Discourse Markers – Theories and Methods

May 24–26, 2023, Paris

Discourse markers in reported speech: towards a typology of interpersonal and textural indexes

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Figure 1. Meme ‘Dr Evil Austin Powers: Work in progress’ [source: makeameme.org]

0. Acknowledgements

Acknowledgements

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3. **Denys Savchenko** for compiling a map in Figure 2.

Outline

1. Introduction: Theoretical Preliminaries – Background – Aims of this study
2. Results: Discourse Markers in reported speech
3. Summary
4. Conclusion

Appendix: additional examples

1. Introduction

Theoretical preliminaries

Theoretical preliminaries

Title: **Discourse markers** in reported speech: towards a typology of interpersonal and textural indexes

Discourse Markers (DMs)…

…a pre-theoretical concept;

…includes **grammatically peripheral elements (GPEs)** that do not enter into construction with the sentence content;

…formally: **do not take inflection or derivation**, but more complex markers are possible.

The inventory of GPEs, as announced in the abstract:

- particles;
- interjections;
- routines;
- graphic icons (i.e. emoticons, stand-alone punctuation compounds) [see Background];
- ~~conjunctions~~ connectors.

The inventory of GPEs:

- particles;
- interjections;
- graphic icons (i.e. emoticons, stand-alone punctuation compounds);
- routines;
- connectors → a broader class of elements signaling coherence relations in discourse (see e.g. Das & Taboada 2018), **here:** *only loosely* discussed among particles.

Title: Discourse markers in **reported speech**: towards a typology of interpersonal and textural indexes

Reported speech (RS)…

> …as "speech within speech, utterance within utterance" (Voloshinov 1973: 115);
>
> …"**spoken** or **mental** text (…) produced by a source of consciousness in a pragmatic and deictic setting that is different from that of immediate discourse" (Güldemann 2008: 6; emphasis added)

Distinction according to content:

- spoken text → REPORTED UTTERANCE: *She asked: What time is it now?*
- mental text → REPORTED THOUGHT: *I thought: wow, it's beautiful here!*

Distinction according to source:

- Reported Speaker = Reporter: SELF-QUOTATION
- Reported Speaker ≠ Reporter: QUOTATION
- Reported Speaker = ?: QUOTATION WITH UNKNOWN SOURCE

Title: Discourse markers in reported speech: towards a typology of **interpersonal and textural indexes** → Aims of this study

Background

Two projects:

- The grammar of discourse particles in Uralic;
- Reported speech in Finno-Ugric: a synchronic survey on six languages (Komi, Udmurt, Erzya, Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian).

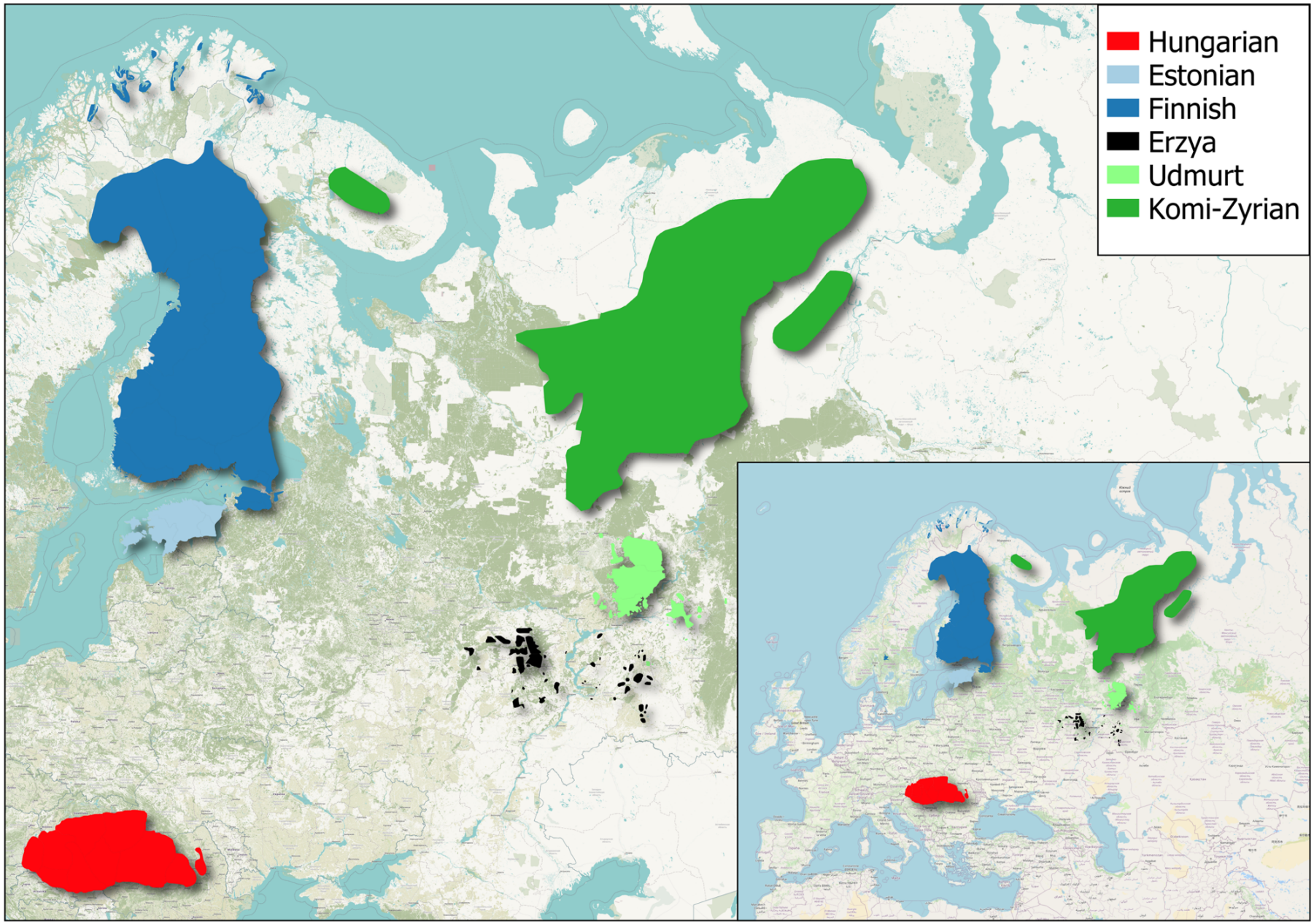


Figure 2. Geographical distribution of the six Finno-Ugric languages

Background

Project **"Reported speech in Finno-Ugric",** a database of RS-constructions contains data samples from social media corpora of 6 Finno-Ugric languages:

- **Erzya, Komi, Udmurt:** Volga-Kama corpora, social media;
- **Hungarian**: Hungarian National Subcorpus (MNSz), 'personal'-subcorpus;
- **Estonian**: etTenTen19 (only blogs & social media sites)
- **Finnish**: Internet-communications database (csc.korp.fi)

The database "Reported speech in Finno-Ugric", 2 layers & 6 subtypes:

- content: reported utterance and reported thought;
- source:
  - *self-quotation* (Reported Speaker = Reporter)
  - *quotation* (Reported Speaker ≠ Reporter)
  - *quotations with unknown source* (Reported Speaker = ?)

The database "Reported speech in Finno-Ugric" includes:

- conventional quotative constructions with verbs 'say' and 'think';
- new quotative constructions, e.g. '(be) like' (NB! *only those* that can be loosely compared between the languages);
- non-clausal quotative/reported evidential particles 'allegedly'/'it is said/thought.'

(see Teptiuk 2019, 2020)

Table 1. The number of examples in the database

Lgs	**Self-quotations**		**Quotations**		**Quotations w/ unknown source**	
	Utterance	**Thought**	**Utterance**	**Thought**	**Utterance**	**Thought**
Erzya	36	45	285	27	27	4
Estonian	126	127	180	88	96	1
Finnish	197	290	334	146	100	12
Hungarian	78	58	250	72	102	9
Komi	124	93	200	23	21	5
Udmurt	120	118	334	37	34	1
Total	**681**	**731**	**1583**	**393**	**380**	**32**

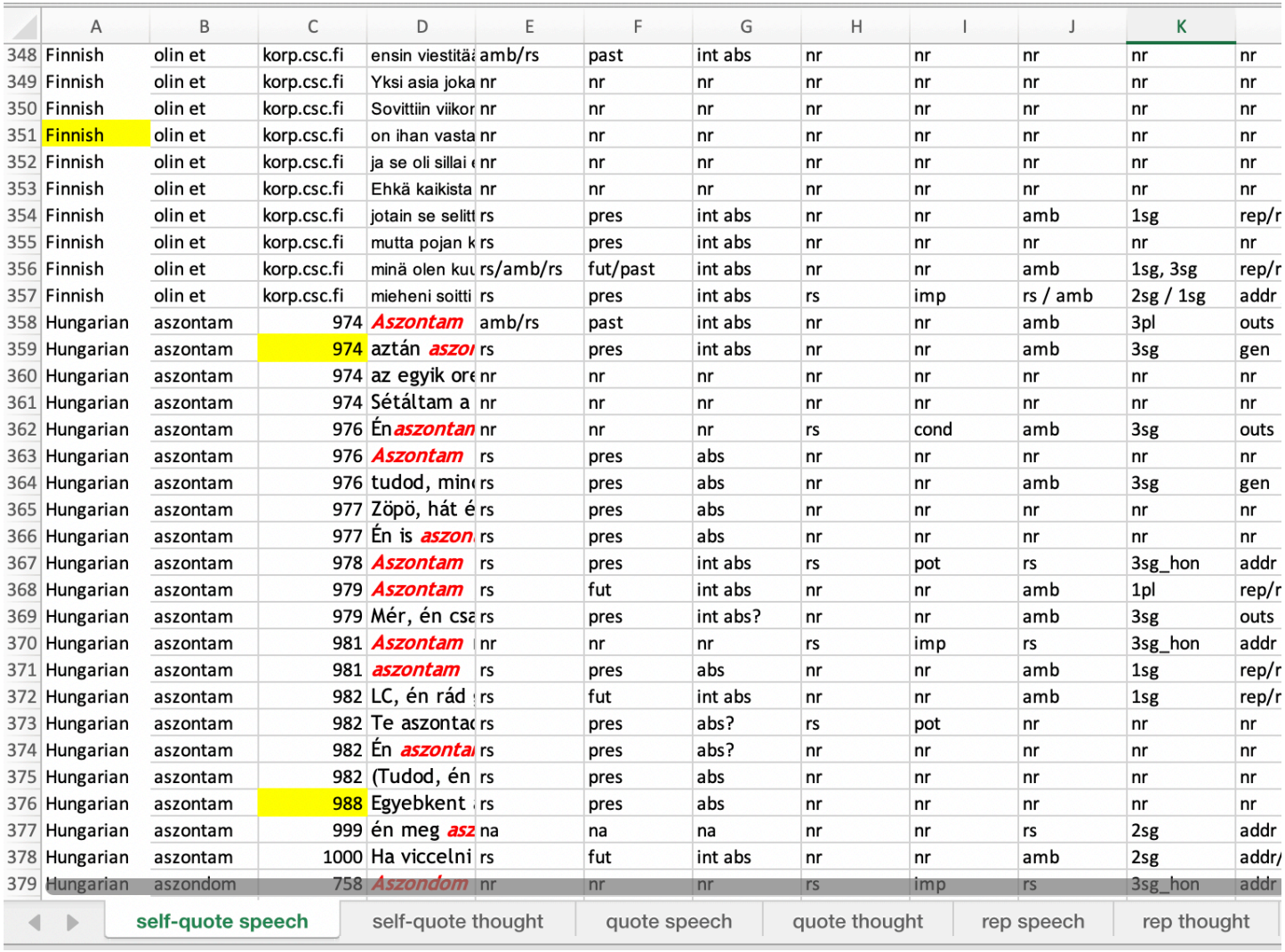
The database "Reported speech in Finno-Ugric"…

…annotated for different types of elements undergoing changes in RS, i.e. Jakobson's (1971) *shifters*, e.g.:

-personal, spatial and temporal deictics;

-tense & mood;

-discourse particles, interjections, etc.



	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	
348	Finnish	olin et	korp.csc.fi	ensin viestitä	amb/rs	past	int abs	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr
349	Finnish	olin et	korp.csc.fi	Yksi asia joka	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr
350	Finnish	olin et	korp.csc.fi	Sovittiin viikor	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr
351	Finnish	olin et	korp.csc.fi	on ihan vasta	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr
352	Finnish	olin et	korp.csc.fi	ja se oli sillai	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr
353	Finnish	olin et	korp.csc.fi	Ehkä kaikista	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr
354	Finnish	olin et	korp.csc.fi	jotain se selitt	rs	pres	int abs	nr	nr	amb	1sg	rep/r
355	Finnish	olin et	korp.csc.fi	mutta pojan k	rs	pres	int abs	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr
356	Finnish	olin et	korp.csc.fi	minä olen kuu	rs/amb/rs	fut/past	int abs	nr	nr	amb	1sg, 3sg	rep/r
357	Finnish	olin et	korp.csc.fi	mieheni soitti	rs	pres	int abs	rs	imp	rs / amb	2sg / 1sg	addr
358	Hungarian	aszontam	974	***Aszontam***	amb/rs	past	int abs	nr	nr	amb	3pl	outs
359	Hungarian	aszontam	974	aztán ***aszo***	rs	pres	int abs	nr	nr	amb	3sg	gen
360	Hungarian	aszontam	974	az egyik ore	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr
361	Hungarian	aszontam	974	Sétáltam a	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr
362	Hungarian	aszontam	976	Én***aszontan***	nr	nr	nr	rs	cond	amb	3sg	outs
363	Hungarian	aszontam	976	***Aszontam***	rs	pres	abs	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr
364	Hungarian	aszontam	976	tudod, min	rs	pres	abs	nr	nr	amb	3sg	gen
365	Hungarian	aszontam	977	Zöpö, hát é	rs	pres	abs	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr
366	Hungarian	aszontam	977	Én is ***aszon***	rs	pres	abs	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr
367	Hungarian	aszontam	978	***Aszontam***	rs	pres	int abs	rs	pot	rs	3sg_hon	addr
368	Hungarian	aszontam	979	***Aszontam***	rs	fut	int abs	nr	nr	amb	1pl	rep/r
369	Hungarian	aszontam	979	Mér, én csa	rs	pres	int abs?	nr	nr	amb	3sg	outs
370	Hungarian	aszontam	981	***Aszontam***	nr	nr	nr	rs	imp	rs	3sg_hon	addr
371	Hungarian	aszontam	981	***aszontam***	rs	pres	abs	nr	nr	amb	1sg	rep/r
372	Hungarian	aszontam	982	LC, én rád	rs	fut	int abs	nr	nr	amb	1sg	rep/r
373	Hungarian	aszontam	982	Te aszontac	rs	pres	abs?	rs	pot	nr	nr	nr
374	Hungarian	aszontam	982	Én ***aszonta***	rs	pres	abs?	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr
375	Hungarian	aszontam	982	(Tudod, én	rs	pres	abs	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr
376	Hungarian	aszontam	988	Egyebkent	rs	pres	abs	nr	nr	nr	nr	nr
377	Hungarian	aszontam	999	én meg ***asz***	na	na	na	nr	nr	rs	2sg	addr
378	Hungarian	aszontam	1000	Ha viccelni	rs	fut	int abs	nr	nr	amb	2sg	addr/
379	Hungarian	aszondom	758	***Aszondom***	nr	nr	nr	rs	imp	rs	3sg_hon	addr

self-quote speech | self-quote thought | quote speech | quote thought | rep speech | rep thought

Figure 3. A screenshot of the database (14.04.2023)

Q	R	S	T
Disc_p	Disc_p_comr	Interj	Interj_comm
no	nr	no	nr
yes	vist	yes	mitte
yes	eksju	yes	okei, kle
yes	äkki	yes	ee
yes	eksole	yes	kuule
yes	vä	yes	klge
yes	nojah	yes	ah
yes	küll	yes	watch out
yes	oot	yes	misasja
yes	kuitenkaan,	yes	ei
yes	kai	yes	ei
yes	varmaan	yes	joo
yes	vaan	yes	okei
yes	tietty	yes	joo
yes	žö	yes	ok i
yes	no	yes	ladno

Figure 4. Discourse particles and interjections in the database (14.04.2023)

Aims of this study

Investigate the use of grammatically peripheral elements in reported speech & classify them according to types:

⇒ Present a functional typology within each type → RESULTS

⇒ Check the distribution of GPEs across reported utterances and thoughts → RESULTS

⇒ Look for common traits among them as linguistic signs → RESULTS & SUMMARY

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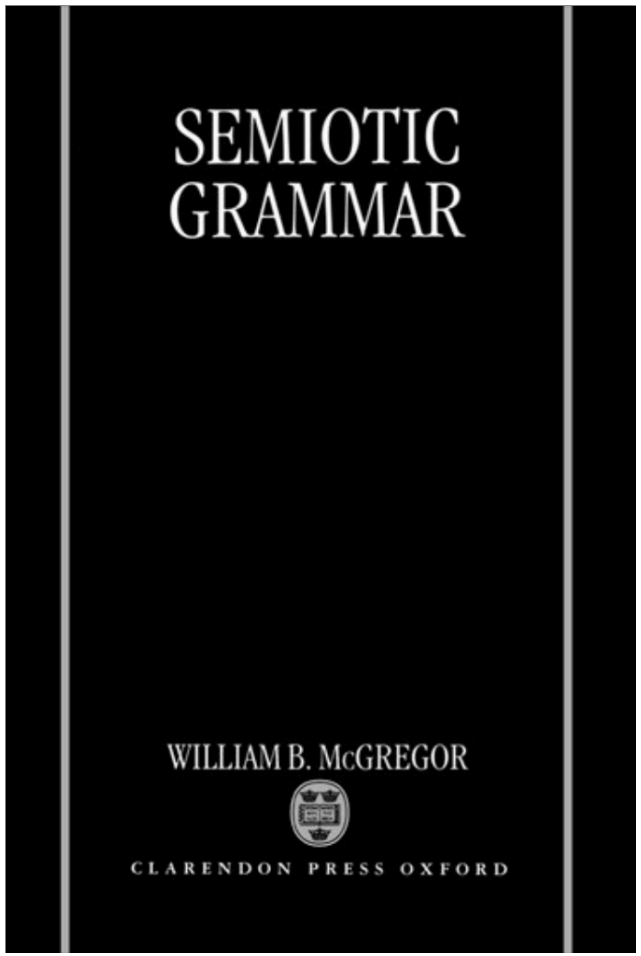
McGregor's (1997) Semiotic Grammar



Semiotic domains

Four types of semiotic domains “embodied in the grammar of all human languages” (McGregor 1997: 74–75):

- EXPERIENTIAL;
- LOGICAL;
- INTERPERSONAL;
- TEXTURAL.

Argument

GPEs (in reported speech) are **signs that operate in**

- **INTERPERSONAL** semiotic domain;
- **TEXTURAL** semiotic domain.

Semiotic domains

Four types of semiotic domains "embodied in the grammar of all human languages" (McGregor 1997: 74):

- **EXPERIENTIAL**: defines constituency relationships, i.e. "provide[s] the speaker with a set of resources for interpreting and reconstructing the various phenomena of their experience, including things and events or happenings" (ibid.; highlight added)

Semiotic domains

Four types of semiotic domains “embodied in the grammar of all human languages” (McGregor 1997: 74):

- EXPERIENTIAL;
- **LOGICAL:** defines dependency relationship between the signified (ibid.; highlight added)

Semiotic domains

Four types of semiotic domains "embodied in the grammar of all human languages" (McGregor 1997: 74):

- EXPERIENTIAL;
- LOGICAL;
- **INTERPERSONAL**: "construction and maintenance of the socially meaningful activities which are going on between persons in their interaction with one another" (ibid.)

Semiotic domains

Four types of semiotic domains “embodied in the grammar of all human languages” (McGregor 1997: 74):

- EXPERIENTIAL;
- LOGICAL;
- INTERPERSONAL;
- **TEXTURAL**: defines syntagmatic relationships of the linking type and relates the utterance to its context (ibid.: 75)

Argument

GPEs (in reported speech) are **signs that operate in**

- **INTERPERSONAL** semiotic domain: construction and maintenance of the socially meaningful activities;
- **TEXTURAL** semiotic domain: relates the utterance to its context.

Interpersonal semiotic

Three macro types of modification:

- **ILLOCUTIONARY**: how the speaker intends the utterance to be taken interactively [hearer-oriented]
- **ATTITUDINAL**: subjective attitude of the speaker towards what they are saying [speaker-oriented]
- **RHETORICAL**: incorporation of the utterance within the framework of knowledge, beliefs, expectations of the interactants in the speech situation [other-oriented]

(McGregor 1997: 66)

Textural semiotic

Linking types:

- INDEXICAL, e.g. via pronominal reference;
- CONNECTIVE, e.g. via conjunctions and relators;
- MARKING, link between linguistic form and the types it instantiates;
- COVARIATE, e.g. via lexical cohesion;
- COLLOCATIONAL, e.g. via probability of occurrence of the items near one another.

(McGregor 1997: 71)

Linking types:

- ?INDEXICAL, e.g. via pronominal reference;
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(McGregor 1997: 71)

2. Results

Overview

Distribution of GPEs among different report types

Functional typology

Descriptive statistics

Position and functions in semiotic domains

Results: Roadmap

Discourse particles

Interjections

Routines

Graphic icons

Results: Roadmap

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Discourse particles

Table 2. Discourse particles in reported utterance and thought

Lgs	Self-quotations		Quotations		Quotations w/ unknown source	
	Utterance	Thought	Utterance	Thought	Utterance	Thought
Erzya	1	1	15	5	–	–
Estonian	23	18	20	18	–	–
Finnish	17	13	15	19	–	–
Hungarian	7	6	10	6	2	–
Komi	23	3	15	2	1	–
Udmurt	13	23	26	8	–	1
Total	**81**	**66**	**103**	**57**	**3**	**1**

Discourse particles

- Prevalent in speech; but still relatively frequent in thought;
- Proportionally more frequent in self-quotations than in quotations of utterances; almost equal amount for quotations (11%) and self-quotations (8%) of thought.
- Disfavored in quotations with unknown source → similar tendency preserves among other GPEs

Discourse particles

Quotations with unknown source disfavor the presence of discourse particles (& other GPEs?) due to semantic constraints:

$$\text{Reported Speaker} = ?$$

Reported evidence as a part of the ongoing ($\neq$ reported) discourse (Güldemann 2008: 407); less requirement to specially link it to the preceding discourse?

Epistemic particles can be used as 'shifters': Reported Speaker$_{\text{UNKNOWN}}$ → Reporter

(1) Hungarian (MNSz)

Állítólag *akkortól bizonyos megadott időpontokban aki* ***ott*** *áll a kapuban, azt beviszik, megmutatják a gyárat, a múzeumot,* ***talán*** *még sört is kap.*

'**Allegedly**, from that time onwards, those who stand **there** at the gate will be brought in, shown the factory, the museum, **maybe** even given beer.'

Verum (2a) and **enimitive** (2b) particles index 'shared perspective'

(2) a. Hungarian (MNSz), Reporter's belief that *p* is true

Állítólag ***tényleg*** *megtörtént…*

allegedly really PRF.happen.PST.3SG

'**Allegedly**, it **really** happened …'

b. Komi (KoZSmC), Reporter views *p* as 'uncontroversial'

Olömys ***öd*** *öti* ***pö…***

life.3SG PTCL one QUOT

'You only live once, **after all**, **as they say**…'

Discourse particles in RS: typology

- Modal & Rhetorical: Reported Speaker's / Reporter's 'attitude'
- Illocutionary: illocutionary modification of RS-content
- Discourse-organizing: linking & content formatting

Discourse particles in RS: typology

- **Modal & Rhetorical: Reported Speaker's / Reporter's 'attitude'**
- Illocutionary: illocutionary modification of RS-content
- Discourse-organizing: linking & content formatting

Modal & Rhetorical particles

Epistemic: Est. *vist, äkki* ~'maybe' / *tõesti, muidugi* ~'sure'; Fin. *ehkä, varmaan, kai / kyllä, todellakaan*; Hung. *talán*; Ko *gaškö*; Udm. *dyr, navernoje, možet, poďi, šat*

Enimitive[1] = 'uncontraversiality': Ko *eśkö, nö, žö, öd*; Fin. *-hAn*; Est. *ju*, Udm. *meda, ved'*.

Verum / Engagement: Est. *küll* 'indeed', Fin. *kyllä* 'id.'; Hung. *tényleg* 'really' / E. *vana* 'look'.

"Lack of understanding": Ko *nö, aľi myj* 'or what'; Udm. *-a, -a mar-a* 'Q what-Q'.

Mirative: Fin. *-pa(s)*; Ko *taj, völöm*.

Stance-marking: Hung. *szerintem* 'in my opinion', *sajnos* 'unfrotunately', Est. *kahjuks* 'id.'

[1] See Panov (2020), Zubova et al. (2022).

Mirative = ‘surprise’

(3) Komi (KoZSmC)

[*Kovmis* ***pö*** *šyödćyny jöz door.*]

A	*najö*	***pö***	*gortanys*	***völöm***	*viďžöny*
but	3PL	QUOT	home.INE3PL	PTCL	keep.safe.PRS.3PL

tajö	*žurnaljassö.*
DEM.PROX	journal.PL.ACC

‘[He needed to inform the people (about this journal), **he said**.] But **surprisingly** they were keeping this journal at their places, **he said**.’

‘Lack of understanding’, secondary function: index surprise?

(4) Komi-Zyrian (KoZSmC)

Ćujmömön	***šuis:***	*– **Myj***	***nö,***	*vyžyvmin*
surprise.INSTR	say.PST.3SG	what	PTCL	go.mad.PST.2SG
aľi	***myj***…			
or	what			

‘**He said** surprisingly: – **What is going on**, have you gone mad, **or what**…’

Engagement: epistemic priority & seeking for 'common ground' among addressee(s)

(5) Erzya (ESmC)

Keľa,	***vana***	*ardsť,*	***vana***	*apak*	*učo*	*jortsť*
QUOT	PTCL	run.PST.3PL	PTCL	NEG.PTCP	look.CN	throw.PST.3PL
di	***vana***	*ponsť*	*kevse*	*Kijatańeń*	*pŕa*	*langa.*
and	PTCL	hit.PST.3PL	stone.INE	PN.DAT	head	upon

'**They**$_i$ **said**, **look**, they$_i$ were running, **look**, they$_i$ threw (the stone) without looking, and, **look**, they$_i$ hit Kiyata's head with the stone.'

Discourse particles in RS: typology

- Modal & Rhetorical: Reported Speaker's / Reporter's attitude
- **Illocutionary:** illocutionary modification of RS-content
- Discourse-organizing: discourse-linking & content-formatting

Illocutionary particles

Depreciatory, “the speaker uses the particle to minimize the significance of some process” (Lee 1987: 378)

(6) Finnish (IKA)

Mä	***olin***	***et***	*okei,*	*tuu*	***vaan***.
1SG	be.PST.1SG	COMP	INTERJ	come.IMP2SG	just

‘**I was like**: okay, **just** come.’

Anti-depreciatory, illocutionary reinforcement:

(7) Estonian (etTenTen19)

> ***Ta ütles**, et kui vähegi võimalik, et ma siis läheksin **ikka** Tartusse sünnitama, aga kui läheb just nii kiireks, et enam ei jõua Tartusse, et ju siis kuidagimoodi saab **ikka** siin Pärnus ka hakkama.*
>
> '**He said** that if it's possible that I would **rather** go to give birth in Tartu, but if there's hurry and it isn't possible anymore to go to Tartu, after all it would be possible to **still** do it in Pärnu.'

Permissive

(8) Udmurt (UCbsc)

Vaj	*kuto,*	***šui***	*no*	*kiosme*	*džök*
PTCL	take.FUT.1SG	say.PST.1SG	and	hand.PL.ACC1SG	table
vylti	*leźi.*				
upon	lower.PST.1SG				

‘**Let** me take her, **I said** and put my hands on the table.’

Illocutionary particles

(Anti-)depreciatory: Fin. *vaan*; Est. *ikka, küll*

Permissive: E. *kadik*; Hung. *na*; Udm. *aj, vaj, davaj*.

Optative & Hortative: E *kadik*; Est. *davai(ks)*; Udm. *ojdo, ajda*.

Interrogative: Est. *vä, eksju, eksole*; Udm. *-a*

Discourse particles in RS: typology

- Modal & Rhetorical: Reported Speaker's / Reporter's attitude
- **Illocutionary:** illocutionary modification of RS-content
- **Discourse-organizing:** content-modification & discourse-linking

Discourse-organizing particles

Approximative: signals lack of precision regarding the content (+ shortens the turn)

(9) Estonian (etTenTen19)

…ja	***ma ütsin***	***et***	*aga klus* [sic!]	*sa elad*
and	1SG say.PST.1SG	COMP	but where	2SG live.PRS.2SG

vniii*?*

PTCL

'…and **I said**: but where do you live **or something like that**?'

'Discourse connector', **consecutive** *no*: "mark[s] a 'next' step as a consequence of prior talk" (Auer & Maschler 2016: 15)

(10) Komi-Zyrian (KoZSmC)

[upon the information about the doctor on duty]:

No, ***miśa,*** *menym,* ***siďźkö,*** *sy* *dorö!*

PTCL QUOT:SELF 1SG.DAT PTCL 3SG to.ILL

'**Well**, **I said**, **then** I need to see him!'

Approximative: Est. *vnii* ‘or so’; Fin. *ja sillee(n)/tollai* ‘and so’; Hung. *pl.* ‘for example’; Ko. *šuam* ‘let’s say’;

Consecutive: Hu. *na, majd*; Ko. *no, siďźkö*; Udm. *(nu) vot*;

Concessive: Fin. *kuitenkaan* ‘however’;

Hesitative: E *ťeńa* ‘whatchamacallit’;

Problematic[2]**:** Est. *noh, nojah*; Fin. *no (tota)*, Hung. *hát, ja, no*.

[2] See Auer & Maschler (2016)

Discourse particles as indexes in reported speech

Interpersonal indexes:

- Modal:
  - Addressee [= reported addressee] oriented: Reported Speaker's attitude
  - Audience [= current addressee] oriented: Reporter's attitude
- Illocutionary: illocutionary modification of RS-content [addressee-oriented]
- Rhetorical, in RS: addressee-oriented; otherwise: audience-oriented (= McGregor's 'other')?

Discourse particles as indexes in reported speech

'Discourse-organizing' particles as **textural indexes:**

- connective: link between reported speech and context [addressee-oriented];
- ʔmarking: content formatting [audience-oriented]

Content formatting: audience-oriented

(11) Finnish (IKA)

se oli siel samaan aikaan ku mäkin, ja tälläi niinku ***oli et*** *joo en tunne sua* ***ja tollai****…*

‘s/he was there [i.e. online] at the same time as I, and **s/he was like**: yeah, I don’t know you **and so on**…’

Table 3. Occurrence of discourse particles across report types

Discourse particles	**Self-quotations**		**Quotations**		**Quotations with unknown source**	
	utterance	**thought**	**utterance**	**thought**	**utterance**	**thought**
Modal & Rhetorical	45	44	66	48	3	1
Discourse-organizing	19	14	21	3	–	–
Illocutionary	17	8	16	6	–	–

Results: Roadmap

Discourse particles

Interjections

Routines

Graphic icons

Interjections

Table 4. Interjections in reported utterance and thought

Lgs	Self-quotations		Quotations		Quotations w/ unknown source	
	Utterance	Thought	Utterance	Thought	Utterance	Thought
Erzya	–	–	3	–	–	–
Estonian	38	34	14	2	–	–
Finnish	51	138	59	10	–	–
Hungarian	3	3	5	3	–	–
Komi	4	–	2	–	–	–
Udmurt	10	11	12	3	–	–
Total	**106**	**187**	**95**	**18**	**0**	**0**

Typology of interjections

Expressive:

- **Emotive**, express e. state of the speaker: *Yuk!* ‘I feel disgust’, *Wow!* ‘I am surprised’;
- **Cognitive**, pertain to the state of knowledge and thought, e.g. *Aha!* ‘I know this’

Conative, directed at the auditor & demand of action or response, e.g. *sh!* ‘I want silence’

Phatic, used for establishment and maintenance of communicative contact, e.g. *mhm*

(Ameka 1992: 113–114)

Expressive:

- **Emotive**, express e. state of the speaker: *wow, wtf*
- **Cognitive**, pertain to the state of knowledge and thought, e.g. *hm* 'I am puzzled', Fin. *ainiin* 'I understand now!'

Conative, directed at the auditor & demand of action or response, e.g. Hung. *nesze* 'here you go!', Udm. *ej* 'I need your attention'

Phatic, used for establishment and maintenance of communicative contact, e.g. *ok,* Udm. *jara* 'id.', Fin. *jaahas* 'id.'

Expressive:

- **Emotive**, express e. state of the speaker: *wow, wtf*
- **Cognitive**, pertain to the state of knowledge and thought, e.g. *hm* 'I am puzzled', Fin. *ainiin* 'I understand now!'

Can be argued against: e.g. *wow, wtf* arguably pertains to the state of knowledge and thought…

E.g. *wtf* in (12): (purely) **emotive** or (also) **cognitive**?

(12) Estonian (etTenTen19)

(Küsin, ett "kas me mahlamäelt sõitsime juba läbi?" "jah, ammu"…)

mul ***oli*** ***nagu*** ***et*** *":O* ***wtf****"…*

1SG.ADE be.PST.3SG like COMP EMOT what.the.fuck

'(I ask "Have we passed already Mahlamäe?" "Yes, long time ago"…) **I was like** ":O **wtf**"…'

Table 5. Distribution of interjection types across self-quotations and quotations of speech and thought

Interjections, types	**Self-quotations**		**Quotations**	
	Utterance	**Thought**	**Utterance**	**Thought**
Emotive	25	**147**	44	9
Cognitive	16	6	8	2
Conative	11	18	11	1
Phatic	**57**	17	30	6

Following the consideration that (anti-)mirative interjections (e.g. *wow! wtf* etc.) are purely emotive and not cognitive.

If count them as both emotive and cognitive: emotive interjections still prevail in the data among the two types

Table 5'. Distribution of interjection types across self-quotations and quotations of speech and thought (emotive-cognitive count)

Interjections, types	**Self-quotations**		**Quotations**	
	Utterance	**Thought**	**Utterance**	**Thought**
Emotive	**25**	**147**	**44**	**9**
Cognitive	**23** (+7)	**79** (+72)	**25** (+17)	**5** (+3)
Conative	11	18	11	1
Phatic	**57**	17	30	6

Some elements: particles ↔ interjections (e.g. Est. *ikka* as an illocutionary particle or phatic interjection 'yes'):

(13) Estonian (etTenTen19), **illocutionary particle**

***Ta ütles**, et kui vähegi võimalik, et ma siis läheksin **ikka** Tartusse sünnitama, aga kui läheb just nii kiireks, et enam ei jõua Tartusse, et ju siis kuidagimoodi saab **ikka** siin Pärnus ka hakkama.*

'**He said** that if it's possible that I would **rather** go to give birth in Tartu, but if there's hurry and it isn't possible anymore to go to Tartu, after all it would be possible to **still** do it in Pärnu.'

Some elements: particles ↔ interjections (e.g. Est. *ikka* as an illocutionary particle or phatic interjection 'yes'[3]):

(14) Estonian (etTenTen19), **phatic interjection**

"ja?", "saaks palun emmet?" ***Ma ütsin*** *siis* ***et*** *"**ikka** ja kohe oodake palun korraks"*

"'yes?" – "can I talk with your mom?" then **I said** "**yes**" and "right away, please, wait a bit."'

[3] Illocutionary modification 'he will **surely** do it' > phatic interjection '[will he do it?] – **sure**'?

Interjections: cross-linguistic observations

Routinization of interjections → their appearance predicts what they index, e.g. *wow, wtf* and their variants conventionalize as expressions of surprise.

Social meaning, presence of [euphemistic spelling] variants (also see Goffmann 1981), e.g.: Fin. *mitä ihmettä, mitä vittua, mitä v., mitä hittoo, mitä hemmettiä, mitä helvettiä, mitä helv., wtf, dafuck*

Interjections as indexes in reported speech?

Interpersonal 'icons': demonstrate rather than point at modification, primarily addressee-oriented:

Emotive, express e. state of the speaker: *wow, wtf*

Cognitive, pertain to the state of knowledge and thought, e.g. *hm* 'I am puzzled', Fin. *ainiin* 'I understand now!'

Conative, directed at the auditor & demand of action or response, e.g. Hung. *nesze* 'here you go!', Udm. *ej* 'I need your attention'

Phatic, used for establishment and maintenance of communicative contact, e.g. *ok,* Udm. *jara* 'id.', Fin. *jaahas* 'id.'

Phatic & cognitive interjections: interpersonal and textural, e.g. E. *e-e-e* 'I understand & disagree with the said before'**?**[4] **or merely responsive?**

(15) Erzya (ESmC)

*– **E-e-e**,*	*bačka*	*pop, –*	*meŕś*	*karšonzo*
INTERJ	father-in-law	priest	say:PST.3SG	against:3SG
erźaś.	*– Ńej*	*ton*	*moń*	*mančat…*
Erzya:DEF	now	2SG	1SG:GEN	cheat:PRS.2SG

'– **E-e-e**, priest, – the Erzya said in response. – Now you are cheating me…'

[4] Compare e.g. with consecutive or problematic discourse particles.

Results: Roadmap

Discourse particles

Interjections

Routines

Graphic icons

Routines

- Self-quotations, utterance: 23

  Greeting, apology, gratitude, wishes

- Self-quotation, thought: 2

  Greeting, gratitude

- Quotations, utterance: 16

  Greeting, gratitude, apology

- Self-quotations, utterance: 23

  Greeting, apology, gratitude, wishes

- Self-quotation, thought: **2**

  Greeting, gratitude

- Quotations, utterance: 16

  Greeting, gratitude, apology

In self-quotation of thought (= 'unverbalized/intended utterance')

(16) Finnish (IKA)

[*No siihen totesin että olenhan muotitietoinen,*]

vaikka	***olin***	***ihan***	***et***	***haloo!!..***
although	be:PST:1SG	completely	COMP	hello

[*Hänen piti katsoa jostain kirjasta miten laiha anorektikon tulee olla!!!*]

'[Well, to that I stated that I am fashion conscious,] although **I was like hello!!..** [She should look up how slim the anorectic should be!!!]'

In self-quotation (of thought [= 'unverbalized/intended utterance']):

(17) Finnish (IKA)

Ne	*kyl*	*yritti*	*muhun*		*tutustuu,*
3PL	of.course	try:PST.3	1SG:ILL		get.to.know.INF
mut	***olin***	***silleen***	***et***	***ei***	***kiitos***..
but	be:PST:1SG	so	COMP	NEG	thanks

'Of course, they tried to get to know me but **I was like no thanks**..'

Routines as indexes

Even though the observed types belong to conventional ‘social deictics’ (*inherently* INTERPERSONAL?), in reported speech can…

> …highlight discourse parts as beginning (e.g. greetings) or ending/movement to the next episode (e.g. farewell) → TEXTURAL?
>
> INDEXICAL?

Routines as indexes…

…highlight discourse parts as beginning (e.g. greetings) or ending/movement to the next episode (e.g. farewell) → TEXTURAL? INDEXICAL?

(18) Estonian (etTenTen19)

ja jooksin enda tuppa, logisin mns-i, ja siis ta oli sees minu õnneks, ja läksin ***ütsin****:* ***tsauks*** *kle ma linna täna, saame kokku? ta ütles et okei dvjjj, kus sa oled??*

'I ran into my room, logged into MNS and then she was "inside" for my luck, and I came and **said**: **hi,** listen, I'm going to the city today, wanna meet up? She said okay, sure, where are you at??'

(19) Estonian (etTenTen19)

…ütles, et mina sinu asemel temaga käima ei hakaks, ja siis naeris, ma ütsin et eem… noamh. siis ***ma ütsin Ralfile et*** *kuule ma lähen koju mai saa siiin enam olla* ***tsau*** *ja ma tegin talle kalli ja läksin.*

'[she] said: I won't start dating with him instead of you, and then laughed, and I said: eem… noamh. Then **I told Ralph**: listen, I will go home, I can't be here anymore, **bye** and I hugged him and left.'

Results: Roadmap

Discourse particles

Interjections

Routines

Graphic icons

Graphic icons

Emoticons, "punctuation marks, letters, and numbers used to create pictorial icons that generally display an emotion or sentiment."[5]

(20) Estonian (etTenTen19)

[*Küsin, ett "kas me mahlamäelt sõitsime juba läbi?" "jah, ammu"…*]

mul	***oli***	***nagu***	***et***	***":O***	*wtf"…*
1SG.ADE	be.PST.3SG	like	COMP	EMOT	what.the.fuck

'[I ask "Have we passed already Mahlamäe?" "Yes, long time ago"…] **I was like ":O** wtf"…'

[5] https://www.britannica.com/story/whats-the-difference-between-emoji-and-emoticons (26 April 2023).

Combination of independent orthographic symbols in non-verbal demonstrations:

(21) Finnish (IKA)

[*…niin muistan että huusin kurkku suorana, et "please, please, please" ja se otti ohikulkiessaan mua kädestä (sormista) sillain ihan ohimennen kiinni*]

ja	***mä***	***olin***	***ihan***	***et***	***…….!!!!!!***
and	1SG	be:PST:1SG	totally	COMP	

'…so I remember that I've screamed my throat out: "please, please, please" and passing by he took my hand (fingers) just like he was passing by and **I was like…….!!!!!!**'

Similar to ‘emotive-cognitive’ interjections, both demonstrate surprise:

(22) Estonian (etTenTen19)

[*Siis tuli J, küsisin temalt, et mis see M siin korraldab,*]

J	***oli***	***nagu***	***“???***	*Tal*	*on*	*sünnipäev*
PN	be:PST.3SG	like	GRAPH	3SG:ADE	be.PRS.3SG	birthday

ju!”

PTCL.ENIM

‘[Then J came, I asked him: what is that M doing there?] **J was like** “**???** He has birthday, don’t you remember!”’

Scarce in my data:

- Self-quotations, utterance: 3;
- Self-quotation, thought: 10;
- Quotations, utterance: 3;
- Quotations, thought: 1.

Scarce in my data → **availability of verbal means like interjections?**

- Self-quotations, utterance: 3;
- Self-quotation, thought: 10;
- Quotations, utterance: 3;
- Quotations, thought: 1.

Graphic icons as indexes in reported speech?

Similar observations as for interjections, same problems: **how connective are they? or merely responsive?**

(22) Estonian (etTenTen19)

[*Siis tuli J, küsisin temalt, et mis see M siin korraldab,*]

J ***oli*** ***nagu*** *“???* *Tal* *on* *sünnipäev*

PN be:PST.3SG like GRAPH 3SG:ADE be.PRS.3SG birthday

ju!”

PTCL.ENIM

‘[Then J came, I asked him: what is that M doing there?] **J was like** “**???** He has birthday, don’t you remember!”’

3. Summary

Summary

Table 6. Grammatically peripheral elements and their connection to interpersonal and semiotic domains

Grammatically peripheral elements	**Interpersonal**	**Textural**
Connectors	?	+
Particles	+	+
Interjections	+	?
Graphic icons	+	?
Routines	+	?

Summary

Connections between types of GPEs:

- ‘Textural’ particles ↔ Connectors: functional correspondence?
- ‘Interpersonal’ particles ↔ Interjections: mostly via ‘grammaticalization’; partially: similar semantic load (but not interchangeable elements in discourse);
- Interjections ↔ Graphic icons: functional correspondence (+ demonstration);
- Interjections, Graphic icons ↔ Routines: conventionalization.

4. Conclusions

- ‘Discourse indexes’ or ‘indexes in discourse’ signaling:

  -attitudinal/rhetorical/illocutionary modification of the content;

  -linking to the preceding context or marking it as ‘formatted’.

- ‘Discourse icons’: interjections and graphic icons;
- Important to distinguish between signs operating in different semiotic domains, even if they all appear as discourse phenomena or share similar formal traits (e.g. belong to the POS of particles).

Some open questions

- ‘Discourse Markers’ or ‘Discourse Indexes’? Important or not? [In Semiotic Grammar: two distinct types of linking relation!];
- What happens beyond RS? More frequent use of GPEs?...
- Language-specific traits? E.g. conventionalized combination of textural and interpersonal semiotics within one index? Verum particles in Wolof as phatic interjections? (e.g. Jordanoska 2020)

Kiitos! Aitäh! Thank you!

Дякую! Спасибо!

Сюк-пря! Köszönöm!

Тау! Аттьö!

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Appendix: Theoretical preliminaries

Ameka (1992):

- particles vs. interjections;
- interjections vs. routines.

Ameka (1992):

- **particles vs. interjections**;
- interjections vs. routines.

Ameka (1992) makes the following distinction, **(loosely)** applied here:

- **particles**: integrated into the syntax of the utterance;
- **interjections**: form an utterance on their own.

(ibid.: 108)

Ameka (1992):

- particles vs. interjections;
- **interjections vs. routines.**

Ameka (1992: 110) makes the following distinction, applied here:

- **routines**:
  - intentional and (socially) expected

- **interjections**:
  - spontaneous immediate responses

Ameka (1992: 110) makes the following distinction, applied here:

- **routines**:
  - intentional and (socially) expected;
  - contain the component about the social convention and predictability: *Hi! Thanks!*

- **interjections**:
  - spontaneous immediate responses;
  - no component about the social convention (e.g. *wow!*);

Ameka (1992: 110) makes the following distinction, applied here:

- **routines**:
  - intentional and (socially) expected;
  - contain the component about the social convention and predictability: *Hi! Thanks!*
  - speech acts.
- **interjections**:
  - spontaneous immediate responses;
  - no component about the social convention (e.g. *wow!*);
  - mental acts.

Appendix: C.S. Peirce's triad of signs

- ICON, physically resembles what it 'stands for'
- INDEX, points/refers to what it 'stands for'
- SYMBOL, reliant on conventional usage

  to determine meaning

Figure 5. C.S. Peirce [source: wikipedia.org]

Appendix: Why RS is a suitable domain to research GPEs?

RS as a complex interaction of two discourses (current & narrated; own & other's/earlier self's)…

> …is probably one of the few manifestations of 'talk-in-interaction' in written data (excluding live chats, texting, etc.), cf. (1);
>
> …allows investigating the behavior of different grammatical categories under a dialogically oriented grammatical description (cf. 'grammatical participation framework' in Spronck [2021, in prep.]).

Epistemic particles as 'shifters' signaling perspective change: Reported Speaker$_{\text{UNKNOWN}}$ → Reporter

(a) Udmurt (UdSmC)

trosez	***malpazy***	***dyr***	*mon*	*gožti*	***šuysa,***
many.3SG	think.PST.3PL	maybe	1SG	write.PST.1SG	COMP

no	*so*	*šonertem…*
but	3SG	wrong

?'**many people thought that maybe** I wrote (it), but it is wrong…'

Rather: '**many people maybe thought** that I wrote (it), but it is wrong…'

Verum, signaling the speaker's belief that *p* in RS is true (**moral** instead of epistemic commitment?):

(b) Finnish (IKA)

(*sit se soitti suoraa metsäyhtiöihin,*)

sanoivat ***et*** ***kyllä*** *he* *ostaa* *puuta…*

say.PST.3PL COMP PTCL 3PL buy.NPST.3 wood.PRT

'(then he called directly to the forestry,) **they said that** they will **definitely** buy wood…'

Modal particle or **phatic interjection**?

(d) Estonian (etTenTen19)

*"**Muidugi**[,] Hanna"*	***ütlesid***	***Kadi***	***ja***	***Daisy…***	
of.course	PN	say.PST.3PL	PN	and	PN

'[upon the request to help:] "**Of course**, Hanna" **said Kadi and Daisy**…'

Connective + marking? Problematic, "[n]ot quite the preferred response" (Auer & Maschler 2016: 24)

(e) Estonian (etTenTen19)

***Ma ütsin**, **noh**, et, et leidke ise, kes, kes, kes teevad, sest, **noh**, ütleme, need, keda nagu mina või.... võisin soovitada…*

'[upon the question:] **I said**, **well**, find yourself those who know because **well**, let's say, those whom I kinda I can… I could recommend…'

…link RS to the previous discourse situation (e.g. apologies) → TEXTURAL? INDEXICAL? COVARIATE?

(f) Finnish (IKA)

Koulu ku loppuu ne vaa lähtee aina pois tosi äkkii ja unohtaa mut sinne eli ei oota mua, sit ku sanon siit niille ni ***ne vaa on sillee*** *“ai unohdettiiks me sut,* ***anteeks*** *:D :D” ja nauraa…*

‘When school ends, they always just leave quite suddenly and forget me there, in other words, they don’t wait for me, then when I said it to them **they are all** “ah, did we forget you, **sorry** :D :D” and laugh…’