

## **Background of the project**

• This research was funded by the University of Oxford's John Fell OUP Research Fund (Pump-priming, main award scheme), which also enabled the hiring of a local RA, Ludovic Othello. We gratefully acknowledge the important contribution of both.

- Paoli, S. & Davidson, H. (2023). Pragmatic markers and verba dicendi: An investigation of Mauritian Creole. *Journal of Pragmatics*. 214. 107-126.
- Davidson, H. & Paoli, S. (2024). The role of language contact in the development of three Mauritian pragmatic markers. *Journal of Language Contact*. 17. 1-36.

## **Outline**

- Background
  - Discourse Markers and Verbs of saying
  - Sociolinguistic situation/Language contact
- 2. Research questions
- 3. Methodology (data collection and analysis)
- 4. Results and discussion
- 5. Conclusions

### Discourse Markers

- Discourse markers (DMs): classified on function (not syntactic or morphological properties).
- Core properties: multifunctionality

indexicality

combinability

- In the French Énonciation tradition: DMs based on *verba dicendi* 'verbs of saying' share some core properties:
  - they generally seem to be less semantically bleached than other, more commonly discussed markers that have a clear discourse-management function;
  - they express *metalinguistic reflexivity*, that is, the property to comment, while speaking, on the speaker's commitment to their own proposition.

### Verba dicendi

- Östman (1995): without denying their polysemous nature, Östman advocates a search for the 'smallest common-denominator function that each particle has', which, he believes, is determined by a process of crystallization that takes place once a particular function is expressed by a given form, fixing the form-function pairing at a basic level, and creating a sort of prototype.
- The two approaches share the idea of a 'common denominator' shared among DMs based on *verba dicendi*, the origin of which can be located in the semantics of *dire* 'say' itself.
- The idea is that this is what gives DMs based on it the ability to express
  metalinguistic reflexivity, that is the property to comment, while speaking, on the
  speaker's commitment to their own linguistic choices.

### Verba dicendi

- Lansari (2020): comparative analysis of French and English DMs based on the verb 'say', on va dire, j'allais dire, shall we say, and I was going to say.
- She comments that '[...] they rely on what might be called a "commitment paradox": the speaker uses them to say something, i.e., to publicly declare his/her commitment, but their use has the effect of highlighting that commitment is problematic'.
- She concludes that although the expression of metalinguistic reflexivity is not the only function that these markers have, 'reflexivity, and more particularly reflexivity linked to commitment issues, is [...] an **essential** characteristic of DMs of saying' (our emphasis).
- Expressions based on these verbs act, loosely, as metalinguistic mitigators.

• We use Östman's intuition and Lansari's hypothesis:

Metalinguistic reflexivity is the essential characteristic of DMs based on verbs of saying

as our guiding interpretation key in the investigation of three markers based on the verb *dir* 'to say' in Mauritian Creole:

- koumadir
- dizon
- savedir

## Metalinguistic reflexivity = Mitigation

- Metalinguistic reflexivity is the property to comment, while speaking, on the speaker's commitment to their own linguistic choices.
- In the case of DMs of saying, it has been generally found that the speaker's commitment is problematic.
- Hence, expressions based on these verbs act, loosely, as metalinguistic mitigators.
- Caffi's (1999, 2005): 'mitigation' is a synonym for *attenuation*, attenuating or weakening the strength of the speaker's assertion.
  - Metalinguistic reflexivity = mitigation
- Function of DMs has to do with speaker stance.

## Are DMs based on verba dicendi a thing???

- The suggestion that these verbs form a group that shares a core property is not universally accepted.
- Gómez-Jordana Ferary and Anscombre (2015) call into question such a group.
- They deny the existence of a set of DMs based on *dire* mainly on the grounds of its degree of grammaticalization/pragmaticalization in the different markers.
- Can dire be considered the same entity in all the markers in which it appears?
- Can the class of DMs based on *dire* be considered a homogeneous group? If so, what are their shared properties?
- Anscombre (2015): there is no such thing as a 'speech activity verb' category, but there are certain *tendencies*.

## **Background: Sociolinguistic situation in Mauritius**

- First settlers were the French in 1721.
- British took over in 1810.
- Slavery was abolished in 1835.
- Indentured labourers were then brought primarily from India.
- Mauritius' languages:
  - English (de facto official used in government and education)
  - French (prestige language in media)
  - Creole (mother tongue of 90% of population)
  - Ancestral languages (including Arabic, Bhojpuri, Chinese Languages, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu)



## **Background: Discourse markers in contact**

- Easily borrowed between languages (Andersen, 2014).
- Often from the pragmatically dominant language (Matras, 1998).
- Can be used as prestige signals (Stolz & Stolz, 1996).
- The following are said to play a role in bilingual contexts:
  - Formal linguistic factors;
  - Text organization;
  - Attitudes of the speaker;
  - Speaker-hearer interaction (Heine et al., 2021).

## **Background: Discourse markers in diachrony**

- Pragmatic markers are particularly susceptible to change (Heine and Kuteva, 2005: 48; Quartararo, 2020: 132).
- Over time DMs show increased subjectivity (Traugott, 1995: 32) and typically become 'fillers' at later stages of development (Heine, 2013: 1240).
- Go through stages:
  - unconstrained context;
  - bridging context;
  - switch context;
  - conventionalisation (Heine, 2002).

### Previous research into Mauritian discourse markers

- Traditionally, the communicative or pragmatic functions of Creoles have been neglected, with most research focussing on structural or historical questions (Migge, 2020).
- With just one study on Mauritian discourse markers so far, this research contributes to an in-depth analysis of three Mauritian markers.
- Chady (2018) investigates DMs among Mauritian young people, focussing on the social networks of the interlocuters and the register of the speech.

| plus créoles                              | hybrides                        | plus français                                |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| be                                        |                                 | ben                                          |
| sipa ki<br>sipa ki zafer                  | sipa kwa<br>sipa quelle affaire |                                              |
| koumsa/koumha<br>koumadir<br>wadire/wadir | komsidire                       | comme ça / comme ha<br>comme si<br>on dirait |

Source: Chady (2018:156)

## Research questions

### Research questions:

- 1. To what extent can we consider Mauritian DMs based on 'verbs of saying' to form a single group and share an essential property or common denominator?
- 2. What are the effects of language contact on these markers?

As an additional outcome at the empirical level, we provide a fine-grained picture of the functions of three Mauritian DMs (*dizon*, *koumadir* and *savedir*).

Can money buy happiness?

Eski larzan kapav aste boner?

- Lansari's investigation: based on a written French corpus.
- Ours: on spoken Mauritian Creole.
- Data: semi-spontaneous dialogues between two participants on selected topics/questions that do not have a straightforward right or wrong answer and hence favour a highly dialogic discourse.
- Pairs of speakers in each conversation knew each other well.
- Discussions were mainly carried out in Mauritian Creole. Four of these were exclusively carried out in Mauritian French, many involved code-switching, some were predominantly Creole.
- Conversations were carried out online (via Teams), recorded and transcribed using ELAN.

## Languages used in the conversations

- Collected data in Creole and French.
- There is no such thing as a monolingual conversation!
- The starred conversations are those carried out in French or with more than 50% French.
- In addition, we see significant amounts of French in conversations 5 and 12.
- The highest amount of English in a conversation is 6%, with an average of around 2%.

| Conversation | English | French | Creole |
|--------------|---------|--------|--------|
| 1            | 4.70%   | 2.75%  | 92.55% |
| 2            | 0.99%   | 6.67%  | 92.34% |
| 3            | 4.38%   | 8.81%  | 86.81% |
| 4*           | 2.12%   | 67.17% | 30.71% |
| 5            | 2.93%   | 26.18% | 70.89% |
| 6            | 2.72%   | 10.63% | 86.65% |
| 8            | 1.02%   | 10.29% | 88.68% |
| 9            | 1.81%   | 6.64%  | 91.55% |
| 10           | 0.17%   | 0.50%  | 99.33% |
| 11           | 5.59%   | 0.59%  | 93.82% |
| 12           | 3.30%   | 34.91% | 61.79% |
| 13           | 2.03%   | 3.66%  | 94.32% |
| 14*          | 1.30%   | 95.49% | 3.21%  |
| 15*          | 1.43%   | 97.07% | 1.50%  |
| 16           | 6.03%   | 3.72%  | 90.26% |
| 17           | 3.27%   | 5.23%  | 91.51% |
| 18*          | 1.74%   | 94.39% | 3.87%  |
| 19*          | 2.62%   | 84.17% | 13.21% |
| 20           | 1.79%   | 0.21%  | 98.01% |

## Methodology - data analysis

- Method of analysis: Canonical Typology-inspired approach
  - 1. Identify the parameters of variation (i.e., features);
  - 2. Score the data in terms of whether a given feature is present or absent;
  - 3. Identify what is typical and what is not...
- Methodology usually applied to studies of a typological nature: to ensure maximal comparability of structures in widely differing languages.
- Resulting picture: bird's eye view of a given linguistic phenomenon, and a detailed profile of both canonical and non-canonical features of each DM.

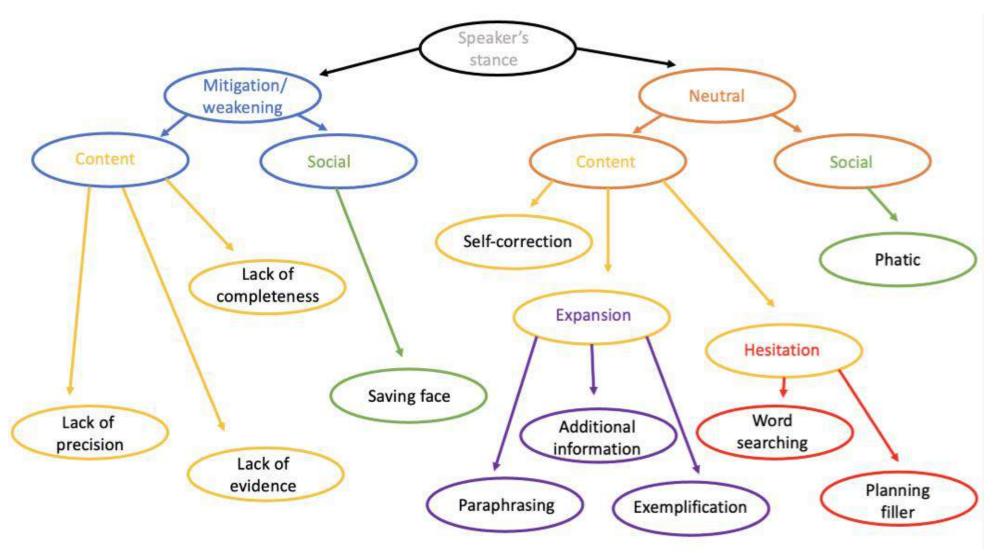
## Methodology - data analysis

- Features selected on the basis of:
  - maximal comparability across the three Creole DMs in all their occurrences,
  - ii. a thorough testing of any possible expression of 'problematic commitment',
  - iii. and a fine-grained specification for each instance of each marker;
  - iv. established via existing literature on similar DMs in other languages and direct observation of the discourse uses (identified manually).
- Extracted all instances of the three discourse markers and scored them against the selected range of features.
- Mainly qualitative, but quantitative aspect through analysis of a comparable number of instances of the DMs to carry out chi-square tests.

## Methodology - data analysis

- Three major categories of features:
- 1. Mitigation;
- 2. Expansion (e.g., elaboration on something by way of examples or paraphrasing);
- 3. Hesitation (e.g., delay that signals difficulty in planning the turn or finding the appropriate word).
- A fourth one was added for *dizon*: phatic function (inclusion of hearer).
- Each of these is further broken down into a number of sub-types, our 'individual' features.

### **Features**



### **Overall Results**

#### Dizon

- Occurred 0.6 times in 1,000 words (but only in half the conversations).
- Occurred most frequently as an expansion to give an example (65%).

#### Koumadir

- Occurred 6 times in 1,000 words (in all but the more French ones).
- Occurred most frequently as a hesitation marker to plan what would come next (56%).

#### Savedir

- Occurred 0.5 times in 1,000 words.
- Occurred most frequently with its literal meaning (79%).

| Conversation | Dizon | Koumadir | Savedir |
|--------------|-------|----------|---------|
| 1            | 0.29% | 1.03%    | 0.19%   |
| 2            | 0.10% | 0.96%    | 0.10%   |
| 3            | 0.00% | 0.86%    | 0.08%   |
| 4*           | 0.18% | 0.07%    | 0.06%   |
| 5            | 0.00% | 0.39%    | 0.00%   |
| 6            | 0.08% | 0.73%    | 0.00%   |
| 8            | 0.00% | 0.61%    | 0.04%   |
| 9            | 0.12% | 1.50%    | 0.05%   |
| 10           | 0.03% | 2.47%    | 0.24%   |
| 11           | 0.00% | 3.29%    | 0.24%   |
| 12           | 0.02% | 0.00%    | 0.00%   |
| 13           | 0.00% | 0.77%    | 0.39%   |
| 14*          | 0.04% | 0.00%    | 0.00%   |
| 15*          | 0.00% | 0.00%    | 0.00%   |
| 16           | 0.49% | 3.63%    | 0.05%   |
| 17           | 0.38% | 3.22%    | 0.41%   |
| 18*          | 0.00% | 0.00%    | 0.09%   |
| 19*          | 0.00% | 0.00%    | 0.25%   |
| 20           | 0.00% | 4.24%    | 0.00%   |

### Dizon

- We saw *dizon/disons* being used to express the same features in both predominantly French and predominantly Creole contexts.
- Dizon was used with literal meaning and with the following features:
  - Exemplification (65.1%)
  - Phatic (55.8%)
  - Lack of precision (20.9%)
  - Self-correction (14.0%)
  - Word searching (9.3%)
  - Saving face (2.3%)
- Let's look at some examples of the most frequent feature: exemplification.

## Conversation 4 - Should everyone be paid the same? High degree of French/Creole code switching throughout

P1 '<u>Disons</u> admettons' kan to pe al fer enn 'entretien' mem

Let's say, let's admit, when you're in the middle of an interview

- P1 To ezit pou koz saler donk pou to esey

  You hesitate to talk about the salary, so you try to
- P1 Kasiet sa to to to donn enn 'range' <u>'Disons</u> de x à y'

  Hide it you you give a range **let's say** from x to y

## Conversation 16 - Can money buy happiness? Predominantly Creole- high degree of code switching

- P2 Ale <u>'disons'</u> to'nn al zwe lotri-la
  - OK **let's say** you've gone to play the lottery
- P2 Dan lasemenn to'nn gagn '60 million' enn kout during the week and you've won 60 million all of a sudden

## Language contact of dizon

- It does not exist in Creole written texts, neither historical nor modern.
- Has an entry in the Diksioner Kreol Morisien, orthographical adaptation.
- Nowadays there is widespread French/Creole bilingualism.
- It is a widely used discourse marker in French.
- Seems to be used in the same way in Metropolitan French, Mauritian French and Creole.
- Acts as a prestige signal from the pragmatically dominant language.

### What about French disons?

- Metropolitan French has been shown to have the following functions:
  - Mitigation (Saunier, 2012);
  - Expansion (Saunier, 2012; Vincent, 1992);
  - Hesitation (Delahaie, 2015);
  - Correction (Steuckardt, 2015);
  - Phatic (Saunier, 2012).

• These are the same functions as we see in Creole *dizon* and Mauritian French *disons* in our data.

### Koumadir

• From historical texts, it seems that *koumadir* is derived from both *comment* 'how' and *comme* 'like' in French - we see this usage as early as 1818.

- Koumadir is less specialized than dizon as it is spread more evenly across most of the features.
- The most frequent feature it occurs with is a 'planning filler' 43.9% (under 'hesitation').
- Usage as a 'filler' is indicative of a later stage of grammaticalization/ pragmaticalization (Heine, 2013:1240).

## **Conversation 20 - What are your body goals? Predominantly Creole**

P1 Mo lan- mo galoup mo mars pli vit.

I um- I run I walk quicker

P1 Mo galoup pli boukou

I run much more

P1 pa mo galoup pli vit me koumadir mo gagn

Not I run quicker but how to say I get

P1 mo galoup pandan pli boukou letan.

I run for a longer time



## Conversation 16 - Can money buy happiness? Predominantly Creole- high degree of code switching

- P1 Me apre But finally
- P1 Kapav ena zis enn <u>koumadir</u> enn kestion ki Maybe there is just a **how to say** a question which

## Language contact of koumadir

- It has origins in French comme and comment.
- Is first attested in the 1800s.
- General knowledge of French would have been limited.
- Does not occur in any French or hybrid contexts.
- Has a 'filler' function which is a more advanced stage of grammaticalization than the other markers.

### Savedir

- It is unclear whether savedir can be considered a true DM.
- It predominantly occurs with its literal meaning (79%), but also signals expansion through paraphrasing, giving an example and additional information.
- In French, this would be broken into three elements: 'ça veut dire'.
- In Creole it looks like it is one unit, but we see that it is really a subject 'sa' (it) plus a verb 'vedir' (to mean).
- Crucially, the subject can be omitted in Creole, which offers scope for subjectivity to emerge.

## Conversation 13 - Is the Mauritian education system appropriate? Predominantly Creole



- P2 To enn tifi to enn ti garson ki *savedir* enn enn You're a little girl, a little boy. What does that mean a a tifi. *Pa vedir* met li dan moul dir li we to bizin met zis P2 little girl. (That does/I do)n't mean put her in a mould, tell her yes, you just have to wear blouz zip pa met mini pa met isi pa met laba non me P2 zipped blouses, don't wear miniskirts, don't wear this or that. No, but fer li konpran tou seki P2 make her understand everything that P2 vinn avek. goes along with it. P2 Kouma to lekor fonksione How your body works
- P1 We we we we we. *Yes yes yes yes yes.*

## Language contact of savedir

- It does not occur in historical or modern written texts.
- Has not received attention in French (unlike je veux dire 'I mean').
- Shows functional broadening in Creole to express subjectivity when the subject is not overt.
- This seems to be a bridging context for further subjectification in Creole.

### Distribution of features

The function of metalinguistic reflexivity can be understood as mitigation.

This accounts for around 20% of dizon and koumadir's usage and 0% of savedir - how much is enough?

Dizon and koumadir have similar levels of mitigation overall, yet koumadir's uses are spread more thinly.

Dizon and savedir both show a high level of expansion, whilst koumadir's is lower.

Lastly, *koumadir* expresses more hesitation in comparison to *dizon* and *savedir*.

|                          | dizon<br>n=43 | koumadir<br>n=41 | savedir<br>n=39 |
|--------------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|
| overall mitigation       | 23.26%        | 19.52%           | 0.00%           |
| lack of precision        | 20.93%        | 4.88%            | 0.00%           |
| incompleteness           | 0.00%         | 2.44%            | 0.00%           |
| insufficient<br>evidence | 0.00%         | 0.00%            | 0.00%           |
| saving face              | 2.33%         | 12.20%           | 0.00%           |
| overall expansion        | 65.12%        | 51.22%           | 43.58%          |
| paraphrasing             | 0.00%         | 19.51%           | 25.64%          |
| example                  | 65.12%        | 24.39%           | 2.56%           |
| additional info          | 0.00%         | 7.32%            | 15.38%          |
| overall hesitation       | 9.30%         | 56.10%           | 2.56%           |
| word searching           | 9.30%         | 12.20%           | 2.56%           |
| planning filler          | 0.00%         | 43.90%           | 0.00%           |
| (self-)correction        | 13.95%        | 4.88%            | 0.00%           |
| phatic                   | 55.81%        | 0.00%            | 0.00%           |
| literal meaning          | 6.98%         | 4.88%            | 79.49%          |

## **Chi-square test results**

The most significant features for *dizon* are 'example' and 'phatic'. None of the others are significant.

Koumadir is highly significant for 'planning filler' and somewhat significant in contexts where the hearer is not included, i.e., it does not have a phatic function.

Savedir is highly significant for 'literal meaning' and somewhat significant in contexts where the hearer is not included, i.e., it does not have a phatic function, and which do not show exemplification.

|                          | dizon   | koumadir | savedir |
|--------------------------|---------|----------|---------|
| overall mitigation       | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| lack of precision        | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| incompleteness           | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| insufficient<br>evidence | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| saving face              | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| overall expansion        | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| paraphrasing             | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| example                  | *** (+) | ns       | *** (-) |
| additional info          | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| overall hesitation       | ns      | *** (+)  | ns      |
| word searching           | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| planning filler          | ns      | *** (+)  | ns      |
| (self-)correction        | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| phatic                   | *** (+) | * (-)    | * (-)   |
| literal meaning          | * (-)   | ** (-)   | *** (+) |

## **Chi-square test results**

- There is no overlap between the significant features of any marker, not even one of the mitigation features.
- Expansion is not significant for any of the markers overall, but within this category the feature 'example' is highly significant for *dizon*, and its absence is highly significant for *savedir* (that is, *savedir*'s low affinity for this feature is significant).
- The only marker which is highly significant in hesitation contexts is *koumadir*, in particular as a 'planning filler'.
- '(Self-)correction' is not significant for any of the markers.
- 'Phatic' and 'literal meaning' show clear tendencies towards one marker, almost to the exclusion of the other two.
- 'Phatic' is clearly associated with *dizon* and in fact its absence is significant for *koumadir* and *savedir*, whilst 'literal meaning' is the exclusive domain of *savedir*.

|                          | dizon   | koumadir | savedir |
|--------------------------|---------|----------|---------|
| overall mitigation       | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| lack of precision        | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| incompleteness           | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| insufficient<br>evidence | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| saving face              | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| overall expansion        | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| paraphrasing             | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| example                  | *** (+) | ns       | *** (-) |
| additional info          | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| overall hesitation       | ns      | *** (+)  | ns      |
| word searching           | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| planning filler          | ns      | *** (+)  | ns      |
| (self-)correction        | ns      | ns       | ns      |
| phatic                   | *** (+) | * (-)    | * (-)   |
| literal meaning          | * (-)   | ** (-)   | *** (+) |

- Our investigation has not unveiled any core nor essential feature that is shared between the three markers, not even mitigation.
- Each marker has become specialized in its own function(s):
- dizon is primarily used for exemplification with a phatic function;
- *koumadir* shows a broader range of functions, with over half of the examples showing expansion and hesitation;
- and *savedir* is predominantly used with literal meaning, although it is developing a subjective function when it occurs without a subject.

- Furthermore, each marker seems to be at a different stage of grammaticalization/pragmaticalization, with
- dizon matching the use of its French cognate disons,
- *koumadir* being the most frequently occurring one (and also most advanced, already showing uses as a filler), and
- savedir being an emerging DM in its reduced form vedir (lack of overt subject represents a bridging context, allowing an extension from the objective ('this means') to the subjective ('I mean')).

- Can *vedir* be considered a *'dir*-based' DM? Should it have been included in the first place? If we ignore it, then both *dizon* and *koumadir* express some degree of mitigation. But how much is needed to qualify as 'essential'? Further qualifications of this and of what it is meant by DMs *based* on verbs of saying are needed.
- The individual verb cannot be considered in isolation: 'grammaticalization does not merely seize a word or morpheme ... but the whole construction formed by the syntagmatic relations of the elements in question' (Lehmann, 1992:406). 'It is the grammaticizing element in its syntagmatic context which is grammaticized. That is, the unit to which grammaticization properly applies are constructions, not isolated lexical items' (Himmelmann, 2004:31).

- Also: multifunctionality of DMs, high frequency in general (but also of some DMs relative to others), and the fact that grammaticalization/pragmaticalization pathways do not always follow the same trajectory (cf. Rosemeyer & Grossman, 2021).
- The combination of all these factors is strongly problematic for the idea of a 'verb of saying' group of DMs all sharing some core property. Only considering the etymology of one element is too reductive.
- The connections
  - i. between a given element of a phrase with the phrase itself, and
- ii. across other phrases that include the same element need to undergo extensive cross-linguistic investigation on spoken data before such strong links can be claimed.

## **Conclusions (language contact)**



|                                         | dizon                                                       | koumadir                                         | savedir                                                         |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| grammaticalization at time of borrowing | grammaticalized                                             | not<br>grammaticalized                           | not grammaticalized                                             |
| similarity with French                  | similar <i>(-ons</i> is opaque in MC, but still understood) | <pre>different (kouma = comme and comment)</pre> | different (MC word order<br>and non-overt subjects<br>possible) |
| time of borrowing                       | recent                                                      | early                                            | recent                                                          |
| degree of<br>bilingualism               | full bilingualism                                           | limited<br>bilingualism                          | full bilingualism                                               |

## **Conclusions (language contact)**



- It seems that the time of contact and different stages of grammaticalization that each DM had when it entered Creole can better explain their different developments.
- It is clear that the verb *dir*, which entered MC in the 18th century to combine with *comment/comme* to create *koumadir* and develop into a uniquely MC DM, is quite different from the *dir* in *dizon* and *savedir*, markers that appeared in MC at a much later stage. *Dir's* semantic bleaching in *koumadir* is significantly further advanced than in *dizon*, and even more so than in *savedir*, to the extent that *koumadir* can also function as a filler.

## References

- Andersen, Gisle, 2014. Pragmatic Borrowing. Journal of Pragmatics 67, 17-33.
- Anscombre, Jean-Claude, 2015. Les marqueurs médiatifs sous l'angle diachronique: données et problèmes.
   Le cas de comme on dit et tournures affine. In Anscombre, J.-C., Oppermann-Marsaux, E., Rodríguez
   Somolinos, A. (Eds), Médiativité, polyphonie et modalité en français: études synchroniques et diachroniques,
   Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris, 139-158.
- Caffi, Claudia, 1999. On Mitigation. Journal of Pragmatics 31, 881-909.
- Caffi, Claudia, 2005. Mitigation. Elsevier, Amsterdam/London.
- Chady, Shimeen-Khan, 2018. *Des marqueurs aux mouvements discursifs dans des interactions entre jeunes mauriciens plurilingues*. Doctoral Thesis: Sorbonne Paris Cité University.
- Davidson, Hannah and Paoli, Sandra, 2024. 'The role of language contact in the development of three Mauritian pragmatic markers: *dizon, koumadir* and *savedir*'. *Journal of Language Contact* 17, 1-36.
- Delahaie, Juliette, 2015. Dis, dis donc, disons: du verbe au(x) marqueur(s) discursif(s). *Langue Française* 186 (Dire et ses marqueurs), 31-47.
- Gómez-Jordana Ferary, Sonia and Anscombre, Jean-Claude, 2015. Introduction: Dire et ses marqueurs. *Langue Française* 186, 5-12.

#### References

- Heine, Bernd, 2002. On the role of context in grammaticalization. In: Wischer, I., Diewald, G. (Eds), *New reflections on grammaticalization*. International Symposium, Potsdam, 17-19 June 1999. John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 83-101.
- Heine, Bernd, 2013. On Discourse Markers: Grammaticalization, Pragmaticalization, or Something Else? *Linguistics* 51 (6), 1205-1247.
- Heine, Bernd and Kuteva, Tania, 2005. Language Contact and Grammatical Change. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Heine, Bernd, Kaltenböck, Gunther, Kuteva, Tania and Long, Haiping, 2021. *The Rise of Discourse Markers*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Himmelmann, Nikolaus P., 2004. Lexicalization and grammaticalization: Opposite or orthogonal? In: Bisang, W, Himmelmann, N, Wiemer, B (Eds), What Makes Grammaticalization A Look from its Fringes and its Components. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, 19-40.
- Lansari, Laure, 2020. A Contrastive View of Discourse Markers: Discourse Markers of Saying in English and French. Palgrave MacMillan, Cham.
- Lehmann, Christian, 1992. Word order change by grammaticalization. In: Gerritsen, M., Stein, D. (Eds), Internal and External Factors in Syntactic Change. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, 395-416.
- Matras, Yaron, 1998. Utterance Modifiers and Universals of Grammatical Borrowing. *Linguistics* 36(2), 281-332.
- Migge, Bettina, 2020. Guest column 1. Broadening creole studies: From grammar towards discourse. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 35 (1), 162-179.

#### References

- Paoli, Sandra and Davidson, Hannah, 2023. Pragmatic markers and *verba dicendi*: an investigation of Mauritian Creole. *Journal of Pragmatics* 214, 107-126.
- Rosemeyer, Malte and Grossman, Eitan, 2021. Why don't grammaticalization pathways always recur? Corpus linguistics and linguistic theory 17 (3), 653-681.
- Quartararo, Geraldine. 2020. Pragmatic Markers Resulting from Language Contact. The Case of Sañani in Aymara. Onomázein: Revista de Lingüística, Filología y Traducción de La Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile (48), 128-149.
- Saunier, Evelyne, 2012. Disons: un impératif de dire? Remarques sur les propriétés du marqueur et son comportement dans les reformulations. *L'Information Grammaticale* 132, 25-34.
- Steuckhardt, Agnès, 2018. Les marqueurs de reformulation formés sur 'dire': exploration outillée. Langages 202, 17-34.
- Stolz, Christel and Stolz, Thomas. 1996. Funktionswortentlehnung in Mesoamerika Spanisch-Amerindischer Sprachkontakt (Hispanoindiana II). *STUF Language Typology and Universals* 49(1), 86-123.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1995. Subjectification in Grammaticalisation. In Stein, D and Wright, S (Eds), Subjectivity and Subjectivisation: Linguistic Perspectives. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 31-54.
- Vincent, Diane, 1992. The Sociolinguistics of Exemplification in Spoken French in Montréal. Language Variation and Change 4 (2), 137-162.
- Östman, Jan-Ola. 1995. Pragmatic particles twenty years later. In Wårvik, Brita, Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen and Risto Hiltunen (Eds). *Organization in Discourse: Proceedings from the Turku Conference*. Turku, Finland: U of Turku, 1995. Anglicana Turkuensia, No. 14, 95-108.



Ki vedir 'savedir' vreman? What does 'that means' really mean? An investigation of three Mauritian discourse markers.

Mersi!