

**Relations among Constructions with *Because*:
With Special Reference to Metalinguistic Uses of *Because****

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1. Introduction

There is a certain metalinguistic use of the conjunction *because* to which little attention has been paid.¹ It is illustrated by sentences like the following:

- (1) The Blackwell collection was reputed to be the most valuable private collection in the world. *Reputed*, because no one outside of invited guests was permitted to see it. (Hirose (1992:82))

In (1), the *because*-clause expresses the reason why the speaker used the word *reputed* in the preceding sentence. Following Hirose (1992), I will refer to expressions of this kind as the expression-*because* construction (henceforth, the E-*because* construction).

As Hirose points out, in order to express the reason why the speaker used a certain expression, one can also use constructions like (2):

- (2) I say "another", because Pat Brogan has given a number of arguments to this effect. (Hirose (1992:83))

The main clause of this sentence is a full clause, while that of (1) is only the expression used in the preceding statement.² In order to distinguish constructions like (2) from the E-*because* construction, I will call the former the *I say E because* construction (henceforth, the ISE-*because* construction).

The aim of this paper is to describe how the E-*because* construction and the ISE-*because* construction are related to each other and how they are related to other constructions where *because* is used. They are exemplified in (3a, b):

- (3) a. He's not coming to class because he's sick.
b. He's not coming to class, because he just called from San Diego.

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¹ As far as my knowledge goes, Hirose (1992) is the only one that refers to this use of *because* and gives an account of it.

² A simple word or phrase, e.g. *reputed* in (1) is not technically a clause. Thus, it may sound strange to refer to such an expression as "the main clause," but in this paper I simply use the term to refer to the syntactic position equivalent to the main clause.

(Rutherford (1970:95))

Following Kanetani (to appear), I will call the constructions in (3a, b) the causal construction (henceforth, the C construction) and the reasoning construction (henceforth, the R construction), respectively.

This paper is organized as follows. Following an overview of general properties of the *E-because/ISE-because* constructions in section 2, section 3 compares them with the C construction and the R construction and raises a question that emerges in the course of the comparison. Before answering the question, section 4 makes clear the relation between the *E-because* construction and the *ISE-because* construction. Section 5 answers the question posed in section 3. Section 6 gives a formal description of the relations among the constructions, framed in construction grammar terms (cf. Goldberg (1995)). Section 7 is a brief conclusion.

2. Facts on the *E-Because/ISE-because* Constructions

In this section I observe properties of the *E-because/ISE-because* constructions. Firstly, although they are syntactically distinct, as Hirose (1992) observes, these two constructions convey the same meaning. The function of the *E-because/ISE-because* constructions is to take up a particular expression used in the preceding context and express the reason why the speaker has used the expression. In this respect, the two constructions can be said to be synonymous. As Hirose points out, however, what the *because*-clause modifies is explicit in the *ISE-because* construction, while it is not in the *E-because* construction. The meaning of the *E-because* construction in (1) is “the reason why I say ‘reputed’ is that no one outside of invited guests was permitted to see it,” in which the *because*-clause modifies *I say*, but it is not explicitly expressed in the sentence in (1). On the other hand, the meaning of the *ISE-because* construction in (2) is “the reason I say ‘another’ is that Pat Brogan has given a number of arguments to this effect”, in which *I say* is explicit in the sentence.³

³ In this relation, Hirose (1992) reports that the implicit speaker is not necessarily a first person singular. Observe the following:

- (i) Their [Ross and Lakoff’s] famous example was “Floyd broke the glass”, of which they said the deep structure was “It happened that Floyd did Floyd caused that the glass became broken.” “Did” because all action verbs have emerged in them the verb “do”. (Hirose (1992:83))

In (i), since it is Ross and Lakoff, not the speaker of the sentence, that have used the word *did*, the *because*-clause expresses the reason why they say *did*. Hirose thus suggests that the *E-because* construction in (i) may be paraphrased into:

- (ii) They say “did” because all action verbs have emerged in them the verb “do.”

Secondly, the *because*-clause in either construction cannot appear in the sentence-initial position:

- (4) *Blackwell collection was reputed to be the most valuable private collection in the world. Because no one outside of the invited guests was permitted to see it, (I say) *Reputed*. (cf. (1))

According to Hirose (1991), sentence-initial *because*-clauses generally express the reason that is presupposed. In the *E-because/ISE-because* constructions, the reason cannot be presupposed, because these constructions are used to express the reason why the speaker used a certain expression in the preceding context. Therefore, it is natural that these constructions do not allow a sentence-initial *because*-clause.

Thirdly, as Hirose (1992) observes, the *because*-clause in the *E-because* construction can be nominalized into *because of*, as exemplified in (5):

- (5) Talking about verbal defensiveness has proven to be a particularly effective way of making *linguists* defensive: “defensive” because of wide-scale disagreement concerning the validity of speech act interpretations which must be necessarily be highly context dependent, intuitive, and, in addition, must confront the controversial problem of discerning a speaker’s intention. (Hirose (1992:85))

We can easily find attested examples of the *ISE-because* construction where the *because*-clause is nominalized, as exemplified in (6):

- (6) ... I headed towards a questionable café situated near the busstop. I say ‘questionable’ because of the way the place didn’t smell anything like a café, but rather like a marijuana den.
(www.theneitherworld.com/mmen/pi/jacket.htm)

Fourthly, the *because*-clause of the *ISE-because* construction and the *E-because* construction can be focalized by what Quirk et al. (1985:604) call “exclusives”, as shown in (7):

- (7) a. Figure 2 shows the theoretical response of the filter. I say “theoretical”, simply because it is unrealistic to expect any signal to be over 200dB down from the passband level.
(sound.westhost.com/project99.htm)
b. Figure 2 shows the theoretical response of the filter. “Theoretical”, simply because it is unrealistic to expect any signal to be over

In this paper, however, for the sake of simplification of argument, I will not concern myself with sentences like (i) and (ii), in which the (implicit) speaker of the expression in question is different from the speaker of the sentence.

200dB down from the passband level.

In (7), the *because*-clause is focalized by *simply*, which belongs to exclusives.⁴

Fifthly, what Lakoff (1987) calls speech act constructions can occur in the *because*-clause of the ISE-*because* construction and the E-*because* construction as shown in (8a, b):

- (8) a. ...they serve for lunch the surprisingly delicious cucumber salad.
I say surprisingly, because who would think one could turn the big, fat American (instead of the slim, English variety) into anything one would want a lot more of.

(www.sfexaminer.com/templates/print.cfm?storyname=010704e_tower)

- b. Surprisingly, because who would think one could turn the big, fat American (instead of the slim, English variety) into anything one would want a lot more of.

In the attested example of the ISE-*because* construction (8a), the rhetorical question, a kind of speech act construction, occurs in the *because*-clause. Such speech act constructions of this kind can also occur in the *because*-clause of the E-*because* construction as in (8b).

Thus far, I have observed similarities between the E-*because* construction and the ISE-*because* construction. However, there is a difference between them. The *because*-clause of the ISE-*because* construction can appear in the focus position of (pseudo-)cleft constructions, whereas that of the E-*because* construction cannot. The examples (9) and (10) show that the *because*-clause of the ISE-*because* construction appears in the focus position of cleft constructions and pseudo-cleft constructions, respectively:⁵

- (9) ...It is because of this “gripping,” this “holding onto,” that I say
“behold!” (www.toltec-foundation.org/extracts/qfm.pdf)

- (10) I currently live in Hanover Pennsylvania and why I say currently is
because I have lived in 5 different places around the US mostly on the
east coast though. (students.juniata.edu/mclelnm2/)

(11a, b) show that the *because*-clause of the E-*because* construction, unlike the case of the ISE-*because* construction, cannot appear in the focus position of cleft constructions:

- (11) a. * ...It is because of this “gripping,” this “holding onto,” that

⁴ Exclusives other than *simply* involve *just*, *only*, and the like (see Quirk et al. (1985:604)).

⁵ The difference between cleft constructions as in (9) and pseudo-cleft constructions as in (10) is not crucial for the purpose of this paper. Henceforth, I will use the term “cleft constructions” as a cover term.

“behold!” (cf. (9))

- b. * I currently live in Hanover Pennsylvania and why *currently* is because I have lived in 5 different places around the US mostly on the east coast though. (cf. (10))

Properties of the *E-because* construction and the *ISE-because* construction observed through this section can be summarized as follows:

- (12) a. The two constructions are synonymous, i.e., they both express the reason why the speaker has used a certain expression in the preceding context.
- b. Neither construction allows a sentence-initial *because*-clause.
- c. Either construction allows a nominalization of the *because*-clause.
- d. The *because*-clause of either construction can be focalized by exclusives.
- e. Speech act constructions can occur in the *because*-clause of either construction.
- f. The *because*-clause of the *ISE-because* construction may appear in the focus position of cleft constructions, whereas that of the *E-because* construction may not.

3. Comparison of the *E-Because/ISE-because* Constructions with the *C/R* Constructions

I observed semantic and syntactic properties of the *E-because/ISE-because* constructions in the previous section. In this section, I compare these constructions with the *C* construction and the *R* construction in terms of the properties listed in (12c-f). Since those listed in (12a, b) are unique to the *E-because/ISE-because* constructions, they are not subject to comparison.

3.1. *The C Construction and the R Construction*

Before starting the comparison, let us overview Kanetani's (to appear) argument about the *C* construction and the *R* construction. The sentences in (3a, b), repeated as (13a, b) below, are instances of the *C* construction and the *R* construction, respectively:⁶

- (13) a. He's not coming to class because he's sick. (= (3a))

⁶ What Rutherford (1970) calls a “restrictive” *because*-clause roughly corresponds to the *because*-clause of the *C* construction and his “non-restrictive” *because*-clause to that of the *R* construction. Notice that a comma intonation is required between the main clause and the *because*-clause in the *R* construction, whereas it is not in the *C* construction (cf. Hirose (1999:600)). For a more detailed discussion, see Kanetani (to appear).

- b. He's not coming to class, because he just called from San Diego.
(= (3b))

The sentence in (13a) describes the causal relation between his being sick and his not coming to class. The sentence in (13b), on the other hand, describes the speaker's reasoning process in which the speaker draws the conclusion that he's not coming to class from the premise that he just called from San Diego.

One important difference between the C and R constructions should be noted here, by which many different syntactic behaviors can be accounted for. The C construction as a whole performs one speech act, whereas the R construction two speech acts. Consider the following sentences:

- (14) a. Is the ground wet because it has rained? /
b. Has it rained, because the ground is wet. \

The sentence in (14a) is an instance of the C construction, and as the intonation contour shows, a rising intonation is used at the end of the sentence. The sentence in (14b), on the other hand, is the instance of the R construction. In (14b), a rising intonation is used at the end of its main clause; its *because*-clause has a falling intonation. The different intonation pattern suggests that the sentence in (14a) as a whole performs one speech act of question, while the sentence in (14b) performs two speech acts, i.e. the speech act of question in the main clause and that of the declaration in the *because*-clause.

3.2. Comparison of the Constructions

Now that the difference between the C construction and the R construction is clear, I turn to comparing the E-*because*/ISE-*because* constructions on one hand with the C construction and the R construction on the other.

Firstly, the *because*-clause of the E-*because*/ISE-*because* constructions and the C construction can be nominalized into *because of*. As for the nominalization of a *because*-clause, Rutherford (1970) observes that the *because*-clause of the C construction can be nominalized, while that of the R construction cannot. Compare the following:

- (15) a. He's not coming to class because of (his) sickness.
(Hirose (1992:85))
b. *He's not coming to class because of his having just called from San Diego.
(Rutherford (1970:105))
(cf. He's not coming to class, because he just called from San Diego. (= (3b)))

Kanetani (to appear) argues that it is a sentence (or a clause), not a simple word or phrase, that performs a speech act, and that if a *because*-clause is nominalized as in

saying that the *because*-clause cannot be clefted), because it is a backgrounded position. Thus, the ISE-*because* construction is similar to the C construction in that their *because*-clause can be clefted.

Notice that the *because*-clause of the E-*because* construction cannot be clefted. It does not mean, however, that this construction is similar to the R construction. Consider the sentences in (11a, b), repeated below for ease of reference:

(18) a. * ...It is because of this “gripping,” this “holding onto,” that
“behold!” (= (11a))

b. * I currently live in Hanover Pennsylvania and why currently is
because I have lived in 5 different places around the US mostly on
the east coast though. (= (11b))

That and *why* used in the above examples must take a finite clause, not a word or a phrase, as their complements.⁷ In (18a, b), however, simple words such as *behold* and *currently* follow *that* and *why*, respectively. Hence, the contradiction. The *because*-clause of the ISE-*because* construction, on the other hand, can be clefted with no problem as observed above, since *that* and *why* are correctly followed by the clauses beginning with *I say*.

Thus, the different behavior in clefting of the *because*-clause between the E-*because* construction and the ISE-*because* construction can be accounted for in terms of the different syntactic status of the main clause of each construction. What is important is that the different behavior in clefting of the *because*-clause does not stem from the number of speech acts performed in the sentence. More important is that just because the *because*-clause of the E-*because* construction cannot be clefted, it does not mean that the E-*because* construction is similar to the R construction. Hence, the fact that the *because*-clause of the E-*because* construction cannot be clefted is a trivial matter here, since the reason for the ungrammaticality of (18a, b) is the purely syntactic one. It is important to note that the ISE-*because* construction is similar to the C construction in that the *because*-clause of these constructions can be clefted.

Fourthly, speech act constructions can occur in the *because*-clause of the R construction (e.g. (19a)) and the E-*because*/ISE-*because* constructions, but not in the *because*-clause of the C construction (e.g. (19b)) (cf. Hooper and Thompson (1973), Lakoff (1987), and Kanetani (to appear)). Observe the following:

⁷ In terms of generative grammar, a finite clause also counts as a phrase whose head is assumed to be the category “tense,” i.e. a tense phrase; by saying “a phrase” in this paper, it means a phrase other than a tense phrase. A tense phrase is referred to as “a clause.”

- (19) a. We should go on a picnic, because isn't it a beautiful day!
 (Lakoff (1987:474))
- b. * Sam is not going out for dinner because Japanese food, his wife is cooking.
- (cf. Sam is not going out for dinner because his wife is cooking Japanese food. (Hooper and Thompson (1973:494)))

In (19a), the rhetorical question occurs in the *because*-clause and the sentence is grammatical. In (19b), the topicalization, also a kind of speech act construction, is not acceptable in the *because*-clause. The contrast directly follows from the properties of these constructions mentioned in the previous subsection. Speech act constructions, e.g. rhetorical questions, topicalizations, etc. "are restricted in their use to expressing certain illocutionary forces (Lakoff (1987:474))." That is to say, as their very name suggests, speech act constructions perform a speech act by themselves. Since the *because*-clause of the R construction performs a speech act independently of its main clause, it is both possible and reasonable for speech act constructions to occur in it. On the other hand, speech act constructions do not occur in the *because*-clause of the C construction. Since in the C construction, the sentence as a whole performs one speech act, its *because*-clause cannot perform an independent speech act on its own. Thus, in the respect that speech act constructions can occur in the *because*-clause, it can be said that the *E-because/ISE-because* constructions are similar to the R construction.

Thus far, I have compared the *E-because/ISE-because* constructions with the C construction and the R construction in terms of how many speech acts each construction performs in the whole sentence. Through the comparison, it has been revealed that the *E-because/ISE-because* constructions either perform one speech act in the whole sentence or perform two speech acts. Then a question immediately arises: Why do the *E-because/ISE-because* constructions have such a bilateral character? The simplest answer may be that there are two types of *ISE-because* constructions and two types of *E-because* constructions. One type of them performs one speech act in the whole sentence and therefore shows similar behaviors to the C construction; the other type performs two speech acts and hence shows similar behaviors to the R construction.

However, there is a good reason to reject the assumption that there are two types of *E-because* constructions (although there seems no reason to deny the existence of two types of *ISE-because* constructions). The main clause of the *E-because* construction is a simple word or phrase that cannot perform a speech act

of its own.⁸ Thus, the *E-because* construction performs one speech act in the whole sentence (cf. Hirose (1992)). Recall that the C construction performs one speech act in the whole sentence, while the R construction two. Thus, in terms of the number of speech acts performed in the sentence, there can be only one type of *E-because* construction. It should also be noted that the *E-because* construction must be similar to the C construction and cannot be similar to the R construction. Thus, I assume that there is only one type of *E-because* construction that is similar to the C construction, while there are two types of *ISE-because* constructions: The one that is similar to the C construction (henceforth, the C-type *ISE-because* construction), and the one that is similar to the R construction (henceforth, the R-type *ISE-because* construction).

One may, of course, wonder why speech act constructions can occur in the *because*-clause of the *E-because* construction as in (8b), repeated as in (20), if the *E-because* construction is similar to the C construction and performs one speech act in the whole sentence.

- (20) Surprisingly, because who would think one could turn the big, fat American (instead of the slim, English variety) into anything one would want a lot more of. (= (8b))

I will explain the reason in section 5 after making clear the difference between the two types of *ISE-because* constructions and the relation between the *E-because* construction and the C-type *ISE-because* construction in the following section.

4. Two Types of *ISE-Because* Constructions and the *E-because* Construction

In order to show the difference between the C-type and R-type *ISE-because* constructions, I consider the role of the phrase *I say* in the main clause in each type of *ISE-because* construction. I here claim that although the role of *I say* is commonly to reassert that the speaker has used the expression in the preceding context, the purpose of reassertion seems different for each type.

Let us first consider the role of *I say* used in the R-type *ISE-because* construction. The main clause and the *because*-clause of this construction need to perform speech acts independent of each other. As is discussed in the previous section, if the main clause were a simple word or phrase, like the main clause of the *E-because* construction, it would be impossible to perform a speech act by itself. Using the phrase *I say* thus makes it possible for the main clause to perform a

⁸ Notice that this is the same reasoning as the one I used to explain why the *because*-clause of the R construction is not nominalized, i.e., a simple word or phrase cannot perform a speech act by itself (cf. Kanetani (to appear)).

speech act of assertion by itself.

The contrast in (21a, b) further supports the plausibility of this view:

- (21) a. It won't get any easier now that he's a lame-duck coach -- assuming he's not getting that extension. I say assuming since Burke isn't talking, except for his statement that Purdue will honor the final year of Keady's contract.

(www.boilerstation.com/hoops/columns/200404040purdue_hoops1081055683.shtml)

- b. * Assuming since Burke isn't talking, except for his statement that Purdue will honor the final year of Keady's contract.

In (21), the conjunction of reason *since*, instead of *because*, is used, and the contrast shows that when *since* is used, the main clause must be a full clause. Kanetani (to appear) argues that the conjunction *since* is used in the R construction, but not in the C construction.⁹ Thus, constructions where *since* is used like (21a) are related to the R construction and perform two speech acts independent of each other in the whole sentence. In this respect, constructions of this kind can be considered to have the same status as the R-type ISE-*because* construction. The content of the main clause in (21a) is actually presupposed, but the speaker needs to reassert that he has used the word *assuming* in order for the main clause to perform an independent speech act. Without *I say*, it is impossible for the main clause to perform an independent speech act because it is a simple word, and the sentence is ungrammatical as in (21b). Thus, as for the R-type ISE-*because* construction, *I say* in the main clause makes it possible to perform a speech act of assertion.

Now, let us turn to considering the function of *I say* used in the C-type ISE-*because* construction. Compare the following sentences:

- (22) a. Unfortunately, perhaps, a person in some cases can be HIV positive for several years without having AIDS. When they finally get AIDS they are often able to work for some time, and with treatment live a fairly normal life for several years. *(I say) unfortunately only because those diseases that are readily visible get treatment quicker.

⁹ Note in passing that a *since*-clause cannot be nominalized (e.g. (i)), focalized by exclusives like *only* (e.g. (ii)), or clefted (e.g. (iii)) (cf. Quirk et al. (1985), Schourup and Waida (1988), Nakau (1994), Wickboldt (1998), Kanetani (2005, to appear)).

(i) * Since John's death, Mary remarried. (Wickboldt (1998:91))

(ii) * Only since Mary is writing the book is she unavailable. (Wickboldt (1998:89))

(iii) * It is since Mary is tall that she is trying out for the basketball team. (Wickboldt (1998:86))

These facts support that *since* is not used in the C construction (see section 3.2).

(enzi.senate.gov/aidsaf2.htm)

- b. Unfortunately, a person in some cases can be HIV positive for several years without having AIDS. ?(I say) unfortunately only because those diseases that are readily visible get treatment quicker.

The *because*-clauses in these sentences are focalized by the exclusive *only*, which means that the constructions are similar to the C construction (see section 3.2). The above contrast shows that in almost the same context, the E-*because* construction cannot be used in (22a), whereas it can in (22b). In contrast, the ISE-*because* construction can be used in either context. In (22a), after the word *unfortunately* is used, a sentence is intervened before the reason for the use of the word is expressed. Due to the considerable temporal distance between the use of the word and the expression of the reason for it, the speaker needs to activate the word *unfortunately* in the hearer's mind. By saying *I say*, the speaker reasserts that he has used the expression in question in the preceding statement, and accordingly, the expression is activated in the hearer's mind. Thus, when such activation is needed, the speaker has to use the ISE-*because* construction. In (22b), on the other hand, the distance between the use of the expression and the expression of the reason is not so long that such activation is not necessary. In such a case, the speaker can use the E-*because* construction as well as the ISE-*because* construction.

To support this, consider the following quote from Lambrecht (1994:93):

In order for an addressee to be able to process the presupposition evoked by an utterance it is not only necessary that she be aware of the relevant set of presupposed propositions but that she have easy access to these propositions and to the elements of which they are composed.

Along with the above quote, it can be said that even though the content in the main clause is presupposed, the speaker has to activate it in the hearer's mind if it is assumed to be inactive in the hearer's mind.

Although the E-*because* construction is related to the C-type ISE-*because* construction in that they both perform one speech act in the whole sentence, the former can be used only when the content of the main clause is assumed to be active in the hearer's mind. Thus, the function of *I say* in the C-type ISE-*because* construction is to activate the content of the main clause in the hearer's mind.

In sum, using the phrase *I say*, the speaker reasserts that he has used the expression in the preceding context. In the R-type ISE-*because* construction, the reassertion makes it possible for the main clause to perform a speech act independently of the subordinate clause. In the C-type ISE-*because* construction,

the speaker, reasserting that he has used the expression in the preceding context, activates it in the hearer's mind. Although the *E-because* construction is similar to the C-type *ISE-because* construction, the use of the former is more restricted, i.e., it can be used only when the content of the main clause is assumed to be active in the hearer's mind.

In this relation, Goldberg (1995:67) claims that if two constructions are syntactically distinct and semantically synonymous, then they must not be pragmatically synonymous. The argument in this section is supported by her claim: The *E-because* construction and the C-type *ISE-because* construction are pragmatically distinct (i.e., the former can be used only when the content of the main clause is assumed to be active in the hearer's mind, while the latter does not have such a requirement), because they are syntactically distinct (i.e., the main clause of the former is a simple word or phrase; that of the latter a full clause) and semantically synonymous. Thus, the *E-because* construction is an independent construction although it is closely related to the C-type *ISE-because* construction.

Now that the relations among the two types of *ISE-because* constructions and the *E-because* construction are clear, in the following section, I will answer the question why speech act constructions can occur in the *because*-clause of the *E-because* construction.

5. Occurrence of Speech Act Constructions in the *Because*-Clause of the *E-Because* Construction

If, as discussed in previous sections, the *E-because* construction performs one speech act in the whole sentence and is related to the C-type *ISE-because* construction, it is expected that speech act constructions should not occur in the *because*-clause of the *E-because* construction. As exemplified in (23) (= (8b)), however, they *do* occur in such a position:

- (23) Surprisingly, because who would think one could turn the big, fat American (instead of the slim, English variety) into anything one would want a lot more of. (= (8b))

In this section, I claim that this contradiction is caused by the following two factors: (i) A close functional resemblance between the *E-because* and C-type *ISE-because* constructions, and (ii) a formal identity between the C-type and R-type *ISE-because* constructions. In what follows, I discuss how the two factors affect the occurrence of speech act constructions in the *because*-clause of the *E-because* construction.

As for the first factor, the *E-because* and C-type *ISE-because* constructions are so closely related to each other that in many cases, they can be paraphrased with

each other. The only circumstance in which the paraphrase relation does not hold is, as discussed in section 4, when the content of the main clause is assumed to be inactive in the hearer's mind. Otherwise, the paraphrase relation holds and which construction the speaker uses does not seem to make a big difference. As for the second, the C-type and R-type ISE-*because* constructions share the same syntactic form [*I say E, because S*]. Because of the formal identity between them, speakers may not even be aware that there are two types of ISE-*because* constructions.

Now, let us clarify the mechanism of the occurrence of speech act constructions in the *because*-clause of the E-*because* construction. As mentioned in section 3, the E-*because* construction is not related to the R-type ISE-*because* construction, and so in essence, they are not supposed to be paraphrased with each other. However, the formal resemblance between the C-type and R-type ISE-*because* constructions is so close that the distinction between them is neutralized. Once the distinction is neutralized, speakers plausibly take the ISE-*because* construction (irrespective of its type) to be paraphrased with the E-*because* construction by analogy with the paraphrase relation between the E-*because* construction and the C-type ISE-*because* construction. Thus, the analogy based on the formal identity between the two types of ISE-*because* constructions makes it possible for the E-*because* construction to be paraphrased with the R-type ISE-*because* construction. The fact can be illustrated as follows:

$$(24) \quad \begin{array}{ccc} [I \text{ say } E, \text{ because } S] \text{ (C-type)} & \text{-----} & [I \text{ say } E, \text{ because } S] \text{ (R-type)} \\ & \uparrow & \text{formal identity} \\ & \updownarrow & \text{paraphrase relation} \\ & [E, \text{ because } S] & \end{array}$$

The arrow indicates the paraphrase relation between the E-*because* construction and the C-type ISE-*because* construction, and the broken line represents the formal identity between the C-type and R-type ISE-*because* constructions.

To see that this kind of analogy based on formal identity is a general phenomenon, let us take the plural form *mouses* for example. The word *mouses* cannot be used to refer to small animals, but is used to refer to computer pointing devices (e.g. Pinker (1999), Farrell (2001), and Konno (2005)). Interestingly, the irregular plural form *mice* is used to refer to the computer devices as well, and the preference varies: Some speakers (e.g. Farrell) prefer *mouses* to *mice*, while others (e.g. the native speaker whom Konno consults) *mice* to *mouses*. If the function of *mouses* is specialized to refer to the computer devices, why then do some people still use *mice* to refer to such devices? Presumably, such speakers form the plural form by analogy with the small animal, because their singular counterparts are both *mouse* (irrespective of the function of the word). In this relation, Farrell

I-link and S-link to describing relations among the *E-because* construction, the two types of *ISE-because* constructions, the C construction, and the R construction.

In order for the inheritance links to be posited, three things need to be taken into consideration. Firstly, the C-type *ISE-because* construction is related to the C construction, because they show similar behaviors as observed in section 3.2. Likewise, the R-type *ISE-because* construction is related to the R construction. Notice that the main clause of the *ISE-because* constructions always takes the form [*I say E*], while various kinds of sentences appear in the main clause of the C/R constructions. It is natural to take [*I say E*] just as an instance of many other types of sentences. Thus, the C-type *ISE-because* construction is a special instance of the C construction, and the R-type *ISE-because* construction a special instance of the R construction in which *because* is used. Hence, I-links are posited between the C construction and the C-type *ISE-because* construction, and between the R construction and the R-type *ISE-because* construction.

Secondly, the *E-because* construction is related to the C-type *ISE-because* construction. Although they are synonymous and closely related to each other, the *E-because* construction and the C-type *ISE-because* construction are distinct. The former is more specific than the latter in the following two senses. First, the *E-because* construction is restricted in its use to the case where the content of the main clause is assumed to be active in the hearer's mind, whereas the latter does not have such a restriction (see section 4). Second, the *E-because* construction has an unusual syntactic structure. Its main clause is a simple word or phrase, although subordinators like *because* canonically connect two clauses (cf. Quirk et al. (1985)). All the same, the syntactic structure of the *E-because* construction is subsumed under that of the *ISE-because* construction (i.e., *I say E* in the former subsumes "E" in the latter). Thus, the semantic and syntactic specifications of the *E-because* construction are a subpart of the semantic and syntactic specifications of the C-type *ISE-because* construction, and so an S-link is posited between them.

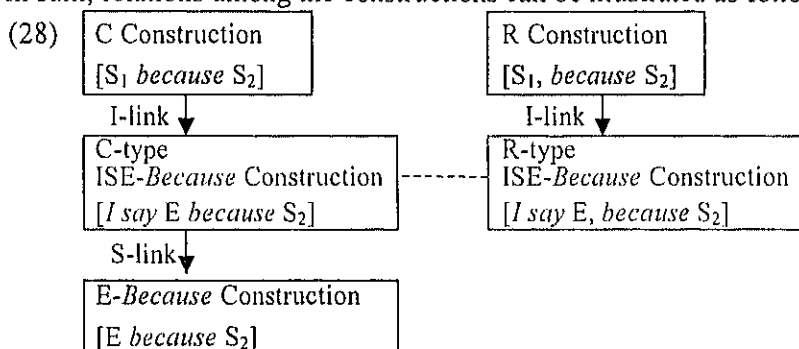
Lastly, as mentioned in section 4, the *E-because* construction is not related directly to the R-type *ISE-because* construction. That is, the former does not inherit its properties from the latter. If an inheritance link were posited between them, we could expect the same kind of inheritance link to relate constructions like (27a) to constructions like (27b).

- (27) a. It won't get any easier now that he's a lame-duck coach -- assuming he's not getting that extension. I say assuming since Burke isn't talking, except for his statement that Purdue will honor the final year of Keady's contract. (= (21a))

- b. * Assuming since Burke isn't talking, except for his statement that Purdue will honor the final year of Keady's contract. (= (21b))

The absence of constructions like (27b) is thus a piece of supporting evidence for the fact that no inheritance link is posited between the R-type ISE-*because* construction and the E-*because* construction. However, as we discussed in section 5, it becomes possible to relate the E-*because* construction to the R-type ISE-*because* construction by neutralizing the distinction between the C-type and R-type ISE-*because* constructions. The neutralization occurs because of the formal identity between the two types of ISE-*because* constructions.

In sum, relations among the constructions can be illustrated as follows:



The boxes in (28) indicate constructions, in which their syntactic templates are given in each bracket, and the inheritance links between them are indicated by the solid arrows. The broken line indicates the formal identity between the C-type and R-type ISE-*because* constructions, which neutralizes the distinction between them, and accordingly makes it possible for the R-type ISE-*because* construction to be paraphrased with the E-*because* construction (see section 5).

7. Conclusion

I have given a detailed description of the relations among the E-*because* construction, the two types of ISE-*because* constructions, the C construction, and the R construction through this paper. In section 4, I showed that there are two types of ISE-*because* constructions. Though the E-*because* construction and the C-type ISE-*because* construction are closely related to each other and can be paraphrased to each other in many cases, they exist as independent constructions. Of note is that the use of the E-*because* construction is restricted to the case where the content of the main clause is assumed to be active in the hearer's mind, whereas the ISE-*because* construction does not have such a restriction. There is no motivation to relate the E-*because* construction directly to the R-type ISE-*because* construction. Interestingly, however, they can be related to each other and be in

the paraphrase relation by analogy with the paraphrase relation between the E-*because* construction and the C-type ISE-*because* construction. Accordingly, it becomes possible for speech act constructions -- which are expected not to occur in the *because*-clause of the E-*because* construction -- to occur in such a position. Exactly how this mechanism can be explained within the framework of construction grammar is not clear at this point, however. I will leave it to future research.

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