МОВНА КОМПЕТЕНЦІЯ ТА КОМУНІКАЦІЯ

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RESPONSE PARTICLES IN LITHUANIAN CONVERSATION AND TURN DESIGN

The paper deals with response particles in Lithuanian conversation. The results of the analysis provide evidence that sequential environments response particles are used in turn out to be central. Thus, the distinctive usages and functions of the particles are investigated in the following sequences: questions-answers, assertions-reactions and directives-reactions. The paper considers similarities and contrasts among the Lithuanian affirmative as well as negative particles. The results of the analysis show that the particles mainly appear in positive responses, thus the inventory of the affirmative particles is much more abundant than that of negative particles. The primary functions of the particles encompass responding to a previous turn: they occur as positive or negative answers to polar (yes-no) questions, as responses to assertions or directives, and as so-called feedback (or back-channel) elements. Affirmative particles firstly operate as confirmation and agreement markers, while negative particles, on their turn, primarily operate as disagreement markers, though at times they have also a capacity of functioning as agreement devices. Sequential contexts appear to have an impact on the emergence of discursive (resp. interactional) meanings of response particles that have not been discussed in Lithuanian grammars.

Key words: response particles, affirmative and negative particles, question-answer sequences, Lithuanian conversation, turn design.

1. Introduction

Cross-linguistically, the semantic class of particles have been studied from different perspectives: their multifunctionality, position in a sentence and discourse, correlation with the information structure and the so called peripheries of a sentence (resp. utterance) (König 1991; Fischer 2000; Aijmer 2002; Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen 2003; König & Siemund 2007; Haselow 2012; Grosz 2016; Bayer & Struckmeier 2017 among others). By emphasizing the relationship between particles and discourse structure, numerous studies have provided typological accounts of response (Roelofsen & Farkas 2015; Holmberg 2016; Sorjonen 2001; Wiltschko 2017), interrogative (Siemund 2001; Metslang et al. 2011), emotive (Xiang 2011) and other classes of particles.

Over the past few years, response particles (RPs) have been discussed within interactional studies (Roelofsen & Farkas 2015; Holmberg 2016; Sorjonen 2001;

Wiltschko 2017; Heritage, Sorjonen, eds. 2018 among others). Various umbrella terms are used to name the particles under consideration: 'listener responses' (Oreström 1983), 'discourse markers' (e. g., *oh* in Schiffrin 1987), 'linguistic feedback' (Allwood et al. 1992), 'backchannels' (Angles et al. 2000), 'response particles' (Sorjonen 2001) and others. More specifically, RPs have been the subject of investigations on turn-initial particles that are initially positioned in a turn at talk. All turn-initial particles are produced in reaction to prior turns and project upcoming responses (Heritage, 2018, p. 182). While most turn-initial particles have both backward and forward orientations, one of them are more forward looking (for example, English *well*), while others – more backward looking (for example, English *oh*) (Heritage, Sorjonen, 2018, p. 13). Different RPs may share contexts of use, however, «[r]esponse particles that share sequential environments can in a very refined way differ from each other, not only in terms of the stance to what should follow, but also how they treat their prior talk, when looking backward. Here, the epistemic and affective construction of the prior talk turns out to be central» (Sorjonen, 2001, p. 31).

In Lithuanian, the inventory of particles is heterogeneous both in their semantic and structural respect (LG II 1971, p. 543-576; Ambrazas, ed., 2006, p. 432-437). The existing descriptions focus more on individual particles (Petit 2010; Sawicki 2012; Šolienė 2015, 2020; Jasionytė-Mikučionienė 2019, 2021; Panov 2019; Ruskan 2019), while a more systematic account of different semantic classes of particles based on synchronic as well as diachronic data is still lacking. As a consequence, Lithuanian response particles have received little attention by linguists. The origin and meanings in Old Lithuanian have been sketched in Lithuanian etymological dictionaries (Fraenkel 1962, 1965; Smoczyński 2007), also in Ambrazas (2006), Nau & Ostrowski (2010). From a synchronic perspective, RPs were analyzed in descriptive Lithuanian grammars (LG II 1971; Ambrazas, ed. 1997, 2006). Thus, the paper aims at exploring functional distribution of the RPs in Present-day Lithuanian, their role in discourse structure and its impact on functions of RPs. Special attention is paid to the relation of the particle to the preceding (as well as to the upcoming) turn and its design. Besides, the paper considers similarities and contrasts among the Lithuanian affirmative as well as negative particles.

2. Response particles in grammars and dictionaries

The particles under consideration are used as responses in conversation: they function as answers to polar questions and as reactions to affirmations or other clause (resp. speech act) types, cf.:

(1) *Ar ateisi rytoj?* 'Will you come tomorrow?'
a. **Taip**, *ateisiu.* 'Yes, I will.'
b. **Ne**, *neateisiu.* 'No, I will not.'

An answer to the question provided above, *Ar ateisi rytoj?* 'Will you come tomorrow?', is either the affirmative particle *taip* 'yes', or the negative particle *ne* 'no'. Both polar particles (*taip* and *ne*) belong to the core set of Lithuanian response particles. However, one can witness a distribution of particles depending on the variety of the language: in standard Lithuanian, the only affirmative particle in use is *taip* 'yes' (Ambrazas, ed., 1997, p. 398). In colloquial Lithuanian, particles *taigi* 'yes', *jo, aha* 'yeah', *mhm* 'hmm' can also be used instead. The negative particle *ne* 'no' is used in all (standard and non-standard) language varieties.

Table 1. The inventory of Lithuanian response particles

LITHUANIAN RESPONSE PARTICLES (RPs)	
TAIP, JO, AHA, MHM, NU	NE
Affirmative (*yes*-type) *particles*	*Negative* (*no*-type) *particles*

In Lithuanian grammars, affirmative as well as negative particles are perceived as distinct semantic-functional types (Ambrazas ed., 1997, p. 397). Affirmative particles are characterised as modal words that express the speaker's attitude to the content of the utterance (ibid.). The prototypical affirmative particle *taip* 'yes' is often used alone as an affirmative reply to a (polar) question:

(2) – *Ar važiuosi namo?* – **Taip**.
'Will you go home? - Yes.'

This particle is also used when confirming negation (a), in echo questions to express speaker's surprise (b), as an emphatic marker (c) and with adverbs (d), cf.:

(a) – *Juk jūs ten nebuvote?*
– **Taip**, *nebuvau.*
'But you weren't there, were you? - No, I wasn't (lit. Yes, I wasn't.)'
(b) – *Ar žinai, kad jis grįžo?*
– **Taip***? Nežinojau.*
'Do you know he is back? - Really? No, I didn't.'
(c) *Čia* **taip** *gražu.*
'It is so nice here.'
(d) **taip** *gražiai*
'so nicely'

(Examples from Ambrazas, ed., 1997, p. 399)

In Standard Lithuanian, four negative particles are in use: the principal particles *ne* 'no, not' and *nebe* 'not (any more / longer)', and also *nė* and *nei* 'not (a)', 'not even' (Ambrazas, ed., 1997, p. 399). The particle *ne* can be used singly in response to a general question. In a reply to a negative question, this particle expresses confirmation and in a reply to a positive question, it expresses negation; cf. respectively (3) and (4):

(3) – *Nematei jo?* – **Ne**.   'You didn't see him? - No.'
(4) – *Ar grįši šiandien ?* – **Ne**.   'Will you return today? - No.'

(Ambrazas, ed., 1997, p. 399)

The particle *nebe* differs from *ne* in that it is used to negate continuation of an action or state that has gone on for some time; cf. (5a) and (5b):

(5a) *Mano sūnus* **ne** *toks greitas.*
'My son is not so fast.'
(5b) *Mano sūnus (jau)* **nebe** *toks greitas.*
'My son is not so fast any longer.'

It should be mentioned that the particles *ne* and *nebe* also double as negative prefixes:

(6) *Jis buvo* **ne***geras.*
'He was not good.'
(7) *Jis* **nebe***rašo.*
'He does not write anymore.'

In spelling, those prefixes adjoin verbs, adjectives etc., in accordance with Lithuanian orthography. When a Lithuanian question contains a negated form of a verb, for example:

(8) *Juk jūs ten* **ne***buvote?*
'You weren't there, were you?'

One can reply to this question by saying: ***Ne, buvau*** lit. 'No, (but) I was', which denies the implied negative presupposition and affirms the opposite. Also, the response ***Taip***, *nebuvau* ('No, I wasn't') is possible which affirms the negative presupposition.

Another negative particle *nė* denotes emphatic negation (a sentence usually contains another negative marker), cf. (9a) and (9b):

(9a) *Aš jo nepastebėjau.*
'I didn't notice him'
(9b) *Aš jo **nė** nepastebėjau.*
'l didn't even notice him'

<div align="right">(Ambrazas, ed., 1997, p. 399)</div>

However, it contradicts grammar for the particle *nė* to be in a standalone position in a sentence, since it should attach the negative form of the verb.

Lithuanian dictionaries provide insights into the use of the particles. The very first usage of the particle *taip* 'yes' mentioned by the *Dictionary of Lithuanian Language* is as an affirmative answer to *yes-no* questions and a means to express confirmation. It is a Lithuanian word which is etymologically associated with the demonstrative pronoun *tai* 'that' (Fraenkel, 1965, p. 1051). As indicated in the dictionary, the particle *jo* 'yeah', by contrast, is a loan word from German. Its meanings are described as equivalent to the German particle *ja* 'yes', and the dictionary gives an earliest example from written Lithuanian in 1857. However, the ultimate Germanic source of the Lithuanian *jo* 'yeah' as well as the date of its origin are difficult to establish due to the lack of research on this issue[1]. Examples with the particle *aha* come from spoken speech as well. It was also attested for the first time in 19th century. The particle *mhm* is absent in Lithuanian dictionaries. The particle *nu* is characterized as an emphatic particle and as being capable of conveying positive responses to questions or assertions. Examples that illustrate the usage of the particle date from the beginning of the 20th century. The negative particle *ne* 'no' is characterised in Lithuanian dictionaries as the one that ascribes to the word it goes with the meaning of negation. The very first examples of this particle come from Old Lithuanian writings (16-17th c.).

3. Data and methods

The study is mainly based on speech data. For the synchronic analysis, the data was obtained from *The Corpus of Spoken Lithuanian*[2], namely, its sub-corpus of spontaneous private communication which is about 121,788 words. The sub-corpus of spontaneous private communication includes informal talks with friends, relatives and family members.

In spoken Lithuanian, the inventory of response particles is more abundant than in written Lithuanian. Table 2 below gives the overall distribution of the particles in spontaneous private speech. As can be seen, the particles *nu* 'well' and *ne*[3] 'no' clearly outrank other response particles (there are 1398 occurrences of *nu*

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[1] I am grateful to the reviewers for bringing this to my attention.
[2] *The Corpus of Spoken Lithuanian* is a morphologically annotated corpus collected at Vytautas Magnus University (sakytinistekstynas.vdu.lt). The creation of the corpus was supported by the Lithuanian State Science and Studies Foundation (2006-2008), the Research Council of Lithuania under The National Lithuanian studies development programme for 2009-2015 (LIT-9-11) and the State Lithuanian Studies and Dissemination Programme for 2016-2024 (LIP-085/2016). The corpus consists of more than 320,000 words.
[3] Note that the negative response particle exists in two forms in spoken Lithuanian: *ne* and *nea* (with a glottal stop). However, this distinction is not reflected in the analysed data.

and 1266 occurrences of *ne*). The high number of instances of *nu* 'well' and *ne* 'no' is related to the fact that the particles enter a wider range of sequential environments than other RPs: both particles are found not only in responsive, but also in non-responsive contexts, they are multifunctional and often appear in sequences with other particles. It should be mentioned that the particle *taip* 'yes' functions not only as a particle, but also as an adverb (see examples (c)-(d) on Page 3). The cases where *taip* functions as an adverb fall outside the focus of the present study. What is more, the affirmative particle *jo* 'yeah' is characteristic for spontaneous speech, and it overtakes the particle *taip* 'yes' in the data (712 and 425 occurrences respectively).

Table 2. Overall raw frequencies of the particles in the corpus

	Spontaneous private speech (121,788) Raw frequency
TAIP 'yes'	425
JO 'yeah'	712
AHA 'yeah'	211
MHM 'mhm'	414
NU 'well'	1398
NE 'no'	1266

Since raw frequencies of response particles under study varies, for the present study 100 samples of each particle were selected (600 examples in total).

Also, *the Database of Old LT Writings* was used to sketch the functional profile of RPs in the earliest stage of Lithuanian, i. e., in the 16th century. The electronic texts and concordances of *The Postilla* by Jonas Bretkūnas (1591) and *The Postilla Catholica* by Mikalojus Daukša (DP, 1599) were consulted.

When analysing the particles in the Lithuanian language, the principles of conversation analysis (CA) were applied. The focus of CA was on turns and sequences, the mechanisms through which conversers take turns and on understanding of how dialogue turns form larger sequences. As a consequence, the Lithuanian RPs are studied in interaction: the functions of the particles under investigation are based on the structure of the conversation in which they are used, the previous segment of the discourse. Thus, the Lithuanian response particles are investigated with respect to their place in turns and sequences as well as with a relationship to the prior and the following remark.

Note that the distinction among the categories of *discourse particles, discourse markers, pragmatic particles* and *modal particles* cross-linguistically as well as language-particularly is not clear and well established (cf. Panov 2023). However, response particles used in discourse and fulfilling discourse functions are labelled as discourse particles in the present study. The Lithuanian response particles functioning as discourse particles occur in language-specific constructions.

4. Response particles in Old Lithuanian writings

While trying to sketch the usage of RPs in the earliest texts of Lithuanian, one must note that in Old Lithuanian, only the items *taip* 'yes', *ne* 'no' and *nu* 'well' are attested: the particles *jo* 'yeah', *aha* and *mhm* are absent. This may be due to the nature of the earliest Lithuanian texts: these are written texts and do not reflect

actual speech of the period. In the analysed Old Lithuanian texts, the particle *taip* 'yes' prototypically functions as an adverb (9-11) or a conjunction (12):

(10) *Bei ßitůs wienu ʒodʒiu / kaip perkûnų ſudauʒo Iônas s. kad **teip** bîlo / O Díewas buwo taſsai ʒodis.* (DP 44,24)

'But John shatters these like a thunderbolt with a single word whenever they speak **like that**; and God was that word.'

(11) *Del to tu weiſdi ßwairai / iog aſch **teip** geras eſmi?* (BP I 230,17)

'That's why you're staring so hard that I'm **so** good?'

(12) *Man macʒis ira důta **teip** danguie kaip ßemeie.* (BP I 10,20)

'Power is given to me both in heaven and on earth'

Example (11) illustrates an emphatic context, where *taip* accompanies the adjective *geras* "good" and functions as an emphasizer. In (12), the particle *taip* forms a correlative conjunction *taip... kaip...* 'as... as'. As indicated in examples above, *taip* 'yes' in most cases takes medial position: there are no cases where the particle appears in initial position in responses to a previous discourse (resp. text segments). The particle *ne* 'no', by contrast, is already used as a particle. It is found in responsive contexts, e. g.:

(13) *Er eſſi Prarakas? Atſake anas / **Ne**.* (BP I 39,5)

'Are you a prophet? - **No**, - he replied.'

Here, the particle *ne* 'no' stands as a negative reply to a polar question. Besides, in BP and DP, *ne* functions as a part of correlative conjunctions ***ne**tiktai..., net ir...,* ***ne**tiktai..., bet ir...* ('not only..., but also...') that are used to connect and emphasize two constituents at the same position, cf.:

(14) *Tađ praßúko wiſsá miniá / biłôdama. **Ne** tą / bei imk' tą / o ißłáiſk' múmus Barabôßių.* (DP 168a(168),15-16)

'Then the whole crowd shouted and spoke: '**Not** this one, but take that one and release Barabbas to us.'

(15) *[I]r taſſai ira numaldimu muſu grieku / o **ne**tiktai muſu / net ir wiſſo Swieto.* (BP II 102,10)

'He is expiation for our sins, and **not** only for our sins but for those of the whole world.'

Turning to the particle *nu* 'well', in Old Lithuanian writings, the particle is employed as a temporal adverb and carries a meaning of 'now', cf.:

(16) *Ką aß daráu /tu **nų** neʒinái: bet <u>potam</u> ʒinôſsi.* (DP 136,4)

'What I do, you don't know **now**, but you will know later.'

In (16), the meaning of time is reinforced by another lexical marker conveying time, i. e. by the adverb *potam* "later". The marker under study is also characteristic for other languages: Slavic (*no, nu*), German (*na, nu, nun, nuna, nå*), even for aerially distant Semitic languages (Sawicki, 2012, p. 163; Auer, Maschler 2016). Thus, the spread of *na/nu* markers exhibits an areal tendency. There is evidence of universal developmental paths of the markers under consideration: in previous stages of different languages, *na/nu* served as a deictic adverb of time and eventually evolved into a discourse particle (see Auer, Maschler, 2016). Due to the lack of research on the Lithuanian data, it is hard to say whether the origin of the Lithuanian particle *nu* 'well' can be explained through its relation to the adverbs *nu* and *nūnai* 'now/today'.

Typically, *nu* 'well' is found in medial position though at times it may be used clause-initially as well, cf.:

(17) *Pirmo pamokſlo ſchos Schwentes / ape Dangaus ßengima Pono Kriſtaus / **Nu** klauſikit teipaieg ir antro pamokſlo.* (BP II 117,9)

'The first sermon of this feast about the ascension of Christ. **Now** listen to the second sermon as well.'

The particle *nu* in the initial position can no longer be associated with the deictic meaning of time, but with the text-deictic meaning: the author indicates that it is at this place in the text one has to listen to the second sermon. In other words, in such cases *nu* refers to a specific place in a text. As noted by Lenker (2010, p. 61), the adverbial *nu* 'now' in Old English used to be associated not only with real time, but also with text creation time, and, as a consequence, tended to be used with verbs referring to the following text. In this respect, the Lithuanian adverb *nu* can also be interpreted as a metalinguistic device indicating text producing time and projecting the text that follows (resp. discourse).

5. Response particles in Present-day Lithuanian: affirmative type

To begin with, the functions of the particles under study will be shown to be closely related to the grammatical construction of their prior talk. The data show that RPs appear in question-answer, also assertion-reaction and directive-reaction sequences. The diagram below indicates that the particles (affirmative as well as negative) most frequently follow assertions and questions.
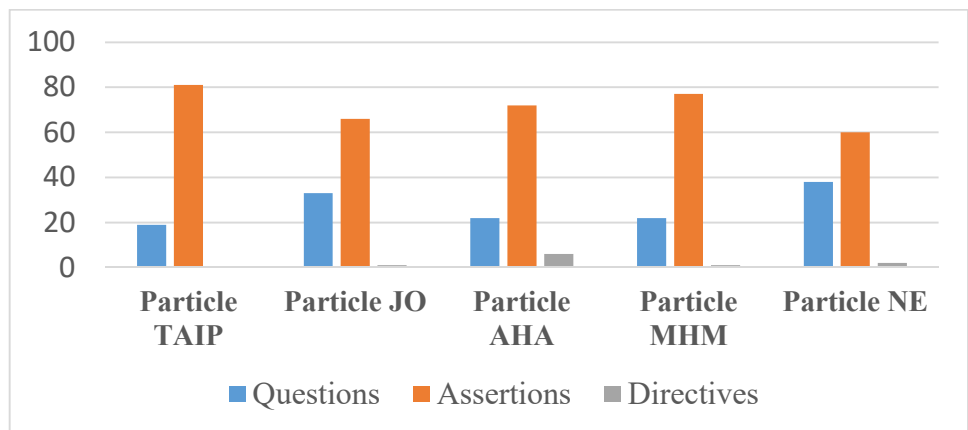
Thus, primary functions of the particles encompass responding to previous turns. When the *yes*-type particles (i. e. *taip, jo, aha, mhm*) are in postposition to questions, they serve as affirmative answers to *yes-no* questions, cf. (18):

(18)

Draugai kalbasi:	'Friends are talking:
*A: +< Ką baigei?	*A: What studies did you finish?
*B: Baigiau filologiją, dabar kalbotyrą stud@nz [:studijuoju] +/.	*B: I graduated from philology, now I am studying linguistics.
*A: +< Filologija yra su kalbom(is)?	*A: Is phylology about languages?
B: **Taip.*	*B: **Yes**.'

In such conversational environments, the *yes*-type particles function as confirmation devices: by using a certain response particle, the speaker acknowledges that a proposition of a previous utterance is true. Moreover, there are contexts where the affirmative particles are used in index epistemic stance, namely, the particles respond to a previous turn that implies co-participant's uncertainty with respect to what Speaker B has said or to the existence of some state of affairs. As confirmation devices, the affirmative particles typically stand alone in an utterance and seal the whole sequence initiated by a *yes-no* question.

The Lithuanian affirmative particles are used not only to answer polar questions, but also to confirm any fact or thought; thus, they can also stand as agreement markers, cf. (19-20):

(19)

Draugės kalbasi kavinėje:
A: Žinai, slenkantis grafikas, blemba@k, išeis šventėm(s), dirbsi.

*B: Nu **taip**, čia jau minusas toks, nieko nepakeisi.*

'Friends talking in a cafe:
*A: You know, rotating schedule, if there are holidays, you will have to work.
*B: Well, **yes**, that's the drawback, you won't change anything.'

(20)

Namuose kalbasi mama su dukra:
A: Kam, neapsimoka, jeigu skrydis, nu kad ten jau nuo pusės keturių jau įleidžia į tą laukimo salę.
B: Ai.
A: Nu, tai nieko neapsimoka daryt(i) jau.
*B: **Jo**, ten paskiau nenuvažiuosi, gali nespėt(i).*

'Mother and daughter talking at home:
*A: Why, not worth it if the flight; well, they let you into that waiting room from half past three.
*B: Ah.
*A: Well, it's not worth doing anything already.
*B: **Yeah**, you won't go there then, you might not make it.'

Sequences with response particles as agreement markers are initiated by assertions. By indicating agreement, the Lithuanian *yes*-type particles confirm a previous statement and admit it as being true. The speakers share the access to what is being talked about: in (18), Speaker B agrees with the fact that a rotating schedule is a drawback, and, in (19), Speaker B agrees with the statement that "it's not worth doing anything already". In such cases, the affirmative particles respond to the prior "affiliation-relevant utterance" (Sorjonen, 2001, p. 167) that displays a stance toward an issue that the speaker treats as known to the recipient. In other words, the speaker claims affiliation by implying 'I agree with you, and I am on your side'.

The *yes*-type particles can appear in questions themselves. In such cases, the speaker uses the particles *taip* or *jo* to ask or request for confirmation: (s)he checks information that (s)he thinks (s)he knows is true, cf.:

(21)

Vaikas ir mama žiūri nuotraukas:
*A: Viskas, pykstu, reikia eit(i) eiti miegučio, **jo**?*
B: Mhhh.
*A: Aha, reik(ia) eiti miegučio, **taip**?*
B: Mhhh.

'A child and mother are looking at pictures:
*A: That's it, I'm angry, you need to go and take a nap, **huh**?
*B: Mhhh.
*A: Yeah, gotta go take a nap, **yeah**?
*B: Mhhh.'

As can be seen from the example, one finds the affirmative particles *jo* and *taip* in interrogative tags. We can talk of the association of RPs with questions which invite confirmation of knowledge which the questioner already possesses. Simultaneously, such questions formulate themselves as answers that do not provide (any) new information. The latter claim may be justified by the provided example (21) where interrogative tags are followed by the affirmative particle *mhm* indicating weak

commitment of the co-participant to the conversation: the particle *mhm* stands alone and closes the turn in which it is used.

In assertion-reaction paired turns, the *yes*-type particles encode various further intersubjective meanings, for example speaker's understanding (22) or surprise (23):

(22)

Namuose šeima dirba kompiuteriais:	'At home, the family works on computers:
A: Paduok man atmintuką iš stalčiuko.	*A: Give me the USB from the drawer.
B: Tuoj paduosiu.	*B: Just a minute.
A: Atmintuką aš turiu galvoj(e).	*A: I have the USB in mind.
*B: **Taip taip**. Nėra.*	*B: **Yes yes**. There is no.'

(23)

Dukra kalbasi su tėvu:	'**Daughter talking to father:**
A: Kaip vakar praėjo diena?	*A: How was your day yesterday?
B: Vakar labai smagiai.	*B: Yesterday was very fun.
*A: **Jo**?*	*A: **Really**?
B: Buvau su draugais Birštone.	*B: I was with my friends in Birštonas.'

In (22), the speaker indicates that (s)he understands what is being talked about ('yes, I do understand that you have the USB in mind'). It has been mentioned that the affirmative particles index mutually shared information, but in examples like (23), the Lithuanian affirmative particles *taip* and *jo* are closely associated with the emergence of new information. Alongside the English particle *oh*, the Lithuanian particle *jo* is used as a 'change-of-state' token: "its producer has undergone some kind of change in his or her locally current state of knowledge, information, orientation or awareness" (Heritage, 1984, p. 299). Thus, speaker's A response *Jo?* in (23) receives previous information as new and simultaneously evaluates it as surprising.

Besides the functions of affirmative particles discussed above, the usage of the Lithuanian affirmative particles can be described in terms of discourse organization: they function as discourse particles that begin a stretch of talk, cf.:

(24)

Namuose kalbasi mama su dukra:	'**Mother and daughter talking at home:**
A: Koncertus pažėk@st [: pažiūrėk], kas koncertuos.	*A: Check concerts, see who will perform.
B: Koncertų dabar nerodo, nevyksta, o spektakliai +//.	*B: There are no concerts now, but performances are taking place.
A: Imk.	*A: Book it.
*B: **Taip**, pavyzdžiui, Primadonos, čia senas yra jau kažkoks.*	*B: **Yes**, for example, "Primadonos", this one here is old.'

In (24), the speaker does not reply to the directive *imk* 'order' but returns to his/her previous statement ("there are no concerts now, but performances are taking place"), gives an example of the performance ("Primadonos") and prefaces this exemplification by the particle *taip* 'yes'. It must be noted that in the analysed data the function under discussion is typical for the particle *taip* only: neither *jo* nor *aha* and *mhm* are found in such sequential environments.

The least frequent contexts where the *yes*-type particles appear are responses to directives (commands, suggestions etc.), cf.:

(25)

Pašnekovai kalbasi pusryčiaudami:	'The interlocutors talk over breakfast:
A:+< Labas_rytas.	*A: Good morning.
B: Labas, Gražvydai.	*B: Hi, Gražvydas.
C: Eikši, Gražvydai, valgyt(i).	*C: Come to eat, Gražvydas.
*A: **Aha**, tuoj.*	*A: **Yeah**, just a minute.'

Here, the particle *aha* provides an acceptance of invitation and Speaker A replies in the following way: "Yes, I will come, just a minute". As a response to an imperative, the particle is most often all the speaker says in his/her turn, though the particle can also be followed by further linguistic elements in the same turn (as in (25) by the adverb *tuoj* 'soon').

Separate attention should be paid to the particles *aha* and *mhm*. The data show that they both exhibit what Jefferson calls 'passive recipiency' (Jefferson 1984): by using this term it is proposed that "the co-participant is still in the midst of some course of talk, and shall go on talking" (Sorjonen, 2001, p. 25), cf.:

(26)

Kalbasi vyras ir moteris:	'A man and a woman are talking:
A: Net ir jų neužtenka, kad būtų tvarka.	*A: Even they are not enough so that there would be an order.
B: Taip.	*B: Yes.
A: Jo, reikia, nežinau, dažniau tuos generalinius tokius padaryt(i).	*A: It is necessary, I don't know, to do regular cleaning.
*B: **Mhm**.*	*B: **Mhm**.
A: O tada jau bus lengviau šiaip tuos patvarkymus, ir jie greičiau.	*A: And then it will be easier to do those repairs anyway, and they will be faster.
*B: **Mhm**.*	*B: **Mhm**.'

In (26), the particle *mhm* seems to be a weaker and a more neutral acknowledgement token than the particle *taip* 'yes', displaying weak commitment to the talk to which it responds. Besides, the particles *aha* and *mhm* stands as 'continuers' (Sacks 1992) that express speaker's understanding, cf.:

(27)

Kalbasi du studentai pirmakursiai:	'Two first-year students are talking:
A: Ten tai fainai labai, kur mes gyvenom(e), dviejų aukštų toks, žinai.	*A: It's very nice there, where we lived, two-storied, you know.
B: Aaa.	*B: Aaa.
A: Gerai, tie kambariai faini.	*A: It's good, those rooms are nice.
*B: **Aha**.*	*B: **Yeah**.
A: Nauji baldai visiškai.	*A: Completely new furniture.
*B: **Aha, aha**.*	*B: **Yeah, yeah**.
A: Fainai.	*A: That was nice.'

By using the particles *aha* or *mhm*, the speaker indicates that (s)he is following co-participant's thoughts. It means that the particles under consideration less often

initiate further speakership: the speaker does not take a floor. The particles merely respond to the factual character of the prior utterance and registers it as understood, leaving aside its affiliation-relevant aspect.

In Lithuanian, an affirmative response to a polar question may contain another particle, i. e. *nu* 'well'. Though the particle under consideration is not ascribed to the class of response particles in Lithuanian grammars, it can also appear in responses to interrogatives. *Nu* is multifunctional and performs an array of different functions both in responsive as well as non-responsive environments: "justifications, explanations, reactions or reasons pertaining to the information conveyed by the previous speaker" (Šolienė, 2020, p. 246). Generally, the particle *nu* is not produced as a free-standing turn in its own right: rather, it occurs in combination with other lexical or clausal units. However, the particle under consideration can be deployed as a stand-alone turn-constructional unit: in responsive contexts, *nu* conveys an affirmative response (see Example 28). Thus, we can observe two different *nu* particles in Lithuanian: one of them is the bound (unstressed) particle which is often accompanied by other particles (for example, *nu taip* 'well, yes', *nu ne* 'well, no' etc.) and another is a response particle proper which is a free form. Similarly to the cases of other response particles in Lithuanian, meanings of *nu* are particularized through context.

(28)

Dukra moko tėvą naudotis telefonu.	**'Daughter teaches father to use the phone.**
A: Nu kas, pabandykit(e) tą paspaust(i) tą vidurinį - pasaulį. Tą va, tą [/] tą pas, čia vidurinis, čia.	*A: Well, try to press that... to press that middle – the world. This one, that one [/] that one, here is the middle one, here.
B: Čia?	*B: Here?
*A: **Nu**. Man tai reikia, atrodo, rašyt(i) adresą ten interneto.*	*A: **Yes**. It seems to me, you need to write the web address there.'

In line with other affirmative particles, *nu* 'well' indicates response to a polar question and functions as a confirmation marker.

In other response contexts with *nu*, no straightforward confirmation or disconfirmation is provided. In other words, the speaker neither confirms nor disconfirms the proposition of the previous utterance, cf.:

(29)

Namuose kalbasi mama su dukra:	**'Mother and daughter talking at home:**
A: Ta, turbūt, ta šventė tai buvo tokia trumpa, ane? Bendro pobūdžio?	*A: Probably, that celebration was so short, wasn't it? Of general character?
*B: **Nu**, biškį padainavo ten.*	*B: **Well**, they were singing a bit there.'

In the example above, the speaker does not directly confirm that celebration was short or of general character: (s)he specifies in the *nu*-prefaced turn that people were singing a bit there. Like Russian *nu* 'well', the Lithuanian particle *nu* occurs in non-straightforward responses (cf. Bolden, 2018, p. 35).

As already mentioned, the particle *nu* 'well' forms collocations with other affirmative particles (especially with *taip* 'yes' and *jo* 'yeah') and, in this way, signals speaker's stance, affiliation, cf.:

(30)

Draugės kalbasi kavinėje:

*A: Nu, aišku, kai po darbo grįžti, tai jau nelabai eisi sportuot.

*B: Tai jo, jeigu sakai, kada baigi, tai būsi žiauriai pavargus.
*A: Nu jo, vis_tiek dvylika valandų, tai, pavyzdžiui, kai dvi laisvos, tai per tas abidvi laisvas eitumėm.

'Friends talking in a cafe:

*A: Well, of course, when you come back after work, you won't go in for sports much.
*B: Yeah, if you say when you finish work, you'll be terribly tired.
*A: **Well yeah**, it's still twelve hours, so, for example, when two days are free, we'll go on those two free days.'

Here, the usage of *nu* reflects the contexts of other Lithuanian *yes*-type particles where they preface responses aligning or affiliating with the initiating action and operates as agreement markers.

Nu-prefaced responses may reject the assumption that the respondent knows the answer. More specifically, *nu* 'well' emerges in responses that claim a lack of knowledge, cf.:

(31)

Svetainėje kalbasi mama ir sūnaus draugė:

*A: +< Bet, pavyzdžiui, į svečius gali kas ateit(i), ane? Turi pasą palikt(i) kažkaip, ar ne?

*B: Nu, nežinau. Pas mane niek(a)s nėjo į svečius.

'A mother and her son's friend are talking in the living room:

*A: But, for example, someone can come to visit you, right? You have to leave your passport somehow, don't you?
*B: **Well**, I do not know. No one came to visit me.'

Here, Speaker B replies by claiming a lack of knowledge and then accounting for not knowing by saying that (s)he has no similar experience ('I don't know whether it is possible to come to visit since no one came to visit me').

To sum up, the use of affirmative Lithuanian particles in diverse sequential environment determines their multifunctionality: functions of the particles range from positive responses to intersubjective values.

6. Response particles in Present-day Lithuanian: negative type

As discussed in Section 2, Lithuanian grammars describe the negative particle *ne* 'no' as a response particle, while its use in reactions to assertions is not examined. In polar questions-initiated sequences, the negative particle *ne* 'no' may be associated with both negative and positive responses (rejections and confirmations respectively). In assertion-initiated sequences, the particle *ne* 'no' can stand as an agreement marker, e. g.:

(32)

Namuose kalbasi močiutė ir anūkė.

*A: Nu tai_vuot@d [: tai_vat], va tas svarbiausiai, ka@d [: kad] ne tokie va kažkokie va, tokie labai jau išsistatantys.

*B: Ne, jie patys tai labai paprasti.

'Grandmother and granddaughter are talking at home.

*A: Well, that's the most important thing, that they're not so… so arrogant.
*B: **No**, they themselves are very simple.'

In the given context, another agreement marker, i. e. the affirmative particle *taip* "yes", could also be used.

However, agreement contexts with the particle *ne* 'no' are not frequent. In assertion-initiated turns, *ne* 'no' more often corrects (33) or negates (34) a previous proposition, cf.:

(33)

Draugės kalbasi kavinėje.	**'Friends are talking in a cafe.**
A: Nes ketriasdešim [: keturiasdešimt] tai man jau biškį per brangu.	*A: Because forty is too expensive for me.
*B: **Ne,** trisdešimt_du sakė.*	*B: **No**, thirty-two, they said.'

(34)

Svetainėje kalbasi mama ir sūnaus draugė.	**'A mother and her son's friend are talking in the living room.**
A: Aš įsivaizdavau, kad, supranti, ten viskas netoli peškom nueit(i).	*A: I imagined that, you know, everything is within walking distance.
*B: **Ne ne**. [...] [J]eigu pirma paskaita, ką_žinau, kokia ten psichologija, tada turi važiuot(i) į savo fakultetą.*	*B: **No no**. [I]f the first lecture, I don't know, for example, psychology, then you have to go to your faculty by bus.'

In (33), Speaker A claims that forty is too expensive for her but Speaker B corrects the initiating assertion and, at the same time, cancels an incorrect presupposition by saying that it is not true: something costs thirty-two but not forty. Similarly, in (34), the *ne*-prefaced turn rejects an assumption that everything is within walking distance: Speaker B tells that if the first lecture is psychology, which is taught at the faculty, then one has to go by bus. Moreover, in assertion-reaction sequences *ne* 'no' can negate expectations, implied presuppositions, cf.:

(35)

Kalbasi mama su sūnumi:	**'A mother talks to her son:**
A: Nu, ten grynai toks, aš nežinau, ką ten veikt(i). Ten kaip kokioj(e) Ukmergėj(e) va ar Jonavoj(e). Nu rimtai.	*A: Well, it's just like that, I don't know what to do there. It's like some Ukmergė or Jonava. Well, seriously.
*B: **Ne,** tai gali būt(i).*	*B: **No**, it can be.'

Here, Speaker A says that some place resembles such small Lithuanian towns like Ukmergė or Jonava and, at the end of his/her turn, adds a remark: "Well, seriously". The latter remark indicates a possible assumption by the co-participant (Speaker B) that (s)he does not believe in the truth of the information being conveyed. But then Speaker B responses by the *ne*-prefaced turn implying: "No, it is not the case that I do not believe in what you are saying; it can be".

Besides assertion-reaction pairs, the negative particle *ne* 'no' – in line with the discussed affirmative particles – can also be associated with directive-reaction pairs, e. g.:

(36)

Šeima pietauja.	**'A family is having lunch.**
A: Labai skanūs. Ačiū.	*A: Very tasty. Thank you.
B: Imk dar.	*B: Take more.
*A: **Ne ne**.*	*A: **No no**.'

(37)

Kalbasi mama su sūnumi:	**'A mother talks to her son:**
A: O neturi kūdesnio sūrio?	*A: Don't you have low-fat cheese?
B: Žinok, labai skanus, Mantai.	*B: You know, it's very tasty, Mantas.
*A: **Ne**, labai daug sočiųjų riebalų.*	*A: **No**, very high in saturated fat.'

In (35), there is a straightforward directive *imk* "take" but the speaker rejects the offer to take more food. Example (36) illustrates an indirect offer to taste the cheese (Speaker B says: "You know, it's very tasty, Mantas"). Speaker A starts his responsive turn with the particle *ne* 'no' and then completes it by providing an explanation for not eating the cheese that is very high in saturated fat.

The data presented in this section show that the functions of the negative Lithuanian particle *ne* 'no' are not as varied as those of the affirmative particles *taip* 'yes', *jo, aha, mhm* 'yeah' or *nu* 'well': the particle *ne* 'no' encodes less intersubjective functions and, as a consequence, indicates a lower degree of intersubjectification.

7. Concluding remarks

The present study settles the inventory of response particles in Lithuanian conversation (i. e. spontaneous private communication) and complements the existing descriptions of the particles in Lithuanian grammars. By using the methodological framework of conversation analysis, it has been explored the kinds of meanings recipients display when responding with a particle to what the co-participant just said. It has been observed that the particles under analysis mainly appear in positive responses. This may be due to the fact that the inventory of affirmative particles is much more abundant than the inventory of negative particles.

The Lithuanian response particles are used turn-initially and display a wide range of functions. The primary functions of the particles encompass responding to a previous turn: they occur as positive or negative answers to polar (*yes-no*) questions, as responses to assertions and directives, and as so-called feedback (or back-channel) elements. Affirmative particles firstly operate as confirmation and agreement markers, while negative particles (namely, the particle *ne* 'no'), on their turn, primarily operate as contradiction or disagreement markers, though at times they have also a capacity of functioning as agreement devices. Some of the affirmative particles are associated with distinct functions: the particles *aha* and *mhm* mark 'passive recipiency' and, at the same time, a dispreference to continue the current topic (both particles do not initiate speakership).

Sequential contexts appear to have an impact on the emergence of discursive (resp. interactional) meanings of RPs that are not discussed in Lithuanian grammars. The particles under consideration (especially the affirmative ones) may encode various interpersonal (resp. intersubjective) functions: speaker's stance, affiliation, surprise, understanding etc. Some of the particles (for example, the affirmative particle *taip* 'yes' or the negative particle *ne* 'no') are associated with discourse organization: they function as discourse particles that begin a stretch of talk and show textual relations with previous turns.

The Lithuanian response particles may be deployed either as stand-alone turn-constructional units or as turn prefaces. When response particles stand separately, they tend to close the whole (conversational) sequence initiated by polar questions or assertions or directives and operate as feedback elements. Some of the analysed particles (for example, *nu* 'well') do not operate as stand-alone turn-constructional units and favour collocating with other affirmative particles.

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Резюме

Ясіоните-Мікучонене Еріка

ФРАЗОВІ ЧАСТКИ В ЛИТОВСЬКІЙ РОЗМОВІ ТА КОНСТРУКЦІЇ ЗВОРОТНОГО ЗВ'ЯЗКУ

Постановка проблеми. Протягом останніх років фразові частки обговорювалися в рамках інтеракційних досліджень (Roelofsen & Farkas 2015; Holmberg 2016; Sorjonen 2001; Wiltschko 2017; Heritage, Sorjonen, eds. 2018 серед інших). Вони були проаналізовані з акцентом на зв'язок між частками та структурою дискурсу. Зокрема, розглянуті частки були предметом дослідження зворотно-ініціальних часток, які ініціально розташовані в розмові поперемінно. У литовській мові інвентар часток неоднорідний як семантично, так і структурно. Наявні описи зосереджені більше на окремих частках (Petit 2010; Sawicki 2012; Šolienė 2015, 2020; Jasionytė-Mikučionienė 2019, 2021; Panov 2019; Ruskan 2019), тоді як не було знайдено жодного дослідження, яке б систематично досліджувало різні семантичні класи часток на основі синхронних та діахронних даних. Як наслідок, литовські фразові частки отримали відносно мало уваги з боку лінгвістів.

Мета дослідження – з'ясувати функціональну дистрибуцію фразових часток (часток відповіді) в сучасній литовській мові, її роль у структурі дискурсу та її вплив на функції часток.

Методи. Дослідження ґрунтується на даних Корпусу розмовної литовської мови, а саме – даних субкорпусу спонтанного приватного спілкування. Застосовано принципи конверсаційного аналізу. Литовські фразові частки досліджено у взаємодії: функції часток ґрунтуються на структурі розмови, в якій вони вживаються, на попередньому відрізку дискурсу. Особливості вживання та функції часток досліджено у таких послідовностях: питання-відповіді, твердження-реакції та директиви-реакції.

Результати. Дослідження показало, що основна функція таких часток полягає у реагуванні на попередній відрізок дискурсу: вони виступають як позитивні або негативні відповіді на полярні (так-ні) питання, як реакції на твердження або директиви, а також як так звані елементи зворотного зв'язку (або зворотного каналу). Стверджувальні частки функціонують передусім як маркери підтвердження та згоди, тоді як заперечні частки, у свою чергу, передусім функціонують як маркери незгоди, хоча інколи вони також здатні

функціонувати як засоби згоди. Крім того, в розмовному дискурсі розглянуті частки (особливо стверджувальні) можуть кодувати різні міжособистісні (або інтерсуб'єктні) функції: позицію мовця, приналежність, здивування, розуміння тощо. Деякі з часток пов'язані з організацією дискурсу: вони функціонують як дискурсивні частки, що ініціюють висловлювання мовця в розмові та демонструють текстові зв'язки з попередніми висловлюваннями.

Дискусія. Це дослідження надає докази того, що послідовний контекст, в якому вживаються фразові частки (відповіді), виявляється основним чинником: він впливає на появу дискурсивних (відповідно інтерактивних) значень часток відповіді, які не було розглянуто в литовських граматиках.

Ключові слова: фразові частки (відповіді), стверджувальні та заперечні частки, послідовності запитань-відповідей, литовська розмовна мова, конструкція зворотного зв'язку.

Abstract

Jasionytė-Mikučionienė Erika

RESPONSE PARTICLES IN LITHUANIAN CONVERSATION AND TURN DESIGN

Background. Over the last years, response particles have been discussed within interactional studies (Roelofsen & Farkas 2015; Holmberg 2016; Sorjonen 2001; Wiltschko 2017; Heritage, Sorjonen, eds. 2018 among others). They have been analysed by emphasizing the relationship between the particles and discourse structure. More specifically, the particles under consideration have been the subject of investigations on turn-initial particles that are initially positioned in a conversation in turns. In Lithuanian, the inventory of particles is heterogeneous both in the semantic and the structural respects. The existing descriptions focus more on individual particles (Petit 2010; Sawicki 2012; Šolienė 2015, 2020; Jasionytė-Mikučionienė 2019, 2021; Panov 2019; Ruskan 2019), while no research has been found that systematically surveyed different semantic classes of particles based on synchronic as well as diachronic data. As a consequence, Lithuanian response particles have received relatively little attention by linguists.

Purpose. The paper examines response particles in conversational Lithuanian. The purpose of the study is to explore functional distribution of response particles in modern Lithuanian, their role in discourse structure and its impact on functions of particles.

Methods. The study is based on spoken data which are drawn from *The Corpus of Spoken Lithuanian*, namely, its sub-corpus of spontaneous private communication. The principles of conversation analysis are applied. Lithuanian response particles are studied in interaction: the functions of the particles are based on the structure of the conversation in which they are used, the previous segment of the discourse. The distinctive usages and functions of the particles are investigated in the following sequences: questions-answers, assertions-reactions and directives-reactions.

Results. This study has shown that the primary functions of the particles encompass responding to a previous turn: they occur as positive or negative answers to polar

(*yes-no*) questions, as responses to assertions or directives, and as so-called feedback (or back-channel) elements. In the first place, the affirmative particles operate as confirmation and agreement markers, while negative particles, in their turn, primarily operate as disagreement markers, though at times they have also a capacity of functioning as agreement devices. Besides, in spoken discourse, the particles under consideration (especially the affirmative ones) may encode various interpersonal (resp. intersubjective) functions: speaker's stance, affiliation, surprise, understanding etc. Some of the particles are associated with discourse organization: they function as discourse particles that initiate a speaker's saying in a conversation and demonstrate textual relations with previous statements.

Discussion. This study provides evidence that sequential environments, where response particles are used, appear to be central: they have an impact on the emergence of discursive (resp. interactional) meanings of response particles that have not been discussed in Lithuanian grammars.

Key words: response particles, affirmative and negative particles, question-answer sequences, Lithuanian conversation, turn design.

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