaker produces *No tengo ningún problema* 'I don't have any problem'.

In Example (7), Mom, who is in her eighties, had planned a trip to Spain and Portugal but has recently canceled it. Throughout the extract, her daughter (Norma) attempts to get Mom to either change her mind or at least account for why she has cancelled the trip; yet with each attempt from Norma, Mom simply asserts that she canceled the trip because she just didn't feel like going anymore. No deeper account is offered, and yet Norma pushes for the 'real' reason. This attempt starts at lines 1–2 below and continues for several turns. Then, at line 64, Norma produces *Pero tú te sientes bien mami* 'but you're feeling well, Mom', a B-event statement that makes relevant confirmation or disconfirmation from Mom (Heritage 2012; Labov & Fanshel 1977; C.W Raymond 2015). It is in response to this *nth* attempt to get an account that Mom produces *No tengo ningún problema* 'I don't have any problem at all'.

(7) Call Friend 6826h

((Mom has just confirmed to Norma that she (Mom) has canceled a trip to Portugal that she had previously paid to go on))

```
01  Nor:  Pero qué e- e- (.) Pero qué  pena  que  no vaya[12]    mami,
          but  what          but  what shame that no go.2s.FML mom
          But what e- e- (.) But what a shame that you're not going Mom,

02        si tiene   tan buen precio ese  ticket.
          if have.3s so  good price  that ticket
          if that ticket has such a good price.

03        (0.7)
```

12. This turn may constitute a shift in second-person reference form – from the informal *tú* form (used in prior and subsequent turns) to 'formal' *usted* form (Raymond 2016); but given that this dialect of Spanish routinely aspirates or deletes word-final /s/ (which is the only distinction between these two morphological forms: *vaya* [*usted*] vs. *vayas* [*tú*]), it is difficult to assert with certainty. Nonetheless, such an ambiguity may also be designed as such and mobilized as a participants' resource (Jefferson 1978b). In this particular case, if present, the shift would appear designed to invoke relational closeness – called the *usted de cariño* or '*usted* of affection/intimacy' (Hummel, et al. 2010: 16) – which Norma may mobilize to laminate an additional affective stance onto her assessment in lines 1–2.

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04 Mom: Sí pero me desencanté ya.
yes but myself disenchanted.1s already
Yeah but I didn't feel like it anymore.

05 Nor: Y qué te pasaría.
and what you happen.COND.3s
And what might have gotten into you.

06 (.)

07 Mom: ↑No no.↑ >nada< que yo dije,
no no nothing that I said.1s
↑No no.↑ >nothing< I said,

08 ↑no vo- no.=
no go.1s no
↑I'm not go- no.=

09 >Pa' coger< para <Portu:ga:l>,
for board.INF for Portugal
>To go< to <Portu:ga:l>,

10 porque no voy a ir a <Espa:ña>,
because no go.1s a go.INF to Spain
because I'm not going to go to <Spai:n>,

11 >nada más< a Portugal.
nothing more to Portugal.
>just< to Portugal.[13]

12 (.)

13 .hh <entonces>
then
.hh <so>

14 (0.5)

15 Nor: .hh Fer[nan]dito- él quería que tú fueras también.
F he wanted.3s that you went.2s also
.hh Fernando- he wanted you to go too.

16 Mom: [↑e-]

17 (.)

18 Mom: Mm:::.=él querí:a.=
he wanted.3s
Mm:::.=he wa:nted me to.=

13. With this turn, Mom partially accounts for her cancelling of the trip by informing Norma that the ticket would have only included a visit to Portugal, and not to Spain, the latter of which appears to be Mom's primary interest. That is, Mom presents a visit to Portugal alone as not worth it, hence the cancelation.

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19 =Pero yo [↑qué
 but I what
 =But I ↑what

20 Nor: [Y yo también quiero que tú vayas.
 and I also want.1s that you go.2s
 And I also want you to go.

21 (0.5)

22 Mom: Pero ya.
 but already
 But that's it.

23 (.)

24 Ya pasó el tiempo.
 already passed.3s the time
 The time has already passed.

25 Nor: Ah: ya pasó el tiempo.
 oh already passed.3s the time
 Oh: the time has already passed.

26 <Cuéntame> de todo.
 tell.IMP.2s-to.me of all
 <Tell me> everything.

 Cómo está tod- Tengo una llamada mami, …
 how be.3s all have.1s a call mom
 How is everyth- I have a call mom,…

((lines omitted in which Norma explains how she got this free telephone call, and also a story about talking to someone named Bill, who is now living in Florida))

61 Nor: Como en el medio: de l- de Florida,
 like in the middle of of Florida
 Like in the middle: of th- of Florida,

62 o sea por allí.=.hhhh
 or be.3s for there
 like around there.=.hhhh

63 (.)

64 Pero tú te sientes bien mami.
 but you yourself feel.2s well mom
 But you're feeling well mom.

65 Mom: Sí yo me siento bien.=
 yes I myself feel.1s well
 Yes I feel well.=

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66 gracias a dios,=**no tengo ningún problema,**=
thanks to god no have.1s any problem
thank god,=I don't have any problem,=

67 =lo que pasa es que:
it that happens.3s is that
=the thing is tha:t

68 lo que te digo decidí no i:r.
it that you tell.1s decided.1s no go.INF
what I said I decided not to go:.

69 (0.2)

70 .hh porque es una <semana>, (.) <Norma>,
because be.3s a week N
.hh because it's a <week>, (.) <Norma>,

71 que nada más va a ser para ir a:: (.)
that nothing more go.3s to be.INF for go.INF to
that's just going to be to go to:: (.)

72 Nor: a Portugal.
to Portugal
to Portugal.

71 Mom: Portuga:l. Qué sé yo.=como que no me animo.
Portugal what know.1s I like that no myself enliven.1s
Po:rtugal. I don't know.=like I don't feel like it.

72 (0.3)

73 ((sniff)) [Me] desanimé.
myself discouraged.1s
((sniff)) I became uninterested.

74 Nor: [Mm.]

Norma's line 64 is *pero* 'but'-prefaced, linking back to the prior discussion (Mazeland & Huiskes 2001), and indeed, Mom responds to it as such by immediately returning to talking about why she cancelled her trip. Part of doing this is that she uses *No tengo ningún problema*, in which *ningún* targets an inference from Norma's question, namely that there is some problem with her health that is preventing her from going on the trip.

So, it appears that this use of *ningún problema*, despite being in a slightly different clausal format, shares some of the properties of our other formula, *No hay ningún problema*. Since *No tengo ningún problema* is also used to resist an expression of concern from the recipient in the face of multiple expressions of the same concern from that recipient, it could be argued that our analysis could be extended to [*No* + VERB + *ningún problema*] (or at least to *tener*). Importantly,

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though, we maintain that such a generalization is an altogether empirical question, and as such it must be answered empirically, rather than simply assuming *a priori* that all verbs, nouns, and noun phrases will always interact with one another in the same way and perform the same interactional functions.

In this most recent Example (7), for instance, we can note that the formula *No tener ningún problema*, with a verb that can be conjugated to show who, specifically, it is that doesn't have any problem, is importantly different from *No hay ningún problema*, which is unmarked for person and thus carries an impersonal sense. The personal version is presumably used only for personal inquiries, such as Norma's question here (*pero tú te sientes bien mami,* 'but you're feeling well Mom'), and not for dismissing more general concerns. Mom is not asserting here that there is no problem at all with her going or not going on the trip, but rather that her health is 'no problem'. Thus, while the personal form can be used to dismiss concerns, it is our initial sense that it will only be used in cases where a person-oriented concern has been expressed – not a general state of affairs. Nonetheless, it is a question for future inquiry to uncover how and whether participants make such distinctions; that is, who has primary epistemic rights (Heritage & Raymond 2005; Raymond & Heritage 2006) to assert 'general' states of no-problemness, and in what contexts, and what is the relationship between such contexts and those that are 'person-oriented'? By pursuing such questions in future research, we will be able to further investigate the associations and relationships between the noun phrase itself and the clausal frame in which it occurs, as well as the interactional import of both.

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CHAPTER 7

Multimodal noun phrases

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In co-present interaction, our bodies are continuously available for sense-making. Linguists, however, have generally analyzed grammatical patterns, such as noun phrases, separately from the rest of human behavior. This chapter looks at a collection of cases in Swedish, English, and Estonian, where the speaker initiates a noun phrase but completes it with an embodied demonstration. Other participants treat this multimodal structure as complete and comprehensible. Building on earlier research on syntactic-bodily units (Keevallik 2013, 2017) this study calls into question the analytic boundary between language and the body and argues that grammatical projection cross-cuts modalities even within the assumedly robust noun phrase.

Introduction

In contrast to non-temporal and hierarchical models of grammar, a growing body of linguistic research acknowledges the fact that grammatical structure emerges in real-time interaction and may even be considered an epiphenomenon of what people do when engaging with each other (Hopper 1998). Linguistic units are accordingly being re-conceptualized as essentially temporal. Two crucial features of a real-time linguistic unit are its projectability and its completion, as recognizable for the participants. Projection reflects the temporal nature of spoken interaction and means that an individual action, or part of it, foreshadows another one in the near future (Auer 2005; Streeck & Jordan 2009), such as an article that projects a noun and a story preface that projects a story. Projectability seems to be an inherent characteristic of the linguistic-vocal mode of human action, while the realization of the projection can be embodied, resulting in *embodied completion* (Olsher 2004; Mori & Hayashi 2006). The occurrence of so-called *syntactic-bodily units* (Keevallik 2013, 2017) forces us to rethink the nature of syntax in terms of its cross-modal capacity of projection. Units in interaction are not always accomplished exclusively within the vocal channel.

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Human beings constitute meaning and action in a way that integrates speech and the body (Enfield 2009; Goodwin 2000, 2002; Jones & LeBaron 2002; Mondada 2014; Stivers & Sidnell 2005). Meanings can, for example, be achieved by combining the verbal mode of communication with various kinds of gesture, and the gestures may contain absolutely crucial information for the participants. When it comes to gesture, Slama-Cazacu (1976) talked about *mixed syntax*, Enfield (2009) called the resulting units *composite utterances*, and Goodwin's (2006) term is *multimodal utterance*. However, since uttering involves speech, the term *utterance* may not be the best one to characterize instances when speech is not clearly profiled. It may convey the assumption that speech is somehow still most crucial for communication, even though in several human activities this is clearly not true. Reference to syntax involves the same limitations. Slama-Cazacu (1976: 216–222) talks about kinesic elements "replacing" syntactic elements, thereby treating language as primary in relation to other semiotic devices. The primacy of language, however, has increasingly been questioned in recent years (Mondada 2014). A neutral term in this sense would be *hybrid construction*, coined by Mori and Hayashi (2006) for characterizing interactional moves involving both talk and gesture in conversation between L1 and L2 speakers, but *construction* is also a variously defined term in contemporary linguistics. Instead, the current study uses the term *syntactic-bodily unit*, building on the conversation analytic tradition (especially the programmatic article by Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974), and focusing on projection and completion in particular. In contrast with the above studies it looks at whole-body demonstrations along with gestures and discusses their temporal matchings with speech in the activity of dance instruction. It targets verbally initiated noun phrases that are completed in the embodied mode, achieving a meaningful complete action in an inherently multimodal manner. Furthermore, as is common in real-time interaction (Auer 2009), these syntactic structures can then be built on further, adding lexical or clausal material. Accounting for embodied demonstrations as sense-making elements will among other things have consequences for how we analyze central conversational mechanisms, such as repair and reformulation.

Noun phrase in this study is understood in a traditional manner as consisting of a noun as its head and various non-head elements, including articles, demonstrative determiners, and adjectives (Genetti 2015: 121–124; Payne 1997: 33–34, 86). The study is not a contrastive one, but does build on materials in Swedish and English, which make use of articles and prepositions, as well as Estonian, which does not and where the options of projection within a noun phrase are therefore fewer. The aim is to put forward a thoroughly multimodal and temporally evolving account of noun phrases, showing that they are a result of interactional negotiation, perhaps even an epiphenomenon. Similar arguments have been made

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for spoken noun phrases in Finnish interaction by Helasvuo (2001). It is remarkable, though, that in earlier studies on embodied completion (Haviland 2007; Mori & Hayashi 2006; Olsher 2004; Weeks 1996), there are no examples of verbally initiated noun phrases. This may of course be an incidental result of the fact that these authors had no particular focus on the syntactic details. It is also possible, though, that multimodal noun phrases are more likely to appear in contexts where the bodies are being instructed, such as in dance classes which will be explored in the present paper.

The data and the collection

The main body of the data comes from 29 hours of video recorded group dance classes teaching lindy hop and balboa in Sweden. The groups range from 6 to 60 students and there are altogether 14 teachers in the recordings. Six teachers speak Swedish (13h), and ten English (15h). One teacher couple gives classes in both Swedish and English, and there is only one native speaker in the English data. Swing dances are often taught by a teacher couple, in which the complementary dancer roles are called *lead* and *follow*, and I have chosen to use this endemic referring practice in this paper. All the teachers have signed a formal consent to use the recordings for research and all the students have agreed to it. The complex actions in focus in the current study are mostly accomplished during extended teacher turns, the so-called instructive segments of the dance classes (Broth & Keevallik 2014). These are segments when practice has been stopped, the students are standing and watching the teacher(s). During these turns the teachers may deal with a number of pedagogical issues and the emerging syntactic-bodily structures may be either corrective or presenting new tasks for practice.

In addition, 9 hours of Estonian dance classes with 3 different teachers were recorded in Estonia, but only one noun phrase completed by embodiment was identified in these data. There may be two reasons for that, a structural and a cultural one. Differently from Germanic languages, Estonian does not have grammatical articles. At the same time, words such as *üks* 'one' and *see* 'this' have been shown to mark indefiniteness and recognizability, respectively (Pajusalu 1997, 2005). These are used for projection in conversation (Keevallik 2010, 2011), and could in principle show up before embodied demonstrations in the data. However, as can be judged from the recordings, there are a range of differences between the pedagogical cultures in Estonia and Sweden. In the Swedish settings the teachers tend to talk and demonstrate simultaneously during instructive segments of the class. In contrast, in the Estonian classes the teacher mostly stands on the side and shouts out her instructions and comments to the students. As the practice

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described here involves the simultaneous deployment of language and the body, the Estonian teachers in the recordings do not use it as frequently.

The collection includes 28 cases where an initiation of a noun phrase (NP) is followed by an embodied demonstration, and then optionally by another verbal element in the NP. There are 12 instances in English, 15 in Swedish, and one in Estonian.[1] For the sake of a clear delimitation of the collection, the cases where the embodied demonstration is accompanied by step names or beat numbers were excluded, as they would verbally complete the noun phrase. Their temporal organization may be identical to the focus cases, where the demonstration is either accomplished in silence or accompanied by non-lexical vocalizations. About a quarter of the instances (6) do not involve vocalizations produced in synchrony with the demonstrations, and these short periods of silence are spread across all the different NP patterns. Importantly, no cases were included where the descriptive noun was uttered after the embodied demonstration, as that would have just resulted in a regular noun phrase, at least retrospectively. An example would be *what we usually use in balboa is a lot of step hold*, where the step hold is demonstrated simultaneously. This type of cases was excluded. The focus here is on the fact that there does not need to be a noun produced as a kind of a 'replacement' for the bodily demonstration at all.

The analysis will start from instances where there is just one item produced in a noun phrase before the embodied demonstration, moving on to instances with several items, showing that these multimodal units are not limited to particular grammatical structures. As a note of caution, this explorative study cannot aim for an exhaustive collection of all possible patterns in the three languages, nor does it systematically pursue the contrastive affordances among the languages. Rather, it will present a first overview of the variety of syntactic-bodily structures within an NP in a dance teaching context.

Simple NP-initiations: An article, a demonstrative, an adjective

Article

To start with, there are five instances in the data where the dance teacher produces an article within a clause in progress but then goes on to complete the unit with an embodied demonstration. In four cases in English, the definite article *the* occurs before the demonstration. In Example (1), the teacher of the lead role in the couple

1. The dearth of 'multimodal' NPs in Estonian may only partly be explained with fewer projective resources (lack of articles), as the teachers were generally less active in demonstrating the dance moves.

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(TeaL, the male, with his back to the camera) is explaining the correct relaxed feeling when doing a step called *swingout*. He initiates a clause *you feel like there is the* but does not utter the projected noun. Instead, he immediately launches a demonstration of the 'laidback attitude' with his body, accompanied by and accentuated with vocalizations (Figure 2). The projecting syntactic structures are marked in bold in the examples, the preparatory phase necessary to begin dancing (e.g., bending the knees, lifting partner's hand) is marked with a ^ and the embodied demonstration with an asterisk.

(1) Definite article, English (file: there is the)

```
1  TeaL:     so just to- for you to have that (.) little LAIDback,
2            (0.5) attitude. when you swingout. that you ^feel
   teal&f                                                 ^prep

3            #like there is the *DA:# dah (0.5) DA: da dah dah (.)
   teal&f                      *demo starts -->
   fig       #  Figure 1           #  Figure 2
4            bahoup and (0.3) DA: dah (0.4) d-a: da
   teal&f    -->
```

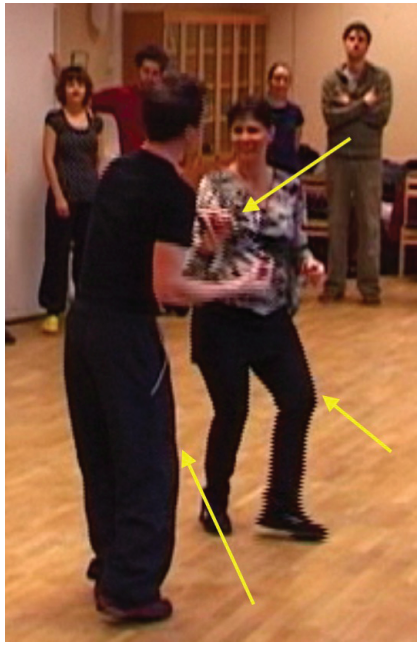

Figure 1. "like" – preparation

Figure 2. "DA:" – first dance step

Importantly for the timing, the lead teacher takes hold of his partner, the follow teacher, long before the actual demonstration, on the word *that* in line 1 of the

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transcript. At that moment he already projects an imminent couple dance demonstration. On the word *feel* in line 2 he begins the preparation for the dance (slightly lifting his left hand and bending his knees, Figure 1), which he launches immediately on the beat after the article *the*. The embodied demonstration is thus perfectly well-timed for what the article projects. Furthermore, none of the students display any signs of understanding after the verbal noun phrase is discontinued. They do not treat the contribution as complete yet.

Likewise, the combination of a preposition and article may be followed by an embodied completion. A case is shown in Example (2), where a teacher suggests to her partner (as well as the students) a specific place in the choreography to start the practice. She projects her embodied demonstration with the NP initiation *from the*. On *the* she bends her knees in preparation for the first dance step on *zak*.

(2) Preposition + definite article, English (file: From the)

```
1  TeaF:     Fro:m ^the:: *zak (0.4) uhm (0.4) pa:: pu pah (0.3)
   teaf            ^prep  *demo starts -->

2            zhidegi pum zet tet tet (0.9)

3  TeaL:     yeah. (.)* sure.
   teaf      demo ends*
```

The follow teacher's presentation is simultaneously an inquiry to her co-teacher TeaL (she keeps her gaze toward him throughout her dance) and an instruction for the students as to what exactly they should start practicing, once the music starts. Importantly, her demonstration continues until the co-teacher verbally acknowledges that he has identified the suggested moment in the choreography and agrees to this being the moment to start the practice with *yeah* in line 3. To underline, nobody treats TeaF's contribution as complete after the verbal production is discontinued after *from the*. The first reaction is by TeaL at the very moment when the dance demonstration has arrived at the point when it is recognizable as one specific pattern in the choreography. The grammatical projection is only treated as constituting a comprehensible whole together with the embodied performance that ensues.

In the first two examples we have thus seen a similar temporal pattern of a transition from the verbal to the embodied, while the embodied segment is accompanied by vocalizations. At the same time, there is a difference in the character of the demonstration between the two cases. While Example (1) illustrated the style of dancing, Example (2) aimed at referring to a particular dance pattern, which could only be identified after a number of beats into the dance. Both demonstrations started from beat one, but in Example (1) the relevant information was provided immediately, while in Example (2) it took a while before it could be performed (approximately at *tet tet* in line 2). It is as if the temporal dance pattern

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has to be scrolled from its conventional beginning to the correct place in front of the participants' eyes. These two different options recur in the current collection.

In verbal-only activity contexts the projection of a definite or indefinite article would be fulfilled with a noun in the language. However, in the dance class context, or perhaps any context where the body is being instructed, there is a constant need to refer to the body and its movements of various kinds. This context thus reveals the capacity of grammar to also mobilize the body to create meaning in interaction. Crucially for the focus of this volume, the body and its sounds may be timed to complete a traditional 'noun phrase'. The temporal fitting of the bodily demonstration is similar to the production of a noun, which is projected to follow immediately after the article. Indeed, this also happens in the dance class data: an article may be followed by a noun. In addition, a noun that refers to a move or a step may be simultaneously accompanied by the bodily move, such as *from here we are gonna do the back step*, where the back step is actually performed during the last two words. The above multimodal units are thus closely related to many other ways of coordinating the language and the body in dance instruction.

Demonstrative

In eleven cases the embodied demonstration was initiated by a demonstrative determiner and here we have examples in all three languages. Apart from when the demonstrative has a special determiner format, such as the Swedish *denhära* and *detdära* (vs. *den* and *det*), it is not necessarily easy to distinguish the determiner vs. pronominal usage of a demonstrative. Relying on prosody (continuing vs. terminal) and the subsequent grammatical development of talk, only instances as clear as possible were included in the collection.

Here is an Example (3) in Swedish, where the teacher dances and simultaneously comments on the problematic parts of student performance (lines 1–3). In line 4 she has stopped dancing and is standing still, while explaining further. In line 5, similar to the above examples, the teacher utters a demonstrative determiner *dehära*, approximately 'this', that projects a noun, but instead of a conventional word she engages her hand at this very moment to show what she means. In addition, she reuses the vocalization *pum* from her dance demonstration (lines 1,3), where she uttered it to mark the correct bouncy steps. Overall, this is an instruction to keep a distinct rhythm throughout the step pattern. The teacher asks the students to keep bouncing and throughout lines 5–6 she also displays the bounce with her own body. The initiated NP in line 5, however, is completed by iconic hand gestures that are produced in synchrony with the vocalizations *pum pum* and represent the bounces.

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(3) Demonstrative, Swedish (file: pum yeah)

```
1  Teacher:   PUM. hh yeah:. (.)
2             å här blir det slappt, (0.2)
              'And here it becomes sloppy'
3             PU:M. hh yeah,
4             å- å det tycker jag är synd, att
              'And I think this is unfortunate that/so'
5             behåll   dehära *PU:m (.)  PU:m*
              keep:IMP this
              'Keep this'
   tea                        * beat gestures*

6             det ska bara *bumma dunsa PÅ* på nåt sätt.
              'It should just keep bumming bouncing somehow.'
   tea                     *beat gestures *
```

As can also be seen in the current example, these multimodal noun phrases tend to emerge after longer explanations, when the context of the demonstrated move has been set, which supports the sense-making of them in real time. In the current instance the teacher furthermore continues with a reformulation of the same idea immediately after the embodied demonstration is complete. The utterance *behåll dehära PUm PUm* 'keep this PUm PUm' together with the gesture (line 5) constitutes a comprehensible and coherent whole in itself, which allows the speaker to launch a next one after it without a hitch. She chooses to reformulate the same idea in another complete utterance *det ska bara bumma dunsa PÅ på nåt sätt* 'it should just keep bumming bouncing somehow', this time with canonical Swedish syntax (interestingly inventing a verb *bumma*, approximately 'to bum' on the spot, line 6).

The only Estonian case in the collection involves the demonstrative *see* 'this' that can occasionally display features of a definite article (Pajusalu 1997). It occurs soon after the students have completed a dance routine and the teacher has asked whether they needed help remembering some of the steps. A student takes the chance to ask a question in Example (4). He produces an initiation of a clause and, arguably, an initiation of a noun phrase with the demonstrative *see*. He stands arms akimbo during the talk in line 1 (as shown in Figure 3) and demonstrates the step precisely during the pause and the vocalization *km* (as shown in Figure 4). During line 2 he is slightly swaying and gesturing, but not really showing the step anymore.

(4) Demonstrative, Estonian (file: mis on see)

```
1  Student:   SEE üks asi mis on see::# *(0.7) km  # q*=
              'this one thing that is this'
   stu                                  * demo       *
   fig                                 #  Figure 3  #  Figure 4
```

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2 **=ja sis oli vahepeal seal mingi jalgade vahetus.**
'and then in the middle there was a change of feet.'

Figure 3. Akimbo position

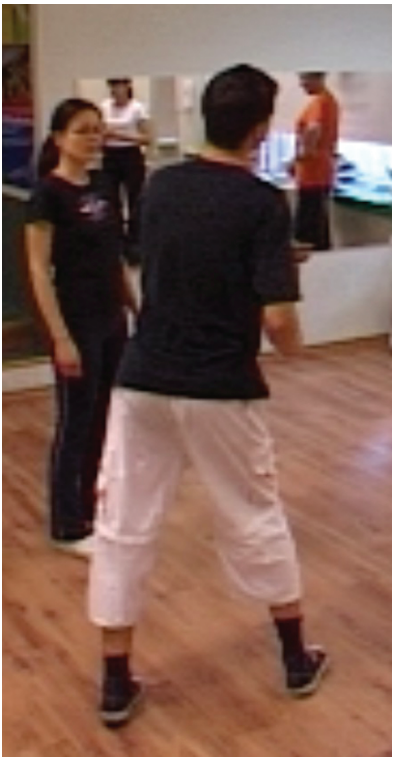

Figure 4. "km" – the dance step

See 'this' with level intonation projects a continuation (Keevallik 2010) and potentially an embodied demonstration. The incomplete intonation suggests that in this particular case it is used as a determiner. Furthermore, the student continues unproblematically (no repair or restart) to build on the multimodal unit with another coordinated clause in line 2. The embodied demonstration of the dance step is perfectly timed with the pause and the brief vocalization, so that the projective determiner together with the demonstration emerge as a coherent multimodal structure. The body movements are here entirely subordinated to talk and its pace; that is, the speaker moves his body only at the very moment when a reference to a step is due and stands still the rest of the time before and after the embodied demonstration. The determining demonstrative *see* initiates an NP that ends up being completed by the body instead of a lexical noun. The speaker then smoothly continues with another monomodal utterance (line 2) that is tied to the previous multimodal one with the conjunction *ja* 'and'.

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As was the case with the articles above, a preposition plus demonstrative may be used for projecting an embodied completion. This is shown in Example (5) where the teacher couple continues dancing while the lead teacher talks and vocalizes. Thus, in contrast to Example (4), he is subordinating his talk to the dance tempo (see Keevallik 2015 for a discussion of these different options). The demonstrative *that* used here is a determiner that projects a reference to a moment where the dancers come out of a certain move in order to make a transition to the next one. The segment that the teacher is referring to with *out of that* occurs during line 2, and the word *ONe* already accompanies the ensuing step pattern (line 3) that illustrates how to come out of the move referred to with *that*.

(5) Preposition + demonstrative, English (file: out of that)

```
1  Teacher:   so we come out of that (.)
2             *uu puu puh (.) chuck (0.3)*
   tea        * demo of referred steps   *
3             ONe two three (.) five six seven eight
   tea        dance continues --->
```

In fact, it is even problematic to mark a specific point in the transcript where the reference would occur since the idea is to talk about the transition to a next dance step and the referred moment could as well be the very end of the step sequence, rather than all of it. This kind of indeterminacy in the exact location or length of the embodied referent is characteristic of the bodily mode of communication, as opposed to, e.g., words in a language. It takes expert knowledge by the participants to figure out the meaning insofar as they need it to improve their performance of that particular move.

Adjective

There are six examples of an adjective launching an NP in the collection, with or without a preposition, where the projection is fulfilled by the body. In Example (6) the teacher, who is currently standing still, explains the right amount of pressure between the partners: it has to be short and rhythmical. In line 2 she initiates a clause and a noun phrase with the adjective *långt* 'long' but instead of a noun she brings her two arms together into a demonstration of excessive pressure, accompanied by an extended strain grunt.

(6) Adjective, Swedish (file: SUBS finns inget långt)

```
1  Teacher:   för det finns inget – (.)
              'Because there is no –'
```

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```
2            det finns inget ^långt .h *kghkghgee*
             'there is no long'
   tea                       ^prep     *gesture  *
3            utan det finns ba *MM tjaka BUM tjaka BUM
             'but there is only'
   tea                         *gesturing -->
```

The multimodal noun phrase in line 2 is followed by a contrastive statement about what the contact should be like instead, similarly accompanied by a gestural demonstration – but this time no noun phrase is initiated. This example, yet again, illustrates an instance where the embodied demonstration is subordinate to the temporality and logic of talk: the teacher starts talking and only at the moment when it becomes relevant in talk does she deploy her body for a demonstration. The completeness of the multimodal unit in line 2 is underlined by the fact that the speaker unproblematically continues to build on it with the grammatically contrastive *utan* 'but'-structure in line 3. It would be impossible to provide an adequate (participant) analysis of the syntactic structure here without fully recognizing the legitimacy of embodied demonstrations in providing central content (see Keevallik 2017 on multimodal contrastive structures in dance classes, including the analysis of the Swedish *utan* 'but').

An adjective may also follow a preposition. This happens in the ensuing excerpt (7) where the Swedish adjective *olika* 'various' is uttered after the preposition *i* 'in', before the embodied demonstration is launched. The instruction is here about variations of the upper body during a particular step called *Suzie-Q*. Accordingly, the teacher is continuously doing the same step with his legs, while changing the position of his torso and hands. He starts performing Suzie-Q together with his partner on the word *hamnar* 'ends up' in line 1, but it is only after the talk is abandoned that he raises his shoulders and curves his back into a demonstration of a specific styling. The stepping also simultaneously changes its character from neutral to tight and sharp, resulting in a distinct demonstration of a type of style. The follow teacher moves accordingly from neutral to sharp, mirroring the lead teacher, who is talking.

(7) Preposition + adjective, Swedish (file: hamnar man i olika)

```
1  TeaL:    när man: nu dansar här, så (.) ^hamnar man i olika
            'When you dance here you end up in various'
   teal                                     ^steps start

2            *(3.0)
   teal&f    *demo -->

3            det här är också Suzie-Q.*
            'This is also a Suzie-Q'
   teal&f    demo continues -->       *
```

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Perhaps interestingly, this is the only instance in the data when a plural noun is projected by the initiation of a noun phrase. There is thus no restriction with regard to whether the projection is in singular or plural; the body can take care of both alternatives and complete the unit. The teacher actually presents a single movement option during the pause and continues displaying that during the comment in line 3. He formulates what he is currently doing with his body, namely a stylized version of the step. The comment treats his own body as a relevant source of information in the ongoing activity and at the same time marks the completion of the structure launched by the NP-initiation. The temporality of the body is quite complex, as the teacher couple is actually dancing all the time, changing their positions along the way. Only one clear switch in the dance style is temporally fitted after the initiation of an NP.

After this overview of three linguistic categories in an NP that can immediately precede an embodied demonstration, article, demonstrative and adjective, let us look at some combinations of these.

Complex NP-initiations

As it happens, a majority of the NP-initiations in the data were simple, but there were also two possible combinations of items, both including an adjective. In three instances the initiation consisted of an article + adjective and six instances contained a demonstrative + adjective. Characteristically, all of the adjectives were diminutives *little, a bit of a*, and *lilla, liten* 'Swe. small', so we can actually see this as a set of relatively fixed expressions. In the following a selection of examples will be presented.

Article + adjective(s)

A straightforward case with an iconic gesture can illustrate a multimodal pattern where an article is followed by an adjective, resulting in a projection which is fulfilled by the body. In Example (8) the teachers have been demonstrating a choreographed step sequence and now one of them is summarizing it with a multimodal presentation. He initiates a copula clause and an NP with an indefinite article *a* and two consecutive adjectives *nice* and *little* (line 1). The gesture that depicts the movement of the bodies through the space during the step pattern is launched already during the verbal initiation of the clause and then accompanied by repetitive vocalizations throughout. In the transcript the gesture is marked from the moment when the hands are in position for the gesture until they are lowered all the way down, back to a possible home position. Figures 5–8 show

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different stages of the gesture in relation to vocal production, they show first a lateral movement in space (Figure 6) and then a back-and-forth movement (which becomes up-and-down in the gesture, Figure 7).

(8) Article + adjective, English (file: nice little X)

```
1  TeaL:   so yeah, it*'s #just a    ni#ce little
   teal               *gesture -->
   fig                    #  Figure 5  #  Figure 6

2          ji#ggijiggijiggi.* #
   teal                   -->*
   fig       #  Figure 7      #  Figure 8

3  TeaF:   jiggijiggijiggi.
```

Figure 5. Hands prepared

Figure 6. "nice" – hands open and back

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Figure 7. "ji-" – hands up and down

Figure 8. After completion

Importantly, the acknowledging repetition of the vocalization *jiggijiggijiggi* by the follow teacher in line 3 treats the multimodal structure in line 1 as complete not after the verbal part is discontinued (i.e. after *little*) but when the embodied demonstration is terminated. Her turn follows precisely after TeaL has uttered *jiggijiggijiggi*, lowered his voice into a prosodic completion and moved his hands back to home position (end of line 2, shown in Figure 8). We thus have emic evidence of these multimodal structures being treated as real and coherent in this activity setting.

A similar case preceded by a preposition is shown in Example (9). The teacher is explaining how to finish off a step sequence with an eye-catching improvisation. He projects this flashy demonstration with a combination of preposition, article and adjective, *with a litte* (line 1). He is, however, already dancing when he initiates the clause, so the beginning of the actual demonstration is somewhat difficult to distinguish. Clearly, though, he moves from neutral and rhythmic dancing to (mock) flashy and non-rhythmic dancing right after the talk is abandoned, which is marked as the 'demo' in the transcript. Similar to Example (7) here we see a comment on the performed dance move after the demonstration is complete (*that's cool* in line 2), treating the embodied part as meaningful in the context.

(9) Preposition + article + adjective, English (file: with a little)

1	Teacher:	**and you finish it off with a little *(2.0)***
	tea	*demo *
2		**tha*t's cool, isn't it.**

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The demonstration is again temporally fitted to the verbal initiation of a clause, appearing at the precise moment when a noun could have been uttered. After the completion of the dance step the teacher goes on to comment on his own performance with another clause. At that moment he also stops dancing and turns to the students for an appreciation of his pedagogical point which could only be inferred from the combination of verbal and embodied modalities of his contribution.

Demonstrative + adjective

The most frequent combination in the collection is a demonstrative together with an adjective, and that can occur as demonstrative first, as in *this little*, or adjective first, as in *liten sånhära* 'Swe. little suchlike'. A case is shown in Example (10) where the teacher has made clear that the students are performing the steps too heavy: they are 'working' too hard. In the excerpt the teacher, who is standing still and talking, guides the students to make the steps lighter. Line 3 is a reformulation of line 2, and at the moment when she has uttered the attributive *den här* 'this' and the adjective *lilla* 'little', projecting a noun, she launches an embodied demonstration.

(10) Demonstrative + adjective, Swedish (file: SUBS det här lilla 2)

```
1  Teacher:   utan förSÖK nu:, en gång, (0.3)
              'but TRY now, once,'

2             att TÄNka att det inte ÄR så mycket arbete,
              'to THINK that it IS not so much work,'

3             att det ÄR bara den här ^lilla
              'that it IS only this little'
   tea                                ^prep

4             *du:bidu pu pu tjagidu PA,
   tea        *demo starts -->
              ((demo goes on for three more "eights"))
```

In all three of the languages of this study, the determiner and pronominal uses of demonstratives may be difficult to disentangle, but in combination with an adjective, as above, they can more clearly be analyzed as projecting a noun. The vocalizations that follow, however, can in no way be categorized as words in a language, as they are ad hoc variable sounds that belong closely together with the dance steps performed (Keevallik 2015: 317–320). In this episode the teacher prepares the dance steps slightly before the verbal structure is abandoned so that the beginning of the actual dance step can again be exactly fitted to the end of the last word. Beat 'one' in the dance is synchronous with the first vocalization syllable *du*. Since the argument she is making concerns the overall style of dancing,

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the relevant information is presented from the very beginning of her embodied demonstration, and she could basically stop her demonstration after a few beats. Nevertheless, she continues to perform the dance for quite a while, speeding up the moves and illustrating how 'small' they can be performed. This again shows how the body is organized differently from talk, enabling temporally extended demonstrations after the initiation of a mere noun phrase. In this example, it is as if the logic of the dance starts to predominate after getting into the demonstration. The dance lasts for three conventional patterns, counted in eights in lindy hop, which constitutes a contribution that is easily understood by the participants in this activity setting. Examples like this with extended performances make it especially clear that embodied demonstrations cannot be just squeezed into the grammatical category of nouns but constitute a qualitatively different mode of communication, albeit still projected by, and timed with, canonical initiations of noun phrases.

To summarize, in some activity contexts we can see that the body is timed to produce essential content right at the moment when an NP has been initiated. As an alternative to silence or vocalization, the bodily demonstration may be accompanied by a term, a step name or a count number, i.e. a noun. In that case the projection would also be completed with linguistic devices. In contrast to a noun phrase par excellence, however, there is no clear limit to when a multimodal unit is complete. A dance demonstration can go on for a considerable time, and its length may rather be defined by the structure of the dance than the logic of talk. The multimodal practices are furthermore in the service of the pedagogical aims of the teacher. Especially for these reasons it would be very difficult to maintain that there is something specifically noun-like happening in the demonstrations. Among other things, nouns have been claimed to typically express time-stable entities and here we have an evolving movement (see, however, about the relativity of this criterion in Payne 1997: 33). Crucially, the same kinds of demonstrations are performed after a variety of grammatically projective structures, such as initiations of verb phrases, prepositional phrases and contrastive conjunctions (Keevallik 2013, 2015). In short, the embodied demonstrations are a different kind of entity, as compared to words in a language, but they can nevertheless fulfill a grammatical projection and constitute a meaningful unit together with it.

Participant orientation to a multimodal noun phrase: Collaborative completion

In order to ultimately demonstrate that a linguistic-bodily structure is real for the interactants one could document whether and how the participants orient to it, such as starting to talk at a particular moment in time. An orientation to

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incompletion of a unit may, for example, imply that other participants refrain from talk until it is terminated. This is what we have seen across the examples presented so far. Another way to display understanding of incompletion in talk is to provide the completion for someone else's initiation (Hayashi 2005, Lerner 1995). In that way two participants co-construct a unit and simultaneously display a mutual understanding of what this unit should look like. There is one instance in the current collection where a teacher utters the verbal initiation of the noun phrase and the other teacher completes it with a movement and a vocalization.

In Example (11) the teacher couple is jointly involved in a presentation of a dance move. The lead teacher (TeaL) is talking and preparing his partner for a spin. The spin is timed precisely with the end of his projective segment of talk, consisting of a combination of a Swedish preposition *i* 'in', an indefinite article *en* 'a', an adjective *liten* 'little', and a colloquial determiner *sånhära* 'suchlike'. This initiation projects a continuation partly though the incomplete grammar, partly though the specific determiner form of the demonstrative *sånhära*, and partly through the completely level prosody on *sånhära*, which suggests no completion. In terms of content the projected unit needs to refer to the move of the follow, because the lead does not end up anywhere, he guides the follow, and it is the follow who ends up spinning. During the spin the teacher performing the role of a follow in the dance (TeaF) produces a vocalization *wii*. Together with the movement that fulfills the grammatical projection launched by the lead teacher. The multimodal 'noun phrase' thus emerges across two different speakers and entails a verbal projection followed by an embodied completion accompanied by a vocalization.

(11) Co-production, Swedish (file: Ljud17wii1)

```
1  TeaL:     så att man hamnar i (.) en (0.3) liten sånhära
             'So that one ends up in a little suchlike'
2            *(1.0)
   teaf&l    *demo -->

3  TeaF:     wi#i::.*
                 -->*
   fig         #  Figure 9

4  Students: khh heh hehe hahah
```

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Figure 9. Mid-spin on "wi-"

Differently from all other vocalizations in the current collection, *wii* is half-conventionalized as a syllable used to accompany exciting movement, such as when swinging a child. Likewise, it is here used to underline the pleasant feeling of a spinning body for the benefit of a pedagogical presentation of a dance move. It is produced at the moment when the lead has just set the follow's body in rotation and lets go of it, in synchrony with the follow's own airy feeling of being in spinning motion following through on the impetus. The *wii* ends when the rotation ends and the partners face each other. Crucially, the students immediately react to the termination of the spin and the *wii* by collective laughter, which shows their orientation towards the unit as complete. One could, on the other hand, ask whether the *wii* might be a response rather than a continuation of the structure launched by TeaL. Clearly, it could not be responsive to what he said, because line 11 is a description of the couple's current moves directed to the students, not to his partner. It could only be responsive to what he does with his body but, more precisely, it is an externalization of what TeaF's own body is currently experiencing; an intense rotation. The timing of *wii* reflects her own movement, not his. Furthermore, just like TeaL's talk, her vocalization can be argued to be done for the onlooking audience, and thereby emerges as building one whole with the TeaL's projection. Lastly, TeaL does not make any attempt to complete or re-complete what he left unfinished, treating the spin + *wii* as a sufficient completion. The two teachers behave as one party during this couple dance class, co-producing pedagogical points and the syntactic-bodily unit *man hamnar I en liten sånhära wii* 'one ends up in a little suchlike wii' is accordingly achieved across two different participants.

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Verbal completion of a multimodal noun phrase

After a demonstration, the speaker-performer can continue to build the grammatical structure they have initiated. There are two instances in the current collection where the embodied element emerges as if in the middle of a noun phrase, as a grammatical modifier. A case in point is shown in Example (12) where the teacher accomplishes a brief demonstration of a lower body rotation during the vocalization *quh* (Figure 11) but then goes on to complete the unit with the word *feeling*, which means that the movement + *quh* emerges as a kind of an adjective in this structure, between the demonstrative *this* and the noun. The body is in neutral position before and after the short demonstration (Figures 10 and 12).

(12) Embodiment as modifier, English (file: ATTR1feel)

```
1  Teacher:   uh, HERE, when we end up here, we are more
2             parallel to each other. ^so# it's not this (0.2)
   tea                                ^prep
   fig                                   #  Figure 10

3             *↑QUH#*        fee#ling,  .h^it's more (.)  *side to (.) side.
   tea        *demo *                     ^prep           *demo -->
   fig             #  Figure 11 #  Figure 12
```

Figure 10. preparation

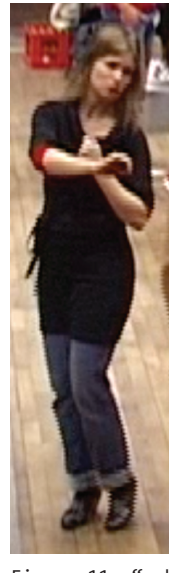

Figure 11. "quh" – demo

Figure 12. Back to neutral

The embodied demonstration shows what kind of a feeling the teacher wants to address as problematic in the class. The vocalization *quh* that is precision-timed with the move expresses the bodily feeling through its shortness, sharpness and

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character (the higher pitch and the high vowel suggest a coquette move, as shown in Figure 11). Accordingly, the demonstration provides crucial information for the students. Pragmatically the language used is in the supportive role, containing generic words such as *feeling*, while the demonstration and the vocalization *quh* (with a glottal stop in the syllable onset) provide a more fully specified information of what the dance movement should look and feel like. It may be the case that if the NP is to be continued the demonstration has to be accompanied by a vocalization. More generally, the existence of these additional patterns, such as a verbal completion after a multimodal structure, further illustrates the way language and the body are jointly involved in the process of constituting meaningful NPs in interaction without any hitches in production or displayed problems with understanding. Examples like this witness of the totally smooth incorporation of multimodal units into the syntagmatic structure of talk.

Another way to display that the multimodal NP is non-problematically part of the sensemaking processes in a dance class is to continue with a next clause. This is the most common option in the collection: either the speaker herself or someone else, e.g., the co-teacher, continues with a new clause, without repair or any other hitch in production. As we have seen in many of the above examples, the teacher can, for example, comment on what her/his body was doing (Examples (3), (4), (7), (9), or the other teacher might respond (Examples (2), (8)). In Example (6), we also examined the option to continue with further clauses by grammatically tying them to the prior one that included a multimodal NP: We saw an instance of the incremental building of a complex clause with the *utan* 'but/instead'- construction with *det finns inget långt .h kghkghgee utan det finns ba mm tjaka bum tjaka bum* 'There is no long .h kghkghgee but there is merely mm tjaka bum tjaka bum'.

Repair or re-completion?

The above arguments about phrases potentially being multimodal have consequences for conversational mechanisms such as repair. When we account for the body as a meaning-making device, we may have to reconsider structural analyses of situations where the relevant information is not only provided in the stream of speech. In Example (13) it can be argued that the teacher first completes the projection with an embodied demonstration but then also utters a noun. The structure in line 4 that is initiated by *so we need to get this* could have been complete after the (0.7) pause during which the teacher keeps bouncing: we could perceive this as an entirely comprehensible and completed contribution in this activity setting, asking the students to perform pulse while they are turning. The teacher then, however, repeats a part of the already produced verbal structure,

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the demonstrative determiner *this*, and now completes the NP verbally with *pulse* (line 4). The verbal gloss *this pulse* thus emerges as an alternative version of what the body has already produced, and not a repair, as it appears if we only consider the verbal stream *this (0.7) this pulse*.

(13) Glossing the body, English (file: this x through y)

```
1  Teacher:   (X) that you're turning, (0.4) that would (0.3)
2             also be:: (.) super hard if you keep (0.6)
3             your foot flat on the ground the whole time.
4             *so we need to get this (0.7) this pulse going,*.
              *             demo of bouncing                *
```

As it happens, in this case the embodied demonstration has already emerged from the very beginning of the clause and the teacher also continues to bounce all the way through the ensuing NP. We thus cannot see a temporally neat fitting of the grammatical projection with an embodied demonstration here, but, as in the above cases, there is a temporal slot of silence in line 4 during which the body continuously demonstrates what the students 'need to get'. One could thus consider these kinds of instances re-completions, as glosses provided to what was already shown by the body. Here the body has already illustrated the bouncing before the verbal expression *this pulse going* (at the end of line 4) provides a verbal gloss for it.

To summarize, it is crucial not to ignore the embodied demonstrations that take place in a temporal slot in these complex turns. They provide essential content and crucially participate in achieving intersubjectivity between the participants in this activity.

Conclusion

This paper has illustrated what a study of real-life language use can reveal about one of its central categories, the NP. Among other things, the flow of speech may be intertwined with embodied demonstrations that are precision-timed with talk to build meaningful multimodal noun phrases in real time. It was shown that an embodied demonstration may be tightly fitted after an article, a demonstrative, an adjective, or a combination of those, and that the participants orient to completion not after the projecting grammar is discontinued, but after the embodied demonstrations make sense for the practical purposes at hand. After the embodied demonstration, the speaker-performer can non-problematically continue building the NP or a more complex clausal structure, or they can just produce a next clause. An analysis that incorporates the contribution of the body influences how we analyze

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conversational mechanisms, such as repair, as it may happen that the body has already provided essential information before it is uttered in a stream of speech.

The patterns in focus in our study are not entirely different from other emergent multimodal structures in a dance class. In many cases regular noun phrases are launched and completed with a noun, while in others the meaning is conveyed without the noun, using the body instead. We have thus explored very specific versions of a noun phrase in embodied practices, showing that it is not always literally a noun that appears as the head in it. At the same time, the initiating segments involve elements that have been recognized in verbal noun phrases, suggesting a striking regularity across modalities where the core content can be conveyed either by a noun or by the body. They could be analogs of arguments as well as obliques, just like regular noun phrases. We might wonder, though, whether the resulting patterns still qualify as noun phrases, or whether we should establish another category for these multimodal structures. Characteristically, the verbal parts of such a structure would merely play a pragmatically supportive role in relation to the fully specified content displayed by the body.

The above analyses provides a richer account of what happens to noun phrases in interaction, transgressing modalities and activity types. While activities where bodies are being instructed may be an exceptionally prolific place for finding out how different communicative modalities are coordinated in time, it is by no means an exceptional way of using language (Keevallik 2018; Mondada 2016). For research on interaction, the contribution of the current study is a demonstration that units can consist of syntax and an embodiment in a manner that is very similar to that of verbally-built units (Li 2013). They display projection that is realized in a completion but the two are done in different modalities. This paper thus makes yet another argument in support of the temporal nature of grammar and the need to study it as such, because this is how participants make sense of each other. Noun phrases are temporally evolving purposeful structures and grammatical projection works across modalities. It so happened that Estonian, a language without clear grammatical articles, did not display numerous occurrences of multimodal NPs. Further comparative work targeting the role of the body in building noun phrases in such languages, as well as in languages in which articles, adjectives, and demonstratives typically follow the noun, would be most fascinating.

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Transcription conventions

The paper uses multimodal transcription conventions developed by Lorenza Mondada: <https://www.lorenzamondada.net/multimodal-transcription>

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CHAPTER 8

Nouns and noun phrases in other-initiated repair in English atypical interaction

A case study of Augmentative and Alternative Communication

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This study investigates the interaction of one American English-speaking individual who uses an Augmentative and Alternative Communication (AAC) device, equipped with speech-generation software to talk with able-bodied participants. Other-initiated repair is common in this context, and a few studies have hinted at the importance of nouns and noun phrases, leading to questions about what role these forms play in repair sequences. The analysis shows that when a trouble source occurs inside a noun phrase, the trajectory of the repair sequence depends critically on already produced forms that help the recipient project the grammatical role of the trouble source. The analysis also supports recent research suggesting that resolving trouble in understanding (intersubjectivity) takes priority over progressivity in interaction.

Introduction

This study draws on work in the field of Atypical Interaction (AI), which focuses on social interaction involving one or more people with a communication disability. As Wilkinson (2016) has argued, this research is important not only for what it reveals about the clinical implications for caregivers and therapists who interact with individuals with communication disabilities, but also for what it can tell us about interaction in general, by comparison with what is known about typical, everyday talk-in-interaction. Here, I focus on some of the ways that nouns and noun phrases play a role in repair sequences in the interaction of one American English-speaking individual who uses Augmentative and Alternative Communication (AAC) to talk with able-bodied participants. AAC refers to methods that aid or augment speaking or writing for people with communication disabilities such as cerebral palsy

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and amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), and includes both low-tech (e.g., spelling out words on an alphabet board) and high-tech (e.g., speech generation) methods. The primary focus here is on high-tech AAC, in which the aided participant types an utterance into a device, equipped with speech-generating software that then vocalizes what was typed. AAC interaction can be considered one type of AI.

There are several reasons for focusing on repair in AAC interaction. First, although much is known about repair in English interaction in general, Hayashi, Raymond and Sidnell (2013) argue that there are still many questions about its organization and the range of practices used in repair. This is especially true when examining diverse types of data such as interaction in other languages, or indeed, various types of AI.

The existing research on repair in AI does suggest a number of differences from repair in everyday (English) conversation. For example, repair occurs more frequently, and other-involvement (with respect to both initiation and completion) is more prevalent, leading a number of researchers to argue that repair in AI is essentially a collaborative activity (Goodwin 2003; Müller & Soto 2002; Perkins 2003). Additionally, it has also been shown that many repair sequences in AI can be considered 'extended' in that they continue beyond what typically is understood as the 'repair opportunity space' (Hayashi, Raymond & Sidnell 2013; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977).

Hayashi, Raymond and Sidnell (2013) also note the need for additional research that examines the relationship between the forms that are deployed in the repair process and the actions that are thereby produced both concurrently and as the interaction proceeds. Some studies have begun to explore this issue, focusing explicitly on the grammatical relationship between the trouble source and repair. For instance, Hayashi and Hayano (2013) found that the grammatical structure of the trouble source turn may lead recipients to produce other-initiated repairs that are grammatically dependent on the prior (i.e., trouble source) turn. Essentially, these repairs insert an element that was left out and function to check the recipient's understanding, while contributing to the prior speaker's turn.

In the studies of repair in AI, the structure of the trouble source has rarely been an explicit focus (Wilkinson 2009). However, the grammatical relationship between the trouble source and other-repair may be particularly important, because compared to everyday interaction, there are many more opportunities for miscommunication, depending on the nature of the disability and the means of communication. In addition, other-repair is apparently an integral part of the communication process in AI, and recipients must use whatever they are able to understand about the trouble source to target their repair attempts appropriately. Indeed, for recipients, understanding the structure of the trouble source is a prerequisite to understanding the speaker's action.

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This study begins to explore the grammatical relationship between the trouble source and the turns involved in repair in AAC interaction. I decided to focus on the role that nouns and noun phrases play in the repair process, because I noticed that the participants spent a lot of time trying to identify referents, which seemed to be a common trouble source. Indeed, I was struck by how often conversational participants seemed to target nouns or noun phrases in their other-repair attempts, sometimes producing lists of possible candidates. In addition, this process was quite lengthy in some cases, making it a central activity, worthy of further exploration. In what follows, I first examine other-initiations and the trajectory of repair sequences in which the trouble source is the head of a noun phrase and show that if enough syntactic and phonological (i.e., segmental) information has already been produced by the speaker, repair can be accomplished straightforwardly, often within the repair opportunity space. Second, I examine other-initiations and the trajectory of repair sequences in which the recipient apparently assumes, based on the available evidence, that the trouble source is the head of a noun phrase, but it is actually functioning as a pre-nominal modifier. In the latter case, repair is more complex and extends beyond the repair opportunity space. I also discuss how the competing preferences for intersubjectivity and progressivity (Heritage 2007) come into play in this kind of collaborative repair process.

Background

'Trouble' is ubiquitous in everyday talk-in-interaction whether due to problems with articulation, hearing, syntax, memory, etc. (Ekberg 2012; Schegloff 1979). *Repair* refers to the practices that participants use for dealing with trouble. It is important to note, however, that repair is not the same as correction, because not all trouble is due to error (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977). Rather, trouble simply refers to anything that disrupts intersubjectivity or a shared understanding of the ongoing talk (Hayashi, Raymond & Sidnell 2013; Schegloff 1992). In AI, the issues that cause trouble are often more pronounced, and there may also be additional causes, depending on the disability and/or means of communication. Such interaction is "often characterized by intermittent repair work due to frequently occurring problems with mutual understanding between participants" (Saldert, Ferm & Bloch 2014: 3). For example, with respect to aphasia, a speaker may have problems with word retrieval, word production, and/or grammatical forms (Wilkinson 2007), which in effect reduce the linguistic resources available for speaking and understanding (Barnes & Ferguson 2015), and thus, repair is very common (Goodwin 2003; Perkins 2003; Wilkinson 2009). Studies of AAC interaction have also found repair to be quite common (Bloch & Wilkinson 2004,

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2009; Müller & Soto 2002). There are some differences in how repair is executed, depending on whether the aided speaker's disability is acquired or congenital, but anyone who uses a high-tech AAC device must grapple with certain features that affect the flow of conversation. For example, AAC-using participants must type their utterances before they can be spoken by the device, resulting in delays and typing errors that can disrupt the flow of conversation and lead to repair.

Repair actions, personnel, and sequential trajectory

Repair practices have been well researched in everyday conversation, especially in English. In addition, Dingemanse and Enfield (2015) note that there is a growing number of studies that investigate other-initiated repair in other languages. The following is a brief, general description of repair practices in everyday conversation, based on a few of the many studies of this topic. Repair practices have been described according to the actions involved (i.e., initiation or completion), who does those actions (i.e., self or other), as well as where the repair is initiated in relation to the trouble source (i.e., same turn, next turn, or after the next turn) (Dingemanse & Enfield 2015; Hayashi, Raymond & Sidnell 2013; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977). Self-initiation refers to repair initiated by the speaker of the trouble source, while other-initiation refers to initiation by another participant. Similarly, either party can complete the repair, thus leading to four possible configurations: self-initiated self-repair; other-initiated self-repair; self-initiated other-repair; and other-initiated other-repair (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977). Although these four possibilities exist, self-repair is the preferred option, whether arrived at through self- or other-initiation (Hayashi, Raymond & Sidnell 2013; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977). This preference is partially explained by the sequential positioning of repair practices with respect to the trouble source. As Hayashi, Raymond and Sidnell (2013: 12) explain,

> [B]ecause [repair] opportunities unfold over time with the trouble source speaker having the first and the most opportunities for both indicating *and* managing troubles, the procedural machinery of repair is systematically biased in favor of having speakers manage their own trouble. (their emphasis)

This quote suggests that self-repair is usually initiated and completed in the same turn as the trouble source or in the transition space prior to the next turn. Most other-initiations occur in the turn following the trouble source turn, and Hayashi, Raymond and Sidnell (2013) discuss two further opportunities within the repair opportunity space to manage trouble. These are referred to as third and fourth position repair respectively (Ekberg 2012; Schegloff 1992). Third and fourth position repairs are not limited by the number of turns beyond the trouble source

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in that they depend on the point within a sequence that a previously produced trouble source is recognized either by the speaker (third position repair) or by the recipient (fourth position repair) (Ekberg 2012). Even though in principle, third and fourth position repair could cause a repair sequence to be extended for many turns, typically, this does not happen. Indeed, Ekberg (2012: 377) contends that "repair is a resource that is limited to dealing with troubles in extant sequences," and once the sequence containing the trouble source has been brought to a close, there are other strategies for resolving a misunderstanding. In essence, in everyday interaction, the repair opportunity space itself is relatively short, and most repair is either completed or abandoned within a few turns of the trouble source, and then the prior talk can progress (Hayashi, Raymond & Sidnell 2013; Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977). That repair is contained and bounded by other activities is central to its definition: Hayashi, Raymond and Sidnell define it as "when ongoing production of whatever else was in progress is suspended so that managing troubles in speaking, hearing, and understanding comes to be the focal activity of the interaction" (2013: 13). Kendrick's (2015a) work supports this point as well as the idea that when a trouble source occurs, repair initiation takes priority over other actions. Indeed, he argues that other-initiations "may trump the rules of the turn-taking system" in that they are allotted a relatively longer gap between turns, and they tend to supersede other turns when they occur in overlap (2015 a: 13).

Repair in AI has been shown to differ in terms of both who does the repair and its sequential trajectory. Indeed, other-initiation and other-completion are commonly observed for many of the same reasons that repair in general is more frequent in AI. As Perkins (2003: 150) explains with respect to aphasia, "linguistic impairments necessitate greater use of repair work. The same linguistic impairments, however, limit [a person's] ability to execute self-repair within the turn of the trouble source." In AAC interaction, other-repair has also been found to be quite frequent (Bloch & Wilkinson 2004, 2009; Müller & Soto 2002).

With respect to the sequential trajectory, studies of interaction of people with aphasia have shown that repair often extends beyond the repair opportunity space (Penn, Frankel, & Wilkinson 2015; Perkins 2003; Wilkinson 2007), and this has also been reported for AAC interaction (Bloch & Wilkinson 2004, 2009; Müller & Soto 2002).

The relevance of competing preferences for AI

Some aspects of repair in AI can be explained in terms of the preference for progressivity (Lerner 1996; Stivers & Robinson 2006). For example, as noted above, the preference for self-repair is partially explained by the fact that the same turn (as the trouble source) is the first opportunity for repair and doing the repair at

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that point will allow the interaction to progress. However, when self-repair is not available or takes a long time, other-repair is the other option for resolving trouble and facilitating progressivity. Related to this point is Heritage's (2007) discussion of how progressivity interacts with another conversational principle – the preference for intersubjectivity, as it applies to recognitional reference. Essentially, Heritage points out that these two preferences are in competition in that there can be no forward progress when the recipient does not understand what the speaker is referring to. Any trouble that disrupts intersubjectivity or common ground must be repaired before the ongoing activity continues. Kendrick's (2015a) findings with respect to how repair interacts with the turn-taking system, mentioned above, also support this point. However, as Heritage argues, "[a]bsolute security of reference is incompatible with progressivity," and participants must manage the linguistic resources for reference and repair in ways that strike a balance between these two principles (2007: 261). To this end, participants treat recognitional reference as a responsibility that is shared between the speaker and recipients (Heritage 2007). Other-repair deployed in the service of reference in AI is a compelling example of this point. However, despite the fact that the prevalence of other-repair might be due to participants' attempts to complete a repair quickly and continue the conversation (i.e., progressivity), sometimes extended repair sequences are the result, and repair can become the primary activity, at least for a while (Mayes & Clinkenbeard 2015).

The grammatical relationship between the trouble source and repair

Several studies of self-repair have discussed the grammatical relationship between the trouble source and the repair. For example, in same-turn repair, Schegloff (2013) discusses "reformatting," which refers to abandoning one construction and replacing it with another, and Wilkinson and Weatherall (2011) discuss the grammatical forms of insertion repairs. Insertions have also been discussed by Hayashi and Hayano (2013) with respect to other-initiated repair sequences in Japanese conversation. They consider a practice, referred to as "proffering insertable items," which builds on the syntactic information available in the prior speaker's turn to confirm the recipient's understanding in a way that minimally impinges on progressivity. The grammatical structure of the inserted elements varies, but they include noun phrases that specify arguments that have been left out of the trouble source TCU.

Examining the relationship between the grammatical structure of trouble sources and ensuing repair practices may be especially important for AI. Because self-repair is less available, recipients might be said to have a greater responsibility in terms of both the preference for intersubjectivity and progressivity. In addition,

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because other resources such as prosodic cues may be less available, syntactic cues may be even more important than in everyday interaction. Research in this area may also reveal why misunderstandings occur and which strategies are most effective in resolving them (Bloch 2011; Bloch & Wilkinson 2004; Penn, Frankel & Wilkinson 2015; Wilkinson 2009).

A few studies have suggested that nouns or noun phrases may play an important role in repair in AI. This work suggests that problems may arise for recipients when they attempt to interpret how a particular word that canonically functions as a noun is being used by a speaker in context. For example, Collins (1996) shows that AAC-using speakers use words that typically function as nouns not only to refer to an object, but also to describe an object's location and to introduce a new topic. Thus, recipients usually assume that these words function referentially, but when that is not the case, repair becomes the predominant activity.

Similarly, in a case study of a speaker with aphasia, Penn, Frankel and Wilkinson (2015) find that when a noun phrase is being used as a predicate, the recipient interprets it as a referring expression, which then leads to an extended repair sequence. These authors suggest that the problems that arise in repairs of this type are due to issues with interpreting what kind of action the speaker is doing. In grammatical terms, difficulty grasping the action the speaker is performing may be the result of difficulty understanding the grammatical role of such noun phrases – are they functioning as subjects, objects, obliques, or in some sort of modifying role?

Questions about how participants come to a shared understanding of the grammatical role of forms produced within a particular utterance are particularly pertinent for interaction involving high-tech AAC devices. Indeed, speech produced by these devices not only lacks prosodic information but is also subject to long delays because utterances must be typed before they are vocalized by the device. The typing requirement also leads to frequent repair, due to typos in addition to the delays. For example, delays have been found to lead to anticipatory completion of utterances by the recipient, which in turn may lead to additional trouble, if the completions are not accepted by the speaker (Bloch 2011). As noted, I compare repair sequences in which the trouble source is the head of a noun phrase and sequences in which the grammatical evidence seems to suggest that the trouble source is the head of a noun phrase, but it is actually functioning as a modifier. The analysis shows that the recipient makes assumptions about the trouble source based on the grammatical, segmental, and contextual information available. It also shows how important the forms surrounding the trouble source are in establishing its grammatical role. Indeed, doing too many candidate repairs before this information is available is likely to extend repair and move the talk in a direction that only further disrupts the balance between progressivity and intersubjectivity so that neither principle is satisfied.

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Data and method

This is a single-case study of a 78-year old man with cerebral palsy (Fred) who uses a high-tech AAC device as his primary means of communication. The data consist of seven hours of video-recorded conversations in American English, collected over a six-month period in a care facility specializing in daycare for people of all ages with special needs. The primary co-participant who interacted with Fred on a regular basis is Molly, a volunteer at the care center. Fred and Molly had known one another for about ten years, and regularly had conversations in which they chatted about everyday topics such as what had happened since they last saw each other. The data also include interactions with other co-participants such as Fred's massage therapist (Jim) and the two researchers (Pat and Mary) who occasionally interacted with Fred.[1] Fred had been using an iPad equipped with AAC software for about two years, at the time the data were collected.[2] The data have been transcribed using the conversation analysis system (Jefferson 2004) with a few modifications for interaction involving AAC. (See the Appendix for a list of symbols specific to these data). The analysis follows the practices of conversation analysis and interactional linguistics. The examples illustrate the practices of one AAC-using individual as he interacted with non-aided participants and are not intended to represent an exhaustive study of repair in this context.

Repairing the head noun in a noun phrase

The examples in this section show that repair in AAC interaction is collaborative and that co-participants use the material produced in the aided participant's turn to help further progression of the ongoing action. As mentioned, the necessity to type an utterance before it is voiced causes delays, and the delays are often compounded by typing errors. Thus, recipients use segmental and syntactic information as it becomes available to offer candidate understandings in an ongoing fashion. In their study of Japanese conversation, Hayashi and Hayano (2013: 296) argue that candidate understandings are stronger than other forms of other-initiation and convey a higher degree of understanding of the trouble source turn than would other less targeted repair forms such as open-class (Drew 1997) initiators (e.g., *what?* or *huh?*). Indeed, they suggest that there is a continuum, with respect to the degree of understanding displayed by the recipient, between open-class initiators

1. *Fred, Molly*, and *Jim* are pseudonyms.

2. Prior to that, Fred had communicated using a low-tech type of AAC, involving a spelling board.

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and understanding checks, with repetitions somewhere in the middle. They also show that there are different types of understanding checks, some of which reformulate the trouble source turn, whereas others build on that turn. The practice they examine, proffering an insertable, is of the latter type. Essentially, the recipient uses the speaker's prior turn, filling in (syntactic) information that was omitted and is the source of trouble in the original turn. The strategies used by recipients in AAC interaction are similar, in that they take the information provided in the AAC-using speaker's turn and build on it.

Example (1) shows that in AAC interaction, when the trouble source is a noun, candidate understandings can lead to relatively quick and straightforward repair if enough syntactic information is contained in the trouble source turn. There are three participants: Mary, Molly, and Fred. However, Mary might be considered the primary recipient because Fred is responding to a question she had asked prior to the example: *What is the surgery for?* Fred's response contains two noun phrases, and the head noun in each one is a trouble source. However, because there is a lot of information about the structure of these noun phrases, just one candidate understanding leads to repair in each case.

(1) A Big Stone in My Bladder (S3)

```
01  →  FD: I (7.5) have (2.8) a (6) big (7.9) stn
02     F:  ((glances at Ma))
03  →  Ma: stone?
04         (.)
05     Mo: ((nodding)) °stone yeah°
06     FD: in (3) my
07         (3)
08     Mo: ((leans forward))
09         (8)
10  →  FD: blader ((voiced as [bledə]))
11         ⌈((looking at Ma))⌉
12  →  Ma: ⌊bla:dder?⌋
13     F:  (bla-er) ((nodding slightly))
14     Ma: o:::h.
15     FD: I have a big stn in my blader.
16     F:  ⌈hehehehe⌉
17     Ma: ⌈°o::h.°⌉
18     Mo: ⌊he:he⌋
```

In line 3, Mary offers a candidate understanding for the trouble source *stn* (line 1), and Molly, who already knew the reason for Fred's surgery, confirms the repair, as Fred continues typing (line 5). In line 10, there is a second trouble source *blader*. Again, Mary responds with a candidate understanding (line 12), which is accepted by Fred (line 13). Mary marks receipt of the information with the change of state

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tokens (Heritage 1984) *oh* in lines 14 and 17. These repairs are straightforward and easily accomplished within the repair opportunity space because of the amount of structural information already available, including the determiner and adjective in the first noun phrase (line 1) and the preposition and determiner (a possessive pronoun) in the second one (lines 6 and 10). These components suggest that the head of the noun phrase is the trouble source in each case, and the segmental information obviously helps the recipient produce acceptable candidate understandings. Indeed, due to the amount of information available, the recipient is able to use the candidate-understanding format, which, as mentioned, is argued by Hayashi and Hayano (2013) to be the type of other-initiation that indicates the strongest degree of understanding on the part of the recipient.

The importance of recipient access to the relevant phonological segments can also be seen by comparing Example (1) with the next example, where this information is not available. The trouble source in (2) is similar to the second trouble source in Example (1), in that it follows a preposition and determiner (line 5), and the head of a noun phrase is a projectable possible completion for the TCU underway. However, unlike (1), there is no information about the phonological form of the trouble source.

(2) The Pops (S1)

```
01      FD: you (7.3) (where) (10.9 ) (o)sking
02      Mo: [°oh° hm.]
03          [((looking at D, slight nod))]
04          (10.6)
05  →   FD: (abou-) (5.2) (tzuh)
06          (.)
07      F:  mhehehehehehehe
08          ((raises LH away from D))
09  →   Mo: .h, about the.
10          (3.5)
11      F:  ((moves LH toward D to start typing))
12  →   Mo: which subject.
13          (3.6)
14      F:  .h
15  →   FD: Pops.[3]
16      F:  ((raises LH hand, looks to Mo))
17  →   Mo: oh the Pops?
18      F:  [((raising gaze toward Mo and nodding))]
19          [mm]
```

Molly's first repair initiator in line 9 is a partial repetition of line 5, which demonstrates less knowledge than a candidate understanding would, according to the

3. Reference to the Milwaukee Symphony Orchestra "Pops" concert season.

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continuum outlined by Hayashi and Hayano (2013). Indeed, partial repetitions have been associated with several functions, including confirming understanding and initiating repair, among others (Lilja 2014). Molly's partial repetition here does two actions: It confirms her understanding of line 5 through the embedded correction (Jefferson 1987), and it initiates a repair on the trouble source – requesting that Fred fill in what follows the determiner. Molly then redoes the repair initiation as a separate action in line 12, using the form *which subject*. Kendrick (2015b: 171) says that selection of the interrogative determiner *which* over *what* indicates trouble identifying a unique referent, and that "[t]he selection of *which* over *what* indicates that the speaker has identified more than one possible referent for a reference that claims there to be relevantly only one." In this case, the participants had been interacting for nearly half an hour on a number of different topics. Thus, Molly's use of *which subject* at this point not only targets the one subject among those already discussed, it also uses the already available syntactic information to directly target the head of the noun phrase. Fred completes the repair in line 15, and Molly displays her understanding through the change of state token *oh* and a confirmation check in line 17, which Fred confirms in lines 18 and 19. Although this repair was not as quick and easily accomplished as the repairs in (1), because there was no segmental information available, the available grammatical information led to relatively quick and straightforward completion within the repair opportunity space.

On the other hand, sometimes even the determiner in a projected noun phrase can become a trouble source, and the participants must build the utterance from the bottom up, so to speak. Once the determiner is supplied, the recipient begins to target the head of the noun phrase. This is shown in Example (3) in which Fred had been telling a story about a surgical procedure he had nearly forty years ago. Pat asks why he needed the surgery in line 1.

(3) The Doctor (Pre)

```
01      P:  why did you have the operation?
02          (6)
03  →   FD: T-H-R-
04  →   F:  no.
05      P:  therapy? or?
06      F:  °no°
07          (6)
08  →   FD: the
09          (3.5)
10  →   P:  the doctor. (.) (°I think°)
11      FD: (doser)
12      F:  (iya:)
13      P:  DOCter? ((tilting head))
14      F:  (yeah)
```

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The trouble source in line 3 is due to a typo, which the AAC device voices as the individual letters: *t, h, r*. In line 4, Fred initiates repair with *no*,[4] and in line 5 Pat offers a tentative candidate understanding, which Fred rejects in line 6, and in line 8, he completes the repair. Once repair of the determiner has been completed, Pat produces a candidate understanding, targeting the entire noun phrase in line 10. Fred's attempt to confirm this repair produces another typo in line 11, which Pat confirms by repeating only the (corrected) noun (line 13). Fred accepts this repair and continues with his explanation of why the doctor had recommended the surgery, thus continuing to move forward in the action he had begun before these repairs became the primary activity.

Example (4) is similar to (3), in that there is a typo in the determiner on which Jim initiates repair before continuing to work on the head of the noun phrase. Fred and Jim had been discussing a medical procedure that Fred would be having soon. Prior to this excerpt, they had collaboratively produced *but if they can't do it over there, I have to*.[5]

(4) Another Appointment (S2)

```
01      FD: make.
02          (.)
03      F:  ( )
04      J:  make
05          (9.2)
06  →   FD: anther.
07  →   J:  anther? another?
08      F:  yeah.
09  →   J:  another?
10      F:  ( )
11  →   J:  blood test?
12  →   F:  (no)
13      J:  no.
14      F:  ((looks down and begins to type))
15          (4.7)
16      F:  ( )
17          (2.3)
```

4. Keevallik (2012) has shown that one of the functions of the negative particle *ei* in Estonian is to halt the progress of an ongoing turn and then do a self-repair. Following Lerner and Kitzinger (2010), she argues that when used in this way *ei* functions as a repair preface, "which is the segment positioned between the repair initiation, if there is one, and the repair solution" (2012: 127). In AAC interaction, however, because there are so few resources available for self-initiation of repair, aided participants' vocalizations of *no* might be considered to function as repair initiators, along with other actions such as eye gaze, laughter, and gestures.

5. Fred attempted more vocalizations and relied less on his AAC device when interacting with Jim than with other recipients in the study.

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```
18     J:  [((gazing at screen))]
19  →      [appointment?]
20     F:  [yeah. ]
21         [((raising head to look at J and nodding slightly))]
```

In line 7, Jim initiates repair by repeating the trouble source (*anther?*) with rising intonation and immediately following with the candidate understanding *another?* in the same turn. After Fred has confirmed this understanding (line 8), Jim repeats this determiner with rising intonation (*another?*), thereby initiating repair targeted at the rest of the noun phrase (line 9). The same linguistic form functions differently due to its sequential positioning in the utterance that the participants are collaboratively building. In the first position (line 7), *another?* functions as a candidate understanding of the first trouble source (the determiner itself), and in the second position (line 9), it is a repetition of that determiner that functions to initiate repair on the following noun. Fred responds to this other-initiation with an indecipherable utterance (line 10), and Jim produces the candidate understanding *blood test?* (line 11), which shows that he is targeting the head of the projected noun phrase. It is rejected by Fred (lines 12–13), who resumes typing in line 14. Jim gazes at the screen as Fred is typing, and in line 19, offers the candidate repair *appointment?*, which Fred confirms in line 20.

The repairs in Examples (1) and (2) are the most straightforward of the examples discussed so far because much of the grammatical information about the trouble source was available to the recipients in each case: In (1), there was a determiner and adjective in the turn with the first trouble source at line 1, and a preposition and determiner in the turn with the second trouble source at line 10. The recipient used this information to target her repair initiations toward the head noun in these projected noun phrases, and the available segmental information allowed her to use the candidate understanding format, which demonstrates the strongest degree of understanding on the part of the recipient and is relatively less disruptive of progressivity (Hayashi & Hayano 2013). In (2), a preposition and determiner were available in the trouble source turn, but there was no segmental information, so the recipient initiated repair twice, using forms that displayed a weaker degree of understanding of the target. However, the repairs in both of these examples went relatively smoothly and can be said to have occurred within the repair opportunity space. In the case of Examples (3) and (4), although there was no extended repair of one trouble source, there were multiple trouble sources, which extends the activity of repair (Schegloff 2000) and disrupts progressivity accordingly. In both cases, the first trouble source was the determiner that was introducing a noun phrase and needed to be repaired before the recipient could help with the rest of the noun phrase. Examples (3) and (4) also show, once again, how recipients use not only syntactic but also segmental information in their

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repair initiations. For example, in (3), the trouble source contains an *r*, which leads the recipient to initiate repair with the candidate understanding *therapy?*, albeit tentatively marked with a subsequent *or?*, before it is rejected by the speaker and subsequently repaired. In contrast, in (4), one phonological segment was omitted in the trouble source *anther*, and the recipient used a candidate understanding in the next turn, which was accepted by the speaker in the third turn, a format common to other-repair in everyday conversation (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977).

The final example in this section shows the repair process in a case where the head of a projectable noun phrase itself has a more complex structure in that it is a compound. As was shown in Examples (1) and (2), here too, the recipient uses the available syntactic information in her repair attempts, and like (3) and (4), she uses some of the phonological segments that have already been produced to attempt to resolve more than one trouble source. However, unlike (3) and (4), in which one of the trouble sources was a determiner and therefore was repaired more easily, the fact that the noun itself has a more complex structure extends the repair. In this example, Fred is explaining how his father got him interested in car racing.

(5) At the State Fair (Pre)

```
01      FD: and (3) he (6.5) also (8) W-R-K
02      F:  [(no)]=
03          [((moves LH away from typing for a moment))]
04      P:  =worked. (.) worked, right. (.) o:h
05  →   FD: (at) (5) the (11) (stat)
06      F:  (nn) ((pauses typing))
07          (3)
08  →   P:  stadium? or-
09          (5.5)
10  →   FD: farm ((looks at P))
11          (.)
12  →   P:  farm?
13      F:  no.
14          (8)
15      FD: at (3.4)
16      P:  at the::-
17      FD: the
18          (7)
19  →   P:  s:-
20          (4)
21  →   P:  [oh Saturday.]
22          [((nodding and leaning back slightly))]
23  →   F:  no.
24      P:  °no?° ((tilting head toward F))
25          (4.5)
26  →   FD: (say-)
27      F:  no.
```

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```
28          (13)
29  →   FD: sta(t)-
30      F:  (↑Ga:::) ((laughing))
31  →   P:  hehe (.) s- ⌈si:te?⌉
32                      ⌊((head tilt toward F))⌋
33          maybe o:r? (.) race-
34  →   FD: fair. ((looks toward P))
35  →   P:  ⌈↑o::h↓.⌉
36  →       ⌊((leaning back))⌋   ⌈the fai:r?↑⌉
37                               ⌊((head tilt toward F))⌋
38      F:  ⌈yeah.⌉
39          ⌊((pulling LH back from typing and gesturing))⌋
40  →   P:  >state fair<.
41      F:  yea:h↑
42      P:  ⌈okay, okay.⌉
43          ⌊((nodding))⌋ I see.
```

Although Pat treats the device's voicing of the individual letters *w, r*, and *k* as a possible trouble source and offers a candidate understanding, Fred does not acknowledge this explicitly, instead continuing with his turn, in effect accepting the repair. In line 5, there is another trouble source: *stat*. Based on the segmental and syntactic information available, Pat offers the candidate repair *stadium*, which is ignored as Fred continues typing, producing *farm* (line 10). Pat initiates repair at line 12, repeating this word with rising intonation, and Fred's *no* at line 13 indicates that this is a second trouble source. As he begins a repair attempt, he repeats the preposition (line 15) and determiner (line 17). Pat is looking at the screen at line 19 and says *s-* followed by *oh Saturday* in line 21. Presumably the selection of this form is because Fred has typed *sa* prior to line 21, as evidenced by the fact that the device subsequently produces a form that sounds like *say-* (line 26). The repair attempt in line 21 does not appear to take the available syntactic information into account, but it does show the importance of segmental information. At this point in the repair process, Pat may be confused about the relationship between the two trouble sources *stat* (line 5) and *farm* (line 10), or she may understand that the head noun is more complex. After Fred rejects the line 21 candidate understanding (line 23), he attempts two more repairs (lines 26 and 29). At line 31, Pat takes into account the syntactic structure – that the form follows both a preposition and determiner – and produces *site*, which could fill the head noun slot, while preserving the initial *s-* that had been present in most of Fred's attempts so far. In line 34, Fred produces the repair *fair*. The prosody and lengthening in the following change of state token and confirmation check (lines 35–36) indexes the fact that Pat finally understands how the segmental and syntactic information fit together and she quickly produces the compound noun *state fair* (line 40).

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In this example, repair extends beyond the repair opportunity space. Although Schegloff (2000) has shown that whenever there are multiple trouble sources, repair is potentially extended, that is only part of the problem here. Indeed, the structural relationship between the two trouble sources – in that they are two parts of a compound noun – is part of the trouble for a recipient who must rely on the limited resources available for repair in AAC interaction. Essentially, this is a problem of projection, which is the ability to predict what is coming next based on "knowledge about how actions (or action components) are sequenced" in time (Auer 2005: 8). That sequential organization is a primary resource used by recipients to project the course of action as it unfolds has been well researched. (See e.g., Chevalier & Clift 2008; Drew 1984; Schegloff 1990.) In addition, studies such as Hayashi (2004) and Helasvuo (2004) have looked specifically at the importance of language-specific syntactic structure for projection, for Japanese and Finish respectively. For languages like English and French in which the verb usually appears before the object (i.e., SVO word order), Chevalier and Clifton (2008) argue that early projection is possible. Examining German data, Auer (2005, 2009) has argued that grammatical structure at various levels, including phonological (segmental), phrasal, and clausal, plays an important role in projection. Essentially, recipients use their knowledge of the structural patterning in their language to project what is coming next, and knowledge of syntactic hierarchy is key to this process. In Example (5), the fact that a preposition and determiner occur just prior to the first trouble source (and the subject and verb are already known) leads the recipient to project a subsequent noun. Of course, a determiner alone would be enough information to project a following noun, but the fact that the recipient repeats the preposition and determiner *at the* (line 16) suggests that she projects that the next item will be the head of the prepositional phrase and thus a constituent. Viewed in this way, syntactic structure is a resource that recipients can use to project possible points of syntactic completion (or units) within a turn. However, time is another important factor in projection in that "[i]t is unclear … how long a projection can be 'in play' in dialogical interaction before it is forgotten by the speaker, the recipient, or both" (Auer 2009: 186). When compared to everyday interaction, AAC interaction progresses slowly because of the need to type utterances before they are voiced and also because of the frequent trouble sources and the time needed to execute repair. Thus, at least in some cases, it is likely that by the time a particular repair has been completed, recipients may have forgotten what they knew about the trajectory of the trouble source turn, not to mention, the larger project underway. It is also true that structural resources such as segmental and phrasal components are the primary verbal resources available to recipients for projecting which form may complete a repair. Indeed, prosody plays a role in projecting completion points in English TCUs (Ford & Thompson 1996), and

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Chevalier and Clifton (2008: 1743) argue that "the systematic placement of speech perturbations" (e.g., "sound stretches" and "the prolongation of a sound") play a role in projecting the action of an unfinished turn in French. Neither of these resources is available when a speaker uses an AAC device, but Example (5) reveals how the recipient uses the structural resources that *are* available to collaborate in building the turn in a linear fashion. It also suggests that it is not only more complex nouns that will affect the recipient's understanding and lead to extended repair; when the trouble source is part of a more complex noun phrase, there are similar issues. In the next section, I turn to examples in which the recipient targets (head) nouns in her repair attempts, based on available, segmental, syntactic, or semantic information, but it becomes clear after multiple repair attempts that the trouble sources are actually functioning as modifiers that precede the head of the noun phrase. In these cases, it is common for repair to extend well beyond the repair opportunity space.

Repairing more complex noun phrases

The examples in this section show how the participants work through cases in which the grammatical role of the trouble source is less transparent. Example (6) is similar to several of the examples above in that there is a preposition and determiner just before the trouble source (line 1). This leads the recipient to target the head of the noun phrase in her other-initiations. However, as will be shown, the fact that the trouble source is actually functioning as a modifier of the head becomes apparent only after a number of repair attempts. Prior to this example, Fred had been complaining about another resident of the group home where he lives because that resident reportedly wandered around the home and went into the rooms of other residents when they were not there.

(6) In Other People's Rooms (S1)

```
01  →  FD: (I'm) the only one to tell the aids that he goes in other pepow.
02     Mo: [hehe]                  ((shifts gaze away from D))
03     F:  [((laughing silently))]
04     F:  .hah
05  →  Mo: [(other), hh, pepow, you mean other-] ((looks at F))
06     F:  [((laughing silently))]
07     F:  .hhah
08  →  Mo: rooms↑
09     F:  ((looks to Mo, raises eyebrows))
10  →  Mo: no that's not rooms= ((leans back away from D))
11  →  Mo: [=other,=]
12     F:  [.hhha]
```

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```
13  →  Mo: [=parts? ((looks to F))]
14     F:  [((shifts gaze quickly away from Mo to D))]
15     F:  ((moves LH toward D to type))
16  →  F:  n:↑o↓.
17  →  Mo: what's that last wo[rd.]
18     F:                     [(↑ah↓)].hhhehe
19  →  Mo: what's that [last word.]
20     F:              [((clears throat))] (okay)
21         (.)
22     F:  .h ( 1 ) ((sniffs)) ( 1 ) .hh hh .hh
23         (4.9)
24  →  FD: rooms.
25  →  Mo: o(h)kay(h) [(w- (he) d- )=] ((shaking head slightly))
26     F:             [(°yeah°)]
27  →  Mo: =what were you tr ↑ (h)y(h)ing to say(he).
28     FD: [(I'm) the only one=]
29     F:  [((looks at Mo))]
30  →  FD: =to tell the aids that he goes in [other pepow rooms.]
31     F:                                    [hehehe, hehehe]
32  →  Mo: hehe, ((shakes head slightly)) other↑
33         (1.5)
34  →  Mo: [people's rooms.]
35         [((turns body and gaze to F))]
36     F:  ((looking at Mo: raises eyebrows))
37  →  Mo: people, right?
38     F:  ((raises eyebrows))
39  →  Mo: [other people's rooms?]
40         [((leans back and nods head))]
41         (1.8)
42  →  F:  [°yeah°]
```

The trouble source *pepow* is due to a typo in the utterance *I'm the only one to tell the aids that he goes in other pepow* in line 1. Although I have not done an in-depth study of laughter in interaction involving AAC, in this example, the laughter could be considered a (collaborative) repair initiator in that it occurs just after a potential trouble source (Mayes & Clinkenbeard 2016). It is interesting to note that laughter has been associated with various types of interactional trouble or sequences in which delicate issues arise (Dionigi & Canestrari 2018; Glen 2013; Potter & Hepburn 2010; Vöge 2010), including repair (Haakana 2001) and correction (Petitjean & Cangemi 2016) sequences. With respect to AI, Petitjean and Cangemi (2016) have examined the use of laughter as a resource for managing correction sequences involving speech therapists and adolescents with communication disabilities, and several studies of speakers with aphasia have suggested that laughter may be a way of coping with issues of linguistic competence (Perkins 2003; Wilkinson 1995, 2007). Indeed, Wilkinson (2007) has found that aphasic speakers' sometimes do what he refers to as a humorous noticing, which occurs

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after several unsuccessful self-repair attempts and involves the speaker repeating the erroneous form (the repair attempt) and laughing. Recipients typically respond with laughter at what can be understood as the speaker's "small joke about a display of incompetence" (2007: 562). In a similar way, the laughter here may be interpreted as the speaker's joke about the device's voicing of the erroneous form, which might serve to deflect an apparent lack of competence away from the speaker. Molly's collaborative laughter would seem to support this interpretation. Wilkinson (2007) has also found that, in some cases, an aphasic speaker's laughter can be understood as an invitation for the recipient to enter the repair sequence and help with the repair, an action that he suggests may support the preference for progressivity. In this example, Molly does begin to help by initiating repair, consisting of a repetition and a candidate understanding (lines 5 and 8) that targets the head of the noun phrase. However, she quickly retracts this repair attempt in line 10, perhaps because of Fred's facial gesture (raising his eyebrows, in line 9), and the fact that it is not phonologically similar to the trouble source. Indeed, she then offers *other parts?* (lines 11 and 13), which preserves the first segment in the trouble source. Molly's second attempt is rejected by Fred, both verbally with *no* in line 16 and through eye gaze and bodily movements, as he shifts his body and gaze to resume typing (lines 14 and 15). She then follows with another initiation, *what's that last word* in lines 17 and 19. This initiation is formulated with a *wh*-interrogative that specifically targets the position of the trouble source in the utterance, but it does not display as strong an understanding as some of the possible repair-initiators such as repetitions or candidate understandings, which according to the continuum outlined by Hayashi and Hayano (2013) display a higher degree of understanding. This repair initiator is apparently designed to elicit repair from Fred, and indeed, he follows by producing *rooms* in line 24. This word is the head of the noun phrase, and it is in the position targeted by Molly in lines 17 and 19, but notably, it is not the original trouble source. Molly seems to realize this because after confirming her understanding in line 25, she initiates another repair with *what were you trying to say* in line 27. This leads Fred to replay the entire utterance which still contains the original trouble source *pepow*, in lines 28 and 30. At this point, Molly has more information about the structure of the prepositional phrase that Fred is building, *in other* _____, because the final word *rooms* has been supplied. She is thus able to understand that the trouble source is serving as a modifier rather than as the missing head noun. She then completes the repair with *people's rooms* in line 34. This is followed by two confirmation checks, the first focused on her new understanding of the trouble source, *people, right?* in line 37, and the second focused on her new understanding of the complete noun phrase *other people's rooms?* in line 39, which is confirmed by Fred in line 42.

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In the interest of intersubjectivity, in AAC interaction, the examples examined so far show that recipients demonstrate their understanding on an ongoing basis. Thus, other-initiated repair is accomplished incrementally, as the syntactic structure becomes more projectable, and the recipient is able to proffer increasingly likely candidates for acceptance or rejection. In cases where the syntactic structure is less obvious, repair may extend well beyond the repair opportunity space, as in this example. One reason for this seems to be that the recipient focuses on constituent structure, which supports Auer's (2005) contention that speakers' knowledge of syntactic hierarchy is important in projecting what comes next. Indeed, if a particular form can feasibly be the head of a noun phrase in a subject, object, or oblique role, they target their repairs toward those forms, rather than assuming that a form might be doing a different kind of work, such as modifying a (head) noun. These examples also indicate the important role the phonological structure (and in particular, the first segment) of the trouble source plays, in that the recipient clearly uses this information in the selection of other-initiators. Indeed, Examples (2), (3), (5) and (6) suggest that the available segmental information may limit the candidate understandings offered by the recipient. A mismatch in the recipient's assumptions about the relation between the phonological and syntactic structure of the targeted form may produce erroneous candidate understandings, which also extends repair.

Example (7) is extracted from one extremely long segment in which the participants are trying to repair the utterance shown in lines 1 and 3. They had already been working on this sentence for several moments prior to the portion shown in this excerpt. Unlike the examples presented so far, the trouble source here is not due to a typing error but rather due to the form of the projected sentence.

(7) Ice Cream Social (S5)

```
01  →  FD: [Molly how do anybody make a person a month like you did for=]
02     F:  [((gazing at Mo))]
03  →  FD: [=Chris when they have the ice cre-mae:.]
04     F:  [((gazing at Mo))] .hh
05         (3.6)
06  →  Mo: when (I) had the ice [cream back there?]
07  →  F:                       [.hh (yeahyeah)] yeahyeah
08         (.)
09     Mo: yeah.
10         (1.7)
11  →  Mo: we can have ice [cream- what=]
12     F:                 [((shakes head, moves LH toward D))]
13  →  Mo: =you, like the ice cream?=
14     F:  =(n ) ((looks to D and moves LH into position for typing))
15  →  Mo: or what.
16         (1.3)
```

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```
17  →  Mo: you know we're suppose to=
18  →       =ope[n up that-,=] ((“that” refers to ‘smoothie bar’))
19       F:      [(I-I-I-I-)] ((looks at Mo))
20       Mo: =[you-]
21             [((leans forward to look at D))]
22       F:  .hhmm
23       Mo: suppose to open up that, but (.) can't find anybody [(who can)=]
24       FD:                                                     [I::]
25       Mo: =run it.
```

The trouble source turn is obviously being built to be a question, and thus, before the project underway can progress, Molly needs to know what is being asked. Prompted by Fred's gaze (lines 2 and 4), in line 6, she initiates repair by producing a candidate understanding of part of the information from line 3. Fred initially confirms her understanding (line 7), but she goes on to produce other candidate repairs in which *ice cream* is not just projected to be the head of a noun phrase, but is also the direct object: In line 11 – *we can have ice cream-* and in line 13 – *you like the ice cream?*. After Fred rejects both of these, she uses an open-class repair initiator in line 15, before continuing with another candidate repair in lines 17–18. This utterance refers to opening up a smoothie bar, which both participants know is a place in the daycare facility where ice cream had been served in the past, so *ice cream* is also an implicit direct object in this utterance. The assumption about the syntactic role of *ice cream* is apparently warranted on semantic grounds and also because of the available syntactic information: *ice cream* is after all the direct object in line 3. However, the assumption that *ice cream* is functioning as the direct object or even as a noun in Fred's longer project turns out to be incorrect. The problem is finally resolved, as shown in (8), after a very extended repair sequence in which other new trouble sources also cropped up.

(8) Ice Cream Social (S5)

```
138      FD: it (3.9) was (9.2) last
139          (9)
140      Mo: (°o:::h I think I know°)
141      F:  ((looks up at Mo)) ( )
142          (.)
143      Mo: ((looks toward F))
144          (.)
145      Mo: last,
146          (.)
147      F:  ((F looks to D and moves LH to resume typing))
148      Mo: week? no.
149      F:  (yeah yeah week). ((looks up at Mo and then back to D))
150  →   Mo: o::h, your snack then.
```

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```
151     F:  no:[::::.] ((looks at Mo))
152     Mo:    [no.]
153     F:  ((looks down and begins to type))
154     Mo: ((looks away from F)) .t hmhm, mm
155         (.)
156  →  Mo: [O↑:::H↓ you mean when we had the-(th-eh) social?]
157     F:  [((stops typing and gazes at Mo))]
158     F:  (ye[ah,)]
159     Mo:    [no.]= ((looking at F, shakes head))
160     Mo: =yeah
161         (.)
162  →  Mo: you mean when we had the social for, um, Jennifer.
163  →  F:  yeahyeahyeahyeahyeahyeah
164  →  Mo: TH↑At↓. (.) ice cream social.
165  →  F:  (yeah, I) [((creaky voice))]
166     Mo:           [yeah.]
```

In this example, Fred has decided to start over and take a new tack to convey his question (lines 1 and 3 in Example (7)) to Molly. He begins by establishing the orientation in terms of the timing of what he is trying to talk about. Although Fred does not complete the utterance in line 138, this trouble source is resolved relatively quickly (lines 145, 148–149), and Molly goes on to focus on the main trouble source (what Fred wants to say about *ice cream*). She produces one candidate understanding at line 150, which is rejected, and then another at line 156, which turns out to be correct. The prosody and lengthening on *oh* suggest that she now realizes (Heritage 1984) that this candidate understanding is a crucial piece of the entire utterance that the two participants had been working toward for just over ten minutes by that point. It is repeated with a little more information in line 162 (*for Jennifer*), but *ice cream* is not even mentioned. It is at this point that Molly has enough information to speculate that the noun phrase she had been focusing on is *the* (or *that*) *ice cream social* (line 164), and *ice cream* is simply a modifier rather than an argument.

The examples in the previous section show that when the trouble source is the head of a noun phrase that is either structurally simple (determiner + noun) or nearly complete grammatically, repair can be accomplished fairly quickly, often within the repair opportunity space, and the more syntactic and segmental information that is available, the more efficient that repair will be. The examples in this section show, however, that when the recipient designs her repair initiations to target the head of a noun phrase based on either the projected grammatical role of the trouble source or the fact that the trouble source form usually functions as a noun, repair can become quite extended if the trouble source is not actually functioning as a noun. Some of the candidate understandings in these cases go in directions that take the participants far afield, away from the speaker's original project.

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Discussion

Previous research has shown that repair in AAC interaction and other types of AI differs from repair in everyday conversation with respect to its frequency, sequential trajectory, and practices, and the data examined here support these points. Indeed, in these data, collaborative repair is more common than self-repair, and sometimes, repair sequences extend well beyond the repair opportunity space. The nature of AAC interaction itself (with its delays and typing errors) is obviously one reason for this because recipients must rely on limited linguistic resources as cues in order to maintain intersubjectivity. In particular, the lack of prosodic information and the way the device voices typing errors can cause breakdowns in intersubjectivity and make projection difficult; thus, it is important to understand how the resources that *are* available to the recipient are used during the repair process. The AAC-using speaker's eye gaze, gestures, and vocalizations are important resources, as are the typed utterances that include segmental, syntactic, semantic, and contextual cues.

Here, I have focused on how syntax is used as a resource, by examining the relationship between the trouble source and the recipient's other-initiations, in particular examining instances in which the trouble occurred inside a noun phrase. As shown in Examples (1) through (4), once a determiner had been produced, recipients quickly targeted their repair-initiations toward the head of the noun phrase, and when segmental information about the trouble source was also available, repair could be completed in a relatively short sequence. On the other hand, the same strategy led to further trouble and extended repair when the trouble source was not the head noun, but instead functioned as a modifier preceding the head, as shown in (5), with respect to noun compounds, and in (6), with respect to genitive premodification. In these examples, the available segmental information led the recipients to limit their candidate understandings in ways that were not productive for resolving the problem because that information pertained to a word that preceded the one being targeted by the recipient (e.g., in (5), all of the recipient's attempts to repair the head noun began with [s], the initial segment in the compound *state fair*). The recipient also targeted other-initiations toward the head of a noun phrase in the last case in which her repair attempts placed *ice cream* in the role of direct object, as shown in Example (7). This in turn led to a lengthy repair sequence, which was finally resolved when she realized that *ice cream* was more appropriately understood as a modifier of the head noun (Example (8)). Even though it sometimes takes them far afield, recipients apparently focus on understanding the clausal structure in terms of its constituency, building it constituent-by-constituent. Noun phrases are obviously central components in this endeavor. Indeed, all of the noun phrases in which

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the trouble sources in my data occur are constituents functioning as objects of prepositions, direct objects, or subjects. As mentioned previously, understanding the grammatical roles of noun phrase constituents is probably necessary in order to understand the action underway. Indeed, Ford and Thompson (1996) found that conversational participants rely on three types of information that index TCU completion: intonational, syntactic, and pragmatic. In AAC interaction, only the last two are available, making them all the more important for progressing the AAC-using participant's turn.

Close examination of the incremental process involved in the repair of noun phrases in AAC interaction reveals how important mutual understanding of syntactic structure is and also draws attention to how interdependent intersubjectivity and progressivity are. As mentioned, Heritage (2007) argues that speakers and recipients treat recognitional reference as a shared responsibility, and they use the resources for reference and repair in ways that strike a balance between achieving mutual understanding (intersubjectivity) and moving the conversation forward (progressivity), simply because there will be no forward progress without mutual understanding. The examples above include many instances in which forward progress is halted, as the recipient and the speaker work through multiple attempts to achieve mutual understanding of the structure of a noun phrase and the grammatical role played by that noun phrase in the trouble-source turn. This process also in the end achieves completion of the speaker's action. The findings suggest that this works more efficiently in cases involving repair of nouns that *are* functioning as the head of a noun phrase (e.g., (1)–(4)). However, when repairs are targeted toward the head noun, and the trouble source has a different grammatical role, progressivity can be further disrupted, and additional trouble sources can develop, which then need to be repaired (e.g., (5)–(8)). It could be argued that in the latter case the recipient is targeting the head noun too soon – before adequate information about the noun phrase is available. In this sense, the recipient's impulse to adhere to progressivity leads to further disruption in intersubjectivity; repair becomes the primary activity, and whatever was going on prior to the trouble is put on hold. Indeed, considering the amount of effort invested by both participants and the fact, noted above, that progress cannot be achieved without it, intersubjectivity seems to have priority over progressivity. This argument also appears to be supported by Kendrick's (2015a) work on the timing of other-initiated repairs, which suggests that when turn-taking and repair practices intersect, participants give priority to resolving trouble.

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Conclusions

The form of the utterance is critical to projecting the speaker's action. As discussed, in AAC interaction, the smooth delivery of an utterance may be disrupted for a variety of reasons. Thus, focusing on the relation between forms that cause trouble and how they are repaired may advance our knowledge of how to better communicate with AAC-using speakers, as well as those with other kinds of communication disabilities. The study of this issue in AI is also relevant for increasing our knowledge of repair practices more generally. Indeed, Hayashi and Hayano's (2013) study suggests that recipients use the structure of the trouble source turn to design their other-initiations in ordinary Japanese conversation, although they note that the practices may vary depending on the language and perhaps other contextual factors. This suggests the need for more research examining the relation between the grammatical structure of the trouble source turn and repair attempts across languages and within a language in different situations. Obviously, noun phrases are a canonical resource for referring, and given the importance of recognitional reference with respect to progressivity, it is not surprising that noun phrases would be a primary focus of other-initiated repair, a point where progressivity cannot be achieved without first attending to intersubjectivity. The fact that repair is collaborative but also slowed down in a sense in AI may afford the opportunity to understand how intersubjectivity is achieved step-by-step.

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Appendix. Transcription symbols

Symbol	Transcription key
F	Fred, the AAC-using participant
FD	Utterances produced with the AAC device
D	The AAC device
LH / RH	Left hand / right hand
[word word]	Overlapping utterances, gaze, or gesture
Ma	Mary
Mo	Molly
P	Pat
J	Jim

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PART II

Languages from other parts of the world

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CHAPTER 9

Multiple nominal expressions in Garrwa conversation

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Noun phrases have long been a contested category in studies of Australian language grammars. In this chapter I use a corpus of conversations in the Northern Australian language Garrwa to show how the syntactic and prosodic design of referring expressions consisting of a demonstrative nominal and a common nominal is highly sensitive to the place in and relevance to the unfolding interactional sequence in which the referring expression occurs. In particular, I show that the design of referential nominal expressions in Garrwa conversations display a systematic relationship between more phrase-like constructions and smooth, progressive talk, and less phrase-like formulations and sequential and topical boundaries.

1. Introduction

In this paper I explore the deployment of nominals in conversation in the Australian Aboriginal language Garrwa, focusing on the design of turns which feature multiple coreferential nominal expressions. Nominals, together with pronouns (which behave differently grammatically), constitute the resources Garrwa speakers have at their disposal to establish and maintain reference in talk. Here I show that while features associated with phrasehood such as congruent case marking and contiguity can be identified in the grammar of Garrwa, their distribution in conversation reveals a more elaborated picture of how the syntactic and prosodic design of coreferential nominal expressions may service the ongoing trajectory of talk-in-interaction.

In many languages, multiple coreferential referring expressions, for example, a demonstrative and a common noun (eg. 'that hat'), must occur contiguously and in a fixed order, typically within a turn construction unit (TCU) (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974). As shown here, Garrwa coreferential demonstratives and nominals need not occur continguously, nor need they occur in the same prosodic

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domain. This pattern has led Louagie and Verstraete (2016) to classify Garrwa as having noun phrases as a 'minor' constituent type, alternating with multiple nominal expressions in an appositional relationship.

Here I examine how the syntactic and prosodic properties of Garrwa referring expressions consisting of a demonstrative and a common nominal reflect the interactional contingencies of the turn in which they occur. In particular, I show that more phrase-like formulations are associated with smooth progression of courses of action, while less phrase-like turn designs are associated with less smooth progression, such as topic initiation, closure and resumption, repair and reformulation. The discourse occurrence of non-pronominal noun phrases has long been associated with newness, contrast and topic junctures (e.g. Fox 1987; Givón 1983), contrasting with pronouns and zero anaphora for continuing topicality. Here I show that these kinds of associations also play out in the design of multiple nominal expressions.

The analysis presented here is thus consistent with an interactional linguistic approach that understands grammar as emergent from routine practices of linguistic behaviour, that in turn reflect what is happening in "their home environment in co-present interaction" (Schegloff 1996, cited in Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 3).

1.1 Noun phrases in Australian languages

The question of noun phrases as a constituent category has long been debated among scholars of Australian languages, especially those concerned with the non-configurational properties of Australian language grammars (e.g. Hale 1983; Nordlinger 2014; Pensalfini 2004). Australian languages tend to lack traditional grammatical hallmarks of noun phrasehood, such as contiguity and restricted ordering. Additionally, most Australian languages lack a class of determiners altogether, relying on demonstratives to delimit reference and mark definiteness. Concordant case is often marked on all coreferential nominals within a clause. In such languages, coreferential nominals have been argued to occur in appositional rather than hierarchical relationships (e.g. Blake 1983).

A clear example of this comes from Kalkatungu, a Pama-Nyungan language from Western Queensland (Blake 1979). The example in (1) shows that the coreferential nominals *cipa* 'this', *thuku* 'dog' and *yaun* 'big' can occur in a number of orders and need not occur contiguiously (Blake 1983: 45) (see Appendix for glossing conventions). Blake (1983) argues that the ergative marking on all three nominals is assigned directly from the verb semantics.

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(1) Kalkatungu (Blake 1983: 45)

a. ***cipa-yi thuku-yu yaun-tu*** *yanyi icayi*
this-ERG dog-ERG big-ERG white.man bite
'This big dog bit/bites the white man.'

b. ***cipa-yi thuku-yu*** *yanyi icayi* ***yaun-tu***

c. ***thuku-yu cipa-yi*** *icayi yanyi* ***yaun-tu***

d. ***yaun-tu cipa-yi thuku-yu*** *icayi yanyi*

e. ***cipa-yi*** *icayi yanyi* ***thuku-yu yaun-tu***

f. *yanyi icayi* ***cipa-yi thuku-yu yaun-tu***

It has long been acknowledged, however, that not all languages display this degree of flexibility in word order and contiguity, and that for some languages a single case marker can have scope over more than one contiguous coreferential nominal expression, suggesting that such expressions form a phrasal constituent.

Recently Louagie and Verstraete (2016) surveyed 100 Australian Aboriginal languages to explore the degree to which individual Australian languages displayed features of noun phrasehood. They used four criteria – word order flexibility, locus of case marking, prosody and the presence of 'diagnostic slots' – to classify the status of noun phrasehood. Of the 100 languages they surveyed, 16 appeared to have a clear phrasal category headed by a nominal, 28 lacked evidence for a noun phrase as a constituent category, and 49 displayed optional properties of phrasehood.[1] From this Louagie and Verstraete (2016: 49) concluded,"NP constituency is not an all-or-nothing phenomenon: some languages have it as the dominant way to organize the nominal domain, while others have it as an option available in a few circumstances" They then point out that discontinuous nominal constructions of the kind illustrated in (1) (b), (c) and (e) above, are "generally less frequent than contiguous structures, and they have specific functions, often in the domain of information structure" (Louagie & Verstraete 2016: 50, but see also McGregor 1997 and Schulze-Berndt & Simard 2012). They conclude with the suggestion that,

> languages should really be typologized in terms of the range of nominal construals they have available, and the division of labour between them, rather than on the basis of a simple yes-or-no answer to the question of constituency or (dis)continuity. (Louagie & Verstraete 2016: 55)

The descriptive facts, and Louagie and Verstraete's conclusion, thus suggest that for a substantial number of Australian languages the question of noun phrasehood

1. Most of the data that served as the input to Louagie and Verstraete (2016) came from published grammars and text collections. They were therefore constrained by what information on each of the four criteria were available. For example, there was information on prosody for only 19 languages.

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is closely tied to the interactional contexts in which nominal expressions appear phrasal. For example, they may appear phrasal because they consist of contiguous nominal words occurring in a particular ordering pattern, but this may be a design feature of that particular turn, rather than a structural property of the grammar of that language. The question for these languages is therefore not whether noun phrase 'exists' as a constituent category, but rather, what are the interactional contingencies that lead people to articulate a nominal reference that is contiguous, fixed in its order, and uttered within the same prosodic unit.

In Louagie & Verstraete's (2016: 48) typology, the Northern Australian language Garrwa is classified as one of the 49 languages in which nouns appear in both phrase-like and non-phrase-like configuration. It is therefore an appropriate language through which to explore the contexts in which speakers design their referential expressions as phrasal constructions, and the contexts in which they do not. In the next section, I provide a grammatical background for Garrwa, and show how coreferential nominal expressions align with the four criteria used in Louagie and Verstraete's (2016) study. I then present a detailed analysis of the most frequent coreferential nominal construction in the corpus – combinations of demonstrative and a common nominal – showing how their occurrence and prosodic shape are contingent on their role in the emerging talk in conversation. The results demonstrate how the design of referring expressions relates to what is being done in the turn in which they appear, and raises questions for the efficacy of a notion 'noun phrase' for understanding linguistic structures in use in real situations.

2. Garrwa

Garrwa is spoken in the southwest corner of what is known as 'Gulf' country in Northern Australia, around the town of Borroloola near the southwestern corner of the Gulf of Carpentaria (see Figure 1). Its precise classification within the Australian language family is contested, with Blake (1990) and Evans (2005) classifying it as non-Pama-Nyungan (Garrwan family) while Harvey (2009) argues it is more likely a Pama-Nyungan language. At this time of writing Garrwa is a highly endangered language with only a few fluent speakers remaining. Almost all of the speakers I recorded for this study are now deceased. Younger people speak some Garrwa or have Garrwa vocabulary as part of the creole language that they now speak (called Kriol). Most Garrwa conversations, including those used in this study, involve considerable switching between Garrwa and Kriol (and sometimes English) (Mushin 2010).

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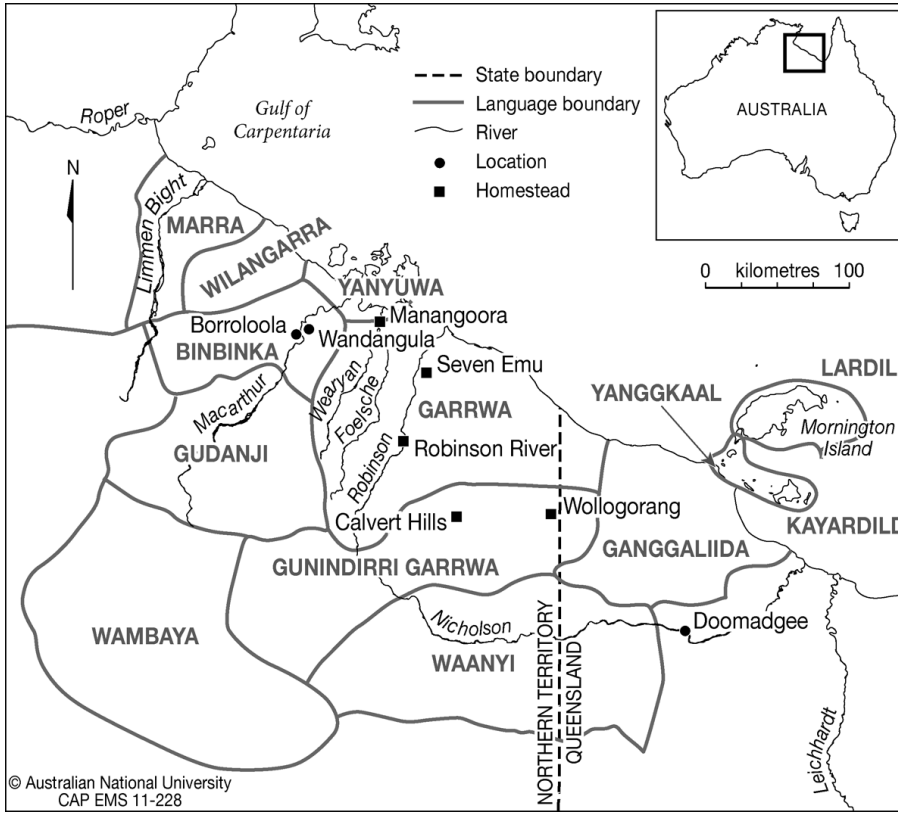

Figure 1. Garrwa and surrounding languages (from Mushin 2012: xviii)

2.1 Grammatical features of Garrwa

Like many other Australian languages, Garrwa has a rich inventory of agglutinating morphology for indicating case relations. However grammatical categories typically associated with verb morphology (e.g. tense, aspect, mood) and person/number marking of arguments are found in a clitic cluster that must occur in second position in a clause (Mushin 2006, 2012; Simpson & Mushin 2008).

A sentence in Garrwa consists minimally of a core consisting of the second position clitic cluster (2P) preceded by an initial element (1P). This is represented in Table 1 below.

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Table 1. The core of Garrwa sentences. Nom = nominative, Acc = accusative, TAclitic = tense/aspect clitic

1P (Initial position) (one of the following)	2P (Second position)
i. Verb ii. Interrogative word iii. Negative particle *miku* iv. Clause-connecting *ngala* v. (Nominals)	(Modal clitics) – {Nom and/or Acc pronoun } – (TAclitic)

The following two examples present clauses consisting of just the core: an initial verb followed by a second position subject pronoun (in (2)) and an initial verb followed in second position by a habitual clitic *=yili* and a reflexive pronoun (in (3)).[2] Both (2) and (3) are grammatically complete.

(2) *kijijba* *yalu*
tie.up 3PLNOM
1P (initial position) 2P (second position)
They were tied up (3.9.03.1.KS)

(3) *wadamba=yili* *nurru-ngka*
feed=HAB 1PLEXCLNOM-REFL
1P=2P 2P
We would feed ourselves, (4.5.01.1.TD)

As illustrated in Table 1, nominals can occur in core-initial position under certain pragmatic conditions (Mushin 2012; Simpson & Mushin 2008), as illustrated in (4), where the name of the language occurs in initial position. Note that when a verb is not in initial position, it occurs in the immediate post-core position.

(4) ***Garrwa*** *nurri* *yanyba* *na-nyina*
Garrwa 1PLEXCLNOM talk this-LOC
1P 2P POST-CORE POST-CORE
'We're talking Garrwa here' (080620.KS: 422)

Clausal constructions must minimally include a core, but may also include nominals referring to core argument referents, location and temporal adjuncts and clause connectors. The canonical ordering of these elements in simple sentences is represented in the template in Figure 2:

2. Both pronouns and tense/aspect markers could be represented as cliticised to the initial position in the core with the '=' symbol. However, Garrwa orthography presents pronouns as separate words and I have kept that convention in analytic work using Garrwa language.

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(adjunct/clause connector) – **core** {consisting of: initial and second positions} – (core argument nominal group) – (adjuncts)

Figure 2. Canonical word order in Garrwa simple sentences

Nominals are most frequently found either in immediate post-core position, or following the verb in post-core position). They can also occur in core-initial position, and in a pre-core slot. Pre-core positions are offset prosodically (see Mushin 2018 for further discussion on the prosody of initial and pre-core positions). Elements in post-core position may or may not be prosodically integrated with the core.

2.2 Garrwa nominal words

As described in Mushin (2012: 44ff), Garrwa nominals fall into a number of formal subclasses, mostly based on shared case allomorphy and derivational suffixes. Subtypes include demonstratives (5), common nouns (5), adjectival nouns (6), kinship nouns (7), and location words (8). These are in boldface below.

(5) **nana-ma** barri ja=ngayu ngajaka jala **waydbala na-nkanyi**
that-IDENT DM FUT=1SGNOM ask REL white.man that-DAT
'That one, I'm going to ask (the) white man for that (one).' (080620.DG:940)

(6) Ngala mada **kunyban**=kiya, wudumba (na), nanga-ngi junu
but also good=OBLIG get 3SG-DAT perhaps
'But (she) also wants to get a good one for her.' (080620.KS:915)

(7) wajawaja yanyb=i nani **bankanya** winyurru
quick talk=HORT like.this cousin soon
'Quick, let's talk to cousin soon' (080620.KS:857)

(8) Kinyba=yi ngali **wayka mundarr-ina**
be.bogged=PAST 1duExclNOM down sand-LOC
'We two were bogged down (there) in the sand' (080620.DG:655)

All nominal subtypes can occur individually or severally in utterances to delimit reference. There is no morphological difference between forms in canonical head positions (as in Examples (5)–(8) above) and forms in modifier positions. For example, in (5) above, the demonstrative *na(na)nkanyi* 'that-DAT' occurs as a nominal referring to a vehicle and follows a nominal *waydbala* 'white man' which is not coreferential. In (9) below, the same demonstrative form occurs preceding the nominal *wadybalanyi* 'white man-DAT'. Although in both examples, the demonstrative is contingious with the common noun, the case concordance in (9) between these forms indicates their coreferentiality.

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(9) *najba=kiyi yaji* ***nana-nkanyi*** *waydbala-nyi*
See=IMP thing that-DAT white.man-DAT
Look at that white man's things. (080620.KS:456)

Mushin (2012: 255) avoids the term noun phrase for multiple coreferential nominal expressions, defining a nominal group as " a set of nominal forms that refer to the same referent and that share the same grammatical and semantic role", similar to that of Blake's (1983) analysis of Kalkatungu nominals in multiple nominal expressions occurring in an appositional rather than hierarchical relationships. However, Louagie and Verstraete's (2016) four tests for noun phrasehood – word order flexibility, locus of case marking, prosody and diagnostic slots – show that the syntax of Garrwa nominal groups is constrained in ways that do suggest a constituent category. The properties of Garrwa with respect to these tests are as follows:

a. Word order flexibility

While all orders of coreferential nominals are theoretically possible, in actual discourse demonstrative nominals and possessive pronouns tend to precede all nominals, and adjectival nominals tend to precede common nominals. Example (10) illustrates this this ordering tendency.

(10) *baki* *jala* *ngayu* *yanyba=yi,* ***nana-ma*** ***yingka*** ***mudinyi***
and REL 1SGNOM say=PAST that-IDENT other PSEUD
PreC PreC PRE-CORE 1P=2P Nominal expression
'And then I said to that other one…' (030910.ER:273)

b. Locus of Case marking

Like many other Australian languages, case morphology occurs on all coreferential nominal words, as in (11), where the ergative case marker occurs on the possessive pronoun, kinship nominal and proper name.

(11) *wajba=yili* ***ngaki-nkurri-nyi*** ***mami-yurru-nyi,*** *(1.2)* ***Wakudi-wanyi***
give=HAB 1SGDAT-DEC-ERG Mother-DEC-ERG name-ERG
1P=2P POST-CORE
My mother used to give it, Wakudi. (030904KS:1171)

c. Prosody

Nominal words can together constitute their own prosodic unit and be integrated into the larger (clausal) unit, but they don't have to be. In Example (10) earlier, all three contiguous nominal words occur within the same independent prosodic unit (marked by a comma in the orthography), while in (11) the first two contiguous nominal words form part of the prosodic unit with the core, while the third nominal occurs after a 1.2 second pause and forms its own prosodic unit.

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d. Diagnostic Slot

As described in the previous subsection, the presence of a second position clitic cluster enables the initial position in the clausal core to be identified. While core-initial position is most frequently a single word, coreferential nominals may also occur in this position, as in (12) where the adjectival and common nominals occur in core-initial position, followed by the clitic cluster (future plus pronoun).

(12) ***Walkurra-nyi*** ***mudika-wanyi*** *ja=nganyi.* *wijkunumba*
big-ERG car-ERG FUT=2SG-DAT take.back
1P 1P 2P PoC1
dere *karrurri*
east.place
PoC2
'A big car will take you back to the east place.' (080620.DG:674)

These recurrent properties of multiple coreferential nominals – that they tend to occur contiguously within the same prosodic unit with preferred orders, and that they can occur in the core-initial position – led Louagie and Verstraete (2016) to classify Garrwa as a language in which multiple nominal expressions may behave as phrases in some instances, but may also be in appositional relationships in other instances.

This classification implies that when Garrwa speakers represent referents with more than one nominal word, they can choose to structure this set of words more or less as a single constituent, both prosodically and syntactically.[3]

What are the kinds of contingencies that result in complex nominal expressions designed as single constructions? In the remainder of this chapter, I will consider this question through an analysis of combinations of demonstratives and common nominals in a corpus of Garrwa conversations.

3. Analysis of multiple nominal expressions in Garrwa conversations: Demonstratives and common nominals

3.1 Data for this paper

The six conversations that form the basis of this analysis were recorded between 2003 and 2008. Most of the participants are elderly Garrwa women who were working with me on a language documentation project. Most recordings were

3. Case morphology occurs on all coreferential nominal words and so cannot be used as a test for constituency.

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made during breaks in language documentation work, where I had left the vicinity. Four conversations were audio recorded only, while the two longest were also videorecorded. The recordings last from 3 minutes to about 90 minutes, with approximately an hour of talk transcribed altogether using Conversation Analytic transcription conventions (Hepburn & Bolden 2017).

The transcribed conversations cover a number of topics and include a variety of actions sequences including complaints, planning, here and now observations, requests, and narratives. In one conversation (030904), the recording includes a lengthy narrative that is being delivered for the purposes of the recording (reminiscences of how people used to gather food in the olden days). This narrative is punctuated by all sorts of interruptions and other action sequences.

There were 87 instances where a referent was referred to using a multiple nominal expression, and these form the basis of the resulting analysis presented here. While theoretically any combination of coreferential nominals is possible, by far the most frequent combination in the conversational corpus was a demonstrative followed by a common nominal: nearly two thirds of multiple nominal expressions were a demonstrative + nominal with no prosodic break between them. The demonstrative was typically less prosodically prominent than the following nominal and the distal absolutive demonstrative *nanda* 'that (one)' was also often phonologically reduced in this arrangement to *nan*. In most examples the demonstrative + nominal combination was found in immediate post-core position, prosodically integrated with the core. This is illustrated in (13) and (14) below.

(13) *jakajba=yi* ***nanda*** ***mudika***
start.up=PAST that car
1P=2P POST-CORE
'The car started up.' (030908.ER:155)

(14) *yanka* *ja=nga* *wajba* *ngana* ***na-nkanyi*** ***kulabajarra-nyi***
when FUT=1SGACC give 1SGACC that-DAT hat-DAT
1P=2P PoC1 PoC2 PoC3
'when are (you) going to give me that hat?' (080620.DG:191)

There is, therefore, evidence of both prosodic and syntactic integration of demonstrative + nominal as a unit of talk, as well as evidence of syntactic integration with the larger clausal unit. This kind of integration is evidence that demonstrative + nominal forms a linguistic construction that, like other constructions, allows delivery of these references as planned rather than incrementally built.

However, there were also examples of demonstrative + nominal that were either not prosodically integrated with the rest of the clause (i.e. with the core), or they did not themselves form a prosodic unit. Examples (15) and (16) illustrate

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this situation. In (15) there is a prosodic break, represented with a comma, between the demonstrative *nanama* 'that one (identifiable)' and the following nominal *kulabajarra* 'hat'. In this example the demonstrative forms a prosodic unit with the preceding question word *wanya* 'what'. In (16) the demonstrative *nayi* 'this' and the coreferential nominal *kulabajarra* 'hat' are separated by a discourse particle *barri*[4] and a prosodic boundary.

(15) *wanya* ***nanama, kulajbajarra***
what that-IDENT hat
'What's that one, hat?' (080620.DG:184)

(16) *kaja nurri-nya wajba=yi, mm, baki* ***nayi*** *barri,* ***kulabajarra***
many 1PLEXCL-ACC give=PAST and this.one DM hat
'She gave lots of them to us. And this one, hat.' (080620.KS:240)

On prosodic and syntactic grounds the turn design in Examples (15) and (16) presents the demonstrative and common nominal combination incrementally rather than as a 'planned' construction – as independent coreferential words rather than as a syntactic construction, as illustrated in (13) and (14).

The Examples (14), (15) and (16) all come from the same videorecorded conversation where the referent under discussion, a woollen hat, is present. The hat in question is an object that is available to be visible and manipulated during this part of the conversation. In the part of the conversation where (14), (15) and (16) are uttered, we might wonder why the noun *kulabajarra* 'hat' is used as all, since the referent is visible to both participants, and after its first mention, is established in the discourse. A demonstrative or pronominal or other deictic (including gestural) referring strategy might be expected under these conditions.

In the next subsection I present a detailed analysis of the part of the conversation in which this hat is made relevant and discussed as an illustration of the interactional factors that impact the design of referring expressions as phrasal constructions or otherwise.

3.2 Extract analysis – kulabajarra '*hat*'

The conversation from which this Extract (17) has been selected took place in the school office of the small community of Robinson River during a break in doing language documentation work with the two main participants, Kate and Daphne. I had set up a video camera and audio recorder to record ordinary conversation

4. The precise function of *barri* has yet to be established. Mushin (2012) analysed it as occurring after information that is to be understood as established in prior discourse. It frequently, but not exclusively, occurs following demonstratives.

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while I went to the shops to get drinks for the women. During this time, other people (off camera) enter the office, some to interact with Kate and Daphne. Figure 3 is taken from midway in the extract and shows Kate on the left, Daphne on the right, and the woollen hat being handled by Daphne. Kate is looking in the direction of the door to outside of the office.

Figure 3. Kate, Daphne and *kulabajarra* 'hat'

At the start of this part of the recording, Kate is recruiting a boy who is a relative of hers to buy some clothes from a visiting clothes seller. In order to get her wallet out of her backpack to give the boy some money, Kate picks it up from the floor and rummages in it to locate her wallet. As she does so she partially pulls out a woollen hat and then replaces it in the bag.

The first eight lines of the transcript are not related to Kate's ongoing action of retrieving the wallet. At line 9 however Daphne, sitting opposite Kate and in line of sight, asks something in overlap which could be a turn inquiring what Kate has (a 'what do you have?' type of question). This is redone in the clear in line 10 with *Wanya nanama, kulabajarra* 'What's that one, hat?'. The word *wanya* in Garrwa can mean 'what' or 'who' – questioning the referent as a person or object. Daphne could be asking whose is the hat (if she had not seen it before), or be asking something about the hat's significance. The hat is a new referent and one being made topical in this turn by Daphne. The form of the demonstrative *nanama* signals that the referent in question is identifiable to both Kate and Daphne, in this case something visible to the both of them.

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(17)

```
1          (3.3)
2  DG:     Ye:h;>bardibardi.<
                 old.woman
           Yes, old woman
3          (0.8)
4  KS:     (Lookim dey[              ).
5  DG:                [Yanka barri yanka.
                       how   DM     how
                       Where? Where?
6          (1.7)
7  DG:     >Yanka ja=nungka    jilajba.
            how   FUT=1duInclNOM walk
            Where are we going?
8  ?:      [Ee  ↑ga:wn nah,         ]
            3SG gone   now
           He/she's gone now
```

```
9  DG: -> [(wanya  ninji  wanya)]
          What/who2SGNOM   what/who
10     -> =↑wanya    nanama;   [↑kulabajarra]
           what/who  that-IDENT hat
          What/who that one, hat?
```

Daphne's first referring strategy to identify the hat is to use a demonstrative form (*nanama*) which draws attention to a copresent object about which Daphne is asking. The prosody of the turn suggests an incremental composition rather than the production of a demonstrative + nominal construction. Daphne continues in the same turn to identify *kulabajarra* 'hat' in a new TCU. The extension of this turn may be because while she has used a demonstrative form that signals

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that something is identifiable to the both of them, there are a number of possible confounding referents (e.g., the backpack). By explicitly using the nominal *kulabajarra* 'hat', Daphne has designed her turn to maximise Kate's recognition of the referent as the hat she is holding. Daphne's main agenda here appears to be to establish the hat as a topic of talk where Kate has clearly not intended it to be so, as Kate is engaged with finding money for the boy.

Daphne's question does not immediately get a response from Kate because Kate is engaged in a course of action with another participant. She places the hat back in the backpack and addresses the boy. During this part of the talk, Daphne's arms are on the table in front of her and she is making 'give me' gestures with both hands, as if to be requesting the hat.

At line 16 Daphne makes this request more explicit in a turn also designed as a question, but here explicitly about giving Daphne the hat 'when are you going to give me that hat?'. The hat is no longer visible to Daphne at this point as it is in the backpack, and here the reference to the hat is done with a demonstrative + nominal construction (*nan-kanyi kulabajarr-anyi*). Both nominal words have a dative case suffix, *-(k)(a)nyi*, which is the appropriate case for the role of the transferred object in a construction with the verb *wajba* 'give' (the recipient takes accusative case). The demonstrative and noun are in the canonical position for nominal arguments (immediate post-core position) and are integrated as a unit prosodically. They are further integrated with the larger clausal structure that includes first and second positions. The reference to the hat, done with the demonstrative + nominal construction, thus appears integral to the design of the whole turn as a request for the hat.

```
11 ?:                      [Got in troub]le.
12        (0.8)
13 DG:    [Yanka-
          When-
14 KS:    [↑(ny') BUYIMba; ↓ja=ninga        jila-(jkini)
                  buy       FUT=2SGACC/1SGNOM walk-
15        [(jiwana)
           (jiwana)
          I'm going to go and buy for you (     )
```

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16 **DG: -> [>Yanka ja=nga wajba ngana nan-kanyi**
when FUT=1SGACC give 1SGACC that-DAT
17 **kula:bajarr-anyi. ˚mum˚.**
hat-DAT
When are you going to give me that hat, mum?

18 (1.7)
19 **DG: Ga' warijijin.**
Got ( )
20 (1.6)
21 DG: (Kukudi), (0.5) ˚*mudinyin (barri).*˚
(FaMo) deceased DM
That (granny) who has passed away
22 (3.4)
23 **DG: >Ngarri?<**
Isn't it?

The use of a demonstrative + nominal designed as a construction achieves at least two things here: the representation of the hat as something already established as an object under discussion (done with the demonstrative part of the construction), and the representation of the hat as integrated in the already established proposed course of action – Kate giving something to Daphne that she has requested. Although already mentioned in a prior turn, the hat has not yet been acknowledged by Kate as topical, and this may account for the use of an explicit mention of the hat in Daphne's turn. Unlike the initial mention of the hat in line 10, this turn presents the referring expression as a demonstrative + nominal construction. This formulation is suited to this particular turn because the hat has been established already as a referent for Daphne, even if it has not been acknowledged by Kate. The 'core business' of Daphne's turn is not to make the hat topical, which

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was accomplished by her turn in line 10, but rather to make the request, which is warranted now by the fact that Kate had replaced the hat in her bag without responding to Daphne's question about the hat. The explicit mention of the hat thus forms part of the strategy for indicating to Kate that Daphne's initial attempt to get the hat (or talk about the hat) was not successful, because Kate had not yet responded to Daphne's mention of the hat.

From line 24 until 32, Kate does not respond to Daphne's request for the hat but rather continues her interaction with the boy, giving him further instructions on the clothes she wants him to buy. At line 34, immediately after completing the actions of giving both money and instructions to the boy, Kate grants Daphne's request by pulling the hat out of the backpack and tossing it into the middle of the table where it is retrieved by Daphne.

```
24 (2.0)
25 KS:    (W'll) KAru=kiyi ngaki¿  ↑dirikin ↓nanda ↑dirikin;
                 tell=IMP   1SGDAT  dress     that  dress
26        >bardibard'<; ↑S:KIRT  walkurra.
          old.woman      skirt   big
          Well tell (her) for me that dress old woman, big
          skirt.
          ((Gives money to boy))
27        (0.7)
28 KS:    Then you ↑come back;<get: some mo:re.
29        (1.6)
30 DG:    Yuku     barri; ninji wu:dumbayi ninga
          Allright DM     2SGNOM get=PAST    2SGACC/1SGNOM
31        ngan↑yi wirrindan;=barrin. money
          2SGDAT   money      NOW
          It's allright, you take your money now
32        (0.2)
33 DG:    Money.
          Money
34        (3.5)
          ((Kate puts hat on table, Daphne reaches across and
          takes it))
```

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At line 37 Kate, switching to English, identifies the hat with a woman, Isabel. This is possibly an answer to Daphne's original question concerning the hat in line 10 (*wanya nanda kulabajarra* – 'What's/Who's that hat?'), perhaps identifying Isabel as the person who gave Kate the hat.

Now that that the hat has been acknowledged by both participants as the topical referent, and Kate has accomplished the appropriate second pair parts to Daphne's request (line 16) and question (line 10) by handing her the hat and identifying who gave it to her, the explicit nominal referring expression *kulabajarra* is no longer mentioned. Daphne uses a Kriol pronoun *ee* '3rd person singular' in line 39 as she says the hat reminds her of women from Tennant Creek (where it is colder and these hats are common). Kate follows with an account of where and when she wears it. Reference to the hat is done linguistically by a pronoun (line 39), a demonstrative *nanda* 'that one' only (line 43) and finally no reference, seeming to follow the pattern for referent tracking established in Givón (1983) that continuing reference gets less and less linguistic material.

Note however that while the word *kulabajarra* 'hat' is not used in line 43 to identify the referent, it is referred to gesturally as Kate gives a head point towards the hat in overlap with the clausal core *wirrimba ngayu* 'I wear (it)'. The demonstrative *nanda* 'that' occurs immediately following the head point and in a new TCU, followed by the particle *barri,* and is prosodically prominent. The design of this turn thus presents the linguistic referring expression – the demonstrative – as incrementally added following a gestural reference, rather than prosodically and syntactically integrated with the rest of the clausal unit.

The design of the referring expression in line 43 is thus more prominent than appears from the use of linguistic forms alone as it includes both gesture and

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prosodic means of focusing in on the hat as referent. One possible account for this increased prominence may be that Daphne's prior turn had raised something that could form the basis of a new topic (women of Tennant Creek). Kate's turn in line 43 is designed to affirm the hat as the continuing topic of talk by pointing to it, and making the demonstrative reference more prominent prosodically (and possibly with the use of the particle *barri*). Now that the hat has been reasserted as the ongoing topic, Kate downgrades her referring strategy in line 47 as Kate with a much smaller head point in overlap with the clausal core *kuluka ngayi* 'I slept (with it)'. and complete omission of linguistic reference. Kate's turns in both 43 and 47 add more information about the hat – she wears it in cold weather and she wears it when she is 'out bush'.

After Daphne and Kate share locations where the hat might have been worn (Alice Springs and Western Australia), Kate reiterates that Isabel gave her the hat in line 55 (*wajba barri ngana* '(She) gave (it) to me'). Daphne's repair initiation in line 57 (*wanyangini ninya wajbayi* 'Who gave (it) to you?') is because she has failed to recognize who the hat-giver is. That is, while neither Isabel nor the hat are mentioned explicitly in line 55, it is only the identity of the hat-giver that is problematic for Daphne. This is evidence that the hat has remained topical, while Isabel, although mentioned earlier, has not.

```
35 Boy:   (Can         ).
36        (2.6)
37 KS: -> That's: (.)↑Isa↓bel::.
38        (1.9)
39 DG: -> ↑Ee remind me da buh-
          It reminds me of (that ol-)
          ((Daphne picks up hat, turns inside towards head))
40        (1.5)
          ((Daphne puts hat inside down on table))
41 DG:    All da'    bardidibardi; la ↑Tennant- Cree:k.
          All those old women      at Tennant   Creek
          ((Daphne puts hat on head))
```

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42 (1.2)
43 **KS: ->** **[↑Wi̲rrimba ngayu], na̲nda ba̲rri; (.) ku̲lwajana**
wear 1SGNOM that DM cold.season
[((Kate head points at the hat))]
I wear (it), that one, in the cold season
44 (0.5)
45 **DG:** **Yin↑di̲::?**
Really?
46 **(0.5)**
47 **KS: ->** **[Ku̲luka ngayi̲],** **↑ji̲di** **mu̲nji mu̲nji¿**
sleep 1SGNOM=PAST with bush
I slept with (it in the) bush
[((Kate headpoints at the hat))]
48 **(1.7)**
49 DG: **Ku̲larra; yali jilaj'; wa̲bula kula:.**
south 3PLNOM=PAST walk long.time south
That place in the south (Alice Springs), they went south a long time ago,
50 (2.4)
51 **KS:** **Ba̲yungu ngayu; ji̲lajbayi:*; Wes'ern Austra̲lia;**
west 1SGNOM walk=PAST
West, I went to Western Australia,
52 **KS: ->** **↓wirrimbayi↓; ↑I don' kno̲w;↑**
wear=PAST
wore (it), whatever.
53 (0.5)
54 **DG:** **Yin↑d[i:::?**
Really?
55 **KS: ->** **[Wa:j:↑ba (ba)rri ↓ngana-hh**
give DM 1SGACC
(She) gave (it) to me

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```
56          (0.9)
57 DG:->    >Wanyi-ngini  ninya  wajba=yi.<
              who-ERG      2SGACC give=PAST
              Who gave (it) to you?
58          (1.3)
59 KS:      Wany:marri-wanyi; I:Isabel-uh
            white.woman-ERG
            (The) white woman, Isabel (did)
60          (0.2)
61 DG:      ↑A:h ↓ye:h yeh yeh.
            Ah yeh yeh yeh
62          (1.0)
63 DG:      Ngarri-ku*↑nah?
            Ngarri-Q
            (Did she) really?
            ((Daphne takes the hat off her head))
```

At line 64, Kate continues talking about Isabel by mentioning that she gave lots of hats to people. At this point she is no longer talking about the particular woollen hat that initiated this conversation topic. As Kate utters her turn in line 64, Daphne places the hat on the table in front of Kate and lets it go. Kate then picks up the hat and looks at it as she utters line 66 *baki nayi barri, *kulajabarra* 'and this one, hat'. This turn has both a demonstrative and a nominal reference to the hat. The demonstrative is proximal, consistent with the hat being held by Kate in her own hands. The presence of the particle *barri* between the demonstrative and the coreferential nominal and the prosodic break between *barri* and *kulabajarra* 'hat' are both evidence of a turn in which the demonstrative and the coreferential nominal are not being presented as a construction. The use of an overt nominal as part of Kate's referring strategy is itself interesting, as although Kate's prior turn had been about lots of hats and not that particular hat, the particular hat has been a recent topic of talk, has remained visible to both participants throughout this extract, and at this time of Kate's turn is being looked at and handled by Kate.

The turn in line 66 is uttered at a point at which Kate shifts from referring to many hats that Isabel gave out, to refocusing on the particular hat that she is holding, the hat that had been the primary topic of conversation until very recently. The full mention of the hat individuates the hat while also moving towards topic closure (cf. Fox 1987). Evidence of topic closure is seen in the subsequent turns in which Kate self-repairs her misspeaking of the word *kulabajarra* (as **kulajabarra*) and Daphne repeats the repair, elongating its production, and the topic is closed.[5]

5. The topic does indeed close at this point. During the 4.2 second gap in line 70, Kate and Daphne disengage with each other and look out the window. The next turn concerns the people they can see out the window and the hat is never mentioned again in this conversation.

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The separation of the demonstrative and the common nominal both syntactically and prosodically is consistent with the analysis of this turn as serving to refocus the topic back to the hat after a short hiatus, rather than as a continuing referent (what Fox 1987 called a return pop).

64 **KS:** **K<u>a</u>jan nurri-nya wajba=˚yi˚¿<u>mm</u>:mh¿**
many 1PLExcl-ACC give=PAST
(She) gave lots to us
((Daphne puts the hat on the table and Kate picks it up and looks at it))
65 (1.7)

66 **KS: -> >Baki ↑<u>n</u>ayi barri; kulayja↑barr*an.**
and this DM hat
And this one, hat

((Kate positions the hat to be placed on her head and then she puts it on her head))
(4.2)
67 **KS:** **K<u>U</u>LAbajarra~h.**
Hat
68 (2.8)
69 **DG:** **K<u>U</u>LABa↓ja<u>:</u>rra,**
Hat
70 (4.2)

4. Conclusion

The patterns of nominal distribution in Garrwa conversation allow us to make some important observations concerning the status of phrasal constituency in an interactional grammar framework, and the interactional contingencies that appear to influence the prosodic and syntactic shape of multiple nominal expressions. In this sense, the utterance of multiple nominal expressions as an integrated construction, or as a series of incrementally composed, appositionally related referring expressions is a dynamic feature of turn design, rather than a reflection of abstracted constituent structure.

The observations from the Garrwa conversations, exemplified here with the *kulabajarra* Extract (17), indicate that while truly smooth topical talk in theory precludes the need for explicit referring, much of talk is not so smooth and these are precisely the contexts where more elaborated linguistic (and gestural) expression emerges. Fox (1987) found correspondences between full noun phrases (which could be single or multiple nominal expressions) and topic and sequence

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boundaries; anaphors (pronouns and ellipsis) and subsequent and continuing reference within topics and sequences.[6]

The Garrwa *kulabajarra* Extract (17) shows that problems with recognition, progressivity of action sequences, and management of topicality *additionally* impact the design of referring expressions within turns, to favour the use not only of explicit common nominal words (full NPs), but also the presentation of that nominal word in a separate prosodic unit from a coreferential demonstrative nominal.

The Garrwa data also show that overall the packaging of referring expressions as a demonstrative + nominal construction appears where referring is not the 'core business' of the turn, but rather done in service of a smooth progression of an interactional sequence – a focus on the action being accomplished in the turn, rather than the setting up of a new topic or sequence. The integrated design of these turns iconically reflects the fact that the explicit reference, while enabling recognition where it has not yet been mutually established, is simply in service of a more primary action (e.g., a request, as in line 16 of (17)). Currently the only formal difference between Garrwa demonstrative nominals in single or multiple nominal expressions is that absolutive distal demonstratives may be, but are not always, reduced (i.e. *nanda* > *nan*). We can see in this behavior, however, the ways in which new forms of demonstratives found in these integrated positions may become systematic 'modifier' forms of demonstratives.

The Garrwa conversational data thus supports Louagie & Verstraete's (2016: 48) classification of Garrwa as a language in which noun phrases are a minor category, but provides some usage-based evidence for what it means to be a minor category. Recall that Louagie and Verstraete (2016) found that about half of the Australian languages in their 100 language survey, including Garrwa, showed variability in whether multiple nominal expressions displayed phrase-like (or construction-like) properties or not. Given that only 19 languages of this survey included information about prosody, it is possible that prosodic variability of the kind I have shown for Garrwa here is more prevalent than was reflected in that study, and this could result in a significant rethinking of this typology.

As Louagie and Verstraete (2016) point out, information structuring principles have usually been cited as explanations for so-called 'discontinuous noun phrases' in Australian languages. Here I have shown that the status of information as given, new, contrastive, etc., can only partially account for the ways that speakers formulate their turns, and that the design of referring expressions as constructional or otherwise, continuous or discontinuous, is systematically tied to the point in

6. Givón (1983) and Chafe (1994), make similar claims about the contrast between topic initiating full NPs and the use of pronouns and ellipsis in continuing reference, but their data was not largely conversational.

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an action sequence in which it is placed. Thus it can be seen that the design of a referring expression displays whether that action sequence is beginning, continuing or ending, progressing smoothly or in need of repair, and whether the relative topicality of the referent in question is displayed as mutually acknowledged.

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Appendix. Abbreviations

1P	1st position in core	IMP	imperative
2P	2nd position in core	LOC	locative
ACC	accusative	NOM	nominative
DAT	dative	OBLIG	obligation
DEC	deceased	PoC	post-core
DM	discourse marker	Pl	plural
Du	dual	PreC	pre-core
ERG	Ergative	PSEUD	Pseud
Excl	exclusive	Q	question particle

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FUT	future
HAB	habitual
HORT	hortative
IDENT	identifiable
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
Sg	singular

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CHAPTER 10

The pragmatics of 'light nouns' in Besemah

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Perhaps the most widely discussed aspect of the NP in western Austronesian languages is the relative clause, which is described in terms of its syntactic relation to the noun it modifies. It is expressed by a 'relativizer' and a so-called 'gap' in the modifying clause that is co-referential with the head noun. One western Austronesian language that appears to be quite different in this regard is Besemah, a little-described Malayic language of southwest Sumatra. This is because constructions analogous to relative clauses in Besemah are best described as Noun Modifying Constructions (NMC) following studies of similar phenomena in other languages, most notably Japanese. Like Japanese, Besemah NMCs most often occur with a so-called 'light' head noun, which has a general, abstract meaning, such as 'thing', 'situation', etc. This paper shows that NMCs headed by a closed class of light nouns serve a number interactional functions, including formulating reference to discourse entities that are recognizable to participants, elaborating upon discourse entities in increments, jointly working out the identity of a referent in other-initiations of repair, and constructing story beginnings with unattached light nouns among others. I argue that the semantically-bleached nature of light nouns and the 'loose' (pragmatically-determined) relationship between the light head noun and modifying elements allow speakers to construct NMCs that fit local contexts and serve various interactional purposes.

1. Introduction

A growing body of research around NPs and NP modification has shown how so-called relative clause constructions in many languages are much more disparate than numerous linguistic descriptions have suggested (see e.g., Laury & Helasvuo 2015; Fox & Thompson 2007; Matsumoto, Comrie & Sells 2017a). This has primarily grown out of two lines of research that concern noun modification more generally. The first comes out of functional and typological studies that have shown that languages vary as to how they distinguish (or do not distinguish)

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different types of noun-modifying clauses, such as relative clauses and sentential complements among many others (Comrie 1998; Matsumoto, Comrie & Sells 2017a). This series of inquiry began with a study of Japanese (Matsumoto 1997), which shows that the different interpretations that arise between the noun and its modifying clause must be accounted for pragmatically and *not* syntactically. Thus, for languages like Japanese, there is not a dedicated syntactic structure for relative clause constructions. Rather, such analyses propose that there is a single generalized structure that has come to be known as a Generalized Noun-Modifying Clause Construction. This research has shown that the interpretations that arise between the noun and its modifying clause in this single generalized construction are resolved pragmatically. This is contrasted with other languages like Turkish (Kornfilt & Vinokurova 2017) that have dedicated structures for relative clauses and other types of noun-modifying clauses.

The second line of research comes from several studies that have looked at relative clause constructions and other types of noun modification in talk-in-interaction (Englebretson 2008; Fox & Thompson 1990a,b, 2007; Laury & Helasvuo 2015). These studies have shown how certain properties of noun modification – including apparent relative clause constructions – emerge in the course of everyday interactions. Fox & Thompson (2007), for example, show that 'the English relative clause construction' in everyday conversations is in fact better viewed as a family of constructions that are much more diverse than traditional (syntactic) descriptions have proposed. Through their analysis, Fox & Thompson point out that a number of factors are at play in understanding the differences between relative clause constructions, including the presence or absence of a relativizer, the semantic emptiness of the head noun in the main clause and the complexity of the relative clause, among other factors. Englebretson (2008), in a study of colloquial Indonesian talk-in-interaction, also shows that what has been analyzed as *the* relative clause construction in different varieties of Malay-Indonesian, is actually a family of constructions in colloquial Indonesian, which he refers to as *yang* constructions. Englebretson provides evidence that these constructions differ according to the presence or absence of the head noun and the clause-type in which they appear (see Section 2 for further discussion). Finally, two studies of noun modification in Japanese talk-in-interaction, Ono & Thompson (2009) and Takara (2012), have emphasized the pervasive use of 'generic nouns' or 'light nouns', such as *koto, mono, no* 'thing, stuff, matter', in the deployment of attributive adjectives and modifying clauses, respectively. Ono & Thompson (2009) found that 75% of the attributive adjectives in their corpus occurred with light nouns, and Takara (2012) found that over 70% of the modifying clauses occurred with light nouns.

The aim of this paper is to bring together these two lines of inquiry in order to describe how speakers employ so-called 'light nouns' and noun-modifying

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constructions (NMC) in everyday conversations in Besemah, a little-described Malayic language of southwest Sumatra (McDonnell 2016). In a companion piece to this article (McDonnell in prep), I argue that while NMCs in Besemah share a number of syntactic properties with apparent relative clause constructions in other Austronesian languages of western Indonesia, they are actually quite different. First, there is no relativizer in these constructions; unlike standard and colloquial varieties of Indonesian, there is no element that must appear between the head noun and its modifying clause, and the only element that could be considered the relativizer – in headless relative clauses – is in fact a 'light noun'. Furthermore, relative clauses are believed to be syntactically restricted, but Besemah NMCs do not show these same syntactic restrictions. Instead, they have a simple structure: noun + mod-ifying clause, and the interpretation of the relationship between the head noun and modifying clause is resolved pragmatically. This characterization of NMCs is also true when the head noun is a semantically-bleached 'light noun'.

In this paper, I argue that despite significant differences between Besemah NMCs and relative clauses in other western Indonesian languages, there is considerable overlap in the discourse functions of Besemah NMCs with a light noun head and those described as headless relative clauses or *yang* constructions in colloquial Indonesian (Englebretson 2008; Ewing & Cumming 1998). In addition to these discourse functions, there are a number of interactional functions of NMCs headed by light nouns in Besemah that speakers utilize, including formulating reference to discourse entities that are recognizable to the participants, elaborating upon discourse entities in an increment, jointly working out the identity of a referent in other-initiations of repair, singling out discourse entities with a contrastive function in equational constructions, constructing story beginnings with unattached light nouns among others. This paper shows that the semantically-bleached nature of light nouns and the 'loose' (pragmatically-determined) relationship between the light head noun and modifying elements allow speakers to construct NMCs with a light noun to fit local contexts and serve various interactional purposes.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 briefly presents the background on the internal structure of Besemah NMCs and the nature of light nouns. Section 3 presents the Besemah data used in this paper. Section 4 is the meat of this paper and presents the functions of light nouns and NMCs in Besemah talk-in-interaction. The description of these light NMCs is broken up into four subsections based on their functions and/or their distribution: light nouns as referring expressions (Section 4.1), unattached light nouns (Section 4.2), light nouns in equational constructions (Section 4.3), and lexicalizations and fixed expressions with light nouns (Section 4.4). This section illustrates the wide range of functions of light NMCs. Section 5 concludes this study with a discussion of the diversity of functions that light nouns serve in Besemah interaction.

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2. Light nouns and noun-modifying constructions in Besemah

The internal structure of NPs in the Austronesian languages of western Indonesia is generally treated without much controversy (Ewing 2005; Sneddon 1996); they are considered head-initial with modifiers following the noun, and only the quantifier or numeral may precede the NP. Relative clauses, on the other hand, have been the locus of much debate from various theoretical perspectives (Cole & Hermon 2005; Englebretson 2008; Ewing 1991; Ewing & Cumming 1998; Shibatani 2008; Tjung 2006). In the majority of the Austronesian languages of western Indonesia, relative clause constructions are commonly said to have the following three properties (see Ewing & Cumming 1998):

i. the relative clause follows the noun it is modifying and is introduced by a relativizer (e.g., *yang* REL in Standard Indonesian) and commonly terminated with a demonstrative determiner,
ii. the position out of which the head noun is 'extracted' within the relative clause (i.e., the so-called 'gap') is restricted to the 'subject' position (i.e., only the unrealized subject argument in the relative clause co-refers with the head noun), and
iii. the relative clause optionally occurs without the head noun (i.e., a headless relative clause).

More recently, studies have called one or more of these points into question. For example, Shibatani (2008) has proposed that purported relative clauses in Sasak and Sumbawan, two closely related western Indonesian languages, are in fact best analyzed as clausal nominalizations juxtaposed to an appositional head noun, and, as mentioned above, Englebretson (2008) demonstrates that the label 'relative clause' in colloquial Indonesian does not adequately capture the full range of forms and functions of constructions that involve the putative relativizer *yang*. He instead refers to this family of constructions as *yang* constructions for two reasons. First, he finds that only a portion of *yang* constructions are 'canonical' headed relative clause constructions (less than 20% of his corpus); the vast majority of cases in his corpus of conversation do not have a head noun. Second, it is common that what *yang* introduces is not always a clause, but can be a phrase, an adjective, or even a demonstrative. Englebretson further suggests that these constructions have fuzzy boundaries and fall on a continuum that ranges from headed relative clause (e.g., head noun + *yang* + clause) to referring expression (i.e., *yang* + modifier).

Building upon studies of Japanese NMCs (Comrie 1998; Matsumoto 1997), I argue in McDonnell (in prep) that clausal modification of nouns in Besemah is actually more divergent. I show that in Besemah NMCs (i) there is no relativizer, (ii) there are not the same syntactic restrictions as is typical for relative clause constructions, and (iii) the same basic structure results in a number of different

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interpretations between the noun and the modifying clause, other than a relative clause interpretation. That is, NMCs in Besemah have a simple structure: NOUN + MODIFYING CLAUSE, and the interpretation of the relationship between the head noun and modifying clause is resolved pragmatically, and not syntactically, which results in a number of different interpretations.

Since the focus of this paper is on how speakers employ 'light nouns' in NMCs in talk-in-interaction, I only briefly touch upon some of the arguments in McDonnell (in prep), but cannot review all of them here. The aim of this section, then, is to introduce the basic structure of NMCs in Besemah and show the different pragmatic interpretations that arise between the head noun and its modifying clause. Thus, the examples in this section show less context than examples in Section 4, which focuses on the interactional functions of NMCs headed by light nouns.

The fact that NMCs in Besemah do not have a relativizer coupled with the fact this same structure NOUN + MODIFYING CLAUSE results in a number of different interpretations is exemplified in (1)–(3). In (1), the head noun *jeme* 'people' (in bold italics) is the sole argument of the existential verb in the main clause, and it is directly modified by the clause *berayak ke sini* 'came here' (underlined) with an unrealized S argument.

(1) ("Cocoa planting")[1]

```
1  ARIPIN:   saghian kalangan belakang,
             day     market   back
             'on a Saturday (lit. a market day) in the past,'

2        ⇒   ade    jeme     be-rayak  ke sini,
             exist  people   MID-come  to here
             'there were people who came here (to buy seedlings),'
                                  (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-010, 00:14:05-00:14:08)
```

Because Besemah NMCs lack a relativizer and do not have any special marking or special word order, it is often difficult to determine whether an apparent NMC is clausal or a noun followed by a modifying clause. However, the example of the NMC above is in an existential construction, which takes an NP argument, and in this case, it is introducing a referent *jeme* 'people' that is directly modified.

Further support for this position is exemplified in (2). In this question-response sequence, the head noun in line 2 is *jeme* 'people', which is followed by a modifying clause comprising a passive verb *diantati* 'bring' and agent by phrase *li betine tadi* 'by the woman earlier'. While on the surface this may look clausal, the nature of the question in line 1 makes a referential response relevant (i.e., people), and not propositional (i.e., people were healed by the woman earlier).

1. Appendix B lists the glossing conventions that are used in this paper.

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(2) (“Catching up with cousins”)

```
1  MUNAYA:  tape=nye ghadu?
            what=3   heal
            ‘who (lit. what) was healed?’

            (0.3)

2  SARKANI: adak  jeme   di-antat-i        li betine tadi.
            EXCL  people PV-bring-LOC.APPL by woman  earlier
            ‘ah the people who were brought (food) by women earlier.’
                                    (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-002, 00:15:29-00:15:31)
```

A hallmark of NMCs in languages like Japanese is the ability for a single structure to result in numerous interpretations between the head noun and the modifying clause (Matsumoto, Comrie & Sells 2017b). In the examples above the interpretation is the same as relative clause constructions; the unrealized argument is coreferential with the head noun. However, in (3) and (4) below, the head noun and the modifying clauses have different interpretations. In (3), the interpretation between the head *cerite* ‘story’ and the modifying clause *kamu rapat situ* ‘you meet there’ is one where the modifying clause specifies the content of the story. Thus, in the free translation, I use the preposition ‘about’ in parentheses between the head noun and the modifying clause.

(3) (“Catching up with cousins”)

```
MUNAYA: jiku     tuape cerite kamu  rapat   situ  jiku.
        QUOT.1SG what  story  2PL   meeting there QUOT.1SG
        ‘I said, what is the story (about) you meeting there, I said.’
                                    (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-002, 00:29:06-00:29:08)
```

In (4), the interpretation of the relationship between the head noun *engkas* ‘remainder, scraps’ and the modifying clause *jeme mbasuh piring tu* ‘people washing dishes’ is one where the scraps result from the event specified in the modifying clause. The discussion in Matsumoto, Comrie & Sells (2017b: 5*ff*) provides similar examples in Japanese with further explanation.[2]

(4) (“Durian fruit season”)

```
MUNAYA: galak die n-jimat-i             engkas    jeme   m-basuh piring tu,
        want  3   AV-eat.scraps-LOC.APPL remainder people AV-wash dish   that
        ‘they (i.e., the snakes) want to eat the scraps (from) people washing the dishes,’
                                    (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-002, 00:23:43-00:23:46)
```

The NMCs illustrated so far have involved independent and (relatively) contentful nouns. However, NMCs most commonly occur with a closed set of dependent, semantically bleached nouns, which I refer to here as ‘light nouns’. These light nouns

2. The different interpretations of NMCs in Besemah are also discussed in detail in McDonnell (in prep).

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can often be translated as 'the one' or 'the thing' and have the following forms: *ende/ne* and *endik/nik*. Each of these light nouns comes in two forms, a disyllabic form with a syllabic nasal voiced stop sequence in *ende* [n̩dɨ] and *endik* [n̩dɪʔ], respectively, and a monosyllabic form *ne* [nɨ] and *nik* [nɪʔ], respectively. These disyllabic-monosyllabic pairs are quite clearly phonological variants of each other. It is also arguably the case that *ende/ne* and *endik/nik* are also phonological variants of each other; these forms appear to be syntactically, semantically, and functionally the same.[3] Thus, in discussing general properties of these light nouns, I simply refer to the light noun *NIK* in italicized small caps as the form *nik* is the most frequent in the corpus. This should be understood to cover all forms. In specific examples, I may also cite the exact form that is employed by the speaker. Note also that throughout this paper all of these forms are glossed as N.LI, which signifies 'light noun'.

The reason that *NIK* is treated as a noun here is because its distribution is the same as other nouns. That is, *NIK* as the head noun of an NP is typically head initial; only numerals and quantifiers precede it. Furthermore, *NIK* may be modified by a single demonstrative, possessed by another noun, or modified by a clause. The only difference between *NIK* and other nouns is that *NIK* does not occur on its own, while other nouns are able to do so. The examples in (5)–(7) demonstrate these parallels between light nouns and (independent) nouns. The examples in (a) show the independent noun and the examples in (b) show the parallel light nouns.

(5) Noun + modifier with heavy and light nouns

a. DEWI: ng-asuh ***kupik*** besak bunguk,
AV-babysit baby big fat
'(he) babysat a big fat ***baby***,'
("Durian fruit season", oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-011, 00:58:34-00:58:35)

b. JAMISAH: ***nik*** kecik-kecik tu di-lebung=(ny)e,
N.LI RDP-small DEM.DIST PV-ripen=3
'they ripened the small ***ones*** (i.e., the durian fruit),'
("Durian fruit season", oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-011, 00:49:53-00:49:55)

(6) Noun + demonstrative determiner with heavy and light nouns

a. SARKANI: die ng-umung-ka ***ubat*** itu kan,
3 AV-talk-CAUS medicine DEM.DIST right
'He talked about that ***medicine,*** right,'
("Catching up with cousins", oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-002, 00:11:27-00:11:28)

b. HENDI: anye ***nik*** itu lambat eh?
but N.LI DEM.DIST slow FP
'but that ***one*** (i.e., the motorcycle) is slow, right?'
("Bachelors", oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-004, 00:42:06-00:42:08)

3. They only seem to differ in their sociolinguistic distribution, namely younger speakers (<40 years old) represented in the corpus prefer *endik/nik* N.LI and older speakers (>40 years old) prefer *ende/ne* N.LI.

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(7) Noun + possessor with heavy and light nouns

a. DEWI: bange nian,
stupid real
bapang kabah ni jiku,
father 2SG DEM.PROX QUOT.1SG
'your ***dad*** is really stupid I thought,'
("Durian fruit season", oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-011, 00:56:12-00:56:14)

b. DAMSI: ***ne*** kami tu nak di-penuh-i=lah nga cuklat,
N.LI 1PL.EXCL DEM.DIST want PV-fill-LOC.APPL=PRT with cocoa
'the ***one*** (that is) ours (i.e., coffee field) should be filled with cocoa,'
("Planting cocoa", oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-010, 00:14:59-00:15:01)

In (5), both the light noun and the independent noun are head initial and followed by modifiers. In (6), both are followed by the demonstrative determiner, and in (7) they are both followed by adnominal possessors.[4]

As is the case with independent nouns in NMCs, *NIK* is also modified by clauses. Like the examples in (1)–(4) above, the NMCs with *NIK* have relative clause interpretations, as in (8), alongside various other interpretations, as in (9).

(8) ("Planting cocoa")

1 ARIPIN: gi ade due ijat mak ini aghi,
PERS exist two seed.CLS now DEM.PROX day
'there are still two nowadays,'

2 ***ne*** belum masak,
N.LI NPERS ripe
'***the ones*** (i.e., the durian fruit) that are not yet ripe,'
(oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-010, 00:13:53-00:13:55)

It is also possible that other interpretations apply to NMCs with a light noun head. In the example in (9) below, the light noun followed by the modifying clause *die galak beantukan tulah* 'he likes to bump (into others)'. Within this modifying clause, the argument of the intransitive verb *beantukan* 'bump' is present, and the light noun is not coreferential with this argument. Rather, the *NIK* refers to the manner (i.e., 'the way') in which the event described in the modifying clause occurred. Further examples of other interpretations are found in example (19) in Section 4.2.

(9) ("Bachelors")

RAFLES: ***nik*** die galak be-antuk-an tu=lah,
N.LI 3 want RECIP-hit-RECIP DEM.DIST=PRT
'(the way) he likes to bump (into others),'
(oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-004, 00:25:49-00:25:50)

4. See McDonnell (in prep) for further discussion of why *NIK* is not a relativizer or some type of clausal nominalizer.

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In summary, the internal structure of Besemah NMCs is quite different than previous descriptions of relative clauses in the languages of western Indonesia. While the internal structure is quite different, this paper shows that many of the discourse functions are similar to those described by both Ewing & Cumming (1998) and Englebretson (2008). The remainder of this paper focuses on how speakers employ the light noun *NIK* in everyday conversations.

3. Data

The Besemah data in this paper come from four face-to-face everyday conversations between native speakers of Besemah, which are described in Table 1 below. These conversations are drawn from the documentation of Besemah, which is currently archived at the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (PARADISEC).[5] For an overview of this documentation, see McDonnell (2016).

These conversations were audio recorded and transcribed by me with the help of several native speaking language consultants. They were transcribed following a limited set of the conventions from Du Bois et al. (1993).[6] There is a robust sample of 453 occurrences of the light noun *NIK* across the four conversations. This paper reports on the diversity of functions of NMCs headed by *NIK* in this dataset.

Table 1. Conversations in this study

Title	Description	Identifier
"Bachelors"	A conversation among six bachelors who are all close friends: Hendi (male, 30 years old), Hairil (male, 33 years old), Rafles (male, 33 years old), Piter (male, 23 years old), Dian (male, 18 years old), and Buwoh (male, 24 years old). Hendi recorded the event at Buwoh's house. The topics vary, but include: the race that they attended early in the day, the party they went to the night before, and other stories from the recent past.	BJM01–004

(*continued*)

5. http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/BJM01

6. Appendix A lists the transcription conventions that are used in this paper.

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Table 1. Conversations in this study (*continued*)

Title	Description	Identifier
"Farmers' cooperative"	A conversation among three friends and neighbors: Emi (female, 36 years old), Kudar (female, 37 years old), and Ina (female, 45 years old). Emi talks about how she is upset that the farmers cooperative asked her to step down from her post. Halfway through the conversation Ina comes into the conversation and asks what the story is. The conversation takes place at Emi's house.	BJM01–008
"Planting cocoa"	A conversation among three friends Damsi (male, 54 years old), Burhimin (male, 55 years old), and Aripin (male, 50 years old). All men are in some way related by marriage. They discuss issues related to farming cocoa, vanilla, and coffee. The recording takes place at Aripin's house.	BJM01–010
"Durian fruit season"	A conversation among three women: Jamisah (female, 43 years old), Rili (female, 19 years old), and Dewi (female, 32 years old). Dewi and Jamisah live in the village of Karang Tanding, but Rili, who was born in Karang Tanding is visiting from a village that is about 10km away. They discuss various issues concerning farming, buying durian at the market, and weddings. The recording takes place at Jamisah's house.	BJM01–011

4. Noun-modifying constructions in Besemah interaction

Various types of NMCs headed by the light noun *NIK* express a number of different functions and are utilized in local contexts by speakers for various interactional purposes, including negotiating the identity of a referent, making reference to discourse entities, initiating repair, doing self-repair, and expressing contrast in equational constructions. This section lays out the diversity of functions of *NIK* found in the corpus, focusing on examples where speakers employ *NIK* for interactional purposes.

For the purposes of this discussion, the uses of *NIK* are grouped into four broad grammatical categories: *NIK* in referring expressions (Section 4.1), unattached light nouns in NMCs (Section 4.2), *NIK* in equational constructions (Section 4.3), and *NIK* in fixed expressions and lexicalizations (Section 4.4). These four groupings generally follow other analyses of noun modification, such as Englebretson (2008) and Takara (2012), but there are other criteria by which these constructions could be grouped. For example, they could be grouped by the modifier that the NMC takes (e.g., a clause, verb, adverb, demonstrative, etc.) or how the NMC is employed in interaction as an argument of the predicate or in some other position.

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These four groupings, however, provide a useful way to present the diversity of functions of *NIK* in talk-in-interaction.

4.1 Referring expressions

NMCs introduced by the light noun *NIK* that make reference to discourse entities in the course of an interaction are called referring expressions following Englebretson (2008). These referring expressions occur as either arguments of a predicate or in some type of 'extraposition' to the clause. They allow speakers to formulate reference to discourse entities that are recognizable to participants (see Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 471*ff*).

In many cases, these referring expressions make reference to discourse entities by restricting the reference of a more general antecedent noun, much like a relative clause. However, unlike a relative clause, the antecedent is very rarely adjacent to the NMC headed by *NIK*. For example, in (10), the apparent antecedent *deghian* 'durian (fruit)' is the current topic of discussion and was introduced a minute earlier in the conversation by Burhimin with a full NP (Fox 1987).

(10) ("Planting cocoa")

```
ARIPIN: ku=kinak-i          endik  di  (1.1) Lubuk  Sawung.
        1SG=PV.see-LOC.APPL N.LI   LOC       L.     S.
        'I saw the ones in (the village of) Lubuk Sawung.'
                                  (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-010, 00:05:47-00:05:51)
```

The NMC *endik di Lubuk Sawung* 'the ones in Lubuk Sawung' in this example, then, is designed for participants to recognize the referent as being restricted to durian fruit in a specific village, *Lubuk Sawung*. In this way, the light noun *NIK* is employed by speakers as a way to formulate (more) specific reference that is recognizable to participants.

In another example from the same conversation in (11), Damsi, Burhimin, and Aripin are discussing cocoa plants, seeds, and the like.

(11) ("Planting cocoa")

```
BURHIMIN: ng-ambik ende Saidi di  sini.
          AV-take  N.LI S.    LOC here
          '(I) took the ones (i.e., cocoa pods) that belong to Saidi here.'
                                     (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-010, 00:28:43-00:28:45)
```

In this example, the NMC *ende Saidi di sini* 'the ones that belong to Saidi here' refers to Saidi's cocoa pods, in particular. The reference to cocoa pods more specifically was made with a full NP about a minute prior to this turn at talk, and the intervening talk has discussed the different sizes and shapes of the cocoa pods. Again, *ende Saidi di sini* 'the ones that belong to Saidi here' is designed for

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the addressees to recognize the referent as Saidi's cocoa pods here. Note that *NIK*, like other nouns in Besemah, followed by another noun or pronoun is typically understood to be possessed by this noun or pronoun (McDonnell 2016: 61*ff*).

In other cases, the antecedent is a nominal referent mentioned within the same turn, as in (12).

(12) ("Durian fruit season")

```
1  DEWI:   bujang=(ny)e,
           bachelor=3
           'their bachelors (i.e., bachelors from the village of Merpayang),'

2       ⇒ dik  bedie      ne   @alap.
           NEG  NEG.EXIST N.LI good
           'there aren't good ones.'
                                    (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-011, 00:33:02-00:33:04)
```

In this example, Dewi, Jamisah, and Rili are currently discussing different villages and how best to travel to them. In the just prior talk, Dewi is discussing one village in particular, *Merpayang.* The antecedent of this NMC is the NP *bujang=(ny)e* 'their bachelor(s)' in line 1, and the NMC in line 2 *ne alap* 'the good ones' restricts the reference of this NP antecedent. The examples thus far show a pattern of referring expression NMCs wherein the antecedent is often introduced into the discourse without any modifiers and speakers utilize referring expression NMCs to refer to some modified discourse entity, which is a restricted reference of the antecedent. There are, however, also referring expressions that cannot be said to be simply restricting the referent of an antecedent.

(13) ("Planting cocoa")

```
DAMSI:  ne   kami     tu        nak  di-penuh-i=lah         nga  cuklat.
        N.LI 1PL.EXCL DEM.DIST want PASS-fill-LOC.APPL=PRT with cocoa
        'ours (i.e., our field) should be filled with cocoa. '
                                    (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-010, 00:14:59-00:15:01)
```

In the example in (13), the NMC *ne kami tu* 'ours/the one that belongs to us' refers to Damsi's family field. However, there is no mention of a field, although the three participants in this conversation are talking about planting cocoa, more generally. How, then, do the addressees recognize this referring expression? The reference of this NMC is designed to be recognizable to participants because of the clause it appears in; the predicate *di-penuh-i* 'to be filled' has a passive prefix and a locative applicative suffix that specifies that the single S argument of the passive is a location. This allows the NMC to be recognizable to the addressees as a field, rather than something else related to planting cocoa.

Thus far, the NMCs that function as referring expressions have occurred as arguments of a predicate in a clause. In a number of cases, NMCs can also occur

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outside of the clause. For example, NMCs can be used in topicalization constructions, which are introduced by *ame* TOP, as in (14). For details on a very similar topicalization construction in colloquial Indonesian, see Ewing (2005: 241*ff*).

(14) ("Durian fruit season")

```
1  JAMISAH: ⇒ anye ame   ne: ujik             galak  n-(t)agih  ni,
              but  TOP   N.LI motorcycle.taxi want   AV-bill    DEM.PROX
              'but as for motorcycle taxis that like to ask (for the fare),'

              (0.7)

2             dide galak aku   naik-i=nye.
              NEG  want  1SG   AV.go.up-LOC.APPL=3
              'I don't want to get on them.'
                                  (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-011, 00:23:46-00:23:48)
```

In this example, the three participants are discussing the best way to travel home from the field or rice paddy, and Jamisah in the just prior talk suggests taking a motorcycle taxi as her preferred method. Then, in line 1, Jamisah makes reference to motorcycle taxi drivers that like to ask for the fare, which is in contrast to motorcycle taxis who politely wait for the fare. The NMC thus appears to be part of a topicalization, and it is referenced anaphorically in line 2 with the third person pronominal enclitic *=nye*. Unlike the previous examples, the apparent antecedent *ujik* 'motorcycle taxi' is actually part of the NMC. While it is not exactly clear why she designed the NMC in this way for this context, it does show that these constructions are quite different than relative clauses.[7]

Referring expressions are also used in increments (Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002; Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007), and the excerpt in (15) is a case where there is not immediate uptake and/or trouble with the response of the addressee(s) that led to an elaboration by Dewi with two NMCs in lines 5 and 6.

(15) ("Durian fruit season")

```
1  DEWI:   adak  aku  tadi,
           EXCL  1SG  earlier
           'I earlier,'

           (0.3)
```

7. One possible explanation for the presence of the apparent antecedent *ujik* 'motorcycle taxi' in this example is that Jamisah is ensuring that Dewi and Rili can identify the reference of the NMC introduced by *ne* N.LI. This raises the question, *why does Jamisah use the light noun at all?* It is certainly possible for her to simply use *ujik* 'motorcycle taxi' followed by the modifying clause *galak nagih ni* 'like to ask (for the fare)', as we saw in Section 2. The answer to this question may be that Jamisah is constructing the NMC on the fly, thus processing her turn on-line. Evidence for this analysis is found in the elongation of the light noun *ne* N.LI in line 1, which is immediately followed by the modifying clause that contains the head noun *ujik* 'motorcycle taxi'.

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```
2           m-beli  limi–
            AV-buy  HES
            'bought fi–'

3           ai   lime ijat  enam ribu.
            EXCL five seed  six  thousand
            'ah five pieces (for) six thousand (rupiah).'

            (0.3)

4  RILI:    mhmm.
            mhmm
            'mhmm.'

5  DEWI: ⇒ .. NIK   besak  due  ikuk,
               N.LI  big    two  tail.CLS
            'two big ones,'

6         ⇒ NIK   enggak   lentuat ni        tige   ikuk.
            N.LI  size     knee    DEM.PROX  three  tail.CLS
            'three knee-sized ones.'
                                (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-011, 00:06:55-00:07:03)
```

Immediately before this excerpt, Rili has given an anecdote about how her husband bought four pieces of durian fruit for ten thousand rupiah. When Dewi says that she got an even better deal than Rili's husband, five pieces of durian fruit for six thousand rupiah in line 3, she has come to a place of possible completion with a syntactically complete clause and a low falling 'final' intonation contour. However, there is no immediate uptake, and when there is uptake, Rili only acknowledges Dewi's turn with *mhmm* in line 4. Dewi then adds the incremental NMCs in lines 5 and 6 that elaborate on the sizes of the durian she bought, seeking appropriate appreciation from her recipients for the deal she got. It is worth noting that this use of *NIK* in these NMCs to make elaborations in increments is similar to what Clift (2007) has proposed for non-restrictive relative clauses with 'which' in English (see Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 472*ff*).

Thus far, it has been shown that serving as referring expressions is a common function of NMCs introduced by the light noun *NIK*. They are often utilized by speakers to design recognizable referents that restrict an antecedent that is typically the topic under discussion, though this is not always the case, and they are even found outside of the clause as increments or in topicalization constructions.

One function of these referring expressions that Englebretson (2008) notes in his discussion of *yang* constructions in colloquial Indonesian is the negotiation of the identifiability of referents. This is indeed a common function of Besemah light nouns and is found primarily in other-initiations of repair (Kendrick 2015; Schegloff 2000), and more specifically when there is a problem of reference. The light noun *NIK* is employed by speakers as means to both resolve and initiate problems of reference. In many cases, speakers design their repair initiators as

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requests for more information with *NIK* introducing an NMC with a question word, like *mane* 'which' or *sape* 'who'. This repair initiating *NIK* often occasions a *NIK* response.

(16) ("Durian fruit season")

1 RILI: kate mang Gituk,
QUOT uncle G.
'Uncle Gituk said,'

2 deghian seghekah banyak benagh,
durian broken.branch many true
'there were a lot ofdurian from broken branches,'

3 deghian bantal tu kate=nye.
durian pillow DEM.DIST QUOT=3
'those "pillow durian", he said.'

4 DEWI: ⇒ ***nik*** si[ape titu]?
NIK who DEM.DIST
'those are ***the ones*** that are whose?'

5 RILI: [kami lan]jui,
1PL.EXCL [PV]pick
'we picked (them).'

6 ***nik*** jeme dusun tu wah.
NIK people village DEM.DIST EXCL
'**the ones** (i.e., durian) that are the people's in the village.'

7 DEWI: oh.
PRT
'oh.'

(oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-011, 00:05:48.063-00:05:54.361)

In the extract in (16), Rili mentions durian fruit for the first time in this conversation. In line 2, she states that there is a lot of durian fruit from a broken branch, and it is of the *bantal* 'pillow' type in line 3. In Dewi's turn in line 4, she initiates repair explicitly using *nik siape?* 'whose?' with a high rising appeal contour locating the trouble source as the referent. (Remember that while Rili is from the same village as the other participants Jamisah and Dewi, she now lives in a different village.) This use of a light noun repair initiator by Dewi occasions a self-repair candidate response by Rili that also employs the light noun *NIK* in line 6. It is noteworthy that when *NIK* is used to initiate repair, it is also used in the self-repair candidate response. That is, *NIK* in the repair initiation occasions *NIK* in the self-repair. Finally, in line 7, Dewi closes the repair sequence with the particle *oh* PRT that, just as in English, registers an epistemic change of state (Heritage 1984).

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Another example of the light-noun *NIK* in other-initiations of repair is found in (17).

(17) ("Bachelors")

```
1 RAFLES:    adak- di  situ  due ikuk     eh.
             EXCL  LOC there two tail.CLS right
             'ah there were two (parties), right.'

             (0.3)

2 HAIRIL:    di  mane?
             LOC which
             'where?'

3 RAFLES:⇒   ne   badah  kite     kedian     tu.
             NIK  place  1PL.INCL last.night DEM.DIST
             'the one place we (went to) last night.'

             (0.4)

4 HAIRIL:    Batu Ampar.
             B.   A.
             'Batu Ampar(=village name).'

5 HENDI:     au=lah  Batu Ampar tu,
             yes=PRT B.   A.    DEM.DIST
             'yes Batu Ampar,'
                          (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-004, 00:11:21.076-00:11:26.589)
```

In the just prior talk, Rafles is discussing the parties that he and the participants went to the night before. In line 2, Hairil initiates repair with the question *di mane* 'where?', which locates the trouble source as the reference of *di situ* 'there' in line 1. In line 3, Rafles self-repairs by offering a candidate response with an NMC introduced by the light noun probably because he cannot access the name of the village, and the light noun here allows Rafles to design a recognizable referent without having access to the name of the village. In response to the light noun NMC, Hairil offers a candidate response with the village name *Batu Ampar* in line 4, and Hendi follows this with a sequence closing third *aulah* 'yes' in line 5. In this example, *NIK* is used to construct a candidate response without being occasioned by *NIK* in the other-initiation. It is noteworthy that a solely structural analysis of the NMC headed by a light noun does not account for the use of *NIK* here, since the noun *badah* 'place' is a grammatically sufficient response. The previous two examples demonstrate how light nouns are utilized in other-initiations of repair to negotiate the identity of referents.

We have seen that, as referring expressions, the light noun *NIK* serves a number of functions that overlap with both NPs and relative clause constructions, including establishing reference to a discourse entity and performing other-initiations of repair.

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4.2 Unattached light nouns in NMCs

There are some NMCs with *NIK* that occur on their own, are not fitted to any syntactic construction, and do not appear to be functioning as referring expressions for the purposes of establishing or tracking discourse entities. I refer to these as unattached light nouns in NMCs following earlier work by Ono & Thompson (1994) (see also Helasvuo 2001). I present two examples of these unattached light nouns in NMCs in (18) and (19), which are found in two stories in a sequence (Ryave 1978). The second story told by Rafles in (19) is occasioned by Hairil's story in (18). Both stories revolve around incidents where they were hit in the face with a ball.

(18) ("Bachelors")

```
1  HAIRIL:  luk  aku  nga   Antun dulu,
            like 1SG  with  A.    before
            'like me and Antun back then,'

2         ⇒ nik  lucu  eh?
            N.LI funny FP
            '(it was) a funny thing, right?'

            (0.9)

3           cungkil=(ny)e nga  Antun
            scoop=3       with A.
            '(the ball) was scooped up by Antun.'

            (0.3)

4           be-dapuk nga  [idung],
            MID-hit  with  nose
            '(it) hit (my) nose,'

5  RAFLES:                [@@@][2@@@@]

6  HAIRIL:                     [2la   @ny-(s)embap  @saje].
                                 PFV   AV-swell      only
                               '(it) continued to swell.'
                                (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-004, 00:26:17-00:26:24)
```

In the excerpt in (18), the story begins in line 1 with a reference to the people involved in the story (Goodwin 1984; Mandelbaum 2013; Sacks 1986) and is introduced by the particle *luk*, which is best translated as 'like'. The NMC in line 2 *nik lucu eh?* '(it was) a funny thing, right?' is a part of this story beginning, and Hairil designs this particular NMC to let recipients know how they should receive this story (see Mandelbaum 2013: 498*ff*). That is, recipients should hear this as a humorous story, and Rafles does so by responding with laughter in line 5.

In the example in (19), there are three NMCs that function to make a recognizable story beginning. This excerpt comes shortly after the previous example.

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Rafles begins to tell another short, humorous story that follows from Hairil's story about a time when he was hit in the face with a soccer ball. (Note that lines 2 and 3 are the completion of Hairil's story in (18).)

(19) ("Bachelors")

1 RAFLES: @aku ***@nik*** @ki[te @main-]
1SG N.LI 1PL.INCL play
'I, ***(the time)*** we played–'

2 HAIRIL: [te-abang-abang] ##.
NVOL-RDP-red
'(my face) was red.'

3 te-jil[$_2$pak tengah-tengah].
NVOL-hit RDP-middle
'(it) was hit in the middle (of it).'

4 RAFLES: ⇒ [$_2$***nik*** kite @main @di:] .. [$_3$@Sumur],
N.LI 1PL.INCL play LOC S.
'***(the time)*** we were playing in Sumur,'

5 HAIRIL: [$_3$@@][$_4$@@@@]@

6 RAFLES: ⇒ [$_4$***@nik*** @aku @kene @cemis @mate.]
N.LI 1SG hit spike eye
'***(the time)*** I got hit with a spike in the eyes.'

(0.5)

7 bulah be-laghi anguk situ eh?
ball MID-run direction there FP
'the ball went in that direction, right?'

8 .. same-same gedang datang gha=itu,
RDP-same strong come person=DEM.DIST
'(we were running at) the same speed, then that person,'

9 tendang=(ny)e anguk ke belakang.
PV.kick=3 direction to back
'he kicked (the ball) behind him.'

10 ###

11 entum kene mate.
boom hit eye
'boom (it) hit (me) in the eyes.'

(0.3)

12 nyelah die tuk al–
right INT PRT TRUN
'that's right–'

13 la abang ng-anak-ka daghah tu.
PFV red AV-child-CAUS blood DEM.DIST
'(my eye) was red, (with) blood appearing (i.e., rising to the surface).'

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```
14          n-cengi: [:s @aku @main]
            AV-squint     1SG   play
            '(I) was squinting (while) I played.'

15                  [((LAUGTER))]
                                (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-004, 00:26:36-00:26:55)
```

The NMCs in lines 1, 4, and 5 in this case constitute a recognizable story beginning. Rafles in line 1 breaks off from the NMC he is producing and performs a self repair of the NMC in line 4. It is noteworthy that he is laughing through the NMCs in lines 1 and 4, which serves the same function as the NMC in the previous example; it signals to recipients that this story should be heard as humorous. The NMC in line 4 specifies the setting of the story, a recurrent feature for story beginnings (Dingemanse, Rossi & Floyd 2017), and the NMC in line 6 specifies the main action of the event. One way to interpret this NMC is that it signals to the recipients what will constitute a completion to the story, which we see in Rafles' laughter through his IU in line 14 and indiscriminate laughter from (many or all of) the participants in line 15, allowing free turn-taking to resume.

In this subsection we have seen two instances of unattached NMCs introduced by *NIK* that are not fitted syntactically to a clause and do not clearly serve as referring expressions that establish or track discourse entities. We have also seen how speakers employ light nouns in NMCs to launch a storytelling.

4.3 Light nouns in equational constructions

Light nouns in NMCs also occur in equational constructions and serve as a resource for speakers to single out discourse entities with a contrastive function. The notional bases of the contrastive function here closely follows Maruyama (2003), who characterizes contrast as "components in the discourse whose semantic information is construed as having …[a] parallel relationship with each other" (250–251).[8] The structure of these constructions is simply the juxtaposition of an NMC headed by *NIK* with a pronoun or an NP. Similar structures in varieties of Indonesian and other languages have been referred to as cleft constructions (Englebretson 2008; Ewing 2005; Ewing & Cumming 1998; Payne 1997) largely because they are analyzed as equational (copula) clauses. It is noteworthy, however, that the structure of cleft constructions in these languages is quite different than cleft constructions that have been described for European languages that involve some sort of clausal complexity (see Lambrecht 2001: 467; Weinert & Miller 1996).

8. In Maruyama's (2003) proposal, she specifies contrast in terms of "components in the discourse whose semantic information is construed as having an *opposite* or parallel relationship" (emphasis mine; 250–251). However, I do not find any cases in the Besemah data where there is an opposite relationship.

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I would argue that these constructions in Besemah are simply equational clauses that juxtapose an NMC with an NP or pronoun, but, like the authors cited above in their descriptions of Indonesian varieties, I continue to refer to these constructions as cleft constructions.

The excerpt in (20) demonstrates the contrastive function of these cleft constructions.

(20) ("Durian fruit season")

```
1  JAMISAH: → jiku     kamu rarik-an   ini       bik     eh?
              QUOT.1SG 2SG  line-NMZR   DEM.DIST auntie  FP
              'I said, you are (on) this row auntie, right?'

2             m-(p)utigh.
              AV-pick
              'to pick (coffee).'

3     ⇒       aku  [nik   baris  si]ni,
              1SG   N.LI  line   here
              'I am the one who is (on) this line here,'

4   DEWI:           [e'e].
                     uhuh
                    'uhuh.'

5   JAMISAH:  au:.
              yes
              'yeah.'
                                    (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-011, 00:20:42-00:20:46)
```

Jamisah is telling a humorous story about picking coffee with a friend, Rus, who is apparently not following directions very well. In line 1, Jamisah is relaying the instructions that she gave to Rus on how to pick coffee from one row of plants. This ensures that they pick the coffee in a systematic manner without missing any plants. In line 3, Jamisah uses the NMC *nik baris sini* 'the one whose line is here' juxtaposed with *aku* 1SG to contrast Rus' row in which she is assigned to pick coffee in line 1. The humorous part of this story is that Rus would always end up picking coffee in Jamisah's row, and Jamisah would remind her to go back to her own row. In this example and others like it, there is a clear pattern where the NMC in an equational clause (marked here by the double arrow) follows an earlier clause with which it contrasts (marked here by the single arrow). This earlier clause creates a backdrop that allows the cleft construction to contrast two discourse entities in a parallel relationship.

The same pattern of an NMC in an equational clause following an earlier clause with which it contrasts is found in the excerpt in (21).

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(21) ("Farmer's cooperative")

```
1  EMI: →   gha=ini          dik  kum[pu:l],
            person=DEM.PROX NEG  gather
            'this person (i.e., Kudar) didn't meet (with the farmer's cooperative),'

2  KUDAR:                          [##].

3  EMI:     [2dide pantau=(ny)e].
              NEG  PV.call=3
            '(Kudar) wasn't invited by her (i.e, Erda's mom).'

4  KUDAR: → [2dik kelah aku kump]ul         aku,
              NEG ever 1SG  gather.together 1SG
            'I haven't ever met (with the farmer's cooperative).'

5  INA      .. gha=ini          baih  lagi-
               person=DEM.PROX  just  merely
            'this person (i.e., Kudar) is just merely-'

6           .. kate=nye ngape,
               say=3    why
            'she said, why,'

7           dame=ku  dik @bedie     @[@@]
            name=1SG NEG NEG.EXIST
            'is my name not there.'

8                                    [e][2'e].
                                     uhuh
                                     'uhuh.'

9  KUDAR: ⇒                            [2Ta]mi ***nik*** naik-[3i=nye].
                                        T.    N.LI go.up-LOC.APPL=3
                                       'Tami is ***the one*** who went up there.'

10 INA:                                                  [3au::].
                                                          yes
                                                         'yeah.'
                                  (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-008, 00:19:22-00:19:30)
```

Emi and Kudar are explaining to Ina how Kudar did *not* meet with the farmer's cooperative (lines 1–2), and was not even invited (line 3). Emi goes on to explain that Kudar's name was not even on the list (lines 6–7). Kudar then supports Emi's point by stating that *Tami,* Kudar's neighbor, was the one who went to the meeting for the farmer's cooperative in line 9. (As most Besemah houses are on stilts, the predicate *naik* 'go.up' with the applicative suffix can also be translated as 'invited in/up'.) This NMC in an equational clause contrasts Tami, who was the one who went to the meeting, in line 9 against the backdrop of Kudar, who was not invited, in lines 1 and 3.

The parallel relationship between the earlier clause, which provides a backdrop, and the later cleft construction, which serves the contrastive function, can also be explained in terms of information flow. In the two examples above, the

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NMC contains presupposed information and the NP or pronoun with which it is juxtaposed is commonly the assertion, as in (21), or the relationship between the juxtaposed NP or pronoun and the NMC represents the assertion, as in (20). For this reason, Englebretson (2008) analyzes the function of these constructions in colloquial Indonesian as one of information management. The NMC – the *yang* construction for him – relates presupposed information to the juxtaposed pronoun or NP (see Englebretson 2008: 13ff). From the examples in Besemah above, however, the most salient function is one of parallel contrast. That is, in order to achieve these parallel contrasts, speakers utilize presupposed information in the NMC that was mentioned in the initial contrasting clause and juxtapose it with a different pronoun or (typically new) NP.

There are a limited number of examples where speakers employ the contrastive function of the cleft construction for another purpose. In the excerpt in (22), Hendi in the just prior talk had expressed his frustration with a friend, Yuspah (also referred to as Pah), with whom he and the other participants in the conversation play soccer regularly. Hendi has proceeded to tell a short story from earlier that day about how Yuspah kept stepping on his feet, which he concludes in line 2 (and adds an increment in line 4).

(22) ("Bachelors")

```
1  HENDI:     jiku     Pah jangan  ng-ijak-ka        isan di belakang,
              QUOT.1SG P.  neg.imp AV-step-CAUS/APPL from LOC back
              'I said, Pah don t step on (my feet) from the back,'

2             kele  ku- aku  m-balas   jiku.   (H)
              later HES 1SG  AV-return QUOT.1SG
              'later I ll do the same (to you), I said.'

3  DIAN: ⇒    aku  nik   dik  [tahan],
              1SG  N.LI  NEG  enduring
              'I am the one who is not able to endure (it),'

4  HENDI:                    [te-tawe] [2die].
                              NVOL-laugh 3
                             'he laughed.'

5             [2die galak] ng-anu-ka               pingging  @tu=lah       @@@
                3   want   AV-whatchamacallit-CAUS butt      DEM.DIST=PRT
              'he likes to whatchamacallit (i.e., push others out of the way) with his butt.'

6  RAFLES:⇒   aku nik  ridat,
              1SG  N.LI angry
              'I am the one who is angry.'

7             nik  die galak be-antuk-an     tu=lah,
              N.LI 3   want  RECIP-hit-RECIP DEM.DIST=PRT
              'the way he likes to bump into others,'

8  HENDI:     [@@@]
```

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```
9  RAFLES: ⇒ [aku  nik    ridat  nian].
             1SG  N.LI  angry  real
            'I am the one who is really angry.'
                                    (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-004, 00:25:42-00:25:50)
```

In line 3, Dian employs the NMC *nik dik tahan* 'the impatient one' juxtaposed with the first person pronoun *aku* in an equational construction. He then adds the reason for his impatience in line 5, namely Yuspah using his butt to push others out of the way. Unlike the examples of the parallel contrastive function above, there is not a recognizable prior parallel clause with which this NMC can contrast. Rather, the cleft construction in line 3 is running in parallel to Hendi's framing of the story, that is, Hendi's frustration towards Yuspah, which is inferable in lines 1 and 2 and made explicit at the story beginning, shown in (23). This story beginning frames the story by stating not only the main actor Yuspah, but also Hendi's attitude towards the event to display that speakers know how to receive the story.

(23) ("Bachelors")

```
HENDI: Yuspah bambah-an=lah.
       Y.     not.think-NMZR=PRT
       'Yuspah is the idiot (i.e., the one who doesn't think).'
                                    (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-004, 00:25:35-00:25:36)
```

In this context, the contrastive function in Dian's cleft construction in line 3 in (22) could be seen as parallel to lines 1 and 2, or even parallel to the entire story. In either case, the contrastive function affords Dian a way to single himself out for the purpose of self-selection and holding the turn for another IU. From an information flow perspective, the presupposition in Dian's NMC in line 3 is inferable from Hendi's framing of the story in (23), and Dian uses this presupposed information to make himself relevant as next speaker. In line 6, building off of Dian's cleft construction, Rafles employs a cleft construction that is parallel to Dian's in line 3, but is a kind of 'one-upping', from 'the impatient one' to 'the angry one'. Again, the parallel contrastive function of the NMC here affords Rafles a way to self-select and hold the turn.

Finally, in a small number of cases, the NMC in an equational clause does not appear to function as a cleft construction, as in (24) below.

(24) ("Bachelors")

```
JAMISAH: mubil tu       niknye  nian?
         car   DEM.DIST  N.LI.3  real
         'that car is really hers?'
                              (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-011, 00:29:14-00:29:16)
```

In this construction the NMC is a lexicalized form *niknye* 'hers/the one that belongs to her' (see Section 4.4). In the just prior talk, Rili and Jamisah are discussing Idut, who recently came back to the village. Jamisah then asks the question in (24)

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without any previous discussion of cars or Idut's possessions. From the formulation of Jamisah's question and Rili's response to it, it is clear that Rili is aware of the situation with Idut's car. However, unlike the examples above, it is not fitting to translate this clause as 'the car is one that belongs to her?', as we might expect in a cleft construction.

How, then, can we explain the difference between (20)–(23) and (24)? One answer might be that the predicating element differs in these examples: in cleft constructions (20)–(23) the predicating element is the NP or pronoun and in the equational construction in (24) the predicating element is the NMC headed by *NIK*. In fact, in his short description of colloquial Indonesian, Ewing (2005) proposes this structure. The presupposed element – the headless relative clause for him but the NMC headed by *NIK* here – is the argument and the NP or pronoun is the predicate. Thus, cleft constructions are predicate initial with the NMC argument following the predicate. While this analysis explains the difference between cleft constructions and non-cleft equational constructions involving NMCs, it should be noted that it is notoriously difficult to pick out the predicate in predicate nominal constructions, especially when word order is flexible and there is no copula (Payne 1997: 114*ff*).

In summary, NMCs that appear in equational clauses with a juxtaposed NP or pronoun, serve a contrastive function in Besemah conversation, which is also related to information management where the NMC contains presupposed information. The contrastive function of these clauses is also utilized by speakers in turn-taking, namely for purposes of self-selection. The nature of the relationship between the NMC headed by *NIK* and NP or pronoun in terms of predication remains an open question.

4.4 Light nouns in lexicalizations and fixed expressions

There are a few lexicalized forms and a small number of apparent fixed expressions with *NIK*. The lexicalized forms *niknye* 'theirs/his/hers' as in (25) and *ningkuk/nekuk/endekuk* 'mine' as in (26) all involve a form of the light noun *NIK* followed by a pronominal clitic *=ku* 1SG or *=nye* 3 and often translate to English possessive pronouns. I consider these forms lexicalized for morpho-phonological reasons. The form *niknye* [nɪʔɲə] 'theirs/his/hers' is quite clearly the combination of *NIK* followed by the third person enclitic *=nye*. However, when the enclitic *=nye* occurs after a word ending in a consonant, the palatal nasal is lost and only the vowel occurs (e.g., *palak* [palaʔ] 'head' – *palake* [palaʔʔə] 'his head'). The forms *nekuk* [nəkoʔ], *endekuk* [ɳdəkoʔ], and *ningkuk* [niŋkoʔ] 'mine' are quite transparent forms of *NIK* plus the first person pronominal enclitic *=ku*. There is an additional, unexpected glottal stop after *=ku* and, in one form, an excrescent velar nasal. This

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glottal stop provides evidence that this is in fact a lexicalized form; it does not occur with any other forms of *=ku*.

(25) ("Planting cocoa")

```
1  DAMSI: ⇒ niknye   tu,
              N.LI.3SG DEM.DIST
            'his (i.e., his cocoa plants),'

2            la  [ng-ulang   agi]:.
             PFV  AV-repeat  again
            'is already (doing it) again.'

3  ARIPIN:       [ng-ulang  n-(t)anam  eh]?
                 Av-repeat Av-plant   FP
                 '(he) planted (them) again, right?'

4  DAMSI:    .. la  m-bunge   agi   mak ini.
                PFV AV-flower again NOW DEM.PROX
             '(his) are already flowering again now.'
                                    (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-010, 00:24:35-00:24:38)
```

(26) ("Farmer's cooperative")

```
1  KUDAR: tuape ka  di-catat,
          what  fut PV-write
          'what will be written,'

2         diade.
          nothing
          '(it's) nothing.'

3       ⇒ amu  endekuk  lum   bedie     isi=nye,
          TOP  N.LI.1SG npers NEG.EXIST content=3
          'as for mine (i.e., my notebook), there isn't any content,'

4         tulis-an=anye.
          write-NMZR=3
          '(any) writing.'
                                     (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-008, 00:00:39-00:00:43)
```

There are also a small number of apparent fixed expressions that occur in the corpus. The first apparent fixed expression involves the phrase *NIK* + *penting* 'important', which could be translated as 'the important thing (is)…' in (27).

(27) ("Durian fruit season")

```
1  RILI:       ibarat=(ny)e did[e ng-utang-]
               example=3    NEG   AV-borrow
               'for example, don't borrow (money)-'

2  JAMISAH: ⇒              [nik penti]ng [2tu],
                           N.LI important DEM.DIST
                           'what's important,'
```

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3 RILI: [$_2$a][$_3$u].
yes
'yes.'

4 DEWI: [$_3$a][$_4$u].
yes
'yeah.'

5 JAMISAH: [$_3$ade] [$_4$duit mas]uk.
exist money enter
'there is money coming in.'

6 a[$_5$me kite dik] bedie.
TOP 1PL.INCL NEG exist
'if we don't have any.'

7 RILI: [$_5$nyelah.]
right
'right.'

(oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-011, 00:03:44-00:03:50)

In this example, Rili is finishing talking about how her husband is always working and she and her kids stay by themselves in the village. She ends by stating that everything is okay because they have enough money, and for example, they do not need to borrow money, which is where line 1 begins. Jamisah remarks in line 2 that the important thing is that there is money coming in, to which Rili agrees in lines 7. In this case, Jamisah offers a candidate summary of Rili's assessment of the situation (i.e., that her husband is gone a lot, but what's important is that they have money) and brings this topic to a close, which is supported by the fact that Dewi transitions to a new topic after Rili agrees with Jamisah's assessment in line 7. Jamisah, then, appears to use the fixed expression *nik penting tu* 'the important thing' to signal that what follows will be a summarizing statement.[9]

It is noteworthy that the word *penting* 'important' always occurs in these types of constructions with *NIK* in the corpus.[10] It may be the case that this is actually a calque from Indonesian *yang penting* 'the important thing (is), what's important (is)' because while *penting* 'important' occurs in various constructions in Indonesian, it is only attested in NMCs in the Besemah corpus.

9. Englebretson (2008) considers such examples in colloquial Indonesian to be a type of cleft construction that provide[s] epistemic framing for an utterance (16). While the example in (27) above demonstrates how such an example *NIK* + *penting* could provide epistemic framing, it is unclear how such an example fits with other examples of cleft constructions. The translation into English may lead to such an analysis, but it is noteworthy that what follows *ne penting tu* 'the important thing' is a clause and not an NP as is typical in cleft-like constructions (see Section 4.3). It is just as likely that this is some sort of unattached NMC.

10. It occurs once with *ye*, which is similar to *NIK*, but it is far less frequent. In the corpus in this study, it occurs only 6 times. In this instance *ye* + *penting* 'important' and *nik* + *penting* 'important' are translation equivalents. See McDonnell (in prep) for a more complete description of *ye*.

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The second fixed expression involves cases where *NIK* occurs with the particle *ka* and takes the meaning 'for', as in Example (28).

(28) ("Durian fruit season")

```
1  DEWI:     [nga] –
              HES

2  JAMISAH:  [ng-am]bik ma[2mang-an kab]ah,
              AV-take   uncle-NMZR  2SG
             'your uncle took (the snails),'

3  RILI:                  [2###]

4  JAMISAH: ⇒.. ka   endik  itik.
                PRT  N.LI   duck
             'for the ducks.'
                                (oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-011, 00:09:37-00:09:39)
```

The word *ka* could be related to the future marker *ka*, or it could be an older, frozen form of the allative preposition *ke* 'to'. In any case, if *ka* occurs before *NIK* the meaning is strictly 'for'.

In other cases, *NIK* does not occur with *ka* but nonetheless takes the meaning 'for', as in the example in (29). It may be in this case that the meaning 'for' arrises from context, and it is certainly possible given the description of NMCs in Section 2 that the meaning 'for' is pragmatic and not lexical.

(29) ("Farmer's cooperative")

```
1  KUDAR:  baju  sutik enjuk=(ny)e.
           shirt one   give=3
           'they gave (us) one shirt,'

           (0.9)

2          be-buku  sutik,
           MID-book one
           'one book,'

3          pinah sutik,
           pen   one
           'one pen,'

4          diade:.
           nothing
           'it's nothing.'

           (1.2)

5  EMI:    ne   n-catat?
           N.LI AV-write
           'for taking notes?'
```

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6 KUDAR: ⇒..*ne* nc- n-catat.
N.LI HES AV-write
'*for* taking notes.'
(oai:paradisec.org.au:BJM01-008, 00:00:32-00:00:39)

This section has shown that *NIK* also occurs in lexicalizations and several fixed expressions. It is quite possible that there are other fixed expressions. For example, it is quite common for *NIK* to occur with question words *mane* 'which' and *sape* 'who', as in the excerpt in Example (16), commonly used for negotiating the identify of a referent.

5. Conclusion

This paper has been concerned with how NMCs introduced by the light noun *NIK* serve a number of interactional functions in Besemah talk-in-interaction. I have shown several cases where speakers exploit the semantically empty nature of the light noun *NIK* and the pragmatic flexibility between the head light noun and its modifier to fit these constructions to local contexts for various interactional purposes.

In this paper, we have seen that NMCs headed by the light noun *NIK* vary along several dimensions. For example, NMCs show different degrees of fixedness. In some cases, NMCs with the light noun *NIK* are lexicalized, taking purposive or possessive meanings, or are fixed expressions (Section 4.4), while, in other cases, NMCs headed by *NIK* contain clauses or phrases and appear to be constructed on the fly to fit local contexts. Additionally, NMCs vary in how speakers use them for different interactional purposes. I have shown how NMCs are used as referring expressions to make reference to discourse entities, negotiate the identity of a referent, initiate repair, and do self-repair (Section 4.1), as unattached light nouns to construct story beginnings (Section 4.2), and in equational constructions to express contrast (Section 4.3).

Some of the interactional functions that I have outlined in this paper for NMCs introduced by the light noun *NIK* are (perhaps unsurprisingly) also attributed to NPs in other studies of talk-in-interaction (Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002; Helasvuo 2001). For instance, I show how these NMCs are used to form increments as either a referring expression where there is not immediate uptake (e.g., (15) in Section 4.1) or an unattached NMC to provide an assessment (e.g., (18) in Section 4.2).

At the same time, NMCs headed by *NIK* also function similarly to relative clause constructions, especially those that have been described in colloquial Indonesian (Englebretson 2008; Ewing & Cumming 1998). First, I showed in

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Section 4.1 how NMCs headed by the light noun *NIK* are used to restrict the reference of an already introduced antecedent NP, and to do elaborations in similar ways to the way English speakers use (non-restrictive) relative clauses (Clift 2007). Second, I showed in Section 4.3 how the subset of NMCs that are headed by *NIK* and occur in equational clauses are used in a special cleft construction to single out a referent for the purpose of contrast. This use of NMCs in Besemah is similar to those described for several varieties of Indonesian (Englebretson 2008; Ewing & Cumming 1998) and may be connected to information management where the NMC headed by *NIK* represents presupposed information.

In this paper, I have argued that while there are significant differences between NMCs in Besemah and purported relative clause constructions in other languages of western Indonesia (including *yang* constructions in colloquial Indonesian), the discourse functions that have been described for varieties of Indonesian (Englebretson 2008; Ewing 1991; Ewing & Cumming 1998) show considerable overlap with the functions of Besemah NMCs outlined here. I have shown that, beyond these discourse functions, NMCs headed by light nouns serve a number of interactional functions in Besemah talk-in-interaction.

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A. Transcription conventions

Transcription conventions generally follow Du Bois et al. (1993) with some minor exceptions. Each line represents an intonation unit. Brackets represent the beginning '[' and end ']' of overlapping speech; the left bracket has been subscripted with corresponding numbers for ease of reading. End marks on each intonation unit represent different contours: a period '.' is a final contour, a comma ',' is a continuing contour, and question mark is '?' is an appeal contour. A dash '-' represents truncated word, and an em dash '–' represents a truncated intonation unit. A colon ':' represents lengthening. (H) represents an in-breath. @ represents a pulse of laughter, unless it is attached to a word in which case it represents laughter through the word. # represents unintelligible speech. Two periods represent a short pause (less than 180 ms), and numbers in parentheses '(1.0)' represent longer pauses in seconds.

B. Glossing conventions

Glossing conventions are presented in Table 2. These conventions generally following the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

Table 2. Glossing conventions

Gloss	Description
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
APPL	applicative
AV	agentive voice
CAUS	causative
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
EXCL	exclamative
FP	final particle
INT	intensifier
LOC	locative

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Table 2. Glossing conventions (*continued*)

Gloss	Description
MID	middle voice
N.LI	light noun
NMZR	nominalizer
NPERS	negative persistive
NVOL	non-volitional
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PROX	proximal
PRT	particle
PV	patientive voice
RECIP	reciprocal
SG	singular
TRUN	truncation
TOP	topicalization

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CHAPTER 11

NP clustering in Mandarin conversational interaction

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Noun phrases (NPs) have traditionally been analyzed as a phrasal level unit with hierarchical internal structures as well as syntactic roles in larger syntactic units. In this chapter, I examine NP-related patterns at the discourse level. Using Mandarin conversation data, this chapter focuses on multiple NPs that cluster as adjacent turn constructional units. The patterns identified include: (1) deictic forms supported by gestures for mutual gaze and joint attention; (2) repeated (first person singular) pronouns for mitigation of conflicting stance and self-distancing; (3) diverse NP forms for step-wise reference identification or elaboration; (4) joint production of multiple NPs to display shared stance or mutual orientation; and (5) lists of multiple items for persuasion, exemplification, and clarification as well as for affiliative stance or mutual orientation. As these patterns go beyond the realm of clausal level syntax with demonstrable interactional effects, they are taken to show that there is discourse-level grammar, or grammar-in-interaction, to be accounted for when syntactic notions such as NPs are examined in context, and interactional discourse-based constructions, though non-conventional at times, raise important questions about the shape, formation, and dynamic nature of interaction and grammar.

1. Introduction

Noun phrases (NPs) as a linguistic unit have traditionally been viewed as a phrasal level unit, and as with any such units, they are seen as serving as building blocks for the construction and operation of larger units such as a clause or sentence (Chomsky 1957, 1965). Under such an approach, NPs are typically analyzed for their internal structure, e.g., layered hierarchies with a head and its associated constituents (modifiers, determiners, and the like) (Van Valin & LaPolla 2002: Chapter 2), or their roles in a larger syntactic unit (e.g., subject and object). With regard to meaning or function, NPs are often characterized as being in

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contrast also with such units as the clause, hence Van Valin and LaPolla's (ibid) remark: "Noun phrases refer, and clauses predicate" (2002: 53).

While these approaches have revealed important properties of the NP, major limitations exist. First, syntactic theories rarely deal with actual language use patterns; as such, some of the claims based on intuition or constructed data may not reflect well what is actually going on in natural discourse (e.g., for predicating NPs, see Ono & Thompson 1994). Second, as most of the prevailing theoretical syntactic models are concerned with syntactic roles and not with conversational interaction, there is a large gap in a comprehensive understanding of such units, though there is a sizable literature in functional approaches to grammar that has been dedicated to non-structural issues such as referential choice (Fox 1987, among others) and the flow of information (Chafe 1987, 1994; Du Bois 1980, 1987, among others) that critically involve nominal entities. In this chapter, I will look into some of the less commonly discussed NP unit patterns in conversational interaction that go beyond the realm of clausal level syntax and show the interactional work that may be accomplished with the use of such patterns. My ultimate goal is to show that there is discourse-level grammar, or grammar-in-interaction, to be accounted for when syntactic notions such as NPs are examined in context, and interactional discourse-based constructions, though unconventional at times, raise important questions about the shape, formation, and dynamic nature of interaction and grammar.

2. Scope and data

The specific issue that this chapter attempts to address is NP clustering, a phenomenon where three or more instances of NPs are used in an immediately adjacent interactional space (e.g., adjacent intonation units and/or in the same speaker turn) but without exhibiting tight clausal level syntax. Three is taken here as the minimum number due to the syntactically unconventional yet recurrent nature of these patterns in conversational interaction (more on this in the discussion section in 4.2). Extract (1) provides a quick illustration of one of those patterns I intend to address.

Extract 1. (An American Chinese visitor (M) talks with his mainland Chinese host (F) on features of Chinese geography and ancient history.)

1. F: 因为汉族人,
Yinwei Hanzuren,
because Han Chinese people
'Because they were Han Chinese,

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2. .. 认为自己了不起,
renwei ziji liaobuqi,
feel self superior
(they) felt a kind of self-superiority,

3. 叫一个大汉族主义,
jiao yige dahanzuzhuyi,
call one Han racism
this is probably something called Han Chinese Racism.

4. 啊。
a.
right
Right?

5. M: 是啊。
Shi a.
right PRT
Exactly.

6. F: 那边的人,
Na bian de ren,
that side ATT people
People on the other side,

7. 都是不是夷啊就是,
dou bu shi Yi a jiu shi,
all NEG COP barbarian PRT then COP
they were all either barbarians or

8. …就是胡子啊。
jiu shi Huzi a.
just COP bearded PRT
bearded people.

9. <@ 是不是? @>
Shi bu shi?
COP NEG COP
Isn't that right?

10. M: [@]

11. F: [@]

12. → M: <@ 蛮子。@>
Manzi.
uncivilized
Uncivilized people.

13. → F: <@ 蛮子,
Manzi.
uncivilized
Uncivilized people.

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14. → 夷一类的。@>
Yi yilei de.
savage kind PRT
of the savage type.

15. → M: <@ 山人。@>
Shan ren.
mountain people
Mountain people.

16. [<@ 是吗 @>]?
Shi ma?
COP PRT
Is that right?

17. F: [<@ 啊 @>]。[@]
A.
PRT
Right.

18. M: <@ 这样子的。@>
Zheyangzi de.
like:this PRT
Things like these,

19. F: 很多,
Hen duo,
very many
there are many (of them),

20. .. 这个,
zhe ge,
this CLF
this (is like)

21. …嗯,
en,
um
whatchamacallit,

22. .. 蔑称是吗?
miecheng shi ma?
derogatory:term COP PRT
derogatory, right?' (GEO)

Here we can see four successive NPs appearing at the arrowed lines of 12–15, each taking a separate intonation unit ('IU' (Chafe 1987; Du Bois et al. 1993)). These NPs do not seem to conform, or orient, to any syntactic configuration as (a) the nearest prior clause structure is found in F's turn in lines 6–9 ('People on the other side are all either barbarians or bearded, right?') and her turn is complete at that point; and (b) after the four NP IUs, there is again no syntactic slot where these NP units can be shown to fit since line 16 is a tag question. For these reasons, this kind

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of NP unit in discourse has been deemed unattached NPs (Helasvuo 1997, 2001; Ono & Thompson 1994; Tao 1992, 1993, 1996).

In this paper, I will discuss unattached, as well as some loosely attached, NPs (e.g., Extracts (2) and (3) below) – but with a focus on multiple (i.e., three or more) units in clusters rather than single NP units.

In the spoken discourse literature, a fairly large number of studies have touched on the issue of intonation unit types. In particular, both attached (syntactically associated) and unattached (syntactically free-standing) NP IUs in a variety of languages have been analyzed in an attempt to show that languages may not have the same tendencies in their syntactic constitution of IUs, as many English based studies seem to show that clausal IUs are the norm of spoken discourse (Chafe 1987, 1994; Croft 2009; Ono & Thompson 1995) or the locus of interaction (Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen 2005; Thompson 2019). These studies have first of all tended to focus on the quantitatively prominent role of NP IUs in some non-English languages and in some contexts. For example, Iwasaki (1993), Iwasaki and Tao (1993), and Tao (1993, 1996) show that NP and other non-clausal IUs are rather robust in Japanese and Mandarin Chinese interactional discourse. Similar findings have been reported for Israeli Hebrew (Izre'el 2005, 2018), Sasak (Wouk 2008), and Wardaman (Croft 2007). A similar line of research deals with specific functions of NP IUs in both narrative and conversational discourse, sometimes from a cross-linguistic perspective. Representative samples in this tradition include Tao (1992) on referential and predicating NP IUs in conversational English; Tao (1993, 1996) on a variety of functions (referent introducing, identifying, listing, etc.) in Mandarin conversation; Ono and Thompson (1994) provides a comprehensive discussion of predicating (as opposed to referential) NP IUs in English conversation, noting especially their unique status in the grammar of everyday conversation and the interactional work accomplished by deploying predicating NPs, which serve to do characterizing, assessing, ascribing, identifying, labeling and so forth; Helasvuo (1997) reveals that with rich case marking, free-standing NP IUs in Finnish can help establish, among others, themes and orientations; also on Finnish, Laury and Helasvuo's (2015) work on detached NPs with relative clauses shows that NP IUs of this type can serve various reference formulation and negotiation functions and with different kinds of discourse linking orientations (e.g., forward or backward linking, cf. Ono & Thompson 1994). Likewise, Matsumoto (1997, 1998, 2003) describes a variety of referential and interactional uses of independent NP IUs in Japanese.

However, with few exceptions (Tao 1993, 1996; Lee 2010a, 2010b), most of the existing studies did not make a particular effort in distinguishing between single NP IUs and multiple IUs in tandem, and thus escaped the issues raised by multiple unit constructions. In the conversation analysis tradition, a number

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of studies have shown that reformulation with multiple referential forms in succession can be related to mutual gaze and joint attention (Goodwin 1979, 1980) or action (e.g. assessment) projection (Ford & Fox 1996); however these studies are not particularly concerned with the nature of multiple NPs as a configuration format in interaction. In this chapter, I attempt to address this issue and show that in certain contexts, clusters of NPs, at least in Mandarin Chinese, can exhibit certain level of unity and be deployed to accomplish a variety of interactional work that may otherwise not be done with similar effect. I will call these patterns multiple-NP strings, as they generally lack strict clause level syntax, yet exhibit strong coherence and utility at the interactional level.

Data for this study come from a variety of audio/video-recorded Mandarin everyday conversations in face-to-face and telephone call situations. The face-to-face conversations were collected over the past two decades by the author and collaborators, while the telephone conversations come from the CallFriend corpus developed by the LDC (Canavan & Zipperlen 1996). The data sample for this paper includes 25 conversations (18 face-to-face and 7 telephone conversations, totaling about 119,014 words), which range from 30 minutes to over one hour each.

3. Patterns of clustering NPs

Inspections of Mandarin conversational data indicate that there are at least five contexts where multiple NPs cluster. As a first step, I will focus on the main features of each of these patterns as well as their relations. These patterns will then be taken as a whole to raise questions about the nature of the grammar of NPs in interaction. We will begin by presenting two patterns that involve essentially identical NP forms in the clusters; the rest of the patterns to be described involves non-identical NP forms.

3.1 Multiple NPs for mutual gaze and joint attention

In this pattern, NPs with nearly identical forms are observed to be deployed to secure the addressee's mutual gaze and joint attention (Goodwin 1979, 1980). These cases typically occur at the beginning of a new conversation turn or sequence (Schegloff 2007), often with a new conversation topic. Also, in these cases the initiating speaker typically points repeatedly to an entity in the environment to attract interlocutors' gaze and attention. This is illustrated in Extract (2).

In this episode, two couples, who are college graduates, are having a dinner party at a university apartment the hosts rent. HM and HF are the host husband and wife and GM and GF the guest husband and wife, respectively. While the

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female speakers are preparing the meal, the host male speaker (HM) draws the attention of the guest couple, especially GM, and begin to complain about how his apartment unit is having all sorts of problems. Prior to this sequence, the speakers have been talking about how best to use the cookware installed in their apartment units, which leads to a discussion about the different units that they have stayed in.

Extract 2. (Dinner party talk in a kitchen of a rented university apartment.)

1. HM: ((*Right hand points to the kitchen cupboard area while gazing at GM, starting the utterance at the moment when mutual gaze is achieved.*))[1]

2. 我们这个,
Women zhe ge,
1PL this CLF
'Our this (apartment),

3. … (.4) 房子,
fangzi,
unit
this unit,

4. 好像不太好。
haoxiang bu tai hao.
seem NEG very good
doesn't look good.

((Female speakers' background chat omitted))

5. → <X 就 X>这个,
(jiu) zhe ge,
(just) this CLF
(Just) this unit
((pointing gesture toward cupboard area, partially blocked on screen by GM))

6. → ..这个,
zhe ge,
this CLF
this one
((pointing gesture toward cupboard area, partially blocked on screen by GM))

7. → …这个上面啊,
zhe ge shangmian a,
this CLF upside PRT
this place up here,
((pointing gesture, in the clear, maintains))

1. Italicized depictions in ((*double parentheses*)) in the transcription indicate content of gesture. For other transcription conventions, see Appendix A.

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8. 这个上面特别=<X 这个 X>脏。
Zhe ge shangmian tebie (zhe ge) zang.
this CLF upside especially this CLF dirty
This (spot) is especially dirty up there.
((*pointing gesture, in the clear, maintains*))

9. GF: 对对对。
Dui dui dui.
right right right
That's right.

我们的也是。
Women de ye shi.
1PL ATT also COP
Ours is the same.' (CALPER)

In this segment, Speaker HM starts off by shifting the topic to the quality of his apartment. Since there are many other activities going on simultaneously in the kitchen and the female speakers are not facing him, he draws the other participants' attention by using multiple NPs in deictic forms (*zhe ge* 'this one (area)' in lines 5–6, *zhe ge shangmian* 'up there this area' in line 7). In addition to deictic forms, pointing gestures are used throughout the segment from line 5 through line 8.

a. NPs in lines 5-6 b. NP in line 7 c. Statement in line 8

Figure 1. HM points to the cupboard area and maintains the pointing gesture when initiating the new sequence with NP IUs. At lines 5–6, HM's hand gesture (partially blocked on screen by GM in the foreground, is slightly shown in Figure 1a), then the pointing gesture becomes clear at lines 7 (Figure 1b). He maintains the pointing gesture in making a statement with the repeated deictic form as the subject/topic (*Zhe ge difang tebie zang* 'this spot is especially dirty up there') of lines 8 (Figure 1c)

In the next case, we will see that though the multiple NPs may be loosely grouped into a larger syntactic framework, the break-up of this pattern by isolating each nominal in a separate IU is arguably more for securing mutual gaze and joint attention than for syntactic reasons.

In Extract (3), V is visiting her two friends who live in an international student dorm at a Korean university in Seoul. H (the 'hair dresser') is helping with her roommate (the 'customer') C's hair in their dorm room. V walks around and observes the hair-fixing activities while from time to time trying to talk to, and

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about, both of them (especially C's allegedly messy old hair style back in her high school days). Since H and C are actively engaged in the hair-fixing process, getting their attention during the activities poses a challenge for V as H and C would have to stop in the midst of their activities to share gaze with, and respond to, her. V is found to use a variety of strategies to secure mutual gaze and joint attention, and one of such strategies is multiple deictic NPs with hand gestures, as shown in lines 13–17 in Extract (3) and Figure 2(a-c).

Extract 3. (Talk during hair fixing at an international student dorm.)

1. C: 这样子就可以了 。
   Zhe yangzi jiu keyi le.
   this way just fine PRT
   'This is just fine.

2. V: 我记得--
   Wo jide--
   1SG remember
   'I remember--

3. C: …这样子就可以了 。
   Zhe yangzi jiu keyi le.
   this way just fine PRT
   This is just fine.

4. V: 我记得--
   Wo jide--
   1SG remember
   I remember--

5. 原来C--
   yuanlai C--
   originally NAME
   in the old days, C

6. 上高中的时候,
   shang gaozhong de shihou,
   go high:school ATT time
   when (C) was in high school,

7. H: ((*gaze shifts to V*))

8. V: 不是没有刘海吗？
   bu shi mei you liuhai ma?
   NEG COP NEG have bangs PRT
   (she) didn't have bangs, okay?

9. H: 嗯 。
   Nn.
   INT
   Right.
   ((*gaze returns to C's hair*))

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10. V: 没有刘海的话不是得全往后梳吗？
meiyou liuhai dehua bu shi dei quan wang hou shu ma?
NEG have bangs NEG COP need all toward back comb PRT
(She) had to comb her hair backward without bangs, right?

11. H: 嗯 。
Um.
Right.

12. V: 然后她上面经常有，
ranhou ta shangmian jingchang you,
then 3SG top often have
So on top of her head, she often had,

13. → 那些--
neixie--
those,
((*right hand motions over C's head depicting messiness*))

14. → 那些--
neixie--
those,
((*right hand motion over C's head depicting messiness*))

15. H: ((*gaze shifts from C's head to V*))
((*maintains gaze toward V and begins to smile*))

16. →V: 那些，
neixie
those,
those
((*right hand motion over C's head depicting messiness*))

17. → 乱七八糟的呀，
luanqibazao de ya,
crazy:messy NOM PRT
crazy messy stuff,

18. H: ((*gaze withdraws to return to C's hair*))

19. V: 然后就很难看 。
ranhou jiu hen nankan.
then just very ugly
which was really ugly.

20. 然后就，
ranhou jiu,
then just
(It's) just,

21. 然后告诉她，
ranhou gaosu ta,
then tell 3SG
then (I) told her about this,

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22. 然后再梳,
ranhou zai shu,
then again comb
and she tried again to comb (them down).

23. 还是那个样子。
hai shi na ge yangzi.
still COP that way
But it looked the same.

24. C: 哎,
Ai,
INT
Well,

25. 我-
wo-
1SG
I-

26. V: 就改不了 。
jiu gai bu liao.
just change NEG PRT
I just couldn't do much to change that.' (HAIR)[2]

a. Line13 (V: left; H: right) b. Line 14 (H gazes at V) c. Lines 15-17 (H gazes & smiles)

Figure 2. V's hand motions that accompany multiple deictic NPs to attract H's attention

In Extract (3), again, we see that multiple deictic NPs are used, at the arrowed lines of 13, 14, and 16, all ending in truncated or non-terminal intonation contours. Here the multiple NPs may be loosely fitted in a larger syntactic framework – as the object of the possessive verb *you* 'have', which can be schematized in (4):

(4) She often **had** {those (l. 13) – those (l. 14) – those (l. 16) – crazy messy stuff (l. 17)}.[3]

However, we have reasons to believe that these restarted, recycled, and multiple-IU distributed deictic NP forms are deployed more for mutual gaze and joint attention

2. Thanks are due to Jee Won Lee for making this recording available to me.

3. One can also argue that these are instances of multimodal noun phrases (Keevallik 2020) or embodied syntax (Keevallik 2013), as the deictic forms serve as modifiers and the hand gestures depict the understood head noun – together they form individual complete multimodal units.

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than for any strict syntactic reasons. First, as Goodwin (1979, 1980, 1986 among others) shows, based on American English conversation, self-repair in the form of a pause and a re-start, is a common strategy speakers use at turn beginnings to organize joint attention.[4] This happens especially when the recipient is in a difficult position to see the speaker or when there is a lack of response from the interlocutor to display their recipiency. Our Mandarin data show similar patterns here, as the addressee, H, standing on the right side, is engaged in physical activities with C (sitting in the middle) with her sight mostly focused on C's hair, as expected.

Second, the same self-initiated repair strategy of pause and restart is used by speaker V earlier in the same sequence, in lines 2 and 4, where V appeals to memory (*wo jide* 'I remember', Tao 2001, 2003, 2016) to attract the attention of H. And in both of these episodes, V succeeds in drawing H's gaze from C's hair to her, as indicated in line 7 of the first instance and line 15 of the second.

The "memory" sequence:

V: I remember (l. 2) – I remember (l. 4) – ((H: ***GAZE***) (l. 7))

The deictic sequence:

V: On top of her head, she often had {those (l. 13) – those (l. 14) – ((H: ***GAZE***)) (1. 15)- those (l. 16) – crazy messy stuff (l. 17) }.

Third, V's formulation of the nominal form in line 17 also shows an interesting development: while the same referential form is given as simple deixis (*neixie* 'those') in lines 13–14 and 16, line 17 sees a much more elaborate, evaluative form (or assessment, Goodwin & Goodwin 1992; Pomerantz 1984), with an idiom (*luanqibazao* '(crazy) messy') and a nominalizer *de*, and this increased specification only takes place after H has shared and maintained her gaze toward V, i.e. having displayed a mutual orientation to the topic with V. Moreover, H gives a smile while gazing at V and before V utters the loaded idiom, seemingly to anticipate V's production of an assessment or a depiction of some sort. H's smile also indexes her affiliative affective stance with V's description of C's old hair style.

Finally, wrapping up the discussion in the preceding paragraphs, we can say that the kind of incomplete syntax (i.e., single NP IUs in demonstrative pronominal forms without a head noun), produced with non-terminal intonation contours, and deployed together with the body, serves well the projection function as discussed in previous studies (Helasvuo 2001: 37; Keevallik 2013), which affords a well-coordinated mechanism to solicit mutual gaze and joint attention.

4. See Ford & Fox (1996) for a discussion of additional subtle choices (e.g., pronouns vs. full NPs) that speakers can make in restarts and reformations that serve different interactional goals.

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In short, the interactional behaviors of both the speaker and the co-participant, as well as cross-linguistic interactional tendencies, point to the strategic deployment of multiple deictic NP units analyzed here as interactively designed serial actions.

3.2 Repeated (first person singular) pronouns for mitigation of stance and self-distancing

The second commonly observed multiple-NP clustering pattern involves pronouns. Personal pronouns, especially first person singular forms, are often used repeatedly in conversation to convey a sense of hesitation on the part of the speaker. In Mandarin conversation, repetition patterns involving the first person singular form, usually the most frequent of all personal pronouns (Scheibman 2002), have been shown also to be the most frequent of all personal pronoun repetition patterns, according to Lee (2010a: 54–55). Lee shows that first person repetition accounts for 61% of her data, while second person and third person account for 15%, and 24%, respectively. Lee also shows that 25% of all first person repetitions in her data involve three or more successively repeated tokens.

Lee (2010a, 2010b) characterizes the use of first person pronoun repetitions as a mitigation device for the negotiation of conflicting stances in interaction. She demonstrates that mitigation may be called for when what the speaker is about to say may be perceived as delicate (Lerner 2013) or offensive to the addressee, as illustrated by the case in Extract (4) (Lee 2010: 199).

Extract 4. (A speaker from Taiwan reminiscing about his travel experiences in China and his thoughts on China and Taiwan. The transcription is slightly modified for uniformity.)

1. TW: 现在大陆=,
xianzai dalu=,
now mainland
'Right now in China,

2. → …(0.8) 我说=,
wo shuo=,
1SG say
I think,'

3. → 我,
wo,
1SG
I,

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4. → 我,
wo,
1SG
I,

5. → 我感觉,
1SG feel,
I feel,

6. 我看到,
wo kan dao,
1SG see reach
I saw,

7. 二十年前的台湾。
er shi nian qian de Taiwan.
twenty year ago ATT Taiwan
Taiwan of about twenty years ago.' (CNTW)

In this excerpt, what contributes to the speaker's hesitation with multiple first person singular pronouns (sometimes in fixed formulas as in lines 2 and 5) may be the fact that China was perceived as a less modern place at the time of the conversation, and the speaker, who is from Taiwan, does not want to offend his interlocutor, who is from mainland China. Of course, mitigation is done here not only by the successive use of multiple first person singular pronouns, but also by the use of the quotative *shuo* 'say' (line 2), which can be interpreted as 'think' here, and the epistemic marker *ganjue* 'feel' (line 5). This account is supported by the speaker's explicit appeal to B later (after about eight more lines) in the talk:

Extract 5. (Continuation of Extract (4))

13. → A: 我我希望这个没有=,
Wo wo xiwang zhe ge meiyou=,
1SG 1SG hope this CLF NEG
'I-, I hope this is not,

14. B: ((*folds arms*))

15. ((*waves hand*))

16. A: (0.2) 冒冒犯的意味,
mao maofan de yiwei,
offend rude ATT meaning
taken to be offending.'

17. B: ((*folds arms*)) (CNTW)

The addressee, B, with a mainland China background, demonstrates his approving understanding by waving his hand and folding his arms (lines 14–15 and 17).

However, mitigation does not have to be exclusively addressee oriented. Sometimes, for example, speakers may also wish to distance themselves from

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some personal traits they appear to possess. This is illustrated by Extract (6), where the female speaker displays her slight distaste of herself with regard to her behavior of repeatedly watching the same movies, an act which sometimes seems hard to justify.

Extract 6. (Female friend talking about her movie favorites while riding in a car driven by her male friend.)

1. M: 正儿八经儿的电影哪个值得保-保存？
Zhengerbajing de dianying na ge zhide bao- baocun?
serious ATT movie which CLF worthy ke- keep
'Which serious movie is worth keeping? (Can't think of any.)

2. F: …我也不知道。
Wo ye bu zhidao.
1SG neither NEG know
I don't know either.

3. M: …那个怪片子。
Na ge guai pianzi.
that CLF weird movie
That bizarre movie,

4. …在=-<ENG Barnes and Noble ENG>,
zai Barnes and Noble,
be:at NAME
at Barnes and Nobel,

5. ..不是站板儿有一栏叫Archives吗？
bu shi zhanbanr you yi lan jiao Archives ma?
NEG COP bulletin have one CLF board call NAME PRT
don't they have a special section called Archives?

6. F: …诶，
Ai,
well
Shoot,

7. 我自己都觉得我自己奇怪。
wo ziji dou juede wo ziji qiguai.
1SG self feel 1SG self strange
I really feel I'm a weird person.

8. M: ..艺术部。
Yishu bu.
art department
in the Art Department (where you can find it).

9. F: 有一些片子我^就是能--
You yixie pianzi wo ^jiu shi neng--
exist some movie 1SG just COP can
With some movies, I just can -

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10. …你-你看,
ni- ni kan,
2SG 2SG see
you see,

11. → …我--
wo--
1SG
I-

12. → … (0.4)我--
wo-
1SG
I-

13. → ..我,
wo,
1SG
I-

14. …<ENG Sound of Music ENG>,
The Sound of Music,

15. 我从小到大,
wo cong xiao dao da,
1SG from little to big
throughout my life,

16. 至少看过有^七遍。
zhishao kan guo you ^qi bian.
at:least watch EXP exist seven times
I've watched it at least seven freaking times.

17. M: ..那个片子--
na ge pianzi--
that CLF movie
That movie,

18. F: 至^少=。
zhishao ^shao=.
at:least
At least.

19. M: …已经算经典片了。
yijing suan jingdian pian le.
already count:as classic movie PRT
is already a classic.

20. ..那片子。
na pianzi
that movie.
That movie.' (CALPER-P2-711)

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In Extract (6), the female speaker is self-ridiculing by disclosing a presumably unusual habit of hers of watching certain movies many times over. Her repeated self-reference in lines 11–13 (continued in line 15) shows signs of hesitation and likely some distancing attitude toward herself, as evidenced by her self-characterization of being a 'weird person' (line 7). However, in this particular case the addressee tries to rationalize it by saying that the movie in question, the Sound of Music, is a classic, hence worthy of repeated watching. Self-distancing expressed with multiple first person singular pronouns has been found in several other instances in the same conversation.

In this section, then, we see that first person singular pronouns can be repeated multiple times either as a recipient design feature (Sack, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974) for mitigation or as a self-doubting device for the speaker to distance from the self.

3.3 Multiple NPs, in varying forms, for step-wise referential identification

Having discussed two patterns in the preceding sections that involve essentially identical NP forms, we now move on to those patterns that contain non-identical forms. The third type of NP clustering found in Mandarin conversation is to increasingly limit referential scope, displaying a stepwise referring process, whereby references are collaboratively identified, before further talk about them is conducted. (This is also called referent anchoring in Tao 1996: Chapter 5).

In Extract (7), the referential scope is about students taking entrance examinations in order to get into colleges. A series of complex NPs is deployed at the arrowed lines: first a nominalization (or a condensed relative clause without a verb and a head noun) at line 2, then a noun with a linking adverbial in line 3, which are followed by two more nominalizations/condensed relative clauses. In referential terms, the speaker starts off with an expression of a general category of students with four hundred marks (lines 2–3), then she narrows it down to those with four hundred who have applied for vocational schools (lines 4–5), making the reference more precise each step of the way.

Extract 7. (Speakers chat about national entrance exams that their children have taken part in.)

1. B: … (1.1) 写信的时候,
Xie xin de shihou,
write:letter ATT time
'At the time (my husband) wrote the letter,

2. → … (1.7) ^四=百分以上的,
^si=bai fen yishang de,
four hundred mark above NOM
those with four hundred marks,

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3. → … (.5) 就是考生啊,
jiushi kaosheng a,
just examinee PRT
those college applicants,

4. → ..^达到四百分以上的,
^dadao si bai fen yishang de,
reach four hundred score above NOM
those who have archived four hundred marks and above,

5. → …报职业高中的,
bao zhiye gaozhong de,
apply vocation high:school NOM
those who have applied to a vocational school,

6. … (.6) 还有好^多,
hai you ^hao duo,
still have very many
there are still a lot of them,

7. ..就没有,
jiu mei you,
still NEG have
(they) haven't,

8. ..根本就投档不出去,
Genben jiu toudang bu chuqu,
basically somehow accept NEG out
(they) have basically been accepted by nobody.

9. … ^没法投=。
^Meifa tou=.
no:way accept
There is no way for them to get accepted.' (JIAOYU)

Thus, we can see that multiple-NP strings in diverse forms may be deployed for limiting the referential scope in Mandarin conversation. Kim (2005), based on spoken English, treats some of the referential narrowing down, step-wise identification patterns as a type of retroactive elaboration. Crucially, in both English (Kim 2005) and Mandarin Chinese (Tao 1996), these patterns often manifest as multiple NP IUs in succession.

3.4 Jointly produced multiple NPs for stance negotiation and mutual orientation

While we saw in Section 3.3 that one speaker can produce a series of NPs in the service of referent identification, it is not at all uncommon to see that participants collaborate in the joint referent identification and elaboration/characterization process. As numerous studies (e.g., Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs 1986; Geluykens 1988; Tao 1992, 1993, 1996) have emphasized, referent establishment is a collaborative

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activity of discourse participants, and more generally, communication itself can be seen as a thoroughly collaborative process whereby the speaker and the recipient impact one another and negotiate moves between them in order to arrive at referential common grounds (Clark & Brennan 1991; Clark & Marshall 1981; Goodwin 1979).

Multiparty collaboration in the form of multiple NPs can be done in both the initial referent establishment phase and the follow up phase, which are discussed in the next two subsections respectively.

3.4.1 *Referent establishment*

The initial phase of joint referencing typically emerges when a referent is for the first time being introduced into the conversation, as shown in Extract (8).

Extract 8. (Dinner party conversation among a number of graduate students at a research institution in Beijing.)

1. → H: 今天那个女孩儿,
Jintian na ge nuhair,
today that CLF girl
'Today this girl,

2. 叫=,
jiao=,
call
named

3. P: 一毛钱粥。
Yi mao qian zhou.
one 10:cents money porridge
(Here is) our 10 cent porridge.

4. → H: 那个,
Na ge,
that CLF
that (girl),

5. → Y: 杨筠,
Yang Jun,
NAME
Yang Jun,

6. → H: 她,
Ta,
3SG
she,

7. …她上楼上来叫,
ta shang lou lai jiao,
3SG walk up come holler
she walked upstairs and yelled out,

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8. <Q姚新Q>,
Yao Xin
NAME,
"Yao Xin",

姚新不在.
Yao Xin bu zai.
NAME NEG in
but Yao was not in today.' (GRAD)

Here, while the first speaker H initiates a topic concerning the visitor Yang, she is having trouble coming up with her name. Y joins in at line 5 to assist with the name search that H is undertaking. H then (in line 7) builds on this referent form and uses a pronominal form to continue talking about the protagonist of the embedded story. This way of using a variety of forms in succession – full NP in line 1, a deictic in line 4, a proper noun in line 5 by a different speaker, and finally a pronominal form in lines 6 and 7 – displays a thoroughly collaborative referring process and a mutual orientation to pursuing shared common grounds.

3.4.2 *Referent elaboration*

In contrast with the joint activity of referent establishment just discussed, joint elaboration of referents often takes place after the primary speaker has made a reference to certain entities or has characterized the entity in certain ways, making it available for the next speaker to follow up and take a stance on.

A case of referent elaboration can be found in the very first example briefly discussed at the beginning of this chapter. It may be recalled that from line 1 through line 9 of Extract (1), the primary speaker, F, states what she believes to be Han Chinese racism in ancient China and exemplifies it with two sample derogatory terms (*yi* 'barbarian' and *huzi* 'bearded') that were then used to label non-Han ethnic groups. Upon her completion of this sequence, the male speaker first shares a laugh to display his access to (Stivers 2008), and agreement with, the primary speaker's stance toward the traditional use of these terms. Then, M produces two additional candidate terms (*manzi* 'savage' and *shanren* 'mountain people') in lines 12 and 15, with the first one being ratified by the interlocutor with an exact repetition (line 13). This portion of the extract is reproduced as Extract (9):

Extract 9. (An American Chinese visitor (M) talks with his mainland Chinese host (F) on features of Chinese geography and ancient history.)

6. F: 那边的人,
Na bian de ren,
that side ATT people
'People on the other side,

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7. 都是不是夷啊就是,
dou bu shi Yi a jiu shi,
all NEG COP barbarian PRT then COP
they were all either barbarians or

8. …就是胡子啊。
jiu shi Huzi a.
just COP bearded PRT
bearded people.

9. <@ 是不是? @>
Shi bu shi?
COP NEG COP
Isn't that right?

10. M: [@]

11. F: [@]

12. → M: <@ 蛮子。@>
Manzi.
uncivilized
Uncivilized people.

13. → F: <@ 蛮子,
Manzi.
uncivilized
Uncivilized people.

14. → 夷一类的。@>
Yi yilei de.
savage kind PRT
of the savage type.

15. → M: <@ 山人。@>
Shan ren.
mountain people
Mountain people.

16. <@ 是吗 @>?
Shi ma?
COP PRT
Is that right?' (GEO)

Another example of this kind can be found in another segment of the same conversation, as shown in Extract (10) – only this time it is the female speaker who is elaborating on the male speaker's reference form. Prior to this spate of talk, the female speaker has described some interesting geographical features of Guilin, a picturesque tourist attraction in China. The male speaker remarks that some Western art history critics he knows of do not believe that Chinese painting is of the realism type, given the abstract way these works are constructed. He then gives the remarks in (10).

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Extract 10. (Discussing features of Chinese landscape and its relation to traditional painting.)

1. M: .. 如果他到这个= ,
Ruguo ta dao zhe ge=,
if 3SG go:to this CLF
'If they go to this,

2. … 桂林那边去转游转游的话,
Guilin na bian qu zhuanyou zhuanyou dehua,
NAME that side to wonder wonder if
go to Guilin and spend time there,

3. 也许他得啊,
yexu ta de a,
perhaps 3SG need PRT
perhaps they would want to

4. … (.5) 嗯,
en,
well,

5. .. 修改修改=,
xiugai xiugai=,
fix fix
fix a little bit

6. → [他的]说法。
ta de shuofa.
3SG ATT viewpoint
their viewpoint.

7. → F: [他的],
Ta de,
3SG ATT
their

8. M: [2@ 哦 @]?
O
INT
yeah?

9. → F: [2他的] [3论点]。
Ta de lundian.
3SG ATT argument
their argument.

10. M: [3 @]

11. → F: [4他的^论]调儿。
Ta de ^lundiaor.
3SG ATT misbelief
Their misbelief.

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12. M: [4<@ 是啊。]
Shi a.
COP PRT
Right.

13. 是啊 @>。
shi a
COP PRT
That's right.' (GEO)

In this extract, the female speaker offers two additional terms in lines 9 and 11 to elaborate on M's rather neutral characterization (*guandian* 'viewpoint') in line 6. Notably, F's last candidate term, *lundiaor* 'misbelief', is a loaded evaluative with negative connotations.

This kind of conversational practice has been characterized as another type of retroactive elaboration with replacement terms (Kim 2005), which again involves multiple NP units. We can also approach this kind of NP clustering with the framework of co-operative, transformative organization of human action and knowledge as articulated by Goodwin (2013), where he argues that speakers often build on each other's turns and actions and transform them into new actions. Similar ideas have been captured by Du Bois's notion of the stance triangle (Du Bois 2007), where it is pointed out that through cross-speaker action sequences featuring dialogic resonance – understood to be the catalytic activation of affinities across utterances – speakers can display their stance toward the discourse object in question and toward each other with regard to access and affiliation.

From these points of view, we can say that in both cases the respondents (M in (1)/(9) and F in (10)) display their structural alignment (Stivers 2008) with the referential activities – referring and elaboration/characterizing – that the primary speakers have been engaged in by using similar terms in the same prosodic-syntactic fashion (i.e. as single NP IUs) for each term, hence extending the same activity type to a greater length, while simultaneously transforming an otherwise unilateral activity into a joint event. Not only this, they further demonstrate affiliation (Stivers 2008) with the primary speakers' (negative) stance on the discourse objects under discussion (Chinese racism and art viewpoints), by offering closely-related terms as the prior speaker: 'barbarian'/'savage'/'bearded' vs. 'uncivilized'/'mountain people'; or upgraded terms: 'viewpoint' vs. 'misbelief'.

Along the same line, one environment in which multiple NP units for referent elaboration are often put to use is to jointly create humor. In this context, the recipient can deploy additional items as a way to display his/her understanding of the initial speaker's description, doing so in humorous ways. This is illustrated in Extract (11).

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Extract 11. (Two colleagues at a research institute chatting in the office about their children's soccer fan behavior.)

1. W: …谁站哪个位置,
Shei? zhan na ge weizhi,
who take which CLF position
'(She knows) which player plays which position,

2. M: (0)<@ 那也就是说那些球员她都能背下来了？@>
Na ye jiu shi shuo neixie qiuyuan ta dou neng bei xialai le?
then also just COP say those players 3SG all can memorize down PRT
So that means she can totally remember all the players?

3. W: …^当=然了!
^Dang=ran le
of:course PRT
Of course she can!

4. M: …[<@ 哎哟]喂@。 @ >
Aiyaowei.
INT
Oh my gosh.

5. W: [她那个]--
Ta nei ge--
3SG that CLF
The thing she has

6. 那个床上面那个,
nei ge chuangshang na ge,
that CLF bed up that CLF
that thing over her bed,

7. 那个,
nei ge,
that CLF
that

8. 那个,
nei ge,
that CLF
that

9. ..国安整个儿--
Guoan zhengger--
NAME entire
the entire Guoan team,

10. → ..全体的那个[照片儿=,]
quanti de nei ge zhaopianr=,
entire ATT that CLF photo
the entire team photo

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11. → M: [<@ 全家福啊。@>]
Quanjiafu a.
entire:family:fortune PRT
The Good Fortune Happy Family photo?

12. [<@ 噢=噢=噢=。@>]
ao ao ao.
INT INT INT
Oh wow.

13. → W: [全家福=。]
Quanjiafu=.
entire:family:fortune
(Yes) the Good Fortune Happy Family photo.

14. … (.5) <X一共 X>^两个,
yigong ^liang ge,
totally two CLF
Totally two,

15. → M: … (.4)[两种版本],
Liang zhong banben,
two kind version
Two versions (of the photo) even?

16. → W: [一个全家福。]
Yi ge quanjiafu.
one CLF entire:family:fortune
One Good Fortune Happy Family (photo).

17. ..不是,
bu shi,
NEG COP
No.

18. → ..全家福一个,
quanjiafu yi ge,
entire:family:fortune one CLF
One Good Fortune Happy Family (photo).

19. ..还有一个是((deleted long modifier here))特写。
hai you yi ge shi ( ) texie.
additional exist one CLF portrait
the other one is a portrait (of two players).' (PKOffice)

In this case the female speaker recounts how devoted her daughter is to her soccer team Guoan by bringing up the team photos she has on her bedroom wall. While the female speaker initially uses a plain term for the team photos, *quanti de zhaopiar* 'entire team photo' at line 10, the male speaker uses a much nuanced term, the idiomatic *quanjiafu* 'Good Fortune Happy Family photo', indexing not only his access to her epistemic stance, but also an affinity with her affective evaluation of the teenager's fan behavior. As the idiomatic term is reserved for real family

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photos, the end result is a humorous effect, added with laughing voice quality (indicated by @ in the transcript). Notably, this term gets recycled through additional turns that follow, at lines 13, 16, and 18. Note also that at line 15, upon hearing F uttering the number two in line 14, M produces the term *liang zhong banben* 'two versions'. Although this candidate hearing proves to be wrong, as F has meant to say two different photos rather than two versions of the same photo, the term itself also contributes to the humorous effect as it is typically used in somewhat formal settings for such objects as publications and movies.

Thus, in the two subsections just presented, we have seen that multiple-NP strings afford the participants a format with which the initial speaker and the recipient can collaborate in the joint referent identification and elaboration processes, and this is done in both the initial referent establishment phase and the follow-up phase. The associated activities in these contexts include not only referring and characterizing or elaborating, but also activity alignment and stance affiliation, which sometimes cumulate in humorous effects.

3.5 Multiple NPs in list constructions

Our last pattern to be described is list constructions (or lists), where a set of formally similar and functionally related items are produced in adjacent turn constructional units (either in the same speaker turn or in adjacent turns) that fall under a broad discourse theme (Tao 2019). This conversation practice has long been recognized as a cross-linguistically recurrent interactional pattern with various formal features and functional utilities (Jefferson 1990; Lerner 1994; Sánchez-Ayala 2003; Selting 2007; for a comprehensive review, see Tao 2019). One of the most recognizable features of lists is the so-called three-partedness, whereby the preferred number of items that go in a list is three, although fewer and more items are shown to occur as well. Notably, the constituting components often, though not exclusively, manifest as NPs, as illustrated in Extract (12).

Extract 12. (Friends discussing previous overseas living experiences.)

```
1.    Z:  我在一--
          Wo zai yi--
          1SG in one
          'I've been to a-

          ((Two IUs omitted))

2.        …在印尼待过一--
           zai Yinni dai guo yi--
           in Indonesia stay EXP one
           have stayed in Indonesia for a
```

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3. …很长时间啊。
 hen chang shijian a.
 very long time PRT
 for a while.

4. → 马来西亚，
Malaixiya,
Malaysia
(In places like) Malaysia,

5. → 新加坡，
Xinjiapo,
Singapore

6. → …和印尼，
 he Yinni,
 and Indonesia
 and Indonesia,

7. → ..菲律宾.
 Feilübin.
 Philippine
 the Philippines.

8. → …这一类呀，
 Zhe yi lei ya,
 this one kind PRT
 and places like this,

9. 都<X 住了 X>。
dou zhu le.
all stay PRT
I've been to them all.' (THAI)

Looking at the multimodal production of lists in Mandarin conversation, Tao (2019) proposes two major functions for lists in conversational interaction: (1) to enhance the rhetorical effect for persuasion, exemplification, and clarification, and (2) to help with discourse structuring, tracking, and interlocutor meta-interaction. The same functions, especially of the first type, also hold for the current data. For example, Extract (12) displays exemplification and clarification functions when speaker Z tries to demonstrate the extended overseas living experience that she has had; this in return helps build up a rhetorical effect on persuasion, i.e., making her claim in this respect more believable.

Furthermore, just as with the referential elaboration practice we saw in the previous section, lists also frequently involve multiple speaker contributions,[5] and, not surprisingly, the social interactional work done by joint construction of lists

5. See Tao (2019) for a discussion of joint production with gestural use.

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exhibits a great degree of similarity to reference elaboration patterns described in Section 3.4. Extract (13) is a case in point.

Extract 13. (Speakers discussing trends in applicants' college choices.)

1. C: ..他是说,
   Ta shi shuo,
   3SG COP say
   'People were saying (that)

2. ..今年考=,
   jinnian kao=,
   this:year apply
   among college applicants,

3. ..大学的,
   daxue de,
   college NOM
   this year,

4. B: ..Uh hum.
   uh hum

5. C: …就是=,
   Jiu shi=,
   just COP
   there is something

6. …所谓,
   suowei,
   so:called
   called

7. ..外字^热.
   waizi^re.
   foreign:character:frenzy
   "foreign frenzy".

((Thirteen IUs omitted))

8. C: …想 .. 上那个,
   Xiang .. shang nei ge,
   wish go that CLF
   (They all) wish to go to (schools)

9. …什么,
   shenme,
   what
   of the sort like,

10. → ..外^经=啊,
    wai^jing= a,
    foreign:economics PRT
    international economics,

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11. → A: ..外[^贸=啊],
Wai^mao= a,
foreign:trade PRT
international trade,

12. → C: [外语]呀,
Waiyu ya,
foreign:language PRT
foreign languages,

13. → A: 外[2 语 2]呀,
Waiyu a,
foreign:language PRT
foreign languages,

14. → C: [2 外贸 2]啊.
Waimao a.
foreign trade PRT
international trade.' (JIAOYU)

Upon hearing a sample term (*waijing* 'international economics', where the morpheme *wai* designates 'foreign' or 'international') produced by the primary speaker C in line 10 that exemplifies the categorization (Mayes & Tao 2019) of "foreign frenzy", the recipient, A, offers an additional candidate term (*waimao* 'international trade') in line 11. Then in the following few lines they engage in a choral co-production (Lerner 2002) of multiple turns by repeating (lines 12 and 13, and 11 and 14) and (partially) overlapping (lines 11–14) with one another. With a joint production of the list, the rhetorical effect of exemplification and clarification is accomplished and further amplified with contributions from each speaker with each and every subsequent addition. Moreover, by jointly producing the list, participants cooperatively transform the action into an extended sequence and display an affiliative stance related to the way they evaluate the object under discussion.

Sometimes, however, the second speaker may just repeat the previous speaker's term without offering new or alternative formulations, which would fit what Sacks (1992) calls a claim of understanding as opposed to a demonstration of understanding (see also Heritage 2007). The next Example (14) shows such a case.

Extract 14. (Two graduate students talking about the difficulties of finding jobs in desirable locales.)

1. C: ..最近几年有的工作,
Zuijin ji nian you de gongzuo,
recent several year exist ATT job
'In recent years, available jobs,

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2. …都是很=,
dou shi hen=,
all COP very
almost all came from very=

3. …很偏远的地方.
hen pianyuan de difang.
very remote ATT place
very remote places. (Like)'

4. → … Nebraska.

5. → B: …( ) Nebras[ka].

6. → C: [Arizona].

7. → B: … Nebraska. (LA)

In this case, Speaker C, based in Los Angeles, makes a generalization (in lines 1–3) about jobs mostly being available in 'remote' places; at line 4 he names such a place, 'Nebraska'. Then, both before and after C continues with an additional list item 'Arizona', B repeats C's initial reference form twice without offering any new or alternative terms. Still, we can see that the exemplification and clarification functions are evident in both this example and Extract (13) just analyzed.

Lists, then, by definition involve multiple entities which often manifest as NPs. They have a well-defined structure and can be put to use for a variety of interactional tasks. As Jefferson (1990) points out, with multiple entities expected, lists serve as a useful format facilitating joint-production, co-operation, and stance negotiation.

4. Summary and discussion

In the preceding sections, we have seen five configuration formats where multiple NP units are observed to cluster as adjacent turn constructional units. These configurations include: (1) deictic forms supported by gestures for mutual gaze and joint attention; (2) repeated (first person singular) pronouns for mitigation of conflicting stance and self-distancing; (3) diverse NP forms for step-wise reference identification or elaboration; (4) joint production of multiple NPs to display shared stance or mutual orientation; and (5) lists of multiple items for persuasion, exemplification, and clarification as well as for affiliative stance or mutual orientation. Among these configurations, the first two involve identical or nearly identical NP forms, while the rest involve diverse forms, with some being produced by the same speaker and others jointly produced.

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Other than configuration formats, there are also some shared interactional valence features among these constructions. That is, on the whole, multiple-NP strings can be said to be on neutral to positive sides of participant interaction, in the sense that they either implement joint-attention related actions, or facilitate the ease of referent-identification, activity alignment, and/or stance affiliation. They are rarely seen in negative sequences (e.g., disagreement or argumentation).

A number of general issues concerning the locus, format, process, nature, and functions of NP clusters can be raised based on the patterns described here, which are discussed in the following three subsections.

4.1 Locus, process, and nature of multiple NP units

As our investigation shows, multiple-NP strings are observed to occur at various points in the interactional process. But is it possible to conceptualize the locus of these units, the interactional processes, as well as functions of these clusters in some coherent way?

In earlier work (e.g., Ono & Thompson 1994 and Tao 1992), (unattached) NP IUs are divided into two major categories: referential and predicating. Ono and Thompson (1994) further identifies a series of position and orientation related features differentiating these two categories – such as referential NPs never occurring at turn end while predicating ones tending to do so; referential ones being forward-looking while predicating ones backward-looking, and so forth. NP clustering as described in this chapter also appears to exhibit some of these tendencies. For example, types 1 (deictic repetition) and 3 (step-wise referent identification/elaboration) and the first subtype of category 4 (joint production of referential forms) can be taken to be on the referential side,[6] while subtype 4.2 (joint elaboration) and type 5 (listing) can be regarded as leaning toward the predicating side.

Matsumoto (2003: 71) conceptualizes NP IUs in Japanese conversation with a tripartite schematization, as recast in Figure 3 (left-most category labels are mine-HT).

Pre-clausal (unattached, topical, etc.)
Clause-internal (NPs in single IUs, in multiple IUs, etc.)
Post-clausal (postposed, repeated NPs, etc.)

Figure 3. Summary of Matsumoto (2003)'s NP IU schematization

While this schematization has merit for understanding diverse types and functions of NP IUs, it is primarily clause-centered, which would encounter problems

6. Type 2, with repeated first person pronouns, would be a special case.

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in accounting for the data we are dealing with here, especially patterns involving joint production, a not uncommon occurrence in the data. Thus, some modified version incorporating the insights from both Ono & Thompson (1994) and Matsumoto (2003) may be needed. For this, I propose to schematize multiple NP IU patterns based on sequential features, joint production, and the nature of the units. This proposal is provided in Figure 4.

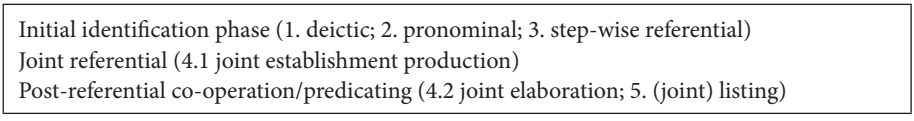

Figure 4. Interactional space of multiple NP units

In other words, the locus of multiple-NP strings can be seen on a continuum of referencing in conversation: referent initiation, establishment, and elaboration, which are increasingly co-operative along the cline. What this suggests is that the nature of NP IUs can differ with regard to not only their formal (morphosyntactic, prosodic, and gestural) features, but also their sequential locus, as well as the degree of conjoined participation. This can hopefully also provide a relatively nuanced way of categorizing NP IUs (and their clusters) in conversational discourse.

The discussion on multiple NP units in the process of interaction leads us to the next general question: Does the number of NPs co-occurring matter for interaction? Why three and more NPs? And relatedly, should this figure in an interactional approach to grammar?

4.2 Multiple NP units as an interactional format

Traditionally, the number of NPs and their clustering has almost never been an issue for syntacticians since NPs are mostly considered for their internal structures and individual syntactic roles. In the interactional discourse literature, it is increasingly realized that number of items does manifest in interesting ways. For example, as noted above, list constructions are observed to occur overwhelmingly in three parts (see Selting 2007 for a comprehensive examination of the different conceptualizations of the notion of three-partedness), and this format can serve as an important resource for interaction (Jefferson 1990; Tao 2019). Furthermore, when discussing coordinated participation such as choral co-production or sharing of turns, Lerner (2002: 236) shows that co-production has unique utility in interaction, such as joining with another speaker to implement a request action, which is different from doing the same thing by a single speaker, as is typically the case. Below are a few additional properties that may be brought to bear on the issue.

First, multiple NP units on the whole, and not just in lists, exhibit certain advantages for a higher degree of co-participation, as the larger the number of

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items implicated in a construction, the more opportunities will be afforded for recipients to engage in co-operative actions. Taking referent elaboration as an example, once the primary speaker makes a statement or characterizes an entity, it opens up opportunities, or makes it conditionally relevant, for the recipient to provide additional, often synonymous, entries. Ono and Thompson (1995), in describing a similar property of NP IUs, characterizes this as a schema in syntax in conversation: If an NP is appropriate, then a list of NPs is appropriate (1995: 232). From an interactional point of view, it is precisely in the activities in the second part of the schema that co-operative actions take place.

This may also explain some of the differences between multiple NP units and those constructions with fewer (i.e. two or less) NP items, such as the so-called dislocation constructions: left-dislocation (LD), right-dislocation (RD), increments, hanging topic, and so forth (Pekarek Doehler, De Stefeni & Horlacher 2015), which are by and large based on single items. Multiple NP units are rarely found in these constructions. We can speculate that the number, or density, difference is not totally random: large numbers of items are a requisite for, and a manifestation of, more extended processes, whereas smaller numbers of items are less so. It is not surprising, then, to find that two of the so-called 'right-dislocation' cases given next in Extracts (15) and (16) receive only minimum responses from the recipient.

Extract 15. (Telephone conversation between friends.)

1. B: 大概可能日本那边呢,
Dagai Riben nabian ne,
probably Japan there PRT
'Probably over there in Japan,

2. 出问题了。
chu wenti le.
appear problem PRT
some problems occurred.

3. 就是说他们那边可能经济不景气,
jiushi shuo tamen nabian keneng jingji bu jingqi,
just say 3PL there probably economy NEG prosper
That's to say, probably their economy was in a downturn,

4. → 他们那边。
tamen nabian.
3PL there
over there.

5. A: 嗯哼。
Mm hm.' (LDC)

In this excerpt, the RD token is in line 4 (*tamen nabian* 'their side/over there'), indicating the same referent that has appeared in lines 3.

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Extract 16. (Telephone conversation between friends.)

1. A: 诶，
Ai,
well
'Well,

2. 不过美国一切都很好啦，
buguo Meiguo yiqie dou hen hao la,
however America everything all very good PRT
everything in the US seems good,

3. 我很喜欢这个国家，
wo hen xihuan zhe ge guojia,
1SG very like this CLF country
I really like this country,

4. → 这个美国，
zhe ge Meiguo,
this CLF America,
America/US this country.

5. B: 嗯。
En.
INT
I see.' (LDC)

In Extract (16), the RD token is at line 4, *zhege Meiguo* 'America', coreferring with the referents in lines 2 and 3.

In both cases it is fitting to have single NP units and less recipient engagement as the sequences are either of the informing nature (about Japan's economy in Extract (15)) or about personal feelings (Extract (16)) on the part of the primary speaker. As these constructions are primary-speaker events, they correlate strongly with simple configurations (as manifested in single NP IUs) and short processes (fewer turn exchanges).

An interesting contrast can be observed in Extract (6), which we saw in Section 3.2 on repeated first person singular pronouns. After the female speaker repeats several times the pronominal form for self-distancing, the male speaker uses a RD to justify the ridiculed behavior on behalf of the female speaker. This is shown in the last line of the transcript, reproduced in (17).

Extract 17. (Female friend talking about her movie favorites while riding in a car driven by her male friend.)

15. F: 我从小到大，
Wo cong xiao dao da,
1SG from little to big
'Throughout my life,

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16. 至少看过有^七遍。
zhishao kan guo you ^qi bian.
at:least watch EXP exist seven times
(that movie) I've watched it at least seven freaking times.

17. M: ..那个片子--
Na ge pianzi--
that CLF movie
That movie,

18. F: 至^少=。
Zhi^shao=.
at:least
At least.

19. M: …已经算经典片了。
Yijing suan jingdian pian le.
already count:as classic movie PRT
is already a classic.

20. → ..那片子。
na pianzi.
that movie
That movie.' (CALPER-P2-711)

Again, we see the correlation of personal opinion with single IUs (as a dislocated item) rather than extended multiple units.

Second, as implied in the preceding discussion, where larger numbers of items correlate with more elaborate/longer interactional processes and vice versa, there can be an iconic relationship (Haiman 1983) between the amount of material used and the pragmatic force that a construction carries. Here, pragmatic force can be realized in such actions as establishing mutual gaze, drawing attention, negotiating stance, and so forth, which can theoretically be achieved with any amount of linguistic and other semiotic resources. However, when the speaker engages in actions to draw the attention of the addressee when that is lacking or to formulate talk that is difficult due to participation or environmental factors, while single restarts may help accomplish the task, as reported in many studies (Ford & Fox 1996; Goodwin 1979, 1980), applying multiple restarts with NPs (including deictic forms) can display more persistent force, thus more likelihood of getting the interactional work accomplished.[7]

Finally, with regard to valence tendencies, i.e., the strong tendency for multiple-NP strings to be deployed in neutral to positive interactional activities, with neutral manifesting as eliciting mutual gaze and joint attention and establishing

7. For a slightly different reason (i.e. action projection), again see Ford & Fox (1996) for a discussion of the subtle differences between choosing a pronoun (*he*) vs. a full NP (*this guy*) and the interactional consequences of reformulations in succession with such choices.

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common ground; and positive referring to activity alignment and stance affiliation, among others. I do not yet have a firm understanding of this, but I can speculate along the line of the correlation between higher degrees of shared knowledge and less bulkier forms, as proposed by Vygotsky (1962, cited in Lantolf & Thorne 2007: 202), which can also be iconically motivated (Haiman 1983). Here, the less bulkiness is realized in the NPs themselves (being usually structurally less complex) rather than the multiple iteration of the NP units. Also to be noted is that sharedness and positive valence are not necessarily the same thing, yet there is reason to believe that increased sharedness can only facilitate mutual orientation and eventually the potential for greater levels of positivity. The highest level of positivity may arguably be found in cases where multiple NP units are used, as we have seen in Section 3.4.2, to jointly create humor. In that context, we can say that sharedness and positive valence are not only displayed but also demonstrated with creative and humorous candidate additions from the recipient.

In short, multiple NP units not only afford the resources for speakers to add more items and join in co-operative actions, they also allow for the creation of explicitly positive affective affiliation cumulating in such effect as humor and amusement.

4.3 Are multiple NP units features of grammar in interaction?

Given what has been described so far, one natural question to be asked is: do these patterns count as grammar? From a traditional theoretical syntactic point of view, the grammatical status of these patterns is most likely out of the question as their components do not exhibit structural features distinguishing them from most other known syntactic structures. However, at the level of conversational interaction, we have already seen that they can serve unique interactive functions with the composite forms they take. Thus, I suggest that they be recognized as patterns of grammar-in-interaction, to borrow a term from Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani & Horlacher (2015). (For earlier conceptualization of interaction and grammar, see Schegloff 1996 and Ochs, Schegloff & Thompson 1996).

As multiple NP units have diverse configurations and different degrees of unity, any attempt at uniform assignments of status is bound to elicit different reactions. For example, while lists may be readily recognized as a recurrent activity type with much discernable features – hence a more likely candidate for grammar-in-interaction, others, e.g., multiple deictic forms in tandem, may not be so readily accepted by analysts as a grammatical construction.

This actually helps illustrate one important difference between traditional syntactic constructs and features of grammar-in-interaction: the larger the operating scope, the looser the 'grammar' may appear. Constructions in grammar-in-interaction with discernable formats, insofar as they are recognized, can have large

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scope, as they deal with multiple facets of entities and often involve co-participant co-operation; as such they manifest as larger units and more complex processes. Simpler concepts and events can be readily expressed with relatively simpler structures – the sort we typically see in standard syntactic reference works.

Ono and Thompson's (1995) conceptualization of syntax in conversation may be brought to bear on ways to alleviate the predicament we are facing here, namely, reconciling grammar-in-interaction and traditional conceptualization of syntactic constructs. In their analysis of recurrent syntactic patterns in American English conversation, Ono and Thompson propose a schematic and constructional approach to capture the nature of syntax (i.e. grammatical constructions) for conversation. They view syntax in conversation as "schematizations over sets of expressions parallel in formation, which are their instantiations" (1995: 220). They further note that "the realization of syntax is locally managed" (1995: 221) and that tolerance of messy realization is expected. In a similar vein, Fox (2007) speaks of grammar in interaction as being repairable, extendable, and retroactively constructed. All of these characterizations can be readily applied to the multiple-NP strings described in this chapter.

Another important feature of grammar-in-interaction to be considered is its emergent nature (Hopper 1987, 1998), in the sense of emerging from the moment-by-moment interactional process in conversation. This also corroborates the ideas of syntax being locally managed (Ono & Thompson 1995: 221) and being dynamic and flexible (Fox 2007). Many of the recurrent configurations described here only emerge from interaction between speakers, with multiple contingencies that impact their final shape and formation. For example, a cluster of deictic forms, aided by pointing gestures, will eventually form a multiple-NP string as we saw in the first type. However, the speaker may simply stop at a first use, for example, if the recipient responds with a mutual gaze – in which case our described multiple-NP cluster will fail to materialize. This applies to first person pronoun clusters, as the speaker can also stop anywhere after the initial utterance of a suspended pronoun as long as the communication context warrants. Likewise, even with the most recognizable format in list constructions, there is no guarantee that three items must be produced each and every time, nor is there any requirement for only NPs to be produced in order to form a list, as shown in Jefferson (1990) and Tao (2019). However, these are precisely symptoms of, and evidence for, the emergent nature of grammar-in-interaction, and they are entirely expected of the way schemas work (Ono & Thompson 1995).

Thus, I contend that multiple-NP clusters are recurrent patterns at the discourse level that need to be recognized as routine practices in conversation, as their format can help accomplish unique interactional tasks that may not be readily done otherwise. At the same time, flexibility and contingency-dependence in

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the instantiation of these constructions are entirely expected as with many other types of patterns of grammar-in-interaction discussed in the literature.

5. Conclusions

In this chapter, I hope to have shown that it is not sufficient to describe syntactic units such as NPs only in terms of their internal structure and their syntactic roles in larger structural units (e.g., the clause). Interactional data can open up new vistas for investigation, in this case revealing phenomena such as NP clustering where three or more NPs used in tandem can function in unique ways throughout the interactional process. Common configurations identified in the Mandarin data include repeated (nearly) identical forms and additions of different forms – by the same speaker and/or the recipient. On the whole, multiple-NP strings can be said to be on neutral to positive sides of participant interaction, in that they either implement joint-attention related actions, or facilitate the ease of referent-identification, activity alignment, and/or stance affiliation.

These patterns raise important questions for interaction and grammar. I suggest that though NP clustering appears to be diverse, loose, and interaction-dependent, it serves to accomplish unique interactional tasks. The patterns described here show that there are large-scale and emergent grammatical constructions that can only be observed in real interaction, which need to be part of a realistic account of syntactic constructs such as NPs.

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Appendix A. Transcription conventions

These transcription conventions are part of Du Bois et al. (1993), with slight modifications.

UNITS	
Intonation unit	{carriage return with a punctuation mark}
Truncated intonation unit	--
Truncated word	-
Speaker identity/turn start	:
Speech overlap	[ ]
UNIT TYPES	
Final	.
Continuing	,
Question	?
Exclamation	!
ACCENT AND LENGTHENING	
Primary accent	^
Lengthening	=
PAUSE	
Long (more than three seconds)	…( )
Medium (two seconds)	…
Latching	(0)

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LAUGHTER	
TRANSCRIBER'S PERSPECTIVE AND NON-VERBAL ACTIONS	
Comment or non-verbal actions (in *italics*)	(( ))
Uncertain hearing	<X X>
Indecipherable syllable	X

Appendix B. Gloss symbols

1st	1st person singular	EXP	experiential
2SG	2nd person singular	INT	interjection
2PL	2nd person plural	NAME	personal or place names
3SG	3rd person singular	NEG	negator
3PL	3rd person plural	NOM	nominalization
ATT	attributive	PRT	utterance-final particle
CLF	classifier	PFV	perfective
COP	copula	STAT	stative

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CHAPTER 12

What can Japanese conversation tell us about 'NP'?

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Our examination of Japanese everyday conversation reveals that a majority of candidate NPs cannot be established as NPs based on traditional criteria, i.e., marking by particles and modification, since they are generally unmarked and unmodified. We examine these cases to reveal the difficulty of determining what to consider an 'NP' when analyzing everyday interaction. Our findings question the assumption of NP as a universal category, and in particular cast doubt on the theoretical importance given to the category NP for Japanese in the literature. We recognize instead the quantitatively most frequent cases as the norm, with the minority, more 'ornamented', instances as requiring an account. Our study advocates routinely challenging assumed categories arising from our inherited written-language, English-dominated, imagined-data linguistic tradition, and instead shifting our descriptive and theoretical focus to understanding and accounting for the majority instances, in our case the role of unmarked nominals in a grammar of conversation.

1. Introduction

The category 'Noun Phrase' is one of the most widely assumed and well established categories in linguistics. Our goal in this study is to investigate the behavior of the Noun Phrase (=NP) in Japanese conversation. This study is motivated by the fact that NP has generally been assumed without question throughout the field of linguistics. However, to the best of our knowledge, research on NP 'on the ground', that is, in actual everyday language use, is almost non-existent.[1] We propose to the first to begin to fill this gap for Japanese. Since this paper is informed by the functional-typological tradition, we will consider how NP has been defined in

1. A notable and welcome exception is Schroeder (1999), a study of the morphosyntax of nominal phrases in spoken Turkish.

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the typological literature, and then present results of our study of NP in everyday Japanese conversation. We ask: what evidence do we find in the conversational data for considering NP as a robust notion in for Japanese speakers?

2. Traditional typological views of NP

The typological literature has generally characterized the notion of NP as a constituent which has an internal structure and plays an argument role in a clause. 'Internal structure' is generally illustrated with examples that are 'elaborated' with modifiers, as in these constructed Japanese examples:

(1) watashi no haha
I GEN mother
'my mother' (Iwasaki 2013: 198)

(2) {gakuseitachi-ga kumihuseta} CIA-no supai[2]
students-NOM held.down CIA-GEN spy
'the CIA spy whom the students held down' (Tsujimura 2013: 293)

(3) {sore yori hikuku - naru -to tesuuryoo ga kaserareru}
that than lower:ku-become-to fee NOM impose:pss

saitee -zandaka
minimum-balance

'the minimum balance at which a fee is imposed' (Iwasaki 2013: 207)

(4) {musuko-ga iede-sita} Taroo
son -NOM ran.away.from.home Taro
'Taro whose son ran away from home' (Tsujimura 2013: 290)

These examples show the influence of generative views first promulgated more than 50 years ago; they resemble an idealized, elaborated written language, imagined phrases and sentences designed by, and for, linguists to illustrate some descriptive or theoretical point.[3] In stark contrast, the candidate NPs in our everyday conversational data strongly tend to be formulaic chunks, often unmodified and/or without clear internal structure.

2. The curly brackets indicate a pre-nominal Noun Modifying Construction (Matsumoto 1997).

3. The influence from generative practice is observed similarly in standard sources published in Japan such as Masuoka and Takubo (1992), though their constructed examples sound more natural than the type of examples which we problematize in this paper.

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3. Data for our study

Our data are ten everyday conversations in Japanese totaling about an hour of talk. These were audio- and video-recorded, and involved a total of thirty-seven speakers. We culled twenty randomly sampled examples from each conversation, for a total of 200 of what we judged most linguists would call an NP (including 'bare' nouns),[4] not including repeated expressions. The sample size is therefore relatively small, but our sampling methods were judged to yield a 'proof of concept'. That is, even a fairly small sample can tell us much about the complexities of understanding NP in Japanese. From here on, the examples we give are drawn from the above-mentioned 200 examples, with a few examples used only for illustration drawn from a larger database of everyday Japanese conversation.

4. Findings

4.1 Particles?

In Japanese linguistics, argumenthood is typically argued for in terms of the use of 'case' particles, commonly assumed to mark grammatical case. Illustrations are almost without exception done with constructed examples, as shown in (5)–(6):

(5) Taroo ga kinoo ookii hanbaagaa o itutu tabeta
NOM yesterday big hamburger ACC five ate
'Taro ate five big hamburgers yesterday' (Tsujimura 2013: 229)

(6) Taroo ga Hanako ni sono hon o yatta
NOM DAT that book ACC gave
'Taro gave that book to Hanako' (Shibatani 1990: 260)

However, in our conversational data, only 24 of our 200 candidate NPs (12%) are 'case' marked:

ga 'NOM' = 20
o 'ACC' = 4

In fact, this should not be surprising: as soon as we turn to data from actual language use, it becomes clear that case cannot be the primary function of these particles. First, they occur with only a minority of items playing an A, S, or O core argument role; second, they have been shown to be doing marked pragmatic work.

4. By 'bare', we mean with no particles.

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With respect to *ga*, which many linguists assume marks 'nominative' case, already in the '70s some linguists, based on constructed examples, offered a number of pragmatic functions for consideration: Chafe (1970: 233) suggested 'new', S. Ono (1978) similarly suggested *michi* 'unknown', while Kuno (1972: 273) proposed 'unpredictable'. Kuno (1973) defended 'exhaustive listing', and Masunaga (1988) felt *ga*'s function was 'emphasis/focus'. The sheer plethora of diverse pragmatic jobs *ga* was thought to be capable of, reflects the difficulty of relying on constructed examples to determine what pragmatic work a given form might be doing, and begs for further studies, such as Ono, Thompson and Suzuki (2000), investigating pragmatic functions based on data from real social interactions. Ono, Thompson and Suzuki argue from conversational data that *ga* is used to mark an NP as a participant in the state-of-affairs named by the predicate. They suggest that occasions for such marking arise most readily with one-argument predicates, where the semantics of the verb typically reveal rather little about the relationship between that argument and that predicate.

As for *o*, which linguists have assumed marked accusative case, scholars have analogously suggested various pragmatic functions: although Masunaga (1988), e.g., based on constructed examples, suggests that it marks 'emphasis' or 'focus', Fujii & Ono (2000), with natural conversational data, argue that *o* marks an NP that conveys 'salient information' and 'requires effort in processing.'

In addition to these 'case' particles *ga* and *o*, what else can Japanese nouns be marked with? We find that 36 of the 200 (18%) are marked by one of these five 'semantic' particles, as illustrated in (7) and (8):

ni	'in/to'	*e*	'to'
kara	'from'	*de*	'with/at'
no	'of'		

(7) yakinikuya **ni** itte
BBQ.house to go
'going to (a) BBQ house'

(8) dakara ne= yaoya **de** nante katte taberenai mazukute
so FP vegetable.store at TOP buy eat:able:not unpalatable
'So (I) can't buy (bamboo shoot) at the vegetable store and eat (it because) it's unpalatable.'

If an NP is followed by one of these semantic particles, it forms a 'postpositional phrase', which most linguists analyze as consisting of an NP and a postposition. So both 'case' particles and these semantic particles have traditionally served to identify an NP.

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In addition, there are what have been known as 'topic' particles; 14 (7%) of the 200 candidate NPs are marked by one of these 'topic' particles: *wa, mo, tte, nara*,[5] as shown in:

(9) yooko **mo** ichinen buri mita kedo
TOP one.year absence saw but
'Yooko, (I) also saw (her) (for the) first time (in) a year but…'

(10) datte nannin ka inai to yakinikuya **tte** ikanai jan
because several:person or exist.not when barbeque.shop TOP go:not FP
'I mean, unless (there) are several people, barbeque places, (you) don't go (to), right?'

What do these 'topic' particles tell us about NP in Japanese? They are often cited in discussions of NP in the literature (Iwasaki 2013; Shibatani 1990; and Tsujimura 2013), though they are rare in conversational interactions (with only 18% of candidate NPs being so marked). Further, they are neutral with respect to argumenthood; that is, they do not mark any grammatical relation with predicate, so their relevance to the argumenthood of a given NP is not clear.

Considering all these particles, then, we find that only 74 of the 200 candidate NPs (37%) are marked by 'case', 'semantic', or 'topic' particles. This leaves 126 of the 200 (63%) which are not marked at all, as illustrated by the three boldfaced items in (11):

(11) O: **kanyuu** =**toka** konai **shinbunya**[6]
solicitation=etc. come.not newspaper.store
'Don't newsagents come for solicitation and stuff?'
S: e **zenbu** oikaeshiteru
oh all turn.away
'Well (we) turn (them) all down'

'Bare' nouns such as *kanyuu toka* 'solicitation etc.' in (11) again show little resemblance to the constructed Japanese NPs in the literature cited above. In fact, being unmarked, they offer us no grammatical evidence for argumenthood with the

5. What is meant by the various scholars writing in English by 'topic' and in Japanese by such terms as *shudai* and *toritate* is notoriously fraught with controversy (see, e.g., Fry 2003; Hinds, Iwasaki & Maynard 1987; Kuroda 1965; Kuno 1973; Martin 1975; Mikami 1963; Noda 1996; and Shibatani 1990).

6. The second part *toka* 'etc.' in *kanyuu toka* 'solicitation etc.' appears to originate from a combination of particles *to* and *ka* and is not an independent word, as it occurs only after another noun. Further, *kanyuu toka* 'solicitation etc.' can be followed by another particle such as *ni* 'for'. For these reasons, we take this sequence to be a noun.

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predicate; again, a favorite criterial attribute for establishing NP status in Japanese is not relevant for a majority of the data from the language in everyday encounters.

4.2 Modification?

In our data, only 44 out of the 200 candidate NPs (22%) are modified. Intriguingly, a majority of these (31 out of 44; 70%) have a limited set of light heads, showing that they are associated with varying degrees of fixedness.[7] That is, these modified nouns are formulaic, rather than being created *de novo* from syntactic rules and a lexicon. Two modification patterns reveal themselves in our data:

a. Light head preceded by a clause

These are the Noun-Modifying Constructions (NMCs) discussed extensively in Matsumoto (1997), Matsumoto, Comrie and Sells (2017), Takara (2012).[8] In our conversational data, these strongly tend to be formulaic, some appear to be more lexicalized as in:

(12) soo iu ten de wa
so say point at TOP
'in that respect'

But most are fixed expressions with some fixed slots and some open slots; they are thus 'constructions' in the sense of Bybee (2010: 36):

> ...constructions are sequential chunks of language that are conventionally used together and that sometimes have special meanings or other properties. Their conventionalization comes about through repetition (Haiman 1994). Constructions are typically partially schematic; they come with some fixed parts and some slots that can be filled with a category of semantically-defined items.[9]

We find that speakers use these NMCs to create a category, as illustrated in (13):

---

7. Being fixed expressions, their meanings are not entirely predictable from the meanings of the composite words. See Ono & Thompson (2009) and Takara (2012) for further discussion of the role of fixedness and light heads in the building of clausal modification in Japanese conversation.

8. Matsumoto (1997) argues persuasively for the existence of a class of languages where relative clauses (RCs) and clausal noun complements (NCs) have the same structure; our interest here is the related issue of the nature of the modification and role of the NMC with respect to NP. See also Comrie (1996, 1998, 2010) and Matsumoto, Comrie and Sells (2017) for cross-linguistic discussion of such constructions.

9. See also Fillmore, Paul and O'Connor (1988). Fillmore (1989, 1996), and Bybee (2010).

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(13) kodomo ga chiisai toki
child GA small time
'when/the time (our) kids (were)small'

kiru toki
wear time
'when/the occasion to wear (a kimono)'

minna ga jugyoo ga nai hi
all GA class GA exist.not day
'day/when no one has a class'

kaeru mae
leave before
'before (you) leave'

takenoko taberu tabi ni
bamb.shoot eat every.occasion in
'everytime (I) eat bamboo shoots'

… mitaina hito
look.like person
'person (who) is like ("I can't attend it (i.e., the class)")'

We note that these examples do not at all resemble the sort of rather fanciful constructed example we saw in (2) above about the CIA spy.

The second modification pattern in our data is b):

b. light head preceded by a demonstrative, adjective, or other noun modifier:

These tend to be even more fixed (i.e., lexicalized)

ano koro (that time)	'(at) that time'
sono koro (that time)	'(at) that time'
sono ato (that remainder)	'after that'
kono atari (this neighborhood)	'around there'
sono ki (that feeling)	'feeling (to do) so'
sonna koto (that.kind thing)	'that kind of thing'
kono hito (this person)	'this person'
ano onna (that woman)	'that woman'
kono futari (this two)	'these two people'
sono hi (that day)	'that day'
ii ko (good child)	'good kids'

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pikunikku kibun (picnic feeling)	'feeling of picnicking'
betsu no hi (another of day)	'another day'
keio no hanashi (Keio of story)	'the thing (story) about Keio'
soobetsukai no tame (farewell.party of sake)	'for the purpose of a going-away party'
oishii kaitenzushi n toko tasty rotation:sushi of place	'tasty conveyer-belt sushi place'
ro no hoo ga ii gauze of direction GA good	'gauze is better'

We take these data to demonstrate the value of basing grammatical analysis on the close examination of data from people talking together in ordinary daily life. In the case of NP, our examination of such data reveals that:

- Japanese interactants most frequently use bare nouns with no marking of argumenthood.
- Though modified nouns are often seen in examples of NPs in discussions of Japanese grammar, such modified constructions:
  - are relatively rare, and
  - tend not to have internal structure, but to be formulaic, rather than freely productive.

Once again, we see that the utterances in our actual data do not very much resemble the constructed examples like (5) and (6) found in the literature.

4.3 Summary

We've looked at two properties which linguists have taken as prototypical for NP (in addition to their being nearly all referential and specific), namely being marked for case or semantic role, and being modified. But only a minority of candidate NPs in our conversational data have these properties:

- 37% are marked by 'case', 'semantic', or 'topic' particles
- 22% are modified, but most of those are in fixed expressions
- only 2% (4 out of 200) have both these properties

We suggest, then, for Japanese, that the construct NP doesn't capture much of the language of real-time interaction, which, after all, is the primary data for understanding linguistic structure. We emphasize that we are not denying the presence of NP in Japanese; clear cases of 'NPs' can be found in actual language use, but they are a definite minority.

Some researchers might object here, noting that 'embellished' nouns (i.e., marked by particles and modified) may well be more common in written Japanese.

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This is an empirical claim, the testing of which would be welcome, though it is beyond the scope of this paper. But we believe that the fact that researchers might bring up this concern simply reflects the written language bias in our field (Linell 2005; Miller 1995), especially considering that written language is not the primary form of language for most languages in the world.

Intriguingly, the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology evidently believes that schoolchildren have to be taught to use case particles (see Figure 1).

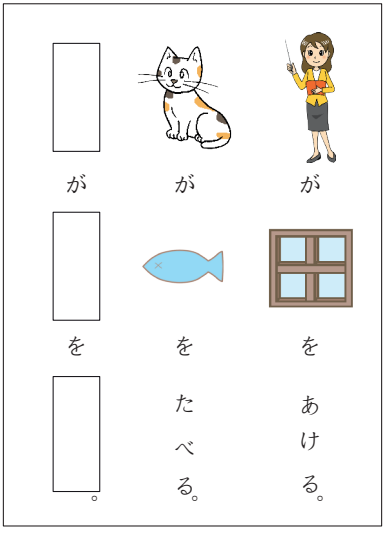

Figure 1. The middle column in the figure shows that 'cat' and 'fish', both graphically represented, are followed by the particles が *ga* and を *o* respectively, which are in turn followed by the verb たべる *taberu* 'eat', to mean 'cats eat fish'. The right column shows that 'teacher' and 'window', represented graphically, are followed again by が *ga* and を *o*, then the verb あける *akeru* 'open', to mean '(the) teacher opens (the) window'. The left column indicates that agents (such as the cat and the teacher) and patients (such as the fish and the window), represented by empty squares, should be followed by the particles が *ga* and を *o* respectively, and that sentences end with a verb (such as 'eat' and 'open'), again represented by an empty square.[10]

Intended to help students with written Japanese, these figures illustrate how *ga/o* and other particles should be used with entities (e.g., a cat, a fish, etc.) together with predicates that describe various activities. In other words, such textbooks show that the use of *ga/o* has to be taught for a medium where one can take time

10. This figure was produced by Chiho Ogawa based on typical illustrations found in Japanese language textbooks for first graders in Japan.

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to select appropriate expressions, which shows that the use of these particles has not been internalized by children even by seven years old, largely because they haven't heard them used to systematically mark grammatical status in the language around them before encountering them in school. These textbooks provide further evidence that nouns without *ga/o* are the norm, and that those with *ga/o* are marked expressions which require explicit teaching (Ono 2011).

Japanese L1 acquisition literature further supports this view by showing that *ga*/*o* is acquired relatively late. Errors in the use of these particles are frequently reported among older children (Fujitomo 1977: 4–6 years; Hakuta 1982: 3;8–6;8 years; Takahashi 1975: 3;3–6;6 years). Table 1 reveals wide consensus on the lateness of particle acquisition:

Table 1. Timing of L1 acquisition of *ga*/*o*

Iwatate (1980)	around 4 years old
Hayashibe (1975) Hakuta (1982)	around 5 years old
Ike (1982)	only for 6 year-olds or older, correct understanding goes beyond chance level
Amano (1968)	only 50% of 5 year-olds can answer correctly
Ito, Tahara & Park, (1991)	seventh grade or after (ga) around third grade (o)

If NP is a core category in human language as has been assumed, the proposed timing of the acquisition of *ga*/*o* seems quite late to be used as a criteria to establish its status in Japanese.

5. Discussion and conclusions

We started our investigation by considering two properties which have been featured in discussions of Japanese NPs:

– They tend to be accompanied by case or semantic particles
– They are modified

But in everyday talk, candidate NPs strongly tend not to display these properties, which means that a majority of candidate NPs in everyday Japanese talk lack properties to identify them as NPs. 'Embellished', or 'decorated',[11] nouns can be shown

11. See Haiman (2013) for a treatment of 'ornamentation' as a feature of language change, a decorative motivation for much of the morphology of a language.

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to be part of speakers' repertoires, but our data show that they are infrequent and tend to be used in pragmatically marked situations.

These facts cause us to question the assumption of NP as a universal category, and in particular to doubt the theoretical importance, assumed without question, of the category NP for Japanese in the linguistic literature. We recognize instead the quantitatively most frequent cases as the norm, with the minority, more 'ornamented', instances as requiring an account. This entails a methodological shift to routinely challenging the assumed categories arising from our inherited written-language, English-dominated, imagined-data linguistic tradition, and shifting our descriptive and theoretical focus to the majority instances, in our case the unmarked nominals, in order to understand NP in the grammar of what speakers actually routinely do in their use of language in everyday interactions, the "primordial site of sociality" (Schegloff 1992: 208).

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CHAPTER 13

Robust argument phrases (DPs) but unruly NPs in Maa

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Maa (sometimes referred to as Maasai) discourse and syntax largely require determined phrases. NP is not a robust construction in Maa, partly because 'noun' is not highly distinguished morphosyntactically from 'adjective.' Either can be a syntactic argument just if preceded by a determiner; 'ablity to serve as an argument' does not correspond to a lexical N or NP category. The paper proposes a definition of 'determiner', which includes Maa demonstratives and gender+number proclitics. The latter do not signal identifiability, givenness, or referentiality. Gender is not lexical feature of most noun/adjective stems, but is specified by whatever determiner is used. The determiners appear to help hearers cognitively establish a referent based on attributed gender (sometimes at the moment of speech), and make a phrase able to serve as an argument.

1. The problem and background

At first glance, Maa (Eastern Nilotic; Kenya and Tanzania) might appear to have robust noun phrases with rich internal hierarchical structure. What might be thought of as the noun in such a phrase, based on semantics, is highlighted in (1) through (5) (the relative time-stability of *tásat* and *bótór* in (1) is unclear, in my opinion).[1]

(1) ɛn=apá **tásat** ɛnyɛ́ bótór
FSG=before ancient 3SG.PSD+3SG.PSR senior
'his former senior wife' (divorce 002)

1. Examples from text are followed by a text name and line number; others are from elicitation. In this paper I use a modified IPA representation, including <y> and <w> for lenis glides, <yi> and <wu> for fortis glides, <rr> for a trill, a single <r> for the tap [ɾ], <j> for [dʒ], <ch> and <sh> for [tʃ] and [ʃ], respectively, and <ɪ, ɛ, ʊ, ɔ> for -ATR vowels. An accute accent marks High tone, a circumflex marks Falling, and Low tone is unmarked. Cross-word tone sandhi is not represented.

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(2) ɪl=kólɪkáí **tʊŋaná** kumók
MPL=others.M.NOM people.NOM many.NOM
'many other people' [did something] (malk02.215)

(3) [in=**tapúka** aré sikítˈó sapúkˈí] ɔ́ [ɛnk=áí kɪtí olêŋ]
FPL=flowers two yellow big.PL and FSG=another small very
'two big yellow flowers and another very small one' [the small one is also yellow]

(4) [en=**títˈó** bótór] ɔ́ [ɛn=kɪtí **títˈó** na-nak-íta ɔl=kína]
FSG=girl senior and FSG=small girl REL:FSG-suckle-PROG MSG=breast
'an older girl and a young girl who was still nursing' (divorce 003)

(5) [kʊlɔ́ **payianí** oáre tasátˈí] ɔ́ [ɛldê obô]
these.MPL men two.M ancient.PL and that.M one.M
'these two old men and that one'

Shirtz and Payne (2013) suggest that the linear structure of non-conjoined Maa nominal phrases is generally as in Figure 1. In Figure 1, Quantifier-1 (QUANT1) consists solely of *kíla*, borrowed from Swahili 'each, every'. It is common enough to be included as part of modern Maa nominal phrase structure, though it does not concern the rest of this paper. 'Quantity modifier' (QMOD) refers to a class of items that may occur either before the presumed NOUN, or after it in the Quantifier-2 (QUANT2) or descriptive modifier phrase (MODP) position. Some QMOD items have temporal meaning like *apá* 'before' in (1), additive or differentiation morphemes like *kólɪkáí* 'others (masculine)' in (2) and *áí* 'other (feminine)' in (3), or size and quantity like *kɪtí* 'small size, little amount, young' in (4). QUANT2 phrases include numerals as in (3) and (5), *kumók* 'many, much' as in (2), and some items that can also occur as a QMOD. Descriptive modifying phrases (MODP) roughly correspond to items expressing property concepts, such as *bótór* 'senior (in rank)' in (1) and *tasátˈí* (plural of *tásat* 'ancient, withered, disabled') in (5). Some items with time-stable semantics can also occur here. Multiple descriptive modifiers can co-occur, as in (3). Relative clauses, as in (4), may co-occur with MODPs. It is rare to combine a non-pronominal possessive phrase with MODPs or relative clauses.

QUANT1	DETERMINER	QMOD	'NOUN'	QUANT2	POSSESSIVEP	MODP, RELATIVE CLAUSE

Figure 1. General template for Maa nominal phrases (adapted from Shirtz & Payne 2013)

Elements in the DETERMINER position are addressed in Section 2. I sometimes refer to an immediately post-determiner item as being in Position 1, and an item

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after that as being in Position 2 regardless of the particular item. That is, at some points I am concerned just with relative position of two lexemes.

While phrases like those in (1) through (5) are perfectly fine, there are some challenges around the concept of 'noun phrase' in Maa. The challenges relate to criteria for determining what is an N, an NP, and to whether the elements of the NP have strict order – which is what one would expect of a robust constituent with hierarchical structure (cf. Hale 1982; D. Payne 1993). On the other hand, a determined phrase (DP) is a very robust and clear construction in Maa.

The morphosyntactic notion of noun phrase rather crucially relies on having a noun as a central element of the phrase. However, cross-linguistic morphosyntactic criteria commonly called on to identify nouns weakly, or sometimes not at all, distinguish a Maa noun from a descriptive modifier or adjective. A second issue concerns the common claim that a characteristic, if not criterial, feature of NPs is that they can serve as arguments or complements of predicates (or clauses) and function to refer to participants in discourse. But corpus and elicited data show that DPs – not NPs – serve as arguments and as referring expressions in Maa. The notion of determined phrase crucially relies on the presence of a determiner. Herein lies another issue: criteria for determiners are usually reduced to lists of disparate elements, and one wonders why all the items on the list should be considered a single category.

This paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 discusses data and methodology. Section 3 reviews typical criteria proposed for defining or identifying 'noun' and 'noun phrase,' addresses the problem of 'determiner,' and proposes a tentative cross-linguistic definition for 'determiner.' Section 4 briefly introduces Maa determiners, which are ubiquitous in Maa discourse. Section 5 explores the challenge of identifying Maa noun stems versus other lexical categories. Based on discourse data, Section 6 details syntactic and discourse uses of determined nominal phrases versus phrases that lack determiners. Section 7 concludes the paper.

2. Data and methodology

Data for this study come from a corpus of approximately 100 texts of over 70,000 words,[2] supplemented by elicitation. Six texts were primarily conversations or conversational interviews among several speakers, and many others include reported dialogue or bits of conversation. Nine were composed in written form. The

2. I approximate the number of texts because several were recorded in a single setting and were divided into text units by the researchers. The number of words is also approximate as orthographic words do not always correspond to spoken or to morphosyntactic words.

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remaining oral texts were collected with the assistance of Leonard Ole-Kotikash, Keswe Ole-Mapena, and occasionally other native speaker interlocutors; with few exceptions they were told to a Maa native speaker.

Texts were tagged for the existence of 'determiner,' 'noun,' 'adjective,' etc. This enabled searches for all potential DP and NP units. Instances of particular patterns, were examined quantitatively and qualitatively for structure, grammatical role and argument status, and discourse function.

3. Definitional challenges

3.1 Common criteria for 'noun' and 'noun phrase'

Proposed criteria for 'noun' typically mix morphology and syntax. This is true both for typological works (cf. Dixon 2010: 38; Hopper & Thompson 1984; T. Payne 1997: 33; Schachter & Shopen 2007: 7–8),[3] and for language-specific studies (e.g., Gregores & Suárez 1967: 135 on Guaraní; Payne & Huddleston 2002: 326 on English). Here I cannot treat the vast literature on this topic and only note common key claims.

Many typologists and theoreticians state that a distributional property of 'noun' is the ability to serve as head of a noun phrase. This begs the question of how one knows what a noun phrase is, not to mention what a head is.[4] Many link the notion of noun phrase to a constituent that can serve as subject, direct object, indirect object, or other syntactic argument of a predicate or clause, among other possible functions (Dixon 2010: 38–39; Dryer 2007: 151; Givón 1990: 466; Hopper & Thompson 1984; Kroeger 2005: 87; T. Payne 1997: 33; Schachter & Shopen 2007: 7; among others). Regarding 'noun' itself, typical identifying categories are said to be case, number, class or gender, definiteness, and possession (Dryer 2007; Hockett 1958: 221–229; T. Payne 1997: 104; Schachter & Shopen 2007: 7; among others).

One of the more extensive language-specific discussions of criteria for identifying NP and N is Payne and Huddleston (2002: 326) on English. They define NPs in terms of syntactic function, phrase-internal structure, and inflectional morphology. They state that English NPs can prototypically function as subject, object or predicative complement, and normally contain "a noun as head" and possibly

3. Hopper and Thompson (1984) go beyond syntax to propose that lexicalization of the category noun is due to discourse function.

4. Instead of appealing to the notion of head, Dixon (2010: 39) simply says that a noun "can always occur in an NP, which is an argument of a predicate."

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one or more dependents. They state that English nouns prototypically inflect for number; characteristically function as head in an NP structure,[5] and can take dependents such as relative clauses, pre-head adjective phrases, and determinatives.

It is not surprising that Payne & Huddleston's (2002) analysis of English fares reasonably well according to traditional criteria for identifying 'noun,' as such criteria were without a doubt heavily based on the nature of English to begin with. But even typologically informed criteria can lead to conflicting results or to conclusions that don't sit well when up against certain languages. Croft (2001: 63–83) discusses this at some length, noting that many analyses end up being methodologically opportunistic to avoid dealing with myriad unruly morphosyntactic details pertinent to identifying the word classes of a given language.

Regarding 'head,' Croft (2001) and others observe that proposed criteria often conflict in what they pick out as head. Shirtz and Payne (2013) discuss this relative to elements in Maa nominal phrases. They conclude that, in the main, Maa determiners must be taken as head for determining gender and syntactic distribution of the whole phrase, lexical (nominal) stems must be taken as head relative to number of the phrase, but that headship relative to these properties can actually vary by lexeme. In this paper, I will not pursue the question of headship further except to show that, in most cases, determiners affect whether a phrase can distribute as an argument and can be used in discourse (Section 6).

3.2 Criteria for 'determiner'

The term 'determiner' is used by Bloomfield (1933: 203–206) with reference to certain English morphemes. Functionally, he ties the category to some notion of identification and distinguishes indefinite and definite determiners, the latter including possessive and demonstrative words. In their treatment of English, Payne and Huddleston (2002: 354–356) intend to use the term 'determiner' for a function and not a category of morphemes.[6] Their characterization is a mix of syntactic and semantic functions. Syntactically, they specify the determiner function as something that, when added to a nominal, "creates an NP" (2002: 354) capable of acting, for instance, as "the subject of the clause" (2002: 355). Thus, *the* has determiner function in *The new car was stolen*, demonstrated by contrast

5. Payne and Huddleston (2002: 357–358) appeal to selectional restrictions to help determine the syntactic head of an NP. Croft (2001: 179–180) argues that selectional restrictions are strictly semantic.

6. In places their exposition reads as if determiner also refers to specific words rather than to a function; e.g., "… the addition of the determiners *the, one,* and *Ally's* to this same nominal forms the NPs *the new car, one new car,* and *Ally's new car*." (Payne & Huddleston 2002: 355).

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with **new car was stolen*. Semantically, they state that "one general function of all [English] determiners is to add a specification of definiteness … or indefiniteness" (2002: 355; see also Bloomfield 1933; Lyons 1999), though items with determiner function may have additional semantic functions (e.g., possession, quantification).

Even if Payne and Huddleston's (2002) overall definition was to work for English, it is not cross-linguistically valid as some languages require a grammatical morpheme to accompany a lexical item in order for the latter to function as an argument, but the relevant morpheme does not indicate (in)definiteness. For instance, Paul (2009) argues that the Malagasy determiner *ny* codes 'familiarity' but not definiteness. On the other hand, Thai and Yagua (Payne 1990) do not require any such grammatical morpheme for a lexical item to function as an argument. Ghomeshi, Paul and Wiltschko (2009: 18) assert that creating something capable of functioning as an argument is not a universal function of determiners, even in some languages that have morphemes marking discourse-based definiteness, uniqueness, familiarity, and deixis.

Many typological works that address determiners do not attempt coherent semantic or functional[7] definitions. Commonly, they give lists of item types that putatively compose the category, such as articles (whatever those may be!), adnominal demonstratives, quantificational morphemes, possessor marking, gender or class morphemes, and deictic elements (Dryer 2007: 152–162; Kroeger 2005: 89–90, among others),[8] allowing that item types and their semantic domains may differ from one language to another. Language-specific studies typically devolve to a set of morphemes that must occur with at least common nouns in certain syntactic contexts. This is certainly the type of structural criterion that led Bloomfield (1933) to demarcate the menu of English determiners.

The question that the literature leaves us with, then, is what makes the items in determiner lists cohere? A discourse-cognitive definition in terms of an element that helps identify or clarify the referent of a lexeme is so broad that it would equally encompass elements that communicate color, size, position, composing material, quality, animacy, same- or different-reference among participants in the discourse world, spatial or temporal proximity, visibility, etc. Despite the challenges, it is

7. I use 'functional' here in the sense of everyday use of language, not for a formalist functional projection or feature.

8. There is no general definition of 'determiner' in van der Auwera (1980), which treats (especially formal) semantics of determiners. Dryer (2007: 161) suggests the term 'determiner' should be reserved for a set of words that does not co-occur with articles (but of which articles may be a subset). His list of potential article types includes markers of definiteness, discourse prominence, anaphoricity, deixis, specificity, proper versus common noun status, gender, number, size, and noun class.

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clear that many languages do develop closed sets of morphemes that may or must co-occur with certain lexical stems in order for those stems to function as syntactic arguments of predicates, and that such morphemes often generously pepper discourse. The cross-language ubiquity of such items suggests there is something cognitively and communicatively *useful* about adding a semantically reduced, often tiny, grammatical element to a lexical item, likely to help listeners cognitively find or recognize the right referent. It is not typologically crucial exactly what semantic features are chosen, only that they help narrow down the referent, whether in terms of 'find the referent you already know about' (i.e., definitenes, as in English), general familiarity (Malagasy; Paul 2009), existence and presence vs. absence in the visual field (Nivaĉle; Fabre 2016: 87; Stell 1989), gender or other class features, number, deixis features like coming/going to the reference point, or referent position or spatial configuration (Pilagá; Vidal 1997, 2001).

It makes sense to distinguish a determiner function from particular class(es) of morphemes that may fulfill that function. Among other things, this allows for more-lexical items to be recruited into the determining function, e.g., a numeral for 'one', a quantity word, a deictic or positional word; and over time a grammaticalized set of items may develop.

I tentatively suggest that to be designated a determiner, a morpheme should have properties (a) through (d) below. Property (a) primarily concerns discourse-cognitive function, while (b) through (d) concern morphosyntactic status and grammatical function.

a. The element is part of a closed set of oppositions that help interlocutors establish, distinguish, and/or track participants within the mental discourse model being constructed.
b. The element is grammatical and not lexical.
c. The element must be able to form syntactic phrases with lexemes naming highly time-stable concepts.
d. An element with properties (a) through (c) is required with one or more classes of lexical items in at least some discourse and/or syntactic context in order for the lexical items to be syntactically used in that context.

In addition, there are at least two typological parameters:

e. In a strong-DP language, a phrase that lacks an item meeting properties (a) through (d) cannot function as a syntactic argument of a predicate. This may, however, vary by syntactic argument role and, in line with property (d), by subcategories of lexical items.
f. In a given language, there may be more, or fewer, or even no items or contexts as specified in (a) through (d).

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Criterion (a) suggests that a determiner set should include more than one element, or at least a meaningful opposition between presence versus absence of a determining element. If there is no opposition, the grammatical element in question might be considered merely a nominal marker, i.e., an indication of a noun part of speech (Greenberg 1981: 107). The oppositions in a determiner set are akin to those also found in pronominal and classifier systems: full lexical details are not specified by a pronoun, classifier, or determiner, but the referent is delimited in terms of broad class groupings like gender, animacy, configuration, visibility, distance, etc., to help the interlocutors establish, distinguish, and/or track different participants in discourse. Such broad semantic categories are concomitant with being grammatical items. But determiners may also communicate some *added* feature, not found in lexical items per se, that relates to cognitive operations – instructing the hearer to 'set up a new participant in the discourse world with such-and-such features,' or 'establish this referent as one coming toward the reference point,' or signaling 'you have encountered this same referent before,' etc. In sum, (a) does not constrain what kinds of semantics determiners must have, and allows that they may overlap semantically with other word classes or grammatical elements.

Criterion (a) states that a determiner set is a closed category. But this is a matter of degree from a historical perspective: items may change their functional distribution over time, and what were once only lexical may grammaticalize gradually and at differential rates. Closed sets have diachronically permeable boundaries; and of course, diachrony comes from today's use-based variation, so even synchronically sets may have fuzzy boundaries.

Criterion (b) differentiates determiners from adjectives, adverbs, verbs, nouns, or other lexical categories that can also constrain the reference of a given phrase. Criterion (c) differentiates determiners from participant indexation on verbs and auxiliaries, switch reference markers, and other morphemes with participant delimiting functions.

Criterion (d) differentiates determiners from demonstratives (Diessel 1999), under the hypothesis that no language requires every noun (even common nouns) to carry a demonstrative. However, (d) does not exclude forms with a demonstrative function from *functioning* as determiners. Many determiners have developed historically from demonstratives (Diessel 1999; Greenberg 1981; Lyons 1999), such that sometimes a distinction between them can be difficult to discern. Demonstratives may have a more emphatic or rhetorical 'pointing' effect in the communication, including orienting the hearer to something "outside of discourse in the surrounding situation," often "in combination with a pointing gesture" (Diessel 1999: 2). The pointing-out effect of determiners is relatively weaker, being part of the default strategy required for discourse-internal participant reference (and, one would predict, less likely to be accompanied by pointing gestures).

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Criterion (e) allows that required use of determiners may vary by syntactic role, and by the lexical class of the delimited item. For instance, in one language or another, proper names, geographic terms, mass nouns, or some other category may not require a determiner. Finally, (f) reflects the fact that not all languages have a set of items with properties (a) through (d).

4. The Maa determiner function

Maa determiners specify referents for gender, and in Southern Kenya and Tanzana also reflect referent number. These functions may be realized by gender+number proclitics, adnominal demonstratives, and some interrogative demonstratives. A determining function may be realized by a somewhat disparate set of words with quantifying function, some of which may themselves carry a gender+number proclitic or be preceded by a demonstrative.

Gender+number proclitics are highlighted in (6), (8), and (10). Semantically, these proclitics distinguish singular versus plural number, and feminine, place, and masculine gender (Payne 1998; Tucker & Mpaayei 1955). Adnominal demonstratives are highlighted in (7), (9), and (11). In addition to gender and number, these also distinguish degrees of proximity to the deictic center. The reader is referred to Tucker and Mpaayei (1955: 16–20) for the full demonstrative paradigms including case variation; here I give a few representative examples.

(6) a. **en**=títˈó
FSG=girl
'a/the girl'

b. **in**=tóyie
FPL=girls
'some/the girls'

(7) a. **ɛnâ** títˈó
this.F girl
'this (proximate) girl'

b. **kʊnâ** tóyie
those.F girls
'those (far distance) girls'

(8) a. **ɔl**=ɔɪŋɔ́nɪ
MSG=bull
'a/the bull'

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b. **ɪl**=ɔɪŋɔ́k
MPL=bulls
'some/the bulls'

(9) a. **ílɔ̂** ɔɪŋɔ́nɪ
that.M bull
'that (middle distance) bull'
b. **kʊldɔ̂** ɔɪŋɔ́k
those.M bulls
'those (middle distance) bulls'

(10) a. **e**=wúéji
PLACE.SG=place
'a/the place'
b. **i**=wuejitîn
PLACE.PL=places
'some/the places'

(11) a. **ínê** wúéji
that.PLACE place
'that (middle distance) place'
b. **ídíê** wúéji
that.far.PLACE place
'that (far distant) place'

Interrogative adnominal demonstratives preclude a gender+number proclitic.[9] Most of these likewise vary for gender and number, but not for case. The reader is again referred to Tucker and Mpaayei (1955: 26–28, 206) for the full inventory.

(12) Lóyîê k=**álɔ** mórráni taá kɛnyá ki-pût?
comrades CN2=which.MSG warrior FOCUS eventually 1PL-choose.PL
'Comrades! Which warrior are we going to choose (to be leader)?'
(olaiguenani.0011)

(13) Nélo siî ɪnk=áŋítie a-yioló-ú ajó **káa** kítéŋ ɪnâ
CN1-3-go.SG indeed FPL=houses INF.SG-know-INCHO that what.F bovine that
ná-tɪ-mɪr-ak-í.
REL:FSG-PF-sell-PF-PASS
'He was going to villages to see which cow was sold.' (kirikoi.031)

9. Definite and interrogative demonstratives can function adnominally, or stand alone as third person pronouns.

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Some elements with roughly quantifying and/or indefinite semantics can distribute in the determiner position; some may co-occur with a proclitic as a kind of complex determiner. These include *(ɛnk=)áí* 'other.F, another.F', *(ɔ=)lɪkâî* 'other.M, another.M', *(in=)kulîé* 'others.F', and *(ɪl=)kʊlík'áí* 'others.M'.[10] To illustrate, consider *lɪkâî* in (14) through (16). Without the proclitic, *lɪkâî* yields an indefinite sense, but with the proclitic it sometimes allows a definite sense, as in (15). However, this is less clear in (16) where *ɔ=lɪkâî ári* 'other year' refers to a new school year (the discourse section concerns the yearly process of school officials seeking children of school age to enroll). It could be argued that 'other year' here is one uniquely contrasted with a preceding year, but it is contextually similar to (14) where no gender+number proclitic occurs on *lík'áí*.

(14) Ɛ-ɪtɛrr-ónyɛ a-ɪshɔ́ **lík'áí** porrór.
3-begin-VEN.MID INF.SG-give other.M.NOM age.set.NOM
'Another age group has just started.' (bolunoto.056)

(15) **ɔ=lɪkâî** shɔrɛ́ l-ái
MSG=other friend M.PSD-my
'my other friend'

(16) ɪn=kéra náa-itɛr-ʊnyɛk-í **ɔ=lɪkâî** ári
FPL=children REL:FPL-begin-VEN.INST-PASS MSG=other year
'the children who another year is begun with' (i.e. a new school year)
(Arusha-enkongu-2.7)

Other items in this roughly-quantifying group can occur before or after an item in the NOUN position of Figure 1. These include the numerals *nabô* 'one.F' and *obô* 'one.M'. Before the noun they may be somewhat idiomatic, as in *nabô ɔlɔ́ŋ* 'one/some day' or *nabô kátá* 'all at once'.

(17) N-é-puo **nabô** ɔlɔ́ŋ áa-ɪtayu ɪl=ŋanayío.
CN1-3-go.PL one.F day INF.PL-take.out MPL=fruits
'They went one day to remove fruits.'

(18) N-é-j-î "**Nabô** kátá taá m-á-ípaŋá pɔ́'ɔ́kí."
CN1-3-say-PL one.F time FOCUS SBJV-1PL.SBJV-exit-SBJV all.NOM
'They said, "Let's all get out at once."' (enamuke1-1.74)

Example (19) is the only instance in the texts of pre-nominal *nabô* with a possible enumerating function. Otherwise, for enumeration all numerals occur after the noun, as in (20).

10. The 'other' morphemes may stand alone as pronouns, with or without a proclitic determiner.

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(19) Óre e=leŋ-ón náa **nabô** báɛ sídáí apá.
DSCN FSG=be.plenteous-NMLZ:state it.is one.F item good before
'Generosity was one of the good things before.' (i.e. within the Maasai character) (elengon2.013)

(20) n-é-atâ-î kʊlíkʻáí ɔɔ-ŋâm en=kíook **nabô**
CN1-3-have-PASS others.M REL:MPL-notch.PL FSG=ear one.F
'and there are others who make a small cut (notch) on one ear' [i.e. not on both ears, referring to a unique branding pattern on an animal] (enkashe.042b)

Another quantificational element that can distribute in the determiner position is *pɔɔkí(n)* 'all, every, the whole of'. It also can occur after the noun it modifies (or stand alone as a pronoun). After the noun it can indicate 'all, the whole of,' as in (21). Before the noun, *pɔɔkí(n)* is not attested with an additional determiner and can indicate 'every, each', as in (22).

(21) Ní-kí-nchʻór-í néná kíshú **pɔɔkí**.
CN1-3>2-give-PASS those.F cattle all
'And you are given all those cows.' (renoi.105)

(22) te=n-é-íshɔ-óyɔ áa-ɪshɔ **pɔɔkí** tʊŋáni …
OBL=CN1-3-give-ITV INF.PL-give every person
'when they give each person [what they request] …' (elengon2.043b)

With this brief introduction to proclitics, demonstratives, and an incipient group of words that can have a more indefinite determiner function, we now turn to what a noun versus an adjective is in Maa.

5. Properties of Maa word bases that refer and modify

Though I have used NOUN in Figure 1 with reference to lexemes like *tít'ó* '(uninitiated) girl', *ɔɪŋɔ́nɪ* 'bull', *tapúka* 'flowers', etc., Maa has a somewhat weak noun-adjective contrast. Tucker and Mpaayei (1955) say Maa nouns are "usually" preceded by a gender+number proclitic (1955: 3), vary for number (1955: 4–6), and can function as subject or object (with a gender+number proclitic, 1955: 7). They state that "adjectives do not have a gender prefix when qualifying," but that they take one when they stand "instead of a noun," and that at least some adjectives can take an *ɪ-* prefix in predicative function (1955: 12). However, none of these properties differentiate what Tucker & Mpaayei call nouns from adjectives. Schneider (1998) investigates certain morphosyntactic properties of Maa property-concept lexemes. She proposes a distinction between Type I property-concept terms which

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overlap in properties with nouns, while Type II property-concept terms are stative verbs. One needs to determine what in Maa is a noun if one is going to argue there is a noun phrase. Order of certain elements within the Maa noun phrase can vary, further raising questions about what is noun versus modifier, and to what extent a phrase more or less like that sketched in Figure 1 is a tightly-structured unit.

Properties that group time-stable stems, Type I property-concept stems (Schneider 1998), and some quantifying stems include variation for number and case, ability to take a verbalizing prefix, and inability to take relative clause morphology (Section 5.1). Properties that gradably distinguish nouns and adjectives include relative order within the nominal phrase (Section 5.2), and the form they take as the complement of a 'be' verb (Section 5.3). Properties that further muddy part of speech distinctions include ability to take perfect(ive) aspect, inchoative, causative, and imperative morphology (Section 5.4). A property that distinguishes nouns from both Type I property-concept terms and verbs is the inability to be modified by *olêŋ* 'very' (Section 5.5).[11]

5.1 Properties that group time-stable and Type I property-concept terms

Maa has stem variation for number and case (Dimmendaal 2000; König 2008; Tucker & Mpaayei 1955). This is seen by comparing the time-stable stems for '(uninitiated) girl(s)' in (23) and (24) with the forms in (6a–b) earlier, and by comparing the Type I property-concept stems for 'bad' in (25) through (28).

(23) N-ɛ́-ító áí-kʻátá ɛ-dɔl siî nínyɛ ɛná **titó**
CN1-3-NEG.PF other.F-time TEMP.3-see indeed EMPH this.F.NOM girl.NOM
ɛlê kíjánáí.
this.M young.man
'And this girl has never seen this young man.' (renoi.009)

(24) amô e-tu-búl-u-tûâ kʊná **toyîê**
because 3-PF-grow-INCHO-VEN.PL.PF these.FPL.NOM girls.NOM
ɛ́nyʻɛ́ná
3PL.PSD+3SG.PSR.NOM
'because these daughters of his have grown up' (sairowua.0013)

(25) ɛ=rány-áré **tɔrrɔ́nô**
FSG=sing-NMLZ:action bad
'bad singing'

11. Schneider (1998) explores a number of these variables using elicited data. As we will see here, ultimately the data suggest that lexemes are rather gradable in category membership.

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(26) E-yéwuo ol=túlet **tɔ́rrɔnɔ̂**.
3-come.PF MSG=generation.NOM bad.NOM
'A bad generation has come.'

(27) ɪm=báa **tɔrrɔ̂k**
FPL=matters bad.PL
'bad things/matters' (elengon2.054)

(28) K=é-tí'í in=tókitin kumók **tɔ́rrɔk**.
CN2=3-be.at FPL=things.NOM many.NOM bad.PL.NOM
'There are many bad things.' (Camus1.023b)

Both time-stable and Type I property-concept terms can take an *ɪ-* verbalizing prefix. Subsequently, they can inflect for third person. (For at least some speakers, such derived verbs are defective and cannot inflect for all persons.)

(29) Ɛ-**ɪ**-kójɪt.
3-VBLZ-grass
'It looks like grass / It looks grassy.'

(30) Á-**í**-mórran.
1SG-VBLZ-warrior
'I am warrior-like.'

The preceding examples show the *ɪ-* prefix on time-stable stems, while (31) through (33) illustrate it on Type I property-concept lexemes. In (34) it is on the quantity base *kumok* 'many'. Thus, this verbalizing prefix does not distinguish nouns from adjectives.

(31) Náa á-**í**-tɔrrɔ́nâ naá ɪnâ, tɔrrɔ́nɔ̂ olêŋ.
and 3-VBLZ-bad FOCUS that.NOM bad.SG very
'And that is bad, very bad.' (Iloikop.097)

(32) N-é-jo chuŋui n-ɛ́-'ákɔ́ k=ɛ́-**í**-ŋɔjínɛ.
CN1-3-say IDEO CN1-3-become CN2-3-VBLZ-lame
'And he said "chungui" and became lame.' (enkang-enkai1.32)

(33) amɔ̂ ɛ́-**í**-kɪtí nínyɛ en=kítojó.
because 3-VBLZ-small 3SG.NOM FSG=hare.NOM
'because he (emphatic) the hare is smaller.' (elephare.003)

(34) N-ɛ́'-ákɔ́ k=é-**í**-kúmok olêŋ ɪn=kánisaní tɛ́=ína
CN1-3-become CN2-3-VBLZ-many very FPL=churches.NOM OBL=that.F
kɔ̂p.
land.NOM
'Churches have become very numerous in that land.' (Camus3.195b)

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Another property grouping time-stable stems with Type I property-concept terms, quantifying words, and pronouns is an inability to take relative clause morphology. All verbs, including statives expressing property-concepts, must occur in a relative clause form to modify an item in Position 1, as in (35)–(36), or to themselves occur in Position 1, as in (37)–(38). (Relativized verbs are highlighted.)

(35) N-ɛ́-dʊmʊn-í tɛ ɔl=adúóó shóni
CN1-3-pick.up-PASS OBL MSG=aforementioned skin.NOM
l-ɛ́nyɛ **ɔ́-sʻínyá**
M.PSD-3SG.POSS.NOM REL:MSG.NOM-be.perfect
'He is picked up on his sacred skin' (enkeeya.031a)

(36) n-é-puo-i áa-ɪŋɔrʊ ɔl=kítɛ́ŋ **ɔ-sínya**
CN1-3-go.PL-PL INF.PL-look-VEN MSG=bovine REL:MSG-be.perfect
'a blameless ox is sought' (elengon3.2)

(37) ɪl=**ɔ́ɔ́-íbʻɔ́rr**
M.PL=REL:MPL-be.white
'those who are white' (i.e. Europeans) (aibartisho.025a)

(38) k-ɛ́-tɔ́n-ɪ ɛ́-ípá-a ínâ **ná-íbɔrr**.
CN2-3-stay-PL 3-dance-PF that.FSG REL:FSG-be.white
'they stay having celebrated that white one' (bulunoto.057)

In sum, properties discussed in this section give no basis for distinguishing 'noun,' 'adjective,' and even certain 'quantifier' categories.

5.2 Order within the nominal phrase template

Certain properties suggest a gradable distinction between Maa 'noun' and 'adjective' categories. One of these is linear order – which also raises questions about structure within the nominal phrase. As a reminder, I sometimes refer to items as being either in Position 1 right after a determiner, or to being in Position 2 after an item in Position 1. There are three order issues involved: What elements can immediately follow a determiner, in Position 1? When there is more than one element after a determiner, what is their relative order and function? When there is a time-stable lexeme right after a determiner, then what is the relative order of other elements after that lexeme? These issues are not independent, but I will try to address each in turn.

The text corpus contains relatively few phrases with multiple lexical items referencing a single participant or objectified concept. Also, since a corpus of around 70,000 words is unlikely to reveal all possible structural patterns, I augment the investigation with elicited examples.

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5.2.1 *Immediately after a determiner*

Both time-stable and some Type I property-concept terms can occur in Position 1, right after a determiner, without any additional morphology. This is illustrated in (6) through (11) for presumed nouns, and in (39) for the lexeme 'bad' (compare (25) through (28) above). Once it carries a determiner, the phrase can distribute as core argument of a predicate, as possessor or possessee, and as complement of a preposition. For instance, the property-concept stem *tɔrrɔ̂k* is right after a determiner in (39) and (40) with no other elements in the phrase. In (39), *ɪn=tɔrrɔ̂k* 'bad, evils, sins' is the semantic head of a possessed expression, and in (40) it is a grammatical object, referring to an item metaphorically left behind.

(39) ɪn=**tɔrrɔ̂k** âŋ
FPL=bad.PL our
'our evils/badness' (Camus1.068)

(40) ánaa ɪl=ɔ́ɔ́-íbɛlɛkɛny-átɛ áa-iŋuaa ɪn=**tɔrrɔ̂k**
like MPL=REL:MPL-change-MID.PL.PF INF.PL-leave FPL=bad.PL
'like all those who have changed to leave the evils' (Camus2.171)

As discussed in Section 4, certain pronominal-like forms like 'other' can also immediately follow a determiner with nothing else in the phrase. This is also true of quantifying words like *kúmok* in (41) and 'one' in the second conjunct in (5), some temporal roots (Section 5.2.2), and relative clauses as in (37) and (38).

(41) M-ɛ-táa éí-kí-ntokí áa-ɪrɔ in=**kúmok**.
SBJV-3-BE.SBJV INTRO:PRT-1PL-do.again INF.PL-talk FPL=many
'So we are going to talk more.' (Camus1.096)

In sum, ability to immediately follow a determiner does not differentiate noun from adjective, relative clause, or from some quantifiers and time lexemes. However, this is not all there is to say about order.

5.2.2 *Lexemes in Position 1 or Position 2*

In discourse, more concrete or 'semantic/pragmatic head' elements (Croft 2001: 242–271; D. Payne 1990: 102–119) tend to precede more abstract lexemes (61% in a count of 149 multi-word nominal phrases, not including numeral words). This order is illustrated in (42) through (44). In (44), *kítéŋ* 'bovine animal' is in Position 1; while *súpat* 'good' and *sídáí* 'good, beautiful' follow as modifying phrases (ModP), so we may say that both instantiate Position 2.

(42) e=síkiria olupí
FSG=donkey barren
'barren donkey' (enkang-enkai0002)

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(43) ɛn=chɔrúét ŋéjúk
FSG=friend new
'new (female) friend' (divorce 015)

(44) K=é-yʻá ɛnâ kítéŋ súpat sídáí ɛnk=árɛ.
CN2=3-take this.F bovine.animal good beautiful FSG=water.NOM
'Water takes this beautiful good cow.' (i.e. This beautiful cow is almost dying of thirst.) (letabo1.013)

But some lexemes can occur in either Position 1 or Position 2. In (45) *áyíóní* 'boy' is in Position 1 and *áítéŋénani* 'teacher' is in Position 2. In (46), *áítéŋénani* 'teacher is in Position 1. Such examples show that time-stable items in Position 2 can modify other time-stable items in Position 1, without any morphology to mark the modifying function.

(45) E-tíʻí ɔl=áyíóní áítéŋénani.
3-be.at MSG=boy teacher
'A teacher-like boy is there.'

(46) É-írúk-ó ɔl=áítéŋénání peê ɛ-ılép ɛn=kɛráí.
3-permit-PF MSG=teacher.NOM so 3-climb FSG=child.NOM
The teacher has permitted the child to go up (to the next class).'

Mol (1996: 383) labels *tásat* 'elderly, old, ancient, disabled, weak' as a "proper adjective." Its function in a MODP is illustrated in (47). But (48) shows that it can also occur in Position 1, where it is modified by *bótór* 'senior' in Position 2 and is possessed. In fact, in the text corpus *tásat* is far more frequent in Position 1 (29 instances) than as a modifier in Position 2 (1 instance).

(47) ɛlê payián tásat olêŋ
this.M elder.man old very
'this very old man'

(48) ɛn=tásat ɛnyɛ́ bótór nabô
FSG=old 3SG.PSR senior one.F
'his one old senior (i.e. first married) wife'

The elicited examples in (49) and (50) with 'book' and 'small, little' show similar order variation, and both examples are perfectly grammatical if the item in parentheses is omitted.

(49) Á-yíéú ɛm=búku (kıtí).
1SG-want FSG=book (small)
'I want a / the (small) book.'

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(50) Á-yíéú ɛn=kɪtí (búku).
1SG-want FSG=small (book)
'I want a / the small (book).'

Such variation is in fact also attested in discourse, despite the frequencies mentioned earlier. In (51), *áŋ* 'kraal, home' is in Position 2; but in (52) it is in Position 1. In (52) *ɔmɔ́nɪ* 'visitor' is in Position 2, but this identical form can also occur in Position 1.

(51) ɪl=mɔ́rran l-ɛ́ mányátá áŋ e Kikuyián
mpl=warriors M.PSD=FSG.PSR warrior.kraal home FSG.PSR Kikuyian
'warriors of the ceremonial home at Kikuyian' (enkijuka.003b)

(52) áa-ɪshɔ pɔɔkí tʊŋáni ɔmɔ́nɪ o-lot-ú ɛnk=áŋ ɛnyɛ̂.
INF.PL-give every person visitor REL:MSG-go.SG-VEN FSG=home 3PL.PSR
'to give (something to) every visiting person who comes to their home.'
(elengon2.043b)

Unlike (49) and (50) earlier, but in accord with the dominant discourse pattern, elicitation with a controlled set of lexical items suggests that some time-stable lexemes cannot occur in Position 2 (whether in a potential QUANT2 or MODP position) – even though those same items can occur directly after a determiner as the sole lexical element of the nominal phrase. This restriction might be a matter of particular combinations. For instance, (53) through (56) suggest that *ayíóni* 'boy' cannot occur in Position 2 if in combination with *kɪrɔtét* 'favorite.' *Kɪrɔtét* is in Position 2 in (53), and occurs after a determiner as the sole element of a referring phrase and as possessor in (54) and (55). But apparently it cannot displace *ayíóni* from Position 1 if both are in the same phrase, shown by (56).

(53) ɔl=ayíóni kɪrɔtét
MSG=boy favorite
'a/the favorite son'

(54) ɛnâ kɪrɔtét
this.F favorite
'this favorite woman'

(55) ɔl=ayíóni l-ɛ́ ɛn=kɪrɔtét
MSG=boy M-FSG.PSR FSG=favorite
'the son of the favorite (wife)'

(56) *ɔl=kɪrɔtɛ́t ayíóni
MSG=favorite boy
('a/the favorite boy')

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But other combinations allow human-referent terms, including *ayíóni* 'boy', in Position 2. This is seen in (57) through (59).[12]

(57) en=títʿó ayíóni
FSG=girl boy
'a boyish girl'

(58) Á-tó-dúaa ɔl=payián a-yíér-ani.
1SG-PF-see.PF MSG=elder.man NMLZ-cook-NMLZ:animate
'I saw the male cook.'

(59) E-tíʿí ɔl=áyíóní á-íté-ŋɛ́n-ani.
3-be.at MSG=boy.NOM NMLZ-CAUS-be.clever-NMLZ:animate
'A teacher-like boy is there.'

To better evaluate what types of property-concept terms can occur in Position 1 versus Position 2, a corpus study was undertaken, with close examination of the lexemes involved. There were 88 instances which had been analyzed as property-concept terms in Position 2, corresponding to the pattern in (49); and 68 instances which had been analyzed as property-concept terms in Position 1, corresponding to the pattern in (50). Table 1 presents the results.[13]

Table 1. Incidence of property-concept stems in [DET POSITION1 POSITION2] phrases

Property-concept lexeme	Position 1	Position 2
dúóó/duó 'prevous, previously'	34	9
oshî 'normal, usual, proverbial'	13	1
kɪtí 'small (size, amount), young, early (rain)'	10	1
kʊtî/kʊtítɪ 'few, small (amount)'	5	1
pôs 'blue'	3	2
kitó(k)/kitúak 'big, huge (size, amount), important'	1	19
kinyí/ kunyinyik 'little (size, amount)'	1	3
apá 'prior, before, long ago'	1	
sápʊk 'big'		18

(*continued*)

12. The stems *áítéŋɛ́nani* 'teacher' (lit. 'animate [one who] makes smart') and *ayíérani* 'cook' (lit. 'animate [one who] cooks') are not traditional Maa word forms but are lexicalized for some speakers. These have a nominalization pattern *a*-V.Root-*ani* (Payne & Olsen 2009). *Ayíóni* 'boy' is clearly lexicalized, but its form suggests historical derivation from the verb root *(y)iu* 'give birth'.

13. For the most part Table 1 lists only the singular absolute form of a stem, but singular, plural, and different case forms may have occurred in the corpus and all are reflected in the counts in Table 1. It is possible that phrases with 'blue' plus 'cattle/goats' involve lexicalized compounds.

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Table 1. (*continued*)

Property-concept lexeme	Position 1	Position 2
bótór 'senior'		8
sídáí 'good, beautiful'		6
tɔrrə̂k 'bad (pl.)'		2
aɪsínani 'poor,' *bióto* 'healthy,' *jartân* 'creative,' *kársîs* 'rich,' *kɪrɔtét* 'favorite,' *kuretí* 'cowardly,' *mínís* 'earless,' *míŋáni* 'deaf,' *móruo* 'old,' *nányókié* 'red-brown,' *ŋéjúk* 'new,' *ŋên* 'sharp (mentally), clever,' *olupí* 'barren,' *padán* 'skillful,' *sikí'tói* 'yellow,' *sopîâ* 'medium-brown,' *súpat* 'good,' *yiolóti* 'famous'		1 time each

Property-concept elements that easily occur in Position 1 fall into semantic categories of time, size, and roughly quantity, though each of these elements may also occur in Position 2 (including *apá* 'before' and *oshî* in the sense of 'usual, proverbial'). It merits more investigation as to whether this suggests that a special category of lexical modifiers is developing, but it is striking that the stems in the top part of Table 1 are quite coherent semantically and do not include semantically more varied property-concept terms like those in the bottom half of Table 1.

Altogether, the limits on what lexemes can directly modify others without any additional morphology does not unambiguously differentiate nouns from adjectives. The properties discussed so far in this section generally suggest non-distinctness of 'noun' and 'adjective.' However, the corpus results show a strong preference for certain items to occur in Position 2 when there is also a time-stable lexeme in the phrase. At least certain lexeme combinations strongly prefer, if not require, one order.

5.2.3 *Order after the noun within the nominal phrase template*

In Section 5.2.2 we saw that what can occur in Position 1 versus Position 2 somewhat blurs the difference between 'noun' and 'adjective.' The relative order of some elements after a presumed noun in Position 1 can also vary. Quantifying words typically occur before (pronominal) possessors, as in (60), and this order is reflected in Figure 1. But (61) and (62) show the opposite order.

(60) nɛ́pʻíkí ɪnk=ájíjík **pɔɔkín** ɛnyɛ́nak.
CN1-3-put-PASS FPL=houses all 3SG.PSR+PL.PSD
'[oil] is put in (shared with) all his houses.' (nkeeya.021)

(61) kárʻíkú kʊnâ kéra áinêî **pɔɔkín**
CN2-1SG-lead-VEN these.FPL children my.PL.PSD all
'I will bring all these children of mine' (Camus4.267)

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(62) ɔl=kítéŋ l-ɛnyé **obô** o-tíʿí in=kíshú
MSG=bovine MPSD-3SG.PSR M.one REL:MSG-be.at FPL=cattle
'his one [only] bull that is in the herd' (sairowua1.146.1)

In sum, the types of order variation discussed throughout Section 5 might suggest a somewhat flat NP structure. The determiner is always initial, but otherwise order is not entirely rigid.

5.3 Complement of a 'be' verb

The morphosyntax of 'be' complements suggests that nouns do differ from Type I property-concept and other non-verbal stems. But again the distinction is gradient. Forms for 'be' are somewhat irregular and include *ra* 'be,' *aa* 'be', *taa* 'be.PF/be.SBJV', and *akʊ* 'become'.

First, examples like (63) and (64) suggest that nouns must carry a determiner when functioning as a 'be' complement.

(63) amʊ̂ **ɪl=tóŋáná** o-íturé-ísho kɪ-râ.
because MPL=people REL:MPL-frighten-APAS 1PL-be
'because we are fearsome people.' (lit. 'because people who frighten we are') (Camus4.392)

(64) a. í-rá **en=títʿó**.
2-be FSG=girl
'You are a girl.'
b. *í-rá títʿó.
2-be girl
('You are a girl.')[14]

In contrast to nouns, Type I property-concept terms may lack determiners as complements of 'be', as in (65) and (66). (Numerals also lack determiners when they are complements of 'be'.)

(65) o ashʊ̂ aa **tɔrrɔ́nɔ̂** en=terít.
or be bad FSG=dirt.NOM
'or the soils are bad (i.e., infertile).' (malk01.0145)[15]

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14. I am grateful to Stephen Ole-Muntet for help with some of the data in this section. He states that (64b) could only be used if one were treating *Tito* as a proper name.

15. Using the *ɪ-* verbalizer with *tɔrrɔ́nɔ̂* 'bad' versus the 'be' complement construction may concern temporary versus long-term properties; (65) presumably implies a long-term soil condition.

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(66) a. Á-rá **kítɪ**.
1SG-be small
'I am/was small.' ('young'/'little') (eure-P 4.2; Parakuyo dialect)
b. *í-rá ɛn=kɪtí.
2-be FSG=little
('You are small.')

Despite (66b), it is acceptable to have *kítɪ* 'small' directly after a determiner in Position 1 if *kítɪ* is followed by a lexeme like *amérani* 'drunk (person)' in Position 2, seen in (67). *Amérani* appears to be a more nominal stem, as it preferably carries a determiner as a complement of 'be'; compare (68a–b).

(67) í-rá ɛn=**kɪtí** a-mér-ani.
2-be FSG=little NMLZ-be.drunk-NMLZ:animate
'You are a useless alcoholic.'

(68) a. ?Á-rá a-mɛ́r-ani.
1SG-be NMLZ-be.drunk-NMLZ:animate
'I am alcoholic.'
b. Á-rá **ɔl=a-mɛ́r-ani**.
1SG-be MSG=NMLZ-be.drunk-NMLZ:animate
'I am an alcoholic.'

However, some other stems, like *aɪkɔ́shɔ́aani* 'glutton(ous)' (related to *ɔ́shɔkɛ* 'stomach'), are said to mean the same thing with and without a determiner in the 'be' construction, which is acceptable with either form. Compare (69a–b).

(69) a. í-ra **aɪkɔ́shɔ́aani**.
2-be glutton
'You are a glutton/gluttonous.'
b. í-ra **ɔl=aɪkɔ́shɔ́aani**.
2-be MSG=glutton
'You are a glutton/gluttonous.'

The stem *ŋɔjínɛ* seems to be somewhat intermediate in behavior between *amérani* 'drunk (one)' and *aɪkɔ́shɔ́aani* 'gluttonous (one)'. Without a determiner, it names the property-concept 'lame, limping, crippled, disabled', seen in (70). But with a determiner, *ɔl=ŋɔjínɛ* in a 'be' construction means '(be) a male hyena'.

(70) Pápáyíó áíjō í-rˈá íyˈíé **ŋɔjínɛ?**
papa what.like 2-be you.SG.NOM lame
'Papa, why are you limping/lame?' (enkang-enkai 1.34)

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To summarize this section, Table 2 sketches the ability of selected lexical items to take a determiner in the 'be' construction. Table 2 also includes findings about relative order of the relevant lexemes after a determiner. The combined patterns suggest a gradient distinction between nouns and adjectives/descriptive-modifiers in Maa.

Table 2. Time-stable, property-concept, and numeral lexemes as complements in the 'be' construction, and possible order

Lexeme	*tít'ó* 'girl *kéra* 'children' *tóŋáná* 'people'	*amérani* 'drunk' *ayíóni* 'boy'	*ŋɔjínɛ* 'hyena'/ 'lame' *tɔrrôk* 'evils, sins'/'bad. PL'	*aɪkóshóaani* 'glutton'	*kɪtí* 'small, little'	*nabô* 'one' *ísîêt* eight'
Form as complement of 'be'	Must have DET	Must have DET	DET with time-stable sense. No DET with property-concept sense	Optional DET with no clear sense difference	No DET	No DET
Order within nominal phrase	Disprefered in Position 2	Position 2 if QMOD in Position 1	Position 1 or 2	Position 1 or 2	Position 1 with DET if time-stable stem in Position 2	Position 2; but may be sole element after a DET

5.4 Perfect(ive) aspect morphology, inchoative aspect morphology, and morphological causative morphology

What might be thought of as prototypical verb morphology also yields gradient word-class results. Nearly all verbs lack the properties investigated in Section 5.1, but on the other hand take perfect(ive) aspect morphology (yielding perfect(ive) inchoative meaning with stative stems), imperative, and causative morphology. However, such 'verb' morphology can also occur on a number of Type I property-concept stems, though distribution across specific stems is somewhat uneven. For instance, *ŋirô* 'gray-brown', *sídáí* 'beautiful', *sápuk* 'big', *bótór* 'senior', *ŋên* 'clever', and *ŋɔjínɛ* 'lame' can take all this verbal morphology; while *pʊs* 'blue', *síntêt* 'pink', and some others can take all except perfect(ive) aspect; *kɪtí* 'little' does not appear to take the inchoative. Imperative morphology does not occur on all Type

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I property-concept stems, but it is possible in (71) and (72) (cf. Schneider 1998), and also with 'be white' for insulting or cursing someone.

(71) Tú-supat-á!
IMP-good-IMP
'Be kind!' (singular addressee)

(72) Tá-ŋejuk-ó!
IMP-new-IMP
'Be new!' (singular addressee)

These behaviors group verbs and adjectives distinctly from most time-stable stems. However, some speakers allow all these morphological properties with the time-stable stem *mórráni* 'warrior', and possibly all with *payián* 'elder',[16] but the same speakers disallow it with *kitók* 'mature woman,' *ayióni* 'boy' and many other time-stable stems (Schneider 1998: 124).

In sum, as with complements of the 'be' construction and linear order, prototypically verbal morphology somewhat gradiently distinguishes 'noun' from other lexical categories.

5.5 Modification by olêŋ 'very'[17]

We have seen that nouns share some properties with Type I property-concept lexemes, and other properties suggest a gradient difference. Distribution of the adverb *olêŋ* 'very' distinguishes between 'noun' and words with modifying and predicating functions.

First, (73) and (74) illustrate *olêŋ* modifying stative and active predicates. Note that it need not be contiguous to the verb in this function.

(73) K=á-í-tɔ́rrɔk **olêŋ**.
CN2-3-VBLZ-bad.PL very
'They are very bad.' (Camus3.213)

(74) N-ɛ́-íkɪríkírá ɛn=kɔ́p **olêŋ**.
CN1-3-shake FSG=land.NOM very
'The earth shook very much.' (kpol04.014)

16. *Payián* refers to a man who has gone through certain rites of passage. It is not equivalent to the meaning of *elder* as used by Native American or First-Nations communities, nor to the concept of English *elderly* (*man/woman*).

17. Historically this is a relativization of the root *leŋ* 'be generous'. The feminine form *naleŋ* also occurs.

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Items in Position 2 of a nominal phrase can also be modified by *olêŋ*. Consider *tásat* 'old, ancient, disabled, weak' in (75).

(75) Á-dɔ́l apá ɔl=payián tásat **olêŋ**.
1SG-see before MSG=elder ancient very
'Long ago I saw a very elderly man.'

Perhaps surprisingly, when in Position 1, *tásat* cannot be modified by *olêŋ*, grouping it with *payián* 'elder man'.

(76) *ɔl=tásat olêŋ
MSG=ancient very
('a very old one')

(77) *ɔl=payián olêŋ
MSG=elder very
('a very man')

In contrast to (76) and (77), (78) might suggest that some items in Position 1 can in fact be modified by *olêŋ*. However, this example was elicited in conjunction with (3) earlier and thus the rather obvious contextual analysis is that (78) involves anaphoric ellipsis of 'flower(s)', with the result that *kɪtí* then appears right after the determiner in the phrase *kɪtí olêŋ*.

(78) in=tapúka aré sikítˈó sapúkˈí ɔ́ ɛn=kɪtí **olêŋ**
FPL=flowers two yellow big.PL and FSG=small very
'two big yellow flowers and a very small one' [the small one may be of any color]

In sum, the findings of Section 5 suggest that words in 'good' nominal function cannot occur as a complement of 'be' without a determiner, cannot occur in Position 2, cannot be modified by *olêŋ*, and cannot take verbal morphology; but the ability of various lexemes to serve as 'good' nominals is gradient. Second, among Type I property-concept terms, the stems in the top part of Table 1 may be developing as a distinct group of delimiting or quantifying adjectives. These can occur before or after a 'good' noun.

6. Maa DPs as arguments and referring phrases in discourse

Assuming now that the distinctions among 'good' nominal, 'quantifying adjective,' and '*olêŋ*-taking adjective' lexemes are somewhat gradient, we turn to examine what kind of phrasal unit can serve as an argument of a predicate (Section 6.1) and

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serve a referring function in discourse (Section 6.2). We also examine the corpus for what kinds of situations allow absence of a determiner (Section 6.3).

6.1 Maa DPs as arguments and in syntax

Even though one might argue that prototypical nouns can at least be gradiently distinguished from quantifying adjectives and *olêŋ*-taking adjectives, it is still the case that all these item types can serve as arguments of predicates as long as they are in Position 1 preceded by a determiner. Without a determiner, none can function in this way (except in restricted circumstances to be discussed in Section 6.3).

The need for a phrase to have a determiner to function as subject is seen by the contrast in (79a–b). Examples (80a–b) show the same for object.

(79) a. É-ló **ɛlɛ́** páyian tásât olêŋ.
3-go.SG this.M.NOM elder.NOM ancient.NOM very
'This very old man goes.'
b. *Élό payían tásat olêŋ.

(80) a. N-é-ar-áa **ɛn**=tásat ɛnyɛ́ bótór.
CN1-3-beat-ITV FSG=ancient 3SG.PSR senior
'He chased away his older wife.'
b. *Nɛ́aráa tásat ɛnyɛ́ bótór.

This is also clearly seen in discourse. *Ɛ́n=katá* in (81a) and *ɔ́l=páyían* in (81b) are nominative subjects of *tí'í* 'be at, exist'. In (81c), *ɛnk=árná ɛnyɛ* 'his name' is the accusative non-promoted argument of the impersonal passive form *jií* '(they) say'. (*Sairówua* is a proper name predicate complement of 'say.')

(81) a. Bási e-tí'í apá **ɛn**=katá, **ɛn**=katá nabô
so 3-be.at before FSG=time.NOM FSG=time.NOM one.F
'There was previously a time, one time
b. na-tí'í apá **ɔl**=páyían óbō
REL:FSG.REL-be.at before MSG=elder.NOM one.M.NOM
'where there was a man
c. ó-ji-í **ɛnk**=árná ɛnyɛ Sairówua
REL:MSG.NOM-say-PASS FSG=name his Sairowua
whose name was called Sairowua (sairowua.0001–0003)

In (82), a Type I property-concept stem occurs in *ɪn=tɔrrɔ̂k* 'sins/evils.' This is embedded within the prepositional phrase initiated by *ti átua* 'in among.'

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(82) peê e-lot-ú a-kɔrd-ó́ iyíóók ti átua
when TEMP.3-go.SG-VEN INF.SG-hook-VEN 1PL OBL among.NOM
ɪn=tɔrrôk âŋ
FPL=bad.PL our
'so that he comes and save (lit. hook) us from our evils' (Camus1.068)

Even semantically adverbial roots may function as syntactic arguments when preceded by a determiner, as in (83b). In particular, juxtaposition of the three clauses in (83) shows that *ɔl=adúóó* serves as a referring form just like other participant-referring forms. Each clause refers to a distinct participant: the one freed in (83a) is different from the one who enters in (83b), and a third participant, the lion, arrives in (83c).

(83) a. n-ɛ́-lak-ʊn-í,
CN1-3-loose-VEN-PASS
'he was freed,'
b. n-ɛ́-jɪŋ **ɔl**=adúóó,
CN1-3-enter MSG=previously
'and the previously-mentioned one entered,'
c. n-ɛ́-b'á-ó́ nínyɛ ɔl=ŋatúny.
CN1-3-reach-VEN 3SG.NOM MSG=lion.NOM
'and he the lion arrived.' (kitejine.045b)

To summarize, determiners enable lexemes to syntactically distribute as subject, object, in a prepositional phrase, as object of a preposition (or of a relational noun in preposition-like function), and hence as referring forms in discourse.

6.2 Maa proclitic determiners in discourse

In Maa, a determined phrase (DP) can be used to refer to objectified concepts or participants in discourse (Du Bois 1980). But are the proclitic determiners dedicated markers of identifiability (definiteness), givenness, or referentiality?

First, nearly all nouns in citation context include a proclitic. Second, the proclitics occur on new nonidentifiable participants being introduced to the discourse for the first time, as well as on established, identifiable participants. For instance, (84) comes from a narrative recounting childhood events. The narrator has already described rock-rolling contests he and his friends engaged in. Before (84) he introduced a particular day, and now a particular event of turning over a specific rock. There are proclitic determiners on both 'rock' and 'centipede', both being introduced for the first time as specific but non-identifiable and new entities. The concept of 'rock' was clearly mentioned in the text before and hence

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is accessible; but 'centipede' is brand-new, and the concept has not been evoked by anything prior.

(84) n-é-ból-ú Kípʿáyíó **o**=sóít o-tíʿí **ɛnk**=ɔ́lʿóṕá.
CN1-3-uncover-VEN Kipayio MSG=rock REL:MSG-be.at FSG=centipede.NOM
'Kipayio rolled over a stone where there was a poisonous centipede.'
(mapk01.025b-c)

Later in the story we encounter (85), where *ɛnk=ɔ́lʿóṕá* 'centipede' refers to the same now-identifiable discourse participant. Note that 'centipede' has the identical form as when the referent was first introduced. Both (84) and (85) would be ungrammatical if a determiner did not occur before the stem *ɔ́lʿóṕá*. These patterns are completely typical of Maa discourse, showing that the determiner proclitics do not code identifiability or given/new status.

(85) ɪna taá na-tɔ-ɔny-ɔ́ **ɛnk**=ɔ́lʿóṕá
that.FSG FOCUS REL:FSG-PF-bite-PF FSG=centipede.NOM
'that (hand) which the centipede had bitten' (mapk01.035b)

The proclitic determiners also do not strictly code referentiality. Examples (86) through (88) involve non-referential mentions. The text from which (86) comes describes how murder cases are dealt with in traditional Maasai society. Throughout the text no particular murder case is discussed. In (86), *ɪl=ɔ́íkɔp* 'murder' is in a conditional clause, marked by *te=n-*, and any possible murder is hypothetical.

(86) Te=n-é-j-ʿí k=ɛ́-átʿá-í **ɪl**=ɔ́íkɔp …
OBL=CN1-3-say-PASS CN2=3-have-PASS FPL=murder
'If it is said there is a murder case…' (iloikop.004)

In (87), *ɔl=tʊŋáni oyíólo aɪsʊma* 'person who knows (how) to read' is under the scope of negation; the clause communicates the non-existence of such a type of person.

(87) Nɛ́-m-ɛ́-ɛ́tʿá-í **ɔl**=tʊŋáni o-yíólo a-ɪsʊm-a.
CN1-NEG-3-have-PASS MSG=person REL:MSG-KNOW INF.SG-read-SBJV
'There is nobody who knows (how) to read.' (omon.0300)

In (88) *ɛn=kɛ́ráí* 'child'is the predicate complement of subjunctive 'be'. The complement does not refer to a participant existing within the discourse world but instead to a quality or type.

(88) ɔ m-ɛ-táa **ɛn**=kɛ́ráí.
until SBJV-3-become.SBJV FSG=child
'until she becomes a child.' (embul.054)

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In sum, discourse data show that Maa DPs are deployed in discourse regardless of identifiability, givenness, and referential status. But what do the proclitic determiners do? Are they just syntactically-required markers of gender and number (redundantly for the latter, as stem forms also reflect number; Shirtz & Payne 2013)? To help address this, Section 6.3 discusses contexts missing a determiner.

6.3 Contexts in which determiners are omitted

Less than 20% of the time in the corpus, no determiner occurs with what might be considered a noun or nominal subtype. The contexts are summarized in (i) through (vii). Situations (v) through (vii) and at least some in (iv) are non-referential uses. In all except (v), (vi) and true vocative uses, a nominal can potentially be used as subject, object, or in some other syntactic role – all without a determiner.

i. Nouns containing historically frozen determiners, e.g., the collective noun *kʊlé* 'milks', where /*kʊ*/ corresponds historically to a determiner (cf. (7b) and (9b)).
ii. Some borrowings, e.g., *shaai* 'tea' and often *kanisa* 'church' (though these can occur with determiners, especially if plural).
iii. Some nominalizations, e.g., *kígérótó* 'writing', from *iger* '(to) brand' (though this often carries a determiner).
iv. Vocatives and words for parents and grandparents (whether or not used vocatively) like *yieyióô* '(my) mother', *ŋútúnyí* 'your mother', *ŋɔ́tɔ́nyɛ́* 'his/her mother', *kokoô* 'grandmother', and many proper names.[18] Some proper names are lexicalized to include determiners, but others are not. For instance, *Naɪsʊlá* is a feminine relative clause form based on *ɪsʊl* 'excel', and can be used as a name.
v. Nouns used adverbially, including relational nouns like *abór'í* 'under', *shómátá* 'above', *atûâ* 'inside, among', which function akin to or together with prepositions. Certain temporal and spatial terms can be used without determiners, e.g., *kátá* 'time', *bɔ́ɔ́* 'outside (the kraal)' (though most can also take determiners).
vi. Property-concept terms in modifying (Section 5.2) and predicate complement (Section 5.5) functions.
vii. Certain idioms, as in the external possession construction in (89). In this type of constructional idiom, a body-part is the syntactic subject (Payne 1997a, b). If *lʊkʊnyá* carried a determiner, the meaning would be literal 'the/my head is hard'.

18. Du Bois (1980: 212) argues that the primary purpose of a vocative is not to refer to a participant but to attract attention. Lack of a determiner on many proper names and words for parents and grandparents conceivably might be an (historical) extension of vocative use.

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(89) Áa-gól lʊkʊnyá.
3>1SG-be.hard head.NOM
'I am stubborn/insensitive.' (lit. 'Head is hard [to] me.')

Finally, some phonological conditions result in apparent absence of gender+number proclitics. Especially the /l/ and /n/ of the proclitics are dropped before stems beginning with sonorant or continuant phonemes, as with *ŋenó* 'knowledge' in (90) and *ŋolón* 'power' in (91).

(90) N-é-í-siad-ʊ ŋenó.
CN1-3-VBLZ-behind-VEN knowledge.NOM
'Knowledge follows [from experience].' (proverbs.146)

(91) í-áta ŋolón.
2-have power
'You have power.' (Camus2.1.102)

Proclitic determiners may coalesce with, or be (partially) elided after the oblique preposition *tɛ*, the associative *a*, and possessive particles. In some instances, determiners may not appear between a possessive particle and a noun, as between *lɛ* and *oshô* in (92) (in other contexts 'community' would surface as *ol=oshô*).

(92) ílɛ̂ l-ɛ oshô
those.M M.PSD-F.PSR community
'those of the community' (iloikop.009)

In summary, and setting aside phonological factors, conditions allowing absence of a determiner are lexicalizations containing old determiner elements, idiosyncratic items like 'writing' and some borrowings, and specialized constructions which sometimes involve non-referential uses (vocatives and proper names, complements of 'be,' relational nouns, non-referring expressions in some idioms). Modification and attributive predicate complements are also non-referential contexts. Nevertheless, though absence of determiners in situations (iv) through (vii) conceivably might have originally been motivated by non-referentiality, non-referentiality as defined in the broader literature does not generally allow absence of a determiner.

7. Conclusions

We conclude that Maa discourse and syntax largely require determined phrases, not noun phrases. Aside from the situations described in Section 6.3, a determiner is necessary for a word or phrase to serve as an argument of a predicate, in

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adpositional phrases, etc. We have also seen that 'noun' is a somewhat gradable category in Maa, and that what might initially be thought of as adjectives, like *tasát* 'ancient, old, weak, disabled' or *ŋɔjínɛ* 'crippled, limping' can distribute just like highly time-stable lexemes, i.e., in Position 1 after a determiner. On the other hand, some time-stable stems like *ayíóni* 'boy' can function as modifiers within determined phrases. For these various reasons, it seems that noun phrase is not a such strong concept in Maa, certainly not at the level of clausal syntax and discourse; but determined phrase is a robust construction.

Regarding discourse functions of the proclitic determiners, they do not signal identifiability, givenness, nor reliably referentiality. Aside from lexically-specified cases like some proper names and items with frozen determiner portions, any nominal lacking a determiner can only be used non-referentially. But the converse is not true: carrying a determiner does not guarantee that a phrase is used referentially.

We may revisit, then, the function of the proclitic determiners. In Maa, gender is not an inherent lexical feature of many noun stems, and for the most part is only specified by whatever determiner is used. The Maa gender system in general works through pragmatic construal in the moment of use (Payne 1998), including to indicate size and pejorativeness, and is a fairly recent historical development (Shirtz & Payne 2013). It appears that the proclitic system functions in discourse at least in part to help the hearer cognitively establish the nature of a referent in terms of attributed gender at the moment of use, and to make an otherwise ambiguously modifying/nominal word or phrase able to serve as an argument in syntax.

On the word level, there are indices that the proclitic determiners are cognitively close to simply marking that a word is noun-like. It is striking that Maa speakers typically cannot conceive of many nominal dictionary-entries being written without a proclitic as part of the orthographic word – even when the relevant stem can be used as a modifier without a proclitic in Position 2, can be preceded by an adnominal demonstrative which is a phonologically separate word, and can be phonologically separated from a proclitic by a quantity-related modifier. Indeed, aside from words like *kʊlé* 'milks' and certain proper names, proclitics are nearly always included as part of the citation form of time-stable and even some property-concept stems. Greenberg (1981) noted the possibility of articles developing into mere markers of noun status. While analytically I do not think that the Maa proclitics are at this stage (in part, because they syntactically operate on a phrase level), for speakers they may be cognitively approaching it.

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Abbreviations

APAS	antipassive	MSG	masculine singular
CAUS	causative	NEG	negative
CN	connective	NMLZ	nominalizer
DET	determiner	NOM	nominative
DSCN	discontinuous	OBL	oblique
EMPH	emphatic	PASS	impersonal passive
F	feminine	PF	perfect(ive)
FPL	feminine plural	PL	plural
FSG	feminine singular	PROG	progressive
IDEO	ideophone	PSD	possessed
IMP	imperative	PSR	possessor
INCHO	inchoative	QMOD	descriptive modifier with quantity, size, or temporal semantics
INF	infinitive		
INST	instrument	QUANT	quantifier
INTRO:PRT	introductory particle	REL	relativizer
ITV	itive	SBJV	subjunctive
M	masculine	SG	singular
MID	middle	TEMP	temporal/gerundive
MODP	descriptive modifying phrase	VBLZ	verbalizer
MPL	masculine plural	VEN	ventive

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Index

A

AAC 4, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 186n2, 187, 190, 190n4, 190n5, 194, 195, 196, 198, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 207
abstract referent 81, 83, 85
adjective 1n1, 26, 87, 88, 89, 156, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 169, 171, 173, 188, 191, 240, 321, 329, 331, 332, 333, 340, 343, 344, 345, 348, 353
adjectives, properties of 341, 343–353
affiliative 108, 110, 111, 115, 123, 127, 132, 136, 271, 282, 299, 300
agreement 62, 71, 75, 89, 121n4, 135, 149, 150, 290
AI 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 196, 201, 203
argument 1, 2, 3,71, 76, 77, 80, 81, 85, 87, 89, 90, 91
argument function 353–355
argument NP 85
article 4, 14, 37, 39, 71, 81, 87, 91, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 164, 165, 166, 167, 169, 173, 176, 239, 334n8, 361
atypical interaction 4, 179, 205, 207
Auer 8, 25, 27, 30, 34, 38, 46, 64, 65, 66, 67, 153, 154, 175, 194, 198, 203
Australian languages 212, 213, 215, 218, 232, 233, 234

B

bare 13, 15, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 89, 121, 317, 317n4, 319, 322
bare noun 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 89
bare noun phrase 75, 76
Besemah 4, 237, 239, 240, 241, 242n2, 245, 246, 248, 250, 255n8, 256, 257, 258, 260, 262, 264, 265, 267
Bloch 181, 183, 185, 204, 206

C

candidate repair 191, 193, 199
candidate understanding 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 197, 199, 200
case marking 13, 24, 25, 26, 32, 39, 74, 78, 79, 80, 85, 88, 89, 211, 213, 218, 275
case particles
categoriality 3
clausal 93, 96, 97, 99, 105, 107, 110
clausal NP 13, 17, 28, 30, 33
clause 97, 98, 99, 107, 110, 111
cleft construction 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 262n9, 265
collaborative completion 169
common nouns 93, 97, 110, 217, 334, 336
communication disabilities 179, 196, 203
complement 1n1, 3, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 19, 22, 25, 26, 30, 32, 33, 85, 107, 110, 332, 341, 344, 349, 349n15, 350, 351, 353, 354, 356, 357
complement clause 13, 15, 22, 30, 85
complex noun phrases 43, 98, 195
compound 98, 99, 100, 102, 110, 111, 192, 193, 194, 201
constituency 6, 66, 91, 201, 213, 219n3, 231, 233, 234, 266
constituent 52, 98, 99, 107, 110, 194, 198, 201, 212, 213, 214, 218, 219, 231, 316, 331, 332
continuum 7, 8, 11, 34, 35, 37, 176, 186, 189, 197, 240, 302
contrastive function 239, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260
coreferential 23, 211, 212, 213, 214, 217, 218, 219, 219n3, 220, 221, 230, 232, 242, 244

D

dance instruction 154, 159
demonstrative 11, 14, 17, 26, 28, 30, 35, 36, 39, 154, 156, 159, 160, 161, 162, 164, 167, 169, 171, 173, 175, 211, 212, 214, 217, 218, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 230, 231, 232
demonstrative determiner 75, 159, 173, 240, 243, 244
detachment 20, 22, 90, 91
determined phrase 331, 355, 359
determiner 119, 120, 121, 121n3, 122, 132, 136, 136n9, 139, 141, 142, 159, 161, 162, 167, 169, 173
determiner, criteria for 333–337
determiner, function 337–340
dialect interviews
discourse entities 237, 239, 246, 247, 253, 255, 256, 264
dislocation 1n1, 6, 8, 20, 40, 52, 66, 67, 303, 312
DP 4, 331, 332, 335, 355

E

embedded
embodied completion 153, 155, 158, 162, 169, 176
embodied demonstration 4, 153, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160,

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161, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 171, 172, 173
embodied interaction 176
embodied referent 162
embodiment 155, 171, 174, 175
emergence 3, 5, 6, 8, 39, 40, 44, 66, 67, 91, 312
emphasis 41, 69, 112, 117, 123, 182, 255n8, 318
English 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 14, 17, 19, 30, 38, 44, 51, 52, 66, 67, 68, 78, 83, 91, 94, 98, 100, 115, 116, 136n9, 148, 149, 151, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 162, 165, 167, 171, 173, 179, 180, 182, 186, 194, 205, 214, 227, 238, 250, 251, 260, 262n9, 265, 266, 267, 275, 282, 288, 307, 310, 311, 312, 315, 319n5, 325, 326, 332, 333, 334, 335, 352n16, 362
equational construction 259, 260
Estonian 7, 39, 153, 154, 155, 156, 156n1, 160, 174, 175, 176, 190n4, 205
existential 3, 17, 20, 30, 31, 241
existential clause 20
expressing contrast 246

F
fixed expression 14, 40, 261, 262, 263
fixedness 8, 264, 267, 320, 320n7, 327
format 17, 49, 61, 120n2, 143, 144, 147, 159, 188, 191, 192, 276, 296, 300, 301, 302, 307
formula 11, 38, 119, 120, 120n2, 121, 122, 123, 127, 130, 132, 133, 137, 139, 141, 142, 143, 147, 148
formulaic 8, 17, 33, 267, 316, 320, 322, 327
free NP 21, 22, 35, 73, 75, 78, 80, 83, 85, 89

G
Garrwa 4, 211, 212, 214, 215, 216, 216n2, 217, 218, 219, 222, 231, 232, 233, 234
Generalized Noun-Modifying Clause Construction 238
gesture 154, 160, 163, 164, 165, 175, 176, 197, 207, 227, 277, 277n1, 278, 310, 336
grammar in interaction 6, 306, 307
grammatical role 33, 51, 179, 185, 195, 200, 202, 332

H
Hayashi 117, 153, 154, 155, 169, 175, 176, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 186, 188, 189, 191, 194, 197, 203, 204, 205, 206, 311
Heritage 52, 66, 81, 88, 91, 108, 116, 120, 122, 127, 144, 148, 149, 150, 151, 181, 184, 188, 200, 202, 204, 205, 234, 251, 266, 299, 310, 312
hierarchical structure 329, 331
high-tech AAC 180, 182, 185, 186
human referent 73

I
increment 43, 46, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 63, 64, 239, 258
Indonesian 6, 238, 239, 240, 249, 250, 255, 256, 258, 260, 262, 262n9, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268
initiating actions 122, 123, 132
interactional contingencies 46, 58, 64, 212, 214, 231
interactional linguistics 6, 16, 38, 39, 44, 66, 73, 90, 92, 150, 175, 186, 233, 266, 310
intersubjective 14, 115
intersubjectivity 5, 93, 95, 115, 151, 173, 176, 179, 181, 184, 185, 198, 201, 202, 203, 205, 206, 310, 327

J
Japanese 4, 5, 7, 8, 40, 68, 117, 121n5, 150, 184, 186, 194, 203, 204, 237, 238, 240, 242, 267, 275, 301, 310, 311, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 319n5, 320, 320n7, 322, 323, 323n10, 324, 325, 326, 327
joint attention 271, 276, 278, 279, 281, 282, 300, 305

L
lexical NP 76, 143
lexical specificity 120, 142
lexical turn-constructional unit 94, 100
lexicalization 332n3
lexicalized 113, 116, 259, 260, 261, 264, 320, 321, 347n12, 347n13, 357
light head 237, 239, 320, 321
light nouns 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 246, 250, 252, 253, 255, 260, 264, 265
linguistic category 4, 71

M
modality 5
modification 5, 106, 107, 237, 238, 240, 246, 315, 320, 320n7, 320n8, 321, 352, 358
multimodal noun phrase
multimodal unit 161, 163, 168
multiple NPs 271, 276, 278, 281, 288, 289, 300

N
negation 74, 82, 121, 356
negative polarity 33, 122
nominal 211, 212, 213, 214, 217, 218, 219, 219n3, 220, 221, 223, 224, 225, 227, 230, 231, 232
nominalized clause 20, 25
nominalizer 13, 28, 33, 34, 37, 244n4, 268, 282, 360
non-restrictive relative clause 1n1
non-referentiality
Noun Modifying Constructions 4, 237
noun-modifying construction 316n2, 320
NP intonation units 8, 312

O
object 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 87, 88, 89, 90
offers 102, 121, 122, 123, 127, 132, 136, 139, 142, 149, 150, 187, 190, 191, 193, 197, 252, 262, 293, 299
other-incrementation 51
other-incremented 46, 54, 58, 61, 64

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other-initiated repair 116, 117, 179, 182, 184, 198, 203, 204, 205, 267
other-initiations of repair 205, 237, 239, 250, 252

P
participant orientation 169
particle 7, 20, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 40, 48, 62, 83, 99, 190n4, 216, 221, 227, 228, 230, 234, 251, 253, 263, 268, 314, 319n6, 324, 327, 358, 360
particle-ization 40
particle-ized 35, 36
Preferred Argument Structure 77, 90
preposition 158, 162, 163, 166, 167, 169, 188, 191, 193, 194, 195, 242, 263, 344, 355, 358
prepositional phrase 97, 98, 104, 105, 109, 110, 194, 197, 354, 355
presentative 4, 120, 121n3, 121n4, 122, 141, 143n11
progress 32, 49, 67, 156, 183, 184, 190n4, 199, 202, 206
progression 115, 142, 186, 212, 232
progressivity 51, 63, 111, 179, 181, 183, 184, 185, 191, 197, 202, 203, 205, 206, 232, 310
project 14, 30, 67, 71, 75, 89, 115, 150, 179, 194, 199, 200, 219, 325, 362
projectability 39, 66, 89, 153, 204
projected 19, 60, 157, 159, 164, 168, 169, 189, 191, 198, 199, 200
projection 14, 30, 153, 154, 155, 158, 159, 162, 164, 168, 169, 170, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 194, 201, 203, 204, 276, 282, 305n7, 334n7
projective 14, 33, 34, 36, 156n1, 161, 168, 169, 176
projector phrase 11, 12, 14, 25, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 36n7, 37, 40
pronominal NP 76, 78, 80, 89
pronouns 8, 17n3, 23, 39, 49, 74, 93, 97, 102, 120, 121n5, 150, 176, 211, 212, 216n2, 218, 232, 232n6, 260, 271, 282n4, 283, 284, 287, 300, 301n6, 304, 338n9, 339n10, 343
proper names 97, 110, 337, 357, 357n18, 358, 359
property concept 362
property-concept 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 357, 359
prosodic 3, 4, 14, 25, 25n5, 36, 45, 46, 47, 48, 54, 55, 63, 64, 65, 93, 95, 96, 98, 99, 104, 108, 111, 114, 115, 166, 185, 201, 211, 212, 214, 218, 219, 220, 221, 228, 230, 231, 232, 293, 302
prosody 8, 48, 65, 67, 68, 95, 96, 110, 112, 115, 116, 117, 140, 141, 159, 169, 193, 194, 200, 213, 213n1, 217, 218, 223, 232, 234, 310, 312
pursuit

R
recipient design 28, 71, 81, 88, 90, 287
reference 32–37, 239, 246, 247, 248, 249, 249n7, 250, 252, 253, 264, 265, 266, 271, 275, 287, 290, 291, 298, 300, 307, 309, 310
referring expressions 71, 81, 90, 204, 211, 212, 214, 221, 231, 232, 239, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 252, 253, 255, 264, 311, 331, 358
reformulation 154, 160, 167, 212, 276
registering 67, 93, 95, 98, 103, 110, 111, 113, 115, 117, 140
relative clause 1n1, 43, 43n1, 44, 45, 63, 67, 85, 87, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 244, 247, 252, 260, 264, 265, 287, 341, 343, 344, 357
relativizer 44, 45, 46, 49, 51, 58, 63, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 244n4, 360
repair 93, 95, 98, 100, 101, 103, 105, 110, 111, 115, 116, 117, 154, 161, 172, 173, 174, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 190n4, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 237, 239, 246, 250, 251, 252, 255, 264, 267
repair opportunity space 180, 181, 182, 183, 188, 189, 191, 194, 195, 198, 200, 201
repair sequence 32, 61, 95, 100, 103, 115, 179, 183, 185, 197, 199, 201, 251
repeated pronoun 283
requests 122, 123, 127, 132, 142, 149, 150, 220, 251
resistance 123, 132, 139, 142

S
Schegloff 45, 46, 50, 64, 65, 65n5, 66, 67, 94, 96, 111, 116, 117, 120, 122, 129, 139, 151, 152, 154, 176, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 191, 192, 194, 204, 205, 206, 211, 212, 234, 250, 267, 276, 287, 306, 311, 312, 325, 327
se että 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 25n5, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 36n7, 37, 38, 40
sedimented formula 11, 38
self-incrementation 46, 58
self-incremented 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 54, 56, 63
self-repair 32, 33, 182, 183, 184, 190n4, 197, 201, 205, 246, 251, 264, 282
semantic particles
service encounters 96, 98, 110, 115
single noun phrase 98, 100, 110
Spanish 3, 119, 119n1, 120, 121, 121n4, 141, 144n12, 149, 151, 152, 312
stance negotiation 288, 300
story beginning 253, 255, 259
subject 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 88, 89, 90, 91

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Swedish 3, 4, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 102, 103, 113, 115, 116, 117, 153, 154, 155, 156, 159, 160, 162, 163, 167, 169, 174
synchrony 156, 159, 170
syntactic-bodily units 153

T
temporality 65, 66, 163, 164, 175, 176
topic particles
topicalization 8, 40, 67, 249, 250, 268, 312, 326
trouble source 4, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 251, 252

U
unattached light nouns 237, 239, 246, 253, 264
unit 1, 2n1, 3

V
verb phrase 97, 98, 105, 106, 110
vocalization 159, 160, 161, 166, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172

W
Wilkinson 108, 117, 123, 152, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 196, 197, 204, 206, 207
word order 6, 39, 73, 75, 89, 92, 194, 213, 217, 218, 233, 241, 260, 326, 361
written language bias 323, 326

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The 'NP' is one of the least controversial grammatical units that linguists work with. The NP is often assumed to be universal, and appears to be robust cross-linguistically (compared to 'VP' or even 'clause') in that it can be manipulated in argument positions in constructed examples. Furthermore, for any given language, its internal structure (order and type of modifiers) tends to be relatively fixed. Surprisingly, however, the empirical basis for 'NP' has never been established. The chapters in this volume examine the NP in everyday interactions from diverse languages, including little-studied languages as well as better-researched ones, in a variety of interactional settings. Together, these chapters show that cross-linguistically, the category NP is not as robust as has been assumed: in the context of temporally unfolding human interaction, its structural status is constantly negotiated in terms of participants' evolving social agendas.

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