

Because : **variation phonologique et** **fonctions discursives dans** **l'anglais de Lancashire (Bolton)**

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COGNITION, LANGUES, LANGAGE, ERGONOMIE

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FEUILLE DE ROUTE

Première partie

1 Introduction : le problème, le corpus

2 *because*

2.1 Variantes

2.2 Fonctions discursives

2.3 The structure *A – because B – so A'*

2.4 Age-grading

FEUILLE DE ROUTE

Deuxième partie

1 L'émergence de la forme 'cos

INTRODUCTION

1 pourquoi BECAUSE ?

INTRODUCTION

2 Le corpus PAC de Bolton, Lancashire (RU)

Le protocole en 5 tâches :

listes de mots (voyelles, consonnes)

passage à lire

entretiens (semi-guidé et libre)

INTRODUCTION

2 Le corpus PAC de Bolton, Lanchashire (RU)

entretiens (semi-guidé et libre)

INTRODUCTION

2 Le corpus PAC de Bolton, Lancashire (RU)

entretiens (semi-guidé et libre)

ca. 300 occurrences, transcription sous PRAAT

INTRODUCTION

3 Le corpus PAC de Bolton, Lancashire (RU)

Les 10 locuteurs :

1 homme et 9 femmes

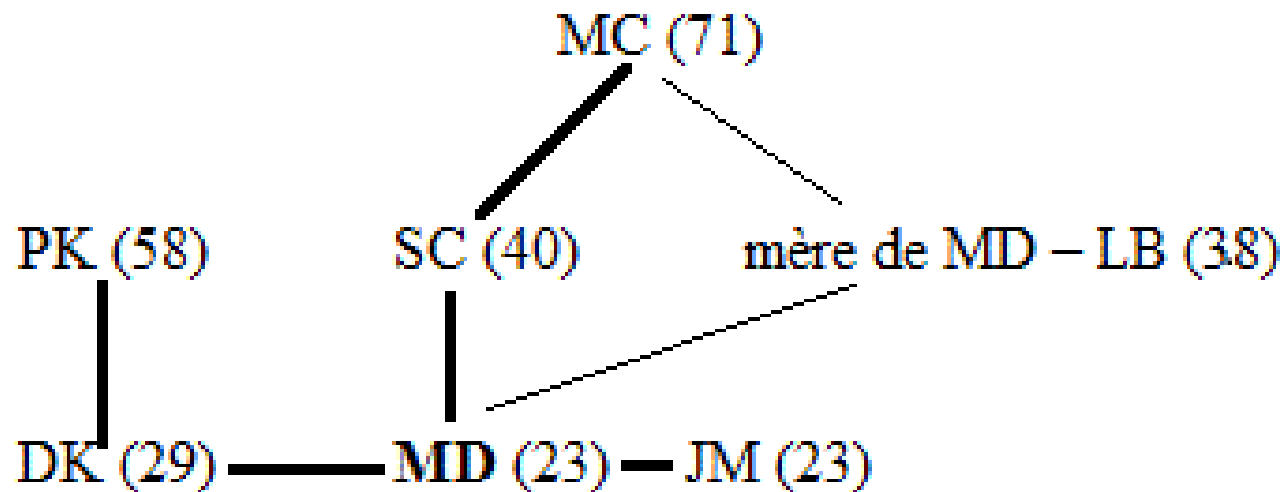
23-83 ans et DK 29 ans

enregistrés en fin 2002

INTRODUCTION

4 Le *network* des locuteurs

LC (77) – MO (83)



ST (30)

AIMS

1/ Disyllabic and monosyllabic forms of *because*

2/ Age-grading in the pronunciation and range of meanings of *because*

3/

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations

- **final consonant:** */z/ - /s/*
- **stressed vowel:** */ɔ:/ - /ɑ/ - /ə/* (*/ʌ/ - /ɑ:/*)
- **disyllabic or monosyllabic**
- **unstressed vowel:** */ɪ/ - /ə/*

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations (EPD, 2011) for GA

disyllabic

/bɪ'kɑ:z/ ~ /bə-/

/bɪ'kʌz/ ~ /bə-/

/bɪ'kəz/ ~ /bə-/

monosyllabic

(/kɑ:z/)

(/kʌz/)

/kəz/

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations (EPD, 2011) for RP

disyllabic

/bɪ'kɒz/ ~ /bə-/

/bɪ'kəz/ ~ /bə-/

monosyllabic

/kɒz/

/kəz/

Note: in *because of*...

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations (LPD, 2008) for GA

disyllabic

monosyllabic

/bɪ'kʌz/ ~ /bə-/ (57%)

/bɪ'kɔ:z/ ~ /bə-/

(/kɔ:z/)

/bɪ'kɑ:z/ ~ /bə-/ (41%)

(/kɑ:z/)

/bɪ'kəz/ ~ /bə-/

/bəkəz/

(/kəz/)

/-'kɔ:s/ ~ /-'kɑ:s/ (2%)

(/kɔ:s/ ~ /kɑ:s/)

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations (LPD, 2008) for BrE

disyllabic

§/bɪ'kɔ:z/ ~ §/bə-/ ~ §/-s/

/bɪ'kɒz/ ~ /bə-/ ~ §/-s/

/bɪ'kəz/ ~ /bə-/

/bəkəz/

monosyllabic

/'kɒz/ ~ §/'kɒs/

/'kəz/ ~ §/'kəs/

§ = wide-spread educated non-RP

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations (LPD, 2008) for BrE

disyllabic

§/bɪ'kɔ:z/ ~ §/bə-/ ~ §/-s/

/bɪ'kɒz/ ~ /bə-/ ~ §/-s/

/bɪ'kəz/ ~ /bə-/

/bəkəz/

monosyllabic

/'kɒz/ ~ §/'kɒs/

/'kəz/ ~ §/'kəs/

§ = wide-spread educated non-RP

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations

strong form

weak form

FOR you

/'fɔ: ju/

versus

/fə ju/

TO me

/'tu: mi/

versus

/tə mi/

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations (LPD, 2008) for BrE

strong form

versus

weak form

a) /bɪ'kɒz/ ~ /bə-/

versus

/bəkəz/

b) /bɪ'kəz/ ~ /bə-/

versus

/bəkəz/

BECAUSE

2.1 Reduction cline for *because*

/bɪ'kɔ:z/ > /bə'kɔ:z/

v

/bɪ'kɒz/ > /bə'kɒz/

v

/bɪ'kəz/ > /bə'kəz/

v

/bəkəz/

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations in Bolton, Lancashire

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations in Bolton, Lancashire

“disyllabic”

/pk(ə)s/

“monosyllabic”

/ks/

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations in Bolton, Lancashire

“disyllabic”

/pks/

“monosyllabic”

/ks/

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations in Bolton, Lancashire

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations

LCf 02:36 **yes... [bʊ'kɒz] my brother was even brighter than I was**

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations

LCf 02:36 **yes... [bʊ'kɒz]** my brother was even brighter
than I was



BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations

LCf 11:56 **while I was with Mother, it was a wonderful escape... [bʊ'kɒz] the people in theatre are very interesting**

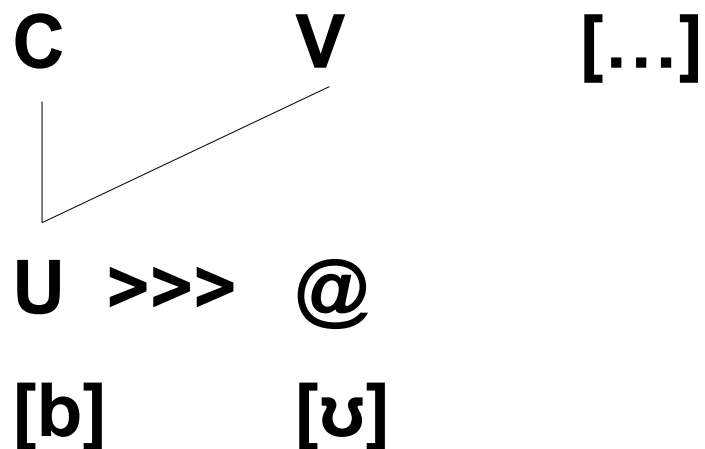


BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations in Bolton, Lancashire

[bʊ'kɒz]

labiality of /b/ spreads to the following V position



BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations in Bolton, Lancashire

[bʊ'kɒz]

- always after short pause
- in guided interviews (of 1 female speaker)

BECAUSE

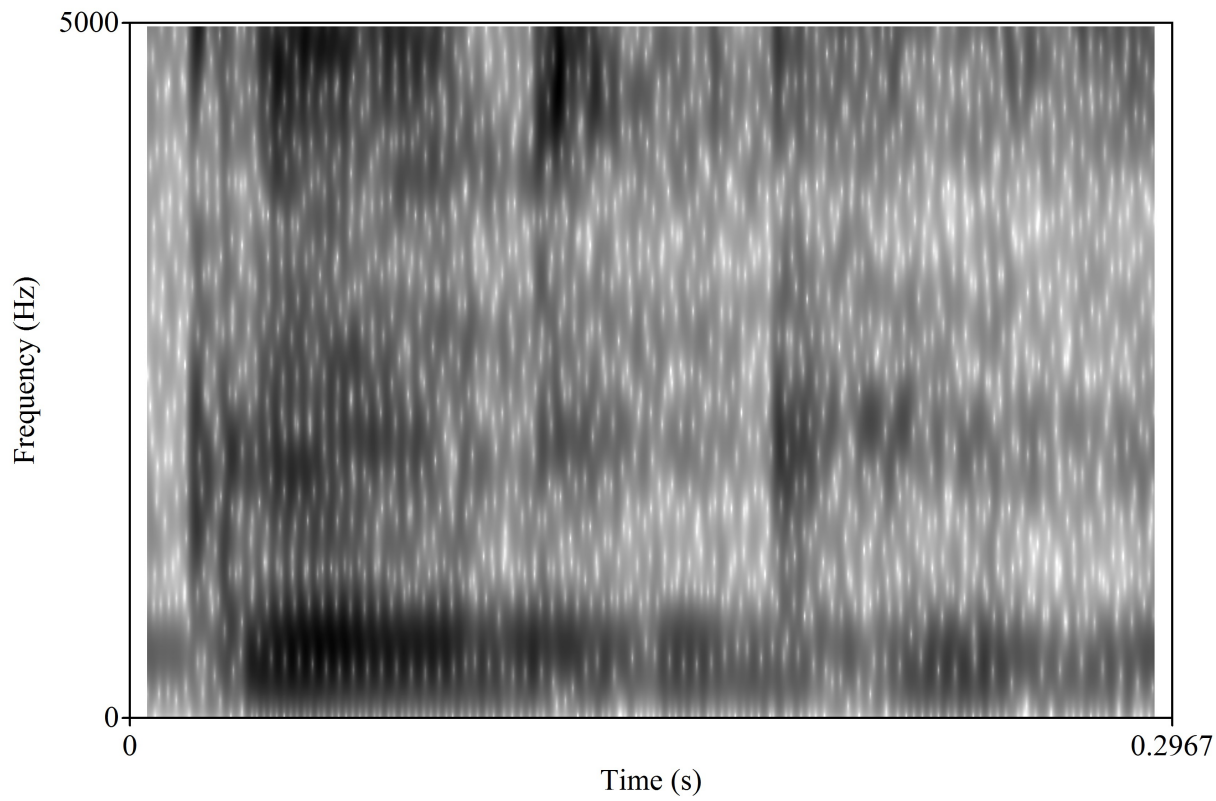
2.1 Variant pronunciations

MDf 05:40 **it was good [ɪkəz] it was stuff**

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations

MDf 05:40 **it was good** [ɪkəz] **it was stuff**



BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations

MO: bɪ'kɒz (13)

LC: bɪ'kɒz (18) bu'kɒz (4) 'kɒz (4+1?) bɪ'kəz (6)

MC: bɪ'kɒ:s (1) bɪ'kɒs (26) 'kɒs (14)

PK: bɪ'kɒz (18) tɪ'kɒz (2) 'kɒz (13) 'kɒs (5) kəz (4) kz

SC: bɪ'kɒ:z (1) bɪ'kɒz (23) bɪ'kəz (4+4?) 'kɒz (6) kəz (3)

LB: bɪ'kɒ:z (2) bɪ'kɒz (8) bɪ'kəz (2) bɪkəz (19) kəz (2)

DK: bɪ'kɒz(3) 'kɒz (24) kəz (2)

MD: bɪ'kɒz (1) bɪ'kəz bɪkəz (15) 'kɒz (1) kəz (19) kz ks (10)

JM: bɪ'kɒ:z (2) bɪ'kɒz (8) bɪ'kəz (2) 'kɒz (3) kəz (12)

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations: **exclusively “informal”**

MO: bɪ'kɒz (13)

LC: bɪ'kɒz (18) bʊ'kɒz (4) 'kɒz (4+1?) bɪ'kəz (6)

MC: bɪ'kɒ:s (1) bɪ'kɒs (26) 'kɒs (14)

PK: bɪ'kɒz (18) tɪ'kɒz (2) 'kɒz (13) 'kɒs (5) kəz (4) kz

SC: bɪ'kɒ:z (1) bɪ'kɒz (23) bɪ'kəz (4+4?) 'kɒz (6) kəz (3)

LB: bɪ'kɒ:z (2) bɪ'kɒz (8) bɪ'kəz (2) bɪkəz (19) kəz (2)

DK: bɪ'kɒz(3) 'kɒz (24) kəz (2)

MD: bɪ'kɒz (1) bɪ'kəz bɪkəz (15) 'kɒz (1) kəz (19) kz ks (10)

JM: bɪ'kɒ:z (2) bɪ'kɒz (8) bɪ'kəz (2) 'kɒz (3) kəz (12)

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations: emphatic V-lengthening

MO: bɪ'kɒz (13)

LC: bɪ'kɒz (18) bu'kɒz (4) 'kɒz (4+1?) bɪ'kəz (6)

MC: bɪ'kɒ:s (1) bɪ'kɒs (26) 'kɒs (14)

PK: bɪ'kɒz (18) tɪ'kɒz (2) 'kɒz (13) 'kɒs (5) kəz (4) kz

SC: bɪ'kɒ:z (1) bɪ'kɒz (23) bɪ'kəz (4+4?) 'kɒz (6) kəz (3)

LB: bɪ'kɒ:z (2) bɪ'kɒz (8) bɪ'kəz (2) bɪkəz (19) kəz (2)

DK: bɪ'kɒz(3) 'kɒz (24) kəz (2)

MD: bɪ'kɒz (1) bɪ'kəz bɪkəz (15) 'kɒz (1) kəz (19) kz ks (10)

JM: bɪ'kɒ:z (2) bɪ'kɒz (8) bɪ'kəz (2) 'kɒz (3) kəz (12)

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations: monosyllabic forms (123)

MO: bɪ'kɒz (13)

LC: bɪ'kɒz (18) bʊ'kɒz (4) 'kɒz (4+1?) bɪ'kəz (6)

MC: bɪ'kɒ:s (1) bɪ'kɒs (26) 'kɒs (14)

PK: bɪ'kɒz (18) tɪ'kɒz (2) 'kɒz (13) 'kɒs (5) kəz (4) kz

SC: bɪ'kɒ:z (1) bɪ'kɒz (23) bɪ'kəz (4+4?) 'kɒz (6) kəz (3)

LB: bɪ'kɒ:z (2) bɪ'kɒz (8) bɪ'kəz (2) bɪkəz (19) kəz (2)

DK: bɪ'kɒz(3) 'kɒz (24) kəz (2)

MD: bɪ'kɒz (1) bɪ'kəz bɪkəz (15) 'kɒz (1) kəz (19) kz ks (10)

JM: bɪ'kɒ:z (2) bɪ'kɒz (8) bɪ'kəz (2) 'kɒz (3) kəz (12)

BECAUSE

2.1 Variant pronunciations: distribution of [kVz]

MO: bɪ'kɒz (13)

LC: bɪ'kɒz (18) bʊ'kɒz (4) 'kɒz (4+1?) bɪ'kəz (6)

MC: bɪ'kɒ:s (1) bɪ'kɒs (26) 'kɒs (14)

PK: bɪ'kɒz (18) tɪ'kɒz (2) 'kɒz (13) 'kɒs (5) kəz (4) kz

SC: bɪ'kɒ:z (1) bɪ'kɒz (23) bɪ'kəz (4+4?) 'kɒz (6) kəz (3)

LB: bɪ'kɒ:z (2) bɪ'kɒz (8) bɪ'kəz (2) bɪkəz (19) kəz (2)

DK: bɪ'kɒz(3) 'kɒz (24) kəz (2)

MD: bɪ'kɒz (1) bɪ'kəz bɪkəz (15) 'kɒz (1) kəz (19) kz ks (10)

JM: bɪ'kɒ:z (2) bɪ'kɒz (8) bɪ'kəz (2) 'kɒz (3) kəz (12)

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

Longman Communication 3000

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

to express cause

data from the Longman Corpus Network:

The accident occurred because the machine had been poorly maintained.

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

to express cause

Carter & McCarthy (2006: 57-58):

The government will not act because economic factors influence their thinking.

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

JMf 00:08 **I think...I got confused because [bi'kɒz] those loads of words are together**

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

JMf 00:08 **I think...I got confused because [bi'kɒz] those loads of words are together**



BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

to express reason

data from the Longman Corpus Network:

The party opposed the aircraft **because** they were out of date.

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

to express reason

Leech & Svartvik (2002: 109):

We have to lunch early on Saturday because the girls are always in a hurry to go out.

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

to express reason

Carter & McCarthy (2006: 57-58):

Because the snow had set in, we decided to abandon the excursion to the mountain top.

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

LBi 06:58 **Everybody knew Mandy because [bikəz]
she's so loud**

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

LBi 06:58 **Everybody knew Mandy because [bikəz]
she's so loud**



BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

Quirk et al. (1985: 616, 1072): style disjunct

restrictive adjunct:

Raven didn't leave the party early because CĀRol was there

nonrestrictive adjunct:

Raven didn't leave the party ÉARrly because CÀRol was there

style disjunct:

Raven didn't leave the party ÉARrly because I CHÈCKED

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

Quirk et al. (1985: 616, 1072): style disjunct

style disjunct:

Raven didn't leave the party EARrly because I CHÈCKED

He was drunk, because he had to support himself on a friend's arm.

I have nothing in my bank account, because I checked this morning.

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

LBf 13:37 **so all the things that happen at night in theme parks..were cancelled...and...because [bikəz] it was absolutely horrendous**

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

LBf 13:37 **so all the things that happen at night in theme parks..were cancelled...and...because [bikəz] it was absolutely horrendous**



BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

Quirk et al. (1985: 1106):

style disjunct *because* cannot be replaced by *because of*

Raven didn't leave the party early because of CÄRol being there

Raven didn't leave the party ÉARrly because of CÀRol being there

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

Quirk et al. (1985: 1106):

style disjunct *because* cannot be replaced by *because of*

Raven didn't leave the party ÉARrly *because of me/my CHÈCKing

He was drunk, *because of him/his having to support himself on a friend's arm.

I have nothing in my bank account, *because of having checked this morning.

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

Huddleston & Pullum (2002): speech act-related adjuncts

Are you nearly ready, because the bus is leaving in ten minutes?

frequent with questions

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

Carter & McCarthy (2006: 57-58)

What does he look like? Cos I've never actually met him.

more like coordinators than subordinators

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

A – **because** **B**.... – **so** **A'** (Passot 2007)

MDf 03:05 [**that was strange**] **'coz** [**kəz**] I didn't know anybody **'ks** [**ks**] I'd gone to primary school in Bolton **so** [**it was completely different**]

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

A – because B.... – so A' (Passot 2007)

MDf 03:05 [that was strange] 'coz [kəz] I didn't know anybody 'ks [ks] I'd gone to primary school in Bolton so [it was completely different]



BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

A – because B.... – so A' (Passot 2007)

PK1f 0418.9 but [yoga I really like] because [bɪ
'kɒz]...it's stretching it just stretches you and I can
do it you see, so [I I/ I like that,] it's not fast or, it's
just nice and, slow and, yes and I like it yeah.

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

A – **because** **B**.... – **so** **A'** (Passot 2007)

PK1f 0522.0 <F: Why Greece?> Well **because** [bɪ'kɒz].. people my husband worked with recommended Kefalonia **because** [kəʊs] a lot of them had been, there and said it was really nice and they thought we might enjoy it. **because** ['kɒz] [**xxxx's been abroad**] **because** ['kɒz] he used to be in the TA...the army thing..and **so** [**he's been abroad**] but [**I'd never been abroad before**]... **because** [bɪ'kɒz] we had a dog... **so** [**we never went abroad**] and then

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

A – **because B....** – **so A'**

MDi 04:40 **as soon as I got out on to A64 [it was fine]...**
'coz [kəz] of course.... it's a dual carriage way so...

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

A – because B.... – so A'

MDi 04:40 as soon as I got out on to A64 [it was fine]...
'coz [kəz] of course.... it's a dual carriage way so...

<DK Yeah, [I suppose you missed the M62 traffic...]>



BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

A – **because B....** – **so A'**

LCf 04:14 **but in a way [I was lucky]... because I'd been completely free since I was 39...so [I'd been able to make the most of my freedom]**

BECAUSE

2.2 Semantics and discourse

A – because B.... – so A'

LCf 04:14 but in a way [I was lucky]... because I'd been completely free since I was 39...so [I'd been able to make the most of my freedom]



BECAUSE

2.3 Age-grading

BECAUSE

2.3 Age-grading

1/ in range of discourse functions

2/ in range of variants

BECAUSE

2.3 Age-grading in function

BECAUSE

2.3 Age-grading in function

Because + Wh-question / Yes-no Question

JMi 13:23 **is that what you?....'coz [kɒz] your Master's it was a Master's in... ?**

BECAUSE

2.3 Age-grading in function

Because + Wh-question / Yes-no Question

JMi 13:23 **is that what you?....'coz [kɒz] your Master's it was a Master's in... ?**



BECAUSE

2.3 Age-grading in variants

1/ MO (83) only uses disyllabic forms

BECAUSE

2.3 Age-grading in variants

- 1/ MO (83) only uses disyllabic forms**
- 2/ LC (77) and MC (71) do use [kɒz]**

BECAUSE

2.3 Age-grading in variants

- 1/ MO (83) only uses disyllabic forms**
- 2/ LC (77) and MC (71) do use [kɒz]**
- 3/ younger speakers use both full and various reduced forms**

BECAUSE

2.4 The PAC Lancashire data

BECAUSE

2.4 The PAC Lancashire data

continuous link (no pauses around *because*)

LBi 01:09 without realizing.. that I was going to actually miss the end **because [bikəz] I'd be in America**

BECAUSE

2.4 The PAC Lancashire data

continuous link (no pauses around *because*)

LBi 01:09 **without realizing.. that I was going to actually miss the end *because* [bikəz] I'd be in America**



BECAUSE

2.4 The PAC Lancashire data

continuous link (no pauses around *because*)

MDf 03:05 **that was strange 'coz [kəz] I didn't know
anybody 'ks [ks] I'd gone to primary school in Bolton**

BECAUSE

2.4 The PAC Lancashire data

continuous link (no pauses around *because*)

MDf 03:05 **that was strange 'coz [kəz]** I didn't know
anybody 'ks [ks] I'd gone to primary school in Bolton



BECAUSE

2.4 The PAC Lancashire data

non-continuous link: with pause before *because*

MOi 31:27 **and somebody objected and she got stopped...because [bɪ'kɒz]** it is a turnaround

LBf 08:08 **he preferred my brother...'coz [kəz]** my brother is four years older than myself and he...

BECAUSE

2.4 The PAC Lancashire data

non-continuous link: with pause before *because*

MOi 31:27 **and somebody objected and she got stopped...because [bɪ'kɒz]** it is a turnaround



LBf 08:08 **he preferred my brother...'coz [kəz]** my brother is four years older than myself and he...

BECAUSE

2.4 The PAC Lancashire data

non-continuous link: with pause before *because*

MOi 31:27 **and somebody objected and she got stopped...because [bɪ'kɒz]** it is a turnaround

LBf 08:08 **he preferred my brother...'coz [kəz]** my brother is four years older than myself and he...



BECAUSE

2.4 The PAC Lancashire data

non-continuous link: with pause after *because*

MDi 18:24 **it might just be worth it *because* [bɪkəz]...
then you can do your essay**

LBf 06:27 **they are very good... to work for *because*
[bɪ'kɒ:z]... they did let me leave**

BECAUSE

2.4 The PAC Lancashire data

non-continuous link: with pause after *because*

MDi 18:24 it might just be worth it **because** [bɪkəz]...
then you can do your essay



LBf 06:27 they are very good... to work for **because**
[bɪ'kɒ:z]... they did let me leave

BECAUSE

2.4 The PAC Lancashire data

non-continuous link: with pause after *because*

MDi 18:24 it might just be worth it **because** [bɪkəz]...
then you can do your essay

LBf 06:27 they are very good... to work for **because**
[bɪ'kɒ:z]... they did let me leave



BECAUSE

2.4 The PAC Lancashire data

non-continuous link: *because* in 'isolation'

JMi 04:06 **it's quite funny. It is weird and... **Because** **[bɪkəz]**.... we are not even in our own office so we can't hide away from people....**

BECAUSE

2.4 The PAC Lancashire data

non-continuous link: *because* in 'isolation'

JMi 04:06 **it's quite funny. It is weird and... **Because** **[bɪkəz]**.... we are not even in our own office so we can't hide away from people....**



BECAUSE

2.4 The PAC Lancashire data

non-continuous link: *because* in 'isolation'

DKf 4:35 and wanted somebody there to ...operate the equipment for them... 'coz [kɒz]...you must have seen a recording studio ...[] where do you start if.....

BECAUSE

2.4 The PAC Lancashire data

non-continuous link: *because* in 'isolation'

DKf 4:35 and wanted somebody there to ...operate the equipment for them... 'coz [kɒz]...you must have seen a recording studio ...[] where do you start if.....



EMERGENCE of 'cos

Pour quoi 'cos ?

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Variation in final consonant

/s/ - /z/

as, his, is, has, these, those /z/ – across, yes, unless, this /s/
above, of /v/ – off, if /f/
beneath, underneath /θ/ – with /θ/ or /ð/

cause /kɔ:z/

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Quirk et al. (1985: 899)

'*fraid* (for *afraid*), '*deed* (for *indeed*), '*cept* (for *except*)
consistently in **utterance-initial position**

'*cos* / '*cause* (for *because*) **not constrained** in this way

EMERGENCE of 'cos

be- does not systematically disappear in function words

before, behind, below – *between, beneath*

between and beneath used to have variants like
atween, aneath > 'tween, 'neath

There is regional *acause*

EMERGENCE of 'cos

potato > tattie

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Etymology

by + cause (+ of, that, why)

ca.1305

OE: for ðam þe, forðon, for ðy ðæt...

'cos

1828 in Yorkshire West Riding (dictionary entry)

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Hypothesis

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Hypothesis:

1 *because* did not have a reduced form, *of course* did

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Hypothesis:

1 *because* did not have a reduced form, *of course* did

2 the reduced form of *of course* occurred in **contexts overlapping** with *because*

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Hypothesis:

1 *because* did not have a reduced form, *of course* did

2 the reduced form of *of course* occurred in **contexts overlapping** with *because*

3 the reduced form of *of course* was **reanalyzed** as the reduced form of *because*

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Hypothesis:

1 *because* did not have a reduced form, *of course* did

2 the reduced form of *of course* occurred in **contexts overlapping** with *because*

3 the reduced form of *of course* was **reanalyzed** as the reduced form of *because*

4 this reduced form **generalized** into all uses of *because*

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Hypothesis:

1 there is variation in the voicing of the final C of the reduced form before a vowel

because has /z/ or /s/ for a given speaker

(of) course has /s/

'cos shows intraspeaker variation between /z/ and /s/

PKi: Bit by bit, it looks a bit bare [kps] they need to grow don't they?

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Hypothesis:

1 'course is attested as a reduced/short form

since 1886 (OED, entry not fully updated)

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Hypothesis:

1 'course is attested as a reduced/short form

MO1f it wasn't for long and then [**of course**] I left.

MO1: But yet, lots of them didn't have it, [**course**] I suppose they couldn't afford it.

MC1: And I, [**course**] I wa/ was busy with my family, I, I always had family to tea and I used to go the house for tea.

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Hypothesis:

2 contexts overlapping involve “evidentiality”

Swan (1996: 159): concession clause

Very few people understand Einstein's theory. **Of course**, everybody had heard of him, and a fair number of people knew the word 'relativity'. **But** hardly anybody could tell you what he had actually said.

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Hypothesis:

2 contexts overlapping involve “evidentiality”

MOi

**She is up and down, she doesn't go out you know.
<LC: No.> She hasn't many confidence left to go out,
<LC: Oh, what a shame.> you know, but er, she's er,
she does very well really, she's er, **of course** she's
nearly ninety-one now, <LC: Is she really?> she'll be
ninety-one in February.**

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Hypothesis:

2 contexts overlapping involve “evidentiality”

LCf 15:45

I was going to give it away till a neighbour came and told me off he said I should spend it on myself 'coz [kɒz] if he'd bought me a crystal vase I would have kept it...

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Hypothesis:

2 contexts overlapping involve “evidentiality”

PKf 0379.2

**I dug it all over last year, and we put a new lawn in,
and I'm just building up with plants really just a bit er.
Bit by bit, it looks a bit bare 'cos ['kɒs] they need to
grow**

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Hypothesis:

3 the reduced form of *of course* was reanalyzed as the reduced form of *because*

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Hypothesis:

**4 this reduced form generalized into all uses of
*because***

EMERGENCE of 'cos

Limitations

CONCLUSIONS

-disyllabic and monosyllabic full or reduced variants of *because* do not depend on rate of speech

> it is more correlated to the discourse function of *because*

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-older speakers use fewer forms of *because*

-younger speakers have a wider range of discourse functions for *because*

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-hypothesis

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ATTENTION !**

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