

Vienna, January 24th, 2025

Deverbal discourse markers

An overview

Stefan Schneider (Graz)

<http://www.stefan-schneider.at>

Contents

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Names
- 3 Semantic and pragmatic properties
- 4 Morphosyntactic and phonological properties
- 5 Open questions
- References

1 Introduction

- (1) Spanish, 1983, C3H1, *HUSNC*
- ¿Cree que ha variado mucho el tipo de enseñanza actual de la antigua? *Vamos*, de la antigua, de la anterior *quiero decir*.
'do you think that the current type of teaching has changed much from the old one? Come on, from the old one, from the previous one, I mean'
- (2) Italian, 1990, MC9, *LIP*
A: senti ti devo lasciare perché ho un collegamento *credo* da Roma grazie comunque
'listen, I have to leave you because I have a connection I think from Rome, thank you anyway'

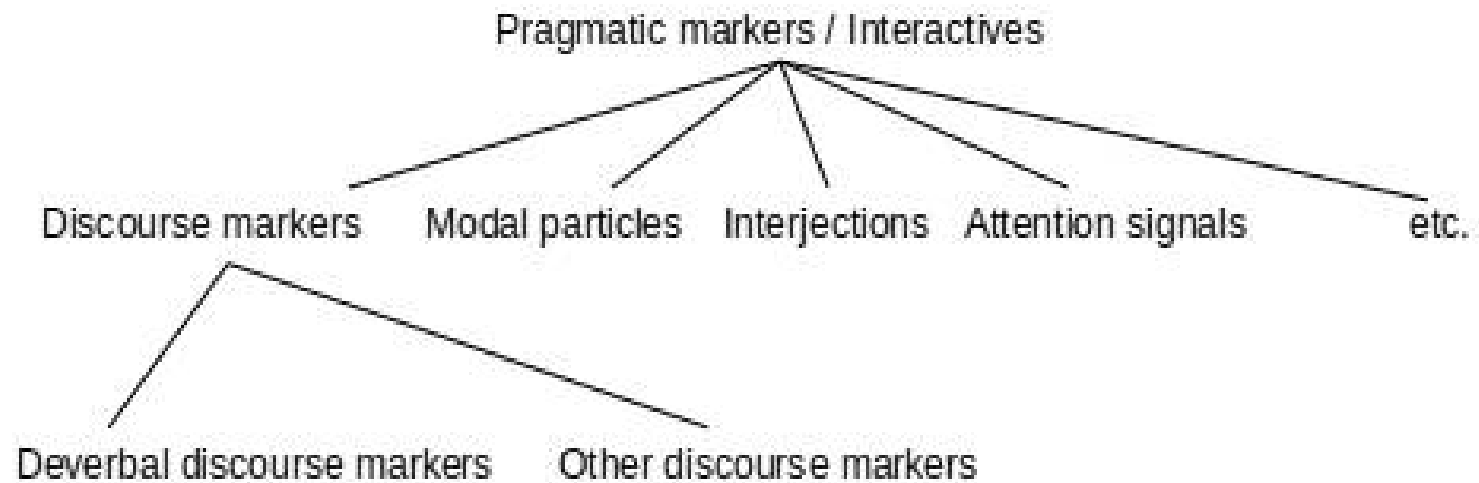
1 Introduction

- (3) French, 2008, MO-01, *CFPP2000*
spk1: vous avez donc eu une scolarité *j' imagine* de bon élève
'so you had a schooling, I imagine, as good pupil'
- (4) Romanian, 2014, *Interviu cu scriitorul Mihai Leonte, CoRoLa*
Soția dumneavoastră, copiii, au fost un sprijin să vă afirmați ca poet, sau om de literatură, să *spunem* la general?
'your wife, your children, have they been a support for you to assert yourself as poet or as man of literature, let's say in general?'

1 Introduction

- Discourse markers based on verbs or that at least derive from verbs
- Diachronically or synchronically containing a (mostly inflected) verb and one or more optional elements
- In oral speech, some also occurring in informal written language
- Metacommunicative, instructional (Ducrot et al. 1980) or procedural (Blakemore 1987) meaning/function
- Verbal/verb-based vs. deverbal

1 Introduction



1 Introduction

- *Deverbal discourse markers* are a (prominent) subclass of *discourse markers*.
- Discourse markers are a subclass of *pragmatic markers* (Crible 2017) or *interactives* (Heine 2023).
- Pragmatic markers or interactives comprise discourse markers, modal particles, interjections, attention signals, response signals, tag questions, vocatives, etc.
- Terminological confusion regarding *discourse markers* and *pragmatic markers*

2 Names

- A lot of different denominations:
 - *Parenthetical verb* (Urmson 1952)
 - *Verbe d'opération* (Benveniste 1966 [1958])
 - *Comment clause* (Quirk et al. 1985)
 - *Verbal discourse signal* (Lamiroy & Swiggers 1991)
 - *Reduced parenthetical clause* (Schneider 2007)
 - *Marqueur discursif propositionnel* (Andersen 2007)
 - *Deverbal discourse marker* (Company Company 2008)
 - *Verb-based pragmatic marker* (Ghezzi & Molinelli 2014)
 - *Marqueur déverbal* (Schneider 2020)
 - *Segnale discorsivo deverbale* (Schneider 2022)

2 Names

- Lists and terminological discussions: Dostie (2004), Schneider (2007), Kaltenböck (2013), Ghezzi & Molinelli (2014), Heine & Kaltenböck (2021)
- Various analytical viewpoints:
 - Detached position
 - Syntactic category
 - Pragmatic function
 - Derivational origin: verbal/verb-based vs., deverbal
- In the last years, the pragmatic perspective is prevailing.

3 Semantic and pragmatic properties

- A fundamental aspect of deverbal discourse markers, and of discourse markers in general, is their synsemantic and ancillary nature.
- They are intrinsically dependent elements.
- This nature excludes their use as autonomous utterances.
- The synsemantic and ancillary nature also explains why they are, at least partially, grammatical elements.

3 Semantic and pragmatic properties

- The metacommunicative, instructional or procedural meaning of discourse markers in general involves three types of relation or domains (Llopis Cardona 2014; Sansò 2020; Traugott 2022; Heine 2023):
 - Relation between (parts of) utterances
 - Relation between language users and their utterances
 - Relation between language users
- Textual domain (text – text), personal domain (language user – text) or interpersonal domain (language user – language user)
- Deverbal discourse markers are present in all three domains.
- Specific domain determined by the morphological form and the original referential meaning

3 Semantic and pragmatic properties

- (1) Spanish, 1983, C3H1, *HUSNC*
- ¿Cree que ha variado mucho el tipo de enseñanza actual de la antigua? *Vamos*, de la antigua, de la anterior *quiero decir*.
'do you think that the current type of teaching has changed much from the old one? Come on, from the old one, from the previous one, I mean'
 - *Vamos*: focus of a part of the utterance → textual domain
 - *Quiero decir*: self-correction, reformulation → textual domain

3 Semantic and pragmatic properties

(2) Italian, 1990, MC9, *LIP*

A: *senti* ti devo lasciare perché ho un collegamento *credo* da Roma grazie comunque

'listen, I have to leave you because I have a connection I think from Rome, thank you anyway'

- *Senti*: calls on the interlocutor → interpersonal domain
- *Credo*: reduction of speaker commitment → personal domain

3 Semantic and pragmatic properties

- Many deverbal discourse markers function in more than one domain, that is, they are multifunctional.
 - Different function in different syntactic context (Bazzanella 2006: paradigmatic or *in absentia* multifunctionality):
- (5) French, 2002, 19, *CHOIX*
L1 [...] ça faisait partie de ces - *disons* données culturelles
'this was part of these let's say cultural data'
- *Disons*: reduction of speaker commitment → personal domain

3 Semantic and pragmatic properties

- (6) French, 2001, 15, Beeching (2001)
nous prenons à partir de l'âge de sept ans - et jusqu'à
treize ans, un groupe, *disons* de sept à treize ans qui sont
partagés aussi en deux ou trois groupes pour
l'enseignement
'we take from the age of seven - and up to thirteen, a
group of let's say seven to thirteen-year-olds who are also
divided into two or three groups for teaching'
- *Disons*: hypothetical example → textual domain

3 Semantic and pragmatic properties

- (7) French, 2001, 15, Beeching (2001)
on essaie d'élaborer ou ... *disons* d'adapter les
enseignements de la Bible à leur niveau
'we try to develop or let's say to adapt the lesson of the Bible
to their level'
- *Disons*: self-correction, reformulation → textual domain

3 Semantic and pragmatic properties

- More than one function in the same syntactic context (Bazzanella 2006: syntagmatic or *in praesentia* multifunctionality):
 - (8) Spanish, 2001, MR08, *CORPES 1.1*
/ pues la moraleja es que el chico pues / renuncia ¿sabes?
a vender su alma /
'so the moral of the story is that the boy renounces you
know selling his soul'
- *Sabes*: calls on the interlocutor → interpersonal domain, shares commitment with the interlocutor → personal domain

3 Semantic and pragmatic properties

- (9) Spanish, 2002, OR2002_0126, *CORPES 1.1*
/ a veces hacemos cosas y no las / no / no las hacemos
correctamente ¿sabes? //
'sometimes we do things and we don't do them correctly you
know'
- *Sabes*: calls on the interlocutor → interpersonal domain, shares
commitment with the interlocutor → personal domain, end of
turn → textual domain

3 Semantic and pragmatic properties

- Due to this multifunctionality, it is natural that the groupings and classifications of deverbal discourse markers may vary according to the author and the perspective.
- It. *senti* in (2): calls on the interlocutor → interpersonal domain
- Traugott (2018): Engl. attention-getter *look* signals turn-taking → textual domain
- Fr. *disons* in (6): hypothetical example → textual domain
- Due to the reduced speaker commitment regarding hypothetical examples, *disons* could also be assigned to the personal domain.

3 Semantic and pragmatic properties

- The scope of deverbal discourse markers is located on a different level compared to the scope of the source verbs.
- Fixed scope of source verbs → flexible/adaptive scope of deverbal discourse markers
- The markers have an utterance or an attitude towards an utterance in their scope
- Actual scope is determined by the domain, the structure and meaning of the utterance and the communicative intention of the speaker or writer

3 Semantic and pragmatic properties

- Deverbal discourse markers lack *addressability* (Boye & Harder 2007):
 - Extrapositional
 - Omission syntactically possible (but not pragmatically)
 - Non-truth-conditional
 - Cannot be negated
 - Cannot be the object of a question

4 Morphosyntactic and phonological properties

- Procedural meaning of deverbal discourse markers also involves syntactic properties such as position and combinatorial features
- Compared to source verbs: position options expanded, combinatorial options reduced
- Position in the utterance determined by the scope and the domain
- Markers indicating self-correction, exemplification or the beginning or end of turns or markers focalizing parts of utterances have a narrow scope that is limited to the sequence in question. Typically, they are positioned immediately before or after the targeted sequence.

4 Morphosyntactic and phonological properties

- Markers indicating the reduction of speaker commitment may have wide (10) or narrow (11) scope:

(10) French, 2009,11-04, *CFPP2000*

Spk1: non mais bon vous connaissez quand même tout Paris *j'imagine*

'no, but ok, you know anyway all of Paris, I imagine'

(3) French, 2009, MO-01, *CFPP2000*

Spk1: vous avez donc eu une scolarité *j'imagine* de bon élève

'you thus had an education, I imagine, as model student'

4 Morphosyntactic and phonological properties

- Within its host utterance, the deverbal discourse marker is, syntactically speaking, an attribute.
 - Neither required by the utterance nor governed by one of its elements
 - This status does not change if the deverbal discourse marker comprises an introductory conjunction or complementizer:
- (4) Romanian, 2014, *Interviu cu scriitorul Mihai Leonte, CoRoLa*
Soția dumneavoastră, copiii, au fost un sprijin să vă afirmați
ca poet, sau om de literatură, să *spunem* la general?
'Your wife, the children, have they been a support so that
you assert yourself as poet, or man of literature, let's say in
general?'

4 Morphosyntactic and phonological properties

- From the perspective of the deverbal discourse marker itself, the sequence is a reduced clause (Andersen 2007; Schneider 2007).
- Based on a verb or derived from a verb
- The verb is mostly inflected, but an infinitive (It. *per così dire* 'so to speak', Khachaturyan 2019) or a participle (Rom. *altfel spus* 'in other words', Popescu 2018) may also be used.
- In addition, one or more short optional elements
- Deverbal discourse markers admit modification, albeit in a restricted way

4 Morphosyntactic and phonological properties

- Many types of short optional elements:
 - Subject pronoun: Fr. *j'imagine*
 - Indirect object pronoun: Rom. *mi se pare*
 - Reflexive pronoun: Rom. *se pare*, Sp. *me imagino*
 - Conjunction: Fr. *s'il vous plaît*, Lat. *si audes, si vis*
 - Preverbal complementizer: Rom. *să spunem, să zicem*
 - Postverbal complementizer: Engl. *seems like*, Gal. *seica*, Rom. *parcă*, Sp. *dizque*

4 Morphosyntactic and phonological properties

- Adverb: Fr. *dis donc*, It. *diciamo così*, Rom. *altfel spus*
- Negative: It. *non so*, Sp. *no sé*
- Preposition: It. *per così dire*
- Auxiliary or modal verb: Engl. *maybe*, Fr. *c'est-à-dire*, *j'allais dire*, *peut-être*, Rom. *aș spune*, *era să spun*, *era să zic*, Sp. *quiero decir*
- Noun: Lat. *forsitan* (← *fors sit an*)

4 Morphosyntactic and phonological properties

- Each deverbal discourse marker is characterized by a specific morphological form.
- Association of a specific morphological form with a specific pragmatic meaning
- The paradigm of the source verb is blocked/not applicable.
- A single source verb may originate several markers (Dostie 2004 : *polypragmaticalisation*).
- Romance languages: verbs with the meanings 'go', 'say', 'know', 'see'
- Petraş (2019) : Acadien French: ten markers based on *dire*

4 Morphosyntactic and phonological properties

- Non-compositional idioms (Heine 2013; Brinton 2017)
- Fixed/fossilized sequence
- Due to usage frequency
- Concerns both the morphological form and the short optional elements:
 - The procedural textual or personal meaning of Sp. *digamos* cannot be immediately inferred from the meaning of the grammatical morphemes 'imperative' et 'first person present plural'.
 - Without the negative, It. *non* so ceases to function as discourse marker indicating hesitation or hypothetical examples.

4 Morphosyntactic and phonological properties

- More or less advanced phonological reduction
- May also involve coalescence/fusion/univerbation
- Latin (Hofmann 1951):
 - Fusion of second person verb forms with interrogative affix -
ne: *audin (tu)*, *censen (vero)*, *scin (tu)*, *viden (tu)*
 - *Si vis > sis*, *si audes > sodes*
- Québécois French (Vincent, Votre & Laforest 1993; Vincent 1993; Dostie 2004):
 - *Tu sais > tsé*, *t'sais*
 - *Écoute donc > coudon*
- Medieval Spanish, Latin American Spanish (Company Company 2006):
 - *Dice que > dizque*

4 Morphosyntactic and phonological properties

- Galician (López Couso & Méndez Naya 2014):
 - *Diz que > disque, sei ca > seica*
- Romanian (Pop 2009; Dincă 2012, 2015; Pană Dindelegan 2013; Popescu 2018):
 - *Zice că > cică, va să zică > vasăzică, cred că > crecă or crică, mă tem că > mătincă or mătencă, pare că > parcă*
- Sardinian, Sicilian ...
- English (Heine et al. 2021):
 - *I dessey, lookee, y'know, etc.*
- German (Imo 2007; Kolbe-Hanna & Filatkina 2021):
 - *Glaub, weißte/weisch/woisch, gell, denk, find, mein*
- The phonological reduction leads to discourse markers that are deverbal, diachronically speaking, but that are not anymore verbal or verb-based, in synchronic terms.

4 Morphosyntactic and phonological properties

- Contrary to a common opinion (e.g., Heine et al. 2021), deverbal discourse markers may, despite their syntactic detachment, prosodically fuse with neighboring elements.
- Wichmann (2001: 186): Parenthetical *I think* and *I suppose* are "melodically integrated, and since there is often no separating pause in speech there is no further basis for considering them as prosodically separate entities".
- Dehé (2014: 232): Regarding parenthetical *I think* and *I suppose*, "prosodic integration along with lack of prominence is instead the rule rather than the exception".

4 Morphosyntactic and phonological properties

- According to Imo (2007: 222), the German deverbial discourse marker *glaub(e) (ich)* is "fast durchweg unbetont" and "(prosodisch) in den Satzverband integriert".
- Gachet & Avanzi (2010) and Avanzi (2012a, 2012b) express the same opinion regarding French deverbial discourse markers.

5 Open questions

- Origin or source of deverbal discourse markers?
 - Thompson & Mulac (1991a, 1991b): main clauses
 - Brinton (1996, 2017): dependent/adverbial clauses
 - Fischer (2007): independent clauses
- Emergence of deverbal discourse markers a case of grammaticalization or a case of pragmaticalization?
 - Concerns discourse markers in general
 - If there is a continuum between lexicon and grammar, where are deverbal discourse markers in this continuum?
 - Do they display grammaticality properties? And if so, which properties?

References

- Andersen 2007 = Hanne L. Andersen 2007. Marqueurs discursifs propositionnels. *Langue française* 154, 13-28.
- Avanzi 2012a = Mathieu Avanzi 2012a. La prosodie des verbes parenthétiques en français parlé. *Linx* 61, 131-144.
- Avanzi 2012b = Mathieu Avanzi 2012b. *L'interface prosodie/syntaxe en français. Dislocations, incises et asyndètes*. Lang.
- Bazzanella 2006 = Carla Bazzanella 2006. Discourse markers in Italian: towards a compositional meaning. Kerstin Fischer (ed.). *Approaches to discourse particles*. Elsevier, 449-464.
- Beeching 2001 = Kate Beeching 2001. *Un corpus d'entretiens spontanés*. <http://www2.uwe.ac.uk/faculties/CAHE/ELC/Documents/iclru/corpus.pdf>.
- Benveniste 1966 [1958] = Émile Benveniste 1966 [1958]. De la subjectivité dans le langage. Émile Benveniste. *Problèmes de linguistique générale*. Vol. 1. Gallimard, 258-266 [Originally published in *Journal de Psychologie* 55, 257-265].
- Blakemore 1987 = Diane Blakemore 1987. *Semantic constraints on relevance*. Blackwell.
- Brinton 1996 = Laurel J. Brinton 1996. *Pragmatic markers in English. Grammaticalization and discourse functions*. Mouton De Gruyter.
- Brinton 2017 = Laurel J. Brinton 2017. *The evolution of pragmatic markers in English. Pathways of change*. Cambridge University Press.
- Boye & Harder 2007 = Kasper Boye, Peter Harder 2007. Complement-taking predicates: Usage and linguistic structure. *Studies in Language* 31, 569-606.
- CFPP2000 = Sonia Branca-Rosoff et al. (eds.) 2005-. *Discours sur la ville. Corpus de français parlé parisien des années 2000 (CFPP2000)*. <http://cfpp2000.univ-paris3.fr/>.
- CHOIX = Claire Blanche-Benveniste, Christine Rouget, Frédéric Sabio (eds.) 2002. *Choix de textes de français parlé. 36 extraits*. Honoré Champion.
- Company Company 2006 = Concepción Company Company 2006. Subjectification of verbs into discourse markers: semantic-pragmatic change only? *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 20, 97-121.

References

- Company Company 2008 = Concepción Company Company 2008. The directionality of grammaticalization in Spanish. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 9.2, 200-224.
- CoRoLa = Institutul de cercetări pentru inteligență artificială, Institutul de informatică teoretică (eds.) 2014-. *Corpus computațional de referință pentru limba română contemporană (CoRoLa)*. Institutul de cercetări pentru inteligență artificială. <https://corola.racai.ro/>.
- CORPES 1.1 = Real Academia Española (ed.) 2024. *Corpus del español del siglo XXI. Versión 1.1*. Real Academia Española. <https://www.rae.es/corpes>.
- Crible 2017 = Ludivine Crible 2017. Towards an operational category of discourse markers. A definition and its model. Chiara Fedriani, Andrea Sansò (eds.). *Pragmatic markers, discourse markers and modal particles. New perspectives*. Benjamins, 99-124.
- Dehé 2014 = Nicole Dehé 2014. *Parentheticals in spoken English. The syntax-prosody relation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Dincă 2012 = Roxana-Magdalena Dincă 2012. Particularități sintactico-semantice ale verbului a părea. Rodica Zafiu, Adina Dragomirescu, Alexandru Nicolae (eds.). *Limba română. Direcții actuale în cercetarea lingvistică. 1. Gramatică. Fonetică și fonologie. Istoria limbii române, filologie. Actele celui de al 11-lea Colocviu internațional al Departamentului de lingvistică. București, 9-10 decembrie 2011*. Editura Universității din București, 107-116.
- Dincă 2015 = Roxana-Magdalena Dincă 2015. Marcatorul modal *parcă* – analiză sintactică și semantică. *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* 66, 259-271.
- Dostie 2004 = Gaétane Dostie 2004. *Pragmaticalisation et marqueurs discursifs. Analyse sémantique et traitement lexicographique*. De Boeck Dukulot.
- Ducrot et al. 1980 = Oswald Ducrot et al. 1980. *Les mots du discours*. Éditions de Minuit.
- Fischer 2007 = Olga Fischer 2007. *Morphosyntactic change. Functional and formal perspectives*. Oxford University Press.

References

- Gachet & Avanzi 2010 = Frédéric Gachet, Mathieu Avanzi 2010. La prosodie des parenthèses en français spontané. *Verbum* 30.1, 53-84.
- Ghezzi & Molinelli 2014 = Chiara Ghezzi, Piera Molinelli 2014. Italian *guarda, prego, dai*. Pragmatic markers and the left and right periphery. Kate Beeching, Ulrich Detges (eds.). *Discourse functions at the left and right periphery. Crosslinguistic investigations of language use and language change*. Brill, 117-150.
- Heine 2013 = Bernd Heine 2013. On discourse markers: Grammaticalization, pragmaticalization, or something else? *Linguistics* 51, 1205-1247.
- Heine 2023 = Bernd Heine 2023. *The grammar of interactives*. Oxford University Press.
- Heine et al. 2021 = Bernd Heine et al. 2021. *The rise of discourse markers*. Cambridge University Press.
- Heine & Kaltenböck 2021 = Bernd Heine, Gunther Kaltenböck 2021. From clause to discourse marker: on the development of comment clauses. *Language Sciences* 87.101400, 1-16.
- Hofmann 1951 = Johann B. Hofmann 1951. *Lateinische Umgangssprache*. 3rd edition. Winter.
- HUSNC = Miguel Á. de Pineda (ed.) 1983. *Sociolingüística andaluza 2. Encuestas del habla urbana de Sevilla. Nivel culto*. Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla.
- Imo 2007 = Wolfgang Imo 2007. *Construction Grammar und Gesprochene-Sprache-Forschung. Konstruktionen mit zehn matrixsatzfähigen Verben im gesprochenen Deutsch*. Niemeyer.
- Khachaturyan 2019 = Elizaveta Khachaturyan 2019. À la recherche des mots adéquats : le rôle de l'expression *devo dire* à l'oral. *Studii de lingvistică* 9.2, 131-149.
- Kolbe-Hanna & Filatkina 2021 = Daniela Kolbe-Hanna, Natalia Filatkina 2021. The diachronic origin of English *I mean* and German *ich meine*. Daniël Van Olmen, Jolanta Šinkūnienė (eds.). *Pragmatic markers and peripheries*. Benjamins, 327-349.
- Lamiroy & Swiggers 1991 = Béatrice Lamiroy, Pierre Swiggers 1991. The status of imperatives as discourse signals. Suzanne Fleischman, Linda R. Waugh (eds.). *Discourse-pragmatics and the verb. The evidence from Romance*. Routledge, 120-146.

References

- LIP = Tullio De Mauro et al. 1993. *Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato*. Etas Libri.
- López Cousu & Méndez Naya 2014 = María J. López Couso, Belén Méndez Naya 2014. From clause to pragmatic marker. A study of the development of *like*-parentheticals in American English. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 15.1, 36-61.
- Llopis Cardona 2014 = Ana Llopis Cardona 2014. *Aproximación funcional a los marcadores discursivos. Análisis y aplicación lexicográfica*. Lang.
- Pană Dindelegan 2013 = Gabriela Pană Dindelegan (ed.) 2013. *The grammar of Romanian*. Oxford University Press.
- Petraș 2019 = Cristina Petraș 2019. Les expressions métadiscursives dans les contes acadiens de tradition orale. *Studii de lingvistică* 9.2, 201-224.
- Pop 2009 = Liana Pop 2009. Quelles informations se pragmatisent ? Le cas des verbes plus ou moins marqueurs. *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 54.1-2, 161-172.
- Popescu 2018 = Cecilia M. Popescu 2018. Essai de typologie dans la classe des marqueurs discursifs de reformulation paraphrastique du roumain actuel. *Analele Universității din Craiova. Serie Științe filologice. Lingvistică* 40.1-2, 356-373.
- Quirk et al. 1985 = Randolph Quirk et al. 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. Longman.
- Sansò 2020 = Andrea Sansò 2020. *I segnali discorsivi*. Carocci.
- Schneider 2007 = Stefan Schneider 2007. *Reduced parenthetical clauses as mitigators. A corpus study of spoken French, Italian and Spanish*. Benjamins.
- Schneider 2020 = Stefan Schneider 2020. L'évolution des marqueurs déverbaux cognitifs de l'ancien français au français classique. Marta Saiz-Sánchez, Amalia Rodríguez Somolinos, Sonia Gómez-Jordana Ferary (eds.). *Marques d'oralité et représentation de l'oral en français*. Presses universitaires Savoie Mont Blanc, 335-355.
- Schneider 2022 = Dal verbo *immaginare* al segnale discorsivo *immagino*. Estensione, rianalisi e adattamento. *Storie e linguaggi* 8.1, 225-248.
- Thompson & Mulac 1991a = Sandra A. Thompson, Anthony Mulac 1991a. The discourse conditions for the use of the complementizer *that* in conversational English. *Journal of Pragmatics* 15, 237-25.

References

- Thompson & Mulac 1991b = Sandra A. Thompson, Anthony Mulac 1991b. A quantitative perspective on the grammaticization of epistemic parentheticals in English. Elizabeth C. Traugott, Bernd Heine (eds.). *Approaches to grammaticalization. Vol. 2: Focus on types of grammatical markers*. Benjamins, 313-329.
- Traugott 2018 = Elizabeth C. Traugott 2018. Modeling language change with constructional networks. Salvador Pons Bordería, Óscar Loureda Lamas (eds.). *Beyond grammaticalization and discourse markers. New issues in the study of language change*. Brill, 17-50.
- Traugott 2022 = Elizabeth C. Traugott 2022. *Discourse structuring markers in English. A historical constructionalist perspective on pragmatics*. Benjamins.
- Urmson 1952 = James O. Urmson 1952. Parenthetical verbs. *Mind* 61, 480-496.
- Vincent 1993 = Diane Vincent 1993. *Les ponctuels de la langue et autres mots du discours*. Nuit blanche.
- Vincent, Votre & Laforest 1993 = Diane Vincent, Sebastião Votre, Marty Laforest 1993. Grammaticalisation et post-grammaticalisation. *Langue et linguistique* 19, 73-103.
- Wichmann 2001 = Anne Wichmann 2001. Spoken parentheticals. Karin Aijmer (ed.). *A wealth of English. Studies in Honor of Göran Kjellmer*. Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 177-193.