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英語の話しことばにおける談話標識 *well* の研究

The Discourse Marker *Well* as an Interpersonal Management Marker
in Spoken Discourse

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The Discourse Marker *Well* as an Interpersonal Management Marker
in Spoken Discourse

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Well, all’s well that ends well?

Ryo Takamura

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Aims of the study

This study reveals the multiple functions of the discourse marker *well* and provides a core motivation, outlining the polysemic uses, for recruiting the lexical term as a discourse marker for interpersonal management. The motivation for speakers to use the discourse marker *well* is politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987), which advocates the participants' desire not to offend people by their speech manner. That is, speakers can express their interpersonal consideration to addressees by using the discourse marker *well*. On the one hand, for the interpersonal functions of *well* as a discourse marker, speakers deductively use *well* as a politeness strategy for interpersonal management to addressees (e.g., agreement, disagreement). A classical study on discourse markers by Schiffrin (1987) documented that the primary function of the discourse marker *well* is to contribute to a participation framework concerning participant relations. On the other hand, for textual functions of *well*, speakers no longer seem to focus on the motivation for the uses of politeness, but they use the marker for discourse/text structuring (e.g., closing a talk or topic). In this study, I propose an original perspective that politeness is intertwined in interpersonal and textual uses of the discourse marker *well*.

The principal goals of this study are summarized as follows:

1. The first goal is to identify and describe the functions of *well* as a discourse marker and reveal the contributions of these functions to interaction in terms of textual and interpersonal modes (Brinton 2017, see Chapter 2).
2. The second goal is to provide a new perspective regarding the functions of *well* relating

to politeness. By analyzing the linguistic item in question, I explore the instances of *well* used for interpersonal and textual functions involving polite functions. A motivation for *well* to be used as a discourse marker is reflected in its semantic meaning “good”.

3. The third goal is to demonstrate that my argument is not restricted to English phenomena but applicable to other languages. To characterize the discourse marker *well* as an example of politeness, I provide the uses of *bon* as a French discourse marker and *bueno* as a Spanish discourse marker as examples of politeness. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), politeness phenomena are found universally. Because *bon* and *bueno* as discourse markers are derived from the semantic meaning “good”, the three markers have similarities. These findings will strongly impact the study on discourse markers related to politeness.

To achieve these goals, I refer to the literature on discourse analysis, pragmatics, and sociolinguistics and analyze the naturally occurring language data from casual American English by using qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Thus, this study provides new insights into the traditional research that has pursued the classification of functions, either textual or interpersonal, of each item. The functional boundary is not obvious; by contrast, it displays the vagueness regarding *well* as a discourse marker and its counterparts. Therefore, these markers are convincing examples of universal phenomena that politeness has envisaged.

1.2 Outline

This study is organized as follows. Chapter 2 introduces conceptual backgrounds crucial

for the further analysis of the discourse marker *well*: (1) discourse markers, (2) grammaticalization, (3) functional-semantic modes of language, and (4) politeness theory. Moreover, I organize studies on discourse markers in general, such as definitions and terminologies. Chapter 3 reviews the studies on *well* as a discourse marker in mainly three aspects: (1) synchronic, including discourse/conversation analysis, relevance theory, cross-linguistics, and English as a foreign language; (2) diachronic; and (3) syntactic and semantic. These reviews reinforce the basis of this study by clarifying the arguments I introduce in later chapters.

Chapter 4 explores the functions of the discourse marker *well* used in naturally occurring everyday conversation in the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* (Part I and II). First, I identify and describe the functions of individual cases at the interpersonal and textual levels. Thereafter, based on the findings of both functional modes, I reveal how politeness at the speech act level contributes to each function of the discourse marker *well*. Next, this chapter explains that the functions considered an independent element have vague boundaries between the interpersonal and textual functions.

To attest to an example of the universal phenomena of politeness, Chapter 5 analyzes *bon* (literally meaning “good”) as a discourse marker in French. By performing this step, I reinforce my two arguments: (1) the exploitation of *well* as a discourse marker has been motivated by politeness, and (2) the face-threatening redress item *bon* as a French discourse marker is an example of universals of politeness. The two items *well* and *bon* share the propositional meaning “good”. Therefore, this study supports part of the

argument in the study by Brown and Levinson (1987). To demonstrate the relevance of the findings, I refer to examples of *bueno* as a Spanish discourse marker. Similar to the other two markers, *bueno* has a semantic meaning “good”. The analysis of the three discourse markers in different languages demonstrates that these markers originated from their similar propositional meaning. Furthermore, these items that have been employed as discourse markers for interpersonal management are an example of the universality of politeness.

Chapter 6 discusses that the findings of this study satisfy and elaborate the concepts presented in Chapter 2. Especially through the uses of the three discourse markers under inquiry, the relation between discourse markers and politeness is revisited. Moreover, an assumption of the functional development of *well* as a discourse marker is considered. Traugott (1982, 1989) claimed that an item acquires a function in the order of propositional > ((textual) > (expressive)). However, on the basis of my findings, I propose that *well* seems to have developed from propositional > expressive (interpersonal) > textual (discourse structuring). I discuss a motivation or trigger for the historical development in relation to politeness. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes this thesis and presents problems for further research.

Chapter 2 Conceptual background: Definitions and assumptions

In this chapter, I define or introduce four key conceptual backgrounds: “discourse markers”, “grammaticalization” (including “subjectification”, “intersubjectification”, and “periphery”), “functional-semantic modes of language”, and “politeness theory”. First, I review the definitions of discourse markers and perspectives of discourse markers in 2.1. In addition to an introduction to the definitions of discourse markers, I provide crucial concepts relevant to this study. Grammaticalization is the process by which an expression is employed as a discourse marker. The discourse marker *well* is derived from *well* as an adverb. Thus, this marker has undergone grammaticalization, which involves the phenomena explained in 2.2. Functional-semantic modes of language (Brinton 2017) display three functions of language: ideational, textual, and interpersonal. The functional framework indicates that discourse markers can also be attributed to these elements of language in 2.3. Finally, I present politeness theory in 2.4, which provides a new impact based on the study of *well* as a discourse marker. These conceptual backgrounds lead to new approaches to the study of *well* as a discourse marker.

2.1 Discourse markers

The study on discourse markers has advanced since Longacre (1976) called them “mystery particles”, described as “simply salt-and-peppered through a text to give it flavor, namely, to make it sound like so-and-so or so-and-so style within that language” (Ibid.: 468). However, because scholars have interpreted the concept of discourse markers

differently, there is little agreement on the terminology and classification of discourse markers. Thus, forty-two English terms are being referred to as markers (Cf. Dér 2010). For these terms, I provide some of the most long-sustained and supported definitions of discourse markers.

2.1.1 Schiffrin's (1987) account

The first systematized book, regarded as a classical work, is *Discourse Markers* (1987) by Schiffrin. In this book, she classifies eleven expressions or parts of speech, interjection (*oh*), adverbs (*well, now, then*), logical connectives (*and, but, or*), causal connectives (*so, because*), and parentheticals (*y'know, I mean*) as discourse markers and provides two definitions: operational and theoretical definitions for analyzing markers. First, she operationally defines discourse markers as “sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk” (Ibid.: 31). The notion of “bracket” originally derives from Goffman's (1974) term, which marks “the boundaries of units not only of talk, but of social life and organization in general” (Schiffrin 1987: 36). Second, in a more theoretical definition of discourse markers, Schiffrin adds “contextual coordinates” (Ibid.: 327). Thus, discourse markers “index an utterance to the local contexts in which utterances are produced and in which they are to be interpreted” (Ibid.: 326). According to Onodera (2004: 16), “index an utterance” means “index the containing utterance”, that is, the utterance in which a marker is used. Thus, the main function of contextual coordinates is the indexical function. Indexicals denote deictic features. Deictics are further divided into two directions: “proximal” and “distal”. The context to which markers index an utterance

includes both “participants” and “text” (Schiffrin 1987: 324). For instance, the discourse marker *well* indexes in contextual coordinates both speaker (proximal) and hearer (distal) as well as both prior and upcoming texts.

In addition to these definitions, at such an early stage of study on discourse markers, Schiffrin provides the criteria for an expression to be used as a marker:

- a) it has to be syntactically detachable from a sentence
- b) it has to be commonly used in initial position of an utterance
- c) it has to have a range of prosodic contours
- d) it has to be able to operate at both local and global levels of discourse, and on different planes of discourse

(Schiffrin 1987: 328)

The further development of this type of study has resulted in additional comprehensive characteristics and conditions of discourse markers than Schiffrin’s criteria (see 2.1.3).

For discourse analysis, Schiffrin created a discourse model, in which discourse can be approached or analyzed through five facets. The details are presented in Figure 1.

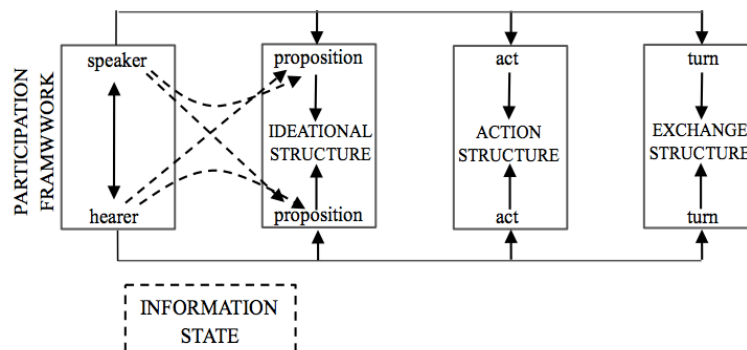


Figure 1 Schiffrin's discourse model (1987: 24-29)

a) Exchange structure: The primary unit of this structure is turn, which involves adjacency pairs such as question–answer and greeting–greeting. In other words, this structure is most relevant in a turn-taking system. Six markers (*well, and, but, or, so, y'know*) function in this structure, but none have this function as their primary use.

b) Action structure: Speech acts are the primary unit of this structure. These include various actions such as a speaker's speech act, conversational management, and social action. Again, there are seven markers; as one of the secondary functions, mark speech acts (*oh, well, and, but, so, because, then*), but none have this function as their primary use.

c) Ideational structure: The primary unit is propositions, “or what I'll just call ideas” (Schiffrin 1987: 25f). Seven markers primarily contribute to this structure: *and, but, or, so, because, now, and then*. In contrast with the exchange and action structures, the units within this structure are ideational. In addition, *well, I mean, and y'know* secondarily function within this structure. For instance, cohesive relations, topic relations, and

functional relations are involved.

d) Participation framework: In this framework, relations between speaker and hearer and those between the speaker and his/her utterance, for example, commitment or evaluation, are expressed and negotiated. The markers *well* and *I mean* play a notable role in this framework. As secondary uses, *oh*, *so*, *now*, and *y'know* contribute to the participation framework.

e) Information state: The markers *oh* and *y'know* (plus *well*, *so*, *because*, *then*, and *I mean*) help in the organization and management of a speaker's and hearer's knowledge and meta-knowledge, what the speaker knows, and what he/she assumes about the knowledge of the hearer.

The arrows in the discourse model indicate that all five planes are intertwined so that discourse can be captured in five perspectives.

What motivates Schiffrin to call these functional linguistic items discourse markers derives from the topic of her study. Schiffrin consistently argues that “the analysis of discourse markers is part of the more general analysis of discourse coherence” (Schiffrin 1987: 49). In her discourse model, she never ignores the relationship between the participants, however, her primary interest was how markers contribute to the coherence of discourse.

2.1.2 Fraser's (1988, 1999, 2009) account

Fraser consistently contends that discourse markers are a type of pragmatic marker.¹ Fraser (2009) formulates a framework of pragmatic markers with four subcategories, namely, “basic pragmatic markers”, “commentary pragmatic markers”, “discourse markers”, and “discourse structure markers”.

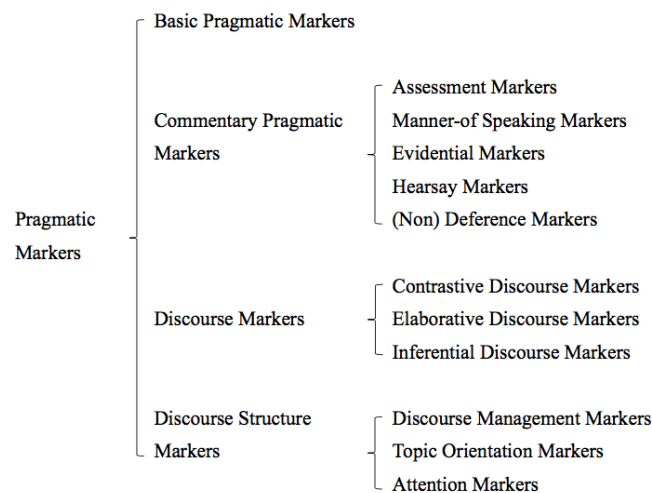


Figure 2 Fraser's (2009) framework of pragmatic markers

Next, I provide examples of “contrastive discourse markers” from discourse markers and “topic orientation markers” from discourse structural markers.

¹ However, in addition to the classification of discourse markers, we also need to be careful of the terminology, pragmatic markers. The three studies I will introduce as follows prefer to use “pragmatic markers” but what these scholars take in as pragmatic markers is different from the ones introduced in Fraser's series of works.

(A) Contrastive discourse markers

1. A: Harry is hurrying. B: *But* when do you think he will get here?
2. Mark, a good guy. *On the contrary*, he's a jerk.

But in (A1) is a typical discourse marker (Cf. Schiffrin 1987), and *on the contrary* is an expression.

(B) Topic orientation markers

1. That's all there is to say on this for now. *Returning to my previous topic*, I would like to point out that...
2. Now, Mr. Pickard, *I want to return to* the questions that my now-absent- colleague Mr. Roemer was asking you about your communications with the field.

Regarding topic orientation markers, the two examples in (B1) and (B2) are no longer “markers” but a phrase or clause with a full semantic property (Traugott 2020). However, similar to Schiffrin (1987), Fraser considers that discourse markers are used for linking a prior and an upcoming discourse segment.

Fraser (1999: 931) defines discourse markers as follows:

signalling a relationship between the interpretation of the segment they introduce, S2, and the prior segment, S1. They have a core meaning which is procedural, not conceptual, and their more specific interpretation is

‘negotiated’ by the context, both linguistic and conceptual. There are two types: those that relate the explicit interpretation conveyed by S2 with some aspect associated with the segment, S1; and those that relate the topic of S2 to that of S1.

2.1.3 Brinton’s (2017) account

Alongside Fraser, Brinton uses the term pragmatic marker, not discourse marker. However, what Briton considers pragmatic markers is not always consistent with Fraser’s concept. Fraser emphasizes the procedural meanings of markers or expression that are relatively long, but Brinton considers them short and frequently used in spoken language. Additionally, Brinton makes a comprehensive list to define and characterize items as pragmatic markers by applying five perspectives, but Schifffrin’s definition describes the functions in discourse.

Phonological and lexical characteristics

- (a) Pragmatic markers are often “small” items, although they may also be phrasal or clausal; they are sometimes phonologically reduced.
- (b) Pragmatic markers may form a separate tone group, but they may also form a prosodic unit with preceding or following material.
- (c) Pragmatic markers do not constitute a traditional word class, but are most closely aligned to adverbs, conjunctions, or interjections.

Syntactic characteristics

- (d) Pragmatic markers occur either outside the syntactic structure or loosely attached to it.
- (e) Pragmatic markers occur preferentially at clause boundaries (initial/final) but are generally movable and may occur in sentence-medial position as well.
- (f) Pragmatic markers are grammatically optional but at the same time serve important pragmatic functions (and are, in a sense, pragmatically non-optional).

Semantic characteristics

- (g) Pragmatic markers have little or no propositional/conceptual meaning, but are procedural and non-compositional.

Functional characteristics

- (h) Pragmatic markers are often multifunctional, having a range of pragmatic functions.

Sociolinguistic and stylistic characteristics

- (i) Pragmatic markers are predominantly a feature of oral rather than written discourse; spoken and written pragmatic markers may differ in form and function.
- (j) Pragmatic markers are frequent and salient in oral discourse.
- (k) Pragmatic markers are stylistically stigmatized and negatively evaluated, especially in written or formal discourse.
- (l) Pragmatic markers may be used in different ways and in different frequencies by men and women.

(Brinton 2017: 9)

Many of these aforementioned characteristics are relevant to this study. I will demonstrate that my findings satisfy these criteria through the following analysis. Notably, features (c), (e), and (g) on the interplay between the bleached semantic property and the discourse marker *well* represent one of the main research inquiries in this study.

2.1.4 Beeching's (2016) account

Beeching (2016) also uses the term pragmatic markers rather than discourse markers because the aim is “to highlight their interpersonal rather than textual usages, though recognising that pragmatic markers have procedural meanings” (Ibid.: 5).

Beeching considers that the particular characteristics of conversation influence the mode of pragmatic markers. She enumerates five perspectives:

- a) Conversation is spontaneous and takes place at speed; unlike writing, there is no opportunity for speakers to edit what they say before ‘publication’; pragmatic markers allow for hesitation, back-tracking, repair and repetition.
- b) Conversation is interactional; pragmatic markers occur at the junction between speakers in turn-taking, frequently in utterance-initial or utterance-final positions.
- c) Conversation is social; pragmatic markers may be sociolinguistically marked (used in particular regions, by speakers of particular age-groups or particular social groups).
- d) Conversation is sociable; pragmatic markers are often associated with

naturalness, friendliness and warmth. In addition, they are often addressee-oriented: they allow the addressee's opinion to be enjoined or invoked.

e) Conversation is polite; pragmatic markers can hedge talk, downtoning what might be considered over-strong assertions of opinion.

(Ibid.: 4)

For feature (c) and Brinton's criterion (1), almost a half-century ago, Lakoff (1975: 53) observed that "women's speech seems in general to contain more instances of *well* etc". Indeed, on the basis of quantitative research, Beeching reports that female speakers in *the British National Corpus* sample used *well* significantly more than the male speakers (Beeching 2016: 61). However, Beeching does not refer to the qualitative result; in other words, whether a certain function of this marker can index a property of a social group remains unclear.²

2.1.5 Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg's (2003) account

Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg (2003) use the term "pragmatic markers" and distinguish between discourse markers and pragmatic markers.

Discourse marker is the term which we use when we want to describe how a particular marker signals coherence relations. Pragmatic markers as we see

² If Lakoff's empirical suggestion is true, there should be some gay people who mimic or make use of the prototypical gendered language use and do overuse it.

them are not only associated with discourse and textual functions but are also signals in the communication situation guiding the addressee's interpretation. The term as we are using it can also be defined negatively: if a word or a construction in an utterance does not contribute to the propositional, truth-functional content, then we consider it a pragmatic marker.

(Ibid.: 2)

I have demonstrated that the term discourse markers mainly implicates some nature of discursive connectives and that the term pragmatic makers instead emphasizes the dynamics of interaction between the speakers and hearers. However, more or less, these two terms are not mutually exclusive. The choice of the term seems to depend on which function, textual or interpersonal, the scholar is investigating.³ Therefore, because of the scholar's trivial terminological preference or difference in approaching a discourse, Dér (2010) identifies forty-two terms with little difference among them. In the context of this disciplinal turmoil, Aijmer et al. (2006: 102) revealed that "a proliferation of terms must be avoided". In this study, I consistently use the term discourse markers to be inclusive of both textual and interpersonal functions.

Finally, I introduce a fresh view that discourse markers are a part of conventional implicature. Following Potts (2005), scholars have claimed that various expressions with conventional implicature exist in natural language (McCready 2010). McCready

³ Fraser (2009) uses the term pragmatic markers, but he does not emphasize the interpersonal functions as others do.

considers *man* as a particle that introduces a propositional modifier that applies to a proposition made available by context (2010: 33). This view suggests that the behavior of conventional implicature is similar to that of discourse markers. According to Potts (2005: 1), a meaning is obtained from a two-part compositional rule that has two parts:

- (i) apply a conventional implicature functor to an at-issue ('regular content') argument to form a conventionally implicated proposition;
and
- (ii) output the at-issue argument unmodified, as a meaning that is independent of the proposition (i).

In other words, these criteria correspond to the functional features of discourse markers. Relatively little research has investigated discourse markers from conventional implicature (except for, e.g., Davis 2009; Gutzmann 2019; McCready 2009, 2010; Sawada 2018). These studies are mainly based on formal semantics and pragmatics; therefore, I do not consider this view more deeply in this thesis.

2.2 Grammaticalization

Because Brinton (2017: 9) claims that discourse markers “are most closely aligned to adverbs, conjunctions, or interjections”, the emergence of discourse markers departs from the semantic and syntactic word class.

Although many of the discourse markers originally derive from sentential adverbs

(e.g., *indeed*, *in fact*, *besides* [Traugott 1995]), *well* is a clause-internal adverb as in “Elin plays the piano very well”. However, when used as a discourse marker, *well* is used in an initial position of an utterance, as in “Well, Elin plays the piano”. This change from an adverb to a discourse marker is considered an example of “grammaticalization” (Traugott 1995). Traugott (2010a: 97f) provides two views of “grammaticalization”. The first view is “grammaticalization as reduction”, sometimes called the “narrow” or “traditional” approach. This view characterizes a reduction of structure and form and an increase in dependency. Typical definitions in this view are “a diachronic change by which parts of a constructional schema come to have stronger internal dependencies” (Haspelmath 2004: 26) and “grammaticalization of a linguistic sign is a process in which it loses its autonomy by becoming more subject to constraints of the linguistic system” (Lehmann 2004: 155). The second view is “grammaticalization as expansion”, also called “expanded view of grammaticalization” (Onodera 2011: 615). This view allows scope expansion. Such an expansion has been exemplified by the development of discourse markers. Traugott (1995) suggests a cline for the development of discourse markers: “Clause-internal Adverb > Sentence Adverb > Discourse Marker”. For instance, *indeed* has undergone a historical process to become a discourse marker. She clarifies four stages of the development of *indeed* (Ibid.: 7ff).

Stage 0: Full lexicon	<i>deed</i>	13th Century
Stage 1: Adverbial phrase	<i>in dede</i>	14th and 15th Century
Stage 2: Sentential adverb	<i>in dede</i>	16th Century
Stage 3: Discourse marker	<i>in deede, indeed</i>	17th Century

At Stage 0, *deed*, etymologically a German term, is used as a noun “doing/act(ion)”. At Stage 1, *in dede* is used as an adverbial phrase and is endowed with evidential modal meaning (“in action/practice” > “in actuality, certainly”). This item is employed to express some contrast, such as actuality versus opinion. At Stage 2, by the Early Modern English period, *in dede* in the evidential/epistemic sense begins to be found in clause-initial position as a sentential adverb. Finally, at Stage 3, *in deede* or *indeed* as a discourse marker came to mark an elaboration and clarification of discourse. In its grammaticalization, *indeed* has become syntactically free, has been used in a clause, and has come to be used in the initial position of an utterance. Thus, the scope that this lexical item can modify has expanded.

Brinton (2017: 27) also acknowledges that “the development of pragmatic markers exhibits many—but not all—of the changes characteristic of grammaticalization”. For the characteristics, Brinton claims that the development of discourse markers conforms to four of the five principles that Hopper (1991: 22) provides. Brinton (2017: 27f) demonstrates the four principles with the following instances.

(a) **Decategorialization**, or loss of the morphological and syntactic characteristics of the full category. Nouns that evolve into pragmatic forms lose the ability to be modified by adjectives or to pluralize (e.g., *indeed*, *in fact*) or are invariable in form (e.g., *and things/stuff like that*). Verbal forms in comment clauses are typically restricted to first- or second-person forms in the simple present tense, lose the behavioral characteristics of a fully formed and complement-taking clause, and exist as a syntactically frozen or defective clause, with a particle-like quality (e.g., *I mean*, *I think*, *you know*).

(b) **Persistence**, or retention of some trace of the original meaning. For example, *well* as a pragmatic marker retains much of its meaning of ‘acceptability’, while the comment clause *I find* retains some sense of ‘discover by experience’ (see Brinton 2008). In all cases the meanings of pragmatic markers can be seen as deriving from the meanings of their original lexical forms, with much of the lexical meaning remaining in place and in fact dictating the direction of any future developments. That is, a pragmatic marker is never entirely divorced from its semantic source.

(c) **Divergence**, or the continued existence of the original lexical forms or constructions. Forms such as *thing*, *deed*, *sort*, or *kind* remain as fully constituted nouns, *well*, *now*, *then*, *right*, *so*, *actually* continue to function as manner and time adverbials, *right* is a proper adjective occurring in predicate and attributive position, *sort of*/*kind of* may be nominal heads, *in fact*/*in deed* may function as prepositional phrases, and *I think*/*I believe*/*I guess* continue to serve as matrix clauses governing a complement (variable in respect to subject/tense/aspect).

(d) **Layering**, or the coexistence of older and newer grammaticalized forms. We see this, for example, in the use of the newer appositional marker *I mean* coexistent with the older forms *that is to say* or *to wit*.

Although Hopper (1991: 22) lists another characteristic “specialization” as the fifth principle, this is not evident in the case of discourse markers (Brinton 2017: 27). Hopper explains that “[w]ithin a functional domain, at one stage a variety of forms with different semantic nuances may be possible; as grammaticization takes place, this variety of formal choices narrows and the smaller number of forms selected assume more general grammatical meanings” (Ibid.). For example, Modern French uses several negators, such as *pas*, *point*, *mie*, and *drop*. In the 16th century, *pas* and *point* predominated, but nowadays, *pas* is the unmarked negator.

However, some scholars disagree with the perspective that the pragmatic process from semantic/syntactic property to discourse markers is a part of grammar (Cf. Heine 2013). Heine (2013: 1205) provides an alternative concept called “cooptation”, “whereby information units such as clauses, phrases, or words are transferred from the domain of sentence grammar to that of discourse organization”. However, Fraser (1988: 32) explicitly claims their correlation: “discourse markers are part of the grammar of a language, grammaticalization is not only a syntactic but also a discursive feature whose scope is larger than one sentence”. Behind this thought on grammar, unlike the generative grammar that assumes the language system’s so-called grammar is endowed in a human’s brain, Hopper (1987) claims that grammar needs to be considered as the patterned but

ongoing expressions shaped by discourse. This concept is known as emergent grammar. Du Bois (1987: 851) also supports that an interaction influences grammar by mentioning that “[g]rammar codes best what speakers do most”. What plagues scholars is how to theoretically define grammar. In this study, as referring to grammaticalization of discourse markers, grammar encompasses both sentence-level grammar and a broader scope involving pragmatics over sentence grammar.

Therefore, Schourup’s definition of discourse markers has limitations:

the typical [discourse marker] referred to in the literature is a **syntactically optional** expression that does not affect the truth-conditions associated with an utterance it introduces and is used to relate this utterance to the immediately preceding utterance (Schourup 1999: 234 bolded by the author).

Notably, a referential meaning of an utterance is not lost if it were not for discourse markers, but a social meaning is affected by the loss of these markers. Next, I present the case when a subordinate declines an offer from the boss.

(1) 1 Boss: Can you attend this meeting for me?

2 Subordinate: (*Well*), no.

The referential meaning in line 2 is not lost either with or without *well*, but the subordinate can employ this marker to be “polite” by softening the direct declination. Without this

marker in the interaction (1), the boss would be displeased by the abrupt answer.

Thus, I have thus far demonstrated in this discussion that along with Traugott's arguments, the grammaticality of discourse markers is not captured in the traditional one-sentence-level syntax. Therefore, in everyday interaction, as I present in the data sections, discourse markers are not optional but "grammatically" required.

2.2.1 (Inter)subjectification and (inter)subjectivity

As explained, in grammaticalization, a lexical item acquires more grammatical function (e.g., *indeed* full lexicon > adverbial phrase > sentential adverb > discourse marker); hence, this process centers on grammaticality. Moreover, as an expression undergoes grammaticalization, the expression being grammaticalized results in developments in meaning or functional change. Traugott (1999) characterizes this process of semantic change as "subjectification" and "intersubjectification". Subjectification is "a mechanism whereby meanings become more deeply centered on the speaker, and intersubjectification is a mechanism whereby meanings become more centered on the addressee" (Ibid.: 3). For example, *deed* is a noun that developed into *indeed* as a discourse marker: in the process of grammaticalization, the meaning "act(ion)" was changed to an expression involving the speaker's belief in discourse content in the process of subjectification.

Subjectification and intersubjectification center on a mechanism or process of semantic change in relation to diachronic perspective, and the lexical items expressing subjectivity and intersubjectivity are phenomena in synchronic perspective. These are

expressions “the prime semantic or pragmatic meaning of which is to index speaker attitude or viewpoint (subjectivity) and speaker’s attention to addressee self-image (intersubjectivity)” (Traugott 2010b: 32). As examples of subjectivity, Traugott (2003: 125) uses adverbs, such as *frankly* or *obviously*, expressing the speaker or writer’s attitude toward the content of the proposition. Discourse markers such as *in fact* or *well* express the speaker or writer’s perception of connectivity between propositions. Intersubjectivity is reflected in the choice of either *vous* or *tu* in French: both mean “you” in English, but the former shows formality and the latter shows intimacy. This explicit attention to the addressee is the case of intersubjectivity.

2.2.2 Periphery

Related to a scope expansion of discourse markers and (inter)subjectivity, studies have shown an interest in the positions in utterance where a marker functions, called “periphery” (Beeching and Detges 2014). As in Schifffrin’s (1987) conventional conditions, markers are likely to occupy an utterance-initial position. Beeching and Detges (2014) characterize the initial positions as “left periphery” (LP) and the final position as “right periphery” (RP). These peripheries are especially the places where pragmatic adjustments tend to be conducted. Next, I examine what type of functions are involved in the right and left peripheries displayed in Table 1.

Left Periphery	Right Periphery
Dialogual	Dialogic
Turn-taking/attention-getting	Turn-yielding/end-marking
Link to previous discourse	Anticipation of forthcoming discourse
Response-marking	Response-inviting
Focalising, topicalising, framing	Modalising
Subjective	Intersubjective

Table 1 Left periphery/right periphery functional asymmetry hypothesis

(Beeching and Detges 2014: 11)

A dialogue assumes at least two participants (speakers) in interaction. Therefore, LP is concerned with turn-taking and response. These actions are relevant to the speaker's subjectivity. Dialogicity plays an interpersonal/modal role that involves two viewpoints. In other words, RP reflects the speaker's intersubjectivity.

However, I am not inclined to use the terms right and left peripheries because some written language is not from right to left (e.g., Arabic); in Japanese, traditional writing is from top to bottom; and other languages may only have a spoken mode. Thus, the dichotomy should simply be termed utterance-initial, -medial, and -final positions.

2.3 Functional-semantic modes of language

I have presented classifications in functions of discourse markers, such as textual and interpersonal (Cf. Beeching 2016), but language has various functions. Halliday (1970, 1979) advocates three functional-semantic modes of language "ideational" ("language as representation"), "textual" ("language as relevance"), and "interpersonal"

(“language as interaction”). Traugott (1982) modifies these modes as a functional-semantic model of language, in which a lexical item changes its meaning along the three components: propositional > ((textual) > (expressive)) (Traugott 1989: 31).

Traugott’s original framework refers to the propositional component as “the resources of the language for making it possible to talk about something”; the textual component as “resources available for creating a cohesive discourse” including connectives (e.g., “but,” “therefore”), anaphoric and cataphoric pronouns, relativizers, and so forth; and the expressive component as “the resources a language has for expressing personal attitudes to what is being talked about” (Traugott 1982: 248).

Traugott’s functional model is originally designed for explaining the functions of “language” in general. These three elements of language pertain to explication on the multifunctionality of discourse markers, and notably, scholars support this framework for analyzing discourse markers (e.g., Brinton 1996, 2008, 2017; Onodera 2004). However, the interpretations of “textual function” differ among researchers.

Onodera (2004: 15) respects Traugott’s original idea and interprets the textual function as “the *intersentential* linking function”. By contrast, when this type of functional model is used for explaining the functions of discourse markers, the textual function is interpreted as a “discourse-structuring function” (Cf. Brinton 2017). The possibility of these two readings of the textual function was also recently raised in a workshop at the International Pragmatics Conference (Winterthur, Switzerland held

online) in 2021.⁴ In this panel, Dr. Traugott also showed an understanding of the two possible readings of the textual function and advised others to confirm what is meant by “textual” when discussing the diachronic tendency of propositional > ((textual) > (expressive)) (Traugott 1982, 1989).

In this study, I basically follow Brinton’s functional-semantic modes of language (2017), which is more specialized and useful for explaining the functions of discourse markers than others such as Halliday’s and Traugott’s models. Therefore, I interpret the textual functions of discourse markers as a “discourse-structuring function”. The following illustration is taken from Brinton (2017: 11).

The “ideational” mode has been relabeled “propositional”, “conceptual”, or “referential”. The sources of pragmatic markers in their original (non-pragmatic) function are understood as expressing this content, namely, the speaker’s experience of both the outside and inside world, including happenings, participants, and circumstances. Propositional meaning may be retained to a greater or lesser degree as pragmatic markers develop.

In the textual mode, the speaker structures meaning as text, creating cohesive passages of discourse. Textual functions comprise the role of pragmatic markers in initiating or closing discourse, marking a boundary in discourse (new topic/shift in topic/resumption of topic), denoting new or old information, holding the floor or

⁴ Onodera, Noriko (chair). (2021, June 29). *From Intersubjective to Textual Meaning: Motivation for the Rise of Discourse Markers/Pragmatic Elements*. In a discussion session in this workshop, Dr. Traugott as a discussant suggested a challenge: “What is meant by ‘textual’?” The discussants concluded that “textual” has at least two readings: linking function and discourse-structuring function. This topic requires further discussion.

sustaining discourse, acquiring or relinquishing the floor, or marking sequential dependence.

In the interpersonal mode, also understood as “(inter)subjective”, the speaker expresses attitudes, judgments, expectations, and demands, and aspects of the social exchange. The subjective, or attitudinal, aspect comprises the means used to express a response or reaction to the preceding or following discourse, to denote an attitude, to signal understanding or continued attendance, or to hedge an opinion. The intersubjective, or interactional, aspect comprises the means used to affect cooperation or sharing, to show intimacy, to confirm shared assumptions or knowledge, to claim the attention of the hearer, to check on understanding, to request confirmation, to express deference, or to address the positive or negative face (Brown and Levinson 1987) of the interlocutor.

Halliday treats the functions as being intrinsic to grammar; Brinton interprets them differently. Especially regarding textual and interpersonal modes, a speaker can express his/her attitude or stance toward the communication settings. These revised classifications, including communicative aspects of language, are also supported by Leech (1983). He claims, “grammar is ideational; pragmatics is interpersonal and textual” (Ibid.: 56). Therefore, to explain the pragmatics of discourse markers, Brinton’s functional modes are helpful in the following analyses. In this study, along with this functional category, I describe and classify the functions of *well* as a discourse marker into interpersonal and textual modes.

2.4 Politeness theory

Politeness is one of the topics which has been studied in the twenty-first century in pragmatics, and sometimes in other fields such as psychology, AI technology, etc. In pragmatics, to my knowledge, Lakoff (1973a) started the modern study of politeness, followed by Leech (1983) and Brown and Levinson (1987). These three “classic” studies are obviously a trigger of the later studies of politeness. What is common among them is that their approaches to politeness adopt or follow Gricean perspectives. In other words, their definition of politeness is considered as a greater or lesser degree of departure from Grice’s Cooperative principle. These Gricean approaches to politeness are considered a traditional view.⁵

Recently, however, a new generation of politeness theory which is labeled as “post-modern” has emerged that question the basic premises of the traditional view (Eelen 2001, Mills 2003, Watts 2003). These post-modern theories share two new premises. The first is a distinction between first-order politeness and second-order politeness (first drawn by Watts. et al 1992, and later taken up by Eelen 2001 as politeness1 and politeness2). Politeness1 is politeness as a layperson’s concept, that is, people’s everyday definitions and understanding of politeness. By contrast, politeness2 is a technical term, which is in found, for example, in face-saving/threatening (Brown and Levinson 1987).

The second point in which post-modern theories differ from the traditional view is their rejection of speech act theory (Mills 2003), which leads them to focus on longer

⁵ For further details of each model of politeness referred in this section, see Eelen (2001: 2-20), who provides a comprehensive overview of politeness theories.

stretches of discourse. Their argument is phrased as politeness cannot in principle reside in a single utterance, but negotiated in longer discourses. Following the post-modern theory, evaluations of politeness presuppose specific addresses in specific contexts, therefore, no one can predict a linguistic item indexes politeness or not until it is uttered in the specific context.⁶ In fact, in the traditional theories of politeness, the speaker's behavior has been mostly favored (e.g. Brown and Levinson's strategy, and Leech's maxim). Thus, including an addressee's perspective or evaluation in politeness is an outcome brought by the post-modern view.

As far as English is concerned, however, if politeness is always negotiated in a context, cannot we say an indirect speech act such as "May I ask you to open the window?" is linguistically politer than the direct speech act as "Open the window"?⁷ Probably, it is not true. As *well* as a discourse marker has often been studied with politeness (see 3.4), a speaker can use this linguistic item for mitigating a face-threatening. Unless this conversational routine is not shared by people, they cannot predict an upcoming face threat and they may complain of the speaker's unfriendliness because the host proposition is not always polite.

Therefore, it is still useful to use the traditional approach of politeness for analyzing a micro linguistic item. However, the specific function of the discourse marker is always colored and negotiated in discourse.

⁶ Leech (2014: 51) claims that there is a subjective bias in giving precedence to either a speaker's or hearer's viewpoint. Both viewpoints need a balanced consideration.

⁷ Brown and Levinson (1987: 142) consider an indirect speech act as an example of universal strategies of politeness, however, their assumption of universality seems not to work in Polish (see Wierzbicka 1991).

In this study, I adopt Brown and Levinson's theory (1987) which has been considered the most influential and comprehensive because a strategic use of *well* as a discourse marker for politeness seems to fit their strategy-based theory.

Among much research on politeness, Brown and Levinson's theory (1987) has been considered the most influential and comprehensive theory. Their argument is a comprehensive theory as they provide a better perspective for some universal phenomena of politeness, observed in the functions of linguistic expression across various cultures. Therefore, Brown and Levinson (1987) observe two unrelated cultures and languages other than English: Tzeltal, a Mayan language spoken in the community of Tenejapa in Chiapas, Mexico, and South Indian Tamil, spoken in a village in the Coimbatore District of Tamilnadu.

As a key concept for their theory, Brown and Levinson (1987: 61) assume that all competent adult members of a society have "face", the public self-image that every member wants to claim for him/herself, comprising two related aspects:

- (a) negative face: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves rights to non-distraction – i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition
- (b) positive face: the positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants

(Ibid.: 61)

Their central concept, “face”, is originally from Goffman (1967). The two types of face consist of opposing “wants”: negative face, or the want for one’s actions to be unimpeded by others, and positive face, or the want of one to be desirable to (at least some) others. The theory claims that most speech acts (e.g., requests, invitations, refusals) inherently threaten either the hearer’s or the speaker’s face wants. They call these actions “face-threatening acts” (FTAs).

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the choice of politeness strategy depends on the weightiness of the face-threatening act, which is determined by three factors: (1) the power of the hearer over the speaker, (2) the social distance between the speaker and the hearer, and (3) the degree of imposition of the act. The more serious the FTAs, the more mitigated the strategies need to be. Brown and Levinson claim that with these three variables, the degree of a face-threatening act can be computed and estimated as follows (Ibid.: 76):

$$W_x = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R_x$$

W_x is the numeral value that measures the weightiness of the face-threatening act, $D(S, H)$ is the value that measures the social distance between the speaker and the hearer, $P(H, S)$ is a measure of the power that the hearer has over the speaker, and R_x is a value that measures the degree to which the face-threatening act x is rated as an imposition in that culture.

Thus, politeness contributes to redressing these face threats. For conducting FTAs, Brown and Levinson propose five strategies: (1) bald on record (without redressive action but in an open manner), (2) with appeals to positive face, (3) with appeals to negative

face, (4) off record, or (5) performing no FTAs. For strategies (2) and (3), politeness is distinguished as “positive politeness” and “negative politeness”.

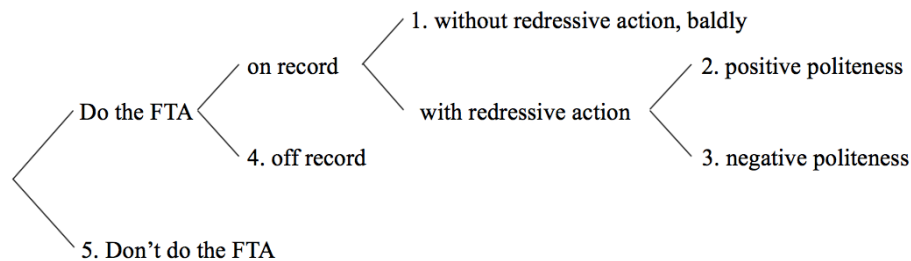


Figure 3 Brown and Levinson’s strategies for doing FTAs (Ibid.: 69)

Positive politeness centers on the positive face of the hearer, the positive self-image that he/she claims for him/herself. Positive politeness is approach-based; it “anoints” the face of the addressee by indicating that in some respects, the speaker wants the hearer’s wants. Negative politeness centers mainly on partially satisfying the hearer’s negative face, his/her basic want to maintain claims of territory and self-determination. Therefore, negative politeness is essentially avoidance-based, and realizations of negative politeness strategies consist of the assurance that the speaker recognizes and respects the addressee’s negative face wants and will not interfere with the addressee’s freedom of action (Brown and Levinson 1987: 70).

In other words, positive politeness strategies are defined as any effort to fulfill positive face wants, and Brown and Levinson propose fifteen strategies. Likewise, negative politeness strategies are defined as any effort toward negative face wants, and they propose ten strategies. The strategies for politeness are

Positive Politeness Strategy

Strategy 1: Notice, attend to hearer (his interests, wants, needs, goods)

Strategy 2: Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with hearer)

Strategy 3: Intensify interest to hearer

Strategy 4: Use in-group identity markers

Strategy 5: Seek agreement

Strategy 6: Avoid disagreement

Strategy 7: Presuppose/ raise/ assert common ground

Strategy 8: Joke

Strategy 9: Assert or presuppose speaker's knowledge of and concern for hearer's wants

Strategy 10: Offer, promise

Strategy 11: Be optimistic

Strategy 12: Include both speaker and hearer in the activity

Strategy 13: Give (or ask for) reasons

Strategy 14: Assume or assert reciprocity

Strategy 15: Give gifts to hearer (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)

(Ibid.: 102)

Negative Politeness Strategy

Strategy 1: Be conventionally indirect

Strategy 2: Question, hedge

Strategy 3: Be pessimistic

Strategy 4: Minimize the imposition, Rx

Strategy 5: Give deference

Strategy 6: Apologize

Strategy 7: Impersonalize speaker and hearer

Strategy 8: State the FTA as a general rule

Strategy 9: Nominalize

Strategy 10: Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting hearer

(Ibid.: 131)

Brown and Levinson also relate their theory with the Gricean framework, in that politeness strategies are a “rational violation” from the Grice’s Cooperative Principles with maxims (Grice 1989). However, the status of politeness and cooperative principles differs. Cooperative principles are presumptive—the “unmarked”, or socially neutral strategy. Politeness—the marked—must be communicated. Politeness principles are “no deviation from rational efficiency without a reason” (Brown and Levinson 1987: 5) when communication is about to threaten face. In other words, politeness can be defined as a linguistic behavior that maintains a good rapport among the participants by managing an interpersonal relationship.

Regarding *well* as a discourse marker, both first-order politeness and second-order politeness are related to its use. As I have mentioned in Chapter 1, the exploitation of *well* as a discourse marker has been motivated by politeness. This “politeness” refers to first-

order politeness, that is, the use of the item that expresses “good” as a discourse marker displays “good manners and respect for the feelings of others” (the definition of *well* as an adverb in *Oxford Learner’s Dictionary*). Then, when used as strategic conflict avoidance, this marker contributes to second-order politeness. Therefore, this phenomenon implies that *bon* and *bueno* as discourse markers can be considered similarly. These words originally mean “good” and are exploited for a politeness strategy. However, I argue that a reason for an item that derives from a semantically positive word to be used as a discourse marker is influenced by a positive politeness-oriented language culture.

On the basis of these conceptual tactics, I analyze the instances of the discourse marker *well* from a dynamic perspective, namely politeness in the following sections.

Chapter 3 Previous studies of *well*

Among the discourse markers, *well* is one of the markers that has gained much attention. First, for approaches to discourse markers, two perspectives, synchronic and diachronic methodologies, are suggested. In synchronic studies, much interest is in the multifunction and the core meaning of discourse markers. In diachronic studies, scholars are mostly interested in how an expression that belonged to a word class, such as an adverb or noun, develops into a discourse marker. In other words, synchronic studies are mainly centered on the pragmatic functions, and diachronic studies are mainly centered on the process as a semantic/pragmatic change. These two approaches are not mutually exclusive and complement each other.

The studies can be classified into three groups: the synchronic perspective (e.g., Beeching 2016; Blakemore 2002; Bolinger 1989; Cuenca 2008; Jucker 1993; Lakoff 1973b; Owen 1981; Pomerantz 1984; Sakita 2013; Schourup 2001; Schiffrin 1987; Svartvik 1980), the diachronic perspective (e.g., Defour and Simon-Vandenberghe 2010; Finell 1989; Jucker 1997; Marcus 2009; Traugott and Dasher 2002), and the syntactic and semantic perspective (e.g., Aijmer 1986; Greenbaum 1969; Quirk et al. 1985). In this study, I provide the topics most related to the problem of the textual and interpersonal functions of *well* as a discourse marker across the aforementioned three perspectives.

In this section, I review three types of approaches involving synchronic (3.1), diachronic (3.2), and syntactic and semantic perspectives (3.3) while considering the discourse marker *well*. Subsequently, I explain the data used for analysis in 3.4 and present an outline of this thesis in 3.5.

3.1 Synchronic perspectives

In this section, I refer to influential studies on the discourse marker *well*. The details presented concern the approaches of discourse/conversation analysis (3.1.1), relevance theory (3.1.2), cross-linguistics (3.1.3), and English as a foreign language (3.1.4).

3.1.1 Discourse/conversation analysis

Before reviewing the individual cases of study on the discourse marker *well*, I first briefly introduce a conceptual background of the two methodologies: discourse analysis and conversation analysis, respectively, in which this marker is often discussed.

Discourse analysis is a research field that departs from the domain of linguistics. The traditional definition of discourse analysis starts from “language above the sentence or above the clause” (Stubbs 1983: 1). Behind this concept, Cameron (2001: 10) mentions that “linguists treat language as a “system of systems”, with each system having its own characteristic forms of structure or organization”. In other words, discourse is the largest unit of language, followed by the smaller units of language, such as a phoneme > morpheme > word > clause > and sentence. For example, this notion allows the finding of cohesion between two sentences. Consider Example (2).

- (2) 1 Ryo: Koichiro sings a song.
2 Riku: He sings well.

Apparently, “he” in line 2 refers to Koichiro. The pronoun “he” is in general used in indexing a male person, and in this exchange, “he” is an anaphoric deixis, which contributes to making the discourse relevant.

Another perception of discourse analysis focuses more on the function of language. Fasold (1990: 65) defines that “the study of discourse is the study of *any* aspect of language use”. Brown and Yule (1983: 1) provide a similar definition:

the analysis of discourse, is necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs.

These views need to consider several aspects of language use involving the participants’ social attribution, gender, dialect, context, and so forth, as Schiffrin’s discourse model in Chapter 2 assumes.

As aforementioned, discourse often has two definitions: a particular unit of language (above the sentence, e.g., Stubbs 1981) and a particular focus (on language use, e.g., Fasold 1990) (Schiffrin 1994: 20). These two interpretations of discourse reflect the difference between formalist and functionalist paradigms (Ibid.: 21). Leech (1983: 46) also suggests that the two types of approaches “tend to be associated with very different views of the nature of language”.

(8) Formalists (e.g., Chomsky) tend to regard language primarily as a mental phenomenon. Functionalists (e.g., Halliday) tend to regard language primarily as a societal phenomenon.

(b) Formalists tend to explain linguistic universals as deriving from a common genetic linguistic inheritance of the human species. Functionalists tend to explain linguistic universals as deriving from the universality of the uses to which language is put in human societies.

(c) Formalists are inclined to explain children's language acquisition in terms of a built-in human capacity to learn language. Functionalists are inclined to explain it in terms of the development of the child's communicative needs and abilities in society.

(d) Above all, formalists study language as an autonomous system, whereas functionalists study language in relation to its social function.

Schiffrin (1994: 22) claims that functionalism is based on two general assumptions: (a) language has functions external to the linguistic system, and (b) external functions influence the internal organization of the linguistic system. Functionalist views argue that although language may have social and cognitive functions, these functions do not impinge upon the internal organization of language (Ibid.).

The classical definition of discourse as derived from formalist assumptions is that discourse "is language above the sentence or above the clause" (Stubbs 1983: 1). Widdowson (1995) reveals that "text" can be smaller than a sentence. He observes that in

Britain, the letter P is used to indicate a parking space for cars. This interpretation is obtained from the functionalist perspective: the relation between the letter P and the social custom for which it is used.

Conversation analysis originated from ethnomethodology, an approach of sociology. In this case, “conversation” involves not only everyday conversation but also talk in, for example, professional spaces, workplaces, and political discussions. Notably, many conversation practitioners label their object of study not “conversation” but “talk-in-interaction” (Cameron 2001: 87). One of the central purposes of ethnomethodology is to reveal how people create order through interaction. In talking, individuals are not conscious about how they should proceed with a conversation. For example, when asking “How old are you?”, the expected answer is, for example, “I am 25 years old”. This sequence is the order: the question is followed by the answer. Hence, practitioners focus on whether an utterance (from the current hearer) is after the prior utterance (from the current speaker).

Among the theories most relevant to this study, I introduce two key notions in conversation analysis—“turn” and “adjacency pairs”—to which the discourse marker *well* contributes.

A talk-in-interaction assumes that more than two participants are involved. In the interaction, many utterances are expected to be exchanged. A unit of utterance is called “turn”. In general, in conversation, Speaker A talks and stops; subsequently, Speaker B starts, talks, and stops. This exchange system is characterized as turn-taking (Sacks et al. 1974). When speakers produce a turn, the unit of turn can be various types, for example,

a sentence, clause, or noun phrase, which are not necessarily traditional grammatical units. This unit is called a turn constructional unit (TCU). Any unit has structures that help hearers project the end of turn, where turn-taking may occur. Sacks et al. (Ibid.) characterize the end of turn as follows: a speaker may change as transition relevance place (TRP).

The turn-taking system is formulated by the following rules, as summarized in the study by Levinson (1983: 294). C is a current speaker, N is the next speaker, and TRP is the recognizable end of a TCU:

Rule

- (a) If C selects N in current turn, then C must stop speaking, and N must speak next, transition occurs at the first TRP after N-selection
- (b) If C does not select N, then any (other) party may self-select, first speaker gaining rights to the next turn
- (c) If C has not selected N, and no other party self-selects under option (b), then C may (but need not) continue (i.e. claim rights to a further turn-constructional unit)

I refer to another important concept for analysis, the most relevant to rule (a): “adjacency pairs” (Schegloff and Sacks 1973).

Typical examples of paired utterances, namely, adjacency pairs, are, for example, question–answer, greeting–greeting, offer–acceptance, and apology–minimization. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) present four characteristics of adjacency pairs, and Levinson

(1983: 303f) summarizes them:

adjacency pairs are sequences of two utterances that are

(a) adjacent

(b) produced by different speakers

(c) ordered as a first pair part and second pair part

e.g., a first pair part is a type of utterance that opens an interaction such as a question, offer, or invitation; a second pair part is a type of utterance that responds to the preceding turn, for example, an answer, approval, or declination.

(d) typed, so that a particular first pair part requires a particular second pair part,

e.g., an offer as a first pair part requires an approval as a second pair part

Regarding (d), at least two types of response toward a first pair part are possible (e.g., acceptance versus declination). For example, when inviting someone for a drink, the speaker's expectation is an acceptance of the offer. However, the offer can be declined. In general, an invitation seeks an acceptance. Thus, this type of the second pair part is called a preferred response. The opposite type of response, for example, declination, is called dispreferred response (Sacks 1987). According to Levinson (1983: 334f), characteristics of dispreferred response can be found as follows:

(a) *delay*: (i) by pause before delivery, (ii) by the use of a preface (see (b)), (iii) by displacement over a number of turns via use of repair initiators or insertion

sequences

(b) *prefaces*: (i) the use of markers or announcers of dispreferreds like *Uh* and *Well*, (ii) the production of token agreements before disagreements, (iii) the use of appreciations if relevant (for offers, invitations, suggestions, advice), (iv) the use of apologies if relevant (for requests, invitations, etc), (v) the use of qualifiers (e.g. *I don't know for sure, but...*), (vi) hesitation in various forms, including self-editing

(c) *accounts*: carefully formulated explanations for why the (dispreferred) act is being done

(d) *declination component*: of a form suited to the nature of the first part of the pair, but characteristically indirect or mitigated

Although Levinson (1983) characterizes *well* as a marker that prefaces a dispreferred response (Cf. Owen 1981), Sacks et al. (1974: 719) acknowledge that *well* initiates a turn (“begin with a beginning” their term) but mention that

they [e.g. *well, but, and, so* etc.] do that without revealing much about the constructional features of the sentence thus begun, i.e. without requiring that the speaker have a plan in hand as a condition for starting.

However, in most cases in which *well* is constrained in adjacency pairs, *well* foreshadows that a dispreferred response will follow. Moreover, I review additional studies, and most of them agree that the host utterance prefaced *well* involves a face threat. Now, I consider

Lakoff's (1973b) classical study.

According to my review of the literature, Lakoff (1973b) is the earliest work on the discourse marker *well*, although her purpose is not to illustrate the use of multifunctionality of this marker. Lakoff mainly addresses *well* used in an answer to a question and explains this:

[i]n answers to questions, as we found, *well* is used in case the speaker senses some sorts of insufficiency in his answer, whether because he is leaving it to the questioner to fill in information on his own or because he is about to give additional information himself. (Ibid.: 463)

Next, I examine Example (3), provided by Lakoff (Ibid.: 458). The question "what time is it?" seeks a particular answer, but in a case when the answer provided is not the information wanted, the answer may be prefaced by *well*.

(3) What time is it?

Well, I just told Bill that it was noon.

The sun just came up.

*Three o'clock.

*Don't worry, 'Star Trek' won't be on for 45 minutes.

*None of your business.

*It's three o'clock, you can't eat dinner yet.

The responses preceded by an asterisk in (3) do not constitute a reply to the question in the sense of providing the information sought.

However, under special conditions, *well* may precede such a direct response as “three o’clock”. Example (4) is the second example of this phenomenon.

- (4) (a) Did you kill your wife?
 (b) Yes.
 (c) Well, yes.

Although in Example (4) the answers (b) and (c) provide direct information, response (c) means something else. According to Lakoff (1973b: 459), the answer prefaced by *well* implies that “there were extenuating circumstances of some kind or other—in short, [omitted] the rest of answer, “yes”, is not to be taken a complete reply giving all the information necessary”.

Examples (3) and (4) are typed as adjacency pairs involving “question–answer” pairs. Example (3) is a *wh*-question, and Example (4) is a polar question answerable by “yes” or “no”.

Concerning Example (3), Schegloff and Lerner (2009: 102) claim that “*well*-prefaced responses to *wh*-questions exhibit an alert to the nonstraightforwardness of the response turn to follow—they are forward looking”. They explain that “preference organization becomes relevant when the first makes conditionally relevant distinct

alternative types of responding actions” (e.g., an invitation makes acceptance or rejection relevant). However, with many *wh*-questions, they observe, “There do *not* seem to be alternative types of actions implicated by the first pair part, one of which might be compellingly characterized as “preferred”, the other as “dispreferred” (Ibid: 113). Therefore, they suggest that “nonstraightforwardness” is more appropriate for describing *well*-prefaced responses to *wh*-questions than the case of preference organization.

For example (4), although Lakoff does not mention anything about an adjacency pair, *well* in the case of (c) can be characterized as a dispreferred response. Compared with (b) in which “yes” is the only answer, the response in (c) is prefaced by *well*; in other words, it is marked. The characteristic of dispreferred response is observed because the suspect does not directly answer the polar question. The subject does not fully acknowledge his crime. For example, perhaps his wife was stabbed by accident. His face is threatened by confessing his commitment to the murder without an opportunity to provide a reason (e.g., perhaps, he was abused by his wife). Hence, the subject uses this marker to save his face.

The examples by Lakoff (1973b) are probably sentences she created. Because her study was burgeoning research, attention shifted from what can be explained to what cannot be explained by the framework of generative grammar. Next, I introduce the study by Svartvik (1980): the first research on the discourse marker *well* with naturally occurring language as data.

Svartvik (1980: 167) begins with a criticism that a “grammarian rarely ventures beyond the safe confines of the sentence”. Svartvik’s data comprises nine surreptitiously

recorded conversations containing 303 instances of *well*.⁸ This marker is analyzed in seven parameters: “position in discourse”, “collocation”, “prosody”, “pauses”, “incomplete surrounding structure”, “functions”, and “Swedish equivalents”.

Along with the parameters, Svartvik classifies the function of *well* into two major uses: as a qualifier and a frame. As a qualifier, “*well* is closely connected with previous and/or following discoursal context, serving as a link between the two” (Ibid.: 173). Hence, in this case, *well* occupies an utterance-initial position marking an indirect response and a speaker’s attitude. This qualifying function involves “polite disagreement”, “qualified refusal”, “reinforcement”, “modification”, and “indirect, partial agreement”. On the other hand, *well* is used as a frame between two discourse units. This function “normally occurs non-initially, embedded in discourse”. This framing function involves “topic shift”, “quote”, and “self-correction”. This qualifying function is true of the characteristics of LP (Left Periphery) introduced in 2.2. However, for the framing function, Svartvik observes the position of this marker in a discourse from a global viewpoint, not a restricted unit of utterance. Therefore, *well* as the cases of closure and topic shift can also be employed in the utterance-initial position.

Among the research on conversation analysis, I first refer to the study by Owen (1981). Owen emphasizes the importance of real naturally occurring language into units, for example, moves, turns, and interchanges, in accounting for the appropriate use of the discourse marker *well* (Ibid.: 108). Moreover, Owen considers politeness in the analysis

⁸ However, in the current research environment, recording a conversation without participants’ permission is strictly prohibited in some ethical respects.

of the discourse marker *well*.

Owen characterizes that the discourse marker *well* is used to preface a second pair part with a face-threatening act (Brown and Levinson 1987) in the cases such as “assessment”-“disagreement/qualified agreement”, “question”-“response”, “request”-“non-compliance”, and “offer”-“rejection”. According to Owen (1981: 110), *well* is used as a strategy for signaling “that a face threat is about to occur, thereby giving attention to alter’s face and reducing the subsequent threat”. Furthermore, Pomerantz (1984) surveys the use of *well* in turn organization and also finds that *well* precedes a disagreement when agreement is preferred.

Owen and Pomerantz focus on the use of *well* in a local scope such as adjacency pairs. Likewise, Schiffrin (1987) attempts to illustrate the use of this marker by focusing on local coherence. Schiffrin generalizes this use as “[w]ell anchors the speaker into a conversation precisely at those points where upcoming coherence is not guaranteed” (Ibid.: 127). Consider Example (5).

- (5) 1 Debby: What does your daughter in law call you?
 2 Zelda: *Well* that’s a sore spot.
 3 My older daughter in law does call me Mom.
 4 My younger daughter in law right now is a- to nothing.

(Ibid.: 109: italicized by the author)

Lines 1 and 2 comprise adjacency pair “question”-“answer”. Concerning the arguments I

have reviewed thus far, *well* in line 2 marks an indirect response, showing that an upcoming coherence is not guaranteed. In line 1 Debby assumes that Zelda had only one daughter-in-law. However, in lines 3 and 4, Zelda attempts to return to Debby's question after a temporary divergence. This function is true of Schiffrin's illustration that *well* shows "the speaker's aliveness to the **need** to accomplish coherence despite a temporary inability to contribute to the satisfaction of that need in a way fully consonant with the coherence options provided through the prior discourse" (Ibid.: 126).

Although most analyses provided by Schiffrin and others such as Owen (1981) and Pomerantz (1984) focus on local units, Schiffrin also provides examples that do not contribute to local coherence. In Example (6), *well* precedes a request for the elaboration of information.

- (6) 1 Jack: Then I worked for the fruit store. Yeh, I was selling eggs.
2 I think I was fifteen, then.
3 Debby: *Well* was that a full time job, or like a ...

(Ibid.: 120: italicized by the author)

Jack tells a story about his job at the age of fifteen. His story does not convey the type of position. Hence, in the subsequent turn, Debby seeks more detail as to whether the job was full time or something else.

Schiffrin's central concept "coherence maintenance" of discourse markers is related to the local coherence with just the preceding discourse. However, Schiffrin provides

other uses that function at the global level. Moreover, as a criticism of Schiffrin's generalization of the discourse marker *well*, Blakemore (2002: 134) claims that "*well* can be used to introduce an utterance which is not a continuation of preceding discourse". Consider Example (7).

(7) *Well*, what would you like to do?

(Ibid.: 134 italicized by the author)

Example (7) is a situation in which a teacher enters a classroom and asks a question. Because (7) is the very first utterance in the class, and there is no preceding discourse. Blakemore argues that Schiffrin's qualification "coherence" does not apply to this example.

The literature has discussed that uses of utterance-initial discourse markers without the prior discourse can be explained: these markers connect the utterance with an imagined discourse (Cf. Knott and Dale 1994). However, Schourup (2001) claims that speakers are likely to react to a nonverbal situation rather than to assume an imaginary discourse. Consider Example (8).

(8) *Well*, isn't it beautiful outside.

(Ibid.: 1027 italicized by the author)

Blakemore and Schourup do not target the naturally occurring language as data but do

use constructed examples. Therefore, I cannot draw a conclusion as to in which type of situation this utterance is possible. Indeed, *well* in (8) can mark the speaker's surprise at what he sees, but simultaneously, *well* seems to be used as an attention-getter of for seeking an agreement expression from the hearer.

I have reviewed the functions of *well* as a discourse marker in conversation/discourse. Next, I introduce the sociolinguistic aspects of *well* as a discourse marker. Because Lakoff's work (1975) was published, discourse markers, namely, *well* but in general, are reported to be used more frequently by women than men. Beeching (2016) researches the use of *well* by gender in the *British National Corpus* (BNC). She finds that "the female speakers in BNC sample used *well* a great deal more than the male speakers, and to a statistically significant degree" (Ibid.: 61). Beeching counts the total tokens by men and women but does not consider the respective functions of *well*. However, a number of uses of *well* by women can be considered hedges. Coates (2013) encompasses the discourse marker *well* as a group of hedges that are linguistic expressions used "to avoid taking decisive action" (Ibid.: 31) and demonstrates that women use hedges more often than men (Cf. Cameron et al. 1989, Coates 1989, Holmes 1995). Coates (2013) investigates two conversations in her corpus, each lasting 45 minutes. She counts the use of *well* and finds sixty-eight tokens by women and forty-five tokens by men (Ibid.: 48). Thus, regarding the women's greater use of hedges, Coates explains that this phenomenon occurs "in part by topic choice, in part by women's tendency to self-disclose and in part by women's preference for open discussion and a collaborative floor" (Ibid.: 48). Additionally, hedges, including *well*, contribute to different conversational styles such as men versus women

(Cf. Tannen 1984).

Furthermore, Beeching (2016) researches the discourse marker *well* in relation to social classes in the United Kingdom by using the *BNC*. The social classes are graded by six categories based on occupation: A, B, C1, C2, D, and E (Table 2).

A	Higher managerial, administrative and professional
B	Intermediate managerial, administrative and professional
C1	Supervisory, clerical and junior managerial, administrative and professional
C2	Skilled manual workers
D	Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers
E	State pensioners, casual and lowest grade workers, unemployed with state benefits only

Table 2 Social Grade From National Readership Survey

The result shows that people who belong to C2 use *well* most frequently (98.18 per 10,000 words), followed by AB (87.64), C1 (82.91), and DE (82.91) (Ibid.: 60). As in the study by Labov (1972), this finding supports, namely, “hypercorrect behavior” by the lower middle class in New York City. His survey shows that emphatic stress of r-pronunciation, for example, as in “floor”, sounds more prestigious than the non-rhotic accent. Labov discovers that the highest-ranking status group uses the r-pronunciation in everyday casual talk and that the lower middle class rarely uses this type of pronunciation. However, as the degree of speech formality increases, the lower middle class overuses the r-pronunciation, which surpasses even the use of the upper-middle and the upper class (Ibid.: 125). Therefore, because the r-pronunciation is considered prestigious, likewise,

the discourse maker *well* can be tinged with a prestigious nature. Notably, a questionnaire collected by Beeching indicates that *well* in the utterance-initial position of dispreferred response is featured as “polite” or “friendly” (Beeching 2016: 69).

However, Bolinger (1989) presents an example in which *well* can be an “impolite” marker. The following quote illustrates this claim:

an unadorned Well? addressed by a waiter to a patron in a restaurant would be insulting. The names and titles are pure acknowledgement, *yes* shows the speaker open to the development of the addresser’s message, but *well* invokes the order of things. (Ibid.: 312)

Notably, in the case when a guest summons a waiter to take an order in a restaurant, the ideal exchange may be similar to that in (9).

- (9) 1 Guest: [Summon]
2 Waiter: Yes.
3 Guest: *Well*, may I get a steak please?

A summons in line 1 can be either verbal or nonverbal. As a response to the summon, a waiter is usually expected to accept his/her calling under the occupation. In other words, the waiter has no other choice than to say “yes”. In a general situation, the guest is considered to have power over the waiter. Hence, the waiter’s *well* as a type of attention-

getter will lead to insulting the guest because the waiter is who receives attention.

Different from studies that I have thus far reviewed, Sakita (2013) characterizes *well* as a stance marker. Stance such as “personal feeling, attitudes, value judgements, or assessments” (Biber et al. 1999: 966) manifests in language as “the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgments, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message” (Biber and Finegan 1989: 92). Among linguistic expressions, adverbials are a primary item that indicates a speaker’s stance (Biber and Finegan 1988, 1989; Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer 2007). The traditional framework considers that stance is inherent in the propositional meaning of words, and this notion is also true of subjectivity (Traugott 2010b). By contrast, Du Bois (2007) proposes a unified conceptual framework for investigating stance in the larger contexts of language and interaction. In other words, he considers stance a social act achieved dialogically through engagement with co-participants (Ibid.: 169). He defines stance as

a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture, and other symbol forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of value in the social field (Ibid.).

Sakita (2013) documents that the discourse marker *well* negotiates stance and regulates interpersonal relations between conversational co-participants. She uses the *Santa*

Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English and finds two contexts in which *well* can be used as a stance marker. First, *well* marks a divergence of the upcoming stance and the stance of the prior utterance. The case of dispreferred response is in this group. Second, *well* marks stance shift at a topic shift and at a topic shift toward conversation closure. The first function of *well* is easily imaginable with stance, but the second function is slightly difficult to understand in relation to stance. Sakita (Ibid.: 105) explains that “the speaker’s abrupt termination of the ongoing topic may possibly convey an attitude of ignoring the hearer’s natural expectation, forcing the hearer to make an adjustment”. Ending a current topic shows that its maintenance is no longer worthwhile; hence, it involves inherent face threats (Cf. Cameron 2001).

According to the two functions provided by Sakita, the first stance marker contributes to the interpersonal level, and the second stance marker contributes to the textual level (Halliday 1970, 1979). However, as Sakita demonstrates, even *well* in the case of topic shift, considered a textual function, intertwines with interpersonal management.

In this section, I review the approaches from conversation/discourse analysis. According to Maschler and Schiffrin (2015: 198), many scholars have agreed that “markers can gain their function through discourse”. This message suggests that a function can be further divided into subtle functions in a research context or that a context-dependent use of a marker not frequently used in daily conversation can be found. This occurs because a marker can be influenced by social factors, for example, discourse contexts, gender, and power. For example, Aijmer (2013) analyzes *well* in variable

contexts such as face-to-face versus telephone communication or a more specific context, for example, in a broadcast discussion or a cross-examination in court. The primary functions vary by context.

In this study, I focus on discourse analysis. However, to reveal a comprehensive picture of *well* as a discourse marker, I refer to other relevant approaches and discuss how the research on the discourse marker *well* has unfolded.

3.1.2 Relevance theory

According to Wilson and Sperber, the central claim of relevance theory is “that the expectations of relevance raised by an utterance are precise and predictable enough to guide the hearer toward the speaker’s meaning” (Wilson and Sperber 2004: 607). This pragmatic theory departs from the maxim of relevance provided by Grice (1989). Blakemore (2002: 7) regards that relevance-theoretic pragmatics is “located in cognitive science”.

Jucker (1993) employs relevance theory as a descriptive framework. In his paper, he reconsiders the examples presented by other researchers in relation to the relevance approach. The use of the discourse marker *well* is classified into four functions:

- (a) a marker of insufficiency, indicating some problems on the content level of the current or the preceding utterance
- (b) a face-threat mitigator, indicating some problems on interpersonal level
- (c) a frame making device, indicating a topic change or introducing direct reported speech
- (d) a delay device

(Ibid.: 438)

In all the aforementioned cases, Jucker presents the following argument and attempts to generalize the core meaning of this marker in relation to the four functions:

well can be seen a signpost signaling to the hearer that the context created by the previous utterance- whether produced by the current speaker or the current listener- is not the most relevant one for the interpretation of the impending utterance.

(Ibid.: 440)

However, among the four functions, how a face-threat mitigator such as (b) is related to politeness within relevance theory remains unclear. Notably, Aijmer (2013: 11) explicitly mentions that “relevance theory does not take ‘an integrated view’ on how utterance meaning is achieved and is therefore less adequate to describe what is going on in talk-in-interaction”.

Schourup (2001) starts his argument with the critical review of Jucker (1993). Schourup claims that in some cases of *well*, neither Schiffrin’s coherence-based approach

nor Jucker's relevance-theoretic approach can explain them. Although Jucker attempts to explain the several functions with one core meaning, Schourup claims that Jucker's illustration is restricted to the cases in which prior and upcoming utterances are required. In other words, with Jucker's proposal, explaining the case in (10) is difficult.

(10) *Well* how nice to see you, Simon!

(Schourup 2001: 1028: italicized by the author)

Well in (10) marks how delighted the speaker is to see Simon. Schourup characterizes *well* as "quasi-linguistic vocal gesture used to 'portray' the speaker's mental state than as a 'full-fledged word' linguistically encoding information about that state" (Ibid.: 1058). Schourup considers *well* based on its treatment by Bolinger (1989), that is, *well* shows a deliberate comparison to a norm. As a vocal gesture, *well* is automatically spoken in a manner similar to the unconscious movement of the hands while speaking. In other words, Schourup's main interest in *well* is its interjective aspect.

Blakemore (2002) defines *well* in contrast with Jucker's relevance-theoretic approach. Blakemore defines *well* "as a signal simply in the sense that it provides a green light for the hearer, a sign to go ahead with the inferential processes involved in the derivation of cognitive effects" (Ibid.: 147).

This relevance-theoretic approach attempts to generalize the use of *well* in relation to the principle of relevance. Considering the data in these studies, it is dubious whether this relevance-theoretic account contributes to many examples in authentic interactions.

Jucker reconsiders the examples provided by other researchers that include naturally occurring language, and Schourup cites the examples from the study by Bolinger (1989) or creates sentences; so does Blakemore. The problem is that their examples include the one- or two-sentence levels; therefore, the functions of *well* are restricted to such a local level.

As Aijmer (2013: 11) mentions, relevance theory is not adequate for describing an interaction. To overcome this obstacle, placing the phenomena into one theoretic approach or principle mold is not recommended. By contrast, what must be observed is what an item to be investigated, *well*, in this case, is “doing” at an operational level.

3.1.3 Cross-linguistics

The contrastive studies of the discourse marker *well* have enticed some scholars (e.g., Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg 2003 for Swedish and Dutch, Beeching and Wang 2014 for French and Chinese, Cuenca 2008 for Spanish and Catalan, Gracia Vizcaíno and Martínez- Cabeza 2005 for Spanish, Svartvik 1980 for Swedish). Most of them have aimed to find the core meaning of *well* as a discourse marker through contrastive analysis because *well* has multiple functions. However, because languages differ, there is no exact equivalent counterpart for *well*. Nevertheless, their insights into the typological research across languages provide insights into some universals of human interaction related to this marker.

Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg (2003) study the varieties of translation of *well* in the Swedish and Dutch languages. They claim that using translation in more than two

languages as a research method contributes to revealing the functions of discourse markers.

First, translations can be used to compare discourse particles in two or more languages [. . .] Secondly, if a discourse particle in the source language is shown to have been translated by a range of items in the target language, this finding forces one to consider the contextual meaning which the source language item adopts. The translations may thus highlight the contextual factors contributing to the apparent chaotic picture that such words as *well* present. Consequently, the polysemic nature of the discourse particle becomes more tangible.

(Ibid.: 1131)

They distinguish four categories of translation: discourse particles, modal particles, conjunctions, and “routines”. They define a discourse particle as an indeclinable word that is “grammatically peripheral” (Fraser 1990: 391). These particles fulfill interpersonal and textual functions. By “routines”, they mean the Dutch and Swedish equivalents of such expressions as *now listen*, *what shall I say*, which fulfill functions similar to discourse particles (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg 2003: 1133). In *the English-Swedish Parallel Corpus*, 48 types of Swedish equivalents, and in the *Oslo Multilingual Corpus*, 34 Dutch expressions have been identified. These varieties include not only a single marker but also a combinational expression with other elements. Among these

equivalents, discourse particles *ja* in Swedish and *nou* in Dutch are more representative counterparts of *well* than other items.

According to Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg, the Swedish *ja* occurs as a translation of *well* in only 12% of the cases, and the Dutch *nou* constitutes 30% of the translation (Ibid.: 1135). There is no discourse marker in Swedish with the same meaning as *well*; hence, the translation varies by function. For example, consider *ja*. This marker is mainly used for interpersonal functions (or modal function in their term) to convey “accepting with qualification”, “upgrading or intensifying”, and “deliberation”. Similar to *well*, *ja* can express more than one meaning. In addition to acceptance, for example, this marker can mean concession or signal reluctance (Ibid.: 1139). However, the main difference between the two counterparts is that *ja* cannot be used to express complete disagreement. In that case, the conjunction *men* “but” is used as a translation of *well*, and eleven Swedish examples of this are found in the corpus. However, when *well* is translated by *men* “but”, the interpersonal function of the particle is lost (Ibid.: 1144). By contrast, *nou* in Dutch means “now” as a semantic source in English. *Well* retains its positive sense as a semantic property, and *nou* retains traces of its temporal meaning. Although these two markers originate from different semantic sources, *nou* and *well* as discourse markers function similarly.

Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg (2003) prepare four broad categories of the translation of *well*; however, they discuss the functions, ignoring their translation classification. For example, they report that *ja* is a discourse particle as a translation of *well*, but when *ja* does not mark full disagreement, the conjunction *men* is used instead.

Then, *men* is a referential translation of *well* as a pragmatic function.

Beeching and Wang (2014) also conduct a cross-linguistic study of discourse markers. Their aim is to trace the historical evolution, cross-linguistically, of the French, Chinese, and English markers *bon*, *hao*, and *well*. The French marker *bon* derives from an adjective. In a narrative, *bon* is used to introduce repair or concession, and as a modal function, *bon* functions as a hesitation marker or pause filler (their terminology). *Hao* has a long history, developing from a verbal form (“to like”) to an adjectival usage and then to an agreement or acceptance marker (Ibid.: 57). All forms literally mean “good”. As a reason for semantic change, they argue that “the ‘abusive’ use of a term originally meaning ‘good’ to mean ‘less than good’ or only provisionally good is motivated by reasons of politeness and face-management” (Ibid.: 48). Wang and Tsai (2005: 230f) remark that

(Pre-)closing signals such as *hao* may be regarded as a sub-variety of mitigating expressions used in conversation, that is, the desire to agree or appear to agree with the addressee, which leads to mechanisms for pretending to agree (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 113). Such expressions serve the twofold function of keeping the conversation going in a systematic manner while allowing the conversationalists to preserve either the reality or the appearance of cooperation.

The twofold function means that the primary function of *hao* in (pre-) closing contributes

to the textual mode linking a discourse, and also to the interpersonal mode as a secondary function seeking pseudo-agreement.

According to Beeching and Wang, these three markers do not correspond with all the functions. For example, the discourse marker *well* alone can be used as a marker of demurral, but *bon* and *hao* alone do not behave in the same manner. Hence, in this case, these two markers must be used sequentially and co-occur with other elements such as the concessive marker *mais* + *bon* and *hao* + the negator *bu*.

Cuenca (2008) shows the cases of Catalan and Spanish for the discourse marker *well*, using the translation of a film. In Catalan, *well* as a discourse marker is translated as *doncs* “so”, *bé* “well”, integration, and others (e.g., *eh*, *oh*, *uh*, *però*). In Spanish, *well* is translated as *bueno* “good”, *pues* “so”, *bien* “well”, integration, and others (e.g., *eh*, *oh*, *uh*, *pero*). However, approximately 20% of the uses of *well* are not translated or are omitted in the Catalan and Spanish versions. Although *well* as a discourse marker has translation possibilities, *well* as an adverb is typically translated as Catalan *bé* and Spanish *bien*. Next, in (11), I examine one of the Spanish translations of *well*.

- (11) 1 Carrie: Boatman.
2 Charles: Right. But now I’m going to stay at some friend’s house with some
3 friends. **Well**, I say ‘house’ – I think ‘enormous castle’ is a more
4 accurate description.

Sp. Eso es. Pero al final, me quedaré en casa de unos amigos . . . con

unos amigos. Bueno, he dicho casa pero sería más acertado decir castillo.

(Ibid.: 1377)

Well in line 3 marks a self-repair that reformulates “house” as a more accurate expression, “enormous castle”. In Spanish translation, *well* is replaced by a sequence “*bueno + pero* (Eng. *well + but*)”. Likewise, Beeching and Wang (2014) claim that *bon* and *hao* require a negative particle in the case of demurrals; the same practice is confirmed in Spanish. These findings imply that *well* as a discourse marker may involve a sense of *but*. Therefore, line 3 can be paraphrased as “*Well*, I say ‘house’ *but* I think ‘enormous castle’ is a more accurate description”.

Although *well* in line 3 contributes to the textual mode as a primary function, the Spanish translation and the English paraphrase reveal that *well* also inherently contributes to the interpersonal mode as an acknowledgment. Because self-repairing displays that the speaker admits his/her erroneous remark or expression, *well* can save the speaker’s positive face by acknowledging his/her mistake before the other initiates a repair.

Takamura (2020) assesses the English, French, and Spanish discourse markers *well*, *bon*, and *bueno*. I highlight the two common points of the three markers. First, these markers have been derived from the adverb/adjective meaning “good” and function as interpersonal management markers. All the cases of markers preface a dispreferred response or face-threatening act, as demonstrated in Examples (12)–(14). Next, I consider the three cases in English, French, and Spanish.

(12) 1 R: What about coming here on the way (.) or doesn't that give you enough time?

→2 C: *Well* no I'm supervising here.

(Levinson 1983: 335 italicized by the author)

In line 1 R invites C to come to his place, but C declines his offer by giving an account, "I'm supervising here". Lines 1 and 2 are related to an adjacency pair (invitation–declination). *Well* in line 2 precedes a declination and contributes to mitigating a face-threatening act for the addressee. Thus, this marker functions as an interpersonal management.

In Example (13), the French discourse marker *bon* marks a dispreferred response. Speaker A asks a question to Speaker B, namely, whether she/he likes reading.

(13) 1 A: Et, est-ce que vous lisez, vous aimez la lecture ou?

→2 B : *Bon*, vraiment je ne lis pas.

Eng. And, do you read, do you like reading or ?

Bon, actually I do not read.

(Skattum 2012: 209 translation by the author)

Example (13) is also an adjacency pair (question–answer). In line 1 Speaker A asks a question to Speaker B, namely, whether he/she likes reading. Although the answer is toward the polar question (seeking a response by "yes" or "no"), in line 2 Speaker B

initiates her answer with *bon*. This occurs because the negative expression “je ne lis pas” (I do not read) is an answer as opposed to the questioner’s assumption “she must like reading”. Therefore, *bon* contributes to interpersonal management by mitigating a conflict.

Finally, Example (14) provides a case of *bueno* as a dispreferred marker. Santi asks Angela whether she knows how the age of trees is measured, and Angela replies with an answer that Santi had not thought of.

(14) 1 Santi: Sabes cómo le midien la edad a un árbol ?

2 Angela: Con .. el carbono catorce ?

→3 Santi: *Bueno*, También. No me acordaba de eso.

Eng. Do you know know the age of the trees is measured?

With carbon-14?

Bueno, that too. I didn’t remember that.

(Travis 2005: 97)

Lines 1 and 2 are an adjacency pair (question–answer). In line 2 Angela shows with a rising intonation that she is not confident in her response. Although the response is not what Santi expects, by using *bueno*, he expresses a partial agreement that carbon 14 could be another way to measure the age of the trees. Therefore, *bueno* marks an acknowledgment, which concerns the interpersonal management of the prior answer.

These three markers function as an interpersonal management when these markers preface an act involving an answer or evaluation that the speaker does not first envisage

toward the prior question or utterance. Notably, interpersonal management is a part of politeness acts. Brown and Levinson (1987) exemplify “avoid disagreement” as a strategy for positive politeness. All the examples hosting the discourse markers in question that I provide contain FTAs such as declination, negation, and conflict. These acts lose the addressee’s positive face; however, by using the discourse markers *well*, *bon*, and *bueno*, for which the semantic meaning is “good”, the addressee’s utterance is at least acknowledged, that is, disagreement is avoided.

Notably, as my review on cross-linguistic studies indicates, the functions of markers do not always behave the same. However, in relation to human interaction, people prefer to recruit items such as *well*, *bon*, *bueno*, and *hao*, which are semantically “good”, and they want to be “polite” speakers. This evidence is strongly supported by the universal phenomena of politeness.

Before my analysis, I clarify the relationship among the three markers *well*, *bon*, and *bueno*. At first, these three markers seem to share propositional meaning; however, *well* is an adverb, and *bon* and *bueno* are adjectives. In this study, I use *bon* and *bueno* as counterparts of *well* as a discourse marker because the two markers fulfill both interpersonal and textual functions at the politeness level, such as the discourse marker *well*. In other words, I emphasize the similarities of the pragmatic functions rather than the propositional translation. However, that these “good” lexical items become used as discourse markers seems to share a fundamental principle in human interaction. Therefore, any possible translation of *well* as a discourse marker that does not contribute to politeness is ignored in what follows.

3.1.4 English as a foreign language

In the pedagogical settings of English as a foreign language, the variety of translations causes the student to have difficulty acquiring the discourse markers. The study on discourse markers in language education has been receiving attention (e.g., Fung and Cartner 2007; Hays 1992; Shimada 2014). *Well* is also discussed in English education and in the domains of language acquisition across many languages (e.g., in Swedish Aijmer 2011; in French Gilquin 2008; in Norwegian Hasselgren 2002a, 2002b; in German Müller 2004, 2005; in Spanish Romero Trillo 2002; in Japanese Hays 1992; Shimada 2014).

In contrast with recent trends, in the early stage, discourse markers are negatively evaluated. For example, discourse markers are stigmatized as, for example, “a sign of dysfluency and carelessness” (Brinton 1996: 33) or “unclear thinking, lack of confidence, inadequate social skills and a range of others undesirable characteristics” (Crystal 1988: 47). However, discourse markers have been absorbed in language textbooks; thus, learners are encouraged to use the markers, which are “a system of signals bringing about smoother communication” (Hasselgren 2002b: 143).

The most common argument in the literature is that for learners, the ability to use discourse markers characterizes the speaker as an advanced competent learner of English. Unfortunately, however, even individuals with a high command of the language and English native speakers do not use discourse markers (Cf. Hasselgren 2002a: 103). Hasselgren (2002a) uses a Norwegian corpus in which the target students are divided into

two groups according to their levels. She determines that the more fluent Norwegian pupils (14-15 years old) had a rather wider range of small words [or discourse markers] in regular use than the less fluent pupils, that they generally used a narrower range than the native speakers, and that they were more inclined to let certain small words dominate in a turn position (Ibid.: 109). Thus, learners use the markers in utterance-medial, and a similar result is identified in other research (e.g., Aijmer 2011).

Regarding the case of *well* as a discourse marker, Gilquin (2008: 32) determines that learners use *well* “all over the place”, with a clear preference for the utterance-medial position. More advanced learners use this marker for turn-taking and self-repair more frequently than less advanced learners (Hasselgren 2002a).

Müller (2005) researches the use of discourse markers by German students and students in the United States (US) in a move-telling experiment. Concerning the discourse marker *well*, Müller categorizes the functions into “textual” and “interactional” levels. She identifies six functions (searching for the right phrase, rephrasing/correcting, quotative, move to the main story, introducing the next scene, and conclusive) for the textual level and six functions (indirect answer, direct answer, response to self-raised expectations, contributing an opinion, continuing an opinion/answer, and evaluating a prior statement) for the interactional level.⁹

The results reveal that German speakers used almost all the functions of *well* as a

⁹ Among the functions, “introducing the next scene” is strongly reflected by the nature of move-telling, a type of narrative style. Therefore, the labels that Müller provides can be replaced by different names in other cases; otherwise, the functional label is so specific that it cannot be applied to other general analysis (Cf. Schiffrin 1987: 318-321).

discourse marker more than US natives, except for *well* to correct a phrase, to quote, and to contribute the speaker's opinions (Müller 2005: 138). Notably, there are two functions that Germans employed that did not attest in the US data: to conclude a description or topic (textual) and to continue expressing their opinion (interactional level) (Ibid.: 139). According to her study, Germans most frequently use *so* and *well* among other markers. Explaining this phenomenon, Müller (Ibid.: 251) suggests the following three points. First, *so* and *well* are explicitly introduced in textbooks for beginners, which the participants investigated used. Moreover, these textbooks and a popular English-German dictionary provide the German discourse marker *also* as a possible translation for both *so* and *well*; therefore, Germans do not choose between the two markers. Finally, a number of students expressed that "*well* sounds more English than *so*". They posit that the use of *well* is related to "good English". Hasselgren (1994) calls this type of marker a "lexical teddy bear", that is, "we regularly clutch for the words we feel safe with" (Ibid.: 237).

Fuller (2003) studies the use of discourse markers by native speakers of German, French, and Spanish who had learned English as a second language and lived in the United States for at least two years. Despite quantitative differences in the use of discourse markers between native and non-native speakers, the non-native speakers of English from German, French, and Spanish could use them qualitatively in the same manner as native speakers (Ibid.: 200). Among the markers Fuller studies, *oh*, *well*, *y'know*, *like* and *I mean*, the markers *oh*, and *well* are used by non-native speakers in a similar manner as used by native speakers.

In the case of Japanese learners of English, per the corpus *Louvain International*

Database of Spoken English Interlanguage (LINDSEI), Shimada (2014: 59) reports that Japanese and Chinese learners of English used the two markers *well* and *really* less frequently than other non-native English learners.

Hays (1992) provides a similar result for *well* by investigating university students of different proficiency levels in Japan. *Well* was used by three of over thirty-six students whom he investigated, and most of the students used the discourse markers *and*, *but*, and *so*. On the basis of these results, Hays provides an interpretation that the students seem to acquire competence in developing coherence in Schiffrin's ideational plane before other planes. This result occurs because the primary function of the makers is attributed to ideational discourse markers, which are overly taught in school (Ibid.: 29). Therefore, the discourse marker *well* can be reinterpreted as being "more pragmatic" than other "less pragmatic" discourse markers.

Aijmer (2011) also uses LINDSEI to study discourse marker use by Swedish learners. She divides the function of discourse markers into two levels: speech management and attitudinal. This classification is similar to my classification of textual and interpersonal modes. According to her results, *well* as the attitudinal function appears to be underused by the learners (Ibid.: 247).

Finally, Hellerman and Vergun (2007) differ in that this study targets an ignored aspect of the use of discourse markers by beginning adult learners living in the United States. These researchers relate the rise of the markers with the learners' language proficiency. Moreover, discourse markers, a language not taught, are considered to be learned through interaction in the culture of the learned language. In other words, using

discourse markers expresses “an aspect of learners’ socialization into English” (Ibid.: 161). Similarly, Liao (2009: 1314) claims that the use of discourse markers is “an ideal indicator of the extent to which an L2 speaker desired to be integrated into a local community because discourse markers are often not part of the traditional classroom curriculum and L2 learners generally acquire these expressions through contact with native speakers”.

I will conclude this section by providing two insightful pedagogical implications.

Pragmatic markers are frequent in native speaker interaction (especially, *well*, *you know*, *I mean*) and should therefore also be used by learners. The question is whether students can learn to use pragmatic markers from hearing them used by native speakers or from examples in textbooks. Even students who use *well* frequently do not seem to be able to use it strategically and appropriately in the communication situation. One cannot use *well* “anywhere” and expect to sound English. This suggests that the formal and functional properties of pragmatic markers need to be “talked about” in the classroom. (Aijmer 2011: 250).

If a foreign learner says five *sheeps* or he *goed*, he can be corrected by practically every native speaker. If, on the other hand, he omits a *well*, the likely reaction will be that he is dogmatic, impolite, boring, awkward to talk to etc, but a native speaker cannot pinpoint an ‘error’. Yet inappropriate use

of particles like *well* may have more unfortunate consequence for communication success than elementary grammatical errors.

(Svartvik 1980: 174).

These perspectives suggest that discourse markers are not only the language creating a discourse but also an indicator of the speaker's identity, socialization, and proficiency for learners. Especially, *well* is a ubiquitous device for managing interpersonal relationships. However, why does *well* become to function in this manner? In the next section, I consider this motivation from historical perspectives.

3.2 Diachronic perspectives

The discourse marker *well* has been widely and diversely studied in the synchronic perspectives, but little research on *well* is available from the diachronic approach. Despite differing observations, what has often been considered is that the main argument discusses the connection between *well* as an adverb/adjective and *well* as a discourse marker.

I introduced the concept of grammaticalization in 2.2. as the process developed from a propositional item to a discourse marker. Traugott (1982) provides a cline of the unidirectional movement that shows how items with propositional meaning can develop textual functions and later expressive or interpersonal functions: propositional > ((textual) > (expressive)) (Traugott 1982, 1989).

If there occurs a meaning-shift which, in the process of grammaticalization, entails shifts from one functional-semantic component to another, then such a shift is more likely to be from propositional through textual to expressive than in reverse direction. (Traugott 1982: 256)

By contrast, regarding *well* a discourse marker, Traugott's explanation does not fit this marker. Instead, Defour and Simon-Vandenberghe (2010) suggest another process: propositional > expressive (interpersonal) > textual. This functional change occurs because the interpersonal aspect of *well* has played an important role since the beginning of the referential meaning.

In this section, I refer to two approaches for *well* as a discourse marker: Traugott's traditional framework (Jucker 1997) and a new approach (Defour and Simon-Vandenberghe 2010; Marcus 2009; Cf. Heine et al. 1991).

Regarding the evolution of this marker, Finell's (1989) study is probably the earliest work tracing the semantic-pragmatic development of *well* to its adjectival use. The following use of *well* as a predicative adjective is attested by the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 1560.

- (15) And where as they saye that the Gospell must be taught after the interpretations approued by the churche (that is very well) but all the stryfe is, which is the trewe church.

(Finell 1989: 655)

Finell suggests that this semantic use of *well* as a predicate adjective could contribute to further elaboration on the use of a discourse marker. In the aforementioned narrative, one speaker states their belief in the importance of instilling “Gospell” to other individuals through what they believe to be the most authorized interpretation. However, the speaker in Example (15) is not sure which church uses the supposedly most authorized interpretation. The speaker first shows agreement (“teaching the interpretation approved by the church”) but soon counters the statement with the concessive marker *but*. Hence, Finell (Ibid.: 655) provides the following observation:

Here *that is very well* is a communicative device for the speaker to tell the interlocutor that ‘although s/he does not agree with his/her on this particular issue, s/he still wants to be on good term with him/her’. *Well* in this sense can thus be seen as a shortening of the longer expression *that is very well*.

This use can be considered a precursor of the later pragmatic function of *well* as a discourse marker, shown in Example (16).

(16) Are you coming to the lecture?

Well, I’d like to, but I’m afraid I can’t today.

(Ibid.)

In Example (16), *well* is followed by the concessive marker *but*; however, in the present use, *well* alone can foreshadow the speaker's impossibility or problem. Finell considers that *well* as a discourse marker of a qualifier or face-threat mitigator originates from the predicative adjective, but others posit that *well* derives from an adverb.

Jucker (1997) points out that Finell's analysis is restricted to the cases of a qualifier or face-threat mitigator. Subsequently, Jucker proposes four functions of *well* as a discourse marker and suggests that this marker has come to acquire the functions in the order of frame marker (textual) > face-threat mitigator (interpersonal) > qualifier (interpersonal) > pause filler (interpersonal).

The function as a frame is the oldest function that survived into Modern English. It is attested regularly from the Late Middle English period. The function as face-threat mitigator came later, but it can be attested in Shakespeare's plays. The uses as a qualifier and as a pause filler cannot be attested in historical data that I looked at. However, there are also some Old English examples that function on an interpersonal level. But this use does not seem to have survived directly into Modern English. (Ibid.: 95)

As a result, Jucker supports the unidirectionality for development from propositional > textual > expressive, which Traugott (1982) assumes.

In Old English, *well* as a discourse marker was used in the form *wel la* or *wella*, appearing at the beginning of a speech or conclusion. The combination "*well* + *la*" is an

intersubjective construction that appears to function as an attention-getter “listen up” (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 175). According to *Oxford English Dictionary*, the particle *la* had two senses: (i) in early use, an interjection of vague meaning, corresponding approximately to the modern O! or Oh! and (ii) used to direct attention to the presence or approach of something or to what is about to be said. Therefore, whether *wel la* or *wella* is the direct origin of *well* as a discourse marker remains unknown. However, this function disappeared before Middle English (Jucker 1997: 98). As the citation shows, as a result, Jucker excludes the example of Old English from the precursor of *well* as a discourse marker.

Opposed to Jucker’s argument, Marcus (2009) and Defour and Simon-Vandenberg (2010) have claimed that *well* has consistently retained an interpersonal meaning from the beginning. That is, the process starts from propositional > expressive (interpersonal) > textual. In this case, I introduce the study by Marcus (2009), which traces the development of this marker from Old English, and the study by Defour and Simon-Vandenberg (2010), which conducts an analysis in the context of Middle English.

Example (17) is from Old English and has been analyzed by Jucker and Marcus. Jucker (1997: 97) identifies two-folded functions of textual and interpersonal modes for the use of *well* in the following excerpt.

- (17) *Wella, wisan men, wel: gað ealle on þone weg ðe eow lærað þa foremæran bisna þara godena gumena.* (eighth century)

“*Well!* O wise men, *well!* Proceed ye all in the way which the illustrious

examples of the good men teach you”.

Jucker observes that the two cases of *well* occur in the reporting clause (e.g., at the beginning of an important conclusion). Hence, these two markers have a textual function. *Well* provokes an attention-getter, for example, “Listen now to what I have to tell you”. Therefore, this case also has an interpersonal function (Ibid.: 97).

By contrast, Marcus argues that *wella* survived in Modern English and that this use in (17) is similar to its modern-day usage as a frame serving (2009: 226). The continuous semantic development of *well* is further evidenced by an excerpt from the eleventh-century Old English text *Apollonius of Tyre*. Marcus (Ibid.: 227) shows that Example (18) suggests that *well* was used at the interpersonal level in a manner similar to its modern-day usage.

(18) Đa adred þæt mæden þæt heo næfre eft apollonium ne gesawe swa raðe swa heo wolde. & eode þa to hire fæder & cwæð. Ðu góða cyningc. lícað ðe *wel* þæt apollonius þe þurh us todæg gegódod is. Þus heonon fare. & cuman yfele men & bereafian hine. Se cyngc cwæð. *Wel* þu cwæde. hat him findan hwar he hine mæge wurðlicost gerestan.

“Then the maiden dreaded that she never again should see Apollonius so quickly as she would, and went then to her father, and said, ‘Thou good king, doth it *well* please thee that Apollonius, who through us today is enriched, should thus go hence, and evil men come and rob him?’ The king said, ‘*Well*

hast thou spoken; bid that there be found for him where he may rest most honourably.””

The two instances of *well* contribute to the interpersonal function, but the first case, which is not underlined, is a manner adverb. It is because the daughter uses *well* as a form of persuasion. The second marker indicates her father’s acceptance of his daughter’s request that Apollonius stay with them.

Marcus does not admit the second use as a textual function because this does not “make the conversation more cohesive” (2009.: 227). However, it is unreasonable to deny the textuality of *well* in this case, because *well* marks an answer to a question (request as an act).

Therefore, Marcus (2009) and Jucker’s (1997) discussions can be summarized as follows: Marcus focuses on an interpersonal function of *well* than Jucker, and Jucker focuses on the particle *la* to express an interpersonal function as in *wella* or *well*. In other words, Jucker’s observation focuses on the form of *well*. At this point, it is not attested whether *wella* in Old English and *well* in Modern English are the same item. I support the assumption that *well* as a discourse marker derives from an adverb/adjective; thus, there should have been a time when the several functions involving semantic and pragmatic meanings coexisted.

Notably, *well* as an adverb was firmly established in Middle English, which reasonably seems to be a precursor of further discourse marker use (Defour and Simon-Vandenberghe 2010: 652; Jucker 1997: 99). Therefore, there are examples of *well* that

can be classified as both an adverb/adjective and a discourse marker. Schourup (2001: 1049) provides an example from Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* and determines that the semantic connection between the propositional (adverb/adjective) and pragmatic uses of *well* is stronger than it is now.

(19) Cloten: Nay, come, let's go together.

Second Lord: *Well*, my lord.

Schourup claims that "most utterance-prefatory uses of *well* in Shakespeare's plays, for example, are hard to tell apart from the now obsolete use of *well* to express consent or agreement" (Ibid.). Example (19) suggests that the vague boundary between *well* as a propositional meaning and *well* as a discourse marker.

Related to the double natures of *well*, Defour and Simon-Vandenberg (2010: 655) provides a similar example, shown in (20).

(20) And y seide, "Wolde God my lord that we so hadde, and God y take to recorde y have done my due dilygent part therto, and that yn tyme y truste to God ye shall well knowe; for y have right meny thyng to enfourme yow of yf y hadde tyme." He seide "*Well*, mayer," and bade me come ayen that same dey afternone. (CEECS, Letters and papers of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter 1447–50: 1447–8)

And I said: "If only God would grant that we had/did, and I call God to witness

that I have done my proper dutiful part in this, and that in time I devoutly hope you shall well know; for there are right many things I want to inform you of if I have the time.” He said: “*Well*, mayer,” and requested me to come again in the afternoon of that same day.

Regarding *well* in Example (20), marking a response can be considered “a transitory step between semantic meanings of positive judgement and semantically bleached meanings that are tied to contexts in which an acknowledgment can serve to initiate a new text section” (Ibid.). Hence, *well* as a discourse marker has a vague boundary between the interpersonal and textual functions.

Thus far, I have discussed the semantic development of discourse markers. In addition to the semantic change, there is also a change in the deictics of *well* that marks in discourse. *Well* as a positive appraisal in Middle English marks a prior context such as a response to a preceding question; in Early Modern English, *well* frequently introduces modification, slight disagreement, concession, and opposition (Defour and Simon-Vandenberghe 2010: 660).

(21) R. Royster: He shall neuer scape death on my swordes point [. . .].

M. Mery: Nay, if ye will kyll him, I will not fette him, I will not in so muche extremitie sette him, He may yet amende sir, and be an honest man, Therefore pardon him good soule, as muche as ye can.

R. Royster: **Well, for thy sake, this once** with his lyfe he shall passe, **But** I wyll

hewe hym all to pieces by the Masse.

M. Mery: Nay fayth ye shall promise that he shall no harme haue.

(HC, Udall, Roister Doister: 1500–70)

(Defour and Simon-Vandenberghe 2010: 661)

When *well* starts a modification or concession, the concessive marker *but* follows. This sequentiality “*well* + *but*” is also observed in the study by Finell (1989: 655). That is, although the message the speaker wants to convey is subsequent to *but*, the use of *well* is expressed by the speaker’s consideration toward the hearer’s face.

I have considered whether *well* as a discourse marker is reflected by its propositional meaning. This discussion was originally triggered by grammaticalization, that is, “unidirectionality”, known as a “hypothesis about a robust tendency” (Traugott 2001: 1). However, I have reviewed the pilot studies, which demonstrate that the interpersonal aspect of *well* at a referential or propositional level has been retained from the initiation, and the development of *well* as a discourse marker does not seem to fit this line.

On the one hand, Defour and Simon-Vandenberghe (2010: 670) acknowledge that *well* has developed the textual and interpersonal functions that have overridden the propositional sense “it is good”. However, this positive appraisal has led to various contextual implicatures that have led to pragmatic functions, for example, topic shifting, initiating new moves, and concession. On the other hand, the development “from textual to interpersonal” illustrated by Traugott cannot be maintained in a strict sense, because the interpersonal meaning has played a part in the meaning development of *well* from the

referential meaning. Notably, at the earlier stage, Heine et al. (1991: 191) consider the possibility of the development of language functions as ideational > interpersonal (Traugott's expressive) > textual.

Regarding “expressive” function (reviewed in 2.2.1), a word meaning changes from the meaning centered on the speaker (“subjectification”) to the meaning centered on the hearer (“intersubjectification”). Then, the development of *well* as a discourse marker, which I have reviewed, can be organized (Figure 4).

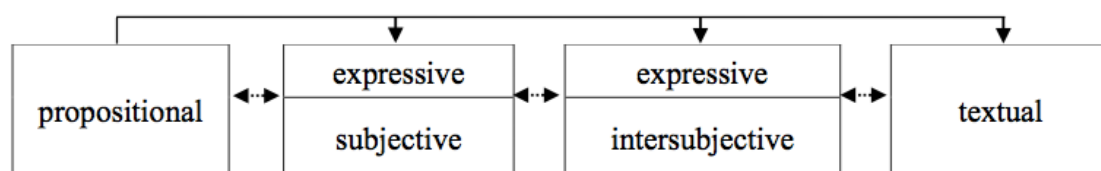


Figure 4 Correlation between the functions of *well* as a discourse marker

The upper arrows in Figure 4 demonstrate that the propositional meaning or the core meaning of *well* influences other discourse functions in the order of development. Moreover, the two-way arrows between the components express the close relationship or a vagueness across the components of each other. In Example (17), Jucker attests the first *well* as initiating a turn (textual) and the second *well* as an attention-catching utterance (intersubjectivity as expressive or interpersonal). This diagram is also true for the examples in modern functions. As introduced in 3.1, ending a current topic shows that it is not worth maintaining anymore; hence it involves inherent face threats (Cameron 2001). Therefore, primarily, the function of *well* to end a topic is relevant to the textuality, and

secondarily, this marker also contributes to the hearer's face. In other words, two components as the expressive or interpersonal and textual functions work simultaneously. These two functions cannot be considered an independent element but a set. Because the speaker avoids a potential face threat, he/she exploits the interpersonal aspect of this marker to end the topic.

In this section, I have attested two phases of vague categorization. First, in Middle English, as Schourup shows, there existed a vague boundary between *well* as an adverb/adjective and *well* as a discourse marker. Second, within the use as a discourse marker, the interpersonal and textual modes also have a vague functional boundary. However, even in modern use, these two functions are intertwined under a fundamental level of politeness.

As the two-way arrows in the diagram (Figure 4) indicate, there seems to be a vague boundary in meaning between the interpersonal and textual function for the use of this marker. In the case where the polysemic functions exist in a marker, that will be the “function” of the marker.

In the next section, I introduce the semantic and syntactic properties of *well*, the central notion of *well* as a discourse marker.

3.3 Syntactic and semantic perspectives

I have reviewed studies on the discourse marker *well* in the synchronic and diachronic perspectives. Although many of the discourse markers originally derive from adverbs (e.g., *indeed*, *in fact*, *besides* [Traugott 1995]), *well* is a clause-internal adverb as

in “Elin plays the piano very well”. In this section, as a part of the functional-semantic modes of language, the ideational aspect of *well* is described. This case of *well* is considered a basis for the functions of the use as a discourse marker.

Here, the three usages of *well* as an adjective, adverb, and discourse markers are presented. The examples are from the study by Stubbs (1983: 96).

- a. He was ill, but is *well* again now. [adjective]
- b. He is *well* qualified. [adverb]
- c. *Well*, what shall we do? [discourse marker]

Well in Example (a) is an adjective. In this sentence, *well* is used in a manner semantically opposed to “ill”. Hence, the sentence expresses that “He did not feel good, but that now, He is fine”. In (b), *well* only modifies the following adjective (or verb for past participle) “qualified”; thus, *well* is an adverb. Because discourse markers do not influence the propositional meaning of the sentence, the uses of (a) and (b) are instances of syntactic and semantic meanings. Otherwise, sentence (a) does not make sense, and sentence (b) may not be sufficiently informative without *well*. Therefore, the two cases of *well* in sentences (a) and (b) directly affect the truth values of their host sentence.

However, consider Example (c), in which the speaker opens a conversation with this marker. The statement “what shall we do?” is grammatically correct and still conversationally acceptable if not for *well*. As indicated in Schiffrin’s four criteria or discourse markers, this phenomenon falls under her first condition “syntactically

detachable”. Because the use of *well* as a discourse marker as in (c) is my primary interest, for explaining the relation between the propositional and pragmatic uses of *well*, I overview how *well* has been studied in the traditional perspective of grammar.

The groundbreaking grammar book *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, compiled by Quirk et al. (1985), has thoroughly studied adverbials. Quirk et al. (1985) introduce two ways of investigating adverbials: their semantic roles and syntactic positions. Adverbials as semantic roles have seven meanings: space, time, process, respect, contingency, modality, and degree. Each has further detailed roles (see Ibid.: 479). Adverbials have four subcategories—adjunct, subjunct, disjunct, and conjunct—and they appear in different positions in a sentence. Adjunct and subjunct are the elements integrated into a clause, and disjunct and conjunct are peripheral items in a sentence (Akimoto 2017: 77). As mentioned, many discourse markers derive from adverbials. For example, *actually*, also used as a discourse marker, can function as an adjunct and a disjunct. Aijmer (1986: 121) claims that this adverb in its adjunct form appears in positions 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9 and as a disjunct in 1, 5, and 10 in Example (22).

- (22) ↓ she ↓ is ↓ not ↓ as pretty ↓ as ↓ she ↓ might ↓ have ↓ been ↓
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Actually is a typical adverb that forms the adjective “actual” plus a suffix “-ly”, and it is relatively syntactically movable in a sentence. Moreover, a disjunct, peripheral in a

sentence, can be considered to have potential functions in discourse marker usage.

Well as an adverb is related to the adjunct and subjunct. I briefly explain the two adverbial uses. An adjunct resembles other sentence elements such as subject, complement, and object. For example, unlike the other adverbials, an adjunct can be the focus of a cleft sentence:

(23) Hilda helped Tony because of his injury.

It was *Hilda* that helped Tony because of his injury. [S]

It was *Tony* that Hilda helped because of his injury. [O]

It was *because of his injury* that Hilda helped Tony. [A]

(Quirk et al. 1985: 504)

An adjunct has two types: obligatory and optional. Consider the following examples:

(24) (a) *He lived.

(b) He lived *in Chicago*.

(Quirk et al. 1985: 505)

Sentence (24a) needs an adjunct after the verb *live*; otherwise, this sentence does not seem acceptable. *Well* as a manner adverb, which is one of the semantic categories of adjunct, is optional, as in (25).

(25) Koichiro speaks Chinese well.

A manner adverb is usually paraphrased by *in a ... manner* or *in a ... way* with its adjective base in the vacant position. Therefore, sentence (25) can be paraphrased as follows:

(26) Koichiro speaks Chinese in a good manner.

Next, I introduce another use of *well* as a subjunct. Subjunct plays a subordinate role compared to other clause elements. This adverb is used as an intensifier indicating the meaning of degree.

(27) Riku knows contemporary architecture well.

Well in sentence (27) indicates the extent to which Riku is familiar with contemporary architecture. Therefore, this element can neither be the focus of a cleft sentence, nor paraphrased as “in a good manner”. However, these manner and degree uses are related meanings of “good” (Greenbaum 1969: 5).

The two cases of *well* commonly appear in the sentence-final position. So, unlike *actually*, the sentence does not allow *well* as an adverb to move to its initial position. This concludes that *well* mainly appears in ⑦ in the diagram in Figure 5; however, in the case of the passive voice, *well* can move to ⑥.

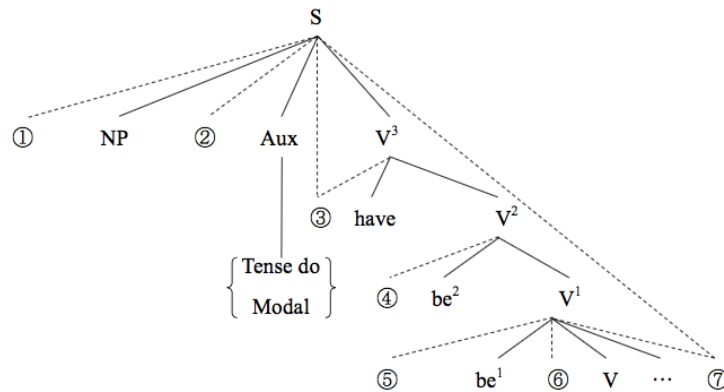


Figure 5 Positions where adverbials can function (Okada 1985: 140)

These observations express that *well* does not have the function of sentence adverb, and this finding does not correspond to the cline that Traugott suggests: Sentence Adverb > Discourse Marker. Therefore, it is necessary to discover why *well* has been recruited as a discourse marker used in an utterance-initial position.

For the negative aspects of *well* as an adverb in syntactic positions, Greenbaum (1969: 3) indicates two general rules.

- a. its inability to be moved elsewhere in the sentence. By contrast, *usually*, for example, can occupy several positions: *Usually* David plays chess, David *usually* plays chess, and David plays chess *usually*.
- b. its inability to be the focus of *only* in initial position in respect of allowing Verb-Subject inversion: **Only well does David play chess*. In this respect, it can be contrasted with, for example, *occasionally*. Thus, for *occasionally*, in *David plays chess occasionally* we have *Only occasionally does David play chess*.

Above all, point (a) is related to the analysis of *actually* in the study by Aijmer (1986). Compared with *well* as a discourse marker, the functional scope of *well* as an adverb is extremely limited. By contrast, similar to *actually* as a discourse marker, *actually* as an adverb has syntactic freedom, which is movable from 1 to 10 positions. Thus, this type of adverb as a disjunct functions in a similar manner as a discourse marker. I have scrutinized the synchronic, diachronic, and syntactic/semantic dimensions of the discourse marker *well*. But why does *well* as a discourse marker have multiple uses?

The functions of the discourse marker *well* fall under Brinton's (2017) categorization: ideational, textual, and interpersonal. I have reviewed studies on the synchronic, diachronic, and syntactic/semantic perspectives of *well* as a discourse marker, and these three functional components are distinct but related regarding this marker. In this study, I attempt to recapture the textual and interpersonal functions of this marker based on politeness. The textual function, considered a local connection in a sentence (e.g., Halliday 1970, 1979), is not a static but a dynamic action, contributing not only to the discourse structuring but also to interpersonal management. In other words, for example, topic shift as a textual function provoked by *well* is only a result of interpersonal attention as a politeness act.

3.4 *Well* and politeness

I have introduced academic backbones in this chapter. Hence, to present an integrated view, in this section, I consider discussions on the relation between *well* as a

discourse marker and politeness.

Owen (1981) characterizes that the discourse marker *well* is used to preface a second pair part with a face-threatening act (Brown and Levinson 1987). According to Owen (1981: 110), *well* is used as a strategy for signaling “that a face-threat is about to occur, thereby giving attention to alter’s face and reducing the subsequent threat”. Furthermore, Pomerantz (1984), who surveys the use of *well* in turn organization by using conversation analysis, determines that *well* precedes a disagreement when agreement is preferred. As Pomerantz’s analysis, Owen’s analysis is restricted to a dispreferred response. Notably, *well* as a politeness marker can contribute to various functions other than dispreferred response. As I present later, *well* as the case of objection can signal an upcoming potential face threat.

By using *well* beforehand, this marker attempts to ease the anticipated unwelcome effect. Fraser (1980: 342) calls this attempt “mitigation” to reduce the harshness or hostility of the force of the doer's actions. FTAs cannot be avoided but softened. In this case, *well* as a discourse marker exploits its propositional meaning, and this marker first shows an acceptance of alter’s utterance along with the positive politeness strategy “avoid disagreement” (Brown and Levinson 1987).

Owen (1981) and Pomerantz (1984) have observed politeness in the functions of *well* such as dispreferred response or disagreement; in other words, the scope of their interest is restricted in the interpersonal function of this marker. Therefore, the textual function of *well* as a discourse marker is neglected, or few insights are provided.

In this study, I expand the scope of politeness over the interpersonal and textual

functions of *well* as a discourse marker. Consider an example of *well* as the case of repair. A speaker uses this marker to correct or elaborate an expression of utterance. However, this act of repair has an obvious (or inherent) face-threatening act. Therefore, on the one hand, in the interpersonal mode, politeness contributes to what the hearer or speaker will express, and on the other hand, in the textual mode, politeness contributes to what the hearer or speaker will do for discourse structuring. For both modes, *well* can invite an inference that an actual or potential face threat will follow, and this marker will lessen some degree of the force. In other words, after this redressive effect, an utterance involving a face threat caused by what the speaker says or does will follow. Hence, the textual and interpersonal functions of *well* can be regarded as unified under a larger umbrella of politeness.

Chapter 4 Functions of *well*: Interpersonal and textual modes

from the perspective of politeness

In this chapter, I present analyses of *well* as an interpersonal function in 4.1 and as a textual function in 4.2. These distinctions are based on functional-semantic modes of language originally proposed by Halliday (1970, 1979) and refined by Brinton (2017).

4.1 Data

In this study, I analyze the three discourse markers: *well*, *bon*, and *bueno*. For the English and French languages, *well* and *bon* as discourse markers are described through the corpora. For explaining the uses of discourse markers as an example of universals of politeness, the examples of the Spanish discourse marker *bueno* are complemented from other studies.

For the English data, the main analysis of this study, I examine the tape-recorded naturally occurring conversational data from the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* Parts I and II (Du Bois et al. 2000; Du Bois et al. 2003). The Santa Barbara Corpus represents a wide variety of people of various regional origins, ages, occupations, genders, and ethnic and social backgrounds. The predominant style of language use represented is face-to-face conversation, but the corpus also documents many other ways that language is used in daily life, for example, in telephone conversations, card games, food preparation, on-the-job talk, classroom lectures, sermons, story-telling, town hall meetings, and tour-guide spiels. The transcription convention is listed at the end of the thesis.

As a preliminary research, 587 instances of *well* are examined in 25 discourse files

(from file 1 to file 25). Subsequently, I distinguished instances of *well* as a discourse marker from *well* as an adverb. Then, a total of 490 instances are tagged and categorized according to their functions. Some of the cases that I had difficulty understanding are excluded from the analysis.

This study describes and provides examples of how the interpersonal aspect contributes to the functions of *well* as a discourse marker in interaction. Therefore, the general-purpose labels are furnished for the functions compared with the context-specific labels (Cf. Müller 2005). In other words, the general labels are applied to other analyses even though a context where a marker is used varies. Notably, as suggested by Schifffrin (1987: 318-321), these rough labels are sufficient because more specific information can be ascribed to the context.

For the French data, I extract examples from *Corpus de Français Parlé Parisien des années 2000* (CFPP2000). This corpus collects spoken French by interview. The purpose of this corpus is that the interviewers ask questions on the places in Paris or its suburbs where the interviewees reside. The topics on questionnaires are set, such as the reason for the residence and the regional environment. The interviews seem to be semistructured. Because the data are from interviews, there are and are not cases of *bon* as a discourse marker encountered in everyday conversational language. However, the differences in the style between the English and French data do not seem problematic in relation to the main purpose of this study: to demonstrate how the markers are relevant to politeness. Although the frequency of functions will be partial according to the styles, this study does not consider the balance, because of the aforementioned reason.

In Chapter 4, along with the functional-semantic modes of language, I provide approximately three or four examples for each function of *well* as a discourse marker and describe how each function contributes to the interaction. In Chapter 5, I present approximately two or three examples for each function of *bon* as a discourse marker. In both analyses, a qualitative analysis is regarded as important because interpersonal aspects of discourse markers cannot be understood until the actual practice is analyzed. Moreover, as a complementary example of politeness, I also introduce examples of *bueno* as a Spanish discourse marker.

4.2 Interpersonal functions

In this section, I provide four functions of interpersonal modes: “agreement”, “objection”, “prefacing a dispreferred/nonstraightforward response”, and “filler”. I further divide these functions into two types. The first two functions, “agreement” and “objection”, are related to the speaker’s evaluation. Hence, the subjectivity is reflected in these uses. The latter two cases are the functions to express the speaker’s psychological states, such as he/she hesitates to communicate his/her thoughts directly. Hence, intersubjectivity is reflected in these uses. Next, I examine the four cases of *well* as interpersonal functions.

4.2.1 Agreement

A speaker can use *well* to show his/her stance of agreement. However, as Beeching (2016: 53) claims, in contemporary British English, “*well* is never used to imply full

acceptance of a situation”. Hence, there can be a functional gradation from agreement > partial agreement > pseudo-agreement (or acknowledgment without stance evaluation), which seems to be the endpoint of this function. In this section, I present each of these uses.

Example (28) is a conversation among three friends preparing dinner together, recorded in Southern California. Roy and Marilyn are a married couple, and Pete is a friend visiting from out of town. All participants are aged in their early thirties.

Example (28) SBC003 Conceptual Pesticides

- 1 MARILYN: .. Mm.
- 2 .. Hey that carrot's good.
- 3 ROY: ... It's got –
- 4 .. it's really [pretty --
- 5 PETE: [*Well* that's good].
- 6 ROY: it goes] @island to --
- 7 is[2land system by island system2].
- 8 MARILYN: [2Are we ready to eat?
- 9 Should I start2] .. food?
- 10 ROY: .. Oh yeah.

In line 1 Marilyn provides a good evaluation of the carrot to other participants, Roy and Pete. In line 5 Pete uses *well* to mark agreement with Marilyn's positive evaluation toward

the carrot in line 2. However, opposed to British English, in American English, this marker can mark full agreement, as in Example (28). Thus, this discourse marker can change according to the variety of English. In conclusion, in American English, some cases of *well* can have a function to show full agreement.

Examples (29) and (30) are excerpts from a conversation between a couple lying in bed, recorded in Santa Barbara, California. Darryl and Pamela discuss death, a topic that Pamela is most interested in. However, Darryl does not seem to like Pamela's story on death.

Example (29) SBC005 A Book About Death

- 1 DARRYL: [2That's why you're interested in death?
- 2 PAMELA: (H) n- and,
- 3 DARRYL: @@2]
- 4 PAMELA: I just2] think it's <MRC so damn weird MRC> we're here.
- 5 DARRYL: ... Yeah?
- 6 ... Yeah,
- 7 *well* it i=s.
- 8 PAMELA: And,
- 9 and I was constructed,
- 10 ... inside of some w=oman's w=omb,
- 11 ... (H) and I was [... burped out],

In line 1 Darryl asks Pamela why she is interested in death. In line 4 Pamela responds that being here is “so damn weird”. His reaction “Yeah?” in line 5 uses a rising intonation with a short pause, and he expresses his dissatisfaction with her answer and expects that more information will follow. However, Pamela does not reply immediately, and Darryl repeats “yeah” with a short pause. In the end, he finally acknowledges that her response is sufficiently informative.

With this first *yeah* in line 5, Darryl intends to yield a turn to Pamela. In other words, line 5 is a TRP, but Pamela does not take a turn in this line. Therefore, Darryl continues his turn, and after a pause, he again accepts Pamela’s thought with the second *yeah* in a more positive sense, but full agreement. The sequentiality *yeah* and *well* from line 5 through line 7 shows a reluctant agreement. Next, Pamela finally takes a turn in line 8 after she confirms agreement with Darryl (“well it i-s”) and continues an account on the reason. In this case, opposed to Example (28), *well* does not show a full agreement but a partial agreement. That is, this marker in line 7 can also express partial disagreement. Rather, this marker can be regarded as a neutral response without an evaluation by acceptance or acknowledgment of the interlocutor’s utterance. Therefore, the marker in this case is situated in a vague boundary between agreement and disagreement. This occurs because whether agreement or disagreement will be more colored in the context is unknown.

In the conversation in Example (30), Pamela and Darryl discuss a book on death. Pamela is interested in the philosophy of Zen, and Darryl refuses this idea because people who think and write about death never die.

Example (30) SBC005 A Book About Death

- 1 PAMELA: .. [I haven't read the book so I don't know,
- 2 DARRYL: [Yeah but I do know,
- 3 it it's an awfully,
- 4 it's it's] an awfully presumptuous thing,
- 5 PAMELA: but (H)],
- 6 DARRYL: to sit down and write a book about [2death,
- 7 PAMELA: [2d- --
- 8 DARRYL: when you haven't died2].
- 9 PAMELA: It has, it2] has, it has stories in there from,
- 10 (H) from the Zen= an=d,
- 11 .. f- it just pools on other different --
- 12 DARRYL: *Well*[I the Zen can be bullshit too].
- 13 PAMELA: [% .. different sources].
- 14 DARRYL: I mean,
- 15 [whoever wrote the book of Zen wasn't dead either.
- 16 PAMELA: [*Well* <F it .. might all= be bullshit F>,
- 17 DARRYL: @(Hx)]
- 18 PAMELA: but,
- 19 you g- you g- you've gotta] pull these ideas from your
- 20 environment, and what's gone on before=.

- 21 ... (H) Th- th- %the things I know most, about life and death
22 come from .. from= .. my g=randmother.

Before this exchange, Pamela introduced a book on death to Darryl. Although she offered her husband to read the part on heaven and hell, he refused to hear anything from the book. In line 1 Pamela expresses that she has not read the book yet. However, Darryl can guess what is written in it, and he mentions that it is presumptuous to write on death (from line 2 through line 6). Pamela attempts to defend her claim by saying that the book is relevant to Zen. Nevertheless, Darryl refuses this concept of death, which is discussed by people who have not yet died. Therefore, Darryl takes a turn in line 12 to interrupt Pamela and uses *well* in this line to mark an objection showing that he dislikes Zen's stories on writing on death. In line 16 *well* marks agreement by Pamela repeating Darryl's phrase "it .. might all= be bullshit" uttered in line 12. This repetition is to show an acceptance of Darryl's utterance for expressing interpersonal involvement (Tannen 2007: 61). However, the concessive marker *but* in line 18 marks Pamela's rebuttal to Darryl. This displays that *well* in line 16 is considered pseudo-agreement, and she does not agree with his opinion at all but definitively refuses with the discourse marker *but*. This occurs because Pamela avoids a direct rejection as the refusal will involve a face-threatening act.

I have analyzed three cases of agreement, and this function has gradual pragmatic uses from the full agreement (Example 28)> partial agreement (Example 29)> pseudo-agreement (Example 30). This function shows that an agreement seems to be the most related to its propositional meaning. Especially concerning the case of pseudo-agreement,

opposed to the other two uses, the positive meaning of *well* as a propositional level is lost, and a speaker can recruit this marker only for interpersonal management as if he/she would show agreement. This motivation can be true of other functions that I present. People converse, a social activity, and politeness acts take priority over Gricean's maxims, for example. Along with politeness, *well* as the function of agreement satisfies the desire for positive face. Therefore, *well* as the case of agreement contributes to interpersonal management.

4.2.2 Objection

A speaker can use *well* to show his/her stance of objection. This function is completely opposite to the function of agreement in 4.1.1. In general, objection or disagreement is marked by *but* as a discourse marker. Notably, *well* as the case of objection can be replaced by *but* in some cases (Cf. Carlson 1984: 44). Thus, why is *well* exploited for showing objection as a pragmatic meaning that is against its propositional meaning? Politeness illustrates the motivation for this use. Brown and Levinson (1987: 113f) set up "avoid disagreement" as Strategy 6 for positive politeness. As I have presented in the aforementioned examples, *well* marks agreement. Because the participants attempt to make their utterance "appear to agree or hide disagreement" (Ibid.: 114), *well* as the case of objection or disagreement exploits its propositional meaning to express a token agreement. In other words, the use of *well* as the case of objection considers the hearer's face or interpersonal relationship, and the marker *but* does not contribute to interpersonal management but only marks an obvious concession as its main

function.

Examples (31) and (32) are excerpts from a family conversation recorded in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The primary participants are three sisters aged in their twenties. Sharon has just started teaching at school and experienced problems there.

In Example (31), Sharon reports on her students' parents who do not fill out a form for free lunch. She posits that the reason for this phenomenon is that they are either uninterested in their children's education or could not read and understand educational documents in English or in Spanish.

Example (31) SBC004 Raging Bureaucracy

- 1 SHARON: (H)= Yeah,
2 that takes two weeks to process.
3 I mean,
4 how do you [explain that to th-] --
5 KATHY: [Yeah but,
6 is the form in Eng]lish?
7 SHARON: ... (H) They have a form in Spanish [al=so].
→8 KATHY: [*Well*, even if]it's in Spanish,
9 maybe they can't read.

In line 2, Sharon explains the duration of the application for free lunch at school. Additionally, in line 4 she worries about how she should explain this procedure to the

parents. In response to Sharon's concern, in lines 5 and 6 Kathy expresses agreement with Sharon's worries and asks her whether the application is written in English. In line 7 Sharon explains that there is also a form in Spanish. *Well* in line 8 marks an objection that the parents could not read the form even if written in Spanish.

In Example (32), Sharon and Kathy discuss rewards for kids who earn good grades. When Sharon mentions that she gives stickers to those who earn higher scores, Kathy suggests that Sharon could do other things without spending a lot of money for the rewards.

Example (32) SBC004 Raging Bureaucracy

- 1 KATHY: [2But if you give them rewar=ds2],
2 SHARON: [2*Well* I gave them st- --
3 I gave2] sticker=, .. you know, .. to the k- --
4 to the kids, and I [put e]xcellent,
5 CAROLYN: [(THROAT)]
6 SHARON: and I give stickers to the kids,
7 (H) and the ones that got good gra=des,
8 that got one hundreds, and ninety-eights, and ninety-sixes,
9 I put their papers up on the board.
→10 KATHY: .. *Well*, there are other things you can do besides um,
11 ... (TSK) um, .. you know,
12 you can make up goodies.

Before this interaction, Kathy disagreed with Sharon's giving the stickers as rewards, although Kathy expresses an understanding that the students deserve rewards. In line 1 Kathy attempts to offer ideas. However, line 2 starts with an overlap, and Sharon interrupts and explains that she gave the stickers to her students. From line 2 through line 9 the explanation of the sticker is dominant. In line 10 Kathy restarts what she was going to tell in line 1. The discourse marker *well* in line 10 marks Kathy's objectional stance to Sharon's action of "giving stickers to the kids". This marker introduces Kathy's opposite stance to what Sharon does with her students. This marker can be paraphrased as *but* in this case (Cf. Carlson 1984: 44). However, *well* first expresses acknowledgment of Sharon's view (but does not evaluate whether it is good), and by accepting her argument, Kathy mitigates the upcoming face-threatening act, which is relevant to the addressee's positive face. By contrast, *but* does not convey any acceptance but directly offends the addressee. Hence, *well* contributes to interpersonal management even if this host utterance involves a face-threatening act. Moreover, Kathy uses the discourse marker *you know* in line 11 to imply her hesitation and have Sharon guess what Kathy would like to express. This conversational style also contributes to interpersonal management.

I present another case of *well* as an objection. The following excerpt is a shorter version of what I have presented in Example (30). Again, Pamela and Darryl discuss a book on death.

Example (33) SBC005 A Book About Death

- 1 PAMELA: .. [I haven't read the book so I don't know,
2 DARRYL: [Yeah but I do know,
3 it it's an awfully,
4 it's it's] an awfully presumptuous thing,
5 PAMELA: but (H)],
6 DARRYL: to sit down and write a book about [2death,
7 PAMELA: [2d- --
8 DARRYL: when you haven't died2].
9 PAMELA: It has, it2] has, it has stories in there from,
10 (H) from the Zen= an=d,
11 .. f- it just pools on other different --
→12 DARRYL: *Well*[I the Zen can be bullshit too].

Regarding the story of death, Darryl is not happy with this topic (line 2 through line 4). In line 9 Pamela mentions a good point on Zen, “it has stories in there from Zen”. However, Darryl does not like the idea of someone who has not experienced death writing about it. His utterance “it's an awfully presumptuous thing” in line 4 clarifies his negative attitude toward writing on the story of death. The marker in line 12 expresses his objectionable stance toward Zen. Therefore, Darryl expresses disagreement with Pamela.

Opposed to its propositional meaning, *well* as a discourse marker can mark an objection, which is not completely ‘good’. However, there is a strong liaison between the

propositional and this pragmatic use. Showing objection or disagreement is not expected in general, and demonstrating dissatisfaction can be regarded as a face-threatening act. Thus, by using *well*, the speaker attenuates the direct face-threatening act and contributes to interpersonal management for the addressee.

Furthermore, in receiving *well*, the hearer can infer that the interlocutor does not agree or show a positive stance for his/her opinion. In Example (33), in line 4, Darryl has already shown his negative stance for Pamela's death story. Thus, it is predictable for Pamela that *well* in line 12 should not have any positive sense. In other words, although this would be true of other functions, it is not true until the marker is used in a context such that the function of the marker is colored.

However, given that *well* as a discourse marker is a variant as its propositional meaning, under the foundation of its use, most of the functions would be relevant to the semantic property. By exploiting this semantic feature, a strategy for politeness is realized. All the three examples of *well* that I have analyzed in this part precede obvious upcoming face-threatening acts. *Well* invites the hearer to be under the illusion that his/her statement is acknowledged. Then, in the case of objection or disagreement, its statement follows. This marker thus mitigates the face-threatening act for managing to hold a good rapport between the speaker and hearer.

4.2.3 Prefacing a dispreferred/ nonstraightforward response

Among the usages of *well* as a discourse marker, a dispreferred response marker is the most frequent function. This use of *well* is relevant to "token agreement" or "pseudo-

agreement”. However, *well* as a dispreferred response marker is restricted in an adjacency pair (e.g., question – answer, invitation – acceptance/declination). For example, when an invitation is made, the inviter expects the guest to accept his/her offer in general. Furthermore, a declination or refusal is not expected and may threaten his/her positive face. Hence, *well* first marks an acknowledgment and subsequently communicates the speaker’s incapability to realize the expected decision.

The subsequent example is from a conversation among three friends, recorded in Los Angeles, California. Ken and Joanne are a couple. Ken describes a memory of an Oscar, a type of fish, in a pet shop near his elementary school.

Example (34) SBC015 Deadly Diseases

- 1 KEN: (H) I remember w-] watching them feed the Oscar once,
2 when I was a kid.
3 ... (TSK) And they dropped in the goldfish,
4 and I don't think I'd ever seen it before.
5 Maybe I did, I don't remember.
6 (H) But this time particularly sticks in my mind.
7 (TSK) (H) He drops the goldfish into the tank,
8 and the goldfish goes and sw- swims around,
9 minding his own little business, eating glop and all that shit,
10 you know, that fish do, (H) and the Oscar sneaks up behind it,
11 and opens its mouth.

12 And like creates a v=acuum .. kinda [thing cause,
13 JOANNE: [(TSK)
14 Oh= my Go=d].
15 KEN: (H) you got this huge mouth],
16 that s=ucks the gold[2fish in.
17 JOANNE: [2Oh my God,right from the water.
18 KEN: (H)= .. Yeah .. and, .. and then2],
19 JOANNE: And it doesn't even XX2]XX --
20 KEN: and then= uh,
21 (H) But the goldfish got s=tuck.
22 .. <MRC half-way into his mou[=th MRC>].
23 JOANNE: [It went the] wrong way.
24 KEN: No,
25 it [was going],
26 JOANNE: [Fin first]?
27 KEN: it was going,
28 JOANNE: .. Mouth first?
→29 KEN: .. *Well* it was going, it went tail first.
30 JOANNE: That's the [problem.
31 KEN: [I guess that's the wrong way,
32 JOANNE: (H) That's the problem].

Before this exchange, Ken explained how big the Oscar was, approximately six or eight inches, and that this fish eats other small fish such as goldfish or guppies. From line 1 through line 12, Ken describes that he saw how the Oscar eats the goldfish. In line 23, as a cause for why the goldfish was stuck in the Oscar, Joanne speculated that “it went the wrong way”. However, line 24 clarifies that it is not because of the wrong way. In line 25 when Ken attempts to provide the reason, Joanne’s utterance “fin first?” in line 26 is overlapped. In line 27 Ken attempts to repeat “it was going”, which he stops saying in line 25. However, in line 28 Joanne asks whether it was going mouth first before he explains. Joanne’s question “mouth first?” can be regarded as a polar question, answered by “yes” or “no”. Therefore, she expects Ken to answer her question by using “yes” or “no”. However, Ken does not answer using “yes” or “no”. He starts to answer with *well* in line 29. Also in line 29, he answers, “it went tail first”, which Joanne did not expect. Therefore, *well* in line 29 can be considered a marker of dispreferred response. In other words, although Joanne expects that the Oscar went mouth first, it went tail first. Ken’s answering “no” can threaten her face. Thus, he uses *well* as a preface to the dispreferred response to contribute to mitigating the face threat. Moreover, the hearer can guess that something unexpected will follow when the interlocutor starts to answer with *well* to a question answerable by “yes” or “no”.

Moreover, this use of *well* as a preface to the dispreferred response can also be regarded as a repair, which I introduce in 4.3.1. In other words, “mouth first?” is a trouble source, and Ken repairs it into a correct answer “tail first”. Although repair contributes to the textual organization, the action of correcting an answer can cause a hearer’s face loss.

After all, *well* as the case of repair also contributes to interpersonal management.

The following excerpt is from a family conversation, recorded in Michigan. Frank and Jan (a married couple) are talking with Ron, who is Jan's brother who is visiting from California. Brett and Melissa are Frank and Jan's junior-high-age children, who are doing homework and also participating in the conversation. They discuss the observation of planets.

Example (35) SBC019 Doesn't Work in this Household

1 FRANK: [(TSK) Well starting] in November,
2 we're gonna be looking at the sky.
3 ... (H) I have a day by day November calendar, of where to look,
4 and what to look [for.
5 MELISSA: [(Hx)=]
6 FRANK: as in] ... planets, ... it's pretty neat looking.
7 RON: .. Do you have a telescope?
→8 FRANK: ... *Well* no I-, just naked eye stuff
9 MELISSA: .. He has a telescope though.
10 FRANK: Well, it's,
11 .. [% .. easier to do naked eye.
12 BRETT: @Oh,
13 <VOX well gee VOX>.
14 .. <VOX Multiplies] forty times VOX>.

From line 1 through line 4, Frank expresses that the stars and planets are visible in November, and he has a calendar that describes where to look. In line 6 Frank explains, “It’s pretty neat looking”. As a response to Frank’s utterance, in line 7, Ron asks whether Frank has a telescope. Ron’s question “do you have a telescope?” displays a polar question, answerable by “yes” or “no”. However, in line 8 Frank uses *well* to initiate an answer. The pause and this marker in line 8 display a delay for a response. This structure can be characterized as a dispreferred response. On the one hand, this marker communicates that the upcoming response cannot be what the hearer expected. On the other hand, expressing that Frank does not have a telescope in front of Ron, who is younger than Frank, can threaten Frank’s face. In line 9 Melissa states that Brett has a telescope. Frank does not admit the advantage of the telescope but expresses “it’s easier to do naked eye” in lines 10 and 11.

In lines 12 and 13 an exclamation (“Oh, well gee”) expresses Brett’s disagreement with Frank. Therefore, *well* as a dispreferred marker contributes to both faces of the speaker and the addressee. Thus, *well* is used when respondents diverge from the options for coherence offered to them by a prior question (Schiffrin 1987: 107).

In the following example, *well* prefaces an indirect answer to the *wh*-question. The following conversation is a segment from a book discussion group, recorded in Topeka, Kansas. The eleven participants are women aged between 46 and 85 years. The four participants discuss the novel *Howards End*. The topic they discuss is Helen, a protagonist in this novel. Paul’s and Helen’s families in this work were against their marriage.

Example (36) SBC023 Howard's End

- 1 LINDA: [2Mm2].
- 2 [3(H) Did Helen3] not have enough money to support them I wonder?
- 3 MANY: [3(MURMUR_AGREEMENT)3]
- 4 LINDA: .. Why couldn't Helen have just supported them.
- 5 SUE: *Well*, I [think that that] was=,
- 6 LORI: [<X that wasn't X>] --
- 7 SUE: they --... [they wouldn't have allowed] [2that.
- 8 LINDA: [That's not a] --
- 9 LORI: [2The Wilcoxes wouldn't <X
- 10 have X>2].
- 11 SUE: .. That wouldn't have been alright2].

From line 1 through line 4, Linda asks why Helen did not support them (=Paul's family). The question in line 4 "why couldn't Helen have just supported them" seeks an opinion from other participants. In line 5 Sue takes her turn and starts an utterance with *well*. This marker indicates an indirect answer or a "nonstraightforward response" to a *wh*-question (Schegloff and Lerner 2009). This phenomenon occurs because an answer to Linda's question in line 4 is so complex that *well* in line 5 foresees that her answer is not well prepared. Thus, Sue's answer contains some short pauses and subjunctives that express a degree of low confidence. By using *well* before she starts her opinion, Sue implies that

her thoughts will not be straightforward and may not be what Linda expects.

The three uses of *well* as a dispreferred or nonstraightforward response derive from some uncertainty of the speaker's answer, that is, whether an upcoming utterance will match the hearer's expectation. Schiffrin (1987) explains this use in terms of coherence options as follows:

Well shows the speaker's aliveness to the need to accomplish coherence despite a temporary inability to contribute to the satisfaction of that need in a way fully consonant with the coherence options provided through the prior discourse. (Ibid.: 126)

This marker prefacing a dispreferred or nonstraightforward answer does not always fulfill the hearer's expectation. However, there are slightly different uses of *well* in (34) and (35) and (36): the marker in (34) and (35) is a response to a seeking agreement, and the marker in (36) is a response to the hearer's assumption. Thus, *well* in (34) and (35) is a type of pseudo-agreement for hearers. However, the marker in (36) is rather centered for the speaker. This occurs because Sue is afraid that her answer is insufficiently convincing for Linda. The expression "I think" in line 5 functions as a type of hedge for softening her responsibility for her statement. These three instances of *well* contribute to interpersonal management. Especially *well* in (34) and (35), it obviously plays an important role in rapport. By contrast, *well* in (36) also performs this role in foreseeing some risk of derivation from coherence or expectation.

4.2.4 Filler

Well can also be regarded as a filler or pause marker “whereby the speaker, momentarily unable or unwilling to produce the required word or phrase, give audible evidence that he is engaged in speech-productive labor” (Goffman 1981: 293). There is agreement on the functions of fillers, and their various forms or categorization have been suggested. As for functional categorization, Fraser (1988) characterizes pause fillers as “yet another class of parallel pragmatic markers” (Ibid.: 27). For forms, Fox (2010: 1) mentions that fillers “can take at least two forms: non-lexical but nonetheless conventionalized sounds, such as English *uh/uhm*, and lexical items such as demonstratives and interrogative pronouns”. Along this line, *well* as a filler is relevant to a lexical filler. Moreover, Brown and Yule (1983: 17) characterize *well* as a “fabricated filler”. In general, fillers are considered to be some conventionalized sounds; however, *well* in the case of filler is a lexical item. For example, fillers such as *uh/uhm* do not belong to a part of speech, and *well* derives from an adverb/adjective. Regarding this point, the uses of *well* and *uh/uhm* seem to originate from different motivations.

The following excerpt is from an after-dinner conversation among four friends in San Francisco, California. Participants are aged in their late twenties or early thirties. Harold and Jamie are a married couple, Miles is a doctor, and Pete is a graduate student from Southern California. They discuss a scene at a dance studio where Miles often goes. Miles discusses a psychotherapist whom he met there.

Example (37) SBC002 Lambada

1 MILES: ... (SNIFF) (CLICK) (CLICK) (CLICK) .. I meet this psychotherapist.
2 ... who tells me she's addicted to this dance.
3 which I th=- --
4 think is a ... interesting choice of words for a psychotherapist to use.
5 (H) ... But uh,
6 ... she's marrie=d, and apparently she's there= .. without her husband.
7 ... She has her wedding ring on.
8 ... And it's like she's with this guy=,
9 and they're kinda like all over each other (Hx).
10 .. And I'm thinking,
→11 *we=ll*,
12 ... I guess that's her husband,
13 JAMIE: .. Uh-oh [did you] say @something?

In line 1 Miles explains that he met a psychotherapist at the dance hall. As the psychotherapist uses the word “addicted” to describe her passion for dance (line 2), Miles finds that her word choice was interesting for her as a medical person. From line 5, Miles starts to describe his speculation of a man whom she was with, and he did not seem to be her husband. Moreover, Miles repeatedly considers whether the man was her husband or not in line 10. *Well* in line 11 is used to fill a pause between lines 10 and 12. In addition to the filler pause, Miles explicitly mentions “I’m thinking” in line 10. The transcription

symbol “=” as in *well* shows that this is drawled to buy time. In general, the filled pause displays that the speaker is in action to think or organize how to say what is said next. However, in this example, the man with whom the psychotherapist is not obviously her husband. Thus *well* in line 11 is a pseudo-filler, which has the effect of entertaining a conversation. Hence, Miles does not pause to search for words but as a conversational technique.

Furthermore, I can argue that this example also shows that *well* is used as a filler. In other words, this implication is metalinguistic. Because Miles uses this filler as if he were thinking in the moment, this instills that the speakers can use *well* as a filler. Therefore, Miles exploits its linguistic knowledge for a conversational effect.

Examples (38) and (39) are from a task-related interaction—an attorney preparing two witnesses to testify in a criminal trial—recorded in San Francisco, California. Rebecca is a lawyer, June (not shown in the excerpt) and Rickie are the witnesses, and Arnold is Rickie’s husband. One day, a man attempted to expose his genitals to her on the train, and Rickie was shocked by the obscene act. In preparing for the trial, Rebecca asks Rickie as a witness about how she felt in this situation.

Example (38) SBC008 Tell the Jury that

- 1 REBECCA: (H) U=m,
- 2 and .. how were you feeling.
- 3 RICKIE: ... *We=ll* (Hx),
- 4 <P<X it was like X>P> (Hx),

5 ... <CRY s=- I don't know,
6 ... sorry, (H)=
7 ARNOLD: ... <X You X> doing alright,
8 RICKIE: .. (SNIFF) just,
9 I don't know, like disgusted,... you know,
10 wh-,... why I really wanted to report it this time because,
11 (SOB) it was like summertime?

Rebecca initiates her utterance with the filler *U=m* in line 1, and she takes some pauses before asking the question “how were you feeling” in line 2. The sequentiality of the filler and the pause show that Rebecca’s upcoming question involves an imposition to the hearer, and she also hesitates to ask for a detailed description from Rickie. This occurs because asking Rickie’s psychological status at the time will recall the hard memory. *Well* as a filler in line 3 prefaces an answer to Rebecca’s prior question, and this filler expresses Rickie’s difficulty in responding. Although Rickie attempts to answer with “it was like” in line 4, at last, she gives up answering by saying “I don’t know” in line 5. In line 6 she apologizes for her inability to answer. Therefore, the drawled *well* in line 3 is a filler that communicates that Rickie cannot respond immediately because of the trauma. Notably, asking how she was feeling is a psychological burden; thus, she gives up on answering. In line 7 her husband Arnold consoles her by saying, “you doing alright”. Nevertheless, Rickie attempts to account for the incident from line 9.

In the following example, the lawyer Rebecca explains how rude a former attorney

who defends the man who showed his genitals to Rickie was (line 1 through line 4). And he poses many questions to a witness (line 6). However, in this trial, another young attorney is polite but will focus more on the details of the situation Rickie witnessed. Therefore, Rebecca is anxious about whether the next trial will be more traumatic for her.

Example (39) SBC008 Tell the Jury that

- 1 REBECCA: [(H)] So this man walked up to him and he said,
2 <Q I'm standing close to you,
3 I'm looking at you,
4 does that make me a pervert Q>?
5 RICKIE: Mhm.
6 REBECCA: (H) A=nd,.. uh,.. just badgered her,
7 RICKIE: A[w=].
8 REBECCA: [but thi]s .. this attorney [2is not2] like that at all.
9 RICKIE: [2(SNIFF)2]
10 [3<P Okay P>3].
11 REBECCA: [3He'll be3] very polite,
12 (H)[4=4] u=m,
13 RICKIE: [4<WH Mhm WH>4],
14 REBECCA: ... (TSK) he's going to try and focus more on,
15 (H) ... uh=, .. discrepancies,
16 like if you testify to one thing,

17 and there's something written differently in the report.

18 RICKIE: Unhunh.

→19 REBECCA: He might say *well*=,

20 .. you know, ... in [your],

21 RICKIE: [(SNIFF)]

22 REBECCA: in the report it says that you=,.. um=,

23 ... you know, .. he sat dow=n, ... right across from you,

24 RICKIE: [Mhm].

25 REBECCA: [imm]ediately.

26 RICKIE: [2Oh okay2].

27 REBECCA: [2as opposed to wal2]king,

28 or some[3thing like3] that.

29 RICKIE: [3Okay3].

In line 14 Rebecca explains that the young attorney is supposed to investigate the discrepancies in the testimonies of the defendant and Rickie. This may require a further delineated description of the moment that she experienced. Therefore, Rebecca worries that the young attorney's questions will be a psychological burden for Rickie. In line 19 Rebecca explains how difficult the next trial will be, but she hesitates to illustrate it straightway. *Well* as a filler in line 19 shows her difficulty continuing her utterance. Moreover, the other discourse marker *you know* in lines 20 and 23 marks a confirmation of whether what Rebecca communicates is a shared knowledge between Rebecca and

Rickie (Schiffrin 1987). By doing so, Rebecca can avoid mentioning the details of the story but have Rickie speculate what type of questions will be inquired during the trial.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, *well* as a filler also derives from an adverb. Thus, is there any relationship between *well* as a discourse marker and *well* as a filler? Hansen (2005) traces the diachronic development of the French *enfin* as a discourse marker. This expression has changed from an adverb> discourse procedural marker> hesitation marker. This finding is true of the argument attested in the study by Traugott and Dasher (2002). In the semantic development of adverbials, hedges tend to be the endpoint (Ibid.: 281). Along this line, *well* as a filler can be considered a result of the endpoint in which the propositional meaning of the item is lost, and its only use is for filling the pause between words. Fillers literally fill pauses and do not contribute to discourse structuring. Hence, I incorporate the filler uses into the interpersonal functions of *well*. Notably, hedges function pragmatically as face-saving devices (Brown and Levinson 1987).

Well as a filler can contribute to buying time because this term literally displays, but regarding the data I have presented, *well* as a filler conveys a speaker's difficulty or unwillingness to continue or start a talk. For example, *well* in Example (38) expresses that the speaker does not want to answer the question. In other words, the speaker does not only use *well* as a filler to buy time but procrastinates her answer by implying her unwillingness to continue the current topic. Therefore, I claim that *well* as a filler can be considered an extensional use of a dispreferred response. Likewise, *well* as a filler in Example (39) can imply an upcoming potential face threat by hesitation. The speaker

attempts to avoid the direct expression by using the pragmatic expressions *well* and *you know* and makes the hearer be ready for the subsequent dispreferred utterance. Therefore, *well* can also be used as a filler for politeness and regarded as an interpersonal function.

In this section, I have analyzed four interpersonal functions of *well* as a discourse marker: “agreement”, “objection”, “prefacing a dispreferred/nonstraightforward response”, and “filler”. I now briefly summarize of the findings in relation to the functions and positions of this marker.

First, the interpersonal functions express a speaker’s subjective and intersubjective meaning. As for *well* as the functions of “agreement” and “objection”, a speaker can use this marker to clarify his/her subjective stance toward the interlocutor. For the case of “prefacing a dispreferred/nonstraightforward response”, this function is more centered on the addressee’s face. The speaker can use *well* with which he/she can communicate the opposite nuance of its propositional meaning. Thus, this marker contributes to interpersonal management to avoid the direct expression that may threaten the hearer’s face. In other words, *well* as a mitigator reflects the speaker’s intersubjective stance for the interlocutor.

Moreover, *well* as a filler can be attributed to subjective and intersubjective employments. In general, fillers are items with which the speaker can buy time for continuing his/her talk or turn. However, my data analysis shows that *well* as a filler can have an intersubjective role. In other words, by hesitating to initiate an utterance, the speaker can communicate an upcoming message involving a potential face threat.

As reviewed in 2.2.1, Traugott’s process of meaning change from subjectivity to

intersubjectivity concerns a lexical item at a propositional level. However, because discourse markers are the items that function at a pragmatic level, considering their functions at the speech act level is necessary. For example, *well* as the case of objection expresses the speaker's subjective meaning. However, by using *well* for interpersonal management, not other linguistic expressions such as *but*, the speaker can also express his/her intersubjective stance for his/her act. Therefore, "stance" rather than meaning seems to be a more appropriate illustration for the use of discourse markers.

In the position where *well* as a discourse marker or a filler appears, most cases of *well* are used in utterance-initial positions. This finding attests that the sequentiality *well* + face-threatening act is almost conventionalized as a politeness strategy. *Well* at the beginning of an utterance expresses acknowledgment, and then, the subsequent utterance involving FTAs, for example, declination, objection, disagreement, will be softened. The reverse cases such as "face-threatening act + *well*" are not found in my research. Moreover, most cases of *well* used in an utterance-initial position contribute to taking a turn. These findings are organized in Table 3.

In the subsequent section, I present the analyses of *well* as a textual marker. The textual functions have a strong relationship with the interpersonal functions. Through the following analyses, I explain that based on motivation from politeness acts, these two functions complement each other.

4.3 Textual functions

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the “textual function” has at least two readings: (1) a linking function (Onodera 2004; Traugott 1982) and (2) discourse-structuring function (Brinton 2017). The second reading of the textual functions is also characterized as, for example, “coherence” (Aijmer 2013; Östman 1995), “frame” (Svartvik 1980), “structural focus” (Cuenca 2008), and “procedure” (Blakemore 2002) for explaining the functions of discourse markers. These functions are, for example, the role of initiating or closing discourse, marking a boundary in discourse (e.g., new topic/shift in topic/resumption of topic), denoting new or old information, holding a floor or sustaining discourse, and acquiring or relinquishing a floor. Thus, I call the elements for creating a discourse the textual functions of discourse markers.

In diachronic development, a linguistic item has been assumed to change its meaning from propositional > ((textual) > (expressive)) (Traugott 1982, 1989). However, as reviewed in Chapter 3, for *well* as a discourse marker, there seems not to be a strong pragmatic liaison “textual > expressive”. By contrast, I propose that *well* as a discourse marker seems to have developed from “expressive > textual”. This assumption can be attested by collecting the individual examples from the synchronic data.

In this analysis section, I provide five examples of “repair”, “quote”, “resumption”, “topic shift”, and “closing”. These functions are true of the second reading of the textual function. As Cameron (2001) suggests, the actions for the textual organization, such as the cases of repairing an interlocutor’s utterance or closing, also involve a potential face threat. In other words, closing a topic can express that the speaker is no longer interested in the ongoing talk, and this action can threaten the interlocutor’s face. Therefore, *well* as

a discourse marker mitigates the action relevant to the textual organization. *Well* as an interpersonal function mitigates or contributes to what the speaker says or the proposition. This marker as a textual function helps attenuate the potential face threat realized by the actions relevant to the textual organization. Hence, the speaker exploits the propositional meaning of this marker to express his/her polite attitude even in textual organization.

This relation between the interpersonal and textual modes is supported by Schiffrin's discourse model. The arrows that depart from the participation framework go to ideational, action, and exchange structures, and these four discursive components intertwine. In other words, in a relation to a hearer, a speaker interweaves a conversation, which includes propositions, acts, and turns. These elements are influenced by the participants.

4.3.1 Repair

A speaker can use *well* as an "editing expression" (Hockett 1967) for initiating a repair. Repair is one of the most remarkable characteristics in everyday oral talk, and it is not unusual for speakers to replace a word with a more specific word (Levelt 1989: 220). The two main types of correction are self-repair and other-repair. Schegloff et al. (1977) identify self-repair as the most prevalent practice in naturally occurring conversation. However, "repair" in conversation analysis includes more than correction and includes, for example, "word search". Moreover, there are cases of repair that do not have editing expressions, although Levelt (1983) determines that 62% of repairs are accompanied by editing expressions. The discourse marker *well* is an editing expression that contributes to the correction and elaboration of an expression.

Levelt (1983, 1989) develops a theory on how speakers monitor and repair their speech, and this theory posits that speakers monitor their speech similarly to how they monitor someone else's speech. Schegloff et al. (1977: 381) argue that "an adequate theory of the organization of natural language will need to depict how natural language handles its intrinsic troubles. Such a theory will, then, need an account of the organization of repair". Levelt (1983) suggests some foci in monitoring and repairing: (i) different information-repairs, related to content and linearization problems (ordering of messages); (ii) appropriateness-repairs, related to how an expression is delivered such as explicitly or cohesively; and (iii) error-repairs, including lexical, syntactic and phonetic repairs (Ibid.: 51-54). Furthermore, the structure of self-repair has four segmented parts: (i) the original utterance involving a trouble spot (reparandum), (ii) the interruption point, (iii) the editing phase including an editing term, and (iv) the repair that contains an alteration (Ibid.: 45). The discourse marker *well* is especially related to the third part of the structure.

In the subsequent examples, I present how *well* as a discourse marker contributes to repairing in conversation and why *well* is recruited as an editing expression.

The following conversation is an excerpt from a very lively interaction between two female cousins aged in their mid-thirties, recorded in Los Angeles, California. Alina and Lenore discuss a New Year's Eve party. They discuss two persons, Dennis and Spargo, who are the possible guests (shown as "they" in line 3) for this party.

Example (40) SBC006 Cuz

1 ALINA: ... That was very apparent.
 2 I knew that was gonna happen.
 3 Plus they didn't like each other.
 4 Spar- --
 →5 *Well* Spargo was older,
 6 ... you know,
 7 and he was really bright,
 8 and he knew that this guy was a jerk.

Alina explains that one day, Dennis invited Spargo to go out, and they had a physical altercation over Alina's affection. From line 1, she expresses that this incident was apparent to her and that she could predict it. Furthermore, Dennis and Spargo do not like each other. In line 4 when Alina says "Spargo", she cannot utter his name completely; therefore, in this case, "Spar- --" is acknowledged as a trouble source. In the subsequent line, she uses *well* to initiate a repair of his name and makes the full sentence. Hence, the corrected part follows this marker.

In the following example, the participants Pete, Marilyn, and Roy prepare for supper. The subsequent case of *well* marks a self-initiated self-repair.

Example (41) SBC003 Conceptual Pesticides

1 PETE: Yeah, we could have a little .. garlic bread.
 2 MARILYN: .. I have ... the ideal ... makings .. for garlic bread.

3 Right here,

4 ROY: Garlic, ... bread,... and butter.

5 MARILYN: ... @right.

→6 ... *Well* actually I have Trader Joe's,

7 ... <VOX whipped ... garlic bread .. spread VOX>.

8 ROY: .. (Hx) [@Oh] [2@boy2].

In line 1 Pete suggests that it is better to have a little garlic bread for their dinner. In response to Pete's suggestion, in line 2, Marilyn expresses that she has the ideal makings for the bread. And "right here" in line 3 indicates that she seems to point out the makings. Roy sees and vocalizes these makings "garlic, bread and butter" in line 4. In line 5 Marilyn says "right" with a laugh. *Well* in line 6 marks an elaboration of Marilyn's prior utterance "the ideal makings" in line 2. She explains that she has the ideal makings for garlic bread, that is, Trader Joe's whipped garlic bread spread. In other words, Marilyn makes Roy think that she would make garlic bread with the makings shown in line 4, but she uses the Trader Joe's from the beginning. Therefore, "right" in line 5 is a trouble source, and *well* in line 6 initiates a self-repair for the elaboration of this expression. This occurs because she does not make the bread by herself but uses the Trader Joe's.

Example (42) is from a conversation recorded in rural Hardin, Montana. Mae Lynne is a student of equine science, and is the main speaker. She is telling Lenore (a visitor and near stranger) about her studies.

Example (42) SBC001 Actual Blacksmithing

- 1 LYNNE: it's mandatory=.
- 2 you have to % --to graduate, you know,
- 3 or *well*, to get the degree, you know,
- 4 (H) .. you have to take this class.
- 5 (H) And you can only take- --
- 6 if you want to, you can only take it for eight weeks.

From line 1 Lynne explains how the class on horse trimming is obligatory for the degree. In line 2 she says, “to graduate”, but in the subsequent line, she uses *well* to initiate a self-repair. In this case, “to graduate” in line 2 is a trouble source for which Lynne needs to find another expression. Therefore, Lynne changes this explanation to “to get the degree” in line 3. The expression “to graduate” is repaired as “to get the degree”. However, what these two expressions (“to graduate” and “to get the degree”) denote are the same; hence, this phenomenon is an elaboration but a correction.

Example (43) shows a self-repair. Darryl and Pamela discuss death. Pamela explains that she sometimes feels how illusionary it is to live. In this example, the word “illusive” in line 7 is concerned.

Example (43) SBC005 A Book About Death

- 1 DARRYL: *well*, what if worrying about that,
2 has got in the way,
3 ... gotten in the way, of you making positive choices for
4 yourself in your life.
5 ... (H) Instead of just worrying about,
6 w- that you're here,... and making the best out of it.
7 PAMELA: ... Being here is so illusive sometimes.
8 ... I mean .. illusionary.
9 DARRYL: ... Those are two different words,
10 and they mean two different things.
→11 PAMELA: *Well* it's illusionary.
12 I take back what I said about @illusive,

Before the exchange above, Pamela talked about another life and expressed that this whole lifetime was merely a rude interruption before and after her death. In line 1 Darryl asks, “what if worrying about that?”. In line 3 he rather suggests that she enjoy her current life by making positive choices for herself. Nevertheless, in line 7, Pamela expresses a pessimistic idea of “being here”. In this line, she uses the adjective “illusive” to explain her story, but in the subsequent turn, she rephrases it as “illusionary” (line 8). Rephrasing this expression displays that she attempts to initiate a self-repair by using the discourse marker *I mean* as an editing expression. However, in line 9 Darryl indicates that the words “illusive” and “illusionary” are different in meaning. Although Pamela amends the

expression from *illusive* to *illusionary* in line 8, these two words remain regarded as trouble sources by Darryl. Therefore, his utterance in line 9 displays an other-initiation. In line 11, Pamela uses *well* to initiate a repair of her prior word choices. *Well* in line 11 marks a final correction that “*illusionary*” is the correct expression. At the end of line 12 she corrects her prior utterance as “I take back what I said about @*illusive*”.

Example (44) is a case of other-repair. Montoya is a professor, and Frank is his student. This conversation is a part of a university lecture recorded in Riverside, California. The class is Chicano Studies class; the professor is the primary participant, although it is a small, summer school class, and nine members of the class occasionally interact.

Example (44) SBC012 American Democracy is Dying

- 1 MONTOKA: I mean uh,
2 if .. one looks at what, uh, Jesse Jackson is doing,
3 vis a vis.. who.
4 The major league?
5 Baseball teams and all that?
6 Football= and all that?
7 What's his underlying argument.
8 What's his criticism.
9 That there're not ... sufficient numbers of= .. what?
10 FRANK: Blacks.

→11 MONTOYA: *Well* he says minorities. He's smart.

From line 1, Montoya asks his students what Jesse Jackson is saying relative to professional sports. Jesse Jackson is an African American and a civil rights activist. The main concern in this lecture is the professor's key argument (lines 7 and 8). In line 9 Montoya provides a hint about the question so that students have only to answer with a noun that can follow "sufficient numbers of". In line 10 a student, Frank, answers "blacks" to Montoya's question. However, his answer, "blacks", is not an inclusive-enough response. Hence, Montoya repairs the expression "blacks" to a more fitting "minorities" in line 11. Correcting the answer in front of other students can threaten the student's face. Therefore, in relation to politeness, Professor Montoya first uses *well* to mitigate the face threat and acknowledge Frank's answer before repairing his original utterance. This marker functions as a suggestion, such as, "*Well* I acknowledge your answer X, but what Jackson really said was Y".

I have confirmed that *well* as a discourse marker contributes to two types of repair: self-repair and other-repair. But how is this marker in the case of repair related to politeness, in other words, interpersonal management? In general, when repair is necessary, an error or inappropriateness is involved in the original utterance. This study demonstrates two types of self-repair: self-initiated self-repair and other-initiated self-repair. In Examples (40), (41), and (42), the speaker initiates a repair by using *well* as a discourse marker. The speaker uses this marker to communicate that he/she will change the prior expression as a more appropriate alternative for the hearer. By contrast, in

Example (43), Darryl points out the word choices (“illusive” or “illusionary”), which Pamela made because these two words are different. His utterance in lines 9 and 10 marks an other-initiation. In the subsequent turn, Pamela repairs her prior utterance with “illusionary”. Thus, the self-initiated self-repair is more centered on the hearer, and the other-initiated self-repair is more centered on the speaker. This occurs because repairing his/her utterance shows that the speaker admits that he/she made an error in public. In other words, by repair, the speaker can threaten his/her own face.

As the examples show, there is not a crucial discrepancy between the original expression and the repaired expression. Rather, the speaker attempts to provide the more appropriate alternatives by repair. However, if the speaker does not repair his/her utterance, similar to other-repair, he/she may be corrected by the interlocutors. For the speaker, he/she prefers to avoid his/her face loss; therefore, the speaker shows his/her problem themselves before it being pointed out. By using *well*, the speaker expresses: “*Well*, I acknowledge that I said X, but Y is more proper”. This formula is the same as the case of objection. When the speaker uses this marker to express an objection, he/she uses the sequentiality *well* + *but*. However, through a pseudo-agreement by exploiting the propositional meaning of this marker, *well* can convey an objection at last. Hence, when the speaker uses *well* to repair his/her utterance, he/she imagines the other’s “voice”, who may say Y. Because the speaker considers the other’s imaginary voice, this marker functions dialogically. Thus, *well* as the case of repair expresses an acknowledgment of error and mitigates the face-threatening act invoked by accepting the speaker’s error. Politeness traditionally has paid attention mainly to the hearer’s face. However, an

individual's admission of his/her mistake is crucial to holding his/her negative face.

Therefore, face-redress is also important for the speaker.

Additionally, other-repair also involves a face-threatening act. For example, Frank in Example (44) lost a good image of himself when his professor corrected his answer in front of other students. Therefore, when professor Montoya corrects Frank's answer, he uses *well* before he repairs. This occurs because this marker contributes to mitigating face loss. Using this marker before a repair is also true of the position where *well* as the case of repair appears. The instances of *well* as this function are found in the position after a repairable item and before a correction (Schourup 1985: 78). As I have presented in the prior section, the sequentiality *well* + face-threatening act is conventionalized. For the case of repair, *well* foregrounds the subsequent utterance, which may contain a face-threatening act; in other words, the acts such as correction and elaboration lead to a face threat. Moreover, *well* as the case of other-repair can also be regarded as an extension of the sequentiality *well* + *but*. Professor Montoya first accepts or acknowledges Frank's answer and repairs his original utterance by using *well*. Therefore, this use can be paraphrased as follows: "*Well* I acknowledge your answer X, but Y is more proper".

Although the main function of repair is related to the textual function concerning the appropriateness of proposition, *well* as a repair-initiating marker can simultaneously contribute to both the speaker and hearer's face maintenance. Thus, on the one hand, the primary function of repair is textual construction, and on the other hand, as the secondary function, this marker contributes to interpersonal management.

4.3.2 Quotative use

The discourse marker *well* as the case of quotative use functions “as a signal indicating the beginning of a direct speech, parallel to that of quotation marks in writing” (Svartvik 1980: 175). According to Müller (2005: 113), the sequentiality *be* verb + *like* is the most frequent collocation with *well* as a quotative use in the native speaker data. In my findings, other possibilities such as *say* and *go* + *well* are also confirmed. Although a speaker can use *well* to introduce a quotation, this cannot always be an exact quotation (Cf. Tannen 2007). The speaker may change some parts or exaggerate how the original speaker says something. Moreover, individuals can quote their inner thoughts that have not been actually vocalized.

For Schifffrin (1987), *well* as a quotative use marks “the orientation shifts created by reported speech, i.e. talk whose original time, place, and possibly author is concurrent with the ongoing conversation” (Ibid.: 124). In her analysis, *well* as a quotative function is involved in the quoted segment. However, double quotation marks that denote a quotation are not used in the transcription of the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English*. Thus, the problem is being uncertain whether *well* as a discourse marker belongs to a reporting person or reported person. Svartvik provides an answer, “[i]ts function can then be taken merely as a signal indicating the beginning of direct speech, parallel to that of quotative marks in writing. However, in such collocations, *well* can also have the same functions as a turn opener in regular conversation between two or more participants” (1980: 175). Furthermore, according to James (1983: 33f), “it may not be immediately clear from the context whether it belongs to the preceding reporting clause (RC) or following direct speech (DS)”. And Jucker (1993: 447) refers to both

Svartvik and James and concludes that “it makes little sense to distinguish between those instances of *well* that belong to the reporting clause and those that belong to the quotation. The original words may or may not have included *well*”.

However, I argue that it seems to be important whether this marker is used by the reporting person or reported person. For this marker, in terms of politeness, the quotative *well* contributes to mitigating an abruptness before the speaker shifts a person in the topic. Therefore, by using *well* for quoting other’s speech, the speaker shows interpersonal management for the hearer. Moreover, in the case of quotative use, *well* is usually prosodically unmarked and can be dropped without a notable change in meaning (Svartvik 1980: 175). Thus, when *well* is prosodically marked, this marker may be attributed to the quoted speaker, namely, the original utterance. For example, in Example (37), the speaker can use *well* as a filler to expresses that he/she pretends to consider. If the original speaker uses this marker as a filler, this function is used as a conversational effect; thus, this marker should not be omitted when quoted. Hence, I can hypothesize that when *well* is used as a discourse marker, which has an important function in a quoted segment, this marker cannot be omitted. I present a relevant case in Example (48).

In the following example, Sharon describes a student in Sharon’s class to her two sisters, Carolyn and Kathy. The family of the student is not adequately rich to pay the fee for lunch; hence, the student was no longer offered lunch at school. Although her student can obtain a free lunch if she fills out a form for lunch, Sharon does not know whether the student has submitted the form to the office.

Example (45) SBC004 Raging Bureaucracy

1 SHARON: um=,
2 ... and so I go in there and I'm like,
→3 *well* can you tell me whether the --
4 (H) .. the form is on file.
5 .. cause I- I n- --
6 I realize it takes two to three weeks to process,
7 but just tell me whether it's on file.
8 Because if not,
9 I want her to have another one, now.
10 (H) .. And the woman's like <Q I can't do that,
11 there's a privacy code Q> or whatever,
12 there's a [privacy act,
13 Carolyn [@@@ (H)]

From line 1, Sharon reports an exchange with an office clerk at school about the form for lunch. In line 2 she explains that she went to the office and asked whether the form was on file (lines 3 and 4). *Well* in line 3 marks an introduction of a quotation that Sharon said, “can you tell me whether the form is on file”, to the office clerk. Sharon quotes her utterance, which she might have said at that time. In this example, the sequentiality *be like* + *well* is attested. *Be like* displays that although she quotes her prior utterance, the quoted segment is not exactly the original speech. Therefore, in this case, a proposition is

more focused than the appropriateness of expression. However, from line 10, Sharon quotes the office clerk's response to her demand, and she does not use *well* when she initiates a quotation. However, *be like* functions as an initiator of quotation.

In the following conversation, Pamela and Darryl discuss their daughter Natalie's question on Santa Claus. This example has two cases of *well* as a quotative use: "self-quotation" and "other-quotation".

Example (46) SBC005 A Book About Death

- 1 PAMELA: !Natalie asked me about Santa Claus today.
- 2 DARRYL: What did she,
- 3 [what did she say],
- 4 PAMELA: [In the laundro]mat.
- 5 She said,
- 6 .. mom,
- 7 Santa Claus isn't, ... I mean,
- 8 d- is there a for real Sa- Santa Claus?
- 9 .. I said a for real Santa Claus,
- 10 you mean a man who lives .. at the north pole?
- 11 .. (H) She said yeah,
- 12 I said no.
- 13 ... (H) And she said,
- 14 *well*,

15 who are the other ones.
 →16 I said *well*,
 17 they're the spirit of Santa Claus,
 18 and, ... (H) they represent Santa Claus.
 19 They --
 20 (H) they're a picture [of Santa Claus].

From line 1, Pamela explains that their daughter Natalie asked about Santa Clause in a laundromat on the day when they went to the laundromat. In line 5 she quotes Natalie's question "is there a for real Santa Clause?". Subsequently, Pamela confirms that Santa, whom Natalie imagines, is from the North Pole in line 10. In lines 12 and 13 Pamela converses with her daughter, which displays a question–answer adjacency pair. After this exchange, in line 13, Pamela expresses that Natalie had another question. In line 14 Pamela uses *well* as an initiator when she quotes Natalie's utterance ("who are the other ones") in line 15. As a response to Natalie's question, Pamela expresses that she answered, "they're the spirit of Santa Claus", which denotes people who pretend to be Santa Claus in line 17. Again, Pamela uses *well* to initiate a quotation of her utterance in line 16.

Notably, Pamela quotes Natalie's utterance in line 5, but she does not use any initiator such as *well* or *be like*. Instead of these markers, she quotes "mom" in line 6 as a vocative (Zwicky 1974), which displays an initiation of quotation. Because their daughter only calls her parents by their roles, Darryl can understand the shift from Pamela's explanation to Natalie's utterance.

In the following conversation, Alina and Lenore discuss their New Year's Eve party. Because Tommy Spencer told Jonathan that Cathy and Jawahar are planning to have this party, Cathy wants to invite him to their party.

Example (47) SBC006 Cuz

- 1 ALINA: .. !Tommy ~Spencer,
2 .. who's up there,
3 who y- .. was ~Jonathan and !Loren's best friend, right?
4 (H) (Hx) He, X opens his big mouth to ~Jonathan,
5 that !Cathy and !Jawahar are having this party.
6 So !Cathy calls me up,
7 and she wants ~Jonathan's ph- .. address.
8 And I go, for what.
→9 ... (H) She goes *well*
10 we [have to invite him to the= New Year's Eve party].
11 LENORE: [(H)=]

Well in line 9 marks an introduction of a quotation of Cathy's utterance. Thus, this function is an other-quote. In this quotation, the sequentiality *go* + *well* is confirmed. The verb *go* means "to say something as informal speech".

Introducing a quotation involving self and other citations causes a slight shift in an ongoing talk. This phenomenon can also be considered an extremely local digression or

side sequence. The discourse marker *well* softens this abruptness and distinguishes a quotation from the utterance of the current speaker. Thus, this function may be a part of an attention-getter from the hearers. Although for this function of *well* as a quotative use, this marker seems not to have a clear correlation with the propositional meaning “good”, this marker contributes to interpersonal management in a politeness speech act. In other words, by using *well*, the speaker mitigates the abruptness of the local discourse boundary.

For the position of *well* as a quotative use in utterance, this marker occupies an utterance-medial position as in “A says *well* + direct speech” if *well* does not belong to the subsequent reported segment. Moreover, A can be a speaker to him/herself or others. Then, the part “A says” denotes “I as a speaker say A says”. Therefore, *well* belongs to the current speaker who quotes someone else’s utterance.

Next, I provide a case of *well* as a discourse marker that does not display a quotative use. Rather, the subsequent example shows that this marker is quoted as a part of direct speech. The following excerpt is from task-related talk—this is a loan officer’s meeting recorded in a bank in a small town in rural southern Illinois. Fred is a loan officer working for the bank. Dave is Fred’s client and would like to borrow money to open his daycare.

Example (48) SBC014 Bank Products

- 1 FRED: ~Dave wants to borrow forty-five hundred dollars to=,
- 2 ... finish paying off .. the renovation,
- 3 .. and upgrade necessary o=n the ... daycare.
- 4 ... A=nd,.. he had ... initially thought what he borrowed would do it,

5 and then he borrowed some money from his uncle,
6 and he wants to repay his uncle and get that out of the way.
7 (H) He wants to set it up on a year,
8 ... uh=, it would be secured via three vehicles,
9 ... u=m,
10 .. you know his debt to income is relatively high,
11 but his income's going up,
12 .. the daycare is scheduled to open ... a week after= the fifth.
13 ... So= around the twelfth to fifteenth of January,
14 ... <@he thought he's been @> --
15 (H) he thought he was already opened,
16 and then they came back in and told him he couldn't open.
17 .. Cause there was articles in the paper,
18 and they showed kids at the daycare and,
19 .. he had his ads out and everything,
20 (H) but he didn't have all the i's dotted and t's crossed,
21 and state came back in and said,
→22 *we=ll,*
23 no, you can't really do that.

From line 1 through line 23, Fred explains to his colleague that his client Dave wants to borrow money to finish paying off the renovation of the daycare. Notably, the daycare is

supposed to be open from January 12 to 15 (lines 12 and 13). However, he could not open it (line 16). From line 17, Fred expresses the reason: the government said that Dave did not have his paperwork in order or something else (line 21). In lines 21 and 22 the quotative sequentiality *say* + *well* is attested. One point that differs from the other three examples is the phonological feature of *well*. As Svartvik claims, *well* is usually prosodically unmarked and can be dropped without a notable change in meaning (Svartvik 1980: 175). Notably, most cases of *well* as a quotative use are pronounced for a very short second, and some of them are not clearly audible in the corpus. In this example, as the transcription symbol displays, *we=ll* is pronounced longer than that of a quotative case. Thus, *well* in line 22 is used as a filler, and Fred reproduces what the officer in charge said. Furthermore, if *well* is omitted from this conversation, the pragmatic meaning of this utterance could change. Therefore, *well* in line 22 is considered a part of the direct speech that the officer actually used.

In summary, I have attested two types of *well* as a quotative use. In the first case, a speaker can use *well* as a signal when he/she initiates a quote (relevant to Examples 45–47). As the case of filler, when necessary, a speaker can quote *well* as a filler that the original speaker uses (relevant to Example 48). These two cases are illustrated as follows:

The first type: *say* + *well* direct speech

The second type: *say* + *well* (=direct speech)

As this distinction is important, that who uses *well* is a central problem for the analysis

of discourse markers. In addition, *well* as the quotative function supports Schiffrin's definition "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (1987: 37). As the first type shows, *well* brackets direct speech shown in the box as quotation marks.

In general, a quotative utterance usually refers to other's voice, in other words, "polyphony" (Bakhtin 1986), or intertextuality contributes to strengthening the speaker's argument or hedging his/her statement.

4.3.3 Resumption

Resumption means to return to a topic already presented and shared between the participants. A speaker can use *well* to display an endpoint such as a period of digression and resume the shared topic; hence, *well* can be classified as a topic orientation marker (Fraser 2009) among the textual functions. Although Fraser presents two examples (*returning to my previous topic* and *I want to return to*) of resumption as topic orientation markers (Ibid.: 297), *well* as a discourse marker can mark a shift to both a new topic and an old topic. As for resumption, Svartvik (1980: 174) mentions that *well* "shifts the topic focus on one of the topics that have already been under discussion". Furthermore, according to Aijmer (1996: 209), *well* signals "a change of focus to a new part of the discourse". Both resumption of a prior topic and a shift to a new topic are attributed to the topic orientation function. The difference between the two functions is whether this marker indexes either a prior or upcoming discourse. Next, in this study, to illustrate the two orientations of discourse, I provide each section for "resumption" and "topic shift". However, the principal role of the two cases has little difference.

Regarding *well* as the case of resumption, this marker jumps over a topical digression. Therefore, this marker functions at a global level of discourse. In this study, I define the notion of “topic” as “what is being talked about” (Finell 1992: 723).

In the following conversation, Pamela discusses her favorite word “paradox” with Darryl. This excerpt is directly after the discussion of Santa Clause in Example (46).

Example (49) SBC005 A Book About Death

- 1 PAMELA: [<VOX my] favorite word when I was twelve VOX>,
2 ... was paradox.
3 DARRYL: ... <YWN Why YWN>.
4 PAMELA: (H) Because, ... I thought, .. any wor=d,
5 ... that was defined.
6 .. I mean I remember the definition.
7 .. (H) That I learned in seventh grade.
8 .. (H) That was paradox.
9 .. (H) Seemingly contrary.
10 DARRYL: ... (TSK) [Seemingly <P X X X P>].
11 PAMELA: [Seemingly con-],
12 (H) and I had a hard time with the definition.
13 .. (H) So I thought .. God.
14 (H) A wor=d.
15 (H) .. That I'm supposed to lear=n,

16 (H) and I get this definition,
 17 and I don't even understand [the defini=tion].
 18 DARRYL: [The definition=] of the word paradox,
 19 is by design ambiguous.
 20 ... Chew on this one.
 21 An ambiguous paradox.
 22 PAMELA: ... Is that redundant?
 23 DARRYL: Yes.
 24 PAMELA: [@ (GROAN) @] @@ (H)
 25 DARRYL: [@ (GROAN) <WH @@ WH>]
 →26 PAMELA: ... *Well*,
 27 .. that was age twelve.
 28 .. So %-,
 29 that was very close to !Deven's age,

In line 1 Pamela introduces a topic: her favorite word “paradox” at the age of twelve. From line 4 through line 25, the “definition” of this word is the central topic between Pamela and Darryl. In line 22 Pamela asks whether her explanation of the definition is redundant. In response, Darryl shows agreement, “yes”. After laughter in lines 24 and 25, Pamela uses *well* in line 26 to signal a shift from “definition” to “age”. She already mentioned “when I was twelve” in line 1. Therefore, this marker contributes to a resumption of the prior topic. In line 1 she presents two possibilities, “paradox” and “age

twelve”, as a possible topic. Notably, the topic of the definition of paradox occupies from line 4 through line 25. However, laughter in lines 24 and 25 is a boundary of the topic, and Pamela decides to return to another topic presented in line 1 and resumes the topic of “age”, not referred to until line 26.

Example (50) is a continuation of (32), in which *well* in line 5 marks an objection. Sharon, Kathy and Shane discuss rewards for the students who earn good grades.

Example (50) SBC004 Raging Bureaucracy

- 1 SHARON: and I give stickers to the kids,
2 (H) and the ones that got good grades,
3 that got one hundreds, and ninety-eights, and ninety-sixes,
4 I put their papers up on the board.
5 KATHY: .. Well,
6 there are other things you can do besides um,
7 ... (TSK) um,
8 .. you know, you can make up goodies.
9 You don't have to spend money on goodies.
10 .. (H) You can have like,
11 .. You can make these little,
12 .. um,
13 .. Do they have a laminating machine in the school?
14 SHARON: ... (SWALLOW) Not in the school,

- 15 but in this other lovely place.
- 16 KATHY: (TSK) (H) *Well*,
- 17 SHANE: [<WH @@ WH>]
- 18 KATHY: [make these] little passes or something that say,
- 19 [2one2] --
- 20 CAROLYN: [2@2]
- 21 KATHY: ... one free lunch with the teacher.
- 22 ..Or one free lunch to sit with whoever you want at lunchtime.

From line 1 through line 4, Sharon explains that she gives stickers to the students who earn good grades. In turn, from line 5, Kathy expresses disagreement with Sharon's idea because of the cost of giving stickers. Instead, Kathy suggests making little things that do not require money. In line 13 Kathy shifts a topic from "goodies" to "a laminating machine" as a side sequence. This shift occurs because a laminating machine is necessary to make some stuff. However, in line 14 Sharon expresses that the school does not have this machine. In line 16 Kathy uses *well* to mark a shift back to "goodies" and resumes the relevant story ("little passes or something"). Therefore, the segment from line 13 through line 15 is regarded as a short digression of the ongoing topic.

For the characteristic of *well* as the case of resumption, the deictic scope of this function is wider than other functions of *well* as a discourse marker. Most cases of *well* that I have presented are relevant to an adjacent segment, although *well* as the case of resumption has a function at a global level to refer to a prior "topic" that is wider than an

adjacent segment. Because a discourse progresses over time, returning to a precedent story burdens cognitive processing of the hearer. Hence, this marker contributes to mitigating an abruptness of returning to a prior topic in discourse and having the hearer prepare for an upcoming discourse reorganization. Therefore, this textual use contributes to interpersonal management at the level of politeness acts. Additionally, returning to a prior topic expresses that the speaker is no more interested in the current topic. Hence, the speaker returns to the prior topic by using *well* to accept the current topic. Defour and Simon-Vandenberghe (2010: 664) claim that “[t]he sense of acceptance expressed by the use of *well* is not agreement or consent, but a more semantically bleached meaning of dismissal, which helps to close off a part of ongoing discussion and makes room for a shift to a new topic or brings the attention back to an original line of discourse”. In other words, *well* as a textual use has been more grammaticalized than the interpersonal use, and the textual function of this marker has lost its propositional meaning. However, this marker still exploits its “propositional appearance” to mitigate potential face threats such as topic closure or shift backward/forward. Hence, actions such as a conversation closure and topic shift mainly contribute to a discourse organization, namely, the textual function. By contrast, these textual functions can be identified as social acts that concern interpersonal management by using *well* as a discourse marker.

4.3.4 Topic shift

A speaker can use *well* to mark a topic shift. As mentioned in 4.3.3, *well* as a topic shift is closely related to a case of resumption. Both uses share the function as a shift in

principle. However, the resumption of a topic can burden cognitive processing for the hearers because this marker refers to a prior topic, but a topic shift will not cause such a burden. This occurs because it is normal for the speakers to shift or transit to either a macro or micro topic when they develop a conversation. However, when marking a topic shift, *well* has a hedging function as “a ‘warning signal’ that makes the transition from one to another less blunt and abrupt” (Finell 1992: 731). For the case of resumption, a speaker displays his/her strong interest in the prior topic. A shift to a new topic can show a speaker’s wanting interest in an ongoing topic. In Examples (51)—(53), I present how *well* as the case of topic shift contributes to discourse structuring in terms of the textual mode and also to politeness in terms of the interpersonal mode.

In the subsequent conversation, Miles mainly discusses a dance hall and a man who was picking up girls there. Jamie would like to learn the lambada there.

Example (51) SBC002 Lambada

- 1 MILES: but I remember,
- 2 like I went there with this person,
- 3 ... (H) @
- 4 .. (H) <@ it's kind of funny @>.
- 5 th- this person did not want to dance.
- 6 ... So she's just gonna watch.
- 7 So, (H) every once in a while I'd get up and dance,
- 8 ... and it's like,

9 ... when I'd come ba=ck,

10 I mean there was some guy there,

11 sitting in my chair.

12 JAMIE: ... @@@

13 MILES: Every time I got up. I'm thinking,

14 Go=d, these guys don't waste any ti=me.

15 I mean, you turn your back,

16 and there's somebody moving in.

17 JAMIE: ... (H) (Hx) @@

18 MILES: [<X I mean I don't know if they X> X X].

19 JAMIE: [(H) Maybe ~Harold you should] come with me.

20 HAROLD: ... Why.

21 ... So I can find --

22 JAMIE: .. learn some [lam- ..] lambada.

23 PETE: [@@]

24 HAROLD: .. find some girls with empty chairs next to em?

25 JAMIE: [@(H)]

26 MILES: [@(H)]

27 PETE: @@@@

28 HAROLD: ... Maybe I should go with ~Miles.

29 MILES: .. Oh did- % --

30 PETE: [@@@]

31 JAMIE: [Yeah,

32 you guys] [2could2] be partners.

33 MILES: [2did-2] --

34 JAMIE: ... What?

→35 MILES: *Well* I don't know if I told you,

36 %= .. told you that story about that woman,

37 ... who uh, went after that guy there?

38 I told you that story, right?

39 ... I was there Sunday three .. four weeks ago?

40 ... Uh=, after the class is over w- --

41 .. over with, ... I'm sitting down at a table,

42 there's a woman from --

43 .. who was in the class, and two men,

44 ... sitting to my right,

45 .. is a table with two women there.

46 .. They had apparently just come from Oba Oba.

47 ... on the la=st [night],

48 JAMIE: [<X<P Oh I think you] told me X>.

From line 1 through line 18 Miles explains that one day he went to the dance hall with a woman who did not dance but just watched. When he joined the dance and returned to his seat, he saw someone sitting in his chair. In line 4 Miles expresses that it is funny that

she did not want to dance even though she came to the dance hall. However, in line 14 he expresses that he realizes that they do not waste any time and provides the description, which shocks Jamie. Because Jamie wants to learn the lambada there, in line 19, she suggests that Harold accompany her. However, in line 24 Harold makes a joke by saying “to find some girls with empty chairs”; hence, from line 25 through line 27 Jamie, Miles and Pete are laughing. In line 28 Harold provides another joke, “Maybe I should go with Miles.” In line 32 Jamie comments “you guys could be partners” as a type of conclusion for this topic. In line 35 Miles shifts a topic by saying “*well* I don’t know if I told you”. This marker marks the initiation of topic shift. Miles seems to have a story to tell but to avoid repetition, he checks whether the other participants had heard the story of “that woman” who is referred to in line 2. The confirmation of the other participants’ knowledge contributes to information state in Schifffrin’s discourse model. From line 35 through line 47 Miles explains a story in a rising tone by checking, although in line 48, Jamie confirms that he had discussed the story with them.

The next conversation is from a very lively interaction between two female cousins aged in their mid-thirties, recorded in Los Angeles, California. Alina describes a woman whom she met at a party. This woman is illustrated as “that stupid little bitch” in line 1. In this conversation, Alina complains about this woman’s lifestyle.

Example (52) SBC006 Cuz

1 ALINA: [That] stupid little b==itch.

2 She just married [2d=addy to take care of her.

3 LENORE: [2(H) (SWALLOW) (Hx)2]

4 ALINA: (H)2] .. They all live down like in Del Mar?

5 .. (SWALLOW) [3(TSK) w-3] Super ritzy area.

6 LENORE: [3(H)=3]

7 I know.

8 [What about uh=],

9 ALINA: [(H)=] (Hx)=

10 (TSK) [2What2].

11 LENORE: [2Th-2] the other ~L ~Perrizo in this world.

12 (Hx)

13 ALINA: Oh, ~Liza?

14 Oh, [Go=d].

15 LENORE: [(THROAT)]

→16 ALINA: (H) *Well-* --

17 LENORE: (SWALLOW)

18 ALINA: t- like --

19 ... Did I tell you,

20 about when Mom was having ~Arnold and ~Lisabeth over for lunch,

21 finally.

Alina mainly discusses the matters of the woman's lifestyle such as marriage (line 2) and residence (lines 4 and 5). In line 11 Lenore attempts to introduce another person, but she does not utter the person's first name completely. In line 13 Alina asks "Oh, ~Liza?" in a rising intonation to seek a confirmation as to whether this person is Liza. In line 16, Alina uses *well* to mark a topic shift. Alina starts to discuss lunch with Mom, Arnold, and Lisabeth. In lines 11 and 13 Liza is introduced as a topic candidate for the story that begins from line 16, because in this line, Alina displays that she would like to explain the details about this woman. Before Alina starts to discuss her, she asks whether she had talked about the lunch that her mother had with Arnold and Liza. In this case, *well* contributes to a transition to a relevant topic.

In the following example, Sharon works for a school and explains her students' behavior because the students have a conduct chart. Most of the parts refer to the students whose behaviors are "mal" (bad).

Example (53) SBC004 Raging Bureaucracy

- 1 SHARON: And at the end of the week, this last week,
- 2 like <MRC five of them MRC>,
- 3 got M for <L2 mal L2>.
- 4 >ENV: ((SIREN_STARTS_HERE_IN_DISTANCE))
- 5 SHARON: [As opposed to the one] from the first week.
- 6 CAROLYN: [Mm.
- 7 <WH<L2 mal L2>WH>].

8 SHARON: (H) [2I mean that's ba=d2].

9 CAROLYN: [2ooo=2].

10 SHARON: That means you have [3been3] ba=d.

11 CAROLYN: [3X3]

12 Mea[4ns4] [5bad5].

13 SHARON: [4All4] [5week5].

14 KATHY: [5@@@5]@@@@

15 SHARON: And I- I like, withheld recess,

16 from= .. s- several kids, on,

17 .. on [Thursday],

→18 KATHY: [*Well* did you gi]ve candy to the ones that got .. <L2 exelentes

19 L2>?

20 SHARON: ... [2No,

21 CAROLYN: [2No,

22 SHARON: I gave em stickers2].

23 CAROLYN: You never give2] sweets,

Although most parts from line 1 through line 17 are devoted to the topic “‘mal’ bad students”, *well* in line 18 marks a shift or transition to another topic, “the students who got ‘exelentes’ excellent”. In this line, Kathy asks whether Sharon would give the excellent students some candies as rewards while depriving the bad students of recess. Next, Sharon expresses that she does not give candy, but stickers. However, both “bad

students” and “excellent students” are related to a bigger topic, “Sharon’s students”. Therefore, the label “topic shift” seems not appropriate for this use, because “topic shift” refers to a shift to a different or contrary topic. Notably, there seem to be cases in which a common background is the impetus for the several subtopics. In this conversation, Sharon’s students are the main topic of “Sharon’s students”, and a discussion on the excellent and bad students is involved in this main topic. Thus, these two topics can be considered a subtopic of the main topic.

Similar to the case of resumption, a topic shift could display that a speaker is no longer interested in an ongoing discourse. Therefore, topic shift inherits a potential face-threatening act. By using *well*, a speaker acknowledges the prior utterance, and this marker will result in an illusion as a pseudo-agreement as if the speaker and hearer agree to close the current topic. Subsequently, the speaker can change a topic by using this marker to mitigate an abrupt end of the current topic.

For the cases of resumption and topic shift, these functional differences stem from the deictic features of this marker. In other words, *well* can index both prior and upcoming contexts in contextual coordinates (Schiffrin 1987). More broadly, these two cases fall under “topic orientation markers” (Fraser 2009).

4.3.5 Closing

A speaker can use *well* to close a conversation or sum up the talk (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). This marker that appears in an utterance-initial position initiates a pre-closing of, for example, a topic or conversation. As the following examples indicate, *well*

marks a preparation of closure or conclusion, not like a period conveying the definitive end of the talk. The preparation for closing a conversation can be related to politeness. As mentioned in Chapter 3, ending a conversation involves an inherent face threat (Cameron 2001). Moreover, this action contains a risk of threatening the relationship between the interlocutors (Goffman 1967). Therefore, *well* as a case of closure contributes to discourse organization and interpersonal management. Here, I present three examples of *well* as a case of closure.

In the following conversation, the four participants, Harold, Miles, Pete, and Jamie, discuss an audio speaker.

Example (54) SBC002 Lambada

- 1 HAROLD: ... You think we have like a [5jazz5] [6band next6]
2 [7door7]?
3 MILES: [5In fact I5] [6was getting ready6]
4 [7to say7],
5 PETE: [6@@@6]
6 MILES: ... is there somebody downstairs, .. playing?
7 JAMIE: [@]
8 PETE: [<X I mean X>] that was what I first [2thought-,
9 JAMIE: [2(H) It's <X our X> garage
10 band2].
11 PETE: when .. when the ja=zz came on2].

12 ... As compared to the other stuff,
 13 for some reason it sounded like it was out there,
 14 or kind of [.. coming] in [2from some2] [3place3],
 15 JAMIE: [Unhunh=]?
 16 HAROLD: [2Hm=2].
 17 JAMIE: [3Hunh3].
 →18 HAROLD: *Well* that would be nice to have a little jazz band next [4door4],
 19 PETE: [4Right4].
 20 HAROLD: wouldn't it.
 21 JAMIE: [No=].
 22 PETE: [Mhm=].
 23 HAROLD: ... Usually we just have r=eally loud salsa parties across the street.
 24 JAMIE: That's fun too.
 25 ... And teenagers... kissing each other on the side [walk].

In line 1, as a reaction to sound, Harold asks Miles's opinion by saying "you think we have a jazz band next door?". Moreover, in line 3 Miles expresses that he was supposed to say what Harold said. In line 9 Jamie explains it is "our garage band". Therefore, the music is from the high-quality audio speaker, and there is no jazz band. From line 10 through line 13, Pete explains the performances and merits of this audio speaker compared with others. Considering the exchange background, in line 18 Harold gives a compliment that they have such a nice audio speaker. *Well* in this line marks a compliment

for the audio speaker. This compliment reflects the speaker's interpersonal stance can be regarded as closure of this topic. By displaying a compliment, a speaker acknowledges or evaluates that the talk thus far is worth continuing, and this interpersonal act can lead to a closure of the topic.

In the following example, they discuss a dance studio where Miles goes. Miles explains a scene he witnessed the other day. Although Jamie wanted to go to the dance school, after hearing a story from Miles, Jamie decides not to go there.

Example (55) SBC002 Lambada

- 1 MILES: .. He was sitting there,
2 there were two guy=s sitting at a table right where you are.
3 .. And then these two women are sitting here.
4 (H) So= uh=, he comes over there,
5 and is talking with that woman.
6 .. I don't know about what, but then like ten minutes later,
7 ... she and her friend are over at their table.
8 ... And then, ... twenty minutes later,
9 they were kinda like .. all over each other.
10 You know.
11 .. kissing,
12 et cetera, et cetera.
13 (H) And I was thinking,

14 it looks like, .. these people aren't going home alone tonight.

15 @@

16 HAROLD: ... Go[sh,

17 MILES: [But I just thought that] --

18 HAROLD: no wonder] they forbid this dance.

19 ((J,_M,_P_LAUGHING_7.8_SEC))

20 MILES: [So],

21 JAMIE: [(H)] <@ Oh= my God @>,

22 what a story.

→23 ... *Well*, .. maybe I shouldn't go there then.

24 HAROLD: ... Yeah,

25 maybe [you @shouldn't @@].

From line 1 through line 15 Miles describes that in the dance studio, a man approaches a table where two women are sitting. The man and a woman are over at the table and start flirting. Harold (in line 16) and Jamie (in line 21) show exclamation, and in line 23 Jamie expresses that she should not go there. *Well* in line 23 marks an introduction to a conclusion that Jamie changes her mind and will not go there, because she feels some potential risk to herself. Therefore, Jamie presents the conclusion after hearing Miles's story. This marker displays that Jamie is no longer interested in this talk. This marker primarily contributes to closure of the topic as a textual function, but this simultaneously contributes to mitigating the potential face-threatening act toward Miles for interpersonal

management. As well as Example (54), the host utterance of this marker expresses a speaker's evaluation "I shouldn't go there then", regarded as a topic closing.

In the subsequent example, the participants Marilyn, Pete, and Roy are in the kitchen and prepare for their dinner. They have a huge fish and plan to make ceviche with the fish.

Example (56) SBC002 Lambada

- 1 MARILYN: ... So you can eat about that much ~Peter?
- 2 PETE: [Which size].
- 3 ROY: [There's a bad] smell in here,
- 4 MARILYN: [2That size2],
- 5 PETE: [2Yeah2].
- 6 ROY: [2hmm2].
- 7 MARILYN: ... there [3is3]?
- 8 PETE: [3I3] could.
- 9 .. But I --
- 10 .. I'm --
- 11 .. [I'm also capable of eating] lots of stuff.
- 12 ROY: [No it's the smell of fish].
- 13 <SING The [2smell],
- 14 MARILYN: [2Oh okay2],
- 15 *well* let's make the whole thing then.

In line 1 Marilyn asks Peter how much he can eat. Depending on his answer, Marilyn will decide whether she makes the whole fish or just some for ceviche. In line 3 Roy interrupts their conversation by saying “there’s a bad smell in here”, and his utterance results in overlapping Pete’s utterance. In line 5 Pete also shows agreement with Roy. In line 7 Marilyn asks, “there is?”. However, she does not understand that this question refers to the fish. In line 12 Roy explicitly mentions “the smell of fish”. In line 14 Then Marilyn finally understands what it is and expresses “oh okay”. After the conversation as a digression between Marilyn and Roy, from line 8 through line 11, Pete mentions, “I’m also capable of eating lots of stuff”, as an answer to Marilyn’s question in line 1. In line 15 Marilyn decides to make the whole fish. *Well* in this line marks a conclusion that she makes the whole fish. Marilyn concludes the topic on the fish by evaluating Pete’s answer.

As the speaker can convey resumption (4.3.3) and topic shift (4.3.4) by using *well* to accept what the interlocutor says, *well* as the case of closing can also be regarded as a member of these homogeneous functional categories.

For the case of resumption, in returning to an original topic that is already presented, a speaker can use this marker to refer to the point where he/she would like to return by closing a current topic. In Example (49) *well* precedes “that was age twelve” in line 27, which is presented in line 1. In addition, in Example (50) *well* precedes “make these little passes or something” in line 18, which indexes “goodies” in line 8. The speaker can achieve the resumption by using the sequentiality *well* + the original expression or content.

In the three examples of topic shift I have provided, *well* is followed by a question on a topic that the speaker will introduce. In Example (51) *well* precedes a preparatory

expression “I don’t know if I told you” in line 23 before the speaker shifts the topic. This speaker confirms whether he has already told the story; otherwise, the topic shift may not be completed. Likewise, in Example (52), the expression “did I tell you” in line 19 is a trigger for a topic shift, and the utterance-initial *well* marks a topic shift. Example (53) seems to differ from the two examples: it contains two possible topics—bad students and excellent students. When the speaker, Sharon, seems to terminate the topic on bad students, Kathy takes a turn in line 18, acknowledged as a TRP, and asks about the excellent students. However, as mentioned in the analysis of this example, a reasonable assumption is that Sharon’s students are the main topic, which contains two subtopics: “bad students” and “excellent students”. Therefore, *well* in this case can mark a topical transition. Considering the three examples, the sequentiality *well* + question/confirmation (concerning a hearer’s meta-knowledge and content) is attested for a topic shift.

Finally, the function of closing literally means to provide a conclusion for the current topic. Unlike the examples provided by Schegloff and Sacks (1973), my analysis does not include the closure of conversation but the closure of a topic. However, because the principle is the same, there is little important difference between the two cases. In Example (54), the main discussion on jazz (i.e., an audio speaker) occupies line 1 through line 14. *Well* in line 15 marks a compliment for the audio speaker, which is so high qualitative that Harold takes it for a jazz band. This compliment is a conclusion for this topic. In Example (55), after hearing the obscene story from Miles (line 1 through line 22), Jamie decides not to go to the dance club where she wanted to go. *Well* in line 23 marks Jamie’s opinion, “maybe I shouldn’t go there then”. This is her conclusion, and she

is no longer interested in this topic. In Example (56), the main speakers, Marilyn and Pete, discuss how much fish Pete can eat. Because Pete says he is capable of eating a lot in line 11, *well* in line 15 marks Marilyn's conclusion, "let's make the whole thing then". The function of closure or conclusion expresses the sequentiality *well* + speaker's (inter)subjective stance toward a proposition.

Concerning *well* as the cases of "resumption", "topic shift", and "closing", the principal function these three have in common is to mark an end. If a speaker is no longer interested in the current topic, he/she can use *well* to mark a pre-closing. In the case where a speaker has more to add or tell about the ongoing topic, *well* can mark resumption or topic shift. This use of *well* as the cases of resumption, topic shift, and closure is approximately consistent with Pomerantz's (1984) characterization of *well* as a "dispreference marker". As Cameron (2001) and Goffman (1967) suggest, the actions involving shift or closure can be dispreferred, and the face of hearer and speaker can be threatened. By using *well* at this juncture, a speaker shows an implication, "this is good thus far, so let us not keep this topic any more (but we can talk another thing)". Thus, this marker brackets a unit of talk to mark the end, and this marker contributes to interpersonal management in such a sensitive textual juncture where a face can be threatened.

4.4 Summary and Discussion

In this chapter I presented individual cases of the interpersonal and textual functions of *well* as a discourse marker. For the interpersonal modes, four specific/output functions could be attested: "agreement", "objection", "prefacing a dispreferred/nonstraightforward

response”, and “filler”. Through the analyses of these examples, the core function of “agreement”, “objection”, and “dispreferred marker” can be regarded as “acceptance” by showing a token/pseudo-agreement. For the function of agreement, a speaker uses *well* to accept the prior utterance in a positive manner. By contrast, the functions of *well* as the cases of objection and dispreferred marker express “pseudo-agreement”, which is motivated by a strategy for positive politeness. Although a speaker can use *well* to mark an objection toward the interlocutor’s utterance, for the case of dispreferred/nonstraightforward marker, a speaker can only use this marker in a preference organization or in response to a *wh*-question. However, the term dispreferred marker is a notion of conversation analysis because there is little functional difference between them, and both functions display a rejection to the hearer. A speaker communicates his/her intention by exploiting the interpersonal aspect of *well* as a discourse marker for politeness.

Clearly, *well* as these functions display a speaker’s interpersonal stance. In other words, functions such as “agreement”, “objection”, and “prefacing a dispreferred/nonstraightforward response” are relevant to interpersonal management for the hearer. Along with Traugott’s two-folded division of “expressive”, the functions of agreement and objection express a speaker’s subjectivity toward the proposition, and a dispreferred marker expresses a speaker’s intersubjectivity toward the hearer’s face. Notably, the motivation for objection and dispreferred marker is to show a pseudo-agreement by using *well*. However, when a dispreferred marker is used in a case where agreement is more expected, the meaning of *well* as a dispreferred marker is more

centered on the addressee.

Moreover, for the function of the objection, *well* as a discourse marker can contribute to mitigating a hearer's face loss compared with *but* as a discourse marker, for example. A speaker avoids a direct expression in the case where the addressee's face will be threatened by showing objection or disagreement; then, by using *well*, he/she can implicate that an upcoming message will not be favorable. In addition, a hearer also can empirically infer that the following utterance of this marker in such a case will not fulfill his/her expectation. Thus, at a point that a speaker chooses *well* rather than a direct expression *but*, he/she contributes to interpersonal management for an addressee. In other words, finding some intersubjective sense is possible in the cases of a subjective function of *well* as the case of objection.

For *well* as a filler, I incorporated this use in the interpersonal function in this study. Compared with fillers such as *uh/uhm*, *well* is a lexical item derived from a part of speech. Thus, Brown and Yule (1983) call this expression a fabricated filler. As I reviewed the case of the French discourse marker *enfin* (Hansen 2005), which developed from an adverbial to a hedge, *well* as a filler also could be an endpoint of the development: proposition > discourse marker > filler. If *well* as a filler is "fabricated" with a reason or motivation, it may have supplementary meaning. For example, *well* sounds more polite than *uh/uhm*. By choosing *well* but *uh/uhm* when a speaker hesitates, the speaker can express his/her interpersonal management of self, that is, a desire that the speaker wants to be considered polite.

For the textual mode of *well*, I have presented five functions: "repair", "quotative

use”, “resumption”, “topic shift”, and “closing”. Linguistic items and expressions that contribute to the textual mode are considered to mainly work for discourse coherence. For example, *well* can mark a resumption to return to an old topic already presented in a discourse. This marker conveys a restart of the prior topic to the hearer. In this regard, the discourse marker *well* functions as a traffic regulation so that the discourse flows smoothly. This role is also characterized as “procedural meaning” (Blakemore 2002). Moreover, as reviewed in Chapter 2, the case of resumption can be characterized as “discourse structure markers” (Fraser 2009). As Blakemore and Fraser’s explanation show, the textual functions of this marker are considered a device for interweaving units of discourse. However, I have presented many examples in which the cases of *well* as the interpersonal and textual functions cannot be regarded as an independent element; by contrast, these two functions of this marker are dependent on a vague spectrum. This interpretation also seems to be supported by other scholars (e.g., Aijmer 2013; Green 2006).

Consider *well* as the case of other-repair. This main function is to correct or elaborate an expression or information relevant to the proposition that a speaker has already uttered. Hence, *well* in this case can contribute to the textual function. However, correcting and elaborating someone’s speech can be regarded as a face-threatening act, by which the hearer may lose face. By using *well*, a speaker attempts to show “I partially accept what you say but X is more appropriate”. With this implication, by expressing an acceptance or pseudo-agreement, the speaker can repair while showing interpersonal management. Moreover, *well* in the case of closing, a typical example of the textual function, is also

relevant to a face threat (e.g., Cameron 2001, Goffman 1967). This face threat is one of the motivations that *well* has been used as a discourse marker. When the speaker closes the conversation, he/she can use this marker to show an acknowledgment of the ongoing conversation; by doing so, a unit of talk is bracketed (Schiffrin 1987). As a result, *well* in this case can be considered the function of closing.

Aijmer (2013) claims that the distinction between the attitudinal and structural (she seems to equate them with interpersonal and textual) is unclear. For example, Aijmer demonstrates that *well* can be “both attitudinal and structural with functions such as topic shift or indicating a boundary in the discourse” (Ibid.: 23). Along with politeness, because the action of topic shift involves a face threat, this marker blurs the functional distinction.

Therefore, this observation can support my argument that the development of the function of this marker is from interpersonal (intersubjective) > textual modes, not the reverse (e.g., Traugott 1982). This process is indebted to the residual referential meaning of *well* that is inherently evaluative; hence, discovering its semantic relation with the textual functions is difficult.

Textual functions have been understood as linking elements such as connectives for more than one clause (e.g., Traugott 1982). However, the textual modes of discourse markers play an important role in discourse organization from a local coherence to global coherence. Maintaining discourse coherence is not only relevant to structuring but also to interpersonal management. Hence, the function of topic shift, for example, threatens both discourse coherence (textual) and face (interpersonal).

Many discussions have been devoted to the functions of *well*. It also seems important

to summarize the positions where the functions of this marker can be used. It is because the position sometimes tells us a key to the analysis. Along with “periphery” advocated by Beeching and Detges (2014), an assumption is that a marker can often be found in both LP (e.g., utterance-initial) and RP (e.g., utterance-final). However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, I claim that the label such as utterance-initial, -medial, and -final seems to be more appropriate for the analysis of spoken language. The positions of each function that I have discussed are summarized in Table 3.

Out-put function	Utterance-initial	Utterance-medial	Utterance-final
------------------	-------------------	------------------	-----------------

Interpersonal functions			
agreement	✓		
Example (28)	<i>well</i>	that's good	
objection	✓		
Example (33)	<i>well</i>	the Zen can be bullshit too	
dispreferred marker	✓		
Example (34)	<i>well</i>	that's... expected	
filler	✓	✓	
Example (38)	<i>well</i>	it was like	
Example (39)	He might say	<i>well</i>	you know
Textual functions			
repair	✓	✓	
Example (42)	or	<i>well</i> to get the degree	you know
Example (43)	<i>well</i>	it's illusionary	
quotative use		✓	
Example (47)	She goes	<i>well</i>	
resumption	✓		
Example (49)	<i>well</i>	that was age twelve	
topic shift	✓		
Example (51)	<i>well</i>	I didn't know if I told you	
closing	✓		
Example (56)	<i>well</i>	let's make the whole thing	then

Table 3 Positions of *well* as a discourse marker

Regarding the results of this chapter, *well* as a discourse marker is used in both utterance-initial and utterance-medial positions. In Table 3, most uses prefer an utterance-initial position. This finding corresponds with the condition “it [a marker] has to be commonly used in an initial position of an utterance” (Schiffrin 1987: 328). One of the uses of discourse markers is related to turn-taking; therefore, a marker should be used initially.

In addition, because *well* can contribute to mitigating a potential face threat, an assumption is that this marker should also be used before its risk.

For *well* in the case of filler, a speaker uses this item whenever he/she wants to hesitate; thus, this filler should not always be restricted in an utterance-initial position. Concerning the case of quotative use, *well* marks a boundary between the speaker's utterance and direct speech. Thus, this marker is used in a medial position of utterance.

However, what is common in all the interpersonal and textual functions of *well* as a discourse marker is that this filler is used before a face-threatening act or its relevant act(ion). In other words, at a point where a speaker communicates an upcoming face threat beforehand by using this marker, *well* contributes to interpersonal management or politeness.

In the next chapter, I present cases of *bon* and *bueno* as discourse markers as an example of the universal phenomena of politeness. Through comparative analysis from the cross-linguistic perspective, the core motivation, in other words, interpersonal management of the use of *well* as a discourse marker, will be further clarified. Moreover, I provide integrated theoretical accounts of the exploitation from *well* as a propositional meaning to its use as a discourse marker with the uses of *bon* and *bueno* from the theory of politeness in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5 *Bon* as a discourse marker

This chapter explores *bon* as a discourse marker in French as a counterpart of *well*. This part of this study is conducted because one of my main interests is to reveal the universal phenomena of politeness, particularly when linguistic items have harnessed propositionally positive words “good” as discourse markers. Until recently, little research has been conducted on the semantic and pragmatic features of *well* and *bon* as discourse markers (e.g., Beeching 2011; Beeching and Wang 2014). By contrast, the multifunctional nature of *bon* as a discourse marker has been well-attested (Winther 1985; Hansen 1998; Brémond 2003, 2004; Jayez 2004; Skattum 2012). In the subsequent section, I review the literature.

5.1 The multifunctional nature of *bon*

First, I discuss syntactic properties of *bon* and the peripheral position that this marker occupies. According to Hansen (1998), *bon* as a discourse marker derives from the adjective *bon* (as in ‘*C’est bon*’). *Bon* as an adjective may function syntactically either as a modifier of a noun or the main predicate of a clause. In these cases, as a French grammatical rule, the adjectival *bon* changes its form according to the gender and number of the noun. However, when this item is used as a discourse marker, it is free from any morphosyntactic restrictions. In other words, *bon* as a discourse marker is decategorized from the semantic and syntactic properties. Therefore, this marker is considered to have undergone grammaticalization. The adjectival *bon* means “good”, and *bon* as a discourse marker has lost its propositional meaning and has come to “mark acceptance in a rather wide sense” (Hansen 1998: 225). Brémond (2004: 7) more clearly mentions that “quand

on dit *bon*, c'est jamais complètement *bon* ['when we say *bon*, it is never completely good']". This semantic bleaching is also a characteristic of grammaticalization, presented in Chapter 2. For its position as a discourse marker in utterances, Winther (1985) attests that *bon* appears in utterance-initial and -medial positions. Moreover, according to Hansen (1998), *bon* is also used in an utterance-final position. These findings mean *bon* can function in the three positions of periphery.

For the multifunction of this marker, Jayez (2004: 2f) provides a comprehensive review of the literature on *bon*, analyzed from various perspectives. He extracts the following recurring findings from these analyses and provides the following six perspectives (the translation is from the study by Beeching 2011):

1. The 'metadiscursive' role of *bon* : *bon* does not contribute to the propositional meaning of the utterance but rather the management of the utterance itself;
2. Its discourse-structuring role (e.g. Winther (1985) who describes it as a 'marqueur de structuration');
3. Its role in 'ponctuation' and 'délimitation' (Winther 1985; Saint-Pierre and Vadnais 1992);
4. Acceptance marker (Duprey 1979; Hansen 1998);
5. Modulation/moderation to introduce a formulation (amongst others Hansen 1998; Brémond 2003, 2004);
6. The proactive or retroactive nature of *bon*

Well as a discourse marker has two levels of function: textual and interpersonal. *Bon* as a discourse marker contributes to the two functional planes as well. Of the six perspectives, perspectives 2, 3, and 6 are relevant to the textual function, and perspectives 4 and 5 are relevant to the interpersonal function.

For the textual usage, Jayez (2004: 4) proposes a unifying interpretation of *bon*; “mot de la fin (ending word)”, which he describes as follows (the translation is from Beeching 2009):

The utterance of *bon* by an actor *a* carries the following conversational implicature: *a* believes or desires that a process in progress is or should be terminated.

Beeching supports this hypothesis by providing an example taken from a narrative in which *bon* is frequently used to mark the stages, implying “good so far, but there is more to come” (2011: 94).

(59) j’avais perdu mon père à douze ans + et je ne connaissais pas tellement la fabrication + ma mère + a fait tout ce qu’elle a pu mais eh eh + elle était pas du métier **bon** + alors /j’ai cherché, je cherchais/+ à ayant deux frè- deux frères et une sœur + à leur laisser la place pour t- + avoir une profession + et moi me perfectionner dans mon métier + et c’est comme ça que je suis venu à Amiens + en < dix-neuf cent vingt-huit. (CRFP PRI-AMI-3 [4])

[I had lost my father aged twelve + and I did not really know about
 manufacturing + my mother + did all she could but eh eh + that wasn't her
 line of business [DM *bon* ≠ *well*] + so I looked, I was looking/ + and
 having two bro- two brothers and a sister + to leave them the space to f- +
 have a profession + and for me to improve in my trade + and that's how I
 came to Amiens + in < 1928.] (Ibid.)

Beeching characterizes this use as a temporary halt in proceedings, and this usage has no equivalent in English (Ibid.). The part before *bon* is used to discuss the speaker's father's death and mother's job. After this marker, the speaker starts to discuss his two brothers and sister. I provide additional examples later, and *bon* is in an utterance-final position to mark an end of topic or conversation.

Perspectives 4 and 5 contribute to the interpersonal level, and *bon* functions as a mitigator. Example (60) is from the study by Skattum (2012: 209), already presented as Example (13).

- (60) 1 E1: Et, est-ce que vous lisez, vous aimez la lecture ou?
 →2 AW : *Bon*, vraiment je ne lis pas.
 Eng. And, do you read, do you like reading or?
Bon, actually I do not read.

Lines 1 and 2 are a question–answer adjacency pair. The question “est-ce que” is a signal

of a polar question answerable by “oui” or “non”. However, line 2 starts with *bon*, and AW mentions that he/she does not read. This marks a dispreferred response. Therefore, this marker first accepts E1’s question and then mitigates the rejection. However, according to Beeching (2011: 101), there is no equivalent for English *well* as a dispreferred response marker. In this study, I do not further discuss the discrepancy, because in my analysis of cross-languages, there is a risk of missing a more important fact if I focus on only the differences.

For the analyses of *bon*, I extract examples from CFPP2000.¹⁰ In this corpus of spoken French of interviews, the interviewers ask questions relevant to places in Paris or its suburbs where the interviewees reside. Topics on questionnaires are set, for example, inquiries into aspects of their residence and regional environment. The interviews are a semistructured type. The examples of *bon* show that there are cases close to everyday conversation language.

In the subsequent sections, I analyze eight functions of *bon*: “agreement”, “objection”, “mitigator”, “filler”, “topic shift”, “resumption”, “repair”, and “closing”. For the functional analysis of *bon* as a discourse marker, a functional-semantic mode of language (Halliday 1970, 1979; Brinton 2017) is also used.

5.2 Interpersonal functions

¹⁰ Because the original convention of transcription is less meticulous, I made changes by following the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English*. For example, an overlap shown as [1] XXX and [2] YYY was changed to [XXX]. In the original transcription, an explanation such as “pause” is shown as [pause].

In this section, I provide four specific/output functions of the interpersonal mode: “agreement”, “objection”, “mitigator”, and “filler”. For the cases of “agreement” and “objection”, a speaker can use *bon* to claim his/her stance or attitude regarding what the hearer expresses. Unlike *well* as a discourse marker, *bon* can be used as a mitigator to attenuate the preceding expression. Moreover, *bon* has a filler use. I categorize these four cases as the interpersonal functions where the relationship between the speaker and hearer is always negotiated or adjusted for interpersonal management.

5.2.1 Agreement

As with *well* as a discourse marker, a speaker uses *bon* to express agreement. However, as in the case of *well*, there is a gradation for this function, as Hansen claims that *bon* marks “acceptance in a rather wide sense” (1998: 225). Hence, the function of agreement can be referred to as a part of acceptance.

In the following example, Florence is an interviewer, and Lucie is an interviewee. Before the exchange, Florence asked Lucie which ward she wants to move to. Lucie explains that it takes more time to consider and research if she purchases an apartment in her favorite ward of Paris.

Example (61) CFPP2000 [07-02]

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 1 Lucie: | Je pense que j'axerais mes mes recherches étant donné que |
| 2 | quand on achète je pense que c'est pour le long terme j'axerais mes |
| 3 | recherches sur des quartiers euh seizième septième premier euh |

- 4 huitième
- 5 Florence: D'accord
- 6 Lucie: Voilà
- 7 Florence: **Bon** très bien
- Eng.
- Lucie: I think I'll focus on my research on certain areas, seeing how when people buy, I think it's for the long term. I'll focus on districts, uh sixteenth seventh first uh eighth.
- Florence: I see.
- Lucie: Yes.
- Florence: *Bon* that's good.

From line 1 through line 4 Lucie says finding the appropriate apartment will take a long time if she decides to buy one. She gives three wards—sixteenth, seventh, and eighth—as candidates for her future housing. Florence shows an acknowledgment by saying “d'accord” in line 5. In line 6 Lucie uses “voilà” to mark an end to her explanation. *Bon* in line 7 marks agreement with Lucie's three choices because these wards are so nice that many people aspire to live there.

In the following example, before the interaction between the participants Stéphanie and Laurence, an interviewer (Florence) asked whether there are green spaces in the seventh ward. Stéphanie answered that there is a park called Champ-de-Mars in the ward.

Exemple (62) CFPP2000 [07-01]

- 1 Stéphanie: Mais là je préfère rester enfermée chez moi plutôt que d'aller dans le
2 Champ-de-Mars où il y a je trouve qu'il y a trop de monde
- 3 Laurence: [Oui puis le problème c'est que les touristes]
- 4 Stéphanie: [Enfin *bon* c'est trop touristique]
- 5 Laurence: C'est normal tant mieux pour nous d'ailleurs on est contents d'avoir
6 tous ces touristes à Paris mais euh on a aussi beaucoup de
7 manifestations commerciales sur le Champ-de-Mars ce qui vraiment
8 le détruit à tous les niveaux enfin autant au niveau physique je dirais
9 et puis l'ambiance et le toute la toutes les les i- les constructions qu'on
10 y fait enfin c'est des constructions temporaires vous savez pour des
11 salons des manifestations commerciales qui mobilisent toute une
12 partie du Champ-de-Mars pendant plusieurs jours c'est vraiment une
13 grosse nuisance pour les riverains et ça beaucoup de gens s'en
14 plaignent il y a une association des riverains du Champ-de-Mars
15 enfin *bon* c'est tout un cirque donc c'est vrai que du coup on peut *bon*
16 c'est un grand espace vert assez agréable mais on peut pas euh
17 considérer ça comme vraiment s'échapper enfin vous voyez
- 18 Stéphanie: Pour s'échapper vaut mieux aller à la campagne
- 19 Laurence: *Bon* il y a la verdure il y a les arbres c'est vrai il y a un environnement
20 agréable une belle perspective sur la Tour Eiffel mais euh

Eng.

Stéphanie: But I prefer to stay home rather than going to Champ-de-Mars. There are many people there.

Laurence: Yes, then the problem, that is the tourists.

Stéphanie: Anyway *bon* that's too touristic.

Laurence: It's usually good for us. And we are happy to have these tourists in Paris. Moreover, we also have a lot of commercial events in Champ-de-Mars. This destroys in every level. In physical level, we could say, atmosphere and every building. People set up some temporary construction, you know, for salons and commercial events which are held in everywhere in Champ-de-Mars for several days. This is a big annoyance for residents. Many of them complain about this. There is a residential association of Champ-de-Mars, anyway *bon* it is just a lot of noise. So *bon* there is a lot of greenery and a pleasant space but we can't consider this place as where we can escape, you see.

Stéphanie: To get away, going to countryside is better.

Laurence: *Bon* there is nature. There are many trees. In fact there is pleasant and beautiful view of Eiffel Tower uh but.

Although Stéphanie exemplifies Champ-de-Mars park as a green space in the seventh ward, because there are people in the park, she expresses that she prefers to stay home (lines 1 and 2). In the subsequent line, Laurence shows an understanding of the situation in the park, affirming that the problem is the tourists. Stéphanie expresses agreement and

emphasizes how many tourists there are. Therefore, *bon* in line 4 marks agreement. Stéphanie has already pointed out the problem in line 2; thus, this marker also marks a conclusion by showing agreement.

Laurence mentions that it is usually good for tourists to visit the park in Paris. However, many events and their related construction annoyed the neighbors. Hence, the residents have an association for resolving these problems. The first case of *bon* in line 15 marks a conclusion of the complaint “c’est tout un cirque (it is a circus).” The second case of this marker contributes to repairing a textual organization. Because Laurence cannot continue her talk by finding the correct verb after the auxiliary verb “peut” and the filler “euh”, she restarts to make a new utterance in line 16.

In line 18 Stéphanie concludes with “pour s’échapper vaut mieux aller à la campagne (to get away, going to countryside is better)”. However, Laurence does not refer to Stéphanie’s comment but returns to her previous story “c’est un grand espace vert assez agréable (there is a big green and pleasant space)”. Therefore, *bon* in line 19 marks a resumption of the prior story.

The discourse marker *bon* as the case of agreement is similar to its propositional meaning as an adjective, as Brémont (2004: 7) mentions; however, this marker is never completely good. Agreement means that a speaker accepts the hearer’s proposal or argument, and he/she does not need to convey his/her evaluative attitude such as “good” or “bad”. Moreover, as the discourse marker *well* can mark a gradual degree of agreement such as agreement > partial agreement > pseudo-agreement, *bon* can also mark acceptance in a wide sense (Hansen 1998: 225). For example, on the one hand, *bon* in

Example (61) marks a full agreement involving the speaker's positive evaluation of Lucie's choice of favorite districts. On the other hand, although *bon* in Example (62) marks agreement, the speaker does not consider the current situation in the park as a favorable condition.

5.2.2 Objection

A speaker can use *bon* to mark an objection when the speaker and hearer have a conflict between their stances, opinions, and so forth. This function of *bon* has lost its propositional meaning, and by contrast, this marker conveys a negative sense. This pragmatic feature corresponds to the aforementioned work of Brémond (2004).

In the following example, interviewer Sonia and interviewee Pauline discuss a computer. The dialogue displays that Sonia is the PC user and Pauline is the Mac user.

Example (63) CFPP2000 [07-03]

- 1 Sonia: Euh non je suis euh sur PC j'ai eu un MAC et je suis passée sur PC
- 2 Pauline: **Bon** moi je suis pas euh ça c'est vrai pas très très bonne euh mais c'est
- 3 indispensable de non mais je crois que je vais reprendre un MAC moi
- 4 euh et donc mais ce que je trouve
- 5 Sonia: De toute façon si vous tra- travaillez avec les éditeurs ils préfèrent
- 6 tous les MAC
- 7 Pauline: Ah c'est ça oui c'est
- 8 Sonia: Donc il y a pas de problème

Eng.

Sonia: Uh no I'm uh on PC I had a MAC and I switched to PC.

Pauline: *Bon*, I'm not uh that's true not very very good uh but it's essential [to have a MAC with the editors] no but I think I'll go back to a MAC.
Uh and so but what I find is...

Sonia: Anyway, if you want to work with the editors, they all prefer MAC.

Pauline: Ah that's yes, that's.

Sonia: So, no problem.

In line 1 Sonia explains that she used to have a Mac but that she stopped using this computer and changed to a PC. Pauline expresses that she is not good at using Mac and that she has to have one to work with editors (line 2 through line 4). *Bon* in line 2 marks an objection that Pauline does not use a PC but a Mac. In addition, “moi”, a stressed first pronoun in line 2 that emphasizes Pauline, also reinforces her difference of opinion with the interviewer. There is a type of conflict regarding which type of computer they will use. As a result, Pauline expresses that she attempts to use Mac with the editors (line 7). Therefore, in line 8 Sonia expresses an acknowledgment, “il y a pas de problème (no problem)”.

The function of *bon* as an objection indicates an opposite meaning as its adjective. However, motivation for using *bon* to express his/her stance of objection stems from its propositional meaning. Showing objection involves an apparent face-threatening act. For face-saving, the speaker attempts to mitigate the degree of the direct face-threatening act.

Therefore, the speaker exploits the surface of the propositional meaning of *bon* for contributing to interpersonal management by displaying pseudo-agreement. Notably, *bon* in line 2 can be replaced by the concessive marker *mais* ‘but’, but it is more polite to choose *bon*, because *mais* expresses a direct rebuttal so that the speaker’s polite attitude is not involved.

Considering the nature of the interview, *bon* as a function of objection is obtainable in the corpus comprising interviews. Many of the discourse segments consist of question–answer types, although some topical expansion or digression can be found. Therefore, this type of function can be more found in data from naturally occurring language than interviews.

5.2.3 Mitigator

The main function of *bon* as a mitigator is to contribute to softening FTAs. A speaker uses this marker to add and express interpersonal management, similar to “a garnish” after the act in question. This use cannot be found in the functions of *well* as a discourse marker. The discourse marker *well* is closely related to mitigation, but this adjustment is applied before a face-threatening act occurs, such as in the sequentiality *well* [mitigation] + *but* [face threat] for avoiding the direct face-threatening act. However, in French, *bon* is used after the concessive marker *mais*. Hence, in this case, the directness of demurral *mais* is mitigated by positing *bon* just after the face-threatening act occurs.

In the subsequent example, Sonia is the interviewer, and Poline is the interviewee. In line 1 Sonia confirms that Poline no longer resides in her parents’ house in Raspail, the

seventh ward in Paris.

Example (64) CFPP2000 [07-03]

- 1 Sonia: Et alors vous vous n'habitez plus là
- 2 Poline: Non mais j'ai habité jusqu'à au-delà de mon mariage parce que euh
- 3 il y avait /x, pas/ on a récupéré la petite garçonnière qui était devenue
- 4 euh donc ça c'était vraiment une histoire et en fait ma mère il y a
- 5 habité jusqu'à sa mort donc ça a été un lieu pour toute la famille
- 6 jusqu'il y a quatre ans cinq ans
- 7 Sonia: C'est difficile d'avoir perdu cet appartement
- 8 Poline : C'est-à-dire ce sont toujours des fractures mais *bon* on a eu de la
- 9 chance aussi de *bon* très peu de gens euh maintiennent leur habitat
- 10 surtout c'est vrai

Eng.

- Sonia: And so you you no longer live there
- Poline: No but I have lived there until I got married because uh there were...
- We inherited a studio apartment, which... Uh so it was wonderful. In fact, my mother lived there until she died. So it was the place for the whole family until five years ago.
- Sonia: It is hard to have lost this apartment.
- Poline: In other words, there are always the problems but *bon* we were lucky too. *Bon*, the fact is, few people can maintain their residence.

From line 2 Poline starts to discuss a story of her family house, as a response to Sonia's question in line 1. After Poline's mother died, she relinquished her family house, that is, five years ago (lines 5 and 6). In line 7 Sonia shows sympathy, "It is difficult to have lost this apartment". In line 8 Poline acknowledges that there is a difference between her old house and her current house, but she expresses how lucky she was to have been able to spend her time in her family house. *Bon* in line 8 mitigates the precedent impact of the concessive marker *mais*. In other words, Poline first shows agreement with Sonia's compassion, and then, *mais* marks a signal that having lost her apartment is not always pessimistic. In this case, *bon* softens a potential face-threatening act invoked by *mais*. This sequentiality of *mais* + *bon* is often attested in data.

In the following example, Florence is an interviewer and Laurence and Stéphanie are interviewees and friends, respectively. Florence asked Laurence and Stéphanie how they met. They have known each other for approximately ten years, from when their children went to the same school. In line 1, Florence asks how old their children are.

Example (65) CFPP2000 [07-01]

- 1 Florence: Vos enfants ont le même âge un peu ou
- 2 Laurence: [Un an un an de]
- 3 Stéphanie: [Ben ta fille un an] un an de moins que Marie-Lou
- 4 Laurence: Voilà ma fille aînée a donc un an de plus et ma cadette a trois ans de
- 5 moins que la sienne et donc on a elles ont fréquenté la même école

- 6 primaire et c'est comme ça qu'on s'est connues maternelle et primaire
- 7 école de quartier
- 8 Florence: Elles jouent encore ensemble ou
- 9 Stéphanie : =Ben elles se connaissent
- 10 Laurence : =Non non
- 11 pas tell- enfin bien mais pas vr- vous savez quand elles sont pas dans
- 12 les mêmes classes enfin les mêmes niveaux je dirais c'est tout de suite
- 13 elles ont pas beaucoup de maintenant elles sont pas dans le même
- 14 collège ni lycée enfin moi elle est au lycée maintenant donc [rire] ça
- 15 va vite hein
- 16 Stéphanie: Tu en as une tu en as une au collège et
- 17 Laurence: Et l'autre au lycée oui première année de collège et première année
- 18 de lycée cette année vous voyez donc c'est important
- 19 Stéphanie: Et ma fille est en dernière année de collège
- 20 Laurence: Mais *bon* elles ont des connaissances communes enfin *bon*
- 21 Florence: Parce que c'est le même collège
- Eng.
- Florence: Your children are the same age or a little
- Laurence: One year one year
- Stéphanie: So your daughter is one year younger than Marie-Lou.
- Laurence: My older daughter is one year older and my younger daughter is three years younger than yours and they went to the same elementary

school and it's like we have known each other since our
children started at the nursery and elementary schools of this ward.

Florence: They still play together or

Stéphanie: Well do they know each other

Laurence: No, no. You know they are not in the same classes well the same level

I would say they don't have many chances to meet now. They are
neither in the same junior high school or high school, well
she is in high school. How time flies!

Stéphanie: You have one you have one in junior high school and

Laurence: And the other in high school yes first year of college and first year
of high school this year. So you see, it's important.

Stéphanie: And my daughter is in her last year of junior high school.

Laurence: But *bon* they have some mutual acquaintances anyway *bon*

Florence: Because it's the same junior high school.

In line 1 Florence asks Laurence and Stéphanie how old their children are. Laurence has two daughters. One daughter is one year older and the other is three years younger than Stéphanie's child, Marie-Lou. They went to the same nursery and elementary school. However, they do not play together (line 8); rather, they are acquaintances (line 9). From line 11 through line 13 Laurence explains that in French elementary schools, the students learn together with the different graders in the same classroom. Because of the three-year gap between Laurence's youngest daughter and Stéphanie's daughter, they do not have

much opportunity to talk (line 13). Now Laurence has a first-year student in junior high school and first-year student in high school, and Stéphanie's daughter is a final-year student in junior high school (line 17 through line 19). However, they know each other. *Bon* in line 20 mitigates the impact of the preceding concessive marker *mais*. This occurs because of the concession in line 20, "elles ont des connaissances communes (they have some mutual acquaintances)", is not so important that Laurence will rebut by using *mais*. Therefore, *bon* as a discourse marker contributes to attenuating the impact.

The two cases of *bon* as a mitigator are used in a combination with the concessive marker *mais*. As noted in Example (64), *mais* involves an apparent face threat. Therefore, the speaker uses *bon* to express his/her objection with attenuating the face-threatening act. For the case of *bon* as a mitigator, the speaker has already used *mais* which can directly offend the hearer's face; thus, he/she uses *bon* directly after this marker to mitigate the preceding direct expression. Notably, the sequentiality of *mais* + *bon* is relatively conventionalized so that it is pronounced in a breath unit (Cf. Traugott 1995: 6).

In general, markers contributing to politeness, such as the English discourse marker *well*, emerge in the initial position of utterance to signal an upcoming possible face threat. However, *bon* as a discourse marker is used after the face-threatening act (e.g., concession) to repair the face threat. Notably, according to Beeching (2009: 221), the combination *bon mais* can be attested, but *bon mais* is less frequent than *mais bon*. Notably, the sequentiality *but well* cannot be found. Therefore, *bon* as a mitigator is an original function in French.

5.2.4 Filler

A speaker can use *bon* as a filler to fill a pause. This use is similar to *well* as a filler. These two items are lexical fillers or “fabricated fillers” (Brown and Yule 1983), and both derive from the same propositional content: “good”.

In the following example, before this excerpt, Laurence discussed the advantages of the countryside, where she can enjoy outdoor activities. She describes herself as “sportive”. However, she thinks that it is difficult to find such open air in Paris; therefore, she discusses the problem in the following interview.

Example (66) CFPP2000 [07-01]

- 1 Laurence: Puis c'est vrai que moi en tant que parisienne j'ai jam- c'est vrai que
2 le problème de Paris je pense c'est effectivement pratiquer un sport à
3 Paris c'est vraiment pas facile moi j'aime beaucoup le tennis pendant
4 plusieurs années quand j'étais étudiante j'ai voulu en faire *bon* ben
5 c'était toujours vraiment un parcours du combattant hein réserver un
6 court le matin dès sept heures enfin je me souviens d'ailleurs quand
7 j'étais à la Sorbonne il y avait un par le CROUS on pouvait réserver
→8 des courts de tennis euh *bon* alors il fallait résér- être le
9 premier au téléphone le matin pour réserver le court
10 Stéphanie: Moi je vais je vais

Eng.

Laurence: Then it's true that as Parisienne, the problem of Paris I think is to play sports in Paris. It isn't easy. I really like tennis for years when I was a student. I wanted to play it *bon* but it was really an obstacle to reserve the court in the morning from seven o'clock. And I remember when I was at the Sorbonne there was one by the CROUS, we could reserve the tennis courts uh *bon* so we needed to be the first to the calling in the morning to reserve the court.

Stéphanie: Me, I'm going, going to

From line 1 Laurence explains that she finds it difficult to play sports in Paris. When she was a student, she loved to play tennis. However, she expresses that it was not easy to book a tennis court; she uses *bon* in line 4 to mark a conclusion. She illustrates in detail in the subsequent lines how she had reserved the tennis court. In line 7 she explains that when she was a student in Sorbonne, she could reserve the tennis court by CROUS. She uses *bon* as a filler in line 8 in combination with *eah* to buy some time before she utters a concluding remark which *alors* hosts, that is, she needed to call first in the morning (line 9).

Although *bon* as a filler contributes to the textual organization, this item also contributes to the interpersonal mode. Brown and Yule call the lexical fillers “fabricated fillers”, and there should be some reason for fabricating fillers. Compared with *uh* or *eah*, items such as *well* and *bon* can be considered polite; hence, Lakoff (1975) claims that women prefer to use *well* as a hedge. This result is observed because standard fillers such

as *uh* or *eu* are unmarked; by contrast, fabricated fillers are marked. In other words, using non-standard fillers can express polite impressions.

In the following example, an interviewee Stéphanie introduces some good points about her neighborhood. Even though it is a ward in Paris, it is similar to a village to her, where people are friendly with each other. Line 1 starts with the description of a small press store.

Example (67) CFPP2000 [07-01]

- 1 Stéphanie: à côté il y a le petit magasin de la presse
2 on plaisante souvent donc en fait je trouve que les commerçants sont
3 vraiment enfin ça se passe bien
4 Laurence: oui c'est vrai que
5 Stéphanie: on discute moi j'ai le traiteur en dessous
6 Laurence: dès qu'on connaît un petit peu les gens dès qu'on est là depuis quelque
7 temps
8 Stéphanie: et on se c'est vrai qu'on se crée des liens hein des liens de quartiers
9 des liens de commerçants des liens avec des amis moi j'ai des a- ça
10 fait maintenant au début je connaissais personne mais il y a ça fait
→11 effectivement **bon** ben vingt ans on connaît on s'est fait des liens et
12 on n'a plus vraiment envie de de de partir enfin je dis je partirai mon
→13 mari sera à la retraite dans quelques années et là je me dis **bon**
14 effectivement j'aurai envie de mer de montagne

15 Laurence: oui de voyages peut-être

Eng.

Stéphanie: Next door there is the small press store. we often joke so in fact I find that the shopkeepers are [nice] really, well it's nice.

Laurence: That's true that.

Stéphanie: We talk, for me I have the caterer below.

Laurence: As soon as we get to know people a little as soon as we have been there for some time.

Stéphanie: And it is true that we create relationships, eh relationship of neighbors relationship of shopkeepers relationship with friends I have a- that now at first I didn't know anyone but it's been that indeed, *bon*, twenty years we know we made links and we don't really want to leave at last I say I'll leave, my husband will be retired in a few years and there I think *bon* I will actually want [to move to] the mountain sea.

Laurence: Yes, to go on trip maybe.

From line 1 through line 3 Stéphanie introduces how friendly the staff working in the small press store is. Additionally, she expresses that she also enjoys chatting with the caterer in her apartment, in line 5. In line 6 Laurence resumes Stéphanie's story: people can get to know each other soon when they live somewhere, even for a short time. As a reaction to Laurence's summary, Stéphanie adds information that she has created

relationships in her neighborhood, although she had not known anyone in the beginning. In line 11 *bon* is used as a filler with *ben* before providing the information on how many years she takes to build a relationship. However, she would not like to leave her place, because her husband retires from a company in a few years, and she may want to move to mountain areas. *Bon* in line 13 also marks a filler that is used with “je me dis (I consider)”. She seems to hesitate to express her desire to move, because she has told how much she loves her town thus far.

Bon as a filler is used in combination with, for example, *eah bon* in Example (66) and *bon ben* in Example (67). Because *bon* as a filler in line 13 in (67) is used alone, it can be combined with other filler items to buy more time.

Similar to *well* as a filler, I incorporate *bon* as a filler into interpersonal functions. Notably, a speaker can use fillers to buy time for continuing his/her utterance. However, fillers do not contribute to textual functions, such as the case of repair or topic shift. *Bon* as a filler has completely lost its propositional meaning: it is only used to avoid a silent pause (Cf. Hansen 2005). When a speaker holds the floor, if he/she suddenly stops his/her talking and keeps silent, he/she may be considered no longer enthusiastic in engaging in a conversation. Hence, using fillers expresses the speaker’s will to remain in the ongoing conversation. From the perspective of interaction, fillers can be attributed to interpersonal functions.

In this section, I have presented four interpersonal functions of *bon* as a discourse marker: “agreement”, “objection”, “mitigator”, and “filler”. This marker can express the speaker’s subjective and intersubjective stances. For the cases of “agreement” and

“objection”, the speaker can use *bon* to communicate his/her subjective attitude toward the interlocutor. By contrast, *bon* as a mitigator clearly marks the speaker’s intersubjective stance. *Bon* as the cases of agreement and objection is more centered on the speaker, and mitigating the face threat is centered on the face of the interlocutor. Notably, as I have explained in the function of the objection, the speaker chooses *bon* when the speaker displays an objection that obviously reflects his/her interpersonal management for the hearer. In other words, although using *bon* for showing an objection is centered on the speaker’s subjectivity, this marker also considers the relationship with the hearer. This result demonstrates the motivation for the speaker to use *bon* as a discourse marker for politeness in these cases.

In the subsequent section, I consider the examples of *bon* as textual functions. However, the interpersonal and textual functions of *bon* as a discourse marker cannot be clearly separated. Rather, the speaker can use *bon* for textual organization while managing an interpersonal relationship with the hearer.

5.3 Textual functions

In this section, I will provide four functions “topic shift”, “resumption”, “repair” and “closing”. A speaker can use *bon* to mark these functions for organizing a text. Although *bon* as these cases primarily contributes to textual/discourse organization (by marking “topic shift” or “closing”), this marker is also relevant to politeness. By using *bon* as a discourse marker, a speaker can interweave the discourse segments; in addition, he/she can express interpersonal management. As discussed in Chapter 4, actions such as the

cases of repairing or closing involve a potential face threat. In other words, closing a topic can display that the speaker is no longer interested in the ongoing talk, and this speaker's stance can threaten the interlocutor's face. Therefore, *bon* as a discourse marker mitigates the action relevant to textual organization. The speaker exploits the propositional meaning of this marker to express his/her polite attitude even in textual organization.

5.3.1 Repair

A speaker can use *bon* to mark a repair. Therefore, this marker is also an editing expression (Hockett 1967) like *well* as a discourse marker. In conversations, speakers organize a conversation by correcting or elaborating an expression of what they say (self-repair) or other people say (other-repair). In the case of *well* as an editing expression, this marker contributes to both self-repair and other-repair because the examples are from everyday conversations. However, because the French data are from interviews, there are few examples of *bon* for initiating an other-repair. In the interview, there are few occasions for which both respondents and questioners will not repair the interlocutor's utterance unless there is an important mistake; rather, they may accept and respect the original message, even involving some minor mistakes or errors. Here, I provide examples of *bon* as the case of self-repair.

In the following example, Sonia is the interviewer, and Poline is the interviewee. Sonia asks Poline whether she goes to the bookstore La Procure, in line 1.

Example (68) CFPP2000 [07-03]

- 1 Sonia: La Procure vous y allez
- 2 Poline: Oui j'y vais
- 3 c'est la li- la grande librairie de référence
- 4 où je vais ah non j'ai beaucoup été à la FNAC
- 5 Sonia: Oui ah oui c'est vrai
- 6 que j'oubliais la FNAC
- 7 Poline: J'ai été dans la petite dans la rue il y a une fille formidable qui
- 8 s'appelle Tollet qui a une petite librairie **bon** qui est une amie donc ça
- 9 aussi elle mais elle mais ça va très mal parce que c'est très dur parce
- 10 que les gens viennent lui commander au dernier moment les livres
- 11 qu'ils n'ont pas trouvés à la FNAC enfin et puis

Eng.

- Sonia: La Procure, do you go there?
- Poline: Yes, I go there. It's a large-scale bookstore for reference where I go,
ah no I would often go to FNAC.
- Sonia: Yeah, that's true that I forgot about FNAC.
- Poline: I went to the small bookstore in the street. There is a wonderful lady
whose name is Tollet. She has a small library bon she is my friend so
it also but the situation is very bad and tough because people
come and ask her at the last minute when they could not
find the books at FNAC eventually.

In line 1 Sonia asks Poline whether she goes to the large-scale bookstore, La Procure. In line 2 Poline expresses that she goes to the bookstore, and in the subsequent line, she describes the bookstore. However, in line 4 she suddenly repairs her information by saying “ah non” and adds that she used to go to another bookstore, FNAC, more often in the past. As soon as Sonia hears the name FNAC, she realizes that she forgot the bookstore for a moment (lines 5 and 6). In line 7 Poline provides another bookstore on the small street where an admirable clerk named Tollet works. *Bon* in line 8 marks a repair to add more information to Tollet, who is Pauline’s friend. This additional information elaborates a description of Tollet.

In the following example, an interviewee Anita restarts her discussion on the problem that she attempts to walk but finally uses her car to go shopping. The discourse marker *bon* in line 1 marks a resumption of the prior topic. Thus, she returns from divergence and resumes her talk about her problem.

Example (69) CFPP2000 [11-01]

- 1 Anita : *Bon* je reviens sur cette euh ce problème qui est un problème euh
→2 voilà de d'être chez moi combien de fois ça m'est arrivé ***bon*** ben là tu
3 vas boulevard Voltaire c'est pas loin euh tu tu j'y vais à pieds je suis
4 chez moi je me conditionne dans mon appartement en me disant j'y
5 vais à pieds moi ma voiture elle est garée dans la rue j'ai un
6 stationnement résident je passe devant je ne peux pas m'empêcher

- 7 d'ouvrir euh la porte de monter dedans et et d'aller euh à euh voilà
 8 cinq minutes en voiture ce qui me mettrait peut-être euh un petit quart
 9 d'heure à pieds donc au dernier moment je prends ma voiture

Eng.

Anita: Bon let me go back to this uh this problem which is a problem uh
 here at home how many times it happened to me. Bon well
 there you go to boulevard Voltaire it's not far uh. You you I go on
 foot. I am, at home. Although I say I'll go there on foot, since my car is
 parked in the street. I have a residential parking. I pass by my car, I
 will open the door and go there by car. It takes uh fifteen minutes on
 foot so at the last minute I take my car.

In line 1 Anita uses *bon* to refer to the topic on “ce problème (the problem)”, which has been shared elsewhere before the aforementioned discourse. In line 2 she states the problem that she frequently experiences. The discourse marker *bon* marks an elaboration of the description of the problem, to add more details. That is, boulevard Voltaire is not far from her place; thus, she can walk there. However, because she has a car in residential parking, she gives up on walking there and finally decides to drive. Therefore, it takes approximately fifteen minutes for her to go to boulevard Voltaire on foot and only five minutes by car (line 7 through line 9).

In Example (70), the interviewer Sonia asks about the changes in the ward because of the adolescence of the interviewees Marie-Anne and Christophe.

Example (70) CFPP2000 [05-01]

- 1 Sonia: Euh [pause] alors vous avez parlé des [pause] des changements dans
2 le quartier euh depuis donc votre adolescence
- 3 Marie-Anne: Oui un peu plus la jeunesse [pause] oui euh
- 4 Christophe: Oh une adolescence un peu tardive disons quand on avait vingt ans
5 ouais oui
- 6 Sonia: Quand vous étiez quand vous vous étiez étudiants
- 7 Marie-Anne: Ben la la fac exist- enfin existait mais pas sous cette forme là
- 8 Christophe: Euh [pause] il y avait [pause] les bâtiments qui étaient sur le quai qui
9 existaient [pause] il y avait encore la halle aux v- [pause] nous on a
10 connu la halle aux vins encore donc les derniers les derniers
11 récalcitrants quand même hein euh [pause] la la majeure partie
12 [pause] était déjà partie mais il restait quelques uns euh [pause] autre
13 c'était un chantier encore hein c'était vraiment
- 14 Marie-Anne: Ils démolissaient
- 15 Christophe: Ils démolissaient on a euh [pause] on a fait nos études au moment de
16 la démolition [pause] moi je trouve que le [pause] par rapport à ce
17 qu'on a connu le quartier a pas trop trop changé [pause] euh [pause]
18 euh [pause] c'est toujours un quartier d'étudiants avec des bistrots
→19 avec des **bon** il y a [pause] les bistrots qu'on fréquentait ont disparu
20 euh [pause] mais le

21 Marie-Anne: C'est normal

Eng.

Sonia: Ah, [pause] so you talked about some [pause] some changes in the ward ah since your adolescence.

Marie-Anne: Yes, a little younger [than adolescence], yes ah.

Christophe: Oh, a little later than adolescence. Let's say when we were twenty years old yes, yes.

Sonia: When you were when you you were students.

Marie-Anne: Well, anyway the, the university existed but it was in a different form.

Christophe: Ah [pause] there were [pause] the buildings along the bank which existed [pause] there were still the wine market [pause] we still knew the wine market so the last of the recalcitrants, even ah [pause] most people [pause] had already left. But they resisted a few years uh [pause] it was still a construction site. That was very...

Marie-Anne: They were tearing it down.

Christophe: They were tearing it down. We ah [pause] we studied at the moment of the demolition [pause] I find that [pause] compared to what we knew, the district does not that change [pause] ah [pause] ah [pause] it's still a district for students with some bistros with some bon there are [pause] the bistros which we often went to that disappeared ah [pause] but the

Marie-Anne: It's normal.

In lines 1 and 2 Sonia confirms that the interviewees are about changes in the district since their adolescence. In line 3 Marie-Anne says since a little bit before her adolescence, and Christophe mentions it has changed since they were approximately twenty years old, in line 4. In line 6 Sonia seeks further information on the change, and Marie-Anne and Christophe describe what happened. For example, the university is different from what it is now, and the wine market was destroyed (line 7 through line 13). From line 15 through line 18, Christophe acknowledges that some buildings have changed, but he also knows that the district is still the place where students gather and enjoy bistros. Although he says that there are still bistros, the one that he would often go to no longer exists. Therefore, *bon* in line 19 marks a repair of his preceding utterance.

5.3.2 Topic shift

A speaker can use *bon* to mark a topic shift. Similar to *well* as a discourse marker, *bon* has a hedging function as “a ‘warning signal’ that makes the transition from one to another less blunt and abrupt” (Finell 1992: 731). A transition to another topic could convey a hearer’s disinterest; thus, this action involves an inherent face-threatening act. Therefore, a speaker uses *bon* to mitigate its action relevant to discourse structuring for interpersonal management. Although *bon* mainly contributes to textual or discourse organization, this marker also contributes to the interpersonal mode.

In the following example, Florence is the interviewer, and Laurence is the interviewee. Florence asks about characteristics of the seventh ward, in which Laurence

resides.

Example (71) CFPP2000 [07-01]

- 1 Florence: et alors lorsque vous parlez du quartier comme cela qu'est-ce que ça
2 évoque exactement exactement je veux dire par rapport aux rues euh
3 est-ce que c'est spécifique ou pas
- 4 Laurence : Oui ben c'est vrai enfin d'une part je crois qu'il y a le
5 nous deux habitons là dans le quartier du Gros-Caillou parce qu' en
6 fait le septième arrondissement donc est divisé par quartiers à
7 l'intérieur du septième mais euh bon nous on habite dans ce quartier-
8 là donc c'est vrai qu'on connaît plus les personnes de ce quartier tout
→9 ça **bon** moi j'habitais avec mes parents dans le quartier on appelle ça
10 Invalides donc plus près de Montparnasse Invalides boulevard des
11 Invalides en allant vers le boulevard Montparnasse

Eng.

Florence: Then, when you speak about the ward, like what does it evoke you exactly? I mean in relation to the streets, is it meaningful for you?

Laurence: Yes, it's true on the one hand, I think there are the two of us living there in Gros-Caillou district. In fact, the seventh ward is divided by the inside of the seventh ward but uh bon, we live in the district so it's true that we don't know the people of this neighborhood anymore.
Bon I lived with my parents in the neighborhood, we call this

Invalides, closer to Montparnasse Invalides boulevard,
Invalides going towards boulevard Montparnasse.

From line 1 through line 3 Florence asks about specific characteristics of the ward. In lines 4 and 5 Laurence says that she lives in Gros-Caillou in the seventh ward now. As for this ward, she adds information that there have been land readjustments (lines 6 and 7). Therefore, there is nobody she knows in the area anymore. Hence, in line 8 she uses “tout ça (that’s all)” to end her talk on her current residence. In line 9 Laurence starts to say that she used to live in Invalides, which is not the neighborhood of her current residence. Hence, *bon* in line 9 marks a topic shift for initiating a new topic on her prior residence with her parents. In this example, Laurence gives a narrative in the present, and in line 9, she shifts to the past tense “habite > habitais”. This tense contrast illustrates a topical transition.

In the following example, Sonia is the interviewer and Anita is the interviewee. They discuss daily shopping (line 1 through line 10). In line 13 Sonia resumes the old topic, which is dealt in with Example (73).

Example (72) CFPP2000 [11-01]

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 1 Sonia: | D'accord euh vos courses alors parce que quand même vous arrivez |
| 2 | à acheter des pâtes et de des frites et cetera c'est les gens du quartier |
| 3 | ou c'est euh une fois par semaine avec la voiture |
| 4 Anita: | [rire] |

5 Anita: Non je vais pas en dehors non je reste dans c'est plusieurs fois par
6 semaine euh voilà ou Attac place Voltaire ou le Prisu non je vais pas
7 en banlieue porte de Bagnolet non je fais pas ça non donc j'achète
8 plutôt tous les deux jours que bon que

9 Sonia: L'épicier du coin

10 Anita: Mm oui la petite surface

→11 Sonia: D'accord **bon** euh ma foi je crois qu'on a si je voulais vous demander
12 sur les les mutations de deux trois questions encore alors sur les
13 mutations du quartier **bon** vous avez parlé de euh de de sa boboïsation
14 mais vous n'avez pas du tout parlé de la présence ou pas de la crise
15 économique actuelle est-ce que est-ce que c'est sensible pour vous est
16 ce que sous vos yeux

Eng.

Sonia: Ok uh your shopping then because anyway you get to buy pasta and
French fries and so on it's the local shops or it's uh once a week with
the car?

Anita: [laugh] no, I don't go far. No I stay local, it's several times a
week uh here or Attac place Voltaire or the Prisu. So no I
don't go to the suburbs Porte de Bagnolet, no I don't do that. No. I'd
rather buy every two days than, bon that.

Sonia: The local grocer?

Anita: Mm, yes. The little store.

Sonia: All right, *bon* uh I wonder if I'd like to ask you two or three more questions about the drastic changes of the area. *Bon* you talked about uh its gentrification but you didn't talk about the presence or the current economic crisis. Is that a little bit of a touchy topic?

As far as you can see it...

From line 1 through line 3 the interviewer, Sonia, asks about where Anita goes shopping to buy, for example, pasta and French fries, in her local area or farther away with her car once per week. From line 5 through line 8 Anita expresses that she does not go to the outskirts for shopping but stays and goes shopping in her neighborhood or the supermarket Attac in Voltaire or another supermarket Prisu [Prix U] every two days. In line 9 Sonia checks again and summarizes the discussion thus far, that is, Anita buys commodities from the local grocer. In line 10 Anita acknowledges her understanding. In line 11 the expression “d'accord (all right)” indicates her comprehension of the prior discussion and marks an end of the current topic. Therefore, *bon* in the same line marks a topic change. In other words, Sonia uses *bon* to stop the topic on shopping and shift the topic to “mutation (drastic change) in the district”.

5.3.3 Resumption

A speaker can use *bon* to mark a resumption of the topic. Similar to the function of topic shift, *bon* first contributes to the textual mode, but this marker mitigates an inherent face loss, which is brought up by closing an ongoing topic and changing to another. Hence,

bon as the case of resumption also involves an interpersonal consideration to hearers.

The following example is from Example (72). This conversation has two cases of *bon* that mark a textual shift. The first case, presented in Example (72), in line 11 marks a topic shift from “shopping” to “mutations (drastic changes)”. By contrast, *bon* in line 13 marks a resumption of the prior topic. This difference lies in the deictic functions of this marker. In other words, *bon* can index in contextual coordinates (Schiffrin 1987) both prior and upcoming contexts. More broadly, these two cases fall under “topic orientation markers” (Fraser 2009).

Example (73) CFPP2000 [11-01]¹¹

- 1 Sonia: D'accord euh vos courses alors parce que quand même vous arrivez
2 à acheter des pâtes et de des frites et cetera c'est les gens du quartier
3 ou c'est euh une fois par semaine avec la voiture
4 Anita: [rire]
5 Anita: Non je vais pas en dehors non je reste dans c'est plusieurs fois par
6 semaine euh voilà ou Attac place Voltaire ou le Prisu non je vais pas
7 en banlieue porte de Bagnolet non je fais pas ça non donc j'achète
8 plutôt tous les deux jours que bon que
9 Sonia: L'épicier du coin
10 Anita: Mm oui la petite surface

¹¹ See the English translation in Example (72).

11 Sonia: D'accord *bon* euh ma foi je crois qu'on a si je voulais vous demander
 12 sur les les mutations de deux trois questions encore alors sur les
 →13 mutations du quartier *bon* vous avez parlé de euh de de sa boboïsation
 14 mais vous n'avez pas du tout parlé de la présence ou pas de la crise
 15 économique actuelle est-ce que est-ce que c'est sensible pour vous est
 16 ce que sous vos yeux

As I have examined in Example (72), in line 11 Sonia uses *bon* to change the topic and initiates some questions on another topic, “the drastic change in the district”. In line 13 Sonia confirms that Anita discussed “boboïsation”. Hence, *bon* in line 13 marks a resumption of the prior topic that Anita had shared. Before the conversation excerpt, Anita had discussed “boboïsation”, a relevant story with “les mutation du quartier (the drastic change in the district)”. The term boboïsation is from the commonly used word “bobo” (a contraction of the words bourgeois and bohemian meaning hipsters) and can be used to mean areas being taken over by hipsters or gentrified. However, Anita did not discuss either the presence or the current economic crisis in line 14; thus, Sonia asks Anita about what Anita thinks about these issues in lines 15 and 16.

In the following example, Sonia is the interviewer, and Poline is the interviewee. In line 1 Sonia asks whether there are more inexpensive restaurants. In line 4 Poline mentions that the restaurants are more expensive than ticket restaurants, a welfare service where a company provides food vouchers to employees.

Example (74) CFPP2000 [07-03]

- 1 Sonia: Et dans vos dans votre quartier il y a encore des restaurants pas hors
2 de prix qui tiennent le coup
3 c'est quand
4 Poline : qui servent
5 même cher hein par rapport à un ticket restaurant donc c'est ça le
6 milieu de travail moi je parlais de
7 Sonia: Oui oui oui moi aussi hein
8 Poline: Et c'est vrai que on trouve ou alors il faut dépenser pratiquement tout
9 tout son pour deux ou trois fois alors si effectivement il y avait des
10 Chinois où on allait
11 Sonia : C'est ça hein c'est les
12 Chinois oui voilà
13 Poline : Chinois qui qui permettent de temps en temps de s'asseoir autour
14 d'une table entre
15 voilà ce sont les Chinois et qu'est-ce qu'il y a eu d'autre oui c'est c'est
16 les Chinois hein c'est vrai c'est vrai on se réunit voilà
→17 Sonia: **Bon** euh qu'est-ce que je voulais vous demander alors sur les
→18 problèmes économiques **bon** vous m'avez parlé des problèmes de
19 l'édition au niveau du quartier vous avez été sensible à à
20 ah ben oui à ce que à ce que final-

21 Poline: A la crise économique

22 Sonia: Ben oui

23 Poline: Oui

Eng.

Sonia: And in your neighborhood, there are still inexpensive restaurants that are still in business?

Poline: Even expensive eh compared to a ticket restaurant so that's the workplace, I talked about.

Sonia: Yes, me too.

Poline: And it is true that we find or we need to spend practically all the budget for two or three visits. So if indeed if there were Chinese places we went there.

Sonia: That's it. Chinese, yes.

Poline: Chinese restaurants sometimes have us sit around a round table. They are the Chinese and what else was there? Yes it is the Chinese eh it's true, it's true we meet there.

Sonia: *Bon*, uh what did I want to ask you? Well about the economic problems. *Bon* you told me about the problems of publishing at the neighborhood level you were effected to ah well yes to what to what final-

Poline: To the economic crisis.

Sonia: Oh yes.

Poline: Yes.

In line 1 Sonia asks Poline whether there are still inexpensive restaurants. In response to Sonia's question, from line 4 through line 6 Poline expresses that there are but that they are more expensive than ticket restaurants. In line 7 Sonia expresses agreement. In line 8 Poline adds more explanation and that she would like to use her budget effectively; thus, from line 8 through line 10 she expresses that she goes to a Chinese restaurant that is less expensive; otherwise, she ends up spending two or three times her budget. From line 11 through line 16 Poline mainly provides a sporadic description of the restaurant such that Sonia seems not to be interested any longer in Poline's rambling talk on a Chinese restaurant. Therefore, after Poline uses "voilà", which communicates a turn-yielding in line 16, Sonia uses *bon* with a hesitation *euuh* in line 17 to introduce a new topic on the economic problems that Pauline discussed before this exchange. The topic is shifted from restaurants to economic problems in this line. Moreover, *bon* in line 18 marks a resumption of the prior topic on which Sonia and Poline have spoken. Moreover, Sonia's utterance in the present tense shifts to the past tense "vous m'avez parlé..." ('you talked to me') and demonstrates the tense contrast. In the case of resumption, *bon* marks a prior discourse. This case is the retroactive function of *bon* (Jayez 2004). The use of *bon* in line 17 is centered on the speaker, and that in line 18 is centered on the hearer.

Regarding the topic shift with hesitation, this phenomenon explains that topic closing and initiating another topic involve a potential face-threatening act. Hence, *bon* exploits its propositional meaning to mitigate the force. In Example (74), Sonia clearly

shows disinterest in Poline's topic even though Sonia initiates this topic in line 1. Therefore, to avoid a direct face threat, she uses *bon* to display interpersonal management for Poline.

5.3.4 Closing

A speaker can use *bon* to mark a concluding remark. This marker can be found in the various endpoints, for example, at the end of a topic, the concluding summary before moving to a new topic, and the concluding of his/her utterance to yield a turn. In other words, *bon* can mark a closure of any unit of talk. The positions where this marker is used are also a notable topic. For signaling a hitch that his/her story is about to end, *bon* can be used in an utterance-initial position. *Bon* is also used in an utterance-final position to mark a definitive end of a speaker's utterance.

Example (75) CFPP2000 [07-01]

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| 1 Laurence: | J'ai mes grands-parents donc qui habitaient en région parisienne qui |
| 2 | nous ont laissé leur maison donc si vous voulez pour nous c'est une |
| 3 | maison de campagne mais à la limite <i>bon</i> moi j'ai pas le temps d'y |
| 4 | aller enfin mon mari est très pris vous imaginez |
| 5 Stéphanie: | Elle est où ta maison de campagne |
| 6 Laurence: | A l'Ile-Adam |
| 7 Stéphanie: | Ah oui |
| 8 Laurence: | Dans le Val d'Oise hein c'est très joli c'est une petite ville charmante |

- 9 enfin **bon** il y a des tas de choses à faire mais c'est vrai qu'on n'arrive
- 10 même pas à se libérer le week-end entier pour aller faire cinquante
- 11 kilomètres qui vont nous prendre une heure et demie euh non mais
- 12 c'est ça vous savez c'est
- 13 Florence: [Tu as raison moi j'ai des]
- 14 Stéphanie: [Vous n'y allez pas finalement]

Eng.

- Laurence: I have my grandparents who lived in the Paris region who left us their

house so if you want for us, it's a country house but I don't have time

to go there. Since my husband is very busy, you can imagine.
- Stéphanie: Where is your country house?
- Laurence: In L'Isle-Adam.
- Stéphanie: Oh yes.
- Laurence: In the Val d'Oise, eh it's very pretty it's a charming small town

 anyway, *bon* there are lots of things to do but it's true that
we can't even free ourselves on the whole weekends to go fifty kilometers

 which will take us an hour and a half uh no but that's it you
know it's.
- Florence: You are right. I have.
- Stéphanie: You don't go there eventually after all.

In line 1 Laurence explains that her grandparents transferred their house to her, in which

they used to live in Paris. Therefore, she can use it as a holiday house if she wants (lines 2 and 3). However, in line 4 she expresses that she does not have time to go there because her husband is busy. In line 5 Stéphanie asks in which village the house is. From line 8 Laurence explains that although the village is charming, she has a lot of things to do. *Bon* in line 9 marks a closing-implicative summary of “l’Ile-Adam”. Laurence concludes about the characteristics of the region that there are many things to enjoy. However, it is difficult for her family to spare time to go a long distance on weekends. In other words, *bon* marks a termination of the description of the region and moves to the reason why she and her family cannot afford to go.

In the following example, Sonia is the interviewer, and Marie-Anne and Christophe are the interviewees. They discuss the school system and the role of parents in the educational setting.

Example (76) CFPP2000 [05-01]

- 1 Marie-Anne: Dans le temps ils pouv- certains pouvaient pas non plus [raclement
- 2 de gorge] il y avait pas les mêmes problèmes hein
- 3 Christophe: Oui mais les [pause] même quand les parents pouvaient pas suivre le
- 4 travail des enfants [pause] ils vérifiaient que tu avais fait tes devoirs
- 5 euh moi hein [pause] ils te mettaient à table euh et puis tu faisais tes
- 6 devoirs et puis tu allais jouer quand tu avais fait tes devoirs quoi hein
- 7 [pause]
- 8 [ça sem- ça sem- oui mais]

- 9 Sonia : [En principe il y a plus de devoirs aussi mais]
- 10 Christophe: Vous voyez ça sem- [pause] vraiment [pause] on a l'im- on se sent
- 11 très diplodocus n'est-ce pas [pause] [rire]
- 12 Sonia: **Bon** ben on finira sur euh sur l'école je vous remercie infiniment
- Eng.
- Marie-Anne : In the old days they could- some couldn't either [clearing throat]
- there weren't the same problems eh.
- Christophe: Yeah but the [pause] even when the parents couldn't keep up with the
- children's work [pause], they would check that you had done your
- homework uh [pause]. They would sit you at the table uh and then
- you would do your homework and then you would go play when you
- had done your homework [pause]. It seems yes but.
- Sonia: In principle, there is more homework too but.
- Christophe: You see it looks like- [pause] really [pause] it feels very diplodocus,
- doesn't it? [pause] [laugh]
- Sonia: *Bon* we'll end here on uh on school thank you very much.

Before this conversation, Christophe pointed out as a problem that there is no relation between the family and school. In line 2 Marie-Anne shows agreement and expresses that there was not such a problem in the past. From line 3 through line 11 Christophe explains that although the parents could not follow the children's study, the parents checked the children's homework. He had his child sit at the table and asked him/her to play around

after he/she finished the homework. In line 9 Sonia adds the information “il y a plus de devoirs (there is more homework)”. In line 10 Christophe uses “diplodocus (a kind of dinosaur)” as a metaphor to refer to the amount of homework. Finally, in line 12 Sonia uses *bon* to close the interview. Notably, closing a conversation can contribute to a face-threatening act; in this case, the interviewer has the authorized power to control an interview. Nevertheless, she uses *bon* to foreshadow the end of the interview and mentions an appreciation for interpersonal management.

The following example is from Example (65). Florence is the interviewer; Laurence and Stéphanie are interviewees and friends. Florence asked them how they met. They have known each other for approximately ten years because their children went to the same school.

Example (77) CFPP2000 [07-01]¹²

- 1 Florence : Vos enfants ont le même âge un peu ou
- 2 Laurence : Un an un an de
- 3 Stéphanie: Ben ta fille un an un an de moins que Marie-Lou
- 4 Laurence: Voilà ma fille aînée a donc un an de plus et ma cadette a trois ans de
- 5 moins que la sienne et donc on a elles ont fréquenté la même école
- 6 primaire et c'est comme ça qu'on s'est connues maternelle et primaire
- 7 école de quartier

¹² See the English translation in Example (65).

- 8 Florence: Elles jouent encore ensemble ou
- 9 Stéphanie : Ben elles se connaissent
- 10 Laurence : Non non
- 11 pas tell- enfin bien mais pas vr- vous savez quand elles sont pas dans
- 12 les mêmes classes enfin les mêmes niveaux je dirais c'est tout de suite
- 13 elles ont pas beaucoup de maintenant elles sont pas dans le même
- 14 collège ni lycée enfin moi elle est au lycée maintenant donc [rire] ça
- 15 va vite hein
- 16 Stéphanie: Tu en as une tu en as une au collège et
- 17 Laurence: Et l'autre au lycée oui première année de collège et première année
- 18 de lycée cette année vous voyez donc c'est important
- 19 Stéphanie: Et ma fille est en dernière année de collège
- 20 Laurence: Mais *bon* elles ont des connaissances communes enfin ***bon***
- 21 Florence: Parce que c'est le même collège

Laurence uses *bon* to express an end of the topic, shown bolded in line 20. Unlike the other two examples of closing in (75) and (76), *bon* in line 20 emerges in the utterance-final position. This marker in the utterance-final has two functions: signal the definitive closing of Laurence's utterance, and show her relinquishing her turn and yield it to other participants. In line 21 Florence takes her turn. *Bon* as a closing marker examined in (75) and (76) is used in the initial position to convey a preparation for closing. Therefore, *bon* as the case of closing used in an utterance-initial position functions as a pre-closing device,

but *bon* in utterance-final position functions as a period to mark the end or as a closing bracket (Cf. Schiffrin 1987).

Closing a, for example, conversation, topic, or utterance is a delicate operation because this act may imply that the speaker is no longer interested in the ongoing talk. This speaker's behavior may threaten the hearer's face so that he/she uses *bon* for interpersonal management.

As I have argued in the cases of *well* as topic shift, resumption, and closing, a speaker can use this marker to mitigate his/her actions relevant to the textual organization. Similar to *well* as a discourse marker, in French, the similar phenomena in which people recruit the item that comes from *bon* as a propositional meaning can be attested through data analysis. In the use of topic shift, resumption, and closing, the speaker can use *bon* not only for textual organization but also for interpersonal management. In other words, terminating or cutting off a topic or talk threatens the hearer's face in some universal levels of human interaction. Therefore, speakers attempt to redress the potential face threats by using words showing pseudo-agreement such as *well* and *bon*, involving interpersonal values.

My discussion departs from the interpersonal functions of *well* as a discourse marker. I have argued that interpersonal functions, namely, politeness, are observed across the functions of this marker. Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that acts for politeness can be found universally across various languages. Therefore, their concept of some universals of politeness is partly confirmed and supported through the analysis of *bon* as a French discourse marker. In addition to this French discourse marker, in the following

section, I provide the case of *bueno* as a Spanish discourse marker for the relevant findings of *well* and *bon* as discourse markers.

5.4 Relevance of the findings: The case of *bueno* in Spanish

I have argued that the uses of *well* as a discourse marker have been motivated by politeness or interpersonal management. To support the universal phenomena of politeness envisaged by Brown and Levinson (1987), I have also provided examples of *bon* as a discourse marker in French, considered a counterpart of *well*. The functions of these two markers do not always coincide, but many uses or features behave in similarly. This phenomenon occurs partly because the uses of these items would reflect some universals of human interaction in relation to politeness. Thus, it is predictable that would be additional similar examples across the languages.

In this section I present examples of *bueno* as a discourse marker in Spanish. Similar to *bon* as a discourse marker in French, *bueno* as a discourse marker also derives from the adjective “good”. All the examples and illustrations are from the study by Travis (2005), who researches *bueno* as a discourse marker in Colombian Spanish. According to Travis (2005), the six functions—“acceptance”, “pre-closing”, “dispreferred response”, “reorientation”, “correction”, and “direct speech”—are enumerated. For the labels for *well* and *bon* as discourse markers, I created a unique categorization and functional labels, and I use Travis’s tags for the Spanish data.

Moreover, Travis does not refer to functional-semantic modes of language, but she

claims that an interpersonal aspect of this marker has an important role in other functions. The functions of acceptance and dispreferred response of this marker clearly contribute to the interpersonal functions. By contrast, the remaining four functions are relevant to textual functions.

5.4.1 Acceptance

A speaker can use *bueno* to accept an offer. According to Travis (2005: 87), “acceptance” refers to *bueno* as an interactive device to express acceptance of an offer, a proposal, or a statement presenting information, and it serves to indicate that the speaker has understood and accepts that speech act. The function of acceptance is attributed to the interpersonal function.

In the following example, Angela uses this marker in line 3 to accept Sara’s order for two pizzas.

Example (78)

- | | | |
|-------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 Sara: | Yo encargo dos. | |
| 2 | [@@@] | |
| →3 Angelea: | [Ah <i>bueno</i>] | |
| 4 | Listo. | |
| | Eng. | |
| Sara: | I’ll order two. @@@ | |
| Angela: | Oh, <i>bueno</i> . @@ OK. | (Travis 2005: 88f) |

5.4.2 Dispreferred response

The term “dispreferred response” is based on the notion of “preference organization” developed within conversation analysis. This use of *bueno* is similar to *well* as a discourse marker in foregrounding an upcoming dispreferred response. This tact of recruiting the markers deriving from “good” as a dispreferred marker (Pomerantz 1984) contributes to the interpersonal function.

Example (79)

- 1 Santi: Sabes cómo le miden la edad a un árbol ?
2 Angela: Con .. el carbono catorce ?
→3 Santi: ***Bueno***, También. No me acordaba de eso.
Eng.
Santi: Do you know how the age of trees is measured?
Angela: With carbon-14?
Santi: Bueno, that too. I didn't remember that.

(Travis 2005: 97)

Santi asks Angela if she knows how the age of trees is measured; however, the question in line 2 is answerable by “yes” or “no”, and Santi uses *bueno* to initiate an answer. This marker in line 3 displays that the speaker does not wish to fully accept the preceding comment. But by using *bueno* as pseudo-agreement for avoiding disagreement (Brown and Levinson 1987), this marker contributes to the hearer's face.

5.4.3 Correction

A speaker can use *bueno* to mark a correction. The correction can best be understood as a partial modification: *bueno* is not used to introduce information that totally contradicts what the speaker had said, but information that slightly modifies his/her position. Hence, correction seems to be equated with “repair” in my analysis.

In the following example, *bueno* prefaces the correction of the use of the term “niña (girl)”. Alfredo is reading a question regarding punctuality from a topic sheet he was given.

Example (80)

- 1 Alfredo: <R Hay situaciones en las cuales, la puntualidad sea más importante
2 que otras R> ?
3 Si es una cita para encontrarse con una niña.
→4 **Bueno**, Quiero decir una mujer, no? No es una niña.
→5 ...**Bueno**, nosotros decimos niña, no?

Eng.

Alfredo: ‘Are there situations in which punctuality would be more important than in others?’ ((reading)) If it’s a date to meet up with a girl. Bueno, I mean a woman, don’t I? It’s not a girl... Bueno, we say girl, don’t we?

(Travis 2005: 114f)

Alfredo corrects himself twice here: the first time from “niña (girl)” to “mujer (woman)”, and the second time to correct his statement “no es una niña (it’s not a girl)” (line 4), because to Colombians, women are called “una niña (a girl)”. *Bueno* marks a response to the idea that he is not being accurate, whether he has perceived this or whether he thinks that this is what his addressee might think.

5.4.4 Reorientation

The heading “reorientation” includes uses such as initiating a new topic, returning to an earlier topic following a digression, or other types of breaks in the flow of conversation. This function occurs with final intonation, indicating that the speaker has finished what they wanted to say: *bueno* marking a reorientation indicates that one part of the discourse is accepted, and because of this, the speaker can move on to something else. Travis considers this function an extension of the function of acceptance.

In the following example, Rosario tells a story about when she took some of her friends to a beach, the name of which she cannot remember. None of the interlocutors can remember the name either, but they all seem to know which beach she is talking about, and she goes ahead and tells the story. *Bueno* marks a reorientation in topic from trying to remember the name of the beach to the story.

Example (81)

- 1 Omar: ... No me acuerdo cómo se llama.
- 2 Rosario: ... ***Bueno***... Una vez fuimos allá, llegando unos amigos alemanes?

Eng.

Omar: ... I don't remember what it's called.

Rosario: ... Bueno. ... We went there once, when some German friends came to visit?

(Travis 2005: 109)

Bueno in line 2 marks Rosario's acceptance that no one remembers the name of the beach. This acceptance allows her to continue with the story she has to tell. It is rude that Rosario takes a turn to continue a story without any redress, and this marker contributes to softening its abruptness.

5.4.5 Direct speech

Although I discuss this function as a distinct function of *bueno*, I argue that it is best treated as a secondary function and that the role of this marker in this environment is to "quote" one of the other functions identified. *Bueno* alone does not introduce the direct speech but occurs with the verb *decir* 'to say' and others. In the following example, Angela discusses how her husband's family gossips a lot and that she has attempted to stop them from doing it.

Example (82)

- 1 Angela: yo a veces, eh – alguna que otra vez,
- 2 creo que sí lo he dicho en chanza,

→3 **Bueno.** Ya ya Ya no hablemos más.

Eng.

Angela: I sometimes, um – at some time or another, I think I’ve said jokingly,

Bueno. Alright, OK. Let’s not speak [about it] anymore.

(Travis 2005: 118)

Bueno as the case of direct speech does not mark the function alone but occurs with the help of the verb *decir* “to say” or marked syntax. Thus, *bueno* would not appear to function as a true quotative use. Rather than introducing the quote, *bueno* appears to form part of the direct speech. In other words, *bueno* in line 3 appears to be quoting a reorientation.

For the quotative use of *well* as a discourse marker, I have argued that there are two types of citation: (1) say + *well* direct speech and (2) say + *well* (=direct speech). The first type shows that *well* prefaces an upcoming direct speech; the second type shows that the discourse marker *well* is a part of the quotation. Therefore, the quotative use of *bueno* seems to correspond to the second type.

5.4.6 Pre-closing

Bueno can be used to display an upcoming closing of a conversation in a manner similar to that of the discourse marker *well*. Travis (2005: 94) relates this function as a pre-closing with *bueno* as the case of acceptance. In this case, this marker expresses acceptance of what was said in the conversation. In the following example, Claudio has just asked what

time it is, and on being told, he realizes that he has been chatting for a long time that it is time to go. The discourse marker *bueno* in line 4 is used to introduce this leaving-taking, and Angela responds with *bueno* in line 5, also “winding down” the conversation.

Example (83)

- 1 Patricia: Faltan veinte para las tres.
2 Claudio : Huy, vea, que stoy un rato.
3 Patricia: Faltan – [veinticinco].
→4 Claudio : [**Bueno**], mi querida estimada.
→5 Angella : **Bueno**, Clausio, muchas gracias.

Eng.

- Patricia: It's twenty to three.
Claudio: Ooh, hey, I've been here a while.
Patricia: It's twenty-five to.
Claudio: *Bueno*, my esteemed darling.
Angela: *Bueno*, Claudio, thank you very much.

(Travis 2005: 94f)

The aforementioned examples display that *bueno* as a discourse marker is used in a manner similar to *well* and *bon* as discourse markers. At the pragmatic functional level, most of the functions are shared and realized by the three markers. In addition, at the propositional level, these three items derive from the meaning “good”. Are these

phenomena a casual coincidence?

5.5 Summary and Discussion

In this chapter, the first main part discusses the functions of *bon* as a discourse marker. In both subsections of the interpersonal and textual modes, I provided eight functions of *bon* as a discourse marker. For the interpersonal modes, four functions were found: “agreement”, “objection”, “mitigator”, and “filler”. For the cases of “agreement” and “objection”, *bon* displays “acceptance in a rather wide sense” (Hansen 1998: 225). The discourse marker *bon* as the case of agreement can be considered a derivate from its semantic meaning, whereas *bon* as the case of objection cannot arise from its semantic meaning; rather, this marker expresses an opposite function as agreement. The speakers escape the direct objection for mitigation and exploit *bon* instead to display token agreement, which implicates that a further face-threatening act will follow. This interpersonal management for the hearer’s face explicitly contributes to politeness.

Regarding the function of mitigator, this use is peculiar to *bon* as a discourse marker. Notably, *well* contributes to mitigation. In this case, *well* is likely to be used in an utterance-initial position to communicate an upcoming face-threatening act before it occurs. In addition, the mitigation of face-threat force by using *well* is the result of its side-effect: this marker has a primary function other than the effect of mitigation. *Bon* as the case of mitigation does not have other functions than mitigation. Therefore, Examples (64) and (65) illustrate that *bon* is used in the sequentiality where two markers *mais* and *bon* are juxtaposed. The discourse marker *mais* that clearly expresses the speaker’s

concessive stance is used more than *bon* as a mitigator. In detail, *bon* as a discourse marker only serves to display interpersonal management.

Bon can also be used as a filler. In this study, I incorporate this filler use as an interpersonal function. As a French filler, *euh* is frequently used. Notably, Example (66) involves the sequentiality *euh* + *bon*. On the one hand, *euh* is a non-lexical but nonetheless conventionalized sound (Fox 2010: 1); on the other hand, *bon* as a filler derives from an adjective as an original use. Compared with the conventionalized sound, in terms of using this lexical item, the fabricated filler (Brown and Yule 1983) can be considered sophisticated and polite. As is the case of *enfin* as a filler, *bon* also may serve only for buying time. However, the semantic property of *bon* could influence the use as a filler. During the time the speaker hesitates, the hearer infers the silence as negative. Therefore, by using *bon*, if an upcoming utterance may or not involve a face threat, the speaker can express his/her interpersonal management.

For the textual mode of *bon*, I presented four functions: “topic shift”, “resumption”, “repair” and “closing”. As well as the discourse marker *well*, the main principle that *bon* as a discourse marker is used for these purposes is supported by politeness. Actions such as closing a discourse and moving to another topic are relevant to a face-threatening act. For the hearer, he/she imagines that the interlocutor may not be interested in the current discussion. For the speaker, by taking these actions, he/she is judged as impolite or abrupt by the hearer. Therefore, by using *well* on closing a conversation, the speaker can communicate his/her interpersonal management for the hearers so that they feel like reaching agreement for the conversation closure.

Especially, the functions of *bon* as “topic shift”, “resumption”, and “closing” share a common characteristic to display an end of a discourse segment. The specific function is colored in a context. For example, when there is no newer topic to come, *bon* is used; this marker can mark “closing”, and when there is an upcoming utterance, it can mark “topic shift” or “resumption”.

By contrast, considering the nature of the interview, the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee is not so active or disputable that he/she does not use *bon* to initiate an other-repair. The principle of this function is relevant to *well* as a discourse marker. Self-repair displays that a speaker admits that he/she had a problem concerning his/her own speech. In Examples (68) and (69), the speaker uses this marker to elaborate a description of his/her preceding utterance by adding some detailed information. In Example (70), although the speaker said that there are still some bistros to which he used to go, some had disappeared notably. Thus, he corrects his statement by using this marker.

However, when he/she made an error in his/her speech and the speaker does not repair his/her utterance, he/she may be corrected by others. For the speaker, by being corrected, he/she would prefer to avoid his/her face loss; therefore, the speaker shows his/her problem by his/herself before someone points it out. Therefore, by using *bon*, the speaker expresses: “*Bon*, I acknowledge that I said X, but Y is more proper”. This formula is the same as the case of objection. In other words, when the speaker uses *bon* to repair his/her utterance, he/she imagines the other’s “voice”, who may say Y. Because the speaker considers the other’s imaginary voice, this marker functions dialogically.

Thus, *bon* expresses an acknowledgment and mitigates the face-threatening act

invoked by accepting the speaker's error. Politeness traditionally has paid attention mainly to the hearer's face. However, admission of his/her mistake is crucial to maintaining his/her negative face. *Bon* in this case contributes to a face-redress for the speaker. Therefore, this marker is primarily relevant to the textual organization for repairing some units of discourse, but this marker is also relevant to politeness management.

I discussed the four functions "topic shift", "resumption", "repair", and "closing" in relation to the textual and interpersonal modes. I argue that their core function is to accept or acknowledge any unit of talk. By accepting a unit of talk, the speaker can conclude or break up the local discourse. Then, he/she can definitively end or restart a talk. For the case of repair, the speaker breaks up a current talk by accepting his/her own error and initiating or repairing the trouble source.

This is a trigger that *bon* has been recruited as a discourse marker. As mentioned, closing a conversation involves an inherent face threat. Then, the speaker can express interpersonal management, or intersubjective stance by using *bon* as a discourse marker. Accepting a unit of talk with *bon* causes a type of pseudo-agreement; then, the unit of discourse can be completely or temporarily completed, in other words, bracketed. Although I did not refer to the functional change in *bon* as a discourse marker, the findings of the relation between interpersonal and textual functions may imply that *bon* seems to have developed from interpersonal (intersubjective) > textual modes. However, more research is necessary for a stronger claim.

Finally, I summarize the position where *bon* as a discourse marker is used. The

transcription convention of CFPP2000 is not as elaborated as the one of the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English*; hence, there is no punctuation or symbols for the transcription. I suggest that a unit of utterance relies on a unit of act. An item following the unit of act can be considered an initial position of the next utterance. In the case that the marker is used in the unit of act, it is regarded as being used in the medial position of the utterance.

Out-put function	Utterance-initial	Utterance-medial	Utterance-final
Interpersonal functions			
agreement Example (61)	✓ Bon	très bien	
objection Example (63)	✓ Bon moi	je suis pas euh	
mitigator Example (64) Example (65)	✓ Mais bon Mais bon	on a eu de la chance elles ont des connaissances...	
filler Example (66) Example (67)	✓ euh bon alors	✓ il fallait réserver... il y a... bon ben	
Textual functions			
repair Example (68)		✓ ...une petite librairie bon qui	
topic shift Example (72)	✓ Bon	euh ma fois	
resumption Example (73)	✓ Bon	vous avez parlé...	
closing Example (76) Example (77)	✓ Bon ben Mais bon	on finira sur euh... elles ont des connaissances...	✓ enfin bon

Table 4 Positions of *bon* as a discourse marker

In general, this marker displays interpersonal management so that it will probably occupy an initial position of utterance or LP. This occurs because this marker needs to communicate an upcoming face threat before the act(ion) in question. The marker as the cases of “agreement” and “objection” is used in the initial position of utterance because this marker displays the speaker’s stance before the speaker starts to say a proposition.

For the case of mitigator, *bon* as a discourse marker appears after the concessive marker *mais* in the opening of utterance. The speaker first shows his/her stance of objection, but he/she inserts *bon* to mitigate directly after *mais*. Fillers can be used for preparing for an opening of utterance or buying time to think or search for words. Therefore, fillers can be used either in an initial or medial position of utterance. For the case of repair, this marker follows the trouble source to be repaired; thus it is usually used in the medial position of utterance. However, if an interlocutor repairs an other's speech, *bon* can be used at the initial position of the person who initiates a repair. In the cases of topic shift, resumption, and closing, *bon* as a discourse marker is basically used in the initial position to communicate an initiation or preparation for closing the current topic or interaction itself. However, for the case of closing, a speaker can use *bon* in an utterance-initial position to mark a preparation for closure. In addition, the speaker can use this marker in the final position of utterance to signal a definitive end of his/her turn. Therefore, *bon* as a closure in the final position or RP can contribute to turn-yielding. This use cannot be found in *well* as a discourse marker. Indeed, *well* at the initial position of utterance is used to display preparation for closing, but this marker cannot be used in the utterance-final position.

The second part of this chapter discusses the Spanish discourse marker *bueno* as the findings of relevance with *well* and *bon* as discourse markers. Similar to the two markers, *bueno* derives from its propositional meaning "good". This marker contributes to both the interpersonal and textual functions. I provided the examples of "acceptance (or "agreement")", "dispreferred response", "correction (or "repair")", "reorientation (or

“topic shift/resumption”), “direct speech”, and “pre-closing (or “closing”)”. Travis (2005: 123) argues that the core function of these uses is “acceptance”, from which functions such as “pre-closing”, “dispreferred response”, and “reorientation” have been developed. Moreover, “correction” is an example of the extension of “dispreferred response”. Although the languages I examined differ, speakers use the item such as *well*, *bon*, and *bueno* as discourse markers that involve the propositional meaning “good”. These findings lead to a conclusion that the interpersonal aspects of these items have been recruited as discourse markers, used when interpersonal management is necessary. In other words, the interpersonal functions of the markers contribute to mitigating the potential face threat caused by the speaker. Additionally, the textual functions of the markers are primarily relevant to discourse structuring; however, these markers can mitigate actions relevant to the discourse structuring, such as closing or repair. This phenomenon occurs because closing a topic can display the speaker’s disinterest in the current topic, and repairing can offend the speaker and hearer’s face. Through the analysis of the three discourse markers in English, French, and Spanish, I demonstrated that some universals of politeness can be partly supported.

Finally, I summarize the functions of the three markers. On the basis of this study, the functions of these markers can be organized (Table 5). Because the distribution of function varies by the type of discourse and other factors, other functions are possible and not listed here. Nevertheless, it is evident that most of the functions are shared among the three markers.

Modes	Functions	<i>Well</i>	<i>Bon</i>	<i>Bueno</i>
Interpersonal	agreement	✓	✓	✓
	objection	✓	✓	
	dispreferred marker	✓		✓
	filler	✓	✓	
	mitigator		✓	
Textual	repair	✓	✓	✓
	quotative use	✓		
	resumption	✓	✓	✓
	topic shift	✓	✓	✓
	closing	✓	✓	✓

Table 5 Functional distribution of *well*, *bon*, and *bueno* as discourse markers

Chapter 6 Theoretical Implications

In this chapter, I consider how my findings satisfy or contribute to the concepts not discusses. In Chapter 2, I have presented the definitions of discourse markers (2.1), grammaticalization (2.2), functional-semantic modes of language (2.3), and politeness theory (2.4). Through these perspectives, I have analyzed the examples of *well*, *bon*, and *bueno* as discourse makers. In this chapter, I review my findings from the analyses and the listed concepts.

6.1 Discourse markers

Well can fall into a category of grammar termed discourse markers. I have introduced five accounts (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg 2003; Beeching 2016; Brinton 2017; Fraser 1988, 1999, 2009; Schiffrin 1987) regarding the definitions of discourse/pragmatic markers. In this study, I basically used Schiffrin's and Brinton's definitions. Schiffrin's definition is repeated as follows:

- a) it has to be syntactically detachable from a sentence
- b) it has to be commonly used in initial position of an utterance
- c) it has to have a range of prosodic contours
- d) it has to be able to operate at both local and global levels of discourse, and on different planes of discourse

(Schiffrin 1987: 328)

Well does not contribute to the proposition; hence it satisfies condition (a), which attests that it is syntactically detachable from a sentence. Except for the cases of “fillers” and “repair”, which can also be used initially, this marker is used in an initial position of an utterance. Therefore, it satisfies condition (b). Besides the criteria, Schiffrin defines the markers as “sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk” (1987: 31). Notably, Goffman, from whom the term “bracket” is adopted, claims that “the bracket initiating a particular type of activity may carry more significance than the bracket terminating it” (1974: 255). Discourse markers play an important role in organizing an orientation of discourse; thus, markers must be used initially. The clearest example of bracket is the case of *well* as a quotative use. A speaker can use this marker to quote his/her speech and others’ speech. This marker brackets an initiation of others’ speech to mark a boundary. However, *bon* as the case of “closing” can be used in the final position of an utterance.

Regarding condition (c), I have not investigated the prosodic features; hence, I cannot present data. However, I analyzed the prosody of *well* elsewhere (Cf. Takamura 2019) and confirmed various types of prosody. For example, in Takamura (2019), the prosodies of *well* as a dispreferred response and as a filler were presented. In the case of a dispreferred response, *well* is produced in a falling intonation, on the other hand, a filler is produced in a rising–falling intonation. Hence, *well* satisfies the condition (c). Finally, regarding the operation at the local and global levels of discourse, the interpersonal functions are relatively restricted at the local level. For example, a speaker uses this marker to express his/her subjective attitude (e.g., agreement or objection). Moreover, a

dispreferred response is a characteristic of preference organization, which comprises two adjacent utterances produced by different speakers. By contrast, the textual functions can contribute to the local and global levels. For example, a speaker can use this marker to mark a resumption of talk in a global level of discourse because he/she returns to the preceding topic that has been halted for a while because of another side sequence or digression. Moreover, the functions such as quote and repair contribute to an internal utterance, in other words, the local level of discourse. Therefore, *well* satisfies all the conditions as a discourse marker.

Next, I also consider how *well* is relevant to Brinton's (2017) definition. As presented in 2.1.3, she provides a comprehensive list of definitions, including twelve characteristics in which Schifffrin's criteria except for (d) can be found. Therefore, I select characteristics that are most relevant to this study.

Phonological and lexical characteristics

(a) Pragmatic markers are often "small" items, although they may also be phrasal or clausal; they are sometimes phonologically reduced.

(c) Pragmatic markers do not constitute a traditional word class, but are most closely aligned to adverbs, conjunctions, or interjections.

Syntactic characteristics

(e) Pragmatic markers occur preferentially at clause boundaries (initial/ final) but are generally movable and may occur in sentence-medial position as well.

(f) Pragmatic markers are grammatically optional but at the same time serve important

pragmatic functions (and are, in a sense, pragmatically non-optional).

Semantic characteristics

(g) Pragmatic markers have little or no propositional/conceptual meaning, but are procedural and non-compositional.

Functional characteristics

(h) Pragmatic markers are often multifunctional, having a range of pragmatic functions.

Sociolinguistic and stylistic characteristics

(i) Pragmatic markers are predominantly a feature of oral rather than written discourse; spoken and written pragmatic markers may differ in form and function.

(Brinton 2017: 9)

First, I mention the conditions (a), (h), and (i). *Well* is a small item that can be realized in a breath unit (Traugott 1995: 6). The typical discourse markers, such as *so* or *I mean* (Cf. Schiffrin 1987), are so small that a speaker can use these items at once in an important position. However, Fraser (2009) classifies relatively long expressions as pragmatic markers. For example, he provides an example *returning to my previous topic* as the case of resumption. I presented examples of resumption in 4.2.3, and a speaker can use *well* to mark a shift of the prior topic. Regarding the efficiency of oral communication, a shorter item is more preferred than a longer expression. Moreover, *well* is multifunctional so that the function is colored in a context, and the expression *returning to my previous topic* is a monofunction, which only serves to resume a topic.

Next, I refer to conditions (c), (e), (f), and (g). Schiffrin (1987) categorizes different

parts of speech as “discourse markers”, and adverbs or clausal expressions are recruited as markers. For the case of *well*, this lexical item is attributed to an adverb. Once this item is recruited as a discourse marker, the propositional meaning of *well* is bleached and acquires different pragmatic functions of interpersonal and textual modes. However, although the propositional meaning is bleached, I argue that the semantic aspect of the lexical item contributes to the functions of *well* as a discourse marker. The referential meaning of *well* displays how good it is. This interpersonal meaning as politeness motivates *well* to be used as a discourse marker. A speaker can use this marker at boundaries: initial, final, or medial positions. This study reveals that most of the examples of *well* are used in the initial position and before a face-threatening act. That is, *well* displays a pseudo-agreement to a hearer and mitigates the face threat accrued through what the speaker says (“interpersonal” e.g., objection) or does (“textual” e.g., repair). From the traditional view of grammar, the use of discourse markers is optional. However, this marker serves important pragmatic functions. Therefore, it is an important element that contributes to human interaction; in other words, this marker is pragmatically required.

In summary, *well* also satisfies the selected characteristics of discourse markers introduced by Brinton (2017). For the remaining criteria, research with different approaches is necessary.

6.2 Grammaticalization

Well is grammaticalized as a discourse marker from the property of adverb. Traugott

(2010a) introduces “grammaticalization as expansion”, which allows scope expansion of a linguistic item. This cline involves a cline for the development of discourse markers: Clause-internal Adverb > Sentence Adverb > Discourse Marker. As in “Elin plays the piano very well”, *well* is attributed to a clause-internal adverb, which is never used in an initial position of the sentence. However, *well* is used as a discourse marker, and this item occupies the initial position of utterance. Hence, *well* as a discourse marker expands its scope.

As the aforementioned cline shows, some sentence adverbs easily promote themselves to discourse markers. For example, I introduce the case of *actually* (Aijmer 1986) again.

- (84) ↓ she ↓ is ↓ not ↓ as pretty ↓ as ↓ she ↓ might ↓ have ↓ been ↓
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Actually as an adverb can be used in any position from 1 to 10 in Example (84). Especially, *actually* as a case of disjunct (Quirk et al. 1985) can function in 1, 5, and 10. When this adverb is used initially, the whole sentence can fall in the scope of *actually*. Therefore, the functions of *actually* as the cases of disjunct and discourse marker are overlapped. By contrast, why has *well* as a discourse marker come to be used initially? The solution to this problem can be best explained via pragmatics and politeness.

I have argued that *well* as a discourse marker contributes to mitigating a face-threatening act at the interpersonal and textual levels. When a speaker has to communicate,

which involves a face threat, he/she uses this marker before the act to display a token/pseudo-agreement to mitigate the act(ion) in question. Hence this marker should be used at an initial position of utterance or LP (Left Periphery).

LP is characterized as a place where a speaker's subjectivity is expressed (Beeching and Detges 2014). However, *well* can express a speaker's intersubjectivity centered on the hearer's face. According to Beeching and Detges (2014), intersubjectivity is displayed at RP or the utterance-final position. However, Onodera (2014) claims that there is not an automatic association between position (LP/RP) and function (subjective/intersubjective) in Japanese. Therefore, *well* is used at LP to display both subjective and intersubjective functions.

However, for *well* as a discourse marker, there is a vague boundary between subjective and intersubjective functions. In the case of agreement, *well* clearly expresses a speaker's subjectivity. Although the case of objection contributes to a speaker's subjectivity, the speaker uses this marker to mitigate his/her stance involving an inherent face-threatening act. Hence, the use of this marker can reflect the speaker's intersubjectivity.

Finally, I refer to the other two markers, *bon* and *bueno*, which share many characteristics with *well* as a discourse marker. Especially, regarding the morpho-syntactic aspect, *bon* and *bueno* do not conjugate when used as discourse markers.

These markers conform to some principles of grammaticalization: (a) decategorialization, (b) persistence, (c) divergence, and (d) layering. These markers lose the morphological and syntactic characteristics of the original category. *Well* develops its

scope from an adverb to a discourse marker. Likewise, *bon* and *bueno* as discourse markers are not affected by the surrounding grammatical environment. Second, the functions of these markers have retained or exploited the propositional meaning. All three markers derive from the meaning “good”. Notably, these markers consider the original meaning to mitigate the inherent face threat by showing pseudo-agreement. This realization is attributed that *well*, *bon* and *bueno* continue to be used as an adverb or adjective.

From the above, these items satisfy the principles (a), (b), and (c). Therefore, *well*, *bon*, and *bueno* are grammaticalized to be used as discourse markers.

6.3 Functional-semantic modes of language

Along with functional-semantic modes of language, *well* has three functions: “ideational”, “textual”, and “interpersonal”. In the ideational mode, *well* is an adverb/adjective. In other words, the item that belongs to this mode is attributed to semantics. By contrast, *well*, which belongs to the textual and interpersonal modes, is attributed to pragmatics. As discourse markers are labeled as pragmatic markers, and markers can involve the two functional modes.

In this study, I have presented five textual functions of *well* as a discourse marker: “repair”, “quotative use”, “resumption”, “topic shift”, and “closing”. The main role of these functions is to regulate the textual/discourse organization. For the cases of repair and quote, this marker operates at a local level of discourse. By contrast, *well* as cases of resumption, topic shift, and closing can function at a global level of discourse. I have also

presented four interpersonal functions of this marker: “agreement”, “objection”, “dispreferred/nonstraightforward response”, and “filler”. *Well* as these cases preface an inherent face-threatening act. As examined in 4.1.1, *well* marks a range from full agreement to pseudo-agreement. A speaker can use this marker to mitigate his/her act that can threaten the hearer’s or speaker’s face.

Although these three elements are considered an independent language function, for *well* as a discourse marker, the functional boundary seems to be vague (Cf. Aijmer 2013). For example, *well* as the case of repair contributes to the textual aspect of discourse, and to the interpersonal aspect because correcting a hearer’s utterance involves a face threat. Notably, an argument might be that *well* in this case can be analyzed as two distinctive functions: textual and interpersonal. However, the interpersonal function is reflected by choosing the use of *well* to mark a repair. In other words, it does not mean that the two different functions, such as agreement (interpersonal) and repair (textual), can be found. One of the motivations for the functional vagueness between interpersonal and textual stems from the ideational or referential meaning of the lexical item. Therefore, a speaker exploits the positive meaning of this marker in an environment where a face can be threatened. In other words, because the actions related to the textual function such as closing, topic shift, repair, and so forth involve potential face threats, *well* as a discourse marker makes the boundary blurred or merged. This interpersonal management is known as “politeness”, the key to this study.

6.4 Politeness theory

In this study, I have discussed two main arguments on the relation between *well* as a discourse marker and politeness. First, politeness intervenes in the functional development of this marker. Second, the translation equivalence such as *bon* and *bueno* as the counterparts of *well* are the examples supporting some universals of politeness.

Well as a discourses marker has often been discussed in relation to politeness (e.g., Owen 1981, Pomerantz 1984). A speaker can use this marker to signal that a face threat is about to occur. For example, Pomerantz (1984) finds that this marker precedes a disagreement when agreement is preferred. Thus, I can argue that this marker is relevant to the strategy for positive politeness “avoid disagreement” (Brown and Levinson 1987). This strategy can be interpreted as accepting a unit of talk unconditionally, even in a case where the speaker can hardly agree. In this case, *well* can mark pseudo-agreement. This tactic seems to be a basis for all the functions of *well* as a discourse marker, not only for the interpersonal but also the textual functions. In other words, it is impossible to consider the textual functions apart from politeness, which is closely relevant to the interpersonal function.

Recall the unidirectionality of grammaticalization. Traugott (1982, 1989) considers that a function of a lexical item develops from propositional > ((textual) > (expressive)). However, as I have proposed in Chapter 2 and elsewhere, a reasonable assumption seems to be that *well* as a discourse marker has acquired the functions in the order of propositional > expressive > textual, because the propositional component is expressive. Then, it is reasonable that the functional boundary between each component is vague. For

example, when a speaker closes a conversation or topic that the interlocutor presents, he/she can use *well* to stop the ongoing topic by displaying an acknowledgment or acceptance of the talk. In other words, as a result, the speaker's evaluation contributes to the closure. The textual functions of this marker involve an inherent face threat; therefore, *well* is used in the cases such as repair or closing to mitigate its action.

The other purpose of this study is to describe some universal phenomena of politeness across the languages. *Well* as a discourse marker, with its propositional meaning, is used to signal an upcoming dispreferred message. I have argued that the motivation of this use is related to politeness. Then, I have assumed that in other languages, some similar linguistic behaviors can be observed. Therefore, I have presented the examples of *bon* as a French discourse marker, and *bueno* as a Spanish discourse marker. As a result, these items *bon* and *bueno* also derive from the propositional meaning "good", used in the context where interpersonal management. However, the functions and positions of these two markers do not always corresponded with *well* as a discourse marker (Tables 3, 4, and 5). Another difference among them is that *well* derives from an adverb, and that *bon* and *bueno* derive from an adjective. Regarding the original grammatical function, *well* can be speculated to be also recruited from an adjective (Cf. Finell 1989). As diachronic observation is not the main research in this study, I cannot remark on the discrepancy. To begin with, whether the trivial difference is worth discussing is dubious. However, a broader view that these items that share the meaning "good" are used as discourse markers can partly support the theoretical assumption of some universals of politeness.

Chapter 7 Concluding remarks

In this final chapter, in (7.1), I summarize the main points of the study, reviewing the relation between discourse markers and politeness. And in (7.2), to conclude this study, I discuss the relevance of my findings as a further problem for further research.

7.1 Summary of this study

In Chapter 1, I raised three main points of this study: (1) to find and describe the functions of *well* as a discourse marker and to reveal how the functions contribute to the textual and interpersonal modes, (2) to relate both textual and interpersonal functions with politeness in terms of the original meaning “good” of this marker, and (3) to display that my argument can also be applied to other languages. Thus, I provided the French and Spanish examples of *bon* and *bueno* as discourse markers whose original meanings also come from “good”. These problems were examined by discourse analysis through the four key concepts of “discourse markers”, “grammaticalization”, “functional-semantic modes of language”, and “politeness theory”, introduced in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 referred to the studies of *well* in the following three perspectives: (1) synchronic, (2) diachronic, and (3) syntactic and semantic. The synchronic study of *well* is so vast that I only mentioned the studies most relevant to the purpose of this study. For example, *well* as an interjective use (Cf. Schourup 2001) was beyond the scope of this study.

Although I did not provide my own data for the historical aspects of this marker, the studies I referred to in the diachronic section played an important role in the analysis parts.

In a traditional viewpoint of grammaticalization, an item is considered to be developed from propositional > ((textual) > (expressive)) (Traugott 1982, 1989). However, for *well* as a discourse marker, this marker seems to have gone through the pathway from propositional > expressive (interpersonal) > textual (Defour and Simon-Vandenberghe 2010). In other words, the semantic meaning of the marker “good” has influenced the process of development. Considering the functions of this marker, the interpersonal functions are more tied to the propositional function than the textual functions. For example, *well* to be used for closing a topic indexes the textual function by inviting pseudo-agreement for closing, which involves inherent face threats (Cameron 2001). Therefore, this marker emphasizes a face-redress, and the textual function of closing is only the result of interpersonal management.

In Chapter 4, I provided examples of interpersonal and textual modes of *well* as a discourse marker, along with the functional-semantic modes of language (Brinton 2017, Halliday 1970, 1979). The interpersonal modes of this marker involve the cases of “agreement”, “objection”, “dispreferred/nonstraightforward marker”, and “filler”. By contrast, the textual modes involve the cases of “repair”, “quotative use”, “resumption”, “topic shift”, and “closing”. Notably, this marker indexes each function (or more at once) in a discourse. Although these functions have been discussed, that is, each function belonged to each functional mode in either interpersonal or textual aspects, I argued that both functions of this marker were vague and could be explained by politeness. In other words, there is a common point among the functions that *well* is used before a face threat. Therefore, a speaker used this marker in these cases to contribute to politeness.

Through the analysis, I also argued the (inter)subjectivity of *well* as a discourse marker. Traugott refers to subjectivity as “the prime semantic or pragmatic meaning of which is to index speaker attitude or viewpoint” and refers to intersubjectivity as “speaker’s attention to addressee self-image” (2010b: 32). However, the choice of this marker for expressing the speaker’s subjective stance (e.g., “objection”) clearly reflects the intersubjectivity.

Chapter 5 discussed some universal phenomena of politeness by examining the cases of French *bon* and Spanish *bueno* as discourse markers. Similar to *well* as a discourse marker, in French and Spanish, the items that semantically express “good” are recruited as discourse markers to mitigate a face threat at both interpersonal and textual levels. However, all the functions and positions of these three markers did not always correspond to each other (Cf. Brinton 2011). Nevertheless, through the data analysis, I presented sufficient examples to partly support the typological perspective of politeness.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I reexamined the concepts presented in Chapter 2 along with the finding of this study. *Well* satisfied most of the concepts and definitions that have been supported for a long time, except for “grammaticalization”. Thus, the motivation for this item to be used as a discourse marker is different from that of other items such as *actually* as an adverb (Aijmer 1986), which has already had points in common with the discourse marker. In other words, I cleared that the interpersonal semantic value of *well* has played a role for development to be used as a discourse marker. This conclusion makes sense because people pay attention to interpersonal management in interaction.

7.2 Further issues

The main purpose of this study is that the use of lexical items involving the semantic meaning “good” as discourse markers is relevant to some universal phenomena of politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987). *Well* as a discourse marker derives from an adverb reflecting the interpersonal aspect, and this marker contributes to mitigating a face threat. Therefore, this marker has often been characterized as a “dispreferred marker” (Pomerantz 1984).

In addition to *well* as a discourse marker, I also considered *bon* in French and *bueno* in Spanish. Despite the differences among these three markers, they all share interpersonal value. Thus, this dissertation concludes that the items with the original meaning “good” are used as discourse markers or fillers when a face is threatened and that such a politeness act can be universally observed. However, it is perhaps too early to provide such a conclusion.

Consider the case of a dispreferred marker in Japanese. In the following excerpt,¹³ S is a senior and T is a junior in college. S makes a phone call and suggests that T watch a martial arts program together at T’s home.

Example (85)

1 T: Hai moshi moshi::=

¹³ Transcription convention (Takagi et al. 2016): [] overlap, = latch without perceptible pause, (.) less than 0.2 seconds, . downtoner, , continuative, (h) exhale, ↓ sudden downtoner, > < noticeably rapid, ¥ smile face, : lag

< Hi, hello>

2 S: = A:: moshi moshi?

< Ah, hello?>

3 (0.5)

4 T: Hai.

< Yes.>

5 S: Ore ore.

< This is me, me.>

6 (0.5)

7 T: Hai.

<Yes.>

8 S: ¥A (hh) no (h): sa (hh): ¥ .hh

<Well >

9 T: [hai.

<Yes.>

10 S: = [kyou sa: ano: [: :] kee wan yan jyan ↓ ka:::

<Today well there holds K-1 you know>

11 T: [hai]

<Yes>

12 (.)

13 T: Ha: i.

<Yes>

14 S: Da:: mata sa:: Teru no sa:: ie de sa::

<So, at Teru's (your) home again>

15 (.)

→16 T: A:: [ano: sou shitain: desu kedo:: [: , o] re=

<Ah, well I'd like to but, I>

17 S: [ano:: [u:n]

<Ah, yes>

18 T: =Kyo baito haitte desu ne::

<I have a part-time job today>

19 S: Itsu made?

<Until when?>

20 (.)

21 T: Ya choudo (3.0) 9 ji kara hajimatte::=

<It just starts from 9 o'clock and>

22 S: =Un=

<Yes>

23 T: =Ichi ji:: gurai made arun de ::

<Until kind of 1 o'clock>

24 S: A [(re)

<Oh>

25 T: [Cho:tto kibishiin> desu yo <ne:: = kyoo mo ashita mo hai chatte

<I think it's a little bit difficult you know, I have a job today and tomorrow too>

(Takagi et al. 2016: 152f; translation is my own)

In line 14 S suggests watching the TV program together at T's home; hence this line can be regarded as a first-pair part of the adjacency pair. In line 15 T refuses his suggestion because he has a part-time job during the time K-1 (martial art) is aired. T's response marks a dispreferred response. T initiates his answer with *ano* to buy time before the declination. As the translation shows, *ano* can be equivalent to *well* in this case. However, *ano* does not derive from the source 'good'. This item is from the demonstrative.

Koide (2009) observes that Japanese fillers derive from a demonstrative (*ano* "that", *sono* "that", *kono* "this", *kou* "this") and an adverb (*maa* "well", *nanka* "like", *mou* "oh"). Moreover, Cook claims that *ano* as a filler is an affective extension of the deictic demonstrative adjective (1993: 21f). Cases in which fillers stem from the demonstrative are also reported in other languages (e.g., Chinese, Korean). For example, Chen (2017) mentions that 这个 (*zhege*) "this" is a filler that originated from a demonstrative. As one of its functions, a speaker can use this filler to avoid what he/she does not want to answer. As far as this study is concerned, I can argue that in the Western languages English, French, and Spanish, an item that derives from the positive words has been recruited as a discourse marker and filler while a demonstrative has been used as a filler in Japanese. Then, another question arises. Is the Japanese demonstrative filler relevant to politeness?

Yamane reports that in face-to-face interaction, among the demonstratives as a filler, the items *ano* and *anoo* are the most frequently used (2002: 137), and these fillers express

some hesitation for talking about private issues (Ibid.: 143). In other words, a speaker can use *ano* or *anoo* to express his/her psychological attitude to convey a dispreferred response (Iwasaki 2020: 814), as shown in Example (85). In the case of dispreferred response, in English, French, and Spanish, the positive words *well* or *bon* are used; in Japanese, the distal marker *ano(o)* is used. Notably, this difference can be considered a difference of cultural orientation for a dichotomy of positive and negative politeness.

Japanese culture is often referred to as a prototypical negative face culture (Fukushima 2000, Mizutani and Mizutani 1987, Takano 2005). In summary, a characteristic of negative politeness strategy is to take distancing between the speaker and the hearer. Therefore, the greater the distance, the more politeness can be expressed. For the case of *ano(o)*, a motivation for this item to be used as a filler to display some hesitation is related to negative politeness. The use of distal markers can convey social distance, anger, or avoidance (Brown and Levinson 1987: 205).

Ano as an adnominal demonstrative is immediately followed by a noun, as in “*ano hon*” (that book). The referent indexed by *ano* is situated in a place neutrally remote from both the speaker and hearer. As Cook (1993) mentions, the filler is an extension of the demonstrative, and a speaker can use the filler *ano(o)* as the case of dispreferred response to create a distance and move away from the current topic involving a face threat from the hearer and him/herself; by so doing, the speaker can minimize the imposition to save negative face.

By contrast, regarding the positive markers *well*, *bon*, *bueno* in English, French, and Spanish, these are obviously related to positive politeness for avoiding disagreement. The

use of these positive items as a face-redress can convey empathy or involvement. As repeated in the main chapters, these words invite pseudo-agreement. By so doing, a face threat will be softened.

Therefore, although the word choice depending on either positive face oriented or negative face oriented differs, both cases contribute to politeness. Using the positive items (approach-based) or items that originate from demonstratives (avoidance-based) means a different orientation for politeness in a culture. For a strong claim on some universals of politeness of discourse markers, additional typological research is necessary. However, despite the typological difference, I believe that the significance of this study is not lost.

Transcription convention

The following transcription symbols and conventions used in *the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* are taken from Du Bois (2006).

[]	overlap (single)	%	glottal stop
[2 2]	overlap (2nd)	@	laugh pause
=	lag (prosodic length)	(H)	breathe (in)
-	truncated intonation unit	(Hx)	exhale
.	terminative	,	continuative
..	pause (short)	?	appeal intonation
...	pause (long)	!	booster
X	unintelligible	~	pseudograph
(SNIFF)	sniffing	(SWALLOW)	swallowing
(CLICK)	click	(TSK)	click
(CRY)	crying	(SOB)	sobbing
(THROAT)	throat clearing	(GROAN)	groaning
<YWN YWN>	yawing	<@ @>	laughing words
<X X>	uncertain hearing	<VOX VOX>	voice of another
<Q Q>	voice of another	<L2> </L2>	code-switching
<P P>	piano	<WH WH>	whispered
<F F>	forte		
<MRC MRC>	marcato: each word distinct and emphasized		
<SING>	manner in which words produced		

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