



How to build common ground, one syntactic layer at a time.

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Overview

Empirical goal

Introduce sentence-initial response markers which express epistemic stance

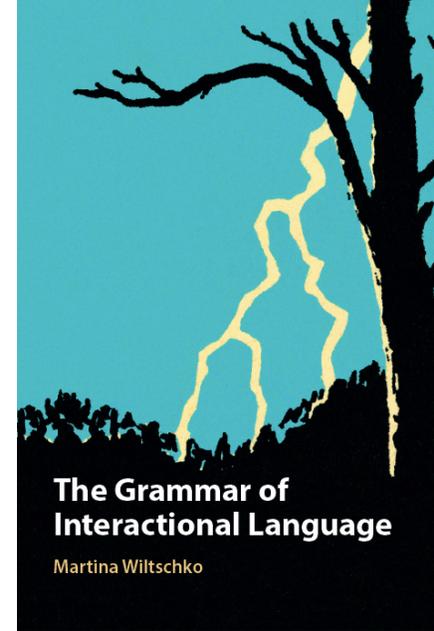
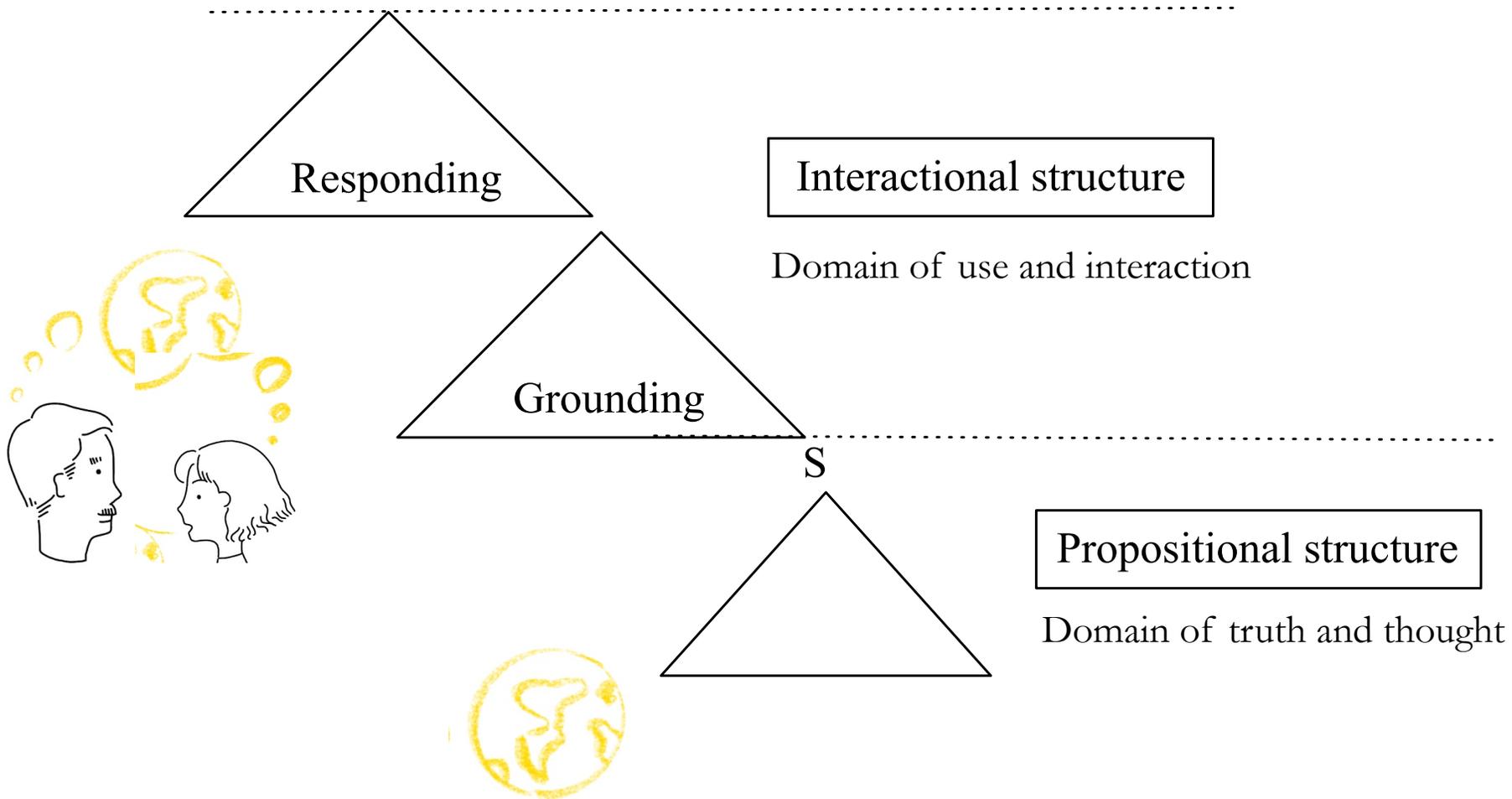
Analytical goal

Analyse these response markers within the framework of **Interactional Spine Hypothesis**

Theoretical goal

Draw conclusions about the linguistic representation of the common ground and the table

The interactional spine hypothesis (ISH)



An empirical problem

S-initial vs. S-internal discourse markers

Discourse markers

- (1) [Die Lena hot an neichn Hund]
Det Lena has a new dog
'Lena has a new dog.'

- (2) **Ma** [die Lena hot an neichn Hund]



- (3) **Geh** [die Lena hot an neichn Hund]



Discourse markers

Similar effect
as S-internal
discourse
particle

(1) [Die Lena hot an neichn Hund]

Det Lena has a new dog

‘Lena has a new dog.’

(2) **Ma** [die Lena hot an neichn Hund]

[Die Lena hot **leicht** an neichn Hund]



(3) **Geh** [die Lena hot an neichn Hund]

[Die Lena hot **doch** an neichn Hund]



Discourse markers

These UoLs encode how propositional content is integrated into the **Common Ground**

(2) **Ma** [die Lena hot an neichn Hund]
[Die Lena hot **leicht** an neichn Hund]



(3) **Geh** [die Lena hot an neichn Hund]
[Die Lena hot **doch** an neichn Hund]



Surprise

Context: Mariana and Reingard are on a walk and from a distance they see their friend Lena who is walking with a dog, they have never seen before:

- R:
- a. *Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
'Lena has a new dog.'
 - b. **Ma**, die Lena hot an neichn Hund
 - c. ***Geh** die Lena hot an neichn Hund



Suprise

S-initial and S-internal particle can co-occur

Context: Mariana and Reingard are on a walk and from a distance they see their friend Lena who is walking with a dog, they have never seen before:

- R:
- a. Die Lena hot **leicht** an neichn Hund
'Lena has a new dog.'
 - b. **Ma,** die Lena hot an neichn Hund
 - c. **Ma,** die Lena hot **leicht** an neichn Hund



Discrepancy

I: Vielleicht wü die Lena an von unsare Hundal
Maybe wants det Lena one of our dog.dim
'Maybe Lena wants one of our puppies.'

R: a. ??Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
'Lena has a new dog.'
b. ***Ma**, die Lena hot an neichn Hund
c. **Geh** die Lena hot an neichn Hund



Discrepancy

S-initial and S-internal particle can co-occur

I: Vielleicht wü die Lena an von unsare Hundal
Maybe wants det Lena one of our dog.dim
'Maybe Lena wants one of our puppies.'

- R:
- a. Die Lena hot **doch** an neichn Hund
'Lena has a new dog.'
 - b. **Geh** die Lena hot an neichn Hund
 - c. **Geh** die Lena hot **doch** an neichn Hund



Not compatible
with answer to
broad focus
question

Discourse markers

I: *Was gibt's neichs?*
 'What's new?'

R1: [*Die Lena hot an neichn Hund*]
 Det Lena has a new dog
 'Lena has a new dog.'

R2: ***Ma** [*die Lena hot an neichn Hund*]
 **Die Lena hot leicht an neichn Hund*



R3: ***Geh** [*die Lena hot an neichn Hund*]
 **Die Lena hot doch an neichn Hund.*



Distribution

Context: Mariana and Reingard are on a walk and from a distance they see their friend Lena who is walking with a dog, they have never seen before:

- R:
- a. Schau dort drüm. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund.
‘Look over there. Lena has a new dog.’
 - b. **Ma** schau dort drüm. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund.
 - c. Schau dort drüm. ***Ma** die Lena hot an neichn Hund.
 - d. **Ma** schau dort drüm. Die Lena hot **leicht** an neichn Hund.



Distribution

Context: Mariana and Reingard are on a walk and from a distance they see their friend Lena who is walking with a dog, they have never seen before:

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'Look over there. Lena has a new dog.'
 - b. **Ma** schau dort drüm. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund.
 - c. Schau dort drüm. ***Ma** die Lena hot an neichn Hund.
 - d. **Ma** schau dort drüm. Die Lena hot **leicht** an neichn Hund.
 - e. ***Ma** schau **leicht** dort drüm. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund.



Distribution

I: Vielleicht wü die Lena an von unsare Hundal
 Maybe wants det Lena one of our dog.dim
 ‘Maybe Lena wants one of our puppies.’

- R:
- a. Wos redtst’n zam? Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
 ‘What are you talking about? Lena has a new dog.’
 - b. **Geh** wos redtst’n zam. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
 - c. *Wos redtst’n zam. **Geh** Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
 - d. **Geh** wos redtst’n zam. Die Lena hot **doch** an neichn Hund
 - e. ***Geh** wos redtst’n **doch** zam. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund



S-internal has
clause-type
restrictions

Distribution

I: Vielleicht wü die Lena an von unsare Hundal
Maybe wants det Lena one of our dog.dim
'Maybe Lena wants one of our puppies.'

- R:
- a. Wos redtst'n zam? Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
'What are you talking about? Lena has a new dog.'
 - b. **Geh** wos redtst'n zam. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
 - c. *Wos redtst'n zam. **Geh** Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
 - d. **Geh** wos redtst'n zam. Die Lena hot **doch** an neichn Hund
 - e. ***Geh** wos redtst'n **doch** zam. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund



Similarities and differences

	ma	geh	leicht	doch
S-oriented	✓	X	✓	X
Adr-oriented	X	✓	X	✓
Move-internal	X	X	✓	✓
Clause-type restriction	X	X	✓	✓

Interpretive ingredients:

- Spkr, Adr
- old/new information

Distributional differences:

- Move-type restrictions vs.
- clause-type restriction

Similarities and differences

	ma	geh	leicht	doch
S-oriented	✓	X	✓	X
Adr-oriented	X	✓	X	✓
Move-internal	X	X	✓	✓
Clause-type restriction	X	X	✓	✓

How does grammar interact
with **Common Ground**?

What is common ground?

A theoretical problem

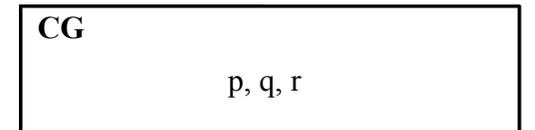
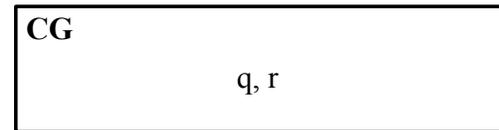
What is common ground?

“To presuppose something is to take it for granted, or at least to act as if one takes it for granted, as background information – as *common ground* among the participants in the conversation.”

Stalnaker 2002: 701

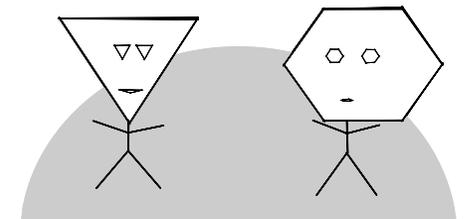
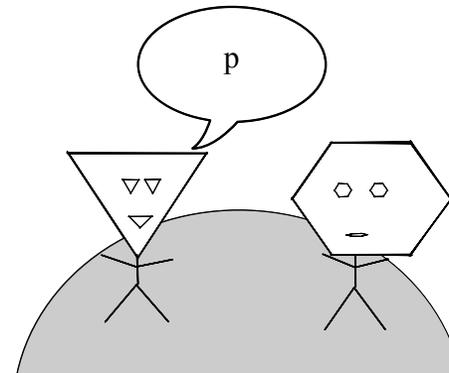
Assertions update the common ground

attributed to Stalnaker 1978



CG contains:

- propositions
- discourse referents



What is common ground?

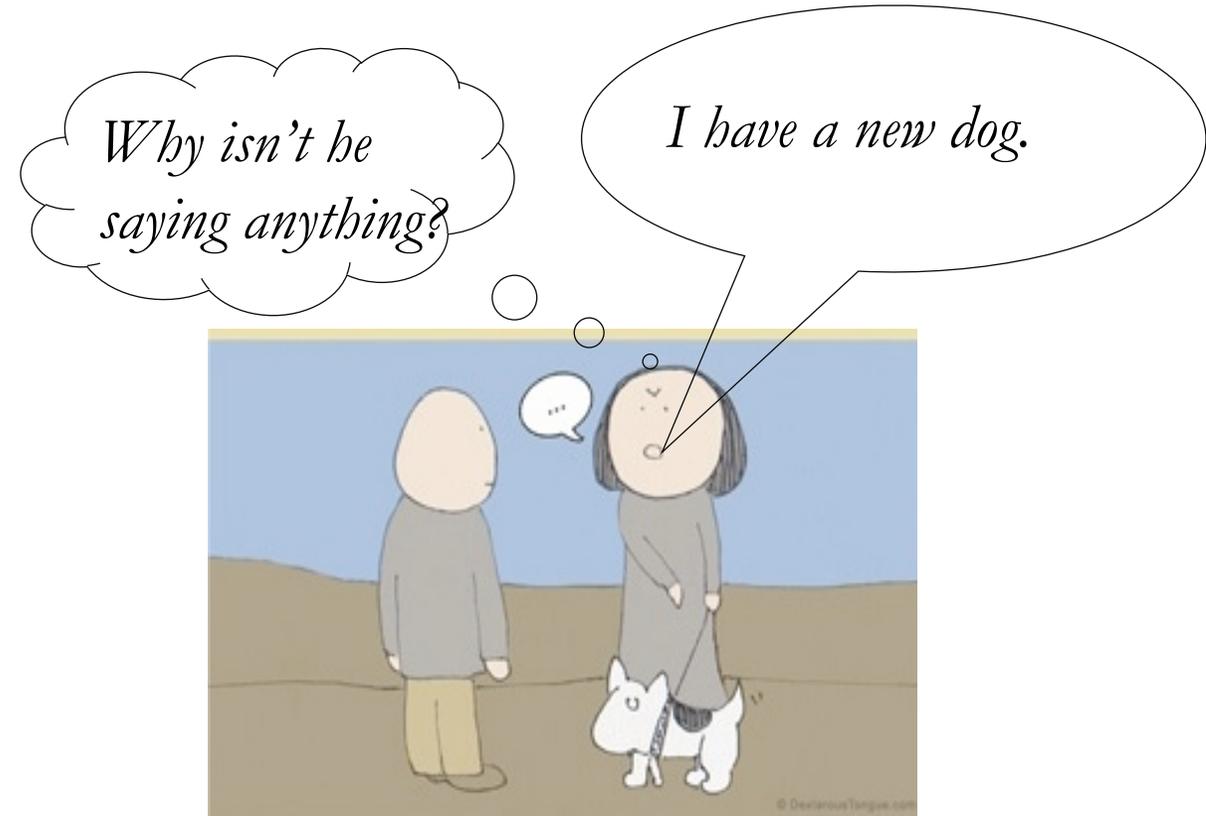
Common ground
is constructed
mutually

Classic Speech-Act Theory

S asserts p if

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

Bach & Harnish 1979

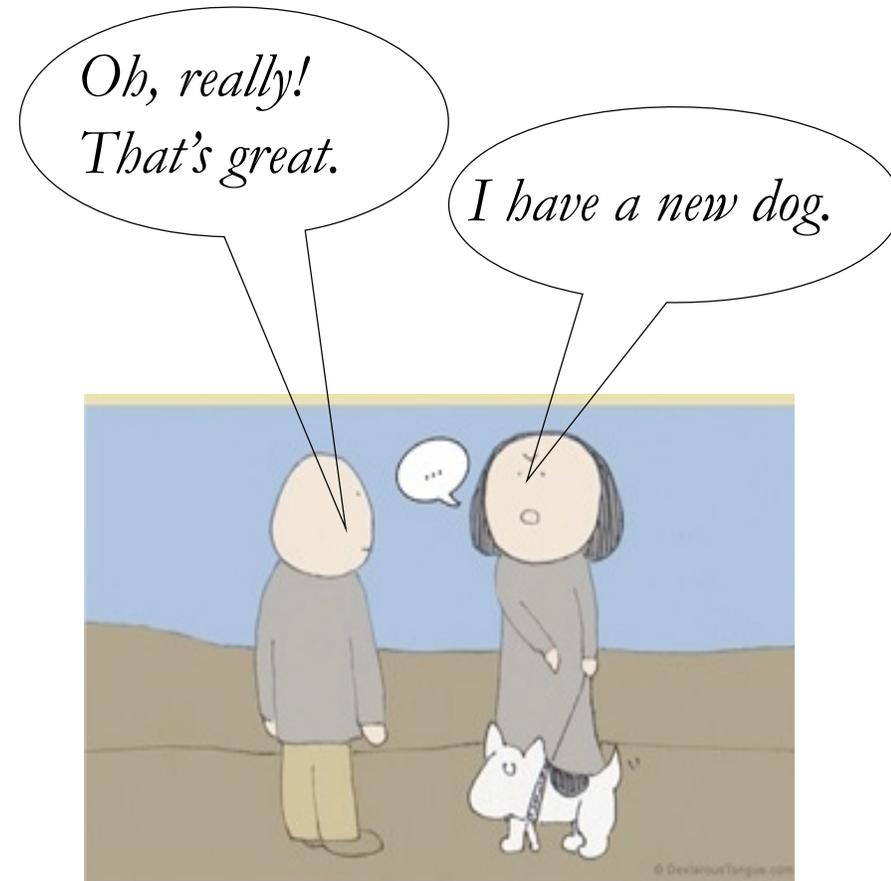


Common ground
is constructed
mutually

Assertions are **proposals** to update CG

Stalnaker 1978

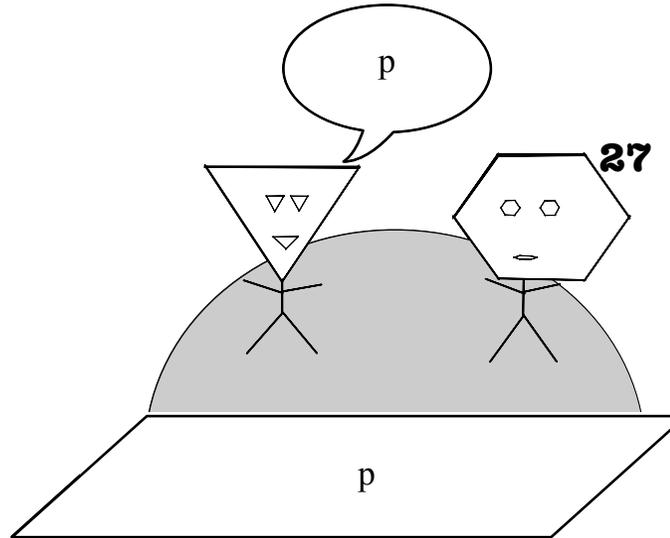
- Assertion does not expand the common ground immediately, (only in the absence of rejection).
- Assertion proposes to make p common ground
- making p common ground is a further process
- Requires negotiation by the interlocutors
(see Clark,1996).



Disagreement

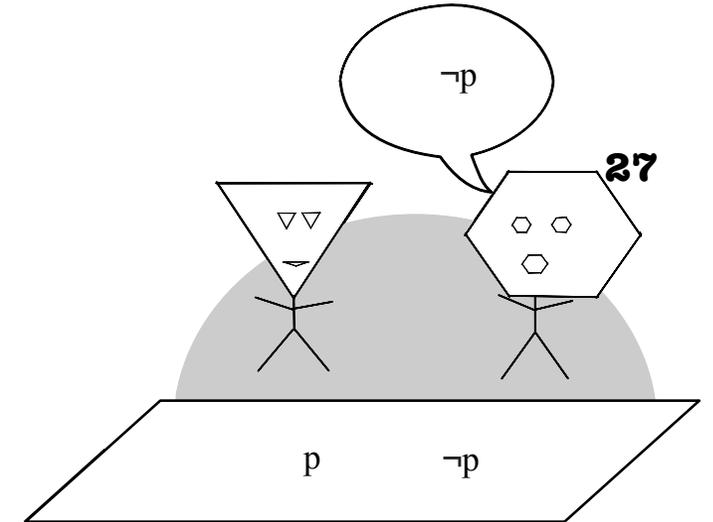
Initiation

SELF p, q, r	27 q, r
------------------------	-------------------



Reaction

SELF q, r Bel (p)	27 q, r Bel (\neg p)
--------------------------------	--------------------------------------



\mathcal{I}

John is leaving for Italy.

\mathcal{R}

i) He isn't.

ii) {Actually, well, uuuhmmmm} he isn't.

Disagreement

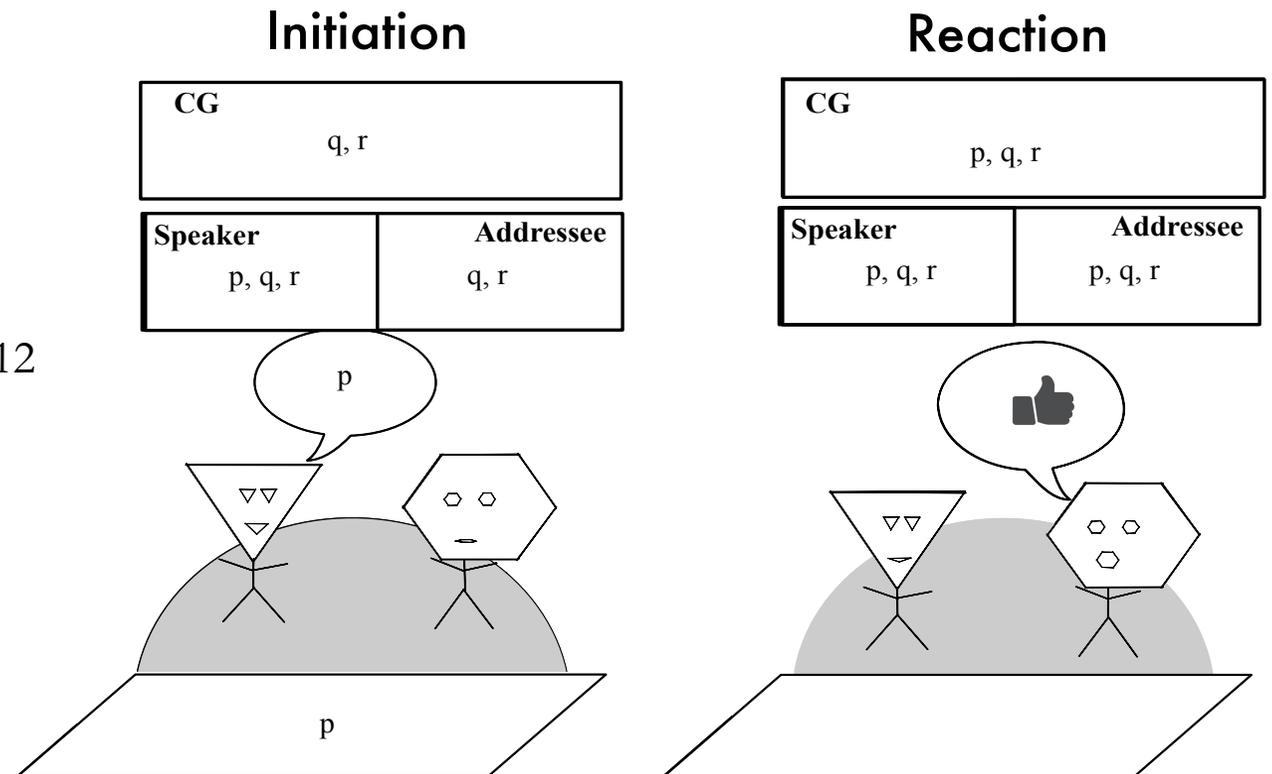
It should be made clear that to reject an assertion is not to assert or assent to the contradictory of the assertion, but only to refuse to accept the assertion. If an assertion is rejected, the context [common ground] remains the same as it was.

(Stalnaker, 1978, p. 87, fn9)

Common ground
is constructed
mutually

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

Bavelas et al. 2012



The table...

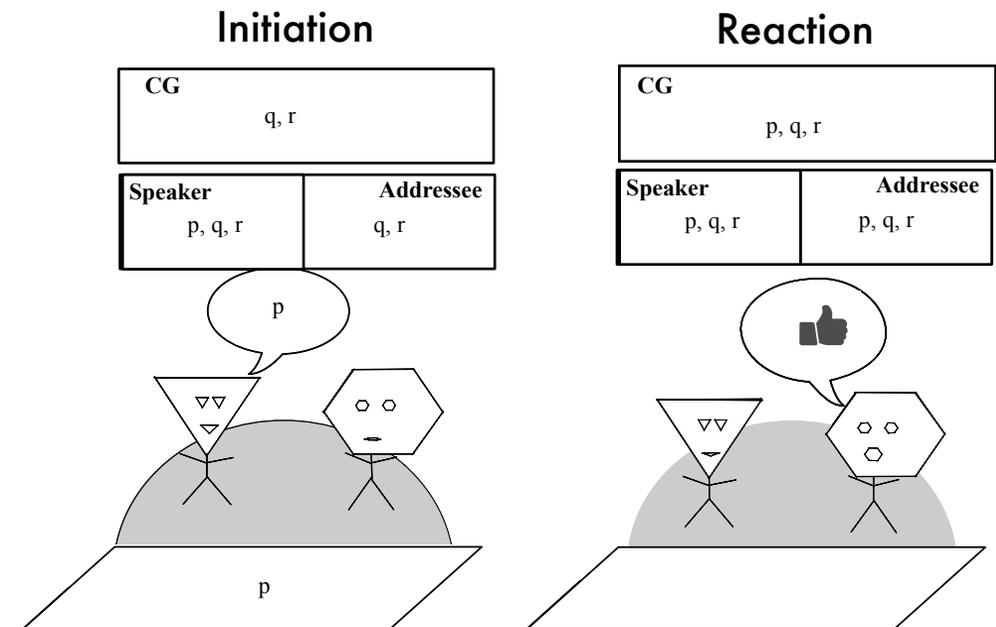
- a discourse component that records the Questions under Discussion
- Records what is ‘at issue’ in the conversation

“When the table is not empty, the immediate goal of the conversation is to empty it, ... to settle the issue at hand.

"... allows us to capture the tight connection between the initiating conversational moves, ... and responding moves..."

Farkas & Bruce 2010

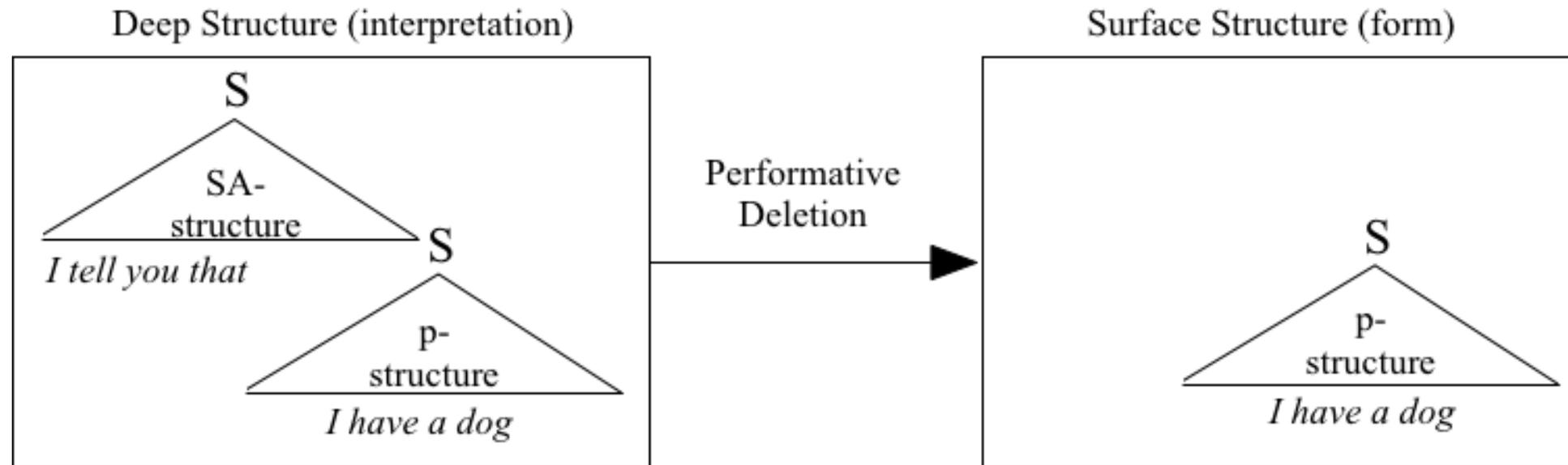
How does grammar interact with **Common Ground** (and the table)?



How does grammar interact
with **Common Ground**
(and the table)?

The view from syntax

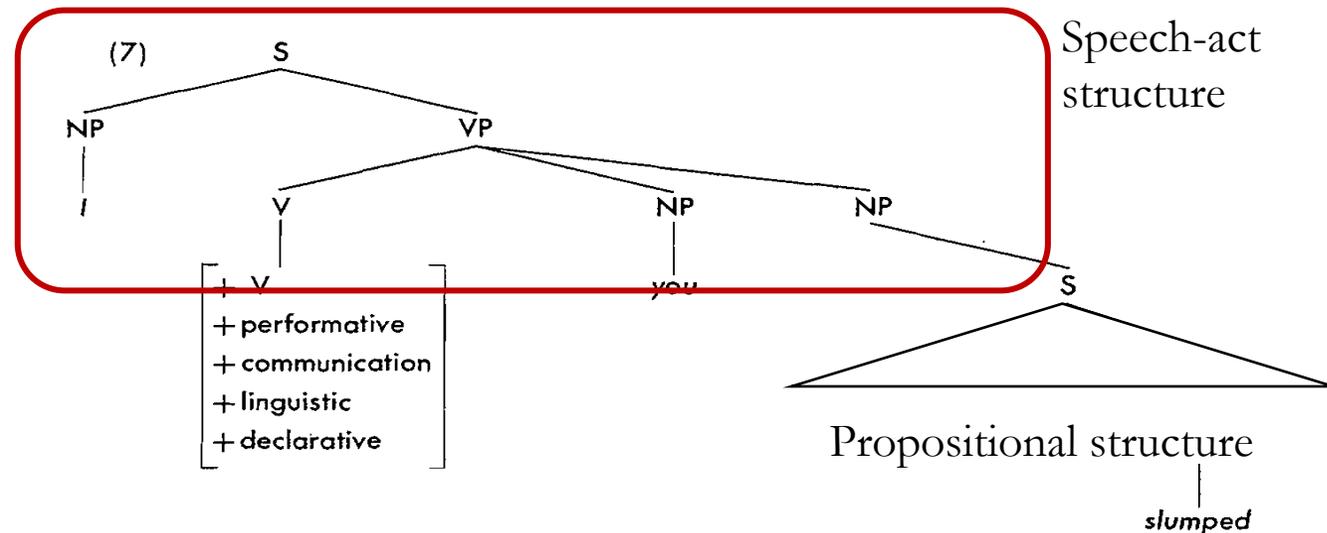
Syntacticizing speech acts



Ross, 1970

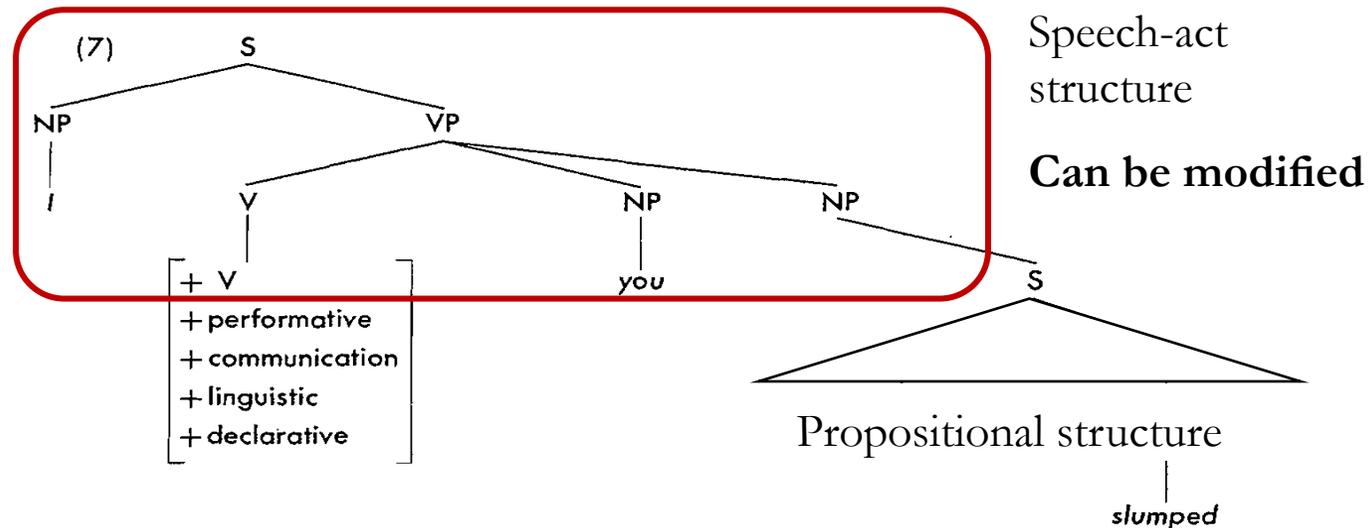
Syntacticizing speech acts

- All sentences are performative utterances.
- We're doing something with everything we say!
- What we are doing is encoded in the sentence at D-S!



Syntacticizing speech acts

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



Syntacticizing speech acts

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

a. Khaw maa khráp.

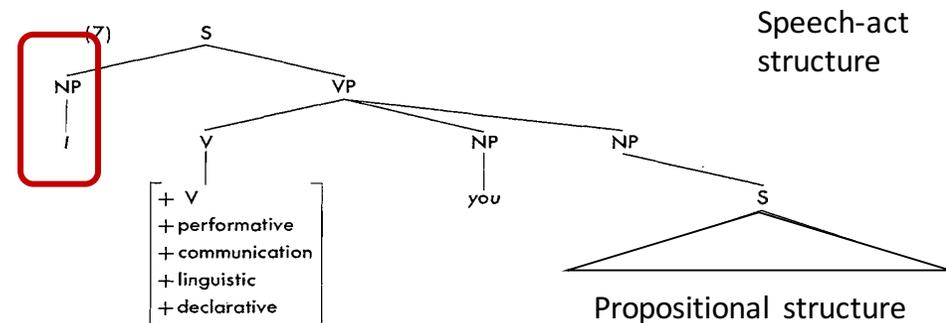
he come spkr=male

"He is coming."

b. Khaw maa khâ.

he come spkr=female

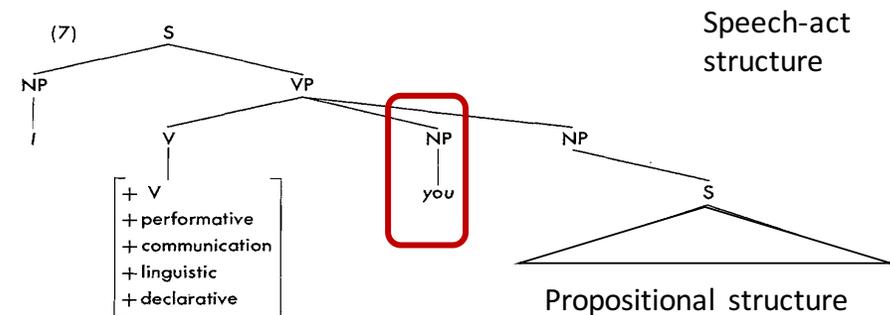
"He is coming."



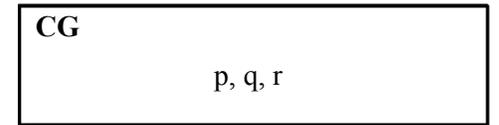
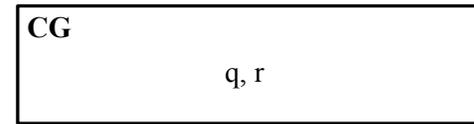
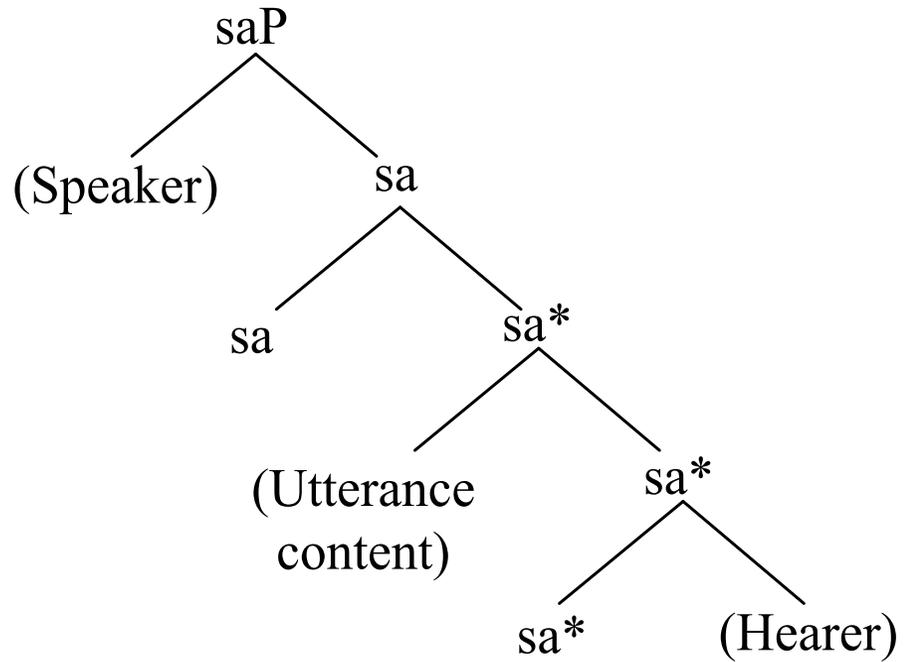
Syntacticizing speech acts

Basque addressee agreement (Miyagawa 2012 (8))

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



Syntacticizing speech acts

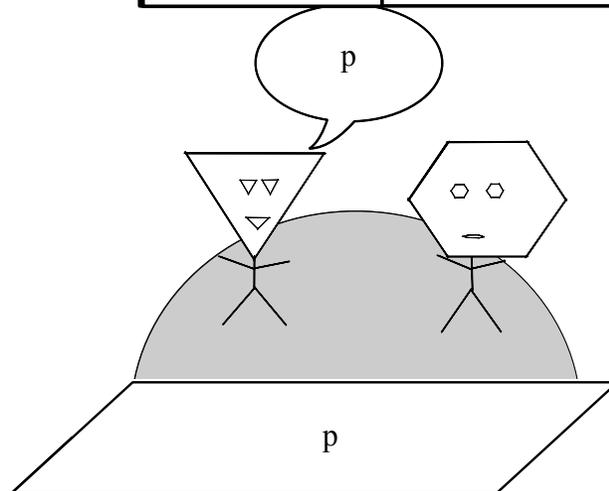


Speas & Tenny 2003

How do we
syntacticize
mutual grounding

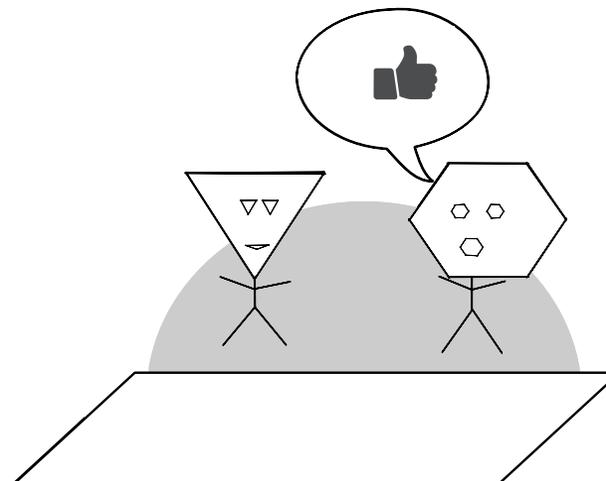
Initiation

CG q, r	
Speaker p, q, r	Addressee q, r



Reaction

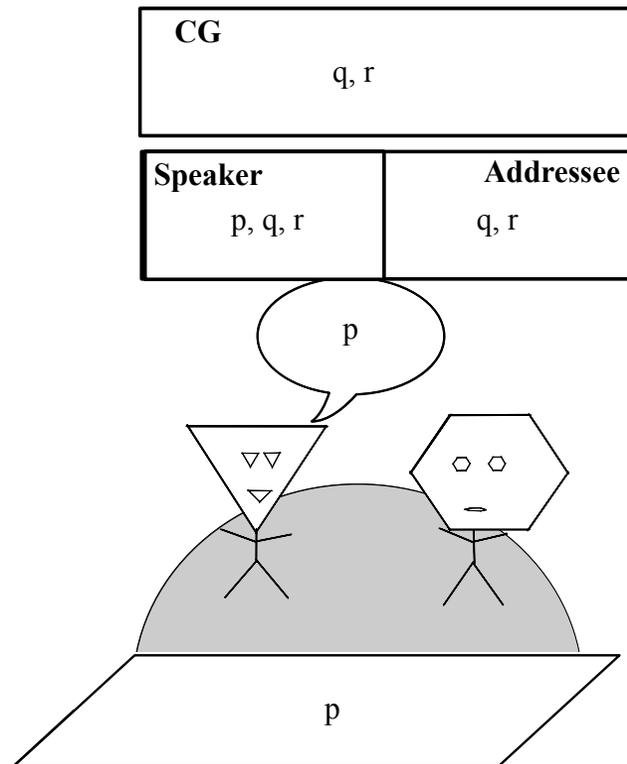
CG p, q, r	
Speaker p, q, r	Addressee p, q, r



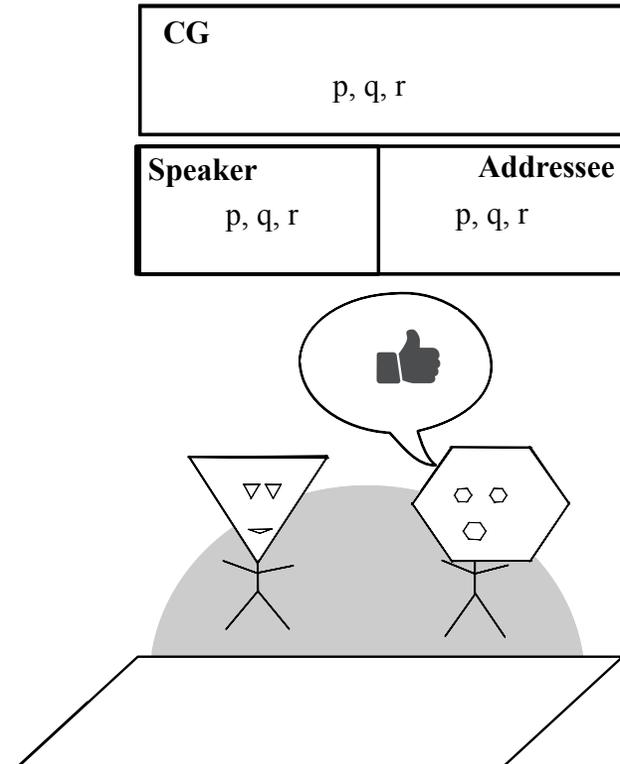
Ingredients:

- S-Ground and A-ground
- Table
- 2 types of moves

Initiation

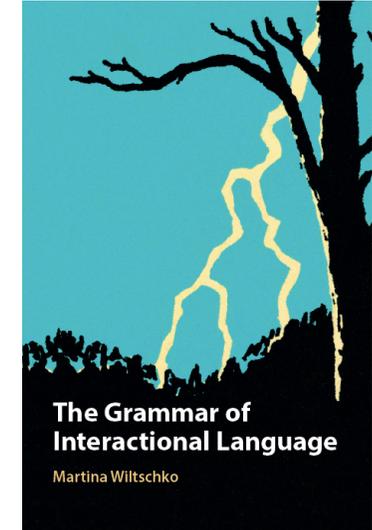
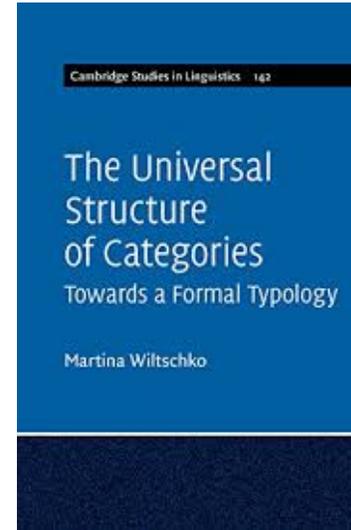


Reaction

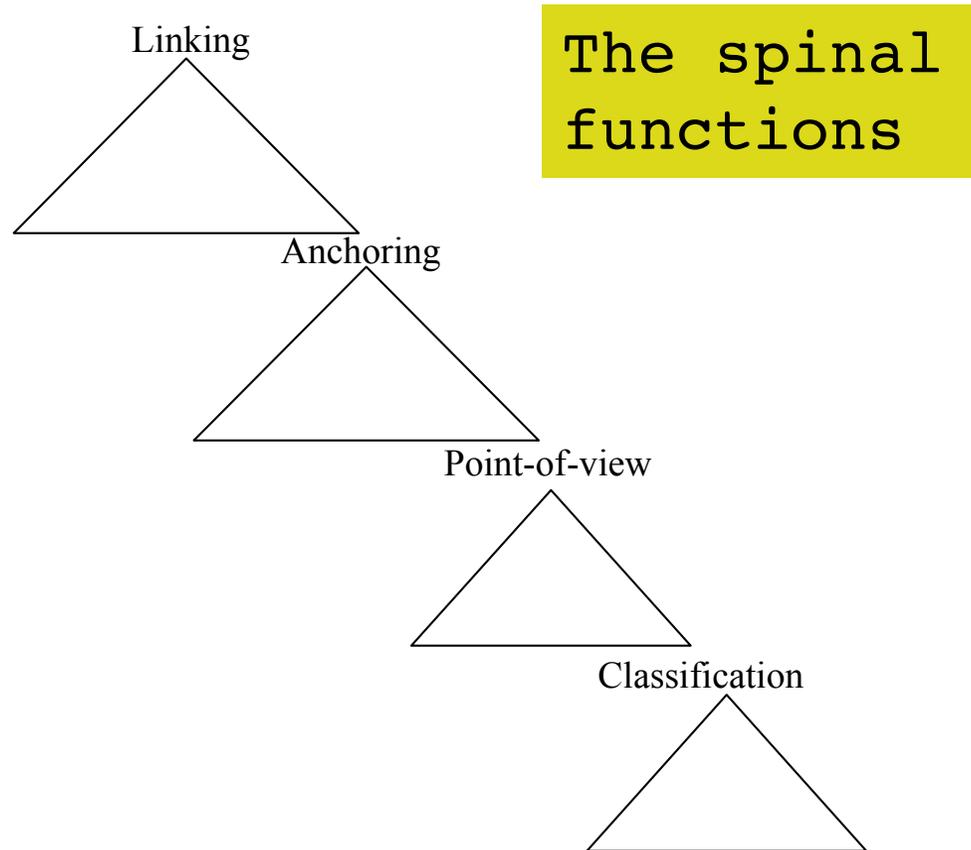


The grammar of interactional language

Background

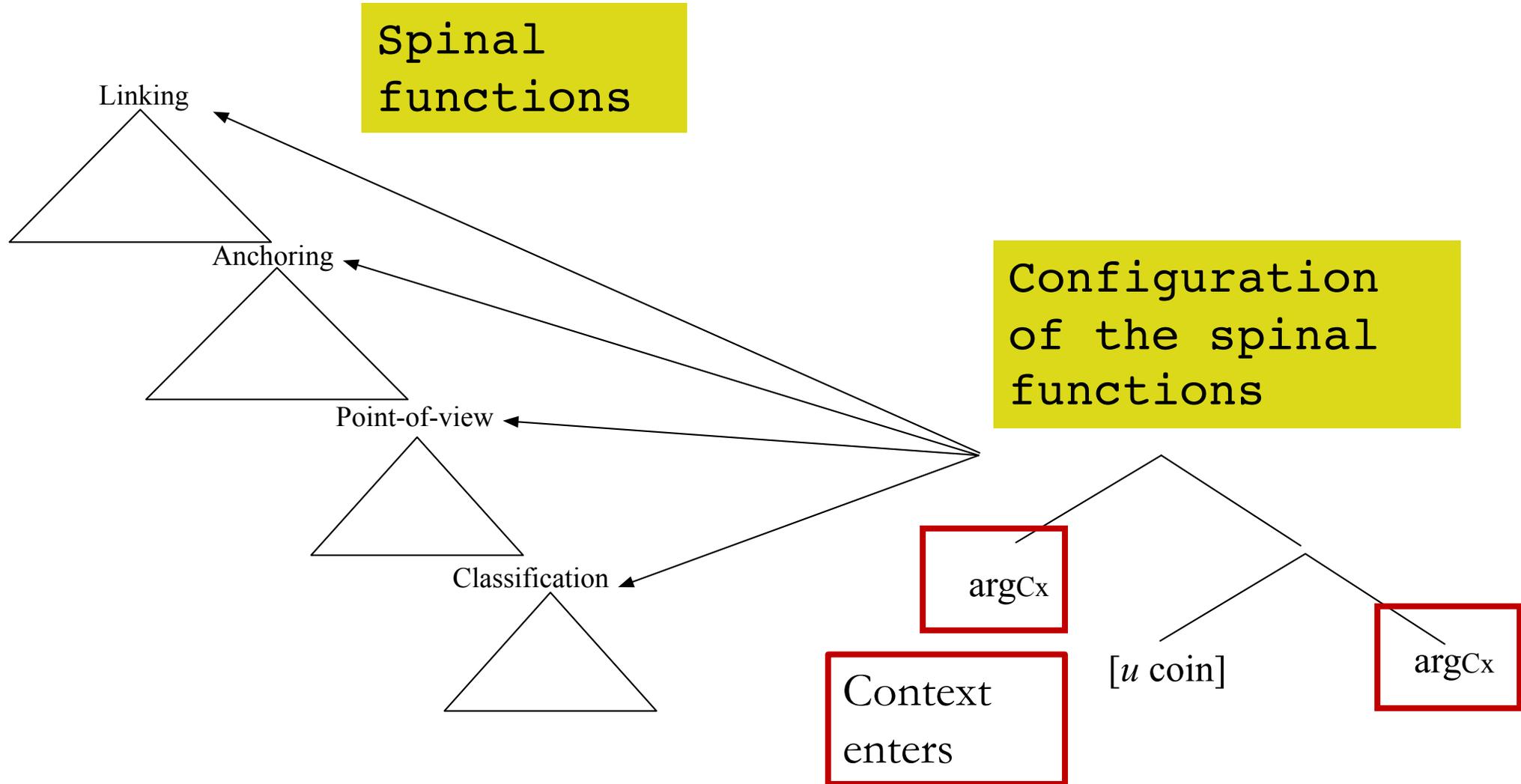


The universal spine hypothesis



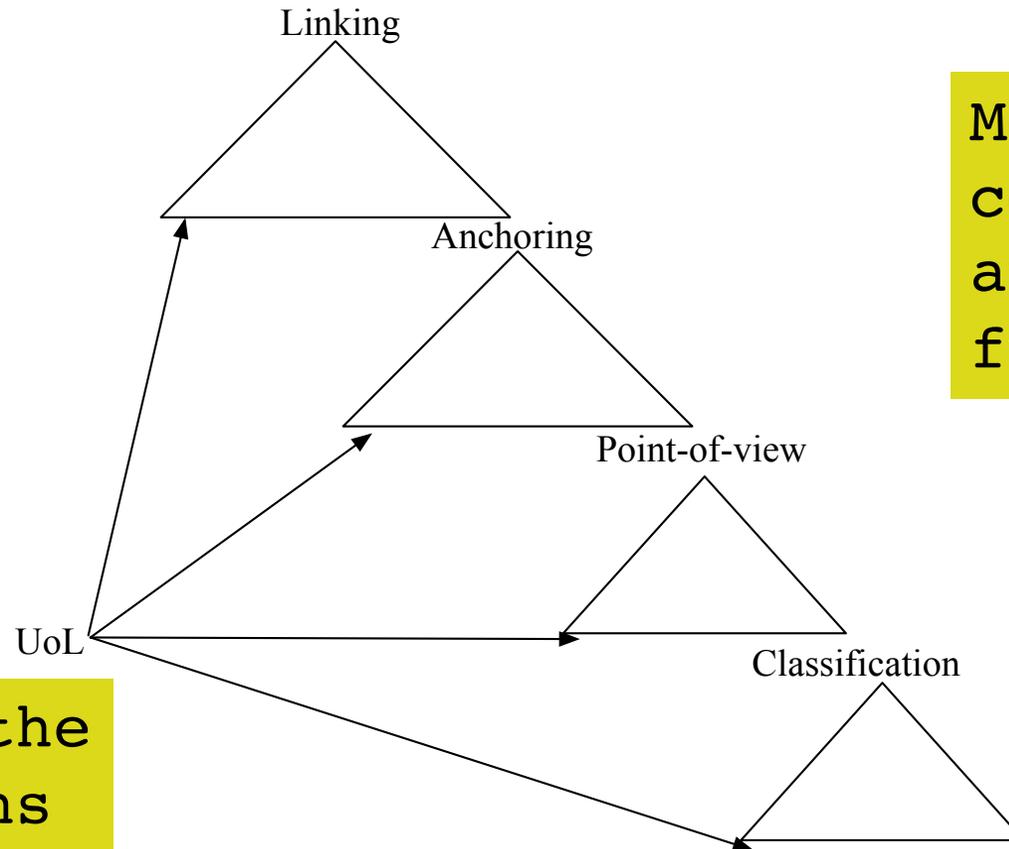
The universal spine hypothesis

(Wiltschko 2014)



The universal spine hypothesis

(Wiltschko 2014)

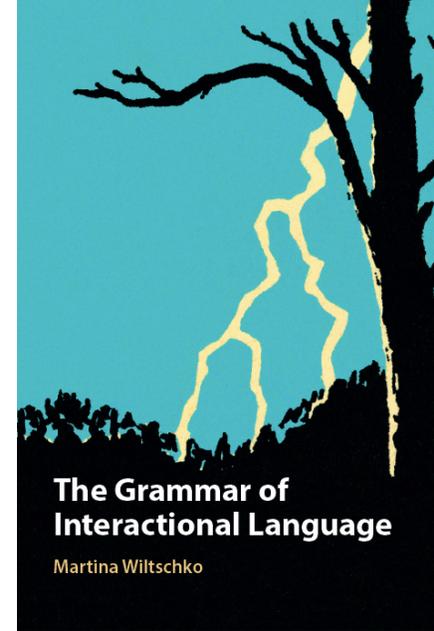
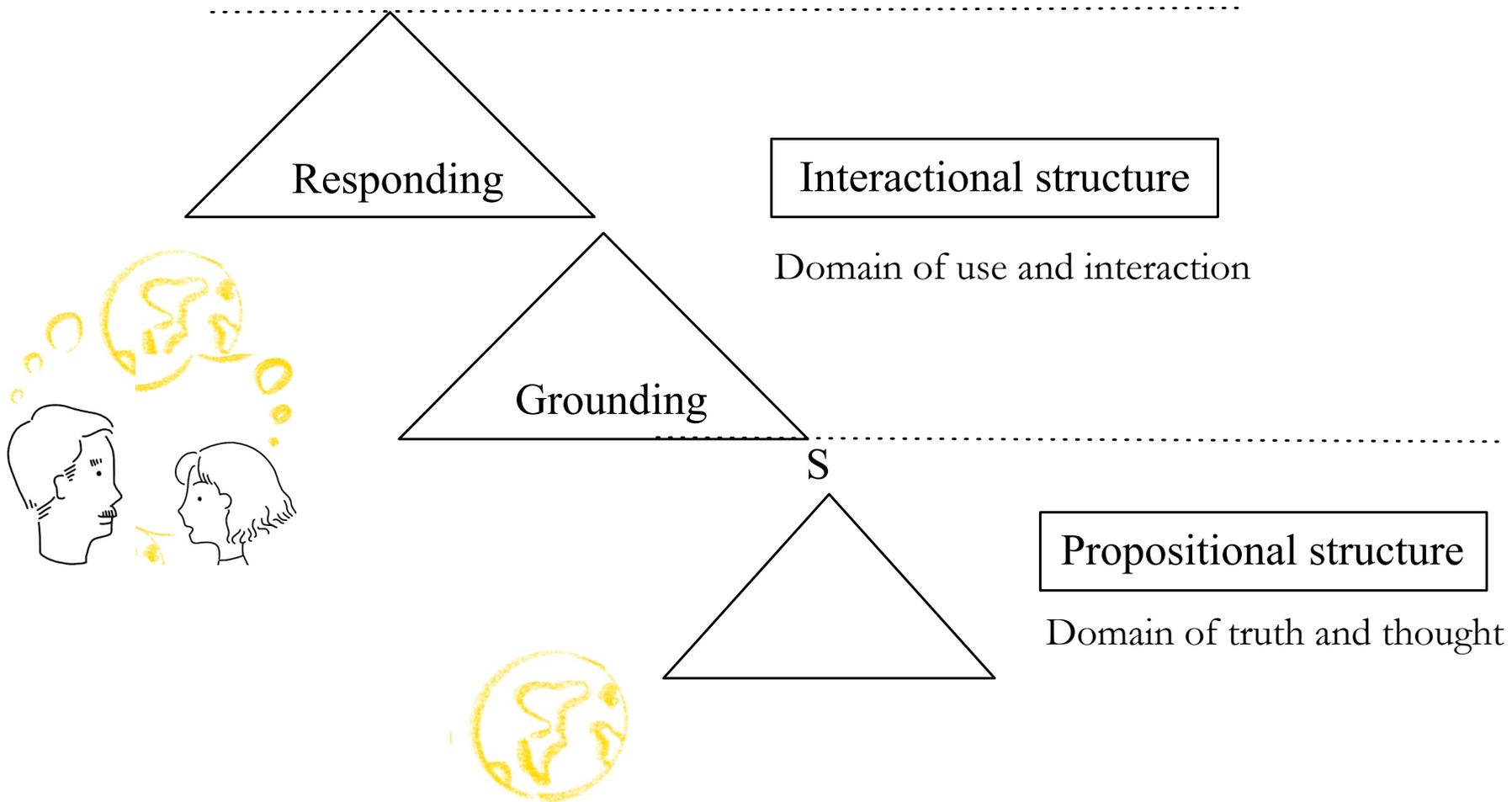


Lexicon
enters

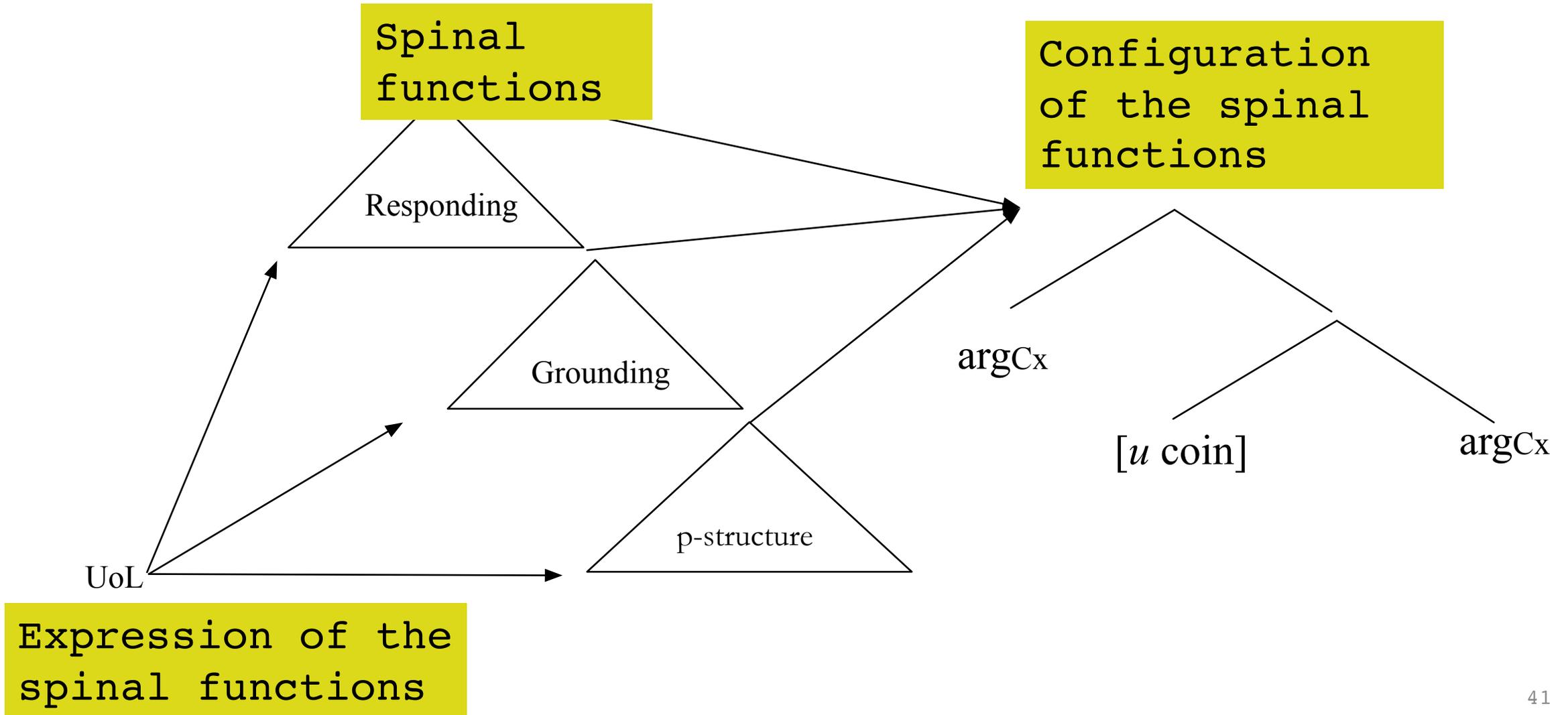
Expression of the
spinal functions

Meaning is
composed of UoLs
and the spinal
functions

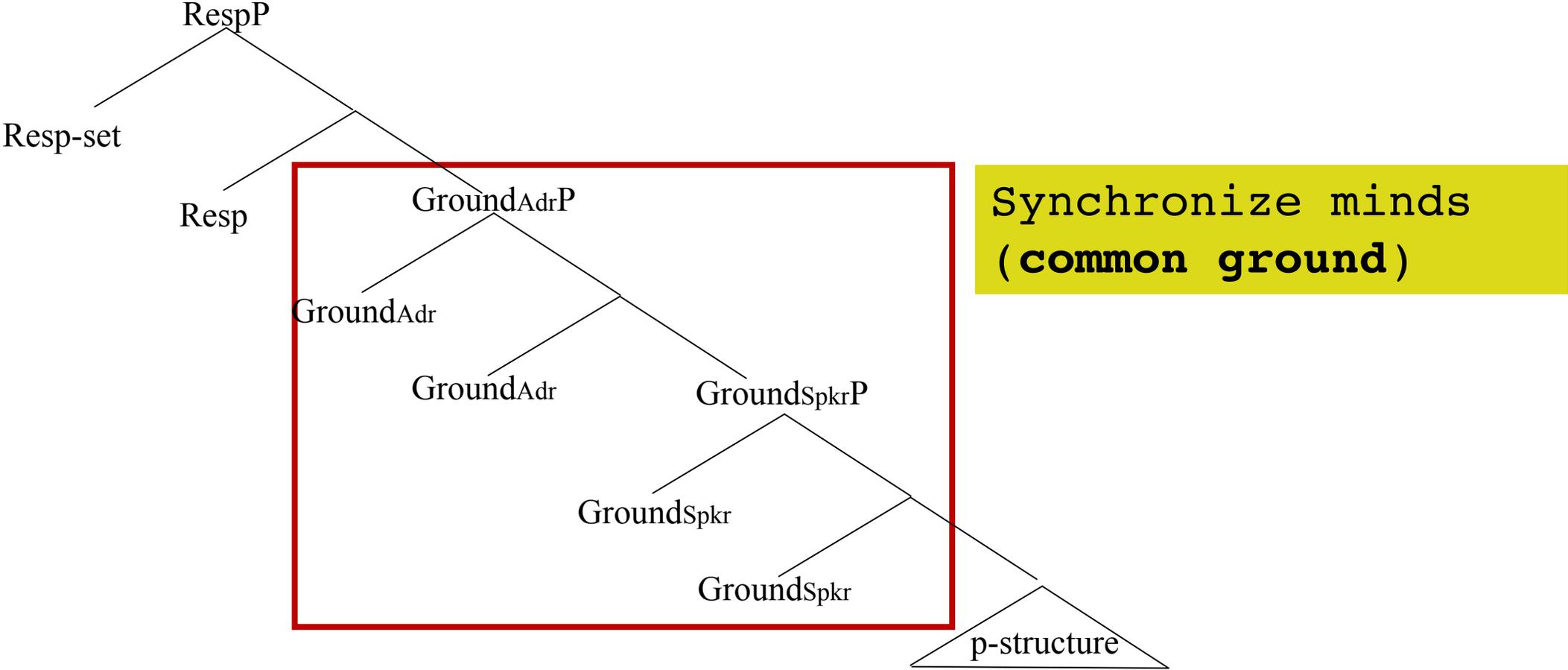
The interactional spine hypothesis (ISH)



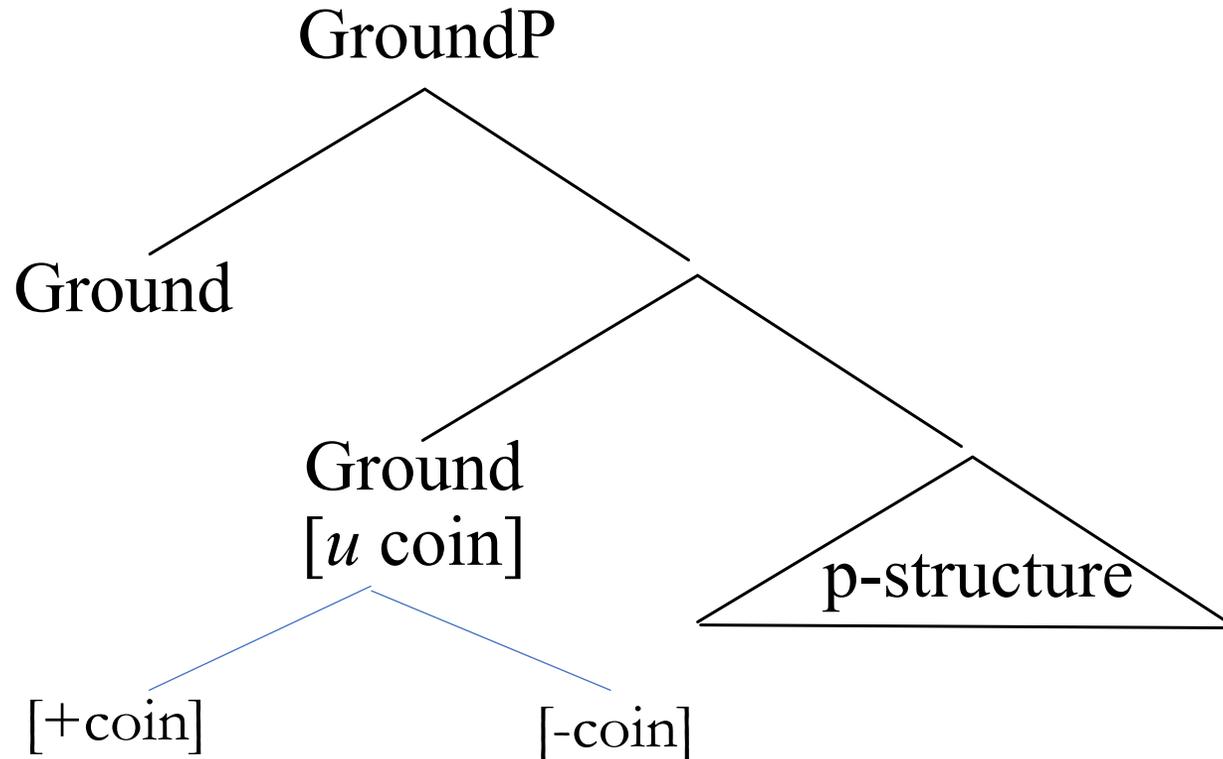
The interactional spine hypothesis



The interactional spine hypothesis



The interactional spine hypothesis



What I'm saying is
in my/your ground

What I'm saying is
not in my/your ground

Mandarin

	Speaker-oriented	Addressee-oriented
old	<i>de</i> : Ground _{Spkr} [+coin]	<i>ma</i> : Ground _{Adr} [+coin]
new	<i>a</i> : Ground _{Spkr} [-coin]	<i>bei</i> : Ground _{Adr} [-coin]

Mandarin: *de* [+coin] Ground_{Spkr}

Context: John was told that Mary drives to work. He wonders whether he can take a ride each morning. But he is not sure whether Mary drives every morning. He runs into Bob, Mary's husband, and wants to know whether it is true. Bob says:

Ta meitian zaoshang kaiche shangban **de.**
She every.day morning drive work **PRT**
'She (really) drives to work every morning.'

Ta meitian zaoshang kaiche shangban.
She every.day morning drive work
She drive to work every morning.



a [-coin] Ground_{Spkr}

Context: John is talking with his advisor Mary for his graduation. He thinks he has already done what are required for graduation. But Mary thinks he needs to publish another article before his graduation.

John: Dou wancheng le. Wo xianzai deng zhe biye le.
Everything is done. Now I am waiting for my graduation.

Mary: Buguo ni hai xuyao fabiao yi pian lunwen.
But you still need publish one cl paper
But you need to publish one more paper (before you graduate).

John: Shenme? Wo hai dei xie yi pian lunwen *a*
What? I still must write one CL thesis **PRT**
What? I still have a thesis to write (which is out of my expectation).

ma [+coin] Ground_{Adr}

Context: Mary gave John a puppy. After a month, John asks Mary which kind of dog's food is better for his dog.

Ni shangci gei wo le tiao gou **ma** ...

You last.time give me asp cl dog pit

...wo xiang wen ni nage paizi de gouliang hao.

I want ask you which brand poss. dog.food good.

'Remember you gave me a dog last time.'

'Now I want to ask which food is good for him.'



bei [-coin] Ground_{Adr}

Context: Mary knows that John doesn't like cats. But one day when they are in the supermarket, she finds that John is looking at cat toys.

Mary: Ni zenme kan mao de dongxi?

You why look cat poss. things

Why are you looking at the cat stuff?

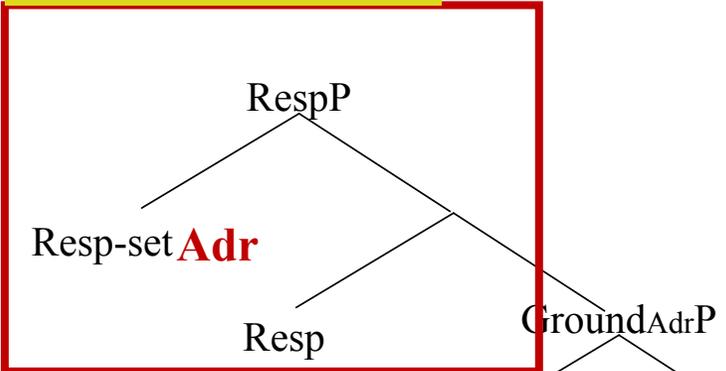
John: Wo erzi jian huilai yi zhi mao **bei** yiding yao yang.

My son pick back one cl cat prt, certainly want keep

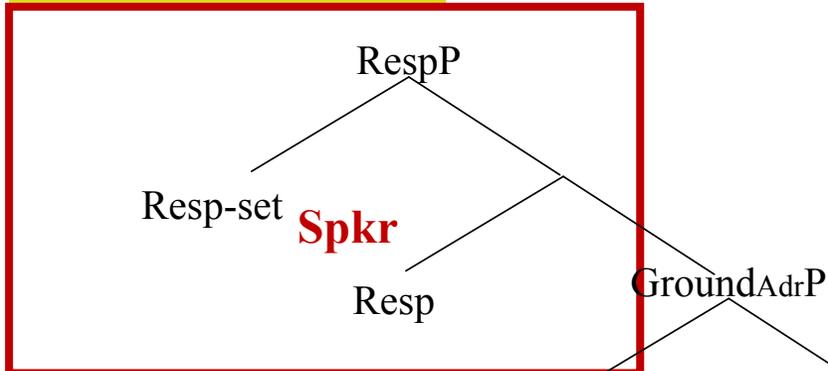
(You haven't known that) my son picked up a cat somewhere and wants to keep it anyway.

The interactional spine hypothesis

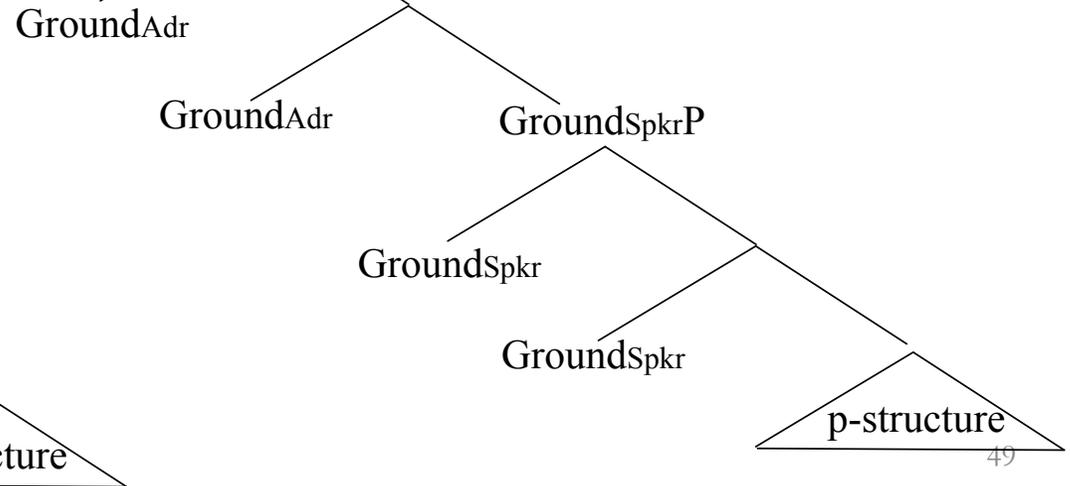
Initiating
move



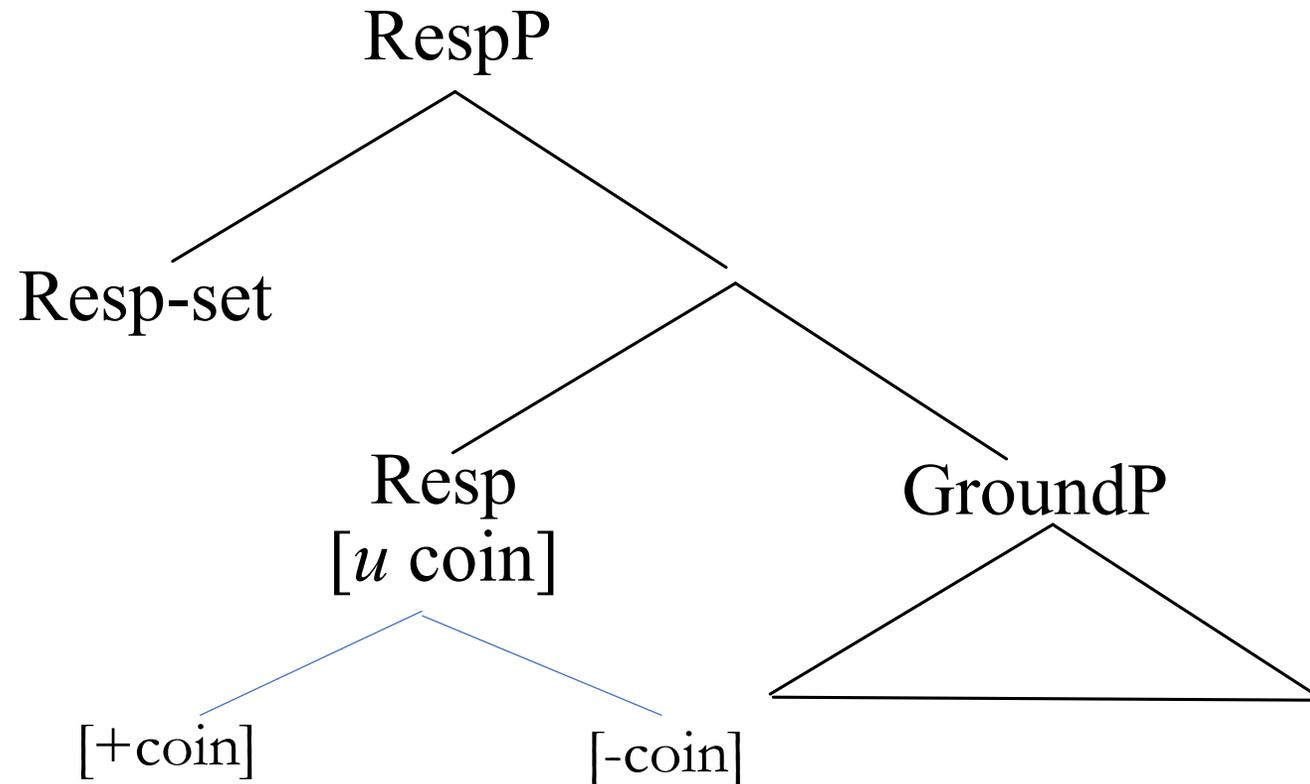
Reacting
move



Sequence moves
(turn taking)



The interactional spine hypothesis



What I'm saying is in
my/your response-set

What I'm saying is not in
my/your response-set

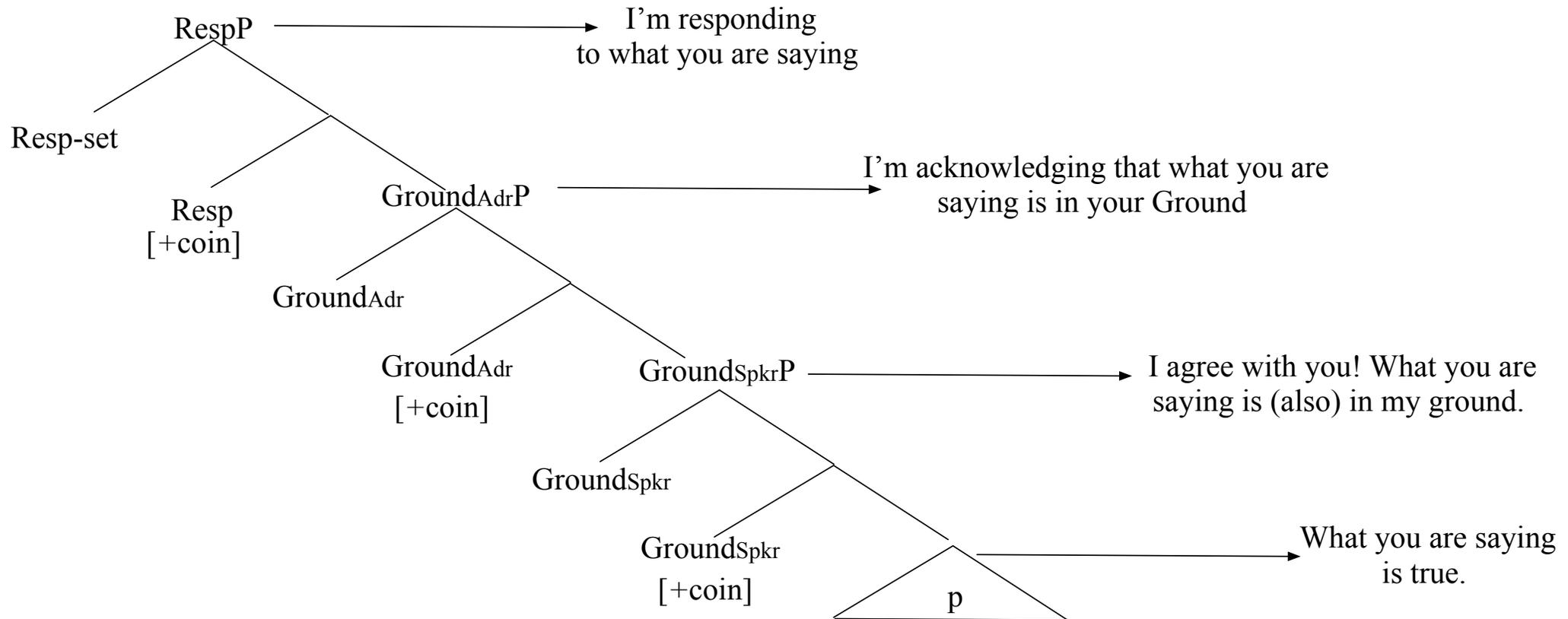
i-spine regulates i-language

Response markers

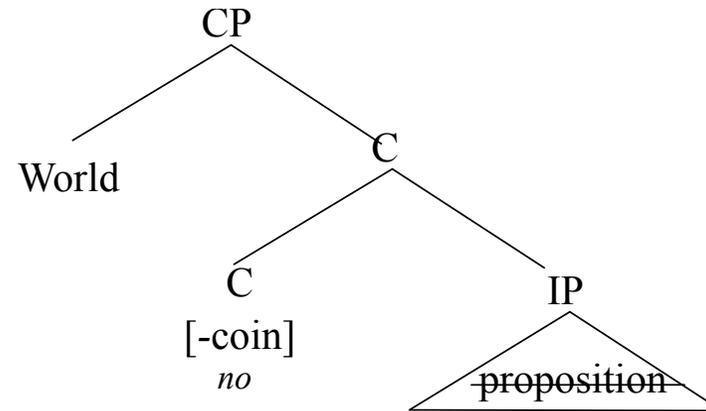
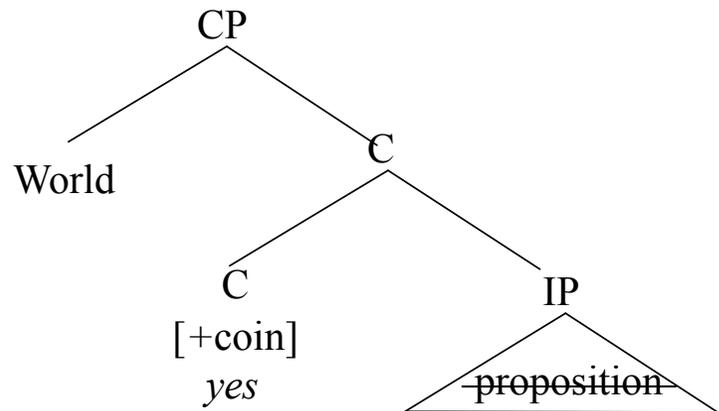
Confirmationals

The role of the spine

The same system regulates confirmational and response markers

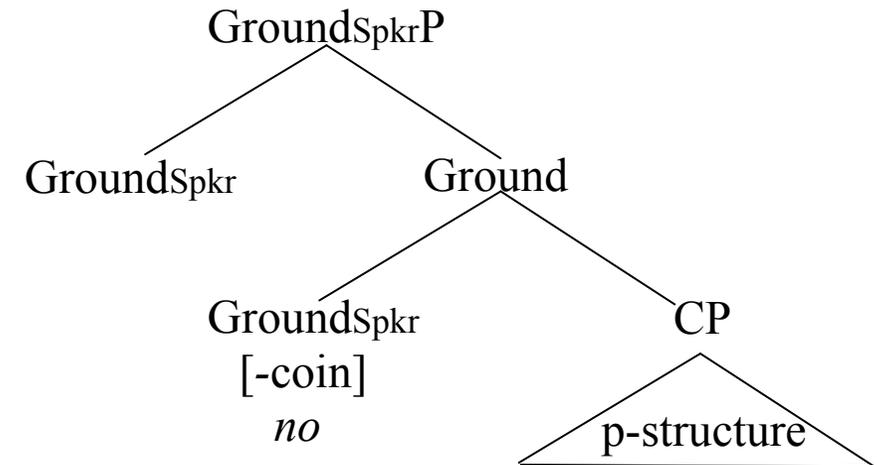
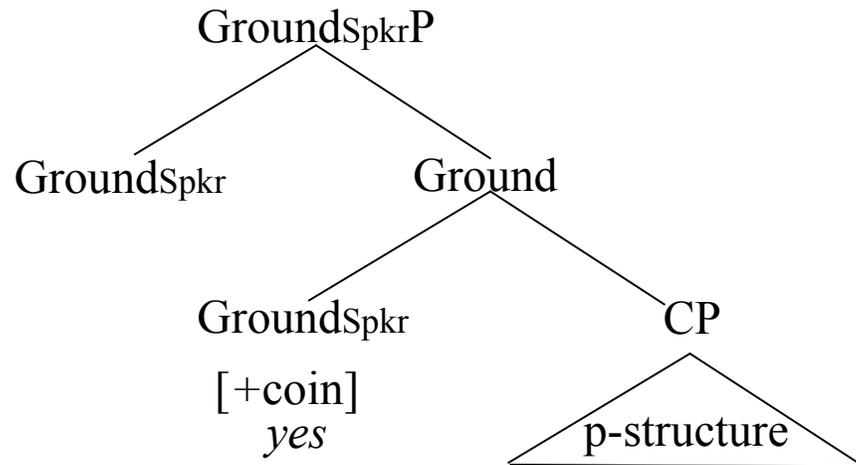


Polar response markers



1. I: Did you save the world?
R: Yes.
No.

Response markers as agreement markers

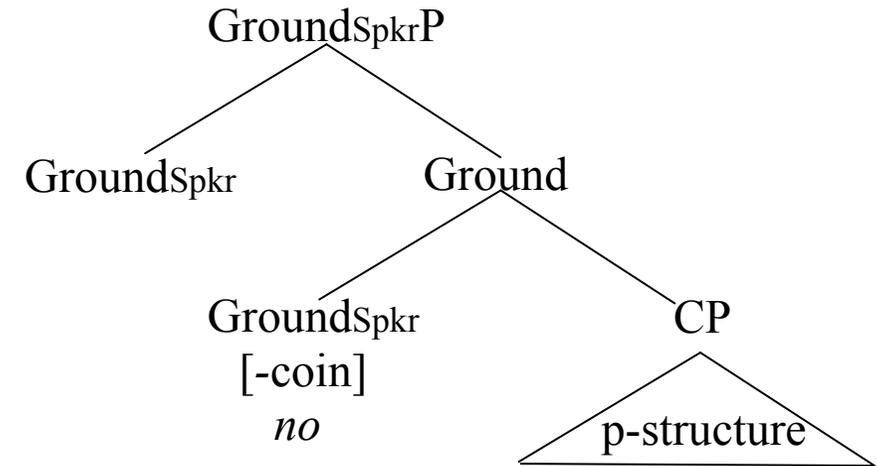
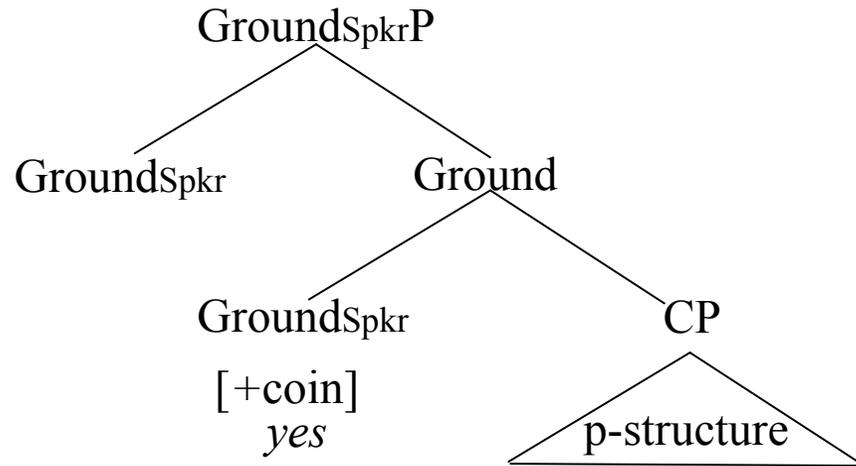


Response to wh-Question

Katie: Why would he do something like that?
Brooke: **Yes**, I know. That is the question.

BB-2012-05-23

Response markers as agreement markers

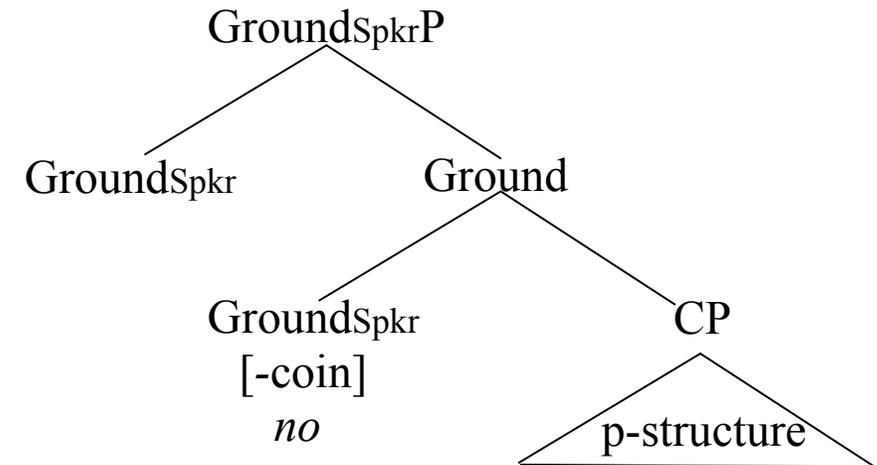
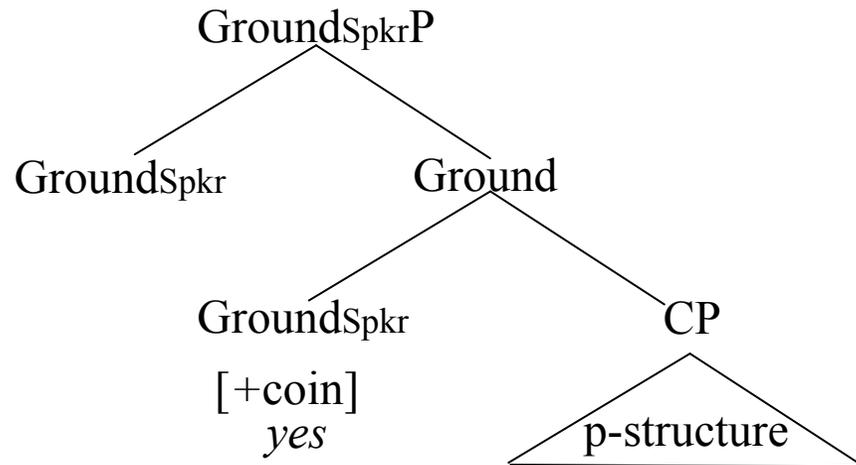


Response to imperative

Tracy: Give it to me!
Brooke: **No!**

GH-2012-01-20

Response markers as agreement markers

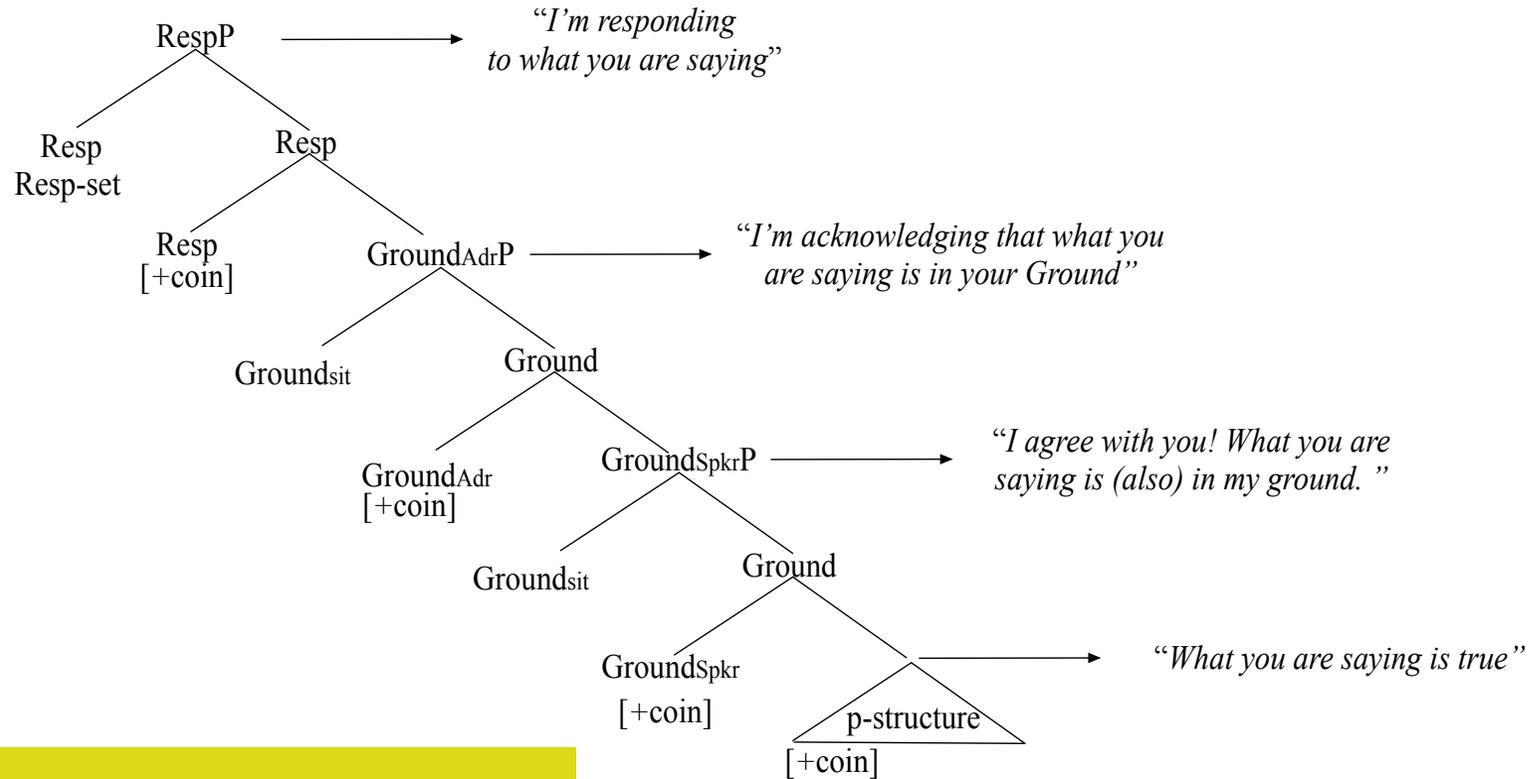


Response to exclamative

Steffy: Wohoo
Brooke: Yes!

BB-2012-05-03

Response markers as acknowledgment markers



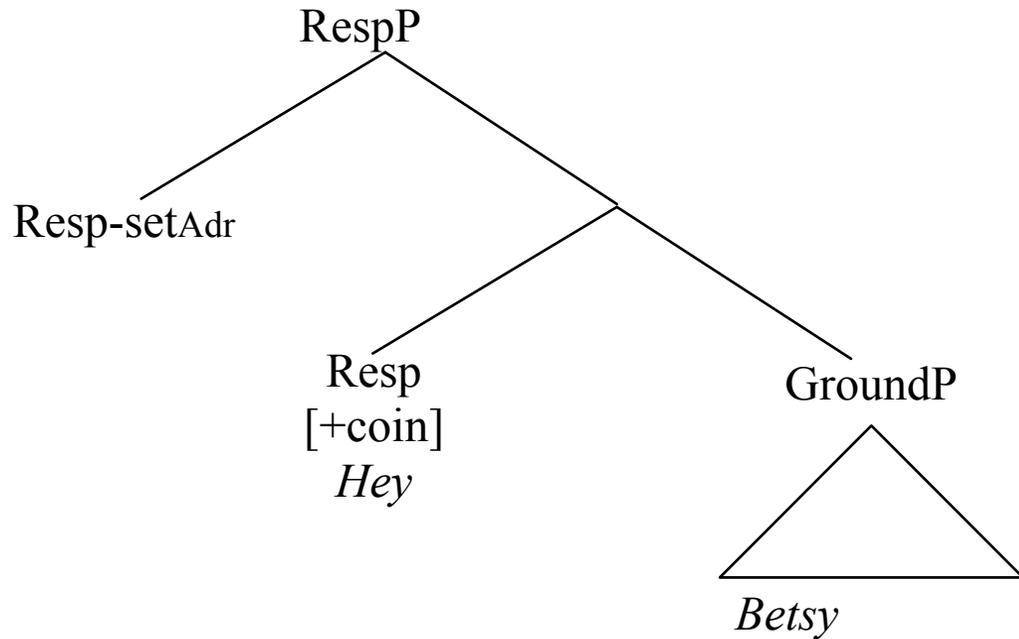
Yeah no can co-occur

Dorothy: [We've got] to do this shopping Peter.

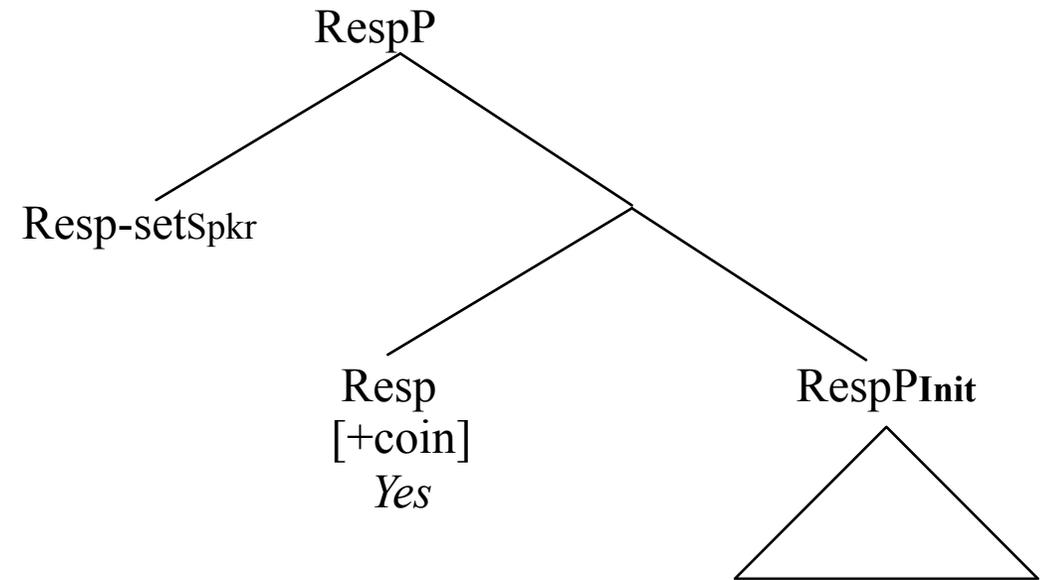
Peter: **Yeah, no** it's alright nanna, we've got 5 minutes.

Response to vocative

1. I: Hey Betsy?



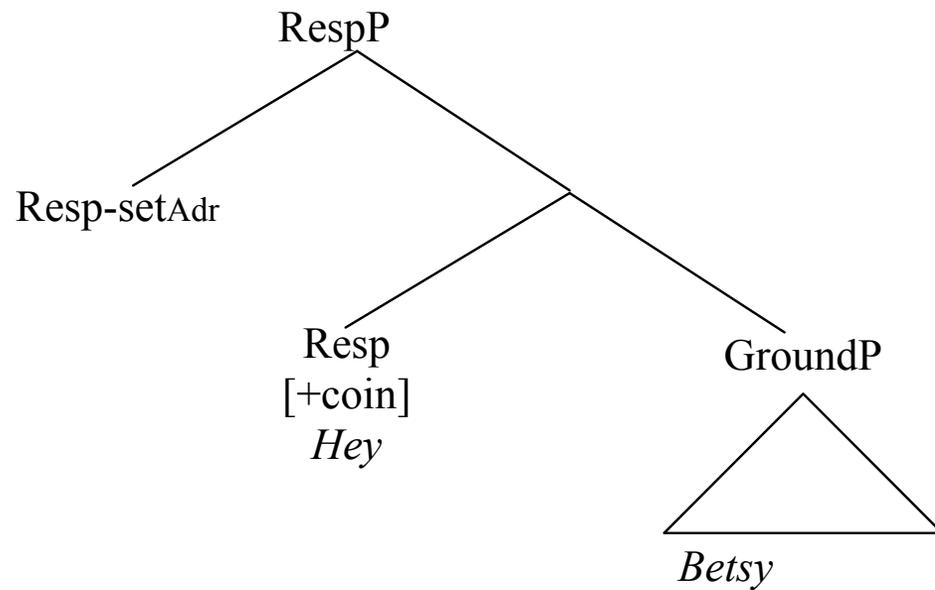
R: Yes



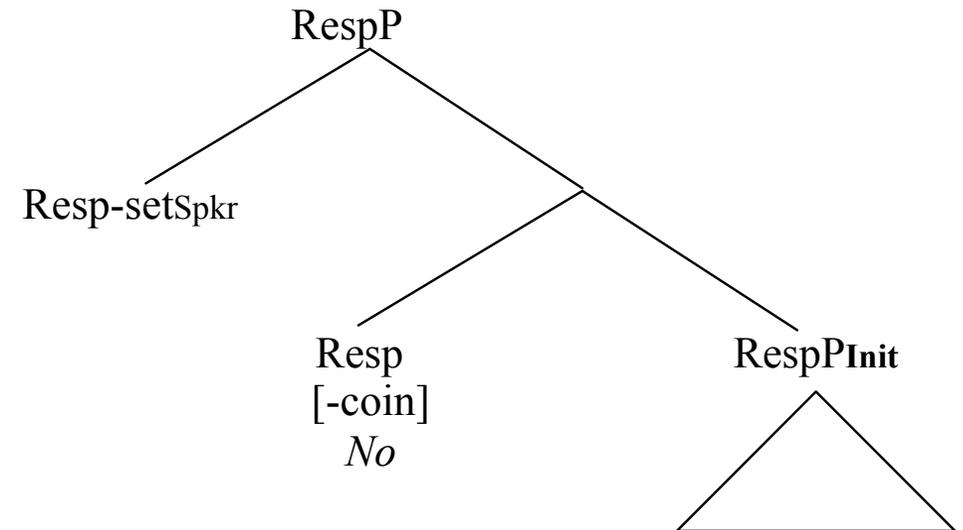
Your initiation is
in my response set

Response to vocative

1. I: Hey Betsy?



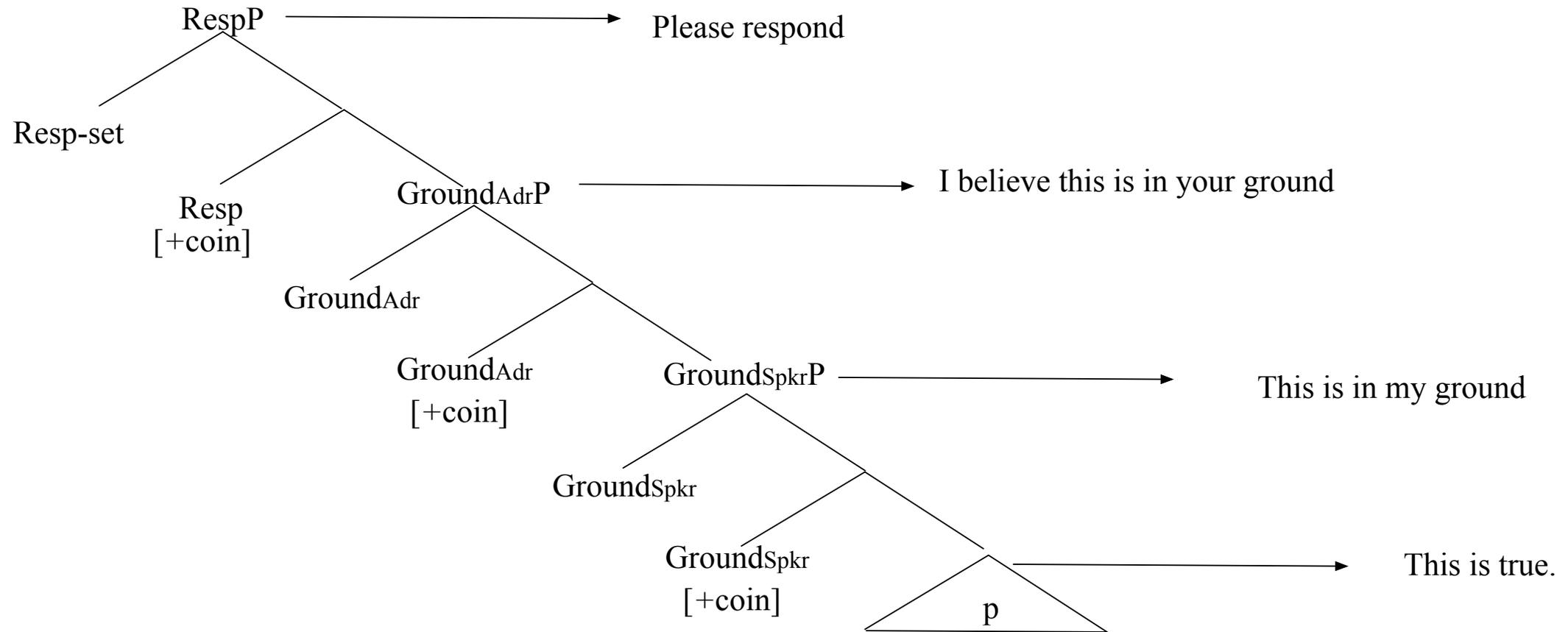
R: No!



Your initiation is **not**
in my response set
= contradiction

Confirmationalals

The same system regulates confirmationalals and response markers



Confirm that p is true



(1) You have a new dog, **eh?**



(2) I have a new dog, **eh?**

Confirm that you know p

How does grammar interact
with **Common Ground**
(and the table)?

What is common ground?

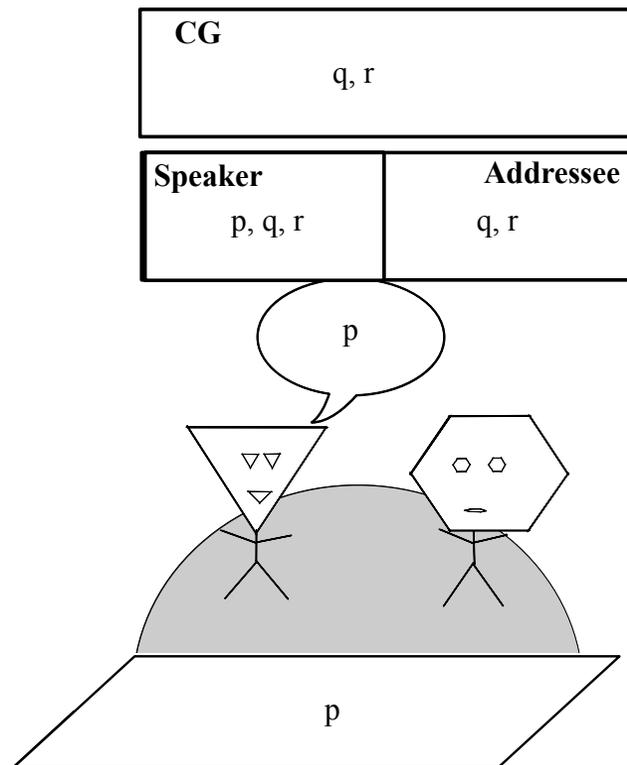
The i-spine addresses the theoretical problem

Provides the interface to Common Ground

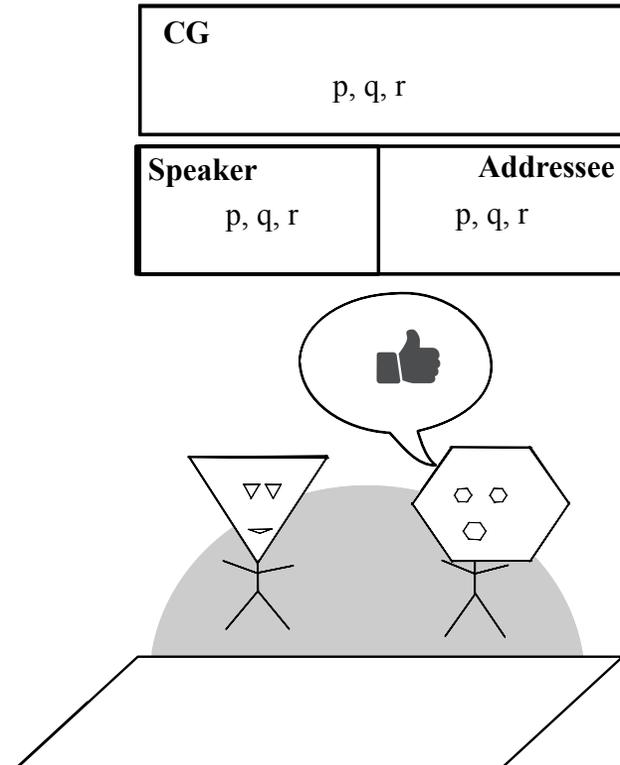
Ingredients:

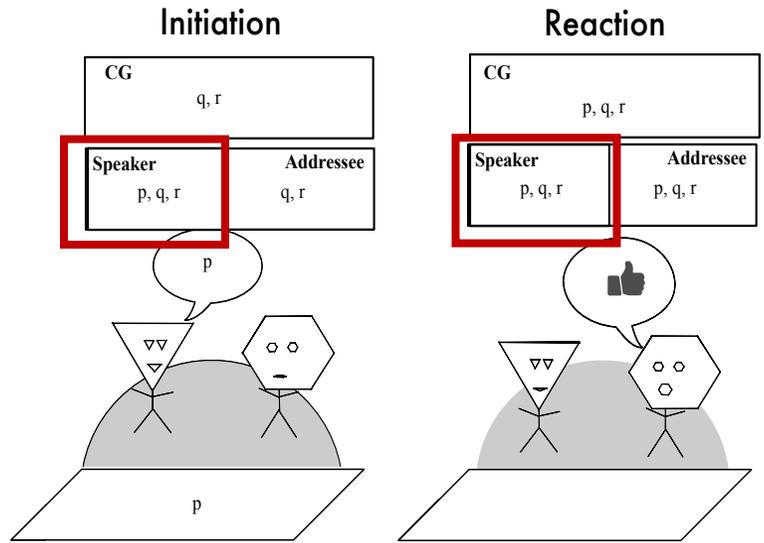
- S-Ground and A-ground
- Table
- 2 types of moves

Initiation

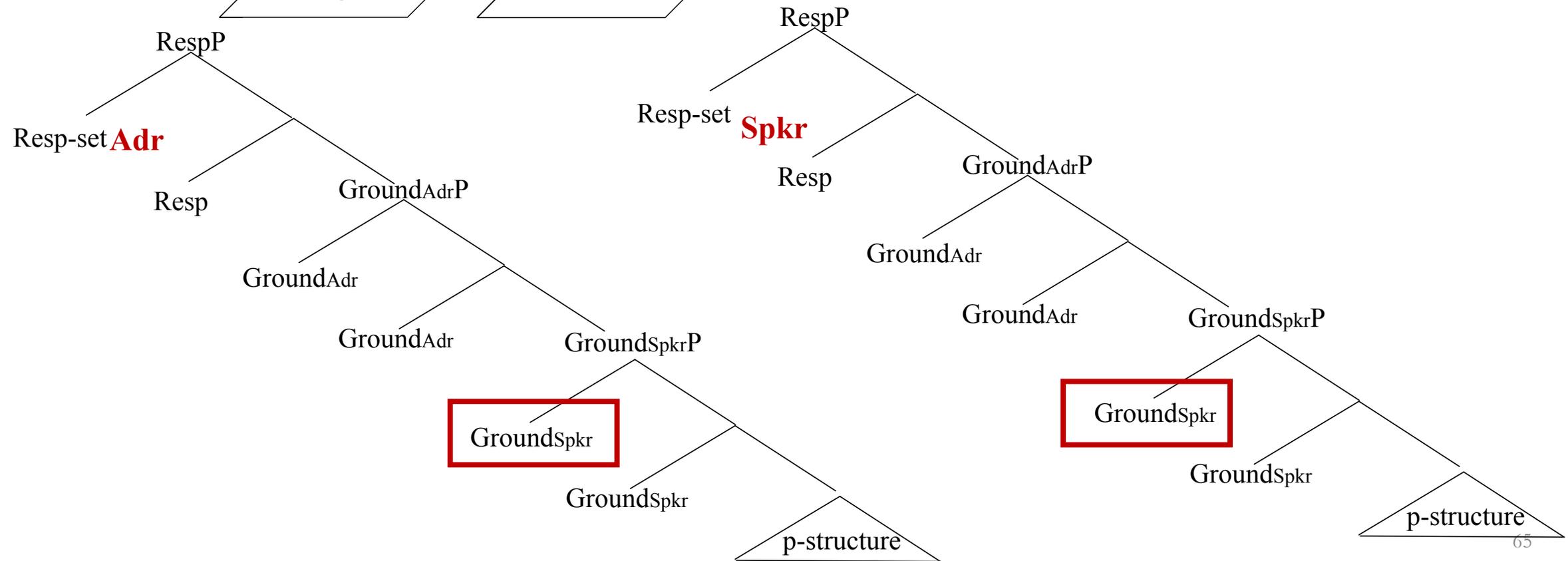


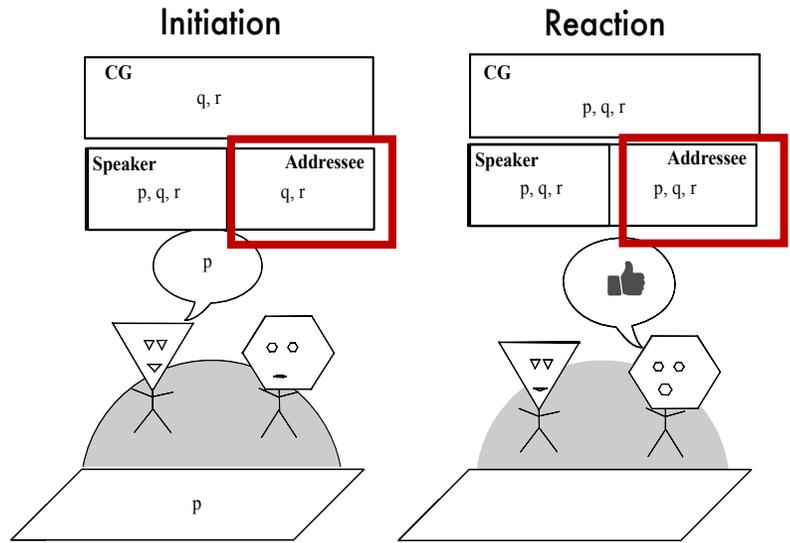
Reaction



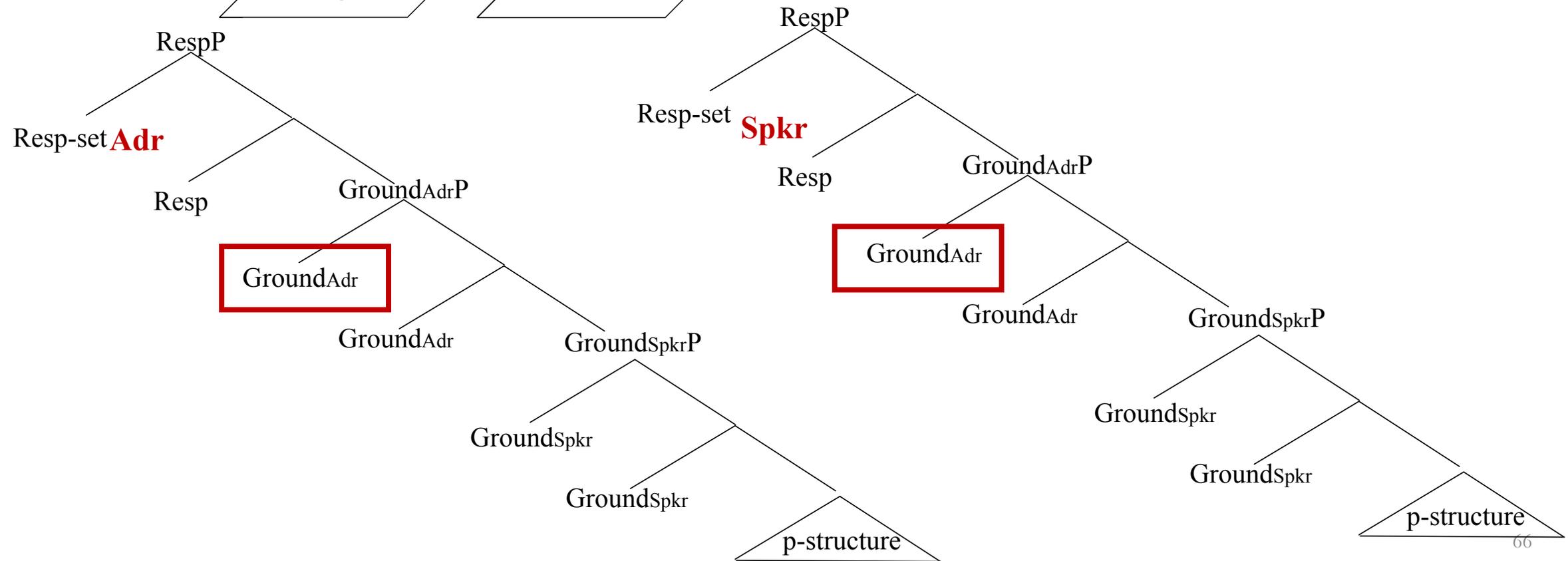


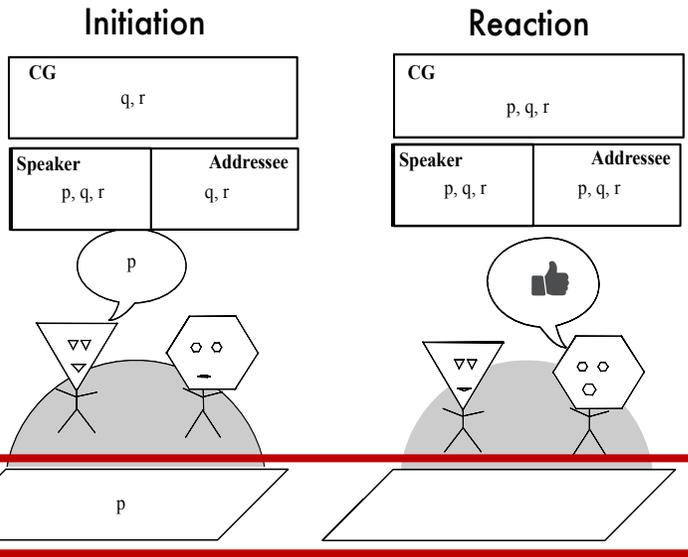
- Ingredients:**
- S-Ground and A-ground
 - Table
 - 2 types of moves



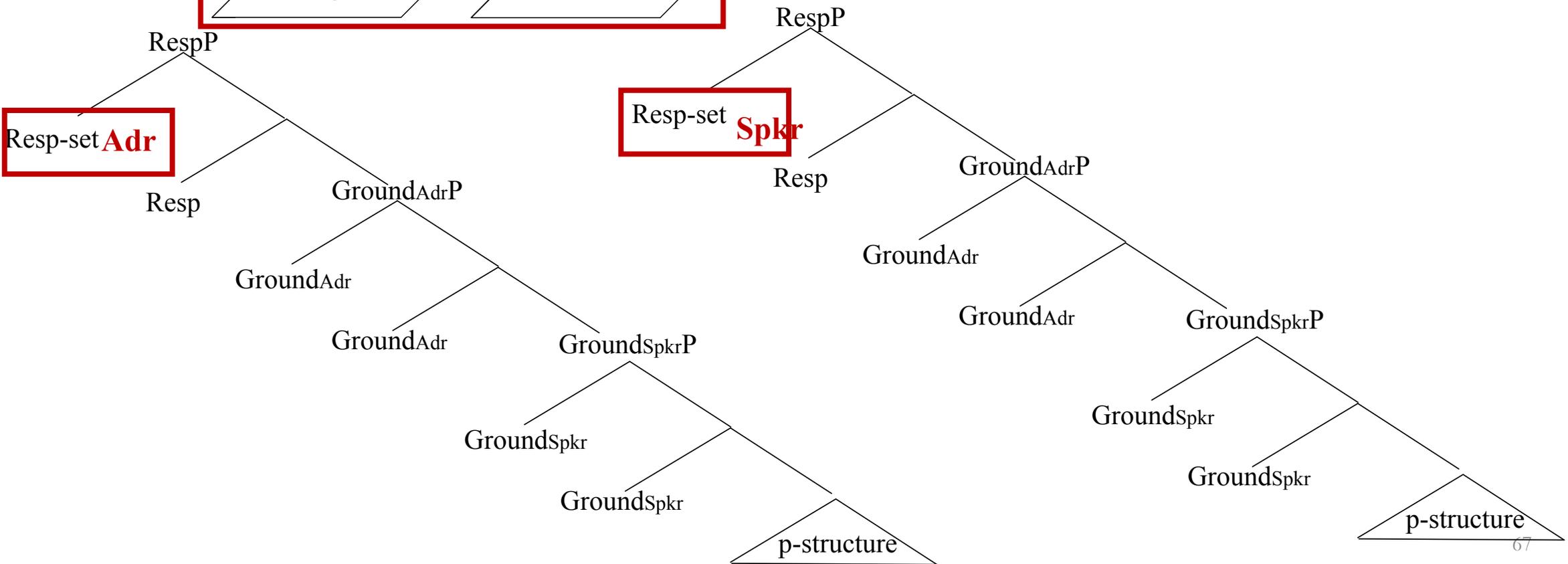


- Ingredients:**
- S-Ground and A-ground
 - Table
 - 2 types of moves





- Ingredients:**
- S-Ground and A-ground
 - Table
 - 2 types of moves

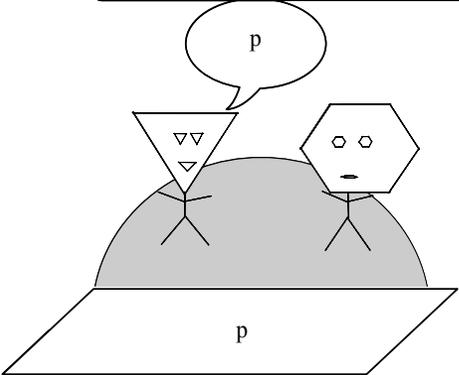


CG has no linguistic representation

Initiation

CG	q, r
----	------

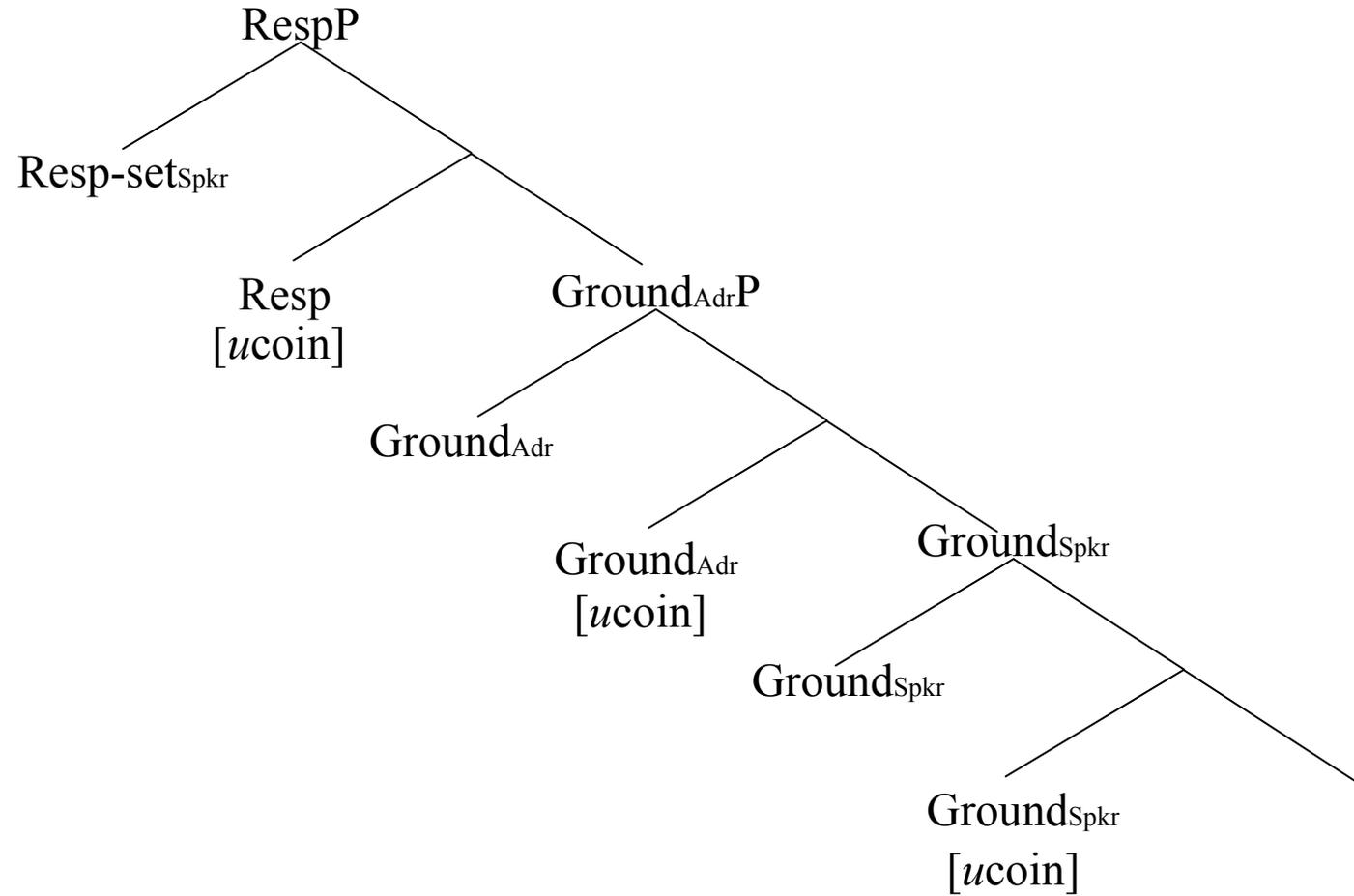
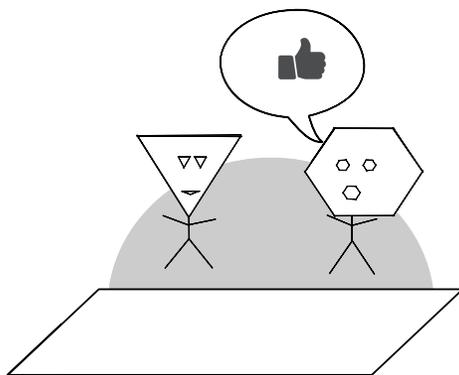
Speaker	Addressee
p, q, r	q, r



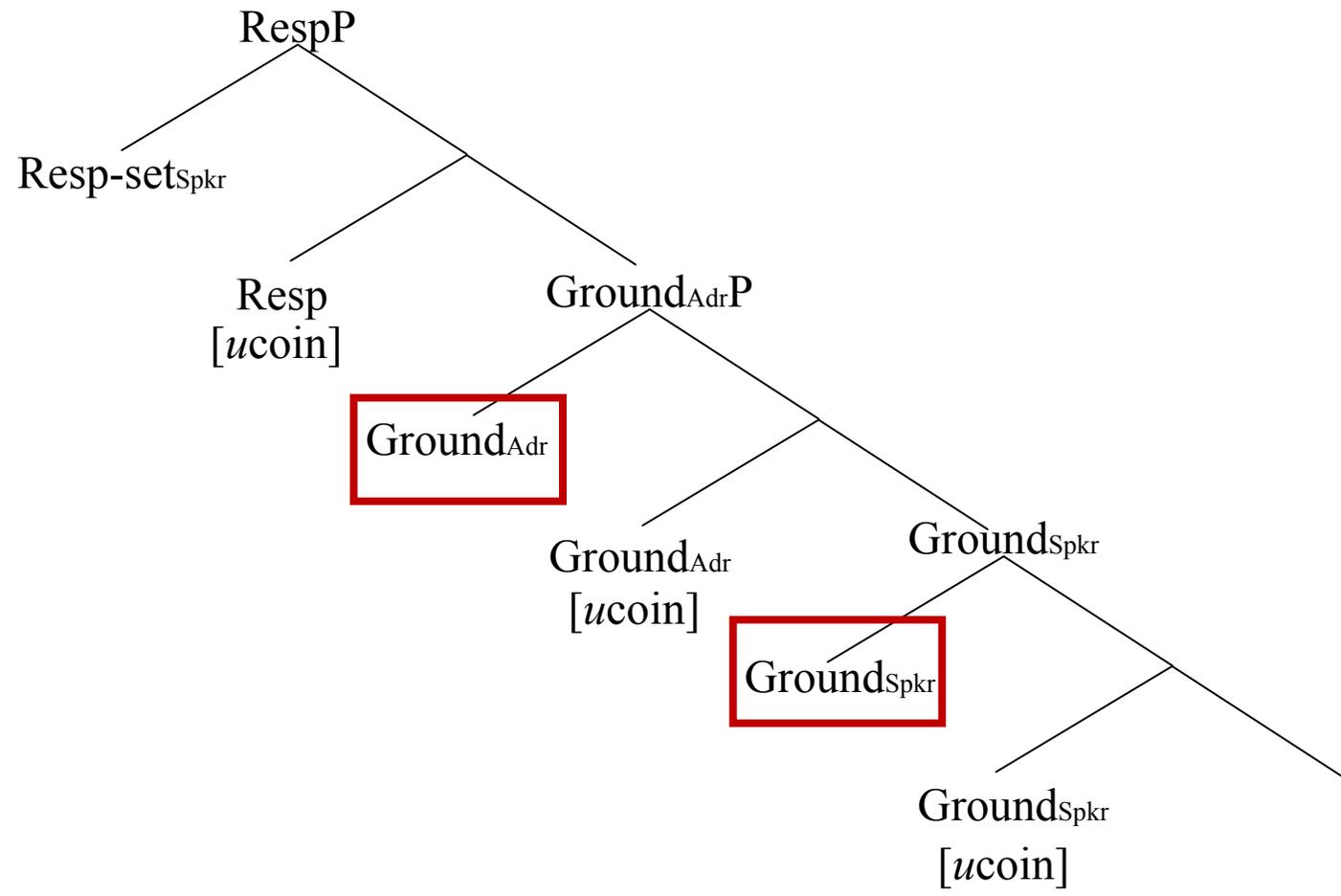
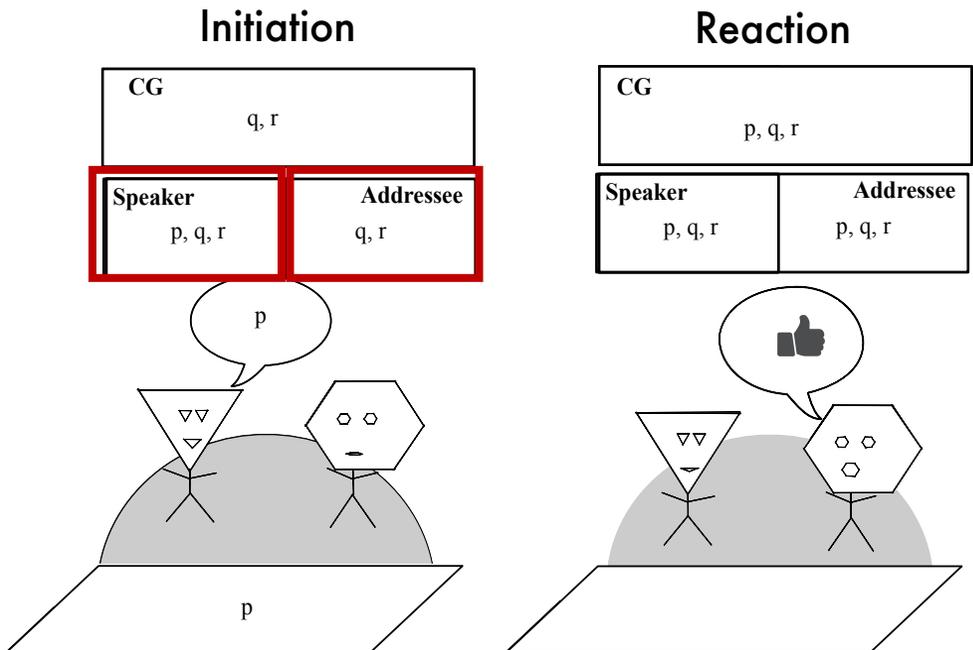
Reaction

CG	p, q, r
----	---------

Speaker	Addressee
p, q, r	p, q, r



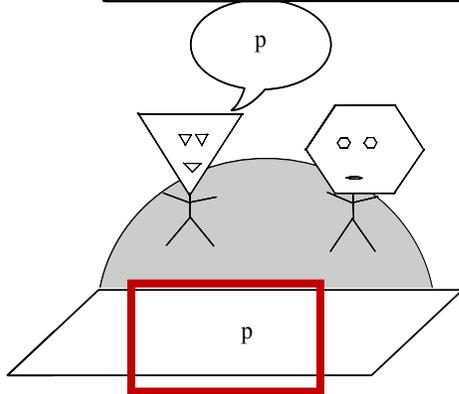
What is represented in the Ground?



What is represented in the Table/Resp-set?

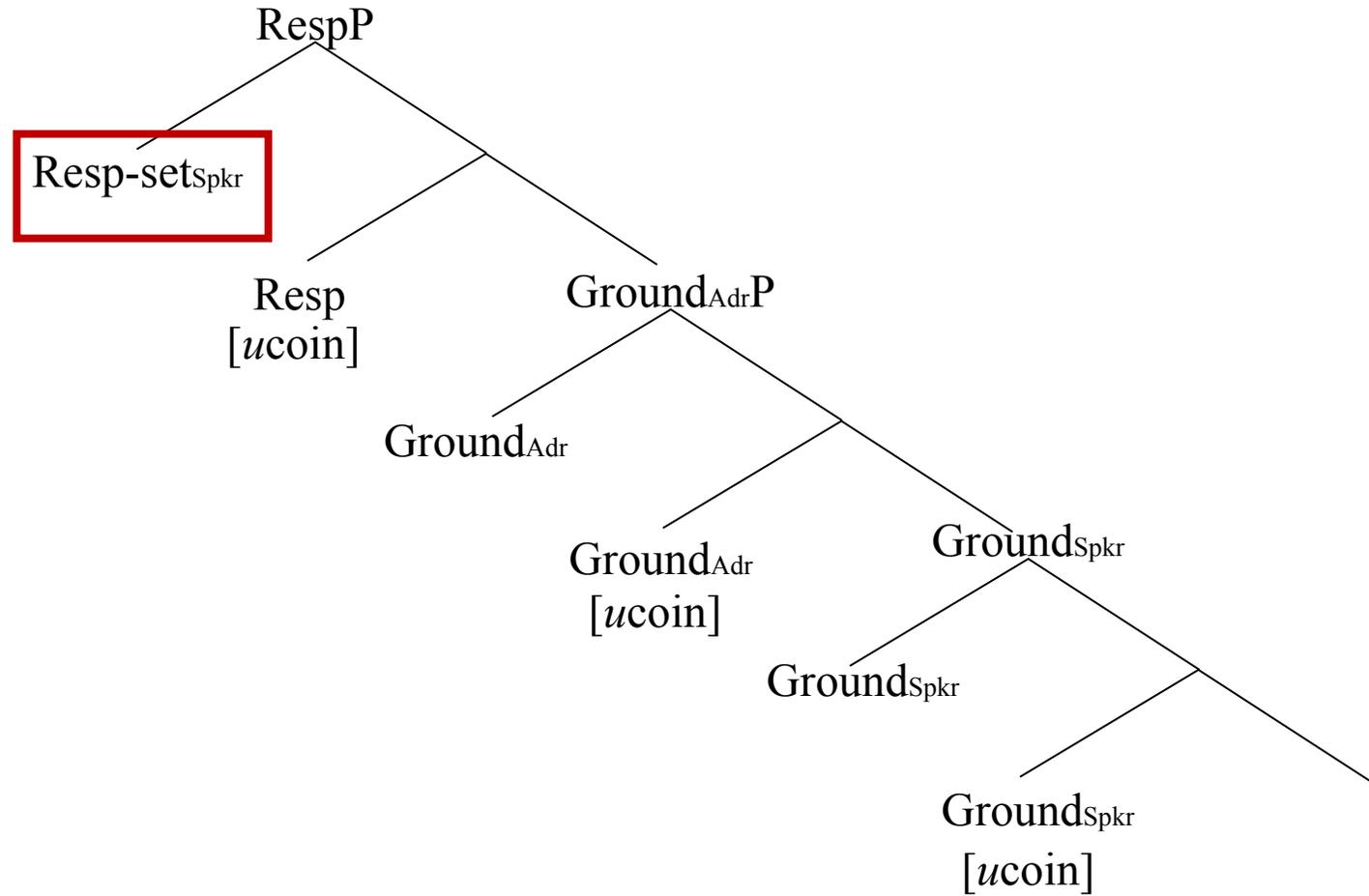
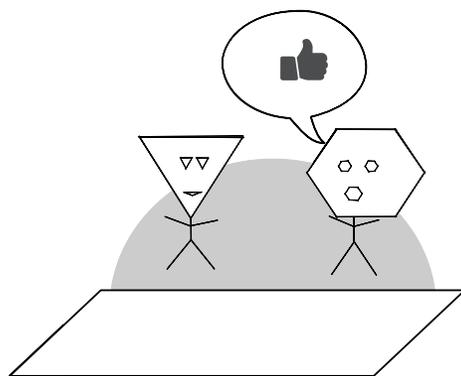
Initiation

CG q, r	
Speaker p, q, r	Addressee q, r



Reaction

CG p, q, r	
Speaker p, q, r	Addressee p, q, r



What's in the ground?

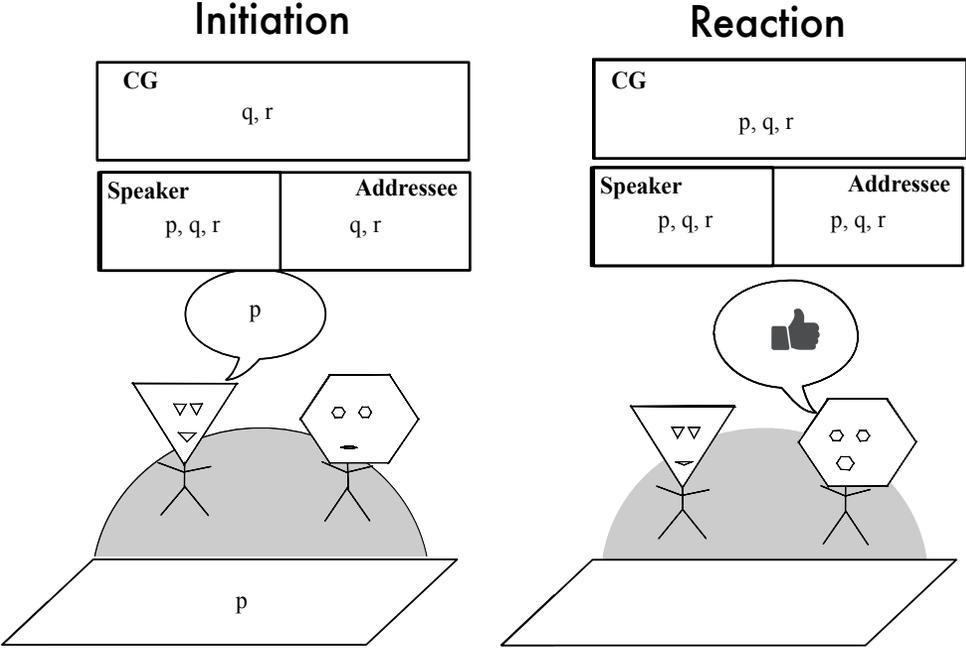
But propositions are
not the only things in
ground and on the
table

Ground

Propositions

Discourse referents

Declarative



*Surprise! You have a new dog, eh?
Surprise! You have a new dog.

Declaratives

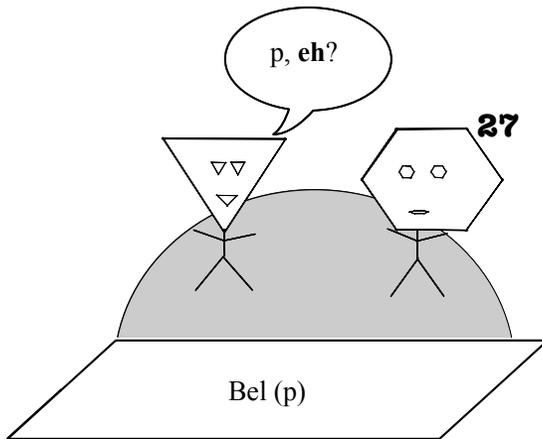


You have a new dog, eh?
*You have a new dog.

Ground and Table must also contain p with pA

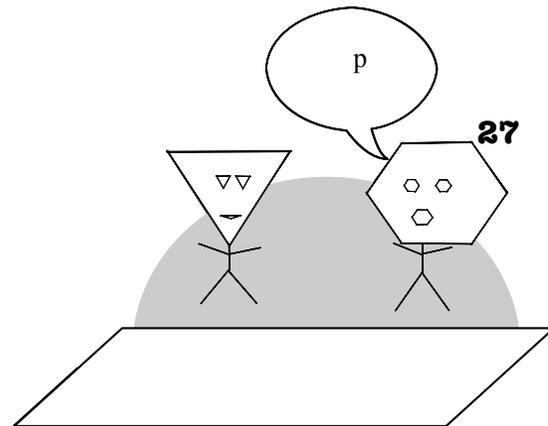
Initiation

SELF	27
Bel (p), q, r	r know (p \vee \neg p)

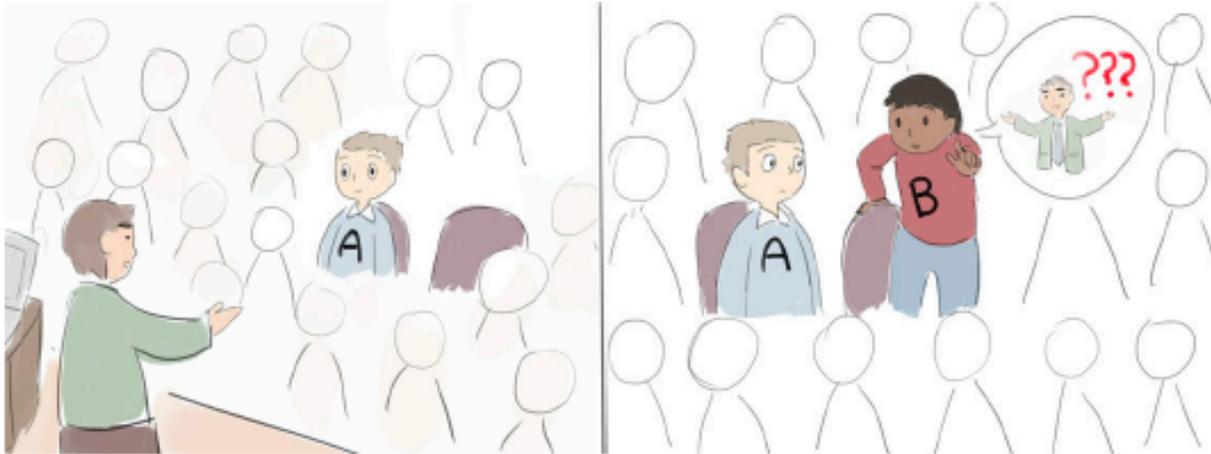


Reaction

SELF	27
p,q,r	r, p



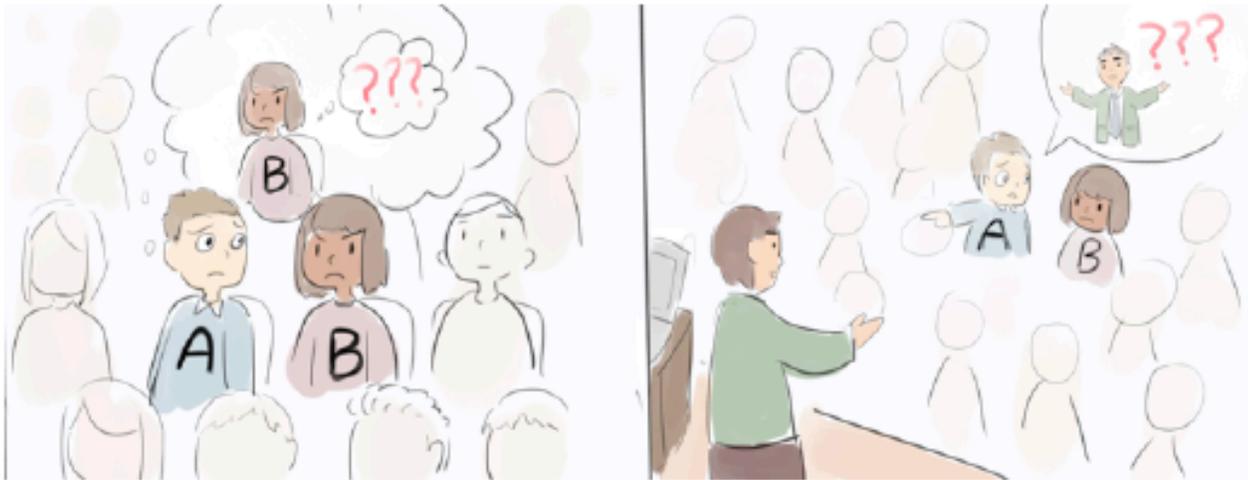
Interrogatives



CX 5 Andy is in a public lecture, waiting for his friend Bob, who is late. As Bob arrives, half-way into the lecture, he wants Andy to summarize the content of the lecture thus far. Bob utters:

- (66)
- a. $\langle \checkmark, CS \rangle$ What's he talking about?
 - b. $\langle *, CS \rangle$ What's he talking about, eh?

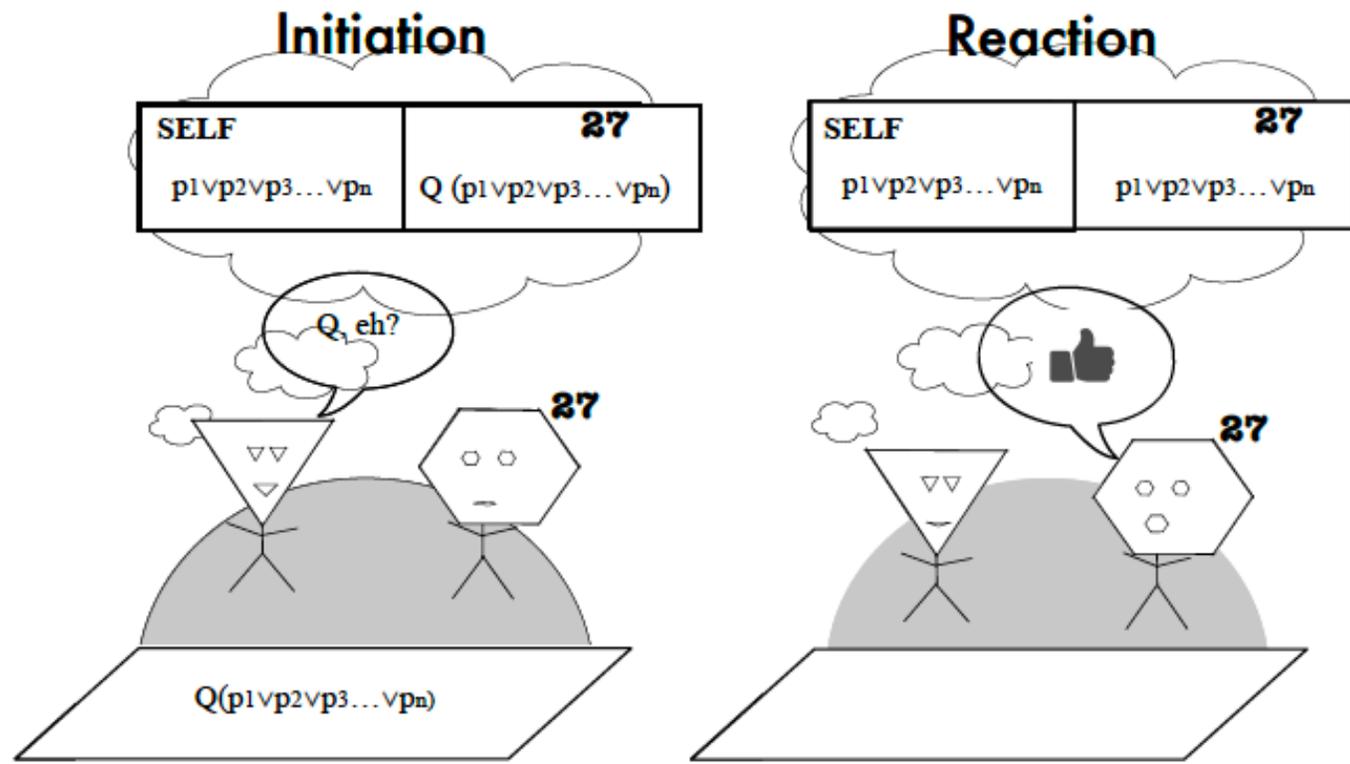
Interrogatives



CX 6 Andy and Bethany are in a public lecture. The lecture is rather obscure and Andy is not following though he doesn't think it's his fault. Judging from Bethany's face he determines that she also doesn't understand (or much like) the lecture. Andy utters...

- (67)
- a. <✓,C6> What's he talking about?
 - b. <✓,C6> What's he talking about, eh?

Ground and Table must also contain Questions



Imperatives



Cx 7 Billy and Alfred are frat boys. Billy is a bit of a bully, and Andy a bit of a pushover. As Billy is sitting on the couch watching a move, Andy comes in, sits down on the couch and tells Billy that he's so tired and doesn't want to leave the couch anymore. Billy is used to his roommates serving him beer. So, he says to Andy....

- (70)
- a. $\langle \checkmark, Cx 7 \rangle$ Get me a beer
 - b. $\langle *, Cx 7 \rangle$ Get me a beer, eh?

Imperatives



CX 8 Boris and Annabelle are relaxing on the couch watching a movie. Annabelle gets up to go to the kitchen as she usually does during commercials. And she usually brings Boris a beer. Just to make sure that Annabelle is indeed planning on bringing Boris a beer, he utters ...

- (71)
- a. $\langle^* \cdot \text{Cx } 8 \rangle$ Get me a beer!
 - b. $\langle^{\checkmark} \cdot \text{Cx } 8 \rangle$ Get me a beer, eh?

Imperatives

Ground and Table must also contain Desires

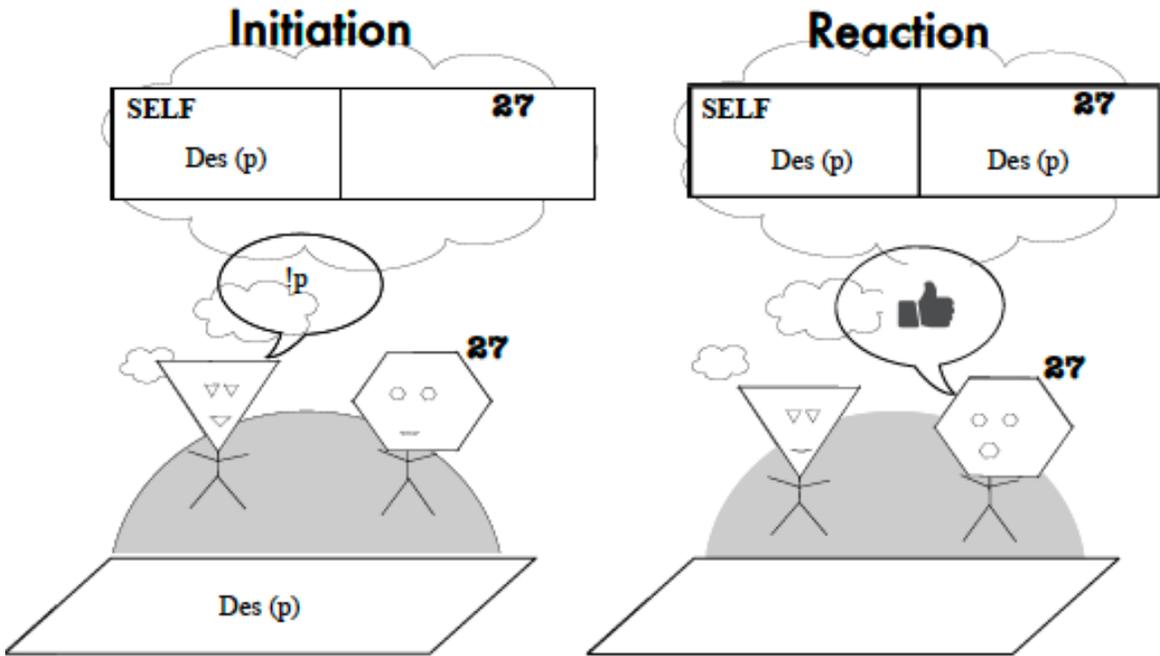


Figure 30 Imperatives

Exclamatives



CX 9 Anne has organized a surprise party for Charlie. Charlie was out with Bob whose job was to distract Charlie. As Charlie enters the room and everyone shouts “surprise”, Charlie, who is genuinely surprised utters...

- (76) a. $\langle \checkmark, \text{Cx } 9 \rangle, \langle *, \text{Cx } 10 \rangle$ What a surprise!
b. $\langle *, \text{Cx } 9 \rangle, \langle \checkmark, \text{Cx } 10 \rangle$ What a surprise, eh?

Exclamatives



CX 10 Anne has organized a surprise party for Charlie. Charlie was out with Bob whose job was to distract Charlie. As Charlie enters the room everyone shouts “surprise”. Observing Charlie’s surprised expression, Anne utters...

- (76) a. $\langle \checkmark, \text{Cx } 9 \rangle, \langle *, \text{Cx } 10 \rangle$ What a surprise!
b. $\langle *, \text{Cx } 9 \rangle, \langle \checkmark, \text{Cx } 10 \rangle$ What a surprise, eh?

Exclamatives

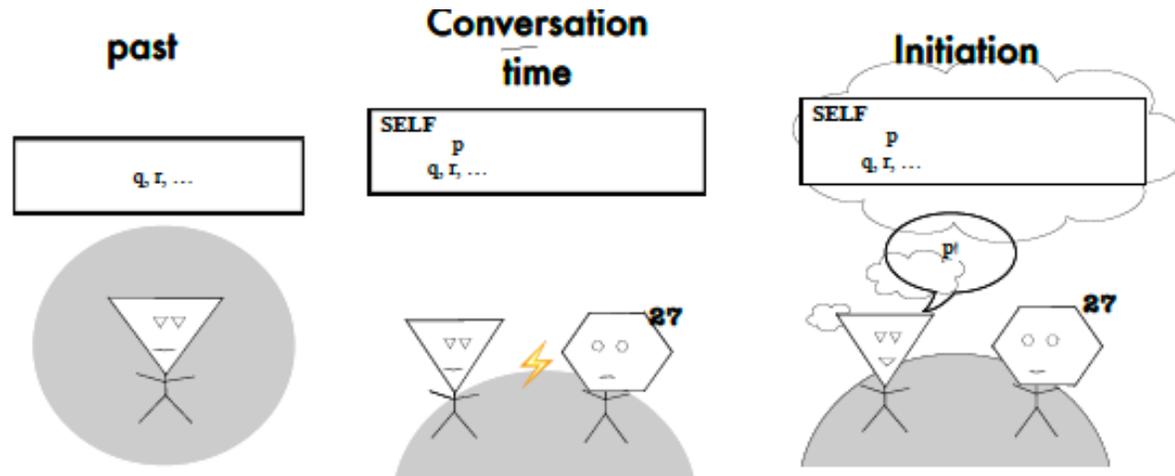


Figure 32 The normal course of an exclamation

Ground

Propositions

Questions

Propositional Attitudes

Desires

Surprise

Ground/Table contain syntactic objects

Ground/Table

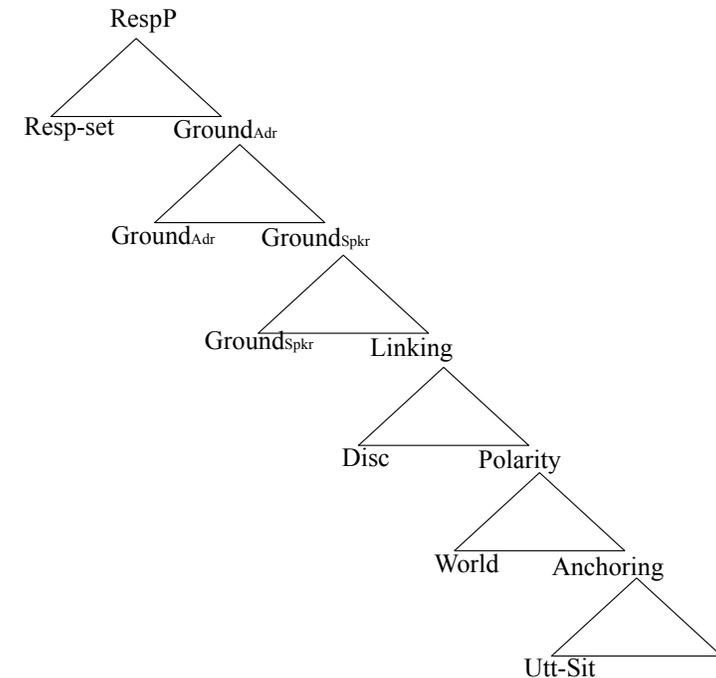
p: AnchorP

Q: LinkP

pA: [GroundP[CP]]

Des: [GroundP[AspP]]

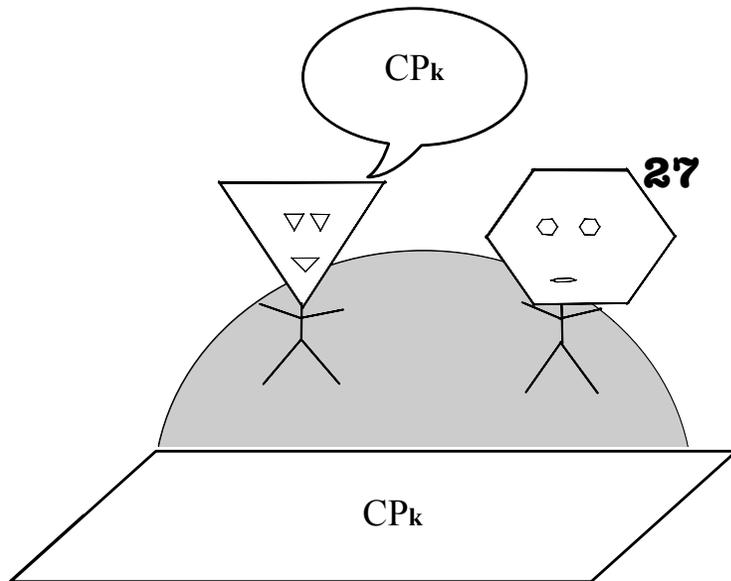
Surprise: [GroundP[...]]



Items on the table are syntactic objects paired with their denotations

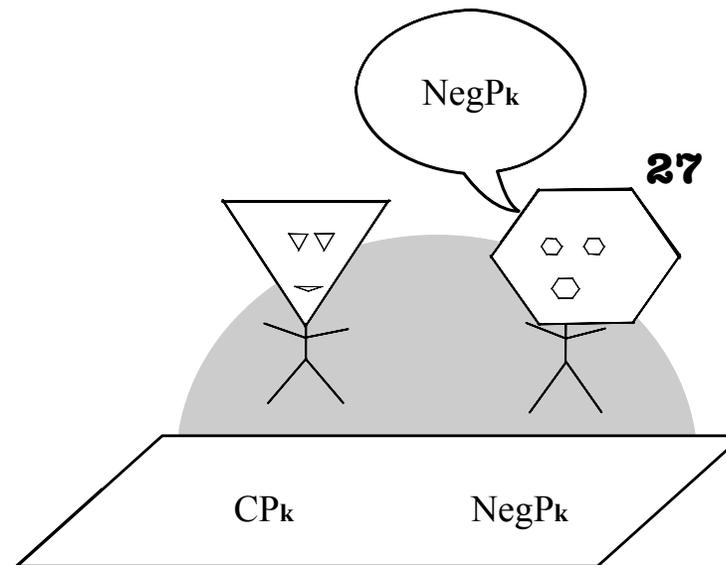
Initiation

SELF	27
CP _i , CP _j , CP _k ,...	CP _i , CP _j , ...



Reaction

SELF	27
CP _i , CP _j ,... [Ground [CP _k]]	CP _i , CP _j ,... [Ground [NegP _k]]



S-initial vs. S-medial discourse particles

Similarities and differences

	ma	geh	leicht	doch
S-oriented	✓	X	✓	X
Adr-oriented	X	✓	X	✓
Move-internal	X	X	✓	✓
Clause-type restriction	X	X	✓	✓

Interpretive ingredients:

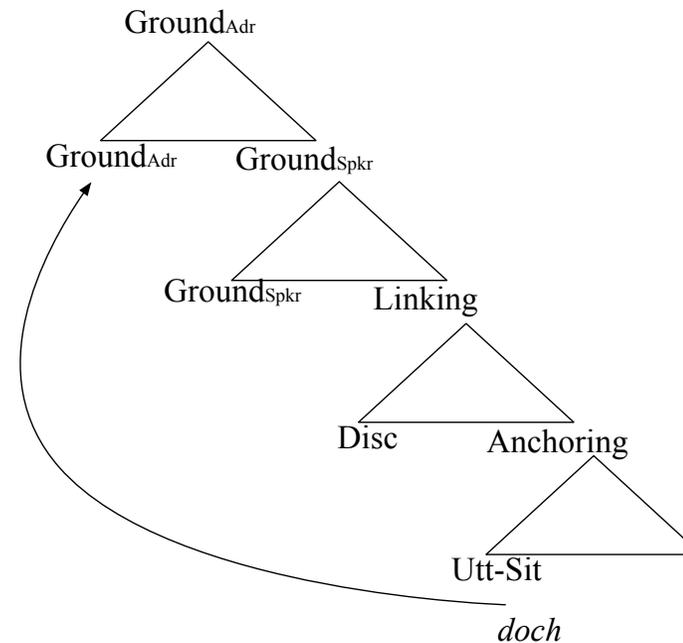
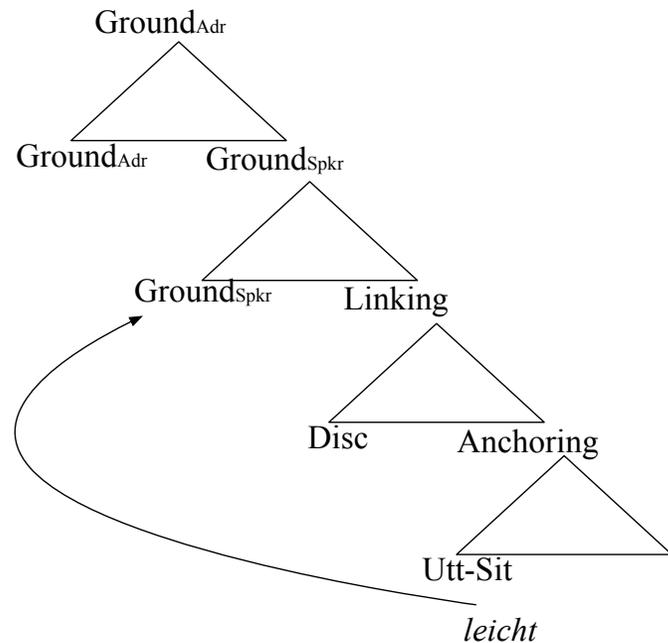
- Spkr, Adr
- old/new information

Distributional differences:

- Move-type restrictions vs.
- clause-type restriction

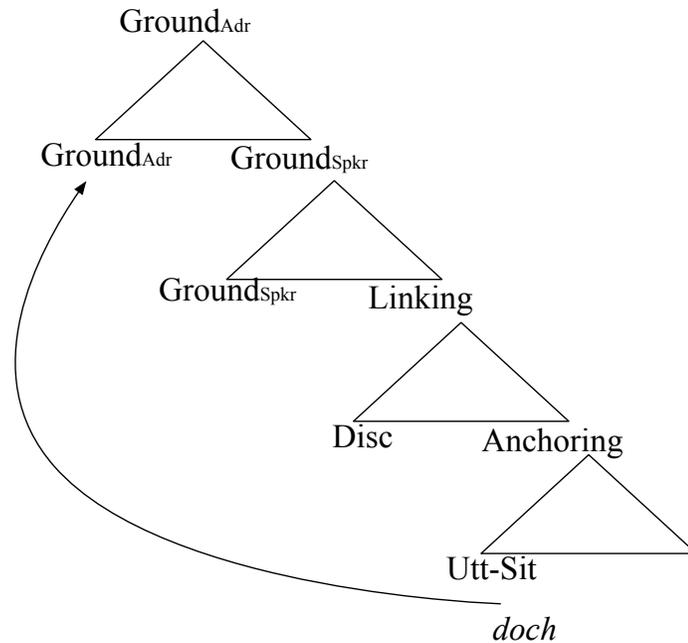
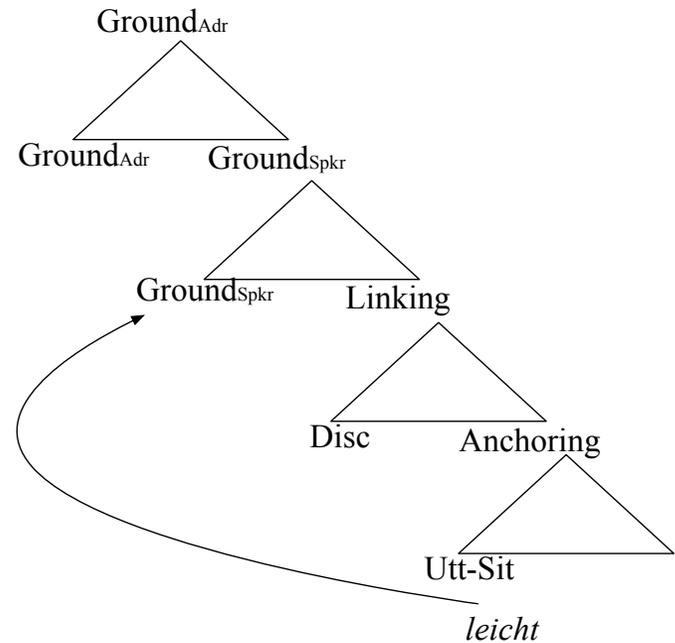
	leicht	doch
S-oriented	✓	✗
Adr-oriented	✗	✓
Move-internal	✓	✓
Clause-type restriction	✓	✓

S-/A-orientation derives from association with Ground (via AGREE)

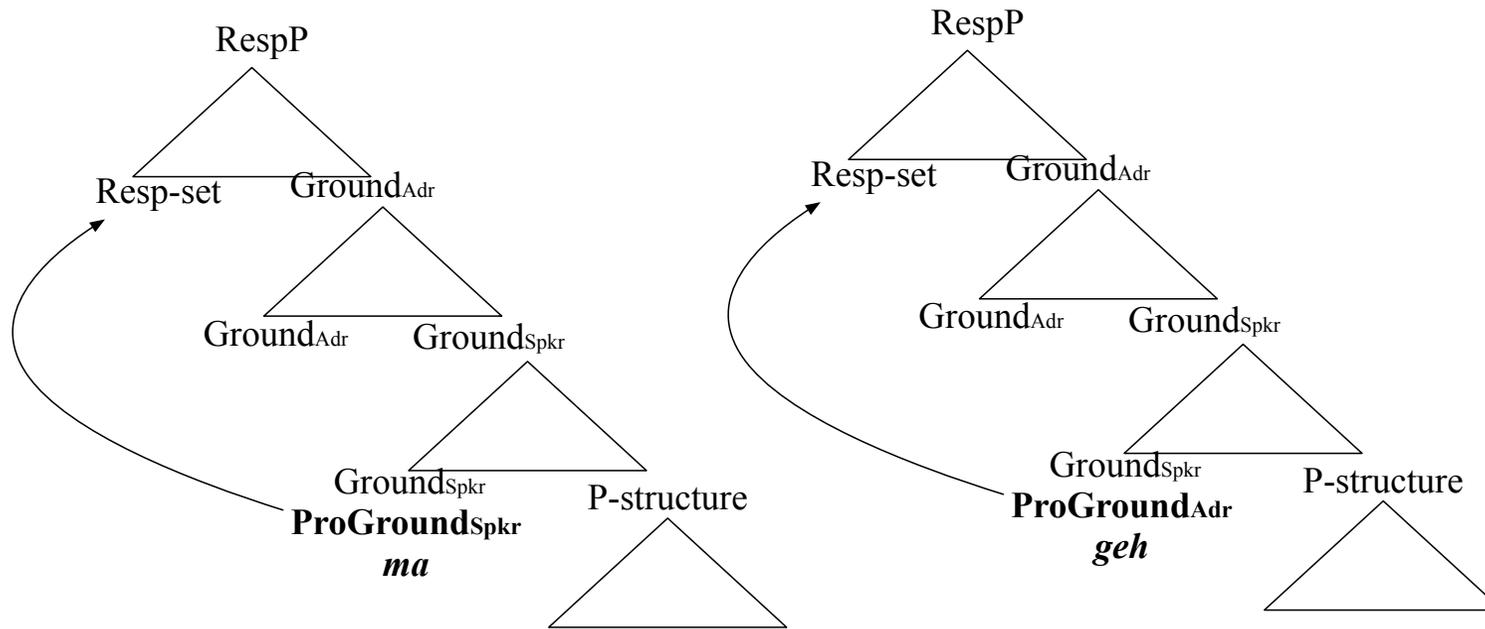


	leicht	doch
S-oriented	✓	✗
Adr-oriented	✗	✓
Move-internal	✓	✓
Clause-type restriction	✓	✓

Clause-type restriction derives from position within p-structure
 No sensitivity to Move-type



S-initial particles

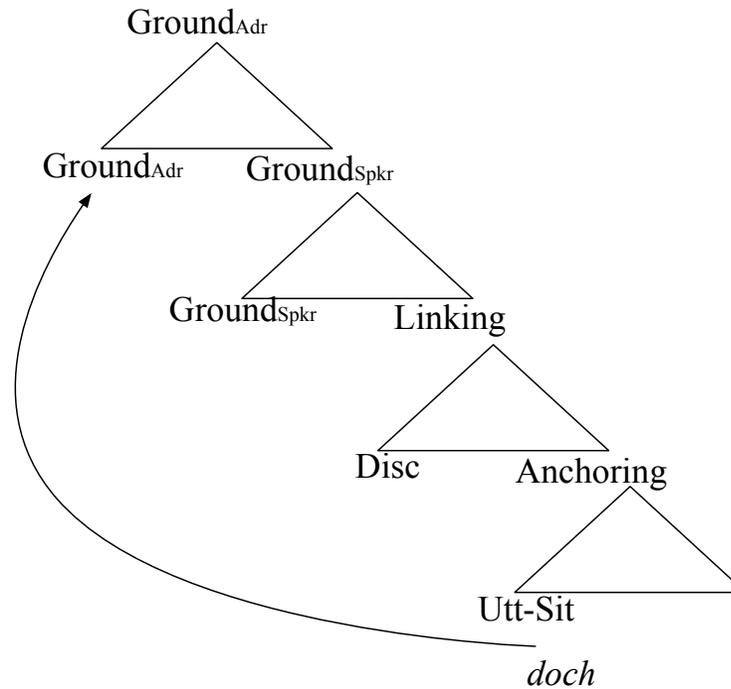
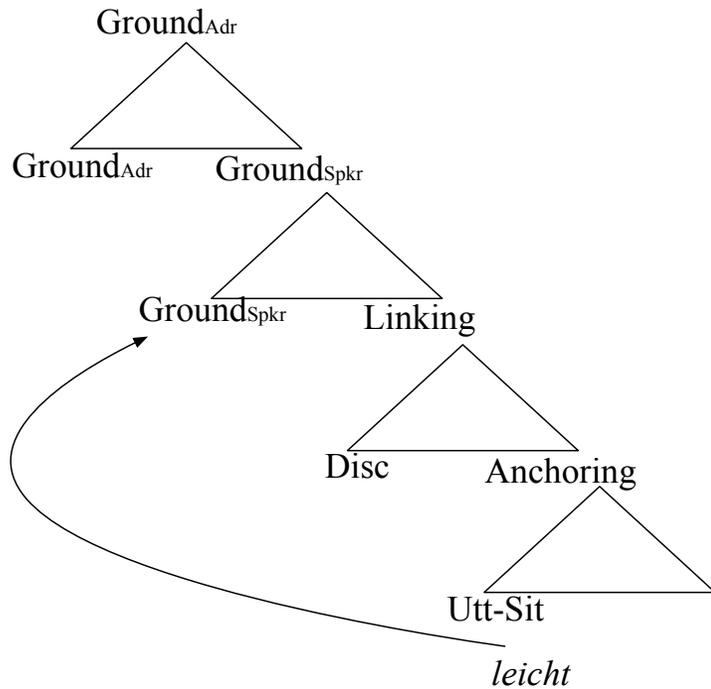


= Pro-GroundP

→ Associates with $\text{Ground}_{\text{SpkrP}}$

→ marks Utt as a response to a contextually salient situation

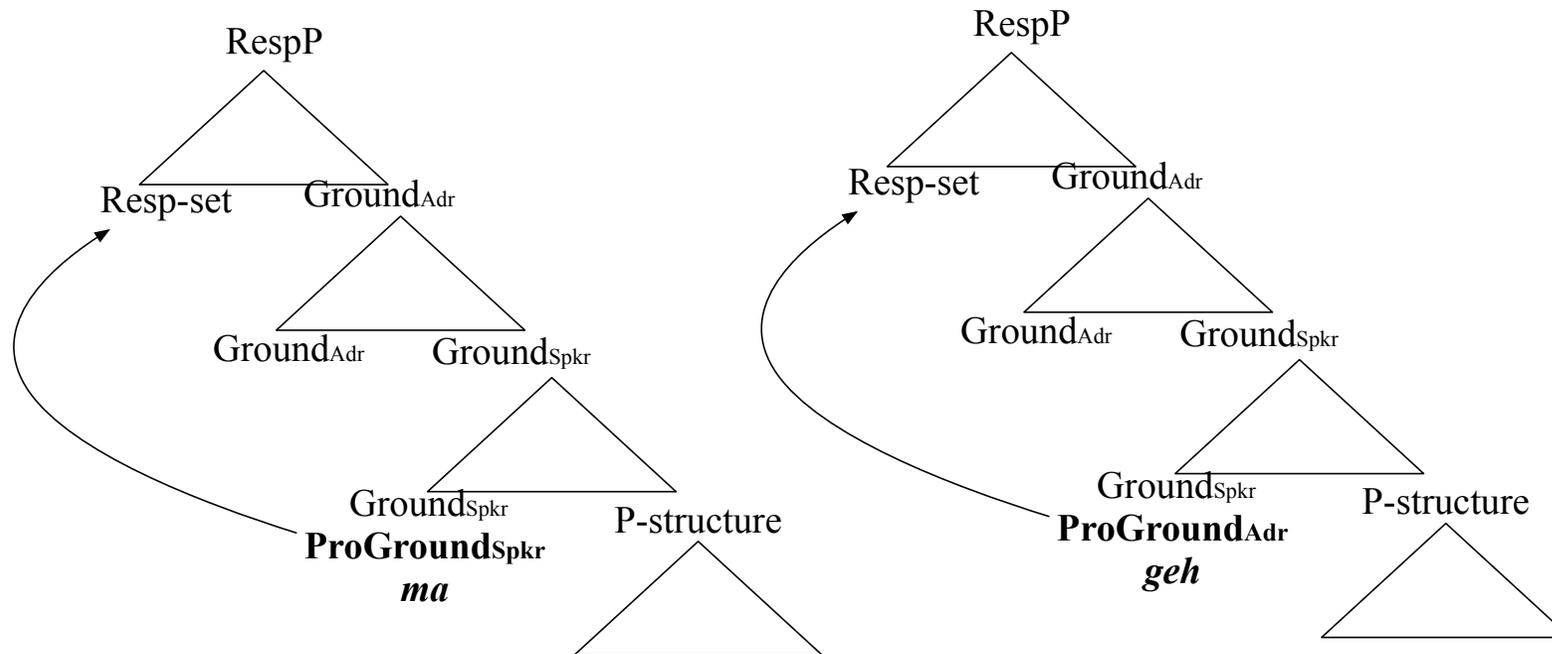
S-medial particles



- Associates inside p-structure
- is interpreted in GroundP
- marks grounding status of p-content itself

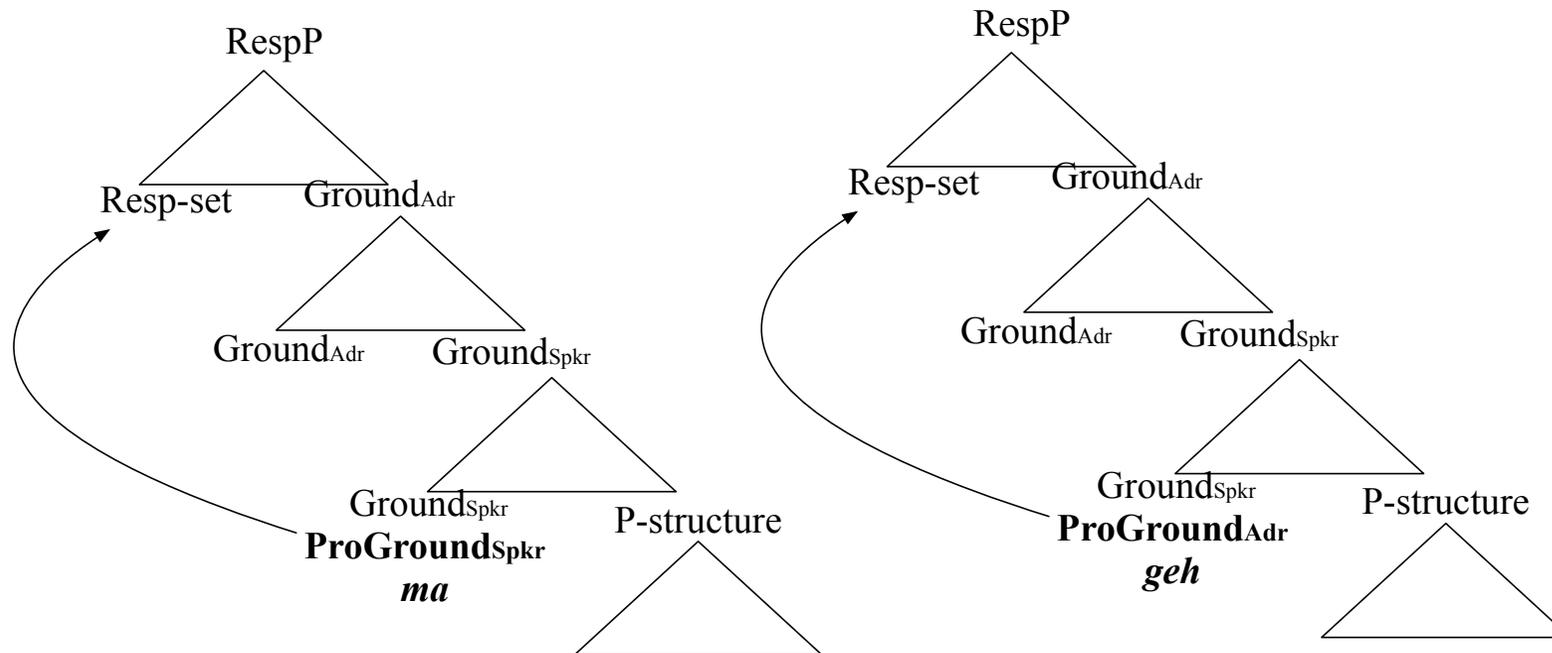
	ma	geh
S-oriented	✓	✗
Adr-oriented	✗	✓
Move-internal	✗	✗
Clause-type restriction	✗	✗

S-/A-orientation derives from being Ground pro-forms



	ma	geh
S-oriented	✓	✗
Adr-oriented	✗	✓
Move-internal	✗	✗
Clause-type restriction	✗	✗

Move-type restriction
derives from associating
with RespP



Surprise

Context: Mariana and Reingard are on a walk and from a distance they see their friend Lena who is walking with a dog, they have never seen before:

- R:
- a. *Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
'Lena has a new dog.'
 - b. **Ma**, die Lena hot an neichn Hund
 - c. ***Geh** die Lena hot an neichn Hund



Suprise

S-initial and S-internal particle can co-occur

Context: Mariana and Reingard are on a walk and from a distance they see their friend Lena who is walking with a dog, they have never seen before:

- R:
- a. Die Lena hot **leicht** an neichn Hund
'Lena has a new dog.'
 - b. **Ma,** die Lena hot an neichn Hund
 - c. **Ma,** die Lena hot **leicht** an neichn Hund



Discrepancy

I: Vielleicht wü die Lena an von unsare Hundal
Maybe wants det Lena one of our dog.dim
'Maybe Lena wants one of our puppies.'

R: a. ??Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
'Lena has a new dog.'

b. ***Ma**, die Lena hot an neichn Hund

c. **Geh** die Lena hot an neichn Hund



Discrepancy

S-initial and S-internal particle can co-occur

I: Vielleicht wü die Lena an von unsare Hundal
Maybe wants det Lena one of our dog.dim
‘Maybe Lena wants one of our puppies.’

- R:
- Die Lena hot **doch** an neichn Hund
‘Lena has a new dog.’
 - Geh** die Lena hot an neichn Hund
 - Geh** die Lena hot **doch** an neichn Hund



Not compatible
with answer to
broad focus
question

Discourse markers

I: *Was gibt's neichs?*
 'What's new?'

R1: [*Die Lena hot an neichn Hund*]
 Det Lena has a new dog
 'Lena has a new dog.'

R2: ***Ma** [*die Lena hot an neichn Hund*]
 **Die Lena hot leicht an neichn Hund*



R3: ***Geh** [*die Lena hot an neichn Hund*]
 **Die Lena hot doch an neichn Hund.*



Distribution

Context: Mariana and Reingard are on a walk and from a distance they see their friend Lena who is walking with a dog, they have never seen before:

- R:
- a. Schau dort drüm. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund.
'Look over there. Lena has a new dog.'
 - b. **Ma** schau dort drüm. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund.
 - c. Schau dort drüm. ***Ma** die Lena hot an neichn Hund.
 - d. **Ma** schau dort drüm. Die Lena hot **leicht** an neichn Hund.



Distribution

Context: Mariana and Reingard are on a walk and from a distance they see their friend Lena who is walking with a dog, they have never seen before:

- R:
- a. Schau dort drüm. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund.
'Look over there. Lena has a new dog.'
 - b. **Ma** schau dort drüm. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund.
 - c. Schau dort drüm. ***Ma** die Lena hot an neichn Hund.
 - d. **Ma** schau dort drüm. Die Lena hot **leicht** an neichn Hund.
 - e. ***Ma** schau **leicht** dort drüm. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund.



Distribution

I: Vielleicht wü die Lena an von unsare Hundal
 Maybe wants det Lena one of our dog.dim
 ‘Maybe Lena wants one of our puppies.’

- R:
- a. Was redtst’n zam? Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
 ‘What are you talking about? Lena has a new dog.’
 - b. **Geh** was redtst’n zam. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
 - c. *Was redtst’n zam. **Geh** Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
 - d. **Geh** was redtst’n zam. Die Lena hot **doch** an neichn Hund
 - e. ***Geh** was redtst’n **doch** zam. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund



Distribution

I: Vielleicht wü die Lena an von unsare Hundal
Maybe wants det Lena one of our dog.dim
'Maybe Lena wants one of our puppies.'

- R:
- a. Wos redtst'n zam? Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
'What are you talking about? Lena has a new dog.'
 - b. **Geh** wos redtst'n zam. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
 - c. *Wos redtst'n zam. **Geh** Die Lena hot an neichn Hund
 - d. **Geh** wos redtst'n zam. Die Lena hot **doch** an neichn Hund
 - e. ***Geh** wos redtst'n **doch** zam. Die Lena hot an neichn Hund



Predictions

- S-initial particles can be used in isolation (as exclamations)

(1) At the sight of something surprising:

Ma!

(2) At the sight of something the addressee does but the speaker disapproves:

Geh!

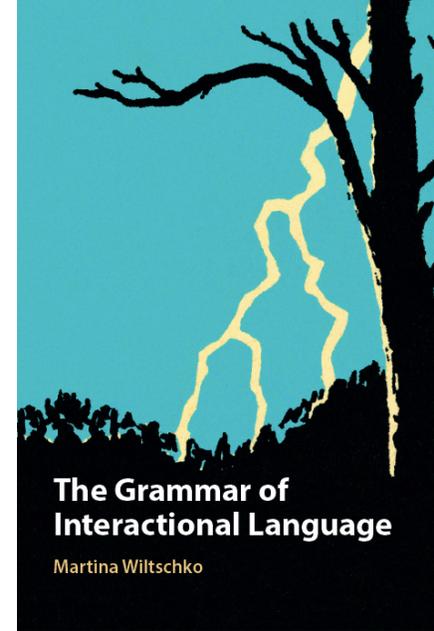
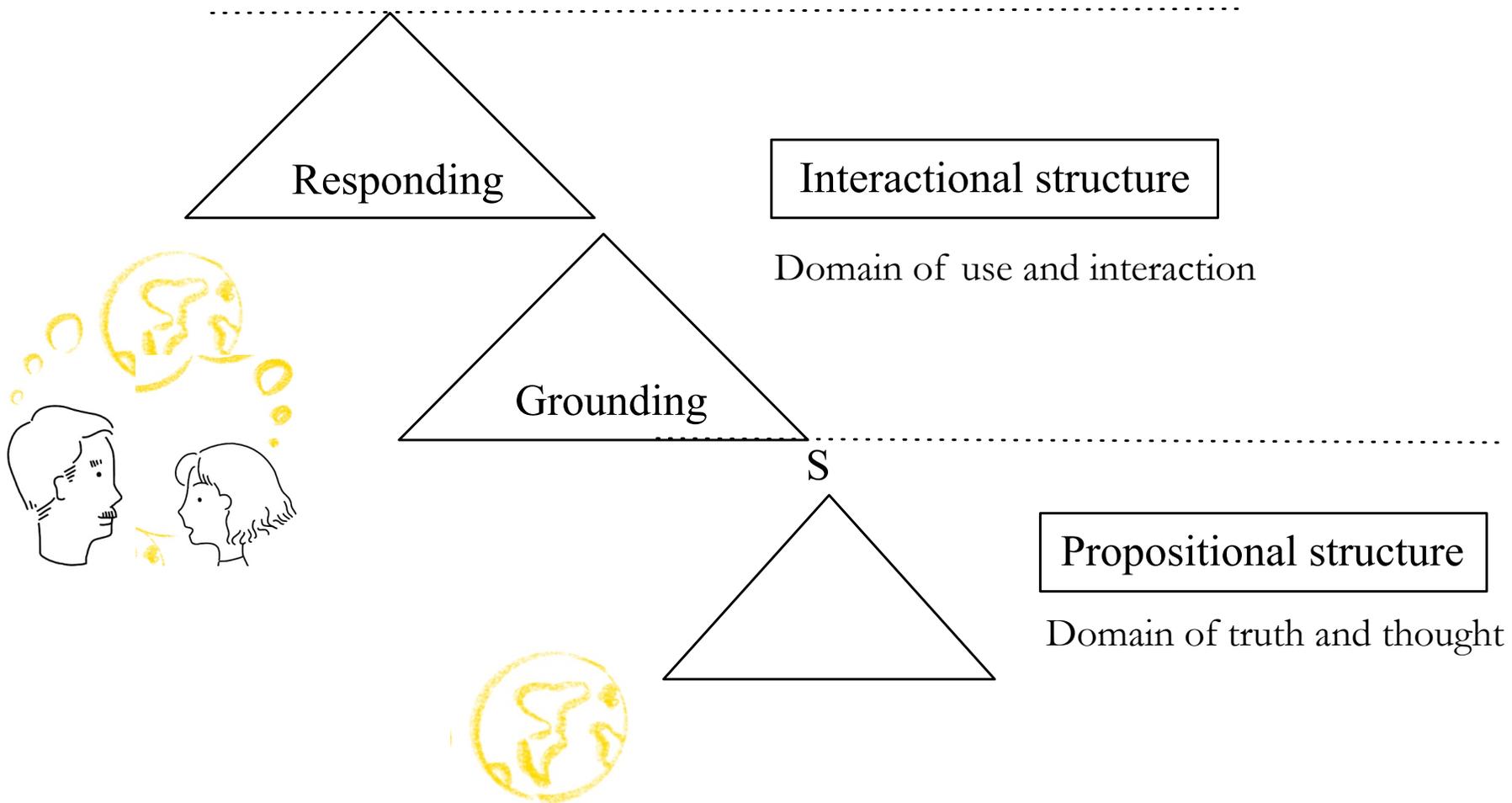
Predictions

- S-initial particles co-occur with other S-internal particles (w/ opposite orientation)



Conclusion

The interactional spine hypothesis (ISH)



Ground/Table

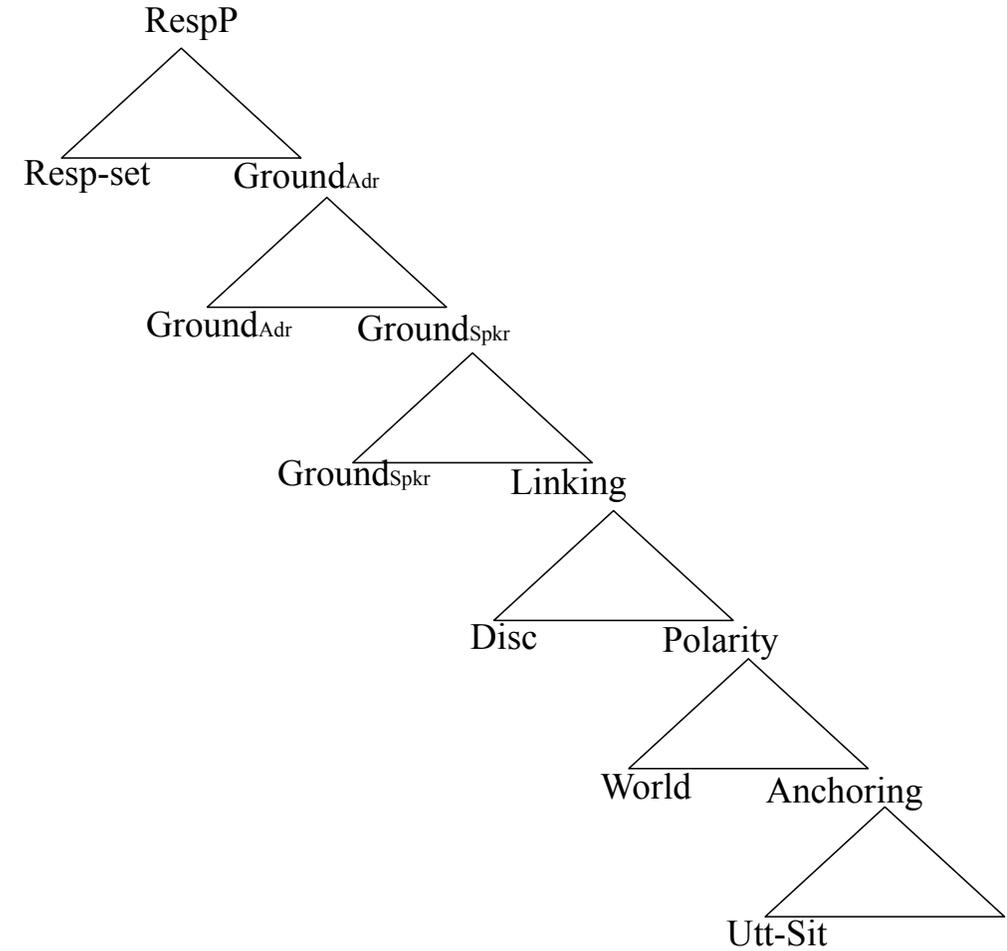
p: AnchorP

Q: LinkP

pA: [GroundP[CP]]

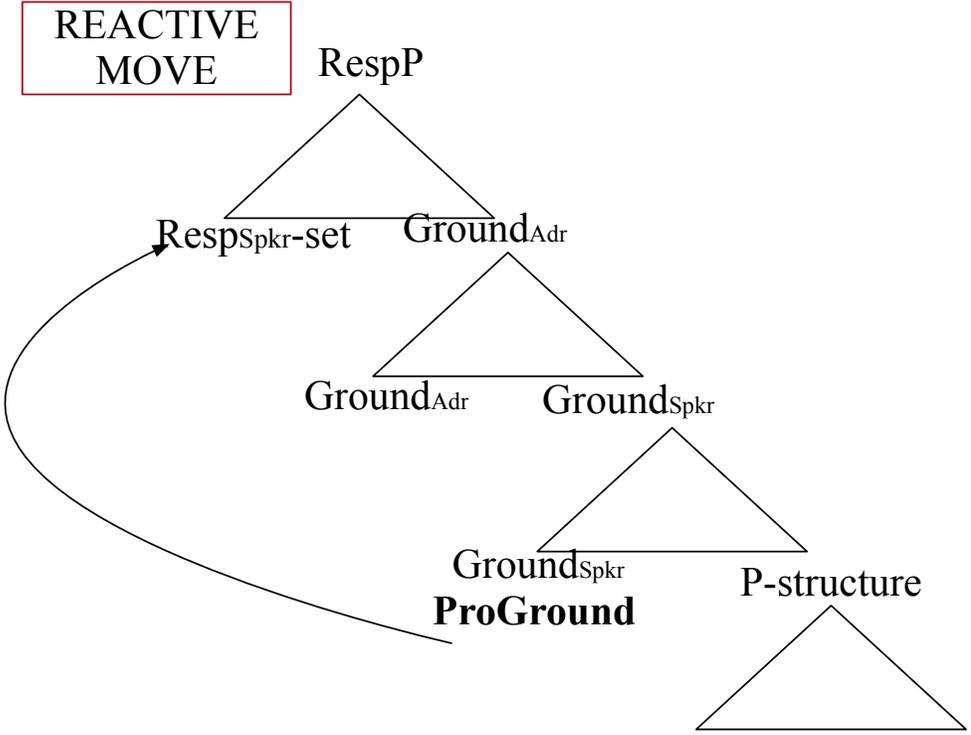
Des: [GroundP[AspP]]

Surprise: [GroundP[...]]

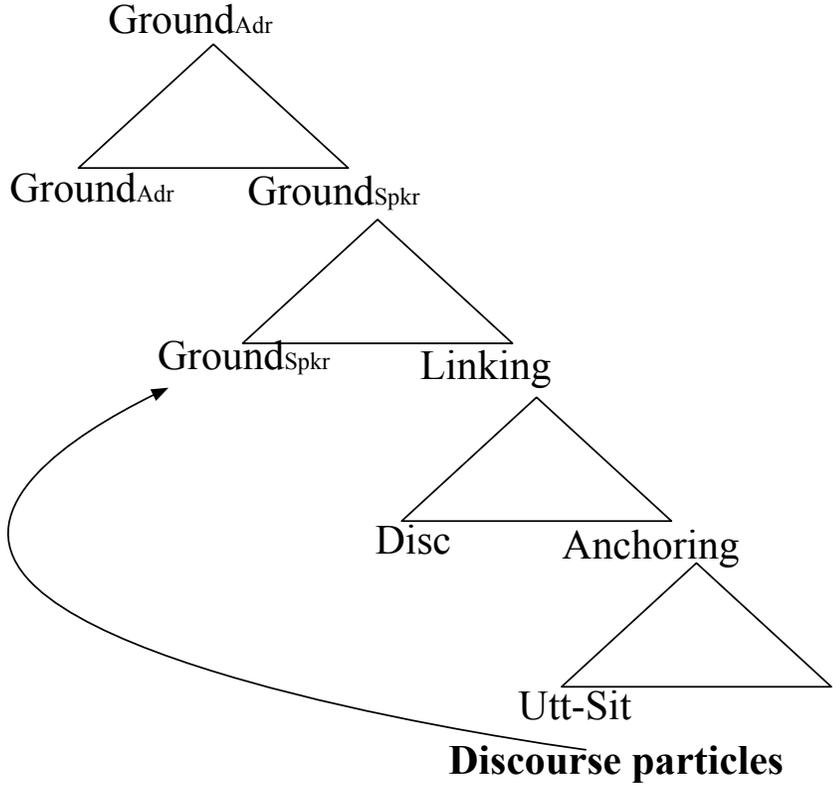


Items on the table are syntactic objects paired with their denotations

S-initial discourse particles

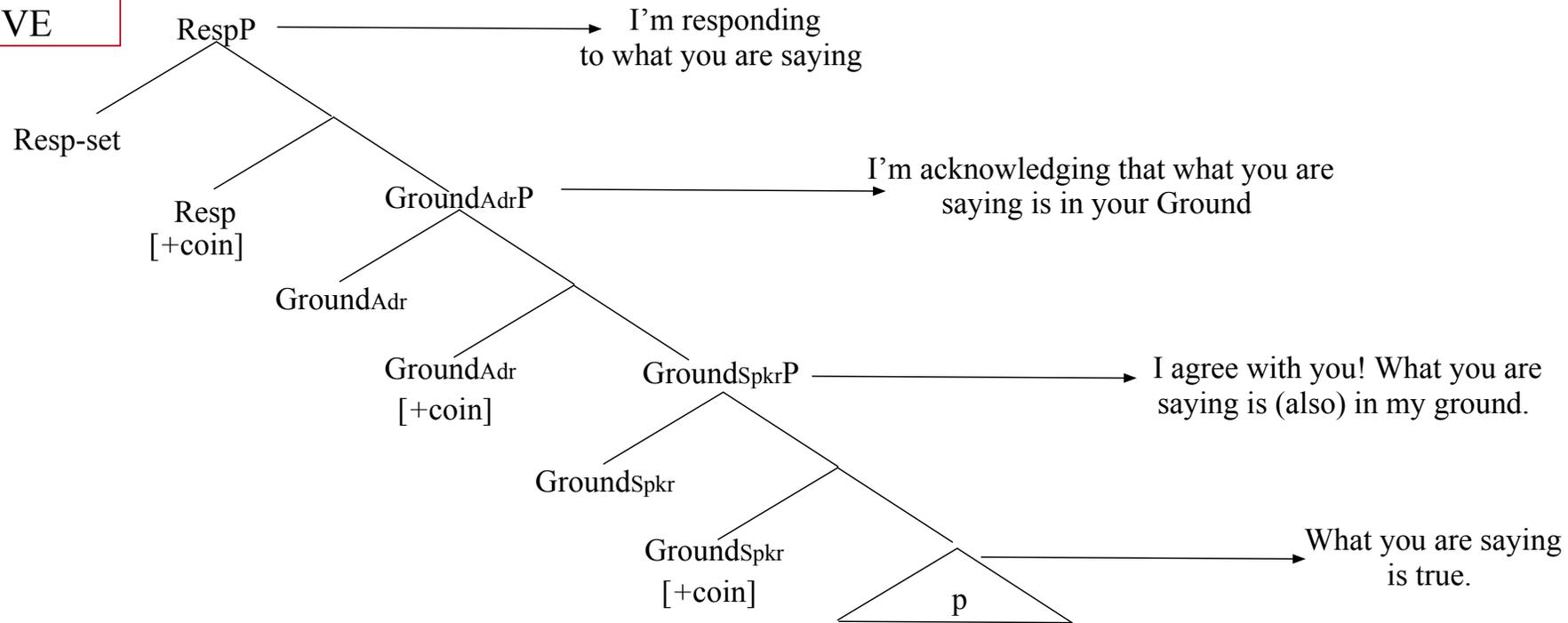


S-medial discourse particles



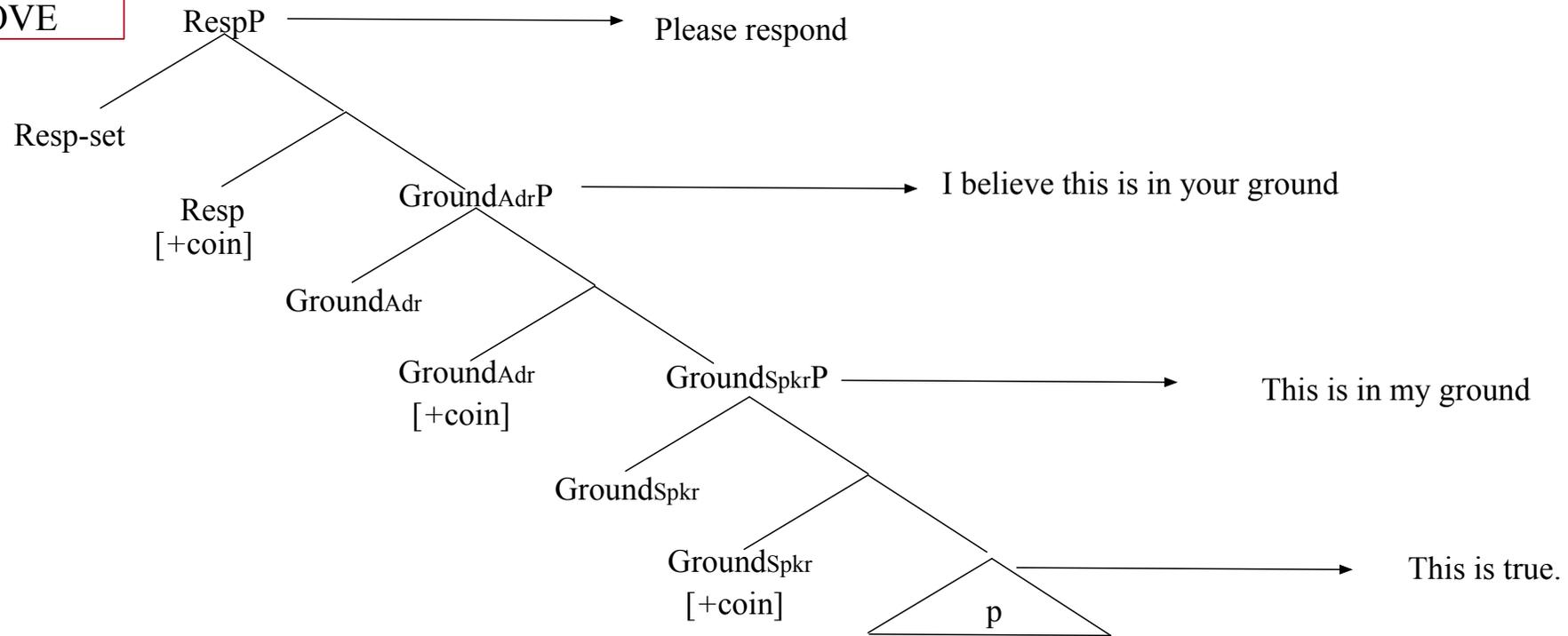
Response markers

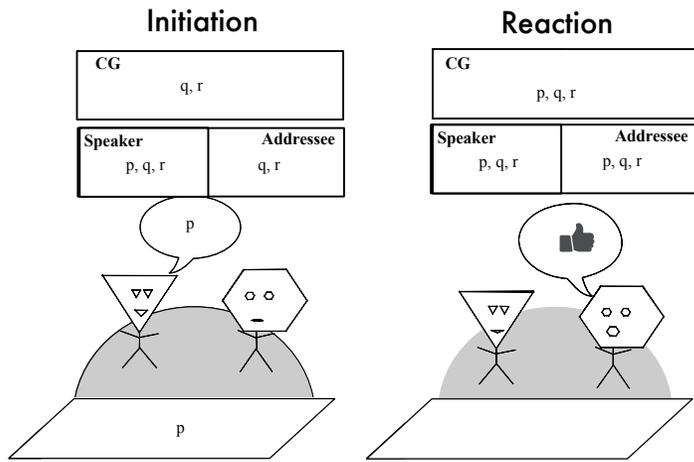
REACTIVE
MOVE



• Confirmationals

INITIATING
MOVE





Ingredients:

- S-Ground and A-ground
- Table
- 2 types of moves

