

Thinking about you

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1. Our research questions

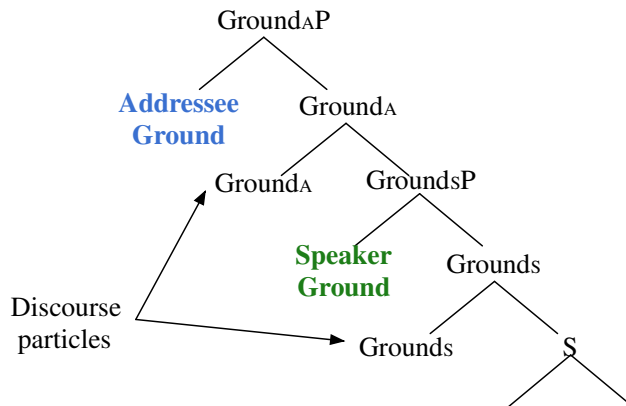
- How do utterances connect with the discourse context?
- How can we model the *Speaker/Addressee orientation* of some discourse particles?

- (1) a. *keoi5 jau5 zek3 gau2 me1?* Cantonese
3SG have CL dog me1
'Does s/he have a dog? (**I** don't think she does!?)'
- b. *keoi5 jau5 zek3 gau2 ho2?*
3SG have CL dog ho2
'S/he has a dog, right? (I assume **you** think so.)'
- (2) a. *Dea hod eh an Hund* Miesbach Bavarian¹
he has eh DET dog
'He has a dog. **I** know this, and knew it before.'
- b. *Dea hod fei an Hund*
He has fei DET dog.
'**You** don't seem to think he does, but he has a dog.'
- (3) *I have a new dog, eh?* Canadian English
'I believe that **you** know that *p*. Confirm.'

2. Our Proposal

Grounding is the fundamental, moment-by-moment conversational process by which speaker and addressee are constantly establishing mutual understanding.

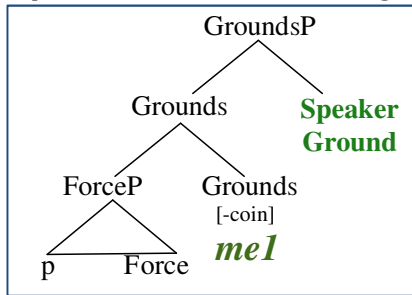
(Bavelas et al. 2012)



¹ All Miesbach Bavarian data are from a Middle Bavarian variant spoken south of Munich, in the Miesbach county.

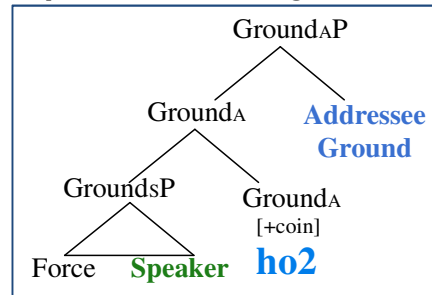
(4) Cantonese discourse particles associate via **external merge**

a. *p* does not coincide with *S* ground²



(1)a. *keoi5 jau5 zek3 gau2 me1?*
 3SG have CL dog me1
 'Does s/he have a dog? (I don't think she does!?)'

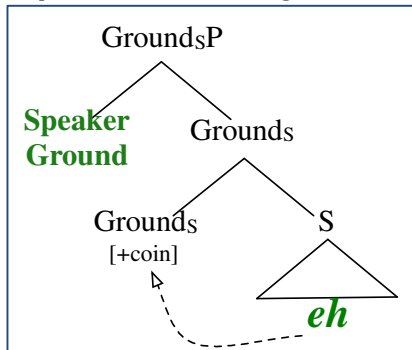
b. *p* coincides with *A* ground



b. *keoi5 jau5 zek3 gau2 ho2?*
 3SG have CL dog ho2
 'S/he has a dog, right? (I assume **you** think so.)'

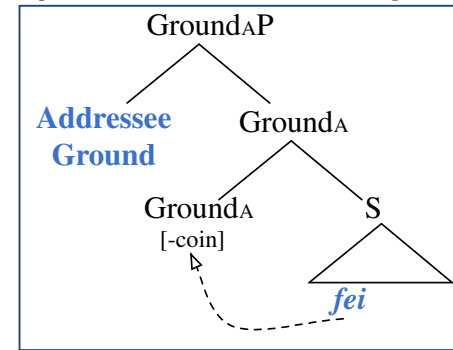
(5) Bavarian discourse particles associate via **internal merge** (*AGREE*)

a. *p* coincides with *S* ground



(2) a. *Dea hod eh an Hund*
 he has eh DET dog
 'He has a dog. **I** know this, and knew it before.'

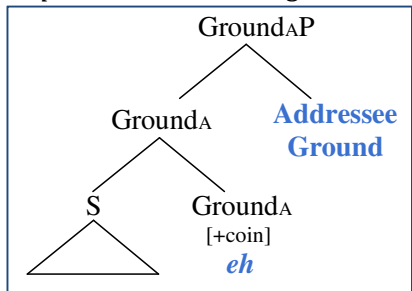
b. *p* does not coincide with *A* ground



b. *Dea hod fei an Hund*
 He has fei DET dog.
 '**You** don't seem to think he does, but he has a dog.'

(6) Canadian English discourse particles associate via **external merge**

a. *p* coincides with *A* ground



(3) *I have a new dog, eh?*
 'I believe that **you** know that *p*. Confirm.'

² See Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 1997 for the assumption that *coincidence* is an intrinsic feature of Tense. See Wiltschko, in preparation for the assumption that it is an intrinsic feature of al functional categories.

3. Implications and predictions

3.1. Evidence for Addressee orientation

Canadian English

- (7) a. *What a surprise!*
 b. *What a surprise, eh?*

S is surprised	A is surprised	<i>p!</i>	<i>p, eh?</i>
yes	yes	✓	✓
no	yes	*	✓
yes	no	✓	*
no	no	*	*

Bavarian

- (8) *Dea hod fei/eh koa Zeit.*
 He has fei/eh NEG.DET time
 'He doesn't have time'

	A knows <i>p</i>	Self talk	<i>p</i> + tag (<i>oder?</i>)
<i>fei</i>	✗	✗	✗
<i>eh</i>	✓	✓	✓

Cantonese

- (9)a. # *keoi5 hou2 leng3 ho2? nei5 dim2 lam2 ngo5 m4 lei5*
 3SG very pretty ho2 2SG how think 1SG NEG care
 'She is very pretty, right? I don't care what you think.'
- b. *keoi5 hou2 leng3 me1? nei5 dim2 lam2 ngo5 m4 lei5*
 3SG very pretty me1 2SG how think 1SG NEG care
 'She isn't very pretty, is she? I don't care what you think.'

ho2 questions (9a) cannot be followed by the sentence *I don't care what you think*, but **me1** questions (9b) can.

3.2. Particle co-occurrence: Ground_AP is higher than Ground_SP

Bavarian

A-oriented *fei* and S-oriented *eh* can co-occur.
 They do so in a fixed order.

- (10) *Da Hansi geht fei eh zum Eikaffa* (**eh*>>*fei*)
 DET Hansi goes fei eh to.DET shopping
 'Hansi is going shopping I already knew this you don't seem to know.'

Cantonese

A-oriented *ho2* and S-oriented *me1* can co-occur.
They do so in a fixed order.

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

3.3. Clause type restrictions: ForceP is lower than GroundP

Cantonese

Clause-type	Example (Cantonese)	<i>me1</i>	<i>ho2</i>
Declarative	<i>lok6 gan2 jyu5</i> down PROG rain 'It's raining'	✓	✓
Interrogative	<i>wui5 m4 wui5 lok6 jyu5 le1</i> FUT NEG FUT down rain le1 'Will it rain?'	*	✓
Imperative	<i>mou5 cin2 zau6 daan6 hoi1 laa1!</i> not.have money then bounce off laa1 'Get lost if you don't have money!'	*	✓
Exclamative	<i>zan1 hai6 hou2 daai6 jyu5 aa3!</i> really very big rain aa3 'How heavy the rain is!'	*	✓

Bavarian

Clause-type	Example (Bavarian)	<i>eh</i>	<i>fei</i>
Declarative	<i>I hob an Hund</i> I have det dog 'I have a dog'	✓	✓
Interrogative	<i>Host du an Hund?</i> Have you det dog 'Do you have a dog?'	*	*
Imperative	<i>Bring ma a Bia mit!</i> Bring me det beer with 'Bring me a beer!'	*	✓
Exclamative	<i>Is dés a Hund</i> Is d.pro det dog 'What a shrewd guy he is!'	*	*

Canadian English

Clause-type	Example (Canadian English)	Calgary	NS	NZ
Declaratives	<i>I have a new dog, eh?</i>	✓	✓	?
Interrogative	<i>What's he talking about, eh?</i>	✓	*	*
Imperative	<i>Get me a beer, eh?</i>	✓	*	✓
Exclamative	<i>What a surprise, eh?</i>	✓	?	?

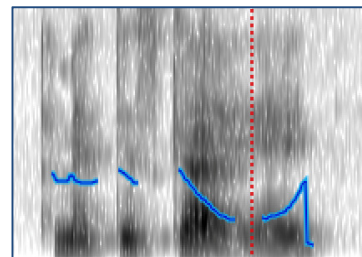
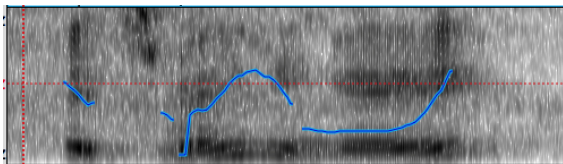
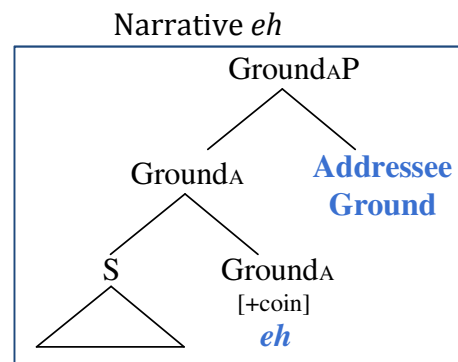
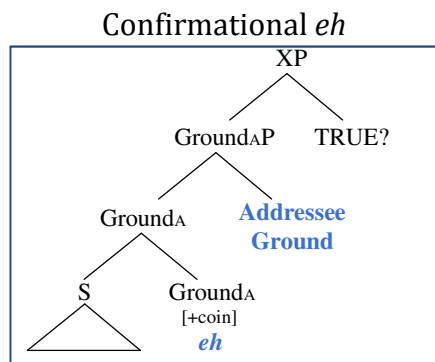
4. Discourse particles and intonation

Canadian English: The narrative *eh*...

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

... is not associated with a question rising intonation
(intonation is akin to list intonation)

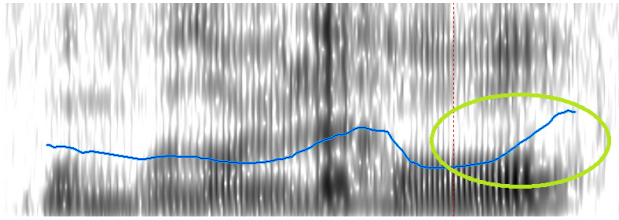
... is not used to request confirmation (does not require response, Gibson 1976)



basic question: **How does intonation interact with syntactic structure?**

Cantonese:

... high rising tone on *ho2*



Basic question: **Is this lexical tone or 'fossilized intonation'?**

Bavarian

Widely claimed discourse particle characteristic:

inability to bear stress (e.g. Thurmair 1989 among many others).

Many cases of accented particles analyzed as different lexical category

BUT Bavarian (or German) doesn't distinguish lexical categories via intonation

Bring ma JA a Bia mit!

Bring me ja det beer with

'DO bring me a beer!' → obligatory accent for *ja* in imperatives

Basic question: **Role of (sometimes) obligatory accent on particles?**

Potential analysis: verum focus (Gutzmann 2010)

References

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