# Because reasons

# Non-finite causal constructions in English, German, Dutch, and Czech

Dissertation
zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades eines

Doktors der Philosophie

am Fachbereich
Philosophie und Geisteswissenschaften

der

Freien Universität Berlin

von

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Berlin 2024

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| Erstgutachter: | Prof. Dr. Ferdinand von Mengden |
| Zweitgutachter: | Prof. Dr. Matthias Hüning |

Tag der Disputation: 23. Mai 2024

To my grandfather

Vladimír Konvička (1932-2017)

Thinking about something is like picking up a stone when taking a walk, either while skipping rocks on the beach, for example, or looking for a way to shatter the glass doors of a museum. When you think about something, it adds a bit of weight to your walk, and as you think about more and more things you are liable to feel heavier and heavier, until you are so burdened you cannot take any further steps, and can only sit and stare at the gentle movements of the ocean waves or security guards, thinking too hard about too many things to do anything else.

Lemony Snicket: *The End*

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## Acknowledgements

The text you are about to read took much longer to finish than I had initially expected. The path leading from the first proposal to the finally submitted thesis was everything but straightforward. It was rather a series of cul-de-sacs and countless unintended detours – the pandemic intermezzo notwithstanding. Despite all these digressions, it would be a lie to say that I have not ultimately enjoyed this journey. A journey along which I have also happened to learn a thing or two. I owe the fact that I did not get entirely lost to my supervisor, Ferdinand von Mengden, for being ever so patient, open to my ideas, and supportive over the years.

My journey would not have been possible without many friends and colleagues (in alphabetical order): Alexander Bergs, Joan Bybee, Susanne Chrambach, Kiran van Bentum, Roberto Dagnino, Truus De Wilde, Rita Finkbeiner, Bernd Heine, Theresa Heyd, Shuk Han Ho, Steffen Höder, Matthias Hüning, Livio Gaeta, Marlena Jakobs, Martin Janečka, Natasha Janzen Ulbricht, Łukasz Jędrzejowski, Berit Johannsen, Markéta Kluková, Marlena Jakobs, Irena Kozmanová, Philipp Krämer, Anneliese Kuhle, Robert Külpmann, James McElvenny, Kirsten Middeke, Muriel Norde, Onur Özsoy, Andreas Pankau, Uli Reich, Julia Renkwitz, Britta Schneider, Laurentia Schreiber, Horst Simon, Kristin Stöcker, Naomi Truan, An Van linden, Natalie Verelst, and Antje Wilton. I am not sure whether they are aware of the roles they have played, but they were all tremendously helpful.

I am also grateful to my family, particularly my parents, who have firmly supported me from the very beginning until the final page of this manuscript. My very special gratitude goes to Henrik Grütz for being so patient all this time and for reminding me that the world outside of my tiny linguistic bubble not only exists but that it is inhabited by capybaras and generally quite fun. He made me feel understood and comfortable and gave me the energy I needed on my doctoral quest.

Finally, I would also like to thank the Elsa Neumann Scholarship Programme for the financial support I received in the first phase of my odyssey.

Over every list looms the danger of incompleteness. To minimise the risk of forgetting anyone, I would like to collectively thank all who contributed to the final version of this thesis and who have helped me to get where I am right now. Without your unwavering support, the following pages would have been much less fun to write (and even less to read). All mistakes, errors, shortcomings, and boring passages still present are my responsibility entirely.

Berlin, February 2024

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## List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| ACC | Accusative |
| ACRO | Acronym |
| AdjP | Adjectival Phrase |
| AdvP | Adverbial Phrase |
| AGR | Agreement |
| COD | Code |
| COM | Complement |
| CON | Connector |
| CPX | Complexity |
| DAT | Dative |
| DCxG | Diasystematic Construction Grammar |
| DEF | Definite |
| DTE | Date |
| ELL | Ellipsis |
| F | Feminine |
| IND | Indicative |
| INTERJ | Interjection |
| M | Masculine |
| MOD | Mode |
| N | Neuter |
| NEG | Negation |
| NFC | Non-Finite Causal |
| NOM | Nominative |
| NP | Noun Phrase |
| NUM | Numeral |
| PAU | Pause |
| PART | Partitive |
| POSS | Possessive |
| PP | Prepositional Phrase |
| PRN | Proper Noun |
| PRO | Pronoun |
| PRS | Present |
| QUO | Quotation |
| REL | Relative |
| REFL | Reflexive |
| SEM | Semantics |
| SG | Singular |
| SRC | Source |
| TXT | Text |
| VP | Verb Phrase |

# I Introduction

## 1 Preparing the stage

The English causal connector *because* is traditionally complemented by a subordinate clause (1a). Alternatively, the clause introduced by *because* can function independently as in (1b). In this case, however, the main clause to which the subordinate clause refers is implied in previous discourse. Equivalents of *because* in other languages relevant to this study, *weil* in German, *want* and *omdat* in Dutch, and *protože* in Czech, follow the same pattern.

(1) a. *It rains because the water droplets in the clouds become too heavy and start falling.*
b. *Because the water droplets in the clouds become too heavy and start falling down.*

Literate or archaic styles, furthermore, allow a third option (2). This is an option that opens the door for the topic of the present study. The causal conjunction *because* follows an adjectival phrase and is complemented by another. This structure can also be found in German, Dutch, Czech, and many other languages.

(2) *At the same time that we are earnest to explore and learn all things, we require all things be mysterious and unexplorable, that land and sea be infinitely wild, unsurveyed and unfathomed by us* ***because unfathomable****.* (H. D. Thoreau: *Walden*, 1854: 339)[1]

For the last decade or so, scholars and laypersons alike have noticed another type of construction containing the causal connector *because*. These constructions are comparable to constructions of the previous type (2) due to the absence of a finite verb after *because*. Unlike the last type, however, *because* in these constructions is not complemented by adjectives or adjectival phrases, but by nouns or noun phrases. This type of construction is illustrated in (3), taken from the first episode of the fifth season of the TV show *New Amsterdam* (2018-), which premiered on 20 September 2022. As with the previous types of *because* constructions, this one is also found not only in English but in German, Dutch, and Czech.

[1] For clarity, I highlight the relevant parts of all examples in the present study. Unless stated otherwise, the emphasis is not part of the original text but has been added by me.

(3) Son: *Why does it rain?*
Father: *Uh…**because clouds.***
Son: *Why clouds?*
Father: ***Cause**…uh…**rain droplets.***
Son: *Why rain droplets?*
Father: *Hmm…why rain droplets? That's a tough one. Um…**because evaporation.***

The combinatorial possibilities of *because* in this type of construction without a finite verb, known as *because* X (Bailey 2012), are not limited to adjectives or adjectival phrases and nouns or noun phrases. In these constructions, *because* is complemented by a wide range of elements.

Constructions such as the English *because* X, but also its equivalents in other languages, all have many formal and functional features in common. First, all these constructions in all languages analysed in this study lack finite verbs. Formally, I describe them, therefore, as non-finite. Second, the primary function of all these constructions is to express causality. Therefore, I describe their function as causal. Constructions such as the English *because* X and its equivalents in other languages can be characterised as *non-finite causal* constructions. In what follows, I will use the abbreviation *NFC constructions* to refer to this type of construction.

The term *NFC constructions* generally refers to *non-finite causal constructions* without referring to these constructions in a particular language. Should the need for a narrower, language-specific scope arise, I use either a paraphrase, such as *NFC construction in English* or *Dutch NFC construction* or follow the older naming pattern highlighting the most frequent connector in a particular language followed by <X>, such as *because* X or *want* X.

## 2 Illusions about NFC constructions

Several misconceptions and illusions about NFC constructions have been repeatedly expressed in discussions about this phenomenon. I have identified five such misbeliefs (4) and will address them individually in the following sections.

(4) a. Illusion about recency
b. Illusion about cross-linguistic spread
c. Illusion about usage domain
d. Illusion about modality
e. Illusion about paradigm size

### 2.1 Illusion about recency

Recency Illusion refers to the belief that a phenomenon that you have just recently realised must be of recent origin, although it is, in fact, much older (Zwicky 2005). In English, split infinitives (5a), the *go and verb* construction (5b), or the *you and I* construction (5c), to name just a few, have been at one point in time erroneously considered to be recent innovations.

(5) a. *To boldly go where no one has ever gone before.*
b. *I am going home and eat.*
c. *Between you and I*

The most famous German example of this attention bias is probably the *weil* 'because' V2 construction (6). The causal conjunction *weil* 'because' is followed by a subordinate clause in which the finite verb is in the second position and not, as expected, in the final position. Although attested at least since the Early Modern era, many speakers are convinced it must be a modern addition to the grammar (e.g. Freywald 2010).

(6) *Ich komme nicht ins Kino, weil ich habe den Film schon gesehen.*
I go not to cinema because I have the movie already seen
'I'm not going to the cinema because I've already seen the movie.'

Another example of a construction that many laypeople and professional linguists alike believed, at least initially, to be of recent origin also involves the causal connector *because*. It is nothing else than the titular construction of this thesis, the so-called NFC construction.

(7) *Yani people put their reputations on the line* ***because politics*** [e015]

In January 2014, the American Dialect Society (2014) chose *because* (7) as the Word of the Year 2013. It underpinned this decision by saying it "is now being used in new ways to introduce a noun, adjective, or other part of speech." Ben Zimmer, chair of the committee responsible for voting for the Word of the Year, specified the time window of the development of *because* X to "[t]his past year" (American Dialect Society 2014), i.e. to the year 2013. Being more generous, Whitman saw the rise of *because* X in "the past three or four years", not unlike Schnoebelen (2014), who regarded the construction as being "fairly recent, probably the last

five years". In a very poetic summary by Pullum (2014a), the construction was perceived as "so new that it is still a tiny shoot spreading from whatever was its initial seed."

It is fair to assume that it was the vote of the American Dialect Society in early 2014 that triggered a collective manifestation of the Recency Illusion. Many (non-)academic blog entries and newspaper articles were published about, among other things, the alleged novelty of the construction, attributing its emergence to the (negative) influence of the Internet and Internet culture, social media, and Twitter in particular.

As is usually the case with instances of Recency Illusion, however, the belief that NFC constructions present a recent innovation was quickly relativised by confronting the linguistic reality. Examples of the construction from the 17th and 18th centuries (Rehn 2015a; Bergs 2018a; 2019; 2021) promptly debunked the idea that we are dealing with a recent phenomenon. A case in point is the example from William Shakespeare's play *Henry VI, Part 3,* written at the end of the 16th century (Bergs 2019).

(8) Third Watchman: *But say, I pray, what nobleman is that*
*That with the king here resteth in his tent?*
First Watchman: *'Tis the Lord Hastings, the king's chiefest friend.*
Third Watchman: *O, is it so? But why commands the king*
*That his chief followers lodge in towns about him,*
*While he himself keeps in the cold field?*
Second Watchman: *'Tis the more honour,* ***because more dangerous.***

William Shakespeare (1591) *Henry VI, Part 3* (Act IV, Scene 3)

It should be noted, however, that linguistic evidence presented in academic publications has hardly affected the lay public. A particularly telling example is the discussions of NFC constructions in Dutch, which I will briefly sketch.

Shortly after the Word of the Year 2013 vote, van Oostendorp (2014) published a blog post about it and mentioned the surprising fact that Dutch has a construction comparable to the English NFC construction as well. Contrary to popular belief about the novelty of the construction or its ties to social media, the descriptions by van der Horst (2004) show that Dutch NFC constructions had been in use not only before Twitter was founded in 2006 but also generally outside of social media already in the 1990s. Not even van der Horst was, however, the first to notice the unusual way people use *want* 'because' in Dutch. Lemmens (1991) points

to several examples from the 1980s, among other things, to the fascinating observation by Kuitenbrouwer (1987).

His book *Turbotaal* describes in a journalistic, non-academic, and entertaining manner how young people were supposed to speak in Amsterdam and other big cities of the Netherlands during the 1980s. Kuitenbrouwer lists various features of the Dutch "yuppie talk" and, in passing, mentions *want* X (9).

(9) *Kees is afgevoerd,* ***want altijd dronken***. (Kuitenbrouwer 1987: 14)
'Kees is fired, because always drunk.'

Although Kuitenbrouwer's humorous report about the state of the Dutch language gives the impression of describing a novel way of speaking, the opposite is true. As demonstrated, for example, by de Vries (1971), comparable constructions were already in use in the 1970s and even in the 1960s.

The authoritative grammar of Dutch *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* (Geers et al. 1984: 1161) discusses constructions of the type $\text{AdjP}_1$ CONNECTOR $\text{AdjP}_2$ (10a) but adds the comment that they are not acceptable to everyone. This assessment is also corroborated by the opinion piece by P. C. Uit den Boogaart (1986). In reaction to a letter from a concerned reader, he reports that similar constructions were used twenty years ago, i.e. around 1966. This claim is supported, among others, by Bos (1964: 232), who also briefly discusses constructions of this type (10b).

(10) a. *Dit is minder bekend,* ***want minder algemeen.***
'This is less known, because less general.'
b. *een onevenwichtig –* ***want gepassioneerd*** *– mens*
'an unbalanced – because passionate – person'

Whether the 1960s really were when the Dutch NFC constructions started to emerge or at least started to get noticed is an open question. We have, however, at least two reasons to be cautious about this claim. First, we know that all the other later claims were proven to be mistaken. Moreover, no texts discussing the construction in the 1960s mention its novelty, which could indicate that it was not perceived as a new phenomenon. Second, we know from other languages, most notably from the closely related English and German, that similar construction

existed in the 19th century and even much earlier in the case of English (Bergs 2021). We could also conjecture that the situation in Dutch was identical.

Whatever the ultimate time of emergence was, the Dutch case nicely illustrates how the general public and the academic community succumbs to the idea that a specific construction is an innovation even though it has existed in the language unobserved for several decades (see Table I-1). This is convincingly demonstrated by re-examining Kuitenbrouwer's account of the young Dutch speakers in Amsterdam in example (9). Assuming that a yuppie is someone in their mid-twenties or early thirties, then Kuitenbrouwer's informants are probably enjoying their retirement today, for several years already. Nevertheless, the *want* X construction was still portrayed as novel in the 2010s.

| Date | Reference |
|---|---|
| 1960s | Bos (1964), Van Bakel, Rijpma and Scheuringa (1968) |
| 1970s | de Vries (1971) |
| 1980s | Geers et al. (1984), Uit den Boogaart (1986), Kuitenbrouwer (1987) |
| 1990s | Lemmens (1991) |
| 2000s | van der Horst (2004) |
| 2014 | van Oostendorp (2014) |

*Table I-1: Recency Illusion illustrated using NFC constructions in Dutch*

In sum, it is safe to consider NFC constructions such as the English *because* X to be yet another example of recency illusion. Obviously, the phenomenon has remained unrecognised by most speakers for a relatively long period – at least for decades, but in some cases, even for centuries. Moreover, it has become clear that this unawareness is not limited to a particular speech community. It seems to be cross-linguistically the case that non-finite causal constructions exist under the radar so that speakers do not realise their existence.

### 2.2 Illusion about cross-linguistic spread

Apart from the illusion of the construction's recent origin, another misconception observed mainly during the first phase of interest in NFC constructions around 2014 was the illusion that the construction is limited to English. Alternatively, in a weaker form, it was claimed (Stefanowitsch 2014; Carey 2015) that even though other languages possess a formally and functionally equivalent construction, it is a structural borrowing from English and, therefore, ultimately derived from an English model.

The idea of English linguistic exceptionalism in terms of NFC constructions had to be abandoned soon after the construction had been found in German (Stefanowitsch 2014), Dutch (van Oostendorp 2014), Finnish (Niemi 2015; Wessman 2015; 2017), Czech, and Slovak (Konvička 2020). More and more languages were added to the list (see e.g. Konvička 2018: 19). Three different language families are represented – Indo-European, Finno-Ugric, and Koreanic. Within the Indo-European family, there is evidence from Germanic (Danish, Dutch, German, Norwegian, and Swedish), Romance (French, Italian, Romanian, and Spanish), and Slavic languages (Czech, Slovak, and Russian). A more detailed discussion of the spread of the non-finite causal constructions is given in Chapter VI.

This picture needs to be completed. Still, since non-finite causal constructions are found in French, Italian, Romanian, and Spanish, we will also find an equivalent construction in Portuguese, similarly for the Slavic and Germanic languages. How sound this hypothesis really is, of course, remains an empirical question. Given how widespread the NFC constructions seem, it would not be surprising to see this conjecture proven. On the contrary, it would be even more interesting should the conjecture be disproven. We would then learn about the conditions preventing the emergence or spread of non-finite causal constructions.

Although it should be noted that the sample studied so far is small compared to the number of the world's languages, two generalisations have been formulated: one stronger and one weaker (Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 327). The more robust generalisation predicts that every language with causal conjunctions, such as *because*, will also have non-finite causal constructions. This is probably too strong because languages with an NFC construction today have not necessarily had it throughout their history (see Chapter VI for more details). The weaker version of the generalisation assumes that every language with a causal connector, such as because (and an elliptical construction of the type $\text{AdjP}_1$ CONNECTOR $\text{AdjP}_2$), has (the potential to develop) an NFC construction.

While it is plausible and probable that non-finite causal constructions in languages other than English are calques from English, it is not always the case. At least for German (11a) and Dutch (11b), but also for Czech (11c) analysed in the present study. This is because of early examples of non-finite causal constructions that point to language-internal developments rather than contact-induced changes.

(11) a. *er habe sich bis jetzt nur mit den stillen friedlichen Musen beschäftigt; er habe sich von der Politik immer entfernt gehalten; von nun aber,* ***weil gereizt,*** *werde*

*er gegen die Regierung feindlich auftreten.* (1849) (Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 338)

'he only cared for the quiet, peaceful Muses; he always held politics at a distance from himself; from now on, however, because irritated, he will oppose the government with hostility.'

b. *een onevenwichtig – **want gepassioneerd** – mens* (Bos 1964: 232)
'an unbalanced – because passionate – person'

c. *Pověst i rozprávka málo mají hodnověrnosti do sebe, **protože nesnadno vyšetřeny,** ale tím snadněji pojinačeny býti mohou* (1848) (Konvička 2020: 255)
'Both legend and fairy tale have little credence, because only with difficulties analysed, the easier adapted they can be.'

Nevertheless, the English NFC constructions can still play a role in the cross-linguistic spread. Particularly when considering its position as a lingua franca in the online world. The issue of whether we are dealing with a structural borrowing from English or with a language-internal development is not an either-or matter. Possibly, non-finite causal constructions in languages other than English are so-called *multiple source constructions* (Van de Velde, De Smet & Ghesquière 2015). The origin of such constructions cannot be traced back to a single source construction because it has several sources.

As an example, we can turn to the development in German. As I will discuss in more detail in Chapter VI, elliptical non-finite causal constructions with *weil* 'because' (11a) have emerged in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries from subordinate causal clauses with *weil*. Later on, combinations of *weil* with nominal complements are strengthened by analogy with other causal constructions, such as those with causal prepositions such as *wegen* 'due to' or *denn* 'therefore'. These language-internal developments are much later combined with influence from other languages, predominantly English, used on social media.

### 2.3 Illusion about usage domain

Just as it was initially thought that NFC constructions must be novel developments, it was also believed that the effects of computer-mediated communication could explain their recent emergence (e.g. Garber 2013; McCulloch 2014a; Pullum 2014a; Rehn 2015a; Romano 2013; Stefanowitsch 2014; Whitman 2013). Among the most salient features in this respect is the striving for short, dense posts, epitomised by Twitter's well-known limit of 140 and later 280 signs. Other features include playfulness and informality.

However, as established by Bohmann (2016: 170–172), this is not a trend unique to Twitter but more a development in line with general tendencies towards economic language use. The construction is much older than initially thought, and no single mechanism is responsible for the rise of NFC constructions. Therefore, it can be confidently stated that social media and the internet are not the driving factors of language change, at least in this case.

On the other hand, Twitter and other social media are characterised by weak or no prescriptive pressure, a more flexible, playful, and generally more innovative environment where non-standard constructions, such as *because* X, thrive. Social media are, therefore, not the trigger of the processes leading to the emergence of NFC constructions and other innovative structures but rather present a place where these innovations can be tried out and become visible.

Similarly, Carey (2013a) concedes that the construction, although rarely, can also be found in edited (offline) texts such as books. In Carey's opinion, the most uses of the construction are instances of reported speech (see Section I.2.4 for more details).

As Carey describes, NFC constructions might have been restricted in their use in 2013. A decade later, however, the situation is changing as the construction gradually spreads outside the domain of social media and informal language and even becomes a part of the linguistic landscape of various cities.

One of the early examples of this trend is the Volkswagen advertisement in the Finnish magazine *Suomen Kuvalehti* (Figure I-1) from 2014 (Carey 2015), which features an example of an NFC construction in Finnish (12). Although used in a print magazine, the connection between the construction as used in Figure I-1 and its use on social media is made explicit by using a hashtag to imitate practices on social media, particularly Twitter.

(12) *Täysin uusi Touran.* #***KoskaPerhe***
'Completely new Touran. #BecauseFamily'


*Figure I-1: Koska perhe*

Figure I-2, taken in August 2022 at the train station Plänterwald[2] in Berlin, shows an English NFC construction used on a multilingual billboard advertising a metal concert. Just like the Finnish example (Figure I-1), the English example (Figure I-2) also uses a hashtag to introduce the non-finite construction with a causal connector. This would suggest that the authors of the advertisement play with the (perceived) association of the construction with social media.

[2] I am grateful to Kiran van Bentum for drawing my attention to this billboard in the summer of 2022.


*Figure I-2: Because metal*

In German, the construction *weil* X also appears beyond its alleged social media boundaries. In the 2020 municipal elections in the German city of Mönchengladbach, the Free Democratic Party (Freie Demokratische Partei, FDP) used a series of election posters containing the slogan *weil Mönchengladbach* 'because Mönchengladbach' (Figure I-3)[3]. In this case, however, the non-finite causal construction is not accompanied by a hashtag, which might suggest an even more explicit distancing from the sphere of social media.

[3] Each FDP candidate in the 2020 Mönchengladbach municipal election had their personalised poster, but all posters shared the main slogan containing the NFC construction. All posters can be viewed on the website of the local FDP team: https://web.archive.org/web/20231009114618/https://www.fdp-mg.de/wahl-2020/direktkandidaten-innen/ [9 September 2023]


*Figure I-3: Weil Mönchengladbach*

In the summer of 2020, Bionade, a German brand of non-alcoholic beverages, started a billboard campaign with the motto *weil ehrlich gut* 'because honestly good' (Figure I-4), shot in May 2023 in Skalitzer Straße, Berlin-Kreuzberg.


*Figure I-4: Weil ehrlich gut*

So far, the examples outside of the context of social media were all planned texts – political campaigns or advertisements. All of these text types are also, to a varying degree, limited by the available space at their disposal. However, as seen in Figure I-5, non-finite causal constructions also occur in spontaneous written contexts. The photo was taken in the summer of 2020 at Linienstraße, Berlin-Mitte. The sign was attached to a motorcycle underneath a rain cover in front of a restaurant. Presumably, the text of the sign was written by the staff of the nearby restaurant, who were allowed to use the motorbike parking lot to install tables.

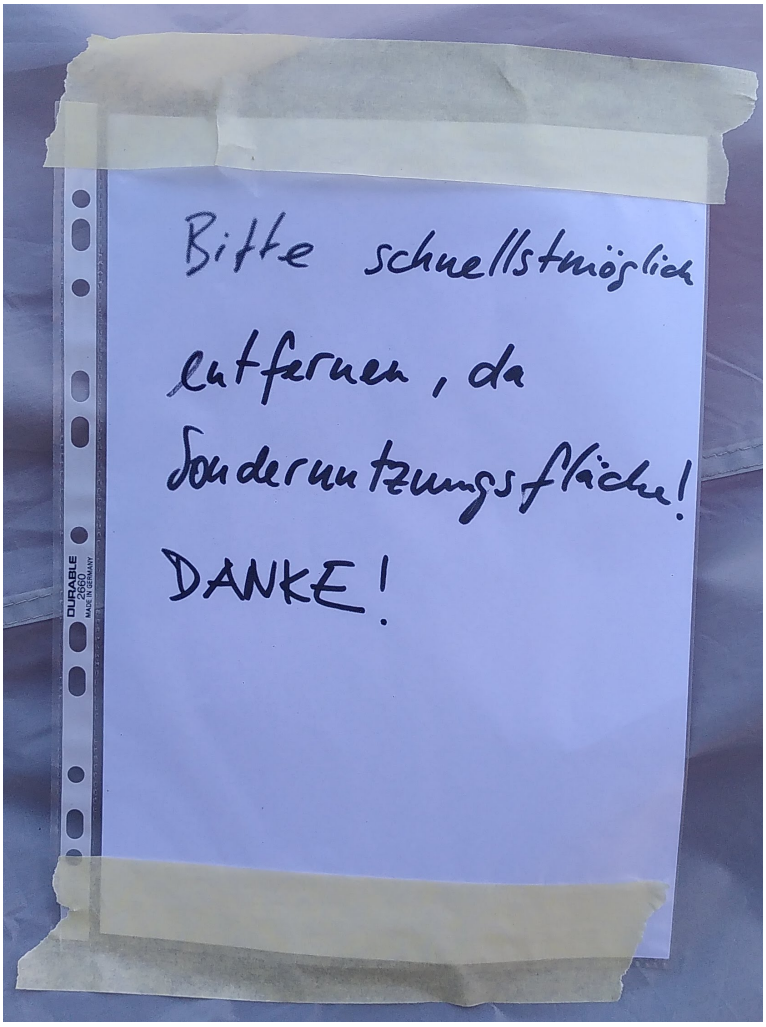


*Figure I-5: Da Sondernutzungsfläche*

The construction *da* NP (13) is interesting for several reasons (Figure I-5). First, it shows that the causal expressions in German non-finite constructions are not limited to *weil* 'because', but other functionally equivalent expressions, such as the more formal *da* 'because', also occur (see Section I.2.5). Second, it also shows that the non-finite causal construction is not limited to

informal contexts because the German causal connector *da* is indicative of more formal registers.

(13) *Bitte schnellstmöglich entfernen,* ***da Sondernutzungsfläche.*** *Danke!*
'Please remove as soon as possible, because special-use area. Thank you!'

The list of languages with non-finite causal constructions continues with Slovak (14). Figure I-6, taken on 11 April 2023, shows a billboard used during the Slovak parliamentary election campaign in 2023 by the political party OĽaNO (abbreviation of *Obyčajní ľudia a nezávislé osobnosti* 'Ordinary People and Independent Personalities'), led by the former prime minister Igor Matovič (2021-2022).

(14) *200€ mesačne na dieťa,* ***lebo Matovič****.*
'200€ per month for a child. Yes, because Matovič'

*Figure I-6: Lebo Matovič*

This demonstrable spread across different usage domains, along with the issues discussed in the context of Recency Illusion (Section I.2.1), also means that the NFC constructions are not limited to Internetes or Netspeak (Crystal 2006: 20). However, the online context does play a role. Studying it is therefore also not the sole remit of internet linguistics (e.g. Crystal 2006; 2011; Marx & Weidacher 2014; Frick 2017; Dürscheid & Frick 2016), but can – and should –

be studied from a broader, general linguistic viewpoint. This study presents a comprehensive analysis combining synchronic, diachronic, and cross-linguistic perspectives.

### 2.4 Illusion about modality

Although most papers focus on *because* X (Bohmann 2016; Bergs 2018a; Konvička 2018; 2019a; 2020; Kanetani 2012; 2015; 2016; 2021; Okada 2020; Konvička & Stöcker 2022) as a phenomenon of the written language, the construction also occurs in spoken contexts. The initial impression, shared by many scholars and laypeople alike, that the construction "hardly occurs outside of Twitter and very informal writing such as blogs and strip cartoon texts" (Pullum 2014a) must be revised.

Adams (2017a: 541) observes that the NFC constructions in English are used in spoken conversations and TV shows such as *How I Met Your Mother* from the 2000s or *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* from the 1990s. In the past couple of years, we could also hear the construction in many televised spontaneous speeches or radio programmes, as the anecdotal examples in (15) illustrate.

(15) *I mean if you're dying, if you just went to your doctor…although that would cost too much* ***because Obamacare****.* (Donald Trump, campaign rally in Vienna, Ohio, 14 March 2016)[4]

Leaving the Anglosphere aside, NFC constructions in Czech (16a, 16b) and Dutch (16c) are also used in spoken language. The Czech examples (16a) and (16b) are taken from an interview with the former Czech Minister of Labour and Social Affairs (2018-2021), Jana Maláčová.[5] The Dutch example (16c) is taken from the satirical TV show *Zondag met Lubach* 'Sunday with Lubach'.[6]

[4] C-Span (14 March 2016) https://www.c-span.org/video/?406532-1/donald-trump-rally-vienna-ohio [19 August 2022]

[5] DVTV (25 September 2020), https://video.aktualne.cz/dvtv/zive-hadka-o-osetrovne-i-dohoda-o-kurzarbeitu-jana-malacova/r~a9880d8cff0211ea8b230cc47ab5f122/ [16 August 2022]

[6] Zondag met Lubach (season 11, episode 02) 23 February 2020, https://www.npo3.nl/zondag-met-lubach/23-02-2020/VPWON_1314442/POMS_VPRO_15983200 [16 August 2022]

(16) a. *Nedokáži si představit situaci, kdyby vláda chtěl spustit kurzarbeit, měla to dobře odůvodněné,* ***protože hospodářský pokles****,* ***protože živelná pohroma****,* ***protože kybernetický útok****…* [c078]

'I cannot imagine a situation in which the government would want to start the wage subsidies programme, had good reasons for it, because economic decline, because natural disaster, because cybernetic attack…'

b. *…****protože například chybné rozhodnutí nějaké firmy****.* [c079]

'…because for instance a wrong decision of a company.'

c. *Zelfs gewone voetgangers mogen daar niet eens wandelen. Kijk maar. Heb je ooit zo'n duidelijk boord gezien, he? Noordwijk Zandvoort kan niet in een rechte lijn* ***want zeehond en vogel****, wel lekker zonnetje…of dikke wi-fi…of een lekkende kerncentrale.* [n031]

'Not even simple pedestrians can walk there. Look. Have you even seen such a clear sign? You can't go from Noordwijk to Zandvoort in straight line because seal and bird, but nice sun…or strong wi-fi…or a leaking nuclear power plant.'

After establishing that NFC constructions are not only a written phenomenon, one question that could be investigated is the influence of the written instances of NFC constructions on their spread and acceptance in spoken language. However, a stylistic analysis of these constructions remains a desideratum.

### 2.5 Illusion about paradigm size

Finally, the last illusion concerning non-finite causal constructions is the illusion of paradigm size. Based on the initial impression, it was just the single connector, for which the range of its complements has changed. However, a number of other expressions can be used analogously to *because* in *because* X (McCulloch 2014b). The English paradigm of which, because X is perhaps the most salient member, contains at least the following expressions: *since* (17b), *but* (17c), *thus* (17d), *ergo* (17e), and *in case* (17f).

(17) a. *I didn't bother cooking anything* ***since whatever****.* (McCulloch 2014b)

b. *I was considering going to the party* ***but tired****.* (McCulloch 2014b)

c. *Multiple studies have shown that the average man uses about half as many words per day as women,* ***thus text messaging****.* (Kutcher 2010)

d. *Why noodles? Noodles* ***ergo noodles****.* (McCulloch 2014b)

e. *The prime objective of road safety drive was to ensure timely and prompt response by drivers **in case fire** after an accident before the arrival of emergency services.* (Okada 2020: 15)

In line with the cross-linguistic spread of NFC constructions discussed in the previous section, similar paradigms are also present in other languages with NFC constructions (Konvička 2020; Konvička & Stöcker 2022), such as German (Figure I-5).

This realisation means, on the one hand, that the connector because and the construction *because* X is not as unique as initially thought, but on the other hand, it also means that studying NFC constructions offers us insights into more than just the complementation patterns of a single connector or the structure of a single construction.

## 3 A brief history of studying NFC constructions

The previously mentioned decision of the American Dialect Society (ADS) (2014) to elect *because* in the construction *because* X as the Word of the Year 2013 presents a milestone in the study of *because* X. Both for the public awareness about the existence of the construction and for the scientific study of the phenomenon.

The effect of the ADS decision can be seen in the number of blog entries that appeared only days afterwards that commented on the decision and presented preliminary linguistic analyses of *because* X from various perspectives (Bailey 2018; Garber 2013; Whitman 2013; 2014; Schnoebelen 2014; Romano 2013; Pullum 2014a; 2014b; McCulloch 2014a; 2014b; Carey 2013; 2015). On the other hand, only a few blog entries were discussed *because* X before the ADS announcement (Bailey 2012; Liberman 2012).

At first, the attention was understandably focused on English. Still, soon the linguistic community started noticing the existence of equivalent constructions in other languages as well: German (Berger 2013; Stefanowitsch 2014), Dutch (van Oostendorp 2014; 2019; Stöcker & Konvička 2019), Finnish (Niemi 2015) or Czech (Konvička 2019b). Dutch is an exception (see Section I.2.1) because NFC constructions were discussed very early on (e.g. Uit den Boogaart 1986; Lemmens 1991; Kuitenbrouwer 1987).

Although led by linguists, the initial phase of blog entries and discussions on social media was followed by a more institutionalised phase consisting of peer-reviewed articles about NFC constructions. The focus was again, unsurprisingly, on English (Zimmer, Solomon & Carson 2014; Rehn 2015a; Okada 2020; Konvička & Stöcker 2022; Kanetani 2012; 2015; 2016; 2021; Bohmann 2016; Bergs 2018a; 2018b; Adams 2017), but other languages were not completely

ignored either. Analyses of the construction in German soon followed suit (Wolfer, Müller-Spitzer & Ribeiro Silveira 2020; Abel & Glaznieks 2020; Konvička & Stöcker 2022) and papers about Dutch were also published (Konvička 2018; 2019b; Konvička & Stöcker 2022). Apart from the three languages mentioned, conference papers on NFC constructions in Spanish (Bergs 2019) and Finnish (Wessman 2017) were also presented. Finally, a paper has also been published on the construction in Czech (Konvička 2020).

Besides blog entries and peer-reviewed articles, a third category is university theses, particularly MA theses. Two such theses discuss the NFC construction in English (Walla 2016); one examines the Finnish equivalent of the construction (Wessman 2015), and one takes a comparative perspective on English, Dutch, and German (Stöcker 2018).

Although the list of works just mentioned is highly probably not exhaustive and more texts analysing the construction have been published[7], this outline of the history of studies of *because* X constructions shows two important things.

First, the ADS decision on 3 January 2014 to select the "new" *because* the Word of the Year 2013 presented a turning point in the studies of NFC constructions generally and *because* X in particular. With the honourable exception of the Dutch scholarly tradition, the NFC constructions have been mostly unrecognised for decades or centuries. After the ADS decision, this changed profoundly, and many scholars, including the author of these lines, started paying attention to NFC constructions. As quickly as this attention waxed, however, so quickly it also often waned.

Second, although the ADS decision has drawn a lot of attention to *because* X constructions, the linguistic phenomenon itself is much older and can be traced, at least in the case of English, as far back as the 16th century (see, e.g. Bergs 2021). The so-called Recency Illusion might affect laypeople and linguists alike (Zwicky 2005) (see Section I.2.1). NFC constructions have demonstrably been used for a long time, yet only rarely have these constructions been the subject of linguistic inquiries. That is, until this study, which aims to fill in the blank concerning the description of non-finite causal constructions in English, German, Dutch, and Czech in terms of their formal and functional description, their development, and their cross-linguistic comparison.

[7] To minimise the danger of overlooking things due to the obvious limitations of a single observer, I have started an open Zotero library, which I have also shared on various social platforms. Although insufficient, I use this footnote to thank everyone who has participated in it and thus helped me see texts about NFC constructions that I would have otherwise overlooked.
https://www.zotero.org/groups/5123845/because_x/library [1 September 2023]

## 4 Aim and purpose of the present study

At this point, you are aware of three important facts. First, you are aware that English, German, Dutch, Czech, and many other languages have non-finite causal constructions that resemble causal clauses but that lack finite verbs. In English, these non-finite causal constructions are sometimes labelled *because* X constructions.

Second, you are aware that in the past decade, several misconceptions have emerged surrounding these constructions. I have debunked these myths by showing that non-finite causal constructions are not modern products of language use on the internet but that they have been in use for centuries (see Section I.2). These constructions are also not limited to informal written contexts but are attested in spoken and formal situations as well.

Third, you know that a limited number of works have been published for the past several years focusing on various aspects of non-finite causal constructions. Predominantly, however, focusing on the NFC constructions in English.

Against this backdrop, this study provides the first systematic analysis of non-finite causal constructions in English, German, Dutch and Czech. This means we can move past impressionistic illusions about these constructions and provide an adequate description of their formal and functional aspects on a sound empirical basis. In other words, this text aims to become a sort of reference grammar of non-finite causal constructions.

Throughout this text, I have used the term *non-finite causal construction* (abbreviated as NFC) to refer to *because* X in English, *want* X in Dutch and so forth. The term delineates the construction formally as not including any finite component parts and functionally as expressing causality. Moreover, looking at the examples discussed in this chapter so far it is evident that the central part of the construction is the causal connector *because* and its functional equivalents in the other languages. However, we have also seen that there are other possibilities. Other causal connectors can be used in its stead.

These preliminary observations motivate the first aim of the study – to describe the form and function of the construction. First, it is necessary to establish which expressions can occur in the connector slot and which expressions or expression types can occur in the complement slot. Second, the functional dimensions of the construction need to be determined. Due to the use of a causal connector, it can be said that the primary function of the construction must be to express a causal relation between two propositions, but the question that arises is whether that is all.

Moreover, I use the term *construction* in the context of Construction Grammar, a framework that extends the structuralist concept of arbitrary form-meaning pairings to all levels

of language analysis (e.g. Goldberg 1995: 4; 2006: 5). Within this framework, I situate my analysis, which also motivates a further research question. If we speak about *because* X and the equivalents in the sample languages, can we speak of constructions in the technical sense of the word? Or are we dealing with mere constructs, i.e. concrete instantiations of a more abstract pattern?

All of these questions just mentioned will be answered in Chapter III: questions regarding the formal aspects in Section III.1, questions regarding the functional aspects in Section III.2, and questions regarding the constructional status of NFC constructions in Section III.3. To answer all these questions, however, I must first present the data used for the analysis. Chapter II, therefore, offers insights into the data collection process and explains the corpus structure and the annotation system. Because I am basing my study on data collected from social media, particularly tweets, I also address the questions of privacy and ethics.

One of the main reasons why *because* X rose to prominence about a decade ago is the prominent complementation pattern of the connector *because* in these constructions (see, e.g. American Dialect Society 2014). In particular, the fact that *because* can be combined with noun phrases and other expression types that are untypical of (subordinating) conjunctions. This realisation has sparked the debate about categorising *because* in *because* X. In other words, we know that *because* is a conjunction because a (subordinate) clause follows it. What is, however, *because* if it is not followed by a clause but by a non-finite phrase? What bearing does the lexical material in the complement slot of *because* X have on the categorisation of the connector? These questions will be put at the centre stage of Chapter IV.

One essential aspect of this study is its comparative perspective on the phenomenon at hand. For that reason, I am not only analysing non-finite causal constructions in the four sample languages in isolation but also comparing them with each other. This comparison aims to determine which formal and functional aspects of these constructions are language-specific and which are more general.

The languages chosen for this study allow a beneficial comparison. On the one hand, English, Dutch, and German enable comparison within the West Germanic languages (see Germanic Sandwich, van Haeringen 1956). On the other hand, it also allows contrast between these three languages with the West Slavic Czech.

Based on the examples discussed so far, some aspects of these constructions, for instance, their complementation pattern, need to be more language-specific. This leads to the question of how to explain these commonalities and differences. In Chapter V, I employ Diasystematic Construction Grammar to offer an answer.

So far, all questions were aimed at various aspects of the synchronic description of non-finite causal constructions. However, this study also addresses the question of the history of these constructions. In other words, given what we know about their current form and function, what can we tell about their development? Is it possible to point to a single construction in the past that has given rise to NFC constructions? Or has the development of non-finite causal constructions relied on more than one source? Whatever the answers to these questions ultimately are, we also must ask ourselves whether the mechanism behind the emergence of non-finite causal constructions is unique or whether these constructions result from more general processes behind other developments.

At this point, I will have presented the findings of both my synchronic and diachronic analyses of non-finite causal constructions. In Chapter VII, I conclude my study by drawing theoretical conclusions concerning how we analyse language. From a methodological perspective, it is necessary to approach a phenomenon such as NFC constructions either synchronically or diachronically. We either describe data representative of a single point in time or the changes between at least two points in time. Conceptually, however, it is optional to subscribe to either one of these approaches. Therefore, I will end my discussion of non-finite causal construction by advocating a panchronic approach to language that combines synchronic and diachronic insights.

# II Data

## 1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the data collection for the corpus used in the present study. The goal is to familiarise the readers with the data collection process (Section II.2.1) and to explain the annotation system of the corpus (Section II.2.2). Furthermore, I discuss the central ethical questions of using social media as a source for linguistic research (Section II.3). Finally, since the present study is an analysis of non-finite causal constructions not in one, but in four languages, I address the question of data comparability (Section II.4). The final section of the present chapter (Section II.5) then sketches an outline for the following chapters and for the ways the data are used in the remainder of the present study.

## 2 Social media as a source of linguistic data

There are several reasons to choose posts on social media as the primary source of data for the present study. First, Twitter[8], alongside other social media such as Facebook, Mastodon or Tumblr, was often seen as the potential origin of NFC constructions and as the platform allowing this construction to spread further within English and from English into other languages (e.g. Bailey 2012; Whitman 2013; American Dialect Society 2014; McCulloch 2014a; 2014b; van Oostendorp 2014).

Second, social media in general and Twitter in particular are "tolerant towards deviations from the norms of Standard English" (Bohmann 2016: 170). The greater flexibility of linguistic conventions and openness towards playful language use allows us to categorise tweets used not as purely written data (see, e.g. Bohmann 2020) but as instances of conceptually spoken language (Koch & Oesterreicher 1985; Landert & Jucker 2011; Burger & Luginbühl 2014).

For language users, this means that they are freer in their language use, and at the same time, for linguists, it means that tweets are ideal for studying language change in progress and non-standard constructions.

The ease of access is the third reason for choosing social media posts over other text types as the primary empirical basis. Although Twitter (or more generally web) corpora for some of the languages studied exist, such as TwiNL for Dutch (Sang & Bosch 2013) or the German Twitter corpus (Scheffler 2014), they are too dated for the purposes of the present study.

An important factor of social media in general and Twitter in particular is their multilingual character. While in the first phase of Twitter's existence, a total of 62.14% of its

[8] The data were collected before the rebranding of the platform as *X* in August 2023. I will, therefore, not reflect this terminological change and adhere to terms such as *Twitter* and *tweets* throughout the text.

users were located in the United States and around 17% in other English-speaking countries such as the United Kingdom (7.87%), Canada (5.69%), Australia (2.8%) or South Africa (0.87%) (Sysomos 2009), this locus recently shifted outside of the US. According to Twitter's statistics (Smith 2020), 79% of all accounts are in countries other than the US. It is true that the country in which an account has been opened does not necessarily say anything about the language in which this account eventually posts, but a 2014 survey of languages used on Twitter (Seshagiri 2014) corroborates the idea by finding out that only a slight majority of 51% of users tweet in English.

Finally, we must remember that the demographics of Twitter users and social media users generally do not correspond with those outside such platforms. Some groups are overrepresented, while others are not represented enough (Duggan 2015). Although Duggan's study only focuses on US Twitter users, it is safe to assume that the findings can also be generalisable to other contexts. The main result is that the most overrepresented group is defined by age. While 32% of those aged between 18 and 29 use Twitter, this measure for those aged 64 and older only amounts to 6%. Moreover, Twitter users are more likely to live in urban centres (30%) than rural areas (15%). All this should be considered when drawing conclusions about English or other languages based on Twitter data.

These findings have a twofold effect on the analysis of my data. Regarding the multilingual character of social media, Twitter in particular, the first effect is that speakers of languages other than English can more easily come into contact with other languages than in other, less multilingual spaces. As far as the use of non-finite causal constructions is concerned, this can be consequential for the convergent development of these constructions, as I will discuss in more detail in Chapter VI.

Assuming that non-finite causal constructions are rather typical of the speech of younger speakers, the fact that Twitter is used predominantly by younger rural speakers means that Twitter data are a particularly promising source of data to study these constructions (see Section II.2.1). Moreover, it has been observed for English that in particular younger female speakers are the early adopters of the NFC constructions (Whitman 2013; Schnoebelen 2014).

### 2.1 Data collection

The primary dataset presents the trilingual Twitter corpus (Konvička & Stöcker 2020). First, 10,000 tweets for each language and each causal connector were collected: *want* and *omdat* for Dutch, *weil* for German, and *because* for English. The tweets were collected between 18 and 23 November 2019 using the Python script *twarc* (2019). In the second step, the collected data

were tokenised and tagged using *SpaCy* (2019), an open-source Python library for Natural Language Processing. In a third step, the tweet collections for each language were searched for structures delimited by the causal connector on the one side and a punctuation mark, such as <.>, <,>, <!>, and <?>, signalling the end of a sentence on the other. Moreover, no finite verb form was allowed between the connector and the punctuation mark. The exact queries used to collect the tweet sets are listed in (18). As a last step, the results were manually checked to avoid false positives.

(18) a. **Dutch tweets with *want* 'because'**

pattern = [{'LOWER': 'want'}, {'POS': 'VERB', 'OP': '!'}, {'POS': 'VERB', 'OP': '!'}, {'POS': 'VERB', 'OP': '!'}, {'POS': 'VERB', 'OP': '!'}, {'LEMMA': {'IN': ['.', '!', '?']}}]

b. **Dutch tweets with *omdat* 'because'**

pattern = [{'LOWER': 'omdat'}, {'POS': 'VERB', 'OP': '!'}, {'POS': 'VERB', 'OP': '!'}, {'POS': 'VERB', 'OP': '!'}, {'LEMMA': {'IN': ['.', '!', '?']}}]

c. **English tweets with *because***

pattern = [{'LOWER': 'because'}, {'TAG': {'NOT_IN': ['VBP', 'VBZ', 'VBD', 'MD']}, 'OP': '+'}, {'LEMMA': {'IN': ['.', '!', '?']}}]

d. **German tweets with *weil* 'because'**

pattern = [{'LOWER': 'weil'}, {'TAG': {'NOT_IN': ['VVFIN', 'VAFIN', 'VMFIN', 'VVINF', 'VAINF', 'VMINF']}, 'IS_PUNCT': False, 'LEMMA': {'NOT_IN': '#'}, 'OP': '+'}, {'LEMMA': {'IN': ['.', '!', '?']}}]

Table II-1 gives the resulting figures for all four subsets. Leaving the peripheral construction *omdat* X in Dutch aside, we see frequencies between 0.84% (i.e. 84 cases out of a total of 10,000 tweets) for English and 1.85% (i.e. 186 cases out of 10,000 tweets) for Dutch.

| Language | Item | Number of instances | Frequency |
|---|---|---|---|
| English | *because* | 84 | 1.51% |
| German | *weil* | 135 | 1.35% |
| Dutch | *want* | 185 | 1.85% |
| | *omdat* | 10 | 0.10% |

*Table II-1: Result of data analysis for English, German, and Dutch, n=10,000*

Comparable data from earlier studies exist only for English. In Bohmann's (2016: 160) sample, all the subtypes of NFC constructions comprise 6.3% of all *because* constructions. This is a much higher portion than 0.8% of the *because* sample found in Stöcker and Konvička (2022), but this low outcome is explainable.

The low frequency of the English NFC construction compared to the results for the other languages can have several reasons. One of them is the conservative search query. The collection, for example, does not contain any constructions that do not end with a punctuation mark. Another important factor is the generally small size of the overall sample, amounting to 10,000 tweets per language. Perhaps more importantly, the low frequency is likely due to the limitations of the chosen annotation tool and the challenges posed by English morphology. English finite verbs are similar to bare infinitives or nominalised verbs. Moreover, the non-standard character of the data represents another hurdle for automated annotation in general.

Considering the German data, the morphology problem had less impact on the result as finite verbs in German show specific morphological features, making them easier to find with the SpaCy tagger. However, this higher frequency of the construction in German cannot be taken as a basis for any cross-linguistic conclusions concerning the generally higher frequency of the construction.

If we now turn to the data for Dutch, we see two variant constructions – *want* X and *omdat* X. A much higher frequency could be established for the former variant than for the latter for two reasons. First, *want* X predates *omdat* X, so it was expected to be less widespread and less frequent (Konvička 2018: 21). Second, due to the prominent role of subjectivity in the semantics and pragmatics of the NFC constructions (Bergs 2018a: 54), the higher frequency of *want* is not surprising because it shows a higher degree of subjectivity than *omdat* (Degand 1998; Pit, Pander Maat & Sanders 1997).

In addition to the trilingual corpus (Konvička & Stöcker 2020), the corpus used for the present study is complemented by data collected using the so-called Twitter Archiving Google Sheet (Hawksey 2016). TAGS is a Google Sheet template that allows the user to automatically collect all tweets based on a search query from up to the past seven days using the Twitter API.

Unfortunately, the acquisition of Twitter by Elon Musk in late 2022 also resulted, among other things, in the end of free API access. This means that tools such as TAGS, which I used to collect the data for my study, are no longer available.

This method was used to gather data primarily for studying the Czech *protože* X construction (Konvička 2020). A TAGS search for all tweets containing the causal connector *protože* was conducted on 18 September 2019, which yielded a total of 2871 tweets from the

period between 16 and 18 September 2019. However, one major drawback of using TAGS is its inability to sufficiently narrow down the search criteria, as with *twarc* (2019).[9] This means that all 2971 tweets containing *protože* had to be manually checked for *protože* X constructions.

A total of 43[10] cases of *protože* X were found (Table II-2). These instances of *protože* X amount to 1.45% of the collected data sample. This makes the Czech sample (Table II-3), in terms of its relative frequency, comparable to the three previous samples for English, German, and Dutch (see Table II-1).

| Language | Item | Number of NFC constructions | Frequency |
|---|---|---|---|
| Czech | *protože* | 43 | 1.45% |

*Table II-2: Result of data analysis for Czech, n=2,971*

For the diachronic study of the Czech *protože* X construction (Konvička 2020), I have also included the instances of *protože* X found in the Diachronic Corpus of Czech (Kučera, Řehořková & Stluka 2015).

Furthermore, the two data sets collected using *twarc* and TAGS have been complemented by several other examples of the NFC construction. These examples were found on social media such as Twitter, Facebook, and Mastodon, in different newspaper articles, and various book passages between 2013 and 2022 (see Appendix for details). The final size of the four major language samples used in the present text is given in Table II-3.

| **Language** | Czech | Dutch | English | German |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Sample size** | 140 | 206 | 91 | 174 |

*Table II-3: Sample size for the analysed languages*

The sample sizes show that the present study cannot be a large-scale corpus-driven quantitative statistical analysis (see, e.g. Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 65; Stefanowitsch 2020: 21). Instead, this study uses the data sets described above to conduct corpus-informed or corpus-based (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 65) research on NFC constructions. To be able to provide an analysis from synchronic, diachronic, and cross-linguistic perspectives, I have annotated the collected data for several morphological, syntactic, and semantic features (see Section II.2.2).

[9] This drawback was more than compensated by the fact that it enabled to gather Czech tweets at all. At the time of the data collection, no other corpus was available that would enable me to analyse *protože* X constructions in Czech.

[10] Seven more tweets containing the construction were in fact identified in the data set. These seven instances were, however, identified as re-tweets and thus identical to other already counted cases.

## 2.2 General properties of the data

All data used in the present analysis, also those not directly quoted in the text, are available in the Appendix. All entries in the Appendix have been annotated for several analytic categories. An example is given in (19).

(19) *Going INDEPENDENT* ***because A*[t]*lantic Records and Trill Entertainment*** [e039]

After the text of each analysed tweet, a bipartite alphanumeric code in square brackets is given. The first part of the code consists of a letter referring to the language of the entry. The second part of the code, a three-digit numeric code, points to the position of the entry within the language subset. In the case of (19), the entry is identified using <e> as belonging to the English subset of the corpus and using <039> as being the thirty-ninth entry of the subset.

Each entry has been analysed using thirteen criteria (Table II-3). The criteria values in the first column are illustrated using the example sentence in (19). These criteria are not directly listed in the full text of the study but can be viewed for each entry in the Appendix.

| | Criterion | | Value |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | External | Language | English |
| **2** | | Date | 21 November 2019 |
| **3** | | Mode | written |
| **4** | | Source type | Twitter |
| **5** | Internal | Connector type | because |
| **6** | | Complement type | NP |
| **7** | | Proper noun | yes |
| **8** | | Semantic link expressed by connector | reasoning |
| **9** | | Elliptical structure | no |
| **10** | | Quote in complement | no |
| **11** | | Complement complexity | yes (2) |
| **12** | | Pause in complement | no |
| **13** | | Negation in complement | no |

*Table II-4: Analytic categories*

Thirteen criteria have been used, divided into four language-external and nine language-internal ones. The external criteria pertain to those aspects of the utterances unrelated to the linguistic structure. The following five criteria are counted as external:

1) **Language**

   Each entry is analysed for language. Apart from the four major ones analysed in this text, several Danish, French, Finnish, and Slovak entries are also provided.

2) **Date**

   Each entry contains a timestamp, but not all timestamps are equally precise. Only the year is provided for some entries, mostly from earlier periods.

3) **Mode**

   Each entry is analysed in terms of its mode. A distinction is made between utterances belonging to written and spoken language.

4) **Source type**

   The source type of the utterance is given for each entry. This value helps to distinguish between written examples on social platforms such as Twitter and written examples from published articles or books.

On the other hand, internal criteria pertain to the linguistic features of the entries and describe the syntactic and semantic aspects of the non-finite causal constructions. The following nine criteria are counted as internal:

5) **Connector type**

   Each entry is classified in terms of the connector used in the construction. For instance, the distinction is made between *omdat* and *want* as connectors within the Dutch subset of data.

6) **Complement type**

   Each entry is also identified according to the complement type based on the word class classification of the complement.

7) **Proper noun**

   For those complements that are noun phrases, further subcategorisation was made to distinguish between proper and common nouns.

8) **Semantic link expressed by connector**

   For each entry, the nature of the causal link between the matrix clause of the connector and its complement has been made.

9) **Elliptical structure**

If the complement can be identified as an elliptical structure, the nature of the ellipsis is determined as textual, structural, and textual-structural (for details, see Section III.1.2.1).

10) **Quote in complement**

For each entry, it is determined whether the complement is expressed as a reported speech or not based on the presence or absence of quotation marks.

11) **Complement complexity**

The complexity of each complement is determined. If the complement only consists of a single expression, the complexity value is *no* because no further analysis is required. However, if the complement consists of more than one expression, the complexity is analysed as *yes* with the exact number of elements of which the complement consists in round brackets.

12) **Pause in complement**

The presence or absence of a pause between the connector and the complement was determined for each entry. The criterion for this is the presence of orthographical means such as full stops, commas, or dashes.

13) **Negation in complement**

For each entry, it was also determined whether the complement of the connector contains negation.

All the possible values of the criteria are given in Table II-4. Some are binary and describe the presence or absence of a property, while others enable a more fine-grained description.

| **Criteria** | | **Possible values** | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1** | Language | English | German | Dutch | Czech | | | |
| | | Slovak | Danish | French | Danish | | | |
| **2** | Date | Exact date (if available) | | | | | | |
| **3** | Mode | written | spoken | | | | | |
| **4** | Source type | Twitter | Facebook | Mastodon | Instagram | Article | | |
| | | Book | Google review | poster | Video | Audio | | |
| **5** | Connector type | Exact connector | | | | | | |
| **6** | Complement type | AdjP | AdvP | NP | VP | PRO | NUM | PP |

| | | ACRO | AGR | CONJ | EMOJI | INTERJ | n/a |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **7** | Proper noun | no | | | yes | | |
| **8** | Semantic link | causal | | reasoning | | pseudo-causal | |
| **9** | Elliptical structure | textual | | textual & structural | | structural | |
| **10** | Quote in complement | no | | | yes | | |
| **11** | Complement complexity | no | | | yes (n=complexity grade) | | |
| **12** | Pause in complement | no | | | yes | | |
| **13** | Negation in complement | no | | | yes | | |

*Table II-5: Possible criteria values*

## 3 Social media ethics

Using Twitter as the primary empirical basis also means a discussion of the ethical dimensions of choice of data (for a general discussion, see e.g. Di Cristofaro (2024: 37–40) or McEnery and Hardy (2012: 57–69)). Although some basic statistical results are presented in Chapter V, the data used in the present study are not used in a completely anonymous way. Although tweets or their parts are discussed without disclosing the name of the author or their Twitter handle, tracing these details is still possible.

Even though Twitter's official privacy policy[11] enables using tweets for research purposes, it has been shown that only a few users know their tweets can be academically analysed (Fiesler & Proferes 2018). No generally accepted rules of conduct in dealing with this kind of data and ethical situations have been established yet (Vitak, Shilton & Ashktorab 2016).

Not only are there no generally accepted principles to follow, but Twitter official terms of service also require the researchers to cite the handle, i.e., the Twitter name, of the author and the tweet itself. For the present study, however, it is not necessary to know the name of the author. Moreover, it is also only sometimes required to show the whole tweet.

Just as speakers follow a set of conversational maxims when interacting with each other, so have I decided, in allusion to H. P. Grice's work, to follow a set of principles when interacting with the data collected for my study: The principle of anonymity and the principle of relevance.

First, the anonymity of the authors of tweets cited in this study has the highest priority. The only exception to this rule is tweets authored by persons of public interest, such as celebrities or organisations. On Twitter, this means users are verified by means of the blue

[11] Twitter Privacy Policy: https://twitter.com/de/privacy [9 December 2019]
Evaluate Twitter Data to inform business decisions: https://developer.twitter.com/en/use-cases/analyze [9 December 2019]

check mark.[12] In their case, it is safe to assume that every tweet they post is understood as publicly available.

Second, only those parts of the tweet relevant to this analysis are quoted. From a minimalistic formal perspective, this can mean only the causal connector, such as *because* and its complement. In some cases, however, the larger context is also important. For example, to analyse the nature of the causal link (see Sections III.2.2.1 and III.2.2.2) between the complement and the matrix clause, it is necessary also to present the matrix clause preceding the NFC construction itself.

In practical terms, the examples given in the body of the present text are, therefore, the result of an interplay of several factors: the anonymity of the author on the one hand and, on the other hand, the intersection of the minimal and maximal needed context. The full text of the examples can nevertheless be accessed either in the Appendix of this text or, in the case of the English, Dutch, and German data available from the files of the Twitter datasets (Konvička & Stöcker 2020).

## 4 Cross-linguistic comparability

Unlike earlier studies of the NFC constructions that primarily focused on a single language (e.g. Kanetani 2015; Bergs 2018a; Konvička 2020; but see Konvička & Stöcker 2022), the present study is distinct by integrating a comparative perspective. I do not aim only to describe the properties of the NFC construction in English, German, Dutch, or Czech in isolation. Instead, I aim to describe the constructions in these languages and identify the cross-linguistic similarities between them and properties unique only to individual languages or smaller language groups. This comparative goal has both practical and theoretical implications.

The practical implications pertain to the structure of the present text. I take the English NFC construction as the backdrop against which the descriptions of the remaining cross-linguistically equivalent constructions are provided. In other words, everything described for English is also valid for the other three languages in the sample unless stated otherwise. The alternative would be to organise the study as a set of four separate descriptions of the four sample languages. To prevent repetitiveness, I have decided against this possibility.

Choosing English and the English NFC construction as the paradigm example of other non-finite causal constructions is motivated by practical reasons. Firstly, the English NFC construction is the best-known and best-described one. Chances are, therefore, good that if

[12] Like several other Twitter features, this criterion has also changed after the acquisition of Twitter by Elon Musk in October 2022. While the so-called blue checks prior to October 2022 did signal a certain status of the user, blue checks cannot be used to this end anymore.

someone is familiar with an NFC construction, they will be familiar with the English construction, not, for instance, the Dutch NFC construction. Secondly, even readers unfamiliar with the NFC constructions can approach the topic in all four analysed languages more easily. Finally, looking at a cross-linguistic phenomenon through the lens of English is also beneficial from a theoretical point of view. Admittedly, this approach could be criticised for being Anglocentric by presenting the English construction as the rule and the equivalent construction in other languages as mere exceptions. However, the benefits of this approach outweigh its disadvantages.

Theoretically speaking, the main advantage of the chosen approach is the ability to discriminate the language-particular from the cross-linguistically general aspects of the synchronic analysis, but also of the diachronic description of the development of non-finite causal construction. In other words, the chosen approach enables us to differentiate between p-linguistic and g-linguistic conclusions. The term *p-linguistics* refers to "particular linguistics, the study of individual languages or language families", while *g-linguistics* describes "the general study of Human Language", which can take the form of, among other things, comparative linguistics (Haspelmath 2019).

On the one hand, the corpus enables us to conduct four separate analyses of NFC constructions in English, German, Dutch, and Czech. These analyses allow us to draw p-linguistic conclusions. On the other hand, the corpus will also enable us to compare these language-specific findings and draw g-linguistic conclusions about the more general properties of the type and the nature of NFC constructions. While the p-linguistic conclusions presented in this study are valid only for the four directly analysed languages, the g-linguistic findings allow the formulation of generalisations that are also valid for languages not directly analysed and to formulate hypotheses that can be tested in further studies. The discussions of language-specific and more general conclusions drawn from the data will be at the core of Chapters IV and V.

# III Form and function of NFC constructions

The present chapter contains the central descriptive part of the study, which consists of three parts. Its first two sections describe the formal (Section III.1) and functional (Section III.2) aspects of the NFC constructions. Against this backdrop, the constructional status of NFC constructions is discussed (Section III.3).

## 1 Formal aspects

Non-finite causal constructions, such as the NFC constructions in English (20a), can be cross-linguistically described as partially lexically filled constructions. Non-finite causal constructions follow a matrix clause and consist of two elements: the connector slot and the complement slot. The matrix clause refers to the clause on which the non-finite causal construction depends, and which precedes the construction (see Section III.1.4.3) (20b). The connector slot contains the causal connector (20c), and the complement slot is the part of the construction following the connector (20d).

(20) a. *Look, if you think the U.S. military is weak and decadent now* ***because wokeness,*** *I am BEGGING you to go to a bar near a base tonight and tell some Marines that they're a bunch of pussies who can't handle real fighters like the Russian army, and see what happens.* [e088]
b. *Look, if you think the U.S. military is weak and decadent now…*
c. *…because…*
d. *…wokeness*

While the complement slot is more schematic and open to everything save for finite verb forms, as illustrated in (21), the connector slot is much less flexible. This means there is a preference for one default causal connector, such as *because* in English, *weil* in German, *want* in Dutch, and *protože* in Czech, although there is also room for some variation, as illustrated in (22).

(21) a. *can't unfollow* ***because deactivated.*** *just give me the right time when she'll be back and it'll be the first thing I'll do* [e072]
b. *"Because X" has started appearing in other languages,* ***because borrowing*** [e089]
c. *Who else does their makeup just to sit around in their room* ***because ME.*** [e008]

d. *I just often wonder if those who actually call in (especially to some specific shows), aren't actually masochistic* ***because wow!*** [e057]

e. *Start my day with a yoghurt drink too* ***because*** 😘 [e005]

f. *Just heard Jonathan Bartley, co-leader of the Green party UK say the reason he's in politics is* ***because "a passion to change the world."*** [e078]

g. *I'm trying to muster up as much happiness as I can for today* ***because LMAO.*** [e029]

(22) *Multiple studies have shown that the average man uses about half as many words per day as women,* ***thus text messaging.*** [e009]

After having positively described the analysed construction, we can also define it negatively. Suppose a finite verb form occurs in the complement slot. In that case, the construction cannot be considered an instantiation of an NFC construction but instead of the traditional causal subordinate clause. On the other hand, the occurrence of a causal connector other than the default connector does not invalidate the status as an instantiation of NFC construction.

The connector and complement slots of NFC constructions can be used to identify different subtypes of NFC construction within a single language and cross-linguistically. Against this backdrop, I will first focus on the connector slot (Section III.1.1) and then on the complement slot (Section III.1.2).

## 1.1 Constructional subtypes based on the connector slot

### 1.1.1 English

Apart from the default causal connector *because* (23a), NFC constructions in English are also attested with other connectors such as *thus* (23b), *since* (23c), *ergo* (23d), and *but* (23e).

(23) a. *Soon we will get paid to consume goods* ***because negative interest rates.*** [e069]

b. *Multiple studies have shown that the average man uses about half as many words per day as women,* ***thus text messaging.*** [e009]

c. *I didn't bother cooking anything* ***since whatever.*** (McCulloch 2014b)

d. *Why noodles? Noodles* ***ergo noodles.*** (McCulloch 2014b)

e. *I was considering going to the party* ***but tired.*** (McCulloch 2014b)

Table III-1 indicates the number of instances of the connectors in the analysed data sample.

| **Connector** | *because*[13] | *thus* |
|---|---|---|
| **Instances** (n=91) | 90 | 1 |
| **Percentage of total** | 98.90% | 1.10% |

*Table III-1: Connector variability in English*

It should be noted, however, that the list is not exhaustive. Although not found in my data sample, other connectors such as *therefore*, *however*, *so*, *when*, *although* or *however* can also be used in non-finite constructions (see, e.g. McCulloch 2014b; Okada 2020).

### 1.1.2 German

The German NFC construction *weil* X is, like its English equivalent *because* X, to a certain degree, flexible in the choice of the connector, although *weil* 'because' (24a) is the most common one. Other attested connectors are *da* 'because' (24b) and *denn* 'because' (24c). Alternative connectors are possible as well.

(24) a. *Bin am überlegen mir The Quarry zu holen weil ich Until Dawn schon mega gefeiert hab, aber ich bin unsicher* ***weil Geld und so*** 🥲 [d167]
'I'm thinking about buying The Quarry because I really enjoyed Until Dawn, but I'm unsure because money and stuff 🥲'

b. *Abends weiß keiner so recht, was er unternehmen soll, dummerweise verkehren keine Fähren von Madrid nach irgendwo,* ***da Binnenlage,*** *also wird heimlich gesoffen bis zum Umfallen.* [d007]
'Nobody really knows what to do in the evening. Annoyingly there is ferry service between Madrid and elsewhere, because inland, so that you secretly drink until you fall.'

c. *vielleicht finden wir in der heutigen Zeit zu viele Dinge 'geil',* ***denn schön.*** [d009]
'we perhaps find too many things 'cool' nowadays, because nice'

[13] Spelling variants of the connector *because,* such as *bc, bcs or cus,* were categorised as instances of *because*, not as a separate connector.

Table III-2 gives the numbers of instances and frequencies of the attested connectors in the German data set.[14]

| **Connector** | *weil* | *da* | *denn* | *because* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Instances** (n=174) | 166 | 6 | 1 | 1 |
| **Percentage of total** | 95.40% | 3.45% | 0.57% | 0.57% |

*Table III-2: Connector variability in German*

### 1.1.3 Dutch

In Dutch, the situation differs from English, German, and Czech. Although the Dutch NFC constructions clearly prefer the connector *want* (25a) over possible alternatives, the connector *omdat* (25b) is prominent among the alternative connectors.

(25) a. *807 likes in een dag,* ***want warmtepompklimaatscam.*** [n047]
'807 like in one day, because heat pump climate scamp'

b. *Wat doet hij? Obama bashen. Alles wat Obama heeft gedaan moet anders* ***omdat Obama.*** *(Iran-deal beste voorbeeld imo.)* [n036]
'What does he do? Bashes Obama. Everything Obama has done must be changed because Obama. (Iran deal best example imo.)'

Table III-3 shows the figures and frequencies of the connectors in the Dutch data set. Due to the relatively higher percentage of the alternative connector *omdat* compared to the alternative connectors in other languages, earlier studies even incorporated this connector into the name of the construction, i.e. *want*/*omdat* X (e.g. Konvička 2018; 2019).

| **Connector** | *want* | *omdat* |
|---|---|---|
| **Instances** (n=206) | 193 | 13 |
| **Percentage of total** | 93.69% | 6.31% |

*Table III-3: Connector variability in Dutch*

[14] The single instance of *because* (i) in the German data set is analysed as a case of code switching and in light of the rest of the sentence being written only in German, also *because* was analysed as a German connector.

(i) *Einstein hatte eine bessere Maturanote in Italienisch als Französisch. Dafür gar keine in Englisch,* ***because*** 🇨🇭 ***im frühen 20. Jh.*** [d010]
'Einstein had a better A-level grade in Italian than in French. On the other hand, no grade in English because Switzerland in early 20th century.'

Other connectors found in Dutch NFC constructions are *hoewel* 'although' (26a), *mits* 'if' (26b), *indien* 'if' (26c), *dus* 'thus' (26d) (all examples taken from Lemmens 1991: 15), and *maar* 'but' (26e) (taken from Konvička 2019a: 176).

(26) a. *Het eten,* ***hoewel koud geworden,*** *smaakte haar uitstekend.*
'The dish, although cold, tasted delicious to her.'
b. *Hoeden,* ***mits fier gedragen,*** *veranderen de blik op de wereld.*
'Hats, if worn with pride, change the view of the world.'
c. *Druk op een toets* ***indien gereed.***
'Press a button if ready.'
d. *Hij is te oud,* ***dus overbodig.***
'He is too old, thus superfluous.'
e. *Beetje laat,* ***maar yeah!*** *Heerlijk weer.*
'A bit late, but yeah! Splendid weather.'

### 1.1.4 Czech

Finally, turning to Czech NFC constructions, we find a similar situation as in English and German with one default causal connector *protože* 'because' (27a) alongside several marginal alternatives (Konvička 2020: 244). Among them is the dialectal Silesian Moravian or Lachian causal expression *bo* 'because' (27b), the more formal or archaic causal expression *jelikož* 'because' (27c) or *neboť* 'because' (27d).

(27) a. *Pokud bychom chtěli navýšit kapacitu na čtyrletém (na osmiletém nejde,* ***protože NEJVĚTŠÍ ZLO****), tak nám to neschválí. Nikdy. Proč?*
'If we wanted to expand the four-year grammar schools (impossible for eight-year grammar schools, because BIGGEST EVIL), they wouldn't allow it. Never. Why?'
b. *Začlo to anšlusem a pokračuje 14. Březnem –* ***bo Ostrava.*** [c004]
'It started with the Anschluss and continues with 14 March – because Ostrava'
c. *Infarkt taky nehrozí,* ***jelikož protažený žíly.*** [c032]
'Heart attack is not imminent because enough exercise.'
d. *Přesto Zemanovy hrátky s ústavou, tolerované vydíratelným (****neboť za jistých okolností na prezidentově milosti nebo abolici závislým****) trestně stíhaným*

*premiérem, jsou ochutnávkou toho, kam by se česká společnost mohla za jistých okolností ubírat.* [c022]

'Zeman's toying with the constitution, tolerated by the blackmailable (because under certain circumstances dependent on the president's pardon or offer of clemency) prime minister charged with a crime, are just a foretaste of how the Czech society could develop under certain circumstances.'

Table III-4 provides the figures and percentages for the various connectors in the Czech data.[15]

| **Connector** | *protože* | *bo* | *jelikož* | *neboť* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Instances** (n=140) | 134 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| **Percentage of total** | 95.71% | 2.14% | 1.43% | 0.71% |

*Table III-4: Connector variability in Czech*

### 1.2 Constructional subtypes based on the complement slot

Having discussed the limited variability of the connector slot, I will now turn my attention to the complement slot of NFC constructions. At first glance, the complement slot can be filled by a wide range of elements such as noun phrases (28a), adjectival phrases (28b), interjections (28c), pronouns (28d), acronyms (28e), but also emojis (28f).

(28) a. *Can't tell if I'm in a lot of abdominal pain* ***because Crohns*** *or* ***because antibiotics.*** [e027]

b. *Shipping always is a pain* ***because expensive for another country*** [e010]

c. *2 phone wallpapers* ***because oof.*** [e031]

d. *Who else does their makeup just to sit around in their room* ***because ME.*** [e008]

e. *I'm trying to muster up as much happiness as I can for today* ***because LMAO.*** [e029]

f. *Start my day with a yoghurt drink too* ***because*** 😘 [e005]

[15] Orthographic or colloquial variants of the connector *protože* such as *páč* were categorised as instances of *protože* and not as separate connectors.

Despite the great (cross-linguistic) variability of the complement slot, we can establish one defining criterion for NFC constructions. Compared to causal clauses, NFC constructions are defined by the absence of finite verb forms in the complement slot (Figure III-1)[16].

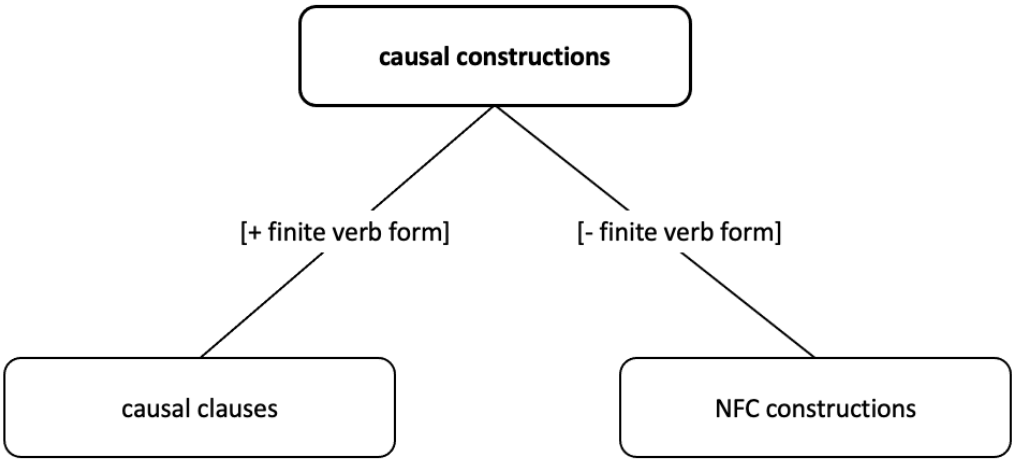


*Figure III-1: Causal clauses and NFC constructions*

Knowing what is *not* in the complement slot, I will now look closer at the different types of expressions occurring in that position. Although all the possibilities for the complement of the connector exist, as stated in (28), they are not used equally often. Bohmann (2016: 160) and Schnoebelen (2014) both conclude that the subtype CONNECTOR NP is the most common. Other complements, including acronyms, adjective phrases, and interjections, also occur (see Table III-1).

| **Analysis →** / **Complement type ↓** | **Frequency** (Schnoebelen 2014) | **Frequency** (Bohmann 2016) |
|---|---|---|
| Nouns/Noun phrases | 32.02% | 38.80% |
| Acronyms | 21.78% | 14.15% |
| Adjectives/Adjective phrases | 16.04% | 9.80% |
| Interjections | 14.71% | 20.30% |
| Agreement | 12.97% | n/a |
| Pronouns | 2.45% | n/a |
| Other | n/a | 16.60% |

*Table III-5: Complement frequencies in English NFC constructions*

[16] Figure III-1 only captures the difference between causal clauses and NFC constructions. Other non-clausal constructions with *because*, particularly *because of* constructions, are disregarded because I do not consider them to be directly related (see Chapter IV for discussion).

While some categories in the studies by Bohmann and Schnoebelen (Table III-1) are comparable, others are not. For this reason, I will briefly discuss them. The categories of nouns, adjectives, interjections, and acronyms such as *yolo* 'you only live once' or *lol* 'laughing out loud' are identical and therefore comparable in both studies.

The remaining categories are, however, comparable only to a degree. Schnoebelen's *agreement* refers to complements such as *yes* or *no*, which Bergs (2018: 49) proposes to combine with interjections in one category of particles due to their similar syntactic behaviour. This would yield a category comprising 27.68% of the results, advancing it to the second position behind the default nominal complements.

Furthermore, Bohmann's (2016: 160) category *other* consists of "interrogative sentences, hashtags, emoticons, user mentions, adverbs, demonstrative and personal pronouns, hyperlinks, zero complements and a few cases that were unclear without further context." This category overlaps with Schnoebelen's *pronouns* but includes many complement types not captured in Schnoebelen's statistics.

Against this background, Table III-2 shows the various complement types distributed in the data sample analysed for the present study. Compared with Schnoebelen's and Bohmann's analyses, my results are more fine-grained and, therefore, not directly comparable. Nevertheless, NPs are the most frequently used complement type in all three studies. Acronyms, while the second most common complement type in Schnoebelen's and Bohmann's studies, are only marginally relevant in my data. Adjective phrases, on the other hand, have an essential role in all three studies – particularly in the German data.

| **Language →** / **Complement type ↓** | **English** | | **German** | | **Dutch** | | **Czech** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n=91 | | n=174 | | n=206 | | n=140 | |
| Noun phrases | 57 | 62.64% | 86 | 49.43% | 147 | 71.36% | 103 | 73.57% |
| Adjective phrases | 8 | 8.79% | 68 | 39.10% | 39 | 18.93% | 8 | 5.71% |
| Pronouns | 2 | 2.20% | 0 | 0.00% | 2 | 0.97% | 4 | 2.86% |
| Numerals | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.57% | 1 | 0.49% | 1 | 0.71% |
| Verb phrases | 3 | 3.30% | 5 | 2.87% | 1 | 0.49% | 1 | 0.71% |
| Adverb phrases | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 0.57% | 7 | 3.40% | 6 | 4.29% |
| Preposition phrases | 3 | 3.30% | 9 | 5.17% | 1 | 0.49% | 4 | 2.86% |
| Conjunctions | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 2 | 1.43% |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Interjections | 10 | 10.99% | 2 | 1.15% | 3 | 1.46% | 4 | 2.86% |
| Agreement | 4 | 4.40% | 0 | 0.00% | 2 | 0.97% | 0 | 0.00% |
| Acronyms | 2 | 2.20% | 1 | 0.57% | 1 | 0.49% | 3 | 2.14% |
| Emoji | 2 | 2.20% | 0 | 0.00% | 2 | 0.97% | 4 | 2.86% |
| n/a | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 0.57% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% |

*Table III-6: Complement types in data samples*

Apart from the complement type, Table III-3 shows the complexity of the complements, understood as the number of elements in the complement.[17] Although the most frequent complements in terms of their complexity type in all analysed languages are complements with a single expression, complements with more than one expression are not uncommon.

| **Language →** **Complement complexity ↓** | **English** | | **German** | | **Dutch** | | **Czech** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n=91 | | n=174 | | n=206 | | n=140 | |
| Complements with 1 element | 54 | 59.34% | 65 | 37.36% | 122 | 59.22% | 91 | 65.00% |
| Complements with 2 elements | 15 | 16.48% | 49 | 28.16% | 52 | 25.24% | 23 | 16.43% |
| Complements with 3 elements | 5 | 5.49% | 33 | 18.97% | 19 | 9.22% | 14 | 10.00% |
| Complements with 4 elements | 10 | 10.99% | 13 | 7.47% | 13 | 6.31% | 3 | 2.14% |
| Complements with 5 elements | 5 | 5.49% | 7 | 4.02% | 0 | 0.00% | 4 | 2.86% |
| Complements with 6 elements | 2 | 2.20% | 5 | 2.87% | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 0.71% |
| Complements with 7 elements | 0 | 0.00% | 2 | 1.15% | 0 | 0.00% | 3 | 2.14% |
| Complements with 8 elements | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% |
| Complements with 9 elements | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 0.71% |

*Table III-7: Complexity of complements*

Regardless of the exact figures, the quantitative analysis of the complements in non-finite causal constructions shows two important things. First, nominal complements are the most frequent complement type, and pronominal complements are the least frequent type (if found in the data). Second, the exact complement type is irrelevant for categorising NFC constructions as such, as long as the complement slot is not filled by a finite verb form.

Although the presence and absence of a finite verb implies a binary distinction between causal clauses and non-finite causal constructions, a more fine-grained distinction can be made

[17] If a complex complement consists of at least two elements conjoined by means of a conjunction such as *nicht da, weil Geld und krank* 'Not there, because money and sick'[d003], the concatenation is counted as a single complement.

within the latter group based on the ellipticity of the complements (see Figure III-2). Complements in non-finite causal constructions can be elliptical phrases which, in some respect, resemble causal clauses (see Section III.1.2.1). There are, however, also non-elliptical complements, which are either noun phrases (see Section III.1.2.2) or other types of phrases (see Section III.1.2.3).[18]

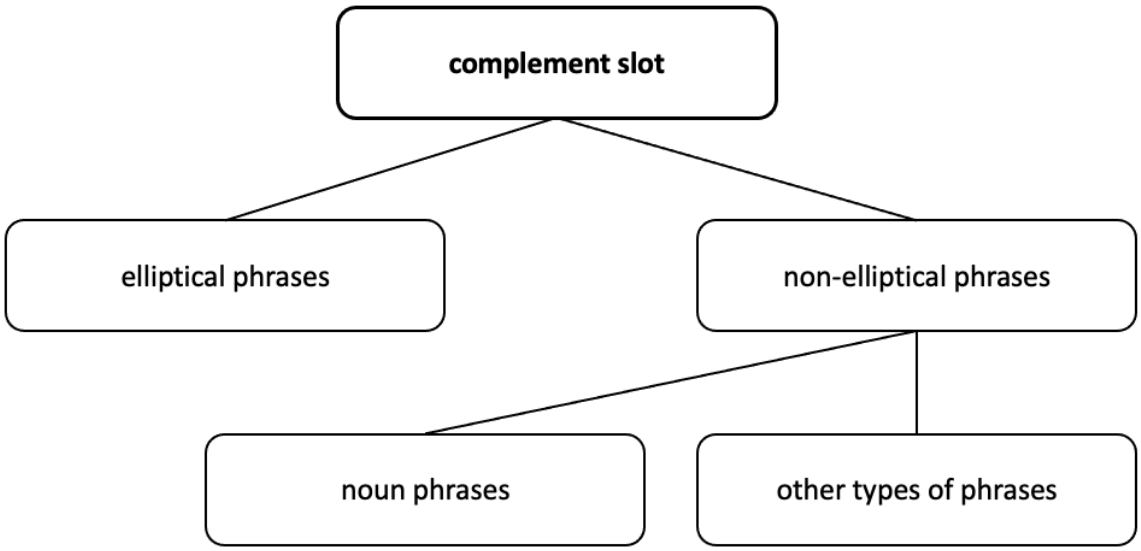


*Figure III-2: Complement types*

### 1.2.1 Elliptical phrases

Ellipsis is an interactional phenomenon that "needs a speaker/writer who elides a part of an utterance and at the same time an addressee who recovers the elided material" (Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 343). For this analysis, I distinguish three types of ellipses in the complement slot (29). The three types are based on the cues the addressee must use to recover the material elided by the speaker.

(29) a. textual ellipses
b. structural ellipses
c. textual-structural ellipses

In textual ellipses such as (30), the elided material in the complement can be recovered based on the linguistic material in the matrix clause of the construction.

[18] The distinction of elliptical phrases, (non-elliptical) noun phrases and other (non-elliptical) types of phrases has further implications for the word class categorisation of the connector itself. A question I discuss in more detail in Chapter IV.

(30) *Shipping always is a pain* ***because expensive.*** [e010]

The connector *because* is complemented by an adjective phrase *expensive*. The matrix clause includes the subject *shipping* followed by the copula verb *is* and further by the noun phrase *a pain* functioning as a subject complement (31a). It is thus possible to identify a structural parallel between the matrix clause and the non-finite causal construction. The only difference between the matrix clause preceding the connector *because* and the NFC construction following it is that the subject and the verb are elided in the latter. The elided material, however, can be recovered to create a non-elliptical structure given in (31b).[19]

(31) a. $NP_{subject}$ $VP_{copula}$ $NP_{subj.\ complement}$ CONNECTOR $AdjP_{subj.\ complement}$

b. $NP_{subject}$ $VP_{copula}$ $NP_{subj.\ complement}$ CONNECTOR [$NP_{subject}$ $VP_{copula}$] $AdjP_{subj.\ complement}$

Returning to the concrete example in (30), a case of anaphoric textual ellipsis (see, e.g., Lemmens 1991: 15; Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 351), we can apply the same method as in (31) to arrive at its non-elliptical version, given in (32). The non-elliptical structure in the matrix clause *shipping is a pain* can be used as a model for the NFC construction *because expensive* to recover it to its non-elliptical form *because shipping is expensive*.

(32) *Shipping always is a pain* ***because*** [shipping always is] ***expensive.***

Cases such as (32) count as textual ellipses because they share a parallel structure between the matrix clause and the elliptical NFC construction. This typically applies to structures of the type $AdjP_1$ CONNECTOR $AdjP_2$ or $AdvP_1$ CONNECTOR $AdvP_2$. The NFC construction counts as a textual ellipsis because it is possible to recover the elided material by co-textual means.

The fact that the recovery of the elided material is done using co-textual cues also means that the recovery can be done with precision. Because the elliptical NFC construction shares the same structure as the preceding matrix clause, we can precisely say what should be recovered. In the case of (30), it is possible to determine that the elided subject in the NFC

[19] Here, as in further examples, I use square brackets to mark the recovered material in ellipses. In other words, the expressions in square brackets are not part of the actual construction but represent the linguistic material that the addressee can be reasonably expected to be able to recover.

construction is the noun phrase shipping occurring in the matrix clause, and the elided copula verb *is* the verb also occurring in the matrix clause.

The dependence on co-textual cues and the possibility of precise recovery of the elided material are absent in the second type of ellipses, structural ellipses (29b). The recovery of the elided material in these elliptical structures cannot be based on textual parallels between the matrix clause and the NFC construction. Instead, the recovery is based on the addressee's knowledge of linguistic structures. A case in point is given in (33).

(33) *ich konnte in Solingen gerade kein Zusatzticket kaufen* ***weil Automat kaputt.*** [d047]
'I couldn't buy an extra ticket in Solingen right now because machine broken.'

Cases like (33) are considered elliptical because the addressee can be expected to be aware of specific linguistic properties of the utterance that can be used to recover the material elided in the elliptical NFC construction.

The German NFC construction in (33) is *weil Automat kaputt* 'because machine broken'. Based on what the speaker can expect of the addressee's knowledge of linguistic structure, two pieces of linguistic material can be expected to be recovered. First, the determiner *der* 'the[M]' in the noun phrase, and second, the finite verb *war* 'was' to arrive at a recovered utterance indicated in (34).

(34) *ich konnte in Solingen gerade kein Zusatzticket kaufen* ***weil*** [der] ***Automat kaputt*** [war].
'I couldn't buy an extra ticket in Solingen right now because [the] machine [was] broken.'

The recovery of the elided material in structural ellipses is not always as precise as in textual ellipses because the recovery is not based on any co-textual means but on the (meta-)linguistic knowledge of the addressee. In the case of (34), this, for instance, means that it is impossible to precisely tell whether the simple past verb form *war* 'was' or the present perfect verb form *gewesen ist* 'has been' should be recovered. Although this uncertainty does not affect the communicative success of the elliptical NFC construction, it differentiates structural ellipses from textual ones.

Structural ellipses form the largest group of adjectival complements in all data sets (62.50% in English, 65.22% in German, and 33.33% in Dutch) except the Czech data, where

textual ellipses are the most frequent, with 71.43% of all adjective phrases in the complement slot.

Finally, a third type of elliptical NFC constructions, which I call textual-structural ellipses (29c), is recognised. This ellipsis type is particularly frequent in the Dutch data set, constituting 30.77% of all adjectival complements. As the term suggests, these ellipses represent a hybrid type combining features of both textual and structural ellipses. An example is given in (35).

(35) *Loonsverhoging werd niet gecommuniceerd* ***omdat niet realiseerbaar.*** [n038]
'Pay rise will not be communicated because not feasible.'

Examples like (35) contain linguistic material that can be recovered based on textual cues, but also linguistic material that can be recovered based on the addressee's knowledge of linguistic structures (36). First, the subject of the elliptical Dutch NFC *omdat niet realiseerbaar* 'because not feasible' can be recovered based on the parallel structure in the matrix clause. Just as in the matrix clause, the subject in the NFC construction is *loonsverhoging* 'pay rise'. Second, the finite verb *is* 'is' or *was* 'was' missing in the NFC construction can also be recovered. However, it is not based on textual cues but on (meta-)linguistic knowledge.

(36) *Loonsverhoging werd niet gecommuniceerd* ***omdat*** [loonsverhoging] ***niet realiseerbaar*** [is/was].
'Pay rise will not be communicated because [pay rise] [is/was] not feasible.'

Regarding precision of recovery, the parts of (35) that count as textual ellipsis, the subject in the NFC construction, can be recovered precisely, while the parts that count as structural ellipsis can be recovered with relatively lower precision. For instance, the exact form of the finite verb cannot be determined with certainty.

Elliptical complements in the analysed NFC constructions are of two types: adjectival (37a) or adverbial ellipses (37b). Other types, such as nominal or prepositional complements, are not attested, although theoretically feasible.

(37) a. *can't unfollow* ***because deactivated.*** *just give me the right time when she'll be back and it'll be the first thing I'll do* [e072]

b. *Chtěla jsem jen říct, že teď se fakt těžko odhaduje, jestli řidič jede pomalu,* ***protože opatrně*** *nebo protože se chystá odbočit.* [c071]
'I wanted to say that now it's tough to tell whether the driver's going slow because carefully or because he's going to turn.'

Earlier studies found 9.8% (Bohmann 2016) and 16% (Schnoebelen 2014) of adjectival complements, respectively, regardless of their elliptical status (see Table III-5). In the sample analysed for the present study, the percentage of adjectival complements varies and makes up as low as 5.71% in the Czech data set to as high as 39.10% in the German data set (see Table III-8). Also, the majority of all adjectival as well as adverbial complements are ellipses: textual, structural, and textual-structural (see Table III-8)

| **Language →** / **Elliptical complements ↓** | **English** | | **German** | | **Dutch** | | **Czech** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n=91 | | n=174 | | n=206 | | n=140 | |
| AdjP in total | 8 | 8.79% | 68 | 39.10% | 39 | 18.93% | 8 | 5.71% |
| AdjP (textual ellipses) | 2 | 25.00% | 15 | 22.06% | 6 | 15.38% | 6 | 75.00% |
| AdjP (structural ellipses) | 5 | 62.50% | 44 | 64.71% | 14 | 35.90% | 0 | 0.00% |
| AdjP (textual-structural ellipses) | 0 | 0.00% | 4 | 5.88% | 11 | 28.21% | 0 | 0.00% |
| AdjP (non-ellipses) | 1 | 12.50% | 5 | 7.35% | 8 | 20.51% | 2 | 25.00% |
| AdvP in total | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 0.57% | 7 | 3.40% | 6 | 4.29% |
| AdvP (textual ellipses) | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 14.29% | 5 | 83.33% |
| AdvP (structural ellipses) | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 100.00% | 4 | 57.14% | 1 | 16.66% |
| AdvP (non-ellipses) | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 2 | 28.57% | 0 | 0.00% |

*Table III-8: Elliptical structures as complements*

Besides the three types of elliptical structures mentioned above, a further type is traditionally identified in the literature – situational ellipsis (see, e.g. Bühler 1934: 154–159 [2011: 176–179]; Quirk et al. 1985: 895–897; Biber et al. 1999: 156). The recovery of the elided material in these structures is dependent on the non-linguistic context of the utterance.

An example of a situational ellipsis is given in (38). Based solely on the textual evidence, it is not clear that *black* and *white* in (38a), in fact, refers to types of bread. This is, however, evident if the situational context is clear, such as when the speakers of (38a) are standing in front of a counter in a bakery.

(38) a. A: *Black for me*.
B: *White for me.*
b. A: *Black* [bread] *for me*.
B: *White* [bread] *for me*.

Although situational ellipses are traditionally recognised, I will not employ them as a category in the present study. First, for methodological reasons, because the data I analyse in the present study are almost exclusively textual (see Section I.2.4 for exceptions). This makes any conclusions about the non-linguistic context of the data close to impossible. I, therefore, only consider those types of ellipses that can be established based on textual clues. Second, for theoretical reasons. The assumptions about the existence underlying, elided structures that the addressee nevertheless interprets rely on the theoretical tenets on which the analysis is based. In this regard, I follow a usage-based approach to textual data to be elliptical only if ample textual evidence is given (see, e.g. Bauer & Hoffmann 2020; Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 342–345).

Against this backdrop, I do not consider instances of NFC constructions such as (39) to be elliptical. Unlike in textual or structural or textual-structural ellipses, no textual cues would allow us to assume that the speaker has elided any parts of the construction.

(39) *I can't come out tonight* ***because Skyrim.*** [e007]

It can be the case that the addressee of an utterance such as (39) interprets the construction as meaning something along the lines of (40), but this cannot be established with any certainty.

(40) *I can't come out tonight* ***because*** [?I'm going to be playing] ***Skyrim.***

The relation between (40) and (39) is that of potential expansion, not recovery of elided material. The utterance (40) is a more explicit hypothetical version of (39). Such potential expansion, which leads to a more explicit version of an utterance, cannot be used as a diagnostic of its elliptical status (see, e.g. Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 342–345).

This is even more obvious if causal constructions other than NFC constructions are considered. The utterance in (41a) contains a complex prepositional phrase *because of* NP. The utterance in (41b) also contains the same causal prepositional phrase but a more explicit variant

of the nominal phrase. This potential expansion of (41a) into something along the lines of (41b) is, however, not an argument in favour of considering (41a) to be elliptical. By the same token, the potential expansion of (39) into something along the lines of (40) is also not an argument in favour of analysing NFC constructions like (39) as (situational) ellipses.

(41) a. *I can't come out tonight because of Skyrim.*
b. *I can't come out tonight because of* [?the fact that I'll be playing] *Skyrim.*

This means NFC constructions such as (39) that allow potential expansion and show no textual evidence of elliptical status will not be considered elliptical (see Section III.1.2.2).

### 1.2.2 Non-elliptical phrases

#### 1.2.2.1 Noun phrases

Amongst the complements in non-elliptical NFC constructions, noun phrases occur particularly frequently (Schnoebelen 2014; Bohmann 2016; Konvička & Stöcker 2022). Earlier studies found 32.00% (Schnoebelen 2014) and 38.80% (Bohmann 2016) of all complements in NFC constructions to fall into this category. In the present study, noun phrases are cross-linguistically even more prominent (see Table III-9).

| **Language →** / **Complement types ↓** | **English** | | **German** | | **Dutch** | | **Czech** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n=91 | | n=174 | | n=206 | | n=140 | |
| NPs in total | 57 | 62.64% | 86 | 49.43% | 147 | 71.36% | 103 | 73.57% |
| Proper nouns (out of all NPs) | 11 | 19.29% | 5 | 5.81% | 16 | 10.88% | 32 | 31.07% |
| Modified NPs (out of all NPs) | 24 | 42.10% | 56 | 65.12% | 62 | 42.18% | 34 | 33.01% |

*Table III-9: Noun phrases as complements*

The fact that noun phrases are the single most common complement type in NFC constructions makes them the prototypical complement type. This has, in turn, an effect on the acceptability of NFC constructions with nominal complements, at least in the case of Finnish. Noun phrases in the complement slot of Finnish NFC construction *koska* X 'because X' are considered the most acceptable (Wessman 2017).

Given the central role noun phrases play in the complement slot of NFC constructions, I will now turn to two topics concerning nominal complements: their complexity (Section 1.2.2.1.1) and their morphology (Section 1.2.2.1.2).

#### 1.2.2.1.1 Complexity of nominal complements

Noun phrases in the complement slot of NFC constructions can be bare but also modified. Except for the German data set, bare noun phrases are cross-linguistically more frequent than modified ones (see Table III-10). However, the fact that modified noun phrases as complements are more common only in German than bare noun phrases has nothing to do with the structural properties of the language. The outlier is likely a random artefact of the data set.

| **Language →** **Complement types ↓** | **English** | | **German** | | **Dutch** | | **Czech** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n=91 | | n=174 | | n=206 | | n=140 | |
| NPs in total | 57 | 62.64% | 86 | 49.43% | 147 | 71.36% | 103 | 73.57% |
| Bare NPs (out of all NPs) | 33 | 57.90% | 30 | 34.88% | 85 | 57.82% | 69 | 66.99% |
| Modified NPs (out of all NPs) | 24 | 42.10% | 56 | 65.12% | 62 | 42.18% | 34 | 33.01% |

*Table III-10: Bare NPs vs modified NPs as complements*

Complex noun phrases, i.e. noun phrases with more than one element, constitute 42.10% of English, 65.12% of German, 42.18% of Dutch, and 33.01% of the Czech data set (Table III-10). Table III-11 then offers a more detailed overview of the complexity of the nominal complements. A large part of all NPs in all languages, except for English, even the majority of all NPs, are complex nominal complements.

| **Language →** **Complexity ↓** | **English** | | **German** | | **Dutch** | | **Czech** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n=91 | | n=174 | | n=206 | | n=140 | |
| Modified NPs (out of all NPs) | 24 | 42.10% | 56 | 65.12% | 62 | 42.18% | 34 | 33.01% |
| NPs with 2 elements | 10 | 41.67% | 30 | 53.57% | 39 | 62.90% | 19 | 55.88% |
| NPs with 3 elements | 5 | 20.83% | 13 | 23.21% | 13 | 20.97% | 8 | 23.53% |
| NPs with 4 elements | 5 | 20.83% | 8 | 14.29% | 10 | 16.13% | 2 | 5.88% |
| NPs with 5 elements | 2 | 8.33% | 3 | 5.36% | 0 | 0.00% | 3 | 8.82% |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NPs with 6 elements | 2 | 8.33% | 2 | 3.57% | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 2.94% |
| NPs with 7 elements | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 2.94% |

*Table III-11: Complexity of nominal complements*

Although the nominal complements of NFC constructions are frequently modified by adjectives (42a) or other noun phrases (42b), sometimes, as the examples demonstrate, the NPs can be modified rather heavily.

(42) a. *Maybe I'll take dog and see if I can locate source...also peeing* ***because aging small dog bladder.*** [e054]

b. *It's not even 10am. It's the 23rd NOVEMBER FOR GOODNESS SAKE I'm about to get in the sea* ***because cold water swimming for life!!!!!*** [e079]

On the other hand, NPs modified by determiners are rarely the case (McCulloch 2014b), even in languages with an article system, such as English, German, and Dutch. Examples of NFC constructions with complex complements modified by determiners are given in (43).

(43) a. *Yeah.* ***Because. A new truck.*** [e064]

b. *guess we should not waste the peak of our teenage years in uncertain things when we could be enjoying these years,* ***because these years?*** *they only come once in our fucking lifetime.* [e084]

The examples in (43) are, however, not unproblematic. Based on the punctuation and capitalisation in (43a), we might not be dealing with a single integrated utterance *because a new truck*, but with two separate utterances *because* and *a new truck*. Similarly, the use of *these years* in (43b) can be explained as a complete copy of the preceding expression in the complement slot.

Despite a few cases of NFC constructions with determiners, the general tendency towards nominal complements without determiners is still valid. The reason for this is functional. The interpretation of NFC constructions relies heavily on shared knowledge of the complement (see Section III.2.4 for more details). Whatever is thus expressed by the complement can be assumed to be already known to both the speaker and the addressee.[20]

[20] According to Kanetani (2019: 159), NFC constructions only rarely use determiners (or pronouns) because the complement of the causal connector in these constructions is a so-called *private expression* (Hirose 2000). These are, unlike public expressions, "act[s] of linguistic expression with no intention of communication"

The reliance on shared knowledge has two concrete implications for the form of the construction. First, the use of determiners in the construction that express definiteness or specificity would be unexpected from a communicative perspective because the nominal complement is assumed to be already known and, therefore, by definition, definite and specific. The use of a determiner would, therefore, be superfluous. Second, the use of indefinite articles would be equally communicatively unexpected because their use would be incompatible with the fact that they are expected to be known to both the addressee and the speaker.

#### 1.2.2.1.2 Morphology of the nominal complement

To investigate the morphological properties of the nominal complements of NFC constructions, I will leave the Anglosphere behind for a moment and take a closer look at the NFC construction in languages with a case system. In the sample analysed for this study, this means German and Czech.

In particular, I dedicate the present section to the case assignment in noun phrases of NFC constructions. Generally speaking, noun phrases in NFC constructions are not marked for case. In the rare instances that case is marked on noun phrases in NFC construction, the NPs are marked exclusively for the nominative.

First, I will turn to German. Noun phrases in German can be marked for four cases: nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative. To detect the overt case marking in *weil* NP 'because NP' constructions, focusing on NPs with nouns modified by a strong form of an adjective is necessary. Moreover, we must focus on the neuter and masculine nouns due to syncretism between the nominative and accusative in feminine nouns.

Examples of *weil* NP constructions with masculine nouns modified by a strong adjective are listed in (44) through (47). Equivalents of these constructions with neuter nouns modified by strong adjectives are, unfortunately, not attested in the corpus. This can be explained by the limitations of the corpus and by the relative infrequency of such constructions. There is, however, no reason why NPs with neuter nouns should not exist and finding them is only an empirical matter, not a matter of principle.

(Hirose 2000: 1625). Their function is to express the speaker's thoughts. As a consequence, the expression in the complement slot, Kanetani argues, is salient enough for the speaker that no determiner needs to be used. My own argument, based on the presupposed shared knowledge among interlocutors (see Section III.2.4), seems to be compatible with Kanetani's line of argument.

(44) *Bedingt schon - keine Massentierhaltung, weniger Pflanzenschutzmittel, weniger intensive Nutzung pro Hektar - senkt insgesamt den CO2 Abdruck,* ***weil geringerer Energieaufwand.*** [d096]
'To a certain degree, yes – no factory farming, less plant protection products, less intensive use per hectare – lowers the CO2 footprint, because lesser[M.NOM.SG] energy expenditure[M.NOM.SG]'

(45) *Bei der Eröffnung Verteidigung des Berufungsalters (****weil verbindlicherer Weg zur Lebenszeitprofessur****) und Hinweis, dass dieser Weg das letzte "Demütigungsritual" Habilitation überflüssig machen soll.* [d027]
'At the opening a defence of the professorship age (because binding[M.NOM.SG] way[M.NOM.SG] to a tenured professorship) and a remark that this way is supposed to make the last "humiliation ritual", the habilitation, superfluous.'

(46) *Hat es was mit der Statistik zu tun (am Endbahnhof Bamberg immer pünktlich* ***weil langer Aufenthalt in Würzburg*** *und daher offiziell nicht zu spät - doof nur wenn man vorher umsteigen muss)?* [d149]
'Does it have to do with statistics (the end station Bamberg is always reached on time because long[M.NOM.SG] stay[M.NOM.SG] in Würzburg and therefore officially not too late – bad though if you have to change trains before)?'

(47) *Wow! Nach 30 min in der Warteschlange sagt man mir Ihnen fällt an meiner Verbindung nichts auf und es müsste ein Techniker kommen, der potenziell auf meine Kosten geht* ***weil eigener Router.*** [d128]
'Wow! After 30 minutes of queueing, I was told that there was nothing out of the ordinary with my connection and that I had to call a technician who I potentially must pay myself because my own[M.NOM.SG] router[M.NOM.SG]'

If this consistent assignment of the nominative case was limited solely to German *weil* X constructions, it could be explicable in language-specific terms. This morphological feature can, however, also be found in Slavic languages such as Czech (48) and Slovak (49) (Konvička 2020: 258) as well as in non-Indo-European Finnish (50).

(48) a. ***Protože dobrý text*** [c015]
‘because good[M.NOM.SG] text[M.NOM.SG]’

b. *Divný mít oblíbenou kavárnu v nemocnici. Ale tahle v Thomayerově stojí za návštěvu :).* ***Protože dobrý kafe*** *atd :)* [c014]
‘Weird to have a favourite café in a hospital. But this one in the Thomayer University Hospital is definitely worth a visit :) Because good[N.NOM.SG] coffee[N.NOM.SG]’

(49) *Na jednej strane hovoríme, že homosexuáli sú plnohodnotní a rovnoprávni občania. Jedným dychom však dodávajú, že ich zväzky sú proti prirodzenosti a nemôže to byť pravá láska pokiaľ nemá reprodukčnú schopnosť, nemali by učiť na školách lebo sú spájaní s pedofíliou, adoptovať si deti,* ***lebo otec a mama.*** [s002]
‘On the one side, we say that homosexuals are citizens with full and equal rights. In one breath, however, they say that their relationships are against nature and that it cannot be real love if the ability to reproduce is not given; they should not teach at schools because they are linked with paedophilia, and they should not adopt children, because father[M.NOM.SG] and mother[F.NOM.SG]’

(50) a. *…mutta en voi koska huomenna on koulu-a*
but 1SG.NEG can because tomorrow be[3SG] school-PART.SG
‘...but I can’t because there’s school tomorrow.’

b. *...mutta en voi* ***koska koulu***
but 1SG.NEG can because school[NOM.SG]
‘...but I can’t because school.’

In the Finnish example (50b), we see the use of the noun *koulu-a* ‘school-PART.SG’ in the partitive case when used in a *koska* clause, but in the nominative case when used in the NFC construction with *koska* (Bailey & Seyerle 2019; Wessman 2017).

Against this backdrop, the following generalisation can be made. First, explicit marking of case in NFC constructions are very infrequent. What we see more frequently, however, are instances of NFC constructions with bare nouns or proper names as nominal complements. Both these complement types, at least in the sample languages, lack explicit case markers. Second, we can establish that if the noun phrases in NFC constructions are explicitly marked

for case, they are always in the nominative. These two generalisations are valid cross-linguistically.

The use of the nominative in NFC constructions also serves as a further argument against the analysis of these constructions as ellipses. First, if NFC constructions with the nominative case were to be analysed as textual ellipses, their matrix clause would have to include a verb that could explain the case assignment. This is, however, never the case. Second, if NFC constructions with the nominative case were to be analysed as structural ellipses, a verb that assigns the nominative case would have to be recovered. This is, however, never the case.

To give just one example, consider cases such as (44), repeated here as (51). In the case of a textual ellipsis, the only verb in the co-text is *senken* 'to lower', which would, however, assign the accusative case to its object. In the case of a structural ellipsis, should a different verb need to be recovered, the obvious options, such as the existential verbal construction *es gibt* 'there is', would also assign the accusative, not the nominative.

(51) *Bedingt schon - keine Massentierhaltung, weniger Pflanzenschutzmittel, weniger intensive Nutzung pro Hektar - senkt insgesamt den CO2 Abdruck,* ***weil geringerer Energieaufwand.*** [d096]
'To a certain degree, yes – no factory farming, less plant protection products, less intensive use per hectare – lowers the CO2 footprint, because lesser[M.NOM.SG] energy expenditure[M.NOM.SG].'

The fact that noun phrases in NFC constructions occur in the nominative corroborates the analysis of the connector in these constructions as a preposition (see Chapter IV for more details). At least for German (Stefanowitsch 2014) and Czech (Konvička 2020: 257–258), the case assignment in NFC constructions is analogous with the case assignment in certain prepositional phrases with Latinate prepositions such as *contra*, *versus*, *in puncto* or *via*. Noun phrases in these prepositional phrases are also used without overt case marking if possible and only if a case must be expressed; it is always the nominative.

The exclusive occurrence of noun phrases in the nominative as complements of NFC constructions represents their most salient morphological property. An explanation for this case assignment, however, remains a research desideratum at this point.

#### 1.2.2.2 Non-noun phrases

The last category of expressions occurring in the complement slot of NFC constructions are non-elliptical complements other than noun phrases. The category includes several different types of expressions: expressions of agreement (52a), expressions of disagreement (52b), interjections (52c), prepositional phrases (52d), pronouns (52e), numerals (52f), emojis (52f), special characters (52g), and compressed clauses (52h).

(52) a. *My friends #1: don't taking it seriously and saying it's temporary. Friends #2: Asexual, Panromantic? Who is this? Crash: in scared I run away from him,* ***because yes.*** *Parents: already from one look I begin to be afraid. [hiding back in the closet]* [e033]

b. *Yeah! Why not? (****Because... not!****)* [e051]

c. *I am going to say this, then break it,* ***because meh.*** *I'm an idiot.* [e034]

d. *You're a l*[o]*st cause and you don't even know it. I read. Conservative and progressive,* ***because in independent.*** [e070]

e. *Who else does their makeup just to sit around in their room* ***because ME.*** [e008]

f. *Proč?* ***Protože 2015.*** [c005]
'Why? Because 2015.'

f. *Start my day with a yoghurt drink too* ***because*** 😘 [e005]

g. *Remember when I said the path of least resistance is readily offered? Well student numbers are increasing (****because £££****) and staff have been asked to do more with less as long as I've been in the job. I'm gonna have to be a bit careful with how I phrase this next bit.* [e087]

h. *I'm trying to muster up as much happiness as I can for today* ***because LMAO.*** [e029]

The types of complements can be divided into three larger groups. First, minor parts of speech, such as expressions of (dis)agreement, interjections, prepositional phrases, and pronouns. Second, non-linguistic complements, such as emojis (or emoticons) and special characters. Third, acronyms and compressed clauses.

Although I include graphic complements such as emojis and special characters as a separate category of complements, they differ from the other categories. While all other complement types function independently, graphic complements stand for something else.

The emoji in (52f) can be interpreted as a noun ‘kiss’ or ‘love’, and the pound character in (52g) can be read as a noun ‘money’ or ‘pound’. If we accepted this view, these complements would have to be categorised accordingly, not as a separate complement type. Similarly, the use of emoji in the complement slot is limited to written discourse. If the same construction were used in spoken discourse, the parallels of the emojis used would be interjections or gestures (Gawne & McCulloch 2019). Therefore, the question is whether to categorise emojis as a specific type of complements unique to the use of NFC constructions in written language or consider emojis together with other categories, such as interjections or potentially nouns or verbs, depending on their meaning. In the present study, I have decided to analyse them separately as a complement type in its own right. Still, it would be fruitful to consider NFC constructions with non-linguistic elements in the complement slot from the point of view of multimodality (see, e.g. Zima & Bergs 2017).

Compressed clauses or acronyms such as the one in (52h) can pose similar challenges for categorisation. Some, such as *lol* ‘laughing out loud’ or *rofl* ‘rolling on the floor laughing’, have been lexicalised by frequent use and can be categorised as interjections, while others, such as *lmao* ‘laughing my ass off’, are still used as mere initialisms. In the case of some acronyms, such as *yolo* ‘you only live once’ in (53), their non-abbreviated form can be a further complication. If the non-abbreviated form of the acronym is considered, the example does not meet the criteria for an NFC construction due to the finite verb form. On the other hand, it is the abbreviated form used in (53). For this reason and the presence of the category of acronyms in earlier studies (Schnoebelen 2014; Bohmann 2016), I have also retained it.

(53) *Lit up your weekend just* ***because Yolo*** *at the #PlayDayParteAfterParte. You get free shots between12pm and 3pm so you don't want to get there late.* [e063]

Leaving the methodological doubts aside, Table III-12 shows how large a portion of the whole data set the members of this third category constitute.

| **Language →** / **Complements ↓** | **English** | | **German** | | **Dutch** | | **Czech** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n=91 | | n=174 | | n=206 | | n=140 | |
| All subtypes combined | 23 | 25.27% | 13 | 7.47% | 12 | 5.83% | 22 | 15.71% |
| Expressions of (dis)agreement | 4 | 4.35% | 0 | 0.00% | 2 | 0.96% | 0 | 0.00% |
| Interjections | 10 | 10.87% | 2 | 1.14% | 3 | 1.44% | 4 | 18.18% |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prepositional phrases | 3 | 3.26% | 9 | 5.11% | 1 | 0.48% | 4 | 18.18% |
| Pronouns | 2 | 2.17% | 0 | 0.00% | 2 | 0.96% | 4 | 18.18% |
| Numerals | 0 | 0.00% | 1 | 0.57% | 1 | 0.48% | 1 | 4.55% |
| Emojis and special characters | 2 | 2.17% | 0 | 0.00% | 2 | 0.96% | 4 | 18.18% |
| Conjunctions | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 0 | 0.00% | 2 | 9.09% |
| Acronyms | 2 | 2.16% | 1 | 0.57% | 1 | 0.48% | 3 | 13.64% |

*Table III-12: Non-elliptical non-noun phrases as complements*

The individual subtypes are represented to a varying degree in the four language data sets. Not all subtypes are also represented in all languages. A case in point is expressions of (dis)agreement that do not occur in the German and Czech data sets. On the other hand, if combined, the various subtypes of non-elliptical non-nominal complements make up between 5.83% in the case of Dutch and 25.27% in the case of English.

Apart from the significance of analysing the different types of complements in their own right, the nature of the complement – elliptical non-nominal, non-elliptical nominal, and non-elliptical non-nominal will be of consequence for the analysis of the category status of the causal connector itself which will be the topic of Chapter IV.

### 1.3 Negation and negation scope

The complement slot of NFC constructions, like the complement slot of other causal constructions, can be filled by complements that are not negated (54a) and complements containing negation (54b). The latter category, however, constitutes a minority (Table III-13).

(54) a. *Idfk but if you figure it out let me know* ***because same.*** [e021]
b. *And ready to uninstall GPay App* ***because no profit to me*** [e059]

| **Language →** / **Negation ↓** | **English** | | **German** | | **Dutch** | | **Czech** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n=91 | | n=174 | | n=206 | | n=140 | |
| With negation | 7 | 7.69% | 20 | 11.49% | 25 | 12.14% | 4 | 2.86% |
| Without negation | 84 | 92.31% | 154 | 88.51% | 181 | 87.86% | 136 | 97.14% |

*Table III-13: Negation in the complement slot*

If the matrix clause is negated, the scope of the negation can be either narrow or broad. In the narrow negation scope, only the matrix clause is negated, not the causal construction. In the

case of the wider negation scope, however, the causal construction is affected, not the matrix clause.

In causal constructions other than NFC constructions, such as causal clauses (55a) or *because of* constructions (55b), negation is ambiguous between its narrower and wider scope (see, e.g. Lakoff 1970; Linebarger 1987).

(55) a. *George doesn't starve his cat because he has ethics.* (adapted from Bailey & Seyerle 2019)
b. *George doesn't starve his cat because of ethics.* (adapted from Bailey & Seyerle 2019)

Usually, the negation in the matrix clause is interpreted as having only a narrow scope. This means that what is negated is the verb phrase in the matrix clause, not the subordinate clause or the *because of* construction. This means that the utterances in (55) are interpreted so that George did *not* starve his cat, and the reason for this is his ethics.

Under certain circumstances, however, such as when the word *ethics* is stressed, the negation in the matrix clause can also be interpreted as having a wider scope. In that case, instead of negating the verb phrase in the matrix clause, the negation can be interpreted as having scope over the subordinate clause or the *because of* phrase. This leaves the verb phrase in the matrix clause not negated. In such a case, (55) is interpreted as expressing that George *did* starve his cat, but the reason for his action is something other than his ethics.

In NFC constructions, however, this ambiguity concerning the scope of negation is not found, as only the narrow scope of negation is possible (Bailey & Seyerle 2019). Sentences such as (56) with a matrix clause containing negation and an NFC construction are interpreted so that George is not starving his cat and that his sense of eth. The wider scope, which would imply that the reason is something other than *ethics*, is impossible with NFC constructions.

(56) *George doesn't starve his cat because ethics.* (Bailey & Seyerle 2019)

This finding is interesting for at least two reasons. First, it shows another aspect of NFC constructions that has yet to be described. Second, it shows that NFC construction are constructions in the sense of Construction Grammar and not just variants of other causal constructions (see Section III.3 on constructional status of NFC constructions).

### 1.4 Syntactic properties

#### 1.4.1 Independent NFC constructions

Like causal clauses, NFC constructions can also occur independently of their matrix clauses, as the examples in (57) illustrate.

(57) a. *Proč dnešní děti nechodí už nikam samy?* ***Protože auta.*** [c064]
'Why don't children go anywhere on their own today? Because cars.'
b. *víš proč je ti dobře?* ***protože TECHNO*** [c059]
'Do you know why you feel good? Because techno'
c. *Warum hat man Salzmann diese Frage nicht gestellt um links zu stärken?* ***Weil unangebracht.*** [d108]
'Why wasn't Salzmann asked this question to strengthen the left? Because inappropriate'

Even though NFC constructions in (57) occur independently of their matrix clauses, the matrix clauses are still implicitly present in the discourse in the form of the preceding question. Similarly, the standalone NFC constructions in (58) represent reactions to questions uttered earlier in the discourse.

(58) a. ***Because…trump.*** *That's why.* [e013]
b. ***Because reasons!*** [e077]

A slightly different case is presented in (59). The NFC constructions are also independent. However, their independence is less prominent than in (57) or (58) because they are separated from their matrix clauses only by orthographic means for reasons of emphasis.

(59) a. *The point is that, while anyone can be a victim, only men can be perpetrators.* ***Because patriarchy.*** [e028]
b. *careworkers in academia. this is still a thing.* ***because conferences.*** [e022]

#### 1.4.2 Intervening material

NFC constructions consist of two parts: the causal connector and its complement. In some cases (see Table III-14), however, we find linguistic material of various kinds intervening between these two parts.

| Language → / Intervening material ↓ | English | | German | | Dutch | | Czech | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n=91 | | n=174 | | n=206 | | n=140 | |
| Yes | 9 | 9.89% | 3 | 1.72% | 13 | 6.31% | 5 | 3.57% |
| No | 82 | 90.11% | 171 | 98.28% | 193 | 93.69% | 135 | 96.43% |

*Table III-14: Material intervening between connector and complement*

The intervening material consists of pragmatic markers such as *you know* (60a) or particles such as *well* (60b). Still, the intervening material sometimes consists of a mere pause represented by orthographic means such as ellipsis marks (60c), commas (60d) or colons (60e) (see also Günthner 2003: 383).

(60) a. *We are heading towards state media and once again the GOP stands by and lets it happen* ***because, you know, tax cuts.*** [e002]
b. *But those who benefit from labour policies are voting Tory* ***because... well, the Daily Mail!*** [e055]
c. *Want to stretch* ***because... 2 ordered cakes for tonight.*** [e058]
d. *never see a movie with Ryan Gosling that I didn't like.* ***Because, Ryan Gosling.*** [e067]
e. *Alleen pensioenregelingen bleven in stand.* ***Want: solidariteit.*** [n117]
'Only pension rules remain valid. Because: solidarity.'

There are various reasons for disintegrating the construction, as illustrated in (60). Pragmatic markers, such as *you know* (60a), can be employed to highlight or strengthen the intersubjective character of the complement (see Section III.2.2 for a more detailed discussion). The uses of pauses, in written contexts signalled by ellipsis marks (60b), commas (36d) or colons (36e), sometimes also complemented by the use of particles such as *well* (36b). These cases can be explained analogically to complete separation in (34) as a means to emphasise the importance of the cause expressed in the complement slot.

### 1.4.3 Clause-initial constraint

NFC constructions are defined not only by the combination of the causal connector and its complement but also by its position in relation to the matrix clause. Whereas both traditional subordinate causal clauses (61) and *because of* constructions (62) can occur before their matrix

clause, NFC constructions usually occur only in the postponed position (63). This observation is valid for all the other languages analysed in the present study.

(61) a. *Because we live in a patriarchy, anyone can be a victim, but only men can be perpetrators.*
b. *Anyone can be a victim, but only men can be perpetrators because we live in a patriarchy.*

(62) a. *Because of patriarchy, while anyone can be a victim, but only men can be perpetrators.*
b. *Anyone can be a victim, but only men can be perpetrators because of patriarchy.*

(63) a. *While anyone can be a victim, only men can be perpetrators because patriarchy.* [e028]
b. **Because patriarchy, while anyone can be a victim, only men can be perpetrators.*

Although there is a clear preference for NFC constructions to occur after their matrix clauses, and some have even argued that preposed NFC constructions do not occur at all (Bailey & Seyerle 2019; Konvička & Stöcker 2022), a few examples might suggest that NFC constructions can precede their matrix clauses after all.

The examples of preposed NFC construction are, however, not without problems. For that reason, I will discuss the potential counterexamples in what follows in more detail. First, the English emphatic constructions such as (64) include the *that's why* phrase.

(64) a. *I suspect all Presidents expect a certain amount of loyalty from their VP and Cabinet. That's not abnormal or unexpected. Why hold Trump to a diff standard...**because Trump, that's why.*** [e091]
b. ***Because…trump.*** *That's why.* [e013]

Although (64a) can be interpreted as a preposed NFC construction followed by the *that's why* phrase, the existence of disintegrated variants (64b) begs the question whether it really is an NFC construction followed by its matrix clause or whether it is not in fact an NFC construction followed by a separate, unrelated emphatic phrase.

Kanetani (2019: 151) offers two further examples of NFC constructions preceding their matrix clauses. The example in (65) constitutes, at first glance, a genuine counterexample to the clause-initial constraint. However, it is not clear whether (65) is actually attested because it is one of Kanetani's made-up examples from a study of acceptability rates of *because* X.[21]

(65) ***Because hurricane,*** *the city is a mess.*

Kanetani's second counterexample (66) is, unlike (65), attested in the COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English) and, therefore, seems more plausible. It remains unclear, however, whether *because distance* is a true NFC construction and not an unfinished *because* clause. Should *because distance* be an NFC construction, the question is what exactly its matrix clause is.

(66) ***Because distance,*** *since we know how fast light travels, if we know how far away a star is, we can also tell how old it is by knowing how long it would have taken to get there.*

I argue that *because distance* is, in fact, not an example of a preposed NFC construction, but an unsuccessful attempt to formulate a *because* sentence for at least two reasons. First, the *since* clause immediately follows because distance is a subordinate clause, not the matrix clause. Second, the *if* clause constitutes the first clause of a complex sentence that continues with *we can also tell how*. This would mean that *because distance* in (66) is rather an example of an independent NFC construction than a counterexample to the clause-initial constraint.

Another potential counterexample to the clause-initial constraint, reported by Stöcker (2018: 38), is given in (67a). At first glance, the construction formally resembles a preposed German NFC construction. As indicated in (67b), however, it is a case of structural ellipsis with an elided copula verb *sein* 'to be' and the dummy subject pronoun *es* 'it'. Another case of ellipsis can, furthermore, be identified in the matrix clause.

[21] This acceptability study is also reported in Kanetani's other works on *because* X (2015; 2016; 2021). The details of its design are, however, not described. Apart from some partial results, we only know that the study was conducted in January 2014, shortly after the American Dialect Society chosen *because* to be the Word of the Year 2013, and we also know that 24 English native speakers participated.

(67) a. *Guten Morgen, Twitterworld.* ***Weil draußen grau*** *(zumindest im Norden), hier was Buntes.*

'Good morning, Twitterworld. Because grey outside (at least in the North), here something colourful.'

b. *Guten Morgen, Twitterworld.* ***Weil*** [es] ***draußen grau*** [ist], [gibt es] *hier was Buntes.*

'Good morning, Twitterworld. Because [it is] grey outside (at least in the North), here [is] something colourful.'

Therefore, the clause-initial use of the NFC construction in (67a) can be explained by its formal and functional link to the full *weil* clause (see Chapter VI for a diachronic explanation).[22] Just as the connector in such elliptical constructions still functions as a conjunction (see Section III.1.2.1), the whole construction syntactically still follows the syntactic flexibility of traditional relative causal clauses.

The question regarding the clause-initial constraint of the NFC construction has two sides. It is an empirical question, but it also has theoretical implications. Based on the data available at this moment, NFC constructions are cross-linguistically limited to clause-final positions. This clause-final position also applies to independent NFC constructions that follow their matrix clauses in the discourse (see Section III.1.4.1).

Furthermore, the clause-initial constraint of NFC constructions sets them apart from typical prepositional causal constructions with *because of*, *due to* (68) or *thanks to* (69).

(68) a. *Due to patriarchy, while anyone can be a victim, only men can be perpetrators.*

b. *While anyone can be a victim, only men can be perpetrators due to patriarchy.*

(69) a. *Thanks to patriarchy, while anyone can be a victim, only men can be perpetrators.*

b. *While anyone can be a victim, only men can be perpetrators thanks to patriarchy.*

[22] The potential diachronic explanation of the preferred occurrence of NFC constructions after its matrix clause works is based on the origin of the NFC constructions in anaphoric textually recoverable elliptical causal clauses. In these constructions, the matrix clause which entails a (copula) verb licenses the elision of the same verbal form in the following subordinate causal clause, turning it into an NFC construction. Although the opposite order of the elliptical subordinate clause in relation to its matrix clause is also possible, cataphoric ellipses are harder to resolve and, therefore, also less frequently used (Quirk et al. 1985: 895). This asymmetry between anaphoric and cataphoric textual ellipses in the early stages of the emergence of NFC constructions seems to affect the synchronic syntactic limitations of the NFC constructions (see Section VI.3.2).

Based on the data available, it can be said that NFC constructions are used exclusively clause-finally because all the alleged counterexamples are, in one way or another, problematic. Against this backdrop, the question automatically asks why this is the case. One potential explanation that I suggest pertains to the general properties of NFC constructions.

The NFC constructions so far have been analysed exclusively in terms of the connector slot and the complement slot. This treatment does not explain why we find almost exclusively postponed cases like (70a) but hardly any (or even no) preposed cases like (70b).

(70) a. MATRIX CLAUSE [*because* X]
b. *[*because* X] MATRIX CLAUSE

The lack of preposed NFC constructions cannot be explained in any other way than by pointing out the insufficient empirical foundations. In that case, preposed NFC constructions have not been found because this constructional variant is so infrequent that the data set used in this study is too small to capture.

The apparent lack of preposed NFC constructions can also be explained theoretically. I suggest that the NFC constructions do not, in fact, consist of the causal connector and its complement but also of the matrix clause. This would mean that the NFC constructions consist of three parts, as illustrated in (71). The fact that the connector and its complement follow and not precede the matrix clause can then be derived from the properties of the construction itself.

(71) [MATRIX CLAUSE *because* X]

According to this proposal, NFC constructions are analogous to constructions with coordinating conjunctions, such as [A *and* B] (72). These constructions also do not allow the sequence [*and* B] to precede the element [A] (72c) but only allow the connector to occur medially as (72a) or (72b).

(72) a. *Mary goes to the circus and Jane to the gallery.*
b. *Jane goes to the gallery and Mary to the circus.*
c. **And Jane to the gallery Mary goes to the circus.*

If we accept the interpretation of NFC constructions along the lines of (71), the restriction concerning the clause-initial position of the construction stops being an empirical matter. It is resolved as a matter of refined definition of the construction.

This analysis is also corroborated by earlier findings about the use of the German causal conjunction *weil* as a discourse marker, as illustrated in (73) (Günthner 2003: 382). Constructions with *weil* followed by V2 word order are restricted to clause-final positions (Günthner 2003: 386).

(73) Anna: *warum kauft ihr denn keine größeren Müßlipäckchen.* (-)
*weil* (-) *DIE reichen doch nirgends hin.*
'why don't you buy bigger packages of müsli. (-)
because (-) these don't get you anywhere'

Whether NFC constructions are best analysed as tripartite constructions of the type [MATRIX CLAUSE *because* X], as I have suggested above, rather than bipartite constructions of the type [*because* X] must be further tested. Based on the data available now, I stand by the conclusion that NFC constructions syntactically rather resemble coordinating constructions such as [A *and* B] and not prepositional constructions such as [*because of* X].

## 2 Functional aspects

In the second part of the present chapter, I focus on the semantic and pragmatic aspects of the NFC constructions. I first describe the two semantic types of the construction: causal and pseudo-causal NFC constructions (Sections III.2.1 and III.2.2). I then present the commenting use of NFC constructions as an additional layer of meaning (Section III.2.3). Finally, I analyse the interpretability of NFC constructions against the backdrop of the concepts of hidden complexity (Section III.2.5) and shared knowledge (Section III.2.6).

### 2.1 Causal meaning

Formally, the NFC constructions follow their matrix clause C and consist of two parts: the causal connector and its complement (74) (see Section III.1).

(74) C *because* X

In terms of its function, NFC constructions primarily express causal meaning. NFC constructions consist of a proposition $P_1$ expressed in the matrix clause, combined using the causal connector with a second proposition $P_2$ (75). Proposition $P_2$, expressed in the complement slot of the NFC construction, expresses the cause of proposition $P_1$, expressed in the matrix clause.

(75) $P_1$ is caused by $P_2$

The causal link between the two propositions expressed through NFC construction can be divided, according to Sweetser (1990: 76–77), into three prototypical variants based on the nature of the causal link: real-world causality (76a), epistemic causality (76b), and speech act causality (76c).

(76) a. *I cannot talk to John because he's not here.*
b. *John's gone because the lights are not on.*
c. *What are you planning to do because John's back?*

Causal constructions of the type (76a) express real-world causality. The real-world fact that John is absent is the cause for the inability of the speaker to talk to him. This is not the case in epistemic causal constructions (76b). The real-world fact that the lights are not on is not the cause of John's absence. It is the reason why the speaker *knows* that John is gone. Finally, causal constructions of the type (76c) express the reason for a speech act expressed by the matrix clause. The fact that John has returned is, in this case, not the cause of any plans on the part of the addressee but the reason why the speaker asked the addressee about the plans.

All three types of causality relations can also be expressed through NFC constructions. In (77a), the influence of Lutheran Protestantism in Norway is expressed as the real-world cause for supermarkets closing during Pentecost. The examples in German (77b), Dutch (77c), and Czech (77d) also express real-world causality.

(77) a. *Little middle-class victory of the day: managed to grab the last two bottles of sparkling water with hint of lemon at the supermarket today before everything closes for Pentecost in Norway,* ***because Lutheranism.*** [e084]
b. *Ist eh kaum mehr essbar das Zeug,* ***weil viel zu süß.*** [d136]
'The thing is hardly edible anymore because way too sweet.'

c. *Babyboomers: Voor mijn dertigste kwam ik niet in aanmerking voor een huurwoning. Nu blijven de kinderen tot 35 jaar thuis,* ***want geen woning.*** [n097]
'Baby boomers: I was not eligible for a rented home until I was thirty. Nowadays, children stay at home because there is no home.'

d. *Dnes jsem se měl sejít v Berlíně s ředitelkou Muzea holocaustu, Hetty Berg, a večer dát nějaké to pivo s dávným kamarádem a se současným velvyslnacem v Německu, Tomášem Kafkou. Padlo to,* ***protože Covid.*** [c066]
'I was supposed to meet the director of the Holocaust Museum, Hetty Berg, today in Berlin and have a beer with my old friend and the current ambassador in Germany, Tomáš Kafka. This all did not happen because covid.'

In (78a), however, the fact that life exists is in no real-world manner, causing the speaker to give up on thinking. The speaker *decided* to give up on thinking because of life. The examples in German (78b), Dutch (78c), and Czech (78d) work on the same principles.

(78) a. *I gave up on thinking* ***because life.*** [e056]

b. *Hab das erste Mal Ayran gekauft,* ***weil jetzt auch laktosefrei.*** [d163]
'I have bought ayran for the first time because lactose free now.'

c. *Wij zijn spierwit, dus geen korte broeken ed* ***want witten benen.*** [n126]
'We are as white as a sheet so no shorts, Ed, because white legs.'

d. *Tak jsem si dala cigaretu a uz by ten bus mohl jet,* ***protoze zima.*** [c058]
'So I lit a cigarette, and the bus could be here already because cold.'

Finally, (79a) illustrates speech act causality. In this case, the fact that the speaker knows about Kai's whereabouts causes (or *enables*, see Sweetser 1990: 77) the speaker to utter the speech act contained in the matrix clause. This type is illustrated in German (79b), Dutch (79c), and Czech (79d) too.

(79) a. *who's jennie seeing cus I know kai is busy* ***because with the promotion/concert of superm and exo??*** [e026]

b. *Ist das nicht schon strafbare Volksverhetzung,* ***weil Verharmlosung des Holocaust?*** [d109]
'Is this not punishable incitement to hatred because downplaying of the holocaust?'

c. *Goedemorgen en sorry,* ***want te laat.*** [n008]
‘Good morning and sorry, because too late.’
d. *JÁ si myslím, že BY SE mělo …* ***protože Havel.*** [c038]
‘I think that IT SHOULD be…because Havel.’

Although all three types of causality are attested in NFC constructions, their identification is not always unproblematic. The difficulty stems from the present study being based on written data. Not having access to any contextual details of the analysed data can lead to ambiguity. Given the right context, the nominal complement *squirrel* in the NFC construction (80) can be interpreted as illustrating all three aforementioned causality types.

(80) *Cannot drink my banana milk* ***because squirell.*** [e016]

It might be the case that the squirrel is physically preventing the speaker from drinking their banana milk. This would qualify as a real-world causality. It might also be that the speaker *decided* not to drink the banana milk and to admire a nearby squirrel instead. This context would, in turn, qualify the example as a case of epistemic causality. We can also imagine a situation in which the speaker announces that they do not have the time to drink the banana milk because the speaker must instead look for a lost squirrel. In this context, the utterance would have to be interpreted as an example of speech act causality.

In (81), we can assume that *politics* did not cause the people[23] to put their reputations on the line. Rather, we assume that the people *decided* to put their reputations on the line due to some political decisions. The example could, therefore, be categorised as a case of epistemic causality. The categorisation is a matter of interpretation and depends on one’s understanding of how politics can influence people’s lives.

(81) *Yani people put their reputations on the line* ***because politics*** [e015]

The bottom line is that without other than textual cues, the three causality types cannot be distinguished with any certainty.[24] The decision concerning the causality type expressed by

[23] The reference to the “Yani people” in (81) is unclear. Either the author of the text meant the Yan*a* people, a North American indigenous group speaking the Yana language, or the author meant the Ya*h*i people, a now extinct subgroup of the larger Yana people. The last known survivor of the Yahi people was Ishi (c. 1861-1916) (see, e.g. Kroeber 1961; Kroeber & Kroeber 2008).

[24] The situation where the categorisation is not objective, but rather depends on the subjective ideas of the analyst is reminiscent of the discussion of the (non-)elliptical status of NFC constructions in Sections III.1.2.1 and

such cases as *because squirrel* (80) or *because politics* (81) is, to a large degree, arbitrary. Particularly difficult is distinguishing epistemic from speech act causality types in written data.

Moreover, it has also been suggested that the differentiation of the three categories of causal links is not a matter of discrete categories but a continuum. The essential factor for distinguishing the three types of causality is the presence or absence of speaker volition (Maat & Sanders 2000).

In cases of real-world causality (82a), the speaker has no influence on the causal link between the two propositions. Lutheranism and the resulting societal conventions and laws are the reason why everything closes for Pentecost in Norway, regardless of the speaker's volition. However, cases of epistemic (82b) or speech act (82c) causality depend on the speaker's volition. Life in (82b) or Kai being busy with promotion (82c) as such do not cause anything. The speaker understands them as reasons to act in a certain way.

(82) a. …*everything closes for Pentecost in Norway,* ***because Lutheranism.***
b. *I gave up on thinking* ***because life.***
c. *who's jennie seeing cus I know kai is busy* ***because with the promotion****…*

The distinction between epistemic and speech act causality will not play a role in my analysis. Although this distinction is consequential and applies in individual cases, for the vast majority of cases in my data set, I cannot differentiate between those NFC constructions expressing epistemic causality and those expressing speech act causality.

Therefore, the important distinction for my analysis is between causation and reasoning (Kanetani 2019). This allows us to distinguish between those types of causality not involving speaker volition, i.e. causation or real-world causality, and those types of causality in which the volition of the speaker is involved, i.e. reasoning or epistemic and speech act causality. Moreover, the distinction between causation and reasoning is much easier to apply to written data, unlike the one among real-world, epistemic, and speech act causality.

It should be noted, however, that the distinction between constructions of causation and constructions of reasoning is not categorical but gradual. An example of such a construction is given in (83).

III.1.2.2. The analysis of a NFC construction as a structural or situational ellipsis depends on the analyst's understanding of the context of the utterance.

(83) *But those who benefit from labour policies are voting Tory* ***because... well, the Daily Mail!*** [e055]

I have analysed the construction in (83) as a reasoning construction. The speaker *reasons* that "people who benefit from labour policies are voting Tory" due to their reliance on "the Daily Mail" as their source of information. In the right context, however, the exact same construction could also be interpreted as an observation of one proposition being *caused* by another. In other words, the fact that certain people read the Daily Mail *causes* them to vote for the Conservative Party and not for the Labour Party.

In addition to the distinction between causation (84a) and reasoning (84b), I also identify a third type of causality, which I term *pseudo-causal* (84c) (Konvička 2019a: 162) (see Section III.2.2 for more details). The distribution of these three types in the sample languages is given in Table III-15.

(84) a. NFC constructions expressing causation
b. NFC constructions expressing reasoning
c. pseudo-causal NFC constructions

| **Language →** / **Intervening material ↓** | **English** | | **German** | | **Dutch** | | **Czech** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n=91 | | n=174 | | n=206 | | n=140 | |
| Causation constructions | 27 | 29.67% | 71 | 40.80% | 66 | 32.03% | 46 | 32.86% |
| Reasoning constructions | 54 | 59.34% | 100 | 57.47% | 135 | 65.53% | 88 | 62.86% |
| Pseudo-causal constructions | 10 | 10.99% | 3 | 1.72% | 5 | 2.43% | 6 | 4.29% |

*Table III-15: Types of causal meaning*

Against the backdrop of the figures in Table III-15, the main conclusion can be drawn that NFC constructions are not limited to just one type of causal relations, as is sometimes posited for other causal constructions.

In English, for instance, *because* can be used in constructions expressing causation and reasoning, but *since* can only be used in the latter. For German clauses introduced by *weil*, it has been claimed that *weil* clauses with verb-final word order are used to express causation, while *weil* clauses with verb-second word order are used to express reasoning (e.g. Antomo & Steinbach 2010). Similarly, the Dutch causal connector *omdat*, followed by a subordinate clause with verb-final word order, has been claimed to be limited to the reasoning function. In contrast,

the Dutch causal connector *want* can express both reasoning and causation (e.g. Evers-Vermeul et al. 2011).

### 2.2 Pseudo-causal meaning

A separate type of NFC construction is its pseudo-causal use (Konvička 2019a: 162). NFC constructions of this type are formally identical to NFC constructions proper, as described in the previous section, but they differ in their semantics. With a pseudo-causal construction, the speaker only purports to give a reason to the addressee for the proposition in the matrix clause, but the actual reason is not given.

Pseudo-causal uses of NFC constructions exist in all four sample languages and occur in two forms: as *because reasons* constructions (85) and as pleonastic pseudo-causals (86).

(85) a. *I love this full stop in Pitfall (1948),* ***because reasons.*** [e012]

b. *Hallo jemand der pokemon liebt und es vorbestellt hatte hats 2 Tage vor release storniert und nicht gekauft* ***weil mehrere Gründe!*** [d061]
'Hey, someone who loves Pokémon and had pre-ordered it cancelled the order two days before release and did not buy it because several reasons!'

c. *Úplně vidím, jak zběsile maže ty songy z mobilu,* ***protože Důvody.*** *:D* [d010]
'I already see how they angrily delete the songs from the phone because reasons.'

d. *ff rond me kamer dansen* ***omdat redenen*** *:D* [n017]
'quickly dance around the room because reasons.'

(86) a. *Chocola met koffiestukjes bij de koffie* ***want koffie.*** *KOFFIE.* [n025]
'Chocolate with bits of coffee with coffee because coffee. COFFEE.'

b. *TERROR* ***OMDAT TERROR!*** [n033]
'terror because terror'

Pseudo-causal constructions, particularly the pleonastic variants (86), are comparable with the so-called *pseudo-conditionals* (Declerck & Reed 2001: 359), also known as *pleonastic conditionals* (e.g. Sommerer 2023) or *presumption-invoking existentials* (McGregor 2013). These constructions (87a) share the bi-clausal form with regular conditionals (87b) but differ semantically.

(87) a. *I need to do this on my own. If I fail, I fail. If I pass, I pass.* (Sommerer 2023)
b. *If it rains, the street will be wet.*

According to Sommerer (2023), the repetition of linguistic material in the pseudo-conditionals serves four main functions: acceptance of the outcome (88a), indifference to the outcome (88b), factuality of the outcome (88c), and prototypicality of the outcome (88d).

(88) a. *I was hoping to make it to my prom. But if I can't, I can't.*
b. *If it breaks up, it breaks up! Who cares?*
c. *I don't know what to tell you, if they are closed, they are closed.*
d. *What a sickly little bunch of violets? When I buy flowers, I buy flowers.*

We can distinguish two main functions of the pseudo-causal NFC constructions based on the speaker's motivation. Either the reasons are (or should be) obvious to all interlocutors (89a), or the speaker does not want to reveal them (89b).

(89) a. reasons obvious
b. reasons obscure

For instance, the reduplication of the antecedent in the complement of the causal connector in (90) expresses the expectation of the speaker that the addressee understands the relevance without the need for further explanations.

(90) *we both deserve someone who's sure and certain with us. guess we should not waste the peak of our teenage years in uncertain things when we could be enjoying these years,* ***because these years?*** *they only come once in our fucking lifetime.* [e083]

In these utterances, the complement slot, rather than providing a reason by expressing a new proposition, repeats the proposition from the matrix clause.[25] Although the form of the pseudo-causal constructions is the same as the form of causal constructions (91a), their propositional structure differs (91b).

[25] Rehn (2015a) describes such cases of pseudo-causal NFC constructions as "inherent" because the truistically repeated expression in the complement slot is *inherently* supposed to provide enough information.

(91) a. C *because* X

b. $P_1$ is caused by $P_2$ (=$P_1$)

Examples of the latter type of pseudo-causals are given in (92). Due to the syntactic structure of the construction, the complement of the causal connector is expected to express the reason for the proposition from the matrix clause. The speaker, however, takes advantage of this expectation on the addressee's side and uses semantically empty expressions (92a, 92b, 92c) or expressions semantically incompatible with the rest of the utterance (92d) in the position of the complement. The speaker formally gives a reason for whatever is expressed in the matrix clause, while at the same time, the speaker gives no reason from a semantic perspective.

(92) a. *I'm going to set up a private twitter* ***because reasons.*** [e006]

b. *Yeah! Why not? (****Because... not!****)* [e051]

c. *Warum?* ***Darum!***
'Why? Because!'

d. *nevýhodou otázky "proč?" je zvýšené riziko odpovědi "****bo bagr!****".* [c040]
'the disadvantage of the question "why" is the higher risk of the answer "because excavator"'

If we look at the propositional structure of the second type of the pseudo-causal NFC construction, we find the expected formal structure, but again with just one proposition (93). Unlike in the case of the pleonastic pseudo-causal construction, we do not find the same proposition twice. Rather, the second proposition is missing because a vacuous or incompatible expression is used instead.[26]

(93) a. C *because* X

b. $P_1$ is caused by $P_2$ (=Ø)

The existence of the pseudo-causal NFC constructions that, for different reasons, fail to express the causal link between the two propositions present in the construction begs the question of

[26] Rehn (2015a) describes such cases of pseudo-causal NFC constructions as "diversions" because by using these constructions, speakers do not even attempt to explain anything and divert the attention of the listener elsewhere.

their function. Next, I will argue that the commenting function becomes dominant in the pseudo-causal cases of NFC constructions (Section III.2.3).

### 2.3 Commenting function

The primary function of NFC constructions is the expression of causality. NFC constructions, however, can also serve a secondary function of expressing the speaker's opinion about the proposition expressed in the matrix clause.[27] I term this function the *commenting function*. This function is most salient in the pseudo-causal uses of NFC constructions because their primary causal function is absent. A case in point is given in (94).

(94) *Saving energy for the playoffs hehe* ***because playoffs*** [e037]

The speaker expresses two propositions: one in the matrix clause (95a) and one in the complement slot of the NFC construction (95b). In pseudo-causal cases of NFC constructions, however, the second proposition $P_2$ does not express any cause or reason for the first proposition $P_1$, because the second proposition is identical to the first one (see Section III.2.2).

(95) a. $P_1$: the speaker is saving energy for playoffs
b. $P_2$: playoffs

If NFC constructions such as (94) do not express causality, what do they express? Bailey (2012) describes this function of NFC construction as expressing that the addressee "should know about this". Similarly, Romano (2013) observes the implied intention of people using the construction not "to bore […] with lengthy explanations", which is also mirrored in Whitman's (2013) remark that NFC constructions contain an implied "hand-waving you-know-what-I-mean overtone". A sense of humour or irony often accompanies the expression of causality. This led some to describe NFC constructions as "aggressively casual and implicitly ironic" (Garber 2013) or "fashionably slangy" (Carey 2013). In one of the early academic works on this topic, Rehn (2015a; 2015b) considers sarcasm one of the four main semantic categories of NFC constructions.

[27] This distinction between primary causal meaning and secondary commenting function is reminiscent of Boye and Harder's (2012) distinction between discursively primary status of lexical expressions and discursively secondary status of grammatical expressions. In a nutshell, while lexical expressions can be both primary and secondary in discourse, grammatical expressions are always secondary. Against this backdrop, it can be said that the NFC constructions entail a grammaticalised, because always backgrounded, commenting function.

What all these observations about the non-causal functions of NFC constructions have in common is the fact that they offer a comment on the original proposition. Therefore, NFC constructions not only express the cause or reason for the proposition in the matrix clause but can also offer a comment on this cause or reason. As illustrated in (96), the expression used in the complement slot of the NFC construction primarily serves to express causality but secondarily serves also as the commentandum (see Posner 1972: 25).

(96) $P_1$ *because* $P_2$
COMMENTANDUM: $P_1$ is caused by $P_2$
COMMENT: C about $P_2$

Recalling the pseudo-causal example (94), the comment implied by the repetition of the expression *playoffs* in the complement slot of the construction *because playoffs* can be analysed along the lines of (97). The speaker expands on the causal meaning of the NFC construction by including an implicit subjective comment. This is one of the three pragmatic functions of commenting as defined by Schneider-Mizony (2021: 18).

(97) $P_1$: the speaker is saving energy for playoffs
$P_2$: playoffs
COMMENTANDUM: $P_2$
COMMENT: 'addressee knows that playoffs are difficult'

The comment expressed by the NFC construction can range from the speaker implying that the addressee "should know about this" or that that speaker does not want to "bore […] with lengthy explanations" or that whatever the speaker said was meant as "implicitly ironic".

An example of an NFC construction with an ironic or even sarcastic comment is given in (98). The primary function of the NFC construction in (98) is to provide a causal link between the proposition in the matrix clause, i.e. *your emotions and opinions can be ignored*, and the proposition in the NFC construction, i.e. *patriarchy*. The secondary function of the construction is, however, to ironically distance the speaker from the primary causal meaning.

(98) *This shaming tactic can be employed in the following way: "I can ignore your emotions and opinions* ***because... patriarchy!****"* (Rehn 2015a: 10)

The same principle applies to such comments about the semantics of NFC constructions as the already mentioned comments "you should know about this" (Bailey 2012) or "you-know-what-I-mean overtone" (Whitman 2013). A case in point is given in (99).

(99) *Guess who's going to unveil our Superstar's MASSIVE news.. ""YOU""... **Because #SarileruNeekevvaru!*** [e019]

The primary function of the NFC construction in (99) is to explain that $P_1$ *Sarileru Neekevvaru*, the name of an Indian action-comedy film aired in January 2020, is the reason for $P_2$ the fact that the addressee is going to give away the news. The secondary commenting function of (99) expresses the speaker's assumption that the addressee is (or should be) familiar with the primary causal link between the two propositions in (99). The assumption of familiarity is sometimes even made explicit or strengthened using discourse markers such as *you know* (100) (see also Section III.1.4.2).

(100) *We are heading towards state media and once again the GOP stands by and lets it happen **because, you know, tax cuts.*** [e002]

What type of comment these constructions express differs from case to case. Some instances of NFC constructions can be meant as ironic or humorous comments, but particularly those instances expressing real-world causality, such as (101), are not.

(101) *Wake up in the middle of the night crying **because bad dream.*** [e035]

Regardless of the exact type of implicit comment, be it the implied humorous reading, the expected familiarity or any other type of comment, the commenting meaning cannot be expressed alone. A comment is always a comment *about* something and is, therefore, in an ancillary position to the primary causal meaning. Therefore, the commenting function can be described as meta-communicative as opposed to the communicative causal function of the NFC constructions.

The commenting function is, however, not always present in the NFC constructions. It is also not always equally backgrounded, just as the causal meaning is not always equally foregrounded. The commenting function is absent in causal clauses and elliptical NFC constructions, while the commenting function in pseudo-causal NFC constructions is in the

focus (Figure III-3). In other words, a continuum based on the prominence of the commenting function exists between causal clauses on the one hand and pseudo-causal NFC constructions on the other.

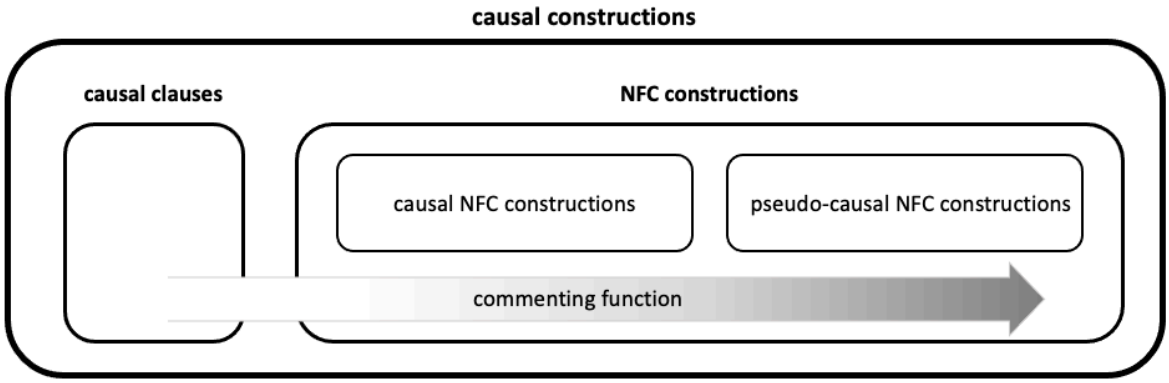


*Figure III-3: Primary and secondary functions of causal constructions*

The commenting function is typically most prominent in pseudo-causal cases of NFC constructions because these constructions only purport to express the causal link between two propositions, as illustrated by (94). On the other hand, causal clauses typically do not function as comments, as illustrated by (102) – a version of (94), rephrased as a causal clause.

(102) *Saving energy for the playoffs hehe because they're going to be a challenge*

The reason why elliptical NFC constructions behave in this regard more like causal clauses and less like NFC constructions is their structural similarity with causal clauses (see Section III.1.2.1). The reason for the higher prominence of the commenting function in the pseudo-causal NFC constructions is, in turn, the fact that the complements in these constructions are semantically almost completely empty (see Section III.2.2).

In a pseudo-causal NFC construction such as the one in (103a), the reason for uttering the matrix clause is expressed – or purported to be expressed – by the word *reasons*. If (103a) were a causal clause like (103b) or (103c), the vacuous expression of causality by the word *reason* would be insufficient. In an NFC construction, however, and even more so in its pseudo-causal variant, even such a weak expression of causality is not perceived as insufficient because it is not the only function. The secondary function of commenting becomes foregrounded and expresses the speaker's attitude towards the complement of *because*. The speaker implies that the reasons are supposed to be obvious to the addressee or, alternatively, are supposed to be irrelevant or unknown.

(103) a. *I love this full stop in Pitfall (1948), because reasons.*[28] [e012]

b. ?*I love this full stop in Pitfall (1948) because I have my reasons.*

c. ?*I love this full stop in Pitfall (1948), because it makes the word reasons sound so intimidating.*

Having established that NFC constructions can both express causal meaning and function as a comment about that causal meaning, we must now revise their semantic structure. I have described the meaning of the construction as two causally linked propositions (104a) (Sections III.2.1 and III.2.2). In the case of pseudo-causal variants of the construction, the second proposition is, under closer inspection, either identical to the first one (104b) or non-existent (104c). If we add the commenting component of the construction into the picture, this model requires certain changes.

(104) a. $P_1$ is caused by $P_2$

[The cattle were] *sold along the way* ***because tired or lame.*** [e003]

$P_{1:}$ [The cattle were] sold along the way

$P_{2:}$ [The cattle were] tired or lame

b. $P_1$ is caused by $P_2$ (=$P_1$)

***awesome because awesome*** (Rehn 2015a: 11)

$P_{1:}$ [something is] awesome

$P_2$ (=$P_1$)$_{:}$ [something is] awesome

c. $P_1$ is caused by $P_2$ (=Ø)

*I'm going to set up a private twitter* ***because reasons.*** [e006]

$P_{1:}$ I'm going to set up a private Twitter

$P_2$ (=Ø)$_{:}$ reasons

The three structures in (104) are, however, based upon the expectation that the expression in the complement slot of the construction (=$P_2$) contains new information that explains the already known state of affairs (=$P_1$) expressed in the matrix clause. We must adjust this assumption if we re-consider examples of NFC constructions containing sarcastic comments like (105a) or implying familiarity like (105b). In these cases, the speaker wants to convey more

[28] The original tweet was accompanied by a screenshot from the 1948 film noir crime movie *Pitfall*. In the picture, a character is sitting behind a desk saying, in captions, "Reasons." towards the spectator.

than just causal meaning. The speaker, in other words, wants to convey more than just new information functioning as an explanation but also wants to provide a comment. Therefore, whatever is expressed in the complement slot must already be, at least to a certain degree, familiar to the addressee.

(105) a. *This shaming tactic can be employed in the following way: "I can ignore your emotions and opinions* ***because... patriarchy!****"* (Rehn 2015a: 10)

b. *Guess who's going to unveil our Superstar's MASSIVE news.. ""YOU""...* ***Because #SarileruNeekevvaru!*** [e019]

Against this backdrop, the difference between a causal clause and an NFC construction can be expressed in semantic/pragmatic terms as the difference between a construction expressing primarily new information and a construction expressing already known information whilst providing a comment about it. In other words, while causal clauses are used to express propositional meaning, NFC constructions are used to express presuppositional meaning.

The meaning of the complement in NFC constructions can, therefore, be described as intersubjective (see Fitzmaurice 2004: 429). The meaning of the complement of the NFC construction is not merely the speaker's subjective meaning but also the addressee's meaning. The intersubjectivity of the complement is illustrated in (106). By using an NFC construction, *because DJ Tripleks*, and not a full causal clause, the speaker presupposes that the addressee is already familiar with DJ Tripleks and understands, just like the speaker, that this person is a valid reason for an enjoyable Saturday. Since both the speaker and the addressee are familiar with DJ Tripleks, the sole purpose of mentioning him cannot be to present new information. The familiar information expressed by the complement thus serves as a vehicle conveying the secondary meaning of the construction – a comment. In this case, a comment emphasising the intersubjective knowledge shared by both the speaker and the addressee.

(106) *It is going to be blowout on this saturday,* ***because djtripleks*** [e062]

If we now compare the NFC construction *because DJ Tripleks* in (106) with a hypothetical causal clause (107a), the difference in meaning will become evident. The clause in (107a) makes explicit that DJ Tripleks will play and that this fact is the reason for uttering the preceding matrix clause. Alternatively, the information presupposed in (106) but made explicit

only in (107b) can also be negative. The reason for joy on the speaker's part might, quite to the contrary, be the absence of DJ Tripleks on Saturday.

(107) a. *It is going to be blowout on this saturday, because djtripleks is going to play*
b. *It is going to be blowout on this saturday, because djtripleks is not going to play*

The causal link between the matrix clause and the NFC construction is generally interpreted in positive terms, i.e. the presence or the occurrence of something is the cause or reason. However, examples such as (108) demonstrate that this does not always have to be true. The reason why the speaker of (108) is "not there" is not the fact that they *have* money, but the opposite.

(108) *Nicht da,* ***weil Geld und krank.*** [d171]
'Not there, because money and sick.'

Returning to DJ Tripleks in (106), it is ultimately immaterial whether DJ Tripleks plays or not because the crucial point is the following. While a causal clause explicitly expresses the reason for or the cause of one proposition by providing the addressee with new information, an NFC construction expresses the reason or cause as something already known to the addressee.

This allows the speaker to do two things. First, using less linguistic material allows the speaker to be less explicit. An NFC construction, unlike a causal clause, never contains a finite verb. Second, it allows the speaker not just to state something as the reason or cause but to make an implicit comment about this reason or cause. The NFC construction typically consists of two propositions – one causal and one commenting – unlike a causal clause, which only consists of one causal proposition (see Figure III-4).

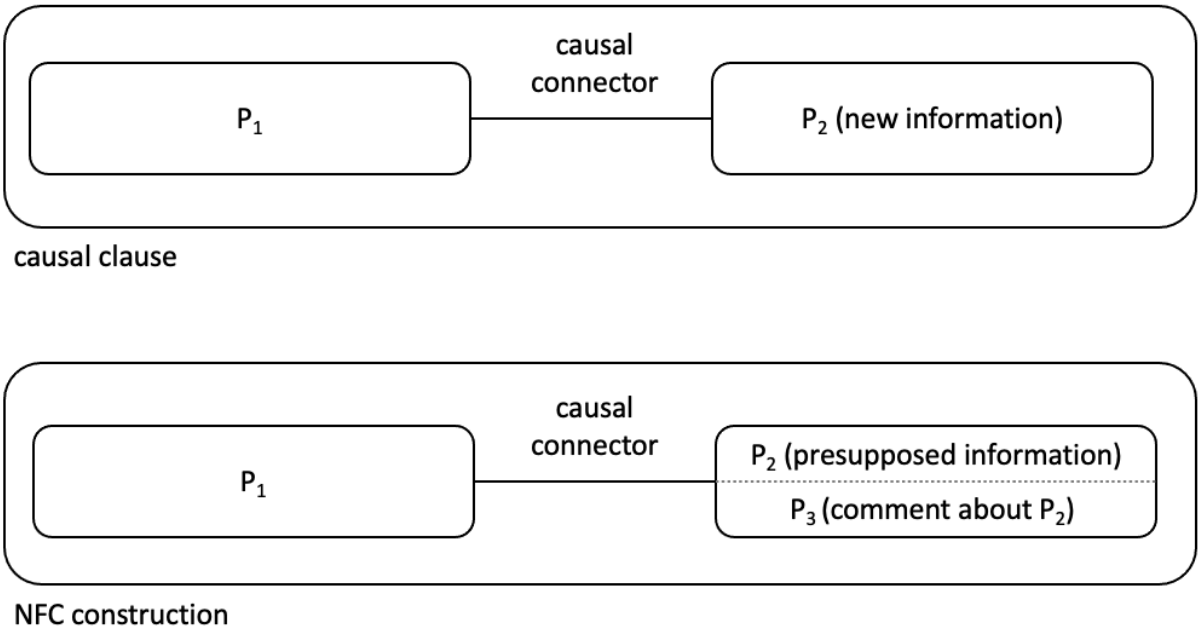


*Figure III-4: Meaning differences between causal clauses and NFC constructions*

An NFC construction is, therefore, semantically/pragmatically richer than a causal clause while, at the same, it does not require so much linguistic material. However, the coexistence of the primary causal function and the secondary commenting function is only possible if the interlocutors share a certain amount of information. How this shared information basis can be described and what role it plays in the interpretation of NFC constructions will be the topic of the next section.

### 2.4 Hidden complexity and shared knowledge

In this section, I discuss two concepts crucial for the meaning of the NFC constructions. First, I show that these constructions are overtly less complex than causal clauses but, at the same time, interpretatively more complex (Section III.2.4.1). Afterwards, I discuss the shared knowledge between the interlocutors as a prerequisite for the successful interpretation of all NFC constructions (Section III.2.4.2).

#### 2.4.1 Hidden complexity

Every utterance is always underspecified. Not everything that is meant by a given utterance is also explicitly expressed as linguistic material. This means that the addressee must rely on the context of the utterance and their own world knowledge to interpret it.

Individual utterances, however, differ in the degree to which they are underspecified and, therefore, also in the degree to which they rely on contextual or other clues.[29] This difference becomes apparent if we compare a causal clause (109a) with an equivalent NFC construction (109b). While the former explicitly formulates the reason why *Ryan Gosling* is a reason to like his movies, the latter leaves this aspect underspecified.

(109) a. *I have never seen a movie with Ryan Gosling that I didn't like. Because I adore Ryan Gosling and his acting skills.*
b. *never see a movie with Ryan Gosling that I didn't like.* ***Because, Ryan Gosling.*** [e067]

Both (109a) and (109b) express a causal link between the matrix clause and the complement of the causal connector. Given that the functional aspect of both causal constructions is the same and the NFC construction uses less linguistic material, we can assume that the NFC construction in (109b) presents a heavier interpretative burden for the addressee.

I use the concept of *hidden complexity* (Bisang 2014: 127) to describe that "explanation is not required because of the shared knowledge of speaker and listener" (Rehn 2015a: 16) or the assumption that "everyone reading a text is on the same page, all possessed of roughly the same level of cultural understanding, so everyone can speak the same shorthand" (Romano 2013).

This principle has been described as the difference between *overt* and *hidden complexity* (Bisang 2009; 2014; 2015). Overt complexity refers to the type of complexity expressed by overt markers, whereas hidden complexity refers to complexity "determined by economy and depends on pragmatic inference" (Bisang 2015: 177). The distinction between these two types of complexity was originally suggested to capture the lack of overt grammatical markers in the languages of the Mainland South East Asia linguistic area. The principles behind the concept can be fruitfully applied to NFC constructions as well because its "concrete meaning must be pragmatically inferred" (Bisang 2015: 178).[30]

[29] Many scholars in the history of linguistics (Lehmann 1982; 2015: 156) have formulated the idea that language is formed by the interplay of two opposing factors – explicitness on the one hand and language economy on the other (von der Gabelentz 1901; 2016: 251–255). From a comparative perspective, Jakobson (1959: 236) formulates the principle of *equivalence in difference* by noting that "[l]anguages differ essentially in what they *must* convey and not in what they *may* convey."

[30] Applying the principal distinction between overt and hidden complexity to language typology, Huang (1984) distinguishes between hot and cold languages. The differentiation follows McLuhan's (1964) distinction between hot and cool media based on the degree to which the media consumer must participate.

Hidden complexity is motivated by language economy, and it leads the speakers to only explicitly express things that the addressees cannot infer from the context. "As a consequence, what looks simple at the surface is based on a complex background of potential inferences which adds hidden complexity to seemingly simple structures" (Bisang 2009: 38).

The principle has been observed in languages such as Mandarin Chinese or Vietnamese. In the Mandarin Chinese example (110), we can see that B does not specify the subject and object pronouns because information about the subject and object can be inferred from the context, which in this case is represented by A's question.

(110) A: *Ni zuotian kan-le dianying$_i$ ma?* (Bisang 2014: 131)
you yesterday see-PFV film$_i$ Q
'Did you see a film yesterday?'
B: Ø *kan-le* Ø$_i$
Ø see-PFV Ø$_i$
'[I] saw [one].'

Similarly, the Vietnamese example in (111) shows how the category of (in)definiteness is underspecified and must be recovered from the context. In this case, the immediate co-text does not provide any clues concerning (in)definiteness, but the addressee will nevertheless be able to interpret the message.

(111) *Chiếc xe hơ đang đậu trước cổng trường* (Bisang 2014: 132)
CL car PROGR park in.front door school
'The/A car is parked in front of the school door.'

Bisang (2009; 2014; 2015) says that typological research mainly focuses on features connected to overt complexity and would benefit from analysing hidden complexity as well. While some languages, like Chinese or Vietnamese above, rely on hidden complexity, others, like most Indo-European languages, rely on overt complexity and the obligatory expression of grammatical categories.[31]

[31] A principally identical typology was introduced by Huang (1984). Using the degree of context dependence as a measure, Huang distinguished between *hot* and *cool* languages. Hot languages explicitly code information by means of various markers (thus relying on overt complexity in Bisang's terms), while cool languages shift the interpretative burden to the addressee (thus relying more on hidden complexity in Bisang's terms). The distinction represents a linguistic interpretation of McLuhan's (1964) media typology. Hot media such as film,

Hidden and overt complexity are the results of two competing forces – economy and explicitness, respectively. Striving for more economy on the part of the speaker leads to a higher reliance on hidden complexity and a bigger interpretative load on the part of the addressee. Striving for more explicitness, on the other hand, leads to a higher articulatory load on the part of the speaker but a lower need for reliance on hidden complexity.

The interplay of the forces of explicitness and economy, together with the processing costs, leads to a medium area (see Figure III-5) (Bisang 2014: 134). Neither maximum explicitness and minimal economy nor minimal explicitness and maximal economy is possible. "The structural properties of existing languages can be seen as examples of successful restrictions to overt and hidden complexity within the medium area." (Bisang 2014: 133)

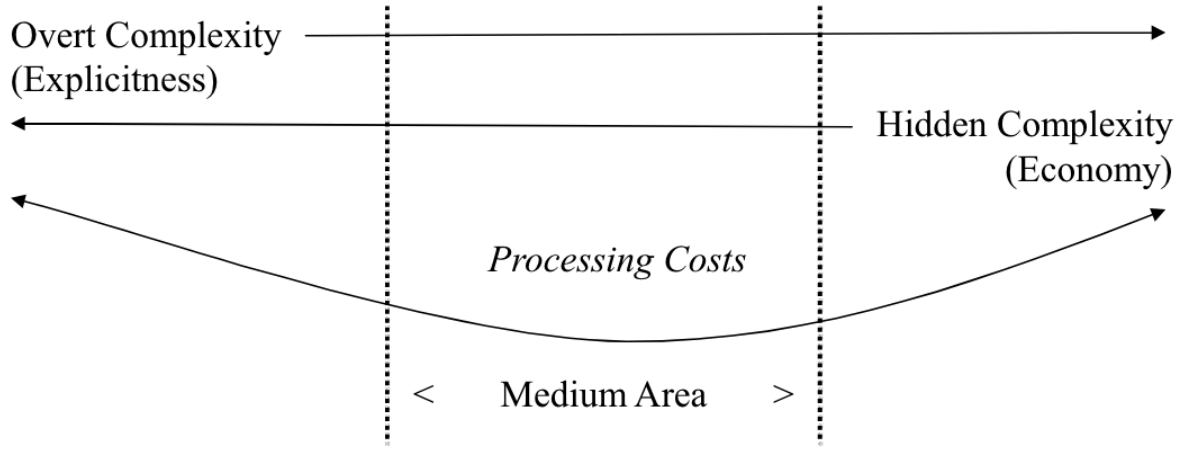


*Figure III-5: Hidden and overt complexity (Bisang 2014: 133)*

We can now apply the principle of hidden complexity to NFC constructions and compare them to causal clauses (see Figure III-6). NFC constructions rely on hidden complexity to a higher degree and the addressee therefore bears a higher interpretative load (see Section III.2.3). This, on the other hand, enables the speaker using an NFC construction to be less explicit than when using causal clauses. NFC constructions are, per definition, always formally less complex than causal clauses because they, even in the most minimalist scenario, lack at least a finite verb.[32]

radio or photography provide the audience with a relatively high amount of information while cool media such as language, telephone or comics rely on underspecification and the addressee's interpretative abilities.

[32] We could also apply Huang's (1984) – or ultimately McLuhan's (1964) – typology to distinguish between causal clauses and NFC constructions. Since NFC constructions are more context-dependent and provide the addressee with less explicit information, they would be categorised as *cool* structures. Canonical causal clauses, on the other hand, would count as *hot* structures because of their higher degree of explicitness.

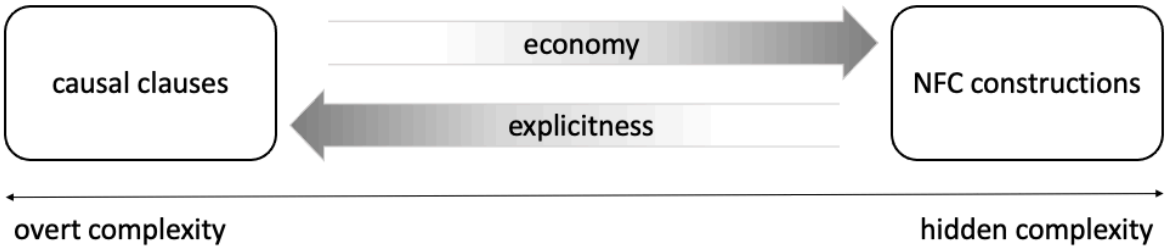


*Figure III-6: NFC constructions and hidden complexity*

In this section, I have shown that, although overtly less complex, NFC constructions are, in fact, more complex in terms of hidden complexity. In other words, the interpretation of NFC constructions is, to a higher degree, dependent on the contextual clues. In the next section, I will discuss how the addressee interprets these overtly less complex structures.

### 2.4.2 Shared knowledge

To begin, let us consider (112), one of the reactions to an earlier tweet of the then-President of the United States, Donald Trump, given in (113).

(112) *Did someone else type his name for you?* ***Because cofveve.*** [e001]

(113) *It was an honor to welcome the Prime Minister of Vietnam, Nguyễn Xuân Phúc to the @WhiteHouse this afternoon.* (Twitter, 31 May 2017)

I have established that NFC constructions semantically consist of two propositions (Section III.2.1). In (114), I analyse the two propositions expressed by the NFC construction in (112). The first proposition is the assertion that Donald Trump could not have written the text in (113) on his own. The second proposition is the somewhat impenetrable expression *cofveve*.

(114) $P_1$: Donald Trump could not have typed *Nguyễn Xuân Phúc*
$P_2$: cofveve

We have, however, already also established that the speaker treats the second proposition in an NFC construction as a presupposed piece of information. This means that the author of (112) must have expected that the readers of his tweet would be able to interpret the expression *covfefe* and understand why he suggests that someone is tweeting for Donald Trump. At the same time,

the author of (112) also uses this expected knowledge to express the causal link between the two propositions with a humorous undertone.

The author of the tweet (112) expects the addressees to be able to interpret his tweet on the familiarity with another tweet, namely with (115). It was posted prior to both (112) and (113) and contains the expression *covfefe*.[33] It is assumed[34] that *covfefe* is a typographical error and that the whole tweet was published by mistake. Based on the first part of the post, the intended word was most likely *coverage*.

(115) *Despite the constant negative press covfefe* (Twitter, 31 May 2017)

With this in mind, we can now return to the question of interpretability of the construction *because cofveve* (112). If we know about Donald Trump's original tweet, we can reinterpret the proposition expressed by *cofveve*, as indicated in (116). The author of (112) uses the nonsense word *cofveve* to refer to Donald Trump's assumed inability to type even simple words. Based on that, he expresses his surprise at the impeccable use of special characters in the name of the prime minister of Vietnam.

(116) $P_1$: Donald Trump could not have typed *Nguyễn Xuân Phúc*
$P_2$: Donald Trump was not able to type *coverage*

What the addressees of the construction *because cofveve* must infer from context and what, at the same time, the author of that construction does not need to express explicitly, is given in (117). This once again shows the high degree of context-dependence of NFC constructions.

(117) *Did someone else type his name for you?* ***Because*** [you didn't seem to be able to type coverage earlier and instead posted the nonsense word] ***covfefe.***

By using an NFC construction instead of a causal clause, the speaker implicitly tells the addressee "should know about this" (Bailey 2012) and accompanies the complement of the NFC construction with an imaginary "hand-waiving you-know-what-I-mean overtone"

[33] Although the author of (112) erroneously writes *cofveve* instead of *covfefe*, this imprecision does in no way impact the addressees' ability to recognise the reference and interpret the NFC construction.

[34] See, for instance, the Wikipedia page about the expression: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Covfefe [12 September 2023].

(Whitman 2013). In other words, both the speaker and the addressee rely on shared knowledge.[35]

In the case of (112), the expected shared knowledge was the knowledge of a very specific singular event. However, the knowledge shared between the interlocutors is often much less specific. A case in point is given in (118). The speaker uses the NFC construction *weil ICE* 'because ICE' to explain that they are going to travel to their final stop via L[eipzig]. The shared knowledge invoked by the speaker is approximately the following: First, the initialism *ICE* refers to the German high-speed train system. Second, the city of Leipzig is connected to the ICE system and is located between the speaker's starting point and destination.

(118) *Oh, bin gespannt ;). Ich habe letzte Woche schon für März 20 gebucht. Allerdings über L,* ***weil ICE.*** [d105]
'Oh, I'm looking forward ;) Last week, I bought one already for 20 March. Via L, though, because ICE.'

A variable number of people can have access to the shared knowledge required for the successful interpretation of an NFC construction. Suppose the complement in the construction is a common noun such as *math* (119). In that case, it is reasonable to assume that every proficient English speaker will be able to interpret such a construction.

(119) *STEM* [=science, technology, engineering, and mathematics, MK] *is harder than humanities* ***because math*** [e050]

On the other hand, examples such as *because cofveve* could only be interpreted, at least at the time of the tweet's publication, by a limited number of English speakers. This fact, to a certain degree, limits the use of the NFC construction. In some cases, if the interpretation of the construction, and therefore by extension, also the speaker's communicative success, requires a very specific type of shared knowledge, the speaker might use a causal clause instead.

As I have shown so far, "[w]hen speakers speak they *presuppose* certain things, and what they presuppose guides both what they choose to say and how they intend what they say to be

[35] Shared knowledge, sometimes also discussed under the heading of such related concepts as *common knowledge* (Lewis 1969), *interpersonal knowledge* or *mutual knowledge* (Schiffer 1972), *joint knowledge* (McCarthy 1990), *common ground* (Stalnaker 2002) or *intersubjectivity* (Itkonen 1978; 1997; 2008a), refers to the presupposed mutual beliefs, assumptions, and knowledge required for a successful communication between interlocutors.

interpreted" (Stalnaker 2002: 701, original italics). In terms of NFC constructions, the speaker presupposes that the addressee will be, at least to a certain degree, familiar with whatever the speaker chooses as the complement in the construction. Until now, however, I have treated this presupposition of shared knowledge rather intuitively. Therefore, I will focus on a more detailed description in the remainder of this section.

If we recall the initial example *because cofveve* (112), we can establish three aspects that simultaneously have to be the case for *cofveve* to belong to the knowledge shared by the author of the tweet and the addressees. These three aspects of shared knowledge, spelt out in (120), are based on the concept of intersubjective knowledge (see, e.g. Itkonen 1978: 123).[36]

(120) a. speaker knows$_1$ what *cofveve* means
b. speaker knows$_2$ that addressee knows$_1$ what *cofveve* means
c. speaker knows$_3$ that addressee knows$_2$ that speaker knows$_1$ what *cofveve* means

We can paraphrase the three aspects of shared knowledge in (120) in the three following steps. First, because the speaker has used the expression *cofveve*, we can assume that this person knows what *cofveve* means. This means that the speaker introspectively knows something themselves (Itkonen 2008b: 26). I refer to this first level of knowledge as *knowledge*$_1$ (120a). In our particular case, this knowledge comes about by reading Donald Trump's famous tweet.

Second, because the speaker has used the expression *cofveve*, we can reasonably assume that there must have been at least one other person apart from the speaker that the speaker must have expected to know what the expression *cofveve* means. This second step means that the speaker knows something and also expects the addressee to be in possession of the same piece of information (Itkonen 2008b: 26). I refer to this second level of knowledge as *knowledge*$_2$ (120b). In the case of *cofveve*, the author of the tweet can assume that he was not the only person who read Trump's tweet and that others must have seen the tweet before it was deleted.

Both knowledge$_1$ and knowledge$_2$ refer to things that the speaker knows. Knowledge can be described as shared, common, or intersubjective;[37] however, only if it is possessed by more

[36] A very similar approach to common knowledge can be found in Schiffer (1972: 30–31). The difference is that what Schiffer calls *common knowledge* is described as potentially going on infinitely. According to Itkonen, however, intersubjectivity (in Schiffer's terms *common knowledge*) is reached by achieving knowledge$_3$. In other words, if both the speaker and the addressee both know something and at the same time also both know about each other that they know. Going further is of course possible also in Itkonen's model, but there is, under usual circumstances, no need to do so.

[37] Intersubjectivity in this context (e.g. Itkonen 2008a) means something slightly different than intersubjectivity in the context described in Section III.2.4.1 (e.g. Traugott & Dasher 2002: 89–99). While the former concept

than just the speaker. This becomes the case if the speaker's expectations regarding the addressee knowing what *cofveve* is, are confirmed. Everything that I have just said about the speaker's knowledge$_1$ and knowledge$_2$ must also apply to the addressee. In other words, the addressee knows what *cofveve* means and that the speaker also knows this.

The final step, however, only becomes a reality once the speaker realises (or expects) that the addressee is aware of the fact that the speaker is in possession of knowledge$_1$ as well as knowledge$_2$ about *cofveve*. This step, in other words, means that the hitherto implied shared knowledge becomes explicit. I refer to this third level of knowledge as *knowledge*$_3$ (120c). In the case of *because cofveve*, this happens when others react to the author's tweet in such a way that demonstrates their familiarity with Donald Trump's original tweet and thus also their successful interpretation of *because cofveve* (Itkonen 2008b: 26).

The three steps that I have just described take the point of view of the speaker because the speaker is the one who produces the utterance. If we also want to integrate the addressee's point of view, we need to mirror the steps described for the speaker. Note that both (120a, b) and (120a', b') represent subjective knowledge, and only in (120c) and (120c') do both the speaker and the addressee achieve intersubjective, in other words, shared knowledge of *cofveve*.

(121) a. speaker knows$_1$ what *cofveve* means
a'. addressee knows$_1$ what *cofveve* means
b. speaker knows$_2$ that addressee knows$_1$ what *cofveve* means
b'. addressee knows$_2$ that speaker knows$_1$ what *cofveve* means
c. speaker knows$_3$ that addressee knows$_2$ that speaker knows$_1$ what *cofveve* means
c'. addressee knows$_3$ that speaker knows$_2$ that addressee knows$_1$ what *cofveve* means

What the discussion of the intersubjective nature of linguistic knowledge has demonstrated is the complexity hidden in the background of every NFC construction. We can regard this complexity from two perspectives. By deciding to express the causal link between two propositions using an NFC construction and not a causal clause, the speaker inadvertently gives rise to the need to rely on shared knowledge. The addressee, on the other hand, makes use of the shared knowledge to interpret the speaker's utterance. Knowing this, in turn, leads the speaker to choose an NFC construction over a causal clause in the first place. In a way, we can,

refers to the general nature of linguistic signs and norms as entities based on interaction, the latter concept deals with how speakers take the stance of their interlocutors.

therefore, say that both the production and the interpretation of an NFC construction rely on shared, intersubjective knowledge.

## 3 Constructional status of NFC constructions

### 3.1 What is a construction?

Until now, I have described NFC constructions in non-technical terms as a construction. The question, however, is whether NFC constructions also count as constructions in the technical sense of Construction Grammar (e.g. Goldberg 1995; 2003; 2006). In this final section of this chapter, it is my aim to find an answer.

Constructions as form-meaning pairings are the basic units of Construction Grammar. Not all form-meaning pairings, however, are automatically constructions. Views about what counts and what does not count as a construction have evolved over time (see, e.g. Ungerer & Hartmann 2023: 5–11; Haspelmath 2023). In the well-known seminal definition of constructions, Goldberg (1995: 4) defines them as follows:

> C is a construction iff$_{def}$ C is a form-meaning pair <$F_i$, $S_i$> such that some aspect of $F_i$ or some aspect of $S_i$ is not strictly predictable from C's component parts or from other previously established constructions.

A construction is an extension of the Saussurean concept of a linguistic sign (Goldberg 1995: 6). There is a debate about whether the meaning of a construction should be understood narrowly as only the semantics or more broadly as also including pragmatics (see, e.g. Cappelle 2017; Finkbeiner 2019). Crucially, this definition relies on non-compositionality or, in other words, non-predictability of the overall construction based on its parts. Later, in a revised definition, Goldberg (2006: 5) also added the criterion of sufficient frequency:

> Any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist. In addition, patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency.

Both of the earlier and still often-cited definitions by Goldberg have been relativised in newer research. First, the idea of non-compositionality of constructions or their non-predictability has been criticised (see, e.g. Zeschel 2009). Asking whether a given linguistic structure is

compositional and, therefore, predictable forces a binary choice onto the analyst that is hard to operationalise (Zeschel 2009: 187–188). Rather than basing the definition of a construction on a categorical basis, a more gradient view of constructional status has been put forward using the concept of entrenchment (see, e.g. Langacker 1987; Blumenthal-Dramé 2012; Schmid 2017). A linguistic structure counts as a construction if it is entrenched, in other words, cognitively routinised to a sufficient degree.

Second, the criterion of frequency has been backgrounded as well. The main reason is the so-called frequency paradox, also known as the so-called Sorites paradox (Goldberg 2019: 54). A form-meaning pairing is supposed to be recognised as a construction and stored in the constructicon only if it occurs with sufficient frequency. At the same time, however, if the speaker does not store this form-meaning pairing as a construction in the constructicon right away after first encountering it, each following occurrence will always count as the first one. The "sufficient frequency" of a form-meaning pairing can, therefore, never be reached.

The conclusion is that speakers store not only constructions but also individual instances of form-meaning pairings, known as exemplars (see, e.g. Bybee 2013). This realisation relativises Goldberg's (2006: 18) earlier famous dictum that "it's constructions all the way down" and that speakers' grammatical knowledge consists entirely of constructions. Instead, constructions are treated as generalisations that emerge from single encounters with form-meaning pairing. This insight enables us to reconcile Construction Grammar approaches to language with emergentist postulates (Hopper 1987; 1988). Taking all this into account, Goldberg's (2019: 7) latest definition of constructions describes them as follows:

> [C]onstructions are understood to be emergent clusters of lossy memory traces that are aligned within our high- (hyper!) dimensional conceptual space on the basis of shared form, function, and contextual dimensions.

It is, however, not necessary to only understand constructions as cognitive phenomena. If a phenomenon is to be understood as a cognitive one, it, by definition, exists in the cognition or mind of an individual speaker. Language – and therefore constructions as well – are, however, not limited to the minds of individual speakers. Individual speakers communicate with each other and engage in social interaction. It is, therefore, just as important to understand construction as intersubjective social phenomena existing in a language community (Silvennoinen 2023).

Describing constructions as cognitive or as social phenomena is not mutually exclusive. The cognitive and social approaches to constructions represent two possible ways to study language. For certain questions, such as for studying the (changing) linguistic repertoires of individual speakers (see, e.g. Petré et al. 2019; Anthonissen & Petré 2019), understanding constructions as primarily cognitive is essential. For other questions, however, such as understanding how constructions function on a community level, as I discuss in Chapter VI, constructions cannot be primarily cognitive but must be primarily understood as intersubjective social objects (Silvennoinen 2023: 2).

As I will show in the next two sections, NFC constructions are not only formally but also semantically and pragmatically distinct enough to count as constructions in the technical sense of Construction Grammar.

### 3.2 Form

NFC constructions (122a) are formally clearly distinct from causal clauses (122b) in that the former lack a finite verb form. The absence of a finite verb form in the complement of NFC constructions was used as its cross-linguistically valid defining feature (see Section III.1.2).

(122) a. *Vielmehr sah ich das Vaterland bedroht,* ***weil von Feinden umringt.*** [d029]
'I rather saw my fatherland threatened because surrounded by enemies.'
b. *Vielmehr sah ich das Vaterland bedroht, weil es von Feinden umringt war.*
'I rather saw my fatherland threatened because it was surrounded by enemies.'

In addition, in case languages, the complement noun in NFC constructions shows an unmarked, nominative form of the noun (see Section III.1.2.2.1.2). In the languages analysed in this study, this applies to German (123) and Czech (124).

(123) *Wow! Nach 30 min in der Warteschlange sagt man mir Ihnen fällt an meiner Verbindung nichts auf und es müsste ein Techniker kommen, der potenziell auf meine Kosten geht* ***weil eigener Router.*** [d128]
'Wow! After 30 minutes queueing I was told that there's nothing out of the ordinary with my connection and that I have to call a technician who I potentially must pay myself because my own[M.NOM.SG] router[M.NOM.SG]'.

(124) *Divný mít oblíbenou kavárnu v nemocnici. Ale tahle v Thomayerově stojí za návštěvu :).* ***Protože dobrý kafe*** *atd :)* [c014]
'Weird to have a favourite café in a hospital. But this one in the Thomayer University Hospital is definitely worth a visit :) Because good[N.NOM.SG] coffee[N.NOM.SG]'

While the absence of a finite verb, as well as the use of the nominative case in case languages, are defining features of NFC constructions, there are also other features which can be observed frequently in NFC constructions but do not define them.

The first such feature is the absence of determiners such as definite or indefinite articles or demonstrative pronouns. Although potential counterexamples to this restriction do exist, determiners are hardly ever found in the complement slot of the NFC constructions (see Section III.1.2.2).

The second feature is the apparent restriction of NFC constructions to the clause-final position after the matrix clause (125) (see Section III.1.4.3). This property differentiates NFC construction not only from causal clauses but also, at least in English, from *because of* constructions.

(125) a. *Idfk but if you figure it out let me know* ***because same.*** [e021]
b. ?***Because same,*** *Idfk but if you figure it out let me know.*
c. ?*Idfk* ***because same,*** *but if you figure it out let me know.*

Finally, the negation scope in NFC constructions is different from the negation scope in causal clauses (see Section III.1.3). While only a narrow scope of negation is possible in NFC constructions (126), both the narrow and broad negation scopes are viable in causal clauses. This means that the negation in the matrix clause of an NFC construction is interpreted as only having scope over the matrix clause itself and not over the NFC construction (Bailey & Seyerle 2019). The broader scope of negation would lead to such an interpretation that the complement of an NFC construction is negated and that the reason for the proposition expressed in the matrix clause is something else.

(126) *George doesn't starve his cat* ***because ethics.*** (Bailey & Seyerle 2019)

Table III-16 summarises the formal features distinguishing NFC constructions from causal clauses. All distinguishing features apply to all languages analysed in the present study, except for the nominative case for nominal complements applicable only to Czech and German.

| Properties | Causal clauses | NFC constructions |
|---|---|---|
| Finite verbs | yes | no |
| Noun phrases limited to nominative | no | yes |
| Determiners | yes | rarely |
| Clause initial position | yes | no |
| Negation scope | broad and narrow | narrow |

*Table III-16: Formal differences between causal clauses and NFC constructions*

### 3.3 Meaning

The fact that the formal side of NFC constructions is different enough from causal clauses is uncontroversial and shared by essentially all analyses. Whether the meaning of NFC constructions differs from the meaning of causal clauses is less obvious. Kanetani (2019: 167) acknowledges the formal as well as pragmatic differences between NFC constructions and causal clauses, but not in terms of semantics.

It is true that NFC constructions share their primary causal meaning with causal clauses and can express causation (127a) as well as reasoning (127b) (see Section III.2.1). In other words, NFC constructions can express all three basic types of causal links: real-world causality (127a), epistemic causality (127b) as well as speech act causality (127c). I have grouped the two latter types of causality under the label *reasoning constructions*. Causal clauses can also express all three types of causality (Sweetser 1990: 76–77).

(127) a. …*everything closes for Pentecost in Norway,* ***because Lutheranism****.*
b. *I gave up on thinking* ***because life.***
c. *who's jennie seeing cus I know kai is busy* ***because with the promotion…***

The observation that NFC constructions are able to express all three types of causality is contrary to Kanetani's (2019: 166) claim that NFC constructions only express real-world causality links and do not function as reasoning constructions.

What, however, needs to be sufficiently taken into consideration is the commenting function of NFC constructions. Most foregrounded is this function in the pseudo-causal variants

of NFC constructions (see Section III.2.4 for details) that formally purport to express a cause or a reason but, in fact, do not. An example is given in (128). Since the construction *because reasons* clearly does not provide any reasons, its function must be something else. The point is to signal to the addressee that the reasons are irrelevant, unknown or that the reasons must already be obvious (see Section III.2.3). In any case, the speaker not only purports to provide a reason but also provides a comment that the addressee *should have known* about this reason.

(128) *I'm going to set up a private twitter* ***because reasons.*** [e006]

On a related note, NFC constructions rely to a higher degree than causal clauses on hidden complexity (Bisang 2009; 2014; 2015) (see Section III.2.4.1). The reason why formally less complex NFC constructions can express causality just as formally more complex causal clauses can be explained by the fact that the addressee needs to infer more information from the context of the utterance and rely more on shared knowledge (see Section III.2.4.2).

The reliance of NFC constructions on shared knowledge and hidden complexity can be furthermore rephrased in that the complement of NFC constructions is treated as presupposed information. Whereas a causal clause provides new, not presupposed information as a means to express cause or reason, an NFC construction functions with the assumption on the part of the speaker that the addressee, at least to a certain degree, is already in possession of the facts.

Table III-17 provides a summary of the differences and similarities in terms of function between causal clauses and NFC constructions. All of them are valid cross-linguistically for the languages analysed in the present study.

| Properties | Causal clauses | NFC constructions |
|---|---|---|
| Express real-world causality | yes | yes |
| Express epistemic causality | yes | yes |
| Express speech act causality | yes | yes |
| Express comments | no | yes |
| Reliance on hidden complexity | no | yes |

*Table III-17: Functional differences between causal clauses and NFC constructions*

## 4 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I set out to offer a description of the form (Section III.1) and meaning (Section III.2) of NFC constructions in English, German, Dutch, and Czech. What I call *NFC*

*construction* or *non-finite causal constructions* can be, based on the findings in this chapter, defined with cross-linguistic validity as a structure consisting of a causal connector followed by a non-finite complement expressing causation or reasoning.

Regarding the form of the construction, I have first analysed the variability of its two component parts – the causal connector (Section III.1.1) and its complement (Section III.1.2). Although any causal connector can, in principle, be used in the NFC construction, in the four languages analysed for this study, there is always one primary causal connector and several peripheral ones. In terms of the complement, the construction is much more variable, but the main finding is that we can distinguish two types of complements – elliptical and non-elliptical. Furthermore, I have analysed the syntactic properties of the construction in respect to its co-text (Section III.1.3). Central in this respect is the apparent tendency of the construction to be used clause-finally and not precede its matrix clause.

Regarding the functions of the construction, I have identified three roles the NFC constructions can play. First, they can express two types of causality – real-world causality and reasoning. Second, they can also express pseudo-causality. Third, ancillary to the expression of (pseudo-)causality, the constructions also convey the speaker's attitude towards the proposition expressed in the complement. In the last point, NFC constructions are semantically richer than causal clauses, which is, however, balanced out by relying on presupposed information shared by the interlocutors. NFC constructions, in comparison with causal clauses, therefore, to a larger degree, employ hidden complexity.

Moreover, NFC constructions are bound, at least currently, to a specific communicative context. These are the results of an acceptability study of three German causal constructions: NFC constructions (129a), causal connector *weil* 'because' followed by a clause with verb-second word order (129b), and causal connector *weil* followed by a clause with verb-final word order (129c) (Wolfer, Müller-Spitzer & Ribeiro Silveira 2020).

(129) a. *Er fährt lieber mit der Fähre nach Island,* ***weil Flugangst.***
'He would rather take the ferry to Iceland because fear of flying.'

b. *Er fährt lieber mit der Fähre nach Island,* ***weil er hat starke Flugangst.***
'He would rather take the ferry to Iceland because he has a strong fear of flying.'

c. *Er fährt lieber mit der Fähre nach Island,* ***weil er starke Flugangst hat.***
'He would rather take the ferry to Iceland because he has a strong fear of flying.'

On the one hand, NFC constructions were generally considered less acceptable than both alternatives. On the other hand, however, the acceptability of NFC construction was higher in non-standard-friendly, conceptually spoken contexts, such as WhatsApp and text messages. These contexts were also named by the majority of participants when asked in what context they would expect to use NFC constructions.

These observations based on German data can also be cautiously extended to other languages (see e.g. Wessman 2015; 2017 for Finnish). The association of NFC constructions with non-standard contexts of social media manifested by the frequent use of hashtags and other typical features can be observed in all languages analysed in this study (see Section I.2.3). This association exists despite the fact that NFC constructions are used in other contexts as well.

All of the above allows us to answer the question about the constructional status of NFC constructions in the affirmative. NFC constructions are formally as well as functionally distinct enough from causal clauses and other causal constructions so that they should be regarded as constructions in the technical sense of Construction Grammar (Section III.3). Moreover, not only is it possible to establish that NFC constructions are constructions in the technical sense of Construction Grammar, but different levels of schematicity in NFC constructions (see Table III-18) can be identified as well (see Traugott 2008: 31–32; but see also Diewald 2009: 451).

On the one end of the schematicity hierarchy, macro-constructions represent the most abstract forms of NFC constructions, with their constructional slots defined only very broadly. An NFC macro-construction consists of a causal connector and its complement in the X slot and follows its matrix clause. The matrix clause is usually present in the co-text but can also be only implied (see Section III.1.4.1), which is signalled by the brackets in Table III-18.

The level of intermediary schematicity is represented by NFC meso-constructions which are only partially lexically filled. This level applies to the NFC constructional variants with alternative connectors such as the English *because* X and *thus* X or the Dutch *want* X or *omdat* X.

On the other end of the schematic spectrum are micro-constructions, which represent individual types of NFC meso-constructions. These differ from meso-constructions in that their complements are more narrowly defined in terms of word classes (see Section III.1.2). Finally, concrete instantiations of NFC constructions, found in actual utterances, are represented by constructs. The relationship between constructs and constructions is analogous to that between tokens and types (Traugott 2008: 32).

| Level | Construction | Meaning |
|---|---|---|
| Macro-construction | [(MATRIX CLAUSE) CONNECTOR X] | '$P_1$ is caused by $P_2$' |
| Meso-constructions | [(MATRIX CLAUSE) *because* X] | '$P_1$ is caused by $P_2$' |
| | [(MATRIX CLAUSE) *thus* X] | '$P_1$ is caused by $P_2$' |
| Micro-constructions | [(MATRIX CLAUSE) *because* AdjP] | '$P_1$ is caused by $P_2$' |
| | [(MATRIX CLAUSE) *because* NP] | '$P_1$ is caused by $P_2$' |
| | [(MATRIX CLAUSE) *because* INTERJECTION] | '$P_1$ is caused by $P_2$' |
| Constructs | *My favorite place is the bakery. Because food.* [e048] | 'bakery is the favourite place of the speaker (=$P_1$) because bakeries sell food (=$P_2$)' |

*Table III-18: Schematicity of NFC constructions*

The findings brought together in the present chapter, on the one hand, offer a number of answers but, on the other hand, also raise a number of questions that will be answered in the following parts of the manuscript.

The first one, coming up in Chapter IV, addresses the status of the causal connector. If used in causal clauses, we would typically categorise the connector, in terms of parts of speech, as a conjunction because it connects two clauses. This status, however, depends on the connector's complement, which can vary substantially (Section III.1.2). This particular question furthermore leads to more general questions about linguistic categorisation.

The second open question, addressed in Chapter V, concerns the diachronic relation between causal clauses and NFC constructions. In the present chapter, I have often described NFC constructions in terms of their differences from causal clauses, but what remains to be fleshed out is the mechanism of the development of NFC constructions from causal clauses.

The third open question, which will become the main topic of Chapter VI, is the question of the cross-linguistic spread of the NFC constructions. So far, I have worked with the assumption that, unless stated otherwise, everything said about the English construction *because* X also applies to the German construction *weil* X, the Dutch construction *want* X as well as to the Czech construction *protože X*. Other languages, however, also have an NFC construction and the question arises how this can be explained typologically.

# IV Category potential in NFC constructions

## 1 Introduction

To introduce the main topic of this chapter, let us briefly step outside of linguistics and think about water, the chemical compound consisting of two atoms of hydrogen and one atom of oxygen represented as $H_2O$. In our everyday lives, we categorise water as a fluid. But we also know that if the temperature rises above 100 °C, water ceases to be a fluid and becomes a gas. Similarly, if the temperature falls below 0 °C, water becomes solid as it becomes ice. In other words, the state of water depends on the temperature. It is, therefore, not helpful to categorise water as a fluid always, even though this is the state in which we most frequently encounter water.

Against this backdrop, I will show in this chapter that the causal connector in NFC constructions should be treated like water in the above example. Just as the state of water is dependent on the surrounding temperature, so is the category membership of the causal connector dependent on its constructional context. By constructional context, I refer in particular to the different types of expressions occurring in the complement slot of NFC constructions (Section III.1.2): elliptical phrases, non-elliptical noun phrases, and non-elliptical non-noun phrases (see also micro-constructions in Section III.4)

In this chapter, I will make the point that the category membership of the causal connector in NFC constructions can best be understood as an emergent property. Its category membership emerges from the concrete context of use as it is not a property inherent to its every possible instantiation before use. By category membership, I mean the word class categorisation of the connector as a conjunction, preposition, or something else.

Similarly, the state of being a liquid, a solid or a gas is not inherent to the chemical compound $H_2O$. The state can be established in any meaningful way only based on the concrete temperature at a concrete point. What can be said about water before it is exposed to the concrete temperature on which its state depends is that water has the potential to be a gas, a solid, or a liquid.

Using this aquatic analogy, I argue in this chapter that the causal connector should be analysed as having a category potential. However, it is only meaningful to determine its category membership in the specific NFC constructions.

As to the concrete question of the word class categorisation of the causal connector in NFC constructions, I will discuss the merits and limits of three analyses based on syntactic and morphological criteria. First, in NFC constructions with elliptical complements, I analyse the causal connector as conjunction (Section IV.2.1). Second, in NFC constructions with non-

elliptical noun phrases as complements, I analyse the causal connector as a preposition (Section IV.2.2). Finally, in NFC constructions with non-elliptical non-noun phrases I analyse the causal connector as a member of a category sui generis, which I term *third category* and which does not correspond to any of the traditional word classes (Section IV.2.3).

Discussing how to categorise the causal connector in NFC constructions leads to a more general discussion about linguistic categories. Against this backdrop, I will first introduce the two basic positions of essentialism (Section IV.3.1) and emergentism (Section IV.3.2) before moving on to explain why an emergentist approach to the categorisation of the causal connector is better suited for an analysis of NFC constructions.

The issue of the word class membership of the causal connector in NFC constructions stems from the first wave of interest in NFC constructions in general and *because* X, in particular, was primarily triggered by the choice of *because* as Word of the Year 2013 (American Dialect Society 2014). During these debates, several groupings within the scholarly community have emerged. These were, on the one hand, centred around the question of whether the "new" presents a genuine case of innovation which needs to be categorised or whether we are dealing with an older phenomenon that has only recently become visible. On the other hand, there was the explicitly disputed question of word class membership of the causal connector.

One view was that due to the frequent use of noun phrases as complements of *because* in *because* X, the connector should be categorised as a preposition (e.g. Whitman 2013; Carey 2013; Pullum 2014b). The underlying idea is that prepositions and conjunctions together form a single category, and only the nature of their complements, either clauses or noun phrases, differentiates them.

This position leads to the view that the causal connector as used in NFC constructions is not a new phenomenon because there has always been an established set of conjunctions (130a, c), at least in English (but see Konvička 2018 for Dutch), that can also be used as prepositions (130b, d). New is thus not the syntactic behaviour of the connector in NFC constructions as such but the fact that it belongs to a larger set of conjunctions.

(130) a. *Don't do anything stupid until I return.*
b. *Don't do anything stupid* ***until my return.***
c. *You can do whatever you want after I return.*
d. *You can do whatever you want* ***after my return.***
e. *You are free now because I have returned.*
f. *You are free now* ***because my return.***

Another view was that a new word class category is needed to describe the use of *because* in *because* X (e.g. McCulloch 2014b; Stefanowitsch 2014). The main argument for this position is based on the fact that the connector in NFC constructions is complemented not only by noun phrases but also by non-noun elements such as interjections, emojis or pronouns (see III.1.2.2.2).

This categorisation proposal also automatically stresses the novelty of the NFC constructions as a phenomenon. If a new category outside of the traditional parts-of-speech system is needed, then NFC constructions such *because* X must be a genuine innovation.

Apart from the empirical and theoretical arguments in favour or against one or the other position, the ensuing discussions have demonstrated three essential points about categorisation and categories in linguistics.

First, the discussions have demonstrated how strongly traditional categories, such as parts of speech, are viewed and how reluctantly some scholars entertain the idea of moving beyond them. Second, even those who make this step and posit a novel category to account for the unorthodox properties of the causal connector in NFC constructions still adhered, at least implicitly, to a static understanding of the categories whose membership is based on essentialist criteria. Third, both sides discussed the word class membership of the connector in NFC constructions in a way that implied that the use of the connector in NFC constructions also has a bearing on the word class membership of the connector in general, outside of these constructions.

The question is, however, whether we need such an umbrella category to encompass all the uses of the causal connector in the various instances of NFC constructions and causal clauses alike. We could categorise the causal connector flexibly in three ways: If an (elliptical) subordinate clause complements the connector, it is a conjunction. If a noun phrase complements the connector, it is a preposition, albeit peripheral. Finally, if the connector is complemented by something other than in the previous two cases, it is entirely different. The fact that the connector occurs in all these constructional contexts does not warrant its uniform categorisation.

Against this backdrop, I will shift the focus of the discussion about word class membership of the causal connector in NFC constructions to the category potential of the connector. Instead of trying to determine whether the connector has more features of conjunction or whether it is closer to a prototypical preposition, I will analyse how it is used in a concrete context, which, for this analysis, is the complement of the causal connector (see

Section III.1.2). I will show that the connector *is* neither a conjunction, nor a preposition or a third-category member, but that it can be *used as* a conjunction (see Section IV.2.2), *used as* a preposition (see Section IV.2.3), and *used as* a third-category member (see Section IV.2.4).

## 2 Category membership of the causal connector

### 2.1 Criteria for category membership

Categorisation of expressions in terms of part of speech and the categories themselves (see, e.g. Schachter & Shopen 2007) has been a topic of discussion since Antiquity (see, e.g., Robins 1966; Aarts 2004b). One of the critical elements in these discussions is the question of criteria: What types of criteria should be used, and whether the different types can be mixed or should be used independently? In general, three types of criteria for word class categorisation can be distinguished, given in (131) (Givón 2001: 49).

(131) a. Syntax: the typical position(s) in the clause that words of a particular class tend to occupy
b. Morphology: the kind of bound morphemes that tend to be affixed to words of a particular class
c. Semantics: the kind of meanings that tend to be coded by words of a particular class

In my present analysis of the causal connectors used in NFC constructions, I use a combination of syntactic (131a) and morphological criteria (131b). Semantic criteria (131c) will be disregarded altogether.

Although I combine syntax and morphology in my categorisation, syntactic criteria will be primary and morphological criteria will play only a complementary role. The syntactic criteria are based on the complement type of the causal connector, as described in Section III.1.2. The morphological criteria, the case of the noun phrase in particular, are only considered for nominal complements in Czech and German as case languages (see Section III.1.2.2.1.2).

Using syntactic and morphological criteria, I distinguish three word class types of causal connectors used in NFC constructions (132), which I will now discuss in more detail.

(132) a. Causal connector used as a conjunction
b. Causal connector used as a preposition
c. Causal connector used as a third-category member

### 2.2 Causal connector used as a conjunction

The first way to categorise the causal connector in NFC constructions is to retain the categorisation of the connector as used in subordinate clauses. In other words, the first way to analyse the causal connector is to analyse it as a subordinating conjunction. This applies particularly to instances of NFC constructions where the complement is a textual or structural ellipsis of the type $AdjP_1$ CONNECTOR $AdjP_2$ (see Section III.1.2.1). The elided element in these constructions is usually, although not always, a copula verb that is present in the matrix clause and therefore also recoverable from it.

(133) a. *can't unfollow* ***because deactivated.*** *just give me the right time when she'll be back and it'll be the first thing I'll do* [e072]

b. *Und zu den Wahlkampfbudgets: die Befürworter der USRIII gaben laut Medien 19x mehr Geld aus, verloren aber an der Urne,* ***weil zu radikal.*** [d045]
'And concerning the election budgets: the advocates of USRIII spent 19 times more money according to the media, but lost at the ballot box because too radical.'

c. *Daar heb ik afgelopen vakantie speciaal dit shirt voor gekocht. Jammer dat ik hem nu niet aan kan (****want koud****)* [n094]
'During my last vacation, I bought this extra shirt. Pity that I can't put it on right now (because cold)'

d. *Přihlásit se slovně kupříkladu k podpoře Evropské unie nic nestojí, hlavní je, když se pak reálně dělá politika, která je fakticky protievropská a nacionalistická,* ***protože se zbytkem EU nesolidární.*** [c017]
'To pay lip service to, for example, the European Union does not cost anything. The main thing is that when real politics is being done later, it is practically anti-European and nationalistic, because with the rest of the EU uncooperative.'

Although adjective phrases are not the usual complements of conjunctions, the causal connector in constructions such as (133) can be categorised as conjunctions due to their elliptic character and recoverability of the elided element. At first glance, the connector in (134a) cannot be analysed as a subordinating conjunction due to the lack of a finite verb in its complement. However, suppose we accept the construction's elliptical reading as indicated in (134b). In that

case, the absence of the finite verb ceases to be as problematic because it can be recovered using co-textual means.

(134) a. *can't unfollow* ***because deactivated.*** *just give me the right time when she'll be back and it'll be the first thing I'll do* [e072]
b. [I] *can't unfollow* [the account] ***because*** [it is] ***deactivated.*** *just give me the right time when she'll be back and it'll be the first thing I'll do*

Cases like (134) show that the causal connectors in NFC constructions should be analysed as causal connectors in constructions of the type CONNECTOR VP, namely as conjunctions. Crucial for this analysis is the interplay of the parallel structure of the constructions of the type $AdjP_1$ CONNECTOR $AdjP_2$ and the resulting possibility of unambiguous recovery of the elided material. If either criteria are not met, the analysis of *because* as a subordinating conjunction becomes untenable.

Such a case is presented in (135). Syntactically, the structure is comparable to that of (134a) in that the complement of the connector lacks a finite verb. The construction consists of the connector followed by the complement in the form of an NP. However, the linguistic material preceding the connector is not parallel with the linguistic material following it; thus, a recovery, as in (134b), is impossible. A distinction is needed between genuine recovery and possible expansion (see Section III.1.21). While we can hypothesise that (135b) or (135c) might be an expanded version of (135a), we lack any evidence to support these and similar claims. This differs in cases in (133), where the parallel structure of the linguistic material preceding and following the connector allows for an unambiguous recovery.

(135) a. *I'm going to set up a private twitter* ***because reasons.*** [e006]
b. *I'm going to set up a private twitter* ***because*** [I have] ***reasons.***
c. *I'm going to set up a private twitter* ***because*** [there are] ***reasons.***

If we only focus on the syntax of the causal connector and its complements, structures of both the type VP CONNECTOR AdjP (134a) and VP CONNECTOR NP (135a) can be classified similarly. First, both contain the causal connector followed by a complement lacking a finite verb, which qualifies them as NFC constructions. Second, while the former construction 1345a) shows structural parallelism between the complement and the matrix clause, the latter type (135a) does

not. Although this difference does not affect the categorisation of either construction as NFC construction, it does affect the categorisation of the connector itself.

While NFC constructions of the type (134a) allow the connector to be classified as a conjunction in an elliptical clause, NFC constructions of the kind (135a) must be classified differently, namely as prepositions. This categorisation will be the topic of the next section.

### 2.3 Causal connector used as a preposition

Noun phrases represent the most frequent complement of the causal connector in an NFC construction, regardless of language. Out of all complements, noun phrases comprise a total of 62.64% in English, 49.43% in German, 71.36% in Dutch, and 73.57% in Czech (see Section III.1.2.2.1). These findings are in line with earlier studies (Schnoebelen 2014; Bohmann 2016; Konvička & Stöcker 2022). They are the reason why the proposal has been made early on to categorise the connector in constructions such as (136a) as prepositions (Pullum 2009; 2014; 2014). The connector is, in these constructions, at least from a syntactic point of view, closer to other causal prepositional constructions such as *because of* (136b), *due to* (136c) or *on account of* (136d).

(136) a. *Can't tell if I'm in a lot of abdominal pain* ***because Crohns*** *or* ***because antibiotics.*** [e027]
b. *Can't tell if I'm in a lot of abdominal pain* ***because of Crohns*** *or* ***because of antibiotics.***
c. *Can't tell if I'm in a lot of abdominal pain* ***due to Crohns*** *or* ***due to antibiotics.***
d. *Can't tell if I'm in a lot of abdominal pain* ***on account of Crohns*** *or* ***on account of antibiotics.***

The same observation can also be made for the other analysed languages as well: German (137a, b), Dutch (137c, d), and Czech (137e, f). Note also the case assignment in NFC constructions in German and Czech which I will address in more detail later.

(137) a. *ist man schon depressiv wenn man ein dick appointment absagt* ***weil keine lust?*** [d103]
'are you already depressed if you cancel a shitty appointment because no mood[F.NOM.SG]?'

b. *ist man schon depressiv wenn man ein dick appointment absagt* ***wegen keiner lust?***

‘are you already depressed if you cancel a shitty appointment because of no[F.DAT.SG] mood[N.DAT.SG]?’

c. En *zeg er niets van,* ***want Holocaust!*** [n041]

‘And don’t mention it, because Holocaust!’

d. *En zeg er niets van* ***wegens Holocaust!***

‘And don’t mention it because of the Holocaust!’

e. *Taky vždy nemůžu,* ***protože práce, protože rodina.*** [c028]

‘I also can’t always, because work[F.NOM.SG], because family[F.NOM.SG]’

f. *Taky vždy nemůžu* ***kvůli práci, kvůli rodině.***

‘I also can’t always, because of work[F.DAT.SG], because of family[F.DAT.SG]’

The reason for categorising the connector in constructions such as (136a) as prepositions is twofold: The structure of the complement of the connector on the one hand and the structure of the matrix clause on the other. As to the former, the complement consists of a noun phrase. As to the latter, the matrix clause lacks the parallel structure that would allow categorising the connector as a conjunction with an elliptical complement, as discussed in the previous section.

The structural parallelism between the NFC construction and its matrix clause lets us assume that a structure of the type CONNECTOR AdjP (138a) is recoverable into CONNECTOR VP (138b) and that the connector can be categorised as a conjunction with an elliptical complement. An analogical recovery of CONNECTOR NP (139a) into something like CONNECTOR VP (139b) is, however, not feasible due to the lack of such structural parallelism.

(138) a. *Shipping always is a pain* ***because expensive.*** [e010]

b. *Shipping always is a pain* ***because*** [shipping is/it is] ***expensive.***

(139) a. *Can’t tell if I’m in a lot of abdominal pain* ***because Crohns*** *or* ***because antibiotics.***

b. **Can’t tell if I’m in a lot of abdominal pain* ***because*** [I’m in a lot of] ***Crohns*** *or* ***because*** [I’m in a lot of] ***antibiotics.***

Because the analysis of NFC constructions with nominal complements, such as (139a), as ellipses is not possible, categorising the causal connector as a conjunction is not tenable. I therefore analyse the connector in constructions of the type CONNECTOR NP as a preposition.

The analysis of the English connector *because* and the equivalent connectors in other languages in CONNECTOR NP as prepositions is further corroborated by the syntactic properties of other conjunctions that oscillate between being categorised as conjunctions and as prepositions. Connectors such as *after*, *although*, *because*, *before*, *if*, *since*, *though*, *unless* or *while*, traditionally classified as prepositions, can be used as prepositions with a noun phrase (140a) as complement and whole clauses (140b) as complements. This analysis holds for most English prepositions (e.g. Pullum 2009: 269).[38]

(140) a. *I arrived* ***after his departure.***
b. *I arrived* ***after he departed.***

Moreover, it is also cross-linguistically not uncommon to find prepositional expressions (140a) being employed as subordinating conjunctions (140b). Disregarding evidence of NFC constructions outside of English, the expressions oscillating between a prepositional and conjunctional use can be found in languages as diverse as Japanese, Hausa and English (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 51).

In analogy to cases such as (140), I then analyse the connector in constructions of the type CONNECTOR NP also as prepositions, which are sometimes complemented by whole clauses (141a) and sometimes by noun phrases (141b).

(141) a. *I arrived* ***because John called me.***
b. *I arrived* ***because John.***

Despite the syntactic commonalities of the connector in constructions of the type CONNECTOR NP with traditional prepositions, there are differences between CONNECTOR NP constructions and other prepositional constructions (e.g. McCulloch 2014b). Although the nominal complements of the connector can be relatively heavily modified (142), noun phrases

[38] The idea that English prepositions and conjunctions form a single category distinguished only by their complements – nominal or clausal – goes back to Emonds (1976: 172f.). The main problem with this analysis, however, is its object. It is an analysis of expressions as such, while the object of the present analysis is expressions in specific constructions. For a discussion, see Croft's (2001, especially chapter 2.3) treatment of the differences between the so-called lumping and splitting approaches to parts of speech categorisations.

containing (in)definite articles (143a) or pronouns (143b) are dispreferred (see Schnoebelen 2014; Kanetani 2019: 159; Bergs 2018a: 49). My analysis shows no pronominal complement in the German data, while only 0.97% of the Dutch complements, 2.20% of the English complements, and only 2.86% of the Czech complements.

(142) *Maybe I'll take dog and see if I can locate source...also peeing* ***because aging small dog bladder.*** [e054]

(143) a. *guess we should not waste the peak of our teenage years in uncertain things when we could be enjoying these years,* ***because these years?*** [e083]
b. Who *else does their makeup just to sit around in their room* ***because ME.*** (Bailey 2012)

The final argument against analysing the causal connector in NFC constructions with nominal complements can be found in case languages such as German (144) and Czech (145). As mentioned, if nominal complements of NFC constructions are marked for case, they are marked exclusively for the nominative case (see also Section III.1.2.2.1.2). This observation is cross-linguistically valid. It extends beyond the languages analysed for the present study, such as Finnish (Wessman 2015; 2017; Bailey & Seyerle 2019).

(144) *Wow! Nach 30 min in der Warteschlange sagt man mir Ihnen fällt an meiner Verbindung nichts auf und es müsste ein Techniker kommen, der potenziell auf meine Kosten geht* ***weil eigener Router.*** [d128]
'Wow! After 30 minutes queueing, I was told that there's nothing out of the ordinary with my connection and that I have to call a technician who I potentially must pay myself because my own[M.NOM.SG] router[M.NOM.SG]'

(145) *Divný mít oblíbenou kavárnu v nemocnici. Ale tahle v Thomayerově stojí za návštěvu :).* ***Protože dobrý kafe*** *atd :)* [c014]
'Weird to have a favourite café in a hospital. But this one in the Thomayer University Hospital is definitely worth a visit :) Because good[N.NOM.SG] coffee[N.NOM.SG]'

In elliptical constructions containing two noun phrases as objects of only one verb, as in (146a) and (147a), the elided verb can be recovered based on the case marked on the second noun phrase. The verb requires the accusative case of noun phrases in (146a) and (147a). If the noun is in a case different than the one required by the argument structure of the verb, the noun cannot be analysed as a complement of the verb. The violation of the case coordination in (146b) and (147b) leads to the conclusion that the second noun phrase cannot be a part of an elliptical verb phrase.

(146) a. *Henrik füttert das Capybara und ich* [füttere] *den Papagei*.
'Henrik feeds the capybara and I [feed] the parrot[M.ACC.SG]'
b. **Henrik füttert das Capybara und ich der Papagei.*
'Henrik feeds the capybara and I the parrot[M.NOM.SG]'

(147) a. *Henrik krmí kapybaru a já* [krmím] *papouška*.
'Henrik feeds the capybara and I [feed] the parrot[M.ACC.SG]'
b. **Henrik krmí kapybaru a já papoušek.*
'Henrik feeds the capybara and I the parrot[M.NOM.SG]'

The same applies to NFC constructions in German (144) and Czech (145). The noun phrases in the complement slots of the NFC constructions are in the nominative, which rules out the analysis of the connectors in these constructions as conjunctions in elliptical constructions. Otherwise, the noun phrases would have to occur in non-nominative cases such as the dative or accusative.

At the same time, however, the fact that noun phrases in NFC constructions, if explicitly marked for case, occur in the nominative is potentially problematic for analysing the connector as a preposition. In German and Czech, noun phrases in prepositional phrases are usually marked for one of the non-nominative cases: genitive, dative, and accusative (in Czech and German) or locative and instrumental (in Czech only).

Despite this, a limited set of mostly Latinate prepositions exists in both languages (148) that are preferably used with noun phrases without explicit case marking. However, if the complement of these prepositions is explicitly marked for case, the noun phrase will occur in the nominative (see Konvička 2018: 26; 2020: 257). These prepositions, therefore, follow the same pattern as the connectors *weil* and *protože* in German and Czech, respectively, when used with nominal complements.

(148) a. German: *contra*, *versus*, *in puncto*, *à la*, *via*

b. Czech: *kontra*, *versus*, *à la*, *via*

I have shown in this section that there is enough evidence to categorise the causal connectors in constructions of the type CONNECTOR NP as prepositions, although perhaps not prototypical ones. The causal connectors in NFC constructions are not only complemented by elliptical adjectival phrases or noun phrases. Prepositional phrases, interjections, particles or emojis sometimes fill the complement slot. The use of the connector in these constructions is incompatible with its categorisation as conjunctions and prepositions. We need to step beyond the established word class system for these cases.

**2.4 Causal connector used as a third-category member**

As discussed in the previous section, causal connectors in CONNECTOR NP do not behave as prototypical prepositions, although they formally resemble them. In particular, the fact that pronouns and determiners are uncommon in the construction and that in case languages the noun phrases occur exclusively in the nominative. These observations, together with the fact that the connectors can be combined with expressions of (dis)agreement like *yes* or *no* (149a), interjections (149b), emojis (149c) or prepositional phrases (149d), have led some to postulate the causal connector in these constructions as a member of a novel word class outside of the traditional parts-of-speech system (see, e.g., McCulloch 2014b; Stefanowitsch 2014; Konvička 2020). As a convenient way to refer to this category and its members, I use the terms *third category* and *third-category member*, respectively. The first category is conjunctions (see Section IV.2.2), the second category is prepositions (see Section IV.2.3), and the uses of the causal connector illustrated in (149) form a third category.

(149) a. *My friends #1: don't taking it seriously and saying it's temporary. Friends #2: Asexual, Panromantic? Who is this? Crash: in scared I run away from him,* ***because yes.*** [e033]

b. *I just often wonder if those who actually call in (especially to some specific shows), aren't actually masochistic* ***because wow!*** [e057]

c. *Start my day with a yoghurt drink too* ***because*** 😘 [e005]

d. *You're a l*[o]*st cause and you don't even know it. I read. Conservative and progressive,* ***because in independent.*** [e070]

The types of complements given in (149) amount to 25.27% instances in the English dataset, 7.47% in the German dataset, 5.83% in the Dutch dataset, and 16.71% in the Czech dataset (see Section III.1.2.2.2). This means that the third category as a complement is about three times more frequent than elliptical adjectival phrases in English and about twice as frequent in Czech (see Section III.1.2.1). In both German and Dutch, elliptical adjectival phrases are more common than third category complements.

Complements such as those in (149) are incompatible with the analysis of their causal connector as a conjunction in an elliptical construction and the analysis of the connector as a preposition. For the former, there is no evidence that the NFC constructions are elliptical (see also Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 345–354), and for the latter, the complements are simply not nominal. Against this backdrop, the only logical conclusion if the two previous ones have been ruled out is to analyse the causal connector as something else, namely as a third-category member.

Moreover, there are more causal connectors that would count as third-category members. Other causal and non-causal connectors show comparable properties (150), (all examples from McCulloch 2014b).

(150) a. *I was considering going to the party* ***but tired.***
b. *I didn't want to talk out loud,* ***thus text messaging.***
c. *I didn't bother cooking anything* ***since whatever.***
d. *Why noodles? Noodles* ***ergo noodles.***

Any connector used with complements other than elliptical clauses lacking a finite verb or noun phrase qualifies, in principle, as a third-category member. Causal connectors used as third-category members in NFC constructions make part of a more extensive set of expressions. What precisely the outlines of this set in a single language and cross-linguistically are, at this point, remains a desideratum.

The causal connector in NFC constructions connects the matrix clause with the complement and expresses a causal relation between them (see Section III.2). This is the case regardless of the type of the matrix clause and regardless of the complement type (see Section III.1.2). From the perspective of a parts-of-speech categorisation, however, it is possible to distinguish three connector types depending on the syntactic and morphological properties of

its complement. Whereas the connector functionally forms a single category irrespective of its complement, three connector types can be distinguished from a formal perspective.

## 3 Category membership

In what follows, I will analyse the three connector types in NFC constructions presented in the previous sections as the basis for a more general discussion of word classes and linguistic categorisation. I will first show that linguistic categories should be taken as prototype-based properties of linguistic expressions (Section IV.3.1) and go on to discuss their emergent character (Section IV.3.2). Having introduced these two aspects, I will show that in some cases, linguistic categories or linguistic categorisation does not have any bearing for the language users (Section IV.3.3). The present study follows a comparative aim of identifying the differences and similarities between the sample languages. Against this backdrop, I will discuss the cross-linguistic validity of linguistic categories (Section IV.4). The chapter will end with concluding remarks (Section IV.5).

### 3.1 Category membership as a prototype-based property

Classical (or essentialist) and prototype-based approaches to word class categorisation can be distinguished. The classical approaches assume that each analysed expression belongs to one category and category membership is based on one or more necessary and sufficient features shared by all the category members. This understanding of categories is still present in the generativist tradition where lexical but sometimes functional categories are considered universal and cross-linguistically valid (see, e.g., Baker 2003; for a critique see, e.g., Haspelmath 2007).

Approaches based on Prototype Theory (Rosch 1973, but see also e.g. Taylor 1995 for an overview), by contrast, do not assume that all members of a category necessarily share the same feature(s) to count as members of this category. Expressions can then be classified as more or less prototypical members of a category based on how many features they share are typical of a given category.

Without having explicitly said as much, I have already applied the prototype-based approach to word classes in my analysis of the causal connector in NFC constructions as a conjunction (Section IV.2.2) on the one hand and as a preposition (Section IV.2.3) on the other.

In the case of the conjunctional use of the connector (151), the connector in NFC constructions can still be counted as a conjunction even though it is not followed by a finite verb (see Section IV.2.2). This is due to the elliptical character of this subtype of NFC

constructions. To discuss the word class membership of the causal connector in NFC constructions, it can be said that a subordinate clause prototypically follows the connector used as a conjunction and thus also by a finite verb (151a). From the essentialist approach to word classes, uses of the connector such as (151b) would, therefore, not count as (clausal) conjunctions since the necessary feature of a finite verb in the complement of the connector is absent. Addressing this issue from the perspective of Prototype Theory, however, it can be said that (151b) is a conjunction, albeit a less prototypical one. The necessary feature is missing but can be recovered from the matrix clause because the construction is an anaphoric textual ellipsis.

(151) a. $\text{CONNECTOR}_{\text{conjunction}}$ + VP + AdjP [+finite verb]
b. $\text{CONNECTOR}_{\text{conjunction}}$ [+ VP] + AdjP [-finite verb]

Two aspects of the prototype-based approach to word classes are similarly exemplified by the case of the prepositional use of the connector (152). First, prototypical categories do not imply that boundaries between categories do not exist and that every outlier counts as a non-prototypical member. Both the essentialist and prototype-based approach relies on categories. The difference is, however, in the nature of the category boundaries. Just as a *dog* is not a less prototypical member of the category of birds but a member of a different category, so is the prepositional use of the connector in (152a) not a less prototypical case of its conjunctional use, but rather a member of a separate category.

Second, we see prototypicality effects also within the group of prepositional uses of the connector (see Section IV.2.3). Usually, case is not explicitly marked on the noun phrases in NFC constructions, even in languages with a case system such as Czech and German, or Finnish. In these languages, however, if case is explicitly marked, we find the noun phrases only in the nominative. In this respect, the connector in NFC constructions with NP without explicitly marked case can be classified as a prototypical preposition. However, those instances with explicitly marked case must be seen as a less prototypical member of this category.

(152) a. $\text{CONNECTOR}_{\text{preposition}}$ + NP [case not explicitly marked]
b. $\text{CONNECTOR}_{\text{preposition}}$ + $\text{NP}_{\text{NOM}}$ [case explicitly marked for the nominative]

All the other instances of the causal connector in NFC constructions cannot be classified as conjunction or as preposition and fall, therefore, into the third category (Section IV.2.4). While

the first two types of the connector in the various subtypes of NFC constructions are defined in positive terms either by the presence of a textual ellipsis or by the presence of noun phrase in the complement slot, the third category of connectors in NFC constructions is defined *ex negativo*. This means that the connector in the NFC construction complemented neither by a textual ellipsis nor a noun phrase is classified as a third-category member. Typically, these complements include interjections, (dis)agreement particles or emojis.

The three categories of connectors in NFC constructions can be described by the presence or absence of a number of features (see Table IV-3). On the other hand, the table also shows how the categories at least partially overlap. First, both causal clauses and NFC constructions overlap in that the connectors in both types can be categorised as conjunctions. Second, the prototypicality of the three connector types is illustrated. The conjunctional uses of the connector in NFC constructions are less prototypical than in causal clauses. Similarly, the prepositional uses of the connector also show more prototypical and less prototypical cases.

| **Features** | | | | **Construction type** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Finite VP** | **Textual ellipsis** | **NP** | **NP.NOM** | **Causal clause** | **NFC construction** |
| + | - | - | - | $\text{connector}_{\text{CONJUNCTION}}$ | n/a |
| - | + | - | - | n/a | $\text{connector}_{\text{CONJUNCTION}}$ |
| - | - | + | - | n/a | $\text{connector}_{\text{PREPOSITION}}$ |
| - | - | + | + | n/a | $\text{connector}_{\text{PREPOSITION}}$ |
| - | - | - | - | n/a | $\text{connector}_{\text{THIRD CATEGORY}}$ |

*Table IV-1: Feature-based classification of causal constructions*

Against this backdrop, the concept of *flexible words*[39] (see, e.g., Rijkhoff & Lier 2013: 5–6) can also be fruitfully applied to describe the word class membership of the causal connector in NFC constructions. Flexible words refer to lexical expressions in English as *hammer, kiss* or *dance*, that vary between being categorised as nouns or verbs depending on their context (Farrell 2001). Flexible words can, therefore, undergo a functional shift in the process of conversion. It is, therefore, impossible to say in advance whether an expression such as *hammer* is a noun or a verb without knowing in what context it will be used. It can be argued that the

[39] This terminology goes back to Hengeveld (1992), who proposed distinguishing between *flexible* and *rigid* words. Whereas the latter category describes those parts of speech that are specialised to perform a single function, the former refers to polyfunctional expressions.

category membership of the causal connector as such is underspecified and indeterminate and that the connector can also be classified as a flexible word.

Without knowing anything about its complement, the connector can *potentially* be used as a conjunction, as a preposition, or as a third-category member (see Table IV-3). Regarding its word class membership, the causal connector is pre-categorial without any fixed category membership but with a certain category potential. This brings us to the tenets of Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001; 2013; 2023). Concerning the present analysis of the word class membership of the connector in NFC constructions, the central axiom of this Construction Grammar approach is that word classes, along with other formal properties of linguistic expressions, are language-specific and construction-specific.[40]

The connector, as such, does not have any essentialist properties determining its word class status outside of any concrete constructions (and within a single language). Instead, its category membership is determined only by its use in one of the types of NFC constructions. The connectors used in CONNECTOR AdjP will thus have a different categorial status than those used in CONNECTOR NP constructions.

### 3.2 Category membership as an emergent property

Essentialist and prototype-based approaches to word class membership presuppose that an expression *belongs* to a specific category. As mentioned above, they differ in their view of the categorial boundaries and the gradience of category membership. By contrast, emergentist approaches to word class membership do not presuppose that any expression *a priori* belongs to a category. Following the emergentist principles, the category membership of any expression can only be determined *a posteriori* based on the context of use.

What I mean by emergentist approaches are theories or models following the tenets of Emergent Grammar (see Hopper 1987; 1988; 2011).[41,42] Grammar – or linguistic structure in

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[40] This radical constructionist position can also be found in some of the early works on grammaticalisation, such as Himmelmann (1992). In his working paper, Himmelmann (1992: 21–22) acknowledges the primacy of constructions and the fact that word classes such as nouns are merely "convenient cover label[s]". Moreover, he also stresses that word classes primarily exist on the ontological plane of the language observers, i.e. the linguists. The ontological reality of word classes for the language user remains an empirical question.

[41] Both references contain early accounts of Hopper's concept of Emergent Grammar. Based on a chronological perspective, *Emergent Grammar* (1987) is usually taken as the primary reference. This is understandable because the second text, *Emergent Grammar and the A Priori Grammar Postulate (1988)*, was published one year later. If we take a closer look at the latter text, however, we find out that the article appeared in a proceedings from a conference that had taken place already in 1985.

[42] Although the concept of Emergent Grammar can of course be traced back to Hopper, its underlying emergentist principles can be found in earlier works (see, e.g., Coseriu 1974; Becker 1988; Harris 1991; Hopper 2015), but also outside of linguistic (see, e.g. Weber (1997) for a discussion of the links between Emergent Grammar and Jacque Derrida's deconstructivism).

general – is, as Hopper (1987: 141) argues, "a real-time, social phenomenon, and therefore […] temporal, its structure is always deferred, always in a process but never arriving, and therefore emergent". In other words, linguistic structure is not assumed to exist before language use because it emerges from language use.

This view is compatible with the idea of the word class potential of the causal connector in NFC constructions. If we accept that linguistic structure does not exist before language use, it follows that linguistic categorisation of that structure also cannot exist before language use. The causal connector in NFC constructions, therefore, cannot be said to, in essentialist terms, *be* a conjunction, *be* a preposition, or *be* a third-category member. Instead, the connector can only be stated, in emergentist terms, to *emerge* as a conjunction, *emerge* as a preposition or *emerge* as a third-category member from language use. Based on its complement, the connector can be used as a conjunction, preposition, or third-category member.

Against the backdrop of this observation that the word class membership of the causal connector is only potential and always emergent, a generalising statement about the nature of language as such can be made. As is abundantly clear from the results of the past decades of – not only, but most prominently – grammaticalisation research, we know that the causal connectors in NFC constructions are in no way unique in their emergent nature. All expressions behave like that: they are "in a constant course of (re)formation." (Hopper 2015: 249 original italics). Radically, Becker (1988: 25) emphasises this emergent nature of language and its structures by replacing the term *language* itself with the term *languaging*:

> You will notice that I shift from the word "language" to the word "languaging." That is one of the easiest ways I know to make the shift from an idea of language as something accomplished […] to the idea of languaging as an ongoing process. […] [A] movement away from language as something accomplished, as something apart from time and history, to language as something that is being done and reshaped constantly. […] [L]anguage […] is always being reshaped to present needs. It's always being created.

Assuming – and as the numerous emergentist scholars convincingly show, we do have good reasons assuming so – that language is "always in a process but never arriving", the question arises whether – and how – we can reconcile this emergent nature of language use with the non-emergent theoretical tools linguists have at their disposal. In the next section, I will show that one way to do this precisely is by applying the concept of vagueness to linguistic categories

and conceptualising them as vague properties of linguistic expressions (Denison 2010; 2013; 2017; 2018).

### 3.3 Category membership as a vague property

Neither speakers nor linguists do we always have complete knowledge about the utterances we encounter (Denison 2017). To illustrate this, let us consider the use of *rubbish* in (153) (Denison 2018: 136). For some speakers of English, *rubbish*, to take just one example out of many, can function in such constructions both as an adjective and as a noun. In the former case, *rubbish* (153a) can be used as a synonym for prototypical adjectives such as *bad* or *terrible* (153b). In the latter case, *rubbish* (153a) can be used as a synonym for prototypical nouns such as *nonsense* or *drivel* (153c).

(153) a. *This is rubbish.*
b. *This is terrible.*
c. *This is drivel.*

Theoretically, *rubbish* (153a) can be categorised as an adjective and a noun. Examples like this illustrate two points about the nature of linguistic categories and linguistic categorisation. First, as linguists, we are facing a situation where we can only categorise rubbish as a noun or an adjective if we base this decision on an arbitrary criterion. In other words, just as Schrödinger's Cat is simultaneously both dead and alive, *rubbish* (153a) is both an adjective and a noun at the same time.

Second, from the point of view of regular speakers, categorial indeterminateness is arguably, according to Denison (2018: 136), inconsequential. For the addressee, whether *rubbish* is an adjective or a noun does not play a role because the word class membership of the expression does not affect the meaning of the utterance. Moreover, if the category distinction does not make a difference on the part of the addressee, it cannot be utilised to convey any meaning by the speaker.

The phenomenon we face in cases like (153) has been termed *vagueness* (Denison 2017: 293). In some relevant aspects, a vague expression is underdetermined, but this fact is of no consequence for its interpretation by the language users. The meaning of (153a) for the addressee remains the same regardless of whether *rubbish* was meant and/or interpreted as being more like (153b) or (153c).

Related to this is another phenomenon described as *ambiguity* (Denison 2017: 293). An ambiguous expression is also, in some relevant aspects, underdetermined. Unlike vague expressions, however, this underdetermination of ambiguous expressions is of consequence for their interpretation. Classic examples of ambiguous expressions are so-called garden-path sentences such as those in (154). Both the word *flies* and the word *like* is ambiguous because they can be interpreted as a noun or a verb and a verb or a preposition, respectively. If we interpret *flies* as a verb and not as the second part of a compound noun and *like* as a preposition and not as a verb, we will inevitably be led down the garden path, and by doing so, we will demonstrate the consequences of linguistic categorisation.

(154) *Fruit flies like a banana.*

For the analysis of NFC constructions, ambiguity will not be further relevant. Vagueness, however, is a relevant property in analysing the causal connector in NFC constructions, as (155) demonstrates.

(155) *Today, I found the most important feature I had previously been missing on Mastodon, which is the ability to follow tags, specifically the #cats tag. Really, everything else is optional, now.* ***Because cats.***

Depending on our criteria, the connector in (155) can be categorised as a preposition or a conjunction. If only the material present in the utterance is considered, the connector *because* is followed by a noun phrase, *cats,* which warrants the analysis of the connector as a preposition (see Section IV.2.3). If a broader definition of ellipsis is employed, the phrase *because cats* can also be interpreted as an ellipsis (see Section III.1.2) and, therefore, the connector has to be categorised as a conjunction.

Regardless of the ultimate categorisation, the connector still expresses a causal link between the matrix clause and its complement. The category of the connector in (155) is, therefore, vague but not ambiguous because its categorisation does not affect the function of the connector. This is unlike the categorisation of the ambiguous expressions in (154).

In summary, this means three things for the discussion of the category membership of the causal connector in NFC construction. First, the category membership of the connector is a prototype-based property. Second, the category membership of the connector is dependent on the context. It is only when the complement is known that the category potential of the

connector is realised. The category membership of the connector is, therefore, an emergent property. Third, even in context, some uses of the connector remain vague.

## 4 Cross-linguistic validity of categories and categorisations

The discussion of the word class categorisation of the connector as used in NFC constructions has so far been focused on a single language. This is because of the formal and functional equivalence of NFC constructions across languages. The only exception is the case assignment in noun phrases in Czech and German (see Section III.1.2.2.1.2). In this section, I will focus on the cross-linguistic validity and comparability of language-specific categories.

To do that, we have to discern between categories pertaining to one language (see p-linguistics, Section II.4) and categories that have cross-linguistic validity (see g-linguistics, Section II.4). Although it is the case that NFC constructions show cross-linguistical similarities in terms of their form and function, linguistic categorisation established in one language such as English cannot be automatically taken to suit other languages as well. The insight that each language must be described in its own right has been one of the main innovations of the Boasian tradition (see, e.g., Boas 1911).

It is essential to distinguish language-particular descriptive categories from cross-linguistically valid comparative concepts (Haspelmath 2010; 2018)[43]. For the present analysis, we can do this on two levels: on the one hand, we can focus on the categorisation of *because* and its equivalents, and on the other hand, we can focus on the form of the whole construction. Because the latter will be the main topic of Chapter VI, I will now focus on the cross-linguistic validity of the word class analysis of the causal connector in NFC constructions. However, given the fact that the complement of the connector is the essential criterion for its categorisation, the two planes cannot be strictly held apart.

Suppose we want to compare the word class membership of the causal connector in the different language-particular NFC construction. In that case, we face, in principle, the same problem as in the discussions of the possible word class membership of the connector in NFC constructions (Section IV.2). Without falling back on any pre-existing categories, the word class membership can only be meaningfully established for an individual expression in an individual construction based on distributional, morpho-syntactic criteria. This means that the

[43] The dichotomy between language-particular or descriptive and cross-linguistically valid or comparative concepts corresponds with the distinction between language-specific or idiosyncratic and diasystematic or language-unspecific constructions in the framework of (Diasystematic) Construction Grammar (see Chapter VI). A comparable distinction underlies the conceptual pair of emic and etic approaches to language description (Pike 1952).

analysis pertains not only to the word class membership of the connector but also to the connectors used in NFC constructions.

However, the results of these analyses for languages other than English tell us that we are dealing with structurally and functionally equivalent constructions (156). The only difference is the already mentioned occasional nominative case in German (156c) and Czech (156d) nominal complements. This means that the tripartite categorisation of the connector can be retained for Dutch, German, and Czech as well.

(156) a. *because* X [=AdjP, AdvP, NP, Num, PP, Emoji, Interjection]
b. *want* X [=AdjP, AdvP, NP, Num, PP, Emoji, Interjection]
c. *weil* X [=AdjP, AdvP, NP (+NP.NOM), Num, PP, Emoji, Interjection]
d. *protože* X [=AdjP, AdvP, NP (+NP.NOM), Num, PP, Emoji, Interjection]

The question is what of the above is language-specific and what can be used as comparative concepts. If we follow the principle that each language must be analysed in its own terms, we will end up establishing language-specific categories unrelated to each other. We would end up with a language-specific English Conjunction, another language-specific Dutch Conjunction, language-specific German Conjunctions, a language-specific Czech Conjunctions and so forth (157).[44]

(157) a. English Conjunction, English Preposition, English Third Category
b. Dutch Conjunction, Dutch Preposition, Dutch Third Category
c. German Conjunction, German Preposition, German Third Category
d. Czech Conjunction, Czech Preposition, Czech Third Category

The focus on language-particular categories leads to an almost infinite regress since there is no non-arbitrary reason to stop at the level of individual languages. Ultimately, separate categories could – or perhaps even should – be posited for each idiolect of each variety of each language.[45] Therefore, trying to achieve language-specific categorisation seems to be at odds with the goal of language comparison.

[44] I follow here Croft's (e.g. 2001) practice to write language-specific categories with a capital letter and optionally with a glossonym referring to the language in question, e.g. Conjunction or English Conjunction. Cross-linguistically valid categories are, on the other hand, written in lower-case letters and without any glossonyms, e.g. conjunctions.

[45] This radical position, supported for example by Joos (1957: 96), ultimately denies the existence of any (true or implicational) universals or the possibility to meaningfully compare linguistic categories.

Therefore, some proposals see the solution in assuming universal innate categories to all languages (e.g. Baker 2003). The categories found in individual languages are instantiations of these universal categories.

Other proposals maintain word classes established in individual languages also for cross-linguistic purposes. Advocates of this approach claim "that a certain degree of idealisation is necessary in order for a description of a language to be possible at all, so as to make sense of the wealth of linguistic facts that we face within particular languages and cross-linguistically" (Aarts 2004a: 37).

However, idealisation can only be achieved by committing to methodological opportunism (Croft 2001: 30–32). This means the arbitrary way of establishing which features are relevant for cross-linguistic categorisation and which are not. The case assignment in noun phrase complements in NFC constructions serve as a case in point (158). Whereas *because* NP in English (158a) and *want* NP in Dutch (158b) do not mark the noun phrase for case, the noun phrase is marked for the nominative in German (158c) as well as in Czech (158d). The question, therefore, is whether case assignment should or should not be considered in the cross-linguistic categorisation of the connector.

(158) a. *Soon we will get paid to consume goods* ***because negative interest rates.*** [e069]

b. *Wij zijn spierwit, dus geen korte broeken ed* ***want witten benen.*** [n126]
'We are as white as a sheet, so no shorts or something like that because white legs.'

c. *Ah, aber das Feierabendbier schadet den Gehirnzellen und damit der Leistungsfähigkeit nicht? Oder ist das okay* ***weil traditioneller Leistungsverlust?*** [d148]
'Ah, but the evening after-work beer does not harm the brain cells and thus productivity? Or is it okay because traditional[M.NOM.SG] productivity loss[M.NOM.SG]?'

d. ***Protože falešné dilema.*** *Je naopak žádoucí, aby ministr zvládal řesit víc věcí najednou. Opak by byl ukázkou neschopného managementu.* [c087]
'Because false[N.NOM.SG] dilemma[N.NOM.SG]. In contrary, it is desirable for a minister to manage more things simultaneously. The opposite would be an example of mismanagement.'

Methodological opportunism, however, "suffers from two interrelated and fatal problems" (Croft 2001: 32). First, how do we decide in advance of our analysis which language-specific features will be relevant for the cross-linguistic analysis? Second, whichever feature we consider or ignore can serve our unconscious bias.[46]

Should we regard or disregard this feature when comparing the categories of *because*, *want*, *weil*, and *protože* in (158)? Should we classify the causal connector in German and Czech just as we classified the causal connector in English and Dutch, regardless of the absence of the nominative nominal complements? Or should we classify the causal connector in German and Czech together and define a separate category for the causal connector in English and Dutch?

These problems arise from treating categories as the primitive units of our (cross-linguistic) analyses. If we, however, following the principles of Radical Construction Grammar (e.g. Croft 2001; 2023), regard constructions and not categories as the primitives, the problems disappear.[47] If we do that, we can compare the categories established for the causal connectors in the cross-linguistic equivalents of NFC constructions and formulate cross-linguistically valid generalisations. All these generalisations, however, will be generalisations about a specific expression in a specific construction in a specific language, not generalisations about categories.

The primitive unit for cross-linguistic comparison in the present study is, therefore, the NFC construction and not the connector itself. The NFC constructions serve as the language-unspecific frame that ensures cross-linguistic comparability (Baker & Croft 2017). This is guaranteed by the fact that the definition of NFC constructions (see Section III.1.1) lacks any language-specific components and only describes the strategies that specific languages utilise (Croft 2016: 380).

On the one hand, the use of NFC construction as the comparative concept (Haspelmath 2010; 2018; Croft 2016) allows us to establish which connectors and which complements (and in what form) are used in a specific language (see Section III.1). On the other hand, the use of the NFC construction as the comparative frame also allows to compare the categorisation of the connector across languages.

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[46] On the one hand, this is an issue in linguistic theorising in general and in linguistic typology in particular. On the other hand, cross-linguistic comparative concepts are also of practical importance for multilingual constructicography Lyngfelt et al. (2022).

[47] The idea that parts of speech are not universal categories, but rather language-specific emerges as one of the consequences of the principles of Radical Construction Grammar. Mainly due to its focus on construction-specific and language-specific analysis. Arguing against the universality of parts of speech, however, predates Radical Construction Grammar and can be traced at least as far back as to Sapir (1921: 119).

The language-unspecific definition of NFC constructions provides a stable comparative frame for categorising the connector. The language-specific categorisation of the causal connector depends on its context in the form of the complement slot of the NFC construction. Since the complement slot, as part of the whole construction, is not defined language-specifically, the categorisations based on it will be comparable. This means that even though the present study does not allow any conclusions about the language-specific properties of the category of conjunctions or prepositions, it does enable cross-linguistic conclusions about the language-specific categorisation of the causal connectors in NFC constructions.

## 5 Concluding remarks

The main topic of the present chapter was the question of the word class membership of the causal connector used in NFC constructions. I have used syntactic and morphological criteria to show that three connector types can be distinguished: First, the connector is used as a conjunction. Second, the connector is used as a preposition. Third, the connector is used as a third-category member.

Against this backdrop, I have emphasised the essential role of context for categorisation. Not only for describing the three connector types but also more generally for our understanding of linguistic categories. One of the main insights gained from categorising the causal connector in NFC constructions is the realisation that the causal connector does not a priori *have* a set category membership. The causal connector is instead used as a member of one of the three categories indicated above.

Without concrete context, the connector has only a general category potential that ranges between conjunction, preposition, and the third category. The connector can be used as a conjunction, but it can also be used as a preposition or as a third-category member. It is only through context, however, that its *potential* category membership becomes *concrete* category membership.

The final issue concerning the categories I have addressed in this chapter is the question of their cross-linguistic comparability. This might be a peripheral issue when dealing with data from a single language, but it is central when dealing with data from four languages, as is the case in the present study. As a solution, I applied the principles of Radical Construction Grammar, which regard categories as by-products of individual constructions and of individual languages. These tenets are cross-linguistic extensions of the emergentist principles observed in particular languages.

# V Cross-linguistic perspectives on NFC constructions

## 1 Mapping NFC constructions

The present chapter addresses the role of language contact in the cross-linguistic spread of the NFC constructions. This will be done from two distinct yet related perspectives. From the standpoint of individual speakers (see Section V.2) and from the perspective of individual languages (see Section V.3).

Linguists and bloggers report equivalent constructions in languages other than the languages of my sample. This is the case for Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Hungarian, Serbian, Romanian, and Russian but also for Korean and Malay (Konvička 2018: 19-20; 2019: 167; 2020: 245; Lemmens 1991; van der Horst 2004: 20).

Such a wide cross-linguistic spread of the construction allows us to dare a conjecture. Because we know that languages as closely related as English, Dutch, and German all have an NFC construction, it would not be unreasonable to expect this construction in other languages as closely related, such as Frisian and Luxembourgish. Similarly, based on the evidence about the existence of *fordi* X in Danish, we can reasonably expect an NFC construction such as *för att* X in Swedish or *fordi* X in Norwegian too. Moreover, we can expand this expectation to all North Germanic languages and hypothesise that Icelandic and Faroese will also have that construction.

The same principle can be applied to the Romance and Slavic languages and is also valid for Estonian due to the confirmed existence of Finnish NFC construction. We know, for example, that both Czech and Slovak have a construction of this type. Therefore, we can expect a similar construction in Polish, also a West Slavic language.

We can even formulate the hypothesis that "[e]very language […] which allows an elliptical construction of the type $AdjP_1$ *because* $AdjP_2$ has the potential to develop other elliptical and even non-elliptical instances of *because* X" (Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 363). Whether or not this is the case and whether the hypothesis will ultimately be borne out remains an empirical question outside of the scope of this study.

Because the definition of NFC constructions is based on the contrast with causal clauses, the only feasible exception to the abovementioned generalisation would be languages not employing finite verbs in causal clauses. In such languages, both full clauses and other complements of the connector would be formally identical, rendering the search for an equivalent of NFC constructions in these languages meaningless.

Figure V-1 shows the spread of attested NFC constructions across languages of Europe. Moreover, the figure indicates those languages where NFC constructions are expected based

on the generalisation mentioned above but have yet to be attested. It remains an empirical question for further research to refute or confirm the presence of NFC constructions in these conjectured cases.

We do not only see the spread of NFC constructions, but we can also observe the cross-linguistic existence of structural and functional equivalents (see discussions in Section II.5.2). Moreover, we also see the same diachronic scenario of the emergence of NFC constructions across different languages (see Chapter VI).

On top of that, even in those aspects of the cross-linguistic equivalents where we find divergent traits, we can identify systematicity behind them. By this, I refer to the fact that we find the parallel use of the nominative in nominal complements of causal connectors in NFC constructions (see Section II.3.2).

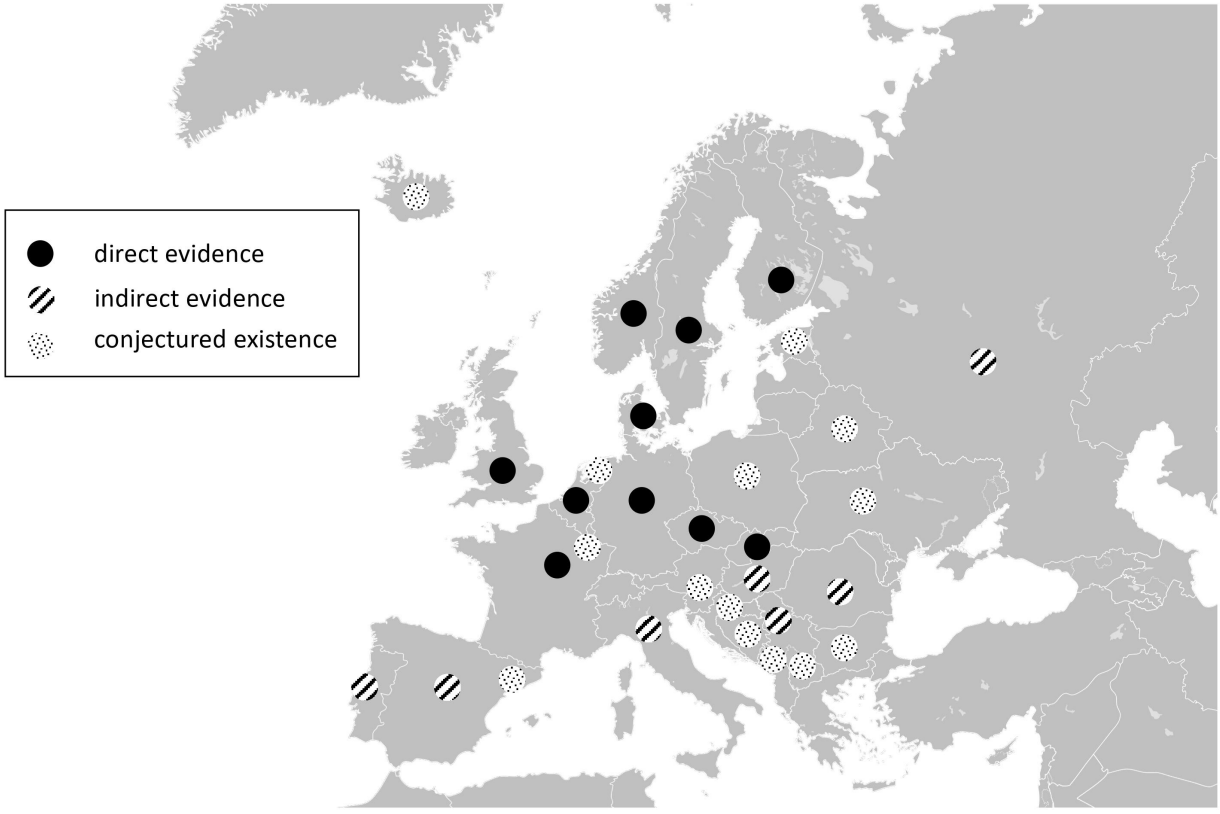


*Figure V-1: Spread of NFC constructions in the languages of Europe*

Against the backdrop of the spread of NFC constructions and the parallelisms and systematic differences among these equivalents, several questions arise. The main one is how to explain these cross-linguistic similarities. Four logical options, given in (159), are generally possible.

(159) a. coincidence

b. parallel independent development

c. structural borrowing

d. combination of (b) and (c)

From a purely logical perspective, the cross-linguistic similarities in NFC constructions can result from coincidence (159a), just as the English word dog is coincidentally formally and semantically (almost) identical to the word *dog* in Mbabaram, a now-extinct Australian Aboriginal language (Comrie 2018: 6). Similarly, the formal and functional correspondence between the NFC construction in English and Finnish might be purely accidental. However, the chances of this explanation being correct dwindle with the number of languages with an NFC construction.

Because of the improbability of the coincidental occurrence of so many functional and formal cross-linguistic correspondences, we might turn to a more likely scenario – that of parallel but independent developments (159b). This explanation of the cross-linguistic spread of NFC constructions is based on the fact that most languages with an NFC construction are related and belong to the Indo-European language family. In the case of the languages analysed in this study, all languages are Indo-European, and three out of four are Germanic. The unrelated few are represented by Finnish, Hungarian, Malay, and possibly Estonian.

Against this backdrop, we might entertain the idea of drift (Sapir 1921: 147–170) to explain this convergence. All of these languages have a causal connector, such as *because*, and all of these languages can complement this expression by a subordinate clause. With this foundation, the step towards a causal connector complemented by an elliptical subordinate clause is not so far-fetched (see Chapter VI).

Although much more modern, this development can be viewed as being in line with similar parallel developments in Indo-European languages (see, e.g., Haspelmath 1998 for a discussion of Standard Average European) , such as the development of the article system (see, e.g., Bauer 2007), the development of the *have* perfect (see, e.g., Drinka 2020; Kümmel 2020) or the development of the tense and aspect system in general (see, e.g. Thieroff 2000).

Both the explanation based on coincidence (159a) and parallel independent developments due to relatedness (159b) share the assumption that NFC constructions in different languages developed without language contact. This should not imply that the languages at hand have not been in contact whatsoever. The assumption, however, is that language contact has not played a role in the development of the NFC construction and its equivalents.

Suppose we want to include language contact as a factor in the cross-linguistic spread. In that case, we must turn to other explanations (159c), particularly explanations involving

structural borrowing or contact-induced grammaticalisation (Heine 2009; Kuteva 2017; Heine & Kuteva 2003) or areal grammaticalisation (Heine & Kuteva 2020; Heine & Kuteva 2005). In recent decades, the central source for structural borrowing can be seen in English (Carey 2015) (see Section V.3)[48].

Finally, combining the factors mentioned above is possible because "for any given linguistic phenomenon, a multiplicity of explanations generally needs to be considered" (Joseph 2015: 205). Due to the nature of the languages analysed, we must consider a combination of native, parallel developments with contact-induced changes. NFC constructions are, following this logic, Multiple Source Constructions (Van de Velde, De Smet & Ghesquière 2015) and combine native developments with developments caused by language contact.

These multiple sources can be illustrated if we consider the early elliptical examples from Dutch (160a), German (160b) and Czech (160c). These cases are much more likely the result of language-internal developments than language contact with English. On the other hand, contact with English, particularly in online contexts where English plays a significant role (Seshagiri 2014)[49] must be assumed for the contemporary situation.

(160) a. *Frankrijk is berucht* ***want recordhouder*** (1990) (Lemmens 1991: 14)
'France is notorious because record holder.'

b. *er habe sich bis jetzt nur mit den stillen friedlichen Musen beschäftigt; er habe sich von der Politik immer entfernt gehalten; von nun aber,* ***weil gereizt,*** *werde er gegen die Regierung feindlich auftreten.* (1834) (Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 338)
'he has hitherto only concerned himself with the quiet, peaceful Muses; he has kept himself away from politics; from now on, however, because irritated, he will act against the government in a hostile way.'

c. *Pověst i rozprávka málo mají hodnověrnosti do sebe,* ***protože nesnadno vyšetřeny,*** *ale tím snadněji pojinačeny býti mohou.* (1848) (Konvička 2020: 255)
'Legends and fairy tales have little trustworthiness to them because not easily examined, but the easier they are to be changed.'

[48] A case of structural borrowing very similar to the potential case of NFC constructions discussed here is the Dutch calque of the English construction [(DET) $ADJ_{superlative}$ N *ever* (PTC)], e.g. (*the*) *best book ever* (*written*), (Zenner, Heylen & Van de Velde 2018).

[49] For 2013, Seshagiri concludes that approximately 22% of all Twitter users come from the United States, and about 51% of all tweets were written in English. Similarly, based on Statista (Johnson 2022) data, English was the most frequently used language online, with a share of 25.9% in 2020.

However, all options discussed focus on *languages* as the primary units of the analysis. The question was asked whether a given *language* has an NFC construction and whether this *language* acquired this constructed by language-internal means or via language contact. This is, of course, a valid question. Still, we should also not forget that languages, unlike individual speakers and their idiolects, are discursive entities and do not exist naturally (see e.g. Krämer, Vogl & Kolehmainen 2022).

It is essential to distinguish the ontological level of individual language users (or their communities) from the ontological level of individual languages. Although both levels are connected because language contact happens via contact between language users, they both need to be approached from a slightly different perspective.

To achieve this goal, I will first focus on NFC constructions from the perspective of Diasystematic Construction Grammar (e.g. Höder 2018). In so doing, I will present the NFC constructions in English, Dutch, German, and Czech as diaconstructions. Diaconstructions are constructions specific to a given community, not necessarily to a language. To do that, I will present the tenets of Diasystematic Construction Grammar in the next section.

Speaking of diaconstructions, however, only makes sense if a specific community shares such constructions. I argue that social media can be thought of as online multilingual spaces that work analogously to geographical spaces, which are traditionally the locus of language change (Section V.3). This understanding of social media enables us to apply the traditional tools of contact linguistics. I will discuss one such tool, semantic maps, and use it for the cross-linguistic comparison of NFC constructions (Section V.4).

## 2 NFC constructions as diaconstructions

### 2.1 Diasystematic Construction Grammar

Diasystematic Construction Grammar (DCxG)[50] (see, e.g., Höder 2012; 2014c; 2018) is one of the many Construction Grammar approaches to the study of language (for an overview of such theories see, e.g., Ungerer & Hartmann 2023). It presents an add-on to existing models by emphasising the central role of multilingualism.

DCxG conceptualises grammar as a phenomenon specific to a given community, not a particular phenomenon specific to a given language. It recognises "multilingualism and

[50] The model's name refers back to Weinreich's (1954: 390) notion of *diasystem* described as a generalisation based on two systems with partial similarities. According to Weinreich, a diasystem exists on the ontological level of the language analyst but in some cases, such as in cases of bilingual (or bidialectal) speakers, and also on the ontological level of the language users themselves.

language contact as an inherent fact of human language rather than an interfering factor" (Höder 2018: 38) and, to that end, dispenses with the "idea of 'language' as a pre-existing category" (Höder 2018: 47). In other words, not languages play the primary role in DCxG but the communicative practices of the individual speakers.

Instead of presupposing that every single expression and construction is always a priori classified as belonging to a specific language or a specific variety of a language, DCxG introduces the idea of language-non-specificity. Constructions are thus not necessarily specific for a particular language but for a certain community regardless of any specific language.

The idea of language-unspecific constructions works on the same principles as the concept of categorial vagueness (Section IV.3.3). Just as it is sometimes impossible to tell whether a given expression belongs to category A or category B, it is sometimes equally impossible to know whether a given expression belongs to language A or language B.

Based on cognitive (see, e.g. Grosjean 1989; Bialystok 2001: 114) and theoretical grounds (e.g. acknowledging the central role of multilingualism in any society[51]), DCxG does not assume a separate monolingual constructicon for every language a given speaker knows. Instead, the model works with one multilingual constructicon with language-specific constructions alongside language-unspecific ones.

To illustrate language (un-)specificity, let us consider the German-Danish border region of South Schleswig. A linguistically complex region where Standard German and Standard Danish are used together with other varieties such as northern Standard German, Low German, and South Schleswig Danish. In this context, speakers can form polar questions in both Danish (161a) and German (161b) (examples from Höder (2018: 50)).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (161) a. | *Sover* | *du* | *allerede?* |
| | sleep-PRS | SG.NOM | already |
| b. | *Schläfst* | *du* | *schon?* |
| | sleep-IND.PRS.2SG | 2SG.NOM | already |
| | 'Are you already asleep?' | | |

[51] Multilingualism in this context also entails multilectalism. Just as we should acknowledge the fact that most language users use more than one language, we should also acknowledge the fact that even those language users commonly described as monolingual are nevertheless use more than one variety of that language.

The Danish and German polar questions (161) can be described as two language-specific constructions.[52] In DCxG terminology language-specific constructions are referred to as *idioconstructions*, short for *idiosyncratic constructions*. This would be the case for monolingual speakers of German or Danish, who can be described as having a separate monolingual constructicons for Danish and another constructicon for German.

For bilingual speakers of German or Danish, given the structural identity of the Danish and German polar questions, we can also analyse (161a) and (161b) as two language-specific variants of a language-unspecific construction. In DCxG terminology, language-unspecific constructions are referred to as *diaconstructions*, short for *diasystematic constructions*. This way, it is not necessary to assume two monolingual constructicons but a single multilingual constructicon.[53]

The two approaches are illustrated in (162). The two polar questions in (161) can be analysed either as two separate idioconstructions in Danish (162a) and German (162b) or as two concrete instantiations of a single language-unspecific diaconstruction (162c). The former approach underlies the assumption that the language users with both (161a) and (161b) at their disposal are entirely unaware of the structural similarities between these two language-specific structures. The latter approach, in contrast, works with the assumption that the structural similarities are part of the meta-linguistic knowledge of the language users.

(162) a. [FINITE$_{1,}$ … ⟨polar question⟩ ⟨C$_{Da}$⟩]
b. [FINITE$_{1,}$ … ⟨polar question⟩ ⟨C$_{Ge}$⟩]
c. [FINITE$_{1,}$ … ⟨polar question⟩]

A language-unspecific construction such as (162c) becomes language-specific once its slots, such as the first slot for the finite verb form, are filled with language-specific lexical or grammatical material. Constructions in DCxG, just as in other models of Construction

[52] Angle brackets are used in DCxG (Höder 2018: 49) to indicate the non-referential meaning of a construction. The capital *C* refers to the communicative setting of the construction, which is further specified by the abbreviation in the subscript. Abbreviated glottonyms such as *Da* for 'Danish' or *Ge* for 'German' are used as a conveniently simplified way of referring to those communicative settings associated with a particular language. However, the communicative setting of a given construction could also be indicated by subscript descriptions such as *school* or *online* or simply as *A* or *B*.

[53] *Constructicon,* sometimes also spelt as *construct-i-con* (e.g. Goldberg 2013; Hilpert 2014) to highlight its morphological structure and avoid potential confusion with the term *construction*, is understood as the structured and hierarchically organised inventory of all constructions of a single speaker (e.g. Goldberg 2006: 64; Booij 2013).

Grammar, are organised based on inheritance links between more schematic and more specific constructions.

We can rephrase the abstract formulation above and spell out the basic DCxG principle as follows. Regardless of whether the first finite verb eventually is *sover* 'sleep-PRS' or *schläfst* 'sleep-IND.PRS.2SG', the German-Danish bilingual language user knows that it must be a finite verb form followed by a pronoun and the rest of the sentence. It is this abstract language-unspecific linguistic knowledge that is captured by diaconstructions.

Figure V-2 (taken from Höder 2018: 51) shows a schematic polar question diaconstruction with its more concrete Danish-specific idioconstructions, such as the verbal suffix *-er* to indicate the present tense Danish.

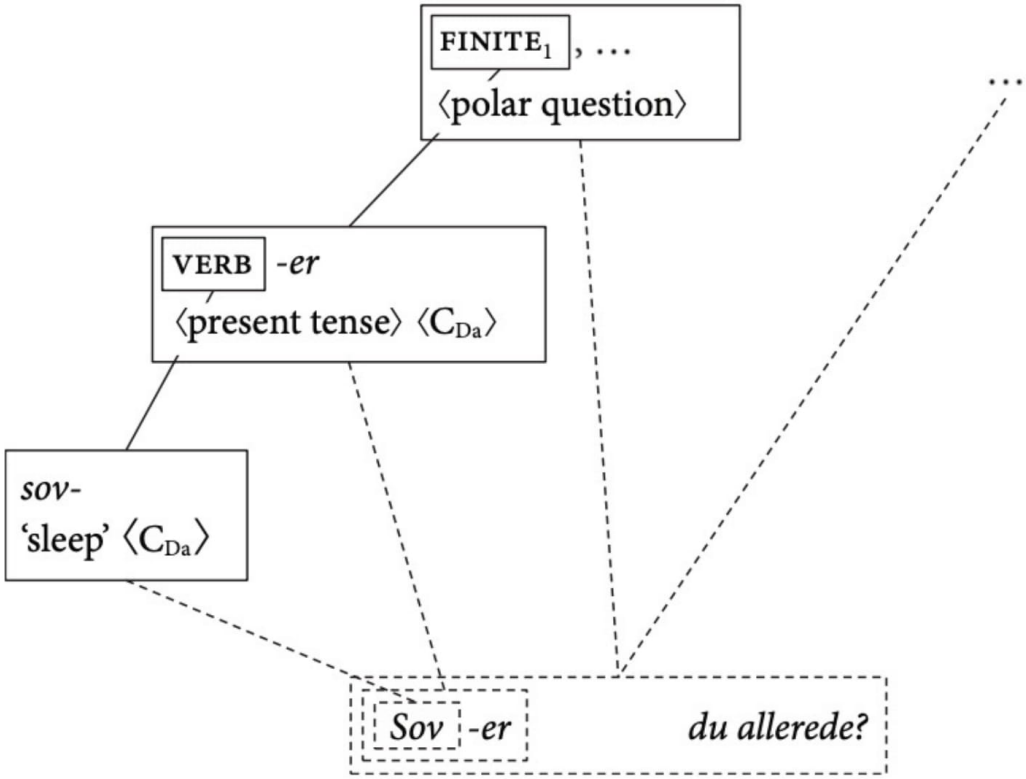


*Figure V-2: Interaction of language-specific and unspecific constructions*

Language specificity is integrated into DCxG (Höder 2018: 48–49) similarly to the way pragmatic restrictions such as register-specificity are analysed in other constructional approaches (see, e.g., Cappelle 2017; Leclercq 2020; Schmid 2020: 48). Just as all constructions have a form and a meaning, all constructions are marked for language specificity. Language-

specific constructions are associated with a particular communicative setting typical for a specific language or variety.

Saying that a construction A is specific to language X is not just a terminologically innovative way of saying that A is a construction of language X. It means that the category *language* such as English, Dutch, German or Czech is not elevated above other categories such as tense, number, mood or case. Instead, *language* presents merely one of many other parameters that can be used to classify constructions. In other words, language does not have to be treated as the primary parameter within which every other parameter is situated but as one of many parameters (see Figure V-3).

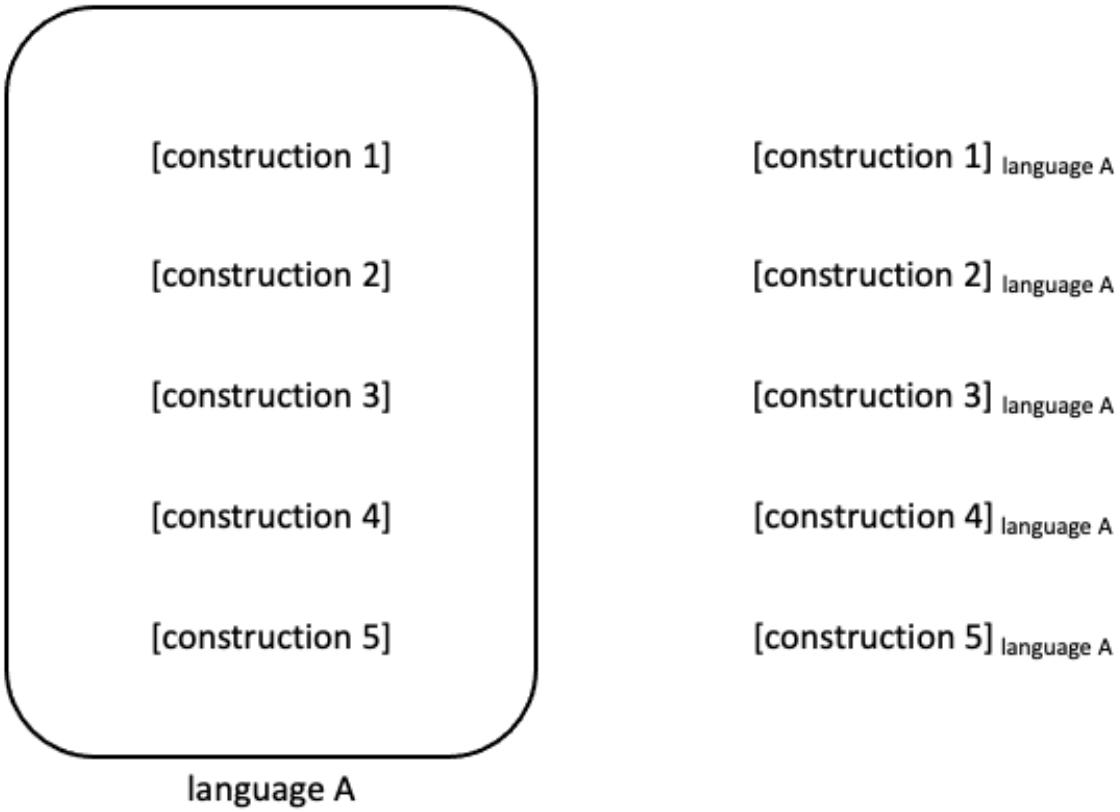


*Figure V-3: Language as the primary parameter or as one of many*

Getting rid of language as the primary parameter for all analyses of constructions might seem like a big leap at first, but it is, in fact, only a small step. By doing so, we start treating the parameter of language as a number of other parameters. When we, for example, think of politeness or respect (Simon 2003), we classify constructions, such as the different greetings in English, based on their level of formality (163). The group of three expressions in (163) differ

in their formality level but are all expressions of the same language. In other words, the primary parameter of the group of expressions in (163) is language-specificity.

(163) a. [*morning* 'greetings' ⟨$C_{informal}$⟩ ⟨$C_{En}$⟩]
b. [*good morning* 'greetings' ⟨$C_{formal}$⟩ ⟨$C_{En}$⟩]
c. [*good day* 'greetings' ⟨$C_{very\ formal}$⟩ ⟨$C_{En}$⟩]

However, the tables can also be turned. The group of expressions in (164) all share the same level of formality but differ in their language-specificity. In other words, the primary parameter of the group of expressions in (164) is formality, not their language-specificity.

(164) a. [*morning* 'greetings' ⟨$C_{informal}$⟩ ⟨$C_{En}$⟩]
b. [*Morgen* 'greetings' ⟨$C_{informal}$⟩ ⟨$C_{Ge}$⟩]
c. [*ahoj* 'greetings' ⟨$C_{informal}$⟩ ⟨$C_{Cz}$⟩]

DCxG represents one such attempt at turning the tables in the context of Construction Grammar. In a geographically defined multilingual setting such as South Schleswig discussed above, a minority group speaks Danish in an environment where the majority speaks German. In such a context, language is context-dependent, just like the level of formality.

Regarding NFC constructions, we are not dealing with a similarly geographically defined region of multilingual communication but with multilingual practices on the Internet. The analyses presented in this study are predominantly based on data from social media platforms such as Twitter (Bohmann 2016; Konvička 2020; Konvička & Stöcker 2022). Twitter as a medium is, according to Bohmann (2016: 170), "much more tolerant towards deviations from the norms of Standard English" and is, therefore, the "ideal environment for a newly emerging, metalinguistically salient, and economical construction like *because* X" (Bohmann 2016: 170-171).

Against this backdrop, we can think of social media and the Internet as a multilingual *community of practice*. Seshagiri (2014) shows that 22% of all Twitter users in 2013 came from the USA, and 51% of all tweets were written in English. An earlier study by Hong, Convertino & Chi (2011) reported that more than 50% of all tweets in their sample were in English, while almost 40% were in Japanese, Portuguese, Indonesian or Spanish. Regardless of the exact figures and statistics, we can conclude that Twitter users with knowledge of less used languages

on Twitter will almost inevitably get into contact with languages other than their own, predominantly English (see Section V.4 for more details).

For this reason, I will apply DCxG tenets to model the multilingual constructicon of the NFC constructions of the social media users on whose data I base the present study. Figure V-4 represents one such representation. The representation has three levels of schematicity (see Section III.4): First, at the very top is the schematic diaconstruction that represents the language-unspecific NFC construction. Second, the middle row represents the level of schematic idioconstructions. These constructions are schematic because they do not contain any concrete linguistic material but are already language-specific. Third, at the very bottom is the level of concrete idioconstructions. These constructions are language-specific and already contain concrete linguistic material.

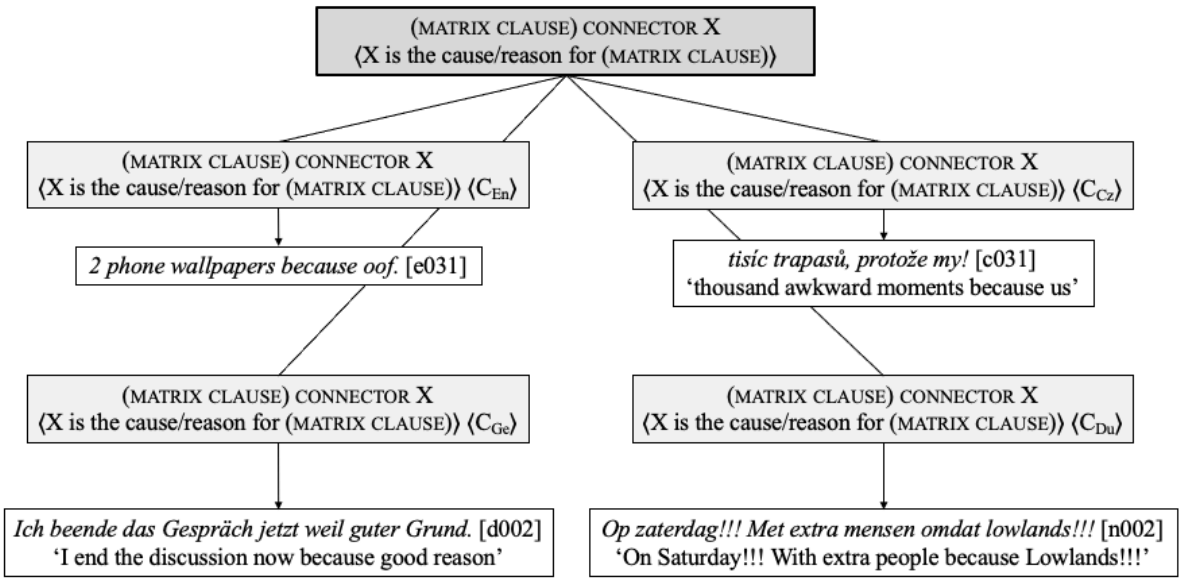


*Figure V-4: Diasystematic organisation of NFC constructions*

It should be noted that Figure V-4 represents the multilingual diaconstructicon of a community or an individual that uses the NFC construction in all four analysed languages. Depending on the language users at hand, however, the constructicon can, of course, be simpler and involve a smaller range of languages but also more complex and involve a wider variety of languages. Regardless of the exact configuration of the communication setting, however, the underlying diasystematicity remains.

While I do want to claim that there are speakers with NFC constructions in their linguist repertoires for whom the construction has the status of a diaconstruction, I do not wish to claim that this is the case for *all* speakers with NFC constructions in their linguistic repertoires. As I

will show in the following section, however, NFC diaconstructions play an essential role in the spread of the construction both within a multilingual and monolingual speech community.

### 2.2 Cross-linguistic pro-diasystematic change

In the previous section, I have described the principles of DCxG and how they apply to the cross-linguistic spread of the NFC construction. We have seen that it is fruitful to analyse multilingual language users with several different language-specific NFC constructions in their repertoires as having multilingual constructicons containing an NFC diaconstruction. The question I will address now is how does a diaconstruction come about? In other words, how does an idioconstruction become diasystematic and turn into a diaconstruction?

Language (un)specificity of a construction is not a static property but changes depending on the communicative context. In this sense, the language (un)specificity of NFC constructions can be compared to the changing categorial status of the causal connector in the construction (see Chapter IV). In this section I therefore focus on the development of the NFC constructions and its cross-linguistic equivalents from a language-specific idioconstruction towards a language-unspecific diaconstruction.

This type of change has been termed *pro-diasystematic change* (see Höder 2012; 2014a for a more detailed discussion) and "is defined as a type of change that simplifies the multilingual system by reducing a construction's language-specificity" (Höder 2018: 60). A pro-diasystematic change is therefore a change that leads from an idioconstruction to a diaconstruction.

Three aspects are involved in any process of a pro-diasystematic change (Höder 2018: 54–55). First, the language user identifies a language-specific idioconstruction in one language as the cross-linguistic equivalent of another language-specific construction in another language.[54] This happens based on formal and functional similarities between the two constructions (see e.g. Heine & Kuteva 2005: 219–234 for a discussion of cross-linguistic equivalency). Second, based on the features shared by the two cross-linguistic equivalent idioconstructions, the language user generalises a more abstract, language-unspecific diaconstruction. Third, the constructicon of the language user is subsequently reorganised in such a way that the resulting single diaconstruction replaces the two original idioconstructions in the constructicon.

[54] Identifying functional equivalents in different languages is called *pivot matching* (Matras & Sakel 2007: 831).

Figure V-5 (taken from Höder 2018: 18) conveniently illustrates this kind of pro-diasystematic change through Höder's example of the polar questions in Danish and German. At first, the multilingual constructicon of the language user contains two idioconstructions—one for the German polar question and another for the polar question in Danish. Once the language user recognises these two idioconstructions as equivalent, a language-unspecific diaconstruction can be generalised. The third and final step then consists of the reorganisation of the language user's constructicon and the replacement of the two initial idioconstructions by a single diaconstruction.[55]

In each of its three steps, the process results in the progressive reduction of the language-specific character of the construction. While the first step contains two fully language-specific constructions, the second represents a lesser degree of language specificity due to the emergence of the overarching diaconstruction. This second step presents an interim stage of the process with the original idioconstructions and the diaconstruction co-existing. Finally, the representation of polar questions in the constructicon of the speaker becomes fully language unspecific in the third and final step of the process.

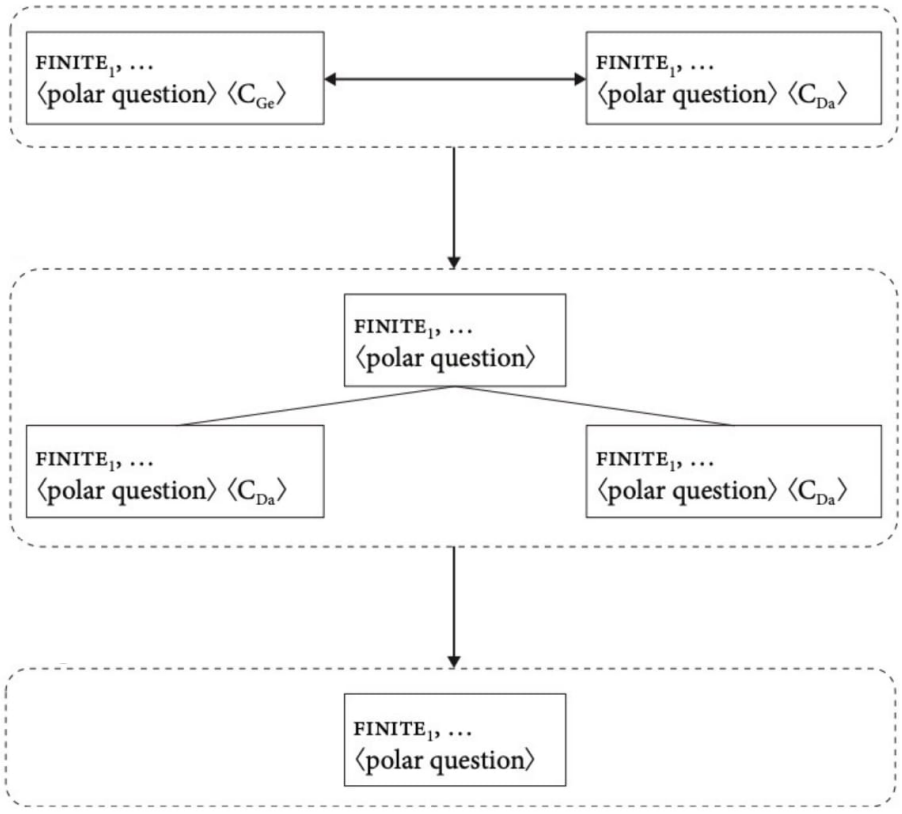


*Figure V-5: Diasystematic reorganisation*

[55] The process described here as a pro-diasystematic reorganisation of the multilingual speaker's constructicon is also discussed, in non-DCxG terms, by Matras and Sakel (2007: 835) under the label of *syncretisation of processing operations*.

Accordingly, we can now model the pro-diasystematic reorganisation of the constructicon for the users of the cross-linguistic equivalents of NFC constructions, in particular in English (Kanetani 2012; 2015; 2016; 2021; Bohmann 2016; Bergs 2018a; Okada 2020; Konvička & Stöcker 2022), German (Konvička & Stöcker 2022), Dutch (Konvička 2018; 2019; Konvička & Stöcker 2022), and Czech (Konvička 2020). The same scenario is, however, also applicable to languages outside of the scope of the present study.

Let us begin with the scenario depicted in Figure V-6. A speaker of Czech with the idiosystematic NFC construction in their repertoire encounters the English NFC construction *because* X. After realising that *protože* X is the formal and functional equivalent of the newly encountered *because* X, a more abstract and less language-specific NFC construction can emerge. This diasystematic construction can ultimately replace the two erstwhile idiosystematic constructions.

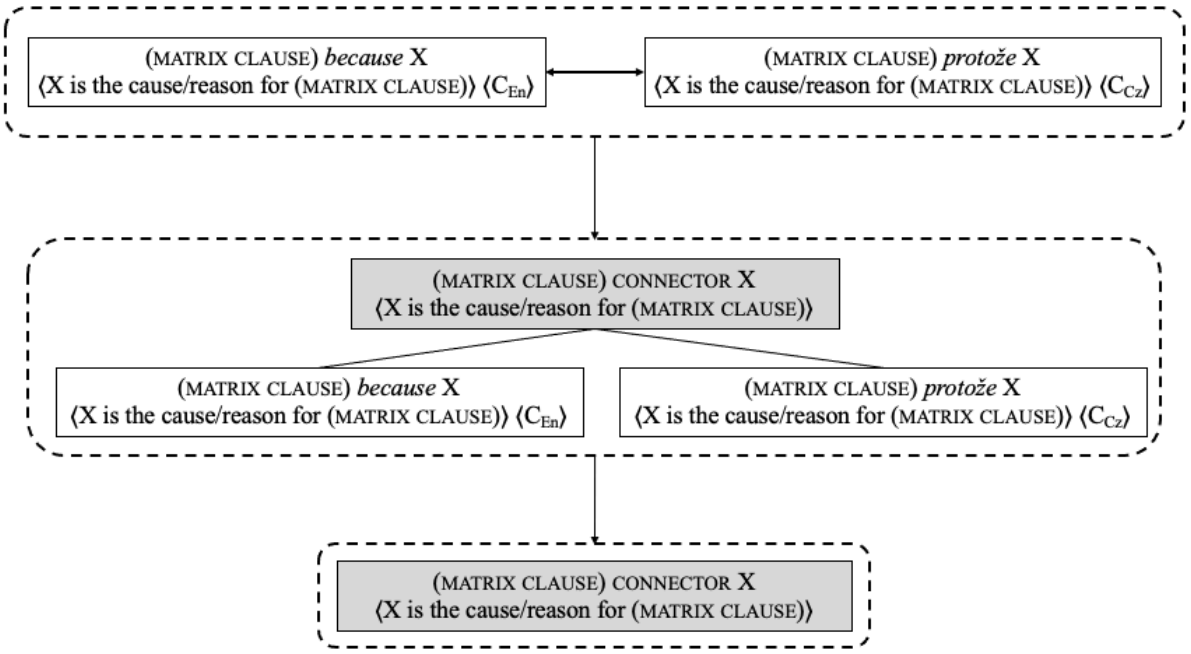


*Figure V-6: Diasystematic reorganisation of NFC constructions*

The scenario described in Figure V-6 pertains to the situation when both language-specific NFC constructions are formally equal. In other words, when both idioconstructions contain the same subtypes such as CONNECTOR AdjP, CONNECTOR NP, CONNECTOR INTERJECTION and so forth. This is, however, not always necessarily the case.

From a diachronic perspective (see Chapter VI), early cases of NFC constructions are of the elliptical type $AdjP_1$ CONNECTOR $AdjP_2$ (see Konvička 2020: 254–256 for Czech, Bergs

2018a or Okada 2020 for English, and Konvička & Stöcker 2022 for Dutch, English, and German). We can, therefore, assume that this is also the subtype of the construction accessible to most speakers if they lack other subtypes, such as CONNECTOR NP. The encounter between a speaker with only the subtype $AdjP_1$ CONNECTOR $AdjP_2$ at their disposal and a speaker with the full range of NFC constructions and its subtypes will develop slightly differently from the scenario in Figure V-6. Whereas in Figure V-6, the two idioconstructions are symmetrical in that they both contain the same range of subtypes, we must also consider asymmetrical cases. Cases where the two idioconstructions undergoing pro-diasystematic change are not formally the same. A case in point is represented in Figure V-7.

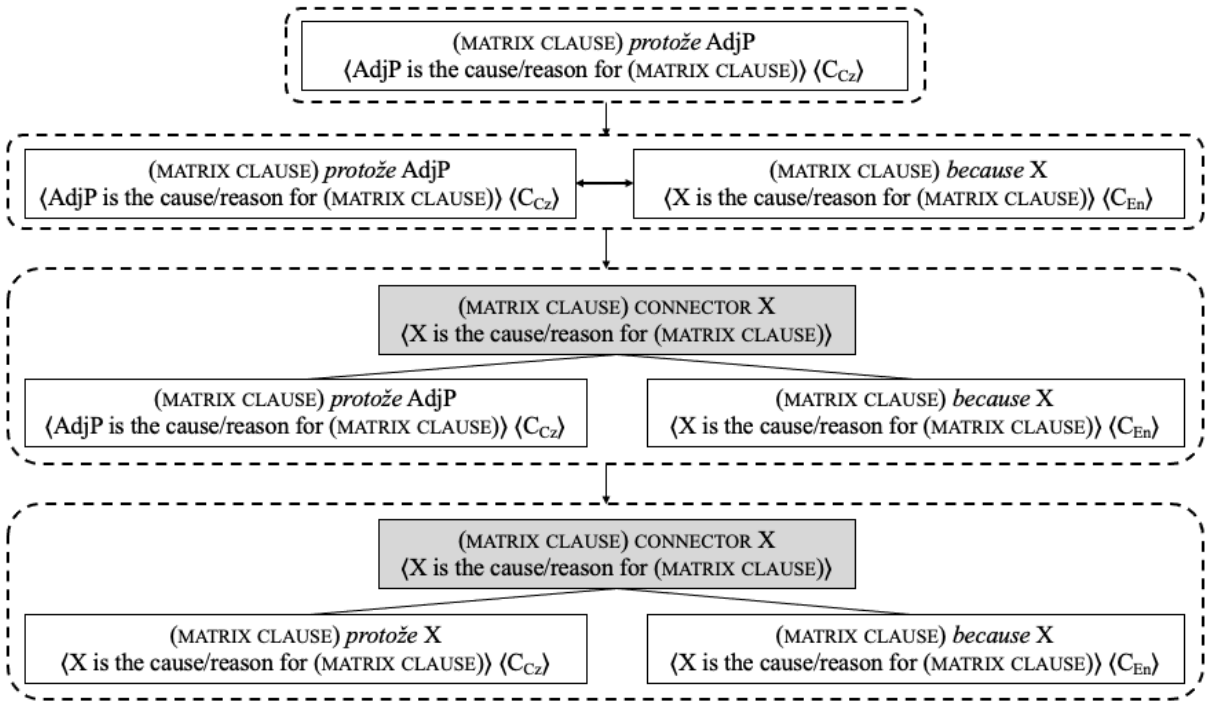


*Figure V-7: Adaptation of idioconstruction during diasystematic reorganisation*

The scenario in Figure V-7 consists of four steps. The diasystematic reorganisation of the constructicon takes place as in the case described in Figure V-6. However, due to the asymmetric relationship between the two idioconstructions, we also see a case of pro-diasystematic convergence (Höder 2014b: 49).

While the Czech construction is of the type $AdjP_1$ CONNECTOR $AdjP_2$, the English construction is of the type CONNECTOR X. This allows not only for the emergence of the diasystematic construction CONNECTOR X but also for the expansion of the possible complements of the Czech idioconstruction in analogy with the English one. The pro-

diasystematic change, therefore, also results in a convergence between the two constructions, thus removing the structural asymmetry between them.[56]

### 2.3 Intra-linguistic pro-diasystematic change

The scenarios described so far work with the premise that both speakers who come into contact with each other already have an NFC construction or one of its subtypes at their disposal. This leads to diasystematic reorganisation of the speakers' constructicon and resulting reduction of language specificity in case of symmetrical contact (see Figure V-6). Moreover, in the case of asymmetrical contact, the contact situation can also lead to pro-diasystematic convergence (see Figure V-7).

It is only for the speakers directly exposed to language contact situations that we can plausibly assume that they store their NFC constructions as diaconstructions. We do not, however, need to assume that monolingual speakers using NFC constructions store and process this construction as a diaconstruction too. These two groups of speakers of a language interact with each other, and we can assume that monolingual speakers are exposed to the repertoire of multilingual speakers of their own language.

Against this backdrop, I will now focus on the spread of the NFC constructions beyond the immediate language contact situation. The processes of diasystematic reorganisation of the (multilingual) constructicon and the diasystematic convergence primarily focus on multilingual speakers and language contact scenarios. The principles of Diasystematic Construction Grammar can, however, also be fruitfully applied to scenarios traditionally not conceptualised as language contact, as I will show.

Languages are discursive phenomena that can be made and unmade (see Krämer, Vogl & Kolehmainen 2022). What counts as a language and what counts as a "mere" variety of a language is, therefore, often based on non-linguistic grounds of politics or culture. This also means that the distinction between a language and a language variety is not a binary issue but an issue of degree. Moreover, accepting that we have no solid linguistic criteria for delimiting languages means we do not have reliable linguistic criteria for delimiting language varieties.

The only data we can rely on are those of individual speakers and idiolects. This means that monolingualism and the idea of a monolingual speaker communicating in a homogenous

[56] What has been here described in terms of DCxG as a case of pro-diasystematic convergence was described by Heine and Kuteva (2003: 539) as *replica grammaticalisation*. In this process, speakers of one language use the linguistic material available to replicate the grammaticalisation process observed in another language. Although not explicitly stated by Heine and Kuteva, the result of this process is the same as that of pro-diasystematic convergence, namely that the two languages become more alike to the advantage of their speakers.

monolingual society is tenable only as a – perhaps sometimes useful – abstraction. Multilingualism or multilectalism should not be treated as an exception but as the rule.[57]

The insight about the centrality of multilingualism emphasises the importance of accommodating multilingualism in our theories (Höder 2018: 43–44). A case in point is the DCxG framework used in the previous section. The same diasystematic principles, however, can also be applied to situations not usually conceptualised as language contact.

Figure V-8 represents one such situation. The figure depicts three idealised speakers of two languages – signalled by black and white dots. Each speaker is a speaker of a variety of a single language. The speaker of variety A has a construction in their repertoire also shared by the speaker of variety B (i.e., a black dot contained by both boxes representing the repertoires of both speakers). Moreover, the speaker of variety B also shares a construction with the speaker of variety C (i.e., a white dot contained by both boxes representing the repertoires of both speakers).

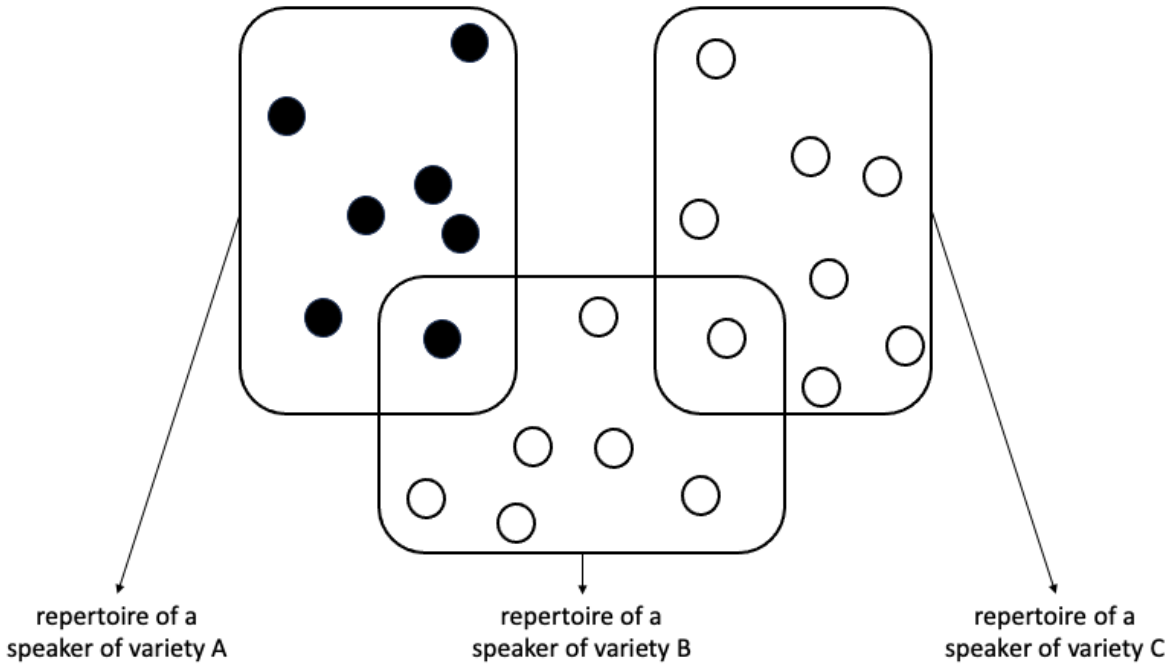


*Figure V-8: Diasystematic and idiosystematic constructions across speakers' repertoires*

[57] This coin, as usual, has two sides: theoretical and practical. On the one hand, we want to be as close to reality as possible and acknowledge that every language speaker speaks it slightly differently and that the very idea of *a language* shared by the speakers is a mere abstraction. On the other hand, without this abstraction, we would have to accept that there is nothing but language contact because every speaker speaks their own language. For DCxG, this would mean that the distinction between idioconstructions and diaconstructions would be blurred. If we take idiolects as the basis, there would be no place for idioconstructions since all constructions would automatically be diaconstructions. For practical reasons, I will not follow the theoretical implications any further. The implications of taking idiolects seriously should, however, be kept in mind whenever the reader encounters expressions such as *language* or *language contact* on the pages of the present study.

The abstract description of the three idealised speakers can be made concrete if we imagine a speaker of variety A as someone with an NFC construction, a speaker of variety B as someone with only one subtype of the NFC construction, and finally, a speaker of variety C as someone with no NFC constructions but only causal clauses in their repertoire.

In this scenario, we will first see the pro-diasystematic reorganisation and pro-diasystematic convergence between the speakers of varieties A and B. This is the familiar scenario described in Figure V-6 and Figure V-7, which refers to the traditional language contact situation.

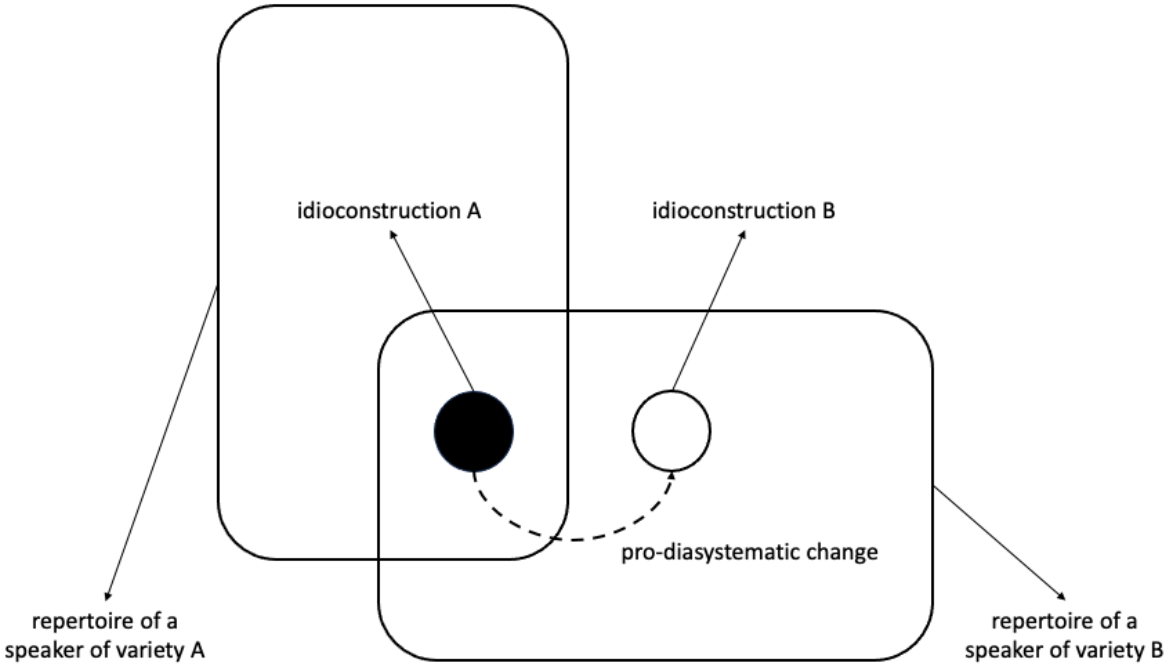


*Figure V-9: Pro-diasystematic change through direct language contact*

This is, however, only part of the picture. As Figure V-8 shows, the speaker of variety B is not only in contact with the speaker of variety A but also with the speaker of variety C. Just as was the idioconstruction of the speaker of variety B influenced by contact with the speaker of variety A, speaker of variety B will in turn influence speaker of variety C. This chain of pro-diasystematic changes is illustrated in Figure V-10.

Such an extension of the original DCxG model of language contact and its effects makes it possible to describe the broader implications of language contact beyond the traditional narrow language contact situation. It is accepted that language contact, alongside performance errors and playful, purposeful manipulations, is one of the sources of language creativity and language change (Bergs 2018b: 279). Contact-induced innovations, however, can extend

beyond the multilingual communities in which they emerged. Still, they can also expand to those speakers who were not directly in contact with speakers of other languages.

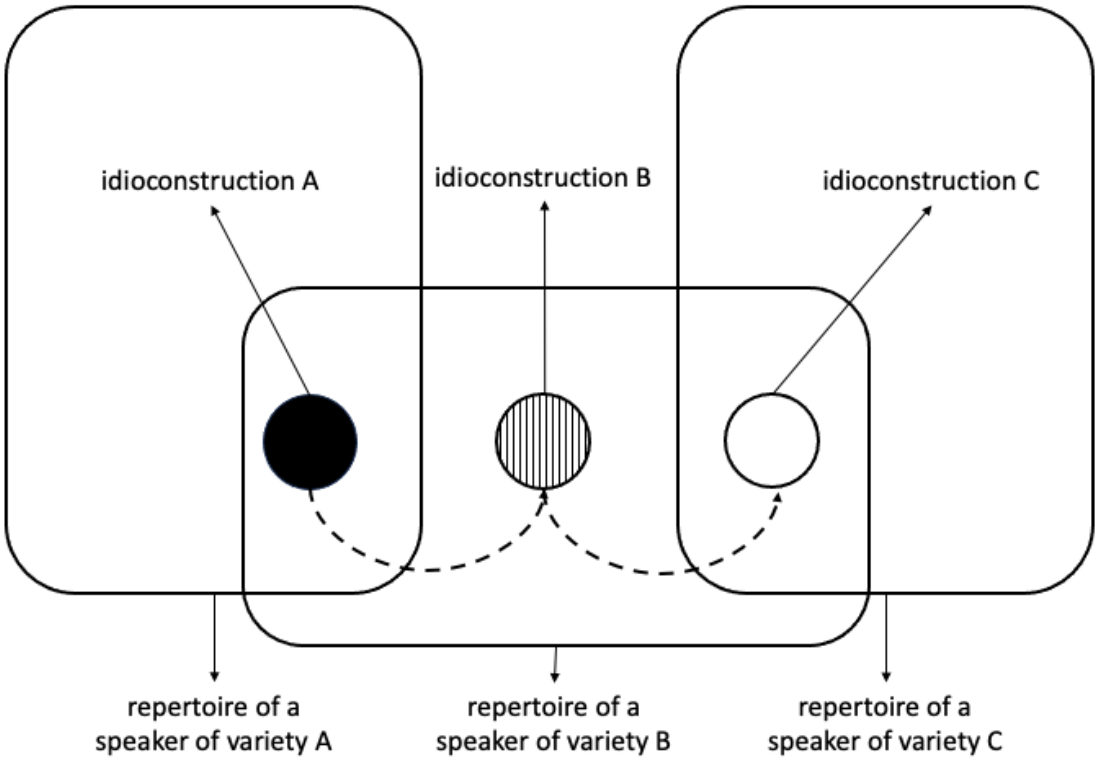


*Figure V-10: Pro-diasystematic change through indirect language contact*

Should the original contact-induced innovation propagate outside its multilingual birthplace, the multilingual speakers must communicate with other speakers not directly involved with the initial language contact (see Figure V-10). In a chain reaction-like way, language contact can affect more speakers than only those directly involved.

The diffusion of contact-induced innovations takes place within a concrete group of speakers, referred to as a *speech community* (see, e.g. Patrick 2003), *community of practice* (see, e.g. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992) or *social network* (see, e.g. Milroy 1980; Milroy & Milroy 1985). Such a group of speakers "consists of those people who communicate with one another or are connected by chains of speakers who communicate with one another" (Grace 1996: 172).

Speech communities are usually understood as groups of people who share a common language. Two things can be said about this understanding. First, it presupposes only monolingual speakers, and second, it is optional. Following Grace's definition above, we can say that people who do not share a common language can be part of the same speech community.

Monolingual speakers of one language can be members of the same "chain of speakers" that contains monolingual speakers of another language. These two monolingual speakers, of course, cannot directly communicate with each other. Still, not every member of a speech community needs to communicate with every other member directly. The crucial linking element here is multilingual speakers. The monolingual speakers mentioned above can be connected through a third, multilingual speaker. This means that contact-induced changes can spread within such a multilingual speech community without the need for *all* the members of this community to be multilingual themselves.

## 3 Language contact in online spaces

### 3.1 Social media and multilingualism

In the previous section, I analysed NFC constructions through the lens of DCxG and analysed them as diaconstructions. This analysis assumes that there must be communities which share NFC constructions as diaconstructions regardless of language. Against this backdrop, I argue in the present section that these communities can be found on social media.

The paradigm examples for community-specific diaconstructions are multilingual areas such as the German-Danish border region discussed in Section V.2.1. However, in the context of the NFC constructions, I study digital, online spaces instead of physical spaces. In doing so, I adopt the concept of networked multilingualism, coined by Androutsopoulos (2015), to complement the traditional work on language contact in physical contexts. Networked multilingualism is a term describing:

> multilingual practices that are shaped by two interrelated processes: being *networked*, i.e. digitally connected to other individuals and groups, and being *in the network*, i.e. embedded in the global digital mediascape of the web.
>
> Androutsopoulos (2015: 187–188, italics original)

Although the present study does not allow any conclusions regarding the multilingualism of individual users of social media, I can conclude the multilingual character of Twitter as a platform and other social media in general.

First, in their study of language use on Twitter, Hong, Convertino, and Chi (2011: 519) identified 104 individual languages based on a sample of 62 million tweets. The top ten languages in their sample are given in Table V-1, with English being the language of more than half of all tweets analysed in their sample.

| Language | Number of tweets | Relative share |
|---|---|---|
| English | 31,952,964 | 51.1% |
| Japanese | 11,975,429 | 19.1% |
| Portuguese | 5,993,584 | 9.6% |
| Indonesian | 3,483,842 | 5.6% |
| Spanish | 2,931,025 | 4.7% |
| Dutch | 883,942 | 1.4% |
| Korean | 754,189 | 1.2% |
| French | 603,706 | 1.0% |
| German | 588,409 | 1.0% |
| Malay | 559,381 | 0.9% |

*Table V-1: Top ten languages of Twitter according to Hong, Convertino, and Chi (2011)*

Second, studies such as Hale (2014) show that about 10% of all Twitter users are multilingual. Moreover, these multilingual users are more active than monolingual users and play a crucial bridging role among the language communities with which they interact. Therefore, the languages in Table V-1 do not represent completely separate groups but groups that at least partially overlap. These findings are compatible with the scenario in which multilingual speakers act as vectors in the diasystematic spread of the NFC construction from one language community to another.

Third, we also have to take into account the general role of English as the global lingua franca, a role that English also plays in digitally connected, translocal spaces (see, e.g. Pennycook 2007; Blommaert 2010; Pimienta, Prado & Blanco 2010) such as social media.

Suppose we want to study the cross-linguistic spread of the NFC constructions as a language contact phenomenon. In that case, we must consider both the physical aspect of language contact and its digital aspect. Consequently, if we want to view NFC constructions as an areal phenomenon, we need to consider not only local geographic areas but also translocal networked areas in the sense of networked multilingualism (Androutsopoulos 2015).

Establishing social media as spaces allows us to shift the focus from the micro-perspective of individual speakers, individual repertoires and individual diaconstructions to the more abstract macro-perspective of individual languages, which are at the centre of traditional accounts of contact-induced changes (see Kuteva & Heine 2012: 163).

Although speakers and languages are obviously of different things, they are sometimes, perhaps inadvertently, conflated. Kuteva (2017: 163), to give just one but representative example, writes that "[w]hen two languages come into contact, that is, when language speakers use two languages, this may lead to transfer of linguistic material from one contact language to

the other." Although she mentions that language contact must come about through speaker contact, this aspect is almost immediately backgrounded, shifting the focus from speakers to languages. The emphasis on *languages* and not *speakers* is also visible in terminology such as *donor language* and *recipient language* or *model language* (Winford 2005) and *replica language* (Heine & Kuteva 2003).

The focus on speakers on the one hand and languages on the other are not mutually exclusive. They present a different aspect of the same phenomenon. If we focus on individual speakers, as I have done in the previous section, we highlight the aspect of linguistic knowledge of the individual multilingual speakers. To this end, theories such as DCxG primarily aim to describe the effects of multilingualism on the speakers' constructicon. If we, on the other hand, focus on languages, we move the discussion to a more abstract level of the language system. We abstract away from the perspective of the individual constructicon of the speaker and work with an idealised, homogenous group of speakers within the speech community.

Both approaches are necessarily simplifying, although each one in a different way. The focus on the constructicon of the individual speaker underlies the assumption that this single constructicon stands for other comparable constructicons and, thus, for other comparable speakers. On the other hand, the focus on individual languages underlies the assumption that they stand for a homogenous group of speakers who all share the same or at least comparable constructicons. In this light, we can see that work highlighting the changes in the speakers' constructicon due to language contact complements work highlighting the changes in the language system.

The difference in focusing on individual speakers on the one hand and languages on the other can also be seen through the prism of linguistic traditions. While approaches such as DCxG are part of the cognitive linguistics, approaches focusing on larger-scale, areal phenomena such as language areas (e.g. Haspelmath 2001) or contact-induced (or areal) grammaticalisation processes (e.g. Kuteva 2000; Gast & van der Auwera 2012) stand in the tradition of structuralism.

Finally, apart from the differences in focus, we can also observe differences in the treatment of the spatial context of language contact. Research dealing with languages rather than with speakers tends to be interested in language contact in geographical spaces. Geographical space is often the defining feature of this type of research. This is true, particularly for studying language areas and *Sprachbund* phenomena in various forms (see Van Gijn & Wahlström 2023 for a recent overview). Such language areas have been suggested, to name just some, for the Balkans (e.g. Friedman 2006; Mišeska Tomić 2006), Central Europe (e.g.

Newerkla 2002; Thomas 2008), whole Europe (e.g. Haspelmath 2001; van der Auwera 2011; Seiler 2019), East and Southeast Mainland Asia (Bisang 2008), South Asia (Masica 2001), Siberia (Georg 2008), or Mesoamerica (Campbell, Kaufman & Smith-Stark 1986).

Against this backdrop, it is interesting to think of those languages with NFC constructions as members of a specific *Sprachbund*. The specific character of such a language area stems from the fact that its member languages are not necessarily neighbours in the physical, geographical sense, but they are neighbours in the translocal online space of social media.

The focus on geographically defined space is unsurprising as it is undoubtedly (still) the primary locus of language contact. On the other hand, however, language contact is not limited solely to physical spaces, as studies on English as a translocal language show (see e.g. Pennycook 2007; Blommaert 2010). This is the case thanks to the massive spread of computer-mediated communication. Still, it was also the case for thousands of years thanks to the emergence and spread of writing systems that enabled communication, and thus language contact, *in absentia*.

In Section V.2.2, I argued to understand the cross-linguistic spread of NFC constructions as a case of pro-diasystematic change. Causal constructions in different languages gradually converge as their speakers develop diaconstructions out of erstwhile idioconstructions. The speakers who use NFC constructions I have analysed in this study come into contact with each other in translocal online spaces.

Although not online, similar translocal language contacts have existed for centuries. A case in point is the emergence of the innovative pronominal relativisers in Written Old Swedish under the influence of (written) Latin (Höder 2010; 2012). In this case, the translocal spaces were written texts through which the speakers of Old Swedish encountered Latin. In so doing, writers of Old Swedish started changing their relativisers and adapting them to Latin relativisers. As a result, the Old Swedish scribes started to use the inflected relativiser *hvilken* (165a) under the influence of the inflected Latin pronominal relativiser *qui* instead of the traditional uninflected relativiser *som* (165b) (Höder 2012: 253–255).

(165) a. *... kærlekin* *hwlkin* *høxth* *ær* *j* *allom* *dygdom*
love-DEF REL.NOM.SG.M highest is in all virtues
'… love, which is the highest of all virtues.'

b. *The preste* *som* *væl* *foresta sino* *æmbete*
the priests REL well govern POSS.3SG.REFL-DAT office
'The priests that administer their office well'

The example of the Latin influence on Old Swedish relativisers serves as an analogy for the contemporary language contact on social media. Given the dominance of this language in online spaces mentioned above, it can be assumed that at least some users adapt their NFC constructions to the English model.

### 3.2 Language contact and uncertainty

My discussions of the NFC constructions so far are, to a large degree, based on data obtained from social media (see Chapter II). At the same time, I have established early on (see Section I.2.1) that NFC constructions were used in the sample languages before the existence of the Internet or social media. This begs the question of what role language contact really plays in the cross-linguistic spread of NFC constructions, already addressed in Section V.1. Moreover, even if it is plausible to consider language contact to be a factor, the question remains as to what languages were involved. In this situation of uncertainty regarding the role of language contact, I argue that unless language contact can be ruled out completely, we must allow space for it in our considerations.

Let us consider one such example of the uncertain role of language contact in the emergence and spread of NFC constructions. Examples like (166) (=11a in Section I.2.2) show the early elliptical cases of NFC constructions of the type CONNECTOR AdjP. Due to the elliptical character of these constructions, they have likely developed language-internally out of non-elliptical causal clauses (see Chapter VI for more details).

(166) *er habe sich bis jetzt nur mit den stillen friedlichen Musen beschäftigt; er habe sich von der Politik immer entfernt gehalten; von nun aber,* ***weil gereizt,*** *werde er gegen die Regierung feindlich auftreten.* (1849) (Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 338)
'he only cared for the quiet, peaceful Muses; he always held politics at a distance from himself; from now on, however, because irritated, he will oppose the government with hostility.'

Given the existence of early elliptical NFC constructions of the type CONNECTOR NP in German, such as (167), it can also be assumed that even later cases of connector NP, such as (168), are the results of language-internal developments.

(167) Die *löblichste Gewohnheit ist unlöblich, ist Sünde,* ***weil gedankenloses Treiben.*** (1854) (Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 355)
'The most laudable habit is not laudable, is sin, because thoughtless activity.'

(168) *Toiletten sind bestimmt wieder Ländersache,* ***weil Kultur.*** *Wird Bundesratspflichtig.* [d037]
'Bathrooms are surely a matter of the federal states because culture. The Bundesrat will have to decide.'

In contrast, whether cases such as (169), in which an interjection complements the connector of the NFC construction, are the results of language-internal development or whether they only developed under the influence of English constructions of the same type remains an open question.

(169) *lösche das hier nachher wieder,* ***weil buhu,*** *aber oh Mann ey* [d016]
'going to delete everything here again because boohoo, but oh man, ey'

Establishing the exact relationship between contact-induced changes and language-internal developments is, to recycle a famous quote, "notoriously messy" (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 95). In a study of the Dutch 'time'-*weg* construction (170a), Colleman (2016) similarly struggles with establishing the exact role of the English 'time'-*away* construction (170b) in the development of the Dutch one.

(170) a. *Vanavond zappen we de avond weg. Lekker hersenloos.* (Colleman 2016: 99)
'This evening, we will zap away the evening. Nicely brainless.
b. *When the cat's away....the mice will facebook, online shop and twitter the day away.* (Colleman 2016: 95)

Unlike in the case of NFC constructions, language contact is the most likely explanation for the rise of the Dutch 'time'-*weg* construction. Even so, the question remains whether the emergence of this construction is a case of direct constructional borrowing or rather a combination of constructional borrowing and language-internal development.

The cross-linguistic spread of NFC constructions leads to a similar problem. All the languages analysed are in contact because they are spoken in geographically adjacent areas.

Particularly in the last few decades, the analysed languages are also in contact across translocal networked areas. This fact could, therefore, be used as an argument for the contact-induced origin of NFC constructions.

At the same time, however, all the analysed languages have causal relative clauses, which are the starting point for the development of elliptical CONNECTOR AdjP constructions and other types of NFC constructions. In all analysed languages, elliptical constructions of the type CONNECTOR AdjP are attested much earlier than the rise of the internet (see Chapter V for more details on the history). These facts could, therefore, be used as arguments for the endogenous origin of the NFC constructions.

When facing this sort of dilemma, Lass (1997: 209) proposes to prefer a language-internal explanation "because endogenous change must occur in any case, whereas borrowing is never necessary" (but see, e.g. Filppula 2003). Lass' position stands in a longer tradition of considering language contact phenomena to be peripheral and, therefore, not in the focus of explanations of language change (see, e.g. Heine & Kuteva 2020: 94; Milroy 2003). Disregarding language contact, if it is a plausible factor, is just as arbitrary a decision as ignoring language-internal factors would be.[58]

Because I am unable and unwilling to make such an arbitrary decision in the case of NFC constructions, I follow Joseph (2015: 205), who argues that in similar scenarios, "a multiplicity of explanations generally needs to be considered." In other words, given the current empirical situation, it is impossible to identify either language-internal or language-contact factors to be solely responsible for the cross-linguistic spread of NFC constructions. This means that an interplay of both should be considered, which makes NFC constructions in the languages perfect examples of multiple source constructions (Van de Velde, De Smet & Ghesquière 2015), as I will argue in more detail in Section VI.5.

## 4 NFC constructions on semantic maps

Throughout the text, I have been comparing NFC constructions across different languages. To do that, it is necessary to discriminate the language-particular aspects from cross-linguistically valid aspects of the constructions at hand (Haspelmath 2010; 2018).[59]

[58] As I remarked earlier in this chapter, the dilemma between endogenous and exogenous factors in language change is based on the presupposition of individual, separable and countable languages. Only if we accept that languages exist as objective entities with clear-cut boundaries can we proceed to consider factors within and beyond these boundaries. If we, however, take the premise that languages are discursive constructs and the only objective units are idiolects, then the distinction between endogenous and exogenous factors in language change will become baseless. We would be facing a situation where it is language contact all the way down.

[59] The dichotomy between language-particular or descriptive and cross-linguistically valid or comparative concepts corresponds with the distinction between language-specific or idiosyncratic and diasystematic or

On the one hand, we want to stay true to the Boasian tradition (see, e.g., Boas 1911) of describing each language in its own right and not simply take the categories valid for one language, such as English and apply them to another, albeit related languages, such as Dutch, German or Czech.

On the other hand, the question arises to what degree are the language-specific variants of the NFC construction, such as the Dutch *want* X and the Czech *protože* X and so forth, comparable. In other words, are we dealing with several separate but entirely or largely equivalent constructions?[60] In more general terms, the question is to what degree are the individual language-particular findings comparable and to what degree are the language-particular categories cross-linguistically valid?

To that end, it is necessary to discern categories pertaining to just one language from categories with cross-linguistic validity. I have already done so for the causal connector occurring in the NFC constructions (Chapter IV), and I will turn my attention to the whole construction in this section.

The common cross-linguistic denominator of NFC constructions can be described as indicated in (171). This description captures typical cases of NFC constructions and their variants with other, less frequent causal connectors. At the same time, it maintains the condition regarding the complement slot, disallowing any finite verbal complements. It is broad enough to encompass clausal but non-causal connectors such as *but* and its cross-linguistic equivalents. It is simultaneously restrictive enough not to include non-clausal connectors such as *and* or *or*.

(171) [(MATRIX CLAUSE) CLAUSAL CONNECTOR $X_{[\text{no finite VP}]}$]

Against this backdrop, we can outline a cross-linguistically comparable family of NFC constructions in Figure V-11. The logic of the figure is the following: The most general and most language-unspecific description applicable to all types of NFC constructions is given at the very top. Besides NFC constructions proper, this broad category also encompasses structurally comparable but non-causal constructions of the type *but* X or *although* X. Even though they are related to NFC constructions, I will not consider them further. More concrete

language-unspecific constructions in the framework of (Diasystematic) Construction Grammar. A similar distinction underlies the conceptual pair of emic and etic approaches to language description (Pike 1952).

[60] For several reasons, this is a non-trivial question. First, we might sometimes deal with a structural calque of the construction. This would mean we are dealing with just one construction in two languages. Second, we might also question the soundness of the idea of individual languages as countable entities (see, e.g., Krämer, Vogl & Kolehmainen 2022). In addition, since we are dealing with (more or less) closely related and geographically adjacent languages, we must also consider the genealogical factor of their common ancestor.

than the actual NFC constructions are the types of NFC constructions in the third row based on the categorisation of the connector presented in Chapter IV. Finally, NFC constructions with noun phrases in the nominative case in the complement slot are even more concrete at the bottom of Figure V-11.

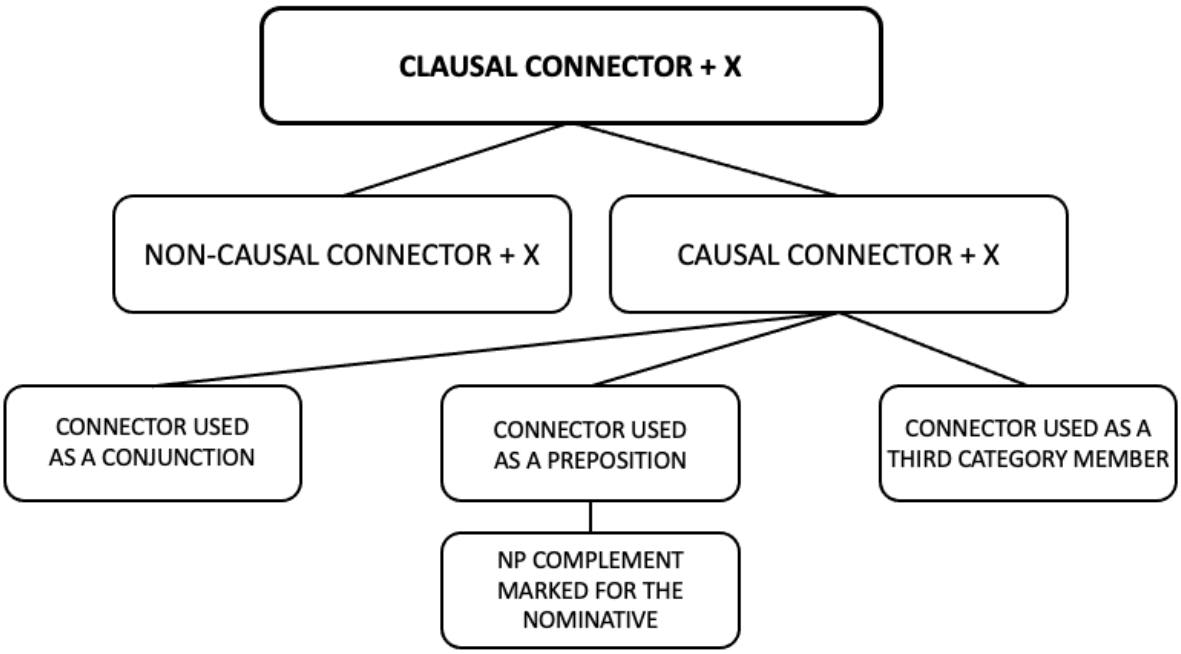


*Figure V-11: Cross-linguistic conceptual space of NFC constructions*

In more technical terms, Figure V-11 represents the cross-linguistic conceptual space (Croft 2001, ch. 2.4.3 and references therein; for an overview see, e.g. Georgakopoulos & Polis 2018) of the NFC constructions. To see how the NFC constructions in the individual languages in the analysed sample map onto this cross-linguistic conceptual space, I will use the tripartite categorisation of the causal connector established in Chapter IV. Because the three connector categories are based on the type of their complement (see Section III.1.2), they say something not only about the connector itself but automatically also about the complement of the connector.

The sample languages do not uniformly fill this conceptual space. Instead, they can be divided into two groups based on the morphological properties of noun phrases in the complement slot. On the one hand, Czech and German fill the conceptual space completely because they allow noun phrases marked for the nominative in the complement slot by virtue of their case system. On the other hand, English and Dutch do not allow this type of complements. This fact is illustrated in Figure V-12 by marking that part of the semantic map in light grey.

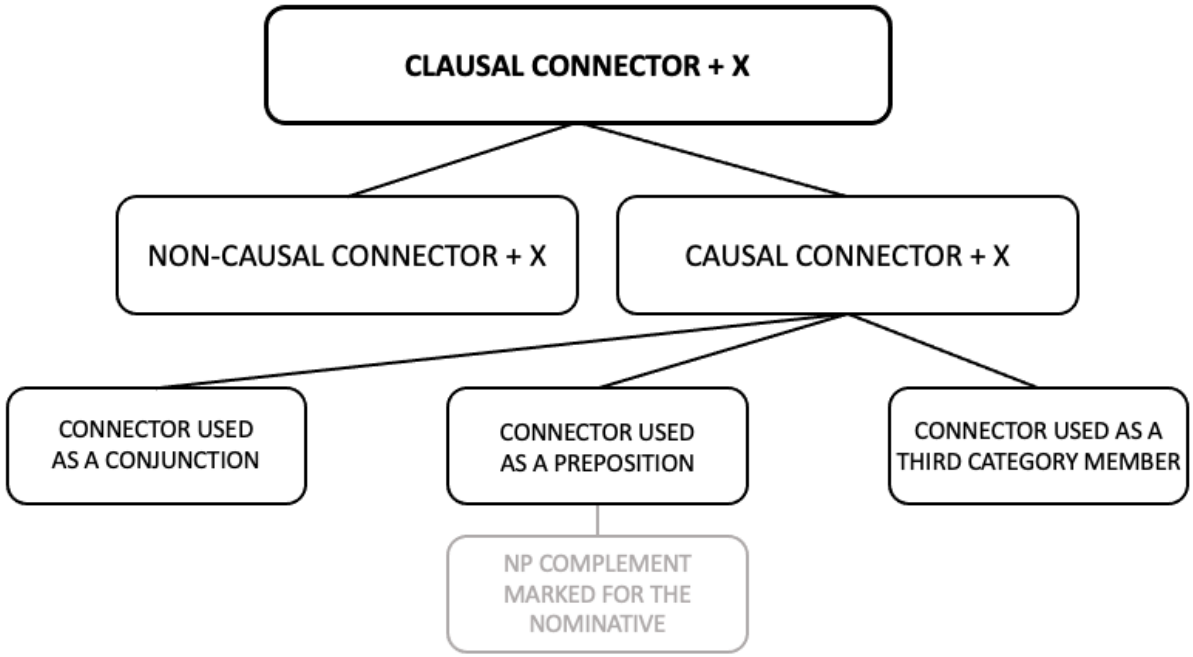


*Figure V-12: Semantic map of NFC constructions in English and Dutch*

The constructions in the sample languages show similar differences in how they fill the conceptual space. The method can, however, be extended to other languages and could be used to compare even idiolects. Finnish would, for instance, align with Czech and German. For an English speaker with an NFC construction in their repertoire, the semantic map would be very different from an English speaker without the constructions at their disposal (see Figure V-13).

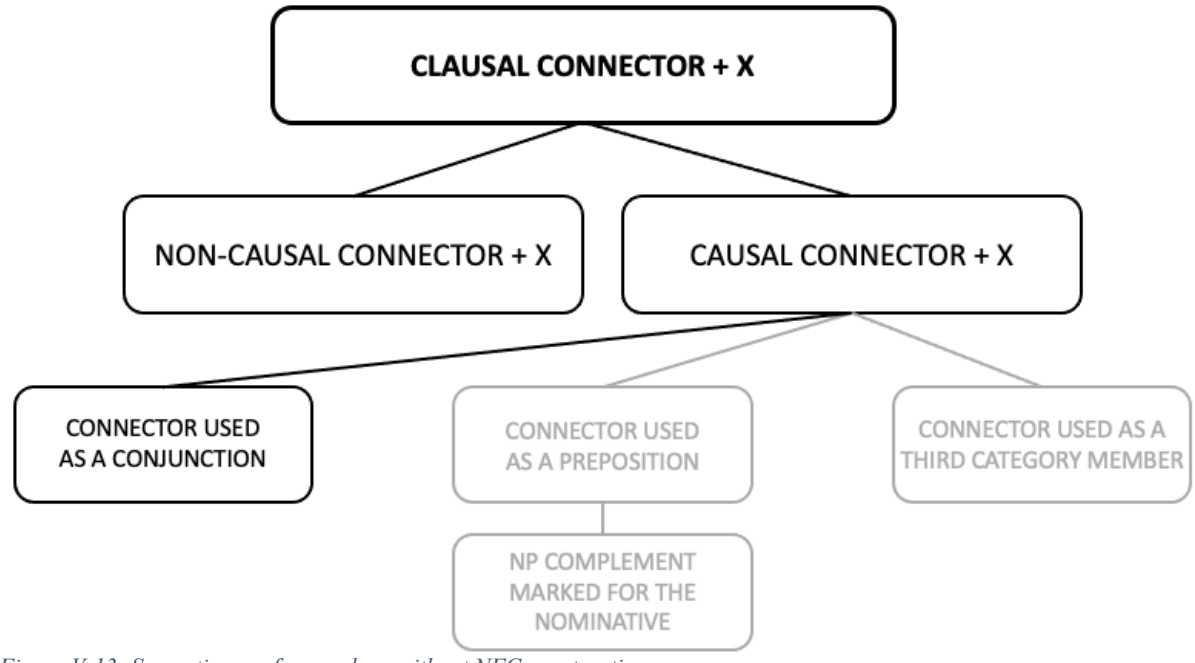


*Figure V-13: Semantic map for speakers without NFC constructions*

## 5 Concluding remarks

This chapter's core was the relationship between contact of individual speakers and contact of languages against the backdrop of the cross-linguistic spread of the NFC constructions. Although only English, German, Dutch, and Czech NFC constructions are analysed in this study, these constructions exist in many more languages. Furthermore, NFC constructions can be safely assumed in even more languages. This is an empirical question for further research.

Two things can be said about those languages with NFC constructions. First, not all these languages are related; second, not all are used in geographically adjacent areas. For that reason, language contact must be considered as a factor in the spread of the construction.

To do so, I have first used the framework of Diasystematic Construction Grammar (DCxG) (see, e.g. Boas & Höder 2018; 2021) to model the changes in the multilingual constructicons of the speakers involved in the propagation of the NFC constructions across the boundaries of speech communities.

Constructions in DCxG can be either language-specific or language-unspecific. However, multilingual speakers can recognise a construction specific to one language as a formal and functional equivalent of a construction specific to another language. Subsequently, the originally language-specific construction can be reinterpreted as language-unspecific and converge. The same principles can be extended to the construction spread within one speech community. This allows us to model how a contact-induced innovation can further spread beyond the community directly affected by contact with another language community.

NFC constructions tend to be peripheral and not unequivocally accepted by all speakers in all registers (see, e.g. Wolfer, Müller-Spitzer & Ribeiro Silveira 2020 for German). NFC constructions are mainly limited to colloquial, conceptually spoken contexts. Due to this situation, it can be assumed that while some speakers within one language community will have both the NFC constructions and causal clauses, others will only have the latter in their repertoires. Even the last group, however, through contact with speakers who have an NFC construction in their repertoires, can, over time, develop NFC constructions from causal clauses. As a result, the two groups eventually converge, and the NFC construction is propagated further into the speech community. The same model can be used for the cross-linguistic spread of NFC constructions across linguistic boundaries.

Against the backdrop of the cross-linguistic spread of NFC constructions and their subvariants, whether a more fine-grained typological comparison can be made, apart from the simple statement of existence or of absence of NFC construction in any given language. Using the so-called semantic maps model (see, e.g. Haspelmath 2003; Georgakopoulos & Polis 2018),

I have illustrated how such a comparison can be made. The basis for the semantic maps of NFC constructions is the variability of the complement slot. The comparison can then be made based on the extent to which a given language-specific (or community-specific) variant of the NFC construction fills out the whole conceptual space of the semantic map.

This comparison allows us first to describe the differences and commonalities between the individual language-specific constructions and then make predictions based on them. For this study, data from case languages, primarily Czech and German, further corroborated by data from Slovak and Finnish, for instance, show that nominal complements in NFC constructions in these languages show unexpected case assignment. If the case form of the noun in a nominal phrase is visible, for example, due to agreement with an adjective, the noun always occurs in the nominative case. This observation allows the formulation of a testable hypothesis. Namely, if another case language like German, Czech, or Finnish has a CONNECTOR NP construction, the NP will occur in the nominative case.

# VI Development of NFC constructions

## 1 Introduction

The present chapter contains an account of the development of NFC constructions in English, German, Dutch, and Czech. Although the development of these constructions in the sample languages shows language-specific idiosyncrasies, they all follow a general, cross-linguistically valid pathway (172), which I call the *Spiral of Recoverability* (see Section VI.4). This refers to the well-attested development leading from non-ellipses via an elliptical stage to novel non-elliptical structures.

(172) old non-ellipses > ellipses > novel non-ellipses

The chapter is structured as follows. In Section VI.2, I present the previous research on the origins of NFC constructions to provide the research context for my account and to discuss them critically. Section VI.3 then builds upon these earlier accounts and presents my ellipsis-based model. Subsequently, Section VI.4 stresses that in light of the lack of a single identifiable source of the NFC constructions, they are best understood as multiple source constructions (see also Section V.3.2). Be it language-internally through formally or functionally related constructions or language-externally through language contact, NFC constructions are always the result of an interplay of more than one factor. Section VI.5 provides a summary of the present chapter.

## 2 Previous research

### 2.1 Early debates

Shortly after *because* as used in the English NFC construction had been elected as the Word of the Year 2013 (American Dialect Society 2014), the search for the origins of this construction emerged as one of the central questions. Against this backdrop, I will use this section to critically discuss these early debates for two reasons. First, to provide the research context in which I embed my own account of the development of NFC constructions (Section VI.4). Second, to provide insights into meta-linguistic discourse concerning the NFC constructions.

In particular, I will present three early attempts at explaining the emergence of NFC constructions in English, listed in (173). They all have in common that they are all affected by the Recency Illusion (Zwicky 2005) (see Section I.1.2.1) and, therefore, look for the construction's origins in the recent past and emphasise the role of computer-mediated communication.

(173) a. *because hey (free)* construction
b. *because race car* construction
c. *because of* NP construction

The first of these proposals traces the construction back to the so-called *because hey (free)* sentences (Whitman 2013; Zimmer, Solomon & Carson 2014: 93). Sentences of this type, such as (174), contain the causal connector *because* followed by the intervening interjection *hey* and then followed by a noun phrase modified by the adjective *free*.

(174) *If you ever fall off the Sears Tower, just go real limp, because maybe you'll look like a dummy and people will try to catch you* ***because, hey, free dummy.***[61]

Their putative origin in constructions made popular by their use in TV shows connects English NFC constructions to the so-called AdjP *much* constructions (175). Both construction types are frequently used in scripted speech and only secondarily on social media (Adams 2017: 541).

(175) Todd (Bill Murray): *Oh, good, because I'm studying all about underdeveloped nations.* [grabs under Lisa's blouse]
Lisa (Gilda Radner): *Cut it out, Todd.* [laughing] *Stop it!*
Todd: *Underdeveloped much?*[62]

Although *because hey (free)* constructions were used already in the 1980s and 1990s TV shows, Whitman (2013) argues that they became really famous only as memes in the 2000s. The meme version of these constructions follows the same pattern as (174) but is more flexible in the NPs following the *because hey* phrase (176).

(176) a. *If life gives you lemons, keep them,* ***because, hey, free lemons.***
b. *I've come to accept outpost ghost lights* ***because hey, free light!***

[61] The example aired on 13 April 1991 in episode 17 of season 16. It is one of a series of popular one-liners regularly read by the humorist Jack Handey as part of the US comedy series *Saturday Night Life* (1975-). Although these witty remarks, under the label *Deep Thought by Jack Handey*, featured in the series between 1991 and 1998, they were written and published in various magazines already a decade before. In the 1990s, collections of these one-liners were published also as books (Handey 1992).

[62] Aired on Saturday Night Live on 7 October 1978 on NBC (Adams 2017: 540).

c. *Social engineering can be as simple as leaving a malware-infected USB drive where someone will find it* ***(because 'hey, free USB drive!')***

Eventually, versions of *because hey (free)* constructions have emerged in which the NPs are not necessarily modified by the adjective *free* (177). However, the interjection *hey* in both construction types works as a means to "shift from the ordinary speech register to this casual and condensed register" (Whitman 2013).

(177) *Then they were all over 2000* ***because, hey, new millennium and all that.***

The shift from the original version of *because hey* sentences to their meme versions was followed by an omission of the interjection, resulting in the emergence *because* NP subtype of NFC constructions (178) (Whitman 2013).

(178) *because* VP > *because hey* NP > *because* NP

The suggested pathway is, however, problematic for several reasons. First, NFC constructions sometimes occur with *hey* or other material intervening between the connector and its complement. Still, it is a marginal type of NFC construction (see Section III.1.4.2). Second, it is questionable whether *hey* really is an integral part of the NFC construction and whether it functions independently as a discourse marker as is the case of *you know* in (179). Third, Whitman's proposal potentially explains the emergence of nominal complements but ignores all other options for the complement slot.

(179) *We are heading towards state media and once again the GOP stands by and lets it happen* ***because, you know, tax cuts.*** [e002]

Lastly, even if all previous criticisms would not apply, the diachronic scenario in (178) would still be valid only for English because there is no evidence for an analogous pathway in the languages analysed in this study.

The second of the early proposals argues for the so-called *because race car* construction as the origin of the NFC construction. At the core of this theory is a 2011 post on *Craigslist*

advertising an old Mazda car with the remark: "Completely stripped inside, because race car."[63] This advertisement has turned into a meme where the phrase *because race car* is used as a universal answer to a broad spectrum of more or less absurd questions, some of which are given in (180) (Whitman 2013).

(180) a. *Why so poor?* ***Because race car!***
b. *Why are my tires worth more than the book value of my car?* ***Because race car!***
c. *Why rice?* ***Because race car!***
d. *Why?* ***Because race car!***

The telegraphic style and viral popularity of *because race car*, according to Whitman (2013) and McCulloch (2014a), could have served as a stepping stone for further nominal complements. Like the pathway in (178), the one in (181) is similarly problematic: First, it does not consider non-nominal complements. Second, it overestimates the influence of a single meme. Third, it does not explain the development of NFC constructions in other languages.

(181) *because* VP > *because race car* > *because* NP

The third proposal highlights the role of the English prepositional phrase *because of* NP in the emergence of NFC constructions (McCulloch 2014a). Moreover, it tracks the potential origin of the NFC construction to a Three Word Phrase comic from June 2011 (Figure VI-1)[64].


*Figure VI-1: Pardon me, sir*

[63] Know Your Meme: https://knowyourmeme.com/photos/158068-because-race-car [10 November 2023]
[64] Three Word Phrase *Pardon me*: https://threewordphrase.com/pardonme.htm [10 November 2023]

The comic in Figure VI-1, particularly the text in its final panel, has become popular, spread online virally, and eventually simplified by eliding the *of* in *because of* (182). The resulting lexically specified construction *because reasons* has, similarly to the *because race car* proposal in (180), become less specific regarding the complement of the causal connector.

(182) *because of* NP > *because of reasons* > *because reasons* > *because* NP

However, the developmental pathway in (182) has the same shortcomings as the previous proposals. It exaggerates the role of Internet memes in language change, ignores complements other than noun phrases, and only applies to English NFC constructions. On the other hand, McCulloch's proposal is interesting because it is the only one to have been taken up in subsequent, more thorough analyses. Kanetani (2019: 169) extends McCulloch's pathway and proposes a scenario that accounts for non-nominal complements in NFC constructions.

(183) *because of* NP > *because* NP > *because* X

Although Kanetani's extension deals with one shortcoming of McCulloch's proposal and captures the variability of the complement slot, it remains overly focused on English. I will, however, return to the role of the *because of* phrase for the development of NFC constructions in English in the next section.

Although the early discussions of the history of NFC constructions I have just sketched do not provide a satisfactory answer to their research question, they reveal several facts about our perception of language change. First, all the early proposals localise the origin of the construction in the recent past, with the 1980s as the earliest period. Second, not only is the construction treated as a recent innovation, but it is also treated as being the product of (relatively) recent technological innovations such as the television or the Internet. Third, the early proposals fail to acknowledge the existence of NFC constructions beyond English (but see, e.g. Stefanowitsch 2014; van Oostendorp 2014). Fourth, all the early proposals try to identify a singular source for the NFC construction.

### 2.2 Okada (2020)

Okada (2020) fleshes out the final developmental scenario presented in the previous section, namely that the prepositional construction *because of* NP is the source of the English NFC construction *because* X (McCulloch 2014a; Kanetani 2019). However, Okada's account does

not treat *because of* phrases as the only source of *because* X but stresses the role of causal clauses as well (Okada 2020: 6–9), as given in Figure VI-2.

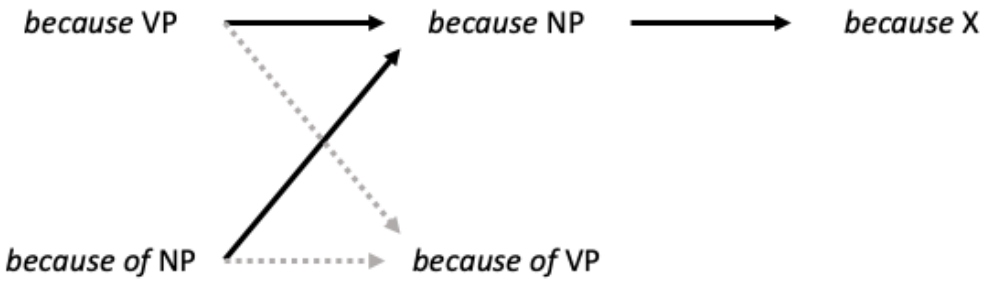


*Figure VI-2: Development of English NFC constructions according to Okada (2020)*

At first, a formal blend of two already existing constructions *because* clauses (184a) and *because of* NP (184b) leads either to *because of* VP construction (184c) or to *because* NP constructions (184d). The formal loss of the preposition *of* in the resulting construction (184d) leads to the loss of the categorial restrictions for the complement, allowing only noun phrases. The lack of constraints regarding the category membership of the complement then paves the way for NFC constructions (184e).

(184) a. *I cannot go out today because I have to do my homework.*
b. *Because of her coalition-building skills, she led successful change projects that in turn brought her recognition and early promotions.* (Okada 2020: 5)
c. *It is not an acceptable long-term rate, because of the damage it does to industry and homeowners.* (Okada 2020: 6)
d. *I cannot go out today* ***because homework.*** (Kanetani 2015: 63)
e. *I just often wonder if those who actually call in, aren't actually masochistic* ***because wow!*** [e057]

Zooming in on the shift from nominal to category-unspecific complements in NFC constructions, indicated in Figure VI-2, Okada (2020: 14) sees adjectival complements as the intermediary state (185).

(185) CONNECTOR NP > CONNECTOR AdjP > CONNECTOR X

Although Okada acknowledges the existence of early cases of NFC constructions of the type CONNECTOR AdjP (186a) and discusses them in some detail, he ultimately does not deem them relevant. For Okada, they are cases of "regular ellipsis" and therefore "not […] at all innovative" (Okada 2020: 9). Only cases such as (186b) count as NFC constructions with adjectival complements because they are not textual ellipses.

(186) a. *I finde ... some others unpriested by Councells* ***because ordained by Presbyters alone.*** (1641, taken from Okada 2020: 10)

b. *6 games I like 1. Dead by Daylight 2. The Witcher 3 3. Planet Zoo 4. Detroit: Become Human 5. Portal 2 6. Until Dawn (which I can't play* ***bc exclusive*** 😭*)* [e011]

The side-lining of the early elliptical cases of NFC constructions such as (186a) is striking not only because they are considered not innovative but also because Okada does not see any place for them in the emergence of *because* NP constructions (see Figure VI-2). The ellipsis or omission of the preposition *of* in *because of* NP is, on the other hand, seen as crucial because "the category restriction of the complement is nullified because the restrictor *of* is missing" (Okada 2020: 7).

This is in stark contrast with the ellipsis-based proposal, which I present in Section VI.3. In Okada's account, the loss of the preposition *of* due to the formal blend of *because* clauses and *because of* NP constructions is essential in the development of NFC constructions, this, just like the prepositional constructions *because of* NP in general, plays only a peripheral role in my account.

Moreover, the same diachronic pattern Okada (2020: 14–16) proposes for *because* X is also applied to the development of the English *in case* X construction (187a), which, analogically with *because* X, is, following Okada, based on a formal blend of *in case of* NP (187b) and *in case* VP (187c).

(187) a. *The prime objective of road safety drive was to ensure timely and prompt response by drivers* ***in case fire*** *after an accident before the arrival of emergency services.* (Okada 2020: 15)

b. *The prime objective of road safety drive was to ensure timely and prompt response by drivers* ***in case of*** *fire after an accident before the arrival of emergency services.*

c. *The prime objective of road safety drive was to ensure timely and prompt response by drivers **in case** there is fire after an accident before the arrival of emergency services*.

Okada's proposal is doubtlessly a worthy contribution to the study of the development of NFC constructions in English, not least because of his detailed corpus-based analysis and because of the link to the structurally similar constructions *in case* X and *because of* NP. On the other hand, the proposal underplays the role of ellipses and contextual clues for the emergence of NFC constructions in English. Finally, Okada's proposal focuses exclusively on data from English, particularly on the prepositional construction *because of* NP. In other words, Okada's proposal, unlike mine, does not apply to NFC constructions in other languages.

## 3 Ellipsis-based account of the development of NFC constructions

Against the backdrop of the earlier accounts, this section develops a diachronic account of NFC constructions based on the so-called Spiral of Recoverability. At its core is the generally attested and cross-linguistically valid emergence of non-elliptical structures from elliptical ones. To demonstrate the relevance of the Spiral of Recoverability for NFC constructions, I will first illustrate its principles in other constructions (Section VI.3.1) before confirming its validity in the development of NFC constructions (Section VI.3.2).

### 3.1 Spiral of Recoverability

This section will discuss three processes that illustrate the Spiral of Recoverability. First, I present the development of independent nouns out of erstwhile dependent adjectives. Second, I illustrate the Spiral by looking at the development of greetings out of erstwhile full clauses. Third, I focus on the development of afinite clauses in German and Dutch out of finite ones.

The first type of process is illustrated in (188). The independent noun *hamburger* or its shorter form *burger* has developed as a term for a dish out of the dependent adjective *Hamburger* referring to the origin in the city of Hamburg (see, e.g. van Bree 1996: 167; Hüning 2000: 125; Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 259).

(188) a. *Hamburg*
b. *a Hamburger steak*
c. *a Hamburger (steak)*
d. *a hamburger*

e. *a burger*

f. *a cheeseburger, a portobello burger*

Originally, *Hamburger* is an adjective derived from the proper name *Hamburg* (188a) using the demonymic suffix {-er}. At one point, this demonym started to be used in English in a specific culinary context to refer to a type of meat dish originating from Hamburg (188b). In this particular context, the demonym starts to occur on its own. At first, it was still used with a capital letter, showing its demonymic origins (188c), and later with a lowercase letter (188d).

The culinary context enables the emergence of a situational ellipsis. When a customer orders *a hamburger* (188d), the waiter understands that what is meant is *a hamburger steak* (188c). Over time, the elliptical reference to *steak* becomes unnecessary because the erstwhile adjective *hamburger* becomes reinterpreted as a noun directly referring to the ordered dish. This reinterpretation of an earlier ellipsis as a non-ellipsis enables such clippings as (188e) and also new formations of the type (188f).

Other food- and beverage-related nouns are the products of the same developments. For example, terms such as *Hollandse Nieuwe* referring to a herring from Holland, *wiener* referring to a sausage from Vienna, Austria, *frank(furter)* referring to a sausage from Frankfurt am Main, Germany, *Bud(weiser)* referring to a beer from Budweis (České Budějovice) or *pils(ner)* referring to a beer (type) from Pilsen (Plzeň) (189).

(189) a. *Pilsen*

b. *Pilsner Bier*

c. *Pilsner (Bier)*

d. *Pilsner*

e. *Pils(ner)*

f. *Pils*

g. *Berliner Pils(ner), Sternburger Pils(ner), Wernersgrüner Pils(ner)*

h. *Pilsator*

Analogically to the proper name *Hamburg* (188a) that ultimately gave rise to *portobello burgers* (188f), the noun *pils* as an expression referring to a type of pale lager is derived from the name of the West Bohemian city of Pilsen (Plzeň) where the beer was brewed for the first time on 5 October 1842. Beer coming from Pilsen was, therefore, called *Pilsner Bier* in German. The expression *Pilsner* is an adjective derived from the city's name by means of the demonymic

suffix {- er} (189b). Such a combination of an adjective and a noun is, of course, not elliptical. Over time, however, this AdjP NP structure becomes elliptical (189c) because speakers start to leave out the noun *Bier* and refer to the beverage using only the modifying adjective. This is possible because everyone involved knows that the adjective *Pilsner* modifies the elided noun *Bier*. After this elliptical phase, the erstwhile adjective, at one point, ceases to be perceived as an adjective and is reanalysed as a noun. This reanalysis is ultimately evidenced by the loss of the original demonymic suffix {-er}, first optionally (189e) and later completely (189f). This new non-elliptical stage is furthermore visible in the fact that the expression *Pils(ner)* can itself be modified – be it by demonymic adjectives (189g) or by being used in a compound (189h).

Cases such as (188) and (189) begin with non-elliptical constructions, go through a stage of ellipses, and eventually lead to novel non-elliptical constructions. Expressions undergoing this development not only change their elliptical status but also change their category membership. The non-elliptical modifying adjective *Pilsner* (189a) can be unambiguously categorised as a noun. In its elliptical stage, the expression *Pilsner* (189c) goes through a stage of categorial vagueness (Denison 2013; 2017; 2018) and oscillates between being classified as an adjective and a noun (189c). This depends on whether the addressees interpret the expression as elliptical. The independent and thus non-elliptical expression is finally unambiguously interpreted as a noun (189d).

Moreover, the change in the elliptical status of the expression (190a), as just described, automatically also changes the category membership of the expression (190b). In NFC constructions, this is analogous with the categorial shift of the connector from being used as a conjunction, being used as a preposition, and being used as a third-category member (see Chapter IV).[65]

(190) a. non-ellipsis$_1$ > (non-)ellipsis ~ ellipsis > non-ellipsis$_2$
b. **Adj** NP > **Adj** (NP) ~ **NP** > **NP**

The second process illustrating the Spiral of Recoverability is the development of greeting forms, shown here using German (191) and Czech (192) but also attested in other languages. Greeting forms such as (191a) or (192a) are not interpreted as ellipses anymore. However, their

[65] Moreover, it is also insightful to view this development against the backdrop of the discourse prominence model of lexical and grammatical status (Boye & Harder 2012). The development of the independent noun *Pilsner* out of the dependent adjective *Pilsner* can also be described as the rise of a discursively secondary (or ancillary) expression to discourse prominence.

being in the accusative case instead of the nominative still gives away their erstwhile elliptical status.

(191) a. *Gut-en* *Tag!*
good-M.ACC.SG day[M.ACC.SG]
'Good day!'

b. *Ich* *wünsch-e* *einen* *gut-en* *Tag*
1sg wish-prs.1sg a[M.ACC.SG] good-M.ACC.SG day[M.ACC.SG]
'I wish you a good day'

(192) a. *Dobr-ou* *noc*
good-SG.F.ACC night[SG.F.ACC]
'Good night'

b. *Přej-i* *dobr-ou* *noc*
Wish-PRS.1SG good-SG.F.ACC night[SG.F.ACC]
'I wish a good night'

The third process, which illustrates the principle behind the Spiral of Recoverability, is the development of the so-called *afinite clauses* in the history of German (193a) and similar textual ellipses in the history of Dutch (193b).

(193) a. *ain yeder crisst all sein vermügen darzustrecken schuldig* [ist] (Ebert et al. 1993: 441)
'every Christ [is] obliged to contribute all of their fortune'

b. *Als Kajzar Karel nu ujt Jtalie gescheiden* [was], *en zijne krachten, in Piemont, tegens Vrankrijk belemmert waeren* (van der Horst 2008: 1346)
'When emperor Charles [has] returned from Italy and his troops, in Piemont, against France were impeded'

Afinite constructions are cases of structural ellipses. They lack otherwise obligatory finite auxiliary verbs, which are expected to be recovered by the addressee based on knowledge of grammatical patterns. Afinite constructions were almost exceptionless in periphrastic tense constructions in Early Modern Dutch and Early Modern High German chancery texts and very common in the literary production of the 17th and 18th centuries (Ebert et al. 1993: 442; van der

Horst 2008: 2009; Breitbarth 2022: 75–80). However, they eventually ceased to be accepted and fell out of use entirely by the 19th century. Today, afinite constructions exist only in fossilised constructions such as *wie oben erwähnt* 'as mentioned above' in German or *zoals gezegd* 'as has been said' in Dutch (Coussé 2010).

### 3.2 Spiral of Recoverability in NFC constructions

The Spiral of Recoverability, illustrated in the previous section, describes the process whereby a non-elliptical expression becomes elliptical, and this elliptical expression over time ceases to be perceived as such, which leads to the emergence of a novel non-elliptical structure. In short, the Spiral of Recoverability describes the development of non-ellipses out of ellipses. To better understand the process, I will turn my attention in the present section to two crucial aspects of elliptical structures: ellipticity and recoverability.

"Ellipsis needs a speaker/writer who elides a part of an utterance and at the same time an addressee who recovers the elided material" (Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 343). In other words, ellipses are recoverable omissions. This means two things. First, ellipsis is an interactional phenomenon. The speaker, as well as the addressee, must interact for an ellipsis to function. If the addressee cannot or will not recover the part of an utterance elided by the speaker, the ellipsis fails. Second, this definition of ellipsis also means that not every omission counts as a case of ellipsis.

Based on this definition of ellipsis, four types of utterances can be distinguished. First (194a), successful ellipsis occurs if the speaker omits a part of an utterance, and the addressee recovers it. Second (194b), an unsuccessful ellipsis occurs if the speaker omits a part of an utterance, but the addressee does not recover it. Third (194c), non-ellipsis occurs if the speaker does not omit anything from an utterance; therefore, there is nothing for the addressee to recover. Four (194c), a situation might also be possible where the speaker does not omit anything, but the addressee erroneously recovers something. This last type of utterance will not be considered further in what follows and is only mentioned for the sake of completeness.

(194) a. material omitted & recovered
b. material omitted & not recovered
c. material not omitted & not recovered
d. material not omitted & recovered

Against this backdrop, the Spiral or Recoverability (see examples in Section VI.3.1) describes the development of a non-elliptical, and thus also non-recoverable, structure (194c) to an elliptical and therefore recoverable one (194a), via the intermediary stage of (194b), back to non-elliptical and non-recoverable expression (194c).

I call this development *a spiral* and not *a cycle* to emphasise that the original non-elliptical expression is not the same as the resulting non-ellipsis. In this regard, the Spiral of Recoverability is akin to the development of negation known as Jespersen's Cycle (Jespersen 1917: 4; Dahl 1979: 88).[66]

The first stage of this process (195a), illustrated here using English material, is characterised by a single pre-verbal negator *ne* in Old English. In the second stage (195b), the original pre-verbal negator *ne* is accompanied by an additional post-verbal negator *noht* in Middle English. The final stage (195c) is defined by the complete loss of the original pre-verbal negator and by the exclusive use of the post-verbal negator *not* during Early Modern English (195c).[67] The occurrence of only one negator characterises both the first stage and the last stage, but this negator is not the same one in both stages.

(195) a. *we* ***ne*** *mugon þat* *don* (Wallage 2017: 1)
we NEG can that do
'we cannot do that.'

b. *ac* *of* *hem* ***ne*** *speke* *ic* ***noht*** (Wallage 2017: 1)
but of them NEG speak I not
'but I didn't speak of them.'

c. *Thou* *shalt* ***not*** *do* *so* (Wallage 2017: 1)
you ought NEG do so
'You ought not to do so.'

Returning to the Spiral of Recoverability, I have treated recoverability and ellipticity as binaries. I have stated that an expression is either elliptical and, therefore, recoverable or it is

[66] Although generally known as *Jespersen's Cycle*, alternative terms such as *Meillet's Spiral* (van der Auwera 2008) or *Gardiner's Gyre* (Ahern & Clark 2017) have been suggested to stress that the start and end points of the process are typologically similar, but not completely identical. These alternative terms have also been suggested to highlight that Otto Jespersen was not the first to describe the development.

[67] It should be noted that three stages sketched here are a very simplified way to portray the process. To say the least, the next stages does not abruptly supersede the previous one, but the process has to go through intermediate stages. In the first one, the additional post-verbal negator *noht* is optional and therefore not used in all contexts. Similarly, in the second intermediate stage the pre-verbal negator *ne* is also not always obligatory (see, e.g. van der Auwera 2008).

not. However, recalling my analysis of NFC construction in terms of the ellipticity of the construction occurring in the complement slot (Section III.1.2), the picture is more complex. Between the older non-ellipses on the one hand and the novel non-ellipses on the other, a continuum of elliptical constructions can be observed based on the precision of recoverability (Figure VI-3). While the non-ellipses on both poles are, for obvious reasons, not recoverable, the three types of ellipses between the two extremes are recoverable with various degrees of precision. While textual ellipses can be recovered using textual cues in the matrix clause, structural and, to an even greater degree, situational ellipses are recoverable only approximately.

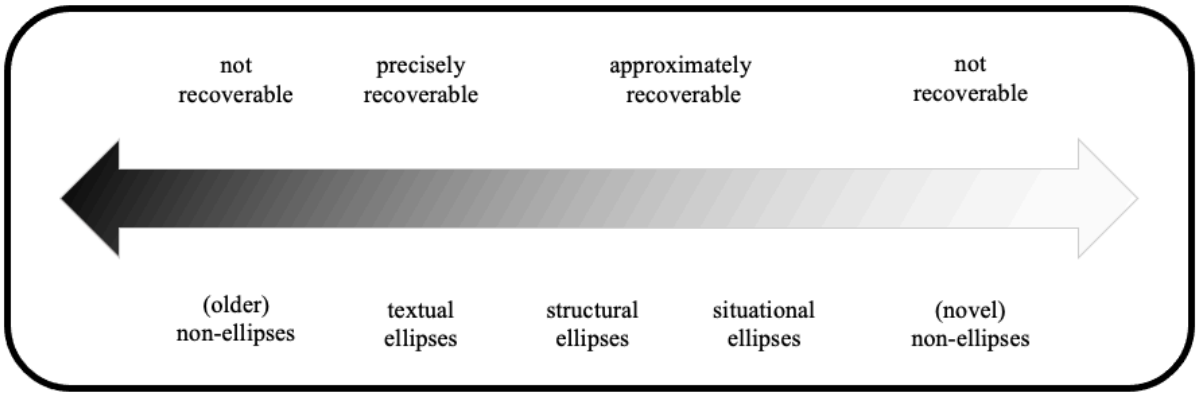


*Figure VI-3: Precision of recoverability continuum*

Using the criteria of (non-)ellipticity and (precision of) recoverability, it is possible to discern three types of NFC constructions (see also Section III.1.2 for more details) (see Figure VI-4). Based on the criterion of ellipticity, non-elliptical (197a) and elliptical NFC constructions can be distinguished. Based on the criterion of (precision of) recoverability, it is possible to differentiate between co-textually (197b) and structurally (197c) recoverable constructions can be differentiated.

(197) a. *I am going to say this, then break it, because* ***meh.*** *I'm an idiot.* [e034]
b. *Shipping always is a pain* ***because expensive for another country*** [e010]
c. *can't unfollow* ***because deactivated.*** *just give me the right time when she'll be back and it'll be the first thing I'll do* [e072]

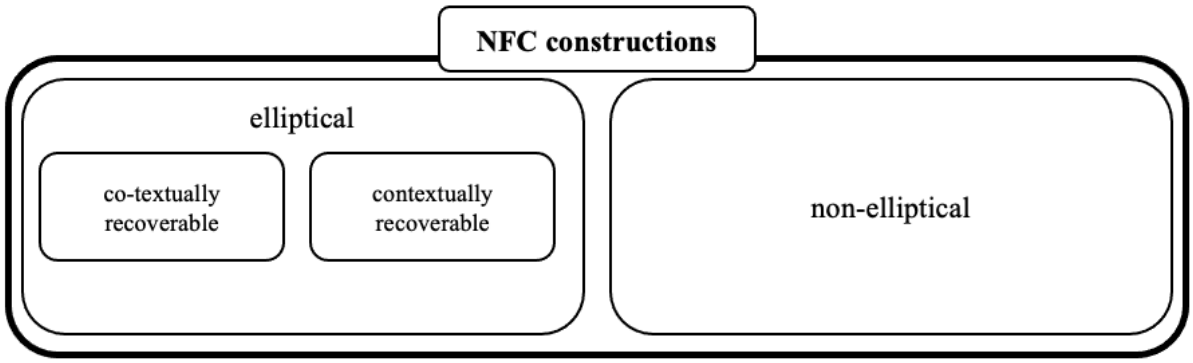


*Figure VI-4: Ellipticity and recoverability of NFC constructions*

The following two conclusions can be drawn considering the three types of NFC constructions and the available empirical basis. First, all the early examples of NFC constructions, regardless of language, are co(n)textually recoverable ellipses. This means that elliptical NFC constructions are derived from non-elliptical causal clauses. Second, non-elliptical NFC constructions are derived from elliptical ones, not directly from causal clauses.

Regarding the early examples of NFC constructions, they are all ellipses and co-textually recoverable. In English (198), they appear as early as the end of the 16th century (Bergs 2021) or 14th century (Okada 2020). In German (199) and Czech (200), co-textually recoverable elliptical NFC constructions are attested for the first half of the 19th century. Examples of the Dutch NFC construction (201) of the same type are found in the second half of the 20th century.

(198) Don Adriano: *Pretty and apt.*
Moth: *How mean you, sir? I pretty, and my saying apt? or I apt any my saying pretty?*
Don Adriano: *Thou pretty,* ***because little.***
Moth: *Little pretty,* ***because little.*** *Wherefore apt?*
Don Adriano: *And therefore apt,* ***because quick.***
(William Shakespeare Love's Labour's Lost, I.2, 1598)

(199) *Die löblichste Gewohnheit ist unlöblich, ist Sünde,* ***weil gedankenloses Treiben.*** (1854) (Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 355)
'The most laudable habit is not laudable, is sin, because [it is] thoughtless activity.'

(200) *Pověst i rozprávka málo mají hodnověrnosti do sebe,* ***protože nesnadno vyšetřeny,*** *ale tím snadněji pojinačeny býti mohou.* (1848) (Konvička 2020: 255)
'Both legend and fairy tale have little reliability because difficult to investigate, but the easier to change they are.'

(201) *een onevenwichtig –* ***want gepassioneerd*** *– mens* (Bos 1964: 232)
'an unbalanced – because passionate – person'

All these early examples show that in comparison with (potential) full causal clauses, the speaker omitted some parts. The elided parts, however, can be recovered by the addressee either through the co-text, (199) and (200), or by means of the interlocutors' linguistic knowledge, (198) and (201). In other words, these cases are either textual or structural ellipses.

Furthermore, the type of ellipses in the early NFC constructions, together with the fact that they are all of the type $AdjP_1$ CONNECTOR $AdjP_2$, can help explain the clause-initial constraint of the NFC constructions (Section III.1.4.3). The majority of these early examples, such as (202a), are specifically anaphoric co-textually recoverable ellipses. This means that the elided material is recovered based on the preceding co-text in the matrix clause. Cataphoric co-textually recoverable ellipses, where the elided material would have to be recovered from the following co-text, also occur but are not as frequent (202b).

(202) a. *The cattle were sold along the way* ***because*** [the cattle were] ***tired or lame.*** (1783) (Rehn 2015a)
b. *Pověst i rozprávka málo mají hodnověrnosti do sebe,* ***protože nesnadno vyšetřeny*** [býti mohou], ale *tím snadněji pojinačeny býti mohou.* (1848) (Konvička 2020: 255)
'Both legend and fairy tale have little reliability because difficult to investigate [they can be], but the easier to change they can be.'

The fact that NFC constructions that are anaphoric co-textually recoverable ellipses form the basis for the emergence of later NFC constructions can be interpreted as the diachronic explanation for the synchronic preference for postponed NFC constructions (203a) and for the dispreference of NFC constructions (203b) preceding their matrix clauses. Moreover, cataphoric textual ellipses are also synchronically less acceptable and less frequently used than their anaphoric counterparts (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985: 895).

(203) a. *Can't tell if I'm in a lot of abdominal pain* ***because Crohns*** *or* ***because antibiotics.*** [e027]

b. ?***Because Crohns*** *or* ***because antibiotics,*** *I can't tell if I'm in a lot of abdominal pain.*

Their present-day descendants inherited this word order asymmetry in the early elliptical NFC constructions, affecting them even though they are not elliptical anymore. This syntactic effect exemplifies the Principle of Persistence (Hopper 1991: 28). The preference of non-elliptical NFC constructions to follow their matrix clauses can, following this logic, be explained by their frequency and the ease of recovery of the elided material in anaphoric ellipses compared to cataphoric ones.

This finding has two related implications. First, it further corroborates the thesis that NFC constructions have emerged from causal clauses via elliptical constructions of the type $AdjP_1$ CONNECTOR $AdjP_2$. Second, it weakens other diachronic explanations because these cannot account for the clause-initial constraint observed in NFC constructions. A case in point is Okada's (2020) account (see VI.2.2), which analyses NFC constructions as formal blends of non-elliptical causal subordinate clauses and *because of* NP constructions. Both these construction types, however, can precede and follow their matrix clauses.

After co-textually recoverable ellipses, I move on to cases analysed as contextual ellipses found only in more recent data. These examples, often of the type *because* NP, lack co-textual clues that allow them to be interpreted as co-textual ellipses. Therefore, constructions like (204) can be analysed as contextual ellipses or non-ellipses.

(204) a. *I can't come out tonight* ***because*** [?I will be playing] ***Skyrim.*** [e007]

b. *Mental breakdown* ***weil*** [?ich] **gleich Matheklausur** [?habe]. Wie ich solche Tage hasse [d034]

'Mental breakdown because [?I have] maths test right away. How I hate such days.'

c. *Piráti měli pravdu, ale trapně na ni rezignovali,* ***protože*** [?upřednostnili] ***sesle.*** [c084]

'The Pirates knew the truth, but they have abandoned it embarrassingly because [?they preferred] seats.'

d. *Hypocriete kutstaat dat Utah... maar ondertussen wel veelwijverij toestaan,* ***want*** [?er leven] ***mormonen!*** [n072]
'Such a hypocrite state, Utah…but in the meantime, allow polygamy, because Mormons [?live there]!'

Compared with a potentially equivalent causal clause, examples in (204) differ by lacking at least a finite verb. They, therefore, fulfil the omission criterion of ellipses. It is unclear whether they fulfil the second criterion of recoverability. It is necessary for the linguist not to project too much into what the addressee might have been able to interpret (see Section III.1.2). This is further complicated by the fact that we work predominantly with tweets, which means that we only have limited access to the situational embedding of the utterance. The categorisation of examples such as (204) as (contextual) ellipses is therefore doubtful, even though plausible.

What, however, is clear is that cases such as (204) occupy a middle position between co-textual or structural ellipses, (198) through (201), and non-ellipses such as the ones in (205) and (206). Non-ellipses (see Section III.1.2.2) consist of two types: noun phrases (see Section III.1.2.2.1) and elements other than noun phrases, such as emojis or interjections (see Section III.1.2.2.2). Both these types of non-elliptical constructions do not occur in the early examples.

(205) a. *2 phone wallpapers* ***because oof.*** [e031]
b. *lösche das hier nachher wieder,* ***weil buhu,*** *aber oh Mann ey* [d016]
'I'm going to delete this afterwards because boohoo, but oh man, ey.'
c. *Jakože já nevím, ale te kdo říká, že není hot, tak lže sám sobě,* ***protože*** 😍😍😍 [c027]
'I don't know, but who says that they're not hot is lying to themselves, because 😍😍😍'
d. *Snapchat in de gaten houden voor uitgaan filmpje van Sophie, Monica en Steve* ***want yeah…*** [n010]
'Look out for an upcoming video of Sophie, Monica, and Steve on Snapchat because yeah…'

The analysis of noun phrases can be difficult due to the blurry distinction between contextual ellipses, where the crucial context is unavailable for analysis, and non-ellipses, where no context is needed because nothing needs to be recovered. The situation is, however, different

in the particular case of noun phrases in the nominative case (206). Their morphology makes it difficult to interpret the constructions as anything but non-ellipses.

(206) a. *Divný mít oblíbenou kavárnu v nemocnici. Ale tahle v Thomayerově stojí za návštěvu :).* ***Protože dobrý kafe*** *atd :)* [c014]
'Weird to have a favourite café in a hospital. But this one in the Thomayer University Hospital is definitely worth a visit :) Because good[N.NOM.SG] coffee[N.NOM.SG]'

b. *Ich habe fast 45 Min für die Feuershow warten müssen* ***weil guter Platz*** *und so.* [d006]
'I had to wait for the fire show almost 45 minutes because good[M.NOM.SG] seat[M.NOM.SG] and stuff.'

To analyse the structures in (206) as ellipses, it would be necessary to account for the fact that the noun phrase is in the nominative. This entails that the elided material would have to be something along the lines of (207) because the elided material would have to allow for the noun phrase in an NFC construction to remain in the nominative. However, the recovered form of such an ellipsis would be highly improbable. More importantly, no co-textual or contextual clue supports such an analysis.

(207) *Ich habe fast 45 Min für die Feuershow warten müssen* ***weil*** [ein] ***guter Platz*** *und so* [mein Ziel war].
'I had to wait for the fire show almost 45 minutes because [a] good[M.NOM.SG] seat[M.NOM.SG] and stuff [was my goal].'

Summarising what we know, the earliest examples of NFC constructions in all four languages are examples of co-textually recoverable ellipses. We also know that all four languages have non-elliptical relative clauses embedded by causal connectors. We find examples of NFC constructions that are potentially non-elliptical and even positively non-elliptical only later.

I have suggested a pathway along the Spiral of Recoverability (Figure VI-5) to account for these findings. The beginning and the end of the Spiral are non-ellipses that do not need to be or cannot be recovered. At the same time, the middle part of the process is characterised by co-textually, structurally, or contextually recoverable ellipses. The initial and final stages are

non-ellipses, but the complements of the causal connectors in these two stages are different: a subordinate clause in the former case and anything but a finite verb phrase in the latter case.

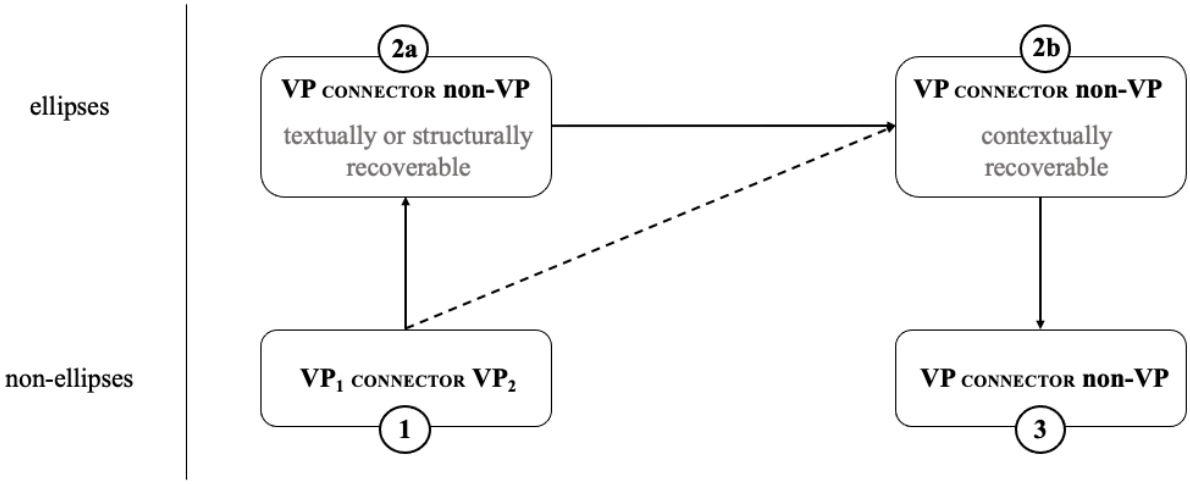


*Figure VI-5: NFC construction in the Spiral of Recoverability*

Two facts corroborate the spiral pathway. First, all the earliest attestations of NFC constructions in all four sample languages are elliptical. Non-elliptical NFC constructions, on the other hand, occur only later. Second, the development of non-ellipses from ellipses is not limited to NFC constructions (see Section VI.3.1). Whether textual and structural ellipses are the prerequisite for contextual ellipses to emerge or whether these two types both develop independently out of causal clauses, indicated in Figure VI-5 by the dotted line, remains an open question for now.

## 4 Multiple source constructions

The early research, triggered by the announcement that *because* became the Word of the Year 2013 (American Dialect Society 2014), tried to pinpoint the single source from which the allegedly novel use of the connector has developed. Various studies have identified different first attestations of the English NFC construction (Table VI-1). Some believed the construction originated in Internet memes and comics (see Section VI.2.1); others suggested TV shows or book passages. However, finding the real source of the NFC constructions has proven elusive. This is because NFC constructions in all the sample languages do not have a single source. Instead, the contemporary NFC constructions are cross-linguistically the results of several sources.

| Date | Source | Type | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1384-5 | Accounts of the Obedientiars of Abingdon Abbey | Document | Okada (2020) |
| 1598 | William Shakespeare: *Love's Labours Lost* | Play | Bergs (2021) |
| 1783 | Cattle drive account | Document | Rehn (2015a) |
| 1820 | North American Review | Newspaper | Bergs (2018) |
| 1949 | Nancy Mitford: *Love in a Cold Climate* | Book | Carey (2015) |
| 1987 | Saturday Night Live | TV | Whitman (2013) |
| 2011 | Pardon Me Sir | Comic | McCulloch (2014a) |
| 2011 | Because Race Car | Meme | Whitman (2013) |
| 2013 | n/a | Social Media | American Dialect Society (2014) |

*Table VI-1: Alleged first attestations of the English NFC construction*

This is because present-day NFC constructions are not the descendants of a single source but are examples of the so-called *multiple source constructions* (Van de Velde, De Smet & Ghesquière 2015). These constructions stem from at least two different constructions and, in Construction Grammar terms, are cases of multiple inheritance (Trousdale 2013).

For instance, the Dutch NFC constructions *want* X and *omdat* X are functionally identical. Still, they differ in frequency, with *want* being vastly more frequent as the connector in the Dutch NFC constructions than *omdat* (see Section III.1.1.3). This is likely caused by the fact that *omdat* X is attested only later than *want* X. It is therefore plausible that the latter construction served as a model for the former (see I.1.2.1). Historically, *omdat* was restricted to having subordinate clauses as complements. In contrast, *want* was complemented by main clauses (see Konvička 2018; 2019: for more details).

Against this backdrop, the following sources play a role in the development of the Dutch NFC constructions. First, causal clauses introduced by conjunctions *want* and *omdat* are the primary sources. Second, prepositional causal constructions with *vanwege* 'due to', *wegens* 'because of' or *om reden van* 'on account of' are further plausible sources. Third, the NFC constructions in Dutch are also influenced by English NFC constructions (see Chapter V).

The NFC construction *want* X itself, in turn, has influenced the NFC construction *omdat* X by analogy. We know that elliptical constructions of the type $\text{AdjP}_1$ CONNECTOR $\text{AdjP}_2$ were in use and were commented on as early as the 1960s. There are no comments on any

analogical behaviour of *omdat* in constructions $AdjP_1$ CONNECTOR $AdjP_2$ (Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 357). Of course, the absence of written evidence is not automatically evidence of absence, but it is a strong indication.

The different factors, both language-internal and contact-induced, for the development of NFC constructions in Dutch are given in Figure VI-6: First, causal clauses with *want* and *omdat*. Second, causal prepositional constructions. Third, language contact with English.

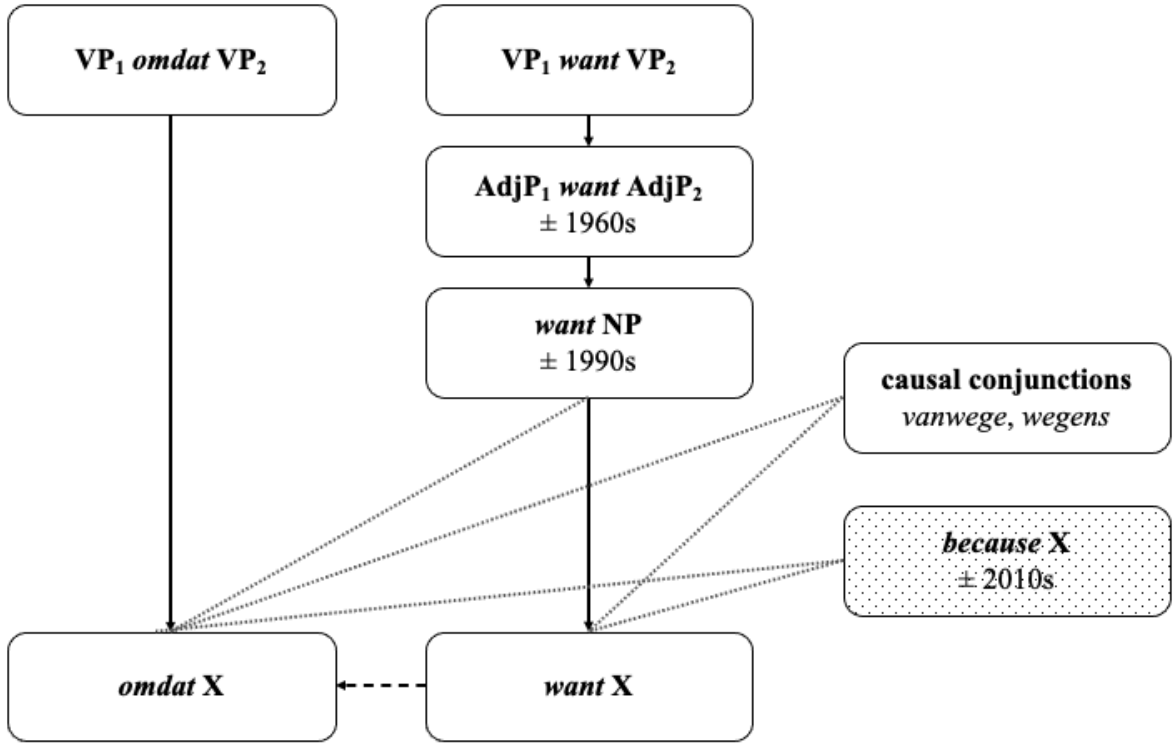


*Figure VI-6: Multiple sources of NFC constructions in Dutch*

A similar multi-source origin can be observed in Czech. In cases like (208), the NFC construction was attested in the middle of the 19th century (Konvička 2020: 255). Because these

constructions are co-textually recoverable ellipses, they represent a continuation of earlier causal clauses.

(208) *...stal se soud tento úřadem více vladařské moci podřízeným,* ***protože od sněmu odděleným a méně odvislým.*** (1862) [c036]
'…this court has become an office more subordinate to the royal power, because separate from the Diet and less dependent.'

However, at least three other sources can be identified (Figure VI-7). First, prepositional constructions with causal connectors such as *kvůli* 'due to' or *díky* 'thanks to' play a role. Second, lexicalised humorous pseudo-causal constructions such as *protože bagr* 'because excavator' or *protože proto* 'because therefore' are significant. Mainly because they were used before the current spread of the Czech NFC constructions (Konvička 2020: 255-256). Finally, we must also consider the influence of the English NFC construction in recent decades. In earlier periods, the influence of German probably played a more significant role.

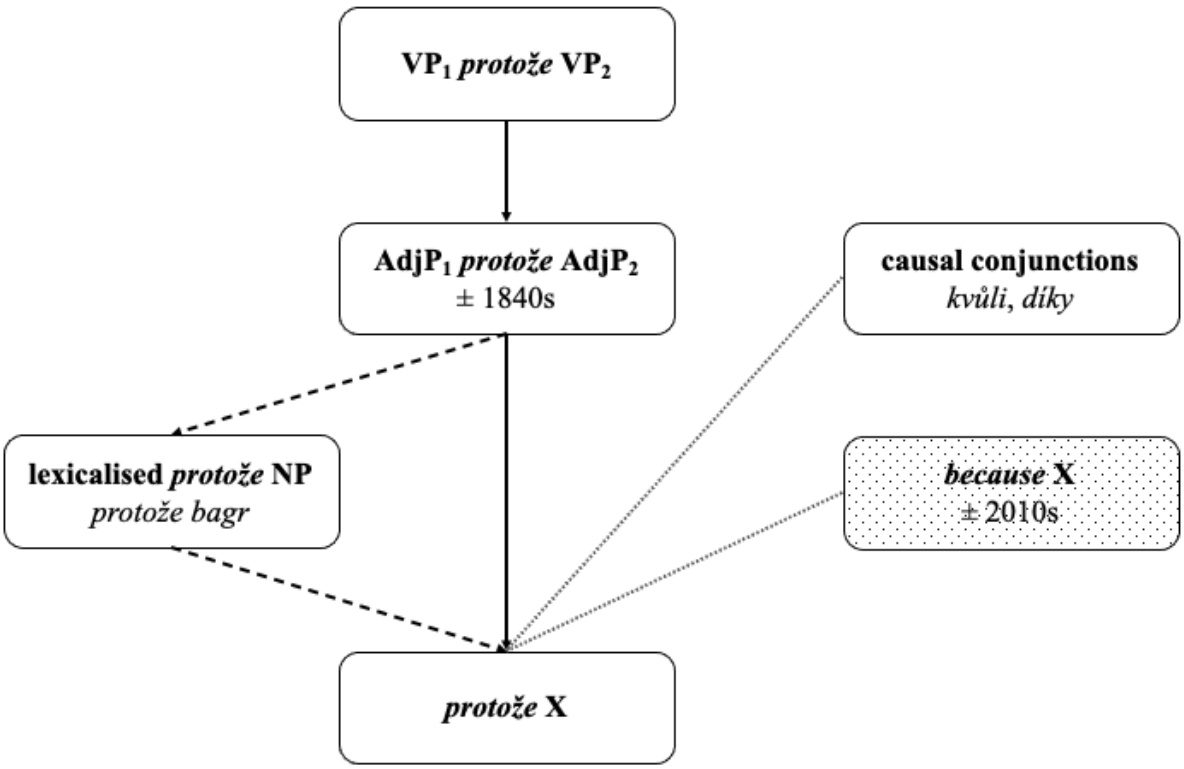


*Figure VI-7: Multiple sources of NFC constructions in Czech*

An interplay of several factors can also be established in the case of the German NFC construction *weil* X. First of all, the usual main pathway beginning with causal clauses with *weil* can be established (209).

(209) *von nun aber,* ***weil gereizt,*** *werde er gegen die Regierung feindlich auftreten.* (1834)
(Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 339)
'from now on, however, because irritated, he will act against the government in a hostile way.'

Furthermore, two other circumstances influence this development. Prepositional constructions with causal prepositions such as *wegen* 'due to', *infolge* 'as a result of' or *dank* 'thanks to' play a role language-internally. The influence of causal prepositions is evident in the German data. I have identified four cases (210) in which a *weil* X construction is combined with a *wegen* NP construction, resulting in a *weil wegen* NP construction. While these hybrid constructions make up only 2.3% (n=4) of all cases of German NFC constructions (n=174), their existence indicates that a conflation of prepositions and elliptical NFC constructions may have been a factor.

(210) a. *Traumatisierend,* ***weil wegen Frühschicht.*** [d068]
'Traumatic, because due to early shift'

b. *Haha #HighCastle schaue ich auch. Staffel 3* ***weil wegen Staffel 4.*** [e080]
'Haha, I also watch #HighCastle. Season 3 because due to season 4.'

c. *Geht wohl drum dass das die Gruppen sind die wichtig sind dass die abgedeckt sind* ***weil wegen schwachem Immunsystem.*** *Wenn ich das richtig verstanden hab.* 😅 [d104]
'It's rather because these are the groups that are important that they are covered because due to weak immune system. If I understand it correctly. 😅'

d. [Context: Tweet 1: *Warum sind Nüsse so geil.* 😌 Tweet 2: not available anymore Tweet 3: *Ohne Butter oder so, dann ja*.] ***Weil wegen vegan.*** 👀 [d131]
'[Context Tweet 1: Why are nuts so cool. 😌 Tweet 2: not available anymore Tweet 3: Without butter and stuff, then yes.] Because due to vegan. 👀'

In addition, language contact with English on social media has played a vital role in the last decade. All the factors above are given in Figure VI-8.

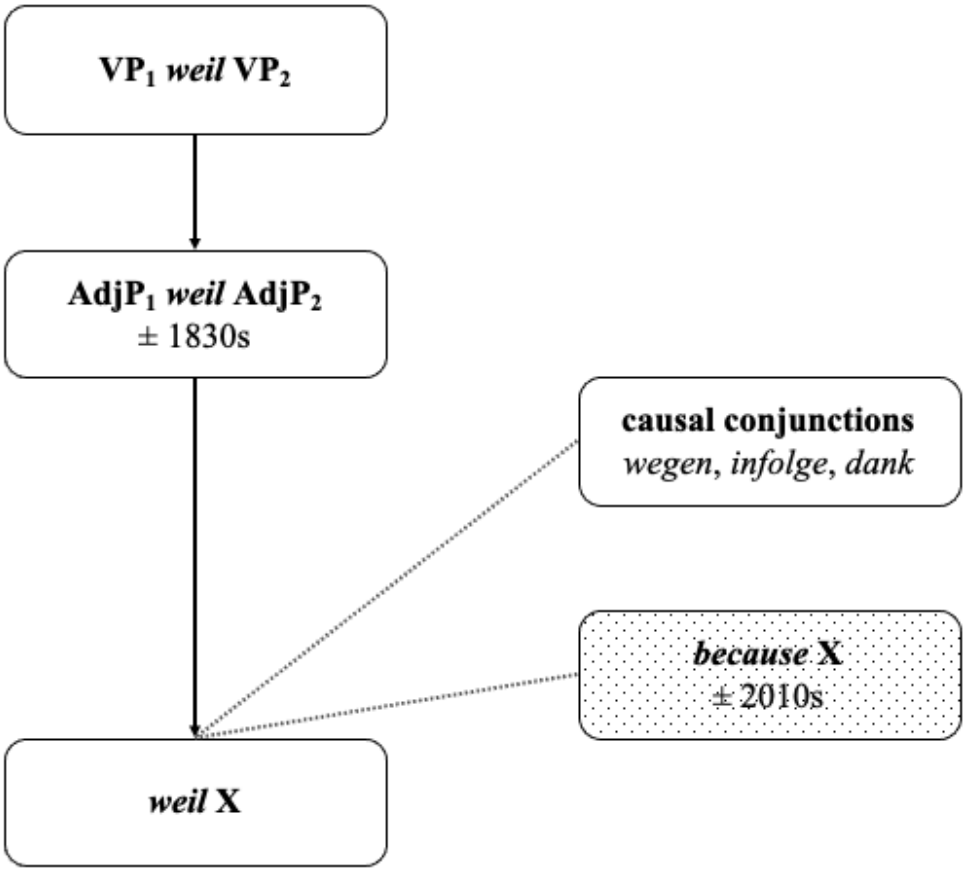


*Figure VI-8: Multiple sources of NFC constructions in German*

The remaining question is whether we can also assume multiple sources for the English NFC construction. Although the influence of other languages on English in this regard is less prominent than the other way around and can thus be disregarded, the English NFC construction has likely been influenced by formally and functionally related constructions language-internally.

The case of English is specific in two ways. First, the dominant position of English in computer-mediated communication and elsewhere makes it unlikely that the English NFC construction could have been affected by language contact. This position of English instead favours the influence of English on other languages. Second, English NFC constructions have very likely been influenced by the causal *because of* NP constructions (see, e.g., Okada 2020), which are absent in the remaining sample languages.

Furthermore, NFC constructions in English are also influenced by several prominent individual instances of NFC constructions, such as *because race car* or *because* (*hey*) *free* NP, frequently used in Internet memes. These are certainly not the real origin of NFC constructions, unlike some discussants claimed in the early debates (see Section VI.2.1). Still, they could have helped solidify the position of NFC constructions, similarly in Czech (Figure VI-9).

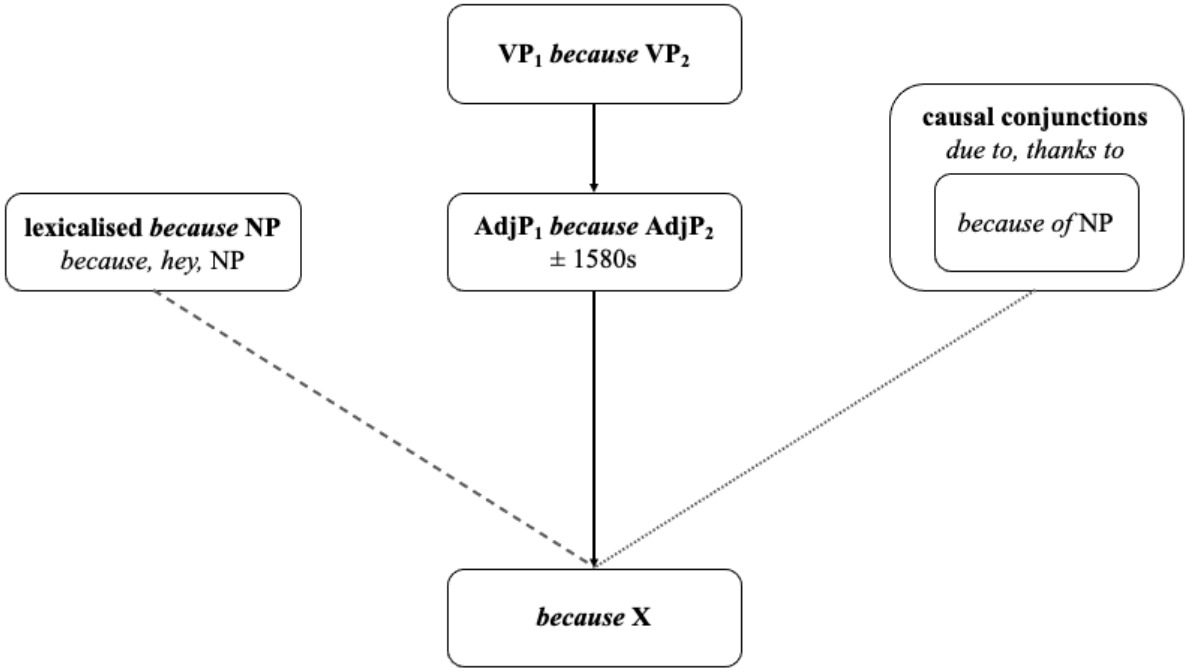


*Figure VI-9: Multiple sources of NFC constructions in English*

This tells an essential story about NFC constructions in different languages. NFC constructions are the results of a multifactorial development. One important, although not necessary, factor is language contact. This is most salient in NFC constructions in languages that come into contact with English (see Chapter V). However, NFC constructions also count as multiple source constructions, even from a purely language-internal perspective.

## 5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have set out to investigate the emergence of the NFC constructions in English, German, Dutch, and Czech. In contrast to previous research, this account proposes to explain the origins of the NFC constructions in three ways.

First, the present account overcomes the early discussions marred by the idea that NFC constructions must be of recent origin and finds evidence that NFC constructions existed long before computer-mediated communication could have influenced the four analysed languages

in any way. It, therefore, does not search the origins of NFC constructions in communication on social media in the past few decades, even though the role of these factors is acknowledged.

Second, the present account does not focus exclusively on finding a scenario for a single language as most earlier proposals (e.g. Kanetani 2019; Okada 2020) have done. Instead, it works with the assumption that the exact mechanism must be responsible for the emergence of NFC constructions cross-linguistically. A case in point is any account that highlights the role of the *because of* NP construction. Although this construction is essential for the emergence of NFC constructions in English, it is not generalisable as it cannot account for the rise of NFC construction in other languages.

Third, the present account also works with the assumption that the NFC constructions in all the languages analysed cannot be reduced to a single source construction (Van de Velde, De Smet & Ghesquière 2015). Instead, the account considers the present-day NFC constructions to be the results of several factors: language-internal factors, such as the influence of formally and functionally related constructions, and cross-linguistic factors in the form of language contact.

Building upon these three pillars, I have presented an account of the development of NFC constructions based on what I have termed the *Spiral of Recoverability*. It describes how non-elliptical constructions give rise to elliptical ones and how they, over time, become non-elliptical, albeit different from the initial non-ellipses.

This account connects the diachrony behind NFC constructions in English, German, Dutch, and Czech, not only to each other but also to other constructions that have developed following the same pathway. Moreover, the account presented in this chapter also connects the development of NFC constructions with the synchronic variation in the use of NFC constructions in the four languages analysed (see Section III.1.2). In particular, the diachrony illustrated by the Spiral of Recoverability is connected to the typology of NFC constructions based on their (non-)ellipticity.

# VII Panchronic view of NFC constructions

## 1 Introduction

In my analysis of NFC constructions, I have so far followed two axes: one aiming at a description of a static system and one aiming at a description of its changes. Along the former axis, I analysed the structure of NFC constructions, consisting of the connector and complement slot. Furthermore, I discussed the different connectors occurring in the connector slot together with the various types of expressions in the complement slot. Along the latter axis, I discussed the so-called Spiral of Recoverability and presented the developmental pathway going from non-elliptical causal clauses via intermediary elliptical NFC constructions towards novel non-elliptical NFC constructions.

These two axes are traditionally linked to the two basic approaches to analysing language: synchronic description on the one hand and diachronic description on the other. I argue in this chapter that although the distinction between synchrony and diachrony is born of methodological necessity, the dichotomy needs to be overcome from a conceptual perspective. In other words, I will argue in this chapter that while our analyses must be either synchronic or diachronic because the data we analyse are either synchronic or diachronic, our interpretation of the data can be panchronic.

To this end, I will first explain how the axes of synchrony and diachrony manifest in the data I used to analyse the NFC constructions and how these data can be interpreted in a panchronic way (Section VII.2). I will then provide a brief overview of the conceptual history of panchrony (Section VII.3), before drawing more general conclusions about the possibilities of a panchronic approach to linguistics in general and to NFC constructions in particular.

## 2 Synchronic and diachronic data and their panchronic interpretation

The insights from the synchronic description of the formal aspects of NFC constructions (Chapter III) allow us to arrange NFC constructions along a continuum (Figure VII-1), with the ellipticity of the expressions in the complement slot being the essential criterion. On the one side are causal clauses, which are not elliptical, and on the other side are NFC constructions with non-elliptical third-category members as complements. Between these non-elliptical poles are located various kinds of elliptical NFC constructions with adjectival, adverbial, or nominal complements.

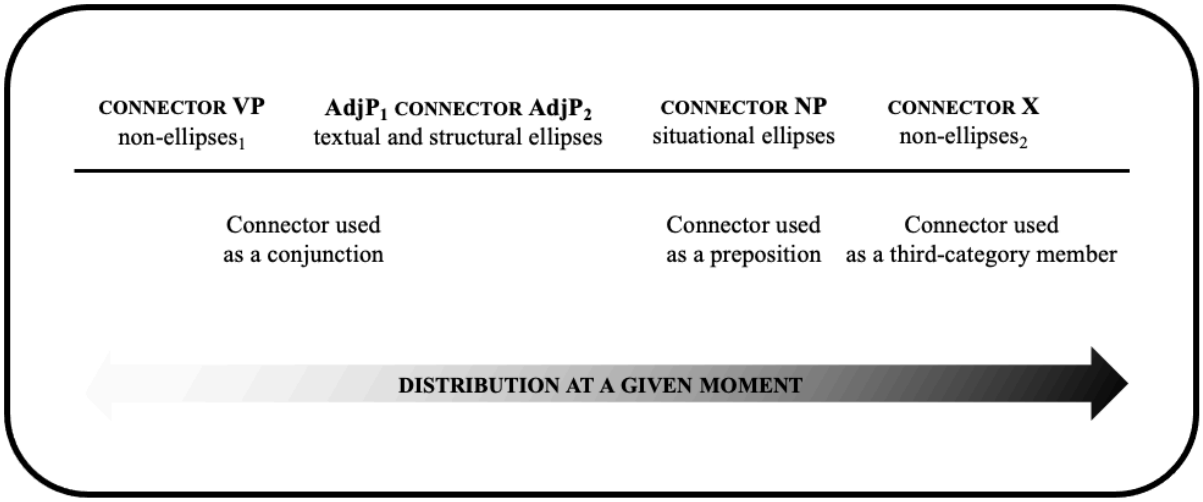


*Figure VII-1: Synchronic continuum of NFC constructions*

The insights from the diachronic description of the formal aspects of NFC constructions (Chapter VI), in turn, allow us to arrange them along a similar continuum (Figure VII-2), again with the ellipticity of the expressions in the complement slot being the essential criterion. Because we know that all the sample languages had causal clauses before they had NFC construction and because we know that the earliest attested examples of NFC constructions are textual ellipses, it is possible to establish a relative chronology of the types of NFC constructions. Within the group of all NFC constructions, the data further suggest that constructions of the type $AdjP_1$ CONNECTOR $AdjP_2$ are relatively older than constructions of the type CONNECTOR NP or CONNECTOR INTERJECTION.

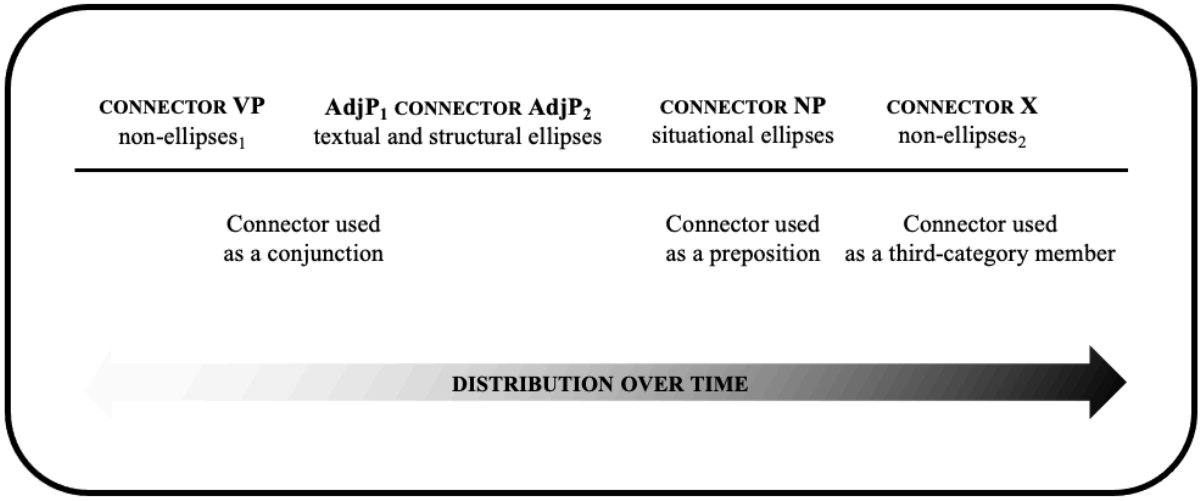


*Figure VII-2: Diachronic continuum of NFC constructions*

Both continua, the synchronic (Figure VII-1) and the diachronic (Figure VII-2) alike, are based on the same criterion of ellipticity, and they are based on direct empirically founded. They are

both directly derived from the analysed data. On the one hand, the synchronic continuum represents a snapshot taken at a given moment in time. The diachronic continuum, on the other hand, represents a series of such snapshots taken over time.

Although both continua provide insights into the distribution of various types of NFC constructions, they are not everything there is to say about NFC constructions. To get a fuller picture of the synchronic and diachronic distribution of NFC construction types, the data represented in Figures VII-1 and VII-2 need to be interpreted. This interpretation is represented by the axis of panchrony (Figure VII-3).

Not only do we know how the NFC construction types are distributed synchronically and diachronically, but we also know that the diachronic succession of the individual NFC construction types can explain their synchronic variation. This idea that synchronically co-occurring states are diachronically connected is, of course, not new as it is, for example, present in the concept of *grammaticalisation scales* that "accounts for both synchronic variation and diachronic change" (Lehmann 1985: 6).[68] The concept of *layering* (Hopper 1991: 22) similarly accounts for the panchronic continuum of NFC constructions. Synchronically co-occurring structures, in this case the different types of NFC constructions, result from a diachronic succession of the different types. In other words, novel forms coexist alongside older ones.

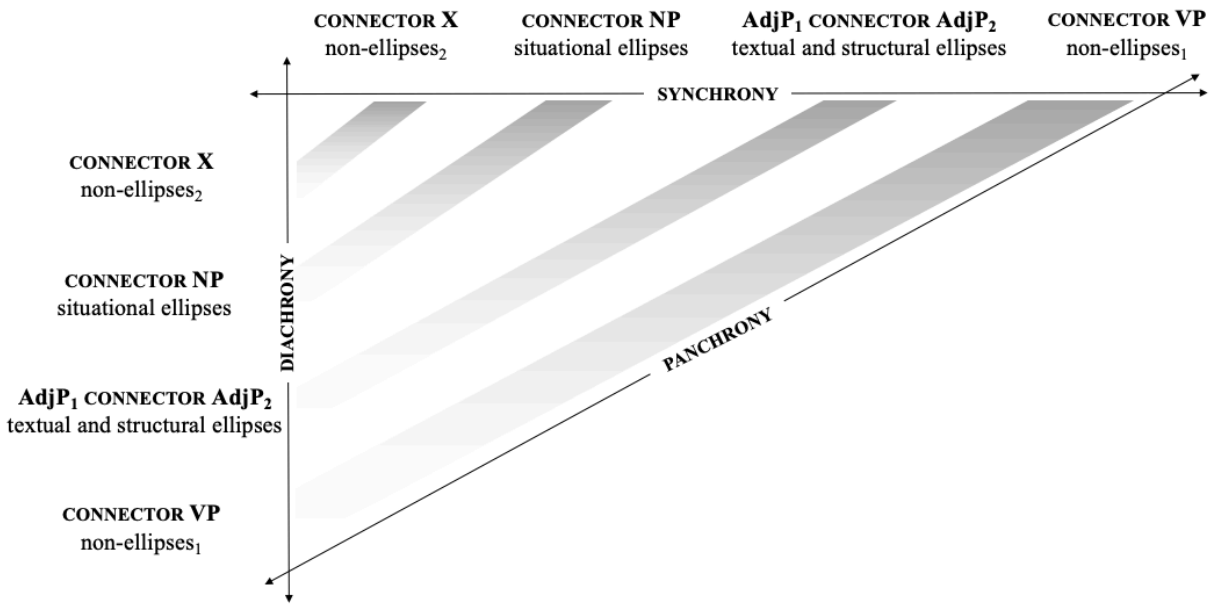


*Figure VII-3: Panchronic continuum of NFC constructions*

[68] For a more detailed discussion of grammaticalisation scales, clines, and related concepts, see Konvička (2019).

The axes of synchrony and diachrony pertain directly to the analysed data. We either work with synchronic data and study their distribution at a single moment in time, or we work with diachronic data and study their distribution over time. The axis of panchrony is different in that it does not pertain to the data itself but to their interpretation.

In other words, while we can analyse linguistic data either exclusively synchronically or exclusively diachronically, we are not bound by this dichotomy in their interpretations. This freedom enables us to combine the insights from our synchronic and diachronic analyses into our interpretations, which, consequently, are panchronic.

Against this backdrop, it is possible to say something about the relationship of the three axes. Both the synchronic and the diachronic axis can exist independently of each other and independently of the panchronic axis as well. The panchronic axis, however, always depends on both the synchronic and the diachronic axis. We can analyse linguistic data from a purely synchronic perspective, and we can also analyse linguistic data from a purely diachronic perspective. Any panchronic interpretation, however, will inevitably, by definition, combine the insights gained from synchronic as well as diachronic data. Moreover, while the axis of synchrony and the axis of diachrony exist only inasmuch as synchronic or diachronic data exist, the axis of panchrony can, by virtue of its interpretative nature, go beyond mere data (see Section VII.4).

## 3 A brief history of panchrony

The term *panchrony* looks back on more than a century of use in linguistics. It has often been employed in an attempt to overcome the Saussurean dichotomy between diachrony and synchrony, which was perceived as too strict (see, e.g. Sperber 1960; Coseriu 1974; Christie 1982; Stolz 1991; Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991: 248–261; Seiler 2018). In this section, I will attempt to sketch a brief outline of the history of this concept.

The history of panchrony begins in the *Cours de linguistique générale* (de Saussure 1916). In this founding text of linguistic structuralism, a principal distinction is made between a synchronic and a diachronic view of language. While diachronic linguistics is the study of the development of a language system, the aim of synchronic linguistics is to understand how a language system works at a given point in time (de Saussure 1916: 118).

The distinction between diachrony and synchrony in the *Cours* ultimately boils down to the role of the language system and temporality. While synchrony negates time as a factor and emphasises the importance of relations within a system, diachrony negates the relations within a system and emphasises the factor of time.

The *Cours* (de Saussure 1916: 138), however, also suggests that for some aspects of the study of language, the difference between synchrony and diachrony is immaterial. These aspects are described as *panchronic* and can be characterised by general laws and, in a certain sense, true language universals (Bußmann 2008: 503). In this sense, panchrony refers to the omnipresent language-external factors influencing language, such as the flow of time and the resulting inescapability of language change (de Saussure 1916 [2011: 95–96]; but see also Stolz 1991: 57).

Panchrony, in the original sense, however, never enjoyed wide popularity and soon started to be used in widely different ways (see Stolz 1991 or Konvička 2016 for an overview).[69] The various views on the nature of panchrony to the dichotomy of diachrony and synchrony are summarised in Table VII-1 (adapted from Stolz 1991: 64). Some present panchrony as an additional approach to language alongside synchrony and diachrony (positions 1, 2, 3, and 4 in Table VII-1). In contrast, others understood panchrony as a concept that overcomes this dichotomy (positions 5 and 6 in Table VII-1).

| No. | Relation type | Explanation | Dichotomy upheld? |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Identity | a) panchrony = synchrony ≠ diachrony | Yes |
| | | b) panchrony = diachrony ≠ synchrony | Yes |
| 2 | Complement | panchrony ≠ synchrony ≠ diachrony | Yes |
| 3 | Overlap | panchrony = synchrony ∩ diachrony | Yes |
| 4 | Extern | panchrony \|\| synchrony ≠ diachrony | Yes |
| 5 | Supersession | panchrony < synchrony + diachrony | No |
| 6 | Addition | panchrony = synchrony + diachrony | No |

*Table VII-1: An overview of different interpretations of panchrony*

Those approaches to panchrony, for which it was a concept surpassing the Saussurean dichotomy, understood it either as a concept more abstract than both synchrony and diachrony (position 5 in Table VII-1) or simply as their combination (Sperber 1960) (position 6 in Table VII-1)

Most approaches to panchrony, however, treated it as a concept co-existing alongside diachrony and synchrony. Panchrony is understood as an expanded synchrony or expanded diachrony (Hjelmslev 1928; Martinet 1984) (position 1 in Table VII-1). Alternatively, panchrony was understood as a third way of approaching linguistic facts (Christie 1982)

[69] Panchrony was not the only *chrony* that suffered this fate. Concepts such as *idiochrony*, *idiosynchrony*, or *idiodiachrony* were similarly unsuccessful (Stolz 1991: 56).

(position 2 in Table VII-1). The old dichotomy, in this view, becomes a trichotomy. The most widespread interpretation of panchrony sees it as a means to analyse those areas of language where diachrony and synchrony overlap (position 1 in Table VII-1). This approach became typical of grammaticalisation research (Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991: 248–261). Finally, the *Cours* understood panchrony, as mentioned above, saw it as an ever-present dimension outside of language (position 4 in Table VII-1).

The demonstrable disagreement about how a *panchronic* approach should look like, lies, as I would argue, in the fact that there are, in reality, two disagreements. On the one hand, it is not clear what it means to approach something *panchronically*, while on the other hand, it is not clear what *it* is that we are supposed to be panchronically approaching. Are we panchronically approaching *language* or merely *linguistic data* (see, e.g. Coseriu 1974: 13)?

As I have argued at the beginning of this chapter (Section VII.2), linguistic data can be approached either synchronically or diachronically, but not panchronically. Panchronic, however, can be our interpretation of the data.

The idea of a panchronic approach to language as such was strongly present in the heyday of grammaticalisation research in the second half of the 1980s and early 1990s (e.g. Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991: 248–261; Himmelmann 1992: 2). The central question was whether grammaticalisation as a phenomenon falls into the remit of diachronic or synchronic linguistics. On the one hand, grammaticalisation processes seem to belong to both, while on the other hand, they cannot be fully captured by either. The conclusion is that "for a theory of grammaticalization it is both unjustified and impractical to maintain a distinction between synchrony and diachrony" (Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991: 258).

Not all synchronic (or diachronic) analyses explicitly state to be synchronic (or diachronic), for example, and not all panchronic analyses profess their panchronic principles. This is the case for most studies dealing with the interplay of variation and change in grammaticalisation research. This is due to the panchronic approach, with its promise of an escape from "the prison" (Keller 1994) or "strait-jacket" (Sperber 1960: 252) of dichotomies, has become the vanilla one. The (implicit) panchronic understanding of language goes hand in hand with (implicit) support of the tenets of Emergent Grammar (Hopper 1987; 1988; 2011), summarised in the following quote:

> The panchronic approach also provides us with a realistic description of language as a complex, dynamic system [and] comes close to an understanding of grammar as

> emergent, where there exists no strict distinction between synchrony and diachrony but only continuous change. (Kuteva 2001: 9)

The quote above epitomises the more general conflation of a panchronic approach to *language* and to its *description*, against which I have argued. While the former can undoubtedly be described as a complex, emergent, and dynamic system, the latter can still be described only in either a diachronic or a synchronic way. However, this gap between synchronic and diachronic data, on the one hand, and our understanding of language as a complex adaptive system (see, e.g. Schmid 2020), on the other, can be bridged by a panchronic interpretation.

## 4 Past, present, and future linguistics

Having read the previous section about the history of panchrony, the impression might arise that panchrony is just "ein modisches Schlagwort ohne allzu konkrete Inhaltszuweisungen" [70] (Stolz 1991: 53). If it were just an umbrella term used instead of synchrony and diachrony, its usefulness would remain minimal (Himmelmann 1992: 2). However, as I have indicated earlier (Section VII.2), panchronic interpretation of synchronic and diachronic data can be beneficial as such an interpretation can provide a fuller picture of the phenomena at hand.

Panchrony can be particularly beneficial if we take the predictive consequences of the approach seriously.[71] According to Stolz (1991: 67), this aspect of panchrony remains mostly unrecognised:

> Bei den anfallenden definitorischen Arbeiten sollte m. E. ein besonderes Augenmerk auf einen Komplex gelegt werden, der in bisherigen Panchroniedefinitionen wenigstens explizit keine Rolle gespielt hat, den ich aber durchaus für berücksichtigenswert erachte. Ich denke hierbei an den Faktor Prädiktion. Während bei ganz schematischer Rollenzuweisung die […] Diachronie […] die strukturelle Vergangenheit bzw. Vorzeitigkeit, die […] Synchronie hingegen die strukturelle Gegenwart bzw. Gleichzeitigkeit abdeckt, ließe sich noch ganz intuitiv vermuten, dass ein panchroner Ansatz noch eine weitere Komponente als Aussageskopus umfassen sollte, nämlich so

[70] „a fashionable buzzword without much concrete content" (translation MK)

[71] The future aspects of an panchronic understanding of language has been referred to elsewhere by terms such as *anticipated future events* (Harris 1991), *predictions* (Stolz 1991) or *expectations* (Itkonen 1978; Luhmann 1984; Zeige 2011). For reasons of convenience, I regard all these concepts as more or less synonymous because they all refer to utterances that have not yet been realised but can nevertheless be expected to be realised. The expectations about future realisations of utterances can take place on the level of individual speakers (Itkonen 1978; Harris 1991; Stolz 1991), but also on the level of the whole language system.

> etwas wie die strukturelle Zukunft oder Nachzeitigkeit, wobei sich die Domäne von Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft immer als relativ zu einem gewählten observationellen Ausgangspunkt verstehen.[72]

Along similar lines, Harris (1991: 47) argues in the context of his programme of integrationist linguistics for the need to include future developments in a model of language:

> An integrationalist redefinition [of linguistics, MK] […] adopts a perspective which, in Saussurean terms, is neither synchronic nor diachronic but panchronic. It considers as pertinent to linguistic communication both the integration of present events with past events and anticipated future events.

The predictive aspect of a panchronic interpretation of linguistic data, as I argue, together with the incorporation of "anticipated future events", is always embedded in concrete observations and conclusions based on them. At the beginning of this chapter, I mentioned the principle of *layering* (Hopper 1991: 22) in connection to the variation of the different types of NFC constructions. I have pointed out the fact that the various types of complements occurring with the causal connector stem from different stages of the process responsible for the emergence of NFC constructions. However, any given synchronic state is also the basis for future developments. As Stolz (1991: 67) puts it:

> [Als Synchronie] darf nicht nur als derjenige Bereich angesehen werden, in dem Diachronie Relikte hinterläßt, sondern in dem sich zukünftige Entwicklungen abzuzeichnen beginnen.[73]

It has been famously stated that *today's morphology is yesterday's syntax* (Givón 1971). This is a classic diachronic statement because it is based on a diachronic comparison of today's and tomorrow's data. Analogically, I want to panchronically claim that *today's syntax is*

[72] „A particular attention in the upcoming definitional works should, in my opinion, be paid to an issue that has so far, at least explicitly, played no role in the works on panchrony but that I consider being noteworthy. I am thinking of the factor of prediction. In a schematic role distinction, diachrony covers the area of structural past or anteriority and synchrony the area of structural present or contemporaneity. This allows us to intuitively assume that a panchronic approach should contain a further component, namely something like the structural future or anteriority. The areas of past, present and future must always be understood as relative to a chosen point of observation." (translation MK)

[73] "[Synchrony] should not only be understood as the area in which diachrony leaves its traces but also as the area in which future developments begin to materialise." (translation MK)

*tomorrow's morphology*. This statement cannot be diachronic because it is not a comparison of two sets of data, *today's syntax* and *tomorrow's morphology*, but an interpretation of a synchronic status, i.e. *today's syntax*. Therefore, the prediction concerning *tomorrow's morphology* is a panchronic interpretation of synchronic data.

I have described what this means for NFC constructions partially in the context of their cross-linguistic spread (Chapter V). The four sample languages show the same synchronic variation of the elements in the complements slot (see Figure VII-1). The four sample languages also show the same relative chronology (see Figure VII-2).

Knowing this allows us to formulate two hypotheses: one cross-linguistic and one relating to individual languages. As to the former, it is possible to predict that if a language allows for constructions like (211a), it has the potential to eventually develop (211b), (211c), and (211d) (see Konvička & Stöcker 2022: 363). Furthermore, it is also possible to predict the relative order of the development within individual languages. In such a language, a construction of the type (211a) will always precede a construction of the type (211d).

(211) a. causal connector + clausal complement
b. causal connector + elliptical clausal complement
c. causal connector + elliptical non-clausal complement
d. causal connector + non-elliptical non-clausal complement

Suppose we, for instance, encounter a language which uses an NFC construction of the type (211b). In that case, we can predict that it also uses a non-elliptical causal construction of the type (211a), which had given rise to (211b), and that it at least has the potential to develop NFC constructions of the types (211c) and (211d).

It is possible to synchronically describe the various combinations of causal connectors and their complements. It is also equally possible to diachronically describe the changes between these combinations. It is, however, also possible to panchronically describe the possible future developments based on the knowledge of the past and the present. On the other hand, this should not be understood as if a panchronic approach to language allows us to predict the outcome of language change processes. It allows us, however, to formulate testable hypotheses based on facts.

# VIII Summary, conclusions, and outlook

## 1 Summary and conclusions

One of the benefits of arriving at the end of something is that one can look back and compare what one knows at the end with what one had known in the beginning. In the case of NFC constructions and this study, arriving at the end means that one can compare what one knows at this very moment about the synchronic, diachronic, and comparative aspects of NFC constructions in English, German, Dutch, and Czech with what one had known before one started reading (or skimming through) the present text. Concerning NFC constructions more generally, arriving at the end of the present study also means that one can compare what one knows right now with what one had known on 4 January 2014 when the English conjunction *because* in the *because* X construction was elected the Word of the Year 2013 by the American Dialect Society. In a concrete sense, arriving at the end of the present study means that one can look back at the eight chapters that constitute this study.

The first chapter has dealt with the most widespread illusions about the analysed construction: illusion about its novelty (Section I.2.1), illusion about its cross-linguistic spread (Section I.2.2), illusion about its usage domain (Section I.2.3), illusion about its restriction to written language (Section I.2.4), and illusion about the size of the paradigm of which NFC constructions are a member (Section I.2.5). On the one hand, in a positive sense, the first chapter served as an overview of things laypeople and scholars alike at one point believed to be true concerning NFC constructions. On the other hand, in a negative sense, the first chapter simultaneously serves as an example of what NFC constructions are not. In this sense, the first chapter is a documentary about linguistic ideologies and misconceptions surrounding the grammatical construction analysed in the present study.

In the second chapter, I have presented the empirical foundation of the present study in that I discussed the way I have collected the data from social media (Section II.2.1) and the way I have annotated the collected data (Section II.2.2). In this context, I have also described the structure of the Appendix that contains all the entries analysed for the present study. When talking about the ways I have collected and annotated the data, I have also discussed the ethical questions connected to using data from social media as a source for linguistic research (Section II.3). Finally, I have also addressed the question of comparability of multilingual data. Since I have set out to conduct a comparative study of NFC constructions in four languages – English, Dutch, German, and Czech – I needed to address the question of comparability of the data from individual languages.

The third chapter presents the synchronic heart of the analysis of NFC constructions in this study, and it consists of two halves: one focusing on the analysis of the form of the construction (Section III.1) and one focusing on the analysis of its meaning (Section III.2).

In the first half of the third chapter, I define, against the backdrop of causal clauses, what an NFC construction is and arrive at the following definition: an NFC construction is a construction that consists of a causal connector complemented by any phrase that does not contain a finite verb. I analyse the variability of both the connector slot (Section III.1.1) and the complement slot (Section III.1.2). While the causal connector is variable to a certain degree, the complement is the more crucial part of the construction.

The essential criterion for analysing the complement slot of an NFC construction is the ellipticity of the expression that it occupies (Section III.1.2.1). The complement in an NFC construction can be either more like a clause but with the finite verb elided or the complement can be less like a clause, rather resembling the complements of prepositions. In languages with case systems, the morphology of the complement is of importance. The reason for this is that if a noun phrase in the complement slot is explicitly marked for case, which it usually is not, it will be marked exclusively for the nominative (Section III.1.2.2.1.2). Data from case languages outside of my sample, such as Slovak or Finnish, confirm the pattern.

Besides analysing the properties of the constituent parts of the construction, I have also analysed the interaction of the construction with its wider syntactic environment in two ways: First, by looking at the integration of the construction with its matrix clause (Section III.1.4.1). NFC constructions can be integrated with their matrix clause, but they can also occur independently in discourse. Causal clauses, like prepositional causal constructions, can either precede or follow their matrix clauses. In the vast majority of cases, NFC constructions prefer the latter position (Section III.1.4.2). I call this property of the constructions the clause-initial constraint and offer a tentative diachronic explanation for it (Section VI.3.2).

In the second part of the third chapter, I describe three different functions of an NFC construction: expressing causality, expressing pseudo-causality, and expressing a comment. First, an NFC construction is typically used to express a causal link, either factual or epistemic, between the matrix clause and the complement of the construction (Section III.2.1). Second, an NFC construction can be used only to purport to express such a causal link (Section III.2.2). Finally, the causal meaning of an NFC construction can also be combined with a comment about the causality to expresses an implicit speaker's comment about it (Section III.2.3).

I have not only described *what* an NFC construction can express but also *how* these functions get expressed. With respect to the latter, i.e. to the functional properties of NFC constructions, I have employed the two concepts of hidden complexity and shared knowledge.

In the former section of the third chapter (Section III.2.4.1), I have addressed the issue of the construction's complexity (or lack thereof). Analyses of NFC constructions treating them as purely elliptical constructions point to their reduced complexity in comparison with the more canonical combination of the causal connector and a clause complement. Superficially, a clause is, of course, more complex than a noun phrase or any other typical complement of the connector in NFC constructions. Superficial, overt complexity is, however, not the only type of complexity there is. Against this background, I have applied the concept of hidden complexity (Bisang 2014; 2015) to the study of the semantics and pragmatics of NFC constructions. By so doing, I have demonstrated that constructions of this type may be less complex overtly, but this fact is compensated by the increased reliance on discourse information. NFC constructions, therefore, show a higher degree of hidden complexity.

In the latter section of the third chapter (Section III.2.4.2), I analysed the informational prerequisites between the interlocutors needed to convey the meaning of NFC constructions successfully. In particular, I have shown that compared with causal clauses, an NFC construction presupposes a higher degree of familiarity with the proposition expressed by the element in the complement slot than with causal clauses. This observation is linked to the fact that an NFC construction is linguistically more economical than a causal clause. The reason for this is the fact that the speaker knows that the addressee can rely on shared knowledge between both interlocutors.

In the very last section of the third chapter, I finally ask the question of whether NFC constructions really count, formally (Section III.3.2) as well as functionally (Section III.3.3), as separate constructions or whether they are to be regarded as mere variants, perhaps less complex, of causal clauses. Notwithstanding the varying criteria for constructionhood, my conclusion is that NFC constructions are both formally and functionally so distinct from causal constructions that they cannot be regarded as mere variants of causal clauses but that they have achieved constructional status.

In the fourth chapter, I have asked the question of the word class status of the connector in the various subtypes of NFC constructions. Considering syntactic and morphological criteria, I have identified three distinct categories of the causal connector. First, in those constructions where the connector is complemented by (textual) ellipses, I have categorised the connector as conjunction, just as in traditional causal clauses (Section IV.2.2). Second, in those types of NFC

constructions where the connector is followed by noun phrases, the connector is best categorised as a preposition, albeit not a prototypical one (Section IV.2.3). Although syntactic criteria have been used in the first line, the morphology of the complement was taken into account in this second type. The reason for this is the nominative case marking of the noun phrase complements in the case languages German and Czech (Section III.1.2.2.1.2). Third, those cases of NFC constructions inconsistent with the previous two categorisations, such as the combination of the causal connector with interjections or emojis, have been grouped and labelled *third category* (Section IV.2.4).

I have also devoted a portion of the fourth chapter to the question of categories in general (Section IV.3). Against the backdrop of the three types of connectors as used in NFC constructions, I have argued that the connector must be analysed as having an abstract category potential. In other words, the causal connector, such as *because* in English, can only be analysed in terms of its category membership once it is used in a concrete context. In concrete contexts, the connector exhibits prototype-based (Section IV.3.1) and emergent properties (Section IV.3.2) and can also be analysed as vague (IV.3.3).

NFC constructions are not limited to a single language. As the present study amply demonstrates, they exist in a number of languages. In the fifth chapter, I have therefore explored the question of the cross-linguistic spread of NFC constructions. In this chapter, I have also attempted to bridge the question of language contact as a concept pertaining to the contact of *languages* and language contact as a concept pertaining to the contact of individual speakers.

In order to do so, I have presented the framework of Diasystematic Construction Grammar (e.g. Höder 2018) (Section V.2.1). Constructions are not understood as belonging to a specific language in this grammar model but as belonging to individual speakers and, by extension, to speaker communities. This enables us to integrate multilingual practices into the very core of the model and not treat language contact as an exceptional situation.

In the context of the four sample languages, speakers already have some kind of NFC constructions at their disposal. In a minimalistic version, they are familiar, at least, with causal clauses, the precursor of NFC constructions. This means that instead of structural borrowing, the development of NFC constructions in these languages is a case of contact-induced convergence. I have used Diasystematic Construction Grammar to model how language contact leads to convergence (Section V.2.2).

Discussing further the relation between a language or a language community and individual speakers, I have explored the question of how NFC construction can spread throughout a language community even if only a small portion of that community is in contact

with speakers of other languages (Section V.2.3). I have argued that contact between speakers of the same language is not essentially different from contact between speakers of different languages. Not least because if we accept that each speaker uses a unique idiolect, language contact becomes omnipresent. The need to integrate language contact and multilingualism in linguistic theories becomes even more obvious.

Reflecting on the relationship between language contact and language-internal developments in light of NFC constructions, I have argued for an inclusive position where neither exogenous nor endogenous factors are the only explanation (Section V.3.2). To that end, I have proposed to understand NFC constructions as multiple source constructions (see also Chapter VI). This enables us to analyse NFC constructions as the result of both language contact and internal developments.

Finally, in the last part of the fifth chapter (Section V.4), I have proposed to regard the realisations of NFC constructions in individual languages in a conceptual space. Based on the syntactic and morphological properties of NFC constructions in the individual languages, I have abstracted a map of possibilities which not all languages fill to an equal degree. A case in point is the nominative case marking on noun phrases in German and Czech, but also in other case languages mentioned earlier. This morphological property occupies a portion of the cross-linguistic conceptual space that is left empty in the case of languages that do not mark case on noun phrases. Similarly, a language with only causal clauses but without NFC constructions would also occupy only a small part of this possible conceptual space.

Chapter VI deals with the development of NFC constructions. I first reviewed the earlier proposals concerning the emergence of these constructions (Section VI.2) before coming to my proposal. It is centred around a process that I call the *Spiral of Recoverability* (Section VI.3.1). This process describes the development of elliptical constructions out of non-elliptical ones and the subsequent emergence of non-ellipses out of the erstwhile elliptical constructions.

The Spiral of Recoverability is a cross-linguistically valid process and is not limited to NFC constructions. It relies on two types of evidence. All the early examples of NFC constructions are textually recoverable ellipses of the type $\text{AdjP}_1$ CONNECTOR $\text{AdjP}_2$, and non-elliptical subtypes of NFC constructions start occurring only later. It can, therefore, be assumed and corroborated by historical evidence that elliptical NFC constructions emerge from causal clauses and non-elliptical NFC constructions, in turn, emerge from elliptical ones.

The greatest advantage of this account in comparison to others is its generalisability. It does not assume any language-specific factors to be essential in the development of NFC constructions. This means that the account presented in the sixth chapter of this study is cross-

linguistically valid and cross-linguistically testable. Moreover, although my account does not assume any language-specific factors, it does not deny the role they play. To integrate this observation into the account, I propose to treat NFC constructions in any language as cases of multiple source construction and, therefore, as the outcome of the interplay of several factors – cross-linguistic as well as language-specific (Section VI.4).

Finally, in the seventh chapter of this study, its theoretical appendix, I have discussed the interrelations of the synchronic description of the causal connectors and their complements within the NFC constructions and the diachronic development responsible for their emergence (Chapter VII). I have shown that the various synchronic types of NFC constructions can be linked to the individual stages of their diachrony. Causal connectors complemented by textually recoverable ellipses and causal connectors complemented by non-elliptical phrases can, for instance, be linked, respectively, to the early and later instances of NFC constructions. To capture this combination of language change, diachrony and language variation, synchrony, I explore the concept of panchrony in the last chapter. I argue that the distinction between diachronic and synchronic approach to linguistic data is methodologically necessary, conceptually is the dichotomy not necessary. This means that synchronic as well as diachronic data can be interpreted panchronically. The resulting panchronic approach then enables us, among other things, to project the historical development into the future and posit a hypothesis about future developments of NFC constructions along the Spiral of Recoverability.

## 2 Outlook

This study represents the most comprehensive treatment of NFC constructions so far. If we were to project its results onto a map, however, we would be able to discern a number of places inhabited by dragons. These white spots identify the limits of the present study while simultaneously showing the directions for future research. Some of the uncharted territories are uncharted because of the empirical limitations of the present study and some because of its methodological design.

The first aspect of the present study that lends itself to further research is its empirical basis. Quantitatively speaking, more data can reveal aspects of NFC constructions that still need to be analysed. Phenomena not observed in the present study at all can potentially be observed, and phenomena treated here as peripheral can be revealed as not as marginal. Qualitatively speaking, other types of data could also lead to novel insights. There is only so much textual data can offer, irrespective of quantity. One obvious dimension in terms of quality is spoken data. Data from social media analysed in the present study are characterised as conceptually

spoken. In other words, as data that are written but exhibit properties more typical of spoken language. It can be, therefore, hypothesised that genuinely spoken data will be beneficial for a better understanding of the use of NFC constructions. One facet on which the analysis of spoken data might shed more light is the role of pauses between the connector and its complement in NFC constructions or, generally, the role of intonation.

Another avenue of research, untrodden so far, is the avenue of meta-linguistic discourse concerning NFC constructions. One way to investigate them would be through an acceptability study, ideally one that would cover more than just one language. This would allow us better to understand the language-specific restrictions in terms of register. While in a language such as German or English, NFC constructions are confined predominantly to (conceptually) spoken domains, speakers of Czech, Slovak, or Finnish seem to be more open to using the construction in more formal contexts, as preliminary observations suggest (see Section I-2.3).

Such a study could also shed light on the question of acceptability differences between the various subtypes of NFC constructions. One hypothesis, likely cross-linguistically valid, that can be put forth based on the already available data is that the older types of NFC constructions with elliptical adjectival phrases as complements will be considered more broadly acceptable and not as marked as combinations of the connector with non-elliptical complements such interjections. Another hypothesis pertains to the regional variation concerning the use of NFC constructions. It can be expected that the demographics of social media users will also be reflected in the fact that NFC constructions will be more familiar, more accepted, and more broadly used by mobile urban speakers.

The present analysis focused on non-finite *causal* construction. I have, however, shown (see Section I.2.5) that other types of non-finite constructions also exist. It is, therefore, a desideratum, synchronic and diachronic, to more closely investigate the relationship of NFC constructions to these related constructions containing, for instance, concessive or contrastive connectors, such as ‘but’ or ‘although’, followed by non-finite complements.

I have formulated three testable hypotheses in the present study: First, concerning the cross-linguistic spread of NFC constructions. Second, concerning the case assignment on noun phrases in case languages. Third, concerning the Spiral of Recoverability and the pathway along which NFC constructions should develop.

In order to test the third hypothesis, a detailed diachronic study of elliptical constructions would be needed. On the one hand, more historical data from the four languages analysed in the present study confirm (or refute or refine) the spiral of recoverability and, on the other hand, on other languages, to test the generalisability of the Spiral.

To test the second hypothesis concerning the exclusive use of noun phrases in the nominative case in languages with a case system, a more widespread analysis of another case language would be needed. Case language related to the ones already analysed, such as Icelandic and Polish or Russian, but also unrelated case languages, such as Hungarian or Estonian. In this context, the question also arises pertaining to the morphology of noun phrases in languages with a different case system, such as Basque.

Finally, to test the first of the three hypotheses above concerning the cross-linguistic spread of the NFC constructions, a comparison of a larger number of languages would be needed. The hypothesis expects all languages with causal clauses to be able to develop elliptical causal non-finite constructions and, therefore, also potentially their non-elliptical versions. Putting this hypothesis to the test would mean, on the one hand, testing the spread of NFC constructions and, on the other hand, also finding out what typological conditions, such as the (in)existence of causal clauses, prevent a language from developing NFC constructions.

If one sets out to chart the yet uncharted territories of a research map and, by doing so, expels the dragons that inhabit them, the question automatically begs itself as to the fate of the poor animals. In the most likely of scenarios, the dragons will simply wander a bit further to yet another unexplored white spot. Similarly, as one starts to wander down the research avenue one has decided to explore, one inevitably discovers that a number of narrow side streets, some of them cul-de-sacs, branch from the main road. At the end of these streets, the lizards, one has displaced in the course of one's research project, are often lurking. In a situation like this, speaking from experience, one must be especially cautious because (there be) dragons!

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# X Appendix

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **c001** | Neboli hlasujte pro naše krajské kandidáty, protože vláda, protože Babiš, protože Sobotka… | 06.10.16 | protože | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Article |
| **c002** | Nevíme. Protože Ovčáček. | 06.01.15 | protože | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Article |
| **c003** | Tvl muzu si zapsat volitelny predmet na matfyzu, protoze UK... tak tohle je ta nejvtipnejsi vec, co sem kdy v zivote videla.. na jejich predmet bych sla min za 30 kreditu za dochazku, abych mela cervenej diplom a aby David z VIDEI vedel, jak to tam chodi. | 18.09.19 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c004** | Začlo to anšlusem a pokračuje 14. březnem - bo Ostrava | 14.03.18 | bo | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c005** | Proč? Protože 2015. | 10.04.15 | protože | NUM | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c006** | Diskutovat o možné spolupráci škol a firem je špatně protože pozdě. | 15.04.18 | protože | AdvP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c007** | Protože hura! | 02.06.14 | protože | INTERJ | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c008** | V pulce cesty zjistim ze nemam penezenku, vracim se a vsechny semafory jako kdyby svitily cervene, protoze "haha to je blbecek" | 10.09.15 | protože | VP | no | REAS | no | yes | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c009** | Stand-up komikum v USA neda moc prace vymyslet vtipky, protoze Trump. | 20.04.19 | protože | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c010** | Úplně vidím, jak zběsile maže ty songy z mobilu, protože Důvody. :D | 12.02.18 | protože | NP | no | PSEU | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c011** | měla bych se učit, ale nemůžu, protože mám hlad. ale nechci se najíst protože proto. | 21.06.15 | protože | CONJ | no | PSEU | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c012** | 23:30 sedíme u xtýho piva, protože Ostrava!!! | 01.10.15 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c013** | Nemám čas se prevlikat, takže do Letaku v kratasech, protože důvody | 06.05.15 | protože | NP | no | PSEU | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c014** | Divný mít oblíbenou kavárnu v nemocnici. Ale tahle v Thomayerově stojí za návštěvu :). Protože dobrý kafe atd :) | 12.05.16 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c015** | Protože dobrý text. | 28.01.19 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **c016** | Proč? Jak by řekli oni sami: protože Silicon Valley. | 27.08.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Article |
| **c017** | Přihlásit se slovně kupříkladu k podpoře Evropské unie nic nestojí, hlavní je, když se pak reálně dělá politika, která je fakticky protievropská a nacionalistická, protože se zbytkem EU nesolidární. | 27.08.19 | protože | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Article |
| **c018** | Malý výlet, protože dovča. | 18.09.19 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c019** | Moje dilema mezi #iPhoneXS a #Note10Plus je čím dál tím větší. Rozum velí používat iPhone, protože iMessage, ekosystém apod. Nicméně víc a víc mě to táhne k Note 10, protože v běžném každodenním mi i po měsíci vyhovuje víc. A teď babo raď… Hledám kompromis. Bez úspěchu. | 18.09.19 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c020** | Vyčistím si zuby, ale v posteli stejně sním kinder bueno, protože hulihlad. | 17.09.19 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c021** | Tenhle koncept že vláda žádné peníze nepřidala, protože VALORIZACE! (je přeci povinná) je krásnou ukázkou krátké paměti, ideologické zaslepenosti a #thisishowyougetbabiš . Podle téhle logiky když Kalúsek valorizace snížil, tak vlastně okrádal důchodce | 17.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c022** | Přesto Zemanovy hrátky s ústavou, tolerované vydíratelným (neboť za jistých okolností na prezidentově milosti nebo abolici závislým) trestně stíhaným premiérem, jsou ochutnávkou toho, kam by se česká společnost mohla za jistých okolností ubírat. | 08.07.19 | neboť | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (9) | no | written | no | Article |
| **c023** | taky nevím, k čemu to bylo, ale měla jsem to uložený, protože aaa:DDdD | 10.05.18 | protože | INTERJ | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c024** | Jako menší jsem chtěla být doktorem, protože Dr. House 😁😁😁 | 25.09.14 | protože | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c025** | No jen aby. Protože: 😅🙈 | 30.11.15 | protože | EMOJI | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| **c026** | Ještě že už nepracuju v Motole, protože … 🙈 https://tn.nova.cz/clanek/premiera-sobotku-z-letiste-odvezli-rovnou-do-nemocnice.html | 26.03.17 | protože | EMOJI | no | REAS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **c027** | Jakože já nevím, ale te kdo říká, že není hot, tak lže sám sobě, protože 😍😍😍 | 02.07.16 | protože | EMOJI | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c028** | Taky vždy nemůžu, protože práce, protože rodina. | 11.09.19 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c029** | Já to říkám pořád, on tu vládu nepotřebuje, protože já, já, já sám😡 | 10.04.19 | protože | PRO | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c030** | Protože já! Já už mám skříň sestavenou! #sikovna taky, co jiného v pátek večer delat, ze 🤣 | 25.01.19 | protože | PRO | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c031** | `+ tisíc trapasů, protože my! ❤️ | 06.12.16 | protože | PRO | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c032** | Infarkt taky nehrozí, jelikož protažený žíly | 13.09.19 | jelikož | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c033** | ...bohatí s chudými a učení s hloupými srovnáni budou, protože jak jeden tak druhý, všichni prach, popel... | 00.00.16 12 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (7) | no | written | no | Book |
| **c034** | Aurel kocour má odjíti, Kuliškovi rozkaz vyříditi; protože duch jeho dost chytrosti, tělo má dost obratnosti. | 00.00.18 48 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Book |
| **c035** | krisí, tak po ní — a po této, protože po vykonaném činu, ještě více. Absolutní nějaká zásada | 00.00.18 95 | protože | PP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Book |
| **c036** | ...stal se soud tento úřadem více vladařské moci podřízeným, protože od sněmu odděleným a méně odvislým. Takto se králové... | 00.00.18 62 | protože | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Book |
| **c037** | Pověst i rozprávka málo mají hodnověrnosti do sebe, protože nesnadno vyšetřeny, ale tím snadněji pojinačeny býti mohou. | 00.00.18 44 | protože | AdvP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Book |
| **c038** | JÁ si myslím, že BY SE mělo ... protože Havel. Už je to tady, 20 minut v buse s lidovým rádiem, a šel bych proroka nakopat. A ono to Pehe. | 20.12.11 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| **c039** | Elegantní i ústavně čistá by byla demise vlády a pověření Paroubka sestavením nové. Ale to bohužel nepůjde, protože Klaus a Topolánek. | 10.12.09 | protože | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c040** | nevýhodou otázky "proč?" je zvýšené riziko odpovědi "bo bagr!". | 27.10.09 | bo | NP | no | PSEU | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c041** | Vsichni volme Top09, protoze Schwarzenberg | 24.10.13 | protože | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c042** | Vždyť jo. Prokázáno máme teď jen některý státní zástupce musí sehnat odvahu s tím k soudu. Ale tak blaho Babiše je momentálně nad blaho ČR takže je to v pořádku protože volby | 25.09.19 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c043** | Omegu nebrat, protože mimo jiné Skřipec… | 18.09.18 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Article |
| **c044** | Narozdíl od těch, kteří to budou kritizovat, protože komunismus, ač pro vyřešení problému neudělali nikdy nic. | 10.12.18 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Facebook |
| **c045** | mi odpověděla velmi stroze, že se mnou bavit nebude, protože výběrové řízení atd. | 08.07.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Article |
| **c046** | Do první třídy přicházejí kluci a holky nadšení učit se novým věcem; tedy do chvíle, kdy na jejich zvídavé dotazy a nápady nemáme čas, protože učební plán. | 22.11.18 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | spoken | no | Video |
| **c047** | Protože dinosauři taky pracovali na nerůstové ekonomice... Převézt něco z jiného tělesa nemusí být tak náročné, protože nižší gravitační zrychlení na jiném tělese a aerobraking na Zemi. | 16.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c048** | lol koukam na good morning america livestream protoze lady gaga | 19.08.13 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c049** | Tak jsem to s tím Zemanem minule špatně odhad. Nebudou ho všichni řešit týden kvůli vyznamenání a Číně, ale 14 dní, protože Hovory z Lán. | 00.11.14 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Facebook |
| **c050** | Začínám dělat na Devíti princích Amberu, druhém vydání, které má vyjít jako příloha Pevnosti. Jelikož za dva měsíce, je nejvyšší čas. | 14.01.15 | jelikož | AdvP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Facebook |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| **c051** | protoze pardubice | 07.09.13 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c052** | protoze vykon. A mimochodem USB-C je furt full blown USB. Periferie jsou treba i k MBA. | 07.01.15 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c053** | Samozrejme jsem se probudila brzo protoze nervy. Fuck | 14.01.16 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c054** | Jiste vsichni vime proc. Protoze wooky :) | 05.01.15 | protože | AdjP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c055** | Protoze #Vopicak :D | 05.01.15 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c056** | Moje letni prazdniny - valeni se zadarmo dva mesice v 5hvezdickovym hotelu s nej kamoskou >>Smajlik 1<< >>Smajlik 2<< Protoze majitel cestovky, sama se nemam rada | 05.01.15 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c057** | Zitra jdu all black protoze zpatky do pekla. | 05.01.15 | protože | AdvP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c058** | Tak jsem si dala cigaretu a uz by ten bus mohl jet, protoze zima. | 05.01.15 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c059** | víš proč je ti dobře? protože TECHNO | 03.03.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c060** | I kdyby se mi nakrásně líbilo, jak nějaký buzny kroutěj prdelí a říkají tomu Pozdrav slunci, tak nemůžu, protože Sparta! | 27.01.14 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | spoken | no | Video |
| **c061** | Mám teď pár týdnů malinko naprd, páč nemoc, pronajímatelé, klienti, únava, pokuta…bla, bla…četli jste všichni (i ti co nechtěli). | 19.10.22 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c062** | Proč tedy u lese prodávají stavební materiál a nebydlí tu tisíce lidí? Protože Jižní Spojka. | 25.04.22 | protože | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c063** | Tvl, ten Chorý, ten je fakt chorý... Ten spadne i ve větru!!! Proč mu to ti sudí žerou? Protože Berbr😡 | 16.09.19 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c064** | Proč dnešní děti nechodí už nikam samy? Protože auta. | 29.10.22 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c065** | Protože Babiš. | 15.01.23 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Poster |
| **c066** | Dnes jsem se měl sejít v Berlíně s ředitelkou Muzea holocaustu, Hetty Berg, a večer dát | 13.10.20 | protože | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Facebook |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| | nějaké to pivo s dávným kamarádem a se současným velvyslnacem v Německu, Tomášem Kafkou. Padlo to, protože Covid. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **c067** | Mezi busem a tram na Šárku chybí přechod a intervaly semaforů jsou dlouhý protože dálnice. | 20.12.22 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c068** | Haha necvičím to psaním, protože Deeple, ale alespoň to po něm čtu 😅 | 19.04.22 | protože | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c069** | Metan, který během erupce bahenní sopky ve velkém uniká, se v podzemí nachází protože a) permoníci moc topí, b) přeměna organické hmoty, c) hydrometeority!, d) globální změna klimatu | 08.09.22 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **c070** | Uspokojivé vysvětlení, obávám se, nemám; tak mohu jen dodat, že protože jazykový vývoj 🙈 | 25.04.22 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c071** | Chtěla jsem jen říct, že teď se fakt těžko odhaduje, jestli řidič jede pomalu, protože opatrně nebo protože se chystá odbočit. | 21.12.22 | protože | AdvP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | no | no | written | no | Facebook |
| **c072** | dnešek nejneoblíbenější den v roce protože posun času 😩 | 30.10.22 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c073** | V Texasu mají jeden z nejdrastičtějších zákazů potratů, protože "ochrana života nenarozených dětí", ale ty narozené nechají střílet ve školách, protože "právo nosit zbraň". Cynismus a pokrytectví pseudokonzervativců v praxi, nejen amerických. | 25.05.22 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | yes | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c074** | Proč mi to nikdo neřekl dřív? Tolik zbytečně smazanejch tweetů, protože s chybou. Tolik zbytečně ztracenejch příležitostí, protože ne dost dobrá. | 30.06.21 | protože | PP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c075** | Obávám se, že nynější dění zdiskredituje tržní ekonomiku u milionů lidí. Snažím se k nim nepatřit, ale jestli ještě tak 3x uslyším, že lidi s nezaplatitelnýma fakturama za energie mají smůlu, protože "trh", "akcionáři", | 03.09.22 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | yes | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| | "vlastnictví". "zisk" atd., tak nevím, jestli to zvládnu. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **c076** | Ve slovníku najdeme obě varianty. Osobně mám raději tu kratší, protože úspornost ;) | 16.09.21 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c077** | Cesta ven je složitá. Osekat obvody moc nejde, protože zákony | 22.08.22 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c078** | …protože hospodářský pokles, protože živelná pohroma, protože kybernetický útok… | 25.09.20 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | spoken | no | Video |
| **c079** | …protože například chybné rozhodnutí nějaké firmy. | 25.09.20 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (5) | yes | spoken | no | Video |
| **c080** | Kdepak, náš národ nebyl zlomen v roce 1938. Náš národ zlomil Sovětský svaz. Dávno jsme tu mohli mít vybudovanou legendu o 🇨🇿 letcích v RAF, o odboji, o zahraničních vojácích a o květnových povstalcích. To vše se ale zastiňovalo, nebo rovnou zamlčovalo, protože Rudá armáda. | 24.08.22 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c081** | Problém ale není ani tak v tom, že se paní Hogenová pouští do svých poutí na pastvinách bytí či všelijakým jiným způsobem používá frivolní heideggerovskou rétoriku, které nikdo nerozumí, že uvlastňuje jsoucna i sama sebe v bytí nebo že velmi vulgárně prezentuje Marxovo oddělení člověka od role prostředku v čistý účel, což by v jistém kantovském čtení dokonce mohlo naznačovat, že hodnota člověka je výjimečná, protože estetická. | 19.08.22 | protože | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | no | no | written | no | Article |
| **c082** | V Německu je aktuálně 148 televizních stanic. Jedna, ARD neobnovila 2020 doběhlou licenci, protože málo diváků. Tyto ovšem dále prodloužil společný provozovatel ZDF. A v Česku mají záchvat. | 30.08.22 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c083** | A jelikož jsou rovnocenné, tak zrušíme cyklopruhy, protože proto. 🤡 | 17.09.22 | protože | CONJ | no | PSEU | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

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| **c084** | Křetínský velmi rychle ukázal, jak to bude s výnosem WFT. Proto ODS usilovala o zavedení až od roku 2023. Piráti měli pravdu, ale trapně na ni rezignovali, protože sesle. | 05.11.22 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c085** | Žeru zmrzlinu, brečím. Obdivuju ho, protože wow. | 05.03.18 | protože | INTERJ | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c086** | Debata o Emě Smetaně ukazuje pokrytectví, které tady je. Buď si můžeme střílet ze všech protože sranda. Pro tuhle variantu jsem já. Nebo si nemůžeme střílet z nikoho, protože šikana. Ale nemůžeme se tvářit, že dělat si sandu ze Škromacha je super, ale u Emy už to super není. | 17.04.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c087** | Protože falešné dilema. Je naopak žádoucí, aby ministr zvládal řesit víc věcí najednou. Opak by byl ukázkou neschopného managementu. | 10.12.22 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c088** | Slava Ukraini! Protože sláva Ukrajině. | 11.12.22 | protože | NP | no | PSEU | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Article |
| **c089** | To byl důsledek. Rusko mobilizovalo proti Německu. Francouzsky prezident v Petrohradě dohodl, že Francie Rusku v případě války pomůze. Německo vědělo, že bude čelit válce na dvou frontách, kterou nemůže vyhrát. Zároveň nemohlo zaútočit na Francii přímo, protože pevnosti. Muselo. | 17.12.22 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c090** | Jestli je tohle oficiální spot Nerudové, tak je podle mě lepší než ten Pavlův. Protože pozitivní a srozumitelnej! :-) | 29.12.22 | protože | AdjP | no | REAS | TEXT | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c091** | Vedoucí akademické pozice v něm zabíraj ilidi jako Nerudová, co neviděli výzkum ani z rychliku a celý život akorát akumulujf funkce, protože peníze a vypadá to cool. Nikdy ten systém nechtěli zlepšovat pro mladou generaci vědci. Naopak. | 31.12.22 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c092** | Paní Němcová je hlavně zástupce strany, která si na existenci mladých vzpomene jen před volbami a ani pak s nimi nekomunikuje | 28.01.23 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | přímo, ale úkoluje maminky a tatínky. Navíc k tomu to rámování, že mladí nechodí volit, protože párty a vvspávání do oběda. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **c093** | Protože koňská kopyta? (nevím, zkouším:) | 09.03.23 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c094** | Dobrovolnice v rozvojových zemích působí na dezoláty jak rudá fangle na bejka. Protože: - fuj neziskovky - fuj čmoudi, ať se o sebe staraj sami - ženská má bejt u plotny | 19.03.23 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **c095** | Týpka, co mi na moji oblíbenou hudbu řekla ať to vypnu, že ji z toho bolí uši, teď sdílí rfp, protože fall out boy! Já umírám. | 16.09.19 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c096** | Chcete slyšet MEGA bizár příběh týkající se kapacity školy? Máme v Praze gymnázium. Celková kapacita 325 studentů. 200 na osmiletém, 125 na čtyřletém. Pokud bychom chtěli navýšit kapacitu na čtyrletém (na osmiletém nejde, protože NEJVĚTŠÍ ZLO), tak nám to neschválí. Nikdy. Proč? | 22.05.23 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c097** | I v plánovaném řazení je v tomto vlaku 1. třída zbytečná, bo bez wifi a zásuvek. Bohužel tak není co reklamovat. | 12.05.23 | bo | PP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c098** | Dneska jsem viděl počtvrté a naposledy, protože skoro po třinácti letech derniéra, Korespondence V+W, v Divadle Na zábradlí. Zase jsem byl dojatej jak kráva, diky moc... | 16.05.23 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (5) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c099** | Musíme to udělat, protože covid. | 26.09.22 | protože | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | spoken | no | Audio |
| **c100** | První z nich ve stručnosti zní - protože Babiš. | 05.10.20 | protože | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Article |
| **c101** | Proč mi to nikdo neřekl dřív? Tolik zbytečně smazanejch tweetů, protože s chybou. Tolik zbytečně ztracenejch příležitostí, protože ne dost dobrá. | 01.07.21 | protože | AdjP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **c102** | Debata o Emě Smetaně ukazuje pokrytectví, které tady je. Buď si můžeme střílet ze všech protože sranda. Pro tuhle variantu jsem já. Nebo si nemůžeme střílet z nikoho, protože šikana. Ale nemůžeme se tvářit, že dělat si | 17.04.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | sandu ze Škromacha je super, ale u Emy už to super není. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **c103** | Paní Němcová je hlavně zástupce strany, která si na existenci mladých vzpomene jen před volbami a ani pak s nimi nekomunikuje přímo, ale úkoluje maminky a tatínky. Navíc k tomu to rámování, že mladí nechodí volit, protože párty a vvspávání do oběda. | 28.01.23 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c104** | Stream občas padal a bylo nutné klikat na F5, což by se u placené služby stávat nemělo. (není to internetem, vícero známých mělo stejnou zkušenost) Až tohle vyladíte, budete top, protože jinak super práce! | 18.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c105** | „Už musíme jet..” „Já vím..ale já nemůžu,” „Proč ne?” „Protože ty..” | 16.09.19 | protože | PRO | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c106** | jsem "Ohrožená", protože neschopná se lépe uplatnit na trhu práce - nedostatečné jazykové vybavení ... by mě zajímalo Koho za to platí .. 😡 https://t.co/mxZx4SjsrN | 17.09.19 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **c107** | 2/3 Dva dospělí lidé se milují, ale nemohou se vzít, protože etymologie. Ti lidé mají stejné potřeby, pocity, touhy, plány, přání jako všichni ostatní. Jako jednotlivci mají dokonce stejná práva a povinnosti. Nechápu, proč by tedy nemohli být ve svazku a požívat práva a --> | 18.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c108** | A sakra! To musíme vegetariánské dceři zatajit. 😀 Burgery byly fantastické. Místo housek chleba, vevnitř avokádo kubánský česnek, limetka, klíčky, špenát, feferonky a samozřejmě grilované bedly. Fotka nebude, protože bitva jídlo. | 16.09.19 | protože | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c109** | a víte co je napicu? když jste teď 2,5 měsíce usinali s osobou kterou milujete a teď nic protože škola a kazdej musí bydlet doma:) | 16.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c110** | Ale střední třída nic nedostane. Naopak, to bude platit. A bude platit i v horších dobách, | 16.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| | protože valorizace. Ke všemu bude vláda zvedat ceny služeb, které střední třída využívá - banky, telco, online služby. Do toho jsou nové státní úlitby, které střed platí: slevy na dopravdu | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **c111** | Ale třeba 7 je dost dobra a já bych si ji bejt tebou klidně ještě chvíli nechala. I když je teda na nic že je kamaradčina. Ale pokud ti ho ještě nachvili půjčí tak bych zkusila sehnat víc peněz abysis mohl koupit něco lepšího pokud nechceš tlačítko protože XR fakt nenennenee | 16.09.19 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **c112** | Asi soudruzi sociologové udělali chybu, protože u mě naprosto mimo. Mimochodem tak nevydefinovanou otázko, jako např. jestli mezi nejbližšími příbuznými a přáteli mám lékaře a pak další dotaz - jestli ho mám mezi dalšími přáteli - hned mi bylo jasné, že je to celé špatně. | 17.09.19 | protože | AdvP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (5) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c113** | Byla jsem na astmatickym vysetreni..cekala jsem pul hodiny nez me vezmou a pak me pan dokturek posle do pici ze mam prijit 5.11. v 8:30 protoze nabeh na anginu a nemuze provest vysetreni 😔😔😔😔😔😔😔😔😔😔😔😔😔😔😔😔😔😔😔😔😔😔😔myluju | 18.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c114** | Ehhh protože KK? | 16.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c115** | Film by Quentin Tarantino Protože nohy!😍😂 | 17.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c116** | hej holka nejsi náhodou klaus mladší protože :/ | 17.09.19 | protože | EMOJI | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c117** | Ja četla, ze tam je opravdu chyba. Protože formulace nejasné apod. Ale nestihla jsem to pročíst kompletně. Retweetnu ten rozbor ;) | 17.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c118** | Já se na to fakt vyseru tpč. Ono vždy přijde štěstí, už mi podává ruku a najednou BOOM, | 17.09.19 | protože | INTERJ | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | JE TO FAKE RUKA, ŠTĚSTÍ SE ZAČNE SMÁT A UTÍKAT. Mohla jsem se sejít s @_It_Aint_Me_ nebo @Kateisnotsocool a @tinytommo__ (kdyby měl někdo čas), ale nakonec asi prostě nepojedu protože proč, že | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **c119** | Jak víte, že ho unesl? I matka mluví jinak. Potkala jste někdy schizofrenika? Pokud vím, syn byl jediný, kdo nemohl vypovídat. Peníze vrátilo ČH pod tlakem "budeme to platit všichni!" a podivné zprávy OLAF- protože jen na základě jednostranných podkladů a neukončeného vyšetřování | 17.09.19 | protože | PP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (7) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c120** | jsem "Ohrožená", protože neschopná se lépe uplatnit na trhu práce - nedostatečné jazykové vybavení ... by mě zajímalo Koho za to platí .. 😡 https://t.co/mxZx4SjsrN | 17.09.19 | protože | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (7) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **c121** | Jsem chtěla na vánoce lístky na Coloursy, tak asi měním plány a chci lístky na rfp, protože Fall out boy v Česku kurvaaa | 16.09.19 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | yes (5) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c122** | Protože boševlik a komunističtí odboráři,.. | 17.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c123** | O mě nejde, přeci. Já pouze připomínám - přeci by nám nelhali! Vždyť všechno "pozitivní" (v uvozovkách kvůli úhlu pohledu) je zásluha ANO. A za průšvihy může ČSSD, protože Venezuela, no ne? Akorát třeba rady to nějak nesedí, no… 😈 | 17.09.19 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c124** | Oblečení to je druhá krizovka. 🙈😊 Naštěstí pro to musím osobně do obchodu, protože #postavaHruska a musí se to zkusit. Takže e-shopy s oblečením jsou tabu. Ale ty knihy... a můj nekonečný seznam...❤️ | 17.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c125** | Podle mě u toho vyrovnávacího gólu hodně zafungovalo to štěstí. Protože břevno, chybka Součka, ale tam bych to neviděl nějak černě. Podle mě super výkon i výsledek. Já nemám | 17.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| | důvod být zklamanej, ač se to může zdát po tom průběhu. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **c126** | Přesně to jsem již několikrát tweetoval ODS a Pirátům. Ať ukážou o kolik jsme přišli z EU a investic, co jsme mohli postavit, kolik mld ušetřit, kde bychom chtěli být za 5 let. Ale nemáme a nebudeme protože ANO. | 17.09.19 | protože | ACRO | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c127** | Protože boševlik a komunističtí odboráři,.. | 17.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c128** | Protože ČT... | 17.09.19 | protože | ACRO | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c129** | Protože dinosauři taky pracovali na nerůstové ekonomice... Převézt něco z jiného tělesa nemusí být tak náročné, protože nižší gravitační zrychlení na jiném tělese a aerobraking na Zemi. | 16.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (6) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c130** | Protože fake | 17.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c131** | PROTOZE HIIAMMOON ALJASKA | 17.09.19 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c132** | Protože jinak čekačky půl roku. Bloky způsobují pacienti obíhající klidně 4 lékaře nelevných vyšetření včetně. Propojení s info neexistuje. | 17.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c133** | Protože Jižní město. | 16.09.19 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c134** | protože kafčo já ráda - i z džezvy - stále přemýšlím jaký je rozdíl zda ji ohřeju v písku anebo rovnou nad plamenem? 🤔 | 16.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c135** | Protoze slovo jmenem “konkurenceschopnost”? | 17.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | yes | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c136** | Protože VAR (2x) | 17.09.19 | protože | ACRO | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c137** | Skvělá ukázka toho, jak si novodobí papaláši s obyčejnými lidmi doslova vytírají prdel. Prkno se sudem za 600 tis. peněz od daňových poplatníků, protože Havel ? | 16.09.19 | protože | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c138** | Tak tohle bude bez @PolicieCZ protože hulení, ale o to spíš si ho najdu. Oh ho tu nebo v okolí podle mikiny někdo pozná. | 17.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Soukromě ke shlédnutí jak peláší zpátky s kytkou:-) #jenpockejzmrde #dyckyreporyje https://t.co/Rb4oTChfRl | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **c139** | the 1975 po několika letech nebudou v praze, což si beru??? osobně jela bych na ně do stockholmu nebo kamkoliv jinam, ale nee, protože MATURITA a pojedu leda tak do márnice pohřebákem | 16.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **c140** | Tohle se sluší zítra připomínat dětem..... Snad se jich v zájmu budoucnosti bude co nejvíce ptát, proč v Rusku válka "začala" o něco později..... Protože zítřek.... | 16.09.19 | protože | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d001** | ahahaha ich durfte ja aber auch nicht soo los lachen, weil weißte patient und so :DDD | 2018 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **d002** | Ich beende das Gespräch jetzt weil guter Grund. | 10.01.14 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d003** | Nicht da, weil Geld und krank. | 03.01.14 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d004** | Ich hab Bauchweh weil lachen | 25.05.18 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d005** | Kein erfundener "Genderzwang" an Schulen und Hochschulen, sondern bitte ganz reales Genderverbot made by @christophploss & @cducsubt. Weil Freiheit, Demokratie und so. | 17.12.22 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d006** | Ich habe fast 45 Min für die Feuershow warten müssen weil guter Platz und so. | 18.08.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d007** | Abends weiß keiner so recht, was er unternehmen soll, dummerweise verkehren keine Fähren von Madrid nach irgendwo, da Binnenlage, also wird heimlich gesoffen bis zum Umfallen. | 20.12.19 | da | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Article |
| **d008** | +++EIL+++ Tortenattacke auf Angela Murksel verhindert (da abwesend). | 02.06.16 | da | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d009** | vielleicht finden wir in der heutigen Zeit zu viele Dinge 'geil', denn schön. | 09.12.13 | denn | AdjP | no | REAS | TEXT | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **d010** | Einstein hatte eine bessere Maturanote in Italienisch als Französisch. Dafür gar keine in Englisch, because 🇨🇭 im frühen 20. Jh. | 13.09.22 | because | PP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (5) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d011** | Ein ganz großartiger und interessanter Sammelband. Vllt so günstig, weil auch Open Access erhältlich? Aber im Regal haben eh besser! | 04.01.23 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d012** | Mein Frühstück selbst bereitet, da K. zum Bahnhof. | 02.05.43 | da | AdvP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Book |
| **d013** | leider nicht möglich da mitarbeiter des cafes | 02.11.22 | da | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Google review |
| **d014** | Weil Opfer und Täterschutz? Weil es keine Personen des öffentlichen Lebens sind? | 21.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d015** | Ich würde sofort einschlagen, und wäre für die Uni eine viel bessere (weil abgesicherte und langfristig planende) WiMi als jetzt | 03.03.23 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d016** | lösche das hier nachher wieder, weil buhu, aber oh Mann ey | 22.11.22 | weil | INTERJ | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d017** | Wurde sein Tweet in Deutschland nicht gelöscht, weil Genozidleugnung? | 29.08.22 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d018** | Auf Outlook Web Access kann ich mir auf meinem Bildschirm 11 Emails mit Betreff gleichzeitig anzeigen lassen. Auf Thunderbird 47, aber das geht nicht, weil kein IMAP. Ich will doch nur arbeiten! | 30.08.22 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d019** | Es hat an dem Tag ziemlich heftig geregnet. Abzug Pauschale weil kostengünstige Verpflegungsalternative für Getränke. | 05.09.22 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d020** | Selbst wenn sich Elizabeths Gesundheitszustand erheblich verschlechtern würde, wäre dieser Weg nicht gangbar, weil für die gebeutelte Monarchie zu peinlich. | 21.04.22 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | TEXT | no | yes (6) | no | written | no | Article |
| **d021** | Nein, weil Pull-Effekt... 🤡 | 16.08.21 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d022** | und Hotzenplotz wird so ein bisschen psychologisiert, böser Räuber, weil schwere Kindheit und strenger Vater, meine Güte | 12.12.22 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **d023** | Wohnzimmer Schutzschalter wieder einschalten weil Stromsparen | 04.08.22 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Instagram |
| **d024** | Die Einführung des Euro in Kroatien ist von Kroaten weitestgehend recht patriotisch zelebriert worden, weil sie jetzt den Europäern gleicher sind (auch den Slowenen). Bereits am 4. Tag wird der Aufschrei lauter, weil #Teuro. Kroatien könnte nach UK nächstes Land werde, das geht😢 | 04.01.23 | weil | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d025** | Bei Klimakrise noch gar nicht gehandelt, weil "überrascht"… | 16.08.21 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | yes | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d026** | A: Benzin is billiger als Hafermilch. B: Benzin ist umweltfreundlicher, weil unverpackt. | 05.04.22 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d027** | Bei der Eröffnung Verteidigung des Berufungsalters (weil verbindlicherer Weg zur Lebenszeitprofessur) und Hinweis, dass dieser Weg das letzte "Demütigungsritual" Habilitation überflüssig machen soll. | 30.09.20 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d028** | Kita jahrelang selber bezahlt. Inkl. Steuerstrafe weil verheiratet. | 25.05.22 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d029** | Vielmehr sah ich das Vaterland bedroht, weil von Feinden umringt. | 2006 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Book |
| **d030** | […] muss das sein, dass #fck-Nazi-Proteste als "rechte Bürgerproteste" bezeichnet werden? Weil, nur weil weiße Biodeutsche? | 08.08.22 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **d031** | Ich kann mich heute nicht zum Spocht aufraffen, weil Wetter üsselig und ich müsste mich dann um 19:50 Uhr noch aufs Rad schwingen und zur Halle radeln und ich sehe das einfach nicht passieren 🙈 | 09.03.23 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d032** | Plus 34 Minuten von Leipzig nach Mannheim. Ohne Umsteigen, weil X. Fühlt nicht so cool an. | 13.03.23 | weil | n/a | no | PSEU | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d033** | Untragbar, weil zu schwer | 25.07.22 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Article |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **d034** | Mental breakdown weil gleich Matheklausur. Wie ich solche Tage hasse | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d035** | Ich arbeite als Frau auch in einem "Männer Beruf" Als @maurice_rabe in Griechenland ein Erzieher-Praktikum machen wollte, durfte er nicht, weil Mann. Dabei hätte er das echt gut gemacht. Auch Erziehungstechnisch finde ich das wichtig | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d036** | nach dem ersten Lehrergespräch im ersten Praktikum nach Hause geschickt werden, weil krank? | 18.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d037** | Toiletten sind bestimmt wieder Ländersache, weil Kultur. Wird Bundesratspflichtig. | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d038** | Die 7. hab ich zwei mal machen dürfen, weil von Gesamt auf Gymmi gewechselt und von Groß- in Kleinstadt. | 18.11.19 | weil | VP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (5) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d039** | Cool! Glaub aber, da gibt keine angenommene Habitable Zone weil kein Wasser. | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d040** | Richtig, weil Kohle. Hätte man nämlich vor Jahren alles machen können. Ist halt seltsam das jetzt wo der Soli weg fällt aufeinmal die brachialen Ideen mit CO2-Steuer etc. kommt. | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d041** | ulich gelesen, das irgendeine Moderatorin sich von ihrer Frau getrennt hat. Extra groß, weil prominent und lesbisch. Komisch. Wieso ist es mir scheißegal, wer schwul, lesbisch oder sonstwas ist? Wirklich, es gibt kaum etwas weniger Interessantes für mich. | 18.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d042** | Weil Erdkunde? | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d043** | kennt ihr das, wenn ihr so manchmal ne sprache z.b. spanisch sprecht und dann in französisch euch das wort ableiten könnt, weil gleiche wortfamilie und so??? ich find das voll geil | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d044** | Chefin nervt über den Kollegen. Ich helfe - neben Haushalt u liebesbedürftigem | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (5) | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | fast5jhrgem, koche etwas spät weil Zwerg so lange Matschepfütze bearbeiten wollte beim einkaufen, bin unter Druck weil max 20 min f essen dann gleich Gitarre. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **d045** | Und zu den Wahlkampfbudgets: die Befürworter der USRIII gaben laut Medien 19x mehr Geld aus, verloren aber an der Urne, weil zu radikal. | 18.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d046** | in den letzten Jahren geradezu eine Seuche ... ich fand zB. die schwarz-weißen von Beckett grandios, weil damals neu. | 18.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d047** | ich konnte in Solingen gerade kein Zusatzticket kaufen weil Automat kaputt. Kontrolleur ist nicht im Abellio. Wie weiter verhalten? | 18.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d048** | Das würde ich eher Sippenhaft nennen. Aber das soll jetzt kein Urteil sein, weil zu wenig Fakten. Wird wohl begründet sein. | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d049** | Auf jeden Fall zu wenige. Aktuell so 3 Mechaniker und 2 Meister. Bin als Einzelhandelskaufmann angestellt aber Schraube auch diverse Sachen an an Zubehör was halt geht weil in dem Bereich gelernt. | 18.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d050** | Versteht mich nicht falsch, dass Thema ist absolut wichtig. Aber ich diskutiere doch nicht mit wem der Sachen an mir fordert die er selber nicht einhält weil kein bock. | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d051** | Aber wer sich als Radfahrer beschwert, weil er in Lebensgefahr gebracht wird, wird von @hochbahn zum Radrambo erklärt, der einen Bus in den Gegenverkehr drängt, wo es gar keinen Gegenverkehr gibt, weil Einbahnstraße. Ihr seid so lächerlich. | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d052** | Mama noch nicht essen, ich muss erst Foto machen, weil Gönnung. | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **d053** | aber wenn ich mich entscheiden müsste, dann würde ich die Ice lady nehmen. 1. weil thicc und 2. stehe ich net so auf Füße 😂 | 18.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d054** | Kaum sind die aus dem Haus tanzen Sie auf den Tischen, aber insgeheim kuschen die Typen weil 0 Ego. | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d055** | Halte ich für verfassungswidrig weil altersdiskriminierend. | 18.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d056** | Hab das Moto G7 Play. Performance top, Kamera eher so meh. War vom Nokia 6.1 verwöhnt. Akku ist um Welten ausdauernder, weil kein FullHD-Display. Was aber wiederum kaum auffällt. | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d057** | Suche Titel alten s/w Antikriegsfilm:3 Schiffbrüchige werden als einzige Überlebende von Seeschlacht gefunden+als Helden gefeiert (IIRC nach Kriegsende).Dann aber angeklagt, weil desertiert.Vertreten werden sie durch Anwalt mit Hakenhand. Film endet mit Todesurteil | 18.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d058** | Haben nur getragen, nicht gepackt — war okay, weil billig. | 18.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d059** | Wenn das ein Packers Spieler gewesen wäre anstatt Viking, dann wäre Twitter aber voll von bösen Kommentaren gegen die Packers! Weil die Refs!! | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d060** | weiß endlich wahren grund für dm haul. grad bei besuch in dl shampoo, zahnpasta und zahnseide für monate gekauft weil in österreich alles doppelt so teuer. | 18.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (6) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d061** | Hallo jemand der pokemon liebt und es vorbestellt hatte hats 2 Tage vor release storniert und nicht gekauft weil mehrere Gründe! | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | PSEU | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d062** | wie immer gar nix u ihr wundert euch das euch die Wähler abhandenkommen.Das einzige was hilft ist die Legalisierung von | 18.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cannabis.Du CDU trinkst doch auch jeden Tag dein Weizen und das sollte eigentlich verboten sein weil viel gesundheitsgefährdender als Cannabis. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **d063** | Und der Baum an sich, leider noch unbeleuchter, weil zu hell draußen. | 18.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d064** | Drohung ist m.E. alles, was mit Gewalt - auch "scherzhaft" - oder mit Doxing zu tun hat. Dass das schwer abzugrenzen ist, stimmt. Die Alternative ist aber: "alles verbieten" wollen und de facto nichts verbieten können, weil juristisch nicht greifbar. Das ist viel schlechter. | 18.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d065** | Yay weil selbstverständlich. | 18.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d066** | hat doch keiner gesagt, dass du die männer bratwurst nicht essen darfst. ich denke, die bezeichnung kommt einfach daher, weil frauen eher herzhafte sachen bevorzugen und männer däftiges. ich kauf übrigens auch frauen duschgel, weil geilerer duft. is ja keinem verboten. | 18.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d067** | Ich sei gefährlich, weil eigene Meinung. | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d068** | Traumatisierend, weil wegen Frühschicht. | 19.11.19 | weil | PP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d069** | Wichtiger und guter Text - weil stark recherchiert und mit vielen Quellenverlinkungen! | 19.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d070** | Ein "Wahlschaf" kann, nachdem es die Stimme in die Wahlurne geworfen und sich mundtot gemacht hat, nicht mal mehr "muh" machen - weil ohne Stimme! | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d071** | Ich bin so ein spoiled Brat was Zahnärzte angeht. 😩 Ich wurde immer special behandelt, weil Praxis meiner Schwester. 😂 How does one normal Zahnarzt? | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d072** | Alle schreien seit Jahren nach einem echten Systemseller für VR. Mit #HalfLifeAlyx | 19.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | kommt plötzlich ein potentieller Systemseller und alle jammern herum, weil VR-only. Diese Welt. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **d073** | Don Alphonso ist harmlos im Vergleich mit links-grünen Heilsverkündern, die seit jeher auf "Ungläubige" eindreschen. Sein "Fehler" sind nicht die Methoden, sondern der Umstand, dass er "bürgerlich" & realistisch ist. Das ist dann "Nazi", weil Gefahr fürs linke Meinungsmonopol. | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d074** | Du hast noch einen der ersten. Ab jetzt muss ich die Zeit stoppen, die ich pro Stück brauche, weil Kapitalismus. 😡😡😡 | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d075** | Ich bin einfach eine Schweizerin auf Jobsuche, die in keiner Statistik erscheint, weil nicht als arbeitslos gemeldet und nicht ausgesteuert. Es gibt ganz viele wie mich... | 19.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (4) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d076** | Nein, ist er eben nicht, weil grundsätzlich Demokratieunfähig! | 19.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | TEXT | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d077** | Auch. Weil Social Media. Weil auch Daten und Inhalte fremd gespeichert werden. Weil auch kein Wohlfahrtsverein. Weil auch öffentlich. Weil auch amerikanisch. Etc. | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d078** | Kurz notiert: "Weil ehrlich gut.": Mit dieser kecken Kampagne arbeitet Bionade am Comeback in deutschen Kühlschränken | 19.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d079** | Schule hat mich gut ausgebildet kann aber leider nur 3 Sterne geben weil Buffet nicht hochwertig und Klos manchmal unsauber DAS GEHT BESSER!!! | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d080** | Haha #HighCastle schaue ich auch. Staffel 3 weil wegen Staffel 4. | 19.11.19 | weil | PP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d081** | Ich bis dato auch nicht, weil so schmale Waden. Jetzt habe ich eine Auswahl hier stehen und bin begeistert und will jetzt nur noch Kleider mit Stiefeln anziehen 😬 | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **d082** | #Syrien Die einen #NoAfD hofieren Chemie-Bashar. Die anderen #SPD #Groko #Merkel unterstützen #NordStream2, damit seiner "outgesourcten" Luftwaffe seines treuesten Verbündeten #Putin nicht die Knete ausgeht.. Was ist eigentlich schlimmer, weil verlogen? | 19.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d083** | Weil Ari und trotz Lena. | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d084** | Ratet mal wer sich grade den 2. Energy hintereinander reinkippt weil lecker. Ratet mal wer das spätestens in 5 oder 6h bereut :D | 19.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d085** | Kenn ich genauso. Einmal musste ich am helllichten Tag zahlen, weil keine Lampen dabei. Da sind dem Affen dann auch die fehlenden Reflektoren aufgefallen, aber das war in der Provinz der "Universitäts'stadt'" #Garching | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d086** | Das ist das generelle Grundübel der Talkshows, selbst in ARD+ ZDF: Politiker einladen (weil bekannt?) oder "polarisierende" = Schreihälse | 19.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d087** | Aber keine Sorge, niemand zieht den Schluss, dass die Grünen zur Seite treten sollen. Der Schluss wäre gewesen: Die mittigere Kandidatin hat massiv mehr Wahlchancen, weil Majorzwahl. | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d088** | Ohne mich wäre heute das Labor zusammengebrochen, weil pro Schicht eine!! MTA... | 19.11.19 | weil | NUM | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d089** | Find die Wut völlig okay, ist mir nämlich auch schon passiert. DHL am Abrollberg in Cotta den ganzen Fussweg blockiert. Komm ich mit Kinderwagen weder auf der Straße vorbei, noch hinüber, weil unglaublich viel Verkehr. | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d090** | Hab selbst früher mal Musik bzw. insbesondere Remixes gemacht. Is schon geil! Aber geht heut nimmer weil kaputte Ohren. | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **d091** | Brennelementesteuer ist verfassungswidrig weil Besteuerung von Produktionsmitteln. | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d092** | Und was ist daran sooo schlimm. Wie gesagt ich hab das auch gemacht und ich kenne auch andere die das so gemacht haben weil school Mobbing. | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d093** | Kommt der #Mietendeckel, ist der Traum von der WG in Innenstadt-Lage allerdings ausgeträumt. Bei gleicher Miethöhe sind andere Mieter wieder interessanter, weil pflegeleichter. | 19.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | TEXT | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d094** | Und natürlich kostet auch ein Kuchen Geld. Und Zeit. Aber das meinte ich. Weniger Geld, mehr persönlich, weil von Herzen selbstgemacht. | 19.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d095** | Typisch für die heutige Zeit: Alles "schnell - schnell - schnell" ins Kino gehen, weil sonst nur mehr auf Netflix. Gehts doch in Oa*** ihr Filmdolme. | 19.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (5) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d096** | Bedingt schon - keine Massentierhaltung, weniger Pflanzenschutzmittel, weniger intensive Nutzung pro Hektar - senkt insgesamt den CO2 Abdruck, weil geringerer Energieaufwand. | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d097** | Nicht vergessen, heute ist #streamfrei weil RL und so! 😄 Morgen geht's dann weiter mit Creative, GTA und RDR2! Macht euch 'nen guten Tag! ❤️ #rudelrodeo | 19.11.19 | weil | ACRO | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d098** | Ich habe eine ausrangierte weggeworfene Zuchthündin Zuhause. Ein, die meiste Zeit sehr traurig anzusehendes Geschöpf. Ihr mussten u.a. die Hälfte aller Zähne gezogen werden weil komplett vergammelt. Die meisten Menschen kaufen ihre Rassehunde nämlich nicht beim "ordentlichen" | 20.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **d099** | Mit Kopfschmerzen aufgestanden. Tag so la la. Und jetzt Training in Jeans weil Sporthose vergessen. SO EIN TAG WAR DAS. | 20.11.19 | weil | VP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d100** | Oder noch gefährlicher, weil nicht so dumm? | 20.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d101** | Als ich zuletzt eine Arbeit in RG geschrieben habe, habe ich in einer Buchhdlg noch ein gutes Buch gesucht. Gefunden. Stil gut, Quellenverweise 😍 und viele Details. Den Autoren kannte ich nicht & nachgeforscht habe ich auch nicht, weil für die Arbeit irrelevant. ... Ups? 🙄 | 20.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d102** | Bislang dachte ich, Berichte über Kinderschach seien unproblematisch, weil eine prestigeträchtige Tätigkeit. Wenn jetzt aber der rechte Mob weiche Ziele angeht, entsteht wirklich eine Gefahr für den öffentlichen Diskurs als Ganzem. | 20.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d103** | ist man schon depressiv wenn man ein dick appointment absagt weil keine lust? | 20.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d104** | Geht wohl drum dass das die Gruppen sind die wichtig sind dass die abgedeckt sind weil wegen schwachem Immunsystem. Wenn ich das richtig verstanden hab. 😅 | 20.11.19 | weil | PP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d105** | Oh, bin gespannt ;). Ich habe letzte Woche schon für März 20 gebucht. Allerdings über L, weil ICE. | 20.11.19 | weil | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d106** | Die nächsten Tage kein Auto daheim. Nächster Tschickautomat/Trafik/Tankstelle: 6 Kilometer. Tschick aus, weil gestern vergessen. Bin jetzt Nichtraucher, obviously. Stay tuned. | 20.11.19 | weil | VP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d107** | Kannste dir nicht ausdenken: Ein Investor kauft einen Altbau am Zionskirchplatz in Mitte. Und stellt einen Abrissantrag beim Amt, weil angeblich nicht wirtschaftlich. | 20.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | TEXT & STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | yes | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Gleichzeitig stellt er bei einem anderen Amt einen Antrag auf Luxus-Sanierung. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **d108** | Warum hat man Salzmann diese Frage nicht gestellt um links zu stärken? Weil unangebracht. | 20.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d109** | Ist das nicht schon strafbare Volksverhetzung, weil Verharmlosung des Holocaust? | 20.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d110** | Gehe jetzt noch einkaufen und falle dann mit der Switch aufs Bett, weil platt und Ohrenschmerz und seit 3 Tagen nur am Frieren. | 20.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d111** | Fünf Stunden Rumköchelei später möchte ich mich wieder selbst ficken weil damn. | 20.11.19 | weil | INTERJ | no | PSEU | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d112** | Und was ist mit dem Iran? Nicht so wichtig, weil ökonomisch nicht relevant? | 20.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | TEXT | no | yes (3) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d113** | Alles halb so schlimm, weil ironisch. | 20.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d114** | Jemand hat in meinen Kommentaren eine Verfilmung über Harriet Tubman mit dem neuen ArielleFilm verglichen. à la Arielle Schwarz sein darf, darf Tubman auch weiß sein. Ich liebe twitter für diese Form der Unterhaltung. Weil historisch wichtige Frauen = Meerjungfrauen. | 20.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d115** | Why? Erste Bank bunkert ebenfalls Bargeld weil Versicherung günstiger als Strafzinsen der EZB. | 20.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (6) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d116** | ...und das nützt einem EU-Rentner oder HartzIV-Empfänger in einer Kommune ohne Sozialticket jetzt genau wie viel? Hier gibts das ganz einfach nicht Sie Ignorantin, weil freiwillige Leistung der Kommune. | 20.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d117** | Heute Räder für die Kollegen vorbereitet weil Flaute. Wenn ich der einzige vorne im Laden bin der selber früher geschraubt hat hat das Vorteile. Nur meine Hose ist dann mal hin 😅 so knapp 10 Räder hinbekommen. | 20.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **d118** | Ist nur leider Bullshit. Der Account gelöscht weil Fake und per Polizeimeldung widerlegt. Sorry Nazi. | 20.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d119** | Also ich hatte am Anfang zwar solche Probleme, weil keine Waffen. Aber danach habe ich mich erstmal auf die blauen Gegner gestürzt und später auf die immer heftigeren. Ich hatte da zwar auch Probleme und so aber nie dass es aussichtslos war. Greif nichts an wozu du zu Schach bist | 20.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d120** | Es geht auch nicht um Twitter, sondern um die allgemein unzureichende, weil nicht tiefgehende Berichterstattung in den Medien. | 20.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (6) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d121** | Und wie alt bist du? Weil literally kein plan. Zwischen 14 und 50? | 20.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d122** | Ist ja quasi Geschichtsunterricht. Fange allerdings bis heute unreflektiert an, das zu singen, wenn ich die englische Nationalhymne höre, weil selbe Melodie. | 20.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d123** | Wurde mir gerade eben so angezeigt. Zeitangaben wie „heute“, „morgen“, etc. sind bei gesponserten Posts 1 Tabu, weil spätestens nach 24 Stunden nicht mehr zutreffend. | 20.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (7) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d124** | Und dann habe ich mir gesagt: Ok, ist vielleicht ein bisschen peinlich, wenn ich doch wieder twittere. Aber ich kann den Don Alphonso nicht dem linken Mob überlassen. Aus Prinzip, weil alle gegen Einen. Verstehst Du? Das ist schließlich so eine Art Markenzeichen vom Don... | 20.11.19 | weil | PP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d125** | mehr als das! Inspirierend, weil informativ. Habe z.B. gleich mal ein Postfach bei posteo eröffnet…werde das Buch gerne weiter empfehlen! | 20.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **d126** | Hallo Livestream-People, heute kein Stream, weil großes Kind besorgniserregend krank. Sehen uns voraussichtlich morgen. | 20.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d127** | Bspw. hier:. Am selben Tag Karlsruhe - Osnabrück - Karlsruhe. Die Kiste musste ich mehrfach absetzen und Pause machen, weil zu schwer. Außerdem zu groß für die Gepäckablage. | 20.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT & STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d128** | Wow! Nach 30 min in der Warteschlange sagt man mir Ihnen fällt an meiner Verbindung nichts auf und es müsste ein Techniker kommen, der potenziell auf meine Kosten geht weil eigener Router. Glaube nur das es nicht sein kann das euch nichts bekannt ist oder auffällt, | 21.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d129** | Keine Unterschrift nötig, weil selbst gefälscht? | 21.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d130** | Weihnachtsmarktzeit ist immer die Zeit, wo man ständig mit grantigen Menschen zu tun hat. Weil restfett vom Punschstandl. | 21.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d131** | [Context: Tweet 1: Warum sind Nüsse so geil. 😏 Tweet 2: not available anymore Tweet 3: Ohne Butter oder so, dann ja.] Weil wegen vegan. 👀 | 21.11.19 | weil | PP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d132** | Bekomme ich Schnappatmung? Ich glaube ja...aber irgendwie auch nicht weil VR. Aber... Half-Life!!!... | 21.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d133** | Streamen auf Echo-Geräte funktioniert hingegen, ist aber Quark weil umständlich. | 21.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | TEXT | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d134** | komm mal raus aus deiner privilegierten Blase o0 Die meisten Leute werden das Ding nicht spielen können, weil kein Geld für VR. Also Ball flach halten | 21.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d135** | Kniemanschette dauerte 5 Monate? Kannst du doch im Laden kaufen. Nein, kann ich nicht, weil zu dick. Benötige Rezept. 1. 2 Wochen Schmerzen ignoriert 2. 2 Monate auf | 21.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Arzttermin gewartet 3. 2 Monate bis MRT 4. 2 Wochen später Termin für Rezept 5. 1 Woche später Kniemanschette | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **d136** | Ist eh kaum mehr essbar das Zeug, weil viel zu süß. | 21.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | TEXT | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d137** | Das ist doch eine Aufforderung! Aber kommst trotzdem nicht rein. Weil Baumkuchen. | 21.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d138** | Wie immer 20:15 Highlight des Tages 😴 Und ab Mitternacht wieder mit den Wölfen heulen, weil ausgeschlafen. | 21.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d139** | Weil Opfer und Täterschutz? Weil es keine Personen des öffentlichen Lebens sind? | 21.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d140** | Ach gottchen. Die Leier wieder. Die meisten dicken sind zu dick, weil schlechte Ernährung zu wenig Bewegung. | 21.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (5) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d141** | Ich habe neulich 3 Wochen einen SupportCase gehabt, weil keine Anmeldung- ohne Ergebnis. Hersteller weiß im Zweifel nicht wirklich etwas. Gerade Paketmanager und speziell im JavaScript-Umfeld wird so viel Fremdcode ungeprüft und unbewusst eingebaut... grobe Fahrlässigkeit | 21.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d142** | In vielen Trennungsfamilien läuft das dann so, weil Muss. | 21.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d143** | Besser, weil existent! | 21.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d144** | Und das ist in seiner Gewinnung halt leider alles andere als umweltschonend, weil extrem energieaufwändig. | 21.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d145** | Abendessen? Nur 5 Minuten, weil Hunger. | 21.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d146** | Vinzenzmurr gibts doch auch in der Halle. Oder gab es zumindest als ich das letzte mal in MUC war. aber da hätte ich 20min warten müssen weil noch im Ofen. | 21.11.19 | weil | PP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d147** | Hörenswert, weil vielseitig! Hörenswert vor allem vermutlich auch für eure zweifelnden | 21.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | KuK, liebe #fl_seminar und #Twitterlehrerzimmer-Lehrkräfte. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **d148** | Ah, aber das Feierabendbier schadet den Gehirnzellen und damit der Leistungsfähigkeit nicht? Oder ist das okay weil traditioneller Leistungsverlust? | 21.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d149** | Hat es was mit der Statistik zu tun (am Endbahnhof Bamberg immer pünktlich weil langer Aufenthalt in Würzburg und daher offiziell nicht zu spät - doof nur wenn man vorher umsteigen muss)? Würde mich mich tatsächlich interessieren, @DB Bahn 🙃 | 04.10.22 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d150** | Gesundheit der Stadt München ist gefährdet durch Belastung Kliniken und schwere COVID Fälle. Eine selbstgemachte Katastrophe, weil kein Ende in Sicht, Fallzahlen sind hoch und steigen. Die Maskenpflicht im Innenraum wäre in München wahrscheinlich sinnvoll | 09.10.22 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d151** | Eure liebste Arbeit im Haushalt? Meine eindeutig Abspülen, weil instant results. | 13.10.22 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d152** | Lohnt sich vor allem für Bücher. Internationale Zeitschriften werden oft nicht genommen, weil nicht in den deutschen Bibliotheken. | 17.10.22 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (5) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **d153** | Ode an das Nurofen (nicht geschrieben, weil zu müde, aber 🙏) | 10.12.22 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d154** | Kein erfundener "Genderzwang" an Schulen und Hochschulen, sondern bitte ganz reales Genderverbot made by @christophploss & @cducsubt. Weil Freiheit, Demokratie und so. | 17.12.22 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d155** | „Caviar zum Frühstück. Ernähre mich hauptsächlich mit dieser Mahlzeit, da bei den weiteren ohne Eßlust." (27. 12. 1951) | 27.12.51 | da | PP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (5) | no | written | no | Book |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **d156** | Ich habe Fragen: - Wer wurde am 23.1. geboren? - War Rainer Maria Rilke eine Frau, weil "Maria"? | 23.01.23 | weil | NP | yes | REAS | no | yes | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d157** | WAS BERLINER*INNEN JETZT WIRKLICH MIT IHREN MASKEN ANSTELLEN MITTE: Gegen den Cold-Brew-Filter austauschen PRENZLAUER BERG: Girlanden basteln und über die Straße spannen KREUZBERG: Als Pillentütchen nutzen, farblich sortiert NEUKÖLLN: Bepflanzen und in der WG-Küche aufhängen CHARLOTTENBURG: Als edgy Tasche für 550€ verkaufen WEDDING: Die Papierhülle um den Döner ersetzen FRIEDRICHSHAIN: Zum Partyhütchen umfunktionieren SCHÖNEBERG: Zum „Partyhütchen" umfunktionieren DAHLEM: Im Keller der neuen Luxusvilla einlagern LICHTENBERG: Weiterhin tragen, nur unterm Kinn, weil cool | 03.02.23 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Instagram |
| **d158** | Ich hör das übrigens nur auf Deutsch weil Rufus Beck | 04.02.23 | weil | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d159** | interessant, weil unaufgeregt & informiert | 04.02.23 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d160** | Eine Firma (F) bildet Max (M) aus. (1/2) #WissZeitVG Nach 3J. hat M. Ausbildung absolviert. F bietet M eine Anstellung an, weil: - hochqualifiziert - vertraut mit unternehmensinternen Prozessen und Strukturen - Loyalität - ausgeprägte Sozialkompetenz - etc. | 18.03.23 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | no | yes | written | no | Instagram |
| **d161** | Das scheint jetzt eine ehrliche Aussage dazu, das Hochschulpersonal *massiv* zu verkleinern. Es wird insgesamt nicht *mehr* Prof.-Stellen geben (prove me wrong!). Jeder zu besetzenden Professur wird TT vorgelagert (ist ja vielleicht noch sinnvoll weil weniger Deputat?) | 19.03.23 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **d162** | In ihren wirklich guten Zeiten war sie immer weit entfernt davon, sich deswegen kümmern zu müssen. Unter dem Vorsitzenden Franz Josef Strauß lag sie regelmäßig um die zehn Prozent bundesweit (weil in Bayern bei weit über 50 Prozent). | 22.03.23 | weil | PP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (7) | no | written | no | Article |
| **d163** | Hab das erste Mal Ayran gekauft, weil jetzt auch laktosefrei. Trinkt ihr das einfach so? Weil Wikipedia sagt "Vereinzelt wird Ayran mit Zitronenmelasse, Minze oder Basilikum aromatisiert" und muss sagen, ich hab Bock! | 24.03.23 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d164** | Günstiger, weil effizienter | 25.05.23 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT & STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Article |
| **d165** | In einem lovely granny moment habe ich mir Rosen-4711 gekauft (klar weil rosa) und was soll ich sagen, ich liebe es: frisch mit teiner Rosennote oder wie Freundin sagte: es entzient sich binaren Duftassoziationon | 24.04.23 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d166** | entschuldige etwas verspätet, da viel zu tun | 20.06.23 | da | VP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Email |
| **d167** | Bin am überlegen mir The Quarry zu holen weil ich Until Dawn schon mega gefeiert hab, aber ich bin unsicher weil Geld und so 🥲 | 11.06.22 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d168** | Auch. Weil Social Media. Weil auch Daten und Inhalte fremd gespeichert werden. Weil auch kein Wohlfahrtsverein. Weil auch öffentlich. Weil auch amerikanisch. Etc. | 20.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d169** | Auch. Weil Social Media. Weil auch Daten und Inhalte fremd gespeichert werden. Weil auch kein Wohlfahrtsverein. Weil auch öffentlich. Weil auch amerikanisch. Etc. | 21.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d170** | Auch. Weil Social Media. Weil auch Daten und Inhalte fremd gespeichert werden. Weil auch kein Wohlfahrtsverein. Weil auch öffentlich. Weil auch amerikanisch. Etc. | 22.11.19 | weil | AdjP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **d171** | Nicht da, weil Geld und krank. | 03.01.14 | weil | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT & STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d172** | Gehe jetzt noch einkaufen und falle dann mit der Switch aufs Bett, weil platt und Ohrenschmerz und seit 3 Tagen nur am Frieren. | 20.11.19 | weil | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d173** | Gehe jetzt noch einkaufen und falle dann mit der Switch aufs Bett, weil platt und Ohrenschmerz und seit 3 Tagen nur am Frieren. | 20.11.19 | weil | VP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | yes (6) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **d174** | Schule hat mich gut ausgebildet kann aber leider nur 3 Sterne geben weil Buffet nicht hochwertig und Klos manchmal unsauber DAS GEHT BESSER!!! | 19.11.19 | weil | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **dk001** | Lady Gaga stjæler blognavn fra fan: En fan med blognavnet Amen Fashion har mistet titlen, fordi Lady Gaga | 30.06.11 | fordi | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e001** | Did someone else type his name for you? Because cofveve. | 31.05.17 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e002** | We are heading towards state media and once again the GOP stands by and lets it happen because, you know, tax cuts. | 2018 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **e003** | [The cattle were] sold along the way because tired or lame. | 1783 | because | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | no | no | written | no | Book |
| **e004** | The wealthy, healthy, wise, famous and those favored by song, women and wine, all have, in individual instances, committed suicide because “tired of life”. | 1898 | because | VP | no | CAUS | no | yes | no | no | written | no | Book |
| **e005** | Start my day with a yoghurt drink too because 😘 | 24.04.19 | because | EMOJI | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e006** | I’m going to set up a private twitter because reasons. | 24.04.19 | because | NP | no | PSEU | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e007** | I can’t come out tonight because Skyrim. | 2012 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e008** | Who else does their makeup just to sit around in their room because ME. | 2018 | because | PRO | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **e009** | Multiple studies have shown that the average man uses about half as many words per day as women, thus text messaging. | 08.12.10 | thus | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Article |
| **e010** | Shipping always is a pain because expensive for another country | 10.12.19 | because | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e011** | 6 games I like 1. Dead by Daylight 2. The Witcher 3 3. Planet Zoo 4. Detroit: Become Human 5. Portal 2 6. Until Dawn (which I can't play bc exclusive 😭) | 07.09.22 | because | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e012** | I love this full stop in Pitfall (1948), because reasons. | 07.05.14 | because | NP | no | PSEU | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e013** | Because…trump. That's why. | 31.10.22 | because | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **e014** | Also: "No, no - we don't call it the Thames here - it's the Isis... Just this bit. Because Oxford." | 15.08.22 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e015** | Yani people put their reputations on the line because politics | 16.08.22 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e016** | Cannot drink my banana milk because squirell. | 04.08.22 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e017** | Joanna Przedlacka discovered that glottaling rates in "Essex", "Buckinghamshire", "Surrey" and "Kent" varieties of Estuary English are different, as they were in the SED. A factual difference, but nobody could hear it bcs usage frequency, not pronunciation. | 30.06.21 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e018** | magical (because no people there?) | 30.10.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | yes | Facebook |
| **e019** | Guess who's going to unveil our Superstar's MASSIVE news.. ""YOU""... Because #SarileruNeekevvaru! | 19.11.19 | because | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e020** | Also, they're in almost all of playlists because fuck yeah. Yeah, I said ""because fuck yeah"" | 19.11.19 | because | INTERJ | no | PSEU | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e021** | Idfk but if you figure it out let me know because same. | 19.11.19 | because | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e022** | careworkers in academia. this is still a thing. because conferences. | 19.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

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| **e023** | because on-site research. | 19.11.19 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e024** | because residency for funding | 19.11.19 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e025** | only because requested by my favorite podcast! | 19.11.19 | because | VP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (5) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e026** | who's jennie seeing cus I know kai is busy because with the promotion/concert of superm and exo?? | 19.11.19 | because | PP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (5) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e027** | Can't tell if I'm in a lot of abdominal pain because Crohns or because antibiotics. Arg. I just want to not feel like crap and go to work. | 19.11.19 | because | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e028** | You misunderstand. The point is that, while *anyone* can be a victim, *only men* can be perpetrators. Because patriarchy. | 19.11.19 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e029** | I'm trying to muster up as much happiness as I can for today because LMAO. | 19.11.19 | because | ACRO | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e030** | definitely rachel, because Animorphs. | 19.11.19 | because | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e031** | 2 phone wallpapers because oof. | 19.11.19 | because | INTERJ | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e032** | Kevin had his left hand over the right side of his chest in the closing ceromnies of the office Olympics and how did i miss that because damn. | 19.11.19 | because | INTERJ | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e033** | My friends # 1: don't taking it seriously and saying it's temporary. Friends # 2: Asexual, Panromantic? Who is this? Crash: in scared I run away from him, because yes. Crash: in scared I run away from him, because yes. Parents: already from one look I begin to be afraid. [hiding back in the closet] | 19.11.19 | because | AGR | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e034** | I am going to say this, then break it, because meh. I'm an idiot. | 19.11.19 | because | INTERJ | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e035** | Wake up in the middle of the night crying because bad dream. | 19.11.19 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e036** | We are very lucky because battle against Israel. | 19.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |

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| **e037** | Saving energy for the playoffs hehe because playoffs | 20.11.19 | because | NP | no | PSEU | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e038** | It is 4am. I have not slept yet. I am still doing homework and working on a presentation I have in a few hours. I might just crack open some wine because why the hell not. | 21.11.19 | because | INTERJ | no | PSEU | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **e039** | Going INDEPENDENT because Alantic Records and Trill Entertainment... | 21.11.19 | because | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e040** | Tarot readings on the floor because why not? | 21.11.19 | because | AGR | no | PSEU | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **e041** | And the audio doesn't constructively prove that Utsav is innocent because super easy to doctor. Neither am I supporting Mahima. My concerns aren't these two. | 21.11.19 | because | VP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e042** | Because it - but once with that. | 21.11.19 | because | PRO | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e043** | When you're so exhausted you can't think in Dutch OR English.. And it's taken 5 minutes just to write the damned tweet. Because words. | 21.11.19 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e044** | Limited Edition I Don't Have To Say No Because T-Shirt | 21.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e045** | Been through dis before and it kills me deeply till I had to deal with a REAL mental breakdown. But by the end of the day, I need to move forward. Don't expect someone would 'loyal' to you just because you loyal to them. | 21.11.19 | because | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e046** | Going INDEPENDENT because Alantic Records and Trill Entertainment... | 21.11.19 | because | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e047** | There's something deeply ironic about Albertans handing their money over to a bank headquartered in Quebec ""because Kenney"" | 21.11.19 | because | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e048** | My favorite place is the bakery. Because food. | 21.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e049** | BOTH BECAUSE WHY NOTT!!!! | 21.11.19 | because | AGR | no | PSEU | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **e050** | Have the "STEM is harder than humanities because math" crowd ever even tried either? I | 21.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

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| | wrote an essay on virtue ethics recently that was harder than any logic I've ever had to use in a paper. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **e051** | Yeah! Why not? (Because... not!) | 21.11.19 | because | AGR | no | PSEU | no | no | no | yes | written | yes | Twitter |
| **e052** | If the ruler of the 7H were either Gemini or Virgo, then that would mean emphasis? Still a maybe because, rest of chart then. So basically, I'll only know if the entire chart is taken into consideration. | 21.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **e053** | Somehow my mind blocked out the blatantly fucking obvious connection between her lines in this song and Chris's relationships with Hibiki and the others she always holds at arms length and said this time in Ashita no Atashi that would change because OWWWWWWWWWWWWWWW. | 21.11.19 | because | INTERJ | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e054** | Maybe I'll take dog and see if I can locate source...also peeing because aging small dog bladder. | 21.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e055** | And the most ironic thing - I might still vote labour, despite having attended a school they would shut down and losing out to their tax proposals, because I believe in the common good. But those who benefit from labour policies are voting Tory because... well, the Daily Mail! | 21.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **e056** | I gave up on thinking because life. | 21.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e057** | I'm with you. The presenters are very clear about their approach. I just often wonder if those who actually call in (especially to some specific shows), aren't actually masochistic because wow! | 21.11.19 | because | INTERJ | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e058** | Want to stretch because... 2 ordered cakes for tonight. | 21.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (5) | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **e059** | And ready to uninstall GPay App because no profit to me | 23.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | yes | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| **e060** | Ok stream Jaejoong All that glitters as well because Legend. | 23.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e061** | No idea, I pray neither. They better not play with our Queen these ones because what in the hot hell?! | 23.11.19 | because | INTERJ | no | REAS | no | no | yes (5) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **e062** | It is going to be blowout on this saturday, because djtripleks | 23.11.19 | because | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e063** | Lit up your weekend just because Yolo at the #PlayDayParteAfterParte. You get free shots between12pm and 3pm so you don't want to get there late. | 23.11.19 | because | ACRO | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e064** | Yeah. Because. A new truck. | 23.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **e065** | You ever wanna kick your own ass? Because same. | 23.11.19 | because | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e066** | So, each party is always looking for dirt on the other. They're just trying distract and control the news cycle because IG report coming soon. They'll stall on evidence because there is none. Lev willing to lie to congress to save his own behind. Not abnormal swamp behavior. | 23.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e067** | never see a movie with Ryan Gosling that I didn’t like. Because, Ryan Gosling. | 23.11.19 | because | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **e068** | What the FUCK because HELLO?? ITS GORGEOUS!?! IM CRYING NOW??? WTF!?!? HES SO FRUSTRATINGLY HANDSOME!?! | 23.11.19 | because | INTERJ | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e069** | Soon we will get paid to consume goods because negative interest rates. | 23.11.19 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e070** | Yeah, trying to educate a cultist is like trying to masturbate with barbed wire. You're a list cause and you don't even know it. I read. Conservative and progressive, because in independent. I make up my own mind. You, are just another cult member hailing the new fuhrer. | 23.11.19 | because | PP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| **e071** | I was in my living room crying, watching the cheetah girls while Tina cut my hair after eating panda and cookies because munchies. A Sunday well spent | 23.11.19 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e072** | can't unfollow because deactivated. just give me the right time when she'll be back and it'll be the first thing I'll do | 23.11.19 | because | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e073** | gonna go cry because jap. muster looks beautiful | 23.11.19 | because | INTERJ | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e074** | Not at all. The problem is those kids usually don’t know what hard work is because daddy paying for college. If daddy can teach you to bust your ass like he did then he did good. If not, he already failed you. | 23.11.19 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e075** | Sorry i can't explain with your language, i hope you can read this.. btw i reply another person emwhy you so angry?? Because your gang? | 23.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e076** | I understand I felt like that when I was in school and rode the school bus I hated the other kids we were in highschool and they act like kindergarten one of them threw a bottle out the window and it hit a car after that we had assigned seat because that dude. | 23.11.19 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e077** | Because reasons! | 23.11.19 | because | NP | no | PSEU | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e078** | Just heard Jonathan Bartley, co-leader of the Green party UK say the reason he's in politics is because ""a passion to change the world."" | 23.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | yes | yes (6) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e079** | It’s not even 10am. It’s the 23rd NOVEMBER FOR GOODNESS SAKE I’m about to get in the sea because cold water swimming for life!!!!! | 23.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (5) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e080** | I feel like Cryptic Studios really stepped in it. Get it? Stepped in it? Because ... Mudd? ... I'll see myself out. | 23.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **e081** | I keep trying to move there but Mrs P won’t let me. Because slooty women. | 23.11.19 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| **e082** | I believe that The State of Michigan (it's politicians in seat) must be investigated. To ban THC cartridges, just to take the garbage, throw it back into the system and sell it to ""The Black Market"" for more people to get sick, because the more illnesses, the more control. | 23.11.19 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (6) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e083** | we both deserve someone who's sure and certain with us. guess we should not waste the peak of our teenage years in uncertain things when we could be enjoying these years, because these years? they only come once in our fucking lifetime. | 23.11.19 | because | NP | no | PSEU | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e084** | Little middle-class victory of the day: managed to grab the last two bottles of sparkling water with hint of lemon at the supermarket today before everything closes for Pentecost in Norway, because Lutheranism. | 04.06.22 | because | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e085** | I am begging people to stop using Academia.edu to make papers available. They're often not, in fact, available unless you're willing to give Academia your personal details, so they clog up search results with useless (because inaccessible) information. | 18.10.22 | because | AdjP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e086** | Today, I found the most important feature I had previously been missing on Mastodon, which is the ability to follow tags, specifically the #cats tag. Really, everything else is optional, now. Because cats. | 09.11.22 | because | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Mastodon |
| **e087** | Remember when I said the path of least resistance is readily offered? Well student numbers are increasing (because £££) and staff have been asked to do more with less as long as I've been in the job. I'm gonna have to | 30.11.22 | because | EMOJI | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| | be a bit careful with how I phrase this next bit.. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **e088** | Look, if you think the U.S. military is weak and decadent now because wokeness, I am BEGGING you to go to a bar near a base tonight and tell some Marines that they're a bunch of pussies who can't handle real fighters like the Russian army, and see what happens. | 12.05.23 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e089** | "Because X" has started appearing in other languages, because borrowing | 20.11.15 | because | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e090** | (ausnahmslos STEM. because of course) | 26.11.22 | because | PP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **e091** | My thoughts exactly. They speak of loyalty like it's something undesirable. I suspect all Presidents expect a certain amount of loyalty from their VP and Cabinet. That's not abnormal or unexpected. Why hold Trump to a diff standard...because Trump, that's why. | 03.01.23 | because | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **f001** | Je cours parce que la pizza | 00.00.15 | parce que | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **fi001** | Osta auto, koska nopea, koska kaunis | 00.00.15 | koska | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Poster |
| **fi002** | En muista koska kalja | 00.00.17 | koska | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n001** | nee want lowlands | 21.05.13 | want | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n002** | Op zaterdag!!! Met extra mensen omdat lowlands!!! Kill me | 17.08.18 | omdat | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n003** | Het is, behalve onhaalbaar en anti-VvMU, ook nog zinloos, want internet. | 21.09.16 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n004** | Natuurlijk snappen ze wat de intenties zijn. Dit mag echter niet naar buiten komen, want Wilders. Vandaar die kostelijke kromme uitspraken. | 11.06.17 | want | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n005** | Of medewerkers plaatsen er zeer positieve reacties op. Alles kan want lekker anoniem. Heeft niets & dan ook niets met transparantie vandoen | 07.06.17 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT & STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| **n006** | Klopt, bij Ruimtelijke Ordening lijkt er meer aandacht voor vierkante meters parkeerplek dan voor vierkante meters speelgelegenheid. Spelende kinderen worden van de straten verjaagd, soms letterlijk, want lawaai, want bal tegen ruiten/auto's, want gevaarlijk, want hinderlijk. | 22.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n007** | Nú al een productieve zondag want hardgelopen (in een treintje door de Voorveldsepolder, want íedereen had het zelfde plan) | 23.02.14 | want | VP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n008** | Goedemorgen en sorry, want te laat. | 03.06.17 | want | AdvP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n009** | Snapchat in de gaten houden voor uitgaan filmpje van Sophie, Monica en Steve want yeah… | 31.05.15 | want | INTERJ | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n010** | Klopt, bij Ruimtelijke Ordening lijkt er meer aandacht voor vierkante meters parkeerplek dan voor vierkante meters speelgelegenheid. Spelende kinderen worden van de straten verjaagd, soms letterlijk, want lawaai, want bal tegen ruiten/auto's, want gevaarlijk, want hinderlijk. | 23.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | TEXT & STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n011** | realistisch kijken of je het jezelf kan veroorloven … zo ja doen! Want 😊 | 16.09.16 | want | EMOJI | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n012** | Adam Curry telt niet mee want Amerikaanse pa. | 1987 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Book |
| **n013** | Toch maar m'n nest uit gegaan want koffie | 05.05.17 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n014** | D'66 tegen het afschieten van katten, want niet diervriendelijk. | 29.08.18 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n015** | Als Wilders iets goeds zegt moet dat niet genegeerd worden omdat PVV. | 07.01.17 | omdat | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n016** | ff rond me kamer dansen omdat redenen :D | 09.02.16 | omdat | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n017** | aardbeien zijn bae, en niet kut want weetje 'aardbae' | 2018 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **n018** | Ik heb weer een hoop bluerays besteld want redenen. | 22.12.16 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

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| **n019** | …een gebied dat berucht is bij veel automobilisten, want veel files. | 1991 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Article |
| **n020** | Volgende week is het weer feest, want 2 december. | 2004 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Email |
| **n021** | Misschien moet ik ook gewoon in die omgeving gaan wonen, gewoon omdat leuke mensen. | 11.08.12 | omdat | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n022** | Sean Astin is dik geworden zeg maar tis wel cute omdat redenen | 02.11.11 | omdat | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n023** | Alles leuk en aardig met dat nieuwe seizoen Twin Peaks, maar waar kan ik het oude weer zien? M'n dvd-speler de deur uitgedaan, want 2017 | 11.06.17 | want | NUM | no | CAUS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n024** | Ik ging gitaar spelen en jullie wakker maken want yolo xd | 02.09.17 | want | ACRO | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n025** | Chocola met koffiestukjes bij de koffie want koffie. KOFFIE. | 11.07.17 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n026** | Ik heb weer een hoop blurays besteld want redenen. | 06.12.16 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n027** | Dit jaar harde protesten, want Trump. | 06.07.16 | want | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n028** | Links is opvallend stil, eigenlijk vinden ze het geen discriminatie, want Jood. | 06.01.14 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n029** | Ik heb ook natuurlijk een oplossing (want #TeamConstructief): briefje op bureau met 'hoera optioneel GRATIS drinkfles geef je op en haal af in 2020' (want niet teveel bestellen). Wil je het niet? Bedrag van drinkfles gestort in duurzaamheidsfonds oid. #succes | 16.12.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n030** | Dat zijn drie willekeurige, maar wel aan elkaar verwante (want Indo-Europese) talen | 13.04.22 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | TEXT | no | no | no | written | no | Article |
| **n031** | Zelfs gewone voetgangers mogen daar niet eens wandelen. Kijk maar. Heb je ooit zo'n duidelijk boord gezien, he? Noordwijk Zandvoort kan niet in een rechte lijn want zeehond en vogel, wel lekker zonnetje of | 23.02.20 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | spoken | no | Video |

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| | dikke wi-fi of een lekkende kerncentrale. Duidelijker wordt het niet. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **n032** | Omdat blackface. | 18.11.19 | omdat | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n033** | TERROR OMDAT TERROR! | 20.11.19 | omdat | NP | no | PSEU | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n034** | groepsgenoten van school opgehaald opgehaald door groepsbegeleiders, die al op de hoogte waren van diens 'vlucht voor' Al onder het terugwandelen naar de groep werd kl. erop aangesproken en eenmaal daar werd kl. gestraft, buitengesloten, afgezonderd, geisoleerd van, omdat kl. | 20.11.19 | omdat | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n035** | Oh, dacht omdat leger-groen. | 21.11.19 | omdat | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n036** | Maar een hoop heeft hij ook aan Obama te danken. Ik zeg niet dat Obama de perfecte pres was, maar Trump erft een hoop van hem. Wat doet hij? Obama bashen. Alles wat Obama heeft gedaan moet anders omdat Obama. (Iran-deal beste voorbeeld imo.) | 22.11.19 | omdat | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n037** | Ben nu een week in Brazilië en kan wel zeggen dat ik tamelijk uitgeput begin te raken van alle indrukken en omdat #werk. Morgen vlieg ik via GRU met @KLM terug naar Amsterdam. Iemand nog airmiles over voor een upgrade of tips how to get one? | 21.11.19 | omdat | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n038** | Loonsverhoging werd niet gecommuniceerd omdat niet realiseerbaar. Maar wers wel bestudeerd. 1850ste naar 1618de is daarentegen 14% verhoging | 21.11.19 | omdat | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT & STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n039** | nee omdat boner door nek kusjes. | 18.11.19 | omdat | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n040** | Deze heet ook Ollie. Een ervaren liftganger want appartement. | 19.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n041** | En zeg er niets van, want Holocaust! | 19.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n042** | Onlineverkoop is mooi. Want handig. Maar een massale rij op de Minister van Houtenlaan is mooier. Want uniek. | 19.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

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| **n043** | Ter info. Moslims en joden slachten ritueel. Die laatste groep verzet zich t hardst, want antisemitisme. | 19.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n044** | Jij hebt toch ook niets met het racisme tijdens Den Bosch - Excelsior #dboexc te maken, maar daar heb jij het in jouw (zeer goed bekeken) praatprogramma's toch ook over? Want relevant. | 20.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n045** | Niet gezien, maar kan me de uitzending wel voorstellen. Het moet heerlijk zijn je ""gediscrimineerd"" te voelen. Genereert aandacht, weer eens op tv, wellicht zelfs boekingen, want zielig. Wat een reflex. | 20.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n046** | Dit soort ‘slegs vir’-faciliteiten heette in Zuid-Afrika apartheid, en dat was toch héél slecht want racisme? | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n047** | 807 likes in een dag, want warmtepompklimaatscam. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n048** | Klopt, bij Ruimtelijke Ordening lijkt er meer aandacht voor vierkante meters parkeerplek dan voor vierkante meters speelgelegenheid. Spelende kinderen worden van de straten verjaagd, soms letterlijk, want lawaai, want bal tegen ruiten/auto's, want gevaarlijk, want hinderlijk. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n049** | Miljoenen gaan er op aan online advertenties, via ondoorzichtige "digitale marktplaatsen", maar paar ton reserveren voor goed onderzoek en gerichte experimenten.. moeilijk, want targets. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n050** | Veruit de meeste misdaad en overlast komt van Noord-Afrikanen. Die geen vreemdeling zijn want Nederlander. Dat beinvloedt de opinie veel meer. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n051** | Gisteren 1u en 45 min van Gent naar Leuven. Eergisteren aansluiting gelust want | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| | vertraging. Vorige week anderhalf uur vertraging in 3 dagen. Enz. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **n052** | Ja, in het buitenland vinden ze ons knettergek. Daar wordt de industrie gekoesterd, want welvaart. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n053** | Aantoonbaar slechte wetgeving voeren we gewoon in want regeerakkkoord. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n054** | Schinkel claimt voor democratie te zijn maar wil democratische rechten slechts toekennen aan mensen die het met hem eens zijn en voor zijn staatsvorm kiezen. De rest zijn fascisten. In zijn logica is dus b.v. 0,1% van de bevolking gerechtigd de macht over te nemen, want goed. | 20.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n055** | Vanmiddag naar Schiphol. Hopelijk morgen geen mist. Want vertragings. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n056** | De Leidsebuurt telt de hele dag scooters, vooral van en naar: Weteringschans, Marnixstraat, Max Euweplein. Nadruk op spitsuren in de ochtend en in de hele avond, want uitgaansgebied. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n057** | Daarom moest ik een zoon hebben, het eerste dat hij zal doen is lessen kickboxen nemen (permanent). Helaas de enige manier. In dit soort groepjes moet je de eerste KO slaan, de rest komt dan niet meer af want lafaards. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n058** | Onze @Nieuwsuur muppets gaan er weer vol voor...op hun bek dan wel weer, net als met t Mueller rapport, maar dat zal ze er niet van weerhouden t toch te proberen, want Trump. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n059** | Inderdaad. Dit staat er haaks op. Ik hoop dat de kamer hier over valt. Want onmenselijk. Overigens ook ondoenlijk voor de gemeenten dit. | 21.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n060** | Ik verafschuw racisme maar het wordt wel tijd voor een zwarte minister president. Want slavernij. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| **n061** | Iedereen ""reageert"" weer anders, natuurlijk. Bij mij zorgen ze ervoor dat ik veelal in rare/grappige/absurde situaties verzeild raak, want bloednieuwsgierig. | 21.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n062** | Ik lachte toen al niet. Ik woonde toen al tussen groepen waar je de narigheid zag groeien. De voorproefjes van de groepen gajes die rovend, verkrachtend en met intentie tot moord rondgaan krijgen geen straf vanwege leeftijd. Hun volwassenen doen niets want oorlogsbuit. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n063** | Ik had ooit een prettig 'jaargesprek' met een medewerker. Ik vertelde oa dat ik al tientallen jaren geleden contact verbrak met mijn ouders. Bij het afscheid, ik stond al bij de deur, zei ze nog even dat ik wel in de gaten moest houden wanneer mijn ma doodging, want erfenis. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n064** | Inmiddels zit ik braaf achter mijn pc want krant. Ter compensatie heb ik wel warme chocola | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n065** | SGP stelt voor koopzondagen terug te dringen. Want stikstof, want milieuwinst. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n066** | 2019,ik ben mijn oren er echt uit aan het knallen maar het kan me niks maar dan ook niks meer schelen want !!!! | 21.11.19 | want | EMOJI | no | PSEU | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n067** | En dat dan de ene in haar agenda donderdag noteert, en de ander 22/11. Want AHJA. | 21.11.19 | want | INTERJ | no | PSEU | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n068** | Rijden ze veel mee in Amsterdam want praktisch. | 21.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n069** | Bij mijn werkloze moeder ook. Bedrijven die wel werk hebben, maar dat liever als werkervaringsplek wegzetten ipv volwaardige functie, want subsidie. Elk half jaar een nieuwe bijna gratis werknemer. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n070** | Wiet olie is ook eigenlijk gewoon softdrugs. Maar onze foute elite heeft daar schijt aan en | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| | vind dat ze dat zelf mogen bepalen. Alcohol is wel een harddrugs maar die mogen gewoon reclame maken. Want vriendjes. Heineken-Amstel | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **n071** | Hypocriete kutstaat dat Utah... maar ondertussen wel veelwijverij toestaan, want mormonen! | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n072** | Wollah wtf, drop die titel of welk kanaal da heeft gedropt want Kifesh?! | 21.11.19 | want | INTERJ | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n073** | Heeft #Wijnaldum #Foxsport #studiosport en alle andere opruiers van BN'ers tot politici al hun excuses aangeboden. Zondag minuut stilte voor racisme gaat te ver, want hypocriet. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n074** | Ja, daar ging het mis. En ze hadden ook allebei een karretje. En er stond een enorme bak pepernoten, waar ik meerdere handen uit gegeten heb - want hongerklap. Maar ik heb GEEN koffie gedronken! | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n075** | Vreselijk dit. Maar: ja, er komt veel op het bordje van e politie, maar zijn kunnen ook verdere hulp inschakelen. Ik hoop dat zij wel het nummer van de GGZ in hun telefoon hebben. Daarbij: telefoon van derde bij de crisis wordt niet behandeld, want avg. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n076** | Dank voor de likes en retweets maar het moest opnieuw want foutje. Dat overkomt mij wel vaker. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n077** | We moeten deze video delen. Want HITLERGROET! | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n078** | Wie dat in vraag stelt moet vervolgd worden want klimaatontkenner. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n079** | Ik houd van Zwarte Piet : Kozp boos, want zwarte piet. Moslims boos, want gay. NL supermarkt verdrietig, want niet op voorraad. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n080** | ouch want waar | 22.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n081** | Bij de gratie van Cruijff en omdat half hooliganederland de Pietlergroet staat te doen | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| | bedenkt een grijze witte man zich. En dat is dan huge. Want voetbal. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **n082** | Begon wat weifelend. Niet gek, want impro. Werd interessant, beats, variatie, beetje interactie. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n083** | Ja true ik snap ook wel dat ze het doen. Hier verkopen veel shoarmatenten ook bier want cash. Maar ja struggles hahaha | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n084** | We mogen buitenlandse mega huisjesmelkers niet weren, want EU. We zijn ook op dit punt geen baas meer in eigen land. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n085** | Witte mensen zijn vaak net mensen: niet nadenken, want moeilijk. | 22.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | TEXT & STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n086** | Op de website is 1 recensie zichtbaar. Die is lovend. Maar die tweede? 1 ster! Want goor. Brrrr. Gore kak, broeder | 22.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n087** | Er is helemaal totaal absoluut niets! Dems werden zelfs uitgelachen, logisch ook want hoax! Alleen getriggerde mensen zonder gehoor en zicht geloven de dems nog xe rest weet het al. 2020 trump landslide | 23.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n088** | Ik heb nog wel tijd om @tasja2376 te feliciteren, want jarig! | 23.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT & STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n089** | Schilder Zorn, want zaterdag! | 23.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n090** | Dan eten we in dit huis glutenvrij en in jouw huis mag die 1e lekker dood vallen want MiNdErHeId. | 23.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n091** | Voor de kinderen die in die landen geboren worden is het ook niet makkelijk. Zullen we die dan ook maar hierheen halen? De kinderen ophalen = de ouders ophalen, want gezinshereniging. De kinderen hebben er ook niks aan als ze hier radicaliseren met hun ouders. | 23.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| **n092** | Maar het is vast hierbij gebleven. Want IK! IK! IK! | 23.11.19 | want | PRO | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n093** | Het moet weg, want hoort hier niet, want haram. | 23.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n094** | Daar heb ik afgelopen vakantie speciaal dit shirt voor gekocht. Jammer dat ik hem nu niet aan kan (want koud) | 23.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n095** | Oe dat zou leuk zijn! Ik kan nu echt niet meer wachten! Het gaat de hele tijd over 19-11 omdat het dan precies 20 jaar geleden is sinds aflevering 1 van widm seizoen, en nu is het zo ver en het lijkt opeens logisch dat het op 20-11 komt, want 20e seizoen. Ik word nu al gek! | 19.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n096** | Ik denk van wel. Blanken worden weggepest uit wijken in grote steden, asielzoekers krijgen voorrang op woningen, je betaald meer bij de Turkse super dan een allochtoon, wordt voor ambtelijke functies minder snel aangenomen want niet divers. Dus dat zit vast wel goed! | 19.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT & STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n097** | Babyboomers: Voor mijn dertigste kwam ik niet in aanmerking voor een huurwoning. Nu blijven de kinderen tot 35 jaar thuis, want geen woning. | 19.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n098** | Dus je zegt ook dat mensen met een ziekte of handicap eigenlijk niet mogen werken, want een risico. | 19.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n099** | Dus jij bent een goede, want geen moslim? | 19.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n100** | Ik zat wel helemaal ingepakt met kapuchon, want harde regen. En hield gelijk ook adem in. Goor. | 19.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n101** | Wat nog erger is: Het merendeel van de NLders vind het verschrikkelijke praktijken en pleit al jaren voor verandering van die traditie. Daaraan wordt geen gehoor gegeven want, religie. | 19.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
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| **n102** | Want lage lonen. Daarmee het hele Nederlandse salarishuis van Nederlanders onder druk zetten. | 19.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n103** | Toont aan dat ook OV eigenlijk aan hetzelfde probleem voldoet als het aanleggen van extra asfalt: Hogere frequentie van treinen zorgt voor meer vraag naar die verbinding omdat het aantrekkelijker wordt dan asfalt. Een extra rijbaan asfalt zorgt voor meer verkeer want meer ruimte. | 19.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n104** | Calvo : opdracht is moeilijk want niet gemakkelijk. Zeer nuchtere opmerking. | 19.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n105** | Het is moeilijk want niet gemakkelijk. | 20.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n106** | Dit verhaal bedoel ik. De bedreigingen zijn overigens net zo erg of erger misschien wel (want bewust). | 20.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n107** | Die ene kan dan een illegale vreemdeling zijn, maar allemaal zijn ze medeplichtig aan massamoorden, verkrachtingen, onderdrukking, haat, teveel om op te noemen maar daar hoor ik u niet over want islam...! | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n108** | Echt mens, hou een keer je mond. Je maakt jezelf met iedere tweet meer belachelijk. Neem alle Turkse vliegmaatschappijen hun landingsrechten af, probleem opgelost. Maar jullie durven en mogen niet, want #eu. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n109** | Schulranzen schijnen nu goedkoper te zijn. Want oude collectie. Zag een gave maar dat is al de nieuwe collectie. € 250,00 is echt belachelijk veel geld voor een rugtas nou ja hutkoffer. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n110** | Alles iedereeen en zijn moeder in de war want Willem Schinkel. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n111** | Retour afzender zou je denken. Want Turkije lukt het wel om mensen naar Marokko te sturen. NL gaat dat straks echt niet lukken. Krijgen we een doofpotje. Of gaat er zo'n | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |

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| | ophef meisje in het vliegtuig stampij maken. Want zielige kinderen. | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **n112** | Vrij vandaag. Dus ook geen wekker om de kachel aan te zetten. 10 graden in huis... Kachel aan. Snel terug bed in want dikke dekens. Moed verzamelen om er weer uit te gaan voor de hond (die warm op bed ligt). | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n113** | Dat 'echte Nederlanders' een nutteloze term is die we niet hoeven te gebruiken en een superioriteit insinueren van mensen wiens voorouders uit dit gebied komen. Die superioriteit op basis van ras mag er niet zijn (want racistisch). | 20.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n114** | Mag ik deze opmerking delen? Want zo duidelijk? (en toch zullen velen het niet begrijpen?) | 20.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | TEXT & STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n115** | net speciaal naar andere kant van campus gelopen voor soja melk in koffie, nu geen soja melk in koffie hebben want verkeerde automaat. hoe is jullie dag? | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n116** | Bang om termijn af te maken want opmars PVV/FVD. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n117** | Dat is zo. Weet je Jeroen, allerlei beschermende maatregelen zijn werknemers ontnomen. Want we moeten voor onszelf zorgen. Alleen pensioenregelingen bleven in stand. Want: solidariteit. Dat pensioen in stand bleef, zegt mij genoeg over wie er baat bij hebben | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **n118** | Liefst zou ik de @VVD uitschakelen maar dat gaat voorlopig niet lukken want rechts want cordon sanitaire. | 20.11.19 | want | AdvP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n119** | Ook nog een zwaktebod want donkere bewaker. Toch ook ""racist"" veelzeggend filmpje. Hierdoor wordt zichtbaar dat men het woord racist gebruikt als instrument. De spugende man zit al vast? | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **n120** | Alles moet stuk want #EU. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n121** | Drukker dan gemiddeld hier. Kleine pauze met koffie op bureaustoel want bezetting bank. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n122** | De hele dag mijn telefoon niet kunnen gebruiken, want #oudenopnieuw. Thanks Buutvrij. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n123** | De oorlogsmisdaad van Assad/Poetin/Iran van de dag is vandaag: een raketaanval op een ziekenhuis. Tientallen doden, waaronder veel kinderen. krekels, want geen Koerden. toenadering zoeken tot Assad. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n124** | En dat is GEEN podium bieden. Echt niet. Want, disclaimer. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **n125** | Het kenmerk van mensenrechten is nu juist dat ze wel vrijblijvend zijn, want universele werking. Daarbij gaat internationaal recht gaat boven het nationale recht, hoeveel kansloze ranzige wetjes | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n126** | Wij zijn spierwit, dus geen korte broeken ed want witten benen. Daar werden wij mee gepest. Het is echt te erg idd als je erover nadenkt. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n127** | Watskeburt? Een donkere persoon kreeg in een bar van een onbekend persoon een banaan. Er is een onderzoek gestart naar racisme, want zoiets...? | 21.11.19 | want | PRO | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n128** | Ah, dat is toch die van ""in de rest van Europa kunnen vrouwen veel minder laat abortus ondergaan en dat wil ik hier ook, want redenen""? | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | PSEU | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n129** | [Reaction to tweet: Geweldig, geweldig. Waar in Amsterdam eet je zo'n volgens de regels bereide carbonara?] Geen idee, ik maak het zelf omdat ik het nergens durf te bestellen, want: room. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **n130** | Hoezo generatieverschil, want: ja! | 21.11.19 | want | AGR | no | REAS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **n131** | Nee, want feitelijk onjuist. Alle overheidssteun is reeds terugbetaald en de man heeft een handvol succesvolle bedrijven. Tesla brak de EV markt open en is sinds kort winstgevend, SpaceX is de ruimtevaartrevolutie aan het trekken. Wat doe jij zoal? | 22.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n132** | Ik fail zelfs in failen want geen 11/11. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n133** | Niet zomaar een prijs want ernstig onderwerp. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n134** | Volgens u is het dus niet zo? Want ""mogelijk?"" | 22.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | no | yes | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n135** | Je gaat redelijk kort door de bocht. Je denkt dat het juist de stumpers en armoedzaaiers zijn, want economische vluchtelingen. Misschien zijn dit vluchtelingen die juist tot intelligentsia behoorden? En dus niet per se arm? | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n136** | Ik heb Pearl Jam een keer of tien - denk ik - live gezien, en ooit hoop ik nog eens mee te maken dat ze gewoon een avond lang Black spelen. Want waarom niet. | 22.11.19 | want | AGR | no | PSEU | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n137** | Mn zusje is wel gezond...want niet gay. Doe even #FirstDates | 22.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n138** | Ik: snuffel aan puber, want bekend geurtje. Ik snuffel en snuffel en snuffel. P: Geeft DE blik en MAM wat doe je? Ik: Nou ik snuffel want je ruikt hoe mijn oma vroeger rook. P: Mam serieus! Wat een belediging! Ze draagt Scandal.....Ik mag nu niet meer snuffelen! | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n139** | Dus alle schilderijen van bv het Laatste Avondmaal kunnen we ook maar beter opbergen, want inclusief? Waar zit de inclusiviteit van de kant van de vegans? | 22.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **n140** | Ik moet nog beginnen aan deel 2! Een dat terwijl ik zo gebit van deel 1. Gewoon te druk! Heb de dvd's want geen netflix. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n141** | Jammer, want goede service. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n142** | Moslims mogen dat van Mo want geen kopvod. Dus? Wat gaan we daaraan doen? | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n143** | Op het Haga-Lyceum krijgen de leerlingen nu waarschijnlijk te horen dat Nederland verliest, want talloze stroperige bestuurslagen ..... en de islam wint, want geen bestuurslagen. | 23.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n144** | Gewoon om 6:15 uur wakker, want biologische klok. Die doet niet aan zaterdag. | 23.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n145** | Klotemorgen want te vroeg. En nee, boeit mij geen hol dat anderen nog vroeger op moeten staan. | 23.11.19 | want | AdvP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n146** | Zwarte Piet, genderneutraliteit, kerstfeest, alles moet verdwijnen of andere benamingen krijgen. Maar mensen die om watvoor reden dan ook niet de kans gehad hebben door te studeren mogen wel weggezet worden als dom. Want, laagopgeleid. #dubbelemoraal | 23.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | TEXT & STRU | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **n147** | Er is voldoende kritiek vanuit de culturele hoek op die term. Vooralsnog zou ik het als muzikant een absolute zegen vinden als iemand mij gaat vertellen dat ik geen polyritme mag gebruiken (want Afrikaans) of niet mag keelzingen (want Mongools). | 23.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n148** | Dat deel van mijn familie die op de VVD stemt, ik dacht die zijn vast dol op de #participatiewet want ja VVD. | 23.11.19 | want | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **n149** | n brief staat dat ik wel al even contact op moet nemen met ziekenhuis voor longfunctieonderzoek en dat kosten voor eigen risico zijn. Tevens staat in brief dat wil je dit niet dan bel je met assistente. Dat deed ik dus net want geld/ tijd/ verspilling! | 19.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **n150** | Rijmt zo lekker. iedere wedstrijd vanuit uitvak, want facking origineel natuurlijk. | 19.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n151** | dat is wel erg ja!! is dat een beetje ok nu? ik heb een klein poosje zo'n tandarts gehad. maar gauw wegwezen voor er onherstelbare schade was. moet alleen zo nu en dan een slokje Antikal. :P (want gevoelig voor tandsteen. :D) | 19.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n152** | OmroepBrabant: oliebollenkraam in Ehoven bedreigd, want "racisme"! Het geval? Medewerker had tegen zwart jongetje, verkleed als Pietje, "kijk, een zwart Pietje" gezegd. Indien dit waar is.....dan word ik verdrietig. | 19.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | yes | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n153** | Zweden staakt verkrachtingsonderzoek Assange want niet genoeg bewijs. Maar hoezo startte dat onderzoek überhaupt dan? | 19.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n154** | Hart onder de riem vandaag! Verdienen absoluut meer waardering! Want een geweldig vak. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n155** | Onder druk gezet worden door je verplicht te laten solliciteren op banen waarvan je vooraf al weet dat ze je niet willen, want te oud-te duur. | 20.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n156** | Ik denk dat IJsland binnenkort ook verboden gaat worden, want te vaak wit. | 21.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | TEXT & STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n157** | de staat kan ook morgen abortus verbieden. is het dan prima want via een wet? | 21.11.19 | want | AdvP | no | REAS | TEXT | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n158** | Ongetwijfeld nog minder belastend dan social media, want servers en datacenters. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n159** | Van de aangekondigde line-up zijn maar twee apps gratis te spelen (want Stadia Pro). De rest moet je gewoon kopen. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n160** | Mensen in de bijstand worden weggezet als fraudeurs want ""mijn belastingcenten!"" | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | yes | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n161** | Snap ik, want wat een figuur. Maar de ironie. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **n162** | CO2 emissie bij houtstook is vast slechter dan bij gas maar CO2 in hout is doorgaans recent vastgelegd, bij gas en andere fossiele brandstoffen komt CO2 vrij dat miljoenen jaren geleden duurzaam is vast gelegd en nu moet dat vrijkomen want beter dan hout. | 21.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | TEXT & STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n163** | Kan meneer Schoof en zn dienst is wat meer inlichtingen verzamelen over gelukzoekers? Misschien is belletje doen naar OV Moldavië die een lijndienst naar NL opgezet heeft? (of heeft u ze uitgenodigd... want vergrijzing en zo? | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n164** | Vuurwerk training met de hond want debielen met vuurwerk. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n165** | Stakkers. Die moeten wel zo winkelen, want geen inkomen natuurlijk. En je wilt af en toe best leuke spulletjes. Gaat immers erg makkelijk? Heeft toch nauwelijks consequenties? | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n166** | Het kabinet van meer asfalt en ongebreidelde groei van de luchtvaart. Alle klimaat- en milieuproblemen worden even geparkeerd, want de vooruitgang | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n167** | Mijn eReader ging kapot. Laadt niet meer op want gare USB ingang. Ik nieuwe bestellen. Blijkt het snoertje kapot en niet de eReader. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n168** | Dat is het niet, dat weet ik al, want vloer en convectorput. Ik heb trouwens allang geen zin meer in die warmtepomp na alle verhalen over kou en lawaai. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n169** | Volg mijn stories, want vanavond TGIF baby!!! | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n170** | Een tegenvaller van jewelste voor VVD en CDA die hadden gehoopt met tegenstribbelen voor de bühne deze onwelkome gasten toch met open armen te "moeten" ontvangen. Want "onvermijdelijk". Dus niet. | 22.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | STRU | yes | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **n171** | En ZZPers gaan dan weer niet naar het Malieveld. Die gaan gewoon werken. Want anders geen geld. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n172** | Rood mijn BB xD groen plots die ik in week 1 al had maar tja kon niks want tja geen BB. en oranje ofc eerste BB. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | yes | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n173** | Eigen volk eerst mag niet want: #racisme!" | 23.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **n174** | Als je zo redeneert dan heeft nucleaire straling ook nog nooit kanker veroorzaakt want correlatie geen causaliteit. | 23.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n175** | Een mening hebben mag in Nederland. Wist je dat niet? Of je voor of tegen bent, het mag allemaal want: vrijheid van meningsuiting. Jouw scheldwoorden vind ik niet normaal. | 19.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (3) | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **n176** | Foei foei van verraden gesproken! Waarschijnlijk de zwanenzang van @RuttenGwendolyn nog snel 4 jaar iets uit de kast proberen te halen want daarna over and out! | 19.11.19 | want | AdvP | no | REAS | STRU | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n177** | ik weet niet of make up want geen spiegel ik clown. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n178** | Klopt, bij Ruimtelijke Ordening lijkt er meer aandacht voor vierkante meters parkeerplek dan voor vierkante meters speelgelegenheid. Spelende kinderen worden van de straten verjaagd, soms letterlijk, want lawaai, want bal tegen ruiten/auto's, want gevaarlijk, want hinderlijk. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n179** | Hoe moeten mensen dit aanpakken die nu al weten (pensioen!) een sociale woning nodig te hebben, maar van Koerhuis pas woonduur mogen opbouwen op het moment van hun pensioen? (Want ""inkomenstoets"") ? | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | yes | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n180** | Dit wordt ergernis. Bewijsvoeringsprobleem. Jasrtje Vught jaartje thuis met enkelband, want ja, die kinderen. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | yes | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **n181** | Feest, want 30 jaar Kinderrechtenverdrag | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n182** | Van de lastenverzwaringen is al de helft teruggedraaid. En van de bezuinigingen inmiddels ook. Want onnodig en/of onacceptabele schade. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n183** | Laffe dieven hebben het steeds vaker op ouderen gemunt, want 'weerloze slachtoffers'. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | yes | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n184** | Nee, want geen bewijzen van wandaden. Ze stonden allemaal in de keuken en zorgden voor de kinderen. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n185** | Ze zijn onaantastbaar want linkse politiek en zo. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n186** | Zwijg stil over banken. Bank A heb ik een gewatermerkte scan van mijn e-ID gestuurd, weigeren ze om onbekende reden te verwerken. Bank B heeft PDF met uitgelezen e-ID gekregen en ondertekend formulier + bewijs van woonst. Niet aanvaard, want geen handtekening op ID. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n187** | UN/EU Depopulatie agenda 21 / 30 Sustainable Development : Knalvuurwerk enz moet verboten worden. Want Stikstof ....SStraffen SStraffen ! Wat zou de stikstof uitstoot van constante oorlogen voor democratie en veiligheid zijn ? Wat zijn politici zielige hypocriete kleine mensjes | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n188** | En straks zeker weer janken over een zestienjarige klimaatactiviste. Want oh oh, kindermisbruik! | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | yes | written | no | Twitter |
| **n189** | Groep Russische toeristen met een gids die via microfoontje en zender uitleg geeft. Prima, want geen gegil over straat. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n190** | Het onderwijs van nu zegt dat wit fout is (""dader"") en de ander volledig gerechtvaardigd is in zijn uiting van frustraties (want ""slachtoffer"") | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | yes | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **n191** | Dat durft Gerrit niet. Maar hopen dat hij de kracht in zichzelf vind. Want weg met die twee. Echt! | 21.11.19 | want | AdvP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n192** | IK HOOP DAT MIJN PROBLEMEN RAP OP GELOST WORDEN WANT LIEVE Xxx. | 21.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n193** | Plaatstekort in Brussel, want sterkere bevolkingsgroei dan elders. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n194** | Eerst lees ik dat het #voordeelurenabonnement er de facto uitgaat en nu dat het fietskaartje duurder wordt (want de Waddeneilanden) | 21.11.19 | want | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n195** | Een kansenparel is toch gewoon iemand die tweede na tweede na tweede kans krijgt, zonder dat er verbetering optreedt, maar dat is dan weer te vergeven, want 'persoonlijke omstandigheden'? Uitsluiting, onderwijs, achterstand, armoede | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | yes | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n196** | ... want ik merk dat ik echt van 2 werelden ben... want een sappige romantische film? Please shoot me! | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n197** | Tuurlijk weet je dat niet, ziende blind want niet jouw ideaal beeld. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n198** | Het probleem: psychiaters willen niet in grote GGZinstellingen werken, want geen invloed op beleid. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n199** | Onderbroek 2 euro, shirt (trui) 10 euro, broek 20 euro, schoenen 70 euro, jas gratis want vaders oude leger jas. | 22.11.19 | want | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n200** | Ja hoor, de #windenergiesector wil 'zelfregulering' als het gaat om aan te tonen waar de grondstoffen voor de productie van windmolens vandaan komen en onder welke omstandigheden ze worden geëxploiteerd. Want 'concurrentiegevoelige' informatie. Onacceptabel. Transparantie moet! | 23.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **n201** | Die kunnen gewoon doorgaan. Want slechts 1% uitstoot. | 23.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n202** | Die voorbeelden komen nog hoor. niet hier bij de hand want onderweg voor een kinderstoeltje. Volgende week 1e vast voedsel aanvullend op de borstvoeding... | 23.11.19 | want | AdvP | no | CAUS | STRU | no | yes (4) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n203** | Ik houd van Zwarte Piet : Kozp boos, want zwarte piet. Moslims boos, want gay. NL supermarkt verdrietig, want niet op voorraad. | 23.11.19 | want | AdjP | no | CAUS | TEXT & STRU | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n204** | Ik houd van Zwarte Piet : Kozp boos, want zwarte piet. Moslims boos, want gay. NL supermarkt verdrietig, want niet op voorraad. | 24.11.19 | want | PP | no | CAUS | TEXT & STRU | no | yes (3) | no | written | yes | Twitter |
| **n205** | Liefst zou ik de @VVD uitschakelen maar dat gaat voorlopig niet lukken want rechts want cordon sanitaire. | 20.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **n206** | Klopt, bij Ruimtelijke Ordening lijkt er meer aandacht voor vierkante meters parkeerplek dan voor vierkante meters speelgelegenheid. Spelende kinderen worden van de straten verjaagd, soms letterlijk, want lawaai, want bal tegen ruiten/auto's, want gevaarlijk, want hinderlijk. | 21.11.19 | want | NP | no | REAS | no | no | yes (3) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **s001** | Prečo Mizík nie je Kotlebovej strany zmizík? Lebo Fico | 16.01.17 | lebo | NP | yes | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Article |
| **s002** | Neviem, aké majú na to argumenty, ale nevidím v tom logiku. Je to trochu kresťansky pokrytecké. Na jednej strane hovoríme, že homosexuáli sú plnohodnotní a rovnoprávni občania. Jedným dychom však dodávajú, že ich zväzky sú proti prirodzenosti a nemôže to byť pravá láska pokiaľ nemá reprodukčnú schopnosť, nemali by učiť na školách lebo sú spájaní s pedofíliou, adoptovať si deti, lebo otec a mama. Nuž tak asi nie sme plnohodnotní občania právneho štátu. | 06.02.15 | lebo | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Article |

| COD | TXT | DTE | CON | COM | PRN | SEM | ELL | QUO | CPX | PAU | MOD | NEG | SRC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **s003** | But nope, tento týždeň sa nezastavim lebo regionalky, potom praha debatko potom poľsko potom vianoce | 25.11.14 | lebo | NP | no | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **s004** | @qritney ja som sa musela ísť prejsť lebo dovi dopo | 12.11.14 | lebo | INTERJ | no | REAS | no | no | yes (2) | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **s005** | ja vas s tymto mojim snom budem otravovat do konca zivota asi lebo leo :ccccccccccc | 13.10.14 | lebo | NP | no | REAS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **s006** | Matovič vždy hovoril lebo Fico, tak progresivci budú lebo Matovič | 25.05.23 | lebo | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **s007** | 200€ mesiačne na dieťa. Áno, lebo Matovič | 11.04.23 | lebo | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Poster |
| **s008** | Nie, nič sa nezmení lebo Slovensko | 04.11.22 | lebo | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |
| **s009** | Prečo to všade inde môže fungovať, len tu nie? Lebo Slovensko | 12.12.11 | lebo | NP | yes | CAUS | no | no | no | no | written | no | Twitter |

## Summary

This manuscript represents a comprehensive analysis of non-finite causal constructions in English, German, Dutch, and Czech. Based on a corpus of social media posts, the study provides an analysis of the formal and functional aspects of these constructions, their development, and their cross-linguistic similarities and differences. The study follows the principles of (Diasystematic) Construction Grammar.

Formally, these constructions differ from both causal clauses and causal prepositional constructions. In contrast to the former, the complement of non-finite causal constructions must be non-finite. In contrast to the latter, however, the complement slot can be filled by a wider range of elements than just noun phrases. Elliptical clauses, non-elliptical noun phrases, or non-elliptical non-noun phrases can fill the complement slot of non-finite causal constructions.

Functionally, non-finite causal constructions express a causal link between a matrix clause, which they follow, and the element in their complement slot. In this regard, these constructions overlap with both causal clauses and prepositional constructions. However, non-finite causal constructions can also serve to express a comment about the causal link.

The development of non-finite causal constructions cross-linguistically follows a uniform spiral pathway. Elliptical non-finite causal constructions develop in the first step out of non-elliptical causal clauses. Elliptical non-finite causal constructions subsequently give rise to their non-elliptical variants.

Against the backdrop of these empirical observations, the study draws theoretical conclusions regarding the relationship between linguistic data and their intepretation, linguistic categories and categorisation, and questions of language contact.

## Zusammenfassung

Diese Arbeit stellt eine umfassende Analyse von nicht-finiten Kausalkonstruktionen im Englischen, Deutschen, Niederländischen und Tschechischen dar. Auf der Grundlage eines Social-Media-Korpus bietet die vorliegende Studie eine sowohl einzelsprachliche wie auch sprachübergreifende Beschreibung der formalen und funktionalen Aspekte dieser Konstruktionen und ihrer Entwicklung. Die Studie folgt den Prinzipien der (Diasystematischen) Konstruktionsgrammatik.

Formal unterscheiden sich nicht-finite Kausalkonstruktionen sowohl von Kausalsätzen als auch von kausalen Präpositionalkonstruktionen. Im Gegensatz zu Kausalsätzen kommen als Komplemente der analysierten Konstruktionen keine finiten Verbformen vor. Andererseits kann jedoch, anders als in Präpositionalkonstruktionen, der Kausalkonnektor der untersuchten Kausalkonstruktionen nicht nur durch Nominalphrasen, sondern durch eine breitere Palette von Elementen komplementiert werden.

Funktional gesehen drücken nicht-finite Kausalkonstruktionen eine kausale Relation zwischen einem vorangehenden Matrixsatz und dem Element in ihrem Komplementslot aus. In dieser Hinsicht weisen nichtfinite Kausalkonstruktionen sowohl Gemeinsamkeiten mit Kausalsätzen als auch mit Präpositionalkonstruktionen auf. Im Gegensatz zu beiden Gruppen können nicht-finite Kausalkonstruktionen auch kommentierend verwendent werden.

Aus Sicht der historischen Linguistik konnte festgestellt werden, dass die Entwicklung nicht-finiter Kausalkonstruktionen sprachübergreifend derselben Trajektorie folgt. Aus nicht-elliptischen Kausalsätzen entstehen elliptische nicht-finite Kausalkonstruktionen, die wiederum den Weg ebnen für die Entstehung neuer nicht-elliptischer Kausalkonstruktionen.

Vor dem Hintergrund der empirischen Beobachtungen, werden in der vorliegenden Arbeit auch sprachtheoretische Schlüsse zum Status linguistischer Daten und ihrer Interpretation, zum Thema linguistischer Kategorisierung und zu Fragen von Sprachkontakt gezogen.

## Curriculum Vitae

### Basic information

Name: Martin Konvička

### Education

| | |
|---|---|
| 2015 | Rigorosum: *Dutch Philology*<br>Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, Czechia |
| 2010-2014 | Master's Degree: *German and Dutch Philology*<br>Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, Czechia |
| 2011-2013 | Master's Degree: *Languages of Europe: Structures and Usage*<br>Freie Universität Berlin, Germany |
| 2007-2010 | Bachelor's Degree: *German and Dutch Philology*<br>Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, Czechia |

### Academic career

| | |
|---|---|
| 2017-today | Research Assistant<br>Institut für Englische Philologie, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany |
| 2014-2017 | Associate Lecturer/Lehrbeauftragter<br>Institut für Englische Philologie, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany |
| 2008-2009 | Student Assistant<br>Institut für Deutsche Philologie, Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, Czechia |

### (Co-)Organisation of conferences

| | |
|---|---|
| 2020 | *68. Studentische Tagung Sprachwissenschaft*, Berlin, 18-22 November 2020 |
| | *7. Linguistik Meetup Berlin-Brandenburg*, Michendorf, 17-19 September 2020 |
| 2018 | *5. Linguistik Meetup Berlin-Brandenburg*, Potsdam, 1 August 2018 |
| 2017 | *Linguistik der Anderen*, Berlin, 26 March 2017 |
| | *18. Norddeutsches Linguistisches Kolloquium*, Berlin, 24-25 March 2017 |
| 2016 | *3. Linguistik Meetup Berlin-Brandenburg*, Berlin, 9 September 2016 |
| 2015 | *2. Linguistik Meetup Berlin-Brandenburg*, Potsdam, 4 September 2015 |
| 2014 | *1. Linguistik Meetup Berlin-Brandenburg*, Berlin, 5 September 2014 |
| 2013 | *52. Studentische Tagung Sprachwissenschaft*, Berlin, 21-25 November 2012 |

### Other activities

| | |
|---|---|
| 2024-today | Associate Editor of *Neerlandica Wratislaviensia* |
| 2023-today | Newspaper articles for *Heroine* |
| 2021-today | Social Media Officer at *History and Philosophy of the Language Sciences* |
| 2019-today | Newspaper articles for *Deník N* |
| 2015-today | Founding Member of *Junge Sprachwissenschaft*, e.V. |
| 2011-today | Active Member of *DAAD-Freundeskreis*, e.V. |

## Declaration of Academic Honesty

Name, Vorname: Konvička, Martin

**Erklärung** zur Dissertation mit dem Titel *Because reasons. Non-finite causal constructions in English, German, Dutch, and Czech*

1. Hiermit versichere ich,
   - dass ich die von mir vorgelegte Arbeit **selbstständig** abgefasst habe, und
   - dass ich **keine weiteren Hilfsmittel** verwendet habe als diejenigen, die im Vorfeld explizit zugelassen und von mir angegeben wurde, und
   - dass ich die Stellen der Arbeit, die dem Wortlaut oder dem Sinn nach anderen Werken (dazu zählen auch Internetquellen) entnommen sind, unter Angabe der Quelle kenntlich gemacht wurden, und
   - dass die Arbeit nicht schon einmal in einem früheren Promotionsverfahren angenommen oder abgelehnt wurde.

2. Mir ist bewusst,
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Berlin, 13. III. 2024

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Ort, Datum Unterschrift