The Pragmatics of *yani* as a Parenthetical Marker in Turkish: Evidence from the METU Turkish Corpus

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Resumé

This paper examines the use of parenthetical *yani* ('that is' or 'in other words') in written Turkish discourse with a view of investigating its contribution to the 'what is said' and the 'what is inferrable' in discourse. The paper maintains that parenthetical *yani* serves to constrain the metarepresentation of referents and contributes to the derivation of implied meaning at the intentional level of the discourse, thereby often producing rhetorical, emotive effects. The study concludes that *yani* enters discourse processing at both the conceptual and the procedural level and that a strict categorization of discourse markers as belonging to the conceptual or the procedural group is not possible.

1. Introduction

Discourse markers or discourse connectives – as they are variously referred to – are a hot topic of debate and investigation for a number of reasons ever since the publication of such leading works as Halliday and Hasan (1976), Roulet et al. (1987), and Schiffrin (1987). [1] Discourse-analytic perspectives in pragmatics and computational linguistics have invariably considered their function in textual structure as signaling semantic relations between textual units (e.g., Halliday and Hasan 1976; Miltsakaki et al. 2004: Webber et al. 1999). With the advent of a cognitive turn to pragmatics, the coherence approach has been contested mainly in Relevance Theory, especially in the work by Blakemore (1996, 2002), who argues that discourse markers (henceforth, DM) form a mixed class in terms of their contribution to discourse. She observes that while some DMs constrain inferential processing of utterances, others contribute to conceptual

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[1] There is much terminological variety concerning words such as *but*, *so*, and *well* in the pragmatics literature, and scholarly work shows divergence concerning criteria for their classification (see, Fraser (1999) and Schourup (1999) for overviews). In this paper, I will use 'discourse markers' to cover expressions that referred to as 'discourse connectives', 'discourse markers', 'discourse particles' or 'cue phrases'.

(propositional) content. The present paper addresses this debate in the context of one reformulation marker in Turkish, namely *yani* (*that is or in other words*).

One point of convergence amongst scholars in the coherence approach to DMs is that they do not contribute to the propositional, that is, those aspects of meaning that are falsifiable (the truth-conditional aspect of meaning). To illustrate, in (1) *but* does not affect the truth or the falseness of the two propositions expressed in the coordinated clauses, (a) and (b):

(1)   (a) Mary said she would come to the meeting *but* (b) she hasn't.

In cognitive terms, then, DMs in this perspective are procedural expressions – non-truth-conditional linguistic elements – that guide readers/addresses as to what inferences they are expected to draw concerning textual units.

Blakemore (2007), however, argues that some DMs do contribute to conceptual elaboration, certain reformulation markers being prime examples of such expressions, namely *that is* and *that is to say* in English. To show this aspect of *that is*, Blakemore (2007: 336) notes that the referent of *she* in (2) is truth-conditionally dependent on the identification accomplished by the parenthetical noun phrase introduced by the marker:

(2)   Ruby said that she, *that is* Scarlett, is going to get the job.

My interest in investigating *yani* stems from what seems to be its multifunctional nature in Turkish discourse. It is a DM that can be used in several positions in utterances and can form an utterance itself, very much in the same way as interjections do. Observe, for instance, its placement in the dialogue below:

(3)   A   Emre Ali'ye yenildi
                                  "Emre lost [the match] to Ali"[2]
        B   a   Artık turnuvayı terk etti *yani*
                                  "So [he] is out of the tournament [you mean]"
                    b   *Yani?*
                    c   *Yani!*

The response in (a) can be interpreted as deducing a conclusion from the event expressed by A. With the rising intonation in (b), B is inquiring about the consequence, and (c) may be glossed as

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[2] Turkish is an all-suffixing, pro-drop, T/V language. The square brackets indicate portions in the translations that have been added to maintain idiomaticity in English.

'Wasn't that to be expected?'. Its multifunctionality thus makes *yani* a good ground for examining the role of DMs regarding their conceptual and/or procedural contribution to discourse.

As a kind of reformulator, *yani* falls in the same group as *diğer bir deyişle* and *başka bir deyişle* (*that is, in other words*). The literature on *yani* states that it is a discourse connective with expansive and inferential meaning (Atabay et al. 1983; Gencan 1979; Ilgın and Büyükkantarcıoğlu 1994). Yılmaz (2004), on the other hand, examines its usage in spoken Turkish as a kind of discourse particle, along with *şey* and *işte*. While the discursive use of the DM as a clause initial or turn-initial/turn-final marker has been examined extensively, its appearance in parenthetical phrases has not been explicitly dwelled upon in Turkish linguistics or in reference grammars of Turkish (see, the underlined phrases in (4) and (5) below).

(4) Milli Misak sınırları içinde ülke ve ulus birliğini esas tutarak sosyal adalet koşullarını gerçekleştirmek, ilerici atılışlarla demokrasiyi kurmak, <u>çağdaş uygarlığa</u>, **yani**, <u>sömürüsüz uygarlığa</u> kavuşmak; Atatürk'ün istiklâli tam ilkesini gerçekleştirmek.

Translation: "… <u>modern civilization</u>, **in other words**, <u>a civilization without exploitation</u>…"

(5) İşte böylesine bir dervişlikle <u>şairliği</u>, **yani** <u>söyleme sanatını</u>, özü söze çevirme gücünü, düşünceyi elle tutulur gibi, gözle görülür gibi, kulakla duyulur gibi somutlaştırma, duyulara sunma yeteneğini bir araya getirmiş bir insanoğlu ve Türkmen kocası, bir Anadolu köylüsüdür Yunus Emre

Translation: "…<u>being a poet</u>, **that is**, <u>the art of expression</u>[3]

Yani-parentheticals are especially conducive to researching the possible dual nature of DMs as they will allow for an examination of the function of a parenthetical DM in a typologically different language compared to those that so far have been the foci of discussions.

Briefly, two approaches to parenthetical DMs can be gleaned from the pragmatics literature. According to one view, they too form a mixed class, some of them impacting the conceptual level of discourse (Blakemore 2007). A different approach claims that reformulation DMs have both conceptual and procedural meaning (Murillo 2004). As a procedural item, parentheticals are not

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[3] Unless obligatory for maintaining the coherence of the texts, translations will be provided only for the clause constituents that host *yani*. The underlining in the excerpts point to the constituents that host the parenthetical and the constituent hosted by *yani*, respectively. The DM has been translated as either *that is* or *in other words*. I need to point out, though, that other than my knowledge of English as a non-native speaker, it is not possible for me at this point to explicate in a principled manner why one rather than the other appears to be a more accurate rendition of the original. Whatever remarks I make regarding this choice needs to be tested on other translations. I refer the reader to Blakemore (2007) and Murillo (2004) for discussions on the pragmatic functions of *that is*, *that is to say*, and *in other words*.

expected to add to the truth-conditions of propositions but place restraints on inferential processing. This debate is significant in linguistics on two grounds: First, concerning the categorization of discourse markers; and second concerning the relationship between the 'what is said' and the 'what is inferrable' in discourse.

Couched within a relevance-theoretic approach to pragmatics (Sperber and Wilson 1995), this paper carries out a qualitative investigation on *yani*-parentheticals in the METU Turkish Corpus and examines its contribution to the discourse. I will argue that *yani*

1. places constraints on the interpretation of the referent in the first constituent;
2. enriches implicatures that can be deduced from propositions; and
3. creates an emotive effect on the stylistic plane of discourse.

I will conclude that DMs may not easily be classified as belonging to either the conceptual or the procedural end of processing, and that taking on board a monosemic approach to DMs as is done in Relevance Theory, might be too early a step in the present state of research on DMs.

2. The literature on *yani*

Investigating the function of *yani* both in spoken and in written Turkish discourse, Ilgın and Büyükkantarcıoğlu (1994) note that it introduces summaries, results, expansions and strengthenings of propositions.　Illustrations of these functions are listed in (6)-(8):

(6) Summarizing: Maaşı alır almaz markete, kuaföre, mağazalara koştu; **yani** sıfırı tüketti.
"As soon as she got her pay, she rushed to the supermarket, the hairdresser, and to shops; **in other words**, she went broke."

(7) Result: Adamın evi, arabası, yatı var; **yani** para babası.
"The man's got a house, a car, a yacht, **in other words**, he's a money bag."

(8) Expansion/clarification:
a. Yarın Pazartesi, **yani** ıstırap başlıyor.
"Tomorrow is Monday, **in other words**, the misery starts."
b. Ama evlerden, mahallelerden, yerleşme dışına çıkamıyorsunuz. **Yani** kapalı bir yerleşim dokusu.
"But you cannot leave the houses, the neighborhood, the vicinity. **That is**, [it is] a closed settlement."

(Samples are from Ilgın and Büyükkantarcıoğlu (1994) and METU Turkish Corpus)

From such examples, Ilgın and Büyükkantarcıoğlu conclude that *yani* is basically informative in function and serves to strengthen the content of propositions. While the scholars do not explain in detail what they mean by 'strengthening', their claim is that *yani* contributes to the conceptual (i.e., propositional) level of discourse.

Focusing on its interactional effects, Yılmaz (2004) categorizes *yani* as a discourse particle and lists the following functions: To take up a turn; to introduce a repair; and to create an emotive effect. He further observes *yani* has differing functions depending on its position in the utterance. He states that it functions as a connective and signals topic continuation in utterance-initial position. In utterance-medial position, he claims that it marks a repair and may have an expansive function. In utterance-final position, the particle functions as a contextualization cue, and creates an emotive effect.

Table 1 below summarizes the occurrence of *yani* in utterances in Yılmaz's corpus (2004: 68):

Table 1. Position of *yani* in utterances

Utterance-initial	*Utterance-internal*	*Utterance-final*
503 (%49)	229 (%22)	300 (%29)

Yılmaz's study suggests that *yani* contributes to the content of discourse and has rhetorical functions. It will therefore be of interest to attempt to disentangle to what levels of discourse *yani* contributes. That is, does *yani* concern the conceptual level of discourse or does it mainly have non-truth-conditional content? To address this issue, I present below a brief overview of the relevance-theoretic approach to comprehension so as to lay the background to the discussion on sample uses of parenthetical *yani* in Section 4.

3. Utterance Comprehension in Relevance Theory

Relevance Theory (henceforth, RT) maintains that the human mind is geared toward the "maximisation of relevance", which is the Cognitive Principle of Relevance (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 260). In the context of verbal communication, the principle is called the Communicative Principle of Relevance and is defined in the following manner: "Every act of ostensive communication communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance" (ibid.). In communication, a speaker has an informative intention of making a set of assumptions mutually manifest, and the intention to make those assumptions mutually manifest is the communicative intention of an utterance. In the words of Sperber and Wilson, the speaker "produces a stimulus

[…] to make manifest or more manifest to the audience a set of assumptions I" (1995: 63). These assumptions become part of the speakers' cognitive environment and produce positive cognitive effects, that is, implications derived through inferencing.

Accordingly, comprehension in RT means producing representations about representations, that is, metarepresentations of linguistic stimuli and mental states (beliefs, intentions, thoughts, etc.) within the context of the addressee's mental states (Sperber 2000). Such representational processes are described as hypothesis formation, which may or may not be cancelled in the unfolding discourse. The concept of metarepresentations and their relation to concepts and thoughts needs to be expanded on here.

Sperber and Wilson (1995) claim that linguistic forms can be used descriptively and interpretatively. If, for instance, pointing to a chair, I say "that chair – the one on the corner", my utterance would be the representation of a state of affairs "in virtue of its propositional form being true of that state of affairs". Interpretive use of utterances represents some other representation, which also has a propositional form – say, a thought – in virtue of "a resemblance between the two propositional forms" (pp. 228-9). So, an utterance becomes a metarepresentation of "a thought of the speaker's" (p. 230). I quote an example in Blakemore (1996: 333) to illustrate this point:

(9)   (A): She said she no longer requires your services.
       (B): In other words, she said I'm fired.

In (9b) 'she said I'm fired' is an interpretation of the proposition expressed in (9a).

Carston (2002) has considerably transformed the meaning of the 'interpretive use' of language in RT to argue forcefully that linguistic forms have only a resemblance relation to thoughts in the sense that sentences or words do not encode thoughts but provide templates for the construction of thoughts/concepts. This proposal, which has been with RT since its beginnings, is called 'interpretive relevance' (Sperber and Wilson 1995). Thus linguistic forms do not have relations of identity to thoughts/concepts but that of "faithfulness" (Blakemore 2007: 319). As will become clear in the discussion of the sample occurrences of *yani*, this aspect of utterance interpretation is especially significant for the derivation of hypotheses from parentheticals that are hosted by *yani*.

Wilson and Sperber (2002: 261) explain the comprehension process in the following manner:

a. Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about explicit content (in relevance-theoretic terms, EXPLICATURES) via decoding, disambiguation, reference resolution, and other pragmatic enrichment processes.

b. Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about the intended contextual assumptions (in relevance-theoretic terms, IMPLICATED PREMISES).

c. Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about the intended contextual implications (in relevance-theoretic terms, IMPLICATED CONCLUSIONS).

The distinction between explicatures and implicatures (i.e., implicated premises and conclusions) lies at the basis of the distinction between weak and strong communication in RT. An explicature, which is the term in RT for the propositional content of utterances, concerns the strong communication of assumptions that the addressee is encouraged to derive from an utterance, while implicated premises and conclusions concern weakly communicated inferences that the addressee may draw. The more the derivation of a proposition relies on the linguistically encoded message, the more explicit the message will be. Within such a framework, a linguistic expression contributes to the formation of a concept that is derived from the explicature an addressee develops. In this sense, every utterance is a metarepresentation of an idea or a linguistic expression (Wilson 2002). This scheme for the generation of thoughts/concepts is reflected in the figure below (from Blakemore (2007: 322), adapted from Carston (2002: 342)).
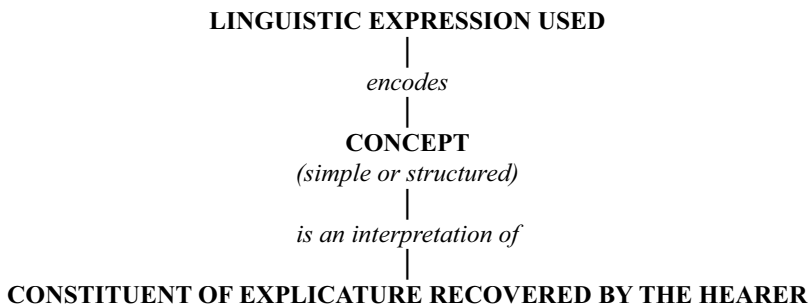
LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION USED
|
encodes
|
CONCEPT
(simple or structured)
|
is an interpretation of
|
CONSTITUENT OF EXPLICATURE RECOVERED BY THE HEARER

Figure 1

To illustrate the process with a sample discourse, let us examine the dialogue in (10).

(10)   Peter: Can you help?
        Mary (sadly): I can't
        (from, Wilson and Sperber 1993)

In the dialogue, Peter is asking Mary if she can help him find a job. Mary's communicative intention is to show Peter that she is sad. The basic-level explicature, 'Mary can't help Peter to find a job', can be embedded under a further level of explicature, indicating the (propositional) attitude: 'Mary regrets that she can't help Peter to find a job'. The same utterance can equally be represented

as 'Mary is sad/sorry that she can't help Peter to find a job'.

Reformulation markers, then, are expected to contribute to the derivation of explicatures. The argument would be that *yani* contributes to conceptual enrichment in discourse and functions only at the conceptual level of discourse. If on the other hand it has non-truth-conditional function, it should also be contributing to rhetorical effects in discourse as stated by Yılmaz (2004). Wilson and Sperber (1993) and later Morillo (2004), however, suggest that it is possible for linguistic forms to contribute both to explicatures and implicatures, and it is this possibility that will be considered regarding *yani*.

4. Parenthetical *yani* in the METU Turkish Corpus

First a few remarks on the number of tokens of *yani* in the corpus. Table 2 summarizes the position of the tokens (As the present study is mainly qualitative in nature, the number of *yani*-parentheticals has not been calculated.).

Table 2. Tokens of *yani* in the METU Turkish Corpus

1	a. Within juxtaposed clauses
	    i. in clause-initial position
	    ii. as a parenthetical to clause constituents
	b. In clause-final position
		577

2	In sentence-initial position	358
	Total:	935

In a-theoretic terms, we observe that while certain tokens of *yani* introduce a reformulation with an identificational function of the noun phrase referents as in sample (11), the majority of tokens propose distinctive authorial representations of entities and/or propositions. As we will observe in samples (12)-(16), while it is possible to describe the referents/concepts of the constituents which host the parenthetical in innumerable ways, parenthetical phrases present the entities in a manner that serves to 'guide' the readers toward a representation that is in line with the author's communicative intentions. Let us now examine each case in detail.

In (11), the reformulation serves to change the perspective concerning the kinship relationship between the participants in the discourse world toward the point-of-view of the 'speaker' in the text. In this sense, it is possible to say that *yani* functions at semantic level of the discourse; that is, it introduces conceptual content and contributes to the derivation of the explicature that "the sister-in-law is the speaker's paternal aunt."

(11)   Ziyarete gittiğimizde yengem <u>hanım abla dediği görümcesine</u> *yani* <u>halama</u> bazı hususlarda danışırdı.

Translation: "<u>her sister-in-law, whom she referred to as hanım abla</u>, **that is**, <u>my (paternal) aunt</u>"[4]

Such uses of *yani* suggest that the speaker is metarepresenting a referent that could have been derived in one way from the first constituent (i.e., her sister-in-law, whom she referred to as *hanım abla*) with another linguistic form in order to achieve accuracy in its identification by the hearer (see, Blakemore (2007: 328) for the description of *that is* in English in the same manner). The use of *yani* in (11), then, can readily be described as contributing to the development of explicatures.

In (5), repeated below as (12), the author renders his understanding of Yunus Emre, the 13th century Anatolian Sufi dervish who has had considerable impact on Turkish culture. The author introduces a reformulation for "being a poet" as "the art of expression" and continues to elaborate on what this art means in the noun phrases/nominalizations that follow (e.g., "özü söze çevirme gücünü"; 'the power of changing the essence to words'). In this manner, the author frames the ingredients of 'being a poet'.

(12)   İşte böylesine bir dervişlikle **şairliği**, **yani** <u>söyleme sanatını</u>, özü söze çevirme gücünü, düşünceyi elle tutulur gibi, gözle görülür gibi, kulakla duyulur gibi somutlaştırma, duyulara sunma yeteneğini bir araya getirmiş bir insanoğlu ve Türkmen kocası, bir Anadolu köylüsüdür Yunus Emre.

Translation: "<u>being a poet</u>, **that is**, <u>the art of expression</u>…"

The parenthetical phrases that are hosted by *yani* convey a conceptualization of 'doing being a poet' that is not available with the conceptual template provided by BEING A POET. The hosted constituents provide explicatures that pan out, so to speak, the concept. In this sense, *yani* is doing more than referential disambiguation: it is forming the very concept of BEING A POET. The conceptual enrichment provided by the hosted constituents thus combine their semantic content to stimulate the construction of a new concept that can be represented as BEING A POET/ART OF EXPRESSION and all the subsequent concepts introduced by the other constituents (e.g., the power of changing the essence to words).

Sample (12) and those that I will refer to below are significantly different from its

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[4] *hanım abla*: Literally, 'lady elder sister'; a deferential form of address to (elder) females in Turkish.

metarepresentational use in (11). The token in (13) is particularly interesting in the manner the ideological world of the author being described in the text, Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı, is rendered through the switches between Ionia and Anatolia.

(13)   Balıkçı, klasik dünyayı çok sever. Anadolu'nun kendi yaşadığı bölgesinde bu dünyanın şiirini bulur. Bu sevgiyi ideolojileştirirken, değer yargısına dayalı ayrımlar da geliştirir. Sözgelişi, Klasik Yunan kültürünün asıl insancıl, maddeci ve demokratik çekirdeği <u>İyonya'da</u>, **yani** <u>Anadolu'dadır</u>; buna karşılık Atika'da Sokrates - Platon - Aristoteles çizgisinde idealist felsefe gelişmiş ve bu da totaliter düşünce biçimlerine zemin hazırlamıştır. Böylece Balıkçı Klasik Yunan kültürünü araştıranlar arasında, bir Anadolu şovenisti olarak özgün yerini alır.

Translation: "The Fisherman [Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı] loves the world of [Greek] Antiquity. He finds the poetry of this world in the part of Anatolia where he lived. While developing an ideology out of this love, he also developed distinctions based on evaluative judgments. For instance, [for him] the seeds of Classical Greek humanism, materialism and democracy are to be found <u>in Ionia</u>, **that is**, <u>in Anatolia</u>; in contrast, idealist philosophy in the lines of Socrates – Plato – Aristotle developed in Attica and this formed the foundation of totalitarian ideational systems. In this manner the Fisherman is in a unique position as a chauvinist of Anatolia amongst those who research Classical Greek culture."

At first look the use of *yani* in (13) appears to be similar to the token in (11) in that the author is identifying a referent with another linguistic form. In its discursive context, however, the hosted constituent, "in Anatolia", does more than identification: Anatolia is conceptualized with the conceptual enrichment provided by the foregoing description of Classical Greek culture. In this respect, the use of *yani* in (13) is similar to that in (12) by stimulating the generation of a new concept.

The concept generating function of *yani* is particularly apparent in the excerpt in (14).

(14)   ...o kızın evinin önünden geçirdiler beni. Adı Nurhan mıydı? Uzun saçları vardı. Dikiş öğrenmek için bir terziye gidiyordu. <u>Dikiş öğrenmek</u>, **yani** <u>çalışmak</u>, **yani** <u>sarhoş bir kocaya bakmak</u> …

Translation: "they made me pass by the house where that girl lives. Was her name Nurhan? She had long hair. She was going to a tailor to learn how to sew. <u>To learn</u>

sewing, **in other words**, to work, **in other words**, to look after a drunkard of a husband…”

In the context of traditional Turkish culture, sewing is considered to be one of the default skills of an accomplished young girl or a housewife, and women not working outside the home are encouraged to develop this skill at an early age. What the hosted constituents do in this context is to erase possible implicatures as to the 'usual' reasons for attending sewing courses. The reformulation marker thus does not work on the level of explicature derivation but on the level of implicated premises and/or conclusions. It does this by forestalling a metarepresentation of the referent, Nurdan, as a young lady who is learning how to sew to become an accomplished woman in the 'traditional' sense. This excerpt is significant is illustrating how one and the same DM can function both as a conceptual and as a procedural linguistic form.

The excerpts in (15)-(16) are also illustrative of how the phrases hosted by *yani* function to constrain conceptualizations of their hosts to those represented in the hosted constituents. The excerpt in (4), repeated in (15) below for ease of reference, constrains the definition of modern civilization to "a civilization without exploitation". The *yani*-parenthetical in (16) metarepresents the mafia as "people who gain money by ripping off a country to its bones."

(15) Milli Misak sınırları içinde ülke ve ulus birliğini esas tutarak sosyal adalet koşullarını gerçekleştirmek, ilerici atılışlarla demokrasiyi kurmak, çağdaş uygarlığa, **yani**, sömürüsüz uygarlığa kavuşmak; Atatürk'ün istiklâli tam ilkesini gerçekleştirmek.”

Translation: “… modern civilization, **in other words**, a civilization without exploitation…”

(16) Hiç görülmemiş bir biçimde mafyayla, **yani** bir ülkenin iliğini kemiğini sömürerek para kazanan insanlarla vatan kurtarma ideolojisi bir araya geliyor.

Translation: “…with the mafia, **that is**, with people who gain money by ripping off a country to its bones…”

Whether the *yani*-parentheticals in (14)-(16) would be considered novel re-conceptualizations naturally depends on the encyclopedic knowledge of the readers, but the use of the parenthetical is particularly illustrative of how they can be employed strategically for a range of purposes in both factual and fictional texts.

The tokens of *yani* discussed in this section clearly show that constituents hosted by them

cannot be deleted in the discourse world of the texts. *Yani* introduces conceptual frames for the relevant discourse entities that tie in with the communicative intentions of the writers by instructing readers to hypothesize entities that are delimited by the hosted parenthetical linguistic forms. As observed in excerpts (12)-(16) *yani* stimulates readers to re-conceptualize the referents of the noun phrases in distinct ways. The excerpts in (13) and (14) are especially evocative in this respect in that they produce rich weak and strong implicatures that strongly rely on the readers' encyclopedic knowledge of the cultural discourse world created and/or evoked in the texts – that of the Fisherman in (13) and that of the traditional female role in Turkish culture in (14). It is likely that such tokens have a significant function in producing strong emotive responses in readers/hearers.

5. Concluding Remarks

The samples of parenthetical *yani* that have been described in the foregoing section reveal that the DM enters textual processing both at the conceptual and the procedural level. Together with its occurrence in clause/utterance-initial and final positions in discourse, it thus needs to be considered a DM in Turkish which works on derivation of explicatures and implicatures. As noted in Carston (2002) and Wilson and Sperber (2002), explicatures and implicatures, that is, the 'what is said' and the 'what is inferred' aspects of utterances, are mutually adjusted. The present study has shown that the case of reformulation markers emerges as a site of investigation in research on DMs that deserves closer investigation in this regard if the continuum from explicit to implicit communication is to be better understood.

The tokens of *yani*-parentheticals have also shown that the same linguistic form can be multifunctional (see, also, Murillo (2004) and Pons Bordería (2008) for similar remarks). This sheds doubt on attempts to develop monosemic descriptions for DMs, as is the case in RT (see, for example, Blakemore 2002, 2007). On a more specific note, the emotive affects of using DMs is worthy of more detailed discussion than has been possible in this paper, but the tokens of *yani* referred to in Section 4 give some clue as to how examining the conceptual enrichment through explicatures and implicatures are rich grounds for studying the rhetorical effects of DMs.

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