

Innovation because deviation: Cases of *because* constructions

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Comparing the reasoning (a.k.a. epistemic/speech-act) *because* construction (e.g., (1a)) with the corresponding Japanese construction (e.g., (1b)), this talk first demonstrates that these constructions, both with long history (of roughly 500 years) in these languages, follow the general tendency expected by the three-tier model.

- (1) a. It has rained, because the ground is wet.
b. Jimen-ga nureteiru kara, ame-ga futta *(nodaroo/ndayo)
ground-NOM wet.STATE because, rain-NOM has.fallen *(SFP)

The reasoning constructions in these languages are similar in that their main clauses perform speech acts independently of the *because*- or *kara*-clause (Kanetani 2008). They are differentiated in terms of how the speech acts are represented in their main clauses. As shown in (1b), the Japanese reasoning construction requires its main clause to be marked by a certain sentence-final particle (SFP) of evidentiality, e.g., *daroo* ‘I guess’ or speech act, e.g., *ndayo* ‘I tell you’, without which the sentence would sound odd. On the other hand, the English counterpart requires no such element, as in (1a). This difference is expected by Hypotheses (iii) and (iv) in Hirose’s abstract, according to which, the situation construal tier is unified with the situation report tier in English, while in Japanese it is the interpersonal relationship tier that is unified with the situation report tier and the situation construal tier is normally detached from them. As a result, a situation-construal expression in English (such as the unmarked declarative sentence underlined in (1a)) can itself serve as a situation-reporting expression, while in Japanese, when reporting a construed situation, certain interpersonal expressions (such as the SFPs used in (1b)) are required in order for the situation-construal expression to be converted to a situation-reporting expression (e.g., Shizawa 2011; Ikarashi 2013; Hirose 2015).

Next, I show that the construction with *because* that has recently emerged in English, e.g., (2), behaves somewhat differently from an expectation from the three-tier model.

- (2) I cannot go out with you today because homework.

Given that words of certain categories appear after *because* relatively frequently (McCulloch 2012; Schnobelen 2014; Bohmann 2016), Kanetani (2016) characterizes the prototypical word following *because* as a realization of the speaker’s “private expression” in Hirose’s (2000) terms (cf. also Hirose’s Hypothesis (i)). The appearance of a private expression in communication is characteristic to a language in which the situation construal tier is detached from the other two tiers (cf. Hasegawa 2017), thus deviating from the norm of English.

In sum, the texture of each language, or the cross-linguistic difference in unification

pattern of the three tiers (Hirose's Hypotheses (iii) and (iv)), has been formed over time as a result of the cumulative use of constructions that are unmarked in the language and hence survive for long, while innovation sometimes occurs by (partly) altering the combinations of the tiers. Although some constructions deviating from the norm of a language find their own places in that language (cf. Konno 2015), it has yet to be seen whether the innovative *because* construction will also find its own place to survive in English (cf. Kanetani 2018).

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