Research Article

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Role of six turn-initial demonstrative and emotive particles in Lithuanian

Abstract: The present study deals with the inventory and functional variation of six turn-initial particles in Lithuanian. The aim of the study is to identify the functions of the demonstrative turn-initial particles *tai, va,* and *štai* and the emotive particles *o, nagi,* and *ogi* in spoken discourse, namely in spontaneous private conversations, and in literary dialogues by exploring the relationship of the particles to a previous and emerging turn. The data for the study have been retrieved from the Corpus of Spoken Lithuanian and from the subcorpora of spoken discourse and fiction in the Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language. The most frequent turn-initial particles in spoken interactions are *o, tai,* and *va,* whereas in literary dialogues the particles *nagi* and *ogi* occur most frequently turn-initially. Both *tai* and *va* are speaker-oriented and express the speaker's conclusion on the basis of the arguments in a previous turn, agreement or disagreement with the addressee, and elaboration of information. The particle *o* is addressee-oriented, since it frames the speaker's question and emphasises the intention to elicit an answer from the addressee. *Nagi* and *ogi* tend to occur in directives or emphatic responses and are speaker-oriented in a similar way to *tai* and *va.*

Keywords: turn-initial particles, speaker-oriented, addressee-oriented, spoken discourse, fiction

1 Introduction

Various discourse particles have been extensively studied in individual languages (Haselow 2012, 2013, 2015, Degand 2014, Ruskan 2019, Šinkūnienė et al. 2020) as well as cross-linguistically (Aijmer 2019, Borthen and Karagjosova 2021) in terms of their functional diversity, scope, clause peripheries, and (inter)subjective dimension. The proliferation of studies into discourse particles and emerging trends of research in this area are connected with the high frequency of discourse particles in spoken discourse and their special functions in managing various modes of spoken interaction. Discourse particles are short, uninflected words (e.g. English *well*, Polish *no*, and Lithuanian *jo*), and their elimination from discourse would hamper communication between the speaker and the addressee by reducing smoothness and expressivity of interaction.

One recent aspect of the investigation of particles across languages is the positional distribution of discourse particles in a clause/utterance or turn and their cognitive as well as discursive distinction. In a volume on final particles in English, German, Norwegian, and other European as well as Southeast Asian languages (Hancil et al. 2015), the final position of discourse particles in an utterance/turn has been given special attention by illustrating its functional and cognitive distinction from other positions. In this position, discourse particles perform a variety of functions, such as strengthening the illocutionary force of an utterance, linking to the preceding discourse, or performing a turn-giving function (Haselow 2012, 2013). Exploring the class of final particles in English, Haselow (2013) stresses the importance of identifying the host of a final particle. Drawing on *Conversation Analysis*, the scholar refers to a turn-constructional unit (TCU) as a host of

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final particles, defined as "any stretch of speech that represents an independent contribution or unit of talk" (Haselow 2013, 389). Since final particles as well as other types of discourse particles occur mostly in spoken register, this type of host allows us to capture "structures that naturally arise in on-line speech production, but which do not represent well-formed syntactic units" (Haselow 2013, 388–9).

The growing number of studies into final particles and insights into their cognitive and functional properties has brought to the fore a number of studies into turn-initial particles (Heritage and Sorjonen 2018). As claimed by these authors (2018, 2–3), discourse particles, including also those in turn-initial position are used as "tools for constructing actions that are housed in turns at talk, and located in sequences of emerging interaction". Across languages, thoroughly explored turn-initial particles are English *well* and *oh* (Heritage 2015, 2018), Spanish *bueno* and *pues* (Raymond 2018), French *voilà* (Mondada 2018), Estonian *no* (Keevallik 2018), Polish *no* (Weidner 2018), Russian *nu* (Bolden 2018), as well as Finnish *siis, eli(kkä)* and *nii(n) et(tä)* (Sorjonen 2018). The cross-linguistic inventory of turn-initial particles includes response particles as well as those from other semantic classes (e.g. demonstrative or presentative *voilà* in French and expressive *oh* in English). Heritage and Sorjonen (2018, 12) note that "most particles, including those in turn-initial position, have general semantic and procedural meanings that are broad, variable and capable of local particularization."

Among the most important properties of turn-initial particles is their relationship to both a previous turn and an emerging turn, which can result in the backward and/or forward-looking orientation of a particle. For example, English *oh* is characterised by a backward-looking orientation, as it usually marks a reaction to a previous turn, whereas *well* "in projecting a departure from the expectations established in a preceding turn, is inherently forward looking" (Heritage 2018, 182). Turn-initial Danish *åltsa* is both backward and forward-looking, as it elaborates or explains some part of the preceding turn and simultaneously 'projects the expansion' of the emerging turn (Heinemann and Steensig 2018, 446). According to Heritage (2015, 89), the movement between the turns that the initial particle indicates can be unmarked or marked: "In 'unmarked' movement, next turns are congruent with the understandings, expectations and projections that were established in the previous turn, or sequence of turns. In 'marked' movement, there are departures from some of these understandings, expectations and projections (Heritage 2013). Turn-initial particles are often implicated in these departures <...>." The distinction between the unmarked and marked movement between the turns could be illustrated in the following examples:

(1) Speaker A: *Are you going to the movies?*
     Speaker B: *Yes.*
     (adapted from the study by Heritage 2013, 333)
(2) Speaker A: *Are you going to the movies?*
     Speaker B: *Well, I wasn't planning to* [...]
     (adapted from the study by Heritage 2013, 333)

In (1), Speaker B accepts Speaker's A invitation to go to the movies by responding with the conventional marker *yes*. Thus, the expected reply from Speaker B shows the congruency between the two turns. By contrast, in (2), the turn-initial particle *well*, used to introduce a negative response, marks that Speaker's B answer does not align with Speaker's A expectations. This creates an incongruence between the two turns of the conversation and demonstrates the marked movement between the turns in which a turn-initial particle plays an important role.

As a number of studies in the volume on turn-initial particles across languages show turn-initial particles display a variety of marked movements between the turns. As illustrated in (2), the particle *well* is used in 'dispreferred' (Heritage 2018, 176) or 'expanded' responses, which highlight "the fact that the respondents, in departing from one or another of the constraints on their actions set by the questions, are frequently privileging their own concerns, agendas and projects over those of their questioners" (ibid. 179). The turn-initial particle *no* in Polish indexes some incongruence between the speaker's epistemic stance and the addressee's knowledge communicated in the preceding turn (Weidner 2018). The turn-initial particle *åltsa* in Danish (Heinemann and Steensig 2018) marks departures from the smooth transition between the turns, i.e. progressivity, by explaining, elaborating, or specifying some information in the preceding turn so that

further communication and interaction could continue. It must be noted that functional variation of turn-initial particles depends on their sequential positioning, which can be first position, second, and third positions (Heritage and Sorjonen 2018, 9).

In Lithuanian, turn-initial particles have been analysed in individual studies that deal with the general functional profile of the particles, but not necessarily at the beginning of a turn. For instance, the response particles *na, nu* 'well' (Šolienė 2020) and the demonstrative particles *tai* 'so' and *va* 'here/there' (Ruskan 2019, Šinkūnienė et al. 2020, 24), which may occur turn-initially, were explored in terms of their functional variation or translation correspondences. However, there are no studies exploring specifically discourse particles in turn-initial position in a talk and their relationship to a previous and emerging turn. Moreover, in cross-linguistic studies as well as in Lithuanian investigations, discourse particles have been considered in inter-actional contexts in spoken discourse, whereas their role in interactional contexts in fiction has not been given enough attention. In their latest study into intensification in fiction, Ebeling and Hasselgård (2020, 313) claim that fiction represents hybrid nature and in order to properly study this discourse, a distinction should be drawn between dialogue and narrative. Since turn-initial particles are mostly found in spoken interactions, it is assumed that in fiction they most likely occur in the literary dialogue.

The present study focuses on the demonstrative particles *tai, va,* and *štai* and the emotive particles *o, ogi,* and *nagi* and their potential to occur in turn-initial position, as shown below:

(3)   PIRM: + < *jeigu išlaužt(i), tai čia viską reikia mokėt(i), čia kainuoja nemažus pinigus, suprantat(e).*
      Chair: 'if you destroy this, you have to pay for everything; it costs a lot of money, you know.'
      *KAIM10: + < *taip, čia gi apie aikštę eina kalba.*
      Neighbour10: 'yeah, because you are talking about a parking lot.'
      KAIM11: + < **tai**, *be abejo, be abejo, reikia mokėt(i).*
      Neighbour11: '**so**, of course, of course, you have to pay.'
      (CSL, SPC)

In the context above, turn-initial *tai* 'so' expresses the speaker's approval of the addressee's explanation that for the renovation of the parking lot it is necessary to pay. The representatives of both demonstrative and emotive discourse particles are taken into consideration, since the demonstrative particles may become close in meaning to emotive particles. In the *Lithuanian Grammar* (Ambrazas 2006, 434), the particles *va* and *štai* belong to the class of demonstrative particles, the function of which is to point to persons, objects, and phenomena. But the two particles also occur in the group of intensifying-emphatic particles, alongside *gi, jau, kad,* and *net* (Valeckienė 1988, 194, Ambrazas 2006, 436). As noted by Ambrazas (2006, 436), intensifying-emphatic particles bear resemblance to emotive particles and interjections. The class of emotive particles includes *juk, be, ogi, vai, nagi, o,* and *ei* (Valeckienė 1988, Ambrazas 2006). Thus, it is important to study the emphatic contexts of the use of the demonstrative particles and their relationship to emotive particles and identify those particles that occur most frequently in turn-initial position in spoken discourse and literary dialogue.

The aim of the present study is to identify the functions of the demonstrative turn-initial particles *tai, va, štai* and the emotive particles *o, nagi,* and *ogi* in spoken discourse, namely in spontaneous private conversations and literary dialogues in fiction, by exploring the relationship of the particles to a previous and emerging turn. Moreover, the study aims to disclose the distribution of the particles used in turn-initial positions in spoken discourse and literary dialogue and establish whether the two discourses reveal any differences in the use of the turn-initial particles.

2 Data and methods

The data for this study have been retrieved from the Corpus of Spoken Lithuanian (more than 320,000 words, of which 225,000 words are morphologically annotated), which contains subcorpora of spontaneous and

prepared speeches. The former include informal conversations among family members, friends, as well as institutional spontaneous conversations taking place in public places (shop, bank, hairdresser, pharmacy, market, etc.); the latter include speeches delivered in academic, theological, and mass media communication (Kamandulytė-Merfeldienė 2017). The present study is based on the data obtained from the subcorpus of spontaneous private conversations (121,788 words), which display natural interactions between interlocutors and allow us to identify functional variation of discourse particles in turn-initial position. The morphological annotation of this subcorpus as well as contextual information provided facilitate the identification of turn-initial particles and their functions. For the sake of illustration of the contexts of use of the turn-initial particles in spoken interactions, a number of examples have also been obtained from the subcorpus of spoken language (447,396 words) in the Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language (CCLL). The data for the study of the particles in fiction have been retrieved from the subcorpus of fiction (15,765,554 words) in the CCLL.

At first, the overall frequencies of *tai, va, štai, o, nagi,* and *ogi* (both raw and normalised per 10,000 words) in the corpora are presented. It should be noted that in the subcorpus of fiction, which is a part of the non-annotated Corpus of the Cotemporary Lithuanian Language, the frequencies of *tai* and *o* include their use as conjunctions or other markers[1] alongside their particle use. To establish the proportions of the particle use of *tai* and *o* in the subcorpus of fiction, 100 random examples of each marker have been extracted and the percentage of their particle use has been counted. After the presentation of the overall frequencies of *tai, va, štai, o, nagi,* and *ogi* in the corpora, the percentage of turn-initial use of the particles is provided and discussed. For the calculation of the turn-initial occurrences of *tai, va, štai, o, nagi,* and *ogi*, 100 random examples of each marker in each discourse type (spontaneous private conversations and fiction), if available, have been selected. The presentation of the quantitative findings is followed by a functional analysis of the turn-initial particles in spoken Lithuanian and fiction.

In spoken discourse, where 'speakers generally take turns' (Denison 2020, 210), the particles are considered to occur in turn-initial position when they occur at the beginning of a TCU and are used in response to a previous turn, as in example (3) illustrated in Section 1. In fiction, the particles are considered to occur at the beginning of a turn in a literary dialogue, where two or more characters are having a conversation and taking turns, as in the following example:[2]

(4)   A: *Kaip sekėsi? - klausė Silvija Tadą.*
      A: 'How did it go? – Silvija asked Tadas.'
      B: *Gerai. **Va**, žiūrėk, ir planą atsivežiau [...].*
      B: 'Fine. **Here**, look, I also brought a plan [...].'
      (CCLL, fiction)

Cases when the particles co-occur with other discourse particles or other extra-clausal units were considered as instances of turn-initial use as well (5); however, stand-alone cases of the particles were discarded (6):

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1 For example, in (a) and (b) *tai* and *o* are used as conjunctions; in (c) *tai* is used as a demonstrative pronoun:
(a)   *Turinys prastas, **o** ką jau kalbėti apie kalbą.*
      'The content is poor, **and** not to mention the language.'
      (CCLL, fiction)
(b)   *Jei ne čia, daktare, **tai** kur, po galais, jūs esat?*
      'Doctor, if not here, **so** where are you, after all?'
      (CCLL, fiction)
(c)   *Patikėkite manim, **tai** galingas mokslas.*
      'Believe me, **this** is a powerful science.'
      (CCLL, fiction).
2 The percentage of turn-initial particle use in fiction includes only cases where the particle is used in a dialogue.

(5) *DRAU2: *gal tu, gal tu rodyklę kaip nors laikai?*
     Friend2: 'perhaps you, perhaps you hold the pointer somehow?'
     *DRAU1: *ne, nieko nedarau dabar.*
     Friend1: 'no, I am not doing anything now.'
     *DRAU1: *kaip keista?*
     Friend1: 'how strange?'
     DRAU2: *nu, ai, **va**, viskas, dabar jau neberašai.*
     Friend2: 'well, oh, **here**, right, now you are not writing.'
     (CSL, SPC)

(6) *BENDR2: *<...> čia gal Arelijus, šitas, Aurelijus, sakau +/.*
     Colleague2: ' <...> perhaps it is Arelijus, wait, Aurelijus, I say.'
     *BENDR1: *+ < nu nu.*
     Colleague1: 'well, well.'
     *BENDR2: *+, kaip jisai, Eugenijus.*
     Colleague2: 'what is his name, Eugenijus.'
     BENDR1: ***va.***
     Colleague1: '**yeah**.'
     *BENDR2: *o gal ir ne.*
     Colleague2: 'perhaps not.'
     (CSL, SPC)

In (5), the particle *va* is preceded by the response particle *nu* and emotive *ai*. However, the presence of the two particles does not affect the function of *va*. In (6), *va* functions as a marker of agreement but it does not preface any turn and was left out from further analysis.

3 Frequencies of the particles and their turn-initial distribution in the corpora

The overall distribution of *tai, va, štai, o, nagi,* and *ogi* in the corpora (Table 1) shows that the most frequent particles in spontaneous private conversations are demonstratives *tai, va* and the emotive particle *o*, which proves their interactional nature and tendency to occur in informal conversations. In fiction, the most common occurrences are also displayed by *o* and *tai*; however, as was mentioned in Section 2, the CCLL, part of which is the subcorpus of fiction, is not annotated, and the frequencies of *o* and *tai* alongside their particle use include other uses. In fact, the proportions of the particle use of *tai* and *o* (Table 2) show that in fiction these markers are used less frequently as particles than in spoken discourse. In spontaneous private conversations, the particle *tai* constitutes 76% of the overall use of this marker, whereas in fiction it accounts

Table 1: Raw and normalised frequencies of the markers in the corpora

	CSL (spontaneous private conversations) fr/10,000 (raw fr)	CCLL (fiction) fr/10,000 (raw fr)
tai	87.2 (1062)	64.92 (102,349)
va	53.45 (651)	2.01 (3,165)
štai	0.08 (1)	6.43 (10,136)
o	74.15 (903)	795.02 (1,253,400)
nagi	0.16 (2)	0.57 (892)
ogi	0	0.41 (646)

Table 2: Proportions of the use of *tai* and *o* in the corpora

	CSL (spontaneous private conversations) %		CLLL (fiction) %	
	Particle	Others	Particle	Others
tai	76	24	16	84
o	64	36	28	72

for only 16%. Similarly, the particle use of *o* in spoken discourse comprises 64% of the total, while in fiction it makes up 28%.

These distributional differences of *tai* and *o* in the two corpora could be explained by the heterogeneous nature of the subcorpus of fiction, which includes monologues as well as dialogues that contain other means of coding expressivity and discourse management than discourse particles. Moreover, as illustrated by Jucker (2021) in his study into the features of orality in performed fiction (plays, TV series, and films), written fiction (novels), and face-to-face conversations in English, features associated with spoken language, such as discourse markers, response markers, hesitators, are much less frequent in written fiction, as evidenced by the data from narrative fiction in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* than in spontaneous spoken discourse, as illustrated by the data from the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English*. Even in performed fiction, as shown by the examples from the *Corpus of American Soap Operas, TV Corpus, Movies Corpus,* and *Sydney Corpus of Television Dialogue*, elements typically found in spoken discourse are less frequent than in spontaneous conversational exchanges. Thus, the differences between the frequencies of the particles in the two corpora examined in Lithuanian could be ascribed to the 'scripted language' of fiction, which is devoid of spontaneity and the online process of planning one's speech (Jucker 2021, 342).

The particles occurring predominantly in fiction but not in spoken discourse are the emotive particles *nagi* and *ogi* and the demonstrative particle *štai*, which sheds light on their less interactional character and more particularised meanings as well as on discourse preferences of individual particles. The opposite situation is held for the particle *va*, which is among the most frequent particles in spontaneous private conversations but occurs infrequently in fiction. The scarcity of *va* in fiction stresses its interactional nature that could be attested only in spontaneous conversations involving natural interactions between interlocutors. The overall distributional differences of the particles show that spoken discourse and fiction contain a different set of particles to manage interactions and/or create expressivity.

The analysis of 100 random examples of *tai*, *va*, and *o* in the subcorpus of spontaneous private conversations shows that the most frequent turn-initial particles are *o* and *tai*, followed by the demonstrative *va* (Table 3). The fact that *o* and *tai* show a preference for turn-initial particle use in spoken discourse clearly correlates with their overall higher frequencies as particles in spoken interactions, as illustrated in Tables 1 and 2. The higher frequencies of turn-initial *o* and *tai* may also be determined by their ideational meanings (i.e. *o* marks contrast, and *tai* denotes result), which show a relationship between a previous and following clause. Thus, in spoken interactions, these particles also display a tendency to occur at the beginning of a turn and mark a relationship to a previous turn. The particle *va*, however, is more mobile and less constrained by the initial position. It may appear within a phrase as

Table 3: Percentage of the turn-initial use of the particles in spontaneous private conversations and fiction (literary dialogue)

	CSL (spontaneous private conversations) %	CCLL (fiction) %
tai	59	6
va	32	10
štai	—	8
o	72	20
nagi	—	23
ogi	—	23

well as in the left and right periphery of the clause/utterance (Ruskan 2019). The greater mobility of the particle *va* may correlate with its fewer occurrences in turn-initial position.

In fiction, the demonstrative particles *tai* and *va* as well as emotive *o* reveal far fewer occurrences in turn-initial position, which confirms their expected distributional differences in fictional language (dialogues in narratives) and spontaneous conversations. The scarcity of the turn-initial particles *o, tai,* and *va* in fiction confirms the less interactional nature of literary dialogues and their scripted nature, as discussed in the study by Jucker (2021). The less frequent or even non-occurring particles in spoken discourse, such as *štai, nagi,* and *ogi,* can be used turn initially in fictional dialogues, which suggests a different character of interactions in fiction, as compared to conversational exchanges in spoken discourse. The most frequent turn-initial particles used by fictional characters for emphasis and expressivity are *nagi* and *ogi.* Alongside *tai,* the demonstrative particle *štai* is among the least frequent turn-initial particles. As shown in the functional analysis presented in Section 4, *štai* is used by the speaker for the purposes of illustration and explanation but not as an interactive device in dialogue.

Thus, the distribution of turn-initial *tai, va, štai, o, nagi,* and *ogi* in fiction and spontaneous private conversations highlights differences in conversational exchanges in fictional language and spoken discourse. Ample evidence of the use of turn-initial particles in spontaneous private conversations could provide clues to those Lithuanian writers who aim to imitate spoken discourse in their narratives or scripts.

4 Functional variation of the particles

This section discusses the functional variation of the turn-initial particles in spontaneous private conversations and fiction (literary dialogues). First, functions of the demonstrative particles *tai, va,* and *štai* in turn-initial position are presented; then, functions of the emotive particles *o, nagi,* and *ogi* are illustrated. A summary of the functions of turn-initial particles is provided in Section 4.6.

4.1 *TAI*

Functional analysis of the turn-initial *tai* reveals a number of ways in how the particle is related to a previous turn and the emerging turn. Used turn-initially, the particle *tai* may mark the speaker's conclusion based on the arguments in the preceding discourse available to the speaker (7):

(7)   *KAIM11: *porą mašinų, tai kokio dydžio čia būtų?*
       Neighbour11: 'a couple of cars, so what size would they be?'
       *KAIM11: *kiek kubų?*
       Neigbour11: 'how many cubic meters?'
       *KAIM8: *aš dabar neatsimenu, ar jie po dešim(t), ar po dvylika ten tų kubų veža.*
       Neigbour8: 'now I do not remember whether they carry ten or twelve cubic meters there.'
       PIRM: **tai** *čia nemaža mašina.*
       Chair: '**so** it is not a small car.'
       (CSL, SPC)

In (7), two neighbours and the chair of the house community are talking about cars that can carry a load of 10 or 12 m³. Hearing these measurements, the chair draws a conclusion that they must be big cars. In response to a previous turn, the speaker may use the turn-initial *tai* to convey an emotive overtone. As illustrated in the following examples, *tai* may denote the speaker's disagreement or irritation with the addressee because s/he is mocking his interlocutor (8) or does not provide an expected answer to the question (9):

(8) *VYR: *palauk, kaip čia reikia pridėt(i)?*
Man: 'wait, how do you have to put it?'
*MOT: *čia nieko daugiau nebuvo, jokių instrukcijų.*
Woman: 'there were no instructions here, nothing.'
*VYR: *pala pala, kol kas nieko nelaužyk, neišmesk, gal kas nors neveiks, reikės grąžint(i), žinai.*
Man: 'wait, wait, now do not break anything, do not throw away, perhaps something will not work and we will have to give it back, you know.'
MOT: **tai** *aš nieko nelaužau.*
Woman: '**but** I do not break anything.'
(CSL, SPC)

(9) *SŪN: +< *jo, kas yra riebus maistas?*
Son: 'yeah, what is fat food?'
*MOČ: *nenoriu net xxx, jūs nesuprantat(e) tokio dalyko.*
Grandma: 'I do not want even xxx, you do not understand such a thing.'
*MAM: +< *geriau net xxx.*
Mom: 'it is even better xxx.'
SŪN: +< **tai** *tu, močiut(e), net nesak@nz,* **tai** *pasakyk, kas yra riebus maistas nu, močiut(e).*
Son: '**so** you, grandma, do not even say, **so** do tell me what fat food is, grandma.'
(CSL, SPC)

In (8), a man and a woman are looking at the instructions of a console and the man warns the woman not to break or throw away anything from the instructions in case the console does not work. However, the woman gets irritated by the man's warning because she does not intend to throw away anything or break the thing. Similarly, in (9), the grandson does not get an answer from his grandmother about fat food, though he asked her to explain what she means by fat food. Turn-initial *tai* enhances the speaker's dissatisfaction with the addressee's unjustifiable warning (8), i.e. hostile action, and denotes impatience with the addressee's delay in answering the question (9). Both in (8) and (9), the particle *tai* reveals the co-occurrence of discourse structuring and expressive functions.

The overlap of discourse structuring and emotive functions is similarly displayed in examples (10) and (11), in which the turn-initial particle *tai* marks the speaker's willingness to help the addressee (10) or agreement with the addressee (11):

(10) *MAM: *bet jeigu per internetą, kur paskiau aš tą bilietą +/.*
Mom: 'but if via the internet [I buy the ticket], how can I later [get] this ticket.'
*DUK: + < *atspausdinsi.*
Daughter: 'you will print it.'
*MAM: +, *kaip man jį reikės dovanot(i).*
Mom: 'but how will I give it.'
DUK: **tai** *aš tau atspausdinsiu, nu,*
Daughter: '**so** I will print it for you, yeah,'
(CSL, SPC)

(11) *DRAU: *mūsų, nu tik mes esam(e) penki dvyliktas, o mūsų kaimynai penki tryliktas, tai ten vienas yra iš Varnių, tai sakė, galės nuvežt(i).*
Friend: 'we are in five twelve, and our neighbours are in five thirteen, so one of them is from Varniai, so he said that he will give me a ride.'
*DRAU: **tai** *tada galėsiu, nereik(ė)s tų tašių tampytis per Kauną pirmyn, atgal.*
Friend: '**so** then I will be able to, I will not have to carry those bags through Kaunas there and back.'
*DRAU: **tai** *mane paims, tai mes visos važiuosim(e) su juo.*
Friend: '**so** they will pick me up, so we all will come with him.'

MAM: ***tai*** *jo, gyveni, paskiau susipažįsti, visi kombinuoja, kas pigiau.*
Mom: '**so** yeah, you live and later get to know, everybody tries to find out cheaper ways.'
(CSL, SPC)

In (10), in response to the mother's worry (that she does not know how to present an electronic ticket bought as a gift), daughter offers her mother to print the ticket. The particle *tai* strengthens the daughter's appeal to the mother not to worry about the electronic ticket because it is not a problem at all. In (11), there are several instances of *tai* used turn-initially, which convey a slightly different functional load. A friend (Speaker 1) uses *tai* at the beginning of two turns to elaborate on her previous turn, in which she describes that her neighbour will give her a ride. In the first instance, she explains that she will not have to go through Kaunas forth and back carrying her bags; in the second instance, she adds that the neighbour will give her and other mates a ride. Thus, the turn-initial *tai* functions as a marker of elaboration on the speaker's previous turn. In response to Speaker 1, the mother (Speaker 2) uses *tai* alongside the marker of affirmation *yeah* to approve what Speaker 1 said and frame her own conclusion that you live and get to know people better and that everybody looks for cheaper ways of getting around.

Similarly, several occurrences of *tai* within the same conversational exchange are illustrated in (12), where turn-initial *tai* is used as a means for confirming an inference or assumption:

(12) *PIRM: *ką [/] ką visi, turi spręst(i) bendrija, žinot, todėl, kad arba visi mokam(e), arba moka tik vairuotojai.*
Chair: 'what [/] what everybody, it is the community that has to decide, you know, because it is either we all pay or only drivers do.'
*KAIM12: ***tai*** *čia yra įstatymas bendrijos.*
Neighbour12: '**so** it is the law of the community.'
KAIM10: *o **tai** mokėti, asmeniškai rinksim(e) iš kiekvieno ar iš banko pervest(i)?*
Neighbour10: '**but** in order to pay, will we collect personally from everybody or transfer from the bank?'
(CSL, SPC)

In (12), two neighbours and the chair of the house community are discussing the renovation of the parking lot. Like in (11), where two speakers use the particle *tai* at the beginning of a turn, in (12) two neighbours start their turn with *tai*. The first neighbour responds emphatically with *tai* marking the obvious truth that there is a law of the community that regulates payment for the cost of services. The second neighbour starts a turn with *tai* to inquire about the method of payment, which refers to the chair's turn. Multiple occurrences of *tai* at the beginning of a turn explain the high frequencies of *tai* in turn-initial position and its discourse structuring function in spontaneous interactions.

Another function of turn-initial *tai* is the specification or exemplification of the previous speaker's turn, as in (13):

(13) *MAM: *+ < tik dabar plaukai riebaluoti.*
Mom: 'but now my hair is oily.'
*DUK: *visai nieko.*
Daughter: 'it is fine.'
*MAM: *+ < bet gal dabar geriau negu buvo, ką?*
Mom: 'but perhaps it is better now than before?'
DUK: *jo, **tai** visada visada tave panašiai nukerpa: arba nužarina, arba taip pat apkerpa.*
Daughter: 'yeah, **so** they always give you a similar haircut: they cut it too short or as usual.'
(CSL, SPC)

In (13), the mother asks her daughter's opinion about her new haircut and daughter responds that it is always the same story with the mother's hair (they cut it too short or in the same way). The particle *tai*

illustrates this common knowledge and can be replaced by the discourse marker *you know*, which appeals to the knowledge shared by the speaker and the addressee.

To sum up, used-turn initially, the particle *tai* displays an array of functions in a similar way to the turn-initial *so* in English (Denison 2020). It denotes the speaker's conclusion drawn from available facts and arguments, expresses agreement or disagreement with the addressee, asks for the confirmation of an inference, or specifies the speaker's previous turn. The turn-initial use of *tai* is quite dominant, as several speakers in the same conversational situation may start their turn with *tai*, used as a device for explanation, argumentation, disagreement, and specification. As shown in a study by Šinkūnienė et al. (2020), *tai* reveals an overlap of textual and interpersonal discourse functions, and in specific conversational genres, i.e. an interview or radio/television broadcast, it can start a new topic and play an important discourse-structuring role. Similarly, the current study reveals the overlap of discourse structuring and expressive functions of *tai* and highlights the multifunctional profile of this particle.

4.2 *VA*

Another frequent turn-initial particle in spoken interactions is demonstrative *va*, characterised by functional, positional, and scopal diversity. Functioning as a demonstrative particle, it points to a visible entity in discourse (14), accompanies the speaker's actions (15), or points to the preceding text and marks the conclusion (16):

(14) A: *Nu žiauriai gražiai atrodo. Ugniniai tokie. Ir tos sruogos.*
      A: 'Well it looks absolutely amazing. Looks like ginger. And the waves.'
      B: ***Va** tokie gražuoliai. Geras, čia vandeny, gera nuotrauka.*
      B: '**Look**, so nice. Cool, and here in the water, it is a nice picture.'
      (CCLL, spoken)

(15) *Ne, nieko nedarysiu aš dabar. **Va**, tiktai cukraus įdedu, acto, ir viskas.*
      'No, I will not do anything more now. **Here**, I will only add some sugar, vinegar and that is all.'
      (CCLL, spoken)

(16) A: *<...> Koks kraujo spaudimas? Koks ten ūgis? Koks svoris?, **va** tokius va klausimus.*
      A: ' <...> What is the blood pressure? What is the height? What is the weight?, **so** such types of questions.'
      B: *Nu tai gražiausia, pasakoji, o neparodei to laiško.*
      B: 'Well, you are telling a story, but you haven't shown that letter.'
      (CCLL, spoken)

The examples above clearly highlight the demonstrative use of the particle but at the same time they reveal the involvement of the hearer in discourse and the intersubjective dimension of the particle, which is in line with Petit's claim (2010, 151) that presentative/demonstrative particles involve "the implication of a speech partner to whom something is shown". The intersubjectivity of the particle is strengthened in contexts where turn-initial *va* is followed by the verb in the imperative mood, as in the examples below, where the turn-initial particle functions as an attention-getting device:

(17) A: *<...> bet pažėk koks vanduo.*
      A: ' <...> but look at the water.'
      B: *Nu koks tas vanduo?*
      B: 'Well, what is this water like?'
      A: ***Va** žėk koks skaidrus.*
      A: '**Here** look how transparent it is.'
      (CCLL, spoken)

(18) A: *Tai kur mes miegosim?*
      A: 'So where are we going to sleep?'
      B: ***Va, va, va****, klausyk, o kokios priekį pas tave kolonėlės?*
      B: '**Here**, **here**, **here**, listen, and what kind of speakers (in the front) do you have in your car?'
      (CCLL, spoken)

In both examples, the particle *va* occurs in a response to the question; i.e. it appears in the second position, and is followed by verbs of perception.[3] In (17), it is related to the question asked, whereas in (18) *va* starts a new topic and disrupts the progressivity of discourse. Similarly, in (19), by using turn-initial *va*, the speaker abruptly changes the topic of conversation and addresses another participant of the conversation:

(19) *VYR: *tau atneš va tokį laivą.*
      Man: 'they will bring such a ship [ice cream] for you.'
      *MOT1: *ar tau gaila?*
      Woman1: 'and you envy?'
      *VYR: *man tai negaila.*
      Man: 'I don't.'
      MOT1: ***va****, Eurokos nenori pavartyt(i)?*
      Woman1: '**here**, don't you want to look through Euroka [the name of a magazine]?'
      *MOT2: *ooo.*
      Woman2: 'ooo.'
      *VYR: *užsiėmimas xxx.*
      Man: 'what an activity xxx.'
      (CSL, SPC)

In (19), a man and a woman are talking about the ice cream that the woman has ordered. However, the woman apparently does not like the man's remark that the ice cream she ordered will be big, and she turns away from the topic of ice-cream and addresses another woman present in a café by using turn-initial *va*. As a rule, *va* is not only used in contexts where it points to something discussed jointly with the addressee but can also be used as a device that changes the topic of conversation and draws attention to something else. Thus, contexts in which *va* disrupts the progressivity of discourse by shifting the topic of conversation highlight a typical feature of turn-initial particles that mark in various ways the non-congruence with a previous turn, as discussed by Heritage and Sorjonen (2018).

The salient function of turn-initial *va* may be to point to shared experience (mentioned in a previous turn), as in (20), or point to shared understanding and opinion (21):

(20) A: *Sekmadienis, pirmadienis ir kitam antradieniui vėl reikės kažką daryt!*
      A: 'Sunday, Monday and then next Tuesday again I will have to get ready!'
      B: ***Va**** tai man tas pats, kai man padarė kolius. Kiek, po penkis, nu su egzu.*
      B: '**You see**, it is the same for me when they did colloquia. How many, five, with the exam.'
      (CCLL, spoken)

(21) *ANŪ: *arba va kažką reik(ia) pasakyt(i), tai kitą sykį geriau vokiškai atsimena arba angliškai negu [/] negu latviškai.*
      Granddaughter: 'or when she has to say something, it is easier for her to say in German or English than Latvian.'
      MOČ: ***va****, tai matai, dabar, reiškia, tokioj(e) šeimuoj@d [: šeimoje]: latviai, vokiečiai, lietuviai – mišri šeima.*

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3 It should be noted that turn-initial *va* in imperative clauses can be followed by verbs from other semantic domains.

Grandma: '**exactly**, so you see, now it means in this family there are Latvians, Germans and Lithuanians, which is a mixed family.'
(CSL, SPC)

In (20), *va* refers to the speaker's dissatisfaction shared with the interlocutor, as both of them have a busy schedule taking colloquia and exams. In a similar vein to *tai*, in this example, *va* displays the overlap of discourse structuring and expressive functions. In (21), *va* expresses the speaker's approval of what was said in the previous turn and frames the emerging turn with the speaker's comments on a mixed family. The intersubjective dimension of the particle is reinforced by the comment clause *tai matai* 'so you see', which adds to the speaker's positioning on the topic. The turn-initial particle *va* may also be used in contexts of disagreement, as in the following example:

(22)   *SŪN: + < *jisai šiltas bėga.*
       Son: 'it is warm.'
       *MAM: *nu, kur jisai tau šiltas, ledinis vanduo teka.*
       Mom: 'well, it is not, the icy water is running.'
       *SEN: *pasigrūdint(i), reikia ant žiemos užsigrūdint(i).*
       Grandpa: 'it is fine, you should get fit for the winter.'
       MAM: *aha, **va** užtat ir peršti, ir gerklė peršti.*
       Mom: 'aha, **so** that is why you have a scratchy throat.'
       (CSL, SPC)

In (22), the mother complains about the icy water running from the shower, whereas the son says that it is warm. Grandfather suggests getting fit for the winter. However, the mother does not approve of the grandfather's idea. By using the particle *va*, she points out that it is the icy water that causes a scratchy throat.

To sum up, the turn-initial particle *va* is used as an attention-getting device or a marker of agreement or disagreement with something that was mentioned in the previous turn. The speaker may express empathy with the addressee by referring to the shared experience, ideas, and positions or on the contrary may point to disagreement arising from a previous turn. Occasionally, turn-initial *va* can be used as a device that disrupts the continuity of conversation and starts a new topic by drawing attention to something new in discourse. The core demonstrative function determines a variety of the turn-initial functions of *va* connected with pointing to agreement or disagreement in a previous turn or abruptly changing the addressee's attention to something new. Like *tai*, *va* displays the co-occurrence of discourse structuring and expressive functions, which reflects the functional versatility of the particle in spontaneous interactions.

4.3 *ŠTAI*

As mentioned, the demonstrative particle *štai* occurs more frequently in fiction than in spontaneous conversations, which implies its rather specialised role. The analysis of *štai* in the corpora shows that the particle occurs in turn-initial position in individual cases where the speaker emphasises common experience with the addressee (23) or marks surprising information (24) (cf. Petit 2010, 160):

(23)   A: <...> *ar tu perki pats produktus, ar tu eini į turgų?*
       A: '<...> do you yourself buy products or do you go to the market?'
       B: *Einu.*
       B: 'I go to the market.'
       A: ***Štai**, aš irgi.*
       B: '**So** do I.'
       (CCLL, spoken)

(24) A: *Todėl, kad neturėjau bilieto.*
      A: 'Because I did not have a ticket.'
      B: *O kodėl jums, kareiviui, nedavė kareiviško bilieto veltui?*
      A: 'But why didn't they give you (a soldier) a soldier ticket for free?'
      A: *Nes neturėjau su savim jokių dokumentų.*
      A: 'Because I did not have any documents with me.'
      B: ***Štai** šitaip <...>.*
      B: '**Oh, I see** <...>.'
      (CCLL, fiction)

However, in most cases, the particle *štai* is used within the speaker's turn as a device that provides illustration and exemplification of surprising information. It is not used as a response to the addressee's turn but rather elaborates on the speaker's turn, as in the following example:

(25) A: *Jūs su Tėvynės sąjunga irgi kažkaip jau tokį santykių atšilimą pastebėjot?*
      A: 'You must also have noticed that the relationships with the Homeland Union have improved?'
      B: *Jo, aš [...].*
      B: 'Yes, I [...].'
      A: ***Štai** prieš keletą metų Jurgis Razma taip gražiai kalbėjo apie Darbo partijos kandidatą <...>.*
      A: '**For example**, several years ago Jurgis Razma talked so nicely about a candidate from "Darbo partija" <...>.'
      (CCLL, spoken)

In (25), the speaker seeks the addressee's confirmation of the inference that the political relationships between the two political parties (*Tėvynės sąjunga* 'The Homeland Union' and *Darbo partija* 'The Labour Party') have improved (warmed up). The addressee does not have a chance to express his full confirmation because the speaker continues his own illustration of the warmed political relationships (i.e. he gives an example of an MP Jurgis Razma speaking nicely about a candidate from the opposing party). The use of the particle *štai* in illustrations, which imply the speaker's authority and willingness to dominate in the discourse situation, is also clearly expressed in example (26), extracted from the context of an academic lecture (taken from the whole Corpus of Spoken Lithuanian) where a professor discusses the increasing number of people suffering from diabetes and threats of this disease:

(26) *PROF: *tačiau, kai nuo diabeto kas dešimt minučių pasaulyje miršta žmogus, kažkodėl tai per daug nežinoma.*
      Prof: 'however, we do not know much that in the world every ten minutes a person dies from diabetes.'
      PROF: ir todėl apie tai reikia kalbėt(i), o tai iš tikrųjų plintanti, išplitusi, klastinga liga.*
      Prof: 'and therefore, we have to talk about it, because it is really a spreading and dangerous disease.'
      *PROF: *kiek yra Lietuvoje sergančiųjų ir kiek yra registruota.*
      Prof: 'how many people in Lithuania have this disease and how many are registered.'
      PROF ***štai**, <u>pasižiūrėkim(e)</u>, aaa mūsų instituto tyrimų duomenimis cukriniu diabetu serga penki procentai mūsų visuomenės.*
      Prof: '**here**, <u>let's look</u>, aaa the data obtained by our research institute shows that about five percent of our population has diabetes.'
      (CSL)

In (26), the speaker illustrates his point mentioned in the preceding discourse by providing the exact number of people suffering from diabetes in Lithuania. The intersubjective dimension of *štai* in (26) is highlighted by the directive *pasižiūrėkim(e)* 'let's look' that involves the addressee in discourse. Both in spoken discourse and fiction, *štai* is used more frequently as a marker of illustration, elaboration, or self-expression rather than a turn-initial marker responding to the addressee.

4.4 *O*

The emotive particle *o* frequently occurs in turn-initial position (almost half of the instances) in contexts where the speaker is seeking some clarification or explanation from the addressee because he/she finds the information in the previous turn interesting or requiring elaboration, as shown below:

(27) *STU2: *bet mažai, mažai darbą, aš taip aplamai žmonių dirba patinkantį galvoju.*
STU2: 'but in general few people do their favourite jobs, I think.'
*STU1: *aš irgi taip galvoju.*
STU1: 'I agree.'
STU2: nes kažkaip, bet iš tikrųjų, jeigu [/] jeigu dirbi darbą, kurį myli, tai čia yra gyvenimo svajonė, aš*
įsivaizduoju.
STU2: 'because somehow, but really, if [/] you do the job you love, so it is your life dream, I imagine.'
STU1: ***o** ką ką tu norėtum dirbt(i)?*
STU1: '**and** what would you like to do?'
(CSL, SPC)

In the example above, two students are discussing the importance of doing a job that one likes. Student 2 notes that nowadays few people can do their favourite job and compares doing a favourite job to the fulfilment of one's dreams. Student 1 shows agreement with student 2, but would like to know what job student 2 would like to do and asks a question prefaced by the particle *o*. The particle *o* occurring in an interrogative sentence is used for eliciting a response from the addressee and marks the speaker's interest in the response. The particle signals acceptance of what is said in the previous turn but at the same time requires more elaboration. In this context, turn-initial *o* clearly reveals a discourse structuring role, though its expressive function is apparent as well. The particle *o* may also be used in suggestions given to the addressee, as in example (28):

(28) *STU2: *visą laiką norėjau tokių raudonų pabandyt(i), nu, tokių ne visai raudonų, bet kažkaip labai,*
galvoju, drastiška būtų.
STU2: 'I always wanted to have red hair, well not totally red, because I somehow thought it would be too bold.'
*STU1: *kodėl?*
STU1: 'why?'
STU1: *nu, žiūrint, koks tas raudonumas.*
STU1: 'well, it depends what type of red.'
*STU2: *nu, jo, bet baisu, įdomu, kaip ten + [...]*
STU2: 'well, yeah, but terrible, interesting how there [...]'
*STU1: ***o** tu sruogų ne– [/] ne– [/] nenori kažkokių?*
STU1: '**and** don't you want some stripes?'
*STU2: *aš turėjau visą gyvenimą, kol čia neįstojau, nu, nes iki pat, nu, jo, dvyliktoj(e) dar turėjau +/.*
STU2: 'I had them [red stripes] all my life until I got here, well because until, well, yeah in grade 12 I had them.'
(CSL, SPC)

In the example above, one of the students admits that she wanted to dye her hair red but did not dare to do so. The other student makes a suggestion that she should try dying her hair with red stripes. The prefacing of the suggestion with the particle *o* highlights the affective dimension of the particle because the speaker demonstrates his/her genuine interest in the situation described by the addressee. Appeal to the addressee is expressed not only in requests for clarification or giving suggestions but also in contexts where the particle *o* marks the change of topic and draws the addressee's attention to something else:

(29) *MOT1: + < *mhm.*
     WOMAN1: 'mhm.'
     MOT2: +, skanūs toki@d [: tokie] visai.*
     WOMAN2: 'so tasty.'
     *MOT2: *aišku, ten juose maistinių dalelių tai ten taip jau, kaip sakant, reiktų@st [:reikėtų] paieškot(i).*
     Woman2: 'of course, well you should look for food elements in them.'
     MOT2: ***o** aš vakar gi šokau.*
     Woman2: '**and** I was dancing yesterday.'
     *MOT1: *ir kaip tau sekėsi?*
     Woman1: 'and how did it go?'
     (CSL, SPC)

(30) *STU2: *nu, tai čia išeina devyni metai, praktiškai, devyni arba dešimt.*
     STU2: 'well, it is nine years practically, nine or ten.'
     *STU2: *nu, tai čia, žinai, jau toks stažas neprastas.*
     STU2: 'well, you know it is solid experience.'
     *STU1: *aha.*
     STU1: 'aha.'
     STU1: ***o**, beje, dabar kažkaip prisiminiau, tu girdėjai mūsų vėdėuno [VDU] skandalą?*
     STU1: '**and** by the way, now I remembered, did you hear about an affair in VDU?'
     *STU2: *girdėjau, baik juokus, taigi čia visi laikraščiai viską rašo.*
     STU2: 'I heard about it, stop joking, all the papers are writing about it.'
     (CSL, SPC)

In (29), at first, the women are discussing some food issues, and then all of a sudden, one of them shares surprising information that she took up dancing classes. Similarly, in (30), the students reflect upon the topic of job experience, and then one of the students recalls some surprising information (an affair at a university) and switches to this topic. Like the turn-initial particle *va*, *o* disrupts the progressivity of conversation by introducing some surprising information and highlighting the non-congruence with a previous turn. The demonstrative meaning of *va* and the ideational meaning of contrast marked by *o* favour the emergence of the function of topic shift at the beginning of a turn. However, in comparison to the demonstrative particles *tai* and *va*, which are speaker-oriented, because first of all, they denote the speaker's realisations about some surprising information, the emotive particle *o* is more addressee-oriented. This intersubjective dimension of *o* is foregrounded by its frequent occurrence in questions. In a similar vein to *tai* and *va*, turn-initial *o* is characterised by multifunctionality, displayed through the co-occurrence of discourse structuring and expressive functions.

4.5 *NAGI*, *OGI*

In fiction, the most frequent emotive turn-initial particles are *nagi* and *ogi*. Out of the 100 random examples of both particles, 23 instances of each particle occur in turn-initial position in the literary dialogue. In fictional conversational exchanges, *nagi* is used as a device encouraging the addressee to act or as a marker eliciting an answer from the addressee:

(31) A: *O ką čia butelyje nešiojiesi?*
     A: 'What are you carrying in the bottle?'
     B: *Velnią.*
     B: 'The devil.'
     A: ***Nagi**, parodyk.*
     A: 'Come on, show it.'
     (CCLL, fiction)

(32) A: ***Nagi**, brangute, kas nutiko tavo veidui?*
　　　A: '**Now**, dear, what has happened to your face?'
　　　B: *Įsipjoviau <...>.*
　　　B: 'I got a cut <...>.'
　　　(CCLL, fiction)

In (31), the emotive particle *nagi* strengthens the directive speech act and marks the urgency to act, whereas in (32), *nagi* alongside the affective *dear* creates a positive attitude towards the addressee and expresses sympathy and understanding. *Nagi* can also be used as an emphatic answer to a question, i.e. in the second position, as in the following examples:

(33) A: *Kur mano pinigai? Ar nematei, Fidai?*
　　　A: 'Where is my money? Didn't you see it, Fid?'
　　　B: *Kokie pinigai?*
　　　B: 'What money?'
　　　A: ***Nagi** tie, gauti iš ciesoriaus statyti dramai.*
　　　A: 'Don't you know it, the money got from the emperor to stage drama.'
　　　B: *O kiek jų buvo?*
　　　B: 'And how much money was there?'
　　　(CCLL, fiction)

(34) A: *Ar nepastebėjote jo elgesyje ko nors keista?*
　　　A: 'Did you notice anything strange in his behaviour?'
　　　B: *Keista? Ką konkrečiai turite omeny, tėve?*
　　　B: 'Strange? What in particular do you have in mind, father?'
　　　A: ***Nagi**, priore! Jūs puikiai žinote, ką noriu pasakyti!*
　　　A: '**Come on**, prior! You know perfectly well what I mean!'
　　　(CCLL, fiction)

The particle *nagi* expresses the speaker's slight irritation with the addressee's lack of knowledge about the money (33) or with the fact that the speaker does not notice strange things about the person the interlocutors are talking about (34). The emphatic use of the particle at the beginning of a turn favours the outpour of the speaker's emotions towards the addressee. Similarly, the particle *ogi* occurs as an emphatic answer to the question, i.e. in the second position, and expresses dissatisfaction or other negative feelings, connected with the question, as illustrated below:

(35) A: *Ar tiesą apie tave kalba?*
　　　A: 'Are they telling the truth about you?'
　　　B: *Ką čia sapalioji? Kokią tiesą?*
　　　B: 'You are talking nonsense. What truth?'
　　　A: ***Ogi** pats žinai!*
　　　A: 'Don't you know it!'
　　　(CCLL, fiction)

(36) A: *Nenoriu to daryti.*
　　　A: 'I do not want to do it.'
　　　B: *Kas atsitiko?*
　　　B: 'What is the matter?'
　　　A: ***Ogi** tai, kad mes nežinome, kas yra kitoje pusėje!*
　　　A: '**The thing** is that we do not know what is on the other side!'
　　　(CCLL, fiction)

The outburst of the speaker's emotions is signalled not only by the particle but also by an exclamation. It should be noted that the particle *ogi* quite frequently (30% of the instances) occurs in an answer to the speaker's own question and functions as a device displaying the characters' emotions and actions in the inner monologue. The emphatic nature of *nagi* and *ogi* is connected with the fact that the particles contain the element *gi,* which may also function as an independent particle strengthening the illocutionary force of directives or other speech acts. Like the turn-initial demonstrative particles *tai* and *va* in spontaneous private conversations, *nagi* and *ogi* in the literary dialogue are speaker oriented, since they express the speaker's emotions, as a result of which the speaker encourages the addressee to act or emphasises the addressee's lack of knowledge. The expressivity that characterises the use of *nagi* and *ogi* brings them close to interjection particles.

To sum up, the most frequent emotive particle in spoken discourse is *o,* which displays the affective attitude towards the addressee or presents surprising information, whereas in fiction *nagi* and *ogi* are used as emphatic devices in the literary dialogue to express intense emotions.

4.6 Summary of the functions of the particles

The list below provides a summary of the main functions of the turn-initial particles *tai*, *va, štai*, *o*, *nagi*, and *ogi* in spontaneous private conversations and fiction (literary dialogues) analysed in Section 4:
1. *TAI*
    1.1 conclusion based on arguments in a previous turn;
    1.2 dissatisfaction, irritation, and impatience with the addressee;
    1.3 agreement with the addressee;
    1.4 seeking for confirmation of an assumption;
    1.5 specification, exemplification on the previous speaker's turn.
2. *VA*
    2.1 pointing to an entity (object, actions, preceding text);
    2.2 response to a question;
    2.3 changing the topic;
    2.4 pointing to shared experience/disagreement.
3. *ŠTAI*
    3.1 marking common experience;
    3.2 illustration of surprising information.
4. *O*
    4.1 seeking for explanation, clarification, eliciting response;
    4.2 introducing suggestions;
    4.3 changing the topic.
5. *NAGI*
    5.1 intensifying directive speech act;
    5.2 eliciting a response from the addressee;
    5.3 response marker showing the speaker's irritation with the addressee.
6. *OGI*
    6.1 response marker showing the speaker's negative emotions.

5 Conclusions

The present study sheds light on the inventory and role of turn-initial particles in spoken Lithuanian, namely in spontaneous private conversations, and in fiction, and thus extends the scope of studies dealing with

discourse particles in Lithuanian (Petit 2010, Panov 2019, Šolienė 2020, Šinkūnienė et al. 2020) as well as investigations of turn-initial particles across languages (Heritage and Sorjonen 2018). The study unfolds how the beginning of a turn in spoken interactions and literary dialogue determines the functional variation of the demonstrative particles *tai, va, štai,* and the emotive particles *o, nagi,* and *ogi.*

The analysis of the quantitative and qualitative parameters of the demonstrative and emotive particles shows that turn-initial position in spoken interactions is occupied mostly by the particles *o, tai,* and *va,* whereas in a literary dialogue, the emotive particles *nagi* and *ogi* are used most frequently turn-initially. The demonstrative particle *štai* occurs turn-initially rather rarely, as it more frequently occurs as a device for illustration and explanation within the speaker's turn rather than an interactive particle across the turns. The distribution of the turn-initial particles in the two discourses (spoken language and fiction) proves that the inventory of turn-initial particles in spoken and literary interactions differs. These findings are also in line with Jucker's study (2021), which shows significant differences in the distribution of discourse markers, interjections, and other elements typical of spoken language in spontaneous conversational exchanges and written fiction in English.

Used turn-initially, the particles *tai* and *va* display various responses to a previous turn and frame an upcoming turn. The particle *tai* may express the speaker's conclusion on the basis of the arguments in the previous turn, agreement or disagreement with the addressee, willingness to help the addressee or specification of a previous turn. The turn-initial demonstrative particle *va* performs an attention-getting function and expresses shared experience or disagreement with the addressee. However, unlike the demonstrative particle *tai*, in individual cases it breaks the continuity of conversation and starts a new topic, highlighting the unexpectedness of the emerging turn. The meaning of emphasis ascribed to the demonstrative particles in the *Lithuanian Grammar* becomes salient in the context of social interaction that naturally marks agreement and disagreement between the interlocutors and outpour of various emotional responses (dissatisfaction, surprise), which brings these particles close to interjections expressing various emotions. The overlap of discourse structuring and expressive functions of *tai* and *va* reveals the multifunctional profile of the two particles. Their high overall frequencies in spoken interactions also throw light on their potential to function as fillers that facilitate the on-going talk in conversation, like particles *nu, na*, and *reiškia* (Šinkūnienė et al. 2020, Šolienė 2020).

The most frequent turn-initial particle *o* also reveals a multifunctional profile in spontaneous private conversations by performing discourse structuring and expressive functions. One of its dominant uses is prefacing a question with the intention of eliciting an answer from the addressee and showing the speaker's genuine interest in the details of the answer. Like the particle *va, o* may start abruptly a new topic in the conversation, thus disrupting the progressivity of the emerging turn. However, it should be noted that unlike the particles *tai* and *va*, the particle *o* is less speaker-oriented and more addressee-oriented, since it does not focus on the speaker's realisations or expressions of emotions but more on eliciting a response from the addressee. In fiction, the emotive particles *nagi* and *ogi* tend to occur in directives or emphatic responses to questions and focus on the speaker's emotional state of dissatisfaction or irritation. They are not as multifunctional as the demonstrative particles or the emotive particle *o*. It should be noted that the multifunctionality of the turn-initial particles correlates with their overall frequencies and broad general semantic meaning, as illustrated by *tai, o,* and *va*.

The limitations of the study pertain to the small number of sequences of turns available in the Corpus of Spoken Lithuanian, which does not allow for a more comprehensive contextual analysis of the particles. However, the contextual information available makes it possible to identify the most prototypical functions of the particles in turn-initial position, determined by the interactional context of conversation in spoken discourse or literary dialogue.

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Data sources: CCLL Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language. Available at http://donelaitis.vdu.lt. CSL Corpus of Spoken Lithuanian. Available at http://sakytinistekstynas.vdu.lt/index.php.

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