

Catalan *home* as a discourse marker

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Abstract

In the previous literature, the discourse marker *home* in Catalan has been given a plurality of functions, which are depending on its immediate specific discourse context. In order to disambiguate the multifunctionality of *home*, this study will investigate some of its derivable components, namely, the principal function of the marker and the function that derives from its syntactic context. To this end, I have analysed the patterns observed in the occurrences of *home* in a corpus of oral colloquial conversations in Catalan. The results show that its principal function conveys the speaker's attitude of rejection towards an inappropriate contextually salient act. Further, the position of the marker in either the beginning or the end of the sentence, shape its contextually derived function. In sentence-initial position, *home* is used to let the addressee know about the inappropriateness of a contextually salient act. In sentence-final position, *home* has the same function but in this position there is another function added, namely the speaker's expectation that the addressee should do something. Therefore, these results confirm that the multifunctionality of discourse markers is derived from its principal in interaction with contextually derived functions. .

Keywords: discourse markers, home, multifunctionality, syntax, Catalan

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1. INTRODUCTION

The present study explores the grammar of *home*¹ in its use as a discourse marker in Catalan. Its homonym (i.e. the literal semantic meaning of *home* ‘man’ as a noun) has been excluded. Consider the example below where *home* is used as a discourse marker:

Context: Mònica has been explaining her day at school thoroughly during a family dinner with her aunt Lorena and her brother Àlex. Àlex utters:

(A): Potser prou de parlar del teu dia, Mònica

Maybe enough of talk of your day, Mònica

‘Why don’t you stop talking about your day, Mònica?’

(L): No li parlis així a la Mònica, home

Don’t talk this way to Mònica, HOME

‘Don’t talk to Mònica this way, HOME’

In the previous literature, *home* has been barely studied, and the studies that have been conducted have systematised a plurality of functions of the marker depending on its immediate specific discourse context. The purpose of the present study is to give the discourse marker *home* a principal function and a derived function based in syntactic factors, which are some of the areas that compose the multifunctionality of a discourse marker (Wiltschko, Denis, & D’Arcy, 2018).

To this end, the current research has been divided into the following sections: in Section 2, I develop the categorisation of *home* as a discourse marker; the previous literature concerning the function of the marker and the approach followed in the current research to

¹ Since there is no exact translation of the discourse marker *home*, and the closest grammatical translations come from the English discourse markers “well” or “man” with which it can share only some of its semantic content, no translation has been given to this lexical item.

give to *home* a principal function and a contextually derived function based on syntactic factors to the discourse marker *home*. In Section 3, I review the methodology used in this study. In Section 4, I will analyse the principal function of the marker and its connection with the property of *home* of being a discourse marker of response type. In Section 5, the contextually derived function of *home* based on the syntactic context of the marker will be discussed in relation with the distributional patterns of *home* within the sentence. The research that has been judged as necessary to be conducted in the future so as to give *home* a complete derived function based on its prosodic context will be acknowledged in Section 6, followed by the final conclusions, presented in Section 7.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The pragmatic nature of *home* is unquestioned, because of its context-variant characteristics (McNally, 2013): the interpretation of a sentence containing *home* depends on its context of use. It does not affect the truth conditions of the utterance (Jucker, 1993)².

I will use the term DISCOURSE MARKER to refer to the lexical item *home* for purely descriptive reasons. Schiffrin (1987) uses the term DISCOURSE MARKER to refer to “sequentially dependent elements, which bracket units of talk”, namely, those units that relate the foregoing context with the utterance they are part of. In the words of Hölker (1991), discourse markers refer to a category of function words, which “do not affect the truth conditions of the utterance and they do not add anything to the propositional content of an utterance” (Jucker, 1993).

² This original idea is found in Hölker, Klaus, 1991. Französisch: Partikelforschung. *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik*, Vol. V. 1, 77-88. Tübingen: Niemeyer, that I have retrieved from the paper by Jucker (1993: 436).

Thus, discourse markers refer to words that are used with sentential scope and serve to guide the speakers' interpretations of the utterances in which those expressions occur (Ariel, 1998). Thus, they explicitly mark coherence relations among discourse units and/or cue the addressee to the appropriate context.

The lexical items that are used as discourse markers are often MULTIFUNCTIONAL (i.e. they can have several functions). In this essay, the term FUNCTION will be used to refer to meaning in a broad sense including contextual factors that contribute to the interpretation. This multifunctionality has been observed in the description of discourse markers (see for example the case study of “well” in English by Jucker 1993).

To determine the principal function and the syntactically derived function of *home* I will adopt the approach developed in Wiltchko, Denis & D'Arcy (2018). They assume that the context will contribute to the specific meaning of discourse markers. To do so they propose to “deconstruct the multifunctionality of the pragmatic marker in its composite parts”. These parts consist of the principal function of its form and those functions that derive from context. In this study, the dimension that has been considered for the study of the derived function of *home* is syntax.

Even though the approach used to analyse the function of *home* in the present essay differ from the one taken by McCready (2008) it is interesting to mention her investigation concerning the function of the discourse marker “man” in English, with which the discourse marker *home* has some similitudes that won't be discussed in the present paper. In the paper, she analyses the function of the marker “man” in connection with the semantics of the proposition in which the marker occurs, as well as its consequences in the speech act performed by the user of the sentence.

In the previous literature concerning discourse markers in English and Catalan, González (2001) analysed a plurality of discourse markers studying their integration in a

discourse coherence model (i.e. their segmental structure; illocutionary intentions and force of the narrator within the oral narratives that she examined) in order to infer their function. In the paper, she conducted an analysis to see the frequency of the markers in the narratives considered so as to study the 10 more frequent ones for each language and *home* was excluded of the analysis of the Catalan markers because of quantitative reasons.

In relation with the study of the discourse marker *home* in the previous literature, it is important to note that it has been scarcely investigated and often classified in different ways. That is, it has been categorised as an interjection expressing partial agreement or disagreement and full disagreement in Cuenca (2002); as a discourse marker with several different functions in and Cuenca & Torres (2008); and as a discourse marker with some interjection features for some of its uses in Cuenca (2013).

Cuenca & Torres (2008) provide the most extensive and comprehensive description of the function of *home*, which has been described as being associated with the same functions as its Spanish counterpart (i.e. *hombre* ‘man’) and their respective feminine equivalent in Catalan (i.e. *dona* ‘woman’) and Spanish (i.e. *mujer* ‘woman’). They explore the discourse context in which these markers are used in order to establish its functions, defined terms of quantitative frequency of function per marker.

Specifically, they argue that these functions include: full disagreement; partial agreement; assertion attenuation; assertion reinforcement; command reinforcement; affirmative polarity; negative polarity; affirmative reversal and others –the latter being an heterogeneous multifunctional category in which the authors argue that there are examples of difficult classification-.

In this enumeration, several functions are based on the immediate specific discourse context of the markers. Further, these functions have been assigned to all the markers as a whole, not having been told apart depending on the language and the gender of the marker.

More importantly, none of the studies so far have attempted to determine a principal function for these discourse markers. The present study also seeks to fill this gap.

In order to infer a principal function of the lexical item *home* in the present study, the model followed by Wiltschko, Denis & D'Arcy (2018) has been reproduced. That is, the discourse marker *home* has been isolated from the utterances in which it occurs and the difference in meaning among the utterances with and without *home* have been systematically analysed.

Furthermore, in order to theorise about the syntactically derived function of *home*, the contrast in well-formedness between the sentences in which *home* occurs in either sentence-initial or sentence-final position and the sentences in which the marker is not included has been studied.

3. METHODOLOGY

Previous sociolinguistic observations concerning *hombre* that have been extrapolated to *home* define the use of this discourse marker in informal registers and oral conversation (Cuenca & Torres, 2008; Portolés, 2001). Thus, we have retrieved the utterances in which *home* occurs, as well as its previous discourse context, from the corpus of oral colloquial Catalan in Payrató & Alturo (2002). This corpus consists of ten conversations with 70.493 words. Furthermore, we have also used informally obtained native-speaker well-formedness judgements so as to confirm our previous assessment.

The bibliographic references given to the examples retrieved from the corpus cited in the body of the present study have been assigned the following structure: first, the abbreviation for the name of the corpus (i.e. COCC) is stated, followed by the number of the conversation in which the example has been found, out of the 10 conversations in which the

corpus is divided. Finally, the numeration given in the conversation selected to the conversational turns whose utterances are shown in the present work is displayed at the end.

Furthermore, the translation into English from the examples retrieved from the corpus cited is my own. Besides, the examples used to illustrate the theoretical arguments other than the ones gathered from the corpus are of my own creation, whose adequacy has been revised by other Catalan native speakers.

On the other hand, the criterion employed in the present work to numerate the aforementioned examples has been by order of appearance. Further, in the examples in which a previous context is given so as to illustrate the use of *home* in some specific situation, this context has been numerated in correspondence with the number given to the example.

4. THE PRINCIPAL FUNCTION OF *HOME*

4.1. *Home* as a response marker

In the previous literature, *home* and *hombre* have been classified as “reactive” discourse markers (Cuenca & Torres, 2008; Zorraquino & Portolés, 1999). Specifically, they have been argued to function as a response to either a previous utterance in a conversation or to an extralinguistic fact (Cuenca & Torres, 2008).

The concept of reactive discourse marker has been introduced in both papers cited, but it has not been further developed in either of them. In this essay, we intend to shape the main characteristics of RESPONSE MARKERS, how they affect the grammaticality of the sentences in which they occur and how this characterisation applies to *home*.

Following Schiffrin (1987), the label of a response marker is assigned to some discourse markers based on the status in the conversation that these markers encode. Hence, when using a response marker, the speaker is identified as a respondent.

Consequently, this predicts that its use in the initiation of a conversational turn would be ill-formed because in this case the speaker is not the respondent but the initiator. Let's see in the following examples how using *home* in the initiation of a conversational turn affects the well-formedness of the sentence in which it occurs:

Context 1: Anna and Marta run into each other after not having seeing each other for some time. Immediately after saying hello to each other, Anna says:

(1) (A): Em vaig casar el mes passat

I got married the month passed

'I got married last month'

(A): * Home, em vaig casar el mes passat

HOME, I got married the month passed

'HOME, I got married last month'

In the examples in (1), in which *home* is in the sentence-initial position of the sentence, it is shown that if the marker occurs in the utterance which initiates the conversational turn, the sentence is ill-formed, while the exact same sentence without the marker is well-formed in the same conversational turn. The same phenomenon has been observed for sentence-final uses of *home*, (see section 5.3). This phenomenon can be appreciated in (2).

Context 2: Laura and Martin are flatmates. They see each other at home after a busy day at work. Laura says:

(2) (L): Avui la meva jefa m'ha dit que em vol ascendir

Today the my boss told me that me wants to promote

'My boss told me today that she wants to promote me'

(L): * Avui la meva jefa m'ha dit que em vol ascendir, home

Today the my boss told me that me wants to promote, HOME

'My boss told me today that she wants me to promote, HOME'

In the examples (1) and (2) the ill-formedness of *home* used within an utterance which consists of an initiation of the conversational turn can be acknowledged in contrast with the well-formedness of the exact same sentence without *home* in the initiation of a conversational turn.

Hence, in the previous examples the ill-formedness of *home* can be recognised when the speaker uttering it is not a respondent. What is more, just by adding *home* to an utterance that could have been interpreted either as an initiation or a response of a conversational turn such as A's intervention in (3), it is necessarily interpreted as a response.

Context 3: Louise arrives home very late after a long day at work. She had a dinner date with her wife April at nine in the evening. Louise says:

(3) (L): Ja has sopat?

Already have had dinner?

'Have you already had dinner?'

(A): Home, són les dotze de la nit

HOME, it is the twelve of the night

‘HOME, it is midnight’

In this sense, without *home*, the utterance “són les dotze de la nit” ‘*it is midnight*’ could have been interpreted in another context to be either an initiation of a conversational turn or a response. However, because of the inclusion of *home* in the utterance, it necessarily needs to be considered to be said by the respondent.

Further, as pointed out by Cuenca & Torres (2008), the intrinsic quality of response of this marker is not only limited to conversational contexts but also to extralinguistic facts. We would like to define the concept of “extralinguistic facts” as CONTEXTUALLY SALIENT ACTS that do not involve speech.

This occurrence with no previous conversational context may have led some authors such as Beinhauer (1973) to theorise about the well-formedness of the utterances that consist of an initiation of a conversational turn in which *home* occur. However, as has been shown above, when *home* is used by the initiator, it makes the utterance in which it appears ill-formed.

In this case study, these contextually salient acts, either spoken or non-spoken, are determined by being those to which the utterance containing *home* is giving a response. It can be seen in the following example (4) for non-spoken acts:

Context 4: Anna took Aram, a 3-year-old baby that she is nursing, to an ice cream shop. Aram grabbed the ice cream of another kid and started licking it. Anna utters:

(4) (A): No llepis el gelat d’ aquest nen, home

Don’t lick the ice cream of this kid, HOME

‘Stop licking this kid’s ice cream, HOME’

Following the previous reasoning, the contextually salient act that triggers the use of *home* in *Context 4* is that Aram licked the ice-cream of another kid, as can be interpreted from the content of the utterance preceding *home*.

On the other hand, if *home* hadn't had occurred in the previous sentence, the illocutionary force of the sentence as a whole would have changed, since the attitude shown by the respondent towards the utterance wouldn't have implied a rejection towards a contextually salient act judged to be inappropriate in the *Context 4*, and Anna would have implied the expectation for Aram to correct the inappropriateness raised in uttering this command. For a detailed analysis of the syntactically derived function of the marker see section 5.

It is important to point out that the ATTITUDE the speaker shows towards a previous contextually salient act, either spoken (i.e. an utterance) or non-spoken (i.e. an extralinguistic fact), is of great importance in order to understand *home*'s principal function. This aspect will be further analysed in the following section.

4.2. The principal function of *home*

The response nature of *home* has been already pointed out as one of its main characteristics in order to further infer its function. *Home* can serve as a reply to either a previous utterance in a conversation or to an extralinguistic fact.

As it will be shown in the present section, *home* can only be a reply to a contextually salient act towards which the respondent shows an attitude of rejection. Consequently, the principal function of *home* to express the following attitude:

- (5) THE CONTEXTUALLY SALIENT ACT THAT YOU EXECUTED IS INAPPROPRIATE

This reasoning can also help to conclude beyond doubt the response marker quality of *home* since its response label derives logically from it being a reaction to something. This something, in this case, is a contextually salient act that elicits rejection on the part of the respondent.

Thus, it is necessary to delimit to which contextually salient acts *home* acts as a response, because otherwise its use would be unrestricted and any utterance containing it would be well-formed as long as the utterance is a response. But this is not the case, as can be observed in the following example:

Context 6: George is at the dining table with his husband Andy. George says:

(6) (G): Andy, em passes la sal?

Andy, to me pass the salt?

‘Andy, can you pass me the salt?’

(A): Home, no, agafa-la tu

HOME, no, take it you

‘HOME, take it yourself’

(A): * Home, d’acord³

HOME, ok

‘HOME, ok’

In (6), the contrast in well-formedness is due to the diverging content of both sentences following *home*. Hence, given that the meaning of the expression *d’acord* ‘ok’ implies total agreement and the meaning of lexical item “no” implies full disagreement this

³ In the examples displayed in this paper, the asterisk indicates ill-formedness. It doesn’t necessarily point to ungrammaticality in the classical sense of the word given that the well-formedness of *home* depends on the context of use.

could suggest, as Cuenca & Torres (2008) pointed out, that the use of *home* is restricted to express disagreement in certain discourse contexts.

If the content of the sentence in which *home* is included is interpreted only taking into account its immediate discourse context, it can be argued that it is used to express disagreement towards a previous utterance in occurrences for example in the following context, extracted from the Corpus Oral de Conversa Col·loquial (Payrató & Alturo, 2002):

(7) COC [4 és que ara no me'n] recordo com s'hi va a Can Mira[cle\ 5]

‘Right now I don’t remember how to go to Can Miracle’

ONI [5 doncs] [6 no hi fa re:\]

‘Well, it doesn’t matter’

COC [6 és que hi vem anar] l'última vegada per l'altre can[tó_ 7]

‘It’s just that the last time we went there we took the other road’

MAT [7 sí\]

‘Yes’

RON sí home\

‘Yes, HOME’

RON pujant carretera d'Argentona_

‘Going up the road to Argentona’

RON {(??) la primera corba} a l'esquerra\

‘The first bend to the left’

(COCC,Conv.4,133-139)

In this example, since *home* occurs with the lexical item “sí”, following the reasoning of Cuenca & Torres (2008), this would imply that its function is that of affirmative polarity (Cuenca & Torres, 2008). Nonetheless, if its use in (7) is further interpreted, the meaning of the expression *sí home* ‘yes HOME’ could be understood in this context as “I disagree that you don’t remember how to go to Can Miracle”.

This reasoning could lead us to conclude that the principal function of *home* is expressing disagreement. However, *home* can appear in other contexts expressing attitudes towards an utterance other than disagreement, as can be appreciated in the following example, used to display affirmative polarity in Cuenca & Torres (2008: 9):

(8) NIA: tu has agafat les peles/

‘Did you take the money?’

MAM: {(F) sí home sí\} @@@@ no és per re oi/

‘Yes HOME yes, why are you asking?’

(COCC, Conv.6, 78-79)

In this example, MAM doesn’t disagree with the fact of having taken the money or that NIA asked the question itself. The concept of disagreement doesn’t seem to fit in this specific context, even though the rejection by the speaker uttering *home* towards the previous utterance seems to be obvious if the utterance *no és per re oi?* ‘why are you asking?’ is taken into account. Therefore, the concept of disagreement seems not to be wide enough to fit in all the contexts that have been presented so far.

4.3. Delimiting the principal function of *home*

In order to delimit the principal function of *home*, the differences in well-formedness of the pair of sentences presented below (i.e. one with *home* and one without it) depending on the context in which each of them fits, are going to be taken into account:

- Vine a ajudar-me
‘Come here to help me’
- Vine a ajudar-me, home
‘Come here to help me, HOME’

It is relevant to see how each of the sentences are used in different contexts in order to infer what the characteristics of the context are and how it affects the well-formedness of the sentences in which *home* occur.

Context 9: Marta is in the kitchen preparing breakfast. Her 15-year old son Jim is in the living room waiting for the breakfast to be ready while watching TV. Marta suddenly decides that she wants him to help her. She utters:

- (9) (M): Vine a ajudar-me
Come to help me
‘Come here to help me’
(M): * Vine a ajudar-me, home
Come to help me, HOME
‘Come here to help me, HOME’

In order to appreciate the ill-formedness of the sentence in which *home* occurs it is useful to compare it with its well-formedness in the following context:

Context 10: Marta is in the kitchen preparing breakfast. She already asked her 15-year old son Alex to help her twice. He didn't pay attention to her query and he is now in the living room watching TV. Marta utters:

- (10) (M): Vine a ajudar-me, home
Come to help me, HOME
'Come here to help me, HOME'
(M): * Vine a ajudar-me
Come to help me
'Come here to help me'

In this context, the ill-formedness of the second utterance can be explained by the attitude of rejection the respondent (i.e. Marta) has towards a contextually salient act, namely, the behaviour of her son. By uttering this, Marta is conveying the principal function of *home* in (5) since she is telling Alex that she considers his behaviour to be inappropriate. This contextually salient act is non-spoken in the example, but could have been spoken as well. In the latter scenario, the rejection wouldn't have been shown towards a contextually salient non-spoken act but towards a contextually salient utterance.

While in (9), the attitude that the speaker has towards a contextually salient act (i.e. Marta's son is watching the TV in the kitchen) is neutral, in (10) the attitude shown by the speaker is not neutral, instead it involves rejection. This difference is key in understanding the contrast between the ill-formedness and well-formedness of utterances containing *home* because of the principal function of *home* in (5).

It is also important to point out that there are several reasons why any contextually salient act can be appreciated as inappropriate by the respondent, amongst others: it is obvious, it is false, it is inaccurate, etc. This list does not have exhaustivity purposes since it is the speaker that conducts the inappropriateness judgement at a context-specific level.

In the following sections the applicability of *home* in different syntactic contexts and how these applicability shapes the derived function of *home* in this domain are going to be developed.

5. THE SYNTACTICALLY DERIVED FUNCTION OF *HOME*

5.1. The distributional patterns of *home* within the sentence

The present section is going to study the effect of the position of *home* in the sentence⁴ on the derived function of *home*.

Concerning the distribution of *home* within the sentence, two different patterns have been recognised from the observation of the facts in the corpus of oral colloquial Catalan of Payrató & Alturo (2002) and the previous work on *home* conducted by Cuenca & Torres (2008).

Specifically, these two diverging distributional patterns consist of two different positions of *home* within the sentence: either sentence-initial or sentence-final. In Cuenca (2013) and Cuenca & Torres (2008) each position has been quantitatively connected to some different functions of *home*, namely, for the sentence-initial position the more frequent function is argued to be that of disagreement (Cuenca, 2013) and in sentence-final position

⁴ In this section I will use the term “sentence” instead of “utterance” in order to emphasise the syntactic aspects of the string of constituents which precede or follow *home*, rather than its communicative ones.

the polarity and emphasis functions are claimed to be more predominant (Cuenca & Torres, 2008).

The plurality of functions described in Cuenca (2013) and Cuenca & Torres (2008) are not going to be further discussed since they have been replaced by a sole principal function of *home*, stated in (5).

It can be claimed that the position of *home* within the sentence are mutually exclusive: *home* cannot simultaneously be used in both sentence-initial and sentence-final position as shown in (11):

Context 11: Alba and her friend Sarah are talking about another friend's wedding, which is going to take place soon. Sarah utters:

(11) (S): La boda de l' Ariel sera d'aquí dues setmanes

The wedding of the Ariel will be in two weeks

'Ariel's wedding is going to take place in two weeks'

(A): * Home, no, serà a finals de setembre, home

HOME, no, it will be at the end of September, HOME

'HOME, no, it will be at the end of September, HOME'

If the occurrence of *home* in (11) had been in sentence-initial position, the latter would have been perfectly well-formed. The derived functions of *home* in sentence-initial and in sentence-final positions are going to be further discussed in the sections 5.2. and 5.3.

Moreover, a sentence-medial position of *home* has been claimed in Cuenca (2013), which she includes in the category of sentence-final position. This position consists of the occurrence of *home* in the middle of two constituents within a sentence.

However, from the observation of the facts, in the present paper it is maintained that the occurrence of *home* in the middle of two constituents makes the sentence ill-formed and because of the characteristics of the sentence in which *home* occurs, which will be discussed below, even though it looks like *home* is in sentence-medial position, it is included either in the category of sentence-initial or sentence-final position.

On the one hand, it has been observed that the marker itself can introduce a subordinate clause, as exemplified in (12). Because of this occurrence, which makes the marker located to the right periphery of the subordinate clause, the distributional patterns of *home* are considered to be of sentence-initial position kind.

(12) MEC què hi ha de [segon mama\]

‘what does the second course consist of, mum?’

MAT [(tos)(tos)]

‘(coughing)’

MAT (.. 0.37) pollastre\

‘chicken’

ONI {(??) pollastre\}

‘chicken’

MEC oh\

‘oh’

MEC que bé\

‘I am glad’

ONI jo quan vaig veure_

‘when I saw’

ONI (.. 0.41) vaig veure la llista i dic\

‘I saw the [shopping] list, I thought’

ONI home\

‘HOME’

ONI és barato\

‘it is cheap’

ONI (... 1.18) és més barato\

‘it is cheaper’

(COCC,Conv.4,275-285)

In (12), *home* is found to be at the beginning of the subordinate clause “*home, és barato, és més barato*” ‘HOME, it is cheaper, it is much cheaper’, that follows the main clause “*vaig veure la llista i dic*” ‘I saw the [shopping] list and I thought’. Hence, in the example, the marker is placed at the sentence-initial position of the subordinate clause.

On the other hand, *home* can also appear at the left-periphery of a sentence that is conjoined to another sentence. Goodall (2017) has argued that two conjuncts bear a symmetric relationship between them. Thus, a conjunct of two sentences can be regarded as a constituent consisting of the union of two different sentences that have a symmetric relationship between them.

In this sense, the appearance of *home* in the left periphery of a sentence that is conjoined to another can be considered to follow the distributional patterns of sentence-final position of *home*. This phenomenon can be observed in the following example (13).

Context 13: Carla and Mary are the mothers of Lucas, a 5-year-old boy. Carla was playing in the garden with Lucas today and the kid started eating garden soil for what Carla

shouted at him. When Mary gets home, Lucas tells her that Carla shouted at him earlier today and she decides to go and talk to Carla. Mary utters:

(13) (M): Per què has cridat al Lucas avui?

Why you have shouted to Lucas today?

‘Why have you shouted at Lucas today?’

(C): Li he dit: para de menjar terra, home, i no ho ha fet!

To him I said: stop of eating soil, HOME, and no it he hasn’t done!

‘I told him: stop eating garden soil, HOME, and he hasn’t done it!’

In (13) it can be appreciated that *home* appears at the left periphery of the sentence “*li he dit: para de menjar terra, home*” ‘I told him: stop eating garden soil, HOME’, which is conjoined to the following sentence “*no ho ha fet*” ‘no ho ha fet’ by “*i*” ‘and’. Because of its appearance at the end of the first sentence, *home* can be considered to be of sentence-final position kind.

In this sense, its appearance in intermediate-sentence position (i.e. in the middle of two constituents that are different from two conjoined sentences) would make the sentence ill-formed, as shown in (14):

Context 14: Robin and Angela can’t stop watching *Parks and Recreation*, a new series in Amazon Prime. They have watched all the episodes together but yesterday, Angela watched a new episode on her own. When she tells him, Robin utters:

(14) (R): Per què no em vas esperar per mirar-lo?

Why no to me you waited to see it?

‘Why didn’t you wait for me to watch it?’

(A): * Era home molt tard i em venia de gust

It was HOME very late and to me I looked forward to it
'It was HOME very late and I was craving for it'

Furthermore, the ill-formedness of a sentence where *home* occurs isolated, that is, with no other content, is also noticeable. However, its solo occurrence has been found in few instances of the corpus analysed (Payrató & Alturo, 2002), and it has been claimed to have specific functions in Cuenca (2013) and Cuenca & Torres (2008). Nonetheless, as it can be appreciated in the following example (15), its isolated occurrence can be interpreted as an interruption or an abrupt stop of the speaker's discourse in the conversation:

Context 15: Kevin visits his co-worker Dwight's beet farm, which he has been proudly talking about for years, making explicit to Kevin his passion for beets. Kevin utters:

- (15) (K): Pensava que tenies una plantació de pomes
I thought that you had one plantation of apples
'I thought you owned an apple farm'
(D): * Home
HOME
'HOME'

In the previous context, if *home* would have been followed by an utterance in which Dwight conveyed the derived function of *home* in sentence-initial position, which will be discussed in the section 5.2, the sentence would have been well-formed.

Therefore, the existence of some sort of CONTENT in the sentence preceding or following *home*, which has been confirmed by the ill-formedness of *home* in its solo

occurrence as well as its relationship with the marker, play an important role in the well-formedness of *home* within a sentence.

In the following sections, the derived function of *home* both in sentence-initial and sentence-final position are going to be studied as well as their relationship with the content of the sentence that the marker either precedes or follows.

5.2. The derived function of *home* in sentence-initial position

In sentence-initial position, the content of the sentence following *home* has been considered to develop the reason why a contextually salient act has been judged as inappropriate. In this sense, the function of *home* in a sentence-initial position could be translated into the following statement:

- (16) I WANT YOU TO KNOW WHY I THINK THIS CONTEXTUALLY SALIENT ACT IS
INAPPROPRIATE

It is interesting to observe how the statement (16) applies to specific examples in the following minimal pairs, in which it is shown that given the same context, *home* can be either well-formed or ill-formed depending on whether the content of the sentence in which it is included is consistent with the function of *home* in (16).

Context 17: Claudia, Mary and Loreen are enrolled in a Semantics Course at UPF. They are telling about the content of the previous class to Loreen, who missed it, and Mary says:

- (17) (1) (M): Ahir a classe vam tractar la lògica de predicats

Yesterday at class we discussed the logic of predicates

‘Yesterday at class we discussed predicate logic’

(C): Home, però si vam començar amb la modalitat

HOME, but if we started with the modality

‘HOME, we got started with modality instead’

On the other hand, given the same *Context 17*, the following sentence containing *home* would have been ill-formed:

(2) (M): Ahir a classe vam tractar la lògica de predicats

Yesterday at class we discussed the logic of predicates

‘Yesterday at class we discussed predicate logic’

(C): * Home, la professora va fer una bona presentació de PowerPoint

HOME, the teacher did one good presentation of PowerPoint

‘HOME, the professor did a good job with the PowerPoint presentation’

This contrast in well-formedness can be explained by the diverging content of the sentences following *home* uttered by the same respondent (i.e. Claudia). In (17)-(1), the content of the sentence following *home* consists of a justification to why the respondent (i.e. Claudia) thinks that the initiator (i.e. Mary) uttered something inappropriate, in the example, because the previous utterance is considered to be false. The reason why it is judged to be false could be translated into the following statement: ‘I want you to know that what you said does not coincide with the reality’.

Therefore, the content of the sentence is consistent with the function of *home* in sentence-initial position in (16). Its use in the sentence is that of letting Mary know why she thinks that the previous contextually salient utterance is inappropriate.

On the other hand, in (17)-(2) the content of the sentence following *home* consists of adding extra information to what has been already said, instead of showing rejection towards a contextually salient act. Hence, the sentence is ill-formed because the content of the sentence in which *home* is included is inconsistent with the function of *home* in (16).

To conclude, this suggests that the content of the sentence in which *home* is included conveys the reason why a contextually salient act is judged to be inappropriate, and the function of the marker in sentence-initial position is that of letting know the addressee the reason of this inappropriateness. Thus, the coherence between the function of *home* in (16) and the content of the sentence in which it occurs, which consists of a justification to why a contextually salient act is inappropriate, is key to understand the well-formedness of the sentence.

5.3. The derived function of *home* in sentence-final position

In sentence-final position, the sentence preceding *home* has been observed to contain the elements for correcting the inappropriateness of the contextually salient act, conveyed through the derived function of *home* in sentence-final position, which could be translated into the following statement:

(18) I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I THINK THIS CONTEXTUALLY SALIENT ACT IS
INAPPROPRIATE AND I EXPECT YOU TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT TO CORRECT THE
INAPPROPRIATENESS

It is relevant to point out that *home* in sentence-final position shares part of its function with sentence-initial *home*, namely the concept of letting the addressee know that

some contextually act is judged to be inappropriate. As it has been concluded from the observation of the facts, in its sentence-initial version, the function of *home* remains the same in all the clause types in which it occurs since it is used just to convey some information about the attitude that the respondent has concerning a previous contextually salient act.

However, *home* in its sentence-final position has two distinctive traits different from the ones in the sentence-initial position of the marker. One difference is in terms of the derived function of *home* and another is related to the content of the sentence in which the marker occurs.

In relation with the former, *home* seeks a reaction from the addressee, which has been observed to be different depending on the sentence type in which the marker is found (i.e. to believe in the assertion preceding *home* in declarative clauses; to perform a command in imperative clauses and to reply to a question in interrogative clauses). Further, the content of the sentence in which *home* occurs in final position does not state the reason why the previous contextually salient act is judged to be inappropriate, but refers to a set of elements with which the addressee can correct the inappropriateness of the contextually salient act.

The difference between the contextually derived functions of *home* in sentence-final and sentence-initial position can be appreciated in the following example (19):

Context 19: Mary and her flatmate Peter have been discussing the possibility of adopting a dog. Mary has rejected it because she is allergic to dogs, but Peter has been very insistent about his will of having one. They stopped discussing about it, and one day Peter suddenly utters:

(19) (1) (P): Què passaria si un dia arribo amb un gos?

What would happen if one day I arrive with one dog?

‘What would happen if I got home with a dog one day?’

(M): Home, doncs que no m' agradaria

HOME, so that no to me I would like

'HOME, I wouldn't like it'

Had the previous context been the same, if *home* would have been uttered in the final position, the sentence would have been ill-formed, as shown in the following pair of sentences:

(2) (P): Què passaria si un dia arribo amb un gos?

What would happen if one day I arrive with one dog?

'What would happen if I got home with a dog one day?'

(M): * Doncs que no m' agradaria, home

So that no to me I would like, HOME

'I wouldn't like it, HOME'

The reason for this contrast in well-formedness is due to the position of the marker in the sentence. When it occupies the sentence-initial position, the function of *home* in (5) is consistent with the content of the sentence, which consists of an exposition of the reason why a contextually salient act is inappropriate, in the case, because the content of the previous contextually salient utterance breaks an agreement between the initiator and the respondent.

On the other hand, the content of the sentence in which *home* occupies the final position also expresses the appreciation by the respondent of some contextually salient act being inappropriate. Therefore, the ill-formedness of the sentence is not due to the fact that the previous contextually salient spoken act is not judged to be inappropriate but to the fact that the derived function of *home* in (18) explicitly requires the addressee to do something

with the utterance to correct the inappropriateness, which in this case is judged to be unnecessary by the respondent if the content of the previous sentence is taken into account.

Consequently, *home* in sentence-final position is not only expressing an opinion towards a contextually salient act but also seeking a response from the addressee. In this sense, one expression can have more than one illocutionary force (Allan, 2006). For the lexical item *home* in sentence-final position, there are two different illocutionary forces, namely, the illocutionary force of ‘I want you to know that I think this contextually salient act is inappropriate’, which is different from the one of ‘I expect you to do something about it to correct the inappropriateness’.

Thus, while the illocutionary force of the former remains stable across speech act types; the illocutionary force of the latter will depend on the speech act type that has the sentence in which sentence-final *home* is included.

In this sense, depending on the clause type in which the marker is found, the act of doing something with the information given, which is part of the derived function of the marker in (18), will be of different kind. This is due to the fact that speech acts are partially determined by the clause type in which they occur (Heim et al., 2016; Wiltschko et al., 2018).

To this end, the clauses in which *home* has been found have been divided into three types: declarative; interrogative and imperative, each of them categorised following largely undisputed syntactic and prosodic patterns in Catalan (Payrató, 2002).

Roughly, it can be argued that the following speech acts are connected to a respective clause type: assertions can be included in the declarative clause type; directions/commands in the imperative clause type and questions in the interrogative clause type (Allan, 2006; Wiltschko et al., 2018).

5.3.1. Declarative clause type

For declarative clauses, the derived function of *home* in (18) is formulated in the following terms:

- (20) I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I THINK THIS CONTEXTUALLY SALIENT ACT IS
INAPPROPRIATE AND I EXPECT YOU TO BELIEVE IN THIS ASSERTION TO CORRECT
THE INAPPROPRIATENESS

The purpose of the respondent or speaker in uttering sentence-final *home* in declarative sentences is double. On the one hand, it is uttered so as to inform the initiator about the attitude towards a contextually salient that the respondent has; on the other hand, it is used to ask the initiator or addressee to believe in the truth of the set of elements that can be used to correct the inappropriateness of the contextually salient act, which is the content of the assertion, in order for the addressee to correct this inappropriateness.

The following example from the *Corpus Oral de Català Col·loquial* (Payrató & Alturo, 2002) can help to understand the contextually derived function of *home* in (20):

- (21) ALL p(e)rò si és la mare la que em truca a [1 tres quarts] [2 de quatre\]
‘but it is mum who calls me at quarter to four’
VIE [1 del vespre\]
‘in the evening’
VIE [2 del vespre\]
‘in the evening’
SEP [2 ah\
‘ah’

SEP la mare\]

‘it is mum’

SEP ((a MAG)) oh\

‘oh’

VIE de huit de huit a:_

‘from eight from eight to’

SEP ets tu:/

‘is it you?’

VIE [1 a deu normalment\]

‘to ten, normally’

RIA [2 ah:\]

‘ah’

MAG [1 oh encara] [2 no hi estic] acostumada home\

‘oh it’s just I am not used to it, HOME’

MAG [3 ja em posaré a puesto\]

‘I will end up getting used to it’

(COCC,Conv.10,1145-1156)

In the sentence “*oh, encara no hi estic acostumada, home*” ‘oh it’s just I am not used to it, HOME’, the respondent (i.e. MAG), in uttering *home*, lets the initiator (i.e. ALL) know that she thinks that ALL’s utterance is inappropriate because its content is embarrassing her. Further, she is asking the initiator to believe in the truth of the assertion preceding *home*, which conveys the solution to the inappropriateness claimed, in order for ALL to correct it. In other words, the use of *home* in this context could be translated into the statement: ‘I am

letting you know that you said something that I found embarrassing and I expect you to believe in what I just said for you to stop embarrassing me’.

Hence, since the content of the sentence following *home* is consistent with the derived function of the marker stated in (20), the sentence is well-formed.

In order to check the influence that the consistency between both the content of the sentence in which *home* occurs and the function of the marker in (20) has in the well-formedness of the sentence, it is interesting to see the contrast in well-formedness in the following minimal pairs:

Context 22: John and his friend Paul travelled to Amsterdam together two weekends ago. Today John tells Paul:

(22) (1) (J): No recordo on vam anar fa dos caps de setmana

No remember where we went it does two weekends

‘I don’t remember where did we go two weekends ago’

(P): A Àmsterdam, home

To Amsterdam, HOME

‘We went to Amsterdam, HOME’

On the other hand, given the same *Context 22*, the following sentence, in which *home* occupies a sentence-final position, would be ill-formed:

(2) (J): No recordo on vam anar fa dos caps de setmana

No remember where we went it does two weekends

‘I don’t remember where did we go two weekends ago’

(P): * Jo tampoc, home

Me neither, HOME

‘Me neither, HOME’

In (22)-(1) the occurrence of *home* indicates that the respondent thinks that the previous utterance is inappropriate, in the example, because it is inaccurate. Thus, by uttering *home*, the respondent wants to let the addressee know this attitude to the previous contextually salient utterance. Besides, the speaker is seeking John to believe in the assertion preceding *home*, which consists on giving a solution to the inaccuracy raised by giving an accurate reply. Due to the consistency between the assertion preceding *home* and the function of the marker in (20), the sentence is well-formed.

On the other hand, the ill-formedness of (22)-(2) can be justified by the fact that there is no previous contextually salient act judged to be inappropriate. The respondent, by uttering “*jo tampoc*” ‘me neither’ is agreeing with the previous contextually salient utterance. Therefore, the use of the marker makes the sentence ill-formed, because the derived function of *home* in (20) is inconsistent with the content of the sentence preceding the marker.

5.3.2. Imperative clause type

The contextually derived function of *home* in the sentence-final position of imperative clauses is considered to be as follows:

- (23) I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I THINK THIS CONTEXTUALLY SALIENT ACT IS
INAPPROPRIATE AND I EXPECT YOU TO PERFORM THIS COMMAND TO CORRECT THE
INAPPROPRIATENESS

The most frequent use of *home* in sentence-final position is found to be in the imperative clause type, due to the fact that the illocutionary force of a command is the requirement to perform an act, which is a component of the derived function of the marker in (23), namely, the requirement directed towards the initiator to perform the command that the sentence preceding *home* consists of.

Even though, in the commands in which *home* occurs, there are two added features to the ones of any command in which *home* is absent, which derive from the function of *home* in (23), namely, the predisposition of the speaker to let the addressee know that a contextually salient act is judged to be inappropriate; and the requirement to perform a command with the specific purpose of correcting this inappropriateness cited. Thus, the suitability of the derived function of *home* in sentence-final position in imperative clauses is obvious.

On the other hand, in order to see how the consistency between the content of the sentence preceding *home* and the function of the marker in (23) affects the well-formedness of the sentence in which *home* occurs in final position, it is interesting to see the contrast in well-formedness in the following minimal pairs:

Context 24: A father F and his son S are at the paediatric's waiting room. The son is nervous and starts walking around and touching every chair. The father utters:

(24) (1) (F):Estigues quiet, home!

Be still, HOME!

‘Stay quiet, HOME!’

Given the same *Context 1*, the following sentence is judged to be ill-formed:

(2) (F): * Mira quina revista més bonica, home!

Look such magazine more nice, HOME!

‘Look at this nice magazine, HOME!’

In the example (24)-(1), the attitude of rejection towards a contextually salient non-spoken act (i.e. S’s behaviour) is made obvious by F uttering *home*. In this sense, F has judged S’s behaviour to be inappropriate and is asking him to stop doing it using a command, the purpose of which is to correct the inappropriateness of S’s behaviour. By uttering *home*, F is saying: ‘I expect you to proceed with my command so as to correct the inappropriateness raised by your behaviour’.

Further, the command preceding *home* is coherent with the function of the marker described in (23) since it conveys the solution to the inappropriateness of S’s behaviour, namely, to stop doing the action, which is judged to be inappropriate by the respondent. Therefore, the sentence is well-formed.

On the contrary, the sentence (24)-(2) in which *home* is inserted does not show the judgement of inappropriateness made by the respondent towards a contextually salient non-spoken act. Therefore, the inconsistency between the function of *home* in (23) and the content of the command that precedes the marker makes the sentence ill-formed.

5.3.3. Interrogative clause type

The function of *home* in the final position of interrogative sentences is as follows:

- (25) I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I THINK THIS CONTEXTUALLY SALIENT ACT IS
INAPPROPRIATE AND I EXPECT YOU TO REPLY TO THIS QUESTION TO CORRECT THE
INAPPROPRIATENESS

The illocutionary force of a question is the request for information to the addressee (Allan, 2006). Although, when *home* is used, the illocutionary force of the sentence is changed. First, in the questions in which *home* is found in sentence-final position, this petition for information has a specific purpose, which is to correct the inappropriateness judged. Besides, by uttering *home*, the speaker also wants to let the addressee know that there is some contextually salient act judged to be inappropriate.

The contrast in meaning appreciated between the following sentences, in which one contains the marker *home* in sentence-final position and the other doesn't, are helpful to understand the function that *home* has in the sentence-final position in interrogative clauses per opposition to the interrogative clauses in which it doesn't occur:

- Per què dius això?
'Why are you telling me this?'
- Per què dius això, home?
'Why are you telling me this, HOME?'

To illustrate the differences, the following examples show how the context in which *home* is uttered affects the well-formedness of the pair of sentences displayed above. Further, these diverging contexts will be used in order to shape the meaning of *home* when it is found in its sentence-final position.

Context 26: Andy and his friend Sofia are discussing what to do when they hand in their Master's Thesis. They are saying that they want to go to a club to dance and suddenly Andy utters:

(26) (A): He de portar el gos al veterinari

I have to take the dog to the vet

'I need to take my dog to the vet'

(S): Per què dius això?

Why do you say this?

'Why are you telling me this?'

(S): * Per què dius això, home?

Why do you say this, HOME?

'Why are you telling me this, HOME?'

In this context, uttering "*per què dius això, home?*" 'why are you telling me this, HOME?' would be ill-formed. This ill-formedness can be better appreciated by comparison with the following context:

Context 27: Andy has been working hard on his Master's Thesis and he is talking about it with his friend Sofia. He suddenly utters:

(27) (A): No aprovaré la tesi del màster

No I will pass the thesis of the masters

'I won't pass the Master's Thesis'

(S): Per què dius això, home?

Why do you say this, HOME?

'Why are you telling me this, HOME?'

(S): * Per què dius això?

Why do you say this?

‘Why are you telling me this?’

In (26), the use of *home* in sentence-final position makes the sentence ill-formed because the previous contextually salient utterance is not judged to be inappropriate by the respondent due to the previous *Context 26*. Therefore, in this context, the sentence without *home* is well-formed because, since there is no contextually salient act judged to be inappropriate, the requirement for information doesn’t need any inappropriateness to be corrected.

Contrastively, in the *Context 27*, Sofia considers Andy’s utterance to be inappropriate because it is false, and by uttering the marker, she lets Andy know that she thinks that what he said is false and she is also requiring Andy to give her a reply so as to correct this inappropriateness. Consequently, in this context, the absence the marker would make the sentence ill-formed.

Further, the content of the sentence preceding *home* gives a tool to the addressee to amend this appropriateness, namely, to develop the idea which at first is considered to be false in order to check if it is actually false. Because of the consistency between the content of the utterance and the derived function of the marker in the *Context 27*, the sentence is well-formed. Besides, since the sentence “*per què dius això?*” ‘why are you telling me this?’ doesn’t make explicit the attitude of rejection the respondent has towards a contextually salient act, the sentence is judged to be ill-formed.

Finally, Cuenca (2013) and Cuenca & Torres (2008) have argued that while in sentence-initial position, *home* is connected to its the previous context, in sentence-final

position it is not. As it has been shown in the section 5 of the present paper, *home* has a link with the previous contextually salient act in both positions.

6. FURTHER RESEARCH

In the previous literature (Prieto, 2014, 2015; Prieto et al., 2015), the intonational contours of the discourse marker *home* have not been analysed separately from the sentence in which it occurs, being this sentence considered to be a statement expressing obviousness. In Cuenca (2013) and Cuenca & Torres (2008) some intonational patterns for *home* have been analysed, though not exhaustively.

It has been observed in some preliminary findings that depending on the position of *home* within the sentence, the discourse marker itself has different intonational patterns independent from the ones of the sentence, even in sentence-final position. Namely, a falling intonation of the marker has been found in sentence-initial position and a rising intonation with either a mid or low boundary tone has been observed in sentence-final position.

Departing from the assumptions made in the previous literature, a rising intonation has been linked to the expectation from the speaker to the addressee to do something with the sentence uttered, this observation being the opposite for the falling intonation (Beyssade & Marandin, 2006; Heim et al., 2016; Wiltschko et al., 2018; Heim, 2019). Thus, these conclusions are consistent with the respective derived functions of the discourse marker *home* concerning its distributional patterns. However, more research needs to be conducted so as to get confirmed results.

7. CONCLUSIONS

This paper has explored the principal function and the contextually derived function based on syntactic factors of the discourse marker *home* in Catalan in order to disambiguate the multifunctionality of the marker observed in the previous literature. The data has shown that *home* can be considered to be a discourse marker of response type, reinforced by the fact that the respondent shows an attitude of rejection towards a contextually salient act, that can be either spoken or non-spoken. Due to this attitude, the principal function of the marker has been observed to be: ‘the contextually salient act that you executed is inappropriate’.

In order to develop a contextually derived function for *home* based on syntactic factors, the two distributional patterns of the marker within the sentence have been analysed, namely, the position of the marker either at the beginning or the end of the sentence. It has been found that each distributional pattern influences the derived function of the marker as well as the content of the sentence preceding or following it. Therefore, the conjunction of both factors has been analysed to construct this contextually derived function of *home*. In sentence-initial position, it has been found to be: ‘I want you to know why I think this contextually salient act is inappropriate’, and in sentence-final position: ‘I want you to know that I think this contextually salient act is inappropriate and I expect you to do something about it to correct this inappropriateness’.

Depending on the clause type in which *home* occurs in sentence-final position, the marker has been found to have different illocutionary forces, being subject to the speech act performed by the sentence in which the marker occurs, which in turn is considered to be partially determined by the clause type of the sentence. Thus, in declarative sentences, the addressee is expected to believe in the assertion preceding *home*; in imperative clauses, the addressee is expected to perform a command and in interrogative sentences, the addressee is expected to reply to a question.

The results of this study confirm that there is evidence for some characteristics that shape the multifunctionality of discourse markers, which have been useful in order to disambiguate this multifunctionality in some instances of discourse markers in English and Catalan that we know so far, which can help to unveil the plurality of functions of other discourse markers that has been discussed in the previous literature.

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