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"You should consider other possibilities like"

A study of the widening function of the discourse markers *like* and *liksom*

Master's thesis in Language Studies with Teacher Education

Supervisor: Andrew Weir and Kaja Borthen

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Abstract

This thesis studies the discourse markers *like* in English and *liksom* in Norwegian. Previous literature shows that the former has been studied thoroughly since the 1980s, whereas *liksom* has received more attention since the beginning of 2000. Nevertheless, scholars still disagree regarding what both markers do. I argue that some uses of medial *like* and *liksom* signal a type of widening, and I wish to extend that analysis to final *like* and *liksom*. More specifically, the thesis aims to show how final *like* and *liksom* signal that we should widen what we entertain as 'live possibilities'. The conclusions are drawn from using examples from previous literature and data from corpora. The findings and the analysis illustrate that instances of final *like* and *liksom* signal that people should change the possibilities they are assumed to be entertaining, and include some possibilities they have previously excluded. The analysis further shows that the proposed function can be categorised in three different groups based on whether speakers or addressees, or both speaker and addressee need to extend their domain of real possibilities. The biggest difference between *like* and *liksom* is that *like* rarely signals that speakers (as opposed to addressees) should widen their beliefs, whereas *liksom* often does. Another interesting finding is that various examples from previous literature can be unified within the proposed widening function.

Sammendrag

Denne masteravhandlingen studerer diskursmarkørene *like* i engelsk og *liksom* i norsk. Tidligere forskning viser at førstnevnte har blitt studert nøye siden 1980-tallet, mens *liksom* har fått mer oppmerksomhet siden begynnelsen av 2000. Likevel er forskere fortsatt uenige når det gjelder hvilke funksjoner markørene har. Jeg hevder at noen typer setningsmediale *like* og *liksom* signaliserer en form for utvidelse, og jeg ønsker å forlenge denne analysen til setningsfinale *like* og *liksom*. Masteravhandlingen tar sikte på å vise hvordan setningsfinale *like* og *liksom* signaliserer at vi skal utvide forståelsen vår og ta andre muligheter i betraktning. Konklusjonene er tatt på bakgrunn av eksempler fra tidligere forskning, samt korpusdata. Funnene og analysen illustrerer at setningsfinale *like* og *liksom* signaliserer at man skal endre mulighetene man er ment å ha, og inkludere muligheter man tidligere ekskluderte. Videre viser analysen at funksjonen kan bli delt i tre, gruppert etter om utvidelsen gjelder for taler eller mottaker, eller både taler og mottaker. Den største forskjellen på *like* og *liksom* er at *like* sjelden signaliserer at talere (i motsetning til mottakere) bør endre deres forståelse, mens dette er vanlig for *liksom*. Et annet interessant funn er at flere eksempler fra tidligere forskning kan bli samlet under den foreslåtte utvidelsesfunksjonen.

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Trondheim, May 2020

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1 Introduction

In English, the word *like* can function as a verb, a noun and a preposition. In addition to these, there are other uses which are separated from the non-vernacular uses of the word, and which have attracted much attention (D'Arcy, 2007, p. 386). Some claim that these types of *like* are "(...) inserted into spoken sentences before or after a word, phrase, or clause apparently without meaning (...)" and that they are used "because it has become their habit to say it" (Collins Dictionary, 2020). The difference between the non-vernacular type and the latter is illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. Did you *like* her?
 b. Yes, she was *like* so amazing!

In (1a) *like* is a verb, whereas in (1b) it is difficult to assign *like* to a particular word class. Furthermore, *like* can be omitted without making the sentence ungrammatical. Because of that, there is an opinion among non-linguists that *like* in expressions such as (1b) are merely fillers, entailing that they are meaningless and signal poor communication skills (D'Arcy, 2007, p. 388). In the Norwegian language, there are similar attitudes towards the word *liksom* (Johnsen, 2012, p. 91), and until a few years ago, I also believed that I should avoid uttering *liksom* in sentences such as (2), due to being told at school that *liksom* was unnecessary.

- (2) Jeg vet ikke hva jeg skal gjøre *liksom*
 'I don't know what to do *like*'

In this paper, *like* in (1b) and *liksom* in (2) are analysed as discourse markers and their functions are compared. Although many non-linguists believe that these are fillers, studies on the field have proven that neither *like* nor *liksom* is random or meaningless (D'Arcy, 2007, p. 388). However, these studies propose several different functions for both markers, and scholars highly disagree. Scholars such as D'Arcy (2007), Siegel (2002) and Underhill (1988) have studied initial and medial *like* thoroughly, but they have not focussed on final *like*. Although final *like* is indeed rarer, it still exists dialectally, and as it is studied less than the marker in medial and initial position, it is interesting to study final *like* further.

Both dialects of English and Norwegian allow *like* and *liksom* in final position, and we might hypothesise that they have the same functions. This thesis is going to investigate that possibility in more detail. When comparing the Norwegian sentence to the English sentence in (3), I claim that the markers can have the same functions, namely that they highlight the surprise of the statement and signal that we should consider other options than we originally do.

- (3) Byåsen vant, *liksom*!¹
'Byåsen won, *like*!'

Thus, I claim that *like* and *liksom* in (3) signal that although you might not believe that Byåsen could win, you should reconsider this belief and entertain new possibilities, and it is specifically this claim that is supported in this thesis.

1.1 Research questions

The thesis's purpose is to bring new insights to the discussions regarding *like* and *liksom*, and it adapts the domain widening hypothesis (Kadmon & Landman, 1993) to the idea of widening of 'live possibilities' within a common ground model (Stalnaker, 2002). I argue that some uses of medial *like* and *liksom* can be captured with a domain-widening analysis, and wish to extend that analysis of medial *like* to final *like*. This study aims to show how final *like* and *liksom* entail some kind of domain widening, for instance that people should consider other possibilities than they originally entertained and therefore widen their understanding. Consequently, the main research question is as follows:

Do final like and liksom signal that we should widen what we entertain as 'live possibilities'?

This question is answered by using examples from previous literature and data from corpora. As briefly mentioned in the beginning of the introduction, scholars disagree when defining the markers' function. Some occurrences have been analysed as hedges, whereas others have been treated as focus devices or intensifiers. Thus, this thesis also wishes to see whether these instances can be unified within the function proposed here. In other words, can other descriptions of *like* and *liksom* be linked to the notion of widening 'live possibilities'? Lastly, as the thesis focusses on markers from two distinct languages, it is also fruitful to investigate whether they work similarly or not. Hence, the last question relevant for this thesis is concerned with the similarities and differences between final *like* and *liksom*.

1.2 Plan for the thesis.

The thesis is divided into four main chapters. Chapter 2 provides background information of pragmatic markers and discourse markers. The definition of discourse marker relevant for this thesis is stated, as well as which types of *like* that are excluded from the notion of *like* as a discourse marker. Lastly, the chapter also explains how the data has been collected and analysed.

¹ This example is discussed in section 5.2.

Chapter 3 contains a literature review with previous descriptions of *like* and *liksom*. The former is discussed first, where especially the debate regarding hedge versus focus is emphasised. Then, the Norwegian marker is examined. The chapter ends with a description of Hasund's (2003) study of the similarities and differences of *like* and *liksom* before stating what is missing from the literature.

The findings in chapter 3 create the basis for chapter 4. It focusses on the idea of domain widening, and aims to show how one can adapt the original notion of domain widening to the idea of widening of 'live possibilities'. The common ground model and words that manipulate what is included and excluded from discourse are discussed before showing how this can be transferred to both non-discourse and discourse uses of *like* and *liksom*.

The thesis argues that final *like* and *liksom* signal surprise and that people should change the possibilities they are assumed to be entertaining, and include some possibilities they have previously excluded. By providing an analysis backed up by qualitative investigation of corpus examples and examples from previous literature in final position, chapter 5 aims to support this hypothesis.

2 Background

This chapter provides background information on discourse markers and discusses the methods used to collect and analyse data. First, I show that there are disagreements regarding what a discourse marker is as well as whether different terms mean the same thing. Then, I provide the definition of discourse marker used in this thesis, before distinguishing between several types of *like*. Here, it is also relevant that there are some uses of the marker that are excluded from the notion of *like* as a discourse marker, and therefore omitted from this thesis. Lastly, the data collection and how the data is analysed are described.

2.1 Discourse markers and *like*₂

English expressions such as *well, but, so, eh* and *in other words* are often categorised as pragmatic markers, discourse markers, discourse connectives or discourse operators (Blakemore, 2004, p. 221). Thus, there are several distinct terms, and there are disagreements whether they mean the same thing or not. For instance, some scholars separate pragmatic markers from discourse markers, whereas others treat them as the same phenomenon. Hence, researchers do not agree on labels as well as what is included in those terms, and these ideas vary greatly in papers explaining these markers.

Fraser (1996, p. 186) treats discourse markers as one of the sub-groups of pragmatic markers. He defines the latter as signs that do not contribute to the propositional content although they still signal how utterances are supposed to be understood (Fraser, 2009, p. 295). In addition, removing them does not turn grammatical sentences into ungrammatical ones. Fraser views discourse markers as one of four sub-groups of pragmatic markers, and their job is to "signal the relationship of the basic message to the foregoing discourse" (1996, p. 186). He further categorises the latter into four types, namely topic change markers, contrastive markers, elaborative markers, and inferential markers.

- (4) a. Jacob was very tired. He left early
 b. Jacob was very tired, *so* he left early

(4) is an example that illustrates the difference between a sentence that does contain a discourse marker, and one that does not (Fraser, 1996, p. 169). (4a) and (4b) are different in that the latter contains the discourse marker *so*. The marker does not affect the propositional content and it does not have truth-conditional meaning (Fraser, 2009, p. 299). Nevertheless, it provides information on how to interpret the utterance in relation to the preceding discourse, namely that Jacob being tired was the reason why he

² Some of the following material is taken or adapted from the author's independent study (SPRÅL3800) paper *The discourse marker like: a case of multifunctionality? A preliminary investigation*.

left early. In other words, it tells us something about the conclusion that is reached. Hence, *so* is an example of an inferential discourse marker in Fraser's sense.

I wish to distinguish between *like* that can be categorised as a discourse marker and *like* in its non-discourse uses, especially since *like* can have many different functions in English. More specifically, *like* has several functions both syntactically and semantically. Syntactically, *like* can be different parts of speech such as a verb, a preposition and a suffix, whereas semantically *like* can for instance mean 'love' or 'similar to'. Some examples that illustrate *like's* diversity are illustrated below.

- (5) I *like* pizza
- (6) What was Trondheim *like*?
- (7) I had flu-*like* symptoms

It can be argued that as a verb in (5), *like* has little in common with the others, showing an instance of accidental homophony where one is dealing with distinct words that share the same spelling. In other words, it differs both syntactically and semantically from *like* in the examples in (6) and (7). On the other hand, *like* as a preposition and *like* as a suffix seem to be polysemous in that they have distinct, but related meanings, namely resemblance as in (6) and (7). Thus, although they are syntactically different, their semantics are similar. As neither of these are optional and they do affect truth-conditions, they are not categorised as pragmatic markers in Fraser's (1996) sense, nor discourse markers. I will thus not analyse these in detail, whereas *like* in examples such as (5) is irrelevant for this study.

In addition to the non-vernacular uses of *like* presented above, there are also vernacular uses that have attracted attention, and "each is functionally distinct and can be distinguished from 'grammatical' and largely unremarkable uses" (D'Arcy, 2007, pp. 391-392). D'Arcy (2007, pp. 392-394) separates between four vernacular uses, namely *like* as a quotative complementizer, approximate adverb, discourse marker, and discourse particle, where the latter is categorised as a type of discourse marker that unlike other markers occurs within the clause. These four types proposed by D'Arcy are illustrated in (8) – (11) (2007, p. 392).

- (8) I was *like* "where do you find these people?" [quotative complementizer]
- (9) It could have taken you all day to go *like* thirty miles [approximation adverb]
- (10) Nobody said a word. *Like* my first experience with death was this Italian family [discourse marker]
- (11) She's *like* dumb or something [discourse particle]

Like in both (8) and (9) have been studied heavily, and there are disagreements about whether they can be categorised as discourse markers or not. For instance, Hasund (2003, p. 13) states that some scholars categorise the approximation function as a discourse use, whereas others exclude it. One scholar who does the latter is D'Arcy (2007, pp. 393-394), and she rejects both the quotative and approximative use of *like* from the discourse category, explaining that the former can be viewed as a synonym for other quotative expressions, while the latter is an approximative adverb replacing *about*. In contrast, both the discourse marker and the discourse particle *like* fulfil the criteria of pragmatic markers since removing *like* in (10) and (11) does not change the sentences' propositional content, nor does it make the sentences ungrammatical. Hence, they can

both be described as pragmatic markers in Fraser's (1996) sense and in this thesis they will be referred to as *discourse markers* in line with much of the literature on *like* and *liksom*.

As mentioned in the beginning of this section, Fraser (2009, pp. 295-299) states that pragmatic markers in general and discourse markers more specifically do not affect truth conditions. Based on this, it can be argued that *like* in (9) is a discourse marker, despite D'Arcy's definitions. 'Thirty miles' is rarely interpreted as 'exactly thirty miles' without the addition of *exactly*, meaning that there is already some vagueness present without the approximation adverb. Hence, it is complicated to state whether it actually affects the truth conditions in (9) or not. In addition, removing *like* from that sentence does not make the sentence ungrammatical.

Nevertheless, according to Fraser's (1996, p. 186) definition of discourse markers, they should signal a link to the previous discourse, and *like* in (9) and (11) does not link the utterance to preceding discourse. However, his categorisation can be criticised as discourse markers do not necessarily occur in initial position. As will be shown, this is especially true for *like*, as previous studies of discourse *like* highlight its medial position. Moreover, as borderline cases such as *like* in (9) make the analysis more complicated, as well as there being disagreements about whether they are discourse markers or not, this paper focusses on examples which fit into D'Arcy's definition of discourse markers. Thus, the utterances she has coded as quotative *like* are therefore excluded from this paper. Furthermore, approximative *like* is not the main focus, although as we will see, it is still important in the discussion of domain widening. Moreover, the types that D'Arcy defines as discourse markers, namely *like* as both discourse markers and particles, are in focus.

2.2 Data collection and analysis

The thesis is a qualitative analysis which combines literature research with a corpus-linguistic method.

After reading several articles, and deciding that final *like* and *liksom* would be the main focus, it was necessary to collect additional data. Therefore, three corpora of Norwegian language, namely Norsk Talespråkskorpus (Norwegian Speech Corpus), Nordisk Dialektkorpus (Nordic Dialect Corpus) and the Big Brother corpus, as well as The British National Corpus for English were searched to supplement the utterances collected from previous literature. This was especially important as few previous studies provided sentences with final *like*, but also to test the hypothesis with new data.

There are several examples of interrogative *like* and *liksom* in previous literature, such as (12) (Underhill, 1988, p. 238) and (13) (Johnsen, 2012, p. 101). Although they raise interesting questions, I had to exclude them from this study due to limitations of scope.

- (12) Did you *like* hear the news? Class is cancelled!
(13) Skulle jeg *liksom* be X om å dempe seg litt?
'Should I *like* ask X to quiet down?

In order to analyse the data that was collected from previous literature and corpora, intuitions and discussions between myself and my supervisors Andrew Weir and Kaja Borthen were essential. Andrew Weir is a Scottish English speaker and user of final *like*,

and some data were checked by him, whereas other examples were based on Kaja Borthen's and my intuitions as Norwegian speakers. English speakers' intuitions on whether English sentences are felicitous or not are inevitably stronger than non-native speakers' intuitions, and the same is true for Norwegian speakers and Norwegian sentences. Consequently, the results are taken here to be trustworthy. However, although we have strong intuitions in our native languages, we were only three people present in the discussions, and surveys which could have collected data from numerous participants might have provided new insights. In addition, it is also worth mentioning that additional data and a quantitative analysis could have helped confirm the analysis reached on a qualitative basis in this study.

3 Literature review³

There exist numerous previous studies on *like*, and although fewer studies have been conducted on *liksom*, this marker has also received more attention in recent years. This chapter provides previous descriptions of both discourse *like* and discourse *liksom*. First, the English marker is in focus where especially the disagreement regarding whether *like* functions as a focus marker or as a hedge is discussed. Second, as final *like* is in focus in this thesis, a section is also dedicated to descriptions of *like* in that position. Although it has been neglected from most studies, scholars such as Miller and Weinert (1995) propose a distinct function for final *like*. Third, I focus on previous descriptions of discourse *liksom*, before presenting a summary of Hasund's study as her findings concerning *like* and *liksom* in final position were the inspiration for this thesis. Lastly, based on the information presented, I suggest what is missing from the existing literature and how this thesis could provide a solution to the problem.

3.1 Previous descriptions of discourse like

Studies of discourse *like* began in the early 1980s and much has been established since then (Hasund, 2003, p. 1). For instance, D'Arcy (2007, p. 397) has shown that although there is a higher percentage of adolescent speakers who use *like* there are both female and male, as well as young and older users of discourse *like*. Furthermore, *like* can occur in different syntactic positions, both in initial, medial and final position. The latter has not been studied as comprehensively as the others, which may be due to the fact that it almost exclusively occurs in Northern British varieties, as well as in Irish English (Schweinberger, 2015, p. 116). Although *like* is syntactically flexible, studies such as D'Arcy (2007) and Miller (2009) have shown that *like* is not meaningless nor randomly placed, despite common beliefs among non-linguists that it is. For instance, Miller's (2009, p. 323) data from New Zealand English and Australian English, as well as his and Weinert's study (1995, p. 366) on Scottish English, do not support the view that *like* is a filler as few of the examples are followed by hesitations and pauses. In other words, *like* is a frequently used particle that does have a meaning, although scholars still disagree on what *like* actually does. Moreover, in the literature, two competing analyses easily become visible, namely *like* as a hedge and *like* as a focussing device.

3.1.1 Hedge versus focus

Several scholars, such as Hasund (2003), Siegel (2002) and Schourup (1983), discuss *like*'s hedging function, although they use different terms and definitions. Schourup (1983, p. 31) states that *like* is "(...) used to express a possible unspecified minor non-equivalence of what is said and what is meant." Siegel (2002, p. 31) agrees with this, stating that *like* indicates that speakers are unsure of how to describe their propositions precisely. In other words, when used as a hedge, *like* tones down statements and allows

³ Some of the following material is taken or adapted from the author's independent study (SPRÅL3800) paper *The discourse marker like: a case of multifunctionality? A preliminary investigation*.

the speaker to convey approximate and vague renderings, as in (14) (Schweinberger, 2014, p. 98). In addition to vagueness and approximations, Hasund (2003, p. 126) claims that as a hedge, *like* can be used to soften the expression in order to avoid face-threatening situations, such as in (15) when the speaker is criticising another person's behaviour.

- (14) I mean it's not *like* directly obvious
(15) She agrees with everything I say. She's never horrible to me. But when you're around she's really horrible to me and *like*, even though she's agreed with something I've said earlier. She just sort of goes yeah right Katie ha ha ha it's really funny and takes the piss out of it

Unlike Siegel and Schourup, scholars such as Underhill (1988) and Miller and Weinert (1995) favour an analysis of *like* as a focussing device. Underhill (1988, p. 238) defines focus as "the most significant new information in a sentence - often the point of the sentence" and states that *like* is most often used to introduce this information, as in (16). Although he also claims that *like* is used as a focussing device in (17), he admits that *like* in such instances can be viewed as a hedge (Underhill, 1988, p. 238). In other words, while he advocates for *like* as a focussing device, he still accepts its hedging function.

- (16) He was *like* standing right behind me when I said it
(17) The waves were *like* really big

Similar to Underhill, Hasund (2003, p. 174) rejects an overall hedging function since she found examples in her database⁴ that were incompatible with the hedging definition, and where the markers express precision or intensification, such as in (18).

- (18) And they're *like* so loud and high-pitched and then when they laugh (...)

Unlike both Hasund and Underhill, some scholars such as Miller and Weinert (1995, p. 365) consider initial and medial *like* to be merely a focus device. They further disagree with Underhill's claim that highlighting is restricted to new information. In their opinion, *like* in both initial and medial position is used as a "non-introducing, non-contrastive focuser that can focus on new or given information or entities" (Miller & Weinert, 1995, p. 379).

Despite scholars disagreeing about whether *like* functions as a hedge or a focus device, Schweinberger (2014, p. 100) states that it can actually be difficult to distinguish between those two functions, and that similar instances have been coded differently by different scholars. For instance, he notes that it is complicated to decide if *like* in (19) is used as a textual focus marker that points toward the most significant information in a sentence or if it signals that the statement should not be interpreted literally (Schweinberger, 2014, p. 107).

- (19) I'm so tired. I'm going to rest this weekend. I mean *like* stay in bed all day Saturday and Sunday

⁴ The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language (COLT).

⁵ Hasund underlines words that are emphasised.

Based on these previous descriptions of *like*, it is obvious that scholars disagree when it comes to what *like* means and which function it has. In addition, there are few examples of the marker in final position. It has been neglected from most studies probably due to the fact that it is regionally restricted and therefore occurs less in this position compared to initial and medial position. However, scholars such as Miller and Weinert (1995) have investigated final *like* and its function.

3.1.2 Final like.

Since *like* is mostly studied in initial and medial position, it is interesting to study whether final *like* is a distinct type of *like* or not. As it is regionally restricted and much less frequent in final position, it is reasonable to claim the former. As mentioned in the previous section, Miller and Weinert (1995, p. 365) advocate for *like* as a focussing device, though they claim that this only concerns *like* in initial and medial position and cannot be applied to *like* in final position. They instead propose that the latter has a different function, namely to counter objections and assumptions, as they illustrate with the example in (20) (Miller & Weinert, 1995, p. 389).

(20) (...) My wee girl can swim you know – she has her wings *like*. (...)

They claim that in sentences such as (20), *like* is used to counter assumptions the listener might have (Miller & Weinert, 1995, p. 389). This explanation is reasonable and as will be shown in the analysis chapter, parts of it can be transferred to the proposal made in this thesis. However, this function of final *like* can be criticised as examples from other databases, such as (21) (Hasund, 2003, p. 198), do not fit into that description. Moreover, although Miller and Weinert (1995, p. 388) state that the definition applies to both declaratives and interrogatives, the example in (21) is an interrogative and *like* might function differently here than in declaratives.

(21) (...) I've always got someone who sort of fancies me or I'm flirting with. Do you know what I mean *like*? (...)

Although *like* in (21) can be used to counter assumptions the listener might have and avoid misunderstandings, it is more fitting to describe it as part of the explanation, in that the speaker wishes to make sure that the listener is up-to-date with the narrative before continuing. Moreover, though final *like* is defined as countering objections and assumptions by Miller and Weinert (1995), Miller (2009, p. 329) claims that when he and Weinert studied examples of final *like*, they saw that "(...) they were all used as part of explanations, many of which served to prevent or correct assumptions or conclusions, or as part of requests for explanations." In other words, he provides a different definition of final *like* than the one he and Weinert (1995) proposed, and it seems more suitable as also (21) arguably fits into the latter definition. However, this is a very broad definition, and one could also ask if the addition of *like* is essential as they are all elaborations, explanations or countering assumptions even without the final particle. Therefore, it is still an unanswered question what final *like* actually does and this is interesting to study further.

3.2 Previous descriptions of discourse *liksom*

Norwegian *liksom* has not been studied as heavily, nor for as long as English *like*, but since the beginning of 2000, studies such as Hasund (2003), Johnsen (2012) and Fretheim (2019) have improved our knowledge of discourse *liksom*. Hasund, Opsahl and Svennevig (2012, pp. 22-23) state that the vernacular types of *liksom* originate in *liksom*'s non-vernacular use, and that the former is much more common than the latter in the Norwegian language today. Dictionaries differ when classifying the non-discourse use of *liksom*, but most of the descriptions include *liksom* as a conjunction (Hasund, 2003, p. 34). Although it is not as common as discourse *liksom*, it still exists, and (22) is one example of *liksom* as a conjunction where the girl's profession is compared to her mother's (Hasund et al., 2012, p. 22).

- (22) Hun er lærer *liksom* moren
'She is a teacher similar to her mother'

Hasund et al. (2012, p. 23) claim that discourse *liksom* has "the same element of comparison and similarity also inherent in non-discourse *liksom*", but the difference is that the comparison need not be explicit or on the same syntactic level. Instead, it can be a comparison between what is in the speaker's mind and a more correct version, as in (23) where the speaker uses the invented term 'get-together-dinner' (Hasund, 2003, p. 200).

- (23) (...) Det er sånn derre samlemiddag *liksom*?
'(...) It's a kind of get-together-dinner *like*?

As with *like*, *liksom* can occur in initial, medial and final position, as well as with quotations. However, there are differences, and though *like* rarely occurs in final position, it is the most favourable position for *liksom*. Similarly, although quotative *like* normally occurs before the quotation, the opposite is common for *liksom*. In addition, differently from *like*, quotative *liksom* is not part of a fixed expression (Hasund, 2003, p. 47). This is illustrated in (24), where (24b) is used rather than (24a) in the Norwegian language.

- (24) a. #Jeg var *liksom*, er du gal?
intended: 'I was *like*, are you crazy?'
b. Jeg bare, er du gal? 'I was *like*, are you crazy?' (lit. 'I just, are you crazy?')

When it comes to pragmatic functions, several different meanings have been proposed for discourse *liksom*, such as *liksom* as a linking device and *liksom* as appealing and response-seeking. These are illustrated below (Hasund, 2003, pp. 121-165).

- (25) F1: Når vi prøvde *liksom* [response-seeking]
'When we tried *like*'
F2: M-m
- (26) (...) Eller ikke sånn veldig big. Men hu er ganske svær da. *Lissom*, hu er så høy og ikke sant? [linking device]
(...) Or not very big. But she's quite big isn't she? *Like*, she's so tall isn't she?

⁶ *Liksom* is often written as *lissom*.

Although there is not the same debate as for English *like* regarding a hedge versus a focus function for *liksom*, both have still been suggested. For instance, Johnsen (2012, pp. 97-99) argues that *liksom* can function as either a focussing device that highlights certain elements as in (27), or a modifying device that expresses a sense of vagueness as in (28).

- (27) Ja, men her ligger vi *liksom* fire stykker og så står han der ute og snakker om at han er så drittlei av å gjøre ting
'Yes, but there are *like* four people in here, and he just stands out there talking about how tired he is of doing things'
- (28) (...) Du har sånn jentehud, *lissom*, sånn babyhud
'(...) You got this girly skin, *like*, this baby skin'

Fretheim (2019, p. 178) uses the term 'approximation marker' for *liksom*, but states that it is similar to Johnsen's modifying device. However, unlike Johnsen, Fretheim does not propose a focussing function. Instead he suggests that *liksom* also has an opposition function that portrays a contrast between what the speaker thinks and what he says. One example is (29) where the speaker disagrees with Henriette's opinion on hedgehogs and milk (Fretheim, 2019, p. 198).

- (29) Henriette tror *liksom* at pinnsvin har godt av å drikke melk
'Henriette *like* believes that hedgehogs benefit from drinking milk'

The paragraphs above show that although *liksom* has not been studied as comprehensively as *like*, the disagreements among scholars are still detectable when reading previous descriptions of the marker. Thus, it is interesting to study both *like* and *liksom* further and aim to find a common function between them. Although some differences and similarities between the markers have already been described, a closer look at Hasund's study of *like* and *liksom* is needed to show why final position is especially interesting.

3.3 Hasund's cross-linguistic study

Hasund's doctoral dissertation (2003) was the first cross-linguistic study which compared *like* and *liksom*, and as far as I know, it is also the only one. Her findings are therefore relevant for this thesis. In her thesis, Hasund (2003, p. 49) studies two corpora, namely The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language (COLT) and a Norwegian corpus of Oslo teenage language from the Scandinavian research project Språkkontakt og Ungdomsspråk i Norden (Language contact and youth language in the Nordic countries). She studies the similarities and differences between *like* and *liksom*, and in her study, she applies a combination of discourse and conversation analysis where she also investigates their syntactic aspects, which words and phrases they co-occur with, their prosodic features and turn-taking aspects, as well as their pragmatic functions and sociolinguistic characteristics.

Although Hasund codes instances of *like* and *liksom* according to syntactic position, co-occurrence tendencies, prosodic features and turn-taking aspects, she does not code *like* and *liksom* according to their pragmatic functions. She argues that coding is complicated

as the markers often serve more than one function simultaneously (Hasund, 2003, p. 89). While they are not coded, she states that one can distinguish between different uses and that the markers function on three levels, namely the textual, the subjective and the interpersonal level. Consequently, Hasund (2003, p. 21) claims that the markers can simultaneously function as hedges and focussing devices as these belong to different levels. The former works on the subjective level, whereas the latter works on the textual level, either to indicate an explicit relation between phrases, constituents and clauses, or an implicit comparison between what is said and what is in the speaker's mind. Hasund (2003, pp. 92-93) states that on the subjective level there are two possible paths, specifically *like* and *liksom* used as hedges and *like* and *liksom* used as intensifiers. When used as a hedge, "there is a focus on the imprecision of the comparison expressed by the markers, i.e. an indication that a following unit is an approximate rendering of what is in the speaker's mind" (Hasund, 2003, p. 123). On the other hand, when used as an intensifier there is a focus on precision and certainty, such as in (30) (Hasund, 2003, p. 174).

- (30) (...) Det er *liksom* skikkelig uteliv der om kvelden (...)
 (...) It's *like* a real nightlife there (...)

Hasund (2003, p. 186) notes that the greatest differences between *like* and *liksom* - both regarding frequency and pragmatic functions - are found in the final position category. In Hasund's database, only two percent of *like* belongs to this category, while fifty-two percent of *liksom* is final. She says that both markers serve a primarily subjective function more often in initial and medial position than in final position, but that they can still function as hedges and intensifiers in final position as well.

Based on the information in Hasund's thesis, it becomes clear that she does not propose a core function for either *like* nor *liksom*. In addition, it is interesting that although the greatest differences are found in final position, final *like* and *liksom* might not be as different as she insinuates.

3.4 What is missing from the literature?

Discourse *like* has been studied comprehensively whereas *liksom* has not been investigated as thoroughly. Many functions have been proposed for both *like* and *liksom*, and especially hedging and focus are recurring themes. However, as Schweinberger (2014, p. 107) states, "(...) most instances cannot be confidently assigned to either of these functions" and since scholars provide contrasting interpretations of similar examples, the functions may be more related than originally anticipated. Hence, it is interesting to see whether they can all fit in one category.

Another interesting aspect is final *like*, as it has been neglected in many studies of discourse *like*, and since some scholars separate it from *like* in initial and medial position. In addition, Hasund's cross-linguistic study (2003) shows that the greatest differences between *like* and *liksom* are found in this position. Her study is extensive, and it focusses on several aspects such as syntactic positions, prosody, as well as what the markers often co-occur with. In addition, she shows that both can focus, intensify and function as hedges. However, in my opinion, it is not that clear what *like* and *liksom* normally do as they are not systematically categorised according to their pragmatic functions in Hasund's study.

Therefore, I think an in-depth analysis that focusses on one syntactic position can develop a clearer understanding of what final *like* and *likksom* do and whether their functions can be placed in the same category, unifying the different definitions scholars have previously provided. As there are fewer studies of discourse *like* in final position, this position is interesting to study further. In addition, my intuition as a Norwegian native speaker and second-language speaker of English⁷ says that although final *likksom* is much more common than final *like*, their presence affects sentences in similar ways. For instance, they may signal that people should consider new possibilities which they previously excluded. As this also entails that people should widen their understanding, the idea of domain widening is therefore relevant for this thesis. Consequently, the next chapters focus on adapting the notion of domain widening to widening of real possibilities, as well as analyse whether final *like* and *likksom* signal that we should widen what we entertain as 'live possibilities'.

⁷ My English is influenced by studying in Newcastle, i.e. northern English.

4 Domain widening

This chapter focusses on the idea of domain widening. First I will provide information about presupposition and common ground, before emphasising certain words that manipulate what is included and excluded from discourse. This involves words such as *all* and *every* which signal domain restriction, as well as *any* and *about* which instead widen the propositions they are modifying. The latter examples illustrate the idea of domain widening, and this chapter presents evidence that this notion can also be transferred to non-discourse uses as well as discourse uses of *like* and *liksom*. In addition, some of the examples of the discourse uses signal that speakers and addressees should widen the possibilities they are entertaining instead of manipulating what is included in the proposition. Thus, this chapter also aims to show how one can adapt the original notion of domain widening to the idea of widening of 'live possibilities'.

4.1 Presupposition and common ground

People do not usually say things they think their interlocutors already know. This entails that if a speaker says something they are surprised by, they will generally also believe that their interlocutor will be surprised, such as in (31).

(31) Did you hear? Norway won the World Cup!

That is: when we communicate, we presuppose a mutual understanding among participants in the conversation. Stalnaker (2002, p. 704) describes this shared information as the common ground and states that "what a speaker presupposes is what she believes to be common or mutual belief." The common ground guides what speakers choose to say as well as how addressees interpret those utterances. Thus, it represents the possibilities available as it conveys what would be natural to say as well as what would be considered as strange utterances (Saeed, 2016, pp. 104-105).

In addition, we include and exclude things from consideration in discourse, and the quantifiers in (32) and (33) are good examples to illustrate this idea.

(32) *All* students passed the exam

(33) *Everyone* is here

All in (32) and *every* in (33) show that we communicate more than the literal meaning of the sentence and that some linguistic items may be used to signal that certain domains are excluded from discourse. In (32) the literal reading is that all students in the entire world passed the exam. However, this is not what the speaker intends to communicate, but rather that a set of students in a particular domain, for instance all students taking a certain course at a specific university, passed their exam. In other words, the intended meaning deviates from the literal interpretation, and we accept this as we are used to communicating "(...) with varying degrees of precision, and often speak quite loosely" (Lasersohn, 1999, p. 522). In addition, there is a mutual understanding among the participants that the proposition refers to these students, and not all students in the

entire world. The same can be said with *everyone* in (33), where we understand that the speaker is not referring to everyone in the world, but rather a set of people in a certain domain, for instance everyone taking the course in (32) (Stanley & Gendler Szabó, 2000, p. 219). Thus, both *all* and *every* illustrate contextual domain restriction as they communicate domains that are separated and narrowed from the literal understanding. As will be shown in the next section, there are also words that illustrate domain widening.

4.2 Words that restrict and widen propositions

As with *any* and *every*, there are other words that manipulate what is included and excluded from discourse. With noun phrases, the domain manipulation focusses on which examples of the concept that are relevant for the conversation. For instance, scholars have studied polarity sensitive items, such as *any*, in connection to the phenomenon of domain widening. The domain-widening hypothesis was first proposed by Kadmon and Landman (1993, p. 360), and their findings show that *any* widens the domain of noun phrases, which can be illustrated with the examples in (34).

- (34) a. I feel like French fries. Do you have cooking potatoes?
 b. I don't have potatoes
 c. I don't have *any potatoes*

The person asking the question in (34a) wants to make French fries, and asks specifically for cooking potatoes. Even if he did not specify the latter, it is reasonable to assume that rotten or potted potatoes are irrelevant for the question asked. When comparing the response in (34b) with the response in (34c), Kadmon and Landman (1993, p. 360) claim that *any* is used to widen the concept of potatoes so that more types of potatoes are included and relevant for the conversation. While *potatoes* can mean cooking potatoes, the expression *any potatoes* indicates that all types of potatoes are included. Thus, the person uttering (34b) only considers a certain kind of potatoes relevant and part of the domain, whereas the person in (34c) signals that every potato is included, even types that were previously viewed as irrelevant. Consequently, *any* signals that the domain is widened to contain any potatoes at all, also rotten and potted potatoes.

In addition to the widening illustrated in the paragraph above, I would claim that the domain widening hypothesis works with numerals as well. Although it could be understood similarly to the modification of noun phrases, namely that they manipulate what is included and excluded from the set of elements denoted by nouns such as *meters* and *years*, I propose that the manipulation is related, but different. Instead, they modify numerals and signal how literal the number should be interpreted. With numbers in general, some slack is still allowed without the addition of modifiers (Lasersohn, 1999, p. 522), such as with the utterance in (35).

- (35) This is four years later

Although there is no adverb connected to the number *four*, one usually does not interpret such statements as 'four years down to the millisecond'. However, with the addition of *exactly* in (36) the latter interpretation is more reasonable, although 'down to the day' is more realistic than 'down to the millisecond'. There is still slack, but less slack, and it shows that *exactly* narrows the domain as it requires a close to literal interpretation of the expression it modifies.

- (36) This is *exactly* four years later
(37) This is *about* four years later, so I guess I've been back for *about* eight years now

The modifier *about* in (37) (D'Arcy, 2006, p. 342) has the opposite function and when modifying 'four years' and 'eight years', *about* signals that one should widen the domain and allow more deviation from the literal meaning of the expression it modifies. Hence, in (37) also a rough estimate of the time periods is accepted as more deviation from the time periods are included.

4.3 The widening function of non-discourse *like*

As mentioned in the discussion about discourse markers in section 2.1, some view *like* with an approximate function as a synonym for *about* and not a discourse marker. Thus, it can be defined as a borderline case between non-discourse and discourse use. Since *about* can be linked to the idea of domain widening, it is reasonable to assume that approximate *like* can do so too. Moreover, this is found in examples such as (38) (D'Arcy, 2006, p. 340).

- (38) They were *like* eighteen years old; they were kids
(39) They were eighteen years old

Similar to *about* in (37), *like* in (38) widens the notion of 'eighteen years', so that more slack is allowed. For instance, the speaker cannot be accused of lying even if the referents are seventeen and nineteen as well, while this could be the case with (39). Hence, the domain widens in order to accept other ages, and not only the age of eighteen. This shows that also some borderline cases between non-discourse and discourse *like* manipulate what is included and excluded from discourse. Moreover, (40) and (41) confirm that other types of non-discourse *like* can be used to indicate the idea of domain widening.

- (40) He was acting *like* a teacher
(41) He said I went "mumbling" or something like stroke-*like*

Like in (40) is a preposition used to explain that although the person was not acting exactly as a teacher, there were similarities between his behaviour and a teacher's behaviour. In other words, it signals an approximation of the noun concept it modifies. The same can be stated for *like* as a suffix in (41) (D'Arcy, 2006, p. 339). The person is not talking about an actual stroke, but rather something that resembles a stroke. In both instances, *like* modifies a noun phrase and not a number, and in both examples *like* signals that the approximations should be included in the domain.

The examples in (38), (40) and (41) show that non-discourse *like* can modify both numbers and noun phrases, and manipulate what is included and excluded. As one can see in (42), at least the latter is also true for *liksom*.

- (42) Jeg er *liksom* en klovn
'I am *like* a clown'

The person is stating that he is *like* a clown, meaning that he is not an actual clown, but that he shares some characteristics associated with the term. Similar to the examples with *like*, *liksom* signals that the notion of a clown should widen to include this approximation. Hence, also *liksom* can modify what is included and excluded from the denotation of noun phrases.

4.4 What about discourse *like* and *liksom*?

As shown in example (38), the original notion of domain widening works with borderline cases between discourse and non-discourse uses of *like*. In addition, (40), (41) and (42) illustrate that this is also true for non-discourse uses of *like* and *liksom*. It is therefore reasonable to test whether the idea of domain widening could work with discourse uses as well. As mentioned in the literature review, *like* in medial position has been studied heavily whereas *like* in final position has been neglected from most studies.

Consequently, it is fruitful to study whether medial *like* and *liksom* are used to signal some kind of domain widening first, before transferring this idea to final *like* and *liksom*.

First consider (43) below.

- (43) a. Could I *like* borrow your sweater?
b. Could I borrow your sweater?

Like in (43a) (Schweinberger, 2014, p. 100) is different from for instance (40) as it does not modify the concept of *sweater*, but instead moderates the utterance so that the speaker appears politer. The utterance can be interpreted similar to questions such as 'can I borrow your sweater or something like that?'. These expressions are politer than (43b), as it gives the addressee more possibilities to respond positively to the request. *Like* can still be analysed as a widener as it causes the addressee to widen his understanding of the utterance, and therefore work within an extended notion of domain widening.

Next, consider (44) with *liksom* (Hasund, et al., 2012, p. 23).

- (44)
- a. Lillesøstera mi har hundre forskjellige kjoler
'My younger sister owns hundred different dresses'
 - b. Lillesøstera mi har *omtrent* hundre forskjellige kjoler
'My younger sister owns *close to* hundred different dresses'
 - c. Lillesøstera mi har *liksom* hundre forskjellige kjoler.
'My younger sister owns *like* hundred different dresses'

The difference between (44a) and (44b), is that the former includes the modifier *close to*, whereas the latter does not. Similar to the discussion in (35) and (37) where *like* is argued to be modifying how much slack that is allowed, *close to* modifies the number it occurs with. Thus, although (44a) could be interpreted as true even if her younger sister owns ninety-nine dresses, this would not be the case if the real number were eighty. The statement in (44b) however, accepts numbers further away from the proposition. This shows that *close to* modifies the number and signals that one should widen the idea of *hundred* such that more numbers are included in the notion. Thus, the original idea of widening works with *close to*. With *liksom* in (44c), the broadening is different, and the idea of domain widening needs to be extended. To illustrate this, I have created a possible scenario as the authors do not elaborate further. One likely context where the sentence in (44c) could be natural, is for instance a situation where a girl is talking about how spoiled her younger sister is. The statement is not understood literally as it also implies other propositions of being spoiled, and *liksom* does not only modify *hundred* but the whole constituent 'hundred different dresses'. Therefore, the statement 'hundred different dresses' is just an example of how spoiled she is, and *liksom* widens the utterance as it implies that she also gets other things she wants, such as electronics, makeup and shoes. Although *liksom* entails widening, it is different from *close to* in (44b) where the number itself is widened. Instead, the widening is extended, and *liksom* signals that the addressee should widen the interpretation of the statement to include similar propositions.

The extended idea of widening does not only work for *liksom*. For instance, when studying the sentences in (45) (Schweinberger, 2014, p. 105), it becomes clear that the idea of domain widening can be extended to capture discourse *like* too.

- (45)
- a. Gosh that was brutal
 - b. Gosh that was *almost* brutal
 - c. Gosh that was *like* brutal

Similar to the example above, (45a) and (45b) differ in that the latter contains the modifier *almost*. Whereas the modified element in (44) is a number, there is an adjective being modified in (45), and *almost* widens what is included in the adjective *brutal*. This illustrates that the original idea of domain widening works in (45b). Although there is a widening present in (45c) too, this type must be extended. Schweinberger (2014, p. 105) states that in this example, *like* is used to highlight the constituent to its immediate right, as that is the most significant information. He does not comment further, nor provide the situation where the sentence was expressed. Therefore, I will provide an imaginary setting for the utterance, namely at a wedding where the bride leaves the groom at the altar. No one saw this coming, and one of his friends utters (45c). *Like* then signals that *brutal* should be widened to include similar implications, such as it being shocking and selfish. Thus, unlike the interpretation with *almost* in (45b) where the

widening is linked to how brutal it was, the widening with *like* is connected to more than the adjective and signals that the addressees should consider other implications as well.

(46) is another example that entertains an extended notion of widening (Underhill, 1988, p. 237).

- (46) a. And there are books on (pause) *like* theory
- b. And there are books on (pause) topics similar to theory
- c. And there are books on (pause) theory

Underhill (1988, pp. 237-240) defines *like* in (46a) as a focussing device that marks *theory* as a new entity. However, he also realises that other scholars might analyse this example of *like* as a hedge since the speaker is unsure how to describe the concept precisely. In my opinion, the latter is more reasonable, and I would also claim that this notion fits under a type of widening. This is not within the original idea of widening as in (46b), where *similar to* widens the notion of theory to include theory-like things. Instead, the widening in (46a) with *like* is different and extended. Underhill does not provide more information about where this sentence was uttered, except that it is a conversation between two guys on how fascinating computers are. A possible scenario could be that the speaker was not certain about which examples to highlight when explaining how fascinating computers are. If so, the sentence in (46a) is just one example that illustrates this point, and *like* modifies the whole constituent 'books on theory' and not just 'theory'. It signals that the addressee should consider other propositions than just 'books on theory', such as the possibility to communicate with people from all over the world, or the option to rent movies. Thus, also this example with discourse *like* fits within the extended notion of widening.

As one can see from the examples above, discourse *like* and *liksom* in medial position can be used to signal widening within an extended notion of it. There exists a focussing use for *like*, as the example Hasund (2003, p. 174) defines as an intensifier in section 3.1.1, but this is set aside. Instead, I will focus on the 'widening' use of *like* and *liksom*. In the next chapter, the 'widening' use of medial *like* is extended to final *like* and *liksom*, and I provide an analysis backed up by qualitative investigation of corpus examples and examples from previous literature of discourse *like* and *liksom* in final position.

5 Analysis of final *like* and *liksom*

As already shown in example (43) to (46) in the previous chapter, medial *like* and *liksom* can be given an analysis within an extended notion of domain widening. This chapter provides an analysis backed up by qualitative investigation of examples of the markers in final position, and the idea of domain widening is adapted to widening of 'live possibilities'. In other words, the aim is to show that the markers signal that the addressee should change the possibilities they are assumed to be entertaining, and include some possibilities they have previously excluded.

First, I will show that certain words like *even* arguably have the function of manipulating which possibilities one is entertaining, before claiming that final *like* and *liksom* might work this way too. It seems as this function can be categorised in three different groups, depending on who needs to extend their domain of real possibilities, and they are therefore categorised accordingly. More precisely, instances where this only concerns the addressees are presented first, before examples where both speakers and addressees should extend their beliefs. The last group contains merely three examples where only speakers need to consider new possibilities. The main difference between the markers is found in the second group, as this mostly contains instances with *liksom* and only one with *like*.

5.1 Shared beliefs and 'live possibilities'

As explained with the examples in section 4.4, some instances of discourse *like* and *liksom* in medial position signal an extended notion of domain widening. In other words, they signal that you should change the possibilities you are considering, and include some possibilities you previously excluded. Certain words like *even* arguably have this function, as can be seen with *even* in (47).

(47) *Even* Sigrid attended last week's seminar

The presence of *even* in (47) indicates that among the students taking the course, there is a mutual understanding that Sigrid is the least likely option to attend the seminar (Horn, 1969, p. 106). Hence, they did not consider the possibility that she would attend. Moreover, there is a common ground between the students guiding what is relevant to say and how this will be interpreted. The speaker presupposes that there is a common belief among himself and the addressees concerning Sigrid, and that the proposition in (47) will be interpreted as unexpected. By attending the seminar, Sigrid proved them wrong, and *even* signals that the speaker is accepting a possibility that was not previously considered to be likely. Thus, his understanding of the situation has been widened to include possibilities he previously did not entertain as 'live possibilities', and he signals this to the addressees, suggesting that they should do so too.

This idea of 'live possibilities' and possibilities that are not entertained is illustrated in figure 1 below. The diagrams are meant to show how the ideas of 'live possibilities' are

widened. In the inner circle, one finds propositions that are believed to be 'live possibilities', such as 'Sigrid does not attend seminars', whereas propositions that are not being entertained are found in the outer circle. In Figure 1, the inner circle represents the speaker's original beliefs whereas the outer circle represents the new set of beliefs.

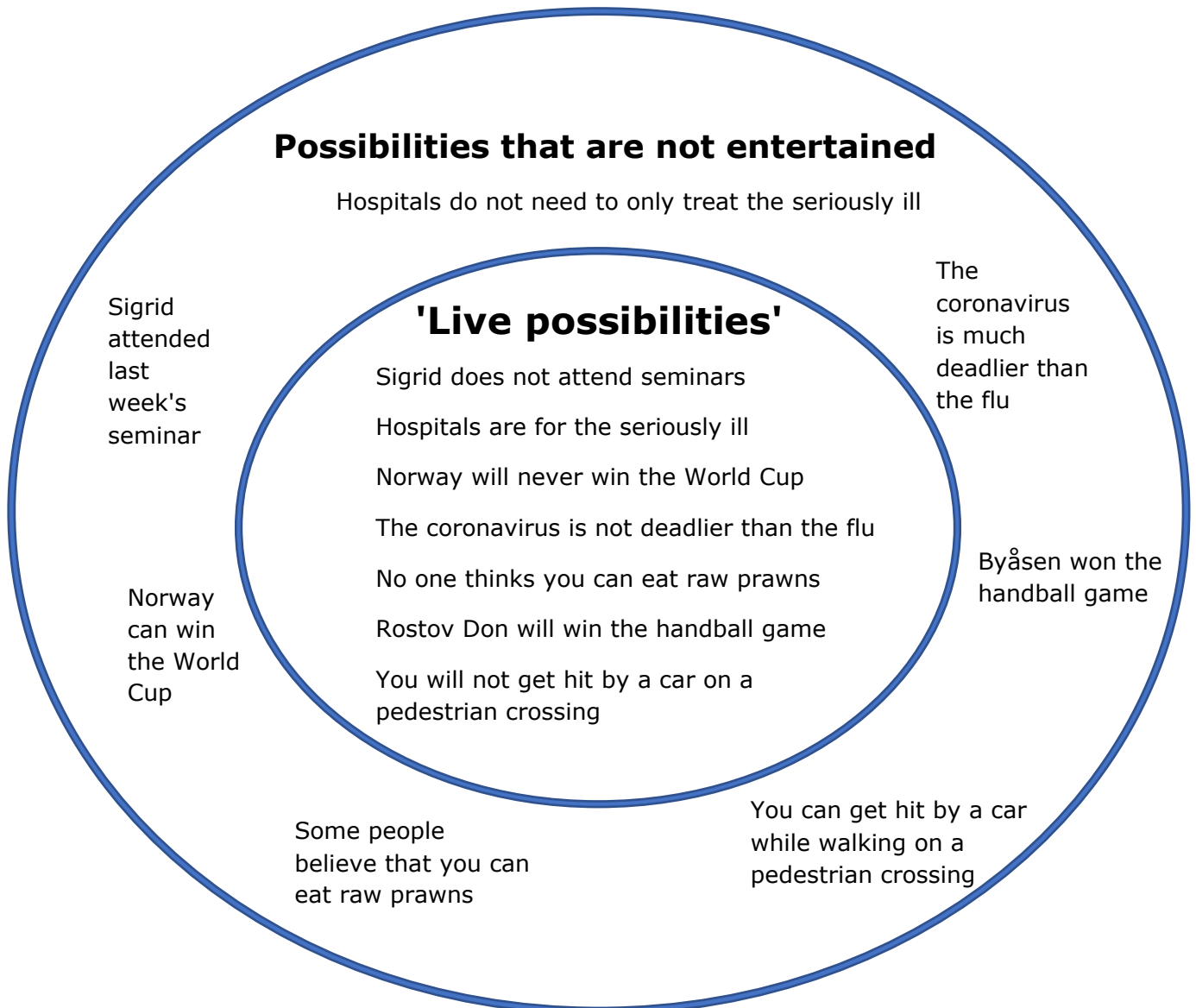


Figure 1: Live possibilities versus possibilities that are not entertained.

Words such as *even* in (47) work within an extended notion of domain widening. Similar to the original notion of domain widening, it is used to signal broadening, but the difference is related to what the broadening concerns. Whereas the traditional notion of domain widening tells us what should be included and excluded from the interpretation of noun phrases, numbers and adjectives, the latter broadening is concerned with which possibilities one entertains. This entails that the idea of entertaining other possibilities can be incorporated within the notion of domain widening.

The adapted notion of domain widening can also be transferred to discourse *like* and *liksom* in final position. I propose that the use of final *like* and *liksom* is to signal surprise

and to signal that either speaker or addressee, or both speaker and addressee, have widened their understandings of 'live possibilities'.

5.2 Discourse *like* and *liksom* in final position

Final *like* and *liksom* have been discussed less than these markers in medial position. I propose that final *like* and *liksom* also signal a type of widening, as can be concluded for the other syntactic positions they appear in, as well as their non-discourse uses. In addition, as the markers occur after the utterances, they can modify the entire utterance, and have scope over the whole proposition, and not just specific constituents (Schweinberger, 2015, p. 131). The example in (48) illustrates the surprise element of final *liksom*.

- (48) Så du kampen i dag? Byåsen vant *liksom*
'Did you see the game today? Byåsen won *like*'
- (49) #Så du kampen i dag? Rostov Don vant *liksom*
'Did you see the game today? Rostov Don won *like*'

(48) is an attested example, uttered by myself, which was stated the day Byåsen handball team unexpectedly won against Rostov Don in the Women's EHF⁸ cup. I was certain that Rostov Don would win the game, and it was therefore the only outcome I had considered. I also assumed that this was a mutual understanding between myself and the person I spoke to. The use of *liksom* in (48) highlights the surprise of the result, and it signals that the addressee should change her beliefs about possible outcomes, as is also illustrated in figure 1. This widening function of *liksom* can be further demonstrated by the fact that (49) is infelicitous. As my pre-existing knowledge already assumed that Rostov Don would win, I would not have been surprised if that had happened and there would have been no reason to entertain other possibilities, and nor any need to signal this to the person I was speaking to.

Another example that illustrates *liksom*'s widening function can be seen in (50).

- (50) Han ble påkjørt her *liksom*
'He was hit by the car here *like*'

Like (48), this sentence was also uttered by myself, and I immediately started to analyse why I used *liksom*. I realised that I used *liksom* to emphasise the unexpectedness of the location, which was a pedestrian crossing close to several street lights. I did not believe that the accident could happen there, and it was therefore not part of my original impression of the world. Thus, when I received this new information, my beliefs had to change and I had to consider possibilities I had previously neglected. I also believed that the person I was talking to would agree with my assumptions, and I used *liksom* to signal that he should also entertain this new possibility.

⁸ European Handball Federation

If the accident had happened in a dark alley, which was a location I originally found realistic, the utterance in (51) would have been unnatural.

- (51) # Han ble påkjørt i en mørk bakgate *liksom*
'He was hit by the car in a dark alley *like*'

As with the example in (49) there would have been no surprise, and nor a reason to entertain other possibilities than what I was already considering. Thus, both (48) and (50) show that final *liksom* signals that the domain of 'live possibilities' should be extended.

In consultation with a native speaker of Scottish English⁹, final *like* also has a widening function, as shown in (52) (Miller & Weinert, 1995, p. 389). This example and *like*'s widening function can be explained with the help of figure 1. There are certain associations that are raised when hearing the word *hospital*, such as serious illness and surgeries, and these are the possibilities one is originally entertaining. However, the use of *like* signals that these possibilities should be widened to include the possibility that someone is in hospital for a routine check-up.

- (52) He's back in hospital. He's in for observation *like*

The sentence in (52) is extracted from Miller and Weinert (1995, p. 389). They state that the speaker uttered *like* to clear up misunderstandings, and to counter expectations or assumptions that the person in hospital was seriously ill. The proposal made here aims to make the notion of 'countering assumptions' precise, and Miller and Weinert's explanation can be linked to the idea of widening as the addressees need to change their original beliefs. *Like* signals that the addressees should include possibilities they previously excluded, namely that he is in hospital for observation. In addition, similar to final *liksom*, final *like* can also be used to emphasise unexpectedness. For instance, as these possibilities are not entertained, the realisation that one should consider them is surprising. However, unlike *liksom* in (48) and (50), *like* in (52) does not signal any speaker surprise, as the speaker was already aware of the situation.

Based on these examples I propose that final *like* and *liksom* signal surprise and that the speaker and/or addressee should consider other possibilities than they originally entertained. Furthermore, this entails that the markers widen people's understanding, as they signal that people should extend their domain of 'live possibilities'. In most examples, the speaker assumes that the utterance will be surprising to the addressees, and encourages addressees to widen their understanding of the situation. This will often also entail that the speakers themselves are surprised, but this is not always the case. Besides, it is also possible that some instances with *like* and *liksom* only signal that the speaker, and not addressees, should entertain new beliefs. Because of this difference, the rest of this section is further divided into three sub-sections. First, I present examples where only addressees are surprised, before focussing on instances where both speaker and addressee need to extend their beliefs. Lastly, sentences where only speaker surprise is evident are discussed.

⁹ Andrew Weir.

5.2.1 Addressees only

As shown with the sentence in (52), only addressee surprise is apparent. In addition to this instance, Miller and Weinert (1995, p. 389) provide another example where they state that *like* is used to counter assumptions the listener might have.

(53) (...) my wee girl can swim you know/she has her wings *like* (...)

When hearing 'my wee girl can swim you know', listeners assume that the girl can swim by herself. In other words, that is the only possibility that is entertained by the addressees. However, these expectations are countered by the next statement, and the addressees need to change their beliefs from the girl being able to swim by herself, to her swimming with the help of swim wings. As this was already part of the speaker's understanding, his impression of the situation does not need to be extended. Hence, it is only the addressees that need to widen their domain of live possibilities.

In addition to the examples from Miller and Weinert, samples from the British National Corpus (BNC) indeed show that final *like* signals widening, as in (54). An officer in the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) talks about a situation where a baby had died. He needed the parents' statement, and wished he could return to get this at a later stage as he understood how overwhelming the situation had to be for them.

(54) I always feel like saying, 'Look, it's OK, I'll come back in a couple of weeks.' But you never do, *like*

For an outsider, this idea sounds reasonable and after hearing the beginning of the sentence, one gets the impression that this is what he is planning to do. However, this sensation is countered by the next utterance. The officers are obliged to get the statements straight away, making it impossible to wait a couple of weeks. When the speaker utters 'I'll come back in a couple of weeks', the interlocutor includes the possibility that the speaker would come back, and excludes the possibility that he had to get their statements right away. However, when hearing 'but you never do, *like*', this impression changes. This means that the possibilities are extended to include the fact that he did not come back but rather did everything straight away. Thus, the addressee's understanding of the situation must widen.

The examples so far do not indicate that speakers should widen their understanding of 'live possibilities', and the same can be said with *like* in (55), which is another example from the RUC.

(55) We were told to be very careful about what we said and done when you were around, *like* [British National Corpus]

Prior to uttering (55), the person states that officers have previously warned policemen to be careful when field-workers are present. However, he later says that being cautious has been difficult when fieldworkers are nearby for a long time. In addition, there has been resistance from below to the management's instruction. Consequently, it is realistic that the addressee, namely a fieldworker, believes the warnings have decreased. The statement in (55) is therefore surprising, and *like* signals that the fieldworker's impression of the situation should widen. That means that the belief that the officers will act as normally as possible should be extended to include the possibility that they were

told to act carefully. Neither in this example is the unexpectedness connected to the speaker, but it is clear that *like* encourages the addressee to widen his understanding of the situation.

The example in (56) can be analysed similarly.

- (56) (...) 'I joined the BM', one skinhead told me.' For the crack, *like*. But they went on about Hitler. He's dead. I couldn't see the point' (...) [British National Corpus]

In (56) a person states that he joined the British Movement (BM, a neo-Nazi organisation) for fun and not because he agrees with their politics. As the latter is more common than the former, his reason for joining is surprising and *like* highlights this opinion. This assertion is surprising for the addressee, but not the speaker as he already considered both options possible. When hearing 'I joined the BM' the addressee only entertains the possibility that he joined the movement for political reasons. However, *like* signals that the addressee should also consider the possibility to join the BM for fun. Consequently, his understanding widens to include this new belief.

What is common for the examples above, namely (53) to (56), is that they clearly fit with the idea of domain widening within the notion of shared beliefs and 'live possibilities'. In addition, the speaker proposes that what he takes to be the listeners' beliefs should be broadened. Although most examples with final *liksom* signal that both speaker and addressees should widen their understanding of a situation, there are also some instances where this is only true for the addressee, such as in (57) (Hasund, 2003, p. 201)

- (57) Du er jo ikke dum *liksom*? (...)
'You're not stupid *like*? (...)'

A person complained to her friends about getting a bad grade, and (57) was a reply by one of her friends. Hasund (2003, p. 202) states that the expression is face-threatening, and that the addition of *liksom* softens the utterance. The word *stupid* is normally understood as a harsh word, but I do not, unlike Hasund, interpret this certain instance as face-threatening, but rather supportive and comforting, as it can be understood as 'you are obviously not stupid or anything like that.' Therefore, in this instance, *liksom* could just as easily be viewed as an intensifier or a focus device. The domain widening theory however, successfully explains what is signalled by *liksom*, namely that although you are only considering the possibility that you are stupid, you should revise this understanding and broaden it to include the possibility that you are not stupid. In other words, the speaker signals to the addressee that there are other reasons for getting bad grades, and that the addressee should also entertain these. In addition, although the addressee might find this surprising, the speaker does not. Hence, *liksom* signals that the addressee, but not speaker, should widen her understanding of the circumstances.

(58) is another example where final *liksom* signals that the addressees should extend their domains of live possibilities.

- (58) Jo det var #₁₀# det var ødelagt lenge før vi # før han flytta *liksom* [Big Brother Corpus]
'Well, it was broken long before he moved out *like*'

The person in (58) is talking about her and her boyfriend's break-up, and she explains that their relationship was broken even when they still lived together. Prior to the utterance in (58), the person has received questions such as how long she has been single for as well as why they broke up, where she replies 'half a year' to the former and (58) to the latter. Therefore, a natural interpretation could be that she believes the addressee has the impression that she has not lived together with her ex-boyfriend during the last six months. By uttering the sentence, she contradicts this understanding, and *liksom* signals that the addressee should extend his beliefs to include the possibility that they still lived together after they broke up (also signalled by the particle *jø*, which I have translated as 'well' here).

The sentence in (59) is extracted from Johnsen (2012, p. 100), and it is a third instance where *liksom* signals that addressees should entrain new possibilities.

- (59) Har ikke for vane å spytte på do, *liksom*
'I don't normally spit on the toilet, *like*'

The extract above is one example, such as (57), where *liksom* can be analysed as either a hedge or an intensifier. In fact, Johnsen (2012, p. 99) states that in (59) *liksom* functions as a modifier that also emphasises the statement, which is extracted from a conversation in the Big Brother house. Someone had found a strange mark on one of the toilets and asked the person in (59) whether he had spat on it. His response is found in (59) where he is defending himself against these accusations, and claims that it is not something he normally does. The accusation implies that the addressee did not consider this possibility and it is therefore reasonable to assume that he finds the new information surprising. The speaker signals that although the addressee was considering him spitting on the toilet, he should widen his beliefs to include the impression that the speaker did not spit on the toilet, neither is it something the speaker normally does. In addition, he should consider other possibilities for why there is a mark on the toilet. Thus, *liksom* in both (57), (58) and (59) indicates that addressees, and not speakers, should entertain new possibilities.

This sub-section provides instances of final *like* and *liksom* which fit with the adapted notion of domain widening where only the addressees' understanding is extended, and it shows that there are several instances of both markers. Furthermore, there are many examples of final *liksom* where both speakers and addressees need to extend their beliefs, which is in line with the self-experienced examples in (48) and (50) as those examples signalled widening for both speaker and addressee. Sentences which do the latter are discussed in the next sub-section.

¹⁰ # is a pause sign in these corpora transcripts.

5.2.2 Speakers and addressees

One example which illustrates widening for both addressee and speaker is found in (60).

- (60) Han har betalt noe sånn femten til tjue tusen for tatovering *liksom* [Norsk Talespråkskorpus]
'He has paid something like fifteen to twenty thousand for tattoos *like*'

In (60) the speaker is telling his interlocutor that an acquaintance paid between fifteen and twenty thousand for tattoos, and unexpectedness is evident here as well. *Liksom* in (60) signals that the speaker conceives the price as remarkably high. He is surprised by the fact that tattoos can be that expensive as it was not a possibility he had considered, and he must widen his understanding of how expensive tattoos can be. In addition, as he presupposes a mutual understanding among himself and the addressee, the addressee is encouraged to do the same. Because of that, *liksom* also signals that the addressee should extend his beliefs and entertain other possibilities than the ones within his and the speaker's common ground.

Later in the conversation, the addressee in (60) states the following:

- (61) Ja # tenk å dekke # hele kroppen din *liksom* [Norsk Talespråkskorpus]
'Imagine covering your entire body with tattoos *like*'

In (61), *liksom* highlights the absurdity of covering one's entire body with tattoos and portrays an uncommon situation as not many people are completely covered by tattoos. The speaker finds this situation unexpected, and thinks the addressee will share this belief. They did not consider covering one's entire body as a real possibility, but *liksom* signals that they should entertain that scenario as well. Hence, this example also illustrates that both listener as well as the speaker should entertain new possibilities.

Two other examples that illustrate this phenomenon are extracted from Fretheim (2019, pp. 182-198). Although they are not placed in final position, they occur after the finite verb which might be a syntactic position where the whole proposition is being modified by *liksom*, just as with final *liksom* (Struckmeier, 2014, pp. 24-25). This proposition can be further illustrated by the fact that many other discourse particles are found in this position, as with *nok* (probably) in (62).

- (62) Han kan *nok* klare det
'He can *probably* make it'

Therefore, it is possible that *liksom* placed after the finite verb share the same qualities as final *liksom*. Moreover, this is what we find by studying (63) and (64).

- (63) Alf ville *liksom* gjøre et godt inntrykk
'Alf wanted to *like* make a good impression'
(64) Henriette tror *liksom* at pinnsvin har godt av å drikke melk
'Henriette *like* thinks that hedgehogs benefit from drinking milk'

Fretheim (2019, p. 182-198) claims that in these sentences, *liksom* functions as an opposition marker, though it is also an approximation marker in (63). Whereas *liksom* in (63) is used to signal that while the person wanted to make a good impression, he rather

did the contrary, *liksom* in (64) implies that the speaker disagrees with the proposition. While these explanations are reasonable, I would suggest that *liksom* also signals that the addressees and speakers should widen their understanding in both examples. In (63) this entails that although they at first entertain the possibility that Alf did not want to make a good impression, they have to widen this understanding to include the possibility that he actually wished to impress. In other words, *liksom* signals that it is surprising that Alf wanted to make a good impression, and the speaker proposes that also the addressee's understanding of the situation should widen to include Alf's unexpected wish. Similarly, by uttering *liksom* in (64), the speaker signals that Henriette's opinion is surprising. The speaker is surprised by the fact that Henriette believes this, and he thinks the addressee will agree. Although neither originally considered this belief as a possibility, they need to extend their beliefs as they become aware of Henriette's opinion that hedgehogs drink milk.

The example in (65), which Hasund (2003, p. 202) views as an intensifier, is another instance where final *liksom* signals that both speaker and addressee should consider other possibilities.

- (65) (...) Han første han prata jeg mye med og han var skikkelig kul *liksom*? (...)
(...) I talked a lot with the first one and he was really cool *like*? (...)

In (65) the person is describing one of her teachers as really cool, and although Hasund defines *liksom* as an intensifier, I would claim that it is the addition of *skikkelig* (*really*) and not *liksom* that intensifies the statement. Moreover, I think a more suitable explanation is that *liksom* highlights the unexpectedness of the fact that the teacher was really cool. The speaker was surprised by the teacher's qualities and believes the addressee will be surprised too. That there exist cool teachers was not considered as a 'live possibility', but this understanding must be extended so that the new revelation is included as well.

As can be seen from the examples in this sub-section, they are all with final *liksom*. Although mostly final *liksom* signals speaker surprise, there still exist some examples where final *like* show the same characteristics, such as in (66), which is an example from Irish English (Columbus, 2009, p. 18).

- (66) Was he good Oh very good yeah yeah A Da Vinci *like*

One interesting aspect with this example is that it challenges Miller and Weinert's (1995) definition, which has worked for the instances of final *like* so far. In my opinion, it is not obvious that *like* in (66) is used to counter the expectations only the listener might have. Instead, it signals that *both* listener and speaker's expectations are countered. The speaker is surprised by this fact, and as he compares the person to one of the best painters that has ever existed, it is reasonable that the addressee finds this astonishing too. Neither of them entertained the possibility that he was as talented as Da Vinci, but *like* signals that they need to consider this a real possibility. Hence, this example shows that also final *like* can signal that both speaker and addressee should widen their understanding.

In the beginning of this section I proposed that both final *like* and *liksom* widen people's understanding, and the examples so far have reinforced this analysis. They have also shown that *like* and *liksom* differ when it comes to whether they signal that only

addressees should extend their possibilities, or whether they entail that speakers should do so too. It is especially noticeable that mostly *liksom* does the latter, although it is also possible for *like*. In addition to these two categories, the next sub-section shows that there are some instances where only speakers seem surprised and where only speakers widen their understanding of 'live possibilities'.

5.2.3 Speakers only

As stated in section 4.1, speakers do not normally tell their addressees what they already know. Thus, it is difficult to state whether only speakers should broaden their understanding as this would indicate that addressees, but not speakers, already consider the propositions as 'live possibilities'. As I believe some instances from corpora should be analysed this way, it is helpful to create an example where it evidently works with both *liksom* and *like*. One imagined scenario is illustrated in (67).

- (67) a. Lærer: Hva er løsninga på denne ligningen?
'Teacher: What is the solution to this equation?'
b. Elev: Det er fire *liksom*!
'Student: It is four *like*!'

A natural setting for this example is during an oral math test, where a teacher asks a student the question in (67a). The student is not aware of the answer and he needs to think for a long time. Before answering the correct number in (67b) he struggles and suggests numbers far from the correct one, before suddenly solving the puzzle. In this example, *liksom* and *like* signal that the speaker is either surprised by solving the equation or by the fact that he did not recognise it sooner. In addition, the markers entail that the speaker's beliefs widen to include the right answer. Moreover, as the teacher already entertains the correct number, there is no need for the addressee to extend and consider other possibilities.

As illustrated with the example above, there are instances where *like* only signals that the speaker should entertain new possibilities, and a few examples from corpora underline this belief. For instance, *like* in (68) (Columbus, 2009, p. 17) does not signal addressee surprise, and it entails that only the speaker should consider new possibilities.

- (68) You were saying there earlier on people think they can eat raw prawns *like*
<#>¹¹ That's it they have nae a clue.

This example is similar to the opposition marker proposed by Fretheim (2019), as it signals a contrast between what the speaker believes and what other people think. However, unlike those examples, *like* does not signal that the addressee should entertain new possibilities. Instead, this is only true for the speaker in (68) who is surprised by the fact that some people actually believe you can eat raw prawns. Although the speaker undoubtedly disagrees with the statement, his understanding must widen. That some people believe that one can eat raw prawns was not considered as a real possibility, but this must change as he becomes aware of other people's understandings on the matter.

¹¹ Pause sign

Thus, the speaker's understanding of eating prawns must widen to include this new information as well.

In addition to this example with final *like*, there are two examples of final *liksom* which only signal that the speaker should extend his beliefs. The first instance is illustrated in (69).

- (69) Å ja jeg tenkte skal du dra alene *liksom* [Nordisk Dialektkorpus]
'Oh, I thought you were going by yourself *like*'

In this example, two people are discussing a happening in another town, and the speaker in (69) first assumes that the other person is planning to go all by himself. Nevertheless, she receives new information which makes it clear that this is not the case. The fact that the addressee is not going by himself is therefore surprising for the speaker, and she must extend the possibilities she originally considered.

The second example which illustrates that only speakers should consider new possibilities is found in (70) (Fretheim, 2009, p. 178):

- (70) A: Så kom det en liten kar forbi
'Then a tiny guy walked past us
B: En liten kar? En gutt, *liksom*?
'A tiny guy? A boy, *like*?'

Fretheim (2009, p. 178) defines *liksom* in the example above as an approximation marker. The speaker in (70B) believes 'a boy' is a more suitable term than the ambiguous expression 'a tiny guy', but *liksom* signals that he is uncertain whether he is correct or not. In my opinion, this explanation sounds reasonable, but I think this instance can be analysed in two different ways, both connected to the idea of domain widening. The first interpretation is similar to Fretheim's description, namely that 'a boy' might be a more fitting term. Hence, the domain of 'tiny guys' needs to be expanded to include this idea as well. With this analysis, it is the concept itself that is widened, and it is therefore possible to incorporate Fretheim's understanding within the original notion of domain widening discussed in the domain widening chapter. In addition, the other interpretation of (70) fits under the expanded notion of 'live possibilities' where surprise and unexpectedness are evident. For instance, the speaker in B can either be surprised by A's choice of expression, and/or surprised by the fact that the person walked by. As the speaker did not consider these as real possibilities, he did not entertain those beliefs, and *liksom* signals that his understanding should be extended. Thus, it entails that speaker, and not addressee, should entertain new possibilities.

5.3 Concluding remarks

Based on this qualitative analysis, we can conclude that final *like* and *liksom* can entail that the speaker and/or addressee should consider other possibilities than they originally entertained. Therefore, the markers signal that people should widen their understanding and their domain of 'live possibilities'. In addition, there is often a surprise element present. As shown in 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 most examples show that the widening applies to the addressees, and that there are several instances where this affects the speakers too. However, the latter is mostly present in the cases with *liksom* and it is here one finds the

main difference between the two markers. Besides, there is one example of *like* and two of *liksom* where they only signal that the speaker, and not the addressees, should entertain new beliefs.

As stated in the literature review, it is difficult to separate *liksom* and *like* that function as hedges and focus devices as there are much disagreement among scholars. In addition, similar instances have been coded differently. Thus, another interesting finding of this qualitative analysis is that it shows that many of the instances that have been defined as hedges, focus devices and intensifiers can be unified within the notion of domain widening.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Summary and main findings

The purpose of this thesis was to bring new insights to the discussions regarding *like* and *likesom*, focussing on the markers in final position. By adapting Kadmon and Landmans's (1993) domain widening hypothesis to the idea of widening of 'live possibilities' within a common ground model, I proposed that final *like* and *likesom* signal that people should consider other possibilities than they originally entertained and therefore widen their understanding.

The question is answered by using examples from previous literature and data from corpora. The findings and the analysis show that instances of final *like* and *likesom* signal surprise and that discourse participants should widen their understanding or 'live possibilities'. The analysis further illustrates that the proposed function can be categorised in three separate groups, depending on who needs to extend their domain of real possibilities. More specifically, the instances vary depending on whether speakers encourage addressees only to entertain new possibilities, or whether the speakers themselves also need to reconsider their beliefs. Furthermore, there is one instance with *like* and two instances with *likesom* where only the speaker considers new possibilities and widens his understanding of a specific situation.

The main difference between the markers is found in the second group, namely with the instances that signal that both addressees and speakers should entertain new possibilities. As this group mostly includes instances with *likesom* and only one with *like*, it becomes clear that *like* rarely signals that speakers should widen their beliefs. This impression is further supported by the instances placed in the third group, as there is only one example there as well. Although there are merely two sentences with *likesom* in the former group, *likesom* still frequently signals that speakers should entertain new possibilities. Aside from the minor difference between *like* and *likesom* in how they affect speakers' beliefs, the proposed definition still holds for both markers, as they both signal that people should widen what they consider to be 'live possibilities'.

Another interesting finding is that various examples from previous literature can be unified within the notion of domain widening. Some of the collected examples have been treated as hedges by previous scholars, whereas others have been defined as focus devices and opposition markers, and most of these work within the idea that they widen people's understanding of 'live possibilities'.

6.2 Further research

Although I claim that final *like* and *likesom* signal that people should widen their understanding, the data analysed are limited and the results are based on a few people's intuitions. Therefore, there are several possible directions for further research. First, it could be fruitful to collect more data and test whether they also work within the analysis.

Second, as illustrated in section 4.4, the idea can also be transferred to *like* and *liksom* in medial position. However, as there were only a few instances that were tested, the findings are not reliable. Thus, to focus on medial, and possibly also initial position, could lead to valuable insights. Lastly, interrogatives were omitted from the study due to the thesis's scope, and it is therefore interesting to see whether the findings are applicable for them too. As mentioned in section 3.1.2, Miller and Weinert's definition does not necessarily hold for the interrogative in (71) (Hasund, 2003, p. 198) as it is not obvious that it counters expectations the addressee might have.

(71) (...) I've always got someone who sort of fancies me or I'm flirting with. Do you know what I mean *like*? (...)

However, *like* in (71) could be analysed as widening the speech act, as it gives the addressee more possibilities to respond positively. If so, (71) is an example of an interrogative that might fit within the idea of domain widening, and it could be interesting to study this idea further. Consequently, there are numerous ways to approach upcoming studies which could possibly confirm the analysis reached on a qualitative basis in this study.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Relevance for the teaching profession

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At first sight the thesis might not seem relevant for the teaching profession. Nevertheless, both the topic of *like* and *liksom*, as well as the writing process have prepared me for the upcoming years as a teacher.

First, it has helped me understand the nuances of colloquial language. Both *like* and *liksom* are commonly used by teenagers and they might not be aware of why they use them. In addition, they might have been told to avoid using the markers as they are 'merely fillers' (D'Arcy, 2007, p. 388). Although the latter claim is not correct, many students are unwilling to speak in class (Harmer, 2015, p. 386), and I believe these comments can lead to students being even more reluctant to participate. The reason is that the fear of communicating in a way teachers view as poorly can make it safer to avoid speaking in class. By writing this thesis, I have become more aware of the markers' function, and I think it is important to state that informal language is natural and acceptable in most occasions. Furthermore, in my opinion, it is also essential that teachers do not always tell students how language should be used, but rather focus on how it is used in daily life, namely with the addition of discourse *like* and *liksom*. Making students reflect on why they use the markers can lead to interesting discussions in the classroom. In addition, as this seeks the students' own understanding of why they use *like* and *liksom*, it can make it easier for them to communicate as it focusses on their own language use and as there is no right or wrong answer.

Second, another relevant aspect is connected to the process itself. Writing this thesis has without a doubt been the most time-consuming writing process I have experienced, and it has taught me much which is valuable for the teaching profession. For instance, I have become a better writer and learned how to structure a thesis, which can help me guide students in how to structure, reread and rewrite their texts. In addition, searching for literature has been an important aspect of this process and I have learned to be more critical of sources and other scholars' work. The latter is relevant both when teaching students to search for previous literature, as well as when deciding on the best teaching material. Lastly, receiving feedback from supervisors together with providing feedback to other students' theses, have been invaluable practice and given me a clearer idea of how to facilitate learning.

