

**Powerful “Little Words” in Contact and in Context:
Pragmatic Markers in Kwéyòl Donmnik, English, and French**

by

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DEDICATION

...for my mom...

...for survivors of abuse in all its forms...

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This dissertation is not just the fruit of my own labor. It has been shaped by so many people. Despite my best efforts, I recognize that even this thorough listing is undoubtedly incomplete, and for that I apologize in advance.

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TABLE of CONTENTS

DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
LIST OF APPENDICES	x
ABSTRACT	xi
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2 Kwéyòl Donmnik and Creole Emergence	15
2.1 History of Kwéyòl Donmnik	15
2.2 Kwéyòl Donmnik in modern times	21
2.3 Creole emergence: creativity and congruence	22
Chapter 3 Pragmatic Markers (Powerful “Little Words”)	26
3.1 Capturing pragmatic markers diachronically and synchronically.....	28
3.2 Pragmatic markers and deixis	33
3.3 Pragmatic markers and corpus pragmatics	35
3.4 Pragmatic markers and pragmatic borrowing	37
3.5 Pragmatic markers, prosody, and interchangeability	40
3.6 Pragmatic markers and experimental pragmatics	42
3.7 Pragmatic markers and metalinguistic knowledge.....	44
Chapter 4 Methodologies	48
4.1 Question one: functions and features corpus analysis	48
4.2 Question two: metalinguistic knowledge interviews and survey	59
4.3 Question three: interchangeability task	66
Chapter 5 Features and Functions Corpus Analysis Results	72
5.1 Features and functions of <i>èben</i> ‘well’	73
5.2 Features and functions of <i>well</i> in Kwéyòl utterances	83

	5.3 Features and functions of <i>konsa</i> ‘so’	84
	5.4 Features and functions of <i>so</i> in Kwéyòl utterances	95
	5.5 Features and functions of <i>Bondyé</i> ‘God’ and <i>papa</i> ‘father/God’	100
	5.6 Locative pragmatic markers and the features and functions of <i>la</i> ‘there’	108
	5.7 Discussion: congruence and stability vs. adaptation	117
	5.8 Summary	121
Chapter 6	Metalinguistic Knowledge Interviews and Survey Results	122
	6.1 Self-assessments of use	123
	6.2 History of discussing use with others	129
	6.3 Attitudes	131
	6.4 Intuitions regarding meaning	133
	6.5 Metalinguistic knowledge of the locative pragmatic marker <i>la</i>	140
	6.6 Conducting a metalinguistic interview by phone	142
	6.7 Discussion and summary	142
Chapter 7	Interchangeability Task Results	145
	7.1 Answer bank selections vs. original markers in stimuli	146
	7.2 Functional overlap and page submit time	148
	7.3 Answer bank selections and functional overlap	148
	7.4 Summary	151
Chapter 8	Summary, Implications, and Future Directions	153
	8.1 Dissertation summary	153
	8.2 Implications for pragmatics and language contact research	155
	8.3 Avenues for future research	156
	APPENDICES	159
	REFERENCES	170

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.	Selected pragmatic markers	xi
Table 2.	Selected pragmatic markers (duplicate of Table 1)	3
Table 3.	Selected pragmatic markers (duplicate of Tables 1 and 2)	49
Table 4.	Language backgrounds and attitudes of participants in 2018 London Corpus	50
Table 5.	Demographic information about metalinguistic interview participants.....	62
Table 6.	Functional overlap table for Kwéyòl <i>èben</i> ‘well’, French (<i>eh</i>) <i>ben</i> ‘well’, English <i>well</i> , and English <i>well</i> as it arises in the Kwéyòl corpus data sources	84
Table 7.	Functional and featural overlap table for Kwéyòl <i>konsa</i> ‘so’, French (<i>ou</i>) <i>comme ça</i> ‘(or) like that’, English <i>so</i> , and English <i>so</i> as it arises in the Kwéyòl corpus data sources	100
Table 8.	Functional overlap table for Kwéyòl <i>papa</i> ‘father/God’ and <i>Bondyé</i> ‘God’, French religious markers like <i>mon Dieu</i> ‘my God’, and English religious markers like <i>oh my God</i>	108
Table 9.	Functional overlap table for Kwéyòl <i>la</i> ‘there’, French <i>là</i> ‘my God’, and English <i>here/there</i>	117
Table 10.	English speakers’ self-assessed frequency responses for <i>so</i> , <i>well</i> , and <i>oh my God</i>	123
Table 11.	Themes in English speakers’ high-frequency context responses for <i>so</i> , <i>well</i> , and <i>oh my God</i>	124
Table 12.	English survey avoidance responses by maker	133
Table 13.	English survey responses by maker regarding elimination’s effect On communication	133
Table 14.	Synonymous words and phrases for the Kwéyòl markers and English markers provided by the interviewees and survey participants, respectively	136
Table 15.	Similar and unique functions of English <i>well</i> , <i>so</i> , and <i>oh my God</i> and the number of corpus excerpts collected for each	146
Table 16.	Participants’ fill-in-the-blank first-choice selections	147
Table 17.	Participants’ fill-in-the-blank second-choice selections	147
Table 18.	Selected pragmatic markers (duplicate of Tables 1, 2, and 3)	154

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.	Cuenca’s (2008: 1384) semantic network for the English pragmatic marker <i>well</i>	32
Figure 2.	One of the pattern diagrams used during the Stacks and Squares task during 2018 London fieldwork	52
Figure 3.	Atlas.ti interface being used to code an instance of Kwéyòl <i>konsa</i> ‘so’.....	53
Figure 4.	Example slide from Zoom interviews with Kwéyòl speakers	61
Figure 5.	English survey participants by age range (n = 138)	63
Figure 6.	English survey participants by highest level of formal education completed (n = 138)	64
Figure 7.	English survey participants raised in the US by region (n = 101)	64
Figure 8.	Example of three-page structure used to present each fill-in-the-blank excerpt and response options	69

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A. Metalinguistic Knowledge Interview and Survey Questions	159
Appendix B. English Fill-in-the-Blank Experiment Stimuli	162

ABSTRACT

Pragmatic markers are multifunctional words or phrases that allow language users to express their attitudes and cognitive states and to organize and coordinate discourse. The forms they take and the functions they perform also index a community’s culture and history, particularly in contexts involving language contact. In this dissertation, I examine pragmatic markers in Kwéyòl Donmnik (an endangered and understudied Creole), in the superstrate with which it has been in contact for over 200 years (English), and in its lexifier (French) as both communicative tools and cultural artifacts. Displayed below are the four Kwéyòl markers I selected to compare with their French and English counterparts.

Kwéyòl Pragmatic Markers	French Counterparts	English Counterparts
<i>konsa</i> ‘so’	<i>(ou) comme ça</i> ‘(or) like that’	<i>so</i>
<i>èben</i> ‘well’	<i>(eh) ben</i> ‘well’	<i>well</i>
<i>papa/Bondyé</i> ‘father/God’	<i>bon Dieu</i> ‘good God’ and other similar expressions (e.g., <i>mon Dieu</i> ‘my God’)	<i>oh my God</i> and other similar expressions (e.g., <i>gosh</i>)
<i>la</i> ‘there’	<i>là</i> ‘there’	<i>here/there</i>

Table 1. Selected pragmatic markers

First, I asked how the discourse-pragmatic functions and distributional features of the selected pragmatic markers in Kwéyòl Donmnik compare with those of their English and French counterparts? I addressed this question by conducting a Kwéyòl corpus analysis and comparing the results with the literature on the English and French markers. The study’s outcomes revealed that many of the Kwéyòl markers’ properties reflect congruencies shared by their French and English counterparts. In addition, when English *well* and *so* surfaced in the Kwéyòl data, they were used in ways that exploited congruencies between the English and Kwéyòl markers. English *so* even performed functions that are unique to Kwéyòl *konsa*, suggesting a greater degree of integration of *so* into the Creole itself.

Second, I asked what metalinguistic knowledge speakers of Kwéyòl Donmnik and English have about these markers and how those intuitions and attitudes compared across the two communities and with the results of the previous study. I interviewed Kwéyòl speakers about *konsa*, *èben*, and *papa/Bondyé* and surveyed English speakers about their counterparts *so*, *well*,

and *oh my God*. I also asked the Kwéyòl speakers about *la* ‘there’. Their responses paralleled the results of the corpus analysis and the literature, and there were several commonalities between the two groups’ answers. A key difference, however, was the cultural and communicative value the Kwéyòl speakers attributed to their markers.

Lastly, I gathered excerpts from an English corpus and to construct a fill-in-the-blank task for the same English-speaking participants. My aim was to learn whether they approached *so*, *well*, and *oh my God* as interchangeable, particularly when the markers have functions in common. The results affirmed the non-interchangeability of these markers and suggested that speakers may more closely associate shared functions with one marker alternatives.

In addition to contributing to the linguistic study of Kwéyòl Donmnik, this research’s implications extend across pragmatics and contact linguistics. First, it affirms the status of Creoles as full-fledged, natural languages; like all languages, Creoles have full expressive power, including at the discourse-pragmatic level. Second, it reinforces the meaningful status of pragmatic markers as tools for linguistic and cultural expression. Third, it demonstrates the value of examining pragmatic markers through multiple methodological lenses, including both interdisciplinary corpus pragmatics and experimental pragmatics approaches and direct elicitation of speakers’ metalinguistic knowledge. Finally, it illustrates the fruitfulness of bridging creolistics and pragmatics by incorporating high-contact languages into pragmatics research.

Chapter 1

Introduction

In a public-facing piece on knitting and Shetland Dialect, Viveka Velupillai highlights how the local language, the result of centuries of language contact history, is woven into the community's knitting traditions. She outlines the etymologies of many knitting-related words, including *hentilagets*, which means “tufts of wool fallen off sheep when grazing” (Velupillai 2020: 47). The word is comprised of two parts: *hint*, from Old Scots *hint* and Old English *henten* meaning “to seize, grasp”, and *laget*, from Norn *lag(e)d* and Old Norse *lagðr* meaning “tuft or wisp (of something)” (Velupillai 2020: 47). Because knitting is culturally embedded in Shetland, words like *hentilagets*, integrated from various source languages, have survived and undergone natural shifts in meaning and usage. However, it is not just lexical items like *hentilagets* that become touchstones of a linguistic community and manifestations of its contact history. Other words and phrases whose meanings are far less concrete can also be vessels of a community's linguistic and cultural past, particularly when speakers combine and adapt them to new uses across generations of language contact.

The linguistic vessels that I focus on in this dissertation are *pragmatic markers*.¹ Speakers use these multifunctional words and phrases to express their attitudes and cognitive states (e.g., using *oh* to indicate the integration of unexpected or surprising information (Aijmer 1987, cited by Fox Tree & Schrock 1999: 281)), to coordinate the process of maneuvering through discourse (e.g., using *well* to introduce a speaker's turn to speak (Schiffrin 1987: 102)), and even to highlight speakers' identification with a particular community (e.g., use of the marker *girl* and *look* among Black women (Scott 2000)). As far as linguists have been able to determine, pragmatic markers are a feature of all languages (Waltereit & Detges 2007: 64), but each language has its own inventory of markers, and each marker has its own inventory of functions. We also know that pragmatic markers develop over time, and linguists continue to debate

¹ As I discuss in Chapter 3, pragmatic markers have been referred to using many names. A personal favorite of mine is *little words* or *petits mots* (Bouchard 2000, Bolden 2006), the name I use in the title of this dissertation; they are small but powerful.

whether the bleaching of propositional content that pragmatic markers undergo as they take on discourse-level meanings constitutes grammaticalization or exemplifies a distinct process, like *pragmaticalization* (Dostie 2004). Some markers originate from single lexical items (e.g., the marker *well* from the adverb *well*), others are phrases that have become fixed (e.g., *y'know*), and others lack a clear lexical origin (e.g., *um*).

How members of a language community use their inventory of pragmatic markers and how the meanings of those markers emerge are thriving topics of inquiry. Examining them in contexts involving contact, where multiple languages, and thus multiple cultures, have come together requires a delicate untangling of items of origin as well as modern-day usages. In this dissertation, I focus on a selection of pragmatic markers in three languages: Kwéyòl Donninik, an understudied and endangered² Creole spoken by some of my family members, English, the language with which Kwéyòl has been in intense contact for over 200 years, and French, the language from which Kwéyòl derives most of its lexicon.³

Kwéyòl Donninik, also referred to as Patwa (from French *patois* ‘local dialect’) by some speakers, is the French lexifier Creole of the Caribbean island of Dominica.⁴ Kwéyòl is a member of the Lesser Antillean family alongside similar varieties spoken in Martinique, Guadeloupe, and St. Lucia. Contributors to the Creole included the indigenous Kalinago community (speakers of an Arawakan language that is no longer spoken), enslaved African peoples (speakers of Bantu and Kwa languages), French colonizers who arrived on Dominica in the early 1600s, transshipped enslaved people and escaped or freed people of color from other parts of the Caribbean (speakers of other blossoming Creole varieties), and English colonizers who arrived in the mid-1700s. Emergence of the Creole likely began in the 1700s, the period during which the island’s enslaved population expanded substantially.

Despite its small size and mountainous terrain, competition between the French and the English for control of Dominica was fierce due to the island’s fertile soil and prime location for trade. Though French influence on the culture of the island has remained strong, Dominica was part of the British commonwealth for more than two centuries until its independence in 1978.

²Most speakers of Kwéyòl are community elders, as reflected in Paugh’s (2012: 9) observation that “[t]he language is losing fluent speakers and is no longer spoken as a first language by the majority of Dominican children; by most measures, then, [Kwéyòl] would be considered an endangered language”.

³ As modeled by Baptista (2020), this manuscript follows DeGraff’s (2003, 2004) recommendation that Creole be capitalized “as it refers to a language grouping” (Baptista 2020: 160).

⁴ The label *Kwéyòl Donninik* is preferred among language activists and educators, as opposed to the more outdated term *Patwa*. For more on language naming practices among speakers of Kwéyòl Donninik and other Creole languages, see Bancu et al. (2021).

Over time, the Kwéyòl-speaking population has decreased under the weight of English influence, and nearly all remaining speakers are bilingual, typically in English.⁵ Today, pockets of Kwéyòl speakers are spread across a wide and predominantly English-speaking diaspora, with many diaspora speakers residing in the United Kingdom (UK), and even the United States.

Organizations like the Komité pou Étid Kwéyòl (Committee for Creole Studies) in Dominica and the Dominica Overseas Nationals Association in London, UK have worked to promote the language’s survival and provided opportunities for Dominicans to celebrate their Creole heritage and language. A fuller overview of Kwéyòl Donmnik’s history and current status is provided in Chapter 2.

Though French is Kwéyòl Donmnik’s lexifier and founding *superstrate* (socio-politically dominant source language of prestige), the pervasive influence of English is evident, particularly in the Creole’s lexicon and sound system (Christie 2003: 26). This layered history of contact with two superstrates makes the interplay between Kwéyòl Donmnik, English, and French an intriguing context for crosslinguistic comparison at the discourse-pragmatic level.

The Kwéyòl, French, and English markers I selected for investigation are listed below in Table 2. The formal resemblance between the French and Kwéyòl markers highlights the strong colonial grip of the lexifier on the Creole-speaking community’s history, despite their prolonged contact with English. In addition, the markers *Bondyé* ‘God’ (from French *bon Dieu* ‘good God’) and *papa* ‘father (God)’ carry overt traces of the cultural impacts of that colonial history, namely the lasting religious effects of European occupation.

Kwéyòl Pragmatic Markers	French Counterparts	English Counterparts
<i>konsa</i> ‘so’	<i>(ou) comme ça</i> ‘(or) like that’	<i>so</i>
<i>ében</i> ‘well’	<i>(eh) ben</i> ‘well’	<i>well</i>
<i>papa/Bondyé</i> ‘father/God’	<i>bon dieu</i> ‘good God’ and other similar expressions (e.g., <i>mon dieu</i> ‘my God’)	<i>oh my God</i> and other similar expressions (e.g., <i>gosh</i>)
<i>la</i> ‘there’	<i>là</i> ‘there’	<i>here/there</i>

Table 2. Selected pragmatic markers (duplicate of Table 1)

⁵ English is the predominant language spoken in Dominica, as well as in popular diaspora locations for individuals from Dominica, such as the United Kingdom. This makes bilingualism in English the usual pattern for speakers of Kwéyòl. However, some speakers also know other languages in addition to English and Kwéyòl. For example, one of my interviewees took French courses in school growing up; she went on to become fluent in the language, study and work in French-speaking locations, and marry a French speaker. Another of my interviewees spent many years in the U. S. Virgin Islands. Thanks to the area’s proximity to Puerto Rico and his access to Spanish classes when he was in school, he gained proficiency in that language as well.

The first Kwéyòl marker I chose is *konsa*. While Kwéyòl *kon sa* maintains the meaning ‘like that’, the pragmatic marker *konsa* functions similarly to its English counterpart *so*, as illustrated below in (1). Both *konsa* and its lexical counterpart *kon sa* are derived from French *comme ça*. Like *kon sa*, *comme ça* literally translates to ‘like that’, a meaning it retains when used in its lexical form (e.g., *tu fais comme ça* ‘you do [it] **like that**’). However, *comme ça* can be used as a pragmatic marker in the lexifier as well and is often accompanied by *ou* ‘or’, as in *ou comme ça* ‘or like that’; for examples of (*ou*) *comme ça* ‘(or) like that’, see 5.3.

- (1) **Konsa**, mon té ni pou désann an tout glo -sa -la èvè
 so I PAST have to descend in all water DEM DEF and
 ‘**So**, I had to go down in all that water and
- pou gadé pou piti, piti, ti frog -la.
 to look for little little little frog DEF
 to look for the little, little, little frog.’
 (Book Narration, London Corpus, Speaker HMMf63, gloss mine)⁶

Kwéyòl *ében*, illustrated below in (2), derives its form from the French pragmatic marker (*eh*) *ben*. Both the Creole marker and the lexifier counterpart function similarly to English *well*, one of the most widely studied pragmatic markers in the literature.

- (2) **Èben** sa sé, sa sé story -la ki fèt la.
 well DEM is DEM is story DEF which happened there
 ‘**Well** that’s, that’s the story that happened there.’
 (Book Narration, London Corpus, Speaker EDf82, gloss mine)

Because they have similar uses and share religious roots, I chose to analyze Kwéyòl *Bondyé* ‘God’ and *papa* ‘father (God)’ together, much as Fox Tree (2007) analyzes *um* and *uh* alongside each other due to their functional similarities. In fact, one interviewee reported that these items can cooccur, as in *papa Bondyé* ‘father God’. Both separately, as illustrated in (3) and (4) below, and together, these markers function similarly to source expressions in the lexifier, such as *bon Dieu* ‘good God’ and *mon Dieu* ‘my God’, as well as to common phrases in the English superstrate, like *oh my God* and *gosh*.

⁶ Where not already added by the original author or corpus transcriber, I have added bolding to examples throughout to highlight key portions for the reader. I have also indicated for which Kwéyòl Donmnik and French examples the gloss and/or translation was provided by me.

- (3) A! **Bondyé, Bondyé,** kité nou sòti.
 ah God God let us get-out
 ‘Ah! **God, God,** let us get out.’
 (Book Narration, London Corpus, HMMf63, gloss mine)
- (4) A: Èvè nanné -sa -la sé kawantyenm annivèsè DONA.
 and year DEM DEF is fortieth anniversary DONA
 ‘And this year it’s DONA’s fortieth anniversary.’
- B: A! Wi, wi, mwen tann sa.
 Ah yes yes I heard that
 ‘Ah! Yes, yes, I heard that.’
- A: Mwen ni èspwa la ké ni anpil moun.
 I have hope there FUT have a-lot people
 ‘I hope there will be a lot of people...’
- B: La ké ni anpil moun, a! **Papa, papa!** Pitèt ké bon.
 there FUT have a-lot people, ah papa papa perhaps FUT good
 ‘There will be a lot of people, ah! **Papa, papa!** Perhaps it will be good.’
 (Dialogue, London Corpus, SHMf59 and PJf58, gloss mine)

Aside from having been historically labeled as swear words or oaths (Tagliamonte & Jankowski 2019: 196), expressions like *oh my God* are typically referred to as *interjections*: units associated with the expression of emotions “which can constitute an utterance by themselves and do not normally enter into constructions with other word classes” (Ameka 1992: 105, cited by Norrick 2009: 867). However, the boundary between interjections and pragmatic markers “is at best muddy” (Norrick 2009: 869). Many pragmatic markers, such as *well*, can form stand-alone utterances and express speakers’ emotions and cognitive states. Conversely, many interjections, such as a *oh* and *um*, can accompany a fuller utterance and organize the flow of discourse. For this reason, I, like Norrick (2009: 869),

“take pragmatic markers to include any of the several types of elements which regularly fill the initial slot in conversational turns, with various pragmatic/discourse functions, making an independent contribution and/or relating the following sequence to the dynamic context”.

Note, however, that pragmatic markers are not limited to utterance- or turn-initial position; this is simply a property that many pragmatic markers tend to display.

Finally, I also chose to briefly explore Kwéyòl *la* (from the French locative adverb and demonstrative reinforcer *là* ‘there’), an item that appears in many French lexifier Creoles. *La*

plays multiple roles in these Creoles, the most prominent of which are the definite determiner ‘the’ and the locative adverb ‘there’.⁷ While investigating the meanings of the Kwéyòl determiner *la* within the Creole’s nominal system (see Chapter 5), I began to suspect that in addition to being a determiner and an adverb, *la* might act also as a pragmatic marker in Kwéyòl Donmnik (Peltier 2021). I based this hypothesis on utterances in which *la* neither accompanies a noun nor conveys locative information, such as when it occurred utterance-finally in examples like (5) below. The speaker is asking her daughter to take a carton or cardboard box ‘by the man who died’; in other words, to take a carton or cardboard box to the man’s house, where his widow still resides. In this case, no location of death was referenced in the discourse, suggesting that *la* ‘there’ was uttered for some other discourse-pragmatic effect.

- (5) Dèmen, O, ou sav sa mwen té vlé ’w fè?
 Tomorrow oh you know what I PAST want you do
 ‘Tomorrow, oh, you know what I wanted you to do?’
- Pou ’w té mennen an, an, an katon koté
 for you PAST bring INDEF INDEF INDEF carton/cardboard box by
 ‘For you to bring a, a, a carton/cardboard box by
- nonm -la ki mò la.
 man DEF who died there
 the man who died [**there**].’
 (Dialogue, Speakers EDf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

As will be discussed further in Chapter 3, it is not uncommon for deictic items, whose meanings hinge upon the “spatiotemporal and interactional coordinates [of the situational context]: who is speaking to whom, as well as when and where” (Rühlemann 2019: 48), to develop into pragmatic markers. In fact, scholars like Levinson argue that pragmatic markers are themselves discourse deictic in nature because they “indicate, often in very complex ways, just how the utterance that contains them is a response to, or a continuation of, some portion of the prior discourse” (Levinson 1983: 88, cited by Rühlemann 2019: 86).

⁷ *La* does sometimes surface in Kwéyòl and other French lexifier Creoles in agglutinations of the French singular definite feminine determiner *la* and a noun (e.g., *lapòt*, which is the bare noun ‘door’ in Kwéyòl, is an agglutination of French *la porte* ‘the door’). However, the forms of *la* in Kwéyòl that I am discussing here are derived from the French *là* demonstrative reinforcer and adverb and are productively used in the Creole, such as to perform the role of post-nominal definite determiner (e.g., *lapòt-la* ‘the door’).

Cases of locative adverbs being used as pragmatic markers have been documented in high-contact varieties of English (*here/there* and *this/that* used as markers in New Ulm English, examined by Fellego (1998)), in more standardized varieties of English (*here/there* used as markers of surprising outcomes, reported by Schiffrin (1987: 328)) and in French, Kwéyòl's lexifier (*là* 'there' as a discourse marker, discussed by Dostie (2007) and Forget (1989)); for examples and further discussion, see 5.6. Even Kwéyòl *konsa* 'so' and French (*ou*) *comme ça* '(or) like that' have spatial deictic roots: *sa* and *ça* are demonstrative pronouns meaning 'that'. Thus, I chose to include *la* in my dissertation research alongside *konsa* 'so', *ében* 'well', and *papa/Bondyé* 'father/God'.

It is typical to consider only corpus data and/or other linguists' observations when examining pragmatic markers. However, linguists' observations are not the only sources of information a researcher can turn to to learn how pragmatic markers are used. Like Fox Tree (2007: 299-300), I agree with Butters (2002: 328), who suggests that we "make use of all three kinds of data — the linguists' intuitions, the informants' intuitions, and objective empirical data — in arriving at the most accurate conclusions about the meanings that exist 'in the human brain'". Though it may be difficult for speakers to define pragmatic markers explicitly, their metalinguistic knowledge about them provides crucial insights into the roles these items perform linguistically and culturally. I have found this to be particularly true when researching the markers of an understudied and endangered language like Kwéyòl Donmnik for which linguistic literature and corpus data are scarce.

In accordance with Butters' (2002: 328) three-pronged approach, I have brought together linguists' observations (literature on the English and French markers), empirical data (a corpus analysis of the Kwéyòl markers and an English fill-in-the-blank task), and speakers' metalinguistic knowledge (interviews with Kwéyòl speakers and a survey for English speakers) to pursue three research questions in this dissertation.

First, how do the discourse-pragmatic functions and distributional features of the selected markers in Kwéyòl Donmnik compare with those of their English and French counterparts?

To pursue this question, I used a form-to-function approach to analyze the tokens of the Kwéyòl markers that occurred in my 2018 fieldwork data, in a pair of Kwéyòl conversations documented in the Corpus Créole (Ludwig et al. 2001), and in a trio of folktales orated by Ma' Bernard (a Kwéyòl Donmnik speaker) and documented by Douglas Taylor (1977). This involved

identifying tokens of each *form* (the items of interest; in this case, the Kwéyòl pragmatic markers) and using both vertical- and horizontal-reading to determine each form's *functions* (the context-driven roles they play in the discourse) and to code those functions using Atlas.ti qualitative research software. This is a well-established approach in corpus pragmatics that

“makes use of the best of two worlds: the vertical-reading methodology of [corpus linguistics] (instructing computer software to plough through myriads of text samples in search of occurrences of a target item) integrated into the horizontal-reading methodology of pragmatics (weighing and interpreting individual occurrences within their contextual environments)” (Rühlemann 2019: 7).

To facilitate the coding process, I followed the recommendations outlined by Andersen (2014) for examining cases of pragmatic borrowing: first coding each token for its structural and syntagmatic features and then coding them for their discourse-pragmatic functions (e.g., indicating disagreement, marking the start of a speaker's turn). The structural and syntagmatic features listed by Andersen (2014: 23), which I will simply refer to as distributional features, include utterance placement, scope, orientation, degree of syntactic integration, and collocational features, all of which will be discussed further in Chapters 3 and 4.

Recall that, given the nature of the contact situation in which the language has developed, nearly all speakers of Kwéyòl Donmnik are bilingual, typically in English. Thus, during the corpus analysis, I also came across utterances in the Creole that contained tokens of *so* and *well*, *konsa* and *èben*'s English pragmatic marker counterparts, respectively. An example of this is the utterance in (6) below which contains the English marker *so*.

- (6) **So,** kouman'w kè fè alé la? Ou pa sa
 so how you FUT be-able go there you not that
 'So, how will you be able to go there? You can't
- mété motoka'w asou chimen-la.
 put car your on road DEF
 put your car on the road.'
 (Dialogue, Speakers EDf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

Multilingual speakers have access to more than one inventory of pragmatic markers and may select those that best fit their linguistic and cultural needs. In his work on the outcomes of language contact, Muysken (2013: 713) directly references some of these instances, suggesting

that when performing a code-switching practice he refers to as *backflagging*, bilinguals may insert markers from a minoritized community’s language into utterances in the socially dominant language. This practice allows speakers “to signal their traditional ethnic identity” since these markers carry with them “a clear ethnic connotation” (Muysken 2013: 713).

The English markers I found in the fieldwork corpus demonstrated what appeared to be a similar dynamic occurring in the reverse: a prestige language’s pragmatic markers being integrated into bilinguals’ utterances in a minoritized language. I chose to code these English tokens as well, curious to see whether *so* and *well* were being used exactly as they would be in an English utterance or whether these items had in fact been integrated into the Creole to the point of taking on new properties.

Once the Kwéyòl corpus analysis was complete, I compared the results with what linguists have reported in the literature about their counterparts in English and French. Comparing and contrasting the markers used in the Creole utterances and their counterparts in the superstrates was a promising avenue for assessing how the functions and features of the source items may have shifted upon integration into Kwéyòl. In addition, as highlighted in Cuenca’s (2008) work, comparing and contrasting roughly equivalent pragmatic markers crosslinguistically helps the researcher gain a deeper understanding of how all the items being compared function in their respective languages. I expected the Kwéyòl Donmnik markers to display creativity as well as *congruence*: “the idea that the similarities (the congruent features) that speakers perceive between the languages in contact are favored to participate in the emergence and development of a new language” (Baptista 2020: 161).⁸ Thus, I anticipated that each Kwéyòl marker’s properties would reflect the points of overlap between its French item of origin and its English influencing counterpart, as well as take on its own unique functions and features.

In addition to confirming that Kwéyòl *la* can be used as a locative pragmatic marker, the outcomes of the corpus analysis also revealed that, though only two of the markers (*èben* ‘well’

⁸ Congruence is closely related to another phenomenon — convergence — and “they may be distinct for some linguists while being interchangeable for others” (Baptista 2020: 163). *Congruence* hinges upon the preexistence of features that are congruent “between the languages in contact[, thus] favor[ing] the selection of such congruent features in the formation of a new language like a Creole” (Baptista 2020: 163); *convergence* is when “long-term coexistence...lead[s] languages to CONVERGE with each other, ultimately leading to the rise of congruent features among them (see Joseph 1983, 2010)” (Baptista 2020: 163). These phenomena have been explored by numerous researchers, including Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Silva-Corvalán (1994, 2008), and Aboh and DeGraff (2014, 2017). For a detailed discussion of the intertwined histories of these two concepts, see Baptista (2020: 163-166).

and *la* ‘there’) performed functions that were not listed in the superstrate counterparts’ literatures, many of the four Kwéyòl markers’ features and functions reflected congruent properties shared by both their French and English rough equivalents. With respect to the English markers surfacing in Kwéyòl utterances, though *well*’s properties when used in the corpus data aligned with the English literature, it appears that *so* has become integrated into the Creole to the extent that it is taking on functions performed by Kwéyòl *konsa* ‘so’. For more on the results of the Kwéyòl corpus analysis, see Chapter 5.

My second question was: what metalinguistic knowledge do speakers of Kwéyòl Donmnik and English — the two languages in intense contact today — have about these markers? In other words, what are their attitudes towards the markers, intuitions about how they use the markers, and beliefs regarding the markers’ contributions to communication?

Non-linguists and linguists alike, particularly those who speak prestige languages with widely used writing systems like English and French, have referred to pragmatic markers as meaningless or even as indicative of a linguistic deficiency on the part of the speaker (Fox Tree 2007, Brinton 1996, Corminboeuf 2016). I wanted to compare the attitudes of bilingual speakers of a minoritized language (Kwéyòl) with those of speakers of a prestige language (English) with respect to pragmatic markers that share some similar functions: Kwéyòl *konsa* ‘so’, *ében* ‘well’, and *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’ and English *so*, *well*, and *oh my God*. I was also eager to learn what Kwéyòl speakers would report regarding *la* ‘there’.

To collect these intuitions, I drew upon work by Fox Tree (2007) on English speakers’ folk notions regarding the markers *like*, *you know*, and *um/uh* and conducted an online survey with English speakers to compare with my interviews with speakers of Kwéyòl Donmnik. The qualitative coding methodology and statistical analyses I employed are described in Chapter 4, and I provide the list of questions I asked each group in Appendix A.

The speakers’ responses recalled some of the functions found in the Kwéyòl corpus analysis and in the literature on the English markers. There were also multiple similarities across the two groups’ attitudes and usage reports, such as speakers reporting having discussed appropriate usage of the markers of religious origins (*papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’ and *oh my God*) with family or friends. In addition, a few demographic patterns were revealed by the English speakers’ responses, like participants who identified as female reporting more frequent use of *well* than those identifying as male.

One of the most striking take-aways, however, was that, unlike the English speakers, the Kwéyòl Donmnik speakers ascribed a distinct cultural attachment and value to their pragmatic markers and did not dismiss them as lacking in meaning. Perhaps this difference is due to the exclusion of many pragmatic markers (e.g., *oh my God* among them) from standardized English, particularly in writing. Meanwhile, most Kwéyòl speakers have not been taught to read or write in their Creole language, giving the spoken modality greater prevalence. One interviewee even reported that the marker *Bondyé* ‘God’ has trickled down to younger generations (perhaps through *backflagging* (Muysken 2013: 713)) where it has undergone changes in pronunciation ([bōdʒe] > [bōdʒe] > [bodʒe]). It is by documenting speakers’ metalinguistic knowledge that the cultural weight of these markers is brought to the forefront, somewhat like the cultural significance that has preserved knitting vocabulary like *hentilagets* in Shetland Dialect. For more on the results of this comparative study of metalinguistic knowledge, see Chapter 6.

Finally, I asked: do English speakers approach pragmatic markers as interchangeable, particularly when they have functions in common?

Even among linguists who have taken the time to closely study the pragmatic markers of well-documented languages and who “agree that they are meaningful and functional,...there is ongoing debate about what they mean and how they are used, and how interchangeable they are” (Fox Tree 2007: 298). When conducting a comparative analysis of pragmatic markers, whether within a single language, like Fox Tree’s (2007) work on English markers, or across languages, as in Cuenca’s (2008) contrastive analysis of Spanish and Catalan markers, “[s]ome of the proposed meanings are quite different from each other, while others overlap” (Fox Tree 2007: 298). In other words, two markers may each perform multiple discourse-pragmatic functions, some of which the markers share, and others which are unique to only one marker.

For this portion of the dissertation, I ran a response-timed, fill-in-the-blank task with 138 English speakers. I implemented the experiment in Qualtrics using a bank of sixty randomly-ordered excerpts that I collected from the Corpus of Contemporary American English, and in each one I placed a blank where there was once a token of either *so*, *well*, or *oh my God* in the corpus — twenty excerpts per marker (see Appendix B for the full list of excerpts). As I describe in Chapter 4 during my methodological overview and summarize visually in Table 15 in Chapter 7, thirty of the excerpts exemplified functions that only one marker was reported in the literature to perform, fifteen illustrated functions shared by two of the markers, and fifteen were instances

of functions shared by all three markers. The results of the experiment, discussed in Chapter 7, showed that participants were usually adept at identifying which of the three markers originally filled each blank. Their answers also suggested, however, that some of the functions that were reportedly shared by two or all three markers may be most closely associated with one marker over the others. For instance, when responding to stimuli in which the blanked-out marker had been used to facilitate a speaker's self-repair⁹ (a function all three markers can perform), participants tended to choose *well* to fill in the blank even when the corpus excerpt had originally contained *so* or *oh my God*. These results give credence to the proposal that a pragmatic marker is a semantic network of interrelated senses, some of which are more closely related to the markers' core meaning(s) than others (Cuenca 2008: 1382). For more on this topic, see Chapter 3.

As is also outlined in Chapter 3, linguists have proposed multiple theories that attempt to capture how the meanings of multifunctional items like pragmatic markers are organized, implemented in context, and functionally expanded over time. However, the functional changes and innovations documented in the corpus analysis in Chapter 5, as well as the results of this experiment (which included pinpointing additional functions that I did not find in the literature for *so* and *well*), suggest that approaches like Norén and Linell's (2007) theory of meaning potentials are particularly promising. According to this theory, "pragmatic markers do not have a fixed meaning but a meaning potential" (Aijmer 2013: 12). These items do not have "strictly delimited meanings but develop meanings in situated use" (Aijmer 2013: 12, summarizing Norén and Linell 2007). Unlike relevance-theoretic approaches to pragmatic markers (see 3.1 for a brief discussion) in which "a pragmatic marker looks for a context which is compatible with communicative principles", the theory of meaning potentials assumes that "the context selects the meaning of the marker" (Aijmer 2013: 12). Thus, "parts of a word's meaning are evoked, activated or materialised, foregrounded or backgrounded, *in different ways in the different contexts*, in which it is exploited" (Norén and Linell 2007: 390, cited by Aijmer 2013: 12, italics is the original authors'). Every aspect of the context, from text type to the interlocutors' identities to what has been uttered earlier in the discourse, can affect how a marker is used. A marker's *meaning potential(s)* are "an economical way of storing the speaker's knowledge" and rather

⁹ Self-repairs are contexts in which a speaker pauses to alter or reformulate what they have just said (e.g., starting an utterance over following a false start) or hesitates as they consider to how to continue (e.g., searching for a particular word or best turn of phrase).

than being “an unordered set of meanings”, “the ‘potential’ must have some internal structure” (Aijmer 2013: 12).

The theory of meaning potentials is compatible with Cuenca’s (2008) proposal that pragmatic markers are semantic networks and with the idea that the various uses of a pragmatic marker are related via *polysemy* (a single word having many meanings (Holm 2000: 106)) and can be boiled down to “one or several core meanings from which new functions can be created in the interaction” (Aijmer 2013: 12). Depending on the context in which a marker is used, it can take on different functions, and so long as they are compatible with the marker’s meaning potentials (or core meanings),

“new functions can be created in the interaction” (Aijmer 2013: 12). This approach allows for pragmatic markers to have a limited set of basic, underlying, conventionalized meanings as well as the flexibility to permit “innovative”, “less conventionalised (or ad hoc) meanings created in the communication situation” (Aijmer 2013: 13).

The implications of this dissertation that extend across pragmatics and contact linguistics, specifically creolistics. First, it affirms the status of Creoles as natural, full-fledged languages; like all languages, Creoles have full expressive power, and this remains true at the discourse-pragmatic level. Second, it reinforces the meaningful status of pragmatic markers as tools for linguistic and cultural expression crosslinguistically. Not only do speakers have subconscious linguistic competence with respect to how each marker can be used, but they also have metalinguistic knowledge that they can consciously share with researchers. That knowledge extends beyond the functional repertoires of these markers to include how they are perceived and under what conditions they can be used appropriately within a language community.

Third, this research evidences the rich insights that can be gained by examining pragmatic markers through multiple methodological lenses, from interdisciplinary corpus pragmatics and experimental pragmatics approaches to metalinguistic interviews and surveys. Those insights tell us more about how individual markers are used and viewed by different language communities. In addition, they suggest that experimental methods in particular may help researchers better understand and model how the meanings of multifunctional items like pragmatic markers are related to one another in the minds of speakers in ways that permit change and contextual adaptation.

Finally, this work demonstrates the importance of conducting work that bridges creolistics and pragmatics by including both high-contact varieties and their source languages in pragmatics research and thus allowing creolists and other contact linguists to trace the processes of congruence and creativity involved in language contact at the discourse level.

In this chapter I have provided the reader with an overview of my dissertation, including topics and languages of interest, research questions, methodologies used, key results, and implications of the research. Next, in Chapter 2, I discuss Creole emergence and consider Kwéyòl Donmnik in depth, focusing on its history and the sociolinguistic ecologies in which it developed and is spoken today. In Chapter 3, I review literature on pragmatic markers, including theories of multifunctionality and change, pragmatic markers from the perspective of deixis, corpus pragmatic approaches to examining pragmatic markers, capturing pragmatic borrowing of markers in language contact, research into the prosody and interchangeability of markers, and work on speakers' metalinguistic knowledge with respect to pragmatic markers. I focus on my methodological approaches to each research question in Chapter 4 before delving into the results of the corpus analysis in Chapter 5, of the metalinguistic knowledge study in Chapter 6, and of the fill-in-the-blank task in Chapter 7. Finally, I discuss the dissertation as a whole and conclude in Chapter 8. Appendix A contains the metalinguistic knowledge Kwéyòl interview questions and English survey questions, and I provide the excerpts I gathered from the Corpus of Contemporary American English for the fill-in-the-blank task in Appendix B.

Chapter 2

Kwéyòl Donmnik and Creole Emergence

Kwéyòl Donmnik is the French lexifier Lesser Antillean Creole variety spoken by some inhabitants of the Caribbean island of Dominica, as well as throughout a wide diaspora. The circumstances surrounding the Creole's development are complex, and the interplay between French and English influence on the language makes this a useful context in which to examine how pragmatic markers are shaped by language contact.

Kwéyòl and other Creoles “are natural languages that typically emerge in a multilingual setting in which speakers of distinct native languages come in contact with each other, ultimately contributing to the formation of a new language” (Baptista 2020: 160). The socio-politically dominant source language(s) that participate in a Creole's formation are typically labeled the *superstrate(s)*, but the “early creolophones' native languages before they shifted to a new contact variety” participate actively in the emergence process as well (Baptista 2020: 160). While a Creole may have multiple source languages, the *lexifier* is the language that is the source of the bulk of its lexicon; Kwéyòl's lexicon is predominantly comprised of elements drawn from French, its lexifier and first superstrate. Over time, however, English has supplanted French as the foremost language of prestige with which Kwéyòl coexists, and it has exerted its own influence on the language (Christie 2003: 26). Other languages involved in Kwéyòl's emergence include the Arawakan language of the indigenous population of Dominica as well as Bantu and Kwa languages. In addition, the English- and French-lexified Creole varieties developing on neighboring islands are also likely to have played a role in the Creole's development.

2.1 History of Kwéyòl Donmnik

Individuals from France took up residence in Dominica without use of military force beginning in the early 1600s, long before it became a British holding in 1763, and the island's “French inhabitants remained numerically and economically influential long after” (Christie 2003: 19). The nearby islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe had already become claimed as French colonies in 1635, and the three islands still maintain ties. These interisland connections

were forged by historical patterns of migration, such as the movements of politicians and escaped people of color from these neighboring islands to Dominica, and have been solidified in modern times by air and sea travel routes and by all three islands' participation in various joint economic and educational efforts (Christie 2003: 21-22).

Whether Kwéyòl is a transplanted variety brought to Dominica from Martinique and Guadeloupe (Christie 2003: 23) is a complicated question. While undoubtedly related to its neighbors, Kwéyòl has distinguishing features both historically and linguistically. Not only does Dominica have its own timeline with regards to European colonization, but thanks to the survival of members of its indigenous population, the Kalinago, the Creole also boasts a unique retention of Arawakan lexical items (Honychurch 2019). Perhaps most salient is the clear influence of English on Kwéyòl Dominik as the result of more than two centuries of British colonization. Still under long-standing French rule, Martinique and Guadeloupe remain far more directly influenced by their first superstrate.

Christie (2003: 26) discusses the modern-day impacts of English on Kwéyòl at some length, noting the variety of lexical borrowings that are used to refer to “institutions associated with administration or with relatively recent inventions, for example, *stechan* “(police) station”, *tayprayt* “typewrite””. Often, borrowings from English are used alongside French-derived Kwéyòl words, such as the use of *bikòz* ‘because’ alongside *pis* ‘because’ (Christie 2003: 26). The Creole also has phonological traits that were contributed by English, such as

“the occurrence of the word-final consonants *tch* [[tʃ]] and *dj* [[dʒ]] and the initial *r* in words of English origin, as well as the increasing absence of nasalized vowels in the variety as a whole in contexts where they would once have been expected” (Christie 2003: 26).¹⁰

This English influence cannot be overlooked, particularly since English has long dominated the lives of Kwéyòl speakers on the island as well as in diasporic locations, such as London in the United Kingdom.

Despite the undeniable influence of the superstrates on the Creole, my decision to focus on the superstrate counterparts of Kwéyòl's pragmatic markers in this dissertation and not on markers in its other source languages was a choice based on the availability of literature. I

¹⁰ What Christie (2003: 26) is highlighting here is that the initial *r* [ʀ] in words of French origin is pronounced *w* [w] in Kwéyòl (e.g., French *rouge* ‘red’ is *wouj* in Kwéyòl), whereas English words that have an initial *r* [ɹ] do not undergo this sound change (e.g., English *radio* is *radyo* in Kwéyòl).

readily acknowledge that each of a Creole's source languages plays a crucial role in its development, an influence I believe extends to the discourse-pragmatic level. Despite the extremely limited literature available, I hope to examine the contributions of Kwéyòl Donmnik's other source languages as well in future work.

One of those other source languages was spoken by the Kalinago community who inhabited the island prior to European occupation. In fact, the Kalinago used to be one of many indigenous, Arawak-speaking groups that were once spread across the islands of the Lesser Antillean region. Their language is referred to by Taylor (1977) as *Island-Carib*, and he notes that these groups “were exterminated or chased away from one island after another till [they] became virtually confined to Dominica and St. Vincent” (Taylor 1977: 24).¹¹ Similarly, Corne (1999: 126) states that much of the indigenous population of Martinique was killed or lost to disease as the French colonized the island, though some managed to escape to Dominica. Dominica is a smaller and more mountainous island than its neighbors; this made it less hospitable to European newcomers and a safer haven for indigenous peoples attempting to flee.

The Kalinagos' language was

“carried by some five thousand deportees from [St. Vincent] to Central America, where it is now the home language of...their descendants...[who] originated in the mixture of [West] Indian women with escaped [enslaved people] who had taken refuge in St. Vincent” (Taylor 1977: 24).

Meanwhile, the number of speakers continued to dwindle in Dominica, and by the time Taylor arrived on the island in 1930, the language had disappeared from use.

“[T]he last native speaker...had died not more than twelve years previously...and it was impossible to find upwards of half a dozen older individuals who claimed to have spoken or understood the language as children, and who could with some difficulty realize sizeable bits of it” (Taylor 1977: 24).

Based on Taylor's “meager record of the recent Dominican dialect”, the Kalinago language contained European loans from English, Spanish, and French, “of which thirteen reappear in [Taylor's] record of the Central American dialect” (Taylor 1977: 79). Some of these

¹¹ Some of the most detailed and pivotal research on Dominica's linguistic history is found in Douglas Taylor's (1977) work. Similarly, Lennox Honychurch's (1995) work on the history of the island itself is a crucial resource. Unfortunately, given the era during which they were written, some outdated terms (e.g., *Carib*, *Negro*, *slave*) appear in their writings when referring to people of color, particularly those in indigenous and enslaved groups. I have used bracketed ‘[]’ text to alter such vocabulary when citing these sources.

include *páipa*, or *fáifa* in the Central American variety, which is from English *pipe*, *siménu* from French *semaine* ‘week’, and *pulátu* from Spanish *plato* ‘dish’. In many cases, the presence of such loanwords was not a recent development; a Kalinago dictionary produced in the mid-1600s by Father Reymond Breton, a Catholic missionary, “already contained some six dozen loans from Spanish; and at least several hundred stems were subsequently borrowed from French” (Taylor 1977: 28). In addition, Taylor suggests that the language’s lexicon contained items found in Lesser Antillean Creole varieties like Kwéyòl such as *múthu* (*mútu* in Central America) from Creole *mun* ‘person, people, human beings’ (Taylor 1977: 82).

As highlighted by Honychurch (1995: 49), European occupation of Dominica started in a uniquely small-scale manner, another factor which may have facilitated the survival of some of the island’s indigenous inhabitants. Declared a neutral zone under an agreement signed between the French and British governments in 1686, Dominica was not under any outside power’s direct control when the first Europeans to successfully settle there arrived in the early 1600s. Their settlements were small and lumber-based, inhabited by only “fifty or sixty French families...along with a few Spaniards, Portuguese and English Catholics” (Honychurch 1995: 49) by 1727.

It was not until that same year that an officer of the French government was sent from neighboring Martinique to take official command of the island, bringing with him “several [enslaved people]” (Honychurch 1995: 50) as well as increasingly large numbers of French settlers looking to lay claim to the land. By 1750, the Kalinago, “had been forced to withdraw...and settle in small groups on the rough, rocky north-east quarter” of the island (Honychurch 1995: 50). Dominica’s mountainous terrain was not conducive to sprawling plantations, so instead of relying on extensive importation of forced African laborers, early settlers’ “holdings were worked by family and friends paid in kind” (Honychurch 1995: 51). Settlements that did produce cash crops were called upon to ship their “ground provisions for feeding [enslaved people] in the larger French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe” (Honychurch 1995: 51).

Enslavement in Dominica under French governance developed later than in other French colonies, and the conditions enslaved people faced were somewhat less severe when compared with the stringent social structures and high mortality rates (Corne 1999: 127) that emerged on nearby islands like Martinique. While Martinique and Guadeloupe began to develop large sugar

plantations in the 1660s and 1670s (Corne 1999: 127), enslavement did not take a firm hold in Dominica until the late 1700s. Newly purchased enslaved people on Dominica during this period were each paired with a more experienced partner tasked with introducing them to Catholicism and other cultural practices upon their arrival. Since the European settlements there were small, there remained plenty of unclaimed land that enslaved people were permitted to use to “[make] their own provision gardens to cultivate small crops” (Honychurch 1995: 54) and livestock. They could then sell those products and attempt to accumulate enough wealth to buy their freedom. This chance at freedom, combined with an influx of freed people of color from surrounding islands, established a multiethnic *Affranchis* or *mulâtres* middle class, some of whom owned enslaved people and property, though they were barred from many other indicators of social status.

Perhaps most importantly, prior to the 1760s, “few [enslaved people] came directly from Africa to Dominica...[Enslaved people] brought to Dominica in the early days were usually transshipped from...larger trading centers and many who came to the island were already West Indian born” (Honychurch 1995: 53). These larger centers included “the prosperous sugar islands of Barbados, Antigua, St. Kitts, Guadeloupe and Martinique [which] were far more attractive to the [enslavers]” (Honychurch 1995: 53). Meanwhile, the French on Martinique and Guadeloupe purchased enslaved people directly from Africa (Corne 1999: 127). By 1745, however, Dominica had a well-established, though smaller, market for trading enslaved people, and roughly half of the 3,032 documented inhabitants of Dominica were enslaved (Honychurch 1995: 54).

Based on this account, it can be presumed that what is now Kwéyòl Donmnik began to develop in earnest during the 18th century, as more settlers and enslaved and escaped people of color arrived on the island. This contact scenario included primarily French settlers and people from a mixture of West Indian and African backgrounds. Given this combination of peoples, it is unsurprising that Kwéyòl retains strong French roots as well as a level of mutual intelligibility with the Creoles spoken on neighboring islands. In addition, Honychurch’s (1995) depiction of Dominica’s social structure during this period would have facilitated relatively close interaction between whites, enslaved people, and the middle class of color, a context conducive to fostering intense language contact.

The fact that the African and transshipped West Indian people enslaved on Dominica hailed from many locations, each with its own sociolinguistic ecology, makes it even more

difficult to determine to what extent Kwéyòl can be said to have been a transplanted Creole variety during the early years of its emergence. While many people of color who came to Dominica were from Martinique and Guadeloupe, Africans who were speakers of Kwa languages, such as Ewe and Twi, and of Bantu languages like Kikongo were likely part of Kwéyòl's early ecology as well (Honychurch 2019), as was the Arawakan language of the Kalinago and myriad languages spoken by transshipped enslaved people from British-controlled islands like St. Kitts and Antigua. It also is hard to estimate from Honychurch's (1995) account just how long transshipped enslaved people may have remained in these other Caribbean locations before reaching Dominica; while some were West Indian born, others may have passed only briefly through other ports before arriving. In addition, Honychurch (1995: 53) suggests that the practice of transshipping was part of Dominica's early forays into the trading of enslaved people, after which the island's patterns of forced labor acquisition may have shifted.

Crucially, Taylor (1977: 221) notes that during the final years of the 1700s, during the time of the French Revolution, "the local creole dialects or patois came to enjoy a considerable vogue in the Lesser Antilles" as a whole. In Dominica in particular, "the Island-Carib [Kalinago] remnant...reduced to some three hundred souls, began to relinquish its own (Arawakan) language for the local French Creole" (Taylor 1977: 221). This suggests there was also intense linguistic contact between Dominica's indigenous population and its other inhabitants.

The island of Dominica would change hands between the British and the French multiple times. During a brief reclamation of French power in 1778, "...the island's population consisted of 1,574 whites, most of them French, 574 free mulattos and blacks, and 14,309 [enslaved people]" (Honychurch 1995: 87). However, Dominica would remain primarily in British hands from 1763 until Dominica's independence in 1978. With British rule came a far stricter hierarchical plantation structure, encouragement of Protestantism, and the renaming of many French settlements, though the latter two attempts at overhauling French influence on the island's culture were largely unsuccessful. France's cultural hold on the island was augmented by the fact that, while many British landowners remained in their home country and oversaw their holdings on the island remotely, French settlers, as well as freed and escaped people of color from French-held Martinique and Guadeloupe, continued to travel to Dominica themselves and maintained a more direct physical presence there.

Distressed by the unruly terrain and by increasing conflicts with people of color who had escaped enslavement, many of the British settlers who had chosen to reside on Dominica eventually vacated their land, selling “off parts of their ruined estates [to] the mulattos or free colored tradesmen from Martinique and Guadeloupe” (Honychurch 1995: 100). Settlements remained relatively small, however, save one notoriously harsh British plantation known as Castle Bruce, whose field and skilled enslaved people numbered around two or three hundred people (Honychurch 1995: 124). The few Kalinago who remained continued to keep to the more mountainous regions of the island and were largely ignored by the Europeans by this time; in 1904, a reserve, now commonly referred to as the Kalinago Territory, was set aside for their use (Honychurch 1995: 64, Taylor 1977: 25). Despite their geographic isolation, other people of color are known to have encountered the Kalinago, inhabited their region of the island, and comingled with the indigenous population (Honychurch 1995: 64, Taylor 1977: 25).

Finally, in 1834, enslaved people in Dominica and on other British-owned islands in the area were declared free, a group that made up some 14,175 of Dominica’s inhabitants at the time. The formerly enslaved were to be taken on as apprentices by their former enslavers, though most British owners refused to comply with this rule. Many French owners, meanwhile, had maintained closer ties with those they had enslaved and chose to participate in the initiative. While forced laborers on Martinique and Guadeloupe remained enslaved until 1848, Dominica’s people of color spread out across their island, establishing their own holdings.

2.2 Kwéyòl Donmnik in modern times

Over time, the influence of English on Dominican society has solidified, becoming the language of government, education, and commerce. Some members of younger generations even speak another language that is distinct from Kwéyòl: Kokoy, which is “a lexically English Creole which has much in common with the Creoles spoken in the other territories that have a long history of British colonialism” (Christie 2003: 30). While in recent years there has been a certain “sentimentality attached to the language by intellectuals or nationalists” (Christie 2003: 30), Kwéyòl Donmnik has become marginalized, often only used in the public sphere for cultural celebrations such as during the Dominica Country Conference held in 2019 or on Creole Day, the last Friday in October “on which everyone is encouraged to speak only Creole...in Dominica, as well as in Martinique and Guadeloupe and other parts of the franco-creolophone world” (Christie 2003: 29).

Although organizations like the Komité pou Étid Kwéyòl (Committee for Creole Studies) have worked diligently to combat these trends, there has been a strong transition towards English on Dominica. Based on the account provided by Christie (2003), this language shift has been accelerated by widespread exclusion of Kwéyòl from the school system, a decline in the prevalence of Catholicism, and Dominica's strengthening ties with other former English colonies in the Caribbean. In addition,

“Dominica now has a relatively well-developed network of roads, communication by telephone is no longer confined to a few privileged individuals and television programmes in English, originating in the United States, are available to those Dominicans who can afford to pay for them” (Christie 2003: 30).

Perhaps most influential have been the migration patterns of many Dominicans. While it used to be more common for citizens of Dominica to emigrate to French islands, the 1950s and 1960s brought waves of migration from the Caribbean to Europe and North America as citizens of Caribbean nations and still-colonized Caribbean holdings sought economic opportunities abroad.

Many Dominicans chose as their destination the United Kingdom, whose 1948 Nationality Act “granted all Commonwealth subjects the rights of citizenship in the United Kingdom” in order to address the country's “chronic labour shortage” (Sorhaindo and Pattullo 2009: v). These newly acknowledged citizens brought with them their Creole languages and cultures, and this pattern of migration from Dominica to the UK continues to this day. Social organizations have developed dedicated to helping people of Dominican ancestry living in the diaspora maintain cultural connections and celebrate their heritage. However, acquisition and use of Kwéyòl Dominik have declined significantly among younger generations throughout the diaspora as well as on the island itself.

2.3 Creole emergence: creativity and congruence

Creolists still debate how the many languages involved in a Creole's genesis and development come together to form a new grammar. As summarized by Baptista (2020: 160), Whinnom (1956, 1965) suggested that all Creoles originate from a single linguistic ancestor, while Bickerton (1981, 1984, 2014) argued that Creoles are rooted in language universals and thus display similar grammatical features regardless of their source languages. Others propose that a particular source language has the most significant impact on the resulting Creole's

grammar, whether that be the superstrate(s) (Chaudenson 2001, 2003) or the other source language(s) involved in the emergence process (Lefebvre 1998). However, I and

“[m]ost [others] would agree that Creoles mix properties of their source languages, including the superstrate and the original creolophones’ first languages, while displaying innovative features. Such innovations either emerge from new combinatory patterns of features found in the languages in contact (Mufwene 2001: 5, 2008, Aboh 2006, 2009, 2015) or evolve independently from them” (Baptista 2020: 161).¹²

This observation highlights the creativity that is at the root of Creole emergence. As highlighted by the work of Baker (1994), one framework within which to study Creoles is to approach them as MFICs, or *media for interethnic communication*. Rather than the participants in a Creole’s genesis attempting and failing to replicate a particular source language or a set of linguistic universals, a view which gives a “general impression of failure”, Baker’s *creativist* position takes Creoles to be ingenious and “successful solutions to problems of human intercommunication” (Baker 1994: 65). As a result, their lexicons and grammars contain many innovations, as highlighted by Baptista (2020: 161).

In some cases, this ingenuity may arise in the form of *congruence*: “the idea that the similarities (congruent features) that speakers perceive between the languages in contact are favored to participate in the emergence and development of a new language” (Baptista 2020: 161). In other words, “early creolophones...readily exploit features they perceive as similar in patterns and matter/form among the languages in contact in order to aid acquisition and learning” (Baptista 2020: 162). For example, the form, preverbal positioning, and functions of *ka*, the negative marker in Cabo Verdean Creole and Guinea-Bissau Creole, is modeled upon a combination of the features of the Portuguese superstrate’s *nunca* ‘never’ and the negators of the Creoles’ African source languages, such as *buka* in Mandinka (Baptista 2020: 173-174).¹³

On the other hand, the contact situation may also give rise to 2 For instance, in Mauritian Creole (MC),

“[t]he agglutination of French articles not only serves to differentiate pairs of French words which the reduction of phonemic contrasts would otherwise have made

¹² For an in-depth overview of theories of Creole emergence, their implications with respect to the human language faculty, and what they suggest regarding how children and adults contribute to Creole genesis, see Baptista, Burgess, and Peltier (2020).

¹³ In recognition of its origins in the Cabo Verde Islands, as well as of its use by speakers throughout a wide diaspora, the Creole formerly referred to as Cape Verdean Creole is now referred to as Cabo Verdean Creole.

homophones in MC [(e.g., distinguishing MC *lari* ‘street’, from French *la rue* ‘the street’, from MC *diri* ‘rice’, from French *du riz* ‘some rice’)]...it also separates many pairs and triplets of words which are homophones in French [(e.g., *lafwa* ‘faith’, *lefwa* ‘liver’, and *fwa* ‘time(s)’ are all homophonic in French: *foi* ‘faith’, *foie* ‘liver’, and *fois* ‘time(s)’)]” (Baker 1994: 72-73).

Innovation need not be a conscious process; the extent to which early MC speakers were familiar with the lexifier’s grammar probably varied, and it is unlikely that agglutination of particular French words with their corresponding articles occurred in MC because speakers of the emerging Creole had a conscious desire to differentiate items that are homophonic in French. What makes the agglutination practices the MC speakers adopted innovative is that they are not present in the lexifier. In addition, they have been applied to certain lexical items in ways that give rise to new distinctions that are useful to the Creole’s speakers. Notice, for instance, that both French *foi* ‘faith’ and *fois* ‘time’ are feminine and take the definite article *la*; however, *la* is only agglutinated to *foi* ‘faith’ to form *lafwa* ‘faith’ in MC, thus distinguishing it from *fwa* ‘time(s)’.

Whether linguistic examples are being provided to support superstratist or substratist theories of a Creole’s emergence or to illustrate the full breadth of innovation displayed by speakers of a Creole language, those data are often drawn from among the Creole’s morphosyntactic structures. Though we know that languages in contact exchange discourse-pragmatic elements, the pragmatics of these high-contact languages is rarely investigated. As explored by Andersen (2014: 18), language contact may result in a variety of changes at the discourse-pragmatic level, from the transfer of specific items that serve pragmatic functions (e.g., pragmatic markers) to the borrowing of intonational patterns to the integration of politeness structures (e.g., greetings and leave-takings). Thus, it stands to reason that just as the morphosyntax of the source languages can be creatively interwoven during a Creole’s development, so can their pragmatic elements.

Despite debates over their historical development, there is also little diachronic work centering on pragmatic markers, perhaps due to their prevalence in spoken language.¹⁴ This trend is even more pronounced for understudied languages like Kwéyòl Donmnik, and it makes it difficult to determine at what point a superstrate’s markers were integrated into or exerted their

¹⁴ There does, however, exist a limited body of literature on the history of *well*, perhaps the most intensely studied pragmatic marker. For more on this topic, see work by Finell (1989), Jucker (1997), and Marcus (2009).

influence on the emerging Creole. However, a synchronic analysis of Kwéyòl's pragmatic markers as they are used today is a useful first step. It is for this reason that I address my first research question (How do the discourse-pragmatic functions and distributional features of the selected markers in Kwéyòl Donmnik compare with those of their English and French counterparts?) by conducting a modern-day corpus analysis of my selected Kwéyòl markers and comparing the results with what linguists have reported in the literature about their English and French counterparts.

As I show in Chapter 5, comparing roughly equivalent pragmatic markers crosslinguistically revealed which points of congruence between the superstrate markers were reflected in the Kwéyòl markers' features and functions; it also highlighted facets of usage that are likely to be creative innovations. As I note in Chapter 8, next steps will require expanding the creolist literature on pragmatic markers, as well as conducting studies that address their diachronic development. Such scholarship is likely to uncover more shifts in meaning and innovative changes in form and function, to shed new light on how the discourse-pragmatic domain of a high-contact language can emerge and change, and to more fully demonstrate the breadth of roles pragmatic markers can adopt.

Having provided the reader with an overview of the history that gave rise to Kwéyòl Donmnik and a brief discussion of the dynamics at play in Creole emergence as they relate to my dissertation research, I turn to the literature on pragmatic markers in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3

Pragmatic Markers (Powerful “Little Words”)

The field of pragmatics is the study of meaning in context, and classes of linguistic items whose meanings are rooted in and shift according to context constitute a central vein of pragmatic research. Prominent among these are pragmatic markers, which help speakers successfully navigate the linguistic and social dimensions of an exchange by expressing their attitudes and cognitive states, coordinating textual shifts and logistic maneuvers (e.g., turn-taking, topic changes), and even highlighting speakers’ identification with a particular community. Pragmatic markers are believed to be present in all languages (Walthereit & Detges 2007: 64), and they are members of a macro-class known as *inserts* (Biber et al. 1999): pragmatic elements that exhibit syntactic freedom, are often set apart from an utterance by pauses, and may express “emotional and interactional meanings” (Biber et al. 1999, cited by Rühlemann 2019: 70).

Scholars vary in the terminology they use to refer to pragmatic markers, a common alternative being *discourse markers* (examples include Schiffrin 1987 and Blakemore 2002). The labels scholars and speakers alike have used to refer to these items over the decades have varied from the size-related (my favorite being *little words* or *petits mots* (Bouchard 2000, Bolden 2006)) to the dismissive (*filler words* (Lynch 2002)) and from the amusing (*linguistic Cinderellas* (Enkvist 1972)) to the pejorative (*verbal viruses* (Berkley 2002) and *phrases-à-rien-dire* ‘say-nothing phrases’ (Lançon 2012)). Perhaps it is in fact thanks to their small size and to speakers’ tendency to overlook them that pragmatic markers are so functionally flexible and communicatively powerful. I choose to refer to them as *pragmatic markers* (as do Aijmer 2013 and Rühlemann 2019, among others) because this term in particular emphasizes the breadth of pragmatic roles played by these items, including both the organization of discourse segments and the navigation of the interpersonal aspects of linguistic interaction (Unuabonah and Oladipupo

2020: 3). Pragmatic markers vary widely with respect to both their functions and their distributional features, so I take as a starting point the definition that pragmatic markers are “any of the several types of elements...with various pragmatic/discourse functions, making an independent contribution and/or relating the following sequence to the dynamic context” (Norrick 2009: 689).

Pragmatic markers are known for the breadth of the roles they perform, and the semantic relationships between the many meanings of a pragmatic marker are polysemic (Aijmer 2013: 12), a single word with many meanings (Holm 2000: 106). For instance, the French pragmatic marker *bon* ‘well’ has numerous functions, from expressing resignation to signaling the continuation of a list (Peltier & Ranson 2020). In (7) below, the speaker uses *bon* to express her resigned acceptance of the difficult period of separation from her boyfriend, and in (8), the speaker inserts *bon* to indicate that she has not yet completed her list of Parisian attractions. This “polysemy is a synchronic reflex of diachronic change” (Waltereit & Detges 2007: 64). Whether via a unique form of grammaticalization or by another similar process, the original lexical item (in the case of *bon*, the adjective *bon* ‘good’) takes on more and more discourse-pragmatic uses over time, resulting in a modern-day network of different meanings.

(7) Voilà donc ça a été un peu difficile la séparation
 voila so that has been a little difficult the separation
 ‘Voilà so that was a little difficult the separation

mais **bon** maintenant [...] on est ensemble, donc c’est bon
 but well now we are together so it-is good
 but **well** now [...] we are together, so it’s good’

(Speaker YFS22, Segment #R13-5, adapted from Ranson and Peltier (2020: 11))¹⁵

(8) Et donc euh, Paris oui, pour toute la diversité que ça,
 and so uh Paris yes for all the diversity that that
 ‘And so uh, Paris yes, for all the diversity that that, that

ça représente, [...] Les théâtres les musées, **bon** les cinémas,
 that represents the theaters the museums well the cinemas,
 represents [...] The theaters the museums, **well** the cinemas,

¹⁵ Examples (1) and (2) come from the Corpus Montpellier Rognes. Each speaker is assigned a code made up of their age groups (Y = young, O = older), their sex (F = female, M = male), their region of origin (S = South of France, N = North of France), and their age in years.

il y en a partout...
it there some are everywhere
there are some everywhere...'

(Speaker OFN50, Segment #4-1, adapted from Ranson and Peltier (2020: 9))

What is more, not only can “[o]ne and the same pragmatic marker...perform multiple functions...[but m]ost pragmatic markers, if not all, perform more than one function in context” (Rühlemann 2019: 88-89). It is also quite common for two or more pragmatic markers to have some functions in common; for instance, both French *alors* ‘then/so’ and *donc* ‘therefore/so’ can be used to introduce a new topic of conversation (Lee et al. 2019: 2).

3.1 Capturing pragmatic markers diachronically and synchronically

Linguists have labeled and organized the many functions of pragmatic markers in various ways. Some have attempted to distill a marker’s inventory of uses down to a more abstract central meaning that “shifts in manifestation depending on context” (Fox Tree 2010: 271). Others propose a limited set of macro-functions into which their many uses can be classified. For instance, Aijmer (2013) suggests that the various functions of a pragmatic marker express either speaker-oriented *self-reflexivity* or hearer-oriented *contextualization* (Rühlemann 2019: 85, referencing Aijmer 2013). Self-reflexive functions are attitudinal and center on “what type of interaction [the speaker is] involved in, if something goes wrong in the process, and what their attitudes are” (Aijmer 2013: 4). An example provided by Rühlemann (2019: 85) is the cooccurrence of *well* with self-repairs like “word searches, hesitations, and reformulation”. Other examples include markers of surprise and information integration like *oh* and *ah* (Rühlemann 2019: 85, citing Aijmer 1987). Contextualization functions, on the other hand, are textual in nature and refer to the use of a pragmatic item to “mark off segments in the discourse thus helping the hearer to understand how the stream of talk is organised” (Aijmer 2013: 6). The aforementioned use of French *alors* and *donc* to introduce new topics would fall into this category. Bear in mind, however, that the boundaries between these categories are blurred. For instance, one might actually consider facilitating self-repairs as both an attitudinal, speaker-oriented function, because self-repairing may reflect the speaker’s cognitive or emotional state (e.g., discomfort, confusion, lack of certainty, etc.), and a textual, hearer-oriented one, because highlighting a self-repair underscores an alteration to the textual flow of the discourse. As I inventory and describe the various functions performed by the Kwéyòl, English, and French

pragmatic markers examined in this dissertation, I will simply refer to their functions collectively rather than classifying them into subgroups.

In addition to their functional inventories, pragmatic markers also vary in terms of their historical roots, though most develop out of a single lexical item (the marker *well* from the adverb *well*) or a phrase (e.g., *y'know*, *I mean*). Regardless of the word or phrase of origin, scholars have yet to agree on how best to capture the diachronic development of pragmatic markers. Some refer to pragmatic markers as instances of *grammaticalization*, the process by which a lexical item gains one or more grammatical functions over time. As Ocampo (2006: 316) highlights in a discussion of the Spanish pragmatic marker *claro* 'clear', some of the properties typically associated with pragmatic markers do indeed align with patterns that are characteristic of grammaticalization, such as phonological attrition and a shift from concrete to abstract meaning.

However, unlike some items that undergo grammaticalization, words and phrases that become pragmatic markers never become morphosyntactically obligatory; instead, they become increasingly syntactically free, and they do not develop into bound morphemes (Ocampo 2006: 316). Pragmatic markers are also distinguished by their procedural nature; rather than contributing directly to the propositional content of an utterance, the textual and attitudinal information they provide "instruct[s] the listener as to how to link and organize the surrounding conceptual elements in order to process and represent them accurately" (Peltier 2017) in context.

One alternative is to suggest that grammaticalization can be coupled with other sub-processes to make it more compatible with how pragmatic markers emerge. This is the route taken by Bolly and Degand (2013), who propose that, in addition to grammaticalization, markers undergo *subjectification* (Traugott 1982) and *proceduralization*, thus taking on additional interpersonal and procedural roles in discourse. Other researchers suggest alternative ways of accounting for pragmatic markers' development entirely. For example, Frank-Job (2006: 397) proposes that their emergence be called *pragmaticalization*, a process akin to grammaticalization except that its semantic bleaching yields items that function at the discourse-pragmatic level. Waltreit (2006) suggests instead that items that have the potential to facilitate speakers' interactive needs are employed with increasing frequency to the point that they develop into a pragmatic marker and are freed from their former grammatical restrictions. Degand and Evers-Vermeul (2015: 71) call this process *discursive reanalysis*.

Their diachronic development, particularly from an intralingual perspective, is not a topic of inquiry in this dissertation. However, these debates do highlight the difficulty of integrating multifunctional, discourse-pragmatic elements like pragmatic markers into our understanding of meaning and changes in meaning over time. This struggle is further evidenced by the various proposals researchers have made with respect to how best to model pragmatic markers' dynamic functioning from a synchronic standpoint.

Aijmer (2013) promotes a theory put forth by Norén and Linell (2007) that pragmatic markers have meaning potentials. Recall from Chapter 1 that, according to this theory, "parts of a word's meaning are evoked, activated or materialised, foregrounded or backgrounded, *in different ways in the different contexts*, in which it is exploited" (Norén and Linell 2007: 390, cited by Aijmer 2013: 12, italics is the original authors'). The speaker's mental representation of a marker, i.e., its meaning potential(s), are organized around core, conventionalized meanings that permit flexibility, allowing the marker to surface in context-specific ways. Thus, depending on the context in which a marker is uttered, it takes on different functions. This is a creative and dynamic process. So long as they are compatible with the marker's meaning potentials, "new functions can be created in the interaction" (Aijmer 2013: 12) that expand that marker's inventory of uses to include new roles, like introducing new topics, marking the starts of speakers' turns, or expressing speakers' (dis)agreement.

The theory of meaning potentials is just one of many theories regarding how context-dependent items like pragmatic markers emerge and are interpreted by speakers. One similar alternative is integrative theories like the one proposed by Schiffrin (1987). As summarized by Aijmer (2013: 10), Schiffrin's theory focuses on discourse coherence across multiple dimensions, such as the linear sequence of ideas communicated, the turn-taking structure, the speaker-hearer relationship, and shared knowledge between the interlocutors. These different dimensions must be integrated into a coherent whole for effective communication to take place, a process that is facilitated by pragmatic markers that deictically index certain dimensions, foregrounding particular ones as critical to a juncture in the discourse.

Another alternative that is less compatible with meaning potentials is relevance theory, a perspective put forth by researchers like Blakemore (2002). Under this hearer-focused framework, a particular pragmatic marker is selected in order to signal that the listener should engage in inferential processing and choose from among the possible interpretations of the

marker based on which one seems most optimally relevant to the discourse context. As noted by Aijmer (2013), such non-integrated theories struggle to capture the many contextual factors that contribute to a pragmatic item's meaning, such as text type. They also do not account for how the meanings of pragmatic items change over time.

By comparison, I find the theory of meaning potentials to be particularly promising. It is compatible with the process of *discursive reanalysis* suggested by diachronic researchers like Degand and Evers-Vermeul (2015: 71), as well as with the idea that the many uses of a pragmatic marker are related via polysemy. Recall from Chapter 1 that this theory also aligns with work by researchers like Cuenca (2008: 1382-1385), who proposes that pragmatic markers are *radial categories*, semantic networks of interrelated senses, and that within these networks some of those functions are more closely or more peripherally related to the markers' one or more "conventionalized use[s] that [shift] in apparent meanings depending on the context" (Fox Tree 2010: 271). An example is illustrated below in Figure 1: a semantic network proposed by Cuenca (2008: 1384) for English *well*. She suggests that there are two core meanings or *prototype foci* for *well*: a *modal* or attitudinal *well* and a *structural* or textual *well*. These core meanings are interrelated, as are the individual functions that they contain. For example, uses of *well* that radiate from the modal core meaning, which is centered on agreement and is most closely tied to *well*'s adverbial origins, can range from partial agreement to the expression of disagreement. Likewise, *well* can function structurally to either open or close an utterance or whole interaction, as well as to maneuver other textual shifts, like self-repairs and topic changes.

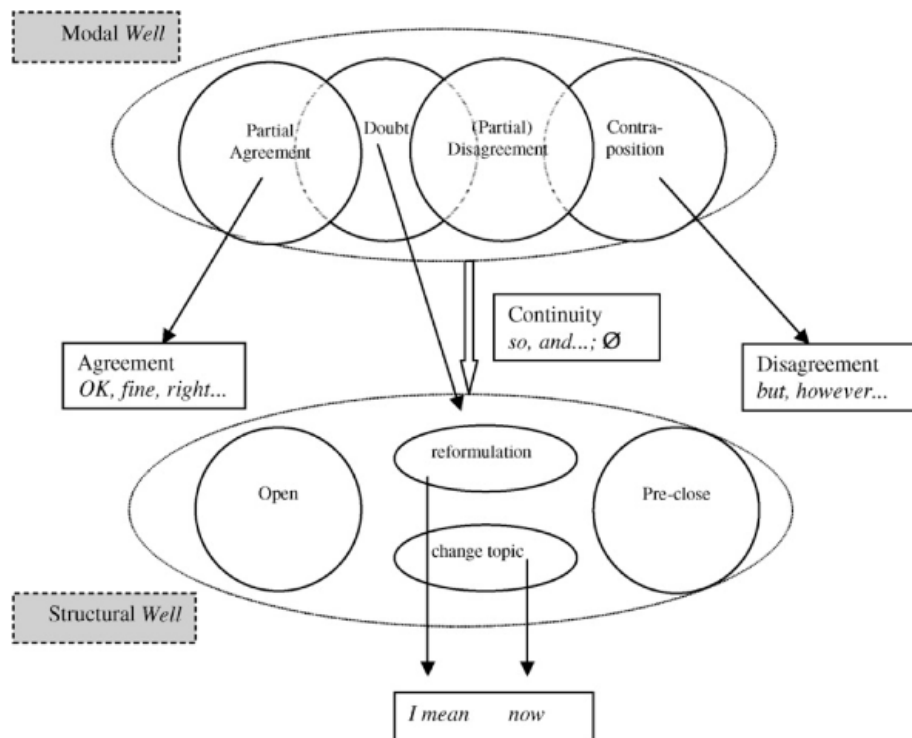


Figure 1. Cuenca's (2008: 1384) semantic network for the English pragmatic marker *well*

It is not uncommon for semantic links to their lexical items of origin to be detectable upon close examination of a pragmatic marker's discourse-pragmatic functions (Rühlemann 2019: 84). Notice that the pragmatic marker *well*, for example, maintains subtle semantic ties to the positive evaluation expressed by the adverb *well*. Thus, not only is the relationship among the core meanings of a pragmatic marker polysemous (e.g., between the textual or *structural* meaning of *well* and its attitudinal or *modal* meaning), but so is the relationship between a pragmatic marker and its lexical counterpart (e.g., between the pragmatic marker *well* and adverbial *well*). Meanwhile, the term *multifunctionality* refers to the fact that pragmatic markers carry out myriad discourse-pragmatic roles in context with respect to organizing the discourse structure and expressing speakers' attitudes, each one of which is linked to one or more of the marker's core meanings.

In addition, like integrated theories, the theory of meaning potentials maintains the critical role of the various dimensions of the context in the functions that pragmatic markers perform. However, it is also adaptive to diachronic change and explicitly embraces speakers' ingenuity, emphasizing that multifunctional elements can take on new roles as they are used in new discourse situations. As stated by Aijmer (2013: 13),

“[m]eaning potentials are potentially creative and ‘make possible all the usages and interpretations of the word or construction that language users find reasonably correct, or plainly reasonable in the actual situations of use’ (Norén and Linell 2007: 389). They can therefore account for how markers can be used in text-type specific or innovative ways in the communication situation”.

The theory’s emphasis on creativity is reminiscent of approaches to Creole emergence that center on innovation and congruence (discussed in Chapter 2) and strikes me as most conducive to capturing how the meanings of pragmatic markers may shift in a language contact situation, such as the development of a Creole language.

3.2 Pragmatic markers and deixis

A related topic of research in pragmatics is *deixis*, or “the property of certain expressions and categories (including tense and grammatical person) of relating things talked about to the spatio-temporal context, and in particular to contextual distinctions like that between the moment or place of utterance and other moments or places, or that between the speaker, the hearer and others” (Lyons 1999: 18).

While the meanings of deictic items, such as personal pronouns and temporal adverbs, hinge upon the “spatiotemporal and interactional coordinates: who is speaking to whom, as well as when and where” (Rühlemann 2019: 48), pragmatic markers serve to coherently organize segments of the discourse itself.

Despite these differences, deeper study reveals that both pragmatic markers and deictic items, particularly *locatives* like demonstratives (*this/that*), locative adverbs (*here/there*), and demonstrative reinforcers (French *-là* ‘there’), can communicate interpersonal and other discourse-level information, acting as signposts that guide our linguistic interactions by indexing and highlighting key aspects of the conversation’s content and context. This overlap becomes easier to appreciate once we consider that the umbrella of deixis extends beyond the personal, spatial, and temporal to encompass a whole spectrum of indexical dimensions that help to guide the flow of communication.

For example, consider the negative sentiment expressed by attitudinal *that* (Quirk et al. 1985), as in “Why can’t he get **that** son of his to behave?”. Attitudinal *that* is a form of *empathetic deixis*, through which a speaker’s choice of deictic item can express speaker attitudes. Even more illuminating is a dimension called *discourse deixis*. Elements that express discourse

deixis “[do] not refer to an entity outside the discourse” (Rühlemann 2019: 63); instead, they point to a “linguistic expression (or chunk of discourse) itself” (Levinson 1983: 86, cited by Rühlemann 2019: 63). Deictic items commonly associated with locating entities in space, such as *this* and *that*, have been observed to perform discourse deictic functions as well. Two prominent examples that have been researched by Halliday and Hasan (1976) include extended demonstrative reference and introductory *this*. In *extended demonstrative reference*, expressed by *that* in example (9) below, the deictic item does not point to a particular referent in A’s utterance. Rather, *that* refers to A’s utterance as a whole and participates in the process of textually organizing discourse segments.

(9) A: Why don’t we go to the park?

B: **That**’s a great idea!

In cases of *introductory this*, “storytellers begin their tellings...by introducing early in the story, a story character as ‘this guy’, ‘this girl’, and so on, as if the referent were co-present in the situation or had been mentioned already, neither of which is the case” (Rühlemann 2019: 65). This usage of *this* has been analyzed as having a theme-marking role (Rühlemann and O’Donnell 2015). In other words, it points out to the listener “not just any referent in the story, but typically the key referent, or protagonist” (Rühlemann 2019: 65).

This ability to highlight speaker attitudes and/or the structural properties of the discourse is so reminiscent of pragmatic markers that Levinson (2004: 199, cited by Rühlemann 2019: 66) suggests that pragmatic markers constitute “an important area of discourse deixis”. This is due to pragmatic markers’ ability “to indicate, often in very complex ways, just how the utterance that contains them is a response to, or a continuation of, some portion of the prior discourse” (Levinson 1983: 88, cited by Rühlemann 2019: 86).

Not only can locatives take on discourse-pragmatic functions, but, conversely, pragmatic markers that have arisen from other kinds of deictic lexical items often retain traces of those historical roots. As an example, consider the English pragmatic marker *now*. As discussed by Fellego (1998: 45), when *now* is used as a pragmatic marker in context like “**Now**, listen. Let me pay for dinner”, the marker “draws attention to the present situation”, a retention of the temporal deixis expressed by its adverbial parent. This “present situation” (Fellego 1998: 45) does not seem to be restricted to the situational context in which the interlocutors find themselves

physically. For example, *now* may also draw the listener's attention to the scene in a narrative that is presently unfolding, as in "Now, when Mr. Rabbit arrived at Mr. Owl's house, he was in quite a tizzy".

As I discuss in Chapter 5, evidence for this overlap between pragmatic markers and temporal and spatial deictics is not restricted to standardized English. Similar patterns are found in Quebecois, in which Dostie (2007) and Forget (1989) suggest that the French locative adverb and demonstrative reinforcer *-là* also functions as a pragmatic marker.¹⁶ In the same vein, Fellego (1998) analyzes the locatives *here/there*, *this/that*, and *these/those*, which are particularly prevalent in New Ulm English, a German-influenced contact variety spoken in Minnesota. Her investigations led her to propose a hybrid class of context-dependent elements which she refers to as *locative discourse markers*: items "that usually function as locative deictic elements...but which under certain contextual conditions...function as discourse markers" (Fellego 1998: 31).

Fellego (1998) questions whether the prevalence of locatives acting as pragmatic markers in New Ulm English contrasts with how the same locatives are used by English speakers outside New Ulm, and if so, whether this could be the result of German's influence on the New Ulm community. Beyond contrasting the speech of New Ulm community members with a control group made up of speakers of standardized English, addressing this question also required teasing apart and comparing the many uses of English and German locatives (Fellego 1998: 31, 83), much as I do in Chapter 5 with respect to how Kwéyòl pragmatic markers compare with their French and English counterparts. Fellego's (1998) observations are reminiscent of attitudinal *that* and other phenomena discussed earlier in this chapter in which locatives express speaker attitudes or participate in the textual organization of the discourse. In 5.6, which centers on Kwéyòl *la* as a pragmatic marker, I walk the reader through examples of Quebecois *là* as a pragmatic marker and of the locative discourse markers *here/there* and *this/that* in New Ulm English.

3.3 Pragmatic markers and corpus pragmatics

Pragmatic markers have been investigated through the methodological lenses of multiple pragmatics subfields, as well as those of interfaces between pragmatics and other fields. Perhaps

¹⁶ When used as a demonstrative reinforcer, French *-là* 'there' cooccurs with a demonstrative determiner, like *ces* 'those/these' in *ces livres-là* 'those books there'. It reinforces the determiner by providing clarifying information; use of *-là* suggests a distal reading, while *-ci* 'here' (e.g., *ces livres-ci* 'these books here') suggests a proximal one.

the most established approach is to study a pragmatic marker by analyzing its tokens in a corpus of language data.

For much of their history, corpus linguistics and pragmatics were considered incompatible fields. The point of interest in pragmatics is “the creation and interpretation of meaning in situations” (Rühlemann 2019: 6), and the “situation” surrounding a linguistic interaction includes everything from the sequential ordering of the utterances, to the social dynamics at play, to the physical space in which an interaction takes place. Thus, “[p]ragmatic research, concerned with the interplay of the said and the unsaid, has traditionally been strictly qualitative, based on careful horizontal reading of (very) small amounts of texts in their contexts” (Rühlemann 2019: 7).

Meanwhile, corpus linguistics is traditionally rooted in quantitative approaches, and its methods are geared towards the extraction of meaningful diachronic, demographic, collocational, and other patterns from large collections of computerized language data (or *corpora*), such as the British National Corpus or the Corpus of Contemporary American English. Corpora may be text-based, but they may also include transcribed sound or video files. In this field, the emphasis is on vertical analyses of tokens of interest, a common example of which is the *keyword in context* method, or KWIC, in which

“[c]orpus software, instructed to search for a specific item, ‘drills’ through all texts in the corpus searching for that item, yanks out any occurrence of the searched-for item, and displays it in the center of the concordance line along with limited amounts of co-text to either side” (Rühlemann 2019: 4).

This allows the researcher to determine in what forms the item arises and what material surfaces to its right or left (e.g., a certain word might systematically occur after a pause or before a particular preposition).

In more recent years however, the interdisciplinary subfield of corpus pragmatics has emerged, which

“makes use of the best of two worlds: the vertical-reading methodology of [corpus linguistics] (instructing computer software to plough through myriads of text samples in search of occurrences of a target item) integrated into the horizontal-reading methodology of pragmatics (weighing and interpreting individual occurrences within their contextual environments)” (Rühlemann 2019: 7).

One such hybrid method that I use in my own corpus analysis of Kwéyòl pragmatic markers, is the *form-to-function* approach. This involves identifying tokens of the *form* (the pragmatic element of interest) and using both vertical pattern-finding and close horizontal reading to determine the form's *functions*: the context-driven roles it plays in the discourse. The opposite (*function-to-form*) would be to seek out instances of a *function* of interest, such as the expression of surprise, and extract and analyze tokens of the many linguistic *forms* that are used to express it in the corpus, such as interjections like *oh* and *ah*.

While corpus studies tend to make use of sizable corpora comprised of thousands or even millions of words, corpus-based methods are not only applicable to large collections of linguistic data. While it is true that the more data there is to analyze the more likely the results of a quantitative analysis are to be meaningful, form-to-function analyses can yield insightful qualitative results regardless of corpus size.

Corpus pragmatics research typically requires the researcher to go beyond the information a corpus' analytical interface provides. For example, running a search for the pragmatic marker *well* in the Corpus of Contemporary American English simply provides a list of all the instances of *well* within the corpus. Weeding out instances of the adverb and coding each token of the pragmatic marker for placement, scope, function, etc. would require the researcher's own meticulous horizontal reading of every instance. There is helpful technology available, however, for a researcher who wishes to analyze the contents of a corpus that is not already tagged for features of interest, that is not accompanied by a built-in analytical interface, or that the researcher has collected themselves (like my Kwéyòl Donmnik fieldwork corpus). One such program is *Atlas.ti*, a qualitative data analysis software that allows the user to code and analyze their own corpus texts. A full overview of how I used this technology to facilitate my Kwéyòl corpus analysis is in Chapter 4.

3.4 Pragmatic markers and pragmatic borrowing

Corpus pragmatic methods have proven useful in language contact research regarding pragmatic markers. This literature tends to focus on studies of pragmatic borrowing, defined as “the incorporation of pragmatic and discourse features of a source language into a recipient language” (Andersen 2014: 17). These studies generally require the inventorying of a marker's discourse-pragmatic functions and distributional features in both the source and receiving languages to detect where alterations may have occurred due to language contact. Though

comparison between a Creole's pragmatic items and those of its contributing languages is rarely the focus of this kind of research, the general goals of pragmatic borrowing studies are quite similar to my own in the Chapter 5 corpus analysis. Andersen (2014) proposes a three-pronged approach to investigating pragmatic borrowing, with a particular focus on the borrowing of pragmatic markers, and I use his method as a guide for addressing my first research question.

According to Andersen (2014), the first stage of the process is to “study the discourse-structural and syntagmatic aspects” (Andersen 2014: 23) of the item as it is used in the receiving and source languages by addressing the following:

- Utterance Placement:* Does the marker occur utterance-**initially/medially/finally**?
 - Scope:* Does it take into its scope a full **proposition** or a propositional **constituent**?
 - Orientation:* Does it point **forward** or **backward** in the discourse, qualifying upcoming or preceding material?
 - Degree of Syntactic Integration:* Is it used as a **free-standing** device, or is it to some degree syntactically **integrated**?
 - Collocational Features:* To what extent is the marker a constituent of a fixed or semi-fixed phrase or **collocation**?¹⁷
- (Adapted from Andersen 2014: 23)

Once these questions are addressed, the researcher moves on to inventorying the many functions of the marker to determine to which of the following categories its development best corresponds:

Functional Stability: No observable change in the pragmatic function of the marker in the Source Language (SL) and Receiving Language (RL); the marker is associated with the same type of speech act, speaker attitude, and/or illocutionary force in both the SL and RL

Functional Adaptation:

Functional Narrowing: Loss of some function of the marker in the transition from the SL to the RL, or transfer of only one function of the multifunctional SL marker

¹⁷ The term *collocation* refers to cases in which a pragmatic item cooccurs with one or more other words, usually other pragmatic items (e.g., *oh* and *well* cooccur in *oh well*). Sometimes these cooccurrences become fixed over time. According to Hansen (1998: 233), who analyzes the French pragmatic marker sequence *ah bon* ‘ah well’ as a collocation, and Waltereit (2007: 107), who suggests the same analysis for the French sequence *bon ben* ‘well well’, the meanings of collocations are summative or compositional in nature. In other words, the meaning of each pragmatic item contributes to the meaning of the collocated whole. For example, Hansen (1998: 233) suggests that the meaning of *ah bon* is a combination of *ah*, a marker that indicates that the speaker has received surprising information, and of *bon*, a marker that expresses that the speaker accepts said information. For more on collocations containing the French pragmatic marker *bon* ‘well’, see Peltier and Ranson (2020).

Functional Broadening: Acquisition of a new pragmatic function in the RL not observed in the SL

Functional Shift: Loss of some function of the marker in the transition from the SL to the RL combined with acquisition of a new pragmatic function in the RL, or modification of an existing pragmatic function in the transition from the SL to the RL

(Adapted from Andersen 2014: 24)

The third and final stage of the investigation is to “take into account sociolinguistic aspects and consider relevant demographic predictors and factors such as register and style” (Andersen 2014: 24). I address this portion of the method through interviews with Kwéyòl speakers and a survey for English speakers regarding their metalinguistic knowledge, the results of which I cover in Chapter 6.

While the goal of his method is to determine the degree of functional parallelism between the borrowed pragmatic marker and its item of origin, Andersen (2014: 21) acknowledges that “it is generally difficult to decide whether an innovation is due to pragmatic borrowing or a parallel development in two or more languages”. This is particularly true in the absence of historical data, which are difficult to find for pragmatic markers generally and especially in under-documented languages.

There are many instances of pragmatic borrowing in the literature (see Andersen (2014) for a detailed listing), and work on this topic is expanding into studies of high-contact varieties. Examples include Unuabonah and Daniel’s (2020) investigation of bilingual interjections and Unuabonah and Oladipupo’s (2020) work on bilingual pragmatic markers.¹⁸ Both studies detail the properties of pragmatic elements used by speakers of Nigerian English that have been borrowed into this contact variety from some of the region’s many indigenous languages. The example of borrowing in Unuabonah and Oladipupo’s (2020) study whose analysis I found most intriguing was *shey*, which has its origins in the Yoruba interrogative marker /ʃe/. The integration of this item into Nigerian English has resulted in a shift from clause-initial to clause-final position and the acquisition of new discourse-pragmatic functions, such as indicating a request for confirmation from the listener (Unuabonah and Oladipupo 2020: 11).

¹⁸ Given the difficulty in distinguishing between the discourse-pragmatic functions performed by interjections and pragmatic markers (Norrick 2009), recall that I consider interjections to be pragmatic markers.

3.5 Pragmatic markers, prosody, and interchangeability

In recent years, researchers have also begun to explore the prosodic features of pragmatic markers alongside their functions in discourse, such as their pitch contours, their positions within intonational groups, their cooccurrence with pauses, etc. While I do not address prosody in this dissertation, I hope to investigate the prosodic properties of Kwéyòl pragmatic markers in future work.

Some studies focus on how the presence of certain prosodic traits may be used to distinguish a pragmatic marker from its lexical parent. One such study on a set of eight French pragmatic markers was conducted by Bartkova et al. (2016). The research team hoped that automatic speech processing software could be programmed such that, relying solely on prosodic information, it could correctly identify when a word was being used as a lexical item or as a pragmatic marker. Using Praat along with a set of specialized programs designed to facilitate in-depth prosodic annotation and analysis, the researchers found that when the French items under investigation functioned as pragmatic markers, they were more likely to be preceded and/or followed by a pause, to display notable differences in pitch contour, and to surface as prosodically detached single-word intonation groups (Bartkova et al. 2016: 2-4). Relying on these features, the speech processing software's automatic classification of a word as either its pragmatic marker or lexical form was correct 73-90% of the time (Bartkova et al. 2016: 1, 4).

Other studies have been more focused on how a pragmatic marker's prosodic features shift based on which of its discourse-pragmatic functions the marker is performing. For example, a corpus study by Romero-Trillo (2015) investigated the prosodic properties of the English pragmatic markers *well*, *you know*, and *I mean*. He categorized each instance of these items in a portion of the London-Lund Corpus according to their tone ("without tonicity" (Romero-Trillo 2015: 174), falling, rising, level-(rise), (rise)-fall-rise, (fall)-rise-fall) and their position within the intonational group (beginning, middle, final, or unique).¹⁹ He noticed that while *well* and *I mean* displayed "an overwhelming majority of Tone 0 [without tonicity]", *you know* was most likely to be realized with a rising tone (Romero Trillo 2015: 177-181). When he looked at "[t]he functions used by the pragmatic markers under study, classified according to their tones" (Romero-Trillo 2015: 182), a chi-square test revealed a significant preference for no tonicity across many of the

¹⁹ Based on my reading of Romero-Trillo's (2015) article, the label *Tone 0* (cases in which the item is "without tonicity" (Romero-Trillo 2015: 174)) was applied to tokens whose pitch contours were level.

functions, such as marking the start of a turn, conveying disagreement, and initiating a self-repair. As for the pragmatic markers' positions within the intonational group, which he refers to as the *tone unit*, *well* and *I mean* showed a preference for initial position while *you know* was most often realized as its own unique group. Most of the items' collective functions were also significantly more likely to correlate with a marker pronounced at the start of an intonational group.

The research from which I drew inspiration was centered on examining whether prosodic information supports listeners' comprehension of pragmatic markers when their inventories of functions overlap. This is the approach taken by Lee et al. (2019) (see also Lee et al. 2018). Building on the 2018 study, the goal of the 2019 research was “to investigate how prosodic parameters can contribute to retrieving the pragmatic meaning of words with considerably diminished semantic content” (Lee et al. 2019: 1). As a starting point, the researchers gathered tokens of six pragmatic markers from a corpus of spoken French and classified them according to their many functions. They noted which functions were shared by multiple pragmatic markers (e.g., *alors* ‘then/so’, *donc* ‘therefore/so’, and *voilà* ‘there you go’ all have a topic introduction function) and which were unique to a single pragmatic marker (e.g., according to their analysis, only *enfin* ‘finally/anyway’ was used to mark corrections). They also classified the pitch contour over each pragmatic marker performing each of its functions as having a falling, rising, or plateau pattern in context and as being low, mid-low, mid, mid-high, or high in the speaker's range. The authors noticed that “[pragmatic markers] with the same pragmatic functions have also very similar prosodic patterns”, an observation that led them to wonder whether “[pragmatic markers] of such occurrences may be interchangeable” (Lee et al. 2019: 2).

Lee et al. (2019) tested this potential interchangeability with two fill-in-the-blank experiments. In one version, native speakers were presented with transcribed excerpts from a corpus of spoken French, each of which had once contained an instance of one of the six pragmatic markers under investigation. Only ten to fifteen words of context before and after each blanked-out marker were included in each excerpt. Participants were asked to indicate which of the pragmatic markers was their first choice (and second and third choice, if desired) to fill in each blank. In the second version of the experiment, the participants were given the segment of recorded speech in addition to the written transcription, and the missing pragmatic marker was replaced by a humming sound with the same prosody as the missing marker. As predicted,

participants struggled to choose the original marker when more than one pragmatic marker could have performed the function illustrated by the excerpt, though they were slightly more adept at choosing the original marker and selected fewer possible alternatives in the second study in which audio input was provided (Lee et al. 2019: 3). I disagree with the authors' conclusion that "some [pragmatic markers], sharing the same pragmatic function, are interchangeable" (Lee et al. 2019: 4). The results of my study of the interchangeability of English pragmatic markers, which incorporates response time tracking and other methodological changes, provide evidence that counters their claim. The methods I used are provided in Chapter 4, and the results of the study can be found in Chapter 7.

3.6 Pragmatic markers and experimental pragmatics

As evidenced by the work of Lee et al. (2019) on pragmatic marker prosody and interchangeability, some work on pragmatic markers does incorporate an experimental component. In *experimental pragmatics*, psycholinguistic and other experimental methodologies are used to study pragmatic phenomena. Some of the experimental techniques, such as "[a]cceptability ratings, which the participant provides after having read and processed a sentence" (Arunachalam 2013: 222), are *off-line* and "measure variables related to the subsequent outcomes of processing" (Garrod 2006: 251). The Lee et al. (2019) study is an example of an *off-line* approach; the research team relied solely on allowing the participants to indicate their second or third choices to determine what other pragmatic markers the participants had considered and how they ranked their fit. Other techniques are *on-line* and "measure variables that tap into language processing as it happens" (Garrod 2006: 251); these can be behavioral studies like eye-tracking and self-paced reading tasks, or neurophysiological studies, such as experiments that use electroencephalography to capture participants' event-related potentials.

Crucially, "on-line and off-line techniques complement each other, with off-line techniques used to determine the outcome of interpretation and on-line techniques used to determine its time course" (Garrod 2006: 251). There have been experiments conducted with pragmatic markers that combine both kinds of methods. Typically, their goal is to understand how the optional inclusion of a pragmatic marker in an utterance affects listeners' in-progress discourse comprehension and expectations.

Van Bergen and Bosker (2018) consider this question with respect to Dutch pragmatic markers *inderdaad* ‘indeed’ and *eigenlijk* ‘actually’, using a set of visual world eye-tracking experiments to determine “to what extent *inderdaad*, confirming an inferred expectation, and *eigenlijk*, contrasting with an inferred expectation, influence real-time understanding of dialogues” (van Bergen & Bosker 2018: 191). These researchers asked participants to listen to a series of miniature dialogues, some of which contained one of the two pragmatic markers. It was the participants’ task to then complete each dialogue by clicking on one of four pictures on a computer screen. Two of the pictures were fillers: one constituted an expected end to the dialogue (the predicted choice if the preceding portion of the dialogue contained *inderdaad* ‘indeed’) and the other illustrated an unexpected end (the predicted choice if the preceding portion of the dialogue contained *eigenlijk* ‘actually’). As evidenced by their eye-movements as well as their eventual mouse-click choices, “listeners ma[de] rapid and fine-grained situation-specific inferences...modulating their expectations about how the dialogue would unfold” (van Bergen & Bosker 2018: 191) based on which marker they heard. Research projects like this one are crucial in that they empirically demonstrate that, while not grammatically obligatory, pragmatic markers modulate our discourse processing in real time.

Another on-line experimental technique that is an alternative to visual world eye-tracking is mouse-tracking. Instead of the saccades of the eye being tracked, “a participant’s hand movements are tracked as [they guide] the mouse from a starting point towards a target on a screen when there are two (or more) response options” (Noveck 2018: 56). This methodology provides on-line data through the movements of the mouse as well as the off-line data of the participant’s final choice. While I have not found work focused solely on pragmatic markers that makes use of mouse-tracking techniques, Loy et al. (2019) use mouse-tracking and eye-tracking together in their experiment on *some*, which belongs to a pragmatic item class called *scalar quantifiers* and “is locally ambiguous between pragmatic (some-but-not-all) and literal (some-and-possibly-all) meanings” (Loy et al. 2019: 159).

Similar to the study by van Bergen and Bosker (2018) on how a pair of Dutch pragmatic markers affect speakers’ comprehension and expectation-building, these researchers use a visual world paradigm to test how the inclusion of pragmatic markers like *uh* (which the researchers refer to as *filled pauses*) affect listener’s expectations and interpretations of *some*. In a set of scenarios deceptively designed to mimic a study on greed and snacking habits, listeners were

asked to click on one of two plates of snacks on a computer screen to indicate which plate matched each stimulus utterance about how much a character in the snack-eating scenario had consumed. Some stimuli contained a numeric quantifier (*I ate **five** oreos*), making the choice between two plates (e.g., one with three oreos and another with five) relatively straightforward. Target utterances contained *some*, either with or without a marker (*I ate (**uh**,) **some** oreos*), and one of the plates was empty while the other was partially full. Both participants' eye movements and their mouse movements were tracked during this task. The trajectories of

“[p]articipants' eye and mouse movements showed...that fluent utterances yielded a bias toward a pragmatic interpretation [of *some*], while disfluency attenuating this bias in favour of the literal meaning (where the speaker ate all the oreos)” (Loy et al. 2019: 159).

In future work, I hope to design a study that makes use of fine-grained on-line data, such eye- or mouse-tracking data, to examine how participant's expectation-building is affected by the inclusion of markers like *so* (which can guide a listener to infer a relationship (e.g., cause-and-effect) between two utterances) and *oh my God* (which suggests a surprising or otherwise emotionally charged outcome).

3.7 Pragmatic markers and metalinguistic knowledge

Perhaps due to their abstract nature, speakers' own intuitions regarding the meanings and uses of pragmatic markers have rarely been a topic of study. An exception, however, is work by Fox Tree (2007) on *you know*, *like*, and *um/uh* that combines speakers' intuitions with linguists' observations as well as with other kinds of empirical data.²⁰ Though there are multiple components to the research project she conducted, the central methodology employed by Fox Tree (2007) was a questionnaire that targeted English speakers' "folk notions" — what I refer to as *metalinguistic knowledge* — regarding each of the three pragmatic markers. A total of 105 University of California, Santa Cruz undergraduate students participated in the study, and thirty-five students completed each of the three questionnaires. Each questionnaire consisted of brief examples of the marker being investigated followed by questions regarding the participants' self-assessment of their own use of the marker, their history of discussing use of the marker with others, their attitudes toward the marker, their intuitions regarding the marker's meaning, and demographic questions.

²⁰ Fox Tree (2007: 299) analyzed *um* and *uh* together, since “the hypothesized meanings seemed too similar for the sensitivity of the method”.

Some of the questions used a scale to collect participants' answers (e.g., "How frequently do you use *like* when you talk? Circle one: 1. never, 2. rarely, 3. sometimes, 4. all the time, 5. I don't know"), but many were open-ended (e.g., "What, if anything, do you think *you know* means?"). "For open-ended questions, coding categories were allowed to emerge from the data. That is similar responses were grouped together and idiosyncratic responses were lumped into an *other* category" (Fox Tree 2007: 301).

This exploratory qualitative coding process allowed her to draw rich and informative insights from the students' responses, and "[o]verall...folk notions of the uses of *um*, *uh*, and *you know* accord with what researchers have argued" (Fox Tree 2007: 306). For *um* and *uh* "[l]ike the folk notion, most researchers' views...involve some kind of speaker production difficulty" (Fox Tree 2007: 306). Similarly, both participants and researchers agreed that *you know* is used in contexts that "involve some kind of speaker-listener interaction" (Fox Tree 2007: 306). With respect to *like*, which was more difficult for speakers to describe, even their disparate and vague intuitions indicated that "[e]ven if laypeople cannot articulate what *like* means, they do have a sense for how it can be used. They recognize that discourse markers cannot substitute for each other without changing meaning" (Fox Tree 2007: 307).

She further supports this conclusion by referencing a multiple-choice task in which fifty-eight undergraduates were asked to assign the best-fitting interpretation to a single, spontaneously produced utterance containing one of the pragmatic markers. In some cases, the participant was presented with the utterance as it was originally produced, whereas other participants were assigned a version in which the utterance's original pragmatic marker (e.g., *like*) had been exchanged for another marker of interest (e.g., *you know* or *um/uh*). The three interpretation choices provided in the answer bank reflected the intuitions about the three markers that were reported by those who took part in her folk notions survey. The results of the multiple-choice task revealed that participants' responses shifted based on which marker the utterance they read contained.

An example is shown below in (10), adapted from Fox Tree (2007: 308). Here, *um*, the marker original to the utterance, is presented to the participant. Reading (a) expresses the folk notion interpretation of *um*, (b) expresses the folk notion interpretation of *you know*, and (c) expresses the folk notion interpretation of *like*. When responding to (10), participants tended to select option (a), whereas if they were presented with the version of (10) that contained *you know*

or *like* instead of *um*, they tended to select option (b) or (c), respectively. Thus, the results of this follow-up task indicated that speakers “pay attention to the discourse marker, and that the discourse marker affects their choices of meanings” (Fox Tree 2007: 308).

- (10) ‘We had to go pick up um my buddy Mark’s girlfriend.’
Which of the following is most likely to be true? (circle letter)
- a. Speaker couldn’t think of whom to pick up.
 - b. Speaker is checking that listener knows what he means when he says ‘my buddy Mark’s girlfriend.’
 - c. Speaker is indicating that ‘my buddy Mark’s girlfriend’ only loosely reflects what’s on his mind.

Notice that this second study recalls the one conducted by Lee et al. (2019), but there are a few crucial differences. Aside from a difference in language of interest and the number of pragmatic markers under investigation (three in Fox Tree (2007) versus six in Lee et al. (2019)), recall that instead of being presented with a fill-in-the-marker stimulus and selecting the most appropriate marker, Fox Tree’s (2007) participants were given a particular marker in the utterance sample and then asked to choose from among the interpretations listed. Also, Fox Tree (2007) selected three English utterances, one containing each marker of interest, to create alternative versions, resulting in a total of nine utterances. Then, each participant was presented with only one of those nine utterances for which to select an interpretation. Thus, each of the nine stimuli were “assessed by between 4 and 9 students” (Fox Tree 2007: 308). This differs substantially from the Lee et al. (2019) approach, in which all fifty-three of the study’s participants were presented with a randomized set of one hundred and twenty stimuli, each of which once contained one of the six French markers of interest.

The questions Fox Tree (2007) posed during the questionnaire study were clearly geared towards an undergraduate population. For example, a question about whether participants recall having discussed use of the marker with others gives “class, lab, or section” (Fox Tree 2007: 301) as examples of formal discourse situations. However, her methodology is easily adapted for use with other language communities, an approach I have taken in designing the English survey and the questions for the Kwéyòl Donmnik interviews that I conducted as part of this dissertation research. (For more on my methodology, see Chapter 4; the interview and survey questions are listed in Appendix A). Her work also demonstrates the power of incorporating speakers’

metalinguistic knowledge into research on pragmatic markers and, like my own research, draws upon Butters' (2002: 328) three-pronged approach for inspiration.

In this chapter, I have given the reader an introduction to pragmatic markers. After defining pragmatic markers, I discussed researchers' attempts to characterize their diachronic development and capture their multiple functions. Next, I examined the interplay between pragmatic markers and the study of deixis, highlighting how pragmatic markers are themselves discourse deictic items that can have their lexical origins in deictic items of other types, including spatial and temporal elements. I also discussed how corpus-based and experimental methods have been used to study pragmatic markers, as well as how pragmatic markers have been approached in work regarding pragmatic borrowing, prosody and marker interchangeability, and speakers' metalinguistic knowledge of their use. This body of literature has shaped my research questions (see Chapter 1), and I have drawn upon the work of Andersen (2014) on pragmatic borrowing, of Lee et al. (2019) on marker interchangeability, and of Fox Tree (2007) on speakers' intuitions while designing the methodologies used to conduct my own dissertation research. In the next chapter, I describe my methodological approaches in detail.

Chapter 4

Methodologies

As outlined in Chapter 1, my overall approach to this dissertation research has been to combine linguists' observations with speakers' metalinguistic knowledge as well as with empirical data (Butters 2002: 328) to gain the fullest picture of how the pragmatic markers under investigation are used by speakers and affected by language contact. I have applied that stance to pursuing the three research questions on which my dissertation is centered.

4.1 Question one: features and functions corpus analysis

My first research question was: how do the discourse-pragmatic functions and distributional features of the selected markers in Kwéyòl Donmnik compare with those of their English and French counterparts? My approach to answering this question was rooted in Andersen's (2014) recommendations for examining cases of pragmatic borrowing, a methodology that has proven adaptable to this Creole-centered contact situation.

Recall from 3.4 that Andersen's (2014: 23-24) method is broken down into three critical phases: assessing the distributional features (the "discourse-structural and syntagmatic aspects") of the source language and receiving language markers, then teasing apart and inventorying the functions of the source language and receiving language markers to determine whether functional stability or adaptation has taken place during borrowing, and finally "tak[ing] into account sociolinguistic aspects and consider[ing] relevant demographic predictors and factors such as register and style" (Andersen 2014: 24).

The final step of the three assesses speakers' metalinguistic knowledge; I address this in my approach to my third research question, discussed later in this chapter. The first two steps, however, form the basis for the methodology I used to compare my selected Kwéyòl markers with their French lexifier items of origin and the English counterparts with which they are in contact today. These items are listed in Table 2 in Chapter 1 and have been reproduced here below in Table 3. I chose to study *konsa* 'so' and *èben* 'well' because of their frequency in the corpus data sources available to me (thirty tokens each), because there was linguistics literature

available on both their French and English counterparts, and because their English counterparts *so* and *well* also surfaced in the corpus data. I included *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’ in this project because interjections and pragmatic markers of religious origins are understudied crosslinguistically and because their religious content is a cultural artifact of Dominica’s colonial history. In addition, since the body of work on locative pragmatic markers remains limited, I was curious to see whether *la*, which is so well-known as a determiner and a locative adverb across French lexifier Creoles, had also taken on this discourse-pragmatic role.

Kwéyòl Pragmatic Markers	French Counterparts	English Counterparts
<i>konsa</i> ‘so’	<i>(ou) comme ça</i> ‘(or) like that’	<i>so</i>
<i>ében</i> ‘well’	<i>(eh) ben</i> ‘well’	<i>well</i>
<i>papa/Bondyé</i> ‘father/God’	<i>bon Dieu</i> ‘good God’ and other similar expressions (e.g., <i>mon Dieu</i> ‘my God’)	<i>oh my God</i> and other similar expressions (e.g., <i>gosh</i>)
<i>la</i> ‘there’	<i>là</i> ‘there’	<i>here/there</i>

Table 3. Selected pragmatic markers (duplicate of Tables 1 and 2)

To gain a deeper understanding of how each of the French and English counterpart markers are used in their respective languages, I turned to the literature about each of them, drawing from linguists’ insights to determine their features and functions. As Kwéyòl Donmnik is an endangered and understudied language, there is no literature available regarding the Kwéyòl markers of interest, so I chose to conduct a corpus analysis of my own using three sources of data.

The first source was my own fieldwork corpus, henceforth referred to as the London Corpus. Collected in 2018, this corpus is comprised of 90 minutes of audio-visually recorded, transcribed, and translated interactions between three dyads of Kwéyòl-English bilinguals speaking Kwéyòl with each other. These speakers were community elders: five men and four women between the ages of 58 and 82 years who self-selected their conversation partners, yielding pairings rooted in close relationships (spouse-spouse, mother-daughter, friend-friend). Five speakers were born in Dominica and the sixth, born in the UK to Dominican immigrants, spent her formative years there.

Table 4 below contains the participants’ responses to a brief questionnaire I administered to learn more about their language backgrounds and attitudes. Each participant was issued a code made up of their initials, their gender identity (f = female, m = male), and their age in years.

Participant Code	PJf58	SMf59	HMMf63	FMLf80	EDf82	SLm82
Birthplace?	Colihaut, Dominica	Paddington, United Kingdom	Portsmouth, Dominica	Soufrière, Dominica	Dominica	Dominica
Language most comfortable speaking?	English	English/Kwéyòl	English	English/Kwéyòl	English	English
Language most comfortable writing?	English	English/Kwéyòl	English	English	English	English
Kwéyòl proficiency from 1 (none) to 7 (native)?	4	7	4	5	4	4
English proficiency from 1 (none) to 7 (native)?	7	7	7	7	6	7
Feelings towards Kwéyòl?	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive
Should Kwéyòl be passed down to children?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Age at which you began acquiring Kwéyòl?	Childhood	Childhood	Young Adulthood	Childhood	Childhood	Childhood
Is Kwéyòl a distinct language?	Yes	Yes	Yes	No; a variety of another language ²¹	Yes	No; a variety of another language

Table 4. Language backgrounds and attitudes of participants in 2018 London Corpus

Notice that, though all but one reported English-dominance — as was to be expected given Kwéyòl’s minoritized status and the intense nature of its contact with English — all participants were exposed to the language from early childhood and continue to use it as adults. Participant HMMf63, who reported “acquiring” Kwéyòl in young adulthood, clarified that her Kwéyòl competence was more passive and comprehension-oriented as a child, and she did not begin actively using the language aloud until young adulthood. This aligns with reports that Kwéyòl has been viewed in some households as a language largely reserved for adults (Bancu et al. 2021). In the same vein, though all six speakers reported positive attitudes towards Kwéyòl and were proponents of its being passed down to children, many also pointed out that this perspective is a rather modern phenomenon. Especially during their childhood years, Kwéyòl was discouraged in the public sphere, particularly during class time in school, where English-only interaction was strictly enforced.

²¹ Neither Participant FMLf80 nor Participant SLm82 specified of which language they considered Kwéyòl to be a variety. However, the historical ties between French and Kwéyòl are well-known among speakers (see Bancu et al. 2021) and I suspect that this knowledge may have shaped their responses.

In 2018, the goal of my fieldwork was to learn more about noun phrases in Kwéyòl Donmnik, research that I have since developed into the manuscript “Noun Phrases in Kwéyòl Donmnik” (Peltier 2021). The recordings I collected during that trip proved to be a rich source of data for my dissertation work as well. I asked under what contextual conditions a speaker may opt not to pronounce determiners and instead utter solely a bare noun like *kwapo* ‘frog(s)/ the frog(s)/ a frog’. I was also investigating the language’s determiners and other functional items, including indefinite *yon* ‘a(n)’, definite *la* ‘the’, demonstrative *sa-la* ‘this/that’, and the pronominal plural marker *sé*. Many of these items are themselves multifunctional and overlap in meaning, such as *la* ‘the’, whose usage is at times difficult to distinguish from that of demonstrative *sa-la* ‘this/that’ (Déprez 2007: 269, Christie 1998: 269, see Baptista & Guéron 2007 for more on noun phrases across Creole languages). Thus, the tasks I asked of my fieldwork participants were chosen with noun phrases in mind: engaging in casual conversation, responding to a brief silent film called *The Pear Story*, narrating the wordless picture book *One Frog Too Many* (Mayer & Mayer 1975), and carrying out a pattern-building gestural task designed to elicit definite and demonstrative noun phrases containing *la* ‘the’ and *sa-la* ‘this/that’.

For this last task, I adapted a methodology called Stacks and Squares that was developed by Cooperrider et al. (2014, 2018). I asked each pair of speakers to face each other across a large table, and unlike those who participated in the study conducted by Cooperrider’s research team who sat on the floor, I invited my participants to either sit in a chair or stand. On the table were an array of felt Squares and a Stack of craft items, including four identical wooden blocks, three cardboard boxes of various sizes, and four bean bags of various colors. One speaker in each dyad played the Director, and I showed them a photo depicting a pattern comprised of some of the craft items; an example is shown in Figure 2 below, and all pattern guides were based on those used by the original Cooperrider research team. It was this Director participant’s job to instruct their partner (the Builder, who could not see the diagram) through constructing the pattern. Once the Builder had succeeded in creating the pattern, the game space was cleared of Stack items and a new trial began. Every two trials, the pair switched roles for a total of eight trials, the first three of which were excluded from analysis as practice.

“Because it requires participants to use utterances and gestures to guide their partners through a pattern-building game, Stacks and Squares elicits demonstrative and definite noun phrases and instances of exophoric reference, as well as co-speech pointing”

(Peltier 2021).



Figure 2. One of the pattern diagrams used during the Stacks and Squares task during 2018 London fieldwork

The data were transcribed by a Kwéyòl-English bilingual literate in both languages, and I used Atlas.ti qualitative coding software to conduct a corpus analysis of the nominal tokens contained in the conversation and Stacks and Squares tasks, coding each noun phrase according to its morphological type (e.g., *yon*-marked, *la*-marked, bare), number (singular, plural, mass), deictic dimension (e.g., spatial, temporal), genericity, uniqueness, specificity, and patterns of reference (associative-anaphoric, endophoric, exophoric). The results of the study “pinpoint[ed] the readings conveyed by each noun phrase type and address[ed] the deictic nature of definite *la* as compared to demonstrative *sa-la*” (Peltier 2021) in Kwéyòl Donmnik, and those results centering on *la* will be discussed in Chapter 5 as I consider the possibility that *la* may also function as a pragmatic marker in the Creole.

As well-suited as the fieldwork tasks were to eliciting noun phrases, their interactive nature also made them excellent sources of pragmatic markers. The same was true of my other two data sources: the Corpus Créole (Ludwig et al. 2001) and Ma’ Bernard’s Folktales (Taylor 1997). The former is a collection of transcribed and French-translated conversations from across several French lexifier Creoles and includes one interview and one radio segment in Kwéyòl Donmnik, both of which took place in 1986 on the island of Dominica itself. The latter is a set of three folktales documented, transcribed, and translated into English by Douglas Taylor. When exactly Taylor documented these folktales is unclear; although the folktales are published in the book *Languages of the West Indies* that was published in 1977, the folktales were likely collected

earlier in the 1900s. It was to these three sources and to the literature available on the French and English pragmatic marker counterparts that I applied Andersen’s (2014) method.

First, I determined the French and English markers’ distributional features by turning to other scholars’ observations in the literature regarding each superstrate marker’s utterance placement(s), scope, orientation, degree of syntactic integration, and collocational patterns. Next, I conducted a corpus analysis to seek out the same information regarding each of the markers in the three Kwéyòl data sources. Recall from Chapter 1 that, given the nature of the contact situation in which Kwéyòl has developed, nearly all speakers of the Creole are bilingual, typically in English. Thus, during my corpus analysis, I came across Kwéyòl utterances that contained tokens of English counterparts, like *so* and *well*. I chose to include these English tokens in my corpus analysis as well, curious to know whether they had been integrated into the Creole to the point that they had undergone shifts in usage.

This Kwéyòl corpus analysis required importing the London Corpus documents into Atlas.ti qualitative data analysis software, which allowed me to highlight each pragmatic marker token and assign to it searchable, color-coded Codes to label its features. See Figure 3 below for a screenshot of how this process looks inside the Atlas.ti program. Since the Corpus Créole and Ma’ Bernard Folktales transcripts were available only in print, I scanned the volumes’ conversations and folktales, assigned a number to each token of each pragmatic marker, and typed their assigned Codes into an Excel spreadsheet. I then saved that sheet as a PDF and imported it into Atlas.ti along with the London Corpus transcripts so that the Codes it contained would be accessible via the Atlas.ti interface as well.

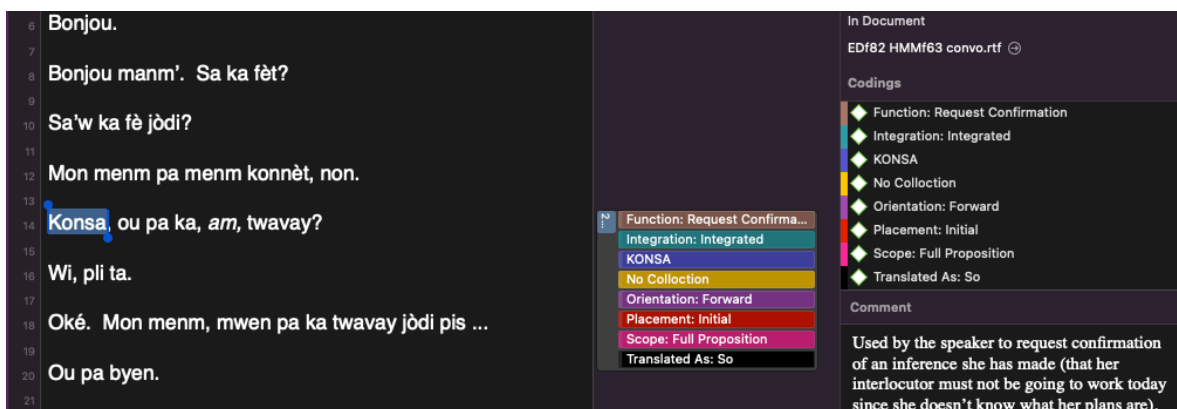


Figure 3. Atlas.ti interface being used to code an instance of Kwéyòl *konsa* ‘so’

Locating each token of *ében* ‘well’, *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’, *well*, and *so* in the corpora was relatively simple, since these items do not have lexical counterparts in Kwéyòl. To isolate tokens of *konsa* ‘so’, I excluded any potential tokens that contained a space, since *kon sa* ‘like that’ is the lexical, non-pragmatic marker counterpart of *konsa* ‘so’ in Kwéyòl, and verified that all the tokens of the single word *konsa* were indeed functioning as pragmatic markers.

With respect to *la* ‘there’, I excluded all tokens of *la* that occurred post-nominally since these were instances of the determiner ‘the’, like the one underlined in (11) below (a reproduction of (5) in Chapter 1). I also excluded any instances of *la* found in existential constructions or acting as the locative adverb *la* ‘there’, as illustrated in (12), since, unlike the pragmatic marker bolded in (11), these uses of *la* provide locational or existential information rather than acting as pragmatic markers. Fellegy (1998) uses similar criteria to distinguish instances of demonstrative determiners and locative adverbs from cases where a locative item is being used as a pragmatic marker in New Ulm English. I discuss her work further in the next chapter during my examination of *la* as a pragmatic marker in Kwéyòl.

(11) Dèmen, O, ou sav sa mwen té vlé ’w fè?
 Tomorrow oh you know what I PAST want you do
 ‘Tomorrow, oh, you know what I wanted you to do?’

Pou ’w té mennen an, an, an katon koté
 for you PAST bring INDEF INDEF INDEF carton/cardboard box by
 ‘For you to bring a, a, a carton/cardboard box by

nonm -la ki mò **la**.
 man DEF who died there
the man who died [**there**].’

(Dialogue, Speakers EDf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

(12) **La** ké ni anpil, moun Donmnik ké **la**.
 there PAST have a-lot people Dominican FUT there
 ‘**There** will be a lot, Dominican people will be **there**.’

(Dialogue, London Corpus, Speakers SMf59 & PJf58, gloss mine)

The first set of Codes²² that I assigned to each corpus token was based on Andersen’s (2014: 23) list of distributional features, or “discourse-structural and syntagmatic aspects”, reproduced below. To fashion my Codes’ labels, I drew upon those terms that are in bold (e.g.,

²² I capitalize words like *Codes* and *Comments* because, in addition to being terms commonly used when discussing qualitative data analysis, these are also particular features of the Atlas.ti software.

“Placement: Initial”, “Orientation: Forward”, “Integration: Free-Standing”). Also, since the corpus texts were all accompanied by English or French translations, I assigned a Code to each token that documented how it had been translated (e.g., “Translated As: *Well*”, “Translated As: *Alors* ‘So’”).

Utterance Placement: Does the marker occur utterance-**initially/medially/finally**?

Scope: Does it take into its scope a full **proposition** or a propositional **constituent**?

Orientation: Does it point **forward** or **backward** in the discourse, qualifying upcoming or preceding material?

Degree of Syntactic Integration: Is it used as a **free-standing** device, or is it to some degree syntactically **integrated**?

Collocational Features: To what extent is the marker a constituent of a fixed or semi-fixed phrase or **collocation**?

(Adapted from Andersen 2014: 23)

To best fulfill the second, function-centered step of Andersen’s (2014: 23-24) protocol, I followed Braun and Clarke’s (2006: 87) suggestion that researchers analyzing qualitative data first document “interesting features of the data”, then group those comments into preliminary categories, and finally refine and assign labels to those categories. To do this, I first took notes (or Comments, as they are referred to in Atlas.ti) on each pragmatic marker token, documenting my initial impressions of how the speaker used the item to mark junctures in the text of the discourse and/or or to express attitudinal information. Once I had Commented on each token, I looked across those comments for patterns, using those similarities to group the functions of the tokens into categories. I assigned each functional category a Code, such as “Function: New Topic” or “Function: Self-Repair”, and assigned the appropriate function Codes to each token.

To illustrate this process, consider the London Corpus token of *konsa* ‘so’ in (13) below (drawn from Figure 3 above), which was rendered in the English translation as *so* (“Translated As: *So*”). I assigned the Codes “Placement: Initial” and “Integration: Integrated” to this token because the marker occurs at the beginning of the speaker’s utterance and, though set apart by a brief pause like most pragmatic markers, this token does not constitute a free-standing, isolated utterance. With respect to collocational patterns, notice that this token of *eben* ‘well’ does not cooccur with another pragmatic item, such as *o* ‘oh’, *konsa* ‘so’, or *me* ‘but’. Thus, I assigned it the Code “Collocation: None”.

- (13) A : Bonjou.
good-day
'Hello'
- B : Bonjou manm'. Sa ka fèt?
good-day mother. What PROG happen
'Hello mother. What's happening?'
- A : Sa 'w ka fè jòdi?
what you PROG do today
'What are you doing today?'
- B : Mon menm pa menm konnèt, non.
I self not even know, no
'I myself don't even know, no.'
- A : **Konsa**, ou pa ka, am, twavay?
so you not PROG um work
'So, you're not going to work?'
- B : Wi, pli ta.
yes more late
'Yes, later.'
- B : Mon menm, mwen pa ka twavay jòdi pis...
I myself I not PROG work today because
'I myself, I am not working today because...'
- A : Ou pa byen.
you NEG well
'You are not well.'
- B : Mon pa byen.
I not well
'I am not well.'

(Dialogue, London Corpus, Speakers Edf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

My Comment on this token's functional properties reads: "Used by the speaker to request confirmation of an inference she has made (that her interlocutor must not be going to work today since she does not know what her plans are). Based on common knowledge of listener's health." Based on this Comment, and on similar Comments I made about other tokens used in this way, I developed the functional category Codes "Function: Request Confirmation" and "Function: Shared Knowledge", which I assigned to the example in (13). I also assigned to it the Codes

“Orientation: Forward/Backward” and “Scope: Full Proposition”. This is because use of *konsa* ‘so’ in (13) indicates a meaningful connection should be inferred between the full propositional content of the preceding utterance (that Speaker A does not know what she plans to do with her day) and that of the following utterance the marker accompanies (that Speaker A is thus not going to work).

As discussed in 3.3, corpus pragmatic methods like this form-to-function coding procedure require both vertical and horizontal reading. The process is vertical in that the search capabilities of program like Atlas.ti allow the user to “plough through myriads of text samples in search of occurrences of a target item” (Rühlemann 2019: 7), highlighting similarities across the tokens, such as where they tend to occur in speakers’ utterances and with what other items they tend to coincide. Pragmatic corpus coding is also horizontal, because it involves “weighing and interpreting individual occurrences within their contextual environments” (Rühlemann 2019: 7). This was most critical as I teased apart the various functions each of the Kwéyòl pragmatic marker tokens performed in the discourse, comparing the content that preceded the marker with that which followed it to determine how inclusion of the marker had affected the discourse textually and/or attitudinally.

When combined, the London Corpus, Corpus Créole, and Ma’ Bernard Folktales are too small in size to make such an analysis statistically meaningful, so qualitative rather than quantitative analysis was the main focus of my investigation. Among the Kwéyòl markers of French origin, examples of the markers *èben* ‘well’ (thirty tokens) and *konsa* ‘so’ (thirty tokens) were most plentiful, followed by the relatively infrequent, religiously-marked pair *Bondyé/papa* ‘God/father’ (six tokens) and the locative element *la* in its pragmatic marker form (six tokens). Alongside these were many instances of *so* (thirty-nine tokens) and a few of *well* (five 6). Thus, to develop a solid analysis of how these pragmatic markers are used by speakers of Kwéyòl Donmnik, it was all the more important that I include speakers’ own metalinguistic knowledge in my dissertation research.

Once I had successfully coded every token in the Kwéyòl corpora for their distributional features and discourse-pragmatic functions, I compared the results of the corpus analysis with the features and functions of the markers’ French and English counterparts as described in the literature. While I chose to include the markers’ features (utterance placement, scope, orientation, degree of syntactic integration, and collocational features) in this comparative

examination, the central motivation behind this step in Andersen's (2014: 24) methodology is to determine whether pragmatic borrowing (or, in this case, integration of source language pragmatic markers into a Creole) resulted in *functional stability* or *functional adaptation*, as defined in Chapter 3 and reproduced below.

Functional Stability: No observable change in the pragmatic function of the marker in the Source Language (SL) and Receiving Language (RL); the marker is associated with the same type of speech act, speaker attitude, and/or illocutionary force in both the SL and RL

Functional Adaptation:

Functional Narrowing: Loss of some function of the marker in the transition from the SL to the RL, or transfer of only one function of the multifunctional SL marker

Functional Broadening: Acquisition of a new pragmatic function in the RL not observed in the SL

Functional Shift: Loss of some function of the marker in the transition from the SL to the RL combined with acquisition of a new pragmatic function in the RL, or modification of an existing pragmatic function in the transition from the SL to the RL

(Adapted from Andersen 2014: 24)

Recall that "it is generally difficult to decide whether an innovation is due to pragmatic borrowing or a parallel development in two or more languages" (Andersen 2014: 21). What this methodology provides is a preliminary assessment of how the functions and features of source items (the French and English superstrate pragmatic markers) may have shifted upon integration into the receiving language (Kwéyòl Donmnik), as well as a comparative framework through which to gain a deeper understanding of how all the items being compared function in their respective languages.

Finally, I constructed a table for each set of pragmatic markers: one column contained the Kwéyòl markers' functions and features, another contained those of its French lexifier marker, a third contained those of its English counterpart, and (where relevant), a fourth contained those of the English counterparts as they were used in the Kwéyòl corpora. This allowed me to visualize and approximate the degree to which each Kwéyòl marker displayed functional stability or adaptation with respect to its lexifier item, as well as to what extent it shared functions with its

English marker of influence. Where there was a fourth column to consider, I used this addition to compare the functions performed by the tokens of the English markers found in the Kwéyòl utterances with those performed by the French-lexified Kwéyòl markers and with those reported for the English markers in the English literature. I included this extra step in my methodology in case these English markers had themselves been integrated into the Creole to the point that they had grown similar in usage to the Kwéyòl markers or had developed novel functions distinct from those found in both the Creole and the English superstrate.

In Chapter 5, I walk the reader through the results of this comparative process for all four sets of pragmatic markers, including the outcomes of the Kwéyòl corpus analysis (along with corpus examples of each feature and function I identified), what other linguists have observed about the French and English counterparts, and the function overlap tables and stability-versus-adaptation outcomes for each set of markers. My expectation was that the Kwéyòl Donmnik markers would display congruence and reflect among their properties the points of functional and featural overlap between their French items of origin and their English influencing counterparts, as well as take on their own unique discourse-pragmatic functions and distributional features.

4.2 Question two: metalinguistic knowledge interviews and survey

My second question was: what metalinguistic knowledge do speakers of Kwéyòl Donmnik and English — the two languages in intense contact today — have about these markers? In other words, what are their attitudes towards the markers, intuitions about how they use the markers, and beliefs regarding the markers' contributions to communication? My main focus was on comparing the outcomes of the study with the outcomes of the corpus analysis described in the previous section. However, I also wanted to compare the attitudes of bilingual speakers of a minoritized language (Kwéyòl) with those of speakers of a prestige language (English) with respect to pragmatic markers that share some similar functions: Kwéyòl *konsa*, *ében*, and *Bondyé/papa* and English *so*, *well*, and *oh my God*. In addition, I was curious to know what intuitions Kwéyòl speakers would report regarding *la* 'there'.

The methodology I employed to address this question was grounded in Fox Tree's (2007) approach to collecting speakers' folk notions about what pragmatic markers mean and how they are used. Recall from 3.7 that Fox Tree (2007) used a survey to gather English-speaking undergraduates' intuitions with respect to *like*, *you know*, or *um/uh*. After providing a couple of

examples of the marker in question, she asked her participants questions regarding their self-assessment of their own use of the marker, their history of discussing use of the marker with others, their attitudes toward the marker, and the marker's meaning, as well as demographic questions (age, gender identity, where the participant was raised, and what languages they spoke).

I adapted and expanded upon Fox Tree's (2007) questionnaire to make it conducive to my interviews with Kwéyòl Donmnik speakers about the four Kwéyòl markers of interest and my survey for English speakers about the three English markers. First, I removed vocabulary that was geared towards a student audience, such as "class, lab, or section" (Fox Tree 2007: 301). Then, for the Kwéyòl interviews, I incorporated additional questions surrounding demographics and linguistic background used in the portion of the Bancu et al. (2021) study that centered on language naming practices and language attitudes among Creole speakers. These questions went beyond age, gender identity, place of upbringing, and languages spoken to include level of formal education, occupation, where the participant's parents grew up, and where they themselves had lived over the years. I added formal education level to the English speaker survey, too, as well as a question about the participant's racial/ethnic identity. In addition, since I understood Kwéyòl to usually be limited to informal settings, I removed "Have you ever discussed the use of [*pragmatic marker*] in a formal setting such as a class or meeting? Select yes or no. If so, please describe anything you can remember" from the question list for the Kwéyòl interviews. Instead, I simply asked whether they recalled ever discussing use of the markers with other people. Finally, I added a question requesting that my participants list words or phrases they thought had similar meanings to the pragmatic markers under investigation.

As noted in 3.7 during my overview of Fox Tree's (2007) study, some of the questions employed a scale or a multiple-choice bank to collect participants' answers like "How frequently do you use [*pragmatic marker*] when you talk? 1. never, 2. rarely, 3. sometimes, 4. all the time, 5. I don't know". However, many of the questions were open-ended, like "Does your use of [*pragmatic marker*] vary depending on the situation you are in, or do you think you speak about the same no matter the situation?".


To accommodate international interviews and domestic interviews that could not take place in person due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I conducted my interviews with five Kwéyòl-English bilinguals either virtually via Zoom (four) or by phone (one); all five interviews were in

English. Only because one participant lacked computer proficiency and internet access was there one phone interview conducted. Though that interview yielded a few helpful insights (see 6.6 for a brief discussion), the Zoom platform was much better suited to this task. Thus, the four virtual interviews yielded the bulk of the data for the Kwéyòl-centered component of this study.

I asked the interviewees about all four Kwéyòl markers of interest, and since Zoom has a Screen Share function, that platform allowed me to use Power Point slides to share with them audio clips and transcribed/translated examples of each pragmatic marker from the London Corpus before displaying and talking through the interview questions. An example slide is provided in Figure 4 below; the black symbol in the top left corner of the dash-outlined box indicates that a sound clip from the London Corpus was embedded into the slide for those participants who were not literate in Kwéyòl.

Are you familiar with the word “ÈBEN” as it is used in instances like the ones below?

You may have heard this word pronounced without a nasal vowel – “èbe”.



Speaker A: *“So”, kouman’w kè fè alé la? Ou pa sa mété motoka’w asou chimen-la.*
So, how will you be able to go there? You can’t put your car on the road.

Speaker B: Èben ou ké ni pou maché la ou menm.
Èben you will have to walk there yourself.

Speaker A: Èben sé sa ki mon ni fè. Mon pa “mind”.
Èben that is what I have to do. I don’t mind.

Figure 4. Example slide from Zoom interviews with Kwéyòl speakers

Like in the London Corpus, each participant was issued a code made up of their initials, their gender identity (f = female, m = male), and their age in years. Four of the Kwéyòl interviewees identified as female and one as male and all were between the ages of 60 and 67. All five were speakers of both Kwéyòl and English, though three also reported knowledge of other languages: one took introductory French classes in school as a child and had recently begun taking Yoruba lessons; another was also a French speaker and had a working knowledge of Spanish; and the third spoke Spanish, had learned some French over the years, and had been exposed to Japanese, Norwegian, and Ukrainian while traveling the world early in his career.

The group’s educational backgrounds ranged from less than high school to holding a graduate degree. With respect to ties to the island, all five of the participants’ mothers were from Dominica, four of their five fathers were from Dominica (one father grew up in neighboring Guadeloupe), and all participants had spent their formative years (first seven years of life) or more on the island.²³ At the time of the interviews, one resided on Dominica, one in London, and three in the United States. This information is reflected in Table 5 below.

Participant Code	FPm67	SHMf62	PPf67	SMAf63	MDf60
Gender Identity	Male	Female	Female	Female	Female
Age	67	62	67	63	60
Languages Spoken	Kwéyòl English Spanish French *Japanese *Norwegian *Ukranian	Kwéyòl English *French *Yoruba	Kwéyòl English	Kwéyòl English French Spanish	Kwéyòl English
Highest Level of Formal Education	Some graduate school	College degree	Less than high school	Graduate degree	Some college
Mother’s Place of Origin	Dominica	Dominica	Dominica	Dominica	Dominica
Father’s Place of Origin	Dominica	Dominica	Guadeloupe	Dominica	Dominica
Years Spent in Dominica	7	8	15	57	7
Current Location	USA	UK	USA	Dominica	USA

Table 5. Demographic information about metalinguistic interview participants
(* indicates limited or only introductory exposure to a language)

I constructed the English survey online in Qualtrics, and I used Prolific, a participant recruitment platform that ensures participants are well compensated for their time, to distribute it to 138 English speakers (forty-six participants per each of the three English markers of interest). The participants ranged in age from 18 to 72; as illustrated in the histogram in Figure 5, most of them fell within the 28-37 age group (66, 48%) or the 18-27 age group (41, 30%). Two participants chose not to share their gender identities, and three identified as nonbinary; the rest identified as either female (66, 48%) or male (67, 49%).

²³ Two participants spent their first seven years of life on the island, one spent her first eight years there, another spent her first fifteen years there, and one participant only spent six years of sixty-three years living outside Dominica.

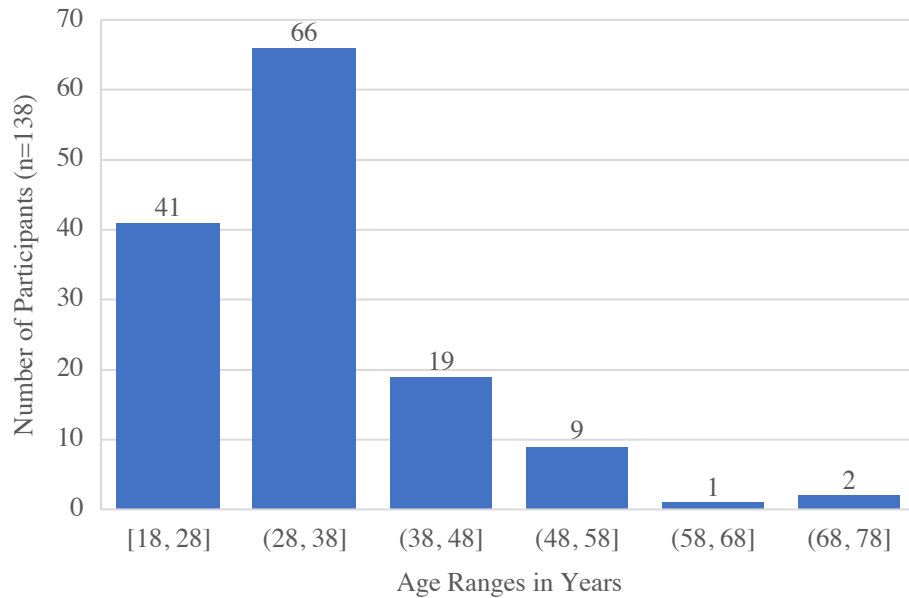


Figure 5. English survey participants by age range (n = 138)

The majority of the survey participants were white (98, 71%). Among the participants of color, twenty (14%) identified as Black, seven (5%) as Asian, five (4%) as Latinx, six (4%) identified with more than one racial/ethnic group, and two (1%) participants declined to share. Most of the participants were English monolinguals (95, 69%); those forty-three (31%) who were multilingual indicated knowledge of Spanish, French, German, Korean, Mandarin, Greek, Japanese, Shona, Ndebele, Polish, Russian, and/or Swedish. As displayed below in Figure 6, most participants' highest level of formal education was holding a college degree (51, 37%), but their educational backgrounds ranged from high school diploma to doctorate.

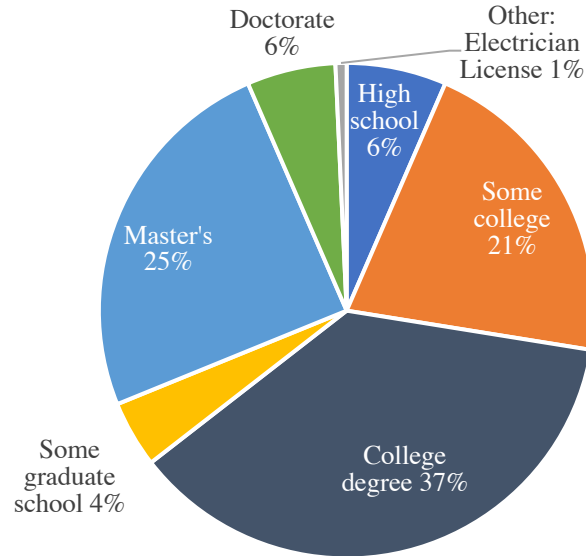


Figure 6. English survey participants by highest level of formal education completed (n = 138)

Nearly all participants were raised in the US (136, 99%); of the remaining two participants (1%), one was raised in Zimbabwe and the other in Canada. Of those raised in the US, thirty-five (26%) did not provide a state or city of origin, but Figure 7 below shows the regional distribution of the 101 (74%) who did.

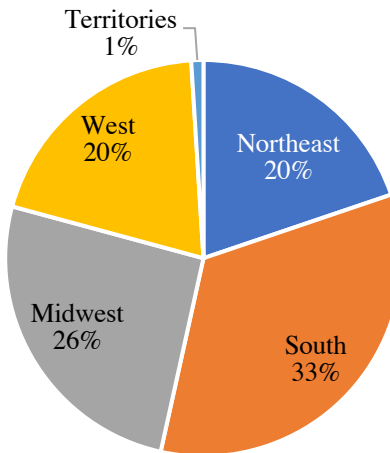


Figure 7. English survey participants raised in the US by region (n = 101)

I manually recorded the Kwéyòl Donmnik interviewees' responses to each question in an Excel spreadsheet. Given the size of the group, my approach to their answers was entirely qualitative in nature, and I took note of each observation they provided. I exported the data that

Qualtrics collected from the English survey participants into Excel as well. Some of the responses I analyzed quantitatively because they provided participants with a scale or multiple-choice bank of answers. For example, I was able to calculate the frequencies with which participants responded “1. never”, “2. rarely”, “3. sometimes”, “4. all the time”, and “5. I don’t know” with respect to how often they used a particular English marker. Others were quantifiable because participants’ freeform responses could be easily placed into discrete categories. For example, I calculated the frequencies with which participants responded Yes (e.g., “When I speak to my close friends or family, I use it often. Especially more so with friends my age. If I’m speaking professionally to colleagues or others in an academic setting, then I think about my words more and use less filler words like “so, like, etc””), No (e.g., “It does not vary. I use “so” regardless of whom I am speaking to.”), or Unsure (e.g., “I haven’t paid enough attention to when I say “so””) to the question “Does your use of [*pragmatic marker*] vary depending on whether you are talking to a colleague, to a friend, to a family member (or to someone else)? If so, briefly describe how.”

Once I had quantified participants’ responses to these kinds of questions with respect to each marker, I was then able to use Excel to run statistical tests like the single-factor ANOVA, a test that compares means across groups to determine whether they are statistically different, and the chi-square test for independence, a test that compares the actual observed results with those one would expect to see if two variables were unrelated, to determine whether there were statistically significant differences across the markers. For example, I used an ANOVA to determine that, while participants reported using *so*, *well*, and *oh my God* between “3. sometimes” and “4. all the time”, their average reported frequencies (3.83 for *so*, 3.48 for *well*, and 3.24 for *oh my God*) were statistically different, $F(2, 135) = 5.727, p = .004$.

For those open-ended questions whose responses were not easily quantified, I either followed an approach similar to Fox Tree’s (2007: 301) and grouped similar responses together into thematic categories or listed every unique answer my participants provided. For instance, as I sifted through each of the participants’ responses to the question “What words or phrases, if any, do you think have similar meanings to [*pragmatic marker*]?”, I logged every unique response, including both the repeats (e.g., multiple participants likened *oh my God* to euphemistic expressions of religious origin, like *oh my goodness* or *oh jeez*.) and those that only one participant suggested (e.g., only one participant likened *oh my God* to *nice*).

In Chapter 6, I explore the results of both my interviews with Kwéyòl Donmnik speakers and the survey for English speakers. I compare the Kwéyòl speakers' intuitions with respect to each Kwéyòl marker with the outcomes of the Chapter 5 corpus analysis, and I compare those of the English speakers about each of the English markers with observations that linguists have made in the literature. (This body of literature is discussed in Chapter 5 as well.) I anticipated that speakers' metalinguistic knowledge would align with the corpus analysis and with the literature but that their reports would also provide insights into usage and meaning that extend beyond what linguists had observed or what my corpus analysis was able to capture.

4.3 Question three: interchangeability task

My third and final question was: do English speakers approach pragmatic markers as interchangeable, particularly when they have functions in common? To design the experimental questionnaire that I used to address it, I built on the text-only (no audio input) study conducted by Lee et al. (2019) on the interchangeability of French pragmatic markers that was discussed in 3.5.

To build the questionnaire, I consulted the literature I had gathered on *well*, *so*, and *oh my God* while conducting my Kwéyòl Donmnik corpus analysis, logging each of the discourse-pragmatic functions attributed to each marker and noting which functions were unique to a single marker, similar across two markers, or similar across all three. Then, I turned to the Spoken section the Corpus of Contemporary American English for examples. This corpus was last updated in 2019, and the Spoken genre section is comprised of transcribed oral sources like radio broadcasts and television news reports. I manually collected from its contents twenty examples of each marker, ensuring that the amassed excerpts displayed each marker's full functional range.²⁴ During that search, I sometimes came across instances of one of the three markers performing a function not associated with it in the literature, such as the tokens of *so* and *oh my God* in (14) and (15) below in which the speaker marks the start of reported discourse.²⁵ I included instances of the markers performing these additional functions in my collection of

²⁴ The English markers' various functions are discussed in Chapter 5, and in the introduction to Chapter 7, I provide a breakdown of how the excerpts were distributed across those functions.

²⁵ The introduction of *reported discourse* (Barnes 1995: 817), a *nouvelle voix* (*new voice*, Peltier & Ranson 2020: 6-7), or *constructed dialogue* (Tannen 1986: 313) is a function that has been associated with multiple pragmatic markers crosslinguistically. It indicates that the speaker is loosely quoting their recollection of an utterance or exchange, often something said by another person or by the speaker themselves in the past.

examples as well. I also added those additional functions to my discussions of the English markers in Chapter 5.

- (14) I want you to think about it from a parent's point of view. If you walk in from a hard day and your son said to you, **so**, dad, how was your day today? Did you answer all of your e-mails? How was your presentation? How did it go? Did you get your promotion? Why not? Aren't you going to be exhausted and shut down?
(Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)
- (15) And when I looked at that, I was stunned because I thought to myself, **oh my God**, here I am standing with the mindset of the people who made this. This is an image of the people's approach to reality in that period of time.
(Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)

This process resulted in a bank of sixty excerpts, twenty per marker. Of those sixty, thirty exemplified one of the markers performing a function that was reported in the literature to be unique to that marker, like the token of *well* below in (16) used to introduce a closing remark, a function only *well* performs. Fifteen of the excerpts were cases where a marker performed a function that it shares with one of the markers of interest. In (17), for example, *so* introduces a new topic, a function it shares with *well*. The other fifteen demonstrated contexts where a marker performed a function that it shares with both of the other markers. For instance, in (18) below, *oh my God* is used to introduce a self-repair or reformulation of the speaker's utterance, a function it shares with *so* and *well*.

- (16) A: I really want to thank you for trusting me and for trusting our listeners with your story. And I want to thank you for writing it.
B: **Well**, thanks for having this program, Terry. You give me and other people a chance to explore this question of who are we and where are we going.
(Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)
- (17) A: ...And I have to say, your menu's great, but Olive is the best part of the segment.
B: I think so. I think so.
A: She's a show stealer. **So** now, what are you like at home?
(Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)
- (18) Even you said before the Google, the Google, **oh my God**, he Googled "hot car" and now, we're like, oh, well, maybe he did it before.
(Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)

I then removed the marker from each example, replaced it with a blank (“_____”), and entered it into a Qualtrics questionnaire-builder, followed by first-choice and second-choice multiple-choice banks containing the three markers under investigation. I programmed the Qualtrics interface to present the sixty trios (excerpt + first choice + second choice) in random order to the participant. In the Lee et al. (2019: 2) study, the participant was provided with an excerpt that contained only “10 to 15 words before and after” the blanked-out pragmatic marker. Notice that, while I restricted each excerpt to as few lines of text as possible, I included each marker’s fuller surrounding context to allow my participants to better interpret each marker’s role in the discourse.

I divided the presentation of each blanked-out corpus excerpt, the presentation of its first-choice multiple-choice bank, and the presentation of its second-choice multiple-choice bank (which included a “No” option that indicated the participant felt only their first choice could acceptably fill the blank) across three separate pages. An example of this three-page structure is illustrated below in Figure 8 below, along with the instructions provided to the participant before they started the fill-in-the-blank task. This approach allowed me to use Timing Questions to measure participants’ response times. The Timing Questions feature of the Qualtrics interface permits the researcher to insert a timer that is invisible to the participant and that gathers, among other data, a page’s Page Submit time, or the total amount of time in seconds a participant spends on a page before submitting their final answer and advancing to the next page.²⁶

²⁶ Timing Questions also gather First Click time (the time between when the participant first views a page and when they first click on an answer option), Last Click time (the time between when the participant first views a page and the last time they click on an answer option before advancing), and Click Count time (the total number of times a participant clicks on answer choices before advancing). Since I was most interested in measuring participants’ total response times before submitting their final first-choice responses, I focused on their Page Submit time.

In this section, you will be presented with brief excerpts from real samples of spoken English. Each excerpt contains a blank. After you read each excerpt, you will be asked to select the word or phrase that best fits in the blank. Then, you will have the option to select a second-best choice.

Please read the excerpt below:

Just think about it, 2:00 in the morning until about 5:30. Three-and-a-half hours to erase any trace evidence, any forensics that might point to you, if what he says is a lie. _____ let 's go back to the timeline for a minute.

Please select the item that you think would **best** fill the blank in the excerpt you just read (displayed below).

Just think about it, 2:00 in the morning until about 5:30. Three-and-a-half hours to erase any trace evidence, any forensics that might point to you, if what he says is a lie. _____ let 's go back to the timeline for a minute.

- So
- Well
- Oh my God

Is there **another** item that you think could also fill the blank in the excerpt (displayed again below)?

Just think about it, 2:00 in the morning until about 5:30. Three-and-a-half hours to erase any trace evidence, any forensics that might point to you, if what he says is a lie. _____ let 's go back to the timeline for a minute.

- No.
- Yes. "So" could also fill the blank.
- Yes. "Well" could also fill the blank.
- Yes. "Oh my God" could also fill the blank.

Figure 8. Example of three-page structure used to present each fill-in-the-blank excerpt and response options

I was curious to see whether the number of compatible responses affected how long participants took to submit their first-choice answers. My expectation was that they would take longer on average to select a first-choice response when more than one pragmatic marker could have filled the blank (e.g., either *so* or *well* could fill a blank in an example in which the speaker began a new topic) than when just one marker was likely (e.g., only *well* introduces concluding remarks). However, I did not want the variation in length across the excerpts to affect response times; presumably, longer excerpts would take participants longer to read and would thus inaccurately increase response time measurements if the answer banks were provided on the same page as the excerpts. By first presenting the participant with an excerpt, then with each multiple-choice answer bank, I was able to zero in on how long it took the participant to give their first-choice responses while mitigating the potential impact of excerpt length.

The only difficulty with structuring the questionnaire this way was that, since they could not see which marker they had selected as their first choice on the previous page, sometimes

participants chose the same marker as both their first and second choice to fill a blank. I manually sifted through the second-choice selections for each excerpt to find these duplicates and counted such instances the same as if the participant had selected “No” when asked whether there was another marker that could fill the blank.

The 138 English speakers who participated in this portion of the research were the same as those who took part in the metalinguistic knowledge survey that I conducted to address my second research question. In fact, the two studies were conducted simultaneously. After completing the demographic questions (age, education, etc.), the participants provided their first- and second-choice responses to each of the fill-in-the-blank excerpts, then they moved through metalinguistic knowledge questions with respect to one of the three English markers under investigation. For more about the demographics of the participants and the contents of the metalinguistic knowledge survey, see the previous section.

Once data collection was complete, I exported into Excel the first- and second- choice response data and the response time measurements that Qualtrics had recorded. Using Excel’s quantitative analysis tools, I calculated the frequencies with which participants selected *well*, *so*, or *oh my God* (or *No* in the case of the second-choice answer bank only) as their choices to fill each of the sixty excerpt blanks. I also calculated the participants’ average first-choice Page Submit response time for each excerpt blank. Then, I grouped the excerpts (and their corresponding selection frequencies and Page Submit times) by marker (by which marker — *so*, *well*, or *oh my God* — was the original pragmatic marker, or the marker that had actually been uttered in the corpus), by function (by which discourse-pragmatic function — introducing a new topic, facilitating self-repair, etc. — the excerpt exemplified), and by degree of functional overlap (by the number of markers — one, two, or all three — I knew to perform the function exemplified by the excerpt). This allowed me to find key patterns. For example, I noticed that participants tended to select the original marker (the marker uttered in the corpus) as their first choice and ran a chi-square test that confirmed there was a statistically significant relationship between the blanked-out English marker and which marker participants most often chose, $\chi^2(4, N = 8280), p < .001$.

In Chapter 7, I provide the results of my quantitative analysis of the outcomes of this interchangeability task, including how closely the participants’ answer bank selections matched the markers originally contained in the stimulus utterances and the patterns that emerged across

their responses and response times. I expected that the results of this task would reinforce the meaningful status of pragmatic markers and show that speakers approach them as distinguishable even when their inventories of functions overlap.

In this chapter, I have described, with supporting examples and illustrations, the methodologies I employed to address each of my three research questions, including my data collection methods, the published sources of corpus data that I incorporated, my participants' demographics, how I analyzed the results of each study, and the outcomes I predicted. In the next chapter, I discuss the results of the corpus analysis I conducted in response to my first research question regarding how the properties of the Kwéyòl Donmnik markers compare with those of their English and French counterparts.

Chapter 5

Features and Functions Corpus Analysis Results

In this chapter, I discuss the results of the corpus analysis I conducted to address my first research question: how do the discourse-pragmatic functions and distributional features of the selected markers in Kwéyòl Donmnik compare with those of their English and French counterparts?

Recall from 4.1 that my methodology was rooted in Andersen's (2014) recommendations for examining cases of pragmatic borrowing. I analyzed the tokens of the four Kwéyòl Donmnik markers under investigation (*konsa* 'so', *èben* 'well', *papa/Bondyé* 'father/God', and *la* 'there') and of English *so* and *well* across my three sources of data: my 2018 fieldwork data (the London Corpus), a pair of Kwéyòl conversations documented in the Corpus Créole (Ludwig et al. 2001), and a trio of folktales documented by Douglas Taylor (1977) (the Ma' Bernard Folktales). Using Atlas.ti qualitative data analysis software, I assigned to each token searchable, color-coded Codes documenting their distributional features — utterance placement, scope, orientation, degree of syntactic integration, and collocational features (for definitions, see 4.1) — and their discourse-pragmatic function(s) (e.g., introducing a new topic to the conversation, expressing the speaker's emotional reactions).²⁷

Once the Kwéyòl corpus analysis was complete, I compared the outcomes with what linguists have reported in the literature about the markers' counterparts in English and French. In addition to revealing how the functions and features of the superstrate source items may have shifted upon integration into Kwéyòl Donmnik, comparing similar pragmatic markers crosslinguistically helps us better understand how all the items function in their respective languages. My prediction was that, in addition to taking on their own unique functions and features, the Kwéyòl Donmnik markers would display *congruence*, reflecting among their

²⁷ Recall that a single instance of a marker can perform more than one function (Ruhlmann 2019: 88-89).

properties the points of functional and featural overlap between their French items of origin and the English counterparts they are in contact with today.

5.1 Features and functions of *èben* ‘well’

The Kwéyòl Donmnik pragmatic marker *èben*, which appeared a total of thirty times across the three sources of corpus data, derives its form from French (*eh*) *ben* ‘well’ and is in contact with its rough English equivalent *so*. Of the twenty-three tokens of *èben* that were not simply omitted from the English or French translations that accompanied the corpus documents, eighteen were translated as *well*, two as *et* ‘and’, and one each as *par la suite* ‘afterwards’, *mais bon* ‘but well’, and *eh bien* ‘well’. Though *èben* tended not to appear alongside other pragmatic elements in the corpus transcripts, seven tokens did cooccur with items like *a* ‘ah’, *o* ‘oh,’ *so*, *oké* ‘okay’, and *apwésa* ‘afterwards’. Usually, *èben* was in utterance-initial position (twenty-five tokens), as in (19), though the marker can also be utterance-medial (three tokens, illustrated in (20)) or free-standing (four tokens, shown in (21)). This flexibility aligns with that of its superstrate counterparts. Like Kwéyòl *èben*, both French (*eh*) *ben* and English *well* can occur utterance-initially, -medially, or as free-standing utterances, and *well* can even appear in utterance-final position.

- (19) **Èben** sa sé, sa sé “story”-la ki fèt la.
 well that is that is story DEF that happened there
 ‘Well that is, that is the story that happened there.’
 (Book Narration, London Corpus, EDf82, gloss mine)

- (20) I ka sanm, tiwé yon “frog” la anlè, **èben** yonn, dé “frog”,
 It PROG seem, take-off INDEF frog there on-top, well one, two frog,
 ‘It seems, take off a frog there on top, **well** one, two frogs,
 sété dé.
 was two
 it was two.’
 (Book Narration, London Corpus, EDf82, gloss mine)

- (21) A: Zò ka sizé la èvè bwè?
 you PROG sit there and drink
 ‘You sit there and drink?’
 B: **Èben!**
 well
 ‘Well!’

A: Èvè tout sé moun -la?
 with all PL person DEF
 ‘With all the people?’

(Dialogue, London Corpus, Edf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

French *ben*, as well as its “intensified variant” (Barnes 1995: 818) *eh ben*, has been described in the literature as a marker that builds coherence between discourse chunks at points of discontinuity (Barnes 1995, Bruxelles & Traverso 2001) and as an indicator of an orientation shift in the discourse’s deictic center (Barnes 1995). English *well*, too, has also been characterized as a coherence builder and orientation shifter (Barnes 1995, Schiffrin 1987). Thus, these markers have both been associated with major junctures within the text of a linguistic interaction, such as topic changes or shifts towards new or unexpected content (Bruxelles & Traverso 2001: 44 and Barnes 1995: 817 regarding (*eh*) *ben*; Jucker 1997: 97, Beeching 2011: 99, and Cuenca 2008: 1388 about *well*), relaunching topics that had been abandoned (Cuenca 2008: 1388 for *well*; Bruxelles & Traverso 2001: 44 for (*eh*) *ben*), facilitating speakers’ self-repairs and utterance reformulations (Barnes 1995: 814 with respect to both markers, Cuenca 2008: 1388 about *well*), and introducing quoted utterances or *reported discourse* (Barnes 1995: 817 about both, Schiffrin 1987: 685 about *well*). Examples (22) and (23) below illustrate these two markers’ performing this reported discourse function. Notice how both *ben* and the collocation *bon ben* in (22) and *well* in (23) mark the start of the quoted material.

(22) Il vérifie la pression des pneus, "Bon, impeccable".
 he checks the pressure of-the tires well impeccable
 ‘He checks the tire pressure, “Well, impeccable.”’

Il dit "Voilà, bon, quoi encore?" — "Bon ben, fais-moi le pare-brise"
 he says voilà, well, what else well well do-me the windshield
 ‘He says “Voilà, well, what else?” — “Well, do the windshield for me”’

[...]

Alors il lui dit "Ben c'est combien?"
 so he him says "Well, it-is how-much
 ‘So he says to him, “Well, how much is it?”’
 (Barnes 1995: 817, gloss and translation mine)

- (23) He was like, look, what are you doing on this particular day?
 I said, I'll be in Vegas doing work with Intel.
 He said, **well**, the next day you should fly out to New Hampshire.
 I was like, you know what? I'll do that.
 (Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)

Like its superstrate counterparts, Kwéyòl *èben*, too, often facilitates speakers' navigation of textual junctures. For example, consider (24) and (25) below. In (24), *èben* introduces an entirely new topic; in fact, it starts off the very first sentence of the second Ma' Bernard Folktale. Meanwhile, in (25), *èben* marks the beginning of a similar kind of major juncture: a new scene within the narrative of the first Folktale. The husband in the tale has just received advice from a soothsayer regarding how to free his wife from the grasp of a zombie. Here, *èben* highlights the transition into the next scene, in which the husband sets out on his quest. This marker can even introduce surprising or unexpected information. In (26) below, this function is realized somewhat sarcastically. Here, a widower has just followed the soothsayer's instructions to transform his faithful dog into a woman. The marker highlights that it is in fact *not* a surprise that the lonely man happily accepted the woman as his partner, an effect underscored by the tag *non* 'no, of course'.

- (24) **Ebĕ**, sete yō vye kô ki pa te ni zāfā, epi
 well there-was INDEFold body who not PAST have child and
 'Well, there was an old fellow who was childless, and

madam-li vini mō.²⁸
 wife his came dead
 his wife died.'

(Taylor 1977: 240, Ma' Bernard Folktale Two, gloss mine)

- (25) **Ebĕ**, mahwi -a pwā sjimē -y; i ale, i ale.
 well husband DEF took way his he went he went
 'Well, the husband set out on his way: he went on and on.'
 (Taylor 1977: 236, 238, Ma' Bernard Folktale One, gloss mine)

²⁸ Notice that this and other examples drawn from the Taylor (1977) Ma' Bernard Folktales were transcribed before the modern-day official orthography for Kwéyòl Donmnik was developed, thus some words differ slightly in spelling and diacritics from those drawn from the more current London Corpus. For example, nasal vowels are indicated by a tilde rather than by following the vowel with *n*. Spelling in the Corpus Créole, too, differs slightly. For instance, sometimes words that would contain a *w* (e.g., *apwézan* 'presently') are written with an *r* (e.g., *aprézan* 'presently').

- (26) **Ebê**, nôm- la pwã -y pu fê mun -li nõ.
 well man DEF took her to make mate his no
 ‘Well, the man took her as his mate, to be sure!’
 (Taylor 1977: 239, 240, Ma’ Bernard Folktale Two, gloss mine)

Like (*eh*) *ben* and *well*, *èben* can be used in the Creole to revisit a topic that has been abandoned or interrupted. In (27), Speaker A is interrupted in the middle of giving Speaker B instructions to visit the widow of a man who has recently died and to give the widow a cardboard box. After reminding Speaker B of the widow’s name, A returns to giving instructions, and *èben* marks this shift.

- (27) A: Am, non, pli ta mon ké mété katon
 um no more late I FUT put cardboard box
 ‘Um, no, later I will put the cardboard box

-la andidan lapòt madanm -la ba ’y.
 DEF in door woman DEF for her
 In the wife’s door for her.’

- B: Ki non ’y ankò?
 what name her again
 ‘What’s her name again?’

- A: S.
 S
 ‘S.’²⁹

[...]

- A: Mé sé ou ki di ou pa sa “remember” non,
 but is you who said you not that remember name
 ‘But it’s you who said you cannot remember

non fanm -la.
 name woman DEF
 the woman’s name.’

- B: Wi, mwen ké chonjé.
 yes I FUT remember
 ‘Yes, I will remember.’

²⁹ To protect the identities of my London Corpus contributors and their loved ones, I have redacted any names they mention down to a first initial.

A: Oké.
okay
'Okay.'

B: Chonje, chonjé, wi.
remember remember yes
'Remember, Remember, yes.'

A: **Èben** lè 'w alé la, di S mon di, am, "my
well when you go there tell S I said erm my
'**Well** when you go there, tell S I said, erm, my

condolences".
condolences
condolences.'

(Dialogue, London Corpus, EDf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

Èben is also similar to its superstate counterparts in that speakers can use it to facilitate self-repairs and reformulations. This was illustrated by the utterance-medial example in (20) above.

Both *well*, whose lexical counterpart is the adverb *well*, and (*eh*) *ben*, which "is a reduced form of the adverb *bien* ['well']" (Barnes 1995: 816), retain links to evaluation and acceptance among their many functions. For example, both can be used to soften the impact of undesirable responses, such as replies that are indirect, inadequate, or delayed or that even express outright disagreement or objection to what the interlocutor has uttered (Barnes 1995: 816, Beeching 2011: 99, Jucker 1997: 97, and Cuenca 2008: 1380 regarding *well*; Barnes 1995: 816 and Bruxelles & Traverso 2001: 45 about (*eh*) *ben*). They can also express a speaker's concession or partial agreement/acceptance of something (Bruxelles & Traverso 2001: 47 about (*eh*) *ben*; Beeching 2011: 99 with respect to *well*). Examples (28) and (29) below illustrate these two markers' introducing undesirable responses. In (28), notice that "most likely, for Speaker F, stopping to have a drink is not a sufficient reason for a tourist to visit a locality" (Barnes 1995: 817). In (29), *well* marks the start of an outright contradiction of what Speaker A has said.

(28) F. Mais qu'est-ce que tu veux qu'ils aillent foutre dans un
but what-is-that that you want that-they go do³⁰ in INDEF
'But what do you want them to do in a

³⁰ Note that use of the word *foutre* to mean 'do', rather than the more neutral word *faire* 'do', imposes a vulgar reading.

petit village de province?
 little village of province
 little provincial village?’

L. **Ben** ils peuvent s’arrêter là pour prendre un pot là.
 well they can themselves-stop there to take a drink there.
 ‘**Well** they can stop there to have a drink.’
 (Barnes 1995: 817, gloss and translation mine)

(29) A: But we now have a number of experts who are watching those tax receipt numbers that come in regularly. And they are saying that they do not add up to what is anything like the kind of growth that the administration had projected off these tax cuts?

B: **Well**, actually, overall revenues are up about 10 percent. So that's a pretty good number.
 (Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)

Similarly, *èben*, too can introduce undesirable responses and even indicate begrudging agreement or acceptance. Both functions are illustrated in (30) below, the first portion of which was already provided in example (6) in Chapter 1. After Speaker A reminds Speaker B that B’s car is not in any condition to drive to the widow’s house, Speaker B uses *èben* to introduce a response that her interlocutor will not like: that Speaker A will simply have to make the delivery herself on foot. Speaker A’s next utterance is also introduced by *èben* and expresses her unhappy acceptance of B’s response.

(30) A: So, kouman’w kè fè alé la? Ou pa sa
 so how you FUT be-able go there you not that
 ‘So, how will you be able to go there? You can’t

mété motoka’w asou chimen-la.
 put car your on road DEF
 put your car on the road.’

B: **Èben** ou ké ni pou maché la ou menm.
 well you FUT have to walk there you self
 ‘**Well** you will have to walk there yourself.’

A: **Èben** sé sa ki mon ni fè; mon menm ké alé
 well is that what I have to-do I self FUT go
 ‘**Well** that is what I have to do; I myself will go

la. Mon pa “mind”.
 there I not mind
 there. I don’t mind.’

(Dialogue, London Corpus, Edf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

Despite their extensive functional overlap, there are differences between the two superstrate markers. Only French (*eh*) *ben* is associated with underscoring comparisons and contrasts (Hansen 1998: 288) and with introducing illustrative examples and other elaborative information related to the current topic of conversation (Hansen 1998: 289, Bruxelles & Traverso 2001: 44). Both of these functions are performed by Kwéyòl Donmnik *èben*. For example, in (31) below, the Kalinago chief uses the marker to underscore a comparison between how he and his staff used to be paid annually and the monthly pay system that was instituted later in his term. In (32), the same speaker has been telling the interviewer about the treaty that officially granted the Kalinago the territory they have today. He uses *èben* here to indicate that he is about to elaborate on a related side-topic: the actual signing process by which the treaty was approved.

(31) [...] mè lè mwen menm té rantré [...] chef kwayib
 but when I self PAST become chief carib
 ‘...but when I myself became...Kalinago chief

yo té ban nou on ti lajan pa (adan) lanné [...]
 they PAST give us INDEF little money per in year
 they gave us a little money per (in a) year

èben dépi aprésa yo désann yo té ka ban nou on
 well since after-that they decided they PAST PROG give us INDEF
well since then they decided they gave us a

ti lamonné pa mwa
 little money per month
 little money per month’

(Interview, Corpus Créole, gloss and translation mine)

(32) **Èben** sé biten -sala i té ni menm WITNESS té ka
 well PL thing DEM there PAST have even witness PAST PROG
 ‘**Well** there were even witnesses who were

siyé anba a y komki THEN yo siyé on on kontra
 sign below ah they like then they sign INDEF contract
 signing below on those things like they sign a contract'
 (Interview, Corpus Créole, gloss and translation mine)³¹

Well, too, has functions it does not share with French (*eh ben*). It is reported to introduce closing remarks that bring an end to the discourse (Cuenca 2008: 1388); to express — often negative — emotional reactions like indignation, disappointment, or sadness (Beeching 2011: 98 citing Corréard et al. 2007); to mitigate the impact of a face-threatening utterance³² (Jucker 1997: 97, Beeching 2011: 99); and to signal that the speaker wishes to hold or reclaim the floor, such as by “fill[ing] interactional silences” (Jucker 1997: 97).

Kwéyòl *èben* performs some of these functions, too. Like *well*, it can bring the discourse to an end by introducing a concluding remark, as shown in (19) above in which a speaker uses it to bring her picture book narration to an end. The token of *èben* in (21) above illustrates how this marker can also express an emotional reaction. There, the speaker is insisting that despite her interlocutor’s disbelief, she and her husband do in fact take a bottle of wine to London Fields to enjoy it there together. In addition to underscoring the surprising nature of this information, the use of *èben* here expresses the speaker’s frustration at her interlocutor’s continued skepticism. *Èben* can even be used to indicate that the speaker has not yet completed their contribution to the discourse, as illustrated by examples like (27) above. In (27), Speaker A is not yet finished giving Speaker B instructions but is interrupted when Speaker B asks for the widow’s name. To facilitate her return to the contribution she was making to the conversation pre-interruption and to maintain control of the floor, Speaker A uses *èben*.

In addition to functions that align with those of French (*eh ben*) and/or English *well*, Kwéyòl *èben* has uses that are not reported in the literature with respect to its superstrate counterparts. One apparent difference is that, when introducing a face-threatening utterance, *èben* does not appear to have the mitigating or attenuating affect *well* is reported to have in English. In fact, it emphasizes the pointedness of an uncomfortable or insulting question, as shown in (33) and (34) below. The effect is further underscored by the inclusion of utterance-final tags like *then* or the British English marker *ennit* ‘isn’t it’.

³¹ The Corpus Créole transcriptions indicate English items integrated into Kwéyòl utterances by using all-caps. The same phenomenon is sometimes indicated in the London Corpus transcriptions using quotation marks, though frequent words of English origin like *so* are often left unmarked in the London Corpus.

³² In the subfield of pragmatics that centers on politeness, *face* is understood to be “an individual’s publicly manifest self-esteem” (Goffman 1967, cited by Brown 2017: 386). Insults and other aggressive utterances threaten the listener’s face.

- (33) A: Oké. “So”, mwen ni pou kwiyé yo?
 okay so I have to call them
 ‘OK. So, I have to call them?’
- B: Wi. I di mon, o, i di mon pou kwiyé yo
 yes she said me or she said me to call them
 ‘Yes. She told me, or, she told me to call them
- kon mwen èvè ’w.
 as I with you
 as I’m with you.
- A: **Èben**, poutji ou pa fè sa “then”?
 well why you not done that then
 ‘**Well**, why haven’t you done that then?’
 (Dialogue, London Corpus, EDf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

- (34) A: Mon menm sé ..., jik kò -mwen, mon menm ka gadé
 I self is even body my I self PROG watch
 ‘I myself it is..., even myself, I myself watch
- foutbòl apwézan.
 football now
 football now.’
- B: **Èben** ou pa ni anyen pou fè, “ennit”?
 well you not have anything to do ennit
 ‘**Well** you don’t have anything to do, “ennit”?’
 (Dialogue, London Corpus, EDf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

Èben also has a result-marking function not reported for *well*. This is demonstrated in (35) below. Here, the marker highlights that, as a result of the gradual arrival of Kalinago individuals to the scene of a conflict with the local police, the courtyard where the scene took place became full of people.

- (35) [...] yo komansé vini yonn pa yonn
 they started come one by one
 ‘They started to come one by one
- èben** lè yo vini yonn pa yonn aprézan lakou -a
 well when they came one by one then courtyard DEF
well when they came one by one then the courtyard

koumansé plen
became full
became full'

(Interview, Corpus Créole, gloss and translation mine)

Finally, *èben* can signal that the speaker is waiting on the listener to take the floor and claim their turn to speak. Here below in (36), the Kalinago chief has finished answering the interviewer's previous question and uses *èben* to indicate that he is awaiting the next, which the interviewer supplies. This function, along with its result-marking and face-threatening functions, actually resemble uses of English items like *so*, the counterpart of Kwéyòl *konsa*, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

(36) A: **Èben**
 well
 'Well'

B: Èskè aprézan [...] yo ka mandé w ti avi?
 Is-it-that now they PROG ask you your opinion
 'These days, do they ask you your opinion?'

(Interview, Corpus Créole, gloss and translation mine)

Thanks to its wide functional range, the orientation of Kwéyòl *èben*, like that of English *well* or French (*eh*) *ben*, can be forward, backward, or both simultaneously. In other words, it can provide discourse-pragmatic information about the utterance that follows it (forward orientation), as it does when introducing a new topic. It can also respond to the preceding discourse chunk (backward orientation), such as when it is used to indicate partial or begrudging acceptance of what an interlocutor has just uttered. The marker can also highlight a relationship between preceding and upcoming information, a combined forward/backward orientation it displays when highlighting a contrast or comparison, for instance.

Also like its superstrate counterparts, *èben* tends to take within its scope the entirety of the propositional content of the utterance(s) it modifies. For example, when introducing a new topic, it indicates that the meaning conveyed by the entire utterance it precedes constitutes the start of new material. An exception is when *èben* is used to facilitate a mid-utterance self-repair. In these cases, the marker modifies only the repaired portion of the utterance.

5.2 Features and functions of *well* in Kwéyòl utterances

During my corpus analysis, I found only five tokens of English *well*, all of which surfaced in the London Corpus and were transferred directly into the accompanying English translation as *well*. Two of these tokens were accompanied by other markers: *o* ‘oh’ and *an han* ‘uh huh’. The features of *well* in the corpora aligned closely with those reported for English *well* in the literature. As illustrated below in (37) and (38), *well* was usually integrated into an utterance in either initial or medial position. However, tokens of pragmatic markers like the *well* in (39) are best categorized as free-standing; here, *well* and *o* ‘oh’ are a pair of pragmatic items occurring alone as a collocation without accompanying details.

- (37) Èvè, “**well**” [...] pon panyen-a.
And well take basket DEF
‘And, **well** [...] take the basket.’
(Silent Film Discussion, London Corpus, SMf59 & PJf58, gloss mine)

- (38) A: I di i lè wè ..., i lé palé ba ’w.
she said she wants see she wants talk to you
‘She said she wants to see ..., she wants to talk to you.’

- B: An han! “**Well**”, nou palé.
ah ha well we spoke
‘ah ha! **Well**, we spoke.’
(Dialogue, London Corpus, SLM82 & FMLf80, gloss mine)

- (39) O, “**well**”. I ka alé.
oh well he PROG go
‘Oh, **well**. He is going.’
(Book Narration, London Corpus, SLM82, gloss mine)

One token’s function was unclear because the speaker was interrupted mid-utterance, but the other tokens displayed known capacities of English *well*, such as expressing the speaker’s partial acceptance, expressing their emotional reaction, and introducing undesirable responses. For instance, in (39) above, the speaker has reached a point in the wordless picture book’s plot where a mischievous frog has been reprimanded by his owner and is depicted walking away from his group of animal friends. The speaker’s use of *well* here, combined with *oh*, expresses sadness and a resigned acceptance of the frog’s choice to leave. Meanwhile, examples like (38) above introduce undesirable responses in that they contradict or correct the listener, such as Speaker B telling A that she had already spoken with the person B said wanted to talk to her.

Because the functions it displayed in the Kwéyòl corpus data were among those reported for *well* as it is used in English utterances, the tokens also displayed English *well*'s same tendency to modify the entire propositional content of the utterances they accompanied and its ability to take on forward, backward, or simultaneous forward/backward orientation.

Based on the results of my corpus analysis of *èben* 'well' and *well* in the Kwéyòl Donnik data sources in comparison with the literature on French (*eh*) *ben* 'well' and English *well*, I have constructed the summarizing table below.

	Èben	(Eh) Ben	Well	Well (in corpora)
Utterance Placement:	Initial	Initial	Initial	Initial
	Medial	Medial	Medial	Medial
	Free	Free	Free	Free
Degree of Integration:	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated
	Free	Free	Free	Free
Orientation:	Forward	Forward	Forward	Forward
	Backward	Backward	Backward	Backward
	Forward/Backward	Forward/Backward	Forward/Backward	Forward/Backward
Scope:	Full Proposition	Full Proposition	Full Proposition	Full Proposition
	Constituent	Constituent	Constituent	
Discourse-Pragmatic Functions:	New Topic	New Topic	New Topic	
	Abandoned Topic	Abandoned Topic	Abandoned Topic	
	Self-Repair	Self-Repair	Self-Repair	
		Reported Discourse	Reported Discourse	
	Undesirable Response	Undesirable Response	Undesirable Response	Undesirable Response
	Concession	Concession	Concession	Concession
	Contrast	Contrast		
	Elaboration	Elaboration		
	Concluding Remark		Concluding Remark	
	Emotional Reaction		Emotional Reaction	Emotional Reaction
	Face-Threat			
			Face-Threat Mitigator	
	Floor-Holding		Floor-Holding	
	Result			
Floor-Ceding				

Table 6. Functional overlap table for Kwéyòl *èben* 'well', French (*eh*) *ben* 'well', English *well*, and English *well* as it arises in the Kwéyòl corpus data sources

5.3 Features and functions of *konsa* 'so'

The Kwéyòl marker *konsa*, which appeared thirty times across the corpus data sources, is used in Kwéyòl alongside its rough English equivalent *so* and derives its form from French (*ou*) *comme ça* '(or) like that'. Of the twenty-two tokens of *konsa* that were not omitted from the English or French translations, fifteen were translated as *so*, two each as *therefore*, *alors* 'then/so', and *donc* 'therefore/so', and one as *c'est ainsi que* 'thus'. Only one token of *konsa* surfaced alongside another pragmatic element in the corpus transcripts (English *alright*) and all but a single free-standing example (see (40) below) were integrated into an utterance in either

initial (twenty-four tokens, see (41) below), medial (four tokens, see (42) below), or final position (one token, see (43) below). While this position distribution aligns with English *so*, which is typically utterance initial but can also surface as utterance-medial, -final, or free, this feature of *konsa* differs from that of the French pragmatic marker (*ou*) *comme ça*, which tends not to occur in initial position.

(40) A: Èvè jòdi mwen isit -la èvè 'w, èvè dèmen mon
 and today I here DEF with you and tomorrow I
 'And today I'm here with you, and tomorrow I

ni pou alé, am, fizyo.
 have to go erm physiotherapy
 have to go, erm, to physio[therapy].'

B: Wi, èvè...
 yes and
 'Yes, and...'

A: **Konsa...**
 so
 'So...'

B: Fizyo -la ké wédé 'w.
 Physiotherapist DEF FUT help you
 'The physio will help you.
 (Dialogue, London Corpus, Edf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

(41) Sa pa bon. **Konsa** mwen ka di 'w: pa fè sa ankò.
 that not good so I PROG say you not do that again
 'That's not good. **So** I'm telling you: don't do that again.'
 (Book Narration, London Corpus, HMMf63, gloss mine)

(42) Mé toutmoun ka gadé, mé gwo "frog" -la pa enmen sa,
 but everyone PROF look but big frog DEF not like that
 'But everyone is looking, but the big frog does not like that,
 é **konsa** mon doubout èvè mon ka gadé yo, pou vwè sa
 and so I stood and I PROG look them to see what
 and **so** I stood and I was looking at them, to see what

yo ka fè.
 they PROG do
 they are doing.'
 (Book Narration, London Corpus, HMMf63, gloss mine)

- (43) pis nonm té ka séré toupatou an bwa toupatou **konsa**.
 thus men PAST PROG hide everywhere in tree everywhere so
 ‘thus the men hid everywhere, in the trees, everywhere **so**.’
 (Interview, Corpus Créole, gloss and translation mine)

Note that there is also a phrase in Kwéyòl Donmnik, *kon sa*, which is not a pragmatic marker and was not included in my corpus analysis. It retains the literal meanings of its components (*kon* ‘like’ *sa* ‘this/that’) and is illustrated in (44) below. Here, Speaker A is telling Speaker B where to place a beanbag during the Stacks and Squares pattern-building task. To ask whether Speaker A has correctly followed the instructions, Speaker B uses *kon sa* ‘like this/that’. Speaker B uses the same phrase to respond.

- (44) A: Wi, mété ’y douvan.
 yes put it in-front
 ‘Yes, put it in front.’
- B: Douvan wouj -la?
 in-front red there
 ‘In front of the red one?’
- A: Wi. Non, non, pa ti wouj -la; anlè menm gwo -la.
 yes no no not little red DEF on-top same big DEF
 ‘Yes. No, no, not the small red one; on the same big one.’
- B: **Kon sa?**
 like this
 ‘**Like this?**’
- A: Wi, wi, **kon sa**.
 yes yes like that
 ‘Yes, yes, **like that**.’
 (Stacks & Squares, London Corpus, EDf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

The pragmatic marker *konsa*’s French counterpart, *comme ça* ‘like that’ (which also surfaces as *ou comme ça* ‘or like that’), has been most closely examined in Swiss varieties of French and is characterized as a hedge or list extension particle indicating uncertainty or approximation (Corminboeuf 2016, Béguelin & Corminboeuf 2017). Meanwhile, English *so* is associated in the literature with highlighting inferential, resultative connections (Schiffrin 1987, Buysse 2014, Bolden 2009, Blackmore 1988, 2002) and with (re)launching topics that are on the *conversational agenda* (Bolden 2008, 2006): topics that are relevant because they are already

“pending” (Bolden 2008: 306) or are otherwise tied to the speaker’s main communicative objectives.

Despite these differences, however, these two superstrate markers do share functional overlaps. (*Ou*) *comme ça* can be used to highlight reported discourse (Béguelin & Corminboeuf 2017: 13-15) and to facilitate self-repairs (Béguelin & Corminboeuf 2017: 13-15, Corminboeuf 2016: 9), as illustrated in (45) and (46) below. I found *so* performing both of these functions as well when I searched for fill-in-the-blank excerpts in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (see examples (47) and (48) below). Surprisingly, however, I did not find examples of Kwéyòl *konsa* marking the start of reported discourse or facilitating self-repairs in any of the corpus documents.

- (45) [...] ah vous auriez dû me dire que je pouvais faire
 ah you have should me said that I could do
 ‘...ah you should have said to me that I could do

ça ou comme ça [...]
 that or like that
 that **or [something] like that...**’

(Béguelin & Corminboeuf 2017: 15, gloss and translation mine)

- (46) c’est comme d’ ailleurs tous les grands peintres Picasso euh +
 it-is like of elsewhere all the big painters Picasso uh
 ‘Speaking of which it’s like all the major painters Picasso uh —

Braque ils ont ils ont tous senti +
 Braque they have they have all felt
 Braque they they all felt

les choses même s’ ils ont fait des peintures euh ++++ euh +
 the things even if they have done some paintings uh uh
 the things even if they created paintings uh —

surréalistes **ou comme ça** [...] ³³
 surrealist or like that
 [that were] surrealist **or [something] like that...**’

(Béguelin & Corminboeuf 2017: 13, gloss and translation mine).

³³ It appears this author used ‘+’ rather than ‘—’ to indicate pauses and false starts.

- (47) I want you to think about it from a parent's point of view. If you walk in from a hard day and your son said to you, **so**, dad, how was your day today? Did you answer all of your e-mails? How was your presentation? How did it go? Did you get your promotion? Why not? Aren't you going to be exhausted and shut down?
(Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)
- (48) Well, I — **so**. I mean, she — you know, she said in — in — in a recent interview in — in Rolling Stone, you know, that — that she loved Princess Leia. Princess Leia was — was feisty.
(Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)

As mentioned previously, *so* can also be used to “indicat[e] to the hearer that some kind of inferential connection between...two propositions needs to be made” (Bolden 2009: 976, summarizing Blakemore 1988, 2002), often by introducing a result or other conclusion that follows from the preceding discourse. This is the function it performs in (49) below. The portion following the marker can, however, be elided or implicit, leaving it up to the listener to infer the result or conclusion; this version of *so*'s inference-marking function is displayed in (50). Here, after outlining their defense of a survey they conducted, Speaker B ends their turn with *so*, leaving Speaker A to infer that the survey is indeed reliable.

- (49) And the fact of the matter is we've had so many films that are centered around the black experience from a period point of view that are about us being subservient or us being brow-beaten. **So**, you know, we had to go out and let people know this is a celebration...
(Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)
- (50) A: Robyn, I want to ask you about that survey where you surveyed a lot of investors; a lot of them seemed quite confident. How reliable is that survey, and who did you survey for that?
- B: Well, the survey is actually one that we conduct with Gallup, so partnering with Gallup we end up every month surveying over 100 — over 1,000 investors, and it varies from month to month, so it's not a same segment every month. And the results are ones that we do have confidence in, **so**.
(Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)

Inference and elided information are also central to a function of French (*ou*) *comme ça*, which can be used either to express confidence that the listener can infer the rest of an incomplete enumeration or to acknowledge the existence of other relevant items that the speaker could potentially list if they chose to continue providing examples (Béguelin & Corminboeuf 2017: 11-12). Note that this incomplete or elided list may contain multiple entries followed by

(*ou*) *comme ça*, or simply a single prototypical example followed by the marker. This function is illustrated below in (51). Rather than spell out all the humanitarian activities they could possibly engage in, the speaker provides a single example and ends their utterance with *ou comme ça*.

- (51) j' avais décidé de faire euh quelque chose de peut-être
 I had decided to do uh some thing of maybe
 'I had decided to do uh something maybe
- humanitaire + d' aller dans un orphelinat **ou** **comme ça**
 humanitarian – of to-go in an orphanage or like that
 humanitarian to go to an orphanage **or [something] like that**
 (Béguelin & Corminboeuf 2017: 11, gloss and translation mine)

This ability to suggest an inferential connection is shared by Kwéyòl *konsa*, which has an inference-marking function that closely resembles that of English *so*. See in example (52) below how *konsa* was translated as *therefore* in the corpus and indicates that because the speaker anticipates many people will attend a Kwéyòl cultural event that she will attend as a vendor to sell her wares. Like (*ou*) *comme ça*, *Konsa* can also be used to mark the elision or intentional incompleteness of a list, which was illustrated in (43) above; rather than list all the places Kalinago men hid from the police during a time of conflict, the chief simply gives a single example, emphasizes they were *toupatou* 'everywhere', and ends his utterance with *konsa*.

- (52) La ké ni anpil moun ka vann biten.
 there FUT have a-lot person PROG sell thing
 'There will be a lot of people selling things.
- Konsa**, mwen ka 'y fe 'y.
 so I PROG it do it
Therefore, I'm going to do it.'
 (Dialogue, London Corpus, SMf59 & PJf58, gloss mine)

So and (*ou*) *comme ça* are also similar in that they have floor-holding capabilities (Buysse 2014: 83, Bolden 2009: 976, summarizing Local & Walker 2005). Like *well*, English speakers can use *so* to indicate that, despite "a digression or an aside" (Buysse 2014: 83), they wish to continue speaking. (*Ou*) *comme ça*, meanwhile, is referred to in the literature as a *punctuant* 'punctuator' when performing its floor-holding use (Corminboeuf 2016: 5). Pragmatic markers with this function indicate that the speaker's discourse contribution is not yet finished by *punctuating* or *segmenting* utterances into digestible portions, such as intonational groupings

(Corminboeuf 2016: 10) or crucial chunks of information (Dostie 2007: 54), as the speaker moves from one relevant idea to the next.

Konsa displayed both of these versions of floor-holding in the corpus texts. In example (53), notice how, much like English *so*, *konsa* is used as the Kalinago chief returns to his central narrative (how the police illegally arrested the wife of a Kalinago merchant for selling merchandise without a permit) after digressing into an aside about other owners of less prominent businesses who were also selling merchandise without permits at the time.³⁴ Next, in (54), the speaker uses *konsa* to punctuate her step-by-step narration of the actions of a farmhand in the silent film; the farmhand is tempted to eat one of the pears he has picked but decides to act with integrity and return it to the basket.

(53) A: [...] madanm-la tousèl té la yo HANDCUFF madanm-la
 wife DEF alone PAST there they handcuffed wife DEF
 ‘...only the wife was there. They handcuffed the wife.’

B: wé
 yes
 ‘Yes’

A: épi yo [...] monté jik anho koté mouché JAMES
 and they climbed to up by mister James
 ‘And they climbed up to Mister James’ place

ola yo ka vann sé biten -la osi mouché JAMES
 where they PROG sell PL thing DEF also Mister James
 where they were also selling the merchandise. Mister James,

mouché Pyè tousa té ka vann sé biten -la san lisans
 mister Pierre all PAST PROG sell PL thing DEF without permit
 Mister Pierre, all of them were selling the merchandise without a permit,

mé sété pli gran boutik -la sété isi
 but was most big store DEF was here
 but the biggest shop was here.

konsa yo HANDCUFF madanm-la [...] **so**
 so they handcuffed wife DEF
So they handcuffed the wife...’

(Interview, Corpus Créole, gloss and translation mine)

³⁴ According to the Kalinago Chief’s account, members of the indigenous community were permitted to sell merchandise without a permit under certain conditions at the time of the event he is narrating here, making the police’s actions unlawful.

- (54) A: **Konsa**, i té vlé yonn di yo.
 so he PAST want one of them
 ‘So, he wanted one of them.’
- Konsa**, i té ka alé nétwayé pou manjé ’y.
 so he PAST PROG go clean to eat it
 ‘So, he was going to clean to eat it.’
- B: Oké.
 okay
 ‘Okay.’
- A: I fè konmsidi i té..., moun -la té ni an
 he acted like he PAST person DEF PAST have INDEF
 ‘He acted as if he had..., the person had a
 “conscience”. **Konsa** i di i pa ka ’y pwan ’y.
 conscience so he said he not PROG it take it
 conscience. So he said he’s not going to take it.’
- B: Oké.
 okay
 ‘Okay.’
- A: **Konsa**, i mété ’y viwé andidan “basket” -la, èvè i
 so he put it back in basket DEF and he
 ‘So, he put it back in the basket, and he
 viwé twavay.
 went-back work
 went back to work.’

(Silent Film Discussion, London Corpus, EDf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

French (*ou*) *comme ça* can also perform other discourse-pragmatic functions that are not reported in the literature for *so*, such as indicating that a quantity or figure is approximate or lacks precision (Béguelin & Corminboeuf 2017: 10) or introducing a request for confirmation (Corminboeuf 2016: 4), as illustrated in (55) and (56) below. Much like English *well*, it can also stand alone as an evasive, uncooperative response to a question (Corminboeuf 2016: 5), as seen in (57). Perhaps I did not find the first of these three functions — indicating approximation — reported in the literature on *so* because, much like *comme ça*, it seems to require *or* to perform it (e.g., *There were only fifty people or so at the concert tonight*).

(55) leur fille aînée qui a + je sais pas quel âge elle a
 their daughter older who has I know not what age she has
 ‘their older daughter who is — I don’t know how old she is

en fait enfin elle a une trentaine d’ années **ou** **comme**
 in fact well she has a thirty of years or like
 actually well she is thirty years old **or [something] like**

ça
 that
that’

(Béguelin & Corminboeuf 2017: 10)

(56) [...] alors **comme** **ça** vous êtes flic?
 so like that you are cop
 ‘...so **then** you are a cop?’

(Corminboeuf 2016: 4, citing Malle 1960, gloss and translation mine)

(57) [...] — Je n’ osais pas te le demander.
 I NEG dared not you it to-ask
 ‘I didn’t dare ask you.’

— Pourquoi pas ?
 why not
 ‘Why not ?’

— **Comme** **ça**.
 like that
 ‘Well.’

(Corminboeuf 2016: 5, citing Ramuz 1940, gloss and translation mine)

Of these three functions of French (*ou*) *comme ça* (indicating approximation, requesting confirmation, and responding evasively), I found Kwéyòl *konsa* to have taken on the second: a request for confirmation. An example of this is provided in (58) below (also in 4.1 as example (13)). Notice how Speaker A uses *konsa* to begin a question that requests confirmation of an inference she has already drawn: that Speaker B is not going to work that day.

(58) A : Bonjou.
 good-day
 ‘Hello’

B : Bonjou manm’. Sa ka fèt?
 good-day mother. What PROG happen
 ‘Hello mother. What’s happening?’

- A : Sa 'w ka fè jòdi?
 what you PROG do today
 'What are you doing today?'
- B : Mon menm pa menm konnèt, non.
 I myself not even know, no
 'I myself don't even know, no.'
- A : **Konsa**, ou pa ka, am, twavay?
 so you not PROG um work
 'So, you're not going to work?'
- B : Wi, pli ta.
 yes more late
 'Yes, later.'
- B : Mon menm, mwen pa ka twavay jòdi pis...
 I self I not PROG work today because
 'I myself, I am not working today because...'
- A : Ou pa byen.
 you NEG well
 'You are not well.'
- B : Mon pa byen.
 I not well
 'I am not well.'

(Dialogue, London Corpus, Speakers EDf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

Though requesting confirmation is not a function I found listed in the literature for *so*, this function and the example above of *konsa* performing it do call to mind one of *so*'s documented functions: acting as a "marker of connection" (Howe 1991: 93, cited by Bolden 2008: 306). Use of *so* suggests familiarity or common ground between the interlocutors, and it introduces an utterance that appeals to or reiterates some aspect of their shared knowledge. In other words, *so* "highlight[s] the speaker's involvement in the addressee's life world" (Bolden 2006, cited by Bolden 2008: 306). In example (58) above, notice how Speaker A asking about B's work plans for the day is rooted in the interlocutor's shared knowledge that B has not been feeling well lately.

In addition to underscoring common ground between interlocutors, English *so* is associated in the literature with launching new topics or reintroducing abandoned topics, particularly ones that are central to the speaker's agenda (Bolden 2009: 996, Bolden 2008: 3012).

This capacity for introducing the speaker’s subject of interest is illustrated in (59) below. *So* can also be “deployed as a stand-alone unit to prompt the addressee to produce the next relevant action” (Bolden 2008: 306, summarizing Raymond 2004), such as taking their turn to speak (Buysse 2014: 31). In (60) we see *so* perform this as a free-standing utterance; in (61), it is accompanied by further prompting content.

- (59) A: Dr. Nieca Goldberg is the medical director of New York University's Women's Health Program.
 B: Good to see you.
 A: **So**, first of all, what is osteoporosis?
 (Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)
- (60) A: But the other thing I do really want to get to is what is going on in Israel with the Palestinians. **So**...
 B: Yes. Well, first, on Israel, I want to know what the Israeli strategy long-term is.
 (Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)
- (61) **So**, Karen, what do you make of this?
 (Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)

In the corpus texts, Kwéyòl *konsa* only resembled *so*’s agenda-(re)launching uses when a speaker employed it as a floor-holding device that transitioned the discourse back to the central topic; this function was discussed earlier in this section and illustrated in (53) above. I did, however, find that *konsa*, when uttered alone, performs the action or “turn-transition prompt” function that Buysse (2014: 30) reported for *so*. An example of this use is (40) at the beginning of this section. Here, the speaker utters *konsa* and then trails off, inviting the listener to speak. The same “trail-off...us[e] of this marker” (Bolden 2009: 976, summarizing Local and Walker 2005) has been reported for *so*.

Konsa’s orientation is usually forward and backward simultaneously, an outcome that is to be expected given that, like English *so*, it is often used to highlight inferred connections between the content that precedes it and the content that follows, even if that post-marker content is elided or implicit. Possible exceptions are when *konsa* is used utterance-finally to indicate the incompleteness of a list or to prompt a turn-transition. One might consider the former a case of backward orientation, a pattern also associated with instances of French (*ou*) *comme ça* in which the marker indicates that the preceding content has been cut short or elided. Meanwhile, the latter prompts new content and is more forward-oriented.

Except for when *konsa* indicates the incompleteness of a list and thus modifies only the portion of the utterance that contains the list of one or more examples, this marker, like *so*, takes within its scope the entirety of the propositional content of the utterance(s) adjacent to it. For example, when used to suggest an inferential connection, *konsa* indicates that the content of the utterance that follows the marker (the conclusion, result, outcome, etc.) can be inferred from the content of the preceding utterance.

5.4 Features and functions of *so* in Kwéyòl utterances

Unlike English *well*, English *so* was very prominently featured in the corpus transcripts and was even more frequent than its Kwéyòl counterpart *konsa* at thirty-nine tokens. Each token was either transferred directly into the English translations that accompanied the London Corpus and Ma' Bernard Folktales (thirty tokens); translated as *alors* 'then/so' (three tokens), *donc* 'therefore/so' (one token), *ensuite* 'then' (one token), or *en fin de compte* 'ultimately' (one token) in the French translation of the Corpus Créole; or omitted from the translation documents altogether (three tokens). With respect to collocational patterns, ten tokens of *so* surfaced alongside other pragmatic elements, including *bon* 'well', *oké* 'okay', *èben* 'well', *wi* 'yes', and *apwézan* 'presently'. *So* was almost always integrated into a larger utterance whose entire content it modified (thirty-seven tokens) and was either in initial (thirty tokens, see example (62) below) or medial position (seven tokens, see example (63) below). However, there were two free-standing tokens as well, one of which is displayed in example (64) below.

- (62) “So” mwen ni pou wèsté yonn koté.
 so I have to stay one place
 ‘So I have to stay in one place.’
 (Dialogue, London Corpus, SMF59 & PJf58, gloss mine)

- (63) Sa ki ka tonbé èvè fè malonnèt -la, i ka swiv yo
 that which PROG fall and do ungrateful DEF it PROG follow them
 ‘The one that is falling and the ungrateful one, it is following them

apwézan, “so”, apwézan, tibway -la ni chyen ’y,
 now so now boy DEF has dog his
 now, so, right now the boy has his dog,

“tortoise”-li, èvè dé “frog” -la, èvè yo pati.
 Tortoise his and two frog DEF and they left
 his tortoise, and the two frogs, and they left.’
 (Book Narration, London Corpus, EDf82, gloss mine)

(64) I ni, i ka asid kon i fè yon biten èvè yo
 it has it PROG sit like it did INDEFthing and they
 ‘It has, it is sitting like it did something and they are

pa kontan sa. “So”.
 not happy that so
 not happy about that. So.’

(Book Narration, London Corpus, PJf58, gloss mine)

Some of the functions this marker performed in the Kwéyòl corpus aligned completely with those reported for English *so* in the literature. For example, *so* was often used to indicate an inferential connection between propositions, as it does in (65) below between the fact that both Speaker A and her friend D have a background in jewelry-making and their decision to attend an event together as vendors. Thus, like most instances of English *so* as it is discussed in the literature, the tokens of *so* in the corpora were usually oriented forward and backward simultaneously. *So* was also used once with a forward orientation to raise a new topic, like in (66) where Speaker A uses the first token of *so* to introduce a new subject after a lull in the conversation.

(65) A: Am, mé zanmi -mwèn D, i té ka vann, am, tibwen
 Ah but friend my D she PAST PRGO sell erm some
 ‘Ah, but my friend D, she was selling, erm, some

bijou ki i té kwéyé i menm akay -li.
 jewelry which she PAST make her self house her
 jewelry which she made herself at home.

I té fè yon kous andan kouman pou kwéyé bijou...
 I PAST do INDEFcourse on how to make jewelry
 I did a course on how to create jewelry...’

B: A! bijou?
 Ah jewellery
 ‘Ah! Jewellery?’

A: Èvè ’y té ka vann yo, “so” nou té alé asanm
 and she PAST PROG sell them so we PAST go together
 ‘And she was selling them, so we went together
 pou fè sa.
 to do that
 to do that.’

(Dialogue, London Corpus, SMf59 & PJf58, gloss mine)

- (66) A: Oké.
okay
'Okay.'
- B: Sa dõt ...
what else
'What more...'
- A: Oké, "so" C lakay?
okay so C home
'OK, so is C at home?'
- B: Wi. O! C ba mon yon, an "phone number" pou...
yes oh C gave me INDEFINDEF phone number to
'Yes. O! C gave me a, a phone number for...'
- A: Pou ba mwen.
To give me
'To give me.'
- B: Pou ba 'w. "Yeah", am, kont plas -la ou té vlé.
to give you yeah erm about place DEF you PAST want
'To give you. Yeah, erm, about the place you wanted.'
- A: Oké. "So", mwen ni pou kwiyé yo?
okay so I have to call them
'OK. So, I have to call them?'
- B: Wi. [...]
yes
'Yes. ...'
- (Dialogue, London Corpus, EDf82 & HMMf6, gloss mine)

Other functions performed by *so* in the Kwéyòl data sources straddled the similarities between English *so* and French (*ou*) *comme ça*. For instance, *so* was used in contexts that hinged upon shared knowledge and common ground between the interlocutors (a function of *so*), but often these tokens also introduced an implicit or explicit request for confirmation that the speaker and listener were indeed on the same page and had drawn the same inferential connection (a function of (*ou*) *comme ça*). Consider example (67) below and the tokens of *so* in example (66) above. In both (66) and (67), *so* introduces utterances whose content indexes the interlocutors' shared knowledge: that C was supposed to pass along a phone number to Speaker A for A to call about an event venue in (66) and which people are expected to attend an event on Sunday in (67).

However, in (66) above, *so* introduces utterances that are questions, explicitly requesting a response from the listener. Meanwhile, in (67) *so* introduces a statement, and the request for confirmation is more implicit. In both cases, the listener complies and responds affirmatively.

- (67) A: Mé nou ké wè 'y dimanch.
 but we FUT see him Sunday
 'But we will see him on Sunday.'
- B: Nou ké wè 'y dimanch.
 we FUT see him Sunday
 'We will see him on Sunday.'
- A: I ké vini dimanch "because" lé dimanch sa sé tan
 he FUT come Sunday because on Sunday that is time
 i ka vini ési.
 he PROG come here
 'He will come on Sunday because Sundays are the times he comes here.'
- B: Wi, wi, wi.
 yes yes yes
 'Yes, yes, yes.'
- A: **So**, sé A nou ni pou (tèlifonn) apwézan.
 so is A we have to call now
 'So, it's A we have to telephone now.'
- B: A.
 A
 'A.'

(Dialogue, London Corpus, SLM82 & FMLf80, gloss mine)

In this same vein, *so* as it was used in the Kwéyòl corpus data sources took on the floor-holding usage patterns reported for both English *so* and French (*ou*) *comme ça*. Thus, in addition to being used to maintain the speaker's control of the floor by relaunching the speaker's topic of interest after a digression or interruption (a function of English *so*), it also appears to have taken on the *punctuant* 'punctuator' floor-holding pattern reported for (*ou*) *comme ça*. Notice in (68) below how the speaker marks each juncture in his account of the event with *so* (and later with *and*), simultaneously indicating that there is more information to come as he highlights the relatedness between the crucial chunks of information.

(68) I di la ni fonmi an kay -la,
 she said there are ant in house DEF
 ‘She said there are ants in the house,

“so” mon di pou di R pou nétwayé ’y.
 so I said to tell R to clean it
 so I said to tell R to clean it.

“So” mon ka èspéwé lè ’y ké (tèlifonn) ankò pou sav
 so I PROG wait when she FUT call again to know
 So I am waiting for when she will telephone again to know

sa ki fèt.
 that which happened
 what has happened.’

Èvè yè, R (tèlifonn) nou. “Is it?”
 and yesterday R called us is it
 And yesterday, R telephoned us. Is it?
 (Dialogue, London Corpus, SLM82 & FMLf80, gloss mine)

Based on the results of my corpus analysis of *konsa* ‘well’ and *so* in the Kwéyòl Donmnik data sources in comparison with the literature on French (*ou*) *comme ça* ‘(or) like that’ and English *so*, I have constructed the summary table below.

	Konsa	(Ou) Comme Ça	So	So (in corpora)
Utterance Placement:	Initial	Initial	Initial	Initial
	Medial	Medial	Medial	Medial
	Final	Final	Final	
	Free	Free	Free	Free
Degree of Integration:	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated
	Free	Free	Free	Free
Orientation:	Backward	Backward	Backward	Backward
	Forward/Backward	Forward/Backward	Forward/Backward	Forward/Backward
Scope:	Full Proposition	Full Proposition	Full Proposition	Full Proposition
	Constituent	Constituent	Constituent	Constituent
Discourse-Pragmatic Functions:		Reported Discourse	Reported Discourse	
		Self-Repair	Self-Repair	
	Inference		(Elided) Inference	Inference
	Elided or Incomplete List	Elided or Incomplete List		
	Floor-Holding		Floor-Holding	Floor-Holding
	Punctuator Floor-Holding	Punctuator		Punctuator
		Approximation		
	Confirmation Request	Confirmation Request		Confirmation Request
		Uncooperative Response		
			Common Ground	Common Ground
			New Topic	New Topic
	Abandoned Topic		Abandoned Topic	
			Agenda Launch	
Turn-Transition Prompt		Turn-Transition Prompt		

Table 7. Functional and featural overlap table for Kwéyòl *konsa* ‘so’, French (*ou*) *comme ça* ‘(or) like that’, English *so*, and English *so* as it arises in the Kwéyòl corpus data sources

5.5 Features and functions of *Bondyé* ‘God’ and *papa* ‘father/God’

Tokens of *Bondyé* ‘God’ and *papa* ‘father/God’ were far less frequent than those of *èben* ‘well’ and *konsa* ‘so’: just three of *Bondyé* ‘God’ and six of *papa* ‘father/God’, all of which surfaced in the London Corpus. All three tokens of *Bondyé* were rendered as *God* in the accompanying translation, while the tokens of *papa* were transferred directly into the translation documents as *papa*. These markers sometimes collocated with other pragmatic elements, such as *é(la)* ‘and/ah’, *a* ‘ah’, *non* ‘no’, and *wé* ‘yes’, and can be either free-standing (as in example (69)) or integrated into a larger utterance. If integrated, they occurred in utterance-initial position (as in example (70)). This aligns with similar markers in French like *mon Dieu* ‘my God’, but contrasts with English markers like *oh my God*, which can assume any utterance position.

- (69) La ni bèl sòlèy.
there is beautiful sun
‘There is beautiful sunshine.’

Éla **papa!**
ah papa
Ah **papa!**

Kon mwen Donmnik, èvè mwen ni pou alé dèwò, pou mété
like I Dominica and I have to go outside to put

sòlèy asi vijay -mwen.
sun on face my

As if I'm in Dominica, and I have to go outside, to put some sunshine on my face.'
(Dialogue, London Corpus, SMf59 & PJf58, gloss mine)

- (70) A! **Bondyé, Bondyé,** kité nou sòti.
ah God God let us leave
'Ah! **God, God,** let us get out.'
(Book Narration, London Corpus, HMMf63, gloss mine)

Both markers have historically had religious associations in the Creole. The religious roots are easier to see in the case of *Bondyé*, which derives its form from French *bon Dieu* 'good God'. The origins of *papa* are more complex. *Papa* is a familiar, informal way of saying *father* in both French and English and is typically associated with use by young children. However, the island of Dominica was colonized by Catholics and Protestants, and God is also referred to as *Father* in Christianity; expressions like *Father God* and *Papa God* are used to call upon God in prayer in some Christian traditions. We see this reflected in a footnote the transcriber/translator of the London Corpus made about *papa*: "Although the word "papa" means "father", it is often used as an exclamation in all sorts of situations where it does not mean "father", to give a phrase more emphasis. Sometimes the word "papa" is used to refer to "God". For example: "Wi papa", or "Wi Papa Bondyé" (i.e. "Yes, God the Father")." Given that both French and English occupation of Dominica brought with them languages that contain the word *papa*, as well as various Christian faiths, it is possible that the origins of *papa* and of its religious associations are a case of linguistic and cultural convergence. According to my interviews with Kwéyòl speakers, *Bondyé* and *papa*, as well as collocations like *papa Bondyé* 'Father God' and *papa mèt* 'Father Lord' that did not surface in the corpus, are now frequently being used in non-religious contexts.

In English, the use of *g-words* (expressions containing the word *God*) as oaths was first recorded in 1340 (Tagliamonte & Jankowski 2019: 196, citing OED Online). Use of such phrases was once punishable by laws like Britain's Blasphemy Act of 1650. Even as legal restrictions fell into disuse, uttering such expressions was discouraged and interpreted as a sign

of untrustworthiness that indicated the speaker did not take their word seriously (Tagliamonte & Jankowski 2019: 197). Thus, euphemistic *g-words* (e.g., *gosh*, *geez*, *good golly*) have been in use in English since the Middle Ages (Tagliamonte & Jankowski 2019: 213). Even though euphemisms like *gosh* remain, their use “has, by the twentieth century, receded dramatically” (Tagliamonte & Jankowski 2019: 213). In fact, “the word *God* is nowadays used much more frequently than ever” (Tagliamonte & Jankowski 2019: 214), particularly the phrase *oh my God* which began to sharply increase in use in North American locations like Ontario, Canada after 1960 (Tagliamonte & Jankowski 2019: 214) and overtook other *g-word* variants by the late 1900s (Tagliamonte & Jankowski 2019: 212).³⁵ In many circles, it is now a “secularized expression of emotional intensity” (Adams 2016: 23, cited by Tagliamonte & Jankowski 2019: 214). An example of *oh my God* in modern-day usage is provided in (71) below.

- (71) Oh, God. **Oh my God. Oh my God. Oh my God.** And, like, oh, God. It would be ridiculous for a podcast about being a working mother to somehow be jeopardized by having another baby. But, like, I've seen so much bad behavior in the world that God only knows.
(Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)

In French, expressions of religious origins vary with respect to whether they are considered oaths or swears that speakers may wish to avoid. Simply containing words like *Dieu* ‘God’ does not automatically result in an expression being considered contrary to religious prohibitions against using the Lord’s name in vain (Olivier 2000: 163). For example, Olivier (2000: 163) observes that while *mon Dieu* ‘my God’, *Seigneur* ‘Lord’, and *doux Jésus* ‘sweet Jesus’ do not take on blasphemous associations when used in non-religious contexts like the ones shown in (72) and (73) below, expressions like *bon Dieu* ‘good God’ (Kwéyòl *Bondyé*’s superstrate item of origin) and *nom de Dieu* ‘name of God’ is perceived as profane in secular contexts. Thus, unlike *mon Dieu* ‘my God’ which is marked with an asterisk ‘*’ in (74) to indicate its infelicity, *bon Dieu* ‘good God’ and *nom de Dieu* ‘name of God’ can undergo a French reduplication process of the form *N de N* that is characteristic of oaths and swear words, displayed in (75).

³⁵ Notice that *oh my God* is itself a fixed collocation of pragmatic markers, combining *God* with *oh*. Even in the absence of *my God*, *oh* itself has many of the same discourse-pragmatic functions as the whole *oh my God* collocation, including facilitating self-repair, expressing emotional reactions and emotional involvement, indicating a sudden realization or epiphany, adding emphasis to an evaluative utterance, floor-holding, and introducing reported speech (see Fox Tree & Schrock 1999 and Aijmer 1987 for a complete discussion of *oh*’s functions in English).

- (72) *Mon Dieu!* j' ai oublié mon dossier dans l' avion!
 my God I have forgotten my folder on the plane
 'My God! I forgot my folder on the plane!'
 (Olivier 2000: 162)
- (73) *Mon Dieu,* qu' elle est belle!
 my God that she is beautiful
 'My God, she is beautiful!'
 (Olivier 2000: 162)
- (74) **Mon Dieu de mon Dieu!*
 my God of my God
 'My God of my God!'
 (Olivier 2000: 163)
- (75) *Bon Dieu de bon Dieu!*
 good God of good God
 'Good God of Good God!'
 (Olivier 2000: 163)

Pragmatic markers of religious origins in both superstrate languages are associated with the expression of emotional reactions (e.g., frustration, surprise, apprehension, etc.), with realization, and with the processing of new information, as well as emotional involvement in the form of concern or emotional attachment (Tagliamonte & Jankowski 2019: 214 for *oh my God*, Downing & Caro 2019: 101-3 about *gosh*, Olivier 2000: 171 about *mon Dieu*). These functions were displayed by *Bondyé* and *papa* in the Creole. As an example, consider (76) below. Here, *papa* is repeated three times, expressing Speaker B's surprise and concern upon realizing that, though a group of children trapped in a cave had been found alive, the individuals who were sent to rescue them were having to walk them through a lengthy and dangerous extraction process.

- (76) A: Yon lòt biten mwen tann. É, yo tapé, am, biten;
 INDEFother thing I heard and they found erm thing
 'Another thing I heard. And, they found, erm,
- yo alé an kav, "cave" -la.
 they went in cave cave DEF
 they went into cave, the cave.
- Yo, yo, am, sa yo di?
 they they erm what they say
 They, they, erm, what did they say?'

- B: O! Sé zafan -a?
oh PL child DEF
'Oh! The children?'
- A: Zafan -a. Ki té dispawèt.
children DEF who PAST disappear
'The children. Who disappeared.'
- B: Wi, wi. É sa sé bon!
yes yes and that is good
'Yes, yes. And that's good!'
- A: Mé yo la toujou, en!
but they there still eh
'But they are still there, eh.'
- B: Wi, sé sa yo di.
yes is that they said
'Yes, that what they said.'
- A: Yo ni pou enstwi yo.
they have to instruct them
'They have to instruct them.'
- B: Yo (fou), (fou), (fou).³⁶ "Oo"! **papa, papa, papa.**
they deep deep deep oh papa papa papa
'They are deep, deep, deep. Oo, **papa, papa, papa.**'
- A: Wi. Yo ké la pou tibwen tan toujou.
yes they FUT there for some time still
'Yes. They will still be there for some time.'
- Yo ni pou enstwi yo pou plonjé.
they have to instruct them to dive
'They have to instruct them to dive.'
- (Dialogue, London Corpus, SMf59 & PJf58, gloss mine)

The English g-word euphemism *gosh* is reported in the literature to have a variety of other functions as well, all of which I found *oh my God* to also perform during my exploration of the Corpus of Contemporary American English. I have touched on many of these functions with respect to other superstrate markers discussed earlier in this chapter, including facilitating self-

³⁶ The translator/transcriber of the London Corpus used parentheses to indicate places where a speaker accidentally used the wrong lexical item. For example, in (76) the speaker utters *fou* which means 'mad' rather than *fon* meaning 'deep'. Similarly, in (80), the speaker says *Donmitjen* 'Dominican(s)' instead of *Donmnik* 'Dominica'.

repairs and reformulations (Downing & Caro 2019: 107), “function[ing] as a narrative device used to punctuate the story, to effect topic continuation, ...[and] to alert the listener that the speaker does not intend to give up the floor” as it does in example (71) above, and introducing reported discourse (Downing & Caro 2019: 106).

However, the only function among these that I found reflected in examples of *Bondyé* and *papa* in the corpus was the English superstrate markers’ capacity for expressing emphasis (Downing & Caro 2019: 104, 105), a function alluded to in the London Corpus translator/transcriber’s note that I cited earlier. In (77) below, *papa* emphasizes that Speaker B truly cannot recall doing much of anything on Sunday and introduces the reason why: her arm is broken. Similarly, in (78), *papa* emphasizes the speaker’s appreciation of the sunshine and the nostalgic memories it brings her of life in Dominica. In (79), *Bondyé*, too, is used emphatically. Like English *gosh*, which can add emphasis to “evaluatives...[like] copular constructions...rhetorical questions...declaratives with question tags...and ‘literal’ questions” (Downing & Caro 2019: 104-5), *Bondyé* adds emphasis to the speaker’s evaluation of one of the frogs in the wordless picture book. She refers to it as *an kalité* ‘a type’, by which she seems to be referring to his mischievous and surprising behavior (i.e., ‘a [mischievous/strange] type [of thing]’).

(77) A: Kisa ou té fè asou dimanch?
 what you PAST do on Sunday
 ‘What did you do on Sunday?’

B: Mwen pa sa menm chonjé;
 I not that even remember
 ‘I can’t even remember;

non **papa**, “‘cause” mwen ni yon lanmen la ki kasé la.
 no **papa** because I have INDEFhand there which broken there
 no **papa**, because I have a broken hand there which is broken there

Mwen pa sa fè anyen ...
 I not that do anything
 I can’t even do anything.’

(Dialogue, London Corpus, SMf59 & PJf58, gloss mine)

(78) La ni bèl sòlèy.
 there is beautiful sun
 ‘There is beautiful sunshine.

Éla **papa!**
ah papa
Ah **papa!**

Kon mwen Donmnik, èvè mwen ni pou alé dèwò, pou mété
like I Dominica and I have to go outside to put
As if I'm in Dominica, and I have to go outside, to put

sòlèy asi vijay -mwen.
sun on face my
some sunshine on my face.'

(Dialogue, London Corpus, SMf59 & PJf58, gloss mine)

(79) A! **Bondyé**, “frog” sala menm sé an, an, an kalité, pis
ah God frog DEM self is INDEFINDEFINDEF type because
'Ah! **God**, that frog itself is a, a, a type, because

mi “frog” -la tonbé ankò. Mi 'y ka vòltijé.
look frog DEF fell again look it PROG fly
look the frog has fallen again. Look it went flying.'

(Book Narration, London Corpus, EDf82, gloss mine)

French markers of religious origins like *mon Dieu* ‘my God’ reportedly have their own array of functions as well. They can be used in a mocking or sarcastic way to suggest that the listener is sensationalizing an unexceptional event (Olivier 2000: 170-1), to correct the listener and suggest that they modify a behavior the speaker finds inappropriate (Olivier 2000: 171), and to highlight that the speaker is undergoing an exceptional circumstance (Olivier 2000: 167). In cases where this last function is employed, God is not actually being called upon, but the speaker uses the marker to indicate that something about the situational context is so positively or negatively exceptional that it might be reasonable to call on God’s name for help or out of gratitude.

Of these three functions, the Kwéyòl Donmnik religious markers take on the latter two: Correction and Exceptional Circumstance. In (80) below, for instance, Speaker A uses *papa* to gently chide Speaker B, reminding B that she should not talk to Dominicans about rain because they tend to fear it, presumably because of the stormy natural disasters that have devastated the island, such as hurricanes. Meanwhile, the examples of *Bondyé* in (70) above and in (81) below are instances of this marker being used to highlight an exceptional circumstance that could warrant (but do not literally involve) calling up God’s name. In (70) above, the speaker is

narrating the distress of a little frog in the wordless picture book who is trying to free itself from inside a box. In (81) below, the speaker uses *Bondyé* in combination with *mèsi* ‘thank’ to express the protagonist’s relief that the story has come to an end and that all the characters are together again safely.

(80) A: Lè ’w wè sòlèy, sòlèy, sòlèy, lapli dèyè ’y wi.
 when you see sun sun sun rain behind it yes
 ‘When you see sun, sun, sun, rain is behind it, yes.’

B: Mwen sav, mwen sav. Èvè Donmnitjen pè lapli, wi.
 I know I know and Dominican afraid rain yes
 ‘I know, I know. And Dominicans are afraid of rain, yes.’

A: É, **papa!**
 and papa
 ‘And, **papa!**’

Pa di Donmnitjen kont lapli, kon mwen menm pè,
 not say Dominicans about rain like I self afraid
 ‘Don’t tell Dominicans about rain, as I myself am afraid,

si mwen té an, (Donmnitjen).
 if I PAST in Dominica
 if I was in Dominica.’

(Dialogue, London Corpus, SMf59 & PJf58, gloss mine)

(81) Mèsi **Bondyé**. Èvè yo tout sizé kon yon “happy family”.
 thank God and they all sat like INDEF happy family
 ‘Thank **God**. And they all sat like a happy family.’
 (Book Narration, London Corpus, HMMf63, gloss mine)

Like their superstrate counterparts, *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’ can be used with a forward orientation, such as when they introduce a correction of the listener’s behavior, or with a backward orientation, like when they express an emotional reaction to the previous discourse content. They can even have both forward and backward orientation simultaneously, as shown in (78) above where *papa* lends emphasis both to the speaker’s position evaluation of the sunshine (backward) and to the nostalgia that sunshine brings her (forward). Regardless of orientation, the scopes of these markers and their superstrate counterparts include the entire content of the utterance(s) they modify. Particularly when expressing the speaker’s emotional reaction to some

aspect of the broader context, I would even argue that their scope can extend extralinguistically to encompass the discourse situation itself.

Based on the results of my corpus analysis of *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’ in the Kwéyòl Donmnik data sources in comparison with the literature on religious markers in the superstrates, I have constructed the summarizing table below.

	Papa/Bondyé	Mon Dieu, etc.	Oh My God, etc.
Utterance Placement:	Initial	Initial	Initial
			Medial
			Final
	Free	Free	Free
Degree of Integration:	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated
	Free	Free	Free
Orientation:	Forward	Forward	Forward
	Backward	Backward	Backward
	Forward/Backward		
Scope:	Full Proposition	Full Proposition	Full Proposition
	Situational Context	Situational Context	Situational Context
Discourse-Pragmatic Functions:	Emotional Reaction	Emotional Reaction	Emotional Reaction
	Emotional Involvement	Emotional Involvement	Emotional Involvement
	Realization	Realization	Realization
			Self-Repair
			Punctuator Floor-Holding
			Reported Discourse
	Emphasis		Emphasis
		Mocking	
	Behavior correction	Behavior correction	
	Exceptional Circumstance	Exceptional Circumstance	

Table 8. Functional overlap table for Kwéyòl *papa* ‘father/God’ and *Bondyé* ‘God’, French religious markers like *mon Dieu* ‘my God’, and English religious markers like *oh my God*

5.6 Locative pragmatic markers and the features and functions of *la* ‘there’

Recall from 3.2 that some pragmatic markers have arisen from lexical items that are also deictic elements of various other kinds. For instance, when English *now* is used as a pragmatic marker it “draws attention to the present situation” (Fellegly 1998: 45) in a way that calls to mind the temporal deixis expressed by its adverbial parent. Even Kwéyòl *konsa* ‘so’ is a combination of *kon* and *sa* (the components of its lexical counterpart), the latter of which is a demonstrative pronoun meaning ‘this/that’. Less commonly discussed in the literature, however, are pragmatic markers whose entire forms are derived from locative items. Upon close inspection of its distribution in my London Corpus data, I began to suspect that Kwéyòl *la* might be such a marker.

As illustrated in Chapter 4 (see example (12) in 4.1), *la* can be used as an adverb in Kwéyòl Donmnik meaning ‘there’ that provides information regarding a referent’s location. It can also arise in existential constructions of the type *la ni...* ‘there is/are’ (literally ‘there have’). I have dedicated past research to another of *la*’s grammatical roles: its many properties as a determiner loosely translated as ‘the’ (Peltier 2021). As a determiner, *la* occurs post-nominally and can accompany singular (e.g., *lapòt-la* ‘the door’), plural (*sé lapot-la* ‘the doors’, with plurality marker by *sé*), and mass nouns (e.g., *mizik-la* ‘the music’). Typically, noun phrases containing *la* index referents of which there is “at most one entity in the domain of discourse” (Abbott 2004: 125) as illustrated in (82) below; there is only one first time the speaker has had her own vending stall at a cultural event. However, the referent can also be associative-anaphoric in that it “has not been mentioned previously, but it belongs to the “semantic frame” established by the context” (Bollée 2004: 3-4, citing Himmelmann 1997: 35-39, 2001: 833-834). Examples include uttering *chimen-la* ‘the road’ in (83) while discussing how to get to a destination by car. *La*-marked noun phrases can even be non-unique, like *janm-la* ‘the leg’ in (84) which refers to one of the speaker’s two legs.

- (82) Mé nanné -sa -la ké pwèmyé fwa -a mwen ké ni yon stand
 but year DEM DEF FUT first time DEF I FUT have INDEFstall
 ‘But this year will be **the first time I will have a stall**

pa kò -mwen.
 to self I
 by myself.’

(Dialogue, London Corpus, SMf59 & PJf58, gloss mine)

- (83) “So”, kouman’w kè fè alé la?
 So how you FUT do go there
 ‘So, how will you be able to go there?’
 Ou pa sa mété motoka ’w asou **chimen -la.**
 you not that put car you on car DEF
 You can’t put your car on **the road.**’

(Dialogue, London Corpus, Edf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

- (84) Mé i di mon sé tout jou mon ni pou mété ’y asi
 But she told I it-is every day 1sg have to put it on
 ‘But she told me it is every day I must put it on

janm -mwèn, èvè lè mwèn ka fè 'y, mwèn ni pou mété
 leg I and when I PROG do it I have to put
 my leg, and when I am doing it, I must put

janm -la vini, pa désann ...
 leg DEF come not down

the leg, not down ...'

(Dialogue, London Corpus, Edf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

In some cases, the locative and demonstrative forms of *la* overlap, such as when the determiner *la* (which contracts to *a* post-vocally) is used to mark other locative, temporal, or personal deictic items like in *ési-a* 'this very place' (literally 'the here'), *jodi-a* 'this very day' (literally 'the today'), and *mwèn-a* 'I myself' (literally 'the I') (Christie 1998: 269, Taylor 1997: 215). Evidence from the London Corpus also suggests that the determiner and locative adverb forms of *la* can be used together, as shown in (85) below. The first *la* is the determiner, which contracts to *a* here since it follows the vowel *é* [e]; the second *la*, which retains its full pronunciation despite being post-vocalic, is the adverb, perhaps functioning as a demonstrative reinforcer.

- (85) Blé -a **la**, yonn sé blé -a. Wi, asou.
 blue DEF there one PL blue DEF yes on-top
 'The blue one **there**, one of the blue ones. Yes, on top.'
 (Stacks & Squares, London Corpus, SLM82 & FMLf80, gloss mine)

I found six tokens of *la* in the London Corpus, however, that pattern differently from these known forms in distribution and in meaning. All six tokens were integrated into larger utterances in final or medial position, and none was part of an existential expression or associated with a noun phrase as a determiner or demonstrative reinforcer. They most closely resemble adverbial *la*, and five of the tokens are rendered in the English translation as 'there' (one token is simply omitted from the translation). However, upon reading the utterances in which they occur, I found that these tokens do not seem to contribute information about a referent's location. In fact, the tokens are entirely optional; removing them would not affect the grammaticality or alter the propositional content of the utterances in which they surface. An example that was provided in (11) in 4.1 is also displayed below in (86). See how *la* is uttered utterance-finally here though no location of death is referenced at any point in the discourse,

suggesting that *la* is performing some other discourse-pragmatic function in this case. This token was omitted from the transcriber’s translation of the utterance.

(86) Dèmen, O, ou sav sa mwen té vlé ’w fè?
 Tomorrow oh you know what I PAST want you do
 ‘Tomorrow, oh, you know what I wanted you to do?’

Pou ’w té mennen an, an, an katon koté
 for you PAST bring INDEF INDEF INDEF carton/cardboard box by
 ‘For you to bring a, a, a carton/cardboard box by

nonm -la ki mò **la**.
 man DEF who died there
 the man who died [**there**].’

(Dialogue, Speakers EDf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

The six tokens appear to be what Fellego (1998) refers to as *locative discourse markers*, pragmatic markers “that usually function as locative deictic elements...but which under certain contextual conditions...function as discourse markers” (Fellego 1998: 31). Since I have chosen to use the label *pragmatic marker* rather than the common alternative *discourse marker* in this dissertation, I will use the term *locative pragmatic marker* for consistency’s sake. The literature on such phenomena is limited, but there has been work produced on the use of French *là* ‘there’, from which Kwéyòl *la* derives its form, that analyzes it as a pragmatic marker. In her work on French as it is spoken in Quebec, Dostie (2007: 50-52) reports that *là* ‘there’ can be locative (see example (87a) below), temporal (see example (87b) below), or anaphoric (see example (87c) below). However, it also surfaces as a pragmatic marker that sometimes cooccurs with the temporal or locative form of the word (see example (88) below).

(87) a. C’ est **là** qu’ il l’ a mis
 it is there that he it has put
 ‘It’s **there** that he put it’

b. Je veux que tu m’ en parles **là**,
 I want that you me it talk now
 ‘I want you to talk to me about it **now**,

pas dans une heure.
 not in an hour
 not in an hour.’

c. Je connais des gens, pis ces gens -là...
 I know some people and those people there
 ‘I know some people, and those people **there**...’
 (Dostie 2007: 50-52, glosses and translation mine)

(88) Vous allez vous asseoir là là.
 you will yourself sit there there
 ‘You will sit **LOCATIVE-there MARKER-there**’
 (Dostie 2007: 56, gloss and translation mine).

Such items have also been documented in varieties of English. Schiffrin (1987: 328) notes that English *here* and *there* can both function as pragmatic markers and are “often used in narratives to mark surprising outcomes in the complicating action”. An example of *here* performing this function in a standardized English utterance is provided below in (89).

(89) We looked and looked and, **here**, the dog had buried the keys!
 (Fellegy 1998: 61)

This particular example was documented by Fellegy (1998: 61); recall from 3.2 that her work centers on locative pragmatic markers as they arise in New Ulm English, a German-influenced variety spoken in Minnesota. Her research suggests that both locative adverbs like *here/there* and demonstrative determiners *this/that* and *these/those* can function as pragmatic markers. While I focus solely on analyzing Kwéyòl locative adverb *la* from this perspective in this dissertation, I plan to take a similar approach to examining Kwéyòl’s demonstrative determiner *sa-la* ‘this/that’ in the future.

In her dissertation, Fellegy (1998) compares corpora of speech contributed by speakers of New Ulm and speakers of the local standardized English variety. She first assigned instances of the locative items to their “traditional grammatical categories” (demonstrative, locative adverb, etc.). Then she “re-examined [each token] with attention focused on the context of its occurrence, and again on structural position, and then assigned [it] to the category of locative discourse marker wherever appropriate” (Fellegy 1998: 60). Her results revealed that New Ulm speakers were significantly more likely to produce locative pragmatic markers than speakers of the standardized variety.

According to Fellegy (1998: 66), locative pragmatic markers seem to hide in plain sight. They often surface where one might expect to hear a demonstrative determiner or locative adverb, and only upon closer inspection does their lack of location information become clear. “In a sense,

they lack what actually might be thought of as surface-like qualities and, therefore, are camouflaged in a speaker’s discourse” (Fellegy 1998: 66).

Throughout her manuscript, Fellegy (1998) provides New Ulm examples of *this*, *that*, *here*, and *there* being used as locative pragmatic markers, highlighting the characteristics that distinguish them from non-marker uses of these items. I discuss four here to show the reader what tokens of these items look like in context. The subtle trend across the examples is that, like all pragmatic markers, they are detachable. In other words, rather than contributing to the propositional content of an utterance and being a grammatical requirement of its structure, their presence is optional, their semantic content is vague or redundant, and their discourse-pragmatic contribution is to “draw attention to the speaker’s perceived relationship to the topic and [to] focus attention on the topic itself” (Fellegy 1998: 62). Consider examples (90) through (93) below, written in the orthographic style used by Fellegy (1998) to represent New Ulm English.³⁷

- (90) den **dat** Mrs. R. died and a a K. died ‘n den **here dis** Mrs. B. had gone home...
(Fellegy 1998: 62)
- (91) **Here** Friday we pick up da paper she had died.
(Fellegy 1998: 62)
- (92) It [the road] goes down to Cxx and ya drive past the farm of yours up **dere**.
(Fellegy 1998: 63)
- (93) It was all grammar and he had a test everyday’n I could get just about a hunnert every day, ya know, and I couldn’t answer that god darn gal down **dere**.
(Fellegy 1998: 64)

The demonstrative determiners *dis* ‘this’ and *dat* ‘that’ in (90) are functioning as markers that direct the hearer’s focus. In this case, these items “focu[s] attention on the speaker’s deictic relationship with the women, but also, and again perhaps more strongly, focuses attention on the women” (Fellegy 1998: 62), as they are the crucial topic on which the utterance hinges. Though these locatives are not peripheral to the entire utterance (not utterance-initial or utterance-final, like *here* in example (91) or *dere* ‘there’ in examples (92) and (93)), “[t]hey are clause-initial, detachable, and devoid of meaning at a syntactic level” (Fellegy 1998: 62). Notice that removing them from the utterance does not render it ungrammatical, and there are no proximal or distal

³⁷ Abbreviations like “K.” and “Cxx” in the author’s transcriptions appear to be stand-ins to protect the privacy of Fellegy’s (1998) research participants and any other individuals they mentioned during her fieldwork.

“contrasts that account for the use of *that* or *this*; there are no sets of “Mrs. Rs” or “Mrs. Bs” from which the speaker is specifying” (Fellego 1998: 62).

The examples of *here* in (90) and (91) above are instances of *here* as a marker of surprise as described by Schiffrin (1987: 328). Rather than expressing proximal spatial deixis in the literal sense, *here* functions as a pragmatic marker in both cases: “It is focusing attention on the speaker and on the description of the event that follows” (Fellego 1998: 63). Both instances of *here* could be omitted without detrimentally affecting the utterance’s structure or altering its propositional content.

The detachability of *dere* ‘there’ in (92) is evidenced by its redundancy. The speaker has already specified the farm in question by adding *of yours*. *There* has been incorporated because it “carr[ies] meaningful social information” (Fellego 1998: 63), namely that the speaker — who was in St. Paul, Minnesota when he produced the utterance — “has positioned himself at a discourse-level inside the town of New Ulm” (Fellego 1998: 64), a geographical setting both he and the hearer are familiar with.

Sometimes, as in (93), Fellego (1998: 64) notices that a locative item has been uttered even though “no place information has been or ever is introduced into the story”. Here, the speaker is using *dere* ‘there’ to situate the story within “a private location...which is ultimately kept as the speaker’s personal information” (Fellego 1998: 65). Fellego (1998: 65) suggests that, in these examples, the locative pragmatic marker may be functioning “as a subtle distancing device, used by speakers when they do not wish to take the listener to a specific locale, in these particular cases because the location was personally unpleasant”.

Based on the insights provided by Fellego (1998) and by Schiffrin (1987), items like *here* and *there* are used in varieties of English as pragmatic markers that can index speaker’s shared knowledge (e.g., shared social/cultural information, like people or physical landmarks), bring the listener’s focus to the importance of a referent or of the speaker’s personal relationship to said referent, express emotional reactions like surprise, and even situate the speaker’s narrative in an unspecified location in order to place distance between the interlocutors and the narrated event. Like demonstrative *that* discussed in 3.2, *here* and *there* can also perform the discourse deictic function of referring back to an earlier chunk of discourse, usually in order to correct, contradict, or otherwise comment on it. This is illustrated in an example below from the Corpus of Contemporary American English.

- (94) A: This must be a bar mitzvah outfit here?
B: No, no, this isn't- That- You're wrong **there**, Lou. This is a great satin woolback coat that you could wear during the day. Shine is in. It's one of the big important trends.
(Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)

Of these five, only the focus-marking (Forget 1989: 63-64) and discourse deictic commentary functions (Dostie 2007: 52) were reported in the literature as functions of French *là* in its pragmatic marker form. In fact, most of the French marker's reported functions relate to focusing the listener's attention on information the speaker deems most critical. Beyond calling upon the listener to focus on a particular referent with which the speaker has a personal relationship, French *là* can be used to detach and foreground a main topic before the speaker provides additional relevant details, or even to reinforce the importance of an action requested by the speaker (Forget 1989: 65-66). The latter is illustrated in (88) above, in which the speaker strongly urges the listener to take a seat. The French marker has another function as well: acting as a floor-holding punctuator akin to *comme ça* 'like that' (Dostie 2007: 54, Forget 1989: 62).

My analysis of the six unusual tokens of Kwéyòl *la* in the London Corpus revealed many of these same functions and confirmed my hypothesis that this item has also taken on the role of locative pragmatic marker in the Creole. Like *là* and *here/there* in varieties of French and English, Kwéyòl *la* brings the listener's attention to information that the speaker deems critical. Sometimes that information is a referent that is part of the interlocutors' shared knowledge; both speaker and listener know the man who had recently died in example (86) above, as well as the area surrounding the speaker and her husband's house in (95) below. Note that the dialogue from which (95) was extracted did not take place in the house the speaker shares with her husband; this use of *la* 'there' is a detachable locative pragmatic marker, not a reference to a location within the situational context. In other cases, the speaker is highlighting their personal relationship with or connection to a critical referent, like the first *la* in (96) that brings *mwen ni yon lanmen* 'I have a hand' to the foreground. In (96) we also see *la* taking on French *là*'s a punctuating and topic detachment functions, segmenting each piece of critical information: the hand (the topic) and its broken state that is preventing the speaker from engaging in normal activities (the additional details). Finally, example (97) demonstrates Kwéyòl *la*'s ability to express the speaker's emotional reactions (in this case, frustration) and to refer back to something uttered earlier in the discourse in order to comment upon it.

(95) Mé i ka sanm, ka wété pa dèyè nou **la**.
 but he PROG seem PROG live by behind us there
 ‘But he seems, to be living behind us **there**.’
 (Dialogue, London Corpus, Edf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

(96) Mwen pa sa menm chonjé;
 I not that even remember
 ‘I can’t even remember;

non papa, “cause” mwen ni yon lanmen la ki kasé **la**.
 no papa because I have INDEFhand there which broken there
 no papa, because I have a broken hand there which is broken **there**

Mwen pa sa fè anyen ...
 I not that do anything
 I can’t even do anything.’

(Dialogue, London Corpus, SMf59 & PJf58, gloss mine)

(97) A: Ou pa sa maché si ’w pou alé anba la.
 you not that walk if you to go down there
 ‘You can’t walk if you must go down there.’

B: Non. Janm -mon ka fè mon mal.
 no leg my PROG do me bad
 ‘No. My leg is hurting.’

A: Èvè sé sa menm mon ka di ’w **la**, “ennit”?
 and is that same I PROG tell you there ennit
 ‘And and that same thing that I am telling you **there**, “ennit”?’

(Dialogue, London Corpus, Speakers Edf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

There was one token of *Kwéyòl la*, displayed earlier in (19) and again in (98) below, that the literature on its superstrate counterparts’ functions does not account for. Here, *la* does not maintain the speaker’s hold on the floor by punctuating critical information. Instead, it cedes the floor, indicating that speaker’s narration of the picture book has come to an end. This analysis is corroborated by the presence of *èben* ‘well’ here in its role as the introducer of a closing remark.

(98) **Èben** sa sé, sa sé “story”-la ki fèt **la**.
 well that is that is story DEF that happened there
 ‘**Well** that is, that is the story that happened **there**.’
 (Book Narration, London Corpus, Edf82, gloss mine)

With respect to orientation, *la*'s superstrate counterparts can be oriented forward or backward; the tokens of Kwéyòl *la*, however, consistently modified content that preceded them (backward orientation). Sometimes the content Kwéyòl *la*'s scope was an entire proposition, like the closing remark in (98) above. However, as demonstrated in (96) above, *la* can also bring the listener's attention to portions of a proposition: first the speaker's hand itself and then the fact that the hand is broken.

Based on the results of my corpus analysis of *la* 'there' as a locative pragmatic marker in the Kwéyòl Donmnik data sources in comparison with the literature on French *là* 'there' and English *here/there*, I have constructed the summarizing table below.

	La	Là	Here/There
Utterance Placement:		Initial	Initial
	Medial	Medial	
	Final	Final	Final
Degree of Integration:	Integrated	Integrated	Integrated
	Free	Free	Free
Orientation:	Forward	Forward	Forward
	Backward	Backward	Backward
Scope:	Full Proposition	Full Proposition	Full Proposition
	Constituent	Constituent	Constituent
Discourse-Pragmatic Functions:	Shared Knowledge		Shared Knowledge
	Relationship Focus	Relationship Focus	Relationship Focus
	Emotional Reaction		Emotional Reaction
			Location Distancing
	Discourse Deixis with Commentary	Discourse Deixis with Commentary	Discourse Deixis with Commentary
	Topic Foregrounding	Topic Foregrounding	
		Request Reinforcement	
	Punctuator	Punctuator	
	Floor-Ceding		

Table 9. Functional overlap table for Kwéyòl *la* 'there', French *là* 'my God', and English *here/there*

5.7 Discussion: congruence, creativity, and stability versus adaptation

Recall that the goal of this corpus analysis was to determine how the features and functions of the Kwéyòl Donmnik pragmatic markers under investigation, as well as of the English counterparts when uttered in the corpus transcripts, compared with those of their superstrate counterparts as reported in the literature. Of course, no corpus analysis is exhaustive, and the Kwéyòl markers I examined in this chapter may perform functions in the Creole that simply were not attested in the data available to me. It is also possible that the superstrate markers perform additional functions that are under-documented or have yet to be analyzed.

In addition, recall that there is little literature available that can shed light on the diachronic developments of these pragmatic markers. This makes it difficult to determine

whether the functions a Kwéyòl marker shares with a source language counterpart developed independently in the Creole or whether those functions already existed in the superstrate. To my knowledge, there is no diachronic literature regarding the developments of the Kwéyòl markers, and I have not found any such studies with respect to their French counterparts in the lexifier. As for the English counterparts, what I was able to determine was that use of *well* and *so* as pragmatic markers long precede this contact situation. Use of *well* as an emphatic attention-getting device akin to ‘listen’ or ‘behold’ extends back to Old English (Jucker 1997: 91, Marcus 2009: 215), and use of *so* as a “introductory particle” is attested as early as the 1590s (Etymonline). As for English g-words, though their explicit use in secular contexts has increased in recent decades, their euphemistic forms have been in use since the Middle Ages (Tagliamonte & Jankowski 2019: 213). Finally, with respect to *here/there* being used as locative pragmatic markers, I could find no historical information.

Despite these limitations, this investigation provides solid synchronic insights into the points of congruence shared by the superstrate items that are reflected in the Kwéyòl markers’ properties, as well as into whether the French lexifier markers may have undergone functional changes upon integration into the Creole. Along with demonstrating the processes of congruence and innovation that characterize Creole emergence, the results of this investigation attest to speakers’ creativity and support the proposals that pragmatic markers have flexible meaning potentials and are best represented as semantic networks.

The properties of *èben* ‘well’ displayed extensive congruence and strongly favored those features and functions shared by both French (*eh*) *ben* ‘well’ and English *well*, of which there were many: all of *èben*’s attested utterance placements, its degrees of integration, its orientations, its scopes, and five of its functions were congruent properties. Only one function that was shared by the superstrate markers was not found in the corpus to apply to *èben*, namely introducing reported discourse. However, it is crucial to note that this was a function that, although reported in the literature regarding many of the superstrate markers examined in this chapter, was not found in the corpus data as a function of any of the Kwéyòl markers under investigation.³⁸ With

³⁸ The closest examples I could find in the corpus data to cases of reported discourse were instances in which a participant gave a past-tense narration of what a particular character in the wordless picture book might be saying (e.g., *I di...* ‘He said...’). While it is true that none of these examples contain tokens of the Kwéyòl markers under investigation, it is also the case that none of them is an instance in which the speaker is truly recounting an utterance they recall from the past. Even if there were clear cases of reported discourse in the corpus that lacked these markers, however, the fact that those examples did not contain the markers under investigation would not necessarily mean

the exception of *well*'s capacity for mitigating face-threatening utterances, *èben* also performed all of the discourse-pragmatic roles that only one superstrate marker is said to play in the literature. As predicted, *èben*'s inventory of uses even extended beyond the functions of the superstrate markers to take on three new additions. Based on these outcomes, *èben* is best captured by the *functional broadening* category in Andersen's (2014: 24) list of functional adaptation outcomes. Rather than the lexifier item being integrated wholesale into the Creole with no perceivable changes in function (*functional stability*) or undergoing an overall narrowing or shift in functional inventory, the data suggest that *èben* has generally gained new functions not performed by French (*eh*) *ben* 'well', perhaps under the influence of *well*.

The properties attested in the corpora for *konsa* 'so' follow a different pattern. The distributional features of this Kwéyòl pragmatic marker reflect congruence across those of the superstrate markers. However, neither of the two functions that are shared by *konsa*'s superstrate counterparts (introducing reported discourse and facilitating speakers' self-repairs) was performed by *konsa* in the corpus data; perhaps future work with a larger corpus will reveal these to be functions of *konsa* as well. Nor did I find evidence of newly developed functions among *konsa*'s inventory. What this analysis did uncover, though, was that *konsa*'s functional range includes three of the remaining functions of French (*ou*) *comme ça* '(or) like that' and four of *so*'s remaining functions. Thus, *konsa* best fits into Andersen's (2014: 24) *functional shift* category; though the Kwéyòl Donmnik marker appears to have lost some of the functions performed by its French lexifier marker of origin, *konsa* has gained multiple functions performed by English *so*.

The results for Kwéyòl *papa/Bondyé* 'father/God' show evidence of congruence as well. Much like *èben* 'well' and *konsa* 'so', the distributional features of these markers tended to align with those documented for markers of religious origins containing *God* or *Dieu* 'God' in the superstrates. Tokens of the Kwéyòl markers in the corpus data also took on the three functions shared by similar items in both superstrates. Though, like *konsa* 'so', I did not find evidence of *papa* and *Bondyé* taking on functions that extended beyond those discussed in the superstrate literature, they did perform one function associated with English g-words like *oh my God* and two performed by French markers like *mon Dieu* 'mon Dieu'. Given these outcomes, these

that these markers are never used to introduce reported discourse in Kwéyòl. No corpus analysis is exhaustive, and the inclusion of a pragmatic marker remains optional even in contexts where its use would be felicitous.

Kwéyòl markers are best suited to Andersen's (2014: 24) functional broadening category. Like *èben* 'well', the markers perform nearly all the functions reported in the French literature (use as a mocking device being the sole exception), and their inventory has expanded to incorporate the emphasis function of English g-words as well.

Meanwhile, when Kwéyòl *la* 'there' is employed as a locative pragmatic marker, its distributional features (save its compatibility with utterance-medial position) are congruent across the superstrate markers French *là* and English *here/there*. Its functional inventory, too, capitalizes on congruence; both of the functions that are shared across the superstrate markers were attested among the Kwéyòl marker's tokens in the corpus data. Of Kwéyòl Donmnik *la*'s remaining five functions, two are documented for English *here/there*, two are reported for French *là*, and the last one (surfacing as the speaker ends their contribution and cedes the floor) was not associated with either of the superstrate counterparts in the literature. Here, like in the case of *èben* 'well', we see congruence alongside novel expansion. In addition, *la* exemplifies functional broadening when compared with the lexifier item or origin, perhaps due to the influence of the English counterpart.

Finally, a note regarding *well* and *so* as they are used in the Kwéyòl data. The features and functions of *well* as it surfaced in the Kwéyòl utterances are all documented for English *well* in the literature. However, it is notable that those features and functions are also all performed by Kwéyòl *èben*, its counterpart in the Creole. This outcome suggests a code-switching strategy similar to Muysken's (2013: 713) *backflagging* discussed in Chapter 1. In other words, while the marker has not taken on functions in the Creole that it does not perform in the source language, it is being used by speakers in ways that efficiently exploit the points of similarity between the Creole and English superstrate rough equivalents.

The results for *so* are more complex. Like *well*, its distributional features and two of the functions it performs when surfacing in Kwéyòl parallel both the English literature and the properties of its Kwéyòl counterpart *konsa* 'so'. However, it also performs four additional functions: two reported in the literature for English *so* that are not performed by *konsa*, and two performed by *konsa* that are not reported in the literature for English *so*. Thus, unlike *well*, *so* appears to have become integrated into the Creole to the point that it is taking on functions not associated with it in the English literature. This conclusion is further supported by its higher frequency in the corpus data sources (thirty-nine tokens) than *well* (five tokens).

5.8 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the results of my qualitative form-to-function corpus analysis. My objective was to examine the features and functions of the four Kwéyòl pragmatic markers under investigation, as well as of those tokens of English *well* and *so* that occurred in the corpus data. I compared those observations with what has been reported about the markers' superstrate counterparts in the literature, providing illustrative examples and tables that visually summarize how each set of markers is used. In the final section, I explored what those results suggest regarding whether points of congruence across the superstrate counterparts are reflected in the properties of the Kwéyòl markers, as well about whether the French lexifier markers may have undergone functional adaption upon integration into the Creole language.

These results highlight that the creative repurposing of source language items as they are incorporated into a Creole language is a graded phenomenon that can take multiple forms. Some source items display innovation to the point that they take on properties in the Creole that are totally novel. This seems to be the case for Kwéyòl markers *èben* 'well' and *la* 'there', which performed functions that were not listed in the literatures for either of their superstrate counterparts. Source language items may also take on properties associated with another source language item. This was the case for *èben* 'well', *papa/Bondyé* 'father/God', and *la* 'there', all of which appear to have undergone functional broadening and expanded beyond the properties of their French items of origin to adopt functions performed by their English counterparts. Similarly, it seems *so* has become integrated into the Creole to the extent that it is taking on functions performed by Kwéyòl *konsa* 'so'. In other cases, creativity surfaces in the exploitation of congruence. Many of the four Kwéyòl markers' features and functions reflected congruent properties shared by both their French and English rough equivalents, and English *well* was only used in the corpus in ways that both aligned with the English literature on *well* and with properties it shares with Kwéyòl *èben*.

In the next chapter, I discuss the results of the interviews and survey I conducted with speakers of Kwéyòl Donmnik and English (respectively) to access their metalinguistic knowledge about these markers.

Chapter 6

Metalinguistic Knowledge Interviews and Survey Results

In this chapter, I discuss the results of the interviews with Kwéyòl speakers and the survey for English speakers that I conducted to address my second research question: what metalinguistic knowledge do speakers of Kwéyòl Donmnik and English — the two languages in intense contact today — have about these markers? In other words, what are their attitudes towards the markers, intuitions about how they use the markers, and beliefs regarding the markers' contributions to communication? In addition to comparing the outcomes of this investigation with the results of Chapter 5, I wanted to compare the responses of bilingual speakers of a minoritized language (Kwéyòl) with those of speakers of a prestige language (English) with respect to pragmatic markers that have some functions in common: Kwéyòl *konsa* 'so', *ében* 'well', and *Bondyé/papa* 'God/father' and English *so*, *well*, and *oh my God*. I was also eager to learn what Kwéyòl speakers would report regarding the elusive locative pragmatic marker *la* 'there', which I discuss separately in 6.5.

Recall from 4.2 that my methodology was rooted in Fox Tree's (2007) work on English speakers' folk notions regarding the markers *like*, *you know*, and *um/uh*. I conducted an online survey with 138 English speakers (forty-six per English marker) to compare with my interviews with five speakers of Kwéyòl Donmnik about the Kwéyòl markers. Four of the interviews were conducted over Zoom, and these conversations yielded the results that I discuss throughout most of this chapter. The insights yielded by the single interview that I conducted by phone are addressed in 6.6.

Like Fox Tree (2007), I asked both groups of participants questions about their self-assessed use of the markers, their history of discussing use of the markers with others, their attitudes with respect to the markers, and the markers' meanings. I also asked them for demographic information: age, gender identity, where raised, languages spoken, level of formal education, and occupation. For participants in the English survey, I also asked for racial/ethnic identity, and I asked participants in the Kwéyòl interviews where their parents grew up and

where they themselves had lived over the years. Both groups' demographics were discussed in 4.2. For a listing of the questions that I asked each group, see Appendix A.

Once data collection was complete, I used a combination of qualitative coding and Excel's statistical testing capabilities to analyze the responses (see 4.2 for full details). Then, following Butter's (2002) recommendation to consider speakers' intuitions in addition to data and linguists' observations, I compared the outcomes of this study with the Kwéyòl corpus analysis and the literature on the English pragmatic markers discussed in Chapter 5.

6.1 Self-assessments of use

To elicit speakers' self-assessments with respect to their use of the Kwéyòl and English markers, I, like Fox Tree (2007: 311), asked my participants to first report the frequency with which they use the markers on a five-point scale from 1. *never* to 5. *all the time*. If the participant was unsure, they had the option of selecting *I don't know*, but no participants gave this response for any of the markers. In their interviews, those Kwéyòl speakers who still have the opportunity to speak the language routinely tended to report frequencies of three or higher (3. *sometimes*, 4. *often*, or 5. *all the time*) for the three Kwéyòl pragmatic markers, and only for *papa/Bondyé* was there one who responded 1. *never*. One speaker who rarely has opportunity to speak the Creole today responded that she used *konsa* 2. *rarely*, but that she recalled hearing *èben* 3. *sometimes* and *papa/Bondyé* 4. *often* when she was around other speakers in the past. In a similar vein, the English speakers' responses averaged three or higher, with *so* reportedly used the most at 3.83 and *oh my God* reportedly used the least at 3.24; *well*'s average self-assessed frequency was 3.48. Once again, only for the marker with religious roots, *oh my God*, did any participants respond 1. *never* (2, 4%). A table containing the self-assessed frequency data for the English survey is provided below. A single-factor ANOVA revealed that the mean frequencies reported across the three English markers were significantly different, $F(2, 135) = 5.727, p = .004$.

Self-Assessed Frequency	<i>So</i> (n = 46)	<i>Well</i> (n = 46)	<i>Oh my God</i> (n = 46)
1. Never	0, 0%	0, 0%	2, 4%
2. Rarely	2, 4%	4, 9%	8, 18%
3. Sometimes	9, 20%	19, 41%	19, 41%
4. Often	30, 65%	20, 43%	11, 24%
5. All the time	9, 20%	3, 7%	6, 13%

Table 10. English speakers' self-assessed frequency responses for *so*, *well*, and *oh my God*

A look at the English survey participants' demographics uncovered a few intriguing trends with respect to self-assessed frequency of use. Single-factor ANOVAs revealed that white

participants ($F(1, 43) = 6.874, p = .012$), participants who identified as female ($F(1, 44) = 5.302, p = .026$), and participants with a college degree or higher ($F(1, 44) = 4.095, p = .049$) reported using *well* more often than participants of color, participants who identified as male, and participants with lower levels of formal education. Corroborating a similar trend reported by Tagliamonte and Jankowski (2019: 212), female-identifying participants also reported using *oh my God* more often than those who identified as male, though this difference was not statistically significant, $F(1, 43) = 3.769, p = .059$.

Beyond self-assessed frequency on a scale, I also followed Fox Tree's (2007: 311) example by giving participants the opportunity to state when they use these pragmatic markers most often. The Kwéyòl interviewees who had reported using *konsa* 'so', *èben* 'well', and *papa/Bondyé* 'father/God' responded that their use of the markers was either uniform across situations or greater with people they were close to, like their children, siblings, or friends. There was one interviewee, however, who reported using *papa/Bondyé* only in a literal sense to refer to God in prayer. Meanwhile, in the English survey responses, some participants reported that they were not sure (13, 28% for *so*; 24, 52% for *well*; and 16, 35% for *oh my God*) or that they did not use the marker at all (1, 2% for *so*; 3, 7% for *oh my God*). However, the rest of the participants (32, 70% for *so*; 22, 48% for *well*; and 27, 59% for *oh my God*) answered by filling in the blank in *I say [marker] most frequently when I am _____*.

The themes that I found in these more detailed responses are provided in Table 11 below. I first list recurring themes in row two; in row three, I list answers that were unique to only one respondent. Keep in mind that the content submitted by a single participant sometimes pertained to multiple themes. For this reason, the frequency totals beside the recurring themes do not add up to the total number of respondents for that marker, and I thus chose not provide percentages in addition to frequency. For example, one participant's answer was that they use *well* most frequently when "Unsure of what to say next. When I am nervous or anxious to say the right thing"; this response pertains to two recurring themes: "When unsure of what to say or pondering what to say next" and "When in a heightened emotional state (e.g., anxious)".

	<i>So</i> (total respondents = 32)	<i>Well</i> (total respondents = 22)	<i>Oh my God</i> (total respondents = 27)
Recurring responses in descending order by frequency (n = # responses whose content pertained to theme)	<p>When asking or answering a question (7)</p> <p>When explaining, describing, or adding clarifying details (6)</p> <p>When transitioning; when introducing a new sentence or idea (6)</p> <p>When in a heightened emotional state (e.g., anxious) (4)</p> <p>When speaking (4)</p> <p>When unsure of what to say or pondering what to say next (3)</p> <p>When storytelling (2)</p> <p>When quoting a person or story character (2)</p> <p>When it best fits the context (2)</p>	<p>When unsure of what to say or pondering what to say next (6)</p> <p>When answering a question (3)</p> <p>When explaining (2)</p> <p>When talking about something personal (2)</p> <p>When texting (2)</p> <p>When starting a new sentence (2)</p> <p>When saying something others might not have thought of or might disagree with (2)</p>	<p>When surprised (14)</p> <p>When frustrated (5)</p> <p>When excited (5)</p> <p>When gossiping or relaying interesting recent events (3)</p> <p>When happy (3)</p> <p>When scared (2)</p>
Other responses (unique themes found in content submitted by only one participant)	<p>When interjecting a comment</p> <p>When talking about plans for an upcoming activity</p> <p>When marking a cause-and-effect relationship</p> <p>When speaking with friends</p> <p>When confused but interested in the current topic of conversation</p>	<p>When trying to move the conversation along</p> <p>When nervous about relaying a message</p> <p>When reacting to a story</p> <p>When speaking with friends or family</p> <p>When mildly disagreeing with someone</p> <p>When in a positive mood</p> <p>When trying to articulate a response properly</p>	<p>When speaking with friends</p> <p>When expressing disbelief</p> <p>When something is funny</p> <p>When calm and relaxed</p>

Table 11. Themes in English speakers' high-frequency context responses for *so*, *well*, and *oh my God*

Notice that many of the English survey participants' responses bring to mind functions associated with these markers in the literature. The answers contain references to *so*'s capacities for introducing new topics ("When transitioning; when introducing a new sentence or idea"), off-setting reported discourse ("When quoting a person or story character"), and marking inferred relationships ("When marking a cause-and-effect relationship"); to *well*'s use as a face-threat

mitigator or introducer of undesirable responses (“When saying something others might not have thought of or might disagree with”, “When mildly disagreeing with someone”, “When nervous about relaying a message ”); and to *oh my God*’s capacity for expressing a range of positive (“When excited”) and negative (“When scared”) emotional reactions. Notice also that a participant in each group mentioned using these markers with friends and/or family, much like the Kwéyòl interviewees.

Next, like Fox Tree (2007: 311) did for *you know*, *like*, and *um/uh*, I homed in on whether the participants in each group associated these markers with particular kinds of interlocutors or situational contexts. During their interviews, the Kwéyòl speakers reported using the three Kwéyòl markers with any audience, particularly with family or friends. However, they did mention some key caveats. The first was that using markers like *konsa* ‘so’, *èben* ‘well’, or *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’ was something to avoid when there were power differentials involved. For instance, it might be interpreted as disrespectful for a young child to use these items when speaking to a parent or other adult. The second was that, despite its widespread use, saying *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’ around a deeply religious individual was unwise, as it could still be interpreted as misuse of a sacred expression.

With respect to situational factors, informality was a recurring theme across the interviewee’s answers regarding *konsa* ‘so’ and *èben* ‘well’; for example, though both markers can be used across situations, one participant referred to *konsa* ‘so’ as a “contraction” that she avoids when teaching the language to learners. Paralleling the results of the Chapter 5 corpus analysis, *èben* ‘well’ and *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’ were associated with reacting to news, such as by expressing surprise, annoyance, or disbelief. Two of the participants also highlighted the fact that context is particularly important with respect to *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’, as they are used literally in religious contexts, and using them as pragmatic markers is reserved for the secular domain.

When addressing whether their use of *well*, *so*, or *oh my God* changed based on the person they were speaking to, the English speakers’ rates of *yes*, *no*, and *unsure* answers were similar across the three markers. However, a closer look at their responses, particularly at the answers provided by those who elaborated on their *yes* answers, was highly informative.

Of the forty-six participants who were surveyed about *well*, twenty-seven (59%) reported that their use did not vary with audience, the highest *no*-frequency of the three markers. Aside

from one (2%) who was unsure, the remaining participants felt their usage did indeed vary with audience (18, 39%), and all but one of those answering *yes* provided elaborating details. Eleven *yes* responses associated *well* with informal interactions: five with informal audiences broadly, five with friends and family, and one with children. However, eight responses explicitly referenced using *well* with professional audiences like professors, employers, customers, or colleagues. (As in Table 11 above, notice that the frequencies of these thematic categories do not add up to the total number of detailed *yes* responses; this is because the content of a single participant's answer may have pertained to multiple themes.)

Of the forty-six English speakers surveyed about *so*, twenty (43%) reported no variation, two (4%) were unsure, and twenty-four (52%) felt their usage varied with audience, all but three of whom elaborated on their *yes*. Eight of the *yes* responses for *so* explicitly reported non-use with professional or academic interlocutors, and eleven associated *so* with casual audiences: five with friends or family, five with peers or subordinates, and one with casual audiences broadly. Two participants even mentioned that they avoid using *so* with strangers. By comparison, only five responses mentioned use with work-related listeners like colleagues. These *yes* responses paint a more informal picture for use of *so* than the *yes* responses for *well*, which were relatively mixed across formal and informal audiences.

Finally, of the forty-six *oh my God* participants, twenty-four (52%) reported no variation by audience while twenty-two (48%) did, eighteen of which gave additional details; no participants were unsure. Based on the more detailed *yes* responses, I found that participants associated *oh my God* with informal audiences even more than they did *so*. Eleven responses referenced use with family or friends or with casual audiences generally, and another six explicitly mentioned avoidance with colleagues, professors, strangers (for “fear of offending them”), or with audiences in the public sphere (euphemisms like “gosh” or “goodness” were recommended instead). Another participant reported that they would not say *oh my God* in front of a religious or older person. Notice that, despite the secularizing trends reported for *oh my God* in the literature, the details contained in these responses still reflect awareness of the marker's religious roots and highlight that it is still avoided with certain audiences.

As they were with respect to audience-based variation in use, the English speakers' rates of *yes*, *no*, and *unsure* responses were similar across the three markers when they were asked

whether their use changed based on the situational context. Once again, however, a closer look at the answers provided by those who elaborated on their *yes* responses was enlightening.

For *well*, twenty-two (49%) of the forty-six participants surveyed reported that their use of *well* did not vary based on the situation, and one (2%) was unsure. The remaining twenty-three (50%) responded that the discourse situation did influence their use of *well*, and all of those answering *yes* provided further details. Many of their responses revealed a strong association between *well* and uncomfortable situations, including talking about an unfamiliar topic (two responses), having to explain or defend a point (five), searching for the right word (one), feeling uncomfortable with their interlocutor (two), and general nervousness or awkwardness (two). These answers call to mind *well*'s use as a face-threat mitigator and self-repair device in the literature. Once again, some responses referenced use in professional settings, like speaking with superiors (three responses) or conversing at work (two), but others reserved the marker for informal, relaxed situations (five). Participants also reported using *well* in contexts lacking strong feeling (two responses: "when i don't care", "If more compassion is needed I do not use well") or when responding or reacting to something, like a request for advice (one response) or a story (one).

Though sixteen (35%) of the forty-six participants said their use of *so* was unaffected by situation and one (2%) was unsure, the other twenty-nine (63%) said that situation was a factor. Based on the further details provided by twenty-three of those *yes* responses, *so*, like the marker *well*, can be associated with discomfort (four responses referenced stressful or unfamiliar situations). However, as seen in the audience-centered question responses, *so* was deemed more informal than *well*. In fact, there were nine references to informal situations among the *yes* responses. Other themes were use of *so* in informative contexts, like asking questions (two responses), explaining (one), or gathering information (one); in humorous situations, like contexts that are dramatic or funny (one response) or that involve sarcasm (one); and in situations centered on beginnings or transitions, like the start of a conversation (one response) or the onset or continuation of a sentence (two).

Lastly, none of the forty-six surveyed participants were unsure whether the discourse situation affected their use of *oh my God*: fourteen (30%) responded *no*, and thirty-two (70%) said *yes*, twenty-seven of whom gave additional details. The contents of those detailed *yes* responses reinforced *oh my God*'s emotionality from the perspective of speakers (corroborating

its Emotional Reaction and Emotional Involvement uses from the literature), as well as its informality. There were sixteen references to situations involving shock or surprise among those responses, ranging from the positive (“amazing”) to the embarrassing (“Yes...mostly when i made mistakes”) to the negative (“tragic”). Two participants adamantly pointed out that, though it is now against the norm, they only use *oh my God* as a marker when reacting to emergencies or when expressing “TRUE amazement”, the latter reporting that they “don't use it like the kids use it today”. This marker was also associated with informal situations (two responses) or with topics of intense interest, like when debating something (one response) or taking a “deep dive” into an intriguing subject (one). Finally, one participant noted that they tended to use *oh my God* in situations where women were present, again calling to mind the female-driven trend in increased use of *oh my God* noted by Tagliamonte and Jankowski (2019: 212).

Notice that these English survey results with respect to the influence of audience and situation overlap with the Kwéyòl interview responses in several ways. For example, in both the surveys and the interviews, awareness of power differentials was a recurring theme. The Kwéyòl interviewees reported avoiding all three markers (*èben* ‘well’, *konsa* ‘so’, and *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’) when speaking to an authority figure. Similarly, though use of *well*, and to a lesser extent *so*, has clearly infiltrated formal situations like conversations with superiors, many of the English survey respondents made similar power differential-avoidant observations about *well*, *so*, and *oh my God*. Participants in both groups also advised care with respect to audience when using *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’ or *oh my God* around religious individuals, and they both highlighted the broad range of emotional reactions expressed by these markers when used secularly.

6.2 History of discussing use with others

With respect to history of use, I asked both groups if they had ever explicitly discussed the use of these pragmatic markers with others; this, too, was part of Fox Tree’s (2007: 311-312) method. During their interviews, the only Kwéyòl speaker to report talking with others about use of *èben* ‘well’ or *konsa* ‘so’ was a participant who teaches the Creole to adult learners; she recalled answering students’ questions about what these words mean. However, with respect to *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’, one participant did recall a conversation with a friend who had questioned the participant’s use of the collocation *papa mèt* ‘father Lord’. The friend felt that expressions of this nature should not be overused because they were phrases that the friend

associated with reverence. In a similar vein, the interviewee who had reported discussing these markers with students said that she did not recall ever explicitly explaining to her students that the use of words like *papa* or *Bondyé* was contextually limited among religious individuals; she thought that these restrictions were simply self-explanatory given the nature of the markers' content, particularly since she avoids secular use of them herself.

The responses I gathered from those who took the English survey followed a similar pattern, particularly when I asked participants whether they recalled discussing *so*, *well*, or *oh my God* in informal settings (e.g., with family members or friends). Only one (2%) of the forty-six participants surveyed about *so* reported discussing its use in an informal setting, and only four (9%) of the forty-six who were surveyed about *well* reported the same. However, twelve (26%) of the forty-six participants who were asked about *oh my God* said that they had discussed its use with friends or family. A chi-square test revealed that this relationship between which English marker was asked about and how many participants reported having discussed the item in informal settings was statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 138) = 13.02, p = .001$. These results contrast with the responses to the survey question about whether participants had discussed these markers in formal settings, which were similar across the three markers (8, 17% responded *yes* for *so*; 5, 11% responded *yes* for *well*; 5, 11% responded *yes* for *oh my God*).

When asked what they could recall about these discussion(s), the survey participants usually struggled to remember details from a specific incident (e.g., "I'm sure that I have, just because the word "so" is a pretty ingrained part of my vocabulary, but I can't think of any specific times"). However, a few offered specifics. A single participant remembered discussing *well* with a neighbor, but for *so*, these deeper answers came from recollections of formal-context discussions that took place in educational settings: a communications class in college, an eighth-grade lecture, and oratory lessons in business school. Two sample quotes are provided below in (99) and (100). Notice the punitive nature of (99), in which use of the marker *so* resulted in points docked from public speaking assignment grades. Meanwhile, in (100), pragmatic markers are divided into categories, with items like *so* and *well* being deemed more "real" than markers like *uh* and *um*.

- (99) In my 8th grade [class] my teacher has this whole spiel about how we shouldn't use fillers words such as "So." She made us basically publicly speak in front of the class, and every time we used filler words would get points taken off our final grade.
(About *so*, Metalinguistic Knowledge Survey)
- (100) I took oratory and communications lessons as part of my business and marketing curriculum in trade school and we studied filler words and discussed how it's sometimes better to pause than use an um or uh, and how other "real" words can be used like "like" and "so" and "well" instead of "uh" and "um"
(About *so*, Metalinguistic Knowledge Survey)

By contrast, as reflected in the quantitative results discussed earlier, the detailed *yes* responses regarding *oh my God* centered on informal interactions, particularly conversations with family members. Sample quotes are provided in (101), (102), and (103) below. Responses (101) and (103) explicitly center these discussions around the religious nature of the marker, while (102) hints at a taboo by suggesting avoidance yet without providing a particular reason. It is also notable that each of these incidents involves generational divides in which older family members are reprimanding younger ones for uttering the marker.

- (101) After being reprimanded for a taking the Lord's name in vain, my cousins and [I] went outside and vented about what the expression means for us vs how the elders receive our use of the expression
(About *oh my God*, Metalinguistic Knowledge Survey)
- (102) I discussed with my children why there are better phrases to utilize.
(About *oh my God*, Metalinguistic Knowledge Survey)
- (103) My family is religious so my parents are offended by the use of this phrase and told me not to use it when I was growing up.
(About *oh my God*, Metalinguistic Knowledge Survey)

As a whole, these survey responses parallel the Kwéyòl interviews in that they either reference formal discussions in educational settings or informal discussions with family or friends, and the latter typically address the appropriateness of using the markers of religious origins.

6.3 Attitudes

To learn about these two groups' attitudes towards the pragmatic markers under investigation, I followed Fox Tree's (2007: 312) template and asked them about avoidance of the markers and about whether they felt communication would be improved, worsened, or

unaffected if people did not use the markers. In their interviews, the Kwéyòl speakers reported that, aside from perhaps avoiding use of *èben* ‘well’ as a child for fear of sounding impertinent to a parent, they saw no reason to avoid using *èben* ‘well’ or *konsa* ‘so’. Regarding *èben* in particular, one interviewee noted that this is not a marker that one can “overuse”. With respect to *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’, one interviewee reported no avoidance at all, another (who restricts use of these items to religious contexts) reported successfully avoiding use of these markers in secular situations, and the rest reported avoiding these markers only in the presence of someone who might take offense.

As for how eliminating the markers would affect communication, the interviewees were rather adamant: as part of the language, naturally something would be lost if these markers were eliminated, even if what they contribute to communication is not always clear. Regarding *konsa* ‘so’, the interviewees said the marker may be “filler” but that there is “no stigma” attached to its use and that it is part of their culture. Similarly, they reported that *èben* ‘well’ “adds to the communication”, that it builds “camaraderie” between speakers, and that there would be a loss in emotional content if the marker were no longer used. Even as they acknowledged that users of *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’ should still be mindful of who is listening, the interviewees stated that these items are now “rampant” and constitute part of speakers’ “sense of expression”. Below in (104) through (106) are fuller direct quotes from this portion of the interviews.

- (104) There’s nothing wrong with using it. If the situation warrants it, you use it!
(About *konsa* ‘so’, Metalinguistic Knowledge Interview, SMAf63)
- (105) It enhances communication.
(About *èben* ‘well’, Metalinguistic Knowledge Interview, SMAf63)
- (106) I think you need it!
(About *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’, Metalinguistic Knowledge Interview, MDf60)

Like the Kwéyòl interviewees, when asked whether they avoided *so*, *well*, or *oh my God*, and if so, how successfully, most of the participants surveyed about each English marker tended to report no avoidance. In addition, for all three English markers, fewer participants reported unsuccessful avoidance, and still fewer reported successful avoidance. These results are provided in Table 12 below.

Avoidance Response Options	<i>So</i> (n = 46)	<i>Well</i> (n = 46)	<i>Oh my God</i> (n = 46)
There are times when I try to avoid using [marker], and I succeed.	7, 15%	5, 11%	7, 15%
There are times when I try to avoid using [marker], but it doesn't work.	12, 26%	13, 28%	16, 35%
I don't try to avoid using [marker].	27, 59%	28, 61%	23, 50%

Table 12. English survey avoidance responses by maker

As for how they thought elimination of the markers would affect communication, most of the participants surveyed about *so* (21, 46%) and *oh my God* (30, 65%) thought that no longer using these markers would have no effect on communication. Meanwhile, those participants asked about *well* were more divided. Although eighteen (39%) thought that not using *well* would not affect communication, nineteen (41%) were unsure. Table 13 below presents these results.

Elimination Effect Response Options	<i>So</i> (n = 46)	<i>Well</i> (n = 46)	<i>Oh my God</i> (n = 46)
Communication would be better if people didn't use [marker].	3, 7%	3, 7%	3, 7%
Communication would be worse if people didn't use [marker].	11, 24%	6, 13%	4, 9%
Saying [marker] doesn't affect communication.	21, 46%	18, 39%	30, 65%
I don't know whether communication is affected by saying [marker] or not.	11, 24%	19, 41%	9, 20%

Table 13. English survey responses by maker regarding elimination's effect on communication

The overall dismissiveness towards the pragmatic markers conveyed by the English survey responses contrasts sharply with the Kwéyòl interviewees' perspectives. Though members of the Kwéyòl group sometimes used terms like "filler", they expressed a clear attachment to their Creole's pragmatic markers and pointed out that eliminating them from use would (inter)personal and cultural impacts.

6.4 Intuitions regarding meaning

When asked directly what, if anything, they thought the Kwéyòl pragmatic markers meant (a topic also included in Fox Tree's (2007: 312) questionnaire), the interviewees' responses fell into three categories. The first was that the meanings of these items were simply hard to articulate. The second was that the markers did not have the same meanings as their lexical counterparts. In other words, while *konsa* 'so' is pronounced similarly to *kon sa* 'like that', and *papa* and *Bondyé* may literally mean 'father' and 'God', the interviewees emphasized that the markers I was asking them about did not retain those meanings when used as pragmatic markers. They were particularly adamant about the markers with religious roots which, though still used in spiritual contexts, have lost their religious meanings for many speakers.

The third kind of response they gave was to list ways that these markers can be used; these answers both reflected the results of the corpus analysis and emphasized the procedural nature of pragmatic markers as a class. Recall that the content that pragmatic markers convey is rooted in how the listener should interpret the surrounding utterances or broader context, hence the helpfulness of capturing them by focusing on the functions they perform for speakers. For example, the interviewees reported that *èben* ‘well’ can express emotions, mark the start of a new sentence, or signal agreement, descriptions reminiscent of the marker’s Emotional Reaction function, its use in utterance-initial position, and its Concession function. Similarly, they reported a wide range of emotional expressions with respect to *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’, including surprise and fear, calling to mind their Emotional Reaction and Emotional Involvement functions.

When asked what the English markers meant, the survey participants’ responses to this question reflected five approaches, with some participants opting for more than one. First, like the Kwéyòl interviewees, they turned to listing functions the markers perform in discourse. These responses resembled those they had given in answer to the self-assessment question that elicited contexts in which the participants thought they most frequently used the markers. In fact, twenty-six of the forty-six participants who took the *so* survey, twenty-one of the forty-six who were surveyed about *well*, and thirty-five of the forty-six who were asked about *oh my God* referenced functional information in their responses. For example, *so* was defined as a word that indicates “a connection between two thoughts or clauses. Typically associated with cause and effect”, a response that calls to mind its Inference function. Similarly, *well* was defined using phrases like “at the beginning of a sentence if you’re changing the subject” (akin to its New Topic function), and *oh my God* was repeatedly referred to as an “exclamation” or “shock” marker.

The second approach was to provide a word or phrase with a similar meaning; this kind of information was found in eight of the *so* responses, eleven of *well* responses, and nine of the *oh my God* responses. For instance, *so* was compared to words like *therefore* and phrases like *for that reason*, again reminiscent of its Inference function reported in the literature. Meanwhile, *well* was likened to items like *actually*, *on the contrary*, and *listen to me*, recalling its use as an initiator of undesirable responses like disagreements and corrections. Many of the synonymous words and phrases for *oh my God* contained swear words or their euphemisms, such as *oh darn*.

This is intriguing, given the taboo status of g-words as oaths historically and to a lesser extent today.

Third, there were survey participants who provided definitions of the lexical counterpart rather than defining the word as it is used as a pragmatic marker; this contrasted with the Kwéyòl interviewees, who consistently emphasized the meaningful differences between the markers and their lexical counterparts. Six of the responses regarding *so*'s meaning took this approach, as did nine regarding *well*. These included responses like defining *so* as “to suggest extent or degree”, which clearly refers to *so* as an adverb (e.g., *I was so happy*), and referencing *well*'s adverbial form through answers like “in good health” and “a term of condition”. Only the *oh my God* answers broke this pattern; like the Kwéyòl interviewees, these four responses explicitly distinguished the marker's meanings from actually calling upon God (e.g., “I don't think it has anything to do with God.”).

Displaying a fourth method, eight of the *so* answers, ten of the *well* answers, and two of the *oh my God* answers expressed either that the participant was unsure of the marker's meaning or saw the markers as lacking meaning, using labels like “meaningless filler”, “crutch”, or “placeholder”. Finally, the fifth approach (found in three answers for *so*, three for *well*, and two for *oh my God*) was to suggest that these items have multiple meanings. For example, one participant said of *so* “I think it can mean multiple different things”. Another called *well* “so variable”, and another reported that *oh my God* could mean “everything really”.

Of course, there were a few unusual responses among the data that were unclear (two for *so* and one for *oh my God*). For instance, one participant defined *oh my God* as “nothing more for now”.

Digging deeper into the English survey participants' second approach to the previous question, I deviated from Fox Tree's (2007) methodology by asking both groups to list any synonymous words or phrases that came to mind. Interviewees were of course invited to suggest synonyms in Kwéyòl or in English. Each unique response is listed in alphabetical order below in Table 14, and ellipsis ‘...’ is used to indicate utterance-final positioning. Since some participants used altered spellings of swear words and others did not, I chose to retain whatever explicit, euphemistic, or edited spellings the participants used.

<i>Konsa</i> 'so'	<i>So</i>	<i>Ében</i> 'well'	<i>Well</i>	<i>Papa/Bondyé</i> 'father/God'	<i>Oh my God</i>
<i>alò</i> 'so'	<i>also</i>	<i>..kanmenm</i> 'nevertheless, however'	<i>actually</i>	<i>kisa</i> 'what'	<i>astounding</i>
<i>mé</i> 'but'	<i>and?</i>		<i>alright</i>	<i>tèt nèg</i> 'black [person's] head' ³⁹	<i>amazing</i>
<i>really</i>	<i>as a result</i>	<i>surely</i>	<i>also</i>		<i>are you kidding me</i>
<i>so</i>	<i>because</i>	<i>... then</i>	<i>and</i>		<i>are you serious</i>
	<i>but (yet)</i>	<i>uh</i>	<i>anyway(s)</i>		<i>bless your heart</i>
	<i>ergo</i>	<i>well</i>	<i>but</i>		<i>can you believe it</i>
	<i>hence</i>	<i>what</i>	<i>damn</i>		<i>f#%k all</i>
	<i>**if</i>		<i>*doing good</i>		<i>gee wiz</i>
	<i>in conclusion</i>		<i>fine</i>		<i>get out</i>
	<i>is</i>		<i>good</i>		<i>good God</i>
	<i>like</i>		<i>however</i>		<i>goodness gracious me</i>
	<i>meanwhile</i>		<i>huh!</i>		<i>holy cow</i>
	<i>moreover</i>		<i>I believe</i>		<i>(holy) crap</i>
	<i>oh</i>		<i>indeed</i>		<i>holy shit</i>
	<i>okay</i>		<i>in that/any case</i>		<i>Jesus (Christ)</i>
	<i>provided that</i>		<i>I think</i>		<i>nice</i>
	<i>the</i>		<i>I've given this some thought</i>		<i>no way</i>
	<i>then</i>		<i>like</i>		<i>oh darn</i>
	<i>therefore</i>		<i>listen here</i>		<i>oh God</i>
	<i>thus(ly)</i>		<i>look</i>		<i>oh jeez/Jesus</i>
	<i>*to such a great extent</i>		<i>obviously</i>		<i>(oh) (my) gosh/goodness</i>
	<i>to summarize</i>		<i>of course</i>		<i>oh my (word)</i>
	<i>true</i>		<i>oh my God</i>		<i>oh no</i>
	<i>um/uh</i>		<i>okay</i>		<i>oh shucks</i>
	<i>well</i>		<i>on the contrary</i>		<i>(oh) wow</i>
	<i>well then</i>		<i>otherwise</i>		<i>ouch</i>
			<i>sensible</i>		<i>really</i>
			<i>so</i>		

³⁹ The interviewee who suggested this synonym also reported that the expression has fallen out of fashion and would only be used by much older generations of speakers. She was unsure of the origins of this expression.

			<i>sweet!</i>		<i>seriously</i>
			<i>*something that holds water</i>		<i>shut the f#%k up</i>
			<i>then</i>		<i>(that's) crazy</i>
			<i>therefore</i>		<i>you don't say</i>
			<i>the same as</i>		<i>you've got to be kidding me</i>
			<i>totally</i>		<i>well I'll be</i>
			<i>uh/eh/um</i>		<i>what the fuck</i>
			<i>undoubtedly</i>		<i>woah</i>
			<i>wow</i>		
			<i>yes</i>		
			<i>you know</i>		

Table 14. Synonymous words and phrases for the Kwéyòl markers and English markers provided by the interviewees and survey participants, respectively

There are a few responses, marked with an asterisk ‘*’, that were clearly synonyms for a marker’s lexical counterpart or homonym, such as *to such a great extent* for the adverbial form of *so* or *something that holds water* for the nominal form of *well*. Those aside, however, these synonym lists display the participants’ robust understanding of how these markers are used in language and crosslinguistically. For example, some of the Kwéyòl interviewees’ responses document the similarity they perceive between a Kwéyòl marker and its English counterpart: responding *so* for *konsa* and *well* for *èben*. Also, many of the English survey participants gave synonyms that can function similarly to the pragmatic marker under investigation. For example, *as a result* shares *so*’s inference-marking function and *fine*, like *well*, can express concession or partial acceptance. Some of the responses were even words and phrases the pragmatic markers can acceptably collocate with. For instance, both *actually* and *well* can introduce undesirable responses, and they can cooccur, as illustrated in (107a) below, a reproduction of (29) from the previous chapter. One of the responses for *so*, *if*, is marked with two asterisks ‘**’; while *if* would be an odd replacement for *so*, it is still a word with which *so* cooccurs, as displayed below in (107b).

- (107) a. A: But we now have a number of experts who are watching those tax receipt numbers that come in regularly. And they are saying that they do not add up to what is anything like the kind of growth that the administration had projected off these tax cuts?
- B: **Well, actually**, overall revenues are up about 10 percent. So that's a pretty good number.
(Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)
- b. **So if** we, as humans, act on this, if we start to really value nature, value birds, these birds will respond, respond rapidly. In five or ten years, we could easily see some of these species starting to increase. It can happen that fast.
(Corpus of Contemporary American English, Spoken)

Similarly, I found during the Kwéyòl Donmnik corpus analysis that *èben* 'well' can indeed coincide with utterance-final *then* when introducing a face-threatening utterance. This is shown below in (108), a reproduction of (33) from Chapter 5.

- (108) A: Oké. “So”, mwen ni pou kwiyé yo?
okay so I have to call them
‘OK. So, I have to call them?’
- B: Wi. I di mon, o, i di mon pou kwiyé yo
yes she said me or she said me to call them
‘Yes. She told me, or, she told me to call them
- kon mwen èvè ’w.
as I with you
as I’m with you.
- A: **Èben**, poutji ou pa fè sa “then”?
well why you not done that then
‘**Well**, why haven’t you done that then?’
(Dialogue, London Corpus, Edf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

Notice also that, once again, the suggestions for items that have similar meanings to *oh my God* tend to contain swear words and g-words along with their affiliated euphemisms (e.g., *goodness*) or alterations (e.g., *f#%k*), as well as other phrases containing the information integration marker *oh*.

Lastly, like Fox Tree (2007: 312), I asked both groups to consider the reasons why they thought people might use these pragmatic markers when communicating. In their interviews, the Kwéyòl-speaking participants suggested that their markers were used either because (a) the

marker performed a particular function the speaker had need of, like *konsa* ‘so’ introducing a new question or topic or *èben* ‘well’ opening or concluding a conversation; (b) the speaker was in a nervous or contemplative state and unsure what to say next; or (c) the speaker was in a unique kind of discourse situation. For example, one interviewee mentioned that a speaker might utter *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’ in a situation where they feel threatened or encroached upon and need to let someone else “know they need to step back”.

Though a number of English survey participants were unsure how to answer this question, their responses followed some similar patterns. Like the Kwéyòl interviewees, many attributed their use of the pragmatic markers either to the usefulness of one or more specific functions the markers perform or to the speaker’s need for time to consider what to say next, perhaps because of the speaker’s nervous state. Crucially, however, there were also twelve responses about *so*, nineteen about *well*, and twelve about *oh my God* whose content suggested that speakers use these markers without any communicative reason. These answers referred to the markers as “filler”, as “easy to use”, or suggested that their frequency in English conversations had simply become an ingrained “habit” or “verbal tick” that has risen to the level of a cultural norm (e.g., “it’s just a phrase ingrained in culture”).

There was one participant who attributed use of *oh my God* to “white people”, but usually the virality and cultural prominence of the markers was discussed neutrally, even in reference to *oh my God*, as demonstrated in (109) below.⁴⁰

(109) It's so ingrained with American culture. It's in movies, songs, books, it's everywhere. Even religious people say it. We grow up with it all around us so it's just there.
(About *oh my God*, Metalinguistic Knowledge Survey)

However, a few answers made explicit judgments about those who use *well* (one response) or *oh my God* (two responses). The mildest of these was an answer that gave laziness as the reason behind *well*’s use. A harsher example, provided in (110) below, references those who use *oh my God*. This participant associates use of *oh my God* with excessive television consumption and overuse of texting, equating examples participants were given with “childish gibberish”.

⁴⁰ Some speakers may associate *oh my God* with white females, as evidenced by Slobe’s (2018) work on “Mock white girl (MWG) performances[, which] parody a linguistic and embodied style associated with contemporary middle-class white girls in the United States”. It is also possible that this participant’s association between *oh my God* and white people was a reference to the marker’s religious roots and the spread of certain spiritual traditions via European colonization.

- (110) It they are not using it like me....then it probably because they have watched too much television or have been texting too much. I found myself having to constantly go back and forth in your examples of whether I should be thinking about the excerpts in proper form, common parlance to myself, or childish gibberish that is often used today.
(About *oh my God*, Metalinguistic Knowledge Survey)

Further evidence that this marker retains a certain level of taboo status in English also came from one comment that highlighted the significance of its religious roots (“the word God carries a lot of weight”) and from another that referenced its oath-swearing origins by referring to *oh my God* as an “expletive”. In addition, there were two answers that suggested that some speakers may use *oh my God* somewhat rebelliously; these responses reported using it “for fun” or “[b]ecause we are dramatic and need a phrase to exclaim moments of importance to us”.

6.5 Metalinguistic knowledge of the locative pragmatic marker *la*

The interviewees struggled at first to articulate their metalinguistic knowledge about how *la* is used as a locative pragmatic marker in Kwéyòl Donmnik. Their self-assessments of use were vague and disparate; they reported using or encountering *la* in this form *sometimes*, but found it difficult to say for sure, especially since the definite determiner and locative adverb forms of *la* are used so frequently in Kwéyòl. One participant reported having discussed *la* in its more common forms with students in her class for Kwéyòl learners, but the group could not recall ever discussing use of *la* as a marker with others or ever consciously avoiding using it. They were also unsure of when they tended to use the marker most frequently, and their responses regarding audience- and situation-based variation in use covered a wide spectrum from reporting no variation, to reporting lack of certainty, to reporting that this marker was most suited to informal interactions with family or friends.

Where their responses became more enlightening was when we started digging deeper into their attitudes and meaning-related intuitions with respect to *la* as a marker. The memory-jogging example that I gave the interviewees using Zoom’s Screen Share function was one discussed in 4.1 and 5.6 and reproduced as (111) below. When asked whether communication would be affected if speakers no longer used *la* as it surfaces in (111), the interviewees reported that the effect would be a negative one, not only because *la* “adds to the meaning” but because it conveys the “emotions” behind the utterance in which it occurs.

(111) Dèmen, O, ou sav sa mwen té vlé 'w fè?
 Tomorrow oh you know what I PAST want you do
 'Tomorrow, oh, you know what I wanted you to do?

Pou 'w té mennen an, an, an katon koté
 for you PAST bring INDEF INDEF INDEF carton/cardboard box by
 'For you to bring a, a, a carton/cardboard box by

nonm -la ki mò **la**.
 man DEF who died there
 the man who died [**there**].'

(Dialogue, Speakers EDf82 & HMMf63, gloss mine)

When asked to explicitly define the marker, they responded that a clear definition was hard to articulate. Though they commented on the lack of clear locative content in tokens of *la* like the one in (111), they also highlighted that the marker still retains a certain “pointing” quality. For example, one interviewee associated the marker with “emphasis”, while another called it “relational” and said it brought focus to the fact “that he died”. Similarly, in response to why a speaker might use *la* this way, their responses included the expression of emotion, the addition of emphasis, and an effort to indicate to the listener a certain shared familiarity with whatever *la* accompanies (in this case, the man who died).

The only word the interviewees could think of that was synonymous with the marker *la* was English *there*. Crucially, one interviewee pointed out that *there* is also used this way in Dominica’s local English variety, which she suggested shares many features with the Creole. The example she shared is transcribed below in (112). Like Kwéyòl *la*, the marker’s position is utterance-final, and no locative content is being referenced. Instead, the marker emphasizes familiarity with the boy and his criminal past, reinforced by use of attitudinal *that* in *that boy*.

(112) But you don't remember that boy? That boy that was in prison **there**?
 (About *la* ‘there’, Metalinguistic Knowledge Interview, Interviewee SMAf63)

Though these intuitions were difficult for the interviewees to put into words, they parallel the comments made by Fellego (1998) about the detachability and lack of clear locative content that characterize locative pragmatic markers. Moreover, they reflect the relationship-focusing function of *la* documented in the Chapter 5 corpus analysis, as well its Shared Knowledge and Emotional Reaction functions.

6.6 Conducting a metalinguistic knowledge interview by phone

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, I conducted one metalinguistic interview by phone, a medium which turned out to be far less productive than Zoom. Without the benefit of a Screen Share function or a way to send audio-textual messages, it was difficult to convey examples of the markers to my phone interviewee, and she struggled to follow and answer the interview questions. Unable to properly contextualize the markers I was asking her about, the interviewee insisted on discussing how to define each word with reference to its lexical or French superstrate counterpart. For example, she defined *konsa* as ‘like that’ (the definition of its lexical counterpart, *kon sa*), likening it French *comme ça* ‘like that’, also in the literal sense of comparison and not as it is discussed in Chapter 5 as a pragmatic marker. Similarly, she defined *la* as ‘the’ or adverbial ‘there’, comparing it to the French feminine definite article *la* and locative *-là*; reported that *papa* and *Bondyé* simply mean ‘father’ and ‘God’; and suggested that *èben* is akin to the French adverb *bien* ‘well’ (*byen* in Kwéyòl).

This interview was not without its insights, however. The phone interviewee’s responses shed light on why researchers like Fox Tree (2007) and I make efforts to provide participants with contextualized examples of pragmatic markers before using various questions to probe their metalinguistic knowledge. Without such examples (and sometimes even with them, as evidenced by some of the synonym responses in Table 14), speakers seem to more readily access the lexical counterparts of these items. Perhaps it is for this reason that so few researchers have attempted to ask speakers directly about the meanings of pragmatic markers, assuming that their content is simply too abstract or that their usage is too unconscious for speakers to explicitly share any useful information about them.

6.7 Discussion and summary

The primary take-away from this comparative study is that, not only did the participants’ responses demonstrated a robust capacity for consciously sharing metalinguistic knowledge about the pragmatic markers, but the contents of those responses both aligned with and extended beyond the insights that could be gleaned from the corpus analysis and literature discussed in Chapter 5.

It is true that the participants’ responses did not necessarily portray the full functional breadth of the markers. For instance, they tended to home in on the emotional functions of *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’ and *oh my God* rather than the markers’ emphatic function or the

latter's ability to introduce reported dialogue. However, in addition to accurately identifying portions of these markers' functional inventories, the participants were able to provide deeper information about how, how often, when, with whom, and why these markers are used, as well as about how their use and their content are perceived by speakers. It was also made clear that, like linguists, these speakers had a tendency to characterize the pragmatic markers in terms of the functions they perform in discourse, a trend that underscores the procedural nature of pragmatic markers as a class.

As discussed throughout the chapter, there were many similarities across the two group's responses. Perhaps most salient was that both sets of responses conveyed awareness of the waning but still extant taboo status that the markers with religious origins maintain among some members of both language communities. This surfaced in response to multiple questions, including the audience- and situation-related questions, those addressing discussions about the markers with others, and the one probing why speakers use these markers when communicating.

There was a key difference as well. The English survey results conveyed a more pronounced tendency to dismiss the pragmatic markers under investigation. Participants in the English survey more often referred to the markers as meaningless, lacking in clear purpose, and/or not substantively contributing to communication. Frequent use of the markers was attributed by many to habit rather than communicative value, and some of the comments called to mind the more pejorative labels for pragmatic markers mentioned in the opening paragraphs of Chapter 3. The Kwéyòl interviewees, meanwhile, ascribed far greater communicative and cultural value to their pragmatic markers; even when the interviewees struggled to convey a marker's exact meaning or contribution to communication, they pointed out that to eliminate the marker from use would have a detrimental impact. How to account for these differences between the prestige language community and the minoritized language community is unclear. Perhaps it is the Creole's minoritized status itself that rendered the markers less dispensable to the speakers I interviewed; if a language is minoritized and declining in use, communicative value may be more readily attributed to all of its components, pragmatic markers included. Another possible explanation is the prevalence of literacy and literacy-centered prescriptive education in English-speaking communities — still a rarity in Kwéyòl. Use of pragmatic markers is heavily restricted in standardized English, particularly in writing, and some markers, like *oh my God*, are completely excluded from this variety except when quoting non-standardized utterances. Perhaps

the prestige that is thus associated with formal, standardized English reinforces the undervaluing of English pragmatic markers. This might also account for why some of the English survey participants reported having discussed these items in educational settings.

There were also a couple of additional in-language differences of note. First, though it is also used in informal contexts, the responses regarding audience- and situation-related variation in the English survey suggested that use of *well* is more prevalent in professional settings than are use of *so* or *oh my God*. Second, with respect to the Kwéyòl markers, it was much harder for the interviewees to put their metalinguistic knowledge about the locative pragmatic marker *la* ‘there’ into words than it was for them to share their thoughts on *èben* ‘well’, *konsa* ‘so’, or *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’. Despite the increase in difficulty, however, their insights into *la*’s functions were enlightening and paralleled both the corpus analysis and work by Fellego (1998) on this subclass of marker.

In this chapter, I have discussed the results of my metalinguistic interviews with Kwéyòl speakers and my survey for English speakers about pragmatic markers that share some similar functions across the two languages: Kwéyòl *konsa* ‘so’, *èben* ‘well’, and *Bondyé/papa* ‘God/father’ and English *so*, *well*, and *oh my God*. I also addressed what Kwéyòl speakers reported about the elusive locative pragmatic marker *la* ‘there’, as well as the outcomes of the single interview I conducted by phone. In accordance with Butters’ (2002) recommendation that researchers consider speakers’ intuitions in addition to data and linguists’ observations, I compared the participants’ responses with the results of the Kwéyòl corpus analysis and English linguistic literature exploration provided in Chapter 5. I also commented on similarities and differences between the two groups’ responses. In the next chapter, I will discuss the results of the fill-in-the-blank interchangeability task I used to assess whether English speakers approach pragmatic markers as interchangeable when they have functions in common.

Chapter 7

Interchangeability Task Results

In this chapter, I discuss the results of the fill-in-the-blank task that I conducted with English speakers to address my third research question: do English speakers approach pragmatic markers as interchangeable, particularly when they have functions in common?

Recall from 4.3 that my methodology was inspired by Lee et al.'s (2019) text-only (no audio input) study on the interchangeability of French pragmatic markers. My own experimental task was constructed in Qualtrics and distributed via Prolific to the same 138 participants who took part in the English metalinguistic knowledge survey discussed in the previous chapter. Crucially, the metalinguistic knowledge portion was conducted after the participants had already completed this interchangeability task, so when the participants responded to these fill-in-the-blank stimuli, they had not yet been asked to consciously consider how these markers are used.

To build the task's contents, I turned to the literature I had gathered on *well*, *so*, and *oh my God* as part of the Kwéyòl corpus analysis in Chapter 5, documenting the discourse-pragmatic functions attributed to each marker in the literature and noting which of those functions were unique to only one of the markers, similar across two markers, or shared by all three. Next, I consulted the Spoken genre section of the Corpus of Contemporary American English and manually collected examples of each marker to use as excerpts for my fill-in-the-blank stimuli.

Each marker performs a different number of functions (*well* performs ten, *so* performs nine, and *oh my God* performs seven), and some of those functions may be performed more frequently in speech than others. Thus, my priorities were (a) to gather the clearest excerpts I could find that did not require extensive context to interpret, (b) to find twenty examples of each marker for a total of sixty, and (c) to find at least one example of each marker performing each of its functions. In Table 15 below, I list the functions of each of the three markers (discussed in Chapter 5) and organize them into three groups: those similar functions shared by all three of the markers, for which I gathered fifteen excerpts total; those shared by two of the markers, for

which I also gathered fifteen excerpts; and those functions reported to be performed by only one marker, for which I gathered thirty excerpts. The table also includes the number of excerpts that exemplified each marker performing each of its function. For a listing of the sixty excerpts themselves, see Appendix B.

	Functions of <i>Well</i> (n = 20 excerpts)	Functions of <i>So</i> (n = 20 excerpts)	Functions of <i>Oh my God</i> (n = 20 excerpts)
Similar across all three pragmatic markers (n = 15 excerpts)	Floor-Holding (1)	Floor-Holding (1)	Punctuator Floor-Holding (1)
	Reported Discourse (2)	Reported Discourse (1)	Reported Discourse (4)
	Self-Repair (2)	Self-Repair (2)	Self-Repair (1)
Similar across two pragmatic markers (n = 15 excerpts)	Abandoned Topic (2)	Abandoned Topic (2)	
	New Topic (2)	New Topic (2)	
	Emotional Reaction (3)		Emotional Reaction (4)
Unique to one pragmatic marker (n = 30 excerpts)	Undesirable Response (2)		
	Concession (2)		
	Concluding Remark (2)		
	Face-Threat Mitigator (2)		
		(Elided) Inference (2)	
		Common Ground (3)	
		Agenda Launch (3)	
		Turn-Transition Prompt (4)	
			Emotional Involvement (3)
			Realization (4)
		Emphasis (3)	

Table 15. Similar and unique functions of English *well*, *so*, and *oh my God* and the number of corpus excerpts collected for each

I then removed the pragmatic marker from each excerpt and replaced it with a blank to build my sixty fill-in-the-blank stimuli. These stimuli were presented to each participant in random order, and participants were asked to select their first- (and optionally second-) choice marker to fill in each blank. Recall that, in addition to determining how closely the participants' responses matched the markers originally contained in the corpus stimuli, I was also interested to see whether stimuli displaying functions that were similar across more than one marker might result in slower first-choice response times. To measure this, I used Qualtrics' Timing Questions which are invisible to the participant and document Page Submit time. Once data collection was complete, I used Excel to quantitatively analyze the participants' answer bank selections and Page Submit response times.

7.1 Answer bank selections vs. original markers in stimuli

Despite these pragmatic markers' overlapping inventories of functions, participants chose the original marker as their first choice the majority of the time. These data are provided in Table 16 below. Since there were twenty excerpts for each of the three pragmatic markers under

consideration, and each stimulus was responded to by all 138 participants, this generated 2760 responses per marker, most of which were the same as the original. What is more, these results are significant; a chi-square test revealed that there was a statistically significant relationship between which marker had been removed (the original marker) and which marker participants chose as their first choice to fill in the blank, $X^2(4, N = 8280), p < .001$. Of course, not every first-choice response matched the marker originally uttered in the corpus; for each marker, between 35% and 45% of the remaining answers were distributed across the two alternative responses.

	Original Marker: <i>So</i> (n = 2760 responses)	Original Marker: <i>Well</i> (n = 2760 responses)	Original Marker: <i>Oh my God</i> (n = 2760 responses)
First Choice: <i>So</i>	1804, 65%	835, 30%	504, 18%
First Choice: <i>Well</i>	765, 28%	1544, 56%	734, 27%
First Choice: <i>Oh my God</i>	191, 7%	381, 14%	1522, 55%

Table 16. Participants' fill-in-the-blank first-choice selections

A look at the participants' second-choice selections in Table 17 below revealed two other critical trends. First, the most common second-choice answer was *no* across all three marker conditions; in other words, participants were usually confident in their first choice and declined to indicate a second compatible option. Second, if a participant did make a second selection, their second choice was most likely to be the other marker of the three with which the original marker shares the greatest degree of functional overlap. In other words, when *so* was the original answer, the predominating runner-up choice was *well* with which it shares five functions; *so* only shares three functions with *oh my God*. Likewise, the majority runner-up choice when *well* was the blanked-out marker was *so*, and the majority runner-up choice when *oh my God* had been blanked out was *well*, with which it shares four functions. The next most common second-choice response was the original marker itself. Once again, these results were statistically significant; a chi-square test confirmed that there was a statistically significant relationship between the blanked-out marker and which option participants chose as their second choice, $X^2(2, N = 138), p = 1.03 \times 10^{-73}$.

	Original Marker: <i>So</i> (n = 2760 responses)	Original Marker: <i>Well</i> (n = 2760 responses)	Original Marker: <i>Oh my God</i> (n = 2760 responses)
No second choice	1460, 53%	1316, 48%	1692, 61%
Second Choice: <i>So</i>	378, 14%	600, 22%	320, 12%
Second Choice: <i>Well</i>	774, 28%	593, 21%	395, 24%
Second Choice: <i>Oh my God</i>	148, 5%	9%	353, 13%

Table 17. Participants' fill-in-the-blank second-choice selections

These results suggest that, in addition to being able to explicitly share metalinguistic knowledge about these markers, speakers are also aware that, while the pragmatic markers may share different degrees of functional similarity, they are not freely interchangeable items. What this experiment does not address is how exactly participants were able to converge on the original, blanked-out marker so frequently despite these markers' overlapping functional inventories. A promising explanation that is supported by the results of the metalinguistic knowledge survey is that pragmatic markers are differentiated by far more than just their functional inventories. How they are used by speakers is also modulated by other contextual factors. For example, in her work, Aijmer (2013: 2) considers how factors like text type, activity type, and even occurrence in a monologue versus a dialogue may affect a marker's usage and distribution. It stands to reason that the content of the stimuli in this experiment, which examples drawn from spoken English, contained helpful information of this kind that aided participants in making their selections. Thus, two or more markers having a discourse-pragmatic function in common does not simply render them interchangeable, particularly when they are used in context.

7.2 Functional overlap and page submit time

I had expected participants' average first choice response time to increase with the number of pragmatic markers that could potentially fill the blank in the excerpt. In other words, I expected participants to take the least amount of time to respond when the function illustrated by the excerpt was reported in the literature only for one marker, longer to respond when the literature suggested that two of the markers could perform the function, and longest when the blank was compatible with all three markers. However, the results were quite similar across the three categories: participants were fastest on average when responding to the two-marker-compatible stimuli (10.2 seconds), followed closely by the one-marker-compatible stimuli (11.5 seconds) and the three-marker-compatible stimuli (11.9 seconds). Perhaps the fact that participants knew they could choose up to two answer choices made the two-marker-compatible stimuli slightly easier to respond to, accounting for the small differences in average response time across the conditions.

7.3 Answer bank selections and functional overlap

For each marker, I took a closer look at the predominating first-choice response for each of its twenty stimuli, curious to see how the results changed based on whether an excerpt

displayed a function that is unique to that marker or a function that that marker shares with one or both of the other two markers under investigation.

Twelve of *so*'s twenty stimuli were examples of the marker performing functions like agenda-launching, which only *so* is used for. For eleven of those stimuli, *so* was the majority first-choice response. Four of the twenty stimuli for *so* illustrated functions like re-introducing an abandoned topic, a function it shares with one other marker: *well*. Despite this overlap, *so* was the majority first choice for all four stimuli. The remaining four *so* stimuli exemplify the self-repair function it shares with both *well* and *oh my God*; similarly, however, *so* was the predominating first choice for three of those four stimuli. The outcomes for *oh my God*'s twenty stimuli were similar. It was the majority first choice for six of the ten stimuli displaying its unique functions, four of the seven that illustrated functions it shares with *well*, and all of the four stimuli that exemplified functions that both *well* and *so* can also perform. Thus, even in cases where there was functional overlap, the majority of participants usually responded to those stimuli with *so* or with *oh my God* when it was the marker that had originally filled in the blank.

Participants also fared well when the stimuli for *well* exemplified functions unique to *well*; for seven of these eight stimuli, *well* was the majority first choice. In addition, when the stimuli demonstrated the self-repair function that *well* shares with both *so* and *oh my God*, *well* usually remained the predominant answer: for four of these five stimuli, *well* was again the majority first choice. However, when *well* had performed a function that it shares only with *so* (either New Topic or Abandoned Topic) or only with *oh my God* (Emotional Reaction), the competing marker won out as the majority first pick. In an attempt to better understand why the stimuli that had once contained *so* and *oh my God* (but not *well*) usually elicited the original answer even when one or two of the other markers was a compatible option, I followed up my marker-by-marker examination by approaching the data function-by-function: checking what the majority first-choice answer was for stimuli exemplifying each of the seventeen total functions.

This function-by-function examination revealed that when a function was shared across two or all three of the markers, the participants sometimes had a preferred first choice to fill in the stimuli exemplifying that function regardless of which marker had actually been uttered in the corpus. For instance, though two examples of *so* and two of *well* introducing a new topic had been included among the stimuli, the participants' majority first choice was *so* for all four. The same was true of the four examples of *so* or *well* reintroducing an abandoned topic; the

participants' top first choice was always *so*. Similarly, participants tended to choose *oh my God* for Emotional Reaction stimuli even if the original marker was *well* (of the seven Emotional Reaction excerpts, *oh my God* was the top choice for six, two of which had in fact originally contained *well*). Finally, for the five Self-Repair stimuli compatible with all three markers, *well* was the winning first choice for three of the stimuli and tied with *oh my God* as the top choice for a fourth even though it was the original marker for only two.

These results suggest that, in the minds of speakers, pragmatic markers that share a function may not necessarily share that function equally. Even though *so*, *well*, and *oh my God* can all be used for self-repair, speakers most closely associate this function with *well* over the alternatives, and although *well* can introduce new or abandoned topics and express emotional reactions, speakers tend to prefer *so* for the former two functions and *oh my God* for the latter. This calls to mind work by Cuenca (2008) on modeling a pragmatic marker as a semantic network of interrelated senses; some of these functions are more closely or more peripherally related to the markers' one or more core meanings (Cuenca 2008: 1382). This approach would suggest, for example, that even though Emotional Reaction is a functional node shared by the networks of both *well* and *oh my God*, it may be more closely associated with *oh my God*'s core(s) than *well*'s. Likewise, Self-Repair would be shared by all three markers but most closely linked to *well*'s core(s), and introducing new and abandoned topic would be nodes more closely linked to *so* than to *well*. What precisely the core meaning(s) of these markers are is a complex question beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, I plan to dedicate future research to pinpointing these core meanings, to modeling each of these markers as its own individual semantic network, and to modeling a speaker's collective inventory of pragmatic markers as a larger, interconnected network of marker-specific networks.

As part of my function-by-function examination of the results, I also took a closer look at the participants' majority first-choice answers for stimuli exemplifying functions that were only reported in the literature for one marker. I did this because, though these deviations were few, I wanted to investigate why there were four out of ten *oh my God* stimuli exemplifying functions that were supposedly unique to this marker but for which the majority choice was either *so* or *well*, not *oh my God*. Similarly, why was there one *so*-only stimulus out of twelve for which the majority answer was *well* instead of *so* and one *well*-only stimulus out of eight for which the majority answer was not *so* instead of *well*?

What I found was that there were four functions associated with only one marker in the literature that the participants sometimes associated with one of the other two markers. For one of *so*'s two Common Ground stimuli, *well* was the top choice, and for one of *well*'s two Closing Remark stimuli, *so* was the top choice. Similarly, *well* was the majority first choice for one of *oh my God*'s three Emphasis stimuli, and *so* was the majority first choice for two of *oh my God*'s four Realization stimuli. These outcomes suggest that, though I found each of these four functions documented in the literature for only one marker, each one might also be a function of another marker as well. Perhaps these under-documented functions of *well* and *so* are more recent additions to, or less conventionalized members of, these markers' functional inventories. These results are compatible with the theory of meaning potentials (Norén & Linell 2007), which allows for speakers to create and foreground additional functions that they deem compatible with both the markers' core meaning(s) and with the context at hand.

7.4 Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the results of the experimental fill-in-the-blank task I ran with English speakers to determine whether they perceived *well*, *so*, and *oh my God* as interchangeable, particularly when these markers perform similar functions. As predicted, the results of this task affirm that English speakers do not consider these pragmatic markers to be interchangeable. Rather, they treat them as relatively distinguishable, even when their inventories of functions overlap. The participants tended to select as their first choice the marker that had been blanked out of the stimuli, and when they did supply a runner-up response, their answers reflected the degrees of functional overlap shared by the pragmatic markers under investigation. The average first choice response time shifted little in response to the number of markers compatible with the stimuli, but my marker-by-marker and function-by-function examinations of the results uncovered two noteworthy insights.

First, shared functions are not necessarily shared equally. For many of the functions performed by two or all three of the markers, the participants tended to prefer one marker over the others to fill the excerpts regardless of which marker was the original. This indicates that speakers may more closely associate certain shared functions with one marker over others. This finding will inform my future work on modeling these pragmatic markers as interconnected semantic networks. Second, participants' responses to the one-marker-compatible stimuli suggest that some of the functions that linguists have reported for a single marker in the literature may

also be under-documented functions of another marker. It is difficult to tease apart and exhaustively identify all the functions of a pragmatic marker, and asking speakers to execute tasks like this one is a productive way of uncovering potential gaps in our understanding of the many roles these multifunctional items can perform.

Chapter 8

Summary, Implications, and Future Directions

Pragmatic markers are highly multifunctional words and phrases that speakers use to externalize their attitudes and cognitive states and to manage the thematic or interpersonal logistics of maneuvering through discourse. However, they are also artifacts that index a language community's culture and history, particularly in contexts involving language contact. In this dissertation, I examined pragmatic markers in Kwéyòl Donmnik, in its modern-day superstrate (English), and in its lexifier (French) both as tools that perform communicative functions and as cultural vessels to which speakers ascribe particular attitudes and usage norms. Following Butters' (2002: 328) three-pronged approach, I incorporated linguists' observations, empirical data, and speakers' metalinguistic knowledge in order to gain as holistic an understanding as possible of how these markers are used.

8.1 Dissertation summary

Kwéyòl Donmnik is an endangered and understudied French lexifier Creole spoken on the Caribbean island of Dominica and throughout a predominantly English-speaking diaspora. Contributors to Kwéyòl's emergence included the indigenous Kalinago community; enslaved Africans; French colonizers; transshipped, escaped, and freed people of color from other Caribbean locations; and English colonizers who maintained control of the island for over 200 years. Though mutually intelligible with similar varieties spoken on nearby islands, the language's unique (post-)colonial history has shaped its features and resulted in English words surfacing alongside the language's largely French-derived vocabulary.

Upon integration into a Creole, items drawn from its source languages often undergo alterations in usage and distribution as speakers both favor congruencies across the contributing languages and introduce their own creative innovations. Expecting Kwéyòl's pragmatic markers to demonstrate these same congruence and creativity patterns, I posed my first research question: how do the discourse-pragmatic functions and distributional features of pragmatic markers in Kwéyòl Donmnik compare with those of their English and French counterparts? To address the

question and test my hypothesis, I conducted a form-to-function corpus analysis of *konsa* ‘so’, *èben* ‘well’, *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’, and *la* ‘there’ in Kwéyòl and compared the features and functions of these items with what linguists have observed about their counterparts in French and English. Though *la* ‘there’ typically functions as a determiner or locative adverb in the Creole, I included it in this study because I suspected that it might also be a locative pragmatic marker. I also analyzed the properties of English *so* and *well* as they surfaced in the Kwéyòl corpus data. Table 18 below, a reproduction of Tables 1 and 2, provides a listing of the markers I studied.

Kwéyòl Pragmatic Markers	French Counterparts	English Counterparts
<i>konsa</i> ‘so’	(<i>ou</i>) <i>comme ça</i> ‘(or) like that’	<i>so</i>
<i>èben</i> ‘well’	(<i>eh</i>) <i>ben</i> ‘well’	<i>well</i>
<i>papa/Bondyé</i> ‘father/God’	<i>bon Dieu</i> ‘good God’ and other similar expressions (e.g., <i>mon Dieu</i> ‘my God’)	<i>oh my God</i> and other similar expressions (e.g., <i>gosh</i>)
<i>la</i> ‘there’	<i>là</i> ‘there’	<i>here/there</i>

Table 18. Selected pragmatic markers (reproduction of Tables 1, 2, and 3)

The results of the study confirmed the status of Kwéyòl *la* as a locative pragmatic marker. In addition, though only *èben* ‘well’ and *la* ‘there’ performed functions that were not listed in the superstrate counterparts’ literatures, many of the features and functions of all four Kwéyòl markers reflected congruent properties shared by their French and English counterparts. As for the English markers *so* and *well* that surfaced in the Kwéyòl data, both were used in ways that exploited congruencies between the English and Kwéyòl markers. *So* even performed functions unique to Kwéyòl *konsa* ‘so’, suggesting a greater degree of integration into the Creole itself.

Next, I conducted interviews with Kwéyòl Donmnik speakers about *konsa* ‘so’, *èben* ‘well’, *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’, and *la* ‘there’ and a survey for English speakers about *so*, *well*, and *oh my God* to determine what metalinguistic knowledge these groups have about these markers. Where do these language communities’ attitudes and intuitions align and differ? How do they compare with the results of the Kwéyòl corpus analysis and with what linguists have reported about the English markers?

The participants’ responses reflected many of the outcomes of the corpus analysis and linguists’ observations documented in the literature; this was particularly evident in their intuitions about the markers’ meanings and in the lists of synonymous words and phrases they provided. The Kwéyòl speakers were even able to articulate substantive intuitions surrounding the meaning of the elusive *la* ‘there’ as a pragmatic marker. There were also points of similarity across the two groups’ answers. For example, both groups reported having talked with friends

and family about the (in)appropriate usage of the markers that had religious origins: *papa/Bondyé* ‘father/God’ and *oh my God*. There were even demographic insights that emerged from the data, such as white English speakers reporting higher self-assessed frequencies of use for *well* than participants of color. Perhaps most intriguing, however, was the cultural and communicative value the Kwéyòl speakers attributed to their pragmatic markers.

Finally, I used excerpts from the Corpus of Contemporary American English to construct an experimental fill-in-the-blank task for the same group of English speakers to determine whether they approached *so*, *well*, and *oh my God* as interchangeable, particularly when they have functions in common. Their responses tended to match the markers originally contained in the stimulus utterances and demonstrated the non-interchangeability of these markers. The results also suggested that functions shared by multiple markers may not be shared equally; instead, speakers may more closely associate the shared function with one marker over the others. For example, though the set of stimuli included two examples of *so* and two of *well* introducing a new topic, the participants’ majority first choice was *so* for all four, suggesting that this function may be more closely associated with *so* than with *well*. Additionally, functions reported in the literature for only one marker may actually be performed by more markers than has been previously documented. For instance, *so* was the majority first choice for two of the four stimuli exemplifying *oh my God*’s Realization function, suggesting that *so*, too, can perform this function.

8.2 Implications for pragmatics and language contact research

In addition to contributing to the documentation and linguistic study of Kwéyòl Donmnik, the implications of this dissertation are four-fold and pertain to both pragmatics and language contact. First, it affirms the status of Creoles as full-fledged, natural languages; like all languages, Creoles have full expressive power, and the discourse-pragmatic level is no exception to this true. Second, it first affirms the meaningful status of pragmatic markers. They are not freely commutable, and beyond functioning as procedural communication guides, they are also cultural artifacts. This is particularly true in minoritized and high-contact languages like Kwéyòl Donmnik, in which these abstract elements carry within their forms and functional inventories vestiges of the language contact histories of their communities.

Third, this work also demonstrates the value of applying Butter’s (2002: 328) recommendation to multifunctional items like pragmatic markers. Examining these elements

through multiple methodological lenses is fruitful, particularly when we consider what speakers themselves have to say about them in addition to employing interdisciplinary corpus pragmatics and experimental pragmatics approaches. As stated by Fox Tree (2007: 307), speakers are capable of “recogniz[ing] that [pragmatic] markers cannot substitute for each other without changing meaning”. They are not so abstract that speakers cannot share valuable knowledge about them with us, even when it comes to particularly elusive markers like *la* ‘there’. By documenting speakers’ intuitions, we gain a deeper understanding of how a marker is used by members of a community, from motivations behind use and avoidance to audience-based restrictions to situational appropriateness.

Fourth, this research illustrates the importance of conducting work that bridges creolistics and pragmatics and incorporates high-contact varieties into pragmatics research. It is crucial that linguists develop a rich, inclusive understanding of how pragmatic elements function crosslinguistically, as well as investigate how language contact and language emergence take place at all levels of grammar. Not only is there a need for more synchronic pragmatics work on Creoles, like the corpus analysis and metalinguistic interviews in this dissertation, but also for more diachronic work on pragmatic elements in both Creoles and their various source languages, allowing contact linguists to more precisely trace the processes of congruence and creativity involved in language contact emergence at the discourse-pragmatic level.

8.3 Avenues for future research

Each of the three studies I conducted as part of this dissertation highlighted multiple avenues for future research. With respect to the first study, I intend to expand upon my Kwéyòl corpus analysis in multiple ways. Not only did I come across other pragmatic markers to examine as I explored the corpus data (e.g., *o* ‘oh’, *pis* ‘because’, *ennit*, *bon* ‘well’), but I would also like to incorporate a diachronic component. There is a collection of 118 Kwéyòl folktales documented by Elsie Clews Parsons in the 1920s during her fieldwork in Dominica — the oldest source of Kwéyòl data to my knowledge — that would make for a rich corpus analysis (Parsons 1933). As it is untranslated and not transcribed using the current orthography system, the collection will be a bit cumbersome to navigate, but I hope to partner with a literate native speaker of the Creole so that we can navigate the data together. I will also search for evidence of other source languages’ influence on these markers’ functions and features, such as by returning to Taylor’s work on the Arawakan language once spoken by the Kalinago. Lastly, more speakers

and advocates are incorporating Kwéyòl Donmnik into their messages and posts on platforms like WhatsApp and Twitter. With the proper permissions and participant confidentiality protections in place, I would also like to investigate how these pragmatic markers are now being used in digital written modalities.

Following up on my metalinguistic knowledge study, I plan to expand my research program to include other language varieties. Running a similar study with French speakers would allow me to compare the Kwéyòl-speaking participants' views with those of speakers of both of the Creole's superstrates. Also on my list is African American English (AAE), another minoritized language that is part of my heritage. I am interested in examining how AAE speakers use and conceptualize standardized English and AAE pragmatic markers. An interviewee's commentary on how the use of *there* in Dominica's local English variety resembles the use of *la* as a locative pragmatic marker in Kwéyòl has added Dominica English to my list of languages in contact to explore as well. I also have further questions about the trends that surfaced in the data I collected, particularly regarding the markers of religious origins. The results left me wondering whether *g-words* are at all used as pragmatic markers in religious settings, such as spiritual gatherings or church services, as well as what the results would reveal if I were to include religious affiliation as a demographic question during a follow-up metalinguistic study centered specifically on *oh my God* or *papa/Bondyé* and their variants (*oh gosh*, *papa Bondyé*, etc.).

My interchangeability study, too, generated multiple ideas for future research. First, like Lee et al. (2019), I plan to run a follow-up study that incorporates a text-plus-prosody condition to test whether the inclusion of prosodic information further boosts participants' ability to select the marker that was originally uttered in the corpus. I was also intrigued by the literature on how pragmatic items shape speakers' expectations in real-time, and I would like to use eye- or mouse-tracking to examine how the inclusion of an inference-marking device like *so* or *konsa* or markers that suggest surprising and emotionally charged outcomes like *oh my God* or *papa/Bondyé* might affect speaker's expectation-building during a visual world task.

Finally, I have been inspired by this dissertation as a whole to conduct future work that centers on determining the core meanings of these and other pragmatic markers and modeling how their meaning potentials may be structured in the minds of speakers, particularly in context involving language contact. Presumably, just as the individual features and functions of source language markers overlap and contribute congruent properties to the emerging Creole, so do their

core meanings and the internal structures of their meaning potentials. This facet of my research program will also involve modeling how the marker-specific semantic networks that make up a speaker's full mono- or multilingual inventory are interconnected by shared functions, some of which are more closely or more peripherally associated with individual markers' core meaning(s).

Appendix A
Metalinguistic Knowledge Interview Questions

How old are you? Use the slider to select your age.

What is your gender identity?

What is the highest level of formal education you have received?

- a. Less than high school
- b. High school
- c. Some college
- d. College degree
- e. Some graduate school
- f. Master's
- g. Doctorate (PhD, MD, JD, etc.)
- h. Other [please name]

Where were you raised (where have you lived for a significant amount of time in your life)?

What other languages do you speak, if any?

Where did your parents grow up?⁴¹

What places have you lived, and for how long did you live there?⁴²

How frequently do you use [*pragmatic marker*] when you talk? Select one:

- 1. never
- 2. rarely
- 3. sometimes
- 4. often
- 5. all the time
- 6. I don't know

⁴¹ This question was only asked of Kwéyòl Donmnik interviewees.

⁴² This question was only asked of Kwéyòl Donmnik interviewees.

Select one, and fill in the blank if necessary:

- a. I say [*pragmatic marker*] most frequently when I am _____.
- b. I don't know when I say [*pragmatic marker*] more than other times.
- c. I never say [*pragmatic marker*].

Does your use of [*pragmatic marker*] vary depending on whether you are talking to a colleague, to a friend, to a family member (or to someone else), or do you think you speak the same to everyone?

[Space for open-ended response follows]

Does your use of [*pragmatic marker*] vary depending on the situation you are in, or do you think you speak about the same no matter the situation?

[Space for open-ended response follows]

Have you ever discussed the use of [*pragmatic marker*] in a formal setting such as a class or meeting? Select yes or no. If so, please describe anything you can remember.

- a. Yes [Space for open-ended response follows]
- b. No

Have you ever discussed the use of [*pragmatic marker*] in an informal setting such as with friends or family? Select yes or no. If so, please describe anything you can remember.

- a. Yes [Space for open-ended response follows]
- b. No

What, if anything, do you think [*pragmatic marker*] means?

[Space for open-ended response follows]

What (Kwéyòl or English) words, if any, do you think have similar meanings to [*pragmatic marker*]?⁴³

[Space for open-ended response follows]

Why do you think people use [*pragmatic marker*]?

[Space for open-ended response follows]

Which of the following statements do you agree with most? Select one:

- a. There are times when I try to avoid using [*pragmatic marker*], and I succeed.
- b. There are times when I try to avoid using [*pragmatic marker*], but it doesn't work.
- c. I don't try to avoid using [*pragmatic marker*].

⁴³ Only the Kwéyòl Donmnik interviewees were given the opportunity to list both Kwéyòl and English synonyms.

Which of the following statements do you agree with the most? Select one:

- a. Communication would be better if people didn't use [*pragmatic marker*].
- b. Communication would be worse if people didn't use [*pragmatic marker*].
- c. Saying [*pragmatic marker*] doesn't affect communication.
- d. I don't know whether communication is affected by saying [*pragmatic marker*] or not.

Appendix B

English Fill-In-the-Blank Experiment Stimuli

So, today, we're going inside a women's maximum security prison hearing convicted murderers describe their heinous crimes for the first time.

[New Topic]

A: ...And I have to say, your menu's great, but Olive is the best part of the segment.

B: I think so. I think so.

A: She's a show stealer. **So** now, what are you like at home?

[New Topic]

Just think about it, 2:00 in the morning until about 5:30. Three-and-a-half hours to erase any trace evidence, any forensics that might point to you, if what he says is a lie. **So** let's go back to the timeline for a minute.

[Abandoned Topic]

He's a sweet guy. He is the greatest. But he's had a lot of work done. He's had a lot of back work done, because he has had -- he had a herniated disc. So he has had back work done, **so** he took me to his surgeon and his surgeon said, well, I can do this for you, but your voice would be different.

[Abandoned Topic]

A short time ago, I spoke to NPR's Leila Fadel from Cairo. Leila, welcome. **So**, what's known about what finally led to this cease-fire?

[Agenda Launch]

A: Let's get another caller in on the conversation. This is Rachel, and Rachel's with us from Portland.

B: Hi. How are you?

A: Good, thanks.

B: **So** I wanted to call in...

[Agenda Launch]

A: Dr. Nieca Goldberg is the medical director of New York University's Women's Health Program.

B: Good to see you.

A: **So**, first of all, what is osteoporosis?

[Agenda Launch]

And the fact of the matter is we've had so many films that are centered around the black experience from a period point of view that are about us being subservient or us being brow-beaten. **So**, you know, we had to go out and let people know this is a celebration...

[Inference]

A: Robyn, I want to ask you about that survey where you surveyed a lot of investors; a lot of them seemed quite confident. How reliable is that survey, and who did you survey for that?

B: Well, the survey is actually one that we conduct with Gallup, so partnering with Gallup we end up every month surveying over 100 -- over 1,000 investors, and it varies from month to month, so it's not a same segment every month. And the results are ones that we do have confidence in, **so**.

[Elided Inference]

I sort of like made my peace with it and I sort of like -- I had been on the road -- you know, by that time I had been on the road 12 or 13 years, **So** -- and I had seen all that happen.

[Self-Repair]

Well, I -- **So**. I mean, she -- you know, she said in -- in -- in a recent interview in -- in Rolling Stone, you know, that -- that she loved Princess Leia. Princess Leia was -- was feisty.

[Self-Repair]

I want you to think about it from a parent's point of view. If you walk in from a hard day and your son said to you, **so**, dad, how was your day today? Did you answer all of your e-mails? How was your presentation? How did it go? Did you get your promotion? Why not? Aren't you going to be exhausted and shut down?

[Reported Dialogue]

A: So let's start with the brands. In first place, there's Subaru, then Genesis, Porsche, Audi, Lexus, Mazda, Lincoln, Toyota and Hyundai.

B: Correct.

A: **So** when you're ranking a brand - I'm thinking I'm going to like driving a Porsche more than I like driving a Ford Fiesta. So how do you compare apples to oranges or Ford Fiestas to Porsches?

[Floor-Holding]

A: What was it like working with him? Were you slightly intimidated? I mean, he's considered one of the greatest actors of our time.

B: **So**?

A: And, your point would be?

B: And I'm not so bad. Yeah. You know, once you first sit down with him, the first time we read, I felt, well, this is -- you know, this is "Raging Bull," this is "Mean Streets," this is "Deer Hunter," this is "Godfather, II," and -- and I've hosted six comic reliefs, you know?

[Turn-Transition Prompt]

A: ...But the other thing I do really want to get to is what is going on in Israel with the Palestinians. **So...**

B: Yes. Well, first, on Israel, I want to know what the Israeli strategy long-term is.
[Turn-Transition Prompt]

So, Karen, what do you make of this?
[Turn-Transition Prompt]

So, David, I have to ask you this question: What do you make of that?
[Turn-Transition Prompt]

Well, **so** that's interesting. So, this really is a short-term -- or short-term issues being dealt with now. And you're saying they're going to come back?
[Common Ground]

But just so that I understand, **so**, the two of you are saying, even if it turns out, which is what Mr. Miller at the IRS was arguing today, that this was -- this was foolish mistakes on the part of civil servants, you're saying that it could do this much damage?
[Common Ground]

A: Sometimes your mind is so active and you just can't stop thinking--

B: Right.

A: --that if you are just focused on one thing and that is your breathing, --

B: Yeah.

A: --it really does.

B: **So**.

A: It calms you and soothes you.

[Common Ground]

A: ...And he just kind of, like, dismissed it. Like, oh, you know, you have IBS or whatever. Like, just kind of one of those, like, diagnosis that just kind of covers, like, well, we don't really quite know what's going on with you, but here.

B: **Well**, let 's talk about a scene that actually you're in. This is Episode 2, I believe.

[New Topic]

A: Well, then he said there could negotiations if they come about between Kuwait and Iraq and that's exactly what would happen.

B: All right. **Well**, while we wait for that, let us look at some other decisions that this country has to make, in fact, one it has made. And it is that we should supply food to the Soviet Union, what's left of it. Is that a good idea?

[New Topic]

All right. **Well**, back to our other headline of the morning as we say, and families all across the country, the headline that really matters everyday, births all around the country.

[Abandoned Topic]

A: Well, just more the students. I mean, I had to move from my home four times, but, you know, that was nothing compared to what they're going through there. I just had to move things out and back in because I live on a lake. But a lot of the students lost a lot

B: **Well**, let 's go back to the woman with the killer smile, Latrina Gibson.
[Abandoned Topic]

He was like, look, what are you doing on this particular day? I said, I'll be in Vegas doing work with Intel. He said, **well**, the next day you should fly out to New Hampshire. I was like, you know what? I'll do that.
[Reported Dialogue]

People said, **well**, what am I giving you money for? You make a lot of dough. I read about you. I read about what you make. So go pay for it yourself.
[Reported Dialogue]

OK, we've got a question from the audience. **Well**, we got a lot of questions from the audience here as a matter of fact. But we'll start with Mr. Hampton.
[Self-Repair]

A: Especially you want your-- the man who ends up being your husband to be-- to be a gentleman. I mean, that's my thought.

B: **Well**, so, yeah, I-- and that should be really the point of it and why I sort of agree with you on this.
[Self-Repair]

A: She's here to share some of what is on her pages. Jenny, good morning. Nice to have you here.

B: Good morning. Thank you. **Well**, it's really exciting because this season every woman can have great style.

A: And you don't have to go out and shop for a whole new wardrobe.
[Floor-Holding]

A: Mary's also my second mom. She's my god-mom and...

B: Is that right? **Well**!

C: And I wanted her to tell her about -- tell us about the funny stories about Elvis. There's one with a truck and some dogs.

[Emotional Reaction]

I thought that when you are getting older, it comes in little steps. You know, slowly. First one thing is a little bit weaker, then another, then another is. You know? But it turned out that everything happens at the same time. And all of a sudden, you find that, **well**, you don't hear so well, and you don't see so well. And all of a sudden, you inhabit a body you don't even recognize.
[Emotional Reaction]

A: You went to, where? Yale; right?

B: No, no, no, I went to Princeton

A: Princeton, **well**.

[Emotional Reaction]

Well, before we go, I want to say an appreciative applause to all of our technical people who really scrambled to get us back on the air once we had power problems here.

[Closing Remark]

A: I really want to thank you for trusting me and for trusting our listeners with your story. And I want to thank you for writing it.

B: **Well**, thanks for having this program, Terry. You give me and other people a chance to explore this question of who are we and where are we going.

[Closing Remark]

A: But we now have a number of experts who are watching those tax receipt numbers that come in regularly. And they are saying that they do not add up to what is anything like the kind of growth that the administration had projected off these tax cuts?

B: **Well**, actually, overall revenues are up about 10 percent. So that's a pretty good number.

[Undesirable Response]

A: And the argument is made that one oil infrastructure projects is really not going to affect climate change that much.

B: **Well**, on the other hand, you can not preach temperance from a bar stool.

[Undesirable Response]

A: Well, many people thought he should have been better prepared because he certainly knew that it -- it was coming.

B: Yeah. **Well** I suppose that's -- that's true and, you know, it's hard to be prepared for -- for everything.

[Concession]

A: Oh, please. You've got to try. I promise, it just is not as hard as you think it is.

B: I make reservations.

A: **Well**, I guess that's fair, too. Some of us have to cook and then the rest of you have to eat.

[Concession]

A: This is definitely not it.

B: Why? I like it. I like the lace.

A: You look frumpy. Looks like you're out of the 1700's.

B: This is the dress that I've always dreamed of.

A: **Well**, I'm sorry, it's not gonna cut it.

[Face-Threat Mitigator]

A: That median family, that typical family, if you will, will actually get a tax cut.

B: I think Forbes appears to be wrong, and not even including —

A: **Well**, have you done the figures, Governor?

[Face-Threat Mitigator]

And I'm thinking, **oh my God**, this is terrifying. It's as if I woke up from a bad dream.

[Reported Dialogue]

Like, I wouldn't let him show them to anybody. But if he started painting, I would be, like, **oh my God**, honey, I thought that was a Picasso poster. Right? Do you think that that would, but what if he, but what if his ego was, like, God, my wife thinks I'm a Picasso, I should show it in a gallery.

[Reported Dialogue]

But I actually had an experience just recently that really carried home to me the force of Wonder Woman and why so many women that I meet tell me **oh my God**, I always loved Wonder Woman when I was a kid.

[Reported Dialogue]

And when I looked at that, I was stunned because I thought to myself, **oh my God**, here I am standing with the mindset of the people who made this. This is an image of the people's approach to reality in that period of time.

[Reported Dialogue]

Even you said before the Google, the Google, **oh my God**, he Goggled "hot car" and now, we're like, oh, well, maybe he did it before.

[Self-Repair]

Oh, God. Oh my God. Oh my God. **oh my God**. And, like, oh, God. It would be ridiculous for a podcast about being a working mother to somehow be jeopardized by having another baby. But, like, I've seen so much bad behavior in the world that God only knows.

[Floor-Holding]

A: I have to ask you about the craziest thing that happened because it was all over online.

This happens to celebrities once in a while. They're declared dead. Like people think--

B: **Oh my God**

C: Yeah. This is horrible.

[Emotional Reaction]

A: The paramedics are on their way.

B: Oh, my God. What a nightmare. **Oh my God**.

A: What's your name?

[Emotional Reaction]

So when I'm driving the car, he's like, watch out, there's a stop sign, **oh my God**. And, you know... Which makes you a worse driver when they're screaming like that
[Emotional Reaction]

A: Did it come like this?

B: I don't know. I didn't open the dress until you came in here, so I don't know. I didn't have any sort of...

A: **Oh my God**.

B: The girls spilled the wine on the dress. It was an accident, but...

C: Okay.

B: ... that's the truth.

A: You guys aren't telling me? I mean, what the heck?

[Emotional Reaction]

But there wasn't a part of you that felt bad? **Oh my God**, this poor chicken, and what am I bringing out in these kids?

[Emotional Involvement]

I don't know how I'm going to get through this week. **Oh my God**.

[Emotional Involvement]

A: Like, unfriend, unfollow, all of that?

B: He took everything off. Everything? What?

A: So there are a bunch of theories as to why this might have happened. Tell me, **oh my God**.

[Emotional Involvement]

I remember waking up and I felt, **oh my God**, I'm alive. I just felt there's a reason I'm here. And I believe this is what I'm here for, to share my story.

[Realization]

A: There's a fire in Pomerado Road, Sycamore Canyon area. And we-- of course, we have the big fire in Ramona, Lakeside.

B: **Oh my God**, there's three?

A: It wasn't just one wildfire tearing from the forest then. No, others had burst to life in those same few days in San Diego County.

[Realization]

And as she - you know, when there was that first diagnosis of aphasia, you know, I had that poetic little moment that was quite narcissistic that, **oh my God**, there will come a day when she says I love you for the very last time.

[Realization]

But anyway, I realized: **oh my God**, that 's how this guy did it, maybe without realizing it...

[Realization]

A: Sophie, you're okay, you're okay.

B: **Oh my God**, it hurts so bad.

A: I just tried to be as calm as I could and try to just reassure her.

[Emphasis]

A: So what kind of agents do you know who are anything like Saul?

B: **Oh my God**, a lot of them.

A: Really?

B: Yeah, yeah, they talk really fast.

[Emphasis]

A: **Oh my God**, that 's so funny.

B: What was going through your mind?

A: My mind was, holy smokes, let me go get the owner. He's get, he can't be serious, right?

[Emphasis]

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