

CROSS CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

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From agreement to stressing and hedging: spanish *bueno* and *claro*.

Salvador Pons Bordería (Valencia)

This paper examines the relationship between discourse markers and modal functions by analyzing two Spanish markers, *bueno* and *claro*. Provided that discourse markers are multifunctional, modal values are first located into a broader framework of discourse functions and second, studied through its expression in spoken conversations.

Special attention is put to two directions of modality: the expression of agreement and disagreement and the expression of stressing and hedging. *Bueno* and *claro* form a scale regarding agreement and diverge regarding the expression of stress and hedging. Both directions cross-cut each other.

Der Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit dem Zusammenhang von *discourse markers* und Modalität anhand einer konversationsanalytischen Untersuchung der spanischen Gesprächspartikeln *bueno* und *claro*. Nach einer kurzen theoretischen Darstellung des grundsätzlich multimodalen Charakters dieser Mittel werden einzelne Beispiele in Gesprächen lokalisiert und unter folgenden Gesichtspunkten diskutiert: in Bezug auf Zustimmung und Widerspruch zum einen und in Bezug auf deren Abschwächung und Verstärkung zum anderen. *Bueno* und *claro* sind keineswegs immer funktionale Äquivalente, vielmehr indizieren sie – je nach pragmatischem Blickwinkel – verschiedene Grade der Zustimmung auf einer hypothetischen Skala und haben daher einen für Rede-*turns* unterschiedlichen Modalisierungswert, der Folgen für die Beziehung haben kann. Übereinstimmungen bzw. Synonymie sind allerdings auch möglich.

1. Introduction

How is modality expressed in a language which lacks a lexicalized class of words for the expression of values such as "politeness", "unpoliteness", "agreement" or "disagreement"? Romanic languages are a case in point, although research points to the modal values of some imperatives (Ortega Olivares 1985), conjunctions (Martín Zorraquino 1991c; Pons Bordería 1996) or even substantives (Cuenca and Torres forthcoming). The ideas of the German *Partikelforschung* slowly come into the interest of Romanic languages thirty years after its first formulations.

This paper tries to shed some light on the question mentioned above by the analysis of two Spanish discourse markers: *bueno* and *claro* which, belonging to the grammatical word class of adjectives, display a wide spectrum of pragmatic values. From the analysis of both markers we will try to make some generalizations about the expression of the values of agreement and stress in Spanish. For the purposes of this paper, a corpus of spoken, colloquial conversations has been analyzed. All conversations belong to the Val.Es.Co (Valencia Colloquial Spanish) corpus and consist of secret recordings of informal

conversations among speakers living in Valencia, Spain. The transcripts follow the conventions of the jeffersonian method, adapted to the requirements of Spanish language.¹ The corpus contains data regarding informal speech; although this the most productive register for the description of these markers, the reader is encouraged to keep in mind that additional data from formal speech could complete the picture offered in this paper.

In what follows, Section II describes the uses of *bueno* and *claro*. Section III puts up a frame of functions, where modality is a hyponym of the macro-function "discourse markedness". Section IV describes two values of modality, agreement and stress, as expressed by both discourse markers, and proposes a link between both values.

2. Functions of *bueno* and *claro*

Bueno and *claro* belong to the morphological class of adjectives, as can be seen in (1), where their literal or more basic meaning has been reproduced:

(1) *El agua clara es buena para la salud*

Syntactically, their most frequent slots are determiner of a noun or attribute; semantically, they denote a positive quality. Their meaning is not far from their etymological origin: "good" (BONUS > *bueno*) and "transparent" (CLARUS > *claro*).

When used in colloquial, spoken conversations, a wide spectrum of values springs. The literature has distinguished the following: epistemic (Garcés 1885:1790, 104-105), (Cuervo 1893:1954, II 159), modal (Martín Zorraquino 1991c), expletive (Vigara Tauste 1980; Vigara Tauste 1992), (Steel 1985:1976), metadiscursive (Briz Gómez 1998a; Martín Zorraquino and Portolés 1999), formulative (Poñs Bordería 1998; Portolés Lázaro 1998a) and connective (Cortés Rodríguez 1991), just to mention some of them.

Perhaps due to their similar origin, *bueno* and *claro* can convey almost the same functions; consequently, they are in some contexts interchangeable. What varies is the weight that the different functions have for the description of each marker. In our corpus, the functions distinguished are the following:

¹ For a detailed description of this and other issues, the reader is encouraged to read the introduction in Briz Gómez, A. e. a. (1995a). and Briz Gómez, A. and Grupo. Val. Es.Co, Eds. (2000).

Table 1: Functions of *bueno* and *claro*

<i>Bueno</i>	<i>Claro</i>
1. Formulative	1. Agreement
1'. Reformulative	1'. Stress
2. Agreement	2. Formulative
2'. Concessive	3. Concessive
2''. Hedge	
3. Disagreement	4. Disagreement

The *formulative* function is related to the planning of discourse and to how the flow of talk is ensured, especially when planning problems could put in danger the speaker's turn:

- (2) J: [tiene] añooo/ casi y medio §
 P: § no/ dee- catorce meses §
 J: § 0 §
 C: § faltan dos -bueno fa-
 faltan cuatro / [para dieciocho meses] [G68.A2+ G68.B1, 188]²

When the *formulative* value is used to change an element of the previous message or the speaker's perspective, a *reformulative* value springs (Roulet 1987):

- (3) E: desde pequeñito él ha estado en M./ interno
 L: ah
 E: luego cuando vino a Valencia?/ bueno cuando acabó el Cou// al colegio que está ahora() [L.15.A2, 74]

The lexical, positive meaning of both markers is reflected dialogically in the expression of *agreement*:

- (4) A: un telegrama? siempre es malo / lo que dice siempre es malo §
 D: § siempre es malo §
 A: §
 puede ser más malo o menos malo/ pero siempre es malo §
 D: § sí sí sí /// bueno §
 A: § vale → [hasta la
 vista=] [H.25.A1, 275]

² The transcription conventions can be seen in Briz Gómez, A. and Grupo Val. Es.Co, Eds. (2000).

- (5) C: *se fue a una reunión d'estas?/ no compró ningún libro?/ y mira qué carterita/ [(RISAS=)]*
 P: [(RISAS)]
 C: =*más bonita (...)*
 J: *sí/ sí/ [y va muy bien]*
 P: [(de regalo↓)]
 C: [*claro/ (claro)*] *mira/ mira qué bonita es [G68.A2+B1, 24]*

In monological, polyphonic contexts (Ducrot 1986), *stress* is expressed:

- (6) C: *dice mire es de aquí de RADIOVALENCIA // la llamamos? / le vamos a hacer una pregunta / si en cinco segundos/ usted nos responde? / gana cinco mil pesetas / claro yo/ digo pues bueno / ¿le preguntamos? pues pregunte [¿¡qué vas a decir-!?*]

Sometimes, agreement is part of an argumentative move to express a hedged disagreement, especially in constructions with an adversative marker (Spanish *pero*). This value is called *concessive*:

- (7) M: *Yo m-en ropa me gasto mucho/ A mí me gusta ir muy bien vestida/ Que en ropa me gasto mucho*
 A: *Bueno/ pero nos lo hacemos nosotros y no es como ir a [una butic] [S.65.A1, 531]*
- (8) M: *Lo han compraø// El chico me lo ha compraø pero vamos// me lo han compraø que ya les hago buennø*
 A: *¿buen descuento?*
 M: *¿Descuento?// (Claro)/ quee los demás// dicen Mamá (pero) (...) tengo que mejorar en otras cosas [S.65.A1, 484]*

Finally, with the help of a particular intonation contour, *bueno* and *claro* can be used for the expression of *disagreement*:

- (9) M: [(vea usted) yo]=
 M: = (...)/ *los días por ejemplo/ que pasa la música/ me los veo acostaos// digo ¡bueno!§ [S.65.A1, 24]*

3. Connective values and discourse marker values

The description in Section 2 combines two different kinds of values: *formulative*, *reformulative* and *concessive* make reference to the binding together of discourse units and to the expression of content relationships among them. *Stress*,

agreement and *disagreement*, on the contrary, make reference to speaker-related values; who speaks adopts a stance with regard to the other(s), by showing agreement and disagreement, or with regard to what has been said, by stressing or hedging the content of an utterance. Such a distinction raises two questions regarding, on the one hand, the relationship between connective values and discourse marker values; on the other hand, the place assigned to values like stress and hedge, agreement and disagreement in a language without a word class for the expression of modality (in the sense of the German *Partikelforschung*). As the first question has been addressed in a recent paper (Pons Bordería 2002), it will be sketchedly developed. The second question will be addressed in more detail in Section IV.

The position adopted here is to combine the more traditional semasiological approach with a functional study of discourse markers, something which seems a reasonable move provided its multifunctionality. In fact, if a DM is able to perform different functions simultaneously, it may be misleading to say that *well* or *bueno* are connectives or modalizers, instead of affirming that (in a given utterance) they function as connectives or modalizers. The question of whether *bueno* and *claro* are connectives or not will be answered by assuming that "in some usages, they can perform connective values". Turning now to a semasiological approach, its logical consequence is to consider that the categorial ascription to the class of DMs is established in prototype terms, for which both markers can still be peripheral connectives, but also prototypical modal units *at the same time*.

What discourse markers have in common is their ability to perform a function, that of discourse markedness, which is a hyperonym comprising all functions possible outside the propositional content of an utterance. Conceived so, it is not surprising that under this label the most diverse values can be found, from social-interactive to more internal, connective values. Discourse markedness, as devised here, comprises three functions: the expression of social relations between speakers and hearers (interactional function); the expression of the self into the utterance (modal function³) and the expression of connective relationships within utterance(s) and between the message and the context (connective function). The first function has to do with speakers and hearers as parts engaged in a social process. (e.g., the use of some interactional markers, like Sp. *¿sabes?* or *¿no?*, has the function of monitoring the conversation); the modal function, in turn, relates a speaker to the message (e.g. by endorsing the content of an utterance or detaching from it); finally, the connective function has to do with the linking of messages to messages and a message to the situation:

³ In this paper, *modality*, *modalization* and *modal function* are interchangeably used.

Figure 1: Non-propositional functions in discourse

The expression of a stance towards the utterance can be expressed through very different means. Modality is coded, for instance, in the mood of the verb (indicative vs. subjunctive) or in modal verbs. However, a significant amount of modality is coded through semantic or pragmatic means, as attested by languages with a class of modal words. Waltereit (2001, 1393-1394) distinguishes the latter from the former on the basis of two features: discourse markers do not contribute to the truth-conditions of the proposition and they express the speaker's attitude. The idea of modality developed here falls into this second group. From now on, we will consider that *bueno* and *claro* are lexical and pragmatic means to express modality and will try to ascertain the nature of such values.

4. A partial account of modality in Spanish

4.1. Evidence from other languages

Romance languages do not encode modality in a particular word class. It is not possible to find, for instance, a distinction among modal words (*Modalwörter*), modal particles (*Modalpartikeln*) and adverbs (Helbig and Buscha 1984). Nevertheless, it is possible to find French, Portuguese, Italian or Spanish words with a modal load, as stated by Acosta 1984; Thun 1989; Held 1991; Hölker 1991, inter alia; Martín Zorraquino 1991b) because, although not coded, modality can be considered an universal phenomenon (Waltereit 1999) which can be functionally explained (Briz Gómez 1998a). The Spanish discourse markers *bueno* and *claro* are good examples of how a modal word behaves in a Romance language. Our interest, however, is not to describe any given discourse marker, but rather to explore what can be learnt from modality by analyzing two of its instantiations.

A starting point is to compare the results of languages with a well-established modal word class. The characterization provided by the German *Partikelforschung* (Bublitz 1978; Acosta 1984; Helbig and Buscha 1984), in particular the differences between modal words and modal particles, although based on syntactic and grammatical features, is a first step in that description. When *bueno* and *claro* are applied to these features, the result is a mixed

category which is sometimes similar to a modal word and sometimes works as a modal particle:

Table 2: comparison between modal words and modal particles

	MW	PM	BUENO	CLARO
1. Initial position	yes	no	yes	yes ⁴
2. Capacity to appear in isolation	yes	no	yes	yes
3. Id. to be used in interr. sent.	no	yes	no	no
4. Id. in imperative sentences	no	yes	no	no
5. Id. to appear in cleft-sentences	yes	no	no	no ⁵
6. Id. to appear after negation	yes	no	yes	yes
7. Id. to answer a yes/no question	yes	no	yes	yes
8. Fixed position in the sentence	no	yes	no	no
9. Syntagmatic combination	no	yes	yes	yes
10. Morphological fixation	no	yes	yes	yes ⁶
11. Monosyllable	no	yes	no	no
12. Stressed	yes	no	yes	yes
13. Included in a logic form	yes	no	no	no
14. Intonation	no	yes	yes	yes
15. Speaker related (Sprechereinstellung)	no	yes	yes	yes ⁷

The transfer of morphosyntactic features of German MPs stresses the importance of the semantic and pragmatic side of modality in Spanish. To push the research further, additional criteria must be used.

The biggest risk regarding modality lies in its interpretation. Because the meaning of modal particles is perceived as a “Gestalt” (Weydt 1989b), it is easier to feel than to explain its meaning effects.⁸ This feature creates a somewhat paradoxical situation: on the one hand, any analytic procedure seeking to isolate meaning components will be in contradiction with the nature of a characteristically non-compositional word. On the other hand, a global

⁴ The initial is the preferred, but not the exclusive, position for bueno and claro, so this criterion cannot lead to significant conclusions if applied in discrete terms.

⁵ They can be focus in a cleft-sentence when they function as an adjective.

⁶ Fixation is a sign of grammaticalization; variability with regard to gender and number is a criterial feature to identify bueno and claro as DMs.

⁷ *Speaker related* means that they serve for the expression of the speaker’s position.

⁸ In order to isolate the linguistic effect of a MP, the literature provides us with several linguistic tests Weydt, H. (1969). *Abtönungspartikeln*. Berlin, Bad Homburg, Helbig, G. and J. Buscha (1984). *Deutsche Grammatik*. Leipzig, Enzyklopädie., inter alia: a) To compare the effect of an utterance with and without a MP (*Wie spät ist es?* vs. *Wie spät ist es eigentlich?*) b) To compare the effect of the same MP in different utterances (*Wie heißt du denn?* vs. *Woher kommst du denn?*). c) To compare the effect of an stressed/unstressed MP (*Wie héi_t du denn?* vs. *Wie heisst du dénn?*). d) To describe the types of speech acts in which a MP can appear (requests, orders, and so on). e) To describe the types of sentences in which a MP can appear (e.g., to find out restrictions regarding interrogative or imperative sentences).

description may seem best suited for the nature of modality, but the absence of testable criteria may be an obstacle for its application. Besides, modal words are outside the domain of structures (sentences or logical forms), what means that the procedures of substitution/permutation, which led to successful results in syntax, can hardly be applied here.

With these *caveat* in mind, our strategy is to explore a particular side of modality, as reflected by the Spanish discourse markers *bueno* and *claro*, namely, the path between agreement and stress.

4.2. From agreement to stress

4.2.1. Patterns of agreement

Agreement is a typically dialogical feature. In the Val.Es.Co corpus, 156 occurrences of *claro* and 164 of *bueno* were found, 97 and 42 of which, respectively, express agreement. Taking as a departure point the association of a pragmatic category (agreement) with linguistic devices (*claro* and *bueno*), the following patterns can be distinguished:

First, agreement indicates the acceptance of the current speaker's turn as a phatic device. With this value, *claro* is much more frequent than *bueno*:

- (10) C: *y le dije Juan/ no te duela lo que estás pagando/ tú es que vas a las clases*
 (°un°) *poquito distraído/ porque °como° llevaba tantas cosas en la cabeza?*
 P: *claro/ claro*
 C: *pues le decían a lo mejor/ la segunda a la derecha// bueno// y ya no se acordaba*
- (11) G: *°(ah por el campo de fútbol)°// ¿allí es donde vive él ahora?*
 E: *siempre*
 G: *siempre*
 E: *bueno* [L.15.A2, 65]

Second, agreement is expressed in second-parts of adjacency pairs. Once again, in this context, *claro* is much more frequent than *bueno*:

- (12) A: *bueno → ligamos/ eso ↓ ¿tú te quedaste colgao?*
 C: *claro*

In ex. (11), agreement could also have been expressed by the construction *claro que sí*. In that case, the answer is given an emphatic interpretation.

Third, agreement can also be expressed in cooperative turns with a co-oriented argument, sometimes with the addition of a justificative move (usually introduced by a causal conjunction like *porque*). Schematically, marker → [cause]:

- (13) S: =*porque*// *como tenga que IR yo solo/ a un sitio quee está un poco lejos y tal? ya no voy*
 J: **claro** // [*es mejor ir con gente*] [AP.80. A1, 499]
- (14) S: *¿cómo que iban a una velocidad?*
 A: *que corrían MÁ(S)*
 S: **bueno sí**// *porque ellos tenían más fondo que tú→ porque tú-tú noo-no has corrido desde hace mucho tiempo*§ [AP.80. A1, 265]

Sometimes, agreement requires a previous assumption that validates an argument; *bueno* and *claro* signal the recognition of a previous discourse or mental segment as the lacking assumption ([cause] → marker → aff.). This has been the most frequent pattern of agreement introduced by *bueno*:

- (15) J: *o sea que hay que pasar por tu coche ¿no?paraaa*Æ
 S: °(¿sí?)°
 J: *para picar unos- unos caramelos de anís*§
 S: § **ah bueno**→ *eso sí* [AP.80. A1,626]
- (16) S: *¿cómo que no hay baña-? ah bueno*→ *que no es la época* [AP.80. A1, 291]

Comparing agreement moves expressed by *bueno* and *claro*, differences regarding usage arise. While *claro* is frequently used as a backchannel device, *bueno* can hardly express this value but in pre-closings or agreement moves where the literal value of *bueno* (=good) is preserved. Likewise, concessive moves of agreement + opposition are more frequently expressed by *bueno* (*bueno pero* = 12 occurrences) than by *claro* (*claro pero* = 1 occurrence).

One of the most recurrent features of agreement above is its association with question-answer contexts. To further explore the differences between *bueno* and *claro*, a typology of questions has been consulted, in order to ascertain the contexts where *bueno* and *claro* are (in)compatible. Consider the following examples (both examples and typology have been taken from (Contreras 1999; Escandell Vidal 1999) and adapted for the purposes of this paper):

Deliberative questions

A: *¿dónde habré puesto los libros? (#Bueno/Claro), aquí*

Echo-questions (recapitulatives)

A: *¿que Juan va a votar en contra? Entonces perderemos la votación*

B: *(bueno/claro), cada uno defiende lo suyo*

Echo-questions (str. como que)

A: *¿cómo que adónde voy?*

B: *(#bueno/claro), que adónde vas*

Exclamative questions

A: *¿te has cortado el pelo? (when someone is getting out of the hairdresser)*

B: *(#bueno/claro)*

Requests

A: *¿puedo abrir la ventana?*

B: *(bueno/claro)*

Offerings

A: *¿quieres que te ayude?*

B: *(bueno/claro)*

Exploratory questions

A: *¿dónde lo pongo? ¿En la cocina?*

B: *(bueno/claro)*

Interpretative questions

A: *para la salsa yo pondría...*

B: *¿un poco de nata?*

A: *(bueno/claro)*

Confirmative questions

A: *¿No es un niño precioso?*

B: *(bueno/claro)*

Confirmative tags

A: *Miguel es un niño precioso ¿verdad?!*

B: *(bueno/claro)*

First remark: in simple yes/no questions, *bueno* and *claro* cannot co-occur freely. Compare the following examples:

(17) *¿Has dejado la ensalada en la nevera?*

17.a. *sí/ no*

17.b. *#bueno/ claro*

17. c. *claro que (sí/no)*

17. d. *bueno/ (sí/no)*

A simple yes/no question is not oriented neither to the positive nor to the negative side of the answer (ex. 17.a). Hence, if *bueno* and *claro* were neutral means to answer a question, both would have the capacity to be an appropriate

answer. This is not possible, though: *bueno* cannot appear in isolation, as the only answer to the question (17.b); in turn, *claro* can, but conveys an emphatic value. When *sí* and *no* are added (exs. 17.c and d), the structure *claro que sí/no* expresses stressed acceptance, while *bueno sí/no* (usually uttered with a pause between the DM and *sí/no*) conveys a hedged acceptance/refusal. Answers with *bueno* and *claro* are pragmatically marked.

In other contexts, both markers co-occur: this happens where the question is a request or an offer – or can be interpreted as such –.⁹ Nevertheless, the way they express agreement is different. When the question is an offer, *bueno* and *claro* stand in a complementary relationship: *Bueno* cannot be used alone to provide a positive answer (18.b), but can be part of adversative (18.c) or concessive (18.e) moves. In turn, *claro*, as a marker of positive answer, is grammatical in (18.b), but does not convey the values of "hedged acceptance" (18.d) or "concessive refusal" (18.f). When both markers modify the answer provided by *sí* (18.g and 18.h), their effect is contrary: *claro* stresses and *bueno* hedges the acceptance.

- (18). A: ¿Te vienes al cine esta tarde?
 18.a. *sí/ no*
 18.b. #*bueno/ claro*
 18.c. *bueno/ pero no estoy muy seguro*
 18.d. #*claro/ pero no estoy muy seguro*
 18.e. *bueno/ vale*
 18.f. #*claro/ vale*
 18.g. *claro que (sí/no)*
 18.h. *bueno/ (sí/no)*

When the question is prefaced by modal verbs, which form a scale of the form <strong, weak>, whatever it is, epistemic, alethic or deontic, *bueno* is compatible with one of the weak members of the scale (deontic *poder*), what confirms its preference for requests and offers. *Claro*, in turn, is not restricted by modality:

- (19). ¿Sabes si ha llegado ya el cartero? (Epistemic)
 19.a. *sí/ no* 19. c. *claro que (sí/no)*
 19.b. #*bueno/ claro* 19. d. #*bueno/ (sí/no)*
- (20). ¿Crees que el cartero habrá llegado ya? (Epistemic)
 20.a. *sí/ no* 20. c. *claro que (sí/no)*
 20.b. #*bueno/ claro* 20. d. #*bueno/ (sí/no)*
- (21). ¿Puedes correr cien metros en diez segundos? (Alethic)

⁹ This would be due to the value of *bueno*, which is considered a deontic operator in Martín Zorraquino, M. A. and J. Portolés (1999). Los marcadores del discurso. *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. I. Bosque and V. Demonte. III: 4051-4213. (José Portolés, personal communication).

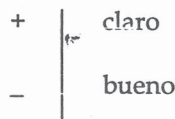
- | | | |
|-------|--|---------------------------------|
| | 21. a. <i>sí/ no</i> | 21. c. <i>claro que (sí/no)</i> |
| | 21. b. <i>#bueno/ claro</i> | 21. d. <i>bueno/ (sí/no)</i> |
| (22). | <i>¿Es necesario que tu tío sea el hermano de tu padre? (Aletic)</i> | |
| | 22. a. <i>sí/ no</i> | 22. c. <i>claro que (sí/no)</i> |
| | 22. b. <i>#bueno/ claro</i> | 22. d. <i>#bueno/ (sí/no)</i> |
| (23). | <i>¿Debo estar en casa a las ocho? (Deontic)</i> | |
| | 23. a. <i>sí/ no</i> | 23. c. <i>Claro que (sí/no)</i> |
| | 23. b. <i>#bueno/ claro</i> | 23. d. <i>#Bueno/ (sí/no)</i> |
| (24). | <i>¿Puedo quedarme en casa de mi amiga? (Deontic)</i> | |
| | 24. a. <i>sí/ no</i> | 24. c. <i>claro que (sí/no)</i> |
| | 24. b. <i>bueno/ claro</i> | 24. d. <i>#bueno/ (sí/no)</i> |

What the tests above show is that agreement is a gradient category and that when *bueno* and *claro* are alternates, they meet the requirements of a non-entailment scale, as defined by Levinson (2000, 99):

Here there is not only no entailment relation between the items on the pseudo-scale (the one terms excludes the other), there is no intrinsic informational asymmetry. Rather, we are in the domain of the assertion of one alternate implicating the inapplicability of the other, which is lower ranked in some way

Both markers occupy respectively a lower and a higher place in a scale, being *claro* oriented towards the stressed agreement and *bueno* towards the hedged agreement

Figure 2: Scale of agreement regarding *bueno* and *claro*



4.2.2. Patterns of stress

If stress has to be comprised under the phenomena of modality, it is by the specification of the speaker's stance with regard to the message: something has been stressed or hedged by someone to achieve a communicative goal. Following Briz (1998, 124-142) two kinds of stress can be distinguished: stress of the illocutionary force or the content of an utterance. The first procedure is purely

pragmatic and the second is semantic and pragmatic. Stress and agreement cross-cut each other; *bueno* and *claro* form a scale in which agreement can be stressed or hedged:

TABLE 3. Relationship among modal values

	<u>Agreement</u>	<u>Disagreement</u>
Zero-degree	sí yes	no no
Stressing no (no)	claro que sí of course (yes)	claro que of course
Hedging	bueno/ sí well/ yes	bueno/ no well/ no

Through stress an element can see its force increased by the speaker's epistemic compromise with what is said. The element stressed is of varied nature: a constituent, an utterance, an argument (be it implicit or explicit) or the speaker's attitude. For instance, in polyphonic contexts (Ducrot 1986) speakers validate the propositional content of an utterance by recognizing that they endorse what has been said; hence by expressing agreement within their own turn, they stress the content of the utterance:

- (25) G : *yo no asisto a las clases ni na(da) yo me tengo que sacar el carnée o sea ee§*
 E : *§del libro?§*
 G : *§el carné así o seaa pero yo me apunto a la autoescuela? porque claro me tiene que llevar ellos a examinar ¿no? los de la autoescuela// pues/ eso hace dos semanas que se apunió a la autoescuela// no→ tres semanas hace→ creo que m- sí- me lo dijo su madre/ sí→ [L.15.A2, 1042]*

In these cases, agreement and evidentiality meet because the speaker's voice is introduced in the turn as source of evidence (an argument is "clear" –sure– because it is backed by the linguistic voice of the *locuteur*). This is an interesting direction, which will not be pursued in this paper. (See Dendale and Tasmowski 2001 for a state-of-the-art).

Stress expressed by *claro* presents two patterns: the first one has scope over the linguistic element stressed and, consequently, has cataphorical value; it points to the upcoming constituents as focus of stress:

- (26). C: *o sea que para qué/ y entonces yo le dije/ Vicenta/ ¿y Amable?/ y claro→ como/ el sábado/ -¿era sábado por la tarde?§*
 J: *§sí§*
 C: *§ no cierra (e)l digo me- mejor dicho cierran// me dijo/ VES que lo tienes en la Cope// [G.68.B1 + G.69.A1, 420]*

In the second and less frequent pattern, *claro*, in final position, has no scope over the element stressed. Its anaphoric value instructs the hearer to look back to what has been said as a correction on the degree of certainty that the speaker attributes to the sentence:

- (27) G: *pone días laborables*
 E: *pone DIAS (..) lo antes posible hora de ()// supongo que será horario de oficina claro//*

The propositional content of (27) is given two contradictory modal operators: *supongo* (I think) hedges the proposition by lowering the speaker's epistemic compromise with it; *claro* stresses the proposition by signalling endorsement. A reading in which one of the modal operators had scope on the other would not make sense, because of their different position (initial vs. final); a better reading seems that in which the second marker corrects the degree of truthfulness of the proposition (*supongo p* vs. *claro p*).

The two patterns of stress described above can be classified regarding the type of discourse anaphora conveyed by the marker, the type of stress and the existence of scope over the proposition:

- p claro*: stress and no scope over proposition. Cataphorical.
claro p: polyphonic stress with scope. Anaphorical.

In ex. (27), there is a scale of the form <weak, strong>; the difference with the case of agreement is that now the alternates are not two linguistic elements, but a discourse marker and the zero element, that is, <*claro p*, $\emptyset p$ >. The utterance without *claro* would be epistemically lower in the scale with regard of the same utterance with *claro*; that is, there is an association between the presence/absence of an element and the value conveyed: this is a way to define stress in a more systematic way, although it only affects some of its occurrences.

As for *bueno*, the results in the corpus show that it is seldom used for the expression of stress; more frequent are, instead, the cases in which *bueno* serves for the introduction of a shift in the degree of certainty attributed to utterances, as can be seen in (28) and (29) below:

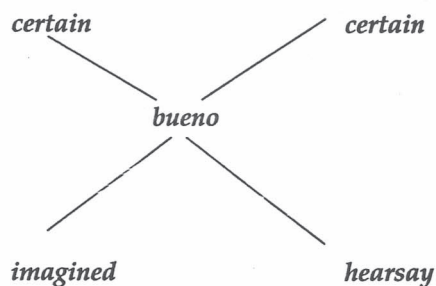
(28) C: y Luis Colomer habrá pagao/ claro

S: sí// **bueno**/ imagino [AP.80. A1, 471]

(29) S: tendrás quee ponerte al día/ yo me voy a apuntar a un gimnasio→
igual// ahora cuando cobre// soonÆ// **bueno**→ según m'han dichoÆ
[AP.80. A1, 479]

In both cases, the certainty of the answer is lowered: from certain to supposed in (28) or from certain to hearsay in (29):

Figure 3: Top-down reading of sentences containing *bueno*.



Bueno, in (28) and (29), does not hedge the utterance by itself – the hedging value would remain the same without the discourse marker – but makes it explicit the shift between two points in the scale. This value is closely related to the reformulative values the same marker conveys in exs. like (30):

(30) C: ¿es que te estás montando una casa?

A: sí↓ **bueno**↓ ya está mon-tada

Speaker A's first answer (*sí*) means "the house is not yet ready". *Bueno* is used to make a correction move in which it is explicitly asserted that the house is totally ready. When this correction is made in the epistemic domain, the hedging value springs as the outcome of the reformulative move and the epistemic value of the utterances.

There is a clear relationship between the agreement and the hedging values of *bueno*. When expressing agreement, in the local context of requests, *bueno* is the weak element of a scale. This value of "hedged acceptance", within the local context of adversative moves, leaves the door open for the raise of its

complementary value, "partial disagreement" via the raise of a generalized conversational implicature (following Levinson 2000).

5. Final remarks

In a recent paper, Waltereit 2001 proposes a unified explanation of MPs, diminutives and some uses of the imperfect as instantiations of a modal function, whose main value would be to modify the preparatory conditions of a speech act. Waltereit's explanation provides an account of unrelated phenomena and fits nicely into a theory of semantic change, so it is a good candidate to provide a theoretical basis to what stress and hedge mean in colloquial conversation. In question/answer adjacency pairs, where *bueno* and *claro* expressed respectively stressed and hedged agreement, a modification on the preparatory conditions of the speech act can be postulated, namely, that the answer is not only positive but evident (*claro*) or that the situation envisaged by the preceding speech act, especially in yes/no questions, must be reassessed (*bueno*). In monological examples, instead, this analysis cannot be literally applied. Consider the following example, where *claro* stresses the utterance:

(30). P: [*y luego no quiso*] -dice/ ¿le hacemos un biberón?// dice.É/ sí.É//
pero *claro*—/ era(n) de cereales/ que a -el chiquito no (°tenía°)
costumbre?/ y no lo quiso [G68.A1+, 165]

In (30), *pero* introduces an anti-oriented argument. From P's intervention before one could expect that the baby was going to drink the feeding bottle. The argument introduced by *pero* cancels this expectation. *Claro* stresses the argument introduced by *pero* by signalling the epistemic compromise of the locuteur with it. Provided that the speech act is a constative, its preparatory conditions are: "it is not obvious to both S and H that H knows (does not need to be reminded of, etc.) p" Searle 1969, apud Waltereit 2001, 139). However, the value of *claro* is not to modify these preparatory conditions in the sense that the hearer should know p; rather, *claro* identifies what comes next as an informative focus, inducing the relevance of that constituent.

In sum, Waltereit's explanation seems to be in the right track and it is possible that the vague ideas of "stress", "hedge", "agreement" or "disagreement" can be precised in that way. Nevertheless, the domain of DM's is wide and partly unknown, so we can expect of different patterns when analyzing different linguistic forms. Perhaps the substitution of the marked concept *preparatory conditions* for a wider explanation (relevance theory?) would help to account for these and other, yet to be discovered, facts.

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