A relevance-theoretic analysis of selected South African English pragmatic markers and their cultural significance

by

Ana Maria Gauché

Dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University
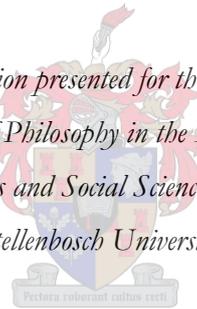
Supervisor: Dr Kate Huddlestone

Co-supervisor: Dr Johan Oosthuizen

Declaration

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

December 2017

Abstract

This study examines the development and contemporary functions of three pragmatic markers (PMs), *shame*, *hey* and *is it*, common in South African English (SAfE). The analyses of these PMs were undertaken using the combined approaches of Grammaticalisation theory and Relevance theory. Each marker was found to manifest pragmatic meanings and functions that are atypical of its use in other English varieties. The development of these meanings and functions are explained as resulting from historical and linguistic factors that are unique to South Africa. Firstly, *shame* is shown to have broadly-developed pragmatic functions that are not only inoffensive but appreciative to the hearer; a distinct softening compared to its traditional sense. This meaningful change is attributed to both its widespread use as hyperbole and a functional and pragmatic association with specific Afrikaans items. Tokens from the SAfE data suggest an extrasentential occurrence on par with that of sentential adverbs and exclamatives. Secondly, tag *hey*, a linguistic item that has long been used in English in general, demonstrates atypical functions in SAfE. Although it is similar to tags *eh* and *huh* used in other varieties of English, it is argued that tag *hey* has functionally developed from its associations with specific Afrikaans and English lexical items. To this end, tag *hey* functions in attitudinal ways that are identifiable to SAfE speakers. Finally, the non-paradigmatic, invariant follow-up *is it* is argued to have developed from an association with the similarly functioning and sounding Afrikaans expression, *is dit*. Invariant follow-up *is it* is used where a variety of similarly constructed canonical responses (e.g., *were they*, *could you*) would be expected and demonstrates pragmatic functions unique to SAfE. It is furthermore argued that the PMs *shame*, *hey* and *is it* have resulted from contact-induced grammaticalisation, having developed in South Africa's high-contact, multi-cultural environment in which English continues to serve as a lingua franca. Several historical factors are shown to have created conditions in which linguistic influences from English and Afrikaans have contributed towards the development of these PMs. Pragmatic strengthening, proceduralisation and obligatorification are the most apparent changes in the development of these PMs, resulting from (inter)subjectivity and leading to functions that trigger higher-level explicatures. During their development, each PM has gone through a stage in which it assisted in navigating toward inferential understanding of a communicative event, thereby benefitting interlocutors during intercultural interactions. In their contemporary use, each PM demonstrates manifest social identity and signals solidarity within the context of SAfE.

Opsomming

Hierdie studie ondersoek die ontwikkeling en hedendaagse funksies van drie pragmatiese merkers (PM's) wat algemeen voorkom in Suid-Afrikaanse Engels (SAfE), naamlik *shame*, *hey* en *is it*. Die analises van hierdie PM's is uitgevoer binne die gekombineerde benaderings van Grammatikaliseringsteorie en Relevansie-teorie. Daar is gevind dat elke merker pragmatiese betekenisse en funksies vertoon wat atipies is van hierdie elemente in ander variëteite van Engels. Die ontwikkeling van hierdie betekenisse en funksies word verklaar as die resultaat van historiese en taalkundige faktore wat uniek is aan Suid-Afrika. Eerstens word aangevoer dat die breë ontwikkeling van *shame* se pragmatiese funksies gelei het tot 'n duidelike versagting van sy tradisionele betekenis. Hierdie versagting word toegeskryf aan beide sy wydverspreide gebruik as hiperbool en 'n funksionele en pragmatiese assosiasie met spesifieke Afrikaanse items. Eksemplare uit die SAfE data dui op 'n sinseksterne voorkoms gelykstaande aan dié van sinsadverbiale en uitroepe. Einddeel *hey*, in die tweede plek, is wel 'n item met 'n lang geskiedenis van gebruik in Engels, maar tog vertoon dit atipiese funksies in SAfE. Hoewel dit soortgelyk is aan die einddele *eh* and *huh* wat gebruik word in ander variëteite van Engels, word geargumenteer dat einddeel *hey* funksioneel ontwikkel het uit sy assosiasies met spesifieke Afrikaanse en Engelse leksikale items. In dié verband funksioneer einddeel *hey* om aspekte van houding uit te druk wat herkenbaar is vir sprekers van SAfE. Laastens word geargumenteer dat die nie-paradigmatiese, invariante opvolg *is it* ontwikkel het deur assosiasie met die Afrikaanse uitdrukking *is dit*, wat in terme van funksie en klankvorm sterk ooreenkomste toon met *is it*. Die invariante opvolg *is it* word gebruik waar verskeie ander kanonieke response met 'n soortgelyke struktuur (bv., *were they*, *could you*) verwag sou word, en vertoon pragmatiese funksies wat uniek is aan SAfE. Daar word voorts geargumenteer dat die PM's *shame*, *hey* and *is it* die resultaat is van kontak-geïnduseerde grammatikalisering, aangesien hulle ontwikkel het in die hoë-kontak, multikulturele Suid-Afrikaanse omgewing waar Engels steeds as lingua franca gebruik word. Daar word aangetoon dat talle historiese faktore gelei het tot toestande waar taalkundige invloede van Engels en Afrikaans bygedra het tot die ontwikkeling van hierdie PM's. Pragmatiese versterking, proseduralisering en verpligtendheid is die mees opvallende veranderinge in die ontwikkeling van hierdie PM's; sulke prosesse is die resultaat van (inter)subjektiwiteit en lei tot funksies wat aanleiding gee tot hoër-vlak eksplikature. In hulle ontwikkeling het elke PM deur 'n stadium gegaan waar hulle bygedra het tot die inferensiële verstaan van 'n kommunikatiewe gebeurtenis, tot voordeel van gespreksgenote in interkulturele interaksies. In hulle hedendaagse gebruik dien elke PM om sosiale identiteit uit te druk, asook solidariteit in die konteks van SAfE.

To Paul and John.

More.

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have reached its completion without the support, encouragement and, yes, sacrifice of many. In particular, I am grateful to have had the opportunity to be work with my supervisor, Dr Kate Huddlestone. Her academic guidance and suggestions, advice, motivation, constant reassurances and friendship helped shape this dissertation. Both immensely beneficial and memorable are our discussions in her office, at coffee houses, during bedrest and over skype. Along these lines, a special thank you to Owen for sharing your mom with me.

I would like to thank my co-supervisor, Dr Johan Oosthuizen, who helped set this study in motion and provided essential guidance in my application of Relevance Theory, grammar terminology and use and interpretation of Afrikaans items. Your support and careful reading of my work is greatly appreciated.

Thanks goes to Ian Bekker for his contribution of interview transcripts that helped to fill-out the SAfE data used for this investigation.

Thanks is also given to friends who tolerated my need for discussing pragmatic markers, patiently answered my questions about South African English, British English, Afrikaans and Dutch usage, and still remain my friends: namely, Nathalie, Rolene, Izette, Ros and Beth.

And finally to my family: I am and will be eternally grateful to you for letting me have a bit of fun.

Table of contents

List of figures

List of tables

Abbreviations and acronyms

AfkE   Afrikaans English

AHDEL   The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language

BNC   The British National Corpus

BSAfE   Black South African English

COCA   The Corpus of Contemporary American English

DSAE   A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles

GT   Grammaticalisation theory

ICE   International Corpus of English

ICE-SA   International Corpus of English – South Africa

ISAfE   Indian South African English

L2   Second language

MoI   Medium of instruction

OED   The Oxford English Dictionary

OED-SA   The Oxford South African Concise Dictionary

PM   Pragmatic marker

RT   Relevance theory

SAfE   South African English

ToM   Theory of mind

UK   United Kingdom

US   United States of America

WESSA   White English speaking South African

Chapter 1:   Introduction and background information

> "In South Africa one can actually carry on a conversation quite easily
> by using only four words: 'Shame,' 'Hey' and 'Is it?'"[1]

This study investigates the phenomenon of pragmatic markers as they are used in South African English. The two main aims of the study are (i) to identify and analyse the development and use of three pragmatic markers characteristic of contemporary spoken South African English and (ii) to explore the cultural significance of these markers in the social settings where this variety of English is spoken. The investigation is conducted within the cognitive theoretical framework of Relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1995) as well as the linguistic framework of Grammaticalisation theory (Hopper & Traugott, 2003). The three pragmatic markers that form the focus of this investigation, namely *shame*, *hey* and *is it*, have not yet been analysed in the literature on South African English.

The rest of this chapter is organised as follows. Section 1.1 provides a historical overview of English in South Africa. Since the use of language is largely determined by a particular culture, a proper characterisation of South African English requires an understanding of the concept of 'culture' as it pertains to language use. [2] This concept forms the topic of Section 1.2. Section 1.3 explains the rationale for the current study. This is followed in Section 1.3.1 by a brief characterisation of pragmatics, with specific attention given to its definition, the necessity of context to interpretation and its distinction from semantics. The objectives of the investigation are presented in Section 1.4, the concluding section, together with an outline of the structure of the study.

---

[1] This quotation is referenced from The Star, Johannesburg 1972 and reprinted in: Silva, P. (Managing Editor) 1996. *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, p. 633; http://www.dsae.co.za/#!/search/hws/shame/sY/pN

[2] 'Culture', as used in this thesis, refers to the collective use and understanding of information expressed through societal norms, preferences, concepts and behaviours (including language use) that enable individuals to function in community-determined expected and acceptable ways. See Section 1.2 for the specific definition of 'culture' applied to this study. A few of the many references in literature that discuss the link between language use and culture are Deignan (2003), Kavanagh (2000) and Yu (2014).

1.1   Historical, linguistic and cultural influences on South African English

The origin of English begins with the arrival of Anglo Saxons to England in the fifth century from northern Europe. Soon after, English spread to the British Isles.[3] Situating the subsequent spread of English in time and space, it was brought to North America around 1600, Australia in the late 1700s and New Zealand in 1840 (Crystal, 2003: 31ff.). The first permanent English settlements in South Africa were established in the Eastern Cape in 1820.[4] These settlers arrived from mostly impoverished areas of southern England and immigrated with hopes of economic opportunity (Jenkins, 2009: 7; Mufwene, 2015: 13). Dutch settlers and traders had settled permanently in South Africa approximately 170 years earlier, mostly in areas of the Western Cape. The first linguistic changes to English in South Africa were mainly a few Dutch lexical borrowings and the underpinnings of phonological shifts in pronunciation (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979; Gough, 1996: xvii); to a lesser extent, some Xhosa words were added to the English vocabulary (Branford & Claughton, 2002: 211). New vocabulary inclusions were likely guided by societal interactions, environmental necessity and gradual cultural shifts. In the early 1800s, British missionary schools were established, which initiated the development of what would become Black South African English (BSAfE), a second language (L2) among the area's indigenous peoples (Gough, 1996: xviii; De Klerk & Gough, 2002: 2). A second wave of British settlers arrived between 1849 and 1851. These settlers were of more affluent backgrounds and tended to maintain a stronger British identity, as reflected in their use of English, than did the 1820 settlers (Gough, 1996: xvii; Thompson, 2014: 96ff.). In the 1870s many more English speaking immigrants, mostly from London, arrived following the discovery of diamonds in and around Kimberley and gold in the Witwatersrand area, near to what later became the city of Johannesburg (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979: 72). With the arrival of Indians and Eastern Europeans in the 1860s, varieties of English developed that were marked by distinctive linguistic characteristics of these speaker's mother-tongues (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979: 17). The many varieties, although distinct, eventually influenced what became known as Standard South African English (SAfE) (Lanham, 1996). Some social groups became more integrated as people from different ethnic backgrounds came to work

---

[3] For the spread of English into the British Isles, see for example Crystal (2003: 30ff.), for a very concise history of the English language see https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/explore/the-history-of-english, and for the spread of English and its influence throughout South Africa see Gough (1996) and Thompson (2014).

[4] The first significant number of English speakers arrived, but did not settle, in South Africa in 1795. Widespread use of English in South Africa did not begin until around the mid- to late-1800s when immigrants from England and the British isles arrived and settled in areas of the Eastern Cape (see also, Pettman, 1913: 17; Crystal, 1995: 100; Lanham, 1996; Melchers & Shaw, 2003: 116).

in the mines and in the surrounding areas of Johannesburg (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979: 71). Each new wave of immigrants resulted in geographical shifts of different language and cultural populations. Such population movements were seldom met without antagonism, but nevertheless brought about conditions that led to social and linguistic change (Gough, 1996; Skotnes, 2007).

Today, South Africa is a multilingual, multicultural country that includes English as one of eleven official languages; the others, ordered from most-to-fewest mother-tongue speakers, are Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans, North Sotho, Tswana, South Sotho, Tsonga, Swati, Venda and Ndebele (mother-tongue English speakers rank fourth, after Afrikaans) (Statistics South Africa, 2012: 23). These languages, along with some non-official languages spoken in South Africa, have influenced the development of SAfE (Gough, 1996: xix).[5] As evidenced in the *Oxford South African Concise Dictionary* (OED-SA) (Van Niekerk & Wolvaardt, 2013) and *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles* (DSEA) (Silva, Dore, Mantzel, Muller & Wright, 1996), artefacts from this complex linguistic and socio-cultural history are unmistakably reflected in contemporary SAfE (Gough, 1996: xix).

English received official language status in what was known as the Cape Colony (roughly comprising the current Western, Eastern and Northern Cape Provinces) in 1822. In 1910 it was declared the official language of the Union of South Africa, together with Dutch. Afrikaans was added as a third official language in 1925; English and Afrikaans remained as the only official languages in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1961). Despite its long history as an official language, in the 1970s English was the mother-tongue of only 7% of South Africa's population (Lanham & Macdonald, 1979: 18). By 1994, the year of the first democratic elections, this had increased only to about 9% (Trudgill & Hannah, 2002: 27–28). This low percentage of mother-tongue English speakers, however, does not reflect the entire picture. With few exceptions, English has not replaced other mother-tongue languages,[6] but the number of South Africans using English as a second or additional language has increased sharply (Crystal, 1995: 100; Gough, 1996: xvii).[7] Today, English is widely used throughout the country and is the dominant language of the media, commerce, education and diplomacy (Melchers & Shaw, 2003: 151). It seems plausible that

---

[5] Silva (1996: viii) notes the languages of the Khoi-San as having influenced SAfE. Non-indigenous languages that historically influenced SAfE are Portuguese, Dutch (from which Afrikaans developed), French, Polynesian languages, Malayo-Javanese (of Indonesia), Hindi, Arabic, Hebrew and Sanskrit (see also, Pettman, 1913: 1–17; Silva, 1996: viii; Mesthrie, 2002a: 12).

[6] See Mesthrie (2002b,c) for the development of Indian South African English from L2 to mother-tongue and Anthonissen (2013) for the growing shift from Afrikaans to English as the preferred home language within the Coloured community in the Western Cape.

[7] Percentages of second-language English speakers vary by social group (Gough, 1996: 3–4).

3

this increased use of English as a non-mother-tongue language and as the lingua franca is necessitated by South Africa's linguistic diversity.[8] For many South Africans, English is perceived as the language of opportunity that leads to personal success; its use has thus become an identifying cultural characteristic. As such, the different English varieties in South Africa may be described as having undergone "indigenization or nativization"; that is, "the process through which a language accommodated and adapted to its speakers and their circumstances" (Gough, 1996: xix).

Most South Africans today are multilingual, with speakers using more than one language on a regular basis (e.g., Mesthrie, 2002a: 12) and often with code-switching (Gough, 1996: xviii).[9] Among non-mother-tongue English speakers, levels of proficiency and fluency vary greatly between social groups. This variance commonly correlates with level of education. That is, as speakers achieve higher education in an English medium of instruction, routine use of English and contact with others who have greater English proficiency leads to the individual's increased proficiency and fluency. Furthermore, there is a correlation between higher education and a certain amount of linguistic and phonological levelling, thus making these variations less apparent (Gough, 1996: xviii).[10] The majority of BSAfE speakers have learned English as an L2 (Crystal, 1995: 356) and have been found to use it on such a regular basis as to claim it as a "second first language"

---

[8] Much has occurred in South Africa since its first democratic election in 1994. As of the early 2000s, English was still recognised as a language of liberation among many "non-white" South Africans (e.g., Blacks, Coloureds and Indians). Reasons for this perception include the preferential treatment of Afrikaans as medium of instruction (MoI) in schools during apartheid years and limitations on educational opportunities in general (Mesthrie, 2002a: 22; Melchers & Shaw, 2003: 153). Twenty-plus years after the 1994 elections, the view continues to grow that English is a language that provides social and economic opportunities (e.g., Anthonissen, 2013). Although the negative connotations applied to Afrikaans have lessened as those born post-apartheid (i.e., the Born Frees) have fewer direct negative associations with the language (Bristowe *et al.*, 2014: 235), recent student protests at universities regarding MoI indicate that English remains the preferred language of education among the majority.

[9] Code-switching is defined as "the alternating or mixed use of two or more languages, especially within the same discourse", or "the use of one dialect, register, accent, or language variety over another, depending on social or cultural context, to project a specific identity" (Retrieved 19/10/2016; http://www.dictionary.com/browse/code-switching). There is an abundance of research regarding the effects of code-switching on language change (e.g., Heine & Kuteva, 2003; Mosegaard Hansen & Rossari, 2005: 530–531; Stell & Beyer, 2012). Studies of language change that occurs in high-contact, multilingual communities, such as Andersen (2001) and Torgersen, Gabrielatos, Hoffmann and Fox (2011), often include references to code-switching. See also Thomason (2005) for descriptions of some prominent studies.

[10] I am using 'levelling' to refer to the semantic-pragmatic and phonological accommodation that occurs when speakers of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds come into more frequent contact with SAfE (whether at institutions of higher education or elsewhere), and in certain contexts, using English may be perceived more positively compared to the individual's mother-tongue.

(Lanham & Macdonald, 1979: 14). As with other English varieties, its speakers show distinct variations in areas such as grammar, vocabulary and phonology (De Klerk & Gough, 2002).

In most multilingual/multi-ethnic societies outside of South Africa where English is an official language, English is also the mother-tongue of the majority of the population. This is not the case in South Africa, however; English is an official language, spoken by many (to varying degrees of proficiency) but with a low percentage of mother-tongue speakers. Arguably, this situation makes the language more susceptible to change through cross-linguistic influence.

English generally is regarded not as a singular language but as a collection of many varieties, each with distinctive linguistic and cultural nuances (Mufwene, 2015). This description is particularly true for SAfE, where South Africa's complex sociolinguistic history has contributed to its development, instilling characteristic features and setting it apart from other varieties of English.

Different English varieties are conventionally distinguished and labelled according to the countries in which they are spoken (e.g., British English, US English), but this method is neither precise nor adequate. This is particularly true in South Africa, where there are several varieties of English, none of which are even characteristic of specific regions of the country. Labelling varieties of English by the speaker's ethnicity also can be imprecise in South Africa because English speakers cannot be easily grouped in such a way. As De Klerk (1996: 9) observes, "[n]o ethnic group is neatly defined, and language boundaries are notoriously fluid, with groups overlapping rather than dividing neatly." More than twenty years post-apartheid, it may be argued that those born after 1990 are likely to perceive ethnic differences more positively than their parents. If this is true, such perceptions may allow for greater freedom in linguistic and pragmatic borrowings, further questioning the merit of categorising English in South Africa in terms of ethnicity.[11] Nevertheless, despite these difficulties, and for lack of a better method, varieties of English in South Africa are still categorised by language influence or ethnicity (e.g., Afrikaans English (AfkE), BSAfE, Indian South African English (ISAfE)) and further described by their marked phonological, syntactic, etc. characteristics.[12] Such descriptive categorising is not intended to promote divisions, but merely to organise specific language phenomena for analytical purposes that further our understanding of language development and SAfE use as a whole.

---

[11] See Sections 3.1.3 and 3.3.2 for further discussion on linguistic and pragmatic borrowing.

[12] By *marked* or *markedness* I refer to what Comrie (1996: 2) describes as "systemic markedness", that is, "a characterisation of the less usual, expected, or natural".

The reality is that in an environment with multiple varieties of English, it is difficult to specify what SAfE actually refers to as well as who are its speakers (e.g., De Klerk, 1996: 9–12; Gough, 1996: xviii; De Klerk & Gough, 2002; Mesthrie, 2002b). Following Jeffery and Van Rooy (2004), the expression "speakers of SAfE" is used in the current study without reference to ethnicity and without distinguishing between first language users and fluent non-mother-tongue speakers. Although there are problems that arise with generalising to this extent, the sociolinguistic complexities in South Africa make it virtually impossible to do otherwise.

1.2   Culture, cultural identity and linguistic identity

There is a close link between language and culture, as evidenced by the fact that language use is to a large extent determined/guided by the culture or social group with which an individual identifies (Kavanagh, 2000: 115). Although not a central focus of this study, the issue of overlappings between cultural and linguistic identities will receive attention at various points in the investigation. Culture, cultural identity and linguistic identity are perceived as rather blurred concepts with various attributing factors depending on the researcher's discipline and perspective taken. As background, the present section accordingly provides a brief discussion of what is meant by culture, cultural identity and linguistic identity to clarify how these entities are used here.

This investigation adheres to LaPolla's (2015: 36) characterisation of language as "the set of conventions for carrying out the task of communication, and so the 'rules' of language use are evolved sets of social conventions for constraining the process of interpretation."[13] In this way, an individual's linguistic identity is comprised of mutually understood communicative elements of a language used by a group of people, community or social group.[14] Similarly, cultural identity is the interaction of all aspects that collectively define a people within a social group, ranging from norms, customs and attitudes to expectations of situational human behaviour and how language is chosen to be used. Therefore, although linguistic identity and cultural identity are distinct entities, by mutual inclusion they are also interactional.

A comprehensive analysis of the use of pragmatic markers in SAfE requires, amongst other things, an investigation of their diachronic development in relation to specific aspects of South African history. Southern Africa provides a distinctive perspective on culture in its traditional adherence

---

[13] See also LaPolla (2015) regarding the influence of culture on the conventionalisation of language use and meaning.

[14] Examples of studies that discuss the usefulness of concepts such 'language community' and 'community of practice' in describing linguistic and pragmatic variation are Holmes and Meyerhoff (1999), Wardhaugh (2006: 116–129) and Davies (2005).

to "Ubuntu", the idea that an individual is defined not only by her actions, surroundings, beliefs and experiences but also by those of individuals around her.[15] These features of life guide the individual in her daily actions. If one views language as a human construct and, therefore, as a cultural phenomenon, it follows that cultural factors such as an individual's worldview help direct the use and comprehension of language within a society, and in so doing serve to establish an identity.

The concepts 'culture' and 'cultural identity' have been defined in strikingly different ways by scholars working in the same as well as different fields.[16] For instance, the anthropologist Duranti (1997) identifies several definitions used in anthropological linguistics, each divided into six distinct categories according to their focus.[17] The psychologist Bonn (2015) defines culture as a necessary human experience. As a linguist and lexicographer, Kavanaugh (2000: 102) states that culture is "the whole gamut of traditional beliefs and practices, activities and way of life, of a particular group of people." The semiotician Piirainen (2008: 210), reviewing several definitions from different disciplines, describes culture simply as "the sum of all ideas about the world … that are characteristic of a given community." And the novelist Knausgaard (2015) observes culture as "a set of unformulated and unconscious rules and ways of behaviour that every member of a given society nonetheless immediately recognizes and accepts." Although different in many respects, these definitions show certain similarities. For one thing, they all allude to a community; for another, they all refer to a set of socially determined conventions. Despite such similarities, however, it is clear that the various definitions of culture and cultural identity are widely diverse and often specific; potentially, each one may only be useful to the discipline that provides it (Piirainen, 2008: 209). A possible reason for such diversity is that the features that are somehow linked together and typically identified as making up the boundaries of a culture are fairly abstract and allow for different interpretations. It then seems likely culture is a social construct that may be more intuitively felt than can be descriptively defined. The various features of a particular culture – such as behavioural and linguistic preferences, situation directed contexts, general knowledge,

---

[15] Oppenheim (2012: 369) states that "[t]he word Ubuntu comes from the Xhosa/Zulu culture, the community into which Nelson Mandela was born, and has been summarised in the phrase, 'Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu' in the Nguni language of Xhosa, Zulu, or Ndebele. The concept of this phrase can be translated to mean, 'A person is a person through [an]other person,' or 'I am because we are.'"

[16] I do not refer to 'culture as intellectual superiority' or 'culture as art/music' and of course not those involving 'bacterial culture'.

[17] Duranti (1997) describes six categories for definitions of culture: (i) culture as distinct from nature, (ii) culture as knowledge, (iii) culture as communication, (iv) culture as a system of mediation, (v) culture as a system of practices and (vi) culture as a system of participation.

beliefs, values and opinions (Sperber & Hirschfeld, 2004: 40) – could be regarded as representations that subtly outline a kind of community code with which its members duly identify. Although the representations are necessarily stable enough to be widespread and identifiable throughout a community, they are not fixed. That is, as a social construct, culture consists of features that rest on the community's flux of individuals, their innovations, influences and possible outside influences, making them sensitive to historical events as well as population changes and generational shifts of preference (e.g., Kavanagh, 2000: 103; Sperber & Hirschfeld, 2004: 40; Grossman & Noveck, 2015: 145).

In defining 'culture', this study follows Hong et al. (2003: 454), who take a dynamic constructivist approach: "culture is internalized in smaller pieces, in the knowledge structures or mental constructs that social perceivers use to interpret ambiguous stimuli." With this approach, "the construct only makes a difference if it is activated", which requires it to be "accessible […] and – AG] applicable" (Hong et al., 2003: 454). In this way, individuals who share a culture are likeminded in some way, and one manner of this likemindedness is reflected in the way they communicate. This definition of culture is psychologically based and fits well with the approaches taken by the two frameworks used here for analysing pragmatic markers: Relevance theory and Grammaticalisation theory. Culture then involves the intuitive, collective use and understanding of dynamic, community-determined societal norms, concepts and behaviours, including language use, that enable individuals to function in easily identifiable and acceptable ways. By extension, 'cultural identity' is understood as the association that comes from possessing those characteristics identifiable of a specific culture, and an individual's 'linguistic identity' indeed falls under the scope of her cultural identity.[18]

One further point that is unavoidably highlighted by any mention of culture is that culture, and all that makes up cultural identity, is by any definition, though not necessarily by purpose, essentially exclusive. And because exclusivity and unfamiliarity can just as easily breed altruistic interest and appreciation for the virtues of difference as it can bewilderment and any number of egocentric, negative emotional states and reactions, an individual who is inexperienced with the nuances of a culture may perceive it either from a positive perspective, describing it with interest and curiosity, or a negative one, remarking on it as impenetrable, intimidating or as "a set of prejudices" (Knausgaard, 2015), inferior and thus something to oppose. Kavanaugh (2000: 116) states that

---

[18] Duranti (1997:200) states that an individual's linguistic and cultural identity entails metalinguistic awareness, that is, "the knowledge that speakers have of their own language." However individuals frequently are not aware of the specific pragmatic choices they make (Duranti 1997:203).

"[c]ulture can be divisive, insular, and threatening, especially if it appears closed to others." The point of view one takes is likely to have complex origins, but Kavanaugh (2000: 116) suggests that a more positive view of a culture can come with increased knowledge about the people that embrace it. These are important points to keep in mind in the South African environment, home to multiple languages, distinct cultures and diverse cultural identities. The question of what constitutes a South African identity cannot be conventionally answered as it is multi-fold, enveloping a number of heterogeneous identities under a colourful umbrella (cf. Hibbert, 1997).

Repercussions of a complex and chaotic history in which languages have been used for purposes of power are still felt in South Africa.[19] During the apartheid years, strict racial segregation in virtually all public domains contributed to keeping the different ethnic groups ignorant of another's culture and preferences in discourse behaviour (see for example Chick, 2002). The enactment of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 resulted in the suppression of English (the preferred language of instruction by most South African parents at the time) in government schools. This nationally imposed Act amounted to a comprehensive endeavour to favour Afrikaans, suppress the advancement (and thus potential power) of people from non-European backgrounds, limit the social progress of English speakers, further divide the different language speaking groups, and ultimately make unified acts of defiance difficult to organise (Lanham, 1996: 26–27). People who were not classified "white" generally were disadvantaged during communicative encounters with those in power as their proficiency in either Afrikaans or English remained limited, resulting from resistance to Afrikaans, which became known as the language of the oppressor, and little if any formal teaching in English. Their discourse behaviours were seen as unfamiliar and therefore negatively judged and understood. As Chick (2002: 271) succinctly phrases it,

> repeated miscommunication generated negative cultural stereotypes. Such stereotypes contributed to further miscommunication by predisposing gatekeepers to perceive only behaviours that matched the stereotypes, and apparently provided a justification for the maintenance of discrimination and segregation that had been the source of miscommunication in the first place.

Historical events such as these impacted language use throughout South Africa but were not limited to indigenous South Africans. As those who held political power were Afrikaans speakers and Afrikaans speakers in general tended to be socio-economically advantaged (Van der Merve, 1995: 521), these speakers would have had a psycho-linguistic superiority over other language

---

[19] See footnote 8.

users.[20] It is unlikely that the second major European language (English), whose speakers had a history of conflict with Afrikaans speakers, would have been immune to such influence. In fact, such influence is evidenced, for example, in borrowed vocabulary and prosodic use.[21] Other linguistic influences specific to the analyses presented will be discussed in this thesis.[22]

It is partly because of this history that twenty plus years after the end of apartheid, English still is considered a language of liberation among many South Africans and associated with advancement and success.

1.3   Justification for the study

Although pragmatic markers associated with other varieties of English (particularly those of British and US English) have been well studied, to date, very little research has been done on the unique aspects of their usage in SAfE.[23] This comparatively small pool of research regarding SAfE pragmatic markers exposes a gap in linguistic and sociolinguistic knowledge. There are at least two reasons that might explain this disparity. The first involves the challenges of analysing these pragmatically infused linguistic items in an environment with not only relatively few mother-tongue English speakers but an especially complex mix of language and cultural influences.[24] As mentioned, only about 10% of the South African population claim English as a first language; compared to other countries where English is an official language, this is a small percentage of the population.[25] Furthermore, a large number of languages (both official and unofficial) are spoken in South Africa, and several varieties of English (e.g., BSAfE, AfkE) have been identified recently within South Africa, each with their own distinctive linguistic and cultural attributes. Language and cultural influences range from African to European to Indian and Southeast Asian/Indonesian. Many of these languages are quite disparate in origin and structure, thus having few linguistic

---

[20] Van der Merve (1995: 521) lists the three major language spoken in South Africa between 1980-1990 as isiZulu, isiXhosa and Afrikaans.

[21] The DSAE reflects much of this cross-linguistic influence that has contributed to distinguishing SAfE.

[22] I am not suggesting that English has an unblemished history in struggles of power, and there are perceptions that the language does not necessarily empower its speakers. For example, Gough (1996: 5) states, "It is held that English is not a neutral language […–AG] but that it effectively discriminates against the majority of the country's citizens."

[23] Studies of pragmatic markers used in British and US English are plentiful. Section 2.2 presents a review of pragmatic markers that are pertinent to the present study as well as frequently cited in the literature.

[24] Kachru (1992: 362n) notes that "[c]ountries such as South Africa and Jamaica are difficult to place within the concentric circles. In terms of the English-using populations and the functions of English, their situations are rather complex."

[25] South Africa's total population in 2015 was just under 55 million [Accessed 27 November 2016 from The World Bank Open Data website: http://data.worldbank.org/country/south-africa].

familial resemblances (Matthews, 2014). If one accepts that language use is a cultural phenomenon, then one must also consider the many cultural influences that drive pragmatic preference and behaviour.

The second point that helps to explain why pragmatic markers used in SAfE are under-researched is historically and psychologically based and is suggested by Silva (1996: viii): "South Africans are notorious for their inferiority complex about all things South African, and this is true too of their own English." This mind-set may be linked to some of the first English settlers who arrived to South Africa in the mid-1800s but continued to regard England as 'home' and identify themselves as British (Christopher, 2011: 12). Lanham (1996: 22) remarks that this group "maintained their exclusiveness in ways familiar in Britain, which was the target of their social ambitions and model of their social behaviour." The South African view that proper English was none other than "Standard BrE" (i.e., British English) was shared by others without British heritage as well (Lanham, 1996: 27). This perspective would account for the lack of interest in recognising, let alone researching, language differences from the more admired and prescribed British use of English. Nevertheless, throughout the past 150+ years, cross-linguistic interactions occurred in South Africa between speakers of English and those of other languages, and SAfE developed characteristics as a result of this language and social contact that differentiated it from its British origins as well as other English varieties. These differences are now gradually being acknowledged.

Putting the study of SAfE and its use of pragmatic markers in historical context, it is helpful to recognize that in the mid-1900s although SAfE was not acknowledged as a distinct English variety, and therefore not studied as such, several significant developments in language studies were beginning to take shape, many of them beginning with the English language. The language philosopher, John L. Austin, credited with developing Speech Act theory, published *How to do Things with Words* in the early 1950s. In the 1960s, Austin's colleague, Paul Grice, developed his theory of language use. At this same time, linguistics was beginning to be recognised as a distinct academic field of study (Chapman, 2011: 53) and separate from language philosophy. Researchers used the ideas and terminology of Austin, Grice and other language philosophers as starting points to further this nascent field that included the study of syntax, semantics and eventually linguistic meaning in context: pragmatics. In the 1970s, there was an upsurge in pragmatics studies (Chapman, 2011: 53) that both analysed language use and distinguished differences in its use, and to this end other theoretical frameworks began to be developed. Several of these theories have ties to the early research of the language philosophers; among them is Relevance theory, the cognitive-pragmatic theory used in this study, which is rooted in Grice's inferential model of linguistic

11

communication.[26] The first work to fully describe Relevance theory was published in 1986 (Sperber & Wilson, 1986a). Much of the research on English pragmatic markers began in the latter half of the 1980s.[27] Among this early research was Schiffrin's (1987) seminal work, 'Discourse markers', and Blakemore's (1987) relevance-theoretic approach to discourse connectives, 'Semantic constraints on relevance'. These advancements in linguistics and pragmatics research occurred during a time when SAfE speakers preferred not to draw attention to differences between their use of English and that of BrE. In this way, it is argued that the study of English as it is used in South Africa is now in the position of catching up. Twenty years after Silva' and Lanham's observations it does appear that opinions about SAfE have changed, or have begun to change, as many of its speakers have embraced their differences, and SAfE is receiving more research attention.

The use of pragmatic markers in SAfE is currently still under-researched compared to those characteristic of other varieties of English. Similar to the way conventional meanings may shift to accommodate related or different senses, pragmatic markers are often sensitive to the cultural nuances of a community.[28] In this way, pragmatic markers can reveal aspects about SAfE that acutely distinguish it from other English varieties, thus making them an interesting topic of investigation.

As the focus of the present study concerns how language is used, a brief description of pragmatics is presented; this leads into a discussion centring on the distinction between pragmatics and semantics.

1.3.1   Pragmatics

Pragmatics is an area of study that has shown significant development over the past few decades. Despite a broad and growing interest in this field, there is no universal agreement among researchers about its definition. In the first issue of the *Journal of Pragmatics*, editors Haberland and Mey (1977) dedicate their editorial to pointing out distinctions between linguistics and pragmatics and exploring early definitions of pragmatics before broadly describing it as "the science of

---

[26] Overviews of how Relevance theory is related to Grice's inferential view of communication can be found in Clark (2013, chap. 2), Sperber and Wilson (1995, chaps 21–38, 2012) and Wilson and Sperber (2002b: 249–250).

[27] Some research, such as on German modals and French and German pragmatic markers, predate the 1980s (see Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2009: 2).

[28] One example of a shift in conventional meaning is the South African use of *just now* to mean sometime in the near future as in, *I'll be there just now*. In my experience, *just now* is used in other English varieties only to refer to the very recent past, as in *It happened just now*, meaning *It happened just a moment/ a few minutes ago*.

language use" (1977: 1). More recently, Sinclair (1995: 536) states that pragmatics "is concerned with how language use reflects general properties of the mind" [29], and Sperber and Noveck (2004: 1) define it as "the study of how linguistic properties and contextual factors interact in the interpretation of utterances". Today, pragmatics is studied in a variety of disciplines (e.g., linguistics, philosophy, anthropology, sociology, psychology, cognitive science, language pathology, law, theology, artificial intelligence), and specific definitions tend to be geared toward the researcher's field of study.

Pragmatics cannot be studied in isolation because it does not exist outside of human interaction; thus it can be thought of as the interplay between meaning and context during communication. This raises the question of what is meant by meaning and context. In short, pragmatic meaning is the full understanding of the speaker's most probable intentions and thoughts, based on linguistic, non-linguistic and contextual cues, that motivate communication; therefore, meaning is a flexible concept always at the mercy of context (Sperber & Wilson, 1995: 15ff.).[30] Because communication is both a decoding process and an inferential process, the hearer's interpretation is never identical to the speaker's intentions but is presumed to be close enough for the hearer to comprehend (e.g., Carston, 2008). Context is not merely situational. Certainly it concerns the surrounding situation (such as time and place) and linguistic situation (such as lexical input and preceding and current topic), but context also includes some compilation of non-linguistic cues (e.g., prosody, eye-contact, and gestures), the speaker's and hearer's background and encyclopaedic knowledge, expectations, predilections, beliefs, current level of attention, interests and concerns, relationship and much more. Ifantidou (1994, p. 87) states that context

> includes any assumptions used to arrive at the intended interpretation, which may be drawn
> from the immediate linguistic and physical environment, but also from scientific, cultural,
> or common-sense knowledge, or any type of public or individual information that the
> hearer has access to at the time.

In brief, context is all of the internal and external factors that are accessible, relevant to and can contribute toward meaning during interpretation (Sinclair, 1992).[31]

---

[29] The involvement of cognitive processes such as mind-reading is explored in this dissertation in relation to how it impacts the use, development and interpretation of pragmatic markers.

[30] See Sections 2.1.4 and 3.2 for further discussion regarding the role of context in communication and its definition from the perspective of Relevance theory, respectively.

[31] This description of context is based on its interpretation in Relevance theory, discussed in Section 3.2.

Since both semantics and pragmatics involve the study of meaning, the next section discusses the distinction between these two areas of study.

1.3.2   Semantic-pragmatic distinction

If pragmatic information and semantic information are jointly inferentially interpreted, what distinguishes one from the other? Researchers have explored different descriptive means in attempting to clarify the semantic-pragmatic distinction, including truth-/non-truth conditionality, formal/functional, what is said/what is meant, code/inference and explicit/implicit (e.g., Blakemore, 2002a: 59–60; Nicolle, 2011: 401; Wilson, 2011: 4). Relevance theorists tend to describe semantics as falling under the umbrella of the grammar of a language and pragmatics as determines that grammar (cf. Ariel, 2008). Still, the nature of semantics and pragmatics certifies a kind of interaction between them that from an analytical perspective can be difficult to distinguish or describe. This is exemplified in forms of grammaticalisation, which involve adjustments in semantic and pragmatic meaning along with an increase in grammatical functions.

It seems clear that semantics and pragmatics are not autonomous of the other. Nicolle (2011: 401) discusses common assumptions about how semantics and pragmatics differ:

> [a]lthough there is disagreement over where exactly the boundary between pragmatics and semantics/grammar should be drawn, a common position equates pragmatics with those aspects of utterance (or text) construction and interpretation which depend on inference, as opposed to semantics and grammar which depend on convention.

Nicolle (2011: 401) further defines pragmatic inference as "inference which generates meaning from the use of a linguistic form in a particular context". Identifying semantic meaning as that which is decoded and pragmatics as that which is inferentially interpreted from an utterance in context is an interesting position as it implies that there is a clear distinction between semantics and pragmatics.[32] However, Sperber and Wilson (1997a: 3) have argued that it is not just pragmatic aspects that are inferred but all aspects of linguistic communication are (to varying degrees) inferentially interpreted. With their notion of *pro-concepts* (i.e., all lexical items are pro-concepts; that is all conceptual meaning is contextually constrained), Sperber and Wilson (1997a: 3) argue that "quite commonly, all words behave *as if* they encoded pro-concepts: that is, whether or not a word encodes a full concept, the concept it is used to convey in a given utterance has to be contextually

---

[32] This dissertation uses the term *utterance* to refer to any communication that includes linguistic and nonlinguistic properties (Sperber & Wilson, 1995: 9).

worked out." Pragmatic inference is therefore positioned here as having the superior role during communicative interactions and thus accounts for why grammar can be described as a product of pragmatics.[33] As will be discussed further in Chapter 3, this distinction fits well with the theoretical frameworks (Grammaticalisation theory and Relevance theory) that are adopted in this dissertation.

1.4   Objectives and general outline

The main aim of the present study is to analyse the development and describe the functions of three SAfE pragmatic markers: *shame*, *hey* and *is it*. Grammaticalisation theory and Relevance theory are used as frameworks in the analyses. Compared to studies of pragmatic markers used in other English varieties (e.g., British, Australian, US English) there is a relatively small amount of research on those used in SAfE. It is therefore the aim of this study to extend the research on pragmatic markers in SAfE. Moreover, by describing how these pragmatic markers developed in the context of South Africa, this dissertation attempts to describe how historical changes contributed to language change in this English variety.

This dissertation will attempt to answer the following research questions:

1) How did the three pragmatic markers, *shame*, *hey* and *is it* develop diachronically in SAfE?
2) How do these three pragmatic markers function in contemporary SAfE?
3) What insights do the development and functions of these pragmatic markers provide about SAfE as a distinct English variety?

These three research questions form the basis of this study. Exploring the origins of the pragmatic markers, *shame*, *hey* and *is it*, will assist in analysing their development and use in the South African context, which will then extend to a more detailed analysis of their pragmatic functions. To this end, this dissertation is roughly divided into two parts. The first part provides background for this study including terminology, definitions, literature review, theoretical overviews and the data and methodology used for this research. The second part is the diachronic and synchronic analyses of the three pragmatic markers as they are used in SAfE followed by a discussion of the findings and the conclusion.

---

[33] See Ariel (2008), Carston (1998, 2008, 2012) and Ifantidou (2005) for further reading on the distinctions between semantics and pragmatics from a relevance-theoretic perspective.

Chapter 2:   Pragmatic markers

2.1   Characteristics of pragmatic markers

Pragmatic markers (PMs) are studied within the field of pragmatics, as well as across the social sciences, and form an area of linguistic study that illustrates the dynamic and pragmatic basis of language. Although the term "pragmatic marker" is widely used in current studies, there are several other terms for this category of linguistic expressions (e.g., "discourse markers/particles", "pragmatic markers/particles/devices", "vague language", "filler", "gliederungssignale", "lexical detritus", "vocal hiccups", "little words"). Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen (2009: 5) note that a researcher's chosen term is often a reflection of their analytical perspective, which contributes to determining which items are included in the category as well as each item's functional classification. The term PM is used here because it is one of the more common terms used in the literature for this linguistic category and because the focus of this dissertation is to analyse how the pragmatic functions of these items in context are inferred in the interpretive process and how they lead the hearer toward identifying the speaker's intended meaning. Moreover, the primary analytical framework used in this dissertation, Relevance theory, is oriented pragmatically to explain communication.

Many linguistic items may be used as PMs, and there are few characteristics that unite them (Blakemore, 1996; Schourup, 1999; Andersen, 2001: 39; Schiffrin, 2001: 65; Müller, 2005; Fischer, 2006; Evison, McCarthy & O'Keeffe, 2007; Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2009: 5). Such a heterogeneous group is, therefore, difficult to define.[34] Some appear to be unbound by the rules of syntax and can occur almost anywhere within an utterance (e.g., *like* (Andersen, 2001: 274–275), *I think* (Aijmer, 1996: 7)) while others demonstrate utterance positions that are more limited or predictable (e.g., tags and follow-ups). Specifics about pragmatic functions may also differ, depending on the researcher and her chosen analytical approach. Although new items are identified and analysed as PMs with regularity[35], albeit rarely with unanimous agreement, both their identification and analysis appear to depend on the combination of the researcher's perspective and a definition that is often directed by the theoretical approach used. Perhaps it is in the absence

---

[34] Definitions that are proposed tend to be broad in their descriptions. For example, basing their definition on Fraser's (1996) work, Mosegaard Hansen and Rossari (2005) propose that "any signal that has an effect at the communicative, as opposed to the strictly propositional, level can be considered a pragmatic marker."

[35] For example, Norrick (2009b) notes that interjections, a subgroup of PMs, are a wide-ranging category with new items being included periodically.

of a universally accepted definition, and because of the dynamic nature of language in general and PMs in particular, that these items attract a considerable amount of scholarly attention. Studies offer differing views in attempts to describe the diachronic development of PMs, specify their synchronic functions and meanings in communication, determine their characteristic properties or features, identify how and what they contribute to utterance expression and interpretation and detail how they should be analysed (e.g., Blakemore, 1996; Van Bergen, van Gijn, Hogeweg & Lestrade, 2011; 2014). As will be shown, social changes and external influences can also affect the use and meaning of a PM. This is particularly true in multilingual communities where there is greater cross-linguistic influence (Andersen, 2014). Before a definition for PMs is formulated for this study, a few of their more common descriptions and features raised in literature are explored below.[36]

2.1.1   Spoken vs. written language use

PMs have been noted to originate in spoken language before slowly appearing in written texts (Mosegaard Hansen & Rossari, 2005) and to be more frequently used in spoken than written communication (Croucher, 2004; Müller, 2005: 7). Like many aspects that concern PMs, however, there are few hard-and-fast rules, and the idea of PMs appearing in spoken before written form is a case in point. Although reverse cross-over from written to spoken form appears to be rare, it does occur. The fairly recent use of what Crystal (2008) refers to as Textspeak, or abbreviations that originate from mobile phone texting, has now migrated into spoken conversation to a limited degree. The written response, *lol*, pronounced to rhyme with *ball*, was originally an acronym for "laugh out loud" but has been observed in discourse (e.g., A: *I slipped on it*. B: *lol*). Like in Textspeak, its spoken use has interpersonal appeal as well as non-laborious value. The same may be said for the spoken use of *hashtag* (#), which draws attention to what follows (e.g., A: *and I told him, you know, that's just hashtag wrong!*), while communicating social or cultural preferences with minimal effort. Croucher (2004: 43) suggests that the choice and usage frequency of certain PMs is connected to a cultural identity or community association. These choices may be bolstered by what Crystal (2008: 82) refers to as the "'cool' association with young (or young-minded) people".

2.1.2   Pragmatic markers as lexical developments

Most PMs are developments of lexical items that have arisen out of the creative use of language (Brinton 1996, in Andersen, 2001: 20; Hopper & Traugott, 2003), some interjections being the

---

[36] See for example Müller (2005) and Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen (2009) for further discussions of features associated with PMs.

possible exception. Moreover, PMs may develop from any linguistic category – e.g., nouns, verbs and adverbs (Fraser, 1996: 170). Variations of language use may spread from one community or one society to another or as a form of borrowing/transference from one language to another. Such cross-linguistic use may occur through formal learning, contact through social or business interactions or following exposure from contemporary communication technologies such as online social networks and mass media/entertainment outputs (Rehman, 1993; Croucher, 2004; Andersen, 2014). Andersen (2014: 19) explains that

> the meaning of […–AG] discourse markers and other pragmatic phenomena, is notoriously hard to pin down, describe metalinguistically, or translate; nevertheless – or perhaps precisely therefore – they are commonly borrowed between languages.

Based on these observations, one can assume that PMs are ubiquitous in natural language.

Researchers have found that some PMs are particular to specific demographics within a community of individuals speaking the same language (Redeker, 1990: 370; Dubois, 1992; Andersen, 2001: 9; Croucher, 2004; Müller, 2005: 40–46). In a review of several studies, Mosegaard Hansen and Rossari (2005) describe how PMs develop within a community over time by means of semantic, syntactic and stylistic changes referred to as grammaticalisation. Grammaticalisation is a process of change that lexical items can undergo over time resulting in a shift or redistribution of meaning, with an item often acquiring a new meaning or an existing pragmatic meaning is strengthened, and new grammatical functions are developed (Hopper & Traugott, 2003).[37] Typically, the more grammaticalised an item, the more unrestrictive its meaning and function. Some scholars have concentrated on more specific aspects of grammaticalisation or other aspects of linguistic change such that the process is labelled according to the analytical focus: e.g., "lexicalisation" (e.g., Aijmer, 1996; Brinton & Traugott, 2005), "relexicalisation" (e.g., Capone, 2005), "refunctionalisation" (e.g., Aijmer, 2013), "decategorisation" (e.g., Martínez, 2011), "(inter)subjectification" and "pragmaticalisation" (e.g., Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen, 2009; Mosegaard Hansen and Rossari, 2005). Language change may also be analysed in terms of "nativisation", "indigenisation" and "contextualisation". These latter three terms refer to the changes that occur as a result of a language being adapted to different linguistic environments,

---

[37] Grammatical changes can be syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, morphological or phonological in nature. Grammaticalisation theory as it pertains to the diachronic analysis of the PMs presented in this dissertation is explained in greater detail in Section 3.1. See Hopper and Traugott (2003) for in-depth details about Grammaticalisation theory.

such as when a language is acquired by a new community or culture (Bokamba, 1992: 140; Gough, 1996: xix; De Klerk & Gough, 2002).

2.1.3 Multifunctionality and polysemy

PMs are usually described as having multifunctional and/or polysemous characteristics (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2009: 6–7).[38] These aspects have been addressed extensively in the literature. In a sense, multifunctionality is not a unique characteristic to PMs. As Cameron et al. (1988:77) phrase it, "in real talk most utterances do many things at once." What makes PMs particularly interesting in terms of multifunctionality – i.e., compared with other linguistic items – is that they appear to have a wider than average range of possible functions. PMs are often described, and categorised, based on a primary function; for example modal/aspect/tense markers, grammatical markers, apposition markers, parentheticals[39], general extenders, tags, follow-ups, connectives, hedges and interjections. But even within each of these categories there may exist, to varying degrees, many functions for each item as well as functional overlap between categories. Such functions are cited in the literature and include: to connect discourse, maintain or change topic, contribute emphatic force, attract attention, signal a particular affect, express irony or solidarity, mark reception of information and seek confirmation (e.g., Fraser, 1996; Jucker & Ziv, 1998: 1).

Several researchers have commented on multifunctionality as a characteristic of PMs. As one of the earliest to research PMs, Schiffrin (1987, 2001: 67) identifies multifunctionality as "one of the central defining features". Cheshire (2007) assumes multifunctionality to be an intrinsic characteristic of PMs and cautions that attempting to identify a main function may fail to recognise multifunctionality as a fundamental feature. Müller (2005: 8) reviews studies that discuss some distinguishing features of PMs and concludes that multifunctionality is a generally accepted feature, but he questions whether it applies to all PMs. Fraser (1996: 189) argues that a PM has many possible functions but can serve only one function at a time. Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen (2009: 8) observe that some studies "[have] tended to explain multifunctionality as the result of grammaticalization." Norrick (2009a) notes that interjections are often used to achieve a variety of purposes and explores whether these types of PMs go through a narrowing process over time that develops into a specific function or whether they functionally broaden, resulting in multifunctionality. Eastman (1992) analyses a host of interjections used in Swahili that are highly

---

[38] A polysemous word is "a lexical vehicle for a family of related senses" (Carston, 2016b: 3).

[39] Parentheticals are short, uninterrupted phrases of pragmatic significance such as *as a matter of fact*, *that is to say*, *for your information* and *with all due respect*. See Blakemore (1996).

multifunctional, but all have in common their use as a "*con*text forming device" (1992: 284 italics in original).

Polysemy, too, is not highly unusual for linguistic items, but again, it is the range of meanings often attributed to PMs that is noteworthy. Generally, PMs are found to originate from lexical items, so it is logical to assume some connection to their original semantic-pragmatic meaning. Groefsema (1995) disputes whether polysemy is characteristic of all PMs, arguing that some PMs, such as specific modals, may be non-polysemous. But other researchers assume PMs are polysemous and find that a PM's multifunctionality is a product of it being polysemous (e.g., Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2009: 7). Similarly, others suggest PMs may have a single core meaning that can branch into related meanings to serve divergent functions (e.g., Fraser, 1999: 936; Schiffrin, 2001: 58). Still others (Aijmer, 2002: 20; Müller, 2005: 13) argue that the polysemous nature of PMs makes it difficult to ascertain a general core meaning and that attempting to pinpoint one from which all others are anchored can result in a meaning that is too vague to be useful in any unifying way. Aijmer (2002: 21) suggests that while a PM may not have a single core meaning, it may have multiple functions that are linked to one of its meanings. Cheshire (2007) further points out that social or cultural nuances contextualise and affect the meanings of PMs so that they may be inferred as expressing slightly different meanings in two or more cultures or communities speaking the same language (cf. Padilla Cruz, 2009: 259).

When describing PMs, meaning and function may appear to overlap, prompting the question of whether a PM is multifunctional or polysemous or both. Considering that communication only occurs in context, it is plain that meaning and function are closely tied. The idea that PMs can have several distinct functions that all relate to a single meaning is supported by some Relevance theorists such as Jucker (1993: 437) and Andersen (2001: 30), the latter of whom states that "the task of accounting for the various functions of pragmatic markers amounts to specifying the contribution they make in terms of cognitive effects and processing effort", in other words, how they are inferentially interpreted by the hearer.[40] Along these lines, Blakemore (2002: 5) adds that in order to determine the meaning(s) of any PM, we must examine "the cognitive processes underlying successful linguistic communication, and the expressions which have been labelled as discourse markers must be analysed in terms of their input to those processes."[41] Carston (2016a:

---

[40] The notion of cognitive costs and balances is explored further in Section 3.2 describing Relevance theory.
[41] Referring to the cognitive processes at work during the act of communication, Blakemore is alluding to inferential interpretation as described by Relevance theory to analyse PMs. Relevance theory is described in Section 3.2.

16) states that polysemy, in general, can be examined from a pragmatic or semantic perspective, depending how the linguistic item is used and perhaps where on the semantic-pragmatic continuum the intended meaning falls. But it does appear that for at least some PMs there is a blending of function and meaning, which makes it difficult to distinguish one from the other, let alone to distinguish pragmatic from semantic meaning. Since the functional purpose of a PM and its pragmatic meaning often overlap, describing the PM in either term becomes a rather elusive enterprise (Cuenca, 2008: 1373).

Ultimately, what determines utterance meaning is not predictable decoding but the complex interplay between the situational context, lexical triggers and everything the communicators bring to the communicative event that contribute to inferential interpretation. As Aijmer (2002:15) states, there are linguistic and contextual "clues" (e.g., sentence structure, prosodic and stylistic use, as well as conversational topic and situation) regarding the function of PMs that distinguish them from their propositional uses so that in large part it is context that determines their meaning.

2.1.4   The importance of context

Undoubtedly, the intended meanings behind most utterances would be greatly altered if the utterances were somehow removed from their contexts (e.g., Lakoff, 1972, 1973a: 484; Jucker, 1993: 439; Aijmer, 2002: 15; Blakemore, 2002a: 64; Recanati, 2013: 57). Casasanto and Lupyan (2015: 554) aptly use the example, "I'm hot" to describe how contextual factors (such as time, place, why, how, and interpersonal relationship) guide utterance interpretation: "Depending on these factors this utterance could mean, for example, that the speaker is (i) physically warm, (ii) sexually aroused, (iii) stolen, (iv) radioactive, or (v) on a lucky streak." Everyday communication is rife with such examples. Thus, the settings that make up our communicative contexts – physical, psychological, social, experiential – not only define our worldviews but contribute to the way we express our thoughts and interpret communication (Casasanto & Lupyan, 2015: 554). This observation, that utterance meanings are comprehended only in context, was an early motive for studying PMs (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2009: 2). Identifying and interpreting PMs in discourse is dependent on context. Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen (2009: 7) note that changes in context give rise to "an almost infinite number of functions" for PMs. In other words, a PM is multifunctional and flexible enough to be used in a variety of contexts, but a change in context will likely lead to a change in function. Schiffrin (2001: 58) compares PMs to contextualisation

cues[42], which suggests that PMs have an almost paralinguistic quality. Cuenca (2008: 1373) comments that "[i]t is often hard to determine whether the meaning of a marker belongs to the marker itself or to the context". Remarking on the importance of context for interpretation, Jucker (1993: 439) states that "utterances are always processed on the background of a relevant context consisting of the linguistic context and the assumed background assumptions of the addressee." And in their analysis of the *and*-conjunction in non-temporal sequencing utterances, Blakemore and Carston (1999) identify a variety of functions and conclude that context plays a major role in the resulting elicited interpretations.

Context not only determines the identification and interpretation of PMs in discourse, but also their usage. As mentioned earlier (Section 1.3.1), context is made up of a complex mix of linguistic and non-linguistic cues that include situational, personal and interpersonal factors (cf. Bartkova, Bastien & Dargnat, 2016). Such factors may determine the choice and frequency of use of PMs. For example, some PMs may be used more frequently depending on the level of conversational formality and the speaker's level of emotional commitment and anxiety. These situational and personal factors are often borne out in spoken language and may influence how and when PMs are used as well as which ones are chosen. Researchers have found that specific PMs may be used more frequently during times of stress or excitement, such as during impromptu speaking events (Croucher, 2004; Foolen, 2012: 7) and public speeches (Han, 2011) in which personal stakes are perceived to be high. These kinds of communicative events are situations in which the balance of power may influence a speaker's linguistic choices (e.g., Lakoff, 1973b; Cameron, McAliden & O'Leary, 1988). While more stressful events are found to increase the use of some PMs, more casual speaking situations may inspire the use of others. These latter PMs may be used more freely when speakers do not need to be particularly persuasive, are more relaxed and possibly more confident about the assumptions made about their audience (i.e., such as when among friends) as well as the interpretations their audience will make about the speaker and her utterance. In this kind of forgiving environment, speakers can more easily read the needs of the hearer and intuitively understand what cues (perhaps in the form of PMs) need to be provided to help guide the hearer toward the speaker's intended interpretation (Jucker & Smith, 1998: 197). The importance of context during communication will be addressed more fully in Section 3.2, in which details of

---

[42] Gumperz et al. (in Auer, 1992; see also Duranti, 1997: 211–213) defines contextualisation cues as linguistic and paralinguistic cues (e.g., prosody, speech rate, eye-gaze/contact, code-switching, gesture) that occur during discourse.

Relevance theory are provided, specifically that context sets the stage that makes successful communication possible.

2.1.5   *What do pragmatic markers express?*

Multifunctionality and polysemy in relation to PMs were discussed in Section 2.1.3. This section discusses what some of those functions or meanings may be in specific contexts. As noted earlier, one term that has been used to refer to PMs is "vague language". The functions or meanings of PMs are admittedly difficult to pinpoint grammatically; as a group they are heterogeneous with little to unite them functionally (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2009: 5). But referring to PMs as "vague language" is somewhat misleading since they are often used to clarify intentions, resolve vagueness between communicators, and guide the hearer toward a fuller comprehension of the speaker's intention. PMs function to organise thoughts (e.g., *well*, *so* and *firstly*), gain conversational control (e.g., *as I was saying*), manage a topic (e.g., *anyway*) and terminate it (e.g., *whatever*, *okay*), invite interaction (e.g., *isn't it*, *you know?*), imply assumed mutual knowledge (e.g., *and stuff*, *right*) and much more.[43] So when used in context, they serve to improve the overall communication process. There is one situation in which PMs may appear to be vague, and that is when they are used cross-culturally and may be simply unfamiliar to the hearer. Although PMs exist in every natural language, use and understanding of PMs may present stumbling-blocks when learning a new language and when speaking in a language other than one's mother-tongue or in a culture or social environment where PMs are used differently from one's experience or preference. Some specific difficulties in terms of comprehending PMs in such contexts are discussed later in this chapter and at various points throughout this dissertation.

Several studies have made reference to PMs as indicators of the speaker's attitude. Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen (2009: 4) note that PMs are often "related to the speech situation and not to the situation talked about"; in other words, they are speaker oriented as they reflect her perceived assumptions and state-of-mind. These assumptions may relate to any number of internal factors such as the speaker's grasp of knowledge about the discourse topic or general ability to express herself, her assumptions about her audience's knowledge, her degree of interest in or attention to other interlocutors, or her ease with her audience and level of concern with how the audience may view or judge what is said and how it is said. As one can see, PMs not only convey information about the speaker and her intention but reveal information the speaker may not be fully aware of communicating (e.g., Cameron et al., 1988; Andersen, 2001; Aijmer, 2002; Bell,

---

[43] Like many other PMs, the examples given in parentheses have over-lapping functions.

2009). In this regard, Östman (1995: 100 cited in Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2009: 3) describes PMs as "'windows' through which one can make deductions about the speaker's attitudes and opinions."

From a relevance-theoretic perspective, PMs are also hearer-oriented as they serve as pointers for how the hearer is to interpret the utterance (Carston, 2002: 161). In this way, PMs are similar to paralinguistic cues (e.g., prosody, volume, and speech rate) since they reflect the "states of language users" and guide the hearer toward an inferential interpretation in line with the speaker's intended meaning (Wilson, 2016a: 11).[44] Jucker and Smith (1998: 173) argue that PMs do not convey specific information so much as suggestions of information. Like paralinguistic cues, when PMs are used they activate the hearer's mind-reading processes to determine how the speaker intended her utterance to be pragmatically interpreted.[45] The hearer then makes decisions about the speaker and her expressed thoughts during discourse based at least partially on how the speaker expresses these thoughts.

PMs can serve a variety of interpersonal functions. For example, Evison et al. (2007) suggest that PMs are often used as identifiers of social membership, and that in these cases there is an assumption of shared knowledge so that the markers can serve as utterance abbreviations. In this way, the use of PMs is relative to the expectation of some degree of shared knowledge. Examples of PMs that may function as markers for shared knowledge include *and stuff*, *you know* and *(you) see*. Norrick (2009a: 867) states that the use of interjections such as *wow* and *damn* can also communicate, for instance, contrast and degrees of intensity that are assumed the hearer will accurately interpret. Referring to the PM *well*, Jucker (1993) finds that in certain contexts it can function as a face-saving device for either the speaker or hearer, indicating, and possibly resolving, potential interpersonal awkwardness or distress. This function harks back to the use of PMs in power negotiating situations mentioned in Section 2.1.1.

---

[44] The relevance-theoretic notion of procedurally encoded meaning is described in Section 3.2.1.2.

[45] Mind-reading is a process that relies heavily on the developmental idea of theory of mind (ToM); that is, the ability to understand that individuals have different and changeable mental states such as beliefs, interests, memory and knowledge (Sperber & Wilson, 2002; Westby, 2014). The ability to determine what, how and how much to communicate requires ToM before mind-reading can occur. ToM is believed to start developing at birth and is a basic requirement for successful communication and understanding its many functions (e.g., befriend, persuade). Mind-reading is discussed and described further in Section 3.2 and 3.3. For further reading on the topic of mind-reading, see http://cognitionandculture.net/blog/brent-stricklands-blog/why-reading-minds-is-not-like-reading-words.

In summary, the impressions PMs leave regarding the speaker, her thoughts and intentions cannot be dismissed as they guide the hearer in the interpretive process. Sometimes it is only when PMs are removed from utterances that their significance becomes apparent.

2.1.6   Pragmatic markers and coherence

Some researchers have proposed that the primary function of PMs is to provide discourse coherence. In the early years of research on PMs, Schiffrin (1985, 1987: 63) claimed that PMs function to provide discourse coherence, later stating that it is their inherent multifunctionality that allows them to achieve conversational coherence (Schiffrin, 2001: 55–58). Subsequent studies have also suggested that PMs contribute towards coherence. Redeker (1990), for instance, assumes discourse coherence in his study of the frequency and types of PMs that occur in narratives between friends and strangers. Using conversational analysis, Bolden (2009) concludes that the PM *so* in sequence-initial position provides coherence; and working from a discourse relations approach, Fraser (1999: 950) and others (e.g., Giora, 1997; Müller, 2005: 8) find that some PMs function as semantic links in discourse to contribute toward coherence. Aijmer (2013) supports Fraser's claim, noting that at least some PMs, such as *well*, can function as 'coherence markers'. And, working within the framework of speech-act theory, Stede and Peldszus (2012) assume syntactic/semantic coherence in their analysis of PMs presented as causal relations in German texts.

The viewpoint that PMs function to provide discourse coherence changes somewhat from the standpoint of Relevance theory. Although it is not disputed that discourse coherence may indeed result from their use, relevance theorists argue that coherence is not a primary function. As one of the first to take a relevance-theoretic look at a set of PMs (i.e., discourse connectives), Blakemore (1987: 105–144) explains that discourse coherence is derived through contextual relevance, and thus the coherence that PMs provide to discourse is by virtue of the hearer's search for relevance and not their primary purpose or function in discourse. The reason for this position is largely because, while coherence relies more on the textual features of the utterance, Relevance theory approaches the act of communication from the perspective of the cognitive processes that both form and interpret an utterance (Blakemore, 2002a: 100–101). Relevance theorists have claimed that the act of communicating creates expectations of *relevance* (coherence is a consequence of expectations of relevance), and it is *relevance* (not necessarily coherence) that leads to the hearer's inferential interpretation of the utterance (Wilson & Sperber, 1993: 346).[46] Addressing the

---

[46] Relevance as defined by Relevance theory is discussed in Section 3.2.

importance of coherence in relation to Relevance theory, Wilson and Matsui (1998: 18) remark that "computation of coherence relations is a waste of effort unless it gives rise to otherwise inaccessible effects." That is, unless the hearer suspects that searching for coherence in the speaker's utterance will bring about additional relevant information, then it is not worth the processing effort it entails. Regarding PMs specifically, Jucker (1993: 440) and Blakemore (1987, 1996: 328, 2002a: 157) – supported by Carston (2002: 263 n17) – argue that the role of PMs, like all linguistic cues, is not to provide discourse coherence but to provide constraints on the hearer's interpretation of the utterance, thus guiding the hearer toward an interpretation that is most closely aligned with the speaker's intention. Therefore, from a relevance-theoretic perspective if a PM appears to provide discourse coherence it is only "as a consequence of a hearer's search for optimal relevance" (Blakemore, 2001: 106), a side-effect of the interpretive process, not the primary function. These differing views regarding whether or not PMs provide discourse coherence appear to stem primarily from the researchers' particular analytical perspective.

2.1.7   Truth conditions

Another widely held assumption among researchers is that PMs have little or no conceptual meaning in and of themselves (i.e., they do not represent aspects about the external world); thus they do not contribute to the propositional content of utterances and are inherently non-truth conditional (e.g., Fraser, 1996: 169; Erman, 2001: 1339; Foolen, 2012: 1). To this end they have been described, for example, as "syntactically dispensable and truth-conditionally irrelevant expressions" (Feng, 2008: 1687). Without directly addressing truth conditions, meaningful contributions that PMs make to utterances have been highlighted by removing them from recorded utterances (Van Bergen et al., 2011). Blakemore (2002: 35) provides several examples to support her view that whether or not PMs are deemed to be truth conditional or not, they do carry informative weight, and their removal would most certainly not only alter what is communicated by the speaker but how the hearer interprets it. Other researchers have argued that PMs, such as some interjections (Padilla Cruz, 2009), hearsay adverbials like *allegedly* and evidential adverbials like *clearly* (Ifantidou, 1994), encode concepts thus adding to the propositional meaning of the utterance and thus countering the claim that PMs are universally non-truth conditional. Andersen (2001: 41) points out that PMs that result from grammaticalisation are likely to have retained some of their original (conceptual) meanings, which would contribute to the conceptual content of an utterance.

Applying an inferential approach to analysing communication seems to change the merit of determining whether or not PMs are truth conditional (Sperber & Wilson, 1995: 258–259;

Blakemore, 1996, 2002b: 30; Andersen, 2001: 40–41; Carston, 2002: 57, 164). That is, from a cognitive pragmatic, relevance-theoretic perspective, communication is analysed to determine how it is comprehended. If PMs guide a hearer towards optimal relevance by providing additional cognitive effects and thus clarifying the speaker's intention, determining whether or not an utterance contains non-truth conditional elements may not be a matter of yes or no but rather simply immaterial. From this angle, it is not the PM that is "irrelevant" but the determination of its truth conditionality (cf. Blakemore, 2000: 464, 2002b: 35). Once again, it is the analytical approach that appears to determine the perspective taken.[47]

2.1.8   The order of pragmatic markers

Efforts to instil order on PMs have resulted in researchers dividing them into subsets and sub-subsets of various taxonomies (e.g., Schiffrin, 1987, 2001, Fraser, 1996, 1999; Louwerse & Mitchell, 2003; Müller, 2005). For example, Schiffrin (1987) describes PMs as linguistic expressions that fall within one or more of five different "planes" of discourse: participation framework, information state, ideational structure, action structure, exchange structure. Fraser (1996) delineates discourse markers as a subtype of PMs based on their discourse functions and describes four main categories into which these markers fall: basic pragmatic markers, commentary pragmatic markers, parallel pragmatic markers, and discourse markers, with each category divided further into subcategories. Redeker (1990) divides PMs into two main categories: those judged to have ideational structure and those judged to have pragmatic structure.

Grouping PMs into categories is helpful to analyse and describe their functional characteristics. However, some researchers caution that attempting to group PMs into fixed categories inevitably results in disagreements since there is little consensus regarding which items are, and which are not, PMs and further differences regarding how they function—and therefore in which group they should be placed. Moreover, it does not account for their dynamic nature (Blakemore, 1996, 2001, 2002b: 185). Andersen (2001: 52) argues that the diachronic development of some PMs, "namely those which are derived from lexical items and whose grammaticalisation has not yet resulted in clear polysemous forms", is the reason why they are difficult to categorise. Furthermore, it seems plausible that if communication involves the appeal to and expectation of relevance, it is more likely that given their polysemous/multifunctional nature, at least some PMs may be too dependent on the context in which they occur to consistently fall into any specified group. Therefore, it is

---

[47] The notion of truth conditions in relation to Relevance theory is discussed further in Section 3.2.1.3.

important to note that describing a PM as functioning within a specific category is useful in the analytical processes, but the discrepancies mentioned above appear to preclude any fixed placements.

2.1.9   A definition

Schiffrin (2001: 65) remarks that "what often opens books … and articles … about markers is a discussion of definitional issues." One possible reason for the interest may lie in the many contrary opinions regarding PMs' common characteristics, functions and identification. In the search for a definition, this section has reviewed some of the characteristics that are most frequently noted in relation to PMs. Such an exploration is beneficial in offering insight into multiple perspectives, thus providing a broader understanding of PMs as a whole. It also seems reasonable to conclude that the study of PMs and their features is nothing if not varied, with different approaches offering different conclusions.[48] The few points on which there is general agreement are that (i) PMs occur more frequently in spoken than in written discourse, (ii) context plays a significant role in the use and interpretation of PMs and (iii) PMs encode primarily pragmatic meaning and contribute to the propositional attitude. Failing to have one or more of these features, however, does not necessarily prevent an item from being identified as a PM. The aspects mentioned above strongly point to a flexibility in use that is affected by contextual factors (e.g., Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen, 2009; Aijmer, 2013; Bezuidenhout and Morris, 2004). It is this flexibility that creates diachronic shifts in meaning and function, cross-culturally and intraculturally (Auer, 1992; Thomas, 1995; Mey, 2004; Wardhaugh, 2006; Bell, 2009). And perhaps it is for this reason that a universally accepted definition of PMs remains elusive in the literature.

As is fitting for the analytical approaches applied in this dissertation, a broad definition of PMs is proposed: PMs are pragmatically encoded linguistic cues used in discourse that reflect the speaker's communicative intention(s) by providing information regarding her thoughts and guiding the hearer toward relevant, pragmatically driven inferences.

2.2   Previous research on pragmatic markers

Now that a functional definition, descriptions and distinctions have been laid out, this section will discuss some PMs investigated in the more recent literature.[49] The research can be loosely divided

---

[48] See Fischer (2006) for critical discussions of various approaches to pragmatic markers, including Sperber and Wilson's (1995) Relevance theoretic framework adopted by Blakemore and Carston.

[49] For a useful survey of recently analysed PMs, see Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen (2009). Brinton and Traugott (2005) also offer an extensive list of PMs that have received broad analytical attention.

into four basic groups: (i) studies of English PMs without analytical reference to region of use, (ii) studies of English PMs with reference to region, (iii) cross-linguistic studies that compare English PMs to their counterparts in other languages, and (iv) studies of PMs used in languages other than English. Although there is a significant amount of information available from this final group, I have chosen to limit my discussion to the first three groups. In the penultimate section of the chapter, PMs that are categorised specifically as tags or follow-ups will be reviewed.

Several English PMs have been identified and studied in the literature. Specific examples that have received wide attention include *anyway* (e.g., Coll, 2009; Park, 2010), *like* (e.g., Siegel, 2002; Croucher, 2004; Zufferey & Popescu-Belis, 2004a), *nevertheless*, (Blakemore, 2000), *okay* (e.g., Levin & Gray, 1983; 1986, 2001, Beach, 1993, 1995; Gaines, 2011), *or*, *in other words*, and *that is* (Blakemore, 2007), *so* (Blakemore, 2002a; Bolden, 2009), *well* (e.g., Jucker, 1993; Schourup, 1999, 2001; Blakemore, 2002b; Carston, 2002; Aijmer, 2013), *in fact* (e.g., Aijmer, 2013), *kind of* and *sort of* (Miskovic-Lukovic, 2009), *I mean* and *you know* (e.g., Erman, 2001), *but* and *and* conjunctions (e.g., Blakemore, 2000, 2002a; Carston, 2002) and interjections (e.g., Norrick, 2009a, 2012; Wharton, 2016).

The intralinguistic studies of English PMs (the second group) compare their functional and semantic properties across two or more Englishes; these are English varieties that are more-or-less divided by their national region of use, their culture/social structure or both. Examples of studies in this group are preferences for using *anyway*, *anyways* and *anyhow* in different parts of the United States (Ferrara, 1997), the British vs. US English use of *mind you* (Bell, 2009), the British vs. Pakistani English use of PMs such as *I mean*, *I think*, *you know* and *you see* (Jabeen, Rai & Arif, 2011), the London English use of *innit* (Andersen, 2001; BBC, 2014), *is it*, *like*, *actually*, *you know* (Andersen, 2001)*, and stuff* (Martínez, 2011) and *you get me* (Torgersen, Gabrielatos, Hoffmann & Fox 2011), the Canadian English use of *and stuff*, *or something* (Tagliamonte & Denis, 2010), *like*, *just* and *so* (Tagliamonte, 2005), the Nigerian English use of *okay* (Adegbija & Bello, 2001), the SAfE use of *anyway*, *okay*, *shame* (Huddlestone & Fairhurst, 2013) and *now* (Jeffery & van Rooy, 2004), the Australian use of *yeah-no* (Moore, 2007) and New Zealand use of *eh* (Meyerhoff, 1994), and the use of epistemic modalities in Singaporean English (Gupta, 2006; Bao, 2010).[50] Several of these studies acknowledge multiple language influences and so also incorporate cross-linguistic examinations.

---

[50] See also Blakemore and Gallai (2014) on the importance of understanding *well* and *anyway* from an interpretive standpoint.

These studies of PMs are separated from the first group because each exemplifies characteristics of a specific English variety.

Of course, PMs are not limited to English, and there are several examples of cross-linguistic studies of PMs in other languages that compare their functional and semantic-pragmatic properties to English counterparts; some also include cross-cultural observations. Examples of these studies include the British English use of *well* compared to the Catalan and Spanish equivalents (Cuenca, 2008), the use of *well* among Xhosa L2 English (a variety of BSAfE) speakers (De Klerk, 2005), the Dutch vs. English use of connectives as functions of causality (Sanders & Stukker, 2012), the New Zealand English use of *or so* and *and stuff like that* as compared to the German *oder so* (Terraschke, 2010), and the Irish English use of pragmatic expressions such as *sure*, *fair* and *yes, but* as face saving devices compared to similar expressions used by Polish students speaking English as an L2 (Gasior, 2014).[51]

PMs common to languages other than English have also been widely studied. To name just a few of these studies, Haegeman (2014) looks at the use of "verb-based" PMs in West Flemish, Beukes (2007) reviews aspects of PMs in Afrikaans and Feng (2008) examines PMs in Chinese.[52]

2.2.1 *Pragmatic markers in the literature: some specifics*

To reiterate, conclusions made in studies of PMs tend to depend on the analytical approach used in the study, and an exhaustive list of PMs that have been analysed to date along with their conclusions is beyond the scope of this work. The overview presented above, however, is representative of the study of PMs as a whole, and a striking point that emerges is their heterogeneity. It is apparent that PMs may develop from major linguistic categories (e.g., nouns, verbs) as well as minor ones (e.g., prepositions, adverbs and conjunctions), and they are not limited to single words but can be anything from clauses to interjections to something in the realm of sound effects, numbers and symbols.[53] The following discusses some of the studies mentioned above that are pertinent to this dissertation.

---

[51] See also Kruger (2004) on the translation of PMs from English to Afrikaans in a written text and Blakemore and Gallai (2014) on interpreters' use of PMs.

[52] Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen (2009: 10–16) provide a review of PMs in languages other than English.

[53] Although no studies could be found regarding 'sound effects', 'numbers' and 'symbols' used as PMs, I have observed the use of *boom* used in discourse (e.g., A: *How will I find you?* B: *You know Google maps?* A: *Yes.* B: *Boom*.). The use of *100%* ("hundred percent") to mean "yes" or "okay" (e.g., A: *I'll see you this afternoon?* B: *100%*) has also been observed with some frequency in SAfE. The jump from the abbreviated form of writing used in texting and tweeting to spoken communication is exemplified in the use of *lol*, meaning

PMs are sometimes used to mark an area of information where the speaker assumes common knowledge with the hearer. By assuming the PM will trigger in the hearer assumed mutual knowledge or attitude, the PM serves as a labour-saving device for both the speaker and hearer: the speaker is spared the time and effort of articulating a more lengthy utterance and the hearer is spared the time and effort of processing it. Although false assumptions can occur, as evidenced in much of our daily conversation, most discourse proceeds smoothly. Potential for inaccurate assumptions may increase, however, when the language being used is not the speaker's mother-tongue. Terraschke (2010) compares the use of two semantically and phonologically similar, yet pragmatically and functionally different general extenders: the German *oder so* and the English *or so*, the latter used by German speakers of English as an L2 in New Zealand. Although the two PMs, *oder so* and *or so*, are similar, *oder so* has a wider contextual use, leading to a broader range of pragmatic functions – some of which can be translated as *and stuff (like that)*, *and so on*, and *or something*. The higher multifunctional *oder so* leads it to be used more frequently in German and its English counterpart, *or so*, to be used with similar frequency by the L2 speakers. Furthermore, Terraschke finds the L2 speakers assume a high degree of pragmatic cross-over (pragmatic calquing), ascribing many of the same functions to *or so* and thus demonstrating imprecise pragmatic orientation from one language to another.

Terraschke provides two possible and related reasons for why this cross-cultural misuse occurs. Firstly, the similar semantic, syntactic and phonological structures along with the partial similarities in pragmatic function cause the general extender of the first language to pragmatically interfere with the use and functions of the L2 (in this case English). This interference results in inaccurate assumptions. Since the two markers are phonologically alike, semantically direct translational equivalents and they share some functional similarities, the L2 speakers assume they are functionally identical. This kind of linguistic interference is a result of the speaker attempting to make use of her available language system to the best of her ability. The inferences that the L2 speakers presuppose native English speakers will make then may be beyond the latter's grasp (unless they are familiar with the more multifunctional usage of *oder so*).

The other reason Terraschke suggests for the infelicitous use of *or so* points to a missing aspect in language acquisition, namely that the L2 speakers "have merely failed to acquire the pragmatic restrictions governing the use of this particular form, resulting in the non-standard application of the marker" (Terraschke, 2010: 468). Lacking this acquisition, the L2 speakers make incorrect

---

"laugh out loud" (pronounced to rhyme with *ball* in spoken discourse), and *hashtag* (#) used to gain attention.

assumptions allowing for pragmatic interference. Interestingly, German general extenders that do not have direct translational equivalents in English (e.g., *und tra-la-la*) were largely not used by the L2 speakers, and English general extenders such as *and stuff* and *or anything* that are without direct translational equivalents in German were used in appropriate pragmatic contexts. Terraschke's work highlights some of the mistaken assumptions that individuals make even with a high proficiency of L2 learning when phonological, semantic and pragmatic similarities co-occur. Although pragmatic misuse reveals L2 speakers to have underdeveloped cultural pragmatic orientation, which disadvantages them as communicators, Terraschke (2010: 458–459) finds the misuse is unlikely to lead to a breakdown in the communicative exchange.

De Klerk (2005) studies the use of *well* among Xhosa L2 English (Xhosa English) speakers. Unlike cross-linguistic studies of PMs with formal or functional equivalents, the Xhosa language has neither for *well*, yet the speakers acquire and use it with conventional pragmatic intent in appropriate contexts – albeit, it is used with less frequency compared to mother-tongue English speakers. De Klerk (2005: 1200) asserts that most Xhosa English speakers typically learn English as a second or additional language in school from teachers whose first language is not English. She finds it unlikely the speakers are formally taught to use *well* as a PM since it is not found in the English language learning textbooks used in the schools. De Klerk (2005: 1201) concludes that acquiring its use with pragmatic competence therefore must occur during informal learning from outside exposure, such as from the media and social interactions with mother-tongue English speakers. Without the pragmatic interference of an equivalent PM, most speakers acquire and use *well* with felicity in diverse and pragmatically conventional functions.

The PM *okay* is described as "the most versatile utterance in English" (Levin & Gray, 1983) and one that has received the greatest amount of research attention (Filipi & Wales, 2003: 499). *Okay* appears to be present in all English varieties (as well as many non-English languages) and has become cross-linguistically and cross-culturally absorbed without significant lexical or pronunciation change – one can suppose through widespread English language contact. Over time, culture-specific innovations to this PM have occurred so that *okay* now arguably embodies more contextually dependent pragmatic meanings and functions than any other English PM. Gaines (2011: 3292) remarks that *okay* has "an almost bewildering array of functions", further noting that it has the rather unique quality of often being used to perform several functions simultaneously.[54] This wide variety of meanings and functions makes any use of *okay* necessarily contextually

---

[54] This is in contrast to Fraser's (1996: 189) observation that a PM "has only one function in a given sentence", mentioned in Section 2.1.3.

dependent and, as Adegbija and Bello (2001) find, some uses specifically culturally dependent. Studying *okay* used in Nigerian English, Adegbija and Bello (2001) note that while it is indeed used to convey some of its more conventional meanings (e.g., *alright*, *yes*), speakers of Nigerian English use *okay* in specific contexts that may only be accurately comprehended with knowledge of certain cultural or historical Nigerian information. Here, context and intonation play an enormous role in guiding the hearer to the intended meaning. The authors show that pragmatic meanings that convey specific cultural nuances have become interlaced with how *okay* is used in Nigerian English, and deciphering the intended meaning may hinge on specific background knowledge. These findings are interesting in light of the SAfE use of the PMs analysed in this dissertation. As the studies of *okay* suggest, cultural background may contribute not only to PM use and utterance interpretation but toward the continuing grammaticalisation of existing PMs. Such acquisition of new functions leads to the broadening of pragmatic meaning, potentially creating a greater reliance on context. Unlike the widespread, cross-linguistic use of *okay*, the functionally versatile SAfE PMs *shame*, *hey* and *is it* are rarely used with the same functions by non-SAfE speakers.

Another study that illustrates the influence of cultural background on the use and interpretation of PMs is Gasior's (2014) socio-pragmatic investigation of expressions of opinion that involve specific PMs used for face-saving purposes. One of the findings is that the pragmatic intentions of these expressions are often misinterpreted when used in a cross-cultural setting, with the unfortunate result of triggering negative assumptions. Gasior points out that Polish individuals often assume that correcting someone who holds a different opinion is not only an obligation but an act of courtesy. Their linguistic choice is guided by the cultural-pragmatic assumption that their efforts to correct will be appreciated; this exemplifies their transference of communicative stylistic preferences guided by cultural-linguistic influences to discourse events situated in an Irish English speaking context. Comparatively, Irish English speakers most often do "not respond positively to having [their] point of view 'corrected'" (Gasior, 2014: 247). When Polish speakers of English as an L2 begin an utterance with *Don't you think that x*, or use the tag question *no?*, negative assumptions may arise if the hearer perceives it as an abrasive contradiction or challenge. Gasior remarks that the Irish English preference would be to use the initiating PM *yes, but* to both express listener understanding and symbolise efforts to minimise chances of offending the hearer. Similar to Terraschke's study in which L2 speakers incorrectly assume pragmatic meanings from their L1, when confronted with *Don't you think that x* or the tag *no?*, the Irish English hearer inferentially assumes a pragmatic interpretation based on culturally directed expectations and preferences. Thus the L2 speaker's failure to acquire the Irish English preference for face-saving behaviour can result in the hearers' confusion and formation of negative assumptions that are entirely unintended.

Ultimately these misunderstandings may lead to mutually and pervasive negative perceptions. Gasior (2014: 247) identifies this difference as a "possible point of friction in Irish-Polish intercultural communication." However, she also notes that with linguistic and cultural knowledge and experience, a "third culture" sometimes emerges as a kind of "in-between" culture that allows for differences (Gasior, 2014: 264).

Andersen (2001) and Tagliamonte (2005) analyse the use of the PM *like* among adolescents in London and Toronto respectively. Andersen attributes the functional origin to a sociolinguistic trend in American English, its spread resulting from the widespread influence of American English. His relevance-theoretic approach finds that the use of *like* contributes to the over-all inferential interpretation process by guiding the hearer toward the speaker's intended meaning. Both Andersen and Tagliamonte note that *like* has grammaticalised to become pragmatically versatile, similar to a sentential adverb. Tagliamonte (2005: 1913) points out however that its acquired versatility should not be construed as "random" or "haphazard" placement within the utterance. Rather she suggests its utterance position may be prescribed by its intended function (occurring mostly before a noun or noun phrase), and this illustrates its grammaticalisation toward becoming a nominal marker. Andersen (2001: 264) finds that in some uses, *like* procedurally constrains the truth conditions of the utterance and "may constrain not only implicatures or higher-level explicatures […–AG] but may even constrain the identification of the proposition expressed". Regarding social distribution, Andersen's study shows that *like* is used more frequently by white adolescent females across all social classes. Tagliamonte (2005: 1903) also finds greater use of *like* among young females, but specifically among those aged 15-16 years old; after this age its use drops precipitously for both genders.

Although many researchers credit adolescents or teenagers with using PMs in general more frequently than adults, this is not always the case. Martínez (2011) provides a review of several general extenders and presents a corpus study to examine the use of three used in the spoken language of British teenagers (*and stuff, and everything, and things*). Like most PMs, general extenders are typically used more frequently in spoken than written communication and more often in informal rather than formal interactions. Martínez finds that the three general extenders have developed quickly over time (both losing and gaining new meanings), and all three interpersonally indicate speakers' assumptions of mutual knowledge and efforts toward solidarity with the hearers. The general extenders *and stuff* and *and everything* were found to be more commonly used by teenagers than adults. But notably, British adults were found use the general extender *and things* far

more often than teenagers, and a broader variety of general extenders (other than the three studied) were used by adults as well.

The definition of PMs (Section 2.1.9) and review of some PMs studied in the literature (Section 2.2) was provided to assist in the overall discussion of the three PMs analysed in this dissertation: *shame*, *hey* and *is it*. Specifics regarding tags and follow-ups in relation to *hey* and *is it*, respectively, are presented in Section 2.3. There is very little that could be found from literature, however, regarding the atypical use of *shame* as a PM, the first PM to be discussed in this dissertation (Section 5.1). Jucker and Smith (1998: 172) state that speakers and hearers are jointly responsible for establishing "common ground", and they suggest that parts of language, like PMs, are used to help "create models of each other's presumed knowledge" (Jucker and Smith, 1998: 171). In so doing, PMs function to provide interpersonal signals that assist in maintaining the flow of communication. According to this view, PM *shame* appears to communicate presumed knowledge as well as speaker attitude. Although pervasive in casual SAfE discourse, similar use could not be found in other English varieties. A number of South African travel websites refer to its non-traditional use in SAfE, and it is described in dictionaries of SAfE (e.g., DSAE, OED-SA), but the only analysis of *shame* that could be found is a small corpus study that contributes to part of a Master's thesis (Huddlestone & Fairhurst, 2013). In this study, *shame* is described as an interjection and a marker of solidarity, expressing "sympathy or sentiment" (Huddlestone & Fairhurst, 2013: 93). Although it does appear to function similar to interjections, it will be argued here that *shame* is better characterised as a PM with lexical origins and will be described as having gone through the developmental process of grammaticalisation.

Dictionary references provide specific background information for all three PMs, and this is presented in their respective analytical sections. The two PMs *hey* and *is it* function in SAfE as a tag and a follow-up, respectively, and a brief description of these two categories of PMs is presented below.

2.3   Tags and follow-ups

The speaker's linguistic and stylistic choices, as well as the level of utterance ambiguity, often involve not only immediate contextual factors that influence the hearer's interpretation but referents to assumed mutual knowledge, presumptions about speaker/hearer relationships and social background, and general speaker attitude. Like other PMs, tags and follow-ups are pragmatically enriched items, so it follows that a speaker's linguistic and stylistic choices will

include the use of these items, particularly during casual, spoken communication. How tags and follow-ups are inferred by the hearer depends on the context in which they are presented.

Grammatically, tags and follow-ups are either canonical, meaning they have been accepted as following the grammatical rules of a language, or non-canonical, i.e., they flout the rules. Canonical tags and follow-ups vary according to the grammatical structure of the sentence that they either attach to, as with tags, or refer to, as with follow-ups. English tags and follow-ups that are invariant are also either canonical (e.g., *I'm going home, okay?*) or non-canonical (e.g., *I'm going too, isn't it?*). These items are labelled as invariant when, as the term suggests, they do not change, regardless of the grammatical structure of the referring utterance.[55] While an invariant item can be canonical (e.g., *I'm going home, okay?*), a non-canonical invariant item illustrates a break with conventional usage (e.g., *I'm going too, isn't it?*) by not agreeing with the preceding part of the utterance (i.e., *aren't I*). When English tags or follow-ups do not show canonical agreement with their referents, they are described as non-paradigmatic; that is, they do not have a grammatical relationship with the subject, verb, tense or number in the most proximate preceding utterance (Torgersen, Gabrielatos, Hoffmann & Fox, 2011: 113) and therefore do not adhere to the pattern of change that would be expected.[56] The following discusses specifics about these kinds of PMs, beginning with tags.

2.3.1 Tags

A tag (also termed tag question, question extension, hedge) is a linguistic item or short construction appended to an utterance. Tags often appear to be extrasentential, and while they tend to occur in utterance-final position, they can also be found in mid-utterance following a phrase or clause (Tottie & Hoffmann, 2006), and their placement is directed by their intended function (cf. Tagliamonte, 2005: 1913). Stenström, Andersen and Hasund (2002a: 173) explain that "tags may have either a wide or a narrow scope". A tag with a wide scope refers to the entire proposition to which it is appended (e.g., *Good luck hey*) while a tag with a narrow scope refers to a portion of the proposition (e.g., *Their dog, see, she's so old*; *see* refers to *their dog*).

Tags have been features of spoken English for over 450 years (Tottie & Hoffmann, 2009). They continue to be used predominantly in spoken communication (Tottie & Hoffmann, 2006) and

---

[55] Andersen (2001: 98) describes invariant as meaning "that these particular forms are used across the inflectional paradigm, regardless of the syntactic-semantic features of the preceding proposition that they refer to."

[56] 'Grammar' is defined as a set of codes and rules used in communication and determined by pragmatics. Ariel (2008: xiii) states that "our current grammar is very often our pragmatics (of the past) turned grammatical." See Section 3.1 for further discussion on the concept 'grammar'.

their usage frequency seems to be determined by demographics (Stenström et al., 2002a: 165). A tag is sometimes used to turn a declarative into an interrogative (*You're American, aren't you?*), hence the term, tag question. Tottie and Hoffmann (2009: 131) state that these PMs consist of either a modal (e.g., *should*, *can*, *might*) or an inflection of one of the verbs BE, DO or HAVE followed by a personal pronoun (cf. Cheng & Warren, 2001: 1421). However, items such as *right*, *okay* and *see* that do not fall into this construction recipe may also be considered tags (cf. Holmes, 1990: 186). A tag constructed with the verb BE (e.g., *is it?*, *were they?*) is the most common form in British and American English (Tottie & Hoffmann, 2006, 2009). Here, BE is a copular verb, connecting the subject with a predicate that has been omitted but is understood from the previous utterance. Comparatively, tags are found to occur more frequently in British than American English with further noted differences in pragmatic functions (Tottie & Hoffmann, 2006).

Tags are often used to elicit some form of response from the hearer, and for this reason they may be described as addressee-centred (or hearer-oriented) markers. For instance, Jucker and Smith (1998: 171) suggest that some "[t]ag questions with either rising or falling intonation, for instance, convey assumptions about the relative certainty with which the speaker or the hearer is assumed to have access to relevant information." In this way, tags are hearer-oriented with interactional functions that may be understood as linguistic cues used to navigate or determine the flow of communication (e.g., *you know*, *okay*, *you get me*). On the other hand, Cameron, McAlinden and O'Leary (1988: 82–83) review previous research on tags and demonstrate that not only can tags be hearer-oriented, they can be jointly speaker- and hearer-oriented. This multifunctional, joint orientation has been noted by others as well (e.g., Stenström et al., 2002a). Meyerhoff (1994) analyses this dual orientation of tags, claiming that part of the negotiation that is performed during conversation, in particular through the use of tags, may be to communicate a specific community identity and signal solidarity, marking its use as both speaker-oriented (communicating speaker identity) and hearer-oriented (eliciting solidarity).

Several assumptions about tags and their functions have been proposed and challenged. Tags are often interpreted as functioning to negotiate through assumptions of mutual knowledge by eliciting the hearer's attention and prompting some form of response (Norrick, 1995: 688). But because they sometimes mark speaker uncertainty, as mentioned above, some tags have been described negatively as markers of triviality, a lack of conviction or weakness of opinion or character. While such assumptions may indeed be triggered by their use, these blanket generalisations have been disputed (e.g., Lakoff, 1973b; Meyerhoff, 1994: 368) as other pragmatic functions have been brought to light.

Tottie and Hoffmann (2009: 131) state that "tag questions are not predominantly used for information-seeking purposes but that they are mostly used for interpersonal purposes such as expressing the speaker's attitude, making an interlocutor participate in the conversation, or occasionally, aggressively challenging an interlocutor." Additionally, researchers have noted a variety of functions for these PMs, not all of which involve forming questions. These functions include accommodation such as highlighting a topic change, signalling solidarity, interest, agreement, involvement or confrontation, showing politeness, respect or an affect such as empathy, approval or disbelief (e.g., Holmes, 1990; Norrick, 1995: 688–689; Tottie & Hoffmann, 2006: 130). Meyerhoff (1994) compares the use of tag *eh* among two demographic groups of New Zealand English speakers and finds that both groups use the tag for interpersonal functions (albeit different ones), and neither use it to mark speaker uncertainty or signal a question. It is further pointed out that a rising or falling intonation is also not a reliable cue in determining questions as they may vary not only from one community to another but within a community (Meyerhoff, 1994: 381).[57] Meyerhoff (1994: 385) suggests that it should not be assumed that tags function as questions or indicators of uncertainty but rather that they can represent a range of meaning to be determined in context. While tags may communicate the speaker's level of certainty by requesting or inviting affirmation, information or clarification, they have been found to also express social affiliation, establish rapport and communicate attitudinal information (e.g., Meyerhoff, 1994; Columbus, 2010), and in specific cultures or demographics, some tags are used to signal respect (Starks, Thompson & Christie, 2008: 1291). More generally, Steensig and Drew (2008, in Stivers, 2010: 2776) note that "even though information (confirmation) may be part of what a question is built to get, this seems to be virtually never … what questioning in interaction is centrally about." From these findings it is apparent that tags do not always function interrogatively, and it is for this reason that they are referred to as tags, and not tag questions, in the present study.

Although there is little disagreement that tags are multifunctional, this characteristic has led them to being referred to as semantically vague (Hudson, 1975: 6).[58] This labelling deserves some explanation. Like most PMs, tags cannot be defined in isolation (Norrick, 1995; Tottie & Hoffmann, 2006) because their wide-ranging functionality makes them contextually dependent. Attempting to describe them without reference to context indeed leads to an ambiguous outcome.

---

[57] While a rising inflectional pattern at the end of an utterance may indicate a question, anyone who has ever listened to an adolescent recount a story knows it (aka, up-talk) does not necessarily count as a question. Up-talk can also be heard in some news reports and descriptions. Tottie and Hoffman (2006: 306) suggest that a rising tone at the end of utterances may be used not to invite an answer but "to create involvement, in ways similar to tag questions".

[58] See discussion of 'vague language' in Section 2.1.5.

On the other hand, tags often function as prompts for clarification or devices to resolve potential vagueness during discourse, thus improving chances for successful communication. Therefore, characterising tags as vague cannot be considered entirely accurate.

The second PM to be discussed in this dissertation is tag *hey* (Section 5.2). Based on phonological, syntactic, semantic-pragmatic and functional similarities, tag *hey* seems to loosely correspond with tags *eh* and *huh*. These tags have been found to have recognisable preferences among English varieties: *eh* is most commonly used by English speakers in Canada, England, Australia and New Zealand, while *huh* is mainly heard in the United States (Norrick, 1995: 688; Andersen, 2001: 116).[59] Since different communities appear to use these tags intersubjectively with slightly different functions, it is assumed that each tag may be described differently depending on their observed functions in context and according to which variety of English is represented in the researcher's data.[60] For instance, Wilson and Sperber (1993: 22) describe the tag *huh!* as a "dissociative particle" that constrains higher-level explicatures, while Norrick (2009a: 873) counts *hey* and *huh* among the most common interjections used in spoken American English as turn-initiators to request or attract attention. Notably, *huh* is mentioned as used both as a turn-initiator and a tag (Norrick, 2009a: 870 fn.); however *hey* is described as an interjection functioning only as a turn-initiator. Andersen (2001: 116), Norrick (1995: 689) and Stenström, Andersen and Hasund (2002a) study several invariant tags used in varieties of English around the world, among them are *eh* and *huh*; *hey* is not included, presumably because it is not recognised as a tag among the English varieties reviewed.

As noted above, tags serve many functions beyond simply turning a declarative into an interrogative. Many of the functions attributed to tags *eh* and *huh* appear to have more of a social aim than an interrogative purpose. These functions overlap one another to some degree, at times serving more than one function simultaneously. The more functions the tag is perceived to perform, the more the hearer may feel the need to respond. These functional representations through linguistic items seem similar to what Gumpertz refers to as 'contextualisation cues' because the tags not only express the speaker's knowledge base but, like a gesture or facial expression, can pragmatically draw in the hearer, emphasise certain information, express emotion and attitude, and check what the hearer understands, agrees with and how accurate or truthful he may be assessing the speaker to be – thus negotiating for common ground (cf. Norrick, 1995: 190–

---

[59] The Canadian English tag *eh*, /eɪ/, is well known among North Americans and the topic of jokes, mostly in the US (e.g., Q: *How do you spell Canada?* A: *C-eh, N-eh, D-eh.*).

[60] Studies by Columbus (2009, 2010) suggest that most, if not all, varieties of English use tags with interpersonal functions similar to those of *hey*, *eh* and *huh*. Other examples are the tags *la/lah* used in Singaporean English and *na* and *no* in Indian English (Columbus, 2009).

191). Much like contextualisation cues, Eastman (1992) describes interjections used in Swahili as having accompanying gestural use that is inseparable without loss of meaning. Such examples make it clear "that both language and gesture work together, in the construction and expression of appropriate communication" (Eastman, 1992: 286). Like accompanying gestures, meaning is also expressed with accompanying facial expressions and prosodic contour. Furthermore, tags require an element of mind-reading during interpretation along with consideration of other contextual factors. Norrick (1995: 688) states that utterances using tag *huh* "typically signal a perception of concurrence or difference in knowledge or attitude" between communicators, but its use "fulfils a range of functions which may initially be difficult to distinguish" such as attracting attention, urging a reply, and appealing for support, clarity or confirmation. As these studies illustrate, tags may serve multiple functions, the specific one to be determined only by its context.

As mentioned, tags are almost exclusively used in spoken communication (Tottie & Hoffmann, 2006); this may explain some of their lack of customary spellings (e.g., *eh* or *e*, *huh* or *hunh*; herein *eh* and *huh*) as well as account for their distribution of pronunciation preferences. Similar to tags *huh* and *eh*, the SAfE tag *hey* functions in a variety of different ways that prompt some form of interaction or inferential understanding of the speaker's state of mind without necessarily presenting as a question or signalling uncertainty or a request for confirmation aside from the hearer acknowledging the interaction. These tags are pragmatically, phonetically and functionally similar enough to warrant some comparison. Although a comparative examination of tags *huh*, *eh* and *hey* is beyond the scope of this study, as will be shown, the tags appear to vary in pragmatically meaningful ways, making them not entirely interchangeable.[61]

2.3.2   Follow-ups

Follow-ups are a group of PMs that have received considerably less research attention than tags. Termed also by their functions (reception/recipient markers, response tokens, continuers, turn-constructional units) or utterance occurrence (free-standing/stand-alone responses), follow-ups are brief, multifunctional listener responses that refer to a previous speaker's most proximate utterance. Examples of follow-ups include *okay*, *oh*, *are you* and *really*. Andersen (2001: 101) describes follow-ups as functioning to express surprise, "uttered as a reaction of surprise or agreement with a proposition stated by another speaker."[62] Like tags, the interactional functions

---

[61] Although I make associations between tags *hey*, *eh* and *huh*, etymological similarities were not assessed and are not assumed.

[62] Compare with descriptions for follow-up *is it* in the DSAE ("is-it", 1996), the OED-SA (Van Niekerk & Wolvaardt, 2013: 617) and the OED ("is-it", 2009).

of follow-ups may be speaker-oriented, hearer-oriented or both. Research on these types of PMs includes Beach (1993, 1995), who discusses pragmatic functions associated with using *okay* as a "recipient marker", and Norrick (2010, 2012), who assesses several interjections used as "response tokens" or "continuers" to help determine the course of communication. Robinson (2014) studies how the use of *what?* as a "turn-constructional unit" is used to determine common ground, and Andersen (2001) analyses invariant follow-up *is it* used in London English. A common conclusion among these studies is that follow-ups assist hearers in managing the comprehension and progression of conversation while negotiating for common ground.

Andersen's (2001) analysis of *is it* as an invariant follow-up is of particular interest here since this PM is used in SAfE and is one of the PMs analysed in this dissertation. The literature presents several investigations of invariant tag *is it* used in different English varieties (e.g., Andersen, 2001; Cheng & Warren, 2001; Columbus, 2010; Torgersen et al., 2011). However, study of its use as an invariant follow-up appears limited to Andersen (2001), whose sociolinguistic analysis focuses on its use by adolescents of specific, multi-linguistic London communities.[63] Depending on one's frame of reference, when used as a response to a previous utterance, *is it* may be described as an interjection on par with *oh* or *wow*, and indeed pragmatically it does resemble discourse interjections. It is referred to as a follow-up here in keeping with Andersen's choice of terminology and because this term more adequately describes both its function and occurrence in communication.

Noting that some follow-ups have a longer history of use as tags (e.g., *isn't it*), Andersen (2001: 110) suggests that the functional development of some tags generally precedes that of follow-ups.[64] Since there are noted similarities between invariant tag *is it* and invariant follow-up *is it*, information is provided on tag *is it* and its various realisations (e.g., *innit*, *isn't it*) and their relation to language change before discussing follow-up *is it*.

As mentioned, Tottie and Hoffmann (2009: 137) find that the most common tags (tag questions) in the English language are those involving the verb BE (i.e., *am*, *are*, *is*, *was*, *were*, *be*, *been*, *being*). The canonical tag *is it* and its various paradigmatic realisations (e.g., *am I*, *weren't we*) – that is, forms that are in keeping with the given operator and systematically change according to the subject, tense

---

[63] Andersen (2001: 112) notes that prior to his study he could find no research on this particular PM used as an invariant follow-up, although "there are brief descriptions of third person singular neuter forms used as invariant tags [in the literature –AG]."

[64] This is not meant to imply that all tags eventually develop into follow-ups or that all follow-ups originate from tags.

and number referents in the preceding grammatical structure – are common in English and have been well studied.[65] Less common is the use of *is it* or similar form as a non-paradigmatic invariant tag; however, there is some interesting recent research, particularly on its use in specific English varieties (Andersen, 2001; Cheng & Warren, 2001; Columbus, 2009, 2010; Torgersen et al., 2011; Parviainen, 2016).[66] Many of these studies show that the use of invariant tags in English is common in multi-ethnic communities where there is high dialect-contact and exposure to different language structures, meanings and functions.[67] For example, unlike English, "in many languages, including Italian, TQs [i.e., tag questions –AG] are mainly or exclusively invariant" (Tomaselli & Gatt, 2015: 55). In this way, exposure to different languages, such as those in which invariant tags are common, can influence how English is used and interpreted. Cheng and Warren (2001: 1436–1437) draw similar conclusions in their evaluation of invariant tag *is it* used by non-native English speakers in Hong Kong, finding that its use may result from the speakers' familiarity with a similarly functioning invariant tag in their mother-tongue of Cantonese. Parviainen (2016) also focuses on the influence of other languages on the development and use of invariant tag *isn't it* in four Asian English varieties. Among these varieties, Parviainen (2016: 106) finds that invariant tag *isn't it* is used most frequently in Indian English and reasons that this is because there are similar structures in the indigenous Hindi language that appear to encourage its use. Parviainen (2016: 112) further proposes that the use of invariant tag *isn't it* in other Asian English varieties may have stemmed from its use in Indian English. It is possible then that in English communities made up of individuals speaking other languages in which invariant tags are familiar, these speakers transfer or assume the invariance aspect when using English tags. Like a crack in a dam, change begets change. Pragmatic meaning is particularly sensitive to linguistic change. For example, changes such as those involving a language's phonology have been found to result from the reinterpretation of speech sounds (Guy, 2003: 377), which would be expected in multi-ethnic communities. Furthermore, intonation patterns have been found to be associated with pragmatic meaning (Janda & Joseph, 2003: 117), so in an environment where prosodic use differs (Thompson & Balkwill, 2006: 421), one may also expect changes of pragmatic meaning that lead to new mental constructions and assumptions of language use.

---

[65] Andersen (2001: 110–112) provides a list of these studies. Others include Cameron (1988), Holmes (1990) Lakoff (1973b) and Tottie and Hoffmann (2006).

[66] Invariance implies that the linguistic item is used "as is" in all grammatical contexts, despite English grammatical rules that dictate inflectional change and pronoun agreement with the previous utterance (e.g., *are you*, *wasn't I*, *have they*); it is also considered non-paradigmatic when it flouts these grammatical rules.

[67] In the research reviewed, "multi-ethnic" refers to communities made up mostly or entirely of individuals with non-Anglo heritage and where there is a preponderance of languages spoken other than English.

The notion that language change often originates from the innovative language use of young people (i.e., roughly 13–24 years) has received a fair bit of traction and become widely accepted (Crystal, 1997: 4–5). Citing Stenström, Andersen and Hasund (2002b) on British speakers in multi-ethnic communities, Tottie and Hoffman (2006: 304–306) report that younger speakers are found to use significantly more invariant tags compared with older speakers (i.e., ≥ 25 years). Innovative language use among young speakers may be motivated by a multiplicity of factors, such as fewer perceived societal constraints (or rebelliousness against such constraints) along with a youthful exploration of behaviour, identity and interest in linguistic experimentation for personal and social gain. Hence, young people may feel freer to reject formality (i.e., ignore rules of a language) in favour of self-expression and acceptability within their chosen social network; thus expressing their individuality while establishing social connections.

Torgersen et al. (2011: 115) make clear that the linguistic and social factors that motivate language change are complex, and none can be determined to be a sole cause; rather it is their interplay that creates an environment for the innovation to occur, which then may lead to change. Furthermore, over time innovative language used by young people of multi-ethnic communities tends to spread to individuals not previously using it, including individuals of other communities (Torgersen et al., 2011: 112–113). What makes some innovative language use appealing enough to spread to other social networks is interesting to contemplate but beyond the scope of this dissertation.

A study from the 1980s (Hewitt, 1986: 132), also cited in Andersen (2001: 113) and Torgersen, Gabrielatos, Hoffmann et al. (2011: 113), observes that the invariant tag *innit*, derived from *isn't it*, is used quite commonly in London English and states that "[o]f all the items to penetrate white speech from the Caribbean, this is the most stable and most widely used amongst adolescents and amongst older people." Andersen (2001: 207) and Torgersen, Gabrielatos, Hoffmann et al. (2011: 113) also find the use of *innit* to be widely established and concur that it is mainly Afro-Caribbean in origin, further stating that it continues to be used in communities made up mostly of immigrants with probable links to languages in which invariant tags are canonical and/or common.[68]

As will be shown (Section 5.3.1), *is it*, along with its various canonical realisations, has long been used as an interrogative tag and follow-up. The use of *is it* as an invariant tag and follow-up for non-interrogative purposes is a relatively new development, and for reasons stemming from its development as a PM (discussed in Section 5.3), it appears to be restricted to specific English

---

[68] The terms 'non-Anglo' and 'Afro-Caribbean' as they are used by Hewitt (1986), Andersen (2001) and Torgersen et al. (2011) are believed to be a general reference to Black British residents from the West Indies or Africa.

varieties. Discussing its origin in London English, Andersen (2001: 112) refers to literature documenting several English varieties and their geographic locations where the use of invariant tags involving the verb BE, namely *innit* and *is it*, have been observed. Among the references consulted is Trudgill and Hannah's (1982) work on varieties of English spoken around the world. Andersen lists most of the locations presented by Trudgill and Hannah (1982: 26), and based on the social distribution of immigrants from these locations in London, Andersen (2001: 207) attributes the use of this invariant tag and its development as an invariant follow-up as having originated from adolescents of Afro-Caribbean heritage, mostly with recent immigrant backgrounds and living in specific multi-ethnic, low socio-economic London communities. Based on his data, Andersen (2001: 180–181) formulates three hypothetical linguistic conditions in which invariant follow-up *is it* may be preferred in place of other canonical forms, namely in place of constructions involving modal verbs (e.g., *can*, *should*, *might*) and the various inflections of the verbs BE (e.g., *is*, *am*, *were*), DO (*do*, *did*, *does*) and HAVE (*have*, *has*, *had*):

- syntactic-semantic condition: the canonical form is more likely to be replaced with *is it* if it "shares one of its syntactic-semantic features with the follow-up *is it*"; that is, "person, gender and number of the subject and polarity, tense and type of verb (BE vs. other)";[69]

- phonological condition: the canonical form is more likely to be replaced when there is "economical gain in terms of production effort"; i.e., the simpler invariant *is it* is likely to replace a canonical follow-up that is phonologically more complex (e.g., *couldn't they*);

- lexical condition: the canonical form is more likely to be replaced with *is it* when the canonical form includes a low-frequency modal verb (e.g., *ought*, *need*, *dare*); in other words, *is it* may be more easily accessible and thus effort-saving.

All three conditions refer to simplifications that result in a gain in communicative efficiency, which is consistent with both Grammaticalisation theory and Relevance theory. Andersen (2001: 206) concludes that the use of invariant follow-up *is it* in specific London communities in the 1990s reflects its grammaticalisation, which is evidenced by its pragmatic enrichment and invariant form in specific linguistic conditions.[70] This phenomenon is believed to have originated from its use as a tag in the sociocentric communication of adolescents living in multi-ethnic communities who have other language influences as well as assume pragmatic license in their exploration for personal

---

[69] Polarity refers to grammatical polarity which meaningfully dictates an affirmative or negative use of items such as tags and follow-ups. Polarity is not addressed in this dissertation.

[70] Andersen notes that The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language (COLT) was compiled in 1993. Compilation of The London subset of the British National Corpus (BNC/London) is continually ongoing.

and social identity. Andersen (2001: 185, 205–206) finds that, through innovative use, follow-up *is it* has grammaticalised by functionally broadening: no longer only expressing astonishment, surprise or disbelief but demonstrating "active listenership" and serving "as an invitation for the other speaker to elaborate on a topic".[71]

The invariant aspect of follow-up *is it*, its apparent use in just two English varieties (i.e., London English and SAfE), Andersen's conclusions about its development in London English and, as will be shown, its widespread use in SAfE, marks this PM as a curious item from a cross-linguistic, analytical perspective. In addition to their observation of invariant tags used in other English varieties, Trudgill and Hannah (1982: 26) report that the invariant follow-up *is it* is a "common feature" in SAfE, describing its use as an "all-purpose response question" that is "invariable for person, tense or auxiliary".[72] Donaldson (1993: 256 fn.) also remarks on the common use in SAfE of invariant *is it* in contexts in which the speaker is responding to an utterance where the verb is in the progressive form (e.g., *has been running*). Other references citing the use of invariant *is it* in SAfE are Crystal (1995: 357) and Melchers and Shaw (2003: 133); both of whom noting its common use, with the latter stating that it occurs in "all varieties" of SAfE. Interestingly, all of the English varieties noted in the referenced literature in which invariant copular verb BE + pronoun tags and follow-ups are used indeed have high dialect contact and multi-ethnic densities; this is characteristic also of South Africa's urban areas. Over the last 200+ years, South Africa has been home to many languages and ethnicities, indigenous people and immigrants alike. Today this diversity remains an identifying characteristic of the Rainbow Nation.[73] South African urban areas in particular are multi-ethnic communities with a variety of combinations of dialect and language influences, in keeping with the notion that language differences motivate language change.

2.4 Chapter summary

The PMs highlighted in Sections 2.2 and 2.3 have been presented to illustrate how some PMs are highly versatile and exceptional to specific varieties of English, how they can be sensitive to cross-linguistic and cultural influences, how multi-ethnic environments can (unintentionally) lead to linguistic interference and change, pragmatic transference and cross-linguistic borrowing, and how

---

[71] Occurring in a multilingual environment, Andersen (2014: 24) defines "functional broadening" as a meaningful change that involves the "acquisition of new pragmatic function in the RL [i.e., recipient language –AG] not observed in the SL [i.e., source language –AG]".

[72] This point is not mentioned in Andersen's (2001: 112) study, perhaps because the demographics did not include people of South African background.

[73] Archbishop Desmond Tutu coined the phrase "Rainbow Nation" to describe South Africa's multi-ethnic population following the first democratic elections (1994) held after apartheid.

socio-pragmatic misinterpretation can interrupt not only communication but cultural perceptions. *Like* and *okay* were presented to illustrate the advanced multifunctional development of some PMs. Others, such as *oder so/or so*, *well*, *okay*, *innit/is it*, *don't you think that (x)* and *no?*, represent instances in which cultural background and knowledge bear on their use and interpretation. Descriptions of tags and follow-ups were presented to better understand findings presented in the literature as well as their diachronic developments and current functions. Finally, a review of some of the studies in literature, such as general extenders (*oder so/or so*), tags (*innit/is it*, *huh*) and follow-ups (*okay*, *innit/is it*), help define the multifunctional yet culturally specific nature of these subcategories.

Chapter 3:   Theoretical frameworks

The central aim of this study is to identify and describe PMs that are characteristic of spoken SAfE, document their diachronic change and explain their contemporary functions. This aim will be achieved in the following three stages: i) investigate each of the PMs' diachronic development within the context of SAfE, ii) analyse how they currently function, and iii) examine the effects of these language changes. To this end, Grammaticalisation theory is employed in the analytical discussion regarding the PMs' diachronic developments while Relevance theory is used in all three analytical stages.

This chapter begins with a general description of the properties of grammaticalisation as well as some specifics about Grammaticalisation theory (Section 3.1).[74] Grammaticalisation theory contributes to the study of PMs by mapping out and describing how some lexical (conceptual) items develop grammatical (procedural) functions. This section is followed by a review of some key aspects of Relevance theory that are pertinent to the study of PMs. Discussions of these two frameworks are also presented to show why using this combinatory approach is appropriate for analysing the three PMs in the context of SAfE (Section 3.2). To this end, the final section, 3.3, addresses the compatibility of the two frameworks and the benefits of combining them for the overall analysis.

3.1   Grammaticalisation theory

Grammaticalisation (also referred to as grammaticalization, grammaticization) is a type of unidirectional language change that occurs when "lexical material in highly constrained pragmatic and morphosyntactic contexts becomes grammatical" (Traugott, 1995: 1).[75] Changes typically result from phonological reduction, decategorisation (change in grammatical class), pragmaticalisation (pragmatic strengthening and/or the adoption of new pragmatic functions), semantic shift (involving proceduralisation, i.e., an item's conceptual encoding becomes more functional) and (inter)subjectification (described below) (Traugott, 1995). Other processes that may be involved in grammaticalisation are obligatorification (a speaker's linguistic choices become more specified or restricted in certain contexts), syntagmatic variability (fixation or increased

---

[74] For the purpose of clarity, references to the process of grammaticalisation are presented in lower case while Grammaticalisation theory appears in upper case.

[75] Definitions of the italicised terminology used in Grammaticalisation theory are provided in Appendix A.1.

syntactic freedom) and a change in bondedness with or without phonological reduction (Norde, 2012: 74).[76] Grammaticalisation theory provides a framework to describe these processes of language change. The following is a model adapted from Nicolle (2007: 47) representing the basic stages of change that occur during grammaticalisation:

Change of use → change of meaning → change of form

(pragmatic)   (semantic)   (syntactic + phonological)

While it is generally accepted that pragmatic change is the catalyst for further change, semantic and formal changes may occur sequentially or simultaneously and not necessarily in the same order indicated in the model. Furthermore, the original semantic meaning of the item need not be lost or become unused in the process.

The *cline of grammaticality* illustrates the changes that occur when lexical items become grammaticalised. These changes have been found to be predictable to some extent; that is, the process of change tends to follow a similar course of development within grammatical categories. Several clines are noted in the literature (e.g., Lehmann (Bielefeld), 1985: 304; Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 7, 99–114). Traugott (1995: 1) provides the following cline to describe the development of the manner adverbials *indeed*, *in fact* and *besides* into PMs:

Clause-internal adverbial > sentence adverbial > discourse particle

Fischer (2013: 525) also notes that a stage in grammaticalisation may be one in which a clause is reduced to an elliptical form. Acknowledging such a stage resolves the change between, for instance, the clause-internal adverbial and the sentence adverbial.

Grammaticalisation of a linguistic item may not be limited to a single-path cline. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 114) cite studies that indicate that more than one path can develop from a single lexical item. More recently, Fischer (2013: 524) has shown that a single item may branch into multiple paths of change (not necessarily simultaneously), and that multiple sources (i.e., items, influences) may converge into a single path (again, not necessarily simultaneously). This is an important insight specifically in a multilingual environment where the likelihood of diverse influences on language use can be expected to be higher (as discussed in section 3.3) than in

---

[76] Various definitions of grammaticalisation have been put forward in the literature (cf. e.g., Bybee and Pagliuca (1985), Nicolle (1998), Lehmann (2002), Hopper and Traugott (2003), Traugott (2003, 2010b, 2012), Himmelman (2004) and Diewald (2011)).

monolingual settings (this notion is revisited in relation to contact-induced grammaticalisation in section 3.1.3).

Hopper and Traugott (2003: 7) state that during grammaticalisation "a given form typically moves from a point on the left of the cline [marking more conceptual items –AG] to a point further on the right [marking more functional ones –AG], in other words, that there is a strong tendency toward *unidirectionality* in the history of individual forms." Accordingly, once an item becomes grammaticalised, it may continue to acquire new functions, but, as unidirectionality implies, the item does not 'reverse directions'; that is, it does not lose its acquired grammatical functions to revert exclusively to its original form and meaning (e.g., Lehmann (Bielefeld), 1985: 2; Heine & Kuteva, 2003: 529; Hopper & Traugott, 2003; Fischer, 2013).

Some researchers have challenged the notion of unidirectionality, attempting to prove that it is not an absolute within the Grammaticalisation framework (e.g., Harris, 1997; Joseph, 2004: 62). The few exceptions provided in these studies, however, have been proven to be either rare or not reflective of grammaticalisation at all but rather of other processes of language change, such as semanticisation, lexicalisation or degrammaticalisation (Haspelmath, 2004: 35; Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 133; cf. Norde, 2009), and the notion of unidirectionality remains central to the theory of Grammaticalisation. In fact, Traugott (1995: 1) notes that "unidirectionality has been used as a gatekeeper to assess whether some change X is or is not a case of grammaticalization."

Fundamental to grammaticalisation is the understanding of what is meant by grammar. Traugott (1995: 5) states that the communicative actions used in grammar involve syntax, morphology, phonology and semantics as well as "inferences that arise out of linguistic form, in other words, linguistic pragmatics such as topicalization, deixis." According to Haspelmath (1998: 316–317), these communicative actions are reconstructed from the previous generation's output (i.e., speech, language use); therefore, it must be assumed that the way language is used (i.e., pragmatics) determines grammar (cf. Ariel, 2008: 2). This view of grammar then accounts for grammaticalisation that results from, for example, semantic-pragmatic reinterpretation following innovative use of a lexeme in specific contexts. An item that has changed as a result of innovative use may be described as having undergone *subjectification*, which may involve pragmatic adjustments leading to pragmaticalisation. Both Himmelman (2004) and Traugott (1995) claim that the two main changes that tend to precede grammaticalisation are subjectification and pragmaticalisation. Subjectification may occur following semantic reanalysis (Traugott, 2012), and pragmaticalisation is the result of ascribing new pragmatic functions to a linguistic item; both assume attitudinal aspects attached to the item, and both may lead to language change. Traugott (2010a: 30) further

distinguishes between subjectivity and intersubjectivity (i.e., the behaviours that result in (inter)subjectification), defining the first as the speaker's understanding of language use and pragmatic interpretation in relation to her worldview (i.e., her beliefs, needs, preferences and background knowledge) and the latter as the speaker's attitude and presumptions about her audience's language use and pragmatic interpretation (i.e., in relation to the speaker's assumptions about her audience's worldview). In other words, subjectivity is speaker-oriented and intersubjectivity is hearer-oriented. Again, both involve the speaker's attitude either toward herself (subjectivity) or toward the hearer (intersubjectivity). Therefore, subjectification is a kind of semantic-pragmatic change that occurs in the speaker's cognitive-linguistic system, and *intersubjectification* is the assumption of semantic-pragmatic understanding that the speaker attributes to the hearer's cognitive-linguistic system. While subjectivity and intersubjectivity are independent phenomena, both can be viewed as impetuses that jointly lead to innovative language use that then may trigger the grammaticalisation process. Traugott (2010a: 30), however, asserts that it is primarily intersubjectivity that contributes to grammaticalisation because the communicative process draws heavily on speaker-hearer negotiations.

If subjectivity and intersubjectivity are viewed as drivers for innovative language use, pragmaticalisation is one of the results of such use. The adjustment of an item's semantic or conceptual meaning towards one that is more functional or procedural is a consequence of pragmatically broadening, narrowing or both during grammaticalisation.[77] The novel variant is more reliant on context to determine its intended meaning, therefore, its meaning has gone through a process of reanalysis and become more subjective ((inter)subjectification). Further broadening or narrowing may eventually involve suppression of the source meaning in favour of pragmatic meaning, thereby increasing its contextual reliance.

PMs often reflect emotional states, but they are described as having been grammaticalised because they function to direct grammatical procedures. The following sections discuss Grammaticalisation theory in terms of the motivations involved in innovative language use (in section 3.1.1), the occurrence of meaning shift (in section 3.1.2), contact-induced grammaticalisation (in section 3.1.3) and finally the relationship between grammaticalisation and PMs (in section 3.1.4).

---

[77] Pragmatic broadening and narrowing during interpretation is dependent on contextual factors. Carston (2016a: 9) provides the following example of the co-occurrence of broadening and narrowing: assuming *Boris is a bachelor* is "an utterance by Boris's wife, who has long endured his affairs with other women and general lack of commitment, the concept BACHELOR* which is communicated is, arguably, both a broadening of the lexical concept BACHELOR (it includes *married* men who behave in certain ways) and a narrowing of it (it excludes unmarried men who don't behave in this stereotypic way).

3.1.1   *Motivations for innovative language use*

Language is a product of human interaction and need for understanding, and language change can only occur through its use. Since humans use language, humans cause this change, and whether through the cognitive and physiological mechanisms used to produce and process communication or through contact with other linguistic factors (Grossman & Noveck, 2015: 145), motivations for innovative language use are usually not at the level of consciousness. Language use and development does however appear to follow the human need for efficiency (Futrell, Mahowald & Gibson, 2015); hence if language change leads to more efficient production and comprehension, such change is more likely to be embraced. Innovative language use is believed to result from internal motivations for expressivity as interlocutors navigate through discourse (Haspelmath, 1999: 1043; Lehmann, 2002: 16; Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 72–74; Brinton & Traugott, 2005: 99; Croft, 2010: 3)[78], but rarely can language change be explained by a single factor. Rather individuals are motivated to use innovative language because of a complex mix of internal and external factors (e.g., Levey, Groulx & Roy, 2013). Innovative language use, for example, may result from expressing new concepts and the need to make certain concepts more accessible. LaPolla (2015: 38) states that "[o]nce you have a word for something, e.g. *selfie*, it makes the phenomenon a lot easier to think about and talk about, and you end up thinking about it and talking about it more." Similarly, concepts that are represented more often become more familiar and are more easily accessible to both speakers and hearers.

The flip side of expressivity (but no less important) is comprehension, and the hearer is no bystander in language change. Just as speakers use strategies to determine the course of their output, hearers use strategies to follow the progression of a conversation, pick up on relevant contextual cues (linguistic and non-linguistic) and form their own inferential conclusions (Norrick, 2012). When a hearer is presented with an unfamiliar linguistic item, he is apt to try to make sense of it, which entails inferentially integrating all contextual cues to determine the speaker's intended meaning and purpose. Such integration involves the synchronisation of accompanying paralinguistic and non-linguistic cues and making assumptions and associations with existing concepts and functions in the hearer's existing linguistic repertoire. Fischer (2013) contends that making connections such as these plays an integral role in language change, specifically in grammaticalisation. For example, it did not take long before the innovative item *selfie* (noun) crossed grammatical categories to be used as an adjective (as in, *selfie* cameras). Unfamiliar items with formal similarities may also lead to confusions between words, causing eventual language

---

[78] Keller (1994:101, in Croft 2010:41) defines expressivity as "[talking] in such a way that you are noticed."

change. Examples include similar sounding words that are semantically related (e.g., *hoi-polloi* and *hoity-toity*), similar sounding but semantically (mostly) unrelated words (e.g., *voyager* and *voyeur*) and words that share some but not all of the same morphemes (e.g., *understand* and *underestimate* > *misunderstand* and [x]*misunderestimate*). With repeated and wide-spread use, these initial confusions may lead to eventual language change.

Wide-spread adoption of innovative variants only occurs following persistent and repeated exposure. Croft (2010) identifies two basic steps of human involvement needed for grammaticalisation to occur: innovation and propagation. Innovation (or "first-order variation" (Croft, 2010: 3)) marks the possible beginning of grammaticalisation, with the novel variant being constrained by and coexisting with earlier form(s) and meaning(s). As Croft (2010: 2) explains, "[i]f there is no innovation, there is no variation, and if there is no variation, there is no possibility of change." For the innovation to take hold (and thus for grammaticalisation to begin), repetitive exposure and wide-spread use of the novel variant within a social group needs to occur. The speed at which propagation (also referred to as "second-order variation" (Croft, 2010: 2) and "actualization" (Nicolle, 2011: 407)) occurs cannot be predicted. But through propagation, the novel variant may become routinised, leading to greater acceptability. The new linguistic development may continue to broaden functionally and spread widely, while the source (original) meaning progressively becomes less often attributed to the linguistic item (see also Nicolle, 1998, chap. 23, 2011: 407–409; Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 76).

Hopper and Traugott (2003: 98) remark "that grammaticalization can be thought of as the result of the continual negotiation of meaning that speakers and hearers engage in" during discourse (see also Brinton & Traugott, 2005, chap. 3). Such negotiation of meaning involves actively monitoring the course of conversation; this includes the online evaluation of observable non-linguistic signals. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 71) cite two competing, yet inextricable, preferences that are present during the negotiation of meaning: the "maximization of informativeness" and the "maximization of efficiency via minimal differentiation". Here, both speakers and hearers play a role in (potential) language change. Simply put, the speaker wants to communicate and wants the hearer to understand what is being communicated. The speaker knows that the hearer wants to understand his own environment and will settle on what he perceives to be the speaker's most obvious meaning, which may be somewhat different from the speaker's intended meaning. Therefore, the speaker attempts to communicate in such a way that guides the hearer to an interpretation that is close enough to the speaker's intention. In so doing, the speaker uses language to attract the hearer's attention while not entailing more effort than is needed from either speaker or hearer

(Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 71–76). The speaker is informative enough while not providing information that it is assumed the hearer already knows because doing so would be inefficient, not to mention tedious for both of them. In this balance of attracting attention and minimizing effort, linguistic creativity sometimes results. As will be observed in Section 3.2, these motivating factors for innovative language use echo aspects of Relevance theory.

The preference for maximizing informativeness involves pragmatic factors such as using identifiable expressions and speech patterns that are associated with a specific social group or attract the hearer's attention, acknowledging the speaker/hearer relationship, making assumptions about mutual and accessible knowledge and referencing presumptions. It also entails the constant on-line evaluation or monitoring of paralinguistic comprehension signals given by the hearer that directs immediate and future communication.

Several of the pragmatic factors that are involved with maximizing informativeness also explain the competing preference: maximizing efficiency. Individuals are believed to have a preference for cognitive efficiency and economy of effort (Andersen, 2001: 35; Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 76), which may further fuel the innovative process and add to the appeal, and thus imitation and propagation, of the new linguistic development. Making assumptions regarding the hearer's accessible knowledge, what social group he identifies with and what speech patterns will attract his attention contributes to the speaker's ability to maximize efficiency and minimize effort as well as maintain the hearer's attention. This cognitive and temporal efficiency has been linked to the overuse of some evaluative expressions such as hyperboles for pragmatic and social gain. In essence, a hyperbole is a truth presented as a lie. In other words, although it is an exaggeration, and therefore logically false, it expresses an element of truth. One example of this kind of use is *awesome* (arguably, most frequently used in and associated with US English), when *great* or *good* would be more contextually accurate.[79] A more recent development is the previously mentioned English use of *lol*, the texting abbreviation for *laugh out loud*. Now used in spoken discourse as a response, *lol* (rhymes with *ball*) exemplifies an efficiency and economy of articulation and cognitive processing.[80]

---

[79] Arguably, few things in life can accurately be described as so significant as to be *awesome*. The OED (http://www.oed.com.ez.sun.ac.za/view/Entry/13934?redirectedFrom=awsome#eid) suggests a sense of *awesome* with progressively weakening intensity, from "profoundly reverential" to "remarkable" to "great". I suggest *awesome* has further weakened to now equate with *good* and in some cases *fine*, *okay* or even *that'll do*.

[80] Although *lol* may be accompanied with a smile, it is usually produced with a downward intonation and, ironically, no laughter whatsoever, most often denoting a kind of generic or sarcastic response (e.g., A: I

The hyperbolic use of items such as *awesome* and *lol* maximizes efficiency, and to some extent informativeness, by attracting attention. If the item happens to be a sociolinguistic trend, it may have the added benefit of pragmatically positioning the speaker within a particular social group or with a certain status. Dahl (2001: 2) compares the exaggerated use of some items to economic inflation and demonstrates that this kind of imprecise use results in loss of "informational value". As an example, Dahl (2001: 1) notes that if all men can be referred to as *gentleman*, then what value is there of being recognised as one?: "the increase in the number of bearers of a title, or in the amount of money in circulation, influences the value of the 'symbolic commodity', resulting in inflation." However, Dahl does not seem to take into account the development and enrichment of new meanings and functions that interlocutors attribute to the novel variant during this stage of loose use or innovation.

The positioning within the phonological context of the utterance may also affect the grammaticalisation of a linguistic item and may be attributed to the maximization of efficiency, and again to some extent informativeness. Croft (2010: 4) notes that "sound production … is often influenced by neighbouring articulations." One cited example of phonological influence is *going to* > *gonna* (e.g., Nicolle, 1997a, 1998; Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 85; cf. Fischer, 2013: 522). Here, again the preference for minimal effort through the economy of articulation is demonstrated through phonological simplification of the phonetic cluster; this is also known as coalescence, or "the loss of phonological segments" (Brinton & Traugott, 2005: 27–28). In terms of maximizing informativeness, the speaker simply makes the assumption that the meaning is clear enough in this somewhat abbreviated form.

While there are various motivations that may explain why some items become grammaticalised, based on public resistance to novel variants (i.e., nonstandard language use) and negative reactions toward those adopting to use them (e.g., Whelton, 2011), it is easy to conclude that language change is rarely deliberately (i.e., consciously) embraced beyond pockets within communities, at least not in its nascence. A more likely scenario is that novel variants that are heard or used more often are simply more accessible to the speaker, who consciously and subconsciously searches for alternative and innovative language use to attract the hearer's attention and meet a selfish (i.e., ego-centric or speaker-oriented) need for expressivity. This is supported by Andersen (2001: 34) and Croft (2010) who find that motivations for innovative language use may originate with the speaker's need to

---

slipped on it. B: *lol*). In its ease of use and unusual cross-over from written-to-spoken form, *lol* has pragmatically changed as it has acquired a meaning that in some cases is the polar opposite of its original, *laugh out loud*, implying something along the lines of "I respond to you without emotion."

express herself well enough to be understood. Familiarity with linguistic variants likely plays an essential role in their use and propagation as well as their accessibility; that is, the more an expression is heard, the more likely it will be used or repeated. Therefore it is believed that a speaker's linguistic choices are based on her relationship with the hearer as well as her own worldview while bearing in mind the equally strong need for cognitive and temporal economy and efficient expressivity (Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 75).

3.1.2 Meaning shift

Traditionally a key characteristic of grammaticalisation has been that the shift from concrete to more abstract meaning entails some loss or weakening in semantic meaning on the one hand with pragmatic enrichment and increased grammatical function on the other. This notion of something becoming lost or weakened during the course of grammaticalisation persists in the current literature (e.g., Dahl, 2001: 7; Himmelman, 2004: 32) but deserves some clarification.

Sweetser (1988: 389) attributes the first mention of grammaticalisation, a term referring to language change, to the 1912 work of Antoine Meille entitled "L'Evolution des Formes Grammaticales". It was Meille who suggested that a weakening or loss of lexical features occurred during grammaticalisation, now also referred to as deterioration or bleaching. Sweetser (1988: 390) appears to be one of the first scholars to have questioned this notion as a defining characteristic of grammaticalisation. More recently, Eckardt (2002) questions the accuracy of using the metaphorical term *bleaching* to describe meaning change that occurs during grammaticalisation and presents cases of semantic retention in grammaticalised items along with the acquisition of new pragmatic meaning, suggesting that meaning change be understood more as a "redistribution of the semantic load in semantic composition" (2002: 57). Hopper and Traugott (2003: 94–98) also find the term *bleaching* to be misleading, preferring to acknowledge that only during late stages of grammaticalisation is there a possibility for meanings to weaken, but "all the evidence for early stages is that initially there is a redistribution or shift, not a loss, of meaning." In keeping with Nicolle's (2007: 47) model of grammaticalisation presented earlier, Traugott (2010a: 32) hypothesises that "most new semantic developments emerge as polysemies, pragmatic to begin with, then semantic", suggesting that (inter)subjectification, while initially entailing pragmatic reinterpretation, may eventually lead to new meaning(s) without any requisite semantic weakening. In agreement but using different terminology, Nicolle (1998: 16) finds that key to "driving

grammaticalization [… –AG] is the addition of procedural information to the semantics of an expression, alongside the conceptual information".[81]

One final point that should be mentioned here is that, during late-stage grammaticalisation, the lost or weakened meaning is conceptual rather than procedural.[82] This observation is widely acknowledged, and Nicolle (2011: 408) reasons that it is because it would be functionally counterproductive for individuals to use language in such a way that loses procedural meaning since "procedural information by definition reduces processing effort and therefore always contributes to optimal relevance."[83]

3.1.3   Contact-induced grammaticalisation

Up to this point the discussion has focused on internal motivations for language change without much regard for external factors; specifically, those resulting from exposure to different or multiple language systems. Heine and Kuteva (2003) and Hopper and Traugott (2003: 212) describe grammaticalisation that results from such exposure as contact-induced grammaticalisation. A motivation for this kind of grammaticalisation may involve historical events that introduce new concepts or functions, thus initiating language change (Heine & Kuteva, 2003). In some instances, such change may be preceded by analogies that the hearer forms during interpretation (Fischer, 2013). Hopper and Traugott (2003: 212) remark that research on grammaticalisation rarely takes into account that "most actual situations [of grammaticalisation –AG] involve contact, at the minimum with speakers of other dialects, whether social, regional, or stylistic." Croft (2010: 3) points out that cross-linguistic variations result from "the fixing of different variants across dialects and languages", referring to this kind of grammaticalisation also as "third-order variation". Although grammaticalisation and contact-induced grammaticalisation are sometimes discussed in the literature as two distinct language phenomena, Heine and Kuteva (2003: 529) argue they instead occur in conjunction during language change, with the latter denoting specific external causes or triggers for grammaticalisation.

Some of the work done in contact-induced grammaticalisation has focused on the linguistic and pragmatic borrowability of some PMs such as interjections and general extenders (Adegbija & Bello, 2001; Terraschke, 2010; Andersen, 2014). Brinton and Traugott (2005: 160) observe that

---

[81] For a brief discussion on how procedural meaning contributes to explaining grammaticalisation, see Wilson (2016a: 14).

[82] See section 4.2 for a discussion of the distinction between conceptual and procedural meaning.

[83] The notion of *optimal relevance* will be explained in more detail in section 4.2 in relation to Relevance theory.

PMs are "frequently borrowed" between languages but that, when borrowed, the items' functions tend to be altered to fit specific needs. So considering the occurrence of contact-induced grammaticalisation gives rise to questions of transference; that is, which linguistic properties from one language or language variety have been conceptually transferred into the recipient language, which have not, and what new functions if any have developed? Andersen (2014: 17) explores such questions in his study of a subset of contact-induced grammaticalisation known as pragmatic borrowing, which he describes as "the incorporation of pragmatic and discourse features of a source language into a recipient language." Andersen (2014) observes that various properties of an item (e.g., form, semantic meaning, pragmatic functions, intonation) may be transferred cross-linguistically, but typically only partial transference occurs.[84] Andersen (2014: 18) also notes the occurrence of indirect pragmatic borrowing, which "involves the contact-induced use of RL [i.e., recipient language – AG] material which takes on new discourse functions as a result of external influence." Pragmatic borrowing may be viewed as the first stage of grammaticalisation (as noted in Nicolle's model presented above) or the process of change may more-or-less end there. Since PMs rely heavily on inference during interpretation, within a multilingual environment such as South Africa it is suspected that PMs are more susceptible to cross-linguistic influence than most other linguistic items. Furthermore, PMs are a category of linguistic items with diverse functions, so in terms of grammaticalisation, change may be only reflected in the acquisition of new pragmatic functions (i.e., pragmaticalisation).[85] Adegbija and Bello (2001), for example, show that *okay* is a PM that has been transferred from one language system to another, and in so doing, its original semantic and pragmatic properties have been forced into new meaningful uses. This example may be illustrated by Fischer's (2013: 524) description of clines of grammaticality with multiple pathways; that is, either change to a single linguistic item that results in multiple grammaticalised items or a multi-source construction cline in which two or more sources gradually converge toward a single grammaticalised item. Clines with multiple pathways illustrate the contributions of cross-linguistic influences, which may be unavoidable in a multilingual environment.

3.1.4   Grammaticalisation and PMs

The formation of PMs exemplifies the process of grammaticalisation: linguistic items that through use and over time have gained new functional and pragmatic roles. According to Traugott (1995: 15), "the development of [PMs] is consistent with prototypical grammaticalisation in its early

---

[84] Similarly, although many PMs have corresponding PMs in other languages, it would be incorrect to call them exact equivalents (Fraser, 1999: 950; Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen, 2009: 13).

[85] But note, it is not claimed here that all PMs have formed through the process of grammaticalisation.

stages" and "[t]o treat it as a case of something other than grammaticalisation would be to obscure its similarities with the more canonical clines." PMs have not simply changed by developing different linguistic features, but have become more entrenched into the grammatical system by becoming more procedural. This study assumes, as prior studies have demonstrated (e.g., Andersen, 2001: 41; Wichmann, 2007: 350), that the origin of some PMs can be traced back to one or more linguistic sources with conceptual properties, and through use and interpretation, these PMs have pragmatically strengthened.

Most instances of grammaticalisation occur following exposure to some form of different language system (Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 212). Such exposure seems to be particularly prevalent with PMs as their use crosses-over dialectically, linguistically and culturally, and their interpretation is often contextually sensitive (cf. Andersen, 2001: 40). Some researchers have specifically observed a higher use of some PMs, such as non-canonical, invariant tags, within multi-lingual/multi-ethnic communities (Andersen, 2001: 112; cf. Stenström *et al.*, 2002a: 190; Torgersen *et al.*, 2011: 114), and there are studies to suggest that these tags develop following cross-linguistic contact (cf. Gold, 2005: 11; Starks *et al.*, 2008: 1292; Columbus, 2009, 2010). Wichmann (2007) argues that tags are the result of grammaticalisation, and Traugott (1995: 1) notes that this process of change influences their placement within an utterance, leading in some cases to what may be described as an extrasentential appearance or increased syntactic freedom. Finally, PMs can develop from any grammatical category. They are the result of linguistic items that have been widely and repeatedly used unconventionally, and this use has resulted in altering the original semantic-pragmatic balance. For these reasons, PMs appear to exemplify the diachronic processes described in Grammaticalisation theory.

3.1.5 Section summary

This section has defined grammaticalisation and discussed some of its central characteristics. These characteristics include clines of grammaticality, motivations for linguistic change, the notion of unidirectionality and the types of pragmatic meaning and functional change that occur as a result of grammaticalisation. It has also clarified the role of context on intersubjectification and subjectification and discussed the role of grammaticalisation and contact-induced grammaticalisation on the development of PMs. The section that follows discusses some of the principles of Relevance theory, the main theoretical framework used in this dissertation, and presents a justification for why it is used in combination with Grammaticalisation theory in the analysis of PMs.

3.2   Relevance theory

Individuals are constantly presented with information from various stimuli that interact with our senses to varying degrees, and usually, with surprisingly little effort, we are able to distinguish that which is beneficial to us (i.e., it might influence our worldview) from that which is not. Relevance theory is a cognitive-pragmatic approach to analysing how individuals accomplish just that. This chapter deals with some fundamentals of Relevance theory, the main framework applied in this dissertation. Specific focus is given to those aspects that pertain to the analysis of PMs.[86]

Relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1995; for more recent accounts, see Carston, 2002; Clark, 2013) is a psychological, communication-based theory developed by Dan Sperber (anthropologist and cognitive scientist) and Deirdre Wilson (linguist and cognitive scientist) to explain how individuals comprehend each other. Sperber and Wilson (1995: 71) define "relevant communication" as "information that modifies and improves an overall representation of the world" by connecting with previous knowledge; that is, information that is worthy of attention. Relevance theory is rooted in the notion that all meaning is pragmatically derived (i.e., inferentially interpreted); therefore, frequently the theory is described as heavily weighted toward the hearer. However, Relevance theory's analytical reach is more global in the greater act of communication. As Blakemore (1990: 365) observes, "what the speaker manipulates is the hearer's search for relevance." In other words, regardless of who is speaking or hearing, both are in simultaneous evaluation of the other's communicative cues to determine the course of discourse; and, therefore, both make assumptions about the other to reach a common goal of understanding.

At its core, Relevance theory assumes the metapsychological notion of theory of mind: that successful communication involves understanding that others have thoughts, beliefs, preferences, worldviews, etc. that are different from one's own, and this understanding allows us to make assumptions about the intentions and encyclopaedic knowledge of our communicative partners.[87] In order to communicate effectively, both speakers and hearers need this mutual understanding to

---

[86] Sperber and Wilson have published several detailed descriptions of Relevance theory (e.g., Sperber & Wilson, 1986a, 1987, 1995, Wilson & Sperber, 2002b,c, 2004). Further reading regarding new developments in Relevance theory is also available (Carston & Powell, 2005; Clark, 2013, 2016). Overviews of Relevance theory as it pertains to specific studies include Andersen (2001), Blakemore (1987, 2002b), Carston (2002), Sperber and Noveck (2004) and Wilson and Carston (2007).

[87] Theory of mind is not discussed in great detail in this dissertation. What is important, however, is that it is assumed in Relevance theory and that it is claimed to explain the pragmatic ability to form metarepresentations and thus communicate and infer complex thoughts. When referring to mind-reading, I am referring to the mind-reading processes expressed by theory of mind.

form metarepresentations (Wilson, 1999; Sperber, 2000).[88] Relevance plays as important a role in a speaker's ability to construct an utterance that metarepresents her thoughts (representations) as in the hearer's ability to form assumptions derived from the speaker's utterance during inferential interpretation.[89] In this way, theory of mind (thinking about and forming assumptions about someone else's thoughts and assumptions) and the mind-reading ability to form metarepresentations is central to the human ability to communicate (Sperber & Wilson, 2002).

Relevance theory assumes that human cognition has developed to attend to stimuli that is perceived, and inferred, as relevant information (Sperber & Wilson, 1995: 50) based on the communicative context.[90] In this way, when a hearer is made aware of *ostensive* communicative behaviour (i.e., demonstration of the intent to communicate[91]) the hearer automatically recognises that the speaker's utterance and paralinguistic stimuli are likely to be relevant in some way.[92] Not all communication is perceived as relevant, however, and Sperber and Wilson (1995: 125) outline the extent to which an input is relevant to an individual:

(a) *Extent condition 1*: an assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that its contextual effects [i.e., positive cognitive effects –AG] in the context are large.
(b) *Extent condition 2*: an assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that the effort required to process it in this context is small.

First it is important to understand what is meant by *context* here. In Relevance theory, contexts are not fixed but dynamic, cognitively constructed and reconstructed by the interlocutors. Context is the umbrella term for all things (e.g., present moment, environment and topic, thoughts, attitudes, explicit and implicit information, past experience, mood, assumptions) that are perceived and accessible during the communicative event by the interlocutors and that thus contribute to the formation of the speaker's utterance and the hearer's inferential interpretation. Therefore,

---

[88] Metarepresentations are representations of "the content of representations" as they are used in a speaker's utterance (Sperber, 2000: 117). The ability to form metarepresentations entails the metapsychological "ability to form *thoughts* about *attributed thoughts*" (Wilson, 1999: 127; italics in original) (i.e., theory of mind).
[89] This dissertation follows the relevance-theoretic approach of assuming a female speaker and a male hearer.
[90] Although almost too obvious to need mentioning, speakers and hearers do not perceive identical contexts. Both bring different perspectives, expectations, knowledge, etc. to each communicative event. The assumptions formed about another's context, however, are usually close enough for each to figure out and make reasonable inferences and pragmatic adjustments that lead to successful communication.
[91] Ostensive communication occurs when the speaker demonstrates evidence of her intention to communicate (Sperber & Wilson, 1995).
[92] Definitions of the italicised relevance-theoretic terminology are provided in Appendix A.2.

according to the extent conditions, relevance is a product of achieving the most positive cognitive effects (i.e., information that benefits an individual by modifying her worldview) for the least processing effort given the communicative context. The greater the cognitive effects, the greater the relevance of the input; and the result of attaining greater cognitive effects for the least processing effort is known as achieving *optimal relevance*.

Relevance theory claims that this communication-based, relevance-oriented behaviour is linked to evolved biological processes – reasoning abilities rooted in the innate need for self-preservation and that bear out in selective attention or attention bias – and a predilection towards cognitive efficiency – also believed to be associated with involuntary and atavistic human behaviour (Sperber, 1995: 261–262, 2000; Sperber & Wilson, 2002: 3; McGraw, Wallot, Mitkidis & Roepstorff, 2014; cf. Bonn, 2015; LaPolla, 2015).[93] This developed metapsychological ability specialised for understanding the world of various stimuli to which we act and react assists individuals in comprehending communication.

Relevance theory was initially designed, and has been described and used, to analyse ostensive-inferential communication; it should be noted, though, that not all ostensive communication is deliberate. Hearers automatically perceive a multitude of signals that contribute to the context and bear on the inferential interpretation of a communicative event, some of which may be unintentional or not consciously recognised by the speaker. More recently Relevance theory has been used to describe how covert or accidental communication is comprehended (Wilson & Wharton, 2006; cf. Clark, 2016 in regards to language change). Much of the inferential process occurs automatically, such as with mind-reading that occurs as a result of theory of mind. Wilson and Wharton (2006: 1565) remark on affective facial expressions and tones of voice as communicative cues that reveal mental states and trigger "automatic mind-reading mechanisms of a coded rather than an inferential nature", even if these facial expressions or tones of voice are not overt. In other words, if a hearer perceives a communicative signal as providing positive cognitive effects (i.e., the input benefits an individual to pay attention to it) then it achieves some form of relevance, and while a signal that is not overt has no guarantee of relevance, it may still bear on the hearer's interpretation.[94]

---

[93] The human tendency to use language efficiently, that is, to minimize "the effort involved in language production and comprehension" has been found to be a possible language universal (Futrell et al., 2015: 10339).

[94] Different situations also influence an individual's judgement of relevance. For instance, viewing a lion that is five metres away but within a zoo enclosure has a different relevance than viewing one from the same distance during a night hike in the Kalahari.

Speakers and hearers share a similar goal: to achieve understanding; that is, understanding of what the speaker intends the hearer to understand (from the speaker's point of view) and understanding of what the speaker is communicating (from the hearer's point of view). This goal is said to be mutually *manifest* to the interlocutors (Sperber & Wilson, 1995: 268). If this goal is met then communicators have the ability to achieve the ultimate goal: to affect an individual's worldview. The fact that these goals are mutually manifest helps coordinate and direct the communicative event (Sperber & Wilson, 1987: 699, 1995: 163ff.). Furthermore, since speakers and hearers share the same goals, both are equally responsible for successful communication and the maintenance of their own worldviews: the speaker by making her communication ostensive and relevant and the hearer by using *epistemic vigilance* (i.e., cognitive skills that assist in avoiding confusion or misinformation (Sperber, Clément, Heintz, Mascaro, Mercier, Origgi & Wilson, 2010)). Understanding that the hearer will inferentially interpret the speaker's output to his own satisfaction, if the speaker intends a specific interpretation to be taken, it is up to the speaker to create an output that will direct the hearer toward that interpretation; that is, the interpretation that the speaker most likely intended and one the hearer will find to be optimally relevant (Blakemore, 1990). Sperber, Clément, Heintz et al. (2010: 376) state that "comprehension, the search for relevance, and epistemic assessment are interconnected aspects of a single overall process whose goal is to make the best of communicated information"; in other words, they must synchronise in order to achieve understanding. The hearer then is responsible for epistemic assessment of whether the speaker's act of communication is clear, truthful and relevant to him; this also involves judging whether the speaker is a reliable source of information. The hearer's cognitive environment, which includes existing assumptions, will influence his interpretation and determine what kind of cognitive effects are derived: a strengthening of existing assumptions, potentially leading to confirmation; a weakening of existing assumptions, due to contradiction and potentially leading to doubt or elimination of existing assumptions; or creating *contextual implicatures* through the interaction of new assumptions with existing assumptions (e.g., Carston and Powell, 2005, p. 1; Clark, 2013, p. 104; Sperber and Wilson, 1995; Wilson, 1994, p. 45).[95]

In relevance-theoretic terms, *relevance* is defined as "a property of inputs to cognitive processes which makes them worth processing" (Wilson, 1999: 62). These inputs can be all manner of stimuli or information that an individual perceives as contributing to the context of a communicative

---

[95] Interpretations of contextual implicatures (or - implications) cannot be derived from either the contextual effects or previously held assumptions alone. See section 3.2.1.1 for further discussion and examples.

event. Relevance theory makes two fundamental claims about human cognitive behaviour that underlie why a set of inputs is relevant:

> *Cognitive Principle of Relevance*
>
> Human cognition tends to be geared to the maximisation of relevance.

> *Communicative Principle of Relevance*
>
> Every act of ostensive communication creates a presumption of relevance.
>
> (Sperber & Wilson, 2012: 6)

In essence, these two principles describe how and why the processes that lead to comprehension are triggered during communication. The cognitive principle simply states that individuals are unequivocally relevance-oriented. In other words, among all the stimuli we are exposed to, we are inherently drawn towards that perceived as worthy of our attention and which will impact our worldview. It is believed that maximising relevance is an intuitive process that is done automatically and to the best of each person's ability, whether there is awareness of doing it or not.

The communicative principle of relevance states that *ostensive communication* (i.e., demonstration of the intent to communicate) prompts the hearer to form expectations (presumptions) that the utterance is worthy of attention. Therefore the communicative principle of relevance appeals to the cognitive principle of relevance. There may be further expectations as well, such as that the speaker is informative, polite, truthful, succinct, fluent, situationally or culturally appropriate, etc. Such expectations contribute to the context of the communicative event and guide the hearer's inferential interpretation of the speaker's utterance in a way that is most meaningful to the hearer. The presumption of optimal relevance describes why an input is assumed to be worthy of attention and therefore optimally relevant:

> *Presumption of optimal relevance (revised)*: (a) The ostensive stimulus is relevant enough for it to be worth the addressee's effort to process it. (b) The ostensive stimulus is the most relevant one compatible with the communicator's abilities and preferences (Sperber & Wilson, 1995: 270).

As mentioned above, a fundamental premise of Relevance theory is that ostensive communication creates expectations of relevance. The act of communication contributes to changing cognitive environments (i.e., sets of *assumptions* that are manifest to individuals and serve to outline their worldview) by introducing new, potentially relevant information (known as *cognitive effects*) that the

hearer inferentially connects with currently held cognitive assumptions (also known as background- or encyclopaedic knowledge) to form new conclusions that are in keeping with his expectations.[96] The motivating factor that determines optimal relevance then is the presumption that the processing effort will be rewarded by sufficient cognitive effects. The presumption of optimal relevance outlines the hearer's expectations during a communicative event based on this motivating factor (Sperber & Wilson, 1995: 144). Each interlocutor begins with a distinct cognitive environment and is actively engaged in its maintenance. The ostensive stimulus is the speaker's expressed intention to communicate.[97] The *cognitive representations* that she wishes to make manifest to the hearer (i.e., intended communicative thoughts) are metarepresented in the speaker's utterance along with any accompanying paralinguistic stimuli (e.g., gestures, speech rate). The hearer presumes the ostensive communication is optimally relevant – i.e., relevant enough – because it is manifest to the hearer that the speaker would not put out the effort to communicate unless she desired to be understood. It is further assumed that the speaker will use her metarepresentational abilities to neither create an irrelevant utterance nor one that requires greater processing effort for the cognitive effects offered. These assumptions create expectations in the hearer that rely heavily on his metarepresentational abilities as well. Thus, taking into account the context in which the communicative event occurs, including the degree to which the hearer may be attending to other stimuli, the speaker creates an utterance to the best of her ability and in keeping with her communicative preferences, encyclopaedic knowledge and assumptions of the hearer's encyclopaedic knowledge (assumed *mutually manifest knowledge*) to express her thought(s) in a way that she believes will make it worth the hearer's processing effort.[98] The ostensive stimulus (the speaker's utterance and accompanying paralinguistic stimuli) provided in context raises expectations of relevance in the hearer who, noting his background knowledge and knowledge that is assumed to be mutually manifest, is guided towards an inferential interpretation that meets his expectations of optimal relevance as well as one that he perceives the speaker reasonably could

---

[96] In relevance-theoretic terms, *assumptions* are an individual's existing ideas and beliefs that are held more-or-less as facts; these are "thoughts treated by the individual as representations of the actual world (as opposed to fictions, desires, or representations of representations)" (Sperber & Wilson, 1995: 2). Essentially, they are guesses – treated as facts – that both the speaker and hearer make about their own and each other's cognitive environments and intentions.

What Sperber and Wilson (1995) originally referred to as *contextual effects* are referred to in more recent literature as *cognitive effects*. Because Relevance theory is a cognitive-inferential approach to analysing communication, Relevance theorists take the perspective of the communicators within the communicative event as opposed to third-party analysts (cf. Wilson & Sperber, 2004: 630 fn. 4; Clark, 2013: 101).

[97] This dissertation focuses primarily on aspects of the utterance as the ostensive stimulus.

[98] *Mutually manifest knowledge* refers to the set of shared assumptions between communicators (Sperber & Wilson, 1995: 39).

have intended (Wilson, 1994: 49). Viewed from this angle, the communicative process is like a complex web of cognitive activity that takes place during all acts of communication with no two acts being exactly alike.

Not all ostensive stimuli are however worth the hearer's processing effort. And it is possible at times the speaker will fail at communicating her intended thoughts, leading the hearer, for example, to misinterpret what is communicated, fail to recognise worthy ostensive communication or misjudge a stimulus as ostensive or worthy of his processing effort. In short, accidents will happen. Just as assumptions can be relied upon to aid in successful communication, they can also lead to misinterpretations, thus some degree of communicative failure. But because it is manifest to both the speaker and hearer that they share similar goals, the hearer is actively engaged in accessing relevant cognitive effects, and as this occurs, he will settle on an inferential interpretation that given his expectations, based on his cognitive environment and the presented contextual assumptions, is most relevant to him; i.e., the cognitive cost/benefit ratio makes his processing effort worthwhile (and thus optimally relevant), thereby satisfying his expectations of relevance. Although linguistic decoding occurs during spoken communication, the hearer relies on his ability to combine it with an inferential interpretation that is close enough to what he believes to be representative of the speaker's intent.

Relevance theory holds that the balance of processing cost to cognitive benefit is both a behavioural preference and an individual choice. The *relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure* outlines this communicative behaviour:

> *Relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure*: (a) Follow a path of least effort in computing cognitive effects: Test interpretive hypotheses (disambiguations, reference resolutions, implicatures, etc.) in order of accessibility. (b) Stop when your expectations of relevance are satisfied (Wilson & Sperber, 2004: 611).[99]

Portion (a) of the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure asserts that individuals are able to realise relevance through an intuitive and automatic behaviour that evaluates relevance in terms of processing effort. Individuals are inclined to be cognitively efficient, so a hearer is unlikely to expend more effort if he does not foresee some kind of reward in return. This means the gain of cognitive effects must outweigh the cost in processing effort.

---

[99] Also referred to as the *relevance-guided comprehension heuristic* (Sperber & Noveck, 2004: 6–7).

This economy of effort extends into portion (b) of the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure, which states that a hearer will not continue searching for other interpretations once his expectation of optimal relevance has been met unless there is cause to do so. In other words, if the task is perceived to be complete, logically, putting in more effort will not make it more complete. At this point, the inferential task of interpretation is accepted as done. Similar to Grammaticalisation theory (Section 3.1) that acknowledges the interplay between the need to inform and the need to economise, Relevance theory acknowledges the interplay between the need to understand and the amount of processing effort required for understanding.

In summary, the two principles of relevance, the presumption of optimal relevance and the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure boil down to the claim that "relevance varies inversely with effort" (Wilson & Sperber, 2004: 611). In analysing how individuals communicate, the relevance-theoretic focus is not so much on the utterances that occur during communication but on the thought processes that lead to their formation and inferential interpretation. The acknowledgment that thoughts differ from person to person requires both interlocutors to exercise mind-reading abilities as described by theory of mind. But essentially "relevance is a matter of degree" that teeters on the scale of processing effort and cognitive effects (Sperber & Wilson, 1995: 123). The more cognitive effects achieved for the least processing effort, the greater the perceived relevance of the input (Wilson, 1994: 47–49; Wilson & Sperber, 2004: 6). If the processing effort required exceeds the perceived cognitive effects, there are multiple potential outcomes, including misinterpretation of the speaker's intentions, confusion, and the hearer evaluating the speaker as an unreliable communicator.

Since the common goals of communication are manifest to both interlocutors, it is to the speaker's advantage (as well as her responsibility if she wishes to be perceived as a reliable communicator and thus succeed at communicating her intentions) to create an utterance that best communicates her cognitive representations, and, to the best of her ability, to formulate it in such a way that attracts the hearer's attention without requiring undue processing effort. Here, the speaker will access the set of assumptions she believes are mutually manifest with the hearer. In so doing, the speaker anticipates that her utterance will lead the hearer to an inferential interpretation closely resembling her communicative thought(s). Although it requires effort for the speaker to construct an utterance that constrains the interpretation in this way, if by doing so the hearer makes the intended interpretation, then the speaker's effort is offset by the greater effect of being understood and maintaining credibility as a reliable communicator.

3.2.1 A few distinctions and clarifications

There are a few distinctions pertaining to Relevance theory that bear on the analysis of PMs and therefore require further explanation. The sections below explain the differences between explicit and implicit communication and between conceptual and procedural encoding. The merit of determining truth conditional meaning within a relevance-theoretic analysis of PMs is also addressed.

3.2.1.1   Explicatures and implicatures

It is obvious that the hearer's interpretation of an utterance involves linguistic decoding. What may be less apparent is that most if not all utterances are underspecified; the linguistic output only provides evidence of the speaker's thoughts. It is up to the hearer to work out the speaker's intent by integrating all relevant contextual signals during inferential interpretation. This is done not just by decoding linguistic output and disambiguating referents (e.g., temporal such as *now* and *tomorrow*, personal such as pronouns *he* and *I*, and situational such as *near* and *home*) but accessing relevant background knowledge to enrich the utterance and form reasonable conclusions. Our experience with language certainly helps with this process. For instance, individuals develop expectations for how language is used in specific situations and how it may progress given this use. We also form expectations or assumptions about other interlocutors, such as their opinions, interests, preferences and background knowledge. According to the relevance-theoretic framework all comprehension is inferential.[100] Inference requires the ability known as theory of mind: to make assumptions about others and metarepresent their thoughts and intentions (e.g., Harry knows that I think he's angry). Individuals use these reasoning abilities to understand relevant aspects of their environment and experiences; that is "when we observe some phenomenon, we try to think of a reason why that phenomenon might be the way it is" (LaPolla, 2015: 31). Sperber (1995: 192, internal quotation in original) explains that "'[i]nference' is just the psychologists' term for what we ordinarily call 'reasoning.'" Individuals intuitively and automatically apply reasoning skills when presented with ostensive communication, i.e., inferentially interpret what was communicated, why it was communicated in that way and on this occasion using those paralinguistic cues, how all of it interacts with previous communication, memories and beliefs, etc. Thought about in this way,

---

[100] Since linguistically encoded communication underdetermines the propositional meaning, no utterance can be entirely interpreted by linguistic decoding alone; pragmatic inference is required to fill-in the gaps between the speaker's intended meaning and her linguistically packaged utterance.

inferencing is a process of forming reasonable conclusions, relative to one's worldview, by integrating contextual factors with the various semantic-pragmatic codes presented.

During communication, the speaker communicates propositions that are either explicatures or implicatures; these two types of propositions are discrete, but both are contextually constrained, and both prompt the hearer to use reasoning abilities while making pragmatic assumptions (Sperber & Wilson, 1995; Wilson & Carston, 2007; Carston, 2016a; Wilson, 2016b: 11). Explicatures are ostensively communicated and linguistically encoded within the utterance (i.e., constrained by combined semantic-pragmatic meaning and context). Implicatures, although also ostensively communicated, may be triggered by linguistic and/or paralinguistic cues and are constrained by contextual assumptions alone (i.e., no semantic constraints), in particular, by those assumptions triggered and retrieved from encyclopaedic memory. The hearer inferentially interprets only those implicatures that are perceived and that the speaker could have intended (in other words, reasoning/inferring will not occur unless the hearer is given cause). Like all inferential interpretation, the hearer follows the path of least effort in realising both explicatures and implicatures and will stop when he has found a satisfactory interpretation. Relevance theory claims that since utterances typically underspecify the speaker's intended meaning or thoughts, pragmatic meaning derived through contextual factors are believed to carry more weight during interpretation – i.e., more than semantic meaning – as linguistic decoding cannot alone resolve underspecification. Consequently, both explicatures and implicatures must be automatically and pragmatically adjusted in context. In this way, "we manage to communicate much more than we [linguistically –AG] encode and decode, and not just occasionally, but all the time" (Sperber, 1995: 191). This pragmatic adjustment process that incorporates contextual factors during interpretation is essential in determining relevance and forming reasonable conclusions that metarepresent the speaker's intentions. The sections below describe what is meant by degrees of explicitness and the differences between *higher-level explicatures* and *contextual implicatures*.

Since linguistic expressions underspecify speaker intentions and all communication involves inferential interpretation, no verbal proposition is entirely explicit. The speaker relies on the hearer's ability to resolve underspecifications when creating an utterance that is both meaningful and relevant (i.e., its cognitive effects outweigh the required processing effort). The recovery of explicatures relies, to varying degrees, on linguistic decoding and inference. The degree to which an explicature is explicit is determined by the amount of inference relative to the amount of linguistic decoding during interpretation. In other words, an explicature is more explicit the less inference is required to recover the proposition and less explicit the more inference is required.

The more the speaker can assume the hearer will infer the intended meaning (by accessing mutually manifest assumptions), the less explicit the speaker needs to make the proposition (LaPolla, 1997).

The distinction between explicit and implicit communication as well as degrees of explicitness leads to two more distinctions regarding explicatures: namely that of basic explicatures, as described above, and a sub-variety known as higher-level (or -order) explicatures (also referred to as propositional attitude (e.g., Ifantidou, 1994: 111, 112; Wilson, 2016b: 18)) and the further distinction between higher-level explicatures and contextual implicatures.

Both basic explicatures (explicatures hereafter) and higher-level explicatures are derived from linguistically encoded items. But while interpreting explicatures requires linguistic decoding in context, the interpretation of higher-level explicatures requires this with the addition of a form of mind-reading, or the ability to use the speaker's utterance as evidence for understanding the speaker's connection to that utterance and from that, forming extra-meaning about the speaker's intentions (Wilson, 1999: 129). Wilson (2016b: 18) explains that this kind of reasoning ability is necessary because higher-level explicatures not only provide cues about the speaker's thoughts but "carry information about the speaker's propositional or affective attitude". In essence, higher-level explicatures encode extra-meaning triggered by linguistic and paralinguistic output and thus guide the hearer in inferring the speaker's intentions. The extra-meaning requires pragmatic interpretation that involves access to a plethora of contextual assumptions including mutual background knowledge, pragmatic familiarity and accessibility, and mind-reading abilities that enable the hearer to form metarepresentations. Consider for example the utterance in (1).

(1)

       It will get cold.

If the speaker combines this utterance with the adverbial *unfortunately*, as in (2a), the higher-level explicature might be one of regret. By altering the final intonation, as in (2b), it is one of speculation, apprehension or contradiction, depending on the prosodic shape and other paralinguistic cues. And using the parenthetical *you know*, as in (2c), may trigger any number of higher-level explicatures depending on intonation and context.

(2)

       (a) *Unfortunately, it will get cold.*

       (b) *It will get cold?*

       (c) *You know, it will get cold.*

A higher-level explicature is extra-meaning embedded within the utterance that guides the inferential process. Higher-level explicatures are not linguistic items but are interpretations triggered by their use (paralinguistic input may also trigger higher-level explicatures). Relevance theory explains that higher-level explicatures such as those represented in (2a) – (2c) are derived inferences that play an important role in the inferential interpretation of all utterances, in part because they efficiently communicate extra-meaning about the speaker or the speaker's intended meaning with minimal effort.

Like higher-level explicatures, contextual implicatures also are constrained by context and input, require mind-reading ability, and guide the interpretive process. However, contextual implicatures are the interpretive results of combining existing assumptions (i.e., encyclopaedic knowledge) with new input (i.e., contextual effects), or as Wilson and Sperber (2004: 608) state, a contextual implicature is "a conclusion deducible from the input and the context together, but from neither input nor context alone." Because of this, interpreting contextual implicatures requires the ability to attribute speaker meaning based on contextual assumptions (i.e., combined input and existing assumption(s)).

A contextual implicature is a type of cognitive effect that requires background knowledge to intuitively decipher. Other cognitive effects will either strengthen or weaken assumptions, but Wilson and Sperber (2004: 608) state that contextual implicatures are "[t]he most important type of cognitive effect achieved by processing an input in a context"; presumably this is because they lead the hearer to create entirely new assumptions. Statements (3a) – (3e) are examples of contextual implicatures that may be derived from (1). Since background knowledge is required, let us assume that the existing assumption is that Mary knows that Peter does not like cold soup. Depending on other existing assumptions that are based on how well Peter and Mary know one another, Mary's utterance may serve as a trigger for Peter to conclude she intended any of the following contextual implicatures.

(3)

 (a) *Mary wants Peter to stop what he is doing and eat the soup now.*

 (b) *Mary is reminding Peter that he will not like the soup if it is not hot.*

 (c) *Mary will think Peter dislikes this kind of soup if he does not eat it now.*

 (d) *Mary may assume Peter is angry about something, possibly her, if he does not show some interest in the soup.*

 (e) *Mary is aggravated by Peter's laziness and wants him to hurry up for a change.*

As the above examples suggest, interpreting contextual implicatures involve those cognitive processes described in theory of mind. The examples in (3a) – (3e) also illustrate a movement toward progressively weaker implicatures – not in terms of meaning or importance but in accessibility, pointing out that the weaker the implicature, the stronger the need for mutually manifest cognitive environments to process the contextual implicature. Furthermore, it should be noted that at least in some cases the weaker the implicature, the greater the possibility of a richer contextual implicature.

This section has outlined the relevance-theoretic distinctions between explicatures and implicatures, discussed degrees of explicitness and explained higher-level explicatures as compared to explicatures and contextual implicatures.

3.2.1.2 *Conceptual and procedural encoding*

As the first to use Relevance theory for analysing connectives (e.g., *but*, *and*, *because*) in discourse, Blakemore (1987) suggested that, theoretically, there are two ways in which meaning is linguistically encoded: conceptually and procedurally. In most cases, both types of encoding are represented by the linguistic item, and both constrain the inferential interpretation of the utterances that contain them. The two types of encoding are distinguished by how they function in the interpretive process.[101] Conceptually encoded (lexical) items (e.g., *tree*, *leap*, *four*, *anger*) trigger concepts, that is, they are linguistic representations of thoughts that are "capable of being brought to consciousness, reflected on and used in general inference" (Wilson, 2016a: 11). Wilson (2016a: 11) describes these items as "constituents of a *language of thought*."[102] Procedurally encoded (functional) items (e.g., *although*, *so*, *well*) on the other hand, are "relatively inaccessible to consciousness and resistant to conceptualisation" (Wilson, 2016a: 11). They engage cognitive computations; that is, they provide constraints on the interpretive process used to infer the speaker's intentions that have been linguistically encoded in the utterance. Because procedural items indicate how a speaker intends

---

[101] Like relevance theorists and others, I assume that the relationships between linguistic expressions and their meanings are human constructs; they exist as a result of human use and need. As such, expressions are metarepresentations; representations of the representations that are human thoughts. A linguistic item is constrained by use and contextual interpretation. It is seen as "a piece of evidence" or "a pointer" to the speaker's intentions and meanings (Sperber & Wilson, 1997a: 15). Relevance theorists generally acknowledge that language use is contextually flexible, and so communication cannot be analysed in purely literal terms (e.g., Wilson, 2016b: 9).

[102] Clark (2013: 309; bolded in original) explains that the "**language of thought** is a conceptual representation system whose constituents are **concepts**. This means that the logical forms recovered by linguistic decoding, the explicatures derived by fleshing them out, and the implicatures derived from the interaction of explicatures with contextual assumptions are all understood as conceptual representations."

her utterance to be inferred, they "are systematically linked to *states of language users*" (Wilson, 2016a: 11). Procedural encoding, therefore, may be of a linguistic nature but also paralinguistic such as prosodic use, eye-contact, speech rate, gestures and choice of syntactic structure (cf. Eastman, 1992). This encoding triggers further computations in terms of metalinguistic procedures (such as emotion-reading and social cognition), all of which must integrate during the interpretive process (Clark, 2013: 309–310; Wilson, 2016a: 15). Carston (2002: 161) explains that procedural encoding acts as "pointers to […] the pragmatic inferences the hearer is to carry out." Since procedural encoding aids in the inferential process, it is seen as effort-saving during interpretation (Nicolle, 2011: 407). Wilson and Sperber (2012: ix) note that "[t]here are always components of a speaker's meaning which her words do not encode". Procedural encoding triggers these components and is therefore essential to comprehending the speaker's intention. Pragmatic enrichment is directed by the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure (Clark, 2013: 180); so procedural encoding assists in interpreting additional pragmatic meaning which justifies further processing effort. Example (4) below is a communicative exchange. Assuming the co-occurrence of certain procedurally encoded paralinguistic cues (such as prosodic contour, facial expression), the interpretation (in parentheses) of B's utterance may be pragmatically recovered:

(4)

> A: *How was your maths test?*
> B: *Well, it sure was a test!*
> (the maths test was harder than expected)

Pragmatic recovery of this kind requires integrating interpretive procedures such as those described above. This does not imply that procedural encoding is strictly pragmatic as opposed to semantic (Wilson, 2016a). Both types of encoding, conceptual and procedural, interact with new and existing assumptions to form explicatures and implicatures (Sperber & Wilson, 1995: 258). Although there are definitional distinctions between conceptual and procedural encoding, Relevance theory makes clear they "should not be seen as mutually exclusive" (Wilson, 2016a: 13), and in fact, no conceptual item is fully conceptual. All conceptual items have some procedural encoding (Clark, 2016: 144) that is determined in context during interpretation. Furthermore, there is no one-to-one correlation between expressions and concepts; instead, expressions can represent a variety of concepts, the specific one only to be worked out in context. Items such as *round*, *between*, *tonight*, *foot* and *your* are items representing conceptual meaning, some with a greater degree of specificity than others, but all are underspecified and rely on embedded procedures and context before one can infer anything meaningful. In this way, all linguistic items are underspecified and

fall somewhere on a conceptual-procedural continuum.[103] Nicolle (1997b: 49) reasons that an item can have this dual meaning because the meaning that the expression triggers depends on the speaker's overt use, the context and its function, and the hearer's ability to metarepresent the speaker's thoughts (Nicolle, 2011: 406–407; Wilson, 2016a: 15–16).

Keeping in mind that all interpretation involves inference and all inference entails pragmatic enrichment, both higher-level explicatures and contextual implicatures, discussed above, are described as being triggered by procedural encoding since they guide the hearer during inferential interpretation (Ifantidou, 1994: 122; Andersen, 2001: 62–63; Wilson & Sperber, 2004: 633 fn. 37). Procedural encoding has been studied in linguistic items such as connectives, pronouns, interjections, and PMs and in paralinguistic items such as prosodic inflections and communicative facial expressions (Clark, 2013: 310; cf. Carston, 2016b: 5–6). It is moreover used to describe part of the grammaticalisation process that leads to the development of some PMs. Clearly, since procedural encoding is an essential part of pragmatic inference, it is a central aspect of Relevance theory.[104]

3.2.1.3 *Truth/non-truth conditionality and Relevance theory*

In Blakemore's (1987) relevance-theoretic analysis of discourse connectives, a form of PMs, she initially hypothesised that her proposed conceptual-procedural description of meaning would correlate with truth/non-truth conditional meaning; essentially that conceptual items were truth conditional and procedural items were non-truth conditional (cf. Blakemore, 2003: 2; Wilson, 2016a: 7). Blakemore's results, however, suggested otherwise (Blakemore, 1987, cf. 2001: 114, 2002a: 4; Wilson & Sperber, 1993), and subsequent analytical results have further broken down any supposed correlation between conceptual-procedural encoding and truth/non-truth conditionality (e.g., Carston, 2002; Wilson, 2016a).

The unstable footing that PMs have in terms of truth conditions did not originate with Blakemore or Relevance theory. In the 1970s Lakoff (1973a) was arguing the ineffability of associating hedges (a kind of euphemistic PM) with truth conditions. However, Wilson and Sperber (1993: 23) propose that it is not the utterances that should be assessed as truth-conditional but the thoughts they are used to represent. Blakemore (2002: 31) remarks that from a relevance-theoretic

---

[103] It is generally accepted in Relevance theory that there are some linguistic expressions that are fully procedural (i.e., non-conceptual). Most, however, have some conceptual information and all conceptual expressions have some procedural information that guides the comprehension process.

[104] For further discussion of conceptual-procedural meaning as it relates to Relevance theory, see Blakemore (2003) and Wilson (2016a).

standpoint "language is a vehicle for thoughts and desires", meaning that thoughts and desires, i.e. cognitive representations, occur first and are only articulated by lexical units when deployed in an utterance. As if to imply that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, an utterance does not originate from the language (i.e., linguistic items) but from the cognitive representation that initiates its production (Carston, 2008: 342).

The presumption of optimal relevance takes into account pragmatic contributions derived from the context, as it is defined by Relevance theory, and only then does it focus on how the output is inferentially interpreted. As a result of this inferential focus, Carston (2002: 164) suggests that truth/non-truth conditions and conceptual-procedural meaning may simply "belong to different levels of theorizing." Carston (2002: 164) further remarks that in regards to Relevance theory,

> [i]t seems clear enough that for the kind of decoding (translational) semantics which provides the input to pragmatic inference, it is the conceptual/procedural distinction which matters. [… –AG] it is unlikely that the truth-conditional/non-truth-conditional distinction plays any kind of central role in this communicative theory.

This appears to be more-or-less the conclusion that other relevance theorists have come to as well (e.g., Nicolle, 1997b; Iten, 2000; Andersen, 2001; Blakemore, 2003: 2). It is for this reason that the notion of conceptual-procedural meaning will be used in the analytical sections of this dissertation, and reference to truth conditions in relation to PMs will not be addressed further.[105]

3.2.2 Lexical pragmatics, metarepresentations, conceptual-procedural encoding and language change

Sperber and Wilson have maintained since early on in their explication of Relevance theory that "verbal communication typically conveys much more than is linguistically encoded" (e.g., Sperber & Wilson, 1997b: 3). Since there are far more concepts than there are words to represent them, linguistic expressions must be seen as contextually flexible and at the mercy of those using and interpreting them. Only when the encoded word is presented in context can the intended conceptual meaning be realised (Sperber & Wilson, 1997a). For this reason, Relevance theory assumes that all linguistic items are underspecified and thus semantically incomplete. Lexical pragmatics attempts to explain how the encoded meaning is pragmatically adjusted (modified, refined) during interpretation (e.g., Wilson & Carston, 2007; Clark, 2016: 145–146; Wilson, 2016b: 13 ff.). Relevance theorists propose that these adjustments are made by accessing an item's

---

[105] For further discussion of truth conditions and Relevance theory, see Wilson and Sperber (2002a).

conceptual and procedural contributions and pragmatically narrowing them, broadening them or both in order to satisfy expectations of relevance. These modifications in meaning, which are constrained by the search for optimal relevance, are made by the speaker during use and the hearer during interpretation. Such adjustments are claimed to occur during all communicative events and rely heavily on contextual assumptions (Wilson & Sperber, 2002a; Carston, 2016a). As Carston (2016a: 19) succinctly explains, "[w]hat makes it possible to use a word to communicate a concept that is different from its encoded meaning is the coordinated interaction of two human minds, speaker and hearer." Intended meaning that must be inferentially worked out in context goes beyond disambiguating referents such as pronouns. The relevance-theoretic view of lexical pragmatics assumes that no item is semantically complete; only when it is contextually and pragmatically enriched does its encoded meaning begin to represent the speaker's intention. Prior to use, items represent a kind of generic form (e.g., tree), a potential concept with conceptual-procedural encoding serving as a place-holder for a full-fledged concept (i.e., *pro-concept*[106]) and waiting to be pragmatically adjusted in context to represent a speaker's thought (e.g., a tree-lined street; a bonsai tree; Avatar's tree of life; the Gauché family tree). In this way, all communication requires pragmatically meaningful adjustments. Reflecting on contextual assumptions and conceptual-procedural encoding, it has been proposed that, while a few items (e.g., *but*, *so*) have only procedural encoding, all conceptual expressions have a component of procedural encoding (cf. Sperber & Wilson, 1997a). In part, it is this procedural encoding that allows communicators to use expressions flexibly and innovatively when (meta)representing intentions, some of which may deviate from their conventionalised encoded meaning.

Following this line of thinking, since context (according to its relevance-theoretic definition) is never precisely the same, the linguistic-concept relation of all lexical items is semantically flexible so that no item is ever interpreted precisely the same in different utterance constructions or contexts. In this way, language innovation, however gradual, inevitably occurs during communication (Ariel, 2008: 114). Wilson and Carston (2007: 231) find that "almost every word" requires inferentially tweaking the meaning. This process of linguistic adjustment is done by both communicators and involves a cluster of reasoning and inferencing skills that are based on contextual factors and guide the hearer toward optimal relevance and understanding (Wilson, 2004: 353). These adjustments are made possible, in part, because of the inclusion of procedural meaning that is present in all linguistic expressions; this inclusion benefits communication by reducing

---

[106] In relevance theoretic terms, a *pro-concept* is a kind of linguistically encoded generic concept with meaning that falls somewhere on the conceptual-procedural continuum and that requires context to determine its intended meaning (Sperber & Wilson, 1997a: 3; cf. Padilla Cruz, 2009: 258).

processing effort during interpretation. Because communication is only successful when it is relevant to the hearer (that is, it offers greater cognitive effects for the least processing effort), this adjustment process "is the central feature of relevance-theoretic pragmatics" (Wilson, 2004: 353). Consider example (5) provided by Clark (2013: 246)

(5)

> *He plays well.*

As mentioned, the mutual adjustment process involves the processing of conceptual-procedural information (e.g., Carston, 2002: 60). Each linguistic item in (5) is procedurally and conceptually encoded. Given the context, the speaker relies on the hearer's ability to access and integrate the linguistically represented concepts by using the procedural features to guide the hearer toward a pragmatically derived conclusion. Only when the pronoun *he*, the verb *plays* and the indexical *well* have been disambiguated (i.e., adjusted) can their intended referents be meaningful. This consideration provides an example for how single lexical items can express both conceptual and procedural meaning.

Relevance theorists claim that adjustments like these are made to some degree during every communicative event. Most of what is accepted as literal language is not; actual literal language is quite rare, if it exists at all, since determining the intended meaning of an utterance always entails a degree of pragmatic inference, and therefore utterance interpretation always entails meaningful adjustments. This notion is supportive of the relevance-theoretic assumption that pragmatic meaning may be more heavily weighted than semantic meaning during the communicative process; this is exemplified even more strongly in figurative language use. Take for example the following.

(6)

> *He's not the sharpest tool in the shed.*

(7)

> A: *You going?*
> B: *When hell freezes over.*

(8)

> *You're on fire!*

Examples (6) – (8) are examples of figurative language, or tropes, that are probably familiar enough to comprehend but require a degree of context to fully understand the speaker's intention. It is unlikely that (6) and (7) would be taken literally, and the same is true for (8), recognising the rare

occasion that would make it literally appropriate. Although these utterances can be used to describe a state of affairs, their meanings would be adjusted during inferential interpretation to fit the context and meet the hearer's expectations of relevance. Thus, (6) might mean that the speaker thinks the male referent is not clever, (7) that B will absolutely not be going somewhere specific, and (8) that the person referred to is either feverish or doing very well at something. Relevance theorists point out that lexical expressions are not concepts but only representations of concepts used to trigger resembling concepts in others. Examples (6) – (8) demonstrate that concepts are not fixed to lexical meaning, and because of this, the words used to represent them are both dynamic (i.e., flexible and susceptible to language change) and context dependent.

Relevance theory has mostly been used for synchronic analysis of language use, but such linguistic flexibility lends itself to diachronic analysis as well. Three interrelated relevance-theoretic notions discussed above – conceptual-procedural meaning, lexical pragmatics and metarepresentation – can also be used to describe language change (Clark, 2016). These three notions, though quite distinct, can be thought of as interconnected when assessing language change. In a nutshell, the pragmatic adjustment made to an item's conceptual-procedural encoding during inferential interpretation is used to explain how expressions are used in novel ways to (meta)represent intentions (Wilson, 2016b: 14–15). The diachronic portions of the relevance-theoretic analyses of the three SAfE PMs presented here will touch upon aspects of one or more of these three notions to explain the distinctive changes in the respective PMs.

Examples (6) – (8) are recognisable as tropes because they have either been heard before or are linked closely enough to other familiar expressions or encyclopaedic background that their intended meaning can be worked out. However, language is often used in unexpectedly novel ways. Sometimes this is intentional; sometimes it is not (e.g., a malapropism). In both situations, a hearer (at least a sympathetic one) will attempt to make sense of the speaker's utterance by making meaningful adjustments based on the hearer's expectation of relevance.

Since communication is constrained by the availability, accessibility and individual's preference for language use, some linguistic items may be innovatively extended into roles that can only be comprehended in the context they occur. Relevance theorists claim that novel language use of this kind may automatically trigger *ad hoc concepts*.[107] Ad hoc concepts are developments of meaning that

---

[107] Barsalou (1983) is usually credited with introducing the idea of ad hoc categories, suggesting that during utterance formation and comprehension, individuals tend to develop concepts for a category by incorporating background (encyclopaedic) knowledge and lexical information to suit the communicative context (Wilson & Carston, 2007). For example, there is no single lexical item that conveys the notion of

have been pragmatically adjusted by the hearer during utterance interpretation. These adjustments to explicit and implicit meaning occur by narrowing, broadening or extending the conventional meanings associated with the presented lexical expression (such as in figurative expressions) to make sense out of an utterance given its context and the perceived speaker intent (Clark, 2016: 147).[108] Such use may lead to language change or simply have a "once off" meaning in a specific context (Carston, 2002: 322, 2016a: 8–14). Take the following constructed example:

(9)

       Here comes Breakfast at Tiffany's.

Utterance (9) is an example of metonymy that would likely have no meaning to someone who is not at least minimally familiar with the novella or movie titled "Breakfast at Tiffany's".[109] Such background knowledge is essential in the formation of an ad hoc concept. Context is also essential. Perhaps it refers to a woman who resembles the main character, Holly Golightly, or a type of raucous party described in the story. Whatever the case, the speaker of such an utterance makes the assumption that the expression will trigger presumed mutual knowledge and the hearer will make the needed adjustments (i.e., narrowing and/or broadening, metaphorical attributions) to arrive at a meaning that closely resembles the speaker's intention. Relevance theorists assert that communicators use pragmatic processes in this way with regularity during communication, pushing and pulling lexical items into new territory in the course of expressing as well as interpreting thoughts (Wilson, 2004).

One of the key points made by Relevance theory in its description of how communication is understood is that there is an essential human need to off-set effort with greater effects (as described in the extent conditions). Since there is no one-to-one correlation between meaning and a linguistic item, spontaneous and meaningful adjustments are required during communication. If a speaker can use a single linguistic item in context to communicate a host of complex concepts

---

"stylish, female main characters in books and movies", yet individuals are able to pragmatically construct such a category to fit the context. Carston (2002: 323) further explores the idea of *ad hoc concepts* and defines them as "pragmatically derived concepts". Although usually attributed to hearers during utterance interpretation, it would appear that speakers also make use of ad hoc concepts in the course of utterance formation.

[108] Blakemore (2002: 66–67) describes ad hoc concepts as developing from "a proposition which includes a concept that is derived by narrowing and/or loosening a concept encoded by a lexical item", and Carston (2002: 322) defines them as "concepts that are constructed pragmatically by a hearer in the process of utterance comprehension."

[109] The novella, "Breakfast at Tiffany's", was written by Truman Capote in 1958. The movie adaptation was made in 1961, directed by Blake Edwards and starred Audrey Hepburn as Holly Golightly.

and assume that the hearer will appropriately adjust its meaning during inferential interpretation with little effort, it stands to reason this item will be put to use. Furthermore, it is clear that a hearer's pragmatic adjustments, interpretations and reactions or responses to language use play a role in semantic-pragmatic reproduction. The ability to form metarepresentations is fundamental to human communication and is part of the online, ad hoc process that is described in the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure (i.e., a hearer will infer an interpretation of the speaker's output that entails the least processing effort, and unless he perceives further cues that could result in additional positive cognitive effects, he will stop when his expectations of relevance have been met).

Metarepresentational ability, a form of pragmatics, is independent of language; you don't need language to form metarepresentations, but you do need metarepresentational ability for language acquisition and interpersonal communication (Sperber, 2000). This ability is necessary during both expressive and receptive communication because the metarepresentations the hearer forms during inferential interpretation of an unfamiliar item in context will determine what meaning the hearer assumes it to encode when he later uses it as a speaker to (meta)represent his own thoughts. As mentioned, a precursor to grammaticalisation is (inter)subjectivity, which involves the ability to not only make assumptions about others but about language use, and thus the ability to form metarepresentations during the interpretive process. When individuals pragmatically interpret utterances, the evidence provided by the encoded utterance combined with contextual assumptions leads to the formation of metarepresentations during interpretation. The contextual cues that the hearer considers salient (i.e., useful, accessible, most relevant) in order to reach his conclusion are again based on the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure. The hearer's inferential conclusions are also based on what he thinks the speaker could have reasonably intended (given expectations, situational context, relationship with the speaker and previous conversations, paralinguistic cues used, etc.). Thus, from the evidence provided in context, the hearer uses his ability to metarepresent the speaker's intentions to form conclusions.

Since the meanings attached to linguistic items are determined by human use, our understanding of how language is used is guided in part by the metarepresentations we create during this expressive and interpretive process. Casasanto and Lupyan (2015: 543) state that "[t]hinking depends on brains, and brains are always changing; therefore thoughts are always changing." Essentially this means that an individual's reasoning and mind-reading skills, conceptual associations, encyclopaedic background, reflection and interpretation of past experiences, and ways of using and interpreting language (pragmatics) are also always changing. This provides

further evidence that all lexical items are semantically unstable, or flexible, to some degree. In this way, language change may occur following the metarepresentations individuals create when presented with innovative uses in context.

3.2.3   Relevance theory and PMs

The relevance-theoretic notion of encoded procedural information plays a significant role in the interpretation of PMs as well as their development over time. PMs reduce processing effort by indicating how the speaker intends her utterance to be interpreted and possibly what assumptions may be presumed (Andersen, 2001: 33). Many PMs have been analysed as correlating more with procedural than conceptual meaning. However, the heterogeneity of PMs means that their degree of conceptual-procedural encoding varies from one PM to another. The multifunctional/polysemous nature of PMs creates broad interpretive possibilities that depend heavily on context; with such allowances, communicators may feel more at liberty to use them in novel ways.

PMs also serve as cues to convey how a conversation should progress. Consider the following remarks by Jucker and Smith (1998: 172):

> Presenters might have signals to help the receiver integrate the incoming material more efficiently, and receivers might have signals to help the senders know whether and how easily that material has been integrated.

Jucker and Smith explore the possibility that some PMs are used by speakers and hearers for on-line determination of mutually manifest knowledge during discourse; that is, as a means to inform the other communicator of what is or is not assumed or understood. Such knowledge directs how the conversation should progress. The use of tags and follow-ups in conversation are PMs that can be used in this way by informing the hearer of procedures that may be required for further communication.

3.2.4   Relevance theory and PMs during intercultural communication

Much has been written about the purpose of PMs in utterance formation and interpretation and their lack of contribution to the proposition. However, the importance of the social aspect of PMs, particularly in intercultural settings, is often under-addressed.[110] According to Kecskes (2008: 385),

---

[110] *Intercultural* communication refers to a communicative event between two or more individuals with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

"meaning is the result of the interplay of prior experience and current experience which are both socio-cultural in nature." In this way, communicators from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds may be disadvantaged because of limited mutually manifest cognitive environments or knowledge, thus impeding successful communication. Although there is little agreement regarding what can pass for reasonable inferential interpretation made during communication (that is, what is close enough to the speaker's intention and therefore constitutes comprehension), there are still limits within cultures regarding what is and is not within the parameters of cultural acceptability. Communicators are guided by familiar cultural nuances that interplay with linguistic, pragmatic and stylistic choices, and judgments regarding these choices can be deliberate or automatic. Given that inferential interpretation so often assumes mutually manifest cognitive environments between interlocutors, it stands to reason that such knowledge is more limited and less defined during intercultural communication. In such situations, the *strangers in the room* may not be the people but the cultures that help define each communicator's encyclopaedic backgrounds (cf. Jucker & Smith, 1998). This dissertation will touch upon the possibility that use and interpretation of PMs during intercultural communication is dependent on knowledge of, or familiarity with, a PM's specific functions and the cultural background of the communicator that has helped to define the PM.

3.2.5   Section summary

Section 3.2 provided an overview of Relevance theory and described aspects of the theory that bear on the analysis of PMs. Relevance theory and Grammaticalisation theory are viewed as compatible in their approach to analysing language use, interpretation and change. Therefore, both frameworks are used in conjunction to provide a diachronic and synchronic analysis of the presented PMs. To conclude this chapter, Section 3.3 briefly discusses how the two frameworks are compatible and thus provides justification for using this combinatory approach.

3.3   Framework compatibilities

Similarities between Grammaticalisation theory and Relevance theory are revealed in their respective descriptions in Sections 3.1 and 3.2. Several of their principle characteristics appear to be mutually supportive for an overall analysis of PMs, from tracing their contributing sources and mapping out their development to describing their meanings, functions and how they are interpreted in contemporary use. To date only a handful of studies have applied this combined analytical approach (e.g., Nicolle, 1998, 2011; Andersen, 2001; Noora & Amouzadeh, 2015). This section briefly discusses some of the characteristics that make the two analytical frameworks not

only compatible but complementary for this study. [111] To that end, Section 3.3.1, discusses how the combined frameworks effectively describe the diachronic development and contemporary synchronic functions of PMs. Section 3.3.2 discusses what the two frameworks attribute as common motivations affecting language use and change. Along these lines are the similar concepts of maximization of economy: in terms of informativeness and efficiency as outlined in Grammaticalisation theory and as processing effort and cognitive effects in relevance-theoretic terms. Section 3.3.3 is an overview of how the relevance-theoretic notion of conceptual-procedural meaning is used to describe the process of grammaticalisation, and Section 3.3.4 concludes the chapter.

3.3.1   Diachronic and synchronic analyses

Grammaticalisation theory and Relevance theory are in principle compatible because of the common thread through both that communication is inferentially interpreted. This notion is the foundation of Relevance theory and is exemplified in Grammaticalisation theory through its explanation of (inter)subjectification, that is, how communicative partners perceive language to be used and understood by themselves and others. (Inter)subjectification entails a kind of mind-reading ability described by theory of mind, which is also the foundation for inferential interpretation as described by Relevance theory. This mind-reading ability is central to human communication.

Both frameworks offer perspectives for synchronic and diachronic analysis from the point of view of inferential communication, although Grammaticalisation theory is used predominantly to describe linguistic change and Relevance theory is more often used to analyse language interpretation. Grammaticalisation theory maps out and describes functional changes that occur over time as a result of (inter)subjectivity. Semantic shifts, pragmatic strengthening, syntactic changes and an increase in procedural encoding are some of the changes described. In relevance-theoretic terminology, (inter)subjectivity requires metarepresentational ability, without which communication cannot occur. Relevance theory provides a robust framework for analysing how language is pragmatically interpreted and how it may change as a result of inference. Together the two frameworks are suitably paired to explain how PMs have developed and currently function.

---

[111] See LaPolla (1997) for further and more detailed common characteristics between Relevance theory and the theory of Grammaticalisation.

3.3.2 Motivations for language use and change

Grammaticalisation theory and Relevance theory agree that the main motivating factor for language use and language change is the overlapping need for individuals to socially interact and understand their shared environment. That is, the central motivation for language use and changes as described in both frameworks is the need for expressivity and understanding, respectively. Grammaticalisation theory describes expressivity as the root of innovative language use. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 76) state that the pragmatic and associative meaning changes of lexical items, which are common in the early stages of grammaticalisation, are the direct result of expressivity and the need to be informative. Similarly, Relevance theory asserts that the purpose of communication is rooted in the search for optimal relevance (which leads to understanding) and that the by-product of this search is ostensive communication.[112] Assuming Keller's maxim, that expressivity is defined as "[talking] in such a way that you are noticed" (Keller 1994:101, in Croft, 2010: 41), expressivity and ostensive communication are one and the same. Interlocutors' mutual acknowledgement of the speaker's drive for expressivity and the hearer's expectations of relevance are thus seen as the drivers for language use and change; grammaticalisation accordingly occurs as a consequence of the innate human need to find optimal relevance.

Both theories also acknowledge that an individual's need to inform competes with the need to economise. This notion is discussed from the perspective of each framework, both applying it to describe how it contributes to communication and innovative language use and its interpretation. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 71) discuss the communicators' dual preference for being informative and efficient. Sperber and Wilson (1995: 125) explain that optimal relevance is found when the effort an individual expends in communication is less than the benefits achieved from communicating. This is similar to a cost-benefit analysis where a commodity has value when the cost of getting it is less than the benefit of having it. In this way, Nicolle (2011: 407) suggests grammaticalisation can be explained as a consequence of the search for optimal relevance.

> the process of grammaticalisation can be viewed as being motivated by the principle of relevance, according to which an optimally relevant interpretation is one which achieves adequate cognitive effects for minimal processing effort.

Expressivity may also lead to lexical and pragmatic borrowings (also known as transference) from one language to another. As English steadily grows as the international lingua franca, cross-

---

[112] As described in section 4.2, ostensive communication is the speaker's deliberate and overt demonstration of the intent to communicate.

linguistic borrowings have been found to be quite common in English and non-English languages (Andersen, 2001, 2014). The etymological history of almost all languages shows cross-linguistic borrowings to some extent. In an environment such as South Africa where so many of its speakers are multi-lingual (to varying degrees), cross-linguistic influences are assumed to be high, and such occurrences of borrowing may be found with greater regularity (e.g., Jeffery & van Rooy, 2004). According to Relevance theory, a speaker makes optimal use of all available communicative systems in the process of appealing to the hearer's expectations of relevance. Therefore, this study takes as point of departure the hypothesis that cross-linguistic influences contributed toward the development of the three PMs analysed here. Like the propagation of any linguistic innovation, through repetitious and wide-spread imitation, over time such borrowings may eventually become conventionalised and accepted into mainstream language use without awareness of its origin or path of change.

Both theoretical frameworks also remark on the influence of loose use and figurative language as a motivating factor of language change. Relevance theorists acknowledge that all language use is weighted more heavily on the side of non-literal than literal because utterances are representations and thus can only resemble the speaker's thoughts, not directly mirror them. As Sperber and Wilson (1995: 233) state, a "speaker is presumed to aim at optimal relevance, not at literal truth." How language is used influences how it is inferentially interpreted, which affects how it is cognitively internalised and later will be used. This notion overlaps with that of Grammaticalisation theorists who describe language change in terms of (inter)subjectification; that is, change that occurs as a result of internalising meaning and function in relation to the speaker's worldview (subjectification) and linguistic change as a result of the assumptions the speaker attributes to her audience in regards to meaning and function (intersubjectification). Hopper and Traugott (2003: 85) recognise that metaphorical innovation is a motivating factor in grammaticalisation, and these innovations may result in both semantic and pragmatic change. They cite Bybee and Paguliuca (1985: 75 in Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 85) as stating that "[r]ather than subscribe to the idea that grammatical evolution is driven by communicative necessity, we suggest that human language users have a natural propensity for making metaphorical extensions that lead to the increased use of certain items." Such extensions of figurative language appear to be linked to motivations for expressivity, efficiency and creativity. In relevance-theoretic terminology, this 'natural propensity' appears to be the communicators' mutual aim at optimal relevance.

It is well accepted that communication does not occur in isolation but involves a multitude of interacting contextual factors, often leading to innovative language use – whether metaphorical,

loose or otherwise. It is no great leap to state that communicators have a mutual aim at gaining attention (as without it, communication is not successful) and striking optimal relevance, and as a result of this aim, loose use may lead to language change.

3.3.3   Grammaticalisation and conceptual-procedural encoding

Traugott (e.g. 2010a, 2012) and other researchers using Grammaticalisation theory (e.g., Nicolle, 1998, 2011; Noora & Amouzadeh, 2015) refer to the relevance-theoretic notion of conceptual-procedural encoding to explain some of the changes that occur to lexical items during grammaticalisation as a result of (inter)subjectivity. In essence it is found that expressivity and the need for social cohesion prompt the speaker to communicate in ways that attract the hearer's attention; this involves using language that the speaker perceives will be accessible to the hearer as well as will lead to an interpretation that is close enough to the speaker's intention. Communication, therefore, sometimes leads to innovative uses of lexical items, resulting in predominantly conceptual items being used in certain contexts in which the item's procedural encoding is maximized to constrain the inferential interpretation. In so doing, the processing effort is minimized, which eases the acquisition of the intended cognitive effects.

Once an item has been used to function in a new way, the notion of conceptual-procedural encoding may also help explain the propagation of the grammaticalised item (Wilson, 2016a: 14). Furthermore, the understanding that linguistic items represent meanings that are both conceptually and procedurally encoded helps to explain why most markers are not completely void of conceptual meaning. As described, during the course of grammaticalisation, there is a shift in the dominant meaning of encoded expressions from conceptual (content) to procedural (functional). In time, if grammaticalisation continues, only in the most extreme cases does the original conceptual meaning become so infrequently accessed that it eventually is all but forgotten; in such cases, procedural meaning moves in entirely. Wilson (2016a: 14) suggests that if all linguistic expressions are viewed as having at least some procedural meaning, then it might be easier to understand how proceduralised items such as PMs emerge through grammaticalisation. In this way, the relevance-theoretic notion of conceptual-procedural meaning has become an important notion in explaining the process of grammaticalisation.

3.3.4   Chapter summary

This chapter has described aspects of Grammaticalisation theory (Section 3.1) and Relevance theory (Section 3.2) that bear on the diachronic and synchronic analyses of the PMs presented in Chapter 5. The compatibility of these frameworks has been discussed in this final section (3.3).

Both frameworks view communication as pragmatically interpreted and explain that the human need for expressivity competes with the need for efficiency and economy; that is, the need to achieve the greatest effect for the least amount of effort. As with all communication, context plays a major role in the interpretive process. Preferences for efficiency, economy, attention and clarity are in the interest of both speakers and hearers as they negotiate meaning during communicative events. These preferences, explained in Grammaticalisation theory and Relevance theory, have been noted to motivate the development of PMs.

Chapter 4:   Research data and methodology

This chapter describes the research data and methodology used for the study. Section 4.1 provides information about the three data sets from which utterance samples were retrieved and presents the references used for gathering etymological information and general definitions of the analysed PMs. The methods applied in the analyses are described in Section 4.2. Since the primary purpose of this study is to trace the development and describe pragmatic phenomena in contemporary SAfE, a brief discussion concerning comparative uses of the same linguistic items used as PMs in other English varieties is presented only as it relates to differentiating the SAfE use of the PMs analysed here. Section 4.3 concludes the chapter.

4.1   Data

Data used in this study are from three sources: i) the International Corpus of South African English (ICE-SA), ii) interviews conducted by another researcher for an unrelated study and iii) samples taken independently from public access South African television and radio broadcasts and personally observed social interactions. The primary data set, the ICE-SA, is described in Section 4.1.1. The two remaining data sets are discussed in Section 4.1.2. Section 4.1.3 describes the compatibility of the three data sets, the references accessed for etymological information and definitions, and the corpora of other English varieties consulted for purposes of differentiating pragmatic function.

4.1.1   ICE-SA

The International Corpus of English (ICE) comprises sets of synchronic corpora of spoken and written English used in countries where English is an official language.[113] The ICE was intended originally for comparative English studies (Greenbaum & Nelson, 1996a: 1). Each corpus was compiled in the 1990s, thus representing world Englishes as they were used on the cusp of the 21st century (Jeffery, 2003: 344). The ICE-SA is one of these corpora, and its spoken component is the primary source of data for this dissertation.

---

[113] The ICE website (http://ice-corpora.net/ice/) lists the ICE Teams with corpora representing varieties of English.

The ICE-SA was compiled through the Applied Language Studies Department at University of Port Elizabeth (now, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University).[114] Although the ICE-SA was not completed (the allotted time frame having passed before completion), it remains the largest corpus of SAfE and represents a sizable set of texts of contemporary spoken SAfE (156 total spoken texts)[115] in a variety of settings (e.g., business transactions, broadcast interviews and discussions, Parliamentary debates, legal proceedings, news broadcasts, telephone conversations, family gatherings, parties with friends, classroom lectures, student/teacher conversations) (Jeffery, 2003), some of which are iconically specific to South Africa.[116] As such, the ICE-SA represents SAfE at a historic time: the start of democracy in South Africa.

The metadata indicate that recordings for the spoken component of the ICE-SA were made predominantly in the greater Cape Town area (Western Cape) and in Port Elizabeth (Eastern Cape). Recordings of speakers on national radio and TV broadcasts are neither regionally specific nor specified. A criterion for all ICE corpora is to include only that portion of the adult population, aged eighteen and older, having had an English medium education from primary school through high-school or beyond (Greenbaum & Nelson, 1996a). Determining speakers based on this criterion in South Africa is tricky for several reasons.[117] One difficulty is that certain conversational settings that ICE recommends be included (e.g., Parliamentary debates, legal proceedings, radio/TV interviews) make it difficult to determine the speakers' linguistic and educational backgrounds. More importantly, to this point Jeffery and van Rooy (2004: 269) note that

> [i]n South Africa it is not so simple to delimit such a class, because so many people are fluently bilingual or multilingual, regardless of the language of their formal education. Even if the prototype is the white English-speaking South African (known in the trade as a WESSA), there are many educated non-WESSAs who are so at home in English that it would be misleading to exclude them from the corpus. In fact, significant information about [SAfE –AG] would be lost [if this portion of the population were excluded –AG].

---

[114] The ICE-SA is now at the School of Languages at North-West University (formally Potchefstroom University) near Johannesburg.

[115] A full ICE corpus consists of 500 texts – 300 of which are audio recordings of spoken English and 200 are samples of written English – with each text comprised of 2000 words.

[116] The ICE-SA includes hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which occurred in 1996-1998.

[117] In fact, Greenbaum and Nelson (1996b: 5) reckon all ICE corpora tend to veer around this issue to some extent.

While there is no indication that the standards for the ICE-SA deviated from those originally set out by Greenbaum and Nelson, for the reasons given above, the criterion for including only those speakers who were educated in an English medium environment was relaxed in efforts to represent SAfE in its entirety.

There are some limitations to using the ICE-SA. As mentioned, the corpus was never completed, so the amount of analysable utterances is less than those in completed ICE corpora. Its incomplete state is also reflected in missing metadata and non-uniformity of the annotated transcriptions.[118] This drawback was considered to be minimal since this dissertation is neither a corpus study nor sociolinguistic in focus and only extracts utterances to serve as examples to be analysed. However, the corpus' incomplete state does reduce the significance of noting specific usage frequencies and presumably reduces the number of analysable tokens from this data set. Of more significance is that the data are now about 20 years old. Since generational changes have been found to influence the use and function of certain PMs (e.g., Andersen, 2001), the data in the ICE-SA may not fully represent present-day PM use in SAfE.

Ideally, a researcher has access to both audio recordings and transcriptions when analysing spoken discourse, but I was unable to obtain audio copies of the spoken text.[119] This was the most significant limitation to using the ICE-SA. Evaluating utterances from audio recordings allows one to not only determine functional differences marked by paralinguistic cues but to distinguish, with confidence, those items that are indeed used as PMs from those used otherwise (Zufferey & Popescu-Belis, 2004a: 63, cf. b). In some cases, as in (10a) and (10b) provided by Haselow (2011: 3611), prosodic information may be the only salient factor to distinguish a lexical item from a PM (cf. Bartkova et al., 2016: 859).

(10)

    (a)   *I'll come back <u>then</u>.*

    (b)   *I'll come <u>back</u> then.*

---

[118] Although metadata is provided for some of the texts, much in terms of recording dates, locations and speaker demographics and/or conversational settings appears either to be missing or was not documented.
[119] At the time of writing, none of the recordings have been digitized but remain on the original cassettes and VHS tapes due to inadequate funding for the ICE-SA project (as per personal email correspondence from Bertus van Rooy, Professor at North-West University and Director of the School of Languages, 20 May 2015).

It is clear that important information is communicated in an utterance's intonation pattern, particularly as it relates to the use of PMs. Because of these limitations, supplementary data taken from two additional sources were used in this dissertation. These data were taken in the manner that Jeffery and van Rooy (2004: 269) refer to as "butterfly-collecting" and are described below.

4.1.2   Interviews and other butterfly-collecting

The additional supplementary data were collected from two basic sources: i) written transcripts from a set of interviews (interviews hereafter) conducted by another researcher for a study unrelated to this dissertation and ii) utterances observed from unscripted, public access, national TV and radio broadcasts and everyday conversations overheard by this researcher(i.e., personal observations).

Nine interviews make up the set of interviews spanning the years 2012 to 2014. Each interview ranges approximately between 25- and 60-minutes in length, and the set totals 54,262 words. The original purpose of the interviews was to document phonological change as well as elicit cultural, historical and linguistic information from individuals who grew up in predominantly English-speaking South African communities in the early 1900s.[120] A total of ten interviewees participated in the interviews. Each interview includes the interviewer (age 40-45) and one or two interviewees who were born prior to the start of World War I and grew up in the Witwatersrand/Johannesburg area. English is the mother-tongue for the interviewer and interviewees; the interviewer is male and the interviewees are a mix of male and female between the approximate ages of 85 and 100.

A few tokens were collected from radio (e.g., KFM, SAFM) and TV (SABC) broadcasts of interviews, talk shows, news discussions, and the like, as well as from overheard conversations, predominantly in Stellenbosch. These tokens were produced by SAfE speaking individuals, age 18-years and older, and were collected between 2014 and 2016. Although this data set is small, the tokens represent examples of contemporary SAfE as it is used nationally in a variety of public settings similar to some of those found in the ICE-SA.

4.1.3   Comparability of the data sets and references

Combined, the data sets present tokens taken from monologues and conversations between two, three, and multiple individuals. These were recorded or observed between 1991 and 2016. Both genders are represented, and the age range is broad (i.e., between 18 and ~100). All three PMs

---

[120] The interviews data set was collected by Ian Bekker, Research Associate and Head of the Department of English at North-West University, Potchefstroom.

analysed in this study, *hey*, *is it* and *shame*, are represented in each data set. It was judged that their appearance in the two supplementary sets, which are more recent than the ICE-SA, further substantiates their use in contemporary SAfE.

Several references were consulted for dictionary definitions and background information. Because SAfE has historical roots in British English, references for this English variety were used. References for North American English usage were also consulted as it and British English are considered to be "the two major national standards of English" (Greenbaum & Nelson, 1996a: 3) and as such are suspected to influence other English varieties. To this end, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), *The New Fowler's Modern English Usage* (Fowler's) and *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (AHDEL) were consulted for etymological information and standardised definitions.[121] *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles* (DSAE) and the *Oxford South African Concise Dictionary* (OED-SA) are the primary sources for definitions and background information regarding SAfE usage.[122] It was assumed that the DSAE in particular reflects the social and cultural structures of SAfE in general. The *Oxford Afrikaans – Engels Skoolwoordeboek/English – Afrikaans School Dictionary* (OAESD) was used to translate Afrikaans items, and *The Urban Dictionary*, a crowdsourced online resource for explanations of colloquial words and phrases (i.e., slang), was referenced for possible additional information.

The three PMs, *hey*, *is it* and *shame*, were selected for their distinctive use in SAfE. Although this dissertation is not a comparative study, as points of reference, the transcribed spoken components of three other English corpora (the British National Corpus (BNC), the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) and the Strathy Corpus of Canadian English (Strathy))[123] were searched for similar uses of these PMs to provide evidence of their distinctiveness in SAfE.[124] Corpora for the three varieties of English were selected for their ease of access (all freely available online) and for the following reasons. British English has influenced SAfE through historical events; the BNC consists of over 3 billion words total, thus representing a sizable corpus of British English.

---

[121] There are many dictionaries of English language usage that one can consult. These specific dictionaries were selected because of their accessibility as well as personal preference.

[122] *The Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles* cites lexical items that have specific meanings and/or usages in SAfE and is not a comprehensive English language dictionary.

[123] The BNC was originally compiled in the 1980s and 1990s and is now continually updated. The COCA contains data from 1990 to the present and is updated daily. The Strathy acquired its data between 1970 and 2010 (http://www.queensu.ca/strathy/corpus). All three corpora are currently hosted through Brigham Young University. Audio recordings for these corpora were not available on the websites at the time of analyses.

[124] The comparisons are not comprehensive.

Canadian English was of interest because it is known to have a characteristic usage of the tag, *eh*, a potential derivative of the SAfE tag *hey* analysed here. As American (US) English is currently regarded as one of the two main English varieties, the widely-used COCA was consulted. The COCA consists of almost 3.5 billion words in total, making it one of the largest corpora of American English. Other sources for comparisons of PM usage were taken from the literature (e.g., Meyerhoff, 1994; Andersen, 2001).

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 list the websites used for accessing the corpora sets and the various sources consulted for etymological information and definitions, respectively.

Table 4.1: Corpora sets

Corpora	
BNC	The British National Corpus (http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/)
COCA	The Corpus of Contemporary American English (http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/)
ICE-SA	The International Corpus of English-South Africa (http://ice-corpora.net/ice/icesa.htm)
Strathy	The Strathy Corpus of Canadian English (http://corpus.byu.edu/can/)

Table 4.2: Dictionaries

Dictionaries
The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (AHDEL) (Nichols & Pickett, 2012; Pickett & Kleinedler, 2017)
A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles (DSAE) (Silva et al., 1996) (http://www.dsae.co.za/)
The New Fowler's Modern English Usage (Burchfield, 1998)
The Oxford English Dictionary (OED, 2009) (http://www.oed.com)
The Oxford Afrikaans – Engels Skoolwoordeboek/English – Afrikaans School Dictionary (OAESD) (OUPSA, 2007)
The Oxford South African Concise Dictionary, Second Edition (OED-SA) (Van Niekerk & Wolvaardt, 2013)
The Urban Dictionary (http://www.urbandictionary.com)

4.2   Method

WordSmith was used on the ICE-SA data to identify instances of the linguistic items *hey*, *is it* and *shame*. Manual searches identified tokens taken from the remaining two data sets (i.e., interviews and butterfly-collecting). All tokens then were qualitatively analysed in context to distinguish those used as PMs from those used otherwise. Criteria for judging these items as PMs were based on the two analytical frameworks (Grammaticalisation theory and Relevance theory), descriptions from previous studies of the same or similar PMs, their occurrence and positions within utterances and their judged functions. SAfE and Afrikaans speakers were consulted for confirmation of all phonetic transcriptions and functions attributed to PMs. Etymological information was researched for each of the three PMs to provide background for the diachronic and synchronic analyses that followed. Grammaticalisation theory was used to trace the likely paths of development of these PMs used in SAfE. Relevance theory was used for additional diachronic analysis, to explore the synchronic, idiosyncratic functions of these three PMs in contemporary SAfE and to describe their contribution to utterance interpretation. Analysing the data using these two frameworks was based on similar work done on English PMs in other studies (e.g., Andersen, 2001, 2014; Blakemore, 2002a; Fischer, 2006; Schourup, 2011; Aijmer, 2013). Most of the data for SAfE were collected from the ICE-SA and previously transcribed interviews. Transcription annotations were removed from utterances taken from the ICE-SA for consistency with the other data sets and ease of reading; no other changes to the data were made. To a lesser extent, samples taken from personal observations and publicly accessible sources (such as TV and radio) contributed to the data. No interaction with individuals occurred during the gathering of this data, and no classified or identifying personal information was disclosed; therefore, formal ethical clearance was not necessary for this study.

4.3   Chapter summary

This chapter has described the research data used in this dissertation (Section 4.1). The data were taken from three basic sources: the ICE-SA, a set of transcribed interviews, and butterfly-collecting (i.e., tokens from public accessed TV, radio and personal observations). The data represent spoken SAfE from the mid-1990s to the present. Section 4.2 presented a summary of the methodology used to analyse the three PMs, *hey*, *is it* and *shame*.

Chapter 5:   Data analysis

Chapter 5 represents the analytical component of this dissertation. It begins with Section 5.1 and the analysis of the atypical use of *shame* in SAfE. Sections 5.2 and 5.3 examine the development and use of tag *hey* and follow-up *is it* respectively. Each section describes developmental and functional similarities and differences between their use in SAfE and other English varieties. As will be discussed, all three items function as PMs and demonstrate development that resulted from cross-linguistic contact. As such, the PMs are recognised manifestly among SAfE speakers as markers of solidarity.

5.1   PM *shame*

As mentioned in Section 2.2.1, *shame* is commonly used in contemporary spoken SAfE with functions atypical of other English varieties. Its functional development and current use as a PM is explored here.

Traditionally, *shame* functions grammatically as an evaluative noun and a verb with an emotive quality. In contemporary English it is often found in conventionalised phrases such as the constructed examples shown in (11), accompanied by paraphrased emotive and evaluative functions in parentheses.

(11)

  (a) Student: *I can't believe I slept through your exam this morning.*
       Teacher: *Yeah, <u>that's/what a shame</u>.* (sympathy, sarcasm, indifference, disapproval)

  (b) *<u>Shame on you</u>, Ryan Lochte!* (mild-to-intense disfavour, disapproval, disappointment, scorn)

  (c) *Their shrewd debate skills <u>put us to shame</u>.* (admiration, embarrassment, admission of another's superiority)

This section explains that while the traditional sense of *shame* has been retained in SAfE, the use of this linguistic item in many contexts demonstrates acquired functions that are grammatically and pragmatically distinct from other English varieties. *Shame* used in this sense is referred to here as a PM because of its broadly developed pragmatic functions, non-traditional grammatical class and metacommunicative use of commenting on the speaker's own utterance/conversational topic, indicating how the previous speaker has been interpreted or guiding the hearer during utterance

94

interpretation. Although its form is unchanged, PM *shame*'s accompanying prosodic use, pragmatic functions and sentential placement is distinctly different from its use in other varieties of English and identifiably specific to SAfE. As will be discussed, PM *shame* does not appear to be bound by the same grammatical rules of its traditional use (i.e., as a noun or verb) and conventional phrases such as those presented in (11). Tokens from the SAfE data suggest a more extrasentential occurrence on par with formulaic responses, sentential adverbs, parentheticals and exclamatives.

The sections below are organised as follows. Section 5.1.1 provides definitions and etymological information for *shame*. Section 5.1.2 presents examples taken from the SAfE data sets and describes their functions. Theoretical analyses using the two frameworks, Grammaticalisation theory and Relevance theory, are presented in Sections 5.1.3 and 5.1.4 respectively, followed by the section summary in 5.1.5.

5.1.1   Shame*: background information and definitions*

Fowler's (Burchfield, 1998), the AHDEL (Nichols & Pickett, 2012) and the online versions of the OED (OED, 2009) and the Urban Dictionary ("The Urban Dictionary [WWW document]", 2016) were consulted for etymological information and definitions. References consulted for usage specific to SAfE are the OED-SA (Van Niekerk & Wolvaardt, 2013) and the online version of the DSAE (Silva *et al.*, 1996). The OAESD (OUPSA, 2007) and DSAE (Silva et al., 1996) were referenced for Afrikaans-to-English translations.

The English use of *shame* can be traced back to its use in Old English as both noun, *sceamu*, and verb, *sceamian* ("shame", 2009)**.** *Shame* is of Germanic origin and is linked to the German noun *Scham* and verb, *schämen*; the Dutch word *schamen,* meaning *ashamed,* is of the same origin ("shame", 2009).

Almost all definitions in the OED for *shame* allude to a pejorative, disappointing or humiliating circumstance. Phrases using *shame* (e.g., *shame on you!*) are described as "ejaculatory formulae of imprecation or indignant disapproval" ("shame", 2009). Only the final definition in the OED, which is noted as specific to SAfE, does not have negative connotations: "an expression of sympathy or pleasure" ("shame", 2009). Examples of this use are provided in (12):

(12)

    (a) *'Shame, isn't he a funny old man,' she said.*

    (b) *Oh, look, look! … those foals. Oh, shame, aren't they sweet* ("shame", 2009).

The AHDEL (2012: 758) also traces *shame* to its use in Old English and defines the modern meaning as alluding to a sad or undesirable emotion or behaviour: a "painful emotion caused by a strong sense of guilt, embarrassment, unworthiness or disgrace", "disgrace, ignominy", "a great disappointment".

Both the OED-SA and DSAE provide similar linguistic origins and traditional definitions given by the OED and AHDEL. Additionally, the OED-SA (Van Niekerk & Wolvaardt, 2013: 1086) provides the traditional meaning first, then describes *shame* as an informal exclamation "used to express sympathy or pity"; it goes on to describe a use specific to SAfE: "used to express pleasure, especially at something charmingly small or endearing". The DSAE ("shame", 1996) provides the examples in (13) (the attributed functions as judged by this researcher are shown in parentheses). Like the OED-SA, the DSAE describes *shame* as functioning to express admiration, "sympathy or pity; an expression of pleasure or sentiment, esp. at something small or endearing". In this sense the DSAE categorises *shame* as an interjection.

(13)

    (a) *Shame, she looks so pretty in that frock.* (endearing admiration)

    (b) *Shame, he seemed so touched at my having written that I'm doubly glad I sent him some food too!* (pleasure or sentiment) ("shame", 1996)

Among the references searched, the earliest example of *shame* used to express an endearment, concern or sympathy is from 1932, found in the DSAE ("shame", 1996); one must conclude that such use developed sometime earlier. Other examples of *shame* in the DSAE show it to be prefaced with the English interjections *oh* (used to express "(according to intonation) surprise, frustration, discomfort, longing, disappointment, sorrow, relief, hesitation, etc." ("oh", 2009)) and *aw* (used to express "mild remonstrance, entreaty, commiseration, disgust, or disapproval" ("aw", 2009)) and the Afrikaans interjection *ag* (used to express "impatience, irritation, exasperation, sympathy, resignation, sadness, nostalgia, or pleasure" ("ag", 1996)) as in (14), in which the interjection + *shame* construction may cue the hearer to anticipate an unexpected response; in this case, sarcasm.

(14)

    We fed from the tables of the rich and we got all the educational facilities.
    Ag shame … While everybody else was having a wonderful time getting killed in Soweto ("shame", 1996).

The DSAE ("shame", 1996) suggests the SAfE use of *shame* may have been influenced by the Afrikaans items *foeitog*, /ˈfuitɔx/ or /ˈfʊitɔx/,[125] (used to express "mild surprise"; "sympathy or pity", at times ironically; "affection or warmth towards something endearing (usu. a child)" ("foeitog", 1996)), and *siestog*, /ˈsistɔx/ or /ˈsistɔx/, (used to express "sympathy, pity, or dismay" and occasionally "an expression of disgust" ("siestog", 1996)).[126] Both *foeitog* and *siestog* are categorised in the DSAE as interjections. Consulted Afrikaans speakers confirm these items are commonly used in spoken Afrikaans. For functional comparisons with *shame*, the examples in (15) from the DSAE are presented in which *foeitog* and *siestog* are used during code switching. These examples also show the interjection + (*foeitog*/*siestog*) construction, like in (14), as well as similarities to PM *shame* in terms of utterance position and semantic-pragmatic function.

(15)

    (a) *Ag foeitog, isn't it a sweet baby!* ("foeitog", 1996)

    (b) '*Mommee! – the Aunty's sat on my choclit!*'
       '*Ag, sis tog', said an old man sympathetically* ("siestog", 1996).[127]

There is no mention of *shame* in Fowler's, and a search in the Urban Dictionary did not provide additional information.

The OED ("shame", 2009) describes the pronunciation of *shame* as /ʃeɪm/. Given the many dialects present in South Africa, it is no surprise there are variations of this pronunciation within SAfE; these are generally marked by either a long-a vowel sound, [ʃeɪm], or a long-i, [ʃaɪm] or [ʃ°aɪm].[128] The speech-rate of the vowel production for PM *shame* may also vary from regular or unremarkable to a distinctly drawn-out manner in which the vowel is elongated, [ʃeɪːm] or [ʃ°aɪːm], and there is a well-defined descending pitch. This prosodic contour closely resembles that used in the production of Afrikaans *foeitog* and *siestog*, which adds evidence to the notion that cross-

---

[125] Phones within slashes, / /, denote broad phonetic transcriptions; these are the representations thought to be stored in the mental lexicon. Phonetic transcriptions of articulated use are shown in brackets [ ]; these are the actual realisations of an item. For reference, a phonetic chart is provided in Appendix B.

[126] The Afrikaans translational equivalent for the noun *shame* is *skande*, which is also commonly used in phrases similar to those in English denoting polite regret: e.g., *Dit is 'n skande* dat ek jou so selde sien / *It's a shame* that I see you so seldom (OUPSA, 2007: 202).

[127] The DSAE ("siestog", 1996) notes that other forms of *siestog* are *sis tog*, *cis toch*, and *siestorg*.

[128] This pronunciation is based on personal observations and the following example (see within parentheses) found in the DSAE ("shame", 1996): "You may sentimentalise Christmas, as if the sort of baby that was born would have won a baby-contest and you can say 'shame' (or 'shime') over the cradle."

linguistic influence motivated contact-induced innovation through pragmatic borrowing at the level of prosodic procedural encoding (cf. Andersen, 2014: 18). The synchronisation of *shame* with these accompanying paralinguistic cues plays an important role in its interpretation. Accompanying this prosodic production, the lips may remain rounded. This manner is typically used for an endearment one reserves for something that is considered to be adorable such as perhaps a baby or puppy.

In summary, *shame* is used in other English varieties as a noun and verb, often in conventionalised phrases, with meanings generally associated with sorrow and sympathy and negative states such as disgrace, dishonour, scorn and humiliation. While the pejorative meanings are not unfamiliar to SAfE interlocutors (as reflected to minimal degree in the data; see Appendix C), its use as an expression of endearment, warm affection, admiration, compassion, pleasure and mild amusement is common and represents a meaningful about-face from its traditional sense. The consulted references provide evidence that *shame* has been used with these atypical functions since the early 1900s, and it is often preceded by an English or Afrikaans interjection (e.g., *oh*, *aw*, *ag*). References suggest that these functional attributes are specific to SAfE and that they developed at least in part from the contact-induced influence of the Afrikaans items *foeitog* and *siestog*.[129] As neither a noun nor verb nor part of a conventionalised phrase, the SAfE use of *shame* shows a disassociation from its syntactic and semantic-pragmatic English/Germanic origins. It is this development that is explored below.

5.1.2   Shame*: examples from the SAfE data and a description of their functions*

Since references indicate that *shame* in other English varieties is used only in its traditional sense (i.e., a noun or verb associated with negative states), and a cursory scan through the BNC, COCA and Strathy found no tokens to prove otherwise, this section focuses exclusively on the SAfE data.

Thirty-eight tokens of *shame* were found in the ICE-SA. Of these, one was used in the traditional sense (… *these past few weeks have probed beneath the surface of South Africa's shame* …), one was used in a conventional phrase (A: … *you couldn't really enjoy it.* B: *What a shame*) and one was in quoted form (*You can't say 'ag, shame' ever again* …). The remaining 35 tokens were judged to be used as PMs. Six additional tokens of PM *shame* were taken from the interviews and one from butterfly-collecting

---

[129] If *shame* was used with its current pragmatic functions around the turn of the 20th century, then technically its influence should be referred to as Dutch, since Afrikaans was only formally recognised as a separate language in 1925. However, the birth of the language is generally given an earlier date. For example, the DSAE applies 'Afrikaans' to utterances/items from about 1870, and Silva (1996: viii) notes that some scholars place the date that Afrikaans was recognised as distinct from Dutch as earlier still.

for a total of 42 tokens. Preliminary analyses showed that all 42 tokens occur in informal or casual discourse situations. *Shame* is used as a response in 33 of these tokens (79%) and within narratives in nine tokens (21%). Eighteen tokens were prefaced by an interjection such as *ag* or *oh*, and all of these occurred when *shame* was used as a response to a previous utterance (i.e., not within narratives). In other words, an interjection + *shame* construction occurred in 18 of the 33 response types (55%).

An interesting addition to the information regarding the SAfE use of PM *shame* was an unprompted comment found in the interviews data. As described in Section 4.1.2, this set of data was originally collected by another researcher for studies unrelated to this dissertation. During one of the interviews, the researcher, R, asks if there is anything the interviewee, G, can remember that stands out about how English was spoken or used during the time of G's childhood, to which G remarks on the popular use of *shame*:

(16)

> G: *One of the most favourite sayings was* <u>*sha-ame*</u>.
> R: <u>*Shame, shame?*</u>
> G: *Everything is* <u>*sha-ame*</u>. *Whether it was a happy or a sad event, it* <u>*sha-ame*</u>
> (interviews tape/page: 120331_002 / 17).[130]

Tokens from (16) were not included in the 42 analysed tokens because they are direct comments describing the way *shame* was used 70-80+ years ago. But this brief exchange is interesting for several reasons. First, referring to its sense as communicating either "a happy or a sad event" alludes to some of its contemporary uses in SAfE. Second, it implies the speaker felt either that *shame* was used with unusual frequency or that this sense to communicate disparate meanings was unconventional at the time or both, and thus the speaker believed it was noteworthy to mention. Third, it is evidence that in the early 1900s *shame* was widely used to convey meanings other than those with which it was traditionally associated, and it further implies that it was a sociolinguistic trend to do so. Fourth, it confirms the innovative use as having occurred around the turn of the 20th century (over 100 years ago), and it can, therefore, be assumed that this sense of *shame* originated sometime during the eighty years between when the first British settlers arrived in South Africa (1820) and about 1900. And lastly, the transcription suggests a prolonged vowel production: "sha-ame", /ʃeɪːm/. This relates to the discussion of pronunciation in Section 5.1.1, suggesting identical production to some of its contemporary prosodic use. All of these points are interesting

---

[130] Sources for all SAfE data are shown in Appendix D.

in situating the development of the contemporary SAfE use of *shame* on a timeline. But the third point is of particular interest because its suggestion of wide usage indicates PM *shame* was a sociolinguistic trend with a wide range of functions that are atypical of its traditional sense. One might speculate that this use is somewhat akin to the (arguably) overuse of *awesome* and other evaluative items (e.g., *gentlemen*, *hectic*, *insane*) in many English varieties whose innovative hyperbolic use broke context-specific rules and gradually led to pragmatic changes. This possibility is explored further in the diachronic analyses in Sections 5.1.3 and 5.1.4.

To explore functional similarities, the tokens of *shame* in the data were judged as having an affective or hortatory function. These two basic functions often appear to overlap in the data, leading some tokens to be judged as expressing both. As such, 33 affective functions (79%) and 21 hortatory functions (50%) appeared to be expressed in the data; these are shown in Appendix C. When used as a response, PM *shame*, like most topic-related responses, indicates active listenership by signalling attention and communicative cooperation. Perhaps retained from its traditional sense, *shame* continues to express emotive and evaluative qualities, but unlike its traditional sense, these qualities appear to have ameliorated to express a softer intention. For example, in (17) *shame* expresses the emotive quality of sympathy/empathy (affective) and in (18) the evaluative quality is expressed by softening the previous remark or noting that it is potentially socially abrasive or unpleasant (hortatory).

(17)

       B: *It's sore … I don't know*

       A: <u>*Shame*</u>. *So do you think you must go to a dentist*

       (ice-sa_spoken\s1a-051.txt)

(18)

       F: (referring to F's male dog) I *daren't take him up if he sees anybody in my flat he … absolute* [laughter]

       B: *is he Buller*

       A: <u>*ag shame*</u> *man*

       (ice-sa_spoken\s1a-043.txt)

In this view of active listenership, *shame* is seen as procedurally communicating or attributing assumed manifest knowledge/emotion.

Example (19) is somewhat of an outlier use of *shame*.

(19)

> (The scene: Mother with her newborn baby in a pram. Another woman looks into the pram and responds to what she sees)
>
> A: *Aw, <u>shame</u>*
>
> (personal observation)

While this use does not follow a previous utterance, it is categorised as a response because it responds to a stimulus: a visual observation. Here, *shame* communicates an expression of pleasure, warm affection and recognition of something adorable. In doing so, it is hearer-oriented as it procedurally conveys the speaker's assumed mutual knowledge/emotion; that is, the speaker presumes the mother's adoration for her baby and mirrors it through her utterance to express her understanding and solidarity with the mother. The use in (19) is a prime example of the suggested linguistic link made in the DSAE between *shame* and the Afrikaans item *foeitog*, described with similar pragmatic functions.

Examples (18) and (19) also show the interjection + *shame* construction. As stated, several examples of this construction were found in the consulted references. Possible explanations for this construction are explored in Sections 5.1.3 and 5.1.4.

When PM *shame* is used within a narrative, it expresses the same variety of sentiments listed above but, by comparison, is less frequent in the data. This use is found in the midst or at the end of narratives and may appear like a topic adjectival or exclamative, expressing the speaker's attitude or emotion, thus functioning on a metacommunicative level. PM *shame* used in this way draws attention to pragmatic elements expressed and functions like some tags as having, as stated by Stenström, Andersen and Hasund (2002a: 173), either a "wide scope", referring to the entire proposition, or a "narrow scope", referring to or reinforcing a specific aspect of the proposition. As such, the token in (20) shows *shame* functioning with a wide scope while the token in (21) functions with a narrow scope; the specific aspect of the narrow scope in (21) is one that immediately follows.

(20)

> S: *they always said he was the only moffie dog they'd ever met* [laughter] <u>*shame*</u> *… you were spayed so early you don't know the difference*
>
> (ice-sa_spoken\s1a-024.txt)

(21)

> A: [describing someone visiting a friend in Groote Schuur Hospital] … *and so he went in with James and then they went to Groote Schuur, and* <u>*shame*</u> *they bought her some flowers and some … a card or whatever which I thought was quite sweet*
> (ice-sa_spoken\s1a-004.txt)

Within narrative use, *shame* may function to urge a particular interpretation. In the case of (20), it expresses a kind of exaggerated compassion for somewhat comical effect as well as makes light of a potentially socially unpleasant topic: the dog's sterilisation. In (21) it assists in expressing deep emotional feeling and urges a sympathetic interpretation. By this view, *shame* is judged as both speaker- and hearer-oriented because it expresses the speaker's attitude and degree of expressed emotion as well as the pragmatic intentions she wants the hearer to infer during interpretation.

5.1.2.1   *Summary of occurrences and functions of* shame *in SAfE data*

In summary, the etymology of *shame* can be traced back to Old English with Germanic origin. Traditional definitions describe socially negative conditions or actions such as disgrace, dishonour, humiliation and scorn. As shown in Appendix C, *shame* is used in SAfE to function as a PM that can refer to a pleasurable endearment (affective) or urge a particular interpretation by either emphasising a point or by softening and/or distancing oneself from an unpleasant remark (hortatory). These functions are atypical compared to its use in other English varieties. Both affective and hortatory groups of functions show speaker- and hearer-orientations as *shame* assists in navigating through a conversational event. The two functional groups often appear to overlap in the data, leading some tokens to be judged as expressing both; more tokens, however, were judged as expressing affective- than hortatory functions. As an endearment, *shame* appears to affectively express a broad range of gradable sentiments from sadness and compassion to amusement (pity, sympathy/empathy, dismay, endearment, affection, admiration, pleasure). Most tokens were found to function in this way, and none of the PMs appeared to express a negative condition such as dishonour, scorn or disgrace. Hortatory functions were characterised as euphemistically softening an unpleasant or inappropriate topic or remark. These two functions are discussed in more detail below.

5.1.3 *Grammaticalisation of* **shame**

Section 5.1.2 described the attributed functions of the SAfE PM *shame*. The evidence presented above for contact-induced linguistic change is used in this section to justify describing this change

in terms of grammaticalisation. To this end, a cline of grammaticality for PM *shame* is presented and explained in Section 5.1.3.1, and pragmatic innovations that accompanied contact-induced grammaticalisation are discussed in Section 5.1.3.2. The grammaticalisation analysis of PM *shame* is summarised in Section 5.1.3.3.

5.1.3.1   Multi-source cline of grammaticality for shame*, (inter)subjectification and pragmatic strengthening*

As described in Section 3.1, a cline of grammaticality maps out the grammaticalisation of a lexical item or clause. A cline, however, is not restricted to a single pathway. As described in Section 3.1, a single source may develop into more than one grammaticalised item, and multiple sources may converge toward the development of a single grammaticalised item (Hopper & Traugott, 2003; Fischer, 2013). A simplified diagram of a multi-source cline is illustrated in **Error! Reference source not found.**.
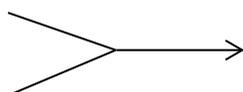
Figure 5.1: Diagram of multi-source cline of grammaticality (adapted from Fischer (2013: 517))

Based on definitions, etymological information and examples taken from the SAfE data that suggest PM *shame* is linked to the traditional English sense as well as the Afrikaans items *foeitog* and *siestog*, the possibility of contact-induced grammaticalisation is explored below. Since no language influences other than English and Afrikaans were found in the consulted sources to have contributed toward its development, the diachronic analysis of PM *shame* is limited to these two languages, and a multi-source cline is assumed. Additionally, since changes to *shame* occurred in South Africa, the analysis also takes into account influences resulting from this multilingual, multicultural environment.

Although most grammaticalised items seem to originate from items with broad meanings such as *go* and *be* (Traugott, 2010b: 279), this does not discount the possibility that grammaticalisation may affect conceptual items with narrower or more distinctive meanings. As described in Section 3.1, grammaticalisation is a kind of language change that occurs when lexical items are used in certain contexts to express non-conventional grammatical functions. It is argued here that this type of linguistic development occurred in the case of *shame*.

The previous sections noted syntactic and semantic-pragmatic similarities between the contemporary sense of SAfE *shame* and the two Afrikaans items, *foeitog* and *siestog,* and identifiable similarities in intonation and functions of politeness have been observed. Based on these similarities alone, it is possible that contact-induced grammaticalisation occurred as the result of pragmatic associations made between the items. As Andersen (2014: 18) explains, external influences such as contact with other languages may result in pragmatic borrowings that involve the incorporation of new discourse functions such as represented with the SAfE use of *shame*. No other similarities, such as phonetic and syllabic, exist between *shame* (/ʃeɪːm/, /ʃᵊaɪːm/) and *foeitog* (/ˈfuitɔx/, /ˈfʊɪtɔx/) and *siestog* (/ˈsɪstɔx/, /ˈsistɔx/).[131] For this reason, these Afrikaans items alone may not completely account for how the original sense of *shame* developed its current usage in SAfE. This section offers a possible explanation, starting with a look at its traditional use and the conventional English phrases in which *shame* appears.

Traditionally *shame* is used as a noun and verb, and in many English varieties *shame* is included in conventional or formulaic expressions of sympathy, regret or sorrow (e.g., *that's/what a shame*) and disapproval, blame or reproach (e.g., *for shame!, shame on you!*) ("shame", 2009). Some functions attributed to the SAfE use of *shame* may be linked to these two phrasal meanings. Section 5.1.2.1 described two basic functions for PM *shame*: affective (such as to express an endearment) and hortatory (such as to euphemistically soften a topic or remark). The first of these can be linked with the conventional phrases typically associated with expressing sympathy or regret; while the second may be related to phrases associated with expressing disapproval. In both cases, however, PM *shame* is a distinctly mitigated/ameliorated version of its associated conventional phrase(s), and its use further demonstrates a broadly developed pragmatic allowance. That is, as an expression of endearment it is not limited to sympathy but includes the gamut of affection, compassion, amusement, pleasure, admiration and dismay; and as an expression to euphemistically soften a topic or remark, assuming that it stems from a dishonouring rebuke, its gentler tone represents a recognisable departure from this traditional meaning. This latter function is useful when (inter)subjectively trying to avoid offending another communicator or distance oneself from a potential offence during intercultural communication, all while not causing further offence with overt criticism. In this way, PM *shame* may be seen as managing the pragmatic success of cross-linguistic communication in which understanding attitudinal aspects of both the speaker's intentions and the hearer's comprehension are important. Although PM *shame* retains its

---

[131] As will be discussed in later sections, there are noted phonetic and syllabic similarities between tag *hey* and the Afrikaans *hoor* (Section 5.2), as well as the invariant follow-up *is it* and the Afrikaans *is dit* (Section 5.3).

morphological appearance or form, pragmatically it has developed a distinctly gentler emotive and evaluative quality. That is, its form has not changed, but its associated pejorative meaning has shifted toward one that is more positive in certain contexts to project the speaker's attitude.

Further comparison with the traditional use of *shame* as a noun, verb, or in conventionalised phrases common to other English varieties reveals that PM *shame* has greater freedom in terms of utterance position. Where it occurs in an utterance, however, determines its pragmatic focus (as demonstrated in examples (20) and (21)), and it remains grammatically rule governed. While the data indicate that PM *shame* cannot occur clause-internally, it may be used like an exclamative (e.g., *damn*) as a stand-alone response, or clause-peripherally (i.e., outside of but proximate to a clause) similar to a sentential adverbial (e.g., *unfortunately*), parenthetical (e.g., *needless to say*), apposition marker or exclamative.[132] This use differs from its traditional function as a noun or verb but is similar to its use within some conventionalised phrases.

The question of why, and to some extent how, these meaningful changes occurred to *shame* brings this analysis to proposing an intermissive stage in its grammatical development. That is, there is evidence that the contemporary SAfE use of *shame* is a direct result of a sociolinguistic trend to use *shame* as a hyperbole and to do so with frequency in casual discourse. By definition, a hyperbole is an overt and explicit, exaggerated description of an actual state of affairs, and like other tropes, it is not intended to be interpreted literally (OED, 2009; Nichols & Pickett, 2012: 416). It is noted in the data by one account (in interviews) that *shame* was used widely to convey a broad range of emotions, from happy to sad. This brief, extemporaneous description suggests contextually broad hyperbolic use that was both socially frequent and accepted. Assuming this to be the case, over time (inter)subjectivity led to *shame* becoming eased to fit the context. In this way, interpretive limitations were weakened, allowing this item to function more broadly.

As pointed out in Section 3.2.2, since lexical expressions are used to represent concepts (i.e., they are not actual concepts), the link to any specific concept is susceptible to change through use. Noting that a developmental stage may have been the extensive hyperbolic use as a sociolinguistic trend helps explain how and why *shame* changed in SAfE, and it may clarify the relationships between *shame* and the conventionalised English phrases as well as *shame* and the two Afrikaans

---

[132] Blakemore (2008: 55 n1) defines an apposition marker as "the juxtaposition of co-referential noun phrases". In essence, these are reformulations of a proposition or noun phrase that procedurally serve a variety of attitudinal functions. Blakemore (2008: 48) provides the following example: "I'm leaving. You've spoilt the whole evening, *ruined it*". Italics are not in the original but have been added to indicate the apposition marker and the way it functions to guide the hearer toward a more fine-tuned interpretation in keeping with the speaker's intention.

expressions. Widespread hyperbolic use also could explain how *shame* came to be ameliorated and softened. If hyperbole is an exaggeration of an actual state of affairs, then its use can be regarded as a falsehood that is uttered in order to highlight some aspect of the actual state of affairs by disrupting the expected progression of discourse. Here its function is thus regarded as epistemic, as hyperbole disrupts the literalness of interpretation by replacing an actual state of affairs with one that is unrealistically heightened, which upon its interpretation reveals something about the actual state of affairs that otherwise could not have been perceived (cf. Ritter, 2012). Over time and with frequent use, hyperbole *shame* appears to have lost its initial ability to disrupt, but it retained its pragmatic function to allude to disruption, thereby contributing toward its amelioration.

If the contemporary SAfE use of *shame* as a PM even partly originated from a sociolinguistic trend of hyperbolic use, it may have motivated pragmatic transference from the two Afrikaans expressions, *foeitog* and *siestog*, during cross-linguistic interactions. This notion of *shame* used as a hyperbole is discussed further below, but for now, assuming this as one stage of, or contribution toward, its PM development, along with other contributing factors mentioned above, a multi-source cline representing the grammaticalisation of *shame* with these influences is presented in Figure 5.2.

5.1.3.2   *Pragmatic innovations and contact-induced grammaticalisation*

It is not unusual for individuals to assume similar speech patterns of those within their community (usually not consciously), especially if doing so has the benefit of increasing the likelihood of successful communication. The lifetime of a sociolinguistic trend is impossible to predict or measure; some disappear over time while others lead to language change. But as

(a)

Noun/verb > hyperbole > PM

(b)
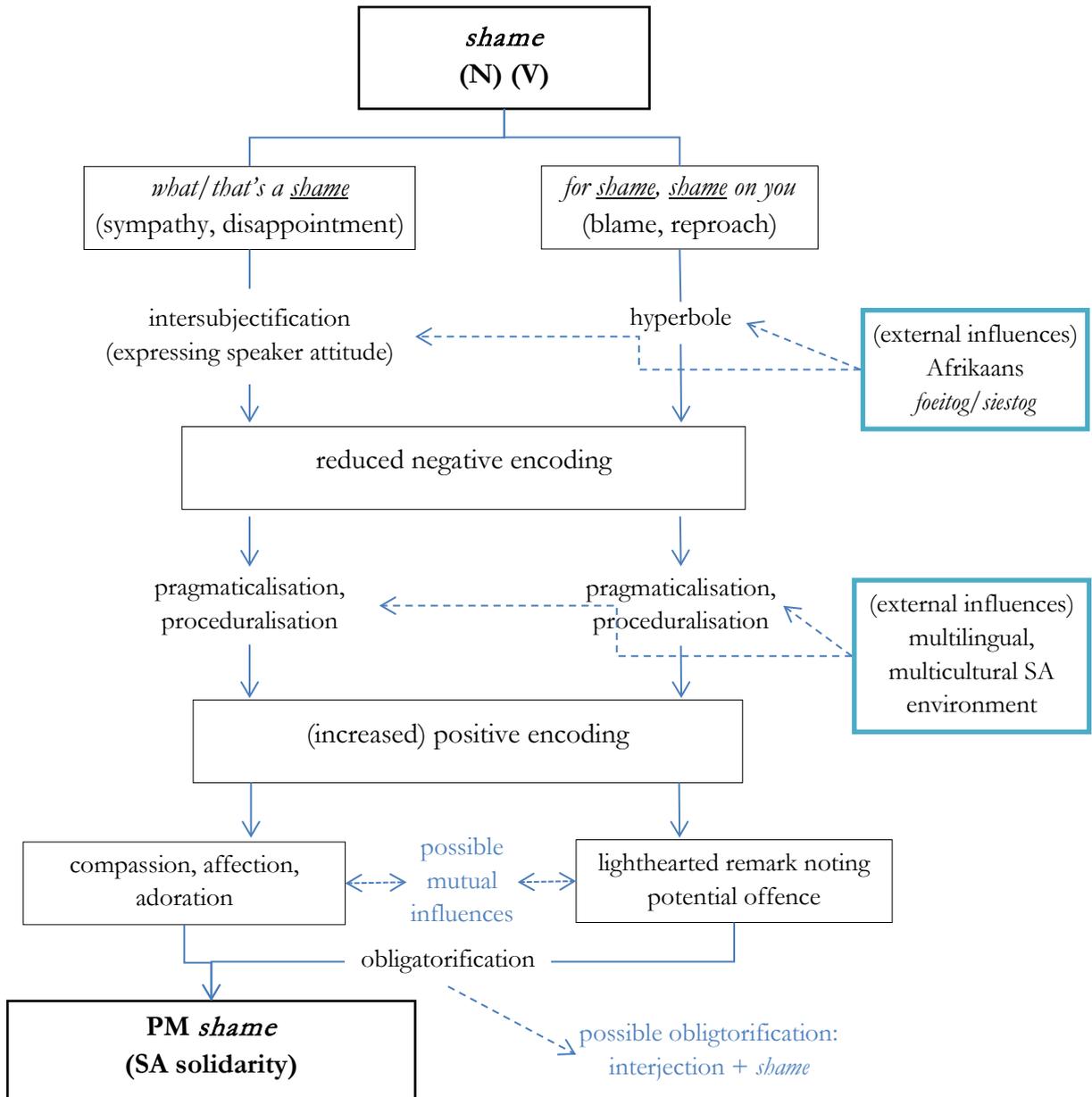
Figure 5.2: The cline of grammaticality for contact-induced grammaticalisation (a) and a conceptual multi-source flow diagram (b) illustrating the contributing influences toward the grammatical development of SAfE PM *shame*

Crystal (1997: 53) says, "[t]he slang of one generation can be the standard English of the next". It stands to reason that innovative language use occurs when individuals find it necessary or useful. In multicultural environments, different languages, pragmatic preferences, speech patterns and assumptions are a frequent challenge through which to navigate. These challenges contribute to making multicultural environments particular breeding grounds for innovative language use. Here, not only may such innovations be used to increase communicative success, but a multicultural environment (illustrated in Figure 5.2 (b)) may increase one's perceived need to more blatantly establish an individual and social identity through specific language use.

Through (inter)subjectivity, linguistic innovations, pragmatic meanings, speech patterns, and the repetition of certain items or phrases will all change over time. These variations may become assumed, applied, repeated and so on, resulting in eventual language change through accommodation. The role of hyperbole as a pragmatic strategy to gain attention also may be seen as a behaviour that leads to inadvertent language change. Once the hyperbolic use of *shame* became more-or-less widespread in SAfE and the disruptive edge of using a hyperbole (as described above) eased over time, given the syntactic and semantic-pragmatic similarities between it and the two Afrikaans expressions, further similarities such as the pragmatic transference of paralinguistic features commonly associated with the Afrikaans expressions (i.e., prosodic contour, lip-rounding) and use of preceding interjections (e.g., *ag, oh*) may have motivated additional functional transferences. The shared features of hyperbole *shame* and the Afrikaans expressions were similar enough that, as a result of contact and cross-linguistic communication, over time and in certain contexts there was transference of pragmatic functions to *shame*; thus giving *shame* similar pragmatic qualities and leading to its use as a PM.[133] In this way, the conventionalised English phrases became simplified (e.g., ~~what a~~ *shame*), and *shame* was pragmatically strengthened and proceduralised as a result of hyperbolic use and cross-linguistic interaction.

Obligatorification (i.e., the process by which a speaker's linguistic choices become more specified or restricted in certain contexts) is mentioned in Section 3.1 as a process that may be involved in grammaticalisation. Figure 5.2 (b) includes this process in the grammaticalisation of *shame*. As a PM, *shame* has become specified and appears to be anticipated among SAfE speakers as an expression of a variety of sentiments and speaker attitude in certain contexts, suggesting that *shame* has become pragmatically obligatory. If this is true, its use as a marker of solidarity among SAfE speakers (and perhaps a noted peculiarity to others) may be an outcome of its obligatorification.

---

[133] Interjection-like qualities include affective intonation, accompanying facial expressions and a conveyed meaning that is difficult to paraphrase (cf. Wharton, 2016).

Furthermore, the frequency in the SAfE data, as well as the consulted references on SAfE, of the interjection + *shame* construction makes it also worth noting in terms of obligatorification. The construction appears to be restricted to response types (i.e., not within narratives), and *shame* was found never to precede an interjection, suggesting that use of this construction may be pragmatically obligatory in certain contexts (see Figure 5.2 (b)). If *shame* and the interjection + *shame* construction have become pragmatically obligatory, it may be explained as a result of (inter)subjectification. That is, the attributing speaker attitude conveyed by the expression has over time and through widespread use become more specified among SAfE speakers.

Grammaticalisation theory states that innovative language use is motivated by two competing preferences in human communication: the maximization of informativeness and the maximization of efficiency (described in Section 3.1.1). It therefore stands to reason that if a linguistic innovation leads to greater efficiency and ease of comprehension and increases individual informativeness and communicative success, then it is likely to be embraced as a useful communicative device. When innovatively and repeatedly used in hyperbolic contexts, it is plausible that the evaluative feature of *shame* would have lost its potency in some contexts as an admonishing rebuke while acquiring a softened, more generalised tone in the process (cf. Dahl, 2001). Such use may have had further communicative purposes, such as safeguarding against offence in a multilingual environment where cultural sensitivities can vary. This notion of having developed from hyperbolic use will be further discussed in Section 5.1.4.1.

5.1.3.3   *Summary of the grammaticalisation of* shame

Grammaticalisation theory contends that innovative language use that leads to linguistic change is the result of communicative interactions and that pragmatic strengthening, proceduralisation and obligatorification results from (inter)subjectivity. This remains true for the contemporary use of the SAfE *shame*, described here as having gone through the process of contact-induced grammaticalisation. While its traditional semantic-pragmatic sense has not been forgotten, as a result of cross-linguistic influences, *shame* gradually acquired broader pragmatic meaning, allowing it to function in more varied contexts. It was suggested these changes occurred as a result of its sociolinguistic trend as a hyperbole, (inter)subjectification and cross-linguistic and multicultural influences. The syntactic and semantic-pragmatic adjustments to *shame* differentiate its use in SAfE from its traditional meaning in other English varieties. In the South African context, it appears this traditional meaning is now quite separate from its current functions as a PM so that there is little but the form left to meaningfully associate them.

5.1.4   *Relevance and* shame

Relevance theory is applied below to analyse PM *shame* in the context of SAfE. This analysis focuses on the psychological tendency to minimize processing effort while maximizing cognitive effects during communication. Section 5.1.4.1 continues the discussion of *shame*'s diachronic development before moving on to the synchronic analysis in Section 5.1.4.2. This is followed by the section summary in 5.1.5.

5.1.4.1   Some relevance-theoretic thoughts on the development of shame *in a multilingual environment*

As discussed in Section 5.1.1, etymological information shows that PM *shame* originated from a conceptually encoded (lexical) item expressing negative states such as dishonour and humiliation. The loose use of *shame* as hyperbole helps to explain its connection to the conventional English phrases as well as how its historically pejorative sense over time became relaxed in specific contexts. As a widely used hyperbole, the intended meaning of *shame* also became more easily associated with the Afrikaans expressions *foeitog* and *siestog*, resulting in transference of pragmatic function. In this way, *foeitog* and *siestog* are believed to have functionally contributed toward *shame*'s further amelioration and development as a PM.

Sociolinguistic trends such as those involving hyperbolic use are not uncommon, and if such trends persist, meaningful changes can result. Ritter (2012: 411) explains that the "metafunction" of a hyperbole is to "reorient by disorienting": "By generating confusion through excess, hyperbole alters and creates meaning." In this way, evaluative expressions (e.g., *unique*, *hectic*, *awesome*, *chaos*, *hero*) that traditionally were reserved specifically for extreme and marginal occasions or contexts are used as hyperbole to draw immediate attention by disturbing the actual state of affairs. Gaining and keeping attention is fundamental for successful communication and is the premise on which the Cognitive and Communicative principles of relevance rest (Wilson, 2016b: 7). That is, attention to a stimulus (communication) is necessary to determine whether or not that stimulus is relevant. Logically, if one is not aware of a stimulus, it cannot be found to be relevant – or anything else for that matter. Furthermore, attempting to communicate with another individual is itself an act of trying to attract attention, and through experience, individuals presume relevance when this occurs. Gaining attention is paramount for successful communication. The interlocutors' need to gain and keep attention during discourse also explains why actual literal communication is quite rare (e.g., Wilson & Sperber, 2002a; Wilson & Carston, 2006) while metaphorical use, including hyperbole, is common, particularly in spoken communication (Carston & Wearing, 2015: 79). Like other figurative language, when a hyperbole is used the speaker expects the hearer to recognise and

110

access aspects of its literal meaning and adjust that meaning to fit the context and meet expectations of relevance. Therefore, hyperbole is used to attract attention and constrain interpretation of an utterance; and as relevance theorists (e.g., Sperber & Wilson, 1986b; Wilson & Carston, 2006: 406) have asserted, interpreting a hyperbole is no different from interpreting all utterances: as guided by context and an individual's expectations of relevance.

Although non-literal communication is common, hyperbolic use of an item is interpreted as a linguistic innovation if its use is unfamiliar to the hearer. According to Relevance theory, linguistic innovations initially trigger ad hoc concepts that are derived following context-sensitive modifications of the item's original meaning during inferential interpretation. An ad hoc concept is thus the result of pragmatically adjusted linguistic meaning interacting with contextual information to meet the hearer's expectations of relevance. With frequent and widespread use within a community, a linguistic innovation will become more familiar to those individuals, and over time, this item that once activated ad hoc concepts becomes cognitively remapped or reinterpreted. The item is now more accessible and perhaps in certain contexts (such as those that signify social identity through use of a sociolinguistic trend) not only anticipated but socially identifying. At this point, the item no longer only metarepresents its original sense, but has procedurally broadened for greater pragmatic versatility, thus giving rise to a range of meanings and functions that must be inferred in context, again to fit the hearer's expectations of relevance. It is proposed that through use as hyperbole and cross-linguistic contact, *shame*'s traditional, conceptually encoded sense pragmatically broadened in this way, gradually becoming semantically, syntactically and prosodically similar to the two Afrikaans expressions to which it has been linked. These changes led to *shame*'s development of characteristics associated with PMs and aligning with the functional definition provided in Section 2.1.9.

Key to relevance is the notion, outlined by the conditions for relevance and further described in the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure (Section 3.2), that processing effort is offset by greater cognitive effects.[134] This notion may help explain the propagation of *shame* in a multilingual environment, first in the form of hyperbole as a sociolinguistic trend and then as a PM following

---

[134] From Sperber and Wilson (1995: 125): "Extent condition 1: an assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that its contextual effects [i.e., positive cognitive effects –AG] in the context are large. Extent condition 2: an assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that the effort required to process it in this context is small." From Wilson and Sperber (2004: 611): "Relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure: (a) follow a path of least effort in computing cognitive effects: Test interpretive hypotheses (disambiguations, reference resolutions, implicatures, etc.) in order of accessibility. (b) Stop when your expectations of relevance are satisfied."

its cross-linguistic associations with the two Afrikaans expressions from which pragmatic functions were adopted. As communicators interacted cross-linguistically, this latter development resulted in broader functions, thus increasing its use. In Section 5.1.2, two functions were attributed to *shame*, namely affective and hortatory. These functions constitute procedures for the interpretation of the speaker's thought or intention and show *shame* is used to express or ease sensitive topics, avoid unintended offence and express a range of emotions. As evidenced in the data, paraphrasing a precise meaning of the procedure that *shame* represents is quite difficult (see Appendix C, column D). Nevertheless, it is apparent from the data (Appendix C) and personally observed discourse that the use of PM *shame* causes no interpretation difficulties among SAfE interlocutors. Blakemore (2011) discusses highly procedural items, particularly those with affective qualities, among which *shame* could be included, in terms of "descriptive ineffability". Similarly, Carston (2016b: 159, 163) refers to them as being introspectively inaccessible. The reason for this is because the use of PM *shame*, as it is used in the SAfE context, over time has become more closely linked with synchronised paralinguistic cues such as prosody, gestures and facial expressions (cf. Blakemore, 2011: 3548). Furthermore, through linguistic experience, PM *shame* is immediately understood to trigger or cancel contextual implicatures. In a multilingual, multicultural environment, if a single item can constrain interpretations of potentially sensitive topics, express contextual implicatures or cancel unintended ones, and easily and quickly communicate what otherwise is difficult and perhaps infelicitous to put into words, it stands to reason this item will be used.

Every communicative event presents some degree of challenge to the interlocutors. Features that make up contexts, such as encyclopaedic knowledge and its accessibility, assumptions and preferences, are ever-changing and all must be navigated. Furthermore, since there are far more concepts than there are words to represent them, communicators are assumed to understand that linguistic items must be flexible by necessity. This flexibility lends itself to individual creativity and innovation to meet the innate human need to communicate and understand. Communicative success is usually more challenged in multicultural environments where intent and clarity may be put under both social and linguistic constraints. In such situations, different language and cultural backgrounds and preferences compete. Here, language is used in ways that would be unnecessary under conditions of greater familiarity. Studies show that multicultural environments are fertile ground for innovative language use (e.g., Andersen, 2001; Stenström *et al.*, 2002b; Torgersen *et al.*, 2011), leading to the conclusion that the need for human expression and understanding is stronger than the need to follow the grammatical rules of a particular language. Since Relevance theory states that individuals are unlikely to expend effort unless some form of reward in return is

perceived, one must conclude that linguistic innovations occur for the individual or social benefit of being understood.

PM *shame* exemplifies linguistic change that occurred in a multicultural environment as a result of sociolinguistic behaviour and cross-linguistic influences. Grammatical changes are believed to have led to functional broadening of this item during its development as a PM. These changes illustrate a distinct movement toward proceduralisation. Relevance theory describes all linguistic items as having some procedural encoding, allowing a single item to be used to represent different thoughts in different contexts. The procedural encoding for *shame* is believed to have allowed it to be used in innovative ways. In a multicultural environment, adjustments of meaning may be complex as well as influenced by a predilection for achieving the greatest effects for the least effort, as defined in the conditions for relevance.

5.1.4.2   *Synchronic analysis, higher-level explicatures and contextual implicatures*

In its evaluative traditional sense, *shame* is an emotionally charged item that can be conceptually represented (therefore, part of the *language of thought*) as well as serve on the computational level to facilitate the inferential process (thus associated with *states of language users*) (cf. Wilson, 2016a: 11). But having become pragmatically strengthened, the balance of conceptual-procedural encoding has been readjusted by becoming more procedurally focused and pragmatically versatile to function in a variety of interpersonal contexts as a PM that projects the speaker's attitude.

As some of the tokens from the data illustrate, *shame* appears to be subtly associated with, but different from, some conventionalised phrases that are common in other English varieties. The token in (22) shows *shame* used as a response to express pity or empathy/sympathy:

(22)

> R: *She's totally ... clueless*
> S: *she's not really, she's terribly ... terribly shy*
> C: *oh* <u>*shame*</u> (#*that's a shame*, #*what a shame*)[135]
> (ice-sa_spoken\s1a-025.txt)

However, from a SAfE point of view, exchanging *shame* in (22) with one of the conventionalised phrases would eliminate a softening or euphemistic quality that has become procedurally encoded

---

[135] The hashtag, #, is used to denote awkward or infelicitous use.

113

in PM *shame*, demonstrating that the PM cannot be assumed to be a mere shortening (e.g., ~~what a~~ ~~shame~~) of one of the conventionalised phrases.

Another example is that in (23a) in which *shame* is used within the narrative with a narrow scope that focuses on the speaker's final clause. This use triggers higher-level explicatures, expressing the speaker's sensitive and compassionate attitude she has regarding her unmusical father. Compare the use of PM *shame* in (23a) and (23b) where the PM has been replaced with a conventionalised phrase:

(23)

    (a) *Yes, my mom played quite a bit, but my dad wasn't musical <u>shame</u>*
        (interviews tape/page: 120331_005 / 24)

    (b) #*Yes, my mom played quite a bit, but my dad wasn't musical <u>what a shame</u>*

The use of *shame* in (23a) cancels the interpretation of an unintended contextual implicature, that being that the speaker is faulting or expressing disapproval of her father. In essence, *shame* proactively retracts the potential interpretation of a harsh comment. This sentiment is lost when replaced with the conventional phrase in (23b), which instead communicates regret, akin to suggesting that the father's lack of musical talent somehow held him back in life or that it was a real burden or disgrace to the family. In fact, the conventional phrase achieves just the opposite of PM *shame*; it underscores the speaker's disappointment with her father instead of softening its unintended interpretation. Even if the hearer additionally assumes the speaker's expression to be ironically driven, this replacement eliminates the endearing sentiment communicated by PM *shame*. Such a replacement alters the entire meaning of the utterance by changing the speaker attitude to one that is more closely aligned with the traditional meaning of *shame*; that is, one that alludes to something undesirable.

References such as the DSAE refer to *shame* in SAfE as functioning as an interjection, and in some contexts, there are obvious similarities, such as intonation contours, accompanying facial expressions and "descriptive ineffability" (Blakemore, 2011). However, replacing *shame* with a similarly functioning interjection (*aw*) as in (23c) or eliminating it altogether as in (23d) indicates differently:[136]

---

[136] The Oxford dictionaries website (https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/aw) provides several definitions for *aw*, one of which is as follows and quite similar to SAfE use: "Used to express pleasure, delight, or affection, especially in response to something regarded as sweet or endearing." The most similar

(23)

    (c) *#Yes, my mom played quite a bit, but my dad wasn't musical <u>aw</u>*

    (d) *#Yes, my mom played quite a bit, but my dad wasn't musical*

In addition to expressing affection in (23a), *shame* also alleviates a social unpleasantry and rectifies a potential discourtesy that the hearer might pragmatically interpret, thus constraining the inferential interpretation. This procedural function cannot be achieved by replacing it with a similarly functioning interjection as in (23c), and it disappears when omitted in (23d), leaving the hearer to rely on other cues if he is to determine how the speaker feels about her father. In other words, PM *shame* can be used to cancel a potentially disparaging contextual implicature that may be derived in its absence. Although the interjection *aw* is considered pragmatically similar to *shame*, as (23c) shows, it cannot be exchanged without awkwardness, infelicity and loss of pragmatic inference. Here, PM *shame* represents the state of the language user by guiding the hearer toward an interpretation that is closer to the speaker's intention. Furthermore, within the South African context, it safeguards the speaker from being misunderstood; in this case, from being perceived as insolent or socially offensive.

The insufficiency and infelicity of replacing *shame* with a conventionalised phrase or an interjection becomes even clearer when the intended higher-level explicature is one of affection as in (19a):

(19)

    (The scene: Mother with her newborn baby in pram. Another woman looks into the pram and remarks at what she sees)

    (a) a: *Aw, <u>shame</u>*

    (b) b: *#Aw, <u>that's/what a shame</u>*

The token in (19a) cannot be replaced with a conventionalised phrase (19b) without causing serious social confusion at the very least. PM *shame* is used in (19a) following the pragmatically similar interjection *aw*; the question, then, is whether *shame* could be eliminated, leaving only the interjection, without loss to the speaker's intention. As the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure describes, an individual realises relevance through an intuitive and automatic behaviour that evaluates relevance in terms of processing effort and cognitive effects. Since individuals are inclined to be cognitively efficient, the speaker is unlikely to expend more effort in production and

---

definition to this one found among the references consulted is from the AHDEL (2012), which categorises *aw* as an interjection used "to express sympathy, tenderness, disapproval, or disbelief."

also assumes the hearer will not do so in terms of processing if there is no foreseeable reward in return. This means the gain of cognitive effects must outweigh the cost in processing effort. Therefore, according to the principles of relevance, the use of a meaningfully similar interjection preceding *shame* must have a purpose, otherwise the speaker would not have gone to the effort of including it. One could argue that the speaker is simply engaged in a kind of repetition or rephrasing, such as with appositions. If such is the case, one could also argue that this is an instance in which the speaker was uncertain of being heard or understood. But such explanations cannot account for why, in the data, the interjection + *shame* construction occurs in over half the response types (55%). Furthermore, the fact that *shame* is never found to precede an interjection in the data suggests a certain degree of collocation.[137] Although there is something of an ineffable quality to the interpretation of this interjection + *shame* construction (cf. Blakemore, 2011), in accordance with the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure, the only reasonable explanation for its relatively frequent occurrence is that the two items are encoded differently and when used together communicate information that would otherwise not be expressed. The speaker deems this information to be worth the effort for the hearer to inferentially interpret the utterance. The interjection + *shame* construction conveys this meaning, and the speaker assumes that the hearer will be able to derive the intended cognitive effects. Presumably, then, the construction procedurally conveys something about the speaker's attitude. Assuming this to be true, then one possibility is that through collocation, reinforced by the cross-linguistic influence of Afrikaans, the interjection is used to attract attention or prompt the hearer's expectation for *shame*. If this is the case, the *aw* + *shame* construction in (19) procedurally encodes an expression of endearment that is contextually specific; that is, to remark on something the speaker considers adorable. In this way, the procedural encoding for the interjection is quite similar to that of the prosodic contour and lip-rounding common in the production of the Afrikaans items *foeitog* and *siestog* (discussed in Section 5.1.1). Another possibility, or in addition to the previous one, is that the preceding interjection serves as an intensifier to *shame*, procedurally leading the hearer to more precisely interpret the speaker's intentions. It is also possible that *aw* serves as a cue to the hearer to anticipate *shame*. Simply because a similarly functioning interjection cannot adequately replace *shame* does not determine whether or not *shame* is an interjection. However, when combined with the fact that *shame* retains elements of conceptual encoding, it does seem to suggest that *shame* cannot be accurately categorised as an interjection in the same ways that (English) *aw*, *oh* and (Afrikaans)

---

[137] This is not to suggest that *shame* never precedes the use of an interjection, only that no tokens were found with this sequence in the SAfE data. It does, however, suggest there may be a grammatical or pragmatic reason why this sequence is preferred in SAfE.

ag are categorised.[138] Rather, this use of *shame* seems to belong to a pragmatic grouping other than interjections.

Consider the tokens used in (24) – (27) in which *shame* is used to alleviate an uneasy social topic or remark by expressing lighthearted or amused sympathy:

(24)

> C: *… I think there're about four loos and the queues … and it's quite amazing*
>
> B: *rent-a-loos*
>
> C: *yea*
>
> B: *oh shame* [laughter]
>
> (ice-sa_spoken\s1a-043.txt)

(25)

> S3: *the Germans, do they have humour?* [laughter] *Some of them do, some of them do*
>
> S1: *shame ... ja, ...*
>
> (ice-sa_spoken\s1a-003.txt)

(26)

> (looking at photos from a wedding)
>
> J: *… ok there they're coming out of the church. That's Jeremy who's half Diana's fighting weight, but*
>
> S: *oh shame, ... she's going to be a large lady*
>
> J: *she is a large lady*
>
> (ice-sa_spoken\s1a-033.txt)

(27)

> C: *Anyway, all I was lacking was an older brother.*
>
> R: *Shame.*
>
> (interviews tape/page: 120331_004 / 20)

---

[138] This is not meant to suggest that all interjections are necessarily non-conceptual. Padilla Cruz (2009) explores whether some interjections (e.g., *oh*, *ouch!* and some expletives) might be conceptually encoded; that is, whether they fall somewhere on the conceptual-procedural continuum and, therefore, may be considered pro-concepts. He argues that if individuals can distinguish specific attitudes and emotions from the use of interjections, it is conceivable that they are at least partially conceptually encoded regardless of whether or not they have lexical origins.

Example (24) is discussing the long queues of people waiting to use one of four portable toilets at a public event, (25) is lightly remonstrating another speaker for making a potential derogatory reference about another nationality and (26) is doing the same while expressing sympathy for a young lady who has been pointed out as overweight. Depending on the context, (27) is either responding to a potential delicate childhood memory or a humorous one or is an example of a response in which the speaker is unsure of how else to respond. The function of each one of these tokens appears to be to trigger higher-level explicatures (expressions of discomfort or guilty pleasure about the topic or current situation) and contextual implicatures (to euphemistically soften a potentially unpleasant or insensitive topic or remark, perhaps with which the speaker does not want to be explicitly associated). In this way, *shame* is used to lightly distance the speaker from something that is uncouth. Even in example (22), in which a conventional phrase might be viewed as felicitous, if PM *shame* indeed encodes this kind of euphemistic softening, then such a replacement is not as appropriate as it initially appears: the replacement alludes to something that is regretfully missed or lost, while the PM metacommunicatively addresses a sensitive topic.

(22)

       R: *She's totally ... clueless*
       S: *she's not really, she's terribly ... terribly shy*
       C: *oh <u>shame</u>* (#<u>*that's a shame*</u>, #<u>*what a shame*</u>)
       (ice-sa_spoken\s1a-025.txt)

Example (28) represents similar use as those above. However, here the speaker's intention is not to express rejection of something socially uncomfortable but to acknowledge it. By alluding to an emotion, the speaker expresses what is believed to be a mutually manifest assumption: that growing up with seven older sisters may have been difficult (i.e., socially uncomfortable) for a single boy.

(28)

       C: *He was in London. He came from a family of I think seven girls and he was the eighth child, a boy.*
       R: *Okay, <u>shame</u>.*
       (interviews tape/page: 120331_003 / 4)

As Wharton (2016: 29) explains, "[e]xpressing emotion is more about showing than it is about meaning". Thus, in (28) *shame* functions to express an emotion that is not one of light reproach but one in which its procedural encoding is used to acknowledge or bring to the forefront an

assumption believed to be mutually manifest and possibly one that the speaker assumes the hearer will evaluate as mildly amusing.

LaPolla (2015: 35) describes how a single linguistic item spoken in a specific context can provide all the meaning necessary to communicate an intention; such appears to be the case in many of the examples presented thus far. However, as mentioned, tokens of *shame* found in the data also occur within the narrative. These also frequently either soften the preceding remark, as in (23), or prepare the hearer (i.e., set the tone) for sensitive information to follow, as in (21) and (29):

(23)

> *Yes, my mom played quite a bit, but my dad wasn't musical <u>shame</u>*
> (interviews tape/page: 120331_005 / 24)

(21)

> A: [discussing visiting a friend in Groote Schuur Hospital] … *and so he went in with James and then they went to Groote Schuur, and <u>shame</u> they bought her some flowers and some … a card or whatever which I thought was quite sweet*
> (ice-sa_spoken\s1a-004.txt)

(29)

> A: *... and I didn't have to look at my watch once and think ooh gosh you know it's three o'clock I must be somewhere or does Moira have to be there or should I be at home or <u>shame</u> Moira's there on her own or, you know, none of that*
> (ice-sa_spoken\s1a-009.txt)

Although *shame* is used within the narrative in examples (21), (23) and (29), each use appears to have more in common with an extralinguistic cue, such as a facial expression or gesture that instructs the hearer about how the speaker feels about her utterance, than a linguistic expression. Its use either prefaces or reflects back on the speaker's emotionally driven remark. This versatility is not especially unusual for a PM; PMs such as *like* and *you know* are highly versatile. However, *shame* does not demonstrate versatility so much as linguistic detachment in that it does not appear to be a constituent of the utterance. For this reason it is described here as having metacommunicative features that comment directly on a proximate utterance to guide the hearer during inferential interpretation. Like PMs that are grammatically versatile, *shame* is not used randomly; rather, like an exclamative it can be used clause-peripherally but not clause-internally,

and its sentential placement systematically corresponds with its intended pragmatic meaning or function. PM *shame* informs the hearer of the speaker's attitude, thus activating higher-order explicatures, and communicates contextual implicatures, or the cancelation of such. That is to say, its use is motivated by a need for an expression that more accurately expresses speaker attitude and represents the speaker's thoughts. In this way PM *shame* procedurally constrains the hearer's inferential interpretation so that it is more in line with the speaker's intentions.

In summary, all of the tokens of *shame* found in the data function to procedurally trigger recognition of the speaker's attitude and thoughts and, therefore, can be viewed as triggering higher-level explicatures and contextual implicatures. This use is believed to have developed alongside its hyperbolic use and pragmatic strengthening. While some of its original conceptual encoding has been retained, as reflected in meanings alluding to pity and sympathy, the conventionalised phrases that similarly express these meanings cannot adequately replace those of PM *shame* without loss of procedural purpose and pragmatic meaning, thus suggesting its use is distinct from uses in other English varieties. Although *shame* as it is used in SAfE has been referred to as an interjection, it appears that it also cannot be replaced with a similarly functioning interjection, again without loss of procedural function and pragmatic meaning. Since *shame* functions to procedurally express the speaker's attitude by expressing an endearment and/or euphemistically softening a topic or remark, from a relevance-theoretic point of view its functions are better recognised as triggering higher-level explicatures and contextual implicatures. That is, PM *shame* provides evidence about the evaluative emotion that the speaker intends the hearer to apply to the inferential interpretation of the utterance (Wilson, 2016b: 18).

5.1.5   *Summary of PM* **shame**

As outlined in the above sections, *shame* has conceptual-procedural origins dating back to Old English. Its traditional meaning is conceptual as it encodes something that can be "brought to consciousness, reflected on and used in general inference", and it is procedurally encoded since it provides constraints on the interpretive process that the hearer uses to infer the speaker's intentions (Wilson, 2016a: 11). Functions associated with the contemporary SAfE use of *shame* as a PM are atypical of other English varieties and allude to a broad range of sentiments (pity, empathy or sympathy, warm affection, compassion, pleasure and mild amusement) that do not necessarily include those associated with negative or disgraceful conduct. It was proposed that part of the amelioration from *shame*'s traditional sense to its contemporary use as a PM can be attributed to a sociolinguistic trend of using *shame* as a hyperbole, which seems to have originated around the turn of the 20th century. Using Grammaticalisation theory, *shame*'s diachronic development from its

English origins to its use as a multifunctional PM was mapped out and its pragmatic versatility was described. The relevance-theoretic discussion of the interpretation of innovative language use supported this diachronic analysis, and specific tokens taken from the data were then analysed to explain the current use of PM *shame* in SAfE.

5.2   Tag *hey*

This section focuses on the SAfE use of invariant tag *hey*, /heɪ/. The discussion is divided into the following subsections: Section 5.2.1 provides etymological information and definitions of *hey* along with two similar tags, *eh* and *huh*, used in three other English varieties. A brief comparative examination of these three tags follows in Section 5.2.2. Examples of SAfE tag *hey* taken from the data and a description of their functions in context are presented in Section 5.2.3. Using Grammaticalisation theory, Section 5.2.4 provides explanations for how tag *hey* may have developed in SAfE. Finally, Section 5.2.5 analyses tag *hey* from the perspective of Relevance theory.

5.2.1   Tag **hey**: *background information and definitions*

As stated in Section 2.3.1, differences in usage frequency and pragmatic functions of tags have been noted between the two major English varieties (British and US) (Tottie & Hoffmann, 2006). The present section provides etymological information, definitions and examples of the use of *hey*, *eh* and *huh* in these two English varieties as well as Canadian English and SAfE. To this end, Fowler's (Burchfield, 1998), the AHDEL (Nichols & Pickett, 2012; Pickett & Kleinedler, 2017) and the online versions of the OED (OED, 2009) and the Urban Dictionary ("The Urban Dictionary [WWW document]", 2016) were consulted for their descriptions of British and US/Canadian English usages, and the OED-SA (Van Niekerk & Wolvaardt, 2013) and online version of the DSAE (Silva et al., 1996) were consulted for usage specific to SAfE.

The OED cites *hei*, *hay* and *haye* as Middle English equivalents of *hey*. As shown in (30), translations of these early forms sometimes appear as *ha* and *hay*. The tokens in (30) function, at least in part, as calls for attention:

(30)

(a)   *Hei! hwuch wis read of se icudd keiser!* ("hey", 2009)
         [Ha! What wise counsel (is this) of so renowned an emperor] (Einenkel, 1884: 29)
(b)   *Þise oþer halowed hyghe! ful hyȝe, and hay! hay! cryed.* ("hey", 2009)
         [And they hallooed "High!" full loudly, and cried "Hay, hay!"] (Neilson, 1999: 30)

The OED also provides example (31) from 1794 of *hey* in final position as a tag:

(31)

> *Well, and you were astonished at her beauty, <u>hey</u>?* ("hey", 2009)

Used in contemporary English, the OED categorises *hey* as an interjection and, less commonly, as a noun when coupled with other words (e.g., *hey day*). Similarities are found with Dutch, German and Swedish linguistic items. The OED ("hey", 2009) functionally defines *hey* as "[a] call to attract attention; also, an exclamation expressing exultation [synonymous with 'hurrah!' –AG], incitement, surprise, etc.; sometimes used in the burden of a song with no definite meaning; sometimes as an interrogative" ("hey", 2009). *Eh* is noted to be used colloquially in a free-standing utterance "as a request for the repetition or explanation of something that has just been said" as well as in initial utterance position and final utterance position (i.e., as a tag) to invite "assent to the sentiment expressed" ("eh", 2009). The OED ("huh", 2009) states that *huh* is used in both British and US English varieties and defines it as a "natural utterance, expressing some suppressed feeling" and as an expression used as part of an interrogative:

(32)

> '*I could go back there, I mean some other time.*'
> '*But not now, <u>huh</u>?*' ("huh", 2009)

Definitions of *hey* from the AHDEL (Nichols & Pickett, 2012: 398) describe its use as an exclamation for attention or of surprise and as a greeting. The AHDEL (Pickett & Kleinedler, 2017) states that the US English use of *hey* "probably originated simply as an imitation of the various loud, meaningless exclamations that people may utter when they are surprised or trying to attract the attention of others". By comparison, while *huh* may be used in a free-standing utterance, it is not used in initial utterance position to attract attention. The AHDEL states that *huh* is "used to express interrogation, surprise, contempt, or indifference" (Nichols & Pickett, 2012: 412) while *eh* functions to ask a question or request repetition or confirmation of a previous utterance (Pickett & Kleinedler, 2017). *Eh* is found to be "[c]hiefly Canadian" but used as well by English speakers in parts of the northern regions of the United States "to ascertain or reinforce a listener's interest or agreement" (Pickett & Kleinedler, 2017). The AHDEL categorised all three items, *hey*, *huh* and *eh*, as interjections.

Fowler's (Burchfield, 1998: 355–356) provides no listings for *hey*, and most contributions to The Urban Dictionary ("The Urban Dictionary [WWW document]", 2016) show examples of *hey* used specifically by US and Canadian English speakers to greet someone or attract attention.[139]

The OED-SA and the DSAE indicate that use of *hey* in SAfE differs from British and US/Canadian English varieties. In addition to describing *hey* as used "to attract attention or to express surprise, interest, etc.", the OED-SA (2013: 548) states that in SAfE *hey* is "used to ask for something to be repeated or explained, or to elicit agreement." The DSAE ("hey", 1996) (1996: 285) provides four functional definitions for *hey*: (i) to request utterance repetition or confirmation and to invite agreement, (ii) to form a polite imperative, (iii) to elicit an answer, prompt continuation of discourse or gain attention, (iv) to give pointed emphasis to a statement in order to maintain the hearer's attention. Note that only the first definition refers to tag *hey* in an interrogative sense that might express uncertainty.[140] Although prosodic contour is not addressed in the OED-SA and the DSAE, it is worth mentioning that the SAfE production of tag *hey* may have either an upward or downward intonation.

The DSAE ("hey", 1996) further notes similarities in the functional use of SAfE tag *hey* and the Afrikaans interrogative/imperative verb *hoor*, which is shortened from the clause *hoor jy my?* (literally, *hear you me?* / [*do*] *you hear me?*). An example of this use is provided in (33) in which *hoor* is used in final position as a tag in an instance of code switching:

(33)
> *Sorry for all the hassles, <u>hoor</u>* ("hey", 1996).

Example (33) shows a likely instance of assumed translational equivalence of semantic-pragmatic meaning between the Afrikaans *hoor* and its equivalent English *hear*, both in their elliptical forms and functioning in a similar manner to tag *hey*. Waltereit and Detges (2007: 72) provide additional support for the connection between tag *hey* and the English and Afrikaans ellipses, *hear* and *hoor*

---

[139] Auditory perception is influential in terms of listener understanding, language use and language change. Phonetically, *hey* /hei/ is very similar to *eh* /ei/ (or /ɛ/), and auditory expectations, as well as whether there is a prosodic rise or fall, may bias a hearer's perception so that one could be assumed for the other (cf. Norrick, 2009a: 869). Gold (2005) points out in her study of Canadian English tag *eh* that tag *hey* is reported in certain contexts, although it is commonly perceived as *eh*. In her conclusion (Gold, 2005: 11) she questions "[w]ho uses *hey* instead of *eh*, and in which contexts?" Columbus (2010: 296 fn.7) points out the occurrence of "normalisation" – i.e., "altering a word or word string to a consistent orthographic form, to make corpus queries easier for the end-user" – that tends to occur in corpus transcriptions. Such examples highlight the importance of audio recordings; in lieu of which, however, transcriptions and annotations must be trusted.

[140] Linguistic items *huh* and *eh* are not cited in the DSAE.

respectively, by observing that "imperative verb forms are an important diachronic source of discourse markers". It is, therefore, possible that tag *hey* acquired some of its SAfE functions from the similar use or association with the imperative clauses, *hoor jy my* and [*do*] *you hear me*.

The OED-SA (Van Niekerk & Wolvaardt, 2013: 568) refers to *huh* as an exclamation "used to express scorn or surprise, or in questions to invite agreement." *Huh* is not listed in the DSAE, and *eh* appears in neither the OED-SA nor the DSAE.

The information from the consulted references indicates that tag *hey* is most commonly used in British English and SAfE. The three tags, *hey*, *eh* and *huh*, have syntactic, pragmatic, phonological and functional similarities, suggesting that they are variations of one another and may be considered 'quasi-cognates' in some contexts. Noted differences are found in their forms, (uncertain) sources of origin, language or dialect influences and usage preferences. Furthermore, while tags *hey*, *eh* and *huh* are found to be used in British and US/Canadian Englishes with an interrogative sense, functional definitions provided by the DSAE confirm that an interrogative use of SAfE tag *hey* is only one of its functions.

Functional similarities, as well as similarities of sentential placement, were found between tag *hey* and Afrikaans and English clauses/ellipses. Assuming there is a developmental link between the SAfE tag *hey* and the Afrikaans *hoor jy my* and English [*do*] *you hear me*, then lexical replacement and/or functional (semi-)unification may have resulted over time through the process of grammaticalisation as it underwent morpho-phonological simplification (i.e., *hey* substituting for the clauses/ellipses) and pragmatic enrichment (Section 5.2.4 discusses these possible developments in more detail). If tag *hey* has, indeed, come to be used in place of a lexical clause, it may mark this PM as distinct from tags *eh* and *huh* (unless similar origins/influences can be established for these tags), which have been analysed as interjections. This suggestion is not meant to imply that the linguistic item *hey* developed from either the English or Afrikaans clauses/ellipses, only that it acquired some functions attributed to the clauses/ellipses.[141] If this is the case, tag *hey* appears to have developed independently but in parallel with tags *eh* and *huh* out of necessity as they all serve interpersonal functions that help to achieve communicative success.

---

[141] As per conversations with my co-supervisor Johan Oosthuizen, Afrikaans equivalents to the attention-getting *hey* [-*you*, -*now*]*!* include *haai!* and *hoor hier!*. Although these connections are not explored in this study, it is recognised that the functional properties of these Afrikaans items potentially contributed to the SAfE use of tag *hey* (cf. Cloete, Jordaan, Liebenberg & Lubbe, 2003: 155).

The next section provides examples of tags *hey*, *huh* and *eh* used in three English varieties: British, US and Canadian.

5.2.2   Tag **hey**: *comparative occurrence across other English varieties*

All three tags are represented in the spoken portion of the BNC (see Appendix F, Table F.1). *Hey* most commonly occurs in clause-final position and free-standing utterances and demonstrates multiple functions (e.g., to determine level of certainty, establish rapport, attract attention).[142] *Eh* tokens are found mostly in free-standing utterances and appear to signify confrontation or request repetition, clarification or attention.[143] All instances of *huh* occur in clause-final positions, and several tokens suggest functional similarities with the British English use of tag *hey*.[144]

The COCA presents some tokens of *hey* used in initial and medial utterance positions as a greeting or request for attention. Tokens of *hey* in free-standing utterances function to demand attention or signal offence/confrontation. Out of the 16086 tokens reviewed in the COCA, only one possible instance of tag *hey* was found:

(34)

> *Watch the dollar, <u>hey</u>, watch it, come on down, we're going to have a free show right here.*
> (COCA:1991:SPOK: ABC_Nightline)

An abundance of tokens was found using tag *huh* (see Appendix F, Table F.3).

(35)

> *So the moral of the story is speak up, <u>huh</u>?*
> (COCA:2014:SPOK ABC)

These tokens appear to be multifunctional with pragmatic features similar to those of tags *hey* and *huh* found in the BNC. Additionally, a few tokens of tag *eh* were found in the COCA, functioning to elicit confirmation or establish agreement/rapport

---

[142] The pragmatic functions I attribute to the tokens of *hey*, *eh* and *huh* taken from the BNC, COCA and Strathy are 'best-guess' assumptions.

[143] It is difficult to determine from the written transcripts alone whether or not at least some instances of *eh* might simply be vocalisations.

[144] Contrary to observations by Andersen (2001: 116) and Norrick (1995: 688), mentioned previously, this cursory review of the BNC suggests tag *huh* to be used more frequently in spoken British English than tag *eh*. This is not a comparative corpus review, however, and the focus of this study is on neither of these tags. A more thorough examination of the British English use of tags *huh* and *eh* would be needed to confirm this observation.

(36)

>
> *But, you know, you try and do your own thing – eh, Brad?*
>
> (COCA:8.2011.SPOK.NPRWeekend)

or as a device for dismissal

(37)

>
> A: *I disagree.*
> B: *Eh, fair enough.*
> (COCA:10.2011.SPOK.NBC_Dateline)

The Strathy presents almost no tokens for tags *huh* and *hey* but several for tag *eh* (See Appendix F, Table F.2). These occurrences demonstrate a variety of pragmatic functions similar to those of tags *hey* and *huh* found in the BNC and *huh* and *eh* in the COCA.

Although several overlapping functions are apparent in the above examples of tags *hey*, *eh* and *huh* used in spoken British, US and Canadian English varieties, none of the three tags were found to be universally interchangeable with another without infelicity or altering its pragmatic intent. Notably, the pragmatic functions attributed to these tags are useful in any language. Other English varieties have been found to make use of linguistic items with similar functions to those of tags *hey*, *eh* and *huh* to navigate through discourse and interactively determine communicative success (Columbus, 2009, 2010). For example, tags *la* and *lah* are used in Singaporean English, tags *na* and *no* in Indian English (Columbus, 2009) and tag *innit* among some speakers of British English (Columbus, 2010), all with similar, but not identical, pragmatic functions. Although none of these tags are exclusive to an English variety, speakers of each variety show a preference for using one or two over the others (Columbus, 2009: 408). Section 5.2.3 discusses the occurrence of tags *hey*, *eh* and *huh* used in SAfE with a brief comparison of their functions. As will be shown, the SAfE data indicate a preference for tag *hey*.

5.2.3   Tag **hey**: examples from the SAfE data and a description of their functions

A WordSmith search on the ICE-SA found *hey* to occur 50 times, of which 40 were determined to be tags.[145] The interview transcripts and butterfly-collecting together provided an additional 14 tokens of tag *hey* for a total of 54. All tokens are shown in Appendix D. By comparison, the ICE-

---

[145] Tokens of *hey* that were not tags were those that were either free-standing, in clause-initial position, or had uses/functions that could not be determined (see Appendix D).

SA revealed fourteen tokens of tag *huh* and four of tag *eh*, and the interviews provided one instance of tag *huh* and none of tag *eh* (a sampling of these tokens is provided in Appendix D). No tokens of tags *huh* and *eh* were taken from butterfly-collecting.

Occurrences of tag *hey* in the SAfE data were restricted to spontaneous conversations in casual situations (e.g., friendly gatherings or informal conversations) and were not found in recordings of parliamentary debates, legal proceedings, prepared news broadcasts and the like. Preliminary analyses of the SAfE use of tag *hey* indicate that it is an invariant tag used during casual or informal discourse. It functions as a complex message structuring device with a wide range of functions. In most instances it is difficult to pin-point a single function to attribute to its use; some functions seem to meaningfully overlap while others are almost polar opposites. Beyond indicating speaker uncertainty or requesting confirmation, tag *hey* serves as a kind of check-point, providing an opportunity for the hearer to indicate whether clarification is needed or for the speaker to detect inattention. It also may express interest or act as an attention-getter to either highlight or soften a point of information. Other functions include coercing audience involvement, gauging the hearer's interest or level of attention, expressing speaker interest, and use as an empathic face-saving device. The overriding function tying them all together appears to be one of communicating in-group acknowledgement, asserting some sort of polite affinity with the hearer or establishing solidarity. In this way, its use resembles a phrasing style (even a prosodic rhythm) that may be habitual among many SAfE speakers. The ability to recognise this phrasing style used with tag *hey* is central to its interpretation as a subtle attempt to establish rapport or solidarity. This observation is exemplified in some of the tokens such as examples (38) and (39) in which tag *hey* seems almost like a vocalisation rather than linguistic item. In these cases especially, its function of expressing some kind of connection with the hearer is apparent.

(38)

> *Ja, thanks hey*
> (personal observation)

(39)

> A: *What are you doing now*
> B: *I'm actually at work now hey*
> (KFM Radio: Sunday, 20 March 2016, 12:25)

Keeping in mind the overriding function of marking solidarity, these tokens were organised according to the three functional groups for tags outlined by Tottie and Hoffmann (2009: 141).

- Epistemic: expresses level of certainty and may request confirmation or clarification
- Affective: expresses attitude, challenges, attracts attention
- Hortatory: urges an interpretation that either softens or emphasises a statement

Appendix D (column E) shows that some tokens were judged to fall into more than one of these three categories. As such, 34 tokens were categorised as affective, 13 as epistemic, and 10 as hortatory. Tokens representing each category are discussed below.

Token (40) is an example of an affective use of tag *hey*. It is used in a narrative, following a child's interruption, to seek agreement or understanding from the hearer:

(40)

(child interrupts conversation between two adult friends)[146]

A: *Boys hey. Shaw! You're lucky you had girls.*

(ice-sa_spoken\s1a-065.txt)

Use of tag *hey* in (40) reveals the speaker's internal state or attitude by communicating an attempt at comradery that may be similar to [*you*] *know what I mean*.

Example (41) is one of epistemic use in which tag *hey* conveys a level of uncertainty. Here, tag *hey* is used as part of an interrogative to elicit confirmation, a function that is shared with tags *huh* and *eh* in certain contexts.

(41)

(speaker A is attempting to explain a transportation idea to C)

A: … *Now this is what I've been thinking. OK it uhm … To get … How to get … the, you know, when you park in the one station how to get back to that station. That is the only thing that one has to work out. Unless you have a bike.*

C: *A bicycle hey*

A: *Or a motorbike ...a scrambler ... that you just put on a trailer.*

(ice-sa_spoken\s1a-080.txt)

---

[146] Described settings in parentheses are provided by this researcher and are best-guesses based on the transcripts. They do not appear in the metadata of the ICE-SA.

Examples (42) and (43) below are categorised as hortatory uses of tag *hey*. In (42), two friends are discussing some reading material (e.g., a book) that A has loaned to F when A recalls it has not yet been returned.

(42)

> F: […] *but the point is that English, that I having read some of the blurb now what I can understand*
> A: *mm oh yes you must give it back to me* <u>*hey*</u>
> F: *English is now being used in so many countries* [...]
> (ice-sa_spoken\s1a-043.txt)

Example (42) shows tag *hey* functioning similarly to the clause-final [*do*] *you hear me?* or the Afrikaans clause-final *hoor jy my?* (or one of the shortened forms). It is not used or interpreted as an interrogative, but rather functions both to draw the hearer's attention to this recalled piece of information and possibly also to metaphorically backpedal on interrupting the other speaker (F) as well as the appearance of a potentially harsh command marked by the use of *must*. If this is correct, tag *hey* performs double duty: both emphasising a remark and softening it to avoid an unintended interpretation.

Tag *hey* in example (43) is used for emphasis; that is, to draw attention. The broader discussion in the transcription suggests A and B are in a garden or vineyard assessing plant growth.

(43)

> A: *See this vine is shooting* <u>*hey*</u> *this one here.*
> B: *You must replace this wood before they start.*
> (ice-sa_spoken\s1a-063.txt)

Tag *hey* in (43) is used like a pointer to direct attention to something specific (in this case, *this vine*) and bring to prominence what has been said; it might be synonymous with *right here*, *you see?* or *look.*[147]

---

[147] It should be noted that the judged pragmatic use of any token hinges on how the researcher perceives the data. For example, a request for confirmation also may be interpreted as correcting another's utterance, as in example (41). However, the functions that have been attributed to the data tokens do appear to reflect those also described in the DSAE.

The data strongly suggest that the SAfE use of tag *hey* cannot be exchanged easily with either tag *huh* or *eh* as doing so appears either awkward or alters the intended pragmatic meaning:

> #*See this vine is shooting <u>huh</u> this one here.*
> #*See this vine is shooting <u>eh</u> this one here.*

In summary, tag *hey* appears to function as an interjection that is similar to tags *huh* and *eh*; but unlike tags *huh* and *eh*, possible functional contributions from lexical origins have been found for tag *hey*. If this is correct, tag *hey* represents morphophonological reduction (or replacement) and pragmaticalisation, and thus grammaticalisation can be explored. In the following section, the multilingual influences on the SAfE use of tag *hey* that have led to its grammaticalisation are described.

5.2.4   *Grammaticalisation of tag* **hey**

This section describes tag *hey* as having undergone the process of contact-induced grammaticalisation, demonstrating pragmatic strengthening, proceduralisation, 'phonological simplification' (i.e., it is used in place of other more phonologically complex items) and obligatorification as a result of (inter)subjectivity (Wichmann, 2007; Traugott, 2012: 558). To this end, an explanation of the cline of grammaticality for tag *hey* is presented in Section 5.2.4.1, and a discussion of its phonological simplification that may have eased the occurrence of pragmaticalisation and proceduralisation follows in Section 5.2.4.2.

5.2.4.1   *Multi-source cline of grammaticality for tag* hey

Consider example (33) presented above in which Afrikaans *hoor* is used in an instance of code switching. Here, *hoor*, *hear* and tag *hey* appear as translational equivalents. Fischer (2013: 525) notes that one of the stages to be considered in a PM's cline of grammaticality is one in which a clause is reduced to an elliptical form. Assuming the English and Afrikaans clause finals [*do*] *you hear me* and *hoor jy my* were reduced to their respective ellipses, *hear* and *hoor*, example (33) supports the notion that tag *hey* came to be used in place of these ellipses after pragmatically adopted their functions and that this refunctionalisation was contact-induced. Furthermore, since changes to tag *hey* occurred in South Africa, multilingual and multicultural influences must also be considered here. The cline of grammaticality, therefore, cannot be represented by a single pathway but one with more than one source.

130

Assuming these multiple influences, tag *hey* may have initially replaced these clauses or ellipses (i.e., for easier production) in some contexts, such as seen in (33). A multi-source cline accounts for contact-induced grammaticalisation such as may occur in a multilingual society; that is, it maps out contributions from two or more language sources that converge into a single pathway during the process of grammaticalisation with each source contributing or influencing one or more particular linguistic properties. Two sources that functionally contributed to the SAfE use of tag *hey* are the English and Afrikaans items, [*do*] *you hear me* and *hoor jy my* and/or their elliptical forms; through (inter)subjectivity, aspects from these items appear to have contributed to the functional development of tag *hey* while the original lexical forms were retained.[148]

The etymological information presented in Section 5.2.1 suggests a possibility for further influences. Two are the English imperatives, *hey!* and *hear!*, which are thought to have contributed to functionally and phonologically shaping tag *hey*. The imperative *hey!* has a long history of use as an attention-getter and shows identical form as a homonym with some functional equivalence. The OED states that the imperative *hear!* used in repetition has long been "used as an exclamation to call attention to a speaker's words" as in following example:

(44)

> *One Noble Lord or Honorable Member asking a question, and another Noble Lord or Honorable Member endeavouring to dodge it, amid cries of Hear! Hear!* ("hear", 2009)

If these functional influences are correct, the mapping out from the more lexical (conceptual) contributing sources (i.e., acquired functions to tag *hey* are traced back to lexical items) to the more functional (and procedural) use suggests that tag *hey* developed from a complex process of phonologically and functionally motivated, contact-induced grammaticalisation.

Figure 5.3 presents a cline of grammaticality and flow diagram for tag *hey* illustrating these multiple sources and influences. Tag *hey*'s contemporary use in SAfE appears to be distinct enough to suggest that its use has become expected and thus the tag may be described as pragmatically obligatory in certain contexts. Figure 5.3 (b) shows obligatorification as occurring in the final stage of grammaticalisation, although it is possible this process may have begun earlier. Like *shame*

---

[148] As noted previously in footnote 142, other linguistic items not noted here may have influenced the functional development of tag *hey*. Although no other language influences could be found, it is possible that properties of other linguistic systems contributed toward refunctionalising tag *hey*. Particularly, the phonological preferences of other languages may have influenced the SAfE development of tag *hey* in terms of articulatory ease, making it easy to use and acquire.

(Section 5.1), tag *hey* expresses speaker attitude, and its obligatory use in certain contexts suggests that it also functions as a marker of solidarity among SAfE speakers.

Analytically, multiple sources make it difficult to determine which properties from each source contributed to the grammaticalised item and when this occurred. The contact-induced cline of grammaticality and the conceptual multi-source flow diagram for tag *hey* (shown in Figure 5.3 (a) and (b) respectively) takes into account the most likely scenario of influences that contributed to its development in the South African context. This type of multi-source construction maps out the broad cross-linguistic contact motivated by the need for understanding and takes into account the multilingual/multicultural South African environment in which English was the lingua franca. This explanation of tag *hey*'s development is supported by the two main characteristics of grammaticalisation as explained by Himmelman (2004) and Traugott (1995) (see Section 3.1): the notions of (inter)subjectification and pragmaticalisation.

(a)

Clause-initial interrogative/imperative, attention marker > clause-final marker> PM

(b)
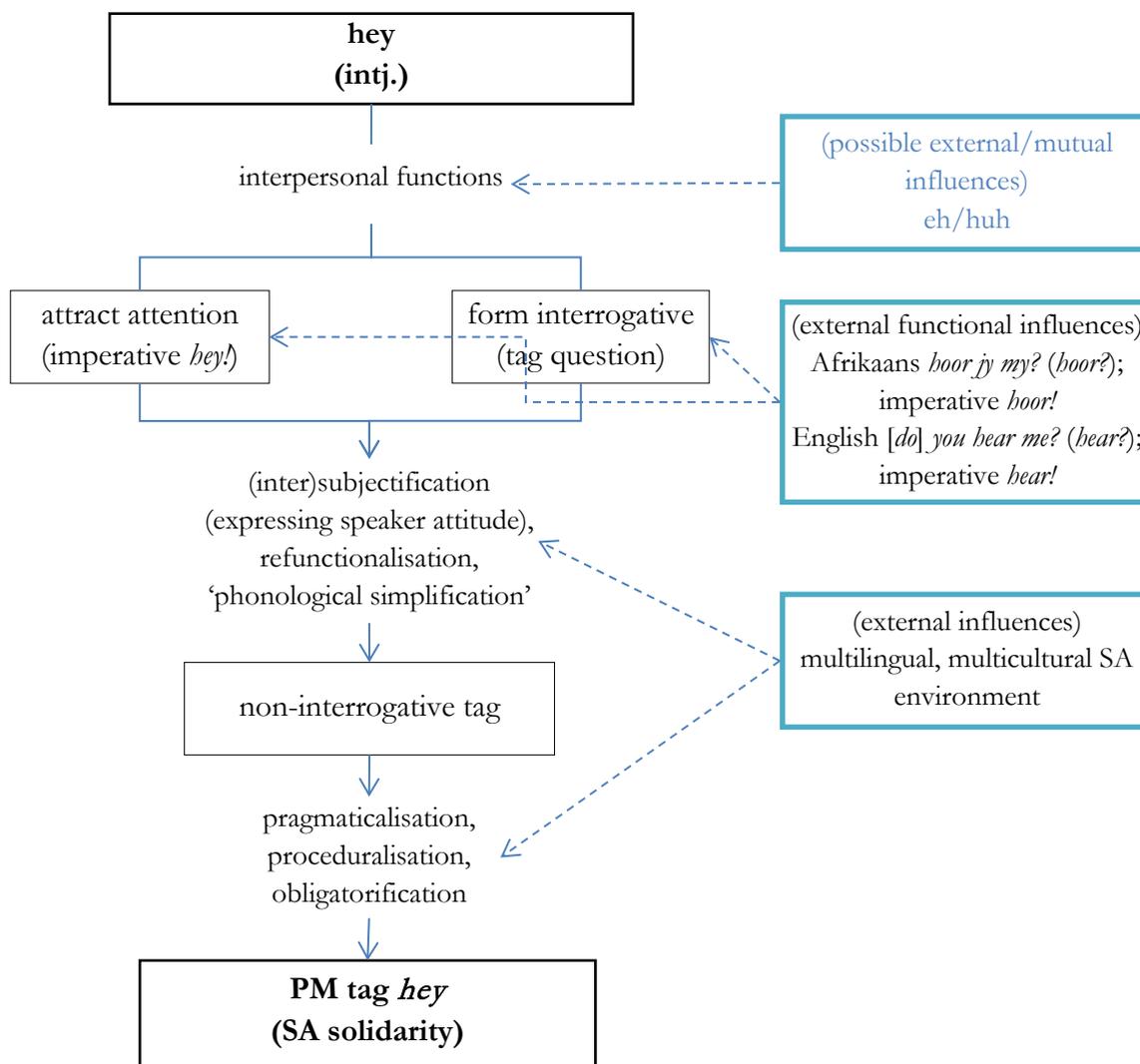
Figure 5.3: The cline of grammaticality for contact-induced grammaticalisation (a) and a conceptual multi-source process tree (b) for SAfE tag *hey*

5.2.4.2   Phonological simplification

Assuming a linguistic link between tag *hey* and the English and Afrikaans items presented above, It is proposed that pragmatic, syntactic and phonological properties associated with these items converged to contribute to the grammaticalisation of tag *hey*. Moreover, a concurrence of pronunciation preferences from combinations of languages used in South Africa is believed to

133

explain the phonological acceptance of tag *hey* in terms of its articulatory simplicity. Factors that contributed to its phonological simplification, therefore, resulted from its association with pragmatically similar linguistic items, its propagation of use, phonological bias and a preference for articulatory ease in a multilingual environment.

The way a speech sound, or phone, is auditorily perceived and processed will impact the way a hearer subsequently reproduces it. Imagine that an individual hears a speech sound that is unfamiliar to his phonological repertoire. When the individual reproduces the linguistic item with this phone he may try to approximate the speech sound; he may resolve the unfamiliarity by intentionally or unintentionally substituting the phone with another that is phonologically preferable, familiar and easier to produce; or he may drop it entirely if it is too unfamiliar, too difficult to articulate or simply not realised (cf. Ohala, 1981). Furthermore, the need for articulatory precision of a frequently used lexical expression used in a multilingual society may decrease as the preference for minimal effort increases. Thus, the use of tag *hey* in place of one of the ellipses may be likened to phonological simplification and described as both functionally motivated and contact-induced.

The production of the Afrikaans *hoor* is /hʊəɾ/ or /hˡʊəɾ/; that is, with minimal or no release of the glottal fricative:/h/. The phonetic similarities between the Afrikaans production of *hoor* and the SAfE production of *hear* /hɪə/ and *hey* /heɪ/ are as follows: all are single syllable items with the same or similar initial phone followed by a diphthong vowel. To illustrate phonological reduction, a simplified possibility for the change from *hoor* to *hey* is presented. The most probable explanation for the reduction of *hoor* to *hey* is that the final-r (alveolar tap, /ɾ/) in *hoor* was dropped, perhaps as a result of articulatory ease or because it was not meaningfully perceived by hearers; or, if it did not conform to the phonology of their home language, it was not phonemically preferable among non-Afrikaans speakers. Affected by the loss of /ɾ/, the semi-raised, near back, rounded vowel, /ʊə/, became fronted to the more acoustically familiar /eɪ/. In other words, the final consonant sound was lost, and the vowel quality changed.

5.2.4.3   *Summary of grammaticalisation of tag* hey

Just as (inter)subjectification, propagation and usage frequency of an innovative item can contribute over time to phonological simplification, these phenomena contribute to the overall grammaticalisation of a particular linguistic item. Fischer (2013: 520) states that "both frequency and economy […– AG] play a role in the sense that less frequently occurring structures, whether abstract or concrete, will tend to adapt themselves to more frequent types, provided there are

enough similarities between them, either in form or function or both." Similarities to *hey* are present in all its contributing sources presented here. These sources are believed to have led to the phonological and functional adaptations described above, resulting in (inter)subjectification, pragmatic strengthening, proceduralisation, 'phonological simplification', refunctionalisation and, obligatorification. These changes have led to tag *hey* becoming functionally complex and more broadly useful but also more specified in certain contexts. The contemporary use of SAfE tag *hey* encodes broad procedural functions, allowing it to be used as a discourse navigational device that is both speaker- and hearer-oriented. Tag *hey* demonstrates pragmatic functions that include empathic face-saving, rapport seeking, eliciting or gauging attention and determining the hearer's level of understanding and interest. As such and based on its wide-spread use and potential for pragmatically forming alliances between interlocutors, tag *hey* functions to establish solidarity, informing the hearer of the speaker's desire for common ground and understanding.

Tag *hey*'s wide-spread use and quintessential development in SAfE may be explained by its cross-linguistic functionality. As speakers of all languages used in southern Africa interacted, they would have all brought their own grammatical systems, phonological preferences and background knowledge into the fold when speaking the lingua franca. An easy to produce linguistic item that elicits attention, ascertains understanding and helps navigate through communication processing in this environment would be indispensable. The articulatory simplicity and multifunctionality of tag *hey* would likely increase its acceptability, creating a communicable appeal, leading to wide-spread use; and its immediate recognition through familiarity of use would easily convey a desire for solidarity.[149] Through speaker use and hearer processing, initial pragmatic cross-overs (or calquing) between languages may have, with repetition, resulted in pragmatic unification and enrichment for wider contextual use. This (inter)subjective behaviour in a multilingual environment is believed to have led to the grammaticalisation of tag *hey*, and through widespread use it developed a strong foothold in SAfE.

The following sections analyse tag *hey* from a relevance-theoretic perspective.

5.2.5   *Relevance and tag* **hey**

Relevant meaning is that which can be connected to an individual's encyclopaedic knowledge in some way, and associations that lead to language change may occur during the inevitable search for relevance. Section 5.2.5.1 continues the discussion of tag *hey*'s development from the

---

[149] I am not referring to its acceptance as "proper grammar" or "standard English" here, but merely that it was easy to accept into speakers' expressive vocabulary.

perspective of Relevance theory. The synchronic analysis is presented in Section 5.2.5.2 followed by a summary of this PM in Section 5.2.6.

5.2.5.1 *Some relevance-theoretic thoughts on the diachronic development of tag* hey

As discussed in Section 3.2.2, Relevance theory presents three approaches for analysing language change: conceptual-procedural encoding, lexical pragmatics, metarepresentation (Clark, 2016). Grammaticalisation theory incorporates the notion of conceptual-procedural encoding in its explanation of language change. As explained in Section 5.2.4, contact-induced grammaticalisation occurred when conceptual items influenced the functional development of tag *hey* and thus its proceduralisation: items with more conceptual meaning converge toward one with more procedural and pragmatic functions. Although the notions of conceptual-procedural encoding, lexical pragmatics, and metarepresentation are distinct, they are somewhat interrelated as it is the procedural encoding of all linguistic items that contributes to their underspecified quality, giving them pragmatic flexibility and allowing them to be used in contexts to assist in metarepresenting a variety of intentions that may not exactly reflect their conventionalised encoded meanings. Some thoughts regarding the development of tag *hey* from the perspective of these three approaches are presented here.

The relevance-theoretic position on lexical pragmatics is that all words are underspecified, or semantically incomplete; this means that no utterance is ever fully propositional and no item ever fully meaningful without context and before pragmatic inference (Section 3.2.2). From the point of view of lexical pragmatics, the expressions that contributed to the functional development of tag *hey* (mentioned above) can be described as pro-concepts: different degrees of conceptual and procedural encoding, semantically incomplete with the potential to contribute to the overall concept of the utterance (i.e., speaker's intention), the specific narrowed or broadened meaning inextricable from the context. To comprehend these expressions, or pro-concepts, during discourse, pragmatic adjustment of meaning during inferential interpretation was required. As explained in Sections 3.1 and 5.2.5, Grammaticalisation theory describes these adjustments as having occurred during times of (inter)subjectivity. In relevance-theoretic terms, these adjustments resulted from mutually manifest assumptions that the expressions – imperatives, *hey!* and *hear!* and ellipses *hear* and *hoor* – conveyed meaning that was similar enough to be interchangeable in certain contexts in this multilingual environment. These assumptions contributed to variations in procedural use and interpretation, leading to meaningful change. In other words, when the speaker formed metarepresentations of her intentions (i.e., the utterance(s)), she assumed the hearer in turn would form recognisably similar metarepresentations during inferential interpretation.

136

Although not identical, the hearer's reciprocated formations of metarepresentations during discourse are usually close enough to the speaker's intentions. The metaphorical space between inexact and close enough metarepresentations during interpretation allows for the possibility of meaningful change. In this way, given the context of the utterance and the diverse backgrounds of the interlocutors, the meaning(s) derived from the original sources of tag *hey* changed when they were pragmatically adjusted during cross-linguistic communication to make relevant sense. The functional and phonological similarities shared by the original sources facilitated in making these adjustments possible (cf. Fischer, 2013: 520).

In South Africa's multilingual society, tag *hey* benefits all communicators as a device to gauge the level of interest, attitude and understanding during communication – in essence, to determine whether or not communication is successful. The development of tag *hey* can be explained by use and associations made with linguistically similar items, and the changes that resulted appear to have improved the efficiency and success of communication. Used in this environment, tag *hey* is the result of a convergence of phonologically simplified, similarly functioning linguistic items that came to be used not just to ascertain the hearer's attention but as a check point to determine comprehension, interest and to express the speaker's attitude. Through repeated and wide-spread use, over time tag *hey* came to be a familiar occurrence in casual discourse, which led to its function as a marker for social identity and solidarity.

5.2.5.2   *Relevance and tag* hey*: Synchronic analysis*

The SAfE tag *hey* is described as a procedurally encoded, multifunctional linguistic item used in informal discourse.[150] Table 5.1 lists the functions expressed by the tag *hey* tokens found in the SAfE data; these are divided into the three categories described by Tottie and Hoffmann (2009).

---

[150] This is not to suggest that tag *hey* is not conceptual. As shown above, while links have been made to lexical sources, tag *hey* demonstrates highly proceduralised functions similar to some interjections (e.g., *eh*, *huh*). Padilla Cruz (2009) explores whether even some interjections (e.g., *oh*, *ouch!* and some expletives) might be conceptually encoded and argues that if individuals can distinguish specific attitudes and emotions from the use of interjections, it is conceivable that they are conceptually encoded.

Table 5.1: Functions expressed by tokens of tag *hey* (from the SAfE data)*

Affective	Hortatory
elicits attention	marks contrast with previous utterance
assesses level of attention & interest	softens interrogative or authoritative expression
assesses hearer's willingness to engage	emphasises a statement
attempts to establish rapport, solidarity	emphasises sarcasm
expresses affinity with hearer	*prompts a response*
prompts a linguistic or non-linguistic response	*encourages communicative engagement*
invites engagement with the speaker	*marks politeness*
marks politeness	

Epistemic
assesses comprehension
communicates level of certainty
seeks agreement
requests repetition, explanation or confirmation
offers interpretive assistance
marks assumptions about speaker & hearer's mutual knowledge
acknowledges assumed mutually understood implicature

*functions are grouped into categories as described by Tottie and Hoffman (2009); italics indicate functions that appear in more than one category

The list of functions in Table 5.1 and their associations to the utterances (see Appendix D) illustrate the difficulty of putting into words exactly what tag *hey* communicates in a given context. Many of the tokens taken from the data appear to express more than one function, and replacing tag *hey* with a functional explanation of its purpose or meaning would likely require more time, patience and steady attention than either interlocutor would be willing to give. In fact, according to the relevance-theoretic extent conditions and principles of relevance (Section 3.2), doing so in reality would simply not occur as it would be, among other things, marked as irrelevant, infelicitous and counterproductive to the speaker's intentions and future credibility as a communicator. Thus, the brevity and multifunctionality of tag *hey* decreases effort and increases efficiency while contributing to the overall cognitive effects derived from a communicative exchange.

Although the functions listed in Table 5.1 are distinct (i.e., not all functions can be applied to all utterances), many lack clear boundaries, leading some to overlap and/or function in combination

(as represented by italics in Table 5.1 and shown in Appendix D) or express functions that are indiscernible with the written transcriptions alone. This ambiguity is partly explained by the fact that all the functions appear in some way to explicitly elicit the hearer's attention. Gaining and keeping the hearer's attention is fundamental for successful communication and is the premise on which the Cognitive and Communicative principles of relevance rest.[151] As Wilson (2016b: 7) states,

> [t]he claim that human cognition is relevance-oriented has immediate implications for pragmatics. For communication to succeed, the speaker needs the addressee's attention. Since attention tends to go automatically to what is most relevant at the time, a prerequisite to successful communication is that the addressee must take the utterance to be relevant enough to be worth attending to.

The variety of functions that tag *hey* achieves thus must be based on the more fundamental one of explicitly eliciting the hearer's attention. This function is shared by each linguistic item described above that contributed toward tag *hey*'s development (e.g., *hoor*, *hear*); as such, the associations made by this singular function may have also driven its development.

Since tag *hey* weighs in more heavily on the side of procedural, rather than conceptual, encoding, one can argue that describing it as an example of vague language (mentioned in Chapter 2:) is a plausible claim. Relevance theory describes conceptual meaning as meaning that is relatively easy to bring to consciousness while procedural meaning is "relatively inaccessible to consciousness and resistant to conceptualisation" (Wilson, 2016a: 11). In this sense, tag *hey* is vague; that is, while it functionally contributes toward a hearer's inferential interpretation and, therefore, is not irrelevant to the speaker's intention, its functions are difficult to express in lexical (conceptual) terms (cf. Carston, 2016b on descriptive ineffability and introspecitve inaccessibility). Furthermore, the hearer's interpretation of tag *hey* will depend heavily on his state of mind and sensitivity to paralinguistic cues, his familiarity with the topic, and the degree of mutually manifest assumptions between the interlocutors. In short, one hearer's interpretation of tag *hey* will differ from another hearer's, and a single hearer's interpretation can differ from one context to the next. For example, the response given after the token in (45) suggests that it was interpreted as requesting confirmation (epistemic), but on another occasion it might be interpreted as seeking attention (affective), emphasising a point (hortatory) or something else.

---

[151] The principles of relevance are presented and described in Section 4.2 and Appendix A.

(45)

>R: … *I suppose that was a bit, that was a bit earlier than your time <u>hey</u>?*
>
>C: *That was a bit … Yes, yes.*
>
>(interviews tape/page: 120331_004 / 6)

This is not to suggest that the interpretation of tag *hey* is indeterminate or inconsequential. Although effort needed for its production is clearly minimal, according to Relevance theory an individual would not go to the effort of using tag *hey*, nor expect the hearer to put in the processing effort during interpretation, if it was inconsequential (i.e., had no relevance) or indeterminate. Therefore, although tag *hey* may contribute little to the conceptual meaning of an utterance, it nevertheless procedurally guides the hearer into inferring something more about the speaker's thoughts/intentions; that is, something in terms of the speaker's attitude, point of view or emotional state.

Andersen (2001: 65) describes PMs "as having multidimensional meanings/functions, and that assigning a particular function to a marker on a particular occasion is a matter for pragmatic inference." This statement helps to explain how context determines the use of tag *hey*, its intended function(s) and its interpretation, all of which indeed pivot on pragmatic inference. Recall that the relevance-theoretic description of context includes not only the topic of discussion and conversational setting, but the combined states of mind, idiosyncratic encyclopaedic backgrounds and mutually manifest assumptions of both interlocutors. According to this view, the hearer automatically incorporates the more salient contextual cues during interpretation to infer the speaker's intentions and ignores those that are perceived not to contribute toward optimal relevance. Andersen (2001: 31) describes such contextual restricting as "an ad hoc process that is governed by the relevance principle; only those contextual assumptions that will make the utterance worth processing without gratuitous effort are actually brought to bear when interpreting the utterance." Since ostensive communication automatically raises expectations of relevance, the hearer instinctively limits those parts of the context assumed to be relevant and adjusts them in an ad hoc process to meet his expectations of relevance. When the hearer interprets an utterance with tag *hey*, instead of a barrage of functional and pragmatic possibilities, only the specific one(s) is activated given what is perceived as the most salient aspects of the context. So despite the multifunctional nature of tag *hey*, the hearer is able to restrict these possibilities to form an overall conclusion about the speaker's intentions. In this way, its single use has the potential to communicate a variety of meanings/functions, but based on the context, only the most salient ones will be accessible in the hearer's search for optimal relevance.

As mentioned, tag *hey* is procedurally encoded to guide the hearer in its inferential interpretation. Along with the ad hoc process, this procedural encoding constrains the hearer's interpretation of the utterance and in so doing activates higher-level explicatures. All utterances are underspecified and rely on a combination of semantic-pragmatic adjustment in context. As described, higher-level explicatures trigger the hearer's mind-reading abilities, which require interpretive reasoning, or the ability "to attribute speaker meanings on the basis of utterances" (Wilson, 1999: 129). Tag *hey* seems to nudge the hearer toward the more precise procedure or pragmatic interpretation that the speaker intends the hearer to make, part of which is meant to decipher the speaker's attitude (or higher-level explicatures). Therefore, tag *hey* applies interpretational constraints on the utterance by guiding the hearer toward understanding the speaker's affective attitude and thoughts.

The act of communication involves ongoing evaluations and negotiations to determine how the exchange should proceed and ultimately achieve success. Along these lines, determinations are made regarding the level of familiarity with the other interlocutor(s). Since maintaining attention is a fundamental priority, successful communication involves connecting in some way with the audience. Although tag *hey* was found to be used as an elicitation (e.g., for attention, response, confirmation), it also communicates familiarity among SAfE speakers and in this way, establishes a sense of rapport through its recognition. It quickly and effectively signals to the hearer that the speaker is interested in keeping his attention, is concerned about his interpretation/understanding, etc.; but because of its familiarity among SAfE speakers, the use of tag *hey* was found to prompt a degree of social cohesion between the interlocutors. As noted in Section 2.3.1, the US English use of tag *huh* and the Canadian English and New Zealand English use of tag *eh* have been analysed as functioning similarly and are commonly associated with speakers of those English varieties. Likewise, tag *hey*'s strong association with SAfE is believed to be manifest to speakers of SAfE, and in this way its use sociolinguistically signifies an offer of camaraderie and shared identity, thus serving as a marker of solidarity. This is not to say that speakers are consciously aware of using tag *hey* to express solidarity with their audience, only that its function can be explained as manifest to communicators of SAfE. With familiarity, this function combines with tag *hey*'s other pragmatic functions for broad personal and interpersonal benefits and as such is both speaker- and hearer-oriented. With no familiarity of tag *hey*'s use in SAfE, it is suspected that its use remains both speaker- and hearer-oriented, and its multifunctional personal and interpersonal benefits also remain intact due to its formal and functional associations with similar tags (e.g., *eh*, *huh*). But its function as a marker of social identity is likely lost on the unfamiliar hearer as the function is unestablished in the mental framework of the individual.

5.2.6   *Summary of tag* **hey**

Using Grammaticalisation theory and Relevance theory it was argued that tag *hey* developed in a high-contact, multilingual environment in which English served as a lingua franca. Linguistic influences were from English and Afrikaans items: the imperatives *hey!* and *hear!* and the frequently used ellipses from Afrikaans *hoor* [*jy my*] and English [*do you*] *hear* [*me*]. If this is true, the two clauses and their ellipses were initially used to determine successful communication in this multilingual environment and contributed these functional attributes to tag *hey*. Furthermore, there is some indication that, as a result of (inter)subjectivity, functional aspects of the imperatives contributed to the overall contact-induced grammaticalisation of tag *hey* in terms of phonological simplification, pragmatic strengthening and proceduralisation. Other external influences were the multilingual, multicultural South African environment in which English is used as a lingua franca and possibly the quasi-cognates, *eh* and *huh*, preferred in other English varieties. The result of these multiple influences is a multifunctional PM that is used frequently in SAfE and serves as a marker of solidarity and manifest social identity.

5.3   **Follow-up** *is it*

The linguistic construction, *is it*, consists of the third-person singular present form of the (copula) verb BE (*is*) and singular neuter pronoun (*it*). In this construction, the predicate connected to the subject, *it*, is omitted but understood from the previous utterance. The use of *is it* in SAfE as a PM, or more specifically as a non-paradigmatic, invariant follow-up, is described below. The analysis begins with an exploration of definitions and etymological information regarding *is it* (along with formal variations) presented in Section 5.3.1. Section 5.3.2 discusses occurrences of invariant follow-up *is it* in other English varieties, and examples from the SAfE data are presented in Section 5.3.3. Sections 5.3.4 and 5.3.5 make up the theoretical analyses, followed by the conclusion in Section 5.3.6.

5.3.1   *Follow-up* **is it***: background information and definitions*

Fowler's, the AHDEL and online versions of the OED and the Urban Dictionary were consulted for British and US/Canadian English usages of *is it* while the OED-SA and online version of the DSAE were referenced for usage specific to SAfE. As previously noted (Section 2.3.2), some follow-ups have been found to develop from their use as tags (Andersen, 2001: 110); as such, this section begins with information about tag *is it* before presenting that for follow-up *is it*.

The use of *is it* (and other realisations such as *isn't it* and *were they*) as a paradigmatic tag to turn a declarative statement into an interrogative, is familiar in most varieties of English. The invariant form of tag *is it* is less common but known to be used among specific demographics in certain regions of the UK such as areas in London and Wales ("is-it", 2009). This use is presented in example (46) in which *was I* is grammatically expected:

(46)

> *I was talking in my sleep then, <u>is it</u>?* ("is-it", 2009)

As one can see from example (46), it is possible that in some instances invariant tag *is it* may represent an unarticulated or implied referent to the hearer, such as *is* [*that the accusation you are making*]*?* Similarly, in Irish and Scottish English, the non-paradigmatic form of tag *is it* is commonly used "in response to a previous statement" and to express "surprise, disbelief, distain, etc." ("is-it", 2009) as in example (47):

(47)

> *'But what about your old Father, Beulah?..' Gertie asked*
> *'Oh, him <u>is it</u>?' Beulah was not to be distracted* ("is-it", 2009)

Tokens in examples (46) and (47) also suggest how prosody plays an integral part in the hearer's inference of speaker intent, thus highlighting the significance and usefulness of audio recordings in the analytical process.

Non-paradigmatic invariant tags *is it* and *isn't it* are also used by SAfE speakers. The latter of these two tags is shown in example (48) in place of *aren't they*:

(48)

> *The de Mussy fellow and that Portuguese chap, they are good swimmers, <u>isn't it</u>?* ("is-it", 2009)

Regarding *is it* used as a non-paradigmatic follow-up, the OED notes use by both British Afro-Caribbean English and SAfE speakers as shown in example (49), dated from 1970. This example shows the PM used in place of *are you.*

(49)

> *I'm going to town this morning*
> <u>*Is it?*</u> ("is-it", 2009)[152]

The OED suggests that the SAfE use of invariant follow-up *is it* developed from the cross-linguistic influence of the similar Afrikaans item, *is dit?* (/ˈəsət/), which is also used both as a tag and follow-up and is translationally equivalent to 'is that so?'. In fact, the Afrikaans *is dit* is most likely a shortened form of *is dit so* (English: *is that so*) (cf. "is-it", 1996).

Like the OED, the OED-SA and DSAE link the SAfE use of invariant follow-up *is it*, as well as the non-paradigmatic tag *isn't it* as in (48), with the Afrikaans *is dit?*.[153] The OED-SA notes that invariant follow-up *is it* originates partially from the translation of the Afrikaans *is dit?* and partially from the use of *is it* in English as a tag question (Van Niekerk & Wolvaardt, 2013: 617). The DSAE refers to its invariant use as a "colloquialism" and describes it as a "rhetorical expression" that conveys "polite interest, astonishment, or incredulity" ("is-it", 1996). Additionally, both the tag and follow-up may function as a face-saving device, a kind of linguistic façade uttered when the speaker is unsure of the hearer's background knowledge or understanding or when she is unsure of how to respond to a previous speaker. The DSAE provides example (50) of follow-up *is it* dated from 1970:

(50)

> *I came by car you know.*
> *Oh, <u>is it?</u>* ("is-it", 1996)

The OED provides a phonetic transcription that is specific to the SAfE follow-up *is it*: [ˈəsət]. This transcription provides further evidence of its linkage to the Afrikaans *is dit* of identical general pronunciation. From personal experience in the Western Cape, as well as from consultations with SAfE speakers, primary stress of follow-up *is it* may be placed on either syllable, and the pronunciation suggested by the OED is but one of many: [əsət], [əsɪt], [əzət], [ˈɪsət], [ɪzət], [ɪzɪt].[154]

---

[152] Example (49) appears to be one of SAfE usage as the DSAE ("is-it", 1996) gives this same example, referencing it from Beeton and Dorner (1970: 33).

[153] The DSAE ("is-it", 1996) provides this earlier example of SAfE non-paradigmatic tag *isn't it* from <u>Drum: A Venture into the New Africa</u> by Anthony Sampson (1956): *The English just use long words and big talk, <u>isn't it?</u>*

[154] It is of course also possible that these phonetic judgments have been influenced by auditory expectations of the output of individual speakers.

Although proximate phonetic context can affect speech sound production, it is an unlikely cause of these variations since follow-up *is it* is often spoken in isolation. A more likely explanation for this variation, however, is that change rarely occurs uniformly in a community; perhaps this is particularly true in a multilingual one. Therefore, it is more probable that the variations correspond with the varying degrees of phonological influence or preference from the speaker's language background. Such influences or preferences may be guided by Afrikaans and/or English, any one or more of South Africa's other official languages or one or more of its non-official languages (e.g., German, Portuguese). In essence, the pronunciation used for follow-up *is it* may hinge on the speaker's phonological proximity to her home language and/or her connection with a specific pronunciation preference within her community. So, for example, the more Afrikaans phonological influence in the speaker's background, the more likely the vowels will be centralised, the sibilant, /s/, voiceless and the plosive, /t/, released/aspirated; the more English phonological influence, the more likely the vowels will be raised and fronted, the sibilant voiced and, possibly, the plosive unreleased.[155]

In terms of delivery, the SAfE production of follow-up *is it* has a descending prosodic contour when the primary stress is on the first syllable; in which case the vowel sound in the second syllable falls somewhere on a continuum of quickly spoken to distinctly drawn out. When the primary stress is placed on the second syllable, [əˈsəːtʰ], the second vowel is typically drawn out, the sibilant is unvoiced, and the pitch contour is bell-shaped. This production appears to be more characteristic of Afrikaans phonology than of English and may reflect prosodic retention of the lengthier *is dit so* (cf. "is-it", 1996).[156]

There is no mention in the AHDEL and Fowler's of *is it*, as a single entity, used either as a tag or a follow-up (i.e., response).[157] Most comments made in The Urban Dictionary appear to describe the use of follow-up *is it* from the perspective of English varieties spoken in the UK.[158] One comment adds a slightly different pragmatic interpretation, describing follow-up *is it* as a positive

---

[155] The phones /z/ and /ɪ/ are more common in English than in Afrikaans.

[156] The production of /s/ following a vowel is more common in Afrikaans than in English.

[157] As will be shown in Section 5.3.2, it is not for lack of use as a tag and follow-up that *is it* is not presented or defined in the AHDEL and Fowler's. It is assumed that its absence indicates only that it has not been found to be used widely in a non-paradigmatic manner.

[158] This assumption is based on references to specific geographical areas in the UK as well as slang that is present in the provided examples and comments, attributed to certain varieties of English spoken in the UK and not associated with SAfE (e.g., use of *crisps* for a bag of chips; the attention-getter *Oi*).

utterance, "used in recognition to others in conversation". This comment suggests a function of politeness, active listenership and inclusivity ("is-it", n.d.).

To conclude, definitions and etymological information suggest that although invariant follow-up *is it* is found in a specific variety of London English with attributed Afro-Caribbean origin, a different source is believed to have contributed toward the development of the SAfE version: the cross-linguistic influence of the Afrikaans *is dit?*. This influence is evidenced by a history of English-Afrikaans language contact in South Africa and similarities in pronunciation and prosodic use.

Based on the literature and presented etymological information, the SAfE invariant follow-up *is it* appears to have a longer history of use than the London English version. As evidence, Andersen (2001) documents broad use of invariant follow-up *is it* in the 1990s, but only among adolescents in specific communities. By comparison, the DSAE provides examples of invariant follow-up *is it* used in SAfE as early as 1970. This evidence is corroborated by observations reported by Trudgill and Hannah (1982: 26); thus it is assumed the SAfE version developed some decades before the London English version. This observation is noteworthy not only because it provides evidence that the SAfE version developed first, but because despite having developed apart, at different times and under different multilingual conditions, the two versions appear to have functionally developed more-or-less in parallel. Lastly, a presumption can be made that the developments resulted in part because use of invariant tags and follow-ups has been found to be common in multi-ethnic communities and linked to multilingualism and dialect-contact. This finding is in keeping with and descriptive of both the South African urban environment and communities in London where invariant follow-up *is it* also developed.

5.3.2   *Follow-up* **is it**: *comparative search across three other English varieties*

Since the linguistic item *is it* commonly appears across a variety of contexts, only the first 1500 tokens were reviewed in each of the three comparative corpora. To reiterate, although this analysis is not a comparative one, corpora representing three other English varieties (British English, US English, Canadian English) were consulted to establish the use or non-use of non-paradigmatic follow-up *is it* in varieties other than SAfE as well as to determine its distinctive use in SAfE.

No tokens of non-paradigmatic follow-up *is it* were found in the COCA or the Strathy, but 13 were found in the BNC in the following conversational settings: meetings, formal and informal conversations and classrooms (see Appendix F, Table F.4). All but two of the tokens were entirely free-standing. These follow-ups were assessed to show a variety of functions, such as expressing

attention and understanding, incredulity, involvement and discourse continuity.[159] Assuming these functions are correct, they support the finding made by Andersen (2001: 185) that use of invariant follow-up *is it* in British English has retained its original use of inquisitively expressing surprise in some contexts while in other contexts functioning to prompt topic elaboration or demonstrate "active listenership". This latter function may also suggest an attitude of politeness in that it informs others of the speaker's attention. As already discussed, gaining and keeping the hearer's attention is fundamental for successful communication; therefore, expressions of communicative attention contribute towards achieving that success.

5.3.3   *Follow-up* **is it***: examples from the SAfE data and an examination of their functions*

A WordSmith search on the ICE-SA found *is it* to occur 145 times of which 19 tokens were determined to be PMs: two non-paradigmatic tags and eight non-paradigmatic follow-ups (the remaining nine are a mix of paradigmatic tags and follow-ups). The data taken from interview transcripts and butterfly-collecting provided an additional seven tokens for a total of 15 tokens of invariant follow-up *is it* from the SAfE data. Appendix E presents these tokens along with their functions and paradigmatic replacements. Also presented in Appendix E are tokens of the paradigmatic modal/aspectual auxiliary or copula + pronoun constructed responses found in the ICE-SA. The two tokens of invariant tag *is it* and 15 of invariant follow-up *is it* are discussed below.

Functionally, tokens (51) and (52) from the SAfE data appear to interactively serve as pointers to certain aspects of the utterance and indicators of presumed mutual agreement or knowledge.

(51)

> A: …*I must just ask you on that uh I'll come to you now we talk about tolerance <u>is it</u> so are we talking about a active tolerance or a passive tolerance*
> (ice-sa_spoken\s1b-078(b).txt)

(52)

> *This an opportunity for you to find out something about it as you head into the future and set up your own business but it is important <u>is it</u>. Service excellence.*
> (ice-sa_spoken\s1b-026.txt)

---

[159] This is a conservative list of pragmatic functions judged to the best of my ability given lack of prosodic information.

These two tokens suggest a "narrow scope" as discussed in Section 2.3.1 and described by Stenström, Andersen and Hasund (2002a: 173). In the case of (51), *is it* refers to the topic of discussion, *tolerance*, and in (52) it refers to [the referent of *it*] *is important*, which is immediately explained as *service excellence*. Neither token indicates speaker uncertainty; rather, both serve as devices for gaining the hearer's attention.

Situationally, occurrences of follow-up *is it* in the SAfE data were restricted to conversations in casual situations; that is, no tokens were found in recordings judged to be from formal conversations, such as legal proceedings and prepared news broadcasts. Preliminary analyses indicate that the SAfE invariant follow-up *is it* is used during informal discourse with a wide range of interactive functions; the overriding function being, as Andersen (2001: 185, 205–206) suggests, to convey active listenership. This function is exemplified in tokens (53) and (54).

(53)

      A: *You know I might go anyway*
      B: *Is it*
      A: *I don't know. I'd like to.*
      (personal observation)

(54)

      I: *well my grandmother was an artist in London she studied art at the Slade*
      S. *is it … no she's not going to do art she's doing English*
      (ice-sa_spoken\s1a-047.txt)

Like PM *shame* and tag *hey* discussed previously, follow-up *is it* is multifunctional, and as the above examples as well as others in the SAfE data (shown in Appendix E) illustrate, its functions appear to overlap and are somewhat ineffable.

5.3.3.1 *Summary of occurrences and functions of follow-up* is it *in SAfE data*

Situationally, the data indicate that use of invariant follow-up *is it* is restricted to spontaneous conversations in casual situations; no tokens occurring in more formal settings were observed during butterfly-collecting or found in the ICE-SA data set. All tokens of invariant follow-up *is it*

were judged to be free-standing.[160] Follow-up *is it* was used in two of the eight tokens in which the neuter pronoun (*it*) is or would have been present in paradigmatic form (e.g., *does it*, *will it*), i.e., 25% of the time. Among the tokens that included or would have included canonical modal/aspectual auxiliary or copular verbs, the data show that invariant follow-up *is it* was used in 15 out of 41 possible tokens (see Appendix E), or approximately 37% of the time. However, follow-up *is it* occurred only for constructions in which canonical modal/aspectual auxiliary or copular verbs + pronoun could have canonically occurred; in other words, 100% of the time. Acknowledging data limitations, it is uncertain whether the presence of either a modal/aspectual auxiliary or copular verb or the singular, neuter pronoun (*it*) encourages the use of invariant follow-up *is it*. But the SAfE data show that follow-up *is it* is used only in place of responses in which modal/aspectual auxiliary or copular verb + pronoun constructions are or would be canonical. This occurrence suggests a semantic association with the combined verb + pronoun construction.[161]

As shown in the examples above and in Appendix E, the SAfE invariant follow-up *is it* serves a range of pragmatic functions, all of which involve expressing active listenership. An effort was made to organise these tokens according to the three functional groups (affective, hortatory, epistemic) outlined by Tottie and Hoffmann (2009); this is shown in Table 5.3. Although these groups are specified for tags, as Andersen (2001: 110) points out, some follow-ups, such as *is it*, appear to have developed from their use as tags, and so this grouping system is applied to follow-up *is it* in an attempt to further explore its pragmatic functions.

As shown in Table 5.3 and Appendix E (column E), the assigned functions to follow-up *is it* do not divide easily into categories, and the groups should not be viewed as distinct. What is clear is that attempting to organise the tokens according to affective, hortatory or epistemic functions reveals that attitudinal states may be inferred throughout, epistemic interest may be interpreted from most of the responses and many of the functions may be viewed as emphasising or urging a different interpretation. In other words, functions attributed to invariant follow-up *is it* do not divide easily with this grouping system, thus emphasising the point made earlier that the functions for follow-up *is it* tend to overlap and are difficult to pinpoint and put into words. This nonadherence to categorisation is not entirely surprising. Tottie and Hoffman (2009: 141) report

---

[160] Tokens of follow-up *is it* that were immediately preceded by an interjection (e.g., *oh, is it*) as well as tokens that did not sententially belong to the same speaker's proceeding utterance were judged to be free-standing.
[161] The occurrence of the verb *need* in one of the data tokens (*need you*; example (55)), was judged as a modal expressing the speaker's obligation to do something, and the canonical response was assumed to be *do you* not the more formal/outmoded *need you*.

that "it is important to keep in mind that the pragmatic functions of tag questions form a continuum and that functions overlap and shade into one another." Assumedly, the same applies to follow-ups such as *is it*, based on their suggested relationship with tags.

Table 5.2: Functions for invariant follow-up is it*

Affective	Hortatory
expresses attention, interest, interactive involvement	reinforces another speaker's statement
shows disdain for previous speaker or topic	urges topic shift or a different interpretation
recognises others in the conversation	*marks contrast (e.g., scepticism, disbelief)*
shows surprise or astonishment *(perhaps disbelief)*	*encourages a response*
marks politeness; used as a face-saving device	*prompts communicative engagement*
	marks politeness

Epistemic
expresses scepticism, *disbelief* or sarcasm
prompts for additional information or speaker repair
recognises new information
confirms mutual assumptions
checks for mutual assumptions
contradicts previously held contextual assumptions
confirms previously held contextual assumptions

*loosely organised into the three functional groups outlined by Tottie and Hoffman (2009); italics indicate functions that appear in more than one category

As an example, the token in (54) appears to be used to mark politeness (affective) by recognising the previous speaker's off-topic statement (i.e., new information; epistemic) before shifting back to the subject of focus (hortatory).

(54)

I: *well my grandmother was an artist in London she studied art at the Slade*

S. <u>*is it*</u> *… no she's not going to do art she's doing English*

This use in (54) may be an example of face-saving in an awkward situation or a response when there is uncertainty about how else to respond, but it also illustrates the difficulty in pinpointing discrete functions.

The functions for follow-up *is it*, shown in Table 5.3 and Appendix E, are not dissimilar to those judged as used in the BNC and described by Andersen (2001).[162] If accurate, the SAfE use of follow-up *is it* is more multifunctional than its use as a paradigmatic interrogative in other English varieties to express uncertainty, surprise or disbelief. Although some tokens appeared to pragmatically prompt for additional information, continued discourse or speaker repair, none of the examples from the SAfE data were assessed as functioning purely in an interrogative manner or to seek confirmation.

The wide variety of pragmatic functions expressed in the SAfE use of invariant follow-up *is it* represents a PM broadly used in informal communication with almost no notice of its non-paradigmatic property. This property is thought to be *almost* unnoticed because whether consciously or subconsciously, it seems to be understood among SAfE speakers that use of follow-up *is it* is not acceptable in formal communicative events, as exemplified by its absence in the data in such interactions. Thus, presumably invariant follow-up *is it* is context-specific in this way.

5.3.4 *Grammaticalisation of follow-up* **is it**

The next section explains the cline of grammaticality for follow-up *is it*. This is followed by a discussion of how invariabilisation and pragmaticalisation resulted during the course of contact-induced grammaticalisation.

5.3.4.1 *Cline of grammaticality*

Based on the definitions and etymological information presented above, one external language, Afrikaans, influenced the English *is it*, motivating the grammaticalisation of the SAfE follow-up *is it*. Since references link the development and use of SAfE follow-up *is it* with Afrikaans linguistic influences, and no direct contributions from other languages could be found, the analysis of contact-induced grammaticalisation was limited to and driven by these two languages. Additionally, since changes to follow-up *is it* occurred in South Africa, the analysis also takes into account influences resulting from this multilingual, multicultural environment.

The SAfE and Afrikaans follow-up items *is it* and *is dit*, respectively, are made up of the third person singular form of the copular verb BE (*is*) followed by the singular neuter pronoun (*it*); the attributed predicate is omitted, but as a response, it is assumed from the conversational topic or the most previous statement. As demonstrated above, the paradigmatic use of *is it* in different

---

[162] Interestingly, there are also similarities with those attributed to tag *hey*. Although not pursued in this analysis, these functional similarities may form an interesting topic for future study.

grammatical forms and contexts is not new to English, nor is the use of *is dit* new to Afrikaans in tag and follow-up form. There are unmistakable phonological, semantic-pragmatic and syntactic similarities between the English *is it* and the Afrikaans *is dit* follow-ups. Both items function to express polite attention and interest and to allude to astonishment or disbelief of new information. The SAfE use of follow-up *is it* is considered to be synonymous with the expression *really?!* ("is-it", 1996). Such an expression may be particularly useful when managing assumptions of intersubjectivity and determining the success of cross-linguistic communication. Contemporary use of the SAfE and Afrikaans follow-up items *is it* and *is dit*, respectively, appears to be broadly procedural, thus constraining inferential interpretation. Language-specific spelling and pronunciation aside, the most pronounced difference between the traditional English use of *is it* and the Afrikaans of *is dit* as follow-ups is that of verb inflection. The English copular verb BE inflects for person, number and tense and includes progressive forms while the Afrikaans copular verb *wees* (*to be*) inflects only for tense and then only between present (*is dit*) and past tense (*was dit*) (Donaldson, 1993: 236). Like SAfE speakers, Afrikaans speakers use the equivalent invariant follow-up *is dit* yet also utilise a variety of other follow-ups involving modal and aspectual auxiliary verbs (e.g., *moes ek* [must/should I], *het hy* [has/did he], *gaan julle* [are you (going)]) (Donaldson, 1993: 255–256). One may speculate that having fewer verb inflections may have been a factor in increasing the likelihood of the development of invariant follow-up *is dit* as well as its general occurrence in contemporary spoken Afrikaans.[163] Whether or not this is the case, it seems probable that invariant follow-up *is dit* cross-linguistically led to the invariabilisation of follow-up *is it*. It is also possible, though less likely, that the two invariant follow-ups developed (grammaticalised) concurrently by mutual reinforcement. That is, a higher occurrence of *is dit* with its perceived invariant property (by SAfE speakers) may have motivated the invariable use of *is it* in contexts that otherwise required grammatical agreement, which in turn encouraged the invariabilisation of *is dit*. Thus the two follow-ups may have developed somewhat simultaneously from high-contact communicative interactions between Afrikaans and SAfE speakers, resulting in mutual pragmatic transference. Transference of the invariant property would then have begun with innovative use and resulted in the morphological simplification of the follow-ups. Whichever the case may be

---

[163] At the time of writing, it could not be confirmed when the invariance aspect of the Afrikaans follow-up *is dit* may have developed, whether Afrikaans has other (grammaticalised) follow-ups and whether this invariant PM is, or ever was, used in Dutch. A preliminary search through the literature could find little information to address these topics. But written correspondence with two Dutch speakers indicates that the Dutch language also does not have progressive verb forms, the use of *is dit* as a follow-up is rare (there is a preference for the response *echt* [*really*] and *serieus* [*serious*]), and *is dit* does not occur in an invariant manner. These questions are left as topics for further investigation.

(and it is also possible that both may have occurred), in the multilingual South African environment, it seems likely that the relatively higher occurrence of *is dit* further perpetuated the invariant use of *is it* in SAfE, eventually leading to its proceduralisation. The result of such a contact-induced grammaticalisation is represented in the cline shown in Figure 5.4.

Contact-induced grammaticalisation explains how linguistic transference occurs when individuals (inter)subjectively incorporate linguistic properties from one language into another, leading to proceduralisation of an item.

Figure 5.4 describes and illustrates the contact-induced grammaticalisation of SAfE invariant follow-up *is it*. As discussed in Section 5.3.5.2, transferring linguistic properties from one language to another is not uncommon, particularly in high-contact, multilingual areas such as South Africa.[164] In the case of the SAfE use of invariant follow-up *is it*, due to (inter)subjectivity and the high degree of phonological similarities, grammatical transference of the invariant property from the Afrikaans *is dit* resulted in a morphological simplification of the traditionally inflected verb + pronoun responses. The simplification (i.e., by invariabilisation) is believed to have led also to the adoption and development of pragmatic functions. As a result, this PM communicates a variety of functions that signal active listenership and thus increases communicative efficiency, not only during cross-linguistic communication but within SAfE discourse. Without the verb inflections and pronoun agreements, invariant follow-up *is it* requires less production and processing effort, thereby providing economical gain for both speaker and hearer. Such a modification is useful to a language that serves as the lingua franca in a multilingual society, and this usefulness, along with its kinship with *is dit*, is believed to have encouraged its propagation.

---

[164] Crystal (2003: 159) states that the "amount of borrowing is also influenced by the number of cultures which co-exist, and the status which their languages have achieved. In a highly multilingual country, such as South Africa, … we might expect a much greater use of loan-words."

(a)

Interrogative *is it* > invariabilisation of interrogative > PM

(b)
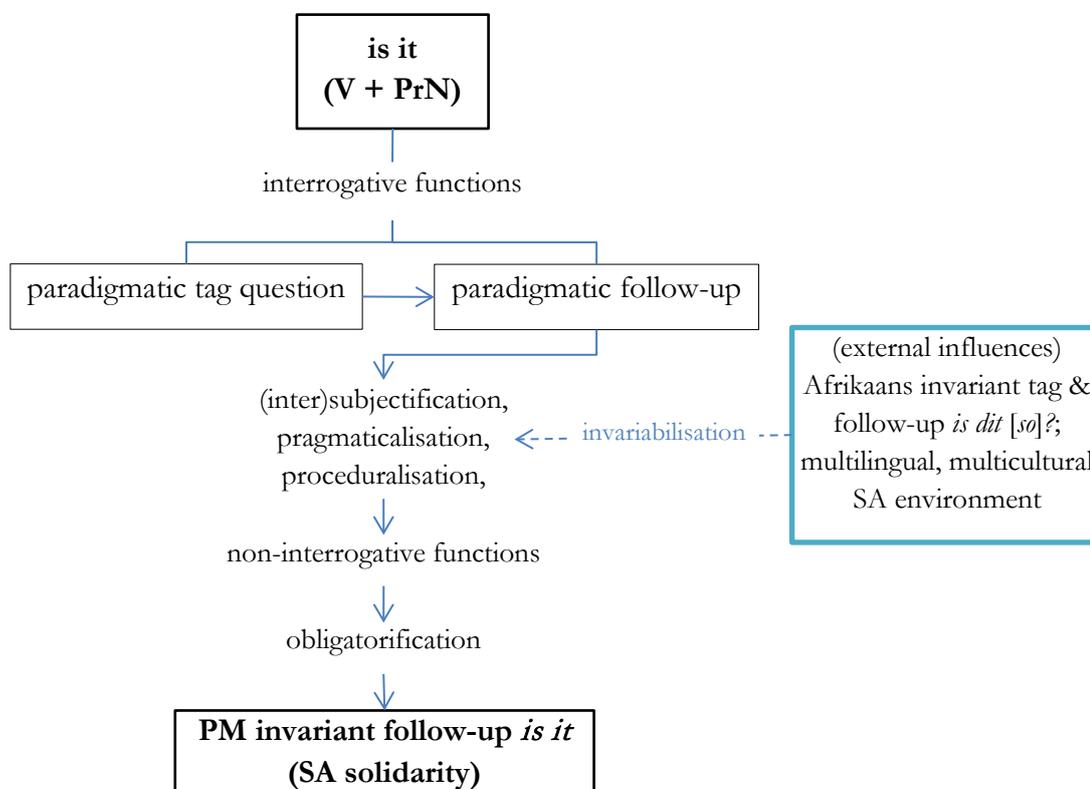
Figure 5.4: The cline of grammaticality for contact-induced grammaticalisation (a) and a conceptual multi-source process tree (b) for SAfE follow-up *is it*

Although prosodic use was only touched upon and not analysed in depth, it is suspected that prosodic as well as phonological adjustments have resulted from dialectical variations between South African communities. A study of these adjustments may reveal more pragmatic differences or similarities between the SAfE follow-up *is it* and the London English version than those already provided. Despite their different functions, different contributing sources that prompted grammaticalisation and different contexts for language use, the noted similarities between the SAfE and London English versions of invariant follow-up *is it* indicate that the two versions have undergone a semi-parallel, though separate and non-temporal, contact-induced grammaticalisation; both seemingly reducing the original interrogative sense while developing similar pragmatic functions. If by "more grammaticalised" we infer greater use of this invariant PM among certain demographics, occurrence in a greater variety of contexts and broader

functional possibilities, then it may be that the SAfE PM is more grammaticalised than the London English version. Based on the limited SAfE data available, however, at this point such a conclusion remains presumptive.

5.3.4.2 *(Inter)subjectivity leads to pragmatic strengthening, reanalysis and obligatorification*

The literature indicates that the verb BE is broadly used in English and has irregular inflections that developed over several centuries from multiple language influences to serve a wide range of grammatical purposes ("is-it", 2009); it should therefore not be surprising that this verb continues to adapt by acquiring new functions, as shown with follow-up *is it*. Grammaticalisation theory states that (inter)subjectification and pragmaticalisation are the two main changes that precede grammaticalisation. This section focuses on the roles of these two processes leading the grammaticalisation of invariant follow-up *is it*.

(Inter)subjectivity helps to explain not only the adoption of the invariance property, but the pragmatic reinterpretation of follow-up *is it* that occurred during grammaticalisation. Language is understood subjectively as it relates to an individual's own worldview and intersubjectively as an individual assumes it to relate to another's worldview. These two orientations involve the speaker's attitude toward herself (subjective) and toward the hearer (intersubjective). It also necessitates that both communicators have the ability to make assumptions about the other's worldview (as described in theory of mind). Mutually assumed knowledge, therefore, can be described as a product of intersubjectivity. This explains, in part, why Traugott (2010a: 30) believes that it is primarily intersubjectivity (as opposed to subjectivity, although subjectivity certainly does play a role) that contributes toward grammaticalisation. In general, the more accessibility to mutually assumed knowledge that communicators have, the greater the likelihood their communication will be successful. In terms of the development of SAfE invariant follow-up *is it*, four assumptions are made here: (i) the human need for understanding, (ii) that communicative contact occurred between English and Afrikaans speakers (not necessarily mother-tongue speakers), (iii) that the invariant property was transferred from Afrikaans to English and (iv) that innovative use of *is it* as an invariant follow-up began sometime before the mid-1900s. Based on these assumptions, it is possible that the grammaticalisation and propagated use of this PM resulted from Afrikaans being a dominant language during this time as well as from the use of English as a lingua franca, and as such the invariabilisation simplified its canonical irregular verb inflections and pronoun agreements. In this way, at the cross-linguistic situational level, Afrikaans speakers presumably would have subjectively used *is dit* /ˈəsət/ during code switching (as references have indicated), and as a result of the strong similarities with follow-up *is it*, they used it as they would *is dit*; that is,

pragmatic equivalence was assumed. Intersubjectively, during these interactions English hearers would have assumed *is it* for the production of *is dit* /ˈəsət/, given the similar pronunciations and contexts for use. Regardless of whether it was perceived as code-switching, with repeated use it would have become auditorily familiar. As later users assumed responsibility for successful communication, responses were then structured in the same manner for purposes of immediate recognition and understanding. As this contact-induced innovation (i.e., invariabilisation) became more familiar, (inter)subjectivity prompted propagation. In this way, the transference of an Afrikaans grammatical feature (invariance) resulted in the (inter)subjectification, and invariabilisation, of follow-up *is it*.

Like all change however, linguistic change rarely occurs without triggering further change. Pragmatic meaning specifically is highly sensitive to linguistic change. Consider how changes in prosodic patterns procedurally direct pragmatic meaning (Janda & Joseph, 2003: 117; cf. Thompson & Balkwill, 2006: 408), how the sentential placement of a PM affects the interpretation of speaker attitude (e.g., Andersen, 2001: 271–284; Siegel, 2002: 64) and how imprecise assumptions may result in innovative pragmatic use, leading to eventual linguistic change (Terraschke, 2010).[165] As previously stated, languages with formal and/or functional equivalents in particular may be prone to linguistic borrowing and change. It is plausible that the semantic-pragmatic, syntactic and phonological similarities between the English *is it* and Afrikaans *is dit* eased such borrowing, and it is suspected that the resultant simplification by invariabilisation is a factor that encouraged both its pragmaticalisation and its widespread use in South Africa.

The process of identifying pragmatic meaning usually occurs automatically, instantaneously and mostly at the subconscious level, and often this meaning or function is difficult to pinpoint. Yet it is this near ineffability that may make pragmatic functions particularly susceptible to change and borrowing. Identifying when pragmatic change occurred that resulted from contact-induced innovation is a rather speculative endeavour, but in the case of invariant follow-up *is it*, it appears from historical information to have occurred during this "ambiguous intermediate stage". At this time it appears (inter)subjectivity facilitated pragmatic strengthening and invariabilisation was the impetus for this change (cf. Andersen, 2014). That is, invariant follow-up *is it* developed attitudinal functions to mark active listenership and serve as a placeholder that may show no commitment or opinion from the speaker. No longer does *is it* refer to a specific subject (as would, for example, *is she*) in the previous speaker's utterance, but to the entire previous utterance, as would the use of *is*

---

[165] See Andersen (2014) for a review of linguistic items that have been effected by cross-linguistic pragmatic borrowing (i.e., transfer).

that so (as in the Afrikaans *is dit so*). The result was that invariant follow-up *is it* became procedurally encoded to function in broader pragmatic roles.

The traditional use of follow-up *is it*, specifically to inquisitively express surprise, has been retained for certain contexts while the PM has pragmatically broadened to include richer interpersonal functions in other contexts. It is in this way that intersubjectivity has become an intrinsic aspect in the use and interpretation of follow-up *is it*. Examining follow-up *is it* by its parts, shows that the PM is made up of two linguistic items, the third-person present tense of the copular verb BE (*is*) and the singular neuter pronoun (*it*). One can assume that the use of *it* necessitates that this PM be described as hearer-oriented since *it* must refer to something previously expressed or mutually understood. This is true even when it is assumed that the meaning of *is it* equates with *is that so*, since *that* must also refer to something previously communicated. But by pragmatic broadening through innovative use, over time invariant follow-up *is it* adopted functions to express speaker attitude and thus can be explained as both hearer- and speaker-oriented.

The SAfE follow-up *is it* appears to demonstrate reanalysis identical to that sketched out by Andersen (2001: 206) for the London English version. Each item retains some conceptual encoding as evidenced by some retained canonical uses and its non-paradigmatic use only in places where modals/aspectual auxiliary or copular verbs + pronoun constructions would be canonical. However, as a result of (inter)subjectivity, invariant follow-up *is it* has been reinterpreted and cognitively remapped in SAfE. The two items of the follow-up, *is + it*, are no longer perceived as functioning independently or separately but as a single pragmatic entity, /isit/, which shows a change in bondedness. This change suggests that obligatorification (i.e., the process by which a speaker's linguistic choices become more specified or restricted in certain contexts) at the level of pragmatics has occurred. Figure 5.4 (b) shows this obligatorification as one of the final processes of grammaticalisation to have occurred, although it is also possible this process may have begun earlier. As a follow-up, the invariant use of *is it* has become specified and probably anticipated among SAfE speaker in certain contexts, thus suggesting this PM has become pragmatically obligatory. Like PM *shame* and tag *hey*, use of invariant follow-up *is it* is described here as a marker of solidarity among SAfE speakers (and also a noted peculiarity to other English speakers), which is a result of obligatorification. If this is correct, this process of becoming more specified in certain contexts may be explained as a result of (inter)subjectification. That is, its functions to express speaker attitude has over time and through widespread use become more specified among SAfE speakers. Therefore, *is it* and invariant follow-up *is it* have ceased to be semantically and pragmatically equal, and in a functional sense they are only vaguely similar. This reanalysis began

when its function was reinterpreted as more-or-less resembling that represented by the Afrikaans *is dit* (i.e., *is that so*), following its acquisition of broader pragmatic functions and becoming pragmatically obligatory. As a result, invariant follow-up *is it* changed from being an interrogative response referring to a portion of the previous utterance to being a follow-up that reflected the previous speaker's thought and perceived attitude as well as that of the speaker of invariant follow-up *is it*. In other words, it is now used with a wider scope of reference.

Through (inter)subjectification, follow-up *is it* is now broadly used to replace a number of similar responses in informal, spoken conversation. It is not only uttered in place of various constructions of modal/aspectual auxiliary or copular verb + pronoun responses, but more generally in places where responses such as *really*, *oh*, *I see* and *wow!* may also occur, sometimes functioning as a simple acknowledgement (like *ah*, *right* and *okay*) of the previous speaker's statement. This aspect of general usefulness likely contributed to its propagation and, over time, its pragmatic strengthening.

5.3.4.3   *Summary of grammaticalisation of follow-up* is it

The sections above discussed how Afrikaans *is dit* contributed toward the invariabilisation of the SAfE follow-up *is it*. This change represents an example of what Grossman and Noveck (2015: 145) describe as "historical events that lead to contact-induced change" (discussed in greater detail in Section 5.3.5.1). The analysis explained that the property of invariance resulted from (inter)subjectification and contributed toward its propagation, proceduralisation, gradual pragmatic strengthening and obligatorification to develop as a multifunctional PM used to express a range of active listenership, speaker attitude and, among SAfE speakers, mark solidarity. The invariabilisation of follow-up *is it* also resulted in its morphological simplification. This simplification helped to make the PM a useful and more accessible device in South Africa's multilingual environment.

5.3.5   *Relevance and follow-up* **is it**

The principles of relevance can contribute towards explaining how invariant follow-up *is it* developed over time and is currently comprehended in spoken communication. Section 5.3.5.1 continues the discussion of this PM's diachronic development from the relevance-theoretic perspectives of lexical pragmatics and proceduralisation and proposes that follow-up *is it* matured as a result of historical influences to become a symbol of solidarity through sociocentricity. The synchronic analysis follows in Section 5.3.5.2 in which Andersen's (2001: 180) three hypothetical conditions, discussed in Section 2.3.2, are applied to instances of use to assess patterns for predicting the likelihood of occurrence (i.e., use) of invariant follow-up *is it*. The

synchronic analysis section concludes with an assessment of follow-up *is it* in terms of conceptual-procedural encoding. The section summary is given in 5.3.6.

5.3.5.1 *Diachronic analysis*

Key to relevance, as outlined by the conditions for relevance and further described in the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure (Section 3.2), is the offsetting of processing effort with greater cognitive effects. In a multilingual, multicultural society in which English is the lingua franca, if a single item can be used in place of various modal/aspectual auxiliary or copular verb + pronoun constructions to communicate a broad range of context-specific pragmatic meanings that, with little effort, are appropriately adjusted and accessed, it stands to reason this item may well be used. Such appears to be the case with the SAfE development of invariant follow-up *is it*. In the South African environment, follow-up *is it* benefits all communicators as a device to express active listenership and gauge the level of attention and understanding – in essence, to determine whether or not communication is successful. Its various functions are context-specific and procedurally encoded. Since procedurally encoded items are "systematically linked to *states of language users*" (Wilson, 2016a: 11), invariant follow-up *is it* also functions to express attitudinal states. In this way, it is argued that part of the development of this PM was directed by the innate need for attitudinal expression and understanding without undue effort. Its cross-linguistic association with a linguistically similar item (Afrikaans *is dit*) resulted in improved communicative efficiency. As shown in Section 5.3.4 using Grammaticalisation theory, this PM acquired further pragmatic functions either by transference or novel use in a high-contact, multilingual environment. Thereby, its use as a device to express surprise was broadened to include expressions of active listenership, epistemic vigilance and attitudinal states, all of which assist in discourse navigation with the least required effort for maximum effect.

The relevance-theoretic position on lexical pragmatics is that all lexical items are underspecified and have both conceptual and procedural encoding (i.e., they are pro-concepts).[166] Therefore, no utterance is ever fully propositional and no item ever fully meaningful without context and before pragmatic adjustment. Such is certainly the case with the multifunctional invariant follow-up *is it* in which, for reasons further explored below, the invariant property has been cross-linguistically

---

[166] As described in Section 3.2.2, procedural (functional) items (e.g., *although*, *so*, *well*) "are resistant to conceptualisation" (Wilson, 2016a). They trigger computations, that is, they provide constraints on the interpretive process used to inferentially interpret the speaker's intentions – i.e., thoughts or cognitive representations – that have been linguistically encoded in the utterance. Therefore, procedural items "are systematically linked to *states of language users*" (Wilson, 2016a) because the speaker uses them to indicate how she intends her utterance to be inferred.

transferred, thus flouting the rules of English grammar that specify subject-verb agreement with referents. Without this agreement, the invariance appears to have pushed underspecificity to its limit and in doing so, opened the door, so to speak, for pragmatic strengthening and proceduralisation. For example, the co-referential for the pronoun *it* of *is it* is the entire expression it responds to in the previous utterance rather than a specified object. Compared with pronouns used in responses that vary according to the previous utterance for subject-verb agreement, such as typically occurs with *are they* and *could you*, the referent for *is it* is less specified. This underspecificity may have led this PM to being susceptible to broad interpretations, and in this way, over time it became pragmaticalised. Pragmaticalisation also had an effect on procedural encoding as it not only guided the hearer toward the speaker's intended meaning but informed the hearer of the speaker's comprehension, attitude and desired course of communication.

Based on the information presented above, an explanation was mapped out in Section 5.3.4 (see also Figure 5.4) for how the property of invariance of the high-frequency Afrikaans *is dit* was transferred to the similar copular verb BE + pronoun response in English and that this occurred through cross-linguistic communication. Torgersen, Gabrielatos, Hoffmann et al. (2011: 115) make clear that the linguistic and social factors that motivate language change are complex, and none can be determined to be a sole cause; rather their interplay creates an environment for the innovation to occur, and this may lead to change. Admittedly, exactly what makes some innovative language use appealing enough to spread to other social networks is interesting to contemplate but difficult to determine. However, the invariabilisation of follow-up *is it* was at least in part found to be a result of high-contact between English and Afrikaans speakers and the items' similar formal and functional attributes. It was also argued that because of these formal and functional similarities, the invariant use of follow-up *is it* was more acceptable in the SAfE environment and may have become pragmatically expected in certain contexts, leading to continued use and propagation. Although the verb + pronoun construction was found to weakly retain some of its conceptual encoding – the logic here being that follow-up *is it* is only used in places where a modal/ aspectual auxiliary or copular verb + pronoun construction would canonically occur – this conceptual encoding was found to contribute little toward inferential interpretation when used as a follow-up. Rather, invariabilisation necessarily led to proceduralisation, forcing this PM to be reinterpreted as a single entity. Much like a formulaic utterance or clitic, the parts of its construction, *is + it*, have become meaningfully inseparable: /isit/. While deconstructing this PM to assess its use and development has its benefits (explored above), it does not provide the whole picture in terms of its contemporary functions in SAfE: in a sense, the sum of its parts does not equal the whole of its pragmatic/procedural meaning. Although its invariance and use in isolation gives it an

extrasentential quality, it pragmatically adheres to the surrounding utterances. This use is similar to that of PM *shame* analysed in Section 5.1. That is, follow-up *is it*'s apparent semantic semi-dissociation from referents (due to invariabilisation) and its proceduralised development in the SAfE context as a frequently used stand-alone response resembles that of an interjection or exclamative.

5.3.5.2   *Synchronic analysis*

In relevance-theoretic terms, the degree of relevance is determined by how much the effect of an input is offset by the effort required to process it; the greater the effect compared to the effort, the greater the relevance. Like with most communication, but particularly with PMs, the comprehension process of invariant follow-up *is it* triggers metalinguistic procedures (e.g., emotion-reading, mind-reading and social cognition) and encyclopaedic knowledge that interact with the linguistic input to form the context. The functional possibilities (listed in Section 5.3.3 and accompanying the data tokens in Appendix E) are determined by this context and expectations of relevance as outlined by the communicative and cognitive principles of relevance. These two principles lay the groundwork for Relevance theory by describing tendencies of basic human behaviour. That is, since an individual wants to understand her environment and will presume relevance following direct communication, whether the hearer of invariant follow-up *is it* is familiar with its use or not, he will presume its relevance and, using contextual cues, determine its function to meet his expectations of relevance. Thus, the act of using follow-up *is it* (i.e., its use in ostensive communication) prompts the notion of its own relevance leading the hearer to create appropriate cognitive effects. Humans are reasoning beings wanting to understand their environment; therefore, the perception of a potentially relevant stimulus triggers a desire to understand its relevance thereby prompting the appropriate pragmatic procedure for its inferential interpretation. For this reason, it is contended that even if a hearer is not familiar with invariant follow-up *is it*, he nonetheless will make the necessary adjustments because of expectations of relevance – much like one does upon hearing a slip of the tongue, such as with a spoonerism or malapropism. The hearer's interpretation will be relevant to the communicative event, and contextual implications will be inferred to further guide the comprehension and course of communication.

As outlined in the extent conditions and further explained in the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure (Section 3.2), relevance is the result of greater available cognitive effects for the expended processing effort. From the speaker's point of view, and with familiarity of the SAfE use of follow-up *is it*, this phonetically simple PM requires less cognitive and articulatory effort than the otherwise canonical realisations that it replaces, thus increasing efficiency and

simplifying the overall communicative encounter. Especially in a multilingual environment, with familiarity this use for complicated realisations and responses, such as for less frequently used modal + pronoun constructions (e.g., *needn't he*, *might they*), may increase communicative abilities and levels of comprehension during cross-linguistic interactions. Because of its invariant use, the hearer may depend more heavily on context (including paralinguistic cues) to determine the speaker's intention. However, inferring its general function – i.e., signalling active listenership – appears to be immediate and unproblematic among SAfE speakers. It furthermore seems unlikely that English speaking individuals who are unfamiliar with the SAfE use of invariant follow-up *is it* would be overly confused by or misunderstand its general function in situations of cross-cultural communication. Kavanaugh (2000: 101) remarks, however, that "[p]roblems of cross-cultural communication are not necessarily a misunderstanding of words, but a lack of understanding of the concepts behind words." Or in the case of follow-up *is it*, there may be a lack of understanding of some pragmatic functions that are specific to its use in SAfE. Therefore, communicators unfamiliar with SAfE and its speakers' use of invariant follow-up *is it* in casual discourse may be more likely to notice its non-paradigmatic property and miss its more nuanced functions (e.g., to convey solidarity).

As described in Section 2.3.2, Andersen (2001: 180–181) suggests three specific conditions that may motivate the use of invariant follow-up *is it* in place of a paradigmatic form: syntactic-semantic, lexical, phonological. These three conditions are now addressed one-by-one.

Based on the SAfE data, invariant follow-up *is it* retains some of its original syntactic-semantic features as evidenced by the fact that it is only used where a modal/aspectual auxiliary or copular verb + pronoun construction is canonical (see Appendix E). Therefore, the occurrence of the SAfE use of invariant follow-up *is it* meets Andersen's proposed syntactic-semantic condition in that it is more likely to be used when it shares a syntactic-semantic feature with the canonical form it replaces; that is, "person, gender and number of the subject and polarity, tense and type of verb (BE vs. other)" (Andersen, 2001: 180). This syntactic-semantic retention would be expected according to Grammaticalisation theory. Although follow-up *is it* does not appear to be affected by the variances of person, gender, number or tense, its limitation only to those constructions involving the canonical use of modal/aspectual auxiliary or copular verbs + pronouns is in keeping with Andersen's syntactic-semantic condition. That is to say, the only aspect in the canonical form that influences the use of follow-up *is it* is this verb + pronoun construction type.

Examples (53) and (55) show invariant follow-up *is it* in place of the traditionally expected canonical forms *might you* and *need you*, respectively; both of which are low-frequency modal verb + pronoun constructions.[167]

(53)

> A: *You know I might go anyway*
> B: <u>*Is it*</u>
> A: *I don't know. I'd like to*
> (personal observation)

(55)

> A: *I'm sorry I can't chat right now*
> B: *Then don't*
> A: *I just need to get to an appointment*
> B: *Oh <u>is it</u>. Okay you should go*
> (personal observation)

Both (53) and (55) meet Andersen's lexical condition, that is invariant follow-up *is it* is more likely to be used in place of the canonical form when the canonical form includes a low-frequency modal verb (e.g., *ought*, *need*, *dare*). Although only two instances of this type of use are present in the data, they suggest that where the expected verb is one that is infrequently used, there may be a preference for using *is it*, at least in informal contexts. Two occurrences in the data, of course, are not enough to confirm this hypothetical condition, and a bigger data set along with further research is needed for a conclusive determination.

Invariant follow-up *is it* was also found to meet Andersen's phonological conditioning hypothesis by replacing more phonetically complex constructions to achieve "economical gain in terms of production effort" (Andersen, 2001: 180). Examples of these occurrences are (56), in which *is it* is used in place of *aren't they*, and (57), in which it is used in place of *can't she*.

---

[167] Low-frequency verb + pronoun constructions were judged based on their occurrence in the SAfE data.

(56)

> B: … *I'd say Mutual is one of the best. But they're not as good as Syfret's or*
>
> A: <u>*Is it*</u> *… So … So Syfret's and those places are still better*
>
> B: *Yes*
>
> (ice-sa_spoken\s1a-076.txt)

(57)

> A: *We're off to the botanical gardens*
>
> B: *For lunch*
>
> A: *Yeah. My mom likes to walk around a bit before. She can't you know in her neighbourhood*
>
> B: <u>*Is it*</u>
>
> A: *Lovely day too*
>
> (personal observation)

Given the examples from the data showing that Andersen's three conditions are met, albeit to a limited degree, it is plausible to assume that invariant follow-up *is it* also would be used in favour of responses with modal/aspectual auxiliary or copular verb + pronoun constructions that did not appear in the data but would be judged to be awkward, low-frequency and of heightened articulatory complexities that increase cognitive and production effort (e.g., *mightn't they*, *shouldn't she*).[168] Such responses, should they occur, would be in keeping with all three of Andersen's (2001) conditions: semantic-syntactic, phonological and lexical. But again, a larger data sample and further research would be needed for a conclusive determination.

The procedural aspect of follow-up *is it* as a PM was also explored. Procedural encoding constrains the interpretation by guiding the hearer toward inferring a pragmatic meaning in keeping with the speaker's intention, and it does so while minimizing the effort required. Grammatically, the PM is made up of two parts, *is* + *it*, which situate the PM in a syntactic-semantic manner that echoes its non-PM use and meaning as well as one that has not been entirely forgotten. The pragmatic meaning of follow-up *is it*, however, only exists in its unity: /*isit*/; this is in part because of the developed procedural encoding that accompanies its acquired invariant property. So unlike many

---

[168] The follow-ups *aren't they* and *can't she* were judged phonologically complex due to multiple consonant abutments as noted in bold: /ɑ:**nt**ˈ**ð**eɪ/, /kɑ**nt**ˈʃɪ:/. Comparatively, *mightn't they* and *shouldn't she* were judged more phonologically complex because they are trisyllabic items with multiple consonant abutments: /maɪt**ˈnt**ˈ**ð**eɪ/, /ʃʊd**ˈnt**ˈʃɪ:/.

procedural utterances that can be analysed by assessing their parts – for example, to determine referents as in (58), adapted from Clark (2013: 310) – follow-up *is it* must be interpreted in its entirety, as a single entity and without variance.

(58)

> *That's good.*
>
> [the referent of *that*] is GOOD [at some time or in some circumstances]

The pragmatic meaning that is procedurally activated by its use is then dependent on context and usage familiarity. Relevance theory holds that expectations of relevance are triggered by the act of ostensive communication. These expectations interact with the presented procedures that help infer pragmatic intent. The SAfE data indicate that follow-up *is it* is both hearer-oriented (i.e., outward, toward previous speaker) and speaker-oriented (i.e., inward, toward self). That is, it is hearer-oriented when, for example, it triggers procedures for the acknowledgment of another's prior utterance, prompts for more information, mirrors an emotional state, or expresses communicative attention. It is speaker-oriented when, for example, it serves as a placeholder to determine epistemic vigilance, acts as a generic response when the speaker is uncertain how else to respond or is uttered as a personal face-saving device. In this way, follow-up *is it* appears to trigger procedural knowledge regarding functional possibilities that are then adjusted based on context and expectations of relevance. In accordance with the extent conditions and relevance-theoretic comprehensive procedure, the hearer of follow-up *is it* will rely on personal experience (background knowledge, existing assumptions) and use the least amount of processing effort to arrive at an inferential interpretation that is optimally relevant based on the available contextual assumptions. In this way the PM assists in navigating toward eventual inferential understanding.

Based on relevance-theoretic descriptions, invariant follow-up *is it* activates higher-level explicatures because it applies procedures for interpretation; that is, cues for how to process the utterance. As discussed in Section 3.2.1.1, higher-level explicatures are triggered by the speaker's linguistic output and processed through pragmatic decoding (in terms of interpretive reasoning). Consider example (59):

(59)

> (B is speaking about stocks that B recently invested in)
> B: … *I wanted to see what they were doing. And they were climbing again*
> A: *Is it*
> B: *But uh they're like a house you know. You pay more than you get for them*
> (ice-sa_spoken\s1a-076.txt)

Depending on context, the higher-level explicature inferentially interpreted by the use of follow-up *is it* in (59) might be one of the following:

(a) A understands that B wants A to know that B's stocks are climbing.

(b) A believes that B's stocks are climbing.

(c) A is impressed to hear B's stocks are climbing.

(d) A is surprised that B's stocks are climbing.

These higher-level explicatures of follow-up *is it* thus procedurally suggest how the preceding utterance was inferentially interpreted and may serve as pointers indicating what cognitive effects were derived and how the conversation should now progress. As discussed in Section 3.2.1.1, the cognitive effects derived from an utterance can take one of three forms: strengthening an assumption, weakening an assumption or creating contextual implicatures. Cognitive effects are triggered by the interplay of the speaker's linguistic output and the hearer's existing assumptions and are processed through pragmatic decoding in terms of intuitive reasoning. Cognitive effects serve as cues for how to process the utterance so are considered to be procedural as well. As noted, a contextual implicature is the most significant form of a cognitive effect because its interaction with the hearer's encyclopaedic knowledge results in the formation of an entirely new cognitive assumption. So, for example, depending on context, the contextual implicatures derived from the use of follow-up *is it* in example (59) might be any one of the following:

(a) A is happy for B's good fortune

(b) A wishes A had had the foresight to invest in this stock

(c) A thinks B is gloating, or perhaps A is jealous

Any one of these possibilities may explain why B responds to A's use of invariant follow-up *is it* with a dismissively humorous comparison.

Cognitive effects derived from PMs must interact with a number of contextual variables during the interpretive process. These variables include existing assumptions drawn from encyclopaedic knowledge, paralinguistic cues, and expectations of relevance. The hearer of a PM must integrate these variables to intuitively activate and infer the contextual implicature that the speaker intends him to make. As with many PMs, in the case of invariant follow-up *is it*, there may be pragmatic meaning that is specific to its use in SAfE that has developed and may only be accessed through familiarity.

This section provided examples taken from the SAfE data to show that the three conditions put forward by Andersen (2001: 180–181) may be used to predict the usage likelihood of invariant follow-up *is it*, and it also described the procedural encoding of follow-up *is it* in terms of higher-level explicatures and contextual implicatures.

5.3.6   *Summary of follow-up* **is it**

The SAfE follow-up *is it* is a highly proceduralised PM that has been pragmatically strengthened and morphologically simplified (i.e., as a result of invariabilisation) during contact-induced grammaticalisation. This simplification (i.e., reduced changes in terms of verb inflections and pronoun agreements) is illustrated by the three conditions for use presented by Andersen (2001: 180–181): syntactic-semantic, phonological and lexical. Its use and meaning appears to be weakly associated with its traditionally encoded meaning as it does in fact follow the syntactic-semantic conditions of replacement; that is, invariant follow-up *is it* may be used in place of the canonical form when the two forms have syntactic-semantic features in common. Invariant follow-up *is it* also follows the phonological condition, in that it is used in place of a variety of responses that require complex articulation, and the lexical condition, as it is used when the verb is judged to be one of low-frequency use/occurrence. These latter two conditions, phonological and lexical, can be explained as reducing production and cognitive effort while increasing communicative efficiency. Perhaps more significantly, the SAfE follow-up *is it* appears to trigger knowledge derived through metalinguistic means (e.g., emotion-reading, mind-reading and social cognition) so that the PM has many possible meanings that are determined only by the idiosyncrasy of the perceived contextual assumptions. Invariant follow-up *is it* can express a wide variety of pragmatic functions, and its usefulness has contributed to making this PM a mainstay in SAfE. Its non-paradigmatic use in informal communication is perceived to be almost unnoticed among SAfE speakers. This may be explained by a tendency to process this PM procedurally not as a two part item, *is* + *it*, but as a single entity: /*isit*/. Familiarity with its use in a variety of contexts allows the hearer to adjust its pragmatic meaning in accordance with his experiences and expectations of relevance. But it appears that non-familiarity does not lead to gross misunderstanding.

5.4   **Chapter summary**

At first glance, the three PMs analysed in this study, *shame*, *hey* and *is it*, appear disparate in every way: form, grammatical origin, path of development, meaning, function, etc. But their commonalities are revealed through analysis. All three developed in the same multilingual environment as a result of cross-linguistic influences from the same two languages, English and

Afrikaans. Their developments as PMs can be described as processes leading to (contact-induced) grammaticalisation as they are each linked to lexical origins that over time became more procedural and pragmatically functional. As such, each PM was described as having undergone reinterpretation; that is, through contact-induced use, each became cognitively remapped as pragmatically versatile items in context-specific constructions. Proceduralisation of these PMs occurred concurrently with context-specific propagation. But because reinterpretation was context-specific, each PM was found to demonstrate retention of original conceptual encoding, also context-specific, to some degree. All three PMs were explained as having become simplified and/or as contributing to an overall communicative simplification – that is, tag *hey* and invariant follow-up *is it* were morphologically and phonologically simplified while all three PMs developed to efficiently communicate complex pragmatic meaning triggered by metalinguistic knowledge – and these simplifications were found to be useful particularly in South Africa's multilingual environment. The PMs function to gain or maintain attention as well as express speaker-attitude and thus trigger higher-level explicatures and contextual implicatures. The triggering of these assumptions is viewed as the most identifiable property shared by these three PMs, but although it is manifest between SAfE speakers, it is unlikely to be recognised by those unfamiliar with the SAfE use of these items. The absence of occurrence of these PMs in more formal communicative settings suggests a general perception that their use is not acceptable or the functions they convey are not applicable in such interactions; therefore, these PMs are not entirely conventionalised.

Since the PMs *shame*, *hey* and *is it* are used distinctly in SAfE, part of what the higher-level explicatures trigger are assumptions of manifest social or cultural identity and solidarity, assumptions that are all but certainly missed by hearers unfamiliar with SAfE. This function is one of sociocentric expression; in other words, a small, intuitive expression marking South African identity and solidarity. In this way, the PMs sociolinguistically signify a suggestion of shared identity. Through repeated and widespread use, all three of these PMs seem to reflect a broad but recognisable South African identity among SAfE speakers. Sociolinguistic research may determine demographic differences in their use. For instance, given that they were influenced by Afrikaans expressions, it may be that some or all of these PMs are used with greater frequency in communities in which Afrikaans is more widely spoken. Differences also may be noted between genders and different age groups. Based on the PMs' many interpersonal functions and the ease that comes with identifying with a familiar social network through linguistic means, they appear to meet a sociocentric need for human connection. Language and language use contributes to a person's identity (Crystal, 1997: 38, 2003: 20–22). In a multilingual, multicultural society, language – perhaps particularly one that is the lingua franca – is often used in ways that may not match

precisely with more traditional expectations but does fit specific communicative situations, and an individual's identity may be wrapped up in this use (cf. Bristowe, Oostendorp & Anthonissen, 2014).

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The central aim of this dissertation was to investigate pragmatic phenomena in SAfE; more specifically, to trace the diachronic developments of three PMs, *shame*, *hey* and *is it*, and analyse their functions in the context of SAfE and within the analytical frameworks of Grammaticalisation theory and Relevance theory. Three questions were asked to achieve this aim:

1) How did the three pragmatic markers, *shame*, *hey* and *is it* develop in SAfE?
2) How do these three pragmatic markers function in SAfE?
3) What insights do the diachronic development and current use of these PMs provide about SAfE as a distinct English variety?

The first two questions made up the main focus of the analyses, with the third question briefly addressed toward the end of each of the analytical sections. Section 6.1 begins this chapter by further exploring answers to the third question. A discussion of this study's limitations is provided in Section 6.2, and Section 6.3 offers recommendations for future research. Section 6.4 concludes this dissertation with a synthesised discussion of the three analysed PMs.

6.1   Discussion

The analyses in Chapter 5 provide an explanation for how the linguistic developments of the three PMs resulted from historical factors and, with context-specific repetition, over time have become manifest as sociocentric symbols of solidarity. Kecskes (2008) argues that meaning is formed through the combination of an individual's socio-cultural experiences and suggests that linguistic expressions not only communicate the speaker's current intention and attitude, but may trigger (in both communicators) shadows of past intentions and attitudes from prior use and exposure. These experiences contribute toward making up context but perhaps more importantly, dynamically shape the way language is used and comprehended now and subsequently. Experiences can be viewed on the individual as well as social scale in that the identity we find through language use is often a reflection of our social or cultural backgrounds.

With this is mind, there is one speculation regarding the development of these three PMs that remains to be addressed. This speculation is based on historical and social factors unique to South Africa and not always comfortable to discuss; the notion that social change often motivates linguistic change and that social change may be explained as psychologically based. Specifically, the development of all three PMs resulted from a dominant language (Afrikaans) having influence

over a less dominant language (English) (cf. Andersen, 2014: 22) and that this language dominance had psychological influences on the use and interpretation of the PMs analysed here.

All three PMs are documented as having developed during or prior to the mid-1900s, thus suggesting innovation that occurred or was occurring sometime before. As discussed in Chapter 1, Afrikaans had been progressively dominating the linguistic landscape in South Africa in several ways since at least the early-1900s. Although there is little conclusive information regarding the major languages spoken in South Africa at this time (Christopher, 2011), it is plausible to assume that sometime before the general election of 1948, which officially marked the beginning of apartheid, it was Afrikaans, not English or any other language, that was the dominant language of much of the media, commerce, education and diplomacy.[169] During the years that followed, most of those who held political office and sway were Afrikaans speakers, and Afrikaans speakers in general tended to achieve high levels of education and be socio-economically advantaged, giving them high social status (Van der Merve, 1995: 522).[170] Any one of these factors may provide social advantage in a society; taken together, however, they add up to a formula for power, and history shows that those with power exercise their influence, whether deliberately or not. Power can be expressed through many means – e.g., force, overt superiority, generosity, displays of wealth or intelligence, exclusivity, confidence in the presence of another's uncertainty – but the perception of power can also be influential. Whether power is good or bad is defined by its relation to others, how it is perceive to be used and the benefits that are perceived to come with it. Power is recognised because it is relevant to all those within the society, and any kind of representation of relative social hierarchy creates cognitive effects that alter worldviews and behaviours. Knowledge about the world – that is, how it is perceived – affects how individuals act and respond to others. Recognition of power, therefore, affects social interactions and influences how we use, interpret and respond to language. As much as Afrikaans at this time may have been rejected by many non-Afrikaans speakers in South Africa, Afrikaans speakers would have been seen as a reflection of assumed power and, therefore, advantaged in ways others were not. Presumably then, Afrikaans would have had a psycho-linguistic superiority over other languages, including English whose

---

[169] Van der Merve (1995: 521) lists the three major language spoken as first languages in South Africa between 1980-1991 as isiZulu, isiXhosa and Afrikaans. IsiZulu and isiXhosa were spoken broadly in South Africa but did not achieve the type of dominance alluded to here.

[170] This describes a specific sector of the population and does not ignore demographic divisions to assume that all Afrikaans speakers were automatically and uniformly advantaged. It also does not imply that by comparison English speakers were less educated.

European speakers in particular had a history of conflict with Afrikaans speakers of Dutch heritage.

As mentioned, power may be expressed through many forms, and it can be described in just as many ways. For example, power may be associated with oppression, inequality and divisiveness while simultaneously associated with achievement, security and confidence. The associations an individual makes may not be a result of conscious decision but of subconscious cognitive efficiency. So it is argued here that even small differences in the way an Afrikaans speaker subjectively used English – such as using *shame* in a manner that pragmatically resembles Afrikaans *foeitog* and *siestog*, using tag *hey* to procedurally function similarly to Afrikaans *hoor* [*jy my*] in final utterance position and using follow-up *is it* in an invariant manner and with similar pragmatic functions to the Afrikaans *is dit* – may have held sway for its listeners, who then became accustomed to its use with attached psycho-linguistic perceptions. Instances of code switching may have, for instance, facilitated the shift toward invariabilisation of *is it*, and with gradual frequency SAfE speakers eventually intersubjectively assumed this simplification themselves, first at the situational level and then more broadly.

If this is the case, then one of the perceived metalinguistic functions of *shame*, tag *hey* and invariant follow-up *is it* might have been to procedurally establish some form of hierarchical position. This use may be similar to that of the loose use of some lexical items (described in Section 3.2.2) that allow its speaker to position herself within a particular social group, perhaps with a certain status (such as referring to a group of men as *gentlemen* though none present gentlemanly characteristics). In this way, whether consciously or not, the speaker maximizes efficiency while communicating much more than what is semantically spoken. Adjustments to the way the world is viewed impact our behaviours toward others and thus the way speakers use language. But conversely, adjustments to the way language is used can influence the way hearers view the world. So ironically, if the SAfE development of *shame*, *hey* and *is it* as PMs was motivated (in part) from speakers who were perceived in some sense as dominant, powerful, confident, well-educated, advantaged, etc., and these perceived psycho-linguistic features survived as these PMs spread to be used by other South Africans when speaking English, then over time, the items became inferentially interpreted as PMs with acquired attitudinal functions that procedurally triggered associations with these features in the form of cognitive effects. In time, the widespread use and interpretation of PMs *shame*, *hey* and *is it* came to be one of South African social identity as well. Furthermore, if they became cognitively remapped with positive perceptions (whether consciously or not) to function as markers of social identity and solidarity, then this would have encouraged their widespread use as well.

The maximization of relevance is the result of gaining the most cognitive effects for the least processing effort. So assuming the effort that was required for the proceduralisation and pragmaticalisation of these PMs was cognitive remapping over time, the perceived effort may be described as minimal compared to the achieved cognitive effects described above. Other cognitive effects directly relate to minimizing the effort required, such as making the lingua franca easier to use and interpret in a multilingual environment by simplifying an utterance; this has already been discussed, and the presumption that a portion of those cognitive effects can be attributed to social identity and solidarity has been presented. The presumption of relevance refers to communication being worthy of attention. Therefore, propagation may have occurred if the cognitive effects gained from its use increased comprehension, created expectations for future use or resulted in a perception (whether realised, desired or imagined) of confidence or a rise in social standing. It is with this uniquely South African linguistic backdrop that I suggest the three SAfE PMs came to be innovatively used to metalinguistically function as markers of social identity and solidarity.

The relevance-theoretic diachronic analyses of *shame*, tag *hey* and invariant follow-up *is it* are historically grounded but nonetheless remain speculative in nature. As Grossman and Noveck (2015: 145) have pointed out, "it is often assumed that language change is explanatory". Language changes, however, are complex phenomena, involving many variables. As with the above analyses, studies of language change often only provide reasonable explanations given the available resources, the analytical framework(s) used and the researcher's capabilities.

Kavanagh (2000: 104) suggests that an individual's culture plays a strong role in the mental representations conjured by even common linguistic items such as "*family, marriage, funeral, manners*". Sperber and Wilson (1997a: 2–3) term items such as these *pro-concepts*; that is, items that only encode "full-fledged" concepts when they are worked out in context.[171] While these items are familiar to English speakers, what they bring to consciousness at their mention will depend largely on the individual's socio-cultural experiences.

> Choice of words, ways of approaching certain subjects, knowing which subjects to avoid with whom, and the level of detail appropriate to a situation are difficult for outsiders to know yet vital to communication at all but the most basic level (Kavanagh, 2000: 101).

Some of what Kavanagh is referring to here regards the social or cultural nuances of politeness, but the notion that the same linguistic item is processed differently by individuals of different

---

[171] In fact, Sperber and Wilson (1997a: 3) claim that most if not all linguistic items are *pro-concepts*.

social backgrounds is obvious and applicable in describing the use and development of the three PMs analysed here.

Fischer (2013: 517) provides additional support for attributing multiple influences during the course of grammaticalisation, arguing that analogy, referred to as "a general, innate cognitive principle" and "based on the recognition of similarity, is the most important principle in grammar formation [… –AG] and hence also in change." This may further explain how reinterpretation by association may play a role in the hearer's inferential interpretation of a novel linguistic item or its use (especially in a multilingual environment but also during intralinguistic communication[172]), leading to a cognitive reinterpretation of the item's semantic-pragmatic meaning and/or the redistribution of this meaning. From a relevance-theoretic stand-point, the inferential interpretation of any utterance occurs when aspects of the representations encoded in the lexical items interact with aspects of the hearer's encyclopaedic knowledge during his search for relevance; if this interaction does not immediately occur and the hearer perceives it to be beneficial, he will continue this search until such interactions adequately fulfil his expectations of relevance. As stated, the goal for communicators is understanding, and if communication is based on expectations of relevance, then it stands to reason that language processing involves this cognitive interaction of connecting-the-dots, making associations, bundling and compartmentalising perceived related concepts and assumptions according to what makes reasonable sense in an individual's worldview, and finally forming satisfactorily relevant conclusions from this mix of accessible information.

The process of inferential interpretation affects an individual's conceptual system (i.e., the collection of conceptual associations made through repetition and experience that forms an individual's knowledge base), and eventually if similar interpretive adjustments and associations occur within a community, language change may follow.[173] When this occurs, in order to maintain sociosyncratic connections it then becomes important on the individual level to understand what has been determined as "vital to communication" to maintain social inclusion (cf. Kavanagh, 2000: 101).

The purpose of analysing these PMs is to describe how historically based influences redirected how these items function in SAfE as well as to describe an under-researched aspect of SAfE. PMs

---

[172] Intralinguistic communication is used here to refer to communication occurring between two or more individuals using different varieties of the same language (e.g., SAfE and US English).

[173] The term "conceptual system" is borrowed from Barsalou (2003) and applied here in a broader, more generic sense.

are a category of linguistic items that are particularly sensitive to sociolinguistic influences (Andersen, 2014: 18). Properties or features of PMs have been noted to be borrowed or adopted into other dialects and languages, but this usually entails only partial adoption. PMs can be strongly associated with an individual's identity and are used for both self and social expression as well as interpretive guidance. From the point of view of English in general, arguably, the items presented here, *hey*, *is it* and *shame*, without context, are neither unfamiliar nor unrecognisable. Yet their uses in SAfE as PMs represent functions that are not only atypical of other English varieties but linguistically sociosyncratic of SAfE speakers and, with any familiarity, immediately recognisable as specific to this English variety (i.e., among SAfE speakers and those familiar with SAfE). In this way, the three PMs are easily identifiable markers of socio-cultural identity and signals of solidarity with the greater South African identity.

Sections 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 each presented discussions of how historical factors may have influenced the developments of the SAfE PMs *shame*, *hey* and *is it* respectively. As Kavanagh (2000: 103) remarks, "social change produces linguistic change". One can speculate that a complex mix of sometimes competing linguistic and social adaptations (or accommodations) as well as rejections (or divergences) occurred to both increase the likelihood of successful communication and manipulate social interactions to determine social standing and identity (cf. Crystal, 1997: 51). The diachronic analyses of these PMs presented two language influences, English and Afrikaans. But in terms of marking socio-cultural identity, there may be a broader African spirit that can be explained as also contributing to these language changes. Traditionally, much of southern Africa has a holistic understanding of social identity. In South Africa, this understanding is expressed through the Xhosa/Zulu notion of Ubuntu, which was one of Nelson Mandela's guiding principles. Ubuntu is explained in the Nguni language as "Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu"; paraphrased in English, Ubuntu means that a person is a person because of those around him (Oppenheim, 2012: 369) and that humanity is indivisibly one (Obama, 2013: 4). Ubuntu highlights the often competing facets of individuality and community as it promotes the idea of striving for an individual best while embracing the notion that a community is stronger together. In this way, individual identity can be at odds with socio-cultural identity while simultaneously each adheres to and jointly guides the other.

Given the historical factors presented above and the many language and cultural influences in South Africa, studying the use and interpretation of PMs in SAfE is a challenge. However, investigating the development of distinct PM functions in an under-researched English variety also poses a curious investigation when history, language and culture are factored into their

development, providing a more thorough picture of how and perhaps why these expressions developed their current functions.

6.2   Research limitations

Most of the limitations present in this work have already been discussed (see Chapter 4), the most obvious one being the lack of a complete contemporary SAfE corpus with accompanying metadata and audio recordings. Without such, frequency of use could not be accurately measured or compared with other English varieties, sociolinguistic data could not be analysed and determining prosodic contours and other paralinguistic information, such as potential functional differences marked by pauses and other paralingual cues, was highly limited.

Limitations that have not been discussed already are those of a more personal nature. I began this work not with a general linguistics background but with one in speech-language pathology, some years of experience treating adults with traumatic brain injuries, and prior to that, as an advertising copywriter. While all are fields in communication, there may be some disadvantages apparent to the more trained eye. On the other hand, I prefer to think there was some benefit to an unhindered, less traditional linguistics approach to analysing language use and interpretation. Another potential limitation is that I originate from the United States. Although I lived in South Africa for seven years and most of my research, analysis and writing of this dissertation was completed during this time, my familiarity with SAfE – and even more so, Afrikaans and all other official languages of South Africa – is not like that of the native born SAfE speaker. To my advantage, however, is the ability to identify differences in linguistic use that may be imperceptible to the accustomed SAfE speaker. Sometimes observation requires an outside perspective to see what is difficult to identify from within.

6.3   Future research

Based on the research limitations mentioned above, a larger SAfE data set with ample audio files would be beneficial for supporting several research topics. One investigation could focus on confirming whether or not invariant follow-up *is it* indeed follows Andersen's three conditions for replacement as suggested in the analysis presented in Section 5.3.5.2. Another interesting pursuit would be to study how prosody, pause durations and other paralingual features affect the meaning, function and the inferential interpretation of the PMs analysed here. Given comprehensive metadata for the corpus, it would be interesting also to know which demographic group(s) of SAfE speakers use(s) these PMs most frequently and whether there are functional differences between groups. For example, since females have been noted to express empathy more explicitly than males

(Norscia, Demuru & Palagi, 2016), are males less likely than females to use the PM *shame*? Additionally, given that the three PMs were influenced by Afrikaans expressions, a sociolinguistic study could determine other demographic variations such as whether any or all these PMs are used with greater frequency in communities in which Afrikaans is more widely spoken as a mother-tongue.

The analyses presented above revealed possible topics that may pose interesting comparative studies as well, namely: a comparison of the development and use of invariant follow-up *is it* in London English to that of SAfE; and a comparison of functions between follow-up *is it* and other follow-ups such as *really*; between tag *hey* and its cognates tags *eh* and *huh*, and between tag *hey* and other tags such as *right*. Furthermore, there appeared to be instances in the data in which *shame*, *hey* and *is it* function similarly and arguably may be interchanged. The scope of this study did not allow for such comparative investigations, but a study of their use in context may uncover interesting results, such as revealing specific contexts for which the three PMs are interpreted as having similar pragmatic functions.

Another possible topic of investigation is the invariabilisation of the Afrikaans follow-up *is dit* (see Section 5.3.4.1 fn. 169). Like Afrikaans, the Dutch language does not have progressive verb forms; perhaps it is for this reason that the Afrikaans use of invariant follow-up *is dit* is used. However, a cursory search suggested that in the Dutch language, the use of *is dit* as a tag or follow-up is rare, if used at all (there is a preference rather for the response *echt* [*really*], *serieus* [serious] and *oja* [oh yeah]). Whether the Dutch language has used invariant follow-up *is dit* in the past could not immediately be determined. An investigation that addresses the diachronic development of the Afrikaans *is dit* could lead to an interesting topic for future study.

Tag *hey* and follow-up *is it* respectively have similar cognates in other English varieties, and it seems likely that an unfamiliar hearer will assume these similarities without loss of general meaning. However, of the three PMs analysed here, *shame* appears to be the most dissimilar to uses in other English varieties. Since PM *shame* does not appear to have similar cognates, it may also be the most challenging to interpret for an unfamiliar hearer; it's pragmatic function(s) may be misinterpreted and/or the hearer may continue to search for relevant information to make adequate sense out of its use in order to satisfy expectations of relevance. Future research could determine whether or not this suspicion is valid.

Section 3.1 mentioned other processes of language change involved in grammaticalisation that the presented analyses did not include. An investigation in terms of, for example, morphologisation

and decategorisation could expand on the analyses of the three PMs. Other processes include paradigmatic integration and relational meaning as explained by Diewald (2011). Furthermore, an argument could be made that the SAfE development of one or all of the three PMs might be more appropriately described as one of contact-induced pragmaticalisation rather than grammaticalisation. Thus, an interesting investigation could entail exploring these PMs in terms of other processes of language change.

From a pragmatics point of view in particular, SAfE appears to be under-researched as compared with other English varieties. Further examination of SAfE is needed, in particular its use of PMs, phrases and linguistic items that are atypical of other English varieties.

6.4   Conclusion

Three PMs, *shame*, *hey* and *is it*, that are common in SAfE were analysed using the combined approaches of Grammaticalisation theory and Relevance theory. As linguistic items, *shame*, *hey* and *is it* are not unfamiliar to most English speakers. But as PMs in SAfE, each manifests pragmatic meanings and functions that are atypical of other English varieties. *Shame*, *hey* and *is it* were analysed for their development and contemporary use and interpretation in SAfE. Their meanings and functions were found to have developed as a result of historical and multilingual conditions unique to South Africa. *Shame* was described in Section 5.1 as having broadly-developed pragmatic functions that are distinctly ameliorated from its traditional sense. As a PM, *shame* is interpreted as expressing speaker attitude and sentiment, and it functions to metacommunicatively comment on the speaker's own utterance or inform the previous speaker how she has been interpreted. It was proposed that the amelioration from *shame*'s traditional sense to its use as a PM can be attributed to both a sociolinguistic trend of using the item as a hyperbole and a functional and pragmatic association with Afrikaans items that occurred over time. Tokens from the SAfE data suggest an extrasentential occurrence on par with formulaic responses, sentential adverbs and exclamatives. Although its form is unchanged, *shame*'s accompanying pragmatic functions and sentential placement are identifiably specific to SAfE. Section 5.2 described the SAfE use of tag *hey*, highlighting that although this linguistic item has long been used in English as a device for gaining attention, its use in SAfE as a tag and its acquired functions are distinct from other English varieties. It was proposed that tag *hey* developed functional and pragmatic associations with Afrikaans and other English lexical items to help gain and keep attention during communication as well as determine listener understanding. Although tag *hey* appears to be functionally similar to tags *eh* and *huh* used in other English varieties, tag *hey* was found to function in attitudinal ways that are identifiable to SAfE. Finally, Section 5.3 explored the development and contemporary use

178

of *is it* in SAfE as a non-paradigmatic, invariant follow-up. This PM is used in places where a variety of similarly constructed canonical responses (e.g., *were they*, *could you*) would be expected. The PM was explained as having developed from its association with the similarly functioning Afrikaans *is dit*.

The three PMs, *shame*, *hey* and *is it*, were found to have resulted from contact-induced grammaticalisation, having developed in South Africa's high-contact, multilingual environment in which English continues to serve as a lingua franca. Historical factors created an environment in which linguistic influences from English and Afrikaans items contributed towards the development of these PMs. Phonological simplification, pragmatic strengthening and proceduralization are the most apparent changes to the SAfE PMs *shame*, *hey* and *is it*, and these developments appear to have resulted from (inter)subjectivity. During their developments, each PM appears to have gone through a stage in which it assisted in navigating toward inferential understanding of a communicative event and thus benefitted interlocutors during cross-linguistic interactions. The contemporary SAfE use of *shame*, *hey* and *is it* were found to trigger higher-level explicatures that are processed through pragmatic decoding. Overall, each PM was assumed to mark manifest social identity and signal solidarity. As such, *shame*, *hey* and *is it* are interpreted as establishing social connections among SAfE speakers.

References

Adegbija, E. & Bello, J. 2001. The semantics of "okay" (OK) in Nigerian English. *World Englishes.* 20(1): 89–98.

Aijmer, K. 1996. I think – an English modal particle. In Swan, T. & Westvik, O.J. (eds.). *Modality in Germanic Languages: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 1–47.

Aijmer, K. 2002. *English Discourse Particles: Evidence from a Corpus*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Aijmer, K. 2013. *Understanding Pragmatic Markers: A Variational Pragmatic Approach.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Aijmer, K. & Simon-Vandenbergen, A.-M. 2009. Pragmatic Markers. In Östman, J.-O. & Verschueren, J. (eds.). *Handbook of Pragmatics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. pp. 1–29

Andersen, G. 2001. *Pragmatic Markers and Sociolinguistic Variation: A Relevance-Theoretic Approach to the Language of Adolescents*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Andersen, G. 2014. Pragmatic borrowing. *Journal of Pragmatics.* 67:17–33.

Anthonissen, C. 2013. "With English the world is more open to you" – language shift as marker of social transformation. *English Today.* 29(1):28–35.

Ariel, M. 2008. *Pragmatics and Grammar*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Auer, P. 1992. Introduction: John Gumperz' Approach to Contextualization. In Auer, P. & di Luzio, A. (eds.). *The Contextualization of Language*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. pp. 1–37.

Bao, Z. 2010. Must in Singapore English. *Lingua*. 120(7):1727–1737.

Barsalou, L.W. 1983. Ad hoc categories. *Memory & Cognition*. 11(3):211–227.

Barsalou, L.W. 2003. Situated simulation in the human conceptual system. *Language and Cognitive Processes*. 18(516):513–562.

Bartkova, K., Bastien, A. & Dargnat, M. 2016. How to be a discourse particle? In *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Speech Prosody (SP2016)*. Boston, MA. pp. 859–863.

BBC. 2014. *The art of conversation*. [Online] http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/yourvoice/conversation2.shtml [Accessed 2 January 2015]

Beach, W.A. 1993. Transitional regularities for casual "Okay" usages. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 19(4):325–352.

Beach, W.A. 1995. Conversation analysis: "Okay" as a clue for understanding consequentiality. In Sigman, S. (ed.). *The consequentiality of communication*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. pp. 121–162.

Beeton, D.R. & Dorner, H. (eds.). 1970. *English Usage in Southern Africa, vol. 1, no. 2*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Bell, D.M. 2009. Mind you. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 41(5):915–920.

Van Bergen, G., van Gijn, R., Hogeweg, L. & Lestrade, S. 2011. Discourse marking and the subtle art of mind-reading: The case of Dutch eigenlijk. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 43(15):3877–3892.

Beukes, V. 2007. "Die evaluering van 'n nuutgeskepte luisterprogram vir postbeginner studente". Unpublished MA thesis. Stellenbosch University.

Bezuidenhout, A.L. & Morris, R.K. 2004. Implicature, relevance and default pragmatic inference. In I. Noveck & D. Sperber (eds.). *Experimental Pragmatics*. London, UK: Palgrave. pp. 257–282.

Blakemore, D. 1987. *Semantic Constraints on Relevance*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Blakemore, D. 1990. Constraints on interpretation. In *Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society. Parasession on the Legacy of Grice*. Berkeley, CA, USA: Berkeley Linguistics Society. pp. 363–370.

Blakemore, D. 1996. Are apposition markers discourse markers? *Journal of Linguistics*. 32(2):325–347.

Blakemore, D. 2000. Indicators and procedures: *nevertheless* and *but*. *Journal of Linguistics*. 36(3):463–486.

Blakemore, D. 2001. Discourse and relevance theory. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, & H.E. Hamilton (eds.). *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Massachusetts, USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. pp. 100–117.

Blakemore, D. 2002. *Relevance and Linguistic Meaning: The Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse Markers*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Blakemore, D. 2003. Re-visiting procedural meaning: "but", "however" and "nevertheless". *Paper delivered at Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics (GURT 2003)*.

Blakemore, D. 2007. "Or"-parentheticals, "that is"-parentheticals and the pragmatics of reformulation. *Journal of Linguistics*. 43(2):311–339.

Blakemore, D. 2008. Apposition and affective communication. *Language and Literature*. 17(1):37–57.

Blakemore, D. 2011. On the descriptive ineffability of expressive meaning. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 43(14):3537–3550.

Blakemore, D. & Carston, R. 1999. The pragmatics of "and"-conjunctions: The non-narrative cases. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics*. 11:1–20.

Blakemore, D. & Gallai, F. 2014. Discourse markers in free indirect style and interpreting. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 60:106–120.

Bokamba, E.G. 1992. The Africanization of English. In Kachru, B.B. (ed.). *The Other Tougue: English Across Cultures*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press. pp. 125–147.

Bolden, G.B. 2009. Implementing incipient actions: The discourse marker "so" in English conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 41(5):974–998.

Bonn, G. 2015. Primary process emotion, identity, and culture: Cultural identification's roots in basic motivation. *Frontiers in Psychology*. 6:1–3.

Branford, W. & Claughton, J.S. 2002. Mutual lexical borrowings among some languages of Southern Africa: Xhosa, Afrikaans and English. In Mesthrie, R. (ed.). *Language in South Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. pp. 199–215.

Brinton, L.J. & Traugott, E.C. 2005. *Lexicalization and Language Change: Research Surveys in Linguistics*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bristowe, A., Oostendorp, M. & Anthonissen, C. 2014. Language and youth identity in a multilingual setting: A multimodal repertoire approach. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*. 32(2):229–245.

Burchfield, R.W. Ed. 1998. *The New Fowler's Modern English Usage*. 3rd. Revis ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bybee, J.L. & Pagliuca, W. 1985. Cross-linguistic comparison and the development of grammatical meaning. In Fisiak, J. (ed.). *Historical Semantics, Historical Word-formation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 59–83.

Cameron, D., McAliden, F. & O'Leary, K. 1988. Lakoff in context: The social and linguistic functions of tag questions. In Coates, J. & Cameron, D. (eds.). *Women in Their Speech Communities*. London: Longman Group Limited. pp. 74–93.

Capone, A. 2005. Pragmemes (a study with reference to English and Italian). *Journal of Pragmatics*. 37(9):1355–1371.

Carston, R. 1998. The semantics/pragmatics distinction: a view from Relevance Theory. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics*. 10:1–30.

Carston, R. 2002. *Thoughts and Utterances: The Pragmatics of Explicit Communication*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Carston, R. 2008. Linguistic communication and the semantics/pragmatics distinction. *Synthese*. 165(3):321–345.

Carston, R. 2012. Word meaning and concept expressed. *Linguistic Review*. 29(4):607–623.

Carston, R. 2016a. Contextual adjustment of meaning. In Riemer, N. (ed.). *The Routledge Handbook of Semantics*. New York: Routledge. pp. 195–210.

Carston, R. 2016b. The heterogeneity of procedural meaning. *Lingua*. 154–166.

Carston, R. & Powell, G. 2005. Relevance theory: New directions and developments. In Lepore, E. &Smith, B.C. (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Language*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Carston, R. & Wearing, C. 2015. Hyperbolic language and its relation to metaphor and irony. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 79:79–92.

Casasanto, D. & Lupyan, G. 2015. All Concepts are ad hoc concepts. In Laurence, S. & Margolis, E. (eds.). *The Conceptual Mind: New Directions in the Study of Concepts*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. pp. 543–566.

Chapman, S. 2011. *Pragmatics*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

Cheng, W. & Warren, M. 2001. "She knows more about Hong Kong than you do isn't it": Tags in Hong Kong conversational English. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 33(9):1419–1439.

Cheshire, J. 2007. Discourse variation, grammaticalisation and stuff like that. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*. 11(2):155–193.

Chick, J.K. 2002. Intercultural miscommunication in South Africa. In Mesthrie, R. (ed.). *Language in South Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. pp. 258–275.

Christopher, A.J. 2011. The union of South Africa censuses 1911-1960: An incomplete record. *Historia*. 56(November):1–18.

Clark, B. 2013. *Relevance Theory*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Clark, B. 2016. Relevance theory and language change. *Lingua*. 175–176:139–153.

Cloete, A.E., Jordaan, A., Liebenberg, H.C. & Lubbe, H.J. 2003. *Etimologiewoordeboek van Afrikaans*. Stellenbosch, South Africa: Buro van die Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal.

Coll, M.U. 2009. "'Anyway'. A formal approach to the syntax and semantics of discourse markers". Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Essex.

Columbus, G. 2009. A corpus-based analysis of invariant tags in five varieties of English. In Renouf, A. & Kehoe, A. (eds.). *Corpus Linguistics: Refinements and Reassessments*. Amsterdam: Rodopi publishers. pp. 401–414.

Columbus, G. 2010. A comparative analysis of invariant tags in three varieties of English. *English World-Wide*. 31(3):288–310.

Comrie, B. 1996. Markedness. In Östman, J.-O. & Verschueren, J. (eds.). *Handbook of Pragmatics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. pp. 1–11.

Condon, S.L. 1986. The discourse functions of OK. *Semiotica*. 60(1/2):73–101.

Condon, S.L. 2001. Discourse ok revisited: Default organization in verbal interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 33(4):491–513.

Croft, W. 2010. The origins of grammaticalization in the verbalization of experience. *Linguistics*. 48(1):1–48.

Croucher, S.M. 2004. Like, you know, what I'm saying: A study of discourse marker frequency in extemporaneous and impromptu speaking. *National Forensic Journal*. 22(2):38–47.

Crystal, D. 1995. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English language*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. 1997. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. 2nd. ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. 2003. *English as a global language*. 2nd. ed. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. 2008. Texting. *English Language Teaching Journal*. 62(1):77–83.

Cuenca, M.-J. 2008. Pragmatic markers in contrast: The case of *well*. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 40(8):1373–1391.

Dahl, Ö. 2001. Inflationary effects in language and elsewhere. *Frequency and the Emergence of Linguistic Structure*. 471–480.

Davies, B. 2005. Communities of practice: Legitimacy not choice. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*. 9(4):557–581.

Deignan, A. 2003. Metaphorical expressions and culture: An indirect link. *Metaphor and Symbol*. 18(4):255–271.

Diewald, G. 2011. Pragmaticalization (defined) as grammaticalization of discourse functions. *Linguistics*. 49(2):365–390.

Donaldson, B.C. 1993. *A Grammar of Afrikaans*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Dubois, S. 1992. Extension particles, etc. *Language Variation and Change*. 4(2):179–203.

Duranti, A. 1997. *Linguistinc anthropology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Eastman, C.M. 1992. Swahili interjections: Blurring language-use/gesture-use boundaries. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 18(2–3):273–287.

Eckardt, R. 2002. Semantic change in grammaticalization. In Katz, G., Reinhard, S., & Reuter, P. (eds.). *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Gesellschaft fur Semantik*. University of Osnabruck. pp. 53–67.

Einenkel, E. 1884. *The Life of Saint Katherine: With Its Latin Original*. London: N. Trubner & Co.

Erman, B. 2001. Pragmatic markers revisited with a focus on *you know* in adult and adolescent talk. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 33:1337–1359.

Evison, J., McCarthy, M. & O'Keeffe, A. 2007. "Looking out for love and all the rest of it": Vague category markers as shared social space. In Cutting, J. (ed.). *Vague language Explored*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. pp. 212–244.

Feng, G. 2008. Pragmatic markers in Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 40(10):1687–1718.

Ferrara, K.W. 1997. Form and function of the discourse marker anyway: Implications for discourse analysis. *Linguistics*. 35(2):343–378.

Filipi, A. & Wales, R. 2003. Differential uses of okay, right, and alright, and their function in signaling perspective shift or maintenance in a map task. *Semiotica*. 147:429–455.

Fischer, K. 2006. *Approaches to Discourse Particles*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Fischer, O. 2013. An inquiry into unidirectionality as a foundational element of grammaticalization: On the role played by analogy and the synchronic grammar system in processes of language change. *Studies in Language*. 37(3):515–533.

Foolen, A. 2012. Pragmatic particles. In Östman, J.-O. & Verschueren, J. (eds.). *Handbook of Pragmatics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Fraser, B. 1996. Pragmatic markers. *Pragmatics*. 6(2):167–190.

Fraser, B. 1999. What are discourse markers? *Journal of Pragmatics*. 31:931–952.

Futrell, R., Mahowald, K. & Gibson, E. 2015. Large-scale evidence of dependency length minimization in 37 languages. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. 112(33):2015–2134.

Gaines, P. 2011. The multifunctionality of discourse operator *Okay*: Evidence from a police interview. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 43(14):3291–3315.

Gasior, W.Z. 2014. "Intercultural pragmatics: An investigation of expressing opinions in Irish English amongst Irish and Polish students". Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Limerick, Ireland.

Giora, R. 1997. Discourse coherence and theory of relevance: Stumbling blocks in search of a unified theory. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 27(1):17–34.

Gold, E. 2005. Canadian *eh*?: A survey of contemporary use. *Proceedings of the 2004 Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association*. 1–12.

Gough, D. 1996. English in South Africa. In Silva, P. (ed.). *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. pp. xvii–xix.

Greenbaum, S. & Nelson, G. 1996a. Introduction. *World Englishes*. 15(1):1–2.

Greenbaum, S. & Nelson, G. 1996b. The International Corpus of English (ICE) Project. *World Englishes*. 15(1):3–15.

Groefsema, M. 1995. *Can*, *may*, *must* and *should*: A Relevance theoretic account. *Journal of Linguistics*. 31(1):53–79.

Grossman, E. & Noveck, I.A. 2015. What can historical linguistics and experimental pragmatics offer each other? *Linguistics Vanguard*. 1(1):145–153.

Gupta, A.F. 2006. Epistemic modalities and the discourse particles of Singapore. In Fischer, K. (ed.). *Approaches to Discourse Particles*. Amsterdam: Elsevier. pp. 244–263.

Guy, G.R. 2003. Variationist approaches to phonological change. In Joseph, B.D. & Janda, R.D. (eds.). *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*. Malden, MA USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. pp. 369–400.

Haberland, H. & Mey, J.L. 1977. Editorial: linguistics and pragmatics. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 1(1):1–12.

Haegeman, L. 2014. West Flemish verb-based discourse markers and the articulation of the speech act layer. *Studia Linguistica*. 68(1):116–139.

Han, D. 2011. Utterance production and interpretation: A discourse-pragmatic study on pragmatic markers in English public speeches. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 43(11):2776–2794.

Harris, A.C. 1997. Remarks on grammaticalization. In Butt, M. & Kings, H. (eds.). *Proceedings of the LFG97 Conference*. San Diego: CSLI Publications.

Haselow, A. 2011. Discourse marker and modal particle: The functions of utterance-final then in spoken English. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 43(14):3603–3623.

Haspelmath, M. 1998. Does Grammaticalization Need Reanalysis? *Studies in Language*. 22(2):315–351.

Haspelmath, M. 1999. Why is grammaticalization irreversible? *Linguistics*. 37(6):1043–1068.

Haspelmath, M. 2004. On directionality in language change with particular reference to grammaticalization. In Fischer, O., Norde, M. & Perridon, H. (eds.). *Up and down the cline: The nature of grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. pp. 17–44.

Heine, B. & Kuteva, T. 2003. On contact-induced grammaticalization. *Studies in Language*. 27(3):529–572.

Hewitt, R. 1986. *White Talk Black Talk: Inter-racial Friendship and Communication Amongst Adolescents*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hibbert, L. 1997. A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles: A case of lexical invasion or corpus enhancement? *Lexikos*. 7:265–276.

Himmelman, N.P. 2004. Lexicalization and grammaticization: Opposite or orthogonal? In W. Bisang, N. Himmelmann, & B. Wiemer (eds.). *What Makes Grammaticalization? A Look from its Fringes and its Components*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 21–42.

Holmes, J. 1990. Hedges and boosters in women's and men's speech. *Language and Communication*. 10(3):185–205.

Holmes, J. & Meyerhoff, M. 1999. The community of practice : Theories and methodologies in language and gender research. *Language in Society*. 28(2):173–183.

Hong, Y.-Y., Benet-Martínez, V., Chiu, C.-Y. & Morris, M.W. 2003. Boundaries of cultural influence: Construct activation as a mechanism for cultural differences in social perception. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*. 34(4):453–464.

Hopper, P.J. & Traugott, E.C. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. 2nd. ed. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Huddlestone, K. & Fairhurst, M. 2013. The pragmatic markers *anyway*, *okay*, and *shame*: A South African English corpus study. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus*. 42:93–110.

Hudson, R.A. 1975. The meaning of questions. *Language*. 51(1):1–31.

Ifantidou, E. 1994. "Evidentials and relevance". Unpublished PhD thesis. University College London.

Ifantidou, E. 2005. The semantics and pragmatics of metadiscourse. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 37(9):1325–1353.

Iten, C.B. 2000. "Non-truth-conditional meaning, relevance and concessives". Unpublished PhD thesis. University College London.

Jabeen, F., Rai, M.A. & Arif, S. 2011. A corpus based study of discourse markers in British and Pakistani speech. *International Journal of Language Studies*. 5(4):69–86.

Janda, R.D. & Joseph, B.D. 2003. On language, change, and language change -- or, of history, linguistics, and historical linguistics. In Joseph, B.D. & Janda, R.D. (eds.). *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*. Malden, MA USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. pp. 3–180.

Jeffery, C. 2003. On compiling a corpus of South African English. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*. 21(4):341–344.

Jeffery, C. & van Rooy, B. 2004. Emphasizer *now* in colloquial South African English. *World Englishes*. 23(2):269–280.

Jenkins, J. 2009. *World Englishes: A Resource Book for Students*. 2nd ed. Abingdon: Routledge.

Joseph, B.D. 2004. Rescuing traditional (historical) linguistics from grammaticalization theory. In Fischer, O., Norde, M. & Perridon, H. (eds.). *Up and down the cline: The nature of grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. pp. 45–72.

Jucker, A.H. 1993. The discourse marker *well*: A relevance-theoretical account. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 19(5):435–452.

Jucker, A.H. & Smith, S.W. 1998. And people just you know like "wow": Discourse markers as negotiating strategies. In Jucker, A.H. & Ziv, Y. (eds.). *Discourse Markers: Descriptions and Theory*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. pp. 171–201.

Jucker, A.H. & Ziv, Y. 1998. Discourse markers: Introduction. In Jucker, A.H. & Ziv, Y. (eds.). *Discourse Markers: Descriptions and Theory*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. pp. 1–5.

Kachru, B.B. 1992. *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*. 2nd. ed. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Kavanagh, K. 2000. Words in a cultural context. *Lexikos*. 99–118.

Kecskes, I. 2008. Dueling contexts: A dynamic model of meaning. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 40(3):385–406.

De Klerk, V. 1996. *Focus on South Africa: Varieties of English Around the World*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

De Klerk, V. 2005. Procedural meanings of *well* in a corpus of Xhosa English. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 37:1183–1205.

De Klerk, V. & Gough, D. 2002. Black South African English. In Mesthrie, R. (ed.). *Language in South Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. pp. 356–380.

Knausgaard, K.O. 2015. Karl Ove Knausgaard's passage through America. *The New York Times Magazine*. (March).

Kruger, A. 2004. The role of discourse markers in an Afrikaans stage translation of *The Merchant of Venice*. *Journal of Literary Studies*. 20(3/4):302–334.

Lakoff, G. 1973a. Hedges: A study in meaning criteria and the logic of fuzzy concepts. *Journal of Philosophical Logic*. 2:458–508.

Lakoff, R. 1972. Language in context. *Language*. 48(4):907–927.

Lakoff, R. 1973b. Language and woman's place. *Language in Society*. 2(1):45–80.

Lanham, L.W. 1996. The history of English in South Africa. In De Klerk, V. (ed.). 1996. *Focus on South Africa: Varieties of English Around the World*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. pp. 19–34.

Lanham, L.W. & Macdonald, C.A. 1979. The standard in South African English and its social history. In Görlach, M. (ed.). *Varieties of English Around the World: General series vol. 1*. Heidelberg: Satz und Druck.

LaPolla, R.J. 1997. Grammaticalization as the fossilization of constraints on interpretation: Towards a single theory of communication, cognition, and the development of language. Paper presented at *City University of Hong Kong Seminar in Linguistics,* November 6, 1997.

LaPolla, R.J. 2015. On the logical necessity of a cultural connection for all aspects of linguistic structure. In De Busser, R. (ed.). *Language Structure and Environment: Social, Cultural and Natural Factors*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. pp. 31–44.

Lehmann, C. 2002. New reflections on grammaticalization and lexicalization. In Wischer, I. & Diewald, G. (eds.). *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. pp. 1–18.

Lehmann (Bielefeld), C. 1985. Grammaticalization: Synchronic variation and diachronic change. *Lingua e Stile*. 20:303–318.

Levey, S., Groulx, K. & Roy, J. 2013. A variationist perspective on discourse-pragmatic change in a contact setting. *Language Variation and Change*. 25(2):225–251.

Levin, H. & Gray, D. 1983. The Lecturer's OK. *American Speech*. 58(3):195–200.

Louwerse, M.M. & Mitchell, H.H. 2003. Toward a taxoniomy of a set of discourse markers in dialog: A theoretical and computational linguistic account. *Discourse Processes*. 35(3):199–239.

Martínez, I.M.P. 2011. "I might, I might go I mean it depends on money things and stuff": A preliminary analysis of general extenders in British teenagers' discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 43(9):2452–2470.

Matthews, D. 2014. *23 Maps and Charts on Language*. [Online] http://www.vox.com/2014/11/17/7082317/language-maps-charts

McGraw, J.J., Wallot, S., Mitkidis, P. & Roepstorff, A. 2014. Culture's building blocks: Investigating cultural evolution in a LEGO construction task. *Frontiers in Psychology*. 5:1–12.

Melchers, G. & Shaw, P. 2003. *World Englishes*. London, UK: Arnold Publishers.

Van der Merve, I.J. 1995. Language change in South Africa: A geographical perspective. *GeoJournal*. 37(4):513–523.

Mesthrie, R. 2002a. South Africa: A sociolinguistic overview. In Mesthrie, R. (ed.). *Language in South Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. pp. 11–26.

Mesthrie, R. 2002b. From second language to first language: Indian South African English. In Mesthrie, R. (ed.). *Language in South Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. pp. 339–355.

Mesthrie, R. 2002c. Language change, survival, decline: Indian languages in South Africa. In Mesthrie, R. (ed.). *Language in South Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. pp. 161–176.

Mey, J.L. 2004. Between culture and pragmatics: Scylla and Charybdis? The precarious condition of intercultureal pragmatics. *Intercultural Pragmatics*. 1(1):27–48.

Meyerhoff, M. 1994. Sounds pretty ethnic, eh?: A pragmatic particle in New Zealand English. *Language in Society*. 23(3):367–388.

Miskovic-Lukovic, M. 2009. Is there a chance that I might kinda sort of take you out to dinner?: The role of the pragmatic particles *kind of* and *sort of* in utterance interpretation. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 41(3):602–625.

Moore, E. 2007. "*Yeah-No*: A Discourse Marker in Australian English". Unpublished Honours thesis. The University of Melbourne.

Mosegaard Hansen, M.-B. & Rossari, C. 2005. The evolution of pragmatic markers: Introduction. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*. 6(2):177–187.

Mufwene, S.S. 2015. Colonization, indigenization, and the differential evolution of English: Some ecological perspectives. *World Englishes*. 34(1):6–21.

Müller, S. 2005. *Discourse Markers in Native and Non-native English Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Neilson, W.A. 1999. *Sir Gawain and The Green Knight [translated]*. Cambridge, Ontario: In Parentheses Publications.

Nichols, B. & Pickett, J.P. Eds. 2012. *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. 5th ed. New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company.

Nicolle, S. 1997a. A relevance-theoretic account of *be going to*. *Journal of Linguistics*. 33(2):355–377.

Nicolle, S. 1997b. Conceptual and procedural encoding: Criteria for the identification of linguistically encoded procedural information. In Groefsema, M. (ed.). *Proceedings of the University of Hertfordshire Relevance Theory Workshop*. Chelmsford: Peter Thomas and Associates. pp. 47–56.

Nicolle, S. 1998. A relevance theory perspective on grammaticalization. *Cognitive Linguistics*. 9(1):1–35.

Nicolle, S. 2007. The grammaticalization of tense markers: A pragmatic reanalysis. *Cahiers Chronos*. 17:47–65.

Nicolle, S. 2011. Pragmatic aspects of grammaticalization. In Narrog, H. & Heine, B. (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press pp. 401–412.

Van Niekerk, T. & Wolvaardt, J. (eds.). 2013. *Oxford South African Concise Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Noora, A. & Amouzadeh, M. 2015. Grammaticalization of *Yæ'ni* ('meaning') in Persian. *International Journal of Language Studies*. 9(1):91–122.

Norde, M. 2009. *Degrammaticalisation*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Norde, M. 2012. Lehmann's parameters revisited. In Davidse, K., Breban, T., Brems, L. & Mortelmans, T. (eds.). *Grammaticalization and Language Change: New Reflections*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. pp.73–110.

Norrick, N.R. 1995. *Hunh*-tags and evidentiality in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 23(6):687–692.

Norrick, N.R. 2009a. Interjections as pragmatic markers. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 41(5):866–

891.

Norrick, N.R. 2009b. Pragmatic markers: Introduction. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 41(5):863–865.

Norrick, N.R. 2010. Listening practices in television celebrity interviews. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 42(2):525–543.

Norrick, N.R. 2012. Listening practices in English conversation: The responses responses elicit. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 44(5):566–576.

Norscia, I., Demuru, E. & Palagi, E. 2016. She more than he: Gender bias supports the empathic nature of yawn contagion in Homo sapiens. *Royal Society Open Science*. 3(2):1–9.

Obama, B. 2013. *Remarks of President Barack Obama -- As prepared for delivery: Remembering Nelson Mandela*. Johannesburg, South Africa.

OED. 2009. *Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd. ed. J. Simpson (ed.). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. [Online] http://www.oed.com [Accessed 1 December 2015].

Ohala, J.J. 1981. The listener as a source of sound change. In Masek, C.S. Hendrick, R.A. & Miller, M.F. (eds.). *Papers from the Parasession on Language and Behavior Chicago Linguistic Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago pp.178–203.

Oppenheim, C.E. 2012. Nelson Mandela and the Power of Ubuntu. *Religions*. 3(4):369–388.

Östman, J.-O. 1995. Pragmatic particles twenty years after. In Warvik, B., Tanskanen, S.-K. & Hiltunen, R. (eds.). *Organization in Discourse: Proceedings from the Turku Conference*. University of Turku. pp. 95–108.

OUPSA. 2007. *Oxford Afrikaans – Engels Skoolwoordeboek/English – Afrikaans School Dictionary*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa (Pty) Ltd.

Padilla Cruz, M. 2009. Might interjections encode concepts? More questions than answers. *Ludz Papers in Pragmatics*. 5(2):241–270.

Park, I. 2010. Marking an impasse: The use of *anyway* as a sequence-closing device. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 42(12):3283–3299.

Parviainen, H. 2016. The invariant tag *isn't it* in Asian Englishes. *World Englishes*. 35(1):98–117.

Pettman, C. 1913. *Africanderisms: A Glossary of South African Colloquial Words and Phrases and of Place and Other Names*. London, New York, Bombay and Calcutta: Longmans, Green & Co.

Pickett, J. & Kleinedler, S. (eds.). 2017. *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. 5th ed. Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company. [Online] http://search.credoreference.com

Piirainen, E. 2008. Figurative phraseology and culture. In Granger, S. & Meunier, F. (eds.). *Phraseology: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. pp. 205–228.

Recanati, F. 2013. Précis of truth-conditional pragmatics. *Teorema*. 32(2):57–63.

Redeker, G. 1990. Ideational and pragmatic markers of discourse structure. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 14:367–381.

Rehman, S.N. 1993. The role of media in cross-cultural communication. *Intercultural Communication Studies*. 15–21.

Ritter, J.R. 2012. Recovering hyperbole: Rethinking the limits of rhetoric for an age of excess. *Philosophy and Rhetoric*. 45(2):406–428.

Robinson, J.D. 2014. What "what?" tells us about how conversationalists manage intersubjectivity. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*. 47(2):109–129.

Sanders, T. & Stukker, N. 2012. Causal connectives in discourse: A cross-linguistic perspective. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 44(2):131–137.

Schiffrin, D. 1985. Conversational coherence: The role of *well*. *Language*. 61(3):640–667.

Schiffrin, D. 1987. *Discourse Markers*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Schiffrin, D. 2001. Discourse markers: Language, meaning, and context. In Schiffrin, D., Tannen, D. & Hamilton, H.E. (eds.). *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Massachusetts, USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. pp. 54–75.

Schourup, L. 1999. Discourse markers. *Lingua*. 107(3–4):227–265.

Schourup, L. 2001. Rethinking *well*. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 33(7):1025–1060.

Schourup, L. 2011. The discourse marker *now*: A relevance-theoretic approach. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 43(8):2110–2129.

Siegel, M.E.A. 2002. *Like*: The discourse particle and semantics. *Journal of Semantics*. 19:35–71.

Silva, P., Dore, W., Mantzel, D., Muller, C. & Wright, M. (eds.). 1996. *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press. [Online] http://www.dsae.co.za

Silva, P. 1996. Preface. In Silva, P. (ed.). *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles*. New York: Oxford University Press. pp. vii–ix.

Sinclair, M. 1992. The effects of context on utterance interpretation: Some questions and some answers. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus*. 22:61–90.

Sinclair, M. 1995. Fitting pragmatics into the mind: Some issues in mentalist pragmatics. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 23(5):509–539.

Skotnes, P. 2007. *Claim to the Country: The Archive of Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd*. Ohio: Ohio University Press.

Sperber, D. 1995. How do we communicate. In Brockman, J. & Matson, K. (eds.). *How Things Are: A Science Toolkit for the Mind*. New York: Morrow. pp. 191–199.

Sperber, D. 2000. Metarepresentations in an evolutionary perspective. In Sperber, D. (ed.). *Metarepresentations: A Multidisciplinary Perspective*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. pp. 117–137.

Sperber, D. & Hirschfeld, L.A. 2004. The cognitive foundations of cultural stability and diversity. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*. 8(1):40–46.

Sperber, D. & Noveck, I. 2004. Introduction. In Noveck, I. & Sperber, D. (eds.). *Experimental Pragmatics*. London, UK: Palgrave MacMillan. pp. 1–22.

Sperber, D. & Wilson, D. 1986a. *Relevance: Communication and Cognitiion*. 1st ed. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Sperber, D. & Wilson, D. 1986b. Loose talk. *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*. 86:153–171.

Sperber, D. & Wilson, D. 1987. Precis of Relevance: Communication and cognition. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*. 10:697–754.

Sperber, D. & Wilson, D. 1995. *Relevance: Communication and Cognition*. 2nd ed. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Sperber, D. & Wilson, D. 1997a. The mapping between the mental and the public lexicon. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics*. 9:1–20.

Sperber, D. & Wilson, D. 1997b. Remarks on relevance theory and the social sciences. *Multilingua*. 16:145–151.

Sperber, D. & Wilson, D. 2002. Pragmatics, modularity and mind-reading. *Mind & Language*. 17(1/2):3–23.

Sperber, D. & Wilson, D. 2012. Introduction: Pragmatics. In Wilson, D. & Sperber, D. (eds.). *Meaning and Relevance*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. pp. 1–27.

Sperber, D., Clément, F., Heintz, C., Mascaro, O., Mercier, H., Origgi, G. & Wilson, D. 2010. Epistemic vigilance. *Mind & Language*. 25(4):359–393.

Starks, D., Thompson, L. & Christie, J. 2008. Whose discourse particles? New Zealand *eh* in the Niuean migrant community. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 40(7):1279–1295.

Statistics South Africa. 2012. *Census 2011 - Census in brief*.

Stede, M. & Peldszus, A. 2012. The role of illocutionary status in the usage conditions of causal connectives and in coherence relations. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 44(2):214–229.

Stell, G. & Beyer, H.L. 2012. Interethnic relations and language variation: Language use and identity negotiation among Namibian Coloureds and Whites in interactional settings. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics*. 41:115–139.

Stenström, A.-B., Andersen, G. & Hasund, I.K. 2002a. Teenagers' use of tags. In Stenström, A.-B., Andersen, G. & Hasund, I.K. (eds.). *Trends in Teenage Talk*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. pp. 165–191.

Stenström, A.-B., Andersen, G. & Hasund, I.K. 2002b. *Trends in Teenage Talk*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Stivers, T. 2010. An overview of the question-response system in American English conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 42(10):2772–2781.

Sweetser, E.E. 1988. Grammaticalization and semantic bleaching. *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. pp. 389–405.

Tagliamonte, S. 2005. *So who*? *Like how*? *Just what*? Discourse markers in the conversations of young Canadians. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 37(11):1896–1915.

Tagliamonte, S.A. & Denis, D. 2010. The stuff of change: General extenders in Toronto, Canada. *Journal of English Linguistics*. 38(4):335–368.

Terraschke, A. 2010. *Or so, oder so*, *and stuff like that*—general extenders in New Zealand English, German and in learner language. *Intercultural Pragmatics*. 3(2010):449–469.

The Urban Dictionary. 2016. [Online] http://www.urbandictionary.com

Thomas, J. 1995. *Meaning in Interaction: An Introduction to Pragmatics*. Essex, England: Longman Group Limited.

Thomason, S.G. 2005. Contact as a source of language change. In Joseph, B.D. & Janda, R.D. (eds.). *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*. Malden, MA USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. pp. 687–712.

Thompson, L. 2014. *A History of South Africa*. 4th ed. Jappestown, South Africa: Jonathan Ball Publishers (Pty.) Ltd.

Thompson, W.F. & Balkwill, L.-L. 2006. Decoding speech prosody in five languages. *Semiotica*. 4:407–424.

Tomaselli, M.V. & Gatt, A. 2015. Italian tag questions and their conversational functions. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 84:54–82.

Torgersen, E.N., Gabrielatos, C., Hoffmann, S. & Fox, S. 2011. A corpus-based study of pragmatic markers in London English. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*. 7(1):93–118.

Tottie, G. & Hoffmann, S. 2006. Tag questions in British and American English. *Journal of English Linguistics*. 34(4):283–311.

Tottie, G. & Hoffmann, S. 2009. Tag questions in English: The first century. *Journal of English Linguistics*. 37(2):130–161.

Traugott, E.C. 1995. The role of the development of discourse markers in a theory of Grammaticalization. Paper presented at *ICHL XII, Manchester 1995*.

Traugott, E.C. 2003. Constructions in grammaticalization. In Joseph, B.D. & Janda, R.D. (eds.). *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*. Malden, MA USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. pp. 624–647.

Traugott, E.C. 2010a. (Inter)subjectivity and (inter)subjectification: A reassessment. In Davidse, K., Vandelanotte, L. & Cuyckens, H. (eds.). *Subjectification, Intersubjectification and Grammaticalization*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. pp. 29–70.

Traugott, E.C. 2010b. Grammaticalization. In 1st. ed. S. Luraghi & V. Bubenik (eds.). New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic *Continuum Companion to Historical Linguistics*. 269–283.

Traugott, E.C. 2012. Pragmatics and language change. In Allan, K. & Jaszczolt, K. (eds.). *The Cambridge Handbook of Pragmatics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. pp. 549–566.

Trudgill, P. & Hannah, J. 1982. *International English: A Guide to Varieties of Standard English*. London, UK: Edward Arnold.

Trudgill, P. & Hannah, J. 2002. *International English: A Guide to the Varieties of Standard English*. 4th ed. London: Arnold.

Waltereit, R. & Detges, U. 2007. Different functions, different histories. Modal particles and discourse markers from a diachronic point of view. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*. 6:61–80.

Wardhaugh, R. 2006. *An Intorduction to Sociolinguistics*. 5th ed. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Westby, C. 2014. Issue editor foreword: Theory of mind and language development and disorders. *Topics in Language Disorders*. 34(4):277–281.

Wharton, T. 2016. That bloody so-and-so has retired: Expressives revisited. *Lingua*. 175–176:20–35.

Whelton, C. 2011. What happens in vagueness stays in vagueness: The decline and fall of American English, and stuff. *City Journal*. [Online] https://www.city-journal.org/html/what-happens-vagueness-stays-vagueness-13366.html

Wichmann, A. 2007. Can English tag questions grammaticalise? *Nouveaux Cahiers de Linguistique Française*. 28:349–357.

Wilson, D. 1994. Relevance and understanding. In Brown, G., Malmkjaer, K., Pollitt, A. & Williams, J. (eds.). *Language and Understanding*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. pp. 37–58.

Wilson, D. 1999. Metarepresentation in linguistic communication. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics*. 11:127–161.

Wilson, D. 2004. Relevance and lexical pragmatics. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics*. 16:343–360.

Wilson, D. 2011. The conceptual-procedural distinction: Past, present and future. In Escandell-Vidal, V., Leonette, M. & Ahern, A. (eds.). *Procedural Meaning: Problems and Perspectives*. Bingley: Emerald. pp. 3–31.

Wilson, D. 2016a. Reassessing the conceptual-procedural distinction. *Lingua*. 175–176:5–19.

Wilson, D. 2016b. Relevance theory. In Huang, Y. (ed.). *Oxford Handbook of Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, D. & Carston, R. 2006. Metaphor, relevance and the "emergent property" issue. *Mind & Language*. 21(3):404–433.

Wilson, D. & Carston, R. 2007. A unitary approach to lexical pragmatics: Relevance, inference and ad hoc concepts. In Burton-Roberts, N. (ed.). *Pragmatics*. London, UK: Palgrave MacMillan. pp. 230–259.

Wilson, D. & Matsui, T. 1998. Recent approaches to bridging: Truth, coherence, relevance. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics*. 10:1–28.

Wilson, D. & Sperber, D. 1993. Linguistic form and relevance. *Lingua*. 90(1993):1–25.

Wilson, D. & Sperber, D. 2002a. Truthfulness and relevance. *Mind*. 111(443):583–632.

Wilson, D. & Sperber, D. 2002b. Relevance theory. *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics*. 14:249–290.

Wilson, D. & Sperber, D. 2002c. Relevance theory: A tutorial. In Otsu, Y. (ed.) *Proceedings of the Third Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics*.

Wilson, D. & Sperber, D. 2004. Relevance theory. In Horn, L.R. & Ward, G. (eds.). *The Handbook of Pragmatics*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd. pp. 607–632.

Wilson, D. & Sperber, D. 2012. *Meaning and Relevance*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wilson, D. & Wharton, T. 2006. Relevance and prosody. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 38(10):1559–1579.

Yu, Q. 2014. Understanding the impact of culture on interpretation: A relevance theoretic perspective. *Intercultural Communication Studies*. 3(XXIII):83–103.

Zufferey, S. & Popescu-Belis, A. 2004a. Towards automatic identification of discourse markers in dialogs: The case of *like*. *Proceedings of the 5th SIGdial Workshop on Discourse and Dialogue*. pp. 63–71.

Zufferey, S. & Popescu-Belis, A. 2004b. *Annotation of discourse markers* (like, well) *in the ICSI-MR corpus*. [Online] http://www.issco.unige.ch/en/research/projects/im2/mdm/data/discourse-markers/ [Accessed 16 June 2014].

Dictionary references for tokens

"ag". 1996. *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles*. [Online], Available: http://www.dsae.co.za/#!/search/hws/ag/sY/pN

"aw". 2009. *Oxford English Dictionary*. [Online], Available: http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/13853?redirectedFrom=aw#eid.

"eh". 2009. *Oxford English Dictionary*. [Online], Available: http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/59961?rskey=mny8gH&result=1#eid

"foeitog". 1996. *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles*. [Online], Available: http://www.dsae.co.za/#!/search/xref/e02428

"hear". 2009. *Oxford English Dictionary*. [Online], Available: http://www.oed.com./view/Entry/85048?rskey=qSuAQQ&result=2&isAdvanced=false#eid1883652.

"hey". 1996. *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles*. [Online], Available: http://www.dsae.co.za/#!/search/hws/hey/sY/pN

"hey". 2009. *Oxford English Dictionary*. [Online], Available: http://www.oed.com/search?searchType=dictionary&q=hey&_searchBtn=Search

"huh". 2009. *Oxford English Dictionary*. [Online], Available: http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/89197?redirectedFrom=huh#eid

"is-it". 1996. *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles*. [Online], Available: http://www.dsae.co.za/#!/search/hws/is it/sN/pN

"is-it". 2009. *Oxford English Dictionary*. [Online], Available: http://www.oed.com/search?searchType=dictionary&q=is+it&_searchBtn=Search

"is-it". n.d. *The Urban Dictionary*. [Online], Available: http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=is it&utm_source=search-action

"oh". 2009. *Oxford English Dictionary*. [Online], Available: http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/130854?rskey=i1yrcZ&result=3&isAdvanced=false#eid.

"shame". 1996. *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles*. [Online], Available: http://www.dsae.co.za/#!/search/hws/shame/sN/pN

"shame". 2009. *Oxford English Dictionary*. [Online], Available: http://www.oed.com/search?searchType=dictionary&q=shame&_searchBtn=Search

"siestog". 1996. *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles*. [Online], Available: http://www.dsae.co.za/#!/search/xref/e06461

Appendix A: Terminology

Appendix A.1

Grammaticalisation theory terminology

Cline of grammaticality (*-grammaticalisation*): changes to a lexical item that illustrate the process of change during grammaticalisation.

Grammaticalisation (also, *grammaticalization*, *grammaticization*): a type of unidirectional language change that occurs when lexical items are used in certain contexts to represent non-conventional grammatical functions. Changes may involve the following areas of grammar: syntax, morphology, semantics, pragmatics and phonology. Grammaticalisation typically results in pragmatic strengthening, semantic shift, and morphosyntactic and/or morphophonological constructions affecting articulatory production and formal properties of a lexical expression.

Intersubjectification: grammaticalisation of a lexical item that occurs as a result of *subjectivity*, which is the speaker's use and interpretation of pragmatic meaning in relation to the assumptions she attributes to her audience; intersubjectivity is hearer-oriented.

Obligatorification: language change that results when a speaker's linguistic choices become more specified or restricted in certain contexts.

Subjectification: grammaticalisation of a lexical item that occurs as a result of *subjectivity*, which is the speaker's use of language and her interpretation of pragmatic meaning in relation to her worldview (i.e., her beliefs, needs, preferences and background knowledge); subjectivity is speaker-oriented.

Appendix A.2

Relevance theory terminology

Ad hoc concepts: concepts that are pragmatically adjusted by the hearer during utterance interpretation, either by narrowing and/or broadening, to make sense out of the proposition given the context in which it is presented.

Assumptions: an individual's existing ideas and beliefs that are held more-or-less as facts; these are "thoughts treated by the individual as representations of the actual world (as opposed to fictions, desires, or representations of representations)" (Sperber & Wilson, 1995: 2). Essentially,

assumptions are guesses – treated as facts – that both the speaker and hearer make about their own and each other's cognitive environments and intentions during ostensive communication.

Context: all manner of perceived input to an individual; assumptions, encyclopaedic knowledge, beliefs and all perceived situational stimuli, including the presented utterance.

Cognitive effects (also, *contextual effects*): What Sperber and Wilson (1995) originally referred to as *contextual effects* are now referred to in their more recent literature as (*positive-*) *cognitive effects*, and a contextual effect is the presentation of a possible cognitive effect (Sperber & Wilson, 2012: 6). With the hearer's realisation of the contextual effect, i.e., when it is manifest to the hearer, it becomes a cognitive effect. Cognitive effects are potentially relevant information that may connect with or be added to an individual's background assumptions or cognitive environment. Because Relevance theory is a cognitive-inferential approach to analysing communication, Relevance theorists take the perspective of the communicators within the communicative event as opposed to third-party analysts (Clark, 2013: 101).

Cognitive environment: the sets of *assumptions* that are manifest to individuals and serve to outline their worldview.

Cognitive representations: the communicators' thoughts.

Conceptual encoding: (representational) conceptual expressions or items encode concepts (e.g., *tree*, *sphere*, *run*, *four*), "which are constituents of a *language of thought*" (Wilson, 2016a: 11).

Contextual implications (also *-implicatures*): the formation of new assumptions derived from new information that interacts with existing assumptions during inferential interpretation. Contextual implicatures cannot be derived from either the contextual effects or previously held assumptions alone.

Epistemic vigilance: cognitive skills that assist in avoiding confusion or misinformation (Sperber et al., 2010).

Explicature: (explicit information) ostensively communicated information constrained by both the linguistically encoded utterance and contextual assumptions – that is, combined semantic-pragmatic and contextual constraints.

Extent conditions:

Extent condition 1: an assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that its contextual effects [i.e., positive cognitive effects –AG] in the context are large.

Extent condition 2: an assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that the effort required to process it in this context is small.

Higher-order explicatures: an inferential interpretation derived from the combination of linguistically encoded utterances, context and a form of mind-reading, or the ability to use the speaker's utterance as evidence for understanding the speaker's connection to that utterance and from that, forming extra-meaning about the speaker's intentions and attitude.

Implicature: (implicit information) ostensively communicated information constrained by contextual assumptions alone (i.e., no semantic constraints), in particular, by those assumptions triggered and retrieved from encyclopaedic memory.

Manifest: "to be manifest […] is to be perceptible or inferable" (Sperber & Wilson, 1995: 39).

Mutually manifest knowledge: the set of shared assumptions between communicators (Sperber & Wilson, 1995: 39).

Optimal relevance: the result of cognitive effects outweighing processing effort.

Ostensive communication: the speaker's deliberate and overt demonstration of the intent to communicate.

Presumption of optimal relevance (revised): (a) The ostensive stimulus is relevant enough for it to be worth the addressee's effort to process it. (b) The ostensive stimulus is the most relevant one compatible with the communicator's abilities and preferences (Sperber & Wilson, 1995: 270).

Principles of Relevance:

Cognitive Principle of Relevance: Human cognition tends to be geared to the maximisation of relevance

Communicative Principle of Relevance: Every act of ostensive communication creates a presumption of relevance (Sperber & Wilson, 2012: 6)

Procedural encoding: (computational) procedural expressions or items (e.g., *although*, *so*, *well*) provide constraints on utterance interpretation and "are systematically linked to *states of language users*" (Wilson, 2016a: 11).

Relevance: "a property of inputs to cognitive processes which makes them worth processing" (Wilson, 1999: 62).

Relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure: (a) Follow a path of least effort in computing cognitive effects: Test interpretive hypotheses (disambiguations, reference resolutions, implicatures, etc.) in order of accessibility. (b) Stop when your expectations of relevance are satisfied (Wilson & Sperber, 2004: 611).[174]

---

[174] Also referred to as the *relevance-guided comprehension heuristic* (Sperber & Noveck, 2004: 6–7).

Appendix B: Phonetic chart

Table B.1: Phonetic chart

Vowels		Consonants		Symbols	
/iː/	seat	/p/	<u>p</u>ig	/ˡ/	unreleased
/ɪ/	sit	/b/	<u>b</u>ig	/ʰ/	released
/ɛ/	set	/t/	<u>t</u>in		
/a/	sat	/d/	<u>d</u>in		
/ə/	cut	/k/	<u>k</u>in		
/ɑː/	car	/g/	got		
/ɒ/	cot	/h/	<u>h</u>ot		
/ɔː/	caught	/m/	<u>m</u>ap		
/ʊ/	could	/n/	<u>n</u>ap		
/uː/	cool	/ŋ/	wi<u>ng</u>		
/ɜː/	curl	/l/	wi<u>ll</u>		
/eɪ/	kale	/r/	<u>r</u>ed		
/aɪ/	kite	/w/	<u>w</u>ed		
/ɔɪ/	toy	/j/	<u>y</u>ou		
/əʊ/	toe	/ʧ/	<u>ch</u>in		
/aʊ/	how	/ʤ/	gin		
/ɪə/	hear	/f/	<u>f</u>an		
/ɛə/	hair	/v/	<u>v</u>an		
/ʊə/	tour	/θ/	<u>th</u>ick		
		/ð/	<u>th</u>ese		
Diacritics		/s/	<u>s</u>o		
/ː/	elongated	/z/	<u>z</u>oo		
	vowel	/ʃ/	<u>sh</u>e		
		/ʒ/	<u>g</u>enre		

Appendix C: *Shame* tokens from the SAfE data

Table C.1: *Shame* tokens

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicate researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Resp. or Narrative	File
	ICE-SA: *shame*					
25	S3: the Germans, do they have humour? [laughter] Some of them do, some of them do S1: *shame* ... ja, we sung the Ger German national anthem ...	1	euphemistic softening of potential offense	Hortatory	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-003.txt
	M: … wherever she goes and all day and all night she carries her little penguin… it's a little you know ... S: little fluffy ... M: she, she just always wants it. If she doesn't have that she's quite miserable S: *uh, uh shame* the poor penguins M: so I wanted to show her that	1	sympathy, amusement, affection	Affective	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-015.txt
	A: ja well it climbs all over them all the time I: like ... like those kids at ... Port Nolloth S: mm, bit like that I: *shame*	1	endearment; euphemistic softening	Hortatory & Affective	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-023.txt
	C: … it went absolutely flat 'cause Ray doesn't realise he closed the door and her finger was in and then he tried to lift her up ... she ... S: *ag shame* C: it was terrible R: she was devastated C: oh do you blame her	1	pity, sorrow, sympathy/empathy	Affective	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-024.txt
22	R: She's totally ... clueless S: she's not really, she's terribly ... terribly shy C: *oh shame*	1	sympathy; euphemistic softening	Hortatory & Affective	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-025.txt

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicate researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Resp. or Narrative	File
	(speakers discuss scheduling a party) B: … let's make it the fifteenth of April, Friday the fifteenth … excellent (S: ...uh) Sheila said we could have it at hers, some you know I, I don't mind, it just means that ... to get rid of my kids or something you know... I was thinking of coming on my own for a change, so umm sure she's quite happy. All right S: if she can't then I can ... [but --AG] start with her B: *oh*, no but *shame*. Ja, ja, she, she sort of wanted to have ...	1	*euphemistic softning of an inconvenience*	*Hortatory*	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-027.txt
	(the end of long story/joke being told) "…Can you help us?" and the farmer, also wanting a degree of qualification said, "how many them are you?" and the corporal said, "twenty-nine without Cox." "*ag shame*" said the farmer [laughter] that's where it comes from G: ag shame S: you can't say "ag shame" ever again quite, quite as you used to.	1	sympathy/empathy, pity	Affective	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-028.txt
	(the end of long story/joke being told) "…Can you help us?" and the farmer, also wanting a degree of qualification said, "how many them are you?" and the corporal said, "twenty-nine without Cox." "ag shame" said the farmer [laughter] that's where it comes from G: *ag shame* S: you can't say "ag shame" ever again qhite, quite as you used to.	1	euphemistic softening *[repetition]*	Hortatory	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-028.txt
26	(looking at photos) J: … ok there they're coming out of the church. That's Jeremy who's half Diana's fighting weight, but S: *oh shame*, ... she's going to be a large lady J: she is a large lady	1	euphemistic softening of social impropriety	Hortatory	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-033.txt
	A: no no Judy (unclear words) B: *oh shame* A: no no nothing honestly	1	*euphemistic softening?*	*Hortatory*	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-037.txt

210

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicate researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Resp. or Narrative	File
	A: whoever, you know, something captured for a long time Megan B: *shame* A: and and now ... and they played it	1	*sympathy?*	*Affective*	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-042.txt
18	F: I daren't take him up if he sees anybody in my flat he … absolute [laughter] B: is he Buller A: *ag shame* man B: he never looks	1	*euphemistic softening of potential offense*	*Hortatory*	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-043.txt
	(topic: buying a house) C: then what's happening about it F: Well she put in her offer for whatever it was … and uh nothing's happened. The lady's waiting to see [unclear words] ... C: [unclear words] make an offer yet F: they've submitted an offer C: [unclear words] F: no, um well though nobody knows because ... There're no agents involved B: *shame* C: [unclear words] Europe (unclear word] or America	1	*dismay, sympathy/empathy*	Affective	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-043.txt
24	C: … I think there're about four loos and the queues … and it's quite amazing B: rent-a-loos C: yea B: *oh shame* [laughter]	1	euphemistic softening	Hortatory	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-043.txt
	P: cheers Duncan, cheers Mary, bye bye H: ... Saturday P: oh did you go on Saturday? … [inaudible] *oh* yes *shame* … yes, yes ... cheers Addi S: bye	1	*endearment*	*Affective*	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-044.txt
	I: … he was moaning like a drain 'cause some child had dropped his bicycle over the edge into the flowers S. *ooh shame* ... his existence is very peculiar he sort of has this little room in the school	1	euphemistic softening; sympathy	Hortatory & Affective	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-048.txt
	A: I got there and his eyes had like a film of dust on them … all over and he was gasping for breath the whole time C: Yes, *Oh shame* D: and was he conscious A: I don't think so	1	sympathy/empathy, dismay	Affective	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-051.txt

211

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicate researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Resp. or Narrative	File
17	B: It's sore … I don't know A: *Shame*. So do you think you must go to a dentist	1	sympathy/empathy	Affective	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-051.txt
	A: … My Oupa died yesterday. C: Did he *Ag shame*. A: No, well I don't know I had a feeling that I mean I had to go round yesterday.	1	sympathy, sorrow	Affective	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-051.txt
	A: Yes I was there. I watched … I watched him die. C: *Shame*. A: And he … But I was ... He had Alzheimer's disease	1	sympathy, sorrow	Affective	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-051.txt
	B: Well she's up and about but I don't think her back is is uh uh right yet A: *Oh shame* B: Ja	1	sympathy/empathy	Affective	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-059.txt
	B: *Shame* what's wrong with Maria C: Ja. She thought it was cancer all the way B: Ag shame	1	sympathy/empathy; euphemistic softening of unpleasant topic	Hortatory & Affective	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-063.txt
	B: Shame what's wrong with Maria C: Ja. She thought it was cancer all the way B: *Ag shame*	1	sympathy/empathy, dismay, sorrow	Affective	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-063.txt
	B: Did, did old Lister do us a favour when he planted these Port Jacksons or A: *Shame* you know he thought so uhm B: Why didn't he put in Rooikrantz A: I don't know. You see uh uhm the Port Jacksons had a very big effect even on our beaches…Because uh B: Yes. That was a pos, positive effect wasn't it. Or was it A: On the long term no actually not. It stopped at the drifts and that formed the beaches B: Yes A: So [unclear words] B: So it was good for building houses but not so good for forming beaches A:	2	euphemistic softening of social offence (x2)	Hortatory & Affective	R (x2)	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-077.txt

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicate researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Resp. or Narrative	File
	Yah B: Oh. So in the long term it wasn't such a success A: *Shame*. But I, I think he really tried. He just didn't know.					
	A: uh that's fantastic. My husband's struggling a bit more than you he's really not a happy chappy ... (X: *uh shame*) … at the moment but I think they have sort of other stuff as well that's going on there	1	sympathy	Affective	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-093.txt
	(classroom; lecturer instructing class to draw borders on posters using special pens) A: Okay, you've two minutes, only two minutes [unclear sentence] you can lay them on the table if you want you can bring the table there [unclear sentence] Whichever one you like [unlcear words] I: Los dit ek sal dit later doen A: 15 seconds [unclear] I: [unclear sentence] Hoe gaan [unclear] border gemaak Those who [unclear sentences] that lady knows how to make [unclear sentence] B: *Oh shame* [laughter] A: I think this is one test you all going to pass [laughter]	1	*euphemistic softening of uncomfortable situation*	*Hortatory & Affective*	R	ice-sa_spoken\s1b-011.txt
21	A: Christopher was … had to go into town just to show somebody something that he'd done on the computer, and so he went in with James and then they went to Groote Schuur, and *shame* they bought her some flowers and some … a card or whatever which I thought was quite sweet	1	sympathy; euphemistic softening of unpleasant topic	Hortatory & Affective	N	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-004.txt
29	A: ... and I didn't have to look at my watch once and think ooh gosh you know it's three o'clock I must be somewhere or does Moira have to be there or should I be at home or *shame* Moira's there on her own or, you know, none of that	1	sympathy, affection	Affective	N	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-009.txt
20	S: they always said he was the only moffie dog they'd ever met [laughter] *shame* … you were spayed so early you don't know the difference	1	amusement; euphemistic softening of uncomfortable topic	Hortatory & Affective	N	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-024.txt

213

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicate researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Resp. or Narrative	File
	S: are we going to have that … you, you muttered about a party? B: a party, yes we're gonna have a party oh yes indeed (S: tell me) we're gonna have two parties, we're going to have … D: [unclear] B: No, *shame* he didn't know the university was closed on Sharpville day. Were you the only person here? D: uh yea, actually no um Professor Love Nigel Love was here as well.	1	*sympathy; euphemistic softening of potential embarrassment*	*Hortatory & Affective*	N	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-027.txt
	B: … but we have a whole fifty rand ... for a party ... a whole fifty rand for this class medal party, so I said *shame* ... phone her about it, so, well, we'll organize that	1	dismay	Affective	N	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-027.txt
	I: 'cause I know last year you had Prof Versveld and nobody could hear him S. yes it was very interesting ... Ja, *shame* ... it was because the um the girl who was the Chairperson	1	dismay; euphemistic softening	Hortatory & Affective	N	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-048.txt
	A: … I think it's more C: It would be yes *shame*. But he's doing well isn't he B: Oh well they're trying very hard and he wants to open a new office now.	1	sympathy/empathy; euphemistic softening of unfortunate event	Hortatory & Affective	N	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-053.txt
	(lecturer) A: To draw the crooked line is, I take whatever colour I fancy and all I do is I look at the bor… the borderline … of my frame and I'm going to take the flat side of my pen and I'm going to draw a line from there to there and I'm going to go crooked on purpose - up there I am and I go along here and here ... *Shame* … on purpose you see [unclear] they say [quote] but you know you're so artistic [quote] and I smile [unclear] [laughter]	1	*self-deprecation? sarcasm?*	*Affective*	N	ice-sa_spoken\s1b-011.txt
Interviews tokens						**Tape / page**
	G: We saw him when he was a few months old for three days. That's all we know him. R: *Shame*, are they planning to visit? South Africa again soon?	1	pity, sorrow; euphemistic softening	Hortatory & Affective	R	120331_002 / 15

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicate researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Resp. or Narrative	File
16	G: One of the most favourite sayings was *sha-ame*. R: *Shame, shame*? G: Everything is *sha-ame*. Whether it was a happy or a sad event, it *sha-ame*.	[5]	[not analysed]		[not counted]	120331_002 / 17
	C: She had many sisters, aunts who being you know being orphaned and there was nobody really, not to look after her so she was palmed off from aunty to aunty whenever she had to find somewhere to live as a little girl. R: *Shame*.	1	*sympathy; euphemistic softening of sad memory?*	*Hortatory & Affective*	R	120331_003 / 4
28	C: He was in London. He came from a family of I think seven girls and he was the eighth child, a boy. R: *Okay, shame*. And can you remember the place in Ireland he must have come from?	1	lighthearted aumsed sympathy	Affective	R	120331_003 / 4
	C: And a friend of mine, a house down the road, Harold Rogers, his daughter was a darling thing and was also an only child and he said to me, I'll pay for you to go Daphne, which of course you know wasn't allowed and his daughter couldn't even get through matric. R: *Shame*. C: Was a shame.	1	sympathy	Affective	R	120331_004 / 14
27	C: Anyway, all I was lacking was an older brother. R: *Shame*.	1	*lighthearted amused sympathy*	*Affective*	R	120331_004 / 20
23	C: Yes, my mom played quite a bit, but my dad wasn't musical *shame*	1	euphemistic softening	Hortatory	N	120331_005 / 24
Butterfly collecting						**Data source**
19	(After looking into pram, a comment from woman on another woman's newborn baby) A: *Aw, shame*	1	warm affection	Affective	R	Overheard outside of Rhenish Primary School in Stellenbosch

215

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicate researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Resp. or Narrative	File
	Totals:	**42 tokens**		**33 Affective 21 Hortatory**	**33 resp. 9 narrative**	

Examples of traditional use and phrase from ICE-SA

	I said that his death was an unspeakable crime … and that these past few weeks have probed beneath the surface of South Africa's *shame*		disgrace		traditional sense	ice-sa_spoken\s1b-064.txt
	A: So you had this beautiful scenery … but uh you couldn't really enjoy it B: What a *shame*. Well I can't help feeling that it must have changed fairly dramatically.		sympathy, sorrow		conventional phrase	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-081.txt
	C: And a friend of mine, a house down the road, Harold Rogers, his daughter was a darling thing and was also an only child and he said to me, I'll pay for you to go Daphne, which of course you know wasn't allowed and his daughter couldn't even get through matric. R: Shame. C: Was a *shame*.		sympathy, sorrow		conventional phrase	120331_004 / 14

216

Appendix D: *Hey* tokens from the SAfE data

Table D.1: *Hey* tokens

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	File
	ICE-SA: tag *hey*				
43	(discussion about vineyard growth) B: No, there's always fighting and … C: Ja A: See this vine is shooting *hey* this one here. B: You must replace this wood before they start	1	elicits attention; invites engagement	Hortatory	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-063.txt
	S4: I think it's pro really is I'm sure that in fact Bruce smoked S1: although none of ... none of Gavin's friends smoke *hey* (S4: oh) S2: Bruce's Stellenbosch friends smoke ... none of his Cape Town friends smoke	1	elicits attention; marks contrast	Hortatory	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-007.txt
	(discussion about C's dog) C: ... to me it's awful ... she should've been on a farm like Ray and ... *hey* ... eating all the... R: loves the garden S: they've finally arrived	1	elicits attention; seeks agreement or invites engagement	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-024.txt
	A: Eh You want to employ me like that I'll give you my price. I want … to get paid … for cleaning the carpet cleaning the room making the beds I want to get paid for it. B: Do I get paid for it? I don't get paid for it. A wife shouldn't get paid for it. C: That's what my wife says (laugh, cough) B: No ... I mean A: It's part of the ... part of the marriage bond. B: That's the punishment for the woman *hey* C: Yes B: Oh I see C: For the apple in paradise they say ... So they say.	1	emphasizes sarcasm, expresses engagement by challenging/provoking & prompts a response	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-051.txt
	S5: Peter's a mad dog … throw something into the wa … into the water and he just disappears. I'm so scared he will drown ... running in	1	emphasizes statement & elicits attention, interest &	Hortatory	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-007.txt

217

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	File
	after him ... but it was windy *hey* jess. I mean the south east came over S2: ja that does catch the wind that bit.		rapport; seeks agreement & invites engagement; marks a mutual assumption		
	Pr: … and he said it improved … one of the better … S: quite nice actually ... tutor will change .... H: there's a lot of work *hey*? don't you think? S: ja our building experiments ...	1	marks assumption of mutual knowledge & prompts response by seeking agreement	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-044.txt
	D: This was lovely this *hey* this photo *hey*. C: You people walked all that way already. A: Yah. This was right at the end hey. B: Yah and now you're looking at the photos now I mean it's so nice. Just imagine if you were there.	2	elicits attention, interest & rapport; acknowledges polite engagement	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-080.txt
	D: This was lovely this hey this photo hey. C: You people walked all that way already. A: Yah. This was right at the end *hey*. B: Yah and now you're looking at the photos now I mean it's so nice. Just imagine if you were there.	1	seeks agreement & attention; acknowledges mutually understood implication	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-080.txt
	A: Uh you know (laugh) Lloyds toe Llyods of London … B: This thing is sensitive *hey* … I … I took a [uh] some remains of the recording to the Staffroom there. It picks up all the background noise. A: Yah. It's too heavy.	1	seeks agreement & emphasizes statement	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-080.txt
	(speaking about medical aid) B: So I can't be the member … and he … can be the dependant? C: You can ... Yes. B: Can I be the member and he ... and he's the dependant? C: No not he ... No he's the breadwinner ... B: Not him ... Yah. A: You know funny *hey* … We were saying just now ... My ... her … her brother's son … he's unemployed. His wife is working, but … sh … she … just got this pair of dentures on uh … on hers ... B: She's the member.	1	seeks clarity; marks contrast and challenges previous speaker's utterance while politely softening potentially offensive contradiction	Epistemic & Hortatory	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-051.txt

218

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	File
	C: amazing how many civil wars there are around the world ... S: it's amazing how one's parents can grow up in a short space of time *hey* Ros? Re: are you going to want ... S: your phone's ringing Renen	1	elicit attention, invites engagement through agreement	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-025.txt
	A: ooh ja but you know, there were hardly any blacks *hey* Jock ... twenty thousand people C: really … very few ... uh I didn't see any of them.	1	elicits agreement, attention and engagement	Epistemic	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-043.txt
	A: (continuation from lecturer) …this poster is made up of one two three four five six bubbles. So I'm going to bring you pieces of paper ... and even this one *hey* … the pink one (unclear) off to about two millmetres from the edge …	1	elicits attention	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1b-011.txt
	A: I know we're all here 'cause we're responsible for taking you back *hey* D: wh … what time did you make … Adam J: about three thirty … I'm not sure though	1	emphasizes statement	Hortatory	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-042.txt
41	A: … Now this is what I've been thinking. OK it uhm … To get … How to get … the you know when you park in the one station how to get back to that station. That is the only thing that one has to work out. Unless you have a bike. C: A bicycle *hey* A: Or a motorbike ...a scrambler ... that you just put on a trailer.	1	marks uncertainty & requests explanation	Epistemic	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-080.txt
	A: did you have the great (unclear) the surf rhythm B: I don't know … I was last year ... *hey* … the best body surfing I've ever done ...	1	emphasizes statement	Hortatory	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-039.txt
42	F: no and anyway what is correct English … but the point is that English, that I having read some of the blurb now what I can understand A: mm oh yes you must give it back to me *hey* F: English is now being used in so many countries ...	1	emphasizes & softens statement; elicits attention	Hortatory	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-043.txt

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	File
	B: The Time magazine had a proper story on him. F: Yes. A: He was educated in England. B: did but I mean he was um he must have had great insight *hey*. A: ja. B: o.k. do you do you think that's going to be enough?	1	elicits attention & agreement; invites engagement	Epistemic	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-043.txt
	B: … So I don't know which of the two approaches the one up on the hill for sixteen thousand five. A: Is it now only a site *hey*. B: Yes both are building stands. A: Yes.	1	expresses uncertainty; elicits confirmation, clarification; expresses engagement & interest	Epistemic	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-061.txt
	B: Where is that. In Newton Park A: No. In … It's called … Rog … Rogally Street or something. It's in town. Just off North End I suppose *hey*. B: Oh really A: North End Ja	1	expresses level of certainty	Epistemic	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-065.txt
	B: …from Standard seven to Matric I went to school in, in Grhamstown. A: This is very interesting uh OK uh Grahamstown. What standard was that? B: To Matric. A: To Matric. B: Yeah A: What school in Grahamstown B: Diocesan School for Girls A: OK uh you've not schooled in Rondebosch then *hey* B: No I haven't	1	expresses level of certainty	Epistemic	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-078.txt
	S: They say there's snow even on Babylon's Toring ... at … at Hermanus … N: ... it's low *hey*? S: ja M: none on Table Mountain S: there was yesterday / we couldn't see it … it melted but … apparently there was … Adrian saw it from his office.	1	seeks confirmation & expresses engagement	Epistemic	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-015.txt
	A: Matt, lot's of Thomas's fried chicken ... delicious *hey* …. Oh hello I: Hi mom ... hi	1	seeks attention	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-041.txt
40	B: I don't think I had bronchitis A: Or is it just your smoking B: It could be the smoking but I think it's this sinus drip that causes an infection. By the way Nelmarie and Annemarie had pharyngitis not bronchitis A: ja that's your pharynx. I get that when I get ... flu	1	seeks agreement & attention (possibly softens remark); attempt at comradery	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-065.txt

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	File
	usually although this last time I had bronchitis as well. B: Did you? A: The beginning of this winter I had it terrible. I had it then I got better very very quickly within two days then I started running again then I got it again and I got it terribly the second time. (child interfering) A: Boys *hey*. Shaw! You're lucky you had girls.				
	B: And now you say … this … the … house is not big enough for you and … the d ... the cat ... *Hey* ... *hey* D: No no … Because as far as I'm concerned the dog can go as well ...	2	seeks confirmation & expresses attitude	Epistemic & Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-012.txt
	D: Cheni Blanc … Megan? B: Yes please Paddy. D: Chenin (unclear) or oh what's cheaper *hey* A: don't worry just carry on talking Paddy your voice is being recorded for posterity.	1	expresses attitude	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-043.txt
	J: … there's Desie ... it was just along from our hotel D: ... A: wonderful beach *hey*? J: there's Desie D: you see me there in the water ? J: now this is lovely	1	expresses engagement	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-034.txt
	J: and those are the … the the messed up lines (S: ja I know) now you find the people on the beaches in the morning sorting out the lines S: ooph A: that's something of a problem *hey* ... phew J: they sort out the lines / they spend hours there ...	1	seeks agreement & engagment	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-016.txt
	S: that bit there J: ja o.k. A: isn't it lovely *hey*? J: it's beautiful and the agriculture in Spain ... D: ... we went round S: it's all so neat and tidy	1	seeks agreement & engagment	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-034.txt
	A: … It's really good, and it covers such a wide range of disciplines… B: Yah. A: ...advertising, publishing, radio, TV, film ... my cousin… B: It's a blow *hey* (laugh) A: (laugh) Yes we come to that don't we …	1	expresses attitude	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-090.txt

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	File
	C: Ja Pieter has grown into a nice boy. B: Ja Got a bit thin in his face *hey* C: Hasn't he just	1	seeks agreement	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-053.txt
	J: … this is Cape Espichel ... I'm nearly finished ... this is Cape Espichel which is (A: incredible coast *hey*?) incredibly interesting … there're dinosaur uh footprints and what have you down the bottom there …	1	seeks agreement & expresses engagement	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-034.txt
	S1 ((lamenting about child moving out and being lonely)) … look it's early days, *hey*. I mean when I ... when you next see me I'll probably be in an absolute heap.	1	expresses attitude and softens previous potential contextual implication	Affective & Hortatory	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-009.txt
	S1: Look um … the first one I bought and all my friends turnd round and said / hell / he's going mad / he's got a hard drive S3: hard drive! / hell *hey* S1: and I've got a hard drive	1	expresses agreement & engagement	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-066.txt
	S3: ja, it was probably the happiest house we've had (S5: ... as this one) … *hey*. You don't think it was as nice as this one ? I think it was nicer S5: it was an odd house … it was strange S3: I thik it was nicer but the Petersburg one ws the nicest one we've ever had.	1	seeks agreement or expresses attitude, challenge	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-007.txt
	(trying to determine what to take to a party) B: well, just some cake um ... I don't know, what else can I bring ? I could bring some wine I guess *hey*? S: are we going to have that ... you you muttered about a party ?	1	seeks confirmation	Epistemic	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-027.txt
	A: Don't ask me who the others are I really don't know B: It differs each year because … it's private A: Private gold? … They're ... private practic private practitioners *hey* and then they're just on contract there C: Is that how they work it	1	emphasises correction	Hortatory	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-052.txt

222

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	File
	B: Mn A: Quite independent B: Extremely. The parents hate it but *hey* A: But you chose to study in Grahamstown or not B: I had to get away from Cape Town cause I've been here since Sub A.	1	expresses attitude (dismissal)	Affective	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-078.txt

Interviews: tag *hey* | | | | | **Tape / page** |

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Tape / page
	R: Who was he and where did you meet and …? C: Number one, that's that army guy *hey*? I remember he used to ride an MG car.	1	invites engagement; seeks clarification	Affective	120331_003 / 19
	I: This was 1914. R: Okay it was the Rebellion *hey*. I: When De La Ray was part of the Rebellion.	1	express level of understanding/certainty	Affective	130118_002 / 10
	I: … and it cost you tuppence a ticket one and a half cents *hey*. R: Sure but then of course one and a half cents meant more? I: Mean more you could do.	1	seeks attention; assesses hearer's comprehension	Affective	130118_002 / 22
	I: I can remember going in that car it must have been around about '38, '39 by that time *hey*? R: Did you guys drive slower in those days?	1	seeks attention	Affective	130118_002 / 20
	R: It might actually work on your necklace better than on anything else. I think that should be fine *hey*? Okay excellent. C: A strange thing, there was an Afrikaans family Fourie, down the road.	1	*seeks confirmation?*	Affective (rhetorical)	120331_002 / 12
45	R: … I suppose that was a bit, that was a bit earlier than your time *hey*? C: That was a bit … Yes, yes.	1	seeks attention & emphasis	Affective & Hortatory	120331_004 / 6
	I: A ticky, as you know what a ticky was *hey*. R: Yes.	1	seeks confirmation	Epistemic	130118_002 / 22
	R: … Kenilworth wouldn't have been a Jewish area though *hey*? C: No, not at all, no.	1	seeks confirmation/clarification & engagement	Epistemic & Affective	120331_004 / 11

223

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	File
	I: … and that little thing is my great grandson. R: Oh your great grandson? I: Yes. R: Okay, wow. He is cute *hey*? I: Absolutely.	1	marks polite engagement	Affective	121110_003 / 18
	R: It's a completely different world *hey*? C: It was a wonderful experience.	1	seeks rapport	Affective	120331_004 / 17
	R: Ja, so if I put that in the pocket I think that will be sufficient … I: It should be alright *hey*? R: The whole project is basically one that I am doing with some other colleagues.	1	seeks confirmation	Epistemic	130118_002 / 1

	Butterfly collecting: tag *hey*				**Data source**
39	A: What are you doing now B: I'm actually at work now *hey*	1	seeks rapport & expresses attitude	Affective	KFM Radio: Sunday, 20 March 2016, 12:25
	A: Winter's almost here. It's around the corner *hey* B: But can Mylie Cyrus sing? What do you think?	1	seeks rapport through engagement	Affective	KFM Radio, Easter Sunday, 27 March 2016
38	A: Ja, thanks *hey*	1	seeks rapport	Affective	March, 2016. Overheard at the till in a Spar supermarket (from male in his 20s before leaving).

	TOTAL tag *hey* **tokens from SAfE data: 54**			**TOTAL 13 Epistemic 34 Affective 10 Hortatory**	

No. in text	Utterance	No. of tokens per set	Description of functions; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	File
	ICE-SA: tag *huh*				
	A: … being caught out lying / and they still went and elected him president, *huh*?	1			ice-sa_spoken\s1a-005.txt
	S2: they're all very different, *huh*	1			ice-sa_spoken\s1a-006.txt
	S4: now you say this the house is not big enough for you and the d the cat … *huh*? S3: no / no / ?cause as far as I'm concerned the dog can go as well	1			ice-sa_spoken\s1a-007.txt
	S4: … they aren't olive *huh*? S1: no the're not olives	1			ice-sa_spoken\s1a-007.txt
	S4: no you've got to spread them about amongst your friends … certainly your parents' friends … *huh*?	1			ice-sa_spoken\s1a-007.txt
	S2: what have you bust? … broken a tooth or a pip? *huh*? S4: it's a pip … (S3: nice work)	1			ice-sa_spoken\s1a-007.txt
	ICE-SA: tag *eh*				
	D: … mm … lovely deep resonant voice B: gravelly voice *eh* <O> laugh </O>	1			ice-sa_spoken\s1a-041.txt
	Pr: well he says he answers questions that the professor doesn't like H: .. Maxwell *eh*? S: doesn't like to be questioned …				ice-sa_spoken\s1a-027.txt
	A: I think it's gerbel. That dog of yours is quite cheeky *eh* B: She's stupid man				ice-sa_spoken\s1a-064.txt

225

Appendix E: *Is it* tokens from the SAfE data

Table E.1: *Is it* tokens

No. in text	Utterances	Paradig. replacement	Verb type replaced	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Described function; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Perceived function(s)	File
	ICE-SA: non-paradigmatic tag *is it* (n = 2)						
51	A: …I must just ask you on that uh I'll come to you now we talk about tolerance *is it* so are we talking about a active tolerance or a passive tolerance	don't we	copula	Affective	draws attention	calling for attention; narrow scope reinforcing 'tolerance'; does not indicate uncertainty	ice-sa_spoken\s1b-078(b).txt
52	This an opportunity for you to find out something about it as you head into the future and set up your own business but it is important *is it*. Service excellence	isn't it	copula	Affective	draws attention	indicates presumption of mutual agreement & understanding; narrow scope; does not indicate uncertainty	ice-sa_spoken\s1b-026.txt
	ICE-SA: non-paradigmatic follow-up *is it* (n = 8)						
56	B: … I'd say Mutual is one of the best. But they're not as good as Syfret's or A: *Is it* … So … So Syfret's and those places are still better B: Yes	aren't they	copula	Epistemic, Affective & Hortatory	recognizes new information; expresses surprise and interest,	recognition and "sign of active listenership"	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-076.txt

226

No. in text	Utterances	Paradig. replacement	Verb type replaced	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Described function; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Perceived function(s)	File
					communicative involvement		
54	I: well my grandmother was an artist in London she studied art at the Slade S. *is it* … no she's not going to do art she's doing English	did she	aspectual auxiliary	Affective & Hortatory	polite recognition; urging topic shift	acknowledgement of previous statement "sign of active listenership"; transition to topic shift	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-047.txt
	I: but now my eldest son Renen has just finished school now and his greatest friend learned on Friday afternoon that he's got a place at Onderstepoort S: *is it* I: he was a late entry	does he/has he	copula	Epistemic & Affective	expresses attention, interest; recognizes new information	"sign of active listenership"	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-047.txt
	A: … I doubt if it's a gift. She's a little fat cat I think B: Uhm A: Not a little fat cat She is a fat cat B: *Is it* A: Uh C: She's not fat	is she	copula	Epistemic & Affective	recognizes new & prompts for additional information.; *surprise*	recognition of previous statement; "sign of active listenership"	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-050.txt
	B: lake Brenton. It is on the la lagoon A: On the lagoon no B: There's a caravan park A: *Oh is it* yes ... No … I think … I don't think that was there when I was there ...	is there	copula	Epistemic	recognizes new information or another's different opinion; expresses contradiction of previously held contextual assumptions	"sign of active listenership"; expresses understanding by recognizing new info.	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-054.txt

227

No. in text	Utterances	Paradig. replacement	Verb type replaced	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Described function; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Perceived function(s)	File
	B: look I'll try to X: Or Tuesday because Susan's is not ready either B: *is it* look I'll try and get it in by Monday uh by Friday yah	isn't it/it's not	copula	Epistemic & Affective	expresses surprise/recognition of new information; expresses contradiction of previously held contextual assumptions, interest	"sign of active listenership"; recognition of new info	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-091(c).txt
59	B: … I wanted to see what they were doing And they were climbing again A: *Is it* B: But uh they're like a house you know You pay more than you get for them	were they	aspectual auxiliary	Epistemic	recognizes new information; *perhaps confirms assumptions*	"sign of active listenership"	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-076.txt
	A: So you don't yet know where it's going to be C: It'll be in Johannesburg. A: *Is it* ah C:Yes A: I don't know whether we want to use our money	will it	copula	Epistemic & Affective	recognizes new information; confirms previously held assumption; expresses involvement	"sign of active listenership" and recognition of new info.	ice-sa_spoken\s1b-072.txt
	Interviews: non-paradigmatic follow-up *is it* **(n=2)**						
	R: So most of your peers in primary School were English speaking. I: I would say a good gross section 50/50 English Afrikaans. R: *Is it*? I: Yes…	would you	copula	Epistemic & Affective	expresses involvement, surprise, interest; recognizes new	active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	130118_002

No. in text	Utterances	Paradig. replacement	Verb type replaced	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Described function; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Perceived function(s)	File
					information; prompts for more information		
	R: Were things slow in those days generally? I: Very much slower. R: *Is it*? I: Yes.	were they	copula	Hortatory, Epistemic & Affective	expresses involvement, interest; recognizes new information; prompts for more information	active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	130118_002
Butterfly collecting: non-paradigmatic follow-up *is it* (n=5)							
	A: Where's John? B: He has a make-up tennis lesson C: *Is it* B: His Thursday lesson was rained out	has he	copula	Epistemic & Affective	recognizes new information and expresses attention; *prompts for additional information*	active listenership; generic response to new info.	Overheard between three women outside Rhenish Primary School in Stellenbosch
	A: Oh he wouldn't do that. No he loves hockey B: *Is it* A: No. Definitely. No he must really have a migraine	does he	copula	Affective & Epistemic	expresses attention; *expresses scepticism, prompts for more information*	active listenership; generic response to new info.	Overheard between two women on school sports field

229

No. in text	Utterances	Paradig. replacement	Verb type replaced	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Described function; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Perceived function(s)	File
57	A: We're off to the botanical gardens B: For lunch A: Yeah. My mom likes to walk around a bit before. She can't you know in her neighbourhood B: *Is it* A: Lovely day too	can't she	modal	Epistemic & Affective	recognition of new information; expresses attention and interest; *confirms previously held contextual assumptions*	active listenership; generic response to new info.	Overheard at a party with friends; two women
55	A: I'm sorry. I can't chat right now B: Then don't A: I just need to get to an appointment B: *Oh is it.* Okay. You should go	need/do you	modal/copula	Epistemic & Affective	recognizes new information *and expresses contradiction of previously held contextual assumption*; expresses attention	active listenership; generic response to new info.	Overheard in a reception area of a medical clinic; A- male in early 20s, B- female in early 20s
53	A: You know I might go anyway B: *Is it* A: I don't know. I'd like to	might you	modal	Epistemic & Affective	expresses interest and attention; prompts for additional information; *expresses surprise*	active listenership; generic response to new info.	Overheard conversation between two female friends (early-mid 20s) out to lunch
	ICE-SA: (outlier) non-paradigmatic copula (*is*) + 3rd person feminine pronoun follow-up: (n = 1)						
	S1: well Moira has gone to Arizona on Rotary exchange S2: *oh, is is she*? S1: yes and um ... Janice hasn't moved yet but will	has she	aspectual auxiliary				ice-sa_spoken\s1a-009.txt

230

No. in text	Utterances	Paradig. replacement	Verb type replaced	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Described function; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Perceived function(s)	File
	DSAE: nonparadigmatic follow-up *is it*						
	A: I came by car you know B: *Oh is it*	did you	aspectual auxiliary	Epistemic & Affective	*polite recognition or new information; expresses scepticism, surprise*	active listenership; generic response/recognition to new info.	DSAE
	A: The people bought it in 1920 and converted it into a house B: *Is it*	did they	aspectual auxiliary	Epistemic & Affective	expresses attention, interest; recognizes new information; *expresses polite involvement*	active listenership; generic response to new info.	DSAE
	ICE-SA: Paradigmatic verb + pronoun follow-ups (n = 26)						
	A: uhm, if it doesn't work out there I'm simply going to pursue it further at Vista X: uhm uhm A: because things are looking a lot rosier there X: *are they* A: and in terms of uh potential communication unit, yah, we've got a lot of positive feedback					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-093(b).txt
	I: …we're having braai next-door A: *are you* I: ja, at the Miller's					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-041.txt

No. in text	Utterances	Paradig. replacement	Verb type replaced	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Described function; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Perceived function(s)	File
	P: and what about this thing with the Black Tide? S: well ... we could smell it P: *could you*? S: er you know ... there wasn't any dead stuff there ... but the water was … was actually quite dark					active listenship; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-029.txt
	A: … My oupa died … my Oupa died yesterday C: *Did he* … Ag shame					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-051.txt
	A: yes and I wrote matric when I was sixteen and then I [B: so did she] spent a year at home and uh studied violin B: *did you* Z: really					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-084.txt
	A: Ja that's your pharynx. I get that when I get, flu usually although this last time I had bronchitis as well B: *Did you* A: The beginning of this winter I had it terrible					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-065.txt
	A: Because I had a job before I left B: *Did you* A: Yah. I worked for a music shop uh a CD shop					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-072.txt
	P: I like your new hair cut Q: you do *do you*? ...					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-013.txt
	S1: yes I remember that name S2: *do you*? S1: yea					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-009.txt

232

No. in text	Utterances	Paradig. replacement	Verb type replaced	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Described function; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Perceived function(s)	File
	S: I remember it B: *do you*? S: we lived in Pinelands and all that banging and the guns were going on around us					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-027.txt
	S: oh don't tell me I pushed this voice thing on no it's got a thing that you can uh ... Um ... that will stop if there's no noise P: *oh does it*? S: ja // but I haven't switched that on					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-029.txt
	A: But uh I couldn't get a Telefunken player when I got that new set and I got a it's a National Panasonic and it's given me a lot of trouble B: *Has it* A: It's given a lot of trouble yah					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-074.txt
	S3: well these garages are not all that wide ... and there um they've got uh plumbing to put your washing machine in there S1: *oh have they*? That's quite a good idea					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-008.txt
	A: And they've also got … a ... a ... different way of speaking C: *Have they* B: Because of their German … uh ... uh ... A: influence B: influence ja					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-052.txt
	S1: … have those people left opposite you? Because I see the road (S2: yes) … *oh have they*? Cause the road I mean it's it's closed up completely					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-006.txt

233

No. in text	Utterances	Paradig. replacement	Verb type replaced	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Described function; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Perceived function(s)	File
	S: no ... I've seen all ... of those before P: *oh have you* … there's s'posed to be three giving me pictures and I still haven't got them from December					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-005.txt
	M: I have been N: *oh have you*? M: yes					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-015.txt
	A: No I've actually got a practical problem C: *Have you* really A: Yes					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-056.txt
	A: I told Paul I how he has to ship himself off to the doctor because he's getting ill X: *is he* A: yah X: oh hell A: yah					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-093(b).txt
	A: This is recording B: *Oh is it* A: That's why he set us up like this					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-059.txt
	A: Now … I was … I was ... actually wanting to know if you saw your nephew Dirk De Villiers on the TV ... He ... he ... was awarded something for Arende III B: Oh *was he* ... Did he come ... on the ... on the ... A: On the television					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-059.txt
	S1: the ace of clubs was S2: oh in your partner's hand wasn't it ? S4: *was it*? ... S?: yah S4 no it wasn't					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-005.txt

234

No. in text	Utterances	Paradig. replacement	Verb type replaced	Epistemic Affective Hortatory	Described function; *italics indicates researcher uncertainty*	Perceived function(s)	File
	S: we went last weekend ... and two weeks before that ... last weekend was lovely P: *was it*? ... no wind? S: very little …					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-013.txt
	B: Knysna was very pleasant A: *Was it* B: We got a lovely little room. Our … it was ... fifty rand per person					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\sIa-054b.txt
	A: (laugh) Well I think my mom was very young at heart B: *Was she* A: Yah					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-71.txt
	S3: she she'd just shut up if you put a tape in front of her S4: *would she*?					active listenership; recognition of speaker's statement	ice-sa_spoken\s1a-012.txt

Appendix F: Tokens from the BNC, COCA and Strathy

Table F.1: *Hey*, *huh* and *eh* tokens from the BNC

File	Sample tokens from BNC utterances: tag *hey*
BNC:KB7 S_conv	(SP:PS02X) Well you can't get some, when it's late (pause) *hey*? (SP:PS02Y) Oh! (SP:PS02G) Ask him? (SP:PS02X) Will you pop and get some …
BNC:KB7 S_conv	(SP:PS033) Hel? (SP:PS02X) I might have to do that wet, *hey*? (SP:PS033) Helen? (SP:PS02X) What?
BNC:FME S_classroom	done nine thousand five hundred miles, how much would we take off? (pause) *hey*? (SP:PS1ST) Ninety five. (SP:PS1SS) Nine nine nine fifty yeah
BNC:FMG S_classroom	… that's that's a thing that would help. Okay (unclear) some maths *hey*? Okay. Let's have a quick look in your folder see what you …
BNC:FUH S_classroom	(SP:PS1UE) Let's just write down here I think what we've got *hey*? What did we do? We shared out (pause) share out two (pause) between …
BNC:FUH S_classroom	… so you don't know (pause) you're not too sure about centimetres and millimetres *hey*? (SP:PS1UF) No. (SP:PS1UE) We'll look at that some time.
BNC:FY9 S_classroom	… One tenth of the speed. (pause) I drive at six miles an hour. *Hey*? (pause) it's the original time, which was two hours, is times …
BNC:K63 S_interview_oral_history	… a country squire and that's the difference. (laugh) So that was the attitude *hey*, but erm (laugh) they'll have me up for libel here…
BNC:K63 S_interview_oral_history	… again you know, they'll be delivering stuff in the same jolly old way *hey*. (SP:PS5B3) Could be yes. (SP:PS5B4) Yes don't you think?
BNC:FMH S_classroom	(SP:PS1SY) And more interesting than tables. (SP:PS1T0) Yeah (laugh)2. (SP:PS1SY) Yeah oh definitely *hey*. Well sometimes when I was asking you things like erm (pause) say if I
BNC:KBH S_conv	(SP:PS05C) Yeah, but (unclear), Charlotte, she's looking away, *hey*. (SP:PS05B) Are you going to say hello? Don't be rude come on …
BNC:KCD S_conv	(SP:PS0EA) When will (unclear) (SP:PS0E8) Well Amy I'll get you one another day *hey*? We are just getting Clare what she needed to go away with.
BNC:KCE S_conv	(SP:PS0EB) Alright. (pause) Nothing. (laugh) (laughing) (unclear) (SP:PS0EG) D on't tell him *hey*! (unclear) Come on, don't tell him he's being recorded on tape …

File	Sample tokens from BNC utterances: tag *hey*
BNC:KD3 S_conv	… noise with. (pause) Your favourite. (pause) Erm (pause) (laughing) Where you going? *Hey*? (pause) Toast and marmite be alright for you? (pause) Eh? (laughing) Oh …
BNC:KD5 S_conv	… (pause) in er (SP:PS0K8) Where's there's a will there's a way, *hey*? (SP:PS0KM) Gotta post it? (SP:PS0K8) No. (SP:PS0KM) Who's is this?

	Sample tokens from BNC utterances: *hey*
BNC:KCA S_conv	(SP:PS1E7) (unclear) (music) What've you got? (SP:PS1E4) *Hey* they're not bad actually. (SP:PS1E7) (unclear) cream cheese and chives (unclear) flavour.
BNC:KCD S_conv	(SP:KCAPSUNK) (scream) (laughing) *Hey* how do you know they don't do it every night?
BNC:KCX S_conv	(SP:PS0E8) *Hey*, come on (pause) what's the matter? (SP:PS0E9) (unclear)2. (SP:PS0E8) Well, alright …
BNC:KD0 S_conv	(SP:PS1FC) Has he got (unclear)? (SP:KCXPSUNK) (unclear) (pause) (SP:PS1FC) *Hey* that's not bad. (SP:PS1FE) She was making them for him, then he …
BNC:KD2 S_conv	(SP:PS0HN) (unclear) is at Liverpool (pause) (speaking-italian) (SP:PS0HP) *Hey*, can you speak any Italian yet? (SP:PS0HN) Yeah. (SP:PS0HP) Go on then …
BNC:KM2 S_brdcast_discussn	(SP:PS0J4) Don't know. (pause) I don't know. (-----) (SP:PS0J7) *Hey* everyone! (SP:PS0J9) (unclear) (SP:PS0J1) Dad we're (pause) what about? …
BNC:KPA S_conv	… Yeah it was wonderful absolutely wonderful. (SP:PS30G) Well what's wonderful about it? *Hey* listen I tell you what I always ask do they have real big thick steaks …

	Sample tokens from BNC utterances: tag *huh*
BNC:KC2 S_conv	(SP:PS09W) Ooh, ooh, there is some maniacs driving, *huh* (SP:PS09V) Well you're alright if you're concentrating, but you might …
BNC:KC9 S_conv	… there probably was quite (unclear), only cos we don't get a newspaper, *huh*, and I didn't hear it on the radio the next morning (pause) cos …
BNC:KCD S_conv	(SP:PS0E8) I dunno, cos I forgot the road was open, *huh*. (SP:PS0E8) Ah, I think I like this one better don't you …
BNC:D95 S_meeting	we'd like to hear about it cos were all very worried, *huh*. (SP:D95PS003) Well on the issue of what's happening in the er Health Authority …

237

File	Sample tokens from BNC utterances: tag *hey*
BNC:JN6 S_meeting	(SP:PS4BL) Through all the literature the (-----) produce (SP:PS4BM) (-----) not doing a brochure then ***huh***? (SP:PS4BL) Oh (-----) got to produce a few sheets of stuff and we've …
BNC:KBN S_conv	(SP:PS064) You've been given the battery? (SP:PS05Y) I've got plenty upstairs, ***huh*** (SP:PS064) That's (SP:KBNPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS05Y) I know (pause) (SP:PS064) You can rub it off …
BNC:KC9 S_conv	… don't know what he's like at home, you see by himself, ***huh***. (SP:PS0CG) No, exactly. But my dogs have always, much rather come …
BNC:KCD S_conv	(SP:PS0E8) No, there won't be some, make the most of it, ***huh***. (SP:PS0E9) Yeah, but, won't they give us some before (unclear) …
BNC:KCD S_conv	… oh well uhum, I wouldn't hold out a lot of hope, ***huh***, somehow, his uhum, he puts in an appearance at the summer fair …
BNC:JWA S_meeting	… going to ignore it actually, the Tories are so far out of touch, ***huh***, on, erm both nationally and locally, totally out of touch with what …
BNC:KCV S_conv	(SP:PS0H7) Well (unclear) They really don't want to come ***huh***? (SP:PS125) They don't want to do the job …
BNC:KCV S_conv	(SP:PS125) You think so? (SP:PS126) Mattress is very comfortable (SP:PS0H7) Not bad ***huh***? (SP:PS126) No very nice. Very good.
BNC:KD0 S_conv	(SP:PS0HM) Great Crystal Palace (SP:PS0HR) Good boy (laugh) (SP:PS0HM) Minus one, ***huh***. (SP:PS0HU) Don't believe (unclear) …
	Sample tokens from BNC utterances: tag *eh*
BNC:KB7 S_conv	(SP:PS02H) Well sorry if she didn't wear any at all ***eh*** dear, ***eh***? (SP:PS02G) (laugh) …
BNC:KC6 S_conv	… That's what (unclear) thought isn't it? ***Eh***? (SP:PS0BA) ***Eh***? (SP:PS0BB) You was meant to, to tidy the lounge.
BNC:KC9 S_conv	… Christmas tree, lovely isnt' it? (SP:PS0CG) All through the year incredible. ***Eh***, ***eh***, (unclear) pointed it out (unclear), the leaves were so good …
BNC:KD6 S_conv	… didn't say that did ya?, you never said that di ya? ***Eh***, ***eh***, ***eh***, no (SP:PS13K) well you like it with custard don't …
BNC:KCH S_conv	(SP:PS1BT) Three point one six two two seven seven six. (SP:PS1BV) Right. ***Eh***, ***eh***. (SP:PS1BT) Four hundred and fifty six square root is twenty one point three …
BNC:KR0 S_conv	(SP:PS59B) never been to school again have ya? ***Eh***? ***Eh***? Aye (pause) you wanna say hello? (SP:PS59D) (cough) …

Table F.2: *Eh*, *huh* and *hey* tokens from the Strathy

File	Sample tokens from Strathy utterances: tag *eh*
CAN:1997:SPOK CBC-TV	… father was a criminal, my whole family was, my father's side, *eh*? And they used to get me involved when I was four or five years …
CAN:1997:SPOK CBC-TV	… I'd get a chocolate bar if I was good, *eh*? I didn't have a father or a mother, and I was being …
CAN:1997:SPOK CBC-TV	… My co-accused had a.38, I gave him a.38 I had, *eh*? And this one brother, he's got this rifle in his hand.
CAN:1997:SPOK CBC-TV	… And something about the sound it was making and the feeling in my hands, *eh*? WARD:... and he says, Are you fuckers dead yet ...
CAN:1997:SPOK CBC-TV	… was young, I was pretty screwed up, pretty wild at the time, *eh*? It bothers me, you know. I think it was …
CAN:1999:SPOK CBC-TV	… think -- look at the stats -- how many kids make it to the NHL *eh*? I was just an average kid. BELL: His dreams may ...
CAN:2001:SPOK Queens:Commerce200	What would you do? Raise the interest and eventually maybe even say no, *eh*? But you're right. The interest rate goes up. And it did …
CAN:2001:SPOK Ontario_Legislative	… You're going to hang in tough, *eh*, Minister Ecker? You're going to hang in tough, because …
CAN:2001:SPOK WalkertonInquiry	Q: Which may involve lots of new wells and things, *eh*? ! A: Yes Q: At Tab 8, this …
CAN:2002:SPOK Queens:Commerce200	... you don't think Paul could say yes to all of those things, *eh*? I'm not challenging you. Okay, so Paul, what about …
CAN:2002:SPOK CBC-TV	UNIDENTIFIED: So we're going to go to Sudbury, *eh*? UNIDENTIFIED: Yeah.
CAN:2002:SPOK CBC-TV	STRONG: Yup. I guess we might go as well go up here, *eh*? RUTHERFORD: Captain strong says he and his crew did the best …
CAN:2002:SPOK BC_Legislative	MACPHAIL: It's not because you're boring that you have no friends - *eh*? Laughter. HON. B. BRUCE:: I'd like to make sure …
CAN:2004:SPOK MackVEnvironRev	… the future generation, we always say all these sort of good stuff, *eh*. But I really think we have to look at preserving what we have and ...
CAN:2004:SPOK MackVEnvironRev	Because it'll come back to you again because you never answered it, *eh*. THE-CHAIRPERSON: Well that's a very good point and that's …
CAN:2005:SPOK AlbertaUtilitiesBoard	MR. BRIAN O'FERRALL: He wouldn't, *eh*? When you say, you wouldn't, Mr. Bissett, you mean he …

File	Sample tokens from Strathy utterances: tag *eh*
CAN:2005:SPOK DehchoLandUse	… the slip that I made was I guess what we call a Freudian slip, *eh*? Just I had other things on my mind because I certainly didn't mean …
CAN:2005:SPOK DehchoLandUse	You know, the problem is we're not a diamond mine, *eh*. You know, and if we were mining diamonds, we could simply do …
CAN:2005:SPOK DehchoLandUse	Territorial Farmer's Association, is they're -- they're just like us, *eh*, they look at the land, you know, as being sustainable. And …
CAN:2005:SPOK DehchoLandUse	… a lot of times like, the oil and gas is boom and bust, *eh*, you know, and some day there's going to be no oil and …
CAN:2006:SPOK CanRadioTVComm	VICE-CHAIR ARPIN: But not working for you people, *eh*? ! MR. MILES: That's right. You know, this new …
CAN:2006:SPOK DehchoLandUse	… If he steps down, maybe we should congratulate him then, *eh*? Okay. So that pretty well brings us to the end. …
CAN:2006:SPOK DehchoLandUse	... like, the multi-nationals are not interested in joint venturing or anything, *eh*? Like, they -- they just want to take the oil and take it …
CAN:2007:SPOK CanRadioTVComm	COMMISSIONER WILLIAMS: Okay. So ownership will stay the same, *eh*? MR. BELL: Yeah, and ownership remains the same, …
CAN:2007:SPOK CanRadioTVComm	… Well, that's a cost of doing business too, *eh*? MR. PACE: Well, the difficulty that we had -- …

	Tokens from Strathy utterances: tag *hey*
CAN:2005:SPOK DehchoLandUse	… language we'd say (SPOKEN IN NATIVE LANGUAGE) Berna, I guess, *hey*? Such an honourable thing when you have grandchildren and then you actually at the ...
CAN:2005:SPOK DehchoLandUse	… there's -- there's already an a regional board in place for that, *hey*. And like, I'm just my -- my concern here is that, ...
CAN:2007:SPOK CanRadioTVComm	NEWMAN: About eight to ten percent. COMMISSIONER NOEL: Ten percent, *hey*? MR. NEWMAN: Yeah. COMMISSIONER-NOEL: Okay …

	Tokens from Strathy utterances: tag *huh*
CAN:1997:SPOK CBC-TV	… (friend pushing wheel-bed): Sorry. I should go a little slower, *huh*? O'BRIEN: OK. UNIDENTIFIED: OK. O'BRIEN: People hate to ...
CAN:2002:SPOK CBC-TV	GARTNER: And they vowed it would never happen again, *huh*? SHAEFER: Well, we always try to do our best to …

File	Sample tokens from Strathy utterances: tag *eh*
CAN:2002:SPOK CBC-TV	… No, that peasant thing, that's a bit five minutes ago, *huh*? MIDDLETON: Unlike the 1950s and the 1960s, we know that …
CAN:2006:SPOK DehchoLandUse	… Then they'll probably think, Gee, I should have said that, *huh*? And now this is a very big thing that we worked on, it

Table F.3: *Huh* **and** *hey* **tokens from the COCA**

File	Sample tokens from COCA utterances: tag *huh*
COCA:2014:SPOK NBC	… never really ask. UNIDENTIFIED-BOY: Does it make you feel bad? CONNOR: Little, *huh*. UNIDENTIFIED-BOY: Yeah.
COCA:2014:SPOK NBC	… Olympics. We're ready for our close-up. You want to get that, *huh*? How has the P&G house been for you …
COCA:2014:SPOK NBC	KATHIE-LEE-GIFFORD: Yeah, he's adorable. HODA-KOTB: You spent some time with him, *huh*? JENNA-BUSH-HAGER: I did. They call him Ted, The Shred …
COCA:2014:SPOK NBC	… the sweet little girls he wanted to protect. JOHN-OLSON: Sure. Fair enough, *huh*?
COCA:2015:SPOK NBC	… dating Denzel Washington. Here we go. I- - BILLY-BUSH: You, too, *huh*? Okay, here we go.
COCA:2015:SPOK CBS	MAN: Richard Sherman's got some moves, *huh*? JAN-CRAWFORD: After all it's Media Day.
COCA:2015:SPOK CBS	JEFF-GLOR: Any previews? PAULA-HAWKINS: No. JEFF-GLOR: No previews allowed, *huh*? PAULA-HAWKINS: Sorry, not yet.
COCA:2015:SPOK CBS	CHARLIE-ROSE: No, you didn't get that, *huh*? STEVE-CARELL: No. Don't. CHARLIE-ROSE: You didn't call up and say …
COCA:2015:SPOK CBS	NORAH-O'DONNELL: Gayle, that sounds like your kind of trip, *huh*? GAYLE-KING: Yeah. Getting right on that.
COCA:2015:SPOK NPR	DAVE-DAVIES: It's Sherlock they love, *huh*? Not Benedict. BENEDICT-CUMBERBAT: Well, yeah. I don't know.

File	Sample tokens from COCA utterances: tag *huh*
COCA:2015:SPOK NPR	JACQUELINE-WOODSON: No, no. Yeah, Christmas is Christian, **huh**? (LAUGHTER) JACQUELINE-WOODSON: No, no holidays. So it's a Christian sect …
COCA:2015:SPOK PBS	… the user simply draws out on a map. Drone on a mission here, **huh**? CHRIS-ANDERSON: If you want to fly, it comes with a joystick.
COCA:2015:SPOK PBS	… DR. ABDUL-KADER-HAIDARA: Manuscript, jurisprudence. JEFFREY-BROWN: Jurisprudence, **huh**? Abdul Kader Haidara cited a 19th century of work about religious tolerance as an …
COCA:2015:SPOK ABC	... Yeah, well, so you had to jump in, **huh**? PATRON: Well, I wanted to try to alleviate her sorrow.
COCA:2014:SPOK ABC	… But then they get to Debbie's house. BRIANA-JOHNSEN: It's quiet here, **huh**? KEITH-JOHNSEN: This is nice. BRIANA-JOHNSEN: It is nice. I love the entryway …
COCA:2014:SPOK ABC	JEREMY: Pretty young to be that far away from home, **huh**? PAULINA: Yeah.

	Token from COCA utterances: tag *hey*
COCA:1991:SPOK: ABC_Nightline	Watch the dollar, **hey**, watch it, come on down, we're going to have a free show right here.

	Sample tokens from COCA utterances: *hey*
COCA:2003:SPOK: NPR_Saturday; Interview	… I'd sit down, but I don't want to. MR. WASHINGTON: **Hey**, Chris, try the crab. It's real good.
COCA:2006:SPOK:CNN LiveFrom	CNN CORRESPONDENT: **Hey**, Kyra. Well, we're used to report on the sectarian violence here
COCA:2013:SOPK:NPR	RODNEY-CROWELL: She said, **Hey**, I'm going to L.A. tomorrow, and I got an extra ticket.
COCA:1995:SPOK:Ind_Limbaugh	UNIDENTIFIED MAN 1: **Hey**, everybody. GROUP (In unison): **Hey**, dude.
COCA:2003:SPOK:CBS_48Hours	JORDAN: All right. ! ZEINS: Later. **Hey**, listen, before I go, you want any Chinese food or anything?
COCA:2006:SPOK:CNN_King	… I'm watching on television. I know exactly what you're saying. **Hey**, listen, I just have a quick question for Ben Ferguson and Dennis Prager ...

242

File	Sample tokens from COCA utterances: tag *huh*
COCA:2013 SPOK: NPR	CURTIS: Hi. How are you today? IRA FLATOW: Hi there. CURTIS: *Hey*. I'm referring to a comment that you talked about earlier ...

Table F.4: *Is it* tokens from the BNC

File	Sample tokens from BNC utterances: follow-up *is it*	Canonical expectation
BNC:157_KB7_S-conv	(SP:PS02G) Yeah we haven't, we liked the upstairs one very much. (SP:PS02L) *Is it?* (SP:PS02H) Yeah. The upstairs one (unclear)	did you
BNC:KB7 S_conv	… darling (unclear) (SP:PS02H) Yeah it's clean and I've got dirty fingers. (SP:PS02G) *Is it?* Ah. I'm sorry. (SP:PS02L) Er (pause) Have you had enough …	do you
BNC:FUK S_meeting	… I didn't think it applied to technical consultants. (SP:PS1UU) Oh yes. (SP:PS1UW) *Is it?* (SP:PS1UT) So if we're going to employ a consultant ... (SP:PS1UW) Yes.	does it
BNC:KBB S_conv	(SP:PS03T) Animals, yes. (SP:PS03S) it follows after it. (SP:PS03T) *Is it?* (SP:PS03S) We can see the two. (SP:PS03T) Falklands is at nine.	does it
BNC:426 JN6 S_meeting	(SP:PS4BM) And when does that start then? (SP:PS4BL) Well it's it's it's started really (SP:PS4BM) What do you mean, it's started? (SP:PS4BL) Well at first of February (SP:PS4BM) *Is it?*	is that right
BNC:KBB S_conv	… your left hand (SP:PS0YX) yes (SP:PS03T) er, it's still not very strong (SP:PS0YX) *is it?* (SP:PS03T) no (SP:PS0YX) mm (sniff) (SP:PS03T) but the swellings gone down …	isn't it
BNC:F7G S_meeting	... and that was my (pause) attempt at (pause) problem solving. (SP:PS1M5) (laughing) *Is it!* (SP:PS1M4) The word that I'm looking for (pause) is (SP:PS1M8) Problem solving	was it
BNC:KBA S_conv	… Supposed to be following the family wherever they go on the beach. (SP:PS1DC) *Is it?* (SP:PS1DF) Something like that. (pause) Michael Caine's in it.	was it
BNC:KBD S_conv	… when we first opened but it was like another grand to do that. (SP:PS03Y) *Is it?* (SP:PS03W) Yeah. (SP:PS03Y) Is that what it's gonna cost?	was it
BNC:HDH S_interview_oral_history	… out of 'em. Nowhere for you to go, was there? (SP:PS22A) *Is it* (SP:PS22B) Today they can't do it. (SP:PS22A) Mm. …	wasn't there

File	Sample tokens from BNC utterances: follow-up *is it*	Canonical expectation
BNC:KB2 S_conv	(SP:PS01V) I don't worry about (unclear) (SP:PS01U) well there were eighteen pound M O T in with that (SP:PS01V) *Is it?* (SP:PS01U) twenty seven pounds (SP:PS01V) He doesn't do M O Ts does he? (SP:PS01U) He takes it to a garage like you know what I mean and (SP:PS01V) Oh I see	were there
BNC:136 FUL S_meeting	(SP:PS1V2) There there is a good section, there's a good section on pensions (SP:FULPSUNK) (unclear) (SP:PS1V2) by the way because our staff will be concerned about pension proposals after privatization. (SP:PS1V3) *Is it?* (SP:PS1V2) It's section one point five.	will they
BNC:46 F7C S_meeting	(SP:PS1LG) erm the Wakefield meeting that was talked about (SP:PS1LJ) Right (SP:PS1LG) on the nineteenth of August was postponed and it's now in a couple of weeks, so I'm gonna go (SP:PS1LK) *Is it* now? (SP:PS1LJ) Right	? [are you]
BNC:F7C S_meeting	… because the address she's put it on is the society's address (SP:PS1LK) Oh **is it**? (SP:PS1LJ) Yes (SP:PS1LK) Right (SP:PS 1LJ) which she felt was better than her home	
BNC:106 FM2 S_meeting	(SP:PS1S1) No. Is erm (pause) Where's Doncaster? What county is Doncaster in? (SP:PS1S3) Doncaster's South Yorkshire. (SP:PS1S1) *Is it?* (whispering) Right. Okay.	
BNC:194 G5K S_meeting	(SP:PS2B5) Fate. Yes. Yeah. (pause) (cough) (whistling) Verse five is it now? (SP:PS2BB) Four. (SP:PS2B5) *Is it?* (SP:G5KPSUN K) (unclear) (SP:PS2B5) F-- Well I did five and six just now.	
BNC:469 JNX S_meeting	(SP:PS4GE) (unclear) sit down. It's ages since I've been able to sit on the windowsill. (SP:PS4GF) *Is it?* (SP:PS4GE) Mm.	
BNC:526 JTC S_meeting	(SP:PS4V7) Aye it's yeah it's well I don't know but I think it's it is definitely coming on Friday. (SP:PS4V2) *Is it.* (SP:PS4V7) Yeah cos I (SP:PS4V2) I I left it with Stuart to to arrange all that but maybe he's got the hire from Friday to Friday.	
BNC:D97 S_meeting	… mean the address is on there (unclear) anyway. (SP:D97PS000) Yeah, oh right. *Is it?* Oh. (pause) er (SP:D97PS001) (unclear) quite (pause) pertinent actually if we are …	
BNC:D97 S_meeting	… What's that shop in the Causeway near the sunbed erm (unclear) it-- it's a second hand furniture in there isn't it? (SP:D97PS002) *Is it?* (SP:D97PS005) But h-- I mean (pause) are people in the habit of wanting …	

File	Sample tokens from BNC utterances: follow-up *is it*	Canonical expectation
BNC:F7C S_meeting	… now in a couple of weeks, so I'm gonna go (SP:PS1LK) ***Is it*** now? (SP:PS1LJ) Right (SP:PS1LG) in a couple of weeks, whenever it is …	
BNC:F7E S_meeting	(SP:PS1LT) Aye, the one that, the one that we printed out. (SP:PS1LU) ***Is it?*** Yeah, that's it! No, that's er …	
BNC:FUK S_meeting	it is every weekend is a lot of money, on E D P. (SP:PS1UT) ***Is it?*** (SP:PS1US) Mhm. (SP:PS1UU) Oh yes. I-- it's about …	

Table F.5: *Is it* **tokens from the Strathy**

File	Sample tokens from Strathy utterances: follow-up *is it*
CAN:2005:SPOK AlbertaUtilitiesBoard	MR. RICK-MCKEE: It is -- it is on our website. ! THE-CHAIRPERSON: ***Is it?*** ! MR. RICK-MCKEE: It was done under a different copyright arrangement with …
CAN:2004:SPOK MackVEnvironRev	… I get you to -- MR. JOE-ACORN: Sure -- THE-CHAIRPERSON: ***Is it*** -- do you want Joe to answer that now? Okay. !

Table F.6: *Is it* **tokens from the COCA**

File	Sample tokens from COCA utterances: follow-up *is it*
COCA:2015:SPOK NBC	Exactly. Like straight hair is the standard of beauty, period. And-- NATALIE-MORALES: ***Is it*** though? I mean-- NIKKI-WALTON: Yes, it truly is. I mean there …
COCA:2015:SPOK NBC	But-- NATALIE-MORALES: Wow. TAMRON-HALL: Yes, it is. NATALIE-MORALES: It is working. WILLIE-GEIST: ***Is it?*** NATALIE-MORALES: it's fantastic. (Cross-talking) AL ROKER: Yeah, this is
COCA:2015:SPOK NPR	… a completely different thing than just reading something. It's ironic now... TERRY-GROSS: ***Is it?*** You know' cause you even tweeted - you mentioned in a recent …
COCA:2015:SPOK ABC	BYRON-PITTS: (Off-camera) That's crazy. BRADLEY COOPER (" AMERICAN SNIPER "): ***Is it?*** I mean, it doesn't feel crazy.

File	Sample tokens from COCA utterances: follow-up *is it*
COCA:2015:SPOK ABC	... SHARELL: This is so relaxing. TOMMIE: *Is it?* WAITER (ACTOR) *Is it?* TOMMIE: *Is it?* WAITER (ACTOR): See? TOMMIE# See?
COCA:2015:SPOK CNN	… the first encounter or message encounter is a little aggressive. SPURLOCK# *Is it? Is it?* CAAMPUED: I'm just going to send this. SPURLOCK: Just send it
COCA:2015:SPOK NPR	... Jewel, is this true? JEWEL: That is true. PETER-SAGAL: *Is it?* JEWEL: Yeah, I didn't kiss Rob Lowe. I didn't …
COCA:2015:SPOK NBC	… on HBO, you're voicing documentaries. LIEV-SCHREIBER: It's my favorite stuff. SAVANNAH-GUTHRIE: *Is it?* LIEV-SCHREIBER: Yeah. SAVANNAH-GUTHRIE: I mean, is it a fun thing to …
COCA:2015:SPOK NBC	… learn a little something, too. Fifty is the-- the new thirty. HODA-KOTB: *Is it?* KATHIE-LEE-GIFFORD: Yeah, yeah. HODA-KOTB: Well, you know what, it …
COCA:2015:SPOK NBC	… up forty-four, like this. WILLIE-GEIST: Doing well at forty-four. AL ROKER: *Is it?* (Cross-talking) TAMRON-HALL: Like this. Yeah, no, it's great.