The syntax and discourse function of *you see*

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This study of the syntax-discourse interface investigates the form and function of *you see*, which has been analyzed as a fixed and movable expression displaying discourse functions in spoken English (Erman, 1987; Fitzmaurice, 2004; Hale, 1999; Ranger, 2010). Based on the data excerpted from British National Corpus (BNC), the primary discourse function of *you see* is to manage common ground (CG). Specifically, the function of *you see* as an agreement seeker is available at both sentence peripheries, but the sentence-initial *you see* co-occurs with a phonological unit such a stress. Sentence-medial *you see* serves to check mutual knowledge. Following the Universal Spine Hypothesis (USH) (Wiltschko, 2014), two functions involved in the use of *you see* are *grounding* and *responding* (Wiltschko & Heim, 2016). It is shown that sentence-initial *you see* and the phonological unit it co-occurs with are linked to different layers in the spine. In this context, *you see* is associated with the *grounding layer* (GroundP) involving Speaker's (S) and Addressee's (A) commitment (Ground-S and Ground-A) to the proposition (p) (Thoma, 2016), and the phonological unit is associated with the *responding layer* (RespP), requesting a response from A. The sentence-final *you see* is dedicated to *grounding* and *responding layers* independent of the co-occurrence of phonological elements. *You see* in medial and negation contexts is less related to the A's propositional attitude and solely accesses to S's ground. Specifically, the negation *not* values the coincidence feature [*u*coin] associated with GroundP as [-coin] (Wiltschko, 2018), thereby illustrating that p is not in S's set of beliefs. The results suggest that the syntactic positions of *you see* can be organized on a continuum, each showing a different degree of intersubjectivity.
Keywords: Discourse marker; spoken English; Universal Spine Hypothesis

1   Introduction

In this paper, I explore the syntax of the discourse marker *you see* in British spoken English. *You see* has been analyzed as a fixed and movable expression displaying discourse functions in spoken English and has often been considered as a grammatically optional and semantically empty property (Erman,1987; Fitzmaurice, 2004; Hale, 1999; Ranger, 2010). Given its movability within a sentence, as shown in (1), (2), and (3), which are data from BNC Corpus, the

question is raised regarding whether different syntactic positions are related to different discourse functions.

(1)　A:　**_You see_**, the only trouble with building societies is, it's the same when you buy a pigging house, they put the money on what you've actually borrowed every year.
　　　B:　Yeah.

(2)　A:　And that's what spurs her to get up and flee Thornfield Hall.
　　　　　that's *you see*, this is one of the things that contemporary critics, some contemporary critics couldn't take, that Jane wanted Rochester
　　　　　as much as Rochester wanted Jane.

(3)　A:　Yeah, he's wanting his own independence *you see*.
　　　B:　Yeah, that's right yeah.

These examples have shown that *you see* functions to establish common ground (henceforth CG) which is a set of shared beliefs between a speaker (S) and an addressee (A), but the difference in positions reflects a difference in the degree to which A is engaged in the conversation. Following Wiltschko and Heim's (2016) assumption that discourse markers encoding the interaction between S and A should be analyzed within the generative framework, where discourse is projected in a higher position above a traditional clause CP, I argue that *you see* serves to engage A independently of its position in a sentence. The diagram (4) shows that two functions associated with the positions of *you see* are *grounding* and *responding*. More specifically, the highest functional projection of a clause is linked to a 'grounding' layer (Ground P), which involves a speaker-oriented and an addressee-oriented structure. The topmost layer is dedicated to a 'responding' layer and consists of a position that encodes the call on the addressee (CoA). Thus, I propose that *you see* is dedicated to different layers depending on its discourse function as determined by its position in a sentence.

(4)   *you see* within generative framework

Resp P

CoA

Ground P

Ground S

CP

Proposition
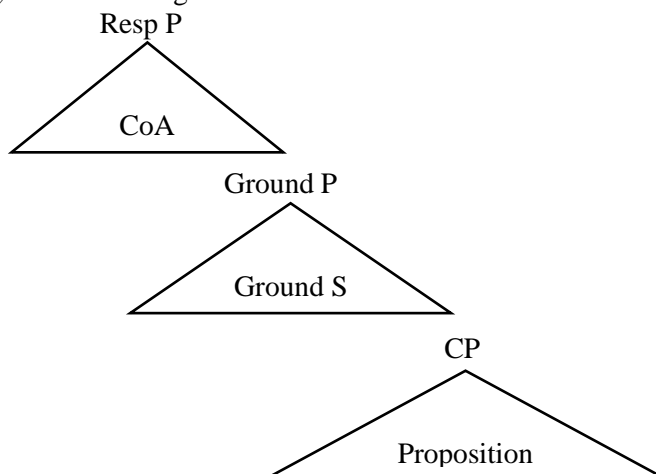
      The goal of this paper is to explore the distributional properties and function of *you see* and establish a formal syntactic analysis of this particular discourse marker from a perspective of generative syntax.

      This paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, a review of how previous studies approached the functions of discourse marker *you see* will be given. Following that, I will introduce the core set of data that forms that basis of the analysis (Section 3). In Section 4, I introduce the framework within which the data is applied. In Section 5, I introduce more detailed analysis for the functions of you see in relation to different positions. In Section 6, I conclude and provide suggestions for future study.

2   Literature Review

This section provides a review of how previous studies have investigated discourse functions of *you see*. Very little attention has been paid to the syntactic properties of *you see*, and research has not gone beyond the word order when discussing its syntactic environment.

      Erman (1987) has conducted a large-scale corpus study exploring the pragmatic functions of *you see* as a pragmatic expression, where he finds that *you see* has addressee-oriented function and occurs in sentence-initial, medial, and final position. He concludes that the three pragmatic expressions exhibit multiple functions and can be used as fillers, turn-holders, softeners, discourse markers, and punctuates. He provides a rather complete theoretical view of pragmatic expressions of *you know*, *you see*, and *I mean* from perspectives of syntax, phonology, semantics, and interaction with addressees, and explains how these factors interrelated with each other to yield various interpretations of linguistic expressions. For example, sentence-initial *you see* co-occurring with pauses functions as a rhetorical device to draw an addresses' attention. Although Erman manages to discuss the three positions of *you see* within a sentence, he mainly

focuses on the syntactic environment where *you see* is placed, such as between verbs and nouns and word order. As a result, Erman has made the pioneering work in the pragmatics of *you see* by classifying its discourse functions.

A later large-scale corpus study conducted by Fitzmaurice (2004) discusses the grammaticalization of *you see* that shifts from subjectivity complement clauses (e.g., *I see that*) to intersubjectivity comment clause, where intersubjectivity is defined as the extent to which S's attitude and stance represents or is shared with A's knowledge (e.g., *you see*). She focuses on the interactive relationship these selected epistemic stance phrases with *you* exhibit between S and A in a given discourse, where *you see* is analyzed as an unanalyzable whole unite which gradually loses its full lexical meanings and receives interactive meanings as a discourse marker. She further argues that the comment clause *you see* functions to invite A to join the common ground and maintain the flow of the conversation.

Following Fitzmaurice's (2004) idea that *you see* displays interactive function between speakers, Ranger (2010) further examines the relation between utterances and the relation between proposition (p) and A. From an enunciative perspective, Ranger further proposes that there is an inferential relationship among propositions signalled by *you see*, involving the interaction between S and A and their attitudes towards p. In his enunciation approach, Ranger argues that *you see* naturally marks an inferential relationship between two propositions, and S utters *you see* to localize this propositional relation to A. The two propositions are p1 and p2, where p1 is viewed as representation including all instances from the prior context. The p2 either following or preceding *you see* serves as an explanation or justification for p1. In other words, p2 is located and determined by *you see*, and at the same time, it locates and determines p1, as shown in (5).

(5)   A: When I arrived last night, all the lights were on.
      B: Were they? It must've been Helga. She's new, ***you see***. I
            haven't trained her yet.

(Ranger, 2010, p. 118)

In line with Erman's study (1987), although the function of *you see* in association with the syntactic positions has been analyzed in Ranger's study (2010), he primarily considers that there is a difference between the sentence-initial and sentence-final position. The positions of *you see* are related to its localization of propositions where the linking of p1 and p2 occurs in different stages. When *you see* is in the sentence-final position, the inferential relation between the uttered p1 and p2 is established only after the final *you see* is produced, where *you see* post determine p2. In contrast, there is a priming effect when uttering sentence-initial *you see* which predetermines the status of p2 as providing explanation or justification for p1 before it is announced. In his analysis, Ranger fails to make a clear boundary between the difference of *you see* in the sentence middle and initial position, and he views the two positions of *you see* equally in terms of showing the same discourse behaviours.

In addition, a further distinction between initial and final *you see* was made by the triumphant use which is restricted to sentence-initial position, where S produces a stressed *you see* to force A to accept his argument since both speakers hold opposing views towards p (proposed by Quirk, 1991, then updated by Ranger, 2010), as illustrated in (6).

(6)　　A:　***You see***, same words, different meanings.
　　　　　　The doctor could be innocent. (said triumphantly)
　　　　B:　I Know.

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Ranger, 2010, p. 121)

In sum, although previous studies have touched on discourse functions of *you see* in association with word order, the distinction between these syntactic positions have not been made yet. In spite of most syntactic views of sentence-periphery discourse particles showing few syntactic behaviours such as their inability to be modified, there is assumption supporting that the functions of discourse particles are associated with syntactic hierarchy structures and are projected in the higher position above CP. Thus, a call for a more in-depth syntactic analysis that accounts for the discourse functions in relation to its syntactic positions is demanding.

3　　Methodology and Data

The data in this study is excerpted from British National Corpus (BNC). In line with previous studies of *you see* as a discourse marker, my observations of *you see* in dialogic contexts exhibit intersubjective functions by signalling an interactive relationship between speakers. The following data show that the main purpose of *you see* is to manage CG between speakers in addition to marking an inferential relationship between propositions. Additionally, syntactic positions of *you see* reflect a difference in S's knowledge regarding the relation between the A and the proposition (P) and the extent to which the hearers are engaged in conversation.

3.1　　Sentence-initial position

It is commonly agreed that sentence-initial markers are often linked to subjective meanings, signalling S's certainty towards the state of affairs and their expectation of their addressees viewing it in a similar way (Haselow, 2012; Heim, 2019; Rozumko, 2019). In examples (7)-(9), it can clearly be seen that a positive response showing agreement with S is expected to elicit from A. Therefore, in the example of (7), *you see* is used to activate mutual knowledge about the rate and mortgage issues with both big and small building societies. S assumes that A would agree with his proposition that the money that needs to be paid includes interest in addition to the money borrowed from a financial institution, regardless of the institution's size. In this case, the declarative sentence *they put the money on what you've actually borrowed every year* corresponds to the illocutionary force of

assertion. In addition, in order for this conversation to be well-formed, S would hold an assumption that A has less knowledge in this financial topic and would accept his argument as shared beliefs since here S provides strong evidence for the information that A may have previously ignored or had no access to.

(7)   A: We borrowed that four thousand pounds. We started out with Key Finance and we ended up with Mercantile Credit, didn't we?
        B: Yeah.
        C: You told me about that, yeah. Well said that it will be a small- a really small building society. He says, that, it's not big.
        B: Well.
        C: Big building societies are not prepared to give you rates, and small building societies are wanting to get going.
        B: *You see*, the only trouble with building societies is, it's the Same when you buy a pigging house, they put the money on what you've actually borrowed every year.
        C: Yeah.

(8)   A: oh well they'd got it, then aren't they? Had they got it through a Council then?
        B: *You see* he's got a choice, he got three weeks to move in make his mind up.
        A: Yeah must have done, he got up to three weeks to move in.

(9)   A: Oh she'll be coming at thirty this year, won't she?
        B: *You see*, she's just coming into her prime, and now he's just leaving it.
        A: Yeah.

Examples (10)-(12) show triumphant use of *you see* that co-occurs with a stress. In example (10), where S and A hold opposing views about the p1 (*someone might have just come in the dark yard*), S uttered p2 (*if somebody just come to that corner, it picks it up. And they go and walk back, and you wouldn't know they were there*) as an explanation for p1. Here, *you see* functions to force A to accept p1. The triumphant *you see* is limited to the use at the beginning of a sentence, co-occurring with the phonological unit, stress (Ranger, 2010). In this context, S is fully committed to p1 based on the evidence uttered by p2 and assumes that the knowledge would be acknowledged by A with a previously incorrect attitude towards p. The stress is associated with calling A to respond to the host utterance by providing a positive response to p, which is not limited to *yes*. The conversation would be ill-formed if both speakers view p in the same way or share similar attitudes towards p. In that case, *you see* loses its triumphant effect and functions as a regular initial *you see* by updating information to CG. Additionally, based on Ranger (2010), triumphant *you see* occurring at initial position might be due to the

fact that correcting someone should be more explicit, while this effect is not existent at sentence-final position.

(10) A: it's only last night, I didn't know if you could hear, it come on three times and they were nobody there!
    B: Probably rain dripping down in front of it.
    A: I were right here and I'd got that light out.
    B: You never know somebody might have just come in dark yard.
    A: And I thought and it's light out there. And three times it come on and off!
    B: *You see*, if somebody just come to that corner, it picks it up. And they go and walk back, and you wouldn't know they were there.
    A: Yeah.

(11) A: Well they'll all be fighting for life all of a sudden.
    B: *You see* they're not gonna get a lot of chance though because we get a lot of sun here.
    A: Where?
    B: Here

(12) A: *You see*, if that didn't go, I'd say Gerry try it there, not don't do that, try it. Well you can't do that, and he'd do this like that!
    B: I know! Yeah.

3.2   Sentence-medial position

In the following dataset (13-16), sentence-medial *you see* is shown to be similar to the initial position, as it marks a coming explanation for a previous proposition. As mentioned earlier, *you see* also establishes CG between speakers. In this case, *you see* functions to trigger a mutual background environment, and S intends to invite the hearer to join his or her set of beliefs. As in (13), establishing CG enables S to proceed with his own talk and provide a justification for the person being discussed *fleeing the Thornfield Hall*. In this context, S and A may or may not share common knowledge about this topic, but S encourages A to accept his proposition as mutual knowledge. However, unlike the sentence-initial *you see*, medial *you see* does not request a positive response from A to show agreement since S is uncertain about how much background information is in A's knowledge. Therefore, the sentence-medial variant does not engage A about the propositional content. Instead its ground-checking function is to ensure that A is receiving the information assumed to be shared (Heim, 2019). It has been argued that this checking function happens during the presentation phase in a conversation, rather than the acceptance phase where a shared belief is accepted (Heim, 2019).

(13) A: Now whether it's meant to be really her mother, or in a sense
          that one might call women of the generation before yours
          mother, I'm not sure.
      B: Mm.
      A: And that's what spurs her to get up and flee Thornfield Hall.
          And that's *you see*, this is one of the things that contemporary
          critics, some contemporary critics couldn't take, that Jane
          wanted Rochester as much as Rochester wanted Jane.
          small building societies are wanting to get going.

(14) A: You have to get him wound down a bit, you have to do it,
          you know of a about half an hour or so ask him for the proper
          name! It's absolutely brilliant! He goes mad!
      B: He's *you see*, but after about twenty minutes or so he loses
          touch with what's you're actually doing and if, if you catch
          him just right, he goes berserk! It's really funny!

(15) A: That's possibly what?
      B: One of the nightmares he's having.
      A: What when he's on the drugs, some of these painkillers?
      C: Oh yeah, He's get-- he's reliving this.
      B: he's, he's *you see*, he, of course that's what he does, you see him
          do it, oh yeah when daddy's not.

(16) A: Mummy!
      B: What he was doing too.
      A: If you look after these, and I
      B: I'll look after those.
      A: with the bin.
      B: And while you're at it with the bin get yourself a tissue as well,
          to wipe your nose. The trouble is, *you see*, if Christopher's
          doing what he wants to do, you're doing what you all want to
          and then both both of you crash in the middle it's nobody's fault
          particularly is it?
      A: It didn't go like that.

3.3   Sentence-final position

As suggested by Ranger (2010), the inferential relationship between proceeding
propositions and the proposition marked by *you see* is only established when *you
see* is uttered sentence finally. As illustrated by examples of (17)-(20), the primary
purpose of *you see* in this position is to update CG by seeking a confirmation
concerning whether a belief assumed to be shared is accepted by A. In the example
of (18), S provides A with a justification regarding the behaviour of not bringing
gloves. Similar to sentence-initial *you see*, with final *you see*, S establishes CG by

assuming the hearer would understand his reason. Thus, final *you see* initiates a request to confirm that A's belief towards p is identical to S's attitudes towards p. The most distinguishable feature between initial and final *you see* is that the final variant is not accompanied by any other phonological units to yield a response from A. Instead, it naturally marks an agreement-seeking function at the end of a turn.

(17) A: And I say to him you're always smiling
        B: Yeah
        A: you'd think he'd be the last one to smile, but he's always
              smiling int he, lovely.
        B: Yeah, he is yeah.
        A: I think he's a lovely lad
        B: Yeah.
        A: Yeah, he's wanting his own independence ***you see***.
        B: Yeah, that's right yeah.

(18) A: That's rubbish that.
        B: Well I thought it was, but who knows (you never know which
              way they're going here
        A: No, well you watch the indicator.
        B: Yeah, but sometimes people don't use them do they?
              Ah? I did tell him it was.
        A: I know
        B: what's name didn't I? I didn't bring my gloves.
        A: Well done.
        B: cos I had a cigarette in one pocket and this thing
              in the other ***you see***.
        A: Yeah.

(19) A: Has he got a Volvo Robert's car?
        B: Er, well both Robert and David have got Volvos, so er, if,
              if it was, if it was the last few days it was probably David.
        A: Yes, I think it might of been Wednesday.
        B: Er, yes that was David, Robert hasn't, Robert's coming next
              weekend, but he hasn't been here for a few weeks.
        A: Yes, I just saw you at the crossroads ***you see***.
        B: Mm and I was sort of concentrating.

(20) A: She doesn't know we're going so don't let it slip.
        B: No
        A: There's a place where they go for lunch ***you see.***
        B: Yeah.

3.4 Final *you see* following negation

Sentence-final *you see* sometimes co-occurs with negation, leading to a contradictory interpretation. In the examples of (21)-(23) below, *you see* following negation indicates a contrast between the two propositions. In (21), this occurs when an expected behaviour of the speaker's occupation (nursing) conflicts with the actual behaviour of teaching. In this context, S would assume that A shares no mutual knowledge with her about her job, and S encourages A to accept her proposition by providing A with the justification that she is not a teacher but only teaches for this semester. In order for this conversation to be well formed, A's attitudes towards p regarding teaching would be opposed to the S's propositional attitude. The conversation would be infelicitous if A's commitment to the truth condition of the proposition is identical to S's belief about the proposition. Thus, *you see* would fail to show a contrast if the A has the knowledge of the speakers' real job.

(21) A: Okay? So that's that, but he's not going to interfere with us
talking, let's carry on, at about ten o'clock Graham is coming
who is, I'm, as you know I'm doing erm, er a teaching course,
I'm not a teacher *you see*, I'm a, I'm a nurse, he's coming to
assess me on er, this is a teaching practice for me, alright, so he
will come in and I think he'll sit over there and we'll just get on.
Right last, last week we did erm cold injury in the newborn,
didn't we? We'll just recap briefly on what we did. Thank
you, fine.

(22) A: Er, it's fairly obvious why you want to bake a quiche or a
flan, it's fairly obvious, is it, why you want to play the
clarinet? Why?
   B: For pleasure.
   A: And the work one, there's a definite incentive of work.
Now why are you doing A Level English? might want to talk
that through.
   C: biology.
   A: And an answer has come up, with no, because they wouldn't
let me do biology, *you see*. You could tell each other about
this, you don't have to tell me. I'm pretty aware of it. I was
under the impression that we could choose our books. Okay,
have you had long enough to.
   C: Eh?
   A: So you've got an idea
   C: Yeah.

(23) A: They, they left her erm about half past eight, twenty to nine
          and they got to about half way they hadn't been gone twenty
          minutes and I thought, oh she's left her photographs, she had to
          get four passport photographs and she'd left them here and I
          thought we'd send them, send them to her and she didn't like
          them *you see*, but she'd have them. So, I phoned Derek on the
          car phone and erm he says oh we'll get some taken elsewhere.
          So, when they left Bristol, they went to find a place that takes,
          then they took the wrong turning off the motorway.

3.5   Interrogative clause with *you see*

Alongside the occurrence of *you see* in the declarative clauses as discussed above,
you see has also been found in interrogative clauses. As the following dataset (24-
27) shown, *you see* occurs sentence-finally to seek a confirmation from A by
checking whether p is added to A's set of beliefs. In this context, S and A may or
may not share common knowledge in the topic, but S is certainly a more reliable
source of information than A. As can be seen in (24), speaker A is the only source
of the information concerning people suffering from dyslexia receive high quality
jobs. It is obvious that the addressee B has no access to the knowledge of what
speaker A is referring to by making no content contribution to the conversation.

(24) A: So it was quite, and er then they, they, well they weren't learning very
          well at all.
      B: Oh.
      A: They always seemed backward, they found that they took them to
          different specialist and the truth is, they've both left schools now and
          got jobs, but they were er, dyslexia.
      B: Oh goodness.
      A: They found out both of them.
      B: Oh.
      A: But they got jobs, quite good jobs, and the fella who it is employing
          them, he's one himself, so he employs that sort of people *you see*?
      B: Mm.

(25) A: One of my Jean, my cousin about ten months younger than
          I said, can I have a go Mollie? And I said, yes *you see*,
          gave her a try and so she went if you know Frinton you could
          go, in those days.
      B: Yes, I know it.
      A: You could go round, well it's the same now, but in those days
          you could go round, past the summer theatre and down Old
          Road where we were staying and on to a and do a
          circle *you see*?
      B: Yeah.

(26) A: You get an extra certain amount, ten pound a week, cos you're going through the job centre.

        B: Mm.

        A: But you got to have been out of work six months, so I said well I've been out of work six months, so she, I've got that to do tomorrow, so I get up the firm this Spinny Hill, Northampton, that's an adult education centre where you can go and learn the skills of your trade, but she said that might not not start until September on the course ***you see***?

        B: Yeah.

(27) A: You can't get them back.

        B: Erm, what else can I put there?

        A: What?

        B: We was at home having tea then what can I put?

        A: No good on there, you told them off.

        C: Walking from work.

        B: Yeah but that that is the Sunday thing that's how I get muddled up with the date, but that's on the same tape ***you see***?

        C: Yeah.

4   Theoretical Framework

In this paper, I adopt the Universal Spine Hypothesis (USP) proposed by Wiltschko (2014) to develop a formal analysis of *you see* in dialogic contexts. According to Wiltschko (2014) and Thoma (2016), the universal syntactic spine consists of a set of functional categories κ which are hierarchically organized. Each functional category κ is associated with an abstract grammatical function, including *linking, anchoring, introducing a point of view* and *classifying*. Moreover, it is claimed that form and meaning do not always follow one-one mapping, while USH is able to mediate the relation between form and meaning, suggesting different positions of a form result in different interpretations or functions through association with a given category κ (Wiltschko, 2014; Thoma, 2016). Therefore, Thoma (2016) further argued for an extended spine which accounts for the discourse concerning the relation between speech acts participants and their attitudes towards the host utterance. Hence, the universal syntactic spine is extended to include a *grounding layer* (known as GroundP) which occupies the higher position above CP and is responsible for encoding beliefs shared between S and A, as in (28).

(28)   Extended Universal Spine
κ: grounding
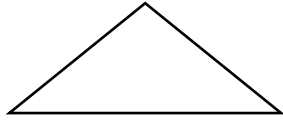
κ: linking
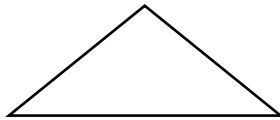
κ: anchoring
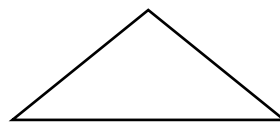
κ: point-of-view
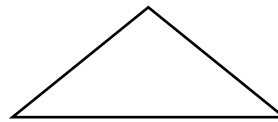
κ: Classification
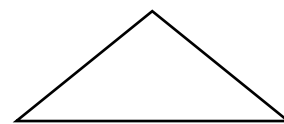
(Thoma, 2016, p. 244)

More specifically, GroundP is further divided into individualized projections. A higher ranked position is called GroundP A, involving A's commitment towards p, and a lower positioned projection is referred to as GroundP S and is associated with S's belief, as in (29) (Thoma, 2016).

(29) GroundP is divided into GroundP S and GroundP A
GroundP A

GroundP S

CP

Proposition
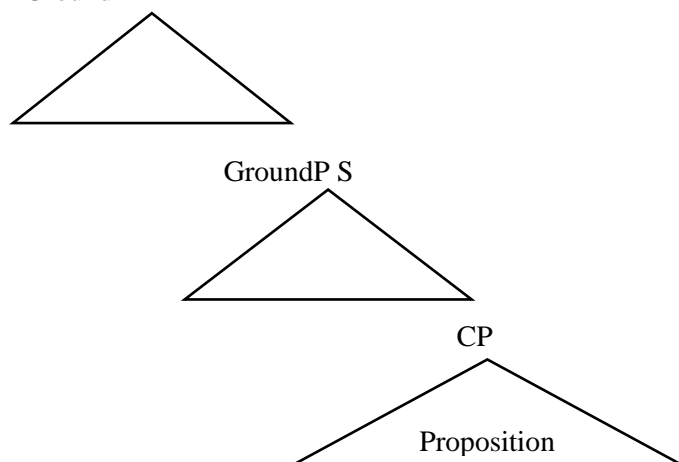
(Thoma, 2016, p. 245)

Building on Thoma's (2016) extended spine, Heim and Wiltschko (2016) further proposed a functional architecture that consists of the interaction between S and A by extending the spine to include a layer that is projected higher than the *grounding layer*, which is known as the *responding layer*. The function of this layer is responsible for conveying what S wants A to do with the utterance. The functional SA structure is given in (30).

(30) Functional architecture of SA structure
Resp P

CoA

GroundP

Ground S

CP

Proposition
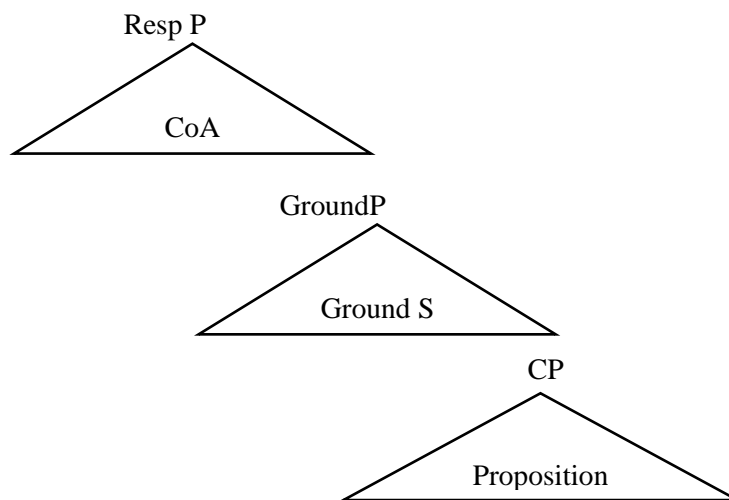
(Wiltschko & Heim, 2016, p. 321)

Recall that the data section illustrates that *you see* as a discourse marker, indicating an interactive relationship between S and A. Based on Wiltschkos and

Heim's (2016) extended USH model, I assume that *you see* should be analyzed above the traditional clausal architecture since it does not contribute to the proposition formation. Thus, I assume that *you see* within the speech act structure is projected at the highest position, where the function associated with the highest functional structure involves *grounding* and *Call on the Addressee*. The analyses of each context where *you see* occurs within the USH framework are given below.
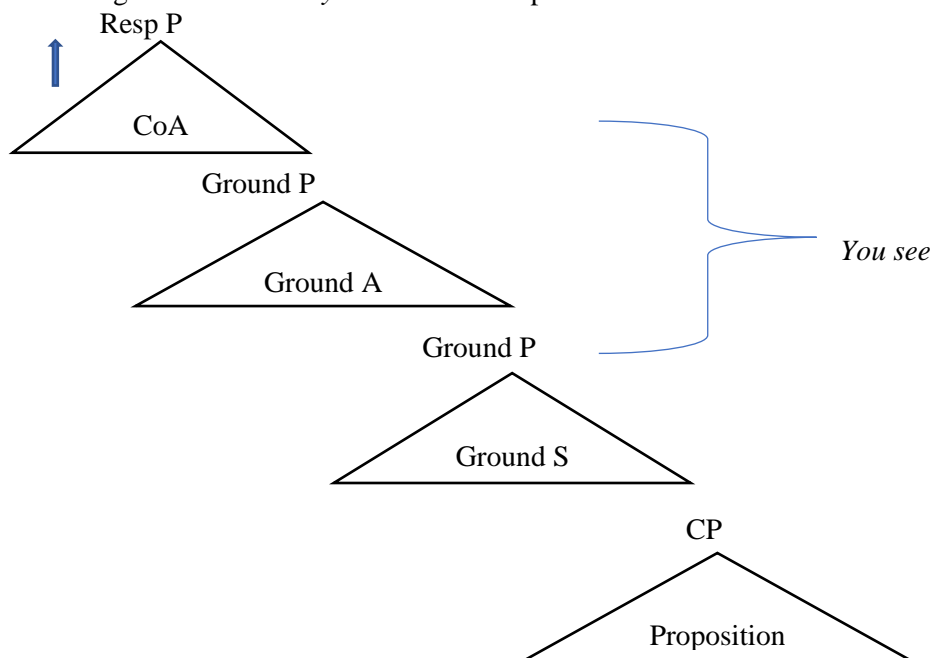
5   Analysis

5.1   Sentence-initial *you see*

As mentioned in 3.1, sentence initial position *you see* is associated with S' full commitment to p and his assumption that A would add p into her set of beliefs; therefore, *you see* functions to update (CG). S' certainty about the relation between A and p suggests that S is the source of the knowledge that A learns from. Thus, the function of demanding a confirmation corresponds to the desire that S expects A to perform an action in a particular way due to S's authority over A (Heim, 2019). It should be noted that phonological units co-occurring with *you see* play an important role in SA interaction. For example, in (31), a stress co-occurs with *you see*, which could be considered as a different function that requests a positive response from A. Hence, two functions including *grounding* and *responding* are shown with initial *you see*. I assume the use of *you see* is associated with *grounding layer* in the spine, where both GroundP S and GroundP A are activated. GroundP S contains S's propositional attitude, which is dominated by GroundP A that is corresponding to S's intention about what he wants A to do with p and A's recognition of S's belief. The highest-ranked *responding layer* is linked to a phonological component (either stress or intonation), requesting A to confirm that S's belief is shared by A, as in (32). Based on previous literature, initial *you see* relates to a more subjective meaning showing S's stance towards p, so it might be possible that it becomes less intersubjective in the absence of other phonological units (Haselow, 2012; Heim, 2019; Rozumko, 2019).

(31)   A: ***You see***, if that didn't go, I'd say Gerry try it there, not don't
                do that, try it. Well you can't do that, and he'd do this like that!
         B: I know! Yeah.

(32)   Associating sentence-initial *you see* with the spine

```
                    Resp P

              CoA

                Ground P

                    Ground A

                        Ground P

                            Ground S

                                CP

                                    Proposition
```
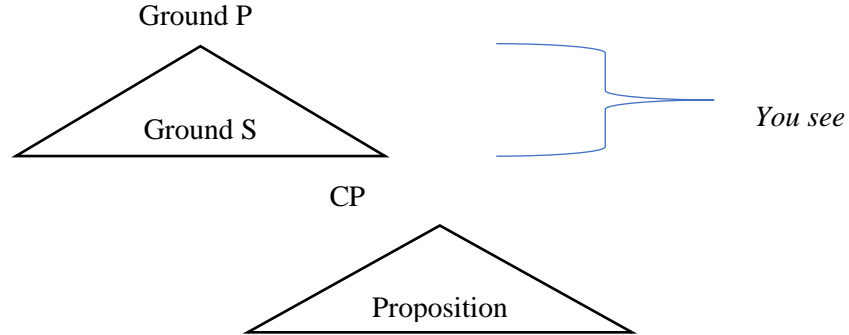
You see

5.2   Sentence-medial *you see*

Unlike the periphery positions of *you see*, the sentence medial variant is mainly concerned with the relation between S and p. From the data illustrated in section 3, although *you see* functions to trigger CG between S and A, there is no action taken by S to learn A's propositional attitude, showing the fact that whether S's belief is accepted by A is unknown. Similar to the study investigating the German particle *gell* (Heim, 2019), medial *you see* does not engage the receiver to the propositional content since a response from A to confirm S's belief is not required. Therefore, *you see* is only linked to GroundP S in the *grounding layer*, where S's propositional attitude is presented on the table, but it is impossible to know whether the A shares same belief as S.

(33) Associating sentence-medial *you see* with the spine

Ground P

Ground S

CP

Proposition

You see

5.3 Sentence-final *you see*

Similar to initial *you see*, sentence-final *you see* is also considered as an agreement seeker or a turn yielder (Erman, 1987). However, it can be seen as more intersubjective since it naturally marks an interactive relationship between S and A by eliciting a response from A independent of co-occurrences with other phonological units. With the use of the final variant, unlike initial *you see*, S is less certain about whether A views p in a similar way. Therefore, final *you see* serves as a confirmation seeker that requires A's response to confirm that A believes p. Therefore, in this context, *you see* is associated with both *responding* and *grounding* functions in the spine. The lower-ranked *grounding layer* includes two projections, with A's propositional attitude (GroundP A) ranked higher than the S's commitment to p (GroundP S), while the topmost *responding layer* is associated with the A's response showing agreement to S's belief.
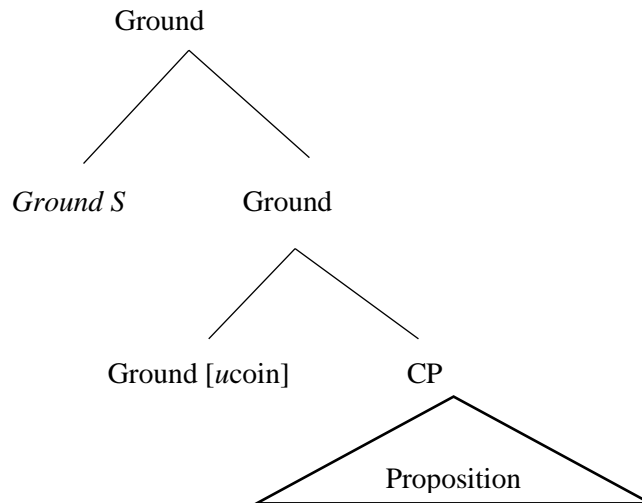
(34)   Associating the sentence-final *you see* with the spine

Resp P

CoA

Ground P

Ground A

Ground P

You see

Ground S

CP

Proposition
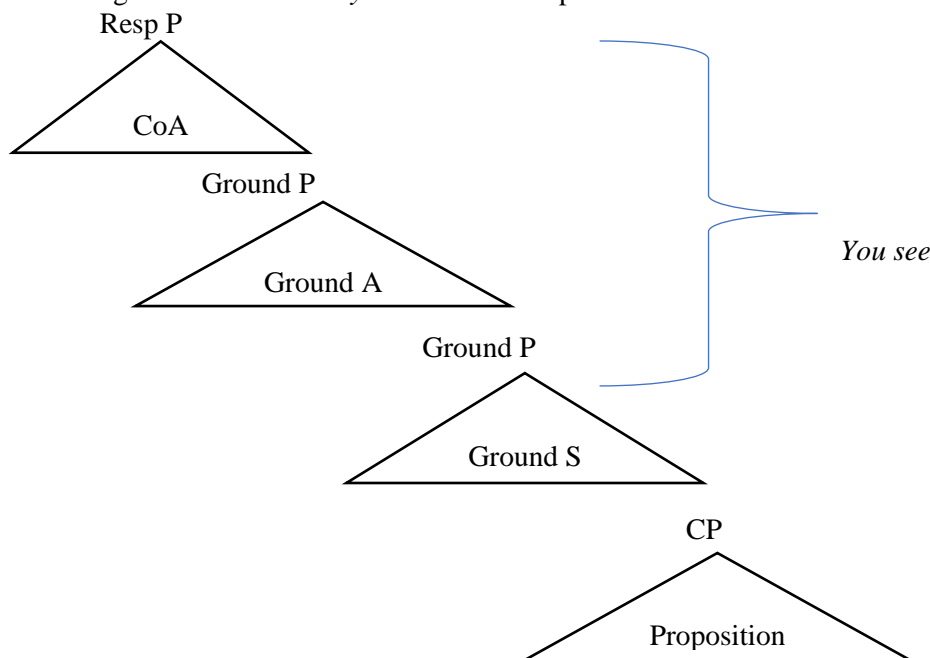
5.4   Sentence-final *you see* following negation

The context of final *you see* can be further explored in a special case where *you see* at the end of a sentence follows negation. In this scenario, S and A would share no common knowledge, and S is certain that A would share a completely opposed view towards p as S is the only source of the truth condition of p. When *you see* occurs in the sentence-final position following negation, it indicates the contrast between the actual behaviour and the expected behaviour. As shown in the example of (21), the actual behaviour (teaching) contrasts with S's occupation (nurse). S assumes the knowledge regarding her real job as a nurse is not accessed by A but invites the hearer to accept this proposition by providing an explanation for the mismatched behaviours. Similar to *you see* in the medial position, where the A's propositional content plays a less important role, only the first layer GroundP is activated. This *grounding layer* is connected with encoding S's propositional attitude towards p. However, if we simply follow this analysis, the association with the spine would result in an identical syntactic structure with medial *you see*. In order to distinguish the negation context from the medial context, an unvalued coincidence feature [$u$coin] which establishes a relation between S's ground and its complement CP should be added to the speech act structure containing *grounding layer* (Wiltschko, 2018). The coincidence feature is concerned with whether two arguments coincide, which can be valued as positive or negative. GroundP S is placed in the specifier position of Ground P, while [$u$coin] associated with the Ground P is the sister to CP, as shown in (35).

(35) Coincidence feature [*u*coin] in Ground

```
                      Ground
                       /\
                      /  \
                     /    \
                    /      \
               Ground S    Ground
                            /\
                           /  \
                          /    \
                   Ground [ucoin]   CP
                                   /\
                                  /  \
                                 / Proposition \
                                /_____\
```

(Wiltschko, 2018, p. 25)

As mentioned earlier, when final *you see* follows negation, it shows a contradiction between two propositions; therefore, the negation *not* values [*u*coin] associated with Ground as [-coin], thereby illustrating that the behavior of teaching is not in S's set of beliefs, as shown in (36).

(36) Coincidence feature [*u*coin] in Ground
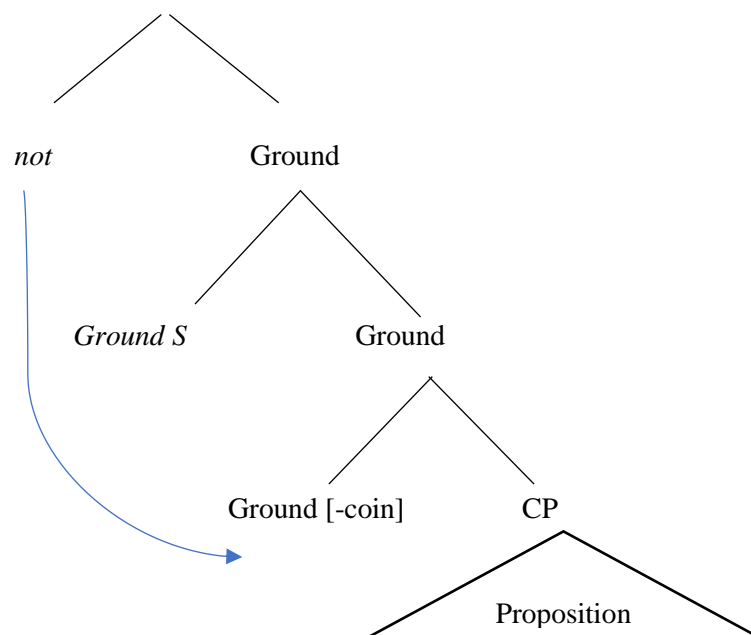
5.5 *you see* in interrogative clauses

The function of confirming whether p is added in A's ground becomes more evident when *you see* is employed in interrogative clauses. It is expected to draw A's attention to p by checking whether the belief assumed to be shared is added to A's set of beliefs. Here, *you see* is associated with both *grounding layer* and *responding layer*, thereby asserting that p is in A's ground and asking A to confirm that she accepts the belief in knowing the truth condition of p, as shown in (37).

(37)   Associate the sentence-final *you see* with the spine

Resp P

CoA

Ground P

Ground A

Ground P

Ground S

CP

Interrogative Clause
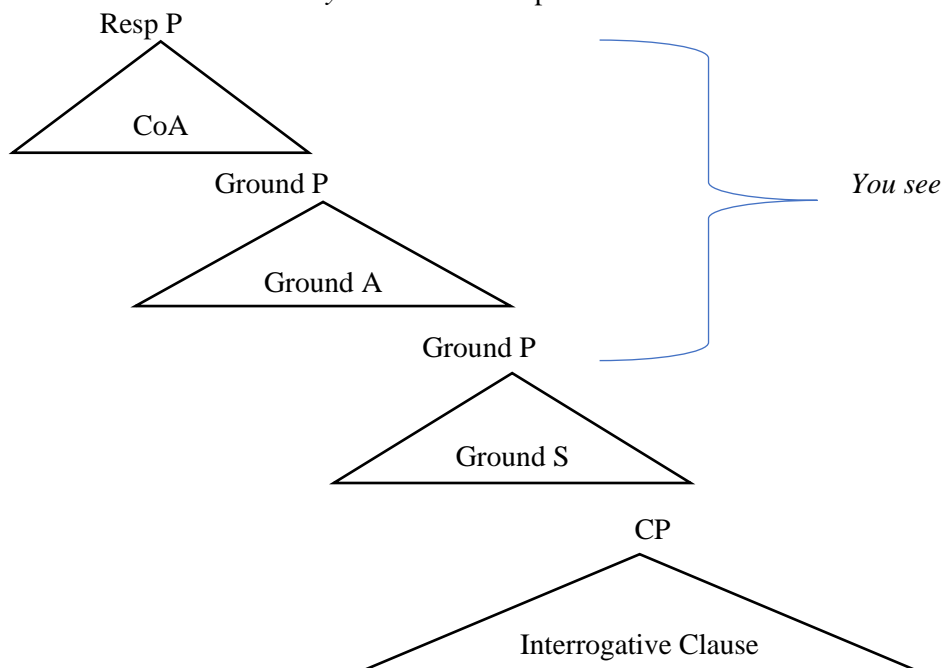
You see

6   Conclusion

This study investigated the distribution and the response behavior of English discourse marker *you see* in dialogical contexts. It has shown that *you see* can occur at sentence-initial, medial, and final positions in declarative clauses. When *you see* is placed sentence-finally, it can follow negation or occur in interrogative clauses.

The primary function of *you see* is to manage common ground regardless of its positions; however, the difference in distribution reflects the notion and degree of intersubjectivity. In particular, the different syntactic environments of *you see* are associated with the degree to which addressees are involved in the conversation. Sentence-medial *you see* serves to check mutual knowledge without requiring a response from the addressee. Both types of sentence-peripheral *you see* serves to seek agreement, but it seems that initial *you see* has to cooccur with another phonological element such as a rising intonation or a stress to yield a responding function.

The data has been further analyzed following the USH framework (Wiltschko, 2014), where *you see* encodes the interaction between S and A is projected at the highest position within a sentence. Two functions are involved with the use of *you see*, namely *grounding* and *responding*. (Wiltschko & Heim, 2016). The analysis has shown that sentence-initial *you see* occurring with a phonological unit are linked to different layers in the spine, with you see associated with the *grounding layer* involving both S and A's commitment to p and the intonation or stress associated with the *responding layer*. Sentence-final *you see* is

associated with both *grounding* and *responding layers* independent of phonological units, which naturally calls the addressee to provide a positive response to p. *You see* in medial and negation contexts is less related to A's propositional attitude, so it solely plays a role in accessing to S's ground. More specifically, for the negation context, the negative coincidence feature indicates a contrast between two arguments uttered by S.

The current study mainly focused on the illocutionary force of *asking* and *assertion* (Lam, 2014) of *you see* in declarative and interrogative clauses, so the future study can investigate the functions of *you see* in other clause types including exclamative and imperative clauses. It is anticipated that *you see* is compatible with exclamative clauses like (38) but impossible with imperative clauses like (39).

(38)   A: What a beautiful weather, you see!
       B: Yeah.

(39) * y*ou see* in imperative clause
       Wash the dishes, *you see*.

In some cases, sentence-final *you see* seems to be more or less equivalent to a tag question which turns a statement into a question and is often used to ask for confirmation (I may be wrong). It is proposed that both sentence-final *you se*e and tag questions function to express how S's stance is represented in A's stance, as shown in (40) and (41).

(40)   A: The weather is beautiful, you see.
       B: Yeah.

(41)   A: The weather is beautiful, isn't?
       B: Yeah.

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