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***Yeah-No: A Discourse***  
**Marker in**  
**Australian English**

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# 1 Introduction

CC07DSa

BB: Now Darren you've kicked ah fifty three from ^nine/  
they must be getting the ball down to you sw=eetly?

DS: **Yeah nah** it's good,  
it's been good this year I been...number one forward so,  
it's alright,  
yeah.

*Yeah-no* is an element of speech in English which has come to the attention of speakers relatively recently. Like many linguistic elements it had been in existence for quite a period of time before it became noticed and, for many people, before it became irritating (Burridge, 2005). It became the object of derisive letters to the editor, labelled “speech-junk” in opinion pieces (Campbell, 2004) and was defended only by linguists such as Burridge who advocated its worth in oral discourse as a discourse marker. *Yeah-no* is often associated with the “sport speak” of less experienced competitors in interviews, and this has given this small token a negative image (Burridge, 2005, p. 6). Burridge (2005) claimed that *yeah-no* was “rampant” in the Antipodes, particularly Australia and New Zealand, and was recently detected in the UK. The preliminary observations of the present study confirmed the established presence of *yeah-no* in Australia and New Zealand but also suggested that it is used in other Englishes such as British and American, as evidenced by its appearance in scripted films and television from these countries. The intrigue surrounding *yeah-no* stems from its seemingly contradictory nature, but it is this very quality which allows this token to perform the functions which it does so valiantly.

## 1.1 Focus

The aim of this study is to investigate the use of *yeah-no* in English, primarily in Australian English. It is a corpus based study which uses natural language data to analyse the distribution and the function of the discourse marker *yeah-no* in spoken English. A

variety of sources were searched for examples of *yeah-no* tokens, and each instantiation was analysed from a discourse analytical perspective.

## **1.2 What is a discourse marker?**

Discourse markers occur throughout discourse and signal how the discourse is to be divided and processed (Aijmer, 2002). A definition of discourse markers requires two components: structural and functional. Structurally, discourse markers are short elements of language which are usually prosodically subordinate to another word such that they tend to appear to be somewhat removed from the rest of an utterance (Ostman, 1995). They often resist precise lexical specification because they are frequently derived from lexical items which do have a clear meaning, but when they act as discourse markers their exact semantic contribution is unclear and they may in fact be propositionally empty, offering no definitive semantic content (Ostman, 1995). Hölker (cited in Jucker & Ziv, 1998, p. 3) goes so far as to state that discourse markers neither add propositional content to an utterance nor affect the truth conditions of an utterance. Generally, the significant pragmatic functions performed by discourse markers overshadow the literal meaning of such markers (Aijmer, 2002).

The functional aspect of discourse markers involves both implicit and explicit pragmatic roles which include discourse organization and attitude signalling (Ostman, 1995). Discourse markers are devices that work on a discourse level, as opposed to the smaller units of talk of which discourse is composed. The sequential dependence of markers is not completely accounted for by the syntactic features of upcoming sentences, but must take into account the entire discourse context in which the marker is found, and the presence of other linguistic elements in that environment (Schiffrin, 1987). Hölker characterises the pragmatic role of markers as relating to the context of the discourse, rather than the content, and he further classifies their function as expressive rather than referential, denotative or cognitive (cited in Jucker & Ziv, 1998, p. 3). This idea allies with his hypothesis that discourse markers have no semantic or propositional content. However, other theories support the premise that discourse markers perform not only a

pragmatic or expressive function, but importantly a textual function and sometimes a propositional function<sup>1</sup> (Schiffrin, 1987; Burridge & Florey, 2002).

### **1.3 Approach**

The perspective from which *yeah-no* will be examined broadly follows that of Schiffrin (1987). The key assumptions of this theory of discourse analysis are that language always occurs in a context and is sensitive to that context, and that language is always communicative and in fact designed for communication (Schiffrin, 1987). Schiffrin's operational definition of markers as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" is used in this examination of *yeah-no* (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 31).

This investigation of *yeah-no* as a discourse marker approaches the identification of discourse markers from a functional perspective. Many of the characteristics which have been identified as features of prototypical discourse markers are difficult to invoke as diagnostic criteria, but are instead useful descriptive categories for a study of a discourse marker such as *yeah-no*. While they may share structural and functional qualities, each marker is different and performs a distinctive set of functions. The disparate nature of the word classes of markers, suggests that an operational definition based on discourse functions will be the most effective means of confirming that *yeah-no* is a discourse marker and creating a constructive and insightful analysis of this linguistic element.

Schiffrin's model of discourse posits an interactive process in which different types of communicative knowledge (here conceived of as pragmatics) collaborate with code-based grammatical knowledge of sound, form and meaning (syntax and semantics) (Schiffrin, 2001). Within this model there are three aspects of discourse which correlate with Traugott's (1982) three functional components of language, and these are also used by Burridge and Florey (2002) in their seminal paper concerning *yeah-no* in Australian

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<sup>1</sup> The propositional function performed by *yeah-no* occurs when the token has contextually grounded referential meaning. In some contexts the token itself offers propositional content via a discourse function which signals agreement/disagreement, but this content cannot be determined by *yeah-no* as an isolated linguistic element. Thus, *yeah-no* offers propositional content through its discourse functions.

English. The first aspect is the *expressive* or *social* aspects, whereby language conveys identities and attitudes, performs actions and negotiates relationships between self and other. The *cognitive* aspect of language corresponds to propositional functions, representing concepts and ideas, while the *textual* aspect organises forms and conveys meanings within units of language longer than a single sentence (Schiffrin, 2001). Discourse markers function in all three of these domains.

## **1.4 Overview**

Chapter two explores important concepts and conclusions from previous research carried out in areas pertinent to this study of *yeah-no* and locates this thesis within the growing body of work on discourse markers. In chapter three, details of the methodology of the current investigation are presented, while chapter four describes the results of the examination and analysis of the corpora. Chapter five discusses the results of the analyses presented in chapter four and offers some interpretation of these findings. The final chapter offers a summary of the issues presented in the analysis and discussion to create a comprehensive representation of *yeah-no* in contemporary Australian English.



## 2 Literature review

Before embarking upon an analysis of *yeah-no* in contemporary Australian English it is necessary to situate the current study within the body of work pertaining to discourse markers in both English and other languages. This will highlight relevant approaches to issues within the field of discourse markers and help guide the direction this thesis will take. The primary motivating study for this thesis is BurrIDGE and Florey's '*Yeah-no he's a good kid*': *A Discourse Analysis of Yeah-no in Australian English* (2002). This is the only identified study of *yeah-no*, and their classification of this token as a discourse marker has influenced the categorisation and perception of *yeah-no* in this research. As such, the working assumption of this study is that *yeah-no* is a discourse marker and thus the research presented here aims to describe this marker within the framework of discourse markers. It is, however, worth considering, albeit briefly, the possibility that *yeah-no* is a "response marker" and this alternative will also be reconsidered in the light of the results of the analysis presented. The present study not only analyses a much larger number of tokens than previous studies, but also looks at the wider context of these tokens by coding the discourse moves of the preceding and following utterance moves.

### **2.1 A brief historical perspective on discourse markers**

In Old English, a group of elements known as "mystery particles" in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies, which includes adverbs, particles and interjections, appear in texts and often seem to be grammatically optional and semantically or functionally unmotivated (Brinton, 1996, p. 1). The linguistic elements of this group do not belong to a distinct word class, have an imprecise distribution and have meanings which often resist straightforward analysis. These particles may be considered the precursors of the discourse markers of Modern English (Brinton, 1996).

The study of discourse markers began with the observation of elements that were known as "fillers" and were considered a hindrance to translation (Brinton, 1996, p. 6).

These were deemed to be devoid of lexical meaning or grammatical function, optional elements which were marginal with respect to word class. Prior to the 1970s these items were interpreted as hesitation phenomena (Ostman, 1995). In this era before pragmatic analysis was fully developed, studies on particles were primarily conducted in a classical or historical tradition, or from an anthropological perspective of “exotic” languages (Ostman, 1995). During the 1970s when “language in context” was a reigning paradigm, studies by linguists such as Lakoff (1972) showed from a functional perspective that many languages, including English, use discourse markers in an organised manner (Ostman, 1995).

Research indicates that an inclusion of functional aspects is vital in developing a comprehensive concept of language (Ostman, 1995). Discourse analysis, which recognizes a number of global functions, indicates that textually discourse markers may delineate boundaries and assist in turn-taking, and that interpersonally they may express speaker attitude and establish rapport between speaker and receiver (Brinton, 1996). In accordance with a Gricean principle of conversational relevance developed by Sperber and Wilson (1986), while discourse markers may not always contribute propositional meaning, they do ease the hearer’s processing by indicating the context required for the intended interpretation of the speaker’s utterance and the manner in which it is relevant (Brinton, 1996). The Gricean model of language posits that “communication is successful not when hearers recognise the linguistic meaning of the utterance, but when they infer the speaker’s ‘meaning’ from it” (Sperber & Wilson, 1986, p. 23). Grice’s cooperative principles, consisting of nine maxims, explain the way in which a listener infers the implicatures of a speaker to understand the speaker’s intended meaning. Included in the cooperative principles is the maxim of relation, which encourages a speaker to be relevant in order to create effective communication. Sperber and Wilson (1986, p. 125) further developed this concept of relevance, defining it via two extent-conditions: that “an assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that its contextual effects in the context are large”; and that “an assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that the effort required to process it in this context is small”. This means that a new proposition is more relevant if it has a greater effect in the existing context and if it requires less

processing effort. Speakers aim for optimal relevance, and so the interpretation which requires the least processing effort is the most relevant and thus the most likely intended interpretation (Sperber & Wilson, 1986). Discourse markers signal which contextual assumptions are relevant to new information, and so aid in the processing of utterances.

Given that discourse markers do not always contribute semantic meaning, but instead indicate how utterances should be processed, the study of discourse markers has primarily occurred in the fields of pragmatics and discourse analysis rather than semantics and this continues to be the case (Aijmer, 2002). Investigations into discourse markers, which can signal that one or more of Grice's rules of conversation have been violated, were one of the first explicit signs that conversation has its own rules. This was supported by and led to further work on politeness and interaction, which showed that languages need not have overt or unique politeness forms to convey such concepts (Ostman, 1995).

## **2.2 Discourse markers**

There are many terms for the linguistic elements which are referred to as discourse markers in this research, such as pragmatic particle, discourse connective, discourse particle, gambit, hedge or interjection. Each definition depends on and is shaped by the analytical framework in which a linguist works and, as a consequence, by which pragmatic function is seen as the primary function of a particular item (Brinton, 1996). Each new study has presented a somewhat altered definition of "discourse marker" which suits the aims and purposes of the researcher (Aijmer, 2002). The main functions which a discourse marker may perform are quite varied, and for each item the classification of the primary function may require adjustment of standard definitions.

Discourse markers are mostly characteristic of oral rather than written discourse, and this is reflected in the distribution of *yeah-no*, which is yet to be accepted in written discourse. They are one of the most perceptually prominent features of oral discourse and their very presence can be used as a criterion to identify spontaneous rather than scripted discourse (Brinton, 1996). Different theoretical frameworks suggest different reasons for

the existence of discourse markers, such as the informality of oral discourse and the lack of rigid grammatical structure which results from a lack of planning time (Brinton, 1996). The use of discourse markers grants the speaker and listener time to process what has already been said and what they want to say next. Despite the negative connotations often associated with the use of discourse markers (the notion that they indicate disfluency), discourse markers occur frequently in discourse and studies suggest that they are the fourth largest word-class, behind only verbs, pronouns and nouns (Aijmer, 2002).

Grammatically, discourse markers can occur outside the syntactic structure of an utterance, or be loosely attached to it (Brinton, 1996). One of Schifffrin's suggested conditions to allow an expression to be used as a discourse marker is that it must be "syntactically detachable" from a sentence (1987, p. 328). Consequently, only some markers have a distinct grammatical function and generally they seem to be optional rather than requisite features. These markers may display a cohesive relation, but do not necessarily create that relation. However, the absence of these markers removes a potent sign which directs the listener to a certain pertinent relationship in the discourse (Brinton, 1996). Discourse markers may be grammatically optional but they are often pragmatically required in the discourse and their absence can render discourse "unnatural" and impenetrable to the listener, resulting in communication failures (Brinton, 1996, p. 35). Native speakers use discourse markers extensively to aid communication, but the incorrect use or absence of markers in, for example, non-native speech can lead to misunderstandings (Aijmer, 2002).

Discourse markers often occur at the beginnings of utterances and Schifffrin (1987) includes this characteristic distribution in her conditions which allow employment of a term as a discourse marker, albeit in the mild form that "it has to be commonly used in initial position of an utterance" (p. 328). Although this might be a common location, the alienation of discourse markers from the syntax of the rest of the utterance allows discourse markers to occur at the beginning, middle or end of an utterance or turn, and this is borne out in much of the data used in studies of discourse markers (Aijmer, 2002; Jucker & Ziv, 1998; Schourup, 1985). Among Schifffrin's other conditions are that an

expression must have a range of prosodic contours and must be able to operate on local and global levels, as well as on different planes of discourse (1987).

Discourse markers are usually marginal forms which derive from a number of grammatical categories, assembling a heterogeneous group which does not neatly align with a conventional word class (Brinton, 1996). The grammaticalization of elements from different word classes has created a group of markers with distinctive linguistic properties (Aijmer, 2002). As a group they are united by functional similarities and partially overlapping distributions. However, these functions can also be quite diverse and occur at both a local (morphophonemic, syntactic, semantic) and global (pragmatic) level, as well as on different pragmatic planes (textual and interpersonal) (Brinton, 1996). Discourse markers can operate not only at a clausal level, but also on longer discursive sequences (Gunthner & Mutz, 2004). The multiplicity of relations between the form and functions of a discourse marker does not present difficulties for speakers, as the context indicates the appropriate interpretation of a particular instance of a marker, from amongst the different functions which it might encompass (Aijmer, 2002). Among these functions are discourse connectors (e.g. *but*), turn-takers, confirmation seekers (e.g. *you know*), intimacy seekers, topic switchers (e.g. *now*), hesitation markers (e.g. *well*), boundary markers (e.g. *so*), prompters, repair markers, attitude markers, and hedging devices (e.g. *sort of*) (Jucker & Ziv, 1998). Any one marker can perform a number of functions simultaneously. Investigations by Burridge and Florey (2002) indicate that *yeah-no* can fulfil the roles of discourse connector (*textual* function) and attitude marker such as hedging device (*expressive* function), as well providing referential meaning (*propositional* function).

## **2.3 General approaches to discourse markers**

The ambiguity involved in defining discourse markers allows the application of a wide variety of theories to any one marker with relative success. Among the multitude of frameworks for studying discourse markers (for examples see Fischer, 2006), are three major perspectives each having a different definition of discourse markers, a separate basis for study, and a distinct method of analysis (Schiffrin, 2001). These three

approaches take cohesion, discourse, and pragmatics as their respective foci. The *cohesion* perspective on markers proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976) posits a set of cohesive devices which help to create a text by signalling the semantic relations between elements in an underlying structure of ideas (Schiffrin, 2001). This theory promotes the distinction between functions at the two levels of sentence and text, and the continuity created within discourse through the external meaning inherent in what language is used to talk about and the internal meaning of the communicative process (Schiffrin, 2001). This early paradigm is somewhat limiting as it presupposes the primary function of discourse markers to be cohesion.

The *pragmatic* framework for discourse markers established by linguists such as Fraser (1999), explores the meaning of sentences, and the ways in which a marker that has a core meaning enriched by context, may relate the messages of preceding and following utterances. Here, there is a distinction between content (referential meaning) and pragmatic meaning (communicative intention). In this theory, discourse markers are a class of expressions which signal how the speaker intends the basic message that follows to relate to the prior discourse (Fraser, 1999). They have a core procedural meaning, as opposed to a conceptual meaning, and their specific interpretation is determined by the linguistic and conceptual context (Fraser, 1999). This theory minimizes the multiplicity of functions as it does not allow sentential and textual roles to be performed simultaneously (Schiffrin 2001).

The *discourse* approach involves a sociolinguistic perspective which conceives of discourse as a process of social interaction (Schiffrin, 2001). In this model there are five different planes: participation framework, information state, ideational structure, action structure, exchange structure. Markers can work at different levels of discourse to connect utterances on either a single plane or across different planes. In other words, markers may signal relationships that are local (between adjacent utterances) or global (across wider spans of discourse) (Schiffrin, 2001). This model also investigates the continuum between markers themselves adding meaning to discourse, or their reflection of meaning which is already accessible (Schiffrin, 2001). This theory specifies the

conditions that would allow a word to be used as a discourse marker namely that they are syntactically detachable, occur in initial position, display a range of prosodic contours, operate at both local and global levels, and operate on different planes of discourse.

The ability of markers to act on different levels and planes, allows a marker which, for instance, signals orientation toward a proposition to also act on another component of the discourse (Schiffrin, 1987). This feature supports the use of the discourse approach in the present study, as *yeah-no* has been found to perform multiple functions at different levels (Burridge & Florey, 2002). The juxtaposition of two seemingly opposite polarity terms such as *yeah* and *no* can in some discourse contexts be explained with reference to different components of the discourse. This means that a speaker can indicate their alignment to an interlocutor's stance when the preceding discourse has included two utterances by the interlocutor, one of which requires a "yes" to align and the other which requires a "no". This point may be illustrated by an example from the corpus:

CC07DSb

BB: And do you chase the fullback if he's got the ball and he's going away  
from you,  
Sort of,  
Ah well he's got it [I might as well] stop in [the ^square?]

X: [Turn it up/.]

DS: [Yeah nah,]

nah I do chase,  
yeah.

X: Oh,  
<@ XX @>

JR: You're not a /full ^forward.  
((LAUGHTER))

BB asks the question, to which DS replies "Yeah nah nah I do chase yeah." In this context, DS's "yeah nah" answers the first part of the question as "Yes I do chase the fullback" and the second part as "No I don't consider stopping in the square".

However, this explanation of the potentially contradictory *yeah-no* operates in only a few of the corpus examples, and as such a much more plausible and accountable model as initiated by Burridge and Florey (2002) must be developed.

## **2.4 Burridge and Florey's (2002) study of yeah-no**

This study builds on the 2002 analysis of *yeah-no* by Burridge and Florey which concluded that *yeah-no* is a “discourse marker that carries a complex conversational workload” (p. 167). Their analysis indicated that *yeah-no* was “a relatively new marker” which could perform various functions (Burridge & Florey, 2002, p. 149). These include hedging and face-saving (pragmatic functions), as well as the more standard discourse functions of cohesion and indicating assent or dissent (Burridge & Florey, 2002). These functions can be aligned with Traugott's three functional components in language: *propositional* (assent and dissent), *textual* (cohesion, a discourse function) and *expressive* or personal (hedging and face-saving, pragmatic functions) (Burridge & Florey, 2002).

Burridge and Florey's 2002 study of *yeah-no* in Australian English was a corpus-based approach which focused on the role of *yeah-no* within the three functional components of language. In their abstract, the authors indicate that they made use of a corpus of 30 hours of recorded informal conversations and interviews, however their methodology only accounts for 16 hours of gathered informal spoken language data. This consisted of two processes of data collection: the first method was to record conversations between members of existing friendship and family networks, with the aim of obtaining naturalistic conversational data. Participants were given recording equipment and instructions to record themselves with a conversational partner for 30 minutes. This resulted in a total of 11 hours of data from 24 conversations in varied settings, involving forty-seven Australian-born speakers aged between 18 and 79. The second means of obtaining data was to use television interview and sporting programs which yielded 5 hours of informal spoken language from 19 interviews involving 25 participants. Burridge and Florey describe *yeah-no* as “not a high-occurrence discourse feature”, because their 16 hours of data resulted in a total of 26 tokens from 15 of their 72 speakers (2002, p. 152).

Burridge and Florey's (2002) study did not find a gender difference in the use of *yeah-no*, but had similar ratios of use with 7 of the 37 women (18.9%) and 8 of the 35 men (22.8%) producing the token. The actual number of tokens produced was higher for



men (comprising 62% of the total occurrences) but individual differences may artificially inflate this number. In terms of age, 4 of the seventeen 18-34 year old speakers used *yeah-no* (23.5%), 10 of the thirty-nine 35-49 year olds used the token (25.6%), and only 1 over-fifty speaker produced a token (6%). Importantly, the authors note that the project's design did not seek a representative sample for gender or age for participants, but these observations suggest that there is not a distinct gender difference in *yeah-no* production. This section of the paper, which could be supported by objective quantitative analysis, is not as convincing as would be expected. The analysis is somewhat marred not only by editorial mistakes in tables (e.g. Table 4 on p. 154 features mismatched totals), but by the statistics in the text relating "an analysis of the proportion of tokens produced in each age bracket" (p. 154). Three "proportions" for each age group are presented and can be traced to a formula whereby the total number of tokens for each age group is divided by the total number of speakers in that age group. It is not clear what this figure represents as the authors have already indicated the proportion of speakers who produce *yeah-no* per age group. Perhaps a more useful statistic would be the proportion of the total number of tokens produced by each age group (which are in fact 0.19, 0.77 and 0.04 for increasing age groups, respectively).

The paper also found an uneven distribution of production across users, indicating that some speakers used the token relatively frequently (for example, seven of the thirty tokens come from one speaker), some occasionally, while others showed no evidence of use (Burridge & Florey, 2002). *Yeah-no* thus seems to show a high degree of individual variability. Johnstone (1996) posits that the self-expressive nature of language can be just as significant as other aspects of language, such as its referential function. In order for speakers to express themselves as individuals they must use idiosyncratic language to some extent (Johnstone, 1996). To account for the potential paradox of the idiosyncratic nature of language and its primary role in communication, theories such as Sperber and Wilson's work on relevance must be introduced (Johnstone, 1996). By definition a language has common features but there is variation between groups of speakers, creating heterogeneity (Lehmann, 1992). These subset groups may be differentiated for a number of reasons, and the study of types such as geographic, social and functional subsets can

account for language change (Lehmann, 1992). In sociolinguistics, the speaker is the locus of this change and regularity across speakers is an eventual outcome of language change, not a feature of its original state and the extent of generalization correlates with social factors and attitudes (Hickey, 2003; Hock, 1991). Further studies using other sociolinguistic variables to categorise speakers may find correlations between *yeah-no* use and some characteristic of users, but neither BurrIDGE and Florey's (2002) study nor the present research have identified such a correlate.

BurrIDGE and Florey's (2002) analysis showed that *yeah-no* can occur in one and in two intonation units but they found no clear relationship between intonation and functional role as the same functions appear to be fulfilled by both. The authors follow the definition of an intonation unit by Du Bois et al (1993), as "a stretch of speech under a single intonation contour" (for further definition and means of identifying intonation units see Methods 3.5.1). *Yeah-no* can occur in all possible positions in the discourse (initially, internally, finally) but turn-opening has been found to be a favoured location and the position of the token may relate to different functions, as with other conversational markers (BurrIDGE & Florey, 2002). Location is thus a significant feature of an analysis of *yeah-no*, because there is an interaction between position and function which may mean that location determines the types of functions which a token may perform (BurrIDGE & Florey, 2002).

### 2.4.1 Functional components of discourse

Previous research into discourse markers has generated various taxonomies of functional domains<sup>2</sup>. In this thesis, Traugott's tripartite division of functions will be implemented (Traugott, 1982). Thus, markers may structure discourse (*textual* function); signal speaker attitude or indicate the intentions and relationships of interlocutors (*expressive* function); or provide *propositional* information by directing the processing of an utterance as they operate in one or more of these domains (Jucker & Ziv, 1998; Aijmer, 1988).

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<sup>2</sup> For example, Brinton (1996) describes four major functions: structural, response signals, conversational continuity and interactional, while Jucker and Ziv (1998) list textual, attitudinal, cognitive and interactional roles.

Traugott proposed three functional components of discourse: propositional, textual and expressive (Traugott, 1982). The *propositional* function involves the resources available in a language to talk about something (Traugott, 1982). It is an expression of content, indicating the speaker's perception of the participants and circumstances of the discourse, both internal and external to that discourse (Brinton, 1996). *Expressive* functions allow for the signalling of the speaker's attitude towards interlocutors as well as the discourse and the information it contains (Traugott, 1982), expressing their evaluations and expectations of the situation (Brinton, 1996). Finally, *textual* functions are executed as the speaker constructs a cohesive discourse, using language relevant to the context of the discourse (Brinton, 1996).

#### **2.4.1.1 Textual functions**

Textual functions performed by discourse markers aid in creating a successful discourse interaction. They can be used to commence and terminate turns and discourse as a whole, and as “fillers” they enable speakers to maintain the floor until their message is complete, and to make any necessary repairs (Brinton, 1996, p. 37). These markers also indicate boundaries within the discourse, designating new topics and information, and demonstrating the conversational implicatures present in an utterance and adhering to the cooperative principles of conversation (Brinton, 1996). A consequence of Grice's maxim of relevance is that the sequence of propositions uttered by a speaker is intended to contribute something relevant to his/her overall objective (Green, 1989).

Cohesion is a semantic concept which refers to the relationship between meanings that exist within a text, and that define the text (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Cohesion occurs when the interpretation of one element in a discourse depends on the interpretation of another element (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). As the understanding of one presupposes that of the other, each element and thus the text as a whole cannot be effectively decoded except through the organized resources of reference, ellipsis and other devices (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Cohesion is realised by using an assortment of these devices to resolve the presuppositions established throughout the discourse (Halliday & Hasan, 1976).

In Halliday and Hasan's (1976) schema, one such device is conjunction, which presupposes the presence of other components in the discourse and specifies the relationship between the elements preceding and following the conjunction. Some of the devices considered to be conjunctions are classified as discourse markers in other frameworks (for example *and*, *but*, *well*). The evidence presented in other studies concerning the multiple functions that discourse markers can perform, suggests that some of these items should, like *yeah-no*, be considered discourse markers and not solely conjunctions.

The expression of the relevance and relationship of one utterance to those preceding focuses the receiver's attention on a specific link between an imminent utterance and the immediate context (Brinton, 1996). Such devices indicate the speaker's perception of their utterance's relevance to the shared information established by the immediately preceding contribution, and the nature of that relevance (Brinton, 1996). Structurally, a discourse marker can signal the introduction of level shifts within the conversation or prepare listeners for the next turn. They may also aid in dividing a speaker's message into informational "chunks" which assist the listener in decoding the information (Brinton, 1996, p. 29).

#### **2.4.1.2 Expressive functions**

Discourse markers can also be "essentially interactive" by implicitly demonstrating through the discourse the speaker's attitude towards the preceding discourse (Brinton, 1996, p. 29). As such they can create or preserve interpersonal relations between interlocutors (Brinton, 1996). Expressive functions are achieved as discourse markers allow interlocutors to express their attitude toward what has been previously uttered, and indicate their comprehension of the utterance and their focus on the speaker. These functions act to establish a rapport between interlocutors, and create a joint discourse based on assumed knowledge and an understanding of the new information presented (Brinton, 1996).

## **2.5 Response Signals**

Response signals are conversational objects that indicate that a piece of talk by a speaker has been registered by the recipient of that talk (Gardner, 2001). Their primary functions are to “provide some information on the course that the talk is taking”, not to make reference to the world (Gardner, 2001, p. 14). While it may seem that response tokens are in opposition to discourse markers, within Gardner’s concept of responses, discourse markers are a subgroup with the function of linking utterances. However, in many other theories concerning discourse markers, the range of tokens and their respective functions, which Gardner describes as response tokens, are actually considered discourse markers (e.g. markers of assessment and acknowledgement). It is difficult to determine whether a linguistic element is a discourse marker *or* a response token because the two concepts are not mutually exclusive. Instead, we can posit that an item can act as a discourse marker and/or a response token. The characteristics generally attributed to response signals are that, like discourse markers, they are somewhat divorced from the syntax of an utterance. They are also short elements, and they often solely occupy a turn unlike discourse markers which are usually part of a longer turn.

As response signals, discourse markers represent some of the range of conventionalized responses in English which aid in the coordination of private thought and public verbal behaviour (Brinton, 1996). The form of the discourse marker shows how the utterance which contains them is a response to a preceding utterance, and how it relates to the foregoing discourse (Brinton, 1996). Conversational continuity is also achieved through discourse markers acting as conventional “fillers” which maintain the flow of conversation so that no pause is perceived by the listener, which could be misinterpreted as the end of a turn instead of a mere hesitation. Perhaps it is in these contexts that a discourse marker is also functioning as response signal (Brinton, 1996).

## **2.6 Studies of other discourse markers**

Discourse markers are a heterogeneous class of elements, brought together by certain similarities. Generally, they fulfil a pragmatic function in discourse. Studies of discourse markers can focus on prototypical or peripheral markers (Ostman, 1995).

Prototypical markers are elements which exhibit more of the standard features of discourse markers, while those which show fewer of these characteristics are considered to be peripheral (Jucker & Ziv, 1998). This continuum of the typicality of markers accounts for the overlapping of distributions, functions and characteristics of markers and does not suggest that peripheral markers are less significant or informative than prototypical elements. Different discourse markers have both parallels and dissimilarities, and partly overlapping functions, but their comment on the relationship between utterances is diverse (Aijmer, 1988).

Ostman (1995) suggests that language consists of two parallel levels: the explicit surface layer of language and the more implicit, deeper layer. Through detailed analysis of the structural manifestations of language, we are able to glean an understanding of what is occurring at the deeper level, as there are certain devices in language that allow you to “look behind language”. Ostman describes these as “windows” to the attitudinal level beneath the surface of language and proposes that discourse markers are “windows par excellence” (Ostman, 1995, p. 100). Wierzbicka (1991, p. 341) also noted that “there are few aspects of any language which reflect the culture of a given speech community better than its particles”. The idea that particles are a feature of language that demonstrate characteristics of the speakers who use them, is reflected in the way in which certain speech communities have become stereotyped by their use of specific discourse markers. The stereotype of Californian valley-girl speech features the focus marker “like” to such an extent that the marker itself is associated with this particular type of speaker, rather than simply being an element used more frequently for a speech subgroup (e.g. “I have to like go out and drive your car after dinner”) (Dailey-O’Cain, 2000, pp. 76 & 61).

The diversity of discourse markers is dependent on the definition of the term and thus includes elements which in other frameworks have variously been considered interjections, conjunctions or, hedges among other things (Brinton, 1996). The catalogue of items is ever-changing with new additions and new analyses. Some of the more prototypical discourse markers which have been the subject of academic research include *ah, actually, anyway, but, like, now, oh, ok, really, so, then and well*.

One method of analysing the role of markers in discourse is to determine their distribution in terms of their location within the discourse and its subunits, and also their co-occurrence with other linguistic elements (Schiffrin, 1987). Some of the possible functions identified by Schiffrin when looking at the location of discourse markers such as *and*, *because* and *so* include the introduction of evidence or causally related discourse material, self-interrupted restatements, continuation of earlier themes, final paraphrases and conclusive information (Schiffrin, 1987).

As a case study, *well*, as an example of a discourse marker, illustrates some of the range of approaches which have been taken and the relevant issues which arise in an investigation of a discourse marker. *Well* shares many of the characteristics of discourse markers: it is difficult to clearly define, its functional class is ambivalent, it presents translation difficulties and it is effectively limited to oral discourse (Svartik, 1976). Svartik found *well* could occur at the beginning of a turn as well as within an utterance, and it often introduced responses (especially to wh-questions). *Well* mostly occurs prefixed to a subsequent construction and is frequently found with other items in collocations (Svartik, 1976). Prosodically, this marker can be stressed or unstressed but most instances have a falling tone, pauses before *well* are generally embedded in the discourse and are typically preceded by silence, and *well* often occurs among incomplete structures acting as a delaying tactic.

Functionally, *well* is a pragmatic device, and thus its absence can have pragmatic consequences (Svartik, 1976). Answers introduced by *well* are not always acceptable (e.g. direct answers or irrelevant responses), but it can be used as an appropriate response when an answer required can only be ascertained by deduction from the response given, when the answer is for a question other than the overt one as deduced by conversational situation, and when the speaker senses some sort of insufficiency in an answer.

Svartik (1976) identifies two major uses of *well*: qualifier and frame. As a qualifier, *well* is closely associated with the surrounding discourse context, indicting

agreement, reinforcement or a positive attitude as well as softening qualified and incomplete answers to wh-questions (Svartik, 1976). As a frame, *well* can be embedded in discourse where it closes the preceding discourse and focuses on what follows, it may introduce explanations or act as an editing marker for self-correction, and in collocations it introduces direct speech. *Well* signals a shift in topic or ground, and introduces discourse which is relevant to but distinct from what has preceded it (Svartik, 1976).

## **2.7 Grammaticalization of discourse markers**

Grammaticalization is a process which explains much morphosyntactic change in language (Brinton, 1996). It is both a synchronic and diachronic process, which may be used to explain the development of grammatical markers, specifically discourse markers (Traugott & Heine, 1991). As discourse functions become fixed, grammatical markers shift from having a role in discourse strategy to a morphosyntactic role (Brinton, 1996). This occurs as a relatively unconstrained lexical expression in a specific discourse context becomes syntactically fixed (Traugott & Heine, 1991; Brinton, 1996). The process of grammaticalization involves the addition of a new meaning to a form in a specific context, which is incompatible with its original meaning, and which becomes conventionalized (Brinton, 1996). The conversational implicatures from the new context are assimilated into the conventional meaning of the form. Grammaticalization is often considered semantically unidirectional moving from propositional to textual to expressive meanings, or from the more personal to the less personal (Brinton, 1996). The semantics of the lexical items before grammaticalization determines the kind of grammaticalization process (Brinton, 1996).

The development of discourse markers involves the relationship between pragmatic and semantic meaning, and the effect that this might have on the function of markers (Brinton, 1996). Discourse markers are drawn primarily from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbials and prepositional phrases (Gunthner & Mutz, 2004). The grammaticalization of a prototypical discourse marker such as *well* involves a shift from predicate adjective to a more independent element (Brinton, 1996). More generally, discourse markers which indicate a shift in topic move from propositional components



which express time, space, manner or concession to more subjective meanings (Brinton, 1996).

## **2.8 Yeah-no equivalents in other languages**

It is reasonable to expect that other languages may contain similar discourse markers to *yeah-no* in English, which may have evolved in a similar way and perform comparable functions. In French, André's (2005) study of *oui non* suggests a similar set of pragmatic functions to *yeah-no* for the French phrase. In her corpus-based study of transcripts of work meetings, André looked at the interaction between language and the conditions of production, determined by the influence of situational factors in different departments within workplaces on the pair *oui non* (André, 2005). This was a study of the language produced by participants in work meetings to co-construct discourse and considered the three interacting facets of situation, activities and discourse practices (Andre, 2005).

The findings indicate a correlation with certain extralinguistic factors. In this example, it is the specific "situation" not just context which determines the language used in interactions. The hierarchical structure of the enterprise, complete with designated roles and functions for each interlocutor create a complex interaction of extralinguistic factors (Andre, 2005). The information provided by the pair *oui non* can be analysed from the perspective of a combined phrase (looking across the phrase at its relation as a unit to the discourse) or from each of the individual elements (looking within the phrase at the relationship between the two elements) (Andre, 2005).

Semantically, *oui non* can signal affirmation followed by negation, either to quickly rectify an error or to prepare an interlocutor for an opposing argument. For example, when a receiver calls attention to an error, the speaker may respond with *oui non* to indicate "Yes I said A, but no I actually meant B" or when a speaker disagrees with their interlocutor they may use *oui non* to suggest "Yes I heard, but no I don't agree with you". Pragmatically, this pair may indicate an acknowledgment or understanding of intentions rather than an agreement with a proposition, demonstrate politeness functions

such as face saving, or suggest solidarity or distance between interlocutors. In situations where overt politeness is paramount, such as in the workplace, *oui non* appears to act as a more polite and respectful form of disagreement than more direct responses such as ‘certainly not’ (Andre, 2005, p. 203). *Oui non* can also signal distance such as when a speaker of higher authority responds to a group proposition with *oui non*, which indicates understanding and solidarity with the group but also distances that speaker from the group to maintain their authority (Andre, 2005). These pragmatic functions appear to be similar to those which are performed by discourse markers such as *yeah-no* in English.

## **2.9 Summary**

The literature highlights that predominant approaches to discourse markers have been varied. There is still a lack of consensus regarding terminology, definitions and membership of the class “discourse markers”. However, there are key characteristics of discourse markers which are acknowledged within different paradigms and these concepts are significant in the description and analysis of a discourse marker. The three functional components of discourse and the multiple functions performed by discourse markers, as well as the role played by discourse markers in signalling how different components of the discourse relate, are important concepts which are utilised in the present study of *yeah-no*.

### 3 Methodology

This study investigates the use of the discourse marker *yeah-no* in Australian English using a corpus of natural spoken language to analyse the distribution and functions of this token. A number of sources were used to compile the corpus which was searched for examples of *yeah-no* tokens, and the form, distribution, prosody and functions of each instantiation were then analysed. The major corpus was compiled by the author, and two additional corpora were also employed to create an accurate perspective on the place of *yeah-no* in Australian English. This thesis aims to advance the linguistic understanding of *yeah-no* by analysing an extensive number of tokens in natural, oral language. The linguistic features of the token itself are examined, and placed within a wider discourse context. An analysis of this context, more detailed than previous research, was performed in order to determine the place and functions of *yeah-no* in Australian English.

The discourse marker “*yeah-no*” can take various forms and those which have been accepted and searched for in corpora here are shown in Table 1. The corpus also included forms which repeat any of the two components of the phrase, such as *yeah-yeah-no*.

**Table 1: Forms of “*yeah-no*” accepted in corpora**

Negative Component	Positive Component		
	yeah /jɛə/	yes /jɛs/	yep /jɛp/
no /noʊ/	<i>yeah-no</i> <i>no-yeah</i>	<i>yes-no</i> <i>no-yes</i>	<i>yep-no</i> <i>no-yep</i>
nah /nʌ/	<i>yeah-nah</i> <i>nah-yeah</i>	<i>yes-nah</i> <i>nah-yes</i>	<i>yep-nah</i> <i>nah-yep</i>
nup /nʌp/	<i>yeah-nup</i> <i>nup-yeah</i>	<i>yes-nup</i> <i>nup-yes</i>	<i>yep-nup</i> <i>nup-yep</i>

#### 3.1 Corpora

The main body of the corpus for this study was compiled between March 2007 and September 2007 (see Appendix One). During this period examples of *yeah-no* tokens

were recorded from a number of sources within the public domain, consisting of radio and television broadcasts. The data recorded were natural, unscripted data that came from a variety of genres of television and radio including talkback radio, interview programs and variety shows. The data collected during this period were supplemented with two additional tokens from a 2003 television program, and six tokens from data collected for use in other studies featuring recordings and transcripts of episodes of ‘The Panel’ from 1998. Given the relative unpredictability of *yeah-no* occurrences, the corpus was gathered by recording programs and “listening out” for tokens and keeping recordings which featured *yeah-no*, or by retrieving samples post-broadcast following the detection of *yeah-no*, through technology such as podcasting.

An alternative means for establishing a corpus would have been to record set samples of spoken language as did Burridge and Florey (2002). However this method may or may not result in an appropriate number of tokens and thus was deemed unreliable. The less systematic technique used in this study has the distinct advantage of yielding certain instantiations and thus results. A corpus-based study such as this represents real language usage in a number of different registers, which offers the opportunity to investigate both the distribution and function of the token *yeah-no*. However, one disadvantage of this technique of data collection is that it is not possible to obtain a reliable measure of the overall frequency of occurrence for the discourse marker in Australian English. By looking at two other corpora, a measure of frequency and more accurate results regarding the distribution of *yeah-no* can be ascertained.

This corpus contained 76 *yeah-no* tokens from 46 different speakers (three times the size of previous research), and was used to answer the following research questions:

- (i) what forms does the discourse marker *yeah-no* take?
- (ii) across how many intonation units does *yeah-no* occur?
- (iii) in which position in a turn does *yeah-no* occur?
- (iv) which of the Burridge and Florey functional categories are performed for each *yeah-no* token?

(v) in what discourse contexts does *yeah-no* occur as measured by the coding of preceding and following utterances according to HCRC and SWBD-DAMSL move categories?

(vi) are these corpus-based findings supported by data from the other corpora?

### **3.1.2 Other corpora**

#### **3.1.2.1 The ICE-AUS corpus**

The International Corpus of English (ICE) project was proposed by Sidney Greenbaum in 1988 and its aim was to “provide the resources for comparative studies of the English used in countries all over the world” (Greenbaum, 1996, p. 3). Upon completion, the corpus will be a structured collection of data for national varieties of English permitting detailed analysis and comparison. ([www.tu-chemnitz.de/phil/english/chairs/linguist/real/independent/ICE-EA/studentprojects/ice/iceabout2.htm](http://www.tu-chemnitz.de/phil/english/chairs/linguist/real/independent/ICE-EA/studentprojects/ice/iceabout2.htm))

The Australian ICE Corpus (ICE-AUS) is a component of the International Corpus of English, containing 500 samples of 2000 words (a total of one million words), and is considered, to an extent, representative of most varieties of Australian English. It consists of 200 samples of spoken language and 300 of written language, and was collected by Dr. Pam Peters at the DRC and Style Council at Macquarie University, Sydney between 1991 and 1995. While all language samples were searched for this project, the nature and current status of *yeah-no* meant that only the spoken language samples yielded instantiations of this marker. ([www.ling.mq.edu.au/centres/sc/research.htm](http://www.ling.mq.edu.au/centres/sc/research.htm))

The ICE-AUS corpus is divided into twelve generic categories which can be used to give an indication of the contexts in which *yeah-no* is used. These categories are private dialogue; public dialogue; unscripted monologue; scripted monologue; non-printed writing; letters, social and business; printed information (learned); printed information (popular); printed information (news reports); instructional writing; persuasive writing; and creative writing. The ICE-AUS corpus contains a total of 30 *yeah-no* tokens (see Appendix Two). The ICE-AUS corpus data was examined to

ascertain the distribution of *yeah-no* in terms of the type of text in which it occurs, the form this token takes, and its location within each sentence.

The ICE-AUS corpus was used to answer the following questions:

- (i) what forms does the discourse marker *yeah-no* take?
- (ii) in which position in an utterance/sentence<sup>3</sup> does *yeah-no* occur?
- (iii) what is the frequency of *yeah-no* occurrence in the corpus?
- (iv) do these corpus-based findings support the data from the primary corpus?

### **3.1.2.2 The Monash University Australian English Corpus**

The Monash University Australian English Corpus (MUAE corpus) was collected between 1996 and 1998 by researchers at Monash University in Melbourne, and aimed to characterise the main features of varieties of English spoken in Melbourne. Data were collected from young people communicating with strangers, same age friends and members of their families. Participants were 25 male and 30 female focal informants, who were Year 10 students from 10 schools drawn from areas of different socio-economic status in Melbourne. An additional 200 interactional partners of the focal informants also contribute to the data samples. The MUAE Corpus yielded a total of 12 *yeah-no* tokens from participants and researchers for which both transcripts and recordings were available (see Appendix Three).

The Monash University Australian English Corpus was used to answer the following questions:

- (i) what forms does the discourse marker *yeah-no* take?
- (ii) across how many intonation units does *yeah-no* occur?
- (iii) in which position in a turn does *yeah-no* occur?
- (iv) which of the BurrIDGE and Florey functional categories are performed for each *yeah-no* token?

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<sup>3</sup> The ICE corpus provides only isolated sentences featuring *yeah-no*. As such ‘sentences’ were necessarily the unit of analysis for these data rather than the ‘turn’ which is used for the data from the other corpora.

(v) in what discourse contexts does *yeah-no* occur as measured by the coding of preceding and following utterances according to HCRC and SWBD-DAMSL move categories?

(vi) do these corpus-based findings support the data from the other corpora?

In total, 118 *yeah-no* tokens were examined for this research, representing a 454% increase on the number of tokens analysed in BurrIDGE and Florey's original study.

### **3.2 Participants**

The inclusion of participants in this study required only that they produced the token *yeah-no* in the public domain. The informants include both males and females, with an age range of 18-56, and were either born and raised in Australia or have lived in Australia for a sufficient period of time such that their speech is identified as Australian without traces of other accents/languages.

### **3.3 Audio**

The data collected for the corpus was recorded in a number of ways. Some instances were recorded on a tape recorder and then digitised, while others were recorded or retrieved directly in a digital format. The files were saved either in WAV file format, or as MP3 files. The analysis of recording was conducted using AUDACITY 1.2.6 and PRAAT 4.6.21.

### **3.4 Transcription**

Transcription is often thought of as an objective process of "creating a written representation of a speech event so as to make it accessible to discourse research" (Du Bois, Schuetze-Coburn, Cumming & Paolino, 1993, p. 45). However, transcription is itself a part of the analysis and is a selective process guided by preliminary hypotheses and theoretical goals (Ochs, 1979). In the present corpus-based study, the Du Bois method of transcription as described in Du Bois et al. (1993) has been implemented as it covers aspects of the language most likely to be relevant to discourse.

### 3.5 Analysis

For each instance of *yeah-no*, the following information was recorded: speaker identity, gender, speaker's approximate age and form of "*yeah-no*". During the analytical process each item was categorised by function following Burridge and Florey's (2002) three way distinction (propositional, textual, expressive), the number of intonation units for *yeah-no* was determined and the item's place in the turn/utterance was noted. A token was considered to perform a *propositional* function if it provided some referential meaning through assent or dissent with a prior utterance. A *textual* function was allocated when the token was used to link discourse and signal relevance (e.g. by resuming a topic), and an *expressive* function was deemed to occur when the token was used to hedge disagreements (face-saving), and deal with "uncomfortable" discourse moves, such as compliments (Table 2).

**Table 2: Corpus examples of *yeah-no* functions**

Functions	Corpus example
<u>Propositional Function:</u>  •Emphatic agreement	<u>CC07RY</u> IC: So ah, he's got a bit to look forward to over the next four years, hasn't he Ross? RY: Oh definitely. <b>Yeah no</b> he'll love it,
<u>Textual Function:</u>  •Discourse Connector	<u>CC07JLc</u> IC: Thirty-first, and is that the best...win you've played in in thirty one games? JL: Oh, ah I ah, actually last week would've been up there? being away at Sydney? but ah, coming coming back from that sort of margin, and and playing that quarter that we did, um, <b>yeah no,</b> that'd be right up there, with ah last week I reckon. IC: And you played thirty one games now, you're starting to look like you belong there, you must feel like you belong there. Take us back to when you were drafted, where were you drafted from Jason?



Expressive <u>Function:</u>	BG07SPa
•Attitude Marker (Hedging Device)	DH: Well how about Carlton mate? they were good ^too? SP: <b>Yeah nah</b> played them once and they were handy, w- we had a good scrap with them at half time. which was good. ((LAUGHTER)) But nah, Geelong just far and away the best side I've played against, just how they use the ball and run.

An example of the analysis which was conducted for each token illustrates the procedure undertaken. The following is an example from the corpus, and contains a single turn by one speaker:

AC07JB
JB: I've been training really well, training hard, so-- technique- technique's sorta starting to get a lot better. So <b>yeah nah</b> /, I knew I was in pretty good form.

The form of the token is *yeah-nah*, the item occurs internally within this turn and it occurs in a single intonation unit as indicated by its occurrence within a single line of transcript as dictated by the Du Bois et al (1993) transcription scheme. The Burrridge and Florey (2002) functional categories for this example are 'textual', as *yeah-nah*, together with *so*, links the two statements to produce a cohesive discourse, and 'expressive' as this discourse marker allows the speaker to deal with a preceding compliment to which he is responding (hedging).

In order to take Burrridge and Florey's (2002) analysis further by looking at a finer classification of the discourse surrounding tokens of *yeah-no*, the speech acts of the preceding and following utterances were also coded according to modified HCRC move categories and SWBD-DAMSL codes as shown in Tables 3 and 4. There are many

different dialogue annotation systems which are used to code large dialogue corpora and aim to increase the veracity of dialogue studies. These two schemas were chosen as they each provide different information. The two schemes do not map directly onto one another and the use of only one scheme leads to a loss of information that can otherwise be avoided by using both (Stirling, Fletcher, Mushin & Wales, 2001). Furthermore, it would be difficult to prejudge which coding schemes would be most useful for this analysis and so both were implemented in this thesis so as to complement one another (Stirling et al, 2001).

**Table 3: Modified HCRC move category codes**

Preparations	Ready	moves that occur after the close of a speech exchange and prepare the conversation for a new game to be initiated
Initiations	Instruct	commands the partner to carry out an action
	Explain	states information not directly elicited
	Check	requests confirmation of information the speaker has some reason to believe, but is not entirely sure about
	Align	checks attention, agreement or readiness for the next move
	Query-YN	asks any question that takes a yes or no answer and does not count as a check or align
	Query-W	any query not covered by the other categories
Reponses	Acknowledge	a verbal response that minimally shows that the speaker has heard the move, and may also demonstrate that the move was understood and accepted
	Object	a minimal negative response to a move indicating that it was understood but not accepted
	Reply-Y	any reply to a query with a yes-no surface form that means 'yes', however it is expressed
	Reply-N	any reply to a query with a yes-no surface form that means 'no', however it is expressed
	Reply-W	any reply to any type of query that does not simply mean 'yes' or 'no'
	Clarify	a reply to some kind of question in which the speaker tells the partner something over and above what was strictly asked

The first coding scheme is based on the HCRC dialogue structure coding designed for the HCRC map task (Carletta, Isard, A., Isard, S., Kowtko, Doherty-Sneddon, & Anderson, 1997). The HCRC map task involves participants working in pairs, where one speaker has a map marked with a route which the speaker must use to instruct the other participant to draw the route on their unmarked map (Stirling et al, 2001). The HCRC

system of coding is divided into Initiations and Responses according to their purpose, and these are then further subdivided (Table 3).

The second coding scheme is based on SWBD-DAMSL, the switchboard version (Jurafsky, Schriberg & Biasca, 1997) of the DAMSL system developed by the Multiparty Discourse Group (Allen & Core, 1997). While this system was originally designed for telephone conversations, it offers a general framework for the coding of dialogue acts and can be used in a wide range of domains (Stirling et al, 2001). The adapted SWDB-DAMSL version was chosen as it has been shown to have higher coder reliability, which is valuable as it was not possible to use multiple coders (Jurafsky et al. 1997).

**Table 4: SWBD-DAMSL codes**

Communicative Status	uninterpretable		%
	abandoned		%-
	self talk		t1
	third party talk		t3
Information level	task management		^t
	communications management		^c
Forward-communicative-functions	Statement	statement-non-opinion	sd
		statement-opinion	sv
	Influencing-addressee-future-action	open option	oo
		yes-no-question	qy
		wh-question	qw
		open question	qo
		or-question	qr
		or-clause after y/n question	qrr
		rhetorical question	qh
		declarative question	^d
		tag question	^g
		action-directive	ad
	Committing-speaker-future-action	offer	co
		commit	cc
	Other-forward-function	conventional opening	fp
		conventional closing	fc
		explicit performative	fx
		exclamation	fe
		other forward function	fo
		thanking	ft
		you're welcome	fw

Backward-communicative-functions	Agreement	apology	fa
		accept	aa
		accept-part	aap
		maybe	am
		reject-part	arp
		reject	ar
		hold	^h
	Understanding	signal-non-understanding	br
		acknowledge	b
		backchannel in question form	bh
		acknowledge-answer	bk
		repeat phrase	^m
		collaborative completion	^2
		summarise/reformulate	bf
		appreciation	ba
		sympathy	by
		downplayer	bd
		correct-misspeaking	bc
	Answers	yes answers	ny
		no answers	nn
		affirmative non-yes answers	na
		negative non-no answers	ng
		other answers	no
		no plus expansion	nn^e
		yes plus expansion	ny^e
		statement expanding y/n answer	sd^e
		expansion of y/n answers	^e
		dispreferred answers	nd
	Other	quoted material	^q
		hedge	h
		coder unsure of which label to use	X; Y
		multi-utterance segment by same speaker	+

### 3.5.1 Units of analysis

Within Schifffrin's framework the unit of analysis is the intentionally imprecise "units of talk" which is used to account for the diversity of discourse components which influence the use of markers, such as syntax, propositions and language use (Schifffrin, 1987). Among the potential units which are relevant to these discourse components are syntactic units which define markers relative to the sentence. However, markers are

independent of sentential structure and their movement within sentences makes them difficult to define syntactically (Schiffrin, 1987). Thus, sentences are often not the ideal unit of analysis because there can be a discrepancy between speech acts and syntactic forms as sentences are often ambiguous in natural oral discourse (Schiffrin, 1987). The difficulties of using syntactic units such as the sentence in the analysis of natural conversation might suggest the use of an alternate unit for defining markers such as that of language use. However, the vast range of utterances which can realize a single speech act, the influence of local context and shared knowledge and the difficulty of identifying and characterising these elements, presents its own impracticalities (Schiffrin, 1987).

Units which focus on how linguistic structure, meaning and acts are phonologically realized in speech are a more practical basis for analysis. Ideally, these units have syntactic and informational correlates, such that one phonologically realized unit often contains one syntactic clause which represents a single idea (Ford & Thompson, 1996). However, identifying markers in relation to a feature such as tone units can also be difficult, as the prosodically identified units do not always correlate with our intuitive notion of markers and their location in the discourse (Schiffrin, 1987). That is, markers can occur in positions which are not limited by unit boundaries and though they often precede tone units, they may also occur within and at the end of such units, and these markers may also completely comprise a tone unit (Schiffrin, 1987). The various difficulties in determining an appropriate unit of reference for discourse markers, sustain Schiffrin's definition of "units of talk" which can make use of sentences, propositions, speech acts or tone units (Schiffrin, 1987).

For practical purposes, more defined units are needed for the analysis of the data concerning *yeah-no* presented in this study. Here, two major units of analysis are implemented which offer insight into the discourse at different levels of refinement. At a broader level, the unit of a turn of speech is used and this concept aligns with one of the earliest proposed units of speech, that of the utterance defined as "any stretch of talk by one person, before and after which there is silence on the part of that person" (Harris, 1951, p. 14). Utterances or turns vary in size, structural complexity and propositional

content. The term ‘utterance’ is used in the coding of the discourse context to refer to the dialogue moves surrounding *yeah-no*, as these moves do not always comprise a complete turn.

Given that turns vary widely in length (Ford & Thompson, 1996), a finer unit of analysis will offer greater insight into the structure of the discourse. In this study, the intonation unit is used, which is the major unit of analysis in the Du Bois system of transcription applied in this research (Du Bois et al, 1993). Intonation and syntax are both important in the formation of turns and research has shown that while the intonational and pragmatic components of speech nearly always terminate at the same point as the syntactic component, syntactic components are often not completed at the same points as pragmatic and intonational components (Ford & Thompson, 1996). This alignment supports the use of the intonation unit as a subunit of the turn.

During the transcription process the text was broken into intonation units (IU). Du Bois et al (1993, p. 47) define an IU as “a stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour”. These “functionally relevant segments” can be identified using a number of features as explained by Chafe (1994). The diagnostic characteristics of an IU include a change in fundamental frequency, in duration, in intensity, in vocalization in voice quality and in turn (Chafe, 1994). For practical purposes, the determination of IUs in this study focused on unit boundaries and made use mostly of the characteristic pauses between IUs, an initial pitch reset, prosodic lengthening of final syllables, and fast initial speech. Each IU has one of three representative classes of “transitional continuity” as defined by Du Bois et al (1993): final, continuing and appeal; and these categories are useful for functional analysis (Du Bois et al, 1993, p. 52). The IU is used here to complement the unit of turn, as it is a finer unit of which turns are composed, and as it is hypothesized to be “the linguistic expression of information” (Chafe, 1994, p. 69) it is highly relevant for research into discourse.

### **3.6 Limitations of corpus data**

Using corpus data as the main resource in a study of language use can have its limitations. The lack of sociolinguistic information about the speakers whose language samples have been recorded in the corpus may limit the extent to which patterns in the data can be explained. The field of sociolinguistics has made clear that the sociological characteristics of speakers influence their language, and the language of an individual is associated with “how they are identified by others in the social groups and how they identify themselves” (Johnstone, 1996, p. 186). While the primary corpus in this study is affected by this constraint, it is to a much more limited extent than in more standard corpora like ICE-AUS, where the researcher knows nothing of the participants. Another, potential problem with corpus-based studies is that linguistic phenomena may not be fully understood out of context. Again, the ICE-AUS corpus suffers this deficit, whereby searches of the corpus only yield one sentence featuring the targeted form, thus preventing a full appreciation of the context of an utterance. However, the primary corpus used in this thesis features lengthy pieces of recorded language, which allows for a complete analysis of the discourse context.

### **3.7 Issues with the use of transcription**

Transcripts are not unbiased representations of data, but if the researcher aims to be conscious of the “filtering process” that occurs during transcription any preconceptions about the data can be limited (Ochs, 1979, p. 44). An awareness of the possible influences and constraints of a transcript positions the transcript as an invaluable tool, given that it is “impossible to hold in the mind the transient, highly multidimensional, and often overlapping events of an interaction as they unfold in real time” (Edwards, 2001, p. 321). The practicalities of analysis require transcription of the data, but the analytical decisions discussed in this thesis are based on the recordings of speech events, and thus the potential biases of transcription are guarded against.

### **3.8 Choosing sections of audio**

The sections of audio data selected to represent each instance of *yeah-no* are the immediately surrounding speech intuitively deemed to be necessary to give context to the

use of the token. Each token was recorded in useful and practical segments, and both the transcription and the coding of each data entry are influenced by the context of the discourse in its entirety. For practical purposes the immediate context of each token is transcribed and presented.



## 4 Results of corpus analysis

### 4.1 Distribution

#### 4.1.1 Distribution of tokens in primary corpus

Only 13 of the 76 *yeah-no* tokens in the main corpus occurred in turn-internal positions, with the rest occurring in turn initial positions or in turn-initial collocations combined with other discourse markers (e.g. *Well yeah no it is pleasing the boys have had a good year*) (Appendix One). This corpus yielded no turn-final tokens. Only 9 of the 76 *yeah-no* tokens in the main corpus were comprised of two intonation units, with the 67 other tokens occurring within a single intonation unit. Thus, the majority of tokens occurred turn-initially and were within one intonation unit.

55 of the 76 “*yeah-no*” tokens in the main corpus were of a form based on *yeah-no* (most were *yeah-no*, with a few variations such as *yeah yeah no* or *yeah no no*), there were 5 tokens based on *yes-no*, 13 *yeah-nah*, 1 *yep-no* and 2 *no-yeah* (Table 5).

**Table 5: Distribution of forms of *yeah-no* in main corpus**

Negative Component	Positive Component		
	yeah /jɛə/	yes /jɛs/	yep /jɛp/
no /nɒʊ/	<i>yeah-no</i> (55) <i>no-yeah</i> (2)	<i>yes-no</i> (5) <i>no-yes</i> (0)	<i>yep-no</i> (1) <i>no-yep</i> (0)
nah /nʌ/	<i>yeah-nah</i> (13) <i>nah-yeah</i> (0)	<i>yes-nah</i> (0) <i>nah-yes</i> (0)	<i>yep-nah</i> (0) <i>nah-yep</i> (0)
nup /nʌp/	<i>yeah-nup</i> (0) <i>nup-yeah</i> (0)	<i>yes-nup</i> (0) <i>nup-yes</i> (0)	<i>yep-nup</i> (0) <i>nup-yep</i> (0)

#### 4.1.2 Distribution of tokens in ICE-AUS corpus

The ICE-AUS corpus yielded a total of 30 “*yeah-no*” tokens (Appendix Three), most of which occurred in the private dialogue category and most of which took the form *yeah-no* (Table 6). The frequency of occurrence of *yeah-no* in this corpus is relatively very low, but as this data is from between 1991 and 1995 it is quite likely that the frequency of *yeah-no* is now greater given that more people are aware of its presence, suggesting it is growing in use. Of these 30 tokens, 21 occurred at the beginning of a sentence, 8 occurred sentence-medially and 1 token occurred at the end of a sentence.

**Table 6: ICE-AUS corpus: “Yeah-no” forms, occurrences and frequencies**

	<i>yeah-no</i>	<i>no-yeah</i>	<i>yes-no</i>	Total number of tokens	Total number of sentences	Frequency	Percentage of sentences containing <i>yeah-no</i>
<b>S1A - Dialogue, private</b>	19	5	2	26	22933	0.0011	0.11%
<b>S1B - Dialogue, public</b>	3	0	1	4	11238	0.0004	.004%
<b>S2A - Monologue, unscripted</b>	0	0	0	0	7332	0.0000	0.000%
<b>S2B - Monologue, scripted</b>	0	0	0	0	5443	0.0000	0.000%
<b>W1A – Non-printed writing</b>	0	0	0	0	1391	0.0000	0.000%
<b>W1B - Letters, social and business</b>	0	0	0	0	2276	0.0000	0.000%
<b>W2A - Printed information (learned)</b>	0	0	0	0	2766	0.0000	0.000%
<b>W2B - Printed information (popular)</b>	0	0	0	0	2885	0.0000	0.000%
<b>W2C - Printed information (news reports)</b>	0	0	0	0	1804	0.0000	0.000%
<b>W2D - Instructional writing</b>	0	0	0	0	1649	0.0000	0.000%
<b>W2E - Persuasive writing</b>	0	0	0	0	785	0.0000	0.000%
<b>W2F - Creative writing</b>	0	0	0	0	1504	0.0000	0.000%
<b>Total=</b>	22	5	3	30	62006	0.0005	0.05%

### 4.1.3 Distribution of tokens in The Monash University Australian English Corpus

The distribution of form of the 12 tokens found in the Monash University Australian English Corpus is shown in Table 7. Again, most tokens were of the form *yeah-no*. Nine of the twelve tokens occurred in turn-initial positions and the remaining three were in turn-internal positions (Appendix Two). Seven of the tokens were produced across two intonation units, and five within one unit.

**Table 7: Distribution of forms in The Monash University Australian English Corpus**

Form	Number of Tokens
<i>yeah no</i>	8
<i>no yeah</i>	1
<i>yes no</i>	1
<i>yeah nah</i>	1
<i>nah yeah</i>	1
<b>Total=</b>	12

### 4.1.4 Distribution of tokens across all corpora

The distribution of forms for the combined corpora is shown in Table 8. This reflects the results for each of the individual corpora, with *yeah-no* comprising 73% of all tokens, and *yeah-nah*, *yes-no* and *no-yeah* accounting for most of the remaining tokens.

**Table 8: Distribution of form in all corpora**

Form	Number of Tokens	Percentage of tokens
<i>yeah no</i>	85	72.0%
<i>no yeah</i>	8	6.8%
<i>yes no</i>	9	7.6%
<i>yeah nah</i>	14	11.9%
<i>nah yeah</i>	1	0.8%
<i>yep no</i>	1	0.8%
<b>Total=</b>	118	

The combined data for the position of a token in a turn indicates that 79% of tokens occurred at the beginning of a turn and 20% occurred internally (Table 9).

**Table 9: Position of token for all corpora**

Place in utterance	Number of tokens	Percentage of tokens
Initial	93	78.8%
Internal	24	20.3%
Final	1	0.8%
<b>Total=</b>	118	

The number of intonation units contained within a token was attainable for the primary and MUAE corpora. The combined results found that 72 of the 88 tokens were contained within a single intonation unit (82%) and the remaining 16 tokens were located across two intonation units (18%).

## **4.2 Functions**

### **4.2.1 Burridge and Florey Functions in primary corpus**

The distribution of tokens in the primary corpus for the Burridge and Florey (2002) categories is shown in Table 10. The most common set of functions performed by *yeah-no* was both propositional and textual functions, followed by textual and expressive functions and a propositional function alone. Interestingly, expressive functions appear to always occur in combination with one of the other functions. 52 of the tokens performed a propositional function (68%), 56 performed a textual function (74%) and 25 performed an expressive function in addition to something else (33%).

**Table 10: Number of tokens for Burridge and Florey categories in primary corpus**

Function	Number of tokens	Percentage of tokens
Propositional	12	15.8 %
Textual	11	14.5 %
Expressive	0	0.0 %
Propositional and Textual	28	36.8 %
Propositional and Expressive	8	10.5 %
Textual and Expressive	13	17.1 %
Propositional, Textual and Expressive	4	5.3 %
<b>Total number of tokens=</b>	76	

#### 4.2.2 Burrige and Florey Functions in Monash University Australian English Corpus

The Monash University Australian English Corpus shows a somewhat similar distribution of function to that of the primary corpus (Table 11). The majority of tokens performed either a propositional function alone, or both propositional and textual functions. 10 of the tokens performed a propositional function (83%), 7 performed a textual function (58%) and only 1 performed an expressive function (8%).

**Table 11: Number of tokens for Burrige and Florey categories in MUAE Corpus**

Function	Number of tokens	Percentage of tokens
Propositional	5	41.7 %
Textual	1	8.3 %
Expressive	0	0.0 %
Propositional and Textual	5	71.7 %
Propositional and Expressive	0	0.0 %
Textual and Expressive	1	8.3 %
Propositional, Textual and Expressive	0	0.0 %
<b>Total number of tokens=</b>	12	

#### 4.2.3 Burrige and Florey Functions in combined corpora

The combined data for both the primary corpus and the Monash University Australian English Corpus are shown in Table 11. The most common set of functions performed by *yeah-no* was propositional and textual functions, followed by a propositional function alone. 62 of the tokens performed a propositional function (70%), 63 performed a textual function (72%) and 26 performed an expressive function (30%).

**Table 12: Number of tokens for Burrige and Florey categories in combined corpora**

Function	Number of tokens	Percentage of tokens
Propositional	17	19.3 %
Textual	12	13.6 %
Expressive	0	0.0 %
Propositional and Textual	33	37.5 %
Propositional and Expressive	8	9.1 %
Textual and Expressive	14	15.9 %
Propositional, Textual and Expressive	4	4.5 %
<b>Total number of tokens=</b>	88	

### **4.3 HCRC coding**

The HCRC coding for preceding and following utterances (Table 13) indicate that *yeah-no* is most likely to follow an *explanation*, a *yes/no question* or *check*, and is most likely to come before an *acknowledgement* or *yes answer*. While these categories were the most common moves for the preceding and following utterances, respectively, it is also important to note that the HCRC coding indicated that there is quite a range of moves which surround *yeah-no*. Within the primary corpus, *yeah-no* can occur after any of these types of moves, but it appears to come mostly before some type of response (68 of the 70 following utterances are responses). The data from the MUAE corpus also shows this pattern of *yeah-no* preceding a form of response (10 of the twelve following utterances are responses). When the corpora are combined the pattern remains, with a relatively diverse range of preceding utterances (although 68% are initiations), and a strong trend towards following utterances coding as responses (89%).

**Table 13: Number of tokens for Modified HCRC move category codes**

		Primary Corpus		MUAE Corpus		Combined Corpora	
		Preceding utterance	Following utterance	Preceding utterance	Following utterance	Preceding utterance	Following utterance
Preparations	Ready	1			1	1	1
Initiations	Instruct	5				5	
	Explain	12	6	2		14	6
	Check	11	1	1		12	1
	Align	4		2	1	6	1
	Query-YN	12	1	1		13	1
	Query-W	9				9	
Reponses	Acknowledge	8	19	1	2	9	21
	Object	6	3	2		8	3
	Reply-Y	4	17		2	4	19
	Reply-N	1	4		1	1	5
	Reply-W	1	11		2	1	13
	Clarify	2	14	3	3	5	17
<b>Total</b>		76	76	12	12	88	88

#### 4.4 SWBD-DAMSL coding

The SWBD-DAMSL coding for preceding (PU) and following utterances (FU) (Table 14) indicate that *yeah-no* is most likely to follow a declarative or yes-no question and most preceding utterances are influencing-addressee-future-actions, and that *yeah-no* is most likely to come before an “accept” agreement-yes answer, or a summary or reformulation.

**Table 14: Number of tokens for SWBD-DAMSL category codes**

			Primary Corpus		MUAE Corpus		Combined Corpora	
			PU	FU	PU	FU	PU	FU
Communicative Status	uninterpretable							
	abandoned							
	self talk							
	third party talk							
Information level	task management		1				1	
	communications management		3				3	
Forward-communicative-functions	Statement	statement-non-opinion	7	3	2	1	9	4
		statement-opinion	4	3	2	2	6	5
	Influencing-addressee-future-action	open option	3				3	
		yes-no-question	7	2			7	2
		wh-question	2				2	
		open question	1				1	
		or-question	3				3	
		or-clause after y/n question	1				1	
		rhetorical question						
		declarative question	8				8	
		tag question	7		1		8	
		action-directive	5		1		6	
		Committing-speaker-future-action	offer					
	commit					1		1
	Other-forward-function	conventional opening						
		conventional closing		1				1
		explicit performative						
		exclamation						
		other forward function						
		thanking	1				1	
		you're welcome		1				1
	apology							

Backward-communicative-functions	Agreement	accept	1	10		1	1	11	
		accept-part	1	5			1	5	
		maybe		2		1		3	
		reject-part	3				3		
		reject	1	4	1		2	4	
		hold		1		1		2	
	Understanding	signal-non-understanding							
		acknowledge	2	5		1	2	6	
		backchannel in question form	3				3		
		acknowledge-answer	2	1			2	1	
		repeat phrase	1				1		
		collaborative completion			1		1		
		summarise/reformulate		11		1		12	
		appreciation							
		sympathy							
		downplayer							
		correct-misspeaking							
	Answers	yes answers	3	7			3	7	
		no answers			1		1		
		affirmative non-yes answers	3	3			3	3	
		negative non-no answers							
		other answers		2	1	1	1	3	
		no plus expansion	1	3			1	3	
		yes plus expansion		5	1		1	5	
		statement expanding y/n answer	1	5	1	1	2	6	
		expansion of y/n answers	1	2		1	1	3	
		dispreferred answers							
		Other	quoted material						
	hedge								
	coder unsure of which label to use								
	multi-utterance segment by same speaker								
	Total=			76	76	12	12	88	88



## **4.5 Summary**

The discourse marker *yeah-no* occurs mostly as variants based on the structure of *yeah-no*. Tokens are predominately located in the initial position of a turn and they usually consist of a single intonation unit. Functionally, tokens usually perform more than one Burridge and Florey functional category (around 70%) and these are most likely to be propositional and textual functions. The coding indicated that *yeah-no* occurs after a diverse range of discourse moves but particularly follows initiating moves (HCRC) which are chiefly questions (SWBD-DAMSL). The token mostly precedes responses (HCRC), and in particular heads affirmative answers and summaries (SWBD-DAMSL).

# 5 Discussion

## 5.1 Yeah-no as a discourse marker

*Yeah-no* conforms to many of the generalisations about discourse markers. In the corpora used for this research, *yeah-no* occurs only in oral discourse (Table 6). Structurally it is a relatively short element, in its typical form it occurs in a single intonation unit and features the prosodically minimised “yeah” form of yes. This token appears to be removed from the syntax of the rest of an utterance, and its occurrence in both turn-initial and turn-internal locations further supports this premise. Syntactically, *yeah-no* is optional as its removal does not affect the grammar or referential meaning of an utterance. Consider the removal of *yeah-no* from the following example:

With <i>yeah-no</i>	Without <i>yeah-no</i>
<p><u>SC07LJ</u></p> <p>LJ: Melanie Schlanger, She’s helped me, she was my body guard today. Um, so I love you /Mel, And um, <b>yeah no</b> it’s been fantastic. It’s been great fun.</p>	<p>LJ: Melanie Schlanger, She’s helped me, she was my body guard today. Um, so I love you /Mel, And um, it’s been fantastic. It’s been great fun.</p>

The absence of *yeah-no* does not affect the grammaticality of the utterance, or its referential meaning but it might be considered less pragmatically sound, as there appears to be a disjunctive quality to LJ’s turn without this token. Without *yeah-no*, there is an unsignalled jump to a summation.

*Yeah-no* performs both discourse functions such as cohesion and pragmatic functions such as attitude signalling. It is these roles which support the classification of *yeah-no* as a discourse marker and these will be considered in more detail below.

## **5.2 Yeah-no users**

The characteristics of the group of participants in the primary corpus can be used to inform the depiction of the “typical” *yeah-no* user. The data would suggest that the representative *yeah-no* user is male and aged in their twenties or thirties. Of the 46 speakers, seven were female. While the methodology did not seek to take a representative sample of the population of Australian English speakers, the method of seeking out *yeah-no* tokens meant that all examples of *yeah-no* which were heard were included in the data. The fact that 85% of the *yeah-no* producers were male, could be suggestive of a gender bias of *yeah-no* production. This contrasts with Burrige and Florey’s (2002) conclusion that there are no apparent gender differences in *yeah-no* use. However, a possible explanation for this discrepancy is the nature of the data collection. Many of the examples came from sports-related shows and there may be a bias towards featuring male sportspeople, which consequentially biases the gender ratio of participants.

Again the nature of the data affects the age range of participants. Participants were aged between 18 and 56, but it is difficult to usefully estimate the age of all speakers. Burrige and Florey (2002) found a higher proportion of speakers used *yeah-no* in the 18-34 and 35-49 age brackets than in the 50 plus age group. The data in the present study also found that most of the speakers were between 20 and 40 years of age. While this assessment of *yeah-no* users in this the present research can only be speculative, it does provide an indication of those speakers who are most likely to produce this token.

## **5.3 Form and Distribution**

The data from the corpora (Tables 5-8) indicate that the form *yeah-no* is most likely to take is *yeah-no*, and that the variation seen in the other forms may be due to individual phonemic differences. There are twenty speakers in the primary corpus for whom there is more than one token, and of these fifteen produce exactly the same form of token each time. For example, on separate occasions a speaker produced the following:

BG07AMa

MV: I was I was,  
((LAUGHTER))  
Concentrate on,  
y'know [XX]

X: [XX]

MV: Just did not share that around at all,

AM: Well you know ah,  
**yeah no** well sh-  
she was down there and I was the lucky guy?

((LAUGHTER))

PH: You weren't that lucky Andy,  
honestly.  
Don't don't--  
you know,  
Y- You barely spoke to her,  
really.

BG07AMb

SL: And and there's no doubt--  
I mean the players have got..everything to do with it as well,  
but they're not the one's that sit up at the end and have to explain it.

AM: But what can you s-  
You said it.

I mean,  
[^what can a bloke say after that.]

SL: [Ok I'm just] having the discussion.

AM: **Yeah no,**  
fair enough.

PH: It's a free country Andy.  
lay off.

The two tokens occur in different locations within the turn, but their form is the same. Johnstone (1996) describes the evidence of individual variation on phonology, noting that the phonology of a language variety is actually a combination of the phonologies of individuals, which creates a collective structure with variation and indeterminacy. The variation in intuitive judgements about grammaticality further supports the heterogeneous nature of language (Johnstone, 1996). The use of the different variants of the two components which comprise *yeah-no*, such as *yep* or *nah* may be a result of an individual's phonology. It could be that given a particular sociological context that individual might always use *yep* to indicate agreement or *nah* to signal disagreement and in the combined token this pattern continues to hold.

The repetition of elements may reflect the use of repetition to emphasise, for instance *yeah-yeah-no* could highlight agreement much as a response such as *definitely, definitely* to a question provides an unambiguous reply. It is also possible that the repetition of either element is a form of “filler”. Maclay & Osgood (1959) proposed that there are four hesitation types: repeats, false starts, filled pauses and unfilled pauses. There are many theories concerning the function of fillers and this work is beyond the scope of the present study, but if the repetition in these tokens is acting as a filler it could aid in cognitive processing for both speaker and listener or signal difficulties in processing by the speaker, among other things (Christenfeld et al., 1991). There may also be a relationship between an interlocutor's speech and their behaviour. For instance there is a correlation between false starts and the listener shifting eye gaze away from the speaker (Goodwin, 1990).

The frequency of occurrence of *yeah-no* is quite difficult to measure, with the ICE-AUS Corpus providing the only means available for this research. This corpus indicates that this token is relatively rare, and at this stage of its development *yeah-no* does not appear to be acceptable in written discourse. Burrige and Florey (2002) also concluded that *yeah-no* was a low occurrence token, with only 26 tokens gathered from 15 of their 72 speakers over 16 hours of data. The lapse of almost fifteen years between the collection of the ICE-AUS data and this study also makes it difficult to determine the

current frequency of *yeah-no* in Australian English and how it may have progressed, not only in usage but in other features, over this period of time.

Most tokens in this study were produced within a single intonation unit, and the corpus does not indicate that the number of intonation units is correlated with function, which supports the findings of Burridge and Florey (2002). However, Burridge and Florey (2002) do not provide data on the number of tokens which occur within one intonation unit versus those which occur across two intonation units. It should be noted for the present study, however, that the small number of tokens across two intonation units does limit the definitiveness of this statement, but it may equally suggest that the number of intonation units used is related to some other aspect of the discourse. Given the hypothesis that intonation units represent “functionally relevant segments”, it seems appropriate that if *yeah-no* is acting as a single unit to perform some of the functions ascribed to discourse markers it would occur within one intonation unit. Chafe (1980) proposes that spontaneous speech is produced in well defined spurts of “information units” which are expressions of underlying perchings of consciousness. As a discourse marker, *yeah-no* acts to create a cohesive discourse and indicate the ways in which other parts of the discourse, or other ‘information units’, relate.

Discourse markers are usually removed from the syntax of the rest of an utterance, and as such they can occur in various locations (Table 9). *Yeah-no* commonly occurs at the beginning of a turn, but it can also occur within a turn and perhaps even finally (although there was only one instance of a token in sentence-final position in the ICE-data<sup>4</sup>, and it is not possible to determine whether this occurred at the end of a turn or turn-medially). It should also be noted that only one token in the primary corpus and three in the MUAE corpus were the sole occupants of a turn (HA07D2b in Appendix One & E2F.1a and MS1F.Ab in Appendix Two). The presence of other content in a turn which features *yeah-no* supports the general definition of this token as a discourse marker rather than a response token. It is possible that in the examples where *yeah-no* does occur

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<sup>4</sup> s1b-076(A):49:

I know you delivered our pamphlets **Yeah No**

alone, it is acting as a response token, but in all other contexts it is a discourse marker. As discussed, the literature indicates that a token can act as both a response signal and a discourse marker and so it is not necessary to select only one of these roles for *yeah-no* in some of the data. Consider the only example from the primary corpus of *yeah-no* solely occupying a turn:

HA07D2b

HB: Mate, that's terrific.

D: Oh [X]

HB: [At least,]

I suppose you had to give the cigarettes back,  
but I'd love it if the cops said look [just,]

D: **[Yeah no.]**

HB: as a token of our thanks,  
here's a six pack.

Thanks.

AL: ((LAUGHTER))

Here, *yeah-no* occurs in an overlapping turn which signals that D is following what HB has said and agrees with the preceding proposition. However, even this token seems to do more than just signal the listener's attention. It seems that that the *yeah-no* could be offering propositional content in an answer to HB's implicit question about whether D 'had to give the cigarettes back', which aligns the uses of *yeah-no* with discourse markers rather than solely with response tokens, even in this case, the example most likely to be analysed as a response token. If this token represented a truncated turn, rather than a complete turn with its final transitional contour as shown in the transcription, it would further detract from the possibility that it is acting solely as a response token as it would align with the majority of examples in which *yeah-no* prefaces an extended utterance.

## 5.4 Functions

*Yeah-no* appears to perform multiple functions simultaneously, as is characteristic of a discourse marker (Tables 10-12). As with many discourse markers, it is difficult to define the precise semantic contribution of *yeah-no*. However, contrary to some of the theories concerning discourse markers, *yeah-no* is not propositionally empty but instead offers referential meaning through its discourse functions. The most common function of this token is to offer propositional content in the form of an agreement or disagreement with a preceding proposition. The exact nature of the semantic content of a token is almost impossible to define in isolation. Instead the discourse context must be examined to determine whether *yeah-no* is offering concurrence or disparity. Consider the following example, in which SS produces the token *yeah-no* which performs a propositional function, providing an agreement with the preceding proposition uttered by JR:

CC07SSb

JR: Shane,  
now you know to look after Chris after the game tonight?  
SS: **Yeah no,**  
I'm gonna um,  
w- we'll have a bit of a chat after the game,  
Chris and I and ah,  
see ah if we can ah,  
you know,  
progress on his on his knowledge of X.

In this example, *yeah-no* offers assent to a preceding utterance, but the nature of the response can only be determined in context. Similarly, *yeah-no* can be used to signal disagreement with a preceding utterance as can be ascertained by its function within the larger discourse:



BG07BSa

SL: And what about Kevin Sheedy's comments leading into the game Brad?  
did--

were they referred to,  
by the players in the lead up to the match?

BS: **Yeah no**,  
not really we ah--  
I think we all read it and sort of ah,  
we know what Sheed's is like so g-  
good bit of value and we <sorta> put it aside and on with it.

This example also presents the notion of the possible bifurcation of response as mentioned in the literature review (Schiffrin, 1987). *Yeah-no* could be interpreted as an agreement with one component of the preceding discourse, and a disagreement with another part. The *yeah* may acknowledge the first line of SL's question, while the *no* provides a negative answer to the last line of SL's query. However, a comprehensive theory of *yeah-no* must account for the functions performed in contexts when this explanation is insufficient, such as when the preceding turn does not contain two distinct components. Within the theories concerning discourse markers, which suggest that these tokens have no semantic content, the ability of *yeah-no* to offer propositional content can still be accounted for by incorporating the notion of a propositional function. This also concurs with the property of the class 'discourse marker' as having functional aspects which appear to be more important than semantic features.

The allocation of the Burridge and Florey (2002) categories confirms that *yeah-no* works at the discourse level organizing the discourse (textual function), as well as indicating pragmatic elements such as speaker attitude (expressive). *Yeah-no* performs expressive functions such as face-saving by hedging disagreement (in which it may also perform a propositional function), and is often used to downplay compliments:

CC07SSa

IC: You're doing a very good job at the moment?

SS: Well **yeah no**,  
it is pleasing the boys have had a good year,  
but um as I've as I've said to the boys,  
it's it's a new year and everyone's trying to knock you off,  
and we've gotta be up to it.

In any given example there is a complexity of functions which occur simultaneously. For example:

RS07RMa

RS: When ^you went to art school,  
back uh back in the day,  
was ah,  
was that a thing that resonated with him?  
was--  
did he say ooh good,  
did you get that sense of it?

RM: **Yeah no** he--  
my mum actually said to me recently,  
Dad passed away a few years ago but she said uh,  
he was always really pleased to,  
you know to see me painting pictures of the houses he built,  
and and to see them get some,  
you know some public exposure,  
and he he appreciated that,  
so I was sorta glad to hear that.

Here, *yeah-no* is fulfilling three functions: propositionally it acts as an assent to RS's question; textually it acts to create cohesion as a preface to RM's anecdote by acknowledging RS's question before using a short narrative to respond to that question;

and it also performs an expressive function by acting as a hedge to minimize or downplay the compliment from RS that ‘RM’s father would be proud’.

The prefacing of a summary or evaluative utterance seems to be a function which *yeah-no* regularly performs, but which is subsumed under the textual function in BurrIDGE and Florey’s (2002) schema. This role may warrant a finer distinction of the functions performed by *yeah-no*. This issue may be explored through the distribution of the token with regard to the types of utterances which precede and follow an instance of use.

#### 5.4.1 Preceding utterances

The coding of the preceding utterances indicate that there is a considerable diversity of moves which come before the use of *yeah-no*. The HCRC coding (Table 13) indicates that *yeah-no* most commonly occurs after an ‘explanation’, ‘yes/no question’ or ‘check’. This result supports the propositional function or contribution of the token, as it is often used as either an agreement or disagreement. The frequency of preceding ‘explanations’ and ‘checks’ could lend support to the proposal that *yeah-no* is a response token, as it acts to signal that the listener is following what the speaker is saying. The results of the SWBD-DAMSL coding (Table 14) also show that many preceding utterances are a declarative statement or yes-no question. These generalisations regarding the nature of preceding utterances derive from the majority of tokens, which occur in turn-initial position, and as such the preceding utterance belongs to a speaker different from the person who utters *yeah-no*.

In the combined data from the primary corpus and the MUAECORPUS, there are sixteen tokens which occur turn-internally (AC07JB, SC07LJ, RS07Aha, RS07AHb, CC07RY, BG07AMa, BG07BSb, CC07DSe, BG07DT, CC07AFa, CC07AFb, BG07CB, P98RSa, E2F, P1F, and MS1Fd). By the nature of their location, both the preceding utterance and following utterances are produced by the same speaker. In these examples, the HCRC coding indicates that the preceding utterances are mostly responses as are the following utterances. Consider the following sequence of turns:

CC07AFa & CC07AFb

JR: What are you just out the back in the dark windowless umpires' room?

AF: @@

(Hx) that's about it.

((LAUGHTER))

Ah **yeah nah** look,

they've been very good Port Fairy and um,

**yeah nah** its its great to still be involved [yeah]

AF's turn is a response to JR's question. His first IU "that's about it" is a Reply-Y in the HCRC coding system, and the rest of his utterances, which surround *yeah-no*, are Clarifying statements. Similarly, the SWBD-DAMSL coding indicated AF's first IU is an affirmative non-yes answer and the rest of his turn is comprised of statements expanding the affirmative answer.

This accords with the overall pattern of *yeah-no* occurring as part of response moves. The SWBD-DAMSL coding (Table 14) for this set of examples found that the preceding utterances of six of the sixteen tokens (63%) were forward-communicative-functions and the rest were backward-communicative-functions. The most common move was some type of answer (seven tokens). Likewise, the following utterances could be both forward-communicative-functions and backward-communicative-functions, but twelve (75%) were backward-communicative-functions and eight of these were a type of answer. These results are further illuminating when the combination of the discourse moves of the preceding and following utterance is considered. In many of the examples the preceding and following utterances have the same coding at some level (e.g. both coded Explain in HCRC or Statement-sd in SWBD-DAMSL). In these cases, one of the Burrige and Florey (2002) functions performed is usually a textual function which links a speaker's initial response to an interlocutor's proposition, to a further, often clarifying response. However, the entire discourse context is crucial in determining the status and function of *yeah-no*. It is imperative to examine the nature of the utterances which follow this token.

### 5.4.2 Following utterances

It has already been noted that almost all the tokens of *yeah-no* in this corpus are followed by further speech within the same turn. This diminishes the possibility of *yeah-no* acting as a response token, but does not eliminate it entirely. The HCRC coding indicated that many of the utterances which follow *yeah-no* are responses, in particular acknowledgements or yes answers, but this does not require it to be a response token. In the following example, RH's *yeah-no* is followed by an acknowledgement of IC's utterance:

CC07RH

BB: Rick I was listening to ah Grandstand a couple of weeks ago and the boys were talking to the injured Tim ^Clarke/,

RH: Yep.

BB: Who ah just revealed--

and I it hadn't occurred to me until he did so,

Just how many ^guns you've got in your midfield,

and and smoking guns at that.

You've got players like ^Sewell,

who've just come out of nowhere and seem to have matured over night,

And now like bona fide prime movers.

IC: Thank goodness they've got ^numbers on em,

we wouldn't know who they ^are?

RH: @@ **Yeah no** we have,

we've got a few smokies in there,

which is ah--

which is causing a few headaches for opposition,

and and it's great for us,

so we can just ah rotate a few through the- throughout the game.

IC: Now Rick this is your fifth season at Hawthorn?

RH: A=h sixth.

The finer detail captured in the SWBD-DAMSL coding shows that *yeah-no* is most likely to come before an “accept” agreement as in the above example, but also importantly summaries or reformulations. The utterance following *yeah-no* in the example below is an acknowledgement, but it is also a summary of both what has been discussed in the lead up to LD’s turn and also of his stance:

BG07LDb

PH: Se-

I-

Three kids un--

Three kids under four?

LD: Ah yeah w-

PH: How are you ^awake?

((LAUGHTER))

I’ve got I’ve got two under five and I’m nearly nodding off,  
right now.

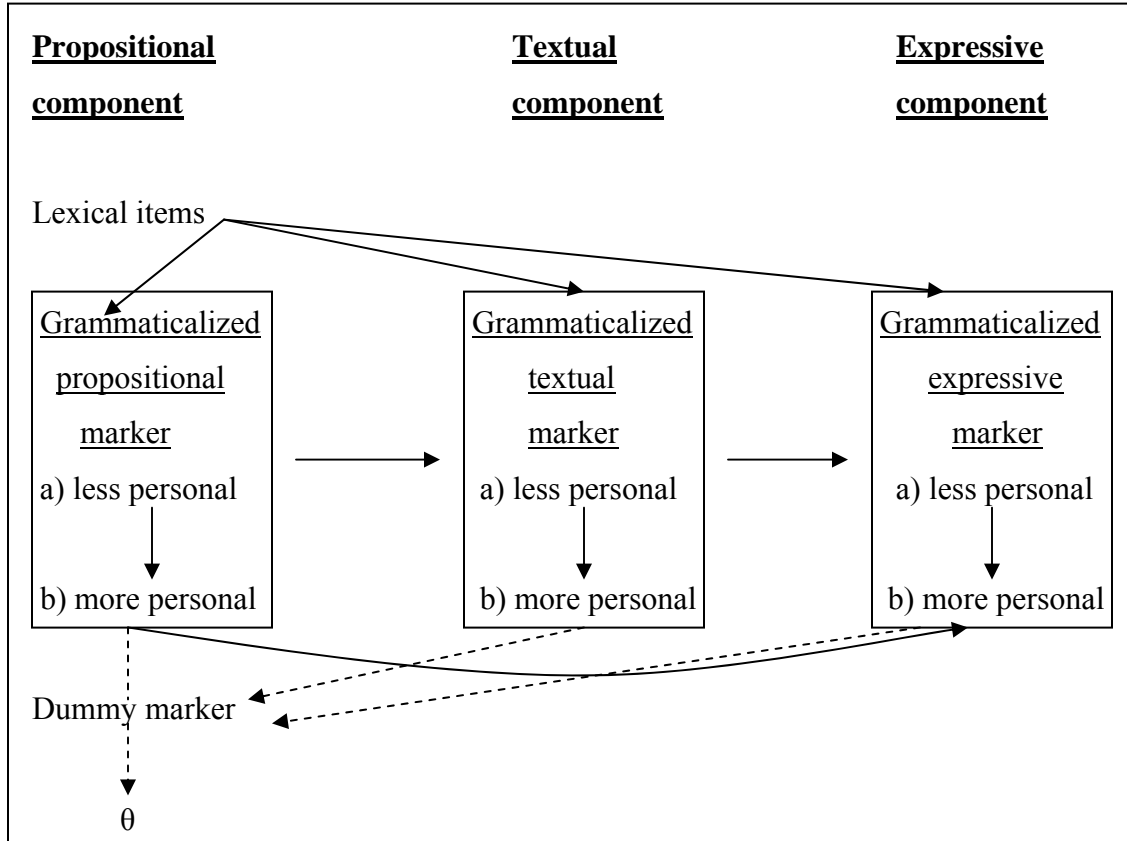
LD: **Yeah no** it’s ah,  
there’s a lot going on at home and ah,  
I’m looking forward to being there every morning.

### **5.5 The possible grammaticalization of *yeah-no***

The potential grammaticalization of a discourse marker such as *yeah-no* involves a process by which a linguistic form gains new meaning in a specific context. This new meaning is often more subjective in nature. Burridge and Florey (2002) suggest that *yeah-no* has undergone a process of grammaticalization such that it has moved from having propositional functions towards having expressive functions. This is the standard path of grammaticalization whereby a linguistic element moves along a continuum of less personal to more personal functions. Traugott (1982) proposed the following model for the grammaticalization of markers, in which lexical items become grammatical markers and move along a pathway to become more personal, and move from the propositional

component to the textual, through to the expressive. This model accounts for the many possible paths that a lexical item can take in the process of grammaticalization:

**Figure 1: Model of grammaticalization markers (after Traugott, 1982)**



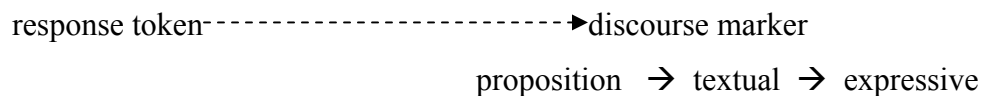
The data in the present study support this general hypothesis, and the multiple functions which *yeah-no* can perform can also be explained by this phenomenon. The three functional components of discourse can be conceived of as a continuum, schematized as:

propositional → textual → expressive

As *yeah-no* continues to move along this pathway there are several possible analyses of the token by interlocutors and this may account for the discourse moves which follow *yeah-no*. It may also explain the difference between the MUAE corpus data and that of the primary corpus. Compared to the primary corpus, the MUAE results had a higher

relative proportion of tokens both performing propositional functions together with textual functions (71.7% to 36.8%) and a propositional function alone (41.7% to 15.8%). If *yeah-no* is developing along the grammaticalization pathway, then it may be hypothesised that when the data was collected for the MUAE corpus the token was at some point between the propositional and textual “points”. At the present time, the token appears to have moved further along the continuum so that there are less instances of propositional function alone and more instances of textual as well as expressive functions. While this is a possible explanation for the differences between the two corpora, the small number of tokens in the MUAE corpus limits the capacity to generalise about the differences between *yeah-no* at these two periods.

The concept of grammaticalization may also illuminate the question of whether *yeah-no* should be interpreted as a discourse marker and/or a response token. As discussed, this token does not need to be categorised as *either* a discourse marker *or* a response token. Instead, it could be considered that presently *yeah-no* is at a stage of grammaticalization when it can be used to act as a response token or a discourse marker in different contexts, or as both simultaneously. This can be conceived as another continuum which exists alongside the proposition>textual>expressive pathway:



It may be that not only is *yeah-no* at a stage of development where it can perform multiple functions, but it is also at a juncture where it can be interpreted as a response token or discourse marker depending on the larger discourse context. The degree of overlap between the continua is unclear, such that the use of *yeah-no* as a response token could actually be an instance of the propositional function. However, cases in which *yeah-no* solely performs a propositional function when the item is unlikely to be analysed as a response token because it is part of a larger turn, support the positioning of the clines so that there is a distinction between *yeah-no* acting as a response token, and performing a propositional function as part of its role as a discourse marker as the example shows:



BG07MRb

X: [XX]

L: [How's-]

How's the body feeling?

MR: Ah feels good at the moment/,

but ah,

it's a week to week proposition [wh-]

DH: [Do] you still love it though?

Do you love--

MR: **Yeah no** still still love--

I don't love..what's been happening this ^year,

but ah,

I think we've got some good young players coming through,

so I'm ^excited to think that hopefully I can hang around and see them develop.

Further extrapolation from this hypothesis might explain the presence of different discourse moves which occur after *yeah-no*. If the data represent a point of flux on the two continua, that is a point in time when *yeah-no* can be used for any of the three functions and can also act as a response token, then the moves which follow this discourse marker may reflect which “type” of *yeah-no* is being invoked. If *yeah-no* is at a stage of grammaticalization when there are possible alternative interpretations of the function being performed by the token, further discourse moves may be necessary to signal what function, or functions, are being executed.

HA07D2b discussed above (p. 57) demonstrated how *yeah-no* might act as a response token given the absence of a following utterance within that speaker's turn, and how it may also be interpreted as a discourse marker given the rest of the discourse context. To exemplify the way in which the nature of a following utterance may signal the functions of *yeah-no*, consider the following examples:

HA07Ta & HA07Tb

- T: No,  
no not interested at all,  
Brian.
- HB: Terry,  
I mean--  
I don't ^really have that many other places to turn to,
- T: **Yeah no** no,  
I'm not interested.  
Not interested.
- HB: It'd it'd take you ^literally five minutes.
- T: Brian you either have a hearing problem?
- HB: Terry I mean--  
I'm just speaking to you man to man here,
- T: **Yeah no** I <<so am I>>  
I'm not interested mate.

Both instances of *yeah-no* are followed by a summing up of T's position. Without this summary stance it would be difficult to ascertain whether the token was indicating agreement *or* disagreement with HB (propositional function). The summary provides the propositional content of T's turn, while the token can perform the expressive function of signalling speaker attitude along the lines of "I hear you, but I don't agree and you can't convince me". Given the summary, the token also performs a textual function in linking this statement of T's position to HB's previous turn.

The complexity of functions which *yeah-no* can perform requires a multifaceted analysis of the token. In any given instance, *yeah-no* can fulfil various discourse and pragmatic roles, and thus the examination of the context of the token (achieved in this research through coding of preceding and following utterances) is informative and indeed necessary.

## 5.6 Summary

The results of the analysis of the corpora provide answers to the research questions posed in the Methodology. *Yeah-no* takes several forms but mostly occurs as “*yeah-no*”, and is mostly found within a single intonation unit at the beginning of a turn. The form and location within the turn of *yeah-no* is much the same for each corpus. The number of intonation units is more difficult to compare as there are only eight examples in the Monash University Australian English Corpus. The MUAE corpus does appear to feature more tokens occurring across two IUs, but it is not feasible to ascertain whether this is a consequence of small sample size or a difference in the feature. If there is a difference in the number of IUs used in the two corpora it could possibly be explained by the time difference between data collection or by the difference in the nature of the data (the primary corpus features speech in a public domain while the MUAE corpus consists of private speech). The primary corpus was collected approximately ten years after the MUAE corpus and it may be that the prosody of *yeah-no* has changed over this time. One can only speculate about why such a change may have occurred, and this is an area of interest, along with frequency of occurrence, where future research into the diachronic analysis of *yeah-no* might aid in our understanding of the function of this token and its development in Australian English.

All tokens perform at least one of BurrIDGE and Florey’s (2002) functional categories and most perform more than one. *Yeah-no* performs multiple functions which correspond to its place in the discourse. It is usually part of a response move (in HCRC coding), and as such it can offer propositional content as part of an answer to a question, provide textual cohesion by acknowledging a previous speaker and signalling a new proposition is following, or it can provide expressive information which helps the speaker to signal attitude towards what is being said and who is saying it. The possible grammaticalization pathway of *yeah-no* may explain the multiple functions performed by the token, and the variety of discourse moves which occur in the surrounding utterances. *Yeah-no* can play an important part in the discourse of its users and this role is both determined by the nature of that discourse, and itself defines the discourse.

## 6 Conclusions

The analyses presented in this thesis indicate that *yeah-no* acts as a discourse marker in Australian English. The findings lend support to the more qualitative work of Burridge and Florey (2002), and the extent of the corpus and detailed examination of discourse context offer greater authority to the results than has been possible with this earlier work. The current research provides a more quantitative perspective on the form, distribution and functions of *yeah-no*. *Yeah-no* is an oral feature, which is grammatically optional, but which serves important discourse and pragmatic functions. These functions are quite varied, as is characteristic of discourse markers. It can signal how the discourse should be divided and processed by indicating how what follows is relevant to the preceding discourse.

Structurally, *yeah-no* is like other discourse markers: it is a short element of language somewhat removed from the rest of an utterance. It resists precise lexical specification but among its functions is a propositional contribution to the discourse. Its discourse and pragmatic functions are also significant in the role that *yeah-no* plays in discourse. These include both implicit and explicit pragmatic roles including textual functions such as discourse organization, and expressive functions such as hedging and face-saving. *Yeah-no* performs multiple functions simultaneously and thus this study of *yeah-no* data supports the traditional categorisation of discourse functions for discourse markers, and those specifically posited by Burridge and Florey (2002). However, as most instances of *yeah-no* perform more than one of these functions in any given utterance the Burridge and Florey (2002) tripartite classification can be difficult to operationalize. Because it is possible to fit most tokens into several of the categories, this made classification difficult and time-consuming. For future studies of such tokens a finer distinction may be beneficial.

A specific function which *yeah-no* regularly performs identified by this research is to preface summaries and evaluations. In summaries, a summing up of a previous

utterance and its propositional content is presented while an evaluation is an appraisal of the content or context featured in the previous utterance. In the case of summaries, the immediately preceding utterance may not be immediately relevant and so *yeah-no* operates at a more global level of discourse. In contrast, the use of *yeah-no* to introduce evaluative utterances usually relates to what has immediately preceded and so this discourse marker also operates at a local level. Because *yeah-no* works on multiple discourse levels, account must be taken of the entire discourse context in which the marker is found. *Yeah-no* is used in response moves to answer questions (propositional function), return to earlier discourse content after other propositions have been introduced and to preface summaries and evaluations which are relevant to the discourse but which do not necessarily link to the immediately preceding utterance (textual), as well as indicating speaker attitude to the content and context of the discourse (expressive).

*Yeah-no* is a useful and significant linguistic element in Australian English which helps speakers to conduct the subtle negotiation required to cooperatively create a cohesive discourse. It not only helps speakers deal with compliments and other “uncomfortable” topics in a culturally appropriate manner, but it also creates cohesive discourse by highlighting the relevance of the utterances it introduces to those which have preceded it, and provides referential meaning as part of response moves. *Yeah-no* allows speakers to maintain conversation and to accomplish their intentions effectively.

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# Appendix One: Primary Corpus

## AC07JB

JB: I've been training really well,  
training hard,  
so--  
technique--  
technique's sorta starting to get a lot better.  
So **^yeah nah**.  
I knew I was in pretty good form.

## SC07LJ

LJ: Melanie Schlanger,  
She's helped me,  
she was my body guard today.  
Um,  
so I love you /Mel,  
And um,  
**yeah no** it's been fantastic.  
It's been great fun.

## JF07EC

JF: Someone saying all my research is ^ruined,  
through losing my power?  
PEC: **Yes no** it's--  
it's a very difficult time for the university,  
but clearly our first priority is to the safety of our staff,

## RS07AHa

RS: Speaking of which,  
What's that wacky guy Chas doing?  
Is he frocking up?  
[is he,]  
AH: [**<@ Chas @>**]  
RS: Is he X a little something?  
AH: He's always giving a little something,  
**Yes,**  
**no no** absolutely,  
I mean--  
well tonight um,  
Chas and I- are going to be having a,  
quite a serious go at Today Tonight and A Current Affair.  
I don't know if you've seen us to do this before,  
RS: [oh love it.]  
AH: [um] but poor old Naomi Robson's gonna gonna cop ah some shtick from Chas  
and me  
but Chas is not he's not in prison ^yet.

RS07AHb

RS: ...after they've finished with it?

AH: @ Is this an issue/ at the moment?

RS: Yeah it is.

Yeah.

AH: Is it really?

**Yeah no** look,

I I absolutely think that--

are you talking about like when you go outside and--

JF07C

JF: There's multiple things,  
People are talking about ^general safety for the roads,  
not just this one specific incident,  
though are they Colin?

C: **Yeah,**  
**nah** that's right,  
and like--

I can drive down the freeway in my truck as well Jon,

JF: Mmm.

C: and,

I can get in the right hand lane to overtake a car?

JF: Mmm.

C: and you overtake the car,  
now you can either pull in just in front of a car,  
and then--  
cause it to put its foot on the break,  
or try and get a distance between you and that car and then go into the left hand  
lane?

CC07SSa

IC: You're doing a very good job at the moment?

SS: Well **yeah no**,  
it is pleasing the boys have had a good year,  
but um as I've as I've said to the boys,  
it's it's a new year and everyone's trying to knock you off,  
and we've gotta be up to it.

CC07SSb

JR: Shane,  
now you know to look after Chris after the game tonight?

SS: **Yeah no**,  
I'm gonna um,  
w- we'll have a bit of a chat after the game,  
Chris and I and ah,  
see ah if we can ah,  
you know,  
progress on his on his knowledge of X.

DS07PM

HR: Positive?

PM: **Yes no** it was good,  
no I like that,  
it was good.

RS07RMa

RS: When ^you went to art school,  
back uh back in the day,  
was ah,  
was that a thing that resonated with him?  
was--  
did he say ooh good,  
did you get that sense of it?

RM: **Yeah no** he--  
my mum actually said to me recently,  
Dad passed away a few years ago but she said uh,  
he was always really pleased to,  
you know to see me painting pictures of the houses he built,  
and and to see them get some,  
you know some public exposure,  
and he he appreciated that,  
so I was sorta glad to hear that.

RS07RMb

RS: But is that kind of sick lure of the--  
ooh my heart's going uh I might--  
you know--  
this is a thrilling experience?

RM: **Yeah no** there is a there is that thrilling scary thing no,  
I've always been a bit scared of clowns,  
as well,  
they are pretty sinister.

CC07RY

IC: So ah,  
he's got a bit to look forward to over the next four years,  
hasn't he Ross?

RY: Oh definitely.  
**Yeah no** he'll love it,

BG07BSa

SL: And what about Kevin Sheedy's comments leading into the game Brad?  
did--  
were they referred to,  
by the players in the lead up to the match?

BS: **Yeah no**,  
not really we ah--  
I think we all read it and sort of ah,

we know what Sheed's is like so g-good bit of value and we <sorta> put it aside and on with it.	
<u>JF07JM</u>	
JF:	Oh no no, I'm talking about things like transport links, [and--]
JM:	[Yeah] <b>yeah no</b> [by all means,]
JF:	[and freeways and,]
JM:	in terms of--
JF:	and Melbourne twenty thirty, all the big picture stuff.
JM:	Yes, in terms of ah the more strategic work that we're doing? that currently is being done, I'm always happy to talk about that.
<u>CC07BE</u>	
IC:	Can you now just do five minutes on what a good bloke Terry Hall is?
BE:	@ @ <b>Yeah no</b> w- like Terry said, we ah we do deal a lot together, obviously with the junior development kinda things, so um, just trying to bring some, bring some ah more future-- stars of the future through to the region/
<u>HA07Da</u>	
HB:	Oh the mazda, mazda, yeah mazda, nah na. the mad mazda. Do y-- did ya get more speeding fines did ya?
D:	@ Yeah, <b>...yeah nah</b> nah no had had to get rid of that, no, got the four wheel drive now so,
HB:	Oh you've grown up a bit?
D:	Yeah.
<u>HA07Db</u>	
HB:	Are y- Are y- Are y- Are y- Are you sold on Catholicism, or?
D:	Yeah, yeah I am, yeah.

<p>[yeah.]</p> <p>HB: [You are,]</p> <p>D: Yeah, the other's just don't feel right?</p> <p>HB: Yea=h/, still/.</p> <p>D: <b>Yeah nah,</b> I dunno I'm not [really--]</p> <p>HB: [Just cause] y'know in Scientology we've got we've got a lot of stars stars and that, we've got like John Travolta and ah, Tom Cruise and stuff, like y'know-- who's famous from Catholicism? apart from Jesus?</p>	<p><u>HA07Dc</u></p> <p>HB: So these days, sorta, It's a celebrity driven world? You want to get involved in the... popular one.</p> <p>D: <b>Yeah nah,</b> I- I'm happy with what with w-what religion I've got, so,</p> <p>HB: Ah alright, no worries Damo.</p>
<p><u>HA07Dd &amp; HA07HBa</u></p> <p>HB: Hey if I if I come down to Melbourne, you me and Simon should catch up for a bit of a a bit of a drink, hey?</p> <p>D: <b>Yeah nah</b> that'd be good.</p> <p>HB: <b>Yeah no</b> well, look good to good to talk to you Damian.</p>	<p><u>HA07HBb</u></p> <p>MW: ((SINGS))</p> <p>HB: Could you do it a little bit longer please/,</p> <p>MW: Oh ok.</p> <p>HB: One, two, three.</p> <p>MW: ((SINGS))</p> <p>HB: Ok, <b>yeah,</b> <b>no</b> that has been blocked out, by our scrambler. lets see if notes a little bit higher get blocked out.</p>

BG07NB

PH: But ah you've broken a few hearts on the panel ah today ah,

A: Yeah,  
yeah.

PH: Andy Dave and Sam.  
Carlton supporters.  
and um,  
well,  
what have you got to say for yourself?

((LAUGHTER))

NvB: **Yeah no** it was a pleasing result for us in the end I guess,  
and ah.  
bad luck to you three,  
but um,

((LAUGHTER))

no we gave em we gave em a quick start,  
we managed to come back,  
so/,

BG07AMa

MV: I was I was,  
((LAUGHTER))  
Concentrate on,  
y'know [XX]

X: [XX]

MV: Just did not share that around at all,

AM: Well you know ah,  
**yeah no** well sh-  
she was down there and I was the lucky guy?

((LAUGHTER))

PH: You weren't that lucky Andy,  
honestly.  
Don't don't--  
you know,  
Y- You barely spoke to her,  
really.

HA07HBc

T: No,  
No.  
Where was this from Brian?  
The high school?

HB: Yeah **yeah,**  
**no** I mean w-  
I don't know if you remember it or not,  
but ah.  
we actually played on the same ah footy team?

T: Nah,

not me mate. Never ever played footy.
<u>HA07Ta &amp; HA07Tb</u> T: No, no not interested at all, Brian. HB: Terry, I mean-- I don't ^really have that many other places to turn to, T: <b>Yeah no</b> no, I'm not interested. Not interested. HB: It'd it'd take you ^literally five minutes. T: Brian you either have a hearing problem? HB: Terry I mean-- I'm just speaking to you man to man here, T: <b>Yeah no</b> I <<so am I>> I'm not interested mate.
<u>HA07D2a</u> AL: And that-- And that was on behalf of the of the the police, or something was it? D: <b>Yeah no</b> it was actually the police? Melbourne police? or whatever they called themselves (Hx), AL: Yeah yeah, unbeliev=able.
<u>HA07D2b</u> HB: Mate, that's terrific. D: Oh [X] HB: [At least,] I suppose you had to give the cigarettes back, but I'd love it if the cops said look [just,] D: <b>[Yeah no.]</b> HB: as a token of our thanks, here's a six pack. Thanks. AL: ((LAUGHTER))
<u>HA07J</u> J: I saw um Robby Grabber? AL: Grabber, J: Awhile ago, AL: Has he got a girl? cos he was a bit of one with the ladies, wasn't he? J: ...(1.5)Yeah <b>yeah no</b> h--



<p>I th- he got married and then he um, I think he got divorced and now he's getting married again. I [I--] AL: [(Hx)] Robby Grubber, he always would get amongst the girls, and he's doing it again now, hey? @@</p>	<p><u>HA07AL</u> J: That's all that's all I'm saying, I mean that's-- That's better than coming there and saying, ..nah, you know what I mean? I letting you know ^now. AL: <b>Yeah nah.</b> You're a straight shooter, always were mate. J: You know what I mean, [I don't] muck around so, AL: [Yeah ok.] Alright Gidio.</p>
<p><u>HA07HBd</u> HB: No of course, Obviously that was ^highly racist of me, to just assume that he was a drug dealer? AL: Absolutely. She's um-- she's doing a great job. HB: <b>Yeah no</b> she'd be terrific, she speaks very well. your mum. AL: There's ah one thing holding her back. HB: What's that? Al: Dad.</p>	<p><u>CC07JLa</u> IC: Do you just want to talk us through the ^magnificent goal from outside fifty? JL: <b>Yeah no</b> I um, I remember last week, up in Sydney, I took a mark about...fifty five out and ah, Sheeds was pretty upset that I didn't go back and have a shot, so I um, I worked on the bit o' longer goal kicking during the week and, yeah,</p>

<p>moment I marked it I was always going to have a shot.</p> <p>BB: So the goal was a ^direct result of you listening to the coach. Who is a genius,</p>	<p><u>CC07JLb</u></p> <p>IC: N- N- N- What's it been like to have played in..two such exciting finishes and results in..consecutive games?</p> <p>JL: <b>Yeah no</b> it was ah pretty exciting that ah we've been on the receiving end of a win/, because I remember last year we were unfortunate to be on the ah end of the other side, so um--</p> <p>IC: Last year was extraordinary, w- wasn't it? Jason, even though Essendon only won three games for the season, they they lost nearly-- nearly half of their losses were by a kick?</p> <p>JL: Yeah it was ah pretty frustrating year last year, and that's right, yeah, we lost about yeah six games &lt;&lt;by a&gt;&gt; kick.</p>
<p><u>CC07JLc</u></p> <p>IC: Thirty-first, and is that the best...win you've played in in thirty one games?</p> <p>JL: Oh, ah I ah, actually last week would've been up there? being away at Sydney? but ah, coming coming back from that sort of margin, and and playing that quarter that we did, um, <b>yeah no</b>, that'd be right up there, with ah last week I reckon.</p> <p>IC: And you played thirty one games now, you're starting to look like you belong there, you must feel like you belong there. Take us back to when you were drafted, where were you drafted from Jason?</p>	<p><u>GF07M</u></p> <p>SE: They were playing a side who were in g- in good form, I mean g- they lost they lost last week, but the kangaroos were in good form, it should be a ripper ^game/.</p> <p>M: <b>Yeah no</b> well yeah hopefully so,</p>

<p>I hope we go well.  Thank you very much.  GW: Good on you Mark/.</p>	<p><u>CC07RH</u>  BB: Rick I was listening to ah Grandstand a couple of weeks ago and the boys were talking to the injured Tim ^Clarke/  RH: Yep.  BB: Who ah just revealed--  and I it hadn't occurred to me until he did so,  Just how many ^guns you've got in your midfield,  and and smoking guns at that.  You've got players like ^Sewell,  who've just come out of nowhere and seem to have matured over night,  And now like bona fide prime movers.  IC: Thank goodness they've got ^numbers on em,  we wouldn't know who they ^are?  RH: @@ <b>Yeah no</b> we have,  we've got a few smokies in there,  which is ah--  which is causing a few headaches for opposition,  and and it's great for us,  so we can just ah rotate a few through the- throughout the game.  IC: Now Rick this is your fifth season at Hawthorn?  RH: A=h sixth.</p>
<p><u>BG07AMb</u>  SL: And and there's no doubt--  I mean the players have got..everything to do with it as well,  but they're not the one's that sit up at the end and have to explain it.  AM: But what can you s-  You said it.  I mean,  [^what can a bloke say after that.]  SL: [Ok I'm just] having the discussion.  AM: <b>Yeah no</b>,  fair enough.  PH: It's a free country Andy.  lay off.</p>	<p><u>BG07BSb</u>  DH: Greg Sewell is killing them.  Did you actually come up to him after that and say,  mate ah that's not my name?  BS: Thanks.  Thanks for bringing that up.  ((LAUGHTER))  'S great.  <b>Yeah no</b>,</p>

<p>@ He um-- I've heard all about it, few blokes are getting into me so, not funny. ((LAUGHTER)) SL: Did he say-- Did he say something to you?</p>
<p><u>BG07DC</u> DH: Collingwood now has a ^Shannon Cox. Is that one Cox too many? DC: O=h, <b>yea=h,</b> <b>no yeah</b> it is definitely.</p>
<p><u>RS07KN</u> RS: I g- I think-- Well, certainly in Melbourne there's enough of those. KN: [Oh,] RS: [What's it] what's it like around Australia are those [sort of] venues also around? KN: [<b>Yeah no</b> there--] those venues are everywhere um, well, in all the major cities, yeah.</p>
<p><u>CC07DSa</u> BB: Now Darren you've kicked ah fifty three from ^nine/ they must be getting the ball down to you sw=eetly? DS: <b>Yeah nah</b> it's good, it's been good this year I been...number one forward so, it's alright, yeah.</p>
<p><u>CC07DSb</u> BB: And do you chase the fullback if he's got the ball and he's going away from you, Sort of, Ah well he's got it [I might as well] stop in [the ^square?] X: [Turn it up/.] DS: [<b>Yeah nah,</b>] nah I do chase, yeah. X: Oh, &lt;@ XX @&gt; JR: You're not a /full ^forward. ((LAUGHTER))</p>

CC07DSc

IC: Now,  
just looking out here at fr- from the front of the pavilion ^here?  
at Coraline,  
if you were to take a mark say just in front of us here,  
just inside fifty,  
And there was a bloke sort of standing about twenty yards out straight in front on  
his ^own/  
Are you gonna kick it to him or are you gonna have a ^shot?  
DS: **Yeah nah** I'd have a shot,  
yeah.  
((LAUGHTER))  
IC: He is a full forward after all.

CC07DSd & CC07DSe

JR: Now Darren what's Michael Dylan like on the training track?  
DS: Ah he's [pretty funny.]  
JR: [He he] He's more [than twice] your age?  
X: [Funny?]  
DS: **Yeah no** he is,  
**yeah no** he's good he's good.  
Talks heaps.

CC07DSf

DS: Yeah yeah,  
we won the premiership last year.  
JR: Oh did you?  
DS: Yeah yeah.  
X: With Ozzy?  
DS: Yeah with Ozzy,  
[yeah.]  
X: [Yeah.]  
IC: Oh Ozzy Jones?  
DS: Yeah.  
X: [Yeah.]  
IC: What was he like?  
DS: **Yeah no** good,  
[yeah.]  
X: [XX]  
X: He's a beauty on the radio too.

BG07PHa

DH: That's ^half the season's over,  
There should be more ^half yearly w-  
^Games at half time they should award--  
Like,  
PH: Yeah.  
SL: Yeah.  
DH: Best for the first ^half/

<p>You [know.]</p> <p>PH: [Yeah] Brownlow medal for the [first half?]</p> <p>DH: [!Absolutely.]</p> <p>PH: <b>Yeah no,</b> I [like it.]</p> <p>DH: [Why not?]</p> <p>L: This is- This is so huge we even had a re^hearsal today/.</p> <p>((LAUGHTER))</p>	<p><u>BG07MRa</u></p> <p>AM: I think they put up a stat las- Three hundred da=ys, since your last win. It'd been ^three hundred ^days since you'd won a game of footy.</p> <p>MR: I didn't know that. But ah, that's pretty ordinary stat that one/,</p> <p>((LAUGHTER)) Got any other ^stats for me?</p> <p>((LAUGHTER))</p> <p>AM: No I won't chuck that one at you, w-</p> <p>MR: <b>Yeah no</b> it [was] it's a long drought in between wins,</p> <p>AM: [G-]</p> <p>MR: it's been very frustrating but we thought we were getting close. Ah last week we were over in Fremantle and we were in front in the last quarter, so we were in reasonable form, we knew a win wasn't far away.</p>
<p><u>BG07MRb</u></p> <p>X: [XX]</p> <p>L: [How's-] How's the body feeling?</p> <p>MR: Ah feels good at the moment/ but ah, it's a week to week proposition [wh-]</p> <p>DH: [Do] you still love it though?</p> <p>Do you love--</p> <p>MR: <b>Yeah no</b> still still love-- I don't love..what's been happening this ^year, but ah, I think we've got some good young players coming through, so I'm ^excited to think that hopefully I can hang around and see them develop.</p>	<p><u>CC07JB</u></p> <p>BB: Jason emotionally um, it must be strange for you, given the um head to heads you've had with west ^coast over the last couple of</p>

	<p>years, and having come from the west coast/ ah does that play in your heart at all, or your ^mind, or do you just ah disregard it and just um see the ah, th- the rivalry for want of a better word as just another part of the game?</p> <p>JB: <b>Yeah no</b> look I think it's a great part of the game/. &lt; X I ah X&gt; I think &lt;X um I I think it's X&gt; what six or seven games now and they've all been decided by less than a goal. I think it's amazing. Um, for me personally I couldn't think of a better team to beat, and I couldn't think of a worse team to lose to. So um, You know it means twice as much to me as probably as t- as to everyone else, [but um,]</p> <p>BB: [Have] you still have cobbers there?</p> <p>JB: Ah yeah not so much, I sorta left West Coast eight years ago so, Drew Banford was the last player that I spent a lot of time with...</p>
	<p><u>CC07BG</u></p> <p>BB: Covey did you endoy enjoy dinner anyway? ((LAUGHTER))</p> <p>IC: It was before ^my time Billy. So you better get out and about Brad/.</p> <p>BG: <b>Yeah no</b> don't mind getting out and about Coves.</p> <p>IC: Are you getting out to Grovedale?</p> <p>BG: No. No I'm not going out to Grovedale. I have seen them play once this year ah, against Colac, down at Colac and ah, they're the best last quarter team in the competition at the moment.</p>
	<p><u>BG07JW</u></p> <p>DH: It looked like you were trying to lose, though, cause you were like seven goals up in the first quarter almost?</p> <p>JW: Yeah, <b>yeah no</b> we started off pretty well and um, I guess Melbourne just sorta came back at us and ah, then it was a bit of a arm wrestle for the rest of the game and, and luckily enough, um Scotty Lucas ah slotted a couple in the last minute or so.</p>
	<p><u>BG07DT</u></p> <p>DH: Now you did have a ripper mate.</p>

<p>Get the umpires names and write ‘em down,  ‘cause if you don’t get three votes on brownlow night for this game,  go round and egg their houses,  I reckon.</p> <p>DT: @ Aw I don’t know if we’re allowed to do that,  there might be a bit of controversy there,  but ah,  <b>yeah no</b> no as you said,  it was a good win.</p>	<p><u>CC07AFa &amp; CC07AFb</u></p> <p>JR: What are you just out the back in the dark windowless umpires’ room?</p> <p>AF: @@  (Hx) that’s about it.</p> <p>((LAUGHTER))</p> <p>Ah <b>yeah nah</b> look,  they’ve been very good Port Fairy and um,  <b>yeah nah</b> its its great to still be involved [yeah]</p>
<p><u>CC07AFc</u></p> <p>IC: And and Anthony over the over the ah seven hundred and fifty games?</p> <p>A: Yep.</p> <p>IC: Did y- did y- did you do some--  you would have done quite a few ^solo=s,  you’ve done as a... two umpire set up,  have you done it as a three umpire set up as well?</p> <p>A: Yes I have done them as a three umpire set up,  and that’s very easy.</p> <p>IC: Yep.</p> <p>A: But um,  <b>yeah nah</b> look you do it solo um,  one game in Warnambool years ago,  our advisor said,  aw look we’re short of umpires ‘n we’re going to put all you old guys single?</p> <p>IC: Mm.</p> <p>A: So I went out to do a single game and um,  yeah,  there was forty eight goals kicked for the game,  and the last quarter went for thirty eight minutes.</p> <p>((LAUGHTER))</p> <p>So I didn’t move for the next two days,  I can tell ya.</p>	<p><u>BG07SPa</u></p> <p>DH: Well how about Carlton mate?  they were good ^too?</p> <p>SP: <b>Yeah nah</b> played them once and they were handy,  w- we had a good scrap with them at half time.  which was good.</p>



<p>((LAUGHTER))</p> <p>But nah, Geelong just far and away the best side I've played against, just how they use the ball and run.</p>
<p><u>BG07SPb</u></p> <p>PH: If you could crack it now, that'd be great. ((LAUGHTER))</p> <p>X: &lt;X&gt;</p> <p>SP: <b>Yeah nah,</b> I'm not gonna I'm not gonna crack the desk or anything, don't worry about that. ((LAUGHTER))</p>
<p><u>BG07BSN</u></p> <p>NB: So you've looked me in the eye and you've told me that, BS: Yep. NB: I'll be watching you. BS: [Yep.] NB: [I'm] gonna make sure that you ah, BS: [Yep.] NB: [We're] going along pretty [well,] BS: [Yep.] NB: We we can't afford anyone to let us down, BS: <b>Yeah no</b> I've looked you in the eye, done all that. so let's just move on ok. Excellent &lt;X&gt;</p>
<p><u>BG07SL</u></p> <p>SL: Cameron. AM: She's still [watching,] SL: [Don't get in--] yourself into trouble please. Gary Ablett. Let's talk about him/. CL: Thank you for the change of subject. ((LAUGHTER)) SL: [That's alright,] CL: [I was get]ting a little bit hot. SL: <b>Yep no</b> that's alright, um, obviously a terrific porm- performer on field, but..as I gather one of the more vocal members of your off-field team &lt;now,&gt; his Dad's been around a lot this year as well, in the rooms? now, I want to know,</p>

<p>do ^you actually have any interaction with him? Gary Ablett senior.</p>
<p><u>BG07RF</u> DH: Oh there's no myth left, didn't you see him in the big brother house? ((LAUGHTER)) RF: /Yeah. SL: No I didn't. But I'm sure it was ve[ry entertain]ing. RF: [No ye-] little bit disappointing Sam, it was a little bit disappointing. But you know, things have worked out for the best, Sam.</p>
<p><u>BG07LDa</u> X: [Do we--] PH: [Do we] do we say congratulations to you? on your retirement, wh- wh- what-- [or bad] luck or? LD: [I hope so,] LD: <b>Yeah no no,</b> I'm ah you know, I'm really happy with um the decision, it feels right um, yeah it's it's a but sad, I mean it's giving up something that I've loved all my ^life, but ah I'm looking forward to the next part of my life, and ah, more importantly we've still got ah the rest of the season to look forward to, and I've feel, almost like the weight of the world off me shoulders and I can give my best effort towards that.</p>
<p><u>BG07LDb</u> PH: Se- I- Three kids un-- Three kids under four? LD: Ah yeah w- PH: How are you ^awake? ((LAUGHTER)) I've got I've got two under five and I'm nearly nodding off, right now. LD: <b>Yeah no</b> it's ah, there's a lot going on at home and ah,</p>

I'm looking forward to being there every morning.	
<u>BG07LH</u>	
PH:	Can y- can you make something up?
((LAUGHTER))	
LH:	Yeah he um, yeah, he ah hurt is knee? No but um,
DH:	Has he had it amputated yet?
((LAUGHTER))	
LH:	Booked in tomorrow.
((LAUGHTER))	
LH:	He um,
X:	<X>
LH:	<b>Yeah no</b> Vanders is one of those blokes who won't let ah, won't let the boys see if he's down or not so, he was pretty up after the game and l- w- probably see tomorrow when he see the physios what the go is.
<u>TG07FB</u>	
SB:	Now ^you have been doing everything in the ^world, ..haven't you?
FB:	Have I?
SB:	Yes you've been ^dancing with the you know what's, you've been ^falling over with the you know what's,
((LAUGHTER))	
	ya hosting the ^logies, ya doing ^radio in the mornings, what else are you doing?
FB:	U=m that's..about..it.
SB:	Oh really?
FB:	(0) <b>Yes</b> <b>no</b> , [is that not] enough?
SB:	[Is that all?]
<u>BG07RV</u>	
DH:	Now mate we, we learnt during the week that your parents do the tw- twelve hour round trip from ah Coomyella, ah have they got enough petrol for next week? I mean <X> you're pushing further in September than ever before?
RV:	<b>Yeah</b> , <b>no</b> it's a, they're doing it pretty tough you know, with ah with the petrol prices and the drought,

<p>but no they're still here, don't worry about that.</p>
<p><u>BG07PHb</u>  SL: Not won back to back finals since nineteen eighty ^four?  PH: Who cares we won.  U=mm,  ((LAUGHTER))  SL: I'm tryna talk it up?  PH: <b>Yeah no</b> it's [great.]  DH: [The Eagles--]  the eagles were missing their three best players.  Just throw that in there.</p>
<p><u>BG07CB</u>  SL: And will you seriously ^not &lt;Hx watch Hx&gt; the grand final?  CB: Oh I might watch bits and pieces of it,  um,  but,  <b>yeah no</b>,  not really interested.</p>
<p><u>ER03SIa</u>  AD: Are you are you always at this level?  Are y- y-  Is there a quiet Steve Irwin?  SI: Nah.  ((LAUGHTER))  Na=h mate.  Nah.  AD: Seriously?  SI: <b>Yeah no</b> there is there is.  Um,  like I got--  I got um,  I had me shoulder taken off twice?  AD: Yep.  (Opens shirt and indicates place)  Um,  Aw God I was quiet then mate.</p>
<p><u>ER03SIb</u>  AD: D-  Do you talk to the person next to you?  SI: ...No I try not to.  AD: Really?  SI: Yeah,  'cause normally it's John ^Stainton.  AD: Oh [your manager?]  SI: [And ah--]</p>

<p>Yeah he's my manager,  AD: [Yeah.]  SI: [so] <b>yeah nah</b>.  AD: &lt;X So y- X&gt;  SI: Avoid talking to him at every opportunity.</p>
<p><u>P98KLa</u>  KL: They shine a light on you,  and they have the camera on you while you're--  which of course is--  all the other [years] I loved [[seeing people there]].  XM(T): [Mm].  GM: #{{She's very naïve, isn't}} she?  ((LAUGHTER))  KL: <b>Yeah no</b> [I--  well 'cause I--]  GM: #[Its called] an award night.</p>
<p><u>P98RSa</u>  KL: Hang on,  I saw--  I saw all those photos earlier on of you doing exactly that at the Logies,  [with all you autos all the-]  TG: [N=ot quits].  not quite that [league].  RS: [No my-]  <b>yes,</b>  <b>no</b> okay.  TG: Don't you hate it when you get an annoying phone call at work.  I'm heading down the ah the ah [the ah Glenn] Archer thing here,</p>
<p><u>P98RSb</u>  TG: Isn't that awesome?  KL: {r} oh=  RS: Just not happy.  So--  TG: #It's my point.  RS: <b>Yeah,</b>  <b>no</b> no.  No,  I see that,  I just--  it's--  X&lt;X carry on X&gt;</p>
<p><u>P98JKa</u>  JK: Yeah they were all washing the dishes,  SC: [I s-] I saw that,  @ @ @</p>

JK:	<b>Yeah,</b> <b>no</b> look it gets- they get a little bit [more=-]
T:	#[what] was goin-?/ What did you--?/ [Were you watch]ing thinkin' what is going on?/
<u>P98JKb</u>	
TM:	See-- see-- the thing is, normally products like that once you sniff them, you also get a nice hair ^do as well. (LAUGHTER))
JK:	And acting skills.
SC:	And acting skills. Yes.
JK:	<b>Yeah no</b> that's um, ah and I don't know-- look I-- we actually did buy the product? and we had it in the [office for awhile,]
TG:	[we should] we should road test it one night on the show,
<u>P98KLb</u>	
JK:	Like Ginger Spice, They were hair extensions, when she came out,
TG:	Oh [now you've spoilt it,]
KL:	[Oh were they?]
TG:	Really <X>
JK:	One minute she's got short hair, next [minute] voom.
KL:	[Hang on,] [Oh=.]
TG:	[Is that right,]
KL:	<b>No yeah,</b> they're fake, I don't think faker is anything to be ashamed of except in television.

# Appendix Two: The Monash University Australian English Corpus

Recorded and transcribed by researchers as part of the Monash University  
Australian English Corpus project.

Transcription conventions may vary subject to individual researchers.

## E2F.1a

RF3: so what do you do when you party?

E2F: sometimes I go to like, Metro and

RF3: right

E2F: dances parties and stuff [and just ?? ]

RF3: [yeah] do you have trouble getting in?

E2F: no, coz it's underage

RF3: oh I see

E2F: yeah I can't go to any overage ones

RF3: **no yeah**

E2F: or I have just a group of friends come over and we just hang out at my place and listen to music and stuff . just that kind of stuff I like to do

## E2F.1b

RF3: do you think it's very different from other cities that you've been to?

E2F: yeah . yeah it is . you have to like, um . coz when I went to America we um were told that we've gotta be careful where we go coz it's dangerous but it's very overrated as well

RF3: mm

E2F: but um yeah I think I think Melbourne's much safer than more places that I've been to

RF3: right mm would you like to live in Melbourne for the rest of your life?

E2F: no I wouldn't no . I'd prob'ly wanna live in Queensland or . **yeah no** I wouldnt wanna live here though

## E3F.1

RE3: yes . and did they put you out for that or was it just a local anaesthetic?

E3F: it was just a local anaesthetic . the surgeon said you can watch if you want . I thought no thanks

RF3: @@

E3F: not my cup of tea

RF3: **yes no** I'm not suprised . what about visiting people in hospital, have you done much of that?

E3F: um I visited a friend of mine, Nicole, once, she had to get an operation on her jaw to move the whole jaw forward

## P1F.1

P1F: [(??)] oh I (dn')know jss some-some.times when I listen t' my granparents n' things n' I hear them saying, " y'afta be in by ten o'clock, " or y' know, . " when I wuz

<p>your age I never went to my [friends'-]</p> <p>RF:           [@]</p> <p>P1F:           house(?s uh?)... hate t' live when they lived@@[@]</p> <p>RF:           [yeah]</p> <p>P1F:           when they we' young.. bu', <b>yeah nah</b> I don' think-..th-it's no' the same so they don' un(d)stand it [y'know]</p> <p>RF:           [mm]</p> <p>P1F:           they think it's still like how i(t) was when they we' young</p>
<p><u>E3F.2</u></p> <p>RF:    Mmm hmmm.. yep, and.. do you know some of the teachers there?</p> <p>EF3:   Um.. well one of the teachers that's actually teaching me this year is moving up to the.. senior site next year</p> <p>RF:    Mmm.. OK.. yeah..</p> <p>EF3:   Not.. not as well as like...</p> <p>RF:    Mmmm.. still, it's exciting, isn't it, [changing] school..</p> <p>EF3:   Oh yeah..</p> <p>RF:    changing school</p> <p>EF3:   <b>yeah no</b>.. it should be good</p> <p>RF:    Yeah.. do you wear the same uniform?</p> <p>EF3:   Um.. at the senior site you only have to wear top half uniform.. school teeshirt, [school jumper]</p>
<p><u>MS1F.Aa</u></p> <p>MS1FMo:    well it's really Dad and I who want to spend our holidays here we don't mind if you go off and have a good time you're going to have a very long holidays because if you're finishing by end November</p> <p>MS1F:       [I know]</p> <p>MS1FMo:    [basically] you've got two months and you could get very bored if you don't ah spend some of that time away</p> <p>MS1F:       <b>yeah no</b> for sure I plan to go away for a bit of it but it just . um not the whole time yeah well as you said</p>
<p><u>MS1F.Ab</u></p> <p>MS1FMo:    well we chose a large number of different car . little gift cards the other day so I'm sure you'll find something</p> <p>MS1F:       <b>yeah no</b></p> <p>MS1FMo:    to match the paper</p> <p>MS1F: yeah and they're so pretty I want to keep some @ @ I'm getting all these present and then giving them all away</p> <p>MS1FMo:    oh what a shame</p>
<p><u>CG2M.B</u></p> <p>CG2M:       What about you Colin?</p> <p>CG2MP2m:   What's the question?</p> <p>CG2M:       ohh um.</p> <p>CG2MP1m:   blamed for you didn't [do]</p> <p>CG2M:       [yeah]</p> <p>CG2MP2m:   <b>nah yeah</b> my. brother. did something. and I didn't do it.</p> <p>OTHERS:    @[@@]</p>



<u>CG3M.B</u>	
CG3MP2m:	[It's] like. there was just more of the nothing.
CG3M:	Really?... But how ? there must be at least.
CG3MP1m:	Yeah [there've been some ?? things]
CG3M:	[There's like over] twenty channels and all
CG3MP2m:	<b>yeah no</b> that's like. the most the time there's something to watch.
CG3MP1m:	Which ?. ah which good channels have you got?
CG3M:	huh [??]
<u>KW2F.B</u>	
K2F:	@@ but that's the question you prob'ly know most about so, it [doesn't say]
K2FP1f:	[what do I know] about choofers...@@@
K2F:	@@ well, you know plenty about. being homey@
K2FP1f:	@yeah like [yeah]
K2F:	[ <b>yeah no</b> ahm]
K2FP1f:	['coz] you know like all my friends are just homeys
K2F:	..@thanks Lee [ah]
<u>MS1F.Ba</u>	
MS1FP1f:	my Mum doesn't sound like that she sounds like me . um you know [those]
MS1F:	[Eliza]
MS1FP1f:	@ just a normal a normal what do you call it
MS1F:	like the school things have got
MS1FP1f:	a PA system
MS1F:	no it's not like that because um then
MS1FP1f:	they can't use it
MS1F:	<b>yeah no</b> it's sort of I guess it is there's two speakers and they're really really bad quality and I just I hate it because it distorts the music and it fuzzes up the voices and if you turn it too loud you can't hear anything it's just like ZZZZ like fuzz and if you turn it too softly then again you have to be pretty close to the speakers
MS1FP1f:	yeah
<u>MS1F.Bb</u>	
MS1FP1f:	I was there . no it was me Koz and . and ah Danny
MS1F:	Coffey
MS1FP1f:	yeah
MS1F:	Nuh ah <b>yeah no</b> I wasn't there that day with you I don't think when she sang the song anyway like I never go there with you . I go there with like Nat or Ricky or someone anyway like and Amy's normally there but it was so funny because um she's gone hyperactive and she's like

## Appendix Three: ICE-AUS Corpus

S1A-011(B):104 <b>Yeah No</b> but um
S1A-011(A):138 <b>Yeah No</b> I understand it's Australian language slang
S1A-014(A):216 Yeah so <b>Yeah no</b> that one there's thriving now
S1A-028(A):136 Oh well <b>yeah No</b> And he's been laughing about it and I'd be I'd be deadset embarrassed
S1A-030(B):154 <b>Yeah No</b> longer their problem
S1A-036(B):123 <b>Yeah no</b> Ever since like grade four onwards I haven't but I was really sick when I was little
S1A-038(A):78 <b>Yeah No</b> I had a great time I uhm I went to uh went home for two wee fo for a week
S1A-039(B):373 I don't know Some Something fatal somethingterminal <b>yeah no</b> what was it something um pneumonia or bubonic plague or something like that
S1A-043(A):244 Yeah <b>yeah No</b> I'm happy to
S1A-043(B):291 Oh <b>yeah No</b> they set up their um you know wearing their um
S1A-047(C):191 Which is really stupid <b>Yeah No</b> I got a I got a
S1A-050(B):221 No but <b>Yeah no</b> firstname10 said last night firstname10 was just being crude and she goes oh you'd have Simon wouldn't you Val
S1A-054(B):27 Oh yeah yeah yeah <b>Yeah no</b> it was I um cos you know I drove the car
S1A-055(A):18 <b>Yeah no</b> I'm talk talking about um the migrant serviceethnic affairs the department of ethnic affairs
S1A-060(A):15 <b>Yeah No</b> No She didn't I told her toNah
S1A-072(A):158 <b>Yeah no</b> no it wasn't
S1A-081(A):241 <b>Yeah No</b> I'm sure this guy's name was
S1A-081(A):266 <b>Yeah No</b> 'Cos he's in the army and they were doing um training
S1A-091(A):223 <b>Yeah No</b> balloons
S1B-019(B):141 <b>Yeah no</b> that's that's an interesting it's a really interesting topic
s1b-072(A):19 Thirteen <b>Yeah No</b> other changes
s1b-076(A):49 I know you delivered our pamphlets <b>Yeah No</b>

S1A-011(B):233	No no <b>no yeah</b> yeah we had that had a dinner that night but yeah we'd had quite a lot to drink and you know conceived the idea 'cause he'd been telling me he was gonna teach me to ride his bike but always wanted to learn
S1A-026(A):339	<b>No Yeah</b> well She's got a nice haircut
S1A-081(C):358	<b>No Yeah</b> I spoke to her today
S1A-091(A):4	<b>No Yeah</b> it might be that What's some more
S1A-097(A):315	<b>No yeah</b> I know what you are I know what you're trying to say
S1A-059(B):265	<b>Yes No</b> I can understand that
S1B-004(A):134	Um they they took <b>yes No</b> They took them out well it's I s'pose it's like taking the kids out into reading groups



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